

Fig. 1

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TRANSACTIONS

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TRANSACTIONS  
OF THE  
PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY,  
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I.—THE SUBSTANTIVE VERB IN THE OLD  
IRISH GLOSSES. By J. STRACHAN.

[*Read at the Philological Society's Meeting on Friday, February 10, 1899.*]

THE substantive verb has already been discussed from the etymological point of view by Dr. Whitley Stokes in the *Transactions* of this Society.<sup>1</sup> The object of the present paper is a different one. It is to consider, not the origin, but the actual usage of the component parts of the verb 'to be' in the oldest extant documents of the Irish language. As in some of my former papers, the subject is divided into two parts—(I) Materials, a collection of the instances of the various parts of the verb; (II) Remarks, a discussion of any points which seem to require consideration. With regard to the Materials, the lists of instances will be found to be tolerably exhaustive, and, for the rarer parts of the verb, I trust, absolutely complete. Only for the commonest form of all, *is*, complete collections have been given only for the first part of the Würzburg Glosses, from the rest of the glossatorial literature have been given only instances which seemed to have some special interest. The abbreviations are the same as in my previous paper on the Subjunctive Mood.

PART I. MATERIALS.

This part falls into two sections—(1) the accented forms, or, as they are commonly called, the forms of the substantive verb, (2) the unaccented or copula forms. For the difference between the two sets of forms see below, pp. 48 sq.

A. THE SUBSTANTIVE VERB.

Indicative Mood.

Present.

The present indicative is made up of a number of different verbs, the usage of which will be considered in Part II.

<sup>1</sup> The paper is reprinted in KZ. xxviii.

## (a) -táu.

- Sg. 1. **attóo, attó**:—*ni di chorp atóo-sa Wb. 12<sup>a</sup> 21, is oc precept soscéli attó 21<sup>c</sup> 19, is occa attóo 26<sup>d</sup> 8, is occa attó-sa 29<sup>d</sup> 6, is ara precept attó-sa isslabrid 23<sup>a</sup> 2, ató oc combáig 26<sup>d</sup> 17.*
- 5       **-táu, -tóo; -tó**:—*ani i-ttóo Wb. 17<sup>d</sup> 24, i-táu dar cenn sosceli 32<sup>a</sup> 10, innedaib hi-tó Ml. 92<sup>b</sup> 8.*
- Sg. 2. **atái**:—*is nanaicci atái Wb. 5<sup>b</sup> 27.*  
       **-tái**:—*ani hi-tái Wb. 5<sup>b</sup> 38.*
- Sg. 3. **attá**:—*ata in coimdiu Ml. 30<sup>b</sup> 27, cf. 51<sup>c</sup> 17, 55<sup>d</sup> 21,*  
 10    *ata Sg. 40<sup>b</sup> 11, 109<sup>a</sup> 3, 201<sup>a</sup> 8, 9, ata trede tadbhat som Wb. 13<sup>c</sup> 26, cf. 32<sup>a</sup> 22, ata dechor immefolngat Sg. 3<sup>a</sup> 11, atá Dia atach n dúnni Ml. 66<sup>d</sup> 1, is amne atáa Wb. 6<sup>a</sup> 19, is samlid atá 27<sup>a</sup> 11, olisamein attáa 32<sup>a</sup> 6, do foisitin ata Tur. 58, ní amal dundatmecetar-su atá du mes Ml. 106<sup>c</sup> 11,*  
 15    *huare is intrinsecus atá in gnim Sg. 139<sup>a</sup> 3, is ar chonsain diuit atá í and 7<sup>b</sup> 14, cf. 9<sup>b</sup> 13, ní diib attáa briathar less hic Wb. 13<sup>a</sup> 16, etir Israheldu atá són Ml. 102<sup>a</sup> 7, cf. Sg. 152<sup>a</sup> 1, ní fu indidit ata irascemini sunt acht is fo imchomare ata Ml. 20<sup>b</sup> 13, is frisandliged remeperthe ata in cosmailiuso 32<sup>d</sup> 6,*  
 20    *is hi tuaisciurt slebe síoin ata in chathir Ml. 67<sup>d</sup> 8, cf. 66<sup>d</sup> 8 (áta), hi tintud Chirini ata inso 103<sup>d</sup> 26, cf. Sg. 28<sup>a</sup> 3 (atá), 45<sup>a</sup> 14 (atá), 52<sup>b</sup> 1 (atá), 113<sup>b</sup> 3 (atá), 139<sup>a</sup> 1 (atá), 165<sup>b</sup> 1 (atá), 188<sup>b</sup> 1 (atá), is and atá (MS. at) gnim tengad isind huiliu labramar-ni Ml. 31<sup>b</sup> 23,<sup>1</sup> is lib atá a rogu Wb. 9<sup>a</sup> 23, is la Grecu ata a n-dliged sin Sg. 95<sup>b</sup> 1, uand aitherrect- atá a n-aitrebthach Sg. 32<sup>b</sup> 7, cf. 197<sup>a</sup> 2 (ata), 209<sup>b</sup> 10, is oc maíd atáa Wb. 6<sup>a</sup> 18, cf. 29<sup>d</sup> 6 (atáa), is ósib atá 2<sup>b</sup> 7, resin chanoín hisiu atá a trachtad Ml. 57<sup>a</sup> 12, is triit ata gloriatio Wb. 2<sup>b</sup> 15, taræsi indi as penitus ata són Ml. 51<sup>d</sup> 22, ata ní archiunn Sg.*  
 30    *39<sup>b</sup> 10, atá de Wb. 12<sup>a</sup> 22, ata di thrummain a fochado insin Ml. 23<sup>a</sup> 19, cf. Sg. 1<sup>a</sup> 2 (attá), hóre atá hesséirge dúib Wb. 25<sup>c</sup> 13, atá inotacht dúnni 33<sup>b</sup> 5, cf. 27<sup>a</sup> 15, ata nech du bar n-deicsin Ml. 82<sup>a</sup> 7, atá mordechor etir deacht 7 doinacht Ml. 26<sup>b</sup> 1, cf. 58<sup>a</sup> 11, Sg. 38<sup>a</sup> 8, 203<sup>a</sup> 16, atá etarro i m-medón 151<sup>b</sup> 5, atá dethiden fuiri Wb. 3<sup>d</sup> 34, atá comarde fuirib 21<sup>a</sup> 5, ata dechor n-aisndissen for cach ae Ml. 114<sup>a</sup> 14, cf. Sg. 197<sup>a</sup> 11, attáa a deolid iar cául cáich Wb. 31<sup>c</sup> 15,*

<sup>1</sup> In Sg. 222<sup>a</sup> 8 for *is comasnídis attá* should be restored *is i comasnídis attá*.

*atá brithem and* 6<sup>b</sup> 25, cf. 10<sup>b</sup> 27, **MI.** 40<sup>a</sup> 20, 47<sup>a</sup> 14, **Sg.** 67<sup>b</sup> 7 (*ata*), *atá tairmthechtas persan híc* 220<sup>a</sup> 10, *atá Spiritus Sanctus in nobis* **Wb.** 15<sup>d</sup> 36, *hore ata crist in me* 40 19<sup>a</sup> 19, cf. 10<sup>b</sup> 25, *atá a suide i n-nim* **MI.** 30<sup>b</sup> 28, *ataa i cach epistil a sainchomarde sin* **Wb.** 26<sup>b</sup> 31, *ata i libraib rig* **MI.** 40<sup>a</sup> 21, cf. 2<sup>c</sup> 2, 30<sup>b</sup> 16 (*atá*), 50<sup>d</sup> 16, 55<sup>c</sup> 10, **Sg.** 146<sup>b</sup> 15 (*atá*), 197<sup>a</sup> 11 (*huare ata*), 202<sup>b</sup> 4 (*atá*), 209<sup>b</sup> 29, 214<sup>b</sup> 1 (*atá*), *atá i n-aicniud chaich denum maith* **MI.** 14<sup>c</sup> 12, *hóre attá innar* 45 *leid* **Wb.** 4<sup>b</sup> 11, *atá brithem la suidib* 9<sup>c</sup> 2, *atá ole n-aill lib* 9<sup>c</sup> 3, *atá torad la gnimu soilse* 22<sup>b</sup> 26, *ata digal aile les for pecthachu* **MI.** 94<sup>c</sup> 17, *atá imfrecre lesom* 136<sup>c</sup> 3, 4, *atáa lib uile* **Wb.** 7<sup>d</sup> 5, cf. 10<sup>d</sup> 2, 16<sup>c</sup> 8, *atá leusom di forcerid a n-dudesta airibsi* 14<sup>a</sup> 33, *hóre (atá li)b fiuss* 25<sup>b</sup> 1, *is derb lium attá latsu* 29<sup>d</sup> 14, 50 *attáa lemsa a sainred-sa* 32<sup>a</sup> 5, *atá linn ní* **Sg.** 40<sup>a</sup> 11, cf. 149<sup>b</sup> 7, 167<sup>a</sup> 4 (*ol atá*), *atá ocoscribunt beus* 213<sup>b</sup> 4.

-*tá*:—*ní-[m]-tha cumachtæ n-do* **MI.** 140<sup>b</sup> 7, *massu bethu frendirc tantum no-m-tha* **Wb.** 13<sup>c</sup> 10, *ní-t-ta ní inditmoide* 2<sup>b</sup> 12, *ní-n-tá airli ar m-ban* 31<sup>c</sup> 7, *ind indocbál no-b-tá in 55 futuro* 14<sup>c</sup> 16, *ní-b-tá torbe de* 19<sup>b</sup> 10, *ní-s-ta som cumang domm orcuin-se* **MI.** 60<sup>d</sup> 3, *nitha diaméit* **Wb.** 5<sup>b</sup> 10, *hota* (Stokes nota) **Pcr.** 12<sup>a</sup> 3, *isin beothu i-táa Iesu* 3<sup>c</sup> 2, cf. 4<sup>a</sup> 19 (*i-ttá*), 6<sup>b</sup> 6, 15<sup>b</sup> 27 (*i-tá*), **MI.** 137<sup>a</sup> 1 (*hi-ta*), *aní i-táa cuntubart libsi* **Wb.** 13<sup>a</sup> 35, *lassa-ta sians* **MI.** 124<sup>c</sup> 15. 60

Pl. 1. *attaam*:—*ní uainn fesine ataam for tectiri* **Wb.** 15<sup>a</sup> 13, *massu annin ataam* 13<sup>c</sup> 12, *attaam i cuimriug* 32<sup>a</sup> 28.

Pl. 2. *ataaid, ataid*:—*isamlid ataid-si* **Wb.** 4<sup>a</sup> 4, *masu du réir Spirito ataaith* 20<sup>b</sup> 16, *is eter caratndáimta ataaid* 23<sup>c</sup> 28, *is oca ataaid* 33<sup>d</sup> 7, *hore ataaith-si immelei* 10<sup>a</sup> 6, *hóre ataad* 65 *i cath* 22<sup>d</sup> 14, *ataid i n-hiris* 33<sup>c</sup> 13.

-*taid*:—*ní nach cin aile notaid dom* **Wb.** 19<sup>d</sup> 26.<sup>1</sup>

Pl. 3. *ataat*:—*ataat ám in chrutsin* **Sg.** 140<sup>b</sup> 1, cf. 188<sup>a</sup> 19, *ataat mesai Dæ nephchometetarrachti amal abis* **MI.** 55<sup>d</sup> 11, *ataat da n-orpe rogab Abracham* **Wb.** 2<sup>c</sup> 21, cf. **MI.** 21<sup>d</sup> 4, **Sg.** 10<sup>a</sup> 1, *is 70 pro omnibus gradibus . . . ataat sidi* **Wb.** 21<sup>d</sup> 1, *ciasa for oin fiur ataat* **MI.** 34<sup>d</sup> 6, cf. **Sg.** 27<sup>a</sup> 7, *is i Crist ataat* **Wb.** 9<sup>a</sup> 18, cf. 12<sup>b</sup> 6, 26<sup>d</sup> 20, **Sg.** 120<sup>b</sup> 7, *is ondí as alo ataat* 56<sup>b</sup> 8, *is oc bar less ataat* **Wb.** 25<sup>c</sup> 16, *is samlaid ataat* **Sg.** 191<sup>a</sup> 5, *ataat ilsenman do suidiu* **Wb.** 12<sup>c</sup> 46, *ní sochude diib ataat and* 75 8<sup>a</sup> 17, cf. **Sg.** 71<sup>b</sup> 9, *ataat réte hic* **Wb.** 13<sup>d</sup> 4, cf. 18<sup>d</sup> 9,

<sup>1</sup> According to Pedersen, KZ. xxxv, 391.

*ataat uili isin chorp sin*, 12<sup>a</sup> 16, cf. 31<sup>d</sup> 8 (*hore ataat*),  
**MI.** 37<sup>a</sup> 10 (*huare ataat*), 145<sup>d</sup> 7, **Sg.** 28<sup>a</sup> 4, 29<sup>b</sup> 6, 188<sup>a</sup> 2,  
 203<sup>b</sup> 10, 209<sup>b</sup> 29, *ataat iltintudai leu MI.* 3<sup>a</sup> 14, *attaat scela*  
 80 *linn Wb.* 18<sup>d</sup> 4, *ataat oc timthirecht* 14<sup>a</sup> 30.

-*taat*:—*anem hi-tat* (leg. -*taat*?) *aingil MI.* 42<sup>b</sup> 10, *in suidig-*  
*hi-taat Sg.* 71<sup>b</sup> 3, *hua-taat Sg.* 32<sup>a</sup> 9, cf. 59<sup>a</sup> 11, 197<sup>a</sup> 2, **Pcr.**  
 12<sup>b</sup> 2 (*ho-taat*).

Impersonal passive: **tathar**:—*is hed dathar dom Wb.* 21<sup>c</sup> 9,  
 85 cf. 28<sup>d</sup> 4.

In composition with *oln-* and later *in-* this verb has the sense  
 of 'than.' For the extra-presential forms see pp. 16, 18.

**Sg. 1. oldáu, oldó**:—*is sochrudiu láam oldó-sa Wb.* 12<sup>a</sup> 21, *is áildiu*  
*ammag rogab súil oldó-sa* 12<sup>a</sup> 25, *as mao olddu-sa Sg.* 45<sup>a</sup> 15.<sup>1</sup>

**Sg. 2. oldái**:—*bid ferr oldái Wb.* 1<sup>d</sup> 21, *oltai MI.* 112<sup>c</sup> 2.

**Sg. 3. oldaas**:—*móa oldaas oén sill-, Sg.* 68<sup>b</sup> 8, *ba ferr oldaas*  
 90 *a digal Wb.* 9<sup>c</sup> 21, cf. 11<sup>b</sup> 17, 12<sup>b</sup> 2, 14<sup>d</sup> 10, 18<sup>d</sup> 14, 20<sup>b</sup> 9,  
 23<sup>c</sup> 15, 33<sup>d</sup> 9, **MI.** 89<sup>d</sup> 6, 92<sup>a</sup> 9, 105<sup>b</sup> 7, 112<sup>b</sup> 13, **Sg.** 42<sup>a</sup> 9,  
 21<sup>a</sup> 2, 6<sup>b</sup> 7, *ni ansu dúnni oldaas do chách Wb.* 22<sup>a</sup> 16,  
 quantum expeditior est  $\psi$  quam *ps*, g. *oldaas πs Sg.* 16<sup>a</sup> 5,  
*oldaas n-ermitnigthi feid MI.* 137<sup>d</sup> 1, *condib ferr donberaid-si*  
 95 *oldaas cách Wb.* 16<sup>c</sup> 9, *is móa dongní som oldaas duntlucham*  
 21<sup>d</sup> 9, cf. 32<sup>a</sup> 25, *oldaas ata n-diglaidi MI.* 111<sup>c</sup> 8, *oldaas*  
*bes findfadach* (quam esse beatum) 56<sup>b</sup> 44, *oldaas itirndadibed*  
 (g. quam perimeret) 45<sup>c</sup> 6, *oldaas bid iniquos asberad* 59<sup>a</sup> 7,  
 non aliter quam, g. *oldaas Sg.* 7<sup>b</sup> 4, 9<sup>b</sup> 7, nec non pro, g. *oldaas*  
 100 19<sup>a</sup> 3; *oldoas trichtaige Ber.* 3.

**indaas**:—*ni mesa . . . . indaas* (MS. *indas*) **MI.** 34<sup>a</sup> 5,  
 cf. 24<sup>d</sup> 23, 35<sup>c</sup> 31, 47<sup>a</sup> 14, 54<sup>a</sup> 11, 62<sup>b</sup> 10, 64<sup>c</sup> 22, 83<sup>a</sup> 6,  
 85<sup>b</sup> 11 (*indáas*), 91<sup>d</sup> 8, de praestantiore persona .i. *indaas*  
*ar tomus-nai* 26<sup>b</sup> 6, *is laigiu són indaas chumachtai* 26<sup>b</sup> 6,  
 105 in hoc magis nomine fidebamus *indaas hi cairptib 7 indaas ar*  
*n-erbud innar neurt* 43<sup>d</sup> 3, cf. 22<sup>c</sup> 14, 67<sup>d</sup> 13, 72<sup>b</sup> 18, *indaas*  
*toirthech* 84<sup>a</sup> 3<sup>b</sup>, *indaas amser m-biṭe* (?)<sup>2</sup> 86<sup>d</sup> 11, *is assu*  
*turbáil essi indaas cech cré* 85<sup>c</sup> 14, *erechdu . . . . indaas*  
*dunarchechainn* 64<sup>c</sup> 22, *indaas as saindiles* 86<sup>d</sup> 18, *is mou*  
 110 *dundrigensat indaas conidrairlecis-siu* 87<sup>a</sup> 8, cf. 119<sup>d</sup> 8, *ni*  
*bed uilliu indaas rondbói m'ingnas* 136<sup>b</sup> 7, *is uilliu són indaas*

<sup>1</sup> Here may be mentioned the isolated *adoasa* 'than I' **Tur.** 26, cf. *atæ-siu*  
 Ir. Text. ii, 213, *ata Trip. Life*, 148, l. 7; further, O.Ir. *adaas, adas*.

<sup>2</sup> Leg. *imbi*?



*nadndene* 23<sup>c</sup> 20, *indaas bemmi* 105<sup>b</sup> 6, *indaas dorogbáinn* 39<sup>a</sup> 18, *indaas bid praeceptóir asidindissed* 42<sup>b</sup> 18, cf. 123<sup>c</sup> 10, 135<sup>a</sup> 13, nihil tam insanum quam ut uenerentur g. *indaas* 60<sup>b</sup> 3, cf. 60<sup>b</sup> 9. 115

Pl. 3. *oldate*:—*oillu oldate cóiccét* **Wb.** 13<sup>b</sup> 2, tanto melior .i. *oldate ind angil* 32<sup>b</sup> 5, cf. **MI.** 47<sup>c</sup> 20, 48<sup>c</sup> 26, 63<sup>c</sup> 6, 94<sup>d</sup> 3, 112<sup>b</sup> 20, 126<sup>c</sup> 9, *is ferr desercc oldate uili* **Wb.** 12<sup>b</sup> 35, cf. **MI.** 131<sup>a</sup> 6, utilia magis quam speciosa .i. *oldate inna suaccubri* 59<sup>c</sup> 7, *ba uissiu dúb oldáte pecthe do buid and* 120 **Wb.** 9<sup>d</sup> 3, citius diuites egebunt quam timentes Deum .i. *oldatae* **MI.** 53<sup>c</sup> 7; *oldáta maicc* **Sg.** 30<sup>b</sup> 12.

*indate*:—*it ailliu . . . indate ind ánai* **MI.** 43<sup>d</sup> 18, cf. 88<sup>d</sup> 1, 90<sup>b</sup> 5, 98<sup>c</sup> 5, 100<sup>c</sup> 26, 138<sup>c</sup> 4, 138<sup>d</sup> 10, *huilliu adcumnet indatae chlaidd* 77<sup>a</sup> 1, plus obtinebunt gloriam .i. 125 *indate inna edbarta fulidi* 87<sup>b</sup> 6.

In composition this verb forms certain adverbial or prepositional phrases.

*cenmíthá*<sup>1</sup> 'besides' (governing the accusative):—**Wb.** 6<sup>a</sup> 25, 8<sup>a</sup> 2, 9<sup>d</sup> 7, 24<sup>a</sup> 18, **MI.** 17<sup>d</sup> 9, 61<sup>a</sup> 37, 67<sup>b</sup> 12, 92<sup>a</sup> 10, 103<sup>a</sup> 7, 135<sup>d</sup> 1, **Sg.** 21<sup>b</sup> 10, 24<sup>b</sup> 3, 29<sup>b</sup> 8, 58<sup>b</sup> 7, 65<sup>a</sup> 11, 150<sup>b</sup> 3, 179<sup>b</sup> 2, 200<sup>a</sup> 3, 15, 202<sup>a</sup> 1, 211<sup>a</sup> 2; *cenmathá* **Wb.** 130 33<sup>a</sup> 4, **Sg.** 56<sup>b</sup> 13, 71<sup>b</sup> 27.

*hothá* 'from' (the opposite of *corricci*):—**MI.** 15<sup>c</sup> 2, **Sg.** 60<sup>b</sup> 7, etc.

*iarmítha*, **MI.** 58<sup>c</sup> 16.

### (b) Fil.

*fil* (relative):—*fil ní de as fir* (that there is) **Wb.** 11<sup>d</sup> 2, 135 *ised insò fil ón* **MI.** 118<sup>d</sup> 21, *iarsin dligud fil hindiu* **Sg.** 178<sup>a</sup> 3, *a fil ar mo chiunn* **Wb.** 24<sup>a</sup> 15, *na rree fil á terra* **Bcr.** 18<sup>c</sup> 3, *fallunt fil ar chiunn* **MI.** 43<sup>a</sup> 9, *fil ar chinn* 96<sup>a</sup> 11, *inn imthanad fil foraib* 42<sup>c</sup> 2, *asin gerint fil for deil[b] ains-* 68<sup>c</sup> 14, *ord airic fil fuiri* **Sg.** 4<sup>b</sup> 9, *it he persain fil iarna chul* **MI.** 91<sup>c</sup> 11, 140 *dechor fil eter lanamnas et ógi* **Wb.** 10<sup>b</sup> 21, *a n-dechor feil eter corpu nemdi* 13<sup>c</sup> 26, *is medóntestimin á fil etarru* 27<sup>d</sup> 19, *a n-dechur feil ettarru* 33<sup>b</sup> 18, *is bec ñ di dechur fil etarru* **MI.** 72<sup>c</sup> 9, *inna fer fel and* **Wb.** 4<sup>c</sup> 1, *inna cialla mrechnighthi fil ánd* **MI.** 26<sup>c</sup> 2, *a tobac fil and* 26<sup>c</sup> 2, *is ennaigde fil and* 145

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *cenmínom* **Wb.** 16<sup>b</sup> 6, *cenmanum* **MI.** 88<sup>d</sup> 13. In **Wb.** 8<sup>d</sup> 28 read *cenmí nom accipisti*? In **Sg.** 201<sup>b</sup> 18 we should probably read *cenmíthá*, cf. 202<sup>a</sup> 1.

- 38<sup>c</sup> 11, *issi in ciall fil and 63<sup>a</sup> 2, issi ciall fil and 74<sup>c</sup> 21, issi inso  
chiall fil and 88<sup>b</sup> 11, 90<sup>c</sup> 24, issi chiall fil and 94<sup>b</sup> 17, 128<sup>a</sup> 6,  
issi chiall inso fil and 121<sup>c</sup> 8, cf. 114<sup>c</sup> 7, ni emnad fil and 76<sup>d</sup> 2,  
issi persann fil and 90<sup>a</sup> 12, connid ed inso fil and 91<sup>a</sup> 19, issi inne  
150 inso fil and 91<sup>a</sup> 18, issi inne fil and inso 110<sup>d</sup> 18, issed fil and  
Bcr. 45<sup>c</sup> 6, cach gnúis fil and Sg. 3<sup>a</sup> 11, ind foilsigthe fil and  
211<sup>a</sup> 8, a sanctis fil sunt **MI.** 37<sup>a</sup> 10, cech n-infinit fil sunt sis  
42<sup>c</sup> 33, a m-memoratus est fil hi sunt 98<sup>c</sup> 10, is hé a foxlaid  
. . . . fil sunt **Sg.** 32<sup>b</sup> 7, a salutes fil tall **MI.** 42<sup>b</sup> 5, ind  
155 rún 7 ind etercert fil hi suidib **MI.** 2<sup>d</sup> 2, is f'ir fil indiunni  
**Wb.** 14<sup>c</sup> 24 (bis), a fil innar cridiu-ni 15<sup>a</sup> 7, ecclesiae Galatiae .i.  
fil in Galitia 18<sup>e</sup> 3, den maith fil in hoc psalmo **MI.** 35<sup>c</sup> 11,  
ni fubthad fil isind lassir 40<sup>c</sup> 2, forsa uissitam fel in psalterio  
47<sup>c</sup> 17, forsa n-ideo fil in psalmo 50<sup>d</sup> 4, cf. 6, uerba .i. fil isint  
160 salm 50<sup>d</sup> 4, is cursachad fil isindi as non 55<sup>c</sup> 10, forsna doini fil  
isin dú sin 56<sup>b</sup> 2, forsin dib ciallaib fil isind emulari 56<sup>b</sup> 37,  
inna cethri fersu fil isint salm 58<sup>a</sup> 11, discriptio .i. fil isind salm  
70<sup>a</sup> 1, inne fil indib 74<sup>d</sup> 7, is inunn ciall fil isin dligud-sa  
76<sup>a</sup> 13, 77<sup>b</sup> 1, issi inne fil isindi as fluit 83<sup>b</sup> 1, á m-manifestare  
165 fil isind salm 101<sup>c</sup> 5, is ed fil i n-deriud int sailm 102<sup>c</sup> 5, in  
seculo fil issind salm 103<sup>b</sup> 10, intliucht fil isindi as ueritatem  
112<sup>d</sup> 2, is inunn intliucht 7 chiall fil isindi asrubart 112<sup>d</sup> 2,  
cf. 114<sup>b</sup> 1, issi inne fil hi cehtar de 114<sup>b</sup> 1, ised a n-dechur fil  
isind aliter so 115<sup>a</sup> 2, amét mis fil isind nóidédu **Bcr.** 45<sup>c</sup> 2, cf.  
170 45<sup>c</sup> 3, 4, 5, forsa m-memor fil in psalmo **MI.** 128<sup>c</sup> 5, superior  
.i. fil isint salm 136<sup>a</sup> 6, issi fil isind aitherrech- **Sg.** 30<sup>b</sup> 6, in  
dram fil indib 41<sup>b</sup> 10, in chiall fil indib 59<sup>b</sup> 3, is ciall chesto  
fil indib 140<sup>a</sup> 5, ind Roim fil hi Constantin- 174<sup>a</sup> 1, ní si fil  
in his 177<sup>a</sup> 1, inna inne fil isind sera 183<sup>b</sup> 3, intellectu  
175 .i. fil hi cach rainn 189<sup>a</sup> 4, aitrebhach co n-artuocol fil hi  
. . . . 198<sup>b</sup> 9, int atárcud fil hi sui 200<sup>a</sup> 8, sensus .i.  
fil indib 202<sup>b</sup> 1, a cenél cét- fil isindi as mare 211<sup>a</sup> 14, ind  
anme fil inna choms- 211<sup>b</sup> 6, cf. 211<sup>b</sup> 7, fil in uisu **Acr.** 54,  
hóre is ben rad fil linn **Wb.** 13<sup>b</sup> 9, taibrid a fil lib 16<sup>c</sup> 17,  
180 ueritatis .i. fil lib 26<sup>a</sup> 26, in chumachtaí fil linni **MI.** 26<sup>b</sup> 6,  
int ómun fil lasuidib 42<sup>d</sup> 9, is ed inso fil lasuide 63<sup>d</sup> 4, donec  
transeant insidias fil lasude 75<sup>a</sup> 10, issi inso canoin fil lasuide  
90<sup>c</sup> 23, dund lathar fil la Dia ocar n-ditin-ni 103<sup>d</sup> 27, do cach  
bélu fil la Grecu **Sg.** 31<sup>b</sup> 13, a peleides fil ondi as pelias **Pcr.**  
185 12<sup>b</sup> 1, rendaib fail huas gréin **Bcr.** 18<sup>c</sup> 4, frisa religo fil huandí as  
ligo **Sg.** 181<sup>b</sup> 1, dind aithuch labar fil oc du dibiurciud **MI.** 58<sup>c</sup> 6,*

*dis fil oc turcbáil grene* 94<sup>b</sup> 18, *inna canone se fil rem* 68<sup>d</sup> 11, *forsa n-expectantes fil riam* 74<sup>c</sup> 9, *frisani fil riam* 142<sup>c</sup> 1. With suffixed pronoun, *filus tre chenele martre* **Cod. Cam.** 38<sup>a</sup> 38<sup>b</sup>.

**file** (relative):—*indi as infimas file hodie* **Sg.** 200<sup>b</sup> 3, *ignaros* 190 .i. *file cen fathi* **MI.** 93<sup>a</sup> 7, *file* (that there is) *lathar n-Dé di dóinib* 51<sup>c</sup> 11, *is mór in dethiden file domsa diibsi* **Wb.** 26<sup>d</sup> 19, *eternam uitam .i. file duit i n-nim* 29<sup>c</sup> 1, *in fochrice file do i n-nim* 29<sup>d</sup> 29, *issed file do hodie* **Sg.** 140<sup>a</sup> 3, *amal file óentid eter baullu* **Wb.** 12<sup>b</sup> 12, *fidem g. file etrunni* 195 31<sup>a</sup> 11, *in chuartaí .i. file etir forbru 7 gruade* **MI.** 39<sup>c</sup> 12, *file choibnius eter sechma- 7 todo-* (that there is) **Sg.** 151<sup>b</sup> 7, *na rei file iter na secht n-airndrecha* **Acr.** 1, *corroffessid file cuimrecha formsa* **Wb.** 23<sup>a</sup> 5, *inna imthanad .i. fele forsnaib rathib* **MI.** 93<sup>c</sup> 7, *is diall fem- file fair* **Sg.** 93<sup>b</sup> 2, *ord gutte* 200 *file foraib* 159<sup>b</sup> 6, *dindi file mrechtrad forsind remeperthu* 197<sup>a</sup> 16, *nec in nominibus .i. file for diull* **prono.** 204<sup>b</sup> 7, *in son file iar cul indi as sanctus* **MI.** 37<sup>a</sup> 18, *masu 7o file iarna chul* **Sg.** 148<sup>b</sup> 9, *lasinn uile talmuin file inna insi* **MI.** 89<sup>d</sup> 18, *a r-rad file andsom* **Wb.** 29<sup>d</sup> 29, *ní etarsecarad coms-* 205 *file and* **Sg.** 74<sup>b</sup> 8, *ní aithrech chétbada file sunt* **MI.** 98<sup>d</sup> 2<sup>b</sup>, *cesu choms- ó dib n-ogaib file hisuidiu* **Sg.** 75<sup>a</sup> 5, *in rect comaccobuir file i m-ballaib cáich* **Wb.** 13<sup>d</sup> 27, *is hed file indiunni* 14<sup>c</sup> 25, *donterchomrue nóib file i Corint* 14<sup>b</sup> 5, *donaib nóibaib file in Achaia* 14<sup>b</sup> 6, *inna firinne file isind Ebrae* **MI.** 210 2<sup>d</sup> 11, *secht n-ernadman* (so Windisch) *file isind saltair* 2<sup>d</sup> 2, *similitudo .i. file i n-epistlib ind apstoil* 26<sup>a</sup> 2, *is erigém file is intluc toisech* 36<sup>b</sup> 15, *is mites file isin tintud septien* 46<sup>c</sup> 5, *hi testinnib file isint salm* 46<sup>c</sup> 14, *file hi lebraib paralip* 49<sup>a</sup> 2, *ised inso file isind Ebrae* 54<sup>a</sup> 33, *a n-oculi file isint salm* 53<sup>a</sup> 19, 215 *ind huili doini file isin talam* 51<sup>d</sup> 11, *ornatus astrorum .i. file isind nim* 51<sup>c</sup> 29, *cech todochid[iu] file riam isint salm* 98<sup>c</sup> 10, *promisionem .i. file isind salm* 108<sup>b</sup> 16, *ingenitam bonitatem .i. file indiut* 106<sup>c</sup> 15, *omnia .i. file isind salm* 133<sup>b</sup> 16, *in ipso actu .i. file indibsom* **Sg.** 139<sup>a</sup> 2, *in ciall ind ildatad ind* 220 *atraib file indib* 198<sup>b</sup> 3, *ishe a trachtad adi file inna diad* **MI.** 46<sup>c</sup> 14, *it hé coisnimi inso file libsi* **Wb.** 7<sup>d</sup> 13, *file* (that there is) *rath Dée latso* 12<sup>d</sup> 20, *consequentia .i. file la Assaru* **MI.** 36<sup>c</sup> 6, *deds file lesom* 114<sup>d</sup> 6, *issed file la Lait-* **Sg.** 20<sup>b</sup> 8, *file athir leiss* 29<sup>b</sup> 12, *file chóimmdith leiss* 29<sup>b</sup> 13, *Graeca eadem habentia .i.* 225 *file apud Graecos* 67<sup>b</sup> 8, *seruant eadem genera .i. file la Grecu indib* 69<sup>a</sup> 27, 69<sup>b</sup> 1, *confil linni hisind óin sech-* *a file leosom i n-dib*



- sech-* 160<sup>b</sup> 2, *multarum apud nos .i. file linni* 214<sup>a</sup> 1, *dond forcomét file lasuidib* 214<sup>a</sup> 3, *na cumachte file a Deo* **Wb.** 6<sup>a</sup> 3, sciseo *file ondí [as] scio* **Sg.** 155<sup>b</sup> 1, *titulus .i. file ressind argumeint seo* **MI.** 64<sup>c</sup> 11.
- 230 *-fil:—conách fil etir* **Wb.** 27<sup>a</sup> 20, *nád fel dlíged remdeicsen Dæ dia dulib* **MI.** 20<sup>b</sup> 10, 20<sup>c</sup> 5 (*nád fil*), 50<sup>d</sup> 2 (*nád fil*), *níw-fil son* 92<sup>a</sup> 8, *nach fil quod fil sunt sis* 101<sup>a</sup> 5, *ní fail* **Sg.** 32<sup>a</sup> 1,
- 235 *ni fil chumtubairt* 154<sup>b</sup> 2, *ni-s-fil hodie* 178<sup>b</sup> 2, *ni fil ní* 183<sup>a</sup> 2, *ní fil* 207<sup>b</sup> 3, *cenod-fil a n-erchre* 193<sup>b</sup> 7, *ni fil folad n-aíll forasernte* **Wb.** 18<sup>c</sup> 8, cf. 18<sup>a</sup> 2 (*níw-fil*), 28<sup>b</sup> 1, **MI.** 17<sup>a</sup> 15, 19<sup>d</sup> 2 (*ní fel*), 31<sup>d</sup> 10 (*níw-fil*), 29<sup>d</sup> 5 (*nád fil*), 60<sup>b</sup> 2 (*ní feil*), 55<sup>c</sup> 13 (*níw-fel*), 78<sup>b</sup> 18 (*ní con-fil*), 92<sup>a</sup> 9 (*ní fail*), 111<sup>b</sup> 11
- 240 (*ona fil*), 107<sup>b</sup> 8 (*níw-fil*), 114<sup>b</sup> 18 (*nád fil*), 129<sup>c</sup> 2, **Sg.** 6<sup>b</sup> 25 (*ní fail*), 26<sup>b</sup> 7 (*ní fail*), 114<sup>b</sup> 2, 188<sup>a</sup> 4 (*nicon-fil*), *o-fail infiniand ar geni-rangabala* **Sg.** 88. 3, *ni fil ráthugud for suidib* 181<sup>a</sup> 1, *ni fil taidchor do* **Wb.** 3<sup>a</sup> 14, cf. **MI.** 30<sup>b</sup> 2, 55<sup>d</sup> 25, **Sg.** 192<sup>b</sup> 5 (*cenod-fil*), *ni fil fial etronn et Crist* **Wb.** 15<sup>a</sup> 32,
- 245 *ce rubaid fo pheccad nach-ib-fel* 3<sup>b</sup> 19, cf. 3<sup>c</sup> 38 (*con-dum-fel*), *forna fil erchot* **MI.** 56<sup>a</sup> 13, cf. **Sg.** 197<sup>a</sup> 16 (*nád fil*), *nád fail praenomen fria n-dechrugud* 28<sup>a</sup> 14, *ni fil iar fir* **MI.** 93<sup>d</sup> 12, *ni fel saithar nant* **MI.** 48<sup>c</sup> 29, cf. 18<sup>c</sup> 11 (*ní con-fil*), 69<sup>c</sup> 7 (*ní fail*), **Sg.** 31<sup>b</sup> 12, 52<sup>b</sup> 1, 215<sup>a</sup> 2 (*ní fail*), *cenud-fil gnim*
- 250 7 *chesad hisuidiu* 209<sup>b</sup> 29, *manud-fel in spirat nóib indiumsa* **Wb.** 11<sup>c</sup> 1, cf. 14<sup>c</sup> 24 (*amal na fil*), 19<sup>c</sup> 20 (*manudub-feil*), 24<sup>c</sup> 4 (*con-dib-feil*), 24<sup>a</sup> 33 (*con-id-fil*), **MI.** 35<sup>a</sup> 8 (*ní fil*), **Sg.** 4<sup>a</sup> 12 (*ní fail*), 6<sup>b</sup> 2 (*ní fail*), 32<sup>a</sup> 9 (*ní fil*), 61<sup>a</sup> 24 (*ní fil*), **Per.** 12<sup>b</sup> 2 (*ni fil*), *ni fil linn in bées so* **Wb.** 11<sup>c</sup> 20, *cini-n-fil lib* 16<sup>b</sup> 9, *cona fil dualchi leu* 20<sup>c</sup> 1, *ni fil* 22<sup>b</sup> 26, *cinid-fil chairi linn* **MI.** 30<sup>a</sup> 2, cf. 27<sup>d</sup> 10 (*nád fel*), 44<sup>b</sup> 11 (*ni fil*), 57<sup>c</sup> 5 (*ní fil*), 55<sup>c</sup> 10 (*ní fil*), 76<sup>c</sup> 14 (*nád fil*), 107<sup>d</sup> 12 (*manud-fil*), 124<sup>a</sup> 8 (*ni fil*), **Sg.** 46<sup>a</sup> 15 (*cenid-fil*), *ni-s-fail liumm inna briathra sin* **MI.** 44<sup>b</sup> 12, *nicon-fel leu* 46<sup>c</sup> 19, *ni-s-fil leo*
- 260 **Sg.** 208<sup>b</sup> 3, *nád fail nechtar de hualailiu* 37<sup>b</sup> 19, *ni fil neck and occ t'adrad* **Wb.** 5<sup>a</sup> 25, *ni feil titlu remib* **MI.** 2<sup>b</sup> 4.

(c) **Bíu.**

**Sg.** 1. **biuu:**—*biuu-sa oc irbaig* **Wb.** 16<sup>d</sup> 8.

*-bíu:*—*intain no-m-biu oc irbáig* **Wb.** 20<sup>a</sup> 3, *co m-biu i cuimrigib* 30<sup>a</sup> 22.

265 **Sg.** 3. **bíid:**—*bíid* **Sg.** 150<sup>b</sup> 4, *bíid insin* 69<sup>a</sup> 22, *inn eceocht tantum bíid iar fir anisin* **MI.** 111<sup>a</sup> 9, *for láim deis . . . bíid*



circius **Ber.** 19<sup>c</sup> 2, cf. 19<sup>c</sup> 3, quia *biid* panther et panthera **Sg.** 62<sup>a</sup> 3, cf. 20<sup>b</sup> 3, 75<sup>a</sup> 7, 94<sup>a</sup> 4, 114<sup>b</sup> 1, *is trisan dede sin biid duine slán* **Wb.** 4<sup>d</sup> 33, *ní fri de biid foindel inna m-biasta* **ML.** 121<sup>d</sup> 8, *is immaccu biid son* **ML.** 32<sup>d</sup> 10, *is etarru biid* 270 *immacaldaim* **Sg.** 200<sup>b</sup> 7, *is i retaiib nebaicsidib biid spes* **Wb.** 4<sup>a</sup> 24, cf. **Sg.** 25<sup>a</sup> 2, 212<sup>a</sup> 13, *is triit biid ainmnigud inna dulo* 76<sup>b</sup> 7, *biid cachae [ar] alailiu* 11<sup>b</sup> 5, *biid Sethus pro Zethos* 184<sup>a</sup> 1, *biid són do togarmthid* 78<sup>a</sup> 2, *biid do anmmaim inna cathrach* 104<sup>b</sup> 5, *biid . . . do fóisitín, biid* 275 *. . . do molad* **Tur.** 58, *biid cid etir iltrebu* **ML.** 37<sup>d</sup> 10, *biid for deib n-dillib* **Sg.** 106<sup>b</sup> 17, *biith galar neclis fortsu* **Wb.** 29<sup>a</sup> 26, *biid non fri[sa] sugeserat* 14<sup>d</sup> 12, *biid in chorpú* **ML.** 65<sup>c</sup> 3, *biid intinnscann and* **Sg.** 148<sup>a</sup> 11, *biid chiall intamlæ isindí as zelaueris* **ML.** 56<sup>b</sup> 33, *biid est hi foetsecht* 280 **Sg.** 27<sup>b</sup> 2, *biid i n-vs la Atacdu* 106<sup>b</sup> 4, *biid sainláa leiss* **Wb.** 6<sup>b</sup> 16, *biid ar cuit-ní occa* 24<sup>a</sup> 20, *biid aslach oc erdíl* **ML.** 95<sup>b</sup> 6, *is and biid neutur húad* **Sg.** 104<sup>b</sup> 5.

-bí:—*ní bí a cumbo hísín i n-diutius co n-m* **Sg.** 22<sup>a</sup> 9, *ní bí cello* 182<sup>a</sup> 1, cf. 203<sup>a</sup> 27, *nád bí iar fír* **ML.** 91<sup>d</sup> 1, *nadm-bí* 285 *hi frendaire* **Sg.** 208<sup>a</sup> 4, cf. 161<sup>a</sup> 4 (*ní bí*), *conna bí ní fristai* **ML.** 31<sup>d</sup> 6, *ní bí i fedaib . . . frisgní* **Wb.** 27<sup>b</sup> 3, *ní bí in dasachtach friændar(?)* 28<sup>a</sup> 21, *co m-bi remib rethith iarum* **Wb.** 13<sup>b</sup> 13, *co m-bi iarum coscitur* 22<sup>c</sup> 10, *co m-bi óin corp pectho asmberar* **Wb.** 9<sup>d</sup> 5, *ní bí som tribus pedibus* **Sg.** 290 67<sup>b</sup> 2, *ní pí glæe, ní pí firderb* **Wb.** 12<sup>c</sup> 12, *ní bí indumaichthiu* **ML.** 35<sup>d</sup> 17, *conna bí oin choms-* **Sg.** 157<sup>b</sup> 10, *ní bí oen sill- acht it desill-* 68<sup>b</sup> 3, *co m-bi elifas* 95<sup>b</sup> 7, *co m-bi discipul* **Wb.** 13<sup>a</sup> 12, *co m-bi diass mór ind óengránne* 13<sup>c</sup> 23, *indhí lasm-bi accobur tol Dæ* 30<sup>c</sup> 23, cf. 8<sup>d</sup> 10 (He in 295 whose opinion he is wise), *co m-bi bidslán* 4<sup>d</sup> 33, cf. 28<sup>b</sup> 24, *ní pí cían a masse* 28<sup>c</sup> 25, cf. **ML.** 15<sup>b</sup> 15 (*cona bí*), 34<sup>a</sup> 27, 42<sup>c</sup> 9, 91<sup>d</sup> 2, 116<sup>a</sup> 1, 128<sup>d</sup> 3, *isind aimsir im-bi failid nech* 86<sup>d</sup> 11, *im-bi hinun folud bis indib* **Sg.** 188<sup>a</sup> 6, *ní bí nach cumachtach cen peccad* **ML.** 103<sup>c</sup> 3, *di[a]nacon-bi móin* 85<sup>b</sup> 7, 300 *ní bí cland dia n-æs* 57<sup>d</sup> 6, *ní bí chondumu do degnímaib* 35<sup>d</sup> 17, *diam-bi forarithmet* **Sg.** 197<sup>b</sup> 18, *ní bí debuith do fri nech* **Wb.** 28<sup>b</sup> 25, *quid na bí samlid dúibsi* 18<sup>b</sup> 9, cf. **ML.** 47<sup>d</sup> 8 (*frisam-bí*), *ní bí adaig daitsiu* 140<sup>c</sup> 3, *co m-bi filius familiarum nominatio*<sup>1</sup> **Sg.** 91<sup>b</sup> 1, *ní bí ní etarro* **Sg.** 150<sup>b</sup> 6, cf. 27<sup>a</sup> 9, 209<sup>b</sup> 33, 305

<sup>1</sup> Só in 99<sup>a</sup> 3 we should supply *biid* Louis nominatio; cf. 78<sup>a</sup> 2, 206<sup>b</sup> 1.

- 54<sup>b</sup> 3 (*nádm-bí*), *ní bí in rí fu ndam nach aili* **ML.** 71<sup>b</sup> 10, *ní bí nach dehdiden foir* **Wb.** 10<sup>b</sup> 9, *forsam-bí sliucht* **Sg.** 200<sup>a</sup> 7, *ní bí friu hí comasindeis* 212<sup>a</sup> 5, *cona bí talam and* **ML.** 31<sup>c</sup> 29, *foram-bí Kl. caich mis* **Ber.** 32<sup>c</sup> 7, *ní bí super and* **ML.** 45<sup>d</sup> 15, 310 *cf.* 82<sup>d</sup> 6 (*ona bí*), 97<sup>a</sup> 4, **Sg.** 45<sup>b</sup> 7, *im-bí xl loman* **Wb.** 17<sup>d</sup> 3, **cf.** **ML.** 29<sup>b</sup> 11, 139<sup>b</sup> 8 (**MS.** *hí bí*), **Sg.** 95<sup>a</sup> 1, 95<sup>a</sup> 2, **Tur.** 9, **Ber.** 18<sup>d</sup> 2, *him-bí oson re n-o* **Sg.** 164<sup>b</sup> 2, *nad m bí ní du ailgen indi* **ML.** 94<sup>c</sup> 8, *ní bí som i l-lestur ferce* **Wb.** 22<sup>b</sup> 4, **cf.** **ML.** 100<sup>b</sup> 21, 122<sup>a</sup> 15, **Sg.** 219<sup>a</sup> 1, *ní bí in fine* 159<sup>b</sup> 4, *nach dú im-bí isnaib salmaib* 315 *iustitia* **ML.** 109<sup>a</sup> 2, *lasna bí ciall* **ML.** 50<sup>d</sup> 2, *ní bí sainlúa lasuidib act is abstanit doib semper* **Wb.** 6<sup>b</sup> 17, **cf.** 16<sup>b</sup> 11 (*nad bí*), 29<sup>b</sup> 11 (*ní pí*), **ML.** 44<sup>d</sup> 6 (*conna bí*), 69<sup>b</sup> 3, 50<sup>d</sup> 1 (*nadm-bí*), *ní bí leo insin* **Sg.** 147<sup>a</sup> 10, *a cognomen hom-bí* 32<sup>b</sup> 4, **cf.** 32<sup>b</sup> 15 (*huam-bí*), 45<sup>a</sup> 10, 188<sup>a</sup> 30 (*huam-bí*), **Acr.** 17 (*huam-bí*), **Tur.** 320 10 (*huam-bí*), *ní bí ní tarahesi* **Sg.** 165<sup>b</sup> 3, *peccad trisam-bí baás* **Wb.** 3<sup>d</sup> 21, **cf.** 23<sup>b</sup> 5 (*tresam-bí*), **ML.** 30<sup>d</sup> 14 (*trisam-bí*).

- robí**<sup>1</sup>:—*iarsindi ro-m-bí hí rigi* **ML.** 99<sup>d</sup> 1, *ro-m-bí fri tobarthid* **Sg.** 98<sup>b</sup> 1, *ro-m-bí cechtar de sech alaill* 29<sup>b</sup> 16, 18, *hórbi lán* **ML.** 36<sup>b</sup> 3, *horbi accobor lé* **Wb.** 24<sup>d</sup> 11. Here 325 seems to belong also **Sg.** 45<sup>b</sup> 1 *robí uar recar less* = there may be a time that it is needed.

- rubi**,<sup>1</sup> etc.:—*ní rubi nectar de cen alaill* **Wb.** 11<sup>c</sup> 17, *ní rubi tinfed ar belaið x* **Sg.** 21<sup>b</sup> 13, *ní rubai cenaið huli* **ML.** 20<sup>d</sup> 4, *ní rubai nach cruth ailíu* **Sg.** 7<sup>b</sup> 3, *ní rubai anisin in nominatiuo* 330 209<sup>a</sup> 3, *ní ruba n-and ní* 3<sup>b</sup> 28.

- biís, bíis**:—*is cummae m-bis ualetudo enartae 7 ualetudo sonartae* **ML.** 61<sup>a</sup> 33, 20<sup>c</sup> 4, *huare m-bis curritur* **Sg.** 140<sup>b</sup> 2, **cf.** 57<sup>b</sup> 3, 77<sup>b</sup> 2, *as n-gair m-bis* **ML.** 57<sup>c</sup> 12, **cf.** **Wb.** 8<sup>d</sup> 22 (*bis*), *bis a oinur* **ML.** 102<sup>a</sup> 17, *amal m-bis ingen* 335 **Wb.** 10<sup>b</sup> 4, *amal m-bis inne neich* **ML.** 37<sup>a</sup> 12, **cf.** **Tur.** 14, **Acr.** 35, 44, *biis ar chiunn* **Wb.** 13<sup>c</sup> 21, **cf.** 24<sup>a</sup> 17 (*bis*) **ML.** 108<sup>c</sup> 16 (*bis*), *intan m-bis ar chonsain* **Sg.** 6<sup>a</sup> 1, **cf.** 182<sup>b</sup> 3 (*bis*), 207<sup>a</sup> 3, *intain biis cen grad* **Wb.** 28<sup>b</sup> 28, *as menic m-bis confitebor du atlugud bude* **ML.** 26<sup>c</sup> 4, *amal m-bis duxd eun sin* 340 118<sup>b</sup> 10, **cf.** 72<sup>d</sup> 12, **Sg.** 6<sup>b</sup> 11, 191<sup>b</sup> 1, *a cobás m-bis etar n di rainn* 2<sup>b</sup> 2, **cf.** 150<sup>b</sup> 1, *inni bis fua m-mám* **ML.** 75<sup>b</sup> 6, *in dlúim . . . bis forsín mertrech* **Wb.** 9<sup>d</sup> 5, **cf.** 10<sup>c</sup> 6, **ML.** 16<sup>b</sup> 7 (*bis*), 23<sup>a</sup> 5, 51<sup>b</sup> 18, **Sg.** 115<sup>a</sup> 2 (*bis*), 207<sup>a</sup> 8, 161<sup>b</sup> 12, **Tur.** 115, **Ber.** 33<sup>b</sup> 1, *is cummae m-bis . . .*

<sup>1</sup> Formally these can hardly be anything but indicatives, though in sense they approach to the subjunctive, **cf.** Part II, p. 60.

*fri togais* **ML.** 31<sup>a</sup> 23, *am-bis iarna chiuul* **Wb.** 24<sup>a</sup> 17, *bis* 345  
*immun fine* **ML.** 102<sup>a</sup> 13, sicut *bis and [amal] sodin* 21<sup>c</sup> 10, cf.  
 28<sup>a</sup> 10, 30<sup>b</sup> 21 (*bis*), 90<sup>a</sup> 10, 108<sup>b</sup> 7, **Sg.** 148<sup>a</sup> 12, 183<sup>a</sup> 2,  
 198<sup>a</sup> 7, 222<sup>a</sup> 6, *is cidn m-bis and* **ML.** 100<sup>a</sup> 10, *buis inna suidiu*  
**Wb.** 13<sup>a</sup> 12, *bis isind encae* **ML.** 24<sup>a</sup> 19, cf. 2<sup>c</sup> 3 (*bis*), 22<sup>b</sup> 1,  
 36<sup>b</sup> 2 (*bis*), 40<sup>c</sup> 13 (*bis*), 40<sup>c</sup> 15, 44<sup>d</sup> 8, 54<sup>a</sup> 25, 56<sup>b</sup> 26, 59<sup>a</sup> 15 350  
 (*bis*), 61<sup>b</sup> 28, 93<sup>b</sup> 13, 94<sup>c</sup> 3, 4, 108<sup>a</sup> 11, 13, 114<sup>a</sup> 17, 120<sup>b</sup> 1,  
 132<sup>c</sup> 8, **Sg.** 3<sup>a</sup> 3, 3<sup>b</sup> 19 (*bis*), 4<sup>b</sup> 4, 9<sup>a</sup> 8 (*bis*), 18<sup>b</sup> 1 (*bis*), 18<sup>b</sup> 2,  
 20<sup>b</sup> 8 (*bis*), 26<sup>a</sup> 3, 27<sup>a</sup> 12 (*bis*), 42<sup>b</sup> 5, 45<sup>a</sup> 9, 106<sup>b</sup> 21 (*bis*), 161<sup>b</sup> 8  
 (*bis*), 162<sup>b</sup> 2, 165<sup>a</sup> 1 (*bis, bis*), 166<sup>a</sup> 5, 211<sup>a</sup> 11 (*bis*), 214<sup>a</sup> 2, 217<sup>a</sup> 2,  
**Ber.** 33<sup>b</sup> 16, *fir bis i n-arim* **ML.** 111<sup>c</sup> 17, *bis pen in futuro* **Wb.** 355  
 15<sup>a</sup> 16, cf. 17<sup>b</sup> 3, *failti bis isin matin* **Sg.** 203<sup>a</sup> 22, *amal m-bis*  
*cometid lammaccu* **Wb.** 19<sup>c</sup> 15, *di neuch bis la nech nad bi latso*  
 16<sup>b</sup> 11, *ni firadrad . . . bis leu du Dia* **ML.** 42<sup>a</sup> 14,  
 cf. 56<sup>b</sup> 33, **Sg.** 29<sup>b</sup> 19, *intan m-bis lasani as ego* 198<sup>a</sup> 2, *cein*  
*m-bis oc fognam* **Wb.** 8<sup>b</sup> 1, cf. 9<sup>c</sup> 27, **ML.** 102<sup>b</sup> 7 (*bis*), 360  
**Sg.** 190<sup>b</sup> 3 (*bis*), *do lestur . . . bis oc edpartaib* 56<sup>b</sup> 7,  
*bis re sech-* 153<sup>b</sup> 3, *bis tar bruinniu* **ML.** 144<sup>c</sup> 7, cf. **Sg.** 172<sup>a</sup> 3,  
*bis tarahesi* 218<sup>a</sup> 6, *in bochtai bis tri airchellad* **ML.** 90<sup>a</sup> 11.

Pl. 1. **bimmi, bimme**:—*cein m-bimme in corpore* **Wb.** 12<sup>c</sup> 11,  
*intan m-bimmi oca forbu* **ML.** 15<sup>a</sup> 4, cf. 22<sup>c</sup> 5, 24<sup>a</sup> 18. 365

-**biam**:—*ona biam i n-gorti* **Wb.** 16<sup>a</sup> 8, cf. 16<sup>a</sup> 9, 27<sup>b</sup> 13,  
*im-biam* **ML.** 21<sup>c</sup> 3.

Pl. 3. **biit, biit**:—*cair he biit* **Sg.** 242<sup>b</sup> 1, *biit alaili and rofinnatar*  
*a pecthe* **Wb.** 29<sup>a</sup> 28, *biit sualchi and it foilsu* 29<sup>a</sup> 29, *is for*  
*n-bin n-deilb biit semper* **Sg.** 201<sup>b</sup> 6, *in i coms- fa hi comas-* 370  
*biit* 217<sup>a</sup> 1, *ni huaitherrechaig- mascu- biit* 32<sup>b</sup> 2 cf. 54<sup>b</sup> 6,  
*biit a triur do anmair ind eitir* 93<sup>a</sup> 2, *biit rems- huarair cen*  
*briath- leo* 215<sup>a</sup> 6, *biit fris huli samlaid* 76<sup>b</sup> 2, *biit anmmann*  
*dilsu hi cach n-deilb* 31<sup>a</sup> 7, cf. 54<sup>b</sup> 3 (*biit*).

-**biat**:—*ni biat* **Sg.** 148<sup>a</sup> 4, *huare nadm-biat na compariti* 375  
 40<sup>b</sup> 14, *nad biat etir* 39<sup>a</sup> 25, *co m-biat fo deod* 212<sup>a</sup> 12, *foam-biat*  
*accu* **ML.** 59<sup>d</sup> 7, *ni biat rems- friu huarair* **Sg.** 215<sup>a</sup> 5, *frisim-biat*  
 202<sup>b</sup> 3, cf. **ML.** 31<sup>a</sup> 17, *imm(u)am-biat* 18<sup>b</sup> 4, *cid aram-biat in*  
*pecthaig isnaib soinnechaib* 55<sup>d</sup> 11, cf. 56<sup>b</sup> 9, **Sg.** 6<sup>b</sup>, 17 (*ni biat*),  
*im-biat* **ML.** 36<sup>a</sup> 18<sup>b</sup>, 47<sup>c</sup> 14, 54<sup>b</sup> 13, 56<sup>b</sup> 15, 65<sup>c</sup> 16, 76<sup>d</sup> 14, 380  
 94<sup>c</sup> 3, 113<sup>a</sup> 4, 121<sup>d</sup> 10, **Sg.** 31<sup>a</sup> 7, 35<sup>a</sup> 13, *lasam-biat*  
**ML.** 75<sup>b</sup> 2, *nad biat hua breth-* **Sg.** 153<sup>a</sup> 1, **Per.** 60<sup>b</sup> 1, *oam-*  
*biat* 45<sup>a</sup> 8, cf. 192<sup>b</sup> 3.

**robiat**:—*robiat ar chuit folid* **Sg.** 138<sup>a</sup> 5, *robiat sidi cen*  
*draim* 71<sup>b</sup> 8.



**bíte**:—*m-bíte* **MI.** 135<sup>b</sup> 2, *is cummae bíte* **Sg.** 63<sup>b</sup> 15, *intan m-bíte a n-óinur* **Sg.** 207<sup>a</sup> 7, *amal bíte in gnimai* **MI.** 31<sup>b</sup> 25, cf. 127<sup>c</sup> 12, *intan m-bíte cen tuisliu* **Sg.** 220<sup>b</sup> 1, *bíte fo maam* **MI.** 88<sup>b</sup> 5<sup>b</sup>, cf. 89<sup>c</sup> 8, 105<sup>b</sup> 1, **Sg.** 212<sup>a</sup> 13, *bíte forsin mertrich* **Wb.** 9<sup>d</sup> 8, *bíte frie anechtair* **MI.** 40<sup>c</sup> 15, *bíte im chrechtu* 144<sup>c</sup> 5, *bíte i n-genas* **Wb.** 9<sup>d</sup> 28, cf. 16<sup>a</sup> 30 (*bíte*), cf. **MI.** 24<sup>b</sup> 12 (*bíte*), 43<sup>a</sup> 7 (*bíte*), 47<sup>c</sup> 3 (*bíte*), 122<sup>a</sup> 4 (*bíte*<sup>1</sup>), **Sg.** 50<sup>a</sup> 19, 59<sup>a</sup> 10, 73<sup>b</sup> 2, 212<sup>a</sup> 13, *hílardatu inna aimsire m-bíte som isind fognam* **MI.** 28<sup>b</sup> 9, *bíte i coitsecht* **Wb.** 13<sup>a</sup> 14, cf. **Acr.** 62, 63, *bíte hua neutur* **Sg.** 150<sup>a</sup> 2, cf. 187<sup>b</sup> 5, *bíte oc pennit* **Wb.** 9<sup>c</sup> 11, cf. 9<sup>a</sup> 11 (*bíte*), **MI.** 65<sup>b</sup> 10, 115<sup>d</sup> 14, 131<sup>c</sup> 8.

Passive: **bithir**:—*huare is hí fochaidib bithir* **MI.** 56<sup>b</sup> 15.

**bither**:—*intan m-bither in periculis* **MI.** 108<sup>b</sup> 4, *im-bither oc comét ubúll* 100<sup>c</sup> 21.

(*d*) **Rongab.**

**rongabus**:—*ceín rongabus i carcair* **Wb.** 23<sup>b</sup> 18, *is samlaid nobiad chách amal rongabusa* 9<sup>d</sup> 25, *biid amal rongabus-sa* 23<sup>c</sup> 11.

**rongab**:—*rongab scientia lib* **Wb.** 6<sup>d</sup> 12, *rongab* (that there is) *remcaissiu Dé dinaib dulib* **MI.** 20<sup>c</sup> 3, *rongab coimdiu comacus les dia fortacht* 30<sup>b</sup> 11, *rongab a n-dede-so for briathraib* **Sg.** 158<sup>b</sup> 3, *amal rongab comadnucul duín atá comeisséirge* **Wb.** 27<sup>a</sup> 15, *aisndis nuallach . . . isindisiu amal rongab hi tosach a aisndisen* **MI.** 40<sup>d</sup> 18, *ni fitetar amal rongab* (they know Him not as He is) **Wb.** 27<sup>a</sup> 11, *amal rongab i n-anmmanaib slond persine* **Sg.** 71<sup>b</sup> 10, cf. 71<sup>b</sup> 11, *amal rongab indosa in drong briatharde* 159<sup>b</sup> 5, *ata lobru amal rongab cride* **Wb.** 12<sup>b</sup> 1, *amal rongab Antias* (g. ut Antias) **Sg.** 65<sup>b</sup> 3, *amal rongab int ainmnid asa tuitear* 71<sup>a</sup> 12, *fobith rongab torsum 7 tortum* 172<sup>b</sup> 1, *huare rongab i n-uilin* **MI.** 131<sup>c</sup> 12.

**rondgab**:—*amal rondgab sliab Sion andes 7 antuaid du[n]-chathraig dia ditin síc rundgabsat ar n-da thoib du ditin ar n-inmedonach-ni* **MI.** 67<sup>d</sup> 14, *biid chiall intamlae isindi as zelaueris amal rondgab isindi as emulari* 56<sup>b</sup> 33, *amal rondgab saichdetu dochum luic in aduerbiis atá dano in praepositionibus* **Sg.** 214<sup>b</sup> 1, *amal rondgab isin masc-* 75<sup>b</sup> 2, *amal rongab in nomine perso-* 71<sup>b</sup> 11, *amal rondgab* (g. ut cum dicit) **MI.** 16<sup>d</sup> 4, *amal rondgab in beuidbart sin* 87<sup>b</sup> 9, *amal rondgab amo* **Sg.** 71<sup>a</sup> 8, *amal rondgab proximitas i n-ad* 217<sup>a</sup> 2, *huare rondgab són and* **MI.** 32<sup>d</sup> 5, *lassané rundgab lat a n-dede-so* 65<sup>a</sup> 2, *onái*

<sup>1</sup> **MI.** 30<sup>b</sup> 26 seems incomplete. Read *intan m-bíte isnaib fochaidib* ?

*rondgab* (g. ab eo quod est) **Pcr.** 53<sup>b</sup> 1, *arna roib amal rondgab in popul truag-sa* **ML.** 118<sup>c</sup> 5. 425

**rongabsat**:—*amal rongabsat in tuisil hituiter* **Sg.** 71<sup>a</sup> 11.

**rondgabsat**:—*is follus rundgabsat t'erchoilti-siu indiumsa* **ML.** 74<sup>d</sup> 7, *cona m-mrechtrad and amal rundgabsat isind eclais* 64<sup>c</sup> 5, *amal rondgabsat i n-optit* (g. ad similitudinem optatiuorum) **Sg.** 190<sup>b</sup> 6, *cia indas rundgabsat* **ML.** 55<sup>c</sup> 1, *sic* 430 *rundgabsat ar n-da thoib du ditin ar n-inmedonach-ni* 67<sup>d</sup> 14.

(e) **Dicoissin.**

**dicoisin**:—*amal do-n-coisin* **Wb.** 17<sup>b</sup> 10, *arnab uilib cumactib dicoissin i n-nim* 21<sup>a</sup> 13, *cach genitiu dicoisin* **Sg.** 209<sup>b</sup> 29, *cech rann neirt duchoissin* **ML.** 108<sup>d</sup> 14.

(f) **Díxnigur.**

**Sg.** 2. **-díxnigther**:—*cia hé nundixnigther-siu* g. qui sis **ML.** 75<sup>c</sup> 9. 435

**Sg.** 3. **-díxnigedar**:—*is nad dixnigedar nach æcne* **Wb.** 9<sup>c</sup> 14, *ní dixnigedar* **ML.** 20<sup>c</sup> 7, cf. 23<sup>a</sup> 1, 51<sup>c</sup> 15, 55<sup>c</sup> 10, 103<sup>d</sup> 24, **Sg.** 22<sup>b</sup> 3, 37<sup>b</sup> 17.

**Pl.** 3. **-díxnigetar**:—*amal díxnigetar* **Wb.** 12<sup>b</sup> 7.

**Imperfect.**

**Sg.** 1. **nobíinn**:—*intan no-m-bíinn hi sóinnmigi* **ML.** 108<sup>b</sup> 1, *lase* 440 *no-m-bíinn-se lasinnisin* 58<sup>d</sup> 9, cf. 91<sup>c</sup> 1.

**Sg.** 3. **nobíth**:—*no-m-bíth* **Sg.** 148<sup>b</sup> 6 (= **Pcr.** 58<sup>b</sup> 1), *nobíth himm chenn* **Sg.** 54<sup>a</sup> 11, cf. **ML.** 83<sup>a</sup> 4, *intan no-m-bíth inna ligiu* **ML.** 55<sup>c</sup> 19, *nobíth leo cum in principio et in fine* **Sg.** 203<sup>a</sup> 3, *nobíth digaim leo* **Sg.** 9<sup>b</sup> 10, *ba oc imradud chloine nobíth* 445 **ML.** 55<sup>c</sup> 19.<sup>1</sup>

**-bíth**:—*ní bíth chomdidnad damsa indib* **ML.** 62<sup>b</sup> 6, *cein nadin-bid fortacht Dé desom (do-som?)* 33<sup>a</sup> 5, *co m bíth loch foraib* 129<sup>d</sup> 15, *integdais i m-bíth* **Ezechias** 61<sup>b</sup> 22.

**Pl.** 3. **nobítis**:—*innahi nobítis dam huam chairtib* **ML.** 86<sup>d</sup> 6, *nubítis* 450 *fua máam* 71<sup>b</sup> 12, cf. 85<sup>d</sup> 7, *is hi tilchaib ardaib nobítis adi* 14<sup>a</sup> 9, *nobítis oc timthirecht* **Wb.** 10<sup>d</sup> 17.

**-bítis**:—*ind luice hi m-bítis airdixi e 7 o* **Sg.** 5<sup>a</sup> 15, *locc i m-bítis primsacairt oc írnigdi* **Wb.** 10<sup>d</sup> 15.

<sup>1</sup> In **Tur.** 152 we should probably read *do cach óin nobíth* (**MS.** *bíth*) *hi croich*.



## Preterite.

(a) With *ro-*.

- 455 Sg. 1. **robá**:—*robá occ a n-aithisigiud Wb. 28<sup>a</sup> 9, cf. Sg. 148<sup>a</sup> 15, ciarudbá i n-inniud Ml. 44<sup>b</sup> 19, intain ro-m-bá issuidi Wb. 24<sup>b</sup> 23.<sup>1</sup>*  
*-roba*:—*inna soinnige hi-roba-sa Ml. 44<sup>c</sup> 4, cf. 62<sup>a</sup> 13, 62<sup>c</sup> 7, 87<sup>b</sup> 18.*
- 460 Sg. 3. **robói**:—*robói aimser nadrochreitsid Wb. 5<sup>c</sup> 10, in samlaid insin robói a flaithemnacht Ml. 18<sup>a</sup> 8, cf. Sg. 203<sup>b</sup> 5, is airi robói som oc tatháir Wb. 23<sup>d</sup> 25, is fua maám robói Ml. 71<sup>b</sup> 14, is la dethriub namma roboi atrab n-Dæ intain sin 66<sup>d</sup> 4, is tri humaldoit roboi ind airitiu hisin, is tri fer robói in tris diltud dosom Tur. 106, robói du chensi Duaid 55<sup>d</sup> 4, cf. 98<sup>c</sup> 6, robói debuid do Philomóin fri suide Wb. 31<sup>d</sup> 19, robói do ainmnid 7 do genitin apud ueteres Sg. 206<sup>b</sup> 1, robói do insin Sg. 163<sup>b</sup> 8, robói commant n-etarru Ml. 78<sup>b</sup> 11, cf. 137<sup>c</sup> 8, robói a saindodcad for cach 100<sup>a</sup> 3, robói Crist i colinn Wb. 15<sup>d</sup> 14, cf. 23<sup>d</sup> 11, 28<sup>c</sup> 12, roboi frescissiu lesom Ml. 60<sup>a</sup> 4, robói la arsaidi altera utra Sg. 75<sup>b</sup> 2, robói dethiden mór oca togu Ml. 131<sup>c</sup> 13; (relative) aidchi roboi Ml. 55<sup>c</sup> 1, ind fáilte robói dó libsi Wb. 16<sup>b</sup> 2, prouidentia .i. robói dam do Dia Ml. 108<sup>a</sup> 5, inná imlainne robói dosom im Dia 62<sup>a</sup> 2, cf. 62<sup>b</sup> 9, in maceries robói eter Dia et duine et robói eter corpu et anmana Wb. 21<sup>b</sup> 15, cf. Ml. 103<sup>b</sup> 14, 131<sup>c</sup> 17, robói fo máam augairi 100<sup>b</sup> 16, dath glas roboi forsind sleib 84<sup>d</sup> 4, inniud robói forsín popul 103<sup>b</sup> 9, cf. 46<sup>a</sup> 19, robbói fora indsliucht som Sg. 178<sup>b</sup> 3–4, roboi impé Ml. 66<sup>d</sup> 25, is est nammá robói and Wb. 14<sup>c</sup> 31, cf. 27<sup>a</sup> 18, Spirit noib robói in profetis Wb. 13<sup>a</sup> 16, cf. 13<sup>b</sup> 1, 15<sup>a</sup> 16, 16<sup>c</sup> 4, 27<sup>a</sup> 25, 31<sup>a</sup> 8, Ml. 46<sup>b</sup> 28, 29 (MS. robo i n-), 54<sup>a</sup> 29, 54<sup>c</sup> 2 (roboi), 103<sup>b</sup> 8, 122<sup>b</sup> 16, 125<sup>a</sup> 5, 6, 144<sup>d</sup> 3, Sg. 176<sup>b</sup> 2, 211<sup>a</sup> 10, fides .i. robói la Abracham Wb. 2<sup>c</sup> 15, cf. 21<sup>b</sup> 11, Ml. 48<sup>c</sup> 15, 127<sup>b</sup> 2, desiderium .i. robói lesom im Dia Ml. 61<sup>d</sup> 10, aní robói inchlidiu lat 50<sup>c</sup> 13, roboi .oc indriud 53<sup>a</sup> 17, robói huas ciun Christ 74<sup>b</sup> 1, dég robói in Spirit noib les Tur. 103; indaas ro-nd-bói m-ingnae Ml. 136<sup>b</sup> 7, amal ru-m-bói Abram 31<sup>a</sup> 3, cf. 26<sup>b</sup> 8 (ro-m-bói),*

<sup>1</sup> In Ml. 71<sup>c</sup> 12 intan rumbá i m-brú rubatar peccthi less there is an awkward change of person, and we should probably read rumbái. In Bed. Vat. 14, hi roba stands for hirobai or hirobae.

*is faittech ro-nd-bóí som* 21<sup>d</sup> 4, *ro-m-bóí ar belaiþ tempuil* 48<sup>d</sup> 8, *ro-m-bóí dliged remdeicsen De desom* 19<sup>d</sup> 17, cf. 122<sup>d</sup> 7, 490 *ro-m-bóí failte dúib Wb.* 23<sup>d</sup> 15, cf. 33<sup>b</sup> 1 (*ru-m-boi*), 33<sup>b</sup> 5 (*ru-m-bóí*), **MI.** 38<sup>c</sup> 9 (*ru-m-boi*), *ro-m-bóí etir tuaith Wb.* 28<sup>d</sup> 25, cf. 28<sup>d</sup> 31, 15<sup>a</sup> 29 (*ro-m-boi*), *ro-m-bóí fo r Sg.* 140<sup>a</sup> 4, *ro-m-boi fora muir MI.* 96<sup>c</sup> 1, *ro-m-bóí fri croich Wb.* 20<sup>d</sup> 13, *ro-m-bóí intamail caratraid and MI.* 61<sup>c</sup> 8, cf. 495 62<sup>c</sup> 8 (*ru-m boi*), *ro-m-bóí in circumeisíone Wb.* 2<sup>c</sup> 5, cf. 2<sup>c</sup> 6, 10<sup>d</sup> 19, 21<sup>b</sup> 16, **MI.** 54<sup>c</sup> 16, 71<sup>c</sup> 15 (MS. *robóí*), 71<sup>c</sup> 17, 95<sup>a</sup> 3, *inna aimsire ro-m-bóí . . . hi foammamugud do* 28<sup>d</sup> 5, *ro-m-bóí foraitmet n-Ioseph les* 123<sup>b</sup> 8, cf. **Sg.** 200<sup>b</sup> 3, 205<sup>a</sup> 1, *ro-m-bóí oc togail MI.* 54<sup>c</sup> 17, *ma ru-s-bóí di humaldoit Wb.* 500 28<sup>d</sup> 29, cf. 33<sup>a</sup> 11; *ciarudbóí aururas form MI.* 2<sup>a</sup> 3, *ciarudbóí colinn imbi Wb.* 26<sup>a</sup> 23, *cerudbóí Iudas occa thindnaeul som* 4<sup>b</sup> 13; *is tri hiris ram-bái cach maith* 2<sup>c</sup> 13; *is uera pictura robai sin Acr.* 68; *robui do for longais MI.* 93<sup>c</sup> 3.

**-robe, -robae, rabae:**—*ni o-robae som ind ræ sin MI.* 41<sup>a</sup> 5, 505 *ni robe Wb.* 18<sup>d</sup> 7, *ni rabae accuis MI.* 28<sup>d</sup> 3, *ni robe nech bad huaisliu Wb.* 33<sup>d</sup> 10, cf. **MI.** 51<sup>a</sup> 2 (*ni o-robae*), 80<sup>c</sup> 9 (*connacon-robae*), 100<sup>c</sup> 23 (*nicon-robae*), 106<sup>b</sup> 6, 125<sup>b</sup> 7 (*ni o-robae*), *nád robe Tit ar mu chiunn Wb.* 14<sup>d</sup> 29, *nad robae nech cen peccad MI.* 33<sup>c</sup> 17, *nad robae remdeicsiu Dæ dia dulib* 20<sup>b</sup> 2, cf. 32<sup>d</sup> 10, 510 59<sup>a</sup> 18 (*nad rabae*), 90<sup>c</sup> 9, *dia-robae aisndis Sg.* 197<sup>a</sup> 6, cf. 197<sup>b</sup> 12 (*dia-robe*), *ní rabae di esamni Duaid MI.* 33<sup>c</sup> 17, *etera-robae Wb.* 28<sup>b</sup> 32 (cf. *etarrobe* 27<sup>d</sup> 13), *ní con-robae ní form MI.* 104<sup>d</sup> 2, *nád-robe mesrugud forsind immarmus Wb.* 1<sup>d</sup> 2, *fora-robae MI.* 38<sup>c</sup> 4, cf. 64<sup>a</sup> 12, *forsa-robae* 82<sup>d</sup> 10, **Tur.** 60, 515 *ni robe cach réit inna dligud Wb.* 24<sup>b</sup> 21, *nir-robe in Iesu Christo est et non* 14<sup>c</sup> 31, *collno i-róbe peccad Wb.* 3<sup>d</sup> 23, *hi-robae MI.* 24<sup>a</sup> 17, cf. 38<sup>c</sup> 13 (*hi-rabae*), 44<sup>d</sup> 2, 48<sup>d</sup> 28, 49<sup>b</sup> 4, 59<sup>b</sup> 10, 118<sup>d</sup> 17, *nad robae ní do degnímaib leu* 15<sup>d</sup> 9, cf. 50<sup>c</sup> 8 (*ní robae*), *ni rabæ in Spiurt nóib les Tur.* 101, *lasa-robae MI.* 63<sup>b</sup> 1, 520 *trissa-robae doib etarcnae* 129<sup>c</sup> 13, *trisin-dam-robae* 126<sup>d</sup> 11, *ni-s-rabæ Wb.* 33<sup>b</sup> 2, *ni-m-rabae MI.* 73<sup>c</sup> 5, *connach-am-robae* 90<sup>c</sup> 16.

Pl. 1. **robámmar:**—*asin doiri robámmar Wb.* 20<sup>d</sup> 12.

**-robammar:**—*hi-robammar MI.* 105<sup>b</sup> 16, 110<sup>c</sup> 6.

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Pl. 2. **rubaid:**—*ce rubaid fo pheccad Wb.* 3<sup>b</sup> 19.

**-robaid:**—*hi-robaid MI.* 46<sup>a</sup> 8.

Pl. 3. **robatar:**—*robatar cid ferte dia imthrenugud Wb.* 24<sup>c</sup> 6, *robatar bandechuin andsom* 28<sup>c</sup> 5, *robbatar in praesenti Per.* 60<sup>b</sup> 4,

- 530 *is iar n-arsidib robbatar in tis* Sg. 57<sup>b</sup> 1, *issamlaid sin robatar* Tur. 14; (relative) *robatar* Sg. 153<sup>b</sup> 4, *citné briathra robatar* Ml. 61<sup>b</sup> 7, 8, *robatar* populo 125<sup>a</sup> 3, *rubatar fua mām* 76<sup>d</sup> 1, cf. 113<sup>c</sup> 8 (*robatar*), *robatar in praesentia Christi* Wb. 18<sup>a</sup> 6, cf. Ml. 40<sup>d</sup> 16, 72<sup>b</sup> 6, 74<sup>a</sup> 13, 104<sup>b</sup> 2, *irbága robatar lessom eter* 535 *desciplu* Wb. 7<sup>d</sup> 10, *robatar oc imbresun* 30<sup>c</sup> 17, cf. Ml. 86<sup>d</sup> 19, *amal ro-m-báatar* Wb. 30<sup>c</sup> 21, *ro-m-batar for longais* Ml. 74<sup>a</sup> 13, *ro-m-batar hi tempul* 62<sup>b</sup> 2, cf. 75<sup>d</sup> 10, 84<sup>c</sup> 5, 95<sup>a</sup> 13, 115<sup>a</sup> 12, 131<sup>c</sup> 9, Sg. 203<sup>b</sup> 8, *post multos annos .i. ro-m-batar isin doiri* Ml. 104<sup>c</sup> 7; *cia rod-batar torbithi aili fornn* Wb. 14<sup>d</sup> 13, 540 *cerud-batar Iudei occa thindnacul som* 4<sup>b</sup> 13.  
 -robatar:—*ní rabatar* Sg. 148<sup>a</sup> 9, *nád robatar suin do slund* 45<sup>b</sup> 1, *ní o-rabatar olca betis móu* Ml. 100<sup>c</sup> 11, *fua rabatar* 2<sup>b</sup> 11, 85<sup>d</sup> 10, *seruitutis hi-robatar* Ml. 26<sup>b</sup> 26, cf. 74<sup>a</sup> 14, 77<sup>b</sup> 5, 84<sup>c</sup> 12, 91<sup>c</sup> 17, 91<sup>c</sup> 19, 102<sup>d</sup> 17, 104<sup>c</sup> 5, 131<sup>c</sup> 9, 17, 545 *inna aimsire hi-robatar* 85<sup>c</sup> 12, cf. 101<sup>b</sup> 3, *ní robatar accobra colna lessom* Wb. 20<sup>a</sup> 6.  
 Passive: *roboth*:—*is hed inso ro-m-both dom* Wb. 19<sup>a</sup> 9, 23<sup>a</sup> 26, cf. 5<sup>b</sup> 31.

(b) Without *ro-*.

- Sg. 3. *bói*:—*bói ní roglante and* Wb. 31<sup>c</sup> 18, cf. 27<sup>a</sup> 16 (*bái*), 550 *bói són in potestate mea madugnenn* 10<sup>d</sup> 31; *ní bu fua réir fesin boisom* Ml. 14<sup>b</sup> 13.  
 -*bói*:—*hó-bói mo chland* Wb. 29<sup>d</sup> 6, *ní-m-boi ní bed sruithiu* Ml. 78<sup>a</sup> 4, *ní bói ní nogabad* 33<sup>a</sup> 5, cf. 74<sup>b</sup> 13, Sg. 72<sup>b</sup> 6, 6, *nam-bói remcisiu Dæ de* Ml. 50<sup>d</sup> 1, *foram-bói* Tur. 60, *com-bói* 555 *impe* Tur. 146, *ní bói adbar hic* Wb. 17<sup>d</sup> 17, *ní boi hi cridiu* Ml. 34<sup>a</sup> 16, *im-bói* 55<sup>c</sup> 1, cf. Sg. 148<sup>a</sup> 6, *im-bói di oinechdaib leu* Ml. 43<sup>d</sup> 1.<sup>1</sup>  
 Pl. 3. *cia batar degtaerae les* Tur. 83; *inferiores .i. batar fo mām Ioseph* Ml. 123<sup>b</sup> 5.  
 560 -*batar*:—*hua-batar sidi i n-Egipt* Ml. 63<sup>a</sup> 4, *im-batar* 55<sup>c</sup> 2.  
 To *oldáu* (p. 4) belong  
 Sg. 3. *olm-bói, im-bói*:—*ba deidbiriu dùnni immormus . . . .* *olm-bói dasom* Wb. 9<sup>c</sup> 10, *nambu tressa Dia Herusalem imboi dia cecha cathruch* Ml. 53<sup>d</sup> 6.  
 565 Pl. 3. *olm-batar*:—*robtar lia sidi olm-batar maicc Israhel* Ml. 123<sup>a</sup> 8.

<sup>1</sup> In Ml. 29<sup>c</sup> 15 Stokes corrects *án imbai* to a *n-dm bai*.

Future.

Sg. 1. **bia**:—*is sunt bia-sa i n-eilithri* **MI.** 137<sup>b</sup> 7, *bia oc preciept doib* 60<sup>c</sup> 4.

Sg. 3. **bieid, bied**:—*bieid nach dréot diib hiefider* **Wb.** 4<sup>d</sup> 6, *bieid aimser nad creitfider* 28<sup>c</sup> 14, cf. 6<sup>b</sup> 15 (*bied*), *bieid bes ferr de* 570 32<sup>a</sup> 13, *is and bieid finis* 13<sup>b</sup> 29, *bieid frithorcun dúnni* **MI.** 100<sup>d</sup> 4, *bieid io du Israhel* 72<sup>d</sup> 1, *bieid dúnni a n-dede sin* **Wb.** 28<sup>a</sup> 23, *bieid dund firian a n-imthanad sin* **MI.** 68<sup>d</sup> 16, *bieid crich for timthirecht cacha dulo* **Wb.** 13<sup>b</sup> 28, *bieid rath somailse fora belru* **MI.** 89<sup>c</sup> 15, *bied a fortacht linn* **Wb.** 14<sup>c</sup> 1, *bied trede* 575 and **Bed. Vat.** 28.

**robia**:—*ro-m-bia buaid* **Wb.** 11<sup>a</sup> 10, *ro-t-bia less log* 6<sup>a</sup> 11, cf. 20<sup>a</sup> 9, similarly *r-am-bia* 27<sup>c</sup> 13, 14, **MI.** 27<sup>a</sup> 8, *ro-n-bia* **Wb.** 14<sup>c</sup> 17, cf. 25<sup>a</sup> 3, *ro-b-bia* 13<sup>d</sup> 32, *robia* (= *ro-b-bia*), 21<sup>c</sup> 17, 27<sup>b</sup> 6, *ropia* (= *ro-b-bia*) 16<sup>a</sup> 13, 22<sup>b</sup> 23, 23<sup>c</sup> 25, 580 27<sup>c</sup> 12, *ro-sm-bia* 5<sup>d</sup> 35, 6<sup>a</sup> 5.<sup>1</sup>

**-bia**:—*ni bia senim terchomric* **Wb.** 13<sup>d</sup> 18, *connacon bia foraitmet n-De eter* **MI.** 61<sup>b</sup> 12, *nicon bia som* **Sg.** 29<sup>b</sup> 10, *nicon bia ní . . . nadeacail* **MI.** 56<sup>c</sup> 8, cf. 107<sup>d</sup> 4, **Sg.** 7<sup>a</sup> 1, *ni-m-bia durata ind* **MI.** 57<sup>a</sup> 13, *ní-m-bia foehricc* 585 **Wb.** 10<sup>d</sup> 23, similarly **MI.** 86<sup>c</sup> 12, *nicon-da-bia* 69<sup>a</sup> 8, *tresindabiu* **Wb.** 25<sup>c</sup> 8, *ni bia lobad na legad doib* **Wb.** 13<sup>d</sup> 19, similarly 13<sup>d</sup> 17, 32<sup>c</sup> 12 (*nipia*), **MI.** 67<sup>c</sup> 14, *ní bia mesrugud forsín digail* **Wb.** 1<sup>d</sup> 2, *nicon bia cumscugud for pianad* **MI.** 26<sup>d</sup> 12. 590

**bias**:—*ni ba cian m-bias in pecthach* **MI.** 56<sup>c</sup> 22, *is hedón bias and* **Wb.** 23<sup>b</sup> 38, *immeit* (leg. *in méit*) *m bias firinne neich is in meit sin dano bias dilgadche Dæ do* **MI.** 56<sup>a</sup> 21, *amal m-bias a gnim cáich* 30<sup>d</sup> 2, *cindas m-bias* **Sg.** 40<sup>a</sup> 15, *cia cruth ni-bias* 147<sup>a</sup> 4, *bias dúib i n-nim* **Wb.** 26<sup>d</sup> 6, *ind aiccend bias* 595 *forsind ainmnid isé bias forsnaib camthuislib* **Sg.** 207<sup>a</sup> 6, cf. **Wb.** 4<sup>d</sup> 2, *bias hi flaith Solman* **MI.** 89<sup>c</sup> 10, *bias in die iudicii* **Wb.** 25<sup>d</sup> 8, *for cech rainn pectha bias leu* **MI.** 24<sup>c</sup> 2, *m-bias icc do* 127<sup>a</sup> 7.

Pl. 1. **bemmi**:—*amal bete som i n-impudiu inna brithemnacte*, 600 *bemmi ní dano* **Wb.** 9<sup>c</sup> 10, *is i Crist beimmi* 21<sup>b</sup> 7, *bemmi i comindocbáil* 24<sup>a</sup> 10.

<sup>1</sup> In **Wb.** 4<sup>b</sup> 6 *robia indocbdal tarahési* there is no apparent infixed pronoun; leg. *rp-sm-bia*?



- biam :—*in-biam fris* **Wb.** 15<sup>a</sup> 1, *ni piam fri aithirgi* 30<sup>b</sup> 17.  
 Pl. 2. -bieid, -bied :—*indas no-m-bied-si* **Wb.** 9<sup>a</sup> 21, *ni bied-si hi*  
 605 *cobodlus la suidiu* 9<sup>b</sup> 17.  
 Pl. 3. bieit, biet :—*bith i tuil Déa biet huili* **Wb.** 9<sup>d</sup> 27, *biet hi*  
*frendaire* **Sg.** 153<sup>b</sup> 4, cf. **Pcr.** 60<sup>b</sup> 4, *biet* **Wb.** 4<sup>c</sup> 40, *bieit*  
*a namaít foa chossaib som* **Wb.** 32<sup>c</sup> 13, *bieit ilgné indi* **MI.** 97<sup>a</sup> 1,  
*biet da atarcud and* **Sg.** 198<sup>b</sup> 6.  
 610 -biat :—*tresin-dip-piat fochricci* **Wb.** 25<sup>d</sup> 8, *ni biat fo mam*  
**MI.** 134<sup>d</sup> 2, *ni biat i n-bentu* **Wb.** 9<sup>c</sup> 28, *im-biat* **MI.** 46<sup>c</sup> 8,  
*nadm-biet cid ind superlati* **Sg.** 40<sup>b</sup> 14.  
 bete :—*ni ba cian m-bete and* **MI.** 66<sup>d</sup> 14, *it hesidi torud bete*  
 46<sup>c</sup> 8, *inna pian bete donaib pecthachaib i n-ifurnn* **Wb.** 13<sup>c</sup> 26,  
 615 *amal bete som i n-impudiu* 9<sup>c</sup> 10, cf. 4<sup>c</sup> 40 (*beite*), *ni ba cian*  
*m-bete oca cloinib* **MI.** 28<sup>a</sup> 10, cf. 33<sup>a</sup> 9.  
 To *oldáu* (p. 4) belongs *olambieid-si* **Wb.** 26<sup>d</sup> 26.

## Secondary Future (Conditional).

- Sg.** 1. nobeinn :—*airet no-m-beinn isnaib inmedaib* **MI.** 59<sup>a</sup> 22.  
 beinn :—*ni beinn isin doiri* **MI.** 131<sup>d</sup> 19.  
 620 **Sg.** 3. nobiad :—*ised nobiad sin* **MI.** 32<sup>d</sup> 5, *no-m-biad ani duerchanar*  
 111<sup>d</sup> 4, *no-m-biad iar fir* 126<sup>c</sup> 10, *no-m-biad i n-aicniud denma*  
 17<sup>b</sup> 26, *ropad far n-oén deilb nobbiad a ainmnid* **Sg.** 90<sup>b</sup> 2,  
*don ainmnid nobia[d] do sui* 209<sup>b</sup> 6, *quia nobiad fri fem-*  
 207<sup>b</sup> 2, *no-m-biad adrad Déa la genti* **Wb.** 6<sup>d</sup> 8, *is samlid nobiad*  
 625 *chách* **Wb.** 9<sup>d</sup> 25.  
 robiad :—*ro-n-da-biad cech maith* **MI.** 33<sup>b</sup> 13, *ro-nd-biad*  
*failte libsi* **Wb.** 16<sup>b</sup> 19.  
 -biad :—*ni biad étrad* **Wb.** 9<sup>d</sup> 1, *ni biad rath dilgotho 7 ni*  
*biad promisio dosom* 2<sup>c</sup> 17, *in-da-biad torbae* **MI.** 102<sup>d</sup> 4, *conna*  
 630 *biad dliged n-erchissechta la Dia* 98<sup>c</sup> 8.  
 Pl. 1. nobemmis :—*nobemmis* **MI.** 134<sup>b</sup> 3.  
 Pl. 3. nobetis :—*céin nombetis inna saigtea inna feuil* **MI.** 58<sup>a</sup> 9,  
*inna debthe nobetis la Israheldu* 100<sup>c</sup> 7.

## Subjunctive.

## Present.

(a) With *ro-*.

- Sg.** 3. robé :—*ná maith robé* **Wb.** 5<sup>d</sup> 30, *gratia uobis etc. .i. robe*  
 635 18<sup>c</sup> 4, *cia rubé cen ní diib* **MI.** 20<sup>d</sup> 4, *act robæ quies regibus*  
**Wb.** 28<sup>a</sup> 23, *acht rop ré forciunn robbé da* **Sg.** 169<sup>a</sup> 1, *risiu*



*robáe cland less* **Wb.** 29<sup>d</sup> 23, *ce rubé* subjunctivus pro imperatiuo **Sg.** 163<sup>b</sup> 6.

**-roib:**—*cona roib diupart neich lelele* **Wb.** 16<sup>c</sup> 24, *arna roib eicndag ind raith diadi* 29<sup>a</sup> 7, cf. **Sg.** 169<sup>a</sup> 2, *cona roib etarcéin* 640 **Wb.** 26<sup>a</sup> 14, *arna roib amal rondgab in popul truag-sa* **ML.** 118<sup>c</sup> 5, *o-roib core duib fri cách* **Wb.** 26<sup>b</sup> 30, cf. 27<sup>c</sup> 20, *con-roib óintu etrunni* 12<sup>b</sup> 12, cf. **Sg.** 59<sup>a</sup> 17, *ara roib saingné foraib* **Wb.** 5<sup>a</sup> 5, cf. 15<sup>d</sup> 11 (*arnacon-roib*), 21<sup>d</sup> 5 (*o-roib*), 30<sup>a</sup> 16 (*act ní roib*), **ML.** 22<sup>c</sup> 12 (*o-roib*), **Sg.** 2<sup>a</sup> 8 (*arna roib*), *connachon-roib* 645 *nech dim chlaind . . . dim æs* **ML.** 23<sup>d</sup> 6, *co[n]roib indithem and colleir* 67<sup>c</sup> 12, *con-roib irgal désereccæ . . . .* *indiunn* **Wb.** 5<sup>d</sup> 18, cf. 18<sup>b</sup> 22, 22<sup>c</sup> 20 (*arna roib*), **ML.** 101<sup>c</sup> 11 (*cor-roib*), 118<sup>a</sup> 7 (*arna roib*), **Sg.** 4<sup>b</sup> 1, *o-roib gnim irisse lib* **Wb.** 25<sup>d</sup> 23, *con-roib deserc leu fri cách* 26<sup>d</sup> 22, cf. **ML.** 45<sup>c</sup> 7 650 (*dia roib*), *arna roibocco* **Wb.** 5<sup>a</sup> 26, *cona roib temel . . . .* *tar rosc* 21<sup>a</sup> 8, *arn-dom-roib-se fochrice* 10<sup>d</sup> 13, *o-don-roib ind indocbál* 15<sup>b</sup> 27, *co[n]-don-roib uita aeterna* 20<sup>c</sup> 14, *con-dam-roib molad* **ML.** 128<sup>d</sup> 11.

Pl. 1. **-robam:**—*o-robam i flathefnacht* **Wb.** 26<sup>c</sup> 10. 655

Pl. 2. **-robid:**—*o-robith i n-indocbál* **Wb.** 26<sup>a</sup> 28.

Pl. 3. **rubet:**—*ce rubet i péin* **Wb.** 26<sup>a</sup> 23.

**-robat:**—*cenid rubat ar chuit suin* **Sg.** 138<sup>a</sup> 5, *o-robat i n-ellug coirp Crist i n-nem* **Wb.** 29<sup>c</sup> 8, cf. **Ber.** 18<sup>c</sup> 3, *act ní robat pecthe less* **Wb.** 11<sup>d</sup> 9, cf. 22<sup>b</sup> 2 (*arna robat*), 30<sup>b</sup> 8 (*cona robat*), 660 *arna robat leu in pecthi-si* 25<sup>b</sup> 9.

(b) Without *ro-*.

**Sg.** 1. **beo:**—*imb i céin fa i n-accus beo-sa* **Wb.** 23<sup>b</sup> 41, cf. **ML.** 53<sup>b</sup> 8 (*beu-sa*), *cia beo-sa hi carcair* **Wb.** 29<sup>d</sup> 19, cf. 21<sup>d</sup> 3, 30<sup>a</sup> 23.

**Sg.** 3. **beid**<sup>1</sup>:—*co beid* **Wb.** 14<sup>c</sup> 23, *ma beith* 24<sup>b</sup> 9, *co beith* **Sg.** 18<sup>b</sup> 5, *cia beith soilse isind lau* **ML.** 108<sup>a</sup> 11, cf. **Sg.** 45<sup>b</sup> 7, 665 193<sup>a</sup> 1, 212<sup>a</sup> 13 (*ma*), *ma beith nech and labrathar* **Wb.** 13<sup>a</sup> 4, *ma beid ní di rúnaið dothéi* 13<sup>a</sup> 12, *ma beid ní ara techta* 28<sup>d</sup> 22, *ma beith ara n-dena* **ML.** 51<sup>a</sup> 16, *cia beith arn-accathar* 68<sup>b</sup> 9, *corbu immaith beith* 90<sup>d</sup> 11, *ma beith nach fáille duibsi* **Wb.** 23<sup>c</sup> 11, *ma beith tobar- aile fri sibi* **Sg.** 210<sup>a</sup> 4, *beith for* 670 *menme and* **Wb.** 20<sup>b</sup> 13, *cia beith genitor á arrad* **Sg.** 125<sup>a</sup> 6, *cia beith in cummasc andsom* 197<sup>b</sup> 1, *cia beid Crist indibsi* **Wb.** 4<sup>a</sup> 6, cf. 9<sup>b</sup> 2, **ML.** 142<sup>c</sup> 3 (*ma beith*), **Sg.** 165<sup>b</sup> 1,

<sup>1</sup> To this belongs also *bed* in *cia bed* **Wb.** 3<sup>c</sup> 10, *ma bed galar issind oinbull* 12<sup>b</sup> 10, *ma beth na galar bec for corp duini* **Cod. Cam.** 37<sup>d</sup>.

212<sup>b</sup> 11 (*beith*), *ma beith míduthracht . . . la cách*  
 675 **Wb.** 20<sup>b</sup> 12, *mad ar thosuch beid Sg.* 203<sup>a</sup> 7, *arnap samlid*  
*beith Tur.* 89.

-**bé, -bé:**—*na bad hed améit nádm-bé Wb.* 22<sup>b</sup> 14, *mani bé*  
**Sg.** 29<sup>b</sup> 14, cf. 147<sup>b</sup> 3, *arna bé etir Wb.* 25<sup>d</sup> 26, *mani bé*  
*desercc* 12<sup>b</sup> 33, cf. **ML.** 53<sup>c</sup> 18 (*mani be*), **Sg.** 29<sup>b</sup> 10 (*mani bé*),  
 680 138<sup>a</sup> 1 (*ceni bé*), 165<sup>b</sup> 3 (*dia m-bé*), 173<sup>b</sup> 4 (*dia m-bé*), *ona bé*  
*ní indidningaba Wb.* 11<sup>d</sup> 8, cf. **ML.** 77<sup>a</sup> 12 (*mani bé*), *ara*  
*m-bé . . . cen diall* 74<sup>b</sup> 6, *mani bé est and ML.* 14<sup>d</sup> 1,  
 cf. **Sg.** 166<sup>a</sup> 3 (*óná bé*), 198<sup>b</sup> 6 (*dia m-be*), 199<sup>b</sup> 4 (*coni bbé*),  
 199<sup>b</sup> 7, *mani bé dechur isint senmuim Wb.* 12<sup>c</sup> 43, *coni bé*  
 685 *eter in peccato* 9<sup>b</sup> 2, cf. **ML.** 23<sup>a</sup> 7 (*mani bé*), **Sg.** 77<sup>a</sup> 4  
*(co m-be)*, *im-bé ML.* 53<sup>b</sup> 1, *mani bé ómun Dá les* 33<sup>c</sup> 7, cf.  
 117<sup>b</sup> 7 (*arna bé*), *lasam-bé Wb.* 1<sup>d</sup> 19, 14<sup>d</sup> 28, *triam-bé ML.*  
 70<sup>d</sup> 10, *mani-sm-be Wb.* 13<sup>b</sup> 20, cf. **ML.** 122<sup>a</sup> 17 (MS.  
*mannimbé*); *cia bé a m-meit adá ML.* 61<sup>b</sup> 28.

690 **bess, bes:**—*céin bes nuednissi Wb.* 33<sup>a</sup> 17, *ní bes á f'in ML.*  
 77<sup>d</sup> 3, *ind inne bess and Wb.* 27<sup>b</sup> 27, cf. **ML.** 14<sup>d</sup> 1, *a m-bess hí*  
*crídiu Wb.* 5<sup>d</sup> 14, *bes hí far crídiu* 7<sup>d</sup> 10, cf. 26<sup>d</sup> 16, **Sg.** 25<sup>b</sup> 16,  
 189<sup>b</sup> 2, **Acr.** 43, **Cod. Cam.** 37<sup>c</sup>, *iarsin chumung bess lib Wb.*  
 16<sup>c</sup> 19, cf. 16<sup>c</sup> 22, 22<sup>d</sup> 14.

695 Pl. 1. **bemmi:**—*mad in chrudso bemmi Wb.* 31<sup>c</sup> 11, *cia beimmi-ni*  
*in fide* 19<sup>a</sup> 16, cf. **ML.** 105<sup>b</sup> 6 (*indaas bemmi*).

-**bem:**—*dia m-bem-ni hí combás Wb.* 24<sup>a</sup> 10, *im-bem i m-bethu*  
*im-bem i m-baás* 25<sup>c</sup> 12.

Pl. 2. **bethe:**—*mad in chruthsin beithe Wb.* 18<sup>b</sup> 16, cf. 6<sup>b</sup> 4, 24<sup>b</sup> 13  
 700 (*bethe*), *co bethe-si ut sum* 19<sup>d</sup> 19.

-**beith:**—*ní beith-si ML.* 46<sup>a</sup> 10, *intain no-m-beid ar súil*  
**Wb.** 27<sup>c</sup> 9, *im-beith* 16<sup>a</sup> 16.

Pl. 3. **beit:**—*co beit Wb.* 10<sup>b</sup> 5, *ma beit Sg.* 40<sup>a</sup> 21, *cia beit dobre-*  
*persandi* 71<sup>b</sup> 8, *cia beit inna corp Wb.* 11<sup>d</sup> 11.

705 -**bet:**—*cini bet samlumsa i n-ógi Wb.* 9<sup>d</sup> 27, *mani bet andiis*  
**ML.** 14<sup>c</sup> 4, cf. 35<sup>d</sup> 24, 121<sup>c</sup> 5, *im-bet Wb.* 7<sup>d</sup> 1, *connacon-bet*  
*acht degnimai less ML.* 129<sup>a</sup> 9, *inna bet o nach ainmmdiu etir*  
**Sg.** 56<sup>b</sup> 1.

710 **bete:**—*bete and Sg.* 15<sup>a</sup> 2, *bete in secundo genere Acr.* 65,  
*bete banscala occ ar timthirect Wb.* 10<sup>c</sup> 22, *bete oc comet ind fir*  
**ML.** 112<sup>b</sup> 20.

Passive: **bethir:**—*cia bethir oc far n-ingrim Wb.* 5<sup>d</sup> 33.

-**bether:**—*cene m-bether in hac uita ML.* 107<sup>d</sup> 8, *im-bether*  
**Wb.** 10<sup>a</sup> 18.

## Past.

Sg. 2. *nobetha*:—*cid no-m-betha im etarceirt* **Wb.** 4<sup>c</sup> 24. 715

Sg. 3. *nobed, nobeth*:—*ba riagolda a n-ainm sin ara chul ma nubed*  
**Sg.** 31<sup>b</sup> 21, *amal nobed* 32<sup>a</sup> 1, *ni fil ainmnid nobed* 114<sup>b</sup> 2,  
*ma nubeth* **ML.** 30<sup>b</sup> 4, *nibbu machdad bed figurate no-m-bed*  
**Sg.** 62<sup>b</sup> 2, *co m-beth ré . . . nobeth cen ole huadibsom*  
**ML.** 41<sup>a</sup> 4, *co m-bed hed nobed and* **Wb.** 3<sup>b</sup> 10, cf. 5<sup>b</sup> 10, **Sg.** 720  
 33<sup>a</sup> 18, 148<sup>b</sup> 5, *nobeth and* **ML.** 27<sup>b</sup> 1, 61<sup>b</sup> 17, 128<sup>a</sup> 5, *nobeth hic*  
 45<sup>b</sup> 14, *amal bid hi laim nobed* **ML.** 36<sup>c</sup> 21, cf. **Sg.** 209<sup>a</sup> 1,  
 211<sup>a</sup> 6, *amal bid hi frecndaire nobeth* **ML.** 24<sup>c</sup> 15, *armbad hi*  
*tempul Dæ nobeth* 47<sup>c</sup> 11, *ni arindi bed leth n-gotho nobed indib*  
**Sg.** 5<sup>a</sup> 4, cf. 188<sup>a</sup> 4, 199<sup>b</sup> 9, *ma nubed indibsem* 32<sup>a</sup> 1, *ce nobed* 725  
 indib 162<sup>b</sup> 2, *coir cid caritas nobed i tossuch* **Wb.** 20<sup>b</sup> 22,  
*co m-bad airi nobeth cum in fine* **Sg.** 203<sup>a</sup> 10, *cia nubed leu*  
**Wb.** 12<sup>b</sup> 2, *mad ón chetnidiu nobed* **Sg.** 207<sup>b</sup> 2, *bes nobed nach*  
*aille leis oc ind airchellad* 202<sup>a</sup> 7, *amal nobed e re bam* 191<sup>a</sup> 5.

*robed*:—*act robed arma Dæ foirib* **Wb.** 22<sup>d</sup> 15, *nibo decming* 730  
*ro-m-bed imthanad hisuidib* 21<sup>a</sup> 13, *robeth for dib milib ech*  
**ML.** 43<sup>d</sup> 1.

*-robad*:—*o-robad torbe dúibsi triit* **Wb.** 17<sup>a</sup> 13, cf. 16<sup>c</sup> 5,  
 28<sup>c</sup> 18, *con-róbad écosc a cheneóil foir* 6<sup>d</sup> 6, *o-robad inna chorp*  
*ní inchoissised* 2<sup>c</sup> 7, *c-rabad cech brathir post alium* 34<sup>a</sup> 4, *ni* 735  
*robad frissom do Dia* **ML.** 44<sup>b</sup> 8.<sup>1</sup>

*-bed, -beth*:—*mini bed crois* **Wb.** 9<sup>d</sup> 1, *arna beth in*  
*chomairle se .i. arna beth aní immefolangar treæ dosom*  
**ML.** 88<sup>b</sup> 15, *onaccon-beth ní du Israheldaib etir* 103<sup>d</sup> 9,  
*co m-beth ré inradad* 41<sup>a</sup> 4, *ni fil aimsir nadm-bed* 17<sup>a</sup> 15, 740  
*arna beth* 23<sup>d</sup> 11, *co m-beth cen digail dogrés* 27<sup>d</sup> 12, *ni*  
*nádm-bed di chorp act atá de* **Wb.** 12<sup>a</sup> 22, *dorochóinset*  
*arn-da-beth in tairsem* **ML.** 131<sup>c</sup> 9, *co m-bed doib forarithmet bed*  
*torbach* 23<sup>a</sup> 2, *asber nadm-bed dlígéd remdeicsen Dæ du doinib*  
 55<sup>d</sup> 25, cf. **Sg.** 40<sup>a</sup> 15, *form-bed* **ML.** 23<sup>d</sup> 17, *dia m-bed neu-* 745  
*for cétnu diull* **Sg.** 90<sup>d</sup> 2, *amal bid nech frisam-beth ferc* **ML.**  
 44<sup>b</sup> 8, *frisam-bed a n-dechor* **Sg.** 183<sup>a</sup> 2, *arna beth imresan*  
*imm oslucud* **ML.** 46<sup>b</sup> 5, *act ní bed uall and* **Wb.** 10<sup>b</sup> 27, *dús*  
*im-bed comrorcon and* 18<sup>d</sup> 7, *amal ni bed ad and* **Sg.** 217<sup>a</sup> 8,  
*co[m]-bed chiall ains- ili and* **ML.** 67<sup>d</sup> 24, *mani bed in finem* 750  
*and* 32<sup>d</sup> 5, *ni rabae accuis ara m-beth enim and* 28<sup>d</sup> 3, *onna*

<sup>1</sup> The past potential, cf. **ML.** 17<sup>b</sup> 23 (leg. *asrobarad*), 31<sup>b</sup> 20, 24 (leg. *ærbard*), further, **L.U.** 69<sup>a</sup> 33 (he should not have).

- beth* in *finem* and 32<sup>d</sup> 5, *co m-beth anim* and 124<sup>c</sup> 19, *ona beth foraitmet Dé hisuidiu* 22<sup>d</sup> 26, *nach magen i m-beth amen indib* 2<sup>d</sup> 1, *co m-bed a n-dede sin im labrad sa* **Wb.** 14<sup>c</sup> 23, *co m-bed* 755 [*imbed*] *clainde leu* **ML.** 113<sup>b</sup> 11, *lasam-bed dliged remdeicsen* 19<sup>d</sup> 2, *onacon-beth leu etir* 35<sup>c</sup> 2, *co m-beth leusom nech di faithib* 93<sup>a</sup> 5.<sup>1</sup>
- Pl. 1. **nobemmis**:—*amal no-m-bemmis érchóilti* **Wb.** 9<sup>a</sup> 3.  
**robemmis**:—*risiu robeimmis etir* **Wb.** 29<sup>d</sup> 23.
- 760 Pl. 2. **-bethe**:—*ní bethe fria acre* **Wb.** 9<sup>c</sup> 20.
- Pl. 3. **nobetis**:—*ce chonistis no-m-betis* **Sg.** 138<sup>a</sup> 9, *ní arindi no-m-betis cid in biuc* 39<sup>a</sup> 25, *ní arindi no-m-betis ar cinnta friusom* **ML.** 62<sup>d</sup> 5, *má dodrunenatar alaaili no-m-betis i n-oen rainn* **Sg.** 27<sup>a</sup> 18.
- 765 **robetis**:—*resiu robetis im gnais* **ML.** 58<sup>d</sup> 7.  
**-roibtis**:—(*oro*)*ibtis oc denum rectche* **Wb.** 28<sup>a</sup> 1.  
**-betis**:—*ní torménmar ní ara m-betis in gnimai sin* **ML.** 115<sup>b</sup> 1, *co m-betis i n-doiri* 34<sup>a</sup> 9, *co m-betis i n-indiub fochricce domsa* **Wb.** 10<sup>d</sup> 33, *co m-betis arma cholno leu* 22<sup>d</sup> 13, cf. **ML.** 770 107<sup>c</sup> 12, *cení betis degairiltin leu* **ML.** 91<sup>a</sup> 10.

## Imperative.

- Sg.** 3. **bíid, bíith, bíth**:—*biith* **Wb.** 8<sup>d</sup> 9, *bith and beus* 10<sup>a</sup> 25, *bith characnaill di* **Sg.** 6<sup>b</sup> 11, *biith a menme frisso* **Wb.** 13<sup>a</sup> 22, *bith nech i n-ógi* 10<sup>a</sup> 26, *biid cach gnim inna thechtu* 13<sup>a</sup> 28, *bith hi foraitmiut lib* **ML.** 115<sup>b</sup> 9, *biid pax libsi* **Wb.** 5<sup>d</sup> 33, 775 *biith far cuit-si occa* 11<sup>b</sup> 4, *biid samlaid* **ML.** 74<sup>d</sup> 3.  
**-bíd, -bíth**:—*na bíd taidchur diinni* **Wb.** 3<sup>a</sup> 14, *na bíth debuith duán fri nech* 10<sup>a</sup> 8, *na bíth fochunn uaimm fein dom æcnduch* 11<sup>c</sup> 1, *na bíth chiniud huadib* **ML.** 87<sup>c</sup> 3.
- Pl. 2. **biid**:—*biid amal rongabus-sa i n-gnám* **Wb.** 23<sup>c</sup> 11, *biid ersoilethi* **ML.** 46<sup>a</sup> 7.  
**-bíth**:—*na bíth i cobadlus doib* **Wb.** 22<sup>b</sup> 26.
- Pl. 3. **biat**:—*biat* **ML.** 51<sup>d</sup> 13, *biat amal idlu* 130<sup>a</sup> 10.

## Infinitive.

Nominative: **buith**:—*buith cen æcone fofera ainfrinni* **Wb.** 2<sup>a</sup> 17, *hore arinrobe buith i n-ellug* 29<sup>d</sup> 22, *ní condabia nem acht*

<sup>1</sup> In **Tur.** 141 *imbed* can hardly be a verb; rather *imbed naislinge ón adchondaire som* means 'that is, the abundance of the dream which he saw.' In *cona bad dliged remdeicsen ocotuistin sídi* **ML.** 19<sup>d</sup> 5 the syntax points to the substantive verb rather than to the copula.



*sirbuih i n-adnaclaib* **ML.** 69<sup>a</sup> 8, *is cor lame ar dodced buith oc* 785  
*airbiathad sainte* **Wb.** 29<sup>b</sup> 18, *ba tochu doibsom buid and* 5<sup>b</sup> 44,  
 cf. 9<sup>b</sup> 17 (*nébeth*), 10<sup>a</sup> 17, 15<sup>d</sup> 13, 19<sup>b</sup> 20, 30<sup>b</sup> 26, **ML.** 28<sup>d</sup> 6, **Sg.**  
 208<sup>a</sup> 11, *ropo tochomracht linn buid i m-bethu* **Wb.** 14<sup>b</sup> 24, cf.  
**ML.** 87<sup>c</sup> 4, 87<sup>c</sup> 5, 105<sup>b</sup> 8, *ni fil mindchecht bed huilliu quam buith*  
*for ochtrach* 129<sup>c</sup> 2, *arnap buid for foigdi* **Wb.** 25<sup>b</sup> 11, *mad buith* 790  
*cen chotlud* **ML.** 95<sup>d</sup> 13, *is miad mór ind apstalacht .i. buid for*  
*tectairecht hó Isu* **Wb.** 13<sup>b</sup> 5, *minorum est ista curatio .i.*  
*buih oc cairchaib* **ML.** 100<sup>b</sup> 18, *qui locus mutarum est .i.*  
*buih re lechdachaib* **Sg.** 6<sup>a</sup> 8, *a m-bith cen chorin is he an*  
*uelare asbeirsom* **Wb.** 11<sup>c</sup> 11, *is ed ancride in dermait buith* 795  
*cen chluinn* **ML.** 23<sup>d</sup> 12, cf. 74<sup>d</sup> 9, *issi dogní frendaire de*  
*praesenti buith neich chen forbae* **Sg.** 147<sup>b</sup> 3, *teamaing buith*  
*briathar huadib sem* **Sg.** 156<sup>a</sup> 2, *quaecunque pudica .i. buith cen*  
*peccad* **Wb.** 24<sup>b</sup> 7, *non solum otiosae .i. celide 7 buith cen denum*  
*neich* 29<sup>a</sup> 4, *de diis suis coniuncantur .i. buith amal a n-deu* 800  
**ML.** 138<sup>c</sup> 8, *is airchen á buid* **Wb.** 11<sup>d</sup> 3, cf. 16<sup>d</sup> 2, 21<sup>a</sup> 11, **Sg.**  
 191<sup>a</sup> 1, *is torise lu cách a buith oc ailli* **Wb.** 16<sup>d</sup> 2, cf. 21<sup>b</sup> 5,  
*quod fieri non liquet .i. a buitsem hi coms-* **Sg.** 216<sup>b</sup> 2, *teamaing*  
*a buith hi coms-* 212<sup>b</sup> 9, *horbi accobur læ nebud dó i n-noidenacht*  
**Wb.** 24<sup>d</sup> 11, *cum autem uenerit .i. buith dunni issin todochidiu* 805  
 12<sup>c</sup> 7, *robu arna eplet .i. buith doib hi pein* **ML.** 77<sup>a</sup> 13, *non*  
*iudicio .i. uero .i. buith damsá in diuturnitate malorum* 89<sup>a</sup> 3,  
*hoc tamen ipsum .i. buith do u aso- ar guttai* **Sg.** 8<sup>a</sup> 14.

Accusative: *buih*:—*furuar buid cen engne* **Wb.** 2<sup>a</sup> 18, cf. 26<sup>a</sup> 23,  
 31<sup>d</sup> 14, **ML.** 55<sup>d</sup> 13, 91<sup>a</sup> 6, 104<sup>c</sup> 5, **Sg.** 97<sup>a</sup> 2, *ramúinset doib buid* 810  
*and* **Wb.** 5<sup>b</sup> 44, *subaigidir nepuid hi cumgaib* **ML.** 122<sup>a</sup> 11,  
*pullicens gratulatur .i. buith etir inna encu* 76<sup>c</sup> 5, *idem facere*  
*.i. buith ind accind in fino* **Sg.** 213<sup>b</sup> 1, *tri buith hi coimtech*  
**ML.** 33<sup>b</sup> 13, cf. 47<sup>b</sup> 8, 53<sup>b</sup> 15, 56<sup>b</sup> 26, *asbiur-sa a m-buih*  
*immellei* **Wb.** 10<sup>a</sup> 4, cf. 32<sup>a</sup> 9, **ML.** 145<sup>d</sup> 8, **Sg.** 58<sup>b</sup> 1, 59<sup>a</sup> 5, 815  
 207<sup>b</sup> 4, *uidemur hoc sequi .i. a buith ar chonsain* 8<sup>a</sup> 6, *exigat*  
*.i. a buith* 69<sup>a</sup> 23, cf. 106<sup>b</sup> 19, 212<sup>b</sup> 10, *tria buith sidi i n-nim*  
**ML.** 30<sup>c</sup> 5; *asrochoilli inna chridiu buid dond ingin i n-ógi*  
**Wb.** 10<sup>b</sup> 20, *is ed asindet som buith doib i n-doiri* (or nom.?)  
**ML.** 108<sup>b</sup> 6, *hoc itaque dico .i. buith dúibsi i n-ógi* **Wb.** 10<sup>b</sup> 2, 820  
**Sg.** 20<sup>b</sup> 5,<sup>1</sup> *ar buid doib du reir* **Dæ** **ML.** 96<sup>b</sup> 3.

<sup>1</sup> In **Wb.** 26<sup>b</sup> 21 *conamadar-sa a n-digail forru .i. both doib cen biad* we have the original nominative form though explanatory of an accusative, so 25<sup>a</sup> 13. This suggests that some of the other examples may be in the nominative likewise.



- Genitive: **buithe**:—*buithe inna diad* **ML.** 35<sup>b</sup> 23, cf. 88<sup>a</sup> 12, 100<sup>b</sup> 15 (*buthe*), 128<sup>a</sup> 3, **Sg.** 163<sup>b</sup> 2; *buithe in boicht fo mam int sommai* **ML.** 27<sup>d</sup> 7, cf. 53<sup>d</sup> 15; *buithe dũibsi i peccad* **Wb.** 825 14<sup>d</sup> 7, cf. **ML.** 72<sup>d</sup> 9, 138<sup>c</sup> 5 (*bithe*).
- Dative: **buid**:—*ni coir descad pectho do buith i sollumun* **Agni Wb.** 9<sup>b</sup> 13, cf. 5<sup>a</sup> 13 (*bith*), *oldate pecthe do buid and* 9<sup>d</sup> 13, *onach ase ditia do buith uandi as dis* **Sg.** 104<sup>b</sup> 4, *nib machdath lat reperio do buith for quart. cob-* 158<sup>a</sup> 2, *bith ma de do buith daitsiu* 2<sup>a</sup> 7, 830 *ba compes ba riagolda do buith* 57<sup>b</sup> 8, *aicsenogud comacomuil do buith hi rems-* 215<sup>a</sup> 10, *for riag- do buith isnaib anmanaib-se* 108<sup>a</sup> 3, *dorusluindset remdeicsin Dæ du buith diib* **ML.** 90<sup>b</sup> 17, *eiasidbiur fritso Atho et Athos do buith* **Sg.** 106<sup>b</sup> 4, *amal duneclannar etach . . . do buith im rig* **ML.** 120<sup>d</sup> 2, in qua 835 *et uocati estis in uno corpore .i. do buith i n-bentid coirp Crist* **Wb.** 27<sup>b</sup> 23, *dedit mihi Deus .i. do buid fom chumachtu* 32<sup>d</sup> 7, *propria habitatione donasti .i. du buith duit and* **ML.** 84<sup>a</sup> 2, *gregis solacia non requirunt .i. do buith immalle fris* 102<sup>a</sup> 19, *per illos saeculo te interfuturum esse laetaberis .i. do buith do forraithmit* 840 135<sup>d</sup> 1, *usus quoque confirmat .i. do buith ar chonsain* **Sg.** 120<sup>b</sup> 8, *iarmbuith socumail* **ML.** 44<sup>c</sup> 6, *iarrna buith forsintochull* 82<sup>d</sup> 10, *iar m-bid do oc accaldim Dé* **Wb.** 15<sup>a</sup> 20, *i nepbuith dia réir* 14<sup>a</sup> 16.

### Participle of Necessity.

- buthi**:—*is amlaid is buithi do chách* **Wb.** 24<sup>a</sup> 17, *innahí batar* 845 *buthi ar thuus* **ML.** 23<sup>c</sup> 16, cf. 29<sup>a</sup> 8, *ni buthi saithar n-imbi* 24<sup>d</sup> 11.

## B. THE COPULA.

### Indicative Mood.

#### Present.

- Sg.** 1. **am**:—*am irlam* **Wb.** 1<sup>b</sup> 9, cf. 1<sup>b</sup> 8, 5<sup>a</sup> 18, 12<sup>d</sup> 22, 13<sup>c</sup> 8, 16<sup>a</sup> 26, 19<sup>a</sup> 19, 20, 24<sup>b</sup> 15, 16, 27<sup>c</sup> 22, **ML.** 40<sup>b</sup> 11, **Sg.** 143<sup>a</sup> 1, *is[s]uaichnid am fir-israhelte* **Wb.** 23<sup>d</sup> 30, cf. **ML.** 88<sup>b</sup> 4, *hore am essamin-se* **Wb.** 23<sup>b</sup> 7, cf. 9<sup>a</sup> 13, 10<sup>c</sup> 16, 29<sup>d</sup> 26.
- 850 **Sg.** 2. **at**:—*at firian-su* **ML.** 36<sup>a</sup> 32, cf. 126<sup>c</sup> 9, *ar at tú cen tosach* 110<sup>d</sup> 15, *at fechem dom* **Wb.** 32<sup>a</sup> 21, *hore at bonus miles* 30<sup>a</sup> 15, *is follus ad drogdúino-siu* 1<sup>c</sup> 10.
- it*:—*air it firian-su* **ML.** 55<sup>d</sup> 11, *it huaisliu cách* 108<sup>d</sup> 2.
- Sg.** 3. **is**:—*is eola* **Wb.** 1<sup>a</sup> 4, *is follus* 1<sup>b</sup> 14, cf. 1<sup>a</sup> 3, 1<sup>c</sup> 10, 1<sup>d</sup> 17, 855 1<sup>d</sup> 20, 2<sup>a</sup> 11, 2<sup>b</sup> 17, 2<sup>c</sup> 1, 2, 6, 2<sup>d</sup> 8, 3<sup>b</sup> 4, 30, 3<sup>c</sup> 4, 35, 3<sup>d</sup> 10, 4<sup>a</sup> 4, 6, 11, 4<sup>b</sup> 17, 23, 24, 26, 28, 4<sup>c</sup> 2, 4<sup>d</sup> 27, 5<sup>a</sup> 10, 18,

5<sup>b</sup> 28, 37, 5<sup>c</sup> 14, 18, 5<sup>d</sup> 37, 6<sup>a</sup> 13, 21, 6<sup>b</sup> 8, 10, 6<sup>c</sup> 4, 5, 7, etc., *is beic lim in brig sin* 8<sup>d</sup> 21 (but cf. *is becc in brig* 11<sup>a</sup> 9), *is Dia do cách* 1<sup>a</sup> 1, cf. 2, 1<sup>d</sup> 6, *is luud leu* 2<sup>b</sup> 1, *is athir som* 2<sup>c</sup> 11, cf. 3<sup>a</sup> 15, *is cuit fresligi* 3<sup>d</sup> 4, cf. 3<sup>d</sup> 8, *is Dia bendachthe* 4<sup>c</sup> 4, 860 cf. 4<sup>d</sup> 15, 5<sup>a</sup> 5, 5<sup>b</sup> 42, 5<sup>c</sup> 7, 5<sup>d</sup> 4, 6<sup>c</sup> 21, 26, etc., *is básad inna flatho, doem et* (MS. *doeme*) *dofich* 9<sup>d</sup> 2, cf. 14<sup>c</sup> 21, *is galar leu* 12<sup>b</sup> 10, *is suas amal sodin* **ML.** 24<sup>a</sup> 12, *is diil tanisi* (it is of the second declension) **Sg.** 100<sup>a</sup> 9, *is la Dia cid Calldea* **ML.** 45<sup>d</sup> 9, *arna epret is ara miscuis in cúrsachad act is ara seirce* **Wb.** 7<sup>d</sup> 8, 865 *is uadib Crist* 4<sup>c</sup> 2, cf. 7<sup>c</sup> 15, *is a bás i m-bás dosuidib* 13<sup>d</sup> 17, *is do chretim a deachte* **Wb.** 2<sup>d</sup> 6, *is hó siun co nuie dam far serc* 4<sup>b</sup> 29, *is cuci far m-burpe* 19<sup>b</sup> 8, cf. 25<sup>a</sup> 27, *is ónd athir dó* 21<sup>d</sup> 4, *is din chorp in ball* 22<sup>c</sup> 18, *is dia n-imortun fésine* 6<sup>a</sup> 5, *is fri deacht a fiadnisse sin* 13<sup>b</sup> 16, *is huas nert dom* **Sg.** 1<sup>a</sup> 6, *is* 870 *corpád mithig* **Wb.** 4<sup>c</sup> 37, *is co arcessea* 5<sup>b</sup> 35, cf. 9<sup>c</sup> 14, **ML.** 23<sup>c</sup> 6, 91<sup>a</sup> 20, 108<sup>a</sup> 6, 122<sup>b</sup> 7, *is huare rongnith* 31<sup>b</sup> 20, *issi ede dulchinne in mílthi* **Wb.** 11<sup>a</sup> 5, *is hé Dia* 15<sup>c</sup> 17, cf. 5<sup>a</sup> 19, 7<sup>b</sup> 11, 11<sup>a</sup> 17, *is he ar n-athir* 2<sup>b</sup> 23, cf. 2<sup>c</sup> 27, 3<sup>b</sup> 18, 4<sup>d</sup> 18, *is hé inso titul in dlígíd* 10<sup>a</sup> 12, cf. 4<sup>a</sup> 15, *issi meit insin donindnagar* 14<sup>b</sup> 15, cf. 5<sup>c</sup> 22, 875 6<sup>c</sup> 10, 9<sup>c</sup> 10, *is hed for n-ainm insin* 5<sup>a</sup> 17, *isi inso ind rún inso* 13<sup>d</sup> 16, *is hed a scriptum* 2<sup>d</sup> 3, cf. 5<sup>c</sup> 23, 7<sup>c</sup> 18, 9<sup>c</sup> 19, 11<sup>a</sup> 19, *is sissi in tempul sin* 8<sup>d</sup> 7, *Crist didiu issi in chathir* 21<sup>c</sup> 5, *is hed an honestum guide Dée* 10<sup>b</sup> 15, cf. 3<sup>d</sup> 5, 11<sup>b</sup> 5, 14<sup>c</sup> 10, *is hé in peccad rogéni a n-uile comaccobor* 3<sup>c</sup> 25, 880 cf. 3<sup>d</sup> 11, 8<sup>d</sup> 20, *is hé sensus forchain* 8<sup>c</sup> 2, *is messe rophroidich* 10<sup>c</sup> 20, cf. **ML.** 47<sup>a</sup> 2, 94<sup>b</sup> 7, 92<sup>a</sup> 17, *is snisni ata boues* **Wb.** 10<sup>d</sup> 7, *is sisi nobcrete* **ML.** 46<sup>a</sup> 13, *is hésom doradchituir* **Wb.** 2<sup>c</sup> 9, cf. 3<sup>d</sup> 15, 4<sup>a</sup> 27, 4<sup>b</sup> 1, 4, 4<sup>c</sup> 3, 5<sup>b</sup> 28, 5<sup>c</sup> 16, 5<sup>d</sup> 9, 6<sup>a</sup> 11, 6<sup>d</sup> 11, etc., *is dreecht diib nad rochreit* 5<sup>c</sup> 2, *is Dia* 885 *rodordigestar* 6<sup>a</sup> 3, etc., *is samlid bami coheredes* 4<sup>a</sup> 17, cf. 3<sup>d</sup> 27, *isamlaid ataid-si* 4<sup>a</sup> 4, etc.<sup>1</sup>; *is ind il as ferr* 2<sup>a</sup> 4, *is ósib atá* **Wb.** 2<sup>b</sup> 7, cf. 2<sup>b</sup> 6, 2<sup>b</sup> 15, etc.; *is mó is periculosius* **Acr.** 29, *amal is i lóu* **Wb.** 6<sup>a</sup> 30, *amal is tre bar tabirt-si* . . . . *ronbia-ni indocbál* 14<sup>c</sup> 17, cf. **ML.** 33<sup>b</sup> 3, 38<sup>a</sup> 5, 890 56<sup>c</sup> 11, 145<sup>c</sup> 4, = ut, uelut, *amal is in denmada coitchin* **ML.** 27<sup>b</sup> 13, *amal is na n-Assar* 54<sup>a</sup> 22, cf. 116<sup>a</sup> 10; *fobith is taipe inso* 14<sup>d</sup> 4, cf. **Sg.** 107<sup>a</sup> 1, *fubith is tri metur roceta* **ML.** 30<sup>a</sup> 9; *huaire is sain* **Wb.** 5<sup>d</sup> 5, *hóre is irdirce* 7<sup>c</sup> 3, cf. 2<sup>c</sup> 19, 11<sup>c</sup> 16, **ML.** 55<sup>d</sup> 11, **Sg.** 71<sup>a</sup> 17, 215<sup>a</sup> 2, *hore is minister* **Wb.** 6<sup>a</sup> 18, 895

<sup>1</sup> In **Sg.** 197<sup>a</sup> 11 read *is fris aricht, ni fris aricht.*

cf. 4<sup>c</sup> 23, 10<sup>c</sup> 13, 16<sup>c</sup> 13, *hóre is* in contumeliam *dúnni* 30<sup>b</sup> 17, *huare is lánchiall indib* Sg. 140<sup>b</sup> 3, *huare issi aimser sin indentae* Ml. 24<sup>d</sup> 9, *hóre is amne dognither* Wb. 9<sup>c</sup> 14, *hore is óenrad fil and* 13<sup>b</sup> 9, cf. 5<sup>b</sup> 16, 27, 6<sup>a</sup> 30, 12<sup>b</sup> 6, 13<sup>d</sup> 26, 15<sup>c</sup> 23, 16<sup>a</sup> 17, 16<sup>d</sup> 14, 17<sup>c</sup> 23, 22<sup>c</sup> 17, 23<sup>d</sup> 21, Ml. 14<sup>a</sup> 9, 17<sup>c</sup> 7, 35<sup>c</sup> 23, 37<sup>a</sup> 10, 51<sup>c</sup> 26, 55<sup>d</sup> 19, 56<sup>b</sup> 15, 83<sup>d</sup> 9, Sg. 18<sup>a</sup> 6, 20<sup>b</sup> 8, 66<sup>b</sup> 9, 74<sup>b</sup> 8, 197<sup>a</sup> 11, 205<sup>b</sup> 21, 209<sup>b</sup> 10; *quia is écsamil* 211<sup>a</sup> 14, cf. 71<sup>a</sup> 2, *quia is do bestataid infét* Ml. 14<sup>b</sup> 12, Sg. 212<sup>a</sup> 3. In translating relatives, *is snisni* Ml. 32<sup>a</sup> 20, cf. 63<sup>c</sup> 15, 78<sup>a</sup> 1, 93<sup>c</sup> 11, *issa eregem adi* 35<sup>a</sup> 20, Sg. 203<sup>a</sup> 18, 19. In impersonal construction with infixed pronoun *issumecen* Wb. 10<sup>d</sup> 24, *isatdilmainsiu* (MS. *isadilmainsiu* corr. Stokes) Ml. 55<sup>d</sup> 21.<sup>1</sup>

To *is* the negative is *ní*,<sup>2</sup> *ní na persan a teclim act is operum* Wb. 1<sup>d</sup> 1, cf. 2<sup>a</sup> 3, 2<sup>b</sup> 24, 2<sup>c</sup> 1, 2<sup>d</sup> 2, 3<sup>b</sup> 21, 3<sup>d</sup> 4, 11, 4<sup>b</sup> 11, 4<sup>c</sup> 37, 5<sup>b</sup> 28, 8<sup>a</sup> 6, 17<sup>b</sup> 4, 17<sup>d</sup> 2, 19<sup>a</sup> 6, 25<sup>d</sup> 26, etc.; *hóre ní tri sonirti n-irisse damelat* 10<sup>c</sup> 3; *cani* (= nonne) *cani góo* Wb. 5<sup>a</sup> 8, cf. 5<sup>b</sup> 35, 12<sup>d</sup> 4, 18<sup>a</sup> 16, etc.; *in* (= an) appears simply as *in*, *insí ameit* Wb. 5<sup>b</sup> 11, cf. 5<sup>b</sup> 29, 10<sup>d</sup> 1, 11<sup>d</sup> 6, 18<sup>a</sup> 15, 24<sup>d</sup> 11,<sup>3</sup> Sg. 15<sup>b</sup> 7, Ml. 44<sup>b</sup> 10, etc.; with *sechi*, cf. Ascoli Gloss., *celi*; with *ce cia*, *ci hé roscrib* Sg. 197<sup>a</sup>, *ci sí chiall bis indib* 217<sup>a</sup>, *cia loc diaregtais* Ml. 99<sup>b</sup> 10, etc. Apparently without any copula form *intí lasinn accubur* Ml. 53<sup>c</sup> 16, *intí lasin format* 129<sup>b</sup> 3.

as:—*as denti* Wb. 1<sup>d</sup> 7, cf. 4<sup>b</sup> 1, 4, 25, 4<sup>c</sup> 14, 6<sup>b</sup> 9, 25, 6<sup>c</sup> 25, 8<sup>a</sup> 17, 8<sup>c</sup> 14, 8<sup>d</sup> 23, 9<sup>b</sup> 17, 9<sup>d</sup> 29, 11<sup>b</sup> 7, 11<sup>d</sup> 2, 12<sup>a</sup> 23, 13<sup>b</sup> 23, 14<sup>c</sup> 38, 17<sup>b</sup> 24, 17<sup>d</sup> 27, 18<sup>d</sup> 9, 19<sup>a</sup> 18, 19<sup>c</sup> 7, 19<sup>d</sup> 9, 22<sup>d</sup> 26, 23<sup>c</sup> 2, 26<sup>a</sup> 2, 6, 28<sup>d</sup> 23, 24, 31<sup>b</sup> 32, 33<sup>c</sup> 15, Ml. 16<sup>a</sup> 7, 14<sup>d</sup> 37, 14<sup>c</sup> 6, 19<sup>d</sup> 8, 20<sup>d</sup> 1, 23<sup>c</sup> 21, 23<sup>c</sup> 25, 24<sup>d</sup> 30, 37<sup>a</sup> 10, 37<sup>d</sup> 14, 45<sup>a</sup> 4, 47<sup>d</sup> 7, 48<sup>a</sup> 9, 51<sup>b</sup> 7, 8, 11, 53<sup>a</sup> 23, 56<sup>b</sup> 22, 57<sup>d</sup> 16, 73<sup>a</sup> 10, 68<sup>b</sup> 7, 84<sup>a</sup> 3, 103<sup>a</sup> 9, 104<sup>a</sup> 6, 105<sup>b</sup> 7, 109<sup>c</sup> 14, 130<sup>b</sup> 8, 130<sup>c</sup> 10, Sg. 32<sup>b</sup> 5, 40<sup>b</sup> 9, 28<sup>a</sup> 2 (*as coit.* better *as*

<sup>1</sup> *Sechis* is a common formula of explanation, cf. Ascoli Gloss., *ceii*. In Ml. 69<sup>c</sup> 1 occurs *sechas n-adamrighi* with *is* written above; here *as n-adamrighi* is evidently meant to express *timendum esse*. In 83<sup>b</sup> 6 stands *sech as aramberad* where the reason for *as* is not clear. Is it a mistake due to the following *ar*? The plural is *sechit*. Here may be mentioned also the formulae *os*, pl. *óte*, and *citne*., of which examples will be found in Ascoli Gloss., cxxi.

<sup>2</sup> So far as I have observed, this *ní* is used only with a singular, a fact which confirms Thurneysen's view (Celt. Zeitschr., i, 1 sq.) that *ní* really contains a copula form. The plural is *nítat*, cf. *nítat ildáni do óenfur et ní óen dán do sochuidi* Wb. 21<sup>a</sup> 16, *nítat á airtlín fessin donárbaid in popul dia soirad acht it inna tairngere duwairngert Dia do Duaid du soirad in popuil*. Cf. p. 31.

<sup>3</sup> In Wb. 13<sup>c</sup> 18 should we read *indóich do nech uaid*?



*choit.*), 30<sup>b</sup> 12, 54<sup>b</sup> 8, 55<sup>a</sup> 1, 59<sup>a</sup> 6, 67<sup>a</sup> 12, 71<sup>a</sup> 16, 77<sup>a</sup> 5, 90<sup>a</sup> 4, 106<sup>b</sup> 22, 138<sup>a</sup> 13, 168<sup>a</sup> 1, **Acr.** 75, *as glantaidiu* (g. purgatorius) **ML.** 18<sup>c</sup> 2, cf. 20<sup>b</sup> 1, 32<sup>a</sup> 17, 42<sup>b</sup> 20, 44<sup>c</sup> 27, 930 46<sup>a</sup> 6, 49<sup>a</sup> 21, 62<sup>a</sup> 10, 87<sup>b</sup> 7, 89<sup>d</sup> 6, 90<sup>c</sup> 7, 114<sup>b</sup> 2, 130<sup>b</sup> 4, 138<sup>d</sup> 7, 145<sup>b</sup> 2, 3, 145<sup>c</sup> 11, **Sg.** 72<sup>b</sup> 5, *as enirt menme* **Wb.** 10<sup>c</sup> 1, cf. **ML.** 99<sup>b</sup> 5, **Sg.** 147<sup>a</sup> 3, *as taidchricc* **Wb.** 2<sup>b</sup> 9, cf. 2<sup>d</sup> 12, 4<sup>c</sup> 3, 5<sup>b</sup> 17, 6<sup>d</sup> 10, 8<sup>a</sup> 10, 16<sup>c</sup> 12, 21<sup>a</sup> 15 (*ind nóib as chorp, it hé as chorp*), 23<sup>b</sup> 34, 29<sup>c</sup> 7, 33<sup>c</sup> 4, **ML.** 37<sup>c</sup> 19, 935 45<sup>c</sup> 9, 49<sup>b</sup> 6, 85<sup>b</sup> 15, 90<sup>b</sup> 13, **Sg.** 153<sup>b</sup> 8, *inti as a ainm bis* **ML.** 2<sup>c</sup> 3, *as est* (the word *est*) **Wb.** 14<sup>c</sup> 28, *forsani as iniquitas* (on *iniquitas*) **ML.** 55<sup>c</sup> 14, cf. 17<sup>d</sup> 7, 37<sup>a</sup> 18, 37<sup>d</sup> 10, 46<sup>c</sup> 19, 47<sup>a</sup> 14, 48<sup>a</sup> 6, 51<sup>c</sup> 2, 51<sup>d</sup> 22, 53<sup>a</sup> 1, 55<sup>c</sup> 6, 10, 56<sup>b</sup> 31, 32, 33, 40, 64<sup>d</sup> 8, 88<sup>d</sup> 4, 94<sup>c</sup> 3, 95<sup>c</sup> 8, 108<sup>c</sup> 12, 110<sup>d</sup> 16, 940 112<sup>d</sup> 2, 114<sup>b</sup> 1, 118<sup>c</sup> 6, 122<sup>b</sup> 8, 123<sup>c</sup> 16, 125<sup>b</sup> 1, 133<sup>a</sup> 7, 13, 133<sup>b</sup> 12, 133<sup>d</sup> 9, **Sg.** 9<sup>a</sup> 2, 27<sup>b</sup> 2, 15, 28<sup>a</sup> 18, 30<sup>b</sup> 5, 35<sup>b</sup> 13, 39<sup>a</sup> 20, 21, 40<sup>a</sup> 15, 41<sup>a</sup> 7, 45<sup>b</sup> 16, 50<sup>a</sup> 8, 9, 53<sup>a</sup> 11, 54<sup>a</sup> 5, 55<sup>b</sup> 6, 56<sup>b</sup> 8, 59<sup>b</sup> 13, 63<sup>a</sup> 17, 63<sup>b</sup> 2, 65<sup>a</sup> 4, 66<sup>a</sup> 28, 67<sup>b</sup> 4, 71<sup>a</sup> 7, 8, 75<sup>a</sup> 8, 75<sup>b</sup> 1, 9, 76<sup>b</sup> 6, 88<sup>a</sup> 4, 90<sup>b</sup> 3, 91<sup>b</sup> 2, 93<sup>b</sup> 4, 94<sup>a</sup> 4, 945 104<sup>b</sup> 4, 105<sup>b</sup> 2, 4, 116<sup>a</sup> 2, 125<sup>a</sup> 6, 135<sup>b</sup> 2, 138<sup>b</sup> 7, 142<sup>b</sup> 2, 146<sup>a</sup> 1, 148<sup>b</sup> 9, 149<sup>b</sup> 3, 5, 155<sup>a</sup> 1, 155<sup>b</sup> 1, 2, 158<sup>a</sup> 2, 4, 163<sup>a</sup> 2, 163<sup>b</sup> 2, 5, 169<sup>b</sup> 2, 170<sup>b</sup> 2, 172<sup>a</sup> 1, 178<sup>a</sup> 1, 179<sup>a</sup> 6, 181<sup>b</sup> 1, 182<sup>a</sup> 2, 184<sup>b</sup> 2, 185<sup>b</sup> 1, 188<sup>a</sup> 13, 194<sup>a</sup> 2, 195<sup>b</sup> 3, 197<sup>a</sup> 2, 3, 196<sup>b</sup> 7, 198<sup>a</sup> 2, 200<sup>b</sup> 10, 202<sup>b</sup> 17, 203<sup>a</sup> 19, 205<sup>b</sup> 4, 206<sup>b</sup> 2, 950 207<sup>b</sup> 8, 9, 209<sup>a</sup> 5, 210<sup>a</sup> 2, 3, 210<sup>b</sup> 1, 4, 5, 211<sup>a</sup> 14, 213<sup>a</sup> 4, 214<sup>b</sup> 4, 222<sup>a</sup> 7, 222<sup>b</sup> 5, 6, 10, **Per.** 12<sup>b</sup> 1, 58<sup>b</sup> 2, **Tur.** 64, 125, *a n-as maith* (what is good) **Wb.** 6<sup>b</sup> 18, *a n-as ansam* 10<sup>a</sup> 1, cf. 11<sup>c</sup> 6, 12<sup>b</sup> 6, 13<sup>d</sup> 8, 9, 21<sup>c</sup> 6, 27<sup>b</sup> 11, **ML.** 37<sup>d</sup> 3, 41<sup>d</sup> 12, 54<sup>a</sup> 11,<sup>1</sup> *olsodin as eres* (which is heresy) 24<sup>d</sup> 23, cf. 127<sup>d</sup> 5, 955 **Sg.** 65<sup>a</sup> 2, 187<sup>a</sup> 3, 213<sup>a</sup> 2, *olsuide as rann* 26<sup>b</sup> 7, *is amin as cert* **ML.** 62<sup>c</sup> 7, *is amne as coir* 114<sup>a</sup> 9, *is indil as ferr* **Wb.** 2<sup>a</sup> 4, *is bec as máo* **Sg.** 45<sup>a</sup> 15, *in chruth as coir et as inricc* **Wb.** 7<sup>b</sup> 1, cf. 29<sup>d</sup> 24, *ciafiu as n-dián* **ML.** 62<sup>c</sup> 5, cf. 61<sup>a</sup> 25, *dindí as n-ansae* 104<sup>a</sup> 6, *in déni as comallaide, in déni as* 960 *m-buidigthe* 62<sup>c</sup> 5, *méit as n-do scribund* **Sg.** 3<sup>b</sup> 30 (but *méit as do oen scribund* 112<sup>a</sup> 2), cf. **Acr.** 18, *ce méit as sinu ais* **Wb.** 34<sup>a</sup> 5, *ní ed amét as n-etarcnad* **ML.** 138<sup>a</sup> 12, cf. **Sg.** 182<sup>b</sup> 3, 200<sup>a</sup> 11, *cenmítha as n-díth* **ML.** 72<sup>b</sup> 15, *as n-olcc* (that it is evil) **Wb.** 1<sup>c</sup> 10, cf. 2<sup>d</sup> 8, 3<sup>c</sup> 22, 4<sup>d</sup> 14, 6<sup>a</sup> 27, 7<sup>a</sup> 13, 11<sup>b</sup> 10, 13<sup>a</sup> 18, 17<sup>a</sup> 12, 13, 965 22<sup>a</sup> 23, 23<sup>a</sup> 13, 14, 17, 28<sup>b</sup> 31, 27<sup>d</sup> 8, 29<sup>a</sup> 13, 29<sup>d</sup> 28, **ML.**

<sup>1</sup> So in **ML.** 2<sup>a</sup> 15 *as tormach* should be corrected into *anas tormach*.



- 17<sup>c</sup> 3, 20<sup>d</sup> 11, 24<sup>d</sup> 23, 25<sup>c</sup> 5, 51<sup>d</sup> 1, 20, 64<sup>a</sup> 2, 65<sup>d</sup> 13, 68<sup>c</sup> 8,  
127<sup>b</sup> 11, 131<sup>c</sup> 12, 138<sup>a</sup> 5, **Sg.** 29<sup>a</sup> 3, 40<sup>b</sup> 14, 41<sup>a</sup> 6, 42<sup>a</sup> 9, 65<sup>a</sup> 6,  
93<sup>a</sup> 4, 139<sup>a</sup> 10, 157<sup>b</sup> 8, 207<sup>b</sup> 1, 208<sup>b</sup> 1, *as chomsuidigthe* (with  
970 irregular aspiration) 207<sup>b</sup> 9, **Tur.** 39, **Acr.** 75, 78, *as n-dithal-*  
*main do* **MI.** 68<sup>c</sup> 4, *as la Dia in popul* 114<sup>a</sup> 3, cf. 108<sup>c</sup> 14, **Sg.**  
209<sup>b</sup> 30, *as n-é Crist in lie asrubart* **Wb.** 4<sup>d</sup> 16, *as mé moínur*  
*aridrochell* **Sg.** 202<sup>a</sup> 7, *as n-ed dechur tadbadar* **MI.** 24<sup>d</sup> 25, *as n-ed*  
*fodera* **Sg.** 120<sup>a</sup> 4, *as n-iress nóibas* **Wb.** 19<sup>b</sup> 14, cf. 3<sup>d</sup> 10, 4<sup>a</sup> 19,  
975 24<sup>a</sup> 7, 29<sup>c</sup> 4, **MI.** 44<sup>d</sup> 14, 63<sup>b</sup> 12, 69<sup>a</sup> 16, 84<sup>d</sup> 4, 98<sup>c</sup> 10, 107<sup>a</sup> 16,  
130<sup>a</sup> 6, *as n-du Christ rocét* 25<sup>b</sup> 6, cf. 24<sup>d</sup> 29, 25<sup>b</sup> 8, 35<sup>a</sup> 10,  
60<sup>b</sup> 11, 61<sup>d</sup> 2, 89<sup>a</sup> 2, 139<sup>a</sup> 6, 11, without *n*, *as Dia dorigni* 42<sup>b</sup> 24,  
cf. 130<sup>a</sup> 6, *as di Assaraib rogabad* 35<sup>a</sup> 8, cf. 44<sup>b</sup> 2, 114<sup>a</sup> 2,  
131<sup>c</sup> 14; *an as n-esngabthe* (g. excessu) **MI.** 22<sup>d</sup> 9, cf. 23<sup>d</sup> 1,  
980 28<sup>b</sup> 12, 27<sup>c</sup> 17, 34<sup>a</sup> 25, 42<sup>c</sup> 21, 47<sup>a</sup> 5, 108<sup>d</sup> 5, 130<sup>d</sup> 12, **Sg.**  
3<sup>b</sup> 31, 4<sup>a</sup> 11, 36<sup>b</sup> 3, 109<sup>a</sup> 5, 208<sup>b</sup> 13; *amal as n-inrice* **Wb.**  
7<sup>b</sup> 2, cf. 11<sup>c</sup> 14, 22<sup>a</sup> 24, 22<sup>c</sup> 13, 23<sup>a</sup> 21, 28<sup>b</sup> 2, 31<sup>d</sup> 17, **MI.**  
31<sup>a</sup> 12, 40<sup>b</sup> 9, 55<sup>a</sup> 13, 57<sup>c</sup> 12, 61<sup>b</sup> 28, 75<sup>b</sup> 7, 77<sup>d</sup> 2, 84<sup>a</sup> 4,  
85<sup>b</sup> 11, 86<sup>b</sup> 5, 89<sup>c</sup> 10, 90<sup>b</sup> 10, 11, 109<sup>d</sup> 10, 111<sup>a</sup> 5, 120<sup>d</sup> 5,  
985 133<sup>b</sup> 7, 140<sup>c</sup> 5, **Sg.** 145<sup>a</sup> 4, 150<sup>a</sup> 1, 220<sup>b</sup> 5, *amal as messe dudu-*  
*forsat* **MI.** 94<sup>b</sup> 7, *amal as n-é as splendor* **Wb.** 32<sup>b</sup> 4, *amal as n-ed*  
*as soirbem* **MI.** 56<sup>a</sup> 13, cf. 57<sup>c</sup> 12, 60<sup>b</sup> 16, 79<sup>b</sup> 5, 92<sup>c</sup> 5, 104<sup>b</sup> 5,  
111<sup>c</sup> 17, *amal as n-uaid som doforsat* 17<sup>b</sup> 2, cf. **Wb.** 8<sup>c</sup> 12,  
without *n-* *amal as hiress* (*n-iress*?) *ronóib* **Wb.** 19<sup>b</sup> 12, *amal as*  
990 *ho molad* . . . . *intinscana* **MI.** 26<sup>b</sup> 10, *amal as ar gnim*  
*áubeir* 109<sup>a</sup> 1, so *amal as* = *uelut*, *tanquam*, *amal as o Spirit*  
(g. *tanquam a Spiritu*) **Wb.** 15<sup>b</sup> 7, cf. 16<sup>a</sup> 14, **MI.** 17<sup>b</sup> 3,  
22<sup>d</sup> 13, 31<sup>d</sup> 15, 33<sup>b</sup> 9, 106<sup>a</sup> 5, 120<sup>c</sup> 4<sup>1</sup>; *fib as deg ropridchad*  
**Wb.** 23<sup>a</sup> 3; *fobith as n-athchian* **Sg.** 67<sup>a</sup> 12; *ol as cocarti* 90<sup>a</sup> 7,  
995 cf. 25<sup>b</sup> 8; *hóre as n-amairessach* **Wb.** 11<sup>b</sup> 24, cf. 15<sup>b</sup> 24,  
17<sup>b</sup> 29, 25<sup>a</sup> 23, 33<sup>c</sup> 2, **MI.** 94<sup>c</sup> 8, **Sg.** 38<sup>a</sup> 1, 41<sup>b</sup> 3, 115<sup>a</sup> 2,  
120<sup>a</sup> 1, 159<sup>a</sup> 3, 163<sup>b</sup> 7, 180<sup>b</sup> 2, *huare as n-é gnim tengad*  
*comlabrae* **MI.** 31<sup>b</sup> 24,<sup>2</sup> *óre as n-dúil foruigensat* **Wb.** 1<sup>b</sup> 22,  
cf. 11<sup>a</sup> 10, **MI.** 48<sup>c</sup> 19, 142<sup>d</sup> 1, without *n-* *huare as dlíged* **MI.**  
1000 54<sup>a</sup> 5, cf. **Sg.** 18<sup>a</sup> 1, *huare as indeacht fodaraitbminedar* **MI.**  
25<sup>c</sup> 5; *intan as n-ainm* **MI.** 48<sup>d</sup> 5, cf. 59<sup>d</sup> 7, 98<sup>a</sup> 4, 113<sup>a</sup> 5,  
**Sg.** 59<sup>b</sup> 17, 104<sup>b</sup> 5, 107<sup>b</sup> 1, 181<sup>a</sup> 8, 198<sup>a</sup> 2, 198<sup>b</sup> 11, 220<sup>b</sup> 8,  
without *n-* *intan as aithrech* **MI.** 93<sup>a</sup> 23, *intan as do gnim* **Sg.**  
59<sup>b</sup> 16; *lase as cian* **MI.** 44<sup>b</sup> 11. Cf. *ós* 'since,' *ós accobor*  
1005 *lemm* **Wb.** 7<sup>a</sup> 3, *húas eturgnaid dunni* **Acr.** 77.

<sup>1</sup> But *amal as n-di* g. quasi consonanti **Sg.** 9<sup>b</sup> 11.

<sup>2</sup> In *as fas* **MI.** 78<sup>b</sup> 23, *as* is used because the writer has in his mind a *hóre* = *quando* of the Latin text.

As negatives to *as* appear:—

**nád**:—*intí nád imdibthe* **Wb.** 1<sup>d</sup> 15, cf. 8<sup>a</sup> 18, 18<sup>c</sup> 7, 31<sup>e</sup> 1, **MI.** 25<sup>a</sup> 6, **Sg.** 161<sup>b</sup> 10, *nat comrorcun* **MI.** 25<sup>d</sup> 12, *amal nát anse dúib* **Wb.** 17<sup>c</sup> 11, *olsodin nad choir* **MI.** 37<sup>a</sup> 8, 10, cf. 131<sup>c</sup> 3, *nat he macc Dé rogenair* [7] *nach*[é] *rochrochsat* **MI.** 25<sup>b</sup> 5.<sup>1</sup> 1010

**nant**:—*nant ní ídol et nád n-escona ní* **Wb.** 10<sup>b</sup> 26, *nant ní less* **MI.** 36<sup>a</sup> 14, *nant maith* 53<sup>c</sup> 1, cf. 116<sup>c</sup> 7, 129<sup>a</sup> 26, **nand** **Sg.** 3<sup>b</sup> 5, 76<sup>a</sup> 3, 150<sup>b</sup> 1, 180<sup>b</sup> 2, 218<sup>a</sup> 6, 221<sup>b</sup> 7, *huare nand neutur* **Sg.** 64<sup>a</sup> 11, *nant neque manebunt asrubart* **MI.** 21<sup>d</sup> 4, *nand ainmm 7 nand cumachte legas* **Sg.** 5<sup>a</sup> 10, *nant he macc Dé rogenair iar colain 7 nant hæ rocrochsat* **MI.** 24<sup>d</sup> 4. So **nan**, *nan coimdiu* **Wb.** 17<sup>a</sup> 12, *nan etrantach* 23<sup>a</sup> 13, cf. 12<sup>d</sup> 28. 1015

**nách**:—*nách maith* 6<sup>b</sup> 6, *nách gáo* 17<sup>d</sup> 12, *naich do imdibu colnidu* 10<sup>a</sup> 15, *is follus nach b in s* **Sg.** 16<sup>b</sup> 5, *nach a nert fesin* **MI.** 63<sup>b</sup> 8, *amal nách annse n-dúib* **Wb.** 6<sup>d</sup> 9, *huare nach maith leu* **MI.** 138<sup>c</sup> 9, *nach ar mu peccad doratad form* 44<sup>b</sup> 19, *huare nach du noibi téit* 37<sup>a</sup> 10, cf. 46<sup>d</sup> 10, **Sg.** 46<sup>b</sup> 10, 196<sup>a</sup> 1. Cf. **connách** (negative to *conid* p. 32) *onách ase* **Sg.** 104<sup>b</sup> 4, cf. 198<sup>a</sup> 11, 200<sup>b</sup> 10, 207<sup>b</sup> 7, 212<sup>a</sup> 6, **innach** (**MS.** *ní nach*) *cuman lib* **Wb.** 26<sup>a</sup> 9. 1025

**Pl. 1. ammi**:—*ammi irlaim* **Wb.** 4<sup>b</sup> 21, *ammi cosmili* 13<sup>c</sup> 12, *ammi óin chórp hí Crist* 12<sup>a</sup> 12, cf. 5<sup>d</sup> 2, 8<sup>d</sup> 26, 16<sup>a</sup> 6, 17<sup>b</sup> 5, 24<sup>d</sup> 9, **MI.** 43<sup>d</sup> 7 (*amí*), 94<sup>a</sup> 6, 101<sup>d</sup> 9, *ammi Dé* ('we are God's') **Wb.** 6<sup>b</sup> 20, *hore ammi corp Crist et ammi boill Crist* 12<sup>b</sup> 12, cf. 25<sup>e</sup> 6, *ammin éulig* 14<sup>d</sup> 28, *ámminn imdibatai-ni 7 ammin dilachtai* **MI.** 83<sup>c</sup> 3. 1030

**immi**:—*air immi* (**MS.** *airmi*) *ardu-ni* **MI.** 23<sup>d</sup> 23.

**Pl. 2. adib**:—*adib mairb* **Wb.** 3<sup>b</sup> 6, cf. 11<sup>d</sup> 2, 15<sup>a</sup> 12, 19<sup>c</sup> 18, 19<sup>e</sup> 20, 21<sup>c</sup> 4, 8, 25<sup>d</sup> 8, 26<sup>b</sup> 12, 27<sup>c</sup> 17 (**MS.** *abi*), 33<sup>c</sup> 19, *hore adib ellachti* 22<sup>a</sup> 24, cf. 21<sup>c</sup> 17 (*adi*), 24<sup>e</sup> 1, *hore adib doini* 22<sup>a</sup> 30, cf. 22<sup>b</sup> 1, 10, *hore adib cretmich* 10<sup>a</sup> 6, cf. 15<sup>a</sup> 8, 16<sup>a</sup> 28, *hore adimmaic* 9<sup>a</sup> 13, *hore adabaill* (= *adib baill*) 3<sup>b</sup> 7. 1035

**idib**:—*ar idib maithi* **Wb.** 16<sup>b</sup> 9.

**Pl. 3. it**:—*it huissi uel it cointfi*<sup>2</sup> **Wb.** 1<sup>c</sup> 7, cf. 7<sup>a</sup> 8, 10<sup>d</sup> 4, 11<sup>d</sup> 11, 12<sup>a</sup> 5, 13<sup>b</sup> 24, 14<sup>a</sup> 8, 16<sup>c</sup> 11, 17<sup>b</sup> 2, 23<sup>b</sup> 12, 14, 16, 28<sup>d</sup> 22, 1040 29<sup>b</sup> 22, **MI.** 22<sup>c</sup> 5, 29<sup>c</sup> 5, 34<sup>b</sup> 9, 42<sup>b</sup> 15, 43<sup>d</sup> 18, 51<sup>c</sup> 14, 60<sup>b</sup> 8, 10, 62<sup>a</sup> 5, 104<sup>d</sup> 4, 124<sup>b</sup> 4, 126<sup>b</sup> 15, 129<sup>d</sup> 14, 130<sup>a</sup> 4, 1045

<sup>1</sup> In **MI.** 135<sup>d</sup> 6, for *anannat airdbide* should be read *anndt airdbide* 'when he is not destroyed.'

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *contfi* Laws, iv, 344, *coindfed* O'Don. Suppl.

- 130<sup>d</sup> 7, 10, 145<sup>d</sup> 3, **Sg.** 3<sup>a</sup> 10 (*hit*), 5<sup>a</sup> 10 (*hit*), 6<sup>a</sup> 9, 10<sup>a</sup> 12, 44<sup>b</sup> 2, 4, 64<sup>a</sup> 4, 12, 66<sup>b</sup> 17, 71<sup>a</sup> 18, 114<sup>b</sup> 3, 148<sup>b</sup> 9, 197<sup>a</sup> 2, 203<sup>a</sup> 2, 208<sup>a</sup> 1, *alaaili it coitcheana* 215<sup>a</sup> 1, *it bithdommai sidi dá gente* **ML.** 36<sup>c</sup> 14, *it carit domsa* **Wb.** 5<sup>c</sup> 7, cf. 8<sup>c</sup> 15, 10<sup>c</sup> 11, 12<sup>a</sup> 13, 17<sup>c</sup> 6, 23<sup>a</sup> 9, 28<sup>c</sup> 3, **ML.** 2<sup>d</sup> 2, 18<sup>c</sup> 6, 39<sup>d</sup> 30, 45<sup>b</sup> 10, 120<sup>d</sup> 11, 124<sup>c</sup> 1, 132<sup>d</sup> 2, **Sg.** 39<sup>b</sup> 7, 41<sup>b</sup> 7, 11, 108<sup>b</sup> 4, 111<sup>b</sup> 1, 194<sup>b</sup> 2, 211<sup>a</sup> 10, *it diil tanaisi* **Sg.** 107<sup>a</sup> 2, cf. 107<sup>b</sup> 1, *it lib huili* **Wb.** 8<sup>d</sup> 15, cf. 32<sup>c</sup> 2, *it hæ foraithtmitig* **ML.** 44<sup>c</sup> 5, *ité són aptota lessem* **Sg.** 77<sup>b</sup> 6, *ité inna nói* 197<sup>b</sup> 6, *it hé inso contentiones* **Wb.** 8<sup>c</sup> 10, cf. 27<sup>b</sup> 8, 28<sup>d</sup> 5, 26, 29<sup>a</sup> 3, **ML.** 104<sup>a</sup> 4, **Sg.** 203<sup>a</sup> 16, *it he inse ind focháinn inso* 86<sup>c</sup> 3, *it hé bona opera inso* **Wb.** 31<sup>c</sup> 9, cf. 7<sup>d</sup> 13, **ML.** 61<sup>b</sup> 7, **Sg.** 140<sup>a</sup> 6, *it he inna gnusi insnadat* **ML.** 118<sup>d</sup> 20, cf. 46<sup>c</sup> 8, *it hé omnia asmbeir som* **Wb.** 8<sup>d</sup> 14, cf. 28<sup>b</sup> 20, **ML.** 71<sup>d</sup> 7, **Sg.** 22<sup>a</sup> 3, *it he caeli lasuide ind apstail* **ML.** 42<sup>b</sup> 7, cf. 54<sup>a</sup> 12, **Bcr.** 18<sup>c</sup> 3, *it hé a primgeindi* **ML.** 123<sup>c</sup> 8, *it hæ ind aidmi asmbeirsom* 89<sup>a</sup> 8, cf. 74<sup>d</sup> 9, 118<sup>d</sup> 20, *ité uíui in doini bí* **Sg.** 39<sup>a</sup> 23, *it hé in toirthi innahí adfiadatar* **ML.** 46<sup>c</sup> 14, *it hé a tinnae di namma rusarigestar* 71<sup>b</sup> 14, *it sib ata chomarpi* **Wb.** 19<sup>c</sup> 20, *it hésidi beta hicti* 3<sup>d</sup> 29, cf. 3<sup>d</sup> 8, 10<sup>b</sup> 13, 12<sup>b</sup> 13, 14<sup>a</sup> 29, 28<sup>b</sup> 1, 32<sup>d</sup> 10, **ML.** 21<sup>b</sup> 10, 30<sup>b</sup> 3, 31<sup>c</sup> 8, 25, 63<sup>b</sup> 1 (*MS. it*), 99<sup>d</sup> 9, 116<sup>d</sup> 6, **Sg.** 5<sup>a</sup> 6 (*hit*), 28<sup>b</sup> 18, 32<sup>b</sup> 6, 39<sup>a</sup> 11, 77<sup>a</sup> 6, **Acr.** 1, 29, *it a n-athir inna fer fil and* **Wb.** 4<sup>c</sup> 1, cf. 12<sup>a</sup> 19, 17<sup>c</sup> 1, **ML.** 2<sup>c</sup> 2, 3<sup>a</sup> 5, 32<sup>b</sup> 18, 103<sup>b</sup> 5, **Sg.** 203<sup>b</sup> 6, **Acr.** 75, *nidat huili it foirbthi* **Wb.** 26<sup>b</sup> 2, cf. 29<sup>a</sup> 29; *amal it da lebur fichit* **ML.** 2<sup>d</sup> 2; *fobith it é nondaengraicigetar* **Sg.** 198<sup>b</sup> 8; *hóre it subditi som* **Wb.** 27<sup>c</sup> 4, *huare it hæ atá huáisleml* **ML.** 116<sup>a</sup> 11, *quia it cétnídi* **Sg.** 212<sup>b</sup> 16. Translating a Latin relative *it du gnimai-sin* g. cuius opera **ML.** 125<sup>d</sup> 3, *it hésidi ailiu* g. neque quos 94<sup>b</sup> 20, where note the accusative, cf. also **Sg.** 112<sup>b</sup> 1.
- ata*:—*ata sonartu* **Wb.** 6<sup>c</sup> 22, *ata hiressaig* 19<sup>b</sup> 15, cf. 12<sup>b</sup> 1, 21<sup>c</sup> 5, **ML.** 16<sup>b</sup> 1, 33<sup>d</sup> 5, 44<sup>d</sup> 3, 51<sup>b</sup> 8, 56<sup>a</sup> 20, 57<sup>a</sup> 6, 58<sup>a</sup> 20, 62<sup>b</sup> 9, 64<sup>c</sup> 3, 91<sup>c</sup> 8, 114<sup>b</sup> 7, 116<sup>a</sup> 10, 140<sup>b</sup> 3, **Sg.** 38<sup>b</sup> 8, **Acr.** 75, *ata inilliu* (g. tutiora) **ML.** 110<sup>d</sup> 11, cf. **Sg.** 30<sup>b</sup> 3, *ata horpamin* **Wb.** 2<sup>c</sup> 14, cf. 10<sup>d</sup> 7, 19<sup>c</sup> 20, 30<sup>a</sup> 11, **ML.** 146<sup>a</sup> 1, *it hé ata mundus* **Wb.** 5<sup>a</sup> 14, *it hésidi ata eclais* **ML.** 65<sup>d</sup> 19; *meit ata n-echtrainn* 72<sup>d</sup> 15; *doadbadar atá n-ili* **Wb.** 12<sup>a</sup> 11, **ML.** 12<sup>b</sup> 1, 27<sup>d</sup> 1 (*MS. antan*), 30<sup>b</sup> 2, 36<sup>d</sup> 11, 42<sup>b</sup> 23, 46<sup>b</sup> 28, 76<sup>a</sup> 5, 89<sup>a</sup> 2, 91<sup>c</sup> 18, 116<sup>d</sup> 5, 131<sup>d</sup> 16, 145<sup>c</sup> 8, 9, **Sg.** 7<sup>a</sup> 8, 10<sup>a</sup> 5, 154<sup>b</sup> 2, 197<sup>a</sup> 2, 3, 201<sup>b</sup> 10, 14; *a n-ata tuartai* **ML.** 83<sup>b</sup> 4, cf. 22<sup>d</sup> 8;



*amal ata cínchumracig* **Wb.** 30<sup>b</sup> 23, cf. 22<sup>c</sup> 14, **MI.** 20<sup>d</sup> 7, 32<sup>b</sup> 1, 44<sup>c</sup> 1, 118<sup>d</sup> 13, **Sg.** 222<sup>b</sup> 5, *amal ata les inna nert* **MI.** 108<sup>c</sup> 14; 1085 *huare ata firieín* 136<sup>b</sup> 4, cf. **Sg.** 48<sup>b</sup> 5, 197<sup>a</sup> 2, *huare ata n gnímai nui rognítha* **MI.** 115<sup>b</sup> 4, cf. 101<sup>c</sup> 7, **Sg.** 117<sup>a</sup> 1, 138<sup>a</sup> 4; *intan ata n-gortai* **MI.** 76<sup>d</sup> 14, cf. **Sg.** 31<sup>a</sup> 8; *oldaas ata n-diglaidi* **MI.** 111<sup>c</sup> 8.

**at (et)**:—*it hésiði et inbéso* **MI.** 27<sup>a</sup> 9, *it hesiði at inbésa* 1090 45<sup>d</sup> 1; *an-at n-acailsi* 48<sup>a</sup> 10, cf. 75<sup>b</sup> 5, 100<sup>c</sup> 16, 107<sup>c</sup> 7, 146<sup>a</sup> 4, *ol at n-emecha* 121<sup>c</sup> 15; without relative sense *air at cuidi tirmaidi* **MI.** 123<sup>d</sup> 3.<sup>1</sup>

In certain combinations the above copula forms are replaced by others, cf. also pp. 26, 29.

(a) **da-**, etc.

**Sg. 1. -da**:—*amal no-n-da frecndirec-sa* **Wb.** 9<sup>b</sup> 4, *amal no-n-da* 1095 *thorisse* 10<sup>a</sup> 28, *anu-n-da thinnachtae-se* **MI.** 126<sup>d</sup> 12, *con-da anecne* **Wb.** 17<sup>c</sup> 10, cf. 19<sup>a</sup> 17, *con-da apstal* 13<sup>b</sup> 6, *cota béu* **MI.** 44<sup>c</sup> 11, *nita chumme-se* **Wb.** 20<sup>c</sup> 25, cf. **MI.** 91<sup>d</sup> 8, *nida apstal* **Wb.** 18<sup>c</sup> 1.<sup>2</sup>

**Sg. 2. -da**:—*annu-n-da chocuibsid-siu* **MI.** 58<sup>b</sup> 6, *anu-n-da frecndaire* 1100 38<sup>c</sup> 27, cf. 23<sup>a</sup> 17, *ano-n-da imdibe* 112<sup>b</sup> 17, *cenita chumgabthasiu* 84<sup>c</sup> 3, *lassant no-n-da brithem* 92<sup>a</sup> 15.

**Sg. 3. -ta**<sup>3</sup>:—In impersonal construction with infixed pronoun *nimtha firion* **Wb.** 8<sup>d</sup> 24, *nita (= ní-n-ta) cumacc* 4<sup>a</sup> 6, *hóre nimtha laám* 12<sup>a</sup> 21. 1105

**Pl. 1. -dan**:—*ánnu-n-dan deeth-ni* **MI.** 120<sup>b</sup> 3, *con-dan firianichthi* **Wb.** 2<sup>d</sup> 14, cf. 15<sup>b</sup> 19, 17<sup>b</sup> 15, 20<sup>d</sup> 10, *nitan reprobi-ni* 18<sup>b</sup> 9, *nidan chumachtig* 14<sup>c</sup> 41, cf. 14<sup>d</sup> 37.<sup>4</sup>

**Pl. 2. -dad**:—*amal no-n-dad maicc cóima* **Wb.** 27<sup>b</sup> 16, *cenutad suire* 4<sup>a</sup> 10, *cenotad maic-si raith* 33<sup>b</sup> 8, *nidad ferr-si* 8<sup>c</sup> 7, cf. 14<sup>a</sup> 8, 1110 21<sup>b</sup> 14, *nitad lib fésin* 9<sup>d</sup> 11.<sup>5</sup>

**Pl. 3. -dat, -tat**:—*con-dat reli* **MI.** 51<sup>d</sup> 15, *con-dat anman* **Sg.** 188<sup>b</sup> 3, *in-dat Iudei* **Wb.** 5<sup>b</sup> 34,<sup>6</sup> *in-dat m-briathra* **MI.** 44<sup>b</sup> 9, 10, *indaimser in-dat sláin ennaic* 76<sup>a</sup> 6, *nitaat cosmuli* **Wb.** 9<sup>b</sup> 17,

<sup>1</sup> In **MI.** 96<sup>b</sup> 5 *in creti dúmni atosge huile atosge* should be corrected to *ata tosge*.

<sup>2</sup> The isolated *nitam toirsech* in **Wb.** 15<sup>b</sup> 21, in spite of the fact that it glosses *non angustiamur*, can hardly be anything but the 1 sg. Cf. *nidam snimach* Salt. Rann, 2382.

<sup>3</sup> In **Wb.** 20<sup>c</sup> 26 read *amal dá marb* = 'like two dead.'

<sup>4</sup> In **Cod. Cam.** 37<sup>d</sup> occurs the isolated *nu-n-dem* with which Thurneysen (*Celt. Zeitschr.*, i, 4) compares the 2 pl. *cenuded* Bezz. Beitr., xvii, 135.

<sup>5</sup> In **Wb.** 27<sup>c</sup> 11 Zimmer and Stokes supply *ma(ni)d iriaithi*, a form to which I have no parallel.

<sup>6</sup> 'Welche die Iuden sind,' Pedersen, *Celt. Zeitschr.*, ii, 380. Pedersen takes *indat* to mean literally 'wherein they are,' but why not then *hitaat*?



- 1115 *nitat follig* 6<sup>a</sup> 22, cf. 8<sup>a</sup> 17, 8<sup>c</sup> 4, 31<sup>d</sup> 9, 32<sup>d</sup> 14, **ML.** 3<sup>a</sup> 6, **Sg.** 61<sup>a</sup> 24, *nitat Israelti* **Wb.** 4<sup>c</sup> 5, cf. 7<sup>d</sup> 12, 11<sup>b</sup> 17, 12<sup>b</sup> 18, 19, 23, 22<sup>b</sup> 17, **Sg.** 69<sup>a</sup> 25, 189<sup>a</sup> 10, 203<sup>b</sup> 6, *nitat ildáni do óenfiur* **Wb.** 21<sup>a</sup> 16, *nídat chummai* **ML.** 115<sup>b</sup> 3, cf. 60<sup>b</sup> 1, 79<sup>b</sup> 7, 130<sup>d</sup> 7, *nitat huili it maice* **Wb.** 4<sup>c</sup> 6, cf. 26<sup>b</sup> 2 ((*nít*)at),  
 1120 *nitat huili robtar tuicsi* 11<sup>a</sup> 21, cf. 11<sup>a</sup> 23, *nitat pecthi collnidi hiccatar* 4<sup>a</sup> 8, cf. 19<sup>b</sup> 12, **ML.** 108<sup>b</sup> 7<sup>1</sup>; *natat beca* **ML.** 18<sup>b</sup> 6, *cid natat sláin* **Wb.** 28<sup>b</sup> 1; *na-n-dat foirbthi* 26<sup>b</sup> 3, *cruth na-n-dat choms-* **Sg.** 201<sup>b</sup> 12, cf. **ML.** 130<sup>a</sup> 8, *annan-dat* (MS. *andat*) *secthi* 18<sup>b</sup> 3, *hóre na-n-dat filii* **Wb.** 4<sup>c</sup> 8; cf. also the  
 1125 formula *sechitat* (Ascoli Gloss., *ceii*).<sup>2</sup>  
 (b) -id, -did, in 3 sg. along with certain conjunctions.

## -id.

- cenid*:—*cinidluith lib* **Wb.** 12<sup>b</sup> 9, *cenid ed as chetnae n-áis* **ML.** 44<sup>c</sup> 26, cf. 42<sup>b</sup> 7, 85<sup>b</sup> 11, **Sg.** 5<sup>b</sup> 4 (*cinith*), 35<sup>b</sup> 13 (*cinid*),  
 1130 202<sup>a</sup> 5.  
*conid*:—*conid sain* **ML.** 14<sup>d</sup> 13, cf. **Sg.** 93<sup>b</sup> 5, 147<sup>a</sup> 3, *conid hinunn folad duib* 9<sup>a</sup> 15, *conid ainm dun chrunn* **Wb.** 8<sup>a</sup> 5, cf. **Sg.** 29<sup>a</sup> 8, 40<sup>a</sup> 15, 45<sup>b</sup> 1, 208<sup>a</sup> 8, *conid cummae aramber biuth* **ML.** 69<sup>a</sup> 18, *conid airi rolaad* **Sg.** 153<sup>b</sup> 6, cf. 93<sup>b</sup> 7, 189<sup>b</sup> 2.  
 1135 *innid* (= *indid*?) :—*innid eula nech* **ML.** 42<sup>c</sup> 4.  
*honid*:—*honid techtas molad Dé* **ML.** 51<sup>c</sup> 2.  
*manid*:—*manid fir* **Wb.** 13<sup>b</sup> 14, cf. 27<sup>c</sup> 11, *manid innonn forcital linn* 17<sup>b</sup> 32, *manid ar lóg* 10<sup>d</sup> 26, *manid co séitche rocretis* 10<sup>a</sup> 30.

## 1140 -did.

- arndid*:—*ciné fochainn arndid n-uisse* (leg. *huisse*?) **ML.** 101<sup>a</sup> 3, cf. **Sg.** 200<sup>a</sup> 13, **Ber.** 33<sup>d</sup> 5, *cid arndid hua thuis-ildaib disruthaigedar* **Sg.** 198<sup>b</sup> 3.  
*condid*:—*condid firianu* **Wb.** 2<sup>a</sup> 7, cf. **ML.** 90<sup>a</sup> 11, *condid imdibe spirtalde* **Wb.** 2<sup>b</sup> 22, cf. 9<sup>d</sup> 2, 14<sup>d</sup> 35, *condid diib rogab cdch* 24<sup>c</sup> 14, cf. **Bv.** 4<sup>c</sup> 2.  
*diandid*:—*diandid tintud linnai a sanctis* **ML.** 37<sup>a</sup> 10, *diandid nomen Hiber* **Sg.** 100<sup>b</sup> 1. In the same way *diant* is used, *diant ainm* **Wb.** 26<sup>a</sup> 5, cf. **ML.** 2<sup>c</sup> 2 (MS. *diandiant*),  
 1150 118<sup>b</sup> 6, 121<sup>d</sup> 1.

<sup>1</sup> In **ML.** 128<sup>d</sup> 1 for *nit derachtai* should probably be restored *nitat derachtai*; though *nit* occurs several times in the Féilire, it is there probably an artificial poetical form. In **ML.** 92<sup>c</sup> 13 *nita terca acht is mara* should be *nitat terca acht it mara*. In *nídat n-escmana* **ML.** 92<sup>d</sup> 13 the infixed *n* is strange, as also in *indat m-briathra*. l. 1113.

<sup>2</sup> But the simple *sechi* is found followed by the subjunctive, **Wb.** 5<sup>b</sup> 18, 7<sup>b</sup> 3, **ML.** 73<sup>c</sup> 14, 112<sup>b</sup> 6.

**ondid**:—*ondid accobor limsa* **Wb.** 12<sup>d</sup> 23, *in arim hoidid* (leg. *hoidid*) *a n-dies* **Sg.** 66<sup>b</sup> 9.

**indid**:—*indid immaireide* **Wb.** 12<sup>d</sup> 18, *indid mailliu* **Ber.** 25<sup>c</sup> 1, *indid 6a* (by which it is less) 33<sup>b</sup> 6.

(c) **cesu, massu.**

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**cesu**:—*césu thréde in tumud* **Wb.** 21<sup>d</sup> 13, cf. **Sg.** 158<sup>a</sup> 3, *cesu dánatu dom* 90<sup>a</sup> 5, *cesu chen rems- do* 78<sup>b</sup> 2, *cesu fri crích deáin* 217<sup>b</sup> 12, *cesu meinciu aranecar* 137<sup>b</sup> 2, *cesued as gnath* 203<sup>a</sup> 23, *cesu locdatu as aicned* 217<sup>b</sup> 12, cf. 21<sup>a</sup> 1 (*ceso*), 41<sup>b</sup> 10, 59<sup>a</sup> 6, 75<sup>a</sup> 5, 91<sup>a</sup> 3, *cesu i n-er theit* 38<sup>a</sup> 1, cf. 206<sup>a</sup> 3 (*cheso*). 1160

**ciasu**:—*ciasu airegdu* **Wb.** 11<sup>c</sup> 17, cf. 12<sup>a</sup> 5, **MI.** 26<sup>d</sup> 12, 45<sup>b</sup> 20, 68<sup>b</sup> 5, *ciasu gnathiu do fositin* 26<sup>c</sup> 4, cf. 67<sup>a</sup> 4, *ciaso demnithir so forconnucuir* **Wb.** 28<sup>c</sup> 14, *ciaso folud sluindes* **Sg.** 211<sup>b</sup> 7 (*ciaso*), *ciasu i colinn am béo-sa* **Wb.** 19<sup>a</sup> 20, *ciasu iartain rocet* **MI.** 2<sup>b</sup> 6, cf. 34<sup>d</sup> 6 (*ciasa*), 67<sup>a</sup> 4, 72<sup>d</sup> 9. 1165

**cetu**:—*ceto thóisequ* **Wb.** 18<sup>d</sup> 14, cf. **Sg.** 203<sup>b</sup> 10, *cetu chummasethai* 62<sup>a</sup> 2, *cetu chuimbri* (MS. *cethuc cuimbri*) **Per.** 1<sup>a</sup> 3.

**massu**<sup>1</sup>:—*massu made* **Wb.** 13<sup>a</sup> 34, cf. 13<sup>b</sup> 12, 15<sup>b</sup> 14 (*maso*), 20<sup>c</sup> 2, *masu quis ascendit .i. masu chundubart* 4<sup>d</sup> 28, *masa chumachtae n-dom* **MI.** 118<sup>a</sup> 5, *massu rath som* **Wb.** 5<sup>a</sup> 30, 1170 *massu dúthracht* 16<sup>c</sup> 18, *massu ní* 20<sup>b</sup> 8, *masa choindiu* **MI.** 108<sup>c</sup> 16, *masu pronomén* **Sg.** 207<sup>b</sup> 3, *proprium masued* 88 2, cf. 50<sup>b</sup> 13, 192<sup>b</sup> 7, **Wb.** 19<sup>b</sup> 11, *masued dorogaid* 20<sup>a</sup> 4, cf. **MI.** 52, **Sg.** 27<sup>a</sup> 11, *massu amnin ataam* **Wb.** 13<sup>c</sup> 12, *massu bethu frecindirc tantum nomthá* 13<sup>c</sup> 11, cf. 10<sup>d</sup> 26, 13<sup>b</sup> 21, 13<sup>c</sup> 10, 1175 19<sup>b</sup> 1, **Sg.** 148<sup>b</sup> 9, *massu and is amplius* **Wb.** 2<sup>a</sup> 3, *massu ar in bethid frecindirc tantum dagniu* 13<sup>c</sup> 11, cf. 10<sup>a</sup> 29, 20<sup>b</sup> 16, 23<sup>d</sup> 29.

**matu**:—*matu hé ata horpamin* **Wb.** 2<sup>c</sup> 14.

#### Imperfect.

There are no specifically imperfect forms. See the preterite.

#### Preterite.

(a) With *ro-*.

**Sg. 1. rop̄sa**:—*doménar-sa rop̄sa beo* **Wb.** 3<sup>c</sup> 27, *rop̄sa airchinnech* 18<sup>c</sup> 15, *rup̄sa frithortæ-se* 33<sup>a</sup> 12, *is do rop̄sa omnia* 11<sup>a</sup> 2, 1180 *rop̄sa huallach-sa* **MI.** 49<sup>b</sup> 12, *durumenar rom̄sa* (= *ro-m-b-sa*) *Dia 7 rom̄ bithbéu* 49<sup>b</sup> 13, cf. 130<sup>d</sup> 4, *arrom̄sa cum̄scaigthe*

<sup>1</sup> *massu* corresponds to the negative *manid*: cf. **Wb.** 10<sup>a</sup> 29, 30, 10<sup>d</sup> 26.

46<sup>b</sup> 9, *arumsa loisethe* 118<sup>d</sup> 1, *huare romsa ugaire* 96<sup>d</sup> 1, *arrumsa assarcaigthe-se* 27<sup>b</sup> 8, cf. 62<sup>c</sup> 9, 103<sup>a</sup> 4 (or sg. 2?);  
1185 *corupsa lán diúb* 104<sup>d</sup> 3; *anna robsa bithe* 45<sup>d</sup> 6.

-*rbsa*:—*ciarpsa cimbid* **Wb.** 30<sup>a</sup> 6, *nirbsa dagduine* 18<sup>c</sup> 14, *anarbsa fuillectae-se* **MI.** 127<sup>c</sup> 17.

**Sg. 3. robo**<sup>1</sup>:—*robo diliu linn* **Wb.** 14<sup>d</sup> 13, *ropo scíth linn* 14<sup>b</sup> 26, cf. 14<sup>b</sup> 24, 23<sup>d</sup> 11, *ropo irlam* 14<sup>d</sup> 29, cf. 19<sup>d</sup> 7 (*intain*),  
1190 21<sup>b</sup> 5, 21<sup>c</sup> 22 (rel.), 23<sup>d</sup> 12, 27<sup>d</sup> 19, 30<sup>c</sup> 17, *ropo fochunn gnímo don peccad* 3<sup>c</sup> 23, *ropo ainm dúibsi* 9<sup>c</sup> 29, cf. 13<sup>a</sup> 12 (rel.), 14<sup>b</sup> 3, *robo dúibsi* 24<sup>c</sup> 22, *hóre ropo co failti tuccad* 24<sup>b</sup> 26; *ro-m-bo discipul* 18<sup>d</sup> 1, *amal ro-m-bo marb* 15<sup>b</sup> 25, cf. 22<sup>a</sup> 2, 26<sup>b</sup> 7, 26<sup>d</sup> 16, *amal ro-m-bo thol do dóinib* 24<sup>d</sup> 4, *intain ro-m-bo mithig less* 31<sup>a</sup> 10, *hore ro-m-bo sollicite* 30<sup>a</sup> 7.  
1195

**robu**<sup>1</sup>:—*is airi inso robu immaireide* **MI.** 14<sup>a</sup> 4, *rubu lathartha* 32<sup>c</sup> 2, *robu mou de* 61<sup>c</sup> 8, cf. 25<sup>c</sup> 16 (*an*), 72<sup>b</sup> 18 (*rubu*), 87<sup>c</sup> 4, 90<sup>c</sup> 27, 96<sup>a</sup> 10 (*robú*), 105<sup>b</sup> 8, 111<sup>b</sup> 27, 130<sup>c</sup> 18, **Sg.** 148<sup>a</sup> 6, 153<sup>b</sup> 5, **Tur.** 33, 97 (*ropu*), **Per.** 1<sup>a</sup> 1 (*rupu* rel.), *rubu fer som muintere* **Wb.** 33<sup>a</sup> 5, *rupu accubur leu* 33<sup>a</sup> 11, *robu thol do* (rel.) **MI.** 33<sup>a</sup> 18, cf. 46<sup>a</sup> 17, 50<sup>c</sup> 14, 54<sup>a</sup> 9 (rel.), 54<sup>a</sup> 34 (*amal*), 63<sup>b</sup> 5 (*rubu* rel.), 71<sup>b</sup> 2, 124<sup>b</sup> 6, **Sg.** 17<sup>a</sup> 5 (quia *robhu*), **Tur.** 13, 17, *rupu sí arreilie* **Wb.** 33<sup>a</sup> 22, *robu sí á cial* **MI.** 95<sup>a</sup> 9, *robu du thabernacul robu ainm son* 100<sup>b</sup> 12, *robu samlid robói* **Sg.** 203<sup>b</sup> 5; *ar ro-m-bu suidigthe* **MI.** 48<sup>d</sup> 6, cf. 53<sup>b</sup> 14, 62<sup>b</sup> 22, *amal ro-m-bu réil damsá* 113<sup>b</sup> 4, *hore ro-m-bu thoissech* **Wb.** 33<sup>a</sup> 20, cf. **MI.** 2<sup>b</sup> 6, 18<sup>d</sup> 20, 59<sup>a</sup> 14, *isindi ro-m-bu foraitmitech* 122<sup>d</sup> 7, *dég ro-m-bu écndarc do* **Sg.** 148<sup>a</sup> 6, *huare ro-m-bu mór dorat* **MI.** 136<sup>c</sup> 11; **con-rubu chrín** **MI.** 99<sup>a</sup> 2, *con-ropu la Dia* 67<sup>c</sup> 9, *cor-robu bec du essarcnib furodamarsa* 131<sup>b</sup> 12, *lasin-rubu chumtabart* 102<sup>d</sup> 4, *lasin-rubu maith* 131<sup>d</sup> 11.  
1200  
1205  
1210

-**rbo**:—*nirbo ais muntaire* **Wb.** 21<sup>b</sup> 12, *nirbo mraithe* 32<sup>d</sup> 15, *nirbo sár leu* 19<sup>a</sup> 1, cf. 16<sup>b</sup> 19, 29<sup>d</sup> 9, 30<sup>a</sup> 6, *nirbo chut eperte* 24<sup>c</sup> 5, cf. 32<sup>d</sup> 4, *cinirbo etruib robammar-ni* 24<sup>c</sup> 22, *geinti narbo plebs Dei* 4<sup>d</sup> 3; *ciarbo abortibus* 13<sup>b</sup> 8, *hore narbo lour linn* 24<sup>b</sup> 20.  
1215

<sup>1</sup> These forms are found in an idiomatic meaning of *aut, uel* (cf. Pedersen, *KZ.*, xxxv, 404), *robo* **Wb.** 5<sup>d</sup> 10, **Sg.** 197<sup>a</sup> 1, 200<sup>b</sup> 6, *robu* **MI.** 30<sup>d</sup> 11, 44<sup>c</sup> 6, 70<sup>c</sup> 4, 77<sup>a</sup> 13, 109<sup>c</sup> 3, **Sg.** 28<sup>a</sup> 12, *rubu* **MI.** 121<sup>b</sup> 6, *rodbo* **Wb.** 14<sup>c</sup> 24, 16<sup>d</sup> 7, 29<sup>d</sup> 29, cf. *rodhu forcetal nó scribend nó uaim n-etaig* **LBr.** 11<sup>b</sup> 13, *rodbo o littrib no o himacalmaibh* *Celt. Zeit.*, ii, 321, further *Laws*, iv, 340. It may be noted that *robo* has also a subj. force (p. 40), from which this development could be better understood.

-**rbu**:—*annarbu buidech* **ML.** 40<sup>d</sup> 10, 145<sup>a</sup> 1 (MS. *annár-budech* corr. Ascoli), cf. 86<sup>d</sup> 14, *ciarbu minimus* **Wb.** 13<sup>b</sup> 8, *nirbu aithreach linsa* 16<sup>b</sup> 6, *hore nirbu foirbthe* 33<sup>b</sup> 4, cf. **ML.** 1220 33<sup>c</sup> 13, 34<sup>c</sup> 17, 46<sup>c</sup> 19, 72<sup>b</sup> 4, 88<sup>b</sup> 4 (*nirbuo*), 92<sup>d</sup> 6, 97<sup>b</sup> 2, **Sg.** 42<sup>a</sup> 7, 8, *nirbu dóinect cen deacht* **Wb.** 15<sup>d</sup> 16, *nirbu choimdiu* 33<sup>a</sup> 5, cf. **ML.** 124<sup>b</sup> 5, **Sg.** 5<sup>b</sup> 6, 31<sup>b</sup> 22, *nirbu samlaid sòn doibsom* **ML.** 90<sup>c</sup> 27, *nirbu cen frithorcúin* 63<sup>b</sup> 7, *nirbu faás foruigéni* **Wb.** 13<sup>b</sup> 7, cf. **ML.** 113<sup>d</sup> 7, *corbu écen* **Wb.** 32<sup>c</sup> 17, *connarbú* 1225 *huaín doib* **ML.** 100<sup>a</sup> 3, *hore nárbu bae la Iudeu* **Wb.** 5<sup>b</sup> 12, cf. **ML.** 18<sup>d</sup> 18, *aní narbu dílmáin* 60<sup>a</sup> 13, *diarbu etarcnad* **Tur.** 22.

Pl. 1. **robumar**:—*robumar cumdrichthi* **ML.** 43<sup>d</sup> 6, *huare robummar bibdid-ni* 62<sup>d</sup> 5.

-**rbommar**:—*nirbommar utmaill*, *nirbommar tromdi* **Wb.** 1230 26<sup>b</sup> 14.

Pl. 3. **robtar**:—*robtar irlim* **Wb.** 7<sup>b</sup> 5, cf. 2<sup>d</sup> 11, 11<sup>a</sup> 21, 23, 27<sup>c</sup> 8, 29<sup>b</sup> 2, **ML.** 23<sup>a</sup> 13, 47<sup>a</sup> 18, 48<sup>d</sup> 12 (rel.), 49<sup>a</sup> 16, 53<sup>d</sup> 10 (*amal*), 63<sup>b</sup> 3, 90<sup>c</sup> 25, 123<sup>a</sup> 8, **Acr.** 68, **Bcr.** 18<sup>b</sup> 11 (*ruptar* rel.), *robtar hesidi aidmi oipretho pectho* **Wb.** 3<sup>c</sup> 14, *ce ruptar enartu* 1235 **ML.** 49<sup>a</sup> 17, cf. 40<sup>d</sup> 16, *hi-roptar bíbdaid* 124<sup>c</sup> 2, *ro-m-dar tosge*, 96<sup>b</sup> 5, cf. 125<sup>b</sup> 9, *fobith romatar indarmthi* 78<sup>b</sup> 12, *arrumtar doirthi* 34<sup>d</sup> 10, cf. 100<sup>c</sup> 26 (*arramtar*), *hore romtar óis teglig* **Wb.** 7<sup>b</sup> 13.

-**rbtar**:—*connarbtar ní* **ML.** 99<sup>d</sup> 7.

1240

(b) Without *ro-*.

Sg. 1. **basa**:—*basa Iudide* **Wb.** 10<sup>d</sup> 34.

-**psa**:—*nipsa tróm for nech* **Wb.** 17<sup>c</sup> 2, *nipsa Iudide* 10<sup>d</sup> 35, *cainipsa sóir* (were I not free) *ce dugnén* 10<sup>c</sup> 4.

Sg. 3. -**bo**, -**po**<sup>1</sup>:—*cia bo lobur* **Wb.** 16<sup>c</sup> 26, *nipo chóim less frinn*<sup>2</sup> 4<sup>b</sup> 12, cf. 2<sup>c</sup> 25, *nibo mór a m-bríg linn* 18<sup>d</sup> 10, *nipo irgnae* 1245 3<sup>a</sup> 1, *nipo accobor lassín fer noprídchad suide* 13<sup>a</sup> 20, *nipo dia airchíssecht* 4<sup>c</sup> 21, *nipo uáib* 13<sup>a</sup> 20, *nibo ar seirc moidme* 17<sup>a</sup> 13, cf. 24<sup>c</sup> 19, *nipo chenéel domsa* 5<sup>a</sup> 14; (= were) *cia bo asse dom* 23<sup>d</sup> 28, *nibo comitesti dó acht ba léicthi* 1<sup>c</sup> 12, *nibo liach a marbad* 4<sup>a</sup> 12, *ciarfemtha . . . nipo móiti* (it were not to be 1250 boasted of) 8<sup>d</sup> 28, *nibo uisse*(?) 21<sup>a</sup> 11, *nibo decming* 21<sup>a</sup> 13, *co m-bo uisse* 15<sup>d</sup> 20.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For *nipo hetóir dorat* **Wb.** 4<sup>c</sup> 35 Thurneysen suggests *ní fo chetóir*, or should we read *nipo fochetóir*?

<sup>2</sup> leg. *nipo choimdíless less frinn*?

<sup>3</sup> With elision of the final vowel *niparmaid rosnuicc* **Wb.** 5<sup>b</sup> 3, so probably 26<sup>b</sup> 23.



- bu, -pu:—*ciabu ole* **MI.** 24<sup>c</sup> 12, *cepu fri aicned* **Wb.** 2<sup>c</sup> 25, *cepu ed adroillisset* 4<sup>c</sup> 35; *nipu imdu* 16<sup>c</sup> 25, *nipu immacus* 18<sup>d</sup> 5, 1255 *nipu lugu* 16<sup>c</sup> 26, *nibu gnath* **MI.** 123<sup>d</sup> 3, *nibu (i)ncián riam* 32<sup>b</sup> 17, *nipu accobor leiss* **Wb.** 14<sup>a</sup> 22, *nibu ar chuingid for sét* 24<sup>d</sup> 7, *nibu fua reir fesin boisom* **MI.** 14<sup>b</sup> 13, cf. 95<sup>a</sup> 5, *nipu lib int 6rd so* **Wb.** 9<sup>c</sup> 17, *nipu nach derninnse* **Wb.** 8<sup>a</sup> 5; *cid arna bu son* **MI.** 56<sup>a</sup> 13, *onabu accobur lium biad* 127<sup>c</sup> 13, *conepertis nadmbu* (were not?) *choir* 136<sup>b</sup> 4, *nambu tressa* 53<sup>d</sup> 6, 1260 *diambu thaban thi ermitiu feid 7 imbu choir frecur céil Dæ* 22<sup>a</sup> 4; (=were) *nipu huisse* **Wb.** 8<sup>d</sup> 6, *nibu chumme* 9<sup>c</sup> 24, cf. 13<sup>d</sup> 20, 14<sup>b</sup> 4 (*nipu*), 23<sup>c</sup> 23, 33<sup>b</sup> 13, **MI.** 100<sup>b</sup> 22, *nibu machdad* **Sg.** 68<sup>a</sup> 3, **MI.** 110<sup>d</sup> 6, **Sg.** 6<sup>a</sup> 9 (*nibbu*), 62<sup>b</sup> 2 (*nibbu*), 65<sup>a</sup> 1, 1265 *canipu uissiu* **Wb.** 10<sup>d</sup> 12, *co m-bu uisse* **MI.** 98<sup>c</sup> 6, *co m-bú mithích* 118<sup>d</sup> 15.<sup>1</sup>

- ba**:—*ba habens*<sup>2</sup> **Wb.** 3<sup>a</sup> 1, *doménarsa ba marb* 3<sup>c</sup> 26, *ba n-dilmain* (that it was) 10<sup>d</sup> 14, *sech ba foirbthe* 19<sup>a</sup> 11, cf. 29<sup>d</sup> 13, 1270 *huare ba ferr* **MI.** 23<sup>b</sup> 7, *ba madae* (parallel to ipf.) 19<sup>c</sup> 5, *bá inféiti* (g. esset intenta) 28<sup>c</sup> 17, *ani ba buthi ar thuus* 29<sup>a</sup> 8, cf. 46<sup>a</sup> 11, *ba trom foraib* 34<sup>d</sup> 12, cf. 35<sup>b</sup> 26, 58<sup>c</sup> 6, 73<sup>b</sup> 17, 96<sup>b</sup> 17, *sech ba indeithbeir doib* 97<sup>d</sup> 15, *ised asbertis ba madae dom* 106<sup>d</sup> 3, *ba lugae leu* (rel.) 118<sup>c</sup> 5, *iarsindi ba teipirsniqe* 129<sup>d</sup> 5, *bá frianu* **Sg.** 43<sup>a</sup> 1, *ani ba choitchenn* 50<sup>a</sup> 3, *ba samlid* **MI.** 84<sup>c</sup> 9, 1275 *ba mó brón damsa* (parallel to ipf.) 86<sup>d</sup> 6, *is dusuidib ba inbesa* (g. quibus moris erat) 31<sup>d</sup> 12, *ba bibdu baís leusom* **Wb.** 1<sup>d</sup> 15, *ba ainm leosom peccatum dund idbairt* (parallel to ipf.) 15<sup>d</sup> 20, *huare ba macc Dé* 33<sup>c</sup> 6, *ba apstal Moysi* 32<sup>d</sup> 14, *da leinn ba frinne* 31<sup>d</sup> 5, *iarsindi ba mane moch riam* **MI.** 21<sup>c</sup> 4, *ba cumdubart i n-etaste fanacc* 43<sup>d</sup> 20, *bá brón du suidib* (parallel to ipf.) 44<sup>c</sup> 6, cf. **Cod. Cam.** 37<sup>d</sup>, *ba fomraid a bellrae sidi* **MI.** 53<sup>d</sup> 3, *lasse ba snim fora menmuin* 89<sup>b</sup> 7, *sech ba degedbart* 87<sup>b</sup> 8, *ba aithis daitsiu* (parallel to ipf.) 91<sup>a</sup> 6, *ba la amiresschu* **Wb.** 9<sup>c</sup> 17, *ba árose sin* (MS. *árscin*) *la aithrea* **MI.** 136<sup>a</sup> 5, *ba bés leusom dobertis* **Tur.** 120<sup>c</sup>, cf. **Sg.** 4<sup>a</sup> 9, *ba contra spem dó* **Wb.** 2<sup>c</sup> 24, cf. 3<sup>a</sup> 8, *ba o apsatalib* 13<sup>a</sup> 20, *ba fri aicned* **MI.** 129<sup>d</sup> 6, *ba it melacht-su* (parallel to ipf.) 91<sup>a</sup> 7, *ba hed á n-óinbiad* 97<sup>d</sup> 8, *ba he a n-gnim som molad Dæ* 24<sup>a</sup> 4, *ba ed a frecræ ade lesom* (parallel to ipf.) 62<sup>c</sup> 13, *ar ba miscuis*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also the phrase *cepu dono* **Wb.** 7<sup>d</sup> 16, 19<sup>a</sup> 14. In 8<sup>d</sup> 15 *cedono rigne occo* means 'what is the use of prolixity in it?' Cf. *rigin* **MI.** 25<sup>a</sup> 5, *rigne labartha LL.* 345<sup>c</sup> 10.

<sup>2</sup> Apart from other reasons, it is clear from the order that *Pelagius* is a note which has got into the wrong place.

*atroillisset* **Wb.** 4<sup>c</sup> 14, cf. 32<sup>d</sup> 14, **ML.** 39<sup>a</sup> 3, 58<sup>c</sup> 6, 64<sup>a</sup> 10, **Sg.** 1290 185<sup>b</sup> 4, *hore ba ó Dia dofoided* **Wb.** 32<sup>d</sup> 14, *ba inna elluch atarimtis* **Sg.** 188<sup>a</sup> 3, cf. **ML.** 30<sup>a</sup> 3, 95<sup>a</sup> 5; *a m-ba n-indrisse* 18<sup>c</sup> 14, cf. 19<sup>c</sup> 15, 25<sup>a</sup> 18, 27<sup>c</sup> 20, 32<sup>b</sup> 2, 21, 34<sup>c</sup> 9, 35<sup>d</sup> 6, 75<sup>d</sup> 3, 91<sup>a</sup> 6, **Per.** 57<sup>a</sup> 4; (= were) *ba dochu lem* **Wb.** 5<sup>b</sup> 31, cf. 5<sup>b</sup> 43, *ba uisse hirnaigde erru, ba liach a n-épeltu* 4<sup>d</sup> 20, cf. 6<sup>a</sup> 8, 9<sup>b</sup> 1, 1295 9<sup>c</sup> 10 (*fobiith*), 9<sup>d</sup> 13, *ba ferr oldaas a dígal* 9<sup>c</sup> 21, *ba ferr limm* 10<sup>b</sup> 24, cf. 10<sup>b</sup> 25, 27, 10<sup>c</sup> 1, 10, 12<sup>c</sup> 30, 13<sup>a</sup> 33, 14<sup>c</sup> 29, 14<sup>d</sup> 10, 15<sup>d</sup> 8, 18<sup>c</sup> 10, 19<sup>a</sup> 8, 20<sup>b</sup> 9, 23<sup>b</sup> 35, 29<sup>d</sup> 13, **ML.** 17<sup>b</sup> 6, 27<sup>b</sup> 9, 35<sup>a</sup> 9, 45<sup>b</sup> 14, 58<sup>d</sup> 16, 61<sup>b</sup> 15 (*bá*), 81<sup>c</sup> 7, 95<sup>d</sup> 13, *ba bec mad asberad* 129<sup>b</sup> 12, *ba mmadach (casse esset)* 135<sup>a</sup> 9, *ba* 1300 *riagolda* **Sg.** 31<sup>b</sup> 21, cf. 38<sup>a</sup> 2, 57<sup>b</sup> 8, 66<sup>b</sup> 14, 161<sup>b</sup> 5, 162<sup>b</sup> 2, 197<sup>a</sup> 11, *ólsodain bá sainred do fem.* 69<sup>a</sup> 20, *ba méite limm* **Wb.** 29<sup>d</sup> 8, *ba coscc carat* 5<sup>b</sup> 32, *ba saithar do cia damelad* 10<sup>d</sup> 3, *ba imchomarc espach* **ML.** 35<sup>c</sup> 26, *ba hé cúrsagad maith* **Wb.** 14<sup>d</sup> 19, cf. 19<sup>c</sup> 4, *ba he ind ord* **ML.** 65<sup>d</sup> 11, cf. 136<sup>c</sup> 2, *ba* 1305 *hed ón ba choir* **Wb.** 10<sup>b</sup> 9, **Sg.** 38<sup>a</sup> 2, 57<sup>b</sup> 8, 66<sup>b</sup> 14, 115<sup>b</sup> 1, 117<sup>a</sup> 5, **ML.** 76<sup>b</sup> 3, 73<sup>b</sup> 4.<sup>1</sup>

**Pl. 3. batar:**—*innahi batar buthi* **ML.** 23<sup>c</sup> 16, *air batar carait یرهساغ adi* 31<sup>a</sup> 3.

**batir:**—*iarsindi batir inricci du báas huili* **Wb.** 5<sup>c</sup> 14, *batir* 1310 *athissi sídi daitsiu* (parallel to ipf.) **ML.** 90<sup>d</sup> 17.

**-btar:**—*ciaptar mora a pecthai* 98<sup>c</sup> 5, *cebtar hé riam* **Wb.** 4<sup>a</sup> 10, *amtar m-bati* **ML.** 84<sup>d</sup> 5, *amtar feuchraighthi* 124<sup>c</sup> 9, *an-ántar duidechi sídi* **Sg.** 6<sup>a</sup> 12, *an-naptar* (MS. ar: aptar) *buidig* **ML.** 123<sup>a</sup> 1. 1315

#### Future.

**Sg. 2. -ba:**—*co m-ba soilse-siu* **Wb.** 22<sup>c</sup> 3.

**Sg. 3. bid:**—*bid fir a tairngire* **Wb.** 2<sup>c</sup> 19, *bid ferr* 1<sup>d</sup> 21, cf. 3<sup>b</sup> 2, 4<sup>a</sup> 13, 4<sup>d</sup> 21, 5<sup>c</sup> 5 (*bith*), 5<sup>d</sup> 39, 9<sup>b</sup> 7, 9<sup>c</sup> 34, 10<sup>a</sup> 5, 18<sup>a</sup> 13, 23<sup>d</sup> 2, 25<sup>b</sup> 21, 25<sup>c</sup> 28, 26<sup>a</sup> 18, 30, 28<sup>a</sup> 19, **ML.** 16<sup>a</sup> 11, 13, 57<sup>c</sup> 7 (*bith*), 83<sup>b</sup> 11, 90<sup>b</sup> 10 (*bith*), 107<sup>a</sup> 15 (MS. *bit*), 107<sup>a</sup> 16, 110<sup>c</sup> 2 (*bith*), 1320 111<sup>d</sup> 3, 114<sup>b</sup> 5, 126<sup>d</sup> 3, 128<sup>c</sup> 7, 137<sup>b</sup> 7, **Sg.** 2<sup>a</sup> 7 (*bith*), 39<sup>b</sup> 13, 187<sup>a</sup> 1, *bid hinunn randatu doib* 188<sup>a</sup> 7, *bid fiach* **Wb.** 2<sup>b</sup> 26, *bid cuingid rochuingid* 8<sup>a</sup> 7, *bid anathema a forcenn* 18<sup>c</sup> 11, cf. 3<sup>d</sup> 31, 32, 12<sup>a</sup> 27, 13<sup>a</sup> 13, 24<sup>a</sup> 30, **ML.** 90<sup>a</sup> 9 (*bith*), **Sg.** 147<sup>b</sup> 3 (*bith*), 159<sup>a</sup> 3, *bid brothad* **Wb.** 25<sup>b</sup> 26, *bid tuad domsa mo nebthvad* 4<sup>d</sup> 1, 1325 *bid bonitas tibi* 5<sup>b</sup> 36, *bith moirec domsa* 10<sup>d</sup> 25, cf. 14<sup>d</sup> 11,

<sup>1</sup> In **ML.** 37<sup>a</sup> 8 for *badoib berthir sanctis*, should we read *bid doib bérthir sanctis*?

- 28<sup>b</sup> 17, 28<sup>d</sup> 15, **ML.** 44<sup>c</sup> 9, *bid héet libsi geinti do bith i n-hiris* **Wb.** 5<sup>a</sup> 13, *bid do precept* 23<sup>b</sup> 29, *bid hi noibad dúibsi* 3<sup>b</sup> 31, cf. 3<sup>a</sup> 9, 12<sup>c</sup> 14, *bid sí a fochrice* 20<sup>c</sup> 13, *bid huathad creitfes diib* 4<sup>d</sup> 5, cf. 4<sup>a</sup> 13, 5<sup>c</sup> 12, 9<sup>c</sup> 9, 9<sup>d</sup> 27 (*bith*), 13<sup>b</sup> 26, 25<sup>a</sup> 3, 32<sup>a</sup> 25, **ML.** 107<sup>a</sup> 15, *in linn nodchreitfea bid i n-dirgi* (those who shall believe, it will be in righteousness [that they shall believe]) **Wb.** 4<sup>d</sup> 7.
- 1330 **-ba**:—*ni ba maith* **Wb.** 1<sup>d</sup> 8, *nípa sapiens* 8<sup>a</sup> 16, cf. 4<sup>a</sup> 7, 5<sup>b</sup> 38, 11<sup>d</sup> 15, 14<sup>a</sup> 25, 18<sup>a</sup> 4 (*níba*), 18<sup>c</sup> 11, 19<sup>d</sup> 18, 22<sup>b</sup> 23, 25<sup>d</sup> 13, 26<sup>d</sup> 26, 29<sup>d</sup> 21 (*níba*), 31<sup>a</sup> 7, *nám-ba lobur* 6<sup>b</sup> 15, *ni ba chian* **ML.** 56<sup>d</sup> 7, cf. 46<sup>b</sup> 12, *níba fochen leu a forcital* **Wb.** 30<sup>d</sup> 7, *nípa aidrech lib* 25<sup>d</sup> 9, *níba samlaid* **ML.** 27<sup>d</sup> 12, *ni ba indodaing* 61<sup>a</sup> 21, *nípa bibdu recto* **Wb.** 4<sup>d</sup> 22, *nípa deoladacht* 2<sup>b</sup> 26, cf. 19<sup>b</sup> 19, *im-ba flaith* 9<sup>d</sup> 3, *ona ba flaith* **ML.** 90<sup>a</sup> 9, *ní ba cuit adill* **Wb.** 14<sup>a</sup> 8, cf. 25<sup>a</sup> 29, **ML.** 54<sup>c</sup> 7, **Acr.** 79, *níba aimser* **Wb.** 25<sup>b</sup> 26, *im-ba immalei do* 4<sup>b</sup> 16, *nípa ex parte* 12<sup>c</sup> 14, *nípa hí Spirut Déa* 12<sup>a</sup> 4, *níbba cena dærscugud* **Sg.** 45<sup>a</sup> 11, *níba i n-imdibu* **Wb.** 23<sup>d</sup> 27, 28, *níba hed nísi ar serce less* 4<sup>b</sup> 16, *nípa far n-ainm-si bias forib* 4<sup>d</sup> 2, cf. 5<sup>c</sup> 12, *níba unus gebas* 11<sup>a</sup> 6, cf. 25<sup>a</sup> 38, **ML.** 31<sup>c</sup> 16, 37<sup>c</sup> 20, 100<sup>d</sup> 4, **Sg.** 36<sup>b</sup> 1 (*níbbá*). In **Wb.** 17<sup>b</sup> 20 *níbarsaithar* seems = *níba ar saithar*, so 17<sup>b</sup> 18.
- 1340 Relative: **bas**:—*doig bas fir* **Wb.** 5<sup>d</sup> 36, cf. 5<sup>c</sup> 4, 10<sup>b</sup> 23, 17<sup>d</sup> 20, **ML.** 35<sup>d</sup> 12, **Bcr.** 32<sup>b</sup> 5, *ní bas toil doib* **Wb.** 30<sup>c</sup> 4, *lasse bas n-uáin do* 14<sup>a</sup> 25.
- 1345 **bes**:—*mór ní bes n-adblamu foir* **Wb.** 2<sup>d</sup> 14, *bieid bes ferr de* 32<sup>a</sup> 13, *bes sonirt* 14<sup>b</sup> 19, cf. 4<sup>c</sup> 18 (leg. *bes sóir mo breth-se?*), 8<sup>d</sup> 4, 20<sup>c</sup> 15 (MS. *be*), 27<sup>c</sup> 14, **ML.** 63<sup>a</sup> 6, 72<sup>d</sup> 1, 94<sup>a</sup> 4, *is hé á oenur bes ní* **Wb.** 13<sup>c</sup> 3, *is hed bes chobuir dó* 20<sup>c</sup> 10.
- 1350 Pl. 1. **bimmi**, etc.:—*bimmi æni et bimmi foirbthi uili* **Wb.** 12<sup>c</sup> 9, *is in chruthsin bimmi nóib-ni* 3<sup>d</sup> 27, *bemmi caelestes* 13<sup>d</sup> 15, *bami coeredes* 4<sup>a</sup> 17.
- 1355 Pl. 3. **bit**:—*bit goacha* **Wb.** 26<sup>a</sup> 19, cf. 30<sup>a</sup> 13, **Sg.** 187<sup>a</sup> 2 (MS. *bid*), *bit dilmaini du denum chlainde* **ML.** 107<sup>a</sup> 10, *bit bíb did huili* **Wb.** 2<sup>a</sup> 14, *bit filii Dei a n-ainm* 4<sup>d</sup> 3, cf. **ML.** 85<sup>b</sup> 2, **Sg.** 4<sup>b</sup> 1, *bit less ind huili dáni* **Wb.** 27<sup>b</sup> 15, *bit hé na precepte nopridchob* 17<sup>b</sup> 20, *bit hé magistir dongegat* 30<sup>d</sup> 8, *bit dechoms- asbertar* **Sg.** 73<sup>b</sup> 8.
- 1360 **-bat**:—*co m-bat foilsi* **ML.** 112<sup>b</sup> 10, *a m-bat n-airbirt hi biuth* 94<sup>d</sup> 1, cf. 75<sup>d</sup> 6, 90<sup>b</sup> 3, 114<sup>c</sup> 17, *nípat ferr de* **Wb.** 12<sup>d</sup> 28, *ni bat briathra nach aili* 68<sup>c</sup> 10, *nípat hé indri beta thuicsi di Iudeib nammá beite isin inducbáil sin* **Wb.** 4<sup>c</sup> 40, *anam-bet ecailsi* **ML.** 15<sup>d</sup> 7 (or subj.?).
- 1365



Relative: **beta**:—*beta téit* **Wb.** 29<sup>a</sup> 1, *beta hicthi* 3<sup>d</sup> 29, cf. **ML** 70<sup>a</sup> 9, 94<sup>a</sup> 4, 5.

**Secondary Future.**

Sg. 3. **robad**:—*rabad assu* **Wb.** 25<sup>b</sup> 17, *robad maith a flaithemnas* **ML** 1370 89<sup>b</sup> 9, cf. 105<sup>b</sup> 14, **Wb.** 2<sup>c</sup> 12, *ropad maith limsa* 12<sup>c</sup> 29, *robad frecor aithirrech* **ML** 131<sup>a</sup> 8, *ro-m-bad pater* **Wb.** 2<sup>c</sup> 21, *robad bethu dom* 3<sup>c</sup> 28, *roppad diil tanisi* **Sg.** 111<sup>b</sup> 2, *robad dund sasad diunt ainm panis noregad* **ML** 118<sup>b</sup> 6, *ropad for n-6en deilb nobbiad* **Sg.** 90<sup>b</sup> 2, cf. 120<sup>a</sup> 1. 1375

-**bad**:—*nibbad bind* **Sg.** 58<sup>b</sup> 5, *ní padnaidrech* **Wb.** 5<sup>c</sup> 9,<sup>1</sup> *ní bad scith* **ML** 103<sup>b</sup> 4, *ní bad samlaid* **Sg.** 4<sup>b</sup> 4, 207<sup>b</sup> 2, *ní bad nertad* **Wb.** 10<sup>c</sup> 21, *ní bad pronomen airi* **Sg.** 203<sup>b</sup> 2, *ní bad a óenur dó* **Wb.** 14<sup>a</sup> 21, *cipad a déne ind hesséirgi* 25<sup>b</sup> 27.

**bed**:—*cia bed flaith* **ML** 89<sup>b</sup> 7,<sup>2</sup> cf. *bed messe g. ratum fore* 1380 105<sup>b</sup> 14.

Pl. 3. **robtis**:—*robtis maithi* **Wb.** 16<sup>b</sup> 19, *roptis imdai* **ML** 15<sup>c</sup> 8, *romdis (=ro-m-btis) direchtai* **ML** 48<sup>d</sup> 12.

**Subjunctive Mood.**

**Present.**

Sg. 1. **ba**:—*niba dimicthe-se libsi* **Wb.** 21<sup>d</sup> 3, *cia ba beo* 23<sup>b</sup> 29, cf. 18<sup>a</sup> 7, *main-ba æne lib* 17<sup>c</sup> 10. 1385

Sg. 2. **ba**:—*arm-ba cháincomraccach-so* **Wb.** 30<sup>b</sup> 23, *cia ba loingthech* 6<sup>c</sup> 9, *cia fa firián* **ML** 36<sup>a</sup> 32, *co[m]-ba ingraintid cùm[ach]tach donaið hisin* 54<sup>b</sup> 19.

Sg. 3. **rob, -rop-**:—*acht ro[b] bronach* **ML** 86<sup>d</sup> 12, *act rop Crist pridches cách* **Wb.** 23<sup>b</sup> 24, cf. **Sg.** 169<sup>a</sup> 1, *rop coræ doib fri* 1390 *Dia* 20<sup>d</sup> 1; *o-rop indu* **Wb.** 3<sup>a</sup> 12, *cor-rop glan* 16<sup>a</sup> 20, cf. 16<sup>a</sup> 21, 19<sup>d</sup> 3 (*cor-rup*), 21<sup>a</sup> 9 (*corop*), 22<sup>a</sup> 10, **ML** 32<sup>d</sup> 4 (*corub*), **Sg.** 40<sup>b</sup> 7 (*corop*), 59<sup>a</sup> 1 (*corob*), *o-rop innon cretem bes hi far cridru* **Wb.** 7<sup>d</sup> 10, *corub mebuil leu* **ML** 138<sup>c</sup> 8, *cor-rop hed mo indeb Crist* **Wb.** 24<sup>a</sup> 6, *cor-rup háe bas óenairchinnech* 26<sup>d</sup> 2, *cor-rop* 1395 *moo assa moo . . . donimdigid* 23<sup>b</sup> 1, cf. **ML** 129<sup>b</sup> 1 (*coru[p]*), 129<sup>b</sup> 2 (*cor-rup*), **Sg.** 203<sup>b</sup> 7 (*o-rop*).<sup>3</sup>

-**p**:—*níp sain* **Wb.** 5<sup>d</sup> 14, cf. 28<sup>c</sup> 1, 30<sup>d</sup> 24, 31<sup>b</sup> 5, *nib écen lóg* 16<sup>c</sup> 17, cf. 22<sup>d</sup> 12, *nip inned libsi* 25<sup>a</sup> 10, *nib machdad* **Sg.** 158<sup>a</sup> 2,

<sup>1</sup> I take the *n* to be an infixed pronoun in impersonal construction, cf. *issin-naithrech* 'we repent' LL. 250<sup>b</sup> 17.

<sup>2</sup> So in **ML** 2<sup>d</sup> 2 *isi bed inmaircide* is to be read for *ní bed inmaircide* of the MS.

<sup>3</sup> In the defective gloss *coropith ch :: son* **ML** 77<sup>a</sup> 13, *coropith* seems to stand for *corop bith* 'that it may be a perpetual . . .'



- 1400 cf. **Tur.** 72, *nip i fomraid ade* 18<sup>b</sup> 18, *níp sí bes airchinnech* 28<sup>b</sup> 14, cf. **Sg.** 169<sup>a</sup> 1, *níp and noberpaid* **Wb.** 8<sup>b</sup> 2; *cid arthucait cláinde dogné nech et nip ar étrud* **Acr.** 28; *arimp*<sup>1</sup> *díghthidiu* **Wb.** 23<sup>d</sup> 23, cf. 32<sup>a</sup> 2, *arimp díthnad dúibsi* 14<sup>b</sup> 17, *arimp do mórad Dé uile* 15<sup>c</sup> 4; **arnap** *trom lib* **Wb.** 14<sup>a</sup> 1, cf. 14<sup>d</sup> 17, 27<sup>c</sup> 16 (*arnáp*),
- 1405 **Sg.** 179<sup>b</sup> 1 (*arnab*), *arnap éicen* **Wb.** 29<sup>a</sup> 10, *arnap mebul dúibsi* 16<sup>d</sup> 13, cf. 25<sup>c</sup> 31, *arnap buid for foigdi* 25<sup>b</sup> 11, *arnáp hé som coneit* 6<sup>c</sup> 7, *airnap ár écin dagnet* **ML.** 83<sup>b</sup> 14, *arnap samlid beith* **Tur.** 89; *conaib fir* **ML.** 31<sup>d</sup> 9; *cip cruth* **Wb.** 5<sup>d</sup> 33, 12<sup>d</sup> 24, **ML.** 65<sup>b</sup> 11, *cib cenél dia roscribad* 3<sup>b</sup> 20, *cip hé ade* **ML.**
- 1410 26<sup>a</sup> 1, *cip e asberam* 25<sup>d</sup> 12, cf. 25<sup>d</sup> 11, **Wb.** 12<sup>d</sup> 41; **cinip** *lour* **Wb.** 11<sup>d</sup> 15, cf. **ML.** 24<sup>d</sup> 22 (*cenib*), **Sg.** 68<sup>b</sup> 4 (*cenip*), *cinip hon sémi[gi]detu .i. cenip ho etrummugud* **ML.** 59<sup>a</sup> 23, *cenib ed á ainm som bes foir* 23<sup>d</sup> 17; *manip sulbair* **Wb.** 8<sup>a</sup> 12, cf. 18<sup>c</sup> 11, **ML.** 14<sup>d</sup> 10, **Sg.** 188<sup>a</sup> 12, *mainip in chrudso* **Wb.** 10<sup>a</sup> 5,
- 1415 *manip tol lasin fer* **Wb.** 9<sup>d</sup> 16, cf. 9<sup>d</sup> 18, *manip n* **Sg.** 38<sup>b</sup> 3, *manip ho Dia* **Wb.** 6<sup>a</sup> 2, cf. 10<sup>b</sup> 14, *manip tre dageomairli dognether* 29<sup>a</sup> 21, cf. **Sg.** 20<sup>b</sup> 2, 25<sup>b</sup> 14<sup>2</sup>; *sechip hé dán doberthar* **Wb.** 13<sup>a</sup> 3, cf. 10<sup>a</sup> 18, 14<sup>d</sup> 28, 20<sup>b</sup> 5, **ML.** 37<sup>b</sup> 19, 53<sup>a</sup> 23, 53<sup>b</sup> 1, 120<sup>c</sup> 1, 86<sup>d</sup> 12, **Sg.** 138<sup>b</sup> 4.<sup>3</sup>
- 1420 -**dip**, -**dib**:—*airn-dip maith* **Wb.** 25<sup>d</sup> 21, *airndib tosach* **ML.** 17<sup>c</sup> 8, cf. **Tur.** 72, *arndip samlid do chách* **Wb.** 22<sup>c</sup> 11, *arndip rucece doib* 30<sup>a</sup> 3, *arndip maith n-airlethar* 28<sup>b</sup> 32, *airndib ar oas* **ML.** 83<sup>b</sup> 15; *in-dib maith* **Wb.** 26<sup>b</sup> 24; *dúis in-dip fochunn icee* **Wb.** 26<sup>b</sup> 27; *con-dib cuimse less a meit* **Wb.** 14<sup>a</sup> 3, *condip slán*
- 1425 9<sup>b</sup> 9, cf. 12<sup>c</sup> 37, 12<sup>c</sup> 39, 26<sup>d</sup> 16 (*condib*), 26<sup>d</sup> 23, 27<sup>b</sup> 27 (*condib*), 28<sup>d</sup> 20 (*odib*), 29<sup>c</sup> 8, *condib sainemail* **ML.** 35<sup>d</sup> 22, cf. 67<sup>c</sup> 12, 94<sup>c</sup> 12, **Sg.** 189<sup>b</sup> 2, 198<sup>a</sup> 4, 201<sup>b</sup> 16, 203<sup>b</sup> 9, **Tur.** 72, 89, *condib didnad domsa* **Wb.** 1<sup>b</sup> 1, cf. 5<sup>d</sup> 10, **ML.** 90<sup>b</sup> 13, *condib hé intliucht so domberae as* 94<sup>d</sup> 4, *condib ferr domberaidsi*
- 1430 **Wb.** 16<sup>c</sup> 9, cf. 24<sup>a</sup> 22, 25<sup>d</sup> 22 (*condip*), **ML.** 23<sup>c</sup> 5, 37<sup>a</sup> 10, **Sg.** 20<sup>b</sup> 10, 32<sup>c</sup> 5.
- ropo**:—*act ropo cho n-etarceirt* **Wb.** 13<sup>a</sup> 25, cf. 13<sup>a</sup> 27.
- corbu** *i m-maith beith* **ML.** 90<sup>d</sup> 11, cf. 31<sup>b</sup> 16.
- bo**:—*ni bo intain nombeid ar súil tantum dogneith* **Wb.**
- 1435 27<sup>c</sup> 9.

<sup>1</sup> In **Wb.** 25<sup>a</sup> 9 the disputed *arimtairismech* seems to stand for *arimp tairismech* and to refer to *ut nemo moueatur*. In **ML.** 112<sup>b</sup> 1 *im inmaireide* may be for *imb inmaireide*, cf. *dús im chomchétbuid dúib* **Wb.** 10<sup>a</sup> 21.

<sup>2</sup> I.e.g. *manip sí in sill- ní bes?* In **Wb.** 31<sup>b</sup> 27 *manisglan* should apparently be corrected to *manip glan*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *sechi*, p. 32 note.

Relative: **bes**:—*bes meldach* 4<sup>c</sup> 19, cf. 6<sup>b</sup> 29 (leg. *bes huilliu*), 11<sup>a</sup> 24, 17<sup>a</sup> 13, 31<sup>d</sup> 11, 33<sup>c</sup> 15, **ML**. 2<sup>b</sup> 1, 19<sup>d</sup> 6, 23<sup>d</sup> 23, 44<sup>d</sup> 7, 49<sup>a</sup> 18<sup>b</sup>, 51<sup>a</sup> 22, 56<sup>b</sup> 44, 59<sup>a</sup> 12, 94<sup>b</sup> 16, 94<sup>c</sup> 17, 126<sup>c</sup> 18, **Sg.** 7<sup>a</sup> 1, *intain bes n-inun accobor lenn* **Wb.** 4<sup>a</sup> 27, *bes airchinnech* **Wb.** 28<sup>b</sup> 14, cf. 20<sup>c</sup> 7, **Sg.** 25<sup>b</sup> 14, 27<sup>a</sup> 18, 169<sup>a</sup> 1, 195<sup>a</sup> 1. 1440  
**bas**:—*bas uisse* **Wb.** 28<sup>b</sup> 9, *bas sciith lim* 18<sup>a</sup> 2, *bas toisech* **Sg.** 20<sup>b</sup> 2, *intan bas rann* 25<sup>a</sup> 1.

As to the peculiar form *bésu*, *béso*, **Wb.** 6<sup>b</sup> 23, 24, 19<sup>b</sup> 11, it seems to mean 'may be,' but the analysis is uncertain. Is it modelled on *bés* 'perhaps'?

Pl. 1. **-ban**:—*anunman* (= *an-nu-m-ban*) *aircheltai* **ML**. 27<sup>b</sup> 10, *comman* (= *co m-ban*) *dessimrecht do chach* **Wb.** 31<sup>c</sup> 11.

Pl. 2. **bede**:—*bede preceptori* **Wb.** 13<sup>a</sup> 10. 1445

**-bad**:—*arna bad huilce* **Wb.** 5<sup>d</sup> 38, cf. 27<sup>c</sup> 34, *co m-bad accomailti-si linsa* 23<sup>a</sup> 26, cf. 26<sup>b</sup> 7, *dia m-bad mathi* 16<sup>a</sup> 13.<sup>1</sup>

Pl. 3. **ropat**:—*acht ropat sáini* **Sg.** 199<sup>a</sup> 1.

**-bat**:—*bés ni bat chutrummi* **Wb.** 9<sup>d</sup> 27, cf. **ML**. 51<sup>b</sup> 8; *am-bat n-erchoissi* **ML**. 73<sup>c</sup> 9, cf. 127<sup>c</sup> 25 (or fut.?), 15<sup>d</sup> 7; 1450 *arm-bat buidich* **Wb.** 7<sup>a</sup> 15, cf. 22<sup>d</sup> 2, 22<sup>c</sup> 10, 31<sup>d</sup> 15, **ML**. 130<sup>a</sup> 12, *armbat litre nota aram* **Sg.** 6<sup>b</sup> 23; *arna-pat toirsich* **Wb.** 26<sup>d</sup> 21; *cin-bat huili* **Wb.** 4<sup>d</sup> 6; *mani-bat jer[r]som* **ML**. 24<sup>c</sup> 1; *co m-bat irlithi* **Wb.** 7<sup>c</sup> 14, cf. 13<sup>d</sup> 29, 26<sup>c</sup> 8, 31<sup>b</sup> 25; *im-bat da g bete and ba g 7 n* **Sg.** 15<sup>a</sup> 2. 1455

Relative: **bete**:—*bete gentilia* **Sg.** 33<sup>a</sup> 16, cf. 33<sup>a</sup> 16, 66<sup>a</sup> 4, *m-bete* **ML**. 138<sup>c</sup> 17.

**beta**:—*beta cheti* **ML**. 126<sup>c</sup> 4, cf. 34<sup>d</sup> 3, 56<sup>a</sup> 20, **Sg.** 32<sup>b</sup> 14, 54<sup>b</sup> 6, 198<sup>a</sup> 2, 207<sup>a</sup> 9, 207<sup>b</sup> 11, 220<sup>a</sup> 7.

**bata**:—*am-bata n-ersigthe* **ML**. 127<sup>a</sup> 4, *bata chorai Deo* 125<sup>b</sup> 5. 1460

#### Imperfect.

**Sg.** 1. **-bin, -benn**:—*no-m-bin dermatach* **ML**. 20<sup>a</sup> 4, *com-min inrice dó* **Wb.** 24<sup>a</sup> 11, *com bin cosmail* **ML**. 91<sup>b</sup> 7, *amal ni* (MS. *air*) *bin fu leu etir* 44<sup>c</sup> 2, *námmin* (= *nám-bin*) *duine* **Wb.** 17<sup>d</sup> 23, *arm-benn duine* 130<sup>d</sup> 4.

**Sg.** 2. *niptha labar* **Wb.** 5<sup>b</sup> 32.<sup>2</sup> 1465

**Sg.** 3. **bad**<sup>3</sup>:—*bad foammamigthe* **Wb.** 13<sup>a</sup> 16, *bad huaisliu* 33<sup>d</sup> 10, *a m-bad n-inlínaiithe* **ML**. 39<sup>d</sup> 19, *ce bad hé frisandénte* **Wb.** 9<sup>c</sup> 24.

<sup>1</sup> In **ML**. 115<sup>b</sup> 10 *anambaid buidig* seems an error for *anambad buidig*.

<sup>2</sup> In **Wb.** 5<sup>b</sup> 32 for the inexplicable *armtairismech* I would suggest *arntha tairismech* 'that thou shouldst be steadfast.'

<sup>3</sup> In **Wb.** 21<sup>a</sup> 1 for *ba chomadas* we should read *bad chomadas*.

**robad**:—*act robad tairismech* **Wb.** 18<sup>d</sup> 11.

**corpad**:—*corpad mithig lessom* **Wb.** 4<sup>c</sup> 37.

- 1470 **-bad**:—*na bad cola* **Wb.** 33<sup>b</sup> 21, *nam-bad rath* 12<sup>d</sup> 21; *arm-bad ferr* 10<sup>a</sup> 16, cf. 11<sup>a</sup> 7, 19, 25<sup>d</sup> 26 (*armad*), **MI.** 18<sup>d</sup> 6, 35<sup>c</sup> 23, *arm-bad peccad* **Wb.** 3<sup>c</sup> 20, *armad machdad* **Sg.** 167<sup>a</sup> 4, *armad hi coms-* 222<sup>a</sup> 6, *arm-bad hi soinnmigi dosmelmais* **MI.** 111<sup>b</sup> 15, cf. 23<sup>b</sup> 12, 43<sup>c</sup> 13, 104<sup>d</sup> 5, **Sg.** 211<sup>a</sup> 6, **Per.** 56<sup>a</sup> 2; *arná-bad rómár leosom* **Wb.** 11<sup>c</sup> 7, cf. **MI.** 35<sup>c</sup> 23, *arnabad lesom for longais* (sc. *notesed*) 23<sup>b</sup> 12, 43<sup>c</sup> 13, *co m-bad aurlam* **Wb.** 8<sup>a</sup> 4, cf. 6<sup>d</sup> 6, 14<sup>c</sup> 23, 21<sup>a</sup> 13, 25<sup>a</sup> 14, 26<sup>b</sup> 31, **MI.** 14<sup>a</sup> 7, 21<sup>d</sup> 1, 65<sup>d</sup> 5, 70<sup>a</sup> 5, 89<sup>b</sup> 15, 92<sup>c</sup> 4, 92<sup>d</sup> 14, 110<sup>a</sup> 6, **Sg.** 72<sup>a</sup> 1, 106<sup>b</sup> 22, 120<sup>b</sup> 2, *co m-bad iarum* **MI.** 70<sup>a</sup> 5,
- 1480 *co m-bad innonn indocbál diar n-anmanaiḃ* **Wb.** 24<sup>d</sup> 13, *co m-bad inned for arail domsa* 23<sup>b</sup> 21, *co m-bad ét leu* 5<sup>b</sup> 20, *co m-bad ained n-indib a n-olc* **MI.** 76<sup>a</sup> 11, *co m-bad béim foris* **Wb.** 10<sup>a</sup> 12, cf. 25<sup>c</sup> 23, 28<sup>a</sup> 13, **MI.** 86<sup>d</sup> 10, 89<sup>d</sup> 13, **Sg.** 69<sup>a</sup> 26, *co m-bad se apud nos* 209<sup>b</sup> 7, *co m-bad ho suidiu pepigi* **Sg.** 181<sup>a</sup> 3, *co m-bad si amser sin rongabthe* **MI.** 24<sup>d</sup> 7, cf. **Sg.** 148<sup>b</sup> 5, *co-m-bad snini for moidem-si* **Wb.** 15<sup>d</sup> 6, *co m-bad sissi doberad* 18<sup>a</sup> 3, cf. 13<sup>a</sup> 16, *co m-bad tothim cen eirge nobed* 5<sup>b</sup> 10, cf. 18<sup>c</sup> 13, 26<sup>b</sup> 31, 27<sup>d</sup> 16, 32<sup>a</sup> 12, **MI.** 16<sup>a</sup> 10, 27<sup>d</sup> 22, 34<sup>d</sup> 6, 35<sup>b</sup> 18, 37<sup>b</sup> 23, 39<sup>c</sup> 15, 48<sup>d</sup> 27, 53<sup>c</sup> 13, 54<sup>a</sup> 21, 95<sup>a</sup> 1,
- 1490 95<sup>c</sup> 2, 103<sup>d</sup> 16, 111<sup>d</sup> 4, 113<sup>c</sup> 7, 120<sup>c</sup> 6, 124<sup>b</sup> 3, 139<sup>a</sup> 9, **Sg.** 18<sup>a</sup> 4, 21<sup>b</sup> 6, 69<sup>a</sup> 5, 106<sup>b</sup> 16, 120<sup>a</sup> 2, 203<sup>a</sup> 10; *cona-bad fir* **Wb.** 18<sup>a</sup> 18, cf. **MI.** 119<sup>d</sup> 6, *conapad fir Dia* 21<sup>c</sup> 12, *cona bad eicen doberad* **Wb.** 32<sup>a</sup> 12, *nipa[d] dron notbocetha* **Wb.** 5<sup>b</sup> 32, *ná bad do Hierusalem nobertis* 16<sup>d</sup> 4; *manibbad hinunn lit-* **Sg.** 17<sup>b</sup> 8, *manibad fortaectain Dé* **MI.** 134<sup>b</sup> 3, cf. 136<sup>c</sup> 2,<sup>1</sup>
- 1495 **Wb.** 4<sup>a</sup> 20; *sechipad ed dodaissed* 39<sup>c</sup> 15.

- bed**:—*intí bed tressa* **MI.** 19<sup>d</sup> 5, cf. **Sg.** 162<sup>a</sup> 6, *ba doig bed n-ingcert* **MI.** 61<sup>b</sup> 15, cf. **Sg.** 30<sup>a</sup> 8, *arna tomnathar bed foamma-michthe* **Wb.** 13<sup>c</sup> 2, cf. **MI.** 30<sup>c</sup> 5, 40<sup>c</sup> 17, 96<sup>b</sup> 18, 132<sup>a</sup> 4,
- 1500 *nibu machdad bed coitchenn* **Sg.** 68<sup>a</sup> 3, *intan bed femin* 66<sup>b</sup> 14, *bed nephdiachtae* **MI.** 111<sup>b</sup> 6, cf. **Wb.** 33<sup>d</sup> 5, *ní bed mo* **MI.** 51<sup>a</sup> 2, cf. 54<sup>b</sup> 30, 60<sup>b</sup> 2, 78<sup>a</sup> 4, 92<sup>a</sup> 9, 106<sup>b</sup> 6, 129<sup>c</sup> 2, 136<sup>b</sup> 7, **Sg.** 42<sup>b</sup> 9, *dúinni bed fortachtigthe* **MI.** 64<sup>b</sup> 2, *damsa bed gabthi* 76<sup>d</sup> 4, cf. 107<sup>a</sup> 10, *bed ersailcithi* 14<sup>d</sup> 2, cf. 16<sup>a</sup> 5, 18<sup>a</sup> 6, 19<sup>a</sup> 4,
- 1505 22<sup>d</sup> 22, 24<sup>a</sup> 3, 29<sup>a</sup> 15, 34<sup>d</sup> 14, 39<sup>d</sup> 24, 46<sup>a</sup> 27, 53<sup>b</sup> 2, 79<sup>c</sup> 1, 88<sup>a</sup> 14, 92<sup>a</sup> 17, 93<sup>a</sup> 8, 105<sup>b</sup> 13, 125<sup>a</sup> 8, 132<sup>a</sup> 4, 134<sup>b</sup> 2,

<sup>1</sup> In **MI.** 127<sup>d</sup> 18 *maip badeacht du atrub indi* should probably be corrected to *main bad deacht*, etc.

137<sup>c</sup> 12, **Sg.** 25<sup>b</sup> 9, 39<sup>b</sup> 11, 68<sup>a</sup> 5, **Tur.** 146, *bed n-ecen* **ML.** 51<sup>a</sup> 19, *nech bed chare do* 29<sup>c</sup> 16, *bed n-oinsalm* 26<sup>c</sup> 1, cf. 43<sup>a</sup> 15, 86<sup>d</sup> 5, *bed n-ainm do dorus* 131<sup>c</sup> 3, *bed foù nogabtris* 35<sup>b</sup> 16, cf. 50<sup>b</sup> 8, **Sg.** 62<sup>b</sup> 2, 209<sup>a</sup> 1. 1510

**-bed:**—*ar bed á arilliud nodnícad* **Wb.** 2<sup>b</sup> 4; *co m-bed* secunda **Sg.** 200<sup>a</sup> 1, *co m-bed adultera* **Wb.** 3<sup>c</sup> 9, *co m bed caralitates la Grecu* **Sg.** 38<sup>b</sup> 5, *co m-bed hed nobed and* 3<sup>b</sup> 10, *co m-bed samlid dagneth* **ML.** 51<sup>d</sup> 2; *main bed maith latsu* **Wb.** 32<sup>a</sup> 11, *main bed accuis* 9<sup>b</sup> 19, *main bed diar nertad* 6<sup>c</sup> 31; 1515 *dús im-bed do Duaid coneitsitis* **ML.** 87<sup>c</sup> 4.

**bid:**—*indoich bid indirge do Dia* **Wb.** 4<sup>c</sup> 16, cf. 10<sup>d</sup> 1, *indoich bid frithorcun lib* 18<sup>a</sup> 9, *indoich bid ar for mrath* 18<sup>a</sup> 15, *doig liun bid exaggeranter duintad* **ML.** 89<sup>d</sup> 6, *ni meite bid nachdad forru* **Sg.** 161<sup>b</sup> 12, *is ferr bid oin sech-leu* 184<sup>b</sup> 1, 1520 *ba coru bid adnuntiabit nobeth híc* **ML.** 45<sup>b</sup> 14, *arna tomnitis som bid do irgairiu cotulto* **Wb.** 25<sup>c</sup> 12, *amal bid áét limsa moort do gabál* 23<sup>b</sup> 18; *amal bid Dia* 26<sup>a</sup> 7, *amal bid moanmain-se* 32<sup>a</sup> 8, cf. 28<sup>d</sup> 17, *amal bid inn accaldim deithidnig* **ML.** 35<sup>c</sup> 27, *amal bid in chlothi* 48<sup>b</sup> 3, cf. 18<sup>d</sup> 5, 35<sup>c</sup> 25 (*bith*), 37<sup>b</sup> 22 1525 (*fid*), 42<sup>c</sup> 19, 75<sup>a</sup> 2, 136<sup>a</sup> 1, **Sg.** 188<sup>a</sup> 26 (leg. *inn aimsir*?), *amal bid tarasi n-uile* **ML.** 74<sup>a</sup> 2, *amal bid horaili nuasligi* 2<sup>a</sup> 6, cf. 23<sup>c</sup> 9, 30<sup>d</sup> 27, 32<sup>a</sup> 25, 37<sup>d</sup> 19, 40<sup>d</sup> 17, 49<sup>a</sup> 11, 49<sup>d</sup> 11, 54<sup>d</sup> 10, 80<sup>a</sup> 2, 88<sup>c</sup> 12, 101<sup>d</sup> 12, 118<sup>b</sup> 3, 129<sup>a</sup> 12, **Sg.** 2<sup>a</sup> 6, 9<sup>b</sup> 11 (*bith*), 31<sup>b</sup> 22, 192<sup>b</sup> 4, *amal bid dúib doecmoised* **Wb.** 1530 5<sup>d</sup> 26, cf. 10<sup>c</sup> 12, 19<sup>b</sup> 6, 24<sup>d</sup> 21, 32<sup>a</sup> 17, **ML.** 20<sup>b</sup> 18, 32<sup>a</sup> 5, 44<sup>a</sup> 19, 44<sup>b</sup> 8, 49<sup>a</sup> 11, 51<sup>b</sup> 15, 62<sup>c</sup> 2, 63<sup>b</sup> 9, 68<sup>b</sup> 2, 68<sup>b</sup> 3, 78<sup>b</sup> 14, 84<sup>c</sup> 9, 130<sup>d</sup> 15, 131<sup>d</sup> 12, **Sg.** 33<sup>a</sup> 18, 217<sup>b</sup> 15; *amal bid annumothaiged* **ML.** 25<sup>a</sup> 12, cf. 34<sup>b</sup> 11 (*fid*), 46<sup>a</sup> 23, *amal bid a n-durochrech* 68<sup>c</sup> 11; *is cumme do bid indebthe* **Wb.** 1<sup>d</sup> 20, 1535 cf. 10<sup>c</sup> 3, 4, **ML.** 92<sup>a</sup> 12, **Sg.** 10<sup>a</sup> 11, *is cumme do-bid ed asberad* **ML.** 95<sup>b</sup> 7, cf. 67<sup>a</sup> 8, *indaas bid praeceptoir asidindissed* 42<sup>b</sup> 18, cf. 123<sup>c</sup> 10, 135<sup>a</sup> 13, *oldaas bid ar n-áinsem* **Wb.** 4<sup>b</sup> 17, *oldaas bid iniquus asberad* **ML.** 59<sup>a</sup> 7.<sup>1</sup>

**ni bad:**—*amal ni bad fiu* **ML.** 63<sup>d</sup> 2, *amal ni bad atrab* 1540-68<sup>b</sup> 3, *amal ni bad hua nach comthumus* 63<sup>d</sup> 2, *amal ni bad cen cinta dugnetis* 74<sup>a</sup> 1.

<sup>1</sup> In **ML.** 19<sup>b</sup> 11 *imbi bid* is unintelligible and is probably corrupt. In **ML.** 59<sup>a</sup> 12 *mad huaieniud bes amlabar 7 bid ho geinim*, I do not understand the variation between *bes* and *bid*. In **Wb.** 1<sup>b</sup> 16, as I have suggested before, *amal asbadia* seems a mixture of *amal as Dia* 'as God,' and *amal ni bad Dia* 'as though He were not God.'



- Pl. 1. **bemmis**:—*ar bemmis muntar-ni dait* **ML.** 102<sup>b</sup> 16; *amal bemmis fordiucailsí* 134<sup>b</sup> 5, *amal bemmis bibdaid* 114<sup>d</sup> 4.
- 1545 **bimmis**:—*com-mimmis ecil* **Wb.** 29<sup>d</sup> 16, *com-mimis angraib dūibí* 26<sup>b</sup> 18, *com-mimis less huili* 6<sup>b</sup> 21; *amal bimmis octarche* 9<sup>a</sup> 7, *amal bimmis maice deit* **ML.** 91<sup>b</sup> 16, *amal ni bimmis fíu-ní etir* 63<sup>d</sup> 1.
- Pl. 3. **betis**:—*betis mou* **ML.** 100<sup>c</sup> 11, *betis dillithi* 29<sup>d</sup> 6, cf. 86<sup>d</sup> 4, 1550 *betis aisndisib* 23<sup>a</sup> 14, cf. 27<sup>b</sup> 6, 29<sup>d</sup> 6, 33<sup>d</sup> 7, 63<sup>b</sup> 13, 68<sup>c</sup> 14, 96<sup>b</sup> 16, 102<sup>d</sup> 10, 104<sup>d</sup> 7, 130<sup>b</sup> 10, 131<sup>d</sup> 11<sup>1</sup>; *nibbu machdath betis Greedi* **Sg.** 6<sup>a</sup> 9; *amal betis degmaini dobertis* **ML.** 90<sup>a</sup> 14.
- bitis**:—*amal bitis luic deroli* **ML.** 92<sup>d</sup> 11; *indate bitis cranna doiscairi dufubaitis* 92<sup>d</sup> 6.
- 1555 **-btis**:—*antis (= a m-btis) foremächti* **ML.** 34<sup>a</sup> 10, cf. 72<sup>b</sup> 13, 85<sup>d</sup> 6; *airmtis ní etir* 79<sup>b</sup> 11, *airmdis hé iusti indí nadocumanatar* 54<sup>a</sup> 12<sup>2</sup>; *comtis indbaid i n-iris* **Wb.** 10<sup>d</sup> 33, *comtis cat[h]rai[g] frisellar* **ML.** 36<sup>d</sup> 18, *comtis ainmmnidi* **Sg.** 7<sup>b</sup> 2, *comtis les* **ML.** 92<sup>c</sup> 10, *comtis hé ind huli sin forbristeá* 67<sup>b</sup> 18;
- 1560 *coniptis ersoilethi, coniptis erlama* 100<sup>c</sup> 24; *conabdis apstíl tantum* **Wb.** 5<sup>b</sup> 15; *matis tuicsi* 11<sup>a</sup> 22, *matis huili* 5<sup>b</sup> 15, *maatis hé ind fersai grandi insin namma dumberad* **ML.** 40<sup>c</sup> 17, *matis mu namait dudagnetis* 73<sup>d</sup> 1; *maniptis tóbaidi* **Sg.** 120<sup>a</sup> 1, *maniptis mu charait dudagnetis* **ML.** 73<sup>d</sup> 1.
- In a subjunctive sense are used **cid**,<sup>3</sup> **cit**, **mad**, **mat**.
- 1565 **cid**:—*cid accobrach* **Wb.** 4<sup>c</sup> 34, cf. 3<sup>c</sup> 5, 10<sup>a</sup> 26, 27<sup>a</sup> 8, 30<sup>d</sup> 6, 33<sup>c</sup> 16 (*ceith*), **ML.** 2<sup>d</sup> 12, 20<sup>a</sup> 19, 115<sup>d</sup> 7 (*ced*), 8, 145<sup>c</sup> 3, **Sg.** 2<sup>a</sup> 7, 28<sup>b</sup> 6, 7, 38<sup>a</sup> 7, 52<sup>a</sup> 15, 68<sup>b</sup> 4, 201<sup>a</sup> 10, *cid a mall* **Wb.** 24<sup>c</sup> 10, *cid mebul lib* 3<sup>b</sup> 30, *cid tol dó* 11<sup>b</sup> 18, *cid accubur lium* **ML.** 69<sup>a</sup> 21, cf. 80<sup>a</sup> 9, *cid precept cid labrad* **Wb.** 13<sup>a</sup> 29,
- 1570 cf. **ML.** 140<sup>b</sup> 4, *cid less ar m-béo* **Wb.** 6<sup>b</sup> 20, *cid fognim cid fo chésad dorróntar* 13<sup>c</sup> 21, cf. 8<sup>d</sup> 21 (*ced*), 18<sup>c</sup> 11, 27<sup>c</sup> 14, *ní machdath cid hé comaisndis* **Sg.** 222<sup>a</sup> 5, **ML.** 17<sup>c</sup> 3, 19<sup>b</sup> 11, 92<sup>a</sup> 17, 142<sup>d</sup> 1, **Sg.** 28<sup>a</sup> 15, 202<sup>b</sup> 3, **Acr.** 28. As a past subjunctive, *cid dian 7 cian nothéisinn* **ML.** 41<sup>d</sup> 9, cf. **Wb.** 20<sup>b</sup> 22, *nipu imdu do in mann cid tren oc tecmallad* 16<sup>c</sup> 25.
- 1575

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Zupitza, KZ., xxxv, 454 sq.

<sup>2</sup> In **Wb.** 4<sup>a</sup> 10 Pedersen (KZ., xxxv, 341) suggests to read *ardislemnethu*.

<sup>3</sup> But *cid* is followed by the indicative in *cid doib doarrchet* 5<sup>a</sup> 16. More strange is *cid fo gnim cid fo chés-uth dotiagar* **Wb.** 6<sup>a</sup> 21. That *dotiagar* here is personal is indicated by the plural *dotiagar* **ML.** 106<sup>c</sup> 3, cf. 101<sup>c</sup> 7. It looks as though we had here a different verb from *tiagu* 'I go.' *cid* 'what' is followed by the indicative, cf. **Wb.** 5<sup>a</sup> 31, 9<sup>c</sup> 20, 10<sup>a</sup> 26, 12<sup>c</sup> 22, 46, 13<sup>a</sup> 13, 16<sup>c</sup> 7, 19<sup>d</sup> 10, so *citne* **Wb.** 6<sup>a</sup> 9, 8<sup>b</sup> 5, **ML.** 61<sup>b</sup> 7, 8. *cid* corresponds to the negative *cenip*, cf. **Sg.** 68<sup>b</sup> 4, *mad* to the negative *manip*, cf. **Wb.** 9<sup>d</sup> 16, 17.

**cit**:—*cit sochudi* **Wb.** 4<sup>d</sup> 5, cf. 9<sup>a</sup> 12, 12<sup>a</sup> 13, **Sg.** 190<sup>b</sup> 1, 207<sup>b</sup> 11.

**mad** = pres. subj.:—*mad cosmil* **Wb.** 2<sup>c</sup> 20, *mad móo de* 2<sup>a</sup> 8<sup>a</sup>, cf. 8<sup>a</sup> 5, 8<sup>d</sup> 1, 9<sup>a</sup> 23, 9<sup>d</sup> 17, 10<sup>a</sup> 15, 12<sup>b</sup> 11, 14<sup>a</sup> 4, 11, 19<sup>d</sup> 17, 20<sup>a</sup> 1, 20<sup>c</sup> 6, 31<sup>b</sup> 7, **Acr.** 43, **Sg.** 36<sup>b</sup> 1, 188<sup>a</sup> 6, 1580 7, 197<sup>a</sup> 2, 208<sup>a</sup> 4, 6, 209<sup>b</sup> 12, 210<sup>b</sup> marg., *mad hinonn tar-morcenn dóib* 111<sup>a</sup> 3, *mad fochrice som* **Wb.** 2<sup>b</sup> 26, cf. 29<sup>a</sup> 23, **Sg.** 3<sup>b</sup> 19, *act mad óentu dúib occa* **Wb.** 9<sup>d</sup> 22, *mad samlid duib* 25<sup>a</sup> 19, *mad secundum carnem* 8<sup>a</sup> 17, cf. **MI.** 44<sup>b</sup> 4, 6, 45<sup>c</sup> 10, 74<sup>d</sup> 13,<sup>1</sup> cf. **Tur.** 137, *mad co techt di co fer* **Wb.** 9<sup>d</sup> 32, cf. 10<sup>d</sup> 30, 1585 12<sup>a</sup> 23, 17<sup>d</sup> 19, **Sg.** 161<sup>b</sup> 9, 207<sup>a</sup> 8, *mad hé á luum* **Wb.** 4<sup>a</sup> 14, *mad hé far m-bethu-si Crist* 27<sup>b</sup> 6, *mad he herchoil-* **Sg.** 199<sup>b</sup> 4, *mad ar lóg pridchasa* **Wb.** 10<sup>d</sup> 23, cf. 10<sup>d</sup> 27, 11<sup>d</sup> 16, 12<sup>c</sup> 36, 46, 13<sup>a</sup> 13, 13<sup>c</sup> 24, 17<sup>a</sup> 2, **MI.** 43<sup>a</sup> 2, 46<sup>d</sup> 6, **Sg.** 203<sup>a</sup> 7.<sup>2</sup>

= past subj.:—*ba bec n-damsa mad buith cen chotlud* **MI.** 1590 95<sup>d</sup> 13, *mad aill duib cid accaldam neich darigente* **Wb.** 13<sup>b</sup> 3, cf. **MI.** 2<sup>d</sup> 1, **Sg.** 111<sup>b</sup> 2, *mad o dib n-ogaib* 157<sup>b</sup> 4, *mad mo riarsa dognethe* **Wb.** 9<sup>d</sup> 25, cf. 2<sup>c</sup> 17, 10<sup>a</sup> 27, 33<sup>b</sup> 13, **MI.** 32<sup>d</sup> 5, 35<sup>c</sup> 26, 96<sup>a</sup> 10, 98<sup>b</sup> 9, 118<sup>b</sup> 6, **Sg.** 199<sup>b</sup> 9, 202<sup>a</sup> 7, 207<sup>b</sup> 2.

**mat** = pres. subj.:—*mat hé na briathra-sa forcane* **Wb.** 1595 28<sup>c</sup> 21, *mat réte frecndirci gesme* 4<sup>a</sup> 27, *mat anmann émnatar* **Sg.** 189<sup>b</sup> 4.<sup>3</sup>

### Imperative.

**Sg.** 2. **ba**:—*ba chuimnech* **MI.** 46<sup>b</sup> 29.

-**ba**:—*na ba thoirsech* **Wb.** 29<sup>d</sup> 19, cf. 31<sup>c</sup> 22 (*napa*).

**Sg.** 3. **bad**:—*bad dlichthech* **Wb.** 5<sup>c</sup> 20, cf. 5<sup>c</sup> 21 (*pad*), 5<sup>d</sup> 15, 1600 6<sup>a</sup> 30, 6<sup>d</sup> 13 (**MS.** *bá*), 12<sup>b</sup> 6, 16<sup>a</sup> 15, 22<sup>d</sup> 21, 23<sup>c</sup> 15, 24<sup>b</sup> 9, 26<sup>a</sup> 30, **MI.** 131<sup>d</sup> 12, **Sg.** 147<sup>b</sup> 7, 148<sup>a</sup> 2, *bad amal asindbiursa* **Wb.** 13<sup>a</sup> 25, *bad atrab* **Wb.** 27<sup>b</sup> 25, *bad litir sain g.* **Sg.** 6<sup>b</sup> 11, *bad fáilte dúibsi* **Wb.** 5<sup>d</sup> 24, cf. 5<sup>d</sup> 25, 25<sup>b</sup> 25, *bad chore dúib friu* 7<sup>b</sup> 4, 14, 18, 27<sup>d</sup> 11, *bad chách darési áréli* 1605 13<sup>a</sup> 5, *bad didnad deserce* (be it consolation of charity) 23<sup>c</sup> 8, cf. 23<sup>c</sup> 9, 10, *bad ad edificationem* 12<sup>d</sup> 41, *bad ho thoil in fognam* 22<sup>d</sup> 5, *bad i n-Dia ind fáilte* 23<sup>d</sup> 19, cf. 27<sup>c</sup> 3, *bad hí Crist*

<sup>1</sup> In **Wb.** 17<sup>d</sup> 2 *madaessoir* is rightly corrected by Nigra to *mad du stóir*.

<sup>2</sup> In **Sg.** 73<sup>b</sup> 8 *mad bed insin asberthar duib*, *mad bed* is to be corrected to *mad hed*.

In **Wb.** 28<sup>b</sup> 13 *act mad a claind nisi liberos suos*, *act mad* has sunk to a mere adverbial formula.

<sup>3</sup> In **Sg.** 3<sup>b</sup> 19 *mad di fíisc* is for *mat di fíisc*.

- 1610 23<sup>c</sup> 11, cf. 5<sup>d</sup> 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 24<sup>b</sup> 10, 27<sup>c</sup> 3, 10, *bad lessom*  
 25<sup>c</sup> 12, *bad hé a fer in cétne* **Wb.** 9<sup>d</sup> 32, *bad hé for n-ere* 9<sup>d</sup> 12,  
*bad hé in mes so doberthar fornn* 8<sup>d</sup> 18, *bad sissi coneit* 6<sup>c</sup> 1,  
*bad hé dongneith* 5<sup>d</sup> 27, *bad samlith sulbairichthe* (let it be  
 thus that ye are eloquent) 12<sup>d</sup> 8, cf. 5<sup>d</sup> 19, 30, 34, 13<sup>a</sup> 3, 6,  
 22, 29, 32, 22<sup>d</sup> 14, **MI.** 66<sup>c</sup> 1.<sup>1</sup>
- 1615 **bed:**—*bed i n-genas* (?) **Wb.** 9<sup>d</sup> 31,<sup>2</sup> *bed imthuge dúbisi Crist*  
 6<sup>b</sup> 3, *bed amal asmbiur-sa dogneither* 13<sup>a</sup> 29.  
**-bad:**—*na bad lia diis* **Wb.** 13<sup>a</sup> 4, cf. 24<sup>b</sup> 3, 26<sup>b</sup> 28,  
*na bad inunn fedan imbeith* 16<sup>a</sup> 16, *na bad écen* 14<sup>d</sup> 1, *ná bad*  
*cuít tadaill* 27<sup>b</sup> 25, *na bad tórmach galir duit* 29<sup>a</sup> 24, *na bad*  
 1620 *mebul lat* 29<sup>d</sup> 18, cf. **MI.** 56<sup>b</sup> 36, 65<sup>d</sup> 15, *ná bad dia mess*  
**Wb.** 6<sup>b</sup> 5, cf. 6<sup>c</sup> 6, 22<sup>d</sup> 25, *na bad hed améit* 22<sup>b</sup> 14, **MI.** 62<sup>d</sup> 2,  
*na bad hé for n-imbradud* **Wb.** 6<sup>b</sup> 6, *na bad do réir for colno*  
*beithe* 6<sup>b</sup> 4, cf. 11<sup>d</sup> 15, 13<sup>a</sup> 5, **MI.** 70<sup>d</sup> 8, 9, 127<sup>b</sup> 18.
- Pl. 1. **baan, ban:**—*badn tairismich* **Wb.** 5<sup>d</sup> 22, *ban buidich* 29<sup>b</sup> 17,  
 1625 *ban chosmaili* 33<sup>b</sup> 20.
- Pl. 2. **bad:**—*bad bii* **Wb.** 3<sup>b</sup> 6, cf. 3<sup>b</sup> 7, 5<sup>d</sup> 21, 9<sup>d</sup> 6, 22<sup>a</sup> 24  
 (MS. *badifridáinsi*), 24<sup>a</sup> 24, 24<sup>b</sup> 1, 27<sup>a</sup> 6.  
**bed:**—*bed noib de* (MS. *beded noibde*) **Wb.** 3<sup>b</sup> 28, *bed*  
*adthramli* 9<sup>a</sup> 14, 23<sup>c</sup> 27, *bed imthuge-si* Domino 6<sup>b</sup> 3.
- 1630 **-bad:**—*na bad anfoirbthi-si* **Wb.** 12<sup>d</sup> 26.
- Pl. 3. **bat:**—*bat chosmuli* **Wb.** 17<sup>c</sup> 5, cf. 20<sup>c</sup> 2, 31<sup>c</sup> 13, *bat hé*  
*berte bretha* 9<sup>c</sup> 12.  
**-bat:**—*na bat nach arm aili* **Wb.** 22<sup>d</sup> 14.

<sup>1</sup> In **Wb.** 19<sup>d</sup> 29 *basamlid dúb* should probably be corrected to *bad samlid dúb*.

<sup>2</sup> But in 9<sup>d</sup> 28 *bite i n-genas* we have the substantive verb. As the substantive verb seems necessary here too, we should probably read *bied* 'she shall be in chastity.'

## PART II. REMARKS.

Such, then, are the forms of the verb 'to be' that are found in the Old Irish Glosses. Where the occurrences are so numerous, it is very probable that some have not been registered, but I trust that all the actual forms have been noted, and that, though some examples of them may have been overlooked, the collection will be found complete enough for practical purposes. As to the distribution, most of the instances can for formal or syntactical reasons be assigned with certainty to one part of the verb or the other. There are a few doubtful cases, chiefly where the syntax furnishes no certain clue. It remains to consider the different parts of the verb, and, where more than one set of forms are found, to try to discover any differences in their usage. The ideal would be one form one function, but that I have not found possible to carry through completely. On the one hand, I may have failed to perceive differences of usage that actually exist, in which case one can only hope that others will be less blind. On the other hand, it is to be remembered that language is constantly changing, and that particularly in a literary language the old and the new may exist side by side and be used indiscriminately. It has long been recognized that the three great collections of Old Irish Glosses—Wb., Ml., and Sg.—are not of the same date. It is also admitted that Wb. is the oldest. The usage of the verb 'to be' is in agreement with this; thus, in the preterite of the copula the form *bo* is confined to Wb. As to the two other collections, Thurneysen, *Rev. Celt.* vi, was inclined to put Sg. between Wb. and Ml.; Pedersen, in his paper on aspiration in Irish, *KZ.* xxxv, regards Sg. as the latest of the three, and certainly with regard to aspiration it has a good deal in common with later Irish. In the usage of the verb 'to be,' however, it sometimes approaches Wb. more closely than Ml. does, notably in the use of the form *file* (p. 57). The question seems deserving of further consideration, in which might be borne in mind the possibility that Sg. may have been altered in transmission: thus, if these glosses were copied from dictation, the person dictating would very naturally follow the rules of aspiration to which he was accustomed.



As to the later history of this verb in Irish, which should form an interesting and important chapter in the history of the Irish language, some notice will be taken of new developments, but I have no sufficient material at my disposal to deal fully with the subject. Reference will be made to Windisch's *Wörterbuch* (WB.), to my paper on the Verbal System of the *Saltair na Rann* (VSR.), to Atkinson's edition of the Passions and Homilies from the *Lebar Brecc* (PH.), and, for classical Modern Irish, to Atkinson's edition of Keating's "Three Shafts of Death" (K.). It should be very interesting if Professor Henebry, or some other scholar who speaks Irish as his native tongue, would compare the syntax of the verb 'to be' in Old Irish with that of the spoken language of to-day.

#### A. SUBSTANTIVE VERB AND COPULA.

One of the most remarkable features in the Irish verbal system is, that there are throughout two different sets of forms of the verb 'to be.' The one set is accented like any other verb, the other is proclitic and has no independent accent of its own. In part the two sets of forms come from different roots, in part one original form has been split up by the difference of accent. In the terminology of Modern Irish grammar they are called respectively the substantive verb (*tá*) and the assertive verb (*is*). In Old Irish the conditions are not in all respects the same as in Modern Irish, but in the absence of any other convenient designation we may be permitted to give to the accented forms the name of the Substantive Verb, to the unaccented forms that of the Copula.

The difference in usage will be best shown by examples. With the preposition *la* 'apud' both forms are in use, but the sense is different. Compare *is la Dia cid Caldeea* 'even Chaldea is God's' *ML.* 49<sup>d</sup> 5, *it lib huili* 'omnia uestra sunt' *Wb.* 8<sup>d</sup> 15, with *atá lib uile* 'it is all to be found with you' (*ut nihil uobis desit in ulla gratia*) *Wb.* 7<sup>d</sup> 5, *attaat iltintudai leu* 'there are many interpretations with them' *ML.* 3<sup>a</sup> 14. So *is uas nert dom* 'it is above my strength' *Sg.* 1<sup>a</sup> 6, but *in titul robói huas chiunn Christ isin chroich* 'the superscription which was above the head of Christ on the cross' *ML.* 74<sup>b</sup> 1; *combad hosuidiu pepigi* 'that pepigi is from it' *Sg.* 181<sup>a</sup> 3, but *is and biid neutur huad* 'it is then that there is found a neuter from it' *Sg.* 104<sup>b</sup> 5; *nitat ildáni do óenfiur*

'it is not many gifts to one man' Wb. 21<sup>a</sup> 16, but *ataat ilsenman do suidiu* 'there are many sounds to it' Wb. 12<sup>c</sup> 46; *lase ba snim fora menmuin* 'when it was a care upon his mind' Ml. 89<sup>b</sup> 7, but *robói a saindodcad for each* 'his particular misfortune was on each' Ml. 100<sup>a</sup> 3; *bad chore dúib friu* 'let it be peace to you towards them' Wb. 7<sup>b</sup> 4, *oroib core dúib fri cách* 'that there may be peace to you towards all' Wb. 26<sup>b</sup> 30. The copula is often used in periphrasis to bring some particular word into prominence (this is necessitated by the fixed order of the Irish sentence where the verb regularly comes first), e.g. *is dreecht dib nad rochreit* 'it is a part of them that did not believe' Wb. 5<sup>c</sup> 2, *ba miscuis atroillisset* 'it was hatred that they deserved' Wb. 4<sup>c</sup> 14, *hóre ropo co fáilti tuccad* 'because it was with joy that it was brought' Wb. 24<sup>b</sup> 26. Compare with these *bieid nach dréct diib hiefider* 'there will be some portion of them that will be saved' Wb. 4<sup>d</sup> 6, *bieid bes ferr de* 'there will be some advantage therefrom,' lit. 'there will be that will be better therefrom,' Wb. 32<sup>a</sup> 13, *attaat da n-orpe rogab Abracham* 'there are two heritages which Abraham received' Wb. 2<sup>c</sup> 21, *biit sualchi and it foilsi* 'there are virtues that are manifest' Wb. 29<sup>a</sup> 29.

With the copula the predicate is naturally most commonly an adjective or a noun, *is follus* 'it is clear,' *is athir som* 'he is father.' But it may be of other forms, e.g. *ammi Dée* 'we are God's' Wb. 6<sup>b</sup> 20, *is din chorp in ball* 'the member is of the body' Wb. 22<sup>c</sup> 18, *is hó siun co nuie dam for serc* 'my love for you is from old to new' Wb. 4<sup>b</sup> 29, *is cucí far m-burpe* 'your folly is to this extent' (sic stulti estis) Wb. 19<sup>b</sup> 8, *is huare rongnith* 'it is because it was done' Ml. 31<sup>b</sup> 10.

But whatever be the form of the predicate it follows the copula directly. The subject either comes at the end, or, if the predicate be a compound phrase, it may be introduced into the middle of it, e.g. *is irlam ind anim do thuil Dée* 'the soul is obedient to the will of God' Wb. 5<sup>c</sup> 18, *is gnáth gáo et fír and* 'falsehood and truth are customary therein' Wb. 14<sup>c</sup> 22, *is ball cách dialailiu* 'each is a member to the other' Wb. 5<sup>d</sup> 4. When the subject is a suffixed pronoun it is put after the noun or the adjective of the predicate, *cenotad maic-si raith* 'though ye are sons of Grace' Wb. 33<sup>b</sup> 8, *is Dia som domsa* 'He is God to me' Wb. 1<sup>a</sup> 2, *air imni ardu-ni de* 'for we are the higher' Ml. 23<sup>d</sup> 23. The preterite forms *ropsa basa* are no real exceptions; here the *-sa* has become an integral part of the verb, and where the affixed pronoun

is wanted it is inserted in its proper place, e.g. *ropsa huallach-sa*. When the predicate is not a noun or an adjective, then, so far as I have noted, these affixed pronouns are not used, but another form of expression is employed; cf. *is ónd athir dó* 'He is from the Father' Wb. 21<sup>d</sup> 4 with *is úadib Crist* 'Christ is from them' Wb. 4<sup>e</sup> 20.

But in certain forms of expression a personal pronoun is introduced directly after the copula. This usage has been carefully discussed by Atkinson, PH., pp. 892 sq. (cf. K., Appendix), and I will here restrict myself to citing some examples from Old Irish:—*it é uiui inna dóini bí* 'the *uiui* are the living men' (where it will be seen that the order is copula + subject + predicate, the two latter being definite and identical) Sg. 39<sup>a</sup> 23, *it hé spatia narree fil a terra* 'the *spatia* are the spaces that are a *terra*' Bcr. 18<sup>c</sup> 3, *as n-é Crist in lia asrubart* 'that Christ is the stone that he spoke of' Wb. 4<sup>d</sup> 11, *ba hé a fassugud a nebhomalnad* 'its annullment were not to fulfil it' Wb. 19<sup>c</sup> 4, *mad hæ far m-bethu-si Crist* 'if your life be Christ' Wb. 27<sup>b</sup> 6, *is hed an honestum guide Dé* 'the *honestum* is to pray to God' Wb. 10<sup>b</sup> 15, *it he ind ærchoilti asber som toltanugud Deo 7 buith i m-béthid noib foirbthiu* 'the determinations that he speaks of are to please God and to be in holy perfect life' Ml. 74<sup>d</sup> 9, *it hé in toirthi innahí adfiadatar hi testimnib* 'the fruits are the things that are mentioned in the texts' Ml. 46<sup>c</sup> 14, *bit hé magistir dongegat indhí asindisset a tola féisne dóib* 'the masters whom they will choose will be those that will declare to them their own desires' Wb. 30<sup>d</sup> 8, *it hé a timnae adi namma rusarigestar* 'it is His commandments only that he broke' Ml. 71<sup>b</sup> 14, *issí ind anim as airlam do chomalnad recto Dé* 'it is the soul that is ready to fulfil the Law of God' Wb. 3<sup>d</sup> 11, *bit hé na precepte cétni noprídchob* 'it will be the same teachings that I shall preach' Wb. 17<sup>b</sup> 20, *matis hé ind fersi grandi insin dumberad* 'if he had put those terrible verses' Ml. 40<sup>e</sup> 17, *issí inso in targabaadl, is hé in peccath for areli* 'this is the trespass, this is the sin upon another' Wb. 9<sup>c</sup> 19, *lann segar and issí ede dulchinne in milti* 'it is the crown which is sought therein that is the remuneration of the soldiers' service' Wb. 11<sup>a</sup> 5, *is sissi in tempul sin* 'ye are that temple' Wb. 8<sup>d</sup> 7. In instances like the last the copula is in the third singular, *is snissi ata boues* Wb. 10<sup>d</sup> 11, *combad sníni for moidem-si* Wb. 15<sup>a</sup> 6, cf. *is sisi nobcrete* Ml. 46<sup>a</sup> 13, *combad sissi doberad* Wb. 18<sup>a</sup> 3, *bad sissi coneit* Wb. 6<sup>c</sup> 1, but *it sib ata chomarpí* Wb. 19<sup>c</sup> 20, where note the difference in the pronoun. In *at tú*



*cen tosach cen forcenn* 'Thou art without beginning, without end' *MI.* 110<sup>d</sup> 5, there is a peculiar exception, to which I can cite no parallel.

The substantive verb is most frequently used either absolutely or with a prepositional phrase, e.g., *nabad hed améit nádmbá* 'let it be not only that it is not' *Wb.* 22<sup>b</sup> 14, *robatar oc imbresun frimmoysi* 'who were contending with Moses' *Wb.* 13<sup>c</sup> 17 (with *oc* it forms periphrastic continuous tenses, cf. *PH.* 830, 831). In *PH.* the three prepositions *do*, *la*, and *oc* are noted with the substantive verb in the sense of 'in possession of.' In Keating, to judge from Atkinson's Glossary, *do* and *la* are no longer so used, *la* being used only with the copula, e.g. *adubhairt an nídh fa leis do thabhairt do Caesar* 'He said that there should be given to Caesar what was his,' a usage which still lives (cf. *tá airgead agam acht ní liom féin é* 'I have money, but it is not my own' O'Donovan Gram. p. 311). In the Irish of the Glosses this use of *oc* has not yet developed; the two prepositions in use are *do* and *la*, of which the latter is much the more frequent. The two are here not synonymous; *do* is primarily 'to,' while *la* in many of its uses corresponds to Lat. *apud*. Thus *atá inotacht dunni* 'there is entrance to' or 'for us' *Wb.* 33<sup>b</sup> 5, *in fochricc file do i n-nim* 'the reward which is for him in Heaven' *Wb.* 29<sup>d</sup> 29, *ní bith chomididnad damsá indib* 'there used to be no consolation for me in them' *MI.* 62<sup>b</sup> 6, *innahi nobitis dam huam chairdib* 'the things that used to be to me from my friends,' desiderii i. *robói dosom imma thír*, i.e. 'which he had for his land'; *ind fáilte robói dó libsi* 'the joy that he had with you' *Wb.* 16<sup>b</sup> 2, *atá olc n-aill lib* 'there is another evil with you' or 'among you' *is derb lium attá latsú*, g. certus sum quod et in te *Wb.* 29<sup>d</sup> 14, *ní firadrad bis leu do Dia* 'there is not true worship among them of God' *MI.* 42<sup>a</sup> 14, fides i. *robói la Abracham* 'which was found in Abraham' or 'which Abraham had' *Wb.* 2<sup>c</sup> 15, desiderium i. *robói lesom im Dia* 'which he had for God' *MI.* 61<sup>d</sup> 10. As Ebel says, *la* expresses "penitiolem magis sensum."

The substantive verb is occasionally found with adjectives (cf. *K.*, App., p. xi), *ataat mesai Dé nephchomtetarrachtai*, which seems to combine two predications—(1) there are judgments of God, (2) these judgments are incomprehensible, *MI.* 55<sup>d</sup> 11, *rondgab coimdiu comacus les dia fortacht* 'that he has a Lord near to help him' *MI.* 30<sup>b</sup> 11, *amal nombemmis érchóilti* g. tanquam morti destinatos *Wb.* 9<sup>a</sup> 3, *biid ersoilcthi* 'be ye opened' *MI.* 46<sup>a</sup> 7. With



adjectives as with substantives this usage is much more common with *bíu* (ll. 291 sq.); of this more will be said below.

With substantives the modern idiom is peculiar: 'he is a man' (and not a boy) is expressed by *thá se na dhuine* (lit. 'he is in his man'). Pedersen, who has given a brilliant explanation of this idiom (Celt. Zeit., ii, 377), can quote no certain instances of it from the Glosses, and I have met with none there. In a couple of cases *atá* is followed by a substantive, but the idiom is different: *atá Dia attach n-dunni* 'God is a refuge unto us' Ml. 66<sup>d</sup> 1, *ni udinn fesine ataam for tectire* 'it is not from ourselves that we are messengers to you' Wb. 15<sup>a</sup> 18.

Sometimes *-bi* seems to be used as a consuetudinal present of *is*. Thus *is remib rethid iarum* would mean 'it is before them that he runs afterwards,' *combi remib rethith iarum* Wb. 13<sup>b</sup> 13, may mean 'so that he is wont to run before them afterwards' In Wb. 12<sup>c</sup> 12, 13<sup>c</sup> 23, 22<sup>c</sup> 10, 30<sup>c</sup> 23, and other passages the idea seems to be use and wont rather than continuance; e.g. *combi diass mór ind óéngranne* would seem to mean 'so that the one grain is wont to be a great ear.' More instances for examination will be found, ll. 288 sq. In favour of the view suggested here are the facts (1) that *-bi* is often followed by nouns and adjectives, while *atá* rarely is; (2) that *-bi* is used to bring forward an emphatic word like the copula, while *atá* never is; (3) that the predicate noun or adjective directly follows the verb; (4) that *-bi* is here usually written without the mark of length.

As to the order, the subject usually precedes the prepositional phrases. But there are exceptions, cf. *act nirobat pecthe less* Wb. 11<sup>d</sup> 9 with *arna robat leu in pecthe-si* Wb. 25<sup>b</sup> 9. In the case of *inso* and *insin* and substantives with the suffixed particles *-so*, *-sin*, the regular position is at the end, e.g. Wb. 26<sup>b</sup> 31, 28<sup>a</sup> 23, 32<sup>c</sup> 12, Sg. 209<sup>b</sup> 29 (exceptions Wb. 10<sup>d</sup> 19, Sg. 158<sup>b</sup> 3), so *anisin* comes at the end Ml. 30<sup>b</sup> 16, otherwise Sg. 209<sup>a</sup> 3. Other exceptions will be found in Wb. 7<sup>d</sup> 5, 10<sup>d</sup> 2, 14<sup>a</sup> 33, 14<sup>c</sup> 31, 25<sup>b</sup> 1, Ml. 14<sup>c</sup> 12, 109<sup>a</sup> 2, Sg. 40<sup>a</sup> 11, 71<sup>b</sup> 10, 76<sup>b</sup> 2, 203<sup>c</sup> 3. The guiding principle seems to be that of emphasis, cf. *atda lib uile* 'it is with you in its entirety' Wb. 7<sup>a</sup> 5 with *ataat uili isin chorp sin* 'they all are in that body' Wb. 12<sup>a</sup> 16; but the order is sometimes clearly influenced by the form of the sentence, e.g. *atá i n-aicniud cáich denum maith 7 imgabáil uile dodenum* Ml. 14<sup>c</sup> 12, *orobad inna chorp ní inchoissised* Wb. 2<sup>c</sup> 7.

## B. SUBSTANTIVE VERB.

1. *Attáu and bíu.*

Tur. 58, *biid didiu a confessio hisin do fóisitin pecthae, biid dana do molad, biid dana do atlugud buide; do fóisitin didiu atasom sunt*, 'that *confessio* is wont to be for confession of sins, it is wont to be for praise, it is wont to be for thanksgiving; it is for thanksgiving here.' This illustrates well the common difference between the two verbs; *attáu* asserts existence, *bíu* predicates besides use and wont. Sometimes *bíu* denotes continuance, but that use is much rarer. I have noted as clear instances *biit and co arnábarach* 'they remain there till the morrow' LU. 63<sup>a</sup> 8, cf. LL. 251<sup>b</sup> 26, *biid dogress* 'it continues to be for ever,' Trip. Life, p. 86, l. 10.

2. *Attáu and fil.*

As is well known, these verbs in later Irish supplement one another, cf. PH. 892 sq., K., Appendix iii. And so it is in the Old Irish of the Glosses, where the rules of the usage are as follows:—

*attá, -tá* is used:

- (1) In orthotonic non-relative position, e.g. *atá in coimdiu* 'the Lord is,' *is samlaid ataat* 'it is thus that they are.'

It is also used after *hóre*, which is commonly followed by a relative form of the verb (but cf. its use with non-relative forms of the copula), *hóre atá hesséirge dúib* 'because there is resurrection unto you' (six other instances in Wb. and one in Sg.); further, after *ol* once in Sg. After *amal attá* is not found (*amal file* occurs once in Wb.).

- (2) After a negative, etc., with an infixed pronoun denoting a dative relation. Thus *ní-m-thá*<sup>1</sup> 'I have not,' but *ní-m-fil* 'I am not.'
- (3) After a relative which includes a preposition: *aní i-táa cuntubart líbsi* 'that in which there is doubt with you.'

*fil* is used:

- (1) In enclisis, except after a relative which includes a preposition, e.g. *nífil hodie* 'they are not *hodie*,' *nachibfel*

<sup>1</sup> In Wb. 31<sup>c</sup> 7 *nintd airli ar m-ban* it has been held that the verb is followed by an accusative. But in Sg. 168<sup>a</sup> 1 *airli* 'tractatio' is certainly nominative; it seems to be a different word from *airle* 'counsel.'

'that ye are not,' *ni fil taidchor do* 'there is no return for Him.' It also appears with *ce* 'though' and *ma* 'if,' which take the forms *cenud-manud-*; *cenudfil gnim 7 chesad hisuidiu* 'though there is not action and passion therein,' *manudfel in Spirut noib indiumsa* 'if the Holy Spirit is not in me.'

- (2) **As a relative** (which is the only use of *file*), e.g. *iarsin dligud fil hindiu* 'according to the rule that is to-day,' *a fil ar mo chiunn* 'what is before me,' *fil ni de as fir* 'that there is somewhat of it which is true,' *in fochricc file do i n-nim* 'the reward which is to him in Heaven,' *corroffessid file cuimrecha form* 'that ye may know that there are bonds upon me.'

There is another usage of *fil* which, though it happens not to occur in the Old Irish Glosses, is found in old texts, and which may be put down as Old Irish.

- (3) ***fil* is used in answer to *in fil* in interrogation.** '*in fil imbass forosna lat?*' or *Medb*. '*fil ecin,*' or *ind ingen*. "'Hast thou imbass forosna?'" (a form of divination), says *Medb*. "I have indeed," says the maiden,' LU. 55<sup>b</sup> 14, cf. 54<sup>b</sup> 42, 68<sup>a</sup> 3, 12, Trip. Life, vol. i, pp. 116, 118 *passim*. As to the explanation of the construction, it may be compared with the use of *nád*<sup>1</sup> in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the use of *na nac* in negative answers in Welsh, GC.<sup>2</sup> 754, Anwyl's Welsh Grammar, p. 70. In Irish *na* is found in other forms of answers. LU. 56<sup>a</sup> 23: '*is airiund arbáget dano,*' or *Ailill*. '*ni regat lend,*' ol *Medb*. '*anat didiu,*' ol *Ailill*. '*nachanfet dano,*' ol *Medb*. "'It is for us they fight,'" said *Ailill*. "They shall not go with us," said *Medb*. "Let them stay then," said *Ailill*. "Stay they shall not," said *Medb* (LL. 57<sup>a</sup> has *ni anfat*), cf. LU. 78<sup>b</sup> 32 sq.; LU. 70<sup>b</sup> 4: '*tuc damsá do gai,*' or *in cáinte*. '*acc óm,*' or *Cú*, '*acht dáber seótu duit.*' '*nadgébasa ón,*' or *in cáinte*. "'Give me thy spear,'" said the satirist. "Nay," said *Cuchulinn*, "but I will give thee treasures." "That I will not take," said the satirist'; LL. 71<sup>a</sup> 45, '*rafetad,*' for *Fergus*, '*nad chunnis fodessin.*' '*nad chunnis ón co brunni in-brátha.*' "'I shall be able," said *Fergus*, "provided you do not seek it yourself." "I shall not seek it till Doom." Cf. also LU. 87<sup>a</sup> 40, LL. 71<sup>a</sup> 2, 175<sup>b</sup> 50, 177<sup>a</sup> 36. For *ni* in sentences like the above cf. LU. 63<sup>b</sup> 21, 60<sup>a</sup> 2, Ir. Text. ii, 1, 176, 178, LL. 62<sup>b</sup> 46, 64<sup>a</sup> 41, 70<sup>a</sup> 12, 71<sup>a</sup> 34, 279<sup>a</sup> 26, Táin Bó Fráich, p. 144. The later language the more frequent is *ni*. To the sentences with *na* quoted above parallels may be found in the Brythonic languages. In Welsh: Red Book, p. 55, l. 19, '*gellwng ymerth ef.*' '*na ellyngaf yrof a Duw,*' heb *ynteu*. "'Let it go free.'" "I will not, by Heaven," said he': cf. pp. 55, l. 25, pp. 56, 57, 58 *passim*, p. 70, l. 29, p. 80, l. 12 (for *ny* cf. p. 2, l. 12, p. 52, l. 7, p. 68, l. 5). In Cornish, for *na* cf. Creation, ll. 375 sq., 1048 sq., 1175 sq., 1587 sq.; Origo Mundi, ll. 2067, 2655, 2697; Passion, 915, 1411, 2040, 2262, 2756; for *ny* Creation 679, 1144, Passion 853, 905, 1237, 2268, 2362, 2675. In Breton, for *na* cf. Ste. Barbe, l. 767, for *ne* ll. 362, 481, 484. From these facts it is clear that such a use of *na*, originally probably in emphatic negation, is a common Celtic idiom, which, however, fared differently in the different Celtic languages; in some *na* encroached upon *ni*, in others *ni* encroached upon *na*. For a longer treatment of the point here I have neither the materials nor the space.

answers, e.g. ‘*in cotlad do Ailill,*’ or *Medb*, ‘*indosa?*’ ‘*naded am,*’ or *Ailill*. “‘Is Ailill asleep now?’” says *Medb*. “No, indeed,” says *Ailill*,’ YBL. 37<sup>b</sup> 31; ‘*in fil Cúchulaind forsinn ath?*’ ‘*nad fil,*’ or *in gilla*. “‘Is Cúchulinn at the ford?’” “He is not,” says the squire,’ YBL. 37<sup>a</sup> 42. Cf. LU. 58<sup>b</sup> 14, LL. 61<sup>b</sup> 6, 64<sup>b</sup> 47, 70<sup>b</sup> 47, 71<sup>a</sup> 15, 264<sup>a</sup> 24. Cf. the use of *nathó* in negative answers, GC.<sup>2</sup> 749, WB. 701, LU. 60<sup>b</sup> 22, 84<sup>a</sup> 34, Ir. Text. i, 127 (where another version has *nító*). Now *ná* and *nád* are the negatives of *oratio obliqua*, so that use (3) of *fil* may be explained as a particular case of use (2). In Irish verse *fil* is very common in positive sentences at the beginning of a line, e.g. *Imram Brain* 4, 7, 25, 39, 42, VSR. pp. 45, 46. But, so far as I have noted, this is foreign to the prose of all periods,<sup>1</sup> and must be regarded as a poetical license.

In later Irish *atá* is found after *amal*, e.g. LU. 87<sup>a</sup> 43, Laws, iii, 90. In the case of some constructions, owing to the absence of material in the Glosses, it is impossible to say whether they go so far back. Thus, *can atá* ‘whence is?’ *Psalt. Hib.*, l. 270; *cinnas atusa* ‘how am I?’ LU. 70<sup>b</sup> 34; *cé táisiu* ‘who art thou?’ LU. 74<sup>a</sup> 32, cf. 78<sup>a</sup> 17; *cid tói* ‘what ails thee?’ *Trip Life*, p. 200, l. 10, cf. *cid daas in caillech?* *Trip. Life*, 28, l. 17, KZ. xxxv, 392. Beside *cid tá* there is *cid notái*, KZ. xxxv, 391, cf. Ir. Text. ii, 1, 174.

In Mod. Ir. *i-tá*, etc., have been replaced by *i-bhfuil*, etc., cf. O’Don. Gramm., p. 170. Of this I have noted the beginnings in old texts: *hifil* *Psalt. Hib.*, l. 417, LU. 92<sup>a</sup> 21, *Imram Brain*,<sup>2</sup> p. 53, l. 3, *i fil* *ib.*, § 18, *fors-fil* *ib.*, § 43, *inonfil* = *in-don-fil*,<sup>3</sup> LU. 67<sup>b</sup> 15. In the *Saltair na Rann* this construction is still rare.

Sometimes in later Irish *fil* is found with an infixed pronoun in a dative relation, cf. KZ. xxviii, 108.

<sup>1</sup> With the exception of *filus* ‘there are,’ which is found twice in *Cod. Cam.*, and for the use of which I can suggest no explanation.

<sup>2</sup> By Zimmer, who is followed by Meyer in his edition of the text, this work is ascribed to the seventh century, an antiquity which seems to be too great, unless not only the prose but also the verse has undergone changes; in addition to the *fil* forms, note also things like *saibsi*, *ethais*. I should be inclined to regard the end of the eighth century or the beginning of the ninth as a more probable date, so that it would be about the same date as the *Féire Oénguso*. In the latter text final vowels are well preserved, except that final *o* rhymes with *a*, so that it must have been pronounced *a*, as it is often written in the Glosses. Of this there seems to be an instance in the *Imram Brain* in *bátha—ilblátha*, § 6. The final vowels of the *Féire* I hope to discuss soon.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *dianomthisad* = *dian-dom-thisad* LU. 60<sup>a</sup> 14, cf. 62<sup>b</sup> 1, 67<sup>a</sup> 37, 71<sup>a</sup> 22, 82<sup>b</sup> 18, and often in later Irish.



3. *Fel, fil, fail, file.*

It has often been asserted that these forms have a subjunctive as well as an indicative function, but this is erroneous.

As to the variation of vocalism in the first syllable, the distribution is different in different kinds of sentences. Where the form is relative, *feil* or *fel* is rarely found, Wb. 4<sup>c</sup> 1, 13<sup>c</sup> 26, 33<sup>b</sup> 18 (in a gloss from the second hand), Ml. 47<sup>c</sup> 17; *fail* occurs once, Ber. 18<sup>c</sup> 4; *fele* once, Ml. 93<sup>c</sup> 7. In the enclitic position the facts are not so simple. Here we must begin with Wb. And in Wb. a certain regularity may be observed: *fel* is usually found in forms of three or more syllables (except where two of the syllables belong to the preceding particle *nicon*, *conách*, etc.): *nachibfel* 3<sup>b</sup> 19, *condumfel* 3<sup>c</sup> 38, *manudfel* 11<sup>c</sup> 1, *manudubfeil* 12<sup>c</sup> 20, *condibfeil* 24<sup>c</sup> 4 (exceptions *conidfil* 24<sup>a</sup> 33, *cininfil* 16<sup>b</sup> 9); but *conách fil* (with infixed pronoun, Pedersen, KZ. xxxv, 412), *nifil*, *nifil*. In Ml. this rule does not hold; cf. on the one hand *ni fel* 19<sup>d</sup> 2, *ni feil* 2<sup>b</sup> 4, 60<sup>b</sup> 2, *nifel* 46<sup>c</sup> 19, 55<sup>c</sup> 13, *nadfel* 20<sup>b</sup> 2, 27<sup>d</sup> 10, and on the other *cinidfil* 30<sup>a</sup> 2. Sg. shows only *fil* and *fail* (which occurs thrice in Ml.); as Pedersen has pointed out, *Aspirationen i Irsk*, pp. 5 sq., *a* is simply a graphic device for expressing the broad timbre of the preceding consonant. The origin of *fel* is obscure;<sup>1</sup> as for its usage, it is an impersonal verb governing the accusative. That makes it probable that it is at least of verbal origin; *file* was probably formed from *fel*, for the *e* compare the third plural relative forms *berte*, etc. But whatever be the origin of the form, there can be little doubt that *e* is older than *i*; cf. further *dofeil* 'adest' by *dofil*. In Wb. the difference is probably one of accent; in these longer forms with infixed pronoun the verb had probably a stronger accent than elsewhere. Later this distinction is lost. In Ml. perhaps too much weight should not be laid on the *fel* form, as there seems to be a tendency in these Glosses to confuse *e* and *i*. As to the non-palatal timbre of the *f*, which is proved by the later form *fail*, it is impossible to say anything very definite about it as long as the origin of the word remains uncertain. But even if it were *uel*- there are certain analogies, e.g. *taig*,<sup>2</sup> dat. of *tech* 'house' = \**tegos*.

<sup>1</sup> Sarauw, *Rev. Celt.*, xvii, has suggested an ingenious explanation of the form, which unfortunately does not harmonize well with the Old Irish usage.

<sup>2</sup> Unless indeed *taig* arose in the phrase *istaig* 'within' under the influence of the opposite *immaig* 'without.'

In enclitic position *fil*, etc., alone are used; in relative function both *fil* and *file* are found. Here I find it impossible to lay down any hard and fast rules for the use of the two forms. Ebel's suggestion that the use is connected with the gender of the antecedent has been rightly rejected by Stokes, KZ. xxviii, 108. In the three great collections of Glosses the relative proportions of the two forms vary:—

	Wb.	Sg.	Ml.
<i>fil</i>	14	20	65
<i>file</i>	14	22	25

In Wb. and Sg. *fil* and *file* about balance one another; in Ml. the proportion of *fil* to *file* is almost three to one. In later Irish *file* becomes very rare. Thus, in the Félire it appears only once, and in the two old Sagas in LU., Táin Bó Cualíngé and Togail Bruidne Dá Dergga, I have noted only two occurrences, *massaté file sund* LU. 63<sup>b</sup> 45, *céin file* 64<sup>a</sup> 1. In Salt. Rann there is no instance of it. The form is clearly obsolescent, and in the earliest Glosses confusion has probably already set in. The instances in Wb. may be quoted here:—

**fil.**

*a fil innar cridiu-ni* 'what is in our heart' 15<sup>a</sup> 7, so 16<sup>c</sup> 17, 24<sup>a</sup> 15, 27<sup>d</sup> 19.

*fil ní de as fir* 'that there is somewhat of it that is true' 11<sup>d</sup> 2. *hóre is oenrad fil linn* 'because it is one grace that we have' 13<sup>b</sup> 9.

*is fir tantum fil and* 'it is truth only that is there' 14<sup>c</sup> 24 (bis). *tadbat dechor fil eter lanamnas et ógi* 'he shows the difference that there is between wedlock and virginity' 10<sup>b</sup> 21, cf. 13<sup>c</sup> 26.

*orici a n-dechur feil etarru* 'as far as the difference that is between them' 33<sup>b</sup> 18.

*ueritatem .i. fil lib* 'that is in you' 26<sup>a</sup> 26.

*ecclesiae Galatiae, .i. fil in Galitia* 'that is in Galatia' 18<sup>b</sup> 5.

*it a n-athir inna fer fel and nunc* 'it is the fathers of the men who are now' 4<sup>c</sup> 1.

**file.**

*amal filé bentid eter ballu* 'as there is unity between members' 12<sup>b</sup> 12.

*is mór in dehdiden file domsa diübsi* 'great is the solicitude that I have for you' 26<sup>d</sup> 19.

- ished file indiunni* 'it is that which is in us' 26<sup>d</sup> 19.  
*file rath Dée latso* 'that the grace of God is with you' 12<sup>d</sup> 20.  
*don terchomruc nóib file i Corint* 'to the holy congregation  
 which is in Corinth' 14<sup>b</sup> 5.  
*in rect comaccobuir file i m-ballaib* 'the law of concupiscence  
 which is in the members' 13<sup>d</sup> 27.  
*in fochrice file do i n-nim* 'the reward which is for him in  
 Heaven' 29<sup>e</sup> 1.  
*a r-rad file andsom* 'the grace which is in him' 29<sup>d</sup> 29.  
*eternam uitam .i. file duit i n-nim* 'which is to thee in  
 Heaven' 29<sup>e</sup> 2.  
*fidem .i. file etrunni* 'which is between us' 31<sup>a</sup> 11.  
*donaið nóibaib file in Achaia* 'to the saints who are in Achaia'  
 14<sup>b</sup> 5.  
*it hé coisnimi inso file lib* 'these are the contentions that are  
 among you' 7<sup>d</sup> 13.  
*na cumachte file a Deo* 'the powers which are a Deo' 6<sup>a</sup> 3.  
*corroffessid file cuimrecha formsa* 'that ye may know that there  
 are bonds upon me' 23<sup>a</sup> 3.

It will be seen that *fil* is used with *an* 'what'; Sg. 160<sup>b</sup> 2 has *a file*, Ml. 101<sup>a</sup> 5 *quod fil*. With *amal file* is once used, so Rev. Celt., xv, 487. In *oratio obliqua* with a singular noun each form occurs once; Sg. has *file* 29<sup>b</sup> 12, 13, 151<sup>b</sup> 7. With plural nouns *file* occurs four times, *fil* once; in Sg. the plural is constant (four times), and in Ml. *file* occurs seven times, *fil* six times. From the agreement between Wb. and Sg. it is probable that we have here an original usage. In the remaining instances in Wb. there are no clear principles. In Sg. there is a preference for *file* in periphrasis: *ni dechor m-bindiusa file hic* 23<sup>a</sup> 4, cf. 74<sup>b</sup> 8, 93<sup>b</sup> 2, *cesu choms- 6 dib n-6gaib file hi suidiu* 75<sup>a</sup> 5, cf. 148<sup>b</sup> 9, *issed file la Lait-* 20<sup>b</sup> 8, cf. 140<sup>a</sup> 3; with *fil*: *is hé a foxlaid fil sunt* 32<sup>b</sup> 7, *ni sí fil* in his 177<sup>a</sup> 1, *is chiall* (leg. *ciall*) *chesto fil indib* 140<sup>a</sup> 5. Otherwise I cannot perceive any fixed principle. In Ml. the usual form in periphrasis is *fil*; *file* is rare. The confusion between the two forms may be seen e.g. from a comparison of 93<sup>e</sup> 7 with 42<sup>e</sup> 2, 54<sup>a</sup> 33 with 63<sup>d</sup> 4, 53<sup>a</sup> 19 with 50<sup>d</sup> 3.

In later Irish *fil* develops a set of forms for the other persons, cf. VSR. 46, PH. 897, 898, K., Appendix. In the Glosses this development has not yet begun.

4. *Rongab, dicoissin, díxnigur.*

In meaning *rongab* belongs to *atá*. Thus in later Irish the phrase *amal rongab* 'as for example' (Wb. 12<sup>b</sup> 1, Sg. 65<sup>b</sup> 3, etc.) is replaced by *amal atá*, cf. PH. 896, Laws, iii, 90, etc.; further, *rongab* is joined with *atá*, Wb. 27<sup>a</sup> 15, Sg. 214<sup>b</sup> 1.<sup>1</sup> In function it is relative, being used after conjunctions that take the relative form, and in *oratio obliqua*.<sup>2</sup> In Wb., apart from *oratio obliqua* (in which *fil* and *file* are also sometimes used, p. 58), it is found only with *amal* (which occurs once with *file*, p. 58); with *hóre atá* is used, p. 53. In Sg. the usage is the same; once, too, it occurs with *fobith*, of which instances are wanting in the other Glosses. In Ml. it is in addition twice used with *huare*, and once with *lassaní* 'when,' with which there are no instances in the other Glosses.

In an old religious text printed in Rev. Celt., xv, by *amal rongabsat fingala*, p. 488, stand *amal rogabsat diberga*, *amal rogabsat adaltras*, etc. So in the Psalt. Hib. by *amal rongabsat na iiiii prim-fáithi*, *amal rogab v libru Moisi*,<sup>3</sup> is *foan indas sin rogab in Saltair*. But in the ancient legal text, the Crith Gablach,<sup>4</sup> the regular forms occur, *amal rongab rechtga rig Caisil*, *amail ronngab recht Adamnain*, Laws, iv, 334. In all probability *rogab* is a scribal corruption of *rongab*; in *Mittelirische Verselehren*, *amal rosgab*, ch. 6, is an evident distortion of the old formula.

In the Saga literature the only occurrence that I have noted so far is *is maith rongabus fritt* 'I am good to thee' LL. 249<sup>b</sup> 1 (cf. *ba (marth) romboth friu* 249<sup>b</sup> 16).

It will be observed that *rongab* is the only form in Wb.; in Sg. *ronngab* also appears, and in Ml. this is the more common form. Still Pedersen, KZ. xxxv, 406, is probably right in deriving *rongab* from *ronngab*. For *ndg* seems to become regularly *ng*, cf. KZ. xxxv, 404; Pedersen, *Aspirationen i Irsk*, 77. Then *ronngab* would be an etymological repetition of the pronoun which was felt to be an integral part of the phrase, or it may be merely

<sup>1</sup> Ml. 56<sup>b</sup> 33 must not be regarded as an instance to the contrary; the meaning is 'there is *wont to be* the sense of imitation in *zelaueris* as it is found in *emulari*.'

<sup>2</sup> In Wb. 6<sup>d</sup> 12 *rongab scientia lib* must, I think, be in *oratio obliqua* after *monere* 'that ye have knowledge.' In Ml. 67<sup>d</sup> 14 the relative form is improperly used after *sic* (= Ir. *issamlaid*) as in 104<sup>b</sup> 5.

<sup>3</sup> In an impersonal construction of which I have no other example. Can it be due to the influence of *dicoissin* or *fil*?

<sup>4</sup> This is a tract which deserves careful study, particularly in connection with the development of Irish law. The impression produced by the language is that it is very old; that it should have been composed in the fourteenth century, as the editors suppose, is inconceivable.



an etymological spelling; in either case we may compare *asindbiur* by *asinbiur* and the like. As to the origin of the form, Pedersen says it means literally 'as I have taken it,' but it is not obvious how the actual usage could have come from that. I should be inclined to suggest that it comes from the intransitive use of *gabim* in the sense of 'to set up at a place,' 'to come to dwell in a place,' whence might come the sense of 'to be in a place.' The *d* would then be an example of Pedersen's *figura etymologica*, KZ. xxxv, 404. Zimmer's suggestion, Kelt. Stud. ii, 64, seems very improbable.

*Dicoissin* also belongs to the sphere of *atá*, and is strongly assertive of existence. It is found only in relative construction. Its usage is impersonal: cf. *dichussin cetheorai déisi* Laws, iv, 320. In BB. 320<sup>b</sup> 8 *secht n-etargaire tra dochuisneat*, the plural *dochuisnet* is clearly a new formation like *fillet* from *fil*. It is a word of not very common occurrence; apart from the Glosses and the Féilire, the instances that I have noted are from technical works, e.g. Ir. Text. iii, 15; Laws, iii, 4, 16.

*Dixnigur* is, so far as I have noted, confined to the Glosses; it seems to be a purely learned word coined to translate *esse*, e.g. non est .i. *inní nadndixnigedar* Ml. 55<sup>e</sup> 10, sic non est inter uos sapiens quisquam qui possit iudicare inter fratrem suum .i. *is nad dixnigedar nach æcne hóre is amne dognither* Wb. 9<sup>e</sup> 14.

##### 5. *Biu*.

The only thing that calls for remark here are the forms *robi*, *robiat*, ll. 321 sq., 384–5. One might be tempted at first sight to take *robiat* for a future, but this is contrary to the rule that *ro-* is found before the future only when there is an infixed personal pronoun. And with them clearly goes *o rubiam*, SP. ii, 5, which cannot syntactically be a future. As for *robi*, it formally can hardly be anything but a present indicative, and *ni rubai* is a regular development of *ni rubí*. The peculiarity of these forms is that they seem to approach to the meaning of a subjunctive of possibility. This is most clearly seen in Sg. 98<sup>b</sup> 1, where 'potest tamen hic datiuus accipi' is glossed by *rombi fri tobarthid*; now in Irish *conice* 'potest' is followed by the subjunctive. In my paper on the Subjunctive Mood, § 23, I have translated one or two of the other examples as subjunctives. These are not so certain, but it seems to me that we get a better meaning if we take them in

the sense of possibility. On the other hand, some of the instances might perhaps be more naturally taken in an indicative sense. *ML.* 99<sup>d</sup> 1 is somewhat different from the other cases. *Wb.* 24<sup>d</sup> 11 and *ML.* 36<sup>b</sup> 3 are again different. Can *horbi* be *robi* reduced to the state of a copula? It is hard otherwise to account for the loss of *o*.<sup>1</sup>

The only other instance of this *robi* that I have noticed is *ar ingaib comlonn aenfir o robi cona gaisced fair* 'for he avoids combat with a single man when he is with his arms upon him' *Laws*, iv, 352.

#### 6. Preterite.

The second singular happens not to occur. Doubtless it was *robá*, cf. *rombá*, *Trip. Life*, 196, l. 10. In the third singular the spellings *bái*, *búi*, which later become common, are only just beginning. The form *-raibi* is not yet found. For *robáduis*, *robádaís*, formed from *robá* after the model of the *s* preterite, see *PH.* 903.

The *ro*-less forms are still rare, particularly in *Wb.*; after *ol*-they alone are in use. In four of the instances in *Wb.* 27<sup>a</sup> 16, 31<sup>c</sup> 18, 10<sup>d</sup> 31, 17<sup>d</sup> 17, *bói* is used in a peculiar modal sense in connection with subjunctives, in which sense the *ro*- forms are not used. It seems as though in this there is something more than accident. The remaining instance in *Wb.* is *hóbbói mo chland et mo chenél is oc frecur céill Dæ ataa*, 'since my clan and my kindred came into being, it has been worshipping God.' With *ho*- no *ro*- forms are found, but one can hardly lay very much weight on the single instance.

#### 7. Future and Secondary Future.

In orthotonesis these tenses are accompanied by *ro*- where there is an infixed personal pronoun, cf. p. 17.

In later Irish the chief change in the future is that *a* forms encroach on *e* forms; thus *bieid* becomes *biaid* under the influence of *-bia*, cf. *WB. VSR.* p. 49, *PH.* 901. Conversely in *Trip. Life*, 224 l. 24, *bieis* appears for *bias*. *beite* comes to be used in a non-relative sense, and a new form *beitit* appears, cf. *Trip. Life*, 112 l. 22, 152 l. 27, 110 l. 15, 120 l. 17.

<sup>1</sup> In *Ultan's Hymn*, l. 15, Atkinson takes *biam* as a subjunctive. But it is a future indicative, 'I shall be free.' So in *Fél. Oeng.*, Jan. 13, *ronbia* must be future.

## 8. Subjunctive.

The uses of *no-* and *ro-* with the subjunctive mood have been treated in my paper on the subjunctive, §§ 80 sq. In *MI.* 61<sup>b</sup> 28 *ciabé amméit* is remarkable, cf. *ciabé céin copé ri* and *LU.* 87<sup>a</sup> 37. In the same phrase there is an irregularity in the past subjunctive, *ciabed ammet* *MI.* 39<sup>a</sup> 13 (Subj. Mood, § 84).<sup>1</sup> In *MI.* 43<sup>d</sup> 1 (l. 732) *robeth* stands all alone in a sentence of this type, and we should probably read *nobeth*.

In the 1 sg. *beómm* quoted by Windisch, *m* has been added as in the future *biam* *VSR.*, l. 1242, and *narbam* *VSR.*, l. 1179, from *am*, etc.

## 9. Infinitive.

The regular form of the nominative of the infinitive is *both* = *W.* *bot*, *bod* (from *\*bhütā*). But mostly *both* has been replaced by *buith*, the form of the dative and accusative (cf. Zimmer, *Gött. Gelehrt. Anz.*, 1896, p. 379). A weakened form *bith*, *bid* appears sometimes; in *nebeth* the accent would be on the first syllable. Later *beith*, *bith* become common, and are probably to be explained by the assumption that frequently at all events the infinitive had not the full accent.

In *MI.* 44<sup>e</sup> 6 the infinitive is followed by an adjective, a usage which I have seen elsewhere, though unfortunately I have omitted to note the references; one or two examples will be found, *WB.* 399, *PH.* 905, 906.

## C. COPULA.

## 1. Present Indicative.

How the various constituents which go to make up this part fit into one another may be seen from the following table. The forms marked with an asterisk are conjectural:—

	Sg.	Pl.
1. absolute	<i>am</i>	<i>ammi, ammin, immi</i>
negative	<i>nita</i>	<i>nitan</i>
with <i>con-</i> , etc.	<i>conda</i>	<i>condan</i>
relative	<i>no-n-da</i>	<i>no-n-dan</i>
with <i>ce</i>	<i>*cenota</i>	<i>*cenotan</i>
2. absolute	<i>at, it</i>	<i>adib, idib, adi</i>
negative	<i>*nita</i>	<i>nítad</i>

<sup>1</sup> The other exceptions mentioned are no exceptions at all, as they are forms, not of the substantive verb but of the copula.

	Sg.	Pl.
with <i>co n-</i> , etc.	* <i>conda</i>	* <i>condad</i>
relative	<i>no-n-da</i>	<i>no-n-dad</i>
with <i>ce</i>	* <i>cenota</i>	<i>cenotad</i>
3. absolute	<i>is</i>	<i>it</i>
negative	<i>ní</i>	<i>nítat</i>
with <i>co n-</i> , etc.	<i>conid, condid</i>	<i>condat</i>
negative	<i>connách</i>	* <i>connatat</i>
relative	<i>as</i>	<i>ata, at</i>
negative	<i>nád, nát, nand, nách</i>	<i>natat, nandat</i>
with <i>ce, ma</i>	<i>ceso, maso</i>	<i>ceto, matu</i>
negative	<i>cenid, manid</i>	* <i>cenitat</i>

In some of the forms there is a variation between *a* and *i*, *at it*, *adib idib*, *ammi immi* (if my emendation be right). In every instance except *ML. 108<sup>d</sup> 2* the *i* form is preceded by *air*. So *arit Trip. Life*, 88, l. 8, *aritib 102*, l. 9, *ar im siniu*, *arit fiadu* (without *ar*, *it foimsid*) *VSR. ll. 1037, 1043*. In *VSR.* it was suggested that this variation was due to confusion of vowels in proclitic forms. But that explanation, besides being inapplicable in Old Irish, does not account for the distribution of the forms. The real explanation must be that the vowel is influenced by the palatal timbre of the foregoing *r*. In *áiritfiriansu*, *it* would be in the very weakest position between the secondary and the primary accent of the group, where the indistinct vowel would be particularly open to the influence of neighbouring sounds. In *ML. 108<sup>d</sup> 2 it* must be supposed to have strayed beyond its proper sphere; there is nothing in the gloss to suggest corruption. In *VSR. l. 1037*, *huair im* may be explained in the same way as *airim*; in *l. 1036*, however, *uair am* occurs. Neither Windisch nor Atkinson cites from his texts any examples of *im. it, idib*.

In the 1 pl. by the usual *ammi* is found *amminn ammin*, cf. *amin torsich*, *Ir. Text. ii*, l. 178. In the 2 pl. *adib* the *b* is from the pronoun of the second person (Brugmann, *Grundriss*, ii, 906); in the same way in *ammin* may be seen a similar influence of the 1st personal pronoun. Conversely the form *adi*, which occurs a couple of times in *Wb.*, may be compared with *ammi*, whether it be an older form than *adib* or whether it be formed after *ammi*.

In the relative form of the 3 pl. by *ata* is found *at* (once *et*<sup>1</sup> if the text be sound). The form is peculiar to *ML.*, and it occurs most

<sup>1</sup> Is *et* to be compared with *-det*, p. 65.



commonly after *an-* 'when,' with which *ata* is there rare. Once it appears in a non-relative sense. So in the future (ll. 1363–4) *bat* is used in *MI.* after *an-*. In later Irish *at* for *it* is common, cf. *VSR.* ll. 1094 sq., *PH.* 894, *WB.* 361. In the production of *at* more than one influence is conceivable. Thus (1) *at* (rel.) : *it* = *as* : *is*, (2) *a* might have tended to spread from *ammi adib*, (3) *at* might come from the conjunct *-dat*, (4) in later Irish the possibility of confusion of unaccented vowels must be kept in mind. Except so far as (4) has to be reckoned with, and it is excluded in the older language, one would be inclined to see in part the influence of (1) in those cases where *at* is unaccompanied by *an-*, but to assign the chief importance to (3). Thus *anat* would be influenced by *anas* and *annandat*, from *nídat* would come *at* for *it*. In *Mid. Ir.* the extension from *-dat* is clearly seen in *cidat* 'though they are' = *O.Ir. cetu*. By *cidat* occurs *ciat* *VSR.* l. 1095, into which *cit* is sometimes corrupted in the MSS. of the *Féilire* of Oengus.

The relative *ata* is a disappearing form. It is not quoted in *VSR.* or *PH.*, and Windisch cites only one instance in which *ata* means 'whose are.'<sup>1</sup> In *LU.* I have noted *intan ata lána* 61<sup>a</sup> 17, 63<sup>a</sup> 45; in *LU.* 138<sup>a</sup> 32 *at* is relative, as in *Fél.*, May 7. It may just be remarked that the formulae *oshé óte* (*Ascoli*, ccxxi) appear later as *isé*, *asé*, *ité*, *até*, cf. *VSR.* ll. 1097 sq., *LL.* 250<sup>a</sup> 43, 250<sup>b</sup> 43, *LU.* 88<sup>b</sup> 2, 89<sup>a</sup> 22, 95<sup>a</sup> 17, 96<sup>a</sup> 7.

The 3 sg. *ní* at first sight looks like the simple negative, but Thurneysen, *Celt. Zeitschr.*, i, 1 sq.; *Idg. Anz.*, ix, 191, sees in it a form of the copula, deriving it from *\*nīst*, *\*nēst*, *\*ne est*. Such a copula form he also conjectures in *nád*, *nand*, *nách*.<sup>2</sup> As to the usage of these latter, *nád* and *nand*<sup>3</sup> correspond to *as* and *asn-* (p. 67). But *nát* corresponds in usage to *nand*, not to *nád*.<sup>4</sup> *Nan* is to be explained as a sandhi form of *nand* which has spread beyond its proper bounds. *Nách*, when not preceded by *con-*, etc., corresponds in usage to *nand*. In later Irish *nách* supplants the other forms, cf. *PH.* 815; in *PH.* *nat* is once followed by a noun, but the usage is not the Old Irish usage.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *VSR.*, l. 1077, *Celt. Zeit.*, i, 8, and compare further *asá di* 'whose it is' *Laws*, iv, 314, *do cach besa cethraí*, *ib.* 336, *besa hé iriu* O'Davoren, p. 97. In *Fél. Oeng.* *ata* is common in the sense of 'whose are,' probably under the influence of *asa*; *nabdar ilí lochta*, *Mar.* 18, shows that it is not absolutely necessary to have a possessive pronoun.

<sup>2</sup> Is it to be looked for also in *lasinn*, ll. 918–9?

<sup>3</sup> In *Wb.* 10<sup>b</sup> 26 (l. 1011) *nant* and *nadn-* stand side by side.

<sup>4</sup> So in the pl. *nátat* is syntactically equivalent to *nandát*. Can *nát* stand for *na-n-t*, a form corresponding to *W. nat* with relative *n*? *nand* seems also to contain this *n*, but the analysis of these copula forms is very uncertain.

The forms *nita*, *nida*, etc., have been commonly regarded as unaccented forms of *-tā-*, cf. VSR., p. 44 note, KZ. xxxv, 359. In Celt. Zeit. i, 4, Thurneysen rejects this explanation altogether, connecting the *d* of *-da*, etc., with the *d* of *conid*; in Idg. Anz., ix, 192, he admits the possibility of the explanation only for non-relative forms.<sup>1</sup> His chief objection is the vocalism of the forms *-dem*, *-ded*, *-det*. As to these isolated forms it is hard to say whether the *e* is an earlier stage of *a* or whether it is a peculiar representation of the unaccented vowel; in two of the instances the vowel of the following syllable is palatal. He also urges the fact that *t* is found only after the negative. The only exceptions to that are the peculiar *cota béu* Ml. 44<sup>c</sup> 11, if *cota* be not an error for *cōda* (*conda*), and the formula *sechitat*, but *sechi* is not followed by *d* forms; *cenutad* may be explained from *cenud-dad*; *nátat*, the plural of *nát*, cannot be considered a real exception. If the forms be of more than one origin, they have become so thoroughly mixed up that it is impossible to separate them fully. For the 1 and 2 sg. *-ta* we may with some assurance assume that they came from *-tó*, *-tái*, otherwise the ending would be hard to explain. The form *-dem* is peculiar for its ending. Should it be *-den*? In *-did* Thurneysen rightly regards the first *d* as coming from the other persons; thus *conda*, *conda*, *conid* would easily become *conda*, *conda*, *condid*. From *-did*, as Thurneysen has suggested, *d* spread to the subjunctive *-dip*. *Condid*, etc., also took the place of *conid*, etc., before other verbal forms, e.g. *condidtuce*, Wb. 30<sup>a</sup>.

Afterwards the 1 and 2 sg. *-ta*, *-da* became *-tam*, *-dam*, *-dat*, after *am*, *at*. Thus the second glossator in Wb. has already *nitam* for *nita*. Cf. further *ní dam dermatach* LU. 124<sup>a</sup> 3, *indut cretmech* Trip. Life, 84, l. 7, *díandat celiusiú* LU. 71<sup>a</sup> 11. For *ní nicon* is found, *nímessi* LU. 69<sup>b</sup> 43, *niconfiu* LL. 251<sup>a</sup> 20, *nicondeit ata hi tairrínigire* Ir. Text. ii, 1, 181, cf. Féilire Oenguso, Glossary. Some exceptional forms are found, as *nim* for *nida* SR. 2069, LL. 81<sup>b</sup> 10, *nismor* for *ní mór* Ir. Text. ii, 2, 226. But these are only occasional vagaries. In LL. 95<sup>a</sup> 20 *inadbeósa* is clearly a distortion of *inda beósa*; in this portion of the LL. Táin there are many monstrous forms. The later use of *ní* with a plural, e.g. *ní hiat*, is to be compared with the similar use of *is*, e.g. *is íat* = O. Ir. *it hé*.

<sup>1</sup> Professor Thurneysen now writes that he would derive *nita* from *tā-*.

In *cesu, ciasu, massu, matu, o* is found only in Wb. and Sg. Ml. has also the later *ciasa, massa*. For *massa* appears later also *mas*,<sup>1</sup> cf. WB., PH. The plurals *cetu, matu* I have so far noted only in the Glosses. For *cetu* appears later *cidat, ciat* (p. 64), for *matu, masitat* Ir. Text. ii, 1, 176, *massaté* LU. 63<sup>b</sup> 45, *mastat* Wind. s.v. *ma*. In the other persons there are some new forms. In Trip. Life, 112, l. 20, *ciasa lobur, ciasa* is used of the second person; a more distinctive second person is *massat fissid* LU. 86<sup>a</sup> 19. Other forms are *cidam léchsa* LL. 70<sup>a</sup> 45, *cidat* PH. 894, *cidarcomaltai* LL. 85<sup>b</sup> 15 (for this formation see below).

With *nimtha laám*, etc. (l. 1103 sq.), may perhaps be compared *nimda sáthech* LU. 60<sup>b</sup> 18, *nimda mac* 62<sup>a</sup> 37.

An impersonal construction with infixed pronoun has been referred to (ll. 903 sq.), cf. p. 39 note. Compare *isamómun* LU. 65<sup>a</sup> 18, *bádnimomunside* 'he was sore afraid' 64<sup>a</sup> 11, *bidamsodglass, bidamairdercu-sa de* (so it should be corrected) Ir. Text. ii, 2, 242, *ropadatslán* LU. 130<sup>a</sup> 17, *badamslánsa* 130<sup>a</sup> 18, so perhaps *conidam* 124<sup>a</sup> 2, 16, 124<sup>b</sup> 1, 2, 6, cf. VSR., p. 42 note; some of the forms quoted there have a plural predicate. In Mid. Ir. *isam, isat* are common forms of the 1 and 2 persons, cf. PH. 894. In VSR., p. 42 note, reference is made to some other curious forms, the origin of which is pretty clear. Thus, if in expressions like *nídam snímach, am* was felt to be the infixed pronoun, forms like *nídarnídain* might easily arise, and from them the way is easy to the positive *darslána, artroig*. In *atbardásachtaig*, KZ. xxviii, 95, we have a formation starting from the 3 pl. *at*, cf. *atbar lia* (for *atbar lia*? YBL. 94<sup>a</sup> 38 has *itib lia*; perhaps the original text had *airitib lia*) LU. 84<sup>b</sup> 26, *batinaithrig* 'we shall repent' LL. 278<sup>a</sup> 30. In SR. 3574 *rosat*, Stokes is right in taking the form syntactically for a present, cf. *nirsa* LL. 70<sup>b</sup> 7, *gersat* 84<sup>a</sup> 14, *ciarsat* 70<sup>b</sup> 28 (by *ciarso* 70<sup>b</sup> 29, in 70<sup>b</sup> 50 *ciarso* is 3 sg.). Did these forms come from a wrong analysis of *órsat = órisat*, etc., helped by association with preterite forms? Many of them are no doubt simply artificial literary formations.

The use of the relative forms *as, ata*, etc., has been discussed by Pedersen, KZ. xxxv. With the fuller material it is possible on some points to be more precise.

As to the use of *is* and *as*, the general rule is to be noted that if any part of the sentence, except the subject or the object or adjectives or adverbs of quality, is brought forward emphatically,

<sup>1</sup> Did *mas* arise in the first instance before a vowel, e.g. *masé*?

then non-relative forms are used: *is do is cóir*, *is iarum is comainside*, *is and is tualang*. Otherwise the relative forms are used. The relative usage may be illustrated by the following examples (in (a) the relative form may be preceded by *an* 'what'):—

- (a) The relative serves as the subject: *it hé as chorp* 'it is they who are body,' *it sib ata chomarpí* 'it is you who are heirs,' *anas maith* 'what is good.' In this type of sentence *as*, etc., are not followed by relative *n*, and the initial consonant of the following word (except a dental) is aspirated. In the remaining types *n* is inserted and there is no aspiration.
- (b) The relative refers to an adjective or adverb or adverbial phrase: *is bec as máo* 'it is little that it is greater,' *is ind il as ferr* 'it is much that it is better.' Similarly *inchruth as cóir* 'the manner that it is proper,' *indéni as comallaide* 'the celerity with which it is fulfilled.'
- (c) The verb is preceded by conjunctions which take the relative form, *an*, *céin*, *cenmíthá*, *deg*, *fóibíth*, *hóre*, *intain*, *isindi*, *lasse*, *lassani*, *ol*, cf. KZ. xxxv, 387 sq.: *amal as n-inricc* 'as is worthy,' *hore as n-amairessach* 'because he is unfaithful.'
- (d) The relative form is used in *oratio obliqua*: *as n-olc* 'that it is evil.' But the form of *oratio recta* is often kept, e.g. *rofetarsa is foirbthe* 'I know it is perfect.'

Exceptions to the above rules have been noted by Pedersen. He has not, however, observed the peculiar position of *hóre*. In giving statistics for this word I have neglected the negative form of the third singular, because I have not collected all the instances where *hóre* is followed by *ní* 'is not,' as it is often followed by *ní* 'not' instead of by *nád* or *nách*. In each case an example of the type is given, and then the total number of occurrences in Wb., Sg., and Ml.

### hóre.

#### NON-RELATIVE FORMS.

*hóre am essamin-se* Wb. 4.

*hóre at bonus miles* Wb. 1.

*huare is sain* Wb. 9; Sg. 3

(+ quia 2); Ml. 1.

*hóre ammi corp* Wb. 2.

*hóre adib ellachti* Wb. 11.

#### RELATIVE FORMS.

*hóre as n-amairessach* Wb. 5;

Sg. 8; Ml. 2.



## NON-RELATIVE FORMS.

*hóre it subditi som* Wb. 1;  
Sg. 1 (quia).  
*hóre is óenrad fil and* Wb. 13;  
Sg. 7 (+ quia 2); Ml. 9  
(+ quia 1).  
*huare it hé atá huaislem* Ml. 1.

## RELATIVE FORMS.

*huare ata comlonna* Sg. 2; Ml. 1;  
cf. *hóre nandat filii* Wb.  
*óre as n-dúil foruigensat* Wb. 2;  
Ml. 4.  
*huare ata n-dúli beodai fordingrat* Sg. 2; Ml. 2.

It will be observed that in the first and second persons only non-relative forms occur. All the examples are from Wb., but in the one or two instances in SR. the same rule holds. In the other persons, if we include the instances where *hóre* is represented by Lat. 'quia,' the proportion of non-relative to relative forms is Wb. 23 : 7 (or over 3 : 1), Sg. 15 : 12 (or 5 : 4), Ml. 12 : 9 (or 4 : 3). Thus it is clear that in the later Glosses the relative forms are on the increase. In the extra-presential parts, where there are separate relative forms, *hóre* is used only with these.

With *amal* the non-relative forms are infrequent. In Wb. we find it in *amal is i lóu*, a translation of 'sicut in die' (but *amal as* ll. 991 sq.), and in the periphrastic *amal is tre bar tabirt-si ronbia-ni indocbál* (but *amal as* ll. 986 sq.). From Sg. I have no instance of the non-relative form. In Ml. *amal* translating 'ut, uelut' is thrice followed by *is* (ll. 891 sq.) (but by *as* ll. 992 sq.), *is* is four times found in periphrasis (ll. 890 sq.) (but *as* ll. 985 sq.); more strange is *amal it da lebur fichet*.

The only other conjunction<sup>1</sup> that I have noted with both forms is *foibith*, and the instances are few; the non-relative forms will be found ll. 892 sq., the relative l. 994. Otherwise there are only a few examples of *is, it* where *as, ata* might have been looked for. One is *is mó is periculosius* Acr. 29; the others are Wb. 26<sup>b</sup> 2, where the restoration *nitat huili it foirbthi* is certain, and *biit sualchi and it foilsi* Wb. 29<sup>a</sup> 29. The confusion of *as* and *is* in later Irish may be seen in VSR., ll. 1070 sq.

With the non-relative forms *am, at, is, etc.*, the relative *n* is never used. With relative forms it is sometimes omitted where

<sup>1</sup> *olisamein*, quoted by Pedersen, KZ. xxxv, 388, has become a mere conjunction. But in the Féilire *ol* is regularly followed by non-relative forms.

in accordance with the foregoing rules it might have been expected; in isolated instances there is always the possibility of scribal error. With *amal as* as a formal translation of 'tamquam' and the like, it is regularly omitted; the only exception is *amal as ñ-di* Sg. 9<sup>b</sup> 11, where it is preceded by *amal bith do chonsuin*, and where it may have been less of a purely formal rendering. In periphrasis it is sometimes omitted in Ml. in *oratio obliqua* (ll. 977 sq.), twice after *amal* (ll. 989 sq.); in Wb. 19<sup>b</sup> 12, *hiress*, as Pedersen has already pointed out, is in all probability an error for *n-iress*. The other instances are sporadic: *in chruth as coir* 7 *as inricc* Wb. 7<sup>b</sup> 1, *fib as deg ropridchad* Wb. 23<sup>a</sup> 23, *méit as do oenscribund* Sg. 112<sup>a</sup> 2 (but cf. Sg. 3<sup>b</sup> 30), *intan as do gnim* Sg. 59<sup>b</sup> 16, *as chomsuidigthe* (leg. *comsuidigthe*) Sg. 209<sup>b</sup> 9, *huare as accomolta* Sg. 18<sup>a</sup> 1, *huare as dligeð* Ml. 54<sup>a</sup> 5, *intan as aithrech* Ml. 93<sup>a</sup> 23, *huare as in deacht fedaraitbminedar* Ml. 25<sup>c</sup> 5 (it is a wide generalization from a single instance when Pedersen says that *n* is omitted before the article). In extra-presential relative forms *n* is not written in *bete gentilia* Sg. 33<sup>a</sup> 16. With *olsodin*, which, as Pedersen has remarked, is an artificial rendering of the Latin relative, as with the usual *an*, the relative *n* is not used, nor does it appear with *nách* or with *nát* (if it be not infixed, cf. p. 64). Further, it is absent in *ós* 'since' = *ó as* (in LU. 20<sup>a</sup> 23 it is written *oas*).

## 2. Preterite.

The division of the copula forms is not altogether parallel to the division of the forms of the substantive verb. This is because the distinction of orthotonesis and enclisis has no place in the copula. At most the copula forms have only a secondary accent, and this secondary accent is lost when the copula is preceded by any closely connected particle, whether that particle usually causes enclisis or not. Thus we have *röpo máith*, but both *nírbo máith* and *clárbo máith*. In such forms as *annarobsa bithe, conrupula Dia, lasinrubu maith* in Ml., the full form has been analogically restored.

Before we proceed to consider other points it will be well to dispose of two special uses.

As we have already remarked, there are no special forms for the imperfect indicative of the copula. In this imperfect sense

*ba* is used; the imperfect sense can be detected with certainty only from the proximity of other imperfects; compare *hore ba ó Dia dofoided* (preterite) with *ba inna elluch atarimtis* (imperfect). A good example of the imperfect use of *ba* is LU. 69<sup>a</sup> 30, *intan notheiged tar carrce noscarad a leth olailiu, intan ba réid conrictis affrissi* 'when he went over stones one half of him would part from the other, when it was smooth they would come together again,' cf. 60<sup>b</sup> 10, 12, 72<sup>a</sup> 18, 23, and in the Glosses Wb. 15<sup>d</sup> 20, Ml. 30<sup>a</sup> 3, 62<sup>a</sup> 13, 91<sup>a</sup> 6, 95<sup>a</sup> 5, Sg. 185<sup>b</sup> 4. Cf. also *batir* Ml. 90<sup>d</sup> 19, *basa* 'I used to be' LL. 343<sup>d</sup> 58 (cf. below, p. 80). As the corresponding negative we should expect *nípo*. From the Glosses I have no clear instance, but cf. LU. 60<sup>b</sup> 29 *níbo moo in band oldas a chéle* 'one stroke was not greater than another.'

*Ba, nípo* are used in a peculiar modal sense, cf. Gramm. Celt.<sup>2</sup> 496, VSR., p. 48, Subjunctive Mood § 43. The instances in the Glosses will be found above, ll. 1248 sq., 1294 sq. The regular negative is *nípo*; *nirbo* I have noted only LU. 60<sup>a</sup> 36. The forms are identical with the forms of the indicative, note in particular the 1 sg., l. 1243, and the idiom is to be compared with W. *ponyd oed iawn y tithew* Red Book, 246, 6, etc., Lat. *melius erat*, etc., Gr. *καλὸν ἦν*, etc.

It will be observed that both *ropo, nirbo, nípo, and ropu, nírbu, nípu* occur. The *o* forms are found only in Wb.; the *u* forms rarely in the chief body of glosses in Wb.; in fo. 33 sq., where the glosses are from another hand, the *u* forms are regular, as they are in Ml. and Sg. Cf. also *nirbommar* Wb. by *robummar* Ml. In later Irish both *o* and *u* are found, and, if my observations be accurate, *o* is more common than *u*.

In *ropo, robo*, the frequent spelling with *p*, whether the form be non-relative or relative, shows, as Pedersen has observed, that the *b* was not a spirant. On the other hand, in *nirbo* the *b* is shown to have been a spirant both by the orthography and by the later history of the form: *nirbo, nírb, nírb*. For this a probable explanation can be suggested. Zimmer long ago pointed out (Kelt. Stud., ii, 129 sq.) that the copula forms *robo*, etc., come from those of the substantive verb *robói*, etc. Thus *robo nírbó* come from *robói nírbói*, and it seems to follow that the rule of the aspiration of the relative form of the verb had not yet come into operation. Similarly *ciarpsa nírbasa* may be explained from *cíar robá-sa, ní-róbá-sa*.

The forms *ba* and *-bo* correspond to one another, cf. *nípo uáib act ba o apsatalib* Wb. 13<sup>a</sup> 20, *níbo comitesti dó acht ba léicthi* 1<sup>c</sup> 12. *Ba* is used absolutely and also along with certain conjunctions, *hóre, laso, iarsindí, an, intain*; *-bo* follows particles that take the enclitic form of the verb, e.g. *nípo, com-bo, diam-bo*; it also accompanies *ce, cia* 'though.' In the prose of LU. Táin, pp. 55-77<sup>a</sup> (I have noted only the occurrences in the prose) this rule is still strictly observed (except *ropa* 58<sup>a</sup> 12); in WB. pp. 396-7, the exceptions are not numerous. In later Irish the two forms tended to become confused, chiefly probably because the atonic vowels fell together in pronunciation. To *ba* were formed analogically some other persons 1 sg. *bam* Wind. 396, 3 pl. *bat* VSR. 1442; *bamsa* LU. 16<sup>a</sup> 43, LL. 343<sup>d</sup> 44, may be a direct transformation of *basá*, which in LL. 343<sup>d</sup> 43 becomes *basam*, like *ropsam* below.

According to Pedersen, KZ. xxxv, 325, the Mod. Ir. preterite comes from the O. Ir. praesens secundarium *bad*. What he means by the praesens secundarium is not clear; *bad* in O. Ir. is either past subjunctive or secondary future; it is not past indicative. The question could satisfactorily be settled only by tracing the formation down from the O. Ir. period to the present day. I will only give here one or two cases where I have met with *bad* written for *ba*: *is and bad dóig la Fergus bith Conculaind in-Delga* LU. 68<sup>a</sup> 7 (for the usual *ba dóig*), *bád chumma romaltsat* (= O. Ir. *ba cumme rondommaltatar*) LU. 124<sup>b</sup> 3, *corthé nochlantai intan bad maidm n-imairic, card* (= *carnd*) *immorro fochertitis intan bad n-orgain* LU. 86<sup>b</sup> 42 (in an interpolated explanation), *dochuaidsium turus bad sia* LL. 69<sup>a</sup> 5 (where *bad* might have come from negative sentences like *ní lotár ní bud sire* LU. 24<sup>a</sup> 5).

In the 1 sg. the pronominal *-sa* has become part of the verbal form (p. 49). The only exception is *MI. 49<sup>b</sup> 13*, where *romsa* is followed by *rom*.<sup>1</sup> This, again, is the starting-point of new formations. Like so many other of the first persons singular of the copula, *ropsa* takes on by analogy an *m* and becomes *ropsam* PH. 903 (cf. *basam* above); to this is formed a 2 sg. *ropsat* ib., *nárbsat* SR. 1318, *intan ropsat gilla* LL. 343<sup>d</sup> 53, and a 3 pl. *rapsat* LL. 82<sup>b</sup> 1, *cersat, darsat* PH. 904.

The most difficult point in the preterite is the discrimination of the forms with and without *ro-*. I find it impossible to lay

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *bása macc la maccu, ba fer la fru*, LU. 114<sup>a</sup> 32.



down any precise rules for the use of the two sets of forms. For example, what difference of meaning is there between *hore ropo co fáilti tuccad* and *hóre ba 6 Dia dofoided*, or between *geinti narbo plebs Dei* and *naro chenéel domsa*? But though it is impossible to state any hard and fast rules, certain kinds of sentence show a clear preference for one form or the other. To make this evident, I give below the instances of the 3 sg. arranged in order from Wb., Sg., and Ml. The distribution in the other persons can easily be seen from the lists, pp. 33–7. To see whether the later language throws any light on the usage, I have also examined the prose portions of the LU. Táin, pp. 55–77. In the following lists I have excluded instances that are clearly imperfect:—

## (a) ropo )( ba.

## Wb.

ropo	ba.
<i>ropo tocomracht linn buid i m-bethu</i> 14 <sup>b</sup> 24.	<i>ar ba bibda báis leusom</i> (perhaps ipf.) 1 <sup>d</sup> 19.
<i>ropo scíth linn uiuere</i> 14 <sup>b</sup> 26.	
<i>robo diliu linn dethiden díbsi</i> 14 <sup>d</sup> 13.	
<i>ropo sáith líbsi ón</i> 23 <sup>d</sup> 11.	
<i>ropo thróg laiss ar m-buith fo máam pectho</i> 21 <sup>b</sup> 5.	
<i>rupu accubur leu etargne</i> 33 <sup>a</sup> 11.	
<i>ropo fochonn gnímo don peccad a n-irgaire</i> 3 <sup>c</sup> 23.	
<i>ropo thol dond athir mo thooi</i> 14 <sup>b</sup> 13.	
<i>ropo ainm dúibsi inso uile</i> 9 <sup>c</sup> 29.	
<i>ropo irlam sochide and do chretim</i> 14 <sup>d</sup> 29.	<i>ba apstal cid Moysi</i> 32 <sup>d</sup> 14.
<i>ropu accus bás dó</i> 23 <sup>d</sup> 12.	<i>ar ba</i> habens humanum genus sub dominatu suo (ipf.?) 3 <sup>a</sup> 1.
<i>sech ropo léir són</i> 27 <sup>d</sup> 19.	<i>sech ba foirbthe a iress sídi</i> 19 <sup>a</sup> 11.
<i>ar ropo eola som na huile fetar-laice</i> 30 <sup>c</sup> 17.	<i>ar ba foirbthe hires do mathar</i> 29 <sup>d</sup> 13.

ropo.

*rubu fer som muinlire* 33<sup>a</sup> 5.  
*rupu sí arreilic* 33<sup>a</sup> 22.  
*robo dúibsi* 24<sup>c</sup> 22.

*ropo* (rel.) *infolgithe irrúnaib*  
*diuinitatis* 21<sup>c</sup> 22.  
*inti ropo magister prius* 13<sup>a</sup> 12.  
*asrubartatar rombo discipul som*  
*apstal* 18<sup>d</sup> 1.

*amal rombo marb Iesu don biuth*  
*so* 15<sup>b</sup> 25.

*amal rombo chuimse la Dia* 22<sup>a</sup> 2.

*amal rombo ainmnetach* 26<sup>b</sup> 7.

*amal rombo foirbthe Crist* 26<sup>d</sup> 16.

*amal rombo thol do dóinib* 24<sup>d</sup> 4.

*intan ropo mithich lasinn athir*  
*nemde* 19<sup>d</sup> 7.

*intain rombo mithig less* 31<sup>a</sup> 10.

*hore rombu thoissec na sectæ*  
 33<sup>a</sup> 20.

*hore rombo sollicite* 30<sup>a</sup> 7.

*hóre ropo co failti tuccad* 24<sup>b</sup> 26.

ba.

*act ba la amiresschu* 9<sup>c</sup> 17.

*ba contra spem dó epert* 2<sup>c</sup> 24.

*ba in mortem* 3<sup>a</sup> 8.

*nipo uáib act ba ó apsatalib*  
 13<sup>a</sup> 20.

*arba miscuis atroillisset* 4<sup>c</sup> 14.

*doménar-sa ba marb peccad* 3<sup>c</sup> 26.

*ba n-dilmáin do airbert buith*  
 10<sup>d</sup> 14.

*da leinn ba firinne* 31<sup>d</sup> 5.

*huare ba mac Dé* 33<sup>c</sup> 6.

*hore ba ó Dia dofoided* 32<sup>d</sup> 14.

Sg.

ropu.

*robu anfiis dosom* 148<sup>a</sup> 6.

*robu frecindairc riam* 153<sup>b</sup> 5.

*robu samlid robóí* 203<sup>b</sup> 5.

*quia robbu digaim ind f.* 17<sup>a</sup> 5.

*dég rombu éndarc dó* 148<sup>a</sup> 6.

ba.

*ar ba bés lasuidib* (ipf. ?) 4<sup>a</sup> 9.

*ar bá firianu Aeneas* 43<sup>a</sup> 1.

*ar bá fio factus dogéni prius*  
 185<sup>b</sup> 4.

*aní ba choitche*n 50<sup>a</sup> 3.

## Ml.

- | ropu.   | ba.   |
|---|---|
| <i>robu machdad leo</i> 46 <sup>a</sup> 17.   | <i>ba árosc sin la aithrea</i> (ipf. ?)<br>136 <sup>a</sup> 5.                              |
| <i>ropu thol leo ade[nu]m in[na]<br/>cloine sin</i> 71 <sup>b</sup> 2.              | <i>ba samlid a n-doire leu</i> 84 <sup>c</sup> 9.   |
| <i>robu ferr leu buith hí leith Duaid</i><br>87 <sup>c</sup> 4.                     |   |
| <i>rubu ferr lat comaidech (= comai-<br/>techt) du Assaraib</i> 72 <sup>b</sup> 18. |   |
| <i>robu maith leu buith hi Caldea</i><br>105 <sup>b</sup> 8.                        |   |
| <i>robú mór a homun liumsa</i> 96 <sup>a</sup> 10.                                  |   |
| <i>robu frithorcon doib a n-etars-<br/>carad</i> 124 <sup>b</sup> 6.                | <i>bá brón do suidib m'aicsiu</i> (prob.<br>ipf., cf. 86 <sup>d</sup> 6) 44 <sup>c</sup> 6. |
| <i>robu bithsóinmech dóib du grés</i><br>90 <sup>c</sup> 27.                        | <i>sech ba degedbart ón in Lege</i><br>(ipf. ?) 87 <sup>b</sup> 8.                          |
| <i>airis suidiu robu thir tairingeri</i><br>130 <sup>c</sup> 18.                    | <i>is du suidib ba inbesa</i> (ipf. ?)<br>31 <sup>d</sup> 12.                               |
| <i>robu mou de int erchot</i> 61 <sup>c</sup> 8.                                    | <i>ba cumdubart inétaste</i> 43 <sup>d</sup> 20.  |
| <i>is airi inso robu immaircide</i><br>14 <sup>a</sup> 4.                           | <i>sechis ba trom foraið són</i> 34 <sup>d</sup> 12.  |
| <i>air rubu latharthae</i> 32 <sup>c</sup> 2.                                       | <i>ba erchoitech n- doib toimtiu</i><br>35 <sup>b</sup> 23.                                 |
| <i>robu foircthe</i> (rel. ?) 111 <sup>b</sup> 27.                                  | <i>sech ba indeithbir doibsom focharid</i><br><i>Dæ</i> 97 <sup>d</sup> 15.                 |
|   | <i>ba fercach som fri suide</i> 58 <sup>c</sup> 6.  |
|   | <i>ba glas 7 ba téntide a sliab</i><br>96 <sup>b</sup> 17.                                  |
|   | <i>ba fomraid a bellrae side</i> 53 <sup>d</sup> 3.   |
|   | <i>bá infeití</i> 28 <sup>c</sup> 17.   |
|   | <i>ba fri ained</i> 129 <sup>d</sup> 8.   |
|   | <i>ba hed á n-óinbiad</i> 97 <sup>d</sup> 8.  |
| <i>robu sí a ciall</i> 95 <sup>a</sup> 9.   | <i>ba hed a n-gnim som molad Dé</i><br>24 <sup>a</sup> 4.                                   |
|   | <i>ba fou fachartar som</i> 64 <sup>a</sup> 10.   |
| <i>robu du thabernacuil robu ainm</i><br><i>són</i> 100 <sup>b</sup> 12.            | <i>in fer truagsa ba lugae leu</i> 118 <sup>c</sup> 5.                                      |
| <i>nanni robu thol do do frith-<br/>oircnib</i> 33 <sup>a</sup> 18.                 | <i>ani ba buthi ar thuus</i> 29 <sup>a</sup> 8.   |
| <i>nanni robu accubur leu</i> 54 <sup>a</sup> 9.                                    | <i>ani ba eperthi do suidib</i> 46 <sup>a</sup> 11.   |
| <i>dun gnim robu accubur lat du</i><br><i>forbu</i> 50 <sup>c</sup> 14.             | <i>ani ba immaircide</i> 73 <sup>b</sup> 17.  |

ropu.

*Essu rubu thoissech* 63<sup>b</sup> 5.

*amal robu* (leg. *rombu*) *thol doib* 54<sup>a</sup> 34.

*amal rombu réil damsá* 113<sup>b</sup> 4.

*huare rombu immaircide* 2<sup>b</sup> 6.

*huare rombu suidigthe ind íe hisin dosom i n-Dia* 18<sup>d</sup> 20.

*huare rombu amlabar* 59<sup>a</sup> 14.

*huare rombu mór dorat* 136<sup>c</sup> 11.

*isindi rombú foráithmítech* 122<sup>d</sup> 7.

*arrobu* (leg. *arrombu*) *lintae* 25<sup>c</sup> 16.

*arrombu suidigthe* 48<sup>d</sup> 6.

*arrombu ercheltae* 53<sup>b</sup> 14.

*arrombu lonn Dia frissom* 62<sup>b</sup> 22.

ba.

*ised asbirtis ba madae dam* 106<sup>d</sup> 3.  
*rofitir side ba Dia conrairleic*  
58<sup>c</sup> 6.

*iarsindi ba teipirsniġe* 129<sup>d</sup> 5.

*iarsindi ba mane moch riam*  
21<sup>c</sup> 4.

*lase ba snim fora menmuin* 89<sup>b</sup> 7.

*amba n-indrisse* 18<sup>c</sup> 14.

*amba n-diúscartae* 19<sup>c</sup> 15.

*amba toimse* 25<sup>a</sup> 18.

*amba taircide* 27<sup>c</sup> 20.

*amba cloithe* 32<sup>b</sup> 2.

*amba foite* 34<sup>c</sup> 9.

*amba foirethe* 35<sup>d</sup> 6.

*amba foilsichthe* 91<sup>a</sup> 5.

*amba cocuibsid* 32<sup>b</sup> 21.

*amba saibscart Alchimus and*  
75<sup>d</sup> 3.

In the portion of the Táin *ba* is almost the universal form, cf. 55<sup>b</sup> 2, 56<sup>b</sup> 14, 57<sup>a</sup> 26, 58<sup>a</sup> 35, 58<sup>b</sup> 8, 59<sup>a</sup> 4 (*intan ba*), 59<sup>a</sup> 35, 59<sup>a</sup> 36, 59<sup>b</sup> 16 (*intan*), 59<sup>b</sup> 44, 60<sup>a</sup> 18, 60<sup>b</sup> 1, 60<sup>b</sup> 2, 60<sup>b</sup> 15, 61<sup>a</sup> 37, 62<sup>a</sup> 12 (*daig*), 62<sup>a</sup> 26, 62<sup>b</sup> 25, 62<sup>b</sup> 40, 63<sup>a</sup> 25, 63<sup>a</sup> 41, 64<sup>a</sup> 2, 64<sup>a</sup> 29 (*ba foróil leu*), 64<sup>b</sup> 18, 64<sup>b</sup> 23 (*bá sáeth lais*), 65<sup>a</sup> 8, 65<sup>a</sup> 30 (*bá méla léo*), 65<sup>b</sup> 19 (*úair ba i n-gataib dobertatar*), 69<sup>b</sup> 19, 69<sup>b</sup> 22 (*ba sáeth la Fergus anísín*), 70<sup>a</sup> 9, 70<sup>b</sup> 15 (*ba diliu laiss*), 71<sup>a</sup> 40, 71<sup>b</sup> 5, 72<sup>b</sup> 44, 73<sup>a</sup> 39, 40, 42. *Ropo* is very rare: ‘rofess,’ or *Ailill, robbó dord* (= dorn) *niad 7 ropo rig rúanada* 59<sup>b</sup> 24; *robo dún 7 ditiu diar feib 7 ar n-indili, ropo imdegail cacha slabra dún* 61<sup>a</sup> 6; *o ropu tromda 7 ropo lenamnach int aidech* 69<sup>a</sup> 11; *iss éseom ropo uallach* 69<sup>a</sup> 28, cf. 58<sup>a</sup> 12; *céin robo beo* 74<sup>a</sup> 26.



## (b) -rbo )( -po.

## Wb.

## -rbo.

*nirbo sár leu ar cocéilsine* 19<sup>a</sup> 1.*nirbo accur lat* 29<sup>d</sup> 9.*nirbu mebul less mo charatrad*  
30<sup>a</sup> 6.*nirbu aithrech limsa* 16<sup>b</sup> 6.*nirbo mebul dosom epert* 16<sup>b</sup> 19.*nirbo áis muntaire* 21<sup>b</sup> 12.*nirbo mraithem* 32<sup>d</sup> 15.*nirbu choimdiu* 33<sup>a</sup> 5.*nirbu dóinect cen deacht* 15<sup>d</sup> 16.*nirbo chuit eperte* 24<sup>c</sup> 5.*is cuit esbicuil nirbo sirbaás*  
32<sup>d</sup> 4.*nirbu faás foruigéni* 13<sup>b</sup> 7.*geinti narbo plebs Dei* 4<sup>d</sup> 3.*corbu écen a comalnad* 32<sup>c</sup> 17.*ciarbu minimus et ciarbo abor-*  
*tibus* 13<sup>b</sup> 8.*cinirbo etruib robammar - ni*  
24<sup>c</sup> 22.*hóre narbo bae la Iudu* 5<sup>b</sup> 12.*hóre narbo lour linn* 24<sup>b</sup> 20.*hóre nirbu foirbthe* 33<sup>b</sup> 4.

## -po.

*nibo mór a m-bríg linn* 18<sup>d</sup> 10.*nipo accobor lassin fer nopridhad*  
*suide* 13<sup>a</sup> 20.*nipu accobor leiss* 14<sup>a</sup> 22.*nipo choim[diless] less frinn* 4<sup>b</sup> 12.*nipo irgnae co tanic lex* 3<sup>a</sup> 1.*nipu imdu do in mann* 16<sup>c</sup> 25.*nipo lobur a hires* 2<sup>c</sup> 25.*nipu lugu a chuit sidi* 16<sup>c</sup> 26.*nipu immacus intaidrius* 18<sup>d</sup> 5.*nipu líbsi int órd so* 9<sup>c</sup> 17.*nipo dia airchissecht* 4<sup>c</sup> 21.*nipo uáib* 13<sup>a</sup> 20.*nibo ar seire móidme* 17<sup>a</sup> 13.*nibu ar chuingid for sét* 24<sup>d</sup> 7.*nip ar irlaimi far cúrsagtha*  
26<sup>b</sup> 23.*nipu nach derninnse* 8<sup>a</sup> 5.*nipo fochetoir (?) dorat* 4<sup>c</sup> 35.*nip ar maid rosnuice* 5<sup>b</sup> 3.*napo chenéel domsa* 5<sup>a</sup> 14.*ciabo lobur oc tecmallad* 16<sup>c</sup> 26.*cepu fri aicned quod dictum est*  
2<sup>c</sup> 25.*cepued adriollisset* 4<sup>c</sup> 35.

Sg.

-rbu.

-bu.

*nírbu* cognomen 31<sup>b</sup> 22.  
*quasi dixisset nírbu lit- ade*  
*conaue* 5<sup>b</sup> 6.  
*nírbu lánfalid* 42<sup>a</sup> 7.  
*nírbu lánbrón* 42<sup>a</sup> 8.

Pl.

-rbu.

-bu.

*nírbu lour leusom buaduguth dib*  
 33<sup>c</sup> 13.  
*nírbu toraisse les* 34<sup>c</sup> 17.  
*nírbu chuman leu andorigeni Dia*  
 124<sup>b</sup> 5.  
*nírbu mou leu bríg a tobai* 92<sup>d</sup> 6.  
*nírbu sain mo bríg leu* 88<sup>b</sup> 4.  
*nírbu cumachtach som* 72<sup>b</sup> 6.  
*nírbu imdæ* 46<sup>o</sup> 19.  
*nírbu foirbthe a n-iræs* 97<sup>b</sup> 2.  
*nírbu samlaid són doibsom* 90<sup>c</sup> 27.  
*nírbu cen futhorcuin truim dunaib*  
*Egiptacdib* 63<sup>b</sup> 7.  
*nírbu chosc coir dorratsat* 113<sup>d</sup> 7.  
*aní nárbu dilmain du gabail*  
 60<sup>a</sup> 13.

*nibu gnath du suidib* 123<sup>d</sup> 3.  
*nibu in cián riam* 32<sup>b</sup> 17.

*nibu fua réir fesin boisom*  
 14<sup>b</sup> 13.

*cid arnabu son inchoissised*  
 56<sup>a</sup> 13.  
*conepertis nadmbu choir (?)*  
 136<sup>b</sup> 4.  
*nambu tressa* 53<sup>d</sup> 6.

*conrubu chrín* 99<sup>a</sup> 2.  
*conropu la Dia* 67<sup>c</sup> 9.  
*corrobu bec du essarcnaib furo-*  
*damarsa* 131<sup>b</sup> 12.  
*connarbú huain dóib* 100<sup>a</sup> 3.

*connabu accobur lium biad*  
 127<sup>c</sup> 13.  
*ciabu olc* 24<sup>c</sup> 12.

*huare narbu derachtae* 18<sup>d</sup> 18.

-rbu.

*annarbu buidech som* 40<sup>d</sup> 10,  
145<sup>a</sup> 1.

*anarbu thurgabthae* 86<sup>d</sup> 14.

*lasinrubu chumtabart* 102<sup>d</sup> 4.

*lasinrubu maith* 131<sup>d</sup> 11.

-bu.

*diambu thabarthi ermitiu feid* 7  
*imbu choir frecur céil Dé*  
22<sup>a</sup> 4.

## LU. Táin.

*nirbo chuman lais dal a daltai*  
60<sup>b</sup> 22.

*nirbo maith lesside techt* 72<sup>b</sup> 30.

*nirbo sám dóib* 58<sup>b</sup> 11.

*nirbo réid dosom ón* 65<sup>a</sup> 4.

*nirbo latsu tollem écaite* 62<sup>a</sup> 36.

*corbo mesc* 73<sup>a</sup> 41.

*connarbo eter leo* 60<sup>b</sup> 33.

*connárbo lethiu* 59<sup>a</sup> 38.

*diarbo chocéle* 68<sup>a</sup> 16.

*nipu anféliu dó* 69<sup>b</sup> 29.

*nipu chian iarsin guin* 60<sup>a</sup> 40.

*nibu dirsan duit* (?) 67<sup>a</sup> 30.

*nipu samlaid domarfás* 69<sup>b</sup> 39.

*nipu du thir dó a fuirec dorigni*  
60<sup>a</sup> 43.

*combo móir béolu midchuaich*  
59<sup>a</sup> 39, cf. 59<sup>a</sup> 41, 63<sup>a</sup> 37,  
71<sup>a</sup> 42, 71<sup>b</sup> 17, 74<sup>a</sup> 24 (bis),  
76<sup>b</sup> 17, 77<sup>a</sup> 42, 43.

*combo assa carpat fessin dosbert*  
58<sup>b</sup> 8.

*combo ulcha báí lais* 74<sup>b</sup> 40.

*combo hed domuined cách* (ipf.)  
74<sup>b</sup> 39.

*cid d'iambo maith* 61<sup>b</sup> 8.

*d'iambo chéli* 68<sup>a</sup> 12, 71<sup>a</sup> 21.

*imbo béo* (whether he lived)  
73<sup>b</sup> 34.

As to *robo* and *ba*, it will be seen that certain conjunctions prefer *robo*. Thus, *amal* is always accompanied by *robo*, and for the most part also *lóre*, similarly *intain*, but there are only a couple of instances; *an* is followed by both; the occurrences of other similar conjunctions are too few to draw any inferences from them. Otherwise the use of the one or the other seems to depend, to a great extent at least, on the form of the predicate. Thus,

in expressions like *ropo scith linn*, *ropo* is the regular form; on the other hand, when the predicate is a prepositional phrase, e.g. *ba ó apatalib*, *ba* is commonly used. In Wb. *ropo* is used in sentences like *rubu fer som muntaire* (so in oratio obliqua, *rombo discipul som apstal*); Ml. has *ba fercach som fri suide*, but the form of sentence is not quite the same. Where the predicate is a simple adjective *ba* is preferred. In periphrasis, so far as can be judged from the few instances, *ropo* is found where *robói* follows, *robu samlid robói*, otherwise *ba*. In relative sentences Wb. has *ropo*, but there are only two instances; in Ml. the usage is much the same as in non-relative sentences. The general impression conveyed is that *ropo* is somewhat more emphatic than *ba*. It must also be noted that *ropo* tends to give place to *ba*. In Ml. *ba* is much more frequent than in Wb., and in the Táin Bó Cúailnge *ba* is almost the universal form, cf. also VSR., pp. 52, 53.

We come now to *-rbo*, *-po*. In Wb. somewhat of the same distinction may be observed as between *ropo* and *ba*. Thus, with a prepositional predicate, e.g. *nipo uáib*, *-po* is regular. On the other hand, the predominance of *-rbo* in phrases like *nirbu accur lat* is not so pronounced as that of *ropo*. Further, where the predicate is a simple noun *nirbo* seems to be preferred, where the predicate is a simple adjective *nipo*. In periphrasis we have *nirbu faás foruigéni*, but *nip ar maid rosnuicc*. After *cia* we find *cinirbo etruib robammar-ni* like *robu samlid robói*, but *cepu-d adroillisset*. With *hóre*, *nirbo*, *nárbo* are constant. Otherwise the occurrences are too isolated for any certain deductions. From Sg. little is to be learned, as there are only four examples, all of *nirbu*. But the tendency seems to be the same as that so clearly seen in Ml., namely, for *-rbo* to extend itself at the expense of *-pu*. In the LU. Táin at first sight *-rbo* seems to prevail, but on closer observation it will be seen that nearly all the examples of *-po* are in the combinations *combo*, *diambo*, *imbo*. Unfortunately examples of such combinations are rare in the Glosses, but in Ml. we have *diambu*, *imbu*, and the Táin indicates that at one time *-bo* was here the favourite form. Afterwards *combo*, *diambo*, etc., made way for *corbo*, *diarbo*, etc., cf. VSR., ll. 1402 sq. (*combo* occurs only once, ib. l. 1352).

In the other persons the *ro-* forms seem to be more prevalent, but the small total of occurrences makes it impossible to speak with much certainty; the reader must judge for himself. In



the 1 sg. the forms *basa*, *nipsa* occur a good many times in the Tecosca Cormaic, LL. 343<sup>d</sup>, cf. LU. 114<sup>a</sup> 22: *nipsa chú-sa gabála lis*, *basa chú-sa gabála uis*; *nipsa cháú-sa cruibin aurchaill*, *bása cú-sa comnart do chomlond*, etc., cf. ll. 29, etc.; here *basa nipsa* might have an imperfect sense, as Cuchulinn, in speaking of his past prowess, ll. 6 sq., uses imperfects. In this person Windisch and Atkinson cite only forms with *ro-*. In the Saltair na Rann in the 3 pl. *-batar*, *-btar* is frequent, *roptar* rare, cf. PH. 905.

### 3. Future Indicative.

Of the 1 sg. there is no example in the Glosses. Later we find *bam* VSR. l. 1243, PH. 900, *nipam* LU. 52<sup>b</sup> 15, which might come from an O.Ir. *ba*. But there is also a form *biam* (*biam sóer* Hy. iv, 8, *biam cú-sa* LU. 61<sup>a</sup> 9, *biam tigerna* SR. 855), the relation of which to *bam* is not clear. Can there have been two forms in O.Ir., *bia* absolutely, but *ba* after particles, *comba*, etc.? In the 2 sg. there is also an absolute form *bia*, *bía slán* LU. 44<sup>b</sup> 33. In later Irish *-ba* appears as *-bat*, PH. 900.

In the relative form of the 3 sg. *bes* is the older form, *bas* is a weakening of it. In SR. *bas* alone is found, cf. PH. 901. For the 3 pl. *am-bat n-*, cf. p. 64.

In the 1 pl. *bemmi*, *bimmi*, and *bami* represent various stages of weakening. Of this form I have noted no example in Middle Irish. In the 2 pl. *bethi mairb* appears, SR. 1232.

### 4. Secondary Future.

In the 3 sg. *bed* is used absolutely, *-bad* when *ro-* or a particle *ní*, etc., precedes. For *bed* afterwards *bad* appears, *cia de-bad ferr* LU. 62<sup>b</sup> 44, *cia de bad assu lat* 69<sup>a</sup> 26.

### 5. Present Subjunctive.

Of the 1 sg. an additional example will be found LU. 61<sup>b</sup> 6, *acht ropa airderc-sa*. Later *ba* becomes *bam* VSR. 1178 sq. In the 2 sg. for *ba* afterwards appears *bat* WB. 391-2, PH. 900. In the 3 sg. the usual form is *-p*. Before this *ro-* is prefixed after *acht*, which is regularly accompanied by *ro-* (Subjunctive Mood, §§ 48, 94), after *con-* (ib. § 96), and in wishes *rop* Hy. i,

passim, LU. 61<sup>b</sup> 31 (cf. Subj. Mood, §§ 18, 88); also in the sense of 'must be' Laws iv, 334, ll. 12 sq. With *arim* = *arimp* may be compared *diam* 'if it be,' Laws, iv, 314, ll. 4-8, 338 bottom. The form *-dip* (after the analogy of the indicative *-did*, p. 65) is found after *aran-* (by *arimp*) *in-* 'whether' and *con-*. In Tírechán's notes 11 it appears also after *nd-*, *nadip rubecc*, *nadip romár* by *nap* Ir. Text. ii, 2. 208, *nab* WB. 392; PH. has *narob*. In *ropo*, *bo* Thurneysen, Idg. Anz., ix, would see this *-p* along with the *-o* which appears in *ceso*, *maso*, and he is doubtless right in putting along with these forms *robo* 'or,' for which, p. 34 note, I had already suggested a subjunctive origin. The only other instance of this subjunctive form that I have noted so far is *bés nípu hécen* = 'perhaps it may not be necessary,' LU. 61<sup>b</sup> 36.

In the 3 sg. relative *bas* is a weakening of *bes*, which afterwards becomes the usual form, cf. WB., PH. 901 (where future and subjunctive forms are mixed up together). So in the pl. *beta* is weakened to *bata*; of these plural forms I have no instances from the later literature.

#### 6. Past Subjunctive.

Here *ro-* is rare. It is found once after *act* 'provided that' and once after *con-* 'until,' with both of which, as we have seen, *ro-* is regular.

In the 3 sg. appear *bed* and *bad*; the latter is a weakening of the former, and becomes afterwards the common form, VSR., WB. 392-393. In the 3 sg. appears also a peculiar form *bid*. It is found mostly after *amal* 'as though it were,' and after certain phrases *dóich*, *is cumme*, *oldaas*. It sometimes varies with *bed*; cf. l. 1498 with l. 1521, and l. 1498 with l. 1517. As to its origin, *bid* can hardly be explained from any known subjunctive form. Professor Thurneysen has suggested to me with great probability that it has developed from the infinitive *bith*; the vocalism would be due to its being unaccented. In support of this explanation may be quoted LU. 68<sup>a</sup> 7, *is and bad dóig la Fergus bith Conculaind i n-Delga*, which might also be expressed by *ba dóig la Fergus bid i n-Delga nobeth Cúchulaind*, cf. *is aice ba dóig a m-bith* Laws, iv, 36. In the negative *ní bad* we seem to have simply the potential subjunctive.

The variants *benn*, *binn*, *bemmis*, *bimmis*, *betis*, *bitis* are only

different weakenings of the accented forms of the substantive verb. Even after *amal* we find both *e* and *i* forms, so that the attraction of the 3 sg. *bid* cannot have been great.

#### 7. Imperative.

In the absolute 3 sg. appear both *bed* and *bad*; here, again, the latter is a weakening of the former, and it becomes afterwards the usual form, cf. WB. Similarly in the 2 pl.

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## CORRIGENDA.

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P. 26, l. 919. Add *frisín cosmil* Sg. 188<sup>a</sup> 13.

P. 29, l. 1011, dele et *nád n-escona nì*.

P. 31, l. 1099. Add *inda apstal* Wb. 10<sup>c</sup> 20.

P. 31, note 2. But, as Professor Thurneysen has pointed out, *toirsech* is probably a peculiar spelling of *toirsich*, and the form is plural.

P. 33, ll. 1151, 1152, dele *i narim . . . dies* Sg. 66<sup>b</sup> 9.

P. 34, l. 1183, *huare romsa ugaire* is 2nd person singular.

P. 53, l. 35. The rule would be better expressed: *in* enclisis, except where *-tá* is required by the foregoing rules.

P. 62, l. 23. An example is *buih nochtehn* Wb. 11<sup>b</sup> 12.

P. 64, dele note 3.

P. 65, l. 28, *for* "second" *read* "first."

P. 66, line 2. As in the Félire Oenguso final *u* and *a* are not yet confused, *ciasa*, *massa* in Ml. must be regarded as corruptions of *ciasu*, *massu*.

II.—THE CONSTRUCTION OF *EYA* WITH THE  
CONJUNCTIVE VERB IN OLD BASQUE.  
A SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE. By EDWARD S.  
DODGSON.

[Read at the Philological Society's Meeting on Friday, February 10, 1899.]

I DESIRE to present in support of the argument expounded, however feebly, in my essay bearing the above heading in the Transactions of last year the following:—

I. Passages which I have gathered in a few Basque books.

A. *eä* not followed by the conjunctive termination *nez*.

(1) Pierre d'Urte, Genesis (*Etörkiä*<sup>1</sup> about the year 1715):

c. 31, v. 32 . . . . ; *eçagut çac gure anajen aitiçneän, ea baden cerbeit gauça hireric ene baitan*, where the Jacobean version . . . . : 'before our brethren discern thou what is thine with me,' does not serve as a literal translation.

37, 14 . . . . *begira çac eä hire anájac eta artúldeac ungi diren*, . . . . , see whether it be well with thy brethren, and well with the flocks;

42, 16 . . . . *iakiteco eä erraten duçuen egia: . . . .*, whether there be any truth in you:

(2) J. P. Dartayet (786 in the *Catalogo de Obras Euskaras* by G. de Sorarrain, published in Barcelona, 1898), p. 387, '*Ikus eia oro hor diren. Voyons si tout y est.*'

B. *nez* as a conjunctive termination not preceded by *eä* or *eya*.

(1) J. P. Dartayet in his *Guide ou Manuel* . . . . Français-Basque (Bayonne, 1893) . . . . , *ikus moldo onean denez*, to translate 'voyez si elle est en bon état.'

(2) *Giristinho Perfeccioniaren Praticaren Parte bat Heuzcarala itçulia* (120 in the Bibliography of M. J. Vinson; Paris, 1891 and 1898), p. 287 . . . . , *eta etciakiguçu aldiz segurki barkamendia uken dugunez* . . . . meaning, and we know not on the other hand with certainty whether we have forgiveness.

<sup>1</sup> Of this book a new edition, for which I am solely responsible, was published on February the 21st, 1899, at the cost of the Trinitarian Bible Society, 25, New Oxford Street, London, W.C. It consists of 5,000 copies.



C. *n* as a conjunctive termination followed by *ala ez* or *edo ez*, but not preceded by *hea*, *ä*, or *eya*.

- (1) The last-named book, on the same page, *ecin jakitia Gincearen gracion den bai ala ez*, the impossibility of knowing whether one be in the grace of God, yes or no.
- (2) Agustin Cardaberaz in his *Euskeraren Berri Onak* (Pamplona, 1761, and Tolosa, December 30, 1898), p. 23. *H. h. Achea letra dan, edo ez, Autoreen artean eztabaida andiac dira*. That is: There are great no-and-yessings among the authors whether the aitch is a letter or not. P. 62 . . . : *ta bear dana daquiten, edo ez, orduan, ta orrela Esaminadoreac juicioric ecin equin dezaque*. And the examiner could not possibly then and in that manner form any opinion whether they know what is needful or not.
- (3) Sebastian Mendiburu, *Jesusen Bihotzaren Devociao*, 1747 (76*a* in Vinson), p. 115, *Ez dezazula beguiratu, cere gogaracoa den, edo ez, equin bear dezun lan, edo eguitecoa*: "Do not regard whether the affair or work which you have to do is to your liking or not." Elsewhere, *Billatcen dezun, edo ez, ezagutceco*, "To ascertain whether you are seeking Him or not,"

II. Some sentences found in a Castilian book and six newspapers in that language, to show that *si*, the conditional particle equivalent to *eya*, is sometimes governed by prepositions. My argument was undertaken to prove that *eya* is ruled by the preposition *ez*. It has always seemed to me that some *phenomena* in the language of Ercilla and Cervantes are more like Basque psychologically than anything in that of Seneca or Martial. Let us see!

A. *Acerca de SI*.

- (1) *El Comercio* (Gijon, 20 Sept., 1898), "habiendose suscitado algunas dudas *acerca de si* deben pagar derecho de exportacion los bocoyes."
- (2) *La Union Vascongada* (San Sebastian, 16 Julio, 1898), "consultó anteayer con el gobernador civil *acerca de si* existe algun inconveniente."
- (3) *El Imparcial* (Madrid, 7 Nov., 1898), "*acerca de si* apoyarian una protesta."

B. *De SI*.

- (1) *El Noroeste* (Gijon, 12 Oct., 1898), "la duda *de si* habria llevado á efecto."
- (2) *El Comercio* (Gijon, 11 Oct., 1898), "Dejo á la consideracion de las personas sensatas la apreciacion *de si* esto constituia alguna *ganga*."
- (3) *El Imparcial* (Madrid, 9 Oct., 1898), "hace dudar *de si* vivimos en el siglo xix."
- (4) *El Noroeste* (Gijon, 9 Oct., 1898), "la duda indescifrable *de si* la *ganga* era perseguida por el referido señor ó se limitaba á aceptarle."
- (5) *El Imparcial* (Madrid, 24 May, 1898), "solo se trataba antes de *si* esta isla habia de ser Española."

C. *En SI*. *Cabuerniga* por Delfin Fernández y González (Santander, 1895), p. 122. "No fijarse *en si* hace frio ó calor, es lo mejor que se puede desear."

D. *Por SI*. *El Comercio* (Gijon, 9 Oct., 1898) . . . . ,  
*por si* la cree digna de otra visita,"

E. *Respecto á SI*. *El Noroeste* (Gijon, 9 Oct., 1898), "*Respecto á si* D. Aquilino Cuesta hizo ó no proposiciones al Ayuntamiento,"

F. *Sobre SI*. *La Voz de Guipuzcoa* (San Sebastian, 12 Junio, 1898), "*sobre si* podia."

G. *Entre SI*. *El Heraldo* (Madrid, 22 Julio, 1898), "entre *si* viene ó no viene." It is true that *si* in this place may be merely the superfluous affirmative, so frequent in Spanish, and not the conditional particle *if*.

Add to "other notes on Heuskara." Goyhetché, on p. 54 of his Basque version of Lafontaine's *Fabliae*, has "*Mutillaren aforia hegal berec goan çuten*" to be translated thus: "The same wings carried away the boy's supper."

*Biarritz, 6 January, 1899.*

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On p. 6, line 23, of my article of last year, for "Portalis" read "Porrallis."

III. — NOTES ON ULSTER DIALECT, CHIEFLY  
 DONEGAL. By HENRY CHICHESTER HART, B.A.,  
 M.R.I.A., etc., Carrablagh, Co. Donegal.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Philological Society, Friday, February 10, 1899.*]

IN venturing to offer the following remarks to your learned Society I must in the first place plead mercy, as I am in no sense a trained philologist. I should prefer that my collections were regarded merely as such. However, as I have unearthed some terms that seem of interest in connection with English literature, I have endeavoured to track them out to their origin, and having been for a considerable time resident in Donegal, where my family has been settled since Elizabethan times, I have had excellent opportunities of noting the peculiarities of the dialect. I have also had the benefit of very extensive assistance, chiefly from the late Canon Ross, in the neighbouring county of Derry; from Miss Galway, from her knowledge of Inishowen, co. Donegal; from Mr. Craig, formerly of co. Derry; from Mr. Charles Kelly, who has acted as schoolmaster in several Antrim districts and is a native of Fanet; and from very many other kind correspondents and friends throughout the North of Ireland, but chiefly in Donegal, Derry, and Antrim.

I have, of course, made full use of Mr. Patterson's "Antrim and Down Words," published by the English Dialect Society. At first it was my intention to collect for that Society, but I found it would be altogether premature for me to hand them my gatherings. My botanical rambles through Donegal have only recently come to a close, and while they were in full swing, for the last fifteen years, each summer added greatly to my store of folklore and word knowledge. Mr. Patterson's work is of great use, but it merely gives the words, and never attempts

an analysis; it would have been rendered more valuable if we had some clue, at least in the rarer words, to their locality. They are all labelled alike Antrim and Down, and sometimes one would like to know whether a term is metropolitan, from a city like Belfast, or thoroughly provincial from some of the Antrim glens.

In the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* there are several valuable articles relating to Antrim and Down ethnology and philology by the Rev. Canon Hume. A summary of these and a very interesting general discussion will be found in Mr. Patterson's Introduction. In fact, Antrim and Down have received a fair share of attention, and the sample I have selected for this paper consists mainly of Donegal words. So large a number of terms came to me from Antrim that were not to be found in Patterson, that I found it quite inadvisable to limit my inquiries to Donegal, the more especially as Derry, intermediate between Antrim and Donegal, had not been searched, and proved to be as interesting dialectically as either.

It may be assumed as generally true, as might be expected, that the Antrim dialect is more Scotch than that of Derry, and that as we travel westwards we lose Scotch and become more and more Irish. This is merely the result of the distribution of Scotch settlers, both those of the present and those of a former time. From the east to the west of Donegal this change is very marked. But there are always exceptions, the Scotch settlers being present in groups throughout, but diminishing in quantity rapidly westwards. Nevertheless, in some of the Antrim glens, as Glenravel, Cushendun, and Cushendall, a large vocabulary of genuine Irish words is obtainable in regular use; and very recently, at any rate, there was still a small Irish-speaking population in some of these glens, as well as in a few localities in Down and in the upper parts of Armagh. This latter county has yielded some interesting and peculiar expressions.

An English visitor to Donegal, who had no knowledge of any northern dialect, would be confronted in his intercourse with the peasantry with a considerable number of unknown words. Before he obtained these, he should have gained the confidence of his neighbours, and he should have visited places fairly apart from the town centres. Suppose he was in a semi-rural district, sufficiently well-cultivated and civilized to be awake to the ordinary usages of life, he would probably set about sorting the unknown terms with which his patience was daily



exercised. The pronunciation would give him, as a whole, but slight difficulty. Certain individuals will always be met with (especially in the neighbourhood of Londonderry) who have exaggerated and atrocious northern accents of a high-pitched and most unmusical nature, but as a rule the words are clearly pronounced and well defined. This often arises from a carefulness of speech, due to the fact that the speaker is not fully at home in the politer English he has laboured to acquire. But with intimacy this latter is soon dispensed with, and the visitor would find that those terms he is unacquainted with may be divided into three distinct groups—(1) *Scottish* (generally Lowland Scottish), (2) *Saxon*, and (3) *Irish*.

(1) The Scottish words are generally Lowland Scotch from such dialects as that of Argyll, and there is a strong admixture of terms in use in the Islands. Several bird and fish names are common to Orkney and Shetland and the Donegal coast. Highland words occur too, but the Scottish is chiefly Argyll, Lothian, Lanark, etc. These are the terms that occur more abundantly eastwards.

(2) The Saxon words are those (I mean the obsolete or provincial ones) which are the introduction of the settlers from England at various times, especially that of the Ulster Plantation in James the First's reign. Canon Hume states that many of these settlers came from Warwick, Worcester, and Gloucester shires. Many also came from Kent, Devon, and Somerset, and in my glossary there is a group of words that appear to belong to the dialect of the last-mentioned shire. When the English Dialect Dictionary is completed, not the least valuable and interesting of its uses will be the power it will give us of tracing out the parental home of rare exotic terms in such districts as outlying Donegal supplies, and identifying these with their perhaps forgotten introducers—some colonists of an earlier date. I have endeavoured to compile some such lists, but the information is at present altogether too imperfect. Words of this nature lend interest to the dialect, since it brings it into touch with English literature of some three centuries ago, and it is from this section that most of the words given below have been drawn for list A.

(3) The third group is that of purely Irish words used by English-speaking people. These are, as might be expected, much more prevalent as we travel westwards. Here the inhabitants are still in touch with an Irish-speaking population. Not only the

existing bilingual folk, but also those of the last generation, their parents and elder relatives, have all had their influence, and still have their influence, on the dialect. In most of the outlying parts of Donegal a good deal of business in the small shops is carried on entirely in the Irish language. And besides those who can readily speak the language, whether they can speak English or not, there is a large population sprinkled through the county who know a good deal of Irish without being able to converse in it freely. Amongst these words there live many of the most interesting terms to be harvested, terms relating to obsolete native customs, or to physical features of the county, or agricultural implements and uses, domestic products, folklore of the lakes or of plants or of animals, fairy or witch lore; all of these, derived from within, have handed down their native names and are known by no other. Many of these terms have become as absolutely parts of the spoken English speech as the commonest words in it. These, of course, I have included. Others which I have failed to trace in the Irish dictionaries, but appear to be Irish, are also glossed, and finally it appeared correct to make it a rule to insert in my glossary every word used by an English-speaking person in these counties which would need explanation to an outsider. It is perhaps chiefly in the names of natural objects, especially fishes and plants, that these Irish words come in, and I have therefore made a separate list of some of the more remarkable of these, extracted from my glossary. Some of the terms relating to obsolete beliefs or customs are perhaps more interesting, since these words are themselves obsolescent, whereas those terms relating to permanent objects, such as plant-names, will survive while the language does, amongst the Irish.

I have selected the words for my examples from the letter *s*. For so doing I had no reason except that it gave me a limit, and also a simple one, to confine myself to a letter. And *s* is by far the biggest one, occupying probably a tenth of the whole dictionary. From this letter I formed two lists, one (A) containing words illustrative of English literature, or words whose philology appeared interesting or remarkable, or rare words needing an explanation. These are chiefly words of Saxon origin. My second list (B) contains words relating to natural objects, chiefly plants and animals, the latter mostly fishes. Neither of these lists in the least exhaust the letter *s* in their respective lines, so that it will be seen the amount of material is by no means scanty.

With regard to the letter *s* itself, a few remarks on pronunciation may be made here. In so wide a district as Ulster we have indeed every shade of pronunciation from either broad or lowland Scotch to the more modulated and musical accents of the west of Ireland. In South-West Donegal the Mayo accent is often closely approached, but one never hears the sing-song from high to low, from low to high, that begins in Galway and reaches perfection in Kerry. Nor is there in Donegal any such sweetly pitched vocalization as obtains in Limerick and Cork. But there are many peculiarities, often of a very local character. Generally I have noted these as far as possible at the letter involved. They are often due to the endeavour to assimilate pronunciation of English speech to that which obtains in Irish.

The addition of *s* is not rare at the beginning of a word. Instances are *strel*, trail; *squitch*, quitch (couch-grass); *squench*, quench; *squinancy*, quinsy; *scrawl*, crawl; *scrunch*, crunch; *slunge*, lounge; *snick*, nick; and others. *s* before *cr* interchanges with *shr*. *Scroggy* and *scrubby* are also *shroggy* and *shrubby*. *s* before *t* in the middle of a word becomes aspirated, as in *mashter*, *mishtress*, and sometimes doubly so, as in *shthroke*, the following *tr* being aspirated as well. *s* before *tew* becomes *sk*. This peculiarity belongs to Glen Alla. *Steward* becomes *skeward*, *stew* becomes *skew*; *skewed beef* and *land skeward* sound very odd, and I should like to learn the origin of this pronunciation. It is not confined to Glen Alla (co. Donegal). I have heard a Cavan man say *skeward* for *steward*, and it is especially rife in Armagh, where it goes much further, and applies to words with 'tew' sound extensively. So it does also at Glen Alla, for I heard a man speak of the 'wee *cube* (tube) in a cow's diddy.' But in Armagh they speak of *kune* for *tune*, *kutor* for *tutor*. The idiosyncrasy belongs to the letter *t*, or rather *q*. The Irish have no letter *q*, so it can scarcely arise from their speech, and therefore it may be Scotch.

I made a list of common English words at Glen Alla, where the dialect is very marked, and append them here, the first column being the ordinary English word, the second the sound of it obtained at Glen Alla:—

answer	<i>ansther.</i>	bread	<i>breed.</i>
ball	<i>ba.</i>	behind	<i>behin.</i>
breast	<i>breest.</i>	back	<i>baak.</i>



child	<i>shild.</i>	might	<i>mihght.</i>
clothes	<i>claes.</i>	myself	<i>mysell.</i>
cloth	<i>clathe.</i>	more	<i>mair.</i>
chair	<i>chire.</i>	make	<i>mak.</i>
churn	<i>shurn.</i>	now	<i>noo.</i>
cow	<i>coo.</i>	night	<i>nihght.</i>
dead	<i>deed.</i>	none	<i>nane.</i>
down	<i>doon.</i>	no	<i>na.</i>
door	<i>dor.</i>	one	<i>ane.</i>
do	<i>de.</i>	out	<i>oot.</i>
duck	<i>dhuck.</i>	over	<i>ower.</i>
eight	<i>ehght.</i>	pay	<i>pie.</i>
fall	<i>fa.</i>	right	<i>rihght.</i>
floor	<i>fleer.</i>	sweat	<i>sweet.</i>
from	<i>froe.</i>	stool	<i>steel.</i>
fight	<i>fehght.</i>	stones	<i>stains.</i>
foot	<i>fit.</i>	straw	<i>stray.</i>
give	<i>gie.</i>	two	<i>twa.</i>
grow	(as cow).	town	<i>toon.</i>
ground	<i>grun.</i>	toe	<i>tow (cow).</i>
head	<i>heed.</i>	to	<i>te.</i>
hay	<i>hie.</i>	well	<i>waal.</i>
have	<i>hae.</i>	whiskey	<i>whuskey.</i>
house	<i>hoose.</i>	who	<i>wha.</i>
harm	<i>hirm.</i>	wall	<i>wa.</i>
hot	<i>het.</i>	will	<i>weel.</i>
lead (metal)	<i>leed.</i>		

In this Glen Alla list it will be seen there is a considerable element of Scottish pronunciation. It is, however, a softer dialect with more aspirations. The Fanet dialect, whence a large proportion of my words come (and where I reside), is much more Irish. Fanet is a considerable peninsula of perhaps a hundred square miles, lying between the sea-loughs Mulroy and Lough Swilly. Glen Alla is a small circular valley lying south of Fanet, a few miles west of Lough Swilly, in the mountains. It is so thoroughly self-contained and apart from the neighbouring townlands, surrounded as it is by mountain bogs, that it contains a very isolated community, which preserves many peculiarities of speech and custom. That it is Scotch, or has been peopled by



Scotch, to a certain extent, is evidenced by the names of some of its inhabitants. Such names as Wallace, Cathcart, McCart are intermixed with the regular Donegal names. The latter occur in this county in the following order of abundance: Gallagher, Doherty, Boyle, O'Donnell, McLaughlin, Sweeney, Ward, Kelly, McGuilly, McFadden, McGowan, Duffy, Campbell, the first on this list being seven times as strong (196 births in 1890) as the last (28). The geographical distribution of family names in connection with dialect throughout the county is a study in itself, and has been dealt with in the north-east by several writers, the results of which will be found in Mr. Patterson's Introduction already referred to.

Those of the inhabitants who speak a composite dialect, supplemented by words from the Irish to express things for which they know no English, are always glad to obtain an English equivalent. Somehow or other, although quite capable of doing so, they rarely think of translating the Irish name. I have noticed this in plant names: *slanlis* or *lusmore*, heathy plant (plantain), great herb, *Digitalis* (foxglove) or loose strife, for example, are never rendered by English equivalents in South-West Donegal. *Lus a cri* (*Prunella*) is, however, often given 'heart's-ease,' which must be a direct translation, as it is not the English name. This is an exception, and probably arose from the existence of the other name being in use.

This remark, however, does not apply to surnames. Very remarkable and confusing results arise from the habit of the people in giving Irish equivalents to English proper names, and still more so in the reverse process. The valuable lists published by the Registrar-General, and compiled by Mr. Matheson from the census returns, afford many instances of these duplicated names. In one particular these lists are, from the nature of the case, often unavailing for research. They hardly deal with unique or very rare names which may, in ethnological questions, be of the greatest interest.

I have gathered a number of variants of proper names and Christian names (as well as 'by-names') in Donegal and elsewhere, which have not found their way into Mr. Matheson's lists. I proceed to extract a few:—

CHRISTIAN NAMES.

*Dominick*, contract to *Doolty* or *Dolty* }  
*Marcus*, „ „ *Maudy* } Fanet.

*Offric* and *Arrigle* (oraculum) are Christian names in Donegal. The former is also Manx.

*Jeremiah* has Irish equivalent *Diarmid* or *Darby*; *James* is *Shames*; *John* is *Shan*; *Hugh*, *Hudie*; *Alexander*, *Aughry*. These are Donegal, but *Aughry* in Tyrone stands for *Zechariah*. *Eugene*, *Owen*; *Madge*, *Maiwa*; *Edward*, *Aymon*; *Sophia*, *Sthawa* or *Thawa*; *Daniel*, *Donnell*; *Cecilia*, *Giley*; *Theophilus*, *Teddy*; *Thaddeus*, *Thady*. All these are Donegal, either Fanet or Inishowen. The two last are from Irish *Tadhg* or *Teig* or *Thady*, a poet, which gives rise also to *Teague*, a name not now in use, but formerly a sobriquet (like the modern Paddy) for an Irishman.

SURNAMES.

Arbuthnot, <i>Buttonit</i> (Glen Alla).	McGrory, <i>Rogers</i> (Antrim).
Archdale, <i>Ardle</i> (Pettigo).	McDowell, <i>Madoll</i> (Fanet).
Alexander, <i>Elshender</i> (Lima- vady).	McGregor, <i>Greer</i> (Glen Alla).
Adair, <i>Deery</i> (Derry).	McGettigan, <i>Magitherum</i> (Fanet).
Brereton, <i>Brooarton</i> (Glen Alla).	McHugh, <i>Hewson</i> (Ardara, Donegal).
Bothwell, <i>Bodley</i> (Armagh).	McFadden, <i>Patterson</i> , <i>Padden</i> , <i>Fadden</i> (Ardara, Donegal).
Bralliaghan, <i>Burlaghan</i> (Inish- owen); <i>Bradley</i> (Fanet).	McLoon, <i>Nunday</i> , <i>Nundy</i> (Donegal, Broom Hall).
Cathcart, <i>Kincart</i> (Glen Alla).	Malley, <i>Melia</i> (Fanet).
Cunningham, <i>Kimnies</i> and <i>Kimmegam</i> (Glen Alla).	Musgrave, <i>Mooshlin</i> (Bally- shannon).
Duffy, <i>Dooley</i> (Glen Alla and Ballyshannon).	Sheridan, <i>Sherran</i> (Buncrana, Donegal).
Falknier, <i>Foghender</i> (Derry).	Prendergast, <i>Pender</i> (Fanet).
Frizell, <i>Frazier</i> (Glen Alla).	Stevenson, <i>Steenson</i> (Fanet).
Freel, <i>Ferghal</i> (Fanet).	Tod, <i>Fox</i> (trans.) (Inishowen).
Gibbons, <i>Gobain</i> (Fanet).	Whorriskey (= 'cold water'), <i>Caldwell</i> (Inishowen); <i>Lough</i> , <i>Watters</i> (Ardara); <i>Pond</i> (Fanet).
McGrann, <i>Grant</i> (Fanet).	
McKenna, <i>Kane</i> (Tyrone).	
McGlashan, <i>Green</i> (Donegal).	
McIntyre, <i>Macateer</i> (Fanet).	
McShane, <i>Johnson</i> (Donegal).	

## BY-NAMES ('NICKNAMES').

These are very popular and prevalent in the north, no doubt from their former necessity, owing to the prevalence of certain powerful clan names, as a means of distinction. Every sort of characteristic, as place of residence, physical peculiarity or deformity, accident or event in life, trade, etc., is made use of. 'Sally Look-up' had a squint; 'Kitty Bwee' was yellow-skinned; 'Paddy Polite' with polished manners; 'Susey Fluke' the fishwoman: these lived about Moville in Donegal, and few knew if they had any other names. In Fanet 'James Culliagh' was the son of a famous *culliagh* or cockfighter. His name Gallagher is of no use to identify him. It is a very common name in Fanet. Another goes by the name of 'Bowers' for the sole reason he used to have a friend with him of that name. This has descended to his son. Other Gallaghers in Fanet who live on a low-lying farm are known as the 'Lowlys.' In Tyrone the name McKenna is very abundant about Aughnacloy and Favour Royal. They are distinguished by such names as Varney, Feddler, Kane, Shinone (Shan Owen), Tole, Ardle, Owenroe. Often the origin is forgotten. It is sometimes the name of his wife or his mother tacked on. In Inishtrahull, the most northern Irish land, an island with some twenty families, the name Gallagher is almost universal. They adopt three generations of Christian names. Thus Pat-Micky-John is Pat, son of Micky, son of John; Con-Dan-Owen—Con, son of Dan, son of Owen. This method is in use also in Fanet. Common Irish adjectives as *oge* (young), *beg* (little), and *more* (big), etc., are very much used in this connection.

Two departments which have yielded very interesting results are those of folklore in every branch, and phrases or sayings of a proverbial character. These hardly fall within the scope of the present survey, although both introduce many linguistic peculiarities. In the former, Donegal is very luxuriant. Witchlore; fairy-lore; cures and charms; weather lore, and that belonging to special days, festivals, and seasons; old customs; births, marriages, and deaths; legendary lore, and that pertaining to antiquities, monuments, and saints; games; animal and plant lore—all of these have given separable groups of results. In phrases such as similes and sarcastic personalities, Ulster is extremely rich. The people are ready-witted and humorous, with a keen sense of the ludicrous, and my collection of sayings



contains many of much pith and pregnancy. Many old proverbs turn up in the mouths of the people, and a list of 600 Gaelic proverbs collected in Ulster by Mr. Macadam (published in *Ulster Journal*) has been referred to in classifying them. But the sayings that are of the most interest in my mind are those in current use in the English language, which form a very unique collection. Many hundreds of those I have gathered seem to me to be purely a native product, occurring neither in Scotland, England, Irish, or early literature. These are most racy of the soil, and I hope ere long to have them alphabetically arranged and published. Often they preserve the record of obsolete words or customs. With these few, and I fear very superficial remarks, and the accompanying examples of local words, I conclude, and hope they may arouse some interest in my labours which may enable me to bring my full results before the public.

## A.

*Sag*. To droop, to be depressed. "I'm fairly *sagged* wi' the rheumatism": "I'm bent double." Glen Alla, co. Donegal. In Dublin this word is used in the sense of 'settling' of walls or timber when they begin to bend—a builder's term. Seems to be closely connected with *swag*, also an architectural term, Swedish *sviga*, 'to give way,' 'bend.' The word is used metaphorically in "Macbeth," v, iii, 10, "The heart I bear shall never *sag* with doubt," and other Elizabethan instances are given by Nares. It is found chiefly in Northern dialects, as in the Cleveland Glossary. It is used (of timber) in Peacock's Manley and Corringham (Lincoln) Glossary. In Jamieson, "sag, to press down, *Lanarks*" is exactly equivalent to the Glen Alla use, but the reference to *Prompt. Parv.*, "saggyn or satlyn, *Basso*" (i.e. segging or saddling?), is incorrect.

The root *sag*, 'to cut,' gives another provincialism, *saggon*, a name throughout Ulster for the yellow iris, which is derived (as *sedge*) from the cutting-edged leaf of such plants. So it would appear from Skeat's article *sedge*. However, the fact that the same plant is called also *flaggan*, from the 'drooping' or 'flagging' habit of its leaves, makes me strongly inclined to derive *saggon* from the above sense of *sag*.

*Sang*, *sannies*, *sam*, *sonties*, *song*, *sowkins*. All these forms are used as a sort of mild or softened oath, as "Be me sowkins!";



“Upon my sam!”; “By my song!” Carleton often introduces them (Tyrone). I believe they are all corruptions of ‘sanctity,’ or Irish ‘sanct,’ *holy*. Possibly ‘sowl’ (soul) has assisted.

*Sannel, sandle.* An icicle. I received this term from Glenravel, co. Antrim. No doubt from the Irish *siocamhine*, ‘frosty,’ O’Reilly. Another term for icicles is ‘frozen staples,’ in Antrim, from the same district; and a third, used in Antrim and Donegal, is *shuttle*.

*Saven’dible, seven’dable.* Unmistakeable, pronounced, remarkable. “A savendible lie,” “he gave him the father of a savendible thrashing,” “a savendible skelp, cough, etc.,” or “I’ll fix that in a savendible way,” or “I’ll make a savendible job of it.” These expressions may be heard in Derry, Tyrone, or Donegal. The last example comes nearest the original sense, which is from the Latin “*solvendo esse . . . solvent*” (N. Bailey). Jamieson has “*solvendie* (1) solvent . . . (2) worthy of trust, to be depended on, *Aberdeen*; changed to *sevendle* or *sevennel*, *Roxboro*, (3) Firm, strong.” Perhaps the increased syllable arose from a resemblance to *vendible*, i.e. ‘saleable,’ ‘good.’ I have often heard derivations for this term, but never the correct one, in the North of Ireland, which is undoubtedly as above. ‘Seven double’ and ‘seven devils’ are favourite suggestions. Accent will dispose of these at once, since it is invariably on the second syllable in *saven’dible*.

*Sca, sga.* Scum of dirt. Fanet, co. Donegal. ? Ir. *sgamall*, ‘scum.’ O’Reilly.

*Scabbling* or *scaveling hammer.* A heavy hammer, or small sledge for chipping stones. Derry and north-east. Halliwell has “*Scablines*, chips of stones.” Perhaps a frequentation of *scab*, the surface covering.

*Scale.* To scatter, disperse. To spread, distribute. Used somewhat widely, as ‘the meetin’s scaled’; ‘to scale manure’; ‘to scale a drink’ (stand a round): “I got none of that scale, though I scaled it mesell” (“I got none of that round of drink, though I stood it”). A ‘scale of drink’ is a round of drink. These expressions are from about Ray, Milford, and Glen Alla, co. Donegal. The word is in use in various parts of Derry (Dungiven, etc.). It is used by early writers—

“The huyg heaps of cares that lodged in my mind

Are *scaled* from their nestling place, and pleasures passage find.”

PEELE: *Sir Clyomon* (Routledge ed., 1874, p. 513), 1599.

“ . . . . fly or die, like *scaled* sculls (shoals)  
Before the belching whale.”

SHAKES.: *Tr. and Cress.*, V, v, 22.

The Quarto reads *sealing*. This is a suggestion, as the meaning is usually taken as *scaly*. I see no reason why Shakespeare should be forbidden the use of *scale*. See commentator's notes on “*Coriolanus*,” i, 1, and especially Steevens, whose illustrations are appropriate. The question is capable of discussion at length. Nares is far astray; Halliwell most dogmatic. Who ever heard of “a *scaled* (weighed) pottle of wine”? It is ‘dispersed,’ ‘distributed’ in Dekker’s “*Honest Whore*.” Dekker uses it a second time, “a little *scaled* (scattered) hair.” Strattmann has “*Schailin*, *scheilin*, v.; cf. Swed. *skiäla* (go to pieces): disperse, break up,” with Mid.-Eng. references, also *scalen*. *Scale* is twice used by Hollinshed of troops dispersing, therefore Shakespeare knew the word. It is in frequent use in Donegal. It is also Irish “*Scarlim*, I loose, untie, scatter, disperse,” O’Reilly.

*Scantling*. This word has varied application. A make, kind, breed, or build of anything. A sample or pattern. “A sheep of that *scantling*,” i.e. of that breed, Donegal. In “*Survey of Derry*,” p. 189, “we have also a hinge or falling harrow of lighter *scantling*.” In another sense it is applied to “the darker tint or paint put on wood before the last oaken finish.” This last is a Derry tradesman’s word, pronounced *scanlin* or *sconlin*, but it is probably the same, signifying a sample of the final colour. Wood (or iron) cut to special sizes for a carpenter’s use is a *scantling*. A measurement of wood or iron. “What *scantling* of iron will you put in that gate?” In this latter sense the word is of wider use throughout Ulster. The word is identical with *cantle*, or corner, O. Fr. “*eschantillon*, a small cantle, etc., a *scantling*, pattern or sample of merchandize,” Cotgrave. Shakespeare uses it in “*Troilus and Cressida*,” i, 3: “For the success, although particular, shall give a *scantling* of good or bad unto the general.” An example. This is the widest sense. Brome speaks of a “*scantling* of child-getting,” *Antipodes*, v, 2. Dekker (“*Whore of Babylon*”) uses the word as ‘sample.’ Bacon in his *Essay of Honour and Reputation* has it also.

*Scouth*, *skouth*. Extent of pasture land. Extent, space, or liberty of grazing. A particular sense of the wider “*scouth*, liberty to range, freedom to converse, room, abundance,” Jamieson.

Compare Irish "*scoth*. The choice or best part of anything . . . . adj. chosen, selected?" Under this word Halliwell quotes "And he get *scouth* to wield his tree, I fear you'll both be paid" (Robin Hood, i, 105). He leaves the meaning blank. No doubt it means 'room.' See also an unexplained quotation from Digby Mysteries in v. *skowte*, Halliwell: "With me ye xall ron in a rowte, My consell to take for a *skowte*," i.e. for a space. The above use is from Fanet, co. Donegal.

*Scranning*. Barely able to move or go. "I'm just *scrannin'* along"; after a severe illness. Fanet, co. Donegal. Seems to be an unusual word. Jamieson has "scran, apparently used in the sense of ability, or means for affecting any purpose."

*Sera, sera!* A call to sheep. Fanet, co. Donegal. The calls to animals form a small glossary in themselves. I have compiled a careful list.

*She*. The pronoun obtains some odd uses. 'She' and 'her' are used for 'I' and 'mine' in places (like Ballywhooriskey and Glenvar in Fanet) where there is little English known to the elderly folk. "Thon's her boat, she was not fushin the' day" (That's my boat, I'm not fishing to-day). Readers of Sir W. Scott will be familiar with this form. 'She' also represents 'he,' 'she,' or 'it.' I asked a Fanet man "How old is that bull?" "She's two year old, but she's not bullin' any yet, damn her." This is an Irish bull and no mistake.

*Shill-corn*. I only guess at the spelling as I heard the word at Glen Alla (co. Donegal). A bad pimple or spot on the face, as a grog-blossom. Jamieson has "*shilfcorn*, *selkhorn*, a thing which breeds in the skin, resembling a small maggot." Under *selcht* Jamieson has "sealch, a *shillcorn*, a small bunyion," Gall. Encycl. Halliwell quotes from "Two Lancashire Lovers," 1640, p. 19, "And I will look babbies in your eyes and picke *silly cornes* out of your toes." I cannot trace the word any farther.

*Shingles*. A kind of Herpes. An eruptive disease which spreads round the body like a girdle (*cingulum*, whence the name). It is believed to kill the patient if it meets right round. The cure for it is "A drop of blood from the left hind foot of a black cat." This I quote to show the conservatism of beliefs among the peasantry, which is indeed illimitable, save by the school-master. In Bullokar's Expositor, 1641, *shingles* is explained: "A disease about the breast, belly or back, wherein the place affected looketh red, increasing circle-wise more and more. *It is*



*chiefly cured with cat's blood: or if it goeth round the body it killeth.*"  
Fanet, co. Donegal.

*Shire.* Properly to clear or part two fluids of unequal consistency by pouring off. Halliwell gives "to pour off a liquor so as to leave the sediment, North." But the word has come to have some very wide and interesting metaphorical senses in Donegal (Fanet, Inishowen, Glen Alla). "It's *shayred* mostly off," said of the snow 'thowing' (thawing) from the hilltops. "*Shairing* it off" is pouring off one thing from another, like whey from buttermilk. "They've come from drinking and they've no *shired* it yet" (not sober, Glen Alla). "I'm going out now to *shire* my head," get a blowing to clear away the cobwebs. The general sense is that of clearing something by separation. This is the old signification. "*Schyre*, as water and other lycure, *Perspicuus, clarus*," Prompt. Parv. Jamieson has "*schire*, to pour off the thinner or lighter part of any liquor, *Lothian*." I do not know if "*shire*, thin, scanty, of crops" in the Shropshire Glossary, and "*shyre*, not thyeckce, *delie*" in Palsgrave, is the same word or not. This latter word is used in the north-east of Ireland (Patterson, Antrim and Down Gloss.) in the form of *shired* or *shirey*, and applied to the thin or worn part of a garment, or of a loosely knitted or woven article, as well as to the thin part of a crop.

*Shuggy shoo, shuggety shoo.* The well-known child's play, known also in the north of Ireland as *Weigh-de-te-bucketty, Copple-thurrish* (horse and pig), *Balance the Bank*, consisting of children at either end of a plank balanced in the middle. In "Rabelais," l. 22, Urquhart translates "jouer à la brandelle . . . . To play at the swaggie waggie, or *shuggie shu*." Compare "*shig shog*, to rock or vibrate," Holderness Glossary, E. Dial. Soc., 1877.

*Shuttle.* (1) An icicle or sheet of ice on the road (Antrim and Donegal). Halliwell has "*shuttle*, slippery, sliding, *West*." An old word *shittle* is probably the same, generally used figuratively as "a lyer must have no *shittle* memory," Nashe, Pasquill's England, Grosart's edition, i, 137, 1589. Jamieson has "*shuttle o' ice* . . . . The Scotch glacier," *Gall. Encyclop.*, but this is to me an enigma. Perhaps a Scotch witticism is buried under the ice. (2) A tangle or matted wisp. A gardener in Fanet said, "There's a great *shuttle* (or *shettle*) of this here . . . . it's in a regular *shettle*," speaking of the roots of a plant interlaced along the surface of the ground. This word is probably that of *Prompt. Parv.*, p. 365; "ondoyng of *schettellys*



or *sperellys*, *aspercio*” (*sperel*, of a boke, *offendix*, *ibid.*). It means a knot, or tangle of knots, apparently the gardener’s sense above. Strattmann, however, renders the word *schettel*, a bolt, which is less agreeable.

*Sie, si.* A dressmaker’s term for the part of the dress between the armpit and chest. This word is given in Patterson’s “Antrim and Down Words.” It is also in use in Derry. Jamieson has *sie* in a similar sense: “a piece of tarred cloth between the overlaps of a clinker-built boat (Shetland).” [It is noteworthy how many Orkney and Shetland words occur on the north coast of Ireland.] Something stretched or capable of being stretched taut seems to be the sense. Halliwell has the word *sie*, to pull, stretch (Yorkshire). In this connection *sigh* (straining across the chest) may not be too fanciful a suggestion. The word *sigh*, to strain milk, in use in Shropshire (Miss Jackson), is probably the same, where the material for the purpose is *sied* on the strainer.

*Siege.* An attack of illness. An epidemic. A man, or a family, or a whole countryside has ‘a *siege*, or a great *siege* of a sickness,’ in Fanet (Donegal).

*Skew, skeward*, for *stew, steward*. Glen Alla, co. Donegal; Armagh. See introductory remarks on the pronunciation of the letter *s*. This occurs in some parts of Cavan and Armagh also.

*Skreeghin’ willias.* Places where unbaptized or stillborn infants are buried. I know of several of these in Fanet. Called also *caluragh* and *killeen*, but the latter is not a Donegal name, as far as I know, being more southern. From *ulla*, a burying-place, Irish. “The wailing burying-places.”

*Slat a righ.* Orion’s Belt. Fanet, co. Donegal. Literally *king’s rod*. *Tailor’s yard* is a more commonplace name for the same constellation in Inishowen.

*Slay, slea.* An instrument forming part of the old weaver’s loom: *Ulster Journal*, v, 105, 180. *Slay-hook* is defined by Patterson (“Antrim and Down Words”), “a small implement used by weavers”; and, *Ulster Journal*, v, 105, 180, “an instrument by which the threads are drawn through the reed in weaving.” Patterson further gives “*slay-hook*, a dried herring, from its resemblance in shape to the above.” *Slay* is defined by Halliwell as “anything that moves on a pivot, as the part of the loom that is pulled by the hand among the threads, *Northern*.” “*Slay*, Webstarys loom” is in *Prompt. Parv.* And I find the word in Skelton;

“ To wene in the stoule sume were full preste,  
With *slaiis*, with tavellis, with hedellis well drest.”

*Garlande of Laurell*, l. 790, circa 1520.

*Sleshins*. Cessation. “ She suffered pain day and night without *sleshins*,” Inishowen, co. Donegal. Halliwell has “ *sletch*, to cease, to stop. *I. of Wight*.” I suppose it is this word. Ceasing (cessation) is too commonly used a word to undergo such a corruption. *Sletch* in this sense seems to be rare. Its being of southern dialect is not a difficulty. There are many Devonshire and Somerset words in use in Donegal and Derry no doubt derived from the settlers from those counties.

*Slough* (as in *lough*). A sort of petticoat. A mermaid that was seen near Carrablagh (in Fanet) had “ a kind of a *slough* on her from her waist down.” Jamieson has “ *slough* (guttural), a husk, a petticoat . . . . in N. of England it is pronounced *sluff*.” The same word as the *sluff* of a snake. The guttural or hard pronunciation of such words is an uncertain quantity, as in *dough*, *rough*, *tough* (old writers).

*Soil*. Green food. Derry. “ I’ll gie the meer (mare) a pickle o’ *soil*,” i.e. I’ll give her a bunch of clover. This is the word in Lear, “ soiled horse.” See Halliwell, who quotes a long passage from Topsell, 1607. A good instance occurs in Florio’s Montaigne, valuable as being in a book well known to Shakespeare and antedating Lear: “ I have put forth an old stalion to *soil*,” Book ii, ch. xv. It is a rare word in old writers, and this instance has not been adduced by the commentators.

*Soom*. The air-bladder of a fish (Fanet). Probably from *soom*, a form of ‘ swim ’ (swim-bladder) which is in use in Fanet.

*Sorey* (as gory). A chesnut horse or mare (Fanet). A sorrel horse. “ She was of a burnt *sorrel* hue with a little mixture of dapple gray spots, but afore all she had a horrible tail,” Urquhart’s “ Rabelais,” l. 16.

*Spag*. A purse (Fanet). The Irish word for purse is commonly *sparan*, but Foley gives also *spaga*, which seems to be a rare word.

*Spair*, *spare*. The opening in front of a man’s trousers (Derry). “ Button your *spare*.” Compare parallel *placket*. Jamieson has the word. “ *Speyr*, of a garment (speyer of a clothe), *Cluniculum* . . . . *marrubium*,” Prompt. Parv., and see Way’s excellent note. Skelton uses the word referring to the front of a lady’s dress :

“ My bird so fayre  
 That was wont to repayre  
 And go in at my spayre  
 And creepe in at my gore.”—*Phylip Sparrow.*

This word has synonyms in the North, *fly*, *bunt*, *stable-door*.

*Spark.* To faint, especially to become in a fainting condition after a paroxysm of coughing or choking. Derry. Patterson has the word. “I was liken to *spark* to death.” A Derry woman said to me: “The wean had a pain, and I took a spoonful of salt and water and just teemed it intil her till it got black in the face and we thought it was going to *spark*.” I cannot trace the word.

*Spen*, *spend*. To wean. Often spelt (as in Patterson) *spain*. In Fanet distinctly *spen*, and ‘a child spent’ is a weaned child. *Spend*, to wean, is also used in Fanet. Seems to be rare in literature. “Spannyn, or wene chylder, *ablacto*, *elacto*,” Pr. Parv. Strattmann has “*spanin*, O.E. wean,” with references. An interesting survival.

*Spink.* A steep or overhanging bank, bluff, or cliff. A characteristic word along the Donegal coast used as above by the natives, and occurring also in place-names. Joyce has hardly the right signification. I have heard the word also in Ballynascreen (co. Derry) and Clogher Valley (co. Tyrone). It is used also at Cushendun (co. Antrim) of sea cliffs. Very little used except in the north. “Spinks and hagotty bluffs,” Gweebarra, co. Donegal. In the supplement to O’Reilly’s Dictionary by O’Donovan is “*splinc*, a point of rock or an overhanging cliff . . . . Clare. *Speillic* . . . . Louth; *spinc* in the county of Donegal.”

*Stag*, *stack*. A pointed rock (Donegal, etc.). Identical in use with *stook* (Ir. *stuaic*). Both words apply also to a ‘cock’ of hay or straw. Ir. *stacadh*, often stag, as ‘*stags* of Aran,’ ‘*stags* of Broadhaven.’

*Stake and rice.* North-east Ireland and Derry, etc. “Stakes driven into the ground and thin boughs nailed across,” Jamieson. Interesting since it preserves the old word A.S. *hris*, a branch, common in early poetry. The word itself, ‘a small branch of a tree, a twig,’ is given by Patterson. “Whyt as the blossom up-on the rys,” *Rom. of Rose*.

*Star of Bethlehem.* Applied to two wild flowers in Donegal, the larger stitchwort, *Stellaria Holostea* (Rathmullan), and the wood anemone (Glen Alla). The former is in use in some parts of



Scotland and England. "Bunches of Star of Bethlehem (wood anemone) are tied to a pole and left outside the door on May Eve for the Beltany; the Mayflower (*Caltha palustris*) is used for this also, but it is not easy to get." Glen Alla.

*Steep-grass*. Bog-violet, butterwort, *Pinguicula vulgaris*. Patterson, "Antrim and Down Words." The name is also given in "Flora Belfastiensis." This plant has the property of curdling milk along with rennet. *Steeped milk* is a term for curdled milk, or curds and whey, in N.E. Ireland. "In Lancashire and Cheshire the rennet with which cheese is made is called *steep*, because a portion of rennet is *steeped*, i.e. soaked, in warm water before being used; and about Belfast milk, when curdled by rennet, is said to be *steeped*, curds and whey being known as *steeped milk*." (Britten & Holland, "Plant Names," in v. *steep grass*.) The property of *Pinguicula* is identical with that of pepsine in the stomach, and it is its presence that enables this carnivorous species to digest insects captured by a glutinous secretion upon the leaves. It has been known to the Laplanders from time immemorial, and enables them to form a favourite dish, *Tat*, or *sat-miolk*, mentioned by Linnaeus a hundred and fifty years ago. See Kerner's "Nat. Hist. of Plants," i, 143 (London, 1894). Threlkeld calls this plant 'Yorkshire sanicle,' and adds, "it is pernicious to sheep, for it rots them." This is the plant, probably, that is meant under 'Sinicles' in Britten & Holland, which the authors cannot determine.

*Stray-by-the-lough*. A plant growing by a lake-side. I asked a Clonmany man (Inishowen) what name he had for the handsome purple loose-strife (*Lythrum Salicaria*). He said: "That's a *stray-by-the-lough*; although there's no lough, it's a bit from it." This interested me, because on another occasion, years ago, the name *Lough shule* (wanderer or vagrant) was given to me for a wholly different species (*Polygala vulgaris*) on the edge of a lake in S.W. Donegal. The two confirm one another, and also testify to the chance-medley of local plant-names, when one is needed in a hurry.

*Steer*. Rudder. Carrick and Pettigo, co. Donegal. Seems to be an uncommon word. It occurs, however, in early writers. Webster has it 'obsolete.' Halliwell, Nares, and Jamieson are silent. Skeat mentions it as obsolete, but refers to Chaucer (Cant. Tales) in two places. It occurs in Harington's "Orlando Furioso" (xviii, 66, ed. 1634), 1591: "The other mariners upon



the Decke, 'Or at the *Steere*, the coming waves do shunne"; and again, "steerless boat," xxxvi, 59. Possibly, however, taken direct from the Irish *stiur*, helm, rudder. But the pronunciation is distinctly *steer* amongst the Carrick boatmen. The handle of a plough is called in Derry the *steer-tree*, or *stilts*: "Our farmers temper the plough by driving wedges in the mortice which receives the beam in the steer-tree; this mortice they call the gluts" ("Survey of Derry," p. 185). This last process is known as "tempering the gluts."

*Stepmother's breath*. Said of a cutting north wind in winter. Glen Alla, co. Donegal. In Dublin 'stepfather's' or 'stepmother's bit' is used of a very niggardly person. There is a chorus of clamour against stepmothers in literature. I have not seen a survey of these, and adduce a few. "Most of them do but weep over their *stepmother's graves*. *Fran.* How mean you? *Flam.* Why, they dissemble" (Webster, "White Devil," 1612); "As a *stepmother* envious" ("Rom. of Rose"); "Cynthia (qu. Eliz.) is no *stepmother* to strangers" (Lyly, "Endymion," v, 3, 1591). And see Arber's "English Garner," vii, 229; Beaumont & Fletcher's "Spanish Curate," iv, 4; Ben Jonson's Works; Cunningham's "Gifford," iii, 497; Middleton, "Angling for a Quiet Life," i, 1, etc. See also Halliwell, 'stepmother.' Middleton uses 'mother-in-law' as synonymous.

*Stir*. In expressions 'up a stir' and 'down a stir' the sense is 'up a little' and 'down a little.' These words are run together to form one word, 'uppester,' 'downester,' in several parts of Derry. The Bishop of Derry (now Primate) used to call them 'comparatives.' The explanation here is that of the late Canon Ross, who contributes largely to my Glossary. They are odd expressions: "Where does so and so live, near this?" "He's *downester* by," i.e. he lives down a little near. 'It may be suggested these terms are variants of 'upstairs' and 'downstairs.'

*Stocks*. A primitive kind of tuck-mill. The door and boards for thickening flannel. A door laid flat with an upright board fixed on each side. Two men sit, one at each end, and put the flannel between their pairs of feet, and thump it from one to the other. The flannel is soaked in suds and hot water, and kicked for a minute or so, and then more suds are put in. A roll is done in a couple of hours. Still (1890) in use in Fanet, but rarely.

“Cloth that cometh fro the weuying is nought comly to were  
Tyl it is fulled *under foote*, or in *fullyng stokks*,  
Wasshen well with water.”

*Piers Plowman* (c. 1370), Skeat's ed., i, p. 445 (note 2, p. 229).

A similar process is described in Martin's "Western Isles" at *Harris*, for "thickening cloth," p. 57, ed. 1703.

*Stroan, strone, srone.* (1) A diminutive stream, a jet or rivulet. Said of a cow with an imperfect teat, "the milk comes in wee stroans." Derry (Canon Ross). Jamieson has "*Stroan*, to spout forth as a water-pipe," with another derivative sense, but denoting also a *plentiful* flow, and differing from the Irish use. Irish *sroth*, 'a stream, brook, rivulet'; *sruam*, 'a stream.' *Sruaim*, 'stream,' occurs in Cormac's Glossary, p. 153, ed. Stokes. (2) A triangular oaten cake. It was an old custom to bake a large *strone* on the Saturday before Easter, with sometimes a ring in it indicative of the marriage of the lucky finder. Derry (Canon Ross). Irish "*Sruan*, a kind of triangular frame on which bread is set to bake before the fire." O'Reilly. In *Ulster Journal*, vi, 102: "It was the custom early in this century in Derry in some families for the cook on *Halloween* to bake a three-cornered cake of oaten meal, with a hole in the middle, by which it was strung round the neck. This was called a *stroan*." (3) "A measure, namely, a gallon and a half of oaten flour made of burnt oats and a quirren (Ir. *cuirin*, small pot), pottle, or 10 lbs. of butter, valued in times past the one at 4*d.*, the other a groat." *Ulster Journal*, iv, 244. This was called *sorren*, and was primarily a refection for soldiers. Eventually it became in certain places a rent, the land so held being called *sorren land*, every parcel of which paid certain numbers of these necessities or *strones*. Halliwell has a similar sense under *strones* pertaining to Westmoreland and Cumberland. This latter word seems to refer also to the baking, *sorn* meaning 'a kiln, oven, furnace,' the *r* being transposed. With reference to sense (2), I find in O'Reilly, *Suppt.*, "*sruban*, a thin cake," another form of the same word, perhaps, but the presence of *b* requires explanation.

*Such'n, suchan.* Equivalent to *what, such, or such kind of*. Used generally in calling attention to a thing, and followed by the article as if it was merely *such*. "*Suchan* rain," "*suchan* a fine day," "*suchan* flowers," "*suchan* a tree." The *n* seems to be merely excrement and decidedly cumbrous. It would be easier to

say "such a fine day" than "suchan a fine day," but some people at Glen Alla would always say the latter, and it is more emphatic. *What'n* = 'what kind of,' is similar: "*what'n* a chap is he?" Here no doubt it is 'kind' slurred over, and from the analogy it may be so in *such'n*. No doubt the same as *siccan* in Scotch, used in Waverley by Sir W. Scott (Jamieson). This term is used throughout the north.

*Sun drawing up water, or the water.* When long rays of light are seen shining through a hole in the cloud, the phenomenon gets this name about Mulroy, co. Donegal. In Abercromby's "Seas and Skies" (1889) there is an interesting account of this, called in India *Buddha's rays*, in Denmark *Locke is drawing water*, etc.

*Swamp, swamped.* Generally pronounced as *swam*. Lean, reduced in size. Usually (always?) applied to a reduced swelling. The word is used in Derry and throughout Donegal. "Her legs were as *swamp* as ever," said of a woman at Ballyshannon recovering from dropsy. In Derry I have heard it "The joint is *swamped*," i.e. the swelling of the joint (after a dislocation) is reduced. Halliwell has "*swamp*, lean as cattle," with a quotation—

"Our why (kie) is better tided than this cow,

Her ewr's (udder) but *swamp*: she's nut for milk, I trow."

"A Yorkshire Dialect," p. 36, 1697.

The word *swamp*, a 'quagmire,' does not occur in old writers, according to Skeat. It is a divergent sense of the present word. Halliwell's quotation is earlier than Skeat's first reference for the substantive. However, it is in Ray's "S. and E. Country Words," 1691. The adjective here noted is not common in Ulster, and seems to be rare in dialects. It is given in Jamieson. Compare *svina*, 'to subside,' Icelandic.

*Sweet.* Used in very *bitter* senses. A sarcastic word in such phrases as: "It's a *sweet* whipping you want," "That's a *swate* black eye," "He's a *sweet* blackguard," and "Here's *sweet* bad luck to you." In literature this word, like other common adjectives such as 'old,' was vaguely used: "Ich lug thee by the *sweet* ears" (Pardoner & Friar, Hazlett's "Doddsley," l. 23; 1533); "I will fet thee by the *sweet* lock" (Jack Juggler, *ib.*, ii, 121); "If they be as false to women as to men, they have *sweets*



eeles to hold by" ("Distracted Emperor," Bullen's Old Plays, iii, 258); "You *sweet* villains" (Webster, "Northward Ho," ii, 1). The last is quite parallel to the present Irish use.

## B.

*Saggon*. The yellow iris or *flaggon*. See under *sag* (A).

*Sally-picker*. The common Irish name for the warblers—willow-wren, chiffchaff, sedge-warbler—and used in the north.

*Sally wren* or *wran*. About Derry, and in the north-east, the name of the chiffchaff and willow-wren. 'Sallow' is invariably 'sally' (the tree) in Ireland. This is a variant of 'willow-wren'; the bird is never called 'willow-warbler.'

*Samlet*. "*Salmo fario*, spotted trout; *samlet* or *jenkin*" ("Survey of Derry," p. 343). I presume corrupted from 'salmonet.' Izaak Walton uses the term 'samlet,' and it is in Bailey's Dictionary, 1726.

*Sandlark*. Any species of sandpiper, but especially the dunlin.

*Saugh*. A willow. From Ir. *saileach*. The loss of *l* gives this form, which is common in N. England and Scotland. It is in use in N.E. Ireland.

*Sawnie*. A young herring-gull in the first season.

*Scad*. The horse-mackerel or rock-herring, *Caraux trachurus*. Ir. *sgadan*, 'herring.' This has become the correct name, the full term *scadān* being applied to the common herring, from which arise several place-names round the coast.

*Scalahan*. Any young bird not fully fledged is so called in Fanet, co. Donegal. The word *scaldy* is used in the same sense. Ir. *scallachan*, an unfledged bird.

*Scaldy*. The scall-crow or hooded crow. Ir. *sgallta*, bare, bald. 'Scalled' is a common old word. This term is applied also, from its bare appearance, to a young unfledged bird, and hence in Tyrone and Derry transferred contemptuously to babies.

*Scale-drake*. (1) The sheldrake, *Anas tadorna*. Derry, Antrim, etc. Swainson gives this name from the Orkneys. (2) The red-breasted merganser, *Mergus serrator*. Co. Down. (Swainson.)

*Scallion*. A kind of onion not forming a good bulb. Glen Alla, co. Donegal. N. Bailey gives *scalogna*, Ital. An onion of Ascalon. A kind of small leek. Although the word sounds



thoroughly Irish, I believe the above (*Allium Ascalonicum*) was the origin of the word.

*Scarr.* A tern. Donegal Bay.

*Scart.* A cormorant of either sort. At Hornhead applied to the green or crested cormorant (*P. graculus*). Usually means the great cormorant, *Phalacrocorax carbo*. Swainson has the form also *scarf*, which is nearer the Irish *scarbh*, a cormorant.

*Scawee* or *skiwee*. This word is generally applied to the kelp-harvest, but its limited and correct meaning is the large tangle seaweed, *Laminaria digitata*; and of that it forms only a part, the portion shed from the plant and driven ashore by May storms, usually by that storm known as the 'cuckoo storm' or 'gowk storm,' which heralds a good *scawee* and is highly welcome. This part of *Laminaria* forms the best kelp. The full name is *scawee bealtinn*, the *May scawee*. In Inishowen the seaweed is commonly called *Mayweed*. In Fanet always *scawee*. But the word *scawee* is everywhere (in Donegal) used in the wider sense of seaweed for kelp. *Scawee* stands for *scrawee*, *scrath buidhe*, or yellow scra or sward. The weed is dragged in to the beach as it floats near with a *pull-to*, a very long-handled, two-pronged fork with bent or hooked tines.

*Scobe.* The wild broom, *Sarothamnus scoparius*. Glen Alla, co. Donegal. Irish *scuab*, a sheaf, besom. Latin *scopae*, broom, bundle of twigs. This word has also the signification *scoop*, of which it is a variant, in Derry. Again, *scobes* (Ir. *scolb*) are the 'scallops' used in the sort of thatching known as *scobe-thatching*. These terms are in use in Fanet, co. Donegal, and indeed throughout Ulster. The same word in this sense as *scollop*, which is indeed identical, the *l* being retained. 'Scobe-thatching' is especially used to denote thatching with *scobes* or *scallops*, not ropes.

*Scoot.* The umbellifer *Angelica sylvestris*. S.W. Donegal. Because the dry kexes serve to make *scoots* or 'squirts' of as playthings for children. The *haho*, cow-parasnip, or *Heracleum sphondylium*, is called *Dryland scoot* for the same reason. *Scoot* is used synonymously with 'squirt,' and in S.W. Donegal it is a name for diarrhoea. *Scoot* has varied senses in Ulster. It means an outing, a trip. "Did you have a good *scoot*?"—after a holiday (Tyrone). A *scooter* is a tourist, one who *scoots* about. A *scoot-hole* is an escape-hole or starting-hole for a rat or rabbit when the principal hole is watched. One would naturally derive

'scout' from this root, viewing the above senses, but it is from *escouter*, 'pry' (O. Fr.). Compare Swedish *skjuta*, 'to shoot.' In an old play, "Dr. Doddipol" (reprinted in Bullen's O. Plays, iii, 133), 1600, occurs a pretty passage:—

"O this way, by the glimmering of the sunne  
And the legeritie of her sweete feete  
She *scouted* on."

*Scout.* The razor-bill, *Alca torda*. Newbridge, Lough Swilly. Swainson gives this (*scout*) from Forfar, and derives it *skite*, 'to mark,' which agrees with the sense given above.

*Scout.* The razor-shell fish. Since it squirts water out on the sand. These words *skite*, *scoot*, *squirt*, *squitter*, *squit* must be all cognate. The name as applied to the razor-fish is given in McSkimin's Hist. of Carrickfergus, Co. Antrim, 1811.

The above word, in all its senses, is both written and pronounced *scout* also.

*Seal.* A heron. I have only heard this word in Fanet, where it was given me as a synonym for 'the long-neckit (or long-leggit) harra.' In Armagh this bird is called the 'haru craan.' I have no idea how the term *seal* applies. The term *harra* is applied to any long thin thing. A Fanet man speaks of his wife as "that ould *harra* of mine." Perhaps the above is the true Irish name, but I cannot trace it, nor any other. Nevertheless, so familiar and remarkable a bird (held to portend rain) must have one. An Irish-speaking man said the "ould Irish name was 'long-neckit harra.'"

*Seal-snot.* Jelly-fish. *Medusa*. Any of the larger sort. The quaintness of this name almost redeems its vulgarity. I have heard it in Fanet. *Cowan-snotter* is commoner round Donegal coast, since *cowan* is the usual name for a seal. *Cowan* is a word that needs explanation. It is applied in some parts of Donegal to the water *peastia* or *phooka*, which goes under various denominations, both English and Irish, such as master-eel, whistling-eel, lough or river horse, glasgeehy, dorrhaw, etc. The name *cowan* appears also (Mulroy, W. Donegal) in the compound *cowan-strings*, a name for *Chorda filum*, a long, string-like common seaweed.

*Sea-monster.* A Derry name for the 'angler' or 'fishing-frog,' *Lophius piscatorius* ("Survey of Derry," p. 234). This odd fish, called 'sea-devil' also according to Yarrell, has a variety of

names on the Ulster coast, as *kilmaddy*, *briar-bot*, *mollygowan* or *malegoon*.

*Seath, sethe.* The coal-fish or grey lord, *Merlangus carbonarius*. This fish has, according to Yarrell, more local names than any other. It is very common. When young, along the rocks, it is known as *rock-fish*, *cudden*, *pickies*, *seehaus*, *gilpins*, *shelug*, and *blockaus*. Larger ones are *grey lords*, *stanlocks*. Yarrell gives more from the Scotch islanders. Those here are all from Antrim and Donegal. In abundance of names perhaps the sea-bream would be its nearest rival.

*Seven sisters.* The two commonest spurges, *Euphorbia helioscopia* and *E. peplus*, are so called from the umbel of (usually) seven branches of the name. This name has not, I think, been recorded except by me from Donegal, across the whole of which county it occurs. Nor can I trace it to an Irish source.

*Seven sleepers.* The summer migrants supposed to sleep through the Winter. They are, according to a Fanet man, the cuckoo, swallow, stone-chatter (wheatear), wren (sally-picker, i.e. willow-wren or chiffchaff), cornrake, and blackcap (stonechat): this is only six; but whether swallow includes swift, or whitethroat is counted, my informant sayeth not. Another countryman said very wisely that the *chrysalis* was one of the *seven sleepers*. Seven is a mystic number that covers a multitude of sins. This subject falls under folklore, where I have dealt with it more fully. However, I may mention that Mr. Elworthy gives a 'seven sleeper' as a name for any hibernating animal, from West Somerset (Dialect Society). And in *The Zoologist* (February and March, 1897) Mr. Rolfe gives wheatear, cuckoo, and swallow as three of the *Manx* 'seven sleepers'; while Mr. Bird collected eleven in Dorsetshire.

*Shasagh na creegh.* Heart's-ease, *Prunella vulgaris*. This is the plant which in South-West Donegal is known as heart's-ease, or by its Irish equivalent (*sasadh na cri*) as above. It is held to be valuable for diseases of the heart, but the pansy has neither the name nor any such qualities attributed to it. A Gaelic name for this plant, given by Cameron, is *lus a cri* (heart-plant). The knowledge and belief in 'yerribs' (herbs) is, or was, very extensive in Donegal. With the old people it is rapidly dying out.

*Sheegy or shiggy.* Fairy. *Shiggy thimble*, fairy thimble. Irish *sighe*, *sighedhe*, a fairy goblin or sprite. *Shiggy* places, rocks, or bushes are often referred to, especially in Southern or Western Donegal. The same word as in the compound *banshee*, white



goblin. The word enters into place-names. I have collected a quantity of fairy lore in Donegal. In Mayo, according to Otway (Erris and Tyrawley), this word takes the form *sheeogue*.

*Sheep's brisken*. Marsh woundwort, *Stachys palustris*. Sheep appear to hoke after the roots of this plant in dug potato-fields. *Brisken* is a name given to another plant whose root is edible, *Potentilla anserina*, or goose-grass. Irish *briosglan*, skirret, silver-weed, goose-grass. The name here given is in use about Glen Alla, co. Donegal.

*Sheep's naperty*. *Potentilla tormentilla*, or common tormentil, called also *biscuit*, *nyamány*, and *tormenting root*. A Down name. It has a hard, small, woody root-stock, very hot and astringent. *Naperty* may be from *knapwort* or *knob*, referring to root. This is Prior's derivation. Held to be a powerful cure for diarrhoea. The name *naperty* belongs to the heath-pea or *carmylie*, *Lathyrus macrorrhizus*, which has sweet little tubers attached to the root. Eaten by children, and formerly used to savour their usquebaugh by the Scotch. Much folklore in *naperty*.

*Shot star*. Derry and Donegal. A slimy alga or fungus appearing on paths and elsewhere after rain in summer, *Nostoc commune* or *Tremella nostoc*. The idea is that the substance is a fallen star. "I watched it [a shooting star] where it fell, and there was nothing there but a lump of cowld starch" (Inishowen, co. Donegal). Another name is *witches' butter*, Derry. The fallen star is an old and quaint bit of folklore.

"Now is this comet shot into the sea,  
Or lies like slime upon the sullen earth."

MUNDAY'S *Robert Earl of Huntingdon*, iii, 1 (1600).

"The shooting stars end all in purple jellies  
And chaos is at hand."

DRYDEN: *Ædipus*, ii, 1 (1678).

Dryden likes the idea, and refers to it again in the Dedication to his "Spanish Friar." It will be found also in Beaumont & Fletcher's "Faithful Shepherdess," iii, 1. This subject has been dealt with by Mr. Britten in "Popular Fungi." See Britten & Holland's "English Plant Names," *Star-shot*. In some places in the North of Ireland (Carrickfergus) the heron is believed to disgorge this substance.



*Sinicle.* Wood-sanicle, *Sanicula Europaea*. Highly prized by herbalists (and I believe in some cases by the Faculty) as a cure for consumption in Donegal. Threlkeld ("Synopsis Stirpium Hibernicarum," 1727) says under *Sanicula*: "The French have so great an opinion of it that they say proverbially, 'Qui a la bugle de la sanicle, Fait aux chirurgien la nielé,' which is as much as a Panacea or universal remedy." France, however, regarded it as a vulnerary.

*Skaig, skayug, sgaig.* S.W. Donegal, Leitrim, Tyrone, etc. A hawthorn bush, but especially one sacred to fairies. A gentle, gentry, or shiggy thorn. Such a one is an old tree with spreading branches to form a shelter, often on the leeward side, and especially one on an exposed hillside standing alone, or on a *rath*, and one that has not been planted. A thorn like this is absolutely sacred and regarded with fervid superstition. To interfere with one would be to court inevitable disaster, and numerous and circumstantial tales are told in every part of Donegal (but especially the south-west) of the calamitous results of cutting away a *skaig*.

*Skin marrow.* The razor-shell. Sheephaven, co. Donegal. Ir. *sein* 'a knife,' *maragh* 'sea.'

*Slack marrow, sloc marrow, slat maragh.* The stems of *Laminaria*, the large sea-tangle, which make a fine cudgel in case of any divergences of opinion amongst kelp-burners. When the bailiffs went to Tory Island for rents, "the wimmen bate them out of it wi' *slock maragh*." *Slacan* 'a club,' or *slat* 'a rod' and *maragh*.

*Snawag.* When two crabs are found in a hole in the rocks, the outer one is the male crab and known as the *tharawan* (Ir. *tarbhan*, 'little bull'). The other, or female, is called the *snawag* or peeler. These terms I obtained from a lad along the coast of Lough Swilly. The observation contained in them is in accordance with the biology of crabs. Mr. Bell, writing of crabs, says: "The male seeks the female at various seasons; but it would appear that . . . this often takes place immediately after her excoiation (peeling the shell), and that the male watches for the completion of the process when the female is in a soft and unprotected state . . . when the shell is removed impregnation takes place." ("British Stalk-Eyed Crustacea," p. 62, ed. 1853.) Irish *snamhaigh*, a slothful person, a creeping fellow.

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IV. — ANALOGIES BETWEEN ENGLISH AND SPANISH VERSE (*Arte Mayor*). By Professor W. P. KER, M.A.

[Read at the Philological Society's Meeting on Friday, December 2, 1898.]

IN many respects there is a close resemblance between the literatures of England and Spain, the two great Atlantic nations. They belong to different families of language, but in literary taste the English are generally nearer to the Spanish poets than to High Dutch or Low Dutch, and the Spaniards have more in common with the English than with the French. This sympathy is proved in many large instances—in the history of the Drama in Madrid and London, and in the agreement between Fielding and Cervantes, which is something more than the mere debt of a pupil to a master. In some minor points there may be proved a coincidence of the literary manners of the two nations, and one illustration of this is the Spanish verse called *Arte Mayor*. This form of verse is the subject of a learned dissertation by the eminent scholar M. Morel-Fatio, in *Romania* xxiii, from which almost all the following references to Spanish prosodists have been derived.

The history of the verse is given in different passages of F. Wolf's *Studien zur Geschichte der spanischen und portugiesischen Nationalliteratur* (1859). The first intimations of its presence are found, in the first half of the fourteenth century, in the poetry of the Archpriest of Hita, and in the moral couplets at the end of stories in the *Conde Lucanor*. It is in use among the Spanish contemporaries of Langland and Chaucer—for example, Pero Lopez de Ayala (1332–1407). The most famous poet who wrote in this verse is Juan de Mena, in the fifteenth century. His *Laberinto*, sometimes called “the Three Hundred”—*Las Trescientas* (sc. *Coplas*)—is dedicated to King John II of Castile and Leon, the father of Queen Isabel the Catholic. It begins with the following *coplas*:—

## COPLA I.

Al muy prepotente Don Juan el segundo  
 Aquel con quien Jupiter tuuo tal zelo  
 Que tanta parte le haze del mundo  
 Quanta a si mesmo se haze en el cielo :  
 Al gran Rey de Hespaña al Cesar novelo  
 Al que es con fortuna bien afortunado  
 Aquel en quien cabe virtud y reynado  
 A el las rodillas hincadas por suelo.

## COPLA II.

*Propone.*

Tus casos fallaces Fortuna cantamos  
 Estados de gentes que giras y trocas  
 Tus muchas mudanças tus firmezas pocas  
 Y los que en tu rueda quexosos hallamos  
 Hasta que al tiempo de agora vengamos  
 Y hechos possados cobdicia mi pluma  
 Y de los presentes hazer breve summa  
 Delfin Apolo pues nos començamos.

In the normal type of this verse the rules are as follows :—

The verse is of twelve syllables, with a section in the middle.

There is accent on the fifth syllable in each half-line: the sixth syllable in each half-line is weak.

There is accent on the second syllable in each half-line.

Thus the first line of the *Laberinto* may be scanned—

Al muy prepotente || Don Juan el segundo

◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ || ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡

This is the scansion that seems to be generally agreed upon by the Spanish authorities quoted in M. Morel-Fatio's article in *Romania*. They are all agreed that the line is divided in the middle. So the poet Juan del Encina, in the *Arte de trobar*, or *Arte de poesia Castellana*, prefixed to his poems, first published at Salamanca in 1496: *En el arte mayor, los pies son intercisos, que se pueden partir por medio*: i.e., the lines are in two sections with a pause in the middle. By Rengifo, *Arte poetica española*, Salamanca, 1592 (p. 13), it is explained that the verse is made

up of two of the six-syllable lines called *versos de redondilla menor*. In the *redondilla menor* there is always a stress on the fifth syllable; in the *arte mayor*, besides the fifth syllable in each half-line, the second in each half-line must be accented, e.g.:

Temí la torméнта del már alterádo.

It is not enough to say, Rengifo explains, that the *arte mayor* is made up of two verses of *redondilla menor*; in the *redondilla menor*, as commonly used, there may be many variations in the stress of the first four syllables as long as the fifth is stressed. But the *arte mayor* requires the second to be stressed as well as the fifth.

After this definite explanation by the Spanish authorities, we need not hesitate to say that their rules apply without any wrenching or stretching to a vast quantity of English verse. The scansion of

Temí la torméнта del már alterádo

is the scansion of Gray's "Amatory Lines":—

With beauty, with pleasure surrounded, to languish,  
To weep without knowing the cause of my anguish,  
To start from short slumbers, and wish for the morning—  
To close my dull eyes when I see it returning,  
Sighs sudden and frequent, looks ever dejected—  
Words that steal from my tongue by no meaning connected!  
Ah! say, fellow-swains, how these symptoms befell me?  
They smile, but reply not—sure Delia will tell me!

In English verse of this type it is more common than in Spanish to have the rhyme masculine, but that makes no great difference.

My time, O ye Muses, was happily spent  
agrees with

Aunque Virgilio te dá mas honor.

It is not easy to separate this kind of verse in the Spanish poets from the verse of Tusser's *Husbandry*, or from that described by Gascoigne in the following terms:—

“. . . . Note you that commonly now a dayes in english rimes (for I dare not cal them English verses) we vse none other order but a foote of two sillables, wherof the first is depressed or made short, and the second is eleuate or made long: and that sound



or scanning continueth throughout the verse. We haue vsed in times past other kindes of Meeters : as for example this following :

*No wight in this world, that wealth can attayne,  
Vnlésse hè bèléue, thàt dll ìs bùt vdyne."*

GASCOIGNE : *Certayne notes of Instruction concerning the making of verse or ryme in English, 1575.*

Tusser's didactic poem is for the most part in verse of this sort, as for example :—

*October's Husbandry.*

Where wheat upon eddish ye mind to bestow,  
Let that be the first of the wheat ye do sow :  
He seemeth to heart it, and comfort to bring,  
That giveth it comfort of Michaelmas spring.

White wheat upon pease-etch doth grow as he would,  
But fallow is best, if we did as we should :  
Yet where, how and when, ye intend to begin,  
Let ever the finest, be first sowed in.

Who soweth in rain, he shall reap it with tears,  
Who soweth in harms, he is ever in fears :  
Who soweth ill seed, or defraudeth his land,  
Hath eye-sore abroad, with a corsie at hand.

Seed husbandly sowed, waterfurrow thy ground,  
That rain when it cometh, may run away round :  
Then stir about *Nicoll*, with arrow and bow,  
Take penny for killing of every crow.

The analogies between English and Spanish are not ended here. The licences of the *arte mayor* are such as are quite alien to the prosody of French and Italian poetry ; they are such as are common in English verse. The *arte mayor*, as used by the Spanish poets, and explained by the Spanish grammarians, is not always like the regularity of Tusser ; it sometimes leaves the *Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry* and goes over to the outlaw rhythms of *Christabel* ; at any rate it shows more sympathy with *Christabel* than would be generally considered decent or even possible for verse belonging to one of the Latin languages. The first rule of versification in the Romance languages is that the verses have each a definite number of syllables : the usage in *arte*

*mayor* is to drop the first syllable when one chooses to drop it, and to begin on the first strong syllable. Juan del Encina states a doctrine of equivalence.<sup>1</sup> It holds of the last syllable in a verse of any sort that one long syllable is the equivalent of a long followed by a short syllable—i.e., masculine rhyme is the equivalent of feminine rhyme. This is plain. But more than this: in the *arte mayor* not only may the half-verse end on the fifth syllable, dropping the sixth syllable, but each half-verse may begin with the long syllable and make that the metrical equivalent of the first two syllables in an ordinary half-verse. What he means is evident from his own usage—e.g., in the third copla of his *Egloga de Tres Pastores* (*Cancionero*, Salamanca, 1509, fol. xcvi, *recto*):—

Fileno tu sabes que mientra la vida  
 las fuerças del cuerpo querra sostentar  
*Nó me podrás en cosa mandar*  
 do tu voluntad no sea obedescida.

Or again, fol. c, *verso*:—

Y aquellos prometes dar buen galardón  
*pórqe sopórtén tu péna tan huérte*  
*dás les despúes tan crúda pasión*  
 que siempre dan voces clamando la muerte.

*Nó me podrás* is the 'equivalent' of *Fileno tu sabes*. The *arte mayor* may drop the unaccented syllable at the beginning, as well as the weak syllable at the end of the verse or the half-verse.

M. Morel-Fatio cannot away with this (l.c., p. 221): "Les hémistiches réduits d'une syllabe qu'on trouve fréquemment s'expliquent sans doute par les besoins de la musique; rythmiquement parlant ils sont des monstres, et en les lisant, il est nécessaire de faire porter le frappé sur la dernière syllabe atone."

Thus M. Morel-Fatio would scan—

not *una doncella tan mucho fermosa*,  
 but *una doncellá*;  
 not *ótras beldádes loár de mayores*,  
 but *ótras beldadés*.

<sup>1</sup> "Mas porque en el arte mayor los pies son interceisos que se pueden partir por medio: no solamente puede usar una sílaba por dos quando la postrera es luenga, mas tambien si la primera o la postrera fuera luenga, assi del un medio pie como del otro, que cada una valdra por dos."—Juan del Encina, *Cancionero* (Salamanca, 1509), fol. v, *recto*. M. Morel-Fatio, in quoting this, has made some unnecessary difficulty by leaving out *medio* in *medio pie*. He says that Encina must mean hemistich. This is precisely what Encina says, without any ambiguity whatever.

It is hazardous for anyone to challenge M. Morel-Fatio's doctrine in a matter of Spanish literature, but it may be permitted to a Northerner to say that the verse, as Juan del Encina seems to explain it, is not altogether monstrous according to English rules of prosody, and that possibly there may be more agreement in this matter between Spanish and English than between Spanish and French. Upon one thing there can be no doubt; the licence was recognized and explained in the manner that M. Morel-Fatio rejects by the poet and musician Juan del Encina, and by the learned professor of music at Salamanca, Francisco de Salinas, to whose remarks on this subject M. Morel-Fatio refers in passing.

Francisco de Salinas, in his *Art of Music*, Salamanca, 1577,<sup>1</sup> has given some of the most valuable notes to be found in any old writer on prosody, and has distinctly explained the character of this Spanish "tumbling verse," by giving the tune to which it was sung. As a musician, an Italian scholar, and a student of popular as well as learned rhythms, he is an author to be trusted. M. Morel-Fatio somewhat unaccountably passes over his note of the melody to which the *arte mayor* was sung, though quoting the passage in which Salinas speaks of his hearing it: "Ad hunc enim modum illud cantantem audivi, dum essem adolescens Burgis, Gonsalum Francum nobilem virum non minus cantus quam status et generis claritate pollentem."

The tune is this:—

"Ut in hoc Joannis Menæ Laberinthi principio :

*Al muy prepotente don Juan el segundo.*

Quod integrum metrum quatuor amphibrachis et duodecim syllabis constat, ut apparet in hoc cantu."



Salinas takes the verse as four amphibrachs. At the same time he affirms, without any scruple, that the first syllable may be dropped, and that the verse may be dactylic, with the stress on the fourth instead of the fifth syllable; quoting from Juan de Mena:

*Delfin Apollo, pues nos començamos.*

<sup>1</sup> Francisci Salinae Burgensis Abbatis Sancti Pancratii de Rocca Scalegna in Regno Neapolitano, et in Academia Salmanticensi Musicae Professoris de Musica libri septem. Salmanticae Excudebat Mathias Gastius MDLXXVII.

He is comparing the *versos de arte mayor* with the Italian hendecasyllables. They often come near one another, he says, but with difficulty can be made to agree, even though the number of syllables be equal. The place of the accents is different. The Italian line has generally the accent on the sixth and tenth, the Spanish on the fifth, or, if it runs in dactyls, on the fourth. The examples that he chooses are from the beginning of the *Laberinto* of Juan de Mena. Of the first kind (the regular type) he quotes—

Al muy prepotente don Juan el segundo;  
of the second—

Delfin Apollo, pues nos començamos.

There can be no mistake about his meaning, and there is no sign that he takes *Delfin Apollo* for a monster.

The verse of *arte mayor*, as far as its opening is concerned, goes under the same rule as the verse of *L' Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* in English. It is a form of verse in which the *anacrusis* is frequently dropped, and to speak of this licence as a fault is to mistake the character of the rhythm. The licence is generally unfamiliar in the Romance languages, in forms of poetry that pretend to be courtly; but it is used by the courtly poets of Castile, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and even later, in this verse of the *arte mayor*.

## II.

About the origin of this kind of verse in English and Spanish there is room for a good deal of controversy. It is held by many scholars, as for example by Dr. Schipper and Dr. Herford, that Tusser's verse is a variety of the ordinary four-beat iambic-anapaestic or trochaic-dactylic line—the *tumbling verse* of King James's *Reulis and Cautelis*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> JAMES VI. *The Reulis and Cautelis to be observit and eschewit in Scottis Poesie*, 1585.

Let all zour verse be *Literall*, sa far as may be, quhatsumeuer kynde they be of, bot speciallic *Tumbling* verse for flyting. Be *Literall* I meane, that the maist pairt of zour lyne, all rynne vpon a letter, as this tumbling lyne rynnys vpon F:

*Fetching fude for to feid it fast furth of the Farie.*

Ze man obserue that thir *Tumbling* verse flowis not in that fassoun as vtheris dois. For all vtheris keipis the reule quhilk I gaue before, To wit, the first



Dr. Schipper (*Englische Metrik*, II, ii, 5), after quoting King James and Gascoigne, and referring to the ballad of *King John and the Abbot of Canterbury*, gives examples from Wyatt, and then cites, one after the other, Tusser's *Husbandry* and the *February Eclogue* of the *Shepherd's Calender*.

In the first part of his book (I, iii, cc. 11, 12) Dr. Schipper takes the old alliterative verse as the origin of all the "tumbling verse" of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. By referring back to this part of his work in his description of the verse of Tusser, he makes a connection between the old alliterative verse and all the more recent examples which he quotes in succession to Tusser; among them are Thackeray's *Cane-bottomed Chair* and Browning's *How they brought the Good News from Ghent to Aix*. In his *Grundriss der englischen Metrik* (1895), pp. 110–113, he gives a pedigree starting from Cædmon's Hymn.

Dr. Herford, in his introduction to the *Shepherd's Calender*, seems to agree with Dr. Schipper. He quotes Tusser's verse as a more regular and monotonous form of that which is found in Spenser's *February, May, and September Eclogues*.

He agrees with Dr. Schipper in deriving the four-beat verse from the old alliterative line. "It was descended from the most ancient form of English verse, and still retained as its one fixed principle the characteristic of *four beats* . . . . The first who attempted to give a regular and polished form to the four-beat was T. Tusser, whose *Hundred Points of Husbandry* (1557) are

fute short the secound lang, and sa furth. Quhair as thir hes twa short, and lang through all the lyne, quhen they keip ordour: albeit the maist pairt of thame be out of ordour, and keipis na kynde nor reule of *Flovving*, and for that cause are callit *Tumbling* verse: except the short lynis of aucht in the hinder end of the verse, the quhilk flowis as vther versis dois, as ze will find in the hinder end of this buk, quhair I gaue exemple of sundrie kyndes of versis.

\* \* \* \* \*

For flyting, or inuectiues, vse this kynde of verse following, callit *Rouncefallis*, or *Tumbling* verse.

*In the hinder end of haruest vpon Alhallow ene,  
Quhen our gude nichtbors rydis (now gif I reid richt),  
Some bucklit on a benevod, and some on a bene,  
Ay trottand into troupes fra the twylycht:  
Some sadland a sho ape, all grathed into grene,  
Some hotchand on a hemp stalk, hovand on a heicht,  
The King of Fary vwith the Court of the Elf quene,  
VVith many elrage Incubus rydand that nicht:  
There ane elf on an ape ane vnsell begat:  
Besyde a pot baith auld and vvorne,  
This bratshard in ane bus vvas borne:  
They fand a monster in the morne,  
VVar facit nor a Cat.*

composed in anapaestic couplets equally fluent and insipid" (Herford, Introduction to Spenser's *Shepherd's Calender*, 1895, p. lxvii). There are many difficulties about this, for it is impossible to separate the rhythm of Tusser's verse from the rhythm of the *arte mayor*; it is not only desirable to find an English origin for Tusser's verse; one would like to explain the coincidence of English and Castilian rhythms. Is there a common origin; and if so, of what kind?

On the side of Romance philology M. Morel-Fatio, agreeing with Stengel, would trace the verse of *arte mayor* back to a certain variety of the French decasyllabic line; it is "le correspondant exact d'un de nos types de décasyllabe: le décasyllabe 'cesuré à cinq' plaisamment désigné par Bonaventure des Periers dans son *Caresme Prenant* sous le nom de *taratantara*." M. Morel-Fatio quotes as a specimen of this French type a verse from the thirteenth century—

*Arras est escole de tous biens apprendre.*

JUBINAL: *Nouveau Recueil*, ii, 377.

This counts as a variety of decasyllable in French, though the *arte mayor* is dodecasyllable in Spanish. "Quant à la dénomination différente de ce vers dans les deux langues, elle tient uniquement, comme chacun sait, au système de numération des syllabes, oxytonique en français, paroxytonique en castillan."

Other examples are quoted in Jeanroy, *Origines de la poésie lyrique en France*, p. 356, from Bartsch, *Romances et Pastourelles*; e.g.,

Quant se vient en mai | que rose est panie  
Je l'alai coillir | par grant druerie.

It would appear, then, that verse which is derived from the Old English alliterative line, and verse which is a variety of the French decasyllable, may come to have a strong likeness to one another. Is there any real connection between them, or is it only a casual resemblance of two different species?

There is no need to suppose that the old alliterative line is the sole ancestor either of the verse of Tusser or of the verse of Spenser's *February Eclogue*. There are other influences that press for consideration here, and not less in the history of the Spanish verse.

There are many four-beat rhythms besides that of the alliterative verse, and while we may admit that the "tumbling verse" of

King James's example is derived from the old alliterative line, we need not restrict its origin to such verse as was used in the seventh century by the poets of Northumberland. It is impossible to doubt that the rhythm of alliterative verse in the fourteenth century and later was affected by the four-beat, or perhaps we should say the eight-beat, rhythm of popular tunes. Among the ancestors of the ballad of *King John and the Abbot of Canterbury*, which is the ancestor of Prior's *Down Hall* and Swift's *Hamilton's Bawn*, may perhaps be counted such old rhythms as this from the year of Lewes:—

Sire Simond de Mountfort hath swore bi his chyn,  
 Hevede he now here the Erl of Waryn,  
 Shulde he never more come to is yn,  
 Ne with sheld ne with spere ne with other gyn,  
 To help of Wyndesore.

*Richard, thah thou be ever trichard,  
 trichen shalt thou never more.*

Sir Simond de Montfort hath swore bi ys cop,  
 Hevede he now here Sire Hue de Bigot,  
 Al he shulde quite here twelfmoneth scot,  
 Shulde he never more with his fot pot  
 To helpe Wyndesore.

*Richard, etc.*

The verses of four irregular dactyls in Latin popular poetry<sup>1</sup> bear witness to the diffusion of this kind of rhythm: they are independent of the alliterative line. So also the trisyllabic measure of the Minnesingers; one is not allowed to call it dactylic, but it is verse of four beats, beginning on the strong syllable and proceeding in trisyllabic feet:—

Wol mich der stunde, daz ich sie erkande  
 diu mir den lip und den muot hât betwungen,  
 sit deich die sinne so gar an sie wande,  
 der si mich hât mit ir güete verdrungen,  
 das ich gescheiden von ir niht enkan,  
 daz hat ir schœne und ir güete gemachet  
 und ir rôter munt, der sô lieplichen lachet.

<sup>1</sup> E.g. in Wright's *Poems of Walter Mapes: Apocalypsis Goliae* (l. 37):—

Hic Priscianus est, dans palmis verbera;  
 Est Aristoteles verberans aera;  
 Verborum Tullius vi mulcet aspera;  
 Fert Ptolomaeus se totum in sidera.



To put it shortly, the verses went this way because the tunes went this way before them, and the likeness of the English and the Spanish verse is explained by the common rhythm of country dances.<sup>1</sup> The regularity of Tusser's verse is secured by following a common tune, and where a tune of that sort is followed by other poets the same kind of regularity will be found again. Tusser's verse is not properly anapaestic; the first syllable is merely introductory to a kind of rhythm that is dactylic, if it is to be named from any metrical foot at all. Tusser's regularity is followed by Ben Jonson when he provides new words "to the tune of *Paggington's Pound, sir*":—

But O you vile nation of cutpurses all,  
Relent and repent, and amend and be sound,  
And know that you ought not by honest men's fall,  
Advance your own fortunes, to die above ground;

And though you go gay

In silks as you may,

It is not the highway to heaven (as they say):

Repent then, repent you, for better for worse,

And kiss not the gallows for cutting a purse.

Youth, youth, thou hadst better been starved by thy nurse

Than live to be hanged for cutting a purse.

*Bartholomew Fair*, Act iii.

The Spanish verse is made for music, originally. It is used in stanzas of eight lines for heroic poetry by the early court poets, of whom Juan de Mena was the most famous. But though the *Laberinto* of Juan de Mena is an ambitious didactic poem, and (one would think) as little adapted for a musical accompaniment as Wordsworth's *Excursion*, yet we have the proof from Salinas that it was actually sung. Juan del Encina, the poet, was also one of the musicians of his time, "such as found out musical tunes, and recited verses in writing." Among his compositions in the great musical manuscript edited by Barbieri (*Cancionero Musical de los Siglos xv y xvi*, Madrid, 1890), may be found tunes for the rhythm of *redondilla menor*, or, one might say, using English terms, for the measure of Gray's *Amatory Lines*, with rhymes at the pauses.

<sup>1</sup> Compare the dance tune in  $\frac{6}{8}$  time given in the new edition of Chappell's *Old English Popular Music* (ed. H. Ellis Wooldridge). The date is about 1260.



Amor con fortuna  
 Me muestra enemiga  
 No sé que me diga.

No sé lo que quiero,  
 Pues busqué mi daño ;  
 Yo mesmo me engaño,  
 Me meto do muero ;  
 Y muerto no spero  
 Salir de fatiga :  
 No sé que me diga.

This verse is exactly regular, in trisyllabic measure, with *anacrusis*, and corresponds exactly, syllable for musical note, with the tune its accompaniment.

In England and in Spain, apparently, the triple time of common dance tunes, with periods of eight bars, was found congenial to verse, and was allowed to shape the prosody of verse. In other countries, as in France, the fashion of verse is not in sympathy with this "jigging vein," but even here it makes its way. On the authority of the *Dictionnaire Philosophique* of Voltaire, s.v. *Hémistiche* (referred to by Stengel, *Romanische Verslehre*), something like the *arte mayor* may be allowed in France.

"Ces vers de cinq pieds à deux hémistiches égaux pourraient se souffrir dans des chansons; ce fut pour la musique que *Sapho* les inventa chez les Grecs, et qu'*Horace* les imita quelquefois, lorsque le chant était joint à la poésie, selon sa première institution. On pourrait parmi nous introduire dans le chant cette mesure qui approche de la saphique.

L'amour est un Dieu—que la terre adore,  
 Il fait nos tourmens—il fait les guérir ;  
 Dans un doux repos—heureux qui l'ignore,  
 Plus heureux cent fois—qui peut le servir."

Evidently the tune that Voltaire had in his head was one of the same sort as Gray's in his *Amatory Lines*.

The history of this kind of verse in Germany is not very easy to make out. It seems strange that Dr. Schipper, in speaking of the English rhythm, should not have referred to its counterpart in Germany, except in the case of Bürger's translation of the *Abbot of Canterbury*. In Kauffmann's *Deutsche Metrik* the oldest examples

(leaving out of account the Middle High German 'dactylics' of Walther and others) are from Paul Fleming and Filip von Zesen.

Wie ist es, hat liebe mein leben besessen?  
 Wie? oder befündt sie sich lieblich in mier,  
 O liebliches leben wem soll ichs zumessen,  
 Dass meine gebeine so zittern für ihr?  
 Ich gehe verirret, verwirret, und trübe,  
 Und stehe vertieffet in lieblicher liebe.

FILIP VON ZESEN: *Helikon*, 1656, ii, 124.

In *Anke van Tharaw* the verse opens on the strong syllable, like *Delfin Apolo*:—

Anke van Tharaw öss, de my geföllt,  
 Se öss mihn lewen, mihn goet on mihn gölt.<sup>1</sup>

It is worth notice that Petter Dass (or Dundas, if he had kept his father's name), the Norwegian poet of Helgeland, uses in his didactic poetry (Natural History and Biblical paraphrases) sometimes the verse of the Ormulum, sometimes the verse of Tusser. It is not Tusser's stanza, being a kind of *rime couée*, a stanza used by Dr. Watts, in place of Tusser's quatrain:—

Forstandige Læser, nu gavst du vel Agt,  
 Hvad Næring os skjænker den Poliske Tract  
 Samt Havsens Afrunder og Klakke,  
 Bevilger dig Tiden, da beder jeg dig,  
 Du ville, min Broder, spadsere med mig,  
 Jeg haver lidt vider' at snakke.

PETTER DASS (1647-1708): *Nordlands Trompet*.

### III.

In their relations to the decasyllabic line, the English poets and the poets of the Peninsula go through similar stages. One may compare the Chaucerians with the court poets who wrote in Portuguese about the time of Chaucer or Lydgate. On both sides there was great difficulty with the decasyllabic line. It came to England from France; it came to Portugal from France and Provence. The French and Provençal line had a definite structure; a fixed cesura after the fourth syllable. Neither the English

<sup>1</sup> Compare in English the ballad measure "High upon Hielands and low upon Tay."

nor the Portuguese would keep this rule.<sup>1</sup> There were good reasons why Chaucer should neglect it: he had better rules of his own. But the rule that was good enough for Deschamps or Froissart was not too good for Lydgate, and his verse might have been properly braced up if he had observed it: instead of which he too often turned the line into nothing better than “tumbling verse”; verse of four stresses, without regular measure:—

But he was clad, me thought straungely,  
 For of frost and snow was all his aray;  
 In his hande he helde a fawchon all bloody.  
 Hyt semyd by hys chere as he wold make a fray.  
 A bawdryk of isykles about his nek gay,  
 He had, and aboue an hygh on hys hede,  
 Cowchyd with hayle stonys he weryd a croune of leede.

LYDGATE: *Assembly of the Gods*, ed. Oscar Lovell Triggs, E.E.T.S., p. 9, 1896.

Diez, in his book on the Portuguese Court Poetry, points out what difficulties were found in keeping the Provençal rhythm. Speaking of King Denis and another poet he says: “Often, for example, they stress the fifth syllable, and often there is nothing more of verse in their verses than the right number of syllables.”<sup>2</sup>

Diez quotes from King Denis the following shocking examples:—

- (1) Ca de mim matar amor non m'é greu.
- (2) Poys da mays fremosa que quantas son.
- (3) Es mui gran pesar se deus mi perdon.
- (4) Praz a vos senhor por qual vos el fez.

That it is the *arte mayor* in this case, and that it is the tumbling verse in the case of the English poets, by which the decasyllable is corrupted, seems to be pretty certain.

Then came, after the French line, the Italian. There does not seem to have been anyone in the Peninsula with Chaucer's appreciation of Italian poetry till long after the time of Chaucer; but the Chaucerian poets in England by their ignorance of Italian took care that England should have no unfair advantage. In fact, Spain went ahead by a generation or two in deliberate following of Italian fashions of poetry. The letter of the Marquis of

<sup>1</sup> The poet of *Wallace* is exceptionally strict in making a division after the fourth syllable in his heroic line.

<sup>2</sup> Diez, *Ueber die erste portugiesische Kunst- und Hof-Poesie*, p. 40:—  
 “Ja nicht selten ist nur die Sylbenzahl das was ihuen den Vers macht.”

Santillana to the Constable of Portugal, which is the first clear enunciation of the new principles of the Art, is a century before Tottel's Miscellany.

In Spain there was the same difficulty with the Italian heroic verse as there had been with the French and Provençal, and the cause of the difficulty was *arte mayor*. Instead of the common Italian stresses in the fourth or the sixth syllable, they broke into the cantering pace of the national tunes and stressed the fifth. This irregularity is the subject of the second part of M. Morel-Fatio's paper; it is pointed out and explained by Francisco de Salinas. The whole passage is worth quoting:—

“ ‘ *Amores me dieron corona de amores.*’

“ Est autem hoc notissimum et celeberrimum apud Hispanos quorum videtur esse proprium quandoquidem eo nec Graeci nec Latini antiquitus usi sunt, neque Itali aut Galli nunc utuntur. Quanquam citra triginta annos in usu non ita frequens esse desiit, postquam Hispani coeperunt imitari, neque infelici successu, compositiones Italicas et Gallicas, quas cantiones et soneta vocant. Atque adeo tenaciter hoc metrum majorum nostrorum animis inhaerebat ac auribus arridebat, ut cum primum in nostrum idioma versus hendecasyllabos quibus utuntur Itali transferre conati sunt quidam poetae nostrates magni nominis, pro illis in hos quibus assueti fuerant vel inviti delaberentur, ab illis temporum semper et frequenter syllabarum numero et accentuum situ, et arsis et thesis divisione discrepantes.”

Would not this apply to some of the English poets, if we interpreted *hoc metrum majorum nostrorum* of the old tumbling verse of England in place of the Peninsular *arte mayor*? There undoubtedly was something that prevented Sir Thomas Wyatt from making himself secure in his heroic verse; something that led him to put among his heroic verses such anomalies as this:

*To be the right of a Prynces rayghne.* (Satire II.)

The difficulties of the Spanish poets in learning the Italian measure are not unlike those of the English in the sixteenth century, and it seems natural to find similar explanations for both. The old tunes rang in their ears too incessantly for the new kinds of verse to make their way.



## POSTSCRIPT.

Mr. Arthur Platt points out a disrespectful reference to the *arte mayor* in Lope's "War of the Cats" (*Gatomaquia*), in which one of the heroines is named Zapaquilda :—

Y que con una dulce cantilena  
En el arte mayor de Juan de Mena  
Enamoraba el viento.

Mr. Platt has also sent me the following examples of *arte mayor* as used by Calderon :—

Y todos digais en voces diversas,  
Que Cárlos Segundo ofrece á su madre,  
Pues ella admitió de sus años la fiesta,  
Esta fiesta tambien á sus años,  
Que cumplan y gocen edades eternas.

*Loa de Hasta Fieras afemina Amor.*

*Voces.* Y para venganzas á Marte despierta,  
Alienta y anima.

*Todas.* Y al letargo adormida la queja,  
Ni llore ni gima.

*Marte.* De una confusion en otra  
No sé lo que elija ;  
Entre aguas que aduermen, acentos que clevan.  
Y cajas que incitan.

*La Púrpura de la Rosa.*

*Music.* Prosiga la fiesta, [*Bailan*  
Y aclamando á entrambas Deidades,  
Del sol en el cielo, del Inga en la tierra,  
Al son de las voces repitan los ecos,  
Que vivas que reines que triunfes y venzas.

*La Aurora en Copacabana, ad init.*

W. P. K.

V.—CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF THE  
GUTTURAL SOUNDS IN ENGLISH. By HENRY  
CECIL WYLD, of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

[*Read at the Meeting of the Philological Society on Friday, April 14, 1899.*]

PREFATORY REMARKS.

THE following is a study and history of four classes of English sounds:—

1. Old Engl. *c*. Back (guttural) and front (palatal).
2. Old Engl. *Ʒ*. Back and front.
3. Old Engl. *çƷ*.
4. Old Engl. *h*. Back and front.

All these sounds are here considered only as occurring medially and finally. My remarks are based upon an extensive collection of forms which I have culled with no little labour from O.E. and M.E. texts, and from modern dialect glossaries. My collections of Literary English words are from Professor Skeat's larger Etymological Dictionary. I shall discuss the pronunciation of the sounds which I have mentioned in O.E., and it will be seen that in several points I venture to differ from the commonly received views of Messieurs Kluge, Sievers, and Bülbring. I shall then investigate the M.E. forms of O.E. *c*, *Ʒ*, *çƷ*, etc., as they appear in the most important texts of M.E. For this purpose the word-lists are arranged chronologically and geographically, so as to show at once the historical development of the sounds, and their distribution in the various M.E. dialects. With regard to the modern dialects, the arrangement is chiefly geographical, beginning with the North and working down to the extreme South of England. The order of the lists is as far as possible from west to east.

I have also added other lists which show at a glance in which dialects of Modern English many of the most important words of the above-mentioned four classes occur. A special feature of the

paper is the explanation which I venture to offer of the so-called 'irregular' or 'Northern' forms, such as 'seek,' 'think,' 'hagthorn,' 'heckfer,' 'to lig = to lie,' etc., etc. (See p. 247.)

I cannot but think that in the main the law here formulated must be accepted, though it is of course inevitable that many of my applications of it will be disputed, and that opinions will differ as to the exact geographical area over which it obtained.

In conclusion, I have to thank Professors Napier and Wright for their kindness and courtesy at all times in giving me valuable advice and suggestions. To Dr. Sweet I owe far more than I can adequately set down here; not only have I had the privilege of a training in practical phonetics from him, but I have also enjoyed the advantage of frequent private discussion with him of every part of my work in the course of its carrying out.

*Oxford, April, 1899.*

#### LIST OF MIDDLE ENGLISH TEXTS USED IN THE FOLLOWING WORK.

##### SCOTCH AND NORTHERN TEXTS.

- Barbour's Bruce, 1330.  
 Dunbar, E. Lothian, 1460-1520.  
 Gavin Douglas, 1475-1522.  
 Complaynt of Scotland, 1549.
- 
- Metrical Psalter, Yrks., before 1300.  
 Cursor Mundi, Yrks., 1300.  
 Minot, Yrks., 1333-52.  
 Prick of Conscience, Yrks., before 1349.  
 Sir Gawayn, Northern, 1360.  
 Townley Mysteries, Yrks., 1450.  
 Northern Glossary (Wright-Wülcker, xviii), fifteenth century.  
 Wars of Alexander, Yrks., late fifteenth century.  
 Catholicon, Yrks., 1483.  
 Manipulus, Yrks., 1570.

##### MIDLAND TEXTS.

- Alliterative Poems, Lancashire, 1360.  
 Metrical Romances, Lancs., 1420.
- 
- Ormulum, Lincs., 1200.  
 Havelok the Dane, N.E. Midland, 1300.  
 Robert of Brunne, 1338.
-

Hali Meidenhed, W. Midl., 1225.  
 William of Palerne, W. Midl., 1350.  
 Earliest Prose Psalter, W. Midl., 1375.  
 Myrc, Shropshire, 1400.

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MS. Harl., 2,253 (Böddeker's Altenglische Dichtungen), Herefordshire, 1310.  
 A Worcester Glossary (Wright-Wüleker, xiii), twelfth century.  
 Lagamon, Wores., 1205.  
 Guy of Warwick, thirteenth century.  
 Songs and Carols (Wright, Warton Club, 1856), Warwickshire, 1400.  
 Palladius on Husbandrie, Essex, 1420.  
 Peterborough Chronicle, 1122-1154.  
 Bestiary, E. Midl., before 1250.  
 Genesis and Exodus, E. Midl., 1250.  
 Returns of Norfolk Guilds, 1389.  
 Wills and Inventories, Norfolk, fifteenth century.  
 Promptorium, Norfolk, 1440.  
 Bokenham's Poems, Suffolk, before 1447.  
 Wicliffe. E.E.T.S., 1880.  
 Chaucer. Skeat's ed., six vols.  
 Political Songs. Wright, Rolls Series, 1859-61; 2 vols.

## SOUTHERN TEXTS.

St. Katherine, Gloucestershire, 1200.  
 Robt. of Gloucester, 1300.  
 St. Juliana (Metrical Life), Gloucestershire, 1300.  
 Piers Plowman, 1363-93.

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Sir Ferumbras, Devon, 1330.

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St. Editha, Wilts, 1400.

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St. Juliana (Prose Life), Dorset, 1200.  
 Sawles Warde, Dorset, 1210.  
 Wooing of our Lord, Dorset, 1210.  
 Ancren Riwe, Dorset, 1225.  
 Owle and Nightingale, Dorset, 1246-50.

---

Sir Beves of Hamtoun, Hants, 1327.  
 Usages of Winchester, Hants, 1360.

---

Kentish Gospels, 1150.  
 Kentish Homilies (Vespas, A. 22), 1200.  
 Vices and Virtues, Kent, 1200.  
 Moral Ode (MS. Digby, 4), Kent, early thirteenth century.  
 Kentish Sermons, 1200-50.  
 William of Shoreham, Kent, 1307-27.  
 Ayenbite of Inwyt, Kent, 1340.  
 Libeaus Desconus, Kent, 1350.



LIST OF MODERN DIALECTS, WITH AUTHORS OF GLOSSARIES  
HERE USED.

- Northumberland, Heslop, 1892-4.  
 Cumberland, Dickinson, 1878-81.  
 Westmoreland, Wheeler, 1802; Westmoreland and Cumberland, 1839.  
 Durham (Hetton-le-Hole), Palgrave, 1896; Teesdale Glossary, 1849.
- Yorkshire { W. Yrks. (Cleveland), Atkinson, 1869-76.  
 N. Yrks. (Swaledale), Harland, 1873.  
 N.E. Yrks. (Whitby), Robinson, 1876.  
 N.Mid. Yrks. (Windhill), Wright, 1893.  
 Mid. Yrks. , Robinson, 1876.  
 W. Yrks. (Almondsbury and Huddersfield), Easter, 1883.  
 S.W. Yrks. (Sheffield), Addy, 1888-90.
- Lancashire, Nodall and Milner, 1875-82.  
 Cheshire, Holland, 1884-6; South Cheshire, Darlington, 1887.  
 Derbyshire, Pegge, Skeat, Hallam.
- Lincolnshire { N. Lincs., Sutton, 1881.  
 N.E. Lincs., Peacock, 1889.  
 S.W. Lincs., Cole, 1886.
- Shropshire, Jackson, 1879; Salopia Antiqua, Hartshorne, 1841.  
 Staffordshire, Poole, 1880.  
 Leicestershire, Evans, 1881.  
 Rutland, Wordsworth, 1891.  
 Norfolk, Rye (East Anglia, 1895); Spurdens, 1879; Cosens-Hardy, 1893;  
 Nall, 1866.
- Herefordshire, Haverгал, 1887.
- Worcestershire { Upton-on-Severn, Lawson, 1884.  
 W. Wrcs., Chamberlaine, 1882.  
 S.E. Wrcs., Salisbury, 1894.
- Warwickshire, Northall, 1896.  
 Northamptonshire, Baker, 1854.  
 Bedfordshire, Batchelor, 1809 (Glossary at end of "An Orthoëpical Analysis  
 of the English Language").  
 Suffolk, Moore, 1823.  
 Gloucestershire, Robertson, 1890.  
 Oxfordshire, Parker, 1876-81.  
 Berkshire, Lowsley, 1888.  
 Essex, Charnock, 1880; Clarke, Tales in Essex Dialect.  
 W. Somersetshire, Elworthy, 1886.  
 Wiltshire, Dartnell and Goddard, 1893; Akerman, 1842.  
 Surrey, Leveson-Gower, 1876-93.  
 Kent, Parish and Shaw, 1887.
- Cornwall { W. Cornwall, Courtney.  
 E. Cornwall, Couch.  
 Cornish Glossary, Monthly Mag., 1809.  
 " " Journ. of Royal Institution of Cornwall, 1864,  
 Garland; another in same place by Couch; Cornish Tales,  
 Tregelles.
- Devon, Hewett, 1892; (Harland) Chope, 1891; Exmoor Scolding.  
 Dorset, Barnes, 1886.

Hampshire, Cope, 1883.

Isle of Wight, Smith, 1881; Long, 1886.

Sussex, Cooper, 1853; Parish, 1879.

OTHER DICTIONARIES, GLOSSARIES, AND CHIEF WORKS  
USED.

*English Dialect Dictionary*, A to Dinner, Wright.

*Grose*, Provincial Glossary, 1811.

*Ray*, Collection of North Country Words (1691): Pt. iii, Reprinted Glossaries, ed. Skeat, E.D.S., 1874.

*White Kennet (Bp.)*, Parochial Antiquities (with Glossary at end), Oxford, 1695.

<i>Skeat's</i> Reprinted Glossaries—Thanet by Lewes.		Glos'ter by Marshall.
Norfolk, Marshall.		Yorks, Marshall.
Yorks, Willon.		W. Devon, Marshall.

Thoresby's Letter to Ray.

Glossary to Burns' Works, Henley, 1897. (In Vol. IV.)

*Bp. Percy's Folio MS.*, 1867-68, Hales and Furnivall (Gloss in Vol. IV).

*Halliwell's Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words*, 3rd ed., 1855.

*Nares' Glossary*, ed. Halliwell, 1859.

*Dictionary of English Plant-Names*, Britten and Holland, E.D.S., 1878-86.

Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, Bosworth-Toller.

Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary.

Middle English Dictionary, Stratman-Bradley, 1891.

The New English Dictionary, Murray.

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Florio, Worlde of Wordes, 1598.

Cotgrave-Howell, 1673.

Minsheu, Guide into Tongues (Emendatio, 2nd ed.).

Bailey, 2nd ed., 1724.

Kluge, Etymologisches Wörterbuch d. deutschen Sprache.

Wright-Wülcker, Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies, 1884.

*Skeat's* Mæso-Gothic Glossary.

Uhlenbeck, Kurz gefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch der Gotischen Sprache.

<i>Napier</i> {	Letter in <i>Academy</i> , Feb. 22, 1890.
	Notes on Orthography of the Ormulum, Oxford, 1893; also in History of the Holy Rood-tree, ed. Napier, E.E.T.S., 1894.

<i>Streitberg</i> {	Gotisches Elementarbuch, 1897.
	Urgermanische Grammatik, 1896. (Urgerm. Gr.)

<i>Sievers</i> {	Phonetik, 4 Aufl., 1893.
	Angelsächsische Grammatik, 3 Aufl., 1898. (A.S. Gr.)

*Morsbach*, Mittelenglische Grammatik, 1st part, 1896. (M.E. Gr.)

<i>Sweet</i> {	History of English Sounds, 1888. (H.E.S.)
	Oldest English Texts: Facsimile of Epinal Glossary.
	Anglo-Saxon Reader, 7th ed., 1894. (A.S. Reader.)
	Primer of Phonetics.

*Paul*, Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie, Bd. i, 1891. (Grundr.)

*Paul und Braune*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Litteratur. (P.B.B.)

Cook, A Glossary of the Old Northumbrian Gospels, 1894.

Lindelöf, Glossar zur altnorth. Evangelienübersetzung in der Rushworthhandschrift, 1897.

*Ten Brink*, Chaucer's Sprache und Verskunst, 2 Aufl., Kluge, 1899. (Chaucer's Spr.)

*Brate*, Nordische Lehnwörter in Ormulum (in P.B.B., x).

*Kluge*, Geschichte der Englischen Sprache (in Grundr., pp. 781-90), cited by page.

*Bülbring*, Beiblatt zur Anglia: July-August, 1898, and February, 1899.

*Skeat*, List of Books illustrating English Dialects, 1873-75. (E.D.S.)

*Wright*, Englische Mundarten, Grundr., Bd. i, p. 975.

(These last two works are invaluable as bibliographical guides.)

*Brandl*, M.E. Literaturgeschichte, in Grundr., ii, pp. 609-718.

## I.

### O.E. *c*.

O.E. *c* corresponds to Germanic *\*k*, Indo-Germanic *\*g*. O.E. *céosan*, Goth. *kisan*, Gk. *γέωω*; O.E. *ƿæc*, O.Icel. *þak*, Lat. *tego*; O.E. *cyn*, Goth. *kuni*, Gk. *γένος*, etc. O.E. *c* occurs initially, medially, and finally; it may stand before all vowels, and before *l*, *n*, *r*.

*c* in O.E. is the symbol both of a back (guttural) and of a front (palatal) sound.

Before a primitive back vowel *c* was a back-stop consonant in O.E., and also before *y*, *e*, *æ*, etc. = Germ. *\*u*, *-o*, *á*, with *i*-umlaut; and before consonants such as *l*, *r*, etc.

On the other hand, *c* was fronted before original front vowels, *i*, *e*, etc., before Germ. *\*j*, and when final, after front vowels (Sweet, H.E.S., § 539, but cf. § 74). In O.E. itself the *\*j* has disappeared, leaving its mark, however, by fronting a preceding back vowel. Thus *bóc* has dat. sing. and n. pl. *béc* = *\*bóki*, *\*bókiz* (cf. Streitberg, Urgerm. Gr., p. 249). The *ó* here is fronted to *é* through the medium of the *\*k*, O.E. *béc* therefore must have had a fronted *c*, and that this was actually the case is proved by the M.E. forms *bæch* (Mk., i, 2), *bech* (Lk., iii, 4), in Kentish Gospels, MS. Hatton, 38, circ. 1150, where *-ch* = O.E. fronted *c*. (Fronted *c* will henceforth be written *č*.) The best test of the front character of an O.E. *c* is its appearance as *ch* in Middle and Modern English. See on above, Sweet, H.E.S., p. 143, and A.S. Reader (7th ed., §§ 110-20); Kluge, Paul's Grundr., Bd. i, pp. 836-40; Sievers, A.S. Gr., §§ 206, 207.

*Pronunciation.*

With regard to *e*, there seems no reason for doubting that it had the character of a back-stop consonant in O.E., in all cases where that sound is found in the Modern English equivalents *bóc* 'book,' *lócian* 'look,' *drinkan* 'drink,' *smoca* 'smoke,' *stracian* 'to stroke,' etc.

The question of the pronunciation of *é* is much more difficult to determine, and opinion is divided on the subject. On one point everyone is agreed, namely, that *é* was clearly distinguished in sound from *e*; the question which awaits settlement is, had O.E. *é* the sound of Engl. *ch*, i.e. a point-teeth-stop consonant followed by a blade-point-open consonant, or had it some sound intermediate between this and the back stop?

Kluge's view is clearly expressed in *Grundr.*, p. 839, where he says:—"Im Süden ist *é* seit dem 10 Jahrh. in der Palatisierung (*tš*) [that is our *ch* sound] vorangeschritten. Zunächst ist gewiss *kj*, *tj*, für *é* eingetreten." He cites cases of the spelling *eġ* for *tġ*, e.g.: *orezeard*, *Cur.-Past.*, 487, for *ortzeard*; *muncziu*, *Wulfstan*, ed. Napier, p. 152 = *muntzuw*, etc.; *feccan* from *fetian* (*Platt*, *Angl.* 6, 177). From these spellings Kluge infers the pronunciation '*tj*' for O.E. *é*. The pronunciation *tš* for M.E. *ch* must, he thinks, have arisen early, in support of which view he adduces M.E. *etch* = O.E. *edisċ*, and Mod. Engl. French for *frenċisċ*, M.E. *worċip* = O.E. *wurþsċipe*, etc. No less categorical is the statement of Sievers, *Angls. Gr.*, § 206 (4):—"Die palatalen verschlusslaute *č* und (*e*)*č* sind offenbar bereits ziemlich frühe zu palatalen affricaten d. h. lauten von dem Klange der neuengl. *ch* und *dg* (also annähernd *tš* und *dž* geworden). Dies ergibt sich aus den formen wie *orceard*, *fececan* (neuengl. *orchard*, *fetch*), etc."

Bülbring, in a most valuable article which just appeared (in "Beiblatt zur *Anglia*," February, 1899), "Was lässt sich aus dem gebrauch der buchstaben *k* und *e* im *Mattäus-Evangelium* des *Rushworth-Manuscripts* folgern?" expresses his views as follows: "Die thatsache, dass *Farman* seinen gebrauch des *e* und *k* im anlaut nach dem Lateinischen geregelt hat, ist nicht ohne wert für die bestimmung des lautwertes des ae. *é* zu seiner Zeit und in seiner Mundart. Nicht nur sieht man, dass er sich deutlich eines Unterscheides zwischen dem anlaut z.b. von *ċiken* und *kinig* bewusst war; sondern es muss eine gewisse ähnlichkeit der



aussprache des *c*. z.b. in ae. *cerdem* und lat *certum* gewesen sein, die ihn zu der oben dargelegten unterscheidung brachte. Da er das lat *c* vor palatalen vokalen wie (*ts*) sprach, so muss er das ae. *ċ* ebenfalls dental gesprochen haben, d.h. ganz oder ungefähr wie ne. (*tš*)."

(See, however, Bülbring's remarks in *Anglia* Beiblatt, July-August, 1898, at bottom of p. 74, where the distinction is very clearly drawn between "palatalization and subsequent dentalization," etc., with which I largely agree.)

As against above views, Sweet has always maintained that O.E. *ċ* was a front-stop consonant (see H.E.S., § 496, and A.S. Reader, Introduction, § 120). This view, which I believe to be the only sound one, has hardly been stated by Sweet himself with sufficient cogency, and has perhaps on this account been pretty generally ignored by other scholars. By a front stop is simply meant a stop formed with that part of the tongue which is used in forming the (German) *j*-sound. This latter sound is in fact the front-open-voice consonant, the voiceless form of it being the final sound in German 'ich.' In forming the front stops the middle or 'front' part of the tongue is pressed against the hard palate just behind the alveolars, the effect being that of a kind of *t* or *d*, according to whether there is voice or not. When the stop is opened a *j*-like off-glide is heard, and it is this off-glide that gives the sound its very characteristic 'colour.' These stops are heard in Sw. *kyssa*, *kenna*; Russ. *дядя*, 'uncle,' and *мать*, 'mother.' I submit the following reasons for considering the several contentions (which, indeed, vary slightly) of Messrs. Kluge, Sievers, and Bülbring untenable:—

Firstly. The process of passing from a back or even perhaps a root-stop consonant to a point-teeth stop + a blade-point-open (which is practically what the above scholars mean by such symbols as *tš*, etc.), must of necessity be a very long one.

Secondly. O.E. *ċ* is constantly doubled, and there would be no reason for doubling what is already a complex sound. Thus, if O.E. *ċ* = *tš*, O.E. *ċċ* must = either *tštš* or *ttšš*, which are unpronounceable combinations. *ċ* must therefore have been a single, simple sound.

Thirdly. If O.E. *ċ* had really become a double sound it could not possibly have become *k*, as we know it did in certain combinations, cf. M.E. *sekþ* = O.E. *seċþ*. To suppose that *ċ* had got over all the stages from *k* to point-teeth *t*, had also developed the

*sh* sound after it, and could then suddenly go right back to *k* again, is surely unreasonable.

Fourthly. M.E. forms like *bleinte*, *queinte*, *seinte* = O.E. *blenċte*, *cwenċte*, *senċte*, could only have been produced by the influence of a front stop. These forms are not particularly early (I have found more in R. of Glos., 1300, than in any other text), and they seem to show that *ċ* remained a front stop pure and simple until well into the M.E. period. Had O.E. *ċ* already = *tš*, it seems to me inconceivable that the *-eint* forms could ever have arisen at all. This diphthongizing process will be discussed later on in considering the fate of *ċ* in M.E.

The well-worn arguments based on *orceard*, *feccan*, etc., which appear regularly in all discussions of this question, are surely entirely without cogency, and the spellings tell quite as much in favour of the front-stop theory as of the other. Putting aside the fact that the identity of *fetian* and *feccan* is doubtful, it would be quite sound to suppose that the combination *tj* or *ti* of *fetian* had been assimilated to a simple consonant, and that a front stop. This process is a common one, and Russian, for instance, has many examples of it. *няня*, 'nurse,' is not pronounced *nia nia* or *nja nja*, but with a front nasal followed by *-a*; *дядя*, 'uncle,' does not = *dia dia* or *dja dja*, but front-stop voice followed by *-a*.

I have insisted thus strongly on the nature of O.E. *ċ*, because the phenomena which meet us in inquiring into the subsequent history of this sound are to me unintelligible on any other assumption than the one I have endeavoured to justify.

#### *Graphical Distinction between O.E. c and ċ.*

The earliest linguistic monuments of O.E. are the Runic inscriptions. Of these the most important are the Bewcastle inscription (Cumberland), circ. 670, and the Ruthwell Cross (Dumfriesshire), circ. 680. There are three different Runic symbols for the *c*, *ċ* sounds, which represent perhaps the front *ċ*, the front variety of the back stop, and the back-stop normal position. The following list gives all the examples of each variety that occur in Vietor's "Die Northumbrischen Runensteine," 1895. Vietor transliterates the Runic symbols by *c*, *ċ*, and *k*, *c* being front and

*c* back, but in the present list I shall use *c* for the front stop, as throughout this paper, *c* for the back stop, and *k* for the modification of the so-called *gár* rune.

*Words with c*—Aléfripu, Bew.  
 Beçun, Leeds.  
 Çuþbercht, Lanc.  
 Çynibalþ, Lanc.  
 Kyniqê, Ru.  
 Liçes, gen. sing., Ru.  
 Riçæs, gen. sing., adj., Bew.  
 Riçnæ, ac. sing., Ru.  
 Sigbeçun, Bew.  
 Iè, Ru.

On the *c* in these words see also Bülbring, *Anglia Beiblatt*, July-August, 1898, p. 74.

*Words with c*—Becun, Thornhill.  
 Crist, Ru.  
 Cristtus, Bew.  
 Cwomu, Ru.  
 Cyniburug, Bew.

*Words with k*—Kyniq, Bew., acc. sing.  
 Kynige, Ru.  
 Uqket, pron. dual acc., Ru.

*c and c̄ in the MS.*

The early glossaries do not distinguish between *c* and *c̄* in any consistent manner. In the *Corpus Gloss* (Sweet, *Oldest E.T.*) I can only find that *k* occurs twice: *kylle*, 231, *kaelið*, 1119. This gloss is early eighth century. The *Epinal* does not seem to have any example of *k* at all in English words. *c* is used in these glossaries both for the back and front sound, before all vowels. *Ep.* and *Erfurt* occasionally write *-ci* for the latter sound, as *birçiae*, 'birch,' *Ep.* 792 and *Erf.* 1609; *Erf.* also has *çiae* 240, 'a chough'; *Ep.* at same place writes *çyae*.

In West Saxon there is a pretty regular diphthongization of primitive front vowels after *i* in the later texts, and before *a* and *o* an *e* is written, while *eu* often appears as *ciu*—*drencium*, *eci*um, etc. (See *Sievers, Angls. Gr.*, § 206, p. 103.) In Kentish

and Mercian *i* does not diphthongize. Kt., Merc. *e* = W.S. *æ*, but Northumbrian (Rushw. and Lindisfarne) hesitates between *æ* and *ea*. (Sievers, A.S. Gr., § 157, 3.) In *Beowulf* *kyning* occurs four times with *k*, in lines 619, 665, 2,335, and 3,170; these are the only cases of *k* in the whole poem. In *Cura Pastoralis* *k* is used in both MSS., but by far the greater number of the words in which it occurs appear in other parts of the text, often on the same page, with *e*. The following is a list of all the cases I have found of *k* in this text as printed by Mr. Sweet (E.E.T.S., xlv and l). The numbers refer to the page in Mr. Sweet's edition. I have not always thought it worth while to say whether a word which occurs several times on a page is always in the same case; thus, on p. 2 we have *kyning* and *kynings*, but the reference is simply 'kyning 2 (twice).'

*Cotton MS.* has *k* (initially) in the following words: *kyning* 2 (twice), 8, 32 (twice), 36, 38 (twice), 84, 90, 110, 112, 120, 144, 182, 186, 196, 252, 374; *kyðan* 2; *kyðde* 146, (*gekyðde*) 150; *kyðonne* 300, 310; *angelkynne* 2, 6 (twice); *kynn* 84; *kynelic* 84 (five times); *akolige* 150; *kræft* 152; *karcernu* 204; *kyclum* (darts) 296; *koka* (Cooks' gen. pl.) 310 (three times); *kolossensum* 310. Medially *k* appears but rarely; the cases are: *gioke* 196, 200; *koka* (see above); *ascoke* (shake) 310.

*The Hatton MS.* has the following examples of *k* initially: *kyning* 3 (twice), 9, 37, 39, 85, 91, 111, 113, 121, 145, 183, 197, 253, 375, 393 (twice); *kynerices* 6; *kyðað* 21; *kyðanne* 306, 363; *gekyðð* 359; *keled* 57 (Cott. aled); *kynelicne* 85 (three times); *kynn* 85, 353; *kenning* 97; *kystig* 149, 327; *kristes* 213, 317, 323; *kelnesse* 309; *koka* 311 (three times); *akenned* 313; *kynrena*, *kycglum* 297; *kokke*, *kokkum* 459; *kok* 459, 461; *kylle* 469 (twice). Of medial *k* I have found the following examples: *geoke* 197; *gioke* 201; *koka* 311; *ascoke* 311; *ðicke* 329; *fordikige* 361, 383; *æker* 411; *kokke* and *kokkum* 459; *murkien* 467. I have only found two examples of final *-k*: *kok* 459, 461.

Professor Bülbring (*Anglia Beiblatt*, February, 1899) has given an exhaustive account of the use of *k* in Rushworth<sup>1</sup>.

I disagree to a great extent with Mr. Bülbring's views on the degree of 'palatalization' which took place in the North, so far as I understand his remarks on this subject in the above article, and in *Anglia Beiblatt*, July-August, 1898, p. 74, etc.; but as this subject will be discussed in another part of the present paper,



I will do no more here than say that he seems to me, on this particular point, to reason in a circle. It is assumed that in words like sóðlice, cuplice, swilce, etc., there was a *k*-sound in the Northern dialects. But Farman, the writer of MS. Rushworth<sup>1</sup>, never writes one, "not even sometimes," therefore, says Mr. Bülbring, he could not have been a Northerner. Now, as the arguments in favour of the statement that Northern dialects had the back sound in above words are of the slightest possible kind (see Bülbring, pp. 75 and 291), it would be rather more reasonable to assume that *k* does not appear in these words in this Northern MS. for the simple reason that *i* and not *e* was pronounced in the North.

In the work known as Rushworth<sup>2</sup>, *k* is not used at all. For this sound *ch* is occasionally written, as folches, wlonches (see Bülbring, pp. 75 and 291, and Lindelöf). Michil, etc., which occurs in the Durham Book (see Cook's Glossary), seems also to be an example of *ch* for *k*. At any rate, *ch* was a not uncommon symbol for *k* in the latest O.E. and earliest M.E. period, and we find spellings like Chingestone = Kingston, Chemere = Keymer in the Sussex Domesday Book (ed. Parish, 1886).

The spelling in Domesday Book is, however, very irregular, and *ch* is not infrequently written for *i*, as in Berchlie = Birch, Berches; Beche = Beech; Bechingtone = Bechington. Chetel, a tenant's name, may be either Norse Kettil with *e*, or Engl. Chettle with *i*. On the other hand, we find Calvingtone = Chalvington; Cerlestone = Charlston; and Cicestre = Chichester (see lists of Place and Tenant's Names, in Parish's edition).

In the Peterborough Chronicle (MS. Laud, 636, ed. Thorpe, and recently Earle) there seems to be hardly any trace of *k*, except in foreign words, before the year 1122. Under Ann. 1091 we find, however, Kiæresburh = Cherbourg, and under Ann. 1098 átwingan (but gemakian 1102). Otherwise, so far as I can see, we find for both back and front sounds in this part of the text. With Ann. 1122, however, the handwriting changes and we now get kyng, king, etc., but *e* still is used for both sounds; thus we get circe, cinnemen (Ann. 1129). After 1135 *k* is used much more frequently, but by no means exclusively for the back sound, and we find cursede (1137); and, on the other hand, made, swikes (1135), smoked, snakes (1137). The spelling Kiæresburh is curious, and seems to point to the fact that the French front sound of *ch*, whatever it was, differed from that

of English *ċ*, otherwise we should not find the rather strange combination *kiæ-* in a text where *k* is practically not used at all. It should be mentioned, however, that a little earlier in the same text (1096) *Campeine* occurs for 'Champagne.'

To sum up, then, we can never be absolutely certain that any given *c* in O.E. is front unless it occur in a Runic form, accompanied by diphthongization of a following vowel, or after a vowel which shows *i*-umlaut. We cannot be absolutely certain that O.E. *c* is back except (1) from etymological considerations; (2) if it be written with a guttural rune, or with a *k*. But there are many cases when we have absolutely no evidence in O.E. at all. Thus, for instance, we know that *seccan* and *sece* had *ċ*, but we cannot affirm with equal certainty that the front sound occurred in 3rd sing. *secþ*. We may now pass to *ċ* and *c* in Middle English, and here we are on much firmer ground.

#### *O.E. c and ċ in M.E.*

In the early transition texts of twelfth century a certain confusion still prevails with regard to the spelling for O.E. *c* and *ċ*; but on the whole we may say that the use of *ch* for *ċ* is well established, and the deviations from this rule may generally be explained by the fact that many of these early texts are copied from older MSS. in which *c* is used indiscriminately. Thus, for example, in the Kentish Gospels (MS. Hatton, 38, circ. 1150), the influence of the old spelling is everywhere obvious.

In this text we have *c* = O.E. *ċ* in *secan*, Lk. xix, 10; *rice*, Lk. xix, 14; *micelen*, Lk. xi, 4; *ceastre*, *passim*; *cyldre*, Lk. xviii, 15; *wyrce*, Lk. xxii, 11. *ċ* written *ch*: *chyld*, Mk. x, 24; *zechure*, Joh. xv, 16; *cheapiað*, Lk. xix, 13; *chyrcan*, Mat. xvi, 18; *chikene*, Mat. xxiii, 37; *chalf*, Lk. xv, 27; *cheastre*, Mat. iv, 13. The combination *sc* is always written *se* in this text, and to this there is but one exception, in the word *bischoþ*, Joh. xi, 54. This is, so far as I can see after a careful search, the only example of this spelling in the MS., and, I believe, the earliest example yet pointed out.

Hatton, 38, has four ways of expressing back *c*: first, *k*; second, *c* or *cc*; third, *ch*; fourth, *ck*. On the whole, it is correct to say that *k* and *ck* are generally written before front vowels, *c* before consonants and back vowels. *Akenned*, Joh. ix, 20;

taken, sb., Joh. ix, 16; spræken, pret. pl., Joh. ix, 22; drinke, Mat. vi, 32; kyng, Lk. xix, 38; but lockan, dat. pl., Joh. x, 2; lickeres, Mat. xxii, 18. Examples of *c* are: werces, sb., Joh. iv, 34; *cō*, Lk. xix, 38; bocce, Joh. xx, 30; clypeden, Mat. xxi, 19, etc. *ch* = *k* is not of frequent occurrence, and occurs principally in foreign words, as chanan, fichtre. In the forms sicchelse (sic), Mat. xxvii, 28, sicchele, Mat. xxviii, 31, ætsóch, Lk. xxii, 57, we have also apparently *ch* = *k*. The collection of Homilies in MS. Vespas, A. 22, is also Kentish, but about fifty years later than the Hatton Gospels. The spelling of the Homilies is practically that of the Gospels, and here again the O.E. version, from which they are copied, makes its influence felt. *ch* is used for *c*, but *c* is quite as common; *ch* also occurs for *c* in dierchin; *k* apparently is not used at all. The so-called Kentish Sermons (Laud, 471), circ. 1200–50, do not present the same curious uncertainty in the use of *c* and *ch*, and the latter spelling is by this time assured for the front sound, and *k* or *ck* are almost exclusively used for the back sound, though *c* is retained before *l*, etc. Examples: child (Epiph., etc.), chold = cold (Second Sermon; the same word is also written schald in same sermon), speche (Epiph.), kinkriche (Second Sermon), seches (Epiph.); of *k* and *ck*: werkes (Epiph.), betockneþ (Fifth Sermon), besekeþ (Second Sermon), akelp = chilleth (Second Sermon).

*ch* is also used in this text for the front open consonant, as almichti (Epiph.), bricht (Epiph.), þurch, through (Second Sermon). In another Kentish text of the same period or a little earlier (Vices and Virtues) the same distinction between back and front *c* is regularly made.

In the three Dorsetshire texts of this period—St. Juliana (prose version), 1200; Sawles Warde, 1210; and Ancren Riwele, 1225—*ch* is regularly written for the front sound, and *c*, *k*, or *ck* for the back. We may therefore say, that from the beginning of the thirteenth century onwards, there is no further doubt in most texts, as to whether, in any given case, we are dealing with the front or back sound.

#### *Distribution of c(k) and ch in M.E.*

In O.E. Germanic *k* is fronted in all dialects, in all cases where the circumstances admit of the fronting process—that is,



before original front vowels; and when it is the medium of the *i*-umlaut, probably also finally after front vowels. Under ordinary conditions this fronted *ċ* should become *ch* in M.E. But in M.E. we are met with the fact that whereas in the South, fronting of this consonant takes place in nearly all cases where we should expect it to occur, in North Midland and Northern texts there are many apparent anomalies, and we find forms like *seken* instead of *sehen*, *thenken* instead of *thenchen*, etc. Now, if these *k* forms occurred regularly in Northern and North Midland texts, if they were the only forms in these texts, and if the *ch* forms alone occurred in Southern texts, we should be justified in assuming that the *ch* forms were the characteristic representatives of O.E. *ċ* in the South, but that in North Midland and in the North, O.E. *ċ* was with equal regularity unfronted and made into *k*. Then we should also be justified in explaining those *k* forms which occur in Modern Standard English as Northern loan forms; the whole question would resolve itself into a question of geography, and there would be, so far as I can see, no further difficulties in connection with these *k* forms. But, unfortunately for this view, it turns out upon closer examination of the evidence, that not only are there plenty of *ch* forms in Northern texts, from a very early date in M.E., but that there are perhaps quite as many *k* forms in the South.

The evidence of the Mod. Engl. dialects is quite as striking. Certainly there are far more *k* forms in the North than in the South, but there are too many *k* forms in the latter group of dialects, and too many *ch* forms in the former, to be accounted for merely by a theory of extensive borrowing.

The theory for which I hope in the following pages to establish, at least, a very strong probability, is that the fronted and non-fronted forms existed side by side, in the same dialects, at a certain period of O.E. I shall endeavour to show what were the special conditions under which *ċ* became *k*. Having shown that these doublets could and did occur extensively in O.E., I shall hope to prove that there is abundant reason to believe that for a certain time both forms were retained in the Southern dialects, and that later on the Northern dialects showed a special predilection for the *-k* forms, although they retained many *-ch* forms; while in the South, although most of the *-k* forms were gradually eliminated, many survived, and still survive, alongside of the more frequent *-ch* forms.



I shall delay formulating the law for the origin of the *-k* forms, and a discussion of its application and scope, until we have passed in review all the evidence I have collected for the development of the gutturals in M.E. and the modern dialects. This final discussion will also include that of the so-called irregular developments of O.E. *cȝ*, *ȝ*, and *h*, as I believe these are due to similar phonetic conditions. I shall not discuss here the irregular development of initial O.E. *ċ* in *kirk*, *kaff* (= *chaff*), etc., as we are dealing only with medial and final *ċ*, etc. I give here a few illustrations of the strange dialectal distribution of the *ch* and *k* forms in M.E., which the lists which follow exemplify more fully.

*k* forms in Southern texts: Kentish Gospels has *swinked*; *ilken*. *Vices and Virtues*: *besekeȝ*, *besekeȝ*, *ȝeinkinde*. *Ayenbite*: *awreke*, vb., *smec*, and *smac*, 'taste,' *waki*, sb., 'watch,' *azenkte*, *ilke*, *workinde*. *Libeau Desconus*: *ȝinkȝ*, *pricked*. *Wohunge*: *pik*, .sb. *Ancr. Riwle*: *prikke*, sb., *swuc* (= 'such'), *tukeȝ* 'chastiseth,' *stenc* sb. *Owle and Nightingale*: *tukest*, 'twitchest.' *Sir Ferumbras* (Devon, 1380): *deke* 'ditch,' *prykke* sb., *reke* 'rich.'

*ch* forms in Northern texts: *Cursor Mundi*: *rich*, adj.; *wreche*, sb. and adj.; *speche* sb., *spech* vb.; *ȝicche* sb. *Minot*: *feched*, 'wreche,' sb. *Allit. Poems*: *biseche* vb., *aliche* 'alike'; *dych* sb.; *pich* sb., *seche* vb., *wrech* 'vengeance.' *Catholicon*: *bechtre fagus*, a *leche medicus*, *riche copiosus*, to *teche*, etc. *Levins* (Yorks, 1570): *ache*, sb. and vb. (rhymes to *spinache*), *blache*, *bleche*, *rich*, *pich*, *ditch*, *itche*. *Dunbar*: *siche* 'such,' *streich* adj. 'stiff,' *teich* vb. *Wars of Alexander*: *liche* 'a body,' *reche* vb. (reach). *Seche* vb., *siche* 'such.' *Havelok* (N.E. Midl.): *lich* 'like,' *ich* 'I,' *swich* 'such.'

*The forms in -einte, etc.*

These forms of the p.p. and pret. do not appear to be very numerous, widely spread, or to have survived much beyond the fifteenth century. I have noted only one, *adreinte*, in *Minot*; in *Brunne*, *dreynt*; in *Mire*, *i-queynt*; in *Chaucer*, *queynt*, *dreynte*, and *bleynte*; in *St. Juliana* (metrical), *adreynte*. Most of my examples are from *Rob. of Glos.*, who has *adreint*, *adreynt*, *aseint*, *blenyte* (= *bleynte*), *dreinte*, and *dreynt*. In this text occur also the forms *adreincte*, *aseincte*, and *bleincte*. The *Leominster MS.* (Harl., 2,253) has *dreynt*, *seint* (sunk), *wreint*, from \**wrenchen*. *Gavin Douglas* has two examples in his poems,

drint and quent, which are perhaps the latest examples. These forms could, so far as I can imagine, only arise while O.E. *ċ* was still a front-stop consonant. They appear only before *t*. The process must have been as follows: front stop + point-teeth stop became by assimilation double, or long front stop; the preceding nasal had already been fronted, probably by the original single front stop. This heavy combination of front consonants developed a parasitic vowel after the *e* which went before it, giving \*bleiñcē, etc. Such a form as this might either become \*bleinche or, by advancing the long-front stop to a point-teeth stop, bleiñte, with subsequent pointing of the front nasal. As the ending *-te* was required by analogy, for the termination of preterites and past participles, these latter changes were those which occurred. Forms like adreynt are obviously new formations, with the vowel combination of 'dreynte,' and the consonantal peculiarity of forms like adrenkþ, etc. But in several texts the combination *-nēt* becomes *-neht* without diphthongizing the preceding vowels, giving *ewenchte*, etc.; in this case *ċ* must have early become a blade stop, with a strong glide after it, without fronting the *n*.

*M.E.* -ght, etc. = *O.E.* ċt.

Chaucer has *twight*, pret. of *twicchen*, *streight* from *strecchen*, *prighte* from \**pricchen*. *Rob. of Glos.*, *schrighte* from \**schricchen*, *pigt* from \**picchen*, etc. These forms are apparently due to a desire to avoid the combination *-ċt*. The front stop is opened, to a front open consonant before a following point-teeth stop. It is possible that 'blight' in Mod. Engl. may be explained in this way. We are quite justified in assuming an O.E. vb., \**blicčan*, \**blecčan*; for the form 'blichenyng' = 'mildew, blight' occurs in *Palladius on Husbandrie*, while *blechest* and *blecheþ* occur in *Ayenbite* in the sense of 'to hurt, injure.'

The form *blecþa* 'vitiligo' occurs in the *Corpus Gloss.*, Sweet, O.E.T., 1069, p. 107, and *Wright-Wülcker*, 53. 28, which form, from \**blecčan*, is analogous to O.E. *gicþa*, from *gicčan*. Had *blecþa* survived in M.E. we should have got *blekþe*, just as we get *zykþe* in *Promptorium*. But before the *-t* suffix O.E. *ċ* has been opened, as in *pight*, *pright*, etc. This explanation seems more satisfactory than the negative results obtained by Murray in N.E.D., who, by the way, ignores the *Corpus* form, though he doubtfully quotes 'blichenyng' from *Palladius*.

*Pronunciation of M.E. ch, cch, etc.*

The date at which O.E. *ċ* acquired its present sound of point-teeth + blade-point-open consonant, cannot be determined with precision. Most German scholars, as we have seen, attribute this pronunciation to *ċ* already in the O.E. period, and reasons against such a view have been advanced above. For Mr. Sweet's views on the question see H.E.S., pp. 193 and 291. He denies the existence of the sound in early M.E., but assumes it for late M.E., his earliest example of the spelling *-tch* being *stretche*, from Wicliffe. For a long time I practically agreed with this view, as the only earlier example of *-tch* which I knew was from Minot, who has *wretche*. I therefore assumed that the middle of the fourteenth century was the earliest period at which the existence of the present sound could be proved. I have now, however, found two examples of *tch* about a century earlier. Both are from E. Midl. texts; Genesis and Exodus (*circ.* 1250) has *fetchden* (line 2,889), and the Bestiary of same date has *witches*, sb. pl., 542. This reading, which is that of the MS., is, curiously enough, relegated to a footnote by Morris, who has restored *wiches* in the text.

Another early case of *-tch* is in the Metrical Psalter (before 1300), which has *wretchednes*, Ps. 106, verse 10.

From these examples it would perhaps seem that we ought to admit that *ch* had practically its present pronunciation, at least as early as the middle of the thirteenth century. But Mr. Sweet tells me that he attaches no importance to the sporadic early spellings with *-tch* quoted above, so that the question is still an open one. I record the facts, and leave scholars to draw their own conclusions. The *-tch* spellings are in any case extremely rare, and the Promptorium is the earliest text in which they are fairly common. Here we have *latchyn*, *watche*, *wetche*, etc. Dunbar has *wretchis*, and the Complaynt of Scotland has numerous spellings of the kind.

From what has been said in the foregoing section regarding the dialectal distribution of the *-ch* and *-k* forms, it follows that Kluge's remarks (Grundriss, p. 844) to the effect that O.E. *ċȝ*, and by implication O.E. *ċ*, never reached the assimilated stage of *-dȝ* and *-tch* in the North of England, require some modification.



O.E. *-c* was fully ultimately assibilated in the North as well as in the South, under similar conditions. There were factors, however, which in some dialects unfronted O.E. *c* before it got beyond the stage of front stop. These factors most certainly obtained in the South, so that there, at any rate, there were some *c*'s which never reached the assibilated stage.

## II.

### O.E. $\xi$ .

O.E.  $\xi$  represents a front and a back consonant. The front variety we shall write  $\xi$ . O.E.  $\xi$  has a double origin; it = (1) Germanic *\*j*, Indo-Germanic *\*j* or *\*j*; (2) Germanic *\*g*, Indo-Germ. *\*gh*. The back form of O.E.  $\xi$  = Germanic *\*g*, Indo-Germ. *\*gh*. Examples of the O.E.  $\xi$  = Germ. *g* are O.E.  $\xi$ ós, O.H.G. kans, Lat. (h)anser, Gk.  $\chi$ ῆν; cf. also O. Bulg. gasī, etc., O.E.  $\xi$ át, 'a goat,' Goth. gaitis, Lat. hœdus. Examples of O.E.  $\xi$  = *\*j* are O.E.  $\xi$ eoce, Goth. juk, Lat. jugum, O. Bulg. igo, O.E.  $\xi$ eo $\xi$ , Goth. juggs, Lat. juveneus.

O.E.  $\xi$  = Germ. *\*g* represents a back sound, before all original back vowels and their mutations; before O.E.  $\text{æ}$  = Germ. *a* before nasals; and before the consonants *l*, *r*, and *n*. It always represents the front sound when it = Germ. *\*j*; and when = *\*g* before original front vowels, and all O.E. diphthongs whatever their origin, and the mutations of these; diphthongization is a sure sign that the  $\xi$  which immediately precedes it is a front  $\xi$ . The geminated  $\xi$  nearly always = Germ. *gj*, and this in O.E. is always front. There are only a few words (such as  $\text{do}\xi\xi\text{ga}$ ,  $\text{fro}\xi\xi\text{ga}$ , etc.) in which the double  $\xi$  is not of the above origin, and then it represents a back sound. Medially after vowels, and after *l*, *r*,  $\xi$  may be either back or front, according to the nature of the preceding vowel. (See on above questions Sweet, H.E.S., pp. 146-149; A.S. Reader, xliii-xlvi; Kluge, Grundriss, pp. 841-844; Sievers, Angls. Gr., §§ 211-216.)

### *Pronunciation of O.E. $\xi$ and $\xi$ and $\text{c}\xi$ .*

As to the pronunciation of initial  $\xi$ , most scholars are agreed that it was that of an open voice consonant, back or front according to the conditions stated above. For statement of this view, see



Braune, Beiträge, Bd. i, p. 514, note; Ten Brink, Anglia, Bd. i, p. 515; Sievers, Anglia, i, p. 575; Sievers, O.E. Gr., §§ 211, 212; Paul, P.B.B., i, pp. 173-183; Kluge, Grundriss, p. 841; Napier, Academy, February 22, 1890, p. 123; Wright, Dialect of Windhill, § 315; Streitberg, Urgerm. Gr., p. 120, etc., etc. Against this formidable array of authorities, however, we have the weighty opinion of Mr. Sweet, who holds directly the contrary view: see Proceedings of Phil. Soc., February, 1883; H.E.S., pp. 145, 146; A.S. Reader, pp. xlv, xlvi. Zupitza also, formerly expressed the opinion that initial  $\zeta$  was a stop (see Vorrede, p. vii, to his edition of Cynewulf's *Elene*, 1877), but I learn from Professor Napier that he afterwards recanted this opinion. Mr. Sweet's view is that O.E. initial  $\zeta$  was a back-voice stop, initial  $\zeta$  a front-voice stop whether it = Germ. \* $\gamma$  or Germ. \* $\jmath$ . As we are, on the present occasion, only discussing non-initial  $\zeta$ , we need not weigh the arguments in favour of either view on the question of initial  $\zeta$ , but may merely note in passing that Mr. Sweet has advanced some grave arguments in favour of his view, which have never been met or even properly discussed by the other side, but at the same time it must be admitted that there are great difficulties in the way of the stop theory. Mr. Sweet admits, however, that  $\zeta$  probably was a front open consonant in unstressed syllables. (A.S. Reader, § 123, p. xlvi.)

With regard to non-initial  $\zeta$ , opinion seems to be unanimous that medially, between back vowels, e.g. in such words as *saza*, *lazu*, *mazu*, etc., and finally after back vowels, it represents the back open voice consonant. This is supposed to be proved by the fact that in later texts  $\zeta$  in this position is unvoiced, and becomes *h* after long back vowels, and after *l* and *r* (Sievers, Angls. Gr., § 214): *zenóh*, *béah*, *stah*, *bealh*, from older *zenó $\zeta$* , *béa $\zeta$* , *stá $\zeta$* , *beal $\zeta$* , and the same applies to front  $\zeta$  when, through syncope, it is brought into contact with a voiceless consonant: *stíhst*, *yrh $\zeta$ o*, for *stí $\zeta$ st*, *yr $\zeta$ o*, etc.

$\zeta$  readily disappears finally as a consonant after front vowels, and becomes *-i*, and even in Epinal we find *zrei*, *bodei*. Also, before original syllabic *n*,  $\zeta$  disappears, and produces *wæn*, *rén*, from *wæ $\zeta$ n*, *re $\zeta$ n*. In this connection, Sievers (§ 214. 3) says that *snæ $\zeta$ l* for *snæ $\zeta$ l* is not found until later on, but I have found *snel* in Epinal 611 (O.E.T.), or folio 14, line 9, of the facsimile edition. The combination *n $\zeta$*  was unquestionably a nasal stop, front or back as the case might be (Sievers, § 215).

Geminated  $\zeta$  is usually written  $c\zeta$  when it = Germ.  $gj$ , and in this case is invariably front, and a stop in O.E., *byczan*, Goth. *bugjan*. According to Kluge (Gr. 844) this combination ( $c\zeta$ ) expressed the modern assibilated pronunciation 'bald nach 900'; Sievers does not fix the date beyond saying that the O.E.  $c\zeta$  was "bereits ziemlich frühe zu palatalen affricaten . . . geworden." The chief argument for this assumption seems to be the spelling *micgern*, which, however, as Sievers admits, is "erst ziemlich spät belegt." Professor Napier pointed out that *midirnan* occurs in *Lorica*, Gloss. 26, and it thus became evident that *micgern* = O.H.G. *mittigarni*. Hence it is argued that since  $c\zeta$  here =  $d\zeta$  the pronunciation of  $c\zeta$  as 'dž' is proved. I cannot regard this as more convincing than is the *orceard*, etc., 'proof' of the assibilated pronunciation of O.E. *c*. These spellings merely prove that  $d\zeta$  and  $c\zeta$  on one hand,  $t\zeta$  and *c* on the other, were pronounced alike, but there is no reason at all for assuming that that common pronunciation was *tch*, or *dge*; to my mind these spellings rather tend to confirm the view that *c* and  $c\zeta$  were front stops.

As has been already mentioned, the cases where geminated  $\zeta$  is not Germ.  $*gj$  are rare. In *frogga*, *dogga*, etc., it seems probable that there was a back-stop consonant. The combination  $-n\zeta$  seems to have been a back nasal followed by a back-stop consonant; it is often written *-nc*.

*Graphic distinction between  $\zeta$ ,  $\dot{\zeta}$ ,  $\acute{\zeta}$ ,  $\ddot{\zeta}$ .*

The Runic inscriptions distinguish between  $\zeta$  and  $\dot{\zeta}$ . The following are from Vietor's "Nordhumbrische Runensteine." The Rune for  $\zeta$  (transcribed *g*) occurs in the following words: *aetgad(r)e*, adv., Ruthw.; *bigotten*, p.p., Ruthw.; *buga*, vb., Ruthw.; *cyniburug*, Bewc.; *galgu*, sb., Ruthw.; *g̃istiga*, vb., Ruthw.; *giwundad*, p.p., Ruthw.; *God*, Ruthw.; *hnag*, 1st sing. pret., Ruthw.; *modig*, adj., Ruthw.; *sorgan*, dat. pl. sb., Ruthw.

The following words have the symbols for  $\zeta$  ( $\dot{g}$ ):—

*Sigbecun*, sb., Bewc.; *alegdun*, 3rd pl. pret., Ruthw.; *bergi*, sb., Thornh.; *geredæ*, 3rd sing. pret., Ruthw.; *Ġessus*, Jesus, Bewc.; *ġidræfid*, p.p., Ruthw.; *ġistiga*, inf., Ruthw.; *ġistoddun*, 3rd pl. pret., Ruthw.; *Hilddigýþ*, Hartlepool; *Iġilsuip*, Thornh.; *Limwæriġnæ*, adj., Ruthw.; *Dæġiġoġæf*, Ruthw.

As in the case of *e*, *é*, the manuscripts do not distinguish between  $\text{z}$  and  $\text{z}$  with perfect consistency, so that often the sound has to be inferred from the kind of vowels before or after it, and from the subsequent history of the word in the later language. In West Saxon initial  $\text{z}$  and  $\text{z}$  are very generally distinguished by writing an *e* after the latter. In late texts the  $\text{z}$ - is often dropped altogether before *ea* and *eo*, but on the other hand a  $\text{z}$  is often written before *ea*, *eo*,  $\text{z}\acute{e}a\text{ð}e = \acute{e}a\text{ð}e$ ; *zornest* = 'earnest,' etc., in late Kentish. (Sievers, *Angls. Gr.*, § 212, Anm. 2.)

Medially after *l* and *r*  $\text{z}$  is frequently written *iz*; *byriz*, *myrizð*, *fylizan*, etc.; occasionally, though rarely, *uz* is written after *r* and *l* for  $\text{z}$ , *buruz* (Sievers, *Angls. Gr.*, § 213, Anm.).

Medially and finally  $\text{z}$  is occasionally written  $\text{zh}$ : *bózh*, *huáz*, *slózh*, *déazhian*, *tótozhen*, etc. (Sievers, *Angls. Gr.*, § 214, Anm. 5; Sweet, *Reader*, p. xlvii, § 128.)

The front stop is usually written *cz*: *secz*, *hrycz*, etc. Medially this combination is often followed by *e* or *i*, before a back vowel: *seczea*, *seczium*, etc. (Sievers, *Angls. Gr.*, § 216.)

The back stop is generally written  $\text{zz}$ , *frozza*, *dozza*, etc., but occasionally also *cza*, *éarwicza* (Sievers, *Angls. Gr.*, § 216, 2). But the front or back sound is revealed by that of the following vowel, or, if the *cz*, etc., is final, by the preceding vowel (Sweet, *A.S. Reader*, p. xlv, § 113).

The spelling *hinionzæ* for *hinzonzæ* in Bede's Death Song can only be explained as being due to some analogy, perhaps with *eode*, unless it be a mistake of the foreign scribe. (Sweet, *A.S. Reader*, pp. 176 and 224.)

#### $\text{z}$ , *cz*, etc., in *M.E.*

In *M.E.* texts of the thirteenth century and onwards, back and front  $\text{z}$  are clearly distinguished, and in many instances the stop is also distinguished from the open consonant. The front stop is usually written *gg*, the back stop *g*, the front open consonant  $\text{z}$ , and the back open consonant *gh*. This exactitude is, however, only attained by degrees, nor do all MSS., even of a fairly late date, show unanimity in the employment of the symbols.

For an elaborate account of the use of *g* and  $\text{z}$  in early *M.E.* MSS. see Professor Napier's letter in *The Academy*, February 22, 1890. Out of the twenty MSS. here examined (all of the twelfth



century) nine retain the O.E.  $\gamma$  in all cases, four have  $g$  in all cases or use  $\gamma$  only occasionally without any fixed rule, seven use both  $g$  and  $\gamma$  to distinguish between O.E.  $\gamma$  and  $\dot{\gamma}$ . To this last class must now be added MS. Cott., Vespas, A. 22, a Kentish MS. of the latter part of the twelfth century. Mr. Napier mentions this text as one of those which he had not had an opportunity of examining. I made a careful examination of it with the following results:  $g$  occurs sixty times; in the majority of these cases it = a back sound, sometimes, however, a stop, sometimes an open consonant; there are, however, a few cases in which it is apparently written for a front sound.  $\gamma$  is written fifty times, generally for a front open consonant, but occasionally, perhaps by error, for a back consonant. I only found three cases of  $g$  doubled; in two of these it = O.E.  $\acute{e}\gamma$ , in the other it = a back open consonant—aggenne.  $\gamma$  does not occur doubled.

$g$  appears initially in such words as be-gan, god, gastes, golde, gylt, grate, etc.; medially in fugel, halege, laglice, nigon, bugon, dagum, halgode; after  $n$  in anglene, strange, kingene, king, fengon, unglenges, hungre. Spellings like bigeten, gif, gilt, nigon are probably scribal slips. The back open consonant is several times written  $ch$ , as heretoche (O.E. hereto $\gamma$ a), burch (O.E. bur $\gamma$ ), þurch (O.E. þurh), and doubtless this spelling implies the voiceless sound.

$ch$  and  $h$  are both written for the front open voiceless consonant, nichti, lichte, mihti.

$\gamma$ , on the other hand, occurs in  $\gamma$ iaf,  $\gamma$ ef,  $\gamma$ ief, -on $\gamma$ ean, a $\gamma$ en, for $\gamma$ iaf,  $\gamma$ earnun $\gamma$ e (the second  $\gamma$  here is doubtless a scribal error),  $\gamma$ ife, sb., twe $\gamma$ en, de $\gamma$ e, de $\gamma$ e (dat. sing.), upstige, se $\gamma$ ð, sorige, etc., in all of which words it = the front open sound.

$\gamma$  represents the back sound in da $\gamma$ en (dat. pl.), o $\gamma$ eþ, la $\gamma$ e, mu $\gamma$ e, ma $\gamma$ i, etc.

In the Kentish Gospels (Hatton MS., 38), as Mr. Napier has pointed out, (see letter in *Academy* above quoted),  $g$  and  $\gamma$  are used with very fair regularity for back stop and front or back open sounds respectively. The word eage = 'eye,' as Mr. Napier says, never occurs with  $i$  inserted before the  $\gamma$ . This, he thinks, rather tends to show that the original back sound (cf. Goth. augo) was not yet fronted. On the other hand, those  $\gamma$ 's which were front in O.E. often have  $ei$ ,  $ai$  before them, as in sa $\gamma$ de, me $\gamma$ den, etc. The MS. B. 14. 52, in Trinity Coll., Cambridge (before 1200), and MS. of Genesis and Exodus in Corpus Christi Coll.,



Cambridge, do not distinguish between stop and open, back and front consonant, but write *g* throughout. For this information I am indebted to Mr. Henry Bradley, who asked Professor Skeat to examine the MSS. to decide the question. MS. Laud, 471, Kentish Sermons (see Morris, O.E. Misc., p. 21), has *g* for back stop, *gg* for front stop, *gh*, *w*, for back open consonant, and *y* for front open.

But of all the M.E. MSS. the Ormulum (Junius, 1) is the most carefully and phonetically written, and Professor Napier has brought to light some important facts for our present purpose. (See "Notes on the Orthography of the Ormulum," Oxford, 1893, also *Academy*, 1890, p. 188.) The discovery of Mr. Napier was, that Orm uses a new symbol, **Ʒ**, a kind of compromise between the English and the Continental *ʒ* and *g*, to express the back stop voice consonant. This symbol is used regularly in Orm's MS. in such words as **Ʒ**odd, bi**Ʒ**innen, e**ƷƷ**inn**Ʒ**, etc.

It may be mentioned, in passing, that Kluge (Gr., 844) states on the strength of Napier's paper that Orm had a special symbol for the sound in seggen, ligger, etc., while of course the whole point is that Orm retains the ordinary Continental *g* for this sound, but uses his new symbol for the back stop.

For the front open voice consonant Orm writes *ʒ*, driʒʒe, reʒʒn, etc., and for the back open sound *ʒh*, laʒhe, hallʒhenn, aʒhenn, etc. The fact that he uses this symbol in the word eʒhe='eye,' shows that the original back sound of this word had not yet been fronted, and confirms Mr. Napier's suggestion with regard to it in the Kentish Gospels.

#### *Pronunciation of M.E. g, ʒ.*

The main facts of pronunciation are clear enough and are practically contained in the above remarks, but there are one or two points which need a little further discussion. O.E. medial and final *ʒ* after front vowels disappears in M.E., having previously diphthongized the vowel, e.g. O.E. sæʒde, M.E. seide; mæʒe, M.E. meie, mei, etc. This *ʒ* appears in the Orm. as ʒʒ, and O.E. *æ* before it as *a*; nazʒlenn 'to nail,' cf. O.E. næʒl; wazʒn, O.E. wæʒn dazʒ, O.E. dáʒ, etc. The question is how soon did this *ʒ* lose its consonantal quality and become a mere vowel, presumably the high front wide (f). The answer seems to be that Orm had already lost the consonantal sound, for he writes for O.N. reisa,

reʒʒsenn, where presumably -eʒʒ = [ʒ]. It seems therefore reasonable to assume that the combination aʒʒ = [ʒ], [ʒ̥], or even perhaps [ʒ̥]. The Kentish Homilies (Vespas, A. 22) write dæʒ, dæiz, and dæi, and Lazamon has the same word spelt with and without the ʒ, in several cases: ·dai, deie, dæʒe, ·daize, etc.; tweize, ·tweie; æie, eie, eiʒe, etc. = awe.

A Worcester glossary of the twelfth century has already næilsex, novaculum (cf. also remarks on O.E. ʒ). St. Juliana (Prose version, Dorset, 1200) has meiden, deis, etc.; Cursor Mundi (Yorks, 1300) has lies and lighes, so that it seems clear that we may safely regard ʒ, or ʒh, etc., in this position after a front vowel as having ceased to be a consonant before the end of the twelfth century, perhaps in all dialects.

O.E. ʒ between back vowels had, as we have seen, the sound of the back open consonant, and in the M.E. period shows evidence of lip modification in many dialects, being written often -wgh, etc., and at last only *w*. O.E. laʒu, M.E. lawe, etc. This is a very early process, for in the Worcs. Gloss. we find elbowe and heretowa (Wright-Wülcker, 536. 16 and 538. 20), and in Kentish Sermons (Laud MS., 471), 1200-50, we find 'we mowe,' but also the traditional spelling -gh in daghen (dat. pl.), laghe, 'law,' etc. In Owle and Nightingale, Dorset, 1240-50, the Jesus MS. generally spells with *w*, the Cotton MS. with ʒ or *h*: thus Cott. moreʒening, Jesus morewening; Cott. fuheles, Jesus foweles; Cott. hazel, Jesus hawel; Cott. hahe, Jesus hawe, etc.; but there are examples of ʒ in Jesus and of *w* in Cotton. In most thirteenth-century MSS. both spellings are found. Will. of Shoreham rhymes both ifaze and inaze, to lawe. In Orm, however, this sound appears to be always written ʒh. In some cases, however, this ʒ is stopped, e.g., Catholicon, fagyngē, blandica, to fage, O.E. faʒenian. In those dialects where final ʒ was unvoiced, the *h* thus produced shares the fate of primitive *h*. Final *h* was also very early lip-modified, and then changed to a pure lip-teeth voiceless consonant, so that we get throf = O.E. þurh, already in Will. of Shoreham. The word-lists which follow, will illustrate the development of the whole process, and its spread in the various dialects. In the modern dialects these O.E. ʒ's appear as back open voiceless consonants, as lip-teeth voiceless (i.e. *f*), as lip-open voice consonants with back modification (i.e. *w*), or are often lost altogether, as in Standard English, where such a word as 'plough' has a pure diphthong finally in the pronunciation of most

educated speakers. It seems almost impossible to formulate any rule for the development of O.E. medial and final  $z$  in M.E. and Mod. Engl., as all possible forms of it are often found in the same texts and dialects.

It is difficult to determine at what date O.E.  $ez$  developed from the front stop into the assibilated sound. The earliest example I have found of the introduction of a  $d$  occurs in Robt. of Brunne, 1337, who has 'sedgeing' = saying. The next examples are a century later in Promptorium, 1440, where the spellings *wedge*, vb., alongside of *wegge*, sb.; *hedge* sb., *hedgyn* vb., are found; and the spellings *coksedge*, *coksedgys*, occur in a Norfolk will of 1467. But the usual spelling in all of these texts is certainly *-gge*, and this spelling seems to have continued, even in English words, far into the sixteenth century (see article "Bridge" in New Engl. Dict.).

On the whole, both from the evidence of spelling, and from the fact that words of the *rig* and *brig* type have a rather different distribution in the Mod. dialects from those of the *flick*, *dick* type, it is possible that  $e$  and  $ez$  were not developed quite on the same lines, and that the complete assibilation of the latter took place rather later than that of the former.

*Distribution of fronted and unfronted ez in M.E.*

This is a much more difficult question than the distribution of  $e$  and  $c$ , M.E.  $ch$  and  $k$ . It is impossible to tell from the early texts whether in any given word *-gg*, or  $g$  and  $c$ , represent the back or the front stop. All texts, with the exception of the *Ormulum*, write *gg*, alike in words like *brigge* and words like *frogge*, so that although there is no doubt in Southern texts that *gg* in the former of these is front and in the latter back, in Midland and Northern texts there is generally no means of ascertaining with certainty whether, at a given date, a given dialect pronounced 'brig' (as in Modern Scotch), or 'bridge.' As we have seen, the spellings with  $d$  are scarce and late.

Almost the only way to be absolutely certain that a word (of English origin) in M.E. was pronounced with a back stop, would be to find it rhyming with such a word as the Scandinavian 'leg.' Such rhymes, unfortunately, are rare. I am indebted to Miss Kempe, of Lady Margaret's Hall, Oxford, for calling my



attention, however, to a rhyme of this kind in MS. Laud, 595, upon which she is working. In this MS., on fol. 227, verso, occur the lines—

“ He bade hem take him by the leggis  
And throwe him over into the seggis ”;

and this couplet is frequently repeated. On fol. 212 of the same MS. the words *figge* and *brigge* are rhymed together. The handwriting is in a scribal hand, apparently of the first quarter of the fifteenth century, and the dialect is evidently West Midland. There can, presumably, be no kind of doubt as to the pronunciation of *brigge* and *seggis* in the above case, namely, that the *gg* in both instances represents a back stop.

On the other hand, it is very unsatisfactory work to examine rhymes in M.E. for light on this class of words, for not only are such rhymes few and far between, but also we constantly find that both of the rhyming words are of the same class. Thus, such rhymes as *rugge*—*brugge* (Lazamon, vol. ii, p. 457, lines 18 and 19, both MSS.) are absolutely valueless, since they reveal nothing of the pronunciation of *gg* in these two words. It seems probable that they had the front-stop sound, and that is all that can be said. Again, it is not altogether safe to trust to the evidence of the Mod. Dial., and infer that because we find *brig* or *seg* in any district at the present time, therefore a similar pronunciation of these words obtained in that province in M.E. *Seg*, for instance, occurs in Gloucestershire at the present day, but seems to be the only one of the O.E. *-cǣ* words which has the *-g* form. Now, are we to regard this word in Glos. as a last survivor of a primitive state of things, or as a modern importation from some other dialect, such as that of Hereford, Worcestershire, or Warwickshire?

The Promptorium, as we have seen, has *wedge* and *hedge*; but do we assume therefrom a *-dge* pronunciation for the words spelt *rygge*, *segge*, *brigge*, etc., in the same work? We are met with the difficulty that in Norfolk at the present day they say *rig*, *seg*, *brig*, etc. Modern English dialects have many interesting qualities, and not a little is assuredly to be learned from them, but their study must always be in a way unsatisfactory from the necessary uncertainty which exists as to whether this or that peculiarity is really indigenous to this or that dialect in which we happen to find it. The speech of rustics seems to be as fluid



and variable as that of savages. When once a form of language has become the mere jargon of peasants, there ceases to be any standard of correctness, any adherence to type. Thus it probably happens that a *-k*, or *-ch*, a *-g*, or *-dge* form is often abandoned or adopted by a village community through such a simple accident as that of the squire's coachman, or my lady's femme de chambre, coming from some distant shire. This is what may and does happen, and it does not lighten the labours of the 'dialectologist.' Professor Wright gave me an interesting case which practically happened under his own observation, in which a totally strange form was introduced into the Windhill dialect, and became the current form, entirely through the arrival in the village of a certain family who came from another district. The new form thus started gained a permanent footing in the dialect in a single generation. And so with regard to the *-g* forms, although I have added special lists showing their distribution in the Modern Dial., I cannot feel absolutely sure that anything very important is thereby established. Are we in the presence of a primitive and very widespread phenomenon, or have we merely a most prodigious mixing up of dialect characters?

Personally, I incline to the former view, and believe of the *-g*, as of the *-k* forms, that they are not originally a Northern characteristic, but that they existed side by side with the fronted forms, being later on eliminated in the South in favour of the latter. Be this as it may, a glance at the list showing the present distribution of these forms will show that Kluge's statement (*Grundriss*, p. 844), "Die formen mit *g* [meaning *rig*, *seg*, etc.] reichen südlich bis Lincolnshire," will require very considerable modification. In fact, the remarks above with regard to the degree of fronting of O.E. *ċ* in the North, apply also to O.E. *cz*.

### III.

#### H in O.E.

O.E. *h* represents Germ. *h* or *χ*; Idg. \**h*. O.E. *hēafod*; Goth. *haubiþ*; O.H.G. *houpit*; Lat. *caput*, etc. O.E. *éaht*; Goth. *ahtan*; Lat. *octo*; etc.

*H* occurs in O.E. initially before all vowels, before the consonants *w*, *l*, *r*, *n*; it also occurs medially and finally.

*Pronunciation of h in O.E.*

Initially, before vowels, *h* was a mere breath glide in O.E. (Sweet, H.E.S., § 497; Sievers, A.S. Gr., § 217). Before *l, n, r, w*, it probably in the oldest English period preserved an independent sound, whether as mere breath or as a weak open consonant. This stage is proved by such a metathesis as *hors* for *hros* (Sweet, H.E.S., § 501). Later on, in this position *h* probably ceased to have an independent sound, and merely unvoiced the following *l, r*, etc. (Sievers, A.S. Gr., § 217; Sweet, H.E.S., § 501). Medial *h*, between vowels, was mere breath, and in later texts is dropped altogether, though still preserved in Epinal in *suchoras*, W.S. *sweoras*, 'fathers-in-law,' etc. (H.E.S., § 498). *h* was originally, undoubtedly a back open consonant when doubled, and before *s, þ, f*; in the combination *ht* it must have had the sound of a front open consonant in later W.S., for it fronts the preceding vowel, as in *nicht, cnicht*.

In Epinal *h* is written *c, ch, hch* when it = an open consonant, whether back or front; for *-ht* Epinal generally has *ct*. (For above statement, with the exception of remarks on *h* before *s, f, þ*, see H.E.S., § 502.)

When *h* stands by the apocopation of a vowel, before an open consonant, it is dropped in the Anglian dialects, but preserved in W.S. and Kt.; W.S., *siehist, siehþ, niehist*, but in the Mercian Psalter, *gesis, gesiþ, nést* (Sweet, H.E.S., § 504.)

The combination *hs* is frequently written *x*, (1) whether it be already Germ., as *oxa*, Goth. *auhsa*; or (2) whether it arises in O.E. itself, as *siehist*, written commonly *syxt*, etc. (Sievers, A.S. Gr., § 221, Anm. 3 and 4). Sievers believes that the pronunciation of this later *x* was that of back open consonant + *s*.

The evidence against such a view appears to me overwhelming. I believe that the combination *hs* was pronounced *ks*, whatever its origin, from a very early period, i.e., that the back open consonant became a back stop before a following open consonant.

The spelling with *x* seems to prove this, for there is no evidence that *x* was ever pronounced otherwise than *ks*. No one doubts, presumably, that in *axian*, where it = *ks*, by metathesis from *\*-sk*, the *x* was pronounced *ks* (see also Kluge, Grundr., p. 850). Now this word is sometimes written *áhsian, áhxian*, which shows that *hs* could be used to represent the sound of *ks*; when, therefore, we find *\*hs* and *\*ks* both written alike, whether as *hs* or *x*, it is

surely reasonable to conclude that they were pronounced alike. That common pronunciation must have been *ks*, and not open consonant + *s*, for we have no reason to believe that in axian *x* ever could have been thus pronounced. *h* + *f* and *þ* = *k* will be discussed later on. Sweet thinks that O.E. *x*, whether = Germ. \**hs* or *ks*, was pronounced -*ks*. (A.S. Reader, § 159.)

### H in M.E.

(See Sweet, H.E.S., §§ 720-727; Kluge, Grundr., pp. 847-50.)

Mr. Sweet shortly sums up the matter of uninitial *h* in M.E. by saying that O.E. *h* was split into two sounds; the back and the front open breath consonants, the former of which was rounded (or lip-modified) in M.E. This class has already been mentioned above as sharing the fortunes of O.E. unvoiced *ɣ*. Fronted *h* in most dialects seems to have been voiced at an early period, and opened to a front vowel. The O.E. combination -*ht* appears in Early M.E. texts as -*cht*, *ht*, *ɣt*. Thus *Vespas*, A. 22, has -*cht* in *dochtren*, *michte*, *echt* ('possessions'), *ht* in *almihtiz*. The *Laud MS.* of the *Kentish Sermons* writes -*cht*, *licht*, *bricht*, etc. *Lazamon* has *dohter* (both MSS.); *douter*, *doɣter*, *dochter*, and *docter* in *MS. Caligr. A*, ix.; *brofte*, *brohte*, in *MS. Otho*, cxiii; *briht* in both MSS. *Orm* has *ht*, *hht*, *lihht*, *wahht*, etc. *Libeaus Desconus* (middle of fourteenth century) has -*ɣt*, *knizt*, *soɣt*, *wizt*, etc. In *Piers Plowman* we generally find -*ɣt*, but occasionally also -*ght*. *Genesis* and *Exodus* have -*ct* and *gt*, *Bestiary gt*; but the later East Midland texts, *English Guilds*, R. of *Brunne*, *Promptorium*, and *Bokenham* on the whole prefer -*ght*, but occasionally write -*cht*, etc. The *Yorkshire* texts all seem to prefer -*ght*, and the *Scotch* texts, which of course are later, generally write -*cht*. It is not easy to decide at what date the back consonant in this combination was dropped. In *Scotland* and the extreme North of *England* it still survives. In the South, however, and in the standard language it seems to have disappeared fairly early. Sweet (H.E.S., §§ 889-895) gives the somewhat contradictory statements of English writers on pronunciation from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, but does not express any opinion as to the period at which -*gh* ceased to be pronounced. He says, however (§ 727), that the fact that *Lazamon* sometimes writes *almiten*, *broute*, "can hardly indicate an actual loss of the consonants themselves, but is rather a part of the general looseness



in the writing of *h*, and also of that unwillingness to use it in a strong consonantal value which afterwards leads to the general use of *gh*."

If *z* or *h* were only left out in places where one would expect to find it, as in the cases quoted by Mr. Sweet, it might be possible to say that the symbol was left out through carelessness, though the sound was still retained, although this does not seem very probable in this case, as the omission is fairly frequent, from a very early date. But when we find that *z* is also occasionally introduced before *t* in words where it does not belong, then I think we must conclude that in the dialect, and at the period in which this occurs, the O.E. combination *-ht* had ceased to be pronounced even when written according to tradition, and that most certainly it was not pronounced in words where it had never existed. Besides the cases in *Lazamon*, already quoted, I have found the following of *h*, *gh*, etc., omitted: *Hali Meidenhed* (1225), *nawt* = O.E. *nawiht*; *Will. of Shoreham* (1315), *wyth-thoute*, which rhymes to *nouzte* (but *Conrath* reads *wiþ thoute* = 'thought,' here); *Will. of Palerne* (1350), *brit*, *rit* (and *rizt*). In *Songs and Carols* (1400) occur *dowter*, *nyte*, and *bryte*. *Ten Brink* (*Chaucer's Sprache*, 2<sup>te</sup> Aufl., Kluge, 1899), § 121, Anm., p. 83, refers to the Six-text edition, 473/2335, where *plit* = 'plight' rhymes with *appetit*. I am unable to find this passage in Mr. Skeat's six-volume edition of *Chaucer*. A striking example of an intrusive *z* occurs in *Will. of Shoreham*, p. 6 (*Percy Soc.*, 1849), where *fozte* is written for *fote*, and in *St. Editha* (1400) *out* is spelt *owzt* twice. In spite of the ambiguous statements of *Salesbury* and his contemporaries, there can be little doubt that all trace of the *h* had disappeared in the time of *Surrey* and *Wyat*, who constantly write *delight*, *spight*, *spright*, etc. (I gave a complete list of these spellings in *Notes and Queries*, Feb. 27, 1897.) For a list of spellings like *bight*, *quight*, etc., in *Spenser*, see *Ellis*, E.E.P., pt. iii, p. 863. For an account of *Tusser's* spellings (*waight* = 'wait,' etc.) see *Payne and Heritage's* edition of the "Five Hundred Pointes," E.D.S., 1878.



## IV.

## WORD - LISTS.

## M.E. WORD-LISTS.

The following M.E. word-lists are all from texts which have been edited, although in some instances I have taken my forms from the MS. itself. To save space, I have refrained from giving references in the case of those texts for which more or less copious glossaries exist, and the reader is referred to the glossary itself to verify a form. But I have in such cases generally mentioned the MS. from which the form comes, if the glossary from which it is taken is based upon several versions. In the case of those word-lists which are taken from the body of a printed text, or from a MS. for which no glossary exists, I have referred to the page, chapter, or line of the printed edition as was most convenient. Most of the references explain themselves, but it is perhaps as well to say that in the case of *Lagamon*, words without any mark occur in MS. Cott. Calix., A. ix; those which have · in front of them occur in both MSS.; those in brackets, only in MS. Otho, c. xiii. The order of the word-lists, which corresponds to that of the list of texts, as will be seen, is chronological so far as possible within each dialect or group of dialects. The geographical order is from North to South and from West to East. The Northern (Eng.) texts are all from Yorkshire. The Midland section begins with North-West Midland, and works, as far as possible, straight across to East Midland, then goes back to Mid-West Midland, and straight across again to the East Midland, and so on. This plan seemed to me the simplest after careful consideration, and, after all, any system of arrangement which is consistent, will fulfil its purpose of giving a picture of the organic interrelations of the dialects.

## THE MODERN DIALECT WORD-LISTS.

In the word-lists of the Modern English Dialects I have endeavoured to give every form in each dialect that is interesting or 'irregular' among the different classes. The system of classification of the forms themselves is in one sense not a perfect

one, but I have adopted it to save space, and too numerous subdivisions. I refer to the fact that I have often grouped together words which originally belonged to different categories, but which in the Modern language have been levelled under one group. Thus, taking the dialects as they are, I have, for example, put into one class all words with final or medial *k*, which includes: (1) words which have *o* in O.E. and which we should expect to have the back stop now; (2) which have *o* in O.E. and which we should expect to have *-ch*, but which have *-k* in this or that dialect. The M.E. forms are grouped on the same principle.

Some of the lists may not be thought copious enough, others are perhaps too full. In the case of ordinary forms it does not follow that because they occur in one list and not in another, that they therefore do not exist in that dialect, but in the case of 'irregular' words like *lig*, *brig*, *flick*, and so on, I have endeavoured to mention them in each dialect where they exist; therefore, if such a word is not found in a word-list it may be assumed that it does not occur in that dialect. At the same time, though great pains have been taken in this matter, it would be absurd to pretend that no word of importance has been overlooked. In dealing with so large a body of material it is inevitable that one man should make an occasional slip. In making the lists which show the distribution through the modern dialects of upwards of sixty words I have, in those cases where it was possible, checked my results by Professor Wright's Dictionary.

## I.

Non-initial *k*, *c*, *ck* in M.E.*Barbour.*

Abak, 'backwards.'  
 Brak, 'broke.'  
 Crykkis, 'creeks.'  
 Dik, 'a trench.'  
 Ec, 'eke' (conj.).  
 Ic, Ik, and I = 'I.'  
 Sekir, 'sure.'  
 Sek }  
 Seik } vb.  
 Seik }  
 Sik, 'such.'  
 Slak, 'a hollow place.'  
 Slyk, 'slime.'  
 Spek, 'speech.'  
 Spek, vb.  
 Stakkar, vb., 'stagger.'  
 Stekand.  
 Strak, 'straight.'  
 Strekyt, 'stricken.'  
 Strekit, 'stretched.'  
 Strikand, 'striking.'  
 Swak, 'a blow.'  
 Sykes, 'trenches.'  
 Takyn, 'a token.'  
 Thik, adj.  
 Thak, sb.  
 Reik, 'reek.'  
 Reik, 'to reach.'  
 Rec, 'I reek.'  
 Saik, 'sake.'  
 Oulk = owk, 'week.'  
 Pikkis, 'pickaxes.'  
 Pik, 'pitch.'  
 Prik }  
 Prek } vb.  
 Lik, vb., 'please.'  
 Lik, 'likely.'  
 Luk, vb.  
 Meckle }  
 Mekill }  
 Ik, 'also.'  
 Vikkid, 'poor, sorry.'  
 Wouk, 'kept watch.'  
 Kinrik, 'kingdom.'

*Dunbar, E. Lothian, 1460-1520.*

Beswik, vb., 'deceive.'  
 Bescik, vb.

Blek, 'blocking.'  
 Breik, 'breeches.'  
 Clek, sb., 'hatch.'  
 Cleik, vb., 'seize.'  
 Kinryk.  
 Leik, 'dead body.'  
 Reke, vb.  
 Sic, 'such.'  
 Seik, 'to seek.'  
 Smowk, sb.  
 Skryke, vb.  
 zuke, 'itching.'

*Gav. Douglas, 1475-1522.*

Beik, 'a beak.'  
 Beseik, vb.  
 Bike, 'a hive.'  
 Brak, adj., 'salt.'  
 Brakill, 'unsettled, brittle.'  
 Clukis, 'claws, clutches.'  
 Elbok, 'elbow.'  
 Elyke, 'alike' (= *ȝelic* with *ȝ*-lost).  
 Faik, 'to grasp' }  
 Fakand, part., } Can this be cognate  
 'grasping' } with 'fetch' ?  
 Nokkis, 'notches.'  
 Pick, sb., 'pitch.'  
 Preik, vb., 'gallop.'  
 Rakkis, '(he) recks.'  
 Rakles, 'reckless.'  
 Reik, sb., 'smoke.'  
 Rekand, part. pres.  
 Reik, vb., 'reach.'  
 Rekand, 'stretching.'  
 Sereik } sb., 'shriek.'  
 Srike }  
 Siclik, 'such.'  
 Slekit, adj.  
 Slike, 'mud, slime.'  
 Snak, sb., 'snatch, short time.'  
 Stakkir, vb.  
 Swyk, vb., 'assuage.'  
 Thekyt }  
 Thykyt } p-p., 'thatched.'  
 Wreikis, 1 pres. pl.

*Compl. of Scotl., 1549.*

Acquornis, 'acorns.'  
 Baik, vb.

Bekkis, 'bows, curtsies.'  
 Blac, adj.  
 Dikes, 'dikes.'  
 Reik, 'smoke.'  
 Seik, vb.  
 Smeuk.  
 Thak, sb.  
 Quayk, adj.

*Metrical Psalter, Yorks., before 1300.*

Bi-seking, 38. 13, passim.  
 Dyke, sb., 7. 16.  
 (he) Ekes, 40. 9.  
 Griking, 45. 6 and 77. 34 (at the latter place MS. Egerton has griging).  
 to þam Like, 48. 21.  
 Mikel, 34. 18.  
 Mikel-hede, 58.  
 Pricked, p.p., 31. 4.  
 Reke, sb., 36. 20.  
 for to Reek, 109. 4.

Ike = ?

"Till aghe-fulle and ai ike  
 At kinges of erthe þat rike."  
 75. 12.

Rekles, 'incense,' 140. 2.  
 Rike, 'kingdom,' 44. 7.  
 þon Sekes, 7. 5.  
 Sekand, 9. 10.  
 Seked, p.p., 16.  
 Soth-like, 26. 10.  
 Slike, 'such,' 84. 8.  
 Stiked, 3rd pl. pret., 37. 3.  
 Wiccand, 'witching, charming,' MS.  
 Egerton, other MSS. 'wicchand.'  
 Wreker, 'avenger,' 8. 3.

*Cursor Mundi, Yorks., 1300.*

Beseke  
 Freck, 'a man.'  
 Ilik, adv.  
 Licam, 'corpse.'  
 Mak, 'a mate.'  
 Mikel }  
 Mikil }  
 Pik, sb., 'pitch.'  
 Reck, vb., 'care.'  
 Prick, sb.  
 Prik (Fairf.).  
 Rik, adj.  
 Sek, vb., 'seek.'  
 Spek, sb. (also Speche).  
 Spek, vb., and Spech.

*Minot, Yorks., 1333-52.*

Dik, 'bank.'  
 Kynrik.  
 Priked, p.p.

*Prk. of Consc., Yorks., before 1349.*

Breke, vb.  
 Buk, 'a buck.'  
 Cloke, 'a claw.'  
 Eke } vb., 'increase.'  
 Heke }  
 Fickle, adj.  
 Layk, 'to play.'  
 Like, 'to please.'  
 Loke, vb.  
 Mikel, adj.  
 Nek, sb.  
 Prike, vb.  
 Pyk, sb.  
 Reke, sb., 'smoke.'  
 Reke, 'care.'  
 Sake, 'fault.'  
 Siker, adj.  
 Skrike, vb.  
 Slake, vb., 'quench, mitigate.'  
 Sleke } vb., 'to slake.'  
 Slekin }  
 Souke, 'to suck.'  
 Strykly, adv., 'direct.'  
 Wayk, adj., 'weak.'  
 Wyk, 'horrid,' 'bad.'

*Sir Gaw., North., 1366.*

Eke, 'else.'  
 Fyked, 'shrank, was troubled.'  
 Layk, 'sport.'  
 Layke, vb.  
 Rak, sb., 'vapour.'

*Townl. Myst., Yorks., 1450.*

Cleke, vb., 'seize.'  
 Pik, 'pitch.'  
 Shryke, 'to shriek.'  
 Twyk, 'to twitch.'

*Wrt.-Wkr., xviii, Northern, Early Fifteenth Century.*

Hekylle.  
 Mawke, 'maggot.'  
 Moke, 'moth.'  
 Syke, 'gutter.'  
 Thekare.  
 Flyk (of bacon).  
 Reke, 'fumes.'



*Wars of Alex., Yorks., Late Fifteenth Century.*

Akis, pres. sing., '(it) aches.'  
 Beseke, D. and A.  
 Beseche, D. and A.  
 Cleke, vb., 'clutch.'  
 Breke, 'breeks.'  
 Dyke } 'ditch.'  
 Dike }  
 Freke, 'a man.'  
 Kokel, 'shaky, unsteadfast.'  
 Laike, sb., 'sport,' etc.  
 Leke, sb., 'leek.'  
 Licken, vb.  
 Mekill, 'great.'  
 Pik, sb.  
 Reke, 'smoke.'  
 Rekils, 'odour.'  
 Sike } 'such.'  
 Slike }  
 Strekis, 'it stretches.'  
 Seke, vb.  
 Skrike, sb.  
 Schrikis, pres. pl. vb.  
 Wreke, vb., wreck.

*Catholicon, Yorks., 1483.*

a Theker, 'tector.'  
 Thakke }  
 Thake (A) } 'culmus.'  
 Ake, quercus.  
 to Ake.  
 a Bakbone.  
 a Bek, 'torrens.'  
 Blak, adj.  
 to Breke, 'frangare.'  
 to Dike.  
 to Eke, ubi 'to helpe,' (note, cf. Jetch Palsgrave).  
 a Flyke of bacon.  
 Wicked, Austerus.  
 a Wyke, of ye eghe (Whyte, 4).  
 a Leke, 'porrum.'  
 Mikill, adj.  
 a Wake, 'vigilia.'  
 a Nyke, 'a nick, notch.'  
 Pikke }  
 Pike (A) } 'pix, bitumen.'  
 to Pryke, 'pungere.'  
 a Pryk.  
 to Seryke.  
 Syker, 'securus.'  
 Slyke.  
 a Smoke.  
 Reke, sb. and vb.  
 Rekyng.  
 to Speke.

a Strykylle, 'hostorium.'  
 to Take away.  
 a Taket, 'claviculus.'  
 Rekels }  
 Rekyls (A) } 'incensum.'  
 Cf. Rechles, Ancr. Riw.

*Levins, Yorks., 1570.*

Blacke, adj.  
 to Bleck (and bletch) 'nigrare.'  
 Flick (and flitch) of bacon.  
 Prick, vb.  
 Screake.  
 Whake = 'quake.'  
 Bishopricke.  
 to Seeke.  
 Seeke, adj.  
 Reek, sb., 'smoke.'  
 Cheke.  
 to Wreck, 'vindicare.'  
 Eke, vb.  
 Meeke, adj.  
 Cleake, vb., 'snatch.'  
 to Breake.  
 Smacke, sb. and vb., 'taste.'  
 Snacke, sb. and vb., 'bite.'  
 Heck, sb., 'a hatch.'  
 Heckfare, sb., 'heifer.' (Heckfar, Huloet.)

*Allit. P., Lancs., 1360.*

Bispeke.  
 Blake, adj.  
 Blayke, 'pale in colour.'  
 Byswyke, 'to defraud.'  
 Fykel, 'fickle.'  
 Heke, 'also.'  
 Likke, 'to sip, drink.'  
 Make }  
 Mak } 'mate.'  
 Makeles, 'matchless.'  
 Sykande, 'sighing.'  
 Wreke, p.p., 'avenged.'  
 Wyk }  
 Wykke } 'wicked.'

*Metr. Rom., Lancs., 1420.*

Bake, 'back.'  
 Beken, vb., 'command.'  
 Blake, vb., 'blacken.'  
 Makelest ('most matchless'?).  
 Makeles, 'matchless.'  
 Mekel }  
 Mykyl } 'much.'  
 Preke, 'gallop away.'  
 Rekes ('he) smokes.'  
 Sryken, vb., 'shriek.'

(he) Sekes, 'seeks.'  
 Seke, 'sick.'  
 (he) Sikes, 'sighs.'  
 Siking, 'sighing.'  
 Slikes, 'slides.'  
 Spekes, inf.  
 to Wake, 'watch.'  
 Worlyke, 'worthy.'  
 Worthelik.  
 Wrake, 'destruction.'

*R. of Brunne, Lincs., 1338.*

Breke, p.p.  
 Brek, sb.  
 Dedlyk, adj.  
 Dik, 'ditch.'  
 Lak, vb., 'play.'  
 Prykel.  
 Pryked, p.p.  
 Steke, vb., 'stick.'  
 Sykes, 'furrows, watercourses.'  
 Pakkes, sb. pl.  
 pikke, adj.  
 Wycke, adj.

*Orm., Lincs., 1200.*

Bakesst.  
 Beenenn.  
 Bilokenn, 'consider.'  
 Biswikenn, 'betray.'  
 Bitœnenn, 'betoken.'  
 Biwokenn, 'watched.'  
 Bokes.  
 Bruknenn, 'enjoy.'  
 Fakenn, 'exile.'  
 Forsakeþþ.  
 Huccesteress.  
 Ekenn, 'to increase.'  
 Mikell.  
 Makenn.  
 Likenn, 'to like.'  
 Sienedd.  
 Sake, 'strife.'  
 Sikenn.  
 Tacnenn.  
 Takenn.  
 Swikedom.  
 Stake.  
 Stikkes, pl.  
 Stekenn, 'to shut.'  
 Spekenn.  
 Sikenn, 'to sigh.'  
 Siker.  
 Stracinn, perf.  
 Wuke, 'week.'  
 Wikken, 'duty, office.'  
 Wakemenn, 'watchmen.'  
 Wicke, Wikke, 'mean, wicked.'  
 Wrekenn, vb., 'avenge.'

*Final c in Orm.*

Acc., 'but.'  
 Bac }  
 Bacc } 'back.'  
 Bacch }  
 Bucc, 'goat.'  
 Boc, 'book.'  
 Bracc, 'broke.'  
 Ec, 'also.'  
 Flocc.  
 Icc, 'I.'  
 Læc.  
 Lac, 'gift.'  
 Meoc }  
 Mec } 'meek.'  
 Seoc }  
 Sec } 'sick.'  
 Smec, sb.  
 Wic, 'dwelling.'  
 Smacc, 'taste.'  
 Wac, 'weak.'  
 Eorþlic.  
 Lic (and lich), 'body.'

*Havelok, N.E. Midl., 1300.*

Swike, 'deceiver.'  
 Swikel, 'deceitful.'  
 Biseken, vb.  
 Bitaken, 'deliver over.'  
 Bleike, 'pale, wan.'  
 Breken, vb.  
 Dike, 'ditch.'  
 Ek, 'also.'  
 Fikel, adj.  
 Hic, 'I.'  
 Mike }  
 Mikel } 'much.'  
 Rike, sb.  
 Seckes, 'sacks.'  
 Seken, vb.  
 Speke, 'speech.'  
 Waken, 'watch.'  
 Wicke }  
 Wike } 'wicked.'  
 Wikke }  
 Wreken, vb., 'avenge.'

*Hali Meidenhed, W. Midl., 1225.*

Pricunges, 3rd.  
 Prikien, vb. 3rd pl.  
 Lickeð, 3rd sing.  
 Cwike, adj.  
 Siken, inf. 27, 'to sigh.'  
 Akeþ, vb. pl., 31.  
 Louke, 'side,' dat. sing.  
 Schucke, 'devil,' 41.

*Will. of Pal., W. Midl., 1350.*

Biker, 'a fight.'  
 Diked, 'dug out.'  
 Freke, 'a man.'  
 Hakernes, 'acorns.'  
 Layke, vb., 'play.'  
 Prike, vb.  
 Siken, 'sigh.'  
 Stiked, p.p.  
 Wake, vb., 'watch.'  
 Wicke } evil.  
 Wic }

*Mirc, Salop, 1400.*

Lychwake, sb.  
 Quyke, 'alive.'  
 Stoke, 'stuck.'  
 Yeke, 'also.'

*MS. Harl., 2,253, Heref., 1310.*

Aken, vb.  
 Byswiken, p.p.  
 Blykeþ.  
 Blak, adj., 'black.'  
 Blac, 'pale.'  
 Eke, 'also.'  
 Make, 'mate.'  
 Mukel, adj.  
 Prikyares, sb. pl.  
 Rykene, vb.  
 Sike, 1 sing. pres.  
 Smok, 'a garment.'  
 Spekest.  
 Swyke, sb., 'traitor.'  
 Wicke, adj.

*Worc. Gloss., Twelfth Century.*

Bakern, 'pistrionum.'  
 Siker, 'tutus.'  
 Sticke, 'regula.'  
 Werc, 'opus.'  
 Slac, 'piger.'  
 Oc, 'quercus.'

*Laz., Worcs., 1205.*

Abake.  
 Abac.  
 Æke, æc, eek, etc., etc., 'also.'  
 Ærendwreke, 'messenger.'  
 Aswike, 'we cease.'  
 At-sake, 'forsake.'  
 Awakien, 'to awake.'  
 Blikien, vb., 'shine.'  
 Blakien.  
 Blakede.  
 (l. blæcched, p.p., } 'to blacken.'  
 both MSS.) }

Blac, adj.  
 Boc.  
 [Bock.]  
 Brockes, 'badgers.'  
 Buken, 'bellies,' d. pl.  
 Crakeden.  
 Dic, 'ditch.'  
 Drake, 'dragon.'  
 Floc, 'host.'  
 Flocke, d.  
 Hoker, 'contempt.'  
 Ic and ich, 'I.'  
 Pic-foreken, d. pl.  
 Smokien, vb., 'to smoke.'  
 Spæcken } 'speak.'  
 Speken }  
 Speke, 'speech.'  
 Swike, 'betray.'  
 Taken }  
 Token }  
 Weorc }  
 Werc }  
 Wærc } sbs.  
 Worc }  
 [Worch] }  
 [Worc] }  
 [Cweecte] from quecchen.  
 Bitaken, 'deliver, give' (and bi-tæche).

*Songs and Car., Warw., 1400.*

(I) Beseke, 13.  
 Prykke (inf.), 73.

*Prompt., Norf., 1440.*

Ake, or } sb.  
 Ache }  
 Akyn, vb.  
 Alyke.  
 Bakke, 'vespertilio.'  
 Bleke, 'atramentum.'  
 Blak, 'ater.'  
 Dyke, 'fossa.'  
 Flykke (of bacon).  
 Froke.  
 Hec, or Hek, }  
 or Heteche (of a dor) }  
 Hekele, 'matasca.'  
 Smeke } sb., 'fumus.'  
 Smoke }  
 Twykkyn }  
 [Twychyuk] }  
 Pyk.  
 Reek.  
 Thak.  
 zykyk. }  
 zekyn, ck. }  
 Ykyn. }  
 Ikyl, 'stiria.'  
 Schrykyngo.

*Norfolk Guilds, 1389.*

Worcheppulleke, 87.  
Specialeke, 54.  
Unskylfulleche and -lik, 55.

*Bestiary, E. Midl., 1250.*

Barlic, 291.  
Bec, 'beak,' 58.  
Bitterlike, 481.  
Borlic, 'burly,' 605.  
Ic, 54.  
Lic, sb., 797.  
Mikle, 548.  
Mikel, 235.  
Quike, adj., 341.  
Sekeš, 62, 132.  
Speken, 592.  
Swic, 'such,' 193.  
Biswike, 429.  
Wakeš, 47.  
Wikke, adj., 593.

*Genesis and Exodus, Suffolk, 1250.*

Biluken, p.p.  
Bisek } imperat.  
Biseke }  
Biseken, inf.  
Blišelike, adv.  
Dik, 'ditch.'  
Dikes, pl.  
Forsake, 'deny.'  
Hic, 'I.'  
I-ureke, 'avenged.'  
Lik, 'like.'  
Likede, 'pleased.'  
Mikil  
Mikel } 'great.'  
(and Michil) }  
Prikeš, 'pricks, spurs.'  
Reklefat, 'a censor.'  
Seken, 'to seek.'  
Smaken, 'to scent.'  
Swike, 'unfaithful.'  
Strekede, 'stretched.'  
Speken, vb.  
Wikke, 'wicked.'  
Uprekeš, 'up-reeks.'

*Bokenham, Suffolk, before 1449.*

Lyk, S. Anne, 427.  
Flykke, Ch. 859.  
Wykke, Ch. 856.  
Seke, inf. (and Seche).

*k medially in Chaucer.*

Aken, vb.  
Aking.  
Acornes.  
Bake, vb.  
Biseken, vb.  
Bitake, vb.  
Breke, vb.  
Brekke, sb., 'flaw.'  
Darketh, vb.  
Derken, vb.  
Derke, sb.  
Dokke, sb.  
Drake.  
Fikelnesse.  
Flikere, vb.  
Halke.  
Forsake.  
Hakke.  
Herke, vb.  
Herkenen, vb.  
Lich-wake.  
Loke, vb.  
Lokkes (of hair).  
Make, vb.  
Make, sb.  
Meke, adj.  
Pekke, vb.  
Nekke, sb.  
Nake, vb.  
Mikel, adj.  
Piken, vb.  
Priken, vb.  
Prikke, sb.  
Pyke, vb.  
Plukke, vb.  
Pokkes, sb.  
Rake, sb.  
Reeke, vb. (also reechen).  
Rekene, vb.  
Rekith = 'smokes.'  
Siker, adj.  
Sake.  
Slike.  
Smoke, sb.  
Souke, vb.  
Speke, vb.  
Stiken, vb.  
Stikke, sb.  
Strake, vb.  
Stroke, vb.  
Stryke, vb.  
Syke, vb. ('sigh').  
Takel.  
Thakketh, vb.  
Thikke, adj.  
Waker, adj.  
Wake, vb.  
Trikked, vb.



Weke, adj.  
Wreke, vb.  
Wikked, adj.  
Wikke, adj.

*k finally in Chaucer.*

Bak.  
Beek, 'beak.'  
Blak, adj.  
Book.  
Bouk (of tree).  
Brok.  
Buk.  
Eck, 'also.'  
Hook.  
Ik, pr.  
Lak.  
Leek (plant).  
Look, sb.  
Ook (tree).  
Sak.  
Seek, 'sick.'  
Smok, 'a smoke.'  
Wrak, sb.  
Stryk, 'stroke.'  
Syk, 'a sigh.'

*Wycliffe.*

Bregynye = *k*; X.  
Pricked, MM.  
Quik, 'alive,' X.  
Recke, 'to care,' X.  
Seke, vb., X.  
Sike, 'search into,' X.

*St. Cath., Glos., 1200.*

Aswikeþ, 'ceases.'  
Swike, pres. optat.  
Freken, 'champions.'  
Pikes, 'spikes.'  
Wreken, sb., 'avenge.'  
Ecnesse, 'eternity.'  
Slec, 'mud.'  
Cwic, 'living.'

*R. of Glos., 1300.*

Wikke, adj.  
Wrake, sb., 'vengeance.'  
Awreke, sb., 'avenge.'  
Bisuike, p.p., 'deceived.'  
Biseke, vb.  
Serikede, pret.  
Meoc, 'meek.'  
Speke, vb.  
Spek, vb.  
Prikie, 'to spur.'

Sike, vb., 'sigh.'  
Snike, sb., 'villain.'

*P. Plowm., Glos., 1362-93.*

Biseke.  
Dike }  
Dik }  
Dickers = 'ditchers.'  
Frek }  
Fraik, etc. } 'man.'  
Ik and y, pronoun.  
Likam }  
Licam } 'corpse, body.'  
Prikkyth.  
Prikeþ.  
Sykede, 'sighed.'  
Wicke }  
Wikke } adj.  
Ryke, adj.

*Sir Fer., Devon, 1380.*

Crake, 'crack.'  
Freke, 'man.'  
Make, 'mate.'  
Bespeken.  
Be-swyke, 'deceive.'  
Deke, 'ditch.'  
Prykie, 'ride.'  
Reke, 'rich.'  
Wikke } 'violent.'  
Wycke } 'hard, painful.'  
Quyke, adj.  
Sykyngge, 'sighing.'

*St. Editha, Wilts., 1440.*

zeke, vb., 'itch,' 3,388.  
Srykede, 1,671.

*St. Jul. (Prose), Dorset, 1200.*

Slakien, inf., 20.  
Rikenen, inf., 80.  
Eke, 'also,' 4.  
Steortnaket, 10.  
Sikede, 'sighed,' 20.  
Cwike, adj., 22.  
Wike, 'office,' 24.

*Ancren Riwele, Dorset, 1225.*

to-breakeð.  
Prikke, 'point,' jxt.  
Speckes, 'specks.'  
Speken, inf.  
Strik, imp. of strecchen.  
Swike, 'traitor.'

picke, adj.

Wikke, 'foul, bad.'

zoc, 'yoke.'

Kakele } 'a chatterer.'

Chakele }

Swuc, 'such.'

Tekeðe, MS. Titus and MS. Nero,  
Morton's ed., p. 50.

Morton translates tekeðe 'teach-eth,' but Mätzner (Spr. Proben, p. 9) rejects this, and regards tekeðe as = teke, 'to eken,' + ðe, and as meaning 'moreover.' In support of Mätzner's view it may be urged that, on p. 106, MS. Nero has teke þet = 'moreover,' and MS. Cleopatra here has 'to eken'; p. 180, Nero also has techen þe, etc., which Morton, again, translates 'teach those who,' etc., but Mätzner's explanation certainly makes better sense here. On the other hand, on p. 50 Morton's translation makes good sense, and MS. Cleopatra has techen þe. In any case teken, tekeð, etc., may be formed from tekþ, just as seken from sekþ.

Tukeð, 'chastiseth.'

*O. and N., Dorset, Hants., 1246-50.*

Tukest, 'twitchest,' 63.

Swikel-hede, 162.

Bi-swike, 158.

Swikedone, 167.

Mislikeþ, 344.

*Kentish Gospels (MS. Hatton, 38), 1150.**k* and *ck* used for the stop, instead of *c*.

Akenned, Joh., ix, 20.

Kaigen, Mat., xvi, 19.

Taken, sb., Joh., ix, 16.

Spræken, imp. pl., Joh., ix, 22.

þaþe swinkeð, Mat., x, 28.

Ilken, Lk., x, 7.

Ækeres, Mat., vi, 28.

Kynz, Lk., xix, 38.

Drinke, Mat., vi, 32.

Deofel-seoke, Mat., viii, 16.

Chikene, Mat., xxiii, 37.

Of-karf, Lk., xxii.

Kynne.

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*ck.*

Lickeres, Mat., xxii, 18.

Hyre lookan, dat. pl., Joh., x, 2.

*ch = k.*

Chana, Joh., ii, 1.

Fich-treowe, Joh., i, 50.

*MS. Vespas, A. 22, Kent, 1200.*

picce, 237.

Sicernesne, 239.

*Vices and Virtues, Kent, 1200.*

Siker, 25, 31.

Besekeð, 109, 18.

Beseken, 147, 28.

*Moral Ode (Digby MS.), Kent, Early  
Thirteenth Century.*

Ecnesse, sb.

ic = 'I,' only form used in this MS.

Likede, 13.

Quike, 79.

(Euel) Smak.

(ic) Speke, 17.

Siker, adj., 39.

Biswekeð, 14.

*Kentish Sermons (Laud, 471), 1200-50.*

Betockneþ, Fifth Sermon.

Werkes, sb., Epiph.

*Agenbite, Kent, 1340.*

Awreke, vb., 'punish, avenge.'

Awrekinge, 'vengeance.'

Boc.

Breke, vb., breçþ.

Icing = 'itching.'

Ilke, 'serve.'

Licnesse.

Liknesse.

Loke, 'to look.'

Make, 'mate.'

Markes, 'bounds.'

Prikyinde, particip.

Smek } 'taste.'

Smec }

Speke, 'to speak.'

Waki, 'to watch.'

Y-bake, 'baked.'

Zik, 'sick.'

Smackeþ, vb.

*Will. of Shoreham, Kent, 1307-27.*

Siker, 13.

By-swikeþ, 22.

Bi-penkepe (Conrath, *ch*).  
 Drykeþ, 23.  
 Wyckerede, 99.  
 Melke, dat., 133.  
 penkepe } 113.  
 Clenkepe }

*Lib. Desc., Kent, 1350.*  
 to Speke, 47.  
 Meþinkeþ.  
 Ilke, 353.  
 Awreke, p.p., 441.  
 Pricked, 496.

## II.

Non-initial *c*, *ch* in M.E.*Barbour.*

Beteche, 'to commit.'  
 Fechand, part.  
 Lechis, 'doctors.'  
 Vach, 'watch' (sb. and vb.).  
 Vrechidly.  
 Vrechit, adj.

*Dunbar, E. Lothian, 1460-1520.*

Feche, vb.  
 Siche, 'such.'  
 Smoch, 'mouldy, stinking.'  
 Speiche } sb.  
 Speche }  
 Streiche, adj., 'stiff, affected.'  
 Teich, vb.  
 Wreche } sb.  
 Wretchis }

*Gav. Douglas, 1475-1522.*

Awach, vb., 'watch.'  
 About-speche, 'circumlocution.'  
 Brechins, stuffing to prevent hames  
 from galling horse's neck.  
 Cuchill, 'forest or grove' (cf. 'queech'  
 in Mod. Suffolk dialect).  
 Fet, 'to prepare.'  
 Feche, vb., 'fetch,' etc.  
 Hachis, 'hatches.'  
 Ich, 'each.'  
 Lech, 'a doctor.'  
 Mich, 'much.'  
 Sichand, 'sighing' (but perhaps *ch*  
 here = front open consonant?).  
 Spraich } 'howling'  
 Spreich }  
 Wache, 'watchman.'  
 Wrache, 'a wretch.'  
 Wrechis, pl.

*Compl. of Scotl., 1549.*

Reche, adj.  
 Skrech, 'shriek.'  
 Tech, vb.  
 Vyteches, 'witches.'

*Metrical Psalter, Yorks., before 1300.*

Drechhand (in MSS. Harl. and  
 Egerton), 108. 10.  
 Riche, adj., 33. 11.  
 Speches, sb., 18. 4.  
 Teche, inf., 93. 12.  
 Wichand } 'witching, charming,' 58. 6.  
 Wicchand } MS. Egerton has wiccand.  
 Wrechches, 136. 3.  
 Wrechchedhede, 11. 6.  
 Wretchednes, 106. 10.

*Cursor Mundi, Yorks., 1300.*

Rich, adj.  
 Wreche, sb. and adj.  
 Speche, sb.  
 Spech, vb.  
 ꝛicche, sb., 'gout.'

*Minot, Yorks., 1333-52.*

Feched.  
 Wretche, sb.

*Prk. of Consc., Yorks., before 1349.*

Leche, 'physician.'  
 Reche, 'to reach.'  
 Wiche, 'a witch.'

*Sir Gaw., North., 1366.*

Brachez, 'hounds.'  
 Drechch, 'hurt.'

Foch, vb., 'fetch.'  
 Iche, 'each.'  
 Lach, vb., 'take.'  
 Riche, vb., 'reach.'  
 Ryched, p.p., 'enriched.'  
 Seech, vb.

*Townl. Myst., Yorks., 1450.*

Drecche, 'to afflict.'  
 Ich = 'I,' an imitation of Southern.  
 'Take out that Sothern tothe' is  
 said to the person who uses the  
 word 'ich.'  
 Ich = 'each.'

*Wars of Alex., Yorks., Late  
 Fifteenth Century.*

Biche.  
 Drechet, p.p., 'vexed, spoilt.'  
 Feche, vb.  
 Liche, 'body.'  
 Macchis, 'mates.'  
 Meche, 'great.'  
 Riche, adj.  
 Reche, vb., 'to reach.'  
 Seche (and Seke).  
 Siche, 'such.'  
 Wriche, sb.

*Catholicom, Yorks., 1483.*

a Bechetre, 'fagus.'  
 a Bych, 'licista.'  
 a Fiche, 'vicia.'  
 a Leche, 'medicus.'  
 Riche, 'copiosus.'  
 a Speche, 'colloquium.'  
 to Teche.  
 a Weche, 'veneficus.'  
 Kychyn, 'coquina.'

*Levins, Yorks., 1570.*

Ache, sb. and vb. (rhymes to Spinache).  
 Bitch.  
 Blache } sb.  
 Bletche }  
 Rich.  
 Pich, 'corbicusus.'  
 to Mych.  
 a Ditch.  
 Itche, sb.  
 Stitch, sb.  
 Pitch, 'pix.'  
 a Wrytch, 'miser.'  
 Flitch.  
 Witche.

to Fetch.  
 to Reche, 'distendi.'  
 to Stretch.  
 Speach, 'sermo.'  
 Beach.  
 to Bleach, 'candidare.'  
 to Teache.  
 Horseleache.

*Allit. P., Lancs., 1360.*

Aliche, 'alike.'  
 Biseche, vb.  
 Biteche, vb.  
 Brych, 'filth' ?  
 Cleche, 'to receive, take.'  
 Dych, 'ditch.'  
 Feche, subj. of vb.  
 Hach }  
 Hacche } 'hatch' of a ship.  
 Lache }  
 Lacheche } vb., 'to take.'  
 Lache, vb., 'hitch' (cf. Dial. to lutch).  
 Mach }  
 Machche } 'make, fellow.'  
 Pich, 'pitch.'  
 Raccheche, 'to go.'  
 Rych, sb.  
 Rich, adj.  
 Seche, vb.  
 Smach, 'scent, smell.'  
 Streche, vb.  
 Whichche, 'ask.'  
 Wrache }  
 Wrech } 'vengeance.'  
 Wreche, 'wretched.'  
 Wrech }  
 Wrechche } 'wretch.'  
 Wyche-craffe.

*Met. Rom., Lancs., 1420.*

Burliche, 'hurl.'  
 (he) Clechis, 'seizes.'  
 Foche, imperat.  
 Haches, 'hay-racks.'  
 Ich, 'each.'  
 Machet, 'matched.'  
 Muche.  
 Quyche, 'which.'  
 Rechs, 'reeks,' vb.  
 Richest, adj.  
 Seche  
 Siche }  
 Suche } 'such.'  
 Suche, vb., 'seek.'  
 Wurlych, 'worthy.'  
 Wrechut, adj.



*Orm., Lincs., 1200.*

Eche, adj., 'eternal.'  
 Fecchenn, vb.  
 Icchenn.  
 Læchenn, 'cure.'  
 Læche, sb.  
 Lacchenn, vb., 'catch.'  
 Riche, 'kingdom.'  
 Riche, adj.  
 Racchess, sb. pl.  
 Tæchenn, vb.  
 Spæche, sb.  
 Macche, sb., 'mate.'  
 Wreche, 'vengeance.'  
 Wreche, adj. and sb.  
 Wicche-cræftess.  
 Wecche, sb.

*Havelok, N.E. Midl., 1300.*

Swich.  
 Cunriche, 'kingdom.'  
 Leche, 'physician.'  
 Lich, 'like.'  
 Ich, y, and I.  
 Ihc.

*R. of Brunne, Lincs., 1338.*

Feche } vb.  
 Fette } perf.  
 Leches, 'physicians.'  
 Liche, adj.  
 Picched, p.p. (perf. is pight).  
 Reche, vb.  
 Teche, vb.  
 Wicche-craft.  
 Wreche, vb., 'vindicate.'

*Hali Maidenhed, W. Midl., 1225.*

Richedom, 3.  
 into Drecchunge, 7.  
 Bisechen, 11.  
 Bruche, 'breach,' 11.  
 Bruchele, 'brittle,' 13.  
 Smeccchunge, 'tasting,' 13.  
 Ich.  
 Wicchen, 33.  
 Stiches, 'pains,' 35.  
 Fliche, 37.  
 Wlecche, adj. or adv., 43.  
 Wrech, sb., 47.  
 Iliche, 'like,' 19.

*Will. of Pal., W. Midl., 1350.*

Areche, 'to reach.'  
 Dreche, 'disturb' (Alis).

Eche.  
 Erliche.  
 Hache.  
 Hacches } pl.  
 Haches }  
 Ich.  
 Ich, 'each.'  
 Lachen, 'rob, catch.'  
 Leche, 'physician.'  
 Liche, 'like.'  
 Miche, 'great.'  
 Michel.  
 Muchel.  
 Uch, 'each.'  
 Wicche }  
 Wicched } p.p., 'bewitch.'  
 Wreche, 'revenge.'  
 Wreche, 'to revenge.'  
 Reching, 'explanation.'  
 Riche, 'kingdom.'  
 Seche, 'to seek.'  
 Swiche, 'such.'  
 Misse-spech, 'evil report.'  
 Werche } vb.  
 Wirch }  
 Miswerche, vb.  
 Kichen.  
 Marche, 'boundary' (Alis).

*Earliest Eng. Pr. Ps., W. Midl., 1375.*

Michel, 91. 5.  
 Techeþ, 93. 10.  
 Secheþ, 4. 3.  
 Whiche, 13. 6.  
 Bisechen, 26. 7.  
 Liche to, 27. 1.  
 Ich, passim (commonest form of pr.,  
 but *i* and *y* occur).  
 Chirche, 21. 26.

*Mirc, Salop, 1400.*

Myche, 'much.'  
 Dedlyche.  
 Onlyche.  
 Seche, 'to seek.'  
 Sych, 'such.'  
 Uche, 'each.'  
 Lych-wake.  
 Worche, vb.  
 Worchyng, sb.

*MS. Harl., 2,253, Heref., 1310.*

Areche, p.p.  
 i Byseche.  
 Bysechinge.  
 Bysechen, vb.

Bruche, 'breech.'  
 Dreccheþ, vb.  
 Echen, 'to increase.'  
 Ich.  
 Kyneriche.  
 Leche, 'medicus.'  
 Liche, adj.  
 Muchele.  
 Muche.  
 Recche, vb.  
 Riche, adj.  
 Riche, sb.  
 Seche, vb.  
 Speche, sb.  
 Such.  
 Suche.  
 Techen, sb.  
 Wycche, 'witch.'  
 Wrecche, sb. and adj.

*Worc. Gloss., Twelfth Century.*

Imæcca, 'conjunct.'  
 Wicche, 'phitonissa.'  
 Sticels, 'aculeus.'  
 Misliches, 'bless, discolor.'  
 Ticchen, 'hædus.'  
 Blacern, 'lichinus.'  
 Stucche, 'frustrum.'  
 Ic bore.  
 Lic, 'corpus.'  
 Iliches.

*Lazamon, Worcs., 1205.*

Æchen, vb., 'increase.'  
 Arecchen, 'interpret.'  
 Areche, vb., 'touch.'  
 Atsechen.  
 Bæch, 'valley.'  
 Bisechen }  
 Bisecchen }  
 Bitæche }  
 Biteichen } vb., 'deliver, give.'  
 Bi-wricched.  
 Crucche, 'crutch.'  
 Cuchene.  
 Kuchene.  
 Dich.  
 Diches.  
 Fæchen.  
 Ileeche }  
 Echne, acc. } 'each.'  
 Ich (and ic) } 'I.'  
 Hich }  
 Læche.  
 Læches } 'hooks.'  
 Leches }  
 Lich.

Lic (both MSS.).  
 Lliche, 'like.'  
 Muchele, 'gnat.'  
 Riche, 'realm.'  
 Rieche, adj.  
 Rehchen } 'to reck.'  
 [Reche] }  
 Ræcchen, 'tell, explain.'  
 Quecchen, 'move, escape,' etc.  
 Sæchen.  
 Sechen.  
 Spæche } sb.  
 Speche }  
 Stucchen } 'pieces.'  
 [Sticches] }  
 I-tæchen, vb., 'give.'  
 Wræche }  
 [Wrecche, wrech] } 'a poor man.'  
 Prucche, 'to thrust.'  
 Awachede, 'arose.'

*Songs and Carols, Warw., 1400.*

Dyche, 58.

*Engl. Guilds, Norf., 1389.*

Qwyche, 31.  
 Morn speches, 45.  
 Mechil.  
 Fecche, 76.

*Prompt., Norf., 1440.*

Byche (Bycke, P.), 'bitch.'  
 Byschypryche (bysshoperike, P.).  
 Hytehyn, 'moveo.'  
 Iche (or Yeke).  
 Latchyn, 'catch.'  
 Leche, 'medicus.'  
 Lyche, 'dede body.'  
 Match (or Make), compar.  
 Rechyn }  
 A-retehyn } 'attingo.'  
 Watche, or Wakyng.  
 Wytch, 'maga,' etc.  
 Wretch }  
 Wretchyd }  
 Pyche, or Pyk.  
 Ichyn, or Ykyn.  
 Hetehe (and Hek) of a door.

*Bestiary, E. Midl., 1250.*

Briche, adj., 379.  
 Dreccheð, 103.  
 Eche, 'eternal,' 176, 177.  
 Fecheð, 242.  
 Fecchen, inf., 352.

Heunenriche, 378.  
 Meche, 'mate,' 716.  
 Reche, vb., reck, 714.  
 Riche, sb. 28.  
 Witches, sb. pl. (Morris writes wicches in text, but states in a footnote that the MS. has form with *-tch.*)

*Genesis and Exodus, Suffolk, 1250.*

Drechede, 'delayed.'  
 Drechen, 'to delay.'  
 Fechen, 'to fetch.'  
 Fetchden, 'fetched' (2,889). (*Very early example of -tch.*)  
 Gruching, 'murmuring.'  
 Kinge-riches, 'kingdoms.'  
 Lich }  
 Liche } 'body.'  
 Lichles, 'corpseless.'  
 Michil }  
 Michel } 'great.'  
 (and Mikel) }  
 Rechede, 'interpreted.'  
 Rechen, inf.  
 Speche, sb.  
 Techen, 'to teach.'  
 Wiches, 'magicians.'  
 Wreche } 'vengeance.'  
 Wrech }  
 Wrecches, sb. pl.

*Bokenham, Suffolk, before 1447.*

Seche, St. Agn., 32, etc.  
 (and Seke), St. Agn., 33.  
 Swyche, passim.  
 Feche, inf., 799, Kath.  
 (and to fette), 679, St. Cycyle.  
 I Beseche, Prol., 69.  
 Lych, 'like,' Mary, 631.  
 Lychte to lyche, St. Anne, 239.

*Wycliffe.*

Whiche, 'hutch,' X.  
 Holiliche, X.  
 Lichy, adj., MM.  
 Rechelenes, LL.  
 Sacchis, 'sacks,' X.  
 Smacchen, vb., 'smack, taste,' CC.

*Chaucer.*

Bēchen, adj.  
 Birch.  
 Bleche, vb., 'bleach.'  
 Boch, sb.  
 Breech, sb.

Dichen, vb.  
 Dich.  
 Drecche, vb.  
 Ech, adj.  
 Eche, vb.  
 Everich.  
 Fecchen.  
 Fecche, 'vetches.'  
 Mechel.  
 Mochel.  
 Muchel.  
 Overmacche.  
 Pich.  
 Recche, 'reck, care.'  
 Recche, 'interpret.'  
 Reche, 'to reach.'  
 Riche, adj.  
 Seche, vb.  
 Speche, sb.  
 Strecche, vb.  
 Teche, vb.  
 Wrecche, sub. and adj.  
 Wreche, 'vengeance.'  
 Hacches, sb.  
 Leche, 'physician.'  
 Liche, adj., 'like.'  
 Lich-wake.  
 Wacche, sb., 'a sentinel.'

*Polit. S., Middle of Fifteenth Century.*

Wreche, 'wreak.' } vol. ii, fr. Cotton  
 Seche, 'seek.' } Rolls, 11. 23.  
 Smacchith, vol. ii, p. 64. MS.  
 Digby, 41.

*St. Kath., Glos., 1200.*

Beseche, 1 sing.  
 Bruche, sing., 'wound.'  
 Cwich, 3 sing. pres. (1254).  
 Eche, 'eternal.'  
 Lich, 'body.'  
 Stucchen, sb. pl.  
 Rich, 'kingdom.'  
 Smecheš, 'tasteth.'  
 Wecchen, sb. pl.  
 Wrecche, adj.

*R. of Glos., 1300.*

Breche, sb.  
 Dich, sb.  
 Eche, vb., 'increase.'  
 Fecche, vb.  
 Ich, 'I.'  
 Kyneriche.  
 Recche, vb., 'reck.'  
 Reche, vb.

Seche, vb.  
 Suiche, 'such.'  
 Syche, vb., 'sigh.'  
 Vecche, 'fetch.'  
 Vreche, sb., 'wreak, vengeance.'  
 Wreche, adj.  
 Wreche, sb., 'revenge.'

*St. Jul. (Metrical), Glos., 1300.*

Ich.  
 Muche, 59.  
 Wreche, adj., 225.  
 Wiche, sb., 169.  
 I ne reche, 'I reckon not,' 19.

*P. Plow., Glos., 1363-93.*

Biterliche, adv.  
 Bisechen (and Biseke).  
 Clicche  
 Glycchen }  
 Clouche } vb., 'seize.'  
 Clucche }  
 Diche, sb.  
 Dichen, vb.  
 Fecchen, vb., 'take  
 away,' }  
 (and Fette), 'fetch, } Note difference  
 bring.' } of meaning.  
 Flicche.  
 Flucchen.  
 Icham }  
 Ich } etc.  
 Lacchen, vb., 'catch.'  
 Liche, vb., 'like.'  
 Lich, 'a body.'  
 Macche, 'a mate.'  
 Reccheles, adj.  
 Recche, vb., 'care, reckon.'  
 Rechen, vb., 'reach.'  
 (Ryke) }  
 Riche } adj.  
 Rycche, sb.  
 Thecche, vb.  
 Pecchyng.  
 Top-aches, pl. sb.  
 Wecchis, sb. pl., 'wakes.'  
 Wicche, 'sorcerer.'  
 Wyche, 'which.'

*Sir Fer., Devon, 1380.*

Miche, 'much.'  
 Psych, sb.  
 Syche, 'seek, follow.'  
 Wreche, 'vengeance.'  
 Drecche, 'to delay.'  
 Hwych.  
 Leches, 'physicians.'

Vacche, vb., 'fetch.'  
 Wyche, 'which.'  
 Quychch, adv.  
 Ych, I, Chille, etc.

*St. Editha, Wills., 1400.*

Whyche, 2,680.  
 Rechelesse, 2,680.  
 Sodenlyche, 2,161 or 2,661 (?).  
 Ache, sb., 3,713 and 3,726.  
 Ich, 'each' (?), 3,957.  
 I Beseche, 49, 46.  
 Ych { 235 }  
 I { 245 } 'I.'  
 Y-leyche, 399.  
 Ichan, 541.  
 Fullyche, 219.  
 Spousebreche, 743.

*St. Jul. (Prose) Dorset, 1200.*

Specche, sb., 24.  
 Sechen, vb. inf., 50.  
 Feche, imperat., 66.  
 Fecchen, inf., 68.  
 Pich, sb., 68.  
 Wlech, adj., 'lukewarm,' 70.  
 Strecchen, 12.  
 ich Biseche, 74.  
 Eche, adj., 'eternal,' 2.  
 Muchel, 4.  
 Riche, 4.  
 Freoliche, adj., 6.  
 Lechnunge, sb., 6.  
 Euch, 6.  
 Biteachen, vb., 'give up,' 10.  
 Ich, passim.  
 Swucche, 22.  
 Wreches, 20.  
 of Heouenriches, 24.

*Sawles Warde, Dorset, 1210.*

Teacheð, 245.  
 Hwuch, 245.  
 Muchel, 245.  
 Rechelese, adj., 245.  
 Smechunge, 245.  
 Wearliche, adj., 245.  
 (he) Seche, 249.  
 Ich, 249.  
 Wrecchedom, 251.  
 Smeche, gen. pl., 251.  
 Dreccheð, 251.  
 Swuch, 251.  
 Echen, inf., 'increase,' 251.  
 Hechelunge, 'gnashing of teeth,' 251.  
 Pich, 251.



Echness, 'eternity,' 251.  
 Muche, 255.  
 Riche, adj., 257.  
 Bisecheð, 259.  
 Awecehen, inf., 'arouse,' 267.

*Ancr. Riv., Dorset, 1225.*

Bisechen.  
 i-Bleched, 'bleached.'  
 Breche, 'drawers.'  
 Eche, 'to ache' (and æke, once).  
 Dich, sb.  
 Heouenriche.  
 Keache-cuppe, 'drunkard' (cf. ceac,  
 Ælf. Voc. W.-W., 123. 35, etc.).  
 Pricches, sb.  
 Recheð.  
 Reccheð, 'recks.'  
 Sechen.  
 Smech, 'taste.'  
 Smecehen, 'to taste.'  
 Speches (and speckes), 'specks.'  
 Speche, 'speech.'  
 Streccheð.  
 Stucchenes, 'pieces.'  
 Swuche.  
 Techen (tekeðe, MS. Titus).  
 Penchen, 'think.'  
 Pinchen.  
 Vechchen, 'fetch.'  
 Unrechleas, 'indifferent.'  
 Warche, 'pain, ache.'  
 Wecchen, 'to watch.'  
 Wicchecraftes.  
 Wreche, adj.  
 Wreche, 'revenge.'  
 Wurchen, 'to work.'  
 zichunge, 'itching.'  
 Stiche, 'a stitch.'  
 Kuchene, 'kitchen.'  
 Rechless, 'odour, incense.'

*O. and N., Dorset, 1246-50.*

Ich, Ich, and I, pas.  
 Ich, 1220, Cott.  
 Ic, Jesus.  
 Recche, 'I reck,' 58.  
 Evrich, C. }  
 Euriche, J. } 195.  
 Iliche, 316.  
 Riche, 'kingdom.'  
 Secheþ, 380.

*Sir B. of Hampt., South Hants., 1327.*

Barlyche, 'barley.'

*Kentish Gospels (MS. Hatton, 38),  
 1150.*

O.E. *c* written -*ch*.

Sicchelese (sic), Mat., xxvii, 28.  
 Sicchele (sic), Mat., xxvii, 30 = O.E.  
 sciccelse.  
 Fecchen (inf.), Joh., iv, 15.  
 Æched, O.E. 'eced,' Lk., xxiii, 36.  
 On eche lyf, Joh., vi, 27.  
 Echenysse, Joh., vi, 51.  
 Openliche, Joh., vii, 10.  
 Spræche, sb., Joh., vii, 40.  
 (ic)ræche, Joh., xiii, 26.  
 Bæch, dat. sing., Mk., i, 2.  
 Swahlich, Mat., x, 31.  
 Aweceheð, Mat., x, 8.  
 Ich and Ic, passim.  
 Tichchenan, Mat., xxv, 32.  
 Bech, dat. sing., Lk., iii, 4.  
 ze-swinchen, Lk., xxii, 28.  
 Riche, sb., Lk., xxiii, 51.  
 Michele, Lk., xi, 11.

*c* written *c*.

Secan, Lk., xix, 10.  
 Rice, Lk., xix, 14.  
 Micelen, Lk., xi, 4.  
 Receþ, Lk., xxiv, 17.  
 Recceþ, Lk., xxiv, 17.  
 Ic, passim.

*Vespas, A. 22, Kent, 1200.*

Riche, sb., 214.  
 Rice, adj., 219.  
 Moche, 235.  
 Weren, inf., 225.

*Vices and Virtues, Kent, 1200.*

Sechen, vb., 3. 17.  
 Wurchende, 3. 10.  
 Michel, 5. 14.  
 Bisecheð, 4. 13.  
 Speches, sb., 15. 21.  
 Iliche, 15. 23.  
 Wreche, 15. 31.  
 Techþ, 27. 29.  
 Besieche, 21. 30.  
 Ech, 'also,' 129. 27.

*Moral Ode (Digby MS.), Kent, Early  
 Thirteenth Century.*

Diches, sb. pl., 41.  
 Heueriche, 42.  
 Michel, 60, 62, etc.  
 ic Recche, 'I reck,' 135.

Smeche, sb., 18.  
 Stecche, sb., 'piece,' 191.  
 Swich, 80.  
 Wonderlicheste, 68.

*Kentish Sermons (MS. Laud, 471),*  
 1200-50.

Medial and final *c* = *ch*.

Speche, Epiph.  
 Seches, Epiph., but *besekeþ*, Second  
 Sermon.  
 Kinkriche, Epiph.  
 Deadlich, Epiph.  
 Smech, Epiph., sb.  
 Wych, Second Sermon.  
 But in *purch*, Second Sermon = O.E.  
*purh*, *ch* = front open consonant.

*Ayenbite, Kent, 1340.*

Beches, 'beach-trees.'  
 Bezeche, 'to besech.'  
 Bezechinge, 'petition.'  
 Blechest, 'hurtest.'  
 Bleche, 'pale.'  
 Bodiliche, pl. adj.  
 Dich, 'ditch.'  
 Ech, 'each.'  
 Eurich.  
 Iliche, 'like.'  
 Leche, 'surgeon.'  
 Moche.  
 Mochel.  
 Smech, sb., 'smoke.'

Speche, sb.  
 Riche, sb.  
 Stech, *stechche*, O.E. *sticce*.  
 Strecheche, vb.  
 Techches, 'bad habits.'  
 Teche, vb., 'to teach.'  
 Wychche, 'a witch.'  
 Wreche, 'vengeance.'  
 Zeche, 'sack.'  
 Zeche, 'to seek.'  
 Zuech, 'such.'

*Lib. Desc., Kent, 1350.*

Ech, 96.  
 Swich, 197.  
 Loþlich, 619.  
 Pich, 620.  
 Ich, 'I,' 1123 (also I, pas.).

*Will. of Shoreham, Kent, 1315.*

Sechen, 136.  
 Aschrencheth, 17.  
 Sonderliche, 1.  
 Ich, 8.  
 Lich and lyche, 'body,' 20.  
 Rych, sb., 20.  
 That thou—werche, 23.  
 Adrenche, 3rd sb., 30.  
 To the che, 49.  
 Areche, vb., 49.  
 Opsechemhy, 57.  
 Speche, 59.  
 Bi-wiched, 71.  
 By-reche, 96.  
 In þe smeche, 96.

### III.

#### Non-initial *-nk*, *-lk*, and *-rk* in M.E.

*Barbour.*

Bynk } 'bench.'  
 Benk }  
 Blenkyt, 'looked aside.'  
 Drunkyn.  
 Venche, 'wench.'  
 Stark.  
 Byrkis, b.-trees.  
 Merk, adj.  
 Virk, vb.  
 Kirk }  
 Kyrk }  
 Swilk.

Ilka, 'each.'  
 Ilk, 'same.'  
 Walk, 'watch,' sb. and vb.

*Dunbar, E. Lothian, 1460-1520.*

Binkis, 'banks' of earth.  
 Schrenk, 'to shrink.'  
 Spynk, 'chaffinch.'  
 Birkis (trees).  
 Kirk.  
 Wark, sb.  
 Wirk, inf.  
 Schalk, 'rogue,' etc.

*Gav. Douglas, 1475-1522.*

Benk.  
 Benkis, pl.  
 Blenke, sb., 'view, glimpse.'  
 Schrenkis, vb., 'shrinks.'  
 Skinkis, 'pours out.'  
 Balk, 'beam.'  
 Holkis, 3 sing. pres. }  
 Holkit, p.p. } 'to hollow out.'  
 Holkand, part.  
 Thilk = the ilke.  
 Birkis, pl., 'birch-trees.'  
 Heedwerk.

*Compl. of Scotl., 1549.*

Berk, 'to bark.'  
 Mirknes.  
 Virk.  
 Finkil, 'fennel.'  
 Thynk, vb.  
 Goldspink.  
 Ilk, 'each.'

*Metrical Psalter, Yorks., before 1300.*

Drenkenand, 22. 5.  
 Strenkil, inf., 'sprinkle,' 50. 9.  
 Swink, sb., 9. 28 }  
 Swynk, sb., 108. 11 } etc.  
 Thinkand, 34. 4.  
 Kirke, 34. 18, passim.  
 Werkes, sb. pl., passim.  
 Wirkes, 3 pl., 5. 7.  
 Wirkand, 35. 13.  
 Ilk-on, 72. 28.  
 Whilk, 34. 27.  
 Whilke, 7. 3.

*Cursor Mundi, Yorks., 1300.*

Kirk.  
 Werc }  
 Werck } sb.  
 Wark }  
 Ware }  
 Warckes.  
 Wirk, vb.  
 Euerilk.  
 Suinc.  
 Wrenk, vb., 'wrench.'  
 Wrenkes, sb. pl. (also wrenches).

*Minot, Yorks., 1333-52.*

Ilk, 'each.'  
 Whilk.  
 Swink.  
 Kirk.

*Prk. of Consc., Yorks., before 1349.*

Blenk, 'fault.'  
 Rounce.  
 Swynk, 'labour.'  
 Think, 'to seem.'  
 Wrenk, 'a trick,' etc.  
 Ilk, 'each.'  
 Welk, vb., 'wither.'  
 Sculke, vb.  
 Quilk }  
 Whilk } 'which.'  
 Yholke, 'yolk.'  
 Irk, 'to weary of.'  
 Kirk.  
 Kyrk.  
 Merk, 'a mark.'  
 Wirk, vb.

*Sir Gaw., North., 1366.*

Blenk, vb., 'shine.'  
 Blonk }  
 Blounke } 'white horse.'  
 Dronken, 'drunk.'  
 Thinkes, 'seems.'  
 Kirk.

*Tounl. Myst., 1450.*

Belk, vb.  
 Ilk, 'each'  
 Kynke, 'to draw the breath audibly.'  
 Wark, vb., 'to ache.'

*W.-W., xviii, Early Fifteenth Century,  
North.*

Spynke, 'rostellus.'  
 Bynke, 'scamnum.'  
 Byrketre.  
 Kyrgarth.  
 Kyrk.

*Wars of Alex., Yorks., Late Fifteenth  
Century.*

Benke. (Ashm. Dubl. MS. only *ch*  
forms.)  
 Drenke, sb., 'drink.'  
 Brenke, 'brink.'  
 Warke.  
 Wark, Dubl. } 'ache, pain,' sb.  
 Derke.  
 Derknes (MS. Dreknnes).  
 Milke-quite.  
 Schalk, sb.

*Catholicon, Yorks., 1483.*Final *nk* in *Catholicon*.

Benke, 'scamnum.'  
 Drynke, 'biber.'  
 Dronkyn.  
 Sponke.  
 to Stynke.  
 a Stynke.  
 Derke.  
 Myrke.  
 a Warke, 'opus.'  
 a Styryrke, 'procuculus.'  
 to Wyrke.  
 a Kyrke.  
 Milke, 'lac.'  
 a Wilke } 'conchile.'  
 Welke }  
 Ilkane.

*Levins, Yorks., 1570.*

Hirk, or Irk, 'tædium.'  
 a Kirk.  
 Mirke.  
 Lurke.  
 Worke, sb. and vb.  
 Brink.  
 Drinke, sb. and vb.  
 Chincke, sb.  
 Linke, 'torch.'  
 Sinke, 'cloaca,' and vb.  
 Stinke, sb. and vb.  
 Inke.  
 Shrinke, vb.  
 Swinke, vb.  
 Thinke.  
 Milk, sb. and vb.

*Allit. P., Lancs., 1360.*

Bipenke, vb.  
 Renke, 'man.'  
 penkande, 'thinking.'  
 Ferke up, vb.  
 Derk.  
 Merk, 'dark,' adj. and sb.  
 Ilk.

*Metr. Rom., Lancs., 1420.*

Blenked, 'glanced.'  
 Drinkes, sb. pl.  
 Stinke, sb.  
 (I) Thenke.  
 Thinke, inf.  
 Wlonkest, adj.  
 Ilke, 'same.'  
 Welke, 'walked.'  
 Werkes, sb. pl.

*Orm., Lincs., 1200.*

Bānnkess.  
 Bisennkenn.  
 Drinnkenn.  
 Druncnenn, 'drown.'  
 Bīpennkenn.  
 Strennkenn, 'sprinkle.'  
 Swennkenn, 'vex.'  
 Swinnkenn, 'labour.'  
 Pannkenn.  
 Stincken.  
 Stannc.  
 Stunnkenn.  
 Sinneþþ.  
 Swinnc, sb.  
 Unnc (dual acc.).  
 Muncelif.  
 Merrke, 'merk.'  
 Wirrkenn, 'work,' vb.  
 Werrkedaghess.  
 Weorrc, sb.  
 Werrc.  
 Werrkess.  
 Starrc.  
 Folle.  
 Ille, 'each.'  
 Illke, 'same.'  
 Whille, 'which.'  
 Millc.  
 Swille.

*Havelok, N. E. Midl., 1300.*

Arke.  
 Herkne, imperat.  
 Serk.  
 Stark.  
 Blenkes, sb. pl.  
 Swink, sb.  
 Swinken, vb.  
 Swilk.

*R. of Brunne, Lincs., 1338.*

Blenk, 'trick.'  
 Brynke, sb.  
 Bypenke, vb.  
 penke.  
 Derk, adj.  
 Wryke, inf.  
 Swylk.

*Hali Meidenhed, W. Midl., 1225.*

punckeð, 3rd sing., p. 3.  
 Stinkinde, 9.  
 Swinken, 3rd pl., 29.  
 to Werke, dat. of sb., 15.  
 Ilke, 45.



*Will. of Pal., W. Midl., 1350.*

Bonke, 'bank.'  
 Dronked, 'drowned, drenched.'  
 penke, 'thick.'  
 Derk.  
 Ferke, vb.  
 Herken, vb.  
 Park.  
 Ilk.  
 Talke.  
 Walken.

*Mire, Salop, 1400.*

Dronken.  
 Swinke, vb.  
 Think, 'that same.'  
 Werkeday.

*MS. Harl., 2,253, Heref., 1310.*

Clyngen, 'to resound.'  
 Dronke, adj., 'drunk.'  
 Serynke }  
 Skrinke } vb., 'shrink.'  
 Stynken, vb.  
 Swynke, vb.  
 Swynk, vb.  
 ich penke.  
 penken, inf.  
 me þunkeþ.  
 Ilke.

*Laz., Worcs., 1205.*

Boncke (dat.).  
 Drinc.  
 Drænc.  
 Dringke.  
 [Dronke.]  
 Rinkas, pl.  
 þankie.  
 Seenc, 'draught.'  
 Swinkeþ }  
 Swonc } vb.  
 Swunke }  
 Doreke, adj.  
 þirkede, 'darkened.'  
 Weorc, werc, wærc, sb.  
 Chiric-lond (cf. chuc = chire : O.E.  
 Hom., 1st series, pt. i, p. 9).  
 Milc, sb.  
 Swilc }  
 Swulke }  
 Talkie, vb.

*Bestiary, E. Midl., 1250.*

Drinkeð, 142.  
 Drinken, inf., 133.

Sinken, 538.  
 Swinkeð, 235.  
 Biþenken, 94.  
 ðenkeð, 449.  
 Ilk, 'each,' 97.  
 Swilk, 440.  
 Swile, 336.  
 Wilc, 'which,' 5.  
 Kirke, 93.  
 Werkeð, vb., 498.  
 Werk, sb., 442.

*Genesis and Exodus, Suffolk, 1250.*

Drinc, sb.  
 Drinken, vb.  
 Forsanc, 'sank entirely.'  
 Hinke, 'fear, dread.'  
 Senkede (= Schenkede).  
 Stinc.  
 Stinken, 'stinking.'  
 Swinc, sb., 'toil.'  
 Swinken, vb.  
 Forhirked, 'tired of.'  
 Merke, 'boundary.'  
 Werken '(they) work.'  
 Folc. }  
 Folckes }  
 Ilc } 'each.'  
 Ilk }  
 Quile, 'what, which.'  
 Quilke (pl.), 'which.'  
 Swilc, 'such.'  
 Walkene, 'welkin.'  
 Welkede, 'withered.'

*Engl. Guilds, Norf., 1389.*

Qwillk, 37.  
 Euere-ilk, 56.  
 Werkys, sb. pl.  
 Kyrk, 87, and passim.

*Prompt., Norf., 1440.*

Menkte, 'mixtus.'  
 Werk, 'opus.'  
 Werke, 'operor.'  
 Werkyn, or 'heed akyn.'  
 gelke of egge.

*Bokenham, Suffolk, 1447.*

Thylk, Mary, 947.

*Chaucer.*

Dirk }  
 Dark } adj.  
 Stork.

Stark, 'strong.'

Werk

Werkes, vb.

Stinke, vb.

Stink.

Brink.

Thanke.

Thonke.

Thank.

Thenke, 'think, seen.'

Swinke, vb.

Swink, sb.

Sinke.

Inke, sb.

Drinke, sb.

Drinke

Drank

Dronken } vb.

Drunken }

Winke, vb.

Milk, sb.

Welken, sb.

Welken, vb.

Walken.

Stalke, vb.

Ilke, adj.

Balke, 'a beam.'

Talke, vb.

Stalke, 'a stalk.'

*Wycliffe.*

Werk-bestis, 'plough-oxen,' X.

*St. Kath., Glos., 1200.*

Smirkinde, participle.

Swinkes, gen. sing.

*St. Jul. (Metrical), Glos., 1300.*

pulke, 104.

*R. of Glos., 1300.*

Biswinke, vb.

Blenkte }

Blencte }

Ilke.

Melc, sb.

Stinkinde.

Suinke } vb.

Swinke }

pelke, 'that.'

penke, 'to think.'

*P. Plowm., Glos., 1362-93.*

Bolke, 'eructation.'

Penken, vb.

*Sir Fer., Devon, 1380.*

Ilke, 'same.'

Forþynk, 2 pl. pr.

Sterk, 'stiff.'

*St. Editha, Wilts., 1400.*

Werkus, sb., passim.

I thenk, 3,764.

Powe þenk, 540.

*St. Jul. (Prose), Dorset, 1200.*

Ponckes, 'thoughts,' 42.

Ponken, inf., 'thank,' 58.

Suncken, p.p., 78.

Sinken, inf., 28.

Cwenct.

Starcke, 78.

*Sawles Warde, Dorset, 1210.*

Swinc, 263.

*Ancr. Riv., Dorset, 1225.*

Stinken.

Stenk, sb.

Swinken.

Swinc, sb.

Were, sb.

Skulken, 'slink along.'

*Wohinge of ure Lauerd* (by author of above).

penke, imperat., 279.

to penken, 287.

*Sir B. of Hampt., South Hants., 1327.*

Wark-man, A.

Worke, vb., printed copy.

Wyrke, vb., Manchester MS.

Brink (printed copy has brenche).

*Usages of Winchester, circ. 1360.*

Work } sb., 351.

Wark } sb., 351.

me Workeþ, 350.

pulke 'those,' 354.

pelke } 356.

pilke } 356.

þt ylke stat, 362.

*Vespas, A. 22, Kent, 1200.*  
 Wurc, sb., 223.

*Vices and Virtues, Kentish, 1200.*  
 Workes, sb., 3. 14.  
 Wolkne, 103. 23.  
 Drinken, vb. inf.

*Moral Ode (Digby MS.), Kent, Early Thirteenth Century.*  
 Swingke, vb.  
 i Suinc.  
 me pingh (\*pinkþ).

a Worke, dat., 11.  
 Werkes }  
 Workes } gen.

*Ayenbite, Kent, 1340.*

Azenkte, 'sank,' trans. vb.  
 Drinke, sb.  
 Drinkeres.  
 Stinkinde.  
 pank, sb.  
 Ilke, 'same.'  
 Milk, sb.  
 Workinde, 'working.'  
 Workes, sb.

## IV.

Non-initial *-nch, -lch, -rch* in M.E.

*Gav. Douglas, 1475-1522.*  
 Clynschis, vb., 'rivets.'  
 Drinchit, p.p., 'enveloped.'  
 Quenschit, p.p.  
 Belch, 'a swelled, fat fellow.'  
 Pilchis, sb. pl., kind of garment.  
 Marchis, 'boundaries.'

*Metrical Psalter, Yorks., before 1300.*  
 Wenches, sb. pl., 67. 26.

*Prk. of Consc., Yorks., before 1349.*  
 Wrynchand, 'wriggling.'

*Wars of Alex., Late Fifteenth Century.*  
 Benche (Dub.).  
 Drenchid, p.p., 'drowned.'  
 Hanchyd, 'gnawed, eaten.'  
 Worche, vb.

*Cursor Mundi, 1300.*  
 Wrenches, sb. pl.

*Levins, Yorks., 1570.*  
 Lurch, vb., 'lie hid.'  
 Milch, sb. and vb.  
 Belche, sb. and vb.

Stinch, sb. and vb.  
 Linche, sb. and vb.  
 Kintch (of wood).  
 Goldfinch.  
 Bench }  
 Binch }

*Allit. P., Lancs., 1360.*

Blenche, 'stratagem.'  
 Quenche.  
 Wrenche, 'device.'  
 Worche, vb.  
 Worcher, sb.

*Metr. Rom., Lancs., 1420.*

Wenche, 'girl.'  
 Wurche, vb.

*Orm., Lincs., 1200.*

Bennche.  
 Swennchen, vb.  
 Swinnchen, vb.  
 Stinnch, sb.  
 Wennchell, 'child.'  
 Drinnch, 'drink, draught.'

*Itali Meidenhed, W. Midl., 1225.*

penchen, 3.  
 puncheð, 15.  
 pu swenchest, 35.  
 Wurchen.

*Earliest Engl. Pr. Ps., W. Midl., 1375.*

Wirchen, inf., 5. 6.  
penchand, 8. 5.

*MS. Harl., 2,253, Heref., 1310.*

Adrenche, vb.  
Freysshe } French.  
Frenshe }  
Schenchen, vb., 'give to drink.'  
penchen, inf.  
pench, imperat.  
punchē.  
punchēþ.  
Chirche.  
Worche, 2 sing. subj.  
Wurcheþ } 3 sing.  
Worcheþ }

*Laz., Worcs., 1205.*

Ælch, alch } 'each.'  
Elches }  
Hwulche, 'such.'  
Bench.  
Drinchen } vb.  
and Drinken }  
Drunchen, p.p.  
Drench, sb.  
Drinches } n. pl., d.  
Drenchen }  
Swencheð, pl.  
[Swincheþ.]  
Puncheð } 'seemeth.'  
[pincheþ] }  
[Senche], 'draught.'  
Seenchen, vb., 'pour out.'  
Chirche.  
Churchen.

Chiric-lond { cf. Chuczong = Chirc-  
zong, Morris' O.E.  
Hom., First Series,  
pt. i, p. 9.

Wurche } vb.  
Urchen }  
[Werche, weorche, wirche] }  
[Worch], sb., also weorc, etc.

*Genesis and Exodus, Suffolk, 1250.*

Drink, vb.  
Chirche-gong.  
Churches.  
Werchen, 'to work.'

*Bestiary, E. Midl., 1250.*

Quenching, 207.

*Prompt., Norf., 1440.*

Benche, sb.  
Wrenche (idem quod slythe).  
Byrchetre.  
Marche.  
Mylche or Mylke of a cowe. (Under  
Mylke stands 'idem quod mylche,' as  
if this were the usual form.)  
Bokenham, before 1447, Suffolk, has  
Cherche.  
Eng. Guilds, Norf., 1389, has Chyrche,  
Chirche.

*Chaucer.*

Monche, vb.  
Thenche, vb.  
Wenche, sb.  
Quenche.  
Inche, sb.  
Wrenches, 'frauds.'  
Worcheth, vb.  
Worcher, sb.  
Wirche } vb.  
Werche }  
Finch.  
Drenchen, vb.  
Bench, sb.  
Benched, p.p.

*Wycliffe.*

Drynching, 'drowning,' X.  
Werchyngē, sb., 'influence,' X.  
Worche } inf., X.  
Worsche }  
Warche, inf., CC.

*St. Kath., Glos., 1200.*

penchen, 'to think.'  
punchen, 'to seem.'  
Wrenchen, 'to entice.'  
Kenchen, 'to laugh.'  
Shrenchten, 'cheated.'  
Wurchen, vb.

*R. of Glos., 1300.*

Abenche.  
Blenche, inf.  
Drench, sb.  
Drenche, vb., 'drown.'  
Ofpencheþ } 'repenteth.'  
Ofthincheþ }  
Stenche, vb.



Suench } sb.  
 Swench }  
 Swinch.  
 Schenche, vb., 'pour out.'  
 penche, vb.  
 penches.  
 penchest.  
 Wurche, sb. and vb.  
 Wourche, vb.

*St. Jul. (Metrical), Glos., 1300.*

pench, inf., 52.  
 Drenche, inf., 91.  
 penche, inf., 92.  
 Pench, imperat.

*P. Plowm., Glos., 1362-93.*

Benche, sb.  
 Quenche }  
 Quencheþ }  
 penche, 2 pres. sb., 'think.'  
 Worchen } vb.  
 Werche }

*Sir Fer., Devon, 1380.*

Blenche, vb., 'turn aside.'  
 Drench, 'a drink.'  
 Werche, vb.

*St. Editha, Wilts., 1400.*

pou Worchest, 2,686.  
 Wyrche, inf., 2,926.

*St. Jul. (Prose), Dorset, 1200.*

Senchtest, 32.  
 Schrenchen, 34, inf., 'shrink.'  
 Schunchen, 34, 'to be terrified.'  
 biþencheð, 42, 'considers.'  
 him puncheð, 42, 'seems good.'  
 Wrenchen, 42.  
 Cwenchte, pret., 68.  
 Blenchte, 72.  
 Senchte, 'sank,' 78.  
 Adrenchten, 'drowned,' 78.  
 For puncheð, 'grieves,' 16.  
 Biþench, 20, imperat.  
 For senchtest, 60.  
 Wurchen, inf.  
 Wurch, imperat, 16.

*Sawles Warde, Dorset, 1210.*

Wernches = wrenches, 'devices,' 245.  
 Stench, sb.  
 Pencheð, imperat., 251.  
 puncheð, 'it seems,' 257.  
 a Pilche clut, 253.

*Ancr. Riw., 1225, Dorset.*

Bi-senchen, 'bank.'  
 Unwrench, 'wicked artifice.'  
 Wenchel, 'a maid.'  
 Stunch, 'a stench.'  
 Ilchere, 'every.'  
 Kelche-cuffe.

*Wohunge of ure Lawerd (by author of above).*

Drinch, 283 (twice), sb.  
 Dunchen, 3rd pl., 283.

*O. and N., Dorset, 1246-1250.*

Hit pincheþ, 225.  
 Bipenche, 471.  
 Blenches, 378, sb.  
 Goldfinch, J. } 1130.  
 Goldfinc, Cot. }  
 Unwrenche, sb., 169.  
 Me þunchþ, 1651. But Me þunchþ,  
 1672.  
 Wurchen, vb., 408.  
 Wirche, inf., 722.  
 Chirche, 721.

*Sir B. of Hampt., South Hants., 1327.*

Werche, inf., A.  
 Brenche (printed copy), MS. has brink.  
 Clenche, vb., 'cling to.' Sutherland  
 MS., end of fourteenth century.

*Usages of Winchester, circ. 1360.*

Werche, inf.

*Kentish Gospels (MS. Hatton, 38), 1150.*

Ælchen, Lk., xix, 36.  
 Swilce, Lk., xxiii, 14 and 17.  
 ic Werche, Joh., iv, 34.  
 ic Wyrce, Lk., xxii, xi.  
 Chyrcean, Mat., xvi, 18.  
 Awenchen, Joh., xi, 11.  
 Bepencheþ, Lk., xxxiv, 6.  
 ze-swinchen, Lk., xxii, 28.  
 Werchte, Lk., x, 7, sb., 'labourer.'

*Vespas, A. 22, Kent, 1200.*

Adrenche, 215.  
 penche, 217.  
 zeswince, 219.  
 Elc, 231.

O.E. *nē, lē, rē.**Vices and Virtues, Kent, 1200.*

pinche, sb., 3. 31.  
 Drenkch, sb., 87. 29.  
 Swilch, 3. 28.  
 Wurchende, 3. 10.

*Moral Ode (Digby MS.), Kent, Early Thirteenth Century.*

Adrenche, vb.  
 Bipenche, 6.  
 Ofpencheþ, 10.  
 Quenche, inf., 152.  
 Iswinch, vb., 36.  
 Iswinch, sb., 57.  
 Penchen, inf., 62.

*Ayenbite, Kent, 1340.*

Adrenche, vb.  
 Bench.  
 Beþenche, 'to remind.'  
 Beþencheþ, 3 sing.  
 Blench.  
 Drenche, vb.  
 Drench, sb.  
 Stench, sb.  
 penchinges.  
 penche, vb.  
 Wrench, 'craft.'  
 Zuynche, vb.  
 Zuynech, sb.  
 Kuenche, vb.  
 Cherche.

## V.

The *-einte* forms.O.E. *-nēt* = *-nt* in M.E. with diphthongization of preceding vowel.*Gavin Douglas, 1475-1522.*

Drint, 'drowned.'  
 Quent, p.p., 'quenched.'

*MS. Harl., 2,253, Heref., 1310.*

Dreynt, p.p., 'drowned.'  
 Seint, p.p., 'sunk.'  
 Wreint, p.p., 'tormented.'

*Minot, Yorks., 1333-52.*

Adreinte, p.p.

*Mirc, Salop, 1400.*

I-queynt, 'quenched.'

*Lazamon, Worcs., 1205.*

Adrente }  
 [Adreint] } pret.  
 [Adreinte] }  
 [Adreingte] }  
 [Aseint], pret.  
 Aseingde, pret.  
 Bleinte, pret.

*Chaucer.*

Queynt, pret.  
 Dreynte, pret.  
 Bleynte, pret.

*St. Jul. (Metrical), Glos., 1300.*

Adreynte, pret., 224.

*R. of Brunne, Lincs., 1338.*

Dreynte, pret.  
 Bleynt.

*R. of Glos., 1300.*

Adreynt }  
 Adreint } pret.  
 Adreincte }  
 Aseincte } 'sunk.'  
 Aseint }  
 Bleynte = Bleynte.  
 Bleincte, 3 sing. pret.  
 Dreinte, 3 sing.  
 Dreynt, p.p.

*P. Plow., Glos., 1362-93.*

Queynte, p.p.

## VI.

O.E. *-ct* (*čd*) = *-cht*; *-ght* in M.E.*Gav. Douglas*, 1475–1522.

Picht, p.p., 'pitched.'

*Metr. Rom., Lancs.*, 1420.

Pigte, p.p., 'pitched.'

*R. of Glos.*, 1300.

Pigt, 'poet.'

Pigte, p.p.

Schrizte, 3 pret. s.

Pligte, p.p.

Plyzte, 3 sing.

Ypligt, 'pledged.'

*Mirc, Salop*, 1400.White ('strong, active') = wight  
= \*wicht = \*quiccd?*Chaucer.*

Twight, p. of twicchen.

Streighte, pt. s. of strecchen.

Reighte, rechen.

Prighte, pret. of prikken = \*pricchen.

## VII.

Non-initial O.E.  $\gamma$  non-fronted, and = *gh*, *w*, etc., in M.E.*Barbour.*

Low, 'a flame.'

Law, adj., 'low.'

Lownyt, 'sheltered.'

Aw, 'thou oughtest.'

Bow-draucht, 'a bow-shot.'

Dawit

Dawned } p.p.

Dawyn }

Dawis (and Dawis).

to Draw.

Enew.

Fallow, 'to follow.'

Fallow, 'a fellow.'

Saw, sb., 'a saying.'

Slew, 'struck.'

Sla, 'to slay.'

All-thouch.

Borwch, 'a pledge.'

Burch, 'borough.'

Dreuch, 'drew'

Eneuch (and Enew).

Holche (cf. Chaucer, halke), 'a corner,  
lurking-place.'

Heych, 'high.'

Sleuch, 'slew.'

Laigh.

Lauchand, 'laughing.'

Lawch and law, 'low.'

Mawch, 'kinsman.'

Throuch, 'through.'

Pleuch, 'a plough.'

*Dunbar, E. Lothian*, 1460–1520.

Bow (for shooting).

Fowl.

Beuche, 'bough.'

Dearch, 'dwarf.'

Lauchis, 'laughs.'

Pleuch.

Teuch, adj., 'tough.'

Heich

Hecher } 'high.'

He

*Gav. Douglas*, 1475–1522.

Aucht, 'eight.'

Daw, 'day.'

Dawing, 'daybreak.'

Dowchtie, adj.

Fla, 'a flea.'

Houch.

Magh, 'son-in-law.'

Rowch, adj., 'rough.'

Sauch, 'a willow.'

*Compl. of Scoll.*, 1549.

Aneuch, 'enough.'

Burcht } 'burgh.'

Burcht }

Cleuchis, 'dells.'

Heuch, 'steep valley.'

*Metrical Psalter, Yorks., before 1300.*

Aghe-fulle, adj., 74. 8.  
 Fogheles, 'birds,' 7. 9.  
 Haleghs, sb. pl., 36. 28 (back or front?).  
 Sagh, sb., 36. 25.  
 Slogh, sb., 'slough,' 39. 3.

*Cursor Mundi, Yorks., 1300.*

Legh, sb., 'a lie' (Fairf.).  
 Lighes, 2 sing. vb.  
 Togh, adj.  
 Foghul.  
 Loghand, past pres.  
 Logh, 3 pl. pret.  
 Laghes, 3 pl. pres.  
 Sagh, vb. and sb., 'to saw.'  
 Magh, 'relation.'  
 Plogh, sb.  
 Sagh, 'a saying.'  
 Tifted, 3 sing.  
 Tift, p.p.  
 Lawze, 'a laugh.'  
 Lowen, 3 pl. (Trinity).  
 Fouul.  
 Foghuls.  
 Foghul.  
 ? Fouxl.  
 ? Fouxl, etc.  
 Lou, 'flame, blaze.'

*Minot, Yorks., 1333-52.*

Aghe, 'fear.'  
 Eghen, 'eyes.'  
 Neghed, 'approached.'

*Prk. of Consc., Yorks., before 1349.*

Agh, 'ought.'  
 Boghes, 'boughs.'  
 Boghsom }  
 Bousom }  
 Bousom }  
 Bughsam }  
 Felaghe.  
 Gnawen, p.p.  
 Halghe, adj.  
 Halghe, sb. }  
 Hallow }  
 Lagh } 'a law.'  
 Laghe }  
 Lagh, vb., 'laugh.'  
 Maghes, 'moths.'  
 Sla, vb.  
 Slouh, sb., 'slough.'  
 Slaghe, pret. of 'sla.'

Swelge, vb., 'swallow.'  
 pof  
 Pogh } 'though.'  
 Poghe }  
 Waghe, 'wall.'  
 Warlau, 'wizard.'  
 Waves, 'waves.'  
 Worow, 'to strangle.'

*Sir Gaw., North., 1366.*

Azt, 'owned.'  
 Bawe-men.  
 Boges, 'boughs.'  
 Brozes, 'brows.'  
 Drazes, 'draws.'  
 Halawed.  
*Haz-thorne.* (Note the open cons. z here.)  
 Holz, 'hollow.'  
 Inogh }  
 Inoz } 'enough.'  
 Innowe }  
 Lawe, 'mount.'  
 Lazed }  
 Lazter }  
 Laz } 'low.'  
 Lag }  
 Rogh } adj.  
 Roz }  
 Saw } 'saying.'  
 Saze }  
 Swoghe, 'silence.'  
 Thaz, 'though.'  
 Borz } 'borough, city.'  
 Burg }

Since both spellings, 'saze, sawe,' occur, it looks as if 'saze' were the traditional spelling, and 'sawe' the real pronunciation.

*Townley Mysteries, Yorks., 1480.*

Holgh, 'hollow.'  
 Lagh, 'law.'  
 Leghe, 'a lie.'  
 Saghe, 'a saying.'  
 Saghe, 'saw.'  
 Soghe }  
 Sowch<sup>1</sup> } 'a sow.'  
 Steghe, 'a ladder.'  
 Swoghe, 'sound of waves.'  
 Thrughe, 'flat gravestone.'  
 Wawghes, 'waves.'

<sup>1</sup> Note spelling, shows these words all had C.



*W.-W., xviii, North., Fifteenth Century.*

Dagh, 'pasta.'  
 Maw, sb.  
 Helbow.  
 Trogh.  
 Plough, 'aratrum.'

*Wars of Alex., Yorks., Late Fifteenth Century.*

Azhe } 'awe.'  
 Aze }  
 Balgh, adj., 'swelling out.'  
 Boghe, 'bough.'  
 Burgh } 'city.'  
 Burghis } pl.  
 Drawes }  
 Drazes }  
 Dwage, 'feeble creature.'  
 Enoze }  
 Enogh }  
 Enowe (Dub. only) }  
 Hozes, 'houghs.'  
 Laghe } 'low.'  
 Lawe }  
 Lawe, 'mountain.'  
 Loze, sb., 'lake.'  
 Rogh, adj.  
 Sagh, 'saw' (Dub.).  
 Sage } 'I saw.'  
 Saghe }  
 Sighe, pres. sing.  
 poi, 'though.'  
 Toghid, p.p., 'tugged.'  
 Warlow (Dub.), 'deceiver' = warlock.  
 Lazand } 'laughing.'  
 Lazter }

*Catholicon, Yorks., 1483.*

Coghe, 'ubi hoste.'  
 Troghe }  
 Trowghe, A. } Aucus.  
 Thrughe }  
 Throghe, A. } 'a coffin'  
 a Slughe, 'scama.'  
 to Saghe a tre.  
 a Saghe.  
 Rughe, 'hirsutus.'  
 Salghe, 'salix.'  
 Falghe } vb.  
 Falowe, A. }  
 a Dwarghe, 'tantulus' (note).  
 Borgh, 'fridcursor.'  
 Borgham, 'epiphium.'  
 Arghe, 'pusillanimus.'  
 a Plughe wryghte.  
 to Plowghe.

a Ploghe, 'aratrum.'  
 Plugh, A., vb.  
 a Mughe.  
 to Mughe, 'hay.'  
 to Mughe, 'posse.'  
 Marghe, 'medulla.'  
 to Laghe, 'ridere.'  
 an Hawghe, 'circum.'  
 Enoghe.  
 Dæghe, 'pastà.'

Medial and Final O.E.  $\zeta = w$  in  
*Catholicon.*

to Sawe, 'severe.'  
 Outelawry } 'scucula,'  
 } 'exilium.'  
 a Mawe, 'iecur.'  
 Lawe.  
 Lawghe, A.  
 an Hawe tre.  
 Hawlowe } 'celebrare.'  
 Halowe, A. }  
 an Elbowe, 'lacertus.'  
 to Draw up.  
 Dewe, 'ros.'  
 to Daw, 'diescera.'  
 to Awe, 'debere.'  
 to Bowe downe.  
 a Bowe, 'archus.'  
 to be Slawe.  
 Rowe, 'crudus.'

*Levins, Yorks., 1570.*

Bough.  
 Chough.  
 Cough.  
 Plough.  
 Slough.  
 Trough.  
 Rough.  
 Tough.

All these words are said by L. to rhyme.

Daw (or Daugh) = 'dough.'  
 Hawe.  
 Lawe.  
 Mawe.  
 to Sawe wood.  
 Strawe.  
 Daugh } rhyme.  
 to Laugh }

*Allit. P., Lancs., 1360.*

Borz, 'city.'  
 Boze, 'bough.'  
 Dagter.

Laghe } 'low.'  
 Loz }  
 Innoghe, innoze, 'enough.'  
 Laze, 'to laugh.'  
 Sorz, 'sorrow.'  
 Prych, 'through.'

The spelling schazede, 'showed,' implies that z had become w in this dialect.

*Metr. Rom., Lancs., 1420.*

Awen, 'own.'  
 Boes, 'boughs.'  
 Drozhe } 'draw.'  
 Drozgehe }  
 Inuzhe, 'enough.'  
 Lauchet, 'laughs.'  
 Ploes, 'ploughs,' sb.  
 Pluze, sb. sing.

*Orm., Lincs., 1200.*

Azhe, 'awe.'  
 Azhenn, 'to own.'  
 Berrzhenn, 'to save.'  
 Borrzhenn, p.p.  
 Bollzhenn, 'displeased.'  
 Boghess, 'boughs.'  
 Buzhenn, 'to bow.'  
 Feh, 'property.'  
 Forrhozhenn, 'to neglect.'  
 Follzhenn, 'to follow.'  
 Forrbuzhenn, 'avoid.'  
 Flughenn, perf. of 'feon.'  
 Flezhenn, 'to fly.'  
 Hezheþþ, 'exalts.'  
 Heh, adj.  
 Hazherr, 'dexterous.'  
 Hallzhenn, sb. pl.  
 Hallzhenn, vb.  
 Lazhenn, 'to lower.'  
 Lah } 'law.'  
 Lazhe }  
 Ezhe } 'eye.'  
 Ebne, gen. pl. }  
 Lezhenn, 'tell lies.'  
 Lezhe, 'daily pay.'  
 Mezhe, 'female relation.'  
 Lozhe, 'fire.'  
 Sazhenn, pl. perf., 'saw.'  
 Serrzhe, 'sorrow.'  
 Nizhen.  
 Neh.  
 Muzhenn.  
 Ploh.  
 Swollzhenn.  
 Suhhzhenn.  
 Stizhenn, 'to go, pass.'

Slozhenn, p.p., 'slain.'  
 Sinnzheþþ, 'he sins.'  
 Wrezhenn, 'accuse.'  
 Wozhe, 'woes.'  
 Wazhe, 'wall.'  
 Prazhe, 'time, while.'  
 Pohh.  
 Burrh.  
 Burrh, 'city.'  
 Dazhess (also Dazgess).  
 Deah, 'is worth.'  
 Drezhenn, 'to suffer.'  
 Drazhenn, 'draw.'  
 Dizhellness, 'secrecy.'

*Havelok, N.E. Midl., 1300.*

Dawes, 'days.'  
 Felowes, 'fellows.'  
 Lawe } 'low.'  
 Lowe }

*Havelok, N.E. Midl., 1300.*

Herborowed, 'lodged.'  
 Þoru.  
 Boru.

*R. of Brunne, Lincs., 1338.*

Awe, 'fear.'  
 Sawe, sb.  
 Drawe, p.p.  
 Lawes, sb.  
 Mowe, 'I may.'  
 Borewe, sub.  
 powh.  
 Slough } 'slew.'  
 Sloo }  
 Draught.  
 Saugh, 3 perf., 'sow.'  
 Borough.  
 Drough, 'drew.'

*Hali Meidenhed, W. Midl., 1225.*

Idrahen, p.p., 5.  
 Folheð, 'follows,' 15.  
 Lahe, 'law.'  
 Sahe, sb., 39, 'a tale.'

*Will. of Palerne, W. Midl., 1350.*

Alwes, 'saints.'  
 Bowes, 'boughs.'  
 Bowes, 'inclines.'  
 Burw, 'town.'  
 Dawe.  
 Dawes.  
 Drough, 'drew.'

Dwerþ, 'dwarf.'  
 Felawe.  
 Felaschipe.  
 Dawe, vb.  
 Morwe, 'morning.'  
 Mow, 'I may.'  
 Sawe, 'saying.'  
 Awght, 'owned.'  
 Pough.

*Earliest Engl. Pr. Ps., W. Midl., 1375.*

Bow = 'incline,' imperat., 101. 2.  
 he Sloge, 'slew,' 104. 27.  
 Lawe, 104. 43.  
 þat Drawewþ, 148. 14.  
 þat he Drawe, 9. 32.  
 Felawes, 44. 9.  
 Halwen, dat. pl., 82. 3.

*Mire, Salop, 1400.*

Sloghe, 'slew.'  
 Agte, 'ought.'  
 pagh.  
 þorz, 'through.'  
 Folghth, 'baptism.'  
 Slegth, 'slay.'  
 Stegh, 'ascended.'  
 Negh, 'nigh.'  
 Eghþe, 'eighth.'

*MS. Harl., 2,253, Heref., 1310.*

hit Dawes.  
 Hawe (and Heye), 'high.'  
 Lawe, sb.  
 Mawe.

*Worc., Glos., Twelfth Century.*

Beah, 'armilla.'  
 Dwaruh, 'nanus.'  
 Elbowe, 'ulna.'  
 Heretowa, 'dux.'

*Lazamon, Worcs., 1205.*

Age, Ahne }  
 [Owe, Owene, } adj.  
 Ogene }  
 Buge }  
 [Bouwe, Bougen] } 'retreat,' etc.  
 Dragen }  
 Drawe }  
 Idrawen }  
 Idragen }  
 Fohzel-cunne.  
 Fuzel, Fozel }  
 [Fowel] } 'bird.'

Lage } sb.  
 [Lawe] }  
 [Halwe.] }  
 Halhzen, dat. pl.  
 Sorhze }  
 Sorze }  
 Sorhe }  
 Seorwa }  
 To-flozen, p.p.  
 To-draegen.  
 Pleowe } 'game, play.'  
 Ploze }  
 Lugen, vb., 'tell lies.'  
 Dawede.  
 Dazede.  
 [Dawes.]  
 Dæwen, Dawen } sb. pl.  
 [Dawe, Dawes, Dages] }  
 Dahzen }  
 Daze } sing. dat.  
 Dawe }  
 Buruwe [borwe, borhwe].  
 Loh, adj., 'low.'

*Songs and C.'s, Warw., 1400.*

Morwe } 31.  
 Sorwe }  
 Slawyn, 66.

*Bestiary, E. Midl., 1250.*

Drageð, 311.  
 Lage, sb., 784.

*Engl. Guilds, Norf., 1389.*

Felas, 'fellows,' 30.  
 þei awe, 39.  
 Lawes, 52 and passim.  
 Morwe speche, 55.

*Prompt., Norf., 1440.*

Bowe of tre.  
 Bowe, 'arcus.'  
 Fowle, 'bird.'  
 Lawe, 'jus,' etc.  
 Herberwyn.  
 Sorow.  
 Swelwhe of a water or of a grownde.  
 Cowhyn, H. }  
 Cowghen } vb.  
 Cowyn, K. }  
 Coghe, sb.  
 Lawhyn, 'rideo.'  
 Throwhe, 'through.'

*Bokenham, Suffolk, before 1447.*

Lawhe, inf., St. Cecilia, 821.  
 Sawe, St. Elizabeth, 987.  
 Drawe, 211 } St. Agnes.  
 Lawe, 212 }  
 Morwe, St. Dorothy, 106.  
 porch, 20, 11,000 Virg.  
 porgh, 183, St. Magdalene.

In this text we have such spellings as—Malyhs, 215.

Nyhs, 206 } St. Agnes.  
 Wyhs, 205 }

= 'malys,' 'nys,' 'wys,' etc., and these spellings occur constantly throughout the text, showing that *h* had no consonantal sound in this position.

*Wycliffe.*

Halwen, sb. pl., X.

O.E. -ȝ = *w* in *Chaucer*.

Sorwe.  
 Mowen, vb.  
 Mawe, 'stomach.'  
 Lowe, adj.  
 Sawe, 'saying, speech.'  
 Fawe, 'fain, glad.'  
 Bowe, vb.  
 Dawe, vb.  
 Dawes, 'days.'  
 Dawing, 'dawning.'  
 Dewe.  
 Drawe, vb.  
 Adawe, vb.  
 Awe, sb.  
 Awen, 'own.'  
 Fowel }  
 Foul, Foulles } 'bird.'  
 Fowl }  
 Hawe, 'yard.'  
 Hawe (fruit of rose).  
 Horowe, 'foul, scandalous,' O.E.  
 horig (?).  
 Halwen, vb.  
 Halwes, sb.  
 Herberowe } sb.  
 Herberow }  
 Herberwe, vb.  
 Sowe, 'a sow.'

O.E. -ȝ, -h = *gh* in *Chaucer*.

Rogh }  
 Rough } adj.  
 Slough.

Swogh }  
 Swough } 'low noise.'  
 Swow }  
 Thogh. }  
 Towh }  
 Tough } 'though.'  
 Tow }  
 Thorgh }  
 Thurgh }  
 Trogh }  
 Trough }  
 Choogh.  
 Cough.  
 Flough, 'didst fly.'  
 Bough.  
 Drough, vb.  
 Slough }  
 Slown } pt. of 'sleen.'  
 Saugh }  
 Saw } vb.

*St. Kath., Glos., 1200.*

Burh, 'city.'  
 Lahe, 'law.'  
 Plahen, 'they play.'  
 Sorh, 'sorrow.'

*R. of Glos., 1300.*

Agte, 3 sing.  
 Dawe, pl.  
 Drawe, p.p.  
 Draweh, 2 pl.  
 Droug, 'drew.'  
 Fawe, 'pain.'  
 Halwe }  
 Halwy } vb.  
 Halwe, adj.  
 Hawe, 'had.'  
 Kouhe, 'cough.'  
 Lewz }  
 Louz } 'laughed.'  
 Lowe }  
 Mawe, 'stomach.'  
 Owe, vb.  
 Rowe, 'rough.'  
 Slawe }  
 Slage } p.p.  
 Sorwe, sb.  
 Waves, 'waves.'  
 Tou, 'tough.'  
 Thof, 'though.'

*St. Jul. (Metrical), Glos., 1300.*

Foweles, 226.  
 ze Mowe, 183.  
 of Dawe, 193.  
 Marw, 146.

But fronted in *Maide*, 27.



O.E. *-ht* = *ȝt*.

poȝt, 31.  
niȝt, 21.  
diȝte, vb., 22.

*P. Plowm., Glos., 1362-93.*

Bergh } 'hill.'  
Berwe }  
Borghe, b.  
Borw.  
Felawe.  
Lauȝen  
Lauhen }  
Laughwhen } 'laugh.'  
Laughe, b. }  
Lawghe, b. }  
Lowe } 2 pt. sing., 'didst tell lies.'  
Lowen } p.p.  
Lowe, 'flame.'  
Louh } 'meek,' etc.  
Low }  
Plouh.  
Plow, b.  
Plough, b.  
Plouȝ, a.  
Sorwe.  
Morwe.  
Sowe, vb., 'faint.'  
O.E. swozan.  
Thauh.  
paug.

*Sir Fer., Devon, 1380.*

Awe, 'respect, worship.'  
Galwetre.  
For-gnaze, 'devour.'  
Folȝhede.  
Fawe (and Fayn), 'pleased, happy.'  
Herburȝes, 'resting-place, camp.'  
Sawe, 'tale, account.'  
Forw, 'furrow.'

*St. Editha, Wilts., 1400.*

Sorwe, 3,216.  
Slawe, p.p., 320.

*St. Jul. (Prose), Dorset, 1200.*

Selhȝe, 'happiness,' 10.  
Heh, hehest, 8.  
Seh, 'saw,' 16.  
Drehe, 'I suffer,' 16.  
Fehere, 'fairer,' 18.  
of Dahene, 30.  
Isahet, p.p., 'sawn,' 38.  
Droh, perf., 4.  
Duheȝe, sb., 4.

Felahas, 'fellows,' 4.  
Ahne, 'own,' 10.  
Fuheles, 12.  
Nowȝer, 'neither,' 14.  
Ye ne mahe, 'may not,' 16.  
Lahen, 'customs, laws,' 22.  
Burh, 4.  
Purh, 6.

*Ancr. Riv., Dorset, 1225.*

Ageliche, 'awfully.'  
Bouh } 'bough.'  
Bowe }  
Coue, 'chough.'  
Dawes, 'days.'  
Haher } 'clever.'  
Hazer }  
Inouh.  
Sage } 'a saying.'  
Sawe }  
Sahe.

*O. and N., Dorset, 1240-50.*

Sorge, J. }  
Sorewe, C. }  
Fuheles, C. }  
Foweles, J. }  
Laze ('law,' 103).  
Hazel, C. } 10;002.  
Hawel, J. }  
Hahe, Cot. } 1,612.  
Hawe, J. }  
Moregenning, Cot. } 1,718.  
Morewening, J. }

*Sir B. of Hampt., South Hants., 1327.*

Dawe, 'to dawn,' A.  
Fawe, 'glad,' A.

*Kentish Gospels (MS. Hatton, 38), 1150.*O.E. *ȝ* (back) = *ȝ*.

Eaȝen, J., ix, 11, passim.  
Eaȝe, Joh., x, 34 (dat. sing.).  
he ȝeseahȝe, Mk., v, 32.  
ȝeseaȝen, Mk., vi, 49.  
on Dizlen, Mat., vi, 4.  
'Twigan, J., xv, 5.  
Twig, J., xv, 6.  
Twiggan, Joh., xii, 13.

Examples of misuse of *g* and *ȝ* in  
*Kentish Gospels.**g* for *ȝ*.

Halgen, Mat., iii, 11.  
slog, Mk., xiv, 47.

ʒ for *g* and ʒʒ for *gg*.

ʒast, Mat., iii, 11; Joh., iv, 24.  
 Ganz (imperat.), Mat., viii, 9.  
 Sezge, Joh., ii, 5.  
 Finger, Joh., xx, 27.  
 pingēn, Mat., v, 32.

*Vespas, A. 22, Kent, 1200.*

Eagen, 'eyes,' 223.  
 Oge, 'own,' 235.  
 Azen, 241.  
 gesawen, 242.

*Vices and Virtues, Kent, 1200.*

i-Slʒe, p.p., 5. 22.  
 laʒe, sb., 99. 13.

*Moral Ode (Digby MS.), Kent, Early Thirteenth Century.*

Dragehen, 47. 49.  
 Eʒhte, 'property,' 55.  
 Eʒen, 'eyes,' 379.  
 Fozgeles, 83.  
 Laʒe, 'law.'  
 Muʒte, 15.  
 Oʒhte, 2.  
 Reʒh, 135 = (Rekʒ?).  
 peʒh, 4.

*Kentish Sermons (Laud, 471), 1200-50.*

We mowe, Epiph.  
 Legheʒ, 'lies,' Fifth Sermon, 5.  
 Daghen, dat. pl., Fifth Sermon, 5.  
 I-seghe, 'seen,' Fourth Sermon.  
 Moreghen, Fifth Sermon.  
 Laghe, acc., Epiph.  
 Oʒhe, 'own,' adj., Second Sermon.

*Lib. Desc., 1350, Kent.*

Lawe, 216.  
 Awʒt, 298.  
 Owene, 441.  
 Drouʒe, 'drew,' 1499.  
 Dwerʒ, 'dwarf,' 119.  
 porwʒ, 291.

*Will. of Shoreham, Kent, 1307-27.*

Lawe, 62.  
 To slaze, 66 (rhymes with lawe).  
 Y-faʒe, 67 (rhymes with lawe).  
 Draʒeʒ (sing.), 68.  
 Y-naʒe, 68 (rhymes with lawe).  
 þrof, 'through.'  
 Oʒen, 52.  
 þaʒ, 'though,' 102.  
 Holwye, 3.

*Azenbite, Kent, 1340.*

Adraʒe, vb., p.p.  
 Alpaʒ, 'although.'  
 Aʒt, 'ought.'  
 Beʒ, 'he bowed.'  
 Boʒsam, adj.  
 Boʒ, 'bough.'  
 Broʒte, 'brought.'  
 Bouʒe, 'to obey.'  
 Doʒ, 'dough.'  
 Draʒ, 'dregs.'  
 Draʒ, 'to draw.'  
 Laʒe, 'law.'  
 Loʒ, 'low.'  
 Mawe, 'to mow.'  
 Moʒe, 'may.'  
 Oʒe, 'own' (adj.).  
 Slaʒe, 'to slay.'  
 Uoʒel, 'bird.'  
 Ynoʒe, 'enough.'

## VIII.

Non-initial O.E. ʒ and *h* fronted in M.E.

*Barbour.*

Bery, vb., 'bury.'  
 By, 'to buy.'  
 Dre } vb., 'endure.'  
 Dreʒ }  
 E } 'eye.'  
 Ey }  
 Eyn, 'eyes.'

Fe, 'cattle.'  
 Fle, 'to flee.'  
 Forly, 'to violate.'  
 Herʒit, 'harried.'  
 Herberg, 'lodging.'  
 He } adj.  
 Hey }  
 Sle, 'sly.'  
 Liand, 'lying.'

*Gav. Douglas, 1475-1522.*

Dre, 'to suffer.'  
 Eine, 'eyes.'  
 Ley, 'a lea.'

*Compl. of Scotl., 1549.*

Day.  
 Ee } 'eye.'  
 Een } pl.  
 Hie, adj.  
 Ly }  
 Lyis } vb.  
 Lyand }  
 Herberye, 'harbour.'

*Metrical Psalter, Yorks., before 1300.*

Eghen, 33. 16.  
 Filigh, imperat., 'follow,' 33. 15.  
 For-segh, p.p., 21. 25.  
 Negh, adj., 39. 13.  
 Neghburgh, 14. 3.  
 Slighen, 3 pl., 21. 30.  
 Stihses, sb. pl., 118. 105.

*Cursor Mundi, Yorks., 1300.*

Ei  
 Eie, pl. }  
 Einen } 'eye.'  
 Eigen }  
 Een }  
 Hei }  
 Leis, sb., 'lies.'  
 Lei, vb.  
 Lies, 2 sing.  
 Lighes.  
 Ligés.

*Minot, Yorks., 1333-52.*

Lye, 'falsehood.'  
 Mai.  
 Main.

*Townley Mysteries, Yorks., 1480.*

Wey = O.E. wiza, 'a man.'

*Prk. of Consc., Yorks., before 1349.*

Bighing, 'redemption.'  
 Deghe }  
 Deygh, etc. } 'to die.'  
 Dreghe }  
 Drighe } 'to suffer.'  
 Eghe, 'eye.'  
 Eghteld, 'to endeavour.'  
 Flegh, 'to flee.'  
 Fleygh }  
 Flogh } pret.

Heyghe.  
 Heyghest } adj.  
 Heghe }  
 Higghen, vb.  
 Neghe, adj.  
 Sleghe } 'wise.'  
 Slyghe }  
 Stey, vb., 'ascend.'  
 Stegh, 'ladder.'

*Sir Gaw., North., 1366.*

Berg, 'hill.'  
 Deze, vb.  
 Dryzten, 'lord.'  
 May, 'maid.'  
 Seghe, 'saw.'  
 Syz } 'saw.'  
 Syze }  
 Yze, 'eye.'

*Wars of Alex., Yorks., Late Fifteenth Century.*

Daies }  
 Dayes }  
 Dais }  
 Ege, sing. }  
 Eghen } pl. } 'eye.'  
 Eeyn }  
 Drege, vb., 'dree.'  
 Ege } 'fear.'  
 and Egen }  
 Fey, 'fated and die.'

*Levins, Yorks., 1570.*

Flee, 'a fly.'  
 Eye.  
 to Dree.  
 to Flee.  
 to See.  
 Haifare, 'heifer.'

*Allit. P., Lancs., 1360.*

Adreg, 'aback, aside,' =?  
 Hyge, 'to lie.'  
 Dryz, adj.  
 May, 'maid.'

*Met. Rom., Lancs., 1420.*

Hezer, 'higher.'  
 Se }  
 Sezhe } 'saw.'

*Oym., Lines., 1200.*

Bilezgd.  
 Friggeun, 'calumniate.'

Fragznen, 'ask.'  
 Forrlezenn, 'guilty of adultery.'  
 Flezgl.  
 Fagzerr, 'fair.'  
 Faygre, adv.  
 Fezest, 'joinest.'  
 Innsezgless, 'seals.'  
 Ezglenn, 'ail.'  
 Ezgzherr, 'either.'  
 Ezgzhwaer, 'everywhere.'  
 Ezgze, 'fear.'  
 Twizgess, 'twice.'  
 Twezgenn, 'twain.'  
 Pezgre } 'their.'  
 Tezgre }  
 Sizge, 'victory.'  
 Prizgess, 'thrice.'  
 Drizge.  
 Eddmodlezge.  
 Regzn, 'rain.'  
 Nazglenn, 'to nail.'  
 Wazgneþ.  
 Wazgn, 'waggon.'  
 Wazg, 'woe.'  
 Daꝛꝛ, 'day.'  
 Mazg, 'maid.'  
 Mazꝛ, 'may.'

Note spelling, regzsenn, 'to raise'  
 (= O. Icel. reisa?). This seems to  
 prove that zꝛ in above words =  $\emptyset$   
 or  $\text{f}$ , which would imply diphthongi-  
 zation of the *a*. azꝛ =  $\text{ʃf}$ .

*Havelok, N.E. Midl., 1300.*

Eie }  
 Eyen } 'eye.'  
 Eyn }  
 Eyne }  
 Ageyn, 'against.'  
 Fleye, 'to fly.'

*R. of Brunne, Lincs., 1338.*

Hey, 'hay.'  
 Reyn, 'rain.'  
 Eyen, 'eyes.'  
 Eye, 'awe.'  
 Mayden.  
 Abreyde, p.p.  
 Weye.  
 Sties, 'by-roads.'  
 Lye, 'deceit.'  
 Ly, inf., 'to lie down.'  
 Fleyes, sb.  
 Dreye, vb., 'dree.'  
 Dreigh, adv.

Ferliꝛ, adv.  
 Fee, 'cattle,' etc.  
 Ney, 'near.'  
 Fleye, 'flew.'  
 Feightit, perf.  
 Fleyghe, 'fled.'  
 Sleigþe, 'cunning.'

*Will. of Pal., W. Midl., 1350.*

Ai, 'eye.'  
 Aie, 'awe.'  
 Daies.  
 Fain } 'glad.'  
 Fayn }  
 Deie, vb., 'die.'  
 Flye (Alis), adj.  
 Hiꝛe, 'hasten.'  
 Drie, 'to dree.'  
 Heie }  
 Heiz } 'high.'  
 Heigh }  
 Heye }  
 Hiꝛe }  
 Hejging, 'hurrying.'  
 Neigh } 'nearly.'  
 Neꝛh }  
 Seie, 'to say.'  
 Seye.  
 Seyde.  
 Seiþ.  
 Sle, 'to slay.'  
 peih, 'though.'  
 þei.  
 Weiþ, 'a balance.'  
 Weiꝛ, 'man.'

*Hali Meidenhed, W. Midl., 1225.*

hit Beie, vb. subj., 'ben l.'  
 Seið, 21.  
 Feire, adj., 29.

*Earliest Engl. Pr. Ps, W. Midl., 1375.*

Eꝛen, 'eyes,' 90. 8.  
 Eꝛeliddes, 10. 5.  
 Seide, 15. 1.  
 Neꝛbur, 23. 4.  
 Seize, 36. 37.  
 to Sle, 36. 34.

*Mirc, Salop, 1400.*

Sty, 'a path.'  
 Sle, 'to slay.'  
 Sleen, 'slain.'  
 Buri, 'burgh, castle.'  
 Haly, adj.  
 Heꝛ, 'high.'



*MS. Harl., 2,253, Hecref., 1310.*

Brege, 'brow.'  
 Buyþ, 3 sing. pres., 'buys.'  
 Eges.  
 Egenen, dat. pl.  
 Fe, 'money.'  
 Flege, dat. sing., 'a fly.'  
 Heye  
 and (Hawe) } 'high.'  
 Liþ } 'lies.'  
 Lizs }

*Lazamon, Wores., 1205.*

Sing.: Dæi, 'dai' ['day']. Dæies,  
 daiges, 'daies, dægæs [daïges], dæie,  
 dæigen, dæge, dæie, 'daige, deie  
 [dai].

Pl.: Dæies, dæizes, dægæs, 'daïges.

Gen.: Dægen [daïgene], daige,  
 daïges, dægæs.

Dægen, vb., daïgen.  
 Deïgen, degen [deie, deïge], 'to die.'  
 Dizelen, 'secretly.'  
 Ege, 'eye.'  
 Feie, 'fated to die.'  
 Fæin, 'fain, glad.'  
 Lize [leze].  
 Mæi, mai, mæie [mai].  
 Plæge, pleïge [pleag, pleoi].  
 'Tweie, 'tweïge.  
 Tweine, tweïge [twei, tweye].  
 Æh-senen, 'eyesight.'  
 Æie, eie, eïge, ege [eage, eye], awe.  
 'Sæi, sæïge, saie, imperat., 'say.'  
 Læi, 'lai, pret., of lïgen.  
 'Læide, 'laid.'  
 Laih }  
 Ley } adj.  
 þæh }  
 þaih } 'thought.'  
 'þeh }  
 'Hehte }  
 Heiht } 'was called.'  
 Haihte }  
 Feiht }  
 'Feht } 'fight.'

*Bestiary, E. Midl., 1250.*

Daies }  
 Dages } nom. pl., 744.  
 Egen, passim.  
 Flegeð, 707.  
 Hege, 'high,' 685.  
 Læigeð, 'lays,' 359.

Maig, 516 }  
 Mai, 522 } 3rd sing.  
 Meiden, 37.  
 Seide, 261.

*Bokenham, Suffolk, before 1447.*

Sege, vb., 'saw,' St. Agatha, 144?  
 Eyne, St. Mary, 456.  
 Eyghte, St. Mary, 935.  
 Yhe, St. Agatha, 345 (rhymes to  
 aspye, seye, leye).

*Engl. Guilds, Norf., 1389.*

Leefully, 51.  
 Heye, adj., 39.

*Prompt., Norf., 1440.*

Eye, 'oculus.'  
 Neyhbore.  
 Neyborede.

*Wycliffe.*

Eien, X. }  
 Eïgen, X. } 'eyes.'  
 Yge, LL.  
 Leie, 'tell lies' }  
 Leïþ } X.  
 Leïgede }  
 Byge, vb., CC.

*Chaucer.*

Lye, vb., 'to lie (down).'  
 Lye, 'a lie,' also vb.  
 Mayden.  
 Playen.  
 Pleyen, 'to ply.'  
 Reye ('rye').  
 Reyn.  
 Stye, 'to mount.'  
 Styward.  
 Tweyne.  
 Tweye.  
 Wey.  
 Abeye, vb., 'pay for.'  
 A-breyde, 'to make.'  
 Alwey.  
 Bi seye, p.p.  
 Dayes.  
 Dayeseye.  
 Deyen.  
 Drye, 'to endure.'  
 Drye, adj.  
 Eye, pl. eyen, 'eyes.'  
 Fair, adj.  
 Fayn, 'glad.'  
 Flye, 'a fly.'

Frye, vb.  
 Hye, vb., 'to hasten.'  
 Leyt, 'flame.'  
 Saye, 'to say.'  
 Neigh, adv. (also negh).  
 Eighte.  
 Heigh, 'high.'  
 Heighte, sb.  
 Sey, pl. seyen, 'time.'  
 Hy, adj., 'high.'

*St. Kath., Glos., 1200.*

Hevien, vb., 'glorify.'  
 Ehe, 'eye.'  
 Ehnen, pl.

*R. of Glos., 1300.*

Leighge, 'flame.'  
 lighē, 'to laugh' ?  
 Fligen, 'flies.'  
 Eygte, 'eighth.'  
 Eye } 'awe.'  
 Eyghe }  
 Eye, pl. sb., 'eyes.'

*P. Plowm., Glos., 1362-93.*

Beiz, ornament for neck.  
 Eye, 'awe.'  
 Eyen }  
 Eyghen } adj.  
 Eyne }  
 Eze.  
 Fey, adj.  
 Heyz }  
 Heizh } adj.  
 Hi }  
 Leighe, 2 pret. 'didst lie' ('mentire').  
 Leye, 'a flame.'  
 Lie } 'mentire.'  
 Lizen }  
 Teizen, vb., 'tie.'  
 Wrye, vb., 'turn.'  
 Leyn, p.  
 Seih.  
 Seigh, 1 pt. sing., 'saw.'  
 Seie, p.p.  
 Leib, pres. sing., 'to lay.'  
 Leid, p.p.  
 Syghede, 'he sighed.'

*Sir Fer., Devon, 1380.*

Aye, 'awe.'  
 Ayber.  
 Ezene, 'eyes.'  
 Feye, 'accused, cowardly.'  
 May, 'maid.'

Lye, 'flame.'  
 Nezene, 9.  
 Folzyeaþ, pres. pl.  
 Syzing, 'sighing,' sb.

*St. Editha, Wilts., 1400.*

hi þer leze, 3,385.  
 y-seyge, 'seen,' 3,635.  
 Seyge, 'he saw,' 3,846 and 460.  
 Eyge, 'eye,' 4,297.  
 Eyther, 713.  
 Heyzede, 1278.  
 Seyen, 3 pl. vb., 'saw,' 1,423.  
 Twey, 'two,' 2,337.

*St. Jul. (Prose), Dorset, 1200.*

Meiden, 2 pres.  
 Deis, gen., 6.  
 Meari, 'marrow,' 20.

*Ancr. Riw., Dorset, 1225.*

Hei } 'high.'  
 Heih }  
 Heihtē, 8.  
 Leie, 'flame.'  
 Rein, 'rain.'  
 Lizen, 'to lie.'  
 Wergeð, 'wearieth.'  
 Wizeles, 'wiles.'  
 Yleslipes, 'hedgehogs' skins.'

*O. and N., Dorset, 1240-50.*

Eyen, J. }  
 Ezen, Cott. } 'yes.'  
 Plei, 213, vb. inf.  
 Weie, 214, sb.

*Sir B. of Hampt., South Hants., 1327.*

Untize, vb., A.  
 Eize, 'fear,' S. A.

*Kentish Gospels (MS. Hatton, 38), 1150.*

Dæzes, Mat., xx, 2.  
 Felze (imperat.), Mat., ix, 9.  
 Aighwile, Mat., vi, 34.  
 Mayz, Mat., vi, 24.  
 Dayghwamlice, Mat., vi, 11.  
 Onfezð } Mk., ix, 37.  
 Onfehð }  
 Eize, 'fear,' Mk., ix, 6.  
 Forleizre, Mk., vii, 21.  
 Meizdene (dat.), Mk., vii, 22.  
 Saizde, Mk., iv, 21.  
 Manize, Joh., xxi, 6.  
 Eyze, 'fear,' Joh., xx, 19.  
 þu agez, Mat., v, 33.

*Vespas, A. 22, Kent, 1200.*  
 zēie, 'fear,' 225.

*Vices and Virtues, Kent, 1200.*

Eige, 'fear,' 19. 29.  
 Eigene, 'eyes,' 51. 2.  
 Fleih, 'flew,' 137. 12.

*Moral Ode (Digby MS.), Kent, Early  
 Thirteenth Century.*

Aihwer, 'anywhere,' 88.  
 Bolzeð, 14.  
 Eige = 'awe,' 281 (rhymes with leie).  
 Liegen (rhymes with driezen).  
 Leid, p.p., 12.  
 Sorze, 146 } Is z in these words back  
 peze, 61 } or front?

*Will. of Shoreham, Kent, 1307-27.*

Eyzen, 'eyes,' 5.

*Ayenbite, Kent, 1340.*

z-warged, 'farrowed.'  
 Wraze, 'to betray.'  
 Slee and slea, 'to slay.'  
 Plezes, 'sports.'

On-riht, 'wrong.'  
 Nezebores, 'nezzēbores.'  
 Nayle.  
 Mayden.  
 Lyzere, 'liar.'  
 Ligte, sb.  
 Leze } 'to laugh,' also lheezz-  
 Lezze }  
 Layde, 'laid.'  
 Layt, 'light.'  
 Halgede, 'he hallowed.'  
 Eyzte, 8.  
 Eze, ezen, 'eye, eyes.'  
 Eyren, 'eggs.'  
 Eyder, 'either.'  
 Daies.  
 Zuoli = O.E. sulh.  
 Briht.  
 Bourze } 'to save.'  
 Berze }  
 Bodi and bodye.  
 Bayþ, 'buys.'  
 Heze, 'high.'  
 Uly, 'to fly.'

*Lib. Desc., Kent, 1350.*

izen, 'eyes,' 943.  
 Egze, 'fear,' 2,025.  
 Streigt, 942.

## IX.

Non-initial O.E. -cz = -gg (front stop, etc.) in M.E.

*Gav. Douglas, 1475-1522.*

Eige, 'ridge of a hill, edge.'  
 (ge here = dz?)

*Sir Gaw., 1366, North.*

Edge, 'edge.'  
 Hegges, 'hedges.'  
 Rygge, 'back.'

*W.-W., xviii, North., Early Fifteenth  
 Century.*

Segge, 'carex.'  
 Egge (of knife).  
 Wegge, 'cuneus.'  
 ? Bryg = dz?

*Wars of Alexander, Yorks., Late  
 Fifteenth Century.*

Eging } 'inciting' (front or back?).  
 Eggyng }  
 Eggis } 'hedges.'  
 Hegges }  
 Egge, 'edge.'

*Levins, Yorks., 1570.*

Bridge.  
 Midge.  
 Ridge.

*Allit. P., Lancs., 1360.*

Segg } 'man.'  
 Segge }  
 Brugge, 'bridge.'  
 Dungen, 'to beat.'  
 Egge, 'edge,' sb.  
 Eggyng, 'instigation.'  
 Lygge, 'to lie.'

*Orm., Lines., 1200.*

Abiggenn, 'pay for.'  
 Biggen, 'bury.'  
 Egge, 'edge.'  
 Leggenn, 'lay,' lezzesst, lezzerþ.  
 Seggenn, 'say, tell.'

*Havelok, N.E. Midl., 1300.*

Brigge.  
 Rig.

*R. of Brunne, Lincs., 1338.*

Brygges.  
 Brugges.  
 Egge, 'edge,' sb.  
 Sedgeing, 'saying.'

(Note early use of *-dge*.)

*Hali Meidenhed, W. Midl., 1225.*

to Seggen, 3.  
 Buggen, 9.  
 Eggeð, 3.

Notice Rug, 'back,' 17.

*Will. of Pal., W. Midl., 1350.*

Biggen.  
 Brug. (*g* here perhaps = *ġ*.)  
 Brugge.  
 Egged, p.p., 'incited.'  
 Egge-tol.  
 Ligge, vb., 'lie, dwell.'  
 Rigge, 'back.'  
 Segging, 'saying' (A).  
 Swinge, 'they strike.'  
 Seg } 'a man.'  
 Segges, pl. }

*Earliest Engl. Pr. Ps., W. Midl., 1375.*

Ozain siggeing, 30. 26.  
 Bigge, 43. 28.  
 Rygge, 49. 18.

*MS. Harl., 2,253, Heref., 1310.*

Aleggen, 'to overthrow.'  
 Brygge.  
 Bugging.  
 Leggen, 'to lay'  
 Liggen, 'to lie.'  
 Tubrugge, 'a drawbridge.'  
 Rug, 'back.'

*Worcs., Glos., Twelfth Century.*

Seg, 'carex.'  
 Weeg.

*Laz., Worcs., 1205.*

Abiggen, 'buy.'  
 Brugge, 'bridge.'  
 Bugge (Bigge).  
 Legge, 'to lay.'  
 Liggen, 'to lie down.'  
 Seggen.  
 Siggen.  
 (ich) Sugge.  
 Egge, 'edge.'  
 Rug } 'back.'  
 (Rugge) }  
 Rigge, dat.  
 Sæg, seg, 'man.'

*Prompt., Norf., 1440.*

Lyggyng, sb.  
 Rygge, 'bone.'  
 Segge, 'sedge.'  
 Brygge, 'pons.'  
 Vegge } 'cuneus.'  
 Wegge }  
 Wedge, vb., 'cleave wood' (the  
 spelling shows pronunciation of  
 other forms).  
 Eggyn, or entycyn.  
 Egge, 'acies.'  
 Flygge asbryddys.  
 Hedge, sb.  
 Hedgyn, vb., 'to make a h.'  
 Keygge (or ioly), cf. Suffolk 'kedge.'

*Wills and Inv.*

Hegges, Rookewoode, 1479.  
 Coksedge }  
 Coksedgys } 1407.  
 Coksegys }

*Wycliffe.*

Biggen, X.  
 (Byge, CC.)  
 ? Weeg, X.



*Chaucer.*

Abegge, 'pay for.'  
 Brigge, sb.  
 Drugge.  
 Egging, sb.  
 Egge, vb., 'incite.'  
 Egge, sb.  
 Hegge, sb.  
 Lege } 'to lay.'  
 Leggen }  
 Ligen, 'to lie.'  
 Siggen, vb.  
 Senge, 'to singe.'  
 Wegge, sb.

*St. Kath., Glos., 1200.*

Egge, 'edge.'  
 Leggen, 'to lay.'

*R. of Glos., 1300.*

Brugge }  
 Bregges } sb.  
 Brygge }  
 Egged, p.p. (adj.).  
 Hegges, 'hedges.'  
 Legge, 'to lay.'  
 Lyggen, 'to lie.'  
 Rygge, 'back.'  
 Segge, 'to say.'

*S. Jul. (Metrical), Glos., 1300.*

Legge, vb., 41.  
 Seggeþ ʒe } 136.  
 Segge }  
 Ligge, 209.  
 Rug, 'back,' 56.

*P. Plowm., Glos., 1362-93.*

Brigge.  
 Brygge.  
 Bigge, vb.  
 Biggere, 'a buyer.'  
 Bugge, B.  
 Buggers, A.  
 Leggen.  
 Ligen.  
 Rigge.  
 Rygge (and Ryg).  
 Segge (and Seg).

*St. Jul. (Prose), Dorset, 1200.*

Eggin, inf., 44.  
 Seggen, inf., 8.

*Sir Fer., Devon, 1380.*

Briggeward.  
 Dyngen, 'dash, hound.'  
 Rigges.  
 Slegge, 'sledhammer.'  
 Eged, 'edged.'  
 Ligge, 'lie.'  
 Pynge, 'to tingle.'  
 Rigge (and Rig).  
 Sigge, 'say, tell.'

*St. Editha, Wilts., 1400.*

Lyge, inf., 3,155.  
 Leygyng, 3,629.  
 Leyge, inf., 452.  
 Lyging, 2,474.

*Ancr. Riwl., Dorset, 1225.*

Kuggel, 'cudgel.'  
 Bugging, 'buying.'  
 Eggen, 'edge on.'  
 Leggen, 'to lay.'  
 Ligen, 'lie down.'  
 Wiðseggen, 'gainsay.'

*Sir B. of Hampt., South Hants., 1327.*

Rigge-bone, Manchester MS., Fifteenth Century.

*Moral Ode (Digby MS.), Kent, Early Thirteenth Century.*

Beggen, inf., 65.  
 Siggeþ, 114.

*Ayenbite, Kent, 1340.*

Besenge, 'to singe.'  
 Begginge, 'to buy.'  
 Beggeþ, 'buyeth.'  
 Legge, 'to lay.'  
 Ligge, 'to lie.'  
 Zigen, 'to say.'  
 Reg, 'back.'  
 Heg, 'hedge.'

*Lib. Desc., Kent, 1350.*

Regge, 1,018.  
 Brigge, 1,330.  
 Legge, 'to lay,' 1331.  
 Ligge, 'to lie,' 1635.

## X.

Non-initial *g* and *ġ* = back stop in M.E.*Barbour.*

Byg, vb.  
 Biggit, 'built.'  
 Brig }  
 Bryg }  
 Briggitt, 'bridged.'  
 Egging, 'urging.'  
 Ryg, 'ridge.'  
 Tyg, 'to touch lightly.'

*Dunbar, E. Lothian, 1460-1520.*

Brigge.  
 Dreg, 'to dredge.'  
 Lig, 'to lie.'  
 Rigbane.

*Compl. of Scotl., 1549.*

Big, 'build.'  
 Brig.  
 Drug, vb.  
 Eg, sb.  
 Leye rig.  
 Seroggis, 'low stunted bushes.'

*Gav. Douglas, 1475-1522.*

Buge, 'a bow' (*g* here must be a stop;  
 it is never used to express an open  
 consonant in this text).

Eggis, 'incites.'  
 Rigbone.  
 Ryg, 'back.'  
 Thig, 'to beg' (O.E. *picgean*).

*Metrical Psalter, Yorks., before 1300.*

Fen of Dreg (*fecis*), 39. 3.  
 Liggig, 'lying down,' 6. 7.  
 Liggig-sted, 35. 5 (MS. Egerton).  
 Thiggand, 'begging,' 39. 18.  
 Twiggas, 79. 11.

*Cursor Mundi, Yorks., 1300.*

Brig.  
 Ligus } 3rd sing.  
 Liggus }  
 Ligand }  
 Liggand }  
 Likand }

*Minot, Yorks., 1332-52.*

Brig.  
 Lig, 'lie, remain.'  
 Rig, 'back.'

*Prk. of Consc., Yorks., before 1347.*

Big, 'to build.'  
 Byggyn, sb.  
 Egg, vb., 'incite.'  
 Ligg  
 Ligge } vb., 'lie.'  
 Lyg }  
 Lygyn, 'lain.'  
 Lyggys, 'lies.'

*Townley Mysteries, Yorks., 1450.*

Lig, 'to lie down,' but *lyys*, 3rd sing.,  
 also occurs, line 104.

*Wars of Alex., Yorks., Late Fifteenth  
Century.*

Brig } 'bridge.'  
 Brigg }  
 Egg, sb.  
 Grig (Dub.) } 'cricket, grig.'  
 Grege }  
 Lig } Dub.  
 Ligg }  
 ? Ligge } Ashm.  
 Claggid, p.p., 'sticky.'

*Catholicon, Yorks., 1483.*

Myge, 'culex.'  
 to Lyg(e), 'under, succumber.'  
 to Beg.  
 to Byge, 'fundare, condere.'  
 to Bygge, 'again, re-edificare.'  
 a Bryge, 'pons.'  
 a Drag, 'arpax.'  
 an Hogge.  
 an Ege } 'acies.'  
 Egge, A. }  
 an Eg } 'ovum.'  
 Egge, A. }  
 Fige tre.  
 Hagworne, 'a viper.'  
 to Lygg, 'accumbere.'  
 to Lyg in wayte, 'insidiare.'  
 a Pegg, 'carex.'  
 to Fage } 'adulari.'  
 } 'palpare.'  
 a Fagyng, 'blandicia.'  
 (See note in Promptorium.)  
 on 'Fagyn, or flateryn, adular.'

P. 146.

O.E. *fazenian*.

Prompt., *faunin*, 'blandio,' Langl.,  
B. xv, 295; has *fauhnede*.

*Levins, Yorks.*, 1570.

Brig	}	All these rhyme.
Rigge of land		
Rig of a house		
Snig, 'anguillæ genus'		
Whig (and Whay)	}	Rhymes.
Pigge		
Egge, 'ovum.'		
Clegge, 'solipunga'		
the Dregges		
to egge, 'irritare'		

*R. of Brunne, Lincs.*, 1338.

Bigged, 'built.'  
Heg, 'hedge.'  
Ligges, 'lies,' vb.  
I lyg, 'I lie down.'  
Megge, 'kinsfolk.'

*Prompt., Norf.*, 1440.

Arwygyl { cf. *Erriwiggle*, Forby,  
Norf.; *Arrawiggle*,  
Moore, Suffolk.  
*Byggyn*, or *byldyn*.  
*Thyggyn*, 'mendico.'  
*Frogge* } 'tode.'  
or *Frugge* }  
*Egge* and *Ey*.

*Chaucer*.

*Bagge*, sb.  
*Begge*, vb.  
*Dogge*, sb.  
*Diggen*, vb.  
*Dagged*, adj.  
*Frogge*.  
*Roggeth*, vb.  
*Ruggy*, adj.  
*Wagges*, vb.

*P. Plowm., Glos.*, 1362-93.

*Bigge*, vb., 'build.'  
*Begge*, 'to beg.'  
*Egges*, sb. pl.  
*Ryg*, 'back.'  
*Seg* (and *Segge*), 'creature, man.'

## XI.

O.E. *ht* in M.E.*Barbour*.

*Aucht*, 'they possessed.'  
*Aucht*, 'eight.'  
*Bataucht*, 'handed over.'  
*Brichtly*.  
*Douchty*.  
*Dochtrys*, 'daughters.'  
*Ficht* } vb.  
*Fecht* }  
*Flicht*, 'flight.'  
*Hicht* } 'height.'  
*Heycht* }

*Dunbar, E. Lothian*, 1460-1520.

*Bricht*.  
*Flocht* } 'flight.'  
*Flicht* }  
*Slawchter*.  
*Wicht*, 'strong.'

*Compl. of Scotl.*, 1549.

*Brycht*, adj.  
*Eycht*, 'eight, eighth.'  
*Dochtir*.  
*Foucht*, pret.  
*Hicht*, 'height.'  
*Laucht*, 'laughed.'  
*Maucht* } 'might.'  
*Mycht* }  
*Rycht*.  
*Thocht*.  
*Vrocht*.

*Minot, Yorks.*, 1333-52.*Doghty*, etc.*Prk. of Consoc., Yorks.*, before 1349.

*Aght*, pret.  
*Aghtend*, 'eighth.'

Dight, 'decked.'  
 Drighten, 'lord.'  
 Heght, sb.  
 Sleght, 'wisdom.'  
 Slaghter.  
 Soght, p.p.  
 Bytaght, p.p.  
 pought.

*Wars of Alex., Yorks., Late Fifteenth  
 Century.*

Feght, sb., etc., etc.

*Catholicon, Yorks., 1483.*

a Thoghte.  
 Tawght, 'doctus.'  
 a Sleght, 'lamina.'  
 a Slaghter, 'cedes.'  
 a Nichte, 'nox.'  
 Lyghte, sb.  
 an Heghte, 'apex,' etc.  
 Gulschte, 'aurugo' (note).  
 Fraghte of a schippe.  
 a Flyghte } of snawe (note).  
 Flaghte }  
 a Flaghte de terra.  
 a Draghte, 'haustus.'  
 Aghte, 'octo.'  
 Wryghte.

*Havelok, N.E. Midl., 1300.*

Knichth }  
 Knith }  
 Knicetes }  
 Kniht }  
 Licth } sb.  
 Liht }  
 Plith, 'haven.'  
 Rith, sb.  
 Auchte }  
 Aucte } 'possessions.'  
 Authe }  
 Broucte, 'brought.'  
 Douhter.  
 Douthter.  
 Doutres, pl.

*Orm., Lincs., 1200.*

Awihht, 'aught.'  
 Brihhte, adj.  
 Ehhte, 'eight.'  
 Hihht.  
 Lihht.  
 Wrihht, 'make.'

Brohhte.  
 Forr-rahht, 'prevented.'  
 Duhhtiz.  
 Fulluhht.  
 Nahht.  
 Wehhte, 'weight.'  
 Mahht, 'might.'  
 Uhhtenn, 'early morning.'

*R. of Brunne, Lincs., 1338.*

Lyght, sb.  
 Laught, perf. of lacche, 'to catch.'  
 Aught, vb. perf.  
 Faught, perf.

*Hali Meidenhed, W. Midl., 1225.*

Nawt, 'nought,' 9.

*Will. of Pal., W. Midl., 1350.*

Brit, 'bright.'  
 Ligtere, 'lighter.'  
 Rit.  
 Rigt.  
 Souzt, p.p.  
 Douzti.  
 Douzter.

*Earliest Engl. Pr. Ps., W. Midl., 1375.*

Rygtful, 91. 15.  
 Broztest, 87. 7.

*Mirc, Salop, 1400.*

Dryzt.  
 Dryzte, 'dispose.'  
 Fygte, 'fight.'  
 Plygte, 'plight.'  
 Ryzt.  
 Syzt, 'sight.'

*Laz., Worcs., 1205.*

·Briht.  
 Faht.  
 ·Dohter.  
 Douter.  
 Dozter.  
 Dochter (dozter).  
 ·Cniht (cniht).  
 Æhte (eahte).  
 Bohte, part. of 'biggen.'  
 Fætte and fæhte, from 'fæchen.'  
 Quehte, from 'quecchen.'



*Songs and C.'s, Warw., 1400.*

Dowter.  
Nyte, 'night.'  
Bryte, 'bright.'

*Genesis and Exodus, Suffolk, 1250.*

Bright, 'bright.'  
Brocte, 'brought,' pret.  
Bogte, 'bought,' pret.  
Fogt, 'fought.'

*Bestiary, W. Midl., 1250.*

Bright, 70.  
Drigten, 40.  
Flight, 69.  
Nigt, 63.

This text writes *g* for back and front, open, and stop consonants.

*Engl. Guilds, Norf., 1389.*

Lyght.  
Noght, also nowt passim.

*Prompt., Norf., 1440.*

Bryghte, 'clarus.'  
Lyght.  
Myhth.  
Mighthy.  
Nyghte.  
Nyth (H.).

*Bokenham, Suffolk, before 1447.*

Hycht, St. Dorothy, 10.  
Doughtir, 11,000 Virgins, 104.  
Dowtrys, St. Dorothy, 23.  
Mychty } passim.  
Mythy }  
Dowghter, St. Anne, 375.

*Chaucer.*

Straughte, p.pl.  
Straught, p.p. and pr. sing. (N.B.)  
Streighte, p.pl.)  
Taughte, pret.  
Raughte, pret.  
Thoght.  
Soghte.  
Noht } adv.  
Nought }  
Aboghte, p.p. of abyte.  
Doghter.  
Doughty.  
Doghty.

Droughte } 'thirst.'  
Droghte }  
Bright.  
Plighte, vb.  
Night.  
Right.  
Wight.  
Wight, adj., 'active.'  
Figheten.

*St. Kath., Glos., 1200.*

Fehten, vb.  
Puhte, 'seemed.'  
Pohte, 'thought.'  
Bisohte.

*P. Plowm., 1362-93.*

Bright, adj.  
Hought, 'ought, anything.'  
Rygt.  
Rigt.  
Wroughten, p.p.  
Wroghte, pret.  
pougte, pret.

*Sir Fer., Devon, 1380.*

Dogty.  
Folloht.  
Follozt.

*St. Editha, Wilts., 1400.*

Almyzty, 1.  
Knyzt } passim.  
Ryzt }  
Myght, 530.  
powgt, 1738.

N.B.—Spelling owzt = 'out,' 1670, 1676, shows that the *z* cannot have been pronounced.

*St. Jul. (Prose), Dorset, 1200.*

Unduhti, 'unworthy,' 4.  
Mahte, sb., 12.  
Brihtre, comp., 18.

*Aner. Rivle, Dorset, 1225.*

Lachte } 'caught.'  
Lahte }  
Riht, 'judgement.'

*Vesp., A. 22, Kent, 1200.*

Richtwisen, 217.  
Almihtig.  
Dochtren, pl., 225.  
Michte, 229.  
Echte, 'possessions,' 233.

*Kentish Sermons (MS. Laud, 471),*  
1200-50.

manslechte, 2nd Serm.  
licht, Epiph.  
bricht, Epiph.

*Lib. Desc., Kent, 1350.*

Knigt.  
Sozt.  
Wigt.  
Sigzt, etc., etc.  
unsawgt.

## MODERN DIALECT WORD-LISTS.

### I.

#### Non-initial *k* in the Modern Dialects.

*Northumb., Heslop, 1893-4.*

Bike, 'bees' nest.'  
Blake, 'golden yellow,' as butter or  
cheese.  
Brake, 'kind of harrow.'  
Breck, 'portion of a field cultivated by  
itself.'  
Brecks.  
Brockle } 'brittle.'  
Bruckle }  
Cleak, 'to snatch.'  
Cleck  
and (Cletch) } 'brood of young chickens.'  
Cleck, 'a crook.'  
Click, 'a rent, tear.'  
Click-clack, 'idle gossip.'  
Crake  
(and Craitch) } 'to complain.'  
Diker, 'hedger, ditcher, hedge-  
sparrow.'  
Dike, 'fence, ditch, hedge, stone wall.'  
Dockan, 'dock-leaf.'  
Drak or } pret. of 'drink.'  
Druk }  
Drook or } 'drench with water.'  
Drouk }  
Ecky, 'sorry.'  
Eke, an addition to a building.  
Feekful, 'remorseful.'  
Feek, 'quantity, abundance.'  
Feak } 'to be restless.'  
Fike }  
Flaik } 'wattled hurdle.'  
Fleak }  
Fleck } 'fitch.'  
Flick }  
Flicker } 'flatter.'  
Flacker }  
Frecken, 'to frighten.'

Hick, 'to hesitate.'  
Hike, 'to swing or sway.'  
Kebbuk, 'cheese.'  
Larick, 'lark.'  
Klick, a peg for hanging.  
Maik } 'match, pair, equal, mate.'  
Make }  
Mickle }  
Muckle }  
Nicker  
(and Nicher) } sb. and vb.  
Nick, 'notch, nick,' etc.  
Perrick, 'park.'  
Pick, a tool.  
Pick, 'pitch.'  
Pick, 'dark.'  
Pick, 'to pitch, throw.'  
Pickle, 'grain of corn.'  
Pike, pointed bill.  
Plock } 'pimple.'  
Pluke }  
Pock, 'mark.'  
Preek, vb., 'adorn.'  
Prick.  
Rack, 'seaweed'  
Rack } 'streak of colour, drifting  
(Ratch) } clouds.'  
Rackle, 'rash,' etc.  
Rack, 'reach of water.'  
Recklin } 'last-born.'  
Ricklin }  
Reek, 'smoke'  
Rick, 'a pile.'  
Roak, 'fog, mist.'  
Roek, 'distaff.'  
Ruck, 'rick.'  
Sec } 'such.'  
Sie }  
Seek, 'to bring or carry anything.'  
Besseek, vb.

Seek, 'sick.'  
 Sicket, 'small rivulet.'  
 Sike, 'such.'  
 Sike, 'small stream or drain.'  
 Skrike, 'shriek.'  
 Slack, 'idle talk.'  
 Slake, 'to smear.'  
 Sleek, 'river mud.'  
 Sleekit, 'smooth-skinned.'  
 Slick, 'smoothly.'  
 Smack.  
 Smock.  
 Snock, 'snap of the jaws.'  
 Snook, 'projecting headland.'  
 Snoak, 'sniff as a dog.'  
 Sneek of gate.  
 Sook, 'such.'  
 Stackker, 'stagger.'  
 Steck } 'a labour dispute.'  
 Stick }  
 Steck }  
 Steak } 'a stich in sewing.'  
 Stik }  
 Stook of corn.  
 Straik } 'a streak or stretch of any-  
 Strake } thing.'  
 Strike.  
 Teakers, running of watery matter  
 from a sore.  
 moor-Teek, 'a tick.'  
 Theck.  
 Theak. ^  
 Thake.  
 Thock, 'to breathe heavily, pant.'  
 Twise, 'a pointed stick.'  
 Ukey, 'itchy.'  
 Wick, in place-names.  
 Yeuk } 'to itch.'  
 Yuck }

*Dickinson, Cumberland, 1859.*

Ae, 'to heed.'  
 Akkern, 'acorn.'  
 Dikey 'hedge-sparrow.'  
 Dyke, 'hedge.'  
 Dook, 'to dive.'  
 Drakt, 'wet.'  
 Drookt, 'very wet.'  
 Drukken, 'drunken.'  
 Breekin, space between udders of  
 a sheep.  
 Breeks.  
 Brek, 'badger.'  
 Brok }  
 Brokken } 'broken.'  
 Buckle, 'healthy condition.'  
 Black.  
 Boke, ridge of land left for division  
 of ownership.

Beak, 'a beam.'  
 Beakk, 'to bake.'  
 Beck, 'a brook.'  
 Beek, 'to bask by fire.'  
 Boke, 'to hinder.'  
 Click } 'to snatch.'  
 Cleek }  
 Feckless.  
 Feck, 'to be uneasy.'  
 Flacker, 'laugh heartily.'  
 Hacket, 'chapped with cold.'  
 Lek, 'a leak.'  
 Like.  
 Larrick, 'lark.'  
 Lake, 'to play.'  
 Mak, 'to make.'  
 Mickle }  
 Muckle }  
 Mislikken, 'to neglect.'  
 Nicker, 'laugh softly.'  
 Pick dark.  
 Pick, 'pitch.'  
 Pickle, 'corn-grain.'  
 Plook, 'pimple.'  
 Prickers.  
 Reek.  
 Roke, 'to scratch glass with a point.'  
 Sek } 'such.'  
 Sik }  
 Skrike, 'to scream.'  
 Slek, 'to slake.'  
 Suek, 'a latch.'  
 Snack, 'hasty meal.'  
 Stakker, 'to stagger.'  
 Streek, 'to stretch.'  
 Strickle, for sharpening scythes.  
 Swyke, 'thin-made animal.'  
 Syke, 'small wet hollow.'  
 Theek, 'to thatch.'  
 Thak } sb.  
 Theak }  
 Tokker, 'dowry.'  
 Whick, 'alive, quick.'  
 Yucks, 'itches.'  
 Yik, 'ache.'

*Pulgrave, Durham, 1896.*

Beck, 'stream.'  
 Bleck, 'dirty grease on coal-waggons.'  
 Brock, 'badger.'  
 Bracken.  
 Click, 'to catch one in the side.'  
 Dyke, 'a hedge' (never 'ditch').  
 Heek, 'call for a horse.'  
 Hack, 'heavy pick.'  
 Howk, 'to dig, throw out.'  
 Mickle, (not common).  
 Pike, 'large haycock.'  
 Reek, 'smoke,' sb. or vb. ?

Rook, 'thick fog, damp.'  
 Sneek, 'door latch.'  
 Stook, 'bundle of sheaves.'  
 Skriek, 'shriek.'  
 Keeker, 'an overlooker.'

*Swaledale (N. Yorks.), Harland, 1873.*

Blake, 'sallow.'  
 Click, 'to snatch.'  
 (H)ewk and } 'the hip.'  
 Yewk }  
 Mickle.  
 Reek, 'smoke.'  
 Roke, 'flying mist.'  
 Sike, 'such.'  
 Skriek.  
 Streaked, 'stretched.'  
 Thack, sb.  
 Theck, vb.

*Whitby (N.E. Yorks.), Robinson, 1876.*

Beuk }  
 Beaks, pl. } book.  
 Breeks, 'breeches.'  
 Brock, 'badger.'  
 Bruckle.  
 Clack, 'twaddle.'  
 Click }  
 (and Clitch) } 'brood,' etc.  
 Dike, 'ditch.'  
 Eking, 'enlarging.'  
 Feak, 'to fetch.'  
 (Fetch used in different sense.)  
 Fick, 'to struggle, as a child in cradle.'  
 Fleeked, 'speckled.'  
 Bacon-flick.  
 Heck, 'hay-rack.'  
 Heuk, 'the itch.'  
 Hieker, 'higher.'  
 Hike, 'to toss up.'  
 Keek, 'to half choke.'  
 Keckenhearted, 'squeamish at sight of food.'  
 Keek, 'to peep.'  
 Likly, 'likely.'  
 Mickle, adj.  
 Pick, 'to pitch.'  
 Pickfork.  
 Rawk }  
 Roke } 'to smoke' (of a fog).  
 Reek, 'to care.'  
 Reek, 'smoke,' sb. and vb.?  
 Serike, 'a shriek.'  
 Siker }  
 Sic } 'such.'  
 Sleek, 'drink of all kinds.'  
 Smeeak, 'smoke.'

Sniekle, 'to snare game.'  
 Steek, 'to fasten the door.'  
 Strickle, tool for sharpening scythe.  
 Syke, 'rill of water.'  
 Thack, sb.  
 Theak, vb.  
 Wick, 'alive.'

*Windhill (N. Central Yorks.), Wright, 1892.*

The transcription is that of Prof. Wright.

Biak, 'beak.'  
 Brok, 'badger.'  
 Daik, 'ditch.'  
 Druky, 'drunken.'  
 Fikl, adj.  
 Flik (of bacon).  
 Flikø(r), vb.  
 Flok.  
 Ik, 'to hitch.'  
 Laik.  
 Leak, 'to play.'  
 Lik.  
 Pik, 'pickaxe.'  
 Pluk.  
 Prik.  
 Prikl.  
 Reik, 'to reach.'  
 Rik, 'reek.'  
 Sik, 'to seek.'  
 Skrik, 'to shriek.'  
 Slek, 'small coal to slake a fire.'  
 Smük, 'to smoke.'  
 Snik, 'to cut.'  
 Snikit, 'small passage.'  
 Speik, vb., 'speak.'  
 Straik, vb.  
 Striøk, 'a streak, stripe.'  
 Strikø, 'stricken.'  
 Stukø, 'stunk.'  
 Šukø, 'sunk.'  
 Šrukø, 'shrunk.'  
 Taik, 'a low fellow.'  
 ðak, 'thatch.'

*Robinson, Mid. Yorks., 1876.*

Bleak, 'to talk emptily.'  
 Bleek, 'black grease in machinery,'  
 (cf. 'blech' in many dialects).  
 Breeks.  
 Brekly, 'brittle.'  
 Clake, 'to claw.'  
 Klik, vb., 'snatch.'  
 Cloek, kind of beetle.  
 Dawk, 'to idle.'  
 Douk, 'to drink.'  
 Droke, 'to drip with moisture.'



Feck, 'large number.'  
 Flack, 'to pulsate heavily'; not in  
 common use, but still heard.  
 Fleak, 'a wattle.'  
 Fluke, 'large kind of maggot.'  
 Heck, 'a latch.'  
 Laik, 'to play.'  
 Mickle, adj.  
 Muckle, sb.  
 Nicker, 'to neigh.'  
 Pick, 'to pitch.'  
 Rick, 'rich.'  
 Roke, 'to perspire heavily.'  
 Srike, 'to scream.'  
 Sleek, 'to slake.'  
 Snickle, 'to snare with a draw-loop.'  
 Snack, 'small portion.'  
 Streck, 'straight.'  
 Streek, 'to stretch.'  
 Strickle, 'a scythe-sharpener.'  
 Thack } 'thatch.'  
 Theak }  
 Wick } 'hawthorn.'  
 Wicken }  
 Yuke, 'to itch.'

*Easther, Huddersfield (W. Yorks.), 1881.*

Cleek, 'to catch hold, snatch.'  
 Cloke, 'to scratch.'  
 Dike (douk), 'a ditch.'  
 Fick, 'to struggle with the feet.'  
 Flick (of bacon).  
 Heck, 'a hatch gate.'  
 Kecker, 'squeamish, cowed.'  
 Like, 'to play.'  
 Pick, 'to hitch, throw.'  
 Reck, 'smoke.'  
 Sic }  
 (and Sich) } 'such.'  
 Strickle, 'corn-striker.'  
 Thaak, sb.  
 Theek, vb.  
 Weak, 'to squeak.'  
 Wicks, 'hawthorn hedges.'

*Thoresby's Letter to Ray, 1703.*

Yeke, 'to itch.'  
 Clukes, 'clutches.'

*Marshall, E. Yorks., 1788.*

Whick, 'alive.'  
 Thack, sb.  
 Theak, vb.  
 Theaker, 'a thatcher.'

*Ray's Coll. North Country Words, 1691.*

Yuck, 'to itch.'  
 Streek, 'to stretch.'  
 Pleck, 'a place.'  
 Make, 'a match.'

*Sheffield (S. W. Yorks.), Adly, 1888-90.*

Brickle, 'brittle.'  
 Dike, 'river, or any collection of water.'  
 Dickfield (in Ecclesfield).  
 Hick, 'to hop or spring.'  
 Eck, 'to itch.'  
 Flake, 'a hurdle.'  
 Fleck, 'a spot.'  
 Flick, 'fitch.'  
 Pick, 'to throw.'  
 Pick-fork.  
 Prickle, 'to prick.'  
 Reik }  
 Reyk } 'to reach out.'  
 and (Reich) }  
 Sick }  
 (and Sitch) } 'a ditch, ravine.'  
 Speak, vb., 'speech, saying.'  
 Strickle.  
 Syke, 'a sigh.'  
 Thack }  
 Theek } 'thatch.'  
 Wake, 'to watch with a sick person.'  
 Wicks, 'quicks, thorns.'

*Lancs., 1875, Nodal and Milner.*

Acker, 'to falter, hesitate, cough.'  
 Bakster, 'baker.'  
 Beck, 'stream.'  
 Brickle, 'brittle.'  
 Bullock.  
 Brock, 'badger.'  
 Buck, kind of stake.  
 Clack, 'to clutch.'  
 Clack, 'to chatter.'  
 Clewkin, 'twine, string.'  
 Click.  
 Cleek, 'a small catch.'  
 Crack, 'to boast.'  
 Crick, 'local pain.'  
 Clock, 'a beetle.'  
 Coak; E. and Mid. L. } 'to strain,  
 Cowk, S.L. } vomit.'  
 Dacker, 'unsettled.'  
 Dawk (Fylde) } 'to stoop,  
 Deawk, S. and E. Lancs. } plunge.'  
 Deck, 'a pack of cards'; obs. since  
 1788.  
 Daffock, 'slattern.'  
 Brado-fleigh } 'bread-rack.'  
 Brado-flake }

Fleck, 'flea.'  
 Gowk, 'cuckoo.'  
 Hack, 'pickaxe.'  
 Heak, N.L., 'half-door, hatch'; obs.?  
 Hattock, 'sheaf of corn.'  
 Lake, 'to play.'  
 Layrock, 'lark.'  
 Leawk, 'to beat, thrash.'  
 Lake, adv.  
 Lick, 'beat.'  
 Lowk, Fylde and N.L., 'to weed.'  
 Lock, N.L., 'quantity.'  
 Mack, 'maggot.'  
 Mak, 'sort, kind.'  
 Make.  
 Mickle, 'size, bulk.'  
 Muck, sb., 'manure.'  
 Neck (Fylde), 'to beat, as a watch does.'  
 Pike, 'to choose.'  
 Pike-fork.  
 Pleek, 'place.'  
 Pikel, 'pitchfork.'  
 Powk } 'small boil.'  
 Peawk }  
 Becony-prick, 'stickleback.'  
 Dungpike.  
 Pricket, 'six sheaves of corn.'  
 Rake.  
 Rawky, N.L., 'foggy.'  
 Ruck } 'a heap, lot.'  
 Rook }  
 Ruckle, 'reckless, rash.'  
 Intack, 'enclosed field.'  
 Hamshackle, 'fasten head of animal  
 to its legs.'  
 Sike, vb., 'sigh, sob.'  
 Sike, 'a drain.'  
 Skrike, sb.  
 Sleek, 'to slake.'  
 Snicket, 'a forward girl.'  
 Sock.  
 Tack, 'a nasty taste.'  
 Tackle, 'to take in hand.'  
 Thick, 'friendly,' etc.  
 Tickle, 'nice, dainty.'  
 Truck, 'trade, business.'  
 Tyke, 'awkward man or beast.'  
 Wacker, 'to shake, tremble.'

*S. Chesh., Darlington, 1887.*

Backen, 'to put backward.'  
 Brack, 'a rent.'  
 Break, vb.  
 Buck, 'part of a plough to which  
 horses are attached.'  
 Clookin, 'strong cord.'  
 Fleek, 'kind of hurdle gate.'  
 Fleck, 'a flea' (Holland, also flef).

Flecked, 'spotted'  
 (H)acker, 'to stammer.'  
 (H)ack, 'to snap with the mouth.'  
 Hike, 'to goad or toss with horns.'  
 Huck, 'to hoist the shoulders and back.'  
 Huckle, 'to shuffle away.'  
 Keek, 'a seedling marigold.'  
 Nick, 'to take.'  
 Peekle, 'speckle.'  
 to Pick a calf.  
 Pick, 'to vomit.'  
 Pikel, 'hayfork.'  
 Plack, 'situation, place.'  
 Pricker, 'a thorn, prickle.'  
 Sike, 'to sigh.'  
 Skrike, 'to shriek.'  
 Sleak, 'to put out the tongue.'  
 Smicket, 'a woman's shirt.'  
 Snacks, 'shares.'  
 Sneek, 'a latch.'  
 Snicket, 'naughty child.'  
 Strickle.  
 Suck, 'a ploughshare.'  
 Sweak, 'crane for hanging a pot on  
 the fire.'  
 Thick.  
 Threek, 'cluster of thistles in a field.'  
 Tweak, 'to pinch.'

*Derbysh., Pegge—Skeat, 1896.*

Beck, 'stream' (obs.).  
 Black.  
 Cucking-stool (obs.).  
 Dike, 'rivulet' ('mound' at present  
 time).  
 Flecked, 'variegated.'  
 Crick in the neck.  
 Flik, 'flitch.'  
 Freckle.  
 Heekle, 'to express indignation.'  
 Kleek, 'to clutch.'  
 Lake, 'to play.'  
 Pick, 'vomit, to pitch hay,' etc.  
 Pick, vb., 'pitch.'  
 Pik, sb., 'pitch.'  
 Pleek, 'a place' (obs. except in place-  
 names).  
 Prick-eared.  
 Pucker, 'hurry.'  
 Reckling, 'weakest in a litter.'  
 Reek, 'smoke.'  
 Sick, 'very small brook.'  
 Snack, 'a share.'  
 Sneek, 'latch of a door.'  
 Strickle, 'for levelling grain in a  
 measure.'  
 Strike, 'a bushel.'  
 Thak, 'thatch.'  
 Wake, 'a feast of dedication.'

*N.E. Lincs., Peacock, 1889.*

Backen, 'to retard.'  
 Beck, 'a brook.'  
 Black, 'angry,' etc.  
 Breeks.  
 Brack, (he) 'broke.'  
 Brackle, 'brittle.'  
 Boak, 'to be on point of vomiting.'  
 Buck, 'smart young man.'  
 Bullock, 'to roar.'  
 Clack, 'idle talk.'  
 to Click, 'hold of.'  
 Clock, 'any large beetle.'  
 Cluck (of a hen).  
 Crack, 'to boast.'  
 Cuck-stool.  
 Dacker, 'waver.'  
 Deek, 'dyke.'  
 Dook, 'a handful of straw,' etc.  
 Dyke, 'to dig a ditch.'  
 Fleek, 'a spot.'  
 Fleak, 'hurdle of woven twigs.'  
 Flick, 'a flitch.'  
 Freckned, 'freckled.'  
 Heck, 'a hedge' (rare).  
 Hick, 'to lift with a hicking barrow.'  
 Huck, 'the hip.'  
 to Leak.  
 Like, adv. and adj.  
 Mawk, 'maggot.'  
 Mawkin, 'scarecrow.'  
 Muck.  
 Nacker, 'a drum.'  
 Neck, 'to swallow, to drink.'  
 Pick, sb., 'pitch.'  
 Pick, 'to pitch.'  
 to Prick.  
 Rake up.  
 Reek, 'smoke.'  
 Roak, 'fog, mist.'  
 Smock-frock.  
 Smook } 'smoke.'  
 Smoke }  
 Snacks, 'shares.'  
 Sneck, 'a latch or catch.'  
 Snickle, 'to snare.'  
 to Speak.  
 (p.p. Speeched, pass., 'spoken to.')

Speak, 'a speech.'  
 Spreckled, 'speckled.'  
 Stook } (of corn).  
 Stowk }  
 Sleaf, 'to extinguish a fire.'  
 Sleek, 'to make the hair smooth.'  
 Syke, 'a small brook' (obs.).  
 Thack, 'thitch.'  
 Tickle, 'nervous, shy.'  
 Wykins, 'corners of the mouth.'

*S.W. Lincs., Cole, 1886.*

Beck, 'stream.'  
 Black.  
 Bleak.  
 Boke, 'to belch.'  
 Break, vb.  
 Bullock, 'to bully.'  
 Clawk }  
 Click } 'to clutch.'  
 Crack, 'boast.'  
 Dyke.  
 Eke, 'to lengthen.'  
 Flick, 'bacon.'  
 Hick, 'to hitch, hoist.'  
 Mak, 'to make.'  
 Pick, 'tar.'  
 Pick, 'to pitch.'  
 Prickle, 'to prick.'  
 Reek, 'a pile, usually of snow.'  
 Slouk, 'to slouch.'  
 Thack, sb. and vb., 'thatch.'  
 Wacker, 'lively, active.'  
 Weekin, 'corner of the mouth.'  
 Wicken, 'mountain-ash.'  
 Yuck, 'to itch.'

*Shropsh., Jackson, 1879.*

Ackern, 'acorn.'  
 Ackerning, 'acorn-gathering.'  
 Brickle, 'brittle.'  
 Ecall, 'green woodpecker.'  
 Fleak, 'a hurdle.'  
 Hike }  
 (and Hite) } 'to toss.'  
 Peek }  
 Pick } 'to pitch forward.'  
 Pikel, 'pitchfork.'  
 Pricker, instrument for making holes  
 in blasting.  
 Srike, sb. and vb., 'shriek.'  
 Seek (of water), 'to percolate, find its  
 way.'  
 Sike, 'to sigh.'  
 Spok, sb., 'talk.'  
 Strickle for corn.  
 Tweak, 'a severe attack of illness.'

*Salop Ant., Hartshorne, 1841.*

Prick, 'prop for supporting shafts of  
 a cart.'  
 Eeke, 'to increase.'

*Staffs., Poole, 1880.*

Freek, 'man, fellow.'  
 Sike, 'to pant for breath.'

*Leices., Evans, 1881.*

Ackern, 'acorn.'  
 Backen, 'to .'  
 Bellock.  
 Black, adj.  
 Bleak, 'pallid, white-faced.'  
 Brack, 'to break.'  
 Brock, 'badger.'  
 Buck, 'wash,' etc.  
 Cuck, 'chuck.'  
 Dike, 'ditch.'  
 Flick, 'flich.'  
 Hack, 'to use the rake in haymaking.'  
 Hike, 'to butt with the horns.'  
 Lack, 'loss.'  
 Lik.  
 Peaked, 'wasted.'  
 Peek, 'to pry.'  
 Pick, 'pitch.'  
 Pikle, 'a pitchfork.'  
 Prockle, 'to poke.'  
 Rack, 'break up.'  
 Wake, an annual village feast.  
 Waik } 'weak.'  
 Wik }  
 Shockle, 'to shake.'  
 Sike, 'to sigh.'  
 Stook (of corn).  
 Thack, vb. and sb.  
 Tweak, 'to twitch.'

*Rutland, Wordsworth, 1891.*

Dike, 'ditch.'  
 to Prick out, 'lengthen out' (of days).  
 Quoeken, 'to choke.'  
 Reek, 'to smoke, steam.'  
 Thack.

*E. Angl., Rye, 1895.*

Beck, 'brook.'  
 Blackcap, 'marsh-tit.'  
 Bleck, 'pale, sickly.'  
 Brackly, 'brittle.'  
 Clack, 'to clatter.'  
 Crickle } 'to bend under a weight.'  
 Cruckle }  
 Deek }  
 Dick } 'ditch.'  
 Dike }  
 Flack, 'to hang loose.'  
 Flick of bacon.  
 Flicke, 'down of hares, etc.'  
 Hack }  
 (and Hatch) } 'hatch gate.'  
 Hick, 'to hop.'  
 Hike, 'to go away.'

Hickel } 'hemp-dresser's comb.'  
 (and Hitchel) }  
 Hickler }  
 (and Hitchler) }  
 Huckles, 'the hips.'  
 Pick, 'an eel-spear.'  
 Prick } sharp-pointed iron instru-  
 (and Pritch) } ment (also in Nall, 1866).  
 Roke, 'a fog.'  
 Snickle, } 'a slip-knot' (also in  
 (or Snittle) } Nall).  
 Thack, 'thatch.'  
 Wicker, 'to neigh.'  
 Nall (1866) has Streek, 'to iron out  
 clothes' (= 'stretch'?).  
 Specke, 'woodpecker.'

*Herefordsh., Havergal, 1887.*

Sriek, 'to shriek.'  
 Snack, 'light repast.'  
 Quacked } 'squeezed.'  
 Queeked }  
 Ackern, 'acorn.'  
 Eacle } 'icicle, woodpecker.'  
 Heele }  
 Keek, 'to be sick.'  
 Sicking, 'sighing.'

*Upton-on-Severn (Worcs.), Lawson,  
1884.*

Nicker, 'to snigger.'  
 Peck, 'to pitch, fall forward.'

*W. Worcs., Chamberlain, 1882.*

Eacle, 'woodpecker.'  
 Ickle, 'to long for.'  
 Peckled, 'speckled.'  
 Peck, 'pitch forward.'  
 Sike, 'to sigh.'  
 Thack, sb. and vb.  
 Wicker, small basket for picking salt.

*S.E. Worcs., Salisbury, 1893.*

Backen, 'to keep back.'  
 Black-bat, 'black-beetles.'  
 Belluck, 'to roar.'  
 Deck, 'pack of cards.'  
 Douk, 'duck the head.'  
 to Dock a horse.  
 Eckle, 'woodpecker.'  
 Hockle, 'to shuffle along.'  
 Nicker, 'to laugh rudely.'  
 Mawkin, 'scarecrow.'  
 Pick, 'pickaxe.'



Puck, 'stye in the eye.'  
 Quick, 'young hawthorn plants.'  
 Ruck, 'fold or crease.'  
 Skreek-owl, 'the swift.'  
 Wake, 'village feast.'  
 Wick, 'week.'

*Warwicksh., Northall., 1896.*

Bellock, 'to roar.'  
 Blackie, 'blackbird.'  
 Flicket, 'to flutter; flicker.'  
 Hacker, 'kind of axe.'  
 Hickie, 'woodpecker.'  
 Hike, 'to toss, to haul.'  
 Hockle, 'hobble.'  
 Make.  
 Mawks, 'slatternly woman.'  
 Muck.  
 Nicker, 'to jeer, snigger.'  
 Peck, 'a pick for coals,' etc.  
 Peek, 'to peep, pry.'  
 Pikel, 'pitchfork.'  
 Pleck, 'a small enclosure.'  
 Sick.  
 Slack, 'small coal.'  
 Sneak.  
 Sock, 'filth, mire.'  
 Stock, 'to grub up.'  
 Strike.  
 to Suck.  
 Syke, 'bacon.'  
 Thack, vb.  
 Thick.  
 Wik, 'a week.'

*Northamptonsh., Baker, 1854.*

Bleak, 'pale, sickly.'  
 Brickle, 'brittle.'  
 Eke  
 (and *-ch* form) } 'to add to.'  
 Flick, 'flitch.'  
 Hackle, 'to put the hay in rows in raking.'  
 Quick, 'young hawthorn plants.'  
 Reck, 'steam,' sb. and vb.  
 Skrike } 'to shriek.'  
 Skreek }  
 Thack (obs. ?).  
 Whicks, 'plants of white-thorn.'

*Beds., Batehelor, 1809.*

Broked, 'liable to split, brittle.'  
 Skriek, 'screech.'  
 Thek, 'thatch.'

*Suff., Moor, 1823.*

Chicked, 'sprouted' (of corn).  
 to Eke out.  
 Flick of bacon.  
 Queak } 'to squeak' (said of  
 (and Queech) } a hare).  
 Reek, 'steam.'

*Glos., Robertson, 1890.*

Ackern, 'acorn.'  
 Blackthorn.  
 Brake, 'a corpse.'  
 Break, 'to tear.'  
 Brickut, of a cat, on heat.  
 Chackle, 'to cackle.'  
 Cock-band, 'stickleback.'  
 Craiky, 'weak, infirm.'  
 Crick, 'corner.'  
 Drock } 'a covered drain.'  
 (and Druff) }  
 Eckle, 'green woodpecker.'  
 Flake, 'wattled hurdle.'  
 Flickets, 'little pieces.'  
 Flick, 'snap of a dog.'  
 Gluck, 'to swallow with difficulty'  
 (S. Glos.).  
 Keck, 'to retch.'  
 Laiking, 'idling,' etc.  
 Like, adverbial termination.  
 Mike, 'to loaf, to mitch.'  
 Moke.  
 Nacker, 'to tremble with passion.'  
 Peck, 'pickaxe.'  
 Peck, 'to pitch forward, to pitch.'  
 Pick, 'a hayfork.'  
 Pick-pike, 'pitchfork.'  
 Plack } portion of a field.  
 Pleck }  
 Puck, small stock of sheaves.  
 Scream, 'shriek.'  
 Skrike, 'shriek.'  
 Slick, 'smooth.'  
 Smack.  
 Snack, kind of fungus on trees.  
 Specks } 'pieces of wood for keeping  
 Spicks } 'thatch in place.'  
 Strick } 'instrument for levelling  
 corn in the bushel.'  
 Stuck, 'sheaf of corn.'  
 Tack } 'an unpleasant flavour.'  
 (and Tach) }  
 Thick, 'this.'  
 Thuck, 'that.'  
 Week, 'to whimper.'

*Oxf., Parker, 1876-81.*

Clack, 'talk, noise.'

*Berks., Lowsley, 1888.*

Bellock, 'bellow.'  
 Brukkle, 'brittle.'  
 Ekkern, 'acorn.'  
 Hike! 'move off!'  
 Keck, 'make a chokynoise in the throat.'  
 Mickle, used in proverb—"Every little makes, etc."  
 Snack  
 (and Snatch) } 'a small piece.'  
 Vleck, hare or rabbit fur.  
 Whicker, 'to neigh.'

*Somers., Elworthy, 1886.*

Crick, 'to strain some part of body.'  
 Crook.  
 Cuckold, 'duck.'  
 Aleek, 'alike.'  
 Back.  
 Bakin, quantity of dough kneaded at one time.  
 Black, adj.  
 Bicker, 'a vessel.'  
 Bicky, 'hide and seek.'  
 Brack, 'fat covering intestines of edible animals.'  
 Break, 'upland.'  
 Brickle, 'brittle.'  
 Broc, 'badger.'  
 Brocket, young male deer.  
 Buck.  
 Dik, 'ditch.'  
 Dock, 'crupper.'  
 Facket, 'faggot.'  
 Flick, 'fat round kidneys of pig.'  
 Hlack, vb.  
 Hackly, 'to haggle.'  
 Hick, 'to hop.'  
 Hike out, 'turn out.'  
 Hurdock, 'robin.'  
 Hoke, 'gore with horns.'  
 Hook.  
 Leat, 'to leak.'  
 Leek, 'plant.'  
 Lick.  
 Look.  
 Mack, 'magpie.'  
 Make.  
 Muck.  
 Nick }  
 Nitch } 'a bundle.'  
 Parrick, 'paddock.'  
 Pick, 'a hayfork.'  
 Prick, 'to track a hare.'  
 Rack, 'frame.'  
 to Rake.  
 Seeked, 'sought.'  
 Shackle, 'to litter.'

Slack, adj.  
 Smock.  
 Snack, 'hasty meal.'  
 Spicket, 'spigot.'  
 Suck, vb.  
 Take.  
 Take forward.  
 Thick, 'that.'  
 Thack.  
 Tookt, 'taken.'  
 Truckle, 'small cheese.'  
 Twick, 'to tweak, jerk.'  
 Wack, 'to overcome.'  
 Wake, 'to watch by a corpse.'  
 Wicked days, 'weekdays' (always).  
 Vrick, 'to wrench, sprain.'  
 Yuckle, 'woodpecker.'

*Devon, Hewett, 1892.*

Nickies, 'small faggots.'  
 (Cf. Nitch, 'bundle of wood.')

*Wilts., Dartnell and Goddard, 1893.*

Bake }  
 Beak } 'break up land with mattock.'  
 Back.  
 Blackberry.  
 Bleat = 'bleak.'  
 Bellock, 'cry like frightened child.'  
 Blicker, 'to glimmer,' S.W.  
 Brack, 'fracture.'  
 Break, N.W.  
 Dicky, 'deranged, weakly.'  
 Dicker, 'to bedeck,' N.W.  
 Drock, 'short drain.'  
 Druck, 'crowd,' S.W.  
 Drucked, 'filled to overflowing.'  
 Flick  
 (and Flich) } perf., N.W., obs.  
 Flick }  
 Fleck } 'internal fat of a pig.'  
 Bruckle, vb.  
 Frickle, 'to potter.'  
 Stickle.  
 Truckle, 'to roll,' N.W.  
 Hackle, 'covering for beehive.'  
 Mickle.  
 Muckle.  
 Hike, 'to hook or catch.'  
 Keek, 'to be sick.'  
 Muck.  
 Pick, 'a pitchfork.'  
 Peck, 'a pickaxe.'  
 Rack, 'animal's track.'  
 Roke, 'smoke,' S.W.  
 Rimmick, 'smallest pig of a litter.'  
 Rick.

Slicket, 'thin lath of wood.'  
 Sleek and } 'slippery,' N.W.  
 Sleet }  
 Slack, 'impudence,' S.W.  
 Smicket, 'smock.'  
 Snake.  
 Sprack, 'lively.'  
 Spick, S.W., 'peg for thatching.'  
 Strick, 'strike.'  
 Stuck, 'a spike.'  
 Ticking-pig, 'sucking-pig.'  
 Thick here = 'this' }  
 Thick = 'that' } N.W.  
 Uck, 'to shove.'  
 Wake, 'raked-up hay,' N.W.  
 Wicker, 'to neigh, bleat.'  
 Wrick }  
 Rick } 'to twist, wrench.'

*Surrey, Leveson-Gower, 1896.*

Akering, 'picking up acorns.'  
 Bannick, 'to thrash.'  
 Broke, 'a fall of timber.'  
 Crock, 'earthen pot.'  
 Dik, 'a ditch.'  
 Flick, 'down of hares and rabbits.'  
 -Like, 'comfortable-like,' etc.  
 Nucker, 'to neigh.'  
 Peaked, 'unwell.'  
 Picksome, 'dainty.'  
 Picky, 'gipsy.'  
 Reek, 'steam, smoke.'  
 Squacket, 'to quack like a duck.'  
 Tissick, 'a cough.'  
 Tussock, 'tuft of rank, coarse grass.'

*Kent, Parish and Shaw, 1887.*

Blackie, 'blackbird.'  
 Black.  
 Bruckle.  
 Dick, 'ditch.'  
 Dickers, 'ditchers.'  
 Deek, 'ditch.'  
 Drake-weed.  
 Ecker, 'to stammer.'  
 Fack, 'stomach of a ruminant.'  
 Fakement, 'pain,' etc.  
 Fleck, 'rabbits, ground game.'  
 Fleeky, 'flaky.'  
 Flicking, tooth-comb for horse's mane.  
 Hicket.  
 Hike, 'turn out.'  
 Hoeken-headed, 'passionate.'  
 Huck, 'pod of peas,' etc.  
 Like.  
 Lucking-mill.

Moke, 'mesh of a net.'  
 Muck, vb.  
 Muck, sb., 'a busy person.'  
 Peek, 'to stare.'  
 Pick.  
 Prick up ears.  
 Pucker, 'state of excitement.'  
 Ruddock, 'robin.'  
 Ruck, 'an uneven heap or lump.'  
 Ruckle, 'struggle.'  
 Slick, 'slippery.'  
 Sucker.  
 Strike.  
 Strickle, 'a striker.'  
 Tack, 'an unpleasant taste.'  
 Wik, 'week.'

*W. Corn., Courtney, 1880.*

Clack, 'noise.'  
 Swike, 'a twig of heath.'  
 Veak (and veach), 'whitlow.'

*E. Cornw., Couch, 1880.*

Breck, 'a rent or hole in a garment.'  
 Thekky }  
 Thekka } 'that one.'

*Hants., Cope, 1883.*

Bellock, 'to bellow.'  
 Bruckle }  
 Brickle } 'brittle.'  
 Dik, 'ditch.'  
 Fleck }  
 Flick } 'part of a pig before boiling'  
 } 'down into lard.'  
 Keek, 'to retch.'  
 Pick, 'hayfork.'  
 Rock, 'to reek, steam.'  
 Roak, 'steam,' sb.  
 Spick }  
 Speck } 'lavender.'  
 Thic, 'this.'  
 Thuck, 'that.'  
 Vlick, 'to comb out the hair.'

*I. of W., Smith, 1881.*

Bruckle, 'brittle.'  
 Flick }  
 Vlick } 'lard of inside of a pig.'  
 Vlick o' bacon, 'flitch,' etc.  
 Skreak, 'to creak.'  
 Strick, 'to strike.'  
 Thic and theck.  
 Vleck, 'comb out hair.'  
 Whicker, 'to neigh.'  
 Hocks, 'the feet' (Long, 1886).

*Sussex, Parish, 1879.*

Ache, 'to tire.'  
 Beck, 'a mattock.'  
 Boke, 'nauseate.'  
 Coke, 'to fry.'  
 Cluck of a hen who wants to sit.  
 Dick, 'a ditch.'  
 Flake, 'cleft wood.'

Fleck } 'fur of rabbits.'  
 Flick }  
 Hack, 'to cough, faintly and frequently.'  
 Hike, 'to call roughly.'  
 Hocklands, 'hock-shaped pieces of meadow land.'  
 Knicker, 'to whinny.'  
 Roke, 'steam,' etc.

## II.

Non-initial *nk, lk, rk.**Northumb., Heslop, 1893-4.*

Bink } 'shelf, flat slab fixed to a wall  
 Benk } as seat or shelf.'  
 Blink }  
 Blenk } 'to glance with pleasure.'  
 Clink, 'to clench.'  
 Clunk, 'hiccup.'  
 Denk } 'squeamish, dainty,  
 (and Dench) } rare.'  
 Binklin } 'last-born.'  
 Wrenkel }  
 Serankit, 'shrunk.'  
 Bog-spink, 'cuckoo-flower.'  
 Kin-cough = Kink-cough.  
 Fenkle, 'bend or corner of street or river.'  
 Spenk, 'spark, match,' also 'pluck.'  
 Prinklin, 'stinging sensation felt when body goes to sleep.'  
 Birk }  
 Brick } 'birch.'  
 Briker }  
 Dark, 'blind.'  
 Kirk.  
 Kirkeet, 'churchyard.'  
 Kirk-yerd.  
 Lork }  
 (and Lorch) } 'to lurk, lie in wait.'  
 Spark, 'small spot of mud.'  
 Starken, 'become stiff.'  
 Stirk }  
 Stork } 'young heifer.'  
 Wark.  
 Belk.  
 Ilk }  
 Ilka } 'every.'  
 Kelk, vb. and sb., 'severe blow.'  
 Kelk, 'roe of a fish.'  
 Pulke, 'a petition.'  
 Spelk, 'small splntr.'  
 Whilk, 'which.'

*Cumberland, Dickinson, 1859.*

Blenk } 'a gleam.'  
 Blink }  
 Benk } 'ledge of rock.'  
 Bink }  
 Brank, 'to hold the head affectedly.'  
 Brenkt, 'of colour of a white sheep with black legs and belly.'  
 Drunk.  
 Hank, 'to fasten with a hoop.'  
 Spink, 'chaffinch.'  
 Strinkle, 'to sprinkle.'  
 Clink.  
 Kink, 'twist in rope, sound of whooping-cough.'  
 Birk tree.  
 Kirk.  
 Mirk, 'dark.'  
 Wark.  
 Belk, 'to belch.'  
 Ilk, 'every.'  
 Milkin, 'hill.'  
 Pelk, 'to beat.'  
 Spelk, 'splint, rib of a basket.'  
 Whilkan, 'which one.'  
 Whilk, 'which.'  
 Wilk, 'bark of a young dog in close pursuit.'

*Durham, Palgrave, 1896.*

Sark, 'shirt.'  
 Stirkin, 'to cool and stiffen as gravy does.'  
 Wa(r)k, 'to ache.'  
 Spelk, 'thorn or splinter in the flesh';  
 cf. Spelch in Warwcs., etc.



*Swaledale (N. Yorks.), Harland, 1873.*

Bink, 'stone bench.'  
 Kink- } cough.  
 King- }  
 Bull-spink.  
 Birk.  
 Kirk.  
 Wark, 'to ache.'  
 Belk, vb.  
 Kelk, 'violent blow.'  
 Whilk, 'which.'

*Whitby (N.E. Yorks.), Robinson, 1876.*

Bink, 'bench.'  
 Blenk, 'a blemish.'  
 Bull-spink, 'chaffinch.'  
 Kink, 'cough.'  
 Birk.  
 Kirk.  
 Snoork } 'sniff, snore, grunt.'  
 Snork }  
 Stark, 'stiff.'  
 Wark.  
 Belk, vb.  
 Ilk } 'each.'  
 Ilka }  
 Milkhus, 'dairy.'  
 Spelks, 'small sticks.'  
 Whilk, 'which.'

*Windhill (N. Central Yorks.), Wright, 1892.*

The transcription is Prof. Wright's.

Benk, 'bench.'  
 Drenk, 'drank.'  
 Drink, 'to drink.'  
 Fin̄k, 'to think.'  
 Kink, 'cough.'  
 Slep̄k, 'slunk.'  
 Slīk, 'to slink.'  
 Stip̄k, 'stink.'  
 Twīn̄kl, 'twinkle.'  
 Wīk, 'wink.'  
 Bākn, 'horse-collar.'  
 Wāk, sb., 'work.'  
 Wōk, vb., 'work.'  
 Wāk, 'pain, ache.'

*Mid. Yorks., Robinson, 1876.*

Bink, 'bench.'  
 (Bench also heard occasionally.)  
 Blink, 'to wink.'  
 Bullspink, 'chaffinch.'  
 Crinkle, 'to bend tortuously.'

Glink, 'a short watchful glance.'  
 Kincough, 'hooping-cough.'  
 Belk } 'to belch.'  
 Bilk }  
 Belk, 'condition of body or temper.'  
 Kelk } 'a blow.'  
 Kilk }  
 Swilk, 'splash of water in a cask.'  
 Welk, 'a sounding thwack.'  
 Wilk, 'which' (occasional in Mid and N. Yorks).  
 Barkam, 'horse-collar.'  
 Birk.  
 Kirk.  
 Wark, 'to ache.'

*Huddersfield (W. Yorks.), Easther, 1881.*

Bank } 'bench.'  
 Benk }  
 Glenk } 'glimpse' (also glent, glint).  
 Glink }  
 Kink, 'to choke.'  
 Kinkcough (and Chincough).  
 Bullspink, 'bullfinch.'  
 Felks, pieces of wood from which form the circumference of a wheel. Cf. O.E. felz, felga, the felly or fellow of a wheel. Cf. also fellieks in Lancs. (see Halliwell), and below, Sheffield.  
 Spelk, 'splint of wood.'  
 Birk.  
 Ballywark, 'stomach-ache.'  
 Wark, 'work.'

*E. Yorks., Marshall, 1788.*

Spelk, 'splinter, thin piece of wood.'  
 Whilk, 'which.'

*N. of Engl., J. H., 1781.*

Kelk, 'to kick.'

*Sheffield (S.W. Yorks.), Addy, 1888-90.*

Benk, 'a bench.'  
 Kink, 'choke, sob.'  
 Kincough.  
 a Sink for water.  
 Spink, 'a finch.'  
 Strinkle.  
 Wark, 'ache.'  
 Felk } 'felloe of a wheel.' (Cf.  
 (and Felly) } above, Huddersf.)

*Lancs., Nodal and Milner, 1875.*

Blinket, 'a person blind in one eye.'  
 Bonk, 'a bank.'  
 Cank, 'to talk, chatter.'  
 Dank, 'to depress, damp.'  
 Hanke, 'to twist.'  
 Kink } 'to lose the breath with  
 Chink } coughing, etc.'  
 Kin-cough.  
 Mank, 'a sportive trick.'  
 Penk, 'to strike a small blow.'  
 Spiuk, 'chaffinch.'  
 Bethink, 'call to mind.'  
 Ark, 'chest.'  
 a Birk tree.  
 Dark, 'blind'  
 Hurkle, 'to stoop, squat.'  
 Querk, N. L., 'to cheat.'  
 Sark, 'shirt.'  
 Stark, 'stiff.'  
 Kelk, N. L., 'to strike.'  
 Spelk, 'chip of wood.'

*S. Chesh., Darlington, 1887.*

Bonk, 'bank.'  
 Clink.  
 Kink.  
 Slinkaz, 'to loiter.'  
 Wrinkle.  
 Milken, 'to milk.'  
 Swilk } of liquids in a vessel, 'to  
 Swilker } sway and spill.'

*Derbysh., Pegge—Skeat, 1896.*

Crank, 'brisk, lively.'  
 Kineough and Chineough.  
 Spink, 'chaffinch.'  
 Birk (the tree).  
 Dark, 'blind.'  
 Kirk, 'church.'  
 Stark.  
 Stirk, 'young bullock.'  
 Wark, 'to throb.'  
 Wilk, 'to bark.'

*N.E. Lancs., Peacock, 1889.*

Bank, 'to heap up.'  
 Bink, 'workman's bench.'  
 Bunk, 'run away.'  
 Blink, 'to wink, or wince.'  
 Chunk, 'a lump.'  
 Drink, sb.  
 Dunk } breed of pig.  
 Dunk }

Hank, 'skein.'  
 Hank, 'to clear the throat.'  
 Hunk, 'a chunk.'  
 Kink, 'a hoist, or hitch.'  
 Pink, 'chaffinch.'  
 Rank, 'strong.'  
 Sink, 'a drain.'  
 Sprink  
 (and Sprint) } 'to sprinkle.'  
 Belk { vb., 'to belch.'  
 { sb., 'force, violence.'  
 Bulk, 'a beam.'  
 Kelk  
 (and Kelch) } 'a blow.'  
 Milk-beast, 'cow.'  
 Ark.  
 Birk (the tree).  
 Dark, 'a secret'; adj., 'wicked.'  
 Furk, 'a fork.'  
 Kerk, 'a cork.'  
 Kirk, perhaps obsolete here (in Wap-  
 entakes of Manby and Corsingham),  
 but still current in N.E. Lancs.  
 Stark, 'stiff.'  
 Stirk, 'young bullock.'  
 Wark, sb. and vb.

*S.W. Lincs., Cole, 1886.*

Brink, 'brim.'  
 Clinker, 'clincher.'  
 Dunk } 'short, thick-set.'  
 Dunky }  
 Pink, 'chaffinch.'  
 Birk, 'birch-tree.'  
 Perk, 'perch.'  
 Stark.  
 Pulk, 'a coward.'

*Shropsh., Jackson, 1879.*

Chink-chink, 'chaffinch.'  
 Clinker, 'cinder of iron dross.'  
 Crink, 'very small apple.'  
 Drink, sb., 'ale.'  
 Spink, 'chaffinch.'  
 Slink, 'to draw back, as a horse about  
 to bite.'  
 (Sal. Ant. Hartshorne, 1841, has Skelk,  
 'to shrink,' applied to coffin-wood.  
 Clinker = clincher, large nails which  
 turn up over toe of boot.)

*Staffs., Poole, 1880.*

Stirk, 'young calf.'

*Leicestersh., Evans, 1881.*

Brink, 'brim.'  
 Kink, 'to twist awry.'  
 Swank, 'to swagger.'  
 Firk, 'stir up.'  
 Perk, 'to bridle up.'  
 Stirk, 'cow-calf.'  
 Bilk.  
 Swelking, 'sultry, hot.' (Swelter, 'to get over hot.')

Swilker	{	noise of liquid inside a
Squilker	}	barrel or boots, etc.'

*Rutland, Wordsworth, 1891.*

Strinkling, 'a sprinkling.'  
 Firk, 'commotion, fuss.'  
 Work, 'to manage, go on.'

*E. Angl., Rye, 1895.*

Blunk, 'tempestuous.'  
 Brank, 'buckwheat.'  
 Clinkers { 'bricks used for paving  
                   } 'stables.'  
 Crinkle, 'to rumple.'  
 F'unk, 'touchwood.'  
 Kink, 'to be entangled' (of thread).  
 Link-pin, 'linch-pin.'  
 Scrinkled, 'shrivelled.'  
 Skink, 'to serve to drink.'  
 Slink, (of a cow) 'to slip her calf.'  
 Dilk, 'a small cavity in a surface.'  
 Kelks, 'the testes.'  
 Work, 'to ache.'

*Herefordsh., Havergal, 1887.*

Lonck, 'the groin.'  
 Pink, 'chaffinch.'  
 Srink, 'to shrink.'  
 Chark, 'coal burnt on top of kilns.'  
 Charky, 'dry in mouth.'  
 Peerk, 'perch of land.'

*Warwics., Northall., 1896.*

Bunk, 'to bolt off.'  
 Dink.  
 Pink, 'chaffinch.'  
 Ronk, 'rank, strong.'  
 Tank, 'to strike, knock.'  
 Nirker, 'something difficult to overcome.'  
 Balks, 'ridge of land between two fields.'  
 Bilk, 'to cheat.'

*Northamptonsh., Baker, 1854.*

Bink, 'a bench.'  
 Chin-cough.  
 and Chink-cough.  
 Hunk of bread and cheese.

*Glos., Robertson, 1890.*

Blink, 'spark of fire.'  
 Chin-cough.  
 Crank, 'dead branch of tree.'  
 Crinks } 'refuse apples.'  
 Crinkets }  
 Chink, 'chaffinch.'  
 Dink, 'to dandle a baby.'  
 Drink.  
 Pink, 'chaffinch.'  
 Sink, 'sunken gutter.'  
 Slenks, 'to slink.'  
 Thunk, 'thorny' (obs.).  
 Twink, 'chaffinch.'  
 Charky, 'very dry.'  
 Churk, 'cow's udder.'  
 Starky, 'shrivelled up.'  
 Gulkin, 'a hollow hole with water.'  
 Yolk up, 'to cough up.'

*Berks., Lowsley, 1888.*

Blink, 'spark of fire.'  
 Sterk, 'stiff.'  
 Virkin, 'scratching of a dog for fleas'

*W. Somers., Elworthy, 1886.*

Banker, 'bench for dressing stones.'  
 Drink, sb. and vb.  
 Hank, 'skein.'  
 Hunk, 'hunch.'  
 Kink, 'twist in a rope.'  
 Prink, 'deck out.'  
 Sprank and sprinkle.  
 Stink.  
 Wink, well from which water is drawn  
       by a winch, chain, and bucket.  
 Berk, 'bark of dog.'  
 Hark, vb.  
 'Wuurk,' sb. and vb.  
 Quirk, 'to die.'  
 Balk, 'beam.'  
 Belk = Buulk, 'to belch.'  
 Hulk, 'grain mixed with chaff.'  
 Milk.  
 Yelk of egg.

*Devonsh., Hewett, 1892.*

Flink, 'to sprinkle.'  
 Twink, 'to chastise.'

*Dorset, Barnes, 1886.*

Wink, 'a winch or crank.'

*Wilts., Dartnell and Goddard.*

Blink, 'spark, ray.'  
 Crink, 'crevice.'  
 Flunk, 'spark of fire.'  
 Hank, 'dealings with,' S.W.  
 Quanked } 'overpowered with fatigue'  
           } = 'quenched' ?  
 Rank }  
 Bonk } 'audacious.'  
 Barken, 'enclosed yard near farm-house.'  
 Flirk, 'to flick.'  
 Firk, 'to worry.'  
 Fork.  
 Nurk, 'worst pig of litter.'  
 Hurkle, 'form of hurdle.'  
 Quirk, 'to complain.'  
 Starky, 'stiff, dry.'  
 Stark, 'to dry up,' N.W.  
 Baulk, 'bare space missed by sower.'  
 Milkmaids.

*Kent, Parish and Shaw, 1887.*

Clinkers, 'hard cinders from forge.'  
 Chunk.  
 Hink, 'hook used in cutting peas.'  
 Kink in a rope.  
 Kinkle, 'wild mustard.'  
 Twink, 'a sharp, shrewish woman.'  
 Perk, 'to fidget about.'  
 Snirk, 'to dry, wither.'  
 Kilk, 'wild mustard.'  
 Swelked, 'overcome by excessive heat.'  
 Whilk, 'to complain, mutter.'

*E. Cornwall, Couch, 1880.*

Belk, 'to belch.'  
 Wilk }  
 Wulk } 'a ridgy lump or tumour.'  
 Wilt }  
 Wilky, 'toad or frog.'

Quilkins and toads: Budget of C. Poems, 25.

Wilky, 'young toad or frog': Couch, E. Corn., Journ. of Roy. Inst. of Corn., 1864.

*W. Corn., Courtney, 1880.*

Blink, 'a spark.'  
 Crunk, 'croak like a raven.'  
 Flink, 'to fling.'  
 Hunk }  
 (and Hunch) } 'large piece.'  
 Belk, 'belch' (also in Garland, W. Corn., Journal of Roy. Inst. of Corn., 1864).  
 Bulk, 'toss with the horns.'  
 Whelk }  
 Whilk } 'stye in the eye.'  
 Quilkin, 'young toad or frog,' *ibid.*

*Hants., Cope, 1883.*

Chink, 'chaffinch.'  
 Conk, 'to croak.'  
 Whilk = Wilk, 'howl like a dog.'

*I. of W., Smith, 1881.*

Carky, 'amazed.'  
 Querck, 'a sigh, to fret.'

*Long, 1886.*

Clink, 'a smart blow.'  
 Kink, 'in a rope,' etc.

*Sussex, Parish, 1879.*

Clinkers, 'small bricks burnt very hard for paving.'  
 Drink, 'medicine for cattle.'  
 Kink in a rope.  
 Link, 'green, wooded bank on side of a hill.'  
 Kilk, 'charlock.'  
 Whilk, 'to howl, to mutter.'



## III.

Non-initial *ch* in the Modern Dialects.*Northumb., Heslop, 1893-94.*

Bleach, 'act of rain falling in a strong wind.'  
 Bleach, 'a black shale found near a coal-seam.'  
 Bloacher, 'any large animal.'  
 Britchin, 'part of harness.'  
 Clatch, 'mess, slops.'  
 Cletch  
 (and Cleck) } 'brood of young birds.'  
 Clotch, 'awkward person.'  
 Craitch  
 (and Crake) } 'to complain.'  
 Fetch, vb., Fitch, 'to shift.'  
 Hatch, 'a gate.'  
 Hitch, vb.  
 Hotch, 'to shake with laughter.'  
 Keach, 'to heave up.'  
 Kitchen.  
 Letch, 'long narrow swamp with water among rushes, etc.'  
 Nicher  
 (and Nicker) } 'to neigh,' sb. and vb.  
 Platchy-footed, 'flat-footed.'  
 Ratch  
 (and Rack) } 'reach of water.'  
 Roach, 'to make uneven.'  
 Sloach, 'to drink in a greedy way.'  
 Spatchel }  
 Spetchel } 'turf used in bedding stone.'  
 Stech, 'to fill to repletion.'  
 Stitch, 'an acute pain.'  
 Swatch, 'a sample.'  
 Switch, 'to go quickly.'  
 Twitch, for horse's nose.

*Cumberland, Dickinson, 1859.*

Batch.  
 Botch.  
 Fitch, 'vetch.'  
 Flaith, 'flatter.'  
 Fratch, 'noisy quarrel.'  
 Mitch, 'much.'  
 Slicht, 'fine mud on shores of an estuary.'  
 Slotch, 'walk heavily.'  
 Stritch, 'to strut.'  
 Switcher, 'any fast-going thing.'  
 Skaitch, 'to beat, thrash.'

*Durham, Palgrave, 1896.*

Fetch up, 'bring up, rear.'  
 Cletching, 'a brood of chickens.'

*Swaledale (N. Yorks.), Harland, 1873.*

Cletch, 'brood of chickens.'  
 (H)itch, 'to hop on one leg.'  
 Mich, 'much.'

*Whitby (N.E. Yorks.), Robinson, 1876.*

Airmstritch, 'arm-stretch.'  
 Batch.  
 Clitch and Click, 'a brood.' (Clitch is also in Ray's *N. Country Words*, 1691.)  
 to Fetch the breath.  
 Hetch, 'a hatch.'  
 Mitch, 'much.'  
 Smatch, 'flavour.'  
 Smitches, 'small stains.'  
 Snitch, 'a noose or loop' (but Snickle, 'to snare birds,' etc., in same dialect).  
 Twichbell, 'earwig.'

*Windhill (N. Central Yorks.), Wright, 1892.*

The transcription is Prof. Wright's.

Bits, 'bitch.'  
 Bleits, 'bleach.'  
 Breits, 'breach.'  
 Brits-oz, 'breeches.'  
 Brits, 'breach.'  
 Ets, 'hatch.'  
 Fots, 'fetch.'  
 Leits, 'leach.'  
 Notš.  
 Retš, 'wretch.'  
 Sitš, 'such.'  
 Speitš, 'speech.'  
 Stitš, 'stitch.'  
 Stretš.  
 Witš, 'which.'  
 Wotš, 'to watch.'

*Mid. Yorks., Robinson, 1876.*

Batch, 'a set, company.'  
 Clutch, 'brood of chickens.'  
 Fetch, said of breathing with a painful effort.  
 Meech, 'to loiter about.'  
 Mistetch, 'to misteach.'  
 Smatch, 'a flavour' (often called smat).  
 Twitchbell, 'earwig.'

*Huddersfield (W. Yorks.), Easther, 1881.*

Blotch  
 Fotch or } 'fetch.'  
 Fot }  
 Hotch } 'whitch.'  
 Hutch }  
 Mich, 'much'  
 Witch (applied to both sexes).

*Sheffield (S. W. Yorks.), Addy, 1888-90.*

Dyche Lane (street in Norton).  
 Fetch, 'to give.'  
 Fitches, 'vetches.'  
 Mich, 'much.'  
 Pitch and toss.  
 Reech, 'to be sick.'  
 Reechy } 'smoky.'  
 (and Reeky) }  
 Sitch } 'a ditch,' especially in  
 (and Sick) } place-names.  
 Sich, 'such.'  
 Smatch, 'taste, flavour.'  
 Smitch, 'to reveal a secret' (cf. 'to sneak'?).  
 Snatch } 'a bit of food.'  
 (and Snack) }  
 Spetches, 'odds and ends of leather.'  
 Twitchel, 'a stout stick.'  
 Twitch, 'to pinch, bind tightly.'  
 Witchin } 'mountain ash.' (Cf.  
 (and Wiggen) } Wicken in other  
 dialects.)

*Lancs., Nodal and Milner, 1875.*

Hatchhorn }  
 Hatchorn } 'acorn.'  
 (and Akran) }  
 Batch-cake.  
 Britchell, 'brittle.'  
 Clatch } 'brood of chickens.'  
 Clutch }  
 Creechy, 'sickly, ailing.'  
 Crutch, 'to crowd.'  
 Doych-back, 'rampart above a ditch,'  
 1750, obs.

Fratch, 'quarrelsome,' and vb.  
 Mychin, 'out of humour.'  
 Gobolotch, 'a glutton.'  
 Lutch, 'to pulsate.'  
 Hutch, 'to hoard, to sit close' (Fylde).  
 Lotchin, 'limping.'  
 Latch, 'a take, catch.'  
 Leech, 'pond in hollow of a road.'  
 Pitch-and-toss.  
 Pytch, 'hire of bees.'  
 Ratch, 'space in loom betwixt yarn-beams and healds.'  
 Ratch, 'to stretch'  
 Reech, 'smoke, reek' (sb. and vb.?).  
 Seech, 'to seek.'  
 Sich-like.  
 Slutch, 'mud.'  
 Slotch, 'drunkard, disgusting fellow.'  
 Smouch, 'a kiss.'  
 Oytch, 'each.'  
 Thrutch, 'to push, press.'  
 Twitchel, 'implement for holding a restive horse.'

*S. Chesh., Darlington, 1887.*

Aitch, 'sudden access of pain, ache.'  
 Achernin, 'acorn.'  
 Atchern, 'gathering acorns.'  
 Betch.  
 Bitch.  
 Bleaching, 'hot, very hot.'  
 Blatch, 'black mess in wheels.'  
 Blotch, 'blot.'  
 Breech.  
 Britcha, 'brittle.'  
 Fatch, 'to fetch.'  
 (H)atch, 'garden gate.'  
 Natch, 'cog on a wheel.'  
 Pitch, 'tar.'  
 Reechy, 'smoky.'  
 Retch, 'to stretch.'  
 Sleach, 'to scoop out liquids.'  
 Slutch, 'slush.'  
 Smetch, 'to give a bad flavour to.'  
 Smouch, 'to kiss.'  
 Snaitch, 'sharp,' of heat or cold.  
 Squitch, 'couch-grass.'  
 Thatch.  
 Twitch for holding horses.  
 Witch, vb., 'bewitch.'

*Derbysh., Pegge—Skeat, 1896.*

Bricha, 'brittle.'  
 Cratch, sort of rough shed; now used for a rack in a stable.  
 Hitch, 'move a little.'

Itch } 'move, stir.'  
 Utch }  
 Pitch, 'a small box to keep salt in.'  
 Pleaching, 'a hedge.'  
 Ratchel, 'poor land with a quantity of  
 small stones.'  
 Sloutch.  
 Teach.  
 Thrutch, 'to thrust.'  
 Twitch-grass.  
 Witch } 1. 'a small candle.'  
 } 2. 'to make weight.'

*N.E. Lincs., Peacock, 1889.*

Blotch, sb. and vb., 'blot.'  
 Breechband, the 'brichin.'  
 Ditch-water.  
 Clutch, 'a handful.'  
 Crutch.  
 Fetch, 'to give.'  
 Fratch, 'petty theft.'  
 Hitch, 'to move.'  
 Itching.  
 Loitch, 'cunning, clever' (of dogs).  
 Mich, 'much.'  
 Ratch, 'to stretch, exaggerate.'  
 Reach, 'to vomit, to help to.'  
 Sich, 'such.'  
 Switch, 'a twig.'  
 Twitch, 'stick for holding horses.'

*S.W. Lincs., Cole, 1886.*

Breach, 'misbehaviour.'  
 Clech, 'brood of chickens.'  
 Much, 'to grudge.'  
 Ratch, 'to stretch.'  
 Retch, 'to reach.'  
 Speech, 'to speak.'  
 Spretech, of eggs, 'to crack before  
 hatching.'  
 Twitch, 'couch-grass.'

*Shropsh., Jackson, 1879.*

Achern.  
 Acherning.  
 Aitch, 'fit of suffering.'  
 Batch.  
 Blech } 'black grease in wheels.'  
 Blutch }  
 Britchy, 'brittle.'  
 Cleach, 'to clutch.'  
 Diehe (daitch), 'ditch.'  
 Fatch, 'to fetch.'  
 Flitchen, 'flitch of bacon.'  
 Keech, 'cake of hard fat, wax,' etc.  
 Pitcher, 'man who pitches hay.'

Pitching pikel.  
 Pritch, 'staff with iron point.'  
 Reechy, 'dirty and smoky.'  
 Sitch, 'swamp, boggy place.'  
 Sneach (obs.), 'to scorch, nip.'  
 Squitch, 'couch-grass.'  
 Stiche, 'to set up sheaves,' etc.  
 Thetch, sb. and vb., 'thatch.'  
 Thetcher.  
 Thetching-peg.  
 Thrutch (and Thrush), 'to thrust.'  
 Schrich, 'to scream.' Sal. Ant.  
 Hartshorne, 1841.

*Staffs., Poole, 1880.*

Athorn, 'acorn.'  
 Blech, 'grease of cart-wheels.'  
 Thratcheled, 'draggled.'

*Leices., Evans, 1881.*

Batch-cake.  
 Ditch, 'dirt grained into the hands.'  
 Dratchell, dim. of 'drudge.'  
 Fetchel, 'to tease.'  
 Fitch, 'vetch.'  
 Keach, 'choice or pick of anything.'  
 Much.  
 Pitchfork.  
 Pleach, 'a hedge.'  
 Sich, 'such.'  
 Smatch, 'a taste,' etc.  
 Smouch, 'kiss grossly.'  
 Smutch = smudge, 'mud.'  
 Snatch, 'hasty meal.'  
 Swish, 'switch.'  
 Twitch, 'couch-grass.'  
 Queechy, 'sickly, ailing.'

*Rutland, Wordsworth, 1891.*

Pitch, 'to load hay with a fork.'  
 Squitch, 'couch-grass.'

*E. Angl., Rye, 1895.*

Bitch.  
 Bleach, 'a drying-ground.'  
 Clutch, 'brood of chickens.'  
 Eachon, 'each one.'  
 Fleaches, 'sawn portions of timber.'  
 Hitch, 'to change place.'  
 Hitchel }  
 (and Hickel) } 'a hemp-dresser's comb.'  
 Hitchler }  
 (and Hickler) } 'a hemp-dresser.'  
 Hatch (gate) (and Hack).

Pritch } 'a sharp pointed iron  
(and Prick) } instrument.'  
Queach, 'plot of ground adjoining  
arable land.'  
Nall's Gloss., 1866, has this word = an  
untilled plot full of quicks. See also  
Moor's Suff. Gloss. below.

*Herefordsh., Havergal, 1887.*

Clutch, 'a brood of chickens.'  
Fatch, 'thatch.'  
Scoutch }  
Coutch } 'couch-grass.'  
Scutch }

*Upton-on-Severn (Worcs.), Lawson,  
1884.*

Glutch, 'to swell with effort.'  
Cow-leech, 'a vat.'  
Meeching, 'melancholy.'  
Prichell, 'to goad, prick.'  
Scutch, 'couch-grass.'

*W. Worcs., Chamberlain, 1882.*

Pole-pitching, 'setting up poles in  
rows in hop-yard.'  
Squitch, 'couch-grass.'

*S.E. Worcs., Salesbury, 1893.*

Fatches, 'vetches.'  
Fitcher, 'polecat.'  
Fritch, 'conceited.'  
Mouch, 'play about.'  
Hotchel (and Hockle), 'to shuffle  
along.'  
Pitcher, 'one who throws up corn, etc.,  
to the loader.'  
Pitchfull, sb., 'the quantity of hay,  
etc., that can be taken up with a  
pitchfork.'  
Putchen, 'eel-trap.'  
Sich, 'such.'  
Stretch.  
Screech-owl, 'the swift.'

*Warwesh., Northall., 1896.*

Batch-cake.  
Ditched, 'begrimed with dirt.'  
Dratchell }  
Drotchell } 'a slattern.'  
Fatch, 'to fetch.'  
Itching-berries, 'dog-rose berries.'

Mooch, 'to loiter about,' etc.  
Much.  
Potch, 'to thrust, push.'  
Reechy, 'smoky.'  
Retch, 'to stretch.'  
Sich, 'such.'  
Smatch, 'smack, flavour.'  
Swatchell, 'fat, untidy female.'  
Twitchel, 'for holding a horse.'  
Wratch, 'wretch.'

*Northamptonsh., Baker, 1854.*

Etch }  
Eche } 'to add to.'  
(and Eke) }  
Fleech, 'to wheedle, flatter.'  
Hatchel, 'to rake hay into rows.'  
Pritchel.  
Queach, 'ground overgrown with  
bushes,' etc.  
Squeech, 'wet, boggy place.'  
Twitch-grass.

*Beds., Batchelor, 1809.*

Eetch, 'eke' (Batchelor writes 'iyty').  
Hitchuk, 'hiiccough' ('hityuk').

*Suff., Moor, 1823.*

Clutch, 'covey of partridges.'  
? Drouched, 'drenched.'  
Fleeches, 'portions into which a piece  
of timber is cut with a saw.' (Cf.  
Fleak in other dials.?)  
Grutch, 'to grudge.'  
Tweetch or }  
Twitch } 'squeech or spear-grass.'  
Queech } 'an untilled, rough, bushy  
and } corner, or irregular portion  
Squeech } of a field.'  
(Nares refers to Bacon, Essay 40, ubi  
queaching.)

Moor (under Perk) has a collection  
of words showing interchange of -k,  
-ch, but he does not say in which  
dialects the forms occur. Among  
others he has quick = queech. This  
latter form is unknown to me except  
in this dialect (see above) and  
Northamptonshire, where it has  
another meaning apparently, and in  
Bacon's Essay, 39 (Of Custom and  
Education), not 40 as Moor says.  
(Nares is quite accurate as to Bacon.  
He quotes also Todd's Johnson.)  
Here the word means, apparently,



'squeaking.' "The lads of Sparta of ancient time were wont to be scourged upon the altar of Diana without so much a queeching." Johnson, 1st folio, 1755, quotes this passage, but writes 'quecking.'—H. C. W.

*Glos., Robertson, 1890.*

Aichee } 'a hedge-sparrow.'  
(and Akee) }  
Beech.  
Blatch, 'soot, dirt'; vb., 'to cover with black.'  
Blatchy, 'black, dirty.'  
Batcher, 'salmon trout.'  
Briched, 'rich.'  
Bleacher, 'layers of a hedge.'  
Cooch grass.  
Crutch } 'tool used in thatching.'  
Crutch }  
Fatch, 'Vicia sativa.'  
to Fetch (p.p. fot).  
Glutch, 'to swallow with difficulty.'  
(Vale of Glos.; Gluck in S. Glos.)  
Keech, 'fat congealed after melting.'  
Leech, 'cow doctor.'  
Miehe } 'play truant.'  
Mooch }  
Nitch, 'burden of hay.'  
Pitcher.  
Pitch, 'quantity taken at a time on a pitchfork.'  
Pleach, 'to lay a hedge.'  
Pritch, 'to prick.'  
Pritchel, 'a goad.'  
Putchin, 'eel-basket.'  
Rooch, pret. of 'to reach.'  
Sereech, 'the swift.'  
Snatch, 'a nasty flavour.'  
Squitch, 'squash.'  
Stitch.  
Stretch, 'missel thrush.'  
Swich, 'such.'  
Tach, 'bad flavour.'  
Twitch, 'to touch.'  
Vatch, 'thatch.'  
Vetch.  
Vlitchen, 'flitch of bacon.'  
Witchify, vb.  
Wretch, 'to stretch.'

*Oxf., Parker, 1876-81.*

Begrutch, 'give unwillingly.'  
Cutch, 'couch-grass' (at Garnton).  
Fet, 'to fetch.'  
Roacht, 'reached.'  
Slouch, 'a sun-bonnet.'

Smatch, 'a flavour.'  
Squitch-fire, 'made of couch-grass.'  
Thetch, 'thatch.'

*Berks., Lowsley, 1888.*

Couch-grass.  
Glutch, 'to swallow with effort.'  
Hatch, 'gate.'  
Hootcher, 'kind of crook, used to pull down branches when gathering fruit.'  
Snatch and } 'a small piece.'  
Snack }

*W. Somers., Elworthy, 1886.*

Batch of bread.  
Beechen, 'made of beech.'  
Bitch-fox.  
Breach, 'land prepared for a seed-bed.'  
Breeching = 'Buurcheen,' 'britchin.'  
Couch = Kéoch.  
Datches, 'vetches.'  
Datch, 'thatch.'  
Fuch, 'polecat.'  
Fretchety, 'fidgety.'  
Hawchy, 'make a noise in eating.'  
Hitch, 'strike against an obstacle.'  
Hutch, 'trap for fish.'  
Hatch, 'a half-door.'  
Keech, 'fat from intestines of slaughtered animals.'  
Kitch, 'to congeal.'  
Kitchen.  
Match it, 'contrive.'  
Meecher, 'a sneak.'  
Much, adj.  
Pitch, 'rod of alder, etc., planted to take root.'  
Queechy, 'sickly.'  
Quitche, 'to twitch.'  
Quitche-grass.  
Ratchy, 'stretch on waking.'  
Scratch.  
Sereech.  
Sich, 'such.'  
Smeech, 'smoke, dust, smell.'  
Smoacky, 'snore, speak through nose.'  
Stitch, 'a shock or sloak of corn.'  
Stretch, 'to cover something.'  
Tatch, 'habit, gait.'  
Tlitch, 'to clutch.'  
to Twitch, 'seize with sudden pain.'  
Urch, 'rich.'  
Vatches, 'vetches.'  
Wichy, 'which.'  
Witch-tree, 'witch-elm.'

*Wexford, Poole—Barnes, 1867.*

'Cham, 'I am.'  
'Cha, 'I have' (etc.).  
Ich, 'I.'

This is a most uncritical compilation, and contains obsolete words without any note to that effect.

*Wilts., Dartnell and Goddard.*

Blatch, etc. } adj., 'black, sooty'; sb.,  
                  } 'smut, soot'; vb., 'to  
                  } blacken,' N.W.

Bleachy, 'brackish,' Somers. border.

Cooch, 'couch-grass.'

Clitch, 'grain.'

Eel-stitcher.

Jitch, 'such,' N.W.

Moutch, vb., 'shuffle.'

Moucher, 'truant.'

Much.

Nitch, 'block of wood.'

Ichila-pea, 'missel thrush' (only heard  
from one person)?

Hitchland } 'land tilled every year.'  
(Horkland)

Hatch, 'a half-door, line of raked hay.'

Screech, vb.

Smeech, 'dust,' N.W.

Splouch, 'to splutter,' S.W.

Stutch, 'crutch, a stilt' (obs.).

Thatches } 'vetches,' N.W.  
Tetches }

Witch-hazel.

Stritch

(and Strickle) } 'a corn-striker.'

*Surrey, Leveson-Gower, 1896.*

Hatch, 'to dress bark for the tanner.'

Stoach, 'to trample into holes.'

*Kent, Parish and Shaw, 1887.*

Cooch-grass.

Eche, sb. and vb., 'to eke, an addition.'

Foldpitcher, implement for making  
holes in ground.

Hatch, 'a gate in the road.'

Hotch, 'to move awkwardly.'

Hutch, 'upper part of waggon.'

Itch, 'to creep, be anxious.'

Letch, vessel used for holding ashes  
in making lye.

Meach, 'creep softly about.'

Much, 'to fondle.'

Mooch, 'to dandle.'

Notch, 'to count.'

Prichel, implement for making holes  
in ground.

Putch, 'puddle of water.'

Reach, 'a creek.'

Scutchel, 'rubbish.'

Strooch, 'to drag the feet in walking.'

Swatch, 'a wand.'

*W. Corn., Courtney, 1880.*

Breachy water, 'brackish water.'

Smeech } 'smell of smoke from any-

Smitch } thing burnt in frying.'

Squitch, 'to twitch, jerk.'

Veach } 'whitlow.'

(and Veak)

(Scrootch, 'a crutch.' Garland, W.

Corn., Journ. of Roy. Inst. of Corn.,  
1864.)

'Chell.

'Cham (Melles MS.), Monthly Mag.,  
January, 1809.

*E. Cornw., Couch, 1880.*

Datch, 'thatch.'

Miche, 'to play truant.'

*Devon, Hewatt, 1892.*

Fitch, 'a stoat.'

Kootch, 'couch-grass.'

Kitches, 'roll of offal fat.'

Leechway, 'graveyard path.'

to Pritch = purch, 'to prick holes in'  
(Exmoor, Scolding, 1778).

Smeech, 'smoke and dust.'

ich, 'I,' in chare } 'I have,' etc.  
chell }  
cham } (Exm.)

*Dorset, Barnes, 1886.*

Blatch, 'soot, black stuff.'

Cooch-grass.

Keech, 'to cut grass, etc., below water.'

Ratch, 'to stretch.'

Slatch, 'to slake, of lime and water.'

Smatch, 'smack, taste.'

Smeech, 'cloud of dust.'

Streech, 'space taken in stone-striking  
of the rake.'

*Hants., Cope, 1883.*

Beech mast.

Blatch, 'black, sooty.'

(Black also exists, in compounds.)

Black-bob, 'cock-roach.'  
 Breachy, 'brackish.'  
 Fotch, 'to fetch.'  
 Glutch } 1. 'to stifle a sob.'  
           } 2. 'to swallow.'  
 Hatch, 'half-door, gate.'  
 Hatch-hook, 'a bill-hook.'  
 Mitch, 'shirk work.'  
 Screech, 'bull-thrush' (not in N.  
   Hants.).  
 Smatch, 'bad taste, smack.'

*I. of W., Smith, 1881.*

Clutch, 'to cluck.'  
 Hetch, 'hook.'  
 Pitchun-prog.  
 Screech-owl, 'swift.'  
 ? *Reaches*, 'ridges of a field' ?  
 Stretch, 'a strike for corn.'  
 Thetch.  
 Zich, 'such.'

*I. of W., Long, 1886.*

Pritchel, 'a small hedge stake.'  
 Sletch, 'to slake lime.'  
 Glutch, 'to swallow.'

*Sussex, Parish, 1879.*

a Beach.  
 Batch.  
 Brachy, 'brackish.'  
 Clitch, 'a cluster.'  
 Clutch, adv., 'tightly' ('hold it,  
   clutch').  
 Clutch, 'a brood of chickens.'  
 Cooch-grass.  
 Fitches, 'vetches.'  
 Hhatch, 'a gate' (in place-names, Plaw-  
   hatch, etc.).  
 Haitch, 'a passing shower.'  
 Pitcher, 'man who throws corn up on  
   to a cart.'  
 Smeech } 'dirty, black smoke or  
 Smutch } vapour.'  
 Ratch, 'to reach.'

#### IV.

#### Non-initial *nch, lch, rch*.

*Northumb., Heslop, 1893-4.*

Dench } 'squeamish, dainty (rare).'  
 (or Denk) }  
 Donch, 'fastidious.'  
 Danch, 'to knock against.'  
 Flinch, 'a pinch.'  
 Munch.  
 Pinch, 'iron crowbar.'  
 Scunch, 'aperture in a wall for window-  
   frame.'  
 Winch, 'to start or wince.'  
 Belch.  
 Stitching, 'narrow-minded, mean.'  
 Wairch } 'insipid.'  
 Wairsh }

*Cumberland, Dickinson, 1859.*

Bunch.  
 Binsh, 'bench.'  
 Clunch, 'stupid person.'  
 Dunch, 'butt with the elbow.'  
 Runch, 'a hardy, thick-set person.'

*Durham, Palgrave, 1896.*

Skinch = 'I'm not playing,' said in  
 games.

*Whitby (N. E. Yorks.), Robinson, 1876.*

Squench, 'to quench.'

*Windhill (N. Central Yorks.), Wright,  
 1881.*

The transcription is Prof. Wright's.

Drenš, 'drench.'

*Mid. Yorks., Robinson, 1876.*

Clinch, 'to clutch.'  
 Densch, 'fastidious.'  
 (H)anch, 'to snatch.'

*Huddersfield (W. Yorks.), Easter, 1881.*

Melsh, 'moist.'  
Churchmaster, 'churchwarden.'

*Sheffield (S. W. Yorks.), Addy, 1888-90.*

Lurch, 'to lurk, lie in wait.'  
Warsch } sb., 'pain.'  
Worch }  
Melch-cow.  
Squench, 'quench.'

*Lancs., Nodal and Milner, 1875.*

Clunch, 'a clodhopper.'  
Cranch, 'to grind with the teeth.'  
Hanch, 'to snap at.'  
Kench, 'to sprain.'  
Golch, 'to swallow ravenously.'  
Halch, 'a noose.'  
Kelch (Ormskirk), 'a sprain.'  
Melch, 'moist, warm.'  
Solch } 'noise made by treading in  
Solsh } damp ground.'  
Lurcher, sb.  
Perch, 'pole.'  
Snurch, 'to snort, snigger in a  
smothered way.'  
Warch, 'to ache.'  
Tooth-warche.  
Worch, 'to work.'

*S. Chesh., Darlington, 1887.*

Clench.  
Cluncheon, 'a cudgel.'  
Kench, 'a kink.'  
Scrinch, 'small pieces or quantity.'  
Wench, 'girl.'  
by Hulsh or by Stulch, 'by hook or by  
crook.'  
Easy-melched, of a cow that yields  
milk easily.  
Swelch, 'a heavy fall.'  
Lurch, 'to lurk.'  
Warcher, 'term of contempt for an  
insignificant person.'  
Warch, 'an ache or pain.'

*Derbysh., Pegge—Skeat, 1896.*

Spelch, 'to bruise beans in a mill' (obs).  
Melch, 'soft, of weather.'

*N. E. Lincs., Peacock, 1889.*

Binch, 'a bench.'  
Blench, 'to change colour.'

Bunch, 'bundle, also to kick savagely.'  
Cranch, 'crunch.'  
Drench-horn, 'drink-horn.'  
Lansh, 'to lance, cut into.'  
Linch, 'balk in a field' (obs).  
Lunch } 'large slice of bread.'  
Luncheon }  
Rench, 'to rince.'  
Skinch, 'to stint.'  
Wench, 'a winch, a girl.'  
Belch, 'obscene talk.'  
Kelch } 'a blow.'  
(and Kelk) }  
Squelch, 'to crush.'  
Stairch, 'starch.'

*S. W. Lincs., Cole, 1886.*

Binch, 'bench.'  
Skinch, 'to stint.'  
Kelch, 'a thump.'  
Melch, 'soft, warm.'

*Shropsh., Jackson, 1879.*

Drench, 'a draught for cattle.'  
Dunched, 'knocked, bruised.'  
Red-finch, 'chaffinch.'  
Kench, 'a twist, sprain.'  
Wench, 'girl.'  
Melch, 'soft.'  
Melch-cow.  
Stelch, 'stealth.'  
Warch, 'to throb.'  
Warching, adj.

*Staffs., Poole, 1880.*

Blench, 'to betray, impeach.'  
Kench, 'to sprain.'  
Munching, 'idling or loafing about.'

*Leices., Evans, 1881.*

Bunch, 'to make anything.'  
Bull-finch.  
Cling } 'clench.'  
(and Cling) }  
Balchin, 'unfledged bird.'  
Dunch, 'suet dumpling.'  
Hunch, 'lump of bread,' etc.  
Kench, 'to bank.'  
Nuncheon.  
Squench.

*Rutland, Wordsworth, 1891.*

Hunch, 'a lump.'  
Stench-pipes, 'ventilation shafts.'



Squench, 'to quench.'  
 Belching.  
 Spelch, 'to splinter.'  
 Chorch, 'church.'

*E. Anglia, Rye, 1895.*

Canch } 'a trench; a turn at a job;  
 } small quantity of corn put  
 } aside.'  
 Church.  
 Crinchlings } 'small apples.'  
 (and Cringelings) }  
 Kinch } 'that part of the haystack  
 Kench } which is being cut down.'  
 Skinch, 'to stint, pinch.'  
 Nall, *E. Angl. Dialect*, 1866, has  
 Stinch, 'to stink.'  
 Church.

*Norfolk, Havergal, 1887.*

Kinchin, 'a little child.'  
 Lunchy, 'stiff.'

*Upton-on-Severn (Worcs.), Lawson,  
 1884.*

Squench, 'quench.'  
 Melch-hearted, 'milk-hearted.'  
 Stilch } 'post to which cows are tied'  
 } ('variant stalk skat'). Also  
 Stilch } *W. Worcs., Chamberlain,  
 } 1882.*

*S.E. Worcs., Salesbury, 1893.*

Bunch.  
 Dunch, 'give a blow with elbow.'  
 Nunch } 'luncheon.'  
 Nunchin }  
 Squench.  
 Wench, 'girl.'  
 Bolchin, 'unfledged bird.'

*Warwesh., North., 1896.*

Blench, 'a glimpse.'  
 Drench (or Driuk), 'draught for  
 cattle.'  
 Drenching-horn.  
 Dunch, 'a blow.'  
 Kench, 'to twist or wrench' = kink.  
 Munch, 'to ill-treat.'  
 Sevinch, 'a little morsel.'  
 Baulch, 'to fall heavily.'  
 Spelch, 'a small splinter.' Cf. 'spelk,'  
 Northumb., Yorks., etc.

Stelch, 'layer or row of anything  
 above the other parts; as much as  
 a man can thatch without moving  
 his ladder.'

*Northamptonsh., Baker, 1854.*

Bench, a quarry term = 'a shelf of  
 rock.'  
 Cancch } 'division.'  
 Kench }  
 Hunch of bread and cheese.  
 Stelch, 'as much as a man can thatch  
 without moving ladder.'

*Suff., Moor, 1823.*

Crunch } 'to squeeze.'  
 Skrunsh }  
 Drench, 'drink for a sick horse.'  
 Kench, 'a turn (of work),' etc.  
 Squench, 'quench.'  
 Milch-cow.

*Glos., Robertson, 1890.*

Clinching-net.  
 Crinch, 'a small bit.'  
 a Crunch of bread and cheese.'  
 Dinchfork, 'a dung-fork.'  
 Drench, 'a bad cold.'  
 Drunch, 'drench.'  
 Dunch, 'a poke or thrust.'  
 Inch.  
 Kinch, 'fry of young fish.'  
 Linch, 'narrow steep bank usually  
 covered with grass.'  
 Vlinch, 'a finch,' H. of Berkley.  
 Gulch, 'to gulp down.'  
 Stelch, 'still,' H. of B.  
 Stilch, 'upright post for fastening  
 cows,' V. of Glos. (uncommon).  
 Stulch, 'series of helms for thatching'  
 (Cotswolds).  
 Starch, 'heron, stroud.'

*Oxf., Parker, 1876-81.*

Serinch, 'a very small piece.' Cf.  
 Crinks, e.g. in Glos., etc.  
 Scrunch, 'to bite quickly.'  
 Squinch, 'to quench.'

*Berks., Lowsey, 1888.*

Lynches, green banks, or divisions  
 between 'lands.'  
 Squench, 'quench.'

*W. Somers., Elworthy, 1886.*

Blanch, 'head back a deer from its course.'  
 Bunch, 'spot, mark.'  
 Dinsh, 'stupid.'  
 Drunch, 'a dose of medicine for horse, etc.'  
 Horch, 'gore with the horns.'  
 Linch, 'ledge in wall or bank.'  
 Nunch } 'food between meals.'  
 Nunchin }  
 Wench, 'girl.'  
 Serunch, 'to crush.'  
 Birchen, adj.  
 Vulch, 'shove, nudge.'

*Dorset, Barnes, 1886.*

Linch, 'ledge of ground on the side of a hill' (=link).

*Wilts., Dartnell and Goddard, 1893.*

Densher, 'to prepare down land for cultivation.'  
 Dunch, 'deaf' (rare now).  
 Hanch, 'to thrust with the horns' (of cow, etc.).  
 Hunch about, 'push or shove.'  
 Kintch, 'burden of wood, straw, or hay.'  
 Linch }  
 Linchet } 'a bank.'  
 Lanchet }  
 Linchard }

*Surrey, Leveson-Gower, 1896.*

Bunch, 'a swelling.'  
 Densher, 'to skim turf off, burn a field.'

*Kent, Parish and Shaw, 1887.*

Chinch, to 'point' buildings.  
 Dencher-pont, 'a pile of stubble, etc., for burning.'  
 Linch, 'little strip of boundary land.'  
 Scrunch.  
 Culch, 'rags, bits of thread,' etc.  
 Pilch, 'child's garment.'  
 Milch-hearted.  
 Sculch, 'rubbish, trash.'

*E. Corn., Couch, 1880.*

Blinsh, 'to catch a glimpse of.'

*Hants., Cope, 1883.*

Dunch, 'stupid.'  
 Scrunch, 'to bite in pieces.'

*I. of W., Smith, 1881.*

Squench, 'to quench.'

*Sussex, Parish, 1879.*

Bench, 'widow's portion.'  
 Bench, 'a swelling.'  
 Densher plough, instrument for turf-cutting.  
 Dunch, 'deaf, dull.'  
 Squench, 'to quench.'

## V.

### Non-initial -g.

*Northumb., Heslop, 1893-4.*

Blig, 'blackguard.'  
 Bog-stucker, 'goblin.'  
 Brig.  
 Bull-seg, 'imperfectly castrated ox.'  
 Cag-mag, 'bad food.'  
 Cheg } 'to chew, champ.'  
 Cheggle }  
 Cleg, 'gadfly.'  
 Clag, 'to stick, make adhere.'

Clog, 'log of wood.'  
 Duggar (barley-), 'kind of cake.'  
 Dag, 'to rain, drizzle.'  
 Drag.  
 Fag, 'loach' (fish).  
 Fleg, 'to be furnished with feathers.'  
 Flag, 'a turf for fuel.'  
 Fligged.  
 Flog, 'work with hammer and chisel.'  
 Fog, 'aftermath.'

Gleg, 'quick, smart.'  
 Hag-berry, 'fruit of bird-cherry.'  
 Heg.  
 Hag, 'division of timber to be cut down.'  
 Hag, 'the belly.'  
 Hag, 'to wane.'  
 Heg, 'to rue, repent.'  
 Hug, 'to carry with effort.'  
 Hog-reek, 'light, fleecy mist.'  
 Laggin, 'projecting staves at bottom of cask.'  
 Lig-abad, 'sluggard.'  
 Lig-ma last, 'loiterer.'  
 Lug, 'a lug-worm.'  
 Nag, 'a sour taste.'  
 Nag, 'to worry.'  
 Preg, 'to cheapen, in bargaining.'  
 Prog, 'to prick.'  
 Rag, vb.  
 Rig, 'ridge'; 173 place-names in -rig in Northumb.  
 Riggin, 'clothing.'  
 Riggin of a house.  
 Roggle, 'shake, jumble.'  
 Rug, 'tug, pull.'  
 Seg, 'sedge.'  
 Slag, 'thin bed of coal, mixed with lime, etc.'  
 Slairg, 'soft, wet.'  
 Slog, 'strike with great force.'  
 Slughorne }  
 and Slogan }  
 Smairg, 'to smear.'  
 Snag, 'to hew roughly.'  
 Spag } 'sparrow.'  
 Sprug }  
 Stag, 'young male animal.'  
 Steg, 'garden.'  
 Swiggy, 'a swing.'  
 Tig, 'sharp blow.'  
 Tug, 'to rot, destroy.'  
 Ug, 'feeling of nausea.'  
 Wag.  
 Whig, 'preparation of whey.'  
 Wig, 'a tea-cake.'

*Cumberland, Dickinson, 1859.*

Bag.  
 Bog.  
 Big, 'to build.'  
 Brag, 'twig or straw worn in hat.'  
 Brig, 'bridge.'  
 Cheg, 'to chew.'  
 Dag } 'to ooze, flow slowly.'  
 Deg }  
 Daggy, 'wet, musty weather.'  
 Eg on.

Fag-end.  
 Fog, 'aftermath.'  
 Gleg ?  
 Greg ?  
 Hog, 'weaned lamb.'  
 Laggan, 'end of stave outside cask.'  
 Lig, 'to lie.'  
 Liggy, 'loach' (fish).  
 Liggan upon, 'urgent, keen upon.'  
 Lug, 'ear.'  
 to Pig in.  
 Rig, 'ridge.'  
 Riggelt, 'animal with testicle in the loins.'  
 Rug, 'to pull rudely.'  
 Seg, 'a corn on hand or foot.'  
 Seag, 'sedge.'  
 Snig, 'to drag timber.'  
 Steg, 'gander.'  
 Swagt, 'bent downwards in centre.'  
 Clag, 'kind of fly.'  
 Clag, 'to stick to.'  
 Claggy, 'sticky.'

*Durham, Palgrave, 1896.*

Riggy, 'ridgery.'  
 Sag, 'to bend down in the middle.'  
 Waggon.

*Swaledale (N. Yrks.), Harland, 1873.*

Brig.  
 Clag, 'to cling.'  
 Claggy.  
 Lig, 'to lie down.'  
 Rig, 'ridge.'  
 Riggin-tree.  
 Steg, 'gander.'

*Whitby (N. E. Yrks.), Robinson, 1876.*

Brig.  
 Brog, 'to bump,' as cattle do with the horns.'  
 Claggy, 'sticky, like pitch.'  
 Dag } 'to sprinkle.'  
 Deg }  
 Egg on.  
 Fleag'd, 'infested with fleas.'  
 Flig, 'to fly.'  
 Fligg'd, 'fledged.'  
 Lig, 'to lie, lay.'  
 Lug, 'ear.'  
 Mawg, 'a whim.'  
 Mig, 'liquid manure.'  
 Rig, 'ridge.'  
 Segge, 'sedges.'  
 Stog, 'a gander.'

*Windhill (N. Central Yorks.), Wright,*  
1892.

The transcription is that of Prof. Wright.

Brig.  
Deg, 'to sprinkle with water.'  
Dreag, 'drawl.'  
Dreg, 'drag.'  
Eg, 'egg on.'  
Eg, 'egg.'  
Eag, 'a hawk.'  
Flig, 'fledge.'  
Flog.  
Fog, 'aftergrass.'  
Frig, 'coire.'  
Ig, 'mood, temper.'  
Lig, 'lie down.'  
Mig, 'midge.'  
Neag, 'gnaw.'  
Prog, 'collect firewood.'  
Rig, 'back.'  
Rigin, 'ridge of a house.'  
Snig, 'take hastily.'  
Seag, 'a saw.'  
Seg, 'sedge.'  
Twig, sb.  
Ug, 'to carry.'  
Weg, 'wag.'

*Mid. Yorks., Robinson, 1876.*

Ag, 'to complain.'  
Brig.  
Brog, of cattle, 'to browse about.'  
Bullseg, 'castrated bull.'  
Clag, 'to adhere.'  
Dag, 'to sprinkle linen,' etc.  
Egg, 'to incite.'  
Flig, 'to fledge.'  
Fligged.  
(H)ig, 'state of petulance.'  
Lig, 'to lie, to lay.'  
Rig, 'ridge.'  
Sag, 'to bulge with own weight.'  
Scag, 'squirrel.'  
Seg, 'sedge.'  
Sug, 'a sow.'

*Huddersfield (W. Yorks.), Easter, 1881.*

Brig.  
Deg, 'to wet.'  
Fligged }  
Flegged }  
Hig, 'a huff or quarrel.'  
Lig { 1. 'to lie down.'  
      2. 'to tell lies.'  
Rig, 'ridge.'  
Sag, 'a saw.'

Slug, 'to beat.'  
Snig, 'to snatch.' (Perhaps related  
to 'sneak, snack,' etc., with voicing  
of final *k*.)  
Twags, 'twigs.'  
Craig or } 'craw of a bird.'  
Craigh }  
Gnaghe } 'to gnaw.'  
Gnaigh }  
Haigh, 'the hawk.'  
(There is nothing to show whether *-gh*  
here = the back stop, but it seems  
probable.)

*Thoresby to Ray, 1703.*

Rig, 'tree.'

*Ray's North Country Words, 1691.*

Dag, 'dew on the grass.'  
Feg, 'fair, clean.'  
Fliggens, 'young birds that can fly.'

*Marshall, E. Yorks., 1788.*

Lig }  
Flig } but Midge, 'small gnat.'  
Rig }

*N. of England, J.H., 1781.*

Chig, 'to chew.'

*Sheffield (S.W. Yorks.), Addy, 1888-90.*

Brig.  
Bugth, 'bulk, size.'  
to Egg on.  
Flig, 'to flag.'  
Fligged, 'fledged.'  
Gnaggle, 'to gnaw.'  
Grig, 'cricket.'  
Haighs, 'hips and haws.'  
Hig, 'huff, fit of temper.'  
Huggins, 'hip-bones of a cow.'  
Keg, 'belly.'  
Lig, 'to lie down.'  
Nog, 'an unshaped bit of wood.'  
Rig, 'ridge.'  
Saig, 'to saw.'  
Seg, 'castrated bull, etc.'  
Snag, 'to snarl.'  
Slog { 'to beat.'  
Slug }  
Sog, 'to sow.'  
Sprig, 'a copse.'  
Swag  
(and Sway) } 'to hang down.'  
Whigged, of milk, 'curdled.'



*Lanes., Nodal and Milner, 1875.*

Agg, 'to tease, worry.'  
 Biggin, 'building.'  
 Big, 'a teat.'  
 Bigg, 'barley.'  
 Bigg, 'to build.'  
 Boggart, 'ghost.'  
 Boggle, 'a blunder.'  
 Braggart, 'new ale spiced with sugar.'  
 Brig (N. and Mid. L.), 'bridge.'  
 Brog, 'branch, bough.'  
 Clag, 'to adhere.'  
 Clog, 'shoe with wooden sole.'  
 Cleg, 'gadfly.'  
 Dag, 'to shear sheep.'  
 Dag, sb. and vb., 'dew.'  
 Deg, 'to sprinkle with water.'  
 Egg, 'urge, incite.'  
 Feeag (Furness), 'flatterer.'  
 Feggur, 'fairer' (Bamford's Gloss.; 1854, obs. ?).  
 Flay } 'to frighten.'  
 Fley }  
 Fog, 'aftermath.'  
 Grig, 'a cricket.'  
 Grug (Fylde), 'a dandelion.'  
 Hag, N. L., 'an enclosure.'  
 Hag } 'belly.'  
 Haggus }  
 Hague } 'hawthorn.'  
 Haig }  
 Hig, 'passion' (Bamford, 1854).  
 Hog, 'to cover a heap with earth or straw' (Parson Walker, 1730).  
 Huggus hips (Scholes, 1857).  
 Lags } 'staves of a tub.'  
 Laggins }  
 Lig, 'to lie.'  
 Lug, 'ear.'  
 Nag, 'to scold.'  
 Noagur, 'anger' ?  
 Pig.  
 Plog, 'to plug, close.'  
 Riggin, 'ridge of house.'  
 Rog, 'to shake with a rattling din.'  
 Scog, 'to dispute.'  
 Skug (Oldham), 'dirt.'  
 Slags, sloe, cf. Slaigh, Westm. (Britten's Engl. Plant Names).  
 Snig, 'eel.'  
 Snig, 'to snatch.'  
 Stegg, 'gander.'  
 Tig, 'to touch.'  
 Trig, 'to evade.'

*S. Chesh., Darlington, 1887.*

Bug, 'to go.'  
 Buggy, 'a louse.'

Cag-mag, 'carrion.'  
 Dag, 'to get petticoats or ends of trousers wet.'  
 Daggly, 'dewy.'  
 Clag, 'snow in a hard mass in the boots.'  
 Earwig.  
 to Egg on.  
 Egg, 'ovum.'  
 Egg, 'eager for.'  
 Feg, 'coarse grass.'  
 Fliggy, 'hay, etc., tangled through wind and rain.'  
 Fog.  
 Frig, 'coire.'  
 Gleg, 'to look furtively.'  
 Frog, Griggy, 'rotten' (of grass).  
 (H)ag, 'a task.'  
 (H)og, 'heap of potatoes covered up with straw and soil.'  
 Up-kegged, 'upset.'  
 Lag, 'upright plank in a tub.'  
 Lig, sb. and vb., 'fib.'  
 Lig own, 'very own.'  
 Lug, 'to pull.'  
 Moggin, 'to clog.'  
 Mog, 'to go' (commoner form Modge).  
 Miggle, 'to trot slowly.'  
 Nog, 'piece of wood built into brick wall.'  
 Peg.  
 Plug, 'to pluck the hair.'  
 Prog, 'to pilfer.'  
 Seg, 'to castrate a full-grown animal.'  
 Seg, 'hard piece of skin inside hand.'  
 Slug.  
 Snag, 'a snap, a bite.'  
 Snig, 'eel.'  
 Sog, 'to sway up and down.'  
 Spriggs, 'small nails.'  
 Swag, 'force or impetus of a descending body.'  
 Swig, 'spiced ale and toast.'  
 Throg, 'a thrush' (used by boys chiefly).  
 Trig, 'to trot.'  
 Whigged, 'curdled.'

*Derbysh., Pegge—Skeat, 1896.*

Brig.  
 Daggled, 'draggled.'  
 Figgged, 'fledged.'  
 Grig: in "merry as a grig."  
 (H)aigs, 'haws' (Peak district).  
 (H)ig, 'heat, passion.'  
 (H)nggon, 'hip of a man.'  
 Lig, 'to lie.'  
 Lug, 'to pull.'

Riggins of a house.  
 Rig, 'ridge.'  
 Seg, 'gelded bull.'  
 Sig, 'old urine.'  
 Tag, 'sheep of first year.'

*N. E. Lincs., Peacock, 1889.*

Bag, 'udder, womb, etc., of animals.'  
 Big, 'strong.'  
 Brig, 'bridge.'  
 Brog, 'to push with a pointed instrument.'  
 Bug, 'proud, officious.'  
 Cleg, 'gadfly.'  
 Drag, 'kind of harrow,' cf. Dredge.  
 Flig, 'fledged.'  
 Gleg { 1. 'a glance.'  
 2. 'shy.'  
 Hag, 'a bog.'  
 Hug, 'to cut, chop awkwardly.'  
 Hig: to put someone in a Hig='to offend him.'  
 Higgler, 'pedlar.'  
 Hog, 'an unshorn lamb, castrated pig.'  
 Keg-meg, 'bad food.'  
 Lag, 'to tire.'  
 Lig, 'to lie, lay.'  
 Lig-abad, 'sluggard.'  
 Lug, 'the ear.'  
 Maggot, 'whim.'  
 Meggie, 'moth.'  
 Mog, 'to move on.'  
 Muggy, 'damp, close.'  
 Nag, 'to gnaw.'  
 Niggle, 'to hack, notch.'  
 Rigg, 'ridge of a building.'  
 Rig, 'ridge.'  
 Sag, 'bend, warp.'  
 Seg, 'boar castrated when full-grown.'  
 Seg, 'sedge.'  
 Shig, 'to shirk.'  
 Steg, 'a gander.'  
 Sugg, 'to deceive.'  
 Twig, 'understand.'  
 Swig, 'to drink.'  
 Wag, 'to beckon.'

*S. W. Lincs., Cole, 1886.*

Brig, 'bridge.'  
 Clag, 'to daub with sticky clay.'  
 Drag, 'to harrow land.'  
 Drug, 'waggon for carrying timber.'  
 Fligged, 'fledged.'  
 Gnag } 'to gnaw.'  
 Knag }  
 Hag, 'marshy place.'  
 Hag, 'cut, hew.'

Higs, 'to be in one's higs.'  
 Lig, 'to lie.'  
 Pog, 'to carry on one's back.'  
 Seg, 'castrated boar.'  
 Whig, 'buttermilk.'

*Shropsh., Jackson, 1879.*

Agg }  
 Eæg } 'to urge, incite.'  
 Eëg }  
 Dag, 'to sprinkle clothes with water.'  
 Drag, 'a bar used for drawing timber.'  
 Fliggy, of birds whose down is changing to feathers.  
 Lig, 'to tell lies.'  
 Ligger, 'liar.'  
 Seg, 'any kind of iris.'  
 Seg-bottomed, 'rush-bottomed.'  
 Smeg, 'a bit.'  
 Sniggle, 'an eel.'  
 Stag, 'young turkey-cock.'  
 Swig, 'a drink' (especially spiced ale).  
 Whig, 'whey.'  
 Whigged, 'curdled.'

*Leices., Evans, 1881.*

Aigle } 'icicle.'  
 Iggie }  
 Cag, 'to crawl about.'  
 Back and egg='edge with might and main.'  
 Brag, 'a boast.'  
 Brig and }  
 Bridge }  
 Claggy.  
 Dag, 'trail in dirt.'  
 Flegged } 'fledged.'  
 Flig }  
 Fog, 'coarse, rank grass.'  
 Gnag, 'gnaw.'  
 Hog, 'yearling sheep.'  
 Lag, 'crack, split.'  
 Lig, 'to lie' (jaecere and mentire).  
 Maggot, 'whim.'  
 Proggie.  
 Piggie.  
 Rigg, 'small surface drain.'  
 Rig, 'ridge.'  
 Sagg, 'to sway, bend with weight.'  
 Segg, 'bull castrated before maturity.'  
 Segg, 'sedge, etc.'  
 Snig, 'little eel.'  
 Snags, 'shams.'  
 Sog, 'mass of earth.'  
 Swiggle, 'to drink freely.'  
 Teg, 'a lamb, from first Michaelmas after birth.'

*Rutland, Wordsworth, 1891.*

Brig.  
 Drugs, 'a timber waggon.'  
 Hag, 'stiff clump of coarse grass.'  
 Haghog, 'hedgehog.'  
 Higgler.  
 Rig.  
 Rug, 'tree.'

*E. Angl., Rye, 1895.*

Arriwiggie, 'earwig.'  
 Bigg, kind of barley.  
 Brig, 'a bridge.'  
 Claggy, 'clogged with moisture.'  
 Crag, 'the craw or crop.'  
 Dag, 'dew.'  
 Drug, 'strong cart for timber.'  
 Flegged } 'fledged.'  
 Fligged }  
 Higgie, 'to chaffer.'  
 Lig, 'to lie' (jacere).  
 Rig, 'ridge in a field.'  
 Sagging, 'soughing of wind in reeds.'  
 Scug, 'squirrel.'  
 Seg, 'sedge.'  
 Seggen, 'made of sedges.'  
 Slug-horn, 'short, stunted horn of an animal.'  
 Snag, 'rough knob of a tree.'

*Herefordsh., Havergal, 1887.*

Segs, 'rushes.'

*Upton-on-Severn (Worcs.), Lawson, 1884.*

Driggle, 'small-meshed draw-net.'  
 Fog, 'fog-grass.'  
 Rig, 'to sprain' (of back).  
 Sag, 'sedge.'  
 Sag-seated chair.  
 Swag, 'to sway, balance.'

*W. Worcs., Chamberlain, 1882.*

Dag, 'to draggle.'  
 Swig, 'to sway.'

*S.E. Worcs., Salesbury, 1893.*

Bag, 'cut wheat with a hook.'  
 Dag, 'to draggle in the mud.'  
 Drag  
 (and Dray) } 'harrow.'  
 Lug, 'to pull.'  
 Mag, 'a scold.'  
 Nag, 'to scold incessantly.'

Pug, 'to pull.'  
 Sags, 'rushes for chair-making.'  
 Sag-bottomed chairs.  
 Scog, 'to scold.'  
 Snuggle, 'lie close.'  
 Swag of a line or beam, 'to say.'  
 Swig, 'to drink.'  
 Tag, 'game of touch.'  
 Teg, 'yearling sheep.'

*Warwesh., Northall, 1896.*

Agg } 'to egg on.'  
 Egg }  
 Dag, 'dew.'  
 Fligged, 'fledged.'  
 Fog, 'rough grass.'  
 Geg, 'to swing.'  
 Hag, 'to cut' (woodman's term).  
 Higgler.  
 Lagger, 'litter, mess.'  
 Lig, 'to tell a lie.'  
 Seg, 'sedge.'  
 Lugs, 'slender rods to fasten thatch down.'  
 Piggie.  
 Skag, 'to tear or split.'  
 Slug, 'to throw stones, etc.'  
 Snug, 'a pig.'  
 Spug, 'sparrow.'  
 Teg, 'yearling sheep.'  
 Trig, 'a narrow path.'

*Northamptonsh., Baker, 1854.*

Brig.  
 Dag, 'to bemire, soak with dirt.'  
 Fligged, 'fledged.'  
 Fligger, 'to flutter.'  
 Fliggers, 'young birds ready to fly.'  
 Lig, 'a lie.'  
 Ligger, 'a liar.'  
 Rig, 'ridge.'  
 Segs, 'sedges.'  
 Seggy, adj.  
 Sprig, 'rose of watering-can.'  
 Whig, 'why.'

*Beds., Batchelor, 1807.*

Brig.  
 to Egg on.  
 Flig, 'fledged.'  
 Lig, 'an untruth.' (Batchelor calls this word 'old-fashioned,' so it was probably obsolescent in Beds. in 1809.)

*Suff., Moor, 1823.*

Seg } 'sedge.'  
 Segs }  
 Swig } said of a leak in a tap,  
 (and Swidge) } 'all of a swig.'

*Glos., Robertson, 1890.*

Cag-mag, 'bad meat.'  
 Deg, 'to dig.'  
 Egg.  
 Fog, 'grass growing on boggy ground.'  
 Frog.  
 Guggle, 'small snail.'  
 ? Layger, 'narrow strip of land or  
 copse.'  
 ? Lug, 'piece of land.'  
 Moggy, 'a calf.'  
 Nag, 'to worry.'  
 Niggle, 'to tease.'  
 Niggut, 'small faggot.'  
 Sag-seated chair, V. of Glos.  
 Sags }  
 Segs } 'sedges.'  
 Zegs }  
 Seg } 'urine.'  
 Sig }  
 Scaggy, 'shaggy,' V. of Glos.; H. of  
 Berkley.  
 Snag, 'tooth standing alone.'  
 Stag, 'young ox.'  
 Swag }  
 Swaggle } 'to sway.'  
 Teg }  
 Tig } 'one-year-old sheep.'  
 to Trig, 'to wedge up.'  
 Wag, 'to move.'

*Oxf., Parker, 1876-81.*

Daggle, 'to trail in the mud.'  
 Fligged, 'fledged.'  
 Guggle, 'a snail's shell.'  
 (H)aggle, 'to harass one's self with  
 work.'  
 Ligster, 'a lie, a liar.'  
 Maggled, 'tired out' (Blackburn).  
 Waggn, 'waggon.'

*Berks., Lowsley, 1888.*

Haggas, 'fruit of hawthorn.'

*W. Somers., Elworthy, 1886.*

Ag, 'to scold, provoke.'  
 Bag, measure of weight.  
 Big, 'bumptious.'

Cloggy, 'thick, sticky.'  
 Dag (to set a dag = to have somebody).  
 Drug, 'to drag.'  
 Dugged, 'dagged.'  
 Egg (ag) of a bird.  
 Fog-grass.  
 Higglar, 'poultry-dealer.'  
 Hag, 'old woman.'  
 Lic-abad, 'sluggard.'  
 Mugget, 'outer stomach of calf.'  
 Nag, 'log, block.'  
 Nug, 'rough mass of any substance.'  
 Pig.  
 Pog, 'to poke, thrust.'  
 Rag, 'to scold.'  
 Rig, 'lark, joke, wanton woman.'  
 Sig, 'urine.'  
 Slug.  
 Snug.  
 Swig, 'drink hastily.'  
 Scrag, 'neck.'  
 Teg, 'yearling sheep.'  
 Trig, 'neat, tidy.'  
 Ugly.  
 Zog, 'a bog, morass.'

*Dorset, Barnes, 1886.*

Cag-mag, 'bad meat.'  
 Cag, 'to surfeit.'

*Wilts., Dartnell and Goddard, 1893.*

Agg, vb., 'hack.'  
 Agalds, 'hawthorn - berries.' (In  
 Devon, Aggles).  
 Bag, 'bent pens with a hook.'  
 Barley-big.  
 Daggled.  
 Diggled.  
 Flag, 'blade of wheat.'  
 Eggs, 'haws.'  
 Drug: to drag timber.  
 Drag, 'a harrow.'  
 Freglam, 'odds and ends of food  
 fried up.'  
 Nog?  
 Muggles, 'muddle.'  
 Maggots, 'tricks.'  
 Lug, 'hole or perch.'  
 Jag, 'beard of oats.'  
 Haggie, 'cut clumsily.'  
 Feggy, 'fair,' obs., N.W.  
 Pig.  
 Quag, 'a shake, trembling,' S.W.  
 Rig, 'half-gelded horse.'  
 Rig, vb., 'climb on, bstride anything.'  
 Seg }  
 Sig } 'urine,' S.W.



Skug, 'squirrel.'  
 Smug.  
 Snag, N.W., 'decayed tooth'; S.W.,  
 'a sloe.'  
 Snig, 'small eel,' S.W.  
 Sniggle, S.W.  
 Sog, 'boggy ground.'  
 Teg-man, 'shepherd,' S.W.  
 Tig, 'little pig,' N.W. occasionally.  
 Trig, 'fasten, make firm,' N.W.; adj.,  
 'in good health,' S.W.  
 Vag, 'to reap with broad hook.'  
 Wag.  
 Waggon.

*Surrey, Leveson-Gower, 1896.*

Sag, 'to bend.'  
 Teg, 'a year-old sheep.'  
 Trug, 'gardener's wooden basket.'

*Kent, Parish and Shaw, 1887.*

Bag, 'to cut with hook.'  
 Dag on sheep.  
 Draggie-tailed.  
 Flig, 'strands of grass.'  
 Fog, 'aftermath.'  
 Heg, 'hag, fairy.'  
 Higgler.  
 Hog.  
 Keg-meg, 'a gossip.'  
 Lug-worm.  
 Maggoty, 'whimsical.'  
 Megpy.  
 Pig.  
 Plog, 'block of wood at end of halter.'  
 Pug, 'soft ground.'  
 Rig  
 ?  
 Sag, 'to sink, bend.'  
 Sig, 'urine.'  
 Smug, 'to steal.'  
 Tag, 'a yearly sheep.'  
 Wig, 'to overreach, cheat.'

*W. Corn., Courtney, 1880.*

Clig, 'to cling to.'  
 Cligged together.  
 Drug, 'a drag for a wheel.'  
 Trug, 'trudge.'  
 Aglet, 'berry of hawthorn.' *Garland,*  
*W. Corn., Journ. of Roy. Inst. of*  
*Corn., 1864. (Perhaps French.)*

*E. Cornw., Couch, 1880.*

Dogberry, 'wild gooseberry.'  
 Drug, 'to drag.'  
 Sneg, 'small snail.'  
 (Eglet, fruit of whitethorn. *Couch,*  
*Journal of Roy. Inst. of Corn., 1864.)*

*Hants., Cope, 1883.*

Doglets, 'icicles.'  
 Hag, 'haw' (the berry).  
 Haggils, 'haws of whitethorn.'  
 Leg, 'long narrow meadow (= 'leah'?).'  
 Strig, 'stalk of a plant.'  
 Swig, 'to suck.'  
 Scug, 'squirrel.'

*I. of W., Smith, 1881.*

Igg, 'egg.'  
 Drug shoe, 'drag for a cart.'

*Sussex, Parish, 1879.*

Bug, 'any winged insect.'  
 Drugged, 'half-dried.'  
 Egg, 'to incite.'  
 Grig, 'merry, happy.'  
 Lag } 'long, narrow marshy meadow.'  
 Leg }  
 Sag, 'to hang down.'  
 Snag, 'a snail.'

## VI.

Words in *-dge*.*Northumb., Heslop, 1893-4.*

Cadgy, 'hearty, cheerful,' especially after food; cf. cag-mag, cf. also kedge.

Dredge.

Edge, sb.

Fadge, 'small loaf of bread.'

Fadge, 'bundle of sticks.'

Fledger, 'a fledgeling.'

Kedge, 'to fill oneself with meat.'

Kidgel, 'cudgel.'

Midgy, 'midge.'

Midge-grass.

Mudge, 'stir, shift.'

Radgy, 'lewd, wanton.'

Rudge, 'push about.'

Sludge, 'soft, wet mud.'

Smudge, 'to laugh quietly.'

Snudge } 'a fillet or ribbon worn

(and Snood) } by girls.'

Spadger and Spag, 'a sparrow.'

Wadge, 'slice of bread, wedge.'

*Cumberland, Dickinson, 1889.*

Badger.

Edge.

Fadge, 'a slow trot.'

Frudge, 'to brush roughly past.'

Hedge.

Knidgel, 'to castrate by ligature.'

*Marshall, E. Yorks., 1788.*

Fridge, 'to chafe.'

Midge, but, lig, flig, rig.

*Swaledale (N. Yorks.), Harland, 1873.*

Midge.

Smudge, 'to smoulder.'

*Windhill (N. Central Yorks.), Wright, 1892.*

The transcription is Professor Wright's.

Edž, 'edge.'

Edž, 'hedge.'

*Whitby (N.E. Yorks.), Robinson, 1876.*

Hedge-dike-side.

Hoosc-midges, 'common flies.'

to Nudge with the elbow.

*Sheffield (S.W. Yorks.), Addy, 1888-90.*

Edge-o'-dark, 'twilight.'

Hedge and bind, 'in and out.'

Midge.

Midgeon-fat.

*Huddersfield (W. Yorks.), Easther, 1881.*

Midge, 'a small gnat.'

*Lancs., Nodal and Milner, 1875.*

Badger, 'small retail dealer.'

Drage, 'damp.'

Edge o' dark.

Henridge } Ormskirk, 'outlet for

Hainridge } cattle.'

Midge, 'anything very small.'

*S. Cheshire, Darlington, 1887.*

Badge, 'to cut a hedge.'

Bodge, 'to botch.'

Drudge-box, 'flour-dredger.'

Edge, 'border.'

Edge } 'eager for.'

(and Egg) }

(H)edge.

(H)odge, 'paunch of a pig.'

Ledger, 'to warp wooden vessels in water.'

Modge } 'to go.'

(and Mog) }

Mudge-hole, 'soft, boggy place.'

Ridge.

Wedged, 'swelled.'

*Derbysh., Pegge-Skeat, 1896.*

Edge in place-names = 'rocks.'

Hedge.

Midge.

Sludge, 'mud.'

Snudge, 'to go unasked to an entertainment.'

*N.E. Lincs., Peacock, 1889.*

- Cradge, 'small bank to keep out water.'  
 Dredge, 'a harrow of bushy thorns.'  
 Ettidge = eddish, 'aftermath.'  
 Fridge, 'to graze, chafe,' and in S.W. Lincs., which has Bodge, 'to mend, patch.'  
 Kedge, 'belly, stomach.'  
 Nudge, 'to follow closely.'  
 Sludge, 'stiff mud.'  
 In North Lincoln, Sutton, 1881, Kedge = 'stoppage of the bowels from green food.'

*Shropsh., Jackson, 1879.*

- Edge, 'ridge of a hill.'  
 Hedge.  
 Ledgen, 'to close seams of a wooden vessel by warping' (cf. 'the lags' of a tub).  
 Midgen, 'omentum of a pig.'  
 Sludge, 'wet mud.'  
 Ridgel } 'space of ploughed land.'  
 Rudge }  
 Wadge, 'a wedge, lump.'

*Staffs., Poole, 1880.*

- Tadgel, 'to tie.'  
 ? Leiger, 'under millstone.'

*Leicestersh., Evans, 1881.*

- Badge, 'cut, and tie up beans in shocks.'  
 Edgy, 'keen, forward.'  
 Edge, 'to incite, egg on.'  
 Fadge { 1. 'to gull a person.'  
 { 2. 'to toady.'  
 Fridge, sb., 'chafe.'  
 Hidgelel, 'higgeler.'  
 Midgeram-fat.  
 Mudgings, 'fat about the intestines.'  
 Nudging, 'nesting of birds.'  
 Padge, 'barn-owl.'  
 Pedgel, 'to pick over, examine.'  
 Sludge, 'mire.'  
 Wadge, 'lump, bundle.'

*E. Angl., Rye, 1895.*

- Bodge, 'patch, botch.'  
 Fadge, 'a bundle or parcel.'  
 Hedge-pig, 'hedgheg.'  
 Kedge, 'brisk, active.'  
 to Nudge with the elbow.

- Sedge-marine, 'sedge-warbler.'  
 Swidge } 'to drain off, swill'; in  
 (and Swig) } Dialect of E. Angl.,  
 Nall, 1866.  
 Ledger, 'a thatcher's tool.'

*Herefordsh., Havergal, 1887.*

- F'lidgeter: 'going a fidgefer' = 'taking a flying leap.'  
 Hedge, 'bill.'  
 Rudge of ploughed field.

*Upton-on-Severn, Worcs., Lawson, 1884.*

- Mudgin, 'fat from chitterlings of a pig.'  
 Ridgel } 'a half-gelding.'  
 Rudge }  
 Snudge, 'a kiss, to kiss,' and W. Worcs., Chamberlain, 1882.

*S.E. Worcs., Salesbury, 1893.*

- Edge-o-night.  
 Hedger.  
 Mudgin.  
 Ridgel.  
 Sludge, 'liquid mud.'  
 Snudge.  
 Stodgy.

*Warwesh., Northall., 1896.*

- Badger, 'jobbing dealer.'  
 Bodge, 'prod with a pointed stick.'  
 Fridge, 'to fray out.'  
 Hudge, 'a heap, mass.'  
 Hodge, 'stomach.'  
 Modge, 'to muddle, confuse.'  
 Mudgin, 'fat on pig's chitterlings.'  
 Podgel, 'to trifle, dally.'  
 Sludge-guts, 'person with prominent abdomen.'  
 Spadger.  
 Stodge, 'stuff and cram.'

*Northamptonsh., Baker, 1854.*

- Birge, 'bridge' (nearly obs. in 1854).

*Staff., Moor, 1823.*

- a Ridge of ploughed land.  
 Swidge } said of a leak from a tap,  
 (and Swig) } 'all of a swig.'

*Glos., Robertson, 1890.*

to Badge, 'to hawk.'  
 Cludgy, 'thick, stout.'  
 Edge.  
 Edge on, adj., 'eager for.'  
 Fadge, 'small bundle.'  
 Mudgin, 'fat of pig's chitterlings.'  
 Rudgel, 'an imperfect gelding.'  
 Ridge }  
 Rudge }

*Oxf., Parker, 1876-81.*

Mudgerum.

*W. Somers., Elworthy, 1886.*

Begurge.  
 Cadge, 'tramping.'  
 Bulge, 'batter out of shape.'  
 Burge, 'bridge.'  
 Dredge, 'to sprinkle.'  
 Edge, 'to egg on.'  
 Edgment, 'incitement.'  
 Fadge } 'sack of wool.'  
 Fodge }  
 Hedge-trow, 'ditch at side of hedge.'  
 Kedge, 'boat's anchor.'  
 Bare-ridged.  
 Smudge, 'to smear.'  
 Stodge, 'thick, doughy matter.'  
 Urge, 'retch.'

*Wexford, Poole-Barnes, 1867.*

Bidge, 'to buy.'  
 (This dialect is W. Southern type, but  
 the glossary is very unreliable.)

*Wilts., Dartnell and Goddard, 1893.*

Badge, 'to deal in corn' (obs.).  
 Edge.  
 Dudge, 'bundle of anything used to  
 stop a hole.'  
 Dredge } 'barley and oats grown  
 Drodge } together.'  
 Fodge, 'small package of wool.'

Rudge, 'space between furrows of  
 ploughed land.'  
 Spudgel, 'wooden scoop.'

*Surrey, Leveson-Gower, 1896.*

Bodge, 'gardener's wooden basket.'  
 Cledgy, 'wet, sticky' (of the ground).  
 Dredge, 'a brush-harrow.'  
 Edget, 'kind of rake.'  
 Snudge, 'to move about pensively.'

*Kent, Parish and Shaw, 1887.*

Bodge, 'gardener's wooden basket.'  
 Cledge, 'clay, stiff loam.'  
 Dredge, 'a brush-harrow.'

*W. Cornw., Courtney, 1880.*

Clidgy, 'sticky.'  
 Cock-hedge, 'trimmed thorn hedge.'

*Dorset, Barnes, 1886.*

Ledgers, 'rods used to keep thatch in  
 its place.'  
 Ridger } 'an uncut horse.'  
 (also Rig) }

*Hants., Cope, 1883.*

Hedge picks, 'fruit of blackthorn.'  
 Hudgy, 'clumsy.'  
 Rudge-bone, 'weather - boarding of  
 wooden houses.'  
 Sidge, 'sedge.'

*I. of W., Smith, 1881.*

Hedge-houn, 'a plant.'  
 Ledgers, wood fastenings for thatch  
 'layers.'

*Sussex, Parish, 1879.*

Dredge, 'mixture of oats and barley.'  
 Hedge-pick, 'hedge-sparrow.'  
 Midge, 'any kind of gnat.'  
 Ridge-band, 'part of harness.'



## VII.

Non-initial O.E.  $\gamma$  and  $h = w, f$ , etc.*Northumb., Heslop, 1893-4.*

Braffam }  
 Briffam } 'horse-collar.'  
 Barfam }  
 Brough, 'moon-halo.'  
 Couh, 'cough.'  
 Daw, 'thrive.'  
 Draa, 'to thrive.'  
 Draft-net.  
 Duff.  
 Flaa, 'turf for fuel.'  
 Flaughter, 'thin layer of turf.'  
 Haa- } tree.  
 Haw- }  
 Haugh } 'low-lying ground by side  
 Haaf } of river.'  
 Heronsheugh }  
 Heronseugh }  
 Heronshuff }  
 Hoff } 'to throw a ball below the  
 Hough } hough.'  
 Hough }  
 Hou } 'hollow.'  
 Hough }  
 Laigh, 'low.'  
 Low, 'flame.'  
 Maa } 'stomach.'  
 Maw }  
 Marrow, 'fried,' etc.  
 Pegh, 'to puff, pant.'  
 Pleught } 'wattling-stick.'  
 Ploute }  
 Ploo } N. }  
 Plew } } 'plough.'  
 Pluf } T. }  
 Pleuf }  
 Raa, 'row.'  
 Ro }  
 Roa } 'raw.'  
 Row }  
 Ruf }  
 Rough }  
 Saugh }  
 Saf } 'willow.'  
 Sauf }  
 Seuch }  
 Sheugh } 'small stream draining  
 Sough } through the land.'  
 Sough }  
 Sough } 'sound of wind.'  
 Souf }  
 Teuf, 'tough.'

Through } 'a stone going through'  
 Thruff-styen } entire thickness of  
 Throwf } wall.'  
 Thruff, originally a stone coffin, now  
 stone laid on a grave = 'trough' ?  
 Tocher }  
 Togher } 'dowry.'  
 Towcher }  
 Trow } 'trough.'  
 Trou }  
 Wallow.

*Cumberland, Dickinson, 1859.*

Aneuff }  
 Aneugh }  
 Anoo }  
 Braffam.  
 Cleuh, 'c'aw, hoof.'  
 Coff, 'to cough.'  
 Huff.  
 Hugh.  
 Safftree.  
 Saughtree, 'willow.'  
 Troff, 'trough.'  
 Thruff-stan, 'tombstone.'  
 Thruff, 'through.'  
 Teuff, 'tough.'  
 Heugh, 'dry dell.'  
 Bew, 'bough.'  
 Haugh, 'flat land near river.'  
 Haw, 'fruit of hawthorn.'  
 Leugh, 'laughed.'  
 Laghter, 'brood of chickens.'  
 Plugh.  
 Plu.  
 Laa, 'law.'

*Durham, Palgrave, 1896.*

Doo, 'cake.'  
 Eneugh = onjuuf.  
 Marra, 'mate.'  
 Nuwt, 'nothing.'  
 Pluff, 'plough' (very seldom).

*Swaledale (N. Yorks.), Harland, 1873.*

Dow, 'to thrive.'  
 (II)awe, 'a meadow by a river.'  
 Oawz, 'the hocks of a beast.'  
 Barffam }  
 Barfam }

*Whitby (N.E. Yorks.), Robinson, 1876.*

Forms with *-f*.

Barfon, 'horse-collar.'  
 Thruuff, 'through.'  
 Plufe, 'plough.'  
 Sluffs, 'skins of fruit.'  
 Siff } 'to draw breath through the  
 Suff } teeth' (cog. with Sigh? or =  
       Fr. Siffler?).  
 Wilf, 'willow' (also in Marshall's  
 E. Yorks., 1771).

Forms with *-w*.

Awn, 'to own.'  
 Barrow-pigs.  
 Farrow, said of a barren cow.  
 Marrows, sb. pl.  
 Sew, 'a sow.'  
 Sou, of the wind = 'to calm down.'

*Windhill (N. Central Yorks.), Wright.*

The transcription is Professor Wright's.

Words with *-f*.

Dwāf, 'dwarf.'  
 Duəf, 'dough.'  
 Draff.  
 Inif (sing.), 'enough.'  
 Laf, 'laugh.'  
 Sluf, 'slough.'  
 Ruf, 'rough.'  
 Trof, 'trough.'

Words with no final consonant.

Bā, 'to bow.'  
 Biu, 'bough.'  
 Droə, 'draw.'  
 Fāl, 'fowl.'  
 Fald, 'fellow.'  
 Iniu (pl.), 'enough.'  
 Lœ, 'law.'  
 Marə, 'marrow.'  
 Pliu, 'plough.'  
 Sā, 'a drain.'  
 Sliu, 'slew.'  
 Wilə, 'willow.'  
 poə, 'though.'

*Mid. Yorks., Robinson, 1876.*

Boo } 'bough.'  
 Beaf }  
 Dow, 'to prosper.'  
 Ewe, pret. of 'to owe.'  
 Fellow, 'fallow.'  
 Low, 'flame.'

Marrow, 'match, fellow.'

Maw, 'sb.'

Meaf } 'a mow of corn, etc.'

Miff }

Pleaf }

Pluf }

Pleuf }

Pliw }

Pléa }

Plaw }

Sough, vb. (=saow), of the wind.

*Huddersfield (W. Yorks.), Easter, 1881.*

Words with *-f*.

Clough, 'ravine' (cluff).

Dough (dofe).

Druity, 'dry, droughty.'

Fauf } 'to clean ground for  
 (and Faigh) } building.'

          } 'saturated, soaked.'  
           } (An old man was  
           } heard to pronounce  
           } this word with a  
           } 'guttural,' by  
           } which Mr. Easter  
           } presumably means  
           } a back-open con-  
           } sonant.)

Slaffened  
 (and Slockned) }

Suff, 'to tire of.'

Soaf, 'willow.'

Words with consonant dropped.

Moo of barley, etc.

Marrow } 'to match.'

Marry }

Marrow, similar, 'the marrow glove.'

Soo, 'a sow.'

Ploo }

(and Pleugh) }

*Sheffield (S.W. Yorks.), Addy,  
 1888-90.*

Enew, 'enough.'

Haw, 'berry of hawthorn.'

Marrow, 'fellow, mate,' etc.

Hay-mow.

Plew, 'plough.'

Soo of wind in trees, etc.

Trow, 'a trough.'

Suff, 'a drain.'

Sauf, 'sallow, willow.'

*Lancs., Nodal and Milner, 1875.*

Aan, adj., 'own.'

Barrow-pig, 'male swine.'

Marrow, 'a match, mate.'  
 Hay-moo, 'stack of hay.'  
 Moo } 'hay mow.'  
 Moof }  
 Laigh } 'to laugh.'  
 Laith }  
 Sawgh, 'willow.'

*S. Chesh., Darlington, 1887.*

Bow.  
 Mow.  
 Soo of the wind.  
 Suff, 'to drain.'  
 Flef and Fleth, 'a flea' (Holland).

*Derbysh., Pegge—Skeat, 1896.*

Barrow, 'a gelt pig' (obs.).  
 Dūwter, 'daughter.'  
 Slough=? 'miry place.'  
 Coff, 'cough.'  
 Draft, 'team or cart.'  
 Enuff.  
 (H)offle, 'hough of a horse.' Dimin.

*N.E. Lincs., Peacock, 1889.*

Aniff, 'enough.'  
 Biff, 'bough.'  
 Enif, 'enough.'  
 Sluff, 'skin of a fruit.'  
 Toff, 'tough.'  
 Thrif } 'through'; also in S.W.  
 Thruf } Lincs.  
 Tiffen, 'make touch.'  
 S.W. Lincs., Cole. 1886, has Daffy,  
 'doughy'; Suff., 'underground  
 drain.'  
 Awe, 'to owe.'  
 Beu } 'bough'; back-open cons.  
 Bewgh } usually heard in this word.  
 Bow, 'to bend.'  
 Draw, 'to drain.'  
 Haw, 'fruit of hawthorn.'  
 Hollow.  
 Maw, 'to mow.'  
 Mow (rhymes with 'now'), 'pile of  
 hay, etc., in a barn.'  
 Pleugh } gh still heard, but  
 Ploo } disappearing.  
 Raw, adj.  
 Rough = ? (in sound).  
 Sæw?, 'to sow.'  
 Souing of the wind.  
 Saugh (sau), 'goat willow.'  
 Tallow.

*Shropsh., Jackson, 1879.*

Hathorn, 'hawthorn.'  
 Haw, 'fruit of same.'  
 Lawter, 'complement of eggs for a  
 sitting hen.'

*Leices., Evans, 1881.*

Haw, in place-names.  
 Hairrough } 'goose-grass.'  
 and Errif }  
 Enew, 'enough.'  
 Suff } 'a covered drain.'  
 Soof }

*W. Worcs., Chamberlain, 1882.*

Ah-thorn, 'hawthorn.'  
 Fnew } 'enough.'  
 Enow }  
 Plow.  
 Suff, 'a drain.'

*S.E. Worcs., Salesbury, 1893.*

Burru, 'sheltered place' (also in Upton-  
 on-Severn, Lawson, 1884).  
 Enow.  
 Mow, 'part of barn filled with straw.'  
 Loff, 'laugh.'  
 Ruff, 'hilly ground with trees growing  
 on it.'  
 Saw, 'the tool.'  
 Throw (rhymes with cow), 'through.'

*Warwesh., Northall., 1896.*

Anew, 'enough.'  
 Rough (ruff).  
 Suff, 'mouth of drain with grating.'  
 Truff } 'a trough.'  
 Tro }

*Northamptonsh., Baker, 1854.*

Cuff, 'cough.'  
 Sueing } of wind.  
 Suffing }

*Glos., Robertson, 1890.*

Burrow, 'shelter or lee side.'  
 Droo, 'through.'  
 Ebows, 'shoulder-joints of cattle.'  
 Fallow.  
 Slough, 'part of quick of a cow's horn.'  
 Trough (= trow) for drinking.

*Oxf., Parker, 1870-81.*

Fuwt, 'fought.'  
Pluwin, 'ploughing.'

*Berks., Lowsley, 1888.*

Haw, 'dwelling enclosed by woods.'  
Zaa, 'a saw.'

*W. Somers., Elworthy, 1886.*

Barrow-pig, 'gelt pig.'  
Bow (buw), 'a twig.'  
Bow (buw), 'to bend.'  
Dough (doa).  
to Draw.  
Draft, 'bar to which plough-horses are attached.'  
Drough (drue) 'through.'  
Drow (Druw), 'to dry.'  
Enow, 'enough.'  
Laugh (laa'of).  
Maw: mouth in men, stomach in cattle.  
Mow (maew), 'rick.'  
Ought = au.t or au.f.  
Plough (plaew).  
Raught (raut), 'reached.'  
Raw.  
Rew, 'row or ridge of grass made in scything.'  
Rough (hruuf).  
Row (ruw), 'to roughen cloth.'  
Sife, 'to sigh.'  
Thawy, 'to thaw.'  
Thoff, 'though.'

*Dorset, Barnes, 1886.*

Sify, 'a sob, catch the breath in sighing.'

*Wilts., Dartnell and Goddard, 1893.*

Draw, 'a squirrel's nest.'  
Drawn, 'large drain.'  
Pig-haw.  
Mow, 'part of barn for heaping up corn.'  
Rough = f?  
Spawe, 'splinter of stone.'

*Surrey, Leveson-Gower, 1896.*

Farrow, 'litter of pigs.'

*Kent, Parish and Shaw, 1887.*

Draaft, 'bar on plough to which traces are fixed.'  
Dwarfs-money, 'ancient coins.'  
Huffed, p.p. (also 'very great').  
to Huff (spelt hough), 'to hough.'  
Ruff, 'any rough place.'  
Thoft, 'thought.'  
Draw-well.  
Draw-hook.  
Enow.  
Flaw, 'to flay, strip off bark.'  
Haw, 'small'?  
Raw.

*W. Corn., Courtney, 1880.*

? Belve, 'to bellow.'  
Laff, 'laugh.'

*Budget of C. Poems.*

Broft, 'brought,' 45.  
Thoft, 'thought,' 16.

*E. Cornw., Couch, 1880.*

Maa, 'maw.'  
Row, 'rough.'  
Siff, 'to sigh.'

*Hants., Cope, 1883.*

Huf, 'to breathe hard.'  
Mow (múw), 'stack in a barn.'  
Rowen } 'winter grass'; cf. ruffen,  
Rowet } other dialects.  
Trow (troa), 'a trough.'

*I. of W.*

Maa, 'maw.'

*Sussex, Parish, 1879.*

Flaw, 'to flag, to strip bark.'  
Haffar, 'heifer.'



## VIII.

Non-initial O.E.  $-z$  and  $-h$  fronted and lost or =  $-y$ .

*Northumb., Heslop, 1893-94.*

Ee, 'eye.'  
Flee, 'to fly.'  
Flee, 'a fly.'  
Feid, 'feud' (O.E. *fiehþe*).  
Wully, 'willow.'

*Cumberland, Dickinson, 1859.*

Ee, 'eye.'  
Een, 'eyes.'  
Hee, 'high.'  
Ley, 'arable land.'  
Lee, 'to tell lies.'  
Stee } 'a ladder.'  
Stey }  
Swally, 'to swallow.'  
Willy, 'willow.'

*Swaledale (N. Yorks.), Harland, 1873.*

Ee, 'eye.'  
Felly.  
Lee, 'a lie.'

*Whitby (N.E. Yorks.), Robinson, 1876.*

Eee } 'eye.'  
Eyen }  
Eeen } pl.  
Flee, 'a fly, to fly.'  
Stee, 'small ladder.'

*Windhill (N. Central Yorks.), Wright,  
1892.*

The transcription is that of Prof. Wright.

Drai, 'dry.'  
Dri, 'dreary.'  
Ei, 'high.'  
Fli, 'a fly, to fly.'  
Led, 'lay.'  
Nei, 'to neigh.'  
Sti, 'ladder.'

*Huddersfield (W. Yrks.), Easther, 1881.*

Ee, 'eye.'  
Fain, 'glad.'  
Stee, 'a ladder.'

*Sheffield (S.W. Yrks.), Addy, 1888-90.*

Flee, 'a fly.'  
Lee, 'a falsehood.'

*S. Chesh., Darlington, 1887.*

Fley, 'flay.'  
Fly.  
(H)igh.  
Lee, vb. act., 'lay down.'  
Swey, 'to swing.'

*Lancs., Nodal and Milner, 1875.*

Ee-bree, 'eyebrow.'  
Ley, 'pasture or grass land.'  
Stee, 'a ladder.'

*N.E. Lincs., Peacock, 1889.*

Belly.  
Dee, 'to die.'  
Dry, 'thirsty.'  
Eye.  
Flee, 'a fly.'  
Lay, 'to lie.'  
Lee, sb. and vb., 'lie.'  
Ley, 'unenclosed grass land.'  
Stays, 'stairs.'  
Stee, 'ladder.'  
Thee, 'thigh.'  
Wee, 'to weigh.'

*S.W. Lincs., Cole, 1886.*

Dree, 'wearisome, long-continued.'

*Upton-on-Severn (Wores.), Lawson,*  
1884.

Eye, 'to glance at.'  
Lie in, 'to cost': "that will lie you  
in a matter of 16s.," etc.

*W. Wores., Chamberlain,* 1882.

Sallies, 'willows.'

*S.E. Wores., Salesbury,* 1893.

Belly-full.  
Dry, 'thirsty.'  
Farry, 'to farrow.'  
Sallies, 'willows.'

*Warwesh., Northall.,* 1896.

Lay } 'land laid down for pasture.'  
Ley }  
Pig-ste, -sty.  
Sigh = sai.  
Sty, 'a pimple.'

*Glos., Robertson,* 1890.

Eye, 'to glance.'  
Layers, pieces of wood cut and laid in  
a hedge when 'laying' it.  
Lay, 'pasture.'  
Sally-tree } 'willow.'  
Sally }

## IX.

## Final -k, voiced.

*Northumb., Heslop,* 1893-4.

Ag, 'to hack, cut in pieces.'  
Flag, 'flake of sandstone, also a snow-  
flake.'  
Ligly, 'likely.'  
Nog, 'knob,' etc., like the stump of  
a branch.  
Pag, 'to pack tightly, to stop up,  
choke.'  
Iceshoggle (O.E. *gycel*).

*Cumberland, Dickinson,* 1859.

Hug, 'to pull.'  
Hag, 'chop with an axe.'  
Huggaback, 'climbing vetch.'  
Nog, 'block of wood'; cf. nick,  
nitch, etc.

*Windhill (N. Central Yorks.), Wright,*  
1892.

Blegs, 'blackberries.'

*Whitby (N.E. Yorks.), Robinson,* 1876.

Flags, 'flakes.'

*Huddersfield (W. Yorks.), Easther,* 1881.

Blags, 'black berries.'  
Wiggen, 'mountain ash.' Cf. Wicken,  
Lincs., etc.

*Lancs., Nodal and Milner,* 1875.

Snig, 'to snatch' (cf. Snack, etc.)?

*S. Chesh., Darlington,* 1837.

Plug, 'to pluck the hair.'

*Derbysh., Pegge—Skeat,* 1896.

Wiggin, 'mountain-ash.'

*N.E. Lines., Peacock,* 1889.

Staggarth = 'stackyard.'  
Niggle, 'to hack, notch.'

*Shropsh., Jackson,* 1879.

Plug = 'to pluck, pull.'  
Smeg, 'a bit,' cf. 'smack'?  
Rig, 'to rick the back,' etc.

*Leices., Evans,* 1881.

Igggle = 'icicle.'  
Piggle, 'to pick.'  
Proggle  
(and Prockle) } 'to prog, poke.'  
Snags = snacks, which also occurs.

*Rutland, Wordsworth,* 1891.

Piggle, 'to pick' (frequentative form).

*Upton-on-Severn, Worcs., Lawson,*  
1884.

Rig, 'to sprain, rick' (used chiefly of the back, and perhaps influenced by substantive).

*Glos., Robertson, 1890.*

Dog, 'the dock.'

? Nogs, 'handles of a scythe pole.'

Sug, 'to soak.'

Soggy, 'soaky.'

*Berks., Lowsley, 1888.*

Agg, 'to cut unskilfully.'

*Hants., Cope, 1883.*

Agg, 'to hack.'

*W. Somers., Elcorthy, 1886.*

Hug, 'to itch' = *ziccan*. Cf. Heuk, 'the itch,' in Whitby Dial. (O.E. *zicðā*).

Lig, 'like' (in rapid speech when followed by a vowel).

Nog, 'log, block.' Cf. nitch in same dial. and in Wilts.

Pog, 'thrust, poke with fist.'

*A proposed Explanation of many apparent Anomalies in the Development of O.E. -ċ, -ċz, -z, and -h.*

I now propose to deal, as briefly as is compatible with thoroughness, with the above four classes of words. We may take as types of the forms under discussion Mod. Eng. seek, think; O.E. seċean, þynċean; Eng. Dial. brig, segg; O.E. bryċz, seċz; Eng. Dial. hag, to lig; O.E. hazu, a haw; liċzan, 3rd sing. lizþ, from which the standard Eng. verb 'to lie' has been formed, and also the above 'irregular' form. Of difficult -h words, Eng. hock (hough), elk; O.E. hoh, eoh are examples.

We have to explain how ċ and ċz have become unfronted, and how -z and -h have been stopped, instead of becoming -w, -f if back, being opened to a front vowel if front, or being lost altogether after l.

The explanation which I desire to offer of these two groups of phenomena may be diagrammatically stated as follows:—

- O.E. ċ + f, s, þ, w, l, etc. = k.  
 O.E. ċz + f, s, þ, w, l, etc. = k, g.  
 O.E. z + f, s, þ, w, l, etc. = k, g.  
 O.E. h + f, s, þ, w, l, etc. = k.

That is to say, that before an OPEN CONSONANT O.E. ċ and ċz are unfronted, and that in the same position O.E. z and h are stopped. This principle applies not only to the combinations -hþ, ċþ, etc., in the middle of words, but also to the same combinations occurring in primitive compounds such as hæzþorn, standard English hawthorn, Dial. hagthorn. See also my article "Apparent Irregularities in English Guttural Sounds": *Notes and Queries*, January 14, 1899.

*Date of above Changes.*

The stopping of h and z before open consonants certainly began in O.E. There were apparently two periods of stopping, the first in which Germ. hs became x = ks (see remarks ante on O.E. x) and a later period which followed the apocopation of the vowel in W.S. siext (vb.), nexte, etc. To this later period belongs also



probably the unfronting of O.E. *ē* and *ēz* before *þ*, *s*, etc. At any rate the whole process is apparently complete by the early M.E. period, and we find thenceforth only fossilized remains of the process itself, although the effects produced by it are numerous and widespread.

Analogous to the first process which stopped *h* before *s*, is the stopping of *f* to *þ* before *-s*, in O.E. *wæps* from earlier *wæfs*. Forms like *awecþ*=*awihþ*, Ælfric, Cambridge MS., First Sermon, p. 8, ed. Thorpe; where MS. Reg. has *awehþ*, (Dr. Sweet called my attention to this form), and *adrycþ*, Cockayne's *Leechdoms*, vol. iii, p. 190 = *adryzþ* show that *z* also underwent this change in the O.E. period. It must be noted that *z* before a voiceless open consonant was unvoiced as well as stopped, the former process being the earlier.

It is, however, in M.E. that we find the best graphic evidence of these unfronting and stopping processes. Both Sweet, H.E.S., § 741, and, following him, Kluge, *Grundr.*, p. 839, have called attention to the forms *sekþ*, *tekþ*, etc., in M.E., and explained *seek*, etc., as formed by analogy from them. The unfronting process is attributed by both Sweet and Kluge to a following consonant. In this explanation, however, the real point is missed, as we shall see: O.E. *ē* is unfronted only before OPEN CONSONANTS, but becomes *-ch* quite regularly before stops.

Again, on p. 848 of *Grundr.*, Kluge says: "Beachtenswert ist nördl. *hekfer* für *haifare*, ae. *héahfore*, wozu vereinzelt *wrikþ*, *likþ* für *wrihþ*, *lihþ*." Of these forms, however, no explanation is given at all, and neither here nor on p. 839 is there any hint as to which texts the forms occur in. *Hekfer*, we may here remark, is certainly not a Northern form, as far as the testimony of the modern dialects goes. Following is a list of these forms so far as I have found them.

*Hali Meidenhed*, W. Midl., 1225, has *zēcðe*, sb., 9. On the other hand this text has also *h* unstopped in *buhsom*, 3, *hehschip*, 5, *Sihðe*, 45, *sight*. The only other Midland texts in which they occur are *Promptorium*, which has *hekfore*, *thakstare*, *zykþe* (*pruritus*); and *Wills and Inventories*, which has *heckforde* in the Will of Richard Kanan of Isham, 1570.

*Ancren Riwle*, Dorset, 1225, has *heixte*, *hexte*, *highest*.

*Owl and Nightingale*, Dorset, 1240-50, has *recþ*, 491 (otherwise *recche*); *me þincþ*, *passim*; *þinkþ*, 1694; *fliżst*, 405, which rhymes to *niswiest* in the following line, and therefore = \**flikst*.

*St. Juliana* (metrical), *Glos.*, 1300, *hext*, highest, 13.

*Robt. of Gloucester*, 1300: *adrenctþe*, *heest*, *hext*; *isuchþ* = *seeth*; *sechþ*, *seeketh*, *slechþ*, 3rd pl.; *sucst*, *suchþ*, *suxt*, *seest*; *þineþ*, *þinkþ*, *þingþ*; *ofþineþ*, *ofþinkþ*.

*P. Plowman*, 1362–93: *lickth*, 3rd sing.; *þu lixt*, ‘thou tellest lies’; *likþ*, ‘tells lies.’ *Kentish Gospels*, 1150: *seest þu*, *Joh. iv*, 27; *for-scrineð*, *Mk. ix*, 18. *MS. Vespas*, A. 22, *Kent*, 1200: *zeseceðe* (sb.), ‘sight’ p. 239, *Morris’ ed. Vices and Virtues*, *Kent*, 1200: *meþineþ*, 47. 3 and 47. 20; *zesikst*, ‘seest,’ 49. 22; *isikþ* ‘sees,’ 49. 23; *isechþ*, 87. 17; *beþencst*, *wercst*, 65. 7; *besechþ*, 81. 18; *zesikþ*, 139. 11; *beþeincð*, 133. 17. *Will. of Shoreham*, *Kent*, 1308: *þenkþ*. *Ayenbite*, *Kent*, 1340: *aqueneþ*, 207, and *kueneþ*, 62; *tekþ* occurs constantly, p. 57, etc.; *wrikþ*, 128; *zekþ*, ‘seeks,’ 159. 116, 241; *awrechþ*, 115. 2; *yzieþ*, ‘sees,’ 143; *zikþ*, ‘sight,’ 123; *þingþ* and *þineþ*, 164; *adraynkþ þengþ*, 18; *þengst*, 214. *Libeaus Desconus*, *Kent*, 1350: *schineþ*, 939.

The chief examples in the Modern dialects of old compounds in which the process occurred are: *hagthorn* in *W. Somerset* and *Devon*; *hagworm* in *Cumberland* and *Lancashire*; *heckth* or *eckth* = ‘height’ in *Oxfordshire*, *Worcestershire*, *Warwickshire*, *Wilts*, and *Hants*; *heckfer* in *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and *Hants*; *ligster*, ‘liar’ in *Oxfordshire*.

In Standard English *eʒ* is unfronted before *-w* in *mugwort*, (it must also be said that this word also exists in Northern dialects, and Scotch has *muggart*), and *nʒ* before *þ* in ‘length’ and ‘strength’ = \**strongiðu*, \**longiðu*.

We have seen that *-ʒs* was sometimes written, even when it was clearly pronounced *-ks* (above, *Owl* and *Nightingale*); it is therefore probable that in those dialects where we find evidence of the change at all, we should be justified in assuming *ks kþ*, etc., on all occasions, even when *-ʒs*, *-ʒð*, *hs*, etc., are written.

A glance at the lists of *-neh* words from *St. Katherine*, and *St. Juliana* (Prose), will show that before a stop, *ċ* became *ch*, giving forms like *cwenchte*, *blenchte*, *schrenchten*, etc. We have also seen that the tendency was rather to open a front stop before a second stop, giving such forms as *priht*, *pight*, etc., from \**pricchen* and \**picchen*.

From the evidence of the *M.E.* texts, it is clear that the processes we have been describing were essentially characteristic of the *W.S.* and *Kentish* dialects. There is very little evidence

that the stopping and unfronting principle obtained, even in Midland dialects. It must, however, be borne in mind that Orm has enng<sup>g</sup>ell and not enngell, which Mr. Napier has explained as due to the oblique cases, engle, etc., and enn<sup>g</sup>lissh, lenng<sup>g</sup>re also owe their <sup>g</sup> to the following open consonant. Again, we have hekfore and zykye in Promptorium. In West Midland, Hali Meidenhed has zecðe, so that it is possible that the principle was once active also in the Lower Midland dialects; on the other hand, these forms may have spread thither from the South. As for the North, there can be little doubt that the tendency did not exist there at all. On the contrary, the combination *hs* produced by vowel syncope was simplified to *s* in Anglian, though retained in W. Saxon and Kentish (H.E.S., § 504), in which dialects, as we have seen, it later on became *-ks*, *x*. An interesting point is raised as to whether even the Germ. combination *-hs* became *-ks* universally in all Northern dialects, for in the Huddersfield dialect such forms as *ouse* = *ox*, *saycece* = *six* have only recently become extinct, while *aise* = *axe* still survives. (See Easther's *Dialect of Almondsbury and Huddersfield*, E.D.S., 1881.) It is interesting and important to note that Sir Gawaine, a Northern text, 1366, has the form *Haꝝ-thorne*, with <sup>z</sup> the open consonant, instead of <sup>g</sup> the stop. (See *Word-List* ante.)

But a principle which holds for the middle of words, and for primitive compounds, may without undue rashness be assumed also for the sentence or breath-group. (Cf. H.E.S., §§ 39 and 40; and Siever's *Phonetik*, §§ 573-590.) If people made *seċst* into *sekst*, they would also make *iċ sæꝛde* into *ik sæꝛde*. That such a system of Satz-phonetik really did obtain is almost impossible to prove, because in O.E., when the principle was a living one, the orthography did not consistently distinguish between *ċ* and *c*, etc.; while by the M.E. period, when graphical distinctions of sounds were more definite, the principle had ceased to be active. Hoping to find some indications that such a system of sentence sandhi had once existed, I carefully counted all examples, both of *iċ* and *ich*, in MS. Hatton 38, and in the printed edition of *Vices and Virtues*, to see whether the forms were used according to any law. There is no doubt that the normal form for the dialect of the Hatton Gospels was *ich*, therefore it is *iċ* which has to be explained. It may be said that this spelling is due to the earlier original upon which this copy of the Gospels is based, and this may be the case to a great extent; still, it is



a curious fact that of 108 examples of this form which I counted, 63 occur before open consonants, only 20 before stops, and 25 before vowels and *h*. For *ich* there seems to be no rule, this being evidently the normal form, and it is used indifferently before stops, open consonants, and vowels. The results from Vices and Virtues were practically the same. *Ich* seems to be used indiscriminately, but *ic* occurs chiefly before open consonants. I give these facts for what they are worth, without attaching any very great importance to them; they may not absolutely prove, but in any case they rather confirm than contradict, the theory that doublets could be produced in the sentence itself by the influence of initial sounds upon the final consonant of preceding words. In the face of the curious mixture of back and front forms in all dialects, it appears to me that the only satisfactory explanation will be one which will account for double forms of each word, one form with *-k* or *-g*, another with *-c* or *-cz*. My theory, even if it be only admitted for single words and primitive compounds, will do this for a great many words, as far as the Southern dialects are concerned, and may perhaps also be extended to the South Midland. In some cases a *-k* or *-g* may be developed in compounds, and survive in the simple form. But with regard to *lig*, *thack*, *brig*, etc., in the North, a strange dilemma arises.

The theory of Scandinavian origin may explain some of these forms, but cannot explain them all; in fact, if it were assumed for all 'irregular' words, there need be no further discussion. Kluge's view that the *-k* and *-g* forms are due to a regular unfronting in the North of O.E. *c* and *cz* (by a process, by the way, the details of which are not stated), is hardly supported by much evidence. The existence of so many *-ch* and *-dge* words at all in the North would need to be explained in this case. Besides, we have shown in the word-lists that many *-k* and *-g* words are not typically Northern, but occur also in the South. And yet we cannot regard these forms as produced independently in the North by the same process which we have seen could, and did, produce them in the South. There is nothing left, therefore, but to suppose that the 'anomalous' forms were produced in the South, under the conditions already stated, and that they slowly spread to the Northern dialects, where they eventually became the chief forms, the fronted varieties being eliminated. I can but admit that this seems improbable at first sight, for it will be said that such wholesale borrowing cannot be accounted for. But, after all, the



old theory which assumed that all the fronted forms in the North were borrowed from the South, and that all the *-k* and *-g* forms in Southern dialects were borrowed from the North, is in reality quite as improbable; in fact, such a theory is disproved, I think, by the evidence I have already adduced of the existence of back and front forms side by side in the same dialects, both North and South.

Again, there is no difficulty in assuming that forms produced in the South and South Midlands should go northwards—in the West up the valley of the Severn, in the East from Norfolk and Lincolnshire. Then, it may be asked how it is that the South got rid of most of these forms, in answer to which I again appeal to the word-lists, to show rather how many of them were kept. It is admitted that even if we take all these arguments into consideration, this theory of extensive borrowings from the South is unsatisfactory; but all I can say is, that in spite of all its defects, it seems to me to present fewer difficulties than any view hitherto advanced. This theory may be improbable, but the others are manifestly impossible.

We have certain phenomena, commoner in some dialects, it is true, than in others, but still existing in all. I have endeavoured to show that these phenomena were originally produced by factors (word and sentence sandhi) which it is not disputed have produced sound-changes in other cases; I have attempted to explain the wide distribution of the phenomena so produced by the simple process of borrowing from one dialect into another, a principle which is certainly not a new one. The question of why the Southern dialects should have (on the whole) preferred the *-dge* and *-ch* forms, and why the Northern dialects should (on the whole) have eliminated them, and preferred the *-g* and *-k* forms, belongs to a different order of curious inquiry.

*Notes on some Doubtful or Difficult Words.*

Standard Engl. *brittle*. I identify this word with the dialectal *brichel*, *brickle*, *bruckle*, etc. M.E. has *brucchel* (in Hali Meidenhed for instance), this would = O.E. *bryčel*; *brickle*, on the other hand, would = O.E. *brycle*, etc., in oblique cases. Such doublets as *mickle* and *muchel* are also to be explained in this way. In O.E. *bryčle*, etc., *č* would in the South be unfronted before *l*, but in the North Midland and North would remain

a front-stop; the difference in sound between this and the point-teeth consonant is not great, and the combination *-c̄l* is an awkward one. Or brittle may have been derived in the South from brycle (where *-c̄l* = *-kl*) by the not uncommon change of *k* to *t*. (See list of examples of this change.) For other views see brittle in N.E.D.

To *lig*, etc. Piers Plowman has lickþ, lixt, and from this would be derived stem *lic-*. This form still survives in West Somerset (Elworthy), lic-abad, 'a sluggard.' Cursor Mundi also has likand by the side of ligand = 'lying.' But in West Somerset there are several examples of *-k* becoming *-g*, cf. *hug*, 'to itch,' stem *ik-* (*ikþe*, etc.); *pog*, 'to poke' (which shows that the change is M.E. at all events); *lig* = 'like'; *nog* = 'log of wood,' cf. *nitch*. Thus *lik-* would quite naturally become *lig* in the Southern dialects, and this explanation accounts for *lig*, and rather tends to show that it is not 'Northern' in origin. For other examples of *-k* becoming *-g*, see list: "Voicing of final *-k*."

*Elk*. Mr. Bradley will not have it that this word is historically connected with O.E. *éolh*, but says that it must be borrowed from some Continental form at a comparatively late date (see *Elk* in N.E.D.). On the other hand in the Co. Down a seal is called a selk, O.E. *seolh*. This is the pronunciation of the word at Kilkeel, where I heard it often, and paid particular attention to the sounds. (The *k* is the front variety of the back stop, and the *l* is also pronounced clear, with arched tongue as in French.)

In the glossary for Down and Antrim (E.D.S., Patterson, 1880), the word is written 'selch.' I would suggest that both of these words represent the O.E. forms, and that the *k* in both cases arose before an open consonant, either in a compound, or in the sentence. The O.E. form *eolhx secg* (Hickes, *Thes.*, p. 135) does not inspire confidence, especially as the MS. (Cott., Otho, B. x) is lost (see Kemble, *Archæologia*, p. 339). In the *Bibl. d. A.-S. Poesie* (Grein Wülcker, 1881, Bd. i, p. 334) the Runic poem is reprinted and the form discussed. Wülcker prints *eolh secz* simply, and says that the *x* was probably added by Hickes himself, and has nothing to do with *eolh*.

He regards it as rather an explanatary note on the value of the rune  $\gamma$ . On the other hand, this plausible explanation is rather upset by the fact that *eolx secg* occurs in a glossary of the tenth or eleventh century (Wright-Wülcker, p. 271, 21). Therefore I think we may regard the *x* as genuine. I should explain this as = *ks*,

and should prefer to regard the form as a nominative. In this case the *s* of *sege* is a redundancy. In the same way *selk* may be due to such an old compound as *seolhwæd*, where *h + w* would = *kw*-. I do not, of course, assert that *selk* and *elk* cannot be explained in any other way than above, but up to the present none has been suggested which would account for the *k*. My explanation, at any rate, does this. I am compelled by want of space to reserve until another occasion, publishing some remarks I have put together on several other difficult words.

## X

LISTS SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF SIXTY-THREE WORDS IN THE  
MODERN DIALECTS.

Brickle }  
 Bruckle } 'brittle.'  
 Brockle }  
 Brackly }

Northumb., Lancs., N.E. Lincs.,  
 Shropsh., E. Angl., Suff., Worcs.,  
 Northamptonsh., Beds., Somers.,  
 Berks., Kent, Dorset, Hants., I of W.

Dike.

Northumb., Cumb., Durh., Derbysh.,  
 N.E. Lincs., S.W. Lincs., Leices.,  
 Rutl., E. Angl.

Muckle }  
 Mickle }

Northumb., Cumb., Durh., Lancs.,  
 Wilts., Berks.

Cleek }  
 Click } 'to clutch, snatch.'  
 Cluck, etc. }

Northumb., Cumb., Durh., Lancs.,  
 N.E. Lincs., S.W. Lincs.

Sic } 'such.'  
 Sec }

Northumb., Cumb., N. Yrks., N.E.  
 Yrks., W. Yrks.

Cleek } 'clutch' or 'brood' of  
 Cluck } chickens.

Northumb., N.E. Lincs.

Fleek } 'fitch.'  
 Flick }

Northumb., Cumb., Westm., Durh.,  
 Derbysh., N.E. Lincs., S.W. Lincs.,  
 Leices., E. Angl., Suff., Northampt.,  
 Somers., Wilts., Hants., I. of W.

Smack, 'taste.'

Northumb., Derbysh., Glouces.

Dick } 'ditch.'  
 Deek }

E. Angl., N.E. Lincs., Somers.,  
 Surrey, Kent, Hants., Sussex.

Pik, 'pitch, tar.'

Northumb., Cumb., Derbysh., N.E.  
 Lincs., S.W. Lincs., Leices.

Snack, 'hasty meal, share,' etc.

Cumb., Durh., Derbysh., N.E.  
 Lincs., Herefordsh., Somers., Berks.

Reek = 'smoke,' sb. and vb.

Northumb., Cumb., Westm., Durh.,  
 Derbysh., N.E. Lincs., Rutl., Suff.,  
 Northampt., Surrey.

Reek } 'to reach.'  
 Reik }

Windhill (S. Yrks.).



Steek, 'a stitch.'  
Stik.

Northumb.

Beseek.

Northumb.

Streek } 'to stretch, a stretch.'  
Straik }

Northumb., Cumb., N. Yrks., Mid.  
Yrks., E. Angl.

Yeke }  
Yeuk } 'to itch.'  
Yuck }  
Ukey, 'itching.'

Northumb., Cumb., Durh., N.E.  
Yrks., Mid. Yrks., S. Yrks. (eek, 'to  
itch'), S.W. Lincs. (Somers. has hug  
'to itch,' which=*\*uk*; see remarks  
above on voicing of final *k*.)

Thak } 'thatch, to thatch.'  
Theak }

Northumb., Cumb., Yrks. generally,  
Derbysh., N.E. Lincs., S.W. Lincs.,  
Leices., Rutl., E. Angl., W. Wores.,  
Warwes., Northampt., Beds.

Tweak } 'twitch,' etc.  
Twike }

Northumb., S. Cheshire, Shropsh.,  
Leices.

Birk.

Northumb., Cumb., Lincs., Yrks.  
generally, Derbysh., N.E. Lincs.,  
S.W. Lincs.

Clink, 'to clinch.'  
Clinker, 'clincher.'

Northumb., Yrks., S. Chesh.,  
S.W. Lincs., Shropsh., E. Angl.

Kirk.

Northumb., Cumb., Yrks. generally,  
Derbysh., N.E. Lincs.

Kink, 'a twist,' etc.

Cumb., Yrks., Chesh., N.E. Lincs.,  
Leices., E. Angl., W. Somers., Kent,  
Sussex, I. of W.

Benk } 'bench.'  
Bink }

Northumb., Cumb., Westm., Yrks.,  
Lincs., I. of Man, Staff., N.E. Lincs.,  
Northampt.

Belk, 'belch.'

Northumb., Cumb., Durh., Yrks.,  
Lincs., N.E. Lincs., W. Somers.,  
E. Corn., W. Corn.

Wink, 'winch.'

W. Somers., Dorset.

Crink } 'small apple, anything very  
Crinkets } small.'

Westm., Chesh., Warwes., Shropsh.,  
Glos.

Cletch, }  
Clutch, etc. } 'a brood of chickens.'

Northum., Durh., Lincs., N. Yrks.,  
N.E. Yrks., Mid. Yrks., S.W.  
Lincs., E. Angl., Suff., Herefordsh.,  
Sussex.

Keach, 'to heave up.'

Northumb. only.

But KECK, 'to be sick,' in Herefordsh., Glos., Wilts.; Berks. (= to make choky noise in throat); Hants. = 'to retch,' I. of W. 'to choke.'

Seech, 'to seek.'

Lancs., Chesh.

Does not appear to exist in any Southern dialects.

Nicher, 'to neigh.'

Northumb.

But nicker in Kent and Sussex, nucker in Surrey.

Reechy, 'smoky,' etc.

Reech, 'steam,' etc.

S. Yorks., Lancs., S. Chesh., Shropsh., Warwcs.

Smatch, 'flavour.'

Mid. Yorks., S. Yorks. (Lancs. has smouch, 'a kiss'), S. Chesh., Derby., Leices., Warwcs., Oxf., Hants.

Aitch, 'ache.'

Chesh., Shropsh.

Priteh.

Pritchel.

Shropsh., E. Angl., Worcs., Northampt., Glos., Kent, Dev., S.W. of Ireland.

Snatch, 'hasty meal, small piece,' etc.

Leices., Glos. (= nasty flavour, confused with smatch?), Berks.

Phil. Trans. 1898-9.

Blatch } = the black grease in  
Bletch } wheels, etc.

Chesh., Shropsh., Staffs., Glos., Wilts., Dors., Hants.

Britchel } 'brittle.'  
Britcha }

Lancs., Yorks., S. Chesh., Derbysh., Shropsh.

Kench = kink, 'to twist, sprain,' etc.

Lancs., S. Chesh., Shropsh., Staffs., Suff., Warwcs.

Linch = 'link,' a field, a wooded bank, etc.

Glos., W. Somers., Dors., Wilts., Berks., Kent.

Worch } vb. and sb.  
Warch }

Lancs., Chesh., Shropsh.

Skinch = 'to help to, to stint.'

Durh. (= 'shut up!'), N.E. Lincs., S.W. Lincs., E. Angl.

Scrinch } 'a morsel, anything very  
Cringclings } small.'

S. Chesh., E. Angl., Warwcs., Oxf.

Brig, 'bridge.'

Northumb., Cumb., Yrks. generally, Lancs. (North and Mid.), Derbysh., N.E. and S.W. Lincs., Leices., Rutl., E. Angl., Northamptonsh., Beds.

Segg, etc., 'sedge.'

Northumb., Cumb., Durh., N.E. Lincs., Shropsh., Leices, E. Angl., Suffolk, Herefordsh., Worcs., Upton-on-Severn and S.W. Worcs., Warwcs., Northamptonsh., Gloucecs.

Hig, etc. = O.E. hyge.

Northumb., Lancs., Yrks. generally, Derbysh., N.E. and S.W. Lincs.

Egg = edge, 'to urge, incite.'

Cumb., Lancs., S. Chesh., Shropsh., Warwcs., Beds., Sussex.

Migg, 'midge.'

Windhill.

Lig, 'tell lies, a lie.'

Westm., W. Yorks., S. Chesh., Shropsh., Leices., Warwcs., Northamptonsh., Beds., Oxfordsh. (ligster, 'liar').

Flig, fleg, etc., 'fledge.'

Northumb., Durh., Chesh., Derbysh., N.E. and S.W. Lincs., Shropsh., Leices., E. Angl., Warwcs., Northamptonsh., Beds., Oxf.

Clag, eleg, claggy, etc. = 'to stick, sticky'; also = 'sticky mass.'

Northumb., Cumb., Durh., Lancs., Yorks., Chesh., S.W. Lincs., Leices., E. Angl., Warwcs., W. Somers., W. Corn. (clig, vb., and cligged).

Whig, 'whey.'

Northumb., S. Chesh., Derbysh., S.W. Lincs., Shropsh., Northamptonsh.

Rig = ridge, 'back.'

Northumb., Cumb., Durh., Lancs., Yorks., Derbysh., N.E. Lincs., Leices., Rutl., E. Angl., Northamptonsh., Wilts. (?).

Lig, 'to lie down, to lay.'

Northumb., Cumb., N. Yorks., Mid. Yorks., S. Yorks., Lancs., Derbysh., N.E. Lincs., S.W. Lincs., Shropsh., Leices., E. Angl., Somers. (lic-a-bed).

Snig }  
Snag } 'snail, small eel.'  
Sneg }

Lancs., S. Chesh., Shropsh., Leices., Wilts., E. Corn., Sussex.

Hag }  
Egg, etc. } 'haw-berries,' etc.

Lancs., Derbysh., Wilts., Berks. (haggas), W. Corn. (aglet), E. Corn. (eglet), Hauts.

(G)nag, 'to gnaw.'

N.E. and S.W. Lincs., Leices.

Sag, 'to saw.'

Yorks.: Huddersfeld, Windhill.

Meg }  
Mog } 'maw.'

W. Somers. (mugget = outer stomach of calf).

Midge, etc.

Northumb., Cumb., Westm., Durh., E. Yorks. (Marshall), Lancs., Chesh., Derbysh., Sussex, etc.

Cledge.  
Cledgy, etc.

Glos., Surrey, Kent, W. Corn., Derby.

To edge on.

Leices., W. Somers.

Fledger, 'fledgeling.'

Northumb.

Bidge, 'to buy.'

Occurs only in Wexford (Poole, 1867). This is a very unreliable glossary, based on collections made many years before. Therefore many words were already obsolete by 1867.

*The following are the chief anomalous words in Standard English in k and g.*

Words with *k* where we should expect *ch*; *k* formed by analogy.

Ache.  
Cluck (of hens).  
Prick, sb. and vb.  
Reck, vb., 'to care.'  
Reek, sb. and vb.  
Seek.  
Shriek.  
Smack, 'taste.'  
Snack, sb.  
Stick, vb.  
Tweak.  
Wake.  
Bishop-rick.  
O.E.  $\zeta = ck$ . Warlock.  
O.E.  $n\acute{c}$ ,  $r\acute{c}$ .  
Links = 'fields': cf. lynch in Glos., Somers., etc.  
Think, vb.  
Work, vb.

O.E.  $h = k$ .  
Elk (kind of deer).  
Fleck, 'a spot.'  
Hock.  
Hickwall } 'woodpecker.'  
Hickel }  
O.E.  $\zeta$ ,  $\acute{\zeta}$ , and  $\acute{c}\zeta = g$ .  
Drag, vb. (Scandinavian?).  
Egg, sb. (Scandinavian?).  
Mugwort.  
Sag, 'to droop.'  
Slug.  
Twig.



## CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

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I am indebted to Professor Napier for several valuable corrections and suggestions connected with my paper, and I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to him for the time and trouble he has bestowed upon my work while in proof. In the subjoined list of emendations I have added (N.) after each remark which Mr. Napier suggested. For all other slips or errors throughout the work which are left uncorrected, I alone am responsible.

July, 1899.

H. C. W.

- Page 137. "These forms [in *-ein'te*] are not particularly early," etc. Adreintum, suffocato, and acweinte, compressit; occur in a gloss of eleventh century, shortly to be published by Mr. Napier. (N.)
- „ 137. After words "Ruthwell Cross, circ. 680," add (P). (N.)
- „ 138 (bottom of page). "*cu* often appears as *ciu*"; read 'sometimes.' (N.)
- „ 140. Domesday spellings do not yield much evidence one way or the other, as they are those of foreign scribes. (N.)
- „ 141, line 12. For *seccan* read *secean*.
- „ 141, line 31. The spelling *bischof* is noted by Reimann in his dissertation on the Hatton Gospels.
- „ 142, line 14. "*k* apparently is not used at all." This is an error. (N.) *k* is rare in *Vespas*, A. 22, but occurs occasionally, e g. in the word 'king' several times, on pp. 231, 233, and 235, etc. (Morris, "O.E. Homilies," 1st series).
- „ 144. Delete 'workinde,' line 15.
- „ 147, line 20. "before O.E. *æ* = Germ. *a*," etc.; for *æ* read *a*.
- „ 150. The form *hinionzæ* cannot be explained as due to a scribal error. The fronted form occurs in *Durham Book*. (N.) Cf. *Cook's Glossary*, p. 92. The fronting awaits explanation.
- „ 151, line 22. For 'doubtless' read 'possibly.'
- „ 152. "Pronunciation of M.E. *g*, *z*." *z* had disappeared (in pronunciation at least) already in O.E. after front vowels, and even when written often does not imply a consonantal sound. Cf. O.E. *swegn* = O.N. *svein*. (N.) I have already pointed out that even *Epinal* has *snel* (p. 148, l. 38).
- „ 154, last line. Read *Lady Margaret Hall*.
- „ 163. Another example of *h* + open consonant becoming *c* in O.E. is *weosteall* = *weohsteall*, for which form see Napier, "Engl. Stud.," xi, p. 64. (N.)
- „ 163, etc. It should be distinctly understood that in the lists which follow two distinct phenomena are illustrated: (1) The stopping of *z* and *h* before open consonants; (2) the unfronting of *c* and *c̄z* before open consonants.
- „ 184. *Werchte* has been by a slip included in the *Kentish Gospels* list of *-rch* words. *ch* in this word represents of course the voiceless open consonant.

VI.—NOTES ON ENGLISH ETYMOLOGY. By the  
Rev. Professor SKEAT, Litt.D. (President).

[Read at the Anniversary Meeting of the Philological Society, May 12, 1899.]

**Ananas**, the pine-apple. This word is not of Peruvian origin, as unluckily stated in the Dictionary of the Spanish Academy, but Brazilian. In a Vocabulary of the dialect of La Plata, by D. Granada, this error is pointed out, as well as the fact that the same Dictionary mis-states the gender of the word as being feminine. But the Guarani name of the plant is *nānā*, and of the fruit *anānā*. In the dialect of La Plata, the name for both fruit and plant is *anand*, masc. The Peruvian (Quichua) name was quite different, viz. *achupalla*, which was the name of the fruit. In the "Historia Naturalis Brasiliae," printed in 1648, we find at p. 33 the remark that the Spanish name was *ananas*, and the Brazilian name was *nana*; the reference being to the plant.

**Boatswain**. The earliest quotation in the N.E.D. is dated 1450. There is a note that "the alleged A.S. *bāt-swān* is apparently a figment." This is correct; but there is an A.S. *bāt-swegen*, a hybrid word made up of the A.S. *bāt*, a boat (whence Icel. *bātr* was borrowed), and the A.S. *swegen*, an A.S. spelling of the O.N. *\*sweinn*, Icel. *sveinn*; and this A.S. *bāt-swegen* is the exact source of the modern form. It occurs in the Leofric Missal, fol. 1, back; see Earle, "Land Charters," p. 254, l. 5.

**Bore**, a tidal wave. This Dr. Murray refers to Icel. *bāra*, a wave; but with some hesitation. I can see no reason for doubt, in view of the examples given in Vigfusson. The Norw. *baara* also means wave or billow, with the secondary sense of 'a swell' at sea, which is just the sense of 'bore'; the Norw. *baara*, verb, means to form waves; and there are several derivatives. Neither is there any difficulty as to the ultimate origin; the base *bār*-precisely corresponds with the third stem of the root-verb *bera*, to bear; indeed, we find in Danish dialects the sb. *baaring*, meaning as much as one can carry at once, a burden. The exact

equivalent, as to form, is the Mod. E. *bier*, A.S. *bêr*, which is likewise derived from the same grade of the same verb, and means 'that which is borne along.' The same sense precisely suits the word *bore*, as it is a great wave, borne along with even and irresistible sway.

**Brook.** The word *brook* is doubtfully connected with the verb *to break* in Kluge and the N.E.D. Both assign to it as a possible meaning that of 'a spring,' or 'place where water bursts forth'; which is not at all convincing. The connection is, however, quite correct, and, rightly viewed, is easily understood. The original sense of *brook* is simply 'fissure,' a place where the ground is broken. The phrase 'broken ground' is quite a familiar one; and the sense comes out in English dialects. The E. dial. *brook* is defined in the E.D.D. as a water-meadow; and the pl. *brooks* is explained as low, marshy ground, not necessarily containing running water or springs. In Cambridge we have a place of the kind called *Brooklands*, though its condition has been bettered. So also Hexham has Du. *broeck*, moorish or marshy land; and Schiller defines the M. Low G. *brök* as meaning a flat place lying low, broken (*durchbrochene*) by water, and overgrown with brush-wood. This clears up the sense; and as to the form there is no difficulty; for the G. *bruch* means exactly a breach, rupture, fracture. The G. *u* answers to A.S. *ō*, and the relationship (by gradation) of G. *bruch*, A.S. *brōc*, to the verb *brecan* is precisely like that of the G. *fuss*, A.S. *fōt*, to the Lat. acc. *ped-em*.

**Bulk**, a frame-work projecting from the front of a shop, a partition. The N.E.D. quotes my suggestion that the word is probably related to *balk*; and also cites the Linc. word *bulkar*, a beam or rafter, and the A.S. *bolca*, 'the gangway of a ship.' The E.D.D. gives *bulk*, 'the open stall of a shop'; *bulker*, 'a counter.' The word is fairly cleared up by comparing M. Dan. *bulk*, in the sense of 'balk' (*Kalkar*), and the Dan. dial. *bulk*, 'a half-wall, a partition' (*Molbech*).

**Bull-dog.** The earliest quotation for *bull-dog* is from "Cock Lorelles Boat," ab. 1500. Dr. Murray is in a little doubt as to whether the dog was named from his attacking bulls, or from some resemblance in the shape of his head. I find a quotation which is strongly in favour of the former hypothesis, and goes back to the fifteenth century. In the piece called "The Hunting of the Hare," stanzas 5-8 (Weber, "Met. Rom.," iii, 281), there is a good deal about dogs. In st. 5, some men boast that they

have enough dogs to bait a hare. Three other men have excellent dogs. Then comes stanza 7, which is to the point—

“Jac of the Bregge and Wylle of the Gappe,  
 Thei have dogges of thei olde schappe,  
 That heyre and beyre wyll kyll.  
 Jac Wade hase a dogge [wyll] hit pull,  
 He hymselue wyll take a bull,  
 And holde hym ston-styll.”

A dog that could seize a bull and hold it stone-still must have been a *bull-dog* indeed. Bull-baiting is mentioned by Fitzstephen, in the time of Henry II: “*Pingues tauri cornupetae . . . cum obiectis depugnant canibus.*”

**Bump.** It is worth notice that the verb *to bump* appears in Kalkar's Middle-Dan. Dict. He explains *bumpe* by ‘to strike with the clenched fist.’ I think that a *bump* would result from it.

**Cack, to cackle.** In Lydgate's “Hors, Shepe, and Goose,” l. 29, pr. in Furnivall's “Political Poems,” p. 16, we find: “The goose may *calke*,” meaning “The goose may cackle.” I have explained, in my article on “Ghost-words,” that *kk* is frequently denoted in MSS. by a symbol resembling *lk*; and the present example is clearly one of these. Thus the apparent *calke* = *cakke*, i.e. to *cack*, the original verb of which *cackle* is only the frequentative. The New E. Dict. has no example of this simple verb, nor is the quotation recognized.

**Calf.** There is still some difficulty as to the *calf* of the leg. It is the Icel. *kálfi*, ‘the calf of the leg’; but how is it related to *kálfr*, ‘a calf’? I think the connection is really a very close one. The Swed. *kalf*, m., means ‘a calf,’ and *ben-kalf*, also m., is the leg-calf, or the calf of the leg. Much light is thrown upon it by the curious phrase *to cave in*, which, as was first shown by Wedgwood, means to *calve in*, a phrase used by Dutch workmen to indicate that a mass of earth is falling, like a calf from a cow. Koolman, in his E. Fries. Dict., is quite clear about it. He gives *kalsen*, ‘to calve’; and also to fall in (as earth); as *de slotskante kalfd of*, or *kalfd in*, i.e. the edge of the ditch caves away, or caves in. Stokes clenches the matter by an etymology; he adduces the Gaulish Lat. *Galba* (the name of an emperor), which Suetonius explains as *praepinguis*, i.e. big-bellied; an epithet which, according to history, Philip I of France was so ill-advised as to



apply to William the Conqueror. Now *Galba* answers, by Grimm's Law, to the English *calf*, and enables us to see that the calf of the leg is likened to the calf before it drops from the cow.

**Cat-in-the-pan.** Dr. Murray's earliest quotation for this phrase is dated 1532. It is a century older. "Many men of lawe . . . bi here suteltes *turnen the cat in the panne*"; Wyclif's Works, ed. Arnold, iii, 332. This strengthens the supposition that the proverb really refers to a *pussy-cat* and not to a *cate*.

**Cloves.** In the N.E.D. this word is derived from the F. *clou*, as usual; and the difficulty of this derivation is duly pointed out. It is clear that the ultimate source is the Lat. *clāuus*, 'a nail.' I believe that the right solution is one which has never yet been thought of, viz., that the word is really of Italian origin, though somewhat affected by a French pronunciation. It is a remarkable fact that, as explained by Diez, the Lat. *ā* in *clāuus*, Late L. *clāvus*, was taken together with the *v*, and the *av* became *o*, as usual; this produced an Ital. form *chio-o*, in which a euphonic *d* or *v* was inserted, producing the two forms *chiodo*, *chivo*, both meaning 'nail.' But both these words had the secondary sense of 'clove.' It is remarkable that the great Italian Dict. by Tommaseo only recognizes *chiodo* as having the sense of 'clove,' and gives *chivo* as a 'nail' only. And most Italian dictionaries give no other sense than that of 'nail' for both *chiodo* and *chivo*. But, as a matter of fact, the pl. term *chiovi* was used as a trade-name for 'cloves' till quite recently, and may be so still. *Chiovi* is given as the equivalent for 'cloves' in the Dict. of Merchandise, by C. H. Kaufmann, 1815; and in various editions of Macculloch's Commercial Dictionary. It seems fairly clear that the E. *clove* is due to a compromise between the F. *clou* and the Ital. *chivo*.

This supposition solves yet another difficulty; for there is another word *clove*, meaning 'a weight of about 7 lbs.' Of this the N.E.D. says that it "represents the Anglo-Latin *clarus* and the A.F. *clou*, both common in laws of 13th-15th cent.;" and adds, that it is from L. *clāuus*, 'a nail.' But no explanation is given of the form of the word. I would explain it by supposing that, here again, the A.F. *clou* has been contaminated by Italian. Florio has: "*Chioua*, a kind of great weight *in Italy*"; which is what we want. Ducange gives the fem. *clava*, as well as *clavus*, and defines it as an E. weight of about eight pounds.

**Cog**, as in 'to *cog* dice.' It is shown in the N.E.D. that the

phrase to *cog* dice seems to have meant originally, so to handle the dice-box and dice as to control, in some degree, the fall of the dice. But no etymology is suggested. When we notice that the usual sb. *cog*, 'a tooth on the rim of a wheel,' is of Scand. origin, being precisely the Mid. Dan. *kogge*, 'a cog' (whence *kogge-hjul*, 'a cog-wheel,' see Kalkar); and when we further observe that the Norw. *kogga* means 'to dupe,' whilst in Swedish we find the verb *kugga*, 'to cheat,' corresponding to the Swed. *kugge*, 'a cog'; it becomes probable that there is a real connection between the verb and the sb. I suggest that the method of *cogging* was performed in the only possible way, viz., by making use of the little finger as a *cog*, projecting a little into the dice-box so as just to hitch the die against the side, and to direct it in the way it should go. In any case, the verb *to cog* is obviously of Scand. origin. Perhaps it is worth adding that the Swed. verb *kugga* also means 'to pluck in an examination'; which looks as if the examiner puts a cog in the candidate's attempts to turn himself round; or, as we should say, 'puts a spoke in his wheel.' The prov. E. *to cog together*, means 'to agree'; this obviously refers to the fitting together of cogs of an adaptable form.

**Collop.** In the earliest quotation for this word, in "Piers Plowman," B. vi. 287, the pl. appears as *coloppes*. In the corresponding passage, in C. ix. 309, only two MSS. out of six have *coloppes*, whilst four insert an *h*, giving us *colhoppes*. The spelling *colhoppes* must be considered as the original. Dr. Murray suggests that the first part of the word represents A.S. *col*, 'a coal'; since the Prompt. Parv. gives *carbonella* as the Latin for *collop*. It remains to discover the sense of the latter element *hoppe*. Now, in the Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen, Band ci, heft. 3, 4, p. 392, there is an article on the word *collops* by Erik Björkman, of Upsala, in which the writer points out that an old Swedish form *kolhuppad* occurs, once only, which is probably borrowed from English. In Noreen's Altschwed. Lesebuch, p. 145, the editor says: "*kolhuppadher*, . . . . adj., 'roasted in the glow of the coals'; Swed. *glödhoppad*." This Swedish word is not in the usual Swed. dictionaries, but *glöd* is the common word for a glowing coal or a glède; so that *glödhoppad* is 'roasted on the gledes.' In Rietz, Dict. of Swed. dialects, we find, as the word for 'a cake baked on the gledes,' the forms *glö-hoppa*, *glödhyppja*, *glöhyppa*, *glöhypppe*. It is obvious that we have here the equivalent of M.E. *col-hoppe*, with the

prefix 'glede' instead of 'coal.' And we hence gather, as the result, that *hoppe* means something baked or fried on the coals. The usual sense of *collop* in M.E. is 'fried ham' or 'fried bacon' (see the N.E.D.); but as the Swed. word means 'cake,' it may be explained as having the general sense of 'a thing fried,' viz. by placing it over glowing coals. Another form of the word is, in my opinion, the G. *hippe*, 'a wafer.' This is made clearer by help of Schmeller's Bavarian Dict., col. 1139, where we find: "*die Hippen*, a wafer-shaped cake, which was rolled together after being baked." Oddly enough, this word was used with yet a third prefix. Schmeller cites the form *hol-hippen*, explained as 'crustula mellita.' I suppose *hol-hippen* means 'hollow cakes,' from the shape when rolled up; but I do not know that this is right. The examples in Schmeller show that the former vowel is sometimes *ü*; hence we see that the *i* is, etymologically, a mutation of *u*, which brings the form *hüppen* into close connection with the O. Swed. *kol-huppad*. It may be connected with the curious A.S. *hoppe*, explained as a bell on a dog's neck; lit. 'a dancer,' from its constant motion. In like manner a *col-hoppe* may have meant 'that which dances on the coals,' said of anything fried. Cf. *Gallop* below.

**Corrie.** The N.E.D. tells us that the Highland word *corrie* means a circular hollow among mountains, from the Gael. *coire*, which has this meaning, though the original sense was a cauldron or kettle. I have two remarks to add here. First, the G. *kessel* has a similar double meaning, as it means (1) a kettle, and (2) a ravine. Secondly, as shown by Stokes and Brugmann, the Gael. *coire* is cognate not only with W. *pair*, 'a cauldron,' but also with the A.S. *hwer*, with the same sense. The Irish *c*, W. *p*, points to Celtic *q*, which answers to the A.S. *hw*. Many may remember *Pont-y-pair*, the bridge of the cauldron, where "the broken course of the stream below adds much to the effect of the scene."

**Creel**, a wicker basket. A derivation from a supposed O.F. form *\*creille*, representing L. *craticula*, is proposed in the N.E.D. The E.D.D. points out that the right form is the O.F. *creil*, for which we are referred to Lacurne. This O.F. *creil* also occurs in Ducange, s.v. *cleia*, where it is given as the O.F. translation of L. *crütes*, 'a hurdle.' There can be no doubt that our *creel* is precisely this O.F. *creil*, which represents the L. *\*craticulum*, the neuter, not the feminine form. As a fact, the L. fem. form *craticula* is also represented in French, viz., by the sb. *gille*.



It is thus evident that *creel* is a masculine (or neuter) form closely related to the fem. form *grille*, 'a grating.' It is worth noting that, whilst Ital. *gradella* is explained in Florio by a gridiron (i.e. 'a grill') or a window-grate (F. *grille*), the same word in modern Italian means a fish-basket (i.e. creel). So in French, F. *gril*, 'a gridiron,' is a doublet of our *creel*.

**Creem**, to crumble (prov. E.). See below.

**Crumb**. It is worth noting that, as suggested by Kluge, the *u* in the A.S. *crūma*, 'a crumb,' was long. This is shown in two ways: (1) the prov. E. *croom* has the long vowel still; and (2) A.S. *crūma* answers to E. *crumb* just as A.S. *þūma* does to E. *thumb*. This helps us to the etymology of the prov. E. *creem*, 'to crumble.' It suggests an A.S. form \**crȳman*, derived from *crūma* by mutation of *ū* to *ȳ*, with substitution of the Kentish *ē* for A.S. *ȳ*, as in the modern E. *steeple* for A.S. *stȳpel*. In the E.D.D., the sense of 'crumble' (for *creem*) is given as the *third* sense; but it ought to stand as the *first*.

**Cudgel**. Kluge connects *cudgel*, A.S. *cyogel*, with G. *kugel*, 'a ball,' and *keule*, 'a club,' presumably with a knob to it. I propose further to connect these words with Swed. *kugge*, whence the E. *cog*. A *cog* would thus be explained as 'a round projection,' and a *cudgel* as 'a knobbed stick.' Cf. also Dan. dial. *kugel*, *kugl*, *kygl*, 'rounded, convex' (Molbech).

**Dank**. It is said, in the N.E.D., that the only words known which seem to be related to *dank* are the Swed. dial. *dank*, 'a moist place in a field,' and Icel. *dökk*, 'a pit, a pool.' But I find other forms which are more satisfactory, viz., Swed. dial. *dänka*, 'to moisten'; and Dan. dial. *dönks*, *dynke*, 'to sprinkle linen with water before ironing it.' Besides these, we can scarcely doubt that *dank* is connected with the Mid. Swed. and prov. Swed. *dunkenhet*, given by Ihre and Rietz, which meant precisely 'moisture' or dankness; and further, with Dan. dial. *dunkel*, 'moist, not quite dry'; *dynk*, 'a drizzling rain' (Molbech); and Norw. *dynka*, 'to wet.' This makes it quite certain that *dank* is connected with an obsolete Scand. verb \**dinka*, pt. t. \**dank*, pp. \**dunkinn*, the sense of which was, probably, 'to be wet.' Cf. also *damp*.

**Darn**. Dr. Murray shows that all ideas of assigning a Celtic origin for the *darning* of stockings, etc., must be given up. He suggests that it is connected with the adj. *dern*, 'secret, hidden'; whence *dern*, 'to conceal, to put out of sight.' But he suggests no connecting link between the two ideas. This I now propose



to supply. The A.S. verb *gedyrnan* is duly given in Bosworth and Toller, with the senses 'to conceal, hide, keep secret.' But it also had the explicit sense 'to stop up.' This, I think, is all that we require. To *darn* a hole in a stocking is precisely 'to stop up' the hole, so as to make the stocking wearable; and the same explanation applies to a hole in any kind of garment. The required meaning is supplied by a gloss which is twice recorded; viz. 'oppilatum, *gedyrned*'; Wright's Vocab. ed. Wülker, 461. 7; and 494. 25. *Oppilāre*, 'to stop up,' is rare; but occurs in Cicero and Lucretius (see Lewis and Short). Lastly, the matter is put beyond doubt by the account of the prov. E. *darn* in the E.D.D., where it is especially noted that the word is applied in Aberdeen, not to the mending of a stocking, but to the stopping up of a hole with straw. A most extraordinary use of the word is also recorded there, viz., that a drunken man, who takes a zig-zag course instead of walking straight, is said "to *darn* the streets." I have yet one more remark to add, viz., that, in the dialect of Westphalia, the verb *stoppen*, lit. 'to stop,' is used in the precise sense of "to darn a stocking."

**Darnel.** The etymology of *darnel* has never yet been fully explained. Hitherto, we have only got as far as this, viz., that it is a Walloon form, recorded in Hécart's Glossary of the dialect of Rouchi in the form *darnelle*, with a note that it is known "en Cambrésis," i.e. in the neighbourhood of Cambray. I wish to draw attention to the final *e*, as showing that the word was originally one of three syllables, and was feminine. This helps us to a possible etymology. I take this word to be really a compound; the word consists of two parts, viz. *dar-* and *nelle*; and I propose to show that, whereas *darnel* is applied to *Lolium temulentum*, the former part *dar-* practically signifies *temulentum*, and the latter part *nelle* means *lolium*. And first, as to *dar-*. This is explained by Swedish, which has two words for 'darnel,' viz. the compound *dår-repe* and the simple form *repe*. Both are given in Öman's Swed. Dict.; he has: "*dår-repe*, bearded darnel," and "*repe*, darnel." It is clear that *dår-* refers to the stupefying property of the plant, whence also it is called *temulentum* in Latin, and *ivraie* in French; for F. *ivraie* is obviously allied to the adj. *ivre*, 'drunken.' The Swed. *dåra* means 'to infatuate, to delude, to bewitch,' and is allied to Dan. *bedaaere*, 'to infatuate, to besot'; and to the M.Du. *dore*, G. *Thor*, 'a fool, a senseless person.' See the words *dor*,

'mockery,' *dor*, 'a fool,' and *dare*, vb. (2) in the N.E.D. Note also M.Du. *verdaren*, 'to amaze'; Low G. *bedaren*, Du. *bedaren*, 'to become calm or to be calmed down'; which show the vowel *a* in place of the Icel. *ā* or Swed. *å*. Corresponding to the vowels *a* and *å* respectively, we have variants both in English and Walloon. In English we have the ordinary form *darnel* and the Lowl. Sc. *dornell*. In Walloon, we have the remarkable variants recorded by Grandgagnage, viz. *darnise* and *daurnise*, signifying one who is stupefied by drink or is dazed. Putting all these facts together, there seems to be sufficient evidence that the syllable *dar-* or *dor-* has reference to the stupefying or intoxicating properties of *darnel*. If this be correct, it is not difficult to find the meaning and etymology of *nelle*. Godefroy gives *nelle* as a variant of *nielle*, with the sense of *darnel*. He quotes from a Glasgow glossary the entry "Hæc jugella, *neele*"; and from another glossary, "Lolium, *nielle*"; and again: "Zizania, *nielle*"; and again, "la *nelle* ou la droe par-my le froment." This shows that, as I said, *nelle* is feminine, and is clearly a contracted form of *nielle*, the form *neele* being intermediate between the two. As to the etymology of *nielle*, it is merely the F. form of L. *nigella*. The form *jugella*, of course spelt with *i* (not *j*) in the Glasgow glossary, is nothing but the scribe's error; he has written *iu* instead of *ni*, just as the mysterious word *junames* in Halliwell's Dictionary turns out to be a miswritten form of *innames*, i.e. intakes, or plots of land taken into cultivation. The L. *nigella* means a plant having black or blackish seeds, and is the fem. of *nigellus*, blackish, from *niger*, black. In Lyte's translation of Dodoens, bk. ii, c. 96, he remarks that one kind of *nigella* has black seeds; and further, that the French form of *nigella* is *nielle*. He distinguishes between *nigella* and *lolium*; but we need not be troubled about this, since the old glossaries identify *nielle* with *lolium* and *zizania*. Cotgrave explains *nielle bastarde* by 'cockle,' and we know that 'cockle' is often used to translate both *zizania* and *lolium*. A gloss in Wright's Vocab., 554. 10, written in three languages, brings the words together thus: "Zizania, *neele*, cockel." We thus have irrefragable evidence to show that the O.F. fem. sb. *nelle* actually meant 'darnel,' and that it is ultimately a derivative of L. *niger*, 'black.' This being so, we can hardly fail to identify the Lowl. Sc. prefix *dor-* with the Swed. *dår-* in the compound *dår-repe*, 'darnel'; and lastly, we see that this prefix refers to the stupefying properties of the *Lolium*

*temulentum*. The admirable article on *cockle* in the N.E.D. gives further information. Professor Henslow has kindly explained to me how the confusion between *darnel*, *corn-cockle*, and *nigella* arose. *Darnel* was confused with *cockle*, because both grow among corn. *Cockle* was confused with *nigella* because both grow among corn, and have black seeds. The seeds of darnel are *not* black. He remarks further, that this early confusion of the three plants was repeated by Fuchsius and others, but they are correctly distinguished from each other in Gerarde's Herbal; where we find (1) Gith, nigella, Melanthium; (2) Cockle, Bastard nigella, Pseudomelanthium; and (3) Darnel, Lolium album, Triticum temulentum.

**Date (of the Palm-tree).** The word *date*, as applied to the fruit of the palm-tree, is derived, through the French *datte* and the L. *dactylus*, from Gk. δάκτυλος, of which the true sense, in Greek, is 'a finger.' It is tolerably obvious that this is nothing but a popular etymology, and that δάκτυλος, in the sense of 'date,' is from some foreign source, assimilated to the ordinary word for 'finger' because that was a familiar word, and some sort of resemblance to a finger could be made out. Professor Bevan, I found, was of the same opinion; and gave me as the source the Aramaic *diqlā*, 'a palm-tree,' whence the Heb. *Ḍiqlāh*, as a proper-name, spelt *Diklah* in the A.V., Gen. x. 27; 1 Chron. i. 21. The Arab. *daqal*, 'a kind of palm,' is a related word. It is a safe conclusion that the Greek word was modified from the Aramaic name of the date-palm.

**Debut.** The Dictt. all agree that the F. sb. *début* is from the verb *débuter*; but they give no very clear account of the verb. Hatzfeld makes two distinct verbs, viz. (1) *débuter*, 'to get nearest to the mark, to make one's first attempt, to begin,' which he derives from the Lat. prep. *de* and F. *but*, 'a mark,' observing that the old spelling *desbuter* is wrong; and (2) *débuter*, 'to knock away from the mark,' in which the prefix represents the Lat. *dis-*. But the distinction is surely needless. Cotgrave explains M.F. *desbuter* by 'to put from the mark he was, or aimed, at,' i.e., 'was *at* or aimed at,' also, 'to repel, thrust back, drive from his place, disappoint'; and does not notice the other senses at all. This makes it clear that this was the original sense; and it is obvious that the prefix is the O.F. *des-*, answering to the Lat. *dis-*, and that the spelling *desbuter* is right. But we can easily see that the sense 'to get nearest the mark' follows immediately from this,



and belongs to precisely the same verb. Anyone who has played at bowls knows perfectly well that the player who knocks the best bowl away from its good place usually succeeds in substituting his own bowl as being the nearest, or at any rate leaves his partner's bowl in a good position; otherwise he does no good by his stroke, and does not disappoint the adversary. Consequently we have but *one* verb to deal with; and we may further remember that, if a novice at the game of bowls succeeds in displacing the adversary's bowl, and so getting nearest to the mark, he will certainly astonish the older players, and make a successful *début*. Further, according to the rules of the game, he will, in the next round, have the honour of *beginning first*, which brings in yet another sense of the verb. I submit that there is but *one* verb, and that the etymology is obvious. It is worth notice that Littré gives six senses to the word, and actually places the original sense last of all. This original sense is an active one, whilst all the other senses are neuter. It is also worth notice that the sb. does not occur in Cotgrave. According to Hatzfeld, it first occurs in 1642, spelt *desbut*; a spelling which I hold to be perfectly correct. The order of the development of the senses is, accordingly: (1) 'to knock away from the mark,' in the game of bowls; (2) 'to come in first,' at the same game; (3) 'to lead off,' in the next round, at the same; (4) 'to lead off,' generally; (5) 'to make a first beginning in public.'

**Dog.** Only one example of the A.S. *dogga* is given in Bosworth. But we find *doggene-ford* and *doggene-berwe* in Kemble, Cod. Dipl., vi. 231, l. 1; and *doggi-þorn* in Birch, A.S. Charters, iii. 113.

**Drown.** It is known that the mod. E. *drown* answers, in sense at least, to the A.S. *druncnian*, signifying (1) 'to become drunk,' and (2) 'to drown.' And it is clear that this verb is formed from the pp. *druncen* 'drunken.' But it is hardly possible to see how such a form as *druncnian* should have lost so strong a combination as *nc*. The right answer is given by Erik Björkman, at p. 394 of "Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen," Bd. ci. He shows that the form is not English, but Danish. Owing to the Scand. habit of assimilation, the Dan. for 'drunken' is *drukken*, and the Dan. for 'to drown' is *drukne*. In this form the first *n* has already disappeared, and there is only the *k* to get rid of. But this *k* is also sometimes lost in Mid. Danish. Kalkar gives *drukne*, with the variants *drougne*, *drovne*, *drone*; so that the M.E. *drunen* is thus sufficiently accounted for, as being of Danish origin.



**Eager, Eagre**, a tidal wave in a river. This is a most interesting and mysterious word, which has often astonished readers and excited curiosity. It is discussed in the N.E.D., where it is shown that it cannot be from the A.S. *ēagor*, *ēgor*, 'a flood,' because the A.S. *g* between two vowels always became a *y*, and never remains hard. It is also most unlikely that the favourite idea of our antiquaries can be admitted, viz., that it represents the Icelandic sea-god named *Ægir*, for the final *r* would then probably have dropped off; besides which, I know of no reason why the *g* should not, in this case also, have suffered change. The hard *g* is clearly due to a French origin, as in *meagre*, *eagle*, and the like. Moreover, as the E. *eagle* answers to F. *aigle*, we should expect the E. *eager* to commence with *aig-* in French; or, if a vowel follows, the F. word must begin with *aigu-*. If, with this hint, we now open Godefroy's O.F. Dict., we shall find the form required, viz. the O.F. *aiguere*, 'a flood or inundation.' He has but one example, but fortunately this is a very clear one. He quotes a couple of lines to this effect:—

“ Les blez en terre pourrisoient  
Pour les *aigueres* qui seourdent ”;

i.e., the crops upon the land were spoilt on account of the *eagers* (or floods) which overflow it. The sb. *aiguere* is fem., and appears to be the same word as *aiguiere*, 'a water-jar,' of which numerous examples are given in the Supplement to Godefroy. The Lat. form is *aquāria*, which not only meant a water-jar but also a conduit or canal; see Ducange. Closely related is the O.F. verb *aiguer*, 'to water, to bathe,' answering to the Late L. *aquāre*, 'to irrigate.' I understand that this explanation is accepted; and, if it is right, it solves a difficulty which was left unexplained in the N.E.D. I further think that the forms *acker*, *aker*, *aiker*, given (under A) with just the same meaning, and conjectured by Dr. Murray to be mere variants of *eager*, are really such. Indeed, they admit of an exact explanation. For, whereas *aiguere* was the 'popular' French form, the 'learned' French form would have *a* rather than *ai* at the commencement, and would retain the *qu*, which was frequently pronounced as *k*. This is verified by Godefroy's Dict., which gives an O.F. *aquaire* as the equivalent of *Aquarius*, to denote the eleventh sign of the Zodiac. This gives the M.E. forms *ak-r*, *acker* at once; whilst *aiker* is a form arising from 'contamination' with the 'popular' form. The sense, as

before, is 'inundation.' This agrees sufficiently with the entry in the Prompt. Parv.: "*Akyr* of the see flowynge, *Impetus maris*." There is still one difficulty left. The earliest passage which mentions the *eager* is one written in Latin by W. of Malmesbury about 1125, in which he denotes it by the Lat. accus. *higram*, representing an A.F. *higre*, which we may observe is feminine, as it should be. The difficulty is to reconcile the spelling with *ai* and the spelling with *hi*. Now it is only in O.F. that this can be done; and the following is, I think, a sufficient proof. Godefroy gives the O.F. *ivel*, 'equal,' with the variants *igal* and *aigal*, showing that the difference between initial *ig-* and *aig-* was only one of dialect. There is therefore no reason why *iguere* or *igre* may not have been a real variant of *aiguere*; whilst, as for the initial *h-*, it is well known to count for nothing in O.F. The word *aigue*, 'water,' is spelt in Godefroy in fifty-one ways, and in four of these instances it begins with *h*. The word *ivel* is spelt in forty-five ways, and in one instance it begins with *h*. The presence of the initial *h* assures us that the word is French, and is not a hindrance, but a help. I may add that Mignard's Vocabulary of the Burgundian dialect gives the related word *aigró*, meaning a holy-water stoup or a basin.

**Eyot, Ait.** In the N.E.D., the derivation is given from the A.S. *īggað*, *īgeað*, with quotations. The next quotation has the spelling *eyt*, and is dated 1052-67. But it is worth recording that the intermediate form also occurs, spelt *ȳget*, for which see Kemble, Cod. Dipl., vol. v. p. 17, l. 30; the passage is quoted by Bosworth. The explanation of the change from *ð* to *t* is really very easy; this Charter only exists in a copy made after the Conquest, and I have already shown, in my paper "On the Proverbs of Alfred (Phil. Soc. Trans., 1897), that this change is a common mark of A.F. pronunciation, and is therefore due to the Normans. Moreover, the suffix *-et* was common in French, and would naturally be substituted for one so rare as the A.S. *-oð*, *-að*. The variation in the vowel-sound between A.S. *īg-* and M.E. *ey-* is easily explained by remembering that the M.E. forms for 'eye' were similarly variable. At the present day we actually spell that word with *ey* as in *prey*, but pronounce it like the *y* in *my*; and we add a final *-e* which is now never sounded.

**Fad.** The New E. Dictionary gives the etymology of this word as 'unknown.' It seems to me to be nothing but an abbreviation of the F. *fadaise*, which has precisely the same sense. Thus

Spiers' French Dict. gives "*fadaise*, fiddle-faddle, twaddle, trifle, nonsense." And Cotgrave has: "*fadeses*, follies, toyes, trifles, fopperies, fooleries, gulleries"; which precisely describes *fads*. The etymology is easy enough, viz., from F. *fade*, 'witless,' Cotgrave; and *fade* (Ital. *fado*) represents L. *vapidum*, accus. of *vapidus*, 'vapid, tasteless.' See Hatzfeld, who corrects Littré's derivation from the L. *fatuus*.

**Fib.** *Fib* first appears in Cotgrave, to translate F. *bourde*, 'a jeast, fib, tale of a tub'; so that the sense seems to have been 'a jest, a pretence, a feigned story.' The N.E.D. says it is of obscure origin, and perhaps related to *fibble-fabble*, 'nonsense,' which is apparently a reduplicated formation from the sb. *fable*. And the sense of *fable* suits it fairly well. But I find, in Woeste's "Vocabulary of Westphalian Words," at p. 300, the remarkable entry: "*fipken*, *wipken*, a lie, story, jest," which he proposes to connect with the Westphalian *foppen* and the E. *fib*. The verb *foppen* is certainly allied to the E. *fob*, to delude, and *fob off* or *fub off*, to trick or cheat, as used by Shakespeare; and this makes it probable that the original sense of *fib* was a cheat or trick; and that we should connect it with *fob*, *fub*, and the G. *foppen*, 'to banter, to jeer,' and the like. If this is so, it is further probable that *fib* owes its vowel to the Westphalian *fipken*, which in its turn was obviously confused with *wipken*, apparently a derivative of the Low G. and Du. *wippen*, 'to see-saw, to jerk,' etc. That is to say, I suppose *fib* to be derived from the Low G. *foppen*, 'to jeer,' and to owe its vowel to a mistaken association with *wippen*, 'to jerk.' In any case, it is an obscure word, and cannot be very clearly accounted for. I will only say, that the evidence connects it with *fob* and *fub* rather than with *fable*.

**Flimsy.** The N.E.D. says: "first recorded in 18th cent.; possibly (as Todd suggested) an onomatopœic formation suggested by *film*. For the ending, cf. *tipsy*, *bumpsy*." But I find, in E.Friesic, the forms *flem*, *flim*, both meaning 'film'; and Molbeck's Dan. dial. Dict. has the very form *flems* or *flims*, used to denote the thin skin that forms upon hot milk and the like. To this form *flims*- it suffices to add *-y*. This is given in the last edition of Wedgwood.

**Flirt.** In the N.E.D. *flirt* is given as a verb, 'to fillip, tap, rap, strike'; and *flirt*, 'a pert young hussy,' is derived from it. There is a remarkable confirmation of this in E.Friesic. The E.Friesic *flirr*, or *flirt*, not only means a light blow, but also

a small piece; and hence is derived *flirt-je*, as a diminutive, with the sense of 'a giddy girl.' The Low G. *flirre* is used to mean 'a thin slice of bread which is considered insufficient'; and in Hanover the same word means 'a whim.'

**Fond.** It is agreed that *fond* was originally *fanned*, the pp. of *fonnen*, orig. 'to be insipid,' used of salt by Wyclif. And further, that *fonnen* is in some way related to *fon*, 'a fool.' I have no doubt that the verb *fonnen* is a derivative from the sb.; but in order to show this we must find out the origin of *fon*. In the N.E.D., the form given as the primary one is the monosyllabic *fon*. But this is only a Northern form. Chaucer has *fonne* as a dissyllable, rhyming with *y-ronne* (C. T., A 4089), even though he is imitating the Northern dialect. It is probable, therefore, that we should start from the form *fonne*, of which Stratmann gives another example from the *Gesta Romanorum*, 218; as well as the pl. *fonnis*, *Cov. Myst.*, 367. If we compare this with O.Friesic, we find strong reason for believing that the word is from a Friesic word allied to the A.S. *fæmne*, O.Saxon *fēmea*, Icelandic *feima*, 'a virgin.' In Old Friesic this became *famne*, *fomne*, *femme*, *fove*, *fone*; but these are only a few of its forms. In Hettema's *Dict. of Friesic*, we further find *famna*, *fomna*, *sonna*, and *fona*. In Outzen's *North Friesic Dict.* we find *faamen* and *fōmen*; also *faamel*, *foemel*. In all these instances the sense is the same, viz. 'a virgin, a maid, a girl.' But when we turn to E.Friesic there is a startling variation in sense; E.Friesic possesses *both* the forms, viz. *fone* (apparently with a short *o*) and *fōn* (with long *o*). It not only means 'a woman, maid, or servant, but (much more commonly) a simple, useless, stupid girl or creature,' so that *fōn fan 'n wicht*, lit. 'fon of a wight,' means 'you stupid girl.' The form *fōn* at once connects the word with the Swed. *fåne*, in which the sense of woman is lost, and only that of stupid creature remains. All seems to show that the E. *fonne* was adopted from *fonna*, one of the numerous Friesic forms of the A.S. *fæmne*, which assumed in Friesic the successive senses of girl, weakling, and simpleton. Hence the verb *fonnen* meant 'to become weak'; and *fanned salt* meant salt that had lost its *virtue*, i.e. lit. its *manliness*. The above examples do not exhaust all the varieties of this Protean word. We may add, from Swedish dialects, the forms *fane*, *faune*; also the Icel. *fāni*, in addition to *feima* already mentioned; and the Norweg. *fomme*, *fume*, 'a fool'; *fuming*, 'a fool'; *fommatt* or *fumutt*, 'foolish.'



Observe, too, that the Norw. *fommatt*, *fumutt*, are formed by adding a pp. suffix; for I suppose that the suffix *-at* is the same as in the Icel. verb *skaga*, 'to jut out,' pp. *skagat*. Hence *fomm-att* is lit. 'made like a girl, weakened,' and is the precise counterpart of *fon-d*. Perhaps we may conclude that *fond* meant 'just like a girl.'

**Frambold**, cross, ill-tempered. This interesting word occurs in Shak., "Merry Wives," ii. 2. 94. The second element is probably from E. *poll*, 'the head'; as if *frampoll'd*. It is certainly closely connected with the prov. E. *rantipole*, 'a romping child.' It is best explained by the E.Fries. *frante-pot* or *wrante-pot*, 'a peevish, morose man'; and the orig. initial sound was *wr*. When this is perceived, it is easy to connect it with M.Du. *wranten*, 'to wrangle, chide' (Hexham); Dan. *vrante*, 'to be peevish'; E.Fries, *wranten*, *franten*, 'to be peevish, to grumble'; Low G. *wrampachtigh*, 'morose' (Lübben). We may also notice the Dan. *vrampet*, 'warped'; M.Du. *wrempelen*, *wrimpen*, 'to draw the mouth awry' (Hexham); Lowl. Scotch *frample*, 'to disorder'; and probably E. *frump*.

**Frill**. The history of the word *frampold* shows that an E. initial *fr-* may arise from *vr-*. Hence I do not hesitate to identify E. *frill* with F. *vrille*. The F. *vrille* meant originally a gimlet, in the fourteenth century (Littré); hence a tendril of a vine, from its shape; and Cotgrave has further this curious definition: "*Vrilles*, hook-like edges or ends of leaves (called by some of our workmen Scrols, and) sticking out in the upper parts of pillers, and of other pieces of architecture." It is hardly possible to describe a *frill* more exactly than by saying that it presents hook-like edges, like those of a twisted leaf; so that the sense is precise. Indeed, a frill is not unlike a tendril of a vine. As to the F. *vrille*, some have assumed the primary sense to be 'tendril,' and derive it from L. *utricula*, a little vine, also a tendril, and tell us that the *r* is inserted, as in F. *fronde*, 'a sling,' from L. *funda*; and Littré notes the O.F. forms *veille*, *ville*, *visle*, given by Ducange, s.v. *vigilia*. Even if this be right, I would still suggest that the form and sense may have been affected by the Dan. *vrilde*, 'to twist,' in which the *d* is not sounded. This Dan. verb is merely the frequentative of *vride*, 'to writhe,' the equivalent of E. *writhe*; and the usual Dan. word for a gimlet, viz. *vrild-bor*, is derived from it. So also is *vrilde-baad*, 'a twisted string,' which is similar in shape to a tendril. Cf. Dan. dial. *vrilde*, *vrile*, 'a coil, a twist.'

**Gallop.** The etymology of *gallop* has been frequently attempted; but every Dictionary has failed to give it. Even the N.E.D. has been misled by the suggestion of Diez, that it is allied to the verb *to leap*. The O.F. forms were *galoper*, *waloper*. The form with *w* occurs both in the M.E. *walopen* and the O.Flemish *walopen* (Delfortrie). But the verb is really from the sb. *walop*, which was especially used in the phrase *grans walos*, 'great leaps or strides'; see *galop* in Godefroy and Bartsch. The word is not known in O.H.G., except in a form derived from French. And, as it is not English, it follows that it must be Norse; since it begins with *w*. The right solution is given in Aasen's Norwegian Dict., but the author seems to have been unaware that he had solved the problem, as he refers us to Diez for the etymology. The sb. *walop* is, in fact, a compound, derived from the two words which appear in English as *wold* and *hop*. In Norse, the *ld* of *wold*, *wald* (A.S. *weald*) becomes *ll*, and the sense is somewhat different, viz. field or open plain. That is, we find Icel. *völlr*, 'a field, plain'; Swed. *gräs-vall*, 'grassy field'; Norw. *voll*, 'a grassy field,' of which an older form *vall* occurs in *vall-grodd*, 'overgrown with grass.' All these words once began with *w*. Again, the verb *to hop* originally meant 'to spring, bound, dance.' Hence it is that the true original is the O.Norse *\*wall-hopp*, still preserved in Norwegian *vall-hopp*, 'a gallop,' and *vall-hoppa*, 'to gallop,' the identity of which with *gallop* is past question, since the precise meaning is still retained. Now that we really at last know the right form, the original sense is easy enough. For, since *vall-* means 'grassy field,' and *hopp* is a 'bound' or 'spring,' the compound *vall-hopp* means 'field-bound' or 'field-spring,' i.e. a bounding along an open field; cf. Dan. dial. *hop-rende*, to 'hop-run,' to gallop. Hence the O.F. phrase *a grans walos* signifies that the horse traversed the field with great bounds or swift strides. And the verb *galoper* was easily coined from the substantive, both in Norwegian and French. As a matter of fact, the Norsemen conquered England, and have since contributed to its great expansion by virtue of two great qualities. Every Norseman could ride a horse and sail a boat.

**Game**, lame; as in 'a *game* leg.' I must premise that the following note is not mine, but was most kindly sent me by Mr. Mayhew. It is rightly suggested, in the N.E.D., that *game* is here short for *gammy*, which is used in prov. E. in the same sense. It is clear that *gammy* was popularly resolved into *gam*,

i.e. game, and the suffix *-y*; and then the suffix was dropped. The form *gammy* is, however, the right one; and though its etymology is not given in the N.E.D., Mr. Mayhew has found it. It precisely answers to the O.F. *gambi*, noted by Cotgrave as an old or dialectal word. He has: "*Gambi*, bent, crooked, bowed." But in the glossaries by Duméril, Boucoiran, and Fericault, the same word is explained by 'boîteux,' i.e. lame; the precise sense required. I am able to add that this F. *gambi* is of Breton or Celtic origin. Mignard, in his Vocab. of Burgundian, has: "*Campin*, qui ne marche pas droit." This *campin*, like *gambi*, is from the Bret. *kamm*, which has the double sense of 'crooked' and 'lame.' There is a Breton proverb, said of an imaginary invalid, viz. *kamm kī pa gār*, lit. "the dog is lame when he wishes (to be so)." And, from the sb. *gar*, a leg (the origin of our *garter*), is actually formed the compound *gar-gamm*, meaning precisely 'lame of one leg,' or having a game leg; and the verb *gar-gamma*, 'to be lame in one leg.' Dr. Smythe Palmer, in his book on Folk-etymology, gives almost exactly the same account.

**Gawky.** *Gawky*, 'awkward,' is merely an extended form of *gawk*, 'clumsy,' usually applied to the left hand. In various dialects, we have *gawk-handed*, *gaulick-handed*, *gallok-handed*, signifying left-handed or clumsy. It is shown in the N.E.D. that there is no reason for associating *gawk* with F. *gauche*, which for various phonetic reasons is unsuitable. I take *gawk* to be a mere contraction from the fuller forms *gallok*, *gaulick*, and the like; where *-ick*, *-ock*, are mere suffixes. Hence the base is *gall-* or *gaul-*. This is evidently allied to the F. dial. *gôle*, 'benumbed,' especially applied to the hands. Thus Mignard, in his Vocabulary of Burgundian words, has: "*Gôle*, enraidī par le froid: avoir les doigts gôles, c'est les avoir enraidis par le froid." Again, this F. word is of Scand. origin; for, since the F. initial *g* often corresponds to Teut. *w*, we see at once the connection of *gôle* with the Swed. and Dan. *valen*, 'benumbed.' Rietz throws a still clearer light upon the matter by citing the Swed. dial. *val-händ* or *val-händt*, 'having the hands stiff with cold.' So also Aasen gives Norw. *valen* [Dan. *vaalen*], 'benumbed'; *val-hendt*, 'having the hands stiff with cold.' That is to say, *gawk-handed* is having numb or clumsy hands; and *gawky* is clumsy.

**Gewgaw.** The etymology is unknown. It looks as if the word were formed by reduplication. If so, it is worth noting that



Mignard gives *gawe* as a Burgundian word, meaning a Jew's harp; and it is remarkable that the Lowl. Sc. *gewgaw* has precisely the same sense. In the Prompt. Parv., *gugaw* means a pipe or flute. I wish to propose an entirely new etymology for this curious word. The hard *g* points, I think, to a Scand. origin. Now there is an old Scand. strong verb \**gufa*, pt. t. \**gauf*, preserved, with the change of *f* to *v*, in Norw. *guva*, 'to reek,' pt. t. *gawv*. The original of this *v* was *f*, as shown by the Icel. sb. *gufa*, 'a vapour.' But another sense of this *gufa* must have been 'to blow,' as shown by Swed. dial. *guva*, *gova*, 'to blow'; *gåva*, 'to blow, to reek'; *guva*, 'a gust of wind'; *guvta*, 'to blow'; *rig-gåva*, fem. 'a hurricane'; *vår-guva*, f. 'a sudden gust of wind,' showing that there must have been a simple fem. sb. *gåva* or *guva* meaning a blast or puff. In Norwegian, there are also numerous derivatives, such as *gufs*, 'a puff'; *gufsa*, 'to blow gently'; *guft*, 'a puff,' all from a base *guf-*; also *gyfsa*, 'a puff of wind'; *gyva*, 'to reek,' from the same base with mutation. It seems to me that *gew-gaw* may easily have been formed by reduplication from this source. Thus the Burgundian *gawe*, 'a Jew's-harp,' may be referred to the strong grade *gauf*, and may have meant 'a thing blown,' and hence, indifferently, a Jew's harp, a pipe, or a flute; whilst *gew-* may represent the weak grade *guf-*, with the sense of 'blow.' Thus the original sense would be a 'puff-puff,' or 'puff-pipe,' which makes excellent sense. Moreover, we could thus explain the remarkable form *giuegoue*, 'a gewgaw,' in the Ancren Riwle; because the vowel *i* in *giue-* can be explained from the Norse form *gyva*, with mutation. And if this also be right, then the disputed letter *u* in the word *giuegoue* must mean *v*, as indeed it almost invariably does when followed by a vowel in Middle-English; so that the pronunciation was *giv-gove*, with two hard *g*'s.

**Glaive.** In the N.E.D., a difficulty is raised as to the derivation of the O.F. *glaive* from L. *gladius*, on the ground that the O.F. *glaive* always means a lance, and never a sword. It is the case that Godefroy makes this assertion, but it happens to be incorrect. The A.F. *glaive* occurs (according to my index) in Philip de Thaun, Bestiaire, l. 888, where the author refers us to the Psalms of David, using the expression *en main de glaive* to translate *in manus gladii*, Ps. lxii. 11 (Vulgate). Here we have *glaive* to translate *gladius* in one of the earliest A.F. poems known; written before A.D. 1150.



**Groom.** M.E. *grome*, K. Horn, 971. We find Du. *grom*, 'a stripling or a groomer' (Hexham). This word was confused with A.S. *guma*, 'man,' in the word *bride-groom*, as is well known. But it was certainly of different origin. The Du. word is apparently not Teutonic. Both Du. *grom* and M.E. *grome* may fairly be derived from O.F. *gromme*, *grome*, 'a lad,' for which see Ducange, s.v. *gromes*. The dimin. *gromet* [whence E. *grummet*] is much more common, and is given by Godefroy, who explains it by: "serviteur, valet, garçon marchand, courtand de boutique, commissionaire, facteur." That it is really a Romance word is made more certain by the occurrence of Span. and Port. *grumete*, 'a ship-boy,' a term applied to a sailor of the meanest sort. The origin of this word still presents difficulties; see Diez, s.v. *grumo*; Scheler, s.v. *gourme* (2); but Littré is not satisfied with their explanations. We may note that the Span. *grumo* means 'a clot, a bunch, a cluster, a curd' (formed from milk), and seems to come from L. *grumus*, 'a little heap.' This is, in fact, the origin proposed by Diez: he supposes that 'lump' was a name for a clownish lad.

**Hamper**, to impede. M.E. *hampren*, to clog, to shackle. There are two views possible as to this word: (1) that the *p* is an insertion; (2) that the *m* is an insertion. The former view is taken in my Dictionary and in the N.E.D.; this connects *hamper* with Icel. *hamla*, 'to stop, hinder'; Norw. *hamla*, 'to strive against'; and E. *hem in*, 'to check, impede.' But I now suspect that the inserted letter is the *m*, and that the verb *to hamper* is a nasalized form; from the Swed. dial. *happa*, 'to pull back, draw a horse back with a rope,' whence Swed. dial. *happla*, 'to stammer.' Cf. E.Fries. and Low G. *hapern*, 'to stop short, stick fast'; Flügel translates G. *hapern* by 'to stick, stop, hamper.' The Dan. dialects have the nasalized form *hample*, 'to stop, to pause, to stutter.' Du. *haperen* means 'to pause, fail, flag, hesitate'; *de machine hapert*, 'the machine fails to work or is hampered'; *er hapert iets aan*, 'there is a hitch' (Calisch); *hapering*, 'a hindrance, obstacle' (Sewel). I find that this was the solution proposed by Mr. Wedgwood; and I now think it is right. He further instances Lowl. Sc. *hamp*, 'to stammer,' also 'to halt or hobble'; and he further connects these words with *hopple* and *hobble*. His view may be right. We should further note Icel. *hopa*, 'to recoil, draw backwards'; which may very well give the base of *hopple*. The chief difference is that, in E., these verbs have acquired a transitive sense. Even this seems to be

implied by an example in Vigfusson, *hopar hann þá hestinum undan*, 'he backed the horse'; and Rietz gives Swed. dial. *happa*, 'to pull back,' as an active verb.

**Hopple**; see **Hamper** above.

**Kill**. The etymology of the verb *to kill* is well-known to be difficult. In Stratmann the suggestion is made that it is equivalent to *quell*. This is obviously impossible, because the vowel-sound is quite different. At the same time, the coincidence in sense is too remarkable to be overlooked, and a close connection is to be suspected. Kluge simply says that these words are "akin," but does not explain the relationship. Yet it is not difficult, as we have a close parallel in the case of the E. adj. *dull*. For the M.E. form of the verb *to kill* is usually *cullen*; answering to E.Fries. *küllen*. And, just as *dull* is from a base *dul-*, shortened from *dwul-*, the orig. form of the weak grade of A.S. *dwelan*, 'to err,' of which *dwel* is the causal form, so *kul-* is a shortened form of *cwul-*, the orig. form of the weak grade of A.S. *cwelan*, 'to die,' of which the Mod.E. *quell* is, similarly, the causal form. That is to say, *quell* represents a form *\*cwal-jan*, and *kill* represents a form *\*cwuljan*. And both in *dull* and in M.E. *cullen*, the *w* is lost before the *u* in the weak grade, owing to want of stress.

**Linn**, a pool, a cascade. The pl. *lynns*, in G. Douglas, *Aen.*, bk. xi. c. 7, l. 9, is explained to mean 'waterfalls'; but the context admits of the meaning 'pools.' It seems to answer to Lat. *gurgite*, *Aen.*, xi. 298. Perhaps it is a Celtic word; cf. O.Irish *lind*, 'water'; Irish *linn*, 'a pool, the sea'; Gael. *linne*, 'a pond, pool, lake, linn, gulf'; W. *llyn*, 'a lake'; Breton *lenn*, 'a pool.' Some compare A.S. *hlynn*, which occurs once, in the Rushworth gloss of John xviii. 1, to translate *torrentem*, and appears to be allied to A.S. *hlyn*, 'a noise, din.' I suppose the A.S. *hlynn* to be a different word from *linn*.

**Mandril**, a kind of baboon. I find it in an E. translation of Buffon's *Nat. Hist.*, published in two vols. 8vo, in London, 1792; vol. i. p. 330. Nares, s.v. *drill*, has conclusively shown that it is composed of the word *man* and a word *dril*, meaning an ape, used by E. writers of the time of Queen Anne, and even earlier; see N.E.D. The origin of *dril* is uncertain; possibly from Du. *drillen*, 'to turn round or about,' whence the E. verb *drill* is borrowed. Dr. Murray suggests that *drill* may be a West African word; but Buffon says that the negroes call the animal *boggo*, and that *mandril* is European.

**Mug.** The word *mug* does not, as far as I know, occur in M.E. The earliest quotation I can find for it is in the compound *clay-mug* (not in N.E.D.); in G. Douglas, ed. Small, iii. 145, l. 17. *Mugge* occurs in Levins, explained as ‘potte.’ Modern Irish has *mugan*, ‘a mug,’ doubtless borrowed from E.; also *mucog*, ‘a cup,’ which may be from the same. The word was probably imported from Holland. For, though not given in the ordinary Dutch Dicts., I find traces of it in Friesic. Thus, in Molema’s Dict. of the dialect of Groningen, I find in the Supplement, at p. 543, the word *mokke*, explained as “a porcelain or earthen drinking-vessel, of cylindrical shape, with one handle,” which is an exact description of a *mug*, and can hardly be other than the same word. If so, the *k*-sound has been voiced to *g*; of which (perhaps) we find a trace in the Irish *mucog* as compared with *mugan*. Again, in Koolman’s E.Friesic Dict., I find *mukke* described as meaning “a cylindrical earthen vessel about 5 inches across, and from 15 to 18 inches high, formerly used for the particular purpose of keeping syrup in.” This is the better form, as it explains the E. *u* more clearly. The word is very obscure, and I can find few traces of it, except the forms *mugge* and *mugga* in Norw., and *mugg*, given as a Swedish word by Öman, but, apparently quite modern, as it is unnoticed by Ihre and Widegren. These forms must likewise be of Friesic origin, as they have *gg* for *kk*. Indeed, the mod. Swed. *mugg* may have been borrowed from English, as it is monosyllabic. There is also a trace of it in French. In Le Héricher’s Dict. of the Norman dialect, we find: “*Moque*, grande tasse,” with a note that it corresponds to the E. *mug*; and Moisy has “*Moque*, tasse sans ause.” It is clear that the word is Germanic, the oldest form being *mukke* or *mokke*.

**Mutchkin.** A *mutchkin* is a Scotch liquid measure. It is rightly compared, in the Century Dict., with the Du. *mutsje*, with a similar meaning. But it should be noted that Mid. Du. employed the suffix *-ken* instead of *-je*, which takes us back to a form *mutsken*, or rather *mutseken*, as being the right Mid. Du. form whence the Scotch word was borrowed. I write this article in order to note that this very form, but slightly disguised as *mudseken*, appears in Kilian and Hexham; but is easily overlooked, owing to this inferior spelling with *d* for *t*. Hexham has: “*een Mudseken*, the Halfe pint of paris Measure; that is, sixeteene ounces; our halfe common Pinte, called in dutch *Fperken*.” Elsewhere he gives, somewhat inconsistently, “*een Uperken*,



a measure of a quarter of a Pint." This last word appears to be obsolete.

**News.** The way in which the form *news* arose is not clear. I know of no quotation for it earlier than one from the Kingis Quair, st. 179. *New-es* occurs as a gen. sing. in Genesis and Exodus, 250: *Ilc kinde newes*, 'each kind of what was new.' It is not impossible that a gen. sing. became a nom. plural. At any rate, we find, in Dutch, the adj. *nieuw*, 'new,' and the pl. sb. *nieuws*, 'news.' But it looks as if the Du. word began life as a gen. sing. In Hexham, it only appears in one compound, viz. *nieuws-gierigh*, 'covetuous or desirous after Newes or Novelties.' This seems to show that the English *newes* is older than the Du. *nieuws*, and that the E. word was regarded by Hexham as a plural. But the most interesting forms are those given by Sewel. He gives Du. *nieuws* as a neut. sb., meaning 'news.' He does not say it is plural. His examples are: *wat nieuws is 'er?* 'what news?'—*'t is iets nieuws*, 'it is a new thing'—*dat is hem niets nieuws*, 'that is no new thing to them.' This reminds us of the Lat. *quid novi* and *nihil novi*, and suggests a gen. sing. origin. He also gives *nieuws-gierig*, 'eager of news.' We require full quotations to settle the matter.

**Pandours**, soldiers belonging to a certain Hungarian regiment. 'Hussars and *pandours*'; 1768; Foote, *Devil upon Two Sticks*, ii. 1. F. *pandour*; from *Pandur*, the name of a town in Hungary (Littré).

**Pay**, to pitch. I have shown (Suppl. to second edition of Etym. Dict.) that this probably answers to an A.F. form *peier*, 'to pitch.' See *poier*, in Godefroy, where he gives an example of the Northern F. *peier*, 'to cover us with a plaster.'

**Peep.** That this word is connected with the verb to *pipe*, and is of imitative origin, has been fairly proved. The difficulty is to see how the peculiar use of *peep* originated. Some light is thrown upon it by Dutch, which has two forms of the verb, viz. *pijpen*, 'to pipe or whistle'; and *piepen*, 'to squeak,' like young birds or mice. My suggestion was, that the reference is to the fowler, who used often formerly to hide in a bush, stretching out rods covered with bird-lime, and then to allure them with a pipe, whilst he peeped out to see them come. This was founded on Cotgrave's explanation of *pipée*, as "the peeping of small birds, counterfeited by a bird-catcher." But this is somewhat far-fetched. Mr. Wedgwood's solution is, however, still



less likely, viz., that peeping out is compared to a squeaky sound. I have found a solution which seems to explain the matter much more easily. In Molema's Dict. of Words used in the dialect of Groningen he explains that *piepen* means both (1) to cry *piep*, and (2) to *peep* through a hole, or to peep generally. He refers it to the game of hide and seek, as played by small children. The child who seeks another, and becomes impatient, often cries out—*piep ijs*, and adds in a high squeaky tone—*piep!* Thus the word *piep* was used with particular reference to hiding and seeking, and easily became associated with the idea of peeping out. The article in the N.E.D. on the word *bo-peep* (also called *peep-bo*) should be consulted. This usually refers to a nurse, who covers and suddenly uncovers her face to amuse a child. It seems to me clear that the correct thing was for the nurse to say *peep* in a squeaky voice when her face was behind her apron, and then *bo!* as a mild form of alarm, on suddenly removing it. If I remember rightly, I have seen it and heard it so done. Thus the word *peep* is here a squeaky interjection, associated (in children's language) with the idea of partial concealment. Compare: "*Bo, Boe, cucullus lugubris oculos faciemque obstruens; Kijke-boe, lusus puerilis, in quo alicujus oculi, manu linteove, etc., obtecti, subito infantis in gratiam deteguntur.*"—Ten Kate, *Anleiding tot de Kennisse van het verhevene Deel der Nederduitsche Sprake, 1723*, vol. i. p. 279.

**Peter-see-me**, a wine. Nares gives the name of a wine called *Peter see-me, Peter-sa-meene, -semine*, etc. Thus, he quotes from Taylor's *Workes, 1630*, a line: "*Peter-se-men, or headstrong Charnico.*" Here the accent is on the *men*, and the wine is said, in one passage, to be Spanish. I have no doubt at all that the derivation is from *Pedro Ximenes*, because *Ximenes* is quite a common Spanish name; see Hole's *Brief Biographical Dictionary*. Further, the derivation of *Ximenes* is probably from the place-name *Ximena*, in Andalusia; see Pineda's *Span. Dict.* Pineda adds that *Ximena* is also a female name, of Arabic origin, and means 'bright.' *Ximena* was the wife of the *Cid*.

**Pomander**. This word has never been fully solved. I read a note upon it before the Society, printed in the *Trans. for 1885-7*, p. 710, where I gave an early example, dated 1518. I can now add that it occurs in Skelton's "*Garland of Laurell*," spelt *pomaunder*, l. 1027; and Palsgrave has: "*Pommaundre to smell to, pomendier.*" Of this F. *pomendier* I can find no account; it

seems to be the E. word done into French, and will not account for *pomaunder*. The old derivation, that it is corrupted from O.F. *pomme d'ambre*, has never satisfied me, chiefly because of the difficulty of getting rid of the *d*. But I now believe that it is correct, with a slight alteration; viz. if the *d* be wholly left out. For, in MS. Harl. 2378, there is a recipe for making "*pomum ambre* for the pestelence"; [see "Medical Works of the Fourteenth Century," ed. Henslow, p. 122.] This takes us back, perhaps, to the end of the fourteenth century, and suggests that, in Anglo-French the form was really *pomme ambre* without the *d*. The change from *pomaumber* to *pomaunder* is a natural one, due to a wish to avoid the repetition of the sound of *m*, by dissimilation. If this be right, the A.F. form is easily equated to the O.F. *pomme d'ambre*, which occurs in "Le Roman de la Rose," ed. Méon, l. 21,008, where it is spelt *pomme d'embre*, in order to rhyme with *membre*, though Littré quotes this very line, and spells it *ambre*. That *amber* was used for the purpose of keeping off infection is clear from Cotgrave, who has, s.v. *Ambre*, the following: "*Ambre noir*, Black Amber (the worst kind of Amber), usually mingled with Aloes, Labdanum, Storax, and such like aromaticall simples, for Pomander chains, etc." I suppose that a pomander-chain means a chain by which a pomander (in the later sense of pomander-box) was hung from the girdle. See the recipe for *pomaunder* in the Century Dictionary.

**Posnet**, a little pot. Godefroy gives seventeen various forms of the O.F. *poçonet*, with the same sense; and six forms of the O.F. *poçon*, masc. sb., 'a pot,' of which it is a diminutive. He also cites, s.v. *pocionner*, a Low Lat. verb *pocionare*, 'to give to drink,' which is clearly related to it. Cf. E. *potion*.

**Punt** (at cards). A *punt* is explained to mean a point in the game of basset, and a *punter* is one who marks the points in that game. It is usually derived from the F. sb. *ponte*, with the same sense, which again is from the Span. *punto*, 'a point, a pip on cards.' It seems to me far simpler to derive it from the Span. *punto* directly, just as the name of the suit called *spades*, and the terms *spadille* and *ombre* are directly from Spanish. Of course the Span. *punto* is from L. *punctum*.

**Sanap**. The M.E. *sanap* means a kind of napkin; see examples in Halliwell; and note: "*Hoc gausape*, sanap," in Wright's Vocabularies. I think we may accept the suggestion in "Our English Home," p. 38, that it is the same word as *surname*,

i.e. over-cloth. See *Babees Book*, p. 132, l. 237; and the note at p. 208, showing that "the laying of the *urnape*" was well known. The note in the same, at p. 209, that the F. word was *serre-nappe*, is due to an oversight. The *serre-nappe* (from *serrer*, 'to fasten') was the cupboard or basket in which *urnappes* and other napkins were kept; see *Cotgrave*. *Sanap* has also been said to be short for *save-nappe*, for which I can find no evidence.

**Serif, Seriph, Ceriph**, a fine cross-stroke at the top and bottom of letters; a printer's term. Spelt *serif* in the *Cent. Dict.*; *seriph*, *ceriph* in *Webster*; and *ceriph* in the *N.E.D.* Origin obscure; but the suggestion in *N.E.D.*, quoted from *N. and Q.*, May 8, 1869, is obviously right, and had occurred to me independently. *Serif* is a way of writing the Du. *schreef*, a stroke, dash, line. The peculiar spelling is due to the difficulty of representing the sound of the Du. *sch* before *r*.

**Stockade**. The correct etymology of this word is given in the *Stanford Dictionary*, ed. Dr. Fennell. It is rather a modern form. *Richardson* shows that it occurs in *Mason's "English Garden,"* Bk. ii.; where it will be found in l. 293. This "Book ii." was published separately, in 1777.

The form is incorrect, and due to confusion with the commoner word *stoccado* or *stoccata*, meaning a thrust in fencing. A better spelling would be *stacade* or *stakade*. We find in *Cotgrave* the F. *estacade*, "a list, or place railed in for a combate"; but, as a matter of fact, the word was borrowed from Spanish, for we find it used as a verb at an earlier date, viz. in *Dampier's "Voyages,"* ii. 1. 100:—"that part is *stockadoed* round with great trees set up on end." I am indebted for this to the *Century Dictionary*. The true source is the Span. *estacada*, explained by *Minsheu*, in his *Span. Dict.* (1623) as "a place full of stocks to graffe on, or lists to fight in"; from Span. *estaca*, 'a stake, a stocke to graffe on, a pale.' This is obviously a word of Teut. origin, borrowed from the Low G. *stake*, cognate with E. *stake*. See *-ade*, *-ado* in the *N.E.D.*

**Stook**, a shock of corn. As mod. E. *oo* corresponds to G. *u*, this is the same word as Low G. *stuke*, 'a heap,' also applied to a collected heap of six turves, or to shocks of buck-wheat set up to dry. Cf. also Swed. dial. *stuko*, 'a stook or collection of sheaves,' especially one of twenty sheaves; it is also mentioned by *Kok* as occurring in Danish dialects. As E. *oo* (A.S. *ō*) is connected by gradation with *a*, it is closely related to E. *stack*.



The Devonshire form is *stitch* (Halliwell); this may answer to A.S. *stycce*, 'a piece.' All may be derived from the Teut. base *stek-*, graded to *stak-*, *stök-*, *stuk-*. For the *ō*, cf. **Brook**, above.

**Stop.** I have noted that the only trace of this word in A.S. occurs in the compound verb *for-stoppian*, given only by Somner, and without a reference. But it is now found. "Mid thære ilcan wulle *for-stoppa* thæt eare," with the same wool stop up the ear; Cockayne, A.S. Leechdoms, ii. 42. Bosworth's Dict. omits the word.

**Tankard.** The E. *tankard* is borrowed from the M.F. *tanquard*, given by Cotgrave, who notes that it occurs in Rabelais. The etymology of this F. word is unknown; but it is clear that *-ard* is a mere suffix, and it is most likely of Teut. origin. My suggestion is that it has dropped an initial *s*, in which case it is easy to derive it from Swed. *stånka*, explained by Widegren as "a large wooden can," and by Öman as "a large wooden can, a tankard." Moreover, this is a true native Swed. word, and is explained by Rietz, p. 669, as being a diminutive of Swed. dial. *stånna*, 'a tun, a wooden tub,' of which an older spelling was *st.inda*, derived from *stånd*, 'a station,' or from the verb *stå*, 'to stand'; with reference to the steadiness with which a large tankard or a great tub rests upon the table or the ground. It is most interesting to find that the very similar word *standard* was once used in English in the precise sense of *tankard* or large bowl. This is in Greene's play of "A Looking-glass for London," ed. Dyce, p. 141; "Frolic, my lords, let all the *standards* walk." Dyce's note says, "let the standing-bowls go round." Shak. has *standing-bowl*, Pericles, ii. 3. 65; it is said to mean a bowl with a foot to it, I know not on what authority. Of course, the loss of initial *s* in such a combination as *st* is unusual; but we have at least one similar example in *påmer*, 'to swoon,' where the Ital. form is *spasimare*. Cf. M.Du. *tanckaerd* (Kilian); Norw. *tankar*.

**Tare.** The use of *tares* in our Bibles is perhaps due to Wyclif, who translated the Lat. *zizania* by 'taris'; Matt. xiii. 25. Chaucer has the phrase—"But ther-of sette the miller nat a *tare*"; C.T., A 4000. No satisfactory etymology has ever been given in English, but it is pointed out by Franck, in his Etym. Du. Dict. He suggests, rightly, that it is the equivalent of the Du. *tarwe*, fem., wheat; M.Du. *terwe*. It seems that there were two Teutonic words for wheat, viz. *wheat* and *tare*. Of these, *wheat* was adopted in all the Germanic languages, whilst *tare* was



confined to English and Dutch. In Dutch, *tarwe* and *weit* are both explained as 'wheat,' and the use of the two words seems to be a luxury. In English, it is tolerably clear that they were differentiated, *wheat* being reserved to express the true corn, and *tare* that which grew up along with it in the same field. At a later time, the compound *tare-vetch* was formed to signify 'wheat-vetch,' or *vetch* found in wheat-fields. This occurs in Palsgrave, spelt *taresfytche*; he has: "Taresfytche, a corne, *lupyn*." By dropping the latter syllable, the resulting form *tare* was used in precisely the same sense of 'vetch,' which is the common usage at the present day. This is easily seen from another entry in Palsgrave, who has, further: "*Taare*, a corne lyke a pease, *lupin*." This explains at once why the modern sense of *tare* is so different from the old one. Thus Britten's Dict. of Plant-names has *Tar-fitch*, *Tare-vetch*, *Tar-grass*, and *Tares*, as names of various vetches. In a curious Dict. of the Du. dialect as spoken at Groningen, by H. Molema (1888), we find, at p. 233, that our English *couch-grass* or *quitch-grass* (*Triticum repens*) is there called *kweek*, or *kweekgras*, which is further explained to mean *tarwegras* or *kruipende tarwe*, i.e. tar-grass or creeping tare; and here again *tarwe* is equivalent to Lat. *triticum*. Fitzherbert, in his Book on Husbandry, has the spelling *terre*. This spelling, together with the M.Du. *terwe*, suggest a Teutonic type *\*terwā*, feminine, as the original form. It is remarkably like the form for *tar*, Teut. type *\*terwom*; but the latter is neuter.

**Terrier**, a kind of auger. This word is cited from Howell in Halliwell's Dictionary. It is the same word as *tarrier*, a word which, as I learn, is still used in the city of London as the name of an instrument used for extracting *shives*, or wooden bungs, out of barrels of turpentine; and is commonly made of three tapering 'corkscrews' united at the larger ends, and disposed star-wise at an inclination of 120 degrees to each other. Thus two of them form a sort of handle whereby to twist the third round. Borrowed from O.F. *tarière*, a kind of gimlet; cf. Late Lat. *taratrum*, Gk. *τέρετρον*, related to Lat. *terebrum*, from *terere*.

**Thief in a candle**. So called because it steals away and wastes the grease. So also in the Walloon dialect, we have: "*Larron*, s.m. partie de mèche d'une chandelle non mouchée qui tombe enflammée sur le suif et le fait couler"; Sigart.

**Tornado**. The usual derivation is from Span. *tornar*, 'to turn'; but this is very unsatisfactory, as *tornar* properly means merely

‘to return,’ and the sb. *tornada* is ‘a return from a journey.’ I have no hesitation in accepting Dr. Fennell’s explanation in the Stanford Dict., viz. that it is an English blunder for the Span. *tronada*, ‘a thunderstorm.’ This sb. is derivative of *tronar*, ‘to thunder,’ from L. *tonare*; with the remarkable insertion of an unoriginal *r*, as in E. *treasure*. Dampier has the expression, “tornadoes or thunder-showers,” as quoted in the Cent. Dict.; showing that the earliest sense of E. *tornado* was precisely ‘thunderstorm.’

**Vade**, to fade. The form *vaded*, for *faded*, occurs in “The Passionate Pilgrim,” 131; and *vadeth* for *fadeth* in the same, 170. The N.E.D., s.v. *fade*, adj., has the following note: “No O.F. \**vade* has been found; if it existed, it would explain the E. *vade*, variant of *fade*, vb., which is otherwise difficult to account for, as the Eng. dialects that have *v* for *f* usually retain *f* in Romanic words.” This statement is correct; nevertheless, the form *vade* is easily accounted for in another way altogether. It was in the later Tudor period that so many words were introduced from Dutch; and *vade* is merely borrowed from M.Du. *vadden*, ‘to fade’; whilst the Dutch word was merely borrowed from the O.F. *fader*, ‘to fade.’ This explains at once why the form *vade* only occurs just at one particular period, and was never common. Hexham duly gives “*Vadden*, to fade, or to wither”; and the O.F. *fader* is noted by Palsgrave, at p. 542.

**Valance**. I wish to make a note here that Florio’s Italian Dict. has: “*Valenzana*, a kind of saye, serge, or stufte to make curteins for beds with”; and again, “*Valenzana del letto*, the valances of a bed.” This proves that the E. *valance* is from the same origin; and I adhere to the opinion that the place whence the stuff came from was *Valence* in France, in agreement with Chaucer’s expression “kerchief of *Valence*”; see my Dictionary. *Valenza* in Piedmont is quite an insignificant place in comparison with the former.

**Weak**. In a pamphlet by E. Björkman, entitled “Zur dialectischen Provenienz der nordischen Lehnwörter im Englischen,” at p. 11, there is an excellent note upon the E. adj. *weak*. He points out that the usual explanation, from the Icel. *veikr*, ‘weak,’ is wrong; because that form would have given a mod. E. *waik*, just as Icel. *beit* gives the Mod.E. *bait*. It is also clear that the A.S. *wac* would have given a Mod.E. *woak* or *woke*, just as *ac* gives *oak*. The right solution is that the adjective is wholly

obsolete, and that the modern word is really of verbal origin, as in the word *to weaken*. It is not of Scandinavian, but of native origin, viz. from the verb *wācan*, 'to weaken.' If it be objected that this might rather have produced a modern English form *weach*, just as *tācan* has given *teach*, the explanation is ready to hand, viz., that the *k*-sound was preserved by constant association with the M.E. adjectives *wōk* and *waik*, and with the M.E. verb *wōken*, which took the place of the A.S. *wācian*.

**Wheedle**, to coax. The spelling is due to Blount, who says: "*Wheedle* [meaning W. *chwedl*] in the Brittish tongue signifies a story, whence probably our late word of fancy; and signifies to draw one in by fair words or subtil insinuation to act anything of disadvantage or reproof; to tell a pleasant story and thereby work ones own ends." But, on his own showing, W. *chwedl* is a sb., meaning a story; and the E. word is a verb, meaning to coax or entice. It is more likely that it should be spelt *weadle*, which would exactly represent the A.S. *wādlīan*, 'to beg,' once a common word; it occurs in Luke, xvi. 3; xviii. 35; John, ix. 8; etc.

# TREASURER'S CASH ACCOUNT, 1898.

*Dr.* BENJAMIN DAWSON, Esq., *Treasurer, in account with the Philological Society.* *Cr.*

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
1898.							
CASH RECEIVED.							
Jan. 1.							
To Balance			27	12	2		
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31. To sums received in 1898—							
For Arrears	6	6	0				
" Entrance Fees	5	5	0				
" Subscriptions, 1898	49	7	0				
" In advance	1	1	0				
For Fines	61	19	0				
	0	5	0				
	89	16	2				
Received from Members for copies of the Society's Dictionary	14	9	0				
					£	104	5 2
CASH PAID.							
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31.							
By Printing—S. Austin & Sons			8	17	9		
" Meetings—Expenses of Rooms, and Refreshments			2	3	4		
" Binding—Nevett Bros.			2	2	0		
" Hon. Secretary's Clerk			1	1	6		
" Treasurer's Expenses, including the Dictionary	17	1	3				
" Balance at Bankers	0	11	8				
" " due to Treasurer					16	9	7
					91	4	2
Paid to Clarendon Press for Members' copies of the Society's Dictionary					13	1	0
					£	104	5 2

We have examined this Account with the Books and Vouchers, and certify that it is correct.

APRIL 29TH, 1899.

(Signed)

DANBY P. FRY,  
HENRY B. WHEATLEY, } AUDITORS.





TRANSACTIONS  
OF THE  
PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY,  
1899-1900.

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VII.—THE SIGMATIC FUTURE AND SUBJUNCTIVE  
IN IRISH. By J. STRACHAN, M.A.

[*Read at the Philological Society's Meeting on Friday, February 9, 1900.*]

THESE forms have been most recently discussed at length by Zimmer, KZ. xxx, and by Thurneysen, KZ. xxxi. The earlier literature will be found cited by Zimmer. For the most part its value lay in the establishment of the Irish paradigms. Ebel, KSB. iii, 261, threw out the suggestion that these Irish forms might be compared with Latin subjunctives like *capso*, *faxo*, but he did not follow it up. Brugmann, *Morphologische Untersuchungen*, iii, 57, laid the foundation of a scientific explanation of the formation, when he identified it with the subjunctive of the sigmatic aorist. Thurneysen, *Rev. Celt.* vi, 94, called attention to reduplication as the distinguishing mark of the future. Zimmer, KZ. xxx, explained a number of the personal endings, pointed out the peculiar distribution of the sigmatic forms, and suggested a connection of the reduplicated sigmatic future with the Indo-Iranian desiderative. In KZ. xxxi, Thurneysen, in a critique of Zimmer's paper, defined the syntactic functions of the forms, and insisted on reduplication as the characteristic of all the Irish futures except the *b* future. As the result of these investigations the sigmatic formations in Irish are in their broad outlines clear. In venturing to treat the subject again I have been led by several considerations. Of recent years my attention has been greatly directed to the history of the Irish verb, and as a basis for the investigation of the history of the sigmatic forms the material already collected proved to be insufficient. With the collection of fresh material a number of new points came to light that had hitherto been overlooked. Finally it seemed that, as none of the recent articles on the subject deal with it fully as a whole, a comprehensive discussion of the whole

formation might perhaps be not unwelcome either to Celtic or to Indo-Germanic philologists.

Some points call for brief preliminary mention. (1) Syntactically there is no difference between the *s* subjunctive and the *ā* subjunctive. In this as in other respects the Irish language practised a rigid economy. A particular verb has only the one form or the other,<sup>1</sup> or, if it has both, they are distributed in different parts (cf. Phil. Soc. Trans., 1896-7, pp. 233 sq.). (2) An *s* subjunctive is regularly accompanied by an *s* future, from which it can be distinguished only by the absence of reduplication. Exceptions are *-ice-* 'come,' which has an *s* subjunctive but a *b* future, and *etad-* 'obtain,' where, as far as can be judged from the few instances to hand, the *s*-forms distinguish the future tenses from the subjunctive. (3) The distribution of the *s*-forms is remarkable. They are found only from roots ending in *k, g, t, d, s*, and in one or more stems in *nm* arising from *n* or *m* + a formative element (cf. KZ. xxx, 205). In other verbs the sigmatic forms have been either lost or obscured. Thus it is not impossible that in part at least the *ē* futures from primary verbs in *r, l, n*, though they cannot be derived regularly from *rs, ls, ns*, may be analogical distortions of sigmatic forms.

Before proceeding to discuss the forms, we will give the material on which the discussion is based. In part it is taken from earlier articles and from Windisch's Wörterbuch, but the most of it comes from my own collections. Publication of more old texts will probably add to the number of the roots quoted here, and may clear up some points that still remain doubtful. The roots are given in their Irish form; for the most part they are identical with the stem of the present indicative; where it seemed advisable the Idg. form of the root has been added. Numerals after the root refer to the pages of Stokes, Urkelt. Sprachschatz. A hyphen before an Irish form indicates that the form is preceded by a particle which throws the accent on the syllable following the hyphen. For practical purposes roots ending in *ng, nd* have been separated from other roots ending in a guttural or a dental. By i, ii, iii, iv are denoted the future, secondary future, present subjunctive, and past subjunctive respectively. The alphabetical order is as in Stokes, Urkelt. Sprachschatz.

<sup>1</sup> The verb *ad-gládur* has, by the reduplicated future and *ā* subjunctive, in later texts an *s* future and subjunctive. Chronological considerations point to the later origin of the *s*-forms, though the starting-point of the development is not clear.

## I. The root ends in a guttural.

**arc-** 'ask,' 39:—i, sg. 1 *im-cámros*-[s]a YBL. 92<sup>a</sup> 42; iv, sg. 3 *imme-choim-airsed* Ml. 20<sup>b</sup> 18, cf. 63<sup>c</sup> 9.

**tracc-** (*trecc*-?) 'desire,' 136:—i, pl. 3 *du-n-fu-tharset* Ml. 54<sup>a</sup> 28; iii, sg. 1 *do-fu-thris-se* Wb. 32<sup>a</sup> 9, cf. 20<sup>b</sup> 9, 2 *-dú-thrais* Carm. Ml., *-du-thraisir* LBr. 261<sup>a</sup> 9, 3 *du-drastar* YBL. 91<sup>b</sup> 41, cf. Patr. Hy., pl. 3, *du-tairsetar* (sic) Ml. 56<sup>c</sup> 7; iv, sg. 3 *-du-thrised* Wb. 4<sup>d</sup> 17.

**nach-** (*nech*-?) 'give,' etc., 31:—i, sg. 3 *do-n-ind-in* Wb. 13<sup>b</sup> 29, ps. sg. 3 *doind-nastar* Ml. 46<sup>c</sup> 20, cf. Wb. 7<sup>a</sup> 5, pl. 3 *doind-nasatar* Ml. 30<sup>c</sup> 17; iii, sg. 2 *-tid-nais* LBr. 261<sup>a</sup> 64, ps. sg. 3 *duind-nastar* Ml. 56<sup>a</sup> 13, 142<sup>d</sup> 1, pl. 3 *doind-nasatar* Wb. 17<sup>a</sup> 2; iv, sg. 1 *do-ndn-ind-isin-se* Wb. 9<sup>b</sup> 7, 3 *-tind-nissed* Wb. 4<sup>b</sup> 3, *duind-ainsed* Ml. 78<sup>b</sup> 18, pl. 2 *do-dn-ind-nasti-se* Wb. 9<sup>b</sup> 7, ps. sg. 3 *atom-anaste* 14<sup>c</sup> 20.

**nach-** (*ad*-)<sup>1</sup> 'bury':—iii, sg. 2 *-ad-naiss* Trip. L. 84, ps. sg. 3 *-ad-nastar* Trip. L. 252; iv, ps. pl. 3 *ad-anastais* Ml. 100<sup>c</sup> 23.

**mag-** 'increase,' 197:—i, sg. 3 *dufor-ma* Harl. 5,280 fo. 41<sup>b</sup>, ps. sg. 3 *dofór-mastar* Ml. 105<sup>a</sup> 8, LU. 44<sup>b</sup> 33; ii, sg. 3 *dofoir-msed* Ml. 35<sup>a</sup> 17; iii, sg. 2 *-tor-máis* Sg. 208<sup>a</sup> 2, 3, 3 *doror-mai* Laws iv 316, ps. sg. 3 *-tor-mastar* Ml. 20<sup>a</sup> 19, 20.

**anech-** 'protect':—i, sg. 3 *-ain* Wb. 1<sup>d</sup> 1, 25<sup>d</sup> 14; ii, sg. 3 *-ansed* LU. 90<sup>a</sup> 41, cf. 93, l. 7, pl. 3, *ni-t-ansitis* YBL. 51<sup>b</sup> 37; iii, sg. 3 *-ain* LL. 251<sup>a</sup> 24, pl. 3 *-anset* Hy. i, 14.

**clech-** (*ara*-) 'ward off':—i, sg. 2 *ar-ciuchlais*? LU. 66<sup>b</sup> 25; iii, pl. 2 *ara-clessid* Wb. 22<sup>d</sup> 18.

**tech-** 'flee,' √*teq*, 125:— i, sg. 1 *ni theis* (sic) YBL. 29<sup>a</sup> 45, cf. LU. 69<sup>b</sup> 33; iii, sg. 1 *no-tes* Ml. 29<sup>d</sup> 2; iv, sg. 3 *nu-tesed* Ml. 29<sup>d</sup> 9.

**tech-** (*ad*-) 'entreat,' 125:—i, sg. 1; i, pl. 1 *adessam* Hy. i, 4.

The *d* of *adessam* is peculiar; *atessam* might have been expected; *attas* LL. 130<sup>b</sup> 20 may mean 'I will beseech.'<sup>2</sup>

**dleg-** (pres. *dlig*- = \**dlig*-) 'have a claim,' 155:—iii, sg. 3 *dlé* (irregular for \**dles*) LU. 36<sup>a</sup> 44, ps. sg. 3 *dlestar* Laws iii, 154; iv, sg. 1 *no-dlessaind* KSB. vii, 52, 2 *dlesta* ib., 3 *no-dlesed* Laws i, 224.

**melg-** (pres. *mlig*- from \**młg*-) 'milk,' 214:—iii, sg. 3 *duin-mail* Ml. 50<sup>b</sup> 1.

<sup>1</sup> Probably identical with the preceding.

<sup>2</sup> Thurneysen would explain *adessam* from *ad-n-tessam*.



**reg-** 'stretch out,' 231:—i, sg. **1** *atamm-res-[s]a* Ml. 31<sup>c</sup> 14, *ader-rius-sa* 89<sup>b</sup> 3, cf. 137<sup>c</sup> 7, LU. 20<sup>b</sup> 15,<sup>1</sup> **3** *ní-s-der* Ml. 57<sup>a</sup> 7, pl. **2** *as-n-éi-rsid* Wb. 25<sup>b</sup> 25, **3** *asséi-rset* 13<sup>b</sup> 26, cf. 13<sup>c</sup> 20, 25<sup>b</sup> 16; ii, sg. **3** *-taidi-rsed* Wb. 4<sup>d</sup> 9, *-dei-rsed* Sg. 209<sup>b</sup> 27; iii, sg. **2** injunctive *at-ré* Ml. 126<sup>c</sup> 3, *com-éir* Féil. Aug. 26, pl. **2** *-déirsid* Wb. 25<sup>d</sup> 27, cf. 20<sup>b</sup> 10, *-aithi-rsid* 9<sup>a</sup> 23, **3** *con-da-érsset* Ml. 46<sup>a</sup> 12, ps. sg. **3** *aithir-restar* 32<sup>d</sup> 13, pl. **3** *ade-rsetar* 30<sup>d</sup> 11; iv, sg. **1** *duæ-rsinn-se* Ml. 103<sup>b</sup> 3, **3** *ad-t-resed* YBL. 214<sup>b</sup> 15, *dudu-rsed* Ml. 33<sup>b</sup> 14, pl. **3** *-eser-sitis* Ml. 15<sup>c</sup> 7, 8.

An intransitive *reg-* seems to be found in *reissi* (gl. *eirghe*) 'thou shalt go' in one text of the *Audacht Móráin*, with which may perhaps be compared *reiss*, 'shall come' ? LL. 252<sup>a</sup> 33.

**leg-** 'lie,' 254:—i, sg. **3** *con-lee* (leg. *con-lile* ?) Imram Brain 51; iii, pl. **3** *-dei-lset* Laws iv, 78, cf. O'Dav. 77; iv, sg. **3** *-lessed* LL. 153<sup>a</sup> 6.

**fech-** 'fight,' 279:—i, sg. **1** *fessa* LU. 133<sup>a</sup> 7, *do-nda-fius* Ml. 126<sup>c</sup> 19, *imdius-[s]a* (= *imm-di-fius*) LU. 61<sup>a</sup> 11, **3** *du-fí* Ml. 67<sup>c</sup> 5, ps. sg. **3** *du-fiastar* Ml. 27<sup>c</sup> 4, 129<sup>b</sup> 4, *-diastar* YBL. 43<sup>b</sup> 50, pl. **3** *fessaitir* LL. 188<sup>b</sup> 6, *du-fesatar* Ml. 29<sup>b</sup> 14; iii, sg. **2** *du-fess* Ml. 44<sup>a</sup> 9, *-dérais* (= *-dī-ro-feiss*) LU. 20<sup>b</sup> 5, **3** *forroi* Laws iv, 220 (= *fo-ro-fē*), ps. sg. **3** *du-fessar* Ml. 32<sup>c</sup> 20, *forruastar* Laws ii, 396; iv, sg. **3** *du-fesed* Ml. 33<sup>b</sup> 12, *-toissed* (= *to-fessed*) 40<sup>d</sup> 13, *foroead* (= *fo-ro-fessed*) Corm. s.v. *mugeime*, pl. **1** *-dersamis* Celt. Zeitschr. iii, 45, ps. pl. **3** Ml. *do-festais* 29<sup>c</sup> 7.

This is commonly compared with Lat. *uinco*, etc., which suits the meaning very well, but the vocalism is difficult, as the Irish forms point to *e*, cf. also the present *du-feich*; there is the same difficulty with *fetar* √*ueid*, below p. 10.

**sech-** 'say,' 296:—iv, sg. **3** *incoissised* Ml. 24<sup>c</sup> 22, etc.

**sleg** 'hew,' 320:—i, sg. **3** *silis* (= *sislis*) Imram Brain 55, *ar-sil* Féil. Sep. 29, pl. **1** *silsimi-ni* LU. 58<sup>a</sup> 7, ps. pl. **3** *arsilsiter* (MS. *arsilsither*) YBL. 45<sup>b</sup> 11.

**siag-** (becomes *seg-* and *sag-*, probably according to the following vowel, Thurneysen) 'strive towards':—i, sg. **2** *-róis* Sg. 229, **3** *ro-sía* LU. 89<sup>b</sup> 3 (also used as a subjunctive, e.g. LU. 112<sup>a</sup> 26, cf. *co riased* YBL. 214<sup>b</sup> 14), pl. **2** *ro-sesaid-si* LU. 25<sup>b</sup> 10,

<sup>1</sup> For *nisnéruusa* of the facsimile read *niméruusa* 'I will not rise.' *Reg-* is properly transitive, so that 'he rises' is *atraig* = *ad-d-reig*, lit. 'he raises himself'; 'she rises' is *atarraig* = *ad-da-reig*, 'they rise' is *ataregat* = *ad-da-regat*. But the compound *ess-ess-reg-*, used technically of the Resurrection, is intransitive.

**3** *-roisset* Ml. 74<sup>a</sup> 11; ii, sg. **3** *-roisséd* Ml. 39<sup>c</sup> 34; iii, sg. **2** *ro-sáis* Ber. 42<sup>a</sup> 1, **3** *ro-d-sá* LL. 58<sup>b</sup> 33, *to-ra* LL. 100<sup>a</sup> 24, pl. **3** *f-a-sásat* Wb. 8<sup>c</sup> 19; iv, sg. **1** *-roissinn* Wb. 26<sup>d</sup> 17, **3** *ro-saisséd*, *ro-sassad* Wind. Wb., LU. 58<sup>b</sup> 31, pl. **3** *ro-sastáis* LU. 84<sup>a</sup> 7, *-toirsitis* Ml. 48<sup>d</sup> 27.

For later forms in which *a* is analogically replaced by *o* cf. Verbal System of Salt. Rann, p. 73.

This root appears somewhat disguised in some other compounds:—*iarmi-fo-siag* ‘seek’ Rev. Celt. xix, 177: *con-di-siag* ‘seek’ i pl. **3** *condesat* Ml. 46<sup>c</sup> 13; iii sg. **3** *-cuíntea* (= *con-di-sá*) Ml. 51<sup>a</sup> 18, ps. *conniestar* Rev. Celt. xv, 488, iv sg. **1** *condesinn* Wb. 19<sup>d</sup> 24: *to-iarmi-fo-ro-siag?* ‘pursue,’ i pl. **3** *tiarmórset* LU. 123<sup>a</sup> 15, cf. 123<sup>a</sup> 19: *to-etar-ro-siag?* ‘reach, hit,’ i sg. **2** *-tetarraís* LU. 62<sup>a</sup> 43, iii sg. **2** *-tetarraís* LU. 62<sup>a</sup> 42.

**org-** ‘slay, destroy,’ 51:—i, sg. **1** *fris-iurr* Ml. 37<sup>c</sup> 12, cf. 113<sup>a</sup> 11, **2** *-irr* Ml. 77<sup>a</sup> 10, 13, 17, *-hierr* 77<sup>a</sup> 16,<sup>1</sup> **3** *fritamm-iór-sa* 32<sup>d</sup> 27, *fritatn-iarr-su* 93<sup>a</sup> 15, rel. *iuras* LU. 87<sup>b</sup> 35, etc., pl. **3** *fritamm-iúrat* Ml. 33<sup>a</sup> 1, cf. LU. 96<sup>a</sup> 12, ps. sg. **3** *iurthar* LU. 88<sup>a</sup> 5, etc.; ii, pl. **1** *-iurmaís* LU. 87<sup>a</sup> 40, ps. sg. **3**, *-iurtha* 97<sup>a</sup> 24; iii, sg. **3** *frisn-orr* 15<sup>a</sup> 10, cf. LU. 88<sup>a</sup> 4, *ducom-arr* Ml. 85<sup>c</sup> 3, etc., rel. *orr* Sg. 12<sup>b</sup> 7, pl. **2** *dufu-arraid* Ml. 78<sup>d</sup> 7, **3** *frisn-orrat* Ml. 80<sup>b</sup> 9, etc.; iv, sg. **3** *frisn-orrad* Ml. 124<sup>d</sup> 8, *-tu-arrad* 121<sup>d</sup> 17, 18, pl. **2** *fris-orthe* Wb. 10<sup>c</sup> 12, **3** *otu-artis* Ml. 54<sup>a</sup> 18, ps. sg. **3** irregularly *no-irrrtha* LU. 87<sup>a</sup> 14.

**org-<sup>2</sup>?** (*to-ess-*) ‘save,’ (*to-imm-*) ‘artare,’ ‘castigare’:—i, sg. **1** *doimmarr* Wb. 9<sup>a</sup> 20, **3** *do-da-ess-arr-som* Wb. 5<sup>c</sup> 12, ps. sg. **3** *duimmarthar* Ml. 90<sup>a</sup> 9; ii, sg. **2** *do-n-ess-arthá* LL. 283<sup>b</sup> 41; iii, sg. **3?** *doescom-airr* O’Dav. 81, cf. *tes-com-arr* 121; iv, ps. sg. **3** *do-n-imm-arthae* Ml. 130<sup>c</sup> 21.

**icc-** ‘come,’ 31:—iii, sg. **1** *rís-sa* Wb. 14<sup>a</sup> 17, cf. 9<sup>a</sup> 20, etc., LU. 58<sup>a</sup> 20, 66<sup>a</sup> 5, *-ríus* LU. 62<sup>b</sup> 21, **2** *con-iis* Wb. 10<sup>a</sup> 21, *-rís* LU. 44<sup>b</sup> 10, injunctive *tair* LU. 58<sup>a</sup> 20, etc., **3** *ro-hí* Wb. 20<sup>c</sup> 11, *ríi* 7<sup>b</sup> 3, *-rí* 24<sup>a</sup> 17, *-comuir* (= *com-rí*) 24<sup>a</sup> 17, *con-í* Sg. 25<sup>b</sup> 14, *-cum-ai* Ml. 31<sup>c</sup> 19, 32<sup>d</sup> 15, *-co[m]* 53<sup>a</sup> 5, *-cum* 87<sup>d</sup> 13, cf. 129<sup>b</sup> 6, pl. **1** *rísam* Hy. i, 42, *-comairsem* (= *com-rísam*) Wb. 33<sup>a</sup> 9, **2** *rísid* 24<sup>b</sup> 2, **3** *rísat* 5<sup>b</sup> 39, *-cumset* Ml. 39<sup>c</sup> 26, ps. sg. **3** *ar-is-ar* 30<sup>d</sup> 23; iv, sg. **1** *rísín* Wb. 18<sup>a</sup> 23, **2** *-rísta* Imram Brain, **3** *-tised*

<sup>1</sup> In Ml. 126<sup>d</sup> 1 for *dufurr* read, with Thurneysen, *dufiurr*.

<sup>2</sup> The Irish forms do not show whether the radical vowel was *o* or *a*. For a suggested etymology see Osthoff, I.F., viii, 62.

Wb. 21<sup>a</sup> 1, pl. 1 *-tismis* 25<sup>a</sup> 1, 3 *con-istis* Sg. 138<sup>a</sup> 9, ps. sg. 3 *ar-istae* Ml. 110<sup>d</sup> 6. For more examples see Ascoli.

In *con-icc-* 'be able' the prototonic forms come regularly from *-ong-* (cf. p. 7). But the vocalism of *-cumai* points to the influence of *con-i*, *-cum* would naturally come from *com-oncst*. For longer and shorter forms side by side cf. Thurneysen, KZ. xxxi, 91.

*tēg-* 'go,' *√steigh-* 124:—i, sg. 3 *cotn-im-thae* Wb. 12<sup>c</sup> 4, pl. 3 *-inotsat* 33<sup>a</sup> 14, *tiasuit* Ir. T. ii, 2. 191 (= *tiagaid* LU.), ps. sg. 3 *do-thiasar* LU. 68<sup>a</sup> 32; iii, sg. 1 *-thiasu-sa* Wb. 23<sup>c</sup> 31, *du-tias* 1<sup>a</sup> 7, 2 *tési* LU. 64<sup>a</sup> 20, cf. LL. 251<sup>a</sup> 41, 293<sup>a</sup> 47 (but *téis* LU. 64<sup>a</sup> 21, SR. 1,273), *-téis* Ml. 78<sup>c</sup> 1, LBr. 261<sup>a</sup> 9, 60, *-coméitis* Wb. 6<sup>c</sup> 6, 3 *théis* Wb. 14<sup>a</sup> 14, Ir. T. iii, 1. 19, 47, LU. 67<sup>b</sup> 11, *thes* Ml. 23<sup>d</sup> 23, *do-théi* Wb. 13<sup>a</sup> 12, *-téi* LL. 251<sup>a</sup> 22, *-jé* Ml. 36<sup>a</sup> 23, 126<sup>a</sup> 4, *conéit* Wb. 6<sup>c</sup> 1, 7, pl. 1 *tiasam* Hy. i, 2, *-im-thiasam* Ml. 36<sup>c</sup>, *inotsam* 16<sup>a</sup> 16, *cometsam* Cod. Cam., 2 *thiastá* LU. 57<sup>b</sup> 39, *-théssid* LU. 58<sup>a</sup> 43, 3 *for-tiassat* Ml. 68<sup>d</sup> 7, rel. *tiastae* Féil. Ep. 470, ps. sg. 3 *-tiasar* Riagail Comgail, *tiastar* LBr. 261<sup>b</sup> 1; iv, sg. 1 *no-théisinn* Ml. 41<sup>d</sup> 9, 2 *no-thiasta-so* GC.<sup>2</sup> 496, 3 *no-theised* Wb. 32<sup>a</sup> 17, *no-tésed* Ml. 23<sup>b</sup> 12, 54<sup>a</sup> 21, cf. 42<sup>c</sup> 31, Sg. 21<sup>b</sup> 9, (n)-*o-tesad* Ml. 34<sup>d</sup> 6, *-tiasad* LU. 75<sup>a</sup> 19, pl. 3 *nu-tiastais* Ml. 117<sup>d</sup> 3.

It will be observed that instances of the future are very rare; the present *tiag*, *tiagu* is often used in a future sense. Perhaps the future was a secondary development.<sup>1</sup>

Here may be mentioned some very similar forms which are commonly referred to *téit*:—iii, sg. 1 *fris-táes* Ml. 140<sup>b</sup> 6, 2 *to-tais-siu* LU. 130<sup>a</sup> 25, 3 *-tái* Sg. 26<sup>b</sup> 7, *fres-tai* Ml. 31<sup>d</sup> 6, *ni tæ* YBL. 92<sup>b</sup> 1, pl. 3 *-taesat* Rev. Celt. x, 220; iv, sg. 1 *fris-taisinn* (corrected from *fris-teisinn*) Ml. 132<sup>a</sup> 5, 3 *-frith-taised* 34<sup>a</sup> 8, cf. Rev. Celt. xi, 450, *do-tæsad* YBL. 42<sup>b</sup> 15. These forms so closely resemble the above that they probably come from contamination of the subjunctive forms of *tiag* with forms like *tait*, Ascoli Gloss. lxxii. In Ml. 17<sup>c</sup> 5 *-frithlaigat* is a clear contamination of *frithtáit* and *frithtiagat*, cf. *staig*, Sg. 144<sup>a</sup>; in later MSS. *dothaegat*, etc., for *dothiagat* is fairly common.

*nig-* 'wash,' 194:—i, sg. 1 *no-t-ninus* YBL. 52<sup>b</sup> 24, *dofo-nus-sa* Ml. 47<sup>a</sup> 19; iv, sg. 2 *-nesta* GC. 469.

*rig-* 'bind,' 233:—i, sg. 2 *o-riris-siu* Ml. 134<sup>d</sup> 3, *arafoiris* (= *ara-fo-riris*) 37<sup>c</sup> 18, 3 *ni-m-foir-sa* Féil. Pr. 332, pl. 3 *arñ-*

<sup>1</sup> It is worth noting that *σείχω* has no future; in Od. iv, 277, the form *πείσσειξας* is doubtful.



*dam-fuirset* Ml. 114<sup>c</sup> 11, ps. sg. **3** *cotan-rirastar* 134<sup>a</sup> 1; iii, sg. **1** *con-da-rias* Ml. 21<sup>b</sup> 8, ps. sg. **3** *ad-riastar* Laws iii, 228; iv, ps. sg. **3** *arfuirestae* Ml. 47<sup>b</sup> 6.

**lig-** 'lick,' 241:—i, pl. **3** *lilsit* Ml. 89<sup>d</sup> 14.

**slig-** 'tempt':—iii, sg. **3** *ad-sléi* Wb. 20<sup>b</sup> 2.

## II. The root ends in *ng*.

**ceng-** 'step,' 77:—i, sg. **3** *cichis* Rev. Celt. x, 224, pl. **3** *friscichset* LU. 89<sup>a</sup> 44, ps. sg. **3** *cichsithear, fo-cichsithear* O'Cl.; iii, pl. **3** rel. *ciasto* (sic) Laws ii, 388, ps. sg. **3** *ciasair* O'Don. Supp.; iv, sg. **3** *no-chessed* LU. 84<sup>b</sup> 1, *ro-ceissedh* H. 3. 18, p. 469<sup>a</sup>, irregular *-cichsed* LU. 102<sup>b</sup> 4, 18.

**deng-** 'press,' 146:—i, ps. pl. **3** *ardidsiter* YBL. 45<sup>b</sup> 12; iii, ps. pl. **3** *for-n-diassatar* Ml. 39<sup>b</sup> 12, cf. O'Dav. 77.

Brugmann, Grundr. ii, 999, apparently on account of *-diassatar*, makes the root *ding-* Lat. *tingo*, but this does not suit the sense so well; for an explanation of the diphthong see below, p. 20.

**leng-** 'leap':—iii, sg. **2** *tarblais* LU. 83<sup>b</sup> 14, **3** rel. *lias* Ml. 33<sup>c</sup> 8; iv, sg. **3** *oribuilsed* LU. 63<sup>b</sup> 4.

**ong-** (*aith-com-*) 'happen':—iii, sg. **3** *-écm-i* Wb. 5<sup>b</sup> 35, *-ecmai* Ml. 15<sup>d</sup> 5, etc., *-tecma* Féil. Jan. 10; iv, sg. **3** *doecmoised* Wb. 5<sup>d</sup> 26, pl. **3** *chuntecmaistis* Ml. 102<sup>a</sup> 24.

The vocalism of *-ecmi*, *-ecmai* has been influenced by that of the subjunctive of *icc-*, above p. 5. The vowel of the Irish root is more probably *o* than *a*.

**tong-**<sup>1</sup> (in constant composition with *ud-*) 'build up':—i, sg. **2** *ar-utais-siu* Ml. 56<sup>a</sup> 11, ps. sg. **3** *con-utastar* LL. 188<sup>b</sup> 17; iv, sg. **1** *con-utsin* Ber. 37<sup>d</sup> 2.

**tong-** 'swear,' 121:—i, sg. **3** *tithis* O'Dav. 123, pl. **3** *tithsat* *for-tithsat* ib.; iii, sg. **2** *-thois* LBr. 261<sup>a</sup> 5, *et-tis* LU. 46<sup>b</sup> 18, **3** *-to* O'Dav. 123, *as-to* O'Don. Supp., pl. **1** *fris-tossam* Cod. Cam.; iv, sg. **3** *-toissed* Wb. 33<sup>d</sup> 10, *-doch-taised* Ml. 78<sup>a</sup> 4.

**dlong-** 'split,' 158:—i, sg. **3** *-in-dail*<sup>2</sup> Ml. 96<sup>a</sup> 8; ii, pl. **3** *no-didlastáis* LU. 95<sup>a</sup> 33, 96<sup>b</sup> 28.

<sup>1</sup> Or *tung-*, Gr. *τεύχω*, etc. Stokes?

<sup>2</sup> The timbre of the final consonant would seem to point to a stem *dlencs-* rather than *dloncs-*. Can it be analogical?



**bong-** 'reap, break,' 177:—i, sg. 1 *bibhsa* O'Cl., ps. sg. 3 *com-bibustar* Ir. T. ii, 2. 247; iii, sg. 1 *-topas* (MS. *-topachtur*, cf. Celt. Z. ii, 480) LU. 73<sup>b</sup> 2, 3 *arnamma-com-ba* Laws iv, 334; iv, sg. 3 *chota*[*b*]-*bosad* Ml. 18<sup>a</sup> 7.

By *bong-* there was also *beg-*, cf. *-tath-bongat* Laws ii, 334, with *doaitbhiuch* Sg. 22<sup>b</sup> 2. To this belongs iii, sg. 3 *-taithim* Laws iii, 56. A similar variation appears in the following—2 *bong-* (cf. *do-begim* Wind.), in *tong-*: *teg-*, cf. *freitech* by *fris-toing*, *eitech* by *as-toing*, etc., *long-*: *leg-*<sup>1</sup> (*fulach* Ml. 22<sup>d</sup> 9, 32<sup>d</sup> 4, *folog* Wb. 17<sup>b</sup> ?), and probably in *bond-* (p. 12), *bed-* (p. 9).

**bong-**<sup>2</sup> (*to-*) 'levy' (tribute, etc.):—i, sg. 1 *do-bibus-sa* Wind. s.v. *dobegim*; iii, sg. 2 *-tor-bois*, *at-bois* O'Don. Supp., pl. 3 *do-bosat*, ps. sg. 3 *do-bosar* ib. s.v. *bósar*.

**long-** (*fo-*) 'support':—i, sg. 1 *fo-lilus-sa* Wb. 23<sup>b</sup> 25, 2 *-félais* LU. 69<sup>b</sup> 8, 3 *remi-foil* Ml. 23<sup>a</sup> 8, pl. 2 *-fálsaid* LU. 72<sup>a</sup> 9, 3 *fo-lilsat* Wb. 25<sup>d</sup> 19, Ml. 80<sup>a</sup> 13, ps. sg. 3 *fu-lilastar* Ml. 109<sup>b</sup> 7; ii, sg. 1 *fu-lilsain-se* Ml. 73<sup>d</sup> 1, 3 *-foelsad* (sic leg.) LU. 96<sup>b</sup> 35, pl. 3 *-fóilsitis* Wb. 15<sup>a</sup> 20, ps. sg. 3 *fu-lilastæ* LU. 20<sup>a</sup> 24; iii, sg. 1 *fu-lós* Ml. 33<sup>a</sup> 2, etc. (irregular *-fóelus* LU. 88<sup>a</sup> 19), 3 *fu-nd-ló* Ml. 32<sup>d</sup> 9, etc., *-ful* 32<sup>d</sup> 5, 57<sup>d</sup> 15, pl. 1 *-fulsam* Wb. 14<sup>c</sup> 2, *-fochomolsam* 14<sup>b</sup> 15, 2 *-fochomalsid* 11<sup>b</sup> 2, 3 *fo-l-losat* Ml. 118<sup>a</sup> 11, cf. 69<sup>a</sup> 7; iv, pl. 3 *fó-lostais* Ml. 104<sup>c</sup> 5.

### III. The root ends in a dental.

**étad-** 'obtain':—i, ps. sg. 3 *-etastar* KSB. vii, 64; ii, ps. sg. 3 *-étaste* Ml. 43<sup>d</sup> 20.

This verb has *s* future, *ā* subjunctive, cf. p. 2.

**clad-** 'dig,' 81:—iii, pl. 3 *-clasat* O'Dav.; iv, ps. sg. 3 *-clasta* LU. 130<sup>a</sup> 9.

**clad-** (*ad-*) 'hunt':—i, sg. 1 *ad-cichlus* KZ. xxxiii, 66; iii, sg. 2? *ad-claiss* Trip. L. 88.

**nad-** (pres. *nasc-*) 'bind'  $\sqrt{nedh}$ , 191:—i, sg. 1 *ar-nenas* Rev. Celt. xii, 82; iii, sg. 2 *-nais* Laws iv, 36, 3 *ro-na* O'Dav. 112, ps. sg. 3 *ro-nastar* LU. 59<sup>b</sup> 11; iv, ps. sg. 3 *-ar-nastá* LU. 59<sup>a</sup> 25.

<sup>1</sup> To  $\sqrt{leg}$  in *λέχος*, etc., the idea being that of a *ὑποκείμενον*? The most primary sense discernible in Irish is 'support' in a physical sense.

<sup>2</sup> Identical with the preceding?

**mad-** 'break, burst' (intrans.):—i, sg. **3** *memais* Trip. L. 138, 142 (rel.), *-mema* Ml. 89<sup>c</sup> 11, LU. 74<sup>b</sup> 5, pl. **1** *mebuismet* Ir. T. ii, 2. 247, *-memsam* YBL. 52<sup>a</sup> 16, **3** rel. *memsite* YBL. 45<sup>b</sup> 8; ii, pl. **3** *mepsaitis* (irregular for *nomemsaitis*) YBL. 51<sup>b</sup> 22; iii, sg. **3** *-roima* (leg. *-roma*?) Ml. 89<sup>c</sup> 11; *-má* LU. 88<sup>a</sup> 5, Corm. s.v. *á*, *-mae* LL. 94<sup>a</sup> 19, 102<sup>a</sup> 50.

**snad-** (*ad-*) 'insero,' (*ind-*) 'exsero':—iii, ps. sg. **3** *atom-snassar* Wb. 5<sup>b</sup> 30; iv, pl. **3** *in-snastis* Ml. 26<sup>c</sup> 17.

**slad-** 'hew,' 319:—i, sg. **3** *no-don-sel* (= \**sislatst*) LU. 106<sup>a</sup> 42; iii, sg. **2** *no-slaiss* LU. 74<sup>a</sup> 18.

**ed-** 'eat':—ii, sg. **3** *no-issad* Rev. Celt. viii, 58, pl. **3** *no-ístais* Ir. T. i, 75; iii, sg. **1** *-esur* LU. 104<sup>b</sup> 14, **3** *estir* Wb. 6<sup>b</sup> 23, *-estar* 6<sup>b</sup> 22, pl. **1** *-essamar* SR. 1226; iv, pl. **3** *no-estais* Ml. 98<sup>b</sup> 9.

**cet-** (? cf. KZ. xxxi, 74) 'lead':—i, ps. sg. **3** *dudi-chestar* Ml. 30<sup>d</sup> 25; iii, ps. sg. **3** *fuduid-chestar* Ml. 36<sup>b</sup> 10.

**cerd-** (*fo-*) 'cast,' 80:—i, sg. **1** *fo-chichur-sa* LU. 70<sup>a</sup> 4, *-foichur-sa* LL. 251<sup>b</sup> 20, *fris-foichiurr* Ml. 78<sup>c</sup> 8, **3** *fo-cicherr* 87<sup>d</sup> 8, *do-n-aith-foicherr* Ml. 34<sup>d</sup> 8, (irregular *noco-focher* LU. 63<sup>a</sup> 14, *fo-chiuchra* 56<sup>a</sup> 8), pl. **3** *fo-cichret* Ml., *du-n-ath-foichret* 72<sup>d</sup> 1, ps. sg. **3** *fo-cicherthar* LU. 88<sup>a</sup> 14, *do-foicherthar* 88<sup>a</sup> 15; ii, sg. **3** *-foichred* LU. 84<sup>a</sup> 19 (irregular *-fo-chichred*, MS. *-fochriched*, 88<sup>b</sup> 18); iii, sg. **2** *fo-ceirr* Wb. 13<sup>c</sup> 24; iv, sg. **3** *f-a-cherred* Ml. 124<sup>b</sup> 3, ps. sg. **3** *fo-certá* LU. 84<sup>a</sup> 18.

**ged-** (pres. *guidim*) 'pray,' 110:—i, sg. **1** *gigse-sa* Ml. 47<sup>d</sup> 4, *gigsa* LL. 278<sup>a</sup> 33, *no-gigiús* Ml. 46<sup>b</sup> 12, **3** rel. *giges* 53<sup>c</sup> 3, pl. **2** *gigeste-si* Wb. 14<sup>a</sup> 2; ii, sg. **3** *ro-gigsed* (leg. *nogigsed*?) Ml. 32<sup>d</sup> 5; iii, sg. **1** *-ges* Ml. 21<sup>b</sup> 5, 8, **2** *-geiss* Wb. 30<sup>b</sup> 4, **3** *-gé* Ml. 51<sup>a</sup> 16, 53<sup>b</sup> 27, rel. *ges* 39<sup>b</sup> 3, pl. **1** *gesme* Wb. 4<sup>a</sup> 27, *-gessam* 11<sup>a</sup> 24, **2** *-gessid* 24<sup>b</sup> 3, 26<sup>a</sup> 34, **3** *-roigset* (= *ro-gessat*) 16<sup>c</sup> 23, ps. sg. **3** *gessir* Wb. 17<sup>d</sup> 27, rel. *gesar* Ml. 51<sup>a</sup> 17; iv, pl. **1** *-gesmais* Ml. 21<sup>b</sup> 1, **3** *-gestais* 125<sup>a</sup> 4, 131<sup>d</sup> 13, *-roigsitis* 131<sup>d</sup> 14.

**ged-** (pres. *ad-guiter* O'Don. Supp.) 'make fast,' cf. *pre-hendo*, etc.:—iv, ps. sg. **3** *ad-ro-gesta* Laws iv, 210.

**bed-** (*to-ad-*) 'shew':—iii, sg. **2** *condár-bais* Ml. 101<sup>c</sup> 6, irregular *tad-bæ* LU. 107<sup>b</sup> 44, ps. sg. **3** *condár-bastar* Sg. 211<sup>a</sup> 10; iv, sg. **3** *do-n-aid-bsed* Ml. 20<sup>a</sup> 9, *tai[d]-bsed* Sg. 6<sup>b</sup> 25, ps. sg. **3** *do-n-ad-bastæ* Ml. 37<sup>b</sup> 23.

**neth-** (*ind-*) 'await,' (*ar-*) 'expect':—i, sg. **1** *ni-sn-idnus* YBL. 45<sup>b</sup> 31; iii, ps. sg. **3** *-eir-nestar*<sup>1</sup> Ml. 118<sup>d</sup> 10.

**med-** 'measure, judge':—i, sg. **1** *-mesur* Ml. 94<sup>b</sup> 8, cf. 78<sup>a</sup> 11,

<sup>1</sup> So it is probably to be read, though the gloss is very illegible.

*-mesor-sa* (or subj.?) Sg. 179<sup>a</sup> 1, 2 *mesir* Corm. s.v. *segamla*, 3 *miastar* Wb. 1<sup>d</sup> 9, Ml. 56<sup>c</sup> 10, pl. 1 *messimir*, *messamar* Wb. 9<sup>c</sup> 10, ps. sg. 3 *miastir* Wb. 9<sup>c</sup> 9, Ml. 30<sup>d</sup> 25, rel. *miastar* 57<sup>c</sup> 7; iii, 3 *-mestar* Ml. 30<sup>c</sup> 19, *du-mestar* 68<sup>d</sup> 1, *-coim-mestar* 127<sup>a</sup> 19, rel. *mestar* 127<sup>d</sup> 12, pl. 2 *-ir-missid* Wb. 27<sup>c</sup> 29, 3 rel. *mëssatar* Ml. 70<sup>a</sup> 9, ps. sg. 3 *mestar* Wb. 9<sup>c</sup> 6, Ml. 24<sup>a</sup> 10, *-messar* 42<sup>d</sup> 14; iv, sg. 3 *-messed* Wb. 8<sup>d</sup> 26.

**med-** (*imm-ro-*) 'transgress,' Skr. *pra-mad-*:—i, pl. 3 *imroimset* (= *imm-ro-messat*) Ml. 54<sup>a</sup> 23, cf. 54<sup>a</sup> 27; iii, sg. 2 *-im-roimser* Wb. 20<sup>c</sup> 4, 3 *imnero-mastar* Ml. 51<sup>a</sup> 18, *-imro-mastar* Wb. 11<sup>a</sup> 16, pl. 2 *imroimsid* 33<sup>b</sup> 8; iv, pl. 1 *imroimsimmis* Wb. 9<sup>c</sup> 10, 3 *-im-roimsitis* Ml. 51<sup>a</sup> 19.

**reth-** 'run,' 231:—i, sg. 3 *in-ré* Ml. 113<sup>a</sup> 7, *fu-m-ré-se* Lib. Ardm. 18<sup>a</sup>, 3 *-diuair* (= *-dī-od-rē*) Ml. 56<sup>d</sup> 2; iii, sg. 2 *injunctive to-n-fóir* (= *fo-rē*) LU. 63<sup>b</sup> 8, etc., 3 *in-ré* Ml. 134<sup>d</sup> 1; iv, sg. 3 *-ressed* Rev. Celt. xi, 446, pl. 3 *in-restais* Ml. 37<sup>d</sup> 1.

**feth-** 'blow,' 263:—ii, sg. 3 *-thinib* Wb. 4<sup>a</sup> 27.

**feth-** 'relate,' 268:—i, sg. 1 *-aisnd-ius-sa* Sg. 47<sup>a</sup> 13, cf. *ad-fess* LL. 132<sup>b</sup> 8, 3 *ad-fi* Imram Brain 52, pl. 1 *asind-isem* Ml. 35<sup>a</sup> 6, *ad-fessam* LL. 11<sup>b</sup> 48, 3 *asind-isset* Wb. 30<sup>d</sup> 8, cf. Ml. 45<sup>b</sup> 19, ps. sg. 3 *ad-fesar* Psalt. Hib. 289, *ad-fiastar* LU. 46<sup>b</sup> 37; ii, sg. 3 *in-fessed* LU. 134<sup>b</sup> 31; iii, sg. 3 *in-fé* Ml. 30<sup>b</sup> 12, *as-n-ind* (= *-ind-fē*) 23<sup>d</sup> 2, pl. 3 *asind-iset* 23<sup>a</sup> 19; iv, sg. 3 *as-id-ind-issued* Ml. 42<sup>b</sup> 18, cf. 131<sup>b</sup> 1, pl. 1 *in-fesmais* 17<sup>d</sup> 8.

**fed-** 'lead,' 269:—iii, sg. 3 *dudí* (= *\*to-dī-fetst*) Ml. 35<sup>c</sup> 30; iv, sg. 3 *du-d-fessed* Ml. 78<sup>b</sup> 14, *du-m-dised-sa* (= *-dī-fessed*) 78<sup>b</sup> 18, ps. sg. 3 *du-n-diastrae* 45<sup>c</sup> 4.

**-fetar** 'I know,' *√ueid-* 264, cf. p. 4:—i, sg. 1 *ro-fessur* Wb. 9<sup>a</sup> 21, Ir. T. ii, 1. 179, 3 *ru-fiastar* Ml. 111<sup>c</sup> 13, *-fiastar* Wb. 12<sup>d</sup> 18, 22<sup>d</sup> 3 (or subj.?), *ro-festar* 12<sup>d</sup> 27, pl. 2 *ro-fessid* Wb. 7<sup>d</sup> 6, 3 *ro-fessatar* Ml. 69<sup>b</sup> 1, ps. sg. 3 *ro-fessar* LU. 92<sup>b</sup> 31; iii, sg. 1 *-fiasur* LU. 45<sup>a</sup> 26, 2 *-fesar* Wb. 29<sup>a</sup> 22, cf. Sg. 209<sup>b</sup> 30, 3 *-festar* Wb. 12<sup>c</sup> 38, 28<sup>d</sup> 11, Ml. 51<sup>b</sup> 10, LU. 46<sup>b</sup> 32, pl. 1 *-fessamar* LU. 58<sup>a</sup> 18, 70<sup>a</sup> 4, 2 *ro-fessid* Wb. 7<sup>d</sup> 6, 12<sup>a</sup> 1, 14<sup>b</sup> 20, 14<sup>d</sup> 16, 23<sup>a</sup> 5, *-fessid* 12<sup>a</sup> 3, 12<sup>d</sup> 5, 27<sup>c</sup> 33, 34, 3 *-fesar* 26<sup>d</sup> 33, ps. sg. 3 *ru-fessar* Ml. 24<sup>d</sup> 17, *-fessar* 24<sup>d</sup> 14, *-fesser* (sic) 24<sup>d</sup> 22; iv, sg. 1 *ru-fessinn* Ml. 59<sup>b</sup> 1, cf. LU. 72<sup>b</sup> 33, 77<sup>b</sup> 3, *-fessin* Ml. 117<sup>d</sup> 4, 2 *ro-festa-su* Wb. 10<sup>a</sup> 10, 3 *r-a-fessed*, Sg. 148<sup>a</sup> 6, *-fessed* Wb. 16<sup>a</sup> 2, cf. Ml. 87<sup>d</sup> 4 (leg. *mani-fessed*), pl. 1 *ro-fesmais* LU. 83<sup>a</sup> 40, *-fesmais* 87<sup>a</sup> 41, 113<sup>a</sup> 18, *-fiasmais* Wind. Wb., 2 *ru-feste* Wb. 9<sup>c</sup> 8, 9<sup>d</sup> 9, 3 *-fiastais* LU. 46<sup>a</sup> 17, ps. sg. 3 *o-festa* Sg. 26<sup>b</sup> 8.



sed- 'sit,' 297:—i, sg. **3** *seiss*<sup>1</sup> Wb. 26<sup>a</sup> 8; iv, sg. **3** *no-sessed* Ml. 135<sup>a</sup> 13, cf. LU. 81<sup>a</sup> 10.

cōt-? (*air-*) 'hinder, hurt':—i, sg. **3** *-ir-chói* Wb. 7<sup>a</sup> 11, *ni-m-ir-choisse* LU. 72<sup>b</sup> 40; iii, sg. **3** *ar-cói* Ml. 46<sup>d</sup> 11.

The form of the root is uncertain, see below, p. 23.

coud- 'go,' 62:—ii, pl. **3** *do-cóestis* LU. 65<sup>a</sup> 42, cf. 72<sup>a</sup> 22, 83<sup>a</sup> 33; iii, sg. **1** *-de-chos* LU. 129<sup>a</sup> 10, *-deochus* 70<sup>a</sup> 19, *-dechsa-sa* YBL. 52<sup>a</sup> 13, *-écius* LU. 70<sup>a</sup> 13, 19, **2** *do-cuis-siu* LBr. 261<sup>a</sup> 80, *at-cois* FéL. Pr. 182, *-deochais* LU. 60<sup>a</sup> 11, *-digis* 117<sup>a</sup> 2, *-ecus* 113<sup>a</sup> 17, **3** *do-cói* Wb. 29<sup>a</sup> 28, *-decha* 28<sup>b</sup> 30, LU. 86<sup>a</sup> 36, *-dich* Wb. 9<sup>d</sup> 24, *dig* (rel.) LU. 63<sup>a</sup> 6, pl. **1** *-dechsam* Ml. 62<sup>d</sup> 1, **3** *do-coiset* LU. 70<sup>b</sup> 31, *-dichset* 63<sup>a</sup> 24; iv, sg. **1** *-deochsaind* LU. 71<sup>b</sup> 45, **3** *dodi-chsed* Sg. 18<sup>a</sup> 4, *-tuid-chissed* Wb. 15<sup>c</sup> 16, pl. **1** *-tu[d]-chesmais* Ml. 93<sup>b</sup> 5, **3** *du-coistis* 34<sup>a</sup> 9, *-dechsaitis* 42<sup>a</sup> 6, 7, cf. 104<sup>c</sup> 5.

tud-? (Thurneysen) 'fall':—i, sg. **3** *du-tóith* Incant. Sg., *do-fæth* LU. 88<sup>a</sup> 37, cf. 88<sup>b</sup> 31, 89<sup>b</sup> 21, *-tóith* Trip. L. 142, pl. **3** *do-foethsat* LU. 88<sup>b</sup> 10, cf. 88<sup>a</sup> 36, *to-thætsat* 87<sup>b</sup> 30, *tothóetsat* 91<sup>b</sup> 23, etc., *-tóetsat* 91<sup>b</sup> 40; ii, sg. **3** *do-fæthsad* LU. 73<sup>a</sup> 17, *do-fóethsad* 88<sup>b</sup> 21, *-tóethsad* 78<sup>b</sup> 31, pl. **3** *-toéthsitis* 78<sup>b</sup> 30; iii, sg. **1** *doro-thuus-[s]a* (leg. *doro-thuas-sa*? Thurneysen) Ml. 23<sup>c</sup> 23 (irregularly *-toithus* LL. 32<sup>a</sup> 34), **3** *do-toth* Laws iv, 102, (irregularly *-thæth* LU. 76<sup>b</sup> 22), pl. **1** *-tor-thissem* Wb. 32<sup>c</sup> 16, **3** *-totsat* Ml. 16<sup>a</sup> 19, 118<sup>a</sup> 12, *do-todsat* 124<sup>d</sup> 12, *-tor-thaisset* Laws iv, 318; iv, sg. **1** *do-todsín* Ml. 131<sup>b</sup> 7, **3** *doró-tsad* LU. 59<sup>a</sup> 23, pl. **3** *condositis* (leg. *condositis* Thurneysen) Wb. 5<sup>b</sup> 11.

The form of the root is not quite certain. The above forms point to a subjunctive *ts-* and a future *tiths-*, which with *to-to-* give *dotoths-* and *dotoiths-*. From *tud-* it seems possible to explain the present, e.g. *dotuitet* = \**to-to-tudet* (with inflexion like *gabim*) as *Luigdech* Ogm., *Lugudeccas* Grundriss<sup>2</sup> 246. So *to-thim* = \**to-tutsmen*. For *ts* in *tothóetsat*, etc., cf. Stokes, KZ. xxviii, 72.

#### IV. Roots ending in *nd*, *nn*.

Cf. Grundriss i<sup>2</sup> 329, ii 983, BB. xx, 12.

grenn- (from *grend-*) 'pursue,' 118:—iii, sg. **3** *in-gre* Ml. 111<sup>c</sup> 6; iv, pl. **3** *ingriastais* Ml. 38<sup>d</sup> 5.

<sup>1</sup> The MS. reading is doubtful, but *seiss* is probably to be written.



**glenn** (from *glend-*) 'search out,' 120:—iii, sg. **2** *in-gléis* Ml. 140<sup>c</sup> 7, **3** *-ecail* 56<sup>c</sup> 8.

**glenn-** (from *glend-*) (*for-di-od-*) 'devour' (KZ. xxxvi, 67):—i, ps. pl. **3** *fordiuguilisiter* Ml. 84<sup>d</sup> 2; iii, sg. **3** *-fordiucail* Ml. 36<sup>a</sup> 32, pl. **3** *for-tam-diucuilset-sa* 44<sup>c</sup> 32.

**svenn** (*to-*) 'pursue':—i, sg. **3** *dossib* Wind. s.v. *toibnim*; iii, sg. **1** *du-sés-[s̄]a* Ml. 61<sup>c</sup> 16; iv, sg. **1** *du-sésainn* (MS. *dusesáinn*) Ml. 41<sup>c</sup> 5.

**svenn-** 'play':—i, *sifais* O'Dav.

**bond-** 'declare':—iii, sg. **2** *at-bois* O'Dav. s.v. *adbo*, **3** *ad-bo* O'Don. Suppl.

Pres. *asboind* Laws iii, 478, *atabaind* iv, 104, 106, *adbonnar* iii, 228.

**fo-rond-**, g. *fuscare*:—iii, ps. sg. **3** *-furastar* Ml. 15<sup>b</sup> 11.

The radical vowel may be *u*, cf. below, p. 21.

## V. Roots ending in *s*.

**ces-** 'see':—i, ps. sg. **3** *atat-chigestar* Ml. 59<sup>c</sup> 12; iii, ps. sg. **3** *-accastar* Wb. 25<sup>b</sup> 28, 26<sup>a</sup> 12, Ml. 50<sup>a</sup> 5, LU. 85<sup>a</sup> 4, *ar-castar* O'Dav. 51.

In Old Irish the *s* forms seem to have been used to supply the passive of the present (but not of the past) subjunctive, and of the future. The future active is reduplicated and asigmatic, cf. *ni-m-air-cecha-sa* LU. 74<sup>b</sup> 3, *duécigi* (MS. *duécicigi*) Ml. 111<sup>c</sup> 13, *at-chichead* YBL. 92<sup>a</sup> 5, *-acciged* LU. 64<sup>a</sup> 39, *ad-cichitis* Wb. 7<sup>a</sup> 2. But the *s* has made its way into the future active in *du-n-écuchus-sa* LU. 19<sup>a</sup> 2, 19<sup>b</sup> 31, and into the subj. active *-dercaiss* LU. 58<sup>b</sup> 6. Of the secondary future passive I have no examples, but probably it was sigmatic as in *clus-*.

**clus-** 'hear':—i, ps. sg. **3** *ro-cechlastar* YBL. 49<sup>b</sup> 15; ii, ps. sg. **3** *ro-cechlastai* LU. 88<sup>b</sup> 22.

Perhaps the sigmatic forms were employed in the same parts as in *ces-*. A poem ascribed to Dallán Mac Móre (LL. 47<sup>a</sup>) has fut. pass. *cechlaitir*, but that must be an innovation.

## VI. Isolated forms.

*fusilis-su* sg. **2**, elicited from *fisi lusu* KZ. xxxiii, 64, and *fusi lisu* Rev. Celt. xiv, 227. From same root as *ad-slig-* 'tempt'?

*cichsite* 'who will embroider'? Corm. s.v. *mann*. Evidently future 3 pl. rel.

*dia tarsiu* 'if thou give' Ml. 89<sup>c</sup> 5. According to Thurneysen probably an error for *-tartaisiu*.

*fotimdiris* subj. sg. 2 Sg. 185<sup>b</sup> 7, cf. 54<sup>a</sup> 17, *fotimmdirut*, the analysis of which is uncertain, cf. Ascoli Gloss. cciv.

*to-n-comra* 'ut nos taedeat' Wb. 14<sup>b</sup> 23, cf. *tochomracht* 14<sup>b</sup> 24.<sup>1</sup>  
*-airlestar* LU. 56<sup>a</sup> 6, subj. pass. of the deponent *airliur*. Was the *s* formation used in this verb too to distinguish the subjunctive passive from the subjunctive active?

The Irish inflexion may be illustrated by the following paradigms. For the subjunctive *ged-* and *tēg-* are selected, for the futures *ged-*, for the deponent forms *-fetar*. As examples of all the persons of these forms happen not to be found, for the sake of completeness the missing forms are supplied by analogy. Where the form in question happens to be found in another verb, it is preceded by an asterisk; where no example is to hand of that particular form, two asterisks are prefixed. Over against the present subjunctive are put the prehistoric paradigm from which the historic inflexion may be supposed to have developed.<sup>2</sup>

## PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE.

sg. 1.	** <i>gessa</i> ?, <i>-ges</i>	<i>tīasu</i> , <i>-tīas</i>	* <i>steiksō</i> .
2.	* <i>gessi</i> , <i>-geiss</i>	<i>tēsi</i> , <i>-tēis</i>	* <i>steikses</i> .
3.	* <i>geiss</i> , <i>-gē</i>	<i>tēis</i> , <i>-tēi</i> , <i>-tē</i>	* <i>steikset</i> , * <i>stēikst</i> .
3 rel.	<i>ges</i>	* <i>tīas</i> , cf. <i>tīas</i>	* <i>steiksto</i> ?
3 ps.	<i>gessir</i> , <i>-gesar</i>	<i>-tīasar</i> , <i>-tīastar</i>	
pl. 1.	** <i>gesmi</i> , <i>gesme</i> , <i>-gessam</i>	** <i>tēsmi</i> , * <i>tēsme</i> , <i>-tīasam</i>	* <i>steiksomo</i> ?
2.	* <i>geste</i> , <i>-gessid</i>	<i>tīastae</i> , <i>-tēssid</i>	* <i>steiksete</i> .
3.	** <i>gessit</i> , <i>-gessat</i>	** <i>tēssit</i> , <i>-tīasat</i>	* <i>steiksonst</i> .
3 rel.	* <i>geste</i>	<i>tīastae</i> .	
3 ps.	** <i>gessitir</i> , * <i>-gessatar</i>		

<sup>1</sup> *con-roisc* (*ro-scáich*) 'till it be past' has been explained as an *s* subjunctive; however, the subjunctive of *seuchim* is regularly asigmatic. *Conroisc*: *roscaich* is very like *cotair*: *tarnaic* (with the same meaning). Can *conroisc* be an analogical formation? This is suggested further by *coróisced* LU. 21<sup>a</sup> 4, which seems to be the corresponding past subjunctive.

<sup>2</sup> As it is a matter of no consequence for the present investigation, the different Idg. guttural series are not here distinguished.

## PAST SUBJUNCTIVE.

sg. 1.	<i>*no-gessinn</i>	<i>no-tēsinn.</i>
2.	<i>*no-gesta</i>	<i>no-tīasta.</i>
3.	<i>*no-gessed</i>	<i>no-tēsed.</i>
3 ps.	<i>*no-gestae</i>	<i>*no-tīastae.</i>
pl. 1.	<i>no-gesmais</i>	<i>*no-tīasmais.</i>
2.	<i>*no-geste</i>	<i>*no-tīastae.</i>
3.	<i>no-gestais</i>	<i>no-tīastais.</i>
3 ps.	<i>**no-gestais</i>	

## FUTURE.

sg. 1.	<i>gigse, -gigiūs</i>	pl. 1.	<i>*gigsimi</i> (cf. <i>silsimi</i> ), <i>**gigsime, *-gigsem.</i>
2.	<i>**gigsi, *-gigis</i> (cf. <i>-riris</i> )	2.	<i>gigeste, *-gigsid.</i>
3.	<i>*gigis</i> (cf. <i>silis</i> ), <i>*-gige?</i> or <i>*-gig?</i> cf. <i>-mema, -sil</i>	3.	<i>*gigsit</i> (cf. <i>lilsit</i> ), <i>*-gigset</i> (= <i>*gigessat</i> ).
3 rel.	<i>giges</i>	3 rel.	<i>*gigsite</i> (cf. <i>cichsite</i> ).
3 ps.	<i>**gigsithir?</i> , <i>*-gigsethar?</i> (cf. <i>cichsither</i> )	3 ps.	<i>**gigsitir, *-gigsiter</i> (cf. <i>-silsiter</i> ).

## SECONDARY FUTURE.

sg. 1.	<i>*no-gigsinn</i>	pl. 1.	<i>**no-gigsimmis.</i>
2.	<i>*no-gigesta</i>	2.	<i>**no-gigeste.</i>
3.	<i>no-gigsed</i>	3.	<i>*no-gigsitis.</i>
3 ps.	<i>*no-gigestae</i>	3 ps.	<i>**nogigsitis.</i>

## -fetar.

## PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE.

sg. 1.	<i>*-fessur</i>	pl. 1.	( <i>*messimir</i> ), <i>-fessamar.</i>
2.	<i>-fesser</i>	2.	<i>-fessid.</i>
3.	( <i>*mestir</i> ), <i>-festar</i>	3.	( <i>**messitir</i> ), <i>-fessatar.</i>

## FUTURE.

sg. 1.	<i>-fessur</i>	pl. 1.	( <i>messimir</i> ), <i>*-fessamar.</i>
2.	<i>*-fesser</i>	2.	<i>fīastae?</i> , <i>-fessid.</i>
3.	( <i>mīastir</i> ), <i>-fīastar</i>	3.	( <i>*messitir</i> ), <i>-fessatar.</i>

We will now take in order the various points that have to be discussed in connection with the formation.

## REDUPLICATION.

In all Irish future formations, except the *b* future, the distinctive mark of the future is reduplication (cf. Thurneysen, KZ. xxxi, 81 sq.); in the *s* formations reduplication alone distinguishes the future, e.g. \**gigetsō*, from the subjunctive, e.g. \**getsō*. Of these reduplicated futures only the *s* future can be brought into direct connection with a form in another Indo-Germanic language. Though in inflexion the *s* future and the *s* subjunctive have become assimilated, the reduplication, as Zimmer has pointed out, KZ. xxx, 128, is the same as in the Indo-Iranian desideratives; \**gigetsō* may be formally compared with Skr. *didhakshāmi*, desiderative of *dah-* 'burn.' And the desiderative and the future meanings lie sufficiently close together. At first sight it may seem somewhat bold to look in the extreme East for an affinity to an Irish form, but Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache*, pp. 125 sq., has called attention to some startling agreements between the most westerly and the most easterly of the Indo-Germanic tongues. If the connection be admitted in the present instance, a way is opened up for the explanation of the other classes of reduplicated futures in Irish. As Thurneysen remarks, KZ. xxxi, 81, "the future corresponds more or less exactly to that form which serves as present subjunctive, augmented by a reduplication syllable with the vowel *i*." Thus from *canim* 'sing' the future \**-cechan*, *-cechne*, *-cechna* (with *e* from *i* because of the following *a*) corresponds to the subjunctive *-can*, *-cane*, *-cana*; from *do-gnúu* 'do,' the future *dogén*, *do-géne*, *do-géna* to the subjunctive *-dén* (implied in *dorrón*), *-déne*, *-déna*. It is probably no overbold conjecture that these reduplicated futures took their rise after the model of the *s* future by the *s* subjunctive. As for the *ē* futures, e.g. *bēr*- pres. *ber-*, *scēr*- pres. *scar-*, *gēb*- pres. *gab-*, it is obvious that the bulk of them cannot be phonetically explained in this way; the corresponding reduplicated forms in the above instances would be \**biber-*, \**sescar-*, \**gegab-*, from which the historic forms cannot be phonetically explained. Clearly the formation is in its bulk an analogical one, which may have spread from very small beginnings. In my opinion the starting-point is to be sought in the couple of present stems beginning with an explosive followed by a nasal, *-gnúu* 'do,' *-gnínim* 'know'; *gegn-* would become *gēn-*. This digression has taken us away from the *s*-forms, to which we will now return.



In the vast majority of the futures cited above reduplication is apparent:—*clech*?, *leg*-, *fech*-, *sleg*-, *siag*- (*rosia* = \**pro-sisiakst*), 1 *org*-, *nig*-, *rig*-, *lig*-, *ceng*-, *deng*-, 2 *tong*-, *dlong*-, *bong*-, *long*-, 2 *clad*-, *nad*-, *mad*-, *ed*-, *cerd*-, 1 *ged*-, *neth*-, 2 *feth*-, *fed*-, *-fetar*, *tud*-, *svenn*-, *-ces*-, *-clus*-. In *coud*- the future stem *do-cōis*- cannot come from a regularly reduplicated *-cicōs*-; it is an analogical formation, probably after future *-tōiths*- (= *-to-tith:s*-) to subjunctive *-toths*- (= *-to-th:s*-), see *tud*-. In *anech-ain* may stand for \**iaín*, KZ. xxxi, 76. The future of *med*- follows the analogy of the future of *-fetar*, KZ. xxxi, 75 sq. In verbs beginning with *s* and *f* the reduplication is often obscured by contraction. Thus \**sisetset* gives *seiss*, *fifess*- became *fess*-, in the 3 sg. \**fifetst*, \**fifecst* became both \**fife* *-fī*, but before the heavy consonant combination \**fifestar* became *-fiastar*. Examples will be found under *fech*-, 2 *feth*-, *fed*-, *-fetar*. The same difference of contraction is found with loss of intervocalic *s*, cf. *condesat* with *conniestar* from *siag*-.

In roots where the radical part appears under the accent reduplication is absent in compounds containing *reg*- and *reth*-, *tech*-, further in the isolated form *adessam* (2 *tech*-). On the non-radical *ētað*- no weight can be laid, for the *s* formation is clearly a device to distinguish the future from the subjunctive. When we consider how grievously the vocalism of unaccented syllables suffered in Irish, we shall not be surprised that roots which are found only in unaccented position should show no traces of reduplication, or that, where phonetic traces of it might have been expected, confusion with the non-reduplicated stem has set in. Thus in *nach*-, 2 *org*-, *cet*-, 2 *med*-, *cōt*-, 2 *glenn*- there is no evidence in either direction. From *mag- dofoirmsed* stands for \**to-formemassed*, but no trace of reduplication appears in the future. From *tracc*- with reduplication we should have expected, in place of *dufuthairset*, \**dufōithairset*; for *dofonus* (by *-ninus*) we should have expected \**dofōinus*. In 1 *tong*- no reduplication is apparent, but in Irish the root appears only with an inseparable *ud*-. In *tēg*- there is no trace of reduplication; we saw reason, however, to doubt whether here the future was original. Thurneysen leaves it an open question whether these unreduplicated *s* futures are survivals of the Idg. subjunctive in a future sense, or whether they have lost their reduplication, but he inclines to the latter alternative. And when we reflect how few certain cases there are, and how exposed to phonetic confusion the reduplicated and non-reduplicated stems were, the latter supposition seems much the more probable.

Some cases of confusion may be noted in the preceding lists. In Wb. 12<sup>d</sup> 27 the subjunctive *rofestar* is used for the indicative *rofiastar*, under *cerd-*, *-focherr* appears for *-fóicherr* (= *-fo-chicherr*). But more often the indicative form invades the subjunctive:—*-roima* (*mad-*, if it be not a scribal error for *-roma*), *rosia* (*siag-*), *noírrtha* (*org-*), *cichsed* (*cong-*), *-foelus* (*long-*, cf. *folilsad* Salt. Rann 5776), *fochichred* (*cerd-*), *-toithus*, *-tháth* (*tud-*), *-fiasmais*, *-fiastais* (*-fetar*).

#### REDUPLICATION VOWEL.

The reduplication vowel is *i*.

If the verb begins with a consonant, the first consonant is prefixed along with *i*, e.g. *-gigius* = *\*gigetsō*, *silis* = *\*sislecsset*.

If the radical syllable contains a palatal vowel, *i* remains unchanged, e.g. *cichis* = *\*cicēs* = *\*cicencset*, *-riris* = *\*rirēs* = *\*rircices*. Further, *i* appears before *u* coming by *u* umlaut from *a*, *-cichlus* = *\*ciclatsō* (with the *c* irregularly kept as in *-cechladar*, p. 18).

If the radical syllable contains *a*, *i* becomes *e*, e.g. *memais* = *\*mimatset*. The same should have happened before radical *o*, cf. *gegna* 'I will slay' from *\*gigona*, but I have no example of radical *o* except followed by a nasal, see below. Before radical *ou* (from *eu*), *i* perhaps becomes *e* in *rocechlastai*, stem *\*ciclous-*, see below, p. 19.

If the root contains *o* followed by a nasal, *i* remains, e.g. *-tithsat* = *\*titoncsont(o)*, *-lilsat* = *\*liloncsont(o)*. This requires some discussion. If we take *-lilsat* and try to conjecture its original vocalism without reference to the other parts of the verb, we see that the lost vowel cannot have been palatal, for then we should have had *\*lilset*, and, again, it cannot have been a vowel that changed a preceding *i* to *e*. Both of these conditions would be fulfilled by *u*. But none of these reduplicated futures can with any probability be referred to *u* roots; the vowel in the subjunctive is *ō* (see below, p. 20), and the peculiar ablaut, which was referred to above, p. 7, is also against the assumption of *u* series. If the vowel of the radical syllable was not *u*, may it not have been a sound approximating to *u*, namely a close *o* sound, *-ons-* giving *-ōs-*? So far as I can see, this is the only way out of the difficulty. Unfortunately, so far I have been unable to discover any further proof of this change, nor can I find any independent means of

determining the quality of the  $\bar{o}$  in the corresponding subjunctives. But it may be noted that dialectically in Mod. Ir.  $\bar{o}$  in connection with a nasal becomes  $\bar{u}$ ; cf. Finck, *Die Araner Mundart*, p. 31. Already in Ml. *nu* is a couple of times written for *nó* 'or,' which would indicate that even then the vowel of *nó* was at least a sound approaching *u*, and, if, in the ordinary spelling *nó*,  $\bar{o}$  could be used to represent such a sound, there is no reason why the  $\bar{o}$  in *folós*, etc., may not have represented a very close  $\bar{o}$  sound.

After a preceding accented vowel the consonant of the reduplication syllable is lost by dissimilation, as in the reduplicated perfect, and the reduplication vowel contracts with the preceding accented vowel into a diphthong, e.g. *-fólilus* becomes *-fóilus* as *-róchechan* becomes *-róichan*.

If the verb begins with a vowel, the reduplication is  $i\grave{a}$ , as in Skr. *iyarti*, etc., cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss* ii, 854.

Intervocalic *i* is lost, and the *i* is treated variously according to the following vowel.

Before *a*, *i* is lost, e.g. *-ain* = *\*-iain* = *\*iānecst*.

With a following *e*, *i* contracts to  $\bar{i}$ :  $\bar{i}ss-$ , future stem of  $\sqrt{ed}$  'eat,' = *\*iess-* = *\*iēts-*.

Before *o*, *i* remains. The *o* here must have been close, for it tends to become *u*, for examples see *org-*. But if *o* be subjected to umlaut by a following palatal vowel we find contraction, *-ierr*, *-irr* = *\*iōrcses*. In Ml. 100° 9 the MS. has *frisnerrat* where we should expect *frisniurrat*.

#### VOCALISM OF THE RADICAL SYLLABLE.

In the Idg. *s* subjunctive the root appeared in its strong (*e*) grade, e.g.  $\sqrt{uer\acute{g}}$  : *\*uerk'sō*,  $\sqrt{leiq}$  : *\*leiqsō*,  $\sqrt{ieug}$ , *ieuksō*.

In the Aryan desiderative the conditions are different, e.g. Skr. *vivitsati* (*vid*), *mumukshati* (*muc*), *didrkshati* (*dr̥ṣ*), *bhikshate* (*bhaj*) by *didhakshati* (*dak*). In the Irish *s* future the accent can never fall on the radical syllable, the original vocalism of which is in consequence to a great extent obscured; within limits it may be inferred from its influence on the vocalism of the preceding or of the following syllable. Thus in *memsaitē* (*mad-*) the change of *i* to *e* in the reduplication points to an original *a* or *o* sound after the second *m*, from other forms of the verb we infer that it was *a*; in *-lilsat* (*long-*) the *a* of the ending indicates that the



vowel lost between *l* and *s* was non-palatal, otherwise the ending would have been *-et*. The vocalism cannot always be precisely determined in this way; thus *lilsit* (*lig-*) might phonetically come equally well from *\*lileiksonti* or *\*liliksonti*. But considering the intimate connection between the *s* future and the *s* subjunctive, it is *a priori* probable that their radical vocalism would be the same, if not originally, at least by secondary levelling. And such evidence as there is points in this direction. Of weak vocalism, as in the Aryan desiderative, there is no sign. Attention may be called in particular to the futures of *org* and *cerd-* as against the desiderative of *dr̥ç*. In roots with radical *u* the reduplication vowel should show whether the following syllable originally contained *u* or *ou*, as the latter changes a preceding *i* to *e*; contrast *betho* = *\*bitous* with *bith* = *\*bitus*. Unfortunately the quality of the reduplication vowel is clear in only one instance, *rocechlstar*, *rocechlstai* (*clus-*). This would be in accordance with what has been said above, but unluckily the instance is not quite decisive, for there is a deponent future *-cechladar* = *\*ciclovator* (or the like, with *c* irregularly retained, KZ. xxxi, 80), and the reduplication of the deponent might have affected that of the passive.

We will now proceed to consider the vocalism of the Irish *s* subjunctive.

**The present indicative has *e*; the *s* subjunctive has *e*.**

This is the prevalent type in the preceding lists, e.g. *techim* 'flee': *-tes* = *\*tecsō*, *focerdaim* 'cast': *foceirr* = *\*vo-certses*.

The vowel *e* also appears in the *s* subjunctive of a number of *e* roots that have a different vocalism in the present. Thus *ged-* and *sed-* have in the present indicative *guidim* and *suidim* (= *\*godeiō* and *\*sodeiō*), in the subjunctive *gess-* and *sess-*<sup>1</sup>; *dleg-* has in the present *dligim* (from *\*dlgō*), in the subjunctive *dless-*. Like the present of *dleg-* is the present of *melg-*; as subjunctive might have been expected *mell-* from *\*melcs-*. The solitary subjunctive form *duin-mail* (unless the obscure *-fuimilsed* LU. 99<sup>a</sup> 30 belongs here) points, however, to *\*mlecest*, with a change from *\*melcs-* to *\*mlecs-* under the influence of the present *mlig-*. To the *e* series belongs *arc-* 'ask'; its subjunctive *-coimairsed* cannot, as Thurneysen has pointed out, come from *-arcs-*, for that would have given *\*-comarred*. Rather it comes from *\*-reccs-* with the same form of root as Skr. *prākshyati*, Lat. *precor*. In *nach-*, *tracc-*,

<sup>1</sup> So to *dlong-* the subjunctive stem was possibly *\*dlencs-*, cf. p. 7.



as the root appears only in unaccented position, the vocalism is uncertain; some of the sigmatic forms seem to point rather to *e*, which in both cases appears in cognate languages.

The present indicative has *a*; the *s* subjunctive has *a*; e.g. *doformaig* 'increases': *-mā* = \**macst* (or \**mācst*), *maidim* 'break': = *-mā* = \**matst* (or \**mātst*).

In *nass-*, √*nedh-*, for which \**ness-* would have been in accordance with rule, the *a* vocalism has spread from the present *nasciwi*, where the root appears in a weak form. In other instances, too, *a* seems to have been generalized in original *e* roots, e.g. in *clad-*, *slad-*, and possibly in others.

The present indicative has *o*; the *s* subjunctive has *o*; e.g. *orgim* 'slay': *-orr* = \**orcset*.

In this verb, if Persson, *Wurzelerweiterung* 225, be right in comparing ἐρέχθω, the roots originally belonged to the *e* series, the *o* grade has been generalized in Celtic.<sup>1</sup>

The present indicative has *i* or *ei*; the *s* subjunctive has *ei*.

Thus *-riug* = \**rigō* 'bind': *-rias* = \**reicsō*, *ad-slig* 'tempts': *adslēi*, *tīag* 'go' = \**steighō*: *-tīas* = *steicsō*.

To present *-iccim* the subjunctive is *-īs-* from *-incs-*, but here the present *icc-* comes by a peculiar weakening from *enc-*, and the *i* has spread from the indicative to the subjunctive.

The present indicative has *u*, *ou* (from *eu*); the *s* subjunctive has *ou* (from *eu*).

So the series may be postulated, but examples are rare. There is probably a *u* present in *tud-* 'fall,' but the vocalism of the subjunctive is indiscernible. There is an *ou* subjunctive from *coud-* (*ceud-*), which has no present. From *clus-* 'hear' (pres. *-cluniur*), the *s* future, as has been said above, seems to point to \**ciclous-*.

The present indicative has *eng*, *end*, *enn*; the *s* subjunctive has *ēs*, *-ēs* (from *encs*, etc.).

Thus *cingim* (*ceng-*) 'spring': *-cēssēd* = \**cencseto*, *ingrennim* 'persecute': *-grē* = \**grentst*.

The mark of length is often absent, but that can be only an accident. Apart from other considerations, the length of the *ē* in these roots is established by a peculiar analogical formation, the instances of which are *cīastae*, *cīasair* (*ceng-*) *-dīassatar* (*deng-*), *līas* (*leng-*), *-grīastais* (*grend-*). These forms cannot be regular,

<sup>1</sup> Cf., however, Hirt, *Idg. Ablaut* 124.

for the  $\bar{e}$  which comes from compensatory lengthening does not in O.Ir. become  $\bar{ia}$ . But  $\bar{e} = \text{Idg. } ei$  appears in Irish as  $\bar{e}$  before a palatal vowel,  $\bar{ia}$  before a non-palatal vowel. The analogy is clear, e.g.  $-c\bar{e}sid$ ,  $*c\bar{e}ste$  (*ceng-*) became  $-c\bar{e}sid$ ,  $ciastae$  after  $-t\bar{e}sid$ ,  $t\bar{ia}stae$ ,  $\sqrt{steigh}$ .

The present indicative has *ong*, *ond*; the *s* subjunctive has  $\bar{o}s$  (from *oncs*, etc.).

Thus *fulaing* 'supports': *fulós* =  $*vo-loncs\bar{o}$ , *tongu* 'swear':  $-t\bar{o}$  =  $*toncst$ , *atboind* 'declares,'  $-b\bar{o}is$  =  $*bontses$ .

In these roots the mark of length is not often found, but as to the quantity of the vowel there can be no reasonable doubt. It would be very strange if these *o* roots had been treated in a different way to the *e* roots above, and, besides, if the subjunctive stem were in  $-\bar{o}s-$ , the vocalism of the reduplication syllable of the future would be unintelligible. Some of these verbs have perfects without the nasal, 2 *tong-*, *dlong-*, 1 *bong-* ( $-bobig$ , leg. with Meyer, *-bebaig*, Rev. Celt. xi, 446), *rond-* (perhaps an *u* root in origin, Idg.  $\sqrt{reudh}$ ?, the original vocalism of the subjunctive does not appear), like  $-dedaig$  from *deng-*. But the *s* subjunctive follows the present, with which it was more intimately associated, rather than the perfect. This is clear from  $-dedaig$ , where the *s* subjunctive had certainly  $\bar{e}$ .

#### CONNECTING VOWEL AND PERSONAL ENDINGS.

So far as is apparent, the connecting vowel was *o*, *e* as in Idg. In the 3 sg. past subj. *e* appears most clearly, e.g.  $-gessed$  from an ideal  $*getseto$ . Formally this reminds one of  $\beta\eta\sigma\epsilon\tau\omicron$ , but historically the past tenses of the Irish  $\bar{a}$  and *s* subjunctives seem to have been developed on the model of the imperfect indicative; thus  $*getseto$  ( $-gessed$ ):  $*getset$  ( $-geiss$ ) =  $*ber\bar{a}to$  ( $-berad$ ):  $*ber\bar{a}t$  ( $-bera$ ) =  $*bereto$  ( $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\tau\omicron$ ,  $-bered$ ):  $*beret$  ( $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon(\tau)$ ,  $-beir$ ). In the 3 sg. past subj.  $-ad$  appears for  $-ed$  already in Ml. in *notesad*, *cotabosad*, *frisnorrad*, and in the later language  $-ad$  becomes more and more frequent.

We come now to the personal endings. The past subjunctive may be dismissed briefly. The endings are the same as those of the imperfect indicative, the origin of which is for the most part still obscure. In the deponential forms the endings of the present are the same as in the present indicative. Of the passive the

only thing that needs to be noted is that in the 3 sg. the ending is in a few cases *-ar*, but mostly *-tar*; *-ar* seems to be a disappearing form.

The endings of the present subjunctive active, with which those of the future are identical, demand fuller treatment. The hypothetical Idg. forms, which may be supposed to have formed the starting-point of the Irish inflexion, are given above, p. 13. Besides the forms that may be derived from Idg. bases, there is a number of new analogical forms. These forms are due to a desire to get a distinction between absolute and conjunct inflexion, a distinction which was old in the present indicative, but was originally alien to the subjunctive. In the plural the conjunct forms may be directly derived from the Idg. inflexion, the absolute forms are formed simply on the analogy of the absolute forms of the present indicative:—*gesmi*, *gesme*, *geste*, *gessit*, like *bermi*, *berme*, *berthe*, *berit*. So the 3 pl. rel. *geste* like the 3 pl. rel. *berte*. (One might perhaps be tempted to refer these absolute forms to the desiderative formation from which the reduplicated future started, but there is no trace of such primary absolute forms in the 3 sg., so that such an explanation is very improbable for the plural.) The starting-point of the analogy is to be found in the conjunct forms which were from the outset the same in both: subj. *-gessam*, *-gessid*, *-gessat*, like pres. ind. *-beram*, *-berid*, *-berat*.

In the singular the relations are less simple. We will take the several persons in order.

Sg. 1. Subjunctive: conjunct *-ges*, absolute *tiasu*; future: conjunct *-gigius*, absolute *gigse*.

Here *-ges* = *\*getsō*, cf. *σταιξω*. The effect of the final *ō* appears clearly in the fut. *-gigius* = *\*gigetsō* (*-gigius* : *-gess* = *frihmius* : *mess*, from *\*messus*), and in later Irish spellings like *-rius*, in the Glosses *-r'is* (with the *u* timbre unexpressed). In the deponent we should expect *-ōr*, becoming *-ur*. In the Glosses the *-ur* forms are all probably or possibly future, but in other old texts the subj. *-ur* is common. In the absolute inflexion the subjunctive *tiasu* has been explained from the analogy of the present *tiagu* (itself an analogical formation for *tiag*). But the future *gigse* (cf. also *fessa* under *fech-*, and *bibhsa* under *bong-*) cannot be explained in this way, for *\*gigessu* should have given *\*gigsiu*. Rather *gigse* stands for *\*gigessa*, and in it, as in *fessa*, *bibhsa*, we have the ending *a* which appears in the absolute forms of the *a* subjunctive *bera*, of the *ē* future *bēra*, and of the reduplicated



asigmatic future *gegna*. The apparent difference between the future and the subjunctive is startling; by future *gigse* we should expect subjunctive *\*gessa*. And probably it was so. It is to be observed that the sole example of the form is *tiasu*, and that in this verb the present *tiagu* is used in a future sense. It is probable, then, that *tiasu-sa*, if it be not an error for *tiasa-sa*, is an exceptional form due to the present future *tiagu*, and that the regular subjunctive ending was *a*.

Sg. 2. Subjunctive: conjunct *-geiss*, absolute *\*gessi*; future: conjunct *-gigis*, absolute *\*\*gigsi*.

Here *-geiss* = *\*getses*. The absolute form is explained from the analogy of the present indicative *beri* by conjunct *-beir*. For *tési* irregular *téis* LU. 64<sup>a</sup> 21, Salt. Rann 1273. In this person the Idg. injunctive is used in an imperative sense (Zimmer, KZ. xxx, 118), e.g. *comeir* 'rise' = *com-ecs-recs-s*. In LU. 107<sup>b</sup> 44 *tadbæ* appears a 2 sg. subjunctive, but the text in which it occurs has other curious forms.

Sg. 3. Subjunctive: conjunct *-gē*, absolute *\*-geiss*; future: conjunct *\*gig*? or *\*gige*? absolute *\*gigis*.

Here *-gē* = *\*getst* (with regular lengthening of the final accented vowel) comes from the Idg. injunctive,<sup>1</sup> *geiss* = *\*getset* from the Idg. subjunctive; the two forms are utilized to distinguish the absolute from the conjunct inflexion. About the conjunct ending something more must be said. In the Glosses it appears in a double form:—

(1) *do-thēi* (*tēg-*), *ad-slēi* (*slig-*), *do-cōi* (*coud-*), *-ir-chōi* (*cōt-*) Wb.; *-tāi* Sg. Ml., *ar-cōi* Ml.

(2) *in-grē* (*grend-*), *-gē* (*ged-*), *-tē* (*tēg-*), *-rē* (*reg-*), *fo-lō* (*long-*), *-roima* (*mad-*), all from Ml.

Here two things are to be noted. (1) Putting aside *-irchōi*, the origin of which is doubtful, and which may come from a disyllabic *\*covent-* or the like, cf. sg. 3 *arachoat* Ml. 31<sup>d</sup> 10, final *i* appears only in *ei*, *eu* roots (*-tāi* is under the influence of *-téi*, cf. p. 6). (2) For *-téi* of Wb. Ml. has *-té*. Hence it may be inferred that at one time roots in *ei*, *eu* had *ēi*, *ōi*, roots in *a*, *e*, *o* had *ā*, *ē*, *ō*, and that *ēi* later gave place to *ē*. Starting from the assumption that *\*stēikst* would give in Irish *-tē*, Zimmer

<sup>1</sup> Strictly speaking, corresponding to the Idg. injunctive we should expect not *\*gētst* but *\*gētst*, which should become *\*-gī*. Either *\*gētst* became *\*gētst* under the influence of the subjunctive forms, or *\*-gī* became *-gē* under the influence of the other persons; there is no evidence of the long injunctive vowel in Irish.



explains *téi* from the contamination with the subjunctive *téis*. So far as I know the assumed change of *\*stēikst* to *tē* is supported by no parallels, and if *-tē* is later than *-tēi*, it is from the latter that the explanation must start. Unfortunately I can offer no solution of the difficulty. As to *-tē* it may be explained from the analogy of *-gē*. Apparently *eu* roots followed the analogy of *ei* roots, with which they agreed in the quantity of the radical vocalism, e.g. *cōs-* (*coud-*, *ceud-*), *tēs-* (*tēg-*, *steigh-*).<sup>1</sup> In O.Ir. there is no example of *i* in *a* (*o*) roots; in *ecmí* (*ong-*) we have, as we saw, the vocalism of the subjunctive of *icc-*. In later MSS., where much stress cannot be laid on the vocalism of final syllables, we find *-mai* (*mag-*), *-mae* (*mad-*). If they should be genuine forms, which is doubtful, they might be analogical to *ecmai* by *ecma*.

Sg. 3 rel. Subjunctive *ges*, future *giges*.

Formally *ges* might come from *\*gesso*, *\*getsto*, the injunctive of the aorist middle, but such an explanation is very uncertain. If it should turn out to be right, then guttural verbs, e.g. *līas* (*leng-*), have followed the analogy of dental verbs, for e.g. *\*orest* (*org-*) would have become regularly not *\*ors*, *orr*, but *\*ort*. Corresponding to a subjunctive *orr* we should expect an indicative *iorr*, *iurr*; *īuras* is clearly a new formation after the analogy of the relative form of the present indicative *beres*, *caras*. In later Irish there is confusion with the absolute form of the third person, cf. *memais* (*mad-*) for *\*memas*, and *téis* (*tēg-*), Salt. Rann, for *\*tias*.

<sup>1</sup> If *-cōi* is to be derived from *\*coventst*, it may have helped in the transition.

## VIII.—JOHN BARBOUR: POET AND TRANSLATOR.

By GEORGE NEILSON.

I. BARBOUR'S *Bruce*.*Date. Literary Allusions.*

I COME from Scotland to plead against eminent Germans, Englishmen, and Scotsmen for a Scottish poet, and to maintain his claim to translations some of which were directly part of the educative processes fitting him to produce his great original historical *chanson de geste*. A national heirloom was added to the treasury of Scotland when John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, completed under Robert II, the first of the Stewart kings, his poem of *The Bruce*.<sup>1</sup> Editors and others have somehow failed to notice that the author's note about the "tyme of the compyling of this buk," giving four different methods of computation of the date and expressly naming 1375 (Br., xiii, 694), is distinct in assigning a time after February 22, 1375-6, when five years of Robert II's reign had passed, and before March 24, 1375-6, when the year 1375 as then counted came to a close.

The story of Bruce is told with not a few citations of secular literary sources in prose and verse, including (1) Guido de Columpna's *Destruction of Troy* (Br., i, 395, 521), referred to under the familiar names of Dares and Dictys; (2) the romance of Alexander (Br., i, 533; iii, 73; x, 706); (3) the *Brut* (Br., i, 549); (4) the story of Thebes (Br., ii, 528; vi, 183); and (5) the romance of Ferumbras (Br., iii, 436). Question is possible in each of these cases regarding the precise shape in which the sources were drawn upon. The relation to the Alexander legend and the tale of Troy, two themes found so inspiring by the Middle Ages, will be discussed, beginning with the latter, while the former stands over till intermediate topics pass.

<sup>1</sup> All citations are made from Professor Skeat's edition for the Scottish Text Society, 1894.

## II. THE TROY FRAGMENTS.

*The MS. Ascription: "Her endis Barbour."*

Some time in the fifteenth century, after 1420, the compiler of a verse translation of Guido possibly finding some incompleteness in the manuscripts at his disposal, pieced together two renderings. One was that of John Lydgate, the monk of Bury. The other was a Scottish version, and the compiler began with it. Near the termination of the second book, at the end of his description of the necromantic powers of Medea, he either found material lacking, or purposely deserted the Scottish version for the English: "Her endis Barbour and begynnys the monk" he wrote to distinguish. Thereafter he followed Lydgate till he reached the conspiracy of Antenor and Aeneas, and Priam's distress over their treasonable designs, when he resumed the Scottish version with the words "Her endis the monk and begynnys Barbour." (See the *Troy fragments* in Barbour's *Legendensammlung*, edited by Professor C. Horstmann, Heilbronn, 1881, vol. ii, pp. 227, 229. The two pages of the manuscript which bear the ascription are facsimiled in *National MSS. of Scotland*, part ii, No. lxxiv. For the date 1420 see the conclusion of the fragment in Horstmann, ii, 304. Future citations of the *Troy fragments* are made to "Troy fr.," parts i or ii, and the number of the line.)

With an ascription so plain, so near the period with which it deals, so nicely discriminative between the two component parts of the compilation, so absolutely true as regards "the monk," scepticism might have learned to suspect itself before daring to reject the other half, Barbour's half, of the intimation. Instead, the grammar and the rime-lore of the critics have blinded them to the presence of the poet's idiosyncrasies in the translator's work; they have devised laws for rime all too rigorous for Barbour, who was no purist; they have not sufficiently remembered that different themes involve great changes in vocabulary and treatment; while, significant of philological rather than historical preferences, it escapes notice that in the old inventory of the library of the Cathedral where Barbour served, there was a *Hystoria Trojana* as well as another volume, *De Bellis Trojanorum* (Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis, ii, 156).

## III. THE LEGENDS OF THE SAINTS.

This series of translations, mainly from the Golden Legend, first had a Scottish origin assigned to it from internal evidence by the

late Henry Bradshaw, whose conclusion that it was "the verse of Barbour and in his language" was warmly seconded by Cosmo Innes (*Nat. MSS. Scotland*, part ii, No. lxxv, preface, p. xvii). The entire text has been twice edited, first by Horstmann in Barbour's *Legendensammlung* in 1881, and afterwards by Dr. W. M. Metcalfe for the Scottish Text Society in 1888-96. Between these dates the same scepticism as challenged the express ascription of the *Troy fragments* to Barbour disturbed the quiet possession of Bradshaw's opinion about the *Legends*. The Scottish Text Society's edition, the completion of which followed Professor Skeat's edition of the *Bruce* for the same Society in 1894, gives the *Legends* as not Barbour's. Both as regards the *Troy fragments* and the *Legends*, the grounds are the same—that the vocabulary of the two (for it is admitted that the *Troy fragments* and the *Legends* are from a single hand) differs from that of the *Bruce*, that rimes not adopted by the latter occur in the other two, and that in style the poems are far apart. Again the conclusions have been too hasty. The vocabulary of battle-pieces cannot be very similar to that of miraculous saint-legends, and style may well suffer when the poet complains of old age and its infirmities. Themes of romance and chivalry vary greatly from those of the *Legenda Aurea* and other *Legenda Sanctorum* which naturally found place in the Cathedral Library (Reg. Epis. Aberd., ii, 156, 135), yet the resulting differences should not have been allowed to obscure the many topographical allusions tending to locate the translator in the North Country, or to explain away the pointed allusion to his desire to narrate, before all others, the tale of St. Machar, the saint of John Barbour's own cathedral and see. Nor would it have been amiss for the critics to search a little closer than they did for possible touches of resemblance which might be reckoned individual traits.

#### IV. POET AND TRANSLATOR.

In spite of numerous experiments in criticism, the canons for determining disputed authorship are somewhat empiric. Tests of rime and language are apt to be partial. Where the comparison is between an original work and a translation, the tests are the more difficult, since the translator sinks himself in a measure in the author he is rendering. He writes, too, in shackles, so that his little trespasses beyond the limits of severe adherence to his original are often invaluable as revelations of individuality and



guides to identification. A recurrent phrase characteristic of an original poem showing general affinities with a translation may, if found not only to occur in the translation but to be there intrusive, prove first-class evidence. An example will make this proposition concrete.

When the editor of the *Bruce* very properly commented on the value of book i, lines 521–526, as demonstrative of the author's acquaintance with Guido (Br., pref. p. xlvi), it is a pity he did not notice also the additional importance of the next two lines, 527–528 :

- Br., i, 521. Wes nocht all Troy with tresoune tane  
 Quhen ten zeris of the wer wes gane?  
 Then slane wes mone thowsand  
 Off thaim without throw strenth of hand  
 As Dares in his buk he wrate  
 And Dytis that knew all thare state.
- i, 527. *Thai mycht nocht haiff beyn tayne throw mycht*  
*Bot tresoun tuk thaim throw hyr slycht.*

It is true that the first six lines prove that Barbour knew his Guido; but the last two prove that he knew something very intimately of Guido's translator, the author of the *Troy fragments*. The original passage from which these two lines come is not in Dares or in Dictys, but is in Guido, occurring in the course of the argument between Ajax Telamon and Ulysses over the allotment of the Palladium to the share of Ulysses in the division of the spoils of war. Ajax twitted his antagonist by declaring it matter of public gossip that, whereas the Greeks ought to have conquered by force, they had done so only by falsehood and fraud: *ut Trojanos, quos debuimus in potencia nostra devincere, vincerimus per machinacionis fallaciam et per dolum*. The passage is thus rendered in the Scots translation (*Troy frag.*, ii, 1267):—

That the Troyens, which with mycht  
 We ought to have ourcommyne with fycht,  
 We ourcome with fraude and gyle,  
 And machinacions and wyle.

Something in the rime, something in the contrast, pleased the poet, and elsewhere he used them both.

*Troy frag.*, i, 405. In the science scho had sic slytht  
 That throw the science and the myght  
 Of hyre exorzigaciouns . . . .

[Latin: qui per vires et modos exorzisacionum nigromanticos.]

*Troy frag.*, i, 515. Notht thane throw the strenth and the mycht  
 Of hyre enchaument and hyr slytht.

[Latin: pro sue incantacionis viribus.]

In both these instances the contrast is the poet's. The original has nothing of "slycht," so that the antithesis is intrusive, an idiosyncrasy of the translator, going so far on the way of proof that the lines in the *Bruce* came from Guido by way of the Scots translator. Such a phrase may, for critical purposes in determining authorship, even rank as a distinguishing feature and a test.

*Personal Touches.*

Reserving this contrast for a later stage as one of a number of typical *media* for purposes of identification, we may note indications in the *Bruce* of the poet's fairness of mind (Br., ii, 40), of his use of romance and song as sources of information (Br., ii, 46; iii, 178), and of his acquaintance with the prophecies of the mysterious Thomas of Ercildoun (ii, 86), and with the story of Fingal (Br., iii, 68), while a spirit of self-depreciation (Br., x, 348) shows an engaging modesty. Yet more valuable is the author's declaration of the time when the *Bruce* was written, and what was its purpose. The date has already been touched upon. For the subject of the poem, even critical eyes have been prone to overlook the express fact that it had a double theme. Just after the first mention of "King Robert off Scotland" and "gud Schyr James off Douglas" the poet declares his aim:

Off THAIM I thynk this buk to ma. (Br., i, 33.)

That the work was for the honour of Douglas scarcely less than of Bruce—the proposition thus announced, that it was a poem with two heroes, as its whole structure shows—was very explicitly recognized by more than one of the fifteenth-century writers (Wyntoun, viii, 3121; Bower, *Scotichronicon*, ii, 301; *The Howlat*, ll. 395, 507, in *Scottish Alliterative Poems*, ed. Amours, Scot. Text Soc.). In Barbour's time the house of Douglas had a powerful and patriotic representative in Archibald the Grim, named in the poem as Schir Archibald (Br., xx, 587).

Familiar, but not the less notable as a personal trait, is Barbour's aspiration after grace that he may say nothing false in his poem:

That I say nocht bot suthfast thing. (Br., i, 35.)

The intimations of the *Legends of the Saints* bearing on the personality of the translator or author consist of (1) a few topographical allusions (xl, 1360–1406; xxvii, beginning); (2) many references to books, the first being *The Romance of the Rose* (Leg. prologue, line 5); and (3) direct allusions to his calling, health, or experiences.

I ma nocht wirk  
 As mynistere of haly kirke  
 Fore gret eld and febilnes. (Leg. prol., 33.)

Elsewhere he mourns his "falt of sycht" (Leg. prol., 98), and repeatedly refers to other infirmities of age (Leg., iv, 390; vii, 12; x, 585; xxix, 20; xxxvi, 1220). He is guarded about doubtful facts (Leg., vii, 347). His self-disparagement appears, too :

I haf translat  
 The story, thoct it be nocht cunnandy  
 In all—for royde mane am I—  
 In Ynglis townge that lawit mene  
 In thare langage ma it kene. (Leg., xviii, 1469.)

He alludes to his travels when a "gunge mane" (Leg., xxv, 1), and his literary tasks suggested to him a curious intrusive reference (Leg., xxxiii, 449) to a martyr stretched on the rack :

As men dois with parchymene.

He refers to a book he made about the birth of Christ (Leg., xxxvi, 991). "Befor uthyre" he was fain to write of St. Machor of Aberdeen (Leg., xxvii, 7). These meagre disclosures practically exhaust the positive autobiography.

Happily there are other things than positive biography to be found. To internal evidences as plain and as trustworthy we shall turn after our glance at the works to be examined shall have surveyed *The Buik of the most noble and vailgeand Conquerour*.

#### V. THE BUIK OF ALEXANDER, a translation of two French Romances.

Almost unheard of, and certainly not computed in the criticism of Scottish poetry, this swinging romance-poem is known only in the unique print dating about 1580, when it issued from the press of Alexander Arbuthnet, a printer in Edinburgh, who died in 1585 (*Bannatyne Miscellany*, ii, 207). The work thus printed bears a sort of colophon with 1438 as the date of origin, a date, however, regarding which there is a good deal to say. It was reprinted in 1831 by the Bannatyne Club in a very limited edition, and the reprint is now rare.

That this Alexander book should so long have escaped searching scrutiny on present lines is surprising, when its astonishing relation to Barbour's *Bruce* is taken into account. Not that it is without other importance, for it has a value all its own in contemporary literature as a Scottish translation of two French poems in the cycle of the Alexander legend: a vigorous piece of work, in many



respects very original in treatment, and reflecting with no small measure of success the entire spirit of the *Roman d'Alexandre*, or more particularly the *Fuerre de Gadres* and the *Vœux du Puon* from which it was taken. The battle-pieces especially are rendered *con amore*: there the translator was manifestly at home, and excelled his original.

Apart from the actual separate existence of the French poems, which the translator himself refers to more than once (Alex., 107, 441), there are in the structure evidences of dual source. The Scottish poem, which is in rime and in the metre of the *Bruce*, is divided into three parts, the first "callit *The Forray of Gadderis*," the second "callit *The Awowis of Alexander*," the third "*The Great Battell of Effesoun*." The first part opens abruptly, and the translation is made on principles somewhat different from those distinguishing the treatment of the second part, which follows the French with much greater closeness<sup>1</sup> than the first part. The *Roman d'Alexandre* of Lambert li Tors, written in the twelfth century, had, apparently before that century closed, already had incorporated with it *Le Fuerre de Gadres*, an important contribution by Alexander of Paris or Bernay (*Li Romans D'Alexandre*, ed. Michelant, Stuttgart, 1846, p. 249; *Alexandre le Grand dans la Littérature Française*, par Paul Meyer, 1886, ii, 154-161, 227; *La Leggenda di Alessandro Magno*, del Professor Dario Carraroli, Mondovi, 1892, pp. 213-215). This episode of the siege of Tyre had no real connection with the true history of Alexander; scarcely the rudiments of it emerge in the early versions of the Egyptian legend, which so long held captive the beliefs both of East and West regarding the Macedonian conqueror. Later versions of the *Historia de Preliis* seem to have contained the story in some detail; there was a good deal about it in the French of Thomas or Eustace of Kent (Meyer, op. cit., i, 179), and in the alliterative *Wars of Alexander* (ed. Professor Skeat, E.E.T.S., ll. 1200-1335); the Hunterian MS. T. 4, 1, from which the latter alliterative poem was probably translated, has lost the folios containing that part of the narrative. That in origin this French story of the Forray was a separate work seems clear (Meyer's *Alexandre*, ii, 154, Carraroli, 213). Very much as in Michelant's edition of the *Roman* it appears in the MS. of

<sup>1</sup> It was a pleasure to hear M. Charles Bonnier, who is now busy at an edition of the *Vœux du Puon*, state that he had compared the French with the Scottish texts, and regarded the latter as generally a very faithful rendering.



Venice (Meyer, i, 281-286), and the variations seem hardly to be radical. Michelant's text leaves much to be desired for critical purposes, and M. Paul Meyer has laboured nobly to supply the deficiencies, but the defects are not such as seriously to affect the questions of the Scottish poem, for line by line of the latter can be followed—with some inversions, but with completeness, save for the translator's own intrusive phrases or expansions—in the text of Michelant. The French version of the Forray section of the Alexander Romance is represented by only an abbreviated rendering into Scottish. Many passages are abridged; not a few are omitted; the sense is sometimes expanded; sometimes the expansions of the French are curtailed; but through and through the Frenchman, line for line, can claim his due from the Scot. In brief, the story is that at the siege of Tyre the knights of Alexander, under the command of the Duke Emenydus—the whole atmosphere of the poem is chivalric, and, as M. Paul Meyer has shown, coloured by reminiscence of the Crusades—make a raid from Tyre to the Valley of "Josaphas," and drive off a great prey of cattle in spite of attacks made by the keepers, "the hirdis with the swordis of steill." During the return, however, they are set upon by "thame of Gadderis"—Duke Betyis and his followers, chief of whom is Gadifer, so that the 700 Greeks are assailed by 30,000 "Gaderanis" and put in sore straits. Emenydus asks successive knights to ride to Tyre for help; they refuse, after the manner of romance, to desert the field of danger even for that purpose; but at last a wounded man goes. Alexander hurries to the relief of the detachment, and finally the Gaderanis are driven off after a fine display of valour, in course of which Emenydus is badly injured, and Gadifer is killed in fearless defence of the retreating rear.

The *Fuerro* as embedded in the romance is scarcely a self-dependent work capable of simple detachment; it needs explanations which only its combination with the rest of the romance can adequately afford. Accordingly when, as in the Scots translation, it is ushered into the reader's ken without preliminaries, and is closed without a sequel really belonging to it, the junction, like the introduction, is felt to be far from artistic. Indeed, it is no junction at all, for we part with Alexander busy with the siege of Tyre; and in the second part find ourselves suddenly in the merry month of May marching towards Tars in the expedition which conducts its *dramatis personae* through the *Arowes* to the *Great Battell*. The vows made by

various knights on the peacock shot by Porrus, and their valiant accomplishment in the Great Battell of Alexander at 'Effesoun' against King Clarus of India, make a fine chivalric theme, to which the gay spirit of "Cassamus the ald" and the episodes of the court-ladies add a variety of charm unusual in poems of the class.

The passage about the month of May prefixed to the *Avowes*, and thus forming the introduction to the second part of the Scottish poem, is not to be found in the original French. It is by no means out of the question that the *Avowes* and *Battell* were the primary task—an independent translation of the *Vœux du Paon*—and that the *Forray* was a separate performance, conjoined by an afterthought. At any rate the components of the Alexander book are (1) the *Forray*, completely accounted for by the existing French text of the *Roman d'Alexandre*, edited by Michelant; (2) the introduction about the merry month of May, and the circumstances of the translation, inserted at the beginning of the *Avowes*; (3) the *Avowes* and the *Battell*, representing with considerable faithfulness the *Vœux du Paon*, a poem written by Jacques de Longuyon in the early years of the first decade<sup>1</sup> of the fourteenth century; and (4) a short series of lines at the close apologizing for the insufficiency of the translation, and containing the date 1438, on the value of which grave issues turn. The merry month, too, is a factor not admitting of neglect.

## VI. THE MONTH OF MAY.

Observe this description of May standing in the middle of the Scottish poem translated from two combined French romances. Observe how the poet, who throughout writes in the same rime-couplet, with the same octosyllabic metre, the same turns of expression, the same repetitions, the same rimes, and the same tendency to occasional but never systematic alliteration as John Barbour, here, in honour of the merry month, bursts into alliteration—a unique series of twelve lines, all alliterative but one. Only

<sup>1</sup> Occasional citations made by me from the *Vœux du Paon* (which has never been printed) are from two British Museum Harleian MSS., Add. 16,956 and 16,888. I have also cited once or twice the important and beautiful Bodleian MS. 264. Apology is due and is heartily tendered for the inadequacy of collation, but a professional man's leisure is scant. M. Charles Bonnier obligingly communicated to me the fact that the date 1310 or 1312 hitherto received (Ward's Catalogue, i, 146) is incorrect by a few years, as the *Tybaut qui de bar fu nays* referred to at the close of Add. MS. 16,956, fol. 163, was not the Duke of Lorraine, but the Bishop of Liège.

one other instance occurs in the poem of anything like this passage in sustained alliterativeness. That also concerns the merry month. May was a favourite with the medieval muse; its praises wax mechanical in the old romances; and it had found its way into prose as well as verse. Partly from Guido, directly and indirectly, it passed into the introduction of the *Avowes*; partly it came from the *Vœux du Paon*.

*Guido, Hunterian MS., T. 4, 1, fol. 115<sup>b</sup>.*

Tempus erat quo jam sol tauri signum intraverat tunc cum prata virent  
vernant flores in arboribus redolentes rubent rose in viridibus rubris earum, et in  
dulcibus philomene cantibus dulci modulamine citharizant. Tunc cum esset  
mensis ille Maius . . . .

Alliterative *Destruction of Troy*, ed. E.E.T.S.

Lines 12,969-74.

HIT WAS THE MONETH OF MAY WHEN MIRTHES begyn;  
The Sun turnit into tauro taried there under:  
MEDOS and mountains mynget with FLOURES;  
GREVES WEX GRENE & the ground swete,  
NICHTGALIS WITH NOTES NEWIT there SONGE,  
And shene BRIDDES in shawes shriked full lowde.

Lines 2734-8.

IN THE MONETH OF MAY QUHEN MEDOES bene grene  
AND ALL FLORISSHET WITH FLOURES þE FILDES aboute  
BURJONS of bowes BRETHIT full swete  
fflorisshet full faire; frutes were kuyt  
GREVYS were GRENE & the ground HILDE.

Lines 1056-64.

WYNTER AWAY watris were calme,  
Stormes were still, the sternes full clere,  
Zeforus soft wyndis soberly blew;  
Bowes in BRIGHT holtes BURJONT full faire;  
GREVYS WEX GRENE and the ground swete  
Swoghing of swete ayre swalyng of BRIDDES  
MEDOWES and mounteyns myngit with FFLOURES  
COLORD by course AS thair KYND askit:  
At MID Aprille the MONE quhen MYRTHES begyn.

*Vœux de Paon.*

(Add. MS. 16,956, fol. 72<sup>b</sup>.)

Ce fu el moys de May qu'yvers va a declin  
Que cil oyseillon gay chantent en lour Latin  
Bois et pres ruverdissent contre le douz temps prin  
Et nature envoisie par son soutil engin  
Les revest et polist de mains divers flourin  
Blanc et vert et vermel Ynde jaune et sanguin  
A ycel temps . . . .



The translator's second lyrical outburst on the merry month contains eleven lines, of which eight are clearly alliterative. The French original has been very freely rendered.

To these two May passages in the *Alexander*, two May passages in *Bruce* correspond in all respects.

## [FIRST DESCRIPTION OF MAY.]

*Alexander*, p. 107, lines 1-12.*Bruce*, v, 1-13.

In mery May quhen medis springis,  
 And foullis in the forestis singis,  
 And NICHTINGALIS thare NOTIS NEUIS,  
 And flouris spredis on seirkin hewes,  
 Blew and burnat blak and bla  
 Quhite and gallow rede alsua,  
 Purpit bloncat pale and pers  
 As KYND thame COLOURIS gevis divers :  
*And BURGEONS of thare brancheis BREDIS,*  
 And woddis *winnis* thare winful wedis,  
 And ever ilk Vy hes welth at wail :  
 Then ga I bundin all in baill.

*This WES IN were quhen WYNTIR tyde*  
 With his blastis hydwiss to byde  
 Wes ourdriffin, and BIRDIS smale  
 As thristill and the *nichtingale*  
 Begouth rycht *meraly* to *syng*,  
 And for to *mak* in thair synging  
 Syndry NOTIS and *soundys sere*  
 And melody plesande to here,  
 And the treis begouth to ma  
 BURGEONYS and BRYCHT blomys alsua  
 To *vyn* the HELING of thair<sup>1</sup> hevede  
 That wikkit wintir had thame revede  
 And all *grevis* begouth to spryng.  
 Into *that tyme* . . . .

## [SECOND DESCRIPTION OF MAY.]

*Alexander*, p. 248, lines 16-26.*Bruce*, xvi, 63-71.

*This WAS IN MIDDES THE MONETH OF MAY*  
*Quhen WINTER wedes ar AWAY*  
 And foulis *singis* of *soundis seir*  
 And *makes* thame MIRTH on thare manere  
 And GRAVES that gay war WAXIS GRENE  
 As nature throw his craftis kene  
 Schrowdis thame self with thare flouris  
*Wele savorand of sere colouris,*  
 Blak blew blude rede alsua  
 And Inde with uther hewis ma  
*That tyme* fell in the middes of May.

*This WES IN THE MONETH OF MAY*  
*Quhen BYRDIS syngis* on the spray  
 Melland thair NOTYS with syndry *sowne*  
 For softenes of that sweit sesoune  
*And lewis* on the *branchis spredis*  
 And blomys BRICHT besyd thame BREDIS  
 AND FELDIS FLORIST ar WITH FLOWRIS  
*Weill savourit of seir colouris*  
 And all thing worthis blith and *gay*.

<sup>1</sup> Troy frag., i, 440 :

That spoilyt had ine wyntir bene  
 Throw wickede blastes and fellone schoures  
 Baith of the lewes and of the flouris.

Answering to Guido's "Hyemali eciam impugnatione frondibus arbores spoliatas."  
 Cf. also Troy frag., ii, 1651.



The first of these two *Bruce* passages has seven alliterative lines out of thirteen; the second has six out of nine. Their relationship to other citations is phenomenal, and demands examination. There are in the *Alexander* only two descriptions of May, both, as shown, remarkable as departing from the normal metre of the poem and systematically—to the extent of seventeen lines out of twenty-three—combining rime and alliteration. Why? The *Bruce* also has only two descriptions of May (that of Ver is truly of May), remarkable as departing from the normal metre, and to the extent of thirteen lines out of twenty-two combining alliteration and rime. Why?

Were the answer not so clear, it might be deemed too adventurous to offer for a century so remote an absolute pronouncement, but facts compel the hazard, if hazard it be called. The reason was because the author of the *Alexander* and the author of the *Bruce* alike knew the alliterative *Destruction of Troy*, probably the work of Huchown of the Awle Ryale, whom there is good reason to regard as Sir Hugh of Eglintoun, an Auditor of Exchequer along with Barbour from 1372 until his death in 1376. Else how comes it that identical alliterations shown below from the descriptions of the month of May in the *Destruction*, reappear in both *Alexander* and *Bruce*?

Moneth of May quhen medoes. Cf. supra, A. 107 (1), 248 (16);

Br., v, 1; xvi, 63.

Greves wex grene. Cf. A. 248 (20).

Nichtgalis with notis newit. Cf. A. 107 (3).

Florisschet with floures þe fildes. Cf. Br., xvi, 69.

Burjons of bowis brethit. Cf. A. 107 (9).

Wynter away. Cf. A. 248 (17).

Colord as kind. Cf. A. 107 (8), 248 (21).

The fifth is curious. "Burgeons of boughs breathed" (=smelt) in the *Destruction* is "burgeons of branches bredis" in the *Alexander*, 107 (9), while "burgeons and blooms" are paired in *Bruce*, v, 10, and on the branches "blooms bredis" in *Bruce*, xvi, 68. In the *Destruction* there are eleven lines specifically descriptive of May: five or more of them lend alliterations for the brief descriptions of May in the *Alexander* and the *Bruce*.

<sup>1</sup> Note also Huchown's archaic words "We" a man appearing as "Vy" in A. 107 (11), supra; Drychtin, A. 431 (7), used alliteratively; raising dragon, Br., ii, 205; (alliterative) *Morte Arthure*, 1252, 2026, 2057. Cf. *Scottish Antiquary*, xii, 147.

The interconnection of the *Alexander* passages with those of the *Bruce* includes verbal relationships, well enough shown above by the italicizing of the phrases common to both and the capitals given to the alliterations suggested by the *Destruction of Troy*. Amongst the former appear the lines—

Wele savorand of sere colouris. A. 248 (23), add A. 159 (23).  
 Weill savourit of seir colouris. Br., xvi, 70.

Besides, there is the final touch—*that tyme*—a French bequest. What a minute imitator of Barbour this translator of Anno Domini 1438 must have been, to be sure! Not content with drawing upon the *Bruce* for his savour of sundry colours he must have observed the alliterative turn of Barbour's descriptions of May; determined to follow Barbour, and make his corresponding descriptions alliterative, and rather improve on his model, he must have gone, as Barbour did, to Huchown himself—to Huchown, for whose own intimate knowledge of the *Fuerre* and the *Vœux du Paon* a powerful case stands ready to state. An astonishing insight of criticism, a miraculous success of appropriate imitation indeed, if John Barbour died in 1396 and the *Alexander* was really written in 1438!

## VII. PROBLEM OF THE DATE OF THE *Alexander*.

Perhaps no two poems in the world's literature more inextricably blend with each other than do the *Alexander* and the *Bruce*. The outstanding characteristics of both are the same. There is a tremendous array of identical lines and phrases. The problem of date is far from being the plain matter of fact which the statement of 1375-6 in the *Bruce* and the colophon of 1438 in the *Alexander* might suggest. Three suggestions are open of varying admissibility:—

*First*: That the dates 1375-6 for *Bruce* and 1438 for *Alexander* are both right, and that the resemblances between the poems are due to the translator of 1438 having, in rendering the French, used the language of Barbour concerning King Robert to illustrate the romantic career of the Macedonian.

*Second*: That the date 1375-6, though found both in manuscripts and in early printed editions, as well as corroborated powerfully otherwise, is wrong, and that these resemblances are due to the

*Bruce* having been rewritten and reconstituted by a scribe late in the fifteenth century, so as to embody in course of his so editing the poem these manifold passages from the *Alexander*.

*Third* : That the date 1438, resting solely upon the unique sixteenth-century print of the book, is an error ; and that the resemblances between the *Alexander* and the *Bruce* are incompatible with separate authorship.

Suggestion the first fails through sheer grotesqueness. To suppose that the writer of a translation of a French poem in any year of any century did his work by utilizing Barbour's *Bruce* as his commonplace book, and weaving into his text, at every turn, locutions copied from the Scottish poem, is beyond the limit of reasonable hypothesis. The theory of copying would necessitate a miraculous power of absorption into the translator's mind<sup>1</sup> of the most inward poetic concepts of the poet of 1375-6—his peculiar technique, his modes of narrative, and his versification, including his distinguishing vices of rime. Besides, it would involve a preference on the part of the translator for the very lines and expressions for which the poet showed his fondness by reiteration.

Suggestion the second would require, I believe, for its due enunciation a round dozen of revolutionary postulates, no two of which can I, for the life of me, hope ever to bring myself to entertain, all persuasions of an old and good friend of mine to the contrary notwithstanding. With a sigh over this inability, I pass to suggestion the third.

My own unhesitating conclusion is, that as the theory of the *Alexander* being copied from the *Bruce* is impossible on account of the extent and integral nature of the common material, so equally is the converse theory. To tear the *Alexander* passages from the *Bruce*, or the *Bruce* passages from the *Alexander*, would equally destroy the fabric of either poem. The resemblances and the extent of them reduce the possibilities to one—viz., that the date 1438 got into the colophon of the single existing print of the *Alexander* through a mere scribal or press error, and that the *Alexander* like the *Bruce* was John Barbour's work.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Albert Herrmann, in his erudite *Untersuchungen über das schottische Alexanderbuch* (Berlin, 1893), who cites many of the parallels given in the ensuing pages, and others besides, supposes the translator to have had the *Bruce* by heart. It is right to say that this work was not used by me in my own studies, although, through Mr. J. T. T. Brown, with whom, after many days' work, I exchanged lists of parallels, I received no small benefit from Dr. Herrmann's prior diligence in tracking identical passages.



VIII. BANNOCKBURN IN THE *Bruce* AND THE *Alexander*:  
*A chapter of parallels.*

No more convincing method of exhibiting the relations of the two poems can be devised than that of presenting a series of lines from books xi, xii, and xiii of the *Bruce*, side by side with identical or corresponding lines in the *Alexander*. This list is very far from exhausting the resemblances to be found between the three books of the *Bruce* descriptive of the battle of Bannockburn<sup>1</sup> on the one hand, and the *Alexander* with its battle of Effesoun on the other; but it is formidable enough to establish the eminence of the author of one of the poems—if they were by two authors—as the arch-plagiarist of ancient or modern times, even when the looseness of the mediæval canon of plagiarism is considered.

In the undernoted selection, occasional illustrative passages are added from the *Legends of the Saints* and from the *Troy fragments*, with a view of now and then furnishing to the disbelievers in the unity of authorship additional material for the admiration they must naturally feel for the deftness in imitation of language, matter, and style attained by the phenomenal literary workman or workmen who achieved the *Alexander*, and told or retold the tales of Troy and of the Saints. When these instances of minute coincidence between the *Bruce* and the *Alexander* have been digested, the reader, whether he can still hold on to a belief in a duality or trinity of authorship or no, may anticipate the presentment of an equally formidable array of further coincidences between the *Alexander* and the *Bruce*. Meanwhile here follows the chapter of Bannockburn, which first revealed itself to me through the earnest, if sceptical studies of my friend Mr. J. T. T. Brown, to whom in this, as in many other matters literary, I owe much. His first mention to me of these marvellous parallels found me incredulous till I read the *Alexander* for myself.

[PREPARATIONS.]

*The Bruce.*

*The Alexander.*

He prysit hym in his hert gretly. (xi, 58.)	He praisit him in his hart greatly. 93 (20).
That we of purpose ger thame fail. (xi, 68.)	That we of purpose gar him fail. 71 (13).

<sup>1</sup> A curious reminiscence is preserved in the inventory of clerical vestments in Aberdeen Cathedral, an item being a hood of cloth of gold, part of the spoil of Bannockburn—"una capella vetus ex auro textili dicta Cherbulink ex spolio conflictus de Bannokburne" (Reg. Episcop. Aberdon., ii, 189).



*The Bruce.*

Armyt clenly at fut and hand. (xi, 96.)

Armyt on hors bath hede and hand.  
(xi, 105.)

(Cf. xix, 412, Armit on hors bath  
fut and hand, xix, 412.)

Men mycht se than that had beyn by.  
(xi, 126.) (Cf. xii, 544, below.)

Mony ane worthy man and vycht. (xi,  
127.)

Quhy suld I mak to lang my tale.  
(xi, 135.)

Devisit into battalis sere  
His awne battale ordanit he  
And quha suld at his bridill be.  
(xi, 171.)

Schir Gylys de Argente he set  
Vponane half his renge to get. (xi, 174.)  
And quhen the kyng apoun this vise  
Had ordanit as I heir devise  
His battalis and his stering. (xi, 180.)

## [ARMS AND BANNERS.]

The sonne wes brycht and schynand  
cler

And armys that new burnyst wer  
So blenknyt with the sonnys beyme  
That all the feld ves in ane leyne  
Vith baneris richt freschly flawmand.

(xi, 188.)

(Cf. The sone wes rysyn schynand  
bricht. vii, 216.

Quhen sone wes rysyn schynand  
elero. xiv, 177.

And sone wes ryssyn schynand  
brycht. iv, 166.)

*The Alexander.*

Armit weill baith fute and hand.  
298 (21).

Armit weill baith fute and hand.  
312 (23).

Armit on hors baith fute and hand.  
53 (19).

Thare mycht men se that had bene by.  
98 (18).

Than micht thay se that had bene by.  
56 (12).

Mony ane worthy man and wicht.  
389 (26).

Quhy suld I mak to lang my tale.  
277 (4).

Quhy suld I tell to lang my tail.  
440 (12).

Quhairto sould I mak lang my tail.  
417 (4).

Now has the King his battellis all  
Devysit and ordainit all that sall  
Be at the brydill of the melle. 349 (14).

Devyse at laser quha sall be  
With me into my awin battale.  
345 (last line), 346 (first line).

At my brydill with hald the.  
346 (seventh line).

My brydill reinges heir I the geif.  
348 (10).

Now hes the king his battellis all  
Devysit and ordainit. 349 (15).

The sone shyne cleir on armouris  
bricht

Quhill all the land lemit on licht.  
52 (16).

The sone was rysing and schynit  
bricht. 219 (4).

*The Bruce.*

And pensalis to the vynd vaffand. (xi,  
193.) (Cf. xi, 512, below.)

and poverale

That zamyt harness and wittale.  
(xi, 238.)

And saw thame wilfull to fulfill  
His liking with gud hert and will.  
(xi, 266.)

And said thame Lordingis now ze se.  
(xi, 271.)

(Cf. And said Lordingis now may  
ze se, ii, 322.)

He gaf the vaward in leding. (xi, 306.)  
(Cf. The vaward for to leid and  
steir. xx, 401.)

The tothir battale wes gevin to lede.  
(xi, 314.)

His battale stalward was and stout.  
(xi, 339.)

(Cf. And he that stalward wes  
and stout. vi, 146.)

## [MORNING.]

And on the morn on Sattirday. (xi,  
352.)

On Sunday than in the mornyng  
Weill soyn efter the sonne rising.

(xi, 374.)

(Cf. v, 18. A litill forrow the  
evyn gane.)

*The Alexander.*

The pensale to the wynd waiffand.  
3 (20).

[French has—Les langes de l'ensegne  
fait à l'vent ballier.—  
Michelant, 115 (21).]

the pittall  
Kepit the wyne and the vittall.  
378 (30).

wilfull to fulfill  
His avow with gude hart and will.  
354 (29).

wilfull to fulfill  
His vow with gude hart and will.  
372 (12).

Lordingis he said now may ze se.  
71 (7).

And said Lordingis now may ze see.  
76 (14).

And the first (i.e. the vanguard) gif  
I in leding. 311 (25).

The ferd battell to keip and steir.  
314 (10).

That Marciane had to leid and steir.  
142 (9).

The tother battelle in leding I gif.  
342 (12).

Bot he that staluart was and stout.  
58 (7).

Tomorrow all hale and (*sic*) Monunday.  
337 (25).

Vpone the morne on Monunday.  
338 (21).

Apone the morne it wes Sounday.  
(Leg., xvii, 199.)

Vpone Tysday in the mornyng. 308  
(17).

To morne airly in the morning  
Ane lytle forow the sone rysing. 180 (7).

Ane lytill before the sone rysing.  
347 (29).

(Cf. Troy, i, 136. To-morne in the  
mornynge.

Troy, ii, 722. A litill foroweth  
the evynnyng.)

## [THE ENGLISH APPROACH.]

*The Bruce.*

To wyn all or de with honour. (xi, 400.)  
 For to manteyme that stalward stour.

(Cf. For to maynteym weill his  
 honour. xi, 262.)

And tak the vre that god wald send.  
 (xi, 405.)

That nane for dout of dede suld fale.  
 (xi, 408.) (Cf. xii, 204, below.)

Quhill discumfit war the battale. (xi,  
 409.)

Quhilk of thame had of help mister.  
 (xi, 452.)

And basnetis weill burnyst bricht,  
 That gaf agane the sonne gret licht.

(xi, 462.)

Thai saw so fele browdyn baneris.  
 (xi, 464.)

That the mast host and the stoutest  
 Of Crystyndome and ek the best  
 Suld be abasit for till se. (xi, 470.)

Gaf all his men reconforting. (xi, 499.)  
 Com with thair battalis approchand  
 The banneris to the vynd vaffand.

(xi, 512.)

Cf. With baneris to the vynd vafand.  
 (ix, 245.)

With baneris to the vynd displayit. (xix, 436.)

Cum on forouten dreid or aw. (xi,  
 555.)

*The Alexander.*

For to mantene ane stalwart stour.  
 45 (7).

For to manteine ane stalwart stour.  
 46 (19).

Now cum quhat euer God will send.  
 319 (22). Cf. A. 150 (18), 256 (30).

For dout of dede will nane the fale.  
 315 (6).

To disconfit the great battale. 417 (31).

Na helpis his freindis yat had mister.  
 45 (9).

Hes thou of help great mister zit.  
 205 (6).

And helmis als and other armin  
 That cleirly agane the sone shein.

26 (28).

He sawe so feill broudin baneris. 26  
 (26).

[French has only *tant gonfanon* ;  
 Michelant, 109 (13).]

The greatest hoist and the stoutest  
 Of ony cuntre and the best

Suld of that sicht abasit be. 27 (2).

(Cf. Troy fr., ii, 503 : the grettest

Of all the oost and the myghtyest.

Similarly ii, 1413.)

Gevis to us all recomforting. 34 (30).

He saw the battellis approchand

With baneris to the vynd waiffand.

8 (16).

[The banners not in Michelant, 98 (7),  
 but see p. 16, above.]

The banare waiffand to the wynd.  
 310 (29).

Sa come thai on but dreid or aw.  
 10 (29).

## [SPURS.]

And strak with spuris the stedis stith,  
 That bare thame evyn hard and swith.

(xi, 558.)

He hint ane spere that was sa styth,  
 And straik his steid with spurris  
 suyth. 141 (24).

*The Bruce.*

Cf. With spurys he strak the steid  
of priss. (viii, 79.)  
And strak with spuris the stede  
in hy  
And he lansyt furth delyverly.  
(iii, 121.)  
With that with spurris spedely  
Thai strak the hors and in  
gret hy. (xx, 457.)  
Than with the spuris he strak  
his steide. (vi, 226.)  
Thai war in gret perplexite. (xi, 619.)

*The Alexander.*

With spurris he straik the steid of  
pryde. 83 (9).  
And strengeit with spurris the steid  
of pryde. 229 (11).  
With spurris he straik him sturdely  
And he lansit deliverly. 46 (6).  
  
Cf. And strak the sted with spuris  
sa. (Leg. Saints, xxv, 747.)  
With spurris he strak his hors smertly.  
376 (2).  
Be stad in gret perplexite. 30 (19).

## [DE BOHUN EPISODE.]

Armyt in armys gude and fyne. (xii,  
32.)  
And toward him he went in hy. (xii,  
39.)  
Cf. Then went thai to the King in hy,  
And hym salusit full curtasly.  
(iv, 508.)  
Till him he raid in full gret hy. (xii,  
45.)  
Cf. And raid till him in full gret  
hy. (vi, 135.)  
  
ane dint  
That nouthir hat no helme mycht stint.  
(xii, 53.)  
The hevy dusche that he him gaf,  
That he the hed till harnyse claf  
The hand-ax-schaft ruschit in twa.  
(xii, 55.)  
Bot menyt his hand-ax-shaft. (xii, 97.)

Armit in armouris gude and fyne. 46  
(27).  
And toward him he come in hy. 102  
(21).  
The king to him is went in hy  
And salust him full courtesly. 109 (15).  
And toward him raid in full great hy.  
40 (1).  
  
sic ane dynt  
Bot the helme the straik can stynt.  
413 (31).  
And with the grete dynt yat he gaif  
The sword brak in the hiltis in tua.  
50 (9).  
The hed unto the shoulderis claif. 58  
(11).  
Quhill that the hand ax schaft held hale.  
Bot sone it brak than was he wa.

232 (14, 16).

[French of this last passage is :

Tant com hache li dure en va sur  
aus le pis  
Mais le fust est rompu et le fer  
est crois  
Si qu'à terre li vole enmi les preis  
fleuris.

(Harl. MS. Add. 16,956, fol. 65<sup>b</sup>.)]



*The Bruce.*

Thai fled and durst nocht byde no mar.  
(xii, 135.)

Cf. That thai durst nane abyde  
no mare. (xiv, 299.)

Thai war all helit in-to swat. (xii, 146.)

*The Alexander.*

Cf. Thai fled fast and durst nocht  
byd. (Leg. Saints, xl, 907.)

Be haillit in blude and sueat als.  
' 28 (10).

Thameselfe halit in blude and sueit.  
422 (4).

## [HEART DISCOMFITURE : JEOPARDY.]

And fra the hart be discumfite,  
The body is nocht vorth a myt.

(xii, 187.)

Cf. And fra the hart be discumfyt.  
The body is nocht worth  
a myt. (iii, 197.)

[Thar hartis undiscumfyt hald. (iii,  
274.)]

Ger it [i.e. the hert] all out discumfit  
be

Quhill body liffand is all fre. (vii, 358.)

For dout of dede we sall nocht fale.  
(xii, 204.) (Cf. xi, 408, above.)

To set stoutnes agane felony. (xii, 261.)

Cf. Agane stoutnes it is aye stout.  
(vii, 356.)

And mak swagat ane juperdy. (xii,  
262.)

Quharfor I zow requair and pray.  
(xii, 263.)

quhair hartis failþeis  
The laif of lymmes lytle vailþeis.  
136 (8).

Sic thing as this hes discumfit  
Thare hartis all hale. 178 (25).

nocht worth ane myte. 56 (29).  
helpit him nocht ane myte. 72 (9).

And suore that nane suld vther fail  
For dout of dede in that battaill.  
31 (11).

They will nocht fail for dout of dede.  
342 (17).

That suld nocht fle for dout of dede.  
360 (16).

Stoutnes and strenth encounterit pryde.  
80 (15).

Pryde prekan aganis stoutnes. 287 (8).

[Not personified in the French,  
which has *orgueilleus contre fier*.

Harl. MS. Add. 16,888, fol. 79.]

And gif ve foly agane foly. 281 (10).

[French has *Musant contre musant*  
*or musart contre musart*. Add.  
16,888, fol. 77; 16,956, fol. 84<sup>b</sup>.]

And sa gait mak we ane iepardy.  
281 (11).

[Not in the French. Add. 16,888,  
fol. 77.]

Quharefore I requyre zow and pray.  
125 (14).

*The Bruce.*

To meit thame that first sall assemmyll  
So stoutly that the henmast trymmyll.  
(xii, 267.)

Cf. For gif the formast egirly  
Be met þhe sall se suddanly  
The henmast sall abasit be.  
(viii, 243.)

Hap to vencus the gret battale  
Intill your handis forouten faille.  
(xii, 273.)

*The Alexander.*

Seik we the first sa sturdely  
That the hindmaist abasit be. 20 (27).  
Thair first battell thusgait can semble  
Quhair hardy can gar the couartis  
trimble. 357 (20).  
That formest cumis ze sall se  
The hindmest sall abased be. 318 (3).  
forouten faille  
That suld vincus the great battaill.  
260 (12).

## [BRUCE'S ADDRESS.]

## [Bruce's Address.]

And I pray zhow als specially  
Both mor and less all comonly  
That nane of zow for gredynes  
Haf e til tak of thair riches  
Na presoners zeit for till ta  
Quhill zhe se thame cumrayit swa  
That the feld planly ouris be  
And than at zour liking may ze  
Tak all the riches that thar is.  
(xii, 303.)

## [Alexander's Address.]

Forthy I pray ilk man that he  
Nocht covetous na zarnand be  
To tak na riches that they wald  
Bot wyn of deidly fais the fald  
Fra thay be winnin all wit ze weil  
The gudis ar ouris ever ilk deill  
And I quyteclame zow vterly  
Baith gold and sylver halely  
And all the riches that thairis is.  
318 (17).

French has :

Et pour Deu biau seigneurs ne soit  
nus entendis  
A nul gaaing qui soit ne du leur  
convoitis.  
Ains conquérons le champ contre nos  
ennemis  
Quant il sera vaincus li avoires iert  
conquis  
Et je le vous quit tout et en fais et  
en dis  
L'onneur en voel avoir le remanant vous  
quis. (Add. 16,956, fol. 99.)

[Compare another reading.]

Pour dieu biau dous seigneur ne soiez  
convoitis  
Dehaur (?) le gaaing ne du peine ententis  
Mais conquerons le champ aus morteus  
anemis  
Quant le champs iert vaincus li avoires  
iert conquis

[*Bruce's Address.*]

*The Bruce.*

Till on the morn that it wes day.  
(xii, 334.)

[And on the morn quhen it wes day.  
(xix, 503.)

Quhill on the morne that it wes day.  
(xix, 404.)

Quhill on the morn that day was licht.  
(xix, 716.)

Till on the morn that day was lycht.  
(iv, 158.)

And on the morn quhen day ves licht.  
(ix, 207.)

Till on the morn that day wes lycht.  
(v, 114.)

Till on the morn that day wes lycht.  
(x, 467.)

And on the morn quhen day ves licht.  
(xiv, 172.) (Cf. xiii, 514.)

And on the morn quhen it wes day.  
(xix, 752.)]

Cf. Bot on the morne in the mornyng.  
(xiv, 165.)

Cf.                   in the dawyng  
Rycht as the day begouth to spryng.  
(vii, 318.)

[*Alexander's Address.*]

Et je le vouz quit tout et en fais et  
en dis  
Or et argent et paillez senserez bien  
partis  
Et j'en aurai lonnour cest quant que je  
devis. (Add. 16,888, fol. 91.)

## [MORNING.]

*The Alexander.*

Apone the morne quhen it was day.  
317 (15).

Quhill on the morne that it was day.  
351 (13).

Vpon the morne quhen it was day.  
430 (21).

Quhil on the morne that day was licht.  
118 (15).

Quhill on the morne that day was lycht.  
338 (20).

Cf. And one the morne quhene sowne  
was brycht. (Leg., xxviii, 524.)

## Cf. also :

Quhill on the morne that it was  
day. (Troy fr., ii, 1758.)

Thane on the morne quhene it  
wes day. (Leg. Saints, xiii, 168.)

And one the morne quhene it was  
day. (Leg. Saints, xxv, 738 ;  
also xxvi, 469, and xxvii, 1373.)

Thane one the morne quhene it  
was day. (Leg. Saints, xxvii,  
1599.)

And one the morne quhene it ves  
day. (Leg. Saints, xlvii, 48.)

Quhill on the morn in the morning  
Richt as the day begouth to spring.  
3 (15).

And quhene the day begouth to daw.  
(Leg., xviii, 879.)

## [FORTUNE OF WAR.]

*Bruce.*

For in pungeis is oft hapnyne  
 Quhill for to vyne and quhill to tyne.  
 (xii, 373.)

That wer fulfillit of gret bounte. (xii,  
 423.) (Cf. xiii, 112, below.)  
 Sic a frusching of speris wair  
 That fer away men mycht it her.  
 (xii, 504.)

Thai dang on othir with wapnys ser.  
 (xii, 511.)

With speris that war scharp to scher  
 And axis that weill grundin wer.  
 (xii, 519.)

Cf. Ane hachit that war scharp to  
 scher. (x, 174.)

Throw fors wes fellit in that ficht.  
 (xii, 524.)

Set in-till herd proplexite. (xii, 530.)  
 (Cf. above, xi, 619.)

*Alexander.*

It fallis in weir quhillis to tyne  
 And for to wyn ane uthir syne.  
 244 (10).

[French has *Une fois gaigne l'en  
 et l'autrefois per[t]-on.* (Add.  
 16,888, fol. 63<sup>b</sup>.)]

That was fulfillit of all bounte. 297  
 (3).

Sic strakes they gave that men nicht  
 here

Full far away the noyes and bere  
 The speiris all to-frushit thare.  
 286 (10).

Dang on vthir with wapnis seir. 415  
 (9).

Or hand ax that was scharp to scheir.  
 spere  
 353 (10).

Or hand ax that was sharpe to shere.  
 382 (27).

Hisspere was schairp and weill scherand.  
 42 (12).

Cf. That sall be scharp and rycht  
 weill grondine. (Leg. Saints,  
 l. 855.)

Throw fors was fellit in the fecht.  
 227 (6).

Be stad in gret perplexite. 30 (19).  
 (Cf. xi, 126, above.)

## [THE NOISE OF BATTLE.]

Quhill men mycht her that had beyn by  
 A gret frusche of the speres that brast.  
 (xii, 544.)

men nicht here  
 Full far away the noyes and bere  
 The sperris all to frushit thare.  
 286 (10).

Cf. Quhar men mycht her sic a  
 brekyng  
 Of speris that to fruschyt war.  
 (viii, 302.)

men nicht here  
 Great noyes and din quha had been neir.  
 117 (32), 118 (1).

Men mycht haiff sene quha had  
 bene thar. (iii, 346.)

That mycht bene hard quha had bene  
 by. (Leg. Saints, l. 38.)

Men mycht haf seyn quha had  
 beyn thair. (viii, 378.)

Quha had bene thare nicht have sene  
 neir. 65 (11).



*The Bruce.*

And mony gud man fellit under feit  
 That had no power to riss zeit.  
     (xii, 554.) (Cf. xii, 525.)  
 And mony a riall rymmyll ryde. (xii,  
     557.)

Quhill throu the byrneiss brist the  
 blud  
 That till the erd doune stremand gud.  
     (xii, 559.)

In myd the visage met thame thar.  
     (xii, 576.)

*The Alexander.*

That had na power to rise zit. 56 (19).  
     Cf. 410 (23).

Quhare mony ane rummill rude was  
 set. 226 (9).

rymill ryde. 225 (18).

rimmill ryde. 362 (2).

ruid rummill. 57 (2).

in blude

That stremand fra his woundis zude.  
     67 (5).

wox red

That stremand fra thare wondis ged.  
     385 (21).

the blude

That streymand to yare sadillis zeid.  
     95 (1).

Cf. Troy frag., ii, 823: hys bloode

That streymande out hys body  
 yhoode.

[Cf. rime of gud, blud. (Leg. xx,  
     193.)]

In middes the visage met thame thare.  
     410 (17).

In middes the visage met thame weill.  
     4 (28).

## [THE STALWART STOUR.]

Thar men mycht se ane stalwart stour.  
     (xii, 577.)

The gyrss wox with the blude all red.  
     (xii, 582.)

That thai suld do thair devour wele.  
     (xii, 587.)

For with wapnys staluart of steill  
 Thai dang on thame with all thar  
 mycht.

    (xiii, 14.) (Cf. xiii, 274, below.)

And vapnys apon armour stynt. (xiii,  
     27.)

As vapnys apon armor styntis. (xiii,  
     154.)

Thair men nicht sie ane stalwart stour.  
     34 (5).

The grene gras vox of blude all rede.  
     382 (17).

Baith erd and gers of blude vox red.  
     385 (20).

And sicker to do his devore weill.  
     321 (23).

Bot with wapons staluart of steill

They dang on vther with all thair  
 nicht. 80 (18).

Of wapnis that on helmis styntis.  
     366 (5).

*The Bruce.*

Defoulit roydly vnder feit. (xiii, 31.)  
 Cf. Wndyr horss feyt defoulyt thar.  
 (ii, 359.)

That men na noyis na cry mycht her.  
 (xiii, 34.)  
 That slew fire as men dois on flyntis.  
 (xiii, 36.)

Quhen that he saw the battalis swa  
 Assemyll and togidder ga. (xiii, 63.)

*The Alexander.*

Wndir feit defoulit in the battale.  
 366 (1).

Defoulit with feit. 144 (29).  
 Vnder hors feit defoulit ware. 401 (29).  
 Vnder hors fute defoullit sa. 86 (6).  
 Thar men nicht heir sic noyes and cry.  
 385 (22). Cf. 46 (2).

That kest fyre as man dois flyntis.  
 236 (25).

[Not in the French. Add. 16,888,  
 fol. 60<sup>b</sup>.]

Cf. Togidder thay straik as fyre of  
 flint. 243 (32).

[French has *comme guarçon*.]

Quhan he the rinkis saw shudder sua.  
 45 (32).

And the battellis togidder ga. 46 (1).

## [THE PURSUIT.]

And slew all that thai mycht ourta.  
 (xiii, 93.)

sla

The men that thai mycht ourta.  
 (xvii, 100.)

Cf. And slew all that thai mycht  
 ourtak. (iv, 415.)

And slew all that thai mycht  
 ourtak. (v, 95.)

And slew all thaim thai mycht  
 ourta. (xviii, 325.)

And slew all at thai mycht ourta.  
 (x, 78.)

That he slew all he might ourtak.  
 (xvi, 197\*.)

And agane armyt men to ficht  
 May nakit men haff litill mycht.

(xiii, 97.)

And ding on them sa doughtely.  
 (xiii, 132\*.)

Cf. And dang on thame so douchtely.  
 (x, 727.)

And dang on thame so hardely.  
 (xvi, 204.)

He slew all that he nicht ouerta.  
 379 (21).

That he ourtuke all doun he drave.  
 410 (6).

Al that it ourtuk wald sla. (Leg.,  
 xxxiii, 71.)

naked,

They sall nouthar hardement have nor  
 mycht

Aganis armit men to ficht. 362 (20).

And dang on vther sa egerly. 412 (4).

*The Bruce.*

And cryit ensenzeis on everilk syd,  
Gifand and takand woundis wyd.  
(xiii, 159.)

Cf. Giffand and takand voundis  
vyde. (xv, 54.)

Gyffand and takand voundis vyde.  
(vi, 288.)

And magre thairis left the plass.  
(xiii, 170.)

Than men mycht heir ensenzeis cry.  
(xiii, 203.)

Cf. His ensenzhe mycht heir him  
cry. (v, 323.)

with thame faucht  
And swa gret rowtis to thame raucht.  
(xiii, 211.)

ghemen swanys and poveraill  
That in the pare to zheyme vittale.  
(xiii, 229.)

Dang on thame sua with all thar mycht.  
(xiii, 274.)

That thai scalit in tropellis ser.  
(xiii, 275.)

For twa contraris zhe may wit wele  
Set agane othir on a quhele.  
(xiii, 651.)

And the laif syne that ded war thar  
In-to gret pittes erdit war. (xiii, 665.)

*The Alexander.*

Thay cryit thair ensenzies on ilk syde.  
412 (28).

Gevand and takand woundis wyde.  
222 (8).

Gevand and takand routis ryde. 362 (7).

That maugre yairis yai left the place.  
36 (12).

That maugre thairis thay left the pray.  
423 (14).

In maugre of thairis reskewit the pray.  
4 (7).

And his ensigne that thai hard cry.  
52 (20).

faucht  
And with his sword sic routis raucht.  
154 (28).

(Cf. xi, 238, above.)

(Cf. xiii, 14, above.)

And scallit in troppellis heir and thair.  
227 (14).

Cf. And thir quelis seit sall be swa  
That of thame twa aganis twa  
Sal always turne in contrare  
cours. (Leg. Saints, l. 857.)

The laif in pittis eardit thay. 427 (17).

## IX. THE LESSON OF THE PARALLELS.

In this long list of parallels, what are the passages thus held in common by two poems so far removed from each other in theme? On what principle are they selected? Are they French, originally in the *Alexander* romance and transferred to the Scottish poem? Or are they Scottish pebbles strewn through both poems, and not due to direct translation or imitation? If there was imitation, which is the imitation, the *Alexander* or the *Bruce*? In short, do means exist for determining with assurance that the poet of the

*Bruce* used the translation of the *Alexander*, or that the translator used the *Bruce*? Once more, what are the passages?

They are, in very singular proportion, passages which occur more than once in the *Bruce* and more than once in the *Alexander*. This pregnant fact seen, is not the riddle read already? Thieves are not wont to steal the same thing twice. No plagiarist would be so inartistic as to repeat his plagiarism of the same passages three, four, or five times over. On the other hand, the man who is both poet and translator may well, when his themes in both capacities are cognate, repeat himself, whether he is at work upon his translation or upon an effort entirely his own.

Let us consider the oft repeated descriptions of morning (pp.17, 22, above). It might be urged that these variants are mere common form. The rejoinder is that, even granting something of common form, such recurrences of identical lines cannot be accidental; and commonplaceness sometimes amounting to triviality stamps as ridiculous the conception of such verbal exactitude being due to deliberate copying. Such things come not through one author being influenced by the phrases of another; they come through one man using his own stock-in-trade and borrowing from himself.

But if this repetition of things comparatively commonplace is characteristic of *The Bruce* displaying again and again the same turns of expression, if it is at the same time the mark of the *Legends* and of the *Alexander*, if some examples are common to all three and to the *Troy fragments*, such repetition is no less telling when it implies the reappearance of peculiar and even anomalous or uncouth locutions. Ample enough is the list of examples. Was John Barbour, or was the translator of the *Alexander*, so much the slave of his copy that when he asked, "Quhy suld I mak to lang my tale?" he made the query word for word as in the *Alexander*? When the translator made Emenydus begin an address to his fellows, "Lordingis, now may ze sie," did he copy from the opening of one of Bruce's addresses in these precise terms? How comes it that at Bannockburn we hear of the overthrown "That had na power to rise zit," while in the *Alexander* their plight is described in perfectly identical terms? Surely it is fatuity to ascribe such a line to imitation. A bard must indeed have been in sore straits if he copied that!

The lessons and surprises of Bannockburn are many. The banners to the wind waving in Barbour's fine description of the English march waved only less gaily in the romance of *Alexander*.



In the De Bohun episode the breaking of Bruce's battle-axe has a somewhat uncomfortable parallel in the *Alexander*. It is an unquestionable certainty that the address which Barbour puts into the mouth of Robert Bruce<sup>1</sup> on the great day of national crisis is borrowed from a speech imputed in the French romance to Alexander the Great.

Tempting as it is to linger over Bannockburn, and needful as it is to examine the bearing of the *Alexander* romance on the authenticity of the biography of the Scottish monarch, the theme must be left with a single remark to record the opinion that whilst Barbour was in his description of the battle profoundly influenced by the romance—whether the translation or the French, is a problem not to be disposed of in a parenthesis—his borrowings were not directly of matter (except speeches), but of style, pictorial narrative, and descriptive phrases. The French influence is mainly to be traced not in the tale but in the manner of telling.

#### X. SOME SPECIAL COINCIDENCES.

A second long list of parallels may stand over, giving place meantime to a discussion of a few special words or lines which no one will characterize as commonplaces and which bear peculiarly on the evidence of authorship.

##### *To-ga.*

This word, regarded by Professor Skeat as representing the past tense of the Anglo-Saxon verb *togan*, to go, is commented upon by him as an anomalous form. It occurs, however, as *to-go* in Gower's *Confessio Amantis* (ed. Morley, p. 423), but being anomalous and exceedingly rare its appearance in the following cases must count accordingly as very special indeed. In the *Troy fragments* there is a phrase translating into the very opposite meaning the words *effugere non valerent* in Guido. In every sense it is intrusive and not real translation in respect that while the inversion of meaning is doubtless an accident, the idiom is not Latin and does not bring *to-go* or *to-ga* at all into the connection naturally.

Thai tornede thare bakis and to-go. (*Troy fr.*, ii, 2231.)<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For an older and quite different version see that of Abbat Bernard of Arbroath, Bower, ii, 249; *Scottish Antiquary* (1899), xiv, 29.

<sup>2</sup> The riming line is "And he gan many of them slo," showing sufficiently that the words may be read *to-ga* and *sla* with equal propriety, such variations being commonly scribal.

The *Alexander* similarly, in a phrase which is not a translation of the French corresponding line, has:

Turnit thair brydillis and to-ga. A. 87 (18).

The French in Michelant has a quite different proposition:

Au plus tos que il porent tornent vers lors règne. Michelant, 171 (4).

Again, the *Alexander* has:

He turnit his brydill and he to-ga. A. 218 (4).

In this case the translation answers fairly enough to the French (Add. 16,888, fol. 51):

A tant tire son frain c'est arriere torne,

although the *to-ga* is still exegetical. Now it is true that there is a verbal difference between the form of the line in the *Troy* and in the *Alexander*. The one says *bridle*, the other says *back*. We turn to *Bruce* for both.

Thai gaf the bak all and to-ga. (Br., xvii, 575.)

Thai turnit thar bak all and to-ga. (Br., ix, 263.)

He turnit his bridill and to-ga. (Br., viii, 351.)

The hand which thrust in this phrase in two shapes into three separate translations of one Latin and two French works, combined them when engaged upon an independent task.

### *Micht, slicht.*

At an earlier stage use was made of this rime and phrase to show that Barbour in the *Bruce* was citing the *Troy fragments*, and that the phrase in the fragment was more than once intrusive. Now falls to be illustrated the extent to which the contrast of 'might' and 'slight' couched in this particular rime is woven into the texture of Barbour. Though not so marked in the *Alexander* as in the *Troy*, the *Bruce*, and the *Legends*, there is at least one parallel of a very complete sort in the *Alexander* interconnecting with the many parallels from the other books.

Throw slycht that he ne mycht throw  
maistri. (Br., i, 112.)

[A verse quoted by Wynthoun, bk.  
viii, ch. 2, line 200.]

Schapis thaim to do with slycht  
That at thai drede to do with mycht.  
(Br., ii, 324.)

And ourcumyne for all his mycht  
Forthi with wilis did he and slycht.

(Leg., xxxiii, 589.)

[Latin has *blanditiis quem minis  
superare non poterat.*]

That thai mycht nocht do be mycht  
Thai schupe thame for to do be slycht.  
(Leg., xl, 829.)

[As to this further see *Scottish  
Antiquary*, xi, 105-7.]

Suld set thar etlyng evirmar  
To stand agayne thar fayis mycht  
Umquhile with strenth and quhile with  
slycht. (Br., iii, 260.)

And sen we may nocht deill wyth mycht  
Help vs that we may vyth slycht.

(Br., vii, 13.)

Throu sumkyn slicht for he vist weill  
That no strenth mycht it planly get.

(Br., x, 519.)

And how the toun was hard to ta  
With oppyn assale be strinth or mycht  
Tharfor he thought to virk with slicht.

(Br., ix, 350.)

But umbethought him of a slicht. (Br.,  
xvi, 84.)

Compare also mycht-slycht rimes:  
Br., iv, 755; v, 269; viii, 505;  
ix, 654; x, 334.

Bot set in intent baith strenth and mycht  
With all his thoct and all his slycht.

A. 408 (15).

French has:

Ains met entente et force et pooir

Cuer pensee et savoir et engin.

(MS. 264, Bodley, 159.)

And sene he mycht nocht be mycht

Ourecome Cristofore thane be slycht.

(Leg., xix, 441.) [An intrusion.]

For thu has suorne of my oste be the  
mycht

That thu sal nothire for strinth na slicht.

(Leg., xxxii, 569.)

[Chiefly intrusion—per virtutes mei  
exercitus—both mycht and slycht  
are evolved from *virtutes*.]

And umbethought hyme how he mycht  
By ony coloure or by slyght.

(Troy, ii, 1467.)

Leg., iv, 41; xxxiv, 77; l. 221, 511:  
all clear intrusions. Also x, 207;  
xviii, 1273; xxvii, 663, 1199; xxx,  
5, 701; xxxi, 589; xxxii, 461; xli,  
207; l. 397, 425.

### *The Number Ten.*

Odd indeed is the history of this number in the various works now undergoing comparison. Apart from numerous instances in which the translation is true, there are in the *Troy*, *Alexander*, and *Legends* alike, passages where the number is intruded, sometimes rather ludicrously, as where *quatuor paria* multiply into ten.

### *Ten.*

Thay of Gaderis war ten tymes ma.  
A., 65 (16).

Thair sould nocht ten have gane away.  
A., 71 (30).

That ay aganes ane war ten. A.,  
140 (5).

[Intrusion—French has only *la grant  
gent Dairon*. 264, Bodley, 117.]

Intrusion—Cil de Gadres les outrent.  
Michelant, 150 (3).

Intrusion — n'en fust gaires estors.  
Michelant, 154 (6).

And heirin als is nyne or ten. A.,  
273 (13).

[Intrusion—French has *vii ou viii*  
*des plus preus.* 264, Bodley,  
fol. 138.]

And ma than ten or he wald rest.  
A., 361 (25).

That weill x thousand war and mair.  
A., 369 (23).

[Not in the French. Add. 16,888,  
fol. 112.]

Micht be ay ane aganes ten. A.,  
405 (4).

[In the French “Un homme contre  
x.”]

And with thame als nyne or ten. A.,  
422 (8).

For of twenty ten ar slane. A.,  
380 (20).

[In the French “Qui de nous xx  
avés ja les x demembres.”]

That quha sa micht in ten partis  
Deal the worship that in zow is  
Men micht mak ten worthy and wicht.  
A., 258 (26).

Thane tuk thai tene oxine wicht.  
(Leg., xxxiii, 307.)

And fell doune tene steppis but frist.  
(Troy frag., ii, 2491.)

Compare same reference to Judas  
Maccabeus in Br., xiv, 316 :  
Quhill he hade ane aganis ten.  
Also Br., xii, 565 : Ay ten for  
ane or may perfay.

Intrusion—*Quatuor paria boum.*

Intrusion—*de gradibus ipsis per quos  
descendebatur.*

### *Tenth part.*

The teynd part mene suld nocht treu.  
(Leg., xl, 788.)

For I can nocht the teynd part tell.  
(Leg., xxvii, 1249.)

Palace tend parte so fare to see.  
[Intrusion.] (Leg., vi, 274.)

Can nane the teynd tel of disces.  
(Leg., xviii, 1167.)

That mene lest nocht the teynde to here.  
[Intrusion.] (Troy frag., i, 475.)

Bot nocht the tend part his traving.  
(Br., ix, 495.)

na mane  
The teynd of it tel cane.  
(Leg., xxvi, 1162.)

### *Down to earth.*

That to the erth he maid him go. (Troy fr., ii, 2972.)

That to the ground he gart him go. A., 74 (8).

And to the erd he gart him ga. A., 390 (25).

And he doun to the erd can ga. A., 411 (6).

And he doun to the erd can ga. (Br., vii, 585.)



*Some French words.**Rebours.*

All is at rebours. A., 124 (19).  
[Sole instance.]

Held all at rebours. (Br., xiii, 486.)  
[Sole instance.]

*Vailze.*

Vailze quod vailze. A., 140 (24); Avalze que valze. (Br., ix, 147.)  
218 (30); 267 (28).

Vailze que vailze. A., 308 (21).

*Liege pouste.*

There is scarcely a tincture of law in the entire series of the books now dealt with. The more interest attaches to *liege pouste*, a phrase which, found in the English law of Bracton's time, ultimately came to be particularly associated with the Scots law of deathbed, being equated with the capacity of going to kirk and market after the last will was made.

For gif I leif in liege pouste  
Thow sall of him weill vengit be.  
A., 190 (13).

Bot and I lif in lege pouste  
Thair ded sall rychtw eill vengit be.  
(Br., v, 165.)

[Not in the French.]

Gif I leif lang in liege pouste. A.,  
189 (2).

Repeated, A., 361 (11).

[French has: "Mais se je vich vij  
jors en vive poeste." 264, Bodley,  
fol. 125.]

*By Heaven's King.*

This manner of swearing by the Deity is one of the many ways in which the translator went beyond what he found in his French. One example deserves enshrinement among the curiosities of oaths, making Porrus, addressing the Almighty, take his name in vain at the same time. In this the *Bruce* runs it hard.

"Deir God," said he, "be hevinnis  
king." A., 355 (25).

Dear God that is of hevyn king.  
(Br., ii, 144.)

[The French has simply "Diex!"  
Add. 16,888, fol. 106.]

For be him that is hevennis king.  
A., 18 (31).

[French has no expletive at all.  
Michelant, 104 (30). Cf. also  
A., 18 (16, 31). Both cases of  
this oath not in Michelant, 104.]

These rather fine examples of congested oaths force the conclusion that Barbour and the translator swore poetically in the same terms, an inference to which the frequency of this epithet, "king of heaven," in the *Legends* adds all natural confirmation.

Other references besides prove community of characteristics.

God help us that is mast of mycht. (Br., xii, 324.)	Now help God for his mekyll mycht. A., 340 (26).
Quhar our Lord for his mekill mycht. (Br., xx, 475.)	
The grace of God that all thing steres. (Br., xi, 27)	A! God that al has for to steir. (Leg., xxi, 279.) His ferme hope in hym setand That has to stere bath se and land. (Leg., xxvii, 481.) Of Jesu Criste that al can stere. (Leg., xi, 151.) Granttit wele that thar was ane That all thinge steryt—ellis nane. (Leg., l. 435.)
And lovit God fast of his grace (Br., xiv, 311.)	Lowyt fast God of his bounte. (Leg., xxv, 471.)
A! Deir God! Quha had beyn by And seyn how he sa hardely. (Br., vi, 171.)	Der God! how Alexander sa douchtely. A., 387 (22). A! Deir God! how he was douchty. A., 43 (11).

#### *Leech and medicine.*

There is a medical expression which, taken from the French in one case, is intruded or expanded in others, and becomes a metaphor.

That sall neid as I trow lechyng. (Br., xiii, 46.)	Thai sall neid I wis leching. A., 42 (15). [French has not this. Michelant, 132 (25).] Thare nedit na leche on thame to luke. A., 366 (12). He hes na mister of medecyne. A., 393 (3). [French has this— <i>ne na mestier de mire</i> . Add. 16,888, fol. 123.]
Thair bost has maid me haill and fer For suld no medicine so soyne Haff couerit me as thai haf done. (Br., ix, 231.)	He that heir cummis I underta With ane sweet medicine sall now Mak quyk of that that grevis zow. A., 43 (27). [French has only <i>cil vus gari de mort</i> . Michelant, 133 (12).]

It will be noted that the last example from the *Bruce* is at a point which touches history, being a record of words said to have been spoken by Robert the Bruce. We know, however, that the speeches of mediæval kings are usually creations of the historians.

*Hardy of heart and hand.*

Professor Skeat cited the absence of this 'mannerism' from the *Troy fragments* (*Bruce*, i, pref., p. 1) as a ground for disputing their authorship by Barbour. We may be entirely content to have it in the *Alexander* and the *Legends*.

That hardy wes off hart and hand. (Br., i, 28.)	And hardy als of hart and hand. A., 175 (28).
A knycht hardy of hert and hand. (Br., xi, 571.)	And hardy vas of hart and hand. (Leg., xl, 819.)
That hardyest was of hert and hand. (Br., xvi, 234.)	

*Adam.*

A reference to Adam is (*a*) translated from the French, (*b*) thrust into the translation from the French, and (*c*) thrust into a translation from the Latin.

Sen first that God Adame wrocht. A., 395 (23).	Sene first he made Adame of clay. (Leg., xxxii, 534.)
[Apparently not in the French.]	
For sen that God first Adam wrocht. A., 402 (14).	[Not in the Latin.]
[French has <i>Ca puisque Diex ot fait Adam a son plaisir.</i> ]	

*Anger and joy.*

Sentiments so opposite do not naturally utter themselves in the same formula. Throughout the four works all now claimed as Barbour's one formula serves.

Richt angry in his hert he was. (Br., iii, 64.)	Full odyous in hys hert he was. (Troy fr., ii, 1460.)
That in his hert gret angyr hes. (Br., viii, 16.)	And in his hart gret anger hes. A., 24 (15). [Intrusion.]
	Into hir hart great anger hes. A., 431 (19).
Intill his hert had gret liking. (Br., xiv, 17.)	And in his hart great lyking hes. A., 338 (14).
And in his hart gret joy he maid. (Leg., xxvii, 468.)	In his hart wonder glaid was he. A., 245 (20).

	Great gladship in hart he hes. A., 345 (30).
Sic sorow ine his hart has tane. (Leg., xxxiii, 760.)	Sic anger was at his hart I wis. A., 386 (3).
Sic yre in his harte he had. (Leg., vii, 622.)	
In harte thai had sike wgrines. (Leg., vii, 716.)	

So the same form of words was made to attain perfectly contrary purposes. Such a thing is no freak of chance. It merely shows the flexibility of a phrase in one man's hand.

### XI. A SECOND CHAPTER OF PARALLELS.

It is now time to insert without comments another batch of parallels, in this case putting the *Alexander* lines in the first column.

#### [THE FORRAY OPENS.]

<i>The Alexander.</i>	<i>The Bruce.</i>
Now rydis the furreouris thair way Richt stoutly and in gude array. 2 (25).	Now gais the nobill kyng his way Richt stoutly and in gude array. (viii, 272.)
Tursit thair harnes halely. 3 (11).	Thai tursit thair harness halely. (ix, 360.)
His men to him he can rely. 4 (4).	His men till him he gan rely. (iii, 34.) His men till him he can rely. (iv, 426.)
All in ane sop assemblit ar. 4 (16). Ferrand he straik with spurris in hy. 4 (22).	Syne in a sop assemblit ar. (vii, 567.) See pp. 18, 19.
That nouthir noyis nor crying maid. 3 (14).	That thai maid nouthir noyis no cry. (xiii, 38.) The noyis begouth soyne and the cry. (v, 577.)
Cf. Thare begouth the noyes and cry. 395 (20).	The noyis begouth than and the cry. (viii, 308.)
And straik the first so rigorusly. 4 (25).	And smat the first so rigorusly. (vii, 449.) He smat the first sa rygorusly. (vi, 136.)
And with his sword that scharply share. 5 (20).	That with his swerd that scharply schare. (vi, 643.)
The sword he swappit out in hy. 5 (29).	Swappyt owt swerdys sturdely. in hy (ii, 362.)



## [HEAD-CLEAVING.]

*The Alexander.*

And Lyonell with all his maucht.  
 Wpon the hede ane rout him raucht  
 That to the schouleris he him clave  
 And dede doun to the erd him draif.

6 (3).

Cf. Pirrus him smot with all his  
 maucht

And sa rude ane rout hes him  
 raucht. 46 (30).

Manlyke as men of mekill maucht.  
 287 (19).

Porrus that had his sword on hicht  
 Him raucht a rout with in randoun  
 richt

That of the helm the cirkill he clave.  
 400 (22).

Cf. also, 361 (4), 154 (28).

Than to his menȝe can he say. 7 (8).

Aganis men samekill of micht. 8 (19).

And thay that wourthy ar and wicht.  
 9 (31).

with thair baneris

And ensigneis on seir maneris. 10 (26).

Lat God wirk syne quhat ever he will.  
 11 (25).

Cf. To leif or die quhiddel God  
 will send. 21 (2).

Outher leif or dee quhether God  
 will send. 256 (30).

Now cum quhat euer God will  
 send. 319 (23).

I war mar tratour than Judas. 12 (8).

Ze ar sa full of grete bounte. 12 (31).

That is fulfillit of all bounte. 166 (24).

That is fulfillit of all bounte. 344 (6).

*The Bruce.*

And to Philip sic rout he raucht  
 That thought he wes of mekill maucht.  
 (ii, 420.)

And swa gret rowtis till him raucht  
 That had nocht beyn his mekill maucht.  
 (xix, 587.)

Bot he that had his suerd on hicht  
 Raucht him sic rout in randoun richt  
 Richt he the hede to harniss clafe  
 And him doun ded to the erd drafe.

(v, 631.)

And till his menȝe he can he say. (xv,  
 471.)

Agane folk of sa mekill mycht.  
 (xviii, 62.)

And thai that worthy war and wicht.  
 (xix, 786.)

bricht baneris

And hors hewit in seir maneris.  
 (viii, 229.)

And tak the vre that God wald send.  
 (i, 312.)

Syne fall quhat evir that God vill send.  
 (ix, 32.)

to tak the vre

That God will send. (ix, 68.)

Cf. p. 18.

Throw a discipill off Judas  
 Maknab a fals tratour that ay  
 Wes of his duelling nicht and day.  
 (iv, 18.)

Cf. Ine stad of the tratour Judas.  
 (Leg., xii, 4.)

For that wekit tratore Judas  
 Familiare to Jhesu wes. (Leg.,  
 vii, 29.)

He wes fulfillit of all bunte. (x, 294.)

## [THE KING'S MENSE.]

*The Alexander.*

Mantene the kingis mense that day.  
18 (8).

That we hald of all our halding. 19  
(19).

Of his great worship and bountie. 20  
(7).

Cf. For the great worship and  
bountie. 240 (2).

His worship and his great  
bountie. 102 (32).

For multitude in fecht oft failþeis.  
20 (25).

Quha for his lord dois (deis?) he sall  
be

Harbreid with Angellis gle. 21 (16).

Cf. And syne in hewine herbryt be.  
(Leg., xxv, 780.)

The Kingis freindis sall today  
Be knawen in this hard assay  
Quha lufis his honour he sall be  
Renoumed in this great mellie.

21 (14).

*The Bruce.*

Quha lufis the kyngis mensek to-day.  
(xvi, 61.)

That he held of all his halding. (xix,  
66.)

Of thair worschip and gret bounte.  
(xvi, 530.)

Of gret worschip and of bounte. (xii,  
380.)

For multitude mais na victory. (ii,  
330.)

That he that deis (dois *alternative  
version*) for his cuntre

Sall herbryt intill hewyn be. (ii, 340.)

For hewynniss bliss suld be thair meid  
Gif that thai deit in Goddis serviss.

(xx, 414.)

In joy solase and angell gle. (xx,  
252.)

Cf. In gret joy and angel gle.  
(Leg., xxxv, 254.)

Hee brocht in hewyne with  
angel gle. (Leg., xvii, 151.)

Now dois weill for men sall se

Quha lufis the kyngis mensek to-day!  
(xvi, 621.)

## [INCIDENTS AND PERSONAL DESCRIPTIONS.]

And syne lap on deliverly. 60 (13).

Cf. Thai lap on hors delyverly. 238  
(11).

Cf. p. 41.

And quhen he saw his point that tyde.  
75 (15).

Cf. And quhen that he his point culd  
sie. 45 (14).

And he lansit delyverly. 79 (26).

With that in hy to him turnit he. 89  
(15).

And lap on hym delyverly. (ii, 142.)

For quhen that he his poynt mycht se.  
(vii, 388.)

And he lansyt furth delyverly. (iii, 122.)

With that in hy to him callyt he. (iii,  
331.)

*The Alexander.*

Quhill in his arsoun dintit he. 99 (18).

To him I mak na man compair. 110 (9).

He was baith stith stark and strang,

Weill maid with lymmes fare and  
lang. 117 (18).

Cf. Of all schaip was he richt wele  
maid

With armys large and schoulderis  
braid. 42 (2).

Thair sall nane that is borne of wyfe.  
138 (9).

better than he

Micht never of woman borne be.

423 (19).

Saw never git na wyfis sone. 435 (8).

And with ane spere that sharpely share  
Mony down to the erd he bare.

144 (26).

Ane renk about him hes he made.  
145 (8).

*Repeated* 231 (20).

Thame worthis assale and thame  
defend. 150 (17).

Thare worthit us defend or assale.  
186 (31).

Outhir to assaill or to defend. 244  
(23).

Quha ever defend quha euer assail.  
259 (19).

He hit quhill he lay top our tale.  
285 (25).

Cf. That top our tail he gart him  
ly. 72 (8).

[Intrusion in translation.]

At the get quhare the barreris hewin.  
180 (25).

With fare visage and sume dele rede.  
191 (17).

Quhill he umbethocht him at the last  
And in his hart cleirly can cast.

193 (29).

*The Bruce.*

That he dynnyt on his arsoune. (xvi,  
131.)

Till Ector dar I nane comper. (i, 403.)

Bot of lymmys he wes weill maid

With banys gret and schuldrys braid.  
(i, 385.)

Cf. Fore Johnne of wemane best  
barne wes. (Leg., xxxvi, 182.)

With his spere that richt sharply schare  
Till he down to the erd him bare.

(vi, 137.)

And rowme about thame haf thai maid.  
(xx, 460.)

That ay about hym rowme he maid.  
(xvi, 196.)

Gif thai assalje we mon defend. (ix,  
30.)

And sum defend and sum assale. (xii,  
556.)

Oft till defende and oft assale. (vi,  
330.)

For to defend or till assale. (viii,  
283.)

[*Repeated* xvii, 242.]

Till defend gif men vald assaill. (xvii,  
260.)

Till top our tail he gert him ly. (vii,  
455.)

At Mary-get to hewyn had the barras.  
(xvii, 755.)

In wysage wes he sumdeill gray. (i,  
383.)

Till he umbethocht him at the last  
And in his hert can umbecast. (v, 551.)

Cf. And in his thocht kest mony  
way. (Troy, ii, 1989.)

*The Alexander.*

That forsy was in field to fecht.  
196 (18).

Cf. Large and forssy for to ficht.  
258 (29).

And syne went to the wod away.  
215 (32).

Had ze nocht all the better bene  
Thay had zow slane that men had sene.  
240 (14).

Had he nocht all the better bene  
He had bene deid forouttin wene.  
380 (2).

He lap on and went furth in hy.  
296 (12).

*The Bruce.*

Hardy and forcy for the ficht. (xi, 215.)  
And how forsy he wes in fycht.

(xv, 410.)  
Be stede de forcye for all fyghtes.  
(Troy frag., ii, 510.)

And. syne vend to the vod away.  
(v, 561.)

That had he nocht the bettir beyn  
He had beyn ded forouten veyn.  
(vi, 161.)

Cf. He had beyn ded foroutyn weyr.  
(vii, 219.)

Lap on and went with thaim in hy.  
(v, 214.)

## [NOT A DINNER!]

And thay ar anely till dynare  
To ane great hoste that we have here.  
308 (32).

[French has: Car il sont poi de  
gent pour sa gent desjunner.  
(Add. MS. 16,956, fol. 95.)]

Cf. With sa quhene that may nocht  
be

Ane denner to my great menze.  
336 (15).

[French has: Ce n'est pas une sausse  
pour destremper la moie (Add.  
16,956, fol. 107), but Add. 16,888,  
fol. 98b, reads: Ce n'est mie une  
soupe.]

## [THE BATTLE OF EFFESOUN.]

And ma into thair first cumming  
War laid at eard but recovering  
The remanent thair gait ar gane.  
362 (26).

Cf. Among thame at thare first  
meting

Was slane but ony uther  
recovering. 29 (14).

[Intrusion in translation.]

And weill ost at thar fryst metyng  
War layd at erd but recoveryng.  
(iii, 15.)

The remanand thar gat ar gane. (viii,  
354.)



*The Alexander.*

That speiris all to frushit are. 363  
(26).

Cf. The speiris all to frushit thare.  
286 (12).

Durst nane abyde to mak debait. 379  
(16).

And thay that doutand war to de.  
385 (26).

His neiffis for dule togidder he dang.  
393 (12).

That the assemble all to schoke  
And the renkis all to quoke. 396 (26).  
Rede blude ran out of woundis rath.  
401 (30).

He said he had in alkin thing  
Our lytill land to his leving. 403 (15).  
[*Alexander sighing for more worlds.*]

*The Bruce.*

That speris all to-fruschit war. (ii,  
350.)

Thai durst nocht byde na mak debait.  
(x, 692.)

For thai that dredand war to de. (iv,  
417.)

And thair nevis oft sammyn driff.  
(xx, 257.)

[This in grief for Bruce's death.]

That all the renk about them quouk.  
(ii, 365.)

Till red blude ran of woundis rath.  
(viii, 322.)

Thocht that Scotland to litill wes  
Till his brothir and him alsua. (xiv, 4.)

## [THE NINE WORTHIES.]

Judas Machabeus I hecht  
Was of sic verteu and sic nicht  
That thoch thay all that lyfe nicht lede  
Come shorand him as for the dede  
Armit all for cruell battale  
Quhill he with him of alkin men  
Micht be ay ane aganes ten. 404 (29).

This gud knycht that so vorthy was  
Till Judas Machabeus that hicht  
Micht liknyt weill be in that ficht  
Na multitud he forsuk of men  
Quhill he hade ane aganis ten.  
(xiv, 312.)

Judas Macabéus restoit de tel talant  
Que tint cil du monde li fussent au  
devant  
Armé et pour bataille felonnese et  
nuisant

Ja tant com il eust o soi de remanant  
Un homme contre x nel veist on fuiant.  
(Add. MS., Harl. 16,956, fol. 140<sup>b</sup>.)

Arthur that held Britane the grant  
Slew Rostrik that stark gyant  
That was sa stark and stout in deid  
That of Kingis beirdis he maid ane weid  
The quhilk Kingis alluterly  
War obeysant to his will all halely  
He wald have had Arthouris beird  
And failgeit for he it richt weill weird<sup>1</sup>  
On mount Michael slew he ane  
That sik ane freik was never nane

Artus qui de Bretaingne va le Bruit  
tesmoigniant  
Que il mata Ruston i jaiant en plain  
champ  
Qui tant par estoit fort fier et outre-  
cuidant  
Qui de barbes a roys fist faire i veste-  
ment  
Liquel roy li estoient par force obeissant  
Si vot avoir Artus mais il i fu faillant

<sup>1</sup> This sarcasm (not in the French) is in *Morte Arthure*, 1034.

*The Alexander.**The Bruce.*

Bot gif the story gabbing ma. 405 (11).

Sur le mont Saint Michiel enrociest i si  
grant

Que tout cil du pays en furent mer-  
veillant

En plusours autres lieus si l'estorie ne  
ment.

(Add. 16,956, fo. 140<sup>b</sup>, corrected by  
Add. 16,888, fo. 129<sup>b</sup>.)

## [WAR AND PEACE.]

It was neirhand none of the day. 407 (9).

Quhill it wes neir noyne of the day.  
(xvii, 659.)

And rowtis royd about him dang. 407 ( ).

And rowtis ruyd about thaim dang.  
(ii, 356.)

And he lap on delyverly. 410 (10).

And lap on hym delyverly. (ii, 142.)

Cf. And on him lap delyverly. 398 (2).

Cf. p. 37.

Quhill shulder and arme flew him fra  
And he doun to the erd can ga. 411 (5).

That arme and schuldyr flaw him fra.  
(iii, 115.)

[French has :

Souz la senestre epaule que toute li  
coupa

Et cil chiet du cheval qui tres grant  
dolour a.

(Add. 16, 888, fol. 132.)]

Cf. That arme and shulder he dang  
him fra. 5 (22).

Thare men nicht felloun fechtung se.  
412 (25).

Thair mycht men se men felly ficht.  
(xviii, 460.)

Thair was ane felloun fechtung thair.  
77 (31).

Thar mycht men felloune fechtung se.  
(xx, 418.)

Ane felloun fechtung wes [than] thair.  
(xiv, 294.)

He rushit doun of blude all rede  
Quhen Porrus sawe that he was dede.  
413 (13).

He ruschit doune of blude all rede  
And quhen the king saw thai war ded.  
(v, 645.)

Toward thame we raid sa fast  
That we ouertuke thame at the last.  
423 (10).

Bot the chassaris sped thame so fast  
That thai ourtuk sum at the last.  
(vi, 439.)

Thus mak thay peax quhair weir was  
air. 429 (20).

Thus maid wes pess quhar wer wes air.  
(xx, 63.)

[French has :

Ainsi fu l'accordance et la guerre  
apaisie. (Add. 16,956, fol. 152<sup>b</sup>.)]

They maid thame mekill feste and fare.  
433 (20).

He maid thame mekill fest and far.  
(xvi, 46.)

## XII. THE EPILOGUE WITH THE ERRONEOUS DATE 1438.

When regard is had to the accumulation of evidence now adduced it is no longer possible to doubt that Barbour's *Bruce* and the *Alexander* are from one pen. No imaginable theory of copying, no conceivable saturation of one poet's mind with the conceptions, the technique, the style, the vocabulary, and the mannerisms of another, would offer reasonable explanation of resemblances so intimate and so perfectly sustained. Either Barbour's *Bruce* was not written by Barbour, who died in 1396, but by the other author whose corresponding work bears date 1438, or that date in the epilogue of the *Alexander*, containing its two final tirades, is impossible.

The actual translation of the *Vœux du Paon* ends on p. 441 of the *Alexander* with the words referring to the death of Alexander at Babylon—

He deit thare throw poysoning  
It was great harm of sic ane thing  
For never mare sic ane lord as he  
Sall in this warld recoverit be.

In the same way closes the French poem in the Harleian MS. Add. 16,888, fo. 141 (Ward's *Catalogue of Romances*, i, pp. 146-152)—

Vers la grant Babiloine on en lanprisona  
Las dalant quel damage quant il ci tot fina  
Car puis que li vrais diex le siècle commensa  
Tel prince ne naqui ne james ne naitra.  
Explicit des vouz du paon.

Following the actual completion of the Scots translation comes the epilogue—

TO short thame that na Romanes can  
this buke to translait I began  
And as I can I maid ending,  
Bot thocht I failzeit of ryming  
Or meter or sentence for the rude,  
Forgif me for my will was gude  
to follow that in franche I fand writtin ;  
Bot thocht that I seuin geir had sittin  
to mak it on sa gude manere  
Sa oppin sentence and sa clere  
As is the franche I nicht haue failzeit ;  
For thy my wit was nocht trauailt

to mak it sa for I na couth  
 Bot said forth as me come to mouth  
 And as I said richt sa I wrait ;  
 thairfoir richt wonder weill I wait  
 And it hes faltis mony fald.  
 Quhairfoir I pray baith zoung and ald  
 that zarnis this romanis for to reid  
 For to amend quhair I mysgeid.

**Z**E that haue hard this romanis heir  
 May sumdeill by exampill leir  
 to lufe vertew attour all thing  
 And preis zow ay for to win louing,  
 that zour name may for zour bounte  
 Amang men of gude menit be ;  
 For quhen ze lawe ar laid in lame  
 than leuis thar nathing bot ane name  
 As ze deserued gud or ill ;  
 And ze may alsweill gif ze will  
 Do the gude and haue louing  
 As quhylum did this nobill King,  
 that zit is prysed for his bounte  
 the quether thre hundreth zeir was he  
 Before the tyme that God was borne  
 to saue our saullis that was forlorne.  
 Sensyne is past ane thousand zeir  
 Four hundreth and threttie thair to neir  
 And aucht and sunidele mare I wis.  
 God bring us to his mekill blis  
 that ringis ane in trinitie.  
 Amen amen for cheritie.

*The Erroneous Date.*

To conclude 1438 an error is, as will be conceded from what has gone before, no begging of the question. Following closely upon the completion of the *Bruce* in the spring of 1376, Barbour had received a royal gift of £10 in 1377, and an hereditary pension or annuity to himself and to his assignees was granted in 1378. (Exch. Rolls, ii, 566, 597; Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis, i, 129.) This pension was officially, though at a later period, declared to have been given for writing the *Bruce*—"pro compilacione libri de gestis quondam Regis Roberti de Brus" (Exch. Rolls, iv, 457, 520). His public success is evinced in many other ways. Prior to 1424 Androw of Wyntoun had engrossed into his *Cronykil* long extracts which agree almost perfectly with the text



as we have it now. That Wyntoun's own style was greatly influenced by Barbour is unquestionable, and many and admiring references to *Bruce's Book* are gracious examples of early criticism.

Wyntoun's quotation from Barbour relative to the contest for the Crown in 1292-95 is acknowledged to be quotation (Wyntoun, bk. viii, line 177) in the words—

Forthi said Mayster Jhon Barbere  
That mekyll tretim off that matere.

It thus need not surprise when in the narrative we find an occasional couple of lines not absolutely necessary to the sense omitted. (*Bruce*, app. to Prof. Skeat's pref., xciii-cvi.) In another place Wyntoun (bk. viii, line 976) refers readers desiring fuller particulars to the *Bruce*—

To that Buke I thaim remyt  
Quhare Mayster Jhon Barbere off Abbyrdene  
Archeden as mony has sene  
Hys dedis dytyd mare wertusly  
Than I can thynk in all study,  
Haldand in all lele suthfastnes,  
Set all he wrat noucht his [i.e. Bruce's] prowes.

To this admiration of Wyntoun for Barbour, indeed, is due the absence from his *Cronykil* of any record of King Robert's reign. That Wyntoun knew Barbour's poem as distinctly a Douglas document<sup>1</sup> as well as a eulogy of Bruce appears from the reference to the king's death and burial, Wyntoun thus ending Bruce's reign as he began it by remitting his readers to *Bruce's Book*.

And gud Jamys off Dowglas  
Hys hart tuk as fyrst ordanyd was  
For to bere in the Haly Land.  
How that that wes tane on hand  
Well propertys Brwsis Buk  
Quhay will tharoff the matere luke.

(Wyntoun, viii, 3121—a part of the section borrowed by  
Wyntoun from an anonymous source, viii, 2945-64.)

Thus credentialled beyond the attack of rational scepticism, the *Bruce* stands as a fact of 1376 which cannot be moved. But its

<sup>1</sup> Between 1390 and 1392 Sir James Douglas, of Dalkeith, by his will bequeathed "et omnes libros meos tam civiles et statuta Regni Scotie quam Romancie" (Bannatyne Miscellany, ii, pp. 112-114; National MSS. Scotland, part iii, No. iv). It is pleasant to find both Stewarts and Douglases patrons of literature in Barbour's time.

relations with the *Alexander* are impossible for an *Alexander* not written till 1438, unless, indeed, John Barbour rose from his grave to write it!

Treating 1438 as a scribal or printer's error, one has no difficulty whatever. This date is the solitary circumstance which stands between; that rectified, Barbour infallibly obtains his own by a judgment as assured as any literary verdict ever given. The rectification, formidable as at first it looks, is of a truth the removal of a mere bubble obstacle. Assuming first that the error might be scribal, one can point to Barbour's own experiences to prove how easily such slips occur. There are in the *Legends of the Saints* not fewer than a dozen dates which differ from the standard printed text of the *Legenda Aurea*, some of them perhaps due to copyists' negligence, some undoubtedly due to a curious fault possibly inherent in Barbour's own pen whereby "score" is wrongly inserted. Here follows a list of dates in the *Legends* at variance with the Latin print:—

Dates and numbers in <i>Legenda Aurea</i> .	In the <i>Legends</i> .	Reference to <i>Legends</i> .
9,000	11,000	vi, 435.
60,000	70,000	xi, 388.
A.D. 283	A.D. 388	xx, 368.
372	377	xxiii, 178.
398	328	xxiv, 560.
1088	1087	xxvi, 607.
470	478	xxx, 739.
280	360	xxxii, 807.
287	288	xxxvii, 343.
253	353	xlii, 274.
223	233	xlili, 625.
cccx	Three hundre tene zere and ane	xl, 352.
237	287	xl, 307.
280	360	xlvii, 213.

The unfortunate tendency of Barbour's dates to get wrong is quaintly illustrated in the *Troy fragments* (ii, 3060), where the Latin gives 93 as the years of Ulysses, which Barbour expands to the ultra-patriarchal age by an additional score, making

A hundreth zere hole and threttene.

The tendency pursued the worthy man after death, for in the very calendar of Aberdeen Cathedral the obit of John Barbour, its most renowned archdeacon, is entered as of date 1290 [1390?] (*Registrum Epis. Aberdon.*, ii, 7), although there is abundant proof that he was still living in 1395, but dead in 1396 (*Exch. Rolls*, iii, 368, 395).

While in the nature of things the biographies of saints are hardly to be looked to as first-class sources of chronology, and while allowance must be made for variations of manuscripts, yet as the dates in the *Legends* are by no means numerous the twelve instances above enumerated constitute a formidable percentage of error, being not less than one-third of all the dates in the work. That some are due to imperfections of the poet's own penmanship is likely enough: it would never do to impute to him the impiety of deliberately causing minor divergences with the base end of mere rime. But in cases reasonable conjecture on the cause of error is possible. These are those of A.D. 398-328, 280-360, 253-353, 237-387, and 280-360.

*Legenda Aurea.*

- (1) cccxviii.
- (2) cclxxx.
- (3) ccliii.
- (4) cxxxvii.
- (5) cclxxx.

*Legends.*

- Thre hundir zere twenty & aucht. (xxiv, 560.)  
 IIC VIII<sup>xx</sup> of zere ewyne. (xxxii, 807.)  
 Thre hundre L zere & thre. (xlii, 274.)  
 Twa hundre lxxxvii zere. (xlv, 307.)  
 Twa hundre & aucht score of zere. (xlvii, 213.)

Instances three and four may be due to an extra *c* and *l* respectively in some manuscript transition. But observe a confusion in the second and fifth, which may explain much. If a printer with all the wisdom of the Clarendon Press were asked to transliterate IIC VIII<sup>xx</sup>, what could he make of it but 360? And in the last example—eight score plus two hundred—surely the sum he would render would be just eighty more than the figure in the Golden Legend.

Applied to 1438, what might this peculiar error—whereby any given numeral becomes multiplied by 20 instead of by 10—reveal as the genesis of a blunder? Let us suppose that the printer in or about 1580 (not by any means over-accurate, as many misprints show, and given to printing numbers by using lower-case Roman numerals) found his copy quite distinct thus: *ccccxxx thairto neir, and aucht* [etc.], the close analogy of the errors above indicated might warrant putative evolutions:—

- (A) original cclxxx.  
 changed to ccexxxx.  
 or (B) original ecciii<sup>xx</sup>x. (A very common form in fifteenth-century Scotland.)  
 changed to ccvii<sup>xx</sup>x.

The last form of change only involves the dropping of two dots, making *iii* into *ui*, and altering 300 + 60 + 10 into 300 + 120 + 10. It would yield as the corrected date of the *Alexander* the year 1378.



That, however, is merely a suggestion. The style, diction, and rime of the *Alexander* place it close beside the *Bruce*, later than the *Troy*, and decidedly earlier than the *Legends*. Barbour's mind was full of the *Alexander* when he wrote the *Bruce*. He refers distinctly and repeatedly to it, he cites passages which occur in the translation, he refers to incidents and translates passages which are in the French and are not translated, he was saturated with the spirit of the *chanson*, and there is not a single valid ground, except the blundered date in the epilogue, for objecting to the conclusion that the translation, which probably began with the *Avowes*, was directly or indirectly a study for the *Bruce*, though not published, if it ever did receive a public form, until after the *Bruce* had given its author his renown.

Besides, it must not be forgotten that the date 1438 may not be a copyist's mistake; it may be a scribe's deliberate act. It was a well-known scribal practice to change such dates found in the manuscript in course of being copied by substituting the date of the scribe's own task. For instance, both the Glasgow University MS. (F 6, 14) and the Advocates' Library MS. (35, 5, 2) of the Liber Pluscardensis give the date of the work as 1461, while the scribe of the Fairfax MS. (Bodleian, Fairfax 8) silently changed the date in this passage to 1489, the year in which he made his copy. (Fordun ed., Skene, i, pref. xx, xxi; Liber Pluscard., i, pref. x-xii.)

Thus, on received canons of textual criticism the puzzling 1438 proves to be no Gordian knot. It is hopelessly at variance with the work to which it is attached. Whether the error arose from a misread numeral or whether a scribe copying in 1438 altered his original—as he might do with perfectly good faith, without falsehood or plagiarism too, as the context shows—to suit his own time, this date must, for the great purposes of Scottish literary history, henceforth cease to be reckoned the date of origin of our poem. In the epilogue—in those lines which immediately precede and follow the date and close a work fit in every sense to stand alongside the *Bruce*—the quiet voice of Barbour is unmistakably audible. We hear it in these final parallels from the last eight lines:

Before the tyme that God was borne  
To save our saullis that was forlorne.

A. 442 (23).

That God and Man of the wes borne  
To saufe synful that was forlorne.

(Leg., xviii, 659.)

And Jhesu in his tyme wes borne  
That sawit us al that ware forlorne.

(Leg., xxxvi, 923.)



*Three last lines of Alexander.*

God bring us to his mekill bliss  
 That ringis ane in trinitie  
 Amen amen for cheritie. A. 442 (28).

Cf. also :

Bot takes me till hevinnis kinge  
 That till his gret bliss sall me  
 bringe. (Leg., l. 603.)  
 And for to bruk that mykill blis.  
 (Leg., l. 681.)

Amen amen for cheritie.

*Three last lines of Bruce.*

The afald God in trinite  
 Bryng us hye up till hevynnis bliss  
 Quhar all - ways lestand liking is.  
 Amen. (xx, 618.)

Cf. also five lines earlier :

Vp till his mekill bliss thame  
 bryng. (Br. xx, 613.)

Also :

Quhare he that is of hevyn the  
 king  
 Bring thame hye up till hevynnis  
 bliss

Quhar alway lestand liking is.

(Br., xvi, 532.)

Amen amen parcheryte. (Leg., xxv,  
 779, end of legend of St. Julian.)

Sa we amen par cheryte. (Leg., xviii,  
 1490, end of legend of St. Mary of  
 Egypt.)

Amen amen amen p[ar] c[herite].  
 (Leg., xlix, 334, end of legend of  
 Thekla.)

It were a counsel of despair to attempt to account on any footing of chance or of copying for resemblances which, followed all through the poem, still crowd in upon its final<sup>1</sup> words. That a heroic poem on Robert the Bruce and a romance of Alexander the Great should alike at the close in three lines invoke (1) God as "afald" or ane, (2) as "in trinite," in a prayer to (3) "bring us" to the (4) "bliss" of heaven, is not less satisfactory than that the seventh line from the last of the *Bruce* should complete the similarity by its adoption also of the prayer for (5) "mekill bliss" in full. And even (6) the *Amen amen for cherite* is found in the *Legends*. There is in all this a good deal for three lines to carry.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A curious and interesting further parallel comes from the last page of the *Alexander* :

For quhen ye lawe are laid in lame [=loam]. A., 442 (15).  
 The king was ded and laid in lame. (Br., xix, 256, ed. Hart.)

<sup>2</sup> I am well aware of the prevalence of such endings. But this, when attendant features are remembered, does not take away the piquancy of so many points common to the close of *Bruce* and *Alexander*. Even as commonplaces they would show that the same commonplaces were selected by the poet and the translator.

## XIII. RIMES.

*Earlier Negative Standards adjusted and reapplied.*

With a case so complete on the substance the necessity to consider arguments touching rimes and diction rather tries the patience, but as it was through the rimes that the attack was made on Barbour's authorship of the *Troy fragments* and the *Legends*, the lines of defence from that quarter must be looked to. Happily defence from our German friends is secure enough, notwithstanding the unfortunate and quite unnecessary capitulation of Prof. Skeat and Dr. Metcalfe in 1894 and 1888-96. The rimes themselves have already developed the offensive with success (*Athenæum*, 27 Feb., 1897, pp. 279-280), and it may be trusted they will be no less efficient now, when for the first time *Alexander* enters the field as their ally.

Briefly, the case on diction is that Barbour could not have written the *Troy fragments* or the *Legends* because in phrases and in vocabulary there were so many marked differences (*Bruce*, i, pref., pp. l-lii). The critics who discovered these differences, which to other eyes are not so very marked, did not notice that there were many resemblances both prominent and subtle: they forgot that a translation infers the adoption of a vocabulary quite away from that which an original composition would have induced: they failed to give adequate value to the influence of time in works produced at different dates in a poet's career, and they laid too little stress on the difference of theme, the inspiring or uninspiring conditions of the work, and the physical state of the author. And last, but not least, they did not suspect the *Alexander*, which, doubling the area of observation for deducing laws of rime and diction, reacts with such effect on the entire argument, driving itself like a wedge between the *Bruce* on the one hand and the *Troy* and the *Legends* on the other.

On rimes the question comes to closer quarters. The chief contention was that the rime system of the *Bruce* was too materially different from that of the *Troy* and the *Legends* to admit the possibility of a common author. It was said that Barbour never allowed such a word as *he* 'high' or *e* 'eye' to rime with words like *be* 'be' or *he* 'he,' because of the final guttural or after sound (*heh* or *hey*, *egh* or *ey*) proper to these words correctly pronounced at that time in accordance with phonetic tradition. Now it is to

be remembered that this canon begs the whole question of the text of *Bruce*. This process is simple: first you find your canon; then you edit out of your text all that is disconform. However, if the text which Professor Skeat prints is correct, then Barbour did at least once in the *Bruce* rime *de* 'die' with *be* 'be' (Br., xx, 428\*).<sup>1</sup> In fact, the error is in making an absolute law of what is merely a fairly sound generalization. It is true that most usually in the *Bruce* these guttural *e* words are rimed with others of the same order. Most usually—and therefore the criterion is valuable to apply to the *Alexander*. In that poem the proposition holds absolutely as regards five words—*de* 'die' (except once), *dre* 'dree,' *e* 'eye,' *he* 'high,' and *flay* 'frighten,' which always rime with *e* guttural. To that extent, therefore, the *Alexander* has nothing to fear from the old rime attack. These crucial rimes bring it into very close touch with the *Bruce*. On the other hand, *fle* 'flee,' *le* 'lie,' and *unsle* 'not sly' rime both ways, thus bringing the *Alexander* into line with the *Troy* and the *Legends*. Here is a table of all the guttural *e* rimes in the *Alexander* :—

Rimes in <i>Bruce</i> .	Word.	Rime and reference to page of <i>Alexander</i> , words in <i>e</i> not guttural being put in italics.	Remark.
fle, he	De (die)	fle, 51, 222, 228, 294, 363, 365, 380; he (high), 48, 379, 380, 385	As in <i>Bruce</i> , <i>Troy</i> <i>fr.</i> , and <i>Legends</i> .
<i>be</i>		<i>bounte</i> , 417	
he, de	Dre	le (lie), 169; he (high), 150, 413; unsle, 240	As in <i>Bruce</i> .
fle	E	fle, 131	As in <i>Bruce</i> .
de, he, e	Fle	de (see above); he (high), 141; e, 131; (fleis deis, 138) <i>menjie</i> , 364; <i>be</i> , 91-2	As in <i>Troy fr.</i>
	Flay	he (high), 319	Correct.
de, fle	He (high)	de (die), 348, 379, 385; fle, 141; flay, 319; dre, 413	As in <i>Bruce</i> .
[ <i>melle</i> ?]	Le (lie)	dre, 169 <i>trewlye</i> , 160; <i>be</i> , 105	As in <i>Troy fr.</i> and <i>Legends</i> .
	Unsle	dre, 240 <i>Pincarny</i> , 143-4	As in <i>Legends</i> .

<sup>1</sup> The lines in question, after being printed in the text and annotated as "no doubt genuine," were condemned, "for Barbour never rimes *be* with *de*." (Br., notes, p. 295, pref., lxxvii). So the text is made to give way to the rime-canon. The lines do not occur in manuscript, but are found in Hart's edition, which yields twenty-seven other lines not in the manuscripts, but accepted as "almost certainly genuine" by Professor Skeat. Presumably Hart's edition followed the text of an earlier version of 1571. (Br., pref., lxxvi.)



Thus, while in the *Bruce* it is true that *de* (except once), *dre*, *e*, and *he*, all in *e* guttural, never rime with *e* pure, the same thing is literally and exactly true in the *Alexander*.

*Positive Rime Standards.*

The total list of quite erroneous rimes in the *Alexander* (apart from many, as in the *Bruce*, in which the vowel concordance is strained) makes but a short collection and compares closely with that of the *Bruce*. There are some assonances in the *Bruce*, for instance, the undisputed *Bretane*, *hame* (xviii, 473) and the questioned name, *Cowbane* (xviii, 410, 431), as well as the curious *Carnavarane*, *lame* (xix, 256, ed. Hart). In the *Alexander* there are six of the same species—*shame*, *gane* (15), *grome*, *son* (122), *belyfe*, *swith* (151), *blyth*, *lyfe* (355), *bargane*, *lame* (396), *shupe*, *tuke* (399).<sup>1</sup>

Of the misrimes in the *Alexander* not gerundial, *great*, *baith* (439) may be compared with *laid*, *grathit* of *Bruce* (v, 387). *Persand* (for Persian, properly Persan), *prikand* (145) and *Fleand*, *grant* (A. 162) will stand alongside *panch*, *dance* (Br., ix, 398). *Slane*, *drawyne* (A. 97) has, it is true, no parallel in the *Bruce*, but in the *Troy fragments* (ii, 813) it has *mayne*, *drawyne*. *Ydeas*, *tears* (A. 327) is certainly dreadful to contemplate as a fourteenth-century foretaste of nineteenth-century degeneracy, but *son*, *fyne* (A. 435) is probably due to some error of the press. To match some of these may be mentioned *Bruce* rimes: *Robert*, *sperit* (v, 13) and *ruschit*, *refusit* (iv, 145). Thus far the balance of rectitude in rime is to a trifling degree against the *Alexander* and in favour of the *Bruce*.

Accordingly, it must be with some curiosity that one watches the comparison when there are thrown into it those gerundial misrimes which in 1897 were appealed to as a decisive criterion, not negative, but positive, for authorship. That an author does not use certain *e* rimes employed commonly enough by others, and not incorrect, is valuable up to a point, if it be absolutely sure he does not use them: that he uses, on the other hand, incorrect rimes, for example in *yng*, scarcely to be found elsewhere in his period, is obviously a fact of much more pregnant note. In 1897 there was no word of the *Alexander*: the proposition had regard only to the *Bruce*, the *Troy*, and the *Legends*, and the point established was that there existed such a peculiarity in Barbour's

<sup>1</sup> The *Legends* are full of assonances of the same sort. Barbour in his old age was not so careful over his saints as he was earlier over his kings.



*ying* rimes as made them a real test. His rime specialty was shown to be the liberty he took of now and again riming with *yne* a gerund or verbal noun properly spelt and pronounced *ying*. Such a mis-rime as this found in fourteenth-century Scotland might well be reckoned loose to the point of eccentricity. It was first adverted to by Professor Skeat, who was struck (Br., ii, pp. 315-16) by his list of the examples. "Here take notice," he said, "of a remarkable class of words in which the ending *-yn* or *-yne* (with silent *-e*) represents the modern *-ing* at the end of a VERBAL NOUN which is always kept quite distinct from the present participle ending (in Barbour) in *-and*." Then follows his list of the examples, included in that given below. It is necessary to say that the true bearing of this peculiar class of rimes is obscured by the brevity of Professor Skeat's note. The verbal noun normally in Barbour ends in *ying* and rimes with *ying*: the examples of *ying*, *yne* rime are numerically in a very small minority, and almost every repeated word in Professor Skeat's list is far oftener found with the true *ying* rime than the false *yne* one. To illustrate this by the first on the list, *armyng* rimes properly with *letting* (iii, 614), with *evynning* (iv, 398), and with *thyng* (xx, 341). Such spellings as *armyne* and such rimes as that with *syne* (xvii, 263) are thus quite exceptional, even as regards the *Bruce* itself. They are exceptions, but there are fourteen of them.

In 1897 the present writer said:—"In the earlier poetry of Scotland this gerundial rime is, as Professor Skeat said, indeed remarkable. A faithful search enables me to confirm that opinion. I can find no such usage as Barbour's in any other poet. Sporadic examples exist, but even these are rare, so rare that in over 70,000 lines—not by Barbour—of Scottish fourteenth and fifteenth century verse I can (leaving out of account four proper name instances) find only four cases (Wyntoun, viii, 5417; Holland's *Howlat*, 52, 712; *Rauf Coilgear*, 60). It is a usage, therefore, more than remarkable: it is unique, an integral organic flaw in the rime system." (*Athenæum*, 27 Feb., 1897, p. 280.)<sup>1</sup>

Even had this feature a less outstanding importance than that of representing an exceptional license, taken systematically by no

<sup>1</sup> Since these words were written I have seen nothing to qualify them except that Mr. J. T. T. Brown has referred me to the *Sowdone of Babylon*, an English poem which has been attributed to the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century. Its rimes are amazingly loose, and comprise very many assonances and equations of *ying* with *yne*.

early poet in Scotland save Barbour himself, its unquestionable distinctiveness of the *Bruce* would invest the following table of comparisons with the utmost critical value.

*Lists of YNG, YNE Rimes.*

This gerundial misrime is, in a word, characteristic of all Barbour's work—in all it is an exception. It was the test which first satisfied me that the author of the *Alexander* was no longer unknown. In the following lists,<sup>1</sup> for the sake of facilitating examination, the *ying* words have been put first. Thus, *commandyne*, *syne*, and the others will be read as if written "*commandyne* (correctly *commandyng*) rimed erroneously with *syne*." Instances of words not gerunds have been inserted where, as in *ring* and *fling*, it is not possible to dispute that the *ying* or *ing* termination is wronged by its rime.

<i>Bruce.</i>	<i>Troy frag.</i>	<i>Alexander.</i>	<i>Legends.</i>
commandyne,	stekinges,	*helpyne,	*thrynde (thrynge),
syne. (i, 255.)	engynes. (517.)	tyne. 20 (4).	bynde. (i, 86.)
*fechtyn,	distribuyne,	*armin,	cumlyne,
syne. (iii, 241.)	syne. (922.)	shein. 26 (28).	syne. (i, 649.)
*fichtyne,	refetyne,	*lyking,	baptysing,
syne. (iv, 243.)	syne. (1445.)	syne. 192 (19).	sene. (iii, 73.)
hontyne,		*armyne,	*bidding,
syne. (iv, 512.)		fyne. 206 (15).	done. (v, 373.)
mellyne,		lesing,	*admonestine,
vyne. (v, 405.)		alphing. 208 (20).	fyne. (xvi, 533.)
*cummyng.		( <i>alphyne</i> , the correct	ourcummyne,
covyng (correctly		form, occurs, 211.)	wethrywyne.
covyne). (ix, 13.)		festnine,	(xviii, 381.)
hapnyne,		syne. 249 (9).	*zarninge,
tyne. (xii, 373.)		chapin,	wyne. (xviii, 923.)
dowtyne,		win. 259 (28).	*clethinge,
vyne. (xiv, 229.)		justyne,	senesyne.
*helyne,		syne. 265 (13).	(xviii, 991.)
syne. (xv, 83.)		*carpine,	mornyng,
*armyne,		thyne. 412 (1).	fynd. (xix, 266.)
syne. (xvii, 263.)		*cummyng,	*kinge,
*tranontyne,		syne. 427 (27).	bynd. (xix, 384.)
tyne. (xix, 693.)		[ <i>amyng</i> (for <i>amang</i> ),	*lowyng,
welcummyne,		gamyn. 251 (28).	fynd. (xix, 685.)
syne. (xix, 793.)		Cf. <i>Legends</i> , xli,	*carpyng,
governyne,		327:	pyne. (xxiii, 223.)
medicyne.		schenand,	*blyssine,
(xx, 531.)		ymange.]	fyne. (xxvi, 379.)

<sup>1</sup> Proper names are purposely omitted, as so many of them are ambiguous, for example Dunfermlin.

<i>Bruce.</i>	<i>Troy frag.</i>	<i>Alexander.</i>	<i>Legends.</i>
*murnyng, syne. (xx, 569.)			*persawing, schyne. (xxvii, 375.)
			*teching, discypline. (xxvii, 817.)
			*endynge, fynde. (xxxi, 805.)
			*schewyng, ourcumyne (here a past participle). (xxxii, 35.)
			thingis, wynis. (xxxiv, 83.)
			*reknyng, thine. (xxxv, 79.)
			*dinge, behynde. (xxxvii, 193.)
			*lykine, virgine. (xli, 315.)
			*ryng, tharein. (xli, 379.)
			*duellinge, fyne. (xliii, 491.)
			*flyng, bynd. (xlv, 173.)

*Words asterisked  
rime also in  
yng, in the same  
work, many of  
them repeatedly.*

Proper names not computed.

leding,	conselyne,	entermetyng,
Brechyne. (ix, 120.)	Appolyne. (497.)	Agrippyne. (i, 311.)
restyne,		lowing,
Lyne. (ix, 682.)		Martyne. (xxvii, 27.)

The totals are :

	<i>yng, yne</i> rimes.
Troy frag., 3,000 lines ... ..	3
Bruce, 13,000 lines ... ..	14
Alexander, 14,000 lines ... ..	11
Legends, 33,000 lines ... ..	24

Most noticeable is the recurrence of *syne* sixteen times, while *armyne* also is common to the *Alexander* and the *Bruce*, and *tyne*, *thine*, *shine*, *fyne*, *wyne*, *carpine*, *cummyne*, and *lykine*, all do duty more than once in different lists. Thus, whether negative or positive be the arguments from rime, the *Alexander* emerges from

them all with triumphant consistency as Barbour's, essentially harmonizing with the *Bruce*, and yet again and again revealing the affinity of both to the *Troy fragments* and the *Legends*.

#### XIV. THE PLACE OF THE *Alexander*.

Concurrent lines of demonstration, so many and so strong, make further argument—make even recapitulation—superfluous. The place of the *Alexander*, however, is hard to determine, especially the question Did it precede or did it follow the *Bruce*? Indications appear to me quite distinct that the carefully rimed *Troy fragments* were written first of all, followed by *Alexander* and *Bruce* or *Bruce* and *Alexander*, and that the *Legends* end the chapter. The influence of Guido de Columpna on Barbour has been most notable. Barbour practised and acquired his trade by translating Guido. Perhaps no finer effort did Barbour ever make than in his description of the voyage of Bruce to Radrin, a description as surely inspired by Guido<sup>1</sup> as the descriptions of May common to the *Alexander* and the *Bruce*. The influence of the French *Alexander* is conspicuous in the *Bruce* also, for, besides the innumerable passages shared with the translation, the Scottish poem mentions the Forray and extols the valour of Gadifer in lines which embrace a summary of the action not found in the original French:

For to reskew all the fleieris  
And for to stonay the chasseris. (Br., iii, 81.)

The *Alexander* translation describing Gadifer's splendid courage against the forayers tells also how he set himself

For to defend all the flearis  
And for to stony the chassaris. A., 88 (20).

These words are not in the French (Michelant, 172), but are an intrusion of the translator's admirably summing up the situation. Contrasts of *flearis* and *chassaris* are common to both *Alexander*, 137 (30), 395 (26), and *Bruce* (vi, 436); besides, Barbour used

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Troy fragments*, ii, 1717-1720, with the expanded narrative in *Bruce*, iii, 690-720, especially noting that the *Troy* line 1720 repeated in the *Bruce* lines 719-20 is not in the Latin.



this very collocation of words in an earlier passage than that concerning Gadifer :

That he reskewit all the flearis  
And styntit swagat the chassaris. (Br., iii, 51.)

A second direct and scarcely less explicit reference is made to the French poem in the *Bruce* (x, 703), the passage revealing the same free principles of translation as those in the rendering of the Forray. (Cf. Michelant, 217-18.)

But indirect references are yet more fully charged with proofs of how much the *Bruce* owes to the romance. The telling of the story of Bannockburn has been shaped by the romance description of the Great Battell of Effesoun. Barbour's mind and memory had been steeped in the *Alexander* when he wrote the *Bruce*, but the puzzle is, in some cases, to determine whether Barbour as poet influenced Barbour as translator, or *vice versa*. In one instance there can be little doubt. The *Alexander*, describing the terrible slaughter made by Porrus, says :

Of handis and heidis baith braune and blude  
He maid ane lardnare quhare he stude. A. 233 (5).

There is nothing corresponding in the French.<sup>1</sup> One remembers how deeply the cruel episode of the capture and sacking of Douglas Castle was impressed on the historical memory :

Tharfor the men of that cuntre  
For sic thingis thar mellit were  
Callit it the Douglas lardenere. (Br., v, 408.)

Accordingly the translator of the French poem took a lurid and telling phrase from a fact of Scottish history and thrust it, a loan from the Scots, into his translation.

The place of the *Alexander* is in the forefront of the influences which shaped the *Bruce*. As regards style and narrative, and even to some extent in plan, the impress of the French romance is vital. Historically, perhaps in a good many details, we shall have to reconsider ourselves, although the essential 'soothfastness' emphatically remains. Whether the poet made the translation

<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. 232 (32) - 233 (8) with Add. 16,956, fol. 66 :

Du poing a tout lespee ot fait son champion  
Le champ leur fait widier ou il voellent ou non  
Pour retourner tantost au mur a garison  
Et les femmes escrient a la mort au larron.

first and then wrote the *Bruce* with direct reminiscences of the task dogging him at every turn, or whether he used the technique of the *Bruce* for the subsequent translation of a romance with which he was already intimately familiar, is after all only secondary. The broad certainty is that both are direct expressions of a very thorough appreciation of the French romance, applied in the one case to genuine translation and in the other to the poetic shaping of a noble chapter of Scottish annals, a new, admirable, and in the deepest sense historic *chanson de geste*, and that both works are approximately of the same date. Beyond this simple conclusion a nobler field invites. New gateways are opening into the history of literary Scotland in the second half of the fourteenth century, when men served as translators their apprenticeship to original song—served it now as alliterative craftsmen, now with octosyllabic rime, perhaps even as they sat side by side at the Exchequer table of the Stewart kings—and left behind, however dim their personal memories, a series of splendid achievements in the nascent literature of the North.

IX.—THE VERB IN THE SECOND BOOK IN  
GIPUSKOAN BASK. By EDWARD SPENCER DODGSON.

ἔτε γλώσσαι, παύσονται (1 Cor. xiii, 8), *sive linguae cessabunt.*

WARNED by Saint Paul that languages will pass away, and finding a special though melancholy interest in such which have ceased to be spoken, even as Cornish did in the last century, the Philologist ought to aim at preserving all that may still be found out about any which are in danger. Assyrian and Etruscan are interesting in much the same way as a collection of implements from the age of stone. But a language like Bask is important and instructive in the same way that the machinery of Signor Marconi, and his imitators and rivals, is. It is destined to convey the thoughts of men who will live in the twentieth century. It has some, however little, hope in it. The oldest known book in any of the dialects of a language that is threatened with death, such as Ainu, Finnish, Manx, Maori, Roumansch, or Wendish, deserves especial attention. For such a work shows us how the dialect was written in the most youthful period of its life of which we possess any record. It must be respected as an *incunabulum*. Bask, or *Heuskara*, is in a state of decadence. I recognize it with sorrow. The Basks, or *Heuskara-holders* as they are called in their own speech, *Heuskal-dunak*, are responsible for this themselves, as two of their best writers in the eighteenth century, Cardaberaz and Larregi, boldly told them. The clergy are the chief culprits in the matter. They are now *Heuskara-losers*! If *Heuskara* be spoken and written a hundred years hence, I fear it will be so spoiled by a "corrupt following" of *erdarisms*, that it had better not have lived to be so old, and one might well chant to its memory the lilting lines of "the German Mezzofanti," Dr. G. I. J. Sauerwein, of the University of Goettingen, on *The Death of a Language*.<sup>1</sup> The dialect of the Provincia de Gipuskoa has some

<sup>1</sup> See his brochure entitled "Au dernier moment. Postscriptum du Livre des Salutations," etc. (Leipzig, 1889.)

claim to be considered the best, and may be treated as a standard specimen. It is the most central and the most beautiful, especially as spoken by its oldest and most unlearned owners. It possesses the largest number of printed books. But one wonders what the *Ipuscoani* were about in "the dark backward and abysm of time" that lies behind the production of the oldest<sup>1</sup> of them. The other dialects can boast of firstborns in the sixteenth century, though all were then already sadly mammoocked in the mouth. The booklet

<sup>1</sup> The oldest known book in Gipuskoan Bask is entitled "Doctrina Christianaren Explicacioa Villa Franca Guipuzcoaco onetan euscaraz itceguitendàn moduan *Erri Noble onen instanciaz escritu ceban beraren Vicario, eta Capellau D. JOSEPH OCHOA de ARINEC: Pueblo onetaco Aurray iracasteco. DEDICATCEN DIO Erri Ilustre oni Cartilla au. ETA Villa Francaco Erriac consaarateen dia*

CORRIGENDA.

- Page 374, line 16 . . . . . after Astete insert the Jesuit.  
 ,, 386, ,, 4 from bottom . . after pl. insert nac = those who.  
 ,, 397, ,, 22 . . . . . for 1761 read 1741.

The author, N. de Zubia (= *the bridge*, literally *two-tree*, as bridges in Baskland often are), as Don J. M. Bernaola of Durango told me, "era de esta villa." Now Durango is in the heart of Biscaya. The interesting Biscayan catechism of Zubia is only known by a reprint included in a book by J. de Lezamis, numbered 42. b. by M. Vinson, printed in Mexico in 1699, and dedicated to the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Santiago de Galicia. With reference to this, the keeper of the archives of that church, known to literature as the author of a novel in Gallego, *A Tecedeira de Bonaval*, kindly sent me the following note (received 12th November, 1900): "En la biblioteca de este Cabildo, ni en la de este Seminario no se conserva ningun ejemplar de la obra de Lezamis de que V. habla. Lo que comunico á V. autorizandole para que de ello haga el uso que le parezca. Suyo afmo s.s. q.b.s.m. Antonio Lopez Ferreiro." It is not in the British Museum either. One finds there, however, another book by the same writer; his *Breve relacion de la vida y muerte del Señor D. F. de Aguiar y Seyxas*, etc.; Mexico, 1699. (4986. bbb. 8.)

The booklet of Zubia, reproduced from Lezamis, was published in *La Revue de Linguistique* in 1888 (not '87 as M. Vinson says), with too many misprints. The British Museum possesses the *Doctrina* of Astete printed at Burgos in 1766; and the translation of it by Irazuzta published at Tolosa in 1826. As this booklet has the same number of pages as the editions of the eighteenth century, the following index serves in some measure for it also, though it likewise is unpaginated.



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<sup>1</sup> See his brochure entitled "Au dernier moment. Postscriptum du Livre des Salutations," etc. (Leipzig, 1889.)

claim to be considered the best, and may be treated as a standard specimen. It is the most central and the most beautiful, especially as spoken by its oldest and most unlearned owners. It possesses the largest number of printed books. But one wonders what the *Ipuscoani* were about in "the dark backward and abysm of time" that lies behind the production of the oldest<sup>1</sup> of them. The other dialects can boast of firstborns in the sixteenth century, though all were then already sadly mammoocked in the mouth. The booklet

<sup>1</sup> The oldest known book in Gipuskoan Bask is entitled "Doctrina Christianaren Explicacioa Villa Franca Guipuzcoaco onetan euscaraz iteguitendàn moduan *Erri Noble onen instanciaz escrivitu cèban beraren Vicario, cta Capellau D. JOSEPH OCHOA de ARINEC: Pueblo onetaco Aurray iracasteco. DEDICATCEN DIO Erri Ilustre oni Cartilla au. ETA Villa Franca Erriac consagraateen dio bere Patrona Soberana MARIA Santissima Assumpciocoari. Urte IHS 1713. DONOSTIAN: PEDRO de UGARTE, ren Echean."* Of this the British Museum possesses a perfect copy, bought for £3 10s. 0d. on the 29th of December, 1863, at the Standish sale. Its *cote* or press-mark is 3506. aa. 28. It is less important than the *Doctrina* of Irazuzta (= *fern-harvest*) inasmuch as, having never been reprinted, it represents only a momentary phase in the life of the language. This copy is not mentioned by Mr. J. Vinson in his *Bibliographie de la Langue Basque* (Paris, 1891 & 98). There, under the number 45, he refers to two others, which lack apparently the three pages, at the end of that in the Museum, containing the "FEE DE ERRATAS, *Que se hallan en esta Cartilla impresa.*" With reference to these twain, M. Vinson wrote to me on the 14th November, 1900: "Les propriétaires des Nos. 42. b. et 45 ne m'ont pas autorisé à vous donner leurs noms; leurs Bibliothèques ne sont pas publiques, et ils ne veulent pas qu'on puisse venir les ennuyer. Je ne connais aucun exemplaire du 42. a." The book dated 1691, numbered 42. a. in M. Vinsons catalog, appears to be quite lost. It was the earliest book in Bask, if not the first known book, among those imprinted in San Sebastián, the modern capital of Gipuskoa. Its printer seems to have been the same Pedro de Ugarte, though he then spelt the name Huarte. But, being in Biscayan, it does not concern the present essay. The author, N. de Zubia (= *the bridge*, literally *two-tree*, as bridges in Baskland often are), as Don J. M. Bernaola of Durango told me, "era de esta villa." Now Durango is in the heart of Biscaya. The interesting Biscayan catechism of Zubia is only known by a reprint included in a book by J. de Lezamis, numbered 42. b. by M. Vinson, printed in Mexico in 1699, and dedicated to the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Santiago de Galicia. With reference to this, the keeper of the archives of that church, known to literature as the author of a novel in Gallego, *A Teedeira de Bonaval*, kindly sent me the following note (received 12th November, 1900): "En la biblioteca de este Cabildo, ni en la de este Seminario no se conserva ningun ejemplar de la obra de Lezamis de que V. habla. Lo que comunico á V. autorizandole para que de ello haga el uso que le parezca. Suyo afmo s.s. q.b.s.m. Antonio Lopez Ferreiro." It is not in the British Museum either. One finds there, however, another book by the same writer; his *Breve relacion de la vida y muerte del Señor D. F. de Aguiar y Seyxas*, etc.; Mexico, 1699. (4986. bbb. 8.)

The booklet of Zubia, reproduced from Lezamis, was published in *La Revue de Linguistique* in 1888 (not '87 as M. Vinson says), with too many misprints. The British Museum possesses the *Doctrina* of Astete printed at Burgos in 1766; and the translation of it by Irazuzta published at Tolosa in 1826. As this booklet has the same number of pages as the editions of the eighteenth century, the following index serves in some measure for it also, though it likewise is unpaginated.

of Don Juan de Irazuzta, though in date only the second known, is yet a noteworthy landmark or monument. For it introduces the golden age of Gipuskoan, which may be considered closed with the death of J. I. de Iztueta in the year 1845. It is weighty as belonging to the period that elapsed between the publication by the great Don Manuel de Larramendi of his *El Imposible Vencido* in 1729 and that of his *Diccionario Trilingüe* in 1745. Its title is: "DOCTRINA CHRISTIANA EGUINZUANA ERDARAZ. *Aita Gaspar Astete Jesuitac.* IPINIDU EUSQUERAZ. D. Juan de Irazuzta, Errctore Hernialdecoac, ceña dan Provincia Guipuzcoacoan, bere Feligresiac aurrari Doctrina eracusteco, eta añaditcen dio Encarnacioco, eta Eucaristiaco mysterioen esplicacioa, baita ere confesio on baten condicioac, eta Acto Fedeco, Esperantzaco, eta Caridadecoac. Imprintudu Iruñeco Ciudadean. Urte 1742. *Licencia necessarioquin.*" That is to say, "The Christian Doctrine which Father Gaspar Astete made in *Erdara* (i.e. *Romance* or Castilian). Don Juan de Irazuzta,<sup>1</sup> Rector of Hernialde, which is in the Province of Gipuskoa, has put it into *Euskera* (i.e. Bask) to teach the Catechism to the child (*sic*) of his parish, and adds thereto the explanation of the mysteries of the Incarnation and of the Eucharist, yea, and also the conditions of a good confession, and the Acts of Faith, Hope, and Charity. He has printed it in the city of Pamplona, year 1742, with necessary licence." This book was doubtless often reprinted during the next fifty-five years. The only known copy of it is preserved in the Royal Public Library in Berlin, within a stones throw of the statue of Wilhelm von Humboldt. Its press-mark is H 8764. An edition, which we must count as the second, appeared with altered title in 1797 at Tolosa, the capital, till 1866, of Gipuskoa. Of this, the only known copy is to be found in the same collection. It bears the press-mark H 8762, and a printed note to say that it is "*Ex libris a Guilelmo L. B. de Humboldt<sup>2</sup> legatis.*" The books are numbered 62. a. and 62. b. respectively in the 'Bibliographie' of Mr. J. Vinson; in which it will be seen that the titles are not rightly copied. The original books contain 72 pages each, but

<sup>1</sup> Don Lucas Alvarez, the present Rector of Hernialde [= side (of Mount) Hernio] told me that D. Juan Francisco de Irazuzta ta Urkisu, born at Hernialde on the 5th of May, 1687, was Rector there from 1718 till 1753, when he was promoted to the adjoining living of Alkisa.

<sup>2</sup> For some account of the visit paid to Baskland by this learned speech-explorer, see "Guillaume de Humboldt et L'Espagne," by Professor Arturo Farinelli, of Innsbruck. (Paris, 1898.)



these are not numbered.<sup>1</sup> Considering the enormous influence which continual reprints of this work have had upon the Gipuskoan language, I now step on to what I feel sure that the patient members of the Philological Society will appreciate and *overstand*, if I may coin the verb; and I ask them to imbook it in their Transactions; namely,

AN INDEX TO THE 207 FORMS OF THE VERB USED IN  
THE CATECHISM OF IRAZUZTA IN 1742,

Showing the Alterations observed in the Edition of 1797, the Parsing and Translation of each Form, and the Number of Times, and the Pages on which, it occurs.

EARVM MODVM FORMAMQVE DEMONSTRAT.

(C. Julius Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, V, Cap. 1.)

BETOR. (Twice) 4, 23. *Let it come*. Imperative sing. 3rd person. From the irregular intransitive verb *etor* or *etorri*. (*El Arte del Bascuenze in El Imposible Vencido*, p. 168.)

BIDI. (4 times) 4, 23, 24 (*bedi* in the second edition). *Let it be*. Imp. sing. 3 pers. intrans. auxiliary. (*El Arte del B.*, p. 159.)

DA. (117 t.) 4, 5, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 46, 47, 50, 51, 53, 54, 56, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 68. *It is*. Indic. pres. sing. 3. Verb substantive and auxiliary intransitive. The root of all forms attributed to the verb subs. and aux. intrans. is *izan* = *been*. See the note on *du*.

<sup>2</sup>DADUCA. 63. *He holds it*. Indic. pres. sing. 3, with accusative sing. Verb possessive irregular *eduki* or *iduki*.

<sup>2</sup>DADUCAN. 26. (*That*) *he holds it*. I.q. *daduca* with the conjunctive termination *n* superfluously added, introduced by *ceñac*.

<sup>2</sup>DADUCAT. (4 t.) 52, 66, 68. *I hold it*. Indic. pres. sing. 1 pers. with acc. sing. Verb poss. irreg. *eduki*.

<sup>1</sup> For this reason the making of this finding-list has been no easy task; and "the bore of the matter" is that it will not be fully useful till a paginated reprint of the catechism come out. Some of the forms in this list have the prefix *ba* glued on to them in the original. It appears here only with the forms beginning in *l*, where it means *if*. *Ç*, and *C* before *e* and *i*, and *TZ*, are classed with *Z*, as they would now be written. *Y* is put with *I*. *G* is always hard. *U* in *que*, *gui*, *que*, *qui* is silent, and now left out, *q* becoming *k*.

<sup>2</sup> In some dialects the third letter in these three words is deducted.



DAGO. (16 t.) 5, 23, 27, 56, 57, 58. *He stays, or is.* Ind. pres. sing. 3. Verb irreg. intrans. *egon*.

DAGOALA. 65. *Staying; while he stays.* I.q. *dago* with a euphonic before *la* as participial ending.

DAGOAN. (7 t.) 21, 40, 49, 57, 68. (*That*) *it stays.* I.q. *dago* with a euph. before *n* conjunctive governed by *becela* or *nola*, or introduced by *cergatic* or *ceña*. After these last two words at least this *n* is superfluous, and would not, I think, be used by modern writers.

DAGOANA. (9 t.) 9, 10, 27, 33, 34, 63, 68. (*The fact*) *that he stays; that man (or woman) who stays.* I.q. *dago* with a euph. before *n* conj. or relative, declined with *a* = *the*. On pp. 9 and 68 the termination *na*, meaning *the fact that*, in which the *n* is the conjunction *that* and the *a* the definite article *the* as acc. sing. has been altered in the second edition into the simple conjunction *la* = *that*, without changing the sense. Such a use of *na* is not uncommon in Spanish Bask. See below *dana*, *zana*, *ciutana*, *zuana*. In the other places the *na* is made of *n* the relative pronoun = *who* in the nominative, declined with the definite article or demonstrative pronoun *a* = *that, the*, in the accusative or nom. intrans. sing. This second *na* = *that which, him or he who*. On p. 21 the original has *dagoanac*, rectified in 1797.

DAGOANAREN. 27. *Of the or that (woman) who stays.* I.q. *dago* with a euph. *n* rel. = *who* and *aren* the poss. case sing. of a the def. art. or demonstrative. This *naren* means *of her who*. For *aren* as an independent demonstrative see p. 30, *Aren ministroac* = *His ministers*, p. 31, *Aren mandamentuac* = *His commandments*. *Aren* like *illius* is genderless.

DAGOANARI. (2 t.) 34. *To him or her who stays.* I.q. *dago* with a euph. *n* rel. = *who* and *ari* the dative case sing. of a def. art. or dem. Thus *nari* = *to him or her who*.

DAGOANAZ. 27. *Of or about her who stays.* I.q. *dago* with a euph. *n* rel. = *who* and *az* the mediative or instrumental case of a def. art. or dem. *naz* = *about her who*.

DAQUIZUN. (5 t.) 22, 28, 35. *That thou (= you) knowest it.* Ind. pres. pl. 2 (sing. sense),<sup>1</sup> with acc. sing. Verb irreg. trans. *iakin*. The final *n* is the conj. *that* introduced by *nola* = *how that*.

<sup>1</sup> The 2nd person of respect is plural in form, but used like English *you* in addressing an individual less familiarly than with the *thou-and-thee-ing* forms. The real 2nd person plural is *ye* differs by its ending.

DALA. (5 t.) 9, 11, 62, 67, 69. *He being; while he is; that (there) is.* I.q. *da*, verb subst. followed, p. 67, by the conj. *la* = *that*; and in the other places by the participial termination *la* turning *is* into *being* or *while . . . is*.

DAN. (50 t.) 1, 8, 10, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 27, 28, 35, 37, 38, 39, 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 61, 62, 69. *Who or which is; (that) . . . is.* I.q. *da* with (a), p. 62, *n* conjunctive ruled by *becin*; (b) *n* conjunctive introduced by *ceña*, *cer*, *ceñean*, *cergatic*, and really superfluous, pp. 1, 8, 27, 28, 35, 39, 53, 55, 56, 69; (c) *n* rel. nominative, pp. 8, 17, 18, 20, 37, 38, 51, 54, 55, 56, 61.

DANA. (13 t.) 2, 8, 9, 22, 50, 65, 68, 69. *That which is; the (fact) that he is.* I.q. *da* with (a) *n* rel. nom. decl. nom. intrans. or acc., pp. 2, 50, 65, 69, i.e. *na* = *that which*; (b) *na* the conj. *n* and the def. art. *a* such as we have seen in *dagoana* = *the (fact) that*, pp. 8, 9, 22, 68. This *na* has been changed into *la* = *that* in the second edition except in three places on p. 8. The logical effect of the change is *nil*.

DANAGAN. 37. *In the (person) who is.* I.q. *da* aux. with *n* rel. nom. decl. locative, that is followed by *agan*, the old locative case of the def. art. or dem. *a*. *nagan* = *in him, or her . . . who*. See *danean*.

DANAREQUIN. 60. *With that in which he is.* I.q. *da* with *n* rel. in the temporal case or locative of time,<sup>1</sup> followed by or declined with *arekin*, the unitive or copulative case of *a* = *the, that*. Thus *arekin* = *with that (time)*, *n* = *during which*, *da* = *he is*.

DANEAN. (3 t.) 13, 42, 50. *When he is.* I.q. *da* with *n* rel. in time - case<sup>1</sup> and *e* euph. decl. with *an* the locative of the def. art. or dem. *a*. *nean* = *at the (time) in which*, i.e. *when*. Cf. *danagan*, the proper locative.

DAUDE. 3. *They stay, or are.* (A contraction of *dagode*.) Ind. pres. pl. 3. Verb irreg. intrans. *egon*, often synonymous with *izan*.

DAUDEN. (Twice) 15, 22. *(That) they stand.* I.q. *daude* with *n* the conjunction ruled by *becela*, postpositively.

DAUDENAC. (Twice) 27, 48. *Those who stand.* I.q. *daude* with *n* rel. nom. pl. declined with *ac*, the nom. pl. intrans. of the article *a*. *nac* = *those who*.

<sup>1</sup> This case is, of course, peculiar to the declined verb, and illustrates one of the most convenient functions of the wonderful link-letter *n*. See *dezunean*, *dijoanean*, *diradenean*, *duanean*, *geradenean*, *naizanean*, *zanean*.

DAUZCA. 55. *He holds them.* Ind. pres. sing. 3, acc. pl. Verb irreg. trans. *iduki*.

DEBAN. 10. *Who has it.* Ind. pres. sing. 3, acc. sing. with *n* rel. nom., synonym of *duan*.

DEBELA. 21. *That they have it.* Ind. pres. pl. 3, acc. sing. Verb poss. with the conjunction *la* = *that*. Synonym of *duela* = *dutela*.

DEDAN. (Twice) 12, 49. *That I have it, when I have it.* I.q. *det* with the euphonic change of *t* into *da* before (*a*), p. 12, *n*, the relative in the time-locative, followed by *guztian* = *every (time)*; (*b*) p. 49, *n* the conjunction = *that*, ruled by *ceren* = *that* or *because*. In the second edition *dedan*, p. 12, was rightly turned into *dan*, making the construction passive and impersonal.

DEDANA. 68. *That which I have.* I.q. *dedan* with *n* rel. acc. decl. acc. *na* = *that which*.

DEGUIGULA. 25. *That he may have (or do) it to us.* Subjunctive pres. sing. 3, acc. sing. with the dative plural of the 1st person, *to us*. Verb irreg. trans. aux. *egin* used for *ukan*.

DEGUIOZULA. 49. *That thou (= you) mayest do, or have, it to him.* Subj. pres. pl. 2 (sing. sense), acc. sing. with indirect object in the dative sing. Verb irreg. trans. aux. *egin* for *ukan*. This word was changed into *guiozu* in 1797, i.e. imp. instead of subj., *oratio recta* instead of *obliqua*.

DEGU. 44. *We have it.* Ind. pres. pl. 1 acc. sing. aux. act. This form is introduced by *cergatic*. Yet the author departs from his usual custom and does not put it into the conjunctive form *degun* like *dan*, *dagoan*, *daducan*.

This shows that the conj. *n* ruled by *cergatic* is superfluous. It is like the *that* after *by cause* in Old English.

DEGULA. 40. *While we have it.* I.q. *degu* with *la* participial.

DEGUN. (3 t.) 14, 37, 43. *Which (it) we have, that we have it.* I.q. *degu* poss. and aux. with (*a*) p. 14, *n* rel. acc. sing.; (*b*) p. 37, *n* conj. ruled by *becela*; (*c*) *n* conj. superfluous, introduced by *ceñetatic*.

DEGUNA. 14. *That which we have.* I.q. *degu*, poss. with *n* rel. decl. with the article *a* in the accusative. *na* = *that which*.

DEITZA & DERITZA. (4 t.) 18, 38, 39, 61. *It is called to him (i.e. his name is).* *Deritza* occurs on pp. 18 and 61; and *deitza* on pp. 38 and 39 became *deritza* in 1797. The same uncertainty in pronouncing this verb still exists in Gipuskoa. Ind. pres. sing. 3, with ind. obj. dat. sing. for the thing named, the subject



being the name; thus, p. 61, *batari* = *to the one*, *deritza* = *the name is*, *Contricioa* = *contrition (the)*. From the irreg. intrans. verb *eritz*, *eritzi*, a root producing various shoots.

DET. (29 t.) 5, 9, 13, 15, 20, 22, 28, 35, 52, 59, 66, 67, 68, 69. *I have it*. Ind. pres. sing. 1, acc. sing. Verb possessive and aux. act.

DEZADAN. 35. *Let me have it*. Conjunctive, as Optative, pres. sing. 1, acc. sing. aux. act.

DEZAGULA. 24. *That we may have it*. Conj. i.q. *dezagun* with eclipse of *n* before *la* = *that*, or the use of *la* rather than *n*.

DEZAGUN. (4 t.) 6, 27, 28, 45. *That we may have it, let us have it*. Conj. in imp. (p. 27) and final sense, pres. pl. 1, acc. sing. aux. act. On pp. 6, 28, 45, the termination *tzat* = *in order that* is understood with it.

DEZAQUE. (Twice) 65. *Could he?* Potential pres. sing. 3, acc. sing. aux. act.

DEZAQUEDANA. 69. *That which I can*. (accus.) Pot. fut. sing. 1, acc. sing. aux. act. formed from *dezaquet* by changing *t* into euphonic *da* before the rel. *n* acc. decl. acc. *na* = *that which*.

DEZALA. 24. *That he may have it*. Conj. pres. sing. 3, rel. sing. aux. act. formed from *dezan* (or *deza*) by the suffixing of the conj. particle *la* = *that*.

DEZAZUN. 2. *That thou (=you) mayest have it*. Conj. final pres. pl. 2 (sing. sense), acc. sing. with *tzat* understood after it; aux. act. In 1797 it rightly became *dezagun*.

DECEEN. (Twice) 28. *That they may have it*. Conj. final (as if followed by *tzat*) pl. 3, acc. sing. aux. act. In 1797 it became, l. 6, *dezaen* = *dezaten* and, l. 9, *decén*.

DEZU. (24 t.) 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 40, 47, 63. *Thou (respectfully = you of un-Quakerly English) hast it*. Ind. pres. pl. 2 (sing. sense), acc. sing. Verb poss. and aux. act.

DEZUENA. (Twice) 15. *That which you have*. Ind. pres. pl. 2 (the real plural), acc. sing. Verb poss. and aux. act., with *n* rel. acc. sing. decl. acc. sing. from *dezue* and *na* = *that which*. The nom. of *dezu* is *zuc*, but that of *dezuena* is *zuc, eta Erromaco Elizac*, i.e. *thou (=you), and the Church of Rome*.

DEZULA. 3. *While thou (=you) hast it*. I.q. *dezu*, aux. act. with *la* participial.

DEZUN. (7 t.) 22, 26, 28, 35. *Which thou (=you) hast; that thou (=you) hast it*. I.q. *dezu*, aux. act. with (a), p. 26,



*n* rel. acc. = *which*; (*b*) *n* conj. introduced by *cer*. This second *n* is a *that* which would be superfluous in English, but not in Bask.

DEZUNEAN. (4 t.) 12, 20, 22, 26. *When thou* (= *you*) *hast it*. I.q. *dezu* aux. act. with *n* rel. = *in which*, *e* euph. and *an* the locative of time from *a* = *the*. *nean* = *at the time in which*.

ezDIATORDE. 41. *It comes not to them*. Wrongly altered into *dator* in 1797. It is to be noted as not being *eztiatorde*. Ind. pres. sing. 3, indirect object dat. pl. Verb irreg. intrans. *etor* or *etorri*. 1766; “*y llamarse mortales, no les quadra tan bien*”; “*eta mortalac deitzea ez dator aiñ ongui*,” 1826. *Dator* is not dative.

DIAZADALA. 21. Became *dizadala* in 1797 and 1826. *Have thou* (= *you*) *it to me!* Imp. sing. 2, acc. sing. ind. obj. dat. sing. 1, aux. act. *La* conj. = *that* is not translated when ending the imperative. The Castilian is “*Esso no me lo pregunteis à mi*.”

DIAZAGULA. (Twice) 24. *That he may have it to us*. It became *dizagula* in 1797 and 1826. Subj. pres. sing. 3, acc. sing. ind. obj. dat. pl. 1, aux. act. *la* = *that*. (See the two next forms.)

DIAZAGUN. 40. Became *dizagun* in 1797. (*In order*) *that it may have it to us*. Conj. final, as if ending in *tzat*, pres. sing. acc. sing. ind. obj. dat. pl. 1, aux. act. (See *diazagu-la*.)

DIATZAYZULA. 25. *That he may have them to us*. An evident misprint, altered into *dizagula* in 1797 and 1826; but it should be *dizkitzagula* or *dizazkigula*, as the accusative *pecatuac* is plural. Subj. pres. sing. 3, acc. pl. ind. obj. dat. pl. 1, aux. act. with *la* = *that*.

DIDALA. 68. Became *dirala* in 1797 (cf. *diuztazula*). *That he will have it to me*. Subj. pres. sing. 3, acc. sing. ind. obj. dat. sing. 1, aux. act. *la* conj. = *that*. The accusative “*bere gracia eta gloria*” = his grace and glory, has the appearance of being plural; but, as is common in Bask, the *eta* here is disjunctive. That the accusative is ruled here distributively is made clear in the second edition, where a comma follows *gracia*. The same idiom is found in Old English, which psychologically much resembles Bask.

DIDAN. 67. A misprint, rightly replaced by *diraden* in 1797.

DIDANA. 66. *That which he has to me*. Subj. pr. sing. 3, acc. sing. ind. obj. dat. sing. 1. The *n* final is used as *n* the rel. pron. acc. sing. (the two *ens* being, so to speak, melted together), decl. acc. sing. aux. act. *na* = *the* or *that which*.

DIDAZULA. 52. *That thou* (= *you*) *hast it to me*. It became *dirazula* in 1797, as did *diuztatzula* and *diuztazula*. Subj. pres. pl. (sing. sense) 2, acc. pl. ind. obj. dat. sing. 1, aux. act. *la* conj. *that*.

DIDILLA. (Twice) 23, 59. *May it be.* It became *dedilla* in 1797 and 1826. Imp. sing. 3, aux. intrans. *bidi* and *bedi* are simpler synonyms of this word.

DIDIN. 40. (*In order*) *that it may be.* Conj. final, as if ending in *tzat*, sing. 3, aux. intr. Compare *didi-lla*.

DIEGU. 27. *We have it to them.* Ind. pres. pl. 1, acc. sing. ind. obj. dat. pl. aux. act.

DIENAC. 31. *He who has it to them.* Ind. pres. sing. 3, acc. sing. ind. obj. dat. pl. with *n*, rel. nom. decl. with *ac* the nom. act. of *a* = *the, that*. aux. act. *nac* = *he who*.

DIET. 41. *I have it to them.* Ind. pres. sing. 1, acc. sing. ind. obj. dat. pl. aux. act. In the original phrase *Deitu diet Capitalac* it may seem singular that the accusative is expressed in the plural, i.e. *capitalac* = *the capital (sins)*. But as the sense is "I have called (*deitu*) it to them capital (the capitals)" the implied accusative is *the name*, or word, *capitalac*. The same remark applies to *Cergatic deitu diezu pecatu Capitalac . . . zatenay*. This is the peculiarity of the verb when used with *deitu* = *called by a name*. (See *deitza*.)

DIEZU. 41. *Thou (= you) hast it to them.* Ind. pres. pl. (sing. sense) 2, acc. sing. (only plural in form) ind. obj. dat. pl. aux. act. See the notes on *zatenay* and *diet*.

DIEZULA. 66. *That thou (= you) hast it to them.* I.q. *diezu* with *la* = *that* and a really singular accusative. Its dative is *onay* = *to the good*; its accusative or direct object *premioa* = *the reward*.

DIGUEN. 12. (*That*) *they have it to us.* It became *gaituen* in 1797, from which *gaituenay* lower down comes. Ind. pres. pl. 3, acc. sing. ind. obj. dat. pl. 1, with *n* conj. superfluous, introduced by *cergatic* = *by cause that*, literally for *what*.

DIGUENAY. 25. *To those who have it to us.* It became *digüenai* in 1797. I.q. *diguen*, but with *n* rel. decl. with *ay* the dat. pl. of *a* = *the, that*. *nay* = *to those who*.

DIGUN. (Twice) 17, 30. *That he has it to us.* Ind. pres. sing. 3, acc. sing. ind. obj. dat. pl. 1, with *n* conj. superfl. = *that*, p. 17, introduced by *cergatic* = *because*; p. 30, followed by *becela* = *as, in the same way that*.

DIJOANA. (Twice) 63. *He who goes.* Ind. pres. sing. 3, *n* rel. nom. decl. nom. sing. int. verb irreg. int. *joan, juan*. *na* = *he who*. We have Larramendis authority, and that of Añibarro, partly his contemporary, for pronouncing the *j* like *y*, as in modern French Bask. The modern Gipuskoans sound it like Castilian *ïota* = *khota*, which is ugly.

DIJOANEAN. (Twice) 59, 66. *When one, or he goes.* I.q. *dijoana* decl. temporal case or time-locative. *nean* = *in the time when.*

DIO. (5 t.) 1, 50, 51, 65. *He has it to him.* Ind. pres. sing. 3, acc. sing. ind. obj. dat. sing. aux. act. This form is also used, but not in this book, to mean *he says it.*

DION. (3 t.) 17, 21, 51. *That he has it to him; which (it) he has to him.* I.q. *dio* with (a) *n* conj. superfluous introduced by *cergatic* and *cenacgatic*; (b) *n* rel. pron. acc. sing.

DIOT. 49. *I have it to him or her.* I.q. *dio*, but with the 1 p. as subject. It also means *I say it*, but not here.

DIRADE. (66 t.) 6, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 21, 23, 27, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 55, 59, 60. *They are.* Ind. pres. pl. 3. Verb subst. and aux. intrans. On p. 7, line 22, and p. 38, line 16, it took the shorter form *dira* in 1797.

DIRADELA. 43. *When they are; they being.* I.q. *dirade* aux. intrans. with *la* participial. Really the same as *diradenean*.

DIRADEN. (9 t. counting *didan*) 14, 17, 34, 35, 40, 41, 50, 67. *Which are; that they are.* I.q. *dirade* with (a) *n* rel. nom. pl.; (b) *n* conj. superfl. introd. by *ceñac*, *ceñean*, *cergatic*, and *nola*.

DIRADENAC. (Thrice) 35, 48. *Those which are.* I.q. *dirade* with *n* rel. nom. pl. decl. nom. pl. intrans. *nac* = *those who*, or *which*.

DIRADENEAN. 42. *When they are.* I.q. *diraden*, *n* rel. decl. locative of time. *nean* = *when, quo tempore, alors que.*

DIRADENEN. 41. *Of those which are.* Misprinted *diraden* in 1797 and 1826. I.q. *diraden* with *n* rel. nom. pl. decl. with the genitive or possessive plural of the definite article *a*. *nen* = *of those who.*

DITEQUE. (5 t.) 2, 35, 64. *He might be.* Pot. fut. sing. 3. Verb subst. and aux. intrans.

DITEQUEALA. 63. *When he might be; he being able to be.* I.q. *diteke* with *a* euph. and *la* participial.

DITEQUEAN. 16. *Which might be.* I.q. *diteke* with *a* euph. before *n* rel. nom.

DITECEN. 41. *(In order) that they may be.* Conj. final (as if ending in *tzat*) pres. pl. 3. Verb subst. and aux. intrans.

DITU. (13 t.) 13, 21, 30, 35, 38, 50, 51, 54, 55, 61. *He has them.* Ind. pres. sing. 3, acc. pl. aux. act. and verb possessive. From this, with *a* euph. and *la* conj. = *that*, comes the next form.

DITUALA. 51. *That he has them.* I.q. *ditu* aux. act. with *la* = *that*. The second edition replaced it by *dituen*, altering the construction much for the better. In the first, *falta equin dituala aberiguatcen duanena* is clumsy, if not quite ungrammatical. In



the second it runs *eguin dituen falta guztiena*. In this case, however, *dituen* is a misprint for *dituan* with *n* rel. acc. pl. It would be correct in the Labourdin dialect. But in Gipuskoan its place would be between *ditue* and *dituenac*; and that is impossible here because its subject is in the singular. See the note on *duanena*.

DITUAN. 23. (*That*) *it has them*. I.q. *ditu* verb poss. with *a* euph. and *n* conj. superfl. introduced by *cergetic*.

DITUANAC (7 t.) 15, 29, 31, 51, 60. *Those which he or she has; he who has them*. I.q. *dituan*, but with (*a*) *n* rel. acc. pl. decl. p. 15, nom. pl. pp. 51 and 60, acc. pl.; (*b*) *n* rel. nom. sing. pp. 29 and 31, nom. sing. act. pp. 31 and 29, it is the subject of *ditu* and *du* respectively; pp. 60 and 51, it is the object of *ecartea* and *ditu* respectively; p. 15, it is the subject of *dirade*. *nac* = pp. 29 and 31, *he who* (active); p. 15, *those which*, nominative passive; pp. 51 and 60, *those which*, accusative.

DITUANACGATIC. 50. *For those which he has*. I.q. *dituan*, aux. act. with *n* rel. acc. decl. accusative of respect plural. *nacgatic* means *for*, or *on account of*, *those which*.

DITUANENA. 61. *That of those which he has*. I.q. *dituan*, aux. act. with *n* rel. acc. decl. possessive pl. of the demonstrative, and that itself declined with the accus. sing. demonstr. *nena* = *that of those which*. This reading was rightly abandoned in 1797, as it is not grammatical in its context. It was replaced by *dituanenac* qualifying *pecatu*, i.e. *about those (sins) which he has (done)*.

DITUE. 36. *They have them*. Ind. pres. pl. 3, acc. pl. aux. act. The accusative is singular in form, *Cer virtute*, literally *what virtue*; but treated as a noun of multitude *what* = *virtues*. In this respect the interrogative imitates the numerals. It is a synonym of *dituzte*. See *El Impossible Vencido*, p. 87.

DITUENAC. 48. *Those who have them*. I.q. *ditue* with *n* rel. nom. pl. decl. nom. pl. intrans. *nac* = *those who*. It is a synonym of *dituztenak*.

DITUT. 69. *I have them*. Ind. pres. sing. 1, acc. pl. aux. act.

DITUZUNAC. (Twice) 15. *Those which you have*. Ind. pres. pl. 2 (sing. sense), acc. pl. *n* rel. acc. pl. decl. nom. pl. intrans. Verb poss. and aux. act. *nac* = *those which*.

DITZAEN. 28. (*In order*) *that they may have them*. Conj. final (as if ending in *tzat*), pres. pl. 3, acc. pl. aux. act. = *ditzaten*.

DITZAGUN. 2. *Let us have them*. Imp. pl. 1, acc. pl. aux. act. In 1742 it was misprinted *ditzacun*, unless that was an old form of the word.



DITCEEN. 41. This form occurs in both editions. It must be a mistake for *ditecen* or for *ditzaen*. Its context is *onequin bici ditecen paquean, eta criatu ditecen semeac Ceruraco*. If it be active = *ditzaten*, its accusative is *semeac* = *the children*. If it be passive = *ditecen*, then *semeac* is its nominative. See *El Arte del Bascuence* (Salamanca, 1729), pp. 88 and 160. In 1826 it is *ditzen*, p. 40. The Castilian of 1766 is "con la qual vivan entre si pacificamente, y crien hijos para el Cielo." So it is transitive.

DIUZCA. \* (Thrice) 50, 51. *He has them to him*. Ind. pres. sing. 3, acc. pl. ind. obj. dat. sing. aux. act. It became *diozca* in 1797, a form used in the Labourdin Catechism of 1733, p. 419.

DIUZCAN. 51. *Which (things) he has to him*. I.q. *diuzca* with *n* rel. pl. acc. It became *diozcan* in 1797.

DIUZCAT. 67. *I have them to him*. Ind. pres. sing. 1, acc. pl. ind. obj. dat. sing. aux. act. The accusative *gracia asco*, though singular in form, is treated as a noun of multitude. It became *diozcat* in 1797.

DIUZCATZU. 26. *You have them to her*. Ind. pres. pl. 2 (sing. sense), acc. pl. ind. obj. dat. sing. aux. act. It became *diozcatzu* in 1797 and 1826. In the latter edition it is on p. 25.

DIUZCUN. 17. *That he has them to us*. Ind. pres. sing. 3, acc. pl. indirect obj. dat. pl. 1, aux. act. with *n* conj. superfl. introduced by *cergatic*. It became *dizquigun* in 1797 and 1826.

DIUZTALA. 68. *That he has them to me*. Ind. pres. sing. 3, acc. pl. ind. obj. dat. sing. 1, aux. act. with *la* = *that*. It became *dirala* in 1797, but wrongly; because if it is an active verb, with *arek* = *he* understood as nominative, it cannot be used with *pecatu guztia* as its accusative plural. We have seen in discussing *didala* that that form, which occurs in the next line below, also became *dirala* by a well-known phonetic tendency of Gipuskoan. But *dirala* can also be a synonym of *diradela*. It would be very awkward to use *dirala* in the passive sense in the fourth line from the bottom with *pecatu guztia* as its nominative, and *dirala* in the third line from the bottom as it has been defined under *didala*. But if the editor of 1797 meant *dirala* to be passive in both places why did he put the comma after *gracia*? The passage runs thus in 1742: "Daducat esperantza Jaungoycoagan, barcatuco diuztala nere pecatu guztia, eta emango didala bere gracia eta Gloria," i.e. *I hold hope in the Lord on high (im hehren Herrn) that He will pardon (them) to me my sins, and that He will give (it) to*

me *His grace and glory*. In 1797 it reads: "Daducat esperanza Jangoycoa-gan, barcatuco dirala nere pecatu guztia, eta emango dirala bere gracia, eta gloria." Of the two difficulties produced by the needless change, the lesser is to consider *dirala* as passive in both places.

DIUZTATZULA. 66. In 1797 *dirazula*. } See *didazula*. *That*

DIUZTAZULA. 52. In 1797 *dirazula*. } *you have them to me*.

Ind. pres. pl. 2 (sing. sense) acc. pl. ind. obj. dat. sing. 1, aux. act. with conj. *la* = *that*. The accusative plural is *pecatuac* inferred from what precedes. With *dirazula* the accusative must be *it*, understood; and the translation thus becomes "*that thou (= you) will pardon me*" without expressing the fault pardoned.

DIUZTEGUN. (Thrice) 4, 25. *That we have them to them*.

Ind. pres. pl. 1, acc. pl. ind. obj. dat. pl. aux. act. with *n* conj. ruled by *becela*, *bezela*. In 1797 it became *diegun* from *diegu* with *n* conj. The alteration proceeded from the same thought as that of the preceding form. Both belong to the word *barcatu* = *pardon* (from *parcere*). The acc. pl. would be *debts* or *sins*. With *diegun* the thing pardoned is not expressed, the meaning being *pardon (it to) them*.

DIUZTEZUN. 59. (*That*) *you (= thou) have them to them*.

Ind. pres. pl. 2 (in sense, singular) acc. pl. ind. obj. dat. pl. with *n* conj. superfl. introduced by *cergetic*; aux. act. The accusative *aimbeste favore*, though sing. in form, is treated as a noun of multitude. In 1797, however, when the form *diozun* was substituted (and *favore* became *mesede*), it is used as a singular object.

DIZUDAN. 52. (*That*) *I have it to thee (= you)*. Ind. pres. sing. 1, acc. sing. ind. obj. dat. pl. (sense sing.) 2, aux. act. with euph. *da* for *t* before *n* conj. superfl. introd. by *nola*.

DIZUT. 52. *I have it to thee (= you)*. I.q. *dizudan* without the *n* and its euphonic effect.

DU. (44 t.) 1, 10, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 26, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 38, 50, 51, 55, 58, 60, 64, 65. *He has it*. Ind. pres. sing. 3, acc. sing. Verb poss. and aux. act. On p. 12 *du* became *badu* in 1797. The root described as verb poss. and aux. act. throughout this glossary is *ukan* = *had*.

DUALA. (4 t.) 29, 51, 61. *He having it; while he has it*. I.q. *du* aux. act. with *a* euph. before *la* participial.

DUAN. (22 t.) 13, 14, 15, 17, 36, 38, 50, 51, 59, 61, 62, 65, 68, 69. (*That*) *he has it; which (thing) he has*. I.q. *du* with *a* euph. and (*a*) *n* conj., p. 69, followed by *becela*, and pp. 13,

14, 15, 17, 36, 38, 50, 51, 59, 61, introduced by *cer* and *cergatic*; (b) *n* rel. acc. sing. pp. 17, 62, 65, 68. In some places the *an* conjunctive is superfluous, i.e. in oratio recta, as pp. 15, 17, 36, 38, 50. What is right in a dependent clause has been wrongly used in a plain statement.

DUANA. (4 t.) 33 (where it was misprinted *duanae* in 1797), 36, 61, 64. *That which he has*. I.q. *duan* with *n* rel. nom. declined pp. 33, 61, acc. sing., and pp. 36, 64, nom. pass. *na* = *that which*.

DUANAC. (10 t.) 29, 30, 32, 58, 65. *He who has it*. I.q. *duana*, but nom. act. *nac* = *he who*.

DUANAREN. 38. *Of him who has it*. I.q. *duan*, rel. nom. decl. poss. sing. *naren* = *of him who*.

DUANARI. (4 t.) 17, 33, 62. *To him who has it*. I.q. *duan*, rel. nom. decl. dat. sing. *nari* = *to him who*.

DUANEAN. (Twice) 33, 39. *When he has it*. I.q. *duan*, rel. loc. decl. temporal *nean* = *when, at the time in which*. Cf. *danean*.

DUANENA. 51. *That of those about which he has*. I.q. *duan* with *n* rel. pl. accusative of respect decl. possessive plural of the demonstrative, which is itself declined in the accusative in apposition to *damutasuna*. *nena* = *that of those as to which*. This form does not occur in 1797, the whole clause having been altered after *vioteetic*, as we saw in discussing *dituala*. It is perhaps possible to translate it thus, "He will conceive regret from his heart, that (regret) of those (things) about which he verifies that he has committed faults"; but this necessitates taking *falta*, which is singular as the object of *dituala*, a form requiring an accusative in the plural. It may be that *falta-egin* is meant, like *itz-egin*, *gald(e)* = *egin*, to be a compound word meaning *do faultily*. Then *things*, inferred from *n*, is the accusative of *dituala*.

DUE (for *dute*). (5 t.) 20, 22, 34, 47. *They have it*. Ind. pres. pl. 3, acc. sing. aux. act.

DUEN (for *duten*). (Thrice) 24, 48, 69. (*That*) *they have it; which (thing) they have*. I.q. *due* with (a) *n* conj. ruled by *becela*; (b) *n* rel. acc. sing.

DUENAC. 14. *Those who have it*. 21, 46, 47, 48, 69 (on this page it became *dutenac* in 1797). I.q. *duen* for *duten*, with *n* rel. nom. pl. decl. p. 69, nom. pl. act., pp. 46, 47, 48, nom. pl. passive, and p. 21, acc. pl.

EGUIDAZU. (Twice) 12, 13. *Have thou (= you) it to me*. Imp. pl. 2 (sing. in sense), acc. sing. ind. obj. dat. sing. 1, aux. act. Verb irreg. *egin* for *ukan*.



EGUIGUZU. (Thrice) 4, 6, 24. *Have thou (= you) it to us.* On pp. 4 and 24, where it follows *eman*, the shortened form *iguzu* without *eman* was substituted in 1797. Imp. pl. 2 (sing. sense), acc. sing. ind. obj. dat. pl. 1, aux. act. Verb irreg. *egin* for *ukan*.

EGUIOZU. (Twice) 28. *Have thou (= you) it to him.* Imp. pl. 2 (sing. sense) acc. sing. ind. obj. dat. sing. aux. act. Verb irreg. *egin* for *ukan*.

EGUIUZCUTÇU & EGUIUZCUTZU. (Twice) 4, 24. *Have thou (= you) them to us.* Imp. pl. 2 (sing. sense) acc. pl. ind. obj. dat. pl. 1, aux. act. Verb irreg. *egin* for *ukan*. It became in both places *guizquigutzu* in 1797. In 1826 it is *gaizquigutzu* p. 4 and *eguzquiguzu* p. 23.

EGUIZU. 3. *Do it.* Imp. pl. 2 (sing. sense), acc. sing. Verb irreg. trans. *egin*.

EZAZU & (p. 11) EÇAZU. (8 t.) 2, 4, 6, 11, 22, 26, 29. *Have thou (= you) it.* Imp. pl. 2 (sing. sense), acc. sing. aux. act.

GAITECELA. 31. *That we be.* Subj. pres. pl. 1, with *la* conj. = *that*. Verb subst.

GAITECEN. 27. (*In order*) *that we be.* Conj. final (as if ending in *tzat*), pres. pl. 1, aux. intrans. It was printed *gaittacen* in 1742.

GAYTUENAY. 25. *To those who have us.* Ind. pres. pl. 3, acc. pl. 1, aux. act. with *n* rel. nom. pl. decl. dat. pl. *nay* = *to those who*.

GAITZAQUEAN. 62. (*That*) *he might have us.* Potential fut. sing. 3, acc. pl. 1, aux. act. with *a* euph. before *n* conj. superfl. introduced by *cergatic*.

GAITZALA. (Twice) 25, 49. *That he may have us; let him have us.* Imp. and subj. pres. sing. acc. pl. 1, aux. act. with *la* conj. = *that*. This form occurs in the Labourdin Catechism of Bayonne, 1733, which ought to be reprinted.

GAITZATZU. (4 t.) 3, 4, 11, 25. *Have thou (= you) us.* Imp. pl. 2 (sing. sense), acc. pl. 1, aux. act. It became *gaitzazu* in 1797, but reverted to *gaitzatzu* in 1826 on p. 4.

GAITZATZULA. (Twice) 4, 25. *Have thou (= you) us.* I.q. *gaitzatzu* with *la* conjunctive, which, when suffixed to the imperative, is untranslatable.

GAUDE. 6. *We stay*, used here for *we come!* (a contraction of *gagode*). Ind. pres. pl. 1. Verb irreg. intrans. *egon*.

GAUDEN. 21. (*That*) *we stay.* I.q. *gaude* with *n* conj. superfl. introduced by *ceñari*. It was misprinted *gauden* in 1742.



GAUZCATEN. 2. *Which (things) hold us.* Ind. pres. pl. 3, acc. pl. 1. Verb irreg. trans. *eduki*.

GUENDUAN. 37. *Which (thing) we had.* Ind. imp. pl. 1, acc. sing., the *n* serving as the rel. pron. acc. sing. aux. act.

GUENDUANA. 36. *That which we had.* I.q. *guenduan*, decl. acc. sing. *na* = *that which*.

GUERADEN. 37. *(That) we are.* Ind. pres. pl. 1, aux. intrans. (synonym of *gera*) with *n* conj. superfl. introduced by *ceñarequin*.

GUERADENEAN. 6. *When we are.* I.q. *geraden* with *n* rel. loc. of time, decl. in the same case. *nean* = *at the (time) in which*, i.e. *when*.

GUERALA. 37. *While we are; we being.* Ind. pres. pl. 1, with *la* participial. Verb subst.

GUACEN. 22. *Let us go.* Imp. pl. 1. Verb irreg. intrans. *juan*, *joan*. It was printed *goacen* in 1797, but is still sounded *guassen* in all the dialects.

ITZATZU. (4 t.) 6, 32, 33, 35. *Have thou (= you) them.* Imp. pl. 2 (sing. sense), acc. pl. aux. act.

baLIJOAZ. 62. *If they should go.* Suppositive pl. 3. Verb irreg. intrans. *juan*, *joan*.

baLIRADE. 63. *If they should be.* Supp. pl. 3, aux. intrans. In 1797 it became *balira*.

baLITU. 64. *If he should have them.* Supp. sing. 3, acc. pl. aux. act. The accusative *penitencia gueyago* is singular in form, but treated as plural, being a noun of multitude.

baLIZ. (Twice) 63, 69. *If he, or it, should be.* Supp. sing. 3. Verb subst. and aux. intrans.

LIZATEQUE. (4 t.) 38, 63. *He, or it, would be, might be.* Conditional pres. sing. 3, aux. intrans.

baLUE. 65. *If they had it.* Supp. pl. 3, acc. sing. aux. act. In 1797 it became *balute*.

NAIZ. 21. *I am.* Ind. pres. sing. 1. Verb subst.

NAIZANEAN. 12. *When I am.* I.q. *naiz*, aux. intrans. with *a* euph. before *n* rel. loc. temp. decl. same case. *nean* = *when*.

NAITZAYO. 49. *I am to him.* Ind. pres. sing. 1, ind. obj. dat. sing. aux. intrans.

NAZULA. 66. *That you have me.* Ind. pres. pl. 2 (sing. sense), acc. sing. 1 with *la* = *that*, aux. act.

NUQUE. (Twice) 69. *I should have it.* Cond. pres. sing. 1, acc. sing. aux. act.

ezTA. (7 t.) 38, 55, 58, 60, 64, 65. *It is not* (French *n'est*, O.E. *nis*, Wendish *ne-jo*). I.q. *da* with the change produced by the negative prefix *ez*. On p. 38, and on its second occurrence, p. 58, it was resolved into *ez da* in 1797. For some years past the Abbé Martin Landerretche, now of Donibane Lohizun = Marshy St. John, i.e. St. Jean de Luz (B.P.), has collaborated with Dom Basilio Joannategi in writing the *Fedearen Propagationeco Urtecaria* (Annuary of the Propagation of the Faith), which appears every two months in Bayonne. The style of the two writers can be distinguished by their manner of writing the verb with the negative prefix. Landerretche uses *ezda*, *ezdu*, which, though not without venerable precedent, e.g. in the works of S. Mendiburu, is rather pedantic; while Joannategi imitates Dechepare and Leizarraga, the oldest *Heuskaldun* writers, in employing the more euphonic, mutated form. We have seen above in *ezdiatorde* a case of *d* remaining unaffected by *ez*. All forms of the verb beginning in *T* have this initial instead of *D*, because preceded, either by *ez* = *not*, or by *bai*, *pai* = *indeed*, *really*, *because*, *since*, *so that*, or *who* and *which*, according to the context. This *ez* sounds like English *ess*. Some authors have written it *es*.

ezTAGO. (Twice) 56, 58. *He stays not*. I.q. *dago*. In 1797 it became, p. 58, *ez dago*.

ezTAQUIANARI. 33. *To him who knows it not*. I.q. *dakianari*. Ind. pres. sing. 3, acc. sing. with *a* euph. before *n* rel. nom. decl. dat. Verb irreg. trans. *iakin*. *nari* = *to him who*. In 1797 it became *ez daquienari*.

ezTANA. 56. *The (time) in which he is not*. I.q. *dana* with *n* rel. = *in which*, qualifying *Tempora* = *time*, declined nom. intrans. *na* = *that in which*.

ezTANAC. 63. *He who is not*. I.q. *dana*, *n* rel., but decl. nominative active. *nac* = *he who*.

ezTANIC. 56. *Any time in which he is not*. I.q. *danic* Ind. pres. sing. 3, aux. intrans. with *n* rel. time-case, decl. with the indefinite partitive case, in apposition to *Temporarie*, which precedes. *nic* = *any (time) in which*, *de (temps) où*.

ezTET. 19. *I have it not*. I.q. *det*; aux. act.

ezTIRADEN. 36. *(That) they are not*. I.q. *diraden* with *n* conj. superfl. introduced by *cergetic*. It became *ez diraden* in 1797.

ezTITUANA. 65. *He who has them not*. I.q. *dituana*. Ind. pres. sing. 3, acc. pl., with *a* euph. and *n* rel. nom. decl. nom. intrans. *na* = *he who*.

ézTU. (6 t.) 17, 54, 55, 56. *He has it not.* I.q. *du.* On pp. 17, 55, 56 it became *ez du* in 1797. On p. 54 it became *ez due* (= *dute*); but without any necessity, because the *eta* after *aitac*, its nominative, is disjunctive, as the comma shows.

ezTUANAC. 30. *He who has it not.* I.q. *duanac*, aux. act.

ezTUENAC. (Twice) 47, 48. *Those who have it not.* I.q. *duenac*, for *dutenac*, decl. nom. pass. Verb poss. and aux. act.

ZAYO. (5 t.) 30, 40, 54, 64. *It is to him.* Ind. pres. 3, ind. obj. dat. sing. aux. intrans. On p. 64 *ezpazayo* became *ezpazaiio* in 1797. Here *ba* (= *if*) became *pa* after *ez* = *not*.

ZAYOLA. (Twice) 11, 39. *While it is to him.* I.q. *zayo* with *la* participial.

ÇAYONA & ZAYONA. (Twice) 24, 64. *That which is to him.* I.q. *zayo* with *n* rel. nom. decl. acc. *na* = *that which*. *çayona*, p. 24, became *zayona* in 1797.

ZAYTE. 3. *Be ye.* Imp. pl. 2, really plural, aux. act. It became *zaitte* in 1797.

ZAITEZ. 2. I.q. *zayte*.

ZAITECEN. 2. (*In order*) *that ye may be.* Conj. final (as if ending in *tzat*), pres. pl. 2, aux. intrans. It became *gaitecen* in 1797 with a change of person like *dezazun*.

ZAITUDAN. (Twice) 52, 66. (*That*) *I have thee = you.* I.q. *zaitut* with *da* euph. for *t* before *n* conj. superfl. introduced by *cergotic*.

ZAYTUT. 13. *I have thee = you.* Ind. pres. sing. 1, acc. pl. (sing. sense) 2, aux. act.

ZAITZAELA. 60. *Let them have thee = you.* Imp. pl. 3, acc. pl. (sing. sense) 2, aux. act.

ZAITZALA. (Thrice) 4, 5, 6. *Let him have thee = you.* Imp. sing. 3, acc. pl. (sing. sense) 2. On p. 4 it disappeared in 1797.

eTZAIZCA. (4 t.) 6, 7, 62. *They are to him.* Ind. pres. pl. 3, ind. obj. dat. sing. aux. intrans. At the second occurrence, on p. 62, it has the negative prefix *et*, which form is assumed by *ez* when prefixed to a form beginning with *z*. It may be, however, more logical to say that the real negative is *e*, now only used as a prefix to certain forms of the verb, and that, with this *e*, *z* conserves its old sound of *tz*. Cf. *zana*, below. Other writers, e.g. P. d'Urte, have used initial *tz* instead of *z* even when there is no prefix. I suggested some years ago to M. H. de Charencey that Gaulish *ex* might be akin to Bask *ez*.



ZAIZCANAC. (Twice) 8. *Those which are to him.* I.q. *zaizca*, with *n* rel. nom. decl. nom. intrans. *nac* = *those which*. *Zaizca* and *zaiSCAN* are found in Leizarragas New Testament, A.D. 1571. Of this treasure a reprint was published at Strassburg in December, 1900. In the introduction I am held responsible for some misprints which vexed me much, but which I had no opportunity of correcting. They will occur even in *corrigenda*.

ZALA. (4 t.) 8, 53, 54, 67. *That it was; while she was; she wasing, i.e. being (in illo tempore).* I.q. *zan* with eclipse of *n* before, (a) p. 54, *la* conj. = *that*; (b) *la* participial. Verb subst. and aux. intrans.

ZAN. 24. *He, she, or it was.* 5, 18, 19, 20, 36, 52, 54, 56. Ind. imp. sing. 3, aux. intrans.

ZANA & TZANA. (10 t.) 8, 9, 18, 67, 68. *That which was; the fact that he was.* On pp. 8, 9, 67, 68 (except l. 4, p. 68), it became *zala* in 1797, just as *dana* became *dala*, as explained above. The first edition has *tzana*, e.g. p. 18, *eguintzana*, and p. 68, line 1, *iltzana*. Cf. *etzaizca*, *teigun*, *tzuan*. I.q. *zan*, aux. intrans. with (a) p. 18, *n* rel. nom. included in the usual end, decl. nom. intrans. *na* = *the which*; (b) *n* conj. = *that* decl. acc. *na* = *the (fact) that*.

ZANEAN. 26. *When he was.* I.q. *zan*, aux. intrans., the *n* final serving as rel. pron. in the time-locative, with *e* euph. decl. temporal case. *nean* = *at the (time) in which*.

ZANETIC. 51. *From the (time) in which he was.* The original has the misprint *zanetit*. I.q. *zan*, aux. intrans. with *n* rel. understood, in the time-case, *e* euph. and *tie* the separative or departitive case-ending. *netic* = *from the (time) in which*.

ZATE. (Twice) 34, 48. *It is to them.* Ind. pres. sing. 3, indirect obj. dat. pl. aux. intrans. On p. 48 it became *zaye* in 1797. In both places it is in alliance with *deitzen* = *to be called*, *heissen*, and in both the name is a nominative plural. One may say either that the name, though plural in form, is singular if understood as *the name*, like *Yglesias*, a well-known family name in Castilian, and that this is the nominative of *is called* with a dative plural of the things named and called; or that *deitzen zaye* is impersonal, and "Obra misericordiacoc" in the first, and "Bienaventurantzac" in the second, place is the predicate of the sentence. Only on p. 48 is the dative expressed, i.e. *oei* = *to these, to them*. Cf. *diezu*, the dative of which is the next form.

ZATENAY. 41. *To those to which it is (called, said as*



a name). Ind. pres. sing. 3, ind. obj. dat. pl. with *n* rel. pron. dat. pl. declined with *ay*, the dat. pl. definite of *a* = *that, the, nay* = *to those to whom*. This form occurs in the context: *Cergatic deitu diezū pecatu Capitalac Zazpi, comunmente, edo gueyenean mortalac esaten zatenay?* to be translated "why have you called capital sins to those to whom it is said (i.e. called) mortal (sins) for the most part or commonly?" The root *esan, esaten*, properly *said, saying*, is sometimes used of *naming, calling*. Here we see it used like *deitu, deitzen*, with a dative. It became *zatenay* in 1826.

ZAUDEN. 2. (*That*) *thou = you, stayest = art*. Ind. pres. pl. 2 (sing. sense). Verb irreg. intrans. *egon* with *n* conj. superfl. introduced by *ceñean*.

ZAUDENA. (Twice) 4, 26. *O thou = you, who stayest*. I.q. *zauden*, but with *n* rel. pron. nom. declined in the vocative. *na* = *O you who!* The vocative in Bask is always formed by the definite article.

CEBAN. (Thrice) 10, 53, 54. I.q. *zuan*. In 1797 it became *zuan*, on p. 53.

CEBEN. (Twice) 54. *They had it*. I.q. *zuten*, into which it was altered in line 6 in 1797. Ind. imp. pl. 3, acc. sing. aux. act.

CENDUAN. (4 t.) 10, 13, 15. *Thou = you, hadst it*. Ind. imp. pl. 2 (sing. sense), acc. sing. aux. act.

CERADE. (Thrice) 4, 9, 11. *Art thou = you?; Thou = you, art*. Ind. pres. pl. 2 (sing. sense). Verb subst. and aux. intrans.

CERADENA. (Twice) 52, 66. *That which you = thou, are*. I.q. *cerade* with *n* rel. nom. decl. nom. pass. *na* = *that which*.

CERANA. 13. *The (fact) that you = thou, are*. I.q. *cerade* in the shortened form, with *n* conj. = *that* decl. with the acc. of the def. article. Cf. *gera* for *gerade*. Verb subst. *na* = *the (fact) that*.

CEUDEN. 9. *Which were staying*. Ind. imp. pl. 3, with *n* rel. pron. nom. Verb irreg. intrans. *egon*.

CEUDENERA. 19. *To that in which they were staying*. I.q. *ceuden* with *n* rel. in the real locative case, declined in the directive case or accusative of motion. It repeats or specifies the sense of *Limbo* = *to Limbo*. That might have been better written *Limbo*, when the sense would have been "to (the) Limbo in which, *justuac* = the just, were waiting." The original runs, "baicican Limbo justuac ceudenera." *nera* = *to that in which*.

CIGUN & TCIGUN. (Thrice) 45. *He had it to us*. Ind. imp. sing. 3, acc. sing. ind. obj. dat. pl. 1, aux. act. Though in each place it follows *eman*, only in l. 8 is it *teigun*.

CINDUAN. 59. *She had thee = you.* Ind. imp. sing. 3, acc. pl. (sing. sense), 2, aux. act.

CIRADELA. 20. *While they were; they being, in illo tempore.* Ind. imp. pl. 3. Verb subst. with *la* participial.

CIRAN. 67. (*That*) *thou (= you) hadst it to me.* Ind. imp. pl. 2 (sing. sense), acc. sing. ind. obj. dat. sing. 1, aux. act. introduced by *cergetic*. *n* conj. may be considered included in the common ending of this form.

CITUAN. (Thrice) 17, 28, 53. *He had them.* Ind. imp. sing. 3, acc. pl. aux. act.

CITUANA. (Twice) 9. *The (fact) that he had them.* Ind. imp. sing. 3, acc. pl. aux. act., i.e. *cituan*, with *n* conj. understood in the final *n* (as in *ciran*) and decl. acc. *na = the (fact) that*. In 1797 it became *cituala*. Cf. *dagoana, dana, zana, zuana*.

CITUANAC. 36. *Those which he had.* I.q. *cituan*. Ind. imp. sing. 3, acc. pl. with its *n* final serving as rel. pron. acc. pl. decl. nom. pass. *nac = those which*.

CITUEN. (4 t.) 9, 20, 64. *They had them.* Ind. imp. pl. 3, acc. pl. aux. act. On p. 20 the final *n* is used as the rel. pron. pl. acc., but on p. 64 as the conj. *that* ruled by *baño*. It is a synonym of *cituzten*, and took that form in 1797 on p. 20.

CIUZCUN. 44. *He had them to us.* Ind. imp. sing. 3, acc. pl. ind. obj. dat. pl. 1, aux. act. In 1797 it wrongly became *cigun*.

ZUALA. 19. *While he had it; he having it, in illo tempore.* I.q. *zuan*, aux. act. with eclipse of *n* before *la* participial.

ZUAN & TZUAN. (13 t.) 5, 12, 14, 19, 22, 23, 26, 50, 53. *He had it.* Ind. imp. sing. 3, acc. sing. aux. act. *tzuan* occurs twice on p. 26, in each place following *esan*, but became *zuan* in 1797. Cf. *teigun, zaizca, zana*.

ZUANA. (Twice) 1, 68. *That which he had; the (fact) that he had it.* I.q. *zuan*; the *n* final serving p. 1 as rel. acc. sing. decl. nom. pass. *na = the which*; and on p. 68 as the conj. *that*, decl. acc. *na = the (fact) that*. On this page it became *zuala* in 1797. Cf. *dana, dagoana, zana, cituana*.

eTZUEN. 54. *Had they it not?* I.q. *zuten*. Ind. imp. pl. 3, acc. sing. aux. act. with the negative prefix *e*, examined in the note on *zaizca*. Some writers have used negative verbal forms beginning in *ezz* instead of *etz*. They must have meant to convey the sound of *etz*.

You know! ἐμοὶ δὲ κε τὰτα μελήσεται, ὄφρα τελέσω.

(Iliad, i, 523.)

## FYLG THU MER EFTER!

*Nya Testamenté* (Kaupmannahaúfn, 1807), p. 381.

It will have been seen that the Bask verb is sufficiently stenographic to be recommended for economy in telegrams. *Ceudenera*, for instance, one single word of nine letters, requires seven words, and twenty-eight letters, to translate it into English; and *didala*, six letters, needs twenty letters divided between seven words! *Diegu*, five letters, swells to as many words in the language of Chaucer.

It is probable that none of the above forms is obsolete, and that all of them, except those beginning in *dia*, are included in, or are to be inferred from, one or other of the Dictionaries, Grammars, or Paradigms<sup>1</sup> which have been published. These books, however, do not tell the student where he may see any given form at work. They may enable him to take the words on trust, and to commit them to memory. But, just as we understand a person better when we have visited him or her in his or her<sup>2</sup> workroom and proper sphere of influence; so the Bask verb can only be really assimilated when located (might one say *hered* and *nowed*?) and seen reigning from stop to stop on a printed page, like a *vox humana* in the organ.

Let us look at some of the forms gleaned from Irazuztas teaching. *Da* = *it is*; *zayo* = *it is to him*; *zate* (= *zaye*) = *it is to them*; *dirade* = *they are*; *zaizka* = *they are to him*; *det* = *I have it*; *diot* = *I have it to him*; *diet* = *I have it to them*; *ditut* = *I have them*; *zaytut* = *I have you*; *dizut* = *I have it to you*; *degu* = *we have it*; *gaitue* = *they have us*.

## THE RELATIVE FORMS IN THIS BOOK

are the most interesting. They are the following sixty-nine:—

dagoana, dagoanaren, dagoanari, dagoanaz, dan, dana, danagan, danarekin, danean, daudenak, deban, dedan, dedana, degun, deguna,

<sup>1</sup> Those of I. de Lardizábals, "Gramatica Vascongada" (San Sebastián, 1856), are the best. This book, however, is responsible (see p. 70, articles 25 and 26) for the blunder of Prince L. L. Bonaparte, which I pointed out in my essay read before this Society in 1898. Lardizábal seems to have had negation upon the brain. On p. 82 he makes it account for *ez* in the double postposition *ez-gero*, the absurdity of which I have explained in a note in my edition of the great book of Sebastián Mendiburu, published at San Sebastián in May, 1900.

<sup>2</sup> Bask pronouns, being sexless, do not engender any such troublesome red-tapery.



«lezakedana, dezueña, dezun, dezunean, didana, dienak, diguenai, dijoana, dijoanean, dion, diraden, diradenak, diradenean, diradenen, «litekan, dituanak, dituanakgatik, dituanena, dituenak, dituzunak, «liuzkan, duan, duana, duanak, duanaren, duanari, duanean, duanena, «duen, duenak, gaituenai, gauzkaten, genduan, genduana, geradenean, naizanean, eztana, eztanik, eztakianari, eztituana, eztuanak, zaiona, zaizkanak, zana, zanean, zanetik, zatenai, zaudena, zeradena, zeuden, zeudenera, zituanak, zituen, zuana.

The analysis in the above Index declares the sense which the context imposes on each of the various endings in these relations. I have had, in speaking of the eight forms ending in *nean* in the sense of *when*, to invent a new term, such as *time-case*, *temporal case*, *time-locative*, or *locative of time*, because the same case-ending may also be used as a common locative, though it is not used so in this catechism. Thus *duanean* means not only *when he has it*, but also *in that which he has* with *n* as an accusative, and *in him who has it* with *n* as a nominative. *Danean* is the *time-case* of *dan*. The proper *locative* or *inessive case* of *dan* is *danagan*, the only *real locative* we have among the relative forms in our book, parallel with *Christogan=in Christ*. This *time-case* is, of course, the exclusive prerogative of the *zeit-wort*. It depends on the remarkable casual elasticity of *n*. The use of *n* as the conjunction = *that* does not require so much attention. It will, however, be observed that *cergatic* = *for what*, in the sense of *why*, is followed by the verb in the indicative mood, while *cergatic* = *because* has its verb in the conjunctive, with *n* at the end. This is like the Old English construction "by cause *that*." I call this use of the *n* 'superfluous,' because it would not be translated *that* in modern English, and modern Bask writers seldom use it.

#### *The Relative Pronoun N.*

The relative pronoun *N* is common to all the dialects. To my surprise I have found many Basks, who probably would use it quite correctly, ignorant of the rules which I have mined out for the employment of this miraculous letter. Such persons were like M. Jourdain, in Molière, who had been talking prose all his life without knowing it! Some illogicalities and inconsistencies in Bask books, e.g. in the *Refranes* of 1596, have resulted from the incompleteness of the grammars upon this head. This relative is not the only one in the language, and is used exclusively as



a verbal suffix, serving to unite the form which it ends to the words which follow. Probably no other language has such a capacious link-letter. It can translate any of the cases of *qui*, *quae*, *quod*, whether singular or plural, with a preposition into the bargain. By its means any verbal form can become a noun substantive, declinable, and to be used as such.

### *The Declension of the Verb.*

Thus the declension of the verb means the suffixing to it of a case of the definite article or demonstrative pronoun, the two elements being connected, or separated, by means of this protean consonant. By its means an active verb is declined in the passive, or a passive verb in the active; a verb with an accusative is declined in the nominative, or a verb with a nominative is declined in the accusative; a verb in the plural is declined in the singular, or a verb in the singular declined in the plural. The context prevents any possibility of confusion arising in regard to these marvellous products of ancient philosophy.

### *Its Protean Capacities.*

For the verb is in personal and numerical accordance not only with its subject, but with its accusative, if it be an active verb, and with its indirect object or dative if it have one. The subject puts on its active end if it is the nominative of a transitive verb. But the verb is not merely a respecter of persons who are subjects. It is a time-server to all who obey its laws. If it be passive, it tells you by its dress to what class of persons the indirect objects, or outlanders, committed to its care belong. If it be active, it not only does this, but accuses the objects of what they owe to it by a still further change of raiment if they are directed into the first- or second-class carriages in its electric train or *personen-zug*. This many-sided sovrän, not content with behaving as any verb does towards its subjects, orders new regimentals at once if he has to tell us that he objects directly or indirectly to one or to more than one thing or person. He not only unifies or counts them, but he pronounizes them as well when pronouncing sentence upon them. He is not merely stenographic, but photographic. The least used part of the verbal machinery seems to be that which shows us the

active rule affecting at the same time *you* as *dativè* and *me* as *accusative*, or *vice versâ*; I mean, for instance, such forms as would occur in translating "he gives me to you" or "they committed thee to us." But no member of this class has met us in our present object-lesson. *Duana* means both *celui qui l'a* and *celui qu'il a*. In the first case the *n* is nominative, in the second it is accusative = *que*. The context alone can decide whether the *a* final, which makes the word the peer of a substantive, is nominative passive or accusative. *Duana da* is *he who has it is*, or *it is that which he has*; and the logic of the surrounding words must decide whether the *n* in *duana* so placed means nominative or accusative. *Duana du* is *he has him who has it*, or *he has that which he has*. Here also the *n* may be nominative or accusative, but the final *a* can only be the object or accusative under *du*. The word becomes active by changing *a* into *ak*: thus *duanak* = *he who has it* or *that which he has*, *erre du* = *has burned (it)*, *shishidoila*<sup>1</sup> = *the butterfly*. Here, again, *n* is dependent on circumstances to be freed from ambiguity. *Ak* can only be the active or agent case, which, as those who know Bask will admit, ought not to be put on the same level as the passive nominative, the latter serving also as accusative. The oldest French Bask Grammar, that of M. Harriet (Bayonne, 1761), suggests the distinction. It would be much better to call it, as Prince L. L. Bonaparte did, simply *the active case*. It usurps sometimes the functions of the instrumental or mediative case. Thus, on p. 11, Irazuzta has *Libratceagatic Jaungoycoac pensamentu gaiztoetatic*, where no verb occurs, but the translation is "in order to the delivering (of ourselves) by God (as agent) from the evil thoughts." *Jaungoycoaz*, the instrumental, would be less revelent. Instead of *duanaz egina da* = *it is made by*, or *through, him who has it*, one might say *duanak egina da* with the same meaning, producing the seeming anomaly of an active nominative in concord with a passive verb, though really qualifying the predicate. From *da* = *he, she, or it is*, we get the relative form *dan*. Articulate or declined passively, this is *dana*, meaning *celui qui l'est* no less than *celui qu'il est*. This serves as nominative to an intransitive verb, as *dana betor* = *let him come who is it*, or as accusative to

<sup>1</sup> A common word at Mugerre (*frontier-town*), about three miles from Bayonne. The butterfly has about as many different names in Baskland as the water-wagtail in all the Spains.

a transitive and active verb, thus *dana ikussi du erleak*<sup>1</sup> = *the bee has seen him who is it*. But in *danak* we see the form ready for use as an active force; thus *danak* = *he who is it* (being nominated to act), *badu* = *really has*, *eizagirrea* = *the hunting-glade*. *Dituanak* may mean *those which he has*, and serve either as accusative plural to an active form like *ditu* = *he has them*, or as nominative passive to an intransitive form like *daude* = *they stay*; and with these meanings its *n* can only be accusative to *ditu*. But *dituanak* can also mean *he who has them*; and in this sense both its *n* and its *ak* are active nominative cases, and the whole word can be nothing else than the subject of a transitive verb in the singular number. So that *dituanak ditu* may also render “*he who has them has them*.” *Degu* is plural, but *deguna* is singular. *Ditu* is singular, but *dituanak* is plural. *Zate* is singular, but *zatenay* is plural. *Dirade* is plural, but *diradenean* is singular.

*Dana* = *All*.

*Dana* = *that which is*, is used in the sense of *all* (*which is*) in the singular. What a man has or is, is his all, all that he can do or be. Some writers have made a plural of it, *danak*. The real plural, however, is *diradenak* = (*all*) *those which are*. Some others, Cardaberaz for instance, have used the past tense *zena* for the singular, and *ziradenak* for the plural, in the sense of *all*, when referring to time past. Probably no other language makes such a time-comparative of *all* or any adjective!

*The Suffix La*.

The termination *la* = *that* belongs to the conjunctive mood. When used with the imperative it is not to be translated. It sometimes suffices to turn an indicative form into an imperative, or

<sup>1</sup> *Erle* = *bee* probably comes from *er*, *erre* = *burnt*, *burn*, which may be a Kabyle word. The bee is *the burner*, *er-le-a*, when it stings. *Erre* = *burnt* and *erri* = *town* are probably the same word, and have the same sound when articulated, for Bask *e* followed by *a* is often like English *e*. Towns were made when the primitive forest was burnt. See p. 27 of “*Life with Trans-Siberian Savages*,” by B. Douglas Howard, M.A. (London, 1893.) In Navarra there is a village called *errea* = *the burnt*. In Brandenburg there were and are immense pine forests, easily burnt. One of them contains a village called *Brand*. Dr. G. Sauerwein informed me that in Norway many place-names seem to be derived from the word meaning *burn*. *Eire*, the ancient name of Ireland when it had its trees on it, may be Iberian, and mean *burnt land*. *Erri*, *herri*, generally means *land*, *contry*. But, like *terra* in Portuguese, or *tierra* in Spanish, or *pays* in French, it is used in the restricted sense of *town*, *city*, *village*, instead of *hiri*, *iri*, *ili*, *uri*, *uli*, and even for *the people*, *el pueblo*, who live in it. It is *er* in some compound words, e.g. *er-beste*, *er-dara*.



a conjunctive : thus *dute* = *they have it* ; *dutela* = *that they have it*. But frequently it is used with the indicative only to convert the form into a participle. I venture to submit for the approval of grammarians a term invented by myself for describing it shortly and vividly, namely "*la participial*." *La participial* occurs in Irazutas book in the following twelve forms: *dagoala, dala, degula, dezula, diradela, ditekeala, duala, gerala, zayola, zala, ziradela, zuala*. In the other forms it either marks the imperative, or the conjunctive proper, or the indicative introduced by *that* as a conjunction. *La participial* assumes the partitive form *laric* in other books, without enriching its meaning.

#### *Superfluous Conjunctive.*

Relative, non-interrogative, independent clauses introduced by *ceña* and its cases, e.g. *ceñac, ceñean, ceñari, ceñarekin*, or by *cer, ceren*, also take the conjunctive superfluously. *Nola* used in the same way, meaning *as that, just as*, p. 58, or *such as*, p. 40, also has the conjunctive after it, just as *becela* follows the same. On the other hand, after consequential *non* = *that (nun* in 1797), originally *no-n* = *in which*, the indicative is used, e.g., p. 58, *alaco moduan non Jesu-Christo guztia dago* = *in such a way in which (= that) the whole Jesus Christ remains*, where *dagoan* would be more elegant and final.

#### *Variations in the Editions.*

The two first editions of this book ought to be reprinted in facsimile with the Castilian text of Astete between them, as it was known in 1742. The variations between the two, far from being, as Mr. J. Vinson with his usual slipshoddity asserted, a question of orthography, are really dialectal, at least for certain verbal forms. The first is more Biscayan than the other. This is surprising, because on the frontispice (if I may use the old, correct spelling) one is expressly told that Hernialde, three-quarters of an hour on foot from Tolosa, is in the Province of Gipuskoa ! But even as lately as 160 years ago the divergence between the dialects was much less marked than now. Leizarraga, however, declared in 1571 that Bask differed almost from house to house ; and a few years ago Don Jose Urzelai (= *water-mead*), a priest settled in Abbadiano, said to me : " Los Bascos saben hablar en el hogar, pero no en la plaza ! " Indeed, a Bask market witnesses a Turanian



confusion of tongues on the spot. This Euskarian volatility has fatally paved the way for the successful volubility of Castilian as the official language. A house divided against itself cannot stand. The dialect of Eskiula, near Oloron, is almost as unintelligible to the Basks of Orosko as Roumanian to an Algarvean of Silves. Yet some dialects have kept what others have lost.

#### *The Accents.*

I do not attempt here to enlist all the differences in wording and spelling, or to illustrate all the grammatical laws observed in the two editions of Irazutas translation. The first has no accents. In the second, owing, I think, to the influence of S. Mendiburu, they are very abundant, though no distinction is observable between ` and '. That reactionary tendency is very remarkable, because now, a hundred years later, the Gipuskoan writers have entirely abandoned the armour of the accent!

#### *The Tilde.*

In the first the tilde ~ is almost exclusively used to mark the omission of an *en*, as in *sätuarẽ* for *santuaren*. But in a few places it serves to liquify that letter, e.g., p. 1, *ceña*, p. 2, *baño*, p. 3, *ciñatcera* and *señaleagatic*.

#### *The Aspirate.*

The letter *h* is conspicuous by its absence in the second edition, except in words from Latin like *heredero* and *hostia* and in the combination *ch*. It occurs here and there in the first, e.g., p. 30, *honratcea*, p. 31, *ohostutcea*, where it was left out in the second. This letter is no longer used in writing Gipuskoan, though it is found in the editions of J. B. Agirres "Instructions on Confession and Communion," published in 1803 and 1823. It was struck out in the third edition, published at Tolosa in April, 1900.

This study is, I fear, already too long and dreary except for *aficionados*, though it may possibly smooth the road of some future searcher. The revision of the text that had taken place between 1742 and 1797 shows that that purism advised, and rightly too, by Dr. Sauerwein, was already at work. It borders, however, on pedantry, and some of its results were retrograde. Many misprints were cast out, but some new ones put in to lower the scale of gain. The form of the answers (*Erantzuten det*) was modified in some places for the greater glory of the catechist.

*Eta = ta.*

The conjunction *eta = and* occurs, I think, only once in the shortened form *ta* in the first, but *ta* is frequent in the second.

*O = U.*

That *o* sounds *u* before *a* is clear when we find *guacen* in 1742 replaced by *goacen* in 1797; *juan*, but *dijoanean*.

*M for N.*

The use of *m* for *n* before *b* is found in Irazuzta as in the earlier writers, e.g., pp. 42 and 43, in *embidia*, from Latin *invidia*; p. 42, in *mandamenturem bat*, changed into *n* in 1797; p. 12, *orrem beste*; p. 20, *aim beste*; p. 33, *urteam bein*, printed *urtean* in 1797; p. 12, *onem bat*, becoming *onen* in 1797; *cem bat*, *passim* but *cenbat* at least twice, pp. 13, 39, though altered into *cembat* in 1797.

*Initial R.*

It has been said by some that Bask has no words beginning with *R*. It is true that most of them are of forane origin; but they are abundant, though mostly given a euphonic *er* as a prefix by modern writers. Irazuzta has *Erromara*, pp. 64, 56; *Erreguina*, p. 5, but, p. 40, *recibitcen*, *rastroac*, *reliquiac*, and elsewhere *reinua*, etc.

*R for D.*

The tendency in the Gipuskoan dialect, especially at San Sebastián, is to turn *d* into *r*, producing no little confusion in the verb. We have seen above the change of *didala* into *dirala*, which might be for *diradela*; of *didazula* into *dirazula*. But, on the other hand, *erocein* of the first edition became rightly *edocein* in 1797 (p. 64).

*Z = TZ.*

Bask *z* never had the lithping sound of Castilian. It is clear that Irazuzta used the letter with the sound of *tz*. We have seen some proofs of this in the verb-list. Others result from comparing the orthography of the two editions. Thus *elcen* in the first is *eltcen* in the second. *Certzaz*, *concientcia*, *dultcea*, *artzaz*, and *erantzuten* in the first became respectively *cérzaz*, *conciencia*, *dulcea*, *arzaz*, and *eranzuten* in the second. He also used *z* for the sound of *ss* in *miss*.

*Feminine Words.*

Among the many falsehoods that have been printed about Bask two are refuted by a perusal of this book. The first is that the language has no grammatical genders. To say nothing of the common termination in *sa, sha, cha, xa* still in use in Modern French Bask, as it was in the sixteenth century, to mark the femininity of the noun, like *princess* from *prince* in English, and nothing of the forms of the verb used for thee-and-thou-ing female persons, or of words which can only designate females, such as *ama = mother*, we have to note, p. 5 in this catechism, "Espiritu santu agan, Eliza santa Catholica," where *santu* represents *sancto* and *santa = sanctam*. The same thing may be seen in M. Ochoa de Capánagas Biscayan Catechism of 1656. However, p. 3, we find *Gurutce santuaren*, the masculine agreeing with the Gipuskoan form of *cruce*, which Leizarraga wrote *crutze*. Capánaga and other writers have also used a masculine and a feminine of *bedincatu, bedicatu*, and its other varieties, from *benedictus*, but Irazuzta treats it as a sexless word like the common adjectives.

*The Numerals.*

The numerals in Bask take the noun in the singular, as in Old English (or modern 'five-pound note,' 'a two-year-old heifer') and German, and in some cases in Gaelic, e.g. 3 to 10 inclusively, as I learned in Kerry. The number replaces the plural. In *Iru gauzataraco = for three things* the syllable *ta* is merely euphonic and not a plural sign. One sees the same *eta = ta*, p. 33, in *Pazcoa Resurreciocoetan = on the feast (not feasts) of the Resurrection*. The Castilian is *por Pasqua Florida*. One may compare the *ta* in *onetan = in this (town)* in the title of Arins book quoted above. *Onen* would do as well if it did not produce confusion with *onen*, the genitive, in the same title. On the other hand, p. 61, *eta* is a plural sign in *Mandamentuetatic* and *Santaronetatic*, and definite to boot. When, however, the noun numbered has to be articulate or determined, it assumes the article in the plural. Thus we find here, p. 3, *iru Gurutce = three Cross(es)*; p. 13, *lau gauza = four thing(s)*; but, p. 10, *Iru Personetatic cein . . . ? = of the three Persons which . . . ?*; p. 35, *Leenengo bostac = the five first*; *Beste biac = the two other(s)*; p. 54, *iru Personac = the three Persons*; and p. 57, twice, *iru persona Divinoac = the three Divine Persons*.



*Bi* suffixed.

It is to be observed that the number *bi* = *two* is used at least once postpositively, like *bat* = *one*, e.g., p. 62, *persona bi* = *two person(s)*, and this seems to be the right arrangement. But elsewhere we have, p. 50, *bi tempora* = *two time(s)*, and, p. 54, *bi naturaleza* = *two nature(s)*.

*Plural for Singular.*

P. 34, *goseac dagoanari*, literally *to him or her who remains the hungries*, i.e. *to him or her who is hungry*; and *egarriac dagoanari*, literally *to him (or her) who stays (or is) the thirsties*, is a curious case of the use of the plural for the singular. It reminds one of *zintzurak egin*, literally *to do the throats*, i.e. *to cut the throat*, in d'Urtes Genesis, c. xxii, v. 10. Can *goseak* and *egarriak* be the active case, ruling *held by* understood? On pp. 47, 48, one has "justiciaren gosca, eta egarria duenac," i.e. "those who have the hunger, and the thirst," where *gosea* and *egarria* are substantives.

*Singular for Plural.*

The contrary use of the singular for the plural is in the quantitative and interrogative pronouns, e.g., *cer etsay* = *what enemy*, *dirade are*, *oriec?* these? *Cein dirade?* = *what are they?* not *ceinac*. *Cer gauza dirade Articulo Fedecoac?* *The Articles of the Faith, what thing are they?* i.e. *What thing (not gauzac) are the Articles of the Faith?* *Cer gauza da Fedea?* *What thing is the Faith?* *Cembat gauza (not gauzac) bear dirade . . . ?* *How many thing(s) are needed?* This is on the same principle as the use of the numbers. *Cembat tempora bear da?* = *How much time is necessary?* *Cembat?* = *how many, how much?* is analytically *what one*, or a *what?* from *cein* = *what* and *bat* = *one*, *an*, *a*. *Ditu* requires its accusative to be plural, yet in *Cembat vorondate ditu Christoc?* *How many will(s) hath Christ?* the object is singular in form as much as if it were *bi vorondate* = *two will(s)*. *Cer parte ditu Penitenciac?* = *What part(s) hath Penance?* shows a similar idiom with the simple interrogative pronoun.



*Latin Loan-words.*

It is always interesting to know how Latin words have fared after entering the service of Bask.<sup>1</sup> In Irazuzta we find *Corputz*, from *Corpus*, now written *Gorputz*;<sup>2</sup> *Tempora*, from Latin, but used as a singular, now written *dembora*, as it already was in some places in the 1797 edition. *Gauza* had already replaced *causa* in 1742, and is by Irazuzta always written without the loss of its final *a*, e.g. *gauza bat = a thing*, *gauza guztiena = that of all things*. Yet some foolish writers have lately curtailed it into *gauz*, as if the *a* were the removeable article.

*Narru Gorria.*

As might be expected in a Catechism, there are few idiomatic expressions to be noted. Yet one might say much about *narru gorrian* on p. 34. It means literally *in the red skin* (*larru* being a variant of *narru*, like *luncheon* for *nuncheon*), i.e. *stark naked, en cueros*. *Gorri = red* (or *red-hot*) in Bask is almost as rich in its applications as *blue* in English.

N.B.—The Trinitarian Bible Society, 25, New Oxford Street, London, W.C., will probably publish a correcter and far cheaper reprint of Leizarragas Bask New Testament, for popular use and in pocketable form. That of Doctor H. Schuchardt and Herr T. Linschmann reproduces all the misprints of the original and adds a few others: e.g., Matt. xxvi, 18, *e do-* for *edo-*; Acts, iv, 8, *hetheric*, for *betheric*, and, in the heading of the preparation for Communion, *reecbitu* for *recebitu*.

As a specimen of good modern Biscayan prose, the *Esaldiac* or Sermons, by Andres Iturzaeta, curate of Ochandiano, published in two volumes in 1900 by F. Elosu, at Durango, must be mentioned. They deserve sincere praise.

<sup>1</sup> See a brochure of ten pages by Don Miguel de Unamuno, entitled "Del elemento alienígena en el idioma vasco," where the *etymon* of *eun*, *ehun* from *centum*, which I gave him at Bermeo in 1887, is reproduced as if it were his own. I proposed to him *centum = kentum, kendum, kennum, hennum, ennum, ennun, enun, ehun, eun*.

<sup>2</sup> Some busybodies have said that this word is only used of corpses or dead bodies, and is derived from *gorpu = body* and *utz = empty*! *Gorpu* is indeed a very empty body, a mere ill *ghost-word*, as Professor W. W. Skeat would say.

The Lords Prayer was rendered thus, on p. 1, by Arin in 1713:—

PATER-NOSTERRA.

*Math. c. 6, à v. 9, usque ad 13. It. Luc. c. 11, à v. 2, usque ad 5*  
 Aita geurea, Ceruetan zaudena : santificatua izan bidi ceure icena.  
 Betor ceure reinua gugana. Eguin bidi ceure vorondatea, nola  
 Ceruan, à la lurrean. Eman eguiguzu egun gueuren egunoroco  
 oguia. Eta barcatu eguizcutzu gueurẽ zorrac, gueuc gueren  
 zordunai barcatzen diegun becela. Eta tentacioan erorten eutzi  
 ez gaitatzula. Baicican libra gaitzatzu gaitcetic, Amen.

And by Irazuzta :—

In 1742.

*Pater nosterra.*

Aita gurea, Ceruetan zau  
 dena : santificatua izambidi zure  
 icena. Betor gugana zure reinua.  
 Eguimbidi zure vorondatea, nola  
 Ceruan, ala lurrean. Eman  
 eguiguzu egun gueren egun  
 eroco oguia. Eta barcatu  
 eguiuzcutzu gure zorrac, gue  
 gueren zordun ai barcatzen  
 diuztegun bezela. Eta ez  
 gaitatzula utci tentacioan  
 erorten : baicican libra gaitzatzu  
 gaitcetic. Amen Jesus.

In 1797.

*Pater Nosterra.*

Aita gurea, Ceruetan zaudena :  
 santificatua izan bedi zure  
 Icena : betor gugana zure  
 Reinua : eguin bedi zure voron-  
 datea, nola Ceruan, alá lurrean :  
 egun iguzu gure eguneroco  
 oguia : eta barca guizquigutzu  
 gure zorrac, gue gure zordunai  
 barcatcen diegun becela : eta  
 ez gaitatzula utci tentacioan  
 erorten : baicican libra gaitzazu  
 gaitcetic. Amen Jesus.

The hybrid *Pater nosterra*, inherited from Capánaga, was duly altered in 1797 into *Aita gurea = the Our Father* on pp. 13, 21, where the Prayer is referred to.

One cannot study a Catechism for linguistic purposes without noticing what is, and what is not, taught therein. In this book, as in all earlier Bask Catechisms, all forbidding of bull-fights, or human fights and wars, and other forms of barbarism and cruelty, or the circulating false coins, is as absent as any mention of the Papal Opinion about the Conception of St. Mary the Virgin. It is true that in the *Maria Santissimaren Letania*, which concludes the book, the invocation “Mater Immaculata, Ora,” was inserted in 1797 after “Mater Intemerata.” But *immaculata* there may describe merely the post-natal state of the Holy Mother. On p. 10 Irazuzta put the Query and Reply, “*What is the signal of*

*the Christian? The Holy Cross.*” On p. 21 the Basks were taught—“*I ask. Who is the Holy Father? I answer. He is the Supreme Pontiff of Rome, Christs Vicar on earth, to whom these-all (of us) we remain obliged to obeying.*” The words *Sumo Pontifice Erromacoo* were left out as superfluous in 1797. It would be well if the Pope would add in all catechisms, after the Commandments of the Church, the “New Commandment” of his Lord, *ἵνα ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους*. It might assume this anagrammatical form in those for English-speakers:—

“In what does *Christianity* consist? *'Tis in Charity!*”

“What is there in *Christianity*? *Charity's in it!*”

CHRISTIANI † HI SINT CARI.

P.S.—In the Index to these “TRANSACTIONS” for the year 1898 the following corrections must be made:—

P. 544, l. 8. For “Eire-land, Basque, its national tongue,” read “Eireland, Bask mentioned in a book on its national tongue.” I did not say that Bask was, though it may have been, the tongue of Iberian Hibernia or *Eire*.

P. 544, l. 31. For “504” read “505.”

P. 545, l. 23. For “Leizarraga's” read “Dodgsons.”

P. 545, l. 33. For “Ireland, national tongue of a Basque,” which makes no sense at all, read “Eireland, the national tongue of.”

P. 546, l. 20. For “504” read “505.”

In my article in the same volume I asked, “What is to become of the Princes Bask books?” I am permitted by their owners, Messrs. Harvey Preen and T. J. Garlick, of 17, Basinghall Street, London, E.C., to state that they do not wish to separate them from the rest of the collection. They desire to sell this as a whole. Their price is £4,500. The Library lies useless in a store-room. Will no wealthy friend of Linguistic Science redeem it from this sad entombment, and present it to the British Museum or some English University? Prince L. L. Bonaparte is meant.

With the change of *Ipuscoo* (as it was written 300 years ago) into *Gipuskoa*, compare *Gurumea*, now *Urumea* the river at Donostia, and *Gibaya* a river in the Province of Santander, evidently an old form of modern Bask *ibaya = the river*.



The name of San Sebastián, the modern capital of Gipuskoa, is *Donostia* in modern Bask, from *Dominus* (used in Bask in the sense of *Saint*) and a contraction of Sebastián, the name of the patron. In the "Acts of the Privy Council of England" for 1542-47, the town is called "S. Sebastians," and "Saynt Sebastians." Peter Heylyn, in his ΜΙΚΡΟΚΟΣΜΟΣ (Oxford, 1625), also has, p. 54, "Saint Sebastians." Here the final *s* represents a genitive, and implies *town* to complete the sense. This shows that St. Palais, in French Baskland, took its name from St. Palai = Pelayo, when the English occupied that part of Aquitaine. Heylyn, in his *Cosmographie* (London, 1652), p. 221, has "S. Sebastians (Don Bastia as the vulgar call it)." In *Les Delices de l'Espagne & du Portugal* . . . par Don J. Alvarez de Colmenar (à Leide, 1707), p. 80, there is an engraving of the town, and another in his *Annales* (Amsterdam, 1741). King Charles II of England visited it in 1659. See *Revolutions d'Angleterre*, par M. de Bordeaux (Paris, 1670), p. 190.

Rimes in Labourdin Bask written at Elche on the eve of the total eclipse of the sun, 27th May, 1900 :—

<i>Hilabetez hilla</i>	Monthly to be dead
<i>Oi da Hilargia ;</i>	The Month-light is wont ;
<i>Hoztatu duena</i>	The Sun is indeed
<i>Baita Eguskia.</i>	That which hath chilled her !
<i>Ta du Eguskia</i>	And doth Mortification
<i>Hildurak betetzen.</i>	Fill the Sun,
<i>Noizeta, hark duena</i>	Whenever, that which
<i>Argitzen, arkitzen</i>	He doth enlighten, find
<i>Duen Artekoa</i>	He doth in the Way between
<i>Bere ta Lurraren ;</i>	Himself and the Earth ;
<i>Mariaz Orrilla</i>	The Leaf-Month ( <i>May</i> ) with Mary
<i>Asi eta askenzen ?</i>	Begun and ending ?
<i>Mariaren gatik</i>	( <i>No ! 't was</i> ) for Marys sake
<i>Hil zan Eguskia ;</i>	The Sun did die ;
<i>Hilargia gatik</i>	For the Moons sake
<i>Egin du Corona.</i>	He hath made the Corona !
<i>Cristo Iauna Bera</i>	Christ the Lord Himself
<i>Illun du Mariak !</i>	Hath been darkened by Mary !
<i>Gizonak duena</i>	That which Man hath
<i>Izartu du Iaunak !</i>	The Lord hath bestarred !

EDWARD SPENCER DODGSON.



## X.—ACTION AND TIME IN THE IRISH VERB.

By J. STRACHAN, M.A., LL.D.

IN a paper on the use of the particle *ro-* with preterital tenses in Old Irish which was submitted to this Society in 1896, I followed what was then the general view among Celtists, that the presence or absence of *ro-* in the preterite made no difference to the meaning of the tense, that the difference between e.g. *asrubart* and *asbert* 'said' was purely chronological, the *ro-* form being the earlier, the *ro-*less form the later; in fact, the presence or absence of *ro-* in the preterite has often been used as a criterion for determining the relative age of Irish texts. This doctrine was based on the fact that in the Old Irish Glosses *ro-*less forms are very rare. But it involves a very strange linguistic development; first, there was a period when *ro-* was, with certain exceptions, universal in the preterite, then a period of *ro-*less preterites, and, lastly, a period when the *ro-* preterite again prevailed. Since then another and a more satisfactory interpretation of the facts has been given. In Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, xxxvi, 463 sq., Zimmer published his brilliant discovery that between *asbert* and *asrubart* there is a clear difference in meaning. In the same journal, xxxvii, 52 sq., Thurneysen, while accepting the chief result of Zimmer's investigation, has, with his usual clear insight, detected and corrected a number of mistakes in Zimmer's theory, and has otherwise contributed to the elucidation of the Celtic verb. Lastly, the subject has been excellently treated by Sarauw in his "Irske Studier." From his perverse method of citation, or rather of non-citation, it is impossible always to discover the relation of his work to that of his predecessors; so far as I can judge, we have here an independent discovery, though the book was not published till the papers of Zimmer and Thurneysen had already appeared. His results are in substantial agreement with those of Thurneysen.

Zimmer's discovery dawned upon him from certain passages in the Irish Sagas, where *asbert* and *asrubart* occur side by side.

According to him, *asbert* is the form of narration, like the Latin historical perfect, while *asrubart* is never so used, but “clearly has a time-relation (*zeitbeziehung*), which in the majority of the cases [previously cited by him] shows itself as pluperfective (‘he had said’), and in a smaller number as true perfect (‘he has said’)” (pp. 495–6). The fundamental meaning of the *ro*-forms is the completed action (*abgeschlossene handlung*); the relative time of the completed action shows itself from the context; the Irish *ro*-preterite = the Latin true perfect and pluperfect (*asrubart* = *dixit* and *dixerat*).<sup>1</sup> In the Old Irish Glosses the *ro*-less forms are rare, because there is hardly any occasion for their use, but they do appear in some narrative passages. We are warned against a comparison of the *ro*-forms with the perfective verbs of Slavonic grammar. It is maintained (p. 525 sq.) that in the subjunctive mood the addition of *ro*- changes a present and an imperfect to a perfect and a pluperfect. As for the origin of the function of *ro*-, it is brought into connection with *ro*- joined to adjectives, *ro-már* ‘too great,’ etc.: “was beim adjectivum die eigenschaft, das ist, wie man wohl sagen darf, beim verb die sich auf verschiedenen zeitstufen vollziehende handlung” (p. 535).

Starting from Zimmer’s investigations, Thurneysen defines the functions of the parallel preterite forms as essentially the following:—“The forms without *ro*- are purely narrative, except after the conjunction *ó* ‘since, after.’<sup>2</sup> The *ro*-forms can in the first place serve as the so-called perfect proper, i.e. they can denote a state resting on a preceding occurrence: *asréracht* ‘he has arisen and lives now,’ or, since the Irishman does not distinguish grades of time (*zeitstufen*) in the preterite, ‘he had arisen and lived.’ Here, then, it has the function of the Indogermanic perfect. Besides this they serve simply to note a past event (*zum constatieren eines vergangenen factums*); that has (once, then, etc.) happened, e.g. *is do óin fiur asrobrad* Iacob 7 Israhel, ‘to the same man has the name Jacob and Israel been given,’ *MI.* 45<sup>a</sup> 9. According to Delbrück’s investigations, this use was originally proper to the Idg. aorist. Both significations, however, were in many other languages, too, expressed by the same form, the form of completed action. For the

<sup>1</sup> The further comparison of *asbert* with the Greek aorist is not happy; it is true only in so far as the aorist in Greek has ousted the older imperfect in narrative. In its original usage, as we shall see, the aorist corresponds not to *asbert* but to *asrubart*.

<sup>2</sup> So Zimmer, p. 544. But Sarauw has shown (p. 109) that with *ó* ‘since’ the *ro*-less preterite was used, with *ó* ‘after’ the *ro*-preterite.

three formally distinguished Irish preterites I would suggest the designations praeteritum imperfectum<sup>1</sup> (from the present stem), praet. narrativum (preterite without *ro*), and praet. perfectum (preterite with *ro*)” (pp. 55 sq.).

Thurneysen then goes on to consider Zimmer’s explanation of the origin of the usage. It is pointed out (1) that in some verbs the two forms come from different roots, and (2) that other prepositions play the part of *ro-*, facts which cast grave suspicion upon Zimmer’s theory. And it is urged that in itself Zimmer’s account is improbable; if it contains the intensive *ro-*, then *rocarus* might perhaps have been intelligible in the sense of ‘I loved exceedingly,’ not in that of ‘I have loved.’ Still more fatal to Zimmer’s theory is the use of *ro-* with the subjunctive mood. It is then noted that in some verbs in which *ro-* is not the verbal particle but an ordinary preposition, the sense of completion is predominant, e.g. *saigid* ‘he aims at,’ but *rosaig* ‘he attains.’ The conclusion is that the origin of the Irish praeteritum perfectum is to be sought in perfective compounds.

Before passing on to the subjunctive Thurneysen considers two peculiar uses of *ro-* with the indicative :

- (1) *ro-* with the present indicative denotes relatively prior time in general (*zeitlosen*) sentences,<sup>2</sup> e.g. :

Ml. 51<sup>c</sup> 9, *is in nuall dongniat ho rumaith fora naimtea remib*, ‘it is the cry which (the soldiers) are wont to raise when their enemies have been routed.’

Ml. 51<sup>b</sup> 7, *nad fes cid as maith no as olc [do] denum manid tarti ecnae Dæ*, ‘that it is not known what it is good or evil to do unless the knowledge of God has given it (the knowledge).’

This use of *ro-* is supposed by Thurneysen to be modelled on the development of *ro-* with the preterite.

- (2) *ro-* with the indicative = *posse*,<sup>3</sup> e.g. :

Present: Wb. 22<sup>d</sup> 3, *ni dernat sidi n’ nad fiastar side*, ‘they can do nothing that He does not know.’

<sup>1</sup> It is added in a note that a more correct designation would be praet. iterativum; for the use of the tense see my paper on the Subjunctive Mood (Trans. Phil. Soc., 1897), § 2.

<sup>2</sup> Similarly Sarauw, pp. 28 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Sarauw, pp. 30 sq., who gives many examples. But he seems to be wrong in saying that in a conditional sentence *ro-* can change a future into a future perfect. At least the future indicative in conditional clauses is unknown to me. On *roima*, see my paper on the Sigmatic Future (Trans. Phil. Soc., 1900), pp. 9, 17. As to the conditional, *rofeidlightis*, Ml. 108<sup>b</sup> 5, it is hardly anything else than a scribal error for *noseidlightis*.



Imperfect: LU. 83<sup>b</sup> 26, *ní ructais som* (fac. *ructhaisom*) *aireseom ní rucad som foráibseom*, 'they could not get away from him, he could not get up with them.' The imperfect here denotes repeated attempts.

Future: Ml. 80<sup>a</sup> 9, *ní dergenat mú bás*, 'they will not be able to slay me.'

Secondary Future: LU. 56<sup>b</sup> 30, '*cided ón dorigenmais ní?*' *ol Medb*, "'What could we do?' said Medb." It is interesting to note that an Irish glossator here explains *dorigénmais ní* by *rofetfainmais a denom*, 'we should be able to do it.'

Following a Slavonic analogy,<sup>1</sup> Thurneysen would derive this use from an original punctualized or aoristic (*punctuellen*) force: "*asrobair* etwa 'er mag wohl sagen,' 'er ist der man, zu sagen,' 'man kann von ihm erwarten, dass er gelegentlich sagt,' *ní érbair* 'er ist nicht der man zu sagen,' 'er kann nicht sagen.'" <sup>2</sup> The complete development of the sense of 'can' is supposed first to have been carried out in negative clauses, and to have spread from the present to other parts of the verb. It is also found in the subjunctive.

Then follows a subtle discussion of the uses of *ro-* in the subjunctive. Apart from the use of *ro-* with the past subjunctive, which is explained in the same way as I have explained it (Subj. Mood, § 107), Thurneysen finds the expression of relatively prior time only in general sentences, e.g. *mad súil rochaecha, iss i suidiu ailid cocrann forsin lestrai n-uili*, 'if it be an eye that it (the bee) has blinded, it is then required (lit. the thing requires) that lots be cast upon all the hives,' Laws, iv, 178. This use is explained as due to the influence of *ro-* with the indicative. But it seems very possible that it may be derived directly from the perfective or aoristic sense; cf. the similar use of the Greek aorist, e.g. ὄσστις κ' ἀπολίπη πατάρα καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν χρημάτων τῷ πατρί, ἐπεὶ κ' ἀπογένηται, ἐξείμεν ἀπολαχεῖν τὸν ἐπίφορον ἐν Ναύπακτον, on a Loerian inscription.<sup>3</sup> Into the discussion of the other uses of the subjunctive it is unnecessary to go here, particularly as to Thurneysen also they seem to focus

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sarauw, p. 135.

<sup>2</sup> In LU. 69<sup>b</sup> 41, "*másu thú ém*," *ar Nadcrandtail*, "*nocorucaimse cend úain bic don dínud, ní bér do chend n-gillai n-amulaig*," might well be translated by: "'If it is thou indeed,' said Nadcrandtail, 'I am not the man to carry the head of a little lamb to the camp; I will not carry thy head, beardless boy that thou art.'"

<sup>3</sup> Cauer, *Delectus Inscriptionum Graecarum*<sup>2</sup>, p. 162.



themselves in the perfective action. In conclusion, the use of *ro-* in the Britannic group is discussed, and it is shown that the same account holds good there too.

I have dealt with this interesting paper at some length, because it has for the first time put a number of facts in their true light, and shows decisively how the *ro-* forms in Celtic can be simply explained from the perfective or aoristic action. Sarauw deals fully with the use of *ro-* in the indicative; the subjunctive is treated in a somewhat perfunctory way. His material is taken almost exclusively from the Glosses; he illustrates from them the difference between the preterite with and without *ro-*. In his results, as I said before, he is in substantial agreement with Thurneysen. Throughout his treatise the two sets of forms, without and with *ro-*, are described in the phraseology of Slavonic grammar as imperfective and perfective; and in conclusion he emphatically asserts that Irish takes a high place among the languages that express perfectivity, and that it has carried its system through with no less consistency than Slavonic.

Starting from these investigations, I propose to lay before you some account of the functions of the two sets of forms in the preterite of the indicative in Old Irish. An initial difficulty ought to be mentioned. In the Old Irish Glosses, as we have seen, the imperfective or *ro-*-less forms are rare, because there is little occasion for their use; there are, however, one or two historical notes which have been well analyzed by Sarauw, pp. 100 sq.; cf. Zimmer, pp. 511 sq. Moreover, with few exceptions, the glosses consist of either isolated words or disconnected sentences, and it is obvious that the uses of the tenses can be better studied in continuous prose, where the relation of the sentences and clauses to one another is more apparent. One piece of narrative prose, itself of a much earlier date,<sup>1</sup> is preserved in a manuscript ascribed to the ninth century, the Book of Armagh (designated hereafter as Lib. Ardm.). But the Irish Sagas, etc., are first found in MSS. of the eleventh century and later. Now, as we shall see, the perfective forms in Irish finally superseded the imperfective. Hence there is the possibility that in this instance or in that the earlier form may in the course of transcription have been ousted by the later. But this danger may easily be exaggerated. In the oldest and linguistically best preserved of the Irish texts that I have examined

<sup>1</sup> Zimmer, pp. 470 sq.; Thurneysen, pp. 53 sq.

the general principles of the usage are clear enough. Not that there are not many cases where one is in doubt, but before imputing everything to the carelessness of the scribes, one should allow for the possibility of dulness on the part of the observer. The principles of usage laid down below are founded on an unbiassed study of Old Irish texts. If I have ventured to cite illustrations from Sanskrit and Greek, this is purely by way of illustration, not of argument. When the principles of the Irish usage had become clear to me, I turned to the Vedic prose. There I was at once impressed by the great similarity between the usage of the imperfect and the Irish *ro*-less form, and between the usage of the aorist and the Irish *ro*-form. In Greek the similarity is not so marked; Greek has departed very considerably from the Indo-germanic usage.

Before we pass on to the actual usage, it is necessary to give a brief account of the means of perfectivity in Irish. It was effected by the use of prepositions. The prevalent particle is *ro*-; this I have discussed before, and I need not return to it again. But in the oldest Irish other particles were similarly used.<sup>1</sup>

ad- :

IMPERFECTIVE.

*con-brū-*  
*con-cel-*  
*con-cert-*  
*con-gab-*  
*con-gar-*  
*con-mēd-*  
*con-reg-*  
*con-di-siag-*  
*con-scar-*  
*con-scrib-*  
*con-tib-*  
*con-tol-*

PERFECTIVE.

*con-ad-brū-*, comminuere.  
*con-ad-cel-*, celare.  
*con-ad-cert-*, emendare.  
*con-ad-gab-*, continere.  
*con-ad-gar-*,<sup>2</sup> uocare.  
*con-ad-mēd-*, iudicare.  
*con-ad-reg-*, uincire.  
*con-ad-di-siag-*,<sup>3</sup> quaerere.  
*con-ad-scar-*, diruere.  
*con-ad-scrib-*, conscribere.  
*con-ad-tib-*, ridere.  
*con-ad-tol-*, dormire.

<sup>1</sup> For the instances see Thurneysen, pp. 57 sq., and Sarauw, pp. 43 sq. Most of them have been noted in my paper on the particle *ro*- iv, but I did not discern the perfective force of the prepositions.

<sup>2</sup> *conacrad*, Cormac, s.v. *lethech*.

<sup>3</sup> But in Wb. 8<sup>a</sup> 14 *conoitechatar*, from which Thurneysen suggests that in some of these verbs *ad-* may have replaced an older *ud-*.

com- :

<i>fo-long-</i>	<i>fo-com-long-</i> , ferre.
<i>to-ind-nac-</i>	<i>to-en-com-nac-</i> , dare, tradere.
<i>to-nig</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>to-com-nig-</i> , <sup>2</sup> lauare.
<i>fris-org-</i>	<i>fris-com-org-</i> , offendere
(and other compounds of <i>org-</i> ).	
<i>di-reg-</i>	<i>di-com-reg-</i> , exuere.

Another instance is probably *tochombaig*<sup>3</sup> (= *to-com-bobuig*<sup>4</sup>) to *bong-*, Laws, iv, 8. Besides, a similar preposition is, with Zupitza, CZ. iii, 278, to be seen in *do-cuaid* 'he has gone' = *di-co-fáith* (verbal stem *feth-*),<sup>5</sup> and doubtless also in *adcuaid*<sup>6</sup> 'he has narrated' = *ad-co-fáith* (verbal stem *feth-*). So probably is to be explained *forcuad* Tur. 49, which has hitherto been treated as corrupt, but for which no plausible emendation has been proposed. In gl. 49 *rofoirbthiged* . . . 7 *forcuad* is clearly parallel to *aní foirbthigther* i. *aní forfenar* in gl. 45. From the instances of *for-fun* given by Thurneysen, KZ. xxxi, 85, it appears that when the accent rests on the root, the verb begins with *f*; if the accent rests on the preposition, it begins with *b*, *for-fenar* but *ní forbanar*. As Idg. *u* after *r* becomes in Irish *b̄*, this points to an Idg. root beginning with *u*, and *forcuad* could come from *\*for-co-fath* or the like.

ess- :

IMPERFECTIVE.

PERFECTIVE.

*ib-**ess-ib-*, bibere.

Sarauw would see a perfective *air-* in *tess-ar-bae*, the perfect to *tess-buith* 'deesse.' Another and more probable explanation has

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *tonach* 'washing,' O'Don. Suppl., LL. 295<sup>a</sup> 15, 16, CZ. iii, 243. Thurneysen, however, proposes to connect this perfect with the present *dofonug*, Sg. 22<sup>b</sup> 5, etc., to which the verbal noun is *dúinach*, e.g. Laws, iv, 318 (= *di-fo-nig-*). In Laws, iv, 318, is found a present *dinig*, if it be not corrupt.

<sup>2</sup> *doceannachtar* (= *to-com-ncnachtar*) *tlachtu* 'they have washed (their) garments,' Féire, Jan. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *-combaig*, Hy. v, 77.

<sup>4</sup> For the reduplication cf. *com-bobig* Rev. Celt. xi, 444, *at-bobuid* 'refused it' LU. 133<sup>b</sup> 1, from *ad-bond-*, *inolaid* (leg. *inololaig*) Laws, iv, 16 to *intongad*, ib. 38. Here the presumably earlier forms *\*bebuig*, *\*bebuid*, *\*leluig*, have been replaced by *bobung*, *bobuid*, *loluig*, just as *cechain* became afterwards *cachain*. If *atróebaid*, SR. 3997, comes from *ad-bond-* it would, because of its peculiar form, have preserved the old reduplication: *-róebaid* = *-roebuid*; in CZ. iii, 242, *corroimid*, v.l. *corraemaig*, should probably be corrected to *corróibig*.

<sup>5</sup> Herewith the vocalism of the subjunctive *docóí* (cf. Sigmatic Future, p. 23) becomes clear; *docóí* is for *\*di-co-fetst*.

<sup>6</sup> The imperfective passive is *adfess*, e.g. LU. 59<sup>a</sup> 7. In the active I have no instance of a corresponding imperfective form; the historic present is common.



been suggested, *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1895-6, p. 180. A double preposition appears in *ducuitig* 'has sworn' = *to-com-tethaig* and *doessid* 'has sat' = *di-ess-sid* (*Sarauw*, pp. 46, 47); the imperfective preterite to *doessid* is *siassair*.

In some verbs the imperfective and the perfective preterites are supplied from different roots:

	IMPERFECTIVE.	PERFECTIVE.
<i>berid</i> , 'carries,' 'bears' (children)	<i>birt</i>	<i>rouic, rouc.</i>
<i>dobeir</i> , 'affert'	<i>dobert</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>douic, douc.</i> <sup>2</sup>
<i>dobeir</i> , 'gives'	<i>dobert</i>	<i>dorat.</i>
<i>cuiridir</i> , 'ponit, iacit'	<i>corastar</i>	<i>rolá.</i>
<i>docuireadar</i> , 'ponit'	<i>docorastar</i>	<i>dorale.</i>
<i>foceird</i> , <sup>3</sup> 'iacit'	<i>focaird</i>	<i>rolá.</i>
<i>tét</i> , 'goes'	<i>luid</i> <sup>4</sup>	<i>docóid.</i>
	(pass. <i>ethao</i> )	(pass. <i>docóas</i> )

Some verbs do not distinguish imperfective and perfective action. Such are:—

Verbs in which *ro-* goes throughout the verbal system. They are enumerated *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1895-6, p. 151 (however, as we have seen, *ro-ucc-* is perfective to *ber-*, *dorat-* to *dober-*). But in enclisis *ro-* is sometimes inserted again before the accented syllable, e.g. *diandrerchoil* *ML.* 46<sup>a</sup> 7, *niruderchoin* *ML.* 44<sup>a</sup> 1.

Compounds of *-ic-* and *-ong-* (which supplement one another), *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1895-6, pp. 120, 121, 126.

Compounds of *-gninim* 'know,' *ib.* p. 125.

*adbath* 'interit,' *ib.* p. 121.

*adcondarc* 'vidi,' *ib.* p. 124, to which the enclitic forms are supplied in the active by *-acca*,<sup>5</sup> *ib.* p. 122. In the passive both orthotonic and enclitic forms come from *ad-ciu*.

*adcotad*, *-étad* 'adeptus est,' *ib.* pp. 124, 149. In *Lib. Ardm.* 18<sup>b</sup> 1, *adcotedae* is clearly imperfective.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *ML.* 56<sup>a</sup> 13, where the imperfective and the perfective forms occur side by side.

<sup>2</sup> From this *Sarauw*, pp. 119 sq., most ingeniously derives *tuicci* 'understands.'

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Sarauw*, p. 124.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Thurneysen*, p. 57; *Sarauw*, pp. 91 sq. But in compounds *luid* is found with perfective *ro-*; for examples see *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1895-6, pp. 102, 115, *foindartid* *Wb.* 3<sup>a</sup> 6.

<sup>5</sup> *Thurneysen*, pp. 58 note, 71, would restrict *adcondarc* to the perfective signification. Certainly in the *Sagas conacca* is the regular narrative form. In *Carm. ML.*, however, *adcondarc* is joined with imperfective forms. Whether, under all circumstances, *adcondarc* was perfective, seems to require further observation. In other compounds of *-ciu ro-* appears, *ib.* p. 112, where for *di-aith-ciu* should be substituted *di-en-ciu*, cf. *Sarauw*, p. 64.



-*fuair*, 'inveni.' Cf. *ib.* p. 125, Thurneysen, p. 63, Sarauw, p. 56.<sup>1</sup>

-*duaid* (pres. *ithid*), 'edit.'<sup>2</sup>

*dufutharcair*, 'optavit,' *ib.* 132.

On this class of verbs Thurneysen remarks: "The conclusion is certainly not too bold that in them from the outset the preterite in itself inclined to the punctualized sense, especially as in two leading verbs of this class, *-iccim* 'reach' and *-gнинim* 'recognize,' the particular emphasizing of the result (*endpunktes*) lies in the fundamental signification of the root."

Three verbs, *-fetar*, *-lamur*, and *-cluiniur*, have *ro-* only in orthotonic forms; cf. *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1895-6, pp. 149 sq.

After these preliminary remarks we come now to the consideration of the use of the two forms in the Irish preterite. In what follows the form based on imperfective action, Thurneysen's *praeteritum narrativum*, will, for the sake of brevity, be called the preterite: the form based on perfective or aoristic action, Thurneysen's *praeteritum perfectum*, will for the same reason be called the perfect.

### THE PRETERITE.

This is the narrative tense; as such it corresponds in function to the imperfect of Vedic Sanskrit<sup>3</sup> and to the Indogermanic imperfect.<sup>4</sup>

#### IN PRINCIPAL CLAUSES.

The use of the preterite in principal clauses will be illustrated in the course of this paper. For the present it will be sufficient to cite one of the historical notes in the Milan glosses.

MI. 16<sup>c</sup> 10. *dorimther hì libur Essaiaè á scel so .i. asbert side contra Ezechiam atbelad. (cí)ch<sup>5</sup> side 7 dogni<sup>6</sup> aithirgi 7 luid in grian fora culu coic brotu deac*, 'This story is recounted in the Book of Isaiah, to wit: he said to Hezekiah that he would die. He wept and did penance, and the sun went back fifteen points.'

<sup>1</sup> Sarauw doubts whether this verb is not purely perfective. In the old Sagas I have found instances which seem to be imperfective, and I have no instances of a preterite *fogab*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Thurneysen, p. 62.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Delbrück, *Syntactische Forschungen*, ii, passim, *Altindische Syntax*, p. 279.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Delbrück, *Vergleichende Syntax*, ii, 268.

<sup>5</sup> According to Sarauw's restoration of the missing letters; cf. LU. 133<sup>b</sup> 12.

<sup>6</sup> If this be right, it is historical present, which is the equivalent of the preterite; Sarauw proposes *dogéni*.

Many excellent examples of the preterite may be found in the short stories at the end of LU., edited and translated by Professor K. Meyer, "Voyage of Bran," pp. 42-58, which may be compared with the stories in those Brāhmaṇas in which the imperfect is the narrative tense.<sup>1</sup>

A special use of the preterite must be noted in connection with the idiomatic *mad* 'well,' with which it seems to be constant, e.g. "*madgenatar á thimthirthidi*," *ol sí*, "'blessed are his servants,' said she," ML. 90<sup>b</sup> 12; *ní málodmar*, 'not well did we go,' i.e. 'would that we had not gone,' LU. 58<sup>a</sup> 15; *ní madairgenus fleid*, 'not well did I prepare a feast,' i.e. 'would that I had not prepared a feast,' LU. 61<sup>a</sup> 2; further LU. 64<sup>b</sup> 7, 65<sup>a</sup> 15.

#### IN SUBORDINATE CLAUSES.

In three uses the preterite is constant.<sup>2</sup>

(a) In oratio obliqua the preterite represents a present indicative of oratio recta.<sup>3</sup>

LU. 133<sup>a</sup> 33. *asbert Forgoll góite i n-Dubthar Lagen. asbert Mongán ba gó.* 'Forgoll said he (Fothad Airgthech) was slain at Duffry in Leinster. Mongan said it was false.' At 133<sup>b</sup> 35 we have in oratio recta *is gó* 'it is false.'

LU. 69<sup>b</sup> 19. *glé la cách immurgu ba for teched luid Cuchulaind remiseom*, 'everyone deemed it clear, however, that Cuchulinn fled before him.' This may represent an oratio recta *is for teched téit*, etc., though the text continues "*for Cuchulaind uccut*," *olse*, "*dochóid* (perfect) *reomsa for teched*," "'your Cuchulinn yonder,' said he, 'has fled before me.'" However, the preterite might be explained as on p. 27.

ML. 50<sup>d</sup> 1. *ciarudreig* (leg. *ciaridréig*) *som namboi remcisiu Dé de, asbeir immurgu*, 'though he has complained that there was no providence of God for him, he says, however.' In oratio recta it would be *ní fil remcisiu Dé dím*.

ML. 43<sup>d</sup> 1. *quod etiam uerbis Rabsacis apparuit, .i. intan asrubart sum frimmaccu Israhel imbóid di oinachdaib leu robeth for dib milib ech*, 'when he said to the Children of Israel whether there

<sup>1</sup> Enumerated by Delbrück, *Altind. Syn.*, 300.

<sup>2</sup> Sarauw, pp. 106, 107, 109.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the change from the present to the imperfect in indirect discourse in Homeric Greek, Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses*, § 671; Brugmann, *Gr. Gram.*, p. 509.

were among them sufficient horsemen to mount two thousand horses.' Oratio recta: *in fil lib*, etc. Similarly LU. 65<sup>a</sup> 30.

NOTE.—In oratio obliqua a perfect may represent a perfect of oratio recta:—

ML. 58<sup>c</sup> 6 (in an historical note). *ar rofitir side ba Dia conrairleic*, 'for he knew that it was God that had permitted.' Oratio recta: *is Dia conrairleic*.

LU. 60<sup>a</sup> 42. *asbert Cauland iarom nábad sochaide nobërtha chucai, úir nípu du thír na ferund dó a fuirec*<sup>1</sup> *dorigni acht do thorud a dá lám 7 a tharnguir*, 'Cauland said then that a multitude should not be brought to him, for the feast that he had made came not to him from land or fields, but from the fruit of his hands and of his . . .'

For the preterite in such clauses see below, p. 27.

(b) In a modal sense.

Wb. 10<sup>d</sup> 31. *ut non abutar potestate mea in euangelio, i. airitiu lóge ar mo precept, ar bóí són in potestate mea ma dagnenn*, i.e. 'the receiving of pay for my preaching, for that were in my power if I cared to do it.'

Wb. 17<sup>d</sup> 17. *ci adcobrinn móidim do denum, ni bóí adbar híc*, 'though I desired to boast, there were no cause here.'

Cf. Substantive Verb, ll. 1248–1252, 1294–1307, and p. 61.<sup>2</sup>

(c) With *ó* 'since.'

Wb. 31<sup>c</sup> 7. *o chrestit, nintá airli ar m-ban*, 'since they believed, we have not the government of our women.'

LL. 279<sup>a</sup> 3. *o gabusa flaithemnas niconesbiusa dig riam nach atlaigind*, 'since I assumed the sovereignty, I have never drunk without giving thanks.'

LU. 120<sup>a</sup> 27. *náchimthánic o gabsu flaith*, 'which has not come to me since I assumed the sovereignty.'

So Wb. 3<sup>c</sup> 37, 29<sup>d</sup> 6, ML. 63<sup>a</sup> 4 (cf. 82<sup>d</sup> 9, where *huand uair* is used), LU. 86<sup>b</sup> 18, 96<sup>a</sup> 25, 120<sup>a</sup> 18, LL. 248<sup>b</sup> 10, 249<sup>a</sup> 47. Where *ro-* appears in this type of clause, as in LU. 110<sup>b</sup> 48, it may

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *darónait fessa 7 fuireca* LL. 172<sup>a</sup> 48; similarly 172<sup>a</sup> 33; cf. *fuireag* i. *fleadh nó feasda*, O'Cl.

<sup>2</sup> So is to be explained the preterite by the perfect in ML. 56<sup>a</sup> 13: *amal duberad nech do hi ceist: "cid arin potabis tuicais (perf.) hi sunt? cid arna bu (pret.) son inchoissised longud nó ithi dobirt (pret.) and?"* "As though someone had put to him as a question: 'Why hast thou put *potabis* here? Why shouldst thou not have put there a word to express devouring or eating?'" Cf. Ir. Text. ii, 2, 243: "*cid arindid hi in ben adomgladathar?*" *ol Cuchulaind*. "*cid na bu in fer?*" "Why is it the woman that addresses me?" said Cuchulinn. 'Why should it not be the man?'"



be safely put down to the later spread of the particle. It may be noted that *ó* is used with the present indicative of a state still continuing, e.g. *otúsa issin dún sa*, 'since I have been in this fort,' LL. 249<sup>b</sup> 3.

The following examples will illustrate the use of the preterite in subordinate clauses, where the action of the main clause coincides in time with the action of the subordinate clause.

LU. 71<sup>b</sup> 9. *a m-bátár int slóig and trath nóna conaccatar*, 'when the hosts were there in the afternoon, they saw.'

YBL. 194<sup>a</sup> 50. *a m-bæ laa n-ann for láim a athar . . . , conaccái in mnái*, 'when he was one day beside his father, he saw a woman.'

MI. 58<sup>c</sup> 4. *dia luid Duaid for longais tri glenn Iosofád, dambide Semei di clochaib*, 'when David was going into exile through the valley of Jehoshaphat, Shimei pelted him with stones.'

LU. 134<sup>a</sup> 13. *dia m-bói dano Forgoll fili la Mongan fecht n-and, luid Mongan ar dún . . . fecht n-and*, 'when Forgoll the poet was with Mongan once, Mongan went one time on his stronghold.' This is the beginning of a tale.

Ir. Text. ii, 2, 241. *dia m-bai Cuchulaind ina cotlud i n-Dun Imrid, co cuala in gem atuaid each n-direoch ina dochum 7 ba granda 7 ba haduathmar lais in gem*, 'while Cuchulaind was asleep in Dun Imrid, he heard a shout from the north straight to him, and the cry seemed to him terrible and very fearful.' This is the beginning of another tale.

Compert Mongún.<sup>1</sup> *intan bátir int sluaig i n-Albe i n-innissiu, doluid fer deligthe for a mnái*, 'while the hosts were in Scotland in conflict, a distinguished-looking man came to his wife.'

LU. 120<sup>a</sup> 33. *intan trá luide in ben ass . . . , dochorastár ubull do Conclu*, 'as the woman went forth, then, she threw an apple to Concla.'

LU. 133<sup>b</sup> 9. *ciid* (historic present = preterite) *in ben intan bánessam anidnacul* (leg. *a hidnacul*), 'the woman wept when her surrender was close at hand.'

LU. 128<sup>b</sup> 25. *birt mac 7 doberar* (hist. pres.) *Setanta fair. is and sin iarom batár Ulaid hi comthínol i n-Emain Macha intan berta in mac*. 'She bore a son and Setanta was the name given to him. The men of Ulster were assembled in Emain Macha when she bore the son.'

<sup>1</sup> Ed. K. Meyer, *Voyage of Bran*, p. 42.



The action of the subordinate clause may be prior to the action of the main clause. In such sentences both the preterite and the perfect are found. The discussion of the preterite in these and similar cases will be better reserved till the use of the perfect has been considered.

### THE PERFECT.

The perfect marks the occurrence of an action in past time from the point of view of the present;<sup>1</sup> it corresponds generally in function to the aorist in Vedic Sanskrit,<sup>2</sup> and to the Indogermanic aorist.<sup>3</sup>

The action may fall within the recent experience of the speaker (or the person spoken to), or within his more remote experience, or it may fall in an indefinite past. Sometimes the perfect seems to correspond to the Indogermanic perfect, i.e. to denote a state resulting from a past action, *asréracht Crist* 'Christ has arisen (and lives),' *rotcharus* 'I have fallen in love with thee (and love thee),' *ba sí* (fac. *sin*) *a mét, di prínglais déac foráccaib ind óenfross i n-Ére co bráth* 'such was its greatness (that) the single shower has left twelve chief streams in Ireland for ever' LU. 134<sup>b</sup> 18. But I doubt if the perfect force lies in the verbal form itself; it lies rather in the peculiar situation. In itself *asréracht Crist* seems to mean 'Christ has (once) arisen,' i.e. He did not remain with the dead, *rotcharus* 'I have fallen in love with thee' (*ἡρώσθη*). At least, there seems to me to be no sufficient reason for postulating a separate category here.

The uses of the perfect may be thus subdivided. (I) The perfect in main clauses. (II) The perfect in subordinate clauses where the verb of the main clause is present or perfect, where the action of both verbs is regarded from the point of view of the present, and where there is nothing in the context to show that the action of the subordinate clause is felt to be relatively prior to the action of the main clause. (III) The perfect in subordinate clauses where the verb of the main clause is present or perfect, where the action of both verbs may be regarded from the point of view of the present, but where the action of the subordinate clause is prior to the action of the main clause. (IV) The perfect in subordinate clauses where the verb of the main clause is preterite. Here the perfect is felt by us at least

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mutzbauer, *Griechische Tempuslehre*, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Delbrück, *Altind. Synt.* pp. 280 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Delbrück, *Vgl. Synt.* ii, pp. 277 sq.

to express not an action regarded from the point of view of the present, but time prior to the time of the main clause. (V) The perfect in main clauses which stand in the same relation to another main clause as the subordinate clause to the principal clause in the last subdivision (parataxis for hypotaxis).

I.<sup>1</sup>

LU. 74<sup>a</sup> 32. A woman comes to Cuchulinn. He asks her who she is. She replies: “*ingen Búain ind ríq,*” *orsí*, “*dodeochad chucutsu. rotcharus air th’ airscélaib 7 tucus mo seotu lim.*” “‘The daughter of King Buan,’ said she. ‘I have come to thee. I have fallen in love with thee for the tales of thee, and I have brought my treasures with me.’”

With *rotcharus*, cf. LU. 72<sup>a</sup> 31, 120<sup>a</sup> 16, LL. 249<sup>b</sup> 36, RC. xi, 442.

LU. 60<sup>a</sup> 1. When Cuchulinn went to the battlefield, he saw a man with half his head off carrying the half of a man upon his back. He addresses Cuchulinn: “*congna lim, a Chuchulaind,*” *olse*; “*rombith 7 tucuss leth mo brathar ar mo muin.*” “‘Help me, Cuchulinn,’ said he; ‘I have been wounded, and I have brought the half of my brother on my back.’”

LU. 120<sup>b</sup> 10. Condla says of a woman who has come to him from fairyland: “*romgab dano eolchaire immon mnái,*” ‘I have been seized with longing for the woman.’ In 120<sup>a</sup> 38, where this is *narrated*, the preterite is used: *gabais eolchaire iarom inní Condla immon mnái atchonnaire*, ‘thereafter Condla was seized with longing for the woman whom he had seen.’

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the following examples of the aorist in Sanskrit and in Greek:—

Çatapatha Br. xi, 5, 41. The pupil who presents himself before his teacher says: *brahmacáryam ágám*, ‘I have come to be a pupil.’

Taittiriya Sámhita, vi, 5, 53. Indra slew Vritra. The gods said: “*mahān vā áyam abhūd yó Vṛtrám ávadhīd*” *íti*, ‘he has shown himself great who has slain Vritra.’

RV. x, 124, i. *imám nō agna úpa yajnádm éhi . . . jyōḡ evā dirghám táma áçayishthāh*. ‘Agni, come to this our sacrifice. Too long hast thou lain in lasting darkness.’

RV. v, 2, 12. Irresistibly shall Agni drive off (*ajāti*) the wealth of the enemy. *itīmám agnim amítā avōcan*, ‘hence the gods have called him Agni.’

Aitareya Br. ii, 23, 3. *purō vā itān dēvā akrata yat purōlāsās tat purōlāsānām purōlāçatvam*. ‘The gods have made the sacrificial cakes (*purōlāçāh*) their strongholds. That is why the *purōlāçāh* are so called.’

Hom. Od. i, 182, *vūn δ’ ὤδε ξὺν νηὶ κατήλυθον ἦδ’ ἐτάροισι*.

id. i, 64, *τέκνον ἐμόν, ποῖόν σε ἔπος φύγεν ἕρκος ὀδόντων;*

Hdt. i, 30, *vūn ὦν ἡμερος ἐπειρέσθαι μοι ἐπήλυθε εἰ τινα ἤδη πάντων εἰδες ὀλιώτατον*.

MI. 53<sup>d</sup> 9. “*is Dia do[n]roidni,*”<sup>1</sup> *ol. Rabsacis*, “*intan nand-argart.*” “‘It is God who hath sent us,’ said Rabshakeh, ‘since He hath not forbidden it.’”

LL. 251<sup>a</sup> 4. *congair Fraech gilla dia muntir.* “*airg ass,*” *olse*, “*cosin magin i n-deochadsa issin uisce. éicne forábusa and.*” “Fraech summons a gillic of his household. ‘Go forth,’ said he, ‘to the place in which I entered the water. I have left a salmon there.’” Fraech had caught the salmon in the water on the previous day.

Rev. Celt. xi, 446. Cuchulinn comes to Scathach. Scathach’s daughter praised him to her. “*ruttolnastair in fer,*” *ol a máthair.* “‘The man hath found favour with thee,’ said her mother.”

LU. 61<sup>a</sup> 45. Cuchulinn overheard Cathbad telling his pupils that whatever youth took arms on that day would be famous in Ireland for ever. He went to King Conchobur and asked for arms. On being informed that this was done by the advice of Cathbad, Conchobur gave him arms. Cathbad came afterwards and denied that the advice had come from him. Conchobur reproaches Cuchulinn with having deceived him. Cuchulinn replies: “*a rí Fêne, ní bréc,*” *ol Cúchulaind.* “*is hé dorinchoisc dia felmaccaib imbuaruch 7 rachualasa fri hEmain andess 7 dedeochadsa chucutsu iarom.*” “‘King of the Fene, it is no deceit,’ said Cuchulinn. ‘He taught his pupils this morning, and I heard it south of Emain, and came to thee then.’”

LU. 20<sup>b</sup> 4. Crimthann had escaped from the slaughter wrought by Cuchulinn and the Ulstermen. He meets his foster-mother. “*in farebad mo mac sa?*” *ol si.* “*forábad,*” *ol Crimthand.* “‘Has my son been left (on the field)?’ said she. ‘He has been left,’ said Crimthann.”

LU. 133<sup>a</sup> 2. *atá do chéle i n-gúais má[i]r. tucad fer húathmar ara chend . . . 7 atbéla leis.* ‘Thy husband is in great peril. A terrible man has been brought against him, and he will fall by him.’

LU. 83<sup>a</sup> 39. “*bói cara damsa isin tír se,*” *for Conaire,* “*acht*

<sup>1</sup> Such cases as this, where the periphrasis with the copula is used to bring some word into emphatic position, may best be put with main clauses, as there is no real subordination. It may be noted that in such periphrasis, where the leading verb is perfect, the copula is regularly either present or perfect. Examples will be found in my paper on the Substantive Verb, pp. 73 sq. In Wb. 4<sup>c</sup> 35 we should correct, with Thurneysen, to *ní fochétóir dorat*, and in Wb. 5<sup>b</sup> 3 should be read, with Zimmer, *nifarmaid rosnuice*.



*rofesmais conair dia thig.*" "Cia ainm side?" for *MacCecht*. "Da Derga di Lagnib," ol *Conaire*. "ránic cucumsa em," ol *Conaire*, "do chuingid aisceda 7 ní thuidchid co n-éru." "I should have a friend in this land," said *Conaire*, 'if we only knew the way to his house.' 'What is his name?' said *MacCecht*. 'Da Derga of Leinster,' said *Conaire*. 'He came to me indeed,' said *Conaire*, 'to seek a gift, and he came not with refusal.'" The various gifts are then introduced by the perfect *roirus*, 'I have given.'

LU. 68<sup>b</sup> 12. "is fús ind láí mór sin doberar lam popa Fergus," ol *Cuchulaind*, "ar ní fil claideb ina intiuch inge claideb craind." "atchoas dam dano," ol *Cuchulaind*: "rogab Ailill a m-bégal inna cotlud, héseom 7 Medb, 7 dorétlaistir a claidiub ar Fergus 7 dorat dia araid dia toscaid 7 doratad claideb craind ina intech." "That great rudder is empty which my father Fergus brings with him," says *Cuchulinn*, 'for there is no sword in its sheath but a sword of wood.' 'It has been told me,' said *Cuchulinn*, 'Ailill got a chance of them as they slept, he and Medb, and took from Fergus his sword and gave it to his charioteer to keep, and a sword of wood was put into its sheath.'" This took place shortly before, LU. 65<sup>a</sup> 31 sq.; in the narrative there preterites are used.

LU. 59<sup>b</sup> 40. Fergus relates one of the wonders that *Cuchulinn* had done in his childhood, and adds: *hi fiadnaise Bricriu* (sic) *ucut dorónad*, 'it was done before *Bricriu* yonder.'

LU. 134<sup>a</sup> 7. *atá coirthe oca ulaid, 7 atá ogom isin chind fil hí talam din chorthi. issed fil and*: "Eochaid Airgtech inso; rambí Cailte." "There is a pillar by his grave, and there is an Ogam on the end of the pillar that is in the earth. This is what is there: 'This is Eochaid Airgtech; Cailte slew him.'"

The perfect of an indefinite past is the common type of perfect in the Glosses, e.g. :—

Tur. 60. *air intan citaacæ* (MS. *ad citaacæ*) *Rebeca inni Isac doarblaing* (= *di-air-roleblaing*) *den chamull forambóí ar omalldoit spírto. sic dano doarblaing ind eclais din chamull indiumsa . . . forsarobæ intan adcondairc sponsum*. 'For when Rebecca first saw Isaac, she sprang from the camel whereon she was, for humility of spirit. So then the Church has sprung from the camel of pride whereon she was, when she saw the Spouse.' But at 59, in an historical note, is the preterite *disin doeirbling*, 'thence she sprang down.'



This type is also common in the Féilire, e.g. :—

ProL. 29. *roselgatar rótu, nád soréid la boethu ;  
riana techt dond rígu rodamnatar soethu.*

‘They have hewed roads, which foolish ones deem not easy. Before coming to the kingdom they have suffered pains.’

ProL. 233. *in gormríg romúchtha : in Domnaill roplágtha ;  
in Chíaráin rorígtha : in Chronáin romártha.*

‘The mighty kings have been stifled: the Domnalls have been plagued: the Ciarans have been crowned: the Cronans have been magnified.’

The following examples will further illustrate the usage :—

Imram Brain, § 27. *flaith cen tossach cen forcenn dorúasat bith*, ‘a King without beginning, without end, hath created the world.’

Lib. Ardm. 18<sup>b</sup> 1. *7 adopart (pret.) Crimthann in port sin du Patricc, ar ba Patric dubert (pret.) baithis do Chrimthunn, 7 i Slebti adranact Crimthann.* ‘And Crimthann offered that place to Patrick, for it was Patrick that gave baptism to Crimthann, and in Slebte Crimthann has been buried.’ Here the preterites simply narrate; in the perfect the past is put in relation to the present.

Cormac’s Glossary, s.v. *prull*. After the narration of the tale which is said to have given Senchan his name we have *is disein rohainmniged dosom Senchán Torpéist* .i. *Senchán dororpai peist*, ‘hence he hath got the name of Senchan Torpeist, i.e. Senchan to whom a monster hath been of service.’ Similarly s.v. *nescóit, ad fin*.

LU. 84<sup>a</sup> 41. *bái læch maith isin tír thúaid. Fén-dar-Crínach based (leg. bahed, cf. YBL. 94<sup>a</sup> 10) a ainm. is de robóí Fén-dar-Crínach fairseom. ár is cumma nocinged dara cholaind (tara choland YBL. 94<sup>a</sup> 10, dar comland YBL. 330<sup>a</sup> 62, leg. tara chomland) 7 nochessed fén dar crínach.* ‘There was a goodly hero in the north. Fén-dar-crínach (Wain-over-faggots) was his name. This is how he got the name of Fén-dar-crínach. For he used to step over his foes as though it were a wain going over faggots.’

LU. 64<sup>b</sup> 10. After the death of divers people at the hands of Cuchulinn has been narrated, the narrator sums up: *is amlaid trá romarbhá in lucht sin : Orlám chetumus ina dind, tri maic Gárach fora n-áth, Fertedil ina dédlib (dedil YBL. 24<sup>a</sup> 8), Mánan ina dind.* ‘So then were those folk slain, Orlam first in his *dind*, the three

MacGarach at their ford, Fertedil in his . . . , Maenan in his *dind*.' It must be borne in mind that here, as generally in the Tāin, the stories are connected with names of places. For a similar brief summary see LU. 70<sup>b</sup> 42. But in LU. 70<sup>b</sup> 11 we have the preterite.

In LU. 74<sup>a</sup> 26 we have the various bodily troubles that resulted to Larine from his conflict with Cuchulinn detailed in a series of perfects; to this so far I have no parallel except Rev. Celt. x, 78, ll. 7-9.

## II.<sup>1</sup>

LL. 250<sup>b</sup> 15. After Ailill and Medb have tried to bring about Fraech's death, *téit Ailill 7 Medb ina n-dun iarom*. "mór gním doríngensam," *ol Medb*. "issinnaithrech," *ol Ailill*, "a n-doringensam risin fer." "Then Ailill and Medb go into their fort. 'An evil deed (μέγα ἔργον) have we done,' said Medb. 'We repent,' said Ailill, 'of what we have done to the man.'"

LU. 69<sup>a</sup> 27. Cuchulinn has slain Etarcomol, who had come to him under the protection of Fergus. Fergus comes to him in anger. Cuchulinn asks whether he would have preferred that Etarcomol had slain him. "is assu ém lemsa a n-dorónad," *ar Fergus*. "'I prefer what has been done,' says Fergus."

LU. 133<sup>b</sup> 44. Mongan and the poet Forgoll had a dispute about how Fothad Airgthech met with his death. A warrior, who was Cailte, Find's foster-son, comes to Mongan's court and says the king is right, and he relates how long ago when he (Cailte) was with Mongan, who is identified with Find, he slew Fothad with his spear. And he adds: *issed a n-diceltar so robói isin gai sin. fugebthar in mælcloch dia rolusa a roud si[n]*. 'This is the shaft

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the following examples of the aorist in Sanskrit and in Greek:—

Çatapatha Br. iii, 6, 2, 18. *yáthaiváśyāmūtra gōptaró 'bhumaivám evāśyāpīkā gōptārō bhavishyāmah*, 'as we have been his protectors there, so we will be his protectors here.'

Id. ii, 6, 3, 5. *sá bándhuh cunasīryāśya yān pīrvám avōcama*, 'that is the sense of the *cunasīrya* which we have just now set forth.'

Id. iv, 1, 5, 7. *yān nāvēdisham tēnāhīmsisham*, 'because I did not know thee, therefore have I injured thee.'

Hdt. i, 85. *ἦν οἱ παῖς τοῦ καὶ πρότερον ἐπεμνήσθην*.

Hom. Il. i, 297. *χερσὶ μὲν οὐ τοι ἔγωγε μαχίσομαι εἴνεκα κούρης οὔτε σοὶ οὔτε τῷ ἄλλῳ, ἐπεὶ μὲν ἀφέλεσθέ γε δόντες*.

Plat., 162A. *ὦ Σώκρατες, φίλος ἀνὴρ, ὥσπερ νυνδὴ εἶπες*. In Irish it would be *amal asrubirtsin*; cf. the examples cited by Zimmer, KZ. xxxvi, 505 sq.

that was in that spear. The blunt stone from which I made that cast will be found.'

Stowe Missal, 64<sup>b</sup>. *figor cuirp Crist rosuidiged hi linnanart brond Maire*, 'a figure of Christ's body that was set in the linen sheet of Mary's womb.' Other examples will be found in this text.

Cormac's Glossary, s.v. *Mugeme*. *Mugeme ainm in chétnai oirc cetarabe i n-Ére*, 'Mugeme is the name of the first lapdog that first was in Ireland.'

LU. 77<sup>b</sup> 12. After it has been related where various people were slain, we are told: *hité a n-anmand na tiri sin co bráth cach bale i torcair cach fer díbsidi*, 'these are the names of those lands for ever, each place in which each of them has fallen.' Similarly LU. 70<sup>b</sup> 22. Cf. pp. 17, 18 above.

Wb. 13<sup>b</sup> 10. *amal ronpridchissemni rachretsidsi*, 'as we have preached it, ye have believed it.'

MI. 102<sup>d</sup> 17. *amal rusoirtha som hi sleib Sina . . . sic rosoirtha in Machabdi*, 'as they have been delivered on Mount Sinai, so the Maccabees have been delivered.'

Wb. 29<sup>d</sup> 9. *intain ronanissiu domhéisse nírbo accur lat*, 'when thou didst remain behind me, thou didst not desire it.'

LU. 55<sup>a</sup> 33. As the army is about to leave home, Medb says: "All who are parting with their friends will curse me, *uáir is mé dorinól in sliagad sa*," 'because I have mustered this hosting.'

Wb. 4<sup>c</sup> 16. *hóre doroigu indala fer cen airilliud et romiscsigestar alaile indoich bid indirge do Dia insin*, 'because He hath chosen the one man without merit and hath hated the other, think ye that that is unrighteousness to God?'

Wb. 17<sup>c</sup> 1. *céin ropridchos doib it Macidonii domroisechtatar*, 'as long as I preached to them, the Macedonians have supported me.'

Ir. Text. ii, 2, 245. *dofuccusa in m-boin sea a Sith Cruachan condarodart in Dub Cuailnge*, 'I have brought this cow out of Sid Cruachan so that the Black of Cooley has bulled her.'

MI. 55<sup>d</sup> 4. *robóí du chensi Duaid conna rogaid do Dia digail for Saul . . . , acht rogaid ho Dia conidnderoimed di lamaib Saul*, 'such hath been David's gentleness that he hath not prayed to God for vengeance on Saul, but he hath prayed of God that He would deliver him from Saul's hands.'

Cf. Wb. 21<sup>c</sup> 22, 26<sup>a</sup> 25, MI. 33<sup>b</sup> 5, 44<sup>c</sup> 11, 65<sup>d</sup> 12, 98<sup>b</sup> 8.



III.<sup>1</sup>

MI. 102<sup>d</sup> 17. sic *rosoirtha in Machabdi hua Dia dinaib imnedaib hi robatar*, 'so the Maccabees have been delivered by God from the troubles wherein they had been.'

MI. 50<sup>d</sup> 15. *intain dorolaig Dia do inn uaiil dorigni roicad iarum*, 'when God had forgiven him the pride of which he had been guilty, he was healed afterwards.'

MI. 126<sup>b</sup> 2. *is do nertad in popuil adcuaid som eid intain ronan du aisndis dun popul fesin*, 'it is to encourage the people that he has delivered himself, even when he has ceased from speaking of the people itself.'

MI. 65<sup>a</sup> 1. *iarsindi adcuaid som dineuch immethecrathar Crist dianechtair, contoi talmaidiu du aisndis de fessin híc*, 'after he has spoken of what covers Christ externally, he turns suddenly to speak of Himself here.'

Wb. 21<sup>d</sup> 11. *o adcuaid rúin ícce in cheneli dóine . . . asbeir iarom . . .*, 'after he has set forth the mystery of the salvation of the race of men, he says afterwards,' etc.

IV.<sup>2</sup>

LU. 63<sup>a</sup> 32. *lasodain atnethat láith gaile Emna 7 fochedat i n-dabaig n-úarusci. maitti immiseom in dabach hisin. in dabach*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the following examples of the aorist in Sanskrit and in Greek :—

RV. vii, 57, 1. *pínvanti útsam yád áyāsura ugráh*, 'the strong ones cause the skin to flow, when they have come.'

RV. i, 38, 8. *vācśréva vidyún mimāti . . . yád eśhām vṛśhtír ásarji*, 'like a calf the lightning lows, when their rain has been poured forth.'

RV. viii, 82, 14–15. *ví yád áhēr ádha tvishó vícēv dēvāsō ákramuḥ vidán mrgásya táñ ámah, ád u nē nivaró bhuvad vṛtrahádishṭa paúmsyam*, 'when all the gods fled from the violence of the dragon, when the rage of the beast seized them, then was he to me a protection, the slayer of Vritra showed his valour.'

Other examples are cited in Grassmann, s.v. *yád* and *yádā*.

Hom. II. iv, 244. *αἷ τ' ἐπεὶ οὖν ἔκαμον πολέος πεδίοιο θέουσαι, ἐστᾶσι*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the following examples of the aorist in Sanskrit and in Greek :—

RV. vii, 98, 5. *yádéd ádēvir áśahishṭa māyá, áthābhavat kēvalah sōmō asya*, 'when he had overcome the crafty assaults of the demons, then the Soma was wholly his.'

RV. i, 51, 4. *Vṛtrán yád Indra cāvasāvādhír áhim, ád íi sūryam divy áróhayaḥ árcé*, 'when, Indra, thou hadst slain by force the dragon Vritra, then thou didst cause the sun to mount in the heaven to behold.'

Hom. II. i, 484. *αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ β' ἴκοντο κατὰ στρατὸν εὐρὸν Ἀχαιῶν, νῆα μὲν οἱ γε μέλαιναν ἐπ' ἠπείροιο ἔρυσσαν*.



*aile dano in-rolád fichis dornaib de.*<sup>1</sup> *in tres dabach in-deochaid iarsuidiu fosngert side combo chumsi dó a tess 7 a fuacht.* 'Therewith the heroes of Emain seize him (Cuchulinn hot with rage) and cast him into a tub of cold water. That tub bursts about him. The second tub in which he was cast boiled hands high (?) therefrom. The third tub into which he went afterwards, he warmed it so that its heat and its cold were right for him.'

LU. 65<sup>a</sup> 19. "*ind adaig,*" orse, "*dochótár Ulaid ina nóendin, dolluid 7 tri fichit samaisce imbi.*" "'The night,' she said, 'that the Ulstermen had gone into their debility, he (the bull) went and sixty heifers around him.'"

LU. 64<sup>a</sup> 22. *a n-dochóid i n-occus don dínud tisca* (hist. pres.) *a cend dia muin,* 'when he had gone near the camp, he took his head from his back.'

LU. 60<sup>a</sup> 41. *dia forgéni Cauland cerdd oegidacht do Chonchobur, asbert Cauland iarom . . . ,* 'when Cauland the smith had prepared hospitality for Conchobur, Cauland said then . . . .'

LU. 56<sup>b</sup> 1. *o dodechatár a cetna rude*<sup>2</sup> *a Cruachain combátár hi Cúil Sibrinne, asbert Medb fria haraid,* 'when they had come the first march from Cruachan, so that they were in Cul Sibrinne, Medb said to her charioteer.'

RC. xi, 444. *o dochoid tar Alpi ba bronach do dith a coiceli. anais dano desuidiu o roairigestar.* 'When he had gone over Scotland, he was sorrowful for the loss of his comrades. He stayed then when he had perceived it.'

LU. 70<sup>b</sup> 19. *tintái Medb aitheruch atúaid ó roan cóicthiges oc inriud in chóicid 7 o rofich cath fri Findmóir,* 'Medb turned back again from the north, after she had remained a fortnight harrying the province, and after she had fought a battle with Findmor.' Similarly LU. 76<sup>b</sup> 11.

LL. 248<sup>b</sup> 7. *dosnídecai in derceaid din dún intan dodechatar i m-Mag Cruachan,* 'the watchman saw them from the fort, when they had come into the plain of Cruachan.'

<sup>1</sup> = *configed durnu di*, LL. 67<sup>b</sup> 48.

<sup>2</sup> leg., with Stokes, *n-ude*, cf. LL. 56<sup>b</sup> 10.

V.<sup>1</sup>

LU. 82<sup>a</sup> 34. At the beginning of the section entitled *Aided Tamuin* (the Death of Tamun): *foruirmiset muinte Ailello a mind rig for Tamun drúth. ní lamair Ailill a beith fair fessin. srédis* (pret.) *Cúchulaind cloich fáir . . . comebaid a cend de.* 'Ailill's household had placed his royal crown on Tamun the fool. Ailill did not venture to have it on himself. Cuchulinn hurled a stone at him, so that his head was broken therefrom.' Here *foruirmiset* is logically subordinate to *srédis*. *-lamair* is one of the verbs that may be either imperfective or perfective (cf. p. 9).

LU. 59<sup>b</sup> 13. When the young Cuchulinn came to the court of his uncle Conchobor, the boys who were at play attacked the stranger for some breach of boyish etiquette. He fell upon them and overthrew fifty of them. At last, instead of his being placed under the protection of the lads, they were put under his protection. *lotúr* (pret.) *uli isa cluchemaig* (leg. *-mag*) *iarom 7 atarachtatár* (perf.) *in maic hí* (leg. *hísín?*) *roslassa and. fosráthatar* (pret.) *a munmi 7 a n-aiti.* 'Thereafter they all went into the play-field, and those boys who had been smitten there had arisen. Their foster-mothers and foster-fathers helped them.'

<sup>1</sup> With this section cf. Zimmer's remarks, pp. 541 sq.

A similar usage seems to be found with the aorist in Vedic Sanskrit, as in the following examples:—

RV. x, 88, 10. *stómēna hí diví dēvāsō agnīm ájñjanañ . . . , tám ū akṣṛvan tvēdhā bhuvē.* 'By praise the gods had created Agni in the heaven. They made him be in three.'

RV. iv, 18, 5. *avadyám iva mányamānā gúhākar Indram mātá viryēna nyṣhtam: áthōd asthāt svayám átkam vdsāna, ō rūdasi arṣṇāḥ jayamānaḥ.* 'Indra's mother, deeming him contemptible, though full of might, had hidden him. He had burst forth of himself clad in his raiment. At his birth he filled the two worlds.'

RV. i, 163, 2. *Yamēna dattam Tritá enam āyunag, Indra enam prathamō ádhy atishṭhat, Gandharvō asya raśanām agzbhāt; sūrād ásvam Vasavō nír atashta,* translated by Delbrück: 'Den von Yama gegebenen Renner spannte Trita an, Indra bestieg ihn zuerst, Gandharva ergriff seinen Zügel. Aus der Sonne hattet ihr Vasus das Ross geschaffen.'

Cf. also such Greek examples as the following:—

Hom. II. i, 92. *καὶ τότε δὴ θάρσησε καὶ ἦδα μάντις ἀμύμων.*

Plat., 157 E. *ὁ μὲν ὀφθαλμοῦς ἔρα ὕψεως πλέως ἐγένετο καὶ ὄρα δὴ τότε.*

Hom. II. xvii, 544. *ἐγειρε δὲ νεῖκος Αθήνη*

*οὐρανὸθεν καταβῆσα· προῆκε γὰρ εὐρύποια Ζεὺς*

*ὀρνίμεναι Δαναοῦς· δὴ γὰρ νόος ἐτράπετ' αὐτοῦ.*

In the last instance, however, subordination is indicated by *γάρ*.

LL. 250<sup>a</sup> 27. *foscceird* (hist. pres.) *Ailill isinn abaind sis. roairigestar* (perf.) *Fráech anisin. conaccai ní: dolleblaing* (pret.) *int écne ara chend*<sup>1</sup> 7 *gabrus* (pret.) *inna beulu.* ‘Ailill threw it (the ring) down into the river. Fraech had marked that. He (Fraech) saw somewhat: a salmon sprang to meet it, and seized it in its mouth.’

LL. 248<sup>a</sup> 23. *iarsuidiu docorastar* (pret.) *fair dul do acallaim na hingine. immaroraid* (perf.) *fria muntir anisin.* “*tiagar uait didiu co siair do mathar,*” etc. “Then it fell upon him to go to speak with the maid. He had deliberated that with his household. ‘Let someone’ (said they) ‘then go from thee to thy mother’s sister.’”

LU. 72<sup>b</sup> 11. *lecair* (hist. pres.) *sium iarom ass, 7 fonascár* (hist. pres.) *fair can tuidecht forsin slog co tísad aroen fri Ultu uli. dorairngired* (perf.) *dó dano Findabair do tabairt do 7 immasói* (pret.) *úadib iarsuidiu.* ‘Then he was let go, and he was bound not to come against the host till he should come along with all the Ulstermen. It had been promised him that Findabair should be given him, and then he turned away from them.’

LU. 19<sup>a</sup> 6. A dispute arose among the Ulstermen as to who should go on an errand. One said that it should be he, another that it should be he. *cotréracht each fer diarailiu imbi.* “*nachafogluised anisin,*” *ol Sencha;* “*fer dongegat Ulaid . . . isé nodraga.*” “Each of them had arisen against the other concerning it. ‘Let not that move you,’ said Sencha; ‘the man whom the men of Ulster shall choose, he shall go.’”

LU. 85<sup>b</sup> 14. *toscurethar*<sup>2</sup> (hist. pres.) *a coblach dochom tíre. a n-gloim rolásat na trí cóicait curach oc tuidecht hi tír forrocrath* (perf.) *brudin Dá Dergæ connárabi gai for alchaing inte, acht rolásat* (perf.) *grith combátár for lar in tige uli.* “*samailte lat,*” *a Chonairi,* “*cia fúaim so?*” “They put to land with their fleet. The din that the thrice fifty boats had raised in coming to land had shaken the palace of Da Derga, so that there was no spear on rack in it, but they had made a din so that they were all

<sup>1</sup> One might have expected *ara cend*. In Rev. Celt. xi, 452, we find *ara chind* of a woman, where, however, another text (Celt. Zeitschr. iii, 254) has *foracinn*. Did the masculine form tend to become stereotyped? So far I have no more evidence.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *doscurethar dochom tíre* LU. 85<sup>a</sup> 41, *toscurethar bedg na díbergaig* 86<sup>b</sup> 38. Of one person *doscurethar* Ir. Text. ii, 1, 178, but *docuirethar bedg* LU. 87<sup>a</sup> 27 = *tacuirithear bedg* YBL. 96<sup>a</sup> 23; cf. further *domcurethar* Rev. Celt. x, 86, also *foscceird* Rev. Celt. x, 70.



in the midst of the house. 'Make comparison, Conaire, what noise is this?' "

Compert Mongán. *bói Fiachnae Lurga athair Mongáin, bo hóenri in chóicid. bóí cara leis i n-Albain .i. Aedán mac Gabráin. dodechas uadsíde co hAedán; dodechas ó Aedán co Fiachnae ara tised dia chobair. . . . luid didiu Fiachnae tairis.* 'There was Fiachnae Lurga, son of Mongan, who was sole king of the province. He had a friend in Scotland, Aedan, son of Gabran. A message had come from him to Aedan. A message had come from Aedan to him that he should come to help him. . . . Then Fiachnae went across.'

LU. 67<sup>b</sup> 17. "*táit ass do Chúil Airthir.*" *ecmaic dochuaid* (perf.) *Cuchulaind inn aidchi sin do acallaim Ulad.* "*scéla lat,*" or *Conchobor.* "'Come forth to Cul Airthir.' It happened that Cuchulinn had gone that night to speak with the Ulstermen. 'Thy news,' said Conchobor." Similarly LL. 251<sup>b</sup> 29, and, with a still longer explanation interpolated, Ir. Text. ii, 1, 178, ll. 126-132.

In ML. 124<sup>d</sup> 9 (cf. Zimmer, p. 518) two subordinate clauses seem to stand in this relation, *huare nad rotodlaigestar* (perf.) *co Dia inna huisciu . . . 7 huare asmbert cia duthluich[ed]<sup>1</sup> nadétaitis,* 'because he had not asked the waters of God . . . and because he said though he should ask, they could not be got.'

In the following passages the perfect follows:—

LU. 70<sup>a</sup> 31. *is and sin luid* (pret.) *Medb co triun int sloig le hi Cuib do chuingid in tairb 7 luid Cuchulaind ina n-diad. for sligi Midluachra didiu dochoid si do indriud Ulad.* 'Then Medb went and a third of the host with her into Cuib to seek the bull, and Cuchulinn went after them. Now she had gone by the way of Midluachair to harry Ulster.'

LL. 249<sup>a</sup> 45. *docing* (hist. pres.) *Lothur for lár in taige; fodáile doib a n-biad. fora dernaind norannad* (imperfect) *cech n ágæ cona claidiub* (fac. *clādiub = cona claid~* YBL. 57<sup>a</sup> 26) *7 ni aidleth* (imperfect) *toim na féoil. o gabais* (pret., see above p. 11) *rannairecht ni archiuir biad fo láim riam.* 'Lothur sprang into the middle of the house. He divided to them the food. On his palm he used to divide each joint with his sword, and he reached not skin or flesh (i.e. of his hand). Since he assumed the office of divider, food had never failed beneath his hand.'

<sup>1</sup> Zimmer's *duthluichfed* is syntactically impossible.



LL. 252<sup>a</sup> 45. *loicid* (hist. pres.) *Conall in nathir assa chriss. et ni dergeni nechtar de olc fria chéile.* 'Conall let the snake go from his girdle. And neither of them had done harm to the other.'

Such parataxis might also be found when the leading verb is primary. But then, as a rule, it is not so easily discernible. The following passage, however, may be quoted:—

LU. 133<sup>a</sup> 19. *conid mac do Manannán mac Lir inti Mongán césu Moígan mac Fiachnai dogarar dé. ar foracaib rand lia máthair al-lude uadi matin.* 'So that this Mongan is son of Manannan mac Lir, though he is called Mongan, Fiachnae's son. For he (Manannan) had left a stave with his (Mongan's) mother, when he went from her in the morning.'

### PRETERITE AND PERFECT.

We have exemplified the chief uses of the preterite and the perfect in Irish. It remains to consider a number of exceptions, when the preterite is used where, in accordance with what has been set forth above, the perfect might have been expected, and conversely. It is here that the lack of absolutely trustworthy texts is most severely felt. As has been said already, the historical passages in the Old Irish manuscripts are few, and in old texts preserved in later manuscripts there is always the risk of error in transmission. The risk obviously lies chiefly in one direction. In the development of the Irish language the imperfective (preterite) forms are finally ousted by the perfective (perfect). Hence it is very possible that a later transcriber should replace a preterite by a perfect; it is very unlikely that he should have replaced a perfect by a preterite. Consequently, if we meet with preterites where we might have been inclined to look for perfects, we should seek for some other explanation than scribal carelessness.

The following are the instances that I have noted in which preterites appear under circumstances similar to those in which perfects appeared in the foregoing section. The examples may be most conveniently arranged under the following heads:—

#### 1. THE PRETERITE IN MAIN CLAUSES.

LU. 77<sup>b</sup> 2. The Morrigan had been wounded by Cuchulinn, and came to him unrecognized and was healed by him, though he had previously warned her (LU. 74<sup>a</sup> 42 sq.) that, if she molested

him as she threatened, she should rue it. After being healed, “*atbirt frim trá,*” or in *Mórrigan*, “*nimbiad íe lat co brath.*” “‘You told me,’ said the Morrigan, ‘that I should not be healed by you till Doom.’” Similarly *atbertsa*, LL. 251<sup>b</sup> 8.

Ir. Text. ii, 2, 230. The sons of Ailill and Medb on a foray were attacked by overwhelming numbers. They sent a message home to tell of their plight. *rosóiched na hingena co Cruachain 7 adfiadad scéla ule: “rogabad”* (perf.), or *siad*, “*fort maccaib-siu oc Ath Briuin, 7 asbertadar techt na foirithin,*” translated by Windisch: “Die Mädchen gelangen nach Cruachan und erzählen die ganzen Geschichten. ‘Deine Söhne sind bei Ath Briuin im Nachtheil, und sie haben gesagt, man solle ihnen zu Hülfe kommen.’” Strictly speaking, *asbertatar* means not ‘they have said,’ but ‘they said.’

In the foregoing instances the preterite simply narrates some past action or experience of the speaker without any reference to the present.<sup>1</sup> So the speaker can *narrate* in the preterite his deeds in a more remote past. Thus, in LU. 133<sup>b</sup> 39 sq., *Cailte* narrates: “‘We were (*bámár*) with Find, then,’ said he. ‘We came (*dulodmar*) from Scotland. We met with (*immarnaemár*) Fothad Airgthech here yonder on the Larne river. We fought (*fíchimmir*) a battle there. I made (*fochart*) a cast at him. . . .’” But directly afterwards, when there is a reference to the present: “This here is the shaft that was (*robói* perf.) in that spear. The blunt stone from which I made (*rohus* perf.) that cast will be found . . .” So in a dependent clause, Rev. Celt. xi, 446, *asbert si batir comaltai diblínaiþ la Ulbecan Saxa*, “*diam-bamar matau lais oc foglaim bindiussa,*” *ol si*. “She said they were (we should say ‘they had been’) foster-children both with Wulfkin the Saxon, ‘when you and I were with him learning sweet speech,’ said she.”

Other instances of the preterite of an immediate past are found in LU. 122<sup>b</sup> 35. *Cuchulinn*, who has just come to woo

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Delbrück’s remarks on the Sanskrit imperfect, *Altind. Synt.*, p. 291: “Das Imperfectum hat also nie eine beziehung zur gegenwart, wie sie bei dem Aorist und Perfectum vorhanden ist. Wenn also Urvaçī zu Purūravas sagt: *ná vūi tvám tád akarōr yád ahám abravam*, CB. 11, 5, 1, 7, so heisst das nicht etwa constatierend: du hast das nicht gethan, was ich gesagt habe, sondern: du thatest (damals) nicht dasjenige, was ich sagte (oder: gesagt hatte, wie wir mit Hülfe unseres im Indischen nicht vorhandenen Plusquamperfectums ausdrücken können).” The imperfect in this Sanskrit passage is an interesting parallel to the Irish preterites above.

Emer, is thus addressed by her: “‘Whence came you (*dolluidisiu*, recte *dollodsu*, pret.)?’ said she. ‘From Intide Emna,’ said he: ‘Where did ye sleep (*febair* pret.)?’ said she. ‘We slept’ (*femmir* pret.), said he, ‘in the house of a man who tends the cattle of the plain of Tethra.’ ‘What was (*bú* pret.) your food there?’ said she. ‘The “defilement of a chariot” was cooked (*fonoad* pret.) for us there,’ said he. ‘What way did you come (*dolod* pret.)?’ said she. ‘Between the Two Mountains of the Wood,’ said he. ‘Which way did ye take (*adgaibsid* pret.) afterwards?’ said she. ‘It is not hard to tell,’ said he.”

## 2. THE PRETERITE IN ORATIO OBLIQUA.

Above, p. 11, corresponding to a perfect in oratio recta, we found a perfect in oratio obliqua after a past tense. Thus, *is mé dorindgult*, ‘it is I who have promised,’ would become *asbert ba hé dorindgalt*, ‘he said it was he who had promised.’ But for the perfect I have noted the preterite in the following instances:—

LU. 133<sup>a</sup> 13. *asbert fris accaldaim a mná a l-lá riam 7 donindgell di a chobair*, ‘he told him of his conversation with his wife the day before, and that he had promised her to help him.’ Before, l. 8, in telling the wife what he would say to her husband, the speaker said: *asbér* (sic leg.) *frit chéliu-siu ar n-imthechta 7 as tussu romfóidi* (perf.) *dia chobair*, ‘I will tell your husband our adventures, and that you have sent me to help him.’

Ir. Text. i, 139, l. 26. *domenatar hUlaid ba Conchobur dogenai tria meisici* (sic leg.), ‘the men of Ulster thought that Conchobor had done it through intoxication.’

Ir. Text. i, 139, l. 4. *asbert fria rubad torrach húad 7 bá hé nudabert a dochum don bruig. ba leiss fétir. ba hé* (MS. *bái*) *in mac altae 7 ba hé tatharla inna broind*. ‘He said to her that she would be with child by him, and that it was he that had brought them to him to the *brug*. It was with him that they had slept. He was the lad that she had reared, and it was he that had come again into her womb.’ Another version tells this in oratio recta with perfects: *ispert fria*: “*biad torruch huaimsiu, a ben,*” *olse*. “*iss me roburfuce don prug,*” *olse*. “*is lem dofeidbair* (probably a corruption of *rofebair*) *hi Tuaim inn eoin. Is me in mac roaltaisi. Is he tathlai it broind.*” In the above *tatharla*, which seems to be perfect = *to-aith-ro-lá*, is peculiar by the side of the preterites. Is it used of something that has just happened?



LU. 73<sup>a</sup> 41. *asber* (hist. pres.) *fris bá cém léosom a l-lind sin; ní tobtrad [acht] ere cóicat fén léo*, 'it was said to him that that liquor was prized by them; only the load of fifty waggons had been brought by them.' Contrast with this in oratio recta LU. 73<sup>b</sup> 38, *nách fer dotháti chucaib tabraid fin dó corup maith a menma, 7 asbert[h]ar friss*: "issed nammá fil dond fin tucad (perf.) a Cruachnaib," "everyone that comes to you, give him wine till he is exhilarated, and it shall be said to him: 'that is all there is of the wine that has been brought from Cruachan.'"

Rev. Celt. xi, 448. *dobert iarom ind ingen comarli do Choinchulaind . . . ma bu [du] denam læchthachtaí dolluid, ara teissed dochom Scathchai*, 'then the maiden advised Cuchulinn, that, if it was to achieve valour he had come, he should go to Scathach.'

### 3. THE PRETERITE IN SUBORDINATE CLAUSES.

The preterite is found in subordinate clauses when the action of the verb of the subordinate clause is prior in time to the action of the verb of the main clause. For the perfect in similar clauses see above, pp. 20 sq.

LU. 133<sup>a</sup> 18. *atlugestar a céli a n-dogéni friss 7 addámir sí a imthechta uli*, 'her husband gave thanks for what she had done to him, and she confessed all her adventures.'

LU. 64<sup>b</sup> 23. *bá sáth laiss a n-dogéni Cuchulaind*, 'he was vexed at what Cuchulinn had done.' But, without any apparent difference of meaning, we find the perfect in *ba forból leu a n-dorigni Cuchulaind*, LU. 64<sup>a</sup> 29.

LL. 249<sup>b</sup> 25. *ba imned la Fraech cen acallaim na ingine. sech ba hé less nodúbert*, 'Fraech was grieved that he could not converse with the maiden; for that was the need that had brought him.' Above, l. 18, we have *imchomras dó cid dodnucai* (perf.), 'he was asked what had brought him.'

ML. 23<sup>b</sup> 7. *huare ba ferr in chomairle dombert side*, 'because the counsel which he had given was better.'

Cormac, s.v. *Mugeme*. *dobert hi ceist dond filid doluid*, 'he put as a question to the poet who had come.'

Cf. further in Tochmarc Emire, Rev. Celt. xi, pp. 442 sq.: *cechidepert*, 'all that she had said' (l. 7), *dusear*, 'whom he had overthrown' (l. 74), *docher*, 'who had fallen' (l. 139); and *geltatár*, 'which they had grazed,' LU. 57<sup>b</sup> 18, *asbertatár*, 'which they had said,' LU. 84<sup>a</sup> 9. For the preterite the historic present



*focheird*, 'which he had thrown,' appears, LU. 57<sup>b</sup> 17. With a primary tense in the main clause: Laws, iv, 178, *isí cetna breth cetaruccad in chinta bech for Conall caech caechsíte be[í]ch*, 'this is the first judgment that was first passed for the crimes of bees, in respect of Conall the Blind, whom bees blinded.' Cf. MI. 127<sup>d</sup> 6. In LU. 57<sup>b</sup> 26 the perfect and the preterite are curiously joined: "*fir*," *ol Fergus*; "*Cuchulaind rodla 7 it é a eich geltatar in mag so*." "'True,' said Fergus, 'Cuchulinn has thrown it, and it is his horses that grazed this plain.'" Cf. Ir. Text. ii, 2, 230, l. 80.

MI. 124<sup>d</sup> 9. *huare nad rotodlaigestar* (perf.) *som do Dia inna huisciu amal asindbertatar som fris*, 'because he had not asked of God the waters, as they had told him.'

LL. 250<sup>b</sup> 23. *dognith ule anisin amal asbert som*, 'all that was done as he had (just previously) ordered.'

Ir. Text. ii, 2, 208. *a n-dolluid iarom dochum Connacht dobert* (leg. *asbert*) *som ri Ailill aní sein*, 'when he came afterwards to Connaught, he told Ailill that.'

MI. 55<sup>c</sup> 1. *dia luid Duaid for longais re Saul, luide<sup>1</sup> iarum dia thosun* (recte *thofun*) *som*, 'when David went into exile before Saul, he (Saul) then went to chase him.'

MI. 58<sup>c</sup> 6. *ba fercach som frisuide intan asmbert side*, 'he was angry with him when he said.'

Rev. Celt. xi, 448. *intan m-bretha Emer co Lugdaich . . . . gabid sí a da n-gruaid*, 'when Emer was brought to Lugaid, she seized his cheeks.'

Cormac's Glossary, s.v. *prull*. *intan tra documlaiset for fairgi 7 dochorsatar aurlunn fri tír, atagladastar gilldae*, 'when they had put out to sea and had set their stern to land, a lad addressed them.' Cf. further LU. 55<sup>a</sup> 36, 60<sup>b</sup> 36, 66<sup>a</sup> 12.

LU. 134<sup>b</sup> 29. *is and didiu cáchain Mongán andsin in m-baili don mnái, fóbúth doningell infessed ní di dia imthechtaib*, "it was then that Mongan sang the 'Frenzy' to his wife, because he had promised that he would tell her some of his adventures."

MI. 23<sup>b</sup> 10. *dobert goiste imma bragait fadesin conidmarb huare nadn digni Abisolón a chomairli*, 'he put a halter about his own neck and slew himself, because Absalom had not followed his counsel.'

We see, then, that the preterite appears in a number of cases in

<sup>1</sup> Either *luidside* is to be read with Sarauw, or *luide* is improperly used for *luid* as in later Irish, e.g. LU. 75<sup>a</sup> 23. The former is the more probable.

which we also found the perfect. So far as concerns main clauses, I have nothing to add to what has been said above. But how is the usage to be explained in *oratio obliqua* and in subordinate clauses? At one time I was inclined to think that it might be explained from a difference in style, that in simple and bald narrative relations were left to be understood, which in more complex and ornate narrative were expressed. But the more deeply I have gone into the subject the less sufficient has this explanation seemed to account for all the facts. In the main, at least, the difference in usage seems to be not stylistic but chronological. At first, apparently, the perfect established itself in main clauses, and in subordinate clauses where the action is viewed from the standpoint of the present, which means practically in subordinate clauses in which the main verb is present or perfect. In many such cases, though the action of both the principal and the subordinate clause is viewed from the standpoint of the present, the verb of the subordinate clause actually denotes time prior to that of the verb in the main clause. From such cases as this a new relation might be developed; the perfect in subordinate clauses might come to be felt to express time prior to the action of the main clause. In subordinate clauses which were purely narrative and had no reference to present time, the perfect was at first not used. But when the above new relation was developed, when the perfect was felt to express in itself relative time, then it came to be used likewise in narrative to express formally what was before inferred from the context, time relatively past. This last development seems to fall within the historical period; at least, in a number of old texts such perfects are rare, the preterite being used instead. In *oratio obliqua*, too, we see the preterite ousted by the perfect. Such a development was natural enough when once the perfect had come to express time relatively past, particularly as the perfect was the corresponding tense in *oratio recta*.

I will not here attempt to determine more exactly the stages whereby the preterite was replaced by the perfect. However, it may not be amiss to touch briefly upon the conjunction *con-* 'so that,' 'until,' often not much more than a connecting word 'and.' Of *con-* with the perfect, when the main verb is present or perfect, instances have been given above (p. 19). When the verb of the main clause is preterite, then in the few instances in the Glosses *con-* is likewise followed by the preterite, e.g. *Ml.* 23<sup>b</sup> 10, quoted above (p. 29), *Tur.* 149. The same is true of the stories published

by Professor K. Meyer in his "Voyage of Bran," pp. 42-58, and of the old version of the "Tochmarc Emire," published in Rev. Celt. xi. But in Lib. Ard. 18<sup>a</sup> 2, we find *bái and contorchartar* (perf.) *tri fichit fer dia muintir laiss and*, 'he was there till three score of his community fell there'; and in others of the older Sagas the perfect is not uncommon, e.g. LU. 20<sup>a</sup> 12, 63<sup>b</sup> 36, 67<sup>b</sup> 36, 69<sup>a</sup> 2, 12, 23, 83<sup>a</sup> 7, 85<sup>a</sup> 42. Apparently the perfect invaded this type of clause at an early period, possibly because in the subjunctive *con-* is so frequently accompanied by *ro-*, regularly when *con-* means 'until.' There seem also to be indications that the confusion was earlier in relative clauses than in main clauses. It may be noted that, when *con-* is followed by the perfect, there seems to be a tendency to use the perfect likewise in an accompanying relative clause, e.g. LU. 129<sup>a</sup> 17 (contrast 129<sup>a</sup> 16).

Zimmer would place the final victory of the perfect over the preterite about the beginning of the eleventh century. In the Annals of Ulster, if I have noted aright, *dochuid* appears from 1105 A.D., *dochotar* from 1084 A.D. In the eleventh century I have noted *luid*, 1001, 1004, 1014, 1055. In the twelfth century forms of *luid* appear only 1101, 1102, 1103, 1114. (It may be mentioned that in these Annals we seem to have sometimes a recrudescence of older forms; I hope to treat of the verb in them on another occasion.) But *co n-dechadar* appears 892. Again, *dorochair* appears from the beginning of the eleventh century, but *-torchair* after *con-* and *in-* appears from 814. For the final confusion of the perfect and the preterite Zimmer's date seems approximately accurate.

On a previous occasion we studied the uses of *ro-* with the subjunctive, and we found that the various uses could be most simply derived from a fundamental perfective or aoristic function. It is impossible to believe that the *ro-* in the indicative had a different origin from *ro-* in the subjunctive, and now in the past indicative we have seen the great similarity of the use of the *ro-* form in Irish to the use of the Indogermanic and Sanskrit aorist. That, as Thurneysen and Sarauw have maintained, the fundamental meaning in both indicative and subjunctive is perfective or aoristic, admits of no reasonable doubt. The previous history of the Indogermanic tenses in Celtic, how the aorist and the perfect fell together, and how this new perfective form arose, is, and will probably remain, a matter of conjecture.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Zimmer, pp. 544 sq.; Thurneysen, pp. 62 sq.



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XI. — THE INFLUENCE OF ANGLO-FRENCH  
PRONUNCIATION UPON MODERN ENGLISH.

By the Rev. Professor W. W. SKEAT.

[*Read at the Anniversary Meeting of the Society on May 3, 1901.*]

IN some remarks upon "The Proverbs of Alfred," printed in the Phil. Soc. Trans. for 1895-8, p. 399, I endeavoured to draw attention to certain curious peculiarities of spelling to be found in some MSS., particularly of the thirteenth century, and I showed that they can all be accounted for by the simple supposition that the scribes who wrote them were trained in Norman schools, and were more accustomed to the pronunciation of Anglo-French than to the true English sounds of the words which they were trying to write down. I cannot find that much use has yet been made of this discovery, except by myself. However, I am now prepared to go very much further, and to say that students of Middle English will have to recognize the *practical* side of the principles which I have laid down. For there is a great deal more in it than might be supposed. It has now become quite clear to me that the Norman pronunciation did, in many cases, overpower and divert the native pronunciation of native words; and this influence has to be reckoned with in a very much larger number of instances than any scholar has hitherto suspected. Indeed, I find in it an easy answer to a great many peculiarities of pronunciation that seem, at first sight, to contradict the usual phonetic laws.

In order to make the chief points clearer, I have drawn up a list of sixteen canons, showing in what respects a Norman would naturally vary from an Englishman in matters of pronunciation. These I have reprinted, and renumbered, in an article entitled "Observations of some peculiarities of Anglo-French Spelling," which appears at p. 471 of my "Notes on English Etymology," to be published by the Clarendon Press in the present year; and they are briefly recapitulated below, at p. 25, followed by a list of early texts in which A.F. spellings occur. I do not say that these



canons are exhaustive, but they refer to the more important points of difference between French and English; and I shall therefore refer to these, by number, for the student's convenience.

Surely it is worthy of notice that *sal* for *shal* (shall) occurs freely in *non*-Northumbrian texts, such as the Bestiary, the Proverbs of Alfred, and even in the Old Kentish Sermons!

Perhaps one clear example of what I am aiming at will show at once the full force of the argument. If we open Dr. Furnivall's splendid Six-text edition of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, we can hardly fail to be struck by the oddity of the spelling of the Cambridge MS. So obvious are its eccentricities, that Dr. Furnivall himself, in his Temporary Preface, written as long ago as in 1868, drew particular attention to them, and enumerated some of them. Amongst other things, he says, with perfect truth:—"The square scribe—as we may call the one who wrote most of the MS.—had evidently a great fancy (1) for swallowing *els* and *tees*; and (2) the guttural *gh* and *g*, with an *n* and *d* once; (3) for putting *oes* for *aes*, *eas*, and *us*; . . . . (7) this scribe used *t*, *th*, *d*, and other flats and sharps in a noteworthy way; . . . . (9) prefixed *s* to initial *ch*; (10) used *w* for *v*, and *v* for *w*; . . . . (12) he wrote some odd forms. Whether these peculiarities are Midland or Northern, or some Midland and some Northern, I must settle in the footnotes, and now only collect instances of them."

If we turn to these footnotes, we find, practically, that they settle nothing definitely, beyond establishing that some peculiarities are Northern, which is correct. The right clue was not really in hand. Footnote No. 3 on p. 52 says: "*Figten* is Midland; see Genesis and Exodus, l. 3227." Footnote No. 2 on p. 56 says: "Cp. *then* for *ten*; see Genesis, p. 94, l. 3305; *leð* for *let*, p. 95, l. 3348; *herðe* for *herte*, p. 81, l. 2856"; with other similar remarks in notes 1, 3, and 5 on p. 57, where further references to Genesis are given. The right answer is, that *figten* is no mark of Midland at all, but a sure mark of Anglo-French influence; and I have already shown, in my article on the "Proverbs," p. 412, that Genesis and Exodus is precisely one of the texts which bear traces of the handiwork of a Norman scribe. In like manner, the Cambridge MS., above considered, belongs to the same class, or is much to be suspected of doing so. With this clue, let us apply some of my sixteen canons,<sup>1</sup> and see how they

<sup>1</sup> They were chiefly drawn up from MSS. of the *thirteenth* century, so that they are only partially applicable to MSS. of so late a date as 1400.

work. I quote the Cambridge MS. as 'C,' and take only such examples as occur in the "Temporary Preface," pp. 51-59.

Canon 4. "The English *wh*, as in modern Northern English, became a mere *w*. They wrote *wat* for *what*."

Compare Dr. Furnivall's remark—" *h* is left out in *wich*, 2361; put-in in *whilhom*, 2384, 2403"; p. 59. Just so; it was put in by complete confusion.

Canon 2. "Old French had no initial sound of *sh*."

Compare—"We find an *s* prefixed to the initial *ch* in 195 *schyn*, chin; 475 *schaunce*, chance," etc.; p. 57. That is to say, the scribe confuses the sound of *sh* with that of *ch*. Dr. Furnivall instances similar forms from the Anturs of Arthur, in the West-Midland dialect; referring to the Camden Society's edition. But the Anturs of Arthur, in the very third stanza, has the characteristic Anglo-French *hurl* for *erl*, and *hernestely* for *ernestly* (Canon 1). It is no sure mark of West-Midland, this putting of *sh* (*sch*) for *ch*.

In Canons 14 and 15, I show that Normans wrote *th* for final *t*, and conversely; and I explain this. I add that "we even find *thown* for *town*."

Compare—"We have also *t* for *th* in 2098 *Atenys* (Athens); 2981 *To* (tho, i.e. then); 3041 *þynkyt* (thinketh). But *th* for *t* in 1078 *blenthe* (blent); 2185 *abouthe* (about)," etc.

At p. 52, we read that C. omits the *t* in *parlemen*, 1306. This agrees with Canon 12, which points out a similar omission of *d* in *lond* (after an *n*).

Canon 9. "The sound *ght* was most difficult for Norman scribes. *Ght* sometimes becomes *wt* or *t*."

Compare Dr. Furnivall's remark on p. 53—"In 505 *outhe*, ought; 604, *sleythe*, sleight; 1214, *cauth*, caught, *ght* is represented by *the* or *th*." That is to say, the scribe wrote *outhe* (with *th* for *t*), as already noted; and by this *oute* (as it should have been) he meant *oughte* with *gh* suppressed. Just so.

It is hardly worth while to go on. It may suffice to say that the spelling of C. can be completely accounted for, if we are careful to *add* the fact of its containing *Anglo-French* spellings to the other facts which concern the dialect only.

The importance of the above remarks lies in this. If we wish to compare a MS. showing strong Anglo-French peculiarities with others of the same date and contents, it is sometimes convenient to compare this MS. C. with the first four native English MSS. which are printed side by side with it. It doubtless contains

dialectal peculiarities *as well*; but for these we can make separate allowance. The Lansdowne MS. is much the worst, and is a little risky; but the A.F. marks in it are very few; as, e.g., *strenkethe* for *strengthe*, 84; *weped* for *wepte*, 148; *werde* for *werlde*, 176; *hoistre* for *oistre*, 182; etc. However, the comparison is more curious than instructive; the MS. is too late to be relied upon for A.F. peculiarities.

Having said thus much about Anglo-French spelling, by way of introduction, I wish to draw special attention to the much more important fact, affecting even our modern pronunciation of common words, that Anglo-French pronunciation actually diverted, in some instances, the true sounds of native words. Surely this is somewhat serious; and the more so when we consider that our dictionaries take no notice of the fact; at least, I can call to mind no special instance in which this has been done.

By way of a clear example of what I mean, I would cite the modern English *fiddle*. The A.S. and early M.E. form was invariably *fithel*; but the *th* was, to the Norman, a difficult sound (see p. 29 below), and the obvious way of avoiding it was to turn the voiced *th* (*dh*) into the voiced *d*, as in the O.F. *guider*, to guide. The result was the late M.E. *fidel*, of which the earliest example cited in the N.E.D. is dated 1450; the accompanying verb *fidelin* occurring in 1440. Langland has both the sb. *fithel* and the verb *fithelen*; Chaucer has the sb. only, in his famous Prologue, l. 296. If we now turn to the Six-text edition, it is interesting to find that MS. C., the only one which is strongly marked by Anglo-French peculiarities, is the only one that spells the word with a *d*. The spelling is *fedele*, showing at the same time that the scribe had not quite caught the true sound of the short *i*. The Lansdowne MS. has the extraordinary form *phēpel*, which is marked by the French use of *ph* for *f*, and of short *e* for short *i*; yet it shows the correct English sound of the middle consonant.

The action of Norman pronunciation on English was sporadic and uncertain, affecting some words, and not others; or else affecting some words more than others. In some cases the effect was only transient or partial. Consider, for example, the words *feather* and *fathom*. These might, in like manner, have become *fedder* and *faddom*; and we have clear evidence that such pronunciations were once in use. The M.E. *fether* occurs in Chaucer, C.T., A 2144; and, if we turn to the Six-text, we shall again find that MS. C. has *fedyr*, whilst all the rest have *th*. And this form



*feder* very nearly became established, as the N.E.D. gives instances of it in Langland and Lydgate, and even in the works of Bishop Fisher. The form *fathom* had a much narrower escape of being superseded. We find the form *fedm* as early as in Ælfric's Glossary, so that it was once an English dialectal variation; but, after the Conquest, it became fairly common, being naturally preferred by Norman speakers. The N.E.D. gives examples from the Cursor Mundi, King Alisaunder, and the prose Merlin; and the verb *fadmen* occurs in Havelok, which abounds with A.F. spellings. In the Chaucer MSS., the *d*-form is clearly preferred; thus in C.T., A 2916, the first five MSS. have *fadme*, and only the Lansdowne MS. has *fathome*. However, in F 1060, the forms are equally divided; the first three MSS. have the spelling with *d*, and the last three have the spelling with *th*. In the Rom. Rose, 1393, the Glasgow MS. has *fadome*. The N.E.D. quotes the form with *d* from Shakespeare's *Tempest*, *Winter's Tale*, and *Othello*, and from Harrison's *England!* The E.D.D. shows that it is still common in Northumbrian and East Anglian; so that we have here an instance of a case in which the Midland and Southern form *fathom* has maintained its ground against the combined influence of Northumbrian and Anglo-French. At the same time, I feel quite justified in drawing the inference, that the influence of Anglo-French should always be considered, just as we consider that of Northumbrian. It is only in this way that apparent exceptions to phonetic laws can be rightly understood.

I have taken the above case of the word *fiddle* because it well illustrates my position. But it is by no means an important one. The frequent inability of the Norman to pronounce *th*, though clearly exhibited in a majority of our thirteenth-century MSS., was nevertheless, for the most part, temporary. In course of time, the Norman learnt his lesson, and could pronounce both the voiced and voiceless *th* as well as any native. I may, however, quote a few more examples of the reduction of *th* to *d*, viz.: *afford*, from A.S. *geforthian*; *burden*, for *burthen* (influenced by *burden* of a song, from F. *bourdon*), *murder*, for *murther*; and the common word *could*, from M.E. *couthe*.<sup>1</sup>

It is of much more importance to take the case of a sound which the Norman wholly failed to achieve, and which is consequently

<sup>1</sup> It is curious to find that, in Chaucer, Prol. 713, MS. C. has the Northern form *couthe*, pronounced as *coude*, and rhyming with *loude*, where all the rest have *coude*. For *mordering*, *morthering*, see C.T., A 2001.



obsolete, viz., the sound of the A.S. final guttural in such words as *fāh*, a foe, *bōh*, a bough, and *tōh*, tough. These words are considered, one by one, in my "Principles of English Etymology," series 1, § 333, and are well known. But somewhat more still remains to be said.

That the Normans recognized the sound, and tried to represent it in writing, is clear; for they invented the symbol *gh* for this very purpose. But when they came to sound it, they found it none too easy. Two courses were open to them: (1) to ignore it, and (2) to imitate it by substitution. If the vowel in the word were long, the weight (so to speak) of the syllable fell more upon the vowel than the consonant, and the word might still be easily recognized, even if the pronunciation of the *gh* was extremely slight. This explains many forms at once, viz., *bough*, *dough*, *plough*, *slough*, *though*, *high*, *nigh*, *sigh*, *thigh*, *neigh*, *weigh*; and to these we may of course add such words as *borough* and *thorough*, in which the syllables containing the *gh* are wholly unstressed and are of small consequence; as well as *sloe* (A.S. *slāh*), *foe* (A.S. *fāh*), in which the final guttural is not even written. The treatment of the A.S. prep. *þurh* is most instructive; for it split into three distinct forms. The attempt to pronounce the final *h* after the *r* produced the M.E. *thurw*, *thoruh*, *thoru*, Mod.E. *thorough*, where the indeterminate final vowel is all that is left of the guttural, but it serves the turn; and it is highly interesting to observe that the modern spelling occurs in MS. C. alone, in C.T., A 920, where the other MSS. have the more uncompromising spellings *thurgh* and *thorgh*, which only some of the community could rightly pronounce. Some speakers, however, actually transposed the *r* so as to bring it next to the *th*-, thus producing the form *thruh*, which occurs in an early thirteenth-century Southern MS., strongly marked with A.F. spellings, in Reliq. Antiq., i. 102. This form had no chance of preservation, and something had to be done with it. The majority hit upon the happy expedient of lengthening the vowel, which weakened the final guttural and allowed it to be gradually and quietly dropped; and this is the origin of the modern E. *through*, in which the *ou* represents the lengthened *u* and the *gh* remains as a mere ornament, admirable to the eye, but ignored by the ear. The minority who had not the wit to lengthen the vowel were driven to find a substitute for the *gh*, and the nearest recognizable sound being that of *f*, they produced the form *thruf* or *thruff*, a form which is still common in our dialects; see, e.g., the

Lincolnshire and Whitby Glossaries. We thus see that the A.S. *pruh* actually produced no less than *three* forms, viz., *thorough*, *through*, and *thruſſ*,<sup>1</sup> two of which are in literary use; and all because some means had to be used to get rid of the A.S. final *h*. I do not deny that the same result might possibly have been produced by mere dialectal variation; but it seems to me that the fixed determination of the Normans to learn English made such changes imperative and inevitable; and it is unscientific to neglect an influence so potent and yet so subtle. Phonetic laws are of no use to us unless we consider *all* the influences that in some way or other affect them. We have thus seen that the easiest way of preserving a final M.E. *gh* after a short vowel was to exchange it for *f*. This accounts for a number of words in which the vowel was originally short, such as *cough*, *laugh*, *trough*, and others in which it was deemed, for some reason or other, highly advisable to preserve the *f*-sound, such as *chough*, *enough*, *hough*, *rough*, *tough*. In these five last instances the use of the *f* rendered the vowel-length unnecessary, and the vowels were actually shortened, because the words were otherwise recognizable. Similarly, some dialects have *duff* for *dough*.

The same exchange of A.S. final *h* or *g*, M.E. *gh*, for *f*, occurs also after a consonant, in the case of E. *dwarf*, from A.S. *dweorh* or *dweorg*, as noted in the N.E.D.

A curious point, and not (I think) much observed, is that the A.S. final *h* could be represented by the substitution of *k*, as well as of *f*, in cases in which the said *h* was preceded by a consonant. Thus the A.S. *beorgan*, to protect, is represented by *bargh-* or *barf-* in the prov. E. *bargham* or *barsam*, a horse-collar (E.D.D.); but these are not the only forms. A Norman who could not sound *bergh-* or *bargh-* was at liberty to substitute either *barf-* or *bark-*; in fact, *bark-* is the better imitation of the two; and this is why we find such forms as *barkham* and *barkum* in some Northern dialects. Precisely the same substitution appears in some place-names. Thus Bartlow in Cambs. was spelt *Berklow* in the time of Fuller; and this *berk* is merely an A.F. pronunciation of A.S. *beorh*. Such a substitution, which phonetically is by no means a bad one, becomes still easier to understand when we remember that the form *berk* was already familiar to the Norman from its

<sup>1</sup> Also *thurf*, as in "thurf our louerdes grace"; Early English Poems, ed. Furnivall, p. 35, l. 15.

occurrence in the common word *hauberk*, not to mention *scauberk*, whence our modern *scabbard*. And when once we understand that *k* was a legitimate A.F. substitute for the troublesome M.E. *gh*, I can see no difficulty at all in the derivation of E. *elk* from the A.S. *elh* (*eolh*). For let us put ourselves in the Norman's place. He has made up his mind to get rid of the final guttural, and he has the word *elh* to deal with. What is he to do? He cannot drop the guttural and lengthen the vowel, because that would have given the form *eel*; and the form *eel* was already appropriated. Neither can he substitute *f*, because that would have given *elf*; and once more, the form *elf* was already appropriated. There was therefore only one course left, viz. to turn it into *elk*; and this, accordingly, he did. Mr. Wyld, in his valuable article on Guttural Sounds in English (Phil. Soc. Trans., 1899, p. 253), notes that in the co. Down a seal is called a *selk*, from A.S. *seolh*; and he thinks that Mr. Bradley's theory as to the borrowing of *elk* from the Continent is not needed. Mr. Wyld himself suggests that *elk* and *selk* "represent the O.E. forms, and that the *k* in both cases arose before an open consonant, either in a compound, or in the sentence." It will be understood that I even go a step further than he does, and consider his theory, in these two particular instances, to be equally needless; since I account for the forms *elk* and *selk* in precisely the same way as I account for *dwarf* and *rough* and *tough*, and all the rest, viz. by a deliberate substitution of *k* for the A.S. *h* (M.E. *gh*) by a speaker who was resolved that he would avoid that sound. When Mr. Bradley says that *elk* is not the normal phonetic representation of A.S. *elh*, I perfectly agree with him; it was deliberately invented in order to avoid such normal representation. And, on the other hand, I think it quite needless to search, as Mr. Wyld has done, for the compound word *elk-sedge* in order to account for the simple *elk*, or for the compound word *seolhwad* in order to account for the simple *selk*. In fact, I go back to my original question, viz., how is it even possible to represent the A.S. *eolh* (O. Merc. *elh*) in modern English by any other form than *elk*? If we ought not to say *elk*, what ought we to say? Neither *eel* nor *elf* are admissible, and I can see no other alternatives but *ellow* and *elley*, which are much worse representatives of the original form.

At the same time, I have no objection to Mr. Wyld's explanation of the provincial *heckfor*, a heifer. He explains this by saying that the M.E. *gh* in *heigh* became a *k* (*ck*) before a following *f*.



But he omits to say that a change of *some* sort had necessarily to be made. Another method of avoiding the *gh*, as I have shown, was to put *f* for it, or else to drop it out altogether. My own belief is that the substitution of *f* for *gh* was actually adopted; so that *heighfer* became *heiffer*, which almost immediately shortened the *ei* to *e*, and produced the modern form which we pronounce as *heffer*, in agreement with a spelling which occurs in 1507. For the very numerous old forms, see the N.E.D.

I have treated these words *elk* and *selk* at some length, because, if I am right, the consequences of my theory are far-reaching. Mr. Wyld's chief point, in his excellent article, is to show that the old notion as to the universality of Northern *k*-sounds and *g*-sounds as contrasted with Southern *ch*-sounds and *j*-sounds is contradicted in many special and undeniable instances. All the same, I hold that the prevalence of hard sounds in the North and palatalized sounds in the South is true to a certain extent, and is to be expected. But we have to take into account another factor as well, viz. the influence of Anglo-French, and the peculiar results which must often follow from the desire to avoid certain sounds and to substitute others. And this is the more important, because it affected ALL the dialects, and must have conflicted with the habits of one dialect in one respect, but with those of another dialect in some other respect; the result of which would be precisely what we find, viz., alterations which, to all appearance, are capricious, fitful, and sporadic. My view is, accordingly, that every O.E. sound should be considered separately (1) as to its regular development; (2) as to the influence on that development of any given dialect; and (3) as to the effect of arbitrary substitutions such as a French-speaking Englishman would be inclined to make and to impose upon his inferiors. All these considerations suggest complexity and some uncertainty in the final modern results; and such complexity and uncertainty are precisely what we find. This is a proposition which will, I think, be readily admitted.

I here offer the opinion, for what it is worth, that Anglo-French affected the Southern dialects most, and the Northern dialects least. At any rate, this agrees with the facts as to their respective vocabularies. In this respect, we must pay no regard to such words as *asht*, a plate, and *jigot*, a leg of mutton, in the vocabulary of modern Edinburgh; for they are later borrowings from Continental French, and have no connexion with the Norman period.



Another very interesting word which once had the final A.S. *h* is the word *hough*, from A.S. *hōh*; for which see the N.E.D.

If anyone were to ask me, what is the regular phonetic development of this A.S. *hōh*, I should at once say that it had no regular development at all in the strict sense. On the contrary, it was modified by A.F. influence, and such modification produced not *one* result merely, but no less than *three*. And really, it is easy enough. Given the A.S. *hōh*, and given the imperative necessity of getting rid of the final guttural, what is to be done? There are three tolerably obvious answers.

(1) The easiest way is to get rid of the guttural immediately. The dat. *hōge* became *hōwe* (developed like M.E. *grōwe*, I grow); so that the modern sound is *hoe*. See *Hoe*, sb. (1), with the sense of 'promontory,' in the N.E.D.

(2) A.S. *hōh* gave the M.E. forms *hogh*, *hough*, just as *tōh* gave *togh* and *tough*. Hence the modern spelling *hough*, pronounced as *huff*. See *Hough* in the N.E.D. The sound *f* (*ff*) arose from deliberate substitution of *f* for *gh*, and this shortened the vowel, as in *rough* and *tough*. Dr. Murray decides that the shortening really arose in the compound form *hōh-sinu*, in order to explain the Scotch *hock*. This supposition is probably correct under the circumstances; but would not have been necessary if the English form had to be explained alone.

(3) A third method was to turn the final *h* into a *k*, as I have already explained. If, in addition, the vowel were shortened, we should get the form *hock*. See *Hock*, sb. (2), in the N.E.D. The vowel-shortening (and, perhaps, in this instance the *k*-sound) almost certainly arose in the compound *hōh-sinu*, *hock-sinew*, which appears as *hockschin* in P. Plowm. Crede, l. 426, and originated the curious verb to *hox*,<sup>1</sup> to hamstring, or to hough.

It thus appears that the A.S. *hōh* produced the modern forms *hoe*, *hough*, and *hock*, all three; not by regular phonetic development, but because that development was diverted, in no less than three directions, by the influence of the requirements of the Normans who were learning English.

It will obviously be convenient to have a special name for these non-phonetic (but imitative) developments, and the name which

<sup>1</sup> *Hs* or *ghs* easily becomes *x*: cf. *next* from *negh'st*, and M.E. *hext* from *hegh'st*; M.E. *thu list*, thou list. The extraordinary form *hexist*, highest, occurs in Early Eng. Poems, p. 60, ll. 8, 10.

I propose is 'diverted' development; in order to express the fact that the speakers intentionally diverted or altered the sounds, in order to produce forms which they liked better. I should say, for example, that the 'diverted' developments of the A.S. *hōh* are represented in modern English by two distinct forms, viz. *hough* and *hock*; *hoe* (from the dative) being regular.

In order to drive home the lesson the better, I will take another case in which another A.S. word is again represented in later English by three developments, two being diverted. Two of them are obsolete, and the third is now only dialectal; but this is accidental, and does not affect the principle. It is most interesting to find that all three developments are exactly parallel to the former. The word selected is the A.S. *healh*, O. Mercian *halh*, a nook or corner.

(1) In the first development, the dative case *heale*, O. Merc. *hale*, was taken, which had the great merit of having lost its guttural even in A.S. Hence the M.E. *hale*, a nook, in l. 2 of the Owl and Nightingale; see *Hale*, sb. (2), in the N.E.D.

(2) The O. Merc. nom. *halh* was treated as if it were French. The Normans turned *halberc* into *hauberc*, with *au* for *al*; and in the same way the form *halh* gave the M.E. *haugh*, still in dialectal use, meaning 'a nook of land beside a stream'; see *Haugh* in the N.E.D. Dr. Murray calls it "a phonetic descendant" of *halh*, but it is only "phonetic" if we extend the use of the word—as, indeed, I think we should—so as to include Norman influence.

(3) The only other way of treating the word was to turn the final *h* into *k*; and this is obviously the origin of the Chaucerian word *halke*, a nook or corner; see *Halke* in the N.E.D. Of this word, Dr. Murray says: "Perhaps a diminutive of O.E. *halh*, *healh*"; but this is precisely the point which I do not grant. It is not a diminutive at all, but the word itself. It is precisely parallel to *elk* and *selk*, as discussed above.

As this point has been so little understood, I will take yet another instance. We have already seen that *dwarf* is a diverted development of the A.S. *dwerg* or *dwerh*. But it is obviously not the only possible development. If the final guttural, instead of being exchanged for *f*, were exchanged for *k*, we should obtain the remarkable form *dwerk*. The point is, of course, that this strange form is actually found, and the N.E.D. duly notes it, and gives the right reference, viz. to Lybeaus Disconus, ed. Ritson, l. 481; to which I beg leave to add that it occurs again in ll. 121, 203, 403,

451, 556, 608, 748, 770, 1005, 1080, 1210, 1658, 1666 ; or at least fourteen times. The same copy of the poem, at l. 138, has *fydele*, spelt with a *d* ; and even, at l. 117, the form *nodyng*, meaning ' nothing.'

Another case in which the A.S. final *rh* was exchanged for *rk* occurs in the surname *Burks*. Mr. Bardsley quotes *Hubert de Burk* and *John de Burk* from the Hundred Rolls ; and explains *burk* from A.S. *burh*, which I take to be correct. If so, the A.S. *burh* has developed three forms, viz., *burgh*, *borough*, and *Burke* ; besides which we have the form *Bury* as a place-name, from the dative case *byrig*.

In fact, the habit of substituting *k* for the guttural *ch* is still perfectly common. Ask any Englishman who knows no language but his own to say "Loch Lomond," and he will call it "Lock Lomond" as a matter of course. The wine called *hock* was formerly called *hockamore* ; and what is *hockamore* but *Hochheimer* ?

The accumulation of instances helps to establish the theory. The change from A.S. *eolh* to M.E. *elk* by no means stands alone as an instance of diverted development. Other examples are *selk*, a seal, from A.S. *seolh* ; prov. E. *barkham*, a horse-collar, from A.S. *beorgan* ; *heckfor*, a heifer, from A.S. *hēahfore* ; *hock*, from A.S. *hōh* ; *lock*, from Gaelic *loch* ; *hock*, from G. *Hochheimer* ; M.E. *halke*, a corner, from O. Merc. *halh* ; M.E. *dwerk*, a dwarf, from O. Merc. *dwerh* ; and the surname *Burke*, M.E. *Burk*, from A.S. *burh*. These give us nine more instances, and perhaps further research may reveal one or two more.<sup>1</sup> The important point is the acquisition of a new principle.

I now pass on to consider some other sounds.

The A.S. final *ht* can soon be dismissed. When it was preceded by a short vowel, as in A.S. *niht*, night, M.E. *night*, the speakers soon lengthened out the vowel at the expense of the guttural, so that by the year 1400 it had almost disappeared. In the fifteenth century, the vowel was of full length, and the guttural only remained in the written form ; hence the mod. E. *night*. Capgrave, in the fifteenth century, even dropped the *gh* in writing. So also the A.S. *bohte*, he bought, has become *bought*, by the lengthening of the open *o* at the expense of the guttural ; but

<sup>1</sup> Note also the Mod. E. *warlock*, as compared with the M.E. *warloghe* ; and *stickler*, from M.E. *stightlen*. Compare the A.S. Ealhmund with the later Alkmund, as seen in the name of St. Alkmund's Church in Shrewsbury ; Cēnwealh with Cenwalc (Henry of Huntingdon) ; Ealhwine with Alcuin.



the guttural became *f* in the Cornish word *boft* (for *boght*). It is not worth while to go through the list; it is only necessary to say that, in almost every case, the vowel-sound is now long and the guttural has vanished. The sole exception, in literary English, is in the word *draught* from M.E. *draht*, in which the guttural was replaced by *f*; whence the occasional spelling *draft*.

The Normans had a difficulty with the A.S. initial *h*. In the cases where the A.S. words began with *hl*, *hn*, or *hr*, they at once ignored the whispered sounds, which they replaced by *l*, *n*, and *r*. And we can hardly doubt that they helped to suppress such awkward sounds as the initial *k* in *know* and *g* in *gnaw*, which were wholly new to them. The number of French words of Frankish origin, such as *hauberk*, in which there was a slight aspirate, was small; and the Latin *h* was of none effect. Hence, in learning English, they at first fell into confusion. The thirteenth-century MSS., such as that of Havelok, show the frequent omission of *h* on the one hand, as in *Auelok* for *Havelok*, *osed* for *hosed*, i.e. furnished with hose; and the insertion of *h* in the wrong place on the other hand, as in *hold* for *old*, *Henglishe* for *English*, and the like. I have no doubt that such confusion was at one time common in London, where Normans were numerous; and further, that their English dependants soon learnt to imitate them. But as time went on, the educated classes soon contrived to make the right distinctions, leaving the unlearned in the lurch. This supposition will easily account for the state of things at the present day, when such mispronunciations are commonest amongst the lower orders. The unlearned, when left to themselves, are extremely conservative; and had there been no Norman invasion, there is no reason why they should not have preserved the initial *h* intact, as they had done from prehistoric times to the eleventh century. But they were interfered with and mistaught by their superiors, and had not the faculty of unlearning their mistakes. I would account in a similar way for the confusion between initial *w* and *v*, which in some MSS. is most bewildering. The conflict was one between the A.S. *w* and the French *v*, which must at one time have been much mixed up; and obviously the Normans prevailed when they turned our *wine-yard* into *vine-yard*! But here, again, the educated classes contrived at last to get them right, whilst the lower orders failed to do so. I wish to add here my emphatic testimony to the correctness of Charles Dickens in his description of the talk of Mr. Samuel Weller. It is not at



all exaggerated, as I have often heard said by those who know London only during the last half-century. I remember the dialect of the Pickwickian age sufficiently well to appreciate it; but I should not like to contradict anyone who were to assert that it has changed materially since 1850. For it is notorious that, during the latter half of the last century, the lower orders have received quite as good instruction as the upper classes had in the fourteenth century; so that they likewise now know the correct uses of *v* and *w*.

I think the Anglo-French scribes were extremely conscientious, and tried to do their best to express sounds phonetically, and even continued to write down sounds long after they had ceased to pronounce them. Perhaps one of the most extraordinary examples of this is in the case of the verb *to write*, in which we still set down an initial *w* which has surely been long extinct. I see no strong reason why this *w* should not have been sounded still, if our language had been let alone; but Anglo-French habits were of course fatal to it.

An extremely interesting case is that of initial *wh*, as still written in *what* and *which*. One of the marks of a Norman scribe is the clearness with which he proclaims that the sound was one which he disliked. The scribe of Havelok commonly uses *hw* for this sound; but he nevertheless writes *wat* for *hwat*, *wan* for *hwan*, *wom* for *hwom*, and the like. I have already remarked that Norman peculiarities were strongest in the South; and the sound now considered exemplifies this theory very clearly. It is in the South that *hw* has become a mere *w*, whilst in the Northumbrian district it is still fairly maintained. The words that require special consideration are the pronouns *who*, *whose*, and *whom*, which gave extraordinary trouble to the Norman. For in this case he was confronted with a further difficulty, due to his dislike of *w* before the vowels *o* and *u*, as explained in my Canon 5. The Norman preferred *'oman* to *woman*, *'ood* to *wood*, and *'olf* to *wolf*; and this is why we all say *ooze* for *wooze*, from A.S. *wōs*; *so* for *swo*; and *thong* for *thwong*. By changing *hw* into *w* in the M.E. *hwo*, he would have had to deal with a form *wo*, for which he had no great affection; but by retaining the *h*, and using the closer vowel due to the action of the *w*, he obtained a form *hō*, with long close *o*, with which he was satisfied. An early example of this form *hō* occurs in Floriz and Blancheflur, ed. Lumby, l. 634, a poem marked both by Anglo-

French spellings and by examples of Southern grammar. But of course scribes continued to write such forms as *who* and *whom* long after the diverted pronunciation was well established. In fact, they do so still. It is one of our greatest troubles that the written forms often represent old pronunciations that have been extinct for centuries. This is why such a spelling as *ho* in the thirteenth century is of very great weight and significance.

I suppose that the present pronunciation of *two* without the *w* was due to a similar cause. The spelling *to* occurs in Genesis and Exodus, l. 423, an early text by a Norman scribe.

I now come to a fresh sound altogether, that of the A.S. *ng*, which, as Dr. Sweet shows, had always and everywhere the sound of our *ng* in *finger*, even at the end of a word; a sound which I shall denote by the symbol *ngg*. Final *ngg*, as noted in my Canon 13, was an unacceptable sound to Norman scribes, who were puzzled as to how to write it. This is why we find *kin* written for *king*, as a reminder that the sound was fully *ngg*, not *ng* merely. Some ingenious scribes invented the spelling *bringhe* to signify the same thing, whilst some wrote *bringge* (Polit. Songs, p. 332, l. 201); but perhaps the best spelling is that so common in the early South-English Legendary, ed. Horstmann, where we find *longue* for *longe*, pronounced *longge*, p. 56, l. 73 (cf. *lonke* for *longe*, Polit. Songs, ed. Wright, p. 156, l. 11); *strongue* for *stronge*, p. 56, l. 83; *bi-guynningue* for *bi-ginning*, p. 57, l. 139; *bringue* for *bringe*, p. 84, l. 17; and the like. I suppose that the spelling *tongue* goes back to a time when the *ng* was sounded as *ngg*, and that this is what is meant by the final *ue*; cf. O.F. *langue*, and E. *plague*. At any rate, it occurs, spelt *toungue*, in the same text, p. 7, ll. 219, 224; cf. *kingue* in the same, p. 472, l. 339. And note the spelling *tunke*, in O.E. Misc., p. 119, l. 282. There was no difficulty in the sound so long as it occurred medially; but at the end of a word, the temptation to reduce it to the *ng* in *sing* must have been considerable; and I have no doubt that the Norman frequently did this. The result of this weakening of the sound is clear enough in modern English, in which *ngg* has been reduced to *ng* wherever it is final, so that we now pronounce *sing*, *song*, *thing*, *thong*, with the simple *ng*. We have even gone further than this, reducing *ngg* to *ng* in all derivatives of such words, such as *singer*, *songstress*, *bringing*, *wingless*, *ringdove*, *strongly*, and all the rest. It is only retained where it cannot be final, as in *finger*, *linger*, *mingle*, *tingle*, and even in such French words as *single* and *jangle*.

The only exceptions, I believe, to the rule here pointed out, are, that it is also retained in three good old English comparatives and superlatives, viz., *longer*, *stronger*, *younger*, and *longest*, *strongest*, *youngest*; but by no means in the sb. *longing*. I take it to be obvious that *longer* is not a comparative formed from the modern E. *long*, but from the M.E. *longg*. Cf. prov. E. *anythink* for *anything*.

I have further no doubt that, in unaccented final syllables, as in *shilling*, *willing*, the *ng* was often sily reduced to *n*, by all classes of society, the poorer copying their superiors. But here, again, the educated classes at last learnt their lesson, leaving others, as usual, in the lurch. It has frequently been explained that this peculiarity does not consist in "dropping the *g*," as the unphonetic are wont to say, but in the substitution of *n* for *ng*, which is, in itself, a simple elementary sound. In all cases, the sound is preserved before a final *k*, though it is ill represented by writing a mere *n*. We write *think* as an abbreviation for *thinkk*; but it is of no great consequence, as there is no ambiguity.

Another sound which the Normans disliked was that of *lk*, chiefly after the vowels *a* and *o*. We best see this by considering their treatment of the Latin accusative *falcōnem*. Here the *l* was vocalized to *u*, producing the form *faucon*; and, as Mr. Toynbee remarks, "this vocalisation of *l* to *u* is one of the most characteristic phenomena of French phonetics. It was effected at the beginning of the twelfth century." Hence we obtained the M.E. *faucon*, and the modern English *falcon*, in which the restoration of the *l*, in order to be gazed upon, was due to a knowledge of the form of the Latin original. But the point I wish now to bring forward is that the Normans treated English in this respect just as they had treated Latin; and this is why we all pronounce the words *balk*, *chalk*, *talk*, *stalk*, *walk*, with the sound of the *alc* in *falcon*. I do not call this a regular development, but a diverted one. It just makes all the difference. That Englishmen could have had no difficulty in pronouncing the *l* in such a position is seen by comparing such words as *talc* and *balcony* and *calculate*. So also in Germany, nobody drops the *l* in such a word as *Balken* any more than in *Balkon*.

Two more words, ending in *-olk*, were similarly deprived of their *l*, viz. *folk* and *yolk*. These also are instances of diverted development. There is no more difficulty in sounding the *l* in *folk* than there is in saying *polka*; we could quite easily sound it like the German *Volk*. The modern form *each*, M.E. *ēche*,



resulted from the early thirteenth-century *elch* (O.E. Hom., ii. 29) by lengthening the *e*, and ignoring the inconvenient *l*. So also the M.E. *euerilk* became *eueril* by Norman influence (gloss to Havelok); whence *eueri* and the modern form *every*. *Every* also resulted from the A.F. *æuric* (A.S. Chron.) by dropping the *c*.

As to words in *-alm*, such as *balm*, *calm*, *palm*, *psalm*, the omission of the *l* is correct enough, because they are words of French origin; but it ought to be particularly noted that they have diverted the development of native words, such as *alms* (found in A.S., though of Greek origin), and *qualm*. The development of the A.S. *healm*, O. Mercian *halm*, is most perverse; the modern forms being both *haulm* and *halm*, in neither of which the *l* is sounded! Both pronunciations are French, though the word is native English. This is not regular development, but a proof of a most meddlesome influence. Even more astonishing is the treatment of the native word *holm*, in the sense of island; it has been robbed of its *l* in a manner which can only be rightly characterized as shameless. And we submit to all these alterations as a matter of course; so that, even in the N.E.D., we find no comment on them, but they are accepted as if their phonetic development were perfectly regular! Had this been so, the *l* would have been kept, as in the G. *Holm* and the Icel. *holmr*; we ourselves make no difficulty at all of sounding the *l* in *dolmen*. Equally extraordinary has been the treatment of the A.S. *holegn* or *holen*, which produced no less than three descendants. The regular development gave us *hollin*, an old word for *holly*; the dropping of the *n* gave the modern form *holly*; whilst, in the third place, contraction reduced *holen* to *holn*, remodelled as *holm*, and applied to the *holm-oak*. It then fell under the baneful influence which had already diverted the sound of *holm*, an island, and had to be diverted in the same way. As to *salmon*, the question is different; the *l* is a restored one, and the word is French; the M.E. form was *samoun*, as in Trevisa, i. 369.

Sometimes there are two distinct developments, one English and one French. This seems to apply to words in *-alt*.

On the English side we have *shalt*, with the *a* in *cat*. With this we may compare such a word as *altitude*; and I can certify that I have often heard the Italian word *alto* pronounced with the same vowel. Another such word is *asphalt*, which is not really of French origin, but directly from the Latin form of the Greek word, the oldest spelling being *aspaltoun*.



On the French side we have *cobalt*, *smalt*, *salt*, *exalt*, and the verb *to halt* in the sense of to stop. The native words *halt*, *lame*, and *malt*, have been diverted so as to bring them under the same category. But for Norman influence, they would *always* have rhymed with *shalt*.

The power of Anglo-French influence is especially conspicuous in the case of words ending in *-alf*. The Latin word *saluum* was robbed of its *l* in French, so that it became *sauf*, and was even pronounced *saaf* (as in Wycliffe, Mat. i. 21), whence the mod. E. *safe*. The form *saf* occurs in Godefroy, with a reference to *sauf*, a form which is conspicuous by its absence. We find, however, the A.F. *saver*, to save, in the Year-books of Edw. I, an. 1304-5, ed. A. J. Horwood, 1864, p. 467. It is easy to see that Norman influence has similarly diverted the words *calf* and *half*, with their derivatives *calve* and *halve*; yet we have no difficulty in sounding the *l* in *Balfour*, or that in *valve*. Parallel to the E. *safe* from A.F. *saaf*, O.F. *sauf*, we have the personal name *Ralph* (pron. *Rafe*) from the Latin *Radulphus*, which is itself a derivative from Old High German. The most extreme example of the Norman influence upon the E. *alf* appears in the modern word *halfpenny*, which in our dialects is often a 'haa-peni.'

I think we ought to consider, in this connection, the question of the sound of the initial consonantal *y* in the Middle English period. The fact that a word which appears as *Garn* in German appears as *gearn* in A.S., and as *yarn* in M.E.; shows that initial *y*-consonant was a well-known and familiar sound both in the Early and Middle English periods. On the other hand, it is unknown to modern French, except in a few foreign words, with the sole exception of the form *yeux*; and in Old French it is almost equally scarce. The Normans much preferred the sound of *j* or of *g*. An excellent test-word is provided by the words *guild* and *guild-hall*. *Guild* is derived from the A.S. *gild*, a payment, pronounced as *yild*; and there can be no doubt that if the word had been left to itself, it would have given us a form *yild* or *yeld*, the *e* being due (I suppose) to its connection with M.E. *yelden*, to pay. It is a rare word in early M.E.; but the derivative *yeldehalle* occurs in Chaucer's Prologue, l. 370, where MS. C. is the only one that spells it as *yilde*, with *i*. But it was a well-known word in the City Ordinances, which were written in Latin or in Anglo-French; and though it frequently loses its *ld*, it is always spelt with *g* or *gu*, the latter of which shows that the *g* was hard. The

Liber Albus, at p. 19, has the form *Gildhalle* in a Latin document, followed by *Gihaldam* on the same page; observe also *Guyhaldæ*, pp. 23, 35; and *la Guyhalle* at p. 44. In the Liber Custumarum, p. 121, in a document written in Anglo-French, the word *Gilde* occurs five times, in the Ordinances of the Weavers, temp. Edw. I; and we know that the *g* was hard, because "la chambre de la *Guihale*" is mentioned on the same page; whilst at p. 102 we find *Guilhalla*. The evidence seems to me quite clear, that the sound of the initial *y* was diverted into hard *g* by Norman and Latin influence. The prevailing theory, from which I now dissent because I believe it to be needless, is that given in the N.E.D., viz., that "the pronunciation with hard *g* must be due to adoption of, or influence from, the O. Norse *gildi*, guild, guild-feast, banquet, payment, value." I should say that it may very well have been due to Scandinavian influence in a certain sense, viz., to the influence of the Scandinavians who conquered Normandy, learnt French, and came over to England with the Conqueror. Surely it was not the Dane who came straight from Denmark who introduced the spelling with *gu*. Surely *gui* is an A.F. symbol, and a proof that the Normans preferred hard *g* to *y*. They even wrote *guest* and *guilt*, to safeguard the hard sound; cf. *ghastly* and *ghost*.

This seems to me a matter of considerable importance, because it throws further light upon the developments of such words as *gate*, and *give*, and *gift*. The A.S. *geat*, a gate, made the plural *gatu*. gates. Hence, as Mr. Bradley points out, arose two distinct types, viz., *yat* or *yet* from the singular, and *gat* from the plural. In such a case the Norman had a choice, and of course he preferred the hard *g*; and his casting vote settled the question for ever, amongst all educated people. Country folks could, of course, say whatever they pleased. Observe how all this agrees with Mr. Bradley's statement of the facts. "Since the sixteenth century, *gate* has been the sole form in literary English; dialectally the forms with *y* remain in northern and north-midland districts, so far as they have not been displaced by the influence of the literary language; occasionally they are found surviving elsewhere, as in N. Devon and at Banbury." To which I would beg leave to add, that there is a railway station at Symond's *Yat*, in the county of Hereford. As to the famous verb *to give*, see the excellent account by Mr. Bradley in the N.E.D. He shows that the *g* was hard in Northumbrian, but the Midland and Southern dialects preferred initial *y*. He remarks that "Langland has *both* types, well

attested by the alliteration, but Chaucer seems to have always written *yere*, *yaf*, and throughout the greater part of the fifteenth century, the palatal forms predominate in Midland (including East Anglian) as well as in Southern writers. The MSS. of Fortescue have hard *g*, which is common also in the London documents after 1430." We have here the singular phenomenon of the apparent prevalence of the Northumbrian pronunciation over that of the Midland and Southern dialects combined, although it is admitted that modern English is not mainly a Northumbrian dialect. The word, it must be remembered, is one of the commonest in the language. It seems to me that we have here also a case in which the preference of the Norman for hard *g* heavily influenced the votes in its favour. The fact that the form with *g* prevailed in London spelling in 1430 shows that it must already have been prevalent there in the preceding century; and, indeed, Langland wrote mainly for a London audience. It is very curious to find that the authority of Chaucer (or of his scribes) was overruled in the matter of the pronunciations both of *guild-hall* and of *give*. Perhaps it adds weight to the inference which we may fairly draw from his rhymes, that he preferred the archaic forms which he had learnt in his youth, and rebelled against all neologistic tendencies. I suspect that Langland's preferences led him in the opposite direction.

I need not discuss the word *gift*. It prevailed over the Midland and Southern *yift* by help of the combined influences of Northumbrian and Anglo-French.

But it is well worth while to consider the words *again* and *against*, though it will suffice to discuss the former only; for they obviously go together as relates to the *g*, though *again* is the older word.

The history is much the same as before. We are confronted with the fact that the form *ayein* (with *y*) prevailed at first not only in the Southern dialect, but in the dominant Midland; the form with hard *g* being Northumbrian only. In the Ormulum we have *onnyæn*, with the symbol for *y*. Both texts of Wycliffe's Bible have *ayein* (with the symbol for *y*) in Matt. ii. 12, and elsewhere. In short, it is difficult to find the exclusive spelling with *g* in early M.E. texts at all, unless we look into Northumbrian texts, such as the Cursor Mundi or Hampole's Pricke of Conscience. The MSS. of Chaucer and Langland show both forms, and so decide nothing. My belief is, accordingly, that there was a choice



of forms; and that the Normans, who were the better educated, gave the casting vote in favour of the hard *g*.

The number of words in which there was a choice between hard *g* and *y* was very small. Nothing need be said as to words like *year*, *young*, *ye*, and *yoke*, which began with *y* in all dialects. The word *yard*, in the sense of 'court,' answers to the Northern *garth*; and the final sounds kept them distinct. The Northern form *garn*, answering to the Southern *yarn*, is not recorded before 1483. The dislike of the Normans to initial *y* easily explains the modern *Ipswich*, from A.S. *Gipeswīc*. So also E. *itch* is from M.E. *yicchen*; and *icicle* is for *ice-(y)ikel*. The A.S. prefix *ge-* was similarly reduced, not to *yi-*, but to the simple vowel *i-*, even in a word like *hand-i-work*. Cf. *hal-i-mote*.

I beg leave to make the suggestion, for what it is worth, that the past tenses ending in *-einte*, and past participles ending in *-eint*, from verbs ending in *-engen*, *-enken*, or *-enchen*, were practically a Norman invention. That is to say, they treated such words just as O. French had treated Latin. The Lat. *sanctus* became O.F. *seint*, E. *saint*; the Lat. *plancta* became O.F. *plainte*, E. *plaint*; the Lat. *tinctus* became O.F. *teint*, whence E. *taint*, and so on. The point is, that such a development is peculiarly French, and depends on the development of the *yod* before a *c* in the combination *ct*: see Toynbee's Hist. F. Grammar, §§ 34, 129. The result is that *-enkte* would become *-einte*; and *-engte* or *-enchte*, passing into or altered into *-enkte*, would become *-einte* likewise. The chief examples are: (1) *blenken*, pt. t. *blenk-te* or *bleinte* (see Stratmann); (2) *clenchen*, p.p. *cleint* (Stratmann); (3) *drenchen*, pt. t. *dreng-te*, in Layamon, also *dreinte*; (4) *mengen*, pt. t. *mengde*, whence the p.p. *y-meind* or *y-meint* in Chaucer, C.T., A 2170; (5) *prengen*, pt. t. *preinte*, in P. Plowman; (6) *quenchen*, pt. t. *cwenchte*, in S. Juliana, also *queinte*, with the p.p. *queint* in Chaucer, C.T., A 2321; (7) *senchen*, p.p. *seint* (Stratmann); (8) *slengen*, p.p. *sleint* (Stratmann); (9) *sprengen*, pt. t. *sprengde* or *spreinde*, p.p. *y-spreind* or *y-spreint*, in Chaucer, C.T., A 2169; (10) *swenchen*, pt. t. *swencte*, O.E. Homilies, i, 101, last line, p.p. *sweint*, Chaucer, Ho. Fame, 1783; (11) *wrenchen*, p.p. *wreint*, Polit. Songs, ed. Wright, p. 157, l. 2. I cannot believe that these very strange forms can possibly be explained as being purely English developments; the characteristic change of *e* to *ei* before *nt* is obviously French. At the same time, I would explain the change from *cht* to *ct* precisely as Mr. Wyld does at p. 247 of his article.



The E. sounds of *ng* and *nk* were certainly disliked by the Normans, especially when final or followed by another consonant. The fact that they preferred final *nt* to *nd* (Canon 12) explains the change from *meind*, *spreind* to *meint* and *spreint*.

A few words as to *sh*. The sound of *sh* was a new one to the invaders, and we have already seen that they sometimes wrote *sch* for *ch*, showing confusion between *sh* and *ch*. Dr. Furnivall, *Temporary Pref.*, p. 57, quotes from MS. C. the following: 195 *schyn*, chin; 475 *schaunce*, chance; 1400 *schaunged*, changed; 2055 *schastite*, chastity; 2109 *schosyn*, chosen; 2760 *scherche*, church; 2809 *schaungede*, changed. Surely this explains one curious instance in which the confusion of *ch* and *sh* was so complete that the wrong form is the only one now in use. All that Dr. Murray says of the word *CHIVER* is, that it is the obsolete form of *Shiver*, which is perfectly correct. The M.E. *chiveren* is precisely the E. *shiver*, in the sense of shudder or quake; and it is very remarkable that the form ultimately adopted was the very one which must have been, at the outset, the harder one for a Norman to pronounce. But the fact is that the sound was one which they soon acquired; and they were so proud, as it would appear, of the acquisition that they actually introduced it into a whole set of French verbs, in which they substituted it for the sound of their own *ss*, as I have shown in my "Principles of Eng. Etymology," series ii, p. 124. Thus, from the stem *floriss-* of the O.F. *florir*, they evolved the M.E. *florissen*, to flourish; and to keep company with it, they conferred upon us the verbs *accomplish*, *banish*, *blandish*, and at least eighteen more. Not content with this, they turned the A.F. *amenuser*, M.E. *menusen*, into *minish*; the A.F. *amonester*, M.E. *amonesten*, into *amonish*, later *admonish*; and coined a new form *astonish* as a variant of *astonien*. More than this, *ss* also became *sh* in *anguish*, *bushel*, *push*, *quash*, *usher*; and I add some more examples of a like kind. It is remarkable, surely, to find the spelling *parich* (like A.F. *paroche*) in MS. C. only, where all the other MSS. have *parisshe* or *parische*, more like modern English; see Chaucer, C.T., A 449. In l. 491, MS. C. has *parysch* with a *c* and without final *e*, where all the rest agree in writing *parisshe*.

I strongly suspect it was Norman influence which turned the M.E. *binden* (with short *i*) into *bind*, and the M.E. *bunden* (with short *u*) into *bounden*. A similar vowel-lengthening occurs in *child*, from A.S. *cild*; cf. also *mild* and *wild*. Of this, however, I have

little proof; and it may be said that this was a natural development. Still the fact remains that both Dutch and German have *binden*, with the Du. p.p. *gebonden* and the G. p.p. *gebunden*; whilst we have from French sources such forms as *laund* and *lawn*, *abound*, *confound*, and *expound*; and even *sound* from Lat. *sonum*. A straw may show which way the wind blows; and such a straw perhaps exists in the case of the word *guild-hall*, in which we have resisted the Norman attempt to make us lengthen the vowel-sound. Yet they achieved something, for there is a *Guild Hall* at East Dereham, in Norfolk, in the name of which, to my knowledge, the *Guild* rhymes with *child*. We have similarly resisted the same influence, even more successfully, in the case of the verb *to build*, the history of which is not a little remarkable; for the spelling with *ui* is not explained, even in the N.E.D. The story is as follows:—

The symbol *ui* (or its equivalent *uy*) was employed by Southern scribes of the thirteenth century to represent the sound resulting from the A.S. long *y*, as in *fȳr*. See Sweet's First Middle English Primer, p. 3. An example in the *Ancren Riwe* is *huire*, hire, and the symbol was at first not very common; but Robert of Gloucester has *fuir*, fire, *pruyde*, pride, *cuythe*, to make known, and *muynde*, mind. The last example is important, because it does not represent an original long *y*, but a short *y* that has been lengthened. In Horstmann's Early South English Legendary the symbol is in full use; examples are *fuyr*, fire, p. 2, l. 45; *pruyde*, pride, p. 13, l. 424; *kuyn*, kine, p. 351, l. 221; *huyde*, to hide, p. 85, l. 71; etc. We find *buylden* even in Chaucer, C.T., D 1977, in the Ellesmere MS., and in P. Plowman; whilst the vowel-length is further indicated by *bielde*, Gen. xi. 8 (B-text), and *beeldide*, 3 Kings, xi. 7 (A-text) in Wycliffe's Bible. Hence the precise meaning of the *ui* in the spelling *build* was to indicate vowel-length, so that the regular modern E. form would have rhymed with *child*. The vowel, however, was ultimately shortened because the pt. t. and p.p. *builded* or *built* often had a short vowel in early times; thus the pt. t. is simply *bulde* in the S.E. Legendary, p. 9, l. 276 (cf. *hid* as the pt. t. of *hide*); the preservation of *ui* in the modern form is, of course, absurd, especially in the pt. t. and p.p. Cf. *bielð*, sb., in the E.D.D.

Similarly, the modern E. *bruise* owes its spelling to the M.E. *bruysen*; and the pt. t. *to-bruysde* in the S.E. Legendary, p. 295, l. 58, shows the derivation from A.S. *tō-brȳsan*, with a long *y*; but the modern pronunciation is probably due to confusion with

O.F. *bruiser*. The only other modern word that preserves this symbol is the verb *to buy*, in which the 3 p. s. pr. *buyeth* answers to M.E. *bȳ-eth*, A.S. *bug-eth*; i.e. the *uy* represents the long *y* from A.S. *ug*.

Another noteworthy word in the S.E. Legendary, p. 62, l. 309, is the sb. *buyle*, a boil, from A.S. *bȳl*; of which the modern form ought to be *bile*. It is obvious that it was Norman influence which diverted it into the French form *boil*, by confusion with a verb with which it has nothing to do. And the Normans were only able, in this case, to influence the literary language; the lower orders stuck faithfully to the native form *bile*.

The point which I am chiefly anxious to establish is that Norman influence will fairly, and in some cases demonstrably, account for diverted and non-phonetic developments; and on this account, I think the possibility of such influence ought certainly to be considered in all cases where the development is non-phonological or irregular. I cite a few possible examples.

It has often been suggested that the modern E. *bat*, as the name of an animal, is a modification of the M.E. *bakke*. If so, the change from *k* to *t* is due to imperfect imitation, just such as a Norman would resort to when failing to appreciate the English sound correctly. Captain Cook tells us that the natives of islands in the South Seas often called him *Tuti*.

There can be no doubt that the correct form of *cuttle-fish* would have been *cuddle-fish*, from A.S. *cudele*; the Prompt. Parv. has both *codul* and *cotul*, at p. 96. The Cornish dialect, remote from literary influence, still has *coodle* or *cuddle*. I would explain *cuttle* as a diverted form, due to imperfect imitation, first uttered by some Norman who had learnt a good deal of English, and was bent upon learning more.

The adj. *swarthy* is a barbarous formation. Schmidt's Shakespeare Lexicon gives references for *swart* and *swarth*, *swarty* and *swarthy*. *Swart* and *swarty* are perfectly correct; but *swarth* and *swarthy* have very much the appearance of having been coined by some Norman who was so proud of having achieved the true E. *th* that he must needs introduce it in the wrong place.

I believe that *sneeze* and *snore* are merely very good imitations of the old forms *fneeze* and *fnore*. The substitution of *sn* for the very difficult *fn* is almost commendable. But it is a phonetic loss, being less descriptive.

I know of no satisfactory explanation of the word *lath*, which



is due to the M.E. *latthe* (= *lath-the*) as a substitute for the true form *latte*. Can it have been created by a too zealous learner of English, or is W. *llath* (Stokes-Fick, p. 319) a Celtic word?

In some cases where there was a choice of forms, as between *sp* and *ps*, it cannot be doubted that a Norman would vote for *sp* as being the easier sound. And in fact, we say *aspen* rather than *apsen*; *clasp*, and not *claps*; *grasp*, and not *graps*; *lisp*, not *lips*; *hasp*, not *haps*. *Wasp* (cf. O.F. *guespe*) is the elegant and literary form, whilst *waps* is favoured by the speakers of dialect.

#### CANONS FOR DETECTING ANGLO-FRENCH SPELLINGS OF ENGLISH WORDS.

1. Misuse of initial *h*; as *Auelok* for *Hauelok*, and *hende* for *ende*.
2. Misuse of *s* for *sh*; as *same* for *shame*. Occasional confusion of *sch* and *ch*.
3. Use of *t* or *d* in place of E. *th*.
4. Use of *w* (or *uw*) for *wh* or *hw*.
5. Use of *u* (or *w*) for *wu* (*wo*); as in *ulf* for *wolf*, *wman* for *woman*. Use of *uu* for A.S. *w*.
6. Loss of initial *y*; as in *ou* for *you*.
7. Use of *re* (*ru*) for *r*; as in *coren*, *arum*, for *corn*, *arm*.
8. Use of *g* for *gh*; as in *thurg* for *thurgh*.
9. Use of *st*, *ct*, *gt*, *cht*, *t*, or *th* for *ght*, when final.
10. Use of *l* for final *ld*; as in *gol* for *gold*.
11. Use of *il* or *ilek* for *ilk*.
12. Loss of final *d* or *t*, as in *an* for *and*, *ef* for *eft*, *bes* for *best*; and use of *ant* for *and*.
13. Use of *ng* or *nh* for *nk*, and *nc* (*nk*) for *ng*; also *n* or *ngue* for *ng*.
14. Use of *th* for *t*, initially and finally.
15. Use of *t* for voiceless *th*, and *d* for voiced *th*; and sometimes *d* for either of them.
16. Use of *z* for *ts*, and of *ce* for *tse*.

N.B.—We sometimes find in such texts an extraordinary misuse of the A.S. symbols for *w*, *th*, and consonantal *y*, which replace one another; so that a word which is spelt *thith* (*þiþ*) is meant for *with* (*piþ*), and *yise* (*ʒise*) means *wise* (*piʒe*).



## LISTS OF NORMANISED MIDDLE ENGLISH TEXTS.

There are practically two sets of MSS. with Anglo-French peculiarities. In the former these characteristics are so evident that they cannot be ignored by students who wish to understand the spelling. In the latter they are less frequent, but can easily be discovered by those who search for them. Most of those in the former class are in the Southern or East Midland dialect. The Southern dialect was doubtless most affected, in accordance with the fact that it most readily admitted French words into its vocabulary. The lists are probably not exhaustive.

A. The following texts are rather strongly marked by peculiarities of Anglo-French spelling :—

*Old English Homilies*, series i; ed. Morris, 1868 (E.E.T.S.). In Southern dialect. It is singular that the editor makes no remarks upon the extraordinary spellings, which are abundant. Thus, in the first twenty lines, we find *his* for *is*; *is* for *his*; *oped* (*sic*) for *cwed* = *cweth*; *god* for *goth*; *seid* for *seith*; *finded* for *findeth*; so also *unbinded*, *leaded*, *segged*, *haued*, *leted*; *huppon* for *upon*; *seodþan* for *seoðþan*; *cud* for *cuth*; *strehiten* for *streihten*. The deviations from normal spelling may be counted by hundreds.

*Genesis and Exodus*; ed. Morris, 1865 (E.E.T.S.). In East Midland dialect.

*The Bestiary*; in *O. Eng. Miscellany*, ed. Morris, 1872 (E.E.T.S.). In East Midland dialect.

*Old Kentish Sermons*; in the same, p. 26.

*The Proverbs of Alfred*, Text ii; in the same, p. 103. Apparently East Midland, but inclining to Southern. Very strongly marked.

*A Song to the Virgin*; in the same, p. 194. Has *wiz* for *with*, 14; *sad* for *shad* (shed), 15: cf. ll. 24, 26, 42, 44.

*A Song on the Passion*; in the same, p. 197. See ll. 2, 4, 6, 14, 20, 24, 29, 34, 41, 43, 47, 48, 61, 64, 72, 76, 79.

*The Debate of the Body and the Soul*; in *Poems of W. Mapes*, ed. Wright (Camden Soc.), 1841, p. 334, and in Mätzner, *Sprachproben*, i, 90. The A.F. spellings are not numerous, but some are extraordinary, as *zwi* for *hwi*, 23; *wurdli* for *worldli*, 33; *fleys* for *fleisch*, 45; *suwelle* for *swelle*, 45; *thouz* for *thou*, 60; *pid* for *pith*, 75; etc.

*Dame Siriz*; in Wright's *Anecdota Literaria*, 1844, p. 1; and in Mätzner, *Sprachproben*, i, 103.

*Reliquiæ Antiquiæ*, ed. Wright and Halliwell; 2 vols., 1841. In vol. i may be noted—Early English Prayers, p. 22; The Five Joys of the Virgin, p. 48; A Hymn to the Virgin, p. 89; Hymns and Ballads, p. 100; Names of the Hare (slightly marked, being short), p. 133; Judas, p. 144; Proverbs of Alfred (already mentioned), p. 170; The Thrush and the Nightingale, p. 241 (*nohut*, nought, *wi*, why. N.B. Incorrectly printed; thus, *semeth* at p. 244, l. 8 from bottom, should be *geineth*, and *some*, l. 8 from end, should be *some*); Songs of a Prisoner, p. 274; The Creed, p. 282. In vol. ii may be noted—Poetical Scraps, p. 119; Satire on Kildare, p. 174; (perhaps) A Lullaby, p. 177; certainly The Vox and the Wolf (Southern), p. 272.

*Havelok the Dane*, ed. Skeat, 1868 (E.E.T.S., Extra Series).

B. The following texts also contain occasional notable spellings.

It is not always easy to draw the line. Some Southern texts have the A.F. spelling *ant* for *and*, but very little else that calls for remark; they are not here mentioned.

*A.S. Chronicle* (Laud MS.). The latest hand (1132–1154) frequently has French spellings. Thus, on a single page (p. 264) of Plummer's edition, we find *uu* for *w*; *nowider* for *no-hwider*; *thusen* for *thusend*; *wile* for *hwile* (twice). Even the first hand (down to 1121) has a few traces of such; e.g. *breket* for *breketh*, p. 37, l. 3 from bottom; and actually *foces* for *folces* in the next line. And now we say *foke's*. Note also that *sop* has been corrected to *scop* (shope, shaped) on p. 41, l. 2; and *heol* to *heold* (held), p. 45, l. 4 from bottom. It has already been explained that *s* for *sh*, and final *l* for final *ld*, express Norman pronunciations.

*Layamon*; later text. E.g. *sipes* for *shipes* (ships); see Specimens of English, ed. Morris, p. 65, l. 7; *solle* for *sholle*, l. 48; *wat* for *what*, l. 53; *wanene* for *whanene*, l. 54; *solde* for *sholde*, 90; *same* (shame), 171; *sal* (shall), 180; *sipe* (ship), 184; *hin* (inn), 262; etc. The older text is correct. The traces are not numerous; but this is a reason for being the more upon our guard, and a correct understanding of the matter assists emendation. Thus, at l. 349, the word *i-veipēd* has been misunderstood; for, indeed, there is no such word. A knowledge of the fact that the Norman scribes confused the A.S. symbols for *w*, *y*, and *th*, enables us to correct the reading to *i-veipēd*, which is a correct variant of *i-uaid* in the older text. See *I-vee* in the N.E.D.

*Old English Homilies*, series ii; ed. Morris, 1873 (E.E.T.S.). The A.F. spellings are much less numerous than in Series i.

*A Moral Ode*. Some of the texts exhibit a few A.F. spellings. So also some of the poems in Morris's O.E. Miscellany, at pp. 37, 72, 147.

*Seinte Marharete*, ed. Cockayne, 1866 (E.E.T.S.). The text at p. 1 is only slightly affected, but that which begins at p. 34 has numerous examples.

*Early English Poems and Lives of Saints*, ed. Furnivall (Phil. Soc.), 1862. Pieces i-vii and xxxii-xxxvi, from MS. Harl. 913, have a few slight traces of A.F. spelling. Thus *sal* for *shal* (shall) is common, but by no means indicates a Northern dialect. Note *wringit* for *wringeth*, p. 3, st. 20; and *sal*, st. 23. Piece viii is a copy of the Moral Ode, from the Egerton MS. 613; it has *think* for *thincth*, st. 3; *det* for *deth* (doth), st. 10. Pieces ix-xxiv, from MS. Harl. 2277, are but slightly affected. See *sorinysche* for *sorinesse*, p. 40, l. 16; *þurf* for *thurgh*, p. 45, l. 94; etc.

*Political Songs*, ed. Wright (Camden Soc.), 1839. Some of the poems are very slightly affected by A.F. usages; see *The King of Almaigne*, p. 69 (*ant* for *and*, *kyn* for *kyng*, *dryng* for *drynk*); *A Satyre*, p. 155 (*ant* for *and*, *lonke* for *longe*, p. 156, *whissheth* for *wissheth* at p. 159); *The Flemish Insurrection*, p. 187 (*statuz* for *statuts*, p. 188, l. 6; *ritht*, p. 191, l. 7; *swyers* for *sqwyers*, l. 15; *noud* for *not*, p. 192, l. 14; *is* for *his*, p. 193, l. 10), etc.; *Evil Times of Edward II*, p. 323 (*wid* for *with*, p. 324, 18, and in several other places; *cares* in l. 159, but *cometh* in l. 160; *theih* for *they*, 194; *bringge*, 201; *inohw*, 229).

*Cursor Mundi*, ed. Morris (E.E.T.S.). It is a remarkable fact that in this Northumbrian poem, three out of the four MSS. (viz. the three first) all show occasional traces of A.F. spelling; the fourth is perhaps wholly free from them. See *wit*, with, 16, 30, 57; *vers*, worse, 38; *wyður*, whither, 64; *blisce*, bless, 69; *herth*, earth, 71. In l. 80, *fless* (flesh) is the right Northumbrian form, as it rhymes with *less*; note that the Trin. MS. has *flesshe*, which is Southern.

*Owl and Nightingale*, ed. Wright (Percy Soc.), 1843; ed. Stratmann, 1868. I refer to the extract in Morris's Specimens, p. 171. The traces of A.F. spelling are very slight. Observe *wile*, while, 6; *wit*, with, 56; *lodlich*, loathly, 71; *amon*, among, 164; *wit-ute*, without, 183; *wat*, what, 185; etc.

A few similar occasional traces of A.F. spelling may likewise



be found in King Horn and Floriz and Blancheffour, ed. Lumby, 1866 (E.E.T.S.); Robert of Gloucester, ed. W. Aldis Wright; Shoreham's Poems (Kentish); William of Palerne, ed. Skeat (E.E.T.S.); Anturs of Arthure, ed. Robson (Camden Soc.), 1842 (*hurles*, *earls*, *hernestely*, earnestly, p. 2, l. 13); a few poems in Weber's Collection, viz., Sir Cleges, Lay le Freine, Octovian; some in Ritson's Romances, viz., Launfal, Lybeaus Disconus, Emarè, and A Chronicle of England; and The Proverbs of Hendyng, in Specimens of English, part ii, by Morris and Skeat. It is, of course, to be particularly noted that some of the A.F. misspellings obtained great and long-lasting vogue, and appear in unlikely places, even in copies made in the fifteenth century.

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## POSTSCRIPT.

I have only given a fragmentary outline of a theme that deserves further development, and many illustrations have naturally been overlooked.

Thus, when I say (at p. 4) that "the *th* was, to the Norman, a difficult sound," it is easy to object that such words as *faith*, *dainteth*, *poortith* are of Norman origin. Yet this would seem to be not quite certain. If the A.F. *feit* or *feid* (both in the Chanson de Roland) was pronounced *feith*, it is clear that the sound was scarce, since there was no symbol for it. In English, *feith* appears in Genesis and Exodus, and *fei* in the S.E. Legendary, which are not far apart. I suspect that the reason why *faith* became the established form in English is that *-th* is a recognized suffix of abstract substantives, and thus *faith* fell into line with *sooth* and *truth*. The same fact may have suggested *dainteth* and *poortith*; the oldest quotation for *dainteth* is later than that for *dainty*. Surely *wealth* is much later than *weal*; and the form *depth* is no earlier than Wyclif. It behoves us to be wary.



I have noted above, at p. 11, that the M.E. *dwerk* appears as well as *dwerf*. Perhaps this apparent interchange of *k* with *f* may explain the far more surprising form *oxspring* (= *ok-spring*), which occurs instead of *ofspring* in the *Cursor Mundi*.

At p. 21 I have noted the difficulty which the Norman scribes had with the initial *y*-consonant. A curious instance of this occurs in the Cambridge Borough Charters, p. 6, in a charter dated 1201. The scribe is writing in Latin, and has to introduce the M.E. word *yeres-yive*, an annual present or new year's gift. The spelling which he adopts is *iherescheve*. In the same line we find *scothale*, signifying *scot-ale*.

I have to suggest, further, that Latin was freely used in Norman times, especially in charters and legal documents; and that this Latin was spoken as well as written. We must therefore take into account the possible influence of the sounds of medieval Latin, as well as of Anglo-French. In the case of *gilda*, which appears earlier than M.E. *gilde*, this consideration is obviously of importance. Yet no one seems to have thought of this.

The word *to ask* affords a curious example. Dr. Murray shows that there were three developments of the A.S. *āscian*, viz., (1) *ash*, the right etymological form, which is actually obsolete; (2) *ask*, the literary form; and (3) *ax*, which is provincial. The form *ax* is from A.S. *āxian*, variant of *āscian*; but the common literary form *ask* is not easy to explain. Perhaps the Normans used *asken* as a by-form of *axen*, just as they seem to have preferred *hasp* to *haps*, and *wasp* to *waps*.

Perhaps there was some difference between the A.F. and the E. sounds of *u* in such a termination as *-ull*. The words *bull*, *full*, *pull*, are of native origin; but *cull* and *null* are of French origin, and may have affected other words, such as *scull*. Words in *-all* seem also to show A.F. influence, like those in *-alt* already mentioned. *Shall* is exceptional and of native origin; but it should etymologically be spelt *shal*, rhyming with *cabal* and *canal*.

Many similar riddles still await solution.

## FOUR ETYMOLOGIES.

[Also read at the Meeting on May 3, 1901.]

**Flue (of a chimney).** Perhaps of Dutch origin. Calisch has: "*vloei-pijp*, a ventilating shaft"; from Du. *vloeijen*, to flow, which Franck connects with E. *flow*. That it was confused with L. *fluere* is by no means improbable, as suggested by the spelling. Caxton introduced the verb *to flue*, to allow ink to run; and Sewel has: "*het papier vloeit*, the paper blots, the ink sinks through." This also seems to be really of Dutch origin, though probably confused with O.F. *fluere*, L. *fluere*, to which this verb is referred in the New Eng. Dict.

**Gauren**, to stare at, gaze upon. This word occurs in Chaucer, and is explained in the N.E.D. But the etymology is not established. If we remember that the A.S. *dragan* is now *to draw*, we can easily see that *gauren* has resulted, regularly, from the Norw. *gagra*, given by Ross as meaning "to stand with one's neck straight and with one's chin in the air," i.e. in an attitude of gaping wonderment. This *gagra* is the frequentative of *gaga*, to bend the head backward, from *gag*, adj., bent backward, Icel. *gagr* (the same). Cf. Icel. *gag-háls*, with the head bent back.

**Proffer.** The verb *to proffer* is usually derived from the M.F. *proferer*, to produce, to deliver; see Cotgrave. And this is from the Lat. *prōferre*, to bring forth. But a reference to the Glossary to Bozon, Les Contes Moralisesés, suggests a different origin. It is there equivalent to the O.F. *profrer*, which is to be connected with the O.F. *profre*, an offer, and the verb *proffrir*, to offer or present; which gives a much more satisfactory sense. A reference to Godefroy's Dictionary shows that the sb. *profre* is a contraction of *porofre*, and the verb *proffrir* of *porofrir*. Thus the ultimate source is not the Lat. *prō* as prefixed to *ferre*, to bear, but the same Lat. *prō* as prefixed to *offerre*, to offer. This explains at once the great similarity in sense between the verbs *to proffer* and *to offer*.

**Purpoint, Pourpoint**, a doublet. The etymology is correctly given in the Cent. Dict.; from O.F. *pourpoint*, late L. *perpunctum*, a quilted garment; the O.F. *pour* having been substituted for O.F. *par*. I write this note merely for the sake of introducing a highly important reference, as follows:—"Tunica etiam linea multiplici consuta, lineis interioribus difficile penetrando, acu operante artificialiter implicitis—unde et vulgo perpunctum (*al.* parpunctum) nuncupatur."—Itinerarium Regis Ricardi (Primi), ed. Stubbs, i. 99.

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## XII.—MEMORANDA ON MEDIAEVAL LATIN.

By J. H. HESSELS.

No. 2.

IRMINON'S POLYPTYCHUM, A.D. 811-826.

## INTRODUCTION.

THE first paper on Mediaeval Latin which I brought before this Society, and which is printed in its Transactions, gives (1) a list of the Mediaeval Latin words occurring in the *Lex Salica*, a document which was compiled at the latter end of the fifth century, and is the earliest in which Mediaeval Latin, in the proper sense of the term, appears; (2) a list of the Mediaeval Latin words used by Bracton, in his work *De Legibus Angliae*, written about the end of the thirteenth century.

These two lists may be said to contain the beginning and approximate end of Mediaeval Latinity.

Wishing to continue such lists of words extracted from certainly dated documents, and thereby to fill up gradually the gap of eight centuries between the first two lists, I now call attention to a Register of the Estates and Revenues of the famous Benedictine Abbey of St. Germain des Prés, founded, about A.D. 543, by King Childebert I (son of Chlovis, the founder of the Frankish Kingdom), near the left bank of the Seine, at a short distance to the south-west of Paris, and suppressed, along with all the other Regular Congregations of France, on the 13th February, 1792.

The Abbey was at first known under the title of "Sainte-Croix et Saint-Vincent," but after its benefactor, St. Germain, the Bishop of Paris, had been buried there in A.D. 576, it came in course of time to be known under his name. The date of the Register<sup>1</sup> falls in the first quarter of the ninth century, more precisely between A.D. 811 and 826, having been compiled under the administration of Irminon, who appears as Abbat of the Abbey on the 13th June, 811, as one of the signatories to the will of the Emperor Charlemagne, while

<sup>1</sup> The original, of which several leaves are wanting, is in the Paris National Library (Fonds Latin, No. 12,832).



another document of the year 823 contains the expression, "Regnante Ludovico serenissimo imperatore, anno x tempore domini Irminonis" (see Longnon's edition, ii, p. 363), and two other circumstances make it probable that his death took place on the 30th April, 826.

The Register is called a Polyptychum (from the Greek adj. *πολύπτυχος*, having many folds or leaves), which, in the work of Vegetius (*De re milit.*, 2, 19), who lived about A.D. 386, signified a public register or record of the quantity and value of victuals, provisions, lands, ground, and other property. The word is used, in the same sense, in two imperial laws (Cod. Theod., Lib. xi, tit. xxvi, leg. 2, and tit. xxviii, leg. 13), the one dated A.D. 400, the other A.D. 422, and thenceforward and during the whole Carolingian period, it was applied, under various forms, to the Registers of the possessions of States, Churches, and Abbeys. In the later Middle Ages the term exclusively signified a register of the benefices or livings in a diocese or dependent on a monastery, with their revenues. Such a register was also called in French and English a *terrier*, from the Lat. *terrarius liber*. In the present Polyptychum itself the word *breve* signifies a register, *terrier*, but it refers to a particular part or division of the estate, not to the whole.

The words extracted from the Polyptychum follow this Introduction in an alphabetical order, with references to, I believe, all, or very nearly all, the places where they occur, and with explanations of their meanings and bearings which, I hope, will be found adequate. The etymology of the words has been given only in rare instances, where it was considered necessary for explaining the meaning of the word, because (as I have pointed out in my first paper) it is not advisable to treat of the etymology as long as the whole history of the words is not before us.

In this Introduction, however, I have, for the purpose of giving a few particulars regarding the administration and cultivation of the property of the Abbey, and the condition of its tenants, which could not well be stated under separate alphabetical articles, arranged the words systematically under six heads as: I, the *Topography* of the estate; II, the *Persons* residing and working on, or cultivating and administering, the estate; III, the various *Properties, Possessions, Goods, Buildings, Lands, Fields, etc.*, possessed by the Abbey; IV, the *Tenures*, or different manners, modes, principles, conditions, etc., on which land and other property

was held, acquired, possessed, or let out, granted or bestowed; V, the *Moneys*, *Measures*, and *Weights* current, and used, on the estate; VI, the *Services* to be performed by the tenants; the *Taxes*, *Rents*, and other *Dues*, which they had to pay; the *Seasons* and *Periods* in which the services were to be performed and the rents and taxes to be paid; and the *Produce* (Crops, Live Stock, etc.) arising from the cultivation and administration of the estate, and with which tenants paid their rents and taxes.

In this arrangement and treatment of the various subjects, I closely follow the learned labours of the first editor (M. Guérard),<sup>1</sup> and of the editor of the second edition (M. Longnon)<sup>2</sup> of the *Polyptychum*. But, while keeping to their outlines, I have, by working independently at the Register, been able to fill up some gaps in their work in a way which has been most instructive to me, and which I hope will enable me (or induce others) to deal with the words found in the Domesday Book and other *dated* documents, in a similar manner, and thereby to clear up some at least of the difficulties which can only be solved by systematic studies of this kind.

The *Polyptychum* is wholly in Latin, and reflects, in its Latin words, to some extent, the Celtic and Roman influences, which were, in Irminon's time, still at work in the country now known as France.

But among the proper names of the tenants of the Abbey, which constitute a considerable part of the Register, those of Frankish or Teutonic origin are about nine times as numerous as the Roman or Latin names, the latter being, moreover, partly Latin and partly Christian, derived from the Holy Scriptures. The Frankish names were the result of the Frankish conquest of Gaul from the Romans in the fifth century, and of the Teutonic inroads made before that time, whereas the Roman and Christian names are the remains of the Roman conquest, which caused the Celtic names to disappear entirely.

The present treatise does not deal with these proper names, and is limited to words.

It will be noticed that the words extracted from the Register are comparatively few, and occur, to a great extent, already in classical Latin. But most of them require to be dealt with in a Mediaeval

<sup>1</sup> *Polyptyque de l'Abbé Irminon*, par M. B. Guérard, 2 vols. 4to, Paris, 1844.

<sup>2</sup> *Polyptyque de l'Abbaye de Saint-Germain des Prés*, par Aug. Longnon, 2 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1895.

Latin Dictionary, the object of which is, as Du Cange's famous Dictionary shows, to treat of words from an antiquarian as well as a philological point of view.

For instance, the words *colonus*, *lidus* (*laetus*), *servus*, *ancilla* are all found in classical Latin. But the lengthy and learned works of MM. Guérard and Longnon, in which they deal so elaborately and so acutely with these and similar words, show that they cannot be disregarded in any treatise dealing with Mediaeval words, customs, or conditions. Moreover, the hesitation and doubt which these scholars express regarding many of their explanations, is a sign that they themselves do not regard their work as having exhausted the subject of the Polyptychum. Nor do I feel certain in any way that the minute analysis of the above words, and those of *ingenuilis*, *lidilis*, *servilis*, etc., found in the present treatise, will make further research superfluous. On the contrary, I believe that a good deal more investigation will be required before we can be certain as to the relations and conditions of the various classes of society recorded in the Polyptychum. For instance, when we analyse this Register, we find many of the tenants described merely as *colonus*, many as *colonus sancti Germani*, and many as *colonus, homo sancti Germani*. Exactly the same nomenclature will be found with regard to the *lidus*, the *servus*, and other tenants of the estate. I doubt whether these differences in the description of the tenants are merely due to the omission, in all instances, of the words *homo* or *homo s. Germani*, as Guérard thinks. It is, of course, possible that the Polyptychum was drawn up with the carelessness which such numerous omissions would suggest. But to me they appear to have been made according to some *system*, as otherwise the same omissions would hardly have been made in the case of *all* the different classes of tenants. And having taken the trouble, for my own satisfaction, to analyse the tenants according to the *actual descriptions* of the Polyptychum, I may be pardoned for publishing the result just as it finally presented itself to me. If further researches should show that the difference in the nomenclature of the tenants is really due to omissions, I yet hope that my work will have facilitated these researches, and contributed in a small way to our knowledge of Mediaeval society.

I have already pointed out above that in arrangement and treatment of the subject I have closely followed the learned treatise of MM. Guérard and Longnon. But I must add that, in many places, I have simply *translated* from their work word



for word. In fact, they have so fully, and in many respects so adequately, dealt with the various topics embraced by their subject, that I hardly know what otherwise I could have done but translate them. Their work deserves to be translated in full, but it was impossible to do so in this paper. Nor could I follow them in every respect. For instance, Guérard treats of many things which are not mentioned in the *Polyptychum*, ex. gr. the *mansi manoperarii* and *mansi carroperarii*. By doing so he made his explanations still more interesting than they otherwise would have been. But in a treatise which, like the present, professes to deal exclusively with the *Polyptychum*, such diversions were out of the question. Guérard also discusses, at great length and with consummate ability, many other points which the limited space at my disposal would not allow me to reproduce, even in an abridged form, such as the various kinds and amounts of taxes and rents which each manse or each class of manses had to pay. For all these and similar interesting topics I must refer those who are interested in them to Guérard's and Longnon's books.

I have to thank Dr. Furnivall and other members of the Council of the Philological Society for the kind interest which they have taken in this treatise, and for printing it in their Transactions.

In dealing, then, as was said above, systematically with the words occurring in the *Polyptychum*, let us first enumerate those relating to

## I. TOPOGRAPHY.

### (a) *General term.*

- (1) *Territorium*, *territory*, only found in a later addition.

### (b) *Particular terms.*

(2) *Fiscus*. Of this word there are four well-known meanings in classic and late Latin: (a) a basket or frail woven of twigs, used for olives; (b) a money-basket or bag, a purse; (c) the public chest, state treasury, public revenues; (d) in the times of the emperors, the imperial treasury, imperial revenues, the emperor's privy purse, in distinction to *aerarium*, the public chest. The third meaning appears in the Salic Law. Under the Carolingian kings the word had a fifth meaning, namely, a combination of various properties, all belonging to one and the same proprietor,



and being under one administration, generally subject to one system of rents, services, and customs, and constituting what we should now call *landed property*, or a *domain, estate*. In the Polyptychum *Fiscus* has this meaning, but often the word *dominicus* is added to it, that is, *the seignorial part of a domain*, which the Abbey had reserved to itself, and which was not rented out to any tenant.

(3) *Pagus*, in class. Lat. *a district, canton, province*. In the Frankish period it indicated *an administrative circumscription* ruled by a Count, which represented one of the cities of Roman Gaul, or merely a part of these ancient territories.

(4) *Comitatus*, *a county*, mentioned only twice, in the later additions.

(5) *Centena* (subst.) meant, under the Roman emperors, *a dignity in the imperial Court*. As a *geographical term*, meaning *a district, a hundred*, it appears first in the Salic Law. The word, which had probably been introduced into Gaul by the Franks, had, no doubt, at first a numerical signification, indicating a collection of 100 persons, or 100 heads of families, placed under the administration of an officer called *centenarius*. Later on it came to signify *a division of a pagus* occupied by such a *centena*. In this sense, in which it occurs in the Polyptychum, it seems to have been the same as

(6) *Vicaria*, *a division of a pagus*, in which the *vicarius*, the substitute or representative (Fr. *vignier*) of the *comes*, or count, exercised jurisdiction. In the Polyptychum it is used once instead of *centena*. In class. Latin inscriptions the word *vicaria* signified *a female under-slave* of another slave. And in Bracton it has the meaning *vicarage* which is known to us.

(7) *Decania*, *a deanery*, or a certain number of tenures in a district which was part of a *fisc*, and presided over, or ruled, by an officer called *decanus* (*dean*). As the word is derived from the Latin *decem* (ten), a *decania* consisted perhaps at first of *ten* villages. But this was no longer the case in the time of Charlemagne, and in the Polyptychum we find one deanery embracing as many as sixteen localities.

(8) *Villa*, in class. Lat. *a country-house, farm, villa*, so also in the Lex Salica. Later on it took the place of the Lat. *vicus*, and meant (2) *a village, hamlet*, which sense it also has in the Lex Sal. and in the Polyptychum. Generally *a villa* possessed a church, and formed *a rural parish*.

## II. PERSONS

Residing and working on, or cultivating and administering, the estate.

## A. SOCIETY: THE TENANTS AND CULTIVATORS OF THE ESTATE.

(a) *General terms* to indicate *classes* of persons are—

(1) *Forasmiticum* (q.v.), that portion of the household (millers, artisans, etc.) who earned their living, and resided, *outside* the domain; in contradistinction to

(2) *Inframiticum* (q.v.), that portion of the household set apart for service *within* the limits of the domain.

(b) *Particular terms.*

Here we meet with *four principal classes* of persons: (3) the *homo liber*, or simply *liber* (the free man, including, perhaps (4) the *munboratus*); (5) the *colonus*; (6) the *lidus*; and (7) the *servus*.

(3) In the early Frankish period a *free man* was called either a *liber* or *homo liber*, or an *ingenuus* or *homo ingenuus*. But in the original text of the Polyptychum the word "ingenuus" occurs only twice; in the first place (xiii, 1) it refers, in a vague way, to tenants of a "mansus ingenuilis"; in the second instance (xiii, 99) it clearly indicates the *colonus*. In the later additions it occurs half a dozen times without showing to which class of persons it refers, except once (x, 1), where it refers to *coloni ingenui*, while in iii, 61, certain "*homines liberi et ingenui*" had given an alod to the Abbey "quia militiam regis non valebant exercere."

The *liber*, or *homo liber*, appears as a tenant of the Abbey, discharging nearly the same obligations as the *colonus*, but it is nowhere said that he possessed any property of his own. He is married to a *colona*, or to a *colona s. Germani*, and in two places he and his wife (*colona*) are called "homines s. Germani." The *libera* or *libera femina*, too, is a tenant of the Abbey, in one instance holding a "mansus," in two others holding (with others) a "mansus ingenuilis." In one place the "infantes" of a "libera" are said to be "non s. Germani"; but in another "sunt s. Germani." The *libera* is married to a *colonus*, or to a *servus*, while in one case she gives 9 "jornales" of land of her inheritance to her children (ix, 247).

(4) The *munboratus*, or *monboratus*, was, perhaps, also a *liber*, placed under the protection (*munboratio*) of the Abbey, for which protection he seems to have paid merely a quantity of wax of the value of one denarius.

(5) The position of the *colonus* in respect to the Abbey in particular, the different *classes* of *coloni*, which we meet with in the Polyptychum, and their relations to society, as regards marriage, etc., have been so minutely analysed under the articles *colonus*, *ingenuilis*, *lidilis*, *servilis*, etc., that only a few words are necessary here to epitomize what appears there more in detail, and to give some particulars which cannot be stated under definite alphabetical headings.

The "colonus" appears nearly everywhere, as in class. Latin, as a husbandman, or farmer, and a tenant, while possessing, occasionally, by purchase, inheritance, or otherwise, property of his own, in addition to his tenancy (xxii, 92, 96). In xxi, 78, a *colonus* tenanted the "property" of his father after having given it to the Abbey. A *colonus* Salvius possessed a "bunuarium" of land which he had *purchased* (xix, 8). The *colonus* Teodradus tenanted land from the Abbey, and had besides two and a half "mansu ingenuiles" in "beneficio" (i, 29, 40). Mills (see *farinarius*) were allocated to them "in censo," and two *coloni* held, in addition to their ordinary manse, a third "in censo" (vii, 4-6). In xii, 22, four "coloni" held the property of their father, which the latter had presented to the Abbey, while the same *coloni*, after having bought land from an independent lordship, sell a piece of ground to a certain Gerradus, who came from a strange lordship.

The *colonus* Erlenteus had inherited 3 bunuaria of arable land and one arpent of meadow from some of his relatives, which the latter had likewise obtained by inheritance (xxv, 8).

Two *coloni*, Ermenoldus and Radius or Randuicus, held by inheritance, with other persons not further defined, 12 bunuaria of arable land, 1½ arpent of vineyard, and one arpent of meadow (xxii, 94, 95). Lastly, a piece of land which the *colonus* Ermengarius had acquired in Chartrain had passed, no doubt by inheritance, to his two nephews (*nepotes*) of Dreux (ix, 257).

Sometimes the "colonus" is holding office as *major*, or *decanus*, or *cellarius*, or *mulinarius*, or *forestarius*. He was and remained, however, *colonus* by birth and other circumstances, and his relation to his holding seemed to have been permanent, not one which he



could alter or abandon, as he had to pay the Abbey taxes or services not only on account of his colonial tenures, but also for his own property.

It is true the Polyptychum mentions some women (*colonae*) who had left one place to live with their husbands in another (xxiv, 40, 41), and a *colonus* of one place holding a "mansus" in another (*ibid.*, 127). But such changes were not unusual under Roman rule, and had been authorised by the Justinian Code, under condition that they were to take place in the estate of one and the same proprietor, and that the *colonus* changing his abode should remain under the same master. In some cases the Abbey removed *coloni* from their original holdings to newly acquired land (xii, 9, 11, 12, 19, 20, 23, 24, 40-43, 46). In xii, 41, it is stated that a *colonus* named Silvanus had been "presented" to the Abbey by Iderna.

The colonial farm generally consisted of one manse, occasionally of two (ii, 2; v, 75; xvii, 14; xix, 3), often of half a manse (i, 11, 12, 18; ii, 97 bis; iii, 41, 43, 44, etc.), or even less (xxv, 21). But there was nothing uncommon in one manse being held by two, three, four, five (ii, 36; ix, 21), and even more (xiii, 47) colonial households (see the articles *ingenuilis*, *lidilis*). On the other hand, half a manse (xxv, 20) or the fourth part of a manse (xxiv, 38) seems each to have been sufficient for two colonial families.

The *coloni* sometimes held separate portions of land of which we find no further particulars (ii, 26 sqq.; vii, 56, 59, etc.). In most cases the manses or part of manses which they cultivated are called *ingenuilis* (q.v.), though there are many instances of their having occupied mansi *lidiles* (q.v.), or *serviles* (q.v.).

The *colonus* often appears as a *hospes* (q.v.), or as holding a *hospitium* (q.v.) on the hire-system. See further below (p. 483) the explanation of *homo*.

(6) The *lidus* of the Abbey of St. Germain des Prés, if he was not the direct descendant of the *laetus* (a barbarian bondman introduced into Gaul about the time of Diocletian, under the title of auxiliary of the Empire, and known in the Lex Salica as *litus*), seems at any rate to have derived his name and conditions from him. The *laetus* received for cultivation a piece of land for which he paid tribute to his master. The rent paid by the *laetus* to the Emperor was paid by the *lidus* to private persons; the service performed by the former in the Roman armies, was rendered by the latter to individuals and in the domains of their masters. The



former received public land from the State ; the latter received it from private hands. So that the *lactus* was a free cultivator and soldier, the *lidus* a more or less servile cultivator and valet. The transformation of the *lactus* is one of the consequences of the great revolution brought about in the Roman world by the barbarians.

As regards the tenancies of the *lidus* on the estate of the Abbey, there seems to have been no material difference between him and the *colonus* or *servus*, as he appears to have held a mansus *ingenuilis* (q.v.) just as usually as the *colonus* and the *servus* ; nor was the mansus *lidilis* (q.v.), or the mansus *servilis* (q.v.), or the *hospitium* (q.v.) more commonly occupied by him than by the *colonus* or *servus*.

He often was in partnership with the other classes of tenants. And the taxes and services which had to be rendered to the Abbey, being imposed, not according to the classes to which the various tenants belonged, but according to the condition (*ingenuilis*, *lidilis*, or *servilis*) of the manses, the *lidus* was, in respect to his holding, on the same footing as the *colonus* and the *servus*.

The *lidus*, however, was subject to a special tax called *litmonium*, consisting of a payment of 4 or 8 denarii. It was similar to the ordinary poll-tax (*capaticum*), which most of the other tenants of the Abbey had to pay, and which was levied either by *mansi* or hearths (*foci*). The *lidae* occasionally, instead of paying this tax in money, supplied the Abbey with a kind of under-garment or linen cloth called "*camsilus*." See the explanation of *homo* (p. 483).

(7) The *servus*, likewise a tenant of the Abbey, appears to have been by no means a mere slave, for he held, either separately or in partnership with one or more *lidi* or *coloni*, or even free men, not only *mansi serviles* (see the article *servilis*), but, in numerous cases, *mansi ingenuiles* (see *ingenuilis*) and *lidiles* (q.v.), and even, in one instance (xii, 6) a manse belonging to the domain (*mansus indominicatus*).

Guérard has calculated that the number of persons established on the properties and dependencies of the Abbey amounted to over 10,000, forming nearly 2,800 households. Among these households he counted only 120 serfs, the others being mostly families of *coloni*, and for a considerably smaller part, of *lidi*, some of free men, and a goodly number of a mixed or uncertain condition.

That the *servus* does not appear in the Polyptychum in so great a number as the *colonus*, shows, perhaps, that *servi* were less general than the *colonus* class, and merely a supplement of the latter.

In the time of Charlemagne, agricultural serfs were called *servi mansuarii*, but this does not imply that the *mansuarii*, or *mansuarii*, between whom two manses of the Abbey of St. Germain were divided, were of servile condition, as every person, free or not, occupying a manse, was called *mansuarius*.

Moreover, the *servus*, apart from his equality, as a tenant, with all the other tenants of the Abbey, possessed property which seemed to have been at his own disposal. For instance (xvii, 46), a *servus*, whose wife was an *ancilla*, possessed certain portions of arable land, of a vineyard, and a meadow. The serf Maurhaus had acquired (xii, 47) a manse composed of 19 bunuaria and 20 perches of arable land, and of 7 arpents of meadow, which were held "in benefice" by a certain Witlaicus. The number of proprietary serfs was, however, very small, and generally they appeared only as tenants. Hence we cannot admit the right of property on the part of the serfs except, perhaps, as an inroad on the principle by which this right was denied to them.

*Servi* sometimes tenanted a *hospitium* (q.v.).

Guérard points out that, since Justinian, the Roman Law did not admit the testimony of slaves, but the Barbarian Laws were generally more favourable to them. And the serfs of the Abbey of St. Germain affirmed, like the *coloni* and *lidi*, on oath, the correctness of the description of the fises in the Polyptychum (see p. 483, No. 17).

To the above it may be added in general that originally the *colonus* was subject to agricultural, the *lidus* to military, and the *servus* to personal service. Hence the servitude of the first was territorial, that of the second military, that of the third personal.

As, in most instances, the wife of a *colonus* is a *colona*, we might have expected the wife of a *lidus* to be a *lida*, and an *ancilla* the wife of a *servus*. But, though remaining in principle separated by insurmountable barriers, the three classes became gradually intermixed, chiefly by mixed marriages, but also by the condition of their holdings. In the Polyptychum the wife of a *colonus* was occasionally a *libera*, or a *lida*, or an *ancilla*. The *liber homo* was married to a *colona*, the *lidus* to a *colona*, and the *servus* to a *colona* or to a *lida*, or an *ancilla*, and so on. This mixing up of the three principal classes of unfree tenants had begun towards the end of the century preceding the Polyptychum, and proceeded to such an extent that, at the time of the compilation of that Register, their condition hardly differed in any degree. Hence, if the compilers had not pointed out in nearly every case the social condition of the

tenants, we should not be able to ascertain it from the nature of their taxes or services. Finally, the three classes merged into one single class of persons, the *villani*, who were inalienable.

Besides the above four (five) classes of persons the Polyptychum records—

(8) Tenants whose names only are given, without any clue as to their social position in relation to the Abbey, though the names and social condition of their wives, the number of their children, their holdings, and taxes are recorded. These tenants are called, in the list following, *undefined tenants*, and mentioned under such articles as *ancilla*, *colona*, *homo*, *hospitium*, *ingenuilis*, *lida*, *lidilis*, *mansus*, *pars*, *servilis*, *socius*.

(9) Mancipium, a *servant* or *slave*, of whom the Polyptychum says little more than that in most cases he was included in donations made by certain persons to the Abbey.

(10) Manens, a *dweller*, perhaps a person who resided on the estate, without any holding or particular avocation.

(11) Ancilla,<sup>1</sup> a *female servant*.

(12) Infans, an *infant*. Under the Roman and Frankish laws, a child born of parents of unequal condition usually took its position from the inferior parent. Hence the *homo liber*, marrying a *colona*, would have *coloni* as children, or, if he married a woman of the *servus* class, his children would be *servi*; a *colonus* marrying a *lida* would have *lidi* as children, and so on. And if *coloni* or *servi* married free women, the children would be *coloni* or *servi*.

In the Polyptychum, however, certain circumstances imply that the condition of the mother decided that of the child, as was prescribed by the Law of the emperors Gratian, Valentinian II, and Theodosius for the marriages of free men with women of the *colonus*- and *servus*-class of the imperial domain (Cod. Justin., xi, 67. 4). First of all, of five children of a *colonus* who had married twice, three are said to be *lidi*, because they were born of a *lida*, his first wife (Polypt., ix, 25). Again, a *colonus*, married a second time to a *colona*, is said to have a son *lidus* by his first wife, who was, no doubt, a *lida* (ibid., xxv, 7). In another place (ib., xiii, 95), a *colonus*, married to a *colona*, had by her three children, whose names are given, but his three children by a first wife, who was an *ancilla*, and, therefore, belonged to the *servus* class, are mentioned

<sup>1</sup> In this and other cases where no further explanations are given, the necessary details will be found in the alphabetical list.



separately by name, with the words “*isti tres sunt de ancilla*” indicating their condition by mentioning that of their mother. Elsewhere the children’s condition seems to hold the middle between that of their father and that of their mother, because a *servus*, married to an *ancilla*, had a daughter said to be an *ancilla* on account of her mother, but his three sons are called *lidi* because they were born of a *colona*, his first wife.

It would seem that the children born of tenants of the Abbey belonged to the estate, as we meet occasionally with the expressions “*cujus infantes non sunt sancti Germani*” (see ix, 157, 289, 290; xii, 12, 25, 46; xxi, 3, 81, 82, 86; xxii, 53, 84, 91; xxiv, 109), or “*infantes qui sunt sancti Germani*” (xix, 28; xxiv, 109, 110), which, in some instances, include also the wives of the tenants. By what law or arrangement this freedom from, or particular connection with, the Abbey was brought about, is not clearly indicated in the Polyptychum. But it may be inferred from certain paragraphs that, if the mother belonged to the estate, her children were enumerated among the property of the Abbey, even if the father were a stranger (see xii, 47; xiii, 9, 10, 12, 17, 19, 26, 41, 42, 61; xx, 7, 14, 25; xxiv, 78, 160), whereas they are not mentioned if the mother belonged to another master, though her husband pertained to the Abbey (see ix, 154, 289, 290–292; xiii, 7, 10, 45, 69, 82, etc.). There were cases where the mother and her children belonged to the Abbey, though she was an *advena* (xiii, 58, 62, 82, 97; xiii, 64; xxiv, 34); the reverse would appear from xxi, 81, 82; xxiv, 58, 175; xxiv, 18.

## B. THE LORDSHIP (Seigneurie).

### (a) *General terms.*

(13) *Pagensis*, an inhabitant of a pagus.

(14) *Rusticanus*, a person dwelling in the country (*rus*), a rustic, countryman (only in a later addition).

### (b) *Particular terms.*

(15) *Domnus*, *donnus*, for *dominus*, a title applied to the abbat.

(16) *Praesul* (*presul*), a title applied to St. Germanus, the founder of the Abbey, but only in the later additions.

(17) *Homo*, a man, vassal, who owed obedience, fidelity, assistance, and service (called *hominium* or *servitium hominis*) for



himself and his tenancy. The nature of the service was determined by the relation of the "man" towards his master, as vassal, miles, colonus, lidus, or servus, or by the condition of his tenancy (either a feudum, or, as in the Polyptychum, a mansus ingenuilis, lidilis, or servilis).

The Polyptychum, recording the tenants of the Abbey, describes some of them as *colonus homo sancti Germani* (see the article *colonus*, 3), or *lidus* (q.v.) *homo sancti Germani*, or *servus* (q.v.) *homo sancti Germani*, as the case may be. Likewise we find *femina* (q.v.) *sancti Germani*.

Again, the Polyptychum, recording other tenants of the same classes with their wives, after having stated the names and social position of both of them, designates many of them as *homines sancti Germani*; exx. gr., i, 2, Walateus colonus et uxor ejus colona, nomine Framengildis, *homines sancti Germani*; i, 14, Alanteus lidus et uxor ejus colona, nomine Ingberta, *homines sancti Germani*; i, 6, Dominicus servus et uxor ejus colona, nomine Landedrudis, *homines sancti Germani*. See further the articles *advena*, *calumniatus*, *cellarius*, *colonus* (3), *extraneus*, *liber*, *lidus*, *major*, *servus*, *socius*.

The words "homines sancti Germani" are always written before the names of the tenant's children, except in a few places (xiii, 77; xxiv, 42, 100, 129), where they come after the names.

Sometimes, though one of a married couple may be called *free*, yet the two together are described as "homines sancti Germani" (xvi, 88; xviii, 6), which shows that freedom did not prevent dependence.

Even a priest (presbyter) is called "homo s. Germani" (xxiv, 30).

Sometimes a person is called "homo sancti Germani," or of some similar dependency, without its being stated whether he was a *colonus*, a *lidus*, or a *servus*, or anything else (vii, 10, 79; xvi, 72).

When land belonging to the Abbey had been given "in beneficio" to certain persons, they still remained "homines sancti Germani" (xiii, 18; xxi, 12; xxiv, 14, 61, 89, 144; xxv, 40).

The "homines" of the presbyter of Villeneuve Saint-Georges are tenants of land of St. Germain possessed by the priest (xv, 2).

Guérard is of opinion that the term "homo" indicates, not an original and permanent condition like that of the *liber*, the *colonus*, the *lidus*, or the *servus*, but an accidental and variable one, which relates to the actual dependence of the person. For instance, a person being called "homo sancti Germani" would not mean

that he is of a free or servile condition, but merely that St. Germain, or rather the abbat of this monastery, was his master or his lord, in the same way as bishops, abbats, dukes, counts, or other feudal lords were called "homines regis," and the milites or other vassals of bishops, abbats, etc., "homines episcopi," etc.

The appellation "homo sancti Germani" is, however, very often omitted, and a tenant merely designated as *advena* (q.v., 1a-c), *calumniatus*, *cellarius*, *colonus* (1a-n), *extraneus* (a-e, h), *liber*, *lidus* (1), *major*, *servus* (1), or *socius*, as the case may be, without any further allusion to his position with regard to the Abbey.

Again, many other persons or tenants are described as *colona* (q.v.) *sancti Germani*; *colonus sancti Germani*; *lidus sancti Germani*; *major et colonus sancti Germani*; *servus sancti Germani*, without the word "homo," as may be seen under the respective articles *colona*, *colonus*, *lidus*, etc.

In short, if we analyse the three principal classes of tenants, the *colonus*, the *lidus*, and the *servus*, as they are described in the Polyptychum, we find that they may be subdivided as

colonus,  
 colonus sancti Germani,  
 colonus homo sancti Germani,  
 lidus,  
 lidus sancti Germani,  
 lidus homo sancti Germani,  
 servus,  
 servus sancti Germani,  
 servus homo sancti Germani.

Guérard and Longnon think that this difference in the designation of the tenants implies no difference in their social position or in their relation to the Abbey. They are of opinion that the words *homo* and *femina* are in most cases omitted, so that, for instance, "Godeboldus, colonus s. Germani" (i, 1) would stand for "Godeboldus, colonus, homo s. Germani," and "Ermentildis, colona s. Germani" (i, 33) for "Ermentildis, colona, femina s. Germani."

They further suggest that in xxv, 38, where we read: "Adalharius, colonus sancti Germani, et uxor ejus colona, . . . de beneficio Guntharii, homines sancti Germani,"

the words "sancti Germani" after the word "colonus" are merely a double use of the words "homines s. Germani" which follow. They also observe that a tenant named Ermenarius, whose wife is said to be "libera," is called "servus domni abbatis" (xxi, 43), and that the wife of a "colonus, homo s. Germani" is called "ancilla domni abbatis" (xxiv, 92), probably because both belonged to the abbat and not to the monks.

It seems, however, that these explanations cannot be accepted. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the tenants, whom the Polyptychum describes as *colonus*, *lidus*, or *servus*, differ in social condition, or in their relation to the Abbey, from those whom it describes as *colonus* (or *lidus* or *servus*) *sancti Germani*, and this latter class in their turn again from the *colonus* (or *lidus* or *servus*) *homo sancti Germani*.

Otherwise the compiler or compilers of the Polyptychum must be supposed to have done their work with extraordinary carelessness, and to have made numerous omissions, a supposition which is at variance with the great care apparent in the record of other details. In fact, the articles *colonus*, *lidus*, *servus* as prepared for the present Glossary, tend to show that the division of tenants into the classes referred to above is the result of some *system* and of facts connected with their social condition, not of mere carelessness on the part of the compiler or scribe of the document.

We may observe very remarkable distinctions in the Polyptychum in the enumeration of the various tenants. For instance, xix, 48, we read: "Bernoinus *calumniatus* et uxor ejus *colona*, nomine Electa, *homines sancti Germani*; Adacus *calumniatus* et uxor ejus, *colona sancti Germani*, nomine Elisabet . . . . Ingalfridus *colonus* et uxor ejus *colona*, nomine Bricia . . . . tenent mansum ingenuilem." In xv, 76: "Adalgarius, *servus sancti Germani*, et uxor ejus *colona* . . . . *homines sancti Germani*. Iste tenet mansum i servilem. Hadoardus *servus* et uxor ejus *ancilla* . . . . *homines sancti Germani* habent secum infantes v . . . . Isti duo tenent mansum i ingenuilem." In xv, 77: "Adalgaudus *colonus* et uxor ejus *colona* . . . . *homines sancti Germani*. . . . . Gislebertus *colonus sancti Germani* et uxor ejus *ancilla sancti Germani*." In xv, 78: "Ermenoldus, *colonus sancti Germani*, et uxor ejus *ancilla*; Fulcaldus *servus* et uxor ejus *ancilla*, nomine Ragentisma, *homines sancti Germani* . . . ." In xxiv, 61: "Agenulfus, de beneficio Gausboldo, *homo sancti Germani*, et uxor ejus *advena*; et *socius* ejus Stephanus, *colonus sancti Germani*."



The minute differences or distinctions which we here observe in the descriptions of the relations of the tenants towards the Abbey are scarcely explained by saying that omissions have here been made.

Guérard and Longnon, in support of their explanation, point out that in the record of certain fises (Villemeux, Neuillay-les-Bois, Villa supra Mare, Saint-Germain de Secqueval, and Chavannes) the words *homines sancti Germani* have nearly everywhere been omitted after the names of the tenants, although these tenants were undoubtedly "men of St. Germain."

But on referring to the records of these fises (Chapters ix, xi, xx, xxii, xxiii) we find that they are an exception to the records of the other fises, in that they state in many cases that these tenants, who are not called "*homines sancti Germani*," *dwelt* (*manent*) in such and such a place. For instance, in Chapter ix, which is the first where the word *manere* is used, and which is a record of the fisc Villemeux, some of the tenants are said to "dwell" in the capital (Villemeux) of the fisc (Villemeux) which the chapter describes, others in the various localities surrounding that capital. Exx. gr., paragraph 8: "Vulframnus, major et colonus, et uxor ejus colona, nomine Lentgardis . . . . Iste *manet* in *Teodulfi Villa*" (Thionville-sur-Opton). In paragraph 9: "Ivorius colonus et uxor ejus colona. . . . Frodacus colonus et uxor ejus colona. . . . Et Frodoardus et uxor ejus colona. . . . Omnes isti sunt *homines sancti Germani; manent* in *Villamilt*." The paragraphs 10 and 11 also record tenants who are "*homines sancti Germani*," and "*manent* in *Villamilt*." But the paragraphs 12–26 record tenants belonging to various classes, all "*dwelling* in *Villamilt*," but not described as "*homines sancti Germani*." Then we have tenants (not called *homines s. Germani*) said to be "*dwelling*" in *Flogil Villa* (par. 27, 28), in *Levenfontana* (par. 29–33), in *Sonteri Ponte* (par. 34–36), in *Audria* (par. 37–40), in *Ulmido* (par. 41–43), and so on till paragraph 65. Then there is apparently a break, as in paragraph 66 we merely have the name of a tenant, of his wife and children, and his holding; so also in paragraphs 68–70, 72–97, 100–103, 105, 106, 108–115, 117–123, 125–130, 132–134, 136–141, 143, 147, 151, 156, 160–201, 203–208, 212–230, etc. But in paragraphs 67, 71, 98, 99, 104, 107, 116, 124, 131, 135, 142, 144–146, 148–150, 153–155, 157, 159, 202, 209, 210, 231, etc., we have again statements as to where the tenant or tenants



“manet” or “manent.” Only in paragraph 101 we find one of the tenants and his wife described as “homines s. Germani.” In paragraph 153 the tenant is “Cricianus, colonus sancti Germani”; in paragraph 154 the tenants are “Gersinus, colonus et uxor ejus colona sancti Germani” and “Lautmarus, servus sancti Germani, et uxor ejus extranea.” In all other cases the tenants are merely described as *colonus*, or *lidus*, or *servus*, as the case may be.

Again, in Chapter xi, the paragraphs 1–9, the only ones which deal with the tenants of Neuillay, all state specially that they “dwell in Nuiliaco.” None of them are *coloni*, all belong either to the *lidus*- or *servus*-class, but some of their wives are *colonae*, and only the paragraphs 1 and 2 describe some of the tenants as “homines s. Germani.”

In Chapter xiii (De Buxido) we find again the words “manet” or “manent” in nearly every paragraph, but almost all the tenants are either colonus (*lidus*, *servus*) “homines sancti Germani” or “colonus (etc.) sancti Germani.” The same may be observed in Chapter xxi (De Mantula). But in xxii (De Siccavalle) only the paragraphs 4, 69, and 75 make a statement as to the residence of the tenants, none of whom are further qualified than as *colonus*, *lidus*, etc.

Lastly, in Chapter xxiv nearly all the paragraphs, beginning with 18, state where the tenants “dwell,” and, with rare exceptions, all of them are said to be homines sancti Germani.

What the precise difference is between a simple *colonus*, *lidus*, or *servus*, or a *colonus (lidus or servus) sancti Germani*, and a *colonus (lidus or servus) homo sancti Germani*, or why some chapters state so particularly where the tenants dwell, even when they dwell in the fise with which the chapter deals, it will, perhaps, be impossible to say without making extensive researches in other directions as to the condition of the different classes of tenants, and their relations to the Abbey either before, or contemporaneously with, the date of the Polyptychum. Obviously, these researches do not come within the scope of this short treatise, and I must be content with having pointed out the chief points which require investigation, and with having prepared the way by an elaborate analysis of the various classes of tenants, and references to the paragraphs where the word *manere* occurs. The only suggestions which I dare to make are:—First, that the simple *colonus*, *lidus*, *servus* were perhaps temporary tenants of the Abbey, holding, as regards their tenancy and the obligations it involved, the same

social position which they would have occupied in any other place, or, in other words, the *colonus*, *lidus*, *servus* would have been *colonus*, *lidus*, and *servus* in any other place where the same laws and customs prevailed as in the jurisdiction of the Abbey of St. Germain. Secondly, the *colonus* (*lidus* or *servus*) *sancti Germani* belonged, perhaps, exclusively to the Abbey by certain ties or contracts of which the Polyptychum makes no mention. While, lastly, the *colonus* (*lidus* or *servus*), *homo sancti Germani* was, perhaps, connected with the Abbey by the ties and obligations (vassalage, servitium, or any other condition) implied in the word *homo*. As regards those tenants who are so distinctly pointed out as residing (*manens*) in this or that place, perhaps it was a part of the conditions of their tenancy that they could be moved by the authorities of the Abbey from one place to another.

See further, above, the explanations of *colonus*, *lidus*, *servus*, etc.

(18) (*homo*) Calumniatus, (*femina*) calumniata, literally a *claimed man or woman*, but probably not "claimed" by the Abbey as its "man" or "woman," but subject to a lawsuit pending, as to whether he (or she) was a *colonus* (*colona*) or a serf.

(19) Hospes, the inmate of an hospitium or hostel, a *kind of tenant or farmer, a host*, occupying a habitation or a portion of land under more or less onerous conditions. He derived his name, not from his social position like the *colonus*, nor from his dependency like the *homo* or *vassal*, but from the title of his holding, which seems to have been precarious or temporary, and was usually called *hospitium* (q.v.). From the Polyptychum it appears that the *hospes* was either a *homo liber*, or a *colonus*, *lidus*, *servus*, or other tenant. (See *hospitium*.)

(20) Mansionarius, mansuarius, mansoarius, a *person occupying a mansus*.

(21) Advena, a *stranger, foreigner*, one who had quitted his birth-place, or the country in which he had resided, to dwell in another, with or without the intention to remain there. He was usually a free man, though not always independent, seeing that several of them are called *homines s. Germani*.

(22) Extraneus, *one coming from abroad, a stranger*, differing from the *advena*, in that the former was the dependent of a foreign seigneur, whereas the *advena* was the free inhabitant of a foreign country. The *extraneus* was, therefore, generally of servile condition. In the Polyptychum he appears in various relations towards the Abbey of St. Germain.

(23) *Homo votivus*, one who had *devoted* or *consecrated* himself and his services to the Abbey, from reasons of devotion, poverty, need of protection, or some such cause. Some devoted themselves to particular purposes. So, in the Polyptychum some persons had devoted themselves to the *luminaria* or lights of the Abbey, whence they were called *luminarii* in other documents. Other terms for this class of persons were *oblatus*, *donatus*, *condonatus*.

(24) *Socius*; *socialis*, *sotia*, *a partner*, *associate*. The precise connection of this person with the Abbey or the tenants is not clear.

(25) *Villanus*, *a villein*. This person, so often found in the Domesday Book, occurs only once in the Polyptychum, in a later addition.

(26) *Presbyter*, *a priest*. He held manses like other tenants, and even (xxii, 1 fin.) a mill built by himself.

(27) *Sacerdos*, *a priest*. The MS. has merely *sac*. If the expansion is right this priest held an *hospitium* from the benefice of some other person.

(28) *Forasticus* [from Lat. *foras*, outside], *a tenant* or *servant* performing work or service for his lord *outside* the domain.

(29) *Inframiticus* [from *inframiticum*, q.v.], *a servant* or *tenant* performing his work or service *within* the limits of the domain of his lord.

(30) *Juratus*, *a sworn man*, *one of a jury*, *a jury-man*.

(31) *Paraveradarius*, *a tenant* who had to supply his lord with a horse called *paraveredus*, or palfrey.

### C. OFFICERS, DIGNITARIES.

(a) *General term.*

(32) *Ministerialis*, any *officer*, in general, as well of the State, as of the Court, the Church, a Monastery, etc., or any person of free or servile condition holding an office (*ministerium*) in one capacity or another. As the Polyptychum merely refers to a private estate, it mentions no officers of state, only rural officers, whose duty it was to collect the rents and to see that the services, due from the tenants, were properly performed. Apart from the manses and other tenancies which they held of the Abbey, and for which they were generally <sup>1</sup> subject to the common obligations of tenants, they

<sup>1</sup> For an exception see xxii, 2.



enjoyed certain rights or emoluments proportioned to their services, or deducted by them from the rents and taxes which they collected. For instance, of the tax called *hostilitium*, paid by the tenants of the manses *ingenuiles* of Boissy (xiii, 99), 6 officers (*ministeriales*) rendered to the Abbey £3 9s. 9d., and retained for themselves 12s. 9d. Of the same tax levied on the manses *lidiles* the Abbey received £2 6s. 9d., while the forester and dean deducted only 1s. 3d. In the same fisc 25½ manses *serviles* were bound to supply 2 sheep each, or 51 sheep in all; the summary, however, mentions no more than 47, probably because the officers had retained 4 of them. Lastly, 182 hearths, each taxed 4d. for *capaticum*, should have yielded £3 0s. 8d.; but, according to the summary, the Abbey received of this sum no more than £2 11s. 7d., the remaining 9s. 1d. being, probably, the emoluments of the *ministeriales*.

(b) *Particular terms.*

(33) Abbas, Abba, *the chief of the Abbey, an abbat*, mentioned only occasionally when it is pointed out what the abbat Irminon had done for the Abbey, either planting a vineyard or making a donation to the Abbey.

(34) Comes, *a count*, occurring only in a later addition. He is usually the chief of a county (*comitatus*). A *comitissa* is likewise mentioned in a later addition.

(35) Judex, *a judge*. The judge was known to the Franks and the Visigoths. He was usually superior in rank to the major or villicus, though sometimes he was no judge at all, but merely invested with some authority. There is no distinct mention of a *judex* in the Polyptychum, but that there was such a functionary for the estates of the Abbey of St. Germain, or at least for the fisc of Secqueval, may, perhaps, be inferred from xxii, 4, where there is question of the corvada *judicialis*, which a tenant had to perform together with the corvada *abbatilis* and *praepositilis*. If this inference is correct we may, probably, also conclude that the officers following were placed under his authority.

(36) Major (Fr. *maire*), *a major*. He was, like the villicus (*villicus*), placed, in the Frankish period, under the authority of the functionary called *judex*, though he had somewhat the same power, which was confined, however, to rural concerns and domestic economy. He was, therefore, *an overseer or steward of a farm or estate, a bailiff*. He had to perform services for his lord, and pay him rent and taxes very much like the other



tenants, though sometimes he appears to have been somewhat more heavily taxed. For instance, the major mentioned xix, 3, besides rendering his ordinary service, had to present the Abbey with a horse, while those mentioned ix, 8 and xxii, 2 had not only each to supply a horse, but also to feed a second. In the Lex Salica he was a chief bondman, or chief servant in a household. In the Polyptychum the *major* was, perhaps, always a *colonus*, though those mentioned iii, 7, viii, 23, xiii, 100, xxi, 93, and xxii, 2 are not described as such. In a later addition to the Polyptychum (iv, 36), of the end of the tenth century, a major is described as a *servus sancti Germani*. Each fisc seemed to have, as a rule, one major, though in that of Villemeux there were actually two (ix, 8, 271).

(37) Decanus, a *dean*. It appears from the Polyptychum that, on account of his duties as overseer of a deanery, the dean rendered no services like the other tenants. But he had to maintain one horse for his lord, pay him 5s. per annum, and perform some manual labours (*riga* and *curvada*) on the estate. He was a *colonus*, like the *major*, under whose authority he was placed, and charged with the administration and cultivation of the seignorial land (the *mansus dominicus*) belonging to the Abbey, the direction and surveying of the works done for its profit, the collecting of rents, taxes, etc. The fisc of Villemeux was divided into three deaneries (ix, 1 and 9), also that of Béconcelle (xxiv, 1), otherwise one dean seems to have sufficed for each fisc. His assistant was the

(38) Decanus junior.

(39) Cellarius, cellerarius, a *butler*, or *cellar-man*, mentioned only three times in the Polyptychum. The first (ix, 228) is described as a *servus et cellerarius*; the second (xiii, 102) as a *cellarius* without any further definition; the third (xix, 4) as a *cellerarius et colonus*, who was married to a *colona*, and with her called *homines s. Germani*. His official duties are not stated, but no doubt he had charge of the provisions for the seignorial household.

The first held half a servile manse, and paid the same rents as the other servi with whom he is classed; the third held a mansus *ingenuilis*, and appears to have been exempt from taxes on account of the services which he rendered to the Abbey; but he had to work and cultivate, at his own expense, an ansange and two perches of the seignorial land. Of the second no particulars are given at all, except that he paid one *indius* (andiron).

(40) *Forestarius, a forester.* The Polyptychum mentions this officer only twice; one (described as a *colonus sancti Germani*) had charge of the seignorial wood and vineyard (vi, 53), occupied a hospitium, with some arable land and vineyard attached, and had to work one arpent in the seignorial vineyard. The other, who was forester of the fise of Boissy (xiii, 99), does not appear as a tenant, but he and the dean retained 1s. 3d. from the £2 6s. 9d. paid by the manses *lidiles*, and received of all the manses 99 measures (muid) of grain and 180 chickens. On the other hand, he was bound to furnish the seignorial manse with 60 measures (muids), 100 *scrofae*,<sup>1</sup> and other articles, or 3s. instead. We find other tenants who, without being called foresters, had charge of woods, as in the fise of Villemeux, a serf holding half a manse *servilis* (ix, 234), while another serf, holding a manse (xx, 43), had charge of a wood and the cattle.

(41) *Mulinarius, mulnarius, a miller.* The Polyptychum mentions many mills (*farinarii*; see also *molendinum*), but a miller only in two places. In the first (xiii, 107) he is merely said to pay 6s. 4d.; in the second (xix, 6) he is described as a *colonus, mulinarius, and homo sancti Germani*. Other tenants are recorded as holding an entire mill, or half a mill, or having the care of a mill (vii, 4, 37; ix, 254; xxii, 92, 93), but they are not called millers, though perhaps they may be qualified as such, as also those who held the seven mills of Boissy (xiii, Δ), and are no doubt the *mulnarii* mentioned xiii, 107. Guérard distinguishes two classes of millers, those who worked mills of the Abbey on their own account, and others who worked mills of the Abbey for the monastery itself, the former being entitled to the whole revenue of the mill, after paying a certain tax to the Abbey, while the latter were servants of the Abbey. Apart from mills they held manses *ingenuiles* under the same conditions as the other tenants.

(42) *Faber, a blacksmith,* who usually paid his rent or tax in implements, either for war or for the household, as a number of lances or other arms made in his workshop. For this reason we must, perhaps, conclude that the Aitoinus who (xiii, 102) paid 6 *blasi* as rent was a blacksmith.

(43) *Vinitor, a vineyard-labourer, vinedresser,* who apparently belonged to the *servus*-class, though he seems to have held half a mansus *ingenuilis*.

<sup>1</sup> On this word see the index.

(44) *Ortolanus, a gardener.*

(45) *Operarius, a workman, labourer.*

(46) *Pictor* is mentioned once without its being said whether he was a painter, or an illuminator, or anything else.

In the later additions to the Polyptychum we meet with—

(47) *Exceptor, a notary, shorthand-writer, scribe.*

(48) *Carpentarius, a carpenter.*

Though the Polyptychum mentions no other artisans or workmen the Abbey no doubt employed men for *brewing* (mentioned in xiii, 106); *coopers* and other persons for making the *staves* and *hoops* required for the manufacture of *tons* (xiii, 99, and ix, 299 later addit.), and the *measures* (muid), *boilers*, and other implements to be furnished by the forester (see above, No. 40). There must have been *wheelwrights* for the making of *carra* (xiii, 299), other workmen for the manufacture of *shingles* (*scindolae*, xi, 2), *torches* (*faculae*, *ibid.*), etc. Some tenants had to make a certain number of perches of enclosures or fence (*saepes, tuninus*) for the courts (*curtis*), gardens (*ortus*), or fields (*terra*) of the seignorial manse.

We read of the art of weaving, and of the obligation of making articles of dress of the stuffs prepared by this art. The tenants also had to thresh the corn in the seignorial granaries, and cut wood in the forests of the monastery. *Servi* and *lidi* were charged with the custody of the pigs and other animals pasturing in the woods (ix, 236, 243, 285; xi, 9; xiii, 90; xx, 43; xxiv, 39), and of the cowhouses (ix, 279).

### III. PROPERTIES, POSSESSIONS, GOODS, BUILDINGS, LANDS, FIELDS, ETC. (possessed by the Abbey).

#### A. REGISTERS OR DOCUMENTS IN WHICH THE VARIOUS PROPERTIES WERE DESCRIBED OR REGISTERED.

(1) Polyptychum, *a register* (see the Glossary and above, p. 472).

(2) Breve, *a list, register* (see above, p. 472).

(3) Carta, *a charter.*

#### B. TERMS FOR PROPERTY, HOLDINGS OR POSSESSIONS, BUILDINGS, LANDS, FIELDS, ETC.

(a) *General term.*

(4) *Dominium, a domain*, discussed below (p. 501) under its meaning, *a mode of holding.*



(b) *Particular terms*: (I) for *Buildings, Houses, etc.*

(5) *Abbatia, the abbey*, as the possessor of the domain. Only found in a later addition.

(6) *Mansus, a manse, an estate, rural dwelling, habitation with land attached, a farm.* The most usual and regular tenancy of the three principal classes of tenants (the *colonus, lidus, servus*) mentioned in the *Polyptychum* consisted of a manse, occupied sometimes by one, very often by two or more households. They were generally subject to the same taxes and the same services. More or less irregular tenancies were the *hospitia*, and portions of land. The latter could be converted into manses (ix, 253). Sometimes tenants held, besides the regular manse, parts of another (ii, 78, 83, 84; vii, 5, 6, etc.). In ix, 201, nine tenants are said to hold one manse in common, besides each having his own manse.

The word usually refers to the habitation alone, as appears from the *Polyptychum* (xxii, 1, *mansum dominicatum bene constructum*; see also xxiv, 1; *mansum ingenuilem 1, habentem inter mansum et vineam aripennum i, de terra arabili bunuaria v, de prato aripennos, xxii, 56*). But it also designates not only the habitation, but the land attached to it, and sometimes it applies chiefly to the land.

The manses of the Abbey numbered, according to Guérard, about 1,600, but, considering that the *Polyptychum* is not complete, he assumed that there were at least 2,200, without counting the manses granted in benefice. As about 1,650 would be inhabited by 10,000 persons, he further assumed 13,300 for the 2,200 manses.

There were various kinds of manses, all qualified by some distinctive adjective indicating their particular condition.

(a) *Mansus dominicus, mansus dominicatus, mansus indominicatus*, the seignorial or manorial land and manse; *the chief manse*, which was administered by the proprietor himself, or by his officers, or by a grantee, and which could grant other manses of an inferior kind (ix, 158) to tenants, on condition of receiving from the latter certain well-defined rents, taxes, and services of various kinds. To the chief manse other buildings and outhouses belonged, as a kitchen, bakery, lodgings for the servants, a granary, stables, etc., etc. (*mansum dominicatum or indominicatum cum casa et aliis casticiis sufficienter et abundanter, ii, 1; iii, 1; iv, 1, etc.*). Sometimes churches belonged to it, and mills, meadows, vineyards, and woods (ii, 1; iii, 1; vi, 1, etc.), or a park (xxii, 1).



The chief manses could, like other property, be alienated, or granted in benefice or in tenure, but always reserved to themselves their character and supremacy over the manses which depended on them (xii, 2, 6, 8, 15). We find such manses granted *in benefice* (Fragm., i, 1, 3, 14; ii, 13) and *in precaria* (ix, 269; xii, 8, 15), and one of the latter held by a *servus* (xii, 6).

(b) *Mansus ministerialis*, evidently a manse set apart for, or occupied, or administered by an officer (*ministerialis*, see above, p. 490) of the estate.

(c) *Mansus censilis*, apparently a manse which had to pay a certain tax (*census*) in money, without being liable to the usual rents or services like the other manses, though not differing, in condition, materially from them, as, in xxi, 78, 79, a *mansus censilis* is also described as a *mansus ingenuilis*. In fact, as all manses were more or less subject to rents (*census*), the term *censilis* might apply to them all.

(d) *Mansus ingenuilis*; (e) *mansus lidus* or *lidilis*; (f) *mansus servilis*. According to the adjectives we should expect a *mansus ingenuilis* to have been held by an *ingenuus*, a *mansus lidilis* by a *lidus*, and a *mansus servilis* by a *servus*. And at one time, no doubt, this was the case. The system is still, to some extent, perceptible in the Polyptychum. It may further be supposed that, after manses had once been named *ingenuilis*, or *lidilis*, or *servilis*, they retained this title, even in case a *mansus ingenuilis* was occupied by a *servus*, and reversely. And as we actually find, in the Polyptychum, many mansi *ingenuiles* held by *servi*, and mansi *lidiles* and *serviles* by *coloni*, it seems clear that, at the date of the Polyptychum, the adjectives no longer qualified the manses or their tenants, but the nature and amount of the taxes, services, and rents to which the manses had, originally, been liable.

(g) *Mansus integer*, a whole manse, as distinct from a *mansus dimidius* or *medius*. We even find parts (see *pars*) of manses mentioned. Guérard thinks that these expressions indicated the revenues derived from the manses rather than the size or extent of the property.

(h) *Mansus vestitus*, a manse that was fully occupied and cultivated, and paid all the rents and rendered all the services imposed on it. It is usually opposed to a

(i) *Mansus absus*, apparently a manse which had no regular tenant, and did not pay all the regular charges. According to Du Cange *absus* meant *uncultivated*, fit only for pasture, while Adelung

interpreted it as = *dominicus, fiscalis*, that which was not assigned to a *colonus*. Guérard, however, shows that *mansi* called *absi* were occupied and cultivated, and hence that *absus* only indicated that the manse did not pay the regular charges.

(k) *Mansus paraveradi*, or *mansus paraveredarius*, a manse the holder of which had to supply a horse called *paraveradus*, or *palfrey*, for the use of his lord's household.

(l) *Mansus medius*, or *dimidius*, half a manse, see above, *Mansus integer*.

(7) *Curtis*, or *cortis*, a court, enclosure, yard. The *curtis dominica* of the Polyptychum was the part of the seignorial manse, enclosed with walls or hedges, in or around which the house and other buildings were situated, to which the tenants of the estate had to convey the timber, where they had to remain on watch, whence they had to remove the manure, and the enclosure of which they had to keep in repair.

(8) *Casticium*, a dwelling, cottage. It does not appear in what respect a *casticum* differed from the other dwellings mentioned in the Polyptychum. The word is once replaced by *aedificium*, which gives us no light, but suggests that the *casticum* was merely an ordinary outhouse, or something like it.

(9) *Precaria*, an estate held by *precaria* (see below under *Tenures*).

(10) *Beneficium*, an estate granted by one person to another on condition that the latter shall have the use and enjoyment of it during his lifetime; see below under *Tenures*. As a rule, benefices were held by *free persons*, though sometimes, if they were small, by *coloni* (i, 29, 40; vi, 6, 55); in the latter case the tenants were bound to the Abbey in a twofold respect, as a rent- and taxpayer, and as a beneficiary (paying military or other services).

(11) *Mansellus*, a small manse.

(12) *Mansura*, a small manse.

(13) (Maxnile, for) *Masnile*, a small piece of land, with a house.

(14) *Cella* (fratrum), which we find often mentioned in the Polyptychum, was a colony or dependency of a monastery, in which the abbat established granaries and other storehouses, and placed friars or monks for the administration of the goods of the monastery situated in the neighbourhood.

(15) *Casa*, a cottage, with stables, barns, and other buildings necessary for agricultural work. *Casa dominica*, a cottage specially reserved for the lord of the estate. It occurs in xvii, 1, and if the text is not corrupt the word has the same meaning as *mansus*.

(16) *Hospitium*, *hospicium*, *ospitium*, *hospicius*, was much like a manse, and subject to the same contributions, but less in extent. It was, perhaps, originally meant to be a temporary tenancy, whereas the manse seems to have been more or less hereditary. In process of time the distinction of manses and hospices disappeared, except as to size, so that small manses became large hospices, and large hospices small manses. We find both described under the common title of *mansi* and *hospitia* (xx, 30 sq.). So in ix, 152, Aclevertus is said to have given four manses to St. Germain; but in the description of this donation which follows (ix, 153-157) we find three manses and two hospices, from which we may conclude, perhaps, that two hospices were considered equal to one manse. The tenants of *hospitia* varied like those of the different *mansi*. But the Polyptychum records only the *hospitium dominicum* (a hostel constructed on land belonging to the domain) and the *hospitius servilis*, saying nothing of *hospitia ingenuile* or *lidile*.

(17) *Hosticium*, a house, *hostel* (later addit.).

(18) *Farinarius*, a corn-mill. The mill which was worked by a miller for his own profit had to pay its rent in various kinds of produce, as corn, flour, malt, pigs, fowls, etc. According to Guérard the average revenue derived from such a mill amounted to about £27. He also points out that the mills recorded in the Polyptychum numbered about 84 (including 10 new ones and 3 sites for mills), and were exclusively *water-mills*, hand-mills having apparently fallen into disuse, while windmills had not yet become known either in France or in Europe. The more usual word for a mill,

(19) *Molendinum*, occurs only once, in a later addition.

(20) *Area molendini*, the site, area of a mill (later addit.).

(21) *Granicum dominicum*, the signorial granary.

(22) *Ecclesia*, *aecclesia*, a church. There were, according to Guérard, 35 churches in the various estates of the Abbey, which seems to have conferred them, as tenancies, either directly on the priests or ecclesiastics performing divine service in the churches, or on *beneficiaries* or vassals, who probably acquired the collation of them. The lands attached to the churches were usually divided into two parts, one held by the parish priest, the other by a tenant called *hospes*, who had to pay certain rents, and to perform certain services. Some churches were so well endowed that their property could be divided into signorial land, which was reserved by the priest, and land that was let out to tenants. The churches had



often to pay rents to the Abbey, sometimes under the name of rent, sometimes under that of gift. For instance, the church of Alsciacus (xix, 49) paid to the Abbey 5 solidi "in censu," and those of Gif, Thiais, and Esmans each a horse as a gift (ii, 1; xiv, 2; xvi, 2; xix, 2). Laymen possessed churches in full property, and disposed of them as of their other goods. For instance, the church of Neauphlette was, with the village, given to the Abbey by free men, who relinquished their allods to the Abbey, in order to escape from the obligation of serving the king in the field, which they could no longer fulfil. The ecclesiastics themselves, who, in other respects, were forbidden to alienate church property, did not scruple to grant churches "in precaria," as a person named Adevertus, who is not described as a priest, having presented to the Abbey of St. Germain four manses and a fourth part of a mill, received from the Abbey, "in precaria," a seignorial manse and a church at Aulnay, together with its lands and serfs (ix, 152, 158, 270).—Besides the ordinary church, we find mentioned—

(a) *Ecclesia dominicata*, the chief, seignorial church, which formed part of the domain, and remained in the gift of the lord.—

(b) *Ecclesia major*, the chief church of some particular estate.—

(c) and (d) *Ecclesia decorata* and *Ecclesia bene constructa*, a church in full repair and well furnished.

(23) *Capella*, a chapel, of which only two are mentioned in the Polyptychum.

(24) *Aedificium*, a house, dwelling, building, occurs only once in the Polyptychum, evidently used instead of *casticium* in other places (see above, No. 8).

(25) *Arcisterium* for *asceterium*, a monastery.

(26) *Coenobium*, a monastery, abbey (in a later addit.).

(27) *Fabricina*, the workshop of a smith.

(28) *Focus*, a fireplace, hearth.

(29) *Ortus*, a garden, occurs only once in the Polyptychum (xiii, B). But that most of the manses had gardens, may be inferred from the fact that in this one place it is stated that the tenants had to make the enclosures for the gardens. We also find the *ortolanus* (see above, p. 494) mentioned, and once the *ortus dominicus* (vi, 51), which was to be made by a tenant in the grounds of the domain.



(II) Terms for *Land, Fields, etc.*

(30) Terra, *land*: (a) in general, without any further definition; (b) terra *arabilis*, *arable land*, usually let out to the tenants of the estate; (c) terra *dominicata*, *the seignorial land*, not let out to tenants for cultivation, but administered and worked by the monks or their officers.

(31) Cultura, *a piece of cultivated land*, varying in size (in the Polyptychum) between 8 and 64 *bunuaria*.

(32) Campus, *a field*.

(33) Campellus, *a small field*.

(34) Olca, *a piece of arable land* closed in by ditches or hedges.

(35) Riga, *a strip, rut, furrow of land*, the extent of which is not known. In the Polyptychum it usually occurs in the phrases *rigam facere* or *arare*; see below.

(36) Curtila, or curtilus, curtilis, *a piece of ground set apart for the building of a house (curtis), an area*.

(37) Pastura, *a pasture, pasture-land*.

(38) Pratum, *a meadow*.

(39) Wacaritia = vaccaritia, *a meadow or piece of land set apart for the grazing of a certain number of cows*.

(40) Vinea, *a vineyard*. vinea *novella*, *a recently planted vineyard*.

(41) Foresta, *a forest*, does not occur in the Polyptychum, though a *forestarius* (see above, p. 493) is mentioned.

(42) Silva, sylvia, *a wood*: (a) silva *dominica*, *the seignorial wood*; (b) silva *annosa*, *an old, ancient wood*; (c) silva *novella*, *a newly planted wood*; (d) silva *passionalis*, *a wood for feeding, pasturing pigs*.

(43) Silvula, *a small wood, a copse*.

(44) Lucus, *a wood*.

(45) Broilum, *a wood, forest*.

(46) Concida, concidis, *a wood fit for cutting*.

(47) Styrypus [from styrypare, to clear], *a piece of ground cleared of trees and other plants and brought into cultivation*.

(48) Mariscus, *a marsh, bog*.

(49) Aqua, *a mill-stream*.

## IV. TENURES.

The different manners, or modes, principles, conditions, etc., on which the land and other property of the estate was held, acquired, possessed, or let out, granted, or bestowed.

(a) *General term.*

(1) *Dominicum*, in general, *proprietorship, lordship, an owner's right, that which is due or belongs to him.*

(b) *Particular terms.*

(2) *Dominium, dominion.* The *domain* formed the principal part of the estate, which the proprietor reserved to himself by an allodial or a beneficiary title, in order to receive its produce or revenue without any intermediary. All other parts of the estate which became separated from it, by letting out to farm or other modes of disposal, became so many tenancies.

From this meaning of *dominium* arises the sense of the adjective *dominicus* in the expressions *dominica annona, dominica casa, dominica curtis, dominica cultura, dominica lana, dominicum granicum, dominicum linum, dominicus fiscus, dominicus pullus, etc.*, indicating that the thing named by the substantive *belongs to the lord or master* in general. On the other hand, the adjectives *dominicatus, indominicatus* indicate *that which belongs to the domain: cultura dominicata, indominicata; ecclesia dominicata, indominicata; mansus dominicatus, indominicatus; terra dominicata, indominicata.*

There are instances of the lord having granted portions of the domain to tenants: *super ipsum mansum tenet Ingulfus de cultura dominicata bunuaria ii (xiii, 29).* We find tenants holding seignorial hostels (xvi, 80; xvii, 47), and other parts of the domain (ix, 211, 244, 248; xv, 91). These tenures, however, do not seem to have been perpetual, hereditary, and subject to the ordinary charges of the fisc, but revocable and liable to particular and exceptional obligations.

(3) *Alodis, alodus.* This tenure is found only in the later additions of the Polyptychum, to designate (a) land which St. Germain had possessed, and of which he disposed in favour of the Church of Sainte-Croix (x, 1); (b) an estate which the countess Æva granted to the Abbey of St. Germain (xii, 48); (c) two manses presented to the Abbey by Brunard (ix, 305);

and (d) property of which Evrard gave five journals of land in exchange for six journals belonging to the Abbey.

The meaning of the word is not yet positively known, but it seems to have at first been applied to a kind of patrimony, as opposed to property acquired by purchase, and later on to all that was possessed by heritage, purchase, or donation. Property designated by this title seemed to have been exempt from the payment of the usual taxes.

(4) Hereditas, *heritage, inheritance, a holding* acquired by inheritance, and of which the proprietor could dispose at his own free will. Such property was, perhaps, in earlier times called *alodus*, though we find that the heir had to perform some service for it for the benefit of the Abbey.

(5) Proprietas, *property, proprietorship*.

(6) Comparatio, comparatio, comparatum\* (comp-), comparatus (comp-, 4th decl.), *a purchasing, purchase, hence property acquired or bought by labour and thrift*.

(7) Donatio (donare, condonare), *a gift, present*.

(8) Beneficium (Lat. *beneficium*, a benefaction), *usufruct*, a mode of tenure by which an estate was conferred by one person on another for the latter's use and profit. In this sense the word *beneficium* (which rarely means a benefit) is common in Merovingian documents, and also occurs several times in the Polyptychum, as opposed to *property*. Those on whom such estates were conferred were usually bound to do homage and render military services to the donor. The word also signifies *the estate itself* held in *usufruct*.

(9) Concedere, *to grant*.

(10) Conquirere, *to acquire, procure*.

(11) Dare, *to give*.

(12) Precaria, praecaria, *a mode of precarious holding*, which owes its origin to the *precarium* of the Romans, anything granted or lent on request, and at the will of the grantor. It usually referred to property the profits of which were given to someone for a definite period only against payment of a certain annual tax. Property held by this tenure had in most cases first been given or sold to a lord (generally a church), and received back by the donor or seller *in precaria*.

(13) Census, *a payment, due, homage* for a holding, by paying which the tenant was quit and free of all other services, *a quit-rent*. All tenants had to pay taxes and rents, but a *mansus censilis* (xiii, 99) seems to have been a particular tenure, differing from

the more usual tenures in that it was a manse given to a king, a church, a lord, or someone else, by some person who received it back in benefice, or who reserved to himself its usufruct during his lifetime, on condition of paying to the donee a moderate due as homage and mark of dependence.

(14) *Merces, wages, salary*, refers to a holding which was cultivated by the tenant for the payment of a fixed salary.

(15) *Monboratio, munboratio, protection; a mode of holding* under which the tenant enjoyed the *protection* of the Abbey.

(16) *Potestas, power, lordship, proprietorship*. Here we have the expressions *potestas libera* (independent); *potestas extranea* (foreign, strange).

(17) (*Subjectio, wrongly written*) *suggestio, subjection* (in a later addition).

(18) *Violentia, violence*, in contradistinction to the exercise of *right* in a village (in a later addition):

(19) *Tenere, to hold land, houses, or an estate, by contract, hire, engagement* on certain defined conditions of paying rent, taxes, etc.

(20) *Habere, to have, hold, possess (as proprietor?)*.

## V. MONEYS, MEASURES, AND WEIGHTS, CURRENT AND USED ON THE ESTATE.

### A. MONEY.

In the Frankish period there were four principal kinds of money in Gaul—(a) the pound of gold or silver; (b) the shilling of gold or silver; (c) the third of a shilling (*triens, tremissis*) of gold or silver; (d) the silver denarius. The pound of gold, and of silver, the *solidus*, and the *triens* of silver were merely terms used in counting. But the *gold solidus* (worth 40 *denarii*), and its *gold triens* (=13½ *denarii*), together with the *silver denarius* (worth 12 *denarii*), were real coins. The gold coinage having been abolished by King Pepin, the *Polyptychum* mentions only—

(1) *Libra, a pound*, a term used in counting.

(2) *Solidus*, without any further definition, and the *solidus de argento, a shilling*.

(3) *Denarius, the denar, or penny*.



## B. MEASURES.

(a) *General terms of extent or circumference.*

(4) *Circuitus, a circuit, circumference.*

(5) *Gyrus, girus, a circle, circuit* [both already known in class. Lat.].

(b) *Measures of length.*

(6) *Leuva, legua, lewa, leva, a Gaulic mile of 1500 Roman paces, a league.*

(7) *Alna (= class. Lat. ulna), an ell.*

(c) *Of surface.*

There is great uncertainty about these measures, as they presented variations in different localities which the ordinances of Charlemagne were powerless to rectify or to prevent.

(a) *Of vineyards and meadows.*

(8) *Aripennum, aripennus, an arpent.* It seems to be a Gaulic word, and to have measured from about half an acre to an acre and a quarter. In the Frankish period there was a *simple arpent* for measuring surfaces, and a *square arpent* for measuring land. The latter occurs in an additional chapter to the Lex Sal. of the first half of the sixth century. In the Polyptychum it is exclusively used in measuring vineyards and meadows, except once, xiii, 13: *aripennus de silva.*

(β) *Of arable land, and of woods.*

(9) *Bunuarium, bunnuarium, bunuarius, bonuarium.* The origin of this word is likewise in doubt, but its root has produced numerous forms in Mediæval Lat., as *bodina, bodena* (O.Fr. *bodne*), *bodula*, etc. It still lives in the E. *bound*, the D. *bunder*, and the Fr. *bonnier*. In the Polyptychum it indicates the surfaces of land, pastures, and woods, and seems to have been equal to 10 arpents or 5 Roman jugera.

(10) *Jornalis* (Fr. *journal*), probably *a measure of land which a plough could work in one day*, but in the Polyptychum it also indicates *a measure of wood*. It was less in extent than the *bunuarium*, and seems to have measured about 120 perches.

(11) Antsinga (Fr. *ansange*) seems to have contained about 160 perches square.

(12) Pertica, a *pole* or *perch*.

(13) Dexter, or dextrum, a *measure of land* (apparently smaller than a jornal).

(14) Uncia (Fr. *once*), a *measure of land*, perhaps originally the twelfth part of some other measure. It varied considerably, seemingly between two and four bunuaria.

(15) Pars, also a *measure of land*, and perhaps, like *uncia*, originally of a definite size. Guérard thinks that it means a *fourth* part of a field.

(16) Quarta, likewise a *measure of land*, evidently the fourth part of some other measure. In class. Lat. it meant the fourth part of an estate. In the Polyptychum it only occurs once, in a later addition, where we also find *quarta dimidia*, a half quarter.

(17) Riga, also an *undefined measure of land*, but seemingly 6 perches.

(18) Cultura, another *undefined measure of land*. In the Polyptychum it varied between 8 and 64 bunuaria. Here we have to notice *cultura dominicata*, a *cultura* which the lord had reserved to himself.

(d) *Of capacity.*

(a) *For dry goods.*

(19) Modius (Fr. *muid*, D. *mud*), a *corn-measure*, of various capacity, which had nothing in common with the class. Lat. *modius* except the name, as its capacity differed entirely. In the Polyptychum it served chiefly to measure grain, but also wine, water, milk, etc.

(20) Sextarius, sestarius, sestarium, sistarius. This measure was likewise known to class. Latin, both for dry goods and liquids. At the time of Charlemagne it was an exact division of the modius, differing in capacity according to the difference in the capacity of the *modius*. In Paris the setier of corn usually contained twelve bushels.

(21) Denerata, denariata, an *undefined quantity* of certain goods of the value of one *denarius* (found only once in a later addition).

(β) *For liquids.*

(22) Modius (Fr. *muid*), a *hogshead, cask* of various capacity.

(23) Sextarius, a measure = 8 pints of wine.

(24) Staupus, a metal vase, mug, or cup, in the Polyptychum exclusively mentioned as a measure of mustard.

(e) *Of solidity.*

(25) Carrum, a two-wheeled waggon for transporting burdens, especially hay, apparently containing a measure of a thousand pounds.

(26) Carrada, in the Polyptychum a cartload of wood as well as of hay.

(27) Pedalis, a measure for wood, apparently embracing more than a square foot of surface, and containing more than a cubic foot of solidity.

#### C. WEIGHTS.

(28) Libra (Fr. *la livre*), a pound.

(29) Uncia (Fr. *once*), the twelfth part of a pound, an ounce.

(30) Pensa, seems to have been a weight of about 75 to 78 pounds of the time of Charlemagne.

VI. A. SERVICES to be performed by the tenants of the estate. B. TAXES, RENTS, and other DUES to be paid by the tenants. C. SEASONS in which the services were to be performed, and the rents and taxes to be paid. D. PRODUCE arising from the cultivation and administration of the estate, and with which the tenants paid their rents, taxes, etc.

The property of the Abbey of St. Germain des Prés was divided into seignorial and tributary land. The latter was let out in farms or manses of various size, each to one or more tenants or families, who had to cultivate and keep in repair not only their own holdings, but also the seignorial farms, houses, buildings, etc. At stated times of the year the men or tenants of the Abbey, under the direction or at the order of the major or the dean of the district, assembled, some with horses and oxen, others with pick-axes, hoes, spades, scythes, or other agricultural implements, to work in bands in the fields, in the vineyards, and in the meadows and woods of the seignorial manse.

These labours were, generally, divided into *autumn- or winter-labours* (*hibernaticum*), and *three-monthly or spring-labours* (*tramissis*).

Besides the performance of these manual labours in the fields, tenants had to construct or repair buildings, winepresses, fisheries, mills, hedges, and other enclosures, to bake bread, to brew beer, to make and repair, load, unload, and transport the various articles required in the household and in the fields, from one part of the estate to another. They also had to pay rents, in money or in kind, and taxes, in money or in kind.

All these services, rents, and taxes were levied on the manses and other holdings according to their *condition* (*ingenuilis, lidilis, servilis*, etc.), not according to the social condition of their tenants. Though we frequently find that tenants had to perform certain services "quantum" or "ubi ei iubetur," or "injungitur," yet it would be fair to assume that, in some respects, they were regulated by, and imposed according to, local rules and customs.

#### A. SERVICES.

##### (a) *General terms.*

- (1) Ministerium, *service, ministry, attendance, office.*
- (2) Servitium, servicium, *service.*
- (3) Opus, *service, employment.* — Opus dominicum, *the lord's business, service, or work.*
- (4) Manopera, mannopera, manuopera, manuopus (Fr. *manœuvre*), *handwork, manual labour*, due from the tenant to his lord. This term embraced all the general and specified manual services imposed on or demanded from the tenants and servants of the estate. The particular services included in the word are seldom indicated, though occasionally it is qualified by a more specifying word, ex. gr. vi, 35: faciunt in vinea dominica . . . manoperas in unaquaque ebdomada dies ii (that is, two days of manual labour).

##### (b) *More defined terms of services.*

- (5) Curvada, curbada, curvata, corbada, corvada, corvata, *a bodily service* performed by a tenant in the fields of his lord, at the different sowing seasons of the year. It is nowhere clearly defined as regards extent or duration, but it and the *rigam facere* (see below, No. 6) were the two principal labours imposed on the tenants of the Abbey. The *corvada* depended, in most cases, on the will of the lord or his officers, and on circumstances, so that it was liable to change every year or every season according to the



facility or difficulty of cultivation. The word is preserved in the Fr. *corvée*, the Mid. D. *corweide*, and the Mod. D. *karwei*, *karrewei*; it answers to the Engl. *job*. We find it with the following adjectives: (a) *curvada abbatilis*, a service performed for the abbat; (b) *curvada praepositilis*, service performed for a *praepositus* or overseer; (c) *curvada judicialis*, service performed for a judge; also (d) *curvada cum pane et potu*, either a service during the performance of which the tenant had himself to pay for his food and drink, or one during the performance of which he received his food and drink from the lord.

(6) *Rigam* (a strip, rut, furrow of land) or *rigas facere*, to plough either a half, or a whole, or two or more of these furrows, was one of the chief labours required of the tenants. The size of the *riga* is not stated, but was no doubt well defined and invariable, as regards length and breadth, at the time. This labour, therefore, differed from the *curvada*, the extent and duration of which depended often upon circumstances.

(7) *Facere*, to do, make, work: *facere* (in *vinea* or in *prato*, or in *messum*) *aripennum* (or *perticas*), to mow an arpent (or perch) of land. For other expressions see the Glossary, in voce *facere*.

(8) *Ebdomada*, a week. Tenants were often bound to work for their lord one or more days in the week. Hence

(9) *Dies*, a day, in the usual phrases *facere* (or *operari*) *diem* (or *dies*), to do or work a day. To *operari diem* we occasionally find *cum manu* added.

(10) *Magisca*, work to be performed in May, *May-work*.

(c) *Specified services.*

(11) *Arare*, to plough. The extent of this service is always indicated by one or other of the various measures of land described above, for which see *arare*.

(12) *Bannus*, a service due from a tenant to his lord, compulsory service, a day's work in fields, meadows, or vineyards, to the performance of which he was summoned by proclamation or *bann*, differing therefore from *curvada* in that the latter was a well-known, mostly regular service, which had to be performed without any previous notice being given.

(13) *Angaria* [in class. Lat. the service of the *angarius*, a messenger, a courier]. This service was already known in the Digest as service to a lord, *villanage*. In the Polyptychum it means the carriage or conveyance of shingles or tiles of cleft wood, and

boards or planks, and especially of wine, which had often to be transported to places situated at great distances from the Abbey.

(14) Carritare, *to cart, load on a car.*

(15) Carratio, carritio, carricio, *a carting, loading on a car.*

(16) Carropera (fem.), caropera (fem.), caropus (neut., plur. caropera), *work performed by means of a (carrum or carrus) cart.*

(17) Caplim, caplinum, *the cutting, chopping of trees or branches or wood.*

(18) Bratsare, *to brew beer.*

(19) Navigium facere, *to perform service by means of a boat or ship.*

(20) Claudere parietem, *to make a wall.* The tenants had to enclose the sown land, or the seignorial domain, or the meadows, with hedges or railings, at certain times of the year, each tenant setting off a certain number of perches. So: claudit perticas duas ad vineam de paxillis fissis (xxiv, 2).

(21) Excutere, *to shake out, shake (corn).*

(22) Fimum trahere, *to cart away manure.*

(23) Fodere, *to dig.* Tenants had to dig specified numbers of arpents or other measures in vineyards, etc.

(24) Pascere, *to feed: p. caballum, etc., to feed a horse, etc.*

(25) Portare, *to carry, convey: portare caveas.*

(26) Portatura, *conveying, carrying, transport: facere portaturam,* probably, to convey or carry to the domain the victuals and other things which had been collected as rents from the tenants.

(27) [Proscindere], proscendere, *to cut up, break up, harrow land.*

(28) Saginare, insaginare, *to feed, fatten.*

(29) Seminare, *to sow.*

(30) [Stirpare] stytpare, *to root up trees and other plants, to extirpate, and hence to clear, make fit for cultivation.*

(31) Tornatura, *a circuit, visit in the fields of the lord or work done at the lathe, turning.* [Inde facit tornatura, said of a colonus who held an antsinga of arable land. If the Latin were right the word would be an accus. plural.]

(32) Vinericia, winericia, properly a grape-gathering, vintage, but by extension *the act or service of carrying or transporting by waggon the grapes at the time of vintage* (that is to say, in the Autumn), which tenants had to perform for their lord.

(33) Wacta, *a lying out on guard, a watching, keeping watch,* usually *facere wactam.*

(34) Wactare, *to lie out on guard, to watch.*

(35) Wicharia, wicharisca, *a carriage, conveying, transporting of*

*goods at or to the harbour of Wicus, otherwise called Quentovicus, situated at the mouth of the river Canche, on the north-west coast of France. This service, journey, or expedition was difficult and expensive, on which account it was rendered by a tenant only once in three years, or by three deaneries combined once a year.*

(d) *Works which tenants had to construct for protecting and enclosing houses and land under cultivation.*

(36) *Sepes, saepes, a hedge, fence, especially for enclosing meadows and fields.*

(37) *Tuninus, tuninum, a kind of hedge or wall of stakes or piles.*

(38) *Murus petrinus, a stone wall.*

(39) *Paries, a wall.*

(40) *Clausura, an enclosure (see also claudere above, No. 20).*

#### B. TAXES, RENTS, and other DUES.

To be paid by the tenants, and representing, in the Polyptychum, generally the price paid for concessions, or as a redemption for personal services. Some of these were levied on the manses or other kinds of holdings, without any regard to the condition of the tenants. The other taxes were personal, that is, they were levied, either collectively or individually, on men, women, and even children, without regard to the condition of their holdings.

(a) *General terms.*

(41) *Taxatio (wrongly written tapsatio), an imposition of taxes, taxation (in later addit.).*

(42) *Census (see above, p. 502, and below, No. 58).*

(43) *Debitum (see below, Nos. 58 and 59).*

The chief taxes on the lands of St. Germain were *war-taxes, land-taxes, and personal taxes*. They were all *private*, and paid to the Abbey as the owner of the estate. None of them were so-called *duties*, that is, taxes paid to a Sovereign or to a Government. They varied somewhat in different localities.

(b) *War-taxes*. These seem to have been levied on the manses called *ingenuilis* and *lidilis*, rarely on those called *servilis* (but see xiii, 64-95, 99).

(44) *Hostilitium, hostilaricium, a tax raised for the maintenance of the army, or the conduct of a war, and payable to the king by the*



chief lord of an estate, who levied it, in his turn, on his tenants or their holdings if they did not take the field personally. It would seem that, as a rule, the *hostilitium* had to be paid in *oxen*, or in money, like the *airbannum*, whereas the *carnaticum* was paid in *small cattle*, or in money, although they could be converted the one into the other. Sometimes the payment of *hostilitium* is called *solvere ad hostem*.

(45) *Airbannum*, properly *the summoning of an army*, once occurs instead of *hostilitium*, in the same sense.

(46) *Carnaticum*, also *a tax towards the maintenance of the army*. It was paid in small cattle, as sheep, pigs, etc. (or in money), whereas the *hostilitium* and *airbannum* were paid in oxen (or in money, or in wine). It was, like the *hostilitium*, sometimes comprised in the phrase *solvere ad hostem*.

(47) *Paraveredus*, *parveretus*, *parveredus*, *paraveretus*, *parvaretus*, *a horse* for extraordinary services, *a palfrey* which tenants had, on stated occasions, to supply for the use of their lord.

(c) *Land-taxes.*

(48) *Herbaticum*, *erbaticum*, probably *a payment for the privilege of grazing horses, oxen, and other cattle, or the right of cutting grass* on meadows and commons. Only the manses *ingenuiles* seem to have paid it, every *third* year. The payment was made in young sheep (*germgiae*).

(49) *Agraria* (adj., neut. plur.), perhaps=*agraticum* of the Cod. Theod., *a land-tax*, paid (by manses *ingenuiles* only) in produce of the field. The word appears only once in the Polyptychum (xvi, 22), but from the wording of the fourteen paragraphs following, it would appear that it was also paid by each of the fourteen manses mentioned in them.

(50) *Canonica* (adj., neut. plur.), in the Cod. Justin., *a regular annual tribute*. In the Polyptychum, xvi, 22, it is joined with *agraria*, and it seems to be implied in the fourteen paragraphs following. But we find it again, xxv, 3, 34, and here it would seem that *canonica* was a tax paid in (wine) the produce of the vineyard.

(51) *Lignaritia*, *lignaricia*, *lignericia*, *the cutting and carting of a certain quantity of wood* for the lord, or *a payment in money or in kind for the right of cutting and carting wood*.

(52) *Pastio*, *pascio*, *parcio*, *pasturage for pigs, a pasturing, feeding of pigs*. The right of grazing or feeding or pasturing pigs



in a wood or forest embraced that of gathering acorns, and that of thoroughfare. For this right each manse paid 2, 3, even 4 measures (muid) of wine, or 4 denarii of silver.

(53) Augustaticum, agustaticum, (1) *a cutting of the harvest in August*, which the tenants had to perform for their lord, not found in this sense in the Polyptychum. (2) *an annual payment instead of this bodily work*. (3) *the harvest itself*; in this sense it occurs only once in the Polyptychum.

(d) *Personal taxes.*

(54) Capaticum, cabaticum, cavaticum, kavaticum, *a tax raised on heads (capita), a capitation-tax, head-tax, poll-tax*. In the Polyptychum all classes of tenants seem to have paid it, and it was sometimes levied per hearth (focus), not per head, hence the term hearth-money. It usually amounted to 4 denarii per head or per hearth. Sometimes it was paid in two sheep (xxi, 31). An ancilla seems to have paid 12 den. (xxv, 16). We find 32 women paying it in one chicken, some eggs (probably five), and three days personal labour. To pay the *poll-tax* is also expressed in the Polyptychum by *solvere de eorum capitis*, or *solvere de capite suo*.

(55) Forcapium, either *an unlawful or illegal tax or tribute*, demanded unlawfully or by force, or (as Guérard thinks) a contraction from *foriscapaticum*, *a head- or poll-tax levied on strangers or persons who were not residing in the domain proper of the Abbey*.

(56) Lidimonium, litmonium, *a tax paid by the lidus*. It seems to have been specially paid by women (*lidæ*), and consisted of 4 denarii, or a linen undergarment (*camsilus*) of 8 ell. The term occurs once only (xi, 14), when we find seven women paying it. A *lidus* is once mentioned (vi, 36) as paying a tax of 8 denarii, together with his wife, which was, perhaps, the lidimonium. We may assume that the class was not exempt, but that the tax was not specially mentioned, its payment being a matter of course.

(57) Conjectus, *a contribution or collection* made by the several tenants of a village or an estate, in satisfaction of some obligation or rent payable to the lord of the estate.

(58) Census was, as has been explained above (p. 510), *a general term for taxes (not services)* of any kind paid by persons of any kind, in money or in kind. In this respect the term was used indiscriminately. But in one instance (ix, 305) *census* occurs in combination with *reditus*, the former apparently referring to the revenue derived from the *manse*, the latter to that of the *allod*.

The Polyptychum mentions (a) *census servilis*, (b) *census ingenuilis*, but this distinction applies (as has been said above) to the *tenancy*, not to the *tenant*. Sometimes *census* and *debitum* are used indiscriminately.

(59) *Debitum*, a *debt*, and also a *tax*, as it is used sometimes instead of *census*.—*Debitum servilis*.

(60) *Redditus* (*reditus*), *revenue*, *income* (see above, *census*).

(61) *Donum*, a *gift*. In a few cases the Abbey obtained a certain number of horses (*caballus*) from its tenants under the name of *donum*, probably to enable it to discharge its obligations towards the sovereign. Six of them were furnished by *churches*, three by mayors. Some tenants had each to feed a horse.

(62) *Hospitatus* (4th decl.), *hospitality*, *temporary residence* enjoyed by the lord under certain conditions (later addition).

(63) *Receptus*, a *receiving*, *reception* of the lord of the estate (later addition).

(64) *Refectio fratrum*, *refreshment*, *feeding of the monks* (later addition).

(65) *Rogatio*, a *demand*, *request*, which the lord had the right to make on certain occasions (later addition).

### C. SEASONS OR PERIODS

In which the manual services were to be performed or the rents and taxes to be paid.

(a) *General term*.

(66) *Annus*, a *year*.

(b) *Special and fixed dates or periods*.

(67) *Madium mensis*; *Majus mensis*, the month of May, often mentioned as the month for rendering services.

(68) *Missa S<sup>i</sup> Martini*, *the feast of St. Martin*.

(69) *Nativitas*, and *Natale Domini*, *the Nativity of the Lord*.

(70) *Pascha*, *Easter*.

(71) *Satio*, properly a sowing, planting, and by extension *the time for performing services in the field*, either ploughing (for the autumn- or spring-sowing) or breaking, opening up the land (*proscindere*). The Polyptychum speaks of three sationes (xiii, 14), and it is clear from another place (xiii, 1) that these three seasons were (1) *arare ad hibernaticum*, (2) *arare ad tramisum*, (3) *ad proscendendum*.

(72) *Messis*, the harvest, and by extension *the time for harvesting*.

(73) *Bladum*, corn, wheat; per *bladum*, or *blada*; in *blado*, in harvest-time, or the time when the corn still required weeding and other labour.

(74) *Hibernaticum*, *ibernaticum*, winter- or autumn-sowing.

(75) *Tramissis*, *tramisis*, *tramisum*, *tramissum*, *tremissa*, *tremissis*, *tremisum*, three-monthly sowing (= Lat. *trimestre hordeum* of Cato, or *trimestre triticum* of Pliny), that is, corn reaped (in March and April) three months after the sowing. This and the preceding service were termed *arare ad hibernaticum* and *arare ad tramissem* (see above *satio*).

#### D. PRODUCE (CROPS, LIVE STOCK, ETC.).

Obtained by the cultivation and administration of the farms of the estate, and with which tenants paid their rents, taxes, etc.

Except in money, and by personal manual labours, rents and taxes could also be paid in grain, malt, hops, mustard, flax, wool, thread, honey, wax, oil, soap, iron, cattle, poultry, wine, various tools of metal and wood, firewood, vine-sticks and props, meat, tuns and casks, staves, hoops, hogsheads, shingles, deal boards, torches, and other commodities.

##### (a) *Crops* and other articles included in *dead stock*.

(76) *Frumentum* (for *triticum*), corn, grain.

(77) *Bladum*, corn, wheat in general. The word is used in a peculiar way in the Polyptychum, see above under *seasons* (No. 73).

(78) *Annona*, corn, grain, wheat in general. *Annona viva*, corn still on the field.

(79) *Spelta*, spelt.

(80) *Sigalum* (Lat. *secale*, Fr. *seigle*), a kind of grain or rye.

(81) *Mixtura*, *mistura*, a mixture of wheat and rye, maslin.

(82) *Moltura*, *multura*, flour with the bran.

(83) *Avena*, oats.

(84) *Humlo*, *fumlo* (Fr. *houblon*), hop.

(85) *Faenum*, *fenum*, hay.

(86) *Fimum*, manure.

(87) *Lignum*, wood.

(88) Osaria, ausaria (and wrongly ansaria), a bundle of osiers, wicker, for making large and small baskets.

(89) Linum, flax. Linum dominicum, flax reserved for the domain.

(90) Linificium [properly the making of linen, but here] linen.

(91) Lana, wool. Lana dominica, wool reserved for the domain.

(92) Lanificium [properly wool-weaving, wool-spinning, but here=lana], wool.

(93) Bracium, brace, (plur.) bracia, grain that had been soaked and allowed to germinate, and afterwards dried, malt. As mills paid their rent by this article it was, perhaps, malt ground. It is not clear whether bracium consisted of oats, barley, spelt, or wheat.

(94) Vinum, wine. A considerable quantity of wine had to be contributed by the tenants of the Abbey, both as a war-tax and for the right of pasture.

(95) Mustaticum, unfermented, new sweet wine, must (Fr. moût).

(96) Sinape, sinapis, senapis, senapum, mustard.

(97) Mel, honey. A rent paid in honey is only once mentioned in the Polyptychum. But as, at a somewhat later period, the Abbey is known to have derived large quantities of honey from its estates, this rent was probably omitted for some reason or another, or was recorded in the portion now lost to us.

(98) Cera, wax.

(99) Cereus, a wax-taper (in later add.).

(100) Oleum, oil.

(101) Sapon, soap.

(102) Candela, a candle.

(103) Lumen, luminare, luminaria, a light, lights, lamps.

(104) Ovum, an egg.

For money see above, p. 503.

(β) Live stock, cattle, and other animals.

(a) General terms.

(105) Pecora.

(106) Animal.

(b) Large cattle.

(107) [Taurus, not mentioned.]

(108) Bos, an ox (see the Glossary).

(109) Vacca (wacca), a cow, mentioned only once.

(110) Genicula, junicula, a young cow, a heifer.



(111) Caballus, a horse.

(112) Paraveredus, a horse for travelling, or for conveying baggage, a *palfrey* (see above, p. 511, No. 47).

(c) *Small cattle.*

(113) Ovis, a sheep.

(114) Vervex, a sheep, a wether.

(115) Ovicula (dim. of *ovis*), a little or young sheep, of about a year old, that has not yet borne young.

(116) Germgia, geremia, gergia, jermgia, seems to be a sheep of one year that has already had young once. At least, we find it twice mentioned with its young (*agnus*); in one place a *gergia* seems to be mentioned instead of an *ovis de uno anno* of another place, while elsewhere *vervices* are mentioned in place of *germgiae*.

(117) Multo, a sheep.

(118) Lear, perhaps a young ram; its value seems to have been 4 denarii.

(119) Agnus, a lamb.

(120) Agnellus, a little lamb.

(121) Porcus, a pig.—porcus crassus, a fatted pig.—porcus major, a full-grown pig.—porcus minor, a young pig.

(122) Porcellus, a little pig.

(123) Ferreolus, a small pig, a sucking-pig.

(124) Scrofa, a breeding sow.

(125) Soalis, sogalis, for sualis, a sow or a young, full-grown pig, but not yet fatted.

The most ordinary tribute of the various manse consisted in *hens* (and *eggs*), usually three of the former and 15 of the latter. These numbers varied, however, slightly; see the Glossary, voce *pullus*.

(d) *Feathered animals.*

(126) Pasta, a fatted hen, mostly contributed by mills. In some cases it was the duty of female tenants to fatten or feed the young hens of the estate.

(127) Pullus, a chicken.—*pullus regalis* was probably not a cock as it is interpreted in Du Cange's Dictionary, but a chicken or hen contributed on the arrival of the king. It was not always accompanied by eggs, and Guérard suggests that where we find 4 *pulli* and 15 *ova* the fourth *pullus* was a *p. regalis*.—*pullus dominicus*, a hen reared in the seignorial manse or domain.

(128) Auca, a goose.—auca pasta, a fatted goose.

(129) Anser, a goose.

(130) *Accipiter*, a *goss-hawk*.

(131) *Sprevarius*, a *sparrow-hawk*.

(e) *Other animals*.

(132) *Anguilla*, an *eel*, of which mills had each to pay one hundred if they could be had in the water which worked the mill.

(f) *Metals*.

(133) *Aurum*, *gold*, only in the later additions.

(134) *Argentum*, *silver*, only found in connection with the silver coinage.

(135) *Ferrum*, *iron*. Tenants who had to pay their rent in this commodity usually paid one hundred pounds of iron each. As a rule it was exacted from manses *serviles* only, and even then only when they were in the occupation of *servi*. If a manse *servilis* was held by *coloni*, *lidi*, and *servi*, only the latter had to contribute *ferrum* (xiii, 87). The weight by which it was measured was called *pensa*, but it is not clear whether this meant a hundred-weight.

Several stuffs, tools, instruments, and other articles, for working the land, furnishing or decorating houses and other buildings, were made, not only by the tenants of the estate, but also by women-workers in the places set apart for them, and in the manses themselves. Every article so made served the tenants as means of paying their rents and taxes.

(g) *General term*.

(136) *Apparatus*, *aparatus*, *furniture*, *household goods*.

(h) Besides linen (see above, p. 515) only three stuffs are mentioned—

(137) *Camsilis*, *camsilus*, (1) a *stuff made of flax*; (2) a *dress made of this stuff*.

(138) *Sarcilis*, *sarcilus*, (1) a *stuff made of wool*; (2) a *dress made of this stuff*.

(139) *Drappus*, a *kind of cloth made of wool*; it was probably the same as the *sarcilis*.

The following seven articles, all made of stuffs, occur in the later additions only:—

(140) *Bancale*, a *carpet*, *tapestry*, *coverlet* for covering or ornamenting a bench (*bancus*).

(141) *Cortina*, a *curtain*.

(142) *Dossalis* (= *dorsale*), a *curtain*, *pall*, *coverlet*.

- (143) Lectisternium, a couch.
- (144) Mappa, a napkin.
- (145) Tapecium, a carpet, tapestry.
- (146) Tentorium, a tent.
- (i) Implements for working the land and performing other agricultural work.
- (147) Carruca, a plough.
- (148) Carrum, a cart.
- (k) General commodities.
- (149) Tonna, a tun, or butt, a vat, barrel.
- (150) Modius, a hogshead.
- (151) Caldaria, a vessel, copper, boiler.
- (152) Cavea, a box.
- (153) Patella, a small pan, dish, or vessel.
- (154) Paxillus, a small stake or prop.
- (155) Ingium, indium, or ingius, indius, an iron prop or post in a fireplace, an andiron (Fr. landier).
- (156) Scindola, scindula, a deal board for covering roofs or walls, a tile of cleft wood, a shingle.
- (157) Axiculus, acxiculus, asciculus, assiculus, a small transverse board or plank on which the scindula was nailed.
- (158) Dova (Fr. douve, Ital. doga), a stave or plank used in the making of tuns and butts.
- (159) Circulus, a circle, ring, or hoop used in the making of tuns and butts.
- (160) Facula, a torch.
- (161) Fossorium, or fossorius, a hoe. This is the interpretation of Longnon, but Du Cange explains it to mean a pig, an animal that digs up the earth (fodere). The word occurs only twice in the Polyptychum, first in the accus. sing., so that its gender cannot be inferred from its form *fossorium*. But the second time it is in the accus. plur. *fossorios*, whence we must assume that the nom. was a masc. *fossorius*. In both instances the word is mentioned among animals or the products of animals, and in the second instance it is even combined with the *soalis*, a sow.
- (162) Coniada, a hatchet, not a loaf of bread as Du Cange interprets the word.
- (163) Lancea, a lance.
- (164) Blasus, perhaps a dart, or a javelin.
- (165) Bucula, a clasp or buckle.

## IRMINON'S POLYPTYCHUM, A.D. 811-826.

## GLOSSARY.

Words occurring only in the later additions (10th-11th cent.) to the Polyptychum are starred (\*).

The symbol + is everywhere used instead of the phrase "with a wife who was a," ex. gr. under *advena*: a male *advena* + *colona*, should be read as: a male *advena* with a wife (who was a) *colona*, and so on.

The letters Fr. refer to the two Fragmenta of the Polyptychum which Longnon prints on pp. 363-368.

Other abbreviations are *col.* (for *colonus*); *coli* (for *coloni*); *s. G.* (for *sancti Germani*); *hh.* (for *homines*).

Abba [= abbas], abbas, an *abbat*, usually with the title *domnus* (q.v.), vii, 3; ix, 256, 261; xiii, A; xiv, 1; xvi, 2; xix, 1; xxi, 1 (abbas); xxii, 1; xxiv, 1; Fr. i, 2; also *dominus*, xxiv, 92. See also the later additions (with gen. *abbatis*, abl. *abbate*), iv, 36 (*domnus abba*); ix, 305; x, 1; xv, 96 (without title); and *ancilla* (*abbatis*), *servus* (*abbatis*).

\* *abbatia*, an *abbey*, vi, 59.

*abbatilis*, of or belonging to an *abbat*: *Curvada abbatilis*, work to be done for an *abbat*, ix, 139, 140, 142, 209, 210; xxii, 4. See also *corvada*.

*absus*, not cultivated or occupied by a regular tenant, not paying the regular charges, as opposed to *vestitus* (q.v.): *mansus absus*, ii, 121; iii, 62; ix, 291; xxv, 23 (held by a *colonus* (?) + *colona*, *homines* s. *Germani*).—*Medietas mansi absa*, xi, 10.—*Mansus indomnicatus absus*, ix, 304 (later addit.).—*Absum* hospitium, ix, 304 (later addit.).

*accipiter*, a *goss-hawk* (Fr. *autour*), xiii, 99.

*axiculus*, xiii, 14. See *axiculus*.

*adducere*, to convey to, ix, 9; xi, 2.

\* *adquirere*, to acquire, xv, 96 (later addit.).

*advena*, a *stranger*, *alien*. The Polyptychum records: (1) a male *advena*: (a) without any further definition,

xxv, 22.—(b) + *colona*, xxiv, 11.—(c) + *colona* s. *Germani*, xxi, 54, 84; xxiv, 49; xxv, 20.—(d) + *colona* (and both called) *homines* s. *Germani*, xxiv, 52, 176; xxv, 14, 15.—(e) + *colona*, *femina* s. *Germani*, xxi, 71.

—(2) a *femala advena*: (a) without any definition (except that she has children), xiii, 97.—(b) *wife of a lidus* (q.v.), and both called *homines* s. *Germani*, xiii, 58, 62.—(c) of a *servus* (q.v.), xxiv, 34.—(d) of a *servus* (and called) *homines* s. *Germani*, xiii, 82.—(e) of a *servus*, *homo* s. *Germani*, xxi, 64, 66.—(f) of a *colonus* (q.v.), xxiv, 36; xxv, 18.—(g) of a *colonus*, *homo* s. *Germani*, xxi, 81; xxiv, 58, 175.—(h) of a *homo* s. *Germani*, xxi, 82.

*aeclesia*, for *ecclesia* (q.v.).

*aedificium*, a *house*, *building*, xxv, i.

*aestimare*, *estimare*, to estimate, v, 1; vii, 3; viii, 1; ix, 278; xvi, 1; xvii, 1; xix, 1; xxiv, 1; xxv, 1.

*aestimatio*, *estimatio*, an estimate, ix, 287; xi, A; xiii, A; xxi, 1; xxv, 1.

*agnellus*, a *little lamb*, xxv, 20.

*agnus*, a *lamb*, ii, 2 (*vervex cum agno*), 121; vii, 50; xv, 3, 95. See also *vervex*.

*agrarius* [adj., of or belonging to land and rural matters, hence, as subst. neut. plur.] *agraria*, *rural taxes and services*, xvi, 22. See *canonica*.



agustaticum = augustaticum (q.v.).  
 airbannum [from *air*, an army, and *bannum*, a summons, proclamation for joining the army, and by extension], a payment in place of joining the army, a war-tax, xxv, 20. See *hostis*, *hostilitium*.

alna [= Lat. *ulna*], a measure of length for measuring stuffs, an *ell* (Fr. *aune*), xiii, 110. Among the Romans it was  $1\frac{1}{2}$  foot long, which appears to have been the same with the Franks.

\*alodum, alodus, alodis, an *alod*, ix, 303; xii, 48.—*al. sancti Germani*, iii, 61 (=villa); x, 1.—*al. propriae hereditatis*, ix, 305.

\*anathema, a curse, xii, 48.

ancilla, a female servant. The Polyptychum records her (1) without any definition as to her social position, ix, 219; xii, 44; xxi, 90; xxii, 22;—making (a) *camisili* (q.v.), xiii, 109; xx, 38; (b) *sarciles* (q.v.), xv, 70, 76, 78, 82; xxiii, 27; xxv, 6;—*pascens pastas* and making *drappos*, xi, 13;—paying (a) *denarios*, xxv, 6, 16; (b) *cabaticum* (q.v.), Fr. ii, 11;—holding *arable land*, i, 25;—as *mother* (no husband mentioned), xiii, 95; xvi, 86; xx, 39; and holding a “*hospitium*,” xx, 38, 40; (with a *servus* + *lida* and a *servus* + *ancilla*) a “*mansus*,” xi, 3.

(2) as wife of (a) a *colonus*; *colonus s. Germani*; *colonus* (and called with him) hh. s. G.; see the article *colonus*; (b) *lidus* (q.v.); (c) *servus* (q.v.); (d) an undefined tenant (and with him called) hh. s. G., xv, 84.

(3) as *ancilla s. Germani* (a) without further definition, xii, 49 (later addit.);—(b) holding (with a *colona s. G.* and her son) a “*mansus ingenuilis*,” v, 11;—(c) wife of an undefined tenant, vii, 18; of a similar tenant (and with him called) hh. s. G., viii, 35;—(d) *mother* (no husband mentioned) of children, iv, 37 (later addit.); and holding a “*mansus*,” xii, 10; “*dimidium partem servilem*,” ix, 235; (with others) a “*mansus ingenuilis*,” ii, 38; a “*mansus servilis*,” xiii, 76;—of sons (*servi*), and holding “*dimidium mansum servilem*,” xiii, 68; of a son, and holding the same, ix, 237.

(4) *socia* of a *servus* + *colona* (and called with them) hh. s. G., xxiv, 33.

(5) *ancilla domini abbatis* (and wife of a col., homo s. G.), xxiv, 92.

(6) *ancilla de decania*, ix, 296–298.

(7) daughter of a *servus* + *ancilla*, hh. s. G., xiii, 65.

(8) sister of a *colona s. G.*, whose son was a *servus*, xiii, 44.

angaria [in class. Lat.: the service of the *angarius*, a messenger, courier, from the Gr. *ἄγγαρος*, in the Digest: service to a lord, villanage; in the Polypt.] the carriage, conveyance of shingles or tiles of cleft wood and boards or planks, or of wine, which had often to be conveyed to places situated at great distances from the estate, xi, 2; xii, 15; xiii, 99.

anguilla, an eel, see *anvilla*.

\*anima, the soul, ix, 305; xii, 48.

animal, a beast of burden, ix, 153; xiii, 1; xx, 3; xxii, 4; xxiv, 2, 31, 56, 67, 71, 113, 137, 138.

annona, anona, corn, i, 40; ii, 1; iii, 1, 77; vi, 1; viii, 1; ix, 158; xiii, 64, 77; xv, 1; xvi, 1; xix, 1; xx, 2; xxii, 1, 92, 97; xxv, 3.—*Annona dominica*, corn reserved to the lord of the estate, see *dominicus*.—*Annona viva*, corn still standing on the field, ix, 1, 2; xiii, 1, 99.—*Annona altera* (in later addit. xxiv, 159), perhaps rye.

annosus, full of years, old: *silva annosa*, see *silva*.

annus, a year, i, 35; xiii, 89, 106; xx, 2; xxi, 77; arat insuper annum (perticas vi), xiii, 64; (perticas xii), xiii, 77; (perticas iii), xiii, 88, 96, 97.—annus omnis, i, 42; ii, 121; iii, 62; vii, 84; ix, 9; xiii, 1; xiv, 94; xv, 95; xvi, 93; xviii, 1; xx, 3, 35, 48; xxii, 4, 97; xxiv, 30, 31, 44; xxv, 3.—annus unus, i, 27; iv, 2, 35; xxi, 86; xxii, 4; xxiii, 26; xxiv, 2, 56, 67, 145, 146.—annus alius, i, 27; ii, 2; iii, 2, 37; iv, 2, 35; v, 3, 28, 53, 78; vi, 3; xiv, 3, 35; xv, 3; xxiii, 26; xxiv, 2, 71.—annus alter, ii, 121; xxi, 86; xxii, 4; xxiv, 145, 146.—annus tertius, i, 42, 121; iii, 37, 62; v, 3, 28, 49, 52, 53, 78, 93; vi, 57; vii, 4, 20, 22, 26, 37, 42, etc.; ix, 9; xiv, 3, 35, 94; xv, 3, 95; xvi, 3, 22, 93; xvii, 3, 18, 49; xix, 8, 50; xx, 3, 8–29, 48; xxii, 4, 97; xxiii, 26; xxv, 3, 34.—annus quartus, i, 44.—annus quintus, i, 42.

anona, see *annona*.

- antsinga, ansinga (prob. of German origin, being found, in various forms, in the Bavarian laws of the 8th cent.), a measure of surface (Fr. *ansange*), of arable land (a division, that is, a ninth part of the *bunuarium*, q.v.), perhaps of about 160 perches square, i, 19, 20, 24, 26, 28, 30, 32-34, 36, 37; ii, 1, 10, 11, 16, 80, 97; iii, 12, 39; v, 3, 7, 17, 22, etc.; vii, 4 etc., 40, 43, 57; viii, 14; xiii, 77; xiv, 6, 8, 11, etc.; xv, 2-4, etc.; xvi, 3, 4, etc.; xix, 4, 7, 39; xxv, 19. The *pertica* was a division of the *antsinga* (see xiii, 77), and the *antsinga* =  $1\frac{1}{3}$  arpent. It remained in use in some of the estates of the Abbey of S. Germain till nearly the end of the 14th century.—Dimidia *antsinga*, i, 29; ii, 8, 9, 28; iii, 51; xiv, 16, 48.—Facere *antsingam*, xxv, 19.
- anwilla, for *anguilla*, an eel, ix, 2.
- aparatus, apparatus, furniture, household goods, instruments, applied to *ecclesia* (cum omni apparatu diligenter constructa), ii, 1; iii, 1; vi, 2; vii, 2; x, 1; xiv, 2; xv, 2.
- \*appenditia, or -tium, an appendage, ix, 305; x, 2; xii, 48.
- aqua, water, a mill-stream, ix, 2.
- arabilis, arable, i, 1-4, etc. Generally combined with *terra* (q.v.).
- arare, to plough, a labour which the tenants were bound to perform for the Abbey, at stated times of the year, and which was regulated by certain measures: (arat ad *hibernaticum perticas* 2, ad *tremissem perticam* 1), i, 11; (arat *perticas* 3), 16; (arat ad *hibernaticum perticas* iv, ad *tremissem perticas* ii), ii, 2. Arare *dimidiam rigam*, ix, 6. See further, iii, 2, 37; iv, 2, 26; v, 3, 28, 49, 52, 53, 78; vi, 3, 33; vii, 4, 20, 22, 26, 37-39, 42, etc.; viii, 3, 6, 24, 28, 35-37; ix, 6, 9, 246, 247, 256, 266, 288, 299 (later addit.); xi, 1, 2; xii, 19, 22, 26, 27, 32, etc.; xiii, B, 1, 14, 64, 77, 88, 96, 98; xiv, 3; xv, 2, 3, 69; xvi, 3, 22; xvii, 3; xviii, 3; xix, 4, 8; xx, 2, 30, 32, 34, 36, 41; xxi, 2, 4, 31; xxii, 89; xxiv, 47.
- \*arcisterium, for *asceterium*, a monastery, x, 1.
- \*area, an area, site: area *molendini*, iii, 61; ix, 305; xxiv, 159.
- argentum, silver: de *argento solidus*, see *solidus*; de *argento libra*, see *libra* and also *uncia*.
- aripennum, aripennus (probably a Gaulic word, also spelled in Low Lat. *arapennis*, *arepennis*, *aripennis*, *arpennis*, *arripens*, *arpenium*, etc., from the Lat. *arepennis*, *aripennis*, *arapennis*), a measure of surface (Fr. *arpent*), for vineyards and meadows, but not arable land, for which the *bunuarium* (q.v.) and the *antsinga* (q.v.) were used, i, 1-4, etc.; ii, 1, etc. It occurs in nearly every paragraph of the Polyptychum, to indicate not only the size of the vineyard and the meadow held by each tenant (as i, 1, 3-6, etc.), but also the measure of vineyard which tenants were bound to put into order or cultivate for the Abbey (as i, 1, 2, 10, etc.). It varied in different localities, and seems to have measured from about half an acre to an acre and a quarter, or half a Roman *jugerum*.—Only once we find *aripennus de silva*, xiii, 13.—*Aripennus dimidius*, i, 1, 4, 7-9, 41; ii, 97 bis, 98; xi, 8. See also *facere*, *pars*, and *vinea*.
- [*asceterium*, a monastery; see *arcisterium*.]
- asciculum, for *axiculus* (q.v.).
- aspicere, to belong, appertain to, ii, 1; iii, 1; vi, 2; viii, 2, etc.; ix, 4-7, 158, 269, 270, 278, 284, 287, 304 (later addit.); xiii, B; xiv, 2; xv, 2; xvi, 2; xvii, 2; xix, 2; xx, i, 2; xxi, 2; xxii, 1; xxiv, 1; xxv, 2.
- auca, a goose, xiii, 99, 101; xix, 1.
- Auca pasta, a fatted goose, i, 40.
- augustaticum, agustaticum [manual labour or service due from a tenant to his feudal lord in the month of August, the time of harvest; by extension], (1) a payment in place of this service, ix, 6, 234, 236, 243.—(2) the harvest or harvest-time itself, ix, 286. See also *messis*.
- \*aurum, gold: auri libra, ix, 305; xii, 48.
- ausaria = osaria (q.v.).
- avena, oats, ix, 278; xi, A; xii, 51 (later addit.); xiii, 106; xix, 8, 10, 12, 14-16, 18, 21, 24, 26, 28, 30-33, 35, 37, 40-44, 46, 47, 50.
- axiculus, asciculus, axiculus, a small board, or plank, ix, 4, 9; xi, 2, 10; xiii, 1, 14, 15, 64, 77, 89, 99; xiv, 3, 94.

\* *Bancale*, a carpet, tapestry, coverlet for covering or ornamenting a bench (*bancus*), xii, 50.

*bannum*, see *airbannum*.

*bannus*, compulsory service, a day's work in fields, meadows, etc., due from a vassal to his lord, to which he was called by proclamation or *bann*, xxi, 78; ix, 304 (later addit.).

*beneficium*, *benefitium*, originally: a favour, benefit; then (with regard to property conveyed by one person to another for the latter's use or profit) *usufruct*, hence: (1) *habere* or *tenere* in *beneficio*, to have or to hold in usufruct: a "mansus," v, 92; vi, 55.—"dimidius mansus," xiv, 92.—one or more "mansus ingenuiles," i, 39, 40; xv, 92; xvi, 90-92; xvii, 48; Fr. ii, 4.—an "ecclesia," vi, 2.—"terra," xii, 47.—*Habere de beneficio* (mansum), ix, 304 (later addit.).—*Duo mansus ingenuiles dati in beneficio*, xxi, 93.—(2) *an estate held in usufruct*, vi, 52; ix, 15, 16, 28, 29, 31, 34, 35, 37, 43, 60, 79, 102-104, 106, 112, 114, 115, 121-123, 130, 132-134, 136-138, 143, 149, 171, 189, 202, 204, 225, 239, 272, 282, 288; xii, 6, 43; xiii, 15, 18, 38, 51, 55; xxi, 12, 71; xxii, 28, 74; xxiii, 18, 21, 22; xxiv, 14, 56, 61, 89, 122, 144; xxv, 7, 38, 40, 43; Fr. i, 1, 3-14; ii, 13. See also *presbyter*.

*bladum*, corn, wheat (Fr. *blé*), and by extension (per *bladum*, *blada*; in *blado*) the harvest, harvest-time, ix, 6, 304 (later addit.); xxiii, 1; xxiv, 168. Perhaps *facere diem per blada* (or in *blado*) more strictly means to do a day's weeding (or other labour required by corn before it is ripe) in cornfields.

*blasus*, an iron instrument or weapon (dart or javelin?), ix, 150; xiii, 102, 103.

*bonuarium*, see *bunuarium*.

*bos*, an ox: paid (1) as war-tax (see also *hostis* and *hostilitium*), i, 42; iii, 62; xiii, 99; xiv, 94; xv, 95; xvi, 93; xviii, 1; xxii, 97; xxiii, 26; xxiv, 170.—*dimidius bos*, xviii, 3; xix, 8; xxii, 4; xxiii, 26; xxv, 3, 34; (or 4 sheep), ix, 9.—(2) *as census*: de manso, ii, 2.—not to be paid, ii, 28, 40.—(3) to be supplied by the tenant for the work which he had to perform for the Abbey, (a) ad *vinericiam*, ix, 155, 271; xiii, 52; (b) ad *caropera*, xiii,

15, 41 (*una medietas de bove*), 75, 77-80; (c) in *radio mense*, xiii, 91; (d) ad *magiscam*, xi, 10 (*dimidius b.*), xiii, 14 (id.).—"scripti ad boves," tenants who had to supply oxen to the Abbey, xxi, 41-58.—"esse ad bovem," to be under the obligation of supplying oxen to the Abbey, xxi, 49.—*bovos* (accus. plur.), ix, 304 (later addit.).

*bracium* [O.Fr. *brais*], a kind of grain that had been soaked and allowed to germinate, and afterwards dried, *malt*, ix, 2. It is not clear whether it consisted of oats, barley, spelt, or wheat.

*bratsare*, to brew beer, xiii, 106.

*breve*, a register, list, i-xxiv titt.

*broilus*, a wood, park, xxii, 1.

*bucula*, a clasp or buckle (Fr. *boucle*), ix, 211, 244.

*bunuarium*, *bunuarium*, *bunuarium*, *bonuarium*, a measure of surface (Fr. *bonnier*): (1) of arable land, i, 1, 2, 3, 4, etc. (in nearly every paragraph of the Polyptychum); (2) of wood, vii, 3; ix, 84, 88; xiii, 10; (3) of pasture, i, 40; ix, 90. It seems to have been equal to 10 arpents or 5 Roman *jugera*. For divisions of the *bunuarium* see *antsinga*, *pertica*.

C, for qu (*corum* for *quorum*), xii, 1 (twice).

*caballus*, a horse, which tenants had to present (see *donum*, *donare*) to the Abbey, ii, 1; xiii, b; xiv, 2; xv, 2; xvi, 2; xix, 2, 3; xxii, 2.—*solvere caballum*, ix, 8.—or to feed for the Abbey (in payment of their rent and obligations): *pascere caballum*, ix, 8, 57, 139; xxii, 2.—or with which they had to do their work or service for the Abbey, ix, 146, 147.—Tenants had to supply fodder "ad *caballi pastum*," ix, 9; "solvit *caballi pastum*," ix, 209, 243.—*Prosolvere* (mansum) de *caballo suo*, ix, 147.

*cabaticum*, see *capaticum*.

\* *calcere*, to tread, press, xii, 51.

*caldaria*, a small cup or vessel, a copper boiler (Fr. *chaudière*), xiii, 99.

*calumniatus*, claimed, challenged, hence a person claimed by a lord, or one who was challenged (regarding his condition, i.e. a person against whom a lawsuit was pending as to whether he was a *colonus* or a



- servus*).—*calumniata (uxor coloni)*, xix, 37; (*uxor coloni hominis s. Germani*), *ibid.*, 44; (*uxor coloni s. Germani*), xxiv, 42.—*calumniatus + colona, homines s. Germani*, xix, 48.—*calumniatus + colona s. Germani*, xix, 48.
- campellus, a small field (Fr. champeau)*, xi, A; xxv, 1.
- campus, a field*, ix, 244, 260.
- camsilus, an under-garment made of linen or hemp*, xiii, 109; xxiii, 27.—*camsilis*, xx, 2, 38, 48. *Camsilus de octo alnis*, xiii, 110.
- \* *candela, a candle*, xxv, 112.
- canonicus, adj., of or belonging to rule, or custom, hence subst. neut. canonica, customary taxes and duties paid, apparently, in wine (the produce of the vineyard)*, xvi, 22; xxv, 3, 34.
- capaticum, cabaticum, cavaticum, kavaticum, capatica, a tax levied on heads, a head- or polltax, a capitation tax (Fr. chevage, Germ. Kopfzins), which was sometimes levied per hearth, and not per head. It usually amounted to 4 denarii per head, or per hearth (focus), i, 42 (3 librae for 110 mansi); ii, 119 (9 solidi for 108 mansi); iv, 33, 35 (6 sol. and 4 den. for 23½ mansi ingenuiles and 6 serviles), 36; v, 86; ix, 4 (6 sol. for 6 mansi having 16 foci), 6, 300; xi, 10 (5 sol. and 4 den. for 7 mansi having 16 foci); xii, 20, 45, 46; xiii, B (3 sol. and 9 den. for 5 mansi), 99 (1 sol. and 19 den. for 81 mansi or 182 foci); xiv, 90, 94 (6 sol. for 79 mansi); xv, 95 (10 sol. for 74½ mansi); xvi, 93; xx, 45; xxi, 93 (1½ sol. for 51 mansi); Fr. ii, 11. The amount of the tax or the mode of paying it was sometimes modified, see *capita* and *caput*. In some instances persons pay 4 or more denarii without its being said what they were paying this money for, but perhaps for the head-tax. These payments are recorded under the article *denarius*.*
- capella, a chapel*, xxi, 1; xxii, 1; x, 1 (later addit.).
- capita* [nom. fem., from the neuter plur. *capita*], *a head*: “*solvunt de eorum capitis (they pay as their poll-tax) pullum 1, ova et dies iii,*” xx, 46. See also *capaticum*.
- caplin, caplinum* [from the same root as *capulare* ?], *the obligation of tenants to cut down trees, or branches of trees, at stated times, for their lords*, i, 2, 13; ii, 2; iii, 2, 37; iv, 2, 26; v, 3, 28, 53, 78; vii, 37; viii, 3, 24, 28, 37; xvi, 3; xvii, 3, 18; xviii, 3; xix, 8. [In v, 3, the MS. has *claplin*, with stroke over the final n.]
- caput, a head: solvunt de capite suo den. quatuor (i.e. the poll-tax, see capaticum and capita)*, ix, 9, 293, 301, 302; xi, 2; xii, 15 (sol. 3 et den. 4), 23, 24, 40, 41, 44; xiii, 1, 76 (bis), 77; xxi, 40, 52.—*Solvere multones 2 de capite*, xxi, 31.
- carnaticum, a war-tax, first paid in small cattle, afterwards converted into a money payment*, iv, 35; xiv, 3, 35, 94; xv, 3, 95; xvi, 93; xxii, 70, 97. See also *bos*.
- caropera (fem.), caropus (plur. caropera)*, see *caropera*.
- \* *carpentarius, a carpenter*, v, 98.
- carrada, that which was laden on a carrum, a cartload (Fr. charrette): of wood*, ix, 153, 155; *of hay*, xix, 1; see *carrum*.
- carratio, carritio, carricio, a carting; the labour of carting, or loading carts for the lord of the estate, usually measured by pedales (q.v.)*, xv, 3, 95; xvi, 3, 22; xxv, 3, 34.
- carritare, to cart, load on a car*, viii, 3.
- carritio*, see *carratio*.
- caropera (fem.), caropera (fem.), work, service, labour (of conveying and transporting) by means of a cart (carrum or carrus)*, i, 2, 11, 16, 17; ii, 2, 113; iii, 2, 37; iv, 2, 26; v, 3, 28, 53, 78; vi, 3, 4, 33, 36; vii, 4, 22, 37, 38, 42, 47; viii, 3, 24, 28, 37; ix, 304 (later addit.); xiii, 14, 15, 41, 64, 77–80, 89, 105; xiv, 3, 35; xvi, 3, 52; xvii, 3, 18; xviii, 3; xix, 8; xx, 3; xxi, 4, 54, 59, 61, 81; xxii, 77; xxiv, 2, 71, 113, 137, 138; xxv, 3. *Caropus (plur. caropera)*, v, 78.—*A money payment could be made instead, xii, 2; xiii, 105.—caropera propter vinum, xiii, 1, 37, 38.—Operari cum manu, same meaning, xiii, 1.*
- carruca, a plough*, xxii, 4.
- carrum, a two-wheeled waggon for transporting burdens, especially hay, of which it probably contained a measure of a thousand pounds*, i, 42; ii, 1, 121; iii, 62; iv, 1; v, 1; vi, 1; vii, 3; viii, 1; ix, 1, 9, 158, 278,



- 299 (later addit.); xi, A, 2, 10; xiii, A, B, 99, 105; xiv, 1, 94; xv, 1; xvi, 1, 93; xvii, 1; xviii, 2; xxi, 1; xxii, 1; xxiv, 1; xxv, 1-3, 34.
- carta, a *charter*: carta munborationis s. Germani, ix, 268.
- casa, a *cottage, lodge*, usually mentioned together with the *mansus dominicatus* (*indom.*), ii, 1; iii, 1; iv, 1; vi, 1; vii, 1; viii, 1; ix, 1, 158, 269, 278, 284 (*mansus cum casa*); x, 1 (later addit.); xii, 6; xiii, A; xiv, 1, 2; xv, 1, 2; xvi, 1, 2; xix, 1, 2, 49; xx, 1, 2; xxi, 1, 2; xxv, 1, 2; Fr. i, 3; ii, 13. *Casa dominica*, xvii, 1 (corresponding to the usual *mansus dominicatus cum casa*, unless the text be corrupt).
- casticum, a *kind of dwelling, a cottage*, differing from *casa*, ii, 1; iii, 1; iv, 1; vi, 1; vii, 1; viii, 1; ix, 1, 158, 269, 287; x, 1 (later addit.); xi, A; xii, 3, 6, 8, 15; xiii, A, B; xiv, 1, 2; xv, 1, 2; xvi, 1, 2; xvii, 1; xix, 1, 2, 49; xx, 1, 2; xxiv, 1, etc.
- \* castrum, a *castle*, v, 112.
- cavaticum, see *capaticum*.
- cavea, a *box, basket, or hamper*, xxii, 79 (bis).
- celarius, *cellerarius*, for *cellarius* (q.v.).
- cella (fratrum), a *colony of monks, a dependency of a monastery*, vii, 1, 84; xxiv, 119, 123 tit., 127 tit., 131. See also iii, 1, 62.
- cellarius, *cellerarius*, *celarius*, *cellerarius*, one who had charge of the cella or storeroom, a steward, butler (especially in monasteries), xiii, 102; xix, 4 (*celarius et colonus + colona, homines s. Germani*); ix, 228 (*servus et celerarius*).
- censilis, of or belonging or liable to census, *taxable*: (mansus) *censilis*, xiii, 99; xxi, 78, 93.
- censitus, *taxed*, ix, 3; xv, 1; xxii, 1.
- census, a general term for *tribute, tax*, ix, 59, 283, 284; xii, 48 (later addit.); xiii, 89, 93, 100; xxi, 3, 22, 29, 43; xxv, 11; paid (a) in money, vii, 74, 76-80; xix, 49, 50; (b) in money and in kind, i, 40; iii, 1; vii, 84; xix, 1; (c) wholly in kind, ii, 1; vi, 1; viii, 1; xv, 1; xvi, 1. Census ingenuilis, census servilis, a *tax paid by, or like that paid by, an ingenuus, or a servus*, ix, 231. Tenere in censo, to hold anything on condition of paying the tax due for it, (mansus) vii, 6.—Solvère
- in *censum* (den. 4 or 3), vii, 74, 79; (sol. ii), vii, 77, 79; (de argento sol. iii), vii, 76. The word *debitum* is used in xiii, 76, 94, instead of *censo*. Rediturus *censo*, ix, 305 (later addit.), but prob. leg. *reditus et censo*, see xii, 48.
- centena (subst.), (1) under the Roman emperors, a *dignity in the imperial Court* (= *centurionatus*). As a geogr. term it first appears in the Salic Law, meaning (2) a *district, a hundred*, and had, probably, been introduced into Gaul by the Franks, among whom it had, no doubt, at first a numerical signification, indicating a collection of a hundred persons or a hundred heads of families, placed under the administration of an officer called *centenarius*. Later on it meant (3) a *division of a pagus* occupied by such a *centena*, and so in the Polyptychum, ix, 284; xii, 1-24, 26-47. It seems to have been the same as the *vicaria* (q.v.).
- cera, *wax*, x, 1; xii, 27; xiii, 99; xix, 51.
- \* cereus, a *wax-light, taper*, x, 2.
- circuitus, *circumference, circuit*, xiii, A.
- circulus, a *ring, or hoop*, xi, 2, 10; xiii, B, 1, 15, 64, 77, 89, 99.
- [circumsepire] *circumseptus, to hedge, fence round, to surround, enclose*, xxii, 1.
- claudere, *to confine, enclose*, xi, 2; xiii, 1, 64; xv, 2, 3; xxiv, 2.
- clausura, an *enclosure*, xiii, B (clausura ad ortum, ad curtem, ad messes).
- \* coenobium, a *monastery, abbey*, vi, 59 (c. sancti Germani).
- \* collector vini, a *wine-gatherer*, xii, 51.
- colligere, *to collect, gather* (said of the gathering of grapes, hay, etc.), ii, i; ix, 158, 278; xi, A; xiii, A; xiv, 1; xv, 1; xvi, 1; xvii, 1; xxii, 1.
- colona (in general, a *woman of the class of the, and married to a, colonus, q.v.*). Also a *tenant on her own account, a female farmer*. In the Polyptychum she appears, without any further definition, as (1) *colona* merely, (a) *solvens* "capaticum," Fr. ii, 11. — (b) *femina colona*, xxi, 25. — (c) *wife of a colonus*; *colonus s. Germani*; *colonus* (and called with him) *hh. s. G.*; *colonus et major* (and called with him) *hh. s. G.*; see the article *colonus*; *major* (q.v.), and called with him) *hh. s. G.*; *homo liber*

(q.v.); *liber* (q.v.); *liber* (q.v., and called with him) *hh. s. G.*; *lidus* (q.v., and called with him) *hh. s. G.*; *servus* (q.v., and called with him) *hh. s. G.*; *calumniatus* (q.v., and called with him) *hh. s. G.*; *extraneus* (q.v.); *advena* (q.v.); an *undefined tenant*, and without any further definition of herself, v, 15, 17, 54, 64; vii, 23, 25, 78; viii, 10, 20; ix, 19, 35, 106 (de beneficio Grimbalidi), 232, 275; xv, 33; xvi, 10; xxii, 23, 78; xxiii, 1; xxiv, 20; an *undefined tenant* (and called with him) *hh. s. G.*, ii, 70, 73 (bis), 82; iii, 42; iv, 29; v, 16; ix, 9; xiii, 63; xv, 89; xvi, 16, 79; xvii, 33; a *tenant* ("de precaria," or "de beneficio" alicujus), ix, 115.—(d) *holding* a "mansus dimidius servilis," xxii, 83; (with two *coloni*) a "mansus," ix, 172; (with a *col.* + *colona*, and two *coli*) a "mansus," ix, 197; (with others of the *colonus* class, and an *advena*) a "dimidius mansus ingenuilis," xxv, 22.—(e) *mother* [no husband mentioned] of *children*, and *holding* (by herself) a "mansus," ix, 69, 200; xxii, 73; a "mansus ingenuilis," xxii, 41, 49; (with others of the *colonus* class) a "mansus ingenuilis," ix, 18, 21, 28, 40; xiii, 21; xxiii, 17; xxv, 17; a "mansus lidus," xiii, 40; a "mansus servilis," xiii, 93; a "mansus," ix, 65, 66, 110, 113, 166, 171, 191, 193, 195, 203; "terra arabilis," ix, 202; (with two *coli* + *colona*e, and a *col.* + *ancilla*) a "mansus ingenuilis," ix, 26; (with an *extraneus* + *colona*) a "mansus," ix, 176; (with a *servus s. G.*) a "mansus servilis," xiv, 80; (with her children called *hh. s. G.*, and *holding*) a "dimidius mansus," xxiv, 100; a "hospicium," xxiv, 111.

(2) *colona*, *femina s. Germani*, Fr. i, 11.

(3) *colona s. Germani*, (a) without further definition, but as *holding land* or a "mansus ingenuilis," i, 33; ii, 81, 94; iv, 7; v, 6, 37; (with others) iv, 23; xii, 22 (a "mansus"); xv, 9, 20, 39, 59, 64; xix, 44.—(b) as *wife*: of an *undefined tenant*, v, 54, 55; vi, 18, 19, 29, 32; vii, 32; viii, 22, 29, 31, 32; xiv, 81; xv, 46, 54, 74, 86; xvi, 13,

69.—of a *liber* (q.v.); of a *colonus* (q.v.); a *calumniatus* (q.v.); an *extraneus* (q.v.); a *homo extraneus* (q.v.); an *advena* (q.v.); a *mancipium* (q.v.); the *socius extraneus* of a *colonus* + *colona*, *homines s. Germani*, xiii, 19.—(c) *mother* [no husband mentioned] of *children*, and *holding* a "mansus ingenuilis," v, 51; xv, 37, 66; xvi, 41; xxi, 15, 36; xxiv, 134; Fr. i, 7, 8; a "dimidius mansus," ii, 83; xiii, 8, 20; a "mansus," xii, 11, 22; an *unciu*, xxiv, 102; a *hospitium*, vi, 50; xxiv, 168, 177; a "mansus servilis," xvii, 45; (with others of the *colonus* class) a "mansus ingenuilis," ii, 42, 50; v, 18, 35, 68; vi, 26; vii, 16, 53; xiii, 28; xiv, 55; xv, 45, 49; xix, 28; a "mansus," ix, 11; a "dimidius mansus," xiv, 58; (with a *lidus*, *homo s. Germani*) a "mansus ingenuilis," xxi, 18; (with her son, and an *ancilla s. Germani*) a "mansus ingenuilis," v, 11; (with a similar *colona s. Germani*) a "mansus ingenuilis," ii, 100; (with a *lidus* + *colona*) a "mansus lidilis," xiii, 44; (with a *lidus* + *ancilla*, *homines s. Germani*) a "mansus lidilis," xiii, 56; (with her son, a *colonus*, and called with him *homines s. Germani*) a "dimidius mansus ingenuilis," xxv, 39.

*colonus*, *one who cultivates another's land, a husbandman, farmer, tenant of the Abbey*. The Polyptychum records him (1) merely as *colonus*: (a) without defining his social position any further, i, 21, 24, 26, 31, 32, 36; iv, 22, 24, 26; v, 7, 13, 14, 75; vi, 14; vii, 16, 24, 26, 51, 59; ix, 12, 15, 17, 21, 22, 25, 28, 29, 32, 35, 36, 38, 42, 44, 45, 48, etc., 84 etc., 273, 276, 281; xii, 49 (later addit.); xiii, 1, 7, 12, 14, 26, 48, 71, 77; xvii, 8, 45; xix, 32; xx, 4, 5, 11, 12, 20, 23, 26, 27, 29, 37; xxii, 42, 45, 52, 59, 67, 71, 76 (bis, ter), 89, 90, 92, 94; xxiii, 2, 12, 14, 17, 20; xxiv, 28, 46, 79; xxv, 22, 30–32, 35; Fr. ii, 11; (b) + *colona* (q.v.), iii, 59; iv, 2, 11, 16, 18, 19, 21, 22; v, 13, 15; vi, 44; vii, 8, 21, 25, 26, 46, 47, 58; ix, 12–18, 20–41, 43, etc.; xiii, 2, 7, 21, 42, 71, 84; xiv, 6, 10, 13, 40, 83; xv, 13, 28, 36, 52; xvi, 6, 9, 18, 31, 84;

xvii, 11; xix, 21, 27, 45, 47; xx, 3, 8-10, 15-18, 21, 26, 28; xxi, 17, 48; xxii, 4, 5, 7-24, 27, 31, 33-38, 40, 43, 44, 46, 47, 50-52, 54, 55, 58, 60-67, 69-71, 75, 76, 88, 92, 93, 95; xxiii, 2-4, 7, 9-11, 13, 15, 16, 18, 21, 23, 24; xxiv, 23, 24, 28, 29, 31, 32, 38, 40, 55, 118, 122, 139, 152; xxv, 16, 22, 25, 27, 31, 37; Fr. i, 10; ii, 5; (o) + *libera* (q.v.), ii, 76; viii, 3, 5; ix, 51, 91, 142, 144, 184, 280, 283; xv, 45; xvi, 21; xvii, 14; xix, 20; xxi, 29; xxii, 31, 93; (d) + *extranea* (q.v.), ix, 108, 131, 135; xiii, 45, 92; xxii, 25, 33, 72, 91, 164; (e) + *advena* (q.v.), xxv, 18; (f) + *ancilla* (q.v.), vii, 67; ix, 26; xiii, 51; xxii, 32; xxiii, 5; xxiv, 107, 118; xxv, 6, 16; (g) + *lida* (q.v.), ix, 80, 104; xiii, 47; xx, 8; xxii, 48; xxiii, 8, 19; (h) + *uxor*, vii, 26; ix, 84, 112 (de beneficio alicujus), 123 (id.), 186, 202, 204; xiv, 79; xx, 15, 24; xxii, 26, 30, 56, 74; xxiii, 22; (i) + *calumniata* (q.v.), xix, 37; (j) + *colona* s. *Germani*, ix, 154; xiii, 32; xv, 73; xxiv, 173; (k) *cujus infantes non sunt* s. G.; xxii, 53; (l) *as col. et decanus + colona*, ix, 57, 139, 209; xxii, 3; (m) *col. et junior decanus + colona*, ix, 58, 210; (n) *col. villae*, xii, 51 (later addit.).

(2) *colonus sancti Germani* (a) (no wife mentioned, nor is he called *homo sancti Germani*, but in some instances his children are enumerated), i, 1, 3, 4, 9, 11, 12, 27-30, 34; ii, 4, 18; iii, 2, 6, 11, 16, 18-20, 23, 29, 30, 32-35, 38-41, 43, 50, 55, 57, 60; iv, 4, 13, 20, 21, 23; v, 9, 10, 16-19; vi, 4, 5, 8, 10, 27, 38, 41, 47, 48, 53 (having "infantes," and being "foristarius de silva et vinea dominica"); vii, 13, 22, etc.; viii, 7-9, 12, 17, 21, 24, 25, 30, 36, 38; ix, 153, 257; xii, 9, 20, 40, 41, 43; xiii, 21-23; xiv, 9, 15, 16, 18, 23, 27, 29, 31, 38, 40, 42, 45, 50-52, 55; xv, 5, 7, 11-13, 16, 17, 19, 22, 23, 32, 42, 44, 48, 50-52, 58, 62, 63, 67, 68, 71, 75, 89; xvi, 5, 6, 10, 16, 17, 20, 22, 24, 25, 31, 34, 37, 40, 45-47 etc., 80, 81, 83; xvii, 13, 17, 19-21, 24, 28, 31, 37, 41, 42; xviii, 8, 10-12, 14, 30, 42; xxi, 29, 56, 60, 79; xxiv, 17, 61, 65, 69, 157, 167;

Fr. i, 9; (b) + *libera*, xii, 22; xiii, 1, 2, 29; xv, 34, 46; xvi, 29; xvii, 5; xviii, 7, 8; xxiv, 174; (c) + *colona*, v, 58; xiv, 37; xv, 35, 58; xvi, 87; xviii, 9; (d) + *colona* (de beneficio Guntharii, hh. s. G.), xxv, 38; (e) + *extranea*, xiii, 10, 88; xxiv, 10; (f) + *ancilla*, xv, 78; xviii, 5; (g) + *calumniata*, xxiv, 42; (h) + *ancilla* s. *Germani*, xv, 77; (i) *cujus infantes non sunt* s. G., xii, 12, 46; (k) *major, colonus* s. *Germani + uxor, quorum infantes non sunt* s. G., xxi, 3.

(3) *colonus*, homo s. *Germani* (a) without further definition: ix, 10; xiii, 4, 16, 39, 48, 77; xix, 18, 21, 22, 27, 32, 41, 43; xxi, 10, 12, 13, 21, 22, 32, 42, 46; xxiv, 4, 15, 22, 58, 62, 72, 88, 95, 135, 141-143, 148, 149, 151, 153, 163, 170, 178, 180; xxv, 4, 14, 26; Fr. i, 5, 10, 12, 13; (b) *cujus uxor et infantes non sunt* s. *Germani*, xxiv, 109, 110, 171; (c) + *advena*, xxi, 81; xxiv, 58, 175; (d) + *calumniata*, xix, 44; (e) + *colona*, xxv, 7; (f) + *libera*, xxiv, 137; (g) *col. et decanus*, homo s. *Germani*, xix, 5; (h) *col. mulinarius*, homos s. *Germani*, xix, 6.—(i) + *colona*, together called *homines* s. *Germani*, i, 2, 3, 5, 17-19, 38; ii, 3-14; iii, 2-5, 8, 9, 12-14, 16, 19-28, 30, 31, 33, 34, 36, 37, 43, 45, 46, 49, 51, 52, 56, 58; iv, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 13, 15, 17, 21, 23-26, 30-32; v, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 14, 15, 17, 18; vi, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 26, 39, 40; vii, 4, 5; viii, 6, 11, 13-16, 18, 19, 26, 27, 30, 34; ix, 9, 11; xii, 23, 24; xiii, 2-5, 9-11 etc., 15 etc., 29, 30, 32, 34 etc., 76, 76 (bis), 78, 84, 91, 92, etc.; xiv, 3-6, etc.; xv, 3, 4, 6, 8, 10-14, etc.; xvi, 3, 4, 7 etc., 82; xvii, 4, 6, etc.; xviii, 3, 4, 11-13; xix, 7-11, 13-17, etc.; xxi, 5-9, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 19-21, 23, 25, 26, 30, 31, 33-35, 37, 38, 40, 44, 45, 47, 49-52, 58, 72, 73, 75-79, 85; xxiv, 5-7, 9, 10, 12-21, 24-28, 31, 32, 35, 36, 38, 41, 43-48, 54, 56, 57, 60, 63, 64, 66-68, 70, 73-77, 79, 80, 83, 84, 87-92, etc.; xxv, 3 etc., 37; Fr. i, 4, 6, etc.; ii, 2, 3, etc.; (k) + *libera*, hh. s. G., xviii, 6; xix, 12; xxiv, 129; (l) + *lida*, hh. s. G., iii, 10, 21, 35, 44; viii, 18; xiii, 6, 11, 42, 45, 47, 54, 57,



75; xxi, 39, 74; (*m*) + *ancilla*, hh. s. G., ii, 38; iii, 50, 55; xiii, 57; xv, 83; xvi, 75; xviii, 6; xxi, 53; xxiv, 37, 92, 156, 157, 161, 179; (*n*) + *uxor*, hh. s. G., ii, 18, 75; iii, 29; vii, 8, 29; xxi, 24; xxiv, 86, 106; xxv, 5; (*o*) + *advena*, hh. s. G., xxiv, 36; (*p*) col. et mater ejus colona, hh. s. G., xix, 18; xxiv, 3; (*q*) major col. + *uxor*, hh. s. G., Fr. i, 4; (*r*) col. et major + colona, hh. s. G., ii, 2; v, 3; xiii, 31; xxiv, 2; Fr. ii, 15; (*s*) col. et decanus + colona, hh. s. G., xiii, 18; xxi, 4; xxiv, 23, 71, 113; (*t*) col. et cellarius + colona, hh. s. G., xix, 4; (*u*) col. et infantes ejus, hh. s. G., xxiv, 114, 128.

We, therefore, find the various *coloni* having as wife (*a*) a *colona*; or (*b*) a *libera*; (*c*) a *lida*; (*d*) an *ancilla*; (*e*) an *extranea*; (*f*) an *uxor* whose social position is not indicated; (*g*) a *calumniata*; (*h*) an *advena*: while he held office on the estate as (*a*) *major*; (*b*) *decanus*; (*c*) *junior decanus*; (*d*) *forestarius*; (*e*) *cellarius*; (*f*) *mulnarius*. As to his holdings see the articles *ingenuilis*, *lidilis*, *scrvilis*, *hospitium*.

Sometimes he held no *mansus*, merely a portion of arable land (either with or without a vineyard), i, 19, 24, 26-34, 36.—In ix, 25, two *coloni* are said to be *lidi*, because they were born *de lida matre*. And from xxv, 7, it would appear that the illegitimate son of a *colonus* became a *lidus*. In x, 1 (later addit.), *coloni* are said to be *ingenui*, sicuti fuerunt temporibus s. Germani.

\* comes, ix, 305; x, 2.

\* comitatus, a county, iii, 61; vii, 83.

\* comitissa (*Æva*), a countess, xii, 48.

commanere, to reside, dwell, xx, 1.

\* commemoratio (natalitii), the commemoration of a birthday, x, 2.

comparare, comp-, to purchase, procure, xii, 3, 22.

comparatio, comp-, a purchase, property acquired by labour and thrift or bought, xii, 3, 20.

comparatum, comparatus, ūs, comp-, the same as comparatio, ix, 9; xix, 8.

\* conciamere, to exchange, ix, 303.

concedere, to grant, ix, 256.

concida, concidis [for the Lat. *concaedis*], a wood, or part of a wood, fit for cutting, i, 39; v, 2; ix, 87-89,

91, 164, 172; xii, 19, 35, 36; xiii, b, 1, 9, 12, 21, 29, 31, 57, 61, 74, 76; xxiii, 9-14, 16-18, 24; xxiv, 1, 173.

condonare, to give, bestow, present, bring as an offering, xii, 3; xxi, 78.

\* conducere, to hire, take on lease, contract, xii, 51.

\* conductor, a farmer, contractor, xii, 51.

\* conductus, a contract, xii, 51.

\* confinium, a confine, limit, border, x, 2. coniaa [the same as *cuniada* in Capitulum de Villis, cap. 42], a hatchet (Fr. *cognée*), xiii, 100.

conjectus, a contribution, collection, made by the several tenants of a village or an estate in satisfaction of some obligation or rent due to the lord of the estate, xiii, 76 (bis), 77.—conjectus de annona, xiii, 64.—de viva annona, xiii, 99.—de coniecto dimidius modius, xiii, 77.

comparatio, comparatum, comparatus, see comp-.

conquirere, to procure, bring together, acquire, ix, 257; xii, 47.

\* consensus, consent, agreement, xix, 2.

\* consuetudo, a custom (Fr. *coutume*), xii, 51.

corbada, see *corvada*.

cors, see *curtis*.

\* cortina, a curtain, xii, 50.

corvada, corbada, corvata, curbada, curvada, curvata [Fr. *corvée*; M.D. *corweide*, *coorweide*, *correweide*; Ned. *karwei*; *karrewei*, from the Low Lat. *corrogata* (opera), work ordered, from *cum* and *rogare*, to prescribe], obligatory, gratuitous work due from a tenant or vassal to his lord, i, 38; ii, 2, 113; iii, 2, 37; iv, 2, 26; v, 3, 28, 53, 78; vi, 3, 36, 52, 54; vii, 4, 20, 26, 37, 42, 48, 62; viii, 3, 24, 28, 37; ix, 9, 57, 58, 153 (curvada cum pane et potu), 155, 212, 239, 242, 267, 271, 279, 280, 288, 304; xi, 2; xiii, b, 1 (c. cum pane et potu), 15, 76 (bis), 77 (c. cum pane et potu), 89; xiv, 3, 22, 35, 37, 52, 72, 78; xv, 3; xvi, 2, 3, 37, 52, 66, 91; xvii, 2, 3; xviii, 3; xx, 3; xxi, 2, 4, 54, 59, 61, 74, 76, 81; xxii, 1-4, 70, 75, 77, 79 (bis), 88, 92, 94; xxiii, 1, 2, 4, 24; xxiv, 2, 31, 40, 56, 67, 71, 92, 113, 137, 138, 175, 179; xxv, 3; Fr. i, 4; ii, 15.—*curvada abbatilis* (q.v.), *praepositilis* (q.v.), ix, 139, 140, 142, 209, 210; and c. *judicialis* (q.v.); work or service to be done



- for an abbat, or a *praepositus*, or a judge, xxii, 4.—*Curvada quarta*, quinta, xiii, 1, 77. Originally, and, until the 9th cent., the *corvada* seems to have consisted in obligatory agricultural labour done in fields at certain seasons of the year. In later centuries it came to signify any gratuitous work. It and the "*rigam facere*" were the two principal manual labours to be performed by the tenants of the Abbey of St. Germain. The latter was more or less defined and limited, the *corvada* depended on circumstances.
- crassus (porcus), fat, ix, 2.
- creocere, to grow, cultivate, ix, 212.
- cultura, a piece of cultivated land, which, in the Polyptychum, seems to have varied in size between 8 and 64 *bunuarua* (Fr. *couture*, a seam), ii, 1; iii, 1; iv, 1; v, 1; vi, 1; vii, 3, 83 (later addit.); viii, 1; ix, 1; x, 1 (later addit.); xiv, 1; xvi, 1; xix, 1; xxi, 1; xxii, 1; xxv, 1.—*cultura major*, minor, ix, 1; xiii, A; xxii, 1.—*cultura dominica*, see *dominicus*.—*cultura dominicata*, see *dominicatus*.—*cultura indominicata*, see *indominicatus*.
- curbada = *corvada* (q.v.).
- curtila [or *curtilus*], curtilis, a piece of ground set apart for the building of a house, an *area*, xii, 3, 46.
- curtis [from the class. Lat. *chors* or *cors*], a court, enclosure, yard; a farm, vii, 22; xii, 2, 4, 6, 7, 10, etc.; xiii, B; xxi, 23. Usually *curtis dominica*, see *dominicus*.—Sometimes with some other (local) name added (= villa), xii, 2, 4, 6, etc., 29.
- curvada, curvata = *corvada* (q.v.).
- Dare, to give, present, ix, 258.
- debitum, a debt; in the Polyptychum, the obligatory rent due from the tenants to the Abbey (= census), ix, 201, 237, 253; xi, 8, 9; xiii, 37, 55, 74, 90; xxii, 2; xxiii, 7; xxv, 8, 12.—*Medietas debiti*, xi, 8; xiii, 16, 20.—*Debitus servilis*, xiii, 76, 94.
- decania [from the Lat. *decem*], a district consisting (originally, but no longer in the Polyptychum) of ten several tenancies or villages, a deanery (Fr. *décanie*), which was part of an estate, and presided over or ruled by an officer called *decanus* (q.v.), ix, 1, 9, 59, 141, 142, 145, 159, 212, 234, 236, 244, 255, 295–298, 300–302; xxiv, 1, 71, 113, 183.
- decanus, a kind of rural officer, a dean (Fr. *doyen*), who presided or ruled over a *decania* (q.v.), xiii, 99; xiv, 89 (a juryman); he was usually a *colonus* (q.v.), et *decanus*.—*decanus villae*, xiii, 101.—*decanus junior*, ix, 58.
- decoratus, furnished, ornamented, xxiv, 1 (decorata ecclesia).
- demedietas, a half, demedietas mansi, ii, 43; see also *medietas*.
- \*denariata, denerata, a quantity of certain goods of the value of one denarius, xix, 51 (*denerata cerae*).
- denarius, a denier, occurring in the Polyptychum by the side of the *solidus* (q.v.) and *libra* (q.v.), ix, 6, 303 (later addit.); xi, 10; xii, 2, 15, 19, 27; xiii, 99, 107; xv, 95; xxii, 97; xxiii, 26, 27; xxiv, 55; xxv, 2; Fr. ii, 10.—2 denarii, vii, 84; ix, 2, 6, 236, 243; xii, 36; xx, 37; xxi, 44, 58; xxiv, 47, 103, 167.—3 den., i, 27, 37, 40; vi, 3, 54, 57; xiii, 88, 89; xx, 48.—3½ den., ix, 299 (later addit.).—4 den., i, 42; ii, 1, 2, 74; iii, 2; v, 49, 53, 78, 86, 93; vi, 3; vii, 6, 74, 81; viii, 39; ix, 9, 264, 299 (later addit.); xii, 18, 33, 49 (later addit.); xiii, 1, 96, 101, 110; xiv, 90; xv, 3, 94; xvi, 37; xxi, 60; xxii, 4; xxiii, 26, 45; xxiv, 104, 105; xxv, 3, 8, 20, 34; Fr. i, 4.—6 den., ix, 288, 299 (later addit.); xiii, 76 (bis); xxiv, 145, 146.—8 den., vii, 39; xiii, 15.—9 den., xiii, 14; xxiv, 30; Fr. i, 1.—10 den., xxiv, 152.—12 den., ix, 158, 279; xii, 35, 40, 41; xiii, A, B, 99; xxiv, 21, 22, 44, 78, 86, 175; xxv, 6, 16, 19, 21.—16 den., xxiii, 27; xxv, 2.—18 den., xxiv, 145, 146.—*denarius dimidius* de augustatico, ix, 234; duo den. ad augustaticum, ix, 236, 243.—4 den. de capite (capatico), i, 119; iv, 35; ix, 9, 293, 301; xi, 2; xii, 23, 24, 40, 41, 44; xiii, 1, 15, 64, 76 (bis), 77, 97; xiv, 90; xxi, 40, 52; xxv, 3, 19, 21, 22, 24, 28, 34; see also *capaticum*.—12 den. ad hostem, ix, 279; ditto, ad luminaria, ix, 268.—4 den. de hostilitio, ix, 299 (later addit.).—4 den. de litmonio, xi, 14.—5 den. de lignaricia, xxii, 92.
- denerata, see *denariata*.

- \* *depositio*, a depositing in the earth, burying, burial, x, 3.
- deprecari*, to hold, by *precaria* (q.v.) or charter, an ecclesiastical estate for life, on condition of paying an annual rent or tax for the same, xii, 3, 15, 18, 35, 39.
- \* *deprecatio*, a prayer, request, xix, 2.
- desupra*, adv., over and above, xxii, 1.
- dextrum*, a measure of land, a division of a jornal (q.v.), ix, 247, 248, 262.
- dicio*, see *ditio*.
- dies*, a day, a day's labour to be performed by tenants for their lord: *facere dies*, xiii, b; xxi, 54; xxiv, 40, 175.—*facere diem* r, i, 20, 21, 26, 29, 30, 32, 33; ii, i; vi, 46, 49, 52; vii, 56, 57, 59, 60, 72; ix, 4, 6, 158, 270, 286, 292, 299 (later addit.); xvi, 81, 82, 87–89; xx, 3, 34; xxi, 2, 4, 76, 77, 80; xxiii, 25; xxiv, 31, 47, 55, 68, 105, 106, 109, 146, 152, 153, 160, 162, 163, 167–169, 177, 178, 181; xxv, 3.—*f. dies* II, vi, 35; ix, 6, 271, 279, 280, 286, 288, 299 (later addit.), 304 (id.); xiv, 87, 88; xvi, 2, 80; xvii, 47; xix, 2; xxiv, 31, 45, 56, 71, 113, 137, 138, 145–147, 153, 167.—*f. dies* III, i, 35, 36; vi, 48; vii, 38; viii, 36; ix, 9, 156, 212; xiii, 1; xx, 3, 46; xxi, 2, 4; xxiii, 2; xxiv, 56, 113; xxv, 24.—*f. dies* IV, xx, 3.—*f. dies* VI, ix, 304 (later addit.).—*operari* II *dies*, xxiv, 2; III *dies*, xxii, 70; xxiii, 4; xxiv, 2.—*operari* II (or III) *dies* cum manu, xiii, 1; xxi, 81. See also *manuopera*.
- diligenter*, carefully, properly, sufficiently, ii, 1; vi, 2; vii, 2.
- dimidius*, half; see *mansus*, *pultus*.
- \* *diocesis*, a diocese, x, 2.
- \* *ditio*, for *dicio*, rule, authority, x, 2.
- dominicatus*, of or belonging to a domain, or that which is occupied by a dominus or lord: *Cultura dominicata*, xi, 1, 2; xiii, 29.—*Ecclesia dominicata*, xix, 49; see *ecclesia*.—*Mansus dominicatus*, ii, i; iii, 1; iv, i; vi, i; vii, 1; viii, 1, etc.; x, i (later addit.); xiii, A; xiv, 1; xv, 1; xvi, 1; xviii, 2; xx, 2, 48; xxii, 1; xxiv, 1; xxv, 1; Fr. i, 3; ii, 10, 13.—*Terra dominicata*, v, 1; xiii, A; xxi, 1; xxv, 1. See also *dominicus*, *indominicatus*.
- dominium*, proprietorship, lordship, xxii, 92.
- dominicus*, of or belonging to a dominus or lord: *Annona dominica*, xix, 8.—*Casa dominica*, xvii, 1.—*Cors, curtis* d., ix, 9; xi, 2; xiii, 1, 64; xx, 3, 13; xxv, 3, 34.—*Cultura* d., ix, 9; xxv, 3, 34.—*Fiscus* d., ix, 244, 245, 248, 256, 260–262; xi, 15; xiii, 88; xiv, 91; xv, 91; xxv, 7.—*Granicum* d., xxv, 3.—*Hospicium* d., xvi, 80; xvii, 47.—*Lana* d., xv, 70, 76, 82; xxiii, 27.—*Linum* d., xx, 38.—*Opus* d., xiii, 1, 99; xv, 2.—*Ortus* d., vi, 51.—*Pullus* d., xx, 2.—*Silva* d., ix, 9.—*Vinea* d., vi, 3, 35, 46, 53; xxii, 77; Fr. ii, 6–9.
- dominium*, a domain, vi, 2.
- dominus*, (1) a master, lord, a title given in the Polyptychum, to the abbat, xxiv, 92; see also *domnus*. (2) the Lord, see *Nativitas*.
- domnus*, for *dominus* (q.v.), a title applied to an abbat (see *abba*), ix, 1, 3; xii, 50 (later addit.); xxv, 1.
- donare*, to present, give, gifts or presents, which, in process of time, had become, to a great extent, obligatory: *donare* (caballum, q.v.), xiii, b; xix, 3; xxii, 3; (porcos), ix, 2, 8; (denarios), ix, 2; xii, 35, 36, 40, 41; (solidum), ix, 265; xii, 45; (parveretum), i, 38; (modium vini), ix, 212; (pulos et ova), xii, 23, 40, 41; (denarios de capite suo), xii, 23, 40, 41.
- donatio*, (1) a gift, donation, ix, 152, 264–268, 278, 284; xii, 1–4, etc. (2) a piece of land or other property given to the Abbey and (usually) received back by the owners in *precaria*, ix, 259, 304 (later addit.), 305 (id.); xii, 4, 20, 32.
- \* *donnus*, for *domnus* (q.v.), iv, 36.
- donum*, a gift: (caballus in dona), ii, 1; xiv, 2; xv, 2; xvi, 2; xix, 2. See also *donare*.
- \* *dossalis* = dorsale, a curtain, pall, coverlet, xii, 50.
- \* *dotum* = dos, a gift, property pertaining to a church, ix, 304.
- dova*, a stave, or plank, used in the making of a vat or cask (Fr. *douve*, Ital. *doga*), xi, 2, 10; xiii, b, 1, 15, 64, 77, 89, 99.
- drappus*, a cloth (Fr. *draps*, Ital. *drappo*), xi, 13.
- ducere*, to lead, bring, convey to, ix, 9; xiii, 1; xxv, 3.

Ebdomada, *a week*, i, 20, 21, 26, 29, 30, 32, 33, 35, 36; ii, 1; vi, 35, 36, 39, 46, 48, 49, 52; vii, 4, 20, 26, 37, 38, 42, 56, 57, 59, 60, 62; viii, 36; ix, 4, 6, 156, 158, 212, 270, 271, 279, 280, 286, 288, 292, 299 (later addit.); xiii, 1; xiv, 3, 22, 35, 87, 88; xvi, 2, 3, 37, 52, 80-82, 87, 88; xvii, 47; xix, 2; xx, 3, 34; xxi, 2, 4, 57, 77, 80, 81; xxii, 4, 70; xxiii, 2, 4, 25; xxiv, 2, 47, 68, 71, 137, 138, 145-147, 152, 153, 167-169, 177, 178, 181; xxv, 3, 24; Fr. i, 4; ii, 15.

ecclesia, *aeclesia, a church*, ii, 1; viii, 2; xiii, B; xx, i; xxv, 2; Fr. ii, 14.—e. bene constructa, ix, 4 (in honore S. Mauricii), 6, 7, 158, 270; xiii, B; xxi, 2; xxii, 1; xxv, 1.—e. bene constructa et decorata, xxiv, 1.—e. cum omni apparatu diligenter constructa, ii, 1; iii, 1; vi, 2; vii, 2; xiv, 2; xv, 2; xvi, 2; xvii, 2; xix, 2.—e. bene constructa in honore S. Mariae, subjecta suprascriptae ecclesiae, ix, 5.—e. dominicata cum omni apparatu, xix, 49.—e. indominicata, see *indominicatus*.—e. *major*, x, 1 (later addit.).—Habere ecclesiam in beneficio, vi, 2; see *beneficium*.

\*episcopus, *a bishop*, x, 2; xii, 49; xxiv, 112.

erbaticum = *herbaticum* (q.v.).

creditas, for *hereditas* (q.v.).

estimare, see *aestimare*.

estimatio, see *aestimatio*.

excepto, adv., *by exception, with the exception of, exceptionally*, i, 38; ii, 1, 40, 74, 78, 84; iii, 1, 14; v, 25; vii, 5.

\*exceptor, *a notary, shorthand-writer, scribe*, xii, 51.

\*excommunicatio, *excommunication*, x, 2.

excutare, *to shake out, shake* (corn), a work which certain tenants had to perform for the lord, xix, 8. See also *scutere*.

exinde, for *inde, thence*, xvi, 2.

\*expensa, *disbursement, expense*, xii, 51.

extraneus, *a stranger, foreigner, (a) without any further definition (but holding with others a "mansus ingenuilis")*, ix, 22; (b) *a hospes*, ix, 141; (c) *an extranea*, xxii, 25; xxiv, 50; (d) *+* *a colona*, ix, 13, 176, 204; xxiv, 78; (e) *+* *a colona s. Germani*, xiii, 9, 10, 12, 17, 19, 41, 42, 61; xx, 6, 14; (f) *+* *a colona*

(and with her called) *homines s. Germani*, xiii, 26; xxiv, 85, 160.—(g) *(cujus uxore et infantes non sunt s. Germani)*, ix, 157.—(h) *extraneus homo (+ femina s. Germani)*, xii, 47; (+ *colona s. Germani*), xx, 7.—As regards the female stranger (*extranea*) see the articles *colonus, lidus, servus*.

Faber, *a smith*, xiii, 103, 104, and in the later addit. v, 94, 114.

fabricina, *the workshop of a smith*, xiii, 104.

facere, *to do, make, work*, occurs frequently in the Polyptychum, to indicate the work or services which the tenants of the Abbey had to perform for or render to their lord; so *facere* (in vinea, de vinea, in prato, in messem) *aripennum* (*aripennos*, or *perticas*, or *diem*), i, 1, 11, 13, 14, 17, 19; iv, 26; v, 3, 25, 52, 53, 75, 76, 78; vi, 3, 33, 36, 37, 39; vii, 15, etc.; viii, 3, 24, 28, ix, 212; xv, 76; xvi, 66, 80, 87, 89; xvii, 3, 18; xviii, 3; xix, 8.—*Facere opera*, xv, 15.—*Facere perticas*, i, 27; xvi, 88, 91; xvii, 18.—*Facere manoperas*, etc., i, 2, 14, 27.—*Facere dua carra ad vinericiam* (*ad magiscam*), xi, 10; xiii, B.—*Facere rigas et curvadas*, ix, 57, 58, 139, 140.—*Facere carropera*, xiii, 1; *curvadam*, xiii, B; *clausuram*, xiii, B.—*Facere portatura(m)*, ix, 212; xi, 11.—*Facere wactam*, see *wacta*. See further *dies*, and the other chief headings.

facula, *a block of resinous wood, or a bundle of chips of such wood for making lights or torches; or a small torch*, iv, 26; xi, 2, 10, 11; xiii, 64, 77, 89, 108.

faenum, *fenum, hay*, ii, 1; iv, 1; v, 1; vi, 1; vii, 3; viii, 1; ix, 1, 158, 278; xi, A; xiii, A; xiv, 1; xv, 1; xvi, 1; xvii, 1; xviii, 2; xix, 1; xxi, 1; xxii, 1; xxiv, 1; xxv, 1.

\*familia, *a family, household* (f. sancti Germani), xix, 51.

farinarius, *a corn-mill*, i, 40; ii, 1; iii, 1; vi, 1; vii, 4, 37, 83; viii, 1; ix, 2, 3, 152, 158, 254, 269; xii, 1, 2, 38; xiii, A; xv, 1; xvi, 1, 2; xix, 1; xx, 2; xxi, 1; xxii, 1; xxiv, 1.—f. *dimidius*, xxii, 92, 93.

femina, *fimina, a woman*, in some cases *a wife*, xiii, 67; v, 94 (later addit.), 103 (id.); xv, 96 (id.), 97 (id.); xx, 31.—*Ingenua femina*,



- iii, 61 (later addit.).—*Libera femina*, ix, 247.—*Femina colona*, xxi, 25, 27.—*F. s. Germani*, xii, 47; xxi, 71; xxiv, 25.—*Wife of a colonus*, homo s. Germani, xxiv, 171.
- fenum, see *faenum*.
- ferreolus, a *small swine* (Germ. *Ferckel*), xiii, 100.
- ferrum, *iron*, xiii, 64, 66, 69–76, 81–87, 89, 108. It seems, as a rule, to have been paid only by manse *serviles*, and even then only when they were in the occupation of *servi*.
- festivitas, a *festivity*, in the Polyp-tychum, refers to *Nativitas Domini* and Pascha, xiii, 101.—*Festivitas s. Germani*, xix, 51 (later addit.).
- finum, *manure, dung*, xi, 1, 2; xx, 3; xxv, 3, 34; ix, 304 (later addit.).
- fiscus [Fr. and Engl. *fisc*], in class. Lat. (1) a *basket or frail* used for olives, etc.; (2) a *money-basket*, or *bag, a purse*; (3) *the public chest, state treasury, public revenues*. In the times of the emperors (4) *the imperial treasury, imperial revenues, the emperor's privy purse*, in distinction to *aerarium*, the public chest. The third meaning appears in the Salic Law. Under the Carolingian kings, and in the Polyp-tychum, the word means (5) a *combination of various holdings or properties*, all belonging to one and the same proprietor, and being under one administration, generally subject to one system of rents, services, and customs; therefore, *landed property, a domain, estate*, xiii, 106; xxiv, 159 (later addit.). Sometimes these various properties formed one whole in one locality; sometimes they were scattered in various districts. *Fiscus dominicus*, the seignorial part of a domain, which the lord (or an abbey or a monastery) had reserved to him, and was not rented out to any tenants, see *dominicus*.
- fissus, *cleft, split*. xxiv, 2 (paxillus fissus).
- \* flumen, a *river*, xxiv, 159.
- \* fluvius, a *river*, vi, 59.
- focus, a *fireplace, hearth*, ix, 4; xi, 10; xii, 51 (later addit.); xiii, 1, 77, 99; xxii, 97; xxiii, 26. In the Polyp-tychum the number of hearths indicated the number of tenants or households established in the manse.
- fodere, *to dig*, a work which tenants were bound to perform at stated times for the lord: fodere . . . aripennos, ix, 242; fodere . . . aripennos de vinea, ix, 212, 239; xxii, 77; fodere vineam, xxi, 59.
- forasmiticum [from the Lat. *foras*, outside, and the Frank. *mitig*, Latinized *miticum*, servitude; hence collectively] *that part of the household set apart for service outside the limits of the domain*; that is, the persons who belonged to the domain, but earned their living (as millers, artisans, etc.) and resided outside its boundaries, therefore the opposite of *inframiticum* (q.v.), ix, 301.
- forasticus [from the Lat. *foras*, outside], a *tenant or servant* performing work or service for his master outside the domain, ix, 300. They paid the *capaticum* or poll-tax of 4 denarii. See *forasmiticum* and *forcapium*.
- forcapium, an *unlawful tax or tribute demanded illegally or by force*, vii, 84; or perhaps contracted from *foriscapaticum*, a *head- or poll-tax* exacted from *strangers* or persons who were not residing in the domain proper; if so, it=*capaticum*. See *forasmiticum*, *forasticus*.
- foristarius, *forstarius, a forester*, vi, 53 (f. de silva et vinea dominica); xiii, 99.
- fossorius, a *hoe*; according to Longnon, Du Cange explains it to mean a *young pig*, an animal that digs up the earth. The word occurs only twice in the Polyp-tychum (iii, 2, 62), in the first instance in the accus. sing., so that its gender cannot be inferred from its form (*fossorium*). But the second time it is in the accus. plur., *fossorios*, whence we may assume that it was masc. In both instances the word is mentioned among animals, or the products of animals, and in the second instance it is even combined with the *soalis*, a sow.
- frater, a *brother*, vi, 44; viii, 12, 17; xv, 23.
- frumentum, *corn, grain* (Fr. *froment*), ii, 1; iii, 1, etc.; iv, 1; viii, 1; ix, 1; xiii, A; xvi, 1; xxi, 1; xxii, 1; xxiv, 1; xxv, 1.
- fumlo, *hop, hops*=*humlo* (q.v.), xiii, 64, 77, 89, 108.



*Genicula*, a young cow, a heifer (Fr. *genisse*), xvii, 49. See also *junicula*.  
*gergia*, see *germgia*.

*germanus*, an own or full brother, xxii, 56.

*germgia*, *germia*, *jermgia*, *gergia*, a lamb, or young sheep that has not yet borne young, or only once, i, 42; v, 3, 28, 49, 52, 78, 93; xiv, 3, 94; xxv, 3 (here it seems = *ovis de uno anno* of xxv, 34).—*Germia dimidia*, v, 52.—*Germgia cum agno*, xv, 3; xvi, 22.

*girus*, see *gyrus*.

*granicum*, a granary; *granicum dominicum*, see *dominicus*.

*gyrus*, *girus* [from the Gr. *γῦρος*], a circle, circuit, ii, i; iii, 1; iv, 1; v, 1; vii, 3; viii, 1; ix, 278; xiii, 1; xv, 1; xvi, 1; xvii, 1; xix, 1; xxiv, 1; xxv, 1.

*Habere*: (1) to have, hold, possess as parent (or proprietor), i, 1, etc.—(2) to hold, have, contain, i, 1, etc. The word occurs in nearly every paragraph of the Polyptychum in either one sense or the other. But its use, instead of the more usual *tenere*, in ii, 74, 78; vii, 37; ix, 299 (later addit.); xiv, 3, 86–88, 91; xvi, 87; xvii, 47, etc., would suggest the idea of *possessing as proprietor, to possess anything as an allod*, but Guérard thinks that this is not the case, as we find “*habere in beneficio*” (xiv, 92), “*habere in precaria*” (xiv, 93), just as well as “*tenere in beneficio*” (v, 92).

*herbaticum*, *erbatium*, the right or privilege of cutting grass on meadows or on commons; or the right of grazing, or a payment for the same, v, 3, 28, 49, 52, 53, 78; xiv, 3; xv, 3; xxv, 20.

*hereditas*, inheritance, xxii, 95; xxv, 8.—*h. propria*, ix, 247, 305 (later addit.).

*heres*, an heir, xxii, 96.

*hibernaticum*, *ibernaticum*, *hibernatica*, winter-corn (Fr. *hivernage*), for the purpose of which land was sown in the early autumn; usually in the phrase: *arare ad hibernaticum*, i, 11; ii, 2; iii, 2, 37; iv, 2; v, 3, 28, 49, 52, 53, 78; vi, 33; vii, 4, 20, 22, 26, 37–39, 42, 46–49, etc.; viii, 3, 6, 24, 28, 35, 36; ix, 9, 234, 236, 288, 304 (later addit.); xi, 1, 2; xiii, 1; xiv, 3, 22, 35;

xv, 3, 69; xvi, 2, 3, 22, 36, 37, 52; xix, 7; xx, 3, 30, 32; xxi, 2, 4, 29, 31, 53, 55–57, 59–61, 75, 76, 78, 79, 81; xxii, 4, 70, 75, 76 (bis), 88, 89, 92, 94; xxiii, 1–4, 24; xxiv, 2, 31, 39, 56, 67, 71, 97, 101, 105, 113, 137, 138, 145–147, 153, 167, 175, 177; xxv, 2, 3, 23, 28, 29, 31, 34 (*hibernaticam*); Fr. i, 4; ii, 15.

*homo* [omo, xxiv, 165, 166]: (1) a man, a person, individual: *homo liber*, see *liber*.—*homo votivus*, a person who had vowed himself to the service of the Abbey, iv, 34; see also *votivus*. The Polyptychum contains other paragraphs where the same class of persons are referred to without using the word *votivus*, as: xxiv, 112, *due mulieres se dederunt in servitio s. Germani*; *ibid.*, 182, 183, *homines qui se tradiderunt ad luminarium s. Germani*.—*homo liber et ingenuus*, a free and freeborn man, iii, 61 (later addit.).—*homo extraneus + uxor*, xx, 25; *homo extraneus + colona s. Germani*, xx, 7; see further *extraneus*.—(2) a man, tenant, vassal: *homo sancti Petri*, vii, 10.—*homo presbyteri*, xv, 2. In ix, 279, we find a *homo* giving orders to other tenants of the estate (*servus + lida facit curvadas et rigas quantascunque sibi jusserit homo*). In the Polyptychum a common expression respecting the tenants of the Abbey is *homo sancti Germani*: (a) without any name, title, or further definition of his social position, xii, 7.—(b) with the name of the tenant, but no further qualification, vii, 79; xii, 45; xv, 97 (later addit.); xvi, 72, 78; xxi, 87; xxiv, 28.—(c) with a name + *advena*, xxiv, 61.—(d) with a name + *advena*, *cupus infantes non sunt s. Germani*, xxi, 82.—(e) with a name + *extranea*, *cupus infantes non sunt s. Germani*, xxi, 86.—The term is further applied to (f) the *colonus*; *col. + colona*; *col. et major + colona*; *col. + uxor*; *col. + lida*; *col. and his “infantes”* (xiii, 77; xxiv, 128); the *socius* of a *colonus*, xxiv, 16, 60; see the article *colonus*.—(g) a *colona* and her three infantes, xxiv, 100.—(h) a *colona*, her two daughters and a son, xxiv, 140.—(i) a *liber* (q.v.) + *colona*.—(j) a *lidus* (q.v.) + *colona*; *lidus + lida*.—

(*k*) a *servus* (q.v.) + *colona*; *servus* + *lida*; *servus* + *libera*, etc., etc.—(*l*) a tenant and his “infantes,” *xxi*, 83.—(*m*) an undefined tenant + *colona*, *iii*, 42; *xiii*, 63; an undefined tenant + *uxor*, *xxiv*, 51.—(*n*) a presbyter (q.v.).—(*o*) a *hospes* (q.v.).

*hospes*, *ospes*, *the occupant, inmate, hirer, of a hospitium, or hostel*. He is sometimes mentioned without any indication of his social condition or connection with a *hospitium*, *xiv*, 86, 88; *xxi*, 74; *xxii*, 1. In most cases the *hospes* was connected with an *ecclesia*, and held land of it, *ii*, 1 (bis); *ix*, 4, 6, 158, 270; *xvi*, 2; *xix*, 2; *xxi*, 2; *xxv*, 2; with a “mansus indomineatus,” *ix*, 158. He is called *homo sancti Germani*, *xiv*, 87; and from *xxiv*, 47–55, 67–70, 105–110, 160–169, it appears that the *colonus* and other classes of tenants could be *hospes*, on which see further *hospitium*.—*hospes de decania*, *ix*, 141.

*hospitalitas* (s. *Germani*), *hospitality*, *Fr. i*, 1.

\* *hospitatus*, *temporary residence, hospitality*, *xii*, 51.

*hospitium*, *hospitium, hospitius, ospitium, a habitation, inn, hostel*, in most cases with land attached to it, like the various kinds of *mansi*, *vi*, 57; *xvi*, 2; *xxii*, 88 *tit.* The heading of *i*, 19 is “*De hospitiiis*,” which evidently refers to the paragraphs following (19–37). But only in the paragraphs 21, 35, 37 is a *hospitium* mentioned; the others refer to arable land. The heading of *xx*, 30 is “*Isti sunt Mansi serviles*,” but the paragraphs following all relate, with one exception (§ 43), to *hospitia*. From these and other paragraphs it appears that the *hospitium* was held by: a *colonus*, *i*, 21; *xx*, 37; *xxii*, 76 (ter), 89, 90.—*col. s. Germani*, *vi*, 47, 49, 53; *xvi*, 81; *xxiv*, 69, 167.—two ditto, *vi*, 48.—a *col. homo s. G.*, *xxiv*, 163, 178.—ditto (cujus uxor et infantes non sunt s. *Germani*), *xxiv*, 109, 110.—*col. + colona*, *xxiv*, 55, 67, 68, 70, 162, 165, 166.—*col. + colona*, *hh. s. G.*, *vi*, 46, 51; *xxi*, 75–77; *xxiv*, 47, 48, 54, 105, 106, 108.—*col. et mater ejus colona*, *hh. s. G.*, *xxiv*, 169.—*col. + ancilla*, *xxiv*, 107.—*col. + ancilla*, *hh. s. G.*, *xxiv*, 161.—*col. + lida*, *hh. s. G.*, *xxi*, 74.—

*col. + extranea*, *xxiv*, 164.—*col. + extranea, quorum infantes non sunt s. Germani*, *xxii*, 91.—*colona s. G.*, *vi*, 50; *xxiv*, 168, 177.—*colona et infantes ejus*, *hh. s. G.*, *xxiv*, 111.—*sacerdos s. G.*, *vi*, 52.—*lidus*, *i*, 37.—*lidus + extranea*, *ix*, 292.—*servus*, *ix*, 156; *xx*, 30, 32, 36, 42; *xxiv*, 181.—*servus, homo s. G.*, *xxiv*, 53.—*servus + colona*, *xx*, 33, 34; *xxi*, 80.—*servus + ancilla*, *xxiii*, 25.—*extraneus* (cujus uxor et infantes non sunt s. *Germani*), *ix*, 157.—*extraneus + colona*, *hh. s. G.*, *xxiv*, 160.—*extraneus + extranea*, *xxiv*, 50.—*advena + colona s. G.*, *xxiv*, 49.—*advena + colona*, *hh. s. G.*, *xxiv*, 52.—*ancilla*, *xx*, 38, 40, 41.—undefined tenant + *uxor*, *hh. s. G.*, *xxiv*, 51.—undefined tenant, *i*, 35; *vi*, 54; *ix*, 299 (later addit.).—two ditto, *ix*, 286.—two women without any title, *ix*, 286.

*Hospitium absum*, *ix*, 304 (later addit.).—*h. dimidium*, *ix*, 299 (later addit.); *xvi*, 89 (held by a *liber*).—*h. dominicum*, *xvi*, 80 (held by a *col. s. G.*); *xvii*, 47 (by an undefined tenant).—*h. servile*, *xx*, 30, 33, 34.—*Hospitia* pertained, or were given, to a *church*, *ix*, 304 (later addit.); *xvi*, 2; to a *mansus indomineatus*, *vii*, 83 (later addit.).

*hostilariicum* = *hostilitium* (q.v.).

*hostilitium*, *hostilicium*, *hostilaricium*, *a payment which tenants had to make towards the expenses of the war, a war-tax*, paid in money or in kind, *iv*, 35; *v*, 93; *vi*, 57; *vii*, 84; *viii*, 42; *ix*, 299 (later addit.); *xiii*, *B*, 99 (bis); *xv*, 47; *xxi*, 93; *xxii*, 70, 97. See also *hostis*.

*hostis*, *ostis, the army, war*, towards the expenses of which tenants had to make various contributions in money, or in kind, or implements, or tools; this was called *solvere ad hostem* in the *Polyptychum*, *i*, 42; *ii*, 121; *iii*, 2, 37, 62; *iv*, 2; *v*, 3, 28, 49, 52, 53, 78; *vii*, 4, 20, 22, 26, 37–39, 42, 46, 47; *viii*, 3; *ix*, 4, 6, 9, 153, 155, 158, 236, 243, 266, 271, 279, 280, 288; *xi*, 2, 10; *xiii*, 1, 14, 15, 39, 64, 76 (bis), 77, 88, 89, 97, 99; *xiv*, 3, 35, 94; *xv*, 3, 95; *xvi*, 3, 22, 37, 52, 93; *xvii*, 49; *xviii*, 1, 3; *xix*, 8, 50; *xx*, 3, 8, 9, 11–29, 48; *xxi*, 4, 41; *xxii*, 4, 70, 97; *xxiii*, 26; *xxiv*, 2, 71, 86, 103, 113; *xxv*, 3, 21, 34; *Fr. i*, 1, 4; *ii*, 10, 15.

- It was the same as *hostilitium* (q.v.).  
See also *bos*.
- \* *hostitium*, a house, *hostel*, xxiv, 159.
- humlo*, *humelo*, *humolo*, *umlo*, *fumlo*,  
*hop*, *hops* (Fr. *houblon*, from the  
Low Lat. *humulo*, *humulus* = Flem.  
*hommel*, a dimin. of *hop-e-lon*, *hub-i-llon*,  
old Scand. *humall*), xvi, 66,  
93; xx, 30, 32, 35, 42, 44, 48; see  
also *fumlo*.
- Ibernaticum* = *hibernaticum* (q.v.).
- imperator*, an emperor, Fr. i, 2.
- inde*, adv., thence, from or for this, on  
account of this (tenement), i, 1, 2,  
10, etc.; ii, 1.
- indius*, *ingius*, an iron prop or post in  
a fireplace, an *andiron* (Fr. *landier*),  
xiii, 99, 102.
- indominicatus* = *dominicatus* (q.v.), of  
or belonging to a domain or that  
which is occupied by a dominus or  
lord: *Cultura indominicata*, Fr. i, 2.  
—*Ecclesia indominicata*, vii, 83 (later  
addit.).—*Mansus indominicatus*, vii,  
83 (later addit.); ix, 1, 158, 269, 278,  
287, 304 (*mans. indom. absus*, later  
addit.); xi, A; xii, 2, 6 (tenanted  
by a *servus s. Germani*), 8, 15;  
xix, 1; xx, 2; xxi, 1; Fr. i, 1, 14.  
—*Terra indominicata*, ix, 4.
- infans*, a child, i, 1, 3, 5, etc., in nearly  
every paragraph. The "infantes"  
of a *colonus* are called "homines s.  
Germani," xiii, 77; also of a  
"socia colona," xxiv, 11.
- \* *infra* = *intra*, within; see *infra-  
miticum*.
- inframiticum* [from the Lat. *infra* =  
*intra*, within, and the Frank. *mitig*,  
Latinized *miticum*, servitude; hence  
collectively] that portion of a house-  
hold which was set apart for service  
within the limits of the domain, ix,  
300, 301. See also *forasmiticum*.
- inframiticus* [same derivation as *infra-  
miticum*, q.v.], a servant or tenant  
doing his work or service within the  
limits of his lord's domain, ix, 302.
- ingenuilis*, of or belonging to an *in-  
genuus* (q.v.), hence *Mansus ingenuilis*  
must, originally, have meant a *mansus*  
held by an *ingenuus*, and it was  
mostly held by one or more tenants  
of the *colonus* class, who were  
probably understood to be *ingenui*  
(q.v.). But as we find several  
instances of a *mansus ingenuilis*  
being held by a *servus* (q.v.) or a  
*lidus* (q.v.), or any other class of

tenants, the adj. *ingenuilis* refers,  
it seems, no longer here to the  
social condition of the tenant, but  
to the nature and extent of the rents  
and taxes to which the tenant was  
liable. The Polyptychum records  
such a *mansus* (the capacity of which  
differed greatly) as being held by:

(1) a *colonus*, vi, 14; vii, 51; ix,  
128, 129; xx, 4, 5; xxii, 42, 44,  
59, 94; xxiii, 12, 14, 20; xxv, 32.  
—two do., xxv, 35.—three do.,  
xxv, 30.—a col. + colona, iv, 2, 11,  
16, 18, 19; vii, 21, 46, 58; ix, 83,  
159, 272; xiv, 13; xvi, 9, 18;  
xvii, 17; xx, 3; xxii, 4, 5, 12, 15,  
17, 21, 22, 24, 27, 34-38, 40, 43,  
44, 46, 50, 51, 54, 55, 57, 58,  
60-64, 66, 69, 70, 75; xxiii, 7,  
9-11, 13, 15, 16, 18, 21, 24;  
xxiv, 122; xxv, 24, 27.—one, two,  
or three col<sup>i</sup> + colona, iv, 22; ix,  
12, 14, 15, 20, 27, 63, 168; xxii,  
13, 14, 18, 19, 47, 52, 65, 67, 71;  
xxv, 31.—two col<sup>i</sup> and two colona,  
xxiii, 17.—a col. and his *socius*  
*servus* + colona, xx, 19.—three col<sup>i</sup>,  
and an *advena* + colona, hh. s. G.,  
xxv, 14.—a col. + colona, and  
*socius servus* + colona, hh. s. G.,  
xxiv, 127.—a col. + colona, and his  
*socius servus* h. s. G., xxiv, 139.—  
three colona and a col. + colona, ix,  
18.—a col. + libera, ii, 76; viii, 3, 5;  
ix, 144.—a col. + libera, and a col.  
+ colona, xxii, 31.—a col. + libera,  
and a col. + colona, hh. s. G.,  
xvi, 21.—a col. + uxor, ix, 186;  
xxii, 26, 30; xxiii, 22.—a col. +  
uxor, et *ejus germanus* + uxor, xxii,  
56.—a col. + colona s. G., xv,  
73.—a col. + ancilla, xxii, 32;  
xxv, 6.—a col. + lida, xxii, 48;  
xxiii, 8, 19.—a col. + lida, a *socius*  
col. + colona, and another *socius*,  
xx, 8.—a col. + extranea, and a  
col. + colona, xxii, 33.—a col. +  
extranea, and an extraneus + ex-  
tranea, xxii, 25.—two col<sup>i</sup> and three  
lidi, ix, 42.—a col. + colona, and  
a *servus* s. Germani, iii, 59.—a col.  
+ colona, an undef. tenant, and an  
ancilla, xxii, 22.—a col. + colona,  
and an undef. tenant + colona,  
xxii, 23.—a col. + colona, a col.,  
and an undef. tenant, v, 13.—a col.  
cujus infantes non sunt s. Germani,  
xxii, 53.—a col. + calumniata and  
a liber + uxor, xix, 37.—a col. +  
*advena*, and a *lidus* + colona, hh.



s. G., xxv, 18.—For other groups of tenants of the *colonus* class, see vii, 16; xx, 15, 28; xxii, 41, 49.

(2) a *colonus* s. Germani, i, 1, 4, 9; ii, 25, 59, 63, 71, 84, 85, 90, 93, 103, 107; iii, 11, 38–40, 59; iv, 4, 14, 20; vi, 4, 8, 27, 41; viii, 7–9, 12, 17, 21, 24, 25; xiv, 16, 23, 27, 29, 50; xv, 7, 17, 23, 75; xvi, 5, 25, 40, 45–47, 51, 63; xvii, 13, 19, 21, 31, 37; xxi, 56; xxiv, 65; Fr. i, 9.—two do., ii, 23, 52, 92, 104; iii, 6, 32, 57; v, 9; vii, 44; xiv, 38, 67; xviii, 10.—three do., ii, 68; vii, 41.—a col. s. G. and a liber, xv, 5.—and a libera, vi, 8.—and a col. + colona, xvi, 31.—and a col. + colona, hh. s. G., i, 3; ii, 4, 19, 27, 28, 33, 39, 46, 53, 56, 57, 66, 67, 80, 95; iii, 2, 16, 20, 23, 28, 30; v, 10; vi, 5, 10, 34, 35; vii, 13, 22, 35, 43; xiii, 22, 23; xiv, 9, 15, 42, 45, 52, 59, 65; xv, 11, 12; xvi, 16, 17, 20, 22, 24, 34, 65; xvii, 28; xviii, 11, 12; xix, 18, 42.—and two col<sup>i</sup> + colona, hh. s. G., ii, 35, 44.—+ libera, xvi, 29; xvii, 5; xxiv, 174.—+ libera, and a tenant and his wife both said to be “sancti Germani,” xviii, 7.—+ libera and a col. s. G., xviii, 8.—+ libera and a col. + colona, hh. s. G., xiii, 29.—+ libera, a col. + colona, hh. s. G., and a col. + colona, xiii, 2.—+ libera, his socius a col. s. G. + libera, and a col., xiii, 1.—+ extranea, a col. + colona, hh. s. G., and an extraneus + colona s. Germani, xiii, 10.—+ extranea, and a col. + colona, hh. s. G., xxiv, 10.—and a col. + ancilla, hh. s. G., iii, 50, 55.—and a col. + colona, hh. s. G., and a servus + colona, hh. s. G., xiii, 37.—and an undef. tenant + colona, xvi, 10.—and an undef. tenant + colona, hh. s. G., ii, 82; xvi, 37.—+ ancilla, xviii, 5.—a major et col. s. G., xvii, 3.—a colona s. G., ii, 81, 94; iv, 7; v, 6; xvi, 41; xxi, 15; Fr. i, 7, 8.—two do., ii, 100.—a colona s. G., and a pictor, xv, 9.—a colona s. G., her son, and an ancilla s. G., v, 11.—a colona s. G. and a lidus, h. s. G., xxi, 18.—For other groups of the *colonus* s. Germani and other tenants of the *colonus* class see ii, 15, 18, 24, 36, 42, 50, 65, 82, 91, 101, 109, 111, 112; iii, 29; vii,

37, 53; xiv, 31, 37, 40, 51, 55; xvi, 6, 10, 37.

(3) a *colonus*, homo s. Germani, xxi, 10, 13, 22, 32; xxiv, 22, 72, 142; xxv, 7, 26.—two do., ix, 10; xiii, 16; xxiv, 4; Fr. i, 5.—a col., h. s. G., and his socius servus + colona, hh. s. G., xxiv, 170; xxiv, 180.—a col., h. s. G., and 3 col<sup>i</sup> + colona, hh. s. Germani, xix, 43.—a col. + colona, hh. s. G., i, 2, 38; ii, 3, 8–14, 16, 17, 21, 22, 26, 30, 32, 47, 48, 55, 60, 61, 69, 72–75, etc.; iii, 5, 8, 9, 12, 14, 19, 22, etc.; iv, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 13, 15, 17; v, 8, 87; vi, 3, 7, 11, 16, 17, 20, etc.; vii, 4, 5, 9, 11, 12, 38, 48–50, 76; viii, 6, 13–16, 19, 26, 27; xiv, 3, 8, 14, 19, 20, 24–26, 28, 30, 36, 39, 47, 66, 69; xv, 3, 4, 8, 10, etc.; xvi, 3, 4, 7, etc.; xvii, 4, 6, 8–10, etc.; xviii, 3, 4; xix, 7–9, etc.; xxi, 6, 7, etc.; xxiv, 2, 5–7, 9, 12–14, etc.; xxv, 8, 10, 11, 13, 34.—two do., i, 5; ii, 5, 7, 20, 37, 49, 51, 64, 105; iii, 3, 4, 33; vi, 6, 9, 12, 13, 15, 21, etc.; vii, 45; viii, 11; xiii, 3, 27, 30; xiv, 4, 5, 11, 12, 17, 21, 22, 32–35, 41, 43, etc.; xv, 6; xvi, 14, 15, 55–57, 60–62; xvii, 7, 12, 30; xviii, 13; xix, 10, 24, 26, 35; xxi, 5, 9, etc.; xxiv, 63; Fr. i, 6.—three do., ii, 29, 31, 34, 62; vii, 40; ix, 9; xiv, 53, 54, 62, 71; xix, 15–17, 19, 23, 31, 46.—four do., ii, 6; xiii, 5; xix, 25, 33, 40.—one do., and an extraneus + colona s. G. and a col., xiii, 12.—one do., and an extraneus + colona s. G., xiii, 19.—two do., and an extraneus + colona s. G., xiii, 9.—and a col. + libera, xix, 20.—one do. and an undef. tenant + colona s. G., vi, 29.—and a servus s. G., vii, 20; xv, 18, 69.—and a servus + ancilla, hh. s. G., xvi, 74.—and a col. + colona, and a col. + ancilla, xxv, 16.—and a col. + colona, a servus + colona, and a col. s. G., iv, 21.—and a socius + ancilla, xxiv, 126.—and an advena + colona, hh. s. G., xxv, 15.—a col. + libera, hh. s. G., xxiv, 129.—a col. + libera, h. s. G., and a col. + ancilla, h. s. G., xviii, 6.—a col. + lida, hh. s. G., xxi, 39.—do. and a col. s. G., iii, 35.—and a col. + colona, hh. s. Germani, iii, 21; viii, 18; xiii, 11.—and a col. and a liber + colona,



hh. s. G., xiii, 6.—a col., h. s. G. + advena and socius col., h. s. G., xxiv, 58.—do. and a socius col. + colona, hh. s. G., xxiv, 175.—a col. + ancilla, hh. s. G., xxi, 53.—do. and a socius, xxiv, 179.—do. and a servus + colona, hh. s. G., and an ancilla s. G., ii, 38.—do. and a col. + colona, hh. s. G., xvi, 75.—a col., h. s. G. + calumniata, and a colona s. G., xix, 44.

(4) a col. et major + colona, hh. s. G., xiii, 31; xxiv, 2.—a major, col. + uxor, hh. s. G., and a col. + colona, hh. s. G., Fr. i, 4.

(5) a col. et decanus, h. s. G., xix, 5.—a decanus et col. + colona, hh. s. G., xxi, 4; xxiv, 71.—a col. et decanus + colona, hh. s. G., and a colonus + colona, hh. s. G., xiii, 18.—a col. et decanus + uxor, hh. s. G., and socius s. G., xxiv, 113.

(6) a cellarius et col. + colona, hh. s. G., xix, 4.—For other groups of the *colonus homo s. Germani* with other tenants of the *colonus* class, see iv, 23, 24; v, 7; vi, 26; vii, 8, 24; xiii, 4, 32; xiv, 6, 9, 10, 18; xvii, 11; xix, 21, 22; xxi, 24; xxiv, 62, 66.

(7) a homo liber + colona, xiv, 7.—a liber, xvi, 41 (bis).

(8) a major, viii, 23.—a major + colona, hh. s. G., iii, 7. See also above Nos. 2 and 4.

(9) a homo s. Germani and an undef. female tenant, xvi, 78.—a homo s. G. + advena, and socius col. s. G., xxiv, 61.

(10) a calumniatus + colona, hh. s. G., a calumniatus + colona s. G. and a col. + colona, xix, 48.

(11) a lidus, and a col. s. G. + colona, xviii, 9.—a lidus and a lidus + colona, hh. s. G., xxi, 41.—a lidus, h. s. G., xxiv, 8.—a lidus + colona, hh. s. G., viii, 4; xxv, 19.—do. and a lida s. G., xiii, 24.—do. and a lidus + lida, hh. s. G., and a lidus + lida, xiii, 25.—a lidus s. G., and a col. + colona, hh. s. G., iii, 45.—a lidus + lida, hh. s. G., vi, 36.—do., and a col., and an extraneus + colona, hh. s. G., xiii, 26.—a lidus + extranea, a col., and a col. + colona, xiii, 7.

(12) a servus, Fr. ii, 7.—a servus s. G., iii, 48.—do. and a col. s. G., xv, 71.—do. + colona, hh. s. G., and

a servus + ancilla, hh. s. G., xv, 76.—a servus and a servus + colona, vii, 7.—a servus and a servus + colona, hh. s. G., xxiv, 82.—a servus + colona, xxii, 20, 28, 29, 39, 68, 77, 79; xxv, 33.—a servus + colona, hh. s. G., iii, 47; iv, 9; v, 62; vii, 14, 15, 42; xvi, 66, 68; xxi, 27; xxiv, 81, 144.—two do., iii, 54.—a servus + ancilla, hh. s. G., xv, 82; xvi, 76; xvii, 35.—do. and an undef. tenant + ancilla s. G., vii, 18.—a servus + ancilla, de cella fratrum, hh. s. G., xxiv, 119.—a servus + ancilla, xv, 70; xxiv, 59; Fr. ii, 6.—a servus domni abbatis + libera, xxi, 43.—For other groups of the servus and tenants of the colonus class, see xxi, 28.

(13) an advena + colona s. G., xxi, 54.—an advena + colona, and a socia colona, xxiv, 11.—an advena + colona, and a socius colonus + uxor, hh. s. G., xxiv, 176.

(14) an extraneus, a col. + colona, and a col., ix, 22.—an extr. + colona, xxiv, 78.—do. and 2 col. + colonae, ix, 13.—an extr. + colona s. G., and his socius, xx, 14.—an extr. + colona s. G. and 6 sociae, xx, 6.—two extranei + colonae s. G., xiii, 17.—a homo extraneus + colona s. G., xx, 7.—an extr. + colona, hh. s. G., and his socius, servus + uxor, hh. s. G., xxiv, 85.

(15) an undefined tenant, iii, 17; v, 12, 88, 89; vii, 52, 69.—two do., xxv, 29.—one do. + colona, vii, 23; viii, 20.—two do., ix, 19.—one do. + colona s. G.; vi, 18, 19, 32; viii, 22; xv, 74; xvi, 13.—do. + colona, hh. s. G., ii, 70; iii, 42; xvii, 33.—one do. + lida, hh. s. G., iii, 53.—one do. + colona, and a servus + libera, xxii, 78.—a tenant called "homo sancti Petri," vii, 10.

(16) Two *mansus ingenui* were held by: a col., v, 75.—a col. + colona, hh. s. G., ii, 40.—a major et col. + colona, ix, 8.—a col. et major + colona, hh. s. G., ii, 2; xix, 3.—a col. + libera, xvii, 14.—do. and a col. + colona, xxii, 93.—a major, col. s. G. + uxor, quorum infantes non sunt s. G., xxi, 3.—a tenant called a *saxo*, xxiv, 172.

(17) A *mansus ing.* belonged to a church, ii, 1; viii, 2; two, iii, 1.

(18) They were held "in beneficio" (q.v.) and in *precaria* (q.v.).

(19) A *mansus et dimidius ingenuilis* was held by a *colonus*, h. s. G., xxv, 4.

(20) A *mansus ingenuilis et dimidius* were held by a *lidus+colona*, hh. s. G., viii, 4; by a *col.+libera*, viii, 5.

(21) A *dimidius mansus ingenuilis* (*medius mansus ing.*, viii, 42); probably meant, not a *mansus* divided into halves, but one that was subject to half the taxes, rent, and other obligations of other *mansi*. It was held by: a *colonus*, v, 90; xiii, 38; xx, 11, 27.—a *col.+colona*, vii, 46; xxiii, 23; xxiv, 152.—do. and a *socius col.*, xx, 26.—a *col.* and a *servus*, xx, 29.—a *col.*, and a *socius col.+colona*, hh. s. G., xxiv, 46.—a *col.* and a *col.+ancilla domini abbatis*, hh. s. G., xxiv, 92.—a *colona* s. G. and her son, *col.*, hh. s. G., xxv, 39.—a *col.* and *frater*, and *mater eorum colona*, hh. s. G., xxv, 42.—a *col. s. G.*, i, 11, 12.—a *col.*, h. s. G., xxiv, 148, 149, 151, 153.—two do., xiii, 16.—a *col.+colona*, hh. s. G., i, 18; v, 52; vii, 38, 54; xiii, 35; xiv, 48; xix, 11, 13, 14, 37; xxiv, 35, 41, 43-45, 90, 91, 97, 104, 145, 146, 150, 155; xxv, 8, 9, 12.—two do., xiv, 44; xv, 56.—one do. and his *socius col.+colona*, xxiv, 31.—do. and his *socius col.+colona*, hh. s. G., xxiv, 89.—do. and his *socius+ancilla*, xxiv, 147.—do., and 7 *col.*, 2 *col.+colona*, an *advena* and a *colona*, xxv, 22.—a *col.+libera*, hh. s. G., xix, 12.—a *col.+ancilla*, hh. s. G., xxiv, 37.—a *col.+uxor*, hh. s. G., xxv, 5.—a *col.*, *mulinarius*, h. s. G., xix, 6.—a *col. s. G.+colona*, hh. s. G., xxv, 38.—do. + *calumniata*, xxiv, 42.—a *vinitor* (*servus*), ix, 231-233.—a *servus*, ix, 233, 243; Fr. ii, 9.—a *servus+colona*, ix, 231; Fr. ii, 8.—two do., xiii, 36.—a *servus+lida*, ix, 242.—do. and a *socius servus+colona*, xx, 13.—an *advena+colona* s. G., and a *col.+colona*, hh. s. G., xxv, 20.—a *homo extraneus+uxor*, and a *socius*, xx, 26.—an *undef. tenant*, v, 91; xiii, 38; xxiv, 96.—do. + *colona*, viii, 10; ix, 232.

*Servitium ingenuile, service due from an ingenuus*, ix, 139.—*Census ingenuilis*, see *Census*.  
*ingenuus, free-born*. In the Polypty-

*chum* the *coloni* were probably understood to be *ingenui*, but the term occurs only twice in the original compilation, xiii, 1 (referring to the tenants of a "mansus ingenuilis"), 99 (where it clearly refers to the *colonus*). In the *later additions* it occurs iii, 61' (*ingenua femina; homines liberi et ingenui*); ix, 305; x, 1 (*coloni ingenui*); xii, 48 (*ingenua, and ingenui parentes*). *Ingenui parentes*, ix, 305; xii, 48. See further *ingenuilis*.

*inguis=indius* (q.v.).

*injungere, to impose, enjoin*, i, 13, 16, 27; iv, 2, 26; v, 3, 28, 53, 78; vi, 3, 33, 36, 54; vii, 4, 37, 38, 39; viii, 3, 24, 28; ix, 9, 212; xii, 15; xiv, 3, 35, 72; xv, 3, 69; xvi, 52, 66; xvii, 3, 18; xviii, 3; xix, 8; xx, 30, 38; xxi, 4.

*insaginare, to feed, fatten*, ix, 287; xi, A; xiii, A.

*insula, an island*, xxv, 1.

*integer, entire*; see *mansus integer*.

\* *integritas, the whole, completeness*, ix, 305; xii, 48.

*inter* [=the French *entre*=Lat. *tam-quam*], *as well—as*, i, 42; ii, 121; iii, 62; ix, 1. See also vii, 84 (*inter totum*); ix, 158; xii, 2 (*inter totos*).

*Jermgia, see germgia*.

*journalis, a measure of land* (Fr. *journal*), probably as much as could be worked by a plough in one day, ii, 1; iv, 8; vii, 60; ix, 245-248, 254, 259, 303 (later *addit.*); xiii, 16, 43, 74, 91, 95; xvi, 2, 81; xx, 17, 32, 34, 36, 41; xxi, 5, 10, 40, 77, 80; xxii, 76 (*ter*), 89, 96; xxiii, 1, 2, 4, 25; xxiv, 2, 6, 28, 34, 42, 60, 70, 73-75, 137, 161-166. *Journalis dimidius*, xii, 19; xxiv, 64. It seems to have contained about 120 perches or, as Guérard explains, 34 ares 13 centiares; it was a division of the *bunuarium* (q.v.), and also measured woods, xiii, 16, 43, 74, 91, 95.

*jubere, to order, bid, tell, command*, i, 14; ii, 2; iii, 37; vii, 37; viii, 3; xv, 78; xvi, 3; xix, 8.

*judicialis, of or belonging to a judge* (*judex*) or to a court of justice: *curvada judicialis, work or service performed for a judge, or for a court of justice*, xxii, 4.

*junicula=genicula* (q.v.), *a young cow, heifer*, xvii, 3.

jurare, to take an oath (to become a juror), ii, 120; vi, 56; xiii, 111; xiv, 89; Fr. ii, 12. Juratus, a sworn man, one of a jury, a jurymen, ix, 294, 295; xxiii, 28.

Kavaticum, see *capaticum*.

Laborare, to work, xii, 10.

lana, wool: Lana dominica, see *dominicus*.

lancea, a lance, xiii, 103.

lanificium [properly, a making up or manufacturing of wool, wool-spinning, wool-weaving, but in the Polyptychum = lana], wool, xi, 13.

latitudo, latitude, xi, A.

lear, learis, perhaps a sheep, or a ram, ix, 158; xxii, 4 (de 4 denariis), 97 (id.); xxiii, 26 (id.).

\*lectisternium, a couch, xii, 50.

legua, leoa, leva, see *leuua*.

leuua, leuva (=lewa), leoa, legua, leua, leva [a Celtic word; in class. Lat. *leuca*, *leuga*, Fr. *lieue*], a measure of length, a league, ii, 1; iii, 1; iv, 1; v, 1, 2; vi, 1; vii, 3; viii, 1; ix, 278, 287; xi, A; xiii, A; xv, 1; xvi, 1; xvii, 1; xix, 1. It was a Gallic mile of 1,500 Roman paces. The Engl. league (= 3 geogr. miles) is chiefly used on sea. The D. and Germ. league contains 4 geogr. miles.

\*levita, a Levite, priest, x, 1, 2.

liber, a child, xxv, 21. In the Polyptychum *infans* (q.v.) is the usual term.

liber, libera, liberum, free, independent: liber (subst.), a free, independent man, ix, 267; xv, 5; xvi, 41 (bis), 89; liber + uxor, xix, 37; liber + colona, ix, 147; liber + colona, hh. s. G., xiii, 6; xvi, 88; liber + colona s. G., xix, 34, 36; liber homo, xiv, 7 (+colona); iii, 61 (later addit.); see also *homo*.—libera, a free woman, holding (with a col. s. G.) a "mansus ingenuilis," vi, 8.—(cujus infantes non sunt s. Germani), holding a "mansus," xii, 25.—(cujus infantes sunt s. Germani), holding (with others) a "mansus ingenuilis," xix, 23.—*Libera femina*, ix, 247.—We find further the libera as the wife of (a) a servus (q.v.); (b) a colonus (q.v.); (c) a colonus s. Germani (q.v.); (d) a col. h. s. G. (q.v.); (e) a homo ex familia s.

G., xix, 51 (later addit.).—Libera potestas, an independent lordship, seignior, xii, 22.

libra, (1) a weight, a pound (Fr. *la livre*): de cera, xiii, 99; de ferro, xiii, 64, 66; see further *ferrum*. The pound of the Frankish period till the time of Charlemagne was equal to the Roman pound of 326 grammes; the pound established by him before A.D. 779 weighed 408 grammes. A kilogramme (= 1000 grammes) is about 2 pounds English.—(2) a pound (of silver), making with the *solidus* (q.v.) and *denarius* (q.v.) the monetary system in the Polyptychum, xiii, 99.—de argento *librae*, i, 42; iv, 35; xiii, 99; xiv, 94; xv, 95; xvi, 93; xxi, 93.

lida, in general, a woman belonging to the class of the lidus (q.v.). The Polyptychum records her as: lida (merely), xxi, 92.—ditto, but holding (with two servi) a "dimidius mansus servilis," xxii, 85.—ditto, but holding (with another lida and a lidus and a col. + colona) a mansus, ix, 73.—wife of a colonus (and called with him hh. s. G.) and paying 8 denari, iii, 44.—paying 4 den. de *litmonio*, xi, 14.—having to make *camsili* (q.v.) or to pay *denarii* (q.v.), xxiii, 27.—making "camsili (q.v.) de octo alnis" or paying 4 denari, xiii, 110.—lida de decania, ix, 296, 297.—lida mater, ix, 25.—lida s. Germani, and holding (with a lidus + colona, hh. s. Germani) a "mansus ingenuilis," xiii, 24.—do., and holding (with a homo s. G.) a "mansus servilis," xvi, 72.—wife of a lidus (q.v.).—of a servus (q.v.).—of a colonus (q.v.).—of a colonus homo s. G. (q.v.).—of an undef. tenant, xiv, 73; xxii, 86.—do., and called, with him, hh. s. G., ii, 53.

lidilis, of or belonging to a lidus (q.v.): Mansus *lidilis*, xiii, 41–63, 99, the same as mansus *lidus* (q.v.), a manse mostly held by a lidus (q.v.); but, occasionally, also by other classes of tenants, so that a mansus *lidilis* was not necessarily a manse occupied by a lidus, but subject to rents and taxes as if held by a lidus; see *ingenuilis* and *servilis* mansus. The *lidilis mansus* was held by: a col. + colona, hh. s. G., xiii, 53.—two do., xiii, 43, 52, 59, 60.—two do., and a



lidus + advena, hh. s. G., xiii, 62.—two do., a col., and a col. and his two brothers, hh. s. G., xiii, 48.—one do., a servus + colona, a servus + colona, hh. s. G., and a lidus + colona, hh. s. G., xiii, 50.—one do., a col. + lida, a lidus + colona, hh. s. G., a col. + lida, hh. s. G., a lidus + colona, and a lidus and his son, xiii, 47.—one do., a col. + ancilla, and a col. + colona, hh. s. G., xiii, 51.—a col. + lida, hh. s. G., and a col. + colona, and an extraneus + colona s. G., xiii, 42.—do. and a col. + ancilla, hh. s. G., and a lidus, xiii, 57.—do., and a lidus + ancilla, hh. s. G., xiii, 54.—do., and a servus + colona, hh. s. G., a col. + extranea, and a servus + colona, hh. s. G., xiii, 45.—a colona s. G., her son a servus, her sister an ancilla, and a lidus + colona, xiii, 44.—a lidus, a lidus + lida, hh. s. G., a lidus + colona, and a lidus + colona, hh. s. G., xiii, 46.—a lidus s. G. + libera, and a col. + colona, hh. s. G., xiii, 55.—two lidi + colona, hh. s. G., and a lidus, xiii, 49.—a lidus + colona, hh. s. G., an undef. tenant + colona, hh. s. G., and a lidus + colona, xiii, 63.—a lidus + ancilla, hh. s. G., and a colona s. G., xiii, 56.—a lidus + advena, hh. s. G., and a col. + colona, hh. s. G., xiii, 58.—two extranei + colona s. G., xiii, 61.—one do., and a col. + colona, hh. s. G., xiii, 41.

1. lidus, adj., of or belonging to a lidus (q.v.): mansus *lidus*, xiii, 39 (held by a col. et fratres ejus, hh. s. G., and a col + colona, hh. s. G.), 40 (held by a col. + colona, hh. s. G., and a colona); see *lidilis*.

2. lidus, subst., a tenant of the Abbey. The Polyptychum records him as:

(1) *lidus* merely: i, 22, 37; ix, 42, 73, 78, 87, 97, 282; xi, 2, 12; xiii, 39, 46, 47, 49, 57, 99; xviii, 9; xxi, 91.—+ uxor, ix, 137.—+ colona, ix, 16, 17, 78, 81, 137, 266, 288, 290; xi, 4, 9; xiii, 44, 46, 47, 63, 78.—+ lida, ix, 25, 221, 285; xi, 2, 4; xiii, 25, 74.—+ extranea, ix, 292; xiii, 69.—+ extranea (quorum infantes non sunt s. Germani), ix, 289, 290.—+ ancilla, ix, 80, 155.—lidus de decania, ix, 296, 297.—lidus, filius coloni hominis s. Germani de alia femina de fisco dominico, xxv, 7.

(2) lidus s. Germani, i, 23; ii, 114; iii, 45; xii, 32; xiii, 73.—do. + libera, xiii, 55.—do. + extranea, xiii, 7.

(3) lidus, homo s. Germani, xxi, 18, 62; xxiv, 8.—+ lida, hh. s. G., i, 14; vi, 36; xiii, 25, 26, 46, 76.—+ colona, hh. s. G., i, 13, 14; viii, 4, 33; xiii, 24, 25, 46, 47, 49, 50, 63, 70, 78, 87; xxi, 41, 68; xxv, 18, 19.—+ ancilla, hh. s. G., xiii, 54, 56, 74, 75, 80.—+ advena, hh. s. G., xiii, 58, 62.—In xiii, 65, we find a “*Martinus servus et uxor ejus ancilla* hh. s. G.” having a daughter who was an *ancilla*, and three (sons) who were *lidi* because born “*de colona*.” See also ix, 25: “*Isti tres sunt lidi quoniam de lida matre sunt nati*.”

The *lidus* held, besides the *lidilis* mansus, (a) a mansus *ingenuilis* (q.v.); (b) a mansus *servilis* (q.v.); (c) a *hospitium* (q.v.); (d) a fourth part of an unqualified mansus; see *pars*; (e) (with another undefined tenant) a portion of arable land and of a vineyard, i, 22. The *lidus* seems to have paid a tax called *litmonium* (q.v.) specially imposed upon his class.

*lignaricia*, *lignaritia*, *lignericia* [*lignum*]: (1) the privilege of cutting timber in a lord's forest, for which the tenants paid a certain sum of money, usually 4 denarii, ii, 2, 121; v, 3, 53, 78, 93; vi, 3, 57; ix, 9, 201; xiii, 1, 14 (den. 1), 99; xv, 3, 95; xxii, 4, 92 (5 den.), 97; xxiii, 26; xxv, 3, 34; Fr. ii, 10.—(2) the carting, loading, or conveying of wood cut in a lord's forest, which tenants had to perform for their master, ix, 153, 155, 158, 201; xviii, 3.

*lignum*, wood, (duo carra de ligna) xi, 2; xxv, 2.

*linificium* [properly the making or weaving of linen, but here] *linen*, xiii, 109.

*linum*, flax (Fr. *lin*), xii, 2.—*Linum dominicum*, see *dominicus*.

*litmonium*, the obedience or servitude which binds a litus (*lidus*, q.v.) to his lord, and in regard to which he had to pay a certain sum of money, usually, it seems, 4 denarii, xi, 14. See also vi, 36, where there is question of a payment of 8 den. by a *lidus* and his wife.



- locus, *a place, locality, country region* (=villa), ix, 266, 278; xii, 4, 6, etc., 21, 28; xxiv, 1.
- longitudo, *longitude*, xi, A.
- lucus, *a wood*, xxi, 1 (qui non ferunt fructum); xxv, 1 (l. parvulus).
- \* lumen, *a light* (at a tomb), ix, 305; xii, 48.
- luminare (plur. *luminaria*), *luminaria*, fem., *a light*.—*luminaria* (fem.), ix, 267; xxiv, 183.—*luminaria* (fem.) s. Germani, ix, 151, 264; xxiv, 182, 183; ix, 263 (later addit.); x, 1 (id.).—*luminaria* (neut. plur.), ix, 268; xii, 3, 15; iii, 61 (later addit.); xix, 51 (id.). See *homo votivus*.
- Madium mensis**, *madius mensis*, *the month of May*, xi, 2; xiii, 1, 91; xx, 3.—*Majus mensis*, ix, 57.
- magisca, *magisca* (xiii, 15) [*maius*, the month of May, hence] *May-work*, the labour of conveying agricultural produce in the month of May, which tenants had to perform for their lords, ix, 201; xi, 10; xiii, B, 14, 38. See also *madium*.
- major, *an officer*, probably one who presided over a village (see xiii, 100). The Polyptychum records him as *major* merely, viii, 23; xiii, 100; xxi, 93; xxii, 2; iv, 36 (later addit.).—*major + colona*, xxii, 2.—*major + colona*, hh. s. G., iii, 7.—*major et colonus*, ix, 271.—*major et colonus + colona*, ix, 8.—*colonus et major + colona*, hh. s. G., ii, 2; v, 3; xix, 3.—*major, colonus + uxor*, hh. s. G., Fr. i, 4.—*major et colonus s. G.*, xvii, 3.—*major, colonus s. G. + uxor, quorum infantes non sunt s. Germani*, xxi, 3.—*a juror*, ii, 120; xiv, 89.—He held a "*mansus*," ix, 271.—*two do.*, xxi, 93; xxii, 2.—*a "mansus ingenuilis,"* iii, 7; v, 3; viii, 23.—*two do.*, ii, 2; ix, 8; xxi, 3.
- majus mensis*, see *madium*.
- \* *maledictio*, *a malediction, curse*, xii, 48.
- mancipium*, *a slave, servant* (without further definition), xiv, 2; xx, 1.—xii, 1 (+uxor), 2 (cujus infantes non sunt sancti Germani), 3 (+uxor), 8 (+colona s. Germani), 13 (cum infante), 15 (cujus infantes non sunt s. G.). The term includes also females.
- manens*, *a resident*, xxii, 1 (ad fin.).
- manere*, *to reside, dwell*, ix, 8-65, 67, 71, 98, 99, 104, 107, 116, 124, 131, 135, 142, 144-146, 148-150, 154, 155, 157, 159, 202, 209, 210, 231, 236-243, 267, 272, 273, 279, 283; xi, 1-9; xiii, 1-5, 7-13, 16-28, 30-37, 39, 42-75, 77-90, 92-95, 97; xxi, 3-41, 43-55, 57-86; xxii, 4, 69, 75; xxiv, 18-108, 110, 111, 113-117, 119-128, 130-158, 160-170, 173, 175-180; xxv, 3; Fr. ii, 15.
- mannopera*, *manopera*, see *manuopera*.
- mansellus*, *a small manse*, a manse which had not so much land, nor so many charges to bear, as a mansus, xxiii, 1, 2, 4, 5.
- mansoarius*, *mansuarius* [= mansionarius], *a person occupying or holding a mansus* (q.v.), and who, in respect of his holding, pays an annual rent or tax to his lord, xii, 13, 14.
- mansura*, *a house, manse*, with land, pastures, meadows, etc., attached to it, probably = *mansellus* (q.v.), xii, 15.
- mansus* [from Lat. *manere*, to abide, dwell], *a manse, habitation, estate, dwelling* with land attached to it, *a farm*. The Polyptychum records various kinds of mansi: (1) a mansus, without any further description, occupied by: *an undef. tenant*, ix, 107, 246, 248, 252, 253, 255, 256; xii, 26.—3 ditto, xii, 44.—9 do., ix, 201.—one do. (in beneficio), v, 92.—one do. (cujus uxor cum infantibus non sunt s. G.), ix, 145.—one or more tenants of the *colonus* class, ix, 11, 23, 24, 32, 33, 39, 44, 52, 60-62, 64-72, 74-77, 79, 82, 85, 86, 88-90, 92-96, 98-103, 105, 106, 109, 110-127, 130, 132-134, 136, 138, 139, 146, 149, 160-167, 169, 171-176, 178-181, 183, 185, 187-191, 193-200, 203, 205-207, 209, 271, 274, 281, 282; xii, 12, 20, 23, 24; xiii, 14; xx, 9; xxii, 2, 3, 7-11, 16, 92, 95; xxv, 25.—*a col. + colona*, hh. s. G., vii, 6 (in censo).—[one half by] a col. + colona and [the other half by] a liber, ix, 267.—*a col. + libera*, ix, 142, 283.—*do.*, and a col. + colona, ix, 51, 280.—*do.*, and 2 col. + colonae, ix, 91.—3 col. + colonae and a col. + libera, ix, 184.—*a col. + uxor*, xxii, 74.—*do.*, and an extraneus + colona, and an undef. tenant + colona, ix, 204.—*a col. + colona*, and a lidus + colona, ix, 16.—*do.*, and a lidus and 2 lidae, ix,

73.—do., and a lidus + ancilla, a colonus + lida, and a servus + extranea, ix, 80.—2 do., and a lidus + colona, and a colonus, ix, 81.—3 do. and a lidus, ix, 97.—3 do., and a col. + lida, ix, 104.—a col. + uxor, a lidus + colona, a lidus + uxor, and a colonus, ix, 137.—a col. + colona s. G., and a servus s. G. + extranea, ix, 154.—a col. s. G., xii, 40, 41, 43; xv, 67.—do. and a munboratus, xii, 9.—a colona, xxii, 73.—a colona s. G., xii, 11.—a libera eujus infantes non sunt s. G., xii, 25.—a col. + extranea, ix, 108, 131, 135.—a col. + extranea (quorum infantes non sunt s. G.) and a servus + colona, xxii, 72.—an extraneus + colona and 2 col<sup>i</sup> + colona, ix, 13.—a lidus, 2 col<sup>i</sup>, and 2 lidi + colona, ix, 78.—a lidus + colona, ix, 266, 288.—do., and a lidus + lida, xi, 4.—do., and a col., and a col. + colona, ix, 17.—2 lidi, ix, 87.—a lidus + extranea, ix, 289.—do., and a lidus + colona, ix, 290.—a servus + uxor, xx, 43.—a servus + lida, hh. s. G., a lidus + lida, and a lidus, xi, 2.—a servus + lida, a servus + ancilla, and an ancilla, xi, 3.—a servus + colona, and a servus + lida, xi, 5.—do., and a servus + lida and 2 servi, xi, 6.—a servus s. G. + ancilla, xii, 33.—an ancilla s. G., xii, 10.—a munboratus, xii, 27.—mansuarii, xii, 13, 14.—3 homines s. G., xii, 45.

*Mansi* belonged to an *ecclesia*, vi, 2; ix, 4; xv, 2; xx, 1; xxi, 2; xxii, 1; xxiv, 1; xxv, 2.—See further, ix, 152, 158, 264, 267, 268, 278, 284, 299 (later addit.), 304 (id.), 305 (id.); xi, 15; xii, 1-3, 5, 8, 13, 15-18, 28, 31, 37-39; xiii, n, 1, 99, 102-104; xvi, 93; Fr. i, 1.

(1a) *dimidius mansus*, without further definition, held by: two undef. tenants, ix, 151.—one or more tenants of the *colonus* class, ii, 43, 78, 82 (bis), 83, 84, 97 (bis); iii, 13, 14, 18, 24, 26, 41, 43, 46, 58; iv, 25; vii, 39, 47, 55; viii, 38; ix, 140, 150, 210; xii, 13, 33, 34; xiv, 33, 58, 60; xv, 15, 62, 65; xvi, 36; xvii, 20, 24; xviii, 14; xx, 12, 16-18, 20, 23, 24; xxi, 44-48, 52, 58; xxii, 76, 76 (bis), 88; xxiv, 94, 95, 98-100; xxv, 28, 40, 41, 43.—a col. + advena, and his socius, col. + colona, hh. s. G., xxiv,

36.—a col. + lida, hh. s. G., iii, 10, 44.—a colona s. G., xiii, 8, 20.—a liber + colona, ix, 147.—a presbyter, homo s. G., xxiv, 30.—a servus + colona, xxii, 79 (bis), 80, 81.—a servus + colona, hh. s. G., iii, 15; xi, 1; xxi, 55.—a servus s. G. + libera, xxi, 57.—a servus + lida, ix, 213, 279.—a servus + ancilla, hh. s. G., xiii, 65.—a servus + extranea, xxii, 80 (bis).—(held "in beneficio" by an undef. tenant), xiv, 92.—See further, ii, 36; ix, 248, 278; xi, 8; xxii, 1.

A *mansus* seems to have sometimes been divided into two, three, or more parts, as: (1b) tres partes de manso, held by an undef. tenant + colona, hh. s. G., ii, 73 (bis).—(1c) quarta pars de manso.—(1d) tres partes de integro manso, ix, 208. See further *pars*.

(2) *mansus absus* (q.v.), an unproductive *manse*, as distinct from a "mansus vestitus."—(3) m. *cenilis* (q.v.), a *manse* subject to census.—(4) m. *dominicatus* (q.v.), a *manse* set apart for or occupied by a lord or master.—(5) m. *indomicatus* (q.v.), the same.—(6) m. *ingenuilis* (q.v.), a *manse* belonging to or occupied by an ingenuus.—(6a) *dimidius m. ingenuilis* (q.v.).—(7) m. *integer*, an entire *manse*, ix, 139, 208; xi, 7-9; xiii, 8, 16, 20, 37.—(8) m. *lidilis* (q.v.), *lidus* (q.v., the adj.), or m. *lidi*, a *manse* held by a lidus (q.v.), xiii, 99.—(9) m. *ministerialis* (q.v.), a *manse* occupied by or set apart for an officer.—(10) m. *paraveradi*, a *manse* of a paraveradus, i.e. a *manse* which had to supply a horse called paraveradus (q.v.), ix, 142 tit.; xxii, 92 tit. Hence, m. *paraveredarius* (adj.), xxii, 97.—(11) m. *servilis* (q.v.), also called "mansus servi," xxii, 97.—(11a) *dimidius m. servilis* (q.v.).—(12) m. *vestitus* (q.v.), a fully equipped or furnished *manse*, iii, 62; xi, 10.

A "mansus" was made out of arable land (ix, 253) in order that its occupants should, in future, have to pay the customary charges. In another place (ix, 248) half a *manse* was constructed, for a tenant Hildoard, out of a dexter (q.v.) of domain land, held by Winegisus besides his regular *manse*, and two jorns held by Gundoinus.—As

- regards the treatment of the word from a grammatical point of view, the accus. sing. and plur. are always mansum (ingenuilem) and mansos (ingenuiles), while "*de mansibus*" occurs ix, 142, 234, 236; xiii, 39, 55, 64; xxii, 77, 79 (bis), 92.
- manuopera, manopera, mannopera** (all three fem.), manopus, manuopus (plur. manopera, manuopera), *manual labour, handwork*, due from a tenant to his lord, i, 2, 11, 13, 14, 16, 17, 27; ii, 2, 113; iii, 2, 37; iv, 2, 26; v, 3, 28, 49, 53, 78; vi, 3, 33, 35-37, 39, 54; vii, 4, 37, 39, 62; viii, 3, 24, 28, 37; ix, 9, 266, 299 (later addit.); xiii, 76 (bis); xiv, 3, 35, 72; xv, 3, 76; xvi, 3, 52; xvii, 3, 18; xviii, 3; xxii, 1, 88, 89; xxiii, 2; xxv, 3; Fr. i, 4; ii, 15.
- manus, a hand**: operari cum manu, *to perform handwork*, xiii, 1; xxi, 81. —Prosolvere (mansum) de manibus suis, xiii, 38, 105. See also *operari*.
- \* **mappa, a napkin**, xii, 50.
- \* **maranatha, a curse**, xii, 48.
- mariscus, a marsh, bog**, xx, 2.
- maritus, a husband**, xxi, 33.
- \* **marthyr, a martyr**, x, 1, 2.
- masnile, see maxnile**.
- mater, a mother**, iv, 20; v, 28; vi, 14, 44, 48; viii, 12, 17; ix, 247, etc.
- \* **maxnile, for masnile, a small piece of land with a house attached**, iii, 61.
- medietas, a half**: medietas axiculorum, ix, 9.—m. debiti, xi, 8; xiii, 16, 20; xxiii, 23.—m. donationis, ix, 267.—m. farinarii, vii, 4.—m. mansi, viii, 10; xi, 10; xiii, 8, 102-104; xiv, 48; xv, 15, 56; xvii, 24, 39; xviii, 14.—m. de bove, xiii, 41.—m. de integro manso, xiii, 8.—m. de servitio, Fr. i, 13.—Arare (terram, mansum, donationem) ad medietatem, xii, 19, 22, 23, 26, 27, 32, etc.—Laborare ad medietatem, xii, 10. See also *demedietas*.
- medius, half**: m. mansus servilis, vii, 84; m. mansus ingenuilis, viii, 42; m. modius; multo; soalis, viii, 42.
- mel, honey**, xiii, 99.
- \* **mercator, a merchant**, v, 110.
- merces, mercedis, wages, salary**, xix, 7.
- messis, a harvest**, vii, 72; xi, 2; xiii, b, 1, 64; xvi, 66, 89; xx, 3; xxiv, 2. See also *augustaticum*.
- \* **militia regis, the king's military service**, iii, 61.
- ministerialis, of or belonging to a ministerium or office**, hence (as substantive) *an officer or servant*, ix, 146; xii, 51 (later addit.); (as adj.) mansus *ministerialis, a manse occupied by or set apart for an officer*, xiii, 99; xxii, 97.
- ministerium, service, office**, xxii, 2.
- minuere, to diminish, take off**, vii, 35.
- missa (sancti Martini)**, xxii, 2.
- mistura, for mixtura, a mixture of wheat and rye, maslin (Fr. mêteil)**, xvi, 1.
- miticum, service, see forasmiticum, inframiticum**.
- mittere, to send**, xiii, 15, 78-80, 91; xxiii, 1.
- mixtura, see mixtura**.
- modius, a measure (Fr. muid; D. mud)**, (1) *for dry goods*: annona, i, 40; iii, 1; xiii, 99; xv, 1; bracium, ix, 2; frumentum, ii, 1; iii, 1; v, 1; vii, 3; viii, 1; ix, 1; xiii, a; multura, xiii, a; sigalum, ix, 287; spelta, ix, 4, 153, 155, 158; xiii, b. —(2) *for liquids*: wine, i, 2, 42; ii, 1, 2, 38, 41, 121; v, 1; vii, 3; viii, 3, 37, 42; xiv, 1, 3, 35, 72, 94; xv, 3, 69, 76, 95; xvi, 22, 66, 93; xvii, 3, 18, 21, 49; xviii, 3, 8; xxi, 4, 11, etc.; xxii, 3, 75, 97; xxv, 3.—Its capacity differed greatly. It is calculated that in A.D. 794 it contained about 52 "litres," but 68 "litres" about A.D. 822.
- \* **molendinum, a mill**, iii, 61; ix, 305; xxiv, 159. See *area*.
- multura, multura, flour with the bran (Fr. mouture)**, ix, 2, 158; xiii, a; xxi, 1; xxiv, 1.
- monasterium, a monastery**, ix, 9; xx, 3; xxii, 79 (bis); xxv, 3.
- monboratio, see munboratio**.
- monboratus, see munboratus**.
- mons, a mountain**, xx, 2.
- \* **mulier, a woman**, xxiv, 112 (later addit.).
- mulinarius, mulnarius, a miller**, xiii, 107; xix, 6.
- multo, molto, a sheep**, i, 16, 18, 42; v, 3, 28, 49, 52, 53, 78, 93; vi, 3, 33, 57; viii, 24, 28, 35 (valens den. 4). 37, 42; ix, 9, 153, 155, 158, 236, 243, 271; xi, 2, 10; xiii, b, 64, 77, 91, 92, 97, 99; xvi, 37, 52, 88, 93; xvii, 18, 49; xix, 8, 50; xx, 3, 8, 9, 48; xxi, 31, 44, 47-49, 51, 52, 54, 55, 58, 93; xxii, 2, 4, 70, 74, 75, 76 (bis), 97; xxiii, 26; xxiv, 31, 40, 46, 56, 67, 92, 93, 97,



- 146, 153, 179; xxv, 23–25, 27, 29–33.—*Multo de uno anno*, xxv, 28.—*Dimidius multo*, xx, 11–13, 16–18, 20, 23–27, 29. See also *pars*.
- multura*, see *moltura*.
- munboratio*, *munboratio*, *protection*, ix, 268; xii, 27.
- munboratus*, *monboratus*, *a person who is under the protection of some lord*, xii, 9, 27.
- murus petrinus*, *a stone wall*, xxii, 1.
- mustaticum*, *unfermented wine*, *must*, xxii, 4.
- \* *Nascentia*, *nascencia*, *origin*, *race*, xxiv, 112.
- natale Domini*, *the nativity of the Lord*, xx, 2; see *nativitas*.
- \* *natalitium*, *a birthday*, x, 2; see *commemoratio*.
- nativitas*, *the nativity of the Lord*, xxii, 1.—*Nativitas Domini*, iii, 2; ix, 8; xiii, 100; xxii, 2; xxiv, 1; see *natale*.
- navigium facere*, *to convey*, *render service by means of a vessel*, xx, 3.
- necessitas*, *necessity*, xiii, 1.
- nepos*, *a cousin*, *nephew*, ix, 257, 265.
- nepta*, for *neptis*, *a niece*, xiv, 27.
- \* *nobilis*: homo, iv, 36; xii, 49; mulier, vii, 85.
- novellus*, *newly planted*: *novella silva*, see *silva*; *novella vinea*, see *vinea*.
- nutriro*, *to cultivate*, *grow*, *take care of*, ix, 1; xxi, 3; xxiv, 1 ad fin.; xxv, 1.
- Olea*, *a piece of arable land closed in by ditches or hedges*, xi, 15; Cotgrave, *ouche*.
- operari*, *to work*, *perform labour*, either *operari (diem)* or *operari (diem) cum manu*, xiii, 1 (tres dies operantur cum manu); nullum diem operantur ad opus dominicum; xxi, 81; xxii, 70; xxiii, 4; xxiv, 2; see also *manus* and *dies*.
- operarius*, *a workman*, *labourer*, xxiii, 1.
- opus*, *service*, *behalf*, *employment*, *business*. *Opus dominicum*, see *dominicus*. *Facere opera*, xv, 15.—*Opera manu*, xxiv, 179; see further *manuopera*.
- ortolanus*, *a gardener*, ix, 244.
- ortus*, *a garden*, xiii, B.—*Ortus dominicus*, see *dominicus*.
- osaria*, *ausaria*, *a bundle of osiers*, or *twigs of the willow*, xv, 69, 76, 95; xvii, 11, 41, 43, 45.
- ospes*, see *hospes*.
- ospitium* = *hospitium* (q.v.).
- ostis*, for *hostis* (q.v.).
- ovicula* [dim. of *ovis*; Fr. *ovaille*; Span. *oveja*], *a little or young sheep that has not yet borne young*: *ovicula de uno anno*, ix, 9; xxii, 4, 97; xxiii, 26.
- ovis*, *a sheep*, xxv, 34 (*ovis de uno anno*). The *Polyptychum* generally uses the word *multo* (q.v.).
- ovum*, *an egg*, i, 1, 2, 11, 42, etc.; ix, 2; xxii, 4.—In the *Polyptychum* the number of eggs paid by the tenants was usually five times that of hens: 3 *pulli* and 15 *ova*, i, 1, 2, etc.; xxii, 1. See *pullus*.
- Pacus*, for *pagus* (q.v.).
- pagensis*, *an inhabitant of a pagus* (q.v.), ix, 283.
- pagus*, *pacus* (xii, 49, later addit.); in class. Lat. *a district*, *canton*, *province*. In the Frank. period *an administrative circumscription* (Fr. *pays*) ruled by a count, which represented one of the cities of Roman Gaul, or merely a part of the ancient territories, iii, 61 (later addit.); vii, 83; ix, 152, 257, 264–266, 268, 278, 284, 305 (later addit.); xii, 1–48; xv, 97 (later addit.); xix, 1, 51 (later addit.); xxi, 1, 81; xxiv, 112; xxv, 1; Fr. i, 1, 3, 14; ii, 13.
- panis*, *bread*, ix, 153, 304 (later addit.), xiii, 1, 77.
- paraveradarius*, *a tenant who had to supply his lord with a horse called paraveredus* (q.v.), ix, 148. As adj., *paraveradarius mansus*, *a manse which supplied such a horse*, xxii, 97.
- paraveredus*, *paraveradus*, *paravaretus*, *parvaretus*, *parveretus*, *parveredus*, (in the Cod. Just.) *a horse for extraordinary services*, which the occupants of certain *mansi* had, on stated occasions, to supply (*donare*) for the use of their lord, *a palfrey*, i, 38.—*De mansibus paraveradorum*, ix, 142 tit.; xxii, 92 tit.—*Solvere parveretum*, *parveredum*, etc., ii, 6; vii, 48, 58; xiv, 22; xv, 47; xxii, 92, 94.—s. p. de dimidio manso, ii, 36.
- parcio*, *pasturage for pigs*, perhaps the same as *pascio* (q.v.), like *parnagium* for *pasnagium*, xxiv, 39; or, perhaps, for *pars* (q.v.), a part.
- paries*, *a partition*, *hedge*, *wall*, xiii, 64.
- pars*, *partes*: (1) *a part*, *portion*, *measure* (of land or an estate). The size of a *pars*, which must originally have been part of a larger measure, is not



defined in the Polyptychum, but, when referring to a manse it perhaps meant a *fourth* part. We find *pars* (without any further definition), ix, 211 (but having 3 *bunuaria* of arable land).—*partes* s. Germani, xii, 3, 41; xxi, 78.—*Una pars*, ix, 244, 249, 251, 252, 255; xiii, 14, 15, 88, 96.—*dimidia pars*, ix, 250 (containing 6 *bunuaria* of arable land), 256.—*tertia pars*, xii, 3.—*duae partes*, xiii, 76 (bis) (= 5 *bunuaria*), 97 (= 3 *bunuaria*).—*pars servilis*, xiii, 89, 90.—*dimidia pars servilis*, ix, 234, 235.—*tertia pars de bove*, xxi, 4.—*quarta pars de farinario*, ix, 152.—*quarta pars de genicula*, xvii, 49.—*quarta pars de manso* (held by a *lidus* s. G.), ii, 114; (by a *col. et junior decanus + colona*), ix, 58; (by a *servus + lida*), xi, 7; (by a *lidus + colona*), xi, 9.—*quarta pars mansi* (held by a *col. + colona*), xx, 10, 21; (by a *servus*), xx, 22.—*tres partes de manso*, ii, 73 (bis).—*tres partes de integro manso*, ix, 208.—*quarta pars de manso ingenuili* (held by a *col. + colona*, hh. s. G.), xxv, 21, 44.—*a mansus ingenuilis et quarta pars de manso*, held in beneficio, xvi, 90.—*Quarta pars de servili manso*, held by a *servus*, ix, 217, 227.—*a servus and two ancillae*, ix, 219.—*a servus + ancilla*, ix, 220, 222–224, 229.—*a servus + colona*, ix, 218, 225, 226, 230.—*a servus + colona*, hh. s. G., and his *socius*, *servus + colona*, xxiv, 39.—*a col. + colona*, hh. s. G., and his *socius*, *col. + colona*, xxiv, 38.—3 undef. tenants, ix, 212. See also *servilis mansus*.—*quarta pars multonis*, xx, 10, 22, 48.—*quarta pars de vinea*, iii, 38.

(2) *a part, division* of some other measure of length or surface: (of an *aripennis*) *tertia pars*, ii, 94, 96; v, 9; vii, 5, 12, 51; viii, 26; ix, 45, 50, 147, 257; xiv, 60; xv, 36, 58; xvi, 17, 18; xxi, 16, 37; xxii, 83; xxiv, 9, 10, 44, 96.—*quarta pars*, i, 9, 26, 41; ii, 8, 16, 17, 25, 26, 97 (bis), 102, 103; iii, 1, 8, 9, 13, 25, 40; iv, 30; v, 6, 10, etc.; viii, 6, 8, 11, etc.; ix, 11, 16, 52, 53, 264; xiv, 4, 5, etc.; xv, 27, 34, 65, 68; xvi, 2, 16; xvii, 5, 21, 38; xxi, 48; xxii, 35, 36, 43, 79; xxiii, 15; xxiv, 18, 41, 42.—*quinta pars*, xxii, 40; xxiii, 16.—*sexta pars*, ix,

13; xxii, 80 (bis).—*octava pars*, xiv, 58; xvi, 50; xxiii, 1, 12.—*duae partes*, i, 1, 3, 6, 16, 27; ii, 26–28; iii, 19, 29; v, 8, 11, 12; vii, 5, 29; viii, 34; xii, 23; xiv, 25, 39; xvi, 12; xvii, 36; xxiii, 13; xxi, 15, 37; xxii, 10; xxiv, 23, 24, 115.—*tres partes*, ii, 9, 72; viii, 32, 37; xii, 36, 38; xiv, 17, 21, 76, etc.; xv, 15; xviii, 9.—(of a *bunuarium*) *tertia pars*, iv, 25; viii, 40.—*quarta pars*, iv, 2; xii, 34, 35; xiii, b.—*duae partes*, viii, 40; ix, 257; xii, 21; xiii, 73.—*tres partes de bun.*, xii, 38.—(of a *jornalis*) *tertia pars*, vi, 2.—(of a *lewa*) *duae partes*, v, 2.

*parvaretus, parveredus, parveretus*, see *paraveredus*.

*pascere, to feed, fatten*: *pascere caballum*, ix, 8, 57, 139; xxii, 2; p. *pastas*, ix, 235; xi, 13; xx, 38; xxiii, 27; Fr. ii, 6; p. *hospites*, ii, 1; ix, 4; xvi, 2; xix, 2. See also *pastus*.

*Pascha, Easter*, xiii, 100; xx, 2; xxii, 1.

*pascio, passio, pastio, a pasturing, feeding of pigs*, and the privilege of pasturing pigs, for which the tenants paid (*a*) a quantity of wine, i, 1, 2; ii, 2, 38, 41, 110, 113–118, 121; iv, 2, etc., 26, 35; v, 3, 28, 53, 76, 78, 83; vi, 3, 20, 33 (and *a multo*), 35, 36, 39, 57; vii, 4, 84; viii, 3, 10, 24, 28, 37, 42; ix, 212; xiv, 3, 22, 35, 47, 72, 94; xv, 3, 69, 76, 95; xvi, 3, 22, 52, 66, 93; xvii, 3, 18, 21, 49; xviii, 3; xxii, 97; Fr. ii, 15.—(b) money, i, 42; iii, 2, 62; v, 49, 52; vii, 50; xvi, 37; Fr. i, 4.—*Passionem accipere*, xxv, 3.

*passionalis, of or belonging to passio* (*pascio, pastio, q.v.*), *pasturage*: *silva passionalis*, ix, 1.

*pasta, a hen*, ix, 2, 158, 235; xi, 13; xv, 70, 76, 78, 82; xx, 2, 38, 48; xxii, 1; xxiii, 27; xxiv, 1; Fr. ii, 6. *pastio*, see *pascio*.

*pastura, a pasture, pasture-land*, i, 40; ix, 4, 6, 28, 29, 31, 32, 34, etc., 57, 159, 160; xii, 15, 18, 22.

*pastus*, (1) adj., *fatted*: *Auca pasta, a fatted goose*, i, 40.—(2) subs., *fodder*: p. *caballi*, ix, 9, 209, 243. See *pasta*.

*patella, a small pan, dish or vessel*, xiii, 106.

*paxillus, a little stake*, xxiv, 2 (p. *fissus*).

*pecora, cattle*, xx, 43.

- pedalis*, a measure for wood, xv, 3, 95; xvi, 3, 22; xxv, 3, 34. The word always occurs in combination with *carratio* (q.v.), and once: *Lignaritia pedalem* i, xviii, 3. It seems to have been a kind of framework or ring, which must have embraced more than a square foot of surface, and contained more than a cubic foot of solidity, and differed, not much perhaps, from the *carrada* or *carrum*.
- pensa*, a kind of weight of, perhaps, about 75 to 78 pounds, of the time of Charlemagne: p. ferri, xiii, 108.
- pertica* [a pole or perch, already known in class. Lat., originally as a pole or long staff, afterwards as a measuring rod, still later as a portion of land measured out with the pertica, and then as a measure in general], a measure, a perch (1) of arable land, ix, 237; xii, 43, 45-47; xiii, 99; Fr. ii, 6. As such it was used to indicate the measure of land which the tenants of the Abbey were bound to prepare for the growing of corn, etc.: *Arare* (perticas), i, 11, 16; ii, 2; iii, 2, 37; viii, 3, 6, 35; ix, 9, 246, 299 (later addit.); xi, 1, 2; xiii, v, 64, 77, 88, 96; xiv, 3; xxi, 31; xxii, 4; *facere* (perticas), i, 23-27, 31, 38; ii, 74, 78, 83, 84; xiii, 76 (bis); *arare* perticam dimidium, xiii, 98; *solvere* (=arare) perticas, xiii, 76 (bis), 89, 97. It was a division of the *antsinga* (q.v.), whereas the latter was a division of the *bunuarium* (q.v.).—(2) of meadow-land, iii, 26; xii, 45.—(3) of hedges or fences, vii, 4, 20, 22, 26; vii, 37, 42, 47, 49, 53, 62, 64-66; xi, 2.
- petrinus*, of stone, stone: *petrinus murus*, xxii, 1.
- pictor*, a painter, xv, 9. [As *Ricsindis* is the name for a woman, Guérard supposes that a transposition has been made in this paragraph, and that the word *pictor* should be referred to *Bertlaus*, the other tenant mentioned in the paragraph.]
- plantare*, to plant, vii, 3; ix, 1; xiv, 1; xxii, 1; xxiv, 1; xxv, 1.
- polyptychum* [from the Gr. *πολύπτυχος*, having many tables or leaves], a public register (Fr. *pouillé*) or record of the quantity and value of victuals, provisions, land, ground, and other property belonging to a state, church, abbey, town, village, or estate. It is the title of the document here excerpted.
- porcellus*, *purcellus*, a young pig, xiii, 101 (of 4 den.); xiv, 91 (of 6 den.); xxv, 1.
- porcus*, a pig, ii, 1; iii, 1; v, 1; vii, 3; viii, 1; ix, 1, 8, 278, 285; xi, a, 9; xiii, a, 90, 100; xv, 1; xvi, 1; xvii, 1; xix, 1; xxii, 1; xxiv, 1, 39; xxv, 1; Fr. i, 3.—*porcus de denariis quattuor*, i, 42; xxii, 2; p. de denariis octo, xxii, 2.—*porcus crassus*, ix, 2, 158; p. major, ix, 8; p. minor, ix, 8.—*Solvere porcos*, xiii, 100; xx, 3, 8-29, 48; xxii, 2 (donare p.).
- portare*, to carry, convey, xxii, 79 (bis).
- portatura*, a conveying, carrying, transport: *facere portaturam*, perhaps, to convey or carry to the domain the victuals and other articles collected as rents from the tenants, ix, 212; xi, 11.
- \* *possessio*, a possession, property, x, 2.
- potestas*, dominion, lordship, proprietorship, seigniority: Fr. i, 2.—*libera* (independent), *extranea* (foreign, strange) *potestas*, xii, 22. See also the later addit., iii, 61; xv, 96.
- potus* or *potum*, drink, ix, 153; xiii, 1, 77.
- praecaria* for *precaria* (q.v.).
- \* *praecceptum*, *prec-*, an order, direction, x, 1.
- praecipere*, to order, command, ix, 1, 146; xxiv, 1.
- praepositilis*, of or belonging to a praepositus: *Curvada praepositilis*, service or work due to a praepositus, ix, 139, 140, 142, 209, 210; xii, 4. See also *corvada*; *abbatilis*; *judicialis*.
- \* *praesul*, *presul*, an ecclesiastical dignitary, ix, 305; x, 2.
- praeter*, *preter*, except, ix, 201.
- praevidere*, *prev-*, (1) to superintend, work, have the management of: (*farinarium*), ix, 2, 254.—(2) to provide, render, perform, do, pay: (*servitium*), ix, 8, 58, 139, 209, 210; xi, 1; xix, 3-6; xxii, 2.—(3) to keep, guard, have the custody of: (*silvam*), ix, 234; xx, 43.—(4) to take care of, look after, have the custody of: (*vervices*), ix, 236, 243; (*porcos*), ix, 285; xi, 9; xx, 43; xxiv, 39.—(5) to provide, offer, furnish: (*wacaritiam*), ix, 279.
- pratium*, a meadow, i, 1, 3, 4, etc.; ii, 1, etc.; iii, 1, etc.; vii, 3, etc.;

- viii, 1, 2, etc.; ix, 1, etc.; xi, 1; xii, 1, etc.; xv, 2, 3; xvi, 89; xxv, 3, 34.
- precaria, and wrongly *praecaria*: an estate held by precaria, ix, 82, 115, 269, 277; xxiii, 6.—Habere in precaria, to hold by right of precaria: (a “mansus ingenuilis”) xiv, 93; (a “mansus”) xix, 38. See also *deprecari*, and *donatio* (which, in the Polyptychum, usually means property bestowed on the Abbey of St. Germain, and granted by the latter to the former owners, in *precaria*, against a certain payment).
- preceptum, see *praeceptum*.
- presbyter, *prespiter*, a priest, parson. The Polyptychum records him without any definition, but as holding 5 mansi, xxi, 93; a “mansus” belonging to a church, xx, 1; (with “hospites” or “homines”) arable land, a vineyard, and a meadow belonging to churches, ii, 1; ix, 6; xv, 2; xix, 2; xxv, 2.—a “mansus ingenuilis” (and “inde facit in vinea aripennos 4”), i, 10.—a “mansus ingenuilis in beneficio,” xv, 92.—an *ecclesia* (q.v.), ii, 1; Fr. ii, 14.—having a “beneficium” (q.v.), ix, 122; xxii, 74; xxiv, 89.—a mill (*farinarius*), xxii, 1.—making a donation to the Abbey, ix, 284.—as presbyter, homo s. Germani, holding a “dimidius mansus,” xxiv, 30.—See also the later *addit.*, v, 99 (*prespiter*), 106; xix, 1 (bis).
- presul, see *praesul*.
- preter, see *praeter*.
- \* *princeps*, a prince, chief, x, 2.
- proprietas, one's own property, xxii, 96; propr. patris, xxi, 78.
- proscendere, for *proscindere*, to cut up, break up, plough or harrow, xiii, 1.
- prosolvere, for *persolvere*, to pay entirely, ix, 147; xiii, 38, 102, 104, 105.
- \* *prothomartyr*, a chief martyr, x, 1, 2.
- providere, same as *praevidere* (q.v.), to provide, xiii, 90.
- proximi, one's nearest relatives, xxv, 8.
- proximum, neighbourhood, vicinity, xxiv, 2.
- pullus, a chicken, hen, which tenants had to supply to the Abbey, together with a certain number of eggs (*ova*), usually in the proportion of 5 eggs to 1 hen, i, 1, 2, 13, 14, 16–20, 27, 29, 30, 32, 33, 35–37, 42 (330 pulli and 1650 ova for 110 mansi); ii, 1, 2, 113, 114, 121 (350 pulli and 1750 ova for 108 mansi); vii, 4, 22, 26, 37, 42, 46, 47, 60; viii, 3, 24, 28, 35, 36; ix, 158, 212; xiii, 64; xvi, 81, 82, 87–89; xvii, 3, 46; xviii, 1; xix, 2, 43, 46, 50; xxii, 97; xxiv, 105.—The number of eggs is sometimes omitted, probably on account of this regularity in the proportion: Pullus 1 et dimidius cum ova, i, 11; solvunt pullos 118 cum ova, iv, 35; pullos cum ovis 251, v, 93; pullos cum ovis 96; pullos cum ovis 33; pullos cum ovis 17, vi, 57; pullos cum ovis inter totum 183, vii, 84; pullos 54 cum ovis, ix, 4; see further, viii, 42; ix, 6, 9, 153, 155, 156, 234, 236, 239, 242, 243, 266, 270, 271, 279, 280, 286, 288, 292; xii, 2; xiii, v.—Sometimes no numbers are given, either of the *pulli* or the *ova*: Solvunt pullos et ova, xii, 15, 23, 24, 33, 40, 41, 44, 45; xiii, 15, 76 (bis); xxi, 2; xxii, 88, 89; xxiii, 1; xxiv, 40, 92, 93, 104 etc. Some discrepancies occur: 1 pullus, 15 ova, xvi, 80; 3 pulli, 10 ova, xiii, 1, 77, 89, 97; 4 p., 15 ova, v, 3, 28, 53, 76, 78; xix, 30; xxi, 54; 9 p., 30 ova, xi, 2; 9 p., 40 ova, xix, 37; 12 p., 40 ova, xix, 33, 40; 48 p., 160 ova, xi, 10; 237 p., 1160 ova, xiv, 94; 500 p., 2000 ova, xiii, 99. See further, xv, 95; xvii, 49; xx, 48; xxi, 93; xxiii, 26.—pullus without eggs, vii, 59; ix, 299 (later *addit.*).—Pullus dominicus, a chicken pertaining to the lord of the estate (or to the domain), see *dominicus*.—P. regalis, probably a chicken due from tenants at the visit of the king, v, 93; xxi, 4, 31, 53, 59; xxii, 4, 97.
- \* *pulmentum*, any food used with bread, ix, 304.
- purcellus, for *porcellus* (q.v.).
- \* *Quarta*, a measure of land, ix, 299; *dimidia quarta*, ix, 303.
- Ratio, an account, ix, 158.
- \* *receptus*, a receiving, reception, xii, 51.
- reddere, to render, pay, xi, 1; xiii, 16.
- \* *reditus*, a revenue, profit; xii, 48. See *rediturus census*, in voce *census*.
- \* *refectio* (*fratrum*), refectory, refreshment, x, 2.



- regalis, *royal, regal*: donum regale, ix, 51 (later addit.); praeceptum regale, ibidem; pullus regalis, see *pullus*.
- retinere, *to retain*, xiii, 99.
- riga [a line, stroke, streak, rut, hence] *a measure or furrow of land* (Fr. *raie, roie*): arare or facere (to plough or prepare) rigam (rigas), or dimidium rigam, a labour which tenants had to perform for their lord on his estate, ix, 6, 57, 58, 139, 140, 142, 153, 154, 209, 210, 234–236, 243, 255, 264, 267, 271, 279, 280; xi, 2, 9; xxi, 49, 51, 54; xxii, 2, 3; xxiv, 30, 152, 179.—integram rigam, ix, 153, 155; xiii, 33; xxiv, 40, 44, 45. The Polyptychum says nothing as to its extent or size, but, judging from the phrase used, this may be supposed to have been well known and defined at the time. Guérard thinks that it was equal to 6 perches, and that the phrase “rigam facere” may be translated by *to perform the prescribed or customary manual labour*.
- \* ripa, *a bank* (of a river), xxiv, 159.
- \* rogatio, *a demand, request*, xii, 51.
- \* rusticanus, *a rustic, countryman*, xii, 51.
- Sacerdos, *a priest*: sacerdos s. Germani, holding a *hospitium*, vi, 52.
- sacio, see *satio*.
- saepes, sepes, *a hedge, fence*, vii, 4, 20, 22, 26, 37, 42, 47, 49, 62, 64, etc.; xi, 2; xxiv, 56, 179.
- saginare, *to feed, pasture, fatten* (pigs), ii, 1; iii, 1; v, 1; vi, 1; vii, 3; viii, 1; ix, 1, 278; xv, 1; xvi, 1; xxvii, 1; xix, 1; xxii, 1; xxiv, 1; xxv, 1; Fr. i, 3. See also *insaginare*.
- sapo, *soap*, xiii, 99.
- sarcilis, sarcilus, *a piece of dress made of wool*, xv, 70, 76, 78, 82; xxiii, 27; xxv, 6; Fr. ii, 6.
- satio, sacio, *a sowing, and the time for sowing*, ix, 153, 266, 299 (later addit.); xiii, 1, 14, 76 (bis), 98; xxi, 4, 78, 81; xxii, 1, 4, 70, 92, 94; xxiv, 2, 47, 55, 71, 137; xxv, 3.
- Saxo, *a Saxon*, xxiv, 172.
- scindola, scindula (Lat. *scandula*, Germ. *Schindel*), *a tile of cleft wood for covering roofs, a shingle* (Fr. *bardeau*), i, 42; iv, 2; vi, 3, 57; vii, 4, 5, 7, 9, 11 etc., 42, 84; viii, 3, 24, 28, 42; ix, 4, 9, 153, 155, 158, 175, 201, 271; xi, 2, 10; xiii. n. 1, 14, 64, 77, 89, 99; xiv, 35; xv, 3, 95; xvi, 3, 22, 93; xxi, 19, 22, 26, 27, 93; xxii, 4, 97; xxiii, 26; xxv, 3, 34.
- scrofa, *a breeding sow*, xiii, 99. Guérard doubts whether this is the correct interpretation of *scrofa* in this passage. He thinks it may mean an instrument (formerly called *escro, escrou*) for digging, or cutting wood or stone, or a kind of manual labour imposed on a tenant.
- scutere, *to shake out, shake* (corn), xxv, 3. See also *excutere*.
- secare, *to cut*: perticas in prato, xxiv, 2; xxv, 3, 34.
- seminare, *to sow*, ii, 1; iii, 1; v, 1; vi, 1; vii, 3; viii, 1; ix, 1, 255, 278, 287; xi, A; xiii, A; xiv, 1; xv, 1; xvi, 1; xvii, 1; xviii, 2; xix, 1, 4, 7; xxi, 1; xxii, 1; xxiv, 1; xxv, 1.
- senapis, senapum, *mustard*, see *sinapis*.
- \* senior, *a husband*, xii, 48.
- sepes, see *saepes*.
- \* sepulchrum, sepulcrum, *a burial-place, sepulchre*, ix, 305 (sanctum s.); x, 2; xii, 48 (sanctum s.).
- servicium, see *servitium*.
- servilis, *of or belonging to a servus* (q.v.), hence Mansus *servilis* meant no doubt, originally, *a manse occupied by a servus*, but as, in process of time, such manses were held by tenants of a different social condition, the word *servilis* in the Polyptychum appears to indicate a manse which was subject to such taxes and services as would have to be, or were formerly, paid by a servus; see *ingenuilis*. The Polyptychum records the “mansus servilis” as being held by tenants of the *servus, lidus, and colonus* class as follows: a servus, vii, 62.—s.+colona, vii, 63.—s.+lida, xiv, 72; xv, 79.—s.+ancilla, xiv, 75; xvi, 73.—s., servus s. G., and an undef. tenant+lida, xiv, 73.—s., s.+lida, hh. s. G., s.+extranea, and a s.+advena, hh. s. G., xiii, 82.
- Servus s. Germani, i, 7, 8, 16; xiv, 76, 84; xvi, 71.—two do., xv, 87.—one do. and a colona, xiv, 80.—do.+colona, xiv, 74.—do., and a col.+uxor, xiv, 79.—do., and a col.+colona, hh. s. G., xiv, 82.—do., and a servus+colona, hh. s. G., and a servus, xv, 85.—do., and an undef. tenant+colona, hh. s. G., iv, 29.



Servus + colona, hh. s. G., ii, 116, 118; vi, 37, 42; vii, 65; viii, 28, 37; xiv, 85; xvi, 70; xxi, 61, 65, 67, 69, 70.—do. and a servus, xiii, 83.—and a servus s. G., iv, 28; and a servus + lida, hh. s. G., xiii, 86; and a servus + ancilla, hh. s. G., xiii, 94; and a servus + lida, hh. s. G., a servus + colona, a servus, and a lidus + colona, hh. s. G., xiii, 87.—three servi + colonae, hh. s. G., ii, 115.—servus + libera, hh. s. G., and a col. s. G., ii, 113.—servus + lida, hh. s. G., xxi, 59.—two do., xiii, 85; servus + ancilla, hh. s. G., xiii, 79; xxi, 63.—do., and a servus + colona, hh. s. G., xiii, 81.—servus, h. s. G. + advena, xxi, 64, 66.—servus + extranea, cujus infantes non sunt s. G., xxii, 82.

Lidus, h. s. G., xxi, 62.—lidus + colona, hh. s. G., i, 13; xxi, 68.—do., and a lidus + lida, hh. s. G., i, 14.—lidus + lida, hh. s. G., a col. + colona, hh. s. G., and an ancilla, xiii, 76.—lidus + ancilla, hh. s. G., xiii, 80.—do., and a lidus + lida, xiii, 74.

Colonus, iv, 26; a col. + colona, vi, 44.—do., and his socius, col. + ancilla, xxiv, 118; a col. + ancilla, vii, 64; a col. s. G., v, 76; vi, 38; viii, 36; xvii, 41, 42; xxi, 60; do., and a col. + colona, hh. s. G., viii, 30; do. + ancilla, and a servus + ancilla, hh. s. G., xv, 78; do. and an undef. tenant + colona, hh. s. G., xv, 89; a colona s. G., xvii, 45; a col. + colona, hh. s. G., iv, 27, 30–32; v, 77; vi, 39, 40; viii, 34; xiii, 95; xiv, 78; xv, 88, 90; xvii, 40, 43, 44; xxi, 72, 73; two do., xiii, 91; xv, 80, 81.—one do. and a colona, xiii, 93.—and a col. s. G., xiv, 77.—and a col. + colona, xiii, 84; xiv, 83; and a servus + lida, hh. s. G., a lidus + colona, hh. s. G., and a lidus + colona, xiii, 78; and a col. s. G. + ancilla s. G., xv, 77; and a servus s. G., ii, 117.—a col. + lida, hh. s. G., and a lidus + ancilla, hh. s. G., xiii, 75.—a col. + extranea, and a col. + colona, hh. s. G., xiii, 92.—a col. and his 3 sons, hh. s. G., xiii, 77.—a homo s. G. and a lida s. G., xvi, 72.—an advena + colona, femina s. G., xxi, 71.—an undefined tenant + ancilla, hh. s. G., and a servus s. G., xv, 84.—an undef. tenant + colona s. G.,

viii, 29, 31, 32; xiv, 81; xvi, 69; do., and a col. + colona, hh. s. G., xv, 86; an undef. tenant + colona, hh. s. G., xvi, 79; an undef. tenant + ancilla s. G., hh. s. G., viii, 35. See further, i, 42; ii, 121; iii, 64 tit.; iv, 35; vi, 57; vii, 84; viii, 42; ix, 212 tit., 234 tit., 236; xiii, 64 tit., 66–87, 91–95, 99, 105; xiv, 94; xv, 95; xvi, 69 etc., 93; xvii, 2, 49; xx, 30 tit. (the tenancies are, with one exception, *hospitia*), 48; xxi, 59, etc., 93; xxii, 79 (bis).

A *dimidius mansus servilis* was held by the same classes of tenants: a servus, ix, 241; xxii, 85 (bis), 86 (bis); s. et celerarius, ix, 228; s. + colona, vii, 66, 68; ix, 236, 240; xxii, 83 (bis), 84 (bis); s. + lida, xxii, 87; s. + ancilla, vii, 67; ix, 214, 216, 238; s. + uxor, ix, 239; s. + extranea, xxii, 81 (bis); s. + extranea cujus infantes non sunt s. G., xxii, 84; s. + colona s. G., xxiv, 154; two servi and a lida, xxii, 85.

Servus s. G., i, 16; do. + extranea, xxiv, 158.

Servus + colona, hh. s. G., xiii, 64, 67; do. and his socius col. + colona, xxiv, 40; s. + colona, and a socia ancilla, hh. s. G., xxiv, 33; s. + uxor, hh. s. G., and a servus + colona, hh. s. G., xiii, 66; s. + ancilla, hh. s. G., xiii, 72; s. + advena, hh. s. G., xxiv, 34.

Lidus + lida, ix, 221.—lidus + extranea, xiii, 69.—lidus s. G., xiii, 73.—a lidus + colona, hh. s. G., viii, 33; xiii, 70.

An ancilla, ix, 237; xiii, 68.—an undefined tenant, ix, 215.—do. + lida, xxii, 86.

Colona, xxii, 83.—col. + colona and a col., xiii, 71.—col. s. G., xvi, 77.—col. + colona, hh. s. G., i, 17; xvii, 39.—do. and socius col. + colona, xxiv, 32.—a col. + ancilla, hh. s. G., xv, 83; xxiv, 156, 157. For “*Quarta pars de manso servili*,” see *pars*.

Census (q.v.) *servilis*, ix, 231.—*Debitus servilis*, xiii, 76, 94; see further *debitum*.—*hospitium servilis*, see *hospitium*.—*pars*, and *dimidia pars servilis*, see *pars*. The word *servilis* occurs in the expression “*De mansibus servilis*,” ix, 234, 236; xiii, 64, which would suggest a form *servilus* for the singular.

**servitium, servitium, service**, ix, 8, 57, 58, 139, 209, 210; xi, 1; xiv, 33, 48; xix, 3-6; xx, 10, 15, 22, 30, 32, 35, 36, 38, 42, 44; xxi, 50; xxii, 2; xxiv, 44, 112; xxv, 27, 30; Fr. i, 5-13; ii, 1-9.—*Servitium ingenuile*, ix, 139.

**servus, a servant, serf.** The Polyptychum records him as:

(1) *servus*, without any further definition, vii, 7, 62; ix, 156, 217, 219, 227, 233, 241, 243; xi, 6, 11; xiii, 67, 82, 83, 87, 97, 108; xiv, 73; xix, 2 (later addit.); xx, 22, 29, 30, 32, 35, 36, 42, 44; xxi, 89; xxii, 85, 85 (bis), 86 (bis); xxiv, 82, 181; Fr. ii, 7, 9, 11. See iv, 26 tit., which apparently refers also to *coloni* holding *mansi serviles*.

As *servus ex villa*, vi, 58.—*votivus homo*, iv, 34.—pertaining to a church, ix, 5.—son of a *colona* s. *Germani*, xiii, 44.—son of an *ancilla*, xiii, 68.—*servus et celerarius*, ix, 228.—*servus + uxor*, ix, 239; xx, 31, 43.—s. + *advena*, xxiv, 34.—s. + *libera*, xxii, 78.—s. + *extranea*, ix, 80; xiii, 82; xxii, 80 (bis), 81 (bis), 82, 84.—s. + *colona*, iv, 21; vi, 45; vii, 7, 63, 66, 68; ix, 218, 225, 226, 230, 231, 234, 236, 240; xi, 5, 6, 8; xiii, 36, 50, 87; xx, 13, 19, 33, 34; xxi, 80; xxii, 28, 29, 39, 68, 77, 79, 79 (bis), 80, 81, 83 (bis), 84 (bis); xxiv, 39; xxv, 33; Fr. ii, 8.—s. + *colona* s. *Germani*, xxiv, 154.—s. + *lida*, ix, 213, 242, 279; xi, 3, 5-8; xiv, 72; xv, 79; xx, 13; xxiii, 87.—s. + *ancilla*, vii, 67; ix, 214, 216, 220, 222-224, 229, 238; xi, 3; xiv, 75; xv, 70; xvi, 73; xvii, 46; xxiii, 25; Fr. ii, 6.

(2) *servus* s. *Germani*, i, 7, 8, 16, 20; ii, 108; iii, 48, 59; iv, 28, 29; vii, 20; xii, 6, 47; xiv, 76, 79, 80, 82, 84; xv, 18, 69, 71, 84, 85, 87; xvi, 71, 85.—do. + *uxor*, xii, 6.—do. + *libera*, xxi, 57.—do. + *colona*, xiv, 74.—do. + *colona*, hh. s. G., xv, 76.—do. + *ancilla*, xii, 33; xiv, 73.—do. + *extranea*, ix, 154; xxiv, 158.

(3) *servus, homo s. Germani*, xxiv, 53, 117, 139.—do. + *advena*, xxi, 64.—*servus + colona*, hh. s. *Germani*, i, 6; ii, 38, 41, 108, 110, 115, 116, 118; iii, 15, 47, 54; iv, 9, 28; v, 62; vi, 37, 42; vii, 14, 15, 42, 65; viii, 28, 37; xi, 1; xiii, 37, 45, 50, 64, 66, 67, 81, 83, 86, 87, 89, 94; xiv, 85; xv, 85; xvi, 66, 68, 70;

xxi, 27, 28, 55, 61, 65, 67, 69, 70; xxiv, 33, 39, 40, 81, 82, 127, 144, 170.—*servus + advena*, hh. s. G., xiii, 82.—*servus + ancilla*, hh. s. G., vii, 18; xiii, 65, 72, 79, 81, 90, 94; xv, 76, 78, 82; xvi, 74, 76; xvii, 35; xxi, 63; xxiv, 59, 119.—*servus + lida*, hh. s. G., xi, 2; xiii, 78, 82, 85-87; xxi, 59.—*servus + libera*, hh. s. G., ii, 113.—*servus + uxor*, hh. s. G., xiii, 66; xxiv, 85, 180.

As regards his holdings see the articles *indominicatus, ingenuilis, lidilis, servilis, hospitium*.—*Servus domni abbatis + libera*, xxi, 43.—See also iv, the paragraphs 26-32, where, under the heading "De servis," some of the tenants are *servi*, while the others are *coloni*, all holding, however, "mansi serviles."—*Servus* s. *Germani* for *servus*, iv, 36 (later addit.), who gloried in being "homo nobilis." *s sextarius, sestarius, sestarius, sistarius, a measure* (Fr. *setier*), already known to class. Lat., both for dry goods and liquids: for *mustard*, ii, 38, 41, 110, 113-118; iv, 26; xv, 69, 76; xvii, 11, 41, 43, 45.—*spelt*, ix, 6, 234.—honey and soap, xiii, 99.—oil, x, i (later addit.).—hops (fumlo), xiii, 64, 77, 89, 108.—oats (*avena*), xii, 51 (later addit.).—must (*mustaticum*), xxii, 4.—At the time of Charlemagne it was an exact division of the *modius*, differing in capacity according to that of the *modius*. The *sextarius* of the Polyptychum appears to have been the 16th part of a *modius* (= 3 "litres" 27 c.).

*sigalum* [= Lat. *secale*], a kind of grain, rye (Fr. *seigle*), ix, 287; xxv, 1.

*silva, sylvia, a wood*, i, 39; ii, 1; iii, 1, 61; v, 1; vi, 1, 53; vii, 3; viii, 1; ix, 5, 9, 27, 30, 47, 79, 83, 84, 135, 136, 234, 268, 269, 278, 284, 287, 304 (later addit.); xi, 1; xii, 2, 3, 6, 8 etc., 38; xiii, 1, 2, 10 etc., 43; xv, 1; xvi, 1; xvii, 1; xviii, 1; xix, 1; xx, 2, 3, 43; xxi, 68; xxii, 1, 4, 95, 97; xxiii, 7, 24; xxiii, 26; xxiv, 2, 24, 29, 143; xxv, 1.—*Silva annosa*, xxiv, 1.—*Silva dominica*, see *dominicus*.—*Silva novella*, ii, 1; ix, 1, 46, 158; xxiv, 1.—*S. passionalis*, ix, 1.—*Silva parva*, xxiv, 16, 73.

*silvula, a little wood, a copse*, xxi, 3; xxiv, 41, 71, 72, 74, 87.

similiter, *similarly*, frequently used in the Polyptychum to indicate that the tenant rendered the same services, and paid the same rents and taxes as the tenant or tenants mentioned in the preceding paragraph, i, 3-9, etc.

sinapis, sinapi, sinape. senapum, senapis, *mustard*, ii, 38, 41, 110, 113-118; iv, 26; viii, 28; xv, 69, 76; xvii, 11, 41, 43, 45.

sistarius, see *sextarius*.

soalis, sogalis, for sualis, a *sow* or *young pig*, ii, 2, 121; iii, 37 (valens 1 sol.), 62; viii, 3 (valens 1 sol.), 42; Fr. ii, 10.

socia, sotia, a *female partner, associate*, xx, 6; xxiv, 11 (socia, colona), 33 (ancilla), 140; see also *socius*.

socius, sotius, a *partner, associate* (of many of the tenants of the Abbey). The Polyptychum records him (1) as colonus, xiii, 6; xx, 18, 26; xxiv, 79.—col.+colona, xx, 8, 9, 16, 18, 28; xxiv, 23, 24, 31, 32, 38, 40.—col.+ancilla, xxiv, 118.—col. s. Germani, xxiv, 61.—col. s. G.+ancilla, xxiv, 157.—col., homo s. G., xxiv, 62, 88, 141.—col., homo s. G.+advena, xxiv, 58.—col.+colona, hh. s. G., xiii, 5, 18, 30; xxiv, 10, 18, 28, 29, 36, 46, 63, 79, 89, 132, 143, 175.—col.+uxor, hh. s. G., xxiv, 176.—homo s. G., xxiv, 16, 60, 115, 131.—servus, h. s. G., xxiv, 139.—servus+colona, xx, 13, 19; xxiv, 39.—servus+colona, hh. s. G., xxiv, 127, 170.—servus+uxor, hh. s. G., xxiv, 85, 180.—extraneus+colona s. G., xiii, 17, 19; xx, 14.—socius s. Germani, xxiv, 113.—undefined, ix, 299 (later addit.); xiii, 14; xx, 14, 25; xxi, 81; xxiv, 66, 179; xxv, 21.—do.+colona, xxiv, 20.—do.+colona, hh. s. G., xxiv, 121.—do.+ancilla, xxiv, 126, 147.

(2) as the *partner* of a colonus, xiii, 14; xx, 19; xxiv, 28, 46; a col. s. Germani, xiii, 1; col. s. G.+extraneus, xxiv, 10; col.+colona, xx, 9, 16, 18, 26, 28; xxiv, 29, 118, 121, 127, 139; col.+lida, xx, 8; col.+advena, xxiv, 36; col., homo s. Germani, xxiv, 62, 143, 170, 180; col., homo s. G.+advena, xxi, 81; xxiv, 175; col.+colona, hh. s. G., xiii, 5, 19, 30; xxiv, 16, 18, 20, 24, 31, 32, 38, 60, 63, 66, 88, 89, 115, 126, 131, 141,

147; xxv, 21; col. et decanus+colona, hh. s. G., xiii, 18; xxiv, 23, 113; col.+ancilla, hh. s. G., xxiv, 157, 179; col.+lida, hh. s. G., xiii, 6; col.+uxor, hh. s. G., xxiv, 132; servus+lida, xx, 13; servus+colona, hh. s. G., xxiv, 39, 40; homo s. G.+advena, xxiv, 61; homo extraneus+uxor, xx, 25; extraneus+colona, hh. s. G., xxiv, 85; advena+colona, xxiv, 176.

sogalis, see *soalis*.

solidus, soledus, a *shilling*, the 20th part of a libra (q.v.), i, 27, 42; ii, 121; vi, 3, 57; vii, 6, 46, 49, 73, 84; ix, 4, 6, 57, 139, 151, 209, 267, 280; xi, 10; xii, 2, 15, 27, 45; xiii, A, B, 1, 14, 39, 99, 105, 107; xiv, 3, 35; xv, 3, 95; xvi, 22; xix, 39, 49, 50; xxi, 4, 41, 78, 79, 93; xxii, 97; xxiii, 26; xxiv, 2, 71, 113, 137, 138, 172; xxv, 3, 20, 34; Fr. i, 4; ii, 10.—de argento solidus, i, 28; ii, 121; iii, 1, 2, 37, 62; iv, 2, 35; v, 3, 28, 53, 78, 93; vii, 4, 20, 22, 26, 37, 38, 42, 47, 69, 70, 75, 84; ix, 2, 4, 304 (later addit.); xii, 2; xiv, 3, 35, 94; xv, 3, 95; xvi, 3, 93; xix, 1, 8, 50; xxii, 1; xxv, 2; Fr. i, 1; ii, 10.

solvere, to *pay, discharge* (rent or taxes, in money or in kind), i, 1, 2, 3 etc.; 35; ix, 139, 234; xiii, A, etc.—Solvere caballum, said of a tenant who *paid* (portion of) his rent or *obligatory service by means of a horse*, ix, 8.—Solvere ad hostem, see *hostis*: see also *capaticum, capita, caput*.

soror, a *sister*, v, 28; vi, 14, 44, 47; vii, 81; viii, 17, etc.

sotia, see *socia*.

sparvarius, see *sprevarius*.

spectare, to *watch*, xx, 3.

spelta, *spelt*, ix, 4, 6, 9, 153, 155, 158, 234, 266, 271, 278; xiii, B, 1, 15, 76 (bis), 87, 99; xx, 3, 14, 20, 24, 48.

\* sporles, perhaps the same as the O.Fr. *esporle* (see Godefroy's Dict.), a *relief*, xii, 51.

sprevarius, for sparvarius, a *sparrowhawk*, xiii, 99.

stare (in villa), to *reside*, xv, 96; xxiv, 112 (later addit.).

stapus, a *metal vase, mug, or cup, a measure*, in the Polyptychum for mustard only: stapus plenus, viii, 28. It seems to have been smaller than the *sextarius*, and to have contained from one to three



- “litres.” The word is still living as *stof*, *stoop*, *stoopen*, *stoup* in several parts of Holland and Germany, in Engl. as *stoop*, *stoope*, *stoupe*, and in various other languages and dialects as a measure of wine and other liquids.
- styrpare, to root up trees and other plants, to extirpate, to clear, make fit for cultivation, xxii, 1; xxv, 1.
- styrpus, a piece of ground cleared (see *styrpare*) of trees and other plants, and brought into cultivation, xxii, 1. subjectio, see *subjectio*.
- sufficienter, sufficiently, ii, 1; iii, 1; iv, 1, etc.; viii, 1.
- \*subjectio, for subjectio, xxiv, 159.
- sylva, see *silva*.
- \*Tapecium, a carpet, tapestry, xii, 50.
- \*tapsatio, for taxatio, an imposition of taxes, taxation, xii, 51.
- tener, to hold, i, 1, 2, and in almost every paragraph of the Polyptychum. See also *habere*.
- \*tentorium, a tent, xii, 50.
- terra, land, vii, 60, 77–79; ix, 244, 253, 257; xii, 13, 22, 47; xiv, 87, 88; xx, 3; especially *terra arabilis*, arable land, i, 1, 2, 3, and in nearly all following paragraphs of the Polyptychum. Such arable land was usually attached to a *mansus* (q.v.). But we find it also held separately, see ix, 202, 254, 256–261, 263; xii, 22; xiv, 86, 91; xv, 91; xvi, 54; xvii, 46; xix, 30. — *Terra inculta*, xx, 2. — *Terra dominicata*, *indominicata*, see *dominicus*, *indominicatus*. — *Terra culta et inculta*, ix, 305 (later addit.); xii, 48 (id.).
- \*territorium, territory, xix, 51.
- tonna, a vat, barrel, tun, butt (Fr. *tonne*), xiii, 99; ix, 299 (later addit.).
- tornatura, an accus. plur., if the Latin of the Polyptychum be correct, and meaning either circuits, visits in the fields of the lord (Fr. *tournée*), or work done at the lathe, i, 34.
- \*tradere, to deliver, hand over, xii, 48.
- trahere, to carry, convey, xx, 3.
- tramisis, tramisum, tramissum, tremissa, tremissis, tremissum [= the Lat. *trimestre triticum*], three-monthly wheat (Fr. *trémois*, *tramois*), i, 11; ii, 2; iii, 2, 37; iv, 2; v, 3, 28, 49, 52, 53, 78; vi, 3, 33; vii, 4, 20, 21, 40, 43; viii, 3, 6, 24, 28, 35–37; ix, 9, 234, 236, 247, 288, 304 (later addit.); xi, 1, 2; xiii, 1; xiv, 3, 22, 35; xvi, 2, 3, 22, 36, 52; xix, 4, 7, 8; xx, 3, 30; xxi, 2, 4, 19, 22, 26, 29, 31, 60, 73–75, 78, 79, 81; xxii, 4, 70, 75, 76 (bis), 88, 92, 94; xxiii, 1–4, 24; xxiv, 2, 31, 39, 56, 67, 71, 97, 101, 105, 113, 137, 138, 146, 147, 153, 167, 175, 177; xxv, 2, 3, 8, 19, 23, 28, 29, 31, 34; Fr. i, 4; ii, 15.
- \*transfundere, to transfer, ix, 305; xii, 48 (*trasfundere*).
- transmutare, to transplant, remove, xxi, i.
- \*Trinitas (sancta et individua), ix, 305; xii, 48.
- tuninum, tuninis, an enclosure, a kind of hedge or wall made of stakes, xi, 2; xiii, 1, 64.
- Umlo = *humlo* (q.v.).
- uncia, (1) the twelfth part of a pound, an ounce (Fr. *once*): de argento, xix, 38; (2) a measure of land, perhaps the twelfth part of some other measure (of a juger?), xiv, 101–103; xxv, 8.
- Vacca, see *wacca*.
- vallis, a valley, x, 1 (later addit.); xx, i.
- vendere, to sell, xii, 22.
- vervex, a sheep, vi, 20, 57; vii, 84; ix, 236, 243; xvii, 46; xx, 8–29, 48; Fr. ii, 10; (vervex cum agno), ii, 2, 121; vii, 50; xv, 95; xvi, 93; xix, 8, 50; xx, 3.
- vestitus, furnished, equipped, see *mansus vestitus*.
- vetus, adj., old, see *vinea vetus*.
- vetustus, adj., old, vet. *farinarius*, xiii, A; xxii, 1.
- \*via publica (for publica), the public road, xxiv, 159.
- vicaria (Fr. *viguerie*), a district, in which the *vicarius* (Fr. *viguier*) or representative of the comes or count exercised jurisdiction; a division of a *pagus*. In the Polyptychum it occurs xii, 25, instead of *centena*. In class. Latin inscriptions the word meant a female under-slave of another slave; and in Bracton it has the meaning *vicarage*, which is known to us.
- vices tres, three times, xxiv, 67.
- villa, (1) in class. Lat. a country-house, farm, villa; so also in the *Lex Salica*. Later on it took the



place of the Lat. *vicus*, and meant (2) a *village, hamlet*, which sense it also bears in the Lex Sal. and in the Polyptychum, vi, 58; ix, 152, 264, 265, 267-269, 278, 284; xii, 1-3, 5-20, 22, 23, 25-27, 29, 30, 32-35, 37-46; xiii, i, 100; xix, 1; xxi, 2, 81; xxiv, 120, 123, 137; xxv, 1; Fr. i, 3; ii, 10. In the additions to the Polyptychum: iii, 61 (= *alodus*); iv, 36-38; vi, 59; vii, 83; ix, 305; x, i. Generally a *villa* possessed a church, and formed a *rural parish*.

\* *villanus, a villain*, xii, 51.

\* *vindemia, grape-gathering, vintage*, xii, 51.

*vinea, a vineyard*, i, 1-3, 5, etc.; ii, 1, etc.; iii, 1, etc.; viii, 1, 2, etc.; ix, 212, 231, 239; xiv, 2, 3, 35, 36 etc., 72, 86; xv, 1, etc.; xix, 39; xxiv, 2, 43; Fr. i, 8. — *vinea dominica, see dominicus*. — *vinea novella*, iii, 1; vii, 3; ix, 1; xiv, 1; xix, 1; xxii, 1; xxiv, 1; xxv, 1. — *vinea vetus*, vii, 3; ix, 1; x, 1 (later addit.); xiv, 1; xix, 1; xxii, 1; xxiv, 1; xxv, 1. — The word occurs frequently in the Polyptychum, as to nearly every mansus (or church, or piece of land) belonged a vineyard of one or more *aripenni*, or one or more parts of an *aripennus*: one *aripennus*, i, 5, 14, 22, 23, 25, 28; 1½ *aripennus*, i, 10; 2 *aripenni*, i, 38; several *aripenni*, i, 39; half an *aripennus*, i, 7-9, 12, 41; quarta parts of an *aripennus*, i, 26; two parts of an *aripennus*, i, 3, 6, 16, 27; several parts of an *aripennus*; see also the article *pars*.

Moreover, most of the tenants had to do a certain amount of work in the vineyard of the Abbey, this amount being defined by the *aripennus*: *Facit inde in vinea aripennos ii* (i, 17, 19, 22); *iii* (i, 1, 13); *iv* (i, 2, 10, 14); *viii* (ii, 38). — *Facere vineam*, i, 42; *xxii, 77 tit., 79 (bis), 97*. See also *facere*. — *Fodere aripennos de vinea*, ix, 239; see also *fodere*.

*vinericia, winericia, a grape-gathering, vintage*; by extension *the service*

*of carrying or transporting by waggon the grapes at the time of the vintage*, xiii, 13, 15, 52, 91, 92. — The service, which was performed in the Autumn, is described as "*facere vinericiam*," ix, 153, 155, 271; "*facere duo carra ad vinericiam*," xi, 10; xiii, b; "*facere angariam ad vinericiam*," xii, 15; "*facere caropera propter vinum . . . cum duobus animalibus . . .*" xiii, 1.

*vinitor, a vine-dresser*, ix, 231 tit.

*vinum, wine*, i, 1, 2 etc., 42; ii, 1, 2 etc., 121; viii, 1, 3, etc.; ix, 1, etc. See xii, 51 (later addit.); xiii, 1, 37, 38, 99; xiv, 1, 3, 35, 94; xvi, 3; xix, 8, 50; xxi, 26; see also *modius*.

\* *violentia, violence*, in contradistinction to the exercise of right in a village, xii, 51.

\* *voluntas, free will, desire*, xix, 2.

*votivus, of or belonging to a vow, promised by a vow, votive*: *homo votivus*, see *homo*. — As substantive in the same sense, xx, 47.

*Wacaritia = vaccaritia, a meadow or piece of land for the grazing of a certain number of cows*, ix, 279.

*wacca, for vacca, a cow*, ix, 8.

*wacta* [Germ. and D. *wacht*; Fr. *guet*], *a lying out on guard, a watching, keeping watch*, xiii, 99. *Facere wactam*, ix, 212; xx, 13, 30, 35; xxii, 79 (bis).

*wactare, to be out on guard, to watch*, xiii, 64.

*wicharia, a kind of conveying, carrying, transporting of goods at or to the harbour of Wicus, otherwise called Quentovicus, situated at the mouth of the river Canche, on the N.W. coast of France. This service, journey, or expedition was expensive and difficult, and therefore rendered by a tenant only once in three years, or by three deaneries combined once a year*, xvi, 3.

*wicharisa, the same as wicharia (q.v.)*, ix, 9.

*winericia = vinericia (q.v.)*.

## XIII.—MEMORANDA ON MEDIAEVAL LATIN.

By J. H. HESSELS.

No. 3.

THE POLYPTYCHUM OF THE ABBEY OF SAINT-REMI  
AT RHEIMS, A.D. 848 TO 861.

## INTRODUCTION.

THE second number of my Memoranda on Mediaeval Latin treated of the Polyptychum or Terrier of the Abbey of St. Germain des Prés, compiled under the administration of Irminon, its Abbot from A.D. 811 to 826.

A similar Register we have in the Polyptychum of the Abbey of St. Remi<sup>1</sup> at Rheims, the greater part of which may be placed in the early years of Hincmar, the Archbishop of Rheims from A.D. 845 to 882, under whose name the Register is generally known. It was published by M. Benjamin Guérard in 1853,<sup>2</sup> from a *transcript* (now in the Paris National Library, No. 9,903 du fonds latin), which had been made of the original before 15 January, 1774, and escaped from the fire, which on that day destroyed the Library of the Abbey, by a Benedictine having taken it from the Library to his room for the purpose of making a copy of it. The original MS. is reported to have likewise escaped from this fire, but, if it is still in existence, its present whereabouts is not known.

The transcript, a quarto paper MS. of 41 leaves, was made by a monk of St. Remi,<sup>3</sup> who did not expand the contractions of the

<sup>1</sup> Named after Sanctus Remigius, Bishop of Rheims, apostle of the Franks, who died A.D. 532.

<sup>2</sup> Polyptyque de l'Abbaye de Saint-Remi de Reims, ou dénombrement des Manses, des Serfs, et des Revenus de cette Abbaye, vers le milieu du neuvième siècle de notre ère; par M. B. Guérard. 4°. Paris, Imprimerie Impériale, 1853.

<sup>3</sup> It is conjectured that the copyist was D. Jacques Claude Vincent, a priest who professed 30 November, 1746, and died at Saint-Remi of Rheims on 22 September, 1777.

original, but devoted sufficient care and knowledge to his work to make it tolerably trustworthy.

From the pagination recorded by the copyist in the margin, Guérard concluded that the original MS. must have likewise consisted of 41 leaves. Some lacunae are, however, to be noticed. First, Chapter v (describing the Fisc of Baconna) breaks off in the middle of a sentence at the end of p. 4, and the sentence is not continued on p. 5. Secondly, there may be something wanting between pp. 28 and 29, as the pages 21-28 are written in a different hand and contain Chapter xiii (see below, p. 555), while p. 29 commences with the words "Sancti Gingulfi partes due sunt Sancti Remigii," which shows that something connected with these words is missing. Thirdly, some words are left blank in the transcript, either because the copyist could not decipher the original or because the words had been left blank in the original.

Apart from these few missing portions, we may conclude that the whole of Hincmar's Polyptychum has been preserved by the transcript from which Guérard printed his text.

The main portion of the original may probably be ascribed to a period between A.D. 848 and 861, for two reasons. First of all, in paragraph 127 of Chapter xvii, where the Fisc of Courtisols<sup>1</sup> is described, we find a judgment ending: "Actum in Curte Acutiori, iii<sup>o</sup> idus maias, in placito publico, anno vi regnante Karolo, rege glorioso, regente autem Ingmaro archiepiscopo sanctam sedem Remensem anno iii<sup>o</sup> (A.D. 848)." In this judgment appear as witnesses the "scabinus" Geimfridus and the "major" Adroinus, the same officers who, in paragraph 125, testify to the correctness of the record of this fisc. Secondly, it would seem that the original Register extends to Chapter xxviii, paragraph 65, at the end of which we find "Finit." After which follows the record of the transfer of the village of "Condatum" (Condé-sur-Marne) by a messenger (missus) of King Charles the Bald, to two messengers of Archbishop Hincmar, at the end of September, A.D. 861, the 17th year of his archbishopric.

Some portions of the Register, however, must be relegated to a later date. First, paragraph 15 of Chapter vi says that a woman, named Teutberga, had given herself and her children to the Church of St. Timothy, in the time of Herveus, the Archbishop

<sup>1</sup> So according to Longnon (*Études sur les Pagi de la Gaule*, in *Biblioth. de l'École des Hautes Études*, 1872, p. 112), not Aguilcourt, Guérard's translation of Curtis Acutior (or Agutior).



of Rheims from A.D. 900 to 922. Secondly, Chapter xiii, recording the revenues of the Monastery of St. Remi, mentions those of Conda, which must be the "Cunda in territorio Lingonensi" of a Papal Bull of 20 April, 1148, that is, Condes (Haute-Marne), which place did not belong to the domain of Saint-Remi till A.D. 961, by virtue of the testament of Hugues, the parent of King Lothar. On the other hand, in A.D. 968, Queen Gerberge, widow of Louis d'Outremer, gave to the Abbey of St. Remi, as an alod, her domain of Meerssen (in the diocese of Mayence), with all its dependencies, namely, Cluma, Litta, Hertra, Angledura, and as all these places are mentioned in Chapter xiii, it follows that it is later than A.D. 968. The writer of the transcript, moreover, remarks that the pages 21 to 28 occupied by this Chapter xiii are in a different hand from the remainder of the MS.

Thirdly, Chapter x cannot be earlier than A.D. 972, as it records tithes paid to a hostel of the Abbey of St. Remi by the Abbey of St. Timothy, which latter did not belong to St. Remi till after A.D. 972, when, according to a letter of Pope John XII, Adalberon, the Archbishop of Rheims, gave it to St. Remi, for the exercise of hospitality. And as the first paragraph of Chapter vi also records the possessions of the Church of St. Timothy, it seems that this Chapter vi, or the main portion of it, cannot be earlier than A.D. 972.

Guérard, moreover, points out that paragraph 5 of Chapter x speaks of the Church of Saint Côme and Saint Damien as depending on the monastery of St. Remi. And as this church was not ceded to the said monastery before the end of the tenth century by Archbishop Adalberon, the whole Chapter x must be supposed to have been added to the Register after this date.

M. Longnon (*Études*, p. 114) even shows that the Chapters vi and x cannot be earlier than A.D. 1064, when the Chapter of St. Timothy was re-established by the Archbishop Gervais, who, with the consent of Hérimar, abbat of St. Remi, rendered to this church its original revenues for the maintenance of the clergy.

Hence the Chapters vi, x, and xiii may be considered to belong to a period extending from A.D. 969 to 1064, though their contents harmonizes, in language and arrangement, with the rest of the Register.

In Chapter x there is some confusion, probably owing to the copyist, in the arrangement of the places situated in four Pagi. This has been rectified by Guérard (*Préface*, p. v sq.) and Longnon



(*Études*, p. 115 sqq.). But this point not being necessary to the present treatise, I refer to their work for further information.

The present Polyptychum, like that of Irminon, is entirely in Latin, and, in its language and proper names, offers the same features, so that I may refer to what I have said on that subject on p. 3 of my Memoranda No. 2 (p. 473 of the Transactions of the Philological Society).

The words extracted from it follow this Introduction again, as in my paper on Irminon's Polyptychum, in an alphabetical order, by way of Glossary, with references to, I believe, all, or nearly all the places where they occur in the text, with explanations of their meanings and bearings, which I hope will be found adequate.

As has been stated above (p. 554), the original Register appears to have consisted of no more than 28 chapters, in which (including Chapter vi) it deals with 22 fises (Chapters i-ix, xi, xii, xiv-xxiv), while Chapter x gives an account of the tithes which the Abbey of St. Timothy paid to the House of St. Remi; Chapter xiii records the taxes due by the villages of St. Remi; Chapter xxv gives (in two paragraphs) a *Summa generalis*; Chapters xxvi and xxvii contain a description of the Beneficia of the Abbey, and Chapter xxviii a description of the Colonies of the Abbey.

Besides these 28 chapters the original MS. contained a 29th, written, according to the copyist, on two leaves, in a different and more modern hand, and giving, in a succinct form, a continuation of the account of the revenues (census) of the Abbey. From the first leaf it appears that something is wanting, as it begins "Item ii sol.," and there is, apparently, something more wanting at the end of the second leaf, as the last words are "Notitia census debiti."

From this 29th chapter I have extracted a few words, marked in the Glossary with a star\*.

Guérard, moreover, has printed, in an Appendix, four documents relating to the Abbey of St. Remi, namely: I, a Privilegium, dated 14 December, 1145, of Pope Eugenius, whereby he confirms to the Abbey all its possessions and privileges; II, a similar Privilegium of Pope Adrian IV, dated 19 December, 1154; III, a Description of the properties of the Monastery of St. Vito (Saint-Vanne) of Verdun (of the 10th cent. ?); and IV, a fragment (of the 10th or 11th cent.) of a Description of the goods of the Monastery of Metloch, near Coblenz, in the Diocese of Trier (extracted from Hoefler's *Zeitschrift für Archivkunde*, tom. ii, pp. 120, 121, 128, 129).

From these documents I have also extracted a few words, marked in the Glossary by a star \*.

The fisc of Condatus (Condé-sur-Marne) is described twice, first in detail (Guérard's text, pp. 99–101), secondly abridged, with some material differences (Guérard's text, pp. 106 and 107). The fisc of Luperciacus is described in three places: Guérard's text, pp. 32; 104 to 106; and 107; the third description (p. 107, § 73) is an abridgment of the second with alterations.

A feature of the present Register, in which it differs from Irminon's Polyptychum, is the enumeration of the furniture (vestments, books, cups, plates) in the various churches on the estate (see below, p. 581 sq.). Irminon's Polyptychum merely described the churches of St. Germain as "decorata" or "bene constructa."

In this Introduction I have again arranged the words systematically under six heads, an arrangement which I find very useful for further study, and which enables me to give a few particulars regarding the administration and cultivation of the properties of the Abbey, and the condition of its tenants, which cannot well be stated under separate alphabetical articles. These six heads are: I, the *Topography* of the estate; II, the *Persons* residing and working on, or cultivating and administering, the estate; III, the various *Properties, Possessions, Goods, Buildings, Lands, Fields*, etc., possessed by the Abbey; IV, the *Tenures*, or different manners, modes, principles, conditions, etc., whereby and on which land and other property was held, acquired, possessed, or let out, granted, or bestowed; V, the *Moneys, Measures*, and *Weights* current, and used, on the estate, also the *Metals, precious Stones*, and *Stuffs* mentioned in the Register; VI, the *Services* to be performed by the tenants; the *Taxes, Rents*, and other *Dues*, which they had to pay; the *Seasons and Periods* in which the services were to be performed and the rents and taxes to be paid; and the *Produce* (Crops, Live Stock, etc.) arising from the cultivation and administration of the estate, and with which tenants paid their rents and taxes.

I hope that by this arrangement, combined with the fuller details given in the Glossary, a clearer and more comprehensive view may be obtained of the domestic, and, to some extent, of the public and political condition of the estate and of the period, than from a mere alphabetical index.

I do not deal here at great length with all such matters which

have already been dealt with in No. 2 of my Memoranda, which treats of the Properties of the Abbey of St. Germain, trusting that those who take an interest in studies of this kind will make the necessary comparisons between the estate of that Abbey and that of St. Remi.

According to the *Summa generalis* of the manuscript (Chapter xxv) the estate of St. Remi comprised 18 *seignorial* manses (*mansi dominicati*),  $324\frac{1}{2}$  manses *ingenuiles*,  $190\frac{1}{2}$  manses *serviles*, 19 *accolae*,  $10\frac{1}{2}$  churches (*ecclesiae*), and 8 mills (*farinarii*), which make together, according to the *Summa*, "excepting the churches, *accolae*, and mills, 526 *mansi*." As  $18 + 324\frac{1}{2} + 190\frac{1}{2}$  make 533, we may suppose that the writer of the *Summa* made a clerical slip, or that his calculation is defective in some other way.

Guérard, however, calculated 24 seignorial manses, about 430 *ingenuiles* manses, 176 *serviles* manses, and 110 *accolae*, which, not counting the *accolae*, would give a total of 630 manses. The discrepancy between the actual total of the MS. and the Summary is, no doubt, owing to manses having been split up into two or more, or new manses having been added to the estate after the body of the Register had been written down. The difference between the number of *mansi serviles* of the "Summa" and Guérard's calculation is, perhaps, owing to the "Summa" having counted *accolae* as *mansi serviles*.

A similar discrepancy Guérard has observed between the number of chickens and eggs enumerated in the text and in the Summary, which it is not necessary to explain here.

I have again had the benefit of M. Guérard's Introduction, though not to that extent which his more elaborate edition of Irminon's Polyptychum and that of M. Longnon afforded me. But I believe that I may state that, in spite, or rather on account, of this want of aid, I have gone more fully into the subject than even in the case of Irminon's Polyptychum.

There are, however, several points which deserve fuller treatment, such as the social status and condition of the *infans*, and of the affranchised tenants (the *cartularius*, *epistolarius*, *libertus*, etc.). But such a treatment being out of the question here, I have limited myself to hints here and there in the Introduction or in the Glossary.



## I. TOPOGRAPHY.

(a) *General terms.*

- (1) Locus, a *place* in general.
- (2) Finis, an *end, limit, confine* (of property).

(b) *Particular terms.*

(3) Fiscus, which occurs in the Polyptychum of St. Germain, meaning a combination of various properties, a domain, estate, is not found in the Polyptychum of St. Remi, though this estate is arranged and described in the same way. Hence we may say that the whole property seems to have consisted of 24 fises, if we include that of the Insula super fluvio Suppia mentioned in paragraph 5 of Chapter x, and that of Longa Villa (Chapter xxvii), which seems to have been a beneficium of the Abbey. That the word *fiscus* was not unknown to the authorities of St. Remi may be inferred from *campus fiscalinis*, a field belonging to a fisc, which occurs once (x, 4). Each fisc was composed of one *seignorial manse* (*mansus dominicatus*) with various contributory manses and other properties in land and houses, depending upon the seignorial manse. The component parts of the latter only are recorded, not those of the tributary manses, though, of the latter, it is stated what taxes they paid and what services they had to perform; also the names of the tenants, and, in many instances, those of their wives and children, which, however, are often omitted entirely, or recorded at the end of the fisc, whereas the Polyptychum of St. Germain is always very particular in this respect.

In the present Register appear neither the *comitatus* (county), nor the *centena* (hundred), nor the *vicaria* (vicarage), which all occur in Irminon's Polyptychum, nor even the *decania* (deanery), although the *decanus* (dean) is mentioned. There is, however,

(4) Pagus, a *district, province, canton*, besides a variety of other terms referring to the topography of the estate, as:

- (5) Aqua, a *stream* (in a town).
- (6) Civitas, a *town or city*.

(7) Colonia (only once, in xix, 9), and (8) Colonica (several times in Chapter xxviii, which describes a part of the Abbey's estate divided into colonies), a *colony*, that is, a group of small farms mostly cultivated by *coloni*.



- (9) Fluvius, *a river.*
- (10) Fluviolus, *a small river.*
- (11) Insula, *an island.*
- (12) Locum dominicale monasterii, the seignorial *site* of the monastery.
- (13) Potestas, *a village, district, lordship, seignior.*
- (14) Via publica (in a civitas), *a public road.*
- (15) Vicus, *a village, hamlet.*
- (16) Villa, *a village, hamlet.*
- (17) Villare, *a small villa, or a hamlet of 10 or 12 houses.*

This treatise does not profess to deal with the *names* of places. But an exception must be made as regards:

- (18) Via Veromandensis, *the road to St. Quentin;*
- (19) Veromandui, *St. Quentin;*
- (20) Cavalona, Cavidonia, *Châlons;*
- (21) Aquae, *Aix-la-Chapelle,*

because these names are connected with services of transport to St. Quentin, Châlons, and Aix-la-Chapelle, which the tenants of the estate had to perform for their lord, or for which they had to supply asses or oxen; see the Glossary, vocibus *aguensis; asinus; bos; caropera; via;* and below (VI. A. Services, p. 593 sq.).

## II. PERSONS

Residing and working on, or cultivating and administering, the estate.

### A. SOCIETY: THE TENANTS AND CULTIVATORS OF THE ESTATE.

(a) *General terms relating to persons.*

- (1) Genealogia, *descent, origin, a genealogy.*
- (2) Mors, *death.*
- (3) Nativitas, *birth, nativity.*
- (4) Origo, *origin.*

(b) *General terms indicating persons or classes of persons.*

- (5) Avia, *a grandmother.*
- (6) Familia, *a family, household: familia intra villam, a family residing in the village.—Familia villae, the collective inhabitants of a village.*

(7) *Femina, a woman.*

(8) *Filia, a grown-up daughter.*—*Filius, a grown-up son.* The usual term for the children of the tenants is *infans* (see below, No. 11); the terms *filia* and *filius* are evidently used to distinguish the grown-up daughter and son from the mere infant.

(9) *Frater, a brother.*—*Frater germanus, a full brother, own brother.*

(10) *Homo*, occurs seldom in this Register, and always means a man in general, like *vir*, see below, No. 22. But in Irminon's Polyptychum of the estate of St. Germain the term *homo* is frequently used, and clearly does not mean a man in the ordinary sense, but a *tenant-vassal*. See also below, No. 48; my Memoranda No. 2, pp. 13 sqq., and the Glossary, in voce *homo*, ib. p. 62.

(11) *Infans, a young child, infant.* The Register does not enable us to say much more about the children of the tenants than what has already been pointed out in the previous treatise, p. 12 (482). The *infans* evidently means a young child, as distinguished from the *filia* and *filius*, a grown-up daughter and son (see above, No. 8). It would seem that, on the whole, the Roman and Frankish Laws prevailed on the estate of St. Remi, so that a child born of parents of unequal condition took its position from the inferior parent. Hence we find that the children of an *accola servus* were *servi*, though he was married to an *ingenua*. The infans of an *ancilla* was a *servus* (ix, 15); the son of an *accola epistolaria* was an *accola epistolarius*, or an *epistolarius* merely; but the son of an *accola ingenuus* was an *epistolarius* in one case and a *servus* in another; the son of a *colona* was a *colonus* in one case, but the children of a *colona* married to a *servus* were *servi*; the children of a *colonus* married to a *colona* were *coloni* or *colonae*; but a *colonus* married to an *ancilla* had *servi* as children; an *epistolarius* was the son of an *ingenuus*; of an *ingenuus* married to an *epistolaria*; of an *ingenua*, etc.

(12) *Maritus, a husband.*

(13) *Martyr, a martyr.*

(14) *Mater, a mother.*

(15) *Nepos, a nephew.*

(16) *Nepta, a niece.*

(17) *Par (Pares), an equal, comrade, companion.*

(18) *Pauper, a poor man, pauper.* In one place of the estate 20 paupers are recorded, and a *mansus dominicatus* was assigned to the Church for their sustenance.

(19) Soror, *a sister*.

(20) Uxor, *a wife*.

(21) Vidua, *a widow*.

(22) Vir, *a man*, applied to tenants.—Vir forensis, *a strange man*, *an outsider*.—Vir nobilis, *a nobleman*.

(c) *Particular terms: the Tenants and Cultivators of the Estate.*

At St. Remi there appear to have been *ten principal classes* of tenants: (23) the *liber* (and *libera*); (24) *ingenuus* (and *ingenua*) and also persons called *ingenuilis*; (25) *francus* (*franca*); (26) *colonus* (*colona*); (27) *libertus* (no *liberta* mentioned); (28) *cartularius* (*cartularia*); (29) *epistolarius* (*epistolaria*); (30) *accola* (male and female); (31) *vicaratus* (*vicarata*); (32) *servus* (*ancilla*).

(23) The *Liber*, *a free man*, mentioned several times in Irminon's Polyptychum, occurs here only once, without any indication as to his relation to the estate, except that he was an *officer* called *major*. The *Libera*, *a free woman*, is mentioned twice, but in both cases the Register merely states that she was *the wife* of an *ingenuus*. It is, therefore, impossible to say anything further about the *liber* or *libera*.

(24) With regard to the *Ingenuus*, *the free-born man*, I pointed out, on p. 7 of my Second Memorandum, that, in the *original* text of the Polyptychum of St. Germain, the term *ingenuus*, which, in the early Frankish period, was always applied to a *free man* unless he was called *liber*,<sup>1</sup> occurs only twice, and in the later additions half-a-dozen times. From these rare instances Guérard concluded that the *coloni*, who appear in such great numbers at St. Germain, were really the *ingenui* of that estate.

But in the Polyptychum of St. Remi the relations are reversed: the *ingenuus* occurs frequently, but is never called *colonus*, whereas the *colonus*, so numerous at St. Germain, is completely absent in the first twenty-seven chapters of the Register of St. Remi, and only makes his appearance (without being called *ingenuus*) in Chapter xxviii, which happens to be divided into *colonicae* (colonies), and does not seem to know the *ingenuus* at all, though it mentions the *piscator servus*, the *cartularius*, the *extraneus*, and the *servus*.

So that, if we must assume that the numerous *coloni* of

<sup>1</sup> In one of the later additions to the Polyptychum of St. Germain the *liber* and the *ingenuus* are identical.



St. Germain may be called the *ingenui*, or free men of that estate, we may probably conclude that the numerous *ingenui* of the first twenty-seven chapters of the Register of St. Remi were the *coloni* of this estate, and again, that the *coloni* who appear in Chapter xxviii are identical with the *ingenui* of the earlier chapters.

Guérard is of opinion that the difference in the terms makes no difference in the condition of the men, and that the term *colonus* was preferred in Chapter xxviii because it dealt with the lands of the Abbey called *colonicae*, and so wished to point out the social condition of the *ingenui* who occupied these lands.

It is to be remarked, however, that the colony (*colonia*) already appears in an earlier chapter (xix, 9), and yet there we find three *servi*, one *ingenuus* and one *ingenua*, all as tenants of *mansi serviles*; but they are not called *colonus*.

The *ingenuus* appears as the tenant (often with one, two, or more members of his own class or of various other classes of tenants) of a simple or undefined *mansus*, or a *mansus ingenuilis*, or a *mansus servilis*, or an *accola*, or a *sessus*, or a portion of *terra arabilis* (plough land).

He was married either to an *ingenua*, or to an *ancilla*, a *libera*, an *epistolaria*, a *cartularia*, an *oblata*, or a *vicarata*.

He held office as *major* of a *villa*, and as *decanus*.

He appears also as *accola forasticus* (owing 4 denarii) and *forensis ingenuus*. He is, moreover, enumerated among (*a*) *forenses* who paid the polltax; (*b*) *acolae* and *forenses* of a *villa* who owed 9 days of work or 4 denarii; (*c*) *viri ac feminae forenses de villa* who owed annually 4 denarii de argento; (*d*) *acolae* of a *villa* residing in the *villa* who owed 9 days of work or 4 denarii; (*e*) *acolae* of a *villa* who owed 3 days of work; (*f*) *forenses homines* who owed 4 denarii; (*g*) *forenses homines* who did 3 days of work; (*h*) *forenses de villa* who owed 3 days or 1½ denarii; (*i*) *forastici*; and (*j*) a *familia* of a *villa* "interius et exterius commanens."

In one place we find it explained that if an *ingenuus* could not hold, on account of his poverty, a manse or part of a manse, he had to prove this by seven of his equals.

In xvii, 85 an *ingenuus* is said to have been *acquired* (*acquisitus*).

The *ingenuus* paid his taxes and rents as usual *in kind*, but sometimes in money.

The *Ingenua* is frequently mentioned as a tenant of every variety of property, in the same way as the *ingenuus*, either alone or jointly with *ingenui* or other classes of tenants. She is often



recorded as a tenant "cum infantibus" without a husband being mentioned.

She was married to an *ingenuus*; a *forensis ingenuus*; an *accola ingenuus*; an *accola servus*; a *libertus*; a *cartularius*; a *vicaratus*; a *servus*; an *oblatus*; an *epistolarius*; or an *epistolarius forensis*.

She is described (as a tenant, and with or without children) as *accola ingenua*; *ingenua cartularia*; *ingenua forastica*; *ingenua forensis*; *ingenua Deo sacrata* (also with children, and holding a manse). And she is enumerated among the same classes of people as the *ingenuus* (see above, p. 563).

There is mentioned also a *femina ingenua* as tenant; and a *femina* who had obtained her *ingenuitas* (that is, the condition or status of an *ingenuus*) by means of a charter, but still owed 4 days of work every year.

The *Ingenuilis* appears occasionally, sometimes in one and the same paragraph as the *ingenuus*, so that the two must have been different persons. Perhaps the *Ingenuilis* was only *ingenuus* to a certain extent, with certain restrictions. He held a *mansus ingenuilis*, also a *mansus servilis*, and an undefined *mansum*.

(25) The *Francus* is usually understood to be a *free man*. But in the one place where he is mentioned in the St. Remi Register (xxviii, 66) the term *francus* may mean a *Frank* (a German). He appears as a witness side by side with the *colonus*, so that we must distinguish between the two, and it is not improbable that the *francus* here takes the place of the *ingenuus* who, though appearing in great numbers in the first twenty-seven chapters, is not mentioned in Chapter xxviii at all.

The *Franca*, too, is mentioned, and, like the *francus*, only once (xvii, 40), but she was the tenant of a *mansum*.

(26) The *Colonus*, husbandman, farmer, appears, as has been remarked above (No. 24), in Chapter xxviii only, and there takes, it would seem, the place of the *ingenuus* of the first twenty-seven chapters, though he was never called anything but *colonus*. In paragraph 65 of the same chapter a distinction is made between the *colonus* "qui ibi est ex nativitate" and had to pay 7 denarii, and the *colonus* "qui ibi se addonaverit" and had to pay 4 denarii. While in paragraph 66 (dated A.D. 861) the *colonus* is distinguished from the *francus* (see above, No. 25).

In the majority of cases the *colonus* held a *mansus dimidius ingenuilis*; but he also held a *mansus dimidius*, a *mansus ingenuilis*, an *accola*, an *accola ingenuilis*, an *accola dimidia ingenuilis*, or (with a *servus*) a *mansus servilis*.

He was married either to an *ancilla* (the children being *servi*), or (mostly) to a *colona* (the children *coloni*, *colonae*), or to an *extranea*.

He held office on the estate as *major*, holding a *mansus dimidius ingenuilis*.

The *Colona* appears, like the *colonus*, in Chapter xxviii only. She is, in most instances, married to a *colonus*, but in three instances her husband was a *servus*, and her children *servi*, whereas, when married to a *colonus*, her children were *coloni*. She is recorded as holding, on her own account (in one instance with a *portionarius*), a *mansus dimidius ingenuilis*; an *accola ingenuilis*, and an *accola dimidia ingenuilis*.

(27) The *Libertus*, (28) the *Cartularius*, and (29) the *Epistolarius* were all three *emancipated* or *affranchised* persons. By what process the *libertus* obtained his emancipation is not explained by the title itself, nor by anything recorded in the Polyptychum; but the *cartularius* (also written *cardularius*, often merely *card.* in the MS. and *cartelarius*) was emancipated by a *public* act, that is, by a *carta* or charter; and the *epistolarius* by a *private* act, that is, by an *epistola* or letter.

The *Liberta* or *freedwoman* does not occur, but the *Cartularia* (*cardularia*, often merely *card.* in the MS.) frequently; so also the *Epistolaria*.

The *libertus* held a *mansus servilis*; he was married to an *ingenua*, and he is classed among the *forenses* or strangers.

There seems to be no material difference in the *holdings* of the *cartularius*, *epistolarius*, and *ingenuus*, and all three classes (males and females) are found grouped together. Yet both the *cartularius* and the *cartularia* appear in xviii, 23 among the *mancipia* or slaves or bondmen, so that their status cannot have been very high.

The *cartularius* is recorded as holding an *accola*; a *mansum ingenuile*; a *mansus dimidius ingenuilis*, or a *mansum servile*. The *epistolarius* held (sometimes in partnership with another *epistolarius*, or an *ingenuus*, or a *vicaratus*) a *mansus ingenuilis* or a *mansum servile*, while the *ingenuus* seems to have been qualified to hold every variety of property belonging to the Abbey, as: the *mansus ingenuilis* or *servilis*, the undefined *mansus*, the *accola*, the *sessus*, etc. (see above, No. 24).

The *cartularius* was married to an *ingenua*; he belonged to the *familia villae*, even when called *forensis cartularius*; he had to pay the capitation tax of 4 denarii de argento; and he is enumerated

among the *accolae* and *forenses villae* who owed nine days of work or four denarii. He is also enumerated, in common with the *cartularia*, among the *mancipia* (slaves, or bondmen) of a church.

Of the *epistolarius* we find more particulars than about the *cartularius*. He is described as *forensis epistolarius* and *accola epistolarius*; as the son of an *ingenuus*, or of an *ingenua*, or of an *ingenuus* whose wife was an *epistolaria*; as the son of an *epistolarius*, or of an *accola epistolaria*. He was married to an *ingenua*, to an *epistolaria*, or to a *vicarata*; and is enumerated among the *forenses villae* who owed 9 days of work or 4 denarii; the *familia villae* interius et exterius commanens, and the *accolae* intra villam.

(30) *Accola* (male and female), *one who dwells* by or near a *place* (already found in class. Lat.). He may be supposed to have originally been the tenant of a manse called *accola*, but in course of time such manses were also held by tenants of a different class. He belonged to either the *ingenuus*-, or the *servus*-, or the *epistolarius*-class, but it seems more naturally to the latter two classes than to the *ingenuus*-class, as we find that the "infantes" of an *accola servus* married to an *ingenua*, were *servi*, while the son of one *accola ingenuus* was an *epistolarius*, and of another a *servus*. So the female *accola* was sometimes *ingenua*, sometimes *epistolaria* (and her son *epistolarius*), sometimes *ancilla*.

(31) Of the *Vicaratus* and *Vicarata* nothing can be said except that the former held a simple *mansus*, or (with an *epistolarius*) a *mansus ingenuilis*. His wife was an *ancilla*, or a *vicarata*, or a *cartularia*; in one instance she is described merely as an *uxor*.

His holding was either a *mansus ingenuilis* (sometimes with an *ingenuus*, or with one or two other *vicarati*) or a *mansus servilis* (once with an *ingenuus* and once with his two sisters). Once he is also called *mulnarius*, holding (with an *ingenuus*) a *mansus servilis*.

The *Vicarata* was the wife of an *ingenuus* or of an *epistolarius*. Once we find her as having children and holding a *mansus servilis*.

It is not known how the term *vicaratus* (*vicarata*) arose; Du Cange does not record it, and there is no verb *vicarare* to suggest this apparent participle, while *vicaria* or *vicarius* would have given *vicariatus*. Perhaps it is connected in some way with *vicus*, a village, hamlet, just as the *villanus* derived his name from *villa*, a village.

(32) The *Servus* seems to have been in much the same position on the estate of St. Remi as on that of St. Germain. He was apparently on the same footing, with respect to his holding, as the



*ingenuus* and the other tenants, therefore not a mere *slave*. Yet it is to be noticed that he is evidently spoken of as a *class*, that is, he was a *servus* by circumstances connected with his birth, as his children, even of two years old, are called *servi* (see xx, 37, 52), which would not be the case if he were a servant temporarily, or for life, by *hire* or *wages*.

The Register records him as *servus* merely, and as having to pay 12 den. It also describes him as *accola servus*; *berbiarius servus*; *faber servus*; *forasticus servus* (having to pay a poll-tax of 8 den.); *forensis servus*; *piscator servus*, and *puer servus*.

He was the *son* of an *ancilla*; of a *servus*; of a *berbiaria ancilla*; of an *accola ingenuus*; of a *colonus + ancilla*, and of a *servus + colona*.

His *wife* was either an *ancilla*, or a *colona*, an *epistolaria*, or an *ingenua*; but his children were always *servi*.

He *held*, mostly, a *mansus servilis* (sometimes together with an *ingenuus*, or with one or more tenants of the *colonus*-, *servus*-, and *ingenuus*-class); but also a *mansus servilis dimidius*; a *mansus ingenuilis*; a *mansus ingenuilis dimidius*; an *accola*, and an *accola ingenuilis*; while in one case he held “*ingenuiliter*” (that is, in the manner, on the conditions of an *ingenuus*) a *mansus dimidius*.

He is mentioned among the (1) “*accolae*” of a *villa* owing 12 den.; (2) *servi* and *ancillae*, *interius* and *exterius* de *villa* owing 12 den.; (3) *forenses* of a *villa* owing 9 days of work or 4 den.; (4) *servi et ancillae interius et exterius manentes*; (5) *servi et ancillae noviter repressi*; (6) *servi vel ancillae intra villam*; (7) *mancipia*; (8) *forastici*; (9) *familia villae, interius et exterius commanens*; (10) *servi et ancillae forenses sive accolae*.

The *Ancilla* is, like the *servus*, counted among *mancipia* in xvii, 127. She paid, like the *servus* and other tenants, a tax in money, as 2 den. (xii, 5), 12 den. (xv, 32, and xxviii, 65), and sometimes in kind.

She is described as *ancilla foranea*; *ancilla forastica* (with or without children); *ancilla forensis* (with or without children); *ancilla forensis de villa*; *ancilla berbiaria*; *ancilla de villa interius* or *exterius*, owing 12 den.; *ancilla interius* or *exterius manens*; *ancilla intra villam* (with or without *infantes*); *ancilla noviter repressa*; and also as *ancilla Sigeberti de Trepallo, per praeceptum regis*.

She was married to an *ingenuus*, a *colonus*, a *servus*, or a *vicaratus*.

She is recorded as *daughter* of a *servus*; of a *berbiarius servus*; and of an *ancilla*; also as *sister* of a *servus*.



She held a *mansum* which is not further qualified; or a *mansus servilis*, or a *medietas* of the same; or (with another ancilla and an ingenuus) a *mansus ingenuilis*; or an *accola*; or a *mansio*. Among the *familia* of a villa, *interius et exterius* commanens the ancilla appears (with or without children) without any further description; but also as ancilla *accola* (with or without children); ancilla *forensis* (with or without children), and as *wife* of a *servus*.

Besides the above ten principal classes of tenants, we meet also with the

(33) *Advocatus* (*advotus*?), who, in the Middle Ages, protected the rights, goods, and properties of the Churches, and defended their causes in public trials. It would seem that, in this capacity, he appears xxviii, 66, where the MS. has *advotus*, which Guérard, perhaps not wrongly, changes into *advocatus*. If this is correct, he must be classed among the *officers* of the estate (see below, No. 88). The *advocatus*, however, appears as a holder of 4 mansi, "de beneficio fratrum," and must, therefore, be mentioned here as one of the tenants of the estate.

A person called *vocatus* signs his name under a judgment; perhaps the word is a corruption for *advocatus*.

(34) The *undefined tenant*, a person whose name and holding only are mentioned, not his status in society. He was in all respects like an ingenuus, and held a *mansus ingenuilis* (ii, 2) or an *accola* (see Glossary; see also xv, 38).

It will be noticed that there are several classes of tenants in the present Register who do not occur in the Register of St. Germain. On the other hand, there is no trace at St. Remi of the *lidus* or the *lida*, nor of the *mansus* called *lidilis* after him. What the meaning of this complete disappearance is, or may be, cannot be discussed in this place.

## B. THE LORDSHIP (Seigneurie).

After having described the persons connected with the estate, as far as its *social* and economic condition is concerned, the *domanial* position remains to be considered.

(a) *General terms.*(35) *Episcopatus, bishopric.*(b) *Particular terms.*(36) *Dominus, a lord or master.*(37) *Domnus, for Dominus, the title of (1) a bishop; (2) a king.*

(38) *Accola, a by-dweller* (male and female), has already been enumerated above (No. 30) among the *tenants* of the estate, though he is more like the *hospes* (see below, No. 43), a stranger-inhabitant of the estate, not a person belonging to the estate, either by birth or a permanent tenure.

(39) *Extraneus, a stranger, outsider*, one who was foreign to the estate of St. Remi, but dwelt on its domains. He held a *mansus ingenuilis*, or an undefined *mansus*; also a *sessus*, or a fourth part of a *mansus ingenuilis*. The *extranea* occurs once only, as the wife of a *colonus*.

(40) *Foraneus*; (41) *Forasticus*; *forasticus homo*; (42) *Forensis*; *forensis vir*: all apparently persons (male and female) belonging to land lying *outside* the domain, or doing their duties or work *outside* the domain. They all paid a sum of money varying from 4 to 12 *denarii*.

(43) *Hospes, a sojourner, visitor*, mentioned only twice, in one of the later additions to the Register, as contributing a certain sum of money to the revenues of the estate. It is not clear, however, whether they were actually *paying guests*, or connected, in some way or another, with the estate as *tenants*, like the *hospes* of St. Germain. If they were tenants they did not occupy *hospitia* as at St. Germain, because the *hospitium* is not mentioned in the St. Remi Register, except once as a hostel of the Abbey.

(44) *Juratus, a sworn man, one of a jury; a jury-man.*

(45) *Oblatus, oblata, a person who had given himself and his property to the Abbey.* The *oblatus* held a *mansus ingenuilis*, or a *mansus ingenuilis dimidius*, and had an *ingenua* as wife.

The *Oblata* held a *mansus ingenuilis*, and had an *ingenuus* as husband.

In the same sense we find the—

(46) *Sacrata Deo, a woman who had consecrated herself to God.* She is recorded as an *ingenua*, and had *infantes*.

(47) *Testis, a witness.*

(48) *Vasallus, vassalus, a man, vassal*, who, perhaps, occupied at St. Remi, to some extent, the position which the *homo* occupied

at St. Germain (see above, No. 10). We find seven *vasalli* enumerated, but none of them was called "homo." One was called "nobilis vir" and "vassalus episcopi," and, as the bishop's "missus," conducted, with other "missi," a judicial enquiry (xvii, 127) on the estate. Another held a benefice, consisting of three mansi ingenuiles. The five others were all, apparently, also holders of beneficia; one holding a sessus, a pratum, and a silva communis, etc.

(49) Capitalicius, *one who paid the poll-tax called capitalicium.*

(50) Cavagius, *one paying the poll-tax.* The word occurs only twice, each time in the ablat. plural, so that it is possible that it may be for *cavagium* (= Fr. *chevage*), the head- or poll-tax; see below, No. 60.

(51) Cerarius, *a tenant who paid his rent in wax.*

(52) Diurnarius, perhaps *a tenant who worked one day* (either in the year or per week) *for his lord.* The word occurs four times; but in one place the tenant is apparently called *diurnarius ingenuus forensis.* Du Cange explains the term as one who records the daily events in a journal, an interpretation which would not suit here.

(53) Jornarius is apparently also *a tenant who worked one day for his lord.* Others regard the word as a neuter subst. (here in the ablat. plural), meaning *a payment* due by tenants who, at certain times of the year, owed daily manual labours to their lord, but paid a sum of money instead; see below, No. 60.

(54) Mancipium, *a slave, servant, or bondman.* Once this term is applied to *servi* and *ancillae* who were descended from persons who had been "comparatae de precio dominico," that is, had been acquired by purchase effected by the lord. In another place (xviii, 23) the term comprised a *cartularius*, a *cartularia*, and a *servus.* Hence we may conclude that the term had become somewhat comprehensive, though always referring to the servant-class.

(55) Mapaticus, *one who held a piece of land called mappa;* but see below, No. 60, *terracious.*

(56) Operarius, *a labourer, workman,* one who worked by the task or day.

(57) Portionarius, *a tenant who shared, on certain conditions, the profits of a tenancy with another tenant,* in one instance here with a *colona* and her *infantes*, in another instance with an *accola.*

(58) Socius, *an associate, partner.*



(59) *Tenens, a tenant in general.*

(60) *Terracius, a tenant of land* which did not belong to one of the manses. This word and *cavagius, jornarius, mapaticus*, and *vinatius* (see above, Nos. 50, 53, 55, and below, No. 61) appear only in the ablative plural, so that they may be neuter substantives and indicate, not persons, but taxes paid for tenures indicated by the terms.

(61) *Vinatius, a tenant of vineyards*; see the preceding word.

### C. OFFICERS; DIGNITARIES; PROFESSIONS.

#### (a) *General terms.*

(62) *Minister, an officer*, without further definition.

(63) *Ministerialis, an officer*, not mentioned here, but to be inferred from the term *ministerium*, which we find at the end of the *fisc Gothi* (ix, 20), that is, men and women performing particular services or exercising various crafts and handiwork for the domain.

(64) *Officium sacerdotale, the office of the presbyter.*

(65) *Officia, officials*, perhaps *persons who exercised a trade or handicraft.*

#### (b) *Particular terms.*

The principal Officers on, or connected with, the estate appear to have been the—

(66) *Episcopus, a bishop.*

(67) *Presbyter, a priest, parson.* Like the major (68), dean (69), and cellarer (78), and the *farinarius* (mill, see the Glossary in voce), he had at certain festivals to present offerings (oblaciones) as a mark of respect (*veneratio*) to the authorities of the monastery, but in one place it was stipulated that he was to do so if he held a mansus *ingenuilis*. See further the Glossary in voce.

(68) *Major, an officer, major*, one who presided over a village. He was, in addition, also called *colonus, ingenuus, liber*, and *major villae*. In i, 15 it is said that if the *major villae* held a complete mansus he would have to present, at the Nativity and Easter, 3 cakes, 4 chickens, and 2 bottles of wine to the "magistri" (of the estate) "in venerationibus." Similar presentations by the *major* and the *presbyter* (see the preceding article) to the "seniores" (of the estate) are recorded, xvii, 122; xviii, 20; xix, 18; xxii, 44.



(69) Decanus, a *dean* (Fr. *doyen*), a kind of rural officer, next in rank to the major. Like the major and presbyter (see the two preceding articles), he had to present, at Christmas and Easter, certain gifts to the authorities of the estate (xvii, 122), but sometimes only the half of their offerings. It is to be observed that the *decania* or deanery is not mentioned in this Register.

(70) Judex, a *judge*, not mentioned in the Register of St. Germain, nor in the present Register; but his existence on the estate of St. Remi, as at St. Germain, may be inferred from the phrase *opus judicii* (ix, 2), work to be done for a judge.

(71) Magister, a *chief, head*; one of the chief officers of the Abbey, perhaps the *praepositus*, to whom the *presbyter, major villae*, and other officers of the estate had to present offerings in token of respect, see above, No. 67.

(72) Monachus, a *monk*.

(73) Senior, an *elder*, an authority of the Abbey; the *seniores* are mentioned several times as the persons to whom the *presbyter, major, decanus*, and *cellerarius*, as also the *farinarius* (mill) had to present, at certain festivals, offerings (of cakes, chickens, bottles of wine, etc.) in token of respect, see above, No. 67.

(74) Caput scolae S. Remensis ecclesiae, *the head of the School of the Church of St. Remi*.

(75) Custos ecclesiae Sancti Remigii, *the keeper of the Church of St. Remi*.

More or less inferior officers are—

(76) Berbiarius, berbiaria, a *shepherd*. The *berbiarius* was also called *servus*; the shepherdess was also called *ancilla*.

(77) Bovarius (Fr. *bouvier*), a *cowherd*, occurs only in a later addition (xxix, 17).

(78) Cellerarius, cellelarius, a *butler, steward*, custodian of the storeroom or cellar. Like the presbyter, major, and decanus, he had at certain festivals to present offerings (see above, No. 67) to the authorities of the estate, but only "si mansum habet servile" (xvii, 122).

(79) Cocus, coqus, a *cook*.

(80) Faber, a *smith*, who held a mansus *servilis*, and is described as *servus*, as also his son. He paid 12 denarii, perhaps as poll-tax.

(81) Mellarius, which Guérard prints in his Index, and of which he speaks in his preface (p. xvi), would mean *one who gathers in*

the honey, or had charge of the beehives. But Professor Paul Meyer has ascertained for me that the MS. has clearly

(82) *Messarius*, one who had charge of the harvest. The same officer was also called *silvarius*, see below, No. 85.

(83) *Mulnarius* (Fr. *meunier*), a miller. He held a *mansus* with an *ingenuus*, and was also called *vicaratus*. The mills on the estate were called either *farinarius*, *molendinum*, *molins*, or *mulinus*. Some presents are said to be due to the authorities of the estate from the *farinarii* (see above, No. 67), but nothing is said of the *mulnarius* in this respect.

(84) *Piscator* (Fr. *pêcheur*), a fisherman. He held a *mansus dimidius ingenuilis*, was called *servus*, and his wife was a *colona*. The four *naves* mentioned xxviii, 67, 68 may have served for navigation on the river Marne, or for fishing.

(85) *Silvarius*, a forester, mentioned only once, when he is also called *messarius* (not *mellarius*, as Guérard prints in his Index), a harvester, one who had charge of the harvest.

(86) *Vindemiator*, a vintager, grape-gatherer.

(87) *Vinitor* (Fr. *vigneron*), a vine-dresser.

We further find (88) the *advocatus* (*advotus*?), (89) *cancellarius*, (90) *clericus*, (91) *missus*, (92) *scabinus* (*skevin*), (93) *archiepiscopus*, and (94) *rex*; but they cannot be regarded as particular officers of the domain, unless we make some exception with regard to the *advocatus* (see above, No. 33).

### III. PROPERTIES, POSSESSIONS, GOODS, BUILDINGS, LANDS, FIELDS, Etc. (possessed by the Abbey).

#### A. REGISTERS OR DOCUMENTS IN WHICH THE VARIOUS PROPERTIES WERE DESCRIBED OR REGISTERED.

- (1) *Carta*, an official, public document, a charter.
- (2) *Notitia*, a notice, record.

#### B. TERMS FOR PROPERTY, HOLDINGS OR POSSESSIONS, BUILDINGS, LANDS, FIELDS, ETC.

##### (a) *General terms.*

- (3) *Dominicum*, a domain.
- (4) *Indominicatum*, a domain.

(5) Conlaboratus (4th declens.), *any property acquired by labour.*

(6) Hereditas, *property, inheritance.*

(7) Dominicale locum monasterii, perhaps *that part of the Abbey or Monastery* which was called *the domain.*

(b) *Particular terms for: (a) Estates, Dwellings, Houses, Buildings, etc. (β) Parts of Buildings or of Houses, etc. (γ) Land, Fields, Woods, etc. (δ) Church Furniture; Ecclesiastical Vestments; Service-books.*

(a) *Estates, Dwellings, Houses, Buildings.*

(8) Beneficium, *an estate* granted by one person to another on condition that the grantee shall have the use and enjoyment (usufruct) of its profits and revenues during his lifetime; see below under *Tenures* (p. 585). We find beneficia mentioned which had to pay tithes to the monastery of St. Remi (x, 10-13). The whole chapter xxvi seems to deal with the beneficia belonging to the estate, though only the paragraphs 1, 10, and 37 speak of beneficia, held by an *advocatus*, a *vasallus*, and a *presbyter*. The other tenures are the usual ones described in the other chapters of the Register.

The *dwelling*-property of the estate of St. Remi was divided generally into two parts: the *seignorial* manses (*mansi dominicati*) and the *tributary* manses, the latter being again subdivided into various classes whose nature was indicated by some distinctive adjective. Though the Register mentions other dwellings, the

(9) Mansum, or mansus, was the more usual and regular tenancy on the estate. It may be called *an estate, rural dwelling, or habitation* with land attached, *a farm*. Guérard counted 630 manses in the Polyptychum of St. Remi (see above, p. 558). The tributary manse was mostly occupied by one household, but sometimes by two or more households, who were generally subject to the same taxes and services.

(a) *Mansus dominicatus*, the *seignorial* or *manorial* manse, the *chief manse*. To each fise usually one seignorial manse belonged, and to each seignorial manse were, according to the Register, various smaller buildings (*adjacentia*) or outhouses attached, as a cellar or storehouse; also a courtyard, stables, an orchard, a garden, arable land, woods, meadows, vineyards, etc.



There was, perhaps, a difference between a mansus *dominicus* (which we find mentioned in other documents) and a mansus *dominicatus*, the latter being, probably, a manse set apart for or reserved to the lord or the domain; the former a manse that was actually *occupied* and inhabited by the lord. Hence

Mansus *dominicatus ingenuilis* seems to be a manse that had formerly been a mansus *ingenuilis*, but been converted into a mansus *dominicatus*, i.e. one reserved to the lord or to the domain.

Certain properties of the Abbey are also here specified by the adj. *dominicus* (see the Glossary in voce), and it is not improbable that the suggested interpretation of *dominicatus* and *dominicus* may be applied to them.

For further uses of the term *dominicatus* see *terra* (below, No. 57) and *vineola* (below, No. 82).

The *tributary* manses may be subdivided into two principal classes, the mansus *ingenuilis* and the mansus *servilis*. At St. Germain there were also mansi *lidiles*, but of these no trace is found at St. Remi, nor of the tenant called *lidus*, after whom they were called.

All the manses, with the exception of a few, are here, just as at St. Germain, qualified by some attributive adjective, which at first must have indicated the social class (*ingenuus*, *servus*, etc.) to which the tenant belonged, but which, in process of time, came to indicate the class of *taxes* and *services* to which the manse had become liable by reason of the social position of its *original* tenant.

For instance, a mansus *ingenuilis* or *servilis* is no longer, as in former times, so called because it is occupied by an *ingenuus* or a *servus*, as we often find that a mansus *servilis* was occupied by an *ingenuus*, and *vice versa*, but the adjective simply implies that the mansus *ingenuilis* and *servilis* were liable to the same taxes and services as formerly when they were occupied by an *ingenuus* or a *servus* and taxed according to the social condition of the tenant.

The description of the tributary manses is often followed by a list of the regular tenants of the fisc, and of the strangers who owed a certain number of days of manual labour or a certain sum of money.

As the various *tributary* manses have been fully described in the Glossary, it is only necessary here to give a short résumé of them.



(b) The mansus or mansum, which is mentioned without any qualifying adjective and without any description of its extent or contents, though the services and taxes which the Abbey raised on them are usually enumerated. Some of these undefined manses resemble the mansus *dominicus* in that they have outhouses, a cellar, orchard, vineyards, etc., attached to them. While others are evidently either mansi *ingenuiles* or mansi *serviles*, the qualifying adjective being implied in the word *similiter* found in most paragraphs which follow the paragraph describing a mansus in detail.

(c) Mansus *dimidius*, properly a half manse, but the adjective indicates the amount of the taxes or rent paid by the tenant, not the extent, size, or condition of the manse or its division into halves.

(d) Mansus *ingenuilis*; for details as to the various tenants of this manse see the Glossary in voce *mansus*. We find also a mansus *ingenuilis dimidius* and a mansus *ingenuus*. Likewise a mansus *ingenuilis apsus*, which was probably, in accordance with the supposed signification of *absus* or *apsus*, a mansus *ingenuilis* not cultivated or occupied by a regular tenant, or not paying the regular charges, as opposed to a mansus *vestitus*.

The Register also mentions a *mansi ingenuilis tertia pars* and a *quarta pars*.

(e) Mansus *servilis*; for details as to the various tenants see the Glossary, in voce *mansus*. Here also we find the mansus *servilis dimidius*.

(f) Mansus *integer*, a whole manse, as distinct from a mansus *dimidius*.

(g) Mansus *nudus*, perhaps a vacant manse, or one that was not fully equipped with all its necessaries. It is opposed to the mansus *vestitus*, though the difference between the two is not indicated. And in one place (xiii, 22) we actually find that both the mansus *nudus* and the mansus *vestitus* had each to supply two asses for transporting goods or to pay 10 denarii and one cart.

(h) Mansus *absus* or *apsus*, see above (d).

(i) Mansus *vestitus*, a furnished, fully equipped manse, usually opposed to the mansus *nudus*; see above (g).

Next in importance to the so-called mansus came the

(10) *Accola*, a manse, originally occupied and cultivated by a tenant called *accola*, but in course of time the *accola*, while

retaining its name, was held by various other classes of tenants (see Glossary, 2 *accola*). At St. Remi the *accola* seems to have taken the place of the *hospitium* of St. Germain (see also *sessus*, below, No. 40). We have here to notice the *accola ingenuilis*, *accola dimidia ingenuilis*, and *accola apsa*.

(11) Casa, a cottage, lodge.

(12) Domus, a house.

(13) Mansio, a small dwelling, habitation.

(14) Masius, a house, dwelling, mansion.

(15) Abbatia, an abbey. Abbatia Sancti Timothei, a dependency of the Abbey of St. Remi.

(16) Adjacentia, outhouses, small plots of ground or fields, or other conveniences adjoining the seignorial manse. In class. Latin the word is always used in the neuter plur. Du Cange quotes a plural *adjacentias* (therefore fem.). Its gender cannot be inferred from the present Register, as it always appears in the ablat. plur. (*adjacentiis*).

(17) Aedificium (ed-), a building, here usually in the plural, and indicating more particularly the various (but not all the) buildings or outhouses adjoining the manorial or chief manse of the estate. In a few instances inferior tenures have also *aedificia* attached to them.

(18) Camba, camma, a brewhouse, brewery.

(19) Capella, cappella, a chapel, mentioned as pertaining to a mansus *dominicatus*, and perhaps also to a *casa*. We find, moreover, a "cappella in honore sancti Salvatoris dedicata."

(20) Cortis, curtis, a court, enclosure, yard; a farm. There seems to be some difference implied in the different spelling of the word; the former being, apparently, a mere court, enclosure; the latter a real building or outhouse.

Dominicalis, see above, No. 7.

Domicatus, see above, No. 9 (a).

(21) Ecclesia, a church, with various qualifications as to Saints to whom they were dedicated, etc., see the Glossary.

(22) Farinarius, a corn-mill. As to offerings which mills had to present to the authorities of the estate, see above, p. 571, No. 67. See also below, Nos. 29, 30, 32.

(23) Forum, a market.

(24) Granea, a granary.

(25) Horreum, a storehouse, barn, granary.

(26) Hospitium, a habitation, inn, hostel. It occurs only once:

hospitium sancti Remigii. At St. Germain there were a good many *hospitia*, but they are apparently replaced at St. Remi by the *accola* (see above, No. 10).

(27) *Locum*, *locus*, a *place, estate*; here (1) = *beneficium*; (2) *locum dominicale (monasterii)*, *the domain*.—*Locus sepulturae*, a *place for burial*.

(28) *Mercatum*, a *market*.—*Mercatum annuale*, *an annual market*.

(29) *Molendinum*, a *mill* (see also above, No. 22, and below, Nos. 30 and 32).—*Molendinus hibernaticus*, a *winter mill*, which worked only in the winter, having probably not water enough in summer-time.

(30) *Molins*, the same as *molendinus* (29) and *mulinus* (32).

(31) *Monasterium*, a *monastery*. *Monasterium S. Remigii*, *the Abbey of St. Remi*.

(32) *Mulinus*, a *mill*, see above, Nos. 22, 29, and 30.

(33) *Navis*, a *ship*. Only four *naves* are mentioned (xxviii, 67, 68), which may have served for transporting produce, goods, or provisions from or to the various parts of the estate, or for fishing in the neighbouring rivers.

(34) *Oratorium*, a *place of prayer, an oratory*. One is mentioned "in honore S. Remigii," a second "in honore S. Mariae."

(35) *Pons*, a *bridge*. Twice we read that the "pons sive molendinus" (the bridge or the mill) had to pay a *tax*. Therefore the bridge was perhaps a bridge over the mill-stream.

(36) *Porta*, a *gate*. *Porta monasterii S. Remigii* seems to mean the *building or lodge* erected at the gate of the monastery for receiving guests.

(37) *Scola*, a *school*. *Scola S. Remensis ecclesiae*, the school of the church of St. Remi.

(38) *Scuria*, a *stable, barn* (D. *schuur*).

(39) *Sepulturae locus*, a *place for burial* (see *locus*).

(40) *Sessus* is generally a *piece of land* of varying extent, but sometimes it resembled the *mansus*, as having buildings (*aedificia*), a *curtis*, and *scuriae* attached to it.

(41) *Stabulum*, a *stable*.

(42) *Vivarium*, an *enclosure* for keeping alive game, fish, etc.

(β) *Parts of Buildings or of Houses, etc.*

(43) *Atrium*, a *hall, court, or large open space*.

(44) *Caminata*, a *room for warming, a fireplace*.

(45) *Cellarium*, a *storeroom, cellar*.



- (46) *Coquina, quoquina, a kitchen.*  
 (47) [Faenile] *Fenile, a hay-loft.*  
 (48) *Furnus, an oven, bakehouse.* A tax was raised on it.  
 (49) *Laubia [= lobia], a gallery, lobby, an open porch for walking,* attached to or adjoining a house.  
 (50) *Maceria, an enclosure or wall.*  
 (51) *Pars mansi, a part of a manse.*  
 (52) *Puteum, or puteus, a well, or a cistern, not a pit(?).* It is described as belonging to a *mansus dominicatus.*  
*Quoquina, see above, Coquina.*  
 (53) *Solarium, a terrace, balcony, or perhaps a loft, garret (casa cum solario).*  
 (54) *Tectum, a roof.*  
 (55) *Tegumen, a covering, cover, roof of a stable.*  
 (56) *Torcular, perhaps not a press, but a cellar for storing things, especially oil.*

(γ) Terms for *Land, Fields, Woods, etc.*

The term *land* here implies arable land or fields, vineyards, meadows, pastures, bogs, hemp-fields, woods, shrubberies, etc.

- (57) *Terra, land:* (a) in general, without any further definition; (b) *terra arabilis, arable land,* usually let out to the tenants of the estate; (c) *terra dominica, domain land,* not let out to tenants, but cultivated and administered by the monks or their officers; (d) *terra forastica, or forensis, land lying outside the domain;* (e) *terra altaris, land belonging to an altar, that is, to a church.*

(58) *Arboretum, a place grown with trees.*

(59) *Arva, perhaps a field, or a piece of uncultivated ground set apart for building purposes.* But the word may be the name of some place.

(60) *Avergaria, a piece of arable land on which rye, corn, barley, etc., was sown; also called advergaria, Prov. Fr. auzergier* (see Du Cange, in voce), and perhaps *vercheria* (ibid.). It was exempt from the tax called *araticum.*

*Bedullinus, for betullinus, of or belonging to the birch-tree; see below, Silva.*

(61) *Buscale* (accus. plur. *buscalia*), *a wood, thicket, bush, shrubbery* (Fr. *buisson*).

(62) *Campus, a field for growing corn, grain, spelt, etc.—Campus major; campus minor;—campus fiscalinis, a field belonging to a fisc.*



(63) Caneverilla (from *cannabina* or *cannabaria*, a field sown with hemp; from *cannabis*, hemp), a *hemp-field* (Fr. *chênevière*).

Colrinus, *of or belonging to the hazel*; see below, *Silva*.

Communis, see below, *Silva*.

(64) Concidis, *a wood, or part of a wood fit for being cut*.

(65) Cultura, *a piece of cultivated land*, generally belonging to the *mansus dominicatus*, though we also find *cultura de terra forastica*.

(66) Diurnale, *a measure of land*, perhaps as large as an ox could plough in one day.

(67) Gardinium, *a garden*. It evidently differed from the class. Lat. *hortus*, as it is said that a manse had "*hortum ac gardinium*."

(68) Hortus, ortus, *a garden, pleasure-garden, fruit-garden* (see No. 67).

(69) Jornalis, jornale (Fr. *journal*), *a measure of land*, probably with the same notion attached to it as *diurnale* (see above, No. 66).

(70) Mappa, *a measure of land* varying in breadth from 4 to 6 perches, and from 40 to 100 perches in length. See the Glossary.

(71) Mariscus (Fr. *marais*), *a marsh, pool, bog*.

(72) Mensura, *an undefined measure of land*: arare mensuras, xvii, 28.

Minutus, see below, *Silva*.

(73) Olcha (= olca), *a piece of arable land* closed in by ditches or hedges.

Ortus, see above, *Hortus*.

(74) Pascuum, *a pasture*.

(75) Pasqualis, pasquale, *a measure of pasture land*. This word (in the genit. plur.) is followed by the word *salcinorum*, of which the meaning is unknown. Could it mean brackish (from *sal*)?

(76) Pastura, *a pasture* (*pastura cum spinoris*?).

(77) Pratum, *a meadow*.—Pratum aratorium, probably *a field or meadow set apart for ploughing*.—Pratum dominicum, *a meadow belonging or reserved to the domain*.

(78) Quartarius, properly *a fourth part, a quarter of a measure*. But here it seems to be a measure of land, or perhaps a *fourth part of a manse*. We have also *quartarius dimidius*.

Salcinus, see above, *pasqualis*.

(79) Sessus or sessum, *a portion of land*, on which sometimes buildings were erected (see above, No. 40).

(80) Silva, *a wood*.—Silva bedullina, for *betullina*, *a wood of birch-trees* (Fr. *bois de bouleau*).—Silva colrina cum spinulis (Fr. *bois*

*de coudriers et d'épines*), a wood of hazel-trees and thorns or shrubs.—*Silva nutrita*, a well-kept wood.—*Silva communis*, a common or open wood.—*Silva minuta*, a small wood.

*Spinula*, a little thorn, shrub (= Fr. *épine*); see above, *Silva*.

(81) *Vinea*, a vineyard.—*Vinea dominica*, *dominicata*, a vineyard reserved to the lord or to the domain.

(82) *Vineola*, a small vineyard.—*Vineola dominicata*, a small vineyard reserved to the domain.

(83) *Viridiarium* = *viridarium*, a plantation of trees, a pleasure-garden.

(δ) *Church Furniture; Ecclesiastical Vestments; Service-books.*

(a) *Church Furniture.*

(84) *Altare*, an altar; see also below (No. 101), *Velamina altaris*, and above (No. 57), *terra altaris*.

(85) *Calix*, a cup, drinking-vessel.—*Calix argenteus*, a silver cup.—*Calix cum patena*, a cup, drinking-vessel, with a plate.

(86) *Capsa*, a repository, box, vessel, with various attributive adjectives; see the Glossary.

(87) *Clocca*, a bell, clock.—*Clocca de metallo* and *clocca de ferro* (see also No. 88).

(88) *Cocclea* (perhaps for *clocca*) *ferrea*, see the Glossary.

(89) *Coopertorium sericum*, a silk altar cloth.

(90) *Corona stagnea* (supra altare), a tin circle for holding tapers.

(91) *Corporale*, a [linen] cloth, placed over the species after communion.—*Corporale de glidsa*, a cloth of superior linen.

(92) *Crux*, a cross.—*Crux argentea*; *crux de stagno*; *crux stagno cooperta*.

(93) *Gemma vitrea*, a precious stone, gem, jewel (in the *capsa*).

(94) *Lampada stagnea*; *lampas de stagno*, a lamp of tin.

(95) *Palliolum*, a small pall, or a canopy, or curtain (?).

(96) *Pallium*, a pall, or a canopy, or curtain (?).

(97) *Patena*, a paten, plate.

(98) *Schilla*, a bell: *schilla de metallo*.

(99) *Signum*, a seal.—*Signum de metallo*; *signum ferreum*, perhaps a copper or an iron bell.

(100) *Turibulum de auricalco*, a censer of brass.—*Turibulum aereum*, a copper or bronze censer.

(101) *Velamina altaris*, coverings, veils for the altar.

*(b) Ecclesiastical Vestments.*

(102) Alba, *the alb.*

(103) Casula, *a chasuble.*

(104) Fano, *a towel, handkerchief, maniple* [made of fine cotton stuff].

Indiatus, for inductus (?), *covered*; see the Glossary.

(105) Linteus, *a linen vestment* (?).

(106) Mapula, *a garment worn by priests, or a small napkin.*

(107) Margareta, *a pearl*; see *nastola*.

(108) Nastola, cum margaretis, *a girdle, zone, belt, with pearls* (or a *pin, brace, shoulder-knot*).

(109) Planeta, another name for the *chasuble*, with various terms indicating the stuffs of which it was made; see Glossary.

(110) Stola, *a stole.*

(111) Vestimentum sacerdotale, *a suit of vestments for the priest.*

*(c) Divine Service and other Books.*

(112) Antiphonarius (-ium), *a book containing the antiphons.*—Antiphonarius vetustus.—Breviarium antiphonarii. See further the Glossary.

(113) Apocalypsis, *a book containing the text of the Book so called.*

(114) Baptisterium, *the order or ritual of baptism*: Expositio in baptisterio, *a volume containing the Church order or ritual of baptism.*

(115) Breviarium, *a summary, abridgment, extract*; breviarium antiphonarii, see above, No. 112.

(116) Canones, *the rules or laws of the Church*: Canones, volumen i.—Quaterniones canonum vii, seven quires of the Canons.—Canonicus, *of or belonging to a canon*: Epistolae Pauli et vii canonicæ, et Apocalypsis cum explanatione, volumen i.—See also below (No. 133), *Poenitentiale*.

(117) Causa, *a cause*: alterum manulem i, ex diversis causis, perhaps a manual treating of various *causes* relating to the great affairs of the Church.

(118) Collectaneum (-eus), *a book containing the collects.*—Collectaneum, volumen i.—Collectaneus a Pascha usque Domini adventum.

(119) Compotus, *a calculation of the Calendar, a Calendar.*

(120) Epistola, *an epistle*: Epistolarum volumen, *a volume containing* [sections of] *the Epistles* appointed to be said at Mass.—



Epistolae Pauli et vii canonice, et Apocalypsis cum explanatione, volumen i.

(121) Evangelium, *a portion of the Gospels read at stated times during Divine service*; it was included in the book called Missale (see the Glossary in voce); see also below (No. 128), *Liber Evangeliorum*.

Expositio in baptisterio, see above, No. 114.

Gelasius (Pope), see below, *Missale*, No. 130.

(122) Glosa, *a gloss, interpretation*: glosarum quaternio, *a quire* (book) *containing glosses*.

(123) Gradalis, *a gradual*, bound up with the Antiphonarius: Antiphonarius, gradalis ac nocturnalis, volumen i.

Gregorius (Pope), see below, *Missale*, No. 130.

(124) Hieronimi in Matheo, volumen i.—Jeronimi super Matheum, volumen i.

(125) [Homilia] Omilia, omelia, *a homily*: Omiliarum Gregorii xl vol. i; see the Glossary.

Jeronimus, see above, No. 124.

(126) Lectio, *a part of Holy Scripture, or other authorized book*, included in the Missale.

(127) Lectionarium (-ius), *a book containing the passages from St. Paul's Epistles read at the Mass*.

(128) Liber Evangeliorum (*a book of the Gospels*), volumen i.

Manuale ex diversis causis, see *Causa*, above, No. 117.

(129) Martirologium, *a book containing a list of Saints, with notes of the deaths they suffered, a martyrology*.

(130) Missale, *a missal, a book containing the masses or offices of the holy Eucharist for the year*.—Missale Gregorii, said to have been compiled by Pope Gregory; Missale Gelasii, said to have been compiled by Pope Gelasius.

(131) Nocturnalis, *a book containing the night-offices*; see above, *gradalis*, No. 123, and the Glossary under antiphonarius.

Omelia, omilia, see above, No. 125, *Homilia*.

(132) Passionalis, Passionale, *a book containing the sufferings or passions of the martyrs*.

(133) Poenitentiale, *a penitential, an ecclesiastical book containing rules for imposing penance*.—Poenentialis canonicus, volumen i.—Poenentialis Bedae, volumen i, cum evangelio Mathaei.

(134) Psalterium, *a psalter*.

(135) Quaternio, *a quire, volume*; see above, *Canon* (No. 116), *Compotus* (No. 119), *Glosa* (No. 122).



Other words relating to ecclesiastical affairs are : *dedicatus* (see *ecclesia* in the Glossary); *sacerdotalis* (see *vestimentum*); *sacrare* (see *ecclesia* in the Glossary, and above, *sacrata Deo*, p. 17); *Sedes Sancta*, the *Holy See*.

#### IV. TENURES.

Under this head are arranged (1) all words which describe the different manners, modes, principles, conditions, etc., whereby or on which the land and other property belonging to the estate was held, acquired, possessed, or let out, granted, or bestowed; (2) all words which describe or indicate in any way the *actions* or domestic and public *functions* of the authorities and tenants, with the exception of the *services* which the latter had to perform. For instance, the formula *Testes praescriptae rei* occurs at the end of the description of a fise (xvii, 125), and another, *Isti juraverunt*, at the end of two others (ix, 19; xxviii, 64). Each one of these formulæ is followed by the names of the persons whose evidence or deposition had served to describe or record the size and extent of the land, a circumstance which is of considerable importance as showing that the redaction of the Registers was made, at least to some extent, after various enquiries had been held.

It was, therefore, considered necessary to record, in one way or another, the various words which describe or indicate actions or proceedings of this kind.

Under (*b*) the words follow in an alphabetical order. In a future or larger list of such terms it will be perhaps more convenient to subdivide them systematically.

##### (a) *General terms.*

(1) *Honor, honour.*

(2) *Dominicum, a domain; dominicalis, of or belonging to a domain; dominicatus, reserved to a domain.*

(3) *Dominicus, of or belonging to a dominus or lord; see the Glossary in vocibus Annona, Pratum, Precium, Terra, Vinea.*

##### (b) *Particular terms.*

(4) *Acquisitus, acquired, procured, obtained, said of an ingenuus.*

(4a) *Actum, done, transacted, at the end of a judgment of the third year (A.D. 848) of Hincmar's archbishopric.*

(5) *Addonare se*, to give one's self as a client or tenant, said of one *colonus* to distinguish him from another *colonus* "qui ibi est ex nativitate."

(6) *Beneficium, usufruct.*

(7) *Commanere, to dwell.*

(8) *Communc, communia, a common right or privilege* (of using a wood or copse for making fences).

(9) *Comparare, to procure, get, purchase.*—*Comparatus, procured, purchased, obtained*, said of *servi* and *ancillae*.

(10) *Compartire* (for the class. Lat. *compartiri*), to divide something with one, to share.

(11) *Comprobare, to approve, assent to.*

(12) *Comprobatio, approval.*

(13) *Consignare, to sign together, to sign, subscribe.*

(14) *Consuetudo, custom, usage.*

(15) *Contingere, to concern, be related to.*

(16) *Dare, to give; here more usually to pay taxes.* } See below, *Taxes*  
} (VI, Nos. 70–72).

(17) *Debere, to owe taxes.*

(18) *Deputatus, assigned, allotted.*

(19) *Dicere jurati, to say, testify as sworn men.*

(20) *Donare, to present, offer*, but here usually to pay taxes (see below, VI, No. 72).—*Donatio, a presenting, gift.* The word occurs twice only, each time signifying a gift of property, therefore indicating in what way the Abbey had acquired it.

(21) *Exire*, (1) neut., to proceed, issue, arise, result from; (2) act., to derive, obtain, receive.

(22) *Habere, to have, possess, hold.*—*Habere in, or pro, or de beneficio, to hold in usufruct.*—*Tenere in beneficium*, the same.

(23) *Hereditas, inheritance.* This term has here the meaning of *Property* (see above, III. B. 6).

(24) *Imperare, to command, order, enjoin.*

(25) *Indicium, a notice, information.*

(26) *Ingenuiliter tenere, to hold in the manner, on the same conditions as an ingenuus.*

(27) *Ingenuitas, the condition, qualification, status of an ingenuus.*

(28) *Injungere, to enjoin, impose.*

(29) *Inoperare, to make, do.*

(30) *Interrogare, to question, interrogate judicially.*

(31) *Investigare, to investigate.*

(32) *Jurare, to take an oath.*

- (33) *Justitia, a judgment.*
- (34) *Lex, the law.*
- (35) *Manere, to reside, dwell.*
- (36) *Manuale, causa* (see above, p. 582, No. 117).
- (37) *Necesse esse, to be necessary.*—*Necessitas, necessity.*
- (38) *Noviter, newly, recently.*
- (39) *Opus, (1) need, necessity; (2) work.*
- (40) *Originaliter, originally.*
- (40a) *Panis, bread.* Some tenants, when performing their stipulated work for the lord, received their bread from him; sometimes we find it distinctly stated that they had to do their work *without* receiving bread (see the Glossary, voce *panis*, and below, No. 48, *Praebenda*).
- (41) *Pars, a part.*
- (42) *Pastio, the right or privilege of pasturing or feeding pigs.*
- (43) *Pastus, the same.*
- (44) *Paupertas, poverty.*
- (45) *Placitum publicum, a public court, or plea.*
- (46) *Portio, a part, portion.*
- (47) *Possibilitas, possibility.* Tenants who were under the obligation of offering gifts (oblaciones) were free to consult their power of doing so.
- (48) *Praebenda, daily support, allowance, payment, food, sustenance;* here the *daily food* which some tenants had to bring with them, or the *daily allowance* which they received when they performed their obligatory services for their lord; see above, No. 40a, *Panis*.
- (49) *Praeceptum, an order, direction, command.*
- (50) *Praescriptus* (wrongly written *perscriptus*), *before-written.*
- (51) *Praesens, present.*
- (52) [*Praestaria*] *Prestaria, a mode of holding property* "in loan," by virtue of a charter issued by the grantor, differing, therefore, from the *precaria*, a mode of holding property granted or lent on the request of the grantee.
- (53) *Precium dominicum, the master's money.* *Servi* and *ancillae* were said to have been acquired by the master's money.
- (54) *Probare, to prove.*
- (55) *Ratio, (1) account, charge, care.* A church had to look after the poor, for which purpose a *mansus dominicatus* was assigned to it (x, 5).—(2) *occasion, requirement, opportunity, condition.* A brewery could be taxed if the condition or requirement of the times permitted it (*camba ad censum, prout ratio temporis permiserit*).



- (56) Recipere, *to receive, hold, contain.*
- (57) Recognoscere, *to examine, inspect.*
- (58) Recredere se, *to re-consign one's self*, said of a *servus* who, having denied that he was a *servus*, confessed himself as such, and re-consigned or re-entrusted himself, after the truth had been established by a judicial enquiry.
- (59) Redimere se, *to buy one's self off, release one's self*, said of a tenant who paid a sum of money instead of performing manual labour for his lord.
- (60) Regere, *to rule, govern.*
- (61) Regius, *royal.*
- (62) Regnare, *to rule, reign.*
- (63) Remanere, *to stay, remain behind.*
- (64) Reperire, *to find, procure.*
- (65) Repressus, *pressed back (into service)*, said of *servi* and *ancillae*.
- (66) Requirere, *to ask or inquire after.*
- (67) Residere, *to sit*, said of judges.
- (68) Respicere, *to belong to.*
- (69) Rewadiare, rewadigare, *to pledge again*; rewadiare *servicium*, *to pledge one's service again.*
- (70) Similiter (tenere), *to hold, tenant in a similar manner.*
- (71) Sonus, *a difference, dispute.*
- (72) Subscribere, *to subscribe one's name.*
- (73) Successio, *a following after.*
- (74) Tenere, *to hold*; tenere in *beneficium*, *to hold in usufruct*, the same as *habere in beneficio* (see above, No. 22).
- (75) Tenor, *tenor, sense, way.*
- (76) Tertius, *a third.* Several domanial vineyards were let out on condition that the tenant should have *a third* of the vintage (*ad tertium facere*). The half of a mill (*farinarius*) was held under the same condition. See further the Glossary in voce *tertius*.
- (77) Testificare, *to testify, give evidence.*
- (78) Testis, *a witness.*
- (79) Titulare, *to call, name.*
- (80) Tradere, *to give up, hand over.*—Tradere se, *to give one's self up, to devote one's self.*
- (81) Venerari, *to venerate*; see above, p. 571, No. 67.
- (82) Veneratio, *reverence, respect, regard*; see above, p. 571, No. 67.
- (83) Veritas, *the truth.*



(84) *Vicis, change, alternation.*

(85) *Vicissim, in turn.*

Here we may mention the adverbs *desuper, above; excepto, by exception; exterius, without; inibi, in that place, there; interius, within; subter, below, underneath.*

- V. A. MONEY.  
 B. MEASURES.  
 C. WEIGHTS.  
 D. METALS.  
 E. PRECIOUS STONES.  
 F. STUFFS,

Current and used on the Estate.

#### A. MONEY.

(a) *General terms.*

(1) *Precium, price, value.*

(2) *Summa, a sum-total.*

(b) *Special terms.* The monetary system at St. Remi was, in the main, the same as at St. Germain, for which see my Memoranda No. 2, p. 33.

(3) *Libra, a pound, a term used in counting.*

(4) *Solidus, a shilling, the twentieth part of a pound: (1) without any further definition; (2) solidus de argento; argenti solidus; (3) used as a weight: capsam argenteam i, calicem argenteum i, cum patena argentea, pensantes simul solidos 10.*

(5) *Denarius, the denar or penny. Denarius de argento, i, 16; ii, 5, etc.*

(6) *Minuta (Fr. maille), a small coin, a half denarius.*

(7) *Uncia, a coin, mentioned after the pound (libra) and before the denarius.*

#### B. MEASURES.

(a) *Of length.*

(a) *General terms of length, extent, and circumference.*

(8) *Circuitus, circumference, circuit.*

(9) *Continere, to contain, hold, said of fields containing so many mappae.*

- (10) *Latitudo, latitude, breadth.*  
 (11) *Latus, the side, the lateral surface of a field (in latus).*  
 (12) *Longitudo, longitude, length.*  
 (13) *Longus, long ; in longum, lengthwise.*  
 (14) *Mensura, a measure ; see the Glossary.*

(β) *Special measures of length.*

- (15) *Lega, leuga, a Gaulic mile of 1,500 Roman paces, a league.*

(γ) *Of length or of height and breadth.*

- (16) *Pes, pedes ad manum (Fr. pié main or pied de main ; pieds-mains), a foot.* On this measure, which referred (1) to a cart laden with wood ; (2) to a pile of wood, see the Glossary, voce *manus*.

(b) *Of surface.*

(a) *Of arable land and of woods.*

It is to be observed that some terms for land, which are enumerated under *Property* (see above, pp. 579 sqq.), have evidently also served as *measures* for land, for instance, *diurnale, jornale*, etc. So, reversely, terms for *measures* were in course of time applied to the land itself.

- (17) *Mappa ; for this measure see the Glossary in voce.*

- (18) *Pertica, a measure, a perch ; see the Glossary.*

(β) *Of vineyards and meadows.*

The measure of the meadows and vineyards of St. Remi is not indicated by any definite term. The Register merely states that so many *carts of hay* could be collected from a *pratam*, or any given number of *prata* combined: *Prata ii, ubi possunt colligi de foeno carra iiii (i, 1)*. Only in three places (xxiv, 1 ; xxvi, 28, 30) their measure is given in *mappae*. See further iii, 1 ; iv, 1 ; vi, 17 ; viii, 1 ; xi, 1 ; xii, 1 ; xiv, 2 ; xv, 1 ; xvi, 1 ; xix, 1 ; xx, 15 ; xxi, 1 ; xxii, 1 ; xxiii, 1 ; xxvi, 14, 16. See also the Glossary in voce.

With regard to the *vinea*, the Register merely tells us how many *modii* of wine could be gathered from a given number of vineyards: *Vineas viiii, ubi possunt colligi de vino modii lxi (i, 1)*. See further ii, 1 ; iii, 1 ; iv, 1, 2, 4 ; vi, 17, 19 ; ix, 1 ; xi, 1 ; xii, 1 ; xv, 1 ; xvi, 1 ; xix, 1 ; xxi, 1 ; xxiii, 1 ; xxvi, 14, 28, 33.

It may be observed that nearly all these meadows and vineyards pertain, or are reserved, to the domain. See for a similar particularity the Glossary in voce *mappa*.

(c) *Of capacity.*

(a) *General term.*

(19) *Mensura*, a *measure* in general, which qualified the *modius* of dry goods and liquids: *mensura minor* and *major*; see the Glossary.

(β) *Special terms.*

(a) *For dry goods.*

(20) *Corbus*, a *basket*, in which tenants had to bring their contribution of spelt to the Abbey. It was probably of a fixed capacity, and seems to have contained between 10 and 12 modii.

(21) *Maldrus*, a *corn-measure*, occurs only in the later additions. It probably did not differ much from the *modius*. The malter is still used in some parts of Germany.

(22) *Mensura*, an *undefined measure*: *mensura lignorum*.

(23) *Mina*, a *corn-measure*. It occurs in xiii, 15, which is a later addition to the Register. It was probably larger than a half sextarius.

(24) *Modius*, a *corn-measure*. There were two kinds of *modii*: *modius ad minorem mensuram*; *modius mensurae majoris*. Guérard calculates that a large *modius* = a small one and  $\frac{2}{3}$ :

(25) *Quartalis*, a *measure for salt*. It seems to have been the quart of a quart, or a sixteenth part of a small modius.

(26) *Quartellus*, for *measuring barley*. It seems to have been a subdivision of a *modius*, and was perhaps the same as the *quartalis*.

(27) *Sextarius*, *sesterius* (Fr. *setier*), a *measure* both for *dry goods* and *liquids*, was probably the sixteenth part of a *modius*.

(28) *Tertiolus*, a *measure for salt*, was probably a third of a *modius*.

(b) *For liquids.*

(29) *Modius*, a *cask*, of varying capacity.

(30) *Sextarius*, *sesterius*, see above, No. 27.

*(d) Of solidity.*

(31) Carrum, carrus, *a two-wheeled waggon* for transporting burdens; here it measured the *quantity of wood, hay, straw*, and other produce of the forest, fields, meadows, etc., which tenants had to supply to the lord in satisfaction of their rents or taxes.

(32) Lignaria, lignarium, *a bundle or pile of wood*, the height, size, or breadth of which is indicated by the uncertain measure *pedes ad manum*; see above, No. 16, and the Glossary voce *manus*.

(33) Manipulus, *a bundle (of unprepared flax)*, occurs in a later addition.

(34) Sauma, *a pile, heap (of wood)* of uncertain size, perhaps a charge or load which a beast of burden or a man could carry.

*(e) Numbers and quantity.*

(35) Caput, *a head*, in counting cattle.

(36) Dimidius, *half*.

(37) Medietas, *a half*.

(38) Quartarius (Fr. *quartier*), *a fourth part, a quarter* of any measure.

## C. WEIGHTS.

*(a) General term.*

(39) Pensare, *to weigh*.

*(b) Special terms.*

(40) Libra, *a pound*.—Libra de melle.

(41) Uncia, *an ounce*.

(42) Pensa, *an uncertain weight*, which, if the reading be right, seems to have been used to weigh meat.—We also find Pensa lini, *a weight or ball of flax*.

## D. METALS.

(43) [Aes, copper] Aereus, *of copper*.

(44) Argentum, *silver*, of which the *solidus* and *denarius* were coined.—Argenteus, *of silver*.

(45) Auricalcum, for aurichalcum = orichalcum, *brass*.

(46) Aurum, *gold*; deauratus, *gilt (capsa auro deaurata)*.

(47) Ferrum, *iron*.—Ferreus, *made of iron, iron-*; ferrea cocclea; ferreum signum.



- (48) Metallum, *bronze, copper*.  
 (49) [Plumbum, lead] Plumbeus, *made of lead, leaden*; plumbea patella.  
 (50) Stagnum, stannum, *an alloy of silver and lead*.—Stagneus, *made of stannum*.

## E. PRECIOUS STONES.

- (51) Gemma, *a jewel, gem*.—Gemma vitrea, *a bright gem*.  
 (52) Margareta, *for margarita, a pearl*.

## F. STUFFS.

- (53) [Castanea, the chestnut] Castanea planeta, *a chasuble having the colour of the chestnut*.  
 (54) Cendatum (viride), cindadum (nigrum), *silk cloth, of which the planeta (chasuble) was made*.  
 (55) Glidsa, *linen of a superior kind*.  
 (56) Indiatus, *for inductus (?), covered*; see Glossary.  
 (57) [Lana, wool] Lana planeta, *a chasuble made of wool*.  
 (58) [Linum, linen] Linea casula, *a chasuble made of linen*.  
 (59) Niger, *black, sable*; see above, *cindadum*.  
 (60) Rubea (*red, reddish*) planeta lanca.  
 (61) Viridis, *green*; see above, *cendatum*.

- VI. A. SERVICES performed by the tenants of the estate.  
 B. TAXES, RENTS, and other DUES paid by the tenants.  
 C. SEASONS in which the services were to be performed, and the rents and taxes to be paid.  
 D. PRODUCE arising from the cultivation and administration of the estate, and with which the tenants paid their rents, taxes, etc.

The property of the Abbey of St. Remi, like that of the Abbey of St. Germain des Prés, was divided into seignorial and tributary land. The latter was let out in farms or manses of various size, each to one or more tenants or families, who not only had to pay rents and taxes for their holdings, but to cultivate and keep them in repair, as well as the seignorial farms, houses, buildings, etc.

The labours, services, and duties involved in this obligation on the parts of the tenants did not, generally speaking, differ materially from those at St. Germain. Hence I need not repeat here what has been explained more fully on p. 36 sqq. of my paper on the estate of St. Germain.

## A. SERVICES.

(a) *General terms.*

(1) *Ministerium, service, ministry, attendance, office.*

(2) *Opera, work, labour: opera servilis.*

(3) *Opus, service, employment.*—*Opus judici, work done for a judge or superintendent.*—*Opus servile, servile work, work done by a servus.*

(4) *Servitium, service.* Apart from the general services or labours which the tenants were obliged to perform for their lord, at stated times, or whenever required by him or his officers, there was, at St. Remi, a *servitium aquense*, which was evidently the service of conveying and transporting wine and other produce of the estate to Aix-la-Chapelle. This and some other similar services will be explained below under (b) the *more defined terms of services* (b, Nos. 6–8).

(5) *Officium sacerdotale, the office of the priest.*

(b) *More defined terms of services.*

We meet at St. Remi with three regular services of transporting, by means of the *asinus*, the *bos*, and the *carrus* (drawn by asses, oxen, or other beasts of burden), wine and other articles of produce to the neighbouring towns, (6) St. Quentin (*Veromandui*), (7) Aix-la-Chapelle (*Aquae*), and (8) Châlons (*Cavalona*). For the maintenance and regular working of these services the tenants had either to supply the necessary beasts of burden, or to pay a certain sum of money by way of tax or impost.

(6) *Asinus, an ass.* In xiii, 14 it is said that 20 mansi had each to supply (solvere) 2 “*asinos in Veromandense aut 12 denarios,*” and the 20 mansi mentioned in xiii, 22 had each to furnish (solvere) 2 “*asinos, mittendos in Veromandense, aut 10 denarios.*” This indicates, it seems, a *service of transport, by means of asses, from St. Remi to St. Quentin (Veromandui), which in another place (xiii, 18) is called*

*Via Veromandensis*, the road (service) of St. Quentin. The 31½ mansi recorded in xiii, 8 had to pay, at the feast of St. Remi, 21 solidos “*pro via Veromandensis,*” which evidently refers to the same service of transport to St. Quentin, for which other tenants had to furnish asses.

(7) *Bos aquensis, an ox of Aix(-la-Chapelle).* In various places of the present Polyptychum tenants or manses are said to pay

one denarium "pro bove aquensi." Du Cange records the phrase, but does not explain it. Carpentier, one of his editors, suggests that it may mean an ox that turns the wheel of a mill. Guérard, however, points out that the form of the adjective shows that it relates to the name of some place and not to water (*aqua*), for, if it referred to some condition of the ox, or some water-work which the ox had to perform, the adjective would be *aquarius*. He, therefore, concludes that *aquensis* points to a locality named *Aquae*, usually translated into French *Aix*, and that *bos aquensis* would mean "an ox of Aix," that is, an ox employed to convey goods to Aix-la-Chapelle. Towards the maintenance of this service of transport the tenants of the estate had to contribute annually (?) one denarius. The same service or tribute appears also under the name of

Servitium aquense, the service of Aix-la-Chapelle (see above, No. 4).

(8) Caropera, carriopera, caropera, *service, work*, as conveying and transporting wine, corn, and other articles of consumption, farm-produce (wood, hay, etc.), which tenants had to perform for their lord by means of a (*carrum* or *carrus*) cart, either to a fixed extent, or to any extent, and wherever the lord or his officers demanded it. It is usually described as "donare" or "facere caroperas," and mentioned together with *manopera*. The tenant could buy off the service by supplying an ox, or by a money payment, apparently 4 denarii.

Besides this general service by means of carts, there was a special service called "caropera Cavalonensis," a conveyance by cart to Châlons, which resembled the services mentioned above (Nos. 6 and 7) under *Asinus*; *Via Veromandensis*; *Bos aquensis*; and (No. 4) *Servitium aquense*.

(9) Corrogata (also written *conrogata*), *obligatory, gratuitous work* due from a tenant to his lord (see my Memor. No. 2, p. 37). It appears from some expressions in the present Polyptychum that this work was mostly performed with oxen (*facit conrogatas ii, si boves habuerit, xi, 8*), at harvest-time, or when the fields were ploughed or sown, though the *nature* and *extent* of the work are nowhere distinctly explained. It is usually said: *facit in anno (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, or 9) corrogatas*. Sometimes no number is



given (xv, 12, 14; xvii, 28), which may imply that the amount or the extent of the *corrogata* (which answers to the Engl. *job*) was fixed (by custom or by arrangement), as well as the number which each tenant had to perform. The obligation of doing one or more *corrogatae* did not absolve the tenants from doing other manual labour. From this form of the word is derived

(9a) *Corvada*, which has the same meaning, and is the only form used in Irminon's Polyptychum, whereas the present Register of St. Remi employs the two forms indiscriminately.

(10) *Dies, a day*, that is, *a day's labour*, hence "facere diem," or "facere (1, 2, 3, 4, etc.) dies," to do or perform one or more days' labour in the fields, meadows, vineyards, etc., at the time of the harvest, mowing the grass, gathering in the vintage, etc. We find it said of tenants of *mansi serviles*, in a general way, that they did four days (vi, 9), which seems to indicate that they performed their day's or days' work whenever and wherever they were enjoined to do it; or it may mean 4 days per week during the year or the greater part of the year, as is the case in viii, 2, where the tenants (all *servi*) of *mansi serviles* had to work four days every week from the feast (*missa*) of St. John to the feast of St. Remi, besides doing 8 *corvadae* in the year and paying one den. for the *bos aquensis* (see above, No. 7). In xv, 17 the tenant of an *accola* had to do two days per week.

In some of the later portions of the Polyptychum manses were obliged to do 24 days of work in February, and a similar number in May (xiii, 9). Other *mansi* had to do either 4 days in the field or 12 in the seignorial courtyard.

Instead of performing the work, certain tenants could pay a sum of money ranging, it seems, between 4 and 12 denarii.

(11) *Ebdomada, a week*, during which some tenants had to work a certain number of days (*dies*) for their lord. Sometimes *Septimana*, a week, is used instead.

(12) *Facere, to do, make, work*, in all respects as on the St. Germain estate: *facere corrogatas*; *mappam*; *vineam*, etc.—*Facere vineam dominicam ad tertium, to cultivate the dominical vineyard for a third of the profits* (see the Glossary, voce *tertius*).—*Facere vigiliis, to keep watch, to watch*, etc.

(13) *Manopera, handwork, manual labour*. This service was usually exacted from the tenants in connection with the service called *carropera* (see above, No. 8). But in four instances (xvi, 5; xxiii, 2; xxiv, 1; and xxvii, 2) the tenants of *accolae*



are recorded as merely doing *manopera*, either in vineyards, meadows, or the harvest. From xx, 2 and xxiii, 2 we learn that the tenant could be asked to do this manual labour whenever and wherever it should be necessary. And so in xvii, 2 the *manopera* was to be done "ad macerías (the walls or enclosures) monasterii seu alterius loci." And that this manual labour at the walls or enclosures was perhaps as common as that in the fields and vineyards, may be inferred from x, 6: "facit ad macerías dies 15," and xvii, 22: "facit macerías in monasterio vel alio in loco."

The performance of this general manual labour, whatever the term may have embraced, does not appear to have relieved the tenant from doing further manual labour specially and separately indicated. For instance, xviii, 2, the tenant of a mansus ingenuilis, not only "facit caroperas et manoperas," but "tempore vindemiae facit dies xv; facit et pecturas ad claudendam cortem et ad tegumen scuriarum." Another tenant for a similar tenancy "facit et pecturam ad claudendam cortem, caroperas et manoperas" (xx, 2). Another "facit caroperas et manoperas, et pecturam ad scuriam et hortum" (xxii, 2). See also xxviii, 2, 69, 72. In some places, as in v, 2; vii, 2; x, 6; xvii, 22, various works are specially pointed out as having been performed by the tenant without the word *manopera* being mentioned. These various services, which we may all include in the one term *manopera*, are specified and explained by the terms following (Nos. 15 to 69).

(14) Septimana, the same as Ebdomada, see above, No. 11.

(c) *Particular, specified services.*

(15) Ambasciatura (a form not recorded in Du Cange), a mission, embassy: vadere in, or facere ambasciaturam, to go on, or execute a mission.

(16) Arare, to plough. The extent of this service is usually regulated by one or other of the various measures of land described above (pp. 589, 579 sq.), or by the task, as: arare *corrogatam*, *corvadam*, *diurnale*, *mappam*, *mensuram*, *perticam*, etc. (see the Glossary, in vocibus). The time when this work had to be performed is indicated by the expressions arare ad *hibernaticam* (or *aestivaticam*, or *trematicam*) *sationem*, to plough for winter-, summer-, or three-monthly sowing. This service corresponds to that called *rigam facere* in Irminon's Polyptychum.

(17) Aratura, the ploughing of land, which tenants had to perform

for their lord. It would seem that at St. Remi tenants were free to render other services instead, as we read (in iii, 2) of the tenant of a mansus servilis that “pro omni *aratura et servitio praevidet silvam vel nutrit*” (keeps, guards, has the custody of the wood or cultivates it).

(18) Bannum, bannus, (1) in general, *compulsory service* (in fields, woods, stables, barns, etc.) due from a tenant to his lord, to the performing of which he was called by proclamation or bann, with the further obligation of having to supply a cart (sometimes a half one) for the carting and conveying of hay, wood, etc. Sometimes in return for this service, the tenant enjoyed the right or privilege (called either *pastus* or *pastio*) of feeding and pasturing pigs or other cattle.—(2) in particular, *a day's compulsory work*, enjoined, proclaimed, and performed by proclamation or bann, as: a day's gathering or carting of wood; a day's work in the stable or barn, or in the carting and conveying of hay, etc. Hence also the term *bannus generalis*.

(19) Brazium, *beer*: *facere brazium, to brew beer*, which tenants had to do for the lord.

(20) Caballeritia, *a service performed for the lord of the estate by means of a horse* [either serving in the army, or transporting agricultural produce or other articles of food, etc.]. It occurs only once, and was imposed on a mansus *ingenuilis*, held by an *ingenuus*.

(21) Caplim, capplim, properly cut wood, but by extension, *the obligation of tenants to cut down trees or branches of trees*, a work which was measured by *days*. Caplim differed from *lignum*, the latter meaning apparently blocks of wood or deal boards, of which the tenants had to supply fixed quantities (measured by the cart or pile) to the lord; see below, Nos. 82 and 83.

(22) Carrucare (*carritare* in Irminon's Polyptychum), *to load on a carrum, to cart*.

Cavalona, *Châlons*; see above, No. 8.

(23) Claudere, *to enclose, confine, fence, hedge in*.

(24) Clausura, (1) *a fence, enclosure* which tenants had to construct. It here also means (2) *thorns, wood, or other material* for making a fence, which tenants had to gather for or supply to their lord.

(25) Colligere, *to gather, collect, load*, said of the obligation of the tenants to gather the vintage, hay, straw, etc.

(26) Componere, *to gather up, collect, pile together*: *componere fenum*.

(27) *Conducere*, to bring, convey, transport the produce of the fields, as wine, etc.—*Conductio*, *conductus vini*; see also *Deducere*, *Ducere*, and *Ductus vini*.

(28) *Cooperire*, to cover, cover over, roof over sheds, barns, etc.

(29) *Coopertura* (Fr. *couverture*), a covering, roof.

(30) *Deducere*, to bring, convey, transport; the same as *Conducere*, see above, No. 27.

(31) *Deferre*, to bear, carry, bring down.

(32) *Dies*, a day, or day's work (see above, No. 10).

(33) *Ducere*, to lead, bring (see above, No. 27).

(34) *Ductus*, a conveying, transporting (see above, No. 27).

(35) *Emendare*, to emend, repair, restore.

(36) *Excutare*, to shake, shake out corn.

(37) *Fimum vehere*, to cart and convey the manure was the duty of the tenants.

(38) *Fungi*, to discharge, execute.

(39) *Incrassatio*, a fattening of pigs.

(40) *Inoperare*, to give one's labour to anything, to make, do.

(41) *Materiamen*, timber, material for enclosing courts, covering stables, or for use in the vineyard, which tenants had to supply.

(42) *Mensura*, a fixed amount of labour to be performed by a tenant for the lord, usually in enclosing a courtyard or a vineyard.

(43) *Navis*, a ship. Four ships are mentioned, and as they were a source of revenue to the estate, it may be presumed that they were worked by men belonging to the estate, either for navigation on the river Marne or for fishing, for the convenience of the tenants and all those that belonged to the estate.

(44) *Nutrire*, to cultivate, grow, take care of: *nutrire silvam*.

(44a) *Obsequium*, an ecclesiastical service, funeral rites (to be performed by a presbyter in regard to his tenancy).

(45) *Operire*, to cover, roof over.

(46) *Pascere*, to feed, fatten (*porcum*, *pastum*).

(47) *Portare*, to bear, carry, convey; here *portare pullos*, to bring chickens to the monastery.

(48) *Praevidere*, (1) to keep, guard (*silvam*); (2) to administer, superintend (*potestatem*).

(49) *Reficere*, to repair (barns, etc.).

(50) *Restaurare*, to restore, repair.

(51) *Saginare*, to feed, pasture, fatten pigs.

(52) *Secare*, to cut, mow; *secare pratium*.

(53) *Seminare*, to sow.



(54) *Seminatus, a sowing.*

(55) *Servitium aquense, a service of transport* from St. Remi to Aix-la-Chapelle, which is also indicated by the term *Bos aquensis*, see above, Nos. 4 and 7. Similar services are explained above under *Asinus* (No. 6) and *Carropera* (No. 8).

(56) *Stramen, straw for covering stables, or for making litters.*

(57) *Susceptio, sustenance (of paupers).*

(58) *Vadere, to go, proceed*; see above, *Ambasciatura*, No. 15.

(59) *Vehere, to carry, convey, transport the produce of the fields.*

(60) *Vehitura, a conveying, carrying (facere vehituram).*

*Veromandui, St. Quentin: Via Veromandensis*, see above, No. 6.

(61) *Vigilia, a watching, watch.*

(62) *Vindemia, vintage.*

(63) *Vineritia, a grape-gathering, vintage.*

(64) *Wacta, wagta, a watching, guarding, keeping watch.*

(d) *Fences, hedges, enclosures, etc.*, which tenants had to construct for the protection and enclosure of houses and land under cultivation.

(65) *Clausura, a fence, enclosure.*

(66) *Maceria, a wall or enclosure.*

(67) *Pectura, for plectura, an enclosure, hedge, or covering* for courtyards, outhouses, etc., the same as *clausura* and *peditura*.

(68) *Peditura, an enclosure.*

(69) [*Saepes*] *Sepes, a hedge, fence.*

## B. TAXES, RENTS, and other DUES paid by the tenants.

The taxes, rents, etc., at St. Remi were, in their general character and mode of payment, not unlike those of St. Germain.

(a) *General terms.*

(70) *Dare, to give, bestow, present, furnish*; here usually applied to the *payment of taxes* by the tenants, in the same way as *Donare*; see below, No. 72.

(71) *Debere, to owe or pay taxes.*

(72) *Donare, to give, present, offer gifts or presents*, but here usually in the sense of *to pay taxes*, and applied to all the various taxes paid in money or in kind. The word *donatio* actually occurs as meaning *a gift, presenting* (see above, under IV, Tenures, No. 20).



(73) *Persolvere, to pay, pay out.*

(74) *Solvere, to pay.*

(75) *Census, a tribute, tax.* This term comprised at St. Remi, as at St. Germain, all *taxes* (not *services*) of any kind paid by tenants of all classes in money or in kind. Some taxes, like the war-tax (*hostelitia*), the poll-tax (*capitalicium*), etc., were generally indicated by special terms showing their purpose and object. Other taxes or rents were not specified by any term at all. So we find male and female tenants dwelling on the estate, or called strangers (*forenses*), *ingenui*, or *servi* paying every year 4, 8, or 12 denarii (see the Glossary, in voce *denarius*); others do 8 or 9 days of work (see *dies*) or pay 4 denarii; others 3 days or  $1\frac{1}{2}$  denarii; others 4 or 3 days. But neither for the payments nor for the services do we find any special terms.

The word *census*, however, is often applied, in a general sense, to the tax on spelt, rye, and other grains, on pigs, chickens, eggs, wood, the capitation-money, etc. For the special application of *census*, see below, No. 78.

The chief taxes on the lands of St. Remi were, as at St. Germain, *war-taxes*, *land-taxes*, and *personal* taxes. They likewise varied somewhat in different localities.

(b) *War-tax.*

(76) The *hostelitium* of St. Germain is here called *hostelitia* or *hostelicia*, and is nearly always paid in money, varying from 5 to 6, 8, 10, 11, 14, 16, 20, 25, and 30 denarii per manse. In one of the *fiscs* (xxi, 2) it consisted of a *sheep* and *its lamb*. The tax was not imposed in all the *fiscs*, but when it was demanded the majority of the *manses serviles* were not exempt.

The war-taxes, called *airbannum*, *carnaticum*, *paraveredus*, which were levied at St. Germain, are not mentioned here.

(c) *Land-taxes.*

(77) *Araticum*, *areaticum* is, no doubt, the same tax as the *agrarium* of the Polyptychum of St. Germain, the *agraticum* of the Theodosian Code, and *araticum* of the Lex Alamannorum, that is, a *tax* or *tribute* paid on account of *arable land*, its *produce*, or any property acquired by labour. The tenant paid it in produce of various kinds derived from the land which he cultivated, and

sometimes, perhaps, in money. In xii, 2 six manses *ingenuiles* paid each a *modius* (perhaps of wine) as *araticum* (*areaticum*). Some land, as the *avergaria*, was exempt from it (xv, 2); occasionally also the *pratium*, xvi, 2. On the other hand, in xxviii, 22, only terra forastica, or land situated outside the lordship, was subject to it. Sometimes, where there is question of this tax, the amount of produce to be rendered is not recorded. Guérard, therefore, thinks that it may have amounted either to a *half*, just as on several lands of the hundred of Corbon; or to a *third*, as in the domanial vineyards of St. Remi cultivated by the tenants; or more likely to a *tenth* part, as in the Bavarian Laws, because (1) in the summary of Courtisols the *araticum* is joined to the tithe (*decima*) of sheep (omnia mansa donant araticum et decimam de vervecibus, xvii, 126); (2) in the colonies of Condé-sur-Marne and Louvercy, where there is no question of the *araticum*, the tithe (*decima*) is raised on all the produce, with the exception, as regards a certain number of tenants, of the produce of hemp-fields and meadows (donant decimam de omni conlaboratu, praeter caneverillam et pratium, xxviii, 2; donant in censum denarios xii et decimam de omni conlaboratu, xxviii, 46, 47); (3) the same expressions regarding the *decima* are also used where there is question of *araticum* (donat araticum de omni conlaboratu, xiv, 3; donat araticum de suo conlaboratu extra avergariam, xv, 2); (4) the words "de omni conlaboratu" are replaced by "de annona" in xxviii, 69, 70, 72 (donat decimam de annona).

As a rule, tenants paying the *araticum* were not exempt from other taxes or services.

(78) Census, a tax, impost, rent, tribute. Above (No. 75) the general application of census has been explained. As a special term census often indicated the rent raised on taxable land or its produce, especially vineyards and the wine cultivated in them. Hence: donat . . . in censo de vino . . . modios iv (i, 2). Solvit in censum de vino modios ii (vii, 4, 5, 6, 8). Solvit in censum de vino modios ii et dimidium (ix, 8). Solvit in censum de vino modios iv et sesterios xii et denarios xiii (ix, 11). [See further the Glossary.]

In opposition to this "wine of census," which was the produce of the tributary manses and other taxable land, there was the "*vinum de collectione*," which was gathered in the domanial vineyards, which were often worked by the tenants of the estate

for *thirds* (ad *tertium*), that is to say, the vintager or the tenant who worked them received a third of the vintage. In this sense we find: "facit vineam de suo dominicam ad tertium" (iv, 2), and several other passages, where the produce of some domanial vineyards is estimated at so many modii, after deduction of a third: Habet idem in eadem villa vineam i, ubi possunt colligi vini modii xviii absque *tertio* (xxvi, 41).

In some cases the term *census* was also given to all kinds of tributes and services imposed on the tenures. So we find that the census of an unqualified manse was 4 solidi (x, 5), 5 sol. of a mansus ingenuilis (xxviii, 70), etc. The census of a mill was 37 solidi (xiii, 1); that of a brewery according to the condition of the times (xi, 1).

Tributes under the name of *census* were distinguished from tributes exacted by *bannus* (or *bannum*). The latter were general, or at least collective, and paid at the command (ban or proclamation) of the lord or his representative. Hence the tenants of Courtisols delivered 104½ carts of wood "de censu" and 76 "de banno" (xxii, 45). The Register's summary of taxes accounts for 655 carts of wood of "census" and 211½ "de bannis" for the right of pasturage (xxv, 1). This distinction points to the *census* being a fixed tax or tribute, fixed probably by local custom or agreement between lord and tenant, while *bannus* referred to compulsory but occasional services.

(79) *Collectio, a gathering, collection.* In the preceding paragraph it has been explained that the wine paid by the tributary manses in satisfaction of their rent was always called *vinum de censo*, in distinction from that derived from the seignorial manses, which was called *vinum de collectione*, because it was gathered or collected in the domanial vineyards by the tenants of the estate, who often worked them for thirds.

(80) *Ferrum, iron.* Instead of the usual quantity of iron, the tenants (of mansi *ingenuiles*) could pay a sum of money, which, in one place (xviii, 2), is said to be half a denarius in the alternate year when they had not to pay the *denarius* for the *bos aquensis* (see above, No. 7).

(81) *Judex, a judge or superintendent.* The Polyptychum speaks in one place (ix, 2) of half a cart of wood which the tenant of a mansus ingenuilis had to supply "ad opus judici."

(82) *Lignum, wood.* In the St. Remi Polyptychum there is no special term to indicate any *payment*, in money or in kind,



for the right of cutting and carting wood. But the tenants had to cart and supply certain quantities of wood, usually regulated by the *carrus* or cart, not only in satisfaction of their ordinary and stipulated rent (*census*), but occasionally at the command or proclamation (*bannus*) of the lord or his steward. Four carts of wood seemed to have been considered equivalent to 2 *solidi* (xiii, 14). The phrase “*solidi ad ligna*,” which occurs in xiii, 30, 32, indicates, perhaps, a *payment* instead of this regular supply of wood. And the payments “*de lignis*,” recorded in xiii, 15, 16, 18, 38, were, perhaps, made for the privilege of cutting wood in the manorial forests.

The term *lignum* indicated, it seems, *blocks of wood*, differing as such from *caplim*, chopped, cut wood (see above, No. 21).

Occasionally tenants had to supply wood, not by the cart, but by the pile, which was called

(83) *Lignarium*, a *pile of wood*, the height and size of which probably varied according to circumstances or localities. In one instance (xx, 2) it is defined as having “*circumquaque pedes v ad manum*” (see above, V. B. 16).

(84) *Pastio*, *pastus*, a *payment for the right of pasturing pigs*, paid by manses *serviles* as well as by manses *ingenuiles*, sometimes in one, sometimes in two measures (*modii*) of wine, or in a measure (*modius*) of spelt or corn, occasionally in a cart or half a cart of wood, furnished usually at the order of the lordship. Now and then a lamb (*anniculus*) of one year old was paid, and occasionally money was paid instead. In xix, 2 there is question of *duae pastiones*, which, perhaps, refer to the pasturage of acorns and of beech-mast, or to the feeding of pigs and pasturage (or the payment made for it).

(85) *Mapaticum*; (86) *terrarium*, see below (No. 88), the article *Vinaticum*, and above, p. 570, Nos. 50, 53, 55, and p. 571, Nos. 60, 61.

(87) *Vermiculum*, a *material used in colouring or staining*, of which several tenants had to supply a certain number of ounces. The component parts of this material are not known. Guérard explains that it could not have been vermilion, as this was not indigenous in France.

(88) *Vinaticum*, *vinatium*, a *tax on vineyards* (Fr. *vinage*), paid in money or in wine, if we may regard the expressions “*de vinaticis*” and “*de vinatiis*” in the Notitia of taxes, in Ch. xiii, as the ablatives plur. of the nominatives sing. *vinaticum*, *vinatium*. But the words may indicate *vinaticus*, *vinatius*, a tenant of vineyards,



just as *terracious* and *mapaticus* may mean tenants of land (*terra*), and of the measure of land called *mappa* (see above, p. 589). The wine-tax, however, existed at St. Remi, as we find *census vini* and *vinum census* spoken of.

(89) *Decima*, a tenth part, *tithe*, does not occur in Irminon's Polyptychum. In its nature the *decima* probably did not differ from the *agrarium* at St. Germain, nor from the *araticum* at St. Remi, as, in general, it was a tax consisting of a tenth part of all natural or artificial produce acquired by cultivation of the soil, industry, or otherwise, as *grain, sheep, wine*, etc.

(90) *Circadium*, a kind of tax or tribute paid in wine, by the tenant of an *accola*, who worked a vinea dominica for thirds. The origin of the word is not known.

(91) *Oblatio*, a gift, offering, present of honey, wine, cake, etc., which the major, the priest, dean, and cellarer of certain villages had, according to an ancient custom, to offer as homage, or in token of submission or respect (*veneratio*), to the "seniores" or "magistri" of the monastery, both on the Lord's Nativity and at Easter; but only, it seems, if the major, priest, and dean held nothing further than a mansum ingenuile, and the cellarer a mansum servile (xvii, 122). Mills (*farinarii, molendini*) also had to make such offerings, but, in certain cases, to no greater extent than they could afford (xvii, 1; xviii, 1; xxii, 44).

(92) *Commune*, a common right or privilege to use a wood or shrubbery for making hedges or fences.

(93) *Salneritia*, a tax or contribution paid in salt.

(94) *Obsequium*, food, sustenance, to be provided by a mansus dominicatus for the poor.

(95) *Bos*, an ox, does not appear at St. Remi to have been paid in satisfaction of the war-tax, as at St. Germain, but was supplied by the tenants for the performance of their services which they had to execute for their lord, especially *carriopera* (see above, No. 8), for the conveying and transporting the produce of the estate, particularly *wine*. In one place (xi, 8) the tenant had to do 2 "conrogatas, si boves habuerit."

(d) *Personal taxes.*

(96) *Cavagium*, a head or poll-tax (or perhaps the word is to be read as *cavagius*, one who pays the head or poll-tax; see above, No. 88, and II. B, Nos. 50 and 60).

(97) *Capitalicium*, the *poll-tax*. The tenant who paid it was called *capitalicius*; the obligation to pay it was expressed by *solvere* (or *dare* or *donare*) *pro capite suo*. *Ingenui* and *accolae* had to pay it either in money (apparently 4 denarii, as at St. Germain) or in kind (a *modius* or a *modius* and a half of barley).

(98) *Obsequium*, an *ecclesiastical service*, *funeral rites*, the performance of which was imposed on a *presbyter* in regard to his holding.

### C. SEASONS OR PERIODS

in which the manual services were to be performed or the rents and taxes to be paid.

#### (a) *General terms.*

(99) *Aetas*, *age*; *aetas perfecta*, *full age*, an expression used with respect to *servi* and *ancillae*, but no age is specified.

(100) *Annualis*, *annual*; see *mercatum*.

(101) *Annuatim*, *yearly*, *every year*.

(102) *Annus*, *a year*, with various qualifying adjectives, for which see the Glossary.

(103) *Mensis*, *a month*.

(104) *Tempus*, *time*.

(105) *Terminus*, *a term*, *period*, *season*.

#### (b) *Special and fixed dates or periods.*

(106) *Adventus Domini*, *Advent*; see the Glossary, voce *Collectaneus*.

(107) *Aestivus*, *estivus*, *aestivaticus* (*est-*), *of or pertaining to summer*, and hence *aestiva*, *aestivatica satio*, *a summer sowing*, here usually *the time* or *the season* when tenants had to plough a certain measure of land for their lord. In a similar sense we find *Hibernatica satio* and *Trematica satio* (see below, Nos. 116 and 133).

(108) *Aprilis*, *the month of April*.

(109) *Augustus*, *the month of August*; *Augustus intrans*; *Augustus medius*.

(110) *Caput Quadragesimae*, see below, *Quadragesimae Caput*.

(111) *Ebdomada*, *a week*.

(112) *Estiva*, *estivatica satio*, see above, *Aestivus*.

(113) *Februarius*, *the month of February*.

(114) *Festivitas*, *festivity*, *a feast day*: *festivitas S. Remigii*.

(115) *Festum, a feast, festival.*—Festum Sancti Andreae.—Festum S. Basoli.—Festum S. Johannis.—Festum S. Lamberti.—Festum S. Martini.—Festum S. Petri.—Festum S. Remigii.—Festum Omnium Sanctorum.

(116) *Hibernatica satio, a winter sowing.*

(117) *Idus Maias, the Ides of May.*

(117a) *Incarnatio Domini (in a date), see the Glossary, in voce annus.*

(118) *Januarius, the month of January.*

(119) *Julius, the month of July.*

(120) *Maius, the month of May.*—*Maius mensis.*—*Maius medius.*

(121) *Martius, the month of March.*

(122) *Mensis nonus, the ninth month.*

(123) *Messis, the harvest, at which time some of the tenants were to work a certain number of days for their lord in his fields.*

(124) *Missa, the mass.*—*Missa Sancti Johannis.*—*Missa Sancti Martini.*—*Missa Sancti Remigii*; see also *Festum*, above.

(125) *Natale, and Natale Domini, the day of the Nativity of the Lord.*

(126) *Nativitas, and Nativitas Domini, the feast of the Nativity of the Lord.*

*Nonus, see above, Mensis nonus.*

(127) *Pascha, Pasca, Easter (see also the Glossary in voce Collectaneus).*

(128) *Prataritia, pratericia, the time when meadows (prata) were cut.*

(129) *Quadragesimae Caput, Ash Wednesday.*

(130) *Rogationes, Rogation Days, that is, the three days next before Ascension Day.*

(131) *Satio aestiva; hibernatica; tremsatica, the season for sowing summer-, winter-, and three-monthly corn; see the adjectives. We find also: sationes ambae, probably the aestiva and hibernatica satio. —Sationes uterque, probably the same.—Satio alia, is distinguished from the aestiva and hibernatica satio.—Sationes cunctae, perhaps the three sationes.*

(132) *Septimana, a week.*

(133) *Tremsatica satio, a three-monthly sowing.*

(134) *Vigilia Sancti Remigii, the day before his feast-day.*

(135) *Vindemia, the vintage.—Vindemiae tempus, the time of vintage.*



## D. PRODUCE, CROPS, LIVE STOCK, ETC.,

obtained by the cultivation and administration of the farms of the estate, and with which tenants paid their rents, taxes, etc.

Except in money, and by personal manual labours and services, rents and taxes could also be paid in grain and other agricultural produce, meat, mustard, wool, thread, honey, wax, oil, soap, iron, cattle, poultry, wine, various tools of metal and wood, firewood, vine-sticks and props, tuns, and various other commodities manufactured by the tenants.

(a) *Crops and other articles included in dead stock.*

(a) *General term.*

(136) Nutrimen, *produce, food, victuals, nourishment*, here more particularly *produce of an estate, victuals.*

(β) *Particular terms.*

(137) Annona, *corn, grain*.—Annona dominica, *corn reserved to the lord of the estate*.—Annona mixta, *mixed corn.*

(138) Avena, *oats.*

(139) Frumentum, *corn, grain.*

(140) Hibernaticum, *winter corn.*

(141) Hordeum, and Ordeum, *barley* (not mentioned in Irminon's Polyptychum).

(142) Mixtura, *a mixture of wheat and rye.*

Ordeum, *barley*; see above, *Hordeum.*

(143) Semen, *seed.*

(144) Sementis, *a seeding, sowing, seed-corn.*

(145) Sigalum, sigilum, *a kind of grain, rye* (Fr. *seigle*).

(146) Spelta, *spelt.*

(147) Canava (from cannabum?), *caneva, hemp or canvas.*

(148) Humolo, humulo, *hop, hops.*

(149) Linum, *flax*, weighed by the *pensa.*

(150) [Faenum] Fenum, fenum, foenum, *hay.*

(151) Legumen, *pulse, a leguminous plant*, here perhaps *the bean.*

(152) Brazium, *malt.*

(153) Mustum, *new or unfermented wine.*



(154) Vinacia, or vinacium, a *grape-skin, husk*.

(155) Vinum, *wine*.

(156) Cera, *wax*.

(157) Mel, *honey*.

(158) Ovum, *an egg*.

(159) Panis, *bread*. Sometimes the tenants, while performing their obligatory work, had to provide their own bread; sometimes they received it from the lord.

(160) Sal, *salt*.

(161) Vermiculum, a *kind of stuff for colouring* (see above, No. 87).

(162) Fimum, or fimus, *manure, dung*.

(163) Stramen, *straw*.—Stramen dominicum, *straw belonging to the domain*.

(164) Substratum, a *litter*.

(165) Clausura, *the material for fences or hedges*.

(166) Lignum, *wood*, of which tenants had to supply one or more cartloads.

(167) Spina (spinoris), a *thorn, shrub*.

(168) Spinula, a *little thorn, shrub*.

(b) *Live stock: cattle and other animals.*

The St. Remi Register gives in two places (xii, 1; xxvii, 6) an inventory of the cattle and other animals maintained or fed by the seignorial manse or the fisc.

(a) *General terms.*

(169) Caput, a *head* (of cattle).

(170) Pecus, pecudis, a *single head of cattle, a beast*.

(β) *Large cattle.*

(171) Taurus, a *bull* (not mentioned in the St. Germain Register).

(172) Bos, an *ox*; bos domini, an *ox pertaining to the lord of the estate*.—Bos capitaneus, probably a *full-grown ox* (but the reading of the MS. is not quite clear). For services performed by means of oxen, see above, Nos. 7 and 8, pp. 593-4.

(173) Sterilis, properly barren, here applied to *cows and sheep*.

(174) Vacca, a *cow*.

(175) Vitulus, a *calf*.

(176) Caballus, a *horse*, not mentioned in this Register, though the tax *caballeritia* occurs.

(177) *Asinus, the ass.* For services performed by means of the *asinus*, see above, No. 6.

(γ) *Small cattle.*

(178) *Agnus, a lamb*, distinguished from an *anniculus*. The *agnus anniculus* also occurs.

(179) *Annellus, annolus*, perhaps for *agnellus, a little lamb*.

(180) *Annicula* [=genicula, junicula of St. Germain], *a calf* or perhaps *a heifer of a year old*.

(181) *Anniculus*, used as adjunct., *anniculus agnus, a lamb of one year old* = *aries* in the Notitia census. As subst. *a yearling, a lamb of a year old*.

(182) *Aries, a ram*.

(183) *Feta, fēta, foeta, a sheep*: *foetae cum agnis*.

(184) *Maialis, a castrated pig*.

(185) *Multo, a sheep*.—*Multo trimus*, and *multo de tribus annis, a sheep of three years old*.

(186) *Ovis, a sheep*.

(187) *Porcellus*, and *porculus, a small or young pig*.

(188) *Porcus, a pig*.—*Porcus bevrallis, a pig that has not been castrated*.—*Porcus grandis*, and *porcus magnus, a large pig*.—*Porcus sualis, a male swine*, also called *soala, soale, and soalae porcus*.

We further find the

(189) *Genalis, a kind of pig*, which differed from the *verrus* (the male swine), from the *maialis* (the castrated pig), and from the *scrofa* (the sow).

(190) *Scrofa, a sow*.

(191) *Soala, soale, soalis, soalae porcus*, see above, under *Porcus*.—*Sualis, of or belonging to a swine*.

(192) *Verrus, a male swine*.

(193) *Vervex, a sheep*. In xxvii, 6, the term *vervex* includes the *faeta*, the *agnus*, the *sterilis*, and the *multo*.

(δ) *Feathered animals.*

(194) *Auga* (= *auca*, of the Polyptychum of St. Germain), *a goose*.

(195) *Augtiones* (MS. *augtion* = *anates?*, the duck).

(196) *Capo, a capon*.

(197) *Pasta, a hen*.

(198) *Pullus, a hen, a chicken*.

(199) Pulliculus, *a small chicken.*

(200) Volatile, *a fowl.*

(ε) *Other animals.*

(201) Apis, *a bee*; apium vascula, *beehives.*

(c) *Implements, tools, utensils, furniture, and other moveable commodities.*

(a) *General term.*

(202) Supplementum, *in general, a supply.*

(β) *Special terms.*

(203) Ascila, ascillus, ascilus, axilis, axilus, *a board or plank*, a certain number of which tenants had to furnish in satisfaction of their rents.

(204) Butacula, buticula, butticula, *a small bottle, flask, flagon* (Fr. *bouteille*).

(205) Capro, caprones, *a rafter* (Fr. *chevron*), used in making the *peditura*.

(206) Carrt (in MS.), for *carrecta*, or *carreta* (? Fr. *charrette*), *a cart, waggon.*

(207) Carrum, carrus, *a two-wheeled waggon, a car, cart*, which tenants had sometimes to supply for the conveyance of the produce of fields, meadows, vineyards, etc.

(208) Circulus, *a ring or hoop.*

(209) Cuba, *a tub, vat*, of which the tenants had to supply a certain number.

(210) Facula, *a light or torch*; or *a block of resinous wood.*

(211) Falx, *a sickle, scythe*, which a tenant had to bring with him at the time of the cutting of the grass.

(212) Fogatia, *a cake*, a certain number of which tenants had to present to the authorities of the Abbey.

(213) Furnus, *an oven.*

(214) Materiamen, (1) *material for building*, or for covering and repairing buildings (especially the *scuria*), *timber*, which tenants had to supply. Also (2) *props, stakes*, etc., required in a vineyard.

(215) Navis, *a ship*, used, perhaps, in trade on the river, or for transporting goods, commodities, etc. The four ships mentioned paid imposts or taxes.

(216) Palus, *a stake, prop, pale, stay.*

(217) Patella, a *small pan or dish, a plate*.—Patella *plumbea*, to be provided by mills.

(218) Radones (Fr. *rais or rayon*), a *kind of tool*, used in the repairing of stables.

(219) Scaritio, scarritio, a *vine-prop, pole*.

(220) Scendola, scendula, scindula, a *tile of cleft wood, a shingle*.

(221) Tonna, a *vat, barrel, tun, butt*.

(222) Vasculum, a *small beehive*.

See also III, PROPERTIES, POSSESSIONS, etc., for *Church Furniture*, etc.



HINCMAR'S POLYPTYCHUM OF THE ABBEY OF ST. REMI,  
A.D. 848-861.

## GLOSSARY.

Words occurring only in the later additions (10th-12th cent.) to the Polyptychum are starred (\*).

Abbatia, an abbey; a. Sancti Timothei, x (heading).

abprobare, to approve, xvii, 127.

absus, apsus, not cultivated or occupied by a regular tenant, not paying the regular charges, as opposed to *vestitus* (q.v.); *mansus absus*, see *mansus*; *accola apsa*, see (2) *accola*.

(1) *accola* [class. Lat., a dweller by, or near a place, from *ad*, by or near, and *colere*, to dwell, inhabit], a tenant, of whose holding the Register leaves us doubtful.

The male *accola* is described as (1) *accola* merely, having as wife an *epistolaria*, xx, 73.—(2) *accola intra villam*, xx, 68.—(3) *accola ingenuus*, xx, 26, 33, 35, 36, 59, 68-73; xxi, 6; xxii, 31.—ditto, and having as wife (a) an *ingenua*, xx, 20, 21, 32, 33, 69; or (b) an *epistolaria*, xx, 44, 70, 71; or (c) an *accola ingenua*, xx, 68.—(4) *accola, servus*, xx, 54, 56.—ditto, and having an *ingenua* as wife, and *infantes* who are *servi*, xx, 37.—(5) *accola, epistolarius*, x, 46, 48 (the son of an *accola epistolaria*), 50-52, 68, 71-73.

The son of an *accola ingenuus* was (a) *epistolarius*, xx, 35; (b) *servus*, xx, 36.

The female *accola* is called (1) *accola* merely, xvii, 40 (having *infantes*).—(2) *accola, ingenua*, xvii, 37, 38, 52; xx, 28, 36, 58, 68, 69; xxi, 6; xxii, 31, 46.—ditto, and having *infantes*, xvii, 35, 38, 47; xx, 21, 29, 36.—(3) *accola, epistolaria*, xx, 42, 43, 48, 49, 50 (her son was *epistolarius*), 51, 70, 73.—(4) *accola, ancilla*, xx, 55-57.

The holdings of the *accola* (male and female) are not recorded, and he does not appear among the tenants of the *mansu* called *accolae* (see below, 2 *accola*). In xvii, 29, however, we find "the names of women and some men holding *mansa*

in the aforesaid *Curtis*," and among them are some *accolae, ingenuae*, see *ibid.*, §§ 35, 37, etc.

The *accola villae* owed his lord 9 days' work, or had to pay 4 denarii, xv, 27; xviii, 11; he owed 3 days, xxii, 31. See also xx, 76 (*servi et ancillae, forenses scilicet sive accolae*), and xxi, 6 (*forenses homines facientes unusquisque dies 3*, among whom is an *accola ingenuus*, and an *accola ingenua*).

(2) *accola, a manse*, originally occupied and cultivated by a tenant called *accola*. There were buildings (*aedificia*) attached to it, xxvi, 42; also a vineyard, xxii, 47.

It was tenanted by: a *forasticus*, vi, 13, 25-28, 30; ix, 9, 11; a *major*, xix, 13; a *colonus*, xxviii, 52; an *ingenuus*, vi, 13, 22; vii, 4; ix, 10, 11; xxvi, 7, 8; *two* ditto, vi, 29; ix, 11; xvii, 28; *three* ditto, xvii, 28; an *ingenua*, vi, 13; ix, 11; xxvi, 6; xxvii, 3; an *ancilla*, xxvii, 3; a *servus*, xviii, 10; xxvi, 17; a *cartularius*, xxvi, 17; an *undefined tenant*, vi, 22, 29; viii, 4; xv, 17; xvi, 5; xvii, 28; xix, 12; xxiii, 2, 3; xxvi, 8, 17; xxvii, 2, 3; *two* ditto, vi, 29; *four* ditto, ix, 8; an *undefined tenant* "pro beneficio," xxvi, 42.—A *major villae* held *two accolae*, besides a *mansus ingenuilis*, xxii, 44.—See also x, 9; xv, 58; xvi, 10; xvii, 124, 126; xviii, 21; xix, 19; xxii, 45; xxiv, 1; xxv, 1; xxvi, 9, 19, 33, 43; xxviii, 67, 72, 73.—*accola apsa*, an *unproductive accola, one that did not pay the regular rents and taxes*, ix, 11. Here the words *ad indominciatum* are added, meaning, perhaps, that the *accola* was reserved to the domain.—*accola ingenuilis*, an *accola* liable to taxes, rents, and services usually paid by a tenant called *ingenuus*. It was tenanted by: a *servus*, xxviii, 22,

- 23; a *colonus*, xxviii, 24, 25, 27, 46, 50; a *colona*, xxviii, 26, 47, 49.—*accola dimidia ingenuilis*, xxviii, 48, held by a *colonus*.
- acquisitus* (written *aquisitus*), *acquired, procured, obtained*, said of an *ingenuus*, xvii, 85.
- actum, acted, done, transacted*, xvii, 127.
- addonare se, to give one's self* as a client or tenant, here said of one *colonus*, to distinguish him from another *colonus* "qui ibi est ex nativitate," xxviii, 65.
- adjacentia* [everywhere the ablat. plur. *adjacentiis*], *outhouses, small fields* or other conveniences adjoining the seignorial manse, xi, 1; xv, 1; xvi, 1; xvii, 1; xviii, 1; xix, 1; xx, 1; xxi, 1; xxii, 1; xxiii, 1.
- \**alodium, alodium, an alod*, A. ii (p. 114).
- adventus Domini, the coming of the Lord, Advent*; see *collectaneus*.
- advocatus*, (1) in the judicial language of the classical period, one who is called by one of the parties in a suit to aid as a witness or counsel, a *legal assistant, counsellor*. (2) In the post-Augustan period, for patrons, orator, etc., one who conducted a process for anyone, an *advocate, attorney*. (3) In the Middle Ages the *advocatus* especially protected the rights, goods, and properties of the Churches, and defended their causes in public trials. In the Polypt. S. Remigii he appears in xxvi, 1, but as the holder of four mansi "de beneficio fratrum." And perhaps again in xxviii, 66, where the MS. has *advotus*, which would not be a wrongly formed word (from *advôre*), or a corruption; but Guérard has (perhaps not wrongly) altered it to *advocatus*.
- advotus*, see *advocatus*.
- aedificium* (ed-, ed-), *a building*, here usually mentioned in the plural, and as pertaining to a *mansus domini-catus*, that is, the various (but not all the) buildings or outhouses adjoining the *manorial* or *chief manse* of the estate, i, 1; ii, 1; iii, 1, 6 (belonging to a *sessus*); iv, 1 (belonging to a simple *mansus*); 4 (do.), v, 1; x, 5; xi, 1; xii, 1; xiv, 2; xv, 1; xvi, 1; xvii, 1; xviii, 1; xix, 1; xx, 1, 15; xxi, 1; xxii, 1; xxiii, 1; xxvi, 34, 42 (*accola cum aedificiis*), xxvii, 1; xxviii, 1. The *aedificia* are often mentioned with the *torcular* (q.v.).
- aereus, made of copper*; see *capsa, turribulum*.
- aestivus, estivus, of or pertaining to summer*: *aestiva (estiva) satio, a summer sowing*, usually here the *time* or the *season* when tenants had to plough a certain measure of land for their lord: *arare aestiva (estiva) satione* (here follows the measure), x, 6; xv, 2; xvi, 2; xvii, 2, 22; xviii, 2; xix, 2; xx, 2, 16; xxi, 2; xxii, 2.
- aestivatica (estivatica) satio, the same*: *arare ad aestivaticam (est-) sationem*, i, 2; ii, 2; v, 2; xix, 9, 11; xxii, 8.—*arare aestivatica (est-) satione*, xi, 2, 8; xiv, 3; xxii, 26; xxvi, 2, 4, 6–8, 10–12, 22. See also *hibernatica* and *trensatica satio*.
- aetas perfecta, full age*, xvii, 114. The phrase is used with respect to *servi* and *ancillae*, but no age is stated.
- agnellus, see annellus*.
- agnus, a lamb*, xii, 1; xxvii, 6. It is distinguished from an *anniculus*, ii, 5; xxv, 1.—*agnus anniculus*, xvi, 5. See further *feta, ovis, anniculus*.
- \**agricultura, agricultural, or field-labour*, xxix, 11, 17.
- alba, the alb, a long ecclesiastical linen vestment with girdle and close sleeves*, vi, 17; xviii, 22; xx, 74; xxii, 47.
- \**alodium, see alodium*.
- altare, an altar*: *altaris terra, land pertaining to an altar, that is to a church*, xiii, 5, 9.—*altaris velamina, coverings, veils for the altar*, xv, 59; xvii, 123; xviii, 22; xx, 74; xxii, 47.
- ambasciatura, a mission, embassy*: *vadere in ambasciaturam, to go on a mission or embassy*; and *facere ambasciaturam, to perform a mission*, xxviii, 48. (This duty was imposed on two half-*accolae ingenuiles*, one held by a *colonus*, the other by a *colona*.)
- ancilla, a female servant*. She is counted with *servi* among *mancipia*, xvii, 127. The Register further records her as:
- (1) *ancilla* simply, iii, 8; xvii, 126; (*donans 2 denarios*) xii, 5; (*debens 12 dinarios*) xv, 32; xxviii, 65.—
- (2) *ancilla foranea, see foraneus*; a. *forastica*, and a. *forastica* having *infantes*, see *forasticus*; a. *forensis*, and ditto having *infantes*; and a.

*forensis* de villa, and having *infantes*, see *forensis*.—(3) *ancilla*, *berbiaria*, xvii, 117.—(4) *wife* of (a) an *ingenuus*, vi, 5; xv, 13; xxii, 13, 24; (b) of a *colonus*, xxviii, 2, 4; (c) a *servus*, vi, 8; viii, 2; xv, 9, 12, 13; xvii, 114; xx, 13, 14, 53, 54; xxii, 17, 20, 24; (d) a *vicaratus*, xxii, 3.—(5) *daughter* of (a) a *servus*, xvii, 114, 118–121; (b) a *berbiarius*, *servus*, xvii, 117, 118; (c) an *ancilla*, xvii, 115, 118–120.—(6) *sister* of a *servus*, xvii, 116–119.—(7) *holding* (a) a *mansus servilis* (*mansum servile*), xiv, 4; xvii, 25; (b) ditto (and having *infantes*), vi, 16, 18; (c) a *mansus ingenuilis* (with another *ancilla* and an *ingenuus*), xviii, 4; (d) a *mansum*, xvii, 85, 118, 120, 121; xx, 76; (e) a *medietas* of a *mansus servilis*, xxii, 15; of a *mansus ingenuilis*, xxviii, 8; (f) an *accola*, xxvii, 3; (g) having a *mansio*, xxii, 25.—(8) *ancilla de villa*, interior or exterior, and owing 12 denarii, xvii, 114–121; a. interior or exterior manens, xv, 58; a. intra villam, xviii, 18, 19; xix, 16; ditto (with *infantes*), xviii, 18, 19; xix, 16.—(9) *ancilla noviter repressa*, xvii, 119.—(10) *ancilla* (*sister* of a *colonus*) Sigeberti de Trepallo, per praeceptum regis, xxviii, 7, 41.—a. *perfectae aetatis* (but no age stated), xvii, 114.

Among the *familia villae* interior et exterior commanens, the *ancilla* appears as: (a) *ancilla* merely, xx, 55, 64–66; (b) ditto with *infantes*, xx, 55; (c) *ancilla*, *accola*, xx, 56, 57; (d) ditto, with *infantes*, xx, 55; (e) a. *forensis*, and (f) ditto, with *infantes*, see *forensis*; (g) *wife* of a *servus*, xx, 55. She had, like the *servus* and other tenants, to pay a tax in money, sometimes in kind.

*annellus* (vi, 23), *annolus* (vi, 20), perhaps for *annellus*, or *anneculus*, for *anniculus*, a *little lamb*. In the first instance the MS. has *annol.*; in the second, *annel.*

*annicula*, a *catf* of a *year old*, xxvii, 6. *anniculus*, (1) *adj.*, a *year old*, of a *year*, or a *yearling*: *anniculus agnus*, a *lamb of a year old*, xvi, 5. (2) *subst.*, a *yearling*, a *lamb of a year old*, ii, 2; ix, 2, 4, 5; xxvi, 6–10, 15, 22, 26; xxviii, 2, 22, 69, 72, 73. It is distinguished from an *agnus*, ii, 5; v, 2; vii, 2; xvi, 2, 10; xviii, 2, 21; xxi, 7; xxv, 1;

xxvi, 4, 43.—*anniculus dimidius*, xvi, 10; xxvi, 26, 43.—*tres partes anniculi*, xxvi, 26.—See also *annellus*. *annolus*, see *annellus*.

*annona*, *corn*, *grain*, v, 2 (*annona parata*).—The quantities of corn that could be sown in an estate is indicated, vii, 1; viii, 1; xii, 1; xxviii, 1, 68.—Tenants had to pay their rents in fixed quantities of corn: *solvere de annona*, vi, 1; xii, 1; xiii, 23; xix, 1; xxviii, 1; or to convey it anywhere: *ducit Remis de annona*, vii, 2; *faciunt carroperas de annona* (ad *annonam*) . . . (in *leugas* xii), xi, 2; xvii, 2. See also *decima*.—*annona dominica*, *corn* reserved to the lord of the estate, xvii, 22.—*annona mixta*, *mixed corn*, xv, 58; xvii, 1; xviii, 1; xxii, 1; xxviii, 1.

*annualis*, *annual*; see *mercatum*.

*annuatim*, *yearly*, *every year*, xvii, 60; xxviii, 69.

*annus*, a *year*, used in stating what services tenants had to perform for their lord: *facere* (to do), or *arare* (to plough), *in anno* (so many *corrogata*; *corvada*; *diurnalis*; *mappa*; see these words). Also what taxes they had to pay: *solvere in anno*, viii, 4; *habere census in anno*, xxvi, 41. See further *annus alius*, vi, 23; vii, 2.—*annus alter*, i, 2; ii, 2; v, 2; x, 6; xiii, 21; xvii, 2; xviii, 2, 21; xxii, 8; xxvi, 22.—*anni duo*, xiii, 18; xxii, 2, 9, 26; xxvi, 11.—*annus praesens*, xxvii, 5.—*anni quinque*, iii, 1.—*annis singulis*, i, 2; ii, 2; v, 2; x, 6, 9; xi, 2, 8; xv, 2, 10, 62; xvii, 2, 21, 22, 28, 111, 124; xviii, 1, 2; xix, 2, 7, 9; xx, 2, 13, 76; xxi, 2; xxii, 2, 8, 9, 26, 45; xxiii, 1, 2; xxvi, 2, 4–8, 10, 12, 17, 20, 22; xxvii, 2.—*annus tertius*, xi, 2; xii, 2; xiii, 15, 16, 18, 34; xv, 2, 58; xx, 76; xxii, 2, 26; xxvi, 11; xxviii, 2, 22, 69, 72.—*annus totus*, xxii, 2.—*annus unus*, v, 2; vi, 23; vii, 2; xiii, 21; xviii, 2, 21; xxii, 8; xxvi, 22.—*annus unusquisque*, xiii, 16; xxii, 9; xxviii, 2, 22.—*annus incarnationis Domini*, xxviii, 66.

*antiphonarius*, -ium, a *book containing the antiphons*, xv, 59; xviii, 22; xxii, 47.—*Antiphonarii vetusti volumen* i, xx, 74.—*antiphonarius gradalis ac nocturnalis*, volumen i, vi, 17.—*Ecclesia* . . . *habens* . . .



- missalem Gregorii, cum evangeliis et lectionibus, et breviarium antiphonarii, volumen i, xvii, 123.—Missale, cum evangeliis et lectionibus seu antiphonario, volumen i, xx, 74.
- apenditia, or apenditium (for app-), x, 1, 2, 4 (all 11th cent.), the same as *appendix* (q.v.).
- appendix = *appendix* (q.v.).
- apis, a bee: apium vascula, *beehives*, xxvii, 6.
- Apocalypsis, Apocalipsis, a book containing the text of the book so called; see the quotation under *epistola*, 1.
- appenditia, see *apenditia*.
- appendix (apend-), an *appendage*, *addition*, *accession*; in the Polypht. S. Rem., an *appendix*, *addition to a village*, a *hamlet*, xix, 4, 5, 18; xxii, 26.
- approbare, see *abprobare*.
- Aprilis, the month of April, when tenants had to pay certain taxes, xiii, 22, 32, 34.
- apsus, for *absus* (q.v.).
- aqua, a stream, river, xxvi, 19.
- aquensis, of or belonging to a town called Aquae (Aix-la-Chapelle): Aquensis bos, see *bos*; Aquense servitium, see *servitium*.
- arabilis, see *terra*.
- arare, to plough, a labour which tenants had to perform for their lord at certain times of the year: *arare ad hibernaticam* (or *aestivaticam*, or *trensaticam*) sationem; or *arare hibernatica* (or *aestiva*, *estiva*, *aestivatica*) satione, see *aestivus*, *hibernaticus*, *trensaticus*. Sometimes this work was regulated by a *measure* or by the *task*: *arare corrogatam*, *corvadam*, *diurnale*, *nappam*, *mensuram*, *perticam*, see these articles. See further xviii, 6, 9; xxii, 9, 15, 18.
- araticum, areaticum, a tax or tribute paid on account of arable land, its produce, or any property obtained or acquired by labour: *donare araticum de omni (suo) conlaboratu*, xiv, 3; xv, 2; *omnes mansi donant araticum*, xv, 58; xvii, 126; *donant araticum de hibernatico*, de *ordeo*, xvii, 2; *donat araticum de terra forastica*, xxvi, 22.—*solvere araticum*, xxviii, 51.—*donare de areatico modium (vini?)* i, xii, 2. It seems to have been paid in kind or in money. As in some places nothing is said as to what had to be paid for the tax, it was, probably, clearly defined and known all over the estate. Guérard is of opinion (Pref. xxi) that it was another term for *decima* (q.v.). See also xvi, 2; xvii, 22; xxviii, 50, 52.
- aratorius, of or belonging to a plough; aratorium pratum, see *pratum*.
- aratura, the ploughing of land, which tenants were bound to perform for their lord, but instead of which they could do some other service: *Wandefridus tenet mansum servilem* i. Pro omni *aratura* et *servitio* praevideat *silvam* vel *nutrit*, iii, 2.
- arboretum, a place grown with trees, xii, 1.
- archiepiscopus, an *archbishop*, vi, 15; xvii, 127.
- areaticum, the same as *araticum* (q.v.).
- argenteus, made of silver; see *calix*, *capsa*, *crux*, *patena*.
- argentum, silver: *solidus de argento*, i, 16; xvii, 21; xviii, 21; xxvi, 14; xxviii, 51, 68, 70, 73; *argenti solidus*, xv, 58.—*argenti denarius* xx, 76; *denarius de argento*, i, 16; ii, 5; xv, 2; xvii, 60; xviii, 21.—*libra de argento*, xvii, 124; *argenti libra*, xvii, 126; xx, 76; xxii, 45. See further *denarius*, *libra*, *solidus*.
- aries, a ram, xiii, 22 (2 *arietes* = 1 *ovis cum agno*), 30, 43-45; *aries dimidius*, xiii, 45.
- arua, perhaps a field, or a piece of uncultivated ground, fit for building purposes: *de arua* 20 *solidos*, xiii, 32. Guérard suggests that it may be the name of a place.
- ascila, a board, plank, a certain number of which tenants had to furnish in satisfaction of their rents and taxes, xiii, 9.—*ascillus*, xiii, 11, 15; xvii, 2; xxii, 2, 26.—*ascilus*, xii, 2; xiii, 5; xviii, 2, 21; xxii, 9, 45.—*axilus*, xvii, 126; xxvi, 11.—*axilis*, *axiles* (gen. plur. *axilium*), xxv, 1, 2; xxvi, 15, 43.
- ascillus, *ascilus*, see *ascila*.
- asinus, an ass, xii, 1.—In xiii, 14 it is recorded that 20 *mansi* had each to supply (*solvere*) 2 "*asinos in Veromandense aut 12 denarios*," and the 20 *mansi* mentioned in xiii, 22 had each to furnish (*solvere*) 2 "*asinos, mittendos in Veromandense, aut 10 denarios*." This refers, most likely, to a service of transport, from St. Remi to St. Quentin (Veromandui), similar to that of the *bos aquensis* (see under *bos*) and the *servitium aquense* (see *servitium*) to



- Aix-la-Chapelle; *caropera* Cavalonensis to Châlons; *via* Veromandensis to St. Quentin.
- aspicere*, to belong, appertain to, lie near, i, 1; ii, 1; iii, 1; x, 5; xv, 61; xvii, 28; xviii, 24; xx, 15; xxvi, 24; xxvii, 1.
- atrium*, a hall, court, or large, open space, x, 5 (in *atrio* S. Remigii est ecclesia); xiii, 13 (de *atrio* quinque solidos sine tectis), 35 (de *atrio* 7 solidos); xviii, 24 (oratorium cum *atrio*).
- auga* [= *auca*, in Polypt. S. Germani], a goose, xvii, 122; xxii, 44; xxv, 1, 2; xxvii, 6.
- augtionis*, MS. *augtion* (= *anates*? the duck), xxvii, 6.
- Augustus, the month of August, xiii, 7, 15, 16, 25, 35-37; Augustus intrans, xiii, 34; Augustus medius, xiii, 40-42.
- auricalcum*, wrongly for aurichalcum, and this wrongly for orichalcum [from the Gr. *ὀρείχαλκος*, yellow copper ore, and hence the brass made from it]: *turibulum* de *auricalco*, vi, 17.
- aurum*, gold: *capsa auro* deaurata, xv, 59.
- avena*, oats, ii, 2, 5; xiii, 15, 16, 18, 20, 32; xx, 15; xxvi, 22, 26, 43; xxvii, 5.
- avergaria*, a piece of arable land on which rye, corn, barley, etc., was sown, also called *avvergaria* (see Du Cange, in voce), and perhaps *vercheria* (ibid.). (Prov. Fr. *auvergier*): v, 1; x, 9; xiv, 2; xv, 2; xvi, 2; xvii, 1; xviii, 1; xx, 1; xxii, 48; xxvi, 18, 25, 26. It was exempt from the tax called *araticum*, xv, 2; xvi, 2.
- avia*, a grandmother, xvii, 127.
- axilis*, axilus, a board, plank; see *ascila*.
- Bannum**, **bannus**, (1) in general, compulsory service (in fields, woods, stables, barns, etc.) due from a tenant to his lord, to the performing of which he was called by proclamation or *ban*, he being obliged to supply a cart (sometimes the half of it) for the carting and conveying of hay, wood, etc.: solvit . . . de ligno *carra* iii, in *bannum* *carrum* i et *dimidium*, vi, 2; solvunt (donat) . . . in *bannum* *carrum* i, xxviii, 2, 69, 72 (*carrum* *dimidium*); donat . . . in *bannum* de ligno *carrum* i, xxviii, 22; donat . . . de *banno* xxvii (*carrus*), xviii, 21; donat de *banno* lxxvi (*carrus*), xxii, 45.
- Sometimes the tenant performed this service for the right or privilege (called *pastus* or *pastio*) of feeding and pasturing pigs or other cattle: Donat in *banno* (*carrum* ligni) i pro *pasto*, i, 2; donat in *banno* pro *pasto* *carrum* (ligni) i, xxii, 8, 9 (*carrum* ligni *dimidium*), 15 (id.); solvit . . . in *banno* pro *pasto* (i *carrum* ligni), xxvi, 10; donat pro *pasto* *banni* *carrum* i, xxvi, 12; *summa* . . . in *banno* pro *pasto* *carra* ii, xxvi, 15; donat . . . de *banno*, pro *pastione*, i (*carrum*) intra *villam*, xx, 2; donat . . . in *banno*, pro *pastione*, cum *sotio*, de *bobus* iiii *capitaneis*, *carrum* i, xxii, 2; *summa* . . . de *bannis*, pro *pastione*, *carra* *ceci* et *dimidium*, xxv, i.
- (2) In particular, a day's compulsory work, enjoined, proclaimed, and performed, as above: facit *bannum* i, xviii, 2. Donat ad lignum (the gathering or carting of wood) *bannum* i, xix, 2; d. ad lignum *monasterio* *deducendum* *bannos* ii, xvi, 2; d. ad *scuriam* *bannum* i (a day's work in the stable or barn), xix, 2; faciunt *bannos* ii, unum ad lignum, alterum ad *scuriam*, unumquemque *dimidium* *carrum*, xix, 9; d. ad *fenum* (the carting and conveying of hay) *monasterio* *deducendum*, *bannum* i, xvi, 2; d. *bannos* ii ad *foenum* *monasterio* *deducendum* de *dimidio* *carro*, xv, 2. — *Bannus* *generalis*, xvi, 10. — It appears that this compulsory work was limited at St. Remi to the carting of wood and hay, and work in the stable or barn. The number of carts loaded and conveyed by the tenants was distinguished from that rendered by them as *census* (q.v.), evidently because the latter was a fixed tribute.
- baptisterium*, the church order or ritual of baptizing: *expositio* in *baptisterio*, volumen i, xviii, 22.
- bedullinus*, for *betullinus*, of or belonging to the birch (Lat. *betulla*, *betula*): *silva* *bedullina*, a wood of birch-trees (Fr. *bois de bouleau*), i, 1. See also *bidullaneus* in Du C.
- beneficium*, *benefitium*, (1) *usufruct*: Habere in, or pro, or de *beneficio*, to

hold in *usufruct*: (mansum ingenuilem l *habet* Erloinus, presbyter *i.b.*) vi, 3; (m.i. *habet* Nodelbertus, coquus, *i.b.*) vi, 4; *habet* presbyter *i.b.* (mansum ingenuilem l et diuidium, servilem l, campum l), xv, 62; see *ibid.*, § 58; (Bavilo *habet* . . . mansum l *i.b.*) xxvi, 20; (*habet* presbyter ipsius ecclesie *i.b.* mansum l servilem) xx, 75; (Major ejusdem villae, excepto manso ingenuili, *habet i.b.* de terra arabili, ubi potest seminari sigili modii vii et dim.) xxii, 44.—*habet pro beneficio* in eadem villa vineam i, xxvi, 36; Withardus vasallus *habet* mansum ingenuilem i *pro beneficio*, xxvi, 40; Notalis *habet* . . . *pro beneficio* mansum l, xxvi, 41; Adam *habet pro beneficio* . . . accolam l cum aedificiis. Tenet ipsam Haimlindis ingenua, xxvi, 42.—Vasallus *habet de beneficio* . . . sessum l, et pratum l . . . silvam communem, xxvi, 16.—Hrobertus vasallus *habet vineam l de beneficio*, xxvi, 35.

Tenere in *beneficium* (the same): Mansum servilem *tenet* . . . faber, in *beneficium*, viii, 3. Mansum ingenuilem *tenet* . . . presbyter in *beneficium*, ix, 3; mansum ing. *tenet* Nodelbertus, cocus, in *beneficium*, ix, 6, 7. See also: cetera debet sicut ceteri in *beneficium*, ix, 3.

(2) *An estate held in usufruct*: loca vel *beneficia* . . . ad portam monasterii sancti Remigii, ad decimas dandas, ex pluribus annis . . . deputata, x, 10. See further x, 11–13. Chapter xxvi is headed: *de beneficiis*; but specified are: Hagano advocatus *habet de beneficio fratrum* . . . mansos iii, xxvi, 1; Ebroinus vasallus *habet beneficium* . . . mansos ingenuiles iii, xxvi, 10; Hilduinus presbyter *habet in ipsa villa beneficium vineam l cum pasquali*, xxvi, 37.

berbiaria, a *shepherdess*, see *ancilla* (3). berbiarius (=berbicarius), a *shepherd*, called also *servus*, and enumerated among the *servi* and *ancillae* who had to pay 12 *denarii*, xvii, 117, 118, 121 (mentioned among the *servi* and *ancillae* “*noviter repressi*”).

bevrals, *not castrated*, porcus *bevrals*; see *porcus*.

bos, *an ox*, xxvii, 6.—bos *domini*, *an ox pertaining to the lord* of the estate, iii, 6.—bos *capitaneus*, probably a

*full-grown ox*: donat . . . in banno, pro pastione, cum sotio, de bobus iiii *capitanea* (leg. *capitaneis*?), carrum i, xxii, 2.

Oxen were used in conveying and transporting the produce of the estate, and for the various services which the tenants had to render: (tres) *boves* ad vinum conducendum; adductum vini; ad vini conductum; ad conductionem vini; ad mustum et ad vet. vinum conducendum; ad carrioperas, xiii, 1, 3, 5, 9, 11, 32. Facit conrogatas ii, si *boves* habuerit, xi, 8.

Bos *aguensis*, probably an *ox* used in conveying the produce of the estate to the town of Aix-la-Chapelle (*Aquae*), to the maintenance of which the tenants of the estate had to contribute an annual (?) sum of money: Solvit (donat) . . . pro *bove aguensi* denarium i, vi, 2; xvi, 2; xvii, 21 (annis singulis), 22; xviii, 2 (ann. sing.); xix, 2, 9; xxii, 2, 8, 9, 15, 26 (ann. sing.); xxvi, 10, 11. The summaries of the various estates give: pro (or de) *bove aguensi* dinarios 16½, xvi, 10; solidos 10, denarios 7½, xvii, 126; denarios 27, xviii, 21; solidi 2, den. 6½, xix, 19; sol. 6, den. 6, xxii, 46; libra 1½, den. 18, xxv, 1, 2; den. 2, xxvi, 15.—Here probably belong also the following references: facit (solvit) . . . pro *bove* denarium i, viii, 2; ix, 2, 4, 5 (den. 1½).—Donat propter *bovem* denarios ii, xii, 2. See also *servitium* *aguense*. For a similar service to St. Quentin see *asinus, via*.

\*bovarius, a *cowherd*, xxix, 17.

brazium (=bracium in Irminon's Polyptychum), *malt*, which tenants had to make for their lord: facit *brazium*, xiv, 3; xxii, 15; xxviii, 31. breviarium, a *summary, abridgment, abstract, breviary*: br. *antiphonariv*, see *antiphonarius*.

buscale (buscalia, accus. pl.), a *wood*, or rather *thorn-bushes, thorn-hedge, thicket, bush* (Fr. *buisson*), *shrubbery*, iv, 1; xxiii, 1.

butacula, a *small bottle*=*buticula* (q.v.).

buticula, *butticula* [dim. of *buta, butta*], a *small bottle, flask, flagon* (Fr. *bouteille*), xvii, 122; xviii, 20 (*b. de melle*); xix, 18; xxii, 44 (*b. plena vini, altera mellis*).—*butacula plena vino*, i, 15.

butticula, see *buticula*.

Caballeritia [Fr. *chevauchée*, from *caballus*], a *service* (in the army, or conveying agricultural produce or other articles of food, etc.) performed for the lord of the estate *by means of a horse*, xxii, 7 (imposed on a *mansus ingenuilis*).

\**californium*, the work or service of burning lime, A. iii, 10. See also *furnus calidus*.

*calix*, a cup, drinking-vessel: Habet . . . *calicem* cum patena stagnum i, vi, 17; xviii, 22; xx, 74; xxii, 47. *Calicem* et patenam et cruce[m] de stagno, xv, 59. *Calix argenteus*, xvii, 123.

*camba*, a brewery: habetur ibi *camba* ad censum, xi, 1; *camma*, xvii, 1, and in the later addit. xxix, 6-10, 17.

*caminata*, a room for warming, a fireplace (Fr. *cheminée*): (in a *casa*, q.v.), vi, 1; viii, 1; xxviii, 1, 68.

*camma* = *camba* (q.v.), a brewery.

*campus*, a field, for growing corn, grain, spelt etc. Fields are usually described as belonging to the *mansus dominicus*, ii, 1; iii, 1; x, 5; xiv, 2; xv, 1; xvi, 1; xix, 1; xxi, 1; xxii, 1; xxiii, 1; xxvi, 14; xxvii, 1; but also to other kinds of *mansus* (xv, 62), and to the *accola* (xvii, 28).—They varied in size, which is nowhere stated, though in some cases so many *campi* are said to contain so many *mappae*: i, 1 (46 *campi* cont. 100 *mappae*); ii, i (11 *campi* cont. 21 *mappae*); iii, 1 (17 *campi* cont. 58 *mappae*); x, 5 (15 *campi* cont. 28 *mappae*), etc.—But in all cases the measures (*modii*) are given of the various seeds that could be sown on the fields.—Sometimes *campus* is combined with a local name (*Campo Remensi*), xiii, 35, 36.—*Campus major*, *minor*, i, 1.—*Campus fiscalinis*, a field belonging to a *fisc*, x, 4.

*canava* (from *cannabum*?), *hemp*, or *canvas*, xxv, 1.—*caneva*, xxv, 2.

*cancellarius*, a *chancellor*, xvii, 127.

*caneva*, *hemp*, or *canvas*; see *canava*.

*caneverilla* [from *cannabaria*, a place sown with hemp; from *cannabis*, *hemp*], a *hemp-field* (Fr. *chènevière*), xxviii, 2.

*canon*, a rule or law of the Church: *Canones* volumen i, xv, 59; (volumina ii), xvii, 123.—*quaterniones canonum* vii, xx, 74.—*canonicus*, of or belonging to a canon, *canonical*: *epistola*

*canonica*, see the quotation under *epistola* i.—*Poenitentialis canonicus*, see *poenitentiale*.

*capella*, *cappella*, a *chapel*, mentioned as pertaining to a *mansus dominicus*, xvi, 1; xxviii, 68 (here it seems to have been part of the *casa*, q.v.).—*Cappella* in honore sancti Salvatoris dedicata, xxviii, 1.

*capitalicium* [*caput*], a *head- or poll-tax*: *capitalicio* (de), xiii, 22, 24, 26, 31, 35, and in the later addit. xxix, 1-3, 6, 8, 11 (*villae*), 16, 18, 19.—See also *caput*: *solvere*, *dare*, *donare pro capite suo*.

*capitalicium*, one who pays a *head- or poll-tax*, xiii, 1, 2, 9, 15, 19, 21, 52, 53.

*capitanea*, so in MS., but perhaps leg. *capitaneus*, ablat. plur. of *capitaneus*; chief, in full working capacity: *Donat* . . . in banno, pro pastione, cum sotio, de bobus iiii *capitanea*, carrum i, xxii, 2.

*caplim*, *capplim*, (1) *cut wood*, and, by extension, (2) *the obligation of tenants to cut down trees or branches of trees*: *facit caplim dies iii*, ipsumque deducit, v, 2; *donat* . . . *capplim diebus vii*, xxii, 26; *facit in anno* . . . *caplim dies xv*, vi, 2; *solvit* (*donat*, *facit*) . . . *caplim* (*capplim*) *dies xv*, ix, 2, 5; xv, 2; xvi, 2; xxviii, 2, 22, 69, 72; *solvit* . . . *caplim diebus xv*, ix, 4; *faciunt* (*facit*) *capplim diebus xv*, ipsumque deducendum, xvii, 2; xxi, 2; xxii, 2, 9; *facit capplim diebus xv*, sed non vehit, xvii, 22; *faciunt capplim diebus xv*, aut *donant denarios iiii*, xi, 2.—It differed from *lignum* (q.v.).

\**capo*, a *capon* (Fr. *chapon*), xxix, 67. *cappella* = *capella* (q.v.).

*capro*, *caprones*, a *rafter* (Fr. *chevron*), xxviii, 2, used in making the *peditura* (q.v.).

*capsa*, a *repository*, *box*, *vessel*: *capsa aerea deaurata cum gemmis vitreis*, xx, 74.—*capsa argentea*, xvii, 123.—c. *auro deaurata*, xv, 59.—c. *deaurata*, xviii, 22.—c. *stagnea*, xviii, 22.

*caput*, (1) *the head*: *solvere*, *dare*, *donare pro capite suo*, to pay the *head- or poll-tax*, which was done: (a) *in kind* (barley), vii, 2; ix, 12; xvii, 2, 28; (b) *in money* (4 den.), xxvi, 19; xxviii, 73.—(2) *a head, beginning*: *Caput Quadragesimae*, *Ash Wednesday*, xiii, 37.—(3) *a head*,



here used of *cattle*, xxv, 1, 2; xxvii, 6.—(4) *a chief, principal*: *Caput scolae s. Remensis ecclesiae*, xvii, 127.

card., for *cardularia*, for *cartularia* (q.v.), and for *cardularius* = to *cartularius* (q.v.).

caropera, carriopera, caropera (fem.), *work, service, labour* (of conveying and transporting wine, corn, etc.) *by means of a cart (carrum or carrus)*, which tenants had to perform for their lord (and which is usually mentioned together with *manopera*, q.v.), either to a fixed extent, or to any extent, and wherever the lord or his officers demanded it: *donare, or facere caroperas*, i, 2; ii, 2; iii, 5; vi, 2; ix, 2, 4, 5; xvi, 2; xvii, 2; xviii, 2; xix, 2, 9; xx, 2; xxi, 2; xxii, 2, 8, 9, 26; xxvi, 10–12, 41; xxviii, 2.—Form *carropera*, xi, 2; xii, 2, 4; xiv, 3; xv, 2; xxviii, 22.—The service could be redeemed *by supplying an ox, or by a money payment*: *donat . . . pro caropera denarios vi, xx, 16; solvunt ad carrioperas aut 1 bovem aut 4 denarios, xiii, 32; see also xi, 2.*

*Caropera Cavalonensis, a conveyance by cart to Châlons*: *donat . . . pro caropera Cavalonense, denarios ii, xii, 2; see also xv, 2: donat . . . in Cavilonia dinarios ii.* For similar services *see asinus; bos aquensis; servitium aquense; via; see also carrucare.*

\**carrata, a cartload*, xxix, 6, 11, 18; A. iii, 5, 7, 9, 10.—*Sunt ibi 4 mansi et 1 carratam (?)*, A. iii, 15.

carriopera, caropera, see *caropera*.  
carri, for *carrecta*, or *carreta* (Fr. *charrette*), *a cart, waggon*, xiii, 30.

\**carruca, a plough*: *carruca indominitata, a plough belonging to the domain*, A. iii, 7.

carrucare, *to load on a carrum*, xxviii, 2.

carrum, carrus, (1) *a two-wheeled waggon, a cart*, which tenants had sometimes to supply for the conveyance of the produce of fields, meadows, vineyards, etc.: *ad vini conductum unum carrum, xiii, 1; habent solvere . . . 1 carrum ad vinum, xiii, 22; solventes aut carrum 1 ad vinum aut 20 denarios, xiii, 36, etc.*—See also *bannum, bannus*.

It further indicated (2) the *measure or quantity of wood, hay,*

*straw, and other produce of the forest, fields, meadows, etc.*, which tenants had to supply to the lord in satisfaction of their rent or taxes, or which they had to convey from the woods and fields to the manse: (a) *of wood* (see *lignum*), i, 2, 9, 16; ii, 2; iii, 5, 8; vi, 2; ix, 2; x, 6; xi, 2; xii, 2, 4; xiii, 1, 11, 14, 28; xiv, 3; xvii, 2 (one *carrum* = vii *pedes ad manum*), 22; xix, 2, 13, 19; xxv, 1, 2, etc.; (b) *of straw (stramen), material for hedges (clausura, materiamentum)*, xi, 2; xiv, 3; xvii, 22; xix, 2, 13; xxv, 1, 2, etc.; (c) *of hay (faenum)*, that could be collected in the meadows, i, 1; iii, 1, 8; iv, 1; vi, 17; viii, 1; x, 6; xi, 1; xii, 1; xiii, 11; xiv, 2, 3; xxv, 1, etc.; (d) *the number or quantity of scarritiones* which tenants had to furnish, see *scarritio*. See further, xxvi, 2, 4, 6–12, 14–16, 19, 22, 26, 28, 30, 33, 41, 43; xxvii, 1, 2, 4; xxviii, 1, 2, 22, 69.—*carrum* (or *carrus*) *dimidium* (or *-us*), i, 2, 16; iv, 2; v, 2; vi, 2; ix, 2; xiii, 18; xiv, 3; xv, 2; xvi, 2; xix, 9; xxi, 2, 7; xxii, 2, 8, 9, 15, 45; xxvi, 10, 15; xxviii, 72.—*carrus*, xiii, 1, 18, 26, 28; xiv, 5; xv, 1, 2, 58; xvi, 1, 2, 10; xvii, 126; xviii, 2, 21; xix, 1, 19; xx, 1, 2, 15, 76; xxi, 1, 2, 7; xxii, 1, 2, 8, 9, 15, 26, 45; xxiii, 1; xxiv, 1; xxv, 1.

*carta, a public, official document, a charter*, xvii, 111.

cartelarius, for *cartularius* (q.v.).

cartularia, see *cartularius*.

cartularius (sometimes shortened to *card.* for *cardularius*, xv, 28, 34; xvii, 63), *a man freed or emancipated by* (a *carta* or) *charter*. He held: *an accola*, xxvi, 17; *a mansum ingenuile*, xvii, 9 (*cartelarius*); *a mansus dimidius ingenuilis*, xxviii, 14; *a mansum servile*, xx, 14; (+ *ingenua*) *a mansus ingenuilis*, xxii, 5, 29.—belonged to the *familia villae*, xx, 59; and (as *forensis, cartularius*) to the same, xx, 44, 61.—had to pay the (capitation) tax of 4 *denarii de argento*, xvii, 68; owed annually “in *Vigilia sancti Remigii*” 4 *dinarii de argento*, xvii, 63.—is enumerated among (a) the *mancipia* (bondmen) of a church, xviii, 23; (b) the *accolae*, and *forenses villae*,



- who owed 9 days of work or 4 denarii, xv, 28, 34.
- cartularia (also shortened to *card.*), a woman so freed or emancipated. She is enumerated among (a) the familia intra villam, and as having infantes, i, 13; (b) the forenses villae owing 9 days or 4 den., xv, 35; (c) the viri ac feminae forenses de villa who owed annually "in Vigilia s. Remigii" 4 den. de argento, xvii, 64, 67, 72; (d) the servi vel ancillae intra villam, xviii, 18; (e) mancipia, xviii, 23.—is wife of (a) an ingenuus, xx, 32; (b) a vicaratus, xxii, 5.—called (a) cartularia forensis, xx, 64; (b) cartularia ingenua, and wife of an ingenuus, xxii, 4.
- \*cartum or cartus, a cart, A. iii, 10.
- casa, a cottage, lodge, usually mentioned together with the mansus dominicatus, vi, 1 (cum laubia, cellario, caminata); vii, 1; viii, 1 (cum solario, cellario et caminata, laubia); ix, 1; xxviii, 1, 68.
- castaneus [castanea], of or belonging to the chestnut, having the colour of the chestnut: planeta castanea, see planeta.
- casula, a chasuble: c. de cendato (silk cloth, sendal) viridi, xvii, 123; xxii, 47 [altera linea].
- \*cauma, a cottage, hut, cabin, shed, or other dwelling covered by reeds (Fr. chaume) or straw, A. ii (p. 113).
- causa, xviii, 22: alterum manuaem i, ex diversis causis, perhaps a manual treating of various causes relating to the great affairs of the Church.
- cavagius, a person who pays the head- or poll-tax, or perhaps leg. CAVAGIUM (Fr. chevage), the head- or poll-tax, xiii, 32, 34 (in both cases the word appears in the ablat. plural).
- Cavalona, Cavidonia, see Carropera.
- cellarium, a storeroom, cellar, which seems to have been part of the casa (q.v.) usually mentioned together with the mansus dominicatus, vi, 1; viii, 1.
- cellerarius, see cellerarius.
- cellerarius, cellerarius, a butler, steward, vi, 15 (cellerarius); xvii, 122 (here it is suggested that a mansus servile was his usual holding).
- cendatum (xviii, 22), cindadum nigrum (vi, 17), silk cloth, sandal, or sendal; see the quotations under planeta.—
- ecclesia habens casulam de cendato viridi i, xvii, 123; xxii, 47.
- census, a tribute, tax, here more particularly the tax or rents (but not the war-tax, nor the manual services) paid by the tenants of the estate. It was paid (solvere or donare in censum; de censu; pro omni censu) in (a) wine, i, 2; iv, 4; vii, 4-6, 8; ix, 8, 11; xiii, 21, 26; xv, 2; xix, 2, 7-9, 19; xxii, 47; xxvi, 26; xxvii, 4. [This wine, which pertained to the tenants, and on which they had to pay the census, is distinguished from the wine "in collectione," that is "collected" in the manorial vineyard]; (b) pulli and ova, iii, 8; vi, 9; xxviii, 72; (c) spelta, sigillum, or other grains, vii, 4; ix, 2; (d) porci, xiii, 11; (e) lignum, xx, 2; xxii, 45; xxv, 1; (f) money, vi, 13, 22, 25, 28, 29; ix, 11; x, 5; xiii, 1, 11, 19, 32, 40-42; xxviii, 46, 47, 70.
- Census debitus, xiii, 1.—Census dimidius, ii, 3.—Census frumenti, xxv, 1, 2.—Census hospitium, xiii, 32.—Census incertus, xxv, 1, 2.—Census mansuum, xxv, 1.—Census medietas, xvii, 20; xviii, 6, 9; xx, 9, 10; xxii, 14; xxviii, 5, 6, 9-11, 13, 19, 30, 33.—Census omnis, xxviii, 41, 70.—Census vini, xxv, 1.—De circadio modii ii census, xxiii, 4.—Quarta pars census, xxviii, 18.—Camba (a brewhouse) ad censum, xi, 1.—Molins solvens de censu, xiii, 1.—See also xvii, 124; xix, 18; xxii, 7; xxvi, 41.
- cera, wax, xxii, 47:
- cerarius, a tenant who paid his rent in wax, xxii, 47.
- \*cervisa, cervisia, beer, xxix, 6, 8, 17.
- cindadum, silk cloth, sendal, = cendatum (q.v.).
- circadium, a kind of tax, or tribute, paid in wine, by the tenant of an accola, who worked a vinea dominica for thirds: donat exinde in circadio dimidium modium, xxiii, 2, 4.
- circuitus, circumference, circuit: c. horti, xxviii, 69, 72.
- circulus, a ring, hoop, or chain, probably for binding up tubs, vats, or casks, and of which tenants had to supply or convey certain quantities: faciunt . . . inter totos circulos 50, xii, 2; donat . . . ad circulos quartam partem carri, xvi, 2; donant . . . ad circulos, cum socio, vice sua,

- quando venerit, carrum i, xix, 2; ducit unusquisque duo modios frumenti aut 50 *circulos* . . . ad locum dominicale monasterii, xiii, 9.—This quantity was sometimes measured by perches (see *pertica*): Donat . . . *circulos*, perticas 10, i, 2; donant . . . *circulos*, perticas 115, i, 16; solvit perticas 5 ad *circulos*, ix, 2; summa perticarum *circulorum*, xxv, 1, 2.—The tax was redeemable by money: se redimit pro *circulis* denarium 1, ix, 4; solvit . . . pro *circulis* denarium 1, ix, 5.
- civitas, a city, xxvi, 19.
- claudere, to confine, enclose (courts, gardens, etc.), which tenants had to do for their lords, vii, 2 (curtem); xvii, 2 (hortum); xviii, 2 (cortem); xx, 2 (cortem); xxi, 2 (cortem, vineam).
- \*clausum, a place or a field closed in by hedges or walls (Fr. *clos*), A. iii, 2.—Clausum indomnicatum, an enclosure belonging to the domain, A. iii, 7.
- clausura, (1) that which encloses, the thorns, wood, or other material for making a fence or enclosure, of which tenants had to supply a certain quantity: habet de concide, ubi potest colligi *clausura*, viii, 1; donat *clausuram*, carrum dimidium, xiv, 3; de *clausura* carros 5½, xiv, 5. See further xvii, 126; xxv, 1, 2; xxvi, 6, 8, 9, 43.—(2) a fence, enclosure: Donat annis singulis *clausuram* spinarum carrum 1, xvii, 22; habent . . . communia de silva minuta . . . ad *clausuram* faciendam, xvii, 28.
- clericus, a clerk, clergyman, xxviii, 66.
- clocca, a bell; c. de metallo, and c. de ferro, xvii, 123. See also *cocclea*; *metallum*; *ferrum*; *signum*.
- cocclea ferrea, mentioned among the furniture of a church, xv, 59; perhaps for *clocca* (q.v.), a bell, enumerated in the same way. Cf., however, the class. Lat. *coclea*, which originally meant a snail, and later on came to signify (1) a screw of a press; (2) a machine for drawing water.
- coqus, coquus, a cook, holding a *mansus ingenuilis* "in beneficio," vi, 4; ix, 6, 7.
- collaboratus (ūs), see *conlaboratus*.
- collectaneus, an ecclesiastical book, containing the collects to be read at the divine services: ecclesia habet . . . collectaneum volumen i, vi, 17.—
- collectaneus a Pascha usque Domini adventum, xviii, 22.
- collectio [= collecta], a gathering, collection, tax, impost, chiefly applied to the collection and quantity of wine and hay gathered in the manorial vineyards and fields, i, 16 (c. vini); iii, 8 (in coll. de vino, de foeno); iv, 4; xix, 19; xxiii, 4; xxv, 1.—With respect to the tax on the wine gathered in tributary vineyards, and of which the tenants had to give a certain quantity to the lord of the estate, the word *census* (q.v.) was generally used (see especially xix, 19; xxiii, 4; xxv, 1).
- colligere, to collect, to load, i, 1 (of hay and of wine); ii, 1; iii, 1; vi, 17; ix, 1, 8; xiv, 2; xvii, 2; xviii, 9 (of straw); xix, 1; xx, 1, 15; xxi, 1; xxii, 1, 15 (of straw), 47; xxiii, 1; xxiv, 1; xxvi, 14, 16, 19, 20, 26–28; xxvii, 1; xxviii, 68. Ipsi *colligunt* omnia hec cum prebenda, xi, 2.—Hec omnia *colligens* ad monasterium deducit, xvii, 22.—Omnia *colligens* deducit ubicumque imperatur, xxii, 2.—Arat in anno mappas iii de ipso manso; *colligit* eas et vehit, xxvi, 18.
- colona, a woman who cultivates another's land, a female farmer or tenant. Like the *colonus* (q.v.) the *colona* only appears in Chapter xxviii, which is divided into *colonicae* (colonies). The *colona* is recorded as (1) wife of a *colonus*, xxviii, 3, 5–7, 13–16, 19, 24, 25, 27, 30, 33, 35, 37, 42, 44–46; (2) sister of a *colonus*, xxviii, 4; (3) wife of a *servus* (infantes *servi*), xxviii, 8, 20, 38; (4) daughter of a col. + *colona*, xxviii, 42.—Her children are *coloni*, xxviii, 9, 10.—She held a *mansus dim. ingen.*, xxviii, 9, 10, 12, 16, 19, 28, 30, 41; ditto (with a *portionarius*), xxviii, 15; an *accola ingenuilis*, xxviii, 26, 47, 49; an *accola dimidia ingenuilis*, xxviii, 48.
- colonia, a colony, xix, 9.
- colonica, a colony, xxviii, 1, 22, 28, 33, 46, 48 [only in this Chapter xxviii the *colonus* (q.v.) and the *colona* (q.v.) appear; the tenants in the preceding chapters were mostly called *ingenuus*].
- colonus, one who cultivates another's land, a husbandman, farmer, tenant of the Abbey. He is recorded as (1) *colonus* merely, xxviii, 2, 4, 6, 8,

- 9, 11-13, 29, 32, 34, 37, 39, 41, 43, 48, 50, 52; (2) colonus + ancilla (the children were *servi*), xxviii, 2, 4; (3) colonus + colona (the children were *coloni*, *colonae*), xxviii, 3, 5-7, 13-16, 19, 24, 25, 27, 30, 33, 35, 37, 42, 44-46; (4) colonus + extranea, xxviii, 3; (5) colonus, son of a colona, xxviii, 9, 10, 12, 15, 16, 19, 41, 47, 49; (6) colonus + uxor, xxviii, 44; (7) colonus, major, xxviii, 14 (holding a *mansus dimidius ingenuilis*).— colonus qui ibi est *ex nativitate* debet denarios vii, xxviii, 65; colonus qui ibi *se addonaverit* debet denarios iv, xxviii, 65.— colonus, distinguished from a *francus*, xxviii, 66.—He held (singly or with a wife): a *mansus dimidius*, xxviii, 19; a *mansus dimidius ingenuilis*, xxviii, 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11-16, 30, 33-37, 41-45; ditto (with a *cartularius*), xxviii, 14; a *mansus ingenuilis*, xxviii, 7, 29, 39; an *accola*, xxviii, 52; an *accola ingenuilis*, xxviii, 24, 25, 27, 46, 50; an *accola dimidia ingenuilis*, xxviii, 48; (with another *colonus* and his sister a *colona*, and a *colonus* + *ancilla*) a *mansus ingenuilis*, xxviii, 4; (with a *servus*) a *mansus servilis*, xxviii, 32.—The *colonus* and the *colona* occur only in Chapter xxviii, which is divided into *colonicae* (*colonies*). In the preceding chapters the majority of the tenants (i.e. those corresponding to the *colonus* and *colona*) are called *ingenuus* (q.v.) and *ingenua* (q.v.).
- colrinus**, for *corilinus* (from Lat. *corylus*, *corulus*), of or belonging to the hazel or filbert shrub: *silva colrina* (cum spinulis), a wood of hazel-trees (Fr. bois de coudriers), i, 1. See Littré, in voce *coudre*.
- commanere**, to dwell, xviii, 11; xx, 18 (interius et exterius). See also *manere*.
- communis**, common, general, public: *silva communis*, xxvi, 16; see *silva*.
- commune** (accus. plur. *communia*), a common right or privilege (to use a wood or shrubbery, for making hedges or fences): *Habent . . . communia de silva minuta mappas iii, ad clausuram faciendam*, xvii, 28.
- comparare**, to procure, get, purchase, xvii, 127.
- compartire** = *compartiri*, to divide something with one, to share, xi, 2.
- componere**, to gather up, collect, pile together: *secat pratum, componens fenum*, xiv, 3.—*componere* *corrogatas*, xviii, 2.—*componere* et *vehere* (deducere), without *faenum* or any other produce mentioned, xxvi, 2, 4, 6, 17. See also *colligere*, *vehere*.
- computus**, a calculation of the calendar, a calendar, mentioned among the books in a church, xviii, 22.—*quaternio de computo*, a calendar consisting of one quire, also mentioned among the books in a church, xx, 74.
- comprobare**, to approve, to assent to, sanction, xvii, 127.
- comprobatio**, see *comprobatio*.
- concidis**, a wood, or part of a wood, fit for cutting, viii, 1.
- conducere**, to bring, convey, transport, conduct (goods, especially wine and corn), a work which tenants had to do for their lord, xiii, 5, 10, 11, 32. See also *deducere*.
- conductio vini**, the conveying, transporting of wine, xiii, 9.
- conductus vini**, the same, xiii, 1, 5. See also *ductus vini*.
- conlaboratus** (*ūs*) [*collaborare*, to labour with or together], any property or possession obtained or acquired by labour: *Donat araticum de omni conlaboratu*, xiv, 3; *donat araticum de suo conlaboratu*, xv, 2; *donant decimam de omni conlaboratu*, xxviii, 2, 46, 47.
- conprobatio** (for *comp-*), approbation, approval, xvii, 127.
- conrogata** = *corrogata* (q.v.).
- consignare**, to sign together, to sign, subscribe, xxviii, 66.
- consuetudo**, custom, usage, xiii, 32; c. antiqua, xvii, 122.
- continere**, to contain, hold, said of fields containing so many *mappae* (or measures), i, 1, 2, etc.
- contingere**, to concern, be related to, xviii, 2.
- cooperire**, to cover, cover over (Fr. *couvrir*): *cooperit portionem suam*, xxii, 15; *pedituram cooperiunt*, xxviii, 8.—*crux stagno cooperta*, vi, 17; xviii, 22.
- coopertorium**, a covering, cover: *coopertorium sericum*, an altar-cloth of silk, xx, 74; xxii, 47.
- coopertura**, a covering, cover, roof (of straw), Fr. *couverture*, xviii, 9.
- coquina**, see *quoquina*.
- coquus**, a cook; see *cocus*.



corbus [the same as the class. Lat. *corbis*], a basket. As tenants had to bring their contribution of spelt to the Abbey in the *corbus*, it was perhaps of a fixed capacity, and consequently used as a *measure*: Solvit in *corbo* de spelta modios xii, vi, 23; de spelta solvit in *corbo* modios x, vii, 2; donat . . . in *corbo* de spelta modios xii, xi, 2.

corona, a circle: corona stagnea (supra altare), a circle of tin (containing a lighted taper), xvii, 123.

corporale, a [linen] cloth placed over the species after communion: *corporalia* 2, vi, 17; *corporale* 1, xx, 74.—*corporales*, xv, 59; xviii, 22; xxii, 47.—*corporales* de glidsa, a cloth of superior linen, xvii, 123.

corrogata [from the class. *corrogare*, to bring together by entreaty], a gratuitous service or work which tenants were bound, by law or custom (originally by request), to perform for their lord, usually in fields, at the time of ploughing, sowing, or harvest, with horses, oxen, or other beasts of burden:

facit *corrogatas*, xv, 12, 14; f. *corrogatas* ii, xiv, 3; xxvi, 6; f. *corrogatas* iv, x, 6; f. *corrogatas* viii, i, 2; ii, 2; xxii, 7; xxvi, 10-12.—f. in anno *corrogatam* i, xix, 13; *corrogatas* ii, xxi, 5; *corrogatas* iii, iii, 3, 5; *corr.* iv, xvi, 2; *corr.* v, v, 2; xv, 2; *corr.* vi, xx, 13, 16; *corr.* viii, ii, 2; xix, 2, 8, 9, 11, 12.—f. *annis singulis corrogatas* ii, xi, 2; *corr.* viii, xxii, 26.—f. *ipsa satione corrogatas* iii, xviii, 2 (componendo ipsas); xx, 2.

arare *corrogatam* i, xxvi, 22; arare *corrogatas*, xvii, 28; *corrogatas* ii, xxvi, 7, 8; *corr.* iii, xxi, 2; *corr.* iiiii, xvii, 22.—arare super totum annum *corrogatas* viiii, xxii, 2.

Form *corrogata*: facit *corrogatas* ii, si boves habuerit, xi, 8 [from this reference it would seem that the *corrogata* was mostly performed with oxen]—arare *corrogatas* ii, xxvi, 2; *corrogatas* iiiii, xvii, 2.—From this word is derived *corvada* (q.v.), which is used exclusively in Irminon's Polyptychum, whereas here both *corvada* and *corrogata* occur.

cortis, see *curtis*.

corvada (from, and = *corrogata*, q.v.): facit *corvadas*, xxviii, 72; *corvadas* iiiii, xxviii, 69; *corvadas* vi, vii, 2;

*corr.* ix, ix, 5.—f. in anno *corvadas* viii, viii, 2; ix, 2; *corvadas* viiii, vi, 2; xii, 2, 4.—arare *corvadas*, xxviii, 22; arare *corvadas* iv, xxviii, 2.

crux, a cross: c. argentea, xx, 74.—c. de stagno, xv, 59.—c. stagno cooperta, vi, 17; xviii, 22.

cuba, a tub, vat (Fr. *cuve*), xii, 1.

cultura, a piece of cultivated land (belonging to the *mansus dominicatus*), xi, 1; xvii, 1; xviii, 1; xx, 1.—*culturae* iiiii de terra forastica, xiv, 2.

curtis, a court, enclosure, yard, usually mentioned as belonging to the *mansus dominicatus*, i, 1; ii, 1; iii, 1, 6 (belonging to a *sessus*); xxvii, 1; xxviii, i, 68.—With a local name added, it = *villa*, as *Curte Alamanorum*, vi, 29; *Curte Angutiore*, xvii, 111; *Curte Hrodoldi*, vi, 25; *Curte Lonceia*, iii, 7; *Curte Monasteriali*, vi, 20.—*curtis claudenda*, vii, 2. See also xvii, 29.—The form *cortis*, in this Register, is always (but perhaps accidentally) used when there is question of the *service of enclosing or repairing the court* (*cortis claudenda*), xi, 2; xvii, 2, 22; xviii, 2; xx, 2; xxi, 2; xxvi, 2 (*cortis emendanda*).

custos, a custodian: c. ecclesiae S. Remigii, xxviii, 66.

Dare, to give, present, xviii, 2, here used in the same way as *donare* (q.v.), to pay (bring) as tax.

deauratus, gilt, xv, 59; see *capsa*.

debere, to owe, have to pay, render (as tax, rent, etc.); see also *solvere, facere*, i, 13, 14; vi, 3, 4, 6, 7, 10-12, 14, 16; vii, 3; ix, 3, 6, 7; xiii, 9; xvii, 60, 114, 124; xviii, 11, 15; xxii, 31, 35; xxviii, 3, 4, 65, etc.—*debere*, to be under an obligation, xvii, 122.

decanus, a kind of rural officer, a dean (Fr. *doyen*), next in rank to the major, vi, 15; xvii, 125. Like the major villae and presbyter, he had, on the Lord's Nativity and Easter, to offer oblations to the Seniores of the Monastery, xvii, 122; but only the half of their offerings, xxii, 44. He is called *decanus, ingenius*, xx, 18.

decima, the tenth part, tithe, x (heading), 1, 2; loca vel beneficia quae ad portam monasterii S.



- Remigii, ad *decimas* dandas, ex pluribus annis, sunt deputata, x, 10.—*decima* de *annona*, xxviii, 69, 70, 72, 73; de omni conlaboratu, xxviii, 2, 46, 47; de vervecibus, xi, 2; xii, 2; xv, 2, 58: xvii, 2, 126; xxviii, 2, 69, 72; de vino, xii, 2.—*decima* locorum, xxv, 1. See also *araticum*.
- deducere, to bring, convey, transport, conduct (= *conducere*, q.v.) goods, or produce of the fields, especially wine, corn, wood, hay, iv, 2; v, 2; xiii, 11; xv, 2; xvi, 2; xvii, 2, 22; xxi, 2; xxii, 2; xxvi, 17.
- deferre, to bear, carry, bring down (gifts or oblations to the authorities of the monastery), xvii, 1; xix, 18; xxii, 44.
- denarius (din-), a *denier*, used by the side of the *libra* and *solidus*, i, 16; iii, 8; vi, 29; xiii, 4, 5, 7, 9, 13; xiv, 5; xv, 58; xvi, 10; xvii, 126; xviii, 21; xx, 76; xxii, 46; xxiv, 1; xxv, 1, 2; xxvi, 9, 15, 26, 33, 43.—den. dimidius, xvi, 10; xix, 19; xxv, 1.—den. de argento, i, 16; ii, 5, etc., see *argentum*.—Particular payments in *denarii*, for taxes, in redemption of obligatory work, etc.:  $\frac{1}{2}$  den., xviii, 2.—1 den., vi, 2; viii, 2; ix, 2, 4, 5 (pro *circulis*); xi, 2; xvi, 2; xvii, 2, 22; xviii, 2; xix, 2, 9; xxii, 2, 8, 9, 15, 26; xxvi, 10, 11 (in most cases paid "pro bove aquensi"; see *bos*).— $1\frac{1}{2}$  den., ix, 5; xi, 2; xxii, 35, 46.—2 den., xii, 2, 5; xiii, 9; xiv, 3; xviii, 2; xxvi, 2; xxviii, 65.— $2\frac{1}{2}$  den., xxii, 26.—3 den., xviii, 2; xxvi, 19.— $3\frac{1}{2}$  den., vi, 15.—4 den., i, 13, 14; ii, 4; iii, 7; vi, 2, 13; ix, 2, 4, 5, 11; xi, 2; xii, 5; xiii, 18, 32; xiv, 3; xv, 27, 33; xvii, 60, 126; xviii, 11, 15; xxii, 47; xxvi, 19, 24; xxviii, 2, 53-62, 65, 69, 73.—5 den., vii, 2; xxii, 9; xxvi, 11.—6 den., v, 2; ix, 11; xiii, 11, 18; xx, 16; xxvi, 2, 5, 17.—7 den., xxviii, 65.—8 den., iii, 7; v, 2; vi, 2, 23, 29; xiii, 5; xvii, 2, 22; xx, 13, 14; xxii, 15, 17, 20, 24, 25: xxviii, 53-62.—10 den., xv, 2; xx, 2; xxii, 2, 8; xxvi, 10.—11 den., xxvi, 11.—12 den., vii, 2; xi, 2; xiii, 14; xv, 32: xvii, 28, 114, 124; xxi, 2; xxvi, 13, 22; xxviii, 46, 47, 50, 53-56, 65.—13 den., ix, 11.—14 den., vi, 26; xii, 3; xxii, 44.—16 den., vi, 22; vii, 2; ix, 4, 5; xiii, 5; xxvi, 38, 42.—18 den., vi, 29.—20 den., i, 2; xi, 2; xxviii, 67.—24 den., vi, 27.—25 den., xii, 2.—30 den., vi, 22; xxviii, 2.—40 den., vi, 29.
- deputatus, assigned, allotted, x, 10.
- desuper, above, xxviii, 58.
- dicere (jurati), to say as sworn men or jurors, xii, 6.
- dies, a day, a day's labour which tenants owed to their lord, either in ploughing, mowing, reaping, cutting, and gathering of wood, or other operations, usually: facit (or donat, or debet) 2 *dies*, xv, 17; xxvi, 2.—3 *dies*, v, 2; ix, 12; xi, 2 (cum *prebenda*); xxi, 6; xxii, 31, 35 (or a payment of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  den.), 46 (id.).—4 *dies*, vi, 9; viii, 2 (per week); xvii, 111; xxi, 5 (in messe); xxviii, 20 (per week).—7 *dies*, xxii, 26.—9 *dies* (or 4 den.), xv, 27, 33; xviii, 11.—15 *dies* (in *vindemiis*, ad *vindemiam*, tempore *vindemiæ*), xiii, 16; xvii, 2, 22; xviii, 2; (ad *vindemiam sine pane*), x, 6; (tempore *vindemiæ aut dinarios ii*), xiv, 3; (caplim), vi, 2; ix, 2, 4, 5; xi, 2; xv, 2; xvi, 2; xvii, 2, 22; xxi, 2; xxii, 2, 9; xxviii, 2, 22, 69, 72; (ad *macerias*), x, 6.—See also xiii, 5, 9; xvii, 126; xx, 76.
- dimidius, half; see *census dimidius*, *denarius dimidius*, *mansus dimidius*.
- diurnale, diurnalis, a measure of land which an ox could plough in one day, xviii, 24; xxvi, 41 (habet *censum* in anno *mappas ii et diurnale i*). Nomin. plural, *diurnales*, xxvi, 38.—*arare i diurnale*, xxiii, 2; *facere ii diurnales*, xxvi, 13.
- diurnarius, perhaps a tenant who had to work one day for his lord, xviii, 21; xxv, 1; xxvi, 24 (owing 4 den.).—*diurnarius ingenuus forensis*, xv, 58: it seems that the two adjectives qualify the *diurnarius*.
- dominicalis, of or belonging to a domain (dominicum); hence *dominicale* locum *monasterii*, xiii, 9; perhaps that part of the Abbey or Monastery which was called the domain.
- dominicatus, of, belonging, or reserved to a domain; see *mansus, terra, vineola*.
- dominicum, a domain, x, 6; xvii, 114.
- dominicus, of or belonging, or reserved to a dominus or lord; see *annona, pratum, precium, terra, vinea*.

- Dominus, the Lord.**—Natale Domini; Nativitas Domini, see *Natale, Nativitas*.—Adventus Domini, see *Adventus*, and *Collectaneus*.—Incar-natio Domini, see *incarnatio* and *annus*.—dominus, a lord or master: boves domini, iii, 6.
- domnus** [from dominus], title applied to (1) a bishop, xxviii, 66; (2) a king (*ibid.*).
- domus, a house**, xiii, 15 (dono in MS.); xv, 63.
- donare, to give, present, produce**, give gifts or presents, here usually to pay tax, in money or in kind, in the same sense as *solvere* (q.v.). So: donare de annona; araticum; de avena; in census; cetera; denarios; foetam; in hostelicia; de ligno; lignum; mul-tonem; pastas; pullos et ova; de sigilo; solidos; de vino, etc., etc., i, 2, 7, 9, 16; ii, 2, 5; iii, 3, 5; iv, 2; v, 2; x, 6, 9; xi, 2; xii, 1-3, 5; xiv, 3, 5; xv, 2, 10, 17; xvi, 2, 5; xvii, 2, 22, 28, 114; xviii, 1, 2, 21; xix, 2, 7, 11; xx, 2, 8, 13, 16, 76; xxii, 2, 8, 15, 18, 24-26, 45, 47; xxiii, 1, 2; xxvi, 2, 4, 6-8, 11-14, 18-20, 22; xxviii, 2, 22, 46, 47, 50, 52, 69, 70, 72, 73. See also *dare*.
- donatio, a gift, donation**, iv, 4; xiv, 6.
- ducere, to lead, bring, conduct, convey to**, vii, 2, 4; xiii, 9. See also *con-ducere, deducere*.
- ductus vini, the conveying, transporting (of wine)**, xiii, 3. See also *con-ductio, conductus vini*, in voce *con-ducere*.
- Ebdomada, a week**, during which some tenants had to work a certain number of days for their lord, xv, 17 (here 2 days). See also *septimana*.
- ecclesia (aeccel-), a church**, xii, 5; xv, 61; xvii, 127; xviii, 24; xxv, 1.—ecclesia dimidia, xxv, 1.—Income derived from a church, xiii, 37, 39.—A church has a *mansus ingenuilis* and 4 *mancipia*, xviii, 23.—Ecclesia sancta Remensis, xvii, 127.—ecclesia in honore Sancti Hilarii, xxiv, 1; in honore Sancti Remigii, xv, 59; xxii, 47; in honore Sancti Victoris, xix, 18.—ecclesia medietas in honore S. Mariae, xv, 63.—ecclesia in honore S. Remigii dedicata, vi, 17; in honore S. Timothei dedicata, vi, 1.—aecclesia in honore Sancti Remigii dicata, xx, 74.—ecclesia in honore sanctorum martyrum Cosme et Da-miani sacrata, x, 5; in honore S. Martini sacrata, xvii, 123; in honore S. Medardi sacrata, xviii, 22.
- emendare, to repair, restore, emend**, xxvi, 2.
- episcopatus, episcopacy, a bishopric**, xxviii, 66.
- episcopus, a bishop**, xvii, 127 (here applied to an archbishop).
- epistola, (1) an epistle**, here more particularly an epistle of St. Paul: *epistolae Pauli et vii canonice*, et Apocalipsis cum explanatione, volum-en i, xx, 74.—(2) a section of Scripture, usually taken from the epistles and appointed to be said at Mass, *Epistolarum* volumen i, xvii, 123.
- epistolaria, a woman who had been emancipated or affranchised by an epistola (or letter)**. She is recorded as: *epistolaria* merely, xx, 43; (cum infantibus) xx, 42, 43, 45, 52; *epistolaria forensis*, xx, 40, 45, 47; (cum infantibus) xx, 24, 34, 40, 41, 43-45, 47-51, 63; *accola, epistolaria*, xx, 42, 48-50, 70; (cum infantibus) xx, 43, 51.—*Wife* of an ingenuus, xx, 19, 22, 24, 26, 27, 30-34, 36, 42; xxii, 5, 11, 12; of an *accola, ingenuus*, xx, 44, 70, 71; of an *accola*, xx, 73; of an *epistolarius*, xx, 37-40, 42-44, 47, 48, 50; of a *servus*, xx, 45.—*daughter* of a *forensis epistolaria*, xx, 40.—*sister* of an *epistolarius*, xx, 39, 43, 48; of an *epistolaria*, xx, 52; of a *forensis epistolarius*, xx, 40.—holding a *mansus*, xv, 23; a *mansum servile*, xx, 10.—she is enumerated among the *forenses villae debentes 9 dies* or 4 *denarios*, xv, 50, 51; among the *familia villae, interius et exterius commanens*, xx, 18 (cum infante i), 25, 27, 30-34, 36-41; among the *accolae intra villam*, xx, 73. See further
- epistolarius, a man who had been emancipated or affranchised by an epistola (or letter)**. He is further described as (1) *forensis epistolarius*, xx, 27, 39-41, 43, 44, 46-51, 62; *accola epistolarius*, xx, 46, 48, 50-52 (aud, as such, among the *accolae intra villam*), 68, 71-73.—(2) *son* of an *ingenuus*, xx, 19, 23, 35; of an *ingenuus + epistolaria*, xx, 24; of an *ingenua*, xx, 37; of

- an *epistolarium*, xx, 48, 49; of an *accolla, epistolaria*, xx, 50.—(3) married to an *ingenua*, xx, 21, 24, 25, 27, 33, 37, 39, 41, 43-45; to an *epistolaria*, xx, 37-40, 42-44, 47, 48, 50; to a *vicarata*, xxii, 6.—(4) holding a *mansus ingenuilis*, xv, 2, 3, 6; xx, 3-8; ditto (with another *epistolarium*), xxii, 27; ditto (with an *ingenuus*), xxii, 5, 6; ditto (with a *vicaratus*), xxii, 8; a *mansus servile*, xx, 10-13; ditto (with an *ingenuus*), xxii, 12.—(5) he is enumerated among (a) the *forenses villae* debentes dies 9 or 4 denarios, xv, 34, 51; (b) the *familia villae* interius et exterius commanens, xx, 19, 21, 23-25, 33, 35-52, 62; (c) the *accollae* intra villam, xx, 68.
- estiva, estivatica satio*, see *aestiva* and *aestivatica satio*.
- evangelium*, (1) *the Gospel*: Libri Evangeliorum volumen i, xvii, 123; De Evangelis et Epistolis volumen, xvii, 123; *Evangelium* Mathaei, see *poenitentialis*.—(2) *a portion of the Gospels*, read at stated times at Divine Service, see the quotations under *Missale*.
- excepto*, adv., *by exception, exceptionally*, vi, 21; xviii, 21; xix, 19.
- excutere*, *to shake, shake out* (corn), a work which tenants had to perform for their lord, xvii, 22.
- exire*, (1) neut., *to proceed, issue, arise, result from*, xiii, 40; xv, 58; xxvi, 31, 32, 42, 43; xxviii, 67.—(2) act., *to derive, obtain, receive*: Exeunt inde foetas xvi et dimidiam, cum agnis, et anniculos xv et dimidium, pullos xlvi . . . , xvi, 10.
- expositio, explanation, interpretation*: *expositio in baptisterio* volumen i, xviii, 22; see *baptisterium*.
- exterius*, adv., *outside*, xv, 58; xvii, 114; xx, 18.
- extraneus, a stranger, foreigner*, without any further definition of his social position, v, 2; xviii, 6, 8; xx, 16; xxi, 3-5; xxviii, 17, 18, 40.—He held a *mansus ingenuilis*, v, 2; xviii, 6, 8; xxi, 3; xxviii, 17, 40; ditto (with another *extraneus*), xxi, 4; ditto (with an *ingenuus*), xxi, 4; two *mansa*, xx, 16; a *sessus*, xxi, 5; a *quarta pars mansi ingenuilis*, xxviii, 18.
- extranea, a female stranger, wife of a colonus*, xxviii, 3.
- Faber, a smith*, viii, 3 (holding a *mansus servilis*); xvii, 116 (a *servus*, and his son a *servus*, and having to pay 12 denarii), 117 (ditto).
- facere, to do, make, work*, i, 7, 9; iv, 3; xi, 2; xvii, 124; xxii, 18, 19; xxvi, 17. We find the phrases: *facere bannum, brazium, caplim, carroperas, corrogatam, corvadam, dies, diurnale, macerium, manopera, mappam, medietatem, mensuram, pecturam, pedituram, perticam, saepes, servitium, vehituram, vigiliae, vineam, vineritiam, waclam*, for which see these various articles; see also *annus, hibernaticus, pratum, trematicus*.—*facere ad tertium*, see *tertius, vinea*.
- facula, a block of resinous wood, or a bundle of chips of such wood, for making lights or torches, or a small torch*, xv, 12, 14, 58; xx, 13, 76; xxii, 15, 45; xxv, 1, 2.
- (*faenile*) *fenile, a hay-loft*, xxvi, 17.
- (*faenum*) *fenum, fenum, foenum, hay*: the quantity of hay that could be gathered from the meadows is always indicated by the *carrum*, i, 1; iii, 1, 8; iv, 1, 2; vi, 17; viii, 1; xi, 1; xii, 1; xiv, 2; xv, 1; xvi, 1; xix, 1; xx, 1, 15; xxi, 1; xxii, 1; xxiii, 1; xxiv, 1; xxv, 1, 2; xxvi, 14, 16, 19, 28, 30, 33, 43; xxvii, 1, 4; xxviii, 1, 68.—Sometimes the tenants had (a) to supply carts for the carting and conveyance of the hay: *donat . . . ad fenum vehendum quartam partem de carro*, x, 6; *Debet . . . l carrum foeni cum ii bobus*, xiii, 11; or (b) to give a certain amount of labour for this work: *Donat . . . ad fenum monasterio deducendum bannum i*, xvi, 2; *secat pratum componens fenum, et vehit ex eo carrum i*, xiv, 3; *donat . . . bannos ii ad foenum monasterio deducendum de dimidio carro*, xv, 2.—*Solvunt . . . xvi solidos de foeno*, xiii, 24. See also *componere, colligere, vehere*.
- falx, a sickle, scythe* (which some tenants were obliged to bring with them when they had to cut the meadows [in *pratartia*]), or to pay 1 den. [2 den. in xviii, 2] instead, xi, 2.
- familia, a family, household*; *familia intra villam, the inhabitants of a village*, i, 13.—*familia villae, the same*, xx, 18.



- fano, a towel, handkerchief, maniple, vi, 17; xviii, 22; xx, 74.
- farinarius, a corn-mill, xii, 1; xvii, 1; xxii, 1; xxv, 1.—farinarius dimidius ad tertium (see *tertius*), xxviii, 68.—The mill had, on certain festivals, to present offerings (*venerari*) to the authorities of the monastery, according to its ability, xvii, 1; xviii, 1.—See also *molendinum*, *senior*, *magister*.
- februarius, the month of February, xiii, 9.
- femina, a woman, in general, vi, 15; xiii, 38.—femina ingenuitatem habens per cartam, xvii, 111 (but still owing 4 days every year).—femina forensis, a strange, foreign woman, xvii, 60 (she had to pay four denar. of silver).—femina, in contradistinction to colonus, xxviii, 65.—Called *ingenua*, xv, 18 (and holding a *mansus*); xvi, 6 (and holding a *mansum*); xvii, 29 (id.).
- fenile, a hay-loft; see *faenile*.
- fenum, *fenum*, hay; see *faenum*.
- ferreus, made of iron; see *coclea*, *signum*.
- ferrum, iron: clocca de ferro, xvii, 123.—Instead of a certain quantity of iron, which some tenants had to supply to their lord, they could pay a small sum of money: Dat (the tenant of a *mansus ingenuilis*) annis singulis pro bove aquensi denarium i, altero (anno) pro ferro denarium dimidium, xviii, 2. See also xviii, 21; xxv, 1, 2.
- festivitas, festivity, a feast-day, xiii, 21.—f. sancti Remigii, xiii, 24.
- festum, a feast, festival: f. sancti Remigii, xiii, 1, 2, 4–21, etc.—sancti Andree, xiii, 22, 40, 41.—s. Basoli, xiii, 32.—s. Johannis, xiii, 5, 14, 15, 19.—s. Lamberti, xiii, 43–45.—s. Martini, xiii, 2, 5, 9, 11, 13, 15–17, 19, etc.—Omnium Sanctorum, xiii, 24.—s. Petri, xiii, 26.
- feta, foeta, feta, properly, that which brings forth; hence a sheep, xxv, 1; xxvi, 9; xxvii, 6 (here the *foetae* are counted among the *vervees*). Usually feta, foeta, *eum agno*, v, 2; vi, 23; vii, 2; xvi, 2, 10; xviii, 2, 21; xxi, 2, 7; xxii, 2, 8, 45; xxvi, 2, 4, 43; xxviii, 69, 72.—foeta dimidia, xvi, 10.—See also *ovis*, *anniculus*, *agnus*, *vervee*.
- filia, a grown-up daughter, in contradistinction to *infans*, vii, 5; xvii, 60, 62, 64, 65, 68, 112, 114, etc.; xx, 18.
- filius, a grown-up son, xvii, 60–63, 65, 69, 111, 112, 114, etc.; xx, 18; xxviii, 9, 16, 44.
- finum [or *finus*; always here in accus.], manure, dung, xx, 13; xxviii, 2.
- finis, an end, confine, limit (of a property), viii, 4.
- fiscalinis, of or belonging to a fisc, campus *fiscalinis* (x, 4); see *campus*.
- fluviolus [fluvius], a small river, xxviii, 1.
- fluvius, a river, x, 5, 8; xxvi, 16, 31; xxviii, 66.
- foenum, hay; see *faenum*.
- foeta, a sheep; see *feta*.
- fogatia, a cake, a certain number of which the tenants had to present, at stated times in the year, to the authorities (see *magister*, *senior*) of the Abbey, i, 15; xvii, 122; xviii, 20; xix, 18; xxii, 44.
- \*foragium, a tax on wine sold by shop- and innkeepers, A. i (p. 111).
- foraneus, so in xxviii, 73, but in xxviii, 53 the MS. has: Nomina *foraneis*, for which we must perhaps read: Nomina *de foraneis* or *foraneorum*, and take *foraneus* as = *forastieus* (q.v.), one doing work or service for his master outside the domain. In the first place the *foranei* had to pay each 4 *denarii*. In the second some paid 4, some 8, and some 12 *denarii*. The one *ancilla* and the one *servus* among them had to pay each 12 *denarii*.
- forastieus [from the Lat. *foras*, outside], (1) adj., of or belonging to the outside; residing outside the domain, or doing work or service for a lord or master outside the domain: *ancilla forastiea*, iii, 7; xix, 17; ditto, and having *infantes*, iii, 7; xix, 17.—*forastieus* homo, ii, 4; applied to two women called *ingenuae*, one of whom (if not both) is stated to owe 4 *denarii*, which is probably the poll-tax. See also ii, 5.—*forastiea* terra, land lying outside the domain, v, 1; xiv, 2, 6; xxii, 47; xxvi, 18, 22.
- (2) subst., a tenant or servant doing work or service for his lord or master outside the domain. We find the *forastieus* without any further definition as to his social condition, but holding an *accola*, vi, 13, 25–28, 30; ix, 9, 11; a *mansus servilis*,



vi, 16; a *mansus ingenuilis*, vi, 23, 24; vii, 3, 6, 8; ix, 3; xvii, 16 (with two *ingenui*), 18, 27; xxvi, 23; the *tertia pars* of a *mansus ingenuilis*, vi, 24.—Other *forastici* are qualified as: *ingenus* (q.v.), i, 14; xix, 14; *ingenua* (q.v.), i, 14; xix, 14; xx, 33; *ancilla* (q.v.), xix, 17; *servus* (q.v.), xix, 17.—A *forastica* holds a *mansus ingenuilis*, xxvi, 23.

*forensis* [forum] = *forasticus* (q.v.), (1) adj., of or belonging to the outside; residing outside the domain, or doing work or service for a lord or master outside the domain: *forensis homo*, owing four *denarii*, xii, 5; xvii, 126; xviii, 15; owing three days or 1½ *denarius*, xxii, 46.—Among the *forenses homines*, each owing three days of work (xxi, 6), are the *ingenus forensis*, the *accola ingenuus*, the *accola ingenua*, and the *forensis ingenua*.—Among the “*virī ac feminae forenses de villa*” each owing annually, on the vigil of St. Remi, four *denarii de argento* (xvii, 60–110), are the *ingenus*, *ingenua*, *ingenus aquisitus* (§ 85); *cartularius*, *cartularia* (§§ 63, 64, 67, 68, 72); *undefined tenant*; *ancilla* (§ 85).—*Terra forensis*, land lying outside the domain, xviii, 1.

(2) subst., one who resides outside the domain, or performs work or service for his lord or master outside the domain.

Described as *forensis* are: the *ingenus*, ix, 12, 16–18; *ingenua*, ix, 12, 16–18; *libertus*, ix, 14; *ancilla*, ix, 15, 16; ditto, having *infantes*, ix, 16; *servus*, ix, 15, 16.—Among the *forenses villae*, each owing 9 days or 4 *denarii* (xv, 33 sqq.), are: the *ingenus*, xv, 33–58; *ingenua*, xv, 33–58; *servus*, xv, 34, 38, 41, 53, 58; *epistolarius*, xv, 34, 51; *epistolaria*, xv, 50, 51; *cartularius*, xv, 34; *cartularia*, xv, 35; *ancilla*, xv, 38, 41, 52; *undefined tenant*, xv, 38, 43, 52.

The *forensis cartularia* appears among the *servi vel ancillae intra villam*, xviii, 18. The *ingenus* and *ingenua forensis* appear among the *familia villae interius et exterius commanens*, xx, 18 (one *ingenua* with a son, *forensis*), 20, 22–28, 30, 31, 34, 35, 57–64. So also the *epistolaria forensis*, *ibid.*, 24, 34, 40, 41, 43–45, 47–51, 63; the

*forensis epistolarius*, *ibid.*, 27, 39–41, 43, 44, 46–51, 62; the *forensis cartularius*, xx, 44, 61, 64; the *forensis ancilla*, xx, 55, 67; the *forensis servus*, xx, 56, 66, 67; the *infans forensis*, xx, 64. See also xx, 76.

Among the *forenses de villa* owing each 3 days or 1½ *denarius* (xxii, 35–43) are: the *ingenus*; *ingenua*; *ancilla cum infantibus* (§ 43).

A *forensis* (male) holds a *mansum ingenuile*, xvii, 12; (with an *ingenus*) a ditto, xvii, 9; a female *forensis* holds a ditto, xvii, 12.

\**forestarius*, a *forester*, xxix, 7–9.

forum, a market, xiii, 37.

\**fossorium*, or *fossorius*, a hoe (?), A. iii, 16.

*franca*, a free woman, xvii, 40 (having children and holding a *mansum*).

*francus*, a free man, xxviii, 66 (distinguished from a *colonus*).

*frater*, a brother, i, 4; iii, 7; ix, 13, 20; x, 7; xi, 2; xv, 35; xvii, 71, 75, 115; xxvi, 1; xxviii, 47.—*frater germanus*, a full brother, own brother, xvii, 28.

*frumentum*, corn, grain, i, 1; iii, 1; x, 9; xi, 1, 2; xiii, 1, 5, 9, 10, 32; xv, 10, 58; xvii, 1; xxi, 1; xxii, 1; xxiii, 1; xxv, 1, 2; xxvii, 1, 4, 5. *fungi*, to discharge, execute, xv, 63.

*furnus*, an oven, bakehouse, xiii, 35, and in the later addit. A. ii (p. 113). Hence *furnus calidus*, in the later addit. (A. iii, 5) = *calfurnium* (q.v.).

*Gardinium*, a garden, viii, 1 (differing from *hortus*, q.v.).

*gemma*, a precious stone, gem, jewel: g. vitrea, see *capsa*:

*genalis*, a kind of pig, differing from the *verres* (a male swine), the *maialis* (the castrated pig), the *scrofa* (the sow), and the *soalis* (for *sualis*, a male swine), xxvii, 6.

*genealogia*, a genealogy, descent, origin, xvii, 127.

*glidsa*, linen of a superior kind: 2 corporales de *glidsa*, xvii, 123; see Du Cange, voce *Glizzum*.

*glosa*, a gloss, interpretation: *glosarum quaternio*, a quire containing glosses, xvii, 123.

*gradalis*, a gradual, vi, 17; see *antiphonarius*.

\**granarium*, a granary, A. iii, 5.

- granea*, a storehouse for corn, granary, xv, 63; xxviii, 1, 2.
- Habere*, to have, possess, iii, 6; iv, 1, 3; vi, 1, 17; ix, 9–11; xv, 63; xxvi, 1, 10, 18, 38, 39, 41; xxviii, 51, 52. It is not always clear that *habere* here means to possess, in distinction from *tenere*, to hold.—*habere* in (pro, or de) *beneficio*, see *beneficium*.—*habere* in *prestarium*, see *præstaria*.
- hereditas*, property, inheritance, xiii, 36.
- hibernaticum*, winter corn, xvii, 2; xxvi, 22.
- hibernaticus*, of or belonging to winter: *hibernatica satio*, a winter sowing, here usually the time or the season when tenants had to plough a certain measure of land for their lord: *arare ad hibernaticam sationem* [here follows the measure], i, 2; ii, 2; v, 2; xi, 2; xviii, 2; xix, 9; xx, 2; xxii, 8; xxviii, 2, 46, 48, 52, 69, 72 (*facere ad hibernaticam*).—*arare hibernaticam sationem* [here follows the measure], x, 6; xi, 8; xiv, 3; xv, 2; xvi, 2; xvii, 2, 22; xix, 2, 11; xx, 16; xxi, 2; xxii, 2, 26; xxvi, 2, 4, 6–8, 10–12, 22; see also *aestiva*, *aestivatica*, and *trematica satio*.—*hibernaticus molendinus*, a winter mill, probably one that worked only in winter, there not being water enough in summer, xix, 1.
- Hieronymus*, Jerome, the father of the Church: *Hieronimi* in *Mattheo volumen* i, xx, 74; *Jeronimi super Matheum* vol. i, xviii, 22.
- \**hoba*, *oba*, a farmhouse, with land attached, iv, p. 122, 123.—*Oba ingenuilis*, ib. p. 122.
- [*homilia*] *omilia*, *omelia*, a homily: *Omiliarum Gregorii* xl vol. i, xv, 59; *quadragesima omiliarum Gregorii volumen* i, xxii, 47.
- homo*, (1) a man, in general, xv, 61; (2) a tenant, (a) in general, xiii, 37, 38; (b) holding a *mansum ingenuile*, xvii, 2.—*homo forensis*, see *forensis*.—*homo forasticus*, applied to a woman, see *forasticus* (1, adj.). See also *vir*.
- honor*, honour, vi, 1, etc.
- hordeum*, barley, xi, 1; xxviii, 69. More frequently *ordeum* (q.v.).
- horreum*, a storehouse, barn, granary, as part of the *mansus dominicatus*, vii, 1; viii, 1; ix, 1.
- hortus* (and *ortus*), a garden, a pleasure-garden, fruit-garden, usually mentioned among the buildings, out-houses, and other conveniences adjoining the *mansus dominicatus*, i, 1; iii, 1; iv, 4; viii, 1; x, 5; xi, 1; xii, 1; xiv, 2; xvii, 1; xix, 1; xxii, 1.—or other *mansi*, iv, 4; xxvi, 34. Tenants had to enclose them: *hortus claudendus*, xvii, 2, 22; xxii, 2; xxvi, 10, 11, 15; xxviii, 69, 72. It differed from the *gardinium*, as in viii, 1 the *mansus dominicatus* is stated to have “*hortum ac gardinium*.”
- hospes*, a sojourner, visitor, guest, or a stranger, foreigner, xiii, 13, 32 (*genit.* plural *hospitium*, as in Liv. 4. 35. 4).
- hospitium*, a habitation, inn, hostel: *h. sancti Remigii*, x (heading).
- hostelicia*, *hostelitia* [*hostis*, *hostilis*], a war-tax, which was paid (*solvere* or *donare* in *hostelicia*) in (a) money: (den. 2½), xxii, 26 (a *mansus ingenuilis dimidius*, held by an *ingenuus*); (den. 5), xxii, 9 (a *mansus servilis*, held by two *ingenui*, and added: *duobus annis*), xxvi, 11; (den. 6), xx, 16 (a *mansum servile*, held by an *ingenuus*); (den. 8), vi, 2, 23; xvii, 2, 22 (a *mansum servile*, held by an *ingenuus*); (den. 10), xx, 2; xxii, 2, 8; xxvi, 10 (a *vasallus* as tenant); (den. 10 de argento), xv, 2; (den. 11), xxvi, 12; (den. 14), xii, 3; (den. 16), vii, 2; ix, 4, 5; (den. 20), i, 2; xi, 2 (*medio maio*); (den. 25), xii, 2; (den. 30), xxviii, 2 (*due: mense maio*, from a *mansus ingenu. dimidius*, held by a *colonus*); (2 sol. et 6 den.), xxviii, 69.—See also xx, 76.—(b) *cattle* (*foetam* 1 cum agno), xxi, 2.—These various taxes were all raised on *mansi ingenuiles*, with the exception of three *mansi serviles*, which were, however, tenanted by *ingenui*; one *mansus ingenuilis*, held by an *ingenua*, was exempt from the tax, vi, 21.
- \**hudus* (i.e. *mensura brasii*), xxix, 11.
- humolo*, *hop*, *hops*, xix, 9, 19.—*humulo*, xxv, 1, 2.
- Idus maias*, the Ides of May, xvii, 127 (in a date).
- imperare*, to command, order, enjoin, xxii, 2.
- incarnatio Domini* (in a date), see *annus*.
- incrassatio*, a fattening (of pigs), xxv, 1.

indiatum, for inductus (?), covered: *planeta de cendato* (silk cloth) *indiatu*, xviii, 22.

indiciu, a notice, information: *indiciu verum regium* (in a public document), xvii, 127 (ad fin.).

indominitatum, a domain, ix, 11.

infans, a young child, an infant, i, 3, 13, 14; ii, 3, 4; iii, 7; vi, 5, 8, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18, 21, 24, 29; vii, 3, 5; viii, 2; ix, 3, 5-8, 11-18; x, 7; xv, 18-26; xvi, 6-9; xvii, 29-59, 81; xviii, 11-19; xix, 3-11, 16, 17; xx, 13, 14, 18-45, 47-59, 64; xxi, 2-4, 6; xxii, 2, etc.; xxvii, 3; xxviii, 2-8, 10, 12-16, 19, 20, 23-28, 33, 35-38, 41, 42, 44-49. These references are not exhaustive, but they record (1) infants with only their father's name; (2) infants with the names of both parents. It is, however, a peculiar feature in this Register that so many *infantes* are recorded with only their mother's name, without any mention of the father's. See also *filia*, *filii*.

ingenilis, for *ingenuilis* (q.v.), xxii, 47.

ingenua, a free-born woman. She is recorded as (1) *ingenua*, merely: (a) without further qualification, xvii, 127; xx, 34; (b) owing 4 den., i, 13, 14; (c) holding a *mansus servilis*, vi, 16; xiv, 4; xix, 11; xx, 16; do. (with 3 *ingenui*), xvii, 23; (d) an *accola*, ix, 11; xxvi, 6, 42; (e) a *mansus*, xv, 19-21; xvi, 6-8; xvii, 29, 32-36, 39, 42-46, 48-51, 53, 55, 56, 58, 59; xxvi, 19, 23; (f) a *mansum ingenuile*, xvii, 6, 10, 12, 18, 19; xviii, 4, 5, 7; xxii, 4; ditto (with an *ingenuus*), xvii, 4, 5, 11; xviii, 3; xxii, 4; do. (with two *ingenui*), xvii, 15; do. (with a *cartularius*), xxii, 5; do. (with another *ingenua* and an *ingenuus*), xvii, 15; do. (with another *ingenua* and a *vicaratus*), xxii, 3.

(2) *ingenua*, cum *infantibus* (no husband mentioned), x, 7, etc.; xxi, 3; do. (and owing 4 denar.), i, 13, 14; iii, 7; do. (and holding an *accola*), vi, 13; ix, 11; xxvii, 3; do. (and holding a *mansus servilis*), vi, 18; xix, 8; (a *mansus ingenuilis*), vi, 21, 29; vii, 5; xix, 3, 6, 7; xxi, 3; xxii, 2; (a *mansus ingenuilis dimidius*), vi, 24; vii, 3; (a *tertia pars mansi ingenuilis*), vi, 24; (a *mansus*), xv, 18-26; xvi, 6-9; xvii, 29-59.

(3) *wife* of (a) an *ingenuus*, i, 3; vi, 6; vii, 3; x, 7; xviii, 3-6, 12; xix, 4, 6, 7, 10; xx, 22, 23, 26, 28-31; xxii, 3, 5-7, 10, 14, 18, 28, 29; (b) a *forensis ingenuus*, xx, 59; (c) an *accola*, *ingenuus*, xx, 20, 21, 32, 33, 68, 69; (d) an *accola*, *servus*, xx, 37; (e) a *libertus*, vi, 11; (f) a *cartularius*, xxii, 5; (g) a *vicaratus*, xxii, 11, 28, 29; (h) a *servus*, vi, 16; viii, 2; xv, 17; xix, 9, 11; xx, 22, 52, 53, 55; xxii, 3, 18; (i) an *oblatu*, ix, 8; (k) an *epistolarius*, xx, 21, 24, 25, 37, 39, 41, 43-45; xxii, 12; (l) an *epistolarius forensis*, xx, 27.

(4) *sister* of (a) an *ingenuus*, i, 14; ix, 13; xx, 20, 24; xxi, 4; (b) an *ingenuus forensis*, xx, 27, 57; (c) an *ingenua*, ii, 4.

(5) *daughter* of (a) an *ingenuus* + *ingenua*, xviii, 4; (b) an *ingenuus* + *epistolaria*, xx, 18, 19.

(6) She is described as: (a) *accola*, *ingenua*, xx, 36, 58, 68; (b) do., holding a *mansum*, xvii, 37, 38, 46, 52; (c) do., owing 3 days, xxi, 6; (d) do., owing 9 days or 4 denar., xv, 27-31; (e) do., cum *infantibus*, xx, 21, 29, 36; (f) do., and holding a *mansum*, xvii, 35, 38, 47; (g) *ingenua Deo sacrata*, cum *infantibus*, and holding a *mansum*, xvii, 54; (h) *ingenua*, *cartularia*, xxii, 4 (*wife* of an *ingenuus*); (i) *ingenua forastica*, xx, 33; (k) *ingenua forensis* (with or without children), xx, 18, 23, 24, 26-28, 30, 31, 34-36, 57-59, 61, 63, 64.

(7) She is enumerated among the: (a) *familia intra villam*, i, 13 (owing 4 den.); (b) *familia villae interius et exterius commanens*, xx, 20-37; (c) *accolae villae* (owing 3 days, and with or without children), xxii, 31-34; (d) *accolae villae commanentes in ipsa villa* (with or without children), all owing 9 days or 4 den., xviii, 11-14; (e) *forastici*, xix, 14, 15; i, 14 (owing 4 den.); (f) *forastici homines*, ii, 4 (owing 4 den.); (g) *forenses* (cum *infantibus*), ix, 12-14, 16-18; (h) *forenses homines* (with or without children) owing 4 den., xviii, 15-17; (i) *forenses villae*, owing 9 days or 4 den., xv, 33-57; (k) *forenses de villa* (with or without children), owing 4 den. de *argento*, xvii, 60-110; (l) do. (do.), owing 3 days or 1½ den., xxii, 35-43.



*ingenuilis*, of or belonging to an ingenuus, of the nature or condition of an ingenuus, see *mansus ingenuilis*.

—Applied to persons having the position or condition of an ingenuus, xxviii, 72. He held a *mansus ingenuilis*, xi, 3; xvi, 4; xvii, 20; a *mansus servilis*, xv, 16; xvii, 23; an undefined *mansum*, xvii, 44. [As in nearly every instance the word is used by the side of *ingenuus* (q.v.) there seems to have been some difference between the two persons, which was, perhaps, connected with their status or rank in society.]

*ingenuiliter*, in the manner, on the same conditions as an ingenuus, said of a *servus* who held “*dimidium mansum*,” xv, 9.

*ingenuitas*, the quality, condition, status of an ingenuus, xvii, 111. Here a number of women (see *femina*) had acquired this condition by a *carta* (q.v.); they owed annually 4 dies.

*ingenuus*, a free-born man, iii, 8; xvii, 127; xxii, 19. He is recorded also as: (1) major, ingenuus, xx, 18.—ditto (holding a *mansus ingenuilis*), i, 6.—ingenuus, major villae, i, 15.—ingenuus, decanus, xx, 18.—*accola*, ingenuus, xx, 20, 21, 26, 32, 33, 35, 36, 44, 59, 68–73.—*forasticus* ingenuus (owing 4 denar.), i, 14.—*forensis* ingenuus, xx, 18, 20, 22, 23, 27, 28, 30, 31, 35, 36, 58–64; xxi, 6.

(2) Son of a decanus ingenuus, xx, 18; ditto, of an *ingenua*, xx, 18, 34.

(3) Married to an *ingenua*, i, 3; vi, 6; vii, 3; x, 7; xviii, 3–6; xix, 4, 6, 10; xx, 20, 22, 23, 25, 26, 28–32, 69; xxii, 3, 5–7, 10, 14, 28, 29; to a *libera*, xxii, 11, 29; to an *epistolaria*, xx, 18, 19, 22, 24, 26, 27, 30–34, 42, 44; xxii, 5, 11; to an *ancilla*, vi, 5; xv, 13; xxii, 13, 24; to a *cartularia*, xx, 32; xxii, 4; to an *oblata*, ix, 7; to a *vicarata*, xxii, 3, 26; to an *uxor*, xviii, 8; xix, 5, 10.

(4) Holding: (a) a *mansus ingenuilis*, i, 2, 8–10; vi, 2, 5, 6, 20; vii, 2, 4, 5; ix, 2, 4, 6; xv, 3–8, 10; xvi, 2–5; xvii, 3–10, 13, 15–19, 124; xviii, 2, 3, 5, 7; xix, 2, 3, 5–7; xx, 2, 3, 5–8; xxi, 2, 3; xxii, 4, 6, 7, 11–14, 28; xxvi, 22; ditto (with another ingenuus), i, 3–5, 11; xi, 2–7; xvii, 2–4, 8, 10–12, 14, 15, 17; xviii, 4–7; xix, 4, 6,

10; xx, 3, 4; xxii, 3, 5, 6, 11, 13, 27, 29; xxvi, 4; ditto (with 2 other ingenui), xvii, 3, 5, 7, 11–14, 16, 18; xviii, 6; xix, 4; ditto (with 3 other ingenui), xvii, 6, 10, 12; ditto (with 2 other ingenui and 2 servi), xvii, 7; ditto (with a *cartularius*), xvii, 9; ditto (with a *forensis*), xvii, 9; ditto (with 2 other ingenui and 3 undefined tenants), xvii, 20; ditto (with an *ingenua*), xvii, 4, 5, 11; xix, 6, 7; xxi, 4; xxii, 4; ditto (with another ingenuus and an *ingenua*), xvii, 15; ditto (with another ingenuus and 2 *ingenuae*), xvii, 15; ditto (with another ingenuus and a *forasticus*), xvii, 16, 18; ditto (with an *extraneus*), xxi, 4; ditto (with a *vicaratus*), xxii, 3, 5, 11, 27; ditto (with an *epistolarius*), xxii, 5, 6, 12; ditto (with a *mulnarius*, *vicaratus*), xxii, 11; ditto (with 2 servi), xxii, 14; ditto (with a *cartularius*), xxii, 29; ditto (with an undefined tenant), i, 7; xvii, 9; xxii, 12; ditto (with 2 *ancillae*), xviii, 4.—(b) a *mansus ingenuilis dimidius*, vii, 3; ix, 4, 6, 7; xxii, 7, 26.—(c) a *mansus servilis*, iii, 3; vi, 10, 16; viii, 3; xiv, 4; xv, 16; xvii, 22; xx, 10–13, 16; xxii, 20; ditto (with another ingenuus), xvii, 23, 24, 26, 27; xxii, 9, 22; ditto (with 2 other ingenui), xvii, 23–25; ditto (with 3 other ingenui), xvii, 24; ditto (with 4 other ingenui and 2 undefined tenants), xvii, 26; ditto (with 4 other ingenui and a *forasticus*), xvii, 27; ditto (with 2 other ingenui and an *ingenua*), xvii, 23; ditto (with a *servus*), xvii, 25; xxii, 24; ditto (with 2 servi), xvii, 24, 26; ditto (with another ingenuus and 2 servi), xvii, 24; ditto (with an undefined tenant), xvii, 26.—(d) (with a *servus*) a *mansus servilis dimidius*, xviii, 9.—(e) an undefined *mansus*, x, 6, 7; xvii, 34, 39, 50–52, 59; xxvi, 30.—(f) a *mansus dimidius*, xv, 11; xx, 9; xxii, 6, 7.—(g) an *accola*, vi, 13, 22; vii, 4; ix, 10, 11; xxvi, 7, 8; ditto (with another ingenuus), vi, 29; ix, 11; xvii, 28; ditto (with 2 other ingenui), xvii, 28; ditto (with 6 other ingenui), xvii, 28.—(h) a *sessus*, xxi, 5.—(i) *arable land*, iv, 2.

(5) He is enumerated among the (a) *forenses*, ix, 12 (paying the poll-



- tax), 13, 14, 16, 18; (*b*) *accolae villae* (owing 9 dies or 4 denar.), xv, 27-31; (*c*) *forenses villae* (owing 9 dies or 4 denar.), xv, 33-37, 39, 40, 42, 44-49, 51-57; (*d*) *virī ac feminae forenses de villa*, owing annually 4 denarii de argento, xvii, 60-62, 64-81, 83-110; (*e*) *accolae villae*, *commantes in ipsa villa*, owing 9 days or 4 denarios, xviii, 12-14; (*f*) *accolae villae*, owing 3 days, xxii, 31-34; (*g*) *forenses homines*, owing 4 denarios, xviii, 15-17; (*h*) *forenses homines*, doing 3 days, xxi, 6; (*i*) *forenses de villa*, owing 3 days or 1½ den., xxii, 35-40, 43; (*k*) *forastici*, xix, 14, 15; (*l*) *familia villae*, *interius et exterius commanens*, xx, 18-36. See also *epistolarius*.
- inibi*, in that place, there, xiii, 9.
- injungere*, to impose, enjoin, iii, 3; xi, 8; xiv, 3; xv, 12, 14; xx, 13; xxii, 15; xxviii, 20, 31, 48.
- inoperare*, to give one's labour to any-thing, to make, do, xxviii, 2.
- insula*, an island: i. super fluvio Suppia, x, 5.
- integer*, whole, entire: *mansus integer*, see *mansus*.
- inter* [=the Fr. *entre*=Lat. *tam—quam*], as well—as, i, 1.
- interius*, adv., within, in (a village, or an estate), xv, 58; xvii, 114; xx, 18; see also *exterius*.
- interrogare*, to question, interrogate judicially, xvii, 127.
- investigare*, to investigate, xvii, 127.
- Januarius*, the month of January, xiii, 23, 30; xxviii, 2.
- Jeronimus*, see *Hieronymus*.
- jornalis*, a measure of land (Fr. *journal*), probably as much as could be worked by a plough in one day, viii, 4; xv, 61; xviii, 1.—*jornale*, xxii, 25.
- jornarius*, perhaps a tenant who had to work one day at certain times for his lord; like the *diurnarius*; or the word may be a neuter subst. (it is here in the ablat. *jornariis*) *jornarium*, a payment due by tenants who at certain seasons of the year owed daily manual labour to their lord, or a sum of money (usually 4 denarii) instead, i, 16. [The term embraces 22 *ingenūi*, *ingenūae*, and a *cartularia*, 6 of whom are said to be a *familia* intra villam; the remainder as *forastici*.]
- judex*, a judge, not mentioned here, but his existence on the estate is to be inferred from the phrase *Ad opus judici de ligno carrum dimidium*, ix, 2.
- julius*, the month of July: *julius medius*, mid-July, xiii, 40, 52.
- jurare*, to take an oath (to become a juror), ix, 19; xxviii, 64.—*juratus*, a sworn man, a jury-man, xii, 6.
- justitia*, judgment, precept, ordinance, xvii, 127.
- Lampas*, a lamp: l. de stagno, xvii, 123; *lampada stagnea*, vi, 17.
- laneus*, of or pertaining to wool, made of wool, woollen; see *planeta*.
- latitudo*, latitude, i, 2; ii, 2; iii, 3, 5; xi, 2; xv, 2; xvi, 2; xvii, 2; xviii, 2; xx, 2; xxii, 26; xxvi, 2, 4, 22.
- latus*, the side, lateral surface of a field: *perticae* . . . in *latus* (in latitude, broad, wide) et . . . in *longum*, vi, 2; vii, 2; viii, 2; ix, 2, 4; x, 6; xvii, 22.—in *latum*, xxvii, 2.
- laubia* = *lobia*, an open porch for walking, attached to or adjoining a house, a gallery, lobby; it seems to have been more specially attached to the *casa* (q.v.), which, in its turn, was always mentioned with the *mansus dominicatus*, vi, 1; viii, 1.
- lectio*, a part of holy Scripture or other authorized book; see the quotations under *missale*.
- lectionarius*, a book containing the passages from St. Paul's Epistles read at the Mass: *ecclesia habet* . . . *lectionarium* volumen i, vi, 17; *ecclesia habens lectionarios* ii, xv, 59; *lectionarius* i, xviii, 22; *lectionarii vetusti* i volumen, xx, 74.
- lega*, a measure of length; see *leuga*.
- legumen*, pulse, a leguminous plant, here perhaps the bean, xii, i; xxii, 1; xxv, 1, 2; xxvii, 5.
- leuga*, a measure of length, a league, vii, 2; ix, 2, 4, 5; xi, 2; xxviii, 2.—*lega*, vi, 2.
- lex*, the law, xvii, 127.
- liber*, a book, xvii, 123. See *evangelium*.
- liber*, a free man, xxi, 3 (major, liber).
- libera*, a free woman, xxii, 11, 29 (in both cases she was the wife of an *ingenūus*, q.v.).
- libertus*, an emancipated man, a freed-man. He held a *mansus servilis*, vi, 11, 12, 14; his wife was an

- ingenua*, vi, 11; he is classed as a *forensis*, ix, 14.
- libra*, (1) a pound of money, xiii, 19, 25, 28, 30, 42, 43, etc.; xv, 58; xxv, 1.—de argenteo libra; argentilibra; see *argentum*.—denarium libra, xxv, 2.—(2) a pound of weight: de melle, xxii, 1.
- lignaria* (accus. plur.), a bundle or pile of wood, xx, 76; the Cod. has *lignar.*, but it is probably the same as *lignarium* (q.v.).
- lignarium*, a pile of wood (height and size not defined), xxv, 1.—(habente circumquaque pedes v ad manum), xx, 2.
- lignum*, wood, of which tenants had to supply a certain quantity (usually measured by the *carrum* or *carrus*, q.v.) in satisfaction of their rent (*census*, q.v.), and occasionally a further quantity as tax (*bannus*, q.v.), i, 2, 9, 16; ii, 2; iii, 5, 8; vi, 2; ix, 2; x, 6; xi, 2; xii, 2, 4; xiii, 1, 26, 28; xiv, 3, 5; xv, 2, 58; xvi, 2, 10; xvii, 2, 126; xviii, 2, 21; xix, 2, 9, 13, 19; xx, 2, 76; xxi, 2, 7; xxii, 2, 8, 9, 15, 26; xxv, 2; xxvi, 2, 4, 7, 9-12, 15; xxvii, 2, 4; xxviii, 2, 22, 69.—*Mensura* (q.v.) *lignorum*, xiii, 11.—*sauma* (q.v.) de lignis, xiii, 22, 23.—*Lignum* de censu, de banno, xxii, 45.—*Lignorum* census carra 655, de bannis pro pastione carra 211½, xxv, 1.—Donare or facere ad lignum bannum i, to give or do a day's work in gathering or carting wood, xix, 2, 9.—Four carts of wood = 2 solidi, xiii, 14.—See also xiii, 15, 16, 18, 38, where, perhaps, payments "de lignis" were made for the privilege of cutting wood in the manorial forests, and xiii, 30, 32: solidi "ad ligna," perhaps a payment instead of the regular supply of wood.
- Lignum* differed from *caplin* (q.v.), its meaning, probably, blocks of wood, occasionally perhaps deal-boards.
- lineus*, of or belonging to linen, *linen*: *casula* (q.v.) *linea*, xxii, 47.
- linteus*, a linen dress or (sacerdotal) vestment, vi, 17 (habet *linteos* iii).
- linum*, flax, xiii, 5, 9 (*pensa lini*).
- locus*, (1) a place, in general, xvii, 2.—a site, place, spot; i. *monasterii*, xiii, 10, 11, 32.—(2) a place, estate = *beneficium*, x, 10.—*locum domini-cale monasterii* (the domain of the monastery), xiii, 9.
- longitudo*, *longitude*, *length*, i, 2; ii, 2; iii, 3, 5; xi, 2; xv, 2; xvi, 2; xvii, 2; xviii, 2; xx, 2; xxii, 26; xxvi, 2, 4, 22.
- longus*, in longum, in length, *lengthway*, *longitude*: *perticac* . . . in *latus* et . . . in longum, vi, 2; vii, 2; viii, 2; ix, 2, 4; x, 6; xvii, 22; xxvii, 2; xxviii, 2, 46, 49, 52, 69.—*habens longum*, xx, 16.
- Maceria*, an enclosure, wall, which the tenants had to construct or repair: *facit* . . . ad *macerias* dies xv, *dabitureque* ei panis de *dominico*, x, 6.—ad *macerias* *monasterii* seu *alterius loci* faciunt *manoperas*, xvii, 2; *facit macerias* in *monasterio* vel *alio* in loco, xvii, 22.
- magister*, a master, chief, head, superior, here probably one of the chief officers of the estate, to whom the major of a villa, or certain mills, at stated times of the year, had to present "in veneratione" certain gifts (oblaciones), as a number of *fogatiae* (q.v.), i, 15; xvii, 1; see also *senior*.
- maialis*, a castrated pig, xxvii, 6; see also *porcus*.
- maius*, the month of May, xiii, 1, 2, 5-7, 9-11, 13-16, 18, 20, 22, 28, 30, 32, 34, 35, 37-39.—*maius mensis*, i, 2; xxviii, 2.—*maius medius*, *Mid-May*, xi, 2; xiii, 43-45, 52.
- major*: *majores campi*, i, 1.
- major*, an officer, a major, probably one who presided over a village, vi, 15, 30; ix, 19; xvii, 125, 127 (signs a document after the monachus); xix, 13; xxvi, 39; xxviii, 64. He is further described as: *major*, colonus, xxviii, 14.—*major*, *ingenuus*, i, 6; xx, 18.—*major*, *liber*, xxi, 3.—*major villae*, i, 15; xvii, 122; xviii, 20; xix, 18; xxii, 44.
- \**maldrus*, a corn measure (in later addit. xxix, 6, 7, 9, 10, 17).
- mancipium*, a slave, bondman, vi, 17; xv, 60; xvii, 127 (here the term is applied to *servi et ancillae*, who were descended from persons who had been "comparatae de precio dominico"), xviii, 23 (here the term includes a *cartularius*, a *cartularia*, and a *servus*); xxvi, 14.
- manere*, to reside, dwell, xv, 58; xxviii,

2 (super mansum). See also *com-manere*.

\**manipulus, a measure, bundle* (of flax), xxix, 8.

*manopera, manual labour, handwork*, which tenants had to perform for their lord. It usually went together with the service called *caropera* (q.v.), except in four places (xvi, 5; xxiv, 1; xxiii, 2; and xxvii, 2): donare or facere *manoperas*, i, 2; ii, 2; iii, 5; vi, 2; ix, 2, 4, 5; xii, 2, 4; xv, 2; xvi, 2; xvii, 2; xviii, 2; xix, 2, 9; xx, 2; xxi, 2; xxvii, 2, 8, 9, 26; xxvi, 10-12, 41; xxviii, 2, 22, 69, 72.—*faciunt manopera* (accus. plur. from *manus, opus*), xxiv, 1; *facit manopera* (accus. plur.) in prato, in messe, vel ubicumque necessitas fuerit, xxiii, 2.—ad macerias monasterii seu alterius loci faciunt *manoperas*, xvii, 2.

*mansio, a dwelling, habitation*, evidently of small dimensions, xxii, 25; xxvi, 19; xxviii, 68.—occupied by an *ancilla*, xxii, 25; by an *ingenua*, xxvi, 19.—belonged to a *curtis*, xxviii, 68.

*mansum* (plur. *mansa*), xvi, 6; xvii, 20, 21, 29; xx, 16, 76; but more generally

*mansus, a manse, habitation, estate, dwelling* with land attached to it, a farm: (1) *the simple, undefined manse*. Some *mansi* are mentioned without any qualifying adjective, and without any further description of their extent or contents, though the services and taxes which the Abbey raised on them are usually enumerated. They were held by: a *presbyter*, x, 5.—an *ingenuus*, x, 6; xviii, 6; xxvi, 4.—an *undefined tenant*, x, 7; xxvi, 5.—an *undefined tenant* "pro beneficio," xxvi, 41. See also xi, 2; xiii, 1, 5, 10, 11, 14, 16, 18, 23, 32, 34-36, 52; xiv, 6; xxvi, 1, 13, 14, 33.

Others are stated to have certain measures of land, or of vineyard, etc., attached to them. Of some of these *mansi* no tenants are mentioned, x, 8; xxvi, 28, 29, 32.—One was held (*tenet*) by an *ingenuus*, xxvi, 30.—One by an *undefined tenant*, xxvi, 18.—One was had (*habet*) by an *undefined tenant* in "beneficio," xxvi, 20.—Some were had (*habet*) by a *vasallus*, xxvi, 27, 34.

Others are evidently *mansi ingenuiles* (usually held by *ingenui*), the word *ingenuilis* being implied in the word *similiter* found in most paragraphs, as i, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9; ii, 3; iii, 5; xviii, 3, 8 (here also an *extraneus* held one); xix, 3 (here also two *servi* held one), 4; xxi, 3 (here also held by *extranei*, and a *major liber*); xxii, 3, 5-7; xxii, 27-29; xxvi, 3. See further the article *ingenuilis*.

Others resemble the *mansus dominicatus*, having outhouses, a cellar, orchard, vineyards, one or more meadows, thickets, or bushes attached to them, iv, 1, 4; vi, 17.

Others are evidently *mansi serviles* (usually held by *servi*), the word *similiter* implying the adject. *servilis* of previous paragraphs, xiv, 4 (here also held by *ingenui*); xviii, 9; xix, 10 (here held by *ingenui*); xxii, 10-14, 18, 20-24. See further *servilis*.—*Mansi pars*, xi, 2.

Various other *mansi* are recorded with qualifying adjectives:

(2) *mansus dimidius*, properly a *half manse*, but the word *dimidius* clearly indicates the amount of the taxes or rents paid by the tenant, not the extent of the manse or its division into halves. It was rented by: a *silvarius et messarius*, i, 12.—an *undefined tenant* with one *infans*, ii, 3.—a *servus ingenuiliter*, that is, in the manner, on the same conditions as an *ingenuus*, xv, 9.—an *ingenuus*, xv, 11; xx, 9; xxii, 6, 7.—an *undefined tenant*, xxi, 4; xxii, 14; xxvi, 23.—a *colonus*, xxix, 19. See also xiii, 1, 18, 32, 52.

(3) *mansus dominicatus, the seignorial, manorial, or chief manse*, occupied by, or reserved for, the lord (*dominus*), to which were attached various buildings or outhouses, a cellar or storehouse, courtyard, stables, an orchard, a garden, arable land, woods, meadows, vineyards, etc., i, 1; ii, 1; iii, 1; v, 1; vi, 1; vii, 1; viii, 1; ix, 1; x, 5 (assigned to an ecclesia for the maintenance of its poor); xi, 1 (26 *mansi ingenuiles* belonged to it); xiv, 2, 5; xv, 1, 58; xvi, 1, 10; xvii, 1, 126; xviii, 1, 21; xix, 1, 19; xx, 1, 15, 17, 76; xxi, 1, 7; xxii, 1, 45; xxiii, 1; xxiv, 1 (had "habet" by the presbyter of the



church); xxv, 1; xxvii, 1; xxviii, 1, 68.—*mansus dominicatus ingenuilis*, xvii, 123 (had "habet" by a church).—*mansus dominicus*, the same as *m. dominicatus*, xii, 1.—No tenants of any *mansus dominicatus* are mentioned, as they were administered by the lord of the estate, or his officers. But in all cases the extent of the fields, meadows, woods, etc., is given, also how much seed of various grains was required for sowing the land, and how many tributary manses and tenants pertained to it, etc.

(4) *mansus ingenuilis* (also *mansum ingenuile*, xii, 3; xvii, 2, 3, 21, 122, 126; xx, 1, 2, 17, 76; and *mansus ingenuilis*, xxii, 47), an *ingenuilis* manse, that is, properly, a manse held or rented by a tenant called *ingenuus*, but as they were often held by *servi* and other classes of tenants more or less inferior to the *ingenuus*, the adjective no longer qualifies the manse, but the *taxes*, *rents*, and *services* to which the manse had originally been liable when it was held by an *ingenuus*. It was held by: an *ingenuus*, i, 2, 8–10; vi, 2, 5, 6, 20; vii, 2, 4, 5; ix, 2, 4, 6; xv, 3–5, 7, 8, 10; xv, 2; xvi, 3–5; xvii, 3–10, 13, 15–19, 124; xviii, 2–5, 7, 8; xix, 3, 7; xx, 2, 3; xxi, 2, 3; xxii, 4, 6, 7; xxvi, 22.—an *ingenua*, vi, 21, 29; vii, 5; xvii, 4, 6, 10, 12, 18, 19; xviii, 4, 5, 7; xxii, 2; xxvi, 23.—two *ingenui*, i, 3, 5, 11; xi, 3–7; xvii, 2–5, 8, 10–12, 14, 15, 17; xviii, 4–7; xix, 2; xxii, 3, 5, 6.—two *ingenui* and an *ingenua*, xvii, 15.—three *ingenui*, xvii, 3, 5, 7, 11, 13, 14, 16, 18; xviii, 6.—four *ingenui*, xvii, 6, 10, 12.—two *brothers ingenui*, i, 4; xi, 2.—an *ingenuus* and *ingenua*, xvii, 4, 5, 11; xviii, 3; xxii, 4.—a *major ingenuus*, i, 6.—an *ingenuus* and an *undefined tenant*, i, 7; xvii, 9.—an *undefined tenant*, ii, 2, 3; iii, 5; ix, 7; xvi, 5; xviii, 3; xxvi, 2, 23.—two ditto, ix, 3; xvii, 8, 9.—an *extraneus*, v, 2; xviii, 6, 8; xxviii, 17, 40.—a *presbyter*, in "beneficio" (or "beneficium"), vi, 3; ix, 3; xv, 62.—a *coquus* (*cocus*), in "beneficio" (or "beneficium"), vi, 4; ix, 6, 7.—a *servus*, vi, 7, 8; ix, 3, 6; xv, 5; xvi, 3–5.—two *servi*,

xvii, 14.—a *forasticus* (q.v.).—a *servus* and an *ingenuus*, xxii, 3.—two *forastici*, xvii, 16; a *forastica*, xxvi, 23.—an *oblata*, ix, 5.—an *oblatus*, ix, 7, 8.—an *ingenuilis*, xvi, 4.—two *ingenuiles*, xi, 3.—four *ingenuiles*, xvii, 20.—an *epistolarius*, xv, 2, 3, 6.—an *ecclesia*, xv, 60; xviii, 23.—three *ingenui* and two *servi*, xvii, 7.—an *ingenuus* and *cartularius*, xvii, 9; an *ingenuus* and a *forensis*, xvii, 9.—a *forensis*, xvii, 12.—a female *forensis*, xvii, 12.—one *ingenuus* and two *ingenue*, xvii, 15.—two *ingenui* and a *forasticus*, xvii, 16.—one *ingenuus* and two *forastici*, xvii, 18.—three *ingenui* and three *undefined tenants*, xvii, 20.—an *ingenuus* and two *ancillae*, xviii, 4.—an *ingenuus* and an *epistolarius*, xxii, 5, 6.—a *presbyter*, xviii, 20.—two *vicarati*, xxii, 5.—a *vicaratus* and two *ingenue*, xxii, 3.—a *vicaratus* and an *ingenuus*, xxii, 3, 5.—a *cartularius* and an *ingenuus*, xxii, 5.—a *vicaratus* and an *epistolarius*, xxii, 8.—a *major villae*, xvii, 122; xxii, 44.—a *vasallus*, xxvi, 40 ("pro beneficio").—a *vasallus* held three of such mansi, xxvi, 10–12.—a *colonus*, xxviii, 7, 29, 39.—three *coloni* and a *colona*, xxviii, 4.—It belonged to: an *ecclesia*, xx, 75; a *capella*, xxviii, 1.—See further, i, 16; ii, 5; xi, 1; xii, 2, 3; xv, 58; xvi, 10; xvii, 21, 28; xviii, 21; xix, 19; xxi, 7; xxii, 9, 45; xxv, 1; xxvi, 9, 15, 19, 26, 43, 69, 70.

*mansus ingenuilis apsus* (according to the supposed meaning of *absus*, q.v., or *apsus*, probably) a *mansus ingenuilis* which was not cultivated or occupied by a regular tenant, or not paying the regular charges, as opposed to *vestitus* (q.v.), vi, 26 (paying 2 solidi); xxviii, 51 (paying 2 solidi de argento, et araticum), 67.

*m. ingenuilis tertia pars*, vi, 24 (held by a *forasticus*).

ditto *quarta pars*, xxviii, 18 (held by an *extraneus*).

*m. ingenuus*, probably the same as the *m. ingenuilis* (q.v.).

*mansus ingenuilis dimidius*, i, 16; ii, 5; xxi, 7; xxii, 45; xxvi, 43.—It was held by: an *ingenua*, vi, 24.—an *ingenuus*, vii, 3; ix, 4, 6, 7; xxii, 7, 26.—a *presbyter*, xv, 62 (1½).—an *ecclesia*, xv, 63; xix, 18.—a



*servus*, xvi, 5; xxviii, 38.—three *undefined tenants*, xvii, 20.—two *ditto*, xxii, 30.—a *colonus*, xxviii, 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11-13, 15, 16, 30, 33-37, 41-45.—a *colona*, xxviii, 9, 10, 12, 16, 19, 28, 30, 41.—a *piscator*, *servus*, xxviii, 8.—a *major*, *colonus*, xxviii, 14.—a *cartularius* and a *colonus*, xxviii, 14.—a *colona* and her *portionarius*, xxviii, 15.

(5) *mansus integer*, a whole manse, as distinct from a *mansus dimidius* (q.v.), i, 15 (could be held by an *ingenius*, *major villae*).

(6) *mansus nudus*, perhaps a vacant manse, or one that was not fully equipped with all its necessaries, xiii, 5. It is opposed to the *mansus vestitus* (see below), though the difference between the two is not indicated, xiii, 9, 13, 35. Also in § 22, but here it is said that both the *mansus nudus* and the *mansus vestitus* had to supply each two *asses* for transporting goods, or to pay 10 denarii and one cart.

(7) *mansus servilis* [also *mansum servile*, xii, 4; xiv, 5; xvii, 22, 23, 122, 126; xx, 10, 16, 17, 76], in accordance with the meaning of *servilis*, originally, a manse occupied or cultivated by a *servus*, but later on a manse which was subject to the taxes and services which were formerly paid by the *servus*, its proper tenant. It was held by: a *servus*, iii, 4; vi, 9, 16, 18; viii, 2, 3; xi, 8-11; xiv, 3, 4; xv, 12-15, 17; xviii, 9; xix, 8, 9, 11; xx, 13, 14; xxii, 15, 17, 18, 20, 21; xxviii, 20, 21, 31.—two *servi*, xvii, 25; xviii, 9; xxii, 16, 21, 22; a *servus* and an *ancilla*, xxii, 15; a *servus* and an *ingenius*, xxii, 24; two *servi* and an *ingenius*, xvii, 24, 26; xxii, 14; two *servi* and two *ingeniui*, xvii, 24; a *servus* and a *colonus*, xxviii, 32; an *ancilla*, vi, 16, 18; xiv, 4; xvii, 25; an *ingenius*, iii, 3; vi, 10, 16; viii, 3; xiv, 4; xv, 13, 16; xvii, 22; xix, 10; xx, 10-13, 16; xxii, 10-14, 19, 20; two *ingeniui*, xvii, 23, 24, 26, 27; xxii, 9, 11, 13, 22; three *ingeniui*, xvii, 23-27; four *ingeniui*, xvii, 24; three *ingeniui* and an *ingenia*, xvii, 23; an *ingenius* and an *undefined tenant*, xvii, 26; an *ingenia*, vi, 16, 18; xiv, 4; xix, 8, 11; xx, 16; a *libertus*,

vi, 11, 12, 14; a *forasticus*, vi, 16; xvii, 27; a *faber*, viii, 3 (in *beneficium*); an *ingeniuis*, xv, 16; xvii, 23; a *presbyter* (in *beneficio*), xv, 62; xx, 75; a *vicaratus*, xxii, 10, 11; ditto, with 2 sisters, xxii, 12; a *vicarata*, xxii, 10; a *mulnarius*, *vicaratus*, and an *ingenius*, xxii, 11; an *ingenius* and a *vicaratus*, xxii, 11; a *cellerarius*, xvii, 122; an *epistolarius*, xx, 10-13; an *epistolaria*, xx, 10; a *cartularius*, xx, 14; an *undefined tenant*, iii, 2; vi, 16; xiv, 4; xxii, 12; see also xv, 58; xvii, 124, 126; xix, 19; xxii, 45; xxv, 1; xxvi, 26, 43; xxviii, 71.

*mansus servilis dimidius*, xvii, 124; xviii, 21; xxii, 45. It belonged to an ecclesia, xii, 5.—was held by: an *ingenius* and a *servus*, xviii, 9; an *undefined tenant*, xxvi, 38.

(8) *mansus vestitus*, a furnished, fully equipped manse, usually opposed to the *mansus nudus*, or to the *mansus absus*, xiii, 9, 13, 22, 35.

\**mansura* = *mansus*, a mansion, house, xxix, 6, 11.

*manuale*, *manualem*, xviii, 22; see *causa*.

*manus*, a hand, as a measure, in the phrase: *pedes ad manum*: dat . . . de ligno carrum 1 . . . vii pedes ad manum habentem, xvii, 2; *lignarium habens* . . . *pedes v ad manum*, xx, 2. It is only used here in respect to (1) a cart laden with wood, and (2) a pile of wood. According to Guérard (*Polypt. de St. Remi*, p. xli) these "manual feet" are called *pieds-mains* in an Act of A.D. 1222 concerning the Church of Paris. He thinks that they were either linear feet, as opposed to square and cubic feet, or feet employed for measures, and larger, perhaps by a hand, than the foot of a man. See La Curne de Sainte-Palaye, *Diction. histor.*, viii, 297 (*piéd de main*; *pié-main*); Godefroy, *Dict.*, vi, 149 (*piéd main*, *pié main*).—*manus propria*, xvii, 127 (of a witness).

\**mapagius*, see *mappagius*.

*mapaticus*, perhaps one who held a piece of land called *mappa*, xiii, 18. The word appears only in the ablat. plural, and may be a neuter subst. meaning, not persons, but taxes paid for the possession of one or more *mappae*.

mappa, a measure of surface, the length and breadth of which varied. It was a measure for arable land (see *terra*), fields (see *campus*), meadows (*pratium*), pastures (see *pasqualis, pascuum*), woods (see *silva, buscale*), bogs (see *mariscus*).

At St. Remi mappa was evidently applied in four different ways, to indicate (1) the size and extent of land and woods without its being stated what the particular size and extent of a mappa was: i, 1: pasquales ii, continentes mappas iii . . . Silva bedullina, mappas xxx, colrina, cum spinulis, mappas ii. See further, iv, 1, 2, 4; ix, 11; xiv, 2, 6; xvii, 28; xviii, 1; xix, 1, 13; xxii, 8; xxiv, 1; xxvi, 18, 25-34, 41; xxviii, 1.

(2) The extent of the fields belonging to the domain; in this case the Register does not give the size and extent of the mappa, and merely states how many measures (modii) of corn, rye, and spelt could be sown on those fields, i, 1: sunt ibi aspicientes . . . campi xlvi, continentes mappas c, ubi possunt seminari de frumento, modii xxiiii, de sigilo modii xxx et dimidius, de spelta modii lxxxv. See further, ii, 1; iii, 1; v, 1; vi, 1; vii, 1; viii, 1; ix, 1; x, 5, 8; xvii, 28; xix, 1; xx, 15; xxii, 47; xxiii, 1; xxvi, 21, 27, 28; xxviii, 68.—how many carts of hay could be collected from them, xxiv, 1; xxvi, 28, 30.

(3) The measure of land which tenants had to plough (arare, facere) for the lord at certain times of the year, or per annum; in this case the Register nearly always states how many perches (*pertica*) the mappa contained in length and breadth, i, 2: Hrotmannus ingenuus tenet mansum ingenuilem i. Arat ad hibernaticam sationem mappam i, continentem in longitudine perticas xl, in latitudine perticas iii; ad estivatam similiter. See further, ii, 2; iii, 3, 5; v, 2; vi, 2; viii, 2; ix, 2, 4; x, 6; xi, 2, 8; xiv, 3; xviii, 2; xix, 2, 9, 11, 12; xx, 2, 16; xxi, 2; xxii, 2, 26; xxvi, 2, 4; xxvii, 2; xxviii, 2, 46, 49, 52, 69.—without the perches: vi, 25; vii, 4; ix, 5; xii, 2, 4; xix, 8, 13; xx, 13; xxvi, 6-8, 10-14, 18, 20; xxviii, 22, 48, 70, 72, 73.

(4) The measure of hedges which tenants had to construct (again with the further specification in perches), vii, 2: in sepe facit mappas iii, per perticas vi in latus, et l in longum.

The *pertica* (q.v.) was a subdivision of the mappa, the latter being always described as being long (*longa*) and broad (*lata*), or as containing (a) 40 *perticae* in longitudine (or in *longum*) and 3 ditto in latitudine (in *latum* or *latus*), xxvii, 2; (b) 40 and 4 ditto, i, 2; ii, 2; iii, 3, 5; viii, 2; ix, 2, 4; (c) 40 and 5 ditto, xix, 2, 11, 12; xx, 16; (d) 40 and 7 ditto, xix, 9; (e) 50 by 5 ditto, xx, 2; (f) 50 by 6 ditto, vii, 2; (g) 60 by 4 ditto, x, 6; xxii, 26; (h) 60 by 6 ditto, xi, 2; xxi, 2; xxvi, 2, 4; xxviii, 69; (i) 100 by 4 ditto, vi, 2; xiv, 3; xviii, 2; (k) 100 by 5 ditto, xxii, 2; (l) 110 by 4 ditto, v, 2.—*mappa dimidia*, v, 1; ix, 4; xxvi, 28; xxviii, 22, 48, 73.—See also *mapaticus*.

\*mappagius, either the tenant of a measure of land called mappa, or, perhaps, another term for mappa, xxix, 1-4.—mapagius, xxix, 18, 19.

mapula (= mappula), mentioned among the furniture in a church, perhaps a garment, or a small napkin, xvii, 123; xxii, 47.

margareta [class. Lat. margarita], a pearl, xvii, 123; see *nastola*.

mariscus, a marsh, morass, pool, swamp, bog, xxvi, 27, 28.

maritus, a husband, xxviii, 5.

martirologium, a book containing a list of saints, and notes regarding the deaths they suffered: *martirologii* volumen i, vi, 17; *martirologium*, xv, 59 (see quotation under *missale*). *martius*, the month of March, xiii, 28, 38, 39.

martyr, a martyr, x, 5.

masius, a house, dwelling, mansion, xiii, 52.

mater, a mother, xv, 50.

materiamen (= materia), (1) material for building, or for covering and repairing buildings (especially the *scuria*), timber, which tenants had to supply, xviii, 2; xix, 19; xxi, 7; xxii, 2, 8, 9, 45; xxv, 1, 2; xxvi, 10, 15, 22, 26, 43.—(2) props, stakes, etc., required in a vineyard: Dat . . . ad vineam de *materiamine* carrum dimidium, xxi, 2.

- medietas, a half*: facere (or solvere, or donare) *medietatem, to do, or pay, or perform a half (of the taxes or services which other tenants had to render)*, xv, 9, 11; xix, 8; xxi, 4; xxii, 6, 7, 44; xxvi, 23.—facere et solvere or debere *medietatem census*, xvii, 20; xviii, 6, 9; xx, 9, 10; xxii, 14; xxviii, 5, 6, 9-11, 13, 19, 30, 33, 35-37.—tenere *medietatem de manso*, xxii, 15; xxviii, 2, 3, 8.—*medietas ecclesiae*, xv, 63.
- mel, honey*, xvii, 122; xviii, 20; xix, 18; xxii, 1, 44; xxv, 1, 2.
- mellarius*, see *messarius*.
- mensis nonus, the ninth month*, xvii, 126.
- mensura, (1) a measure, in general*, v, 2; xvii, 28.—*mensura minor, qualifying the modius for (a) liquids: Donat in censo de vino, ad minorem mensuram, modios 4, i, 2, 16; ii, 2; xxv, 1; xxvi, 41.—(b) dry goods, ii, 2.—mensura major, qualifying the modius for liquids, xv, 2; xxv, 1.—(2) a particular measure, the size and extent of which is not stated: Sunt ibi xx mansi ingenui debentes singuli duas mensuras lignorum, xiii, 11; ad cortem vel vineam claudendam facit mensuram, xxi, 2; solvit . . . ad hortum claudendum mensurae perticas ii, xxvi, 10.—donat ad ortum claudendum mensurae perticam i, xxvi, 11; mensurae perticas iii, xxvi, 15.*
- mercatum, a market: m. annuale, an annual market*, xxv, 1, 2.
- messarius, a harvester, one who had charge of the harvest*, i, 12; the same officer is also called *silvarius*. [N.B.—In his Index Guérard prints *mellarius*, which would mean one who gathers in the honey, or had charge of the beehives; but, according to Professor Paul Meyer, the transcript in the Paris Nat. Library has distinctly *messarius*.]
- messis, the harvest: tempore messis*, xi, 2.—in messe, the same, xxi, 5; xxiii, 2.
- metallum, a metal (different from iron), copper, bronze (Lat. aes): clocca (q.v.) de metallo*, xvii, 123; schilla (q.v.) de metallo, xxii, 47; signum (q.v.) de metallo, xviii, 22. See also *ferrum*.
- mina, a corn-measure*, xiii, 15.
- \**minaticum*, perhaps = *minagium*, a tax or tribute paid to the lord for measuring corn by the mina, A. i (p. 111).—*minaticum burgi*, *ibid.*
- minister, an officer*, xiii, 5.
- ministerium, service*, ix, 20.
- minuta, a small coin; see minutus.*
- minutus, little, small, minute: silva minuta, a shrubbery, copse*, xvii, 28; xix, 1.—*minuta, subst., a small coin*, xiii, 2, 4, 7, 9, 17.
- missa, the Mass: missa s. Johannis*, viii, 2; m. s. Martini, xxviii, 2; m. s. Remigii, viii, 2; xi, 2; xviii, 1; xxviii, 73.
- missale, a book containing the masses or offices of the holy Eucharist for the year: m. cum evangelis et lectionibus seu antiphonario, volumen i, xx, 74.*
- missalem Gelasii, volumen i, xvii, 123; missalis Gelasii vetustum volumen i, xx, 74; missalis Galesii (for Gelasii), cum martirilogio et poenitentiale, volumina ii, xv, 59; habet . . . missalem Gregorii volumen i, vi, 17; xviii, 22; missalem Gregorii cum evangelis et lectionibus volumen i, xxii, 47; missalem Gregorii, cum evangelis et lectionibus, et breviarium antiphonarii, volumen i, xvii, 123.*
- missus, a messenger: m. domni regis*, xxviii, 66; m. (archiepiscopi) domni Hincmari, xvii, 127; xxviii, 66.
- mixtura, a mixture of wheat and rye*, xxv, 1, 2.
- mixtus, see annona.*
- modius (Fr. muid, D. mud), a measure (1) for dry goods (annona, avena, frumentum, sigillum, spelta), i, 1; ii, 1, 2, 5; iii, 1; vi, 1; vii, 1, 2; viii, 1; ix, 1, 12, etc.—modius dimidius, i, 1; ii, 5; ix, 8, 12; xxii, 2; xxiii, 2; xxv, 1; xxvi, 28.—modius minor, xxviii, 2, 68.—modii quarta pars, vi, 23.—(2) for liquids (vinum), i, 1, 7; ii, 1, 2, 5; iii, 1, 8; iv, 4; ix, 1, 8, etc.—modius dimidius, ii, 2.—There were two kinds of modii: modius ad majorem mensuram, xv, 2; m. majoris mensurae, xxv, 1.—modius ad minorem mensuram, i, 2, 16; xxvi, 41; m. minoris mensurae, xxv, 1.—Guérard calculates that a large modius = a small modius and  $\frac{2}{3}$ .—modius tertius refers to a tenancy which was held for thirds, xxv, 1.*
- molendinum, molendinus, a mill, which had to contribute towards the revenue of the lord*, xiii, 13, 37, 39, 51;



- xii, 44 (had to present offerings to the "seniores"); xv, 1, 2.—*molendinus hibernaticus*, a winter mill, xix, 1; see *hibernaticus*.—*molendinus dimidius*, xxviii, 1.—See also *farinarius*.
- molins*, for *molinus*, a mill, xiii, 1; see *mulinus*; also *molendinum*, *farinarius*.
- monachus*, a monk, xvii, 127.
- monasterium*, a monastery, iv, 2; xiii, 9, 10; xv, 2; xvi, 2: xvii, 2, 22, 122; xviii, 1; xx, 2, 76; xxi, 2, 7.—m. S. Remigii, x, 10; xiii, 15.
- mors*, death, xv, 61.
- mulinus*, a mill, vi, 1; see also *molendinum* and *molins*.
- mulnarius*, a miller, xxii, 11; also called *vicaratus* (q.v.). He held one manse with an *ingenus*.
- multo*, a sheep, xvii, 28, 126; xxv, 1; xxvii, 6.—*multo trimus*, xxviii, 2 (a note suggests *trinus*).—m. de *tribus annis*, xxviii, 69, 72.
- mustum*, new or unfermented wine, *must*, xiii, 11.
- Nastola*, a girdle, zone, belt, or a clasp, pin, brace, shoulder-knot, xviii, 22; xx, 74; xxii, 47.—*nastola cum margaretis*, xvii, 123.
- natale*, the [day of the] *Nativity of the Lord*, xiii, 52.—*natale Domini*, the same, xiii, 1, 2, 5, 15, 35-37, etc.; xix, 18; xxii, 44.
- nativitas*, birth, nativity, xvii, 127; xxviii, 65.—*Nativitas*, the [feast of the] *Nativity of the Lord*, xiii, 16, 18, 19, 22, 28, 30.—*Nativitas Domini*, the same, i, 2, 15; xiii, 13, 15, 32; xvii, 122; xviii, 1, 20.
- navis*, a ship, xxviii, 67, 68. Only four ships are mentioned.
- neesse*: quantum *neesse est*, xxviii, 2.—*quandocumque et ubicumque neesse fuerit*, xx, 2.
- necessitas*, necessity, xxiii, 2.
- nepos*, a nephew, vi, 29; xx, 38, 39; xxi, 6.
- nepta*, a niece, xv, 34; xx, 28, 45.
- nobilis vir*, xvii, 127 (Dodilo, *vassalus episcopi*).
- nocturnal*, a book containing the night offices, vi, 17: see *antiphonarius*.
- nonus*, the ninth: *nonus mensis*, xvii, 126; see *mensis*.
- notitia*, a notice, record, xiii, 1.
- noviter*, newly, recently, xvii, 119.
- nudus*, vacant, bare: *mansus nudus*, see *mansus*.
- nutrimentum*, nourishment, food, produce, victuals, x, 11 (the meaning here is more the produce of an estate).
- nutrire*, to cultivate, grow, take care of: *nutrire silvam*, iii, 2.—*silva nutrita*, iii, 1.
- \**Oba* = *hoba* (q.v.).
- oblata*, a woman who had given herself and her possessions to the Abbey, ix, 5 (having "infantes" and holding a *mansus ingenuilis*), 7 (wife of an *ingenus*).
- oblatio*, a gift, offering, present (Fr. *oublic*, *oubliage*), xvii, 1, 122; see *magister*, *senior*.
- oblatus*, a man who had given himself and his property to the Abbey: he held a *mansus ingenuilis*, ix, 7, 8; a *mansus ingenuilis dimidius*, ix, 7; had an *ingenua* as wife, ix, 8.
- obsequium*, (1) food, sustenance (*obs. pauperum*), x, 5 (to be provided by a *mansus dominicatus*).—(2) an ecclesiastical service, funeral rites, xv, 62 (to be performed by a presbyter in regard to his holding).
- officia*, officials (men and women, perhaps those of a trade or handicraft), ix, 20 (differing from a person de *ministerio*).
- officium sacerdotale*, a sacerdotal office (of the presbyter), xv, 63.
- olcha*, a piece of arable land, xiv, 6.
- omelia*, *omilia*, see *homilia*.
- opera*, work, labour; o. *servilis*, *servile work*, xxviii, 71.
- operarius*, a labourer, workman. Workmen had to be supplied by the various *mansus* or tenants for work in the fields, vineyards, etc., of the estate: *Mansi . . . solventes . . . in maio 15 solidos et 9 denarios et 12 operarios*, xiii, 18; *Mansi . . . qui solvunt . . . in festo sancti Remigii aut 4 denarios aut 1 operarium in vinea*, xiii, 32. *Omnia mansa donant . . . a nono ad nonum mensem operarios xxx, diebus xxx*, xvii, 126.—The *servus* had to employ *operarii* to assist him in "doing his 4 days" for his tenancy: *Servus facit . . . in unaquaque septimana dies iiii . . . cum operariis ii, viii, 2*.
- operire*, to cover, roof over, xxii, 15.
- opus*, (1) need, necessity, x, 6 (quantum *opus est*).—(2) work, o. *judici*, ix, 2; o. *servile*, *servile work*, to be performed by a *servus*, xxviii, 20, 31.



- oratorium, *a place of prayer, an oratory*:  
o. in honore sanctae Mariae, xxii, 48.  
—o. in honore s. Remigii titulum, xviii, 24.
- ordeum, for hordeum, *barley*, vii, 2; ix, 2, 3, 12; xvii, 2, 22, 28, 126; xx, 1; xxii, 2, 45; xxv, 1, 2; xxvi, 10–12, 15, 22, 26, 43; xxvii, 5; xxviii, 2, 22. Also twice *hordeum* (q.v.).
- originaliter, *originally*, xvii, 127 (ad fin.).
- origo, *origin*, xvii, 127.
- ortus, for hortus (q.v.), *a garden*.
- ovis, *a sheep*, xiii, 10.—ovis cum agno, xiii, 15, 16, 22. See further *feta, foeta*, which is here the more usual word for *sheep*.
- ovum, *an egg*, xvii, 114, 126; xxv, 2. The eggs, which tenants had to supply, were usually numbered with the chickens; see *pullus*.
- Pagus, *a district, canton, province*, x, 1, 2–4.
- palliolum [dimin. of pallium], *a small pall* (or a canopy, covering curtain?), xviii, 22.
- pallium, *a pall* (or a canopy, curtain?), xvii, 123.—p. vetustum, xxii, 47.
- palus, *a stake, prop, stay, pale*, xxviii, 2; see *peditura*.
- panis, *bread*, which some tenants received from their lord when doing their stipulated work for him, as the making of walls (*macerias*), or with which they had to provide themselves when “doing their days” on other occasions: Facit ad vindemiam dies xv sine pane, et postea quantum opus est cum pane; ad macerias dies xv, dabiturque ei panis de dominico, x, 6.
- par, pares, *an equal, comrade, companion*, xi, 2.
- \*parafredus, *a palfrey*, iv, p. 123.
- pars, *a part*, xiv, 1.—pars mansi, xvii, 114.—pars quarta de carro, x, 6, the quantity of hay which a tenant had to cart and convey for his lord.—pars quarta salis, *the quantity of salt* which a tenant had to pay, xxviii, 2. So again: pars quarta modii, vi, 23.—pars quarta mansi ingenuilis, xxviii, 18, held by an *extraneus*, for which he owed: pars quarta census, *ibid.*—partes tres anniculi, xxvi, 26.  
pars sua, xviii, 2, probably relates to the question of the *division of a vineyard* and its produce between the lord and his tenants, explained under *tertius* (q.v.). So also *duae partes*, vii, 5: Habetur ibi vinea dominica, quae facit ad tertium, ubi possunt colligi, in duas partes, de vino modii xvi . . . Facit vineam ad tertium, ubi possunt colligi, in duas partes, de vino modii x. See the same phrase, *ibid.* §§ 6–8.
- pascere, *to feed, fatten*, (porcum) xii, 1; xviii, 1; (hominem) xv, 61; (pastas) xvii, 114.
- Pascha (Pasca), *Easter*, i, 15; xiii, 15, 16, 18, 20, etc.; xvii, 122; xviii, 1, 20, 22; xix, 18; xxii, 44.
- pascuum, *a pasture*, xvii, 1.
- pasqualis, *a measure of pasture land*, i, 1; xiv, 2; xviii, 1; xxvi, 37. The *pasqualis* seems to have measured one or 1½ *mappa* (q.v.), but the width and length of this measure varied. In xxviii, 1 we have pasqualium salcinorum (MS. pasqu salcin) mappae iii, the meaning of which is not clear; see *salcinus*.
- passionale, *passionalis, a book recording the sufferings or passions of the martyrs*, xv, 59.
- pasta, *a hen*, xv, 9, 12, 58; xvii, 114, 126; xx, 13, 14, 76; xxii, 15, 17, 20, 24, 25, 45; xxv, 1, 2.
- pastio, *the right or privilege of pasturing or feeding pigs* (the same as *pastus*, q.v.; see also *bannus*): (solvit) in pastionem modium i, ix, 2, 4, 5; Donat annis singulis in pastionem de spelta modium i, x, 6; Donat . . . vinum in pastione modios ii, xv, 2, 12, 14; Donat annis singulis in pastione de frumento modium i, xv, 10; Donat . . . in (pro) pastionibus, de vino modios ii, xix, 7–9; Donat . . . pro pastione anniculum i . . . et, in januario, in pastione de ordeo . . . modium i, xxviii, 2, 22.—pastiones duae, xix, 2 (and perhaps also in xix, 7–9).
- pastura, *a pasture*, xix, 1 (pastura cum spinoris, for spinosis?).
- pastus, the pasturing, feeding of pigs, and by extension *the right of pasturing or feeding pigs* (the same as *pastio*, q.v.): Viri mansa tenentes . . . sunt 288, debentes anno tertio pro pasto tot porculos, xx, 76. Donat annis singulis de ordeo modium dimidium sine pasto; si vero pastus fuerit, integrum, xxii, 2.—Instead of these payments in kind for this privilege tenants had sometimes to

- supply a cart for the compulsory service called *bannus* (q.v.).
- patella, a small pan or dish, a plate; p. plumbea, xii, 1 (which mills had to provide).
- patena, a paten, plate; see quotations and references under *calix*, with which it is usually mentioned.—*patena argentea*, xvii, 123.
- pauper, a poor man, *pauper*, xiii, 37 (20 paupers in one place).—a *mansus dominicatus* was assigned to a church for the *susceptio* or *obsequium pauperum*, x, 5; see also *obsequium*.
- paupertas, *poverty*, xi, 2; if an ingenuus could not hold a manse or part of a manse, on account of his poverty, he had to prove it by seven of his equals.
- pectura, for *plectura*, an enclosure, hedge, or covering for stables, court-yards, outhouses, etc., which tenants had to construct for their lord. It is the same as *peditura* (q.v.).—*faciunt pecturam* ad cortem, xvii, 2 (here the MS. has *p̄scturā*); f.p.a.c. iiii *pecticas*, xi, 2; *facit pecturas* ad cortem, *scurias* et hortum, xvii, 22; *facit . . . pecturam* ad *scuriam* et hortum, xxii, 2; *facit pecturas* ad *claudendam* cortem, xx, 2; f.p.a.c.c. et ad tegumen *scuriarum*, xviii, 2; *facit pecturas* ad cortem et *scurias* emendandum, xxvi, 2. In one instance (xi, 2) the length of such a construction was 4 perches (see *pertica*).
- pecus (pecudis), (gen. plur.) *pecudum*, a single head of cattle, a beast, animal, one of a herd, as distinct from *pecus*, *pecoris*, cattle collectively, xxvii, 6.
- peditura (for *pedatura*, from *pedare*, to foot, furnish with feet, to prop up), the same as *pectura* (q.v.) and *clausura* (q.v.), an enclosure made of props, stakes, and rafters, used in granaries, or for covering roofs, and in making hedges, or for shutting in courts, gardens, etc. *Facit pedituram* in tecto *pecticas* ii, in *scpe* *pecticas* ii, vii, 2; *faciunt pedituram* in *graneam* de decem *palis* et decem *capronibus*, xxviii, 2; *facit pedituram* in *circuitu* horti *pecticam* i, xxviii, 69; *facit pedituram* in *circuitu* horti *pecticam* *dimidiam*, xxviii, 72.
- penitentiale, see *penitentialis*.
- pensa, a kind of weight (for weighing meat?), xxvii, 6 (MS. has *pens*).—*pensa lini*, xiii, 5, 9.
- pensare, to weigh, xvii, 123.
- perscriptus, for *praescriptus* (q.v.).
- persolvere, to pay, pay out, vi, 15, see also *solvere*.
- pertica, a measure, a perch. It was a subdivision of the *mappa* (q.v.), and indicated its length and breadth, i, 2; ii, 2; iii, 3, 5; vi, 2; vii, 2; viii, 2; ix, 2, 4; x, 6; xi, 2; xiv, 3; xviii, 2; xix, 2, 9, 11, 12; xx, 2, 16; xxi, 2; xxii, 2; xxvi, 2, 4; xxvii, 2; xxviii, 2, 69.—It also indicated the measure of hedges or other enclosures (see *pectura*; *peditura*; *saepes*) which tenants had to construct, vii, 2; xi, 2; xxviii, 69, 72 (*pertica dimidia*); the extent of land which they had to plough (*arare*), xv, 2; xvi, 2; xvii, 2, 22; and the quantity of *circulus* (q.v.) which they had to supply.—*pectica plena*, v, 2.—*mensurae pertica*, xxvi, 10, 11, 15.
- pes, a measure, a foot: *pedes ad manum* (Fr. *ped de main*, *pié-main*), see *manus*.
- \**piscaria*, a place for fishing, a fishery, A. ii (p. 113).
- piscator, a fisherman, xxviii, 8 (he held a *mansus dimidius ingenuilis*; is described as a *servus*; his wife was a *colona*; his children were *servi*), 73 (holding an *accola*).
- \**piscatoria*, a toll, tax, impost, paid by fishers, A. ii (p. 114).
- placitum, a plea, court of justice: pl. publicum, a public court, xvii, 127.
- planeta, a folded chasuble (casula), so called from its looking like a star: *planeta* de *cindado nigro* i, vi, 17; pl. de *cendato indiata*, xviii, 22; pl. *lanea rubea*, xviii, 22; pl. de *sarginco* (Du C. has *sarginco*) *rubea*, xx, 74; pl. *castanea*, vi, 17.
- plumbeus, made of lead, leaden; see *patella*.
- poenitentiale, penitential, a penitential or ecclesiastical book containing all matters and rules for imposing penance and reconciling penitents: *missalis Galesii* (for *Gelasii*), cum *martirio* et *poenitentialis volumina* ii, xv, 59.—*poenitentialis canonici volumen* i, xx, 74.—*penitentialis Bedae* vol. i, simul cum *evangelio Mathaei*, xxii, 47.
- pons, a bridge, xxvi, 3; x, 8 (*pons sancti Remigii*); xxv, 1 (= *molendinus*; a tax was paid for a *pons* sive *molendinus*), 2 (id.).

porcellus, a young or small pig, xii, 1.  
porculus, a young or small pig, xx, 76.

porcus, a pig: saginare porcos, iii, 1; vi, 1; xv, 1; xx, 1, 15; xxv, 1, 2; xxvi, 16, 43; xxvii, 6.—pascere porcum, xii, 1; xviii, 1.—Pigs were paid as census, xiii, 11, 52 (in medio julio), 53 (in festo s. Remigii).—debere porcum, xiii, 9.—porcus beveralis, a pig that has not been castrated, xxv, 1.—porcus grandis, a full-grown or fattened pig, xiii, 5.—porcus magnus, the same, xiii, 42.—porcus sualis [=soalis, q.v.], a male swine, xx, 76; xxv, 1; donat soalae (for soalem?) porcum ad saginandum, xx, 2.—summa . . . silvae porcorum incrassationis, xxv, 1. See further soalis, verres, maialis, scrofa, genulis.

porta, a gate: p. monasterii s. Remigii, perhaps a building erected at the gate of the monastery for receiving the guests, x, 10.

portare, to bear, carry, bring, convey: p. pullos, to carry, convey chickens for the domain (monastery), vii, 4.

portio, a part, portion: p. sua, his own part, xxii, 15.

portionarius, a tenant who shares the produce of a tenancy with another, xxviii, 15 (here with a colona and her infantes called coloni), 73 (here applied to accolue).

possibilitas, possibility, xvii, 1.

potestas, a lordship, seignior, village, district, vi, 15; xv, 63; xxii, 48.

praebenda, prebenda, daily support, allowance, payment, food, sustenance, here the daily food which tenants had to bring with them, or which they received when they performed their obligatory services for their lords: dabit in pratericia falcem i, cum sua praebenda, aut dabit denarium i, xi, 2; facit suo seniori, tempore messis, dies iii cum praebenda sibi data (ibid.). Facit omne servitium sibi in iunctum, si praebendam habuerit, xi, 8.

praeeptum, an order, direction: p. regis, xxviii, 7, 41, 47, 66.

praescriptus, before-written; wrongly: perscripta villa, xvii, 123.

praesens: hi testes in praesenti fuerunt, xxviii, 66.

(praestaria) prestaria, a mode of holding (habere in prestarium) property (here a vineam) in "loan," by virtue of a

charter issued by the grantee, differing, therefore, from the precaria (a mode of holding property granted or lent on request), ix, 8. Though this is the only clear instance occurring in the Register, the mode of this holding was probably not uncommon, as, in the general summary, the revenue derived from it is referred to in two places, xxv, 1, 2, but in both instances the census is called incertus.

praevidere, (1) to keep, guard, have the custody of: (silvam), iii, 2; (2) to superintend, administer: (potestatem), vi, 15.

prataritia, pratericia, the time when meadows (prata) were cut, xi, 2; xviii, 2.

pratun, a meadow, the size of which is never indicated (except thrice, xxiv, 1; xxvi, 28, 30: prati mappa), merely the number of carts of hay collected from prata (or the amount of money raised on them, xii, 34-36), i, 1; iii, 1; iv, 1; vi, 17; viii, 1; xi, 1; xii, 1; xiv, 2, 3; xvi, 1, 2; xix, 1; xx, 15; xxi, 1; xxii, 1; xxiii, 1; xxiv, 1; xxvi, 14, 16; xxvii, 1; xxviii, 1, 68. Pratus, xv, 1.—Pratum aratorium, xi, 1, probably a field or meadow set apart for ploughing, as it is stated how many measures of seed for corn it could contain.—Pratum dominicum, a meadow reserved to the lord, xxiv, 1.—Facere ad pratun dies iii, to work three days in the meadow, v, 2; facere manopera in prato, xxiii, 2; donare . . . in prato dies ii aut denarios ii, xxvi, 2.—Scare pratun, to cut, mow the meadow, xiv, 3; xxvi, 17.—See also xxvi, 25, 26; xxviii, 2.

praebenda, see praebenda.

precium, see praestium.

presbyter, a priest, parson: he held: a mansus belonging to a church, x, 5.—a mansus dominicatus, xxiv, 1.—a medietas ecclesiae, xv, 63.—held "in beneficio" a mansus ingenuilis, vi, 3; ix, 3; a mansus ingenuilis et dimidius, a mansus servilis, and a campus, xv, 62; a mansus servilis, xx, 75; a vinea cum pasquali, xxvi, 37.—He was caput scolae s. Remensis ecclesiae, xvii, 127.—had an oratorium, xxii, 48.—made a donation to a place, xiv, 6.—had to present offerings to



- the authorities of the estate, xvii, 122; xviii, 20 (if he held a mansus *ingenuilis*); xix, 18; xxii, 44. See further, xv, 58, 61; xvii, 124.
- pretium, precium, *money, price, value*: p. dominicum, *the lord's money*, xvii, 127.
- probare, *to prove*, xi, 2.
- psalterium, *a psalter*, vi, 17; xv, 59; xvii, 123; xviii, 22; xx, 74; xxii, 47.
- pulliculus, *a small chicken*, xviii, 6.
- pullus, *a chicken, hen*, which tenants had to supply to the Abbey, together, in most cases, with a certain number of eggs (ova), usually five eggs to one chicken: (a) *pulli* mentioned without eggs: ix, 7; xii, 1; xxvii, 6.—1 p., xiii, 15; xx, 2.—2 p., xiii, 18, 22.—3 p., xxii, 2, 9.—4 p., i, 15; xviii, 20; xix, 18; xxii, 44.—6 p., xvii, 122.—8 p., xiii, 28.—11 p., xiii, 1.—15 p., xiii, 20.—21 p., xiii, 30.—p. dimidius, i, 16; ii, 5.—(b) *pulli with (a definite number of) eggs*: 1 p. 5 ova, vii, 4; ix, 2, 4, 5, 12; xiv, 5; xv, 9; xxvi, 17; xxvii, 2.—1 p. 15 ova, xiii, 32.—1½ p. 2½ ova, xxii, 26.—1½ p. 7½ ova, xxvi, 7.—2 p. 10 ova, xv, 17; xvii, 124; xviii, 10; xix, 12, 13; xxiii, 2.—2 p. 15 ova, x, 6.—3 p. 15 ova, ii, 2; iii, 3, 5; v, 2; vi, 2, 9; viii, 2; xi, 2, 8; xiv, 3; xv, 2, 12, 14; xvi, 2; xvii, 2, 22; xix, 2, 8, 9; xx, 16; xxi, 2; xxii, 19, 22; xxvi, 2, 4, 6, 8, 11, 13, 18, 22; xxviii, 2, 4.—3 p. 20 ova, i, 2; xviii, 2, 9.—4 p. 20 ova, xxvi, 41.—5 p. 25 ova, vii, 2; xxii, 15, 16, 21, 23; xxvii, 4.—6 p. 30 ova, xxii, 8; xxvi, 10, 12.—8 p. 50 ova, xxii, 15, 17, 20, 24, 25.—10 p. 50 ova, xx, 13, 14.—28 p. 160 ova, xiii, 15.—(c) *pulli with (an undefined number of) eggs*: 2 p. et ova, xii, 4; xiii, 22.—3 pulli cum ovis, xiii, 17; xxviii, 69, 72.—4 pulli cum ovis, xii, 2.—15 p. cum ovis, xiii, 16; 140 p. cum ovis, xiii, 24. See further, i, 16; ii, 5; iii, 8; xv, 58; xvi, 10; xviii, 21; xix, 19; xx, 76; xxi, 7; xxii, 45; xxiii, 4; xxv, 1, 2; xxvi, 15, 19, 26, 43.
- puteum [or puteus], *a well (or a cistern, not a pit?)*, vii, 1.
- Quadragesima, *Lent*; Caput Quadragesimae, *Ash Wednesday*, xiii, 37.
- quartalis, *a measure for salt*, xxviii, 2, 69.
- quartarius, *a fourth part, a quarter of any measure (Fr. quartier)*, xiii, 20.—quartarius dimidius, xiii, 9. In neither case is it clear whether it means *a fourth part of a manse* or *a measure of land*. The latter meaning the word seems to have in one of the additional documents (see p. 119).
- quartellus, *a kind of measure for measuring barley*, xxvi, 26 (but it may be *quartalis*, q.v.; the MS. has quart<sup>l</sup>):
- quaternio, *a quire (Fr. cahier)*: q. de compoto, xx, 74; see *compotus*.—quaterniones canonum vii, xx, 74; see *canon*.—quaternio glosarum, xvii, 123; see *glosa*.
- quoquina (for coquina), *a kitchen*, vi, 1; viii, 1.
- Radones, perhaps *a kind of tool*: 5 radones ad scuriam reficiendam, x, 6 (MS. radoñ).
- \*rasura, *a corn-measure*, A. iii, 22.
- ratio, (1) *account, charge, care*, x, 5; xvii, 127.—(2) *occasion, condition, opportunity*: ratio temporis, xi, 1.
- recipere, *to receive, hold, contain* (said of fields), x, 5, 8; xi, 1; xiv, 2; xv, 1; xvi, 1; xvii, 28, 126; xix, 1; xxii, 1; xxvi, 14, 15.
- recognoscere, *to examine, inspect*, xvii, 127 (said by one who signs a document).
- recredere se, *to re-consign, re-entrust one's self*, xvii, 127 (said of a servus who, having denied that he was a servus, confessed himself as such, and re-consigned or re-entrusted himself to his lord, after the truth had been established by a judicial inquiry).
- redimere se, *to buy one's self off, release one's self*, vi, 2; vii, 2; ix, 2, 4, 5 (said of a tenant who paid a sum of money instead of performing manual labour for his lord).
- reficere, *to repair* (barns, etc.), x, 6.
- regere, *to rule, govern*, xvii, 127 (said of an archbishop).
- regius, *royal*, xvii, 127.
- regnare, *to have royal power, to rule, reign*, xvii, 127.
- remanere, *to stay or remain behind, continue, abide*, xii, 1 (be left).
- reperire, *to find, procure*, xxvii, 6 (summa reperta).
- repressus, *pressed back (into service)*, said of servi and ancillae, xvii, 119.



- requirere, to ask or inquire after, xvii, 127.
- residere, to sit, xvii, 127 (said of judges).
- respicere, to belong to, x, 5.
- restaurare, to restore, repair, v, 2.
- rewadiare, rewadigare, to pledge again; r. servicium, xvii, 127.
- rex, a king, xxviii, 7, 41, 47, 66.
- \*roaticum, a tax or tribute paid to the lord of the estate for injury done to the public roads by the wheels of vehicles, A. i (p. 111).
- Rogationes, Rogation Days, the three days next before Ascension Day, xxii, 44.
- rubeus, red, reddish; see planeta.
- Sacerdotalis; of or belonging to a (sacerdos or) priest: sacerdotale vestimentum (q.v.).
- sacrare, to consecrate (said of a church), xvii, 123; xviii, 22.
- sacrata Deo, a woman who had consecrated herself to God, xvii, 54 (here an *ingenua*, who had *infantes*).
- (saepes) sepes, a hedge, fence, which tenants had to construct for their lord: facit pedituram in tecto perticas ii, in sepe perticas ii, ad curtem claudendam perticas ii; in sepe facit mappas iii, vii, 2.
- saginare, to feed, pasture, fatten (pigs), which was done in woods (*silva*), iii, i; xii, 1; xv, 1; xx, 1, 2, 15; xxvi, 16, 43.—Sometimes it was the duty of the tenants to undertake this feeding: *saginat* porcos ii, vi, 1. See also *porcus*.
- \*saginum, the soft fat or grease of pigs, suet, lard (Fr. *sain*), xxix, 6, 8, 11, 17.
- sal, salt, of which tenants had to supply a certain quantity in satisfaction of their rent, vi, 23; xi, 2; xv, 2; xvi, 2, 10; xvii, 21; xxviii, 2, 4, 29, 33, 34, 40, 69. Some manses were exempt from this tax; others paid a sum of money instead.
- salcinus [salcinorum], xxviii, 1, for which Guérard suggests *salietum*, a plantation or thicket of willows; but could *salcinus* mean *brackish*?—See *pasqualis*.
- salneritia, a tax or contribution paid in salt (see *sal*), xviii, 2; xxii, 2.
- \*saltus, a wood, xxix, 18.
- sargineum, or sarginium, a kind of silk serge (Fr. *sarge*, *serge*, from Lat. *serica*, fem. or neut. plur. of *sericus*, silken): planeta de *sarginco* (Du Cange has *sargineo*) rubea, xx, 74; see *planeta*.
- \*sartum, or sartus, a piece of ground cleared of trees, shrubs, etc., and rendered fit for cultivation, xxix, 1, 2, 19.
- satio, a sowing: *aestiva*, *aestivatica*, *hibernatica*, *tremSATICA* satio, see *aestivus*, *hibernaticus*, *tremSATICUS*.—Sationes ambae, the *aestiva* and *hibernatica* satio (?), vi, 1; vii, 1; viii, 1; ix, 1.—Satio uterque, *idem*, xi, 1; xii, 1; xxviii, 1, 68.—Satio alia, as distinguished from the *aestiva* and *hibernatica* satio, xii, 1.—Sationes cunctae, probably the *aestiva*, *hibernatica*, and *tremSATICA* satio, xxv, 1.—Satio ipsa, xviii, 2; xx, 2.
- sauma (= sagma), a pile, heap (of wood) of uncertain size: *sauma* de lignis, xiii, 22, 23.
- scabinus, a *skevin*, *sheriff*, xvii, 125.—*scabinus*: *scabinorum* iudicium, xvii, 127.
- scaritio, *scarritio*, a prop for a vine, a pole, Fr. *échalas* (= Low Lat. *eschara*, *scaratus*, from the Low Lat. *carratium*, from the Gr. *χαράξ*, a vine-prop), xxvi, 41.—Donat . . . *scaritiones* dimidium carrum, i, 2; solvit (facit) . . . de *scaritione* carrum i, ix, 2, 4; *carra* . . . *scaritionum* (48, 49), xxv, 1, 2; habet . . . *scaritiones* *carra* iiiii, xxvi, 41.—*Scarritiones* *carra* v et dimidium, i, 16.—Instead of supplying these props the tenants could pay money, ix, 5 (1 denarius).
- scendola (i, 16; ii, 2, 5); scendula (x, 6; xv, 2, 58; xvi, 10; xvii, 2); scindula, a tile of cleft wood for covering roofs, a shingle, i, 2; xi, 2; xii, 2, 4; xvi, 2; xvii, 126; xviii, 2, 21; xix, 2, 9, 19; xx, 2, 76; xxi, 2, 7; xxii, 2, 8, 9, 15, 26, 45; xxv, 1, 2; xxvi, 2, 9–11, 15, 43; xxviii, 2, 69.—*scindula* dimidia, xxvi, 10.
- schilla, a bell (D. *schel*): *schilla* de metallo, xvii, 47; see *metallum*.
- scindula, see *scendola*.
- scola, a school: *scola* sanctę Remensis ecclesiae, xvii, 127.
- scrofa, a sow, xxvii, 6. See also *porcus*.
- \*scudata, a coin, the *aurus*, or Fr. *escus d'or*, A. iii, 5.
- scuria, a stable, barn (D. *schuur*), often mentioned in the plural, and as belonging to the *mansus dominicatus*,

but distinct from the *aedificia, torcular, curtis*, etc., i, 1; ii, 1; iii, 1, 6; xxvii, 1.—Tenants had to construct them, or to perform work in them, v, 2; xvii, 22; xix, 2, 9; xxii, 2, 8, 9; xxvi, 10; or to enclose them, xvii, 2; or to keep them in repair, x, 6; xxvi, 2; or to cover, roof them, xviii, 2, 9; xxii, 15.

secare, *to cut, mow*: s. pratum, see *pratum*.

sedes sancta, *the Holy See*, xvii, 127.

\*sedile = sessus (q.v.), *a plot of ground*, A. iii, 5, 6, 10, 11, 13, 14, 17.

semen, *seed*, x, 8; xiv, 2; xvii, 1; xxv, 1, 2; xxvi, 14; xxvii, 5.

sementis, *a seeding, sowing, seed-corn*, xi, 1; xv, 1; xvi, 1; xvii, 28.

seminare, *to sow*, always used here with respect to the quantities of seed that could be sown in certain measures of land, i, 1; ii, 1; iii, 1; v, 1; vi, 1; vii, 1; viii, 1; ix, 1; x, 9; xiv, 2; xv, 62; xvii, 1; xviii, 1; xix, 1; xx, 1, 15; xxi, 1; xxii, 1, 44, 47, 48; xxiii, 1; xxvi, 13, 21, 26, 27, 43; xxvii, 4; xxviii, 1, 68 (*siminare*).

seminatus, *a sowing*, xii, 1.

senior, (1) *an elder, here one of the authorities of the Abbey*, xi, 2.—At stated times of the year the majors, the priest, dean, and cellarer of certain villages, occasionally also mills, had to present to the seniores or magistri “in veneratione” certain gifts (oblaciones), xvii, 122; xviii, 20; xix, 18; xxii, 44; or show respect in some other way, xviii, 1; see also *magister*.—(2) A title applied to an archbishop, xvii, 127.

sipes, see *saepes*.

septimana, *a week*, during which some tenants had to work a certain number (here 4) of days for their lord, viii, 2; xxviii, 20. See also *ebdomada*.

sepulturae locus, *a place for burial*, xv, 61; xxii, 47.

servilis, of or belonging to a *servus, servile*. See *mansus servilis*; *opera servilis*; *opus servile*.

servitium, *a service*, which tenants were obliged to perform for their lord, at stated times, or whenever required by him or his officers: *facit omne servitium sibi injunctum*, iii, 3; xiv, 3; xv, 12, 14; xviii, 9, 10; xix, 8, 12; xx, 13, 16; xxii, 15;

*facit omne servitium sibi injunctum, si praebendam habuerit*, xi, 8. See also iii, 2; vi, 23; xvii, 127.

*servitium aquense, the service of conveying and transporting wine and other produce of the estate to Aix-la-Chapelle: facit servitium aquense, dans pro ipso aquensi bove din. i, xvii, 22; faciunt . . . propter servitium pro bove aquensi denarium i, xix, 9.* For further particulars regarding this service see *bos aquensis* under *bos*.

*servus, a servant, serf*. He is recorded as (1) *servus* merely: iii, 4; xvii, 126, 127; xix, 9; xx, 3, 13, 14, 53, 54; xxiv, 2; xxviii, 47; (2) *having to pay 12 den.*, xxviii, 54, 65; (3) *accola, servus*, xx, 37, 56; (4) *berbiarius, servus*, xvii, 117, 118, 121; (5) *faber, servus*, xvii, 116, 117; (6) *forasticus, servus* (having to pay a poll-tax of 8 den.), iii, 7, 8; (7) *forensis, servus*, ix, 15, 16; xx, 56, 66, 67; (8) *piscator, servus*, xxviii, 8; (9) *puer, servus*, xvii, 115.—(10) *son of an ancilla*, ix, 15; xv, 41; xvii, 115, 118; xx, 55; (11) *of a servus*, xvii, 114; (12) *of a berbiaria ancilla*, xvii, 117; (13) *of a colonus + ancilla*, xxviii, 2, 4; (15) *of a servus + colona*, xxviii, 8, 20, 38.—(16) *+ an ancilla*, vi, 8; viii, 2; xv, 12, 13; xx, 13, 14, 53, 54; xxii, 17, 20, 24; (17) *+ a colona*, xxviii, 20, 38; (18) *+ epistolaria*, xx, 45; (19) *+ an ingenua* (children, *servi*), vi, 16; xv, 17; xix, 9; xx, 22, 37, 52, 53; xxii, 18; (20) *+ an uxor*, xviii, 9; xxviii, 23.—(21) *he held (a) a mansus servilis*, iii, 4; vi, 9, 16, 18; viii, 2, 3; xi, 8–11; xiv, 3, 4; xv, 12–15, 17; xviii, 9; xix, 8; xx, 13, 14; xxii, 15, 17; xxviii, 20, 21, 31; ditto (with an *ingenuus*), xvii, 25; xxii, 24; ditto (with a *colonus*), xxviii, 32; ditto (with another *servus*), xvii, 25; xviii, 9; xxii, 16, 21, 23; ditto (with another *servus* and an *ingenuus*), xvii, 24, 26; xxii, 14; ditto (with another *servus* and two *ingenui*), xvii, 24; ditto (with an undefined tenant), xxii, 21; (b) *a mansus servilis dimidius* (with an *ingenuus*), xviii, 9; (c) *a mansus ingenuilis*, vi, 7, 8; ix, 3, 6; xv, 5; xvi, 3–5; xx, 3; ditto (with another *servus*), xvii, 14; xix, 3; ditto (with another *servus* and 3 *ingenui*), xvii,

- 7; (d) a *mansus ingenuilis dimidius*, xvi, 5; xxviii, 8, 38; (e) *ingenuiliter*, a *mansus dimidius*, xv, 9; (f) an *accola*, xviii, 10; xxvi, 17; (g) an *accola ingenuilis*, xxviii, 22, 23.—(22) he is mentioned among (a) the *accolae villae*, owing 12 den., xv, 32; (b) the *servi vel ancillae*, interius et exterius de villa, owing 12 den., xvii, 114-118; (c) the *forenses villae*, owing 9 days (of work) or 4 den., xv, 34, 38, 41, 53; (d) the *servi et ancillae* “interius et exterius manentes,” xv, 58; (e) “*servi et ancillae noviter repressi*,” xvii, 119-121; (f) “*servi vel ancillae intra villam*,” xviii, 18, 19; xix, 16; (g) *mancipia*, xviii, 23; (h) “*forastici*,” xix, 17; (i) the “*familia villae*, interius et exterius commanens,” xx, 22, 36; (k) “*servi et ancillae, forenses siue accolae*,” xx, 76.
- sessus*, (1) a piece of land, which varied in extent, xiv, 6 (one *mappa*); six *jornales* of arable land, and three *vineolae*, xv, 61; xxvi, 16, 18, 19, 31 (eleven *mappae*), 33.—it was held (*habet*) by an *extraneus*, xxi, 5; an *ingenuus*, xxi, 5; an *undefined tenant*, xxi, 5.—a *vasallus* had (*habet*) it de beneficio, xxvi, 16.—it was part of a *mansus*, xxvi, 18. See also xxvi, 19, 33. (2) Sometimes it resembled the *mansus*, having attached to it *aedificia* (q.v.), a *curtis*, and *scuriae*, iii, 6.
- sesterius*, ix, 11, the same as *sextarius* (q.v.).
- sextarius*, a measure, both for dry goods and liquids (Fr. *setier*), probably  $\frac{1}{8}$  part of a modius, xiii, 1, 14, 15, 18; xxv, 1, 2.
- sigalum*, rye (Fr. *seigle*), xiii, 18, 28.—*sigilum*, i, 1; ii, 1, 2, 5; iii, 1; v, 1; ix, 2, 3; x, 5, 8; xi, 1, 2; xii, 14-16; xiv, 2; xv, 1, 62; xvi, 1; xvii, 1, 28; xviii, 1; xix, 1; xxi, 1; xxii, 1, 44, 47, 48; xxiii, 1; xxv, 1, 2, 13-15, 27, 43; xxvii, 5.
- sigilum* = *sigalum* (q.v.).
- signum*, a seal, xvii, 127.—*signum de metallo*, perhaps a copper bell, xviii, 22 (see *metallum*).—*signum ferreum*, xviii, 22; xxii, 47, perhaps an iron bell.
- silva*, a wood, usually mentioned with the number of pigs that could be fattened in them, iii, 2; xii, 1; xv, 1; xx, 1, 15; xxiv, 1; xxv, 1.—*Silva bedullina*, a wood of birch-trees, see *bedullinus*.—*silva cobrina cum spinulis*, a wood of hazel-trees and shrubs, see *cobrinus* and *spinula*.—*silva communis*, a common, public wood, see *communis*.—*silva porcorum incrassationis*, a wood for the feeding of pigs, xxv, 1.—*silva minuta*, a shrubbery, copse, see *minutus*.—*silva nutrita*, a well-cultivated wood, see *nutrire*.
- silvarius*, a forester, i, 12; here this officer was also a *messarius* (q.v.).
- similiter*, in like manner, similarly, used frequently to avoid repetition, i, 3, 4-11, etc., etc.
- siminare*, for *seminare* (q.v.).
- soalis*, for *sualis*, a male pig, xx, 10; xxvi, 13; *porcus sualis*, see *porcus*; *soalae* (for *soalis*) *porcus*, see *porcus*. See also *sualis*.
- socius*, an associate, partner, xix, 2; *sotius*, xxii, 1.
- solarium*, a terrace, balcony, or perhaps a loft, garret, part of the *casa* (q.v.), which was always mentioned with the *mansus dominicatus*, viii, 1.
- solidus*, (1) a coin, a shilling, the 20th part of a *libra*, iii, 8; xix, 19; xx, 76; xxi, 7; xxii, 46; xxiv, 1; xxv, 1, 2; xxvi, 9, 15, 18, 19, 26, 31, etc.; xxviii, 67, 69.—As regards taxes paid in money (*solidi*), see: 1 sol., ix, 7, 11; xvii, 28.—2 sol., vi, 25, 26; ix, 8-10; xiii, 14; xvii, 124.—2½ sol., viii, 4.—3 sol., xiii, 7, 13.—4 sol., vi, 30; x, 5; xiii, 1.—4½ sol., vi, 28; xiii, 2.—4 sol. et 10 den., vi, 29.—5 sol., xiii, 11, 13.—5½ sol., xiii, 2, 18.—6 sol., xiii, 1, 5, 8.—6½ sol., xiii, 10.—7 sol., xiii, 1, 5.—8 sol., xiii, 1.—9 sol., xiii, 1, 12.—10 sol., xiii, 13; xv, 62; xvii, 21.—12 sol., xiii, 2, 9.—18 sol., 19 sol., xiii, 1.—20 sol., xiii, 3, 11.—22 sol., xiii, 9.—de *argento solidi*, i, 16; xvii, 21; xviii, 21; xxvi, 14; xxviii, 51, 68, 70, 73.—*argenti solidi*, xv, 58. See also *argentum*.—(2) as weight, xvii, 123.
- solvere*, to pay, a tax or rent, in money or in kind. So: *solvere de annona* (q.v.); *s. araticum* (q.v.); *s. pro capite suo*, see 1 *caput*; *s. in censum*, de *censu*, pro *omni censu*, *mediatatem censu*, see *censu*; *s. in hostelitia* (q.v.); *s. multonem* (q.v.); *s. in pastione* (q.v.); *s. perticas* (q.v.); *s. pullum* (q.v.); *s. sal* (q.v.); *s. de spelta* (q.v.). See also vi, 21, 25, 26; viii, 4; ix, 7; xv,



- 62; xvii, 124; xx, 13; xxii, 17; xxiv, 1; xxvi, 17, 24, 28; xxviii, 51, 73. The word *donare* (q.v.) is frequently used instead.
- sonus, a *difference, dispute*: sonum audierunt, xvii, 127.
- soror, a *sister*, i, 14 (bis); ii, 4; iii, 7; ix, 20; xv, 33, 35, 38; xvii, 75, 115; xx, 18; xxii, 12; xxviii, 4, 7, 8.
- sotius, for *socius* (q.v.).
- spelta, *spelt*, i, 1; v, 1; vi, 23; vii, 2, 4; x, 6; xi, 2; xii, 2, 3; xiv, 2; xv, 1, xvi, 1; xvii, 1; xviii, 1, 2, 21; xx, 1, 2, 8, 10, 76; xxii, 1, 2, 8, 26, 45; xxiii, 1; xxv, 1, 2; xxvi, 10, 11, 13, 15, 21, 26, 43; xxvii, 5; xxviii, 67.
- spina, a *thorn, shrub* used for making hedges: Donat . . . clausuram spinarum carrum i, xvii, 22.
- spinoris, for *spinosis*? xix, 1: pastura cum spinoris, see *spina, spinula*.
- spinula, a *little thorn, shrub*: silva colrina cum spinulis, i, 1.
- stabulum, a *stable*, viii, 1.
- stagneus = stanneus, made of *stannum*; see *calix, capsa, corona, lampada*.
- stagnum = stannum, an *alloy of silver and lead, or tin*; see *calix, crux, lampas*.
- sterilis, *barren, sterile*, xxvii, 6 (applied to *cattle*: Summa pecudum . . . boum 31, vaccarum 42, vitulorum 34 annicularum 4, sterilium 25, taurorum 8). Also applied to *sheep*, *ibid*.
- stola, *the stole*, vi, 17; xviii, 22; xx, 74; xxii, 47.
- stramen, *straw*, which tenants had to supply by the *carrum* (q.v.): Dabit . . . de stramine missa sancti Remigii carrum 1, xi, 2; facit . . . stramine carrum 1, xix, 13.—Sometimes the tenants had to gather the *stramen dominicum* in the manorial manse for the covering of stables: facit cooperturam de stramine dominico ad scurias, quem colligit ipse, xviii, 9. Ad scuriam operiendam, de stramine dominico colligit, xxii, 15.
- sualis, *of or belonging to a (sus or) swine*; see *porcus, soalis*.
- subscribere, to *subscribe one's name, sign*, xvii, 127.
- substratum, a *spreading or laying under, a litter*, xxi, 2, 7.
- subter, *below, underneath*, xvii, 127.
- successio, a *following after, succeeding*, xi, 2.
- summa, a *sum, sum-total*, i, 16; ii, 5; iii, 8; iv, 4; xiii, 40–42; xv, 58; xxv, 1, 2; xxvi, 9, 19; xxvii, 13.
- supplementum, a *supply*, xv, 63.
- susceptio, a *taking in hand, sustenance*; s. pauperum, x, 5.
- \*Taberna, a *booth, inn, tavern*, A. ii (p. 113).
- taurus, a *steer, bull*, xxvii, 6.
- tectum, a *roof*, vii, 2; xiii, 13.
- tegumen (= tegimen) a *covering, cover, roof of a stable*, xviii, 2.
- tempus, *time*, vi, 15; xiv, 3 (tempus vendemiae); tempus omne, v, 2.
- tenens, a *tenant*, xx, 1.
- tenere, to *hold* (as a tenant), i, 2–4, 6–9, 12; ii, 2, 3; iii, 2, etc.; vi, 5–14, 16, etc.; ix, 8–11; x, 6; xxvi, 2. See also *habere*.—tenere in beneficium, see *beneficium*.
- tenor, *tenor, sense, way*, vi, 15.
- terciolus, for *tertilius* (q.v.).
- terminus, a *term, period, season*, xiii, 1 (heading), 24.
- terra, *land*, iii, 6; x, 8; xiii, 16, 35, 37.—t. arabilis, *arable land*, ii, 1; iii, 1; iv, 1, 4; vi, 1; vii, 1; viii, 1; ix, 1, 11; xv, 61; xviii, 24; xix, 1; xx, 15; xxii, 25, 44, 47; xxiv, 1; xxvi, 21, 27–32, 34, 38; xxviii, 1, 68.
- terra altaris, xiii, 5, 9; see *altare*.
- t. dominica, *land belonging or reserved to a dominus or lord*, i, 12.
- t. dominicata, the same, xxvi, 13–15, 26; xxviii, 73.—t. forastica, *land lying outside the domain*; see *forasticus*, 1 adj.—t. forensis, the same; see *forensis*, 1.—t. propria, *one's own land*, viii, 4.
- terracious, perhaps a *tenant of land* which did not belong to a manse, xiii, 5, 9, 32 [the word appears only in ablat. plur., so that it may be a neuter substantive, and indicate, not a person, but a *tax* paid for the possession of land; see also *mapaticus, vinatius, and vinaticum*].
- tertilius, a *measure for salt*, xvi, 2; terciolus, xvi, 10.
- tertius, *the third*: ad tertium facere, to *cultivate anything for a third of the profit*, have a *third* share in anything: facit vineam dominicam ad tertium, iii, 3; xxiii, 2; facit vineam de suo dominicam ad tertium, et deducit ipsum ad monasterium, iv, 2. Habetur ibi vinea dominica, que facit ad tertium, ubi possunt



- colligi, in duas partes, de vino modii xvi, vii, 5. Facit vineam ad tertiam, ix, 10; f. v. a. t. ubi possunt colligi, in duas partes, de vino modii x, vii, 5; see also vii, 6-8: vinea ubi possunt colligi de vino, in duas partes, modii xviii, etc. Habet idem in eadem villa vineam, ubi possunt colligi vini modii xviii absque tertio (i.e. the third part deducted, which fell to the vine-dresser or the tenant), xxvi, 41.—Mansus dominicatus habet . . . farinarium dimidium ad tertium, xxviii, 68. The same condition seems to be alluded to in xxv, 1, where we have *tertius modius* and *absque tertio (modio)*.
- testificare, to bear witness, to give evidence, xvii, 127.
- testis, a witness, xvii, 125, 127; xxviii, 66.
- titulare, to call, name, xviii, 24.
- tonna, a vat, barrel, tun, butt, xii, 1.
- torcular, usually mentioned with the *aedificia* (buildings, outhouses) belonging to the *mansus dominicatus* (q.v.), therefore, perhaps, not a press but a cellar or storeroom, see *aedificium*, i, 1; ii, 1; iii, 1; iv, 1; viii, 1; ix, 1; xxvii, 1 (here two *torcularia* belong to a *mansus dominicatus*).
- tradere, to give up, hand over, xxviii, 66.—tradere se, to give one's self up, to devote one's self, vi, 15.
- transversus, in transversum, crossway, crosswise, across, xxviii, 2, 46, 49, 52, 69.
- trematicus [trimensis], of or belonging to three months: *trematica (trens-)satio*, a three-monthly sowing, usually here the time or the season when tenants had to plough a certain measure of land for their lord: arare ad trematicam sationem (here follows the measure), xxviii, 2, 48, 69.—facere ad trematicam sationem (here follows the measure), xxviii, 70, 73.—facere ad trematicam (here follows the measure), xxviii, 49.—See also *aestiva, aestivatica*, and *hibernatica satio*.
- trimus, of three years, three years old; see *multo*.
- turibulum, a vessel to burn incense in, a censer: tur. de auricalco, vi, 17; turibulum aereum, xxii, 47.
- Uncia, an ounce (of money), part of a pound, a kind of coin, between libra and denarius, xvii, 126.—an ounce (of weight): u. de vermiculo, xxii, 15, 17, 20, 24, 25, 45; xxv, 1, 2.
- uxor, a wife, vi, 5, 6, 8, 11, 16; ix, 7, 8, 17; xv, 9, 17, 46; xvii, 72, 81, 87, 88, 94; xviii, 3-6, 8, 12; xix, 4, 11; xx, 13, 14, 18, 52; xxviii, 2, 4, 8, 44.
- Vacca, a cow, xii, 1; xxvii, 6.
- vadere, to go, proceed, xxviii, 48 (*vadere* in ambasciatorum).
- \*vadium, a pledge, pawn, A. iii, 14.
- vassallus, vassalus, a man, vassal: one was called nobilis vir, vassalus episcopi, and conducted, as the bishop's "missus," a judicial enquiry, xvii, 127.—Others were holding a benefice, consisting of 3 mansi ingenuiles, xxvi, 10.—(de beneficio) l sessum, l pratum, and a silva communis, xxvi, 16.—mansum 1, xxvi, 27, 34.—vineam 1 de beneficio, xxvi, 35.—mansus ingenuilis pro beneficio, xxvi, 40.
- vasculum, a (small) beehive; see *apis*.
- vassalus, see *vassallus*.
- \*vectura, victura, a carrying, conveying, A. iii, 7, 10, 16.
- vehere, to convey, transport (especially hay, wood, manure), a work which tenants had to do for their lord: ad fenem vehendum, x, 6; *vehit* ex eo (hay) carrum 1, xiv, 3; *vehit* ex eo (wood) dimidium carrum, xv, 2; *vehit* fimum, xx, 13. See also xxii, 2, 9; xxvi 2, 4, 6, 18; xxviii, 2. See also *colligere, componere*.
- vehitura [vehere], a conveying, carrying, transporting, a work imposed on some of the tenants of the estate: facere *vehituram* in leugas (legas, i.e. leagues) xxx, vi, 2; vii, 2; ix, 2, 4, 5; xxviii, 2 (inter quattuor mansos faciunt *vehituram* 1 in leugas xxx).—This labour the tenant could buy off by paying 4 or 5 denarii.
- velamen, a cover, covering, veil: velamina altaris, see *altare*.
- vendemia, for *vindemia* (q.v.).
- venerari, to reverence, venerate, and by extension, to present offerings, xvii, 122; xviii, 1; see *magister, senior, veneratio, oblatio*.
- veneratio, respect, reverence: veneratio magistrorum, i, 15;—seniorum, xviii, 20; xix, 18; xxii, 44.
- veritas, the truth, xvii, 127.

vermiculum, a kind of stuff for colouring, of which a certain quantity had to be supplied by the tenants of the estate. Some suppose it to have been vermillion used for the transcription of MSS. But Guérard remarks that the natural vermillion did not exist in France, and the artificial vermillion could not have been made by serfs, and suggests that it may have been some colouring stuff prepared from indigenous plants: xxii, 15, 17, 20, 24, 25, 45; xxv, 1, 2.—Tenants could give 4 den. instead of the ordinary quantity of vermiculum, xxviii, 2, 69.

Veromandui, St. Quentin; Veromandensis, of or belonging to St. Quentin; see *asinus*; *via*.

verrus, plur. *verri* = *verres*, a male swine, xxvii, 6; see also *porcus*.

vervex, a sheep, vii, 4; xi, 2; xii, 1; xv, 2, 58; xvii, 2, 126; xxv, 2; xxvii, 6 (here they include the *foeta*, *agnus*, *sterilis*, and *multo*); xxviii, 2, 69, 72.—*Decima de vervecibus*, see *decima*.

vestmentum, a vestment, dress: v. sacerdotale, a sacerdotal vestment, vi, 17; xv, 59.

vestitus, furnished, equipped: mansus vestitus, see *mansus*.

via, a road: via publica, xxvi, 19.—via Veromandensis, xiii, 18. The 31½ mansi here recorded had to pay, at the feast of S. Remi, "21 solidos pro via Veromandensis," which seems to refer to the service of transport to St. Quentin, for which other tenants had to furnish asses; see under *asinus*, also *bos aquensis*, and *servitium aquense*.

vicarata, a female tenant; vicaratus, a male tenant (the origin and meaning of the word are alike unknown). The *vicarata* is recorded as wife of an *ingenuus*, xxii, 3, 26; of an *epistolarius*, xxii, 6; having children and holding a *mansus servilis*, xxii, 10.

The *vicaratus* is recorded as married to an *uxor*, xxii, 5; to an *ingenua*, xxii, 11, 28, 29; to a *cartularia*, xxii, 5; to an *ancilla* (and holding, with two *ingenuae*, a *mansus ingenuilis*), xxii, 3.—*holding (a) a mansus ingenuilis*, xxii, 28, 29; ditto (with an *ingenuus*), xxii, 3, 27; ditto (with another *vicaratus*), xxii, 5, 27;

ditto (with two other *vicarati*), xxii, 28; ditto (with two *epistolarii*), xxii, 8.—(b) a *mansus servilis*, xxii, 10; ditto (with an *ingenuus*), xxii, 11; ditto (with 2 sisters), xxii, 2.—He is also called *mulnarius* and holds (with an *ingenuus*) a *mansus servilis*, xxii, 11.

vicis, change, alternation, succession; vice sua, xix, 2.

vicissim, in turn, xvii, 21.

\*victura = *vectura* (q.v.).

vicus, a village, hamlet, vi, 1.

vidua, a widow, x, 11.

vigilia, a watching, watch, which tenants had to perform for their lord: *facere vigilias*, xiv, 3.—*vigilia sancti Remigii*, the vigil of St. Remi, xvii, 60, 126.

\*[vilicus], villicus, the overseer of a farm (villa), A. iii, 20.

villa, a village, hamlet, x, 1, 12, 13; xiii, 52; xvii, 123, 124; xviii, 22; xix, 1; xx, 2, 74; xxi, 2, 7; xxii, 47; xxvi, 14, 36, 37, 41; xxviii, 66.—villa s. Remigii, xiii, 1.—Major villae, i, 15; xviii, 20; xix, 18.—Accolae villae, xv, 27; xxii, 31.—Accolae intra villam, xx, 68.—Accolae villae, commanentes in ipsa villa, xviii, 11.—Familia intra villam, i, 13.—Familia villae, interius commanens et exterius, xx, 18.—Forenses villae, xv, 33.—Forenses de villa, xxii, 35.—Appendix ad villam, xxii, 26.—Viri ac feminae forenses de villa, xvii, 60.—Servi vel ancillae, interius et exterius de villa, xvii, 114.—Servi vel ancillae intra villam, xviii, 18; xix, 16.—summa villae, xviii, 21; xx, 76; xxii, 45. See also *familia*. villare (properly a neuter form of the adj. *villaris*, of or belonging to a villa), a small villa, or a hamlet of 10 or 12 houses, xvii, 28; xx, 15.

\*villicus, see *vilicus*.

vinatia or vinatium, a grape-skin, husk; or perhaps *vinatius*, a tenant of vineyards, xiii, 21, 26, 27.

vinaticum, a tax, imposed on wine or vineyards, or perhaps *vinaticus*, a tenant of vineyards, ix, 2, 4, 5; xiii, 19.

vindemia, a grape-gathering, vintage, x, 6; xiii, 16; xvii, 2, 22; xviii, 2; vendemia, xiv, 3.

vindemiator, a grape-gatherer, vintager, xiii, 14.

vinea, a vineyard, always mentioned together with the quantity of wine

that could be collected from them, but their size or extent is never indicated by any definite term, except once or twice (xxvi, 28), by the *mappa*, i, 1; ii, 1; iii, 1; iv, 2, 4; vi, 17; vii, 5-8; viii, 1; ix, 1, 8; x, 9; xi, 1; xii, 1; xv, 1; xvi, 1; xx, 1; xxi, 1; xxii, 47; xxiii, 1; xxvi, 14, 15, 19, 28, 33-39, 41, 43.—*vinea dominica*, a vineyard reserved to the lord of the estate, vi, 19; xv, 12, 14.

Some of these vineyards (iii, 3; iv, 2; vii, 5; xxiii, 2) were cultivated by the tenants of the estate on condition of receiving a *third* of the profits, for which see *tertius* (where other instances of such *vineae* not called *dominica* will be found) and *partes duae* (under *pars*).

*vinea dominicata*, a vineyard reserved to the domain, not let out to tenants, though their produce is recorded, iv, 1; xxvi, 20, 26.—To work, cultivate, or attend to the vineyard was called *facere vineam*, i, 9; vii, 5; xvi, 5; see further *tertius*.—Vineyards were held in *prestarium* (q.v.), in *beneficio* (q.v.).—For working the vineyards, or conveying its produce tenants had to supply: (a) *carts*: Donat . . . ad fenum vehendum quartam partem de carro; ad *vineam* similiter, x, 6; or (b) *workmen*, see *operarius*; or (c) *props, stakes, etc.*, required in a vineyard, see *materiamen*. They had to enclose them, either wholly or in part (see *claudere, mensura*).—See also *vinitor*.

*vineola* a small vineyard, vi, 30; xv, 61; xxvi, 27, 29, 30.—*v. dominicata*, of or reserved to a domain, xxvi, 32.

*vineritia* [vinum], a grape-gathering, *vintage* which tenants had to perform for their lord, or for which they had to supply carts, or to pay a certain sum of money instead.—*facere vineritiam*, v, 2 (half a cart, or to pay 6 denarios); xxi, 2 (half a cart, or 12 denarios).—Donare in

*vineritia* vi denarios, xxvi, 2. See also xxi, 7.

*vinitor*, a *vine-dresser*. Though a great number of vineyards (see *vineae*) are mentioned, the *vinitor* occurs only three times: Sunt ibi vineae xviii, quas faciunt totidem *vinitores*, xv, 1; vineae xviii, cum totidem *vinitoribus*, xix, 1; vineas vii, cum totidem *vinitoribus*, xxvii, 1. This special mention may be connected with the system of working the vineyards for *thirds* explained under *tertius* (q.v.).

*vinum, wine*, i, 2, 7, 15, 16; ii, 1, 2, 5; iii, 1, 8; iv, 4; vi, 17; ix, 1, 4, 8; xi, 2; xii, 4; xiii, 21, 35; xv, 2, 10, 58; xvii, 2, 122; xviii, 20; xix, 1, 7, 18; xx, 1; xxi, 1; xxii, 44, 47; xxiii, 1; xxv, 1, 2; xxvi, 14, 19, 20, 26, 27, 41.—*vinum conducendum*, xiii, 1, 26, 30.—*vinum ducendum*, xiii, 18.—*vinum vetus*, xiii, 11.

*vir, a man*, xx, 21; applied to tenants, xv, 18; xvi, 6; xvii, 29; xx, 76.—*vir forensis* (q.v.), xvii, 60.—*vir nobilis* (q.v.).

*viridiarium*=*viridarium* (found in the later additions, A. ii, p. 113), a plantation of trees, a pleasure-garden, iii, 1; x, 5; xi, 1; xiv, 2; xv, 1; xvii, 1; xviii, 1; xix, 1; xx, 1, 15; xxii, 1; xxvii, 1.

*viridis, green*: *cedatum* (q.v.) *viride*.

*vitreus, bright, shining*; see *gemma*.

*vitulus, a calf*, xii, 1; xxvii, 6.

*vivarium, an enclosure* in which game, fish, etc., are kept alive, xii, 1.

*vocatus*, a person so called signs a document after the major, perhaps for *advocatus* (see Du Cange), xvii, 127.

*volatile, a fowl*, xxvii, 6.

*volumen, a volume*, vi, 17; xv, 59; xvii, 123; xviii, 22.

*Wacta, wagta, a watch, guard*: *facit wactas (wagtas)*, viii, 2; xvii, 22.—*waita* (for *wacta*), xxviii, 31.



## XIV.—NOTES ON ENGLISH ETYMOLOGY.

By the Rev. Professor W. W. SKEAT.

[Read at the Anniversary Meeting of the Society on May 2, 1902.]

**Big.** The N.E.D. arranges the senses in the order "strong, rich, large, great with young, filled, loud, important, boastful." We are told that the etymology is entirely unknown; but that it is probably of Norse origin, which can hardly be doubted.

A good deal of light is thrown upon it by comparison with the prov. E. *big*, a boil, a teat, and the prov. E. *bog*, a puffy swelling, boastfulness, *boggan*, a boil, *bug*, to bend, *bug*, conceited, *bug-words*, boastful words, *buggy*, proud, and *bog*, to boast.

I believe all these forms to be connected, and to be further allied to A.S. *bog-a*, a bow to shoot with.

It is agreed that *bog-a*, a bow, is from the weaker grade *bug-* (A.S. *bog-*) of the root-verb *būg-an*, to bow, to bend; and this stem is very clearly seen in the Skt. *bhug-nas*, bent, bowed. I see no reason why the words *bug* and *bog* (above) may not be referred to the same stem; in which case the word *big*, with its various senses, is simply derived from *bygg-*, the mutated form of the stem *bug-*. The chief peculiarity is the preservation of the final *g*; but this may be explained by considering the forms as Northern, or of non-Wessex origin, which must (I suppose) be assumed in any case. We have a clear trace of a Norse *bygg-* in Icel. *bygg-ill*, a stirrup, Swed. *bygg-el*, a bowed guard for the hand, Swed. dial. *byggan-kniv*, a knife with a loop to it (Rietz). But if we take the form *bug-* as the root, and the sense 'bowed out' as primary, it is easy to arrange the meanings. First of all comes *bug*, to bend; then *bog*, a puffy swelling, and *boggan*, a swelling, boil, large pimple; with which cf. Norw. *boga*, to bend (Ross); and Icel. *bugr*, a bending. Next we have *big*, swollen or filled out, great with young, and the sb. *big*, a boil, a rounded teat. The senses large, strong, rich, easily follow; after which come the metaphorical uses, such as swollen with pride, 'swelling like



a turkey-cock,' as in *big*, boastful, loud, important; *bug*, conceited, *buggy*, proud, *bug-words*, big or boastful words, and *bog*, to boast. I refer *boast* to the same root; see **Boast**.

**Boast.** The etymology of this word seems to have been given up. But I would connect it with *big*, discussed above. If *big* can be connected with the stem *bog-*, as in A.S. *bog-a*, a bow, we can further connect it with A.S. *bog-ian*, to boast, the primary sense being to swell out like a *bog-a*, or bent bow. The A.S. *bogian* occurs in the Liber Scintillarum, sect. 46, p. 152, l. 2. And *boast* may be connected with the stem *bog-* just as *blast* is with the verb to *blow*, the *-st* being a formative suffix. And if this be so, *boast* is from a stem *bo(g)st-*, which will explain the pronunciation. Dr. Murray gives reasons why the *oa* in *boast* represents neither the A.S. *ā*, nor the A.S. *ō*, nor the A.S. *o*; but these hardly exclude the supposition that it represents an original *og*, which is pronounced like the Mod. E. *oa* in the common substantive *bow*, from A.S. *bog-a*.

**Brag.** Dr. Murray shows how much difficulty there is as to the origin of this word. The F. *braguer*, used in the same sense, will account for the late form *braggart*, which first occurs in Gascoigne, but hardly for the adj. *brag*, mettlesome, which goes back nearly to 1300. The origin of the F. *braguer* is also in doubt, as many do not accept the origin suggested by Diez, who refers it to the Icel. *braka*, to creak, to crack, on the strength of a note by Haldorsson, that *braka* also means 'insolenter se gerere.' But if our word is not French, we should expect it to be Norse, because it is extremely difficult to get a final *g* in any other way. The A.S. final *g* became *y*, and themes ending in *cg* are extremely scarce. I see no difficulty at all in supposing that both the F. *braguer* and the M.E. *braggen* are from the same source; and, practically, from the source indicated by Diez. For the Icel. *braka* becomes both *braka* and *braga* in Norwegian, and *brage* in Danish; and the senses of these words are worth marking. Thus the Norw. *braka* means both 'to crack' and 'to chatter,' according to Ross; and he assigns to *braga* the senses to flash, to gleam; and secondly, *prunke*, i.e. to make a parade or display, which is much the same thing as to brag. And further, Kalkar explains the Mid. Dan. *brage* not only by to break, or to heckle flax, but also by *tale store ord*, to speak big words, which is precisely to brag. As we know that these are genuine Norse words, allied to A.S. *brecan*, to break, and as they afford just the sense we want,

we may suspect them to be the source of two difficult words, viz. the E. *brag* and the F. *braguer*.

The chief difficulty is that the Norse *ag* usually becomes *aw* in English, as in E. *awe* from Icel. *agi*. But we may suppose that in this instance this change was prevented by the influence of the F. form *braguer*, which must (if of Norwegian origin) have been in early use; or the English may have been directly from French, to which I can see no great objection.

**Brisket.** I make a suggestion as to the origin of this word for what it is worth. Dr. Murray equates it to the O.F. *brischet*, *bruschet*, whence F. *brchet*, with the same sense as the E. word. The suffix *-et* (except in a very few cases) is a tolerably sure sign of a French origin. The form *brischet* is given in Brachet, but without authority. The authorised O.F. forms, given in Littré and in Godefroy's Supplement, are *brichet* and *bruschet*, from which a form *brischet* may be inferred; but even this is not quite what we want. The required form is \**brisquet*, which may very well be the Picard or North F. form; for G. Métivier, in his list of Guernsey words, gives *brúquet* with *qu*, in the sense of 'brisket,' and Moisy gives *briquet* (from an earlier \**brisquet*) as a Norman form. I conclude that the E. *brisket* is from a North F. form \**brisquet*, corresponding to O.F. *brischet*.

But we next require the origin of the F. word; Littré supposes it to be borrowed from English, but the borrowing is surely the other way. Others take it to be Celtic; but the Breton *bruched* is borrowed from French, and the W. *brysced* from English. I suggest that the Norman form *brisket* or *brisquet* was borrowed, with the addition of the F. suffix *-et*, from Norse, viz., from Dan. *brusk*, gristle, cartilage, Swed. *brusk* (Widegren) or *brosk* (Öman), Norw. *brjosk* (Aasen), Icel. *brjösk*. This shows at once why the O.F. word is also spelt with *u*; and the form *brusket* is actually the earliest found in English. In fact, the form *bruschet* is the correct one for Central French, and *brusquet* (*brúquet*) for the dialect of Guernsey. The sense probably had reference to the gristly breast-bone of a bird; and Cotgrave accordingly explains *brichet* as the 'breast-piece' and *bruchet* as 'the crawbone or merrythought of a bird.' Ben Jonson also, in his *Sad Shepherd*, Act i, sc. 2, refers to the cutting up of a deer in the following terms: "He that undoes him, Doth cleave the brisket-bone, upon the spoon Of which a little *gristle* grows," etc. And in the dialect of Poitou, *brchet* is only used in the sense of the breast-bone of a bird, and

not otherwise. Perhaps it is worth saying that Icel. *brjōsk* is neuter, so that it would take the suffix *-it* when definite.

The form *brisket* can be explained from M. Dan. *bryske*, variant of *bruske*, gristle (Kalkar). He also gives the adj. *bryskig*, gristly. Thus the *i* is for *y*, mutated form of *u*.

**Bugle.** A small tube-shaped glass bead. The etymology of this word is unknown, and no foreign word resembles it. But there seems to be no reason against identifying it with *bugle*, a 'horn,' which is a well-known word of French origin. *Bugle*, a buffalo, occurs in 1300; and *bugle*, short for *bugle-horn*, as early as 1340. But it also occurs in 1615, in a quotation where the only suitable sense is 'tube': "put your *bugle* into the bladder and blow it." It may therefore very easily have been used in the transferred sense of 'a tube-shaped ornament,' first used by Spenser in 1579. And this seems to me to be rendered certain by the following entry in Cockeram's Dictionary of Hard Words: "*Bugle*, a little blacke horne." Here the reference can hardly be to the easy word *bugle*, in its usual old sense; but rather, as the epithet *blacke* shows, to the bugle-shaped ornament. If this be so, Cockeram's definition should be removed from its place under *Bugle*, sb. (1), and placed under *Bugle*, sb. (3); and, at the same time, the etymology of the latter is solved.

**Campion.** As shown in the N.E.D., there is a good deal of uncertainty as to the origin of this flower-name, and especially as to the form of it. It seems to me that a simple solution is given by supposing it to be a mere variant of F. *campagne*, just as we find *champion* used as a variant of *champain*. In order to see whether this is possible, we must investigate the dates of these forms.

The E. *campion* first appears in 1576; and it is necessary for the other forms to be older than this. But *champain* is a M.E. word, and occurs as *champayn* in the allit. *Morte Arthure*, l. 1226. This became *champion* in 1523; Lord Berners speaks of "some *champion* country"; see N.E.D. As to the F. *campagne*, there would seem to be *two* such words. The F. *campagne*, borrowed from the Ital. *campagna* as early as 1535 (Hatzfeld), was a military word; but, besides this, there must have been a native North French form to correspond to the Parisian *campagne*, the history of which is not given in Littré. We know that *campagne* was in early use, because it appears as the name of a French province; and it is *this* word which we require, in the non-military



sense. The province-name is spelt *Campaine* in the A.S. Chronicle, an. 1096, so that this North F. form was in very early use. Moisy quotes the Norman *campaigne*, a plain, as occurring in 1452. Given, then, an early North F. *campagne*, and the fact that the M.E. *champain* was already altered to *champion* in 1523, there seems no reason why the form *campion* should not be formed by analogy with this in 1576, half a century later. At this rate, we may take *campion* to be adjectival, and to stand for *campion-flower*, just as *champion* was likewise used in an adjectival sense. *Campion-flower* would mean simply 'field-flower'; not a very distinctive name, but it would serve. There is an exact parallel in the use of F. *campagnol* as the name of a field-mouse; and again, in E. *vole*, which is short for *vole-mouse*, with a similar sense.

Moreover, the form *champion* may have been influenced by another *campion*, a variant of *champion*, a fighting man; in use from 1270 to 1651.

**Canard.** It is well known that *canard* is mere French; but it is worth while to discuss its etymology. It is agreed that *canard* is derived from F. *cane*, a duck, with the common suffix *-ard*. But here I part company with the French etymologists, who are disposed to derive it from the G. *kahn*, a boat. For this G. *kahn* is itself a word of unknown origin, and is to be compared with similar forms in other languages, such as Du. *kaan*, a boat. So obscure are these words, that Kluge thinks it possible that *kahn* may have been a metathesis of A.S. *naca*, a boat; and Franck compares Du. *kaan* with the A.S. *cæd*, a boat, supposed by some to occur in the name *Cæd-mon*. The net result is that we have the F. *cane*, 'a duck,' and Du. *kaan*, G. *kahn*, with the sense of 'boat'; with no obvious source. I think it has escaped notice, that the word may very well be of Latin origin. We have in English the word *cane*, which appears in O.F. as *cane* (with one *n*), though derived from L. *canna*, a cane. But if the O.F. fem. sb., when it means 'a cane,' can be derived from L. *canna*, it is obvious that the fem. sb. *cane*, a boat, can also be derived from it, if we can find a sense of *canna* to suit it. But *canna* actually occurs, with the sense of 'boat,' in such well-known authors as Juvenal and Pliny. Juvenal, Sat. v. 89, has: "Illud enim vestris datur alveolis, quod *Canna* Micipsarum prora subvexit acuta": for that is placed in your wooden dishes, which the boat of the Moors, with its sharp prow, has brought. This seems to solve the whole difficulty. The Lat. *canna*, with the sense of



boat, would have passed into O.F. in the form *cane*, with the same sense. Thence the Dutch and G. forms might easily have been borrowed, still with the same sense; whilst, in French itself, it might have acquired the secondary sense of 'duck,' as being a good swimmer. If this be right, all the forms can be accounted for; and all mystery disappears.

**Cantilever.** In the N.E.D., the chief suggestion is that it may be derived from *cant*, a corner or angle, and the word *lever* in its usual sense; but it is admitted that this does not account for the present form. The best early account is that given from Pineda's Span. Dict., where, under the word *can*, a dog, we have the addition: "in architecture, the end of timber or stone jutting out of a wall, on which in old buildings the beams used to rest, called *cantilevers*." The etymology becomes easy enough if, in place of the word *cant*, we substitute its diminutive form *cantle*, with much the same sense. A *cantilever* is simply a *cantle-lever*, or a *lever* projecting from a *cantle*, i.e. a nook or corner or slight projection on which the end of the lever rests. The N.E.D. explains *cantle* as a nook, a corner, a corner-piece, a projecting corner or angle; but, if any doubt remains, it is cleared up by observing that the Du. *kanteel* is explained by Calisch as being actually "an architectural term, meaning a battlement, embrasure, or indentation." And this helps out the sense. If we let one end of a lever into an indentation in a wall, and the other into an indentation in a horizontal beam a little higher up, a good support can be obtained; and such I take to have been, originally, the *cantilever* principle; which is, simply, the way to make a *gallows*. The Du. *kanteel* perhaps differs somewhat from the English word; but it shows how easy it is to pass from the sense of projecting battlement or projection to that of indentation. A *cantle* could mean either of these. In fact, Hexham tells us somewhat more about this Dutch word. He gives: "*de kanteelen van een muur*, the crannies in a wall, or the top or the uttermost part of a wall"; "*een kanteel*, or *kantel-hout*, a rooff-beame" (where *kanteel-hout*, lit. 'cantle-wood,' is the precise equivalent of 'cantle-lever'); and "*kanteel*, or *kanteel-steen*, the upper stones, or spire-stones." If we draw a sketch of a gallows, the slanting piece which supports the cross-bar is precisely a *cantle-lever*, i.e. a lever in a corner or a lever resting in a notch; either sense will serve.

**Chum**, a familiar companion. The etymology is unknown. There is a common notion that it is a 'corruption' of *chamber-*

*fellow*; but (as the N.E.D. says) no connexion between these words is known. I suggest that it is short for *chimney-fellow*, i.e. a fireside companion; taking *chimney* in the old sense of 'fireside.' Similar compounds are numerous; the N.E.D. gives *chimney-cavalier*, *chimney-minstrel*, *chimney-preacher*, *chimney-corner*, *chimney-tale*, *chimney-talk*. *Chimney* was constantly pronounced *chummy*, as is shown both in the N.E.D. and the E.D.D., s.v. *chummy*. Hence *chummy* was used alone in the sense of 'old or intimate companion.' The N.E.D. quotes from Gilbert's Bab Ballads: "Old *chummies* at the Charterhouse were Robinson and he." In this form the final *-y* would naturally be considered as an adjectival suffix; and then the imaginary sb. *chum* would be the inevitable result. The N.E.D. explains this *chummy* as being formed from *chum*, with the diminutival suffix *-y*; I regard it, on the contrary, as being a survival of the original form. There is no particular reason for adding *-y*; but there is a manifest reason (already given) for dropping it. It is remarkable in how many senses *chummy* was used, which shows how familiar a word it was. Thus (see E.D.D.) it meant (1) a chimney-sweep, who sometimes assembled for an entertainment at the Chimney-sweepers Guild; (2) a chimney-pot hat, and hence any kind of hat, even a soft felt one; (3) a chimney-sparrow, or a sparrow in general; and (4) an old companion (as above). And note further, how great is the probability that the *ch* arose, in the first instance, before a palatal vowel, such as *i* or *e*.

A most convincing example is in Dickens, Sketches by Boz, ch. xx, where the master chimney-sweeper, in the course of his speech at the dinner at White Conduit House, is made to say—"he 'ad been a *chummy*—he begged the cheerman's parding for usin' such a vulgar hexpression—more nor thirty year—he might say he'd been born in a *chimbley*."

**Clog.** The earliest sense is 'a thick piece of wood, a block, a clump,' and it first appears in 1325. This date, together with the final hard *g*, makes a Scand. origin probable. As a fact, the word is Norwegian. The only notice of it seems to be in Ross's Norw. Dict. He gives: "*klugu*, a knotty tree-log, hard to split." Also *klogo*, with the former *o* long. He suggests comparison with E. *clog*, which is plainly right.

**Cocker**, to pamper. The New E. Dict. suggests a derivation from *cock*, the bird, with the notion of to make a nestle-cock or darling of. This I take to be practically not far out; but the

word seems to be Scandinavian rather than E., and the sense-development to have been slightly different. I take *cocker* to be the frequentative of a verb *cock*, i.e. to chuckle like a cock or hen, when calling chickens. Thus to *cocker* was to call chickens repeatedly for food, and so to feed them continually, to pamper or pet them. This train of ideas is suggested by the name of *cock*, the bird that, as Chaucer says, cries *cock! cock!* Hence *cocker*, to keep on crying *cock!* In accordance with this, we have, in Kalkar, the Mid. Dan. *kokre*, to call as a cock or hen does; Norw. *kokla*, (1) to cackle or chuckle, (2) to cocker, to pet; Norw. *kokra*, to utter monotonous cries, also to cocker or to pet a child; Norw. *kokrebarn*, a pet child; see Ross. The ultimate result is much the same.

**Comely.** The account in the N.E.D. derives it from A.S. *cymlic*. It is then assumed that the earlier form of *cymlic* was *cȳmlic*, with long *ȳ*; in order to connect it with A.S. *cȳme* (said to have long *ȳ* also), which is further connected with O.H.G. *kūmig*, weak, tender. Then we have to suppose, further, that the A.S. *cȳmlic* had its *y* shortened; and that it thus became associated with the common verb *cuman*, to come. In order to sustain the argument, meanings are assigned to A.S. *cȳmlic* and A.S. *cȳme* which are by no means suitable. Thus A.S. *cȳmlic* is said to mean 'nice' or 'exquisite,' in order to bring it near the sense of O.H.G. *kūmig*. The whole is utterly unnecessary and far-fetched; indeed, Dr. Murray is careful to remark, at the end, that *comely* may very well be cognate with M. Du. *komelick*, 'apt, fit, or convenient,' which is clearly allied to *komen*, to come, from the notion of a thing happening at a fitting time. Besides, the E. *becoming* is obviously a derivative of *come*; and *comely* may well be the same. When it is said that *cȳmlic* became *cymlic*, and was associated with *cuman*, we may well enquire as to the date when this happened. For already in *Bēowulf*, l. 38, the word *cymlicor* occurs with the sense of more comely or more fitting, the *y* being marked short by Grein. "Ne hȳrde ic *cymlicor* cēol gegyrwan," I never heard that a more comely or suitable ship was made. The sense of *cymlic* is here, practically, not 'weak' nor 'tender' nor 'exquisite' nor 'fine,' but rather 'strong' or 'firm' or 'serviceable.' As to *cyme* or *cȳme*, if it is desired to make the *y* long, for metrical reasons, all we need to do is to dissociate *cymlic* from it. This is just as easy as to associate *cymlic* with *cuman*; which, it is admitted, has to be done at some date or other. *Cymlic* occurs in poetry



only twice, Psalm cxxi. 3, Riddles, xxxiv. 2; *cymlice*, adv., twice, Ps. xcvi. 7, civ. 1; and *cymlicor* once, as above. In every instance the sense of 'strong' suits the context better than the sense of 'weak.'

**Contango**, the percentage which a buyer of stock pays to the seller in order to postpone transfer. Said to be an arbitrary or fortuitous formation from the verb *to continue* (N.E.D.). But surely we ought to find something nearer; something to account for the curious suffix *-ango*. I find the whole word accounted for by the Spanish word *contengo*, 1 p. s. pr. of *contener*, "to refrain, curb, restrain, repress, check the motion of anything"; Neuman. From L. *continēre*. Thus *contengo* means precisely what it ought to mean, viz., I check progress, I put it off, I postpone settlement. The resemblance to *continue* is accidental.

**Cosy, Cozy**, comfortable. I formerly suggested a Gaelic origin for this word, which is particularly common in Lowland Scotch. The New Eng. Dict. rejects it, but proposes no other.

I now think it is certainly Scandinavian. Aasen's Norw. Dict. gives *kosa* (*o = oo*), to refresh, whence *kosa seg*, to enjoy oneself. Also the adj. *koseleg*, which Aasen explains by Dan. *hyggelig*; and this Dan. word is explained by Ferrall to mean 'comfortable, snug, cozy.' The sense is so exact that we can hardly be wrong. Cf. also *kosing*, refreshment, recreation. The long *o* (also appearing as *aa*) is, I suppose, the long vowel corresponding to the A.S. *ō*; and may therefore be connected by gradation with short *a*. Cf. Swed. dial. *kasa*, to warm, and *kasug*, warm (Rietz). If we could find further examples of cognate words, there would probably be little doubt as to the correctness of this result. I may add that Larsen's Dan. Dict. gives *koselig* and *kose sig* as Norw. words, and explains them respectively by 'snug, cosy,' and 'to make oneself comfortable, to enjoy one's ease.'

**Craven**. Mr. Nicol proposed to derive this word from the O.F. *cravanter*, to break, to oppress, and to regard it as a clipped form of *cravanté*, i.e. 'oppressed, foiled,' as it is explained by Cotgrave. Dr. Murray points out that the final *-é* could not have been thus dropped as early as 1225. Dr. Murray also quotes my suggestion, to regard it as a form of *creaunt*, used in the sense of 'recreant' in several passages. But this does not account for the *v*, unless we suppose *creaunt* to have been affected by the verb *to crave*, or its Northern pres. part. *cravand*. This is, I think, open to the objection that to *crave*, in early



examples, means to demand, to ask for as a right; though in Havelok we have “he *cræuede* bred,” he asked for bread as a favour. I think it quite certain that the word is hitherto unsolved.

If we look at the earliest example, in St. Marharete, p. 11, viz., “Ich am kempe, ant he is *cravant* þet me wende to ouercumen,” we see the sense to be: “I am a warrior, and he that expected to overcome me is *cravant*.” Surely we have here a French pres. participle from a verb *craver*; and this, and no other, affords the right solution. All that we have to do is to find and explain an O.F. *craver*.

The solution occurs in Godefroy. *Craver* is a less usual spelling of O.F. *crever*, Lat. *crepāre*. As to form, observe the O.F. *cravanter*, already cited, which is a derivative of it, and represents the Late L. *crepantāre*. Again, we find *cravace* as another spelling of *crevace*; and this is in a Norman text; see the Oxford French Psalter, Psalm xli. 9, in Toynbee's Specimens of Old French, p. 49. Again, we find in Godefroy the spelling *craveure* for *creveure*, with much the same sense as *crevace*; cf. English *crevice*. Like *cravanter*, the words *cravace* and *craveure* are derived from *craver*, just as *crevanter*, *crevace*, and *creveure* are derived from *crever*. This makes it quite certain that *craver* and *crever* are mere variants; and that both equally represent the L. *crepāre*; so that *cravant*, the old spelling of *craven*, is most certainly a derivative of the Lat. pres. part. acc. *crepantem*.

We have now to consider the sense. Cotgrave explains *crever* by “to burst or break asunder, to chink, rive, cleave, or chawn”; and the Latin *crepāre* meant to crack, to rattle, to burst, to break with a crash, and even to break wind. Both the French and Latin verbs can be taken as transitive or intransitive; but in the pres. part. *cravant* we have no choice, as only the intransitive senses are admissible. Florio explains the Ital. *crepare* by “to burst, to cracke, or rive asunder, to chap.” The modern Span. *quebrar* means, transitively, ‘to break, to burst, to overcome’; but intransitively, ‘to fail, to be insolvent, to become a bankrupt, to be ruptured’; which throws some light on the E. use. So also Port. *quebrar*, ‘to become bankrupt, to be stigmatised with bastardy’; so that it was, as might be expected, a word of infamy. The examples in Godefroy afford little help; the best are in his Supplement, which show that *le cœur me creve* was a proverbial phrase for “my heart is breaking”; and that the pp. *crevé* was

used in the sense of 'dead': "*crevet estoient li destrier,*" the war-horses were dead; and again, "on la tient morte et crevee de despit," they consider that she died and was heart-broken with vexation. So in Toynbee's Specimens, at p. 67, *le cuer ai creve*, I have my heart broken, i.e. I am heart-broken. I think it clear that the O.F. *cravant* was used nearly as the pp. *crevé*, and meant 'bursting, failing, dying, having a broken heart,' and expressed nearly all that is expressed by the modern phrase 'dead beat.' I should therefore propose to render the phrase in St. Marharete, already quoted, as meaning: "I am a warrior, and he that expected to overcome me is dead-beat," or perhaps "dying"; for *crever* means simply "to die" in some French dialects. Cf. "*Créver, mourir*" (Decorde, Dict. du Patois du pays de Bray); "*Crevaision, la mort; faire sa crevaision, mourir*" (Vocab. du Berry; also in Moisy, Dict. de Patois Normand).

I will only add that it is not at all improbable that the original sense was 'bursting with effort'; and that perhaps one reason why the word *cravant* was hardly used in O. French, or in Anglo-Norman romances, is that it had somewhat of the coarse sense which we find in the original Latin *crepāre*. For Remacle, in his Walloon Dictionary, has an article on the Walloon form *krever* which is worth looking at. He gives as common phrases *se krever de travail*, to burst with toil, to be overcome with toil; *se krever de fatigue*, to be overcome with, or burst with, fatigue; *krever de rire*, to burst with laughing. And he says, of the last phrase, if you are not talking to a stone-cutter or a nightman, it is preferable to say *pouffer de rire*. And of *crever de rage*, i.e. to burst with rage, he says that if people really *did* burst with rage, and so die, the world would soon come to an end. I conclude that *craven* meant bursting, breaking, breaking down, or dying with exhaustion; and probably had also the sense of the L. *crepans*.

**Cuttle-fish.** The A.S. for 'cuttle' is *cuddele*, the original sense being unknown. It occurred to me that it might mean 'little bag'; and so be connected with A.S. *codd*, a bag. On asking Professor Napier if he thought this phonetically possible, he gave it as his opinion that it might be so. "Starting (he says) from a Germanic stem *\*kuðan-*, we shall get (with *u* to *o* before *a*) *\*koðan-*; and then, with West Germ. doubling before *n*, *\*koððan-*, *\*koddan-*, O.E. *codd(a)*; the O.E. word going over from the weak to the strong declension, as suggested by O. Norse *koddi*, which is presumably a loan-word from O.E. (cf. Beitrage, xii, 520). The

dimin. form in *-ulan* (cf. Gothic *magula*, beside *magus*) would be *\*kužulan-*; and before the following *u* the former *u* remains and does not become *o*. Then *ž* yields *d*, whence O.E. *culula*, in which the second (unaccented) *u* might be weakened to *e*. So I think it is phonetically possible." After receiving this, I found that the word for which I was looking actually occurs in Low German; for Lübben's Dict. gives Low G. *kudel*, "Behälter, Tasche für Geld, Speise, etc."; i.e. it just means 'bag.' Hence it seems almost certain that the original sense of A.S. *cudele* was also 'bag.' With reference to the shape of the cuttle-fish and its notorious ink-bag, see **Ink-bag** in N.E.D.; and cf. Swed. dial. *kudde*, a husk, a pea-shell.

**Diddle.** It is noticed both in the N.E.D. and E.D.D. that the verb to *diddle* has two leading senses, viz., (1) to waste time by dawdling, and (2) to overreach. The first of these suggests a connexion with *dawdle*, and the second with *doodle*, which also means to overreach. Dr. Murray also repeats my suggestion that there may possibly be a connexion with A.S. *dydrian*, to deceive, or overreach.

All these seem to be quite right. The A.S. *dydrian* is regularly derived from the base *dud-*, amply vouched for by E. Friesic *dudjen*, *bedudjen*, to overreach; and this is allied to *dudden*, to doze, to dream, to be stupid; from which we pass to E. Fries. *dudde-kop*, a stupid man. With a lengthening of *u* we have the Low G. *duden-kop*, a drowsy fellow, whence the G. *dude* (in Grimm) and E. *dude*; and we probably imported the verb to *doodle*, i.e. to overreach, from Low G., as an A.S. long *ū* would have given *dowdle*. The stem *dud-* is merely the weak grade of the base *\*deuth*, *\*dauth*, which appears in A.S. *dēaþ*, death, Icel. *dauþr*, Dan. and Swed. *död*, death; and further in the Norw. *daudall* in the sense of lazy, sluggish (lit. death-like), whence our E. *dawdle*. So, too, Low G. *dödeln*, to dawdle, in Berghaus; *dödolger*, a dawdler, in Swed. dialects (Rietz). Cf. also Norw. *dudda*, to hush to sleep (Ross); *dude*, darnel, from its stupefying effects (Larsen). Much more might be added.

**Drake.** The name of the male of the duck has never been quite clearly made out. There are various difficulties connected with it; but I wish to point out that every difficulty (including the explanation of the G. form *enterich*) can be solved by the simple supposition that it is absolutely identical with the old word *drake* in the sense of 'dragon,' which is nothing but the A.S. *draca*,



a mere borrowing from the Latin *draco*. Kluge gives the A.S. form of *drake* as \**draca*, but omits to declare its identity with the word for 'dragon.' The meanings of *drake* are, in fact, numerous, though several of them are obsolete. The N.E.D. gives (1) a dragon; (2) a serpent; (3) a monster of the waters; (4) a fiery meteor; (5) a sort of cannon; (6) a kind of a fly, the green drake; (7) a beaked galley or warship (Icel. *dreki*). And it also gives *drake*, male of the duck, as a separate word. The sense 'water-monster' is in the Psalms; the A.S. version has *dracan* where the A.V. has "thou brakest the heads of the *dragons* in the waters," Ps. lxxiv. 13. But besides all these senses there is certainly another in Dutch, German, and Danish, wherein the word that means 'dragon' also means 'a boy's kite.' When we thus notice that the word *dragon* could be used of a water-dragon, of a dragon-fly, of a fiery meteor, and of a boy's kite, and is a most familiar word in all the Teutonic languages (in spite of its foreign origin), there seems to be no reason why a drake might not have been a dragon also. The wild drake surely makes as good a one as a dragon-fly does, or a warship, or a kite. Indeed, it is quite conceivable that the sense arose from the drake's swimming powers, and was suggested by the warship; for we know that the ocean was called the 'swan-road' (A.S. *swan-rād*), and it might equally well be called a dragon-road or a drake-road.

The cognate languages bear out this identity fully. Thus the Brem. Wört. gives Low G. *drake*, (1) a kite; (2) a drake. But a kite is certainly a dragon. Berghaus gives Low G. *draak*, *drake*, (1) a kite; (2) a drake; (3) a meteor; where both kite and meteor are certainly dragons. So also Kalkar gives only one form, *drage*, for the M. Dan. forms of 'dragon' and 'drake'; whilst the mod. Dan. *drage* means both a dragon and a kite. Aasen gives Norw. *drake* as a dragon, a kite, or a meteor. Further, Kalkar gives also the Mid. Dan. *anddrage*, a drake, with *dd*; which means, lit. 'a duck-dragon.'

We can now explain Swed. *anddrake*, a drake, at once. The double *d* is quite right; *and* means 'duck,' and *and-drake* means 'duck-dragon,' and therefore a mallard; just like M. Dan. *anddrage* (above). And lastly, Kluge traces the G. *enterich*, a drake, back to an O.H.G. type \**anut-trahho*, where *anut* means 'duck,' and *trahho* is a word which he does not trace further. But the riddle is not difficult; for this O.H.G. \**trahho* is merely O.H.G. *tracho*, or *traccho*, a dragon, which is cognate with A.S. *draca* in



the sense of 'dragon,' as Kluge notes when discussing that word. Thus the G. *enterich*, like the Swed. *anddrake*, is nothing but a 'duck-dragon.'

The E. *drake*, in the old sense of 'dragon,' occurs later than might be supposed. Thus Levins, in 1570, has two entries, in col. 12, to this effect: "A drake, birde, *anas*"; and "A drake, dragon, *draco*." Perhaps the most curious piece of evidence lies in the fact that the sheldrake or *sheld-drake*, which is certainly a kind of drake, being also named a *bar-drake*, is called in prov. E. a 'St. George's duck'; for surely the only creature that we can familiarly associate with St. George is his friend the dragon.

**Drudge, Drug.** The N.E.D. suggests what is evidently the right origin of *drudge*, viz. an A.S. \**drycgean*, a secondary formation from *drēogan*, to work, practise, be employed in, endure. It also gives a Scottish form *drug*, to pull forcibly; which, it is remarked, seems to be an older word than *drag*, and may belong to *drudge*. I think there can be no doubt that it is simply the Northern form of *drudge*. It is given in the new Norwegian glossary of Ross; he has: "*drugga*, to walk laboriously, like one bent under a heavy burden." This not only explains the form to *drug*, but throws light upon *drudge* also. For there can be no doubt that *drugga* is allied to Norw. *drjug*, Icel. *drjúgr*, substantial, lasting, and to A.S. *drēogan*, to endure, the Scottish *dree*. *Drudgery* and *dree work* are the same thing. A tough job is called in Swedish *ett dryg-t arbete*, lit. 'a *dree* work.'

**Drumble.** The N.E.D. gives the sb. *drumble*, a sluggish person; and the verb *drumble*, to be sluggish, which occurs in Shak. Merry Wives, iii. 3. 156. It is suggested that the verb is from the sb., and that the sb. is a variant of *dummel*, stupid, slow; influenced, perhaps, by *drone*. But Ross, in his Norwegian Dict., gives *drumla*, to be half asleep, and connects it with *drumba*, *drumma*, to straggle, to lag behind (used of cattle); and he cites E. *drumble* by way of illustration. It would thus seem clear that *drumble* is a real word, of Scand. origin; and it is far too widely spread amongst our dialects to be a make-up word. See the E.D.D. The word occurs also in Swedish. Thus Öman's Swed. Dict. has *drumla*, to behave clumsily and awkwardly, *drumlíg*, awkward, clumsy, and *drummel*, a blockhead. See further in Rietz, s.v. *drommel*, p. 99.

**Earnest**, a pledge. The etymology is correctly given in the N.E.D. The most important point is to give an authority for O.F. *erres*, a pledge, which I fail to find in Godefroy. The best

example is that in Littré, from the Roman de la Rose, ed. Méon, l. 3418: "Si a *erres* du remenant." It is remarkable that the E. version correctly has: "And *ernest* of the remenaunt"; l. 3680.

**Fadge.** We have several words of this form, of which I propose to consider three. These are (1) a bundle, esp. of sticks; (2) a short, thickset person; and (3) a verb, meaning to fit, suit, be adapted to. See N.E.D. and E.D.D. *Fadge*, a bundle of sticks, answers to Norw. *faggje*, a bundle, variant of *fagg*, a bundle; both forms are given by Ross. Its F. diminutive was *fagot*, whence also E. *faggot* (see below). *Fadge*, a short, thickset person, is merely the same word in a metaphorical sense; since Ross notes that the Norw. *faggje* has a like metaphorical use, and means 'a short thick, heavy, clumsy, and insignificant person.' Compare the double sense of *faggot* (below). The verb is a little more difficult, but I take it to be allied to the Norw. *fag-a*, which has the right sense, viz., to suit, to accommodate oneself to. It seems also to be related to Norw. *fagga*, to cobble up, to wrap up together (Ross); all from the common Teut. root *fag-*, to fit, join, fasten, allied to Gk.  $\pi\acute{\eta}\gamma\upsilon\upsilon\mu\iota$ .

**Faggot.** It is agreed that the E. *faggot* is borrowed from F. *fagot*, which Cotgrave explains as 'a faggot, a bundle of sticks.' But the origin of the F. word is unknown. Diez refers it to the Lat. *fax*, a torch; which is not satisfactory as regards either form or sense. Körting supposes it to be from L. *fāgus*, a beech-tree, in which case the F. *fagot* must have been borrowed from Ital. *fagotto*; because, otherwise, the *g* would have disappeared. This latter is the solution which I have, provisionally, adopted; but it can hardly be right, owing to the early appearance of the word in English; for it occurs in the Cursor Mundi, l. 3164, with the spelling *fagett*, in which the *g* was pronounced hard even before *e*, since another text has *fagot*. It is unlikely that French borrowed a word of this kind from Italian before so early a date. It is much more likely to have been adopted from Norse, as the Normans were, after all, of Norse descent. Aasen gives no such word, but Ross's excellent supplement has the Norwegian form *fagg*, meaning (1) a bundle; and (2) a small, stout, clumsy, and insignificant person. It is remarkable that English has preserved both these senses; the E.D.D. gives *faggot* as meaning, (1) a bundle of sticks or a bundle of straw; and (2) a term of contempt applied to children and women, a worthless person. As the Norw. final *gg* is hard, we have only to add the F. dimin. *-et* or *-ot*, in order

to obtain *fag-et* (as in the *Cursor Mundi*) or *fagot*, as in *Cotgrave*. I submit, then, that the E. *faggot* is of F. origin, and that the F. word is of Norwegian origin. This clears away all the phonetic difficulties, whilst at the same time it accounts for the senses. We may further fairly suppose, with *Diez*, that the Span. *fagote* and the Ital. *fagotto* were, like the E. word, borrowed from French. And I think we may very well further connect the Norw. *fagg*, a bundle, with the verb *fagga*, to cobble up or to wrap up, and *fag-a*, to fit, suit; from the Teutonic root *fag-* which appears in the Goth. *fagrs* and E. *fair*, and is allied to G. *fügen* and the Gk.  $\pi\acute{\eta}\rho\nu\nu\mu$ . And see **Fadge**.

**Fidget.** The etymology of this word has not been clearly made out. It is difficult not to connect it with the remarkable prov. E. *fike*, to fidget, to move restlessly; to which it exactly answers in sense; and it is obvious that *fike* is from the Norw. *fika*, explained by *Ross* to mean 'to make quick small movements backwards and forwards,' which likewise gives the precise sense. Again, *fidget*, as a sb., is merely the dimin. of prov. E. *fidge*, a twitch, a restless movement; and this is a verbal sb. from prov. E. *fidge*, to fidget, which also appears in the varying forms *fitch* and *fig*. There still remains the difficulty of connecting the forms *fike* and *fitch* (from a base *fik-*) with the forms *fig* and *fidge* (from a base *fig-*). But the solution is not difficult. The word is of Scandinavian origin, and Danish has a habit of turning final *k* into *g*, as in *bog*, a book; so that we might expect to find a Dan. *fig-* corresponding to a Norw. *fik-*. And this is precisely what we do find. For *Ross* expressly notes that Norw. *fika* also appears as *figa*, with the senses to fidget, to wag the tail, to bustle about.

*Kalkar* gives M. Dan. *fige*, to desire, strive, hasten, hurry; and *Molbech* gives Dan. dial. *fige*, to hasten, strive, hurry after, and connects it with Icel. *fikjaz*. *Vigfusson* only gives *fika* in the sense to climb nimbly, as a spider, that is (in a very literal sense) to 'hurry up'; but he also has (with long *ī*) the words *fikjask*, to desire eagerly, *fikjum*, eagerly, and *fikinn*, greedy, eager. The last has the form of an old pp.; so that there evidently was a Scand. root *fik*, *fik*, probably signifying to desire or seek after; cf. A.S. *fācian*, to aspire to, to try to get (*Sweet*). Surely we may derive *fidge* and *fike* from the Scand. *figa* and *fika*. I further find a cognate word in Low G.; for *Martin*, in his *Alsatian glossary* (1899), gives Alsace *ficken*, to rub, to itch; also, to fidget about, as young children do.



**Flaunt.** Marked in the N.E.D. as "of unknown origin." My suggestion was, that it is of Scand. origin; and I compared it with the Swed. dial. *flanka*, to be unsteady, waver, hang and wave about, also to ramble; and Swed. dial. *flankt*, flutteringly. Mr. Bradley thinks that "the late appearance of the word in English makes it doubtful whether any connexion exists." I wish to note, first of all, that this raises no objection. My late experience, in helping to trace some of our dialectal words, has borne in upon me two results which will, I think, have to be admitted. The former is, that the number of words of Scand. origin in English is immensely greater than has ever been imagined; and the second is, that these dialectal words are preserved locally with great fidelity; and may at any moment, even in the present century, emerge so as to receive general recognition. These two principles seem to me to be of great importance; and they will, I believe, very greatly assist us. The verb *to flaunt* is an instance. It was unknown in literature till Drant, in 1566, had "in suites of silkes *to flaunt*"; and soon after Turberville, in 1567, spoke of 'a *flanting* hood'; and nine years afterwards Gascoigne, in his Steel Glas, had 'whose fethers *flaunt*,' and the expressive coined phrase 'with fethers *flaunt-a-flaunt*.' But our dialects know the word and use it in a wider sense; the E.D.D. gives us *to flant* or *to flaunt*, to gad about, to strut about, esp. if gaily dressed; a flighty capricious woman is *flanty* or *flaunty*; and the frequentative *flaunter* is to waver. And a closer examination of the word proves its Scand. origin most fully. The new Norw. glossary by Ross has the very verb we want, viz. *flanta*, to gad about; and the Jutland glossary by Kok has the adj. *flanted* (as if from the same verb) in the sense of flighty. The example which he gives is *en flanted Tøs*, a gad-about or flaunting hussy. Further, Ross says that *flanta* is an extension of *flana*, to climb, to rove about, to gad about; whence *flana*, sb. f., a gad-about female, and *flanen*, adj., obtrusive or forward, said of children. Further, Rietz gives Swed. dial. *flana*, to be unsteady, Dan. dial. *flane*, to go unsteadily like a cart with a defective wheel; and *flana* has the second sense of to be boisterously hilarious; cf. Icel. *flana*, to rush about heedlessly. Further, he has *flana*, a flighty female; and the derivative *flanka*, to hang and wave about, to ramble; a verb formed similarly to Norw. *flanta*. He also has the adv. *flankt*, flutteringly, already mentioned. Larsen has the Dan. *flane*, to flirt, and *flane*, a flirt,



a coquette. I see no reason for further search. But I should like to add that, though not recorded, *flaunt* must have been in early use, since it exhibits the characteristic A.F. *aun* for *an*, a sign of Norman influence.

**Flounder**, to sprawl or struggle through mire. This word is explained as being of obscure etymology. But I think it is certainly of Scand. origin. The Norw. glossary by Ross has it exactly, in the form *flundra*, to make a strong clumsy sprawl, to tumble. In the same way, *flounce* is surely Scand. also; the N.E.D. says that it agrees with Norw. *flunsa*, to hurry, work briskly, Swed. *flunsa*, to fall with a splash; but as the Scand. words are not known earlier than the eighteenth century, and the E. word not till the sixteenth century, historical connection cannot be proved. This remark seems to me not conclusive; for if we examine the Scand. words, we can hardly doubt their genuineness and antiquity. The Norw. *flunsa*, to work briskly, and *flundra*, to flounder about, by no means stand alone. There are also the more primitive forms seen in Norw. *fluma*, to struggle with the legs; *fluna*, to struggle with the arms, to tumble about in violent play; *flunsa*, to tumble about, with several other related words. Our dialects have preserved a considerable number of words, both of Scandinavian and even sometimes of Norman origin, which only came into literary use centuries after the time of borrowing, or else have never come into literary use at all. And surely this is exactly what might have been expected. A very good example occurs in the case of *faggot* (above). I see no reason to doubt that *fagg*, a bundle, is a genuine Norwegian word, even if it was never recorded till 1895. We must be content, in these cases, with reasonable presumptions.

**Flue**. The N.E.D. says it is of unknown origin; but under *Fluff* the suggestion is made that an O.E. \**fluh* or \**flug*, if it existed, would account for both words; to which may be added that, in that case, the obvious derivation of such a substantive would be the Teut. \**flug-*, weak grade of \**fleugan-*, to fly.

I think there need be no doubt about accepting the result. The N.E.D. quotes the Low G. *flog*, *flug*, flue; but besides this we have E. Fries. *flüg*, *flog*, flue; and the loss of the final *g* is well exemplified by Norw. *flu*, flue (Ross), and by the Dan. *flue*, a fly, as compared with Norw. *fluga*, a fly.

We may illustrate the double form (*flue*, *fluff*) by means of the A.S. *thurh*, later form *thruh*, which the Norman pronounced either

as E. *through* or as prov. E. *thruf*, according as he ignored the guttural or substituted an *f* for it.

**Fog.** I must refer to the N.E.D. for the history of *fog*, a thick vapour; it is there shown to be probable that it was evolved from a much earlier use of *fog*, in the sense of 'rank grass.' But this interesting word is given as being of unknown origin. The E.D.D. gives *fog* as meaning "the long grass left standing in the fields during winter; coarse, rank grass." I think there can be no doubt as to its origin being Scandinavian; viz., from Norw. *fogg*. This word is not given by Aasen, but it occurs in Ross's Supplement. He explains *fogg* as meaning "long-stalked, weak, scattered grass in a moist hollow." This is precisely what we want, and we need hardly seek further. Still, it is worth while to notice that the E.D.D. further gives *foggy-grass* as 'a kind of soft hay.' So also Ross gives the adj. *foggen* or *foggje Höy* as meaning 'hay mixed with fog.' Again, the E.D.D. gives *foggy* in the sense of 'fat or corpulent'; and this may be compared with Norw. *fogg*, a thick and stiff figure. The observation that *fog* properly grows in a moist hollow helps to explain how the word acquired its present usual sense.

**Fribble.** The verb *to fribble* first appears about 1627. It is explained as being of onomatopœic origin; perhaps influenced by *frivol*, which occurs in the sense of 'a trifle' as early as 1450. I do not think it is necessary to take this view; the word is found in Flemish with a sense which seems sufficiently near. De Bo gives the West Flem. *fribbelen* or *wribbelen*, to rub between the thumb and finger, as when one rolls a piece of thread between them. *Eene vloot dood wribbelen* is "to rub a flea between the thumb and fingers till he is dead." *Hij wribbelde zijn kaartje tusschen zijne vingers*, he twiddled his card between his fingers. It is also used of rubbing anything beneath the foot. It is a frequentative verb, from the strong verb *wrijven*, which is also Dutch, and means to rub, apply friction, polish furniture, also to pound or grind. Thus the original sense was to rub often, or to wear away by rubbing, or to fumble; and perhaps the knowledge of this sense helps to explain the word. It easily passes into the sense of to twiddle with the fingers, to use a trifling action, to trifle aimlessly, and the like. Thus the E. Dial. Dict. has *fribble*, to fuss, to idle: "he *fribbles* his time away," i.e. rubs it away; "he goes *fribbling* about," i.e. he trifles aimlessly. In Ayrshire, a minister was wont "to dress and *fribble* his wig," i.e. to rub it

down or fumble with it. Butler speaks of cheats "that with the stars do *fribble*," i.e. seem to play with them, deal with them fussily, fumble with them. Richardson has: "he *fribbled* with his waistcoat-buttons," i.e. kept twiddling them between his fingers. To *fribble away* money is to wear it away by repeated handling, a little at a time, to fumble it away, and so on. The most difficult point is to connect it with the ideas of faltering or stammering in speech, and of tottering in walking, which appear to be the earliest uses; but the quotations help us by the context. The first is—"They speak but what they list of it, and fribble out the rest," i.e. they fumble it out. "If the actor can fribble through," i.e. rub through it. "The poor creature fribbles in his gate," i.e. gait; he walks in a fumbling or shuffling manner. I believe this etymology to be correct; though we certainly seem to have twisted the sense to a slight degree. Perhaps, as suggested, the influence of *frivol* and *frivolous* may have had some effect. *Frivolous* occurs as early as 1549. The Du. *wrijven* is the G. *reiben*.

*Frill*, an ornamental edging, one edge of which is gathered up. The origin is left undecided in the N.E.D. It is shown to be unconnected with *furl*, and a French origin is tentatively suggested. But I think it quite certain that the word is Teutonic. The earliest quotation for the sb. is 1591, and for the verb 1574; so that they were introduced about the same time, in the reign of Elizabeth. Most likely, they came from Flemish, whence also we received such words as *cambric* and *dornick*. For it is plainly connected, as suggested in the E.D.D., with the Flemish word *frulle*. De Bo, in his West-Flemish Dict., gives: "*frul* or *frulle*, a wrinkled plait, wrinkled fold in a small shred or band." And he gives as examples: "a woman's cap with *frullen* that hang down over the neck"; "*frullen* round the bottom of a dress"; "sleeves with *frullen*"; etc. So that the equivalence of our *frill* with the W. Flem. *frulle* is exact, as far as regards the sense. The word is very difficult to trace further, as it does not seem to appear in Low G., or Dutch, or Danish, or Norwegian. But Rietz gives the Swed. dial. *fråll*, *fröll*, a wrinkled or curled strip, like the band on a woman's cap; whence the adj. *fryllig*, wrinkled, with the same sense as *kryllig*, i.e. curly. This not only establishes the word as being Germanic, but gives the phonology. The sb. is clearly *frull*, and the derived verb must have been (in Swedish) \**frylla*, with vowel-change from *u* to *y*. In the English *frill* the *i* represents *y*, the mutated vowel; so



that our word is really a verbal form rather than substantival; and, as a fact, the verb appears nearly twenty years earlier than the sb., with the sense 'to curl.'

**Hod.** I follow Dr. Murray in regarding *hod* as a modification of F. *hotte*, a basket carried on the back. I now find that the assumed modification (of *t* to *d*) is a fact, and is actually given in Hexham's Du. Dict., not under H, in its right place, but under B. He has: "*Botte, Butte, Hodde, or Hotte, a basket or a maund.*" Under *Hotte*, he ignores *Hodde*, and merely gives: "*Hotte, a maunde, or a pannier.*" However, we have now all that we want. Our *hod* is the Mid. Du. *hodde*, a variant of *hotte*; and the latter is the F. *hotte*. De Bo gives W. Flem. *hotte*, which is likewise borrowed from French. The French form is of Germanic origin; not from Low, but from High German. Hatzfeld derives it from the Swiss *hutte*, but it is quite unnecessary to go so far for it, as the same form occurs also in the dialect of Alsace; see the work on the Alsatian dialect by Martin & Lienhart (1899). There is no reason why *hodde* may not be the true Old Low German form, not modified from *hotte*, but rather the original form whence *hotte* or *hutte* was evolved; so that *hotte* would answer to *hodde* by Grimm's Law. And it may well be closely related to E. *hut*, a word borrowed from F. *hutte* (Cotgrave), from the O.H.G. *hutta*. The Swedish for *hut* is *hydda*, with the Low G. *dd*; and this may be closely related to Du. *hodde* and the A.S. *hȳdan*, to hide (Gk. *κεῖθειν*). Just as the *hut* was a place to hide in, or a shelter, the *hod* may be regarded as a basket to hide things in, or to stow them away. I should therefore be inclined to regard E. *hod* as borrowed from M. Du. *hodde*; and to suppose this M. Du. *hodde* to be a genuine Low G. form, derived from the Teut. base *\*hud-*, weak grade of *\*heud-* = Gk. *κεῖθ-*; the orig. sense being 'cover' or 'case.' The word for *hut* appears in Swed. dialects both as *hodda* and *hudda*, fem. (Rietz); and another sense of it is 'a prison.'

**Hog.** The N.E.D. marks this as being of unknown etymology; but allows that many connect it with the verb *hag*, to cut; in accordance with the note in the Catholicon, which explains *hogge* as "porcus carens testiculis." The Icel. verb is *höggva*, but the vowel does not correspond. I therefore propose to derive it directly from the Norwegian form *hogga*, to cut, which is duly given by Aasen and Ross, as equivalent to Dan. *hugge*. Observe further that Rietz also gives the form *hogga* as being in use in some Swedish dialects. He also gives *hagga*, corresponding to E. dial. *hag*.



: **Jeer.** The etymology of *jeer* is wholly unknown. Dr. Murray concludes his note upon it in these words: "A suggestion that *jeer* may have originated in an ironical use of *cheer* is plausible and phonetically feasible (cf. *jass*, *jawn*), but lies beyond existing evidence." I take this solution to be perfectly correct; all that we want is the evidence, which I now proceed to supply. In Godefroy's O.F. Dict., s.v. *chiere*, he remarks that the spelling *giere*, with *gi* for *chi*, is sometimes found; but he only supplies one example. This runs as follows: "S'aucuns hons te fait d'amer[e] *giere*"; i.e. if any man makes you bitter cheer, or, in other words, if he jeers you. It is important to notice that this example occurs in a MS. of *Caton*, in the British Museum, MS. Addit. 15,606, fol. 116a. There is a presumption that this MS. is in Anglo-French. But this is not all; for, in the Supplement to the same Dict., not under the same heading, but under the equivalent form *chere*, we find another example, as follows: "Mas faites bale *giere*, ioie, solas, et ris." This I can only construe by correcting *bale* to *bal*, and putting a comma after it, so that *faites bal* is 'make a dancing.' The line then means: "But dance, make cheer and joy, and pleasure, and laughter." Once more we find that *giere* occurs for *chiere* or *chere*; and the quotation is from the same MS. in the British Museum, MS. Addit. 15,606, fol. 119a. Once more, there is a presumption that the MS. is in Anglo-French. At any rate, we have two clear examples of the use of *giere* for *chere* in a manuscript in the British Museum. The former example is the better. It clearly shows that the use of *cheer* is not exactly "ironical," as Dr. Murray puts it, but arose from the sinister use of *cheer* in such a phrase as *amere chere*, bitter cheer, or *male chere*, ill cheer, examples of which occur both in French and English. Thus *to jeer at a man* or *to jeer a man* was to make him ill cheer, to put him (as we say) out of countenance, to make him look as if cast down.

**Rabbit.** My solution of the etymology of *rabbit*, as given in my Concise Etym. Dict., is incomplete; but I have sent a fuller account to the editor of R in the New Eng. Dictionary. The M.E. *rabet* was borrowed from Walloon. Remacle gives "*robett*, lapin" in his Walloon Dict.; and I have further learnt, from a private source, that it is the common name in the neighbourhood of Liège. As to *robett*, it is borrowed, with the addition of the F. suffix *-et*, from the West Flemish and Middle Du. *robbe*, a rabbit; for which see De Bo and Hexham. In fact, Kilian also

gives the dimin. form *robbe-ken*, of which *robett* may be considered as a Walloon translation. Rabbits are now imported from Ostend in large numbers.

**Roan.** Usually connected with M.F. *rouën*, as in “*Cheval rouën*, a roane horse”; Cotgrave. This shows that the F. *rouën* was popularly connected with it; but the true origin may have been different, as the correspondence in vowel-sound is not at all exact.

The E.D.D. has *roan*, used of a cow, and *roaned*, *roanded*, in the sense of ‘striped,’ applied, for example, to a red cow with streaks of white or other colour. This surely agrees with Icel. *röndöttr*, striped, which in Norw. and Swed. had a lengthened vowel. Thus Aasen gives Norw. *raandutt*, striped, from *raand*, lengthened form of *rand*, a stripe, streak. And Rietz notes Swed. dial. *rännig* as equivalent to Swed. *randig*, striped, streaky (Widegren). We find the phrase ‘a *ronyd colte*,’ which may mean either a striped colt or a roan-coloured colt, in the Bury Wills, A.D. 1538, ed. Tymms (Camden Soc.), p. 132.

If this be right, *roan* is ultimately derived from the sb. seen in A.S. *rand*, Du. and G. *rand*, a brim; which in Scand. also has the sense of ‘stripe, streak.’ Perhaps it is allied to *rim*; see Kluge. And perhaps the F. *rouan* (15th cent.) was borrowed from English.

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# TREASURER'S CASH ACCOUNT, 1900.

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1900.	1900.	1900.	1900.
CASH RECEIVED.	CASH PAID.	Jan. 1 to Dec. 31.	CASH PAID.
£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Jan. 1. To Balance .....		By Printing—S. Austin & Sons (on account).....	50 0 0
"    Outstanding Cheque .....	35 7 2	"    Meetings—Expenses of Rooms and Refreshments .....	6 10 6
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31. To sums received in 1900—	1 0 0	"    Bankers' charge on Scotch Cheque.....	0 0 6
For Arrears .....	3 3 0	"    Treasurer's Expenses, including the Dictionary .....	1 10 0
"    Entrance Fees .....	3 3 0	Balance at Bankers' .....	44 16 1
"    Subscriptions, 1900 .....	49 7 0	"    "    in Treasurer's hands .....	0 10 10
In advance.....	4 4 0		
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	£117 13 5		
			45 6 11
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We have examined this Account with the Books and Vouchers, and certify that it is correct.

(Signed) HENRY B. WHEATLEY, } AUDITORS.  
RICHARD WARE, }

APRIL 30TH, 1901.





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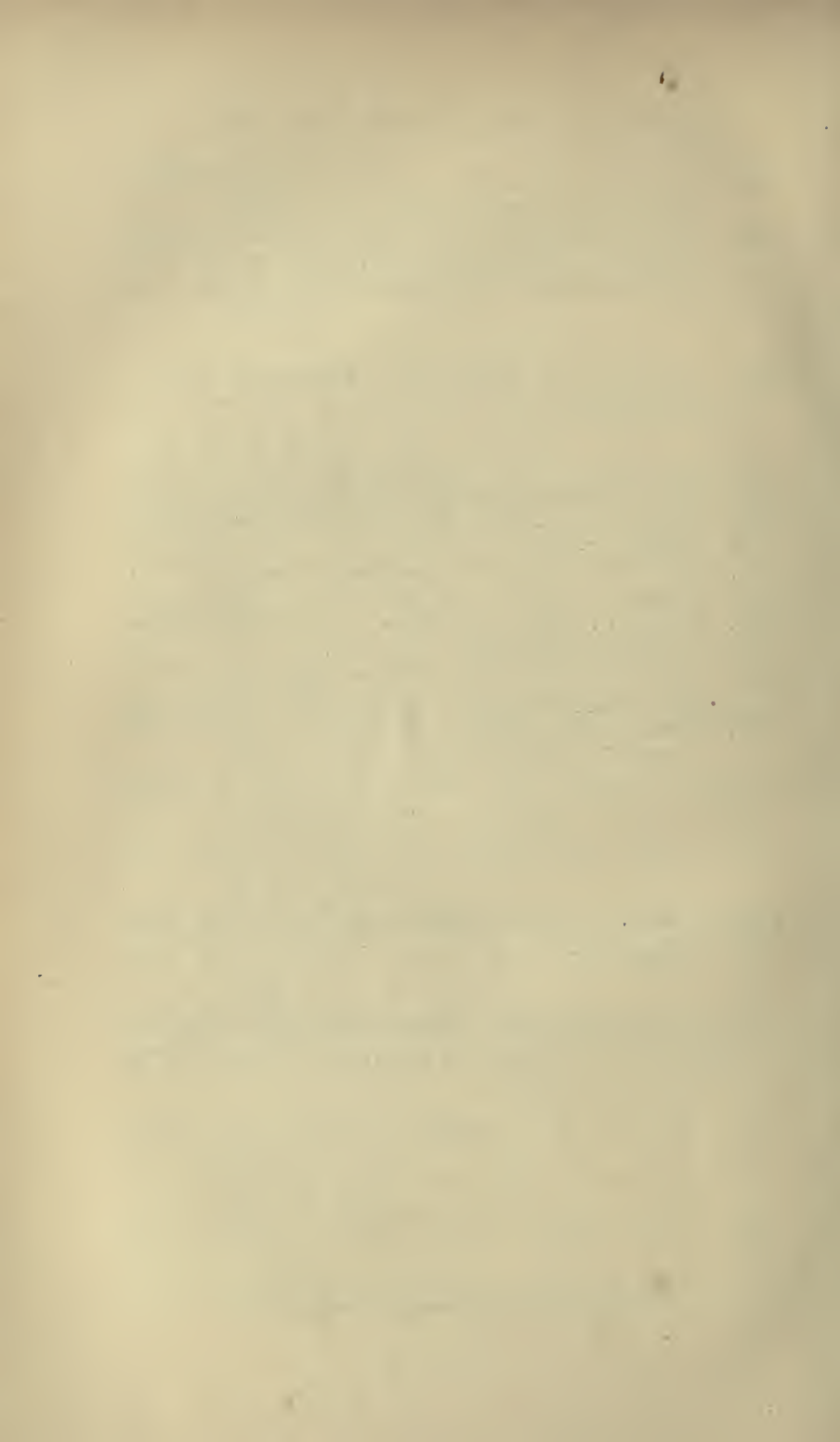
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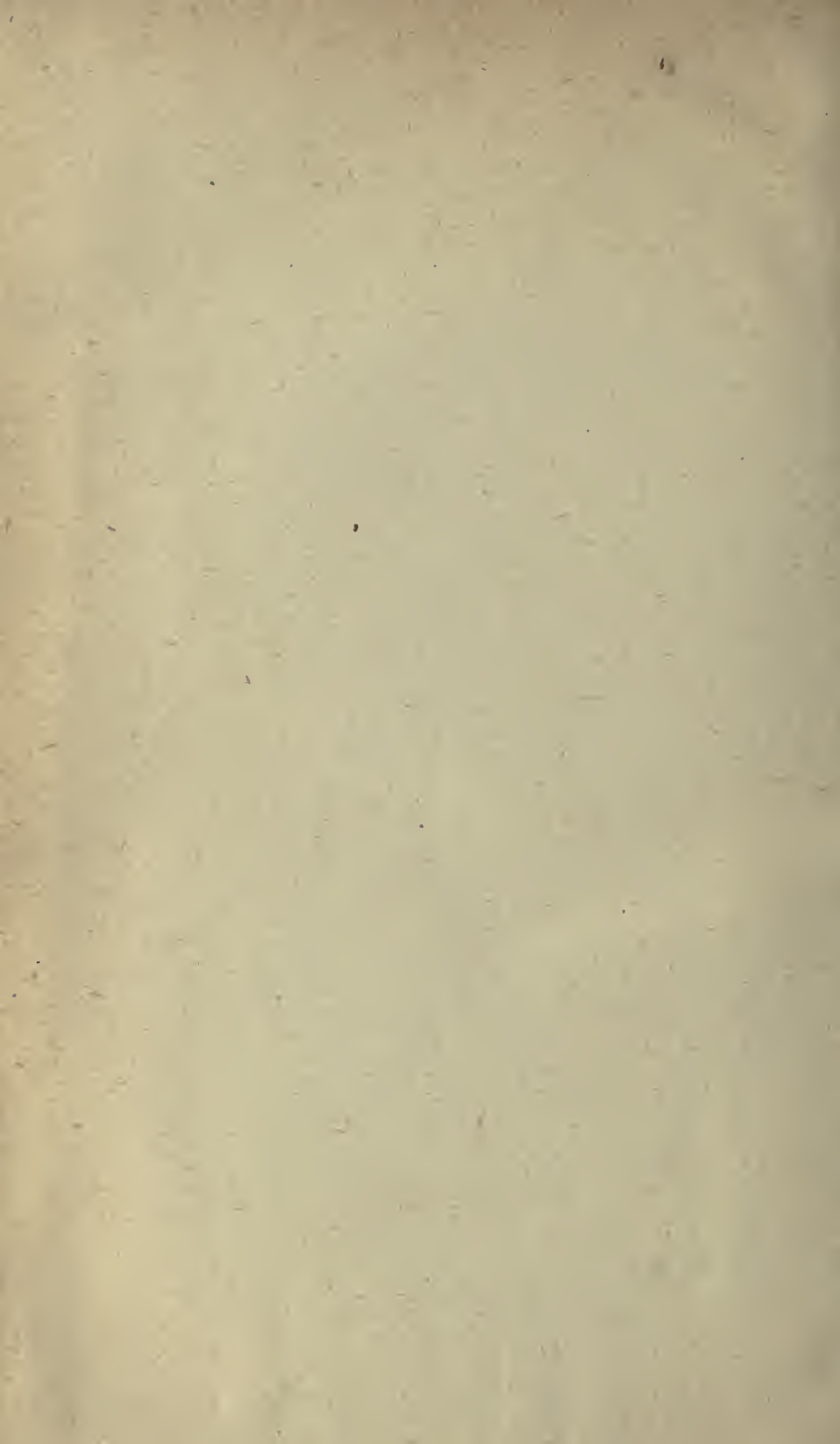
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