A CONTRIBUTION
TO THE
HISTORY OF A GERMANIC PREFIX
IN
FRENCH AND THE FRENCH DIALECTS

I

In the following notes I have attempted to carry forward the suggestions made by Baist, *Romanische Forschungen*, XII, 650.

Baist, starting from the forms *firbanniti*, *ferbanniti*, *ferbatudo* of the charters of the Merovingian period, explained the *for-* of the O. French forms *forbannir* and *forbattre* by labialisation of the vowel of Frankish *fir-*, *fer-*. In his view the *for-*, *four-* of French verbs of the type *forfaire*, *fourvoyer* are in origin Germanic, and the influence of L. foris seen in such O. Fr. forms as *forsfaire*, *forspaïsier*, or of L. fortis in such an O. Fr. form as *fortclore*, is secondary.

Before undertaking an examination of the possible survivals in the dialects of North France and Belgium of the formation FIR-, FER- + root + infinitive termination, I have borne in mind several things :

a) that there is no trace of such forms in the dialects of the Spanish peninsula;

b) that there is no trace of such forms in the Italian dialects; for although Italian dictionaries of the xviith century insert *fuorsennare*, *fuoruscito*, *forfare* and *forfatto*, *forsennaria* and *forviare*, these words, which occur in Italian texts of the xiiith century, are taken from French ;

c) that for O. Provençal Raynouard can only quote *forfaire*, *forsfar ; forgitar ; foriessir ; forjujar*, *forsjutgar ; forlinhar ; forostar ; forsenar ; forvenir ; forviar ;*

d) that an examination of the modern vocabulary of South France as portrayed in Mistral's *Tresor* — and less exhaustively in the *ALF* — quickly confirms the impression that in South France the influence of the formation here discussed was small.

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Turning back to North France, we may say that the forms *ferbanniti*, *ferbatudo* of the Merovingian charters show two things clearly :

a) the formation here discussed is old (from A. D. 500-750) ;

b) the prefix *fir-* or *fer-* was combined with both Latin and Germanic roots.

The evidence found in Godefroy (*God.*) proves that verbs formed by this parasynthetic method were in the preliterary period extremely common, but at the same time indicates, it seems to me, a tendency to the slow elimination of such verbs. For of the many verbs with the prefix *for-*, *four-* which *God.* has culled from texts of the xiith to the xvith century the great majority are backed by a single text. Further, if we neglect the well attested verbs used in legal language (*forfaire*, *forligner*, *formarier*, etc.), it may be said that of the many verbs with the prefix *for-*, *four-*, which are found in *God.*, hardly any have survived. On the other hand, it is clear that other such verbs are still found in dialects which are not attested in *God.* from Old or Middle French texts. To speak only of Walloon, Grandgagnage gives *forcuidier*, *forloper*, *forlozer*, *forparler*, *forpartir*, *forsôler*, *forvanter*, *forvirer*, *forvîri* (= *forvieillir*), *forzarder*, *forzoumer* as still in use. A charter of Ciney of 1586 quoted by Haust, *Étym. franç. et wall.*, 140 mentions " les amendes de forcheruwaiges et forherbages " and so points to the existence of verbs *forcharuer* and *forherber* in the past. It seems certain that an examination of medieval documents from the Archives of the Walloon towns and of the departments of North France would add considerably to the list of verbs with *for-*, *four* noted by *God.*

Turning to Modern French, the *DG* (*Dictionnaire Général*) has inserted 18 words with *for-*, *four-* : the verbs *forbannir*, *forcener*, *forclore*, *forfaire*, *forhuer* (*-huir*), *forligner*, *forlonger*, *formuer*, *fornoier*, *forpayser*, *fortitrer*, *fourvoyer* , also *forlançure* (from *forlancer*), *formariage* (from *formarier*), *forpaisson* (connected with *forpaître*), *fortrait* (from *fortraire*), *forvêtu* (from *forvêtir*), *fourbu* (from *fourboire*) ; to these may be added *faufiler* for earlier *forfiler*, *faux-fuyant* for *forfuyant* from an unattested **forfuir*, *faux-marcher* from *formarcher*. The archaic character of this vocabulary is evident : seven of the words are old terms of hunting ; five belong to the terminology of feudal law; four are technical terms of cloth manufacture and forestry. Bescherelle in his *Dictionnaire National* notes many other words

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of this class ; but they are old terms of feudal and customary law : *forcommander, forgager, forgagner, forjuger, forjurer, formort, formouture, forprise, fortraire ; forjouter* as a term of medieval chivalry, *forissir* from Rabelais ; and the technical *forlâchure,* and *forcultiver*. The only words of this class which are not in either the *D G* or Bescherelle, and are noted by Cotgrave in 1611 are *forcheminer, forchasser, forconseiller, forconter, forparler* and *forregarder,* and three of these : *forcheminer, forconseiller* and *forparler* are starred as archaic. It is clear that the history of this class of French verbs may be summed up as follows : There were in the preliterary period (500-1100) a very large number of parasynthetic verbs of the type *for-, four-* + Germanic or Latin root + infinitive termination. They are still quite numerous in the Old and Middle French period (1100-1600) ; but after 1600, their number has uninterruptedly been falling, and with the disappearance of feudal law and the old ways of hunting, the chief representatives of the series in Modern French are probably *se faufiler, faux-fuyant, forcené* and *fourvoyer*.

The next thing I should note is that if we may judge from the Old and Middle Fr. forms with *for-, four-* attested in *God.*, it would appear that the cases of such forms, in which the root was Germanic, were very rare ; *forbannir, forbeter, forbouter, forsener* are the most outstanding. Even if we bear in mind that the verbs with a Latin root such as *foraler* and *forfaire* were in origin adaptations from Germanic verbs such as those represented by Middle Dutch and Flemish *vergaen, verdoen,* the number of the verbs with a Latin root is remarkable. This state of things is confirmed by an examination of the Modern Walloon verbs already noted ; of the eleven given, three only have a Germanic root, namely *forloper, forlozer* and *forzoumer*. So too, if we examine all the verbs with the prefix *for-, four-* occurring in Cotgrave, Bescherelle and the *DG*, the only ones which have a Germanic root are *forbannir, forcener* and *fortitrer*.

My object, in the investigation here undertaken, has been to examine how far this parasynthetic mode of verb-formation had left in French and in the dialects of North France and Belgium other words than those which have initial *for-, four-*. I have therefore made no special reference to the numerous verbs with *for-, four-* found in Old, Middle and Modern French. I have in fact only referred to them in so far as they might bring light upon another set of verbs

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formed in the same manner. My investigation led me to pass in review such words as offer in the first syllable the combination of a dentilabial and a vibrant, in other terms words presenting in the initial syllable :

a) *four-, for- ; fur-, feur- ; far-, fer-, fir- ;*
b) *vour-, vor- ; vur-, veur- ; var-, ver-, vir- ;*
c) any metathetic form of these.

I was led to this in part by the examination I made of the verbal types *ferlamper ; ferlaper ; ferlocher* and *ferloquer ; ferloper* and *ferlouper ; ferlucher* and *ferluquer*, the results of which were given in the *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical Society*, II, 26-31, 32-35. It was evident that if a verb contained the Frankish prefix FIR-, FER- in the initial syllable, e. g. *fretiller*, then the second syllable contained the Germanic or Latin root, and the verbal substantive from such trisyllabic infinitives would be dissyllabic. It was evident too that a great deal of the vocabulary to be investigated was obscure. One had to deal with words that were according to every probability very old, created according to a method dating back to the Merovingian period, and which were often not to be found in datable texts before their attestation in dialect dictionaries of the xixth century. One had therefore to expect that the original meanings of many such words would have become obscured and vague and that their forms would have been exposed to the ravages of analogy and popular etymology.

In dealing with this obscure vocabulary, I have proposed etymologies in the great majority of cases. For some words, however, that appear to belong to the class of verbs I have investigated, I have been unable to make any reasonable proposal. Among the numerous suggestions I have put forward, I am quite ready to believe that some will be rejected ; there are some about which I have myself some doubts. There is, however, a large residuum of words for which I think I have found the true explanation.

The results of my investigation of the parasynthetic verbs of form Germanic FIR-, FER- + Latin or Germanic root + infinitive termination, I should summarize briefly as follows :

1) The tendency to labialisation of the vowel of the prefix seen in *four-*, *for-* is further confirmed by the forms in *fur-*, *feur-*, see notes **71-75** and **114-125** ;

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II) On the other hand the persistence of forms containing the prefix without labialisation of its vowel are numerous. These forms continue FER- ; in certain cases the opening action of the vibrant is seen in *far-* ; in other cases metathesis gives *fre-*, *fra-*.

III) Literary French appears to prefer the metathetic form *fre-*, in *fredaine; fredonner* and its derivatives; *frelampier* ; *frelater* and its derivatives ; *freloche ; freluche ; freluquet ; fretiller ;* cf. also *frelore, fretailler, fretouiller*. The O. Fr. forms *ferarmer, fervestir, ferlier, fernoer* no doubt owe their persisting FER- to influence from L. ferrum and L. firmus.

IV) The *fer-*, *far-* forms occur in most dialects. They are rare in Walloon where *for-* is dominant ; but even here we find *ferlanguer* by the side of *furlanguer*. So in Poitou where the metathetic forms are commonest, there occur *fertalée* and *effarvoyai*.

V) The forms of the prefix with initial *v-* are notable. *Ver-*, *var-* are relatively common. Such French words as *verglas, vermiller, vermillonner, vermoulu* appear to owe their *v-* in part to L. vitrum and L. vermis. That is also probably true of a word like *vertigne* properly " moth-eaten " by which is translated " worm-eaten " by Cotgrave. There remain, however, a number of forms with *v-* where the *v-* cannot be so explained. Very remarkable is alternation of *fertoquer, ferdoquer* (cf. also *ferdochène*) with *vertoquer* ; of such forms as *vertiller* by the side of *fertiller, fretiller*, of *vertouiller* by the side of *fertouiller, fretouiller*, of *vertaupe, vartaupe* (with influence of *taupe*) by the side of *fertouper*, of *vernailler* by the side of *fernailler ;* and of other forms like *verdinguer, verdrecque, verhaule, verluter, vertaper* and *vertigné*. Such forms suggest that even in the case of French *verglas, vermiller, vermillonner, vermoulu, vertigné* the influence of Latin words on the initial sound may be exaggerated, and it is possible that the alternation of *f-* and *v-* in the prefix *fer-, ver-* will have to be explained otherwise.

VI) The West and South West dialects (Poitou and Saintonge) have a preference for *vre-*, seen in *vrelepinghe, vreliard, vrelopper, vreniller* and *vretacquer*. An interesting point about these five words is that, if my explanations of their origin are sound, they are all of Germanic root. The existence of words of this formation in Poitou and Saintonge is the more to be noted because these are the farthest removed of the North French maritime provinces from the Germanic-speaking countries, so that we should expect weakening

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of Germanic influence earlier than in the more northerly coast districts. The five words quoted cannot but belong to the earliest period of borrowing. The fact that three of them have no counterpart in other dialects is further testimony to the very large number of verbs there must originally have been, that showed the type of formation discussed in this article.

VII) It is perhaps worth while to note how many verbs of the type here studied are attested in dialects with two, three or even four forms of the prefix : so *fournailler*, *fernailler*, *frenailler* and *vernailler ; fourlaper*, *ferlaper* and *vrelepingue ; fornaquer*, *fournaquer*, *tournacher*, *feurnacher*, *fernaquer ; fretiller*. *fertiller* and *vertiller*; *fertouper*, *vertaupe*, *vartaupe* (influence of *taupe*) and many others for which I refer the reader to the vocabulary.

VIII) One result of the investigation has been very remarkable. I have suggested a Latin root for a few of the forms here discussed and notably for *ferpigné*, *fourmont*, *fretailler*, *fretouiller*, *verluter*, *vertigné* and *verzouleux*. But the startling result is that I have been led to propose a Germanic root for some fifty different verbs or their derivatives. Some of these words belong to the normal vocabulary of Modern French : *fredaine*, *fredonner*, *frelampier*, *frelater*, *freloche*, *freluche*, *freluquet*, *fretiller ; verglas*, *vermiller*, *vermillonner*, *vermoulu*. A great many are only found in dialects. Of the latter, some are widely used over North France; others are limited to a small area. There are among them words which are found in a single work : *vertaper* given by Cotgrave in 1611, or *frateler* used in the *Muse Normande*.

IX) In a general way, the forms examined in this article are not attested early. So far as Old French is concerned, it is worth noting that *ferarmer*, *ferlier*, *fernoer* and *fervestir* occur in the *Chansons de geste* and are a testimony to their more popular character, for the aristocratic Breton poems do not contain any of the forms of the type I have examined. The following are attested before 1300 : *fresiller* and *fretiller*. *verglas* and *vermoulu*, *vertoucher* and *vertouiller ;* in the xivth century are found *frefeil*, *ferloque*, *fortailler*, *vermiller*, and *vertoquer* ; in the xvth *ferluque* and *vuarlope ;* in the xvith besides *frelater* and *fretouiller*, the four Western forms occurring in the works of Rabelais : *vrelepingue*, *vrelopper*, *vreniller*, *vretacquer ;* in 1611 Cotgrave attests *vertaper* and *vertigné*. For very many forms, the first mention is to be found in dialect dictionaries, for the most part of the second half of the xixth century.

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II

THE VOCABULARY

1. — O. Fr. *aforsené* "beside oneself ".

One example *God.* 1, 150 : " Aforsené d'orgueil et de rage et de desloialté " (*Godefroi de Buillon*, Richel. 22.495, fo 10c).

2. — Lorraine *anfernowé* " securely knotted or tied ".

See note **62** on old Fr. *fernoer*.

3. — Lorraine *anfeurhalé* " bearing a grudge ".

SOURCE :
1924 Zéliqzon, *Dict. des pat. rom. de la Moselle*, 17 : " *Anfeurhalé*, adj. Qui a un grief contre quelqu'un ".

Anfeurhalé properly means by its etymology " having vengeance in (his heart) " as it contains the same word as the Dutch *verhalen* " to avenge ".

4. — Lorraine *anfeurnahieu*.

See note **55** on Lorraine *fèrnâhhe*.

5. — Anjou *défaufiler* " to untack, to unbaste ",

See note **82** on *faufiler*.

6. — Démuin *défenouiller*.

1893 A. Ledieu, *Gloss. de Démuin*, 60 : " *Défenouiller*. v. a. Enlever les mauvaises herbes ; — fig. débarrasser, débrouiller ".

See note **58** on *fernailler*[3].

7. — Norm. *déferlampé* " torn, in bits ".

SOURCE :
1876 Delboulle, *Gloss. de la vallée d'Yères*, 104 : " *Déferlampé*, adj. Déchiré, en lambeaux, en parlant des vêtements ".

See note **46** on *ferlamper*.

8. — Berry *déferlicoter* " to remove the halter from (e. g. a horse) ".

How are we to explain *deferlicoter* = *délicoter* " débarrasser de

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son licou " délier (ex. g. un cheval) ? *Délicoter* is due to dissimilation for *délicoler*. *Déferlicoler* suggests a lost verb *ferlicoler*.

9. — Picard, Angevin *déferloquer*.

SOURCES :

1880 Jouancoux, *Études*, etc., I, 272 : " *Déferloqué*, déguenillé ".

1908 Verrier et Onillon, *Gloss. de l'Anjou*, I, 271 : " *Déferloquer* (Saint-Paul-du-Bois). v. a. Disloquer, ébranler, démolir, détraquer ; mettre en pièces ".

In Anjou the word appears to have been influenced by *disloquer* ; the original meaning is the last given : " to pull to bits " from " to reduce to rags ".

See note **99** on *freloquer*.

10. — B. Maine *défouniller*.

1895 Dottin, *Gloss. du Bas-Maine*, 144 : " *Défourniller*, faire sortir d'un trou ou d'une cachette ; — chercher un objet au milieu d'autres qui le cachent ; — défricher ".

See note **58** on *fernailler*[3].

11. — B. Maine *défournailler*.

1895 Dottin, *Gloss. du Bas-Maine*, 144 : " *Défournailler*, tirer peu à peu d'une cachette ».

See note **58** on *fernailler*.

12. — Fr. *éfaufiler* " to untack, to unbaste ".

Acad. 1762. — 1st ex. in *DG* : 1701 Furetière, *Dict.*

See note **32** on *faufiler*.

13. — Berry, Poitou *effarvoyer*, Poitou *effravoyer* " to frighten ".

SOURCES :

1857 Jaubert, *Gl. du Centre*, II, 526 : " *Effarvoyer*. v. a. effaroucher, fourvoyer ".

1868 Lalanne, *Gl. poitev.*, 119 : " *Effarvoyai*. v. a. effaroucher : *sans cesse tu effarvoyes mes poules*. — v. pr. *s'effarvoyai*, s'envoler de frayeur. D[eux]-S[èvres], arr. de Chât. *Effravoyé*. v. a. effaroucher V[ienne], arr. de Chât. ".

Effarvoyer des poules is equivalent to " leur faire faire fausse route, les fourvoyer ". The same formation occurs at Les Fourgs (Doubs) where according to Tissot, 122, 141, *s'effourvaï* " se fourvoyer " is commoner than *se fourvaï*.

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Some dialects have the analogical *-ier* for *-oyer* : Morvan *forvier* (Chambure, 371).

14. — Poitou *effretillé*.

SOURCE :
1867 Favre, *Gloss. du Poitou*, 129 : " *Effretillé, ée* (se prononce *effr'tillé*). Frétillant, alerte, B[eauchet]-F[illeau]. "

See note **111** on *frétiller*.

15. — Middle French *enfenouiller*.

See note **58** on *fernailler*[3].

16. — Maine, Anjou *enfermailler*.

See note **56** on *fernailler*[1].

17. — Anjou *enfernailler*.

See note **56** on *fernailler*[1].

18. — Mid. Fr. *enforceler, enfourceler* " to hide ".

God., III, 153 : 1° c. 1378 *Modus* in La Curne : " Enfourcelé et couvert de drap... " where *enfourcelé* is a clear compound of *fourceler* ; but in 2° 1593 *Propos tenu entre le Roy de Fr. et le Card.* : " Ceux qui brouilloyent pour la religion estoyent enforcelez et envrez de la Ligue... ", *enforcelez* appears to be for *enforcenez* or *ensorcelez*. — Cf. also *God.*, IV, 157 *enforcillé*.

19. — Anjou *enfornailler*.

See note **56** on *fernailler*[1].

20. — Old and Middle Fr. *enforsener*.

God., III, 156 has *enforsener* with three examples, one of the xiith cent. (*Rom. de Troie*), one of 1387 (Jean d'Arras, *Mélusine*) and one of 1582 (G. du Buys, *Élégie à M. de Loquelan*).

21. — Picard, Rouchi *s'enfournaquer*, " to thrust oneself into, to be envelopped in ", Mons *einfournasquer* " to thrust in, to envelop, to put out of countenance ".

See note **59** on Démuin *fernaquer*, etc.

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22. — Rouchi *enfourniquer*.

See note **81** on Rennes *founigoter*, etc.

23. — Mid. Fr. *enfourvoyer* " to lead astray ".

God., III, 157 has one example : " Afin que les mesdisans ne vous puissent enfourvoyer du contraire " (*Perceforest*, IV, 45c, éd. 1528).

24. — Picard *enfoustaquer*.

SOURCE :

1880 Jouancoux, *Études du pat. picard*, I, 217 : " Ce mot... je le trouve dans les notes que m'adresse mon dévoué et savant collaborateur, M. Devauchelle, et ne puis mieux faire que copier : On dit être *enfoustaqué*, être préoccupé fortement ; être hébété... D'où vient le radical *foustaqué* qu'il faut d'abord réduire à *foustac* avant de lui trouver un père ? Ce père est le verbe flamand *voorsteken*, ficher en avant, que Plantin (1573) traduit par le mot latin *præfigere*... ".

The connection must be, not with *voorsteken*, but rather with *versteken*, perhaps in the sense of : " frustrer ; débouter ; repousser ".

25. — Anjou *s'évernailler*.

SOURCE :

1908 Verrier et Onillon, *Gl. de l'Anjou*, I, 374 : " *S'évernailler* v. réfl. Sortir d'une cachette, se montrer subitement. —

Se secouer, se réveiller, faire montre d'énergie ".

See note **58** on *fernailler*[3].

26. — Anjou *èverzillé* " alert, of quick intelligence ".

SOURCE :

1908 Verrier et Onillon, *Gl. de l'Anjou*, I, 374 : " *Everzillé*. adj. Avisé. *Ma petite est bien èverzillée* ".

See note **64** on *fersiller*, and particularly Rouchi *verziller* and Norm. *vézillant*.

27. — Picard *fardaine*.

See note **91** on *fredaine*.

28. — *Farlaterie*.

Ex. of 1609 from the *Chronique bordelaise* quoted by *DG*, s. v. *frelaterie*. See note **96** on FRELATER.

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29. — Mons *farlope*.

See note **50** on *ferloper*, *ferlouper*.

30. — French *farfouiller* " to feel or fumble about, to rummage, to search (in a disorderly way) ".

DG, 1031 :

FARFOUILLER. v. intr. et tr.

Etym. Composé avec *fouiller* et une particule d'origine incertaine. — xvie s. Elles furent farfouillées, RAB., iv, 36.

‖ *Famil.* Fouiller au milieu des choses en les mêlant, en les brouillant.

GEW, 407 :

FARFOUILLER " durchstöbern, durchwühlen, 16. Jhdt., ist Kreuzung mit Gleichbedeutendem afrz. *fatrouiller* s. *fatras* ; kaum assimiliert aus **barfouiller* zu Lyon *barfolhi* " in einer Flüssigkeit herumwühlen " Horning, *ZRP*, xxii, 483 ; *REW*, 3404, dieses zusammengesetzt aus pejorativem *bis-*, s. *balourd* und *fouiller* ; vgl. auch Regula, *ZRP*, xliii, 7.

No example of French *farfouiller* earlier than 1552 is known. But other examples of the xvith century there must have been, as is shown by an examination of Cotgrave's explanation of the word :

1611 Cotgrave, *Dict.* : " *Farfouiller*, to rifle, towse, crumple, berumple with rifling ; to search disorderedly or untowardly ; or to disorder by an untoward search ; also to dabble, or puddle in the water, famble [*i. e.* fumble] in the durt, rake in the mire ".

Now the meanings given by Cotgrave might be arranged as follows : " (1) to fumble or mess about in dirt, in water, etc. ; (2) to fumble or mess about, to disorder, to put in a mess (by an untoward search) ; (3) to crumple, berumple by fumbling or rifling ; (4) to search untowardly or in a disorderly way ". And this leads to the suggestion that *farfouiller* is to be connected with Middle Dutch and Flemish *vervuilen*, *vervulen* translated in 1630 by " souiller, devenir ord et puant, putrifier, corrumpre " (*Den Schat der duytscher Tale*) ; cf. E. Fris. *fer-fulen* " in Schmutz verkommen, über u. über, bz. durch u. durch schmutzig werden " (Doornkaat-Koolman), German *verfaulen* " to corrupt, to putrefy ". In this connection, it is interesting to compare the German verbs which translate *farfouiller* such as *durchstänkern* or *durchstöbern*.

The information obtainable from dialect dictionaries may be classed as follows :

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1° something of the original meaning is preserved in the following cases :

1868 Lalanne, *Gloss. poitevin*, 133 : " *Farfoullae* (*ll* mouillées) v. n. marcher dans la boue, dans un terrain humide... (cf. Limousîn *farfouillas...* ; *farfouillai* v. n. faire du bruit : " L'eau entrée dans les souliers farfouille, en marchant D[eux-S[èvres]... ".

a. 1902 Guillemaut, *Dict. pat. de la Bresse louhannaise*, 123 : " *Farfouiller*, fouiller de tous côtés, chercher en fouillant d'une manière désordonnée ; *au fig.* " ça me farfouille dans l'estomac, ça remue : *farfouiller*, se dit d'un cheval qui boit un mélange d'eau et de farine. *Farfouillon*, mélange où l'on farfouille, breuvage pour le cheval, d'eau et de farine ".

1884 Mistral, *Trésor*, I, 1165 : " *Fourfouia*, *farfouia* (lang.), *fourfoulha*, (dauph.) *forfoulha*, farfouiller, fouiller désordonnément, remuer, s'agiter, barboter, gargouiller ; commencer à bouillir, bouillir avec bruit ".

2° As a general rule the dialect dictionaries that quote *farfouiller* assign to it the meaning it has in written French or meanings that diverge but slightly : the most interesting case is that of Lorraine *fairfouyi* " gâcher l'ouvrage " given for the village of Allain by Adam, *Les Patois lorrains* (1881), 251. But one meaning assigned to *farfouiller* occurs over a considerable area :

1834 Hécart. *Dict. rouchi*, 202 : " *Farfoulier*, barbouiller en parlant du langage, bredouiller, balbutier ".

1856 Sigart, *Gloss. montois*, 174 : " *Fafier*, *farfeyer*. v. n. parler comme les personnes en état d'ivresse, ou comme les apoplectiques dont la langue est paralysée d'un côté ;... *farfeyer*, tripoter, farfouiller ".

1867 Vermesse, *Dict. du pat. de la Flandre franç.*, 238 : " *Farfouiller*, v. n. comme en français ; nous l'employons en outre dans le sens de bredouiller ".

1881 Adam, *Les Patois lorrains*, 251 : " *Farfouié*, parler indistinctement (St Amé] ".

1895 Dottin, *Gloss. du Bas-Maine*, 197 : " *Farfouiller*, bégayer ".

For the transference of the sense from " to fumble or mess about in water " to " to speak indistinctly ", we can quote the French *barboter* which has both meanings and refer to various other cases collected by Sainéan, *Sources indigènes de l'étymologie française*, I, 224 sq. What appears important is to account for the fact that the word occurs in Spain where it cannot be explained as borrowed from French as the meanings given for Spanish are not attested in written French :

1776 F. Cormon, *Sobrino Aumentado*, II, 7 : " *Farfalloso*, *sa.* adj. Bredouilleur, euse, celui qui bredouille, qu'on ne peut entendre parce qu'il parle mal, ou trop vite "... *Farfulla*. s. m. Celui qui bredouille, qui parle vite, qui bégaie... *Far-*

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fullador... *Farfullar* v. a. bégayer, bredouiller, parler avec difficulté ou trop vite, ne pas articuler ses mots. *Farfullar*, faire quelque chose à la hâte, avec confusion ".

Cf. for the dialects of North Spain : Catal. *farfoll, farfallós* " tartamudo " (Saura, 168), Arag. *farfolloso* " tartamudo, balbuciente, tartajoso " (Borao, 171), Astur. *farfullar* " gaguear, hablar sin claridad, comiéndose las palabras o empleándolas mal ó faltando á la vertad " (Rato y Hevia, 59), Galic. *farfullas* (com.) " Que habla balbuciente y de prisa, (com. fam.) que obra atropelladamente " (Valladares Nuñez, 243). Before 1776 I do not find the meaning " to stutter " ; in 1706 Stevens, in his *Spanish-English Dictionary*, translates *farfullar* by " to prate, to babble, to talk hastily, to chatter " ; and in 1627 Minsheu, in his *Vocabularium Hispanico-Latinum*, has *farfullar* " hablar muy apriesa " and refers to Covarrubias :

1611 Covarrubias, *Parte Secunda del Tesoro*, ed. 1673, 5 : " *Farfullar*, hablar muy apriesa y atropelladamente... ".

As I have said, these Spanish words cannot be taken from French nor is it admissible that they were borrowed from dialects in districts where Spain was politically powerful in the xvith century (e. g. Franche-Comté, Belgium). We have indeed to note that (*a*) South French *fourfouia, farfouia* (see above), (*b*) South French *farfaia*, Rouergue *fa.falha* " bredouiller " (Mistral, *Trésor*, I, 1099) establish a continuity between the Spanish forms and those of Northern France. But it cannot be denied that the Spanish forms offer a very strong objection to the etymology I have suggested, unless it can be shown that they derive from French. For in no other case discussed in these notes, can it be said that the North French words have their counterparts in Spain or even in Southern France. The only alternative is to accept the etymology : *far* + *fouiller*.

21. — Boulogne-sur-Mer *farsinguer* and the meaning and origin of O. F. *fressangè, fressanger*.

ML., 3519 FRISING " junges Schwein ". Afrz *fressange* (> amail. *fresinga*, siz. *frisinga*), prov. *fraisenga*, Diez, *Wb.*, 589 ; *Fr. St.*, VI, 99 ; *ZRPh*, XXXIV, 206 (sehr zweifelhaft, auch wegen des Geschlechtes ; *frisking* ist lautlich kaum möglich). —

I am inclined to think that the information on the meaning of O. Fr. *fressange* which has been available to etymologists is doubtful and insufficient,

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God., IV, 143 explains *fressange* (variants : *fresange, frecenge, fressonge, frissingue*) by : " redevance annuelle d'un cochon de lait, droit dû au seigneur par ceux qui avaient des porcs dans l'étendue de la seigneurie et qui les faisaient paître dans la forêt ou dans les bois particuliers au temps de la glandée ; et aussi droit dû en certains lieux par les fermiers de la glandée aux maîtres des eaux et forêts " ; and he gives the following as the earliest instance of this name of a feudal due :

1184 Arch. Vienne, Trinité : " Insuper occasione *frecenge* quam ipsi de suo solvere debent abbatisse ad natale Domini ".

Neither from this nor from any of the later examples given by *God.*, and dated 1277, 1328, 1364, 1375, 1398, 1451, does one get any definite information on the exact nature of this feudal due. It is from a charter of as late a date as 1553 that we get a definite statement. Further *God.* has two other articles : (*a*) *fressangage* " droit dû par les fermiers de la glandée qu'on payait en porc frais, et souvent en argent " for which he quotes six texts of the xivth century ; (*b*) *fressangee* ' s. f. " droit qu'on payait en porc frais ou jeune et souvent en argent ", for which he quotes a Paris text of 1301. None of the texts quoted for *fressangage* or *fressangée* are more illuminating than the medieval texts quoted for *fressange*. *God.* gives also : (*a*) *fressange* " jeune porc " with two texts, one of 1393 and one of 1507, to which I shall again refer, and (*b*) *fressin* " jeune pourceau " with a single but valuable quotation :

1458 Arch. JJ 187, pièce 250 : " Le suppliant et icellui fillastre trouverent une truye avec trois ou quatre pourceaux appelez *fressin* ".

If *fressin* is " the young pig ", it is at once suggested that *fressange* in the text of 1393 quoted by *God.* is the " young sow " (art. *fressange* " jeune porc ") :

1393 Arch. Loiret, *Aveu de la gruerie de la Seichebriere*, ap. Le Clerc de Douy, I, 256 r° : " Il peut tuer la plus belle fressange de la porcherie ".

This is confirmed by the only dialect dictionary which, to my knowledge, mentions our word :

1903 Haigneré, *Vocab. du pat. boulonnais*, 261 : " *Farsingue* s. f. jeune cochon femelle ".

A further confirmation is derived from a manuscript vocabulary.

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of the speech of Erquinghem-sur-la-Lys which I compiled during the winter of 1914-5 and from which I extract the following :

" *Feursinque*, s. f. 1. femelle châtrée du cochon, du lapin ; 2. femme stérile ".

Is the O. F. *fressange* in principle a substantive derived from a verb of Germanic origin corresponding to :

Dutch *verzenghen* " door zenghen lichtelijk branden, bederven, schroeien, beschadigen " ?

Cf. 1630 *Den Schat der duytscher Tale* : " *Verzenghen*, havir, brusler aucunement : *verzengen het verckens hayr*, brusler ou eschauder la soye des pourceaux ".

Cf. German *versengen*, also *sengen* in *ein Schwein sengen* " flamber un cochon " ; Engl. *to singe*.

The text of 1507 given by *God.*, s. v. *fressange* " jeune porc " :

1507 *Cout. loc. du baill. d'Amiens*, éd. Bouthors, Prév. de Beauquesne, ii, 264 : " Et s'ils tuent frissingue, pour mettre en estal, ils seront tenus de les bruler ",

is to be understood as meaning that " if any one kill a young sow to offer it for sale, he is bound first to burn off or singe off the bristles ". When the bristles are to be removed from a young pig or sow, they are often first dipped into boiling water and this is called in French *échauder* (e.g. *un cochon de lait*), cf. *hurler comme une truie échaudée* in Rolland, *Fa. Pop.*, v, 231.

It will be noted that if the O. F. *fressange* is derived from a verb borrowed from Germanic and more particularly from Frankish *FERSENGAN (cf. O. Fris. *senga*, A. Sax. *sengan*) the *s* will remain surd in all the French dialects and the alternation of *ss* and *s* in both the French (*fressange*, *fresange*, *frecenge*) and the North-Eastern (*fressin*, *farsingue*, *feursinque*) forms — *ss* between vowels being a graphic device to indicate the surd spirant — would be explained.

There would remain, however, various points that require elucidation : .

(i) what was in principle the feudal due called *fressange ?* By the xvith century the original form of payment had suffered many changes ; in certain parts of the country the system of paying in kind still survived in some form or another, witness Cotgrave's article the source of which was probably a legal text :

1611 Cotgrave, *Dict.* : " *Fresange.* One hog, or more, due to the master of the waters, and forrest of Aubigny (and elsewhere) by the farmers of the mastage, and brousage thereof ",

but in many places it had been compounded for a fixed money due.

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(ii) Considering the information from Erquinghem-sur-la-Lys given above, was the young sow called *fressange* castrated so as to make it unfit for reproduction and to allow it to be fattened for alimentary purposes? There are two methods of castration. A verb derived from a Frankish *FER-SENGAN could only refer at first to castration by burning. *God.*, IV, 143 has another article :

FRESSANGÉE 2. — adj. f. — Pleine (en parlant d'une truie) [TEXT. 1398 *Charte*, La Cour Dieu, Arch. Loiret : " Une truie fressangée "].

What we have already said is all against *God.*'s explanation of *fressangée*[2] ; but the importance of the text he quotes lies in the fact that it proves the existence of an Old Fr. verb *fressanger*, probably derived from Frankish FER-SENGAN and meaning " to scald (in order to remove bristles or in order to remove the organs of reproduction) ". It is this verb *fressanger* which appears to me decisive against the etymology by means of O. H. G. *friscing* (*friuscing*, *fruscing*) " Opfertier ", Mid. H. G. *vrischinc*, *vrischlinc* " junges Tier, das sich von der Mutter getrennt hat ", cf. Mod. German *Frischling* " junges Wildschwein "; for, apart from the question of phonetic difficulties, and the absence of equivalent forms in the Dutch and Flemish dialects, such an etymology requires that *fressanger* be derived from *fressange* ; *fressanger* would then be intransitive and would mean " to bear or give forth young " like *vêler* from *veau*, *faonner* from *faon* and so forth ; whereas the passive use in *une truie fressangée* of 1398 implies a transitive *fressanger une truie*.

(iii) What is to be made of the following information ?

1903 Haigneré, *Vocab. du pat. boulonnais*, 261 : " *Farsinguer* v. a. Fendre, déchirer dans le sens vertical. *J'ai farsingué men patalon* ; *al a farsingué se robe* ".

The relation of Boulogne *farsinguer* with Boulogne *farsingue* seems certain, so that *farsinguer* is the equivalent of O. Fr. *fressanger*. Can we suppose that the verbal meaning " to castrate by burning " (*verzenghen*) was generalised so as to include " to castrate by cutting " (*versnijden*), so that it could in jest be applied to the cutting or tearing of clothes on the lower part of the body ?

32. — Fr. *faufiler* " to baste ".

For O. Fr. *forfiler*, *fourfiler* in which *for-*, *four-* is the Germanic prefix and not L. foris.

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33. — Picard *faustriquer* " to cheat at games ", *festriller* " id. ", *fustiker* " id. ".

Among the authors of French dialect dictionaries, Jouancoux stands out for the value of his etymological suggestions, for his judicious observations and for the dated examples that he quotes in support of dialectal words ; and it is a matter for regret that his *Études pour un glossaire étymologique du patois picard* (1880 vol. I, A-F ; 1890 vol. II, G-M) have not been completed.

This is how he deals with *faustriquer* (*Études*, I, 266) :

" FAUSTRIQUER, tromper au jeu. Ce mot vient du flamand *valstric*, piège, trébuchet, par la diphtongaison ordinaire de *al* en *au*. C'est l'histoire d'*attraper* venu de *trappe*. On trouve dans le Dictionnaire de Genève (1704) le substantif *fall-strick*, piège, en latin *laqueus*. Il est remarquable que le picard seul ait tiré un verbe de ce mot, tandis que le flamand et l'allemand se sont tenus au substantif. Notre verbe constitue une de ces jolies métaphores qu'on rencontre presque aussi nombreuses dans les patois que dans la langue classique ".

It is likely that the word *faustriquer* is to be explained in a different way. We have the following information from other sources :

1834 Hécart, *Dict. rouchi.*, 204 : " *Faustrie*. s. f. tromperie, tricherie. *Faustrile* à Maubeuge. *Faire del faustrie*, tricher. *Faustrier*. v. n. employé à Maubeuge pour tricher au jeu. *Faustrieux*, tricheur, trompeur. M. Quivy écrit avec les *ll* mouillées ".

1851 Corblet, *Gloss. picard*, 456 : *Faustin* (Artois). Déloyauté. — *Faustriker*. Tricher au jeu. — A Maubeuge, *faustrier*. — Du roman *foutriquet*, tricherie. Dans l'Artois *faustiner* a le sens plus général de " agir avec déloyauté ". *Juer al' faustril*. Même signification. — 457 : " *Festriller*, tricher au jeu, — Voyez *faustriker* ". — 470 : " *Fustiker*, Tromper au jeu ". — 1866 Sigart, *Gl. montois*, 175 : " *Faustrie*, s. f. tromperie, fraude, chose artificielle ". — 1903 Haigneré, *Le patois boulonnais*, 262 : *Faustillard* s. m. qui a l'habitude de faustiller. Deseille écrit d'après le patois de la ville *faustigner*. — *Faustiller* v. n. Tromper au jeu, tricher... ".

In the Dutch and Flemish dialects *valstrik* is used of a snare for catching animals. No verb is derived from this noun, but the place of such a verb is taken by *verstricken* ; cf. 1630 *Den Schat der duytscher Tale* : " *valstrick*, un piège m., un trébuchet m., *verstricken*, prendre aux lacs, enlacer " ; cf. also German *fall-strick*, *verstricken*. In the dialect of Picardy one expects from *verstrickèn* a form *festriquer* (see note on Mons *festéquer*), and from *valstrik* another

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form *falstric*, *faustri*, originally perhaps masculine, but influenced later by the suffix *-erie* in *tromperie*, *tricherie*, etc. From the substantive *faustri*, *faustrie* we get the verb *faustrier*, *faustriller* (influence of suffix *-iller*, cf. analogical depalatalisation in the Picard *faustril*, Maubeuge *faustrile*), *faustiller*, *faustigner* (whence Artois *faustin*).

We may then say that the Germanic *verstricken* must have given a verb *festriquer*, and that the attested Picard forms *faustriquer*, *festriller*, while they show the influence of the forms derived from *valstrik*, at the same time afford a proof of the existence of *festriquer* in the past.

So that properly speaking the Picard *faustriquer* is not derived from *valstrik*, though it has felt its influence; it is derived from a form equivalent to *verstricken*.

It is possible that the following text :

1425 Bibl. d'Amiens, La Fons, *Gl. MS*, in *God.* : " Sur une question regardant les Lombars tenant fastrie à Lille, lesquelz Lombars se voulirent exempter de non sortir jurisdiction par devant eschevins de Lille... "

contains our word, for *God.*'s explanation of *fastrie* by " boutique " is based on the text itself and has no other backing ; whereas *fastrie* can be compared with Walloon forms of Hécart's *faustrie* :

1866 Forir, *Dict. liégeois-français*, I, 356 : " *Fâstiné*, feindre, simuler, faire semblant... *Fâstinech... Fâstinnrèie... Fâstineu... Fâstrèie*, duplicité, hypocrisie, dissimulation ; perfidie, déloyauté, tartuferie ",

so that *tenir fastrie* of 1425 may well mean " to use their traps, their wily tricks, their hypocritical methods " and be used in this unfavourable way of the Lombards.

34. — *Fegard.*

See note **77** on *flégard.*

35. — *Fenailler* " to thrash ".

See note **57** on *fernailler*[2].

36. — Picard *fenaque.*

See note **59** on Picard *fernaquer.*

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37. — Norm. *fénoc* " prickle of a thorn ".

SOURCE :

1554 *Journ. du sieur de Gouberville :* " Le 4 octobre, nous trouvasmes Thomas Drouet, qui escorchoyt une chevre grasse qui s'estoyt pendue par un pied a un fenoc d'espyne et s'estoit espaullee ".

Moisy, *Dict. norm.*, 283 explains " *fénoc.* s. m. tout objet qui forme obstacle, empêchement ; branchages, débris accumulés de toute nature qui entravent, embarrassent ou arrêtent ". In the text of 1554 *fénoc* is the " prickle of a thorn " and so corresponds in meaning with B.-Maine *naqueron* " piquant de ronce, de rosier, d'épine, arête de poisson " (Dottin, 364), H.-Maine *nacron* " épine crochue de ronce, de rosier " (Montesson, 333), and that raises the question as to whether *fénoc* is not derived from a lost verb *fernoquer* analogous to *fernaquer*, *fournaquer* (note **59**) and *fourniquer* (note **81**). For Germanic SNOKK-, NOKK-, by the side of SNAKK-, NAKK-, and SNIKK-, NIKK-, cf. p. 245.

1630 *Den Schat der duytscher Tale :* " *Nocke*, l'eschine, *nocke*, *nockinghe*, *hick*, le hocquet ou sanglot ; *nocke*, *kerfken in den pijl*, le cren en la flesche ; *snock*, hochet, hocquet, sanglout ; *snocken*, *nocken*, sanglouter ".

Cf. also naval German *nock* = Dutch *nok* :" het uiterste end (van de ree) " 1681 Winschooten, *Seeman*, 166 with which Kluge, *Seemannsprache*, 588 compares Bavar., Tyrol. *nock* " Bergspitze ".

Among the forms in the French dialects which appear to be closely connected, some require a clearer explanation of semantic development than I can provide ; such are Norm. *noque* " flèche de voiture " (Duméril, 163), and Poitev. *noqueter* " s'arrêter, rester court " (Lalanne, 195). On the other hand Pays de Bray *noque* " brèche à un taillant, légère entaille à un bâton comme font les boulangers pour tenir note des pains qu'ils fournissent " (Decorde, 105), for which cf. Central French *oche* for *noche* whence English *notch* by the side of *nock*, may be put side by side with O. Fr. *niquet* " notch " ; and it may be noted that Jaubert, *Glossaire du Centre*, ii, 108 gives *noqueter* " souffler et claquer des dents " as well as *naqueter* " claquer des dents ".

See also note **58** on *fernailler*[3].

38. — O. French *ferarmer*, *ferlier*, *fernoer*, *fervestir*.

These Old French words are generally supposed to be compounds

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of *fer* (L. ferrum) and the verbs *armer*, *lier*, *noer*, *vestir*. *God.* translates *se ferarmer* by " se revêtir d'une armure de fer "; E. G. R. Waters, the editor of the *Voyage de S. Brendan* (1928) explains *ferlier* by " bind with *irons*, enchain ". And so on. It is suggested that these words are compounds of the type represented by L. manutenere, cf. Fr. *maintenir* not *mantenir*, showing the continued influence of *main* as a separate element. The *Traité de la formation de la langue française* which serves as an Introduction to the *DG*, on p. 87 quotes as examples of such formations in French *billebarrer*, *blanc poudré*, *boursoufler*, *bousculer*, *caillebotter*, *champlever*, *chantourner*, *houspiller*, *morfondre*, *saupoudrer*, *vermoulu*. It is sufficient here to call attention to the doubtful origin and to the recent attestation of many of these words. With one of them, *vermoulu*, I deal in note **149**; cf. also *verglacer*, note **139**.

Ferarmer, *ferlier*, *fernoer*, *fervestir* even in Old French are archaic and rarish words. In *God. fernoer* is attested once; neither *ferarmer* nor *ferlier* nor *fernoer* are attested after 1250; *fervestir* which is in Old French particularly common in the fixed *fervestir et armer* of the epics is found very rarely after the Old French period, and only in the past participles *fervesti*, *fervestu* which are still noted by Cotgrave.

In an article in *Romania*, xl, 325, reprinted in his *Étymologies wallonnes et francaises* (1923), 94-95, J. Haust has attempted to show that two of these verbs *ferlier* and *fernoer* were compounds of O. Fr. *ferm*, *fer* (L. firmus) and the verbs *lier* and *noer* respectively. A. Thomas, in *Romania*, xl, 326, while entirely approving this explanation, called attention to one case of *fierloier* (*Alexandre*, éd. Michelant, f° 26) which seemed to show that the first element of the compound was the L. ferrum. Now I think it is certain that by what is called popular etymology the *fer* of these verbs was identified now with *fer* (L. firmus), now with *fer* L. (ferrum). Thus in *S^t Brendan*, éd. Waters, 1369 the editor gives the reading : *iloces sui tost ferliez*; but mss. *B* and *E* have *ferm liez* and *ferm lijes*. So again such forms as *fierloier* and *fiervestir* show the influence of *fer* from L. ferrum.

I have come to believe that the O. French *ferarmer*, *ferlier*, *fernoer*, *fervestir* are really, in their origin, compounds of a Germanic prefix and a Latin verb. Forms like the *firbanniti*, *ferbanniti*, *ferbatudo* of Merovingian charters suggest that the Franks in adopting

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Latin as their speech, not only latinised Germanic compounds (*ferbanniti*), but introduced into their Latin speech compounds of a very common Germanic prefix with a Latin verb. Thus words which correspond to Modern Dutch *verwapenen, verbinden, verknoopen, verkleeden* were rendered as FER-ARMARE, FER-LIGARE, FER-NODARE, FER-VESTIRE (cf. O. Fr. *forardoir, forbatre, forconseiller*, etc.). Such forms are not only earlier than A. D. 750 but probably much earlier. The interference, by popular etymology, of words like L. ferrum came firstly from the Gallo-Romans, and then from the newcomers but only as they lost contact with Germanic speech (cf. *ferrobatudo* of the *Formulae Turonenses*).

39. — Moselle *fèrbayi* " to misdeal at cards ".

SOURCE :

1924 Zéliqzon, *Dict. des pat. rom. de la Moselle*, 263 : " *Fèrbayi*. v. intr. Maldonner les cartes ". — 280 : " *Forbèye*. s. f. Maldonne. — *Forbèyeu*. v. intr. Maldonner les cartes ".

Fèrbayi, forbèyeu is a compound of the verb = Fr. *bailler* " to give " ; cf. for the meaning similar compounds of *carter* and *donner*: Valenciennes *fourcarter* " donner mal les cartes " (Hécart, 215), Mons *fourcarter* " donner mal en cartant " (Sigart, 184), Valenciennes *fourdonner* " donner mal les cartes ", *fourdonne* " maldonne " (Hécart, 215), Liège *fordiné* " mal donner, au jeu de cartes " (Forir, i, 387); cf. also Liège *forzârdé* " mal donner ".

40. — Moselle *fèrbolaye* " kettleful of potatoes cooked for cattle ".

SOURCE :

1924 Zéliqzon, *Dict. des pat. rom. de la Moselle*, 263 : " *Fèrbolaye*. s. f. marmitée de pommes de terre cuites pour le bétail ".

Cf. 1881 L. Adam, *Les Patois lorrains*, 253. The same sense is attested for Gaumet *fourboulaye*. For the compound *fourbouillir* and its representatives in dialects, see *FEW*, i, 622.

See also note **164** on *virbouillon*.

41. — Gaumet *ferdailli* " to strike hard at random " ;
Jura *fredaller* " to wear out with slight touches ".

SOURCE for *ferdailli* :

1897 Liégeois, *Lex. du pat. gaumet*, in *Bull. de la Soc. liégeoise de litt. wal-*

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lonne, xxxvii, 328 : " *Ferdailli*. v. intr. Frapper à grands coups sans but bien précis, gauler ".

If *fer-* is the Germanic prefix, what is the second element of the compound ?

It is not the same word as Old Prov. *dalhar*, dial. French *dailler* " faucher " which does not seem in E. France to occur further north than Mâcon (*FEW*, iii, 3) and the Jura (*dailli*, Monnier, *2e Suppl.*, 305), and so would appear to be of Southern origin ; the meanings attested for Savoy *dailli* " 1° faucher ; 2° marcher en fauchant (de l'homme et du cheval), c'est-à-dire en avançant le pied et en lui faisant décrire un demi-cercle ; 3° (at Albertville) marcher vite " have induced *FEW*, iii, 3, to include under the same root-word Sancerre *dailler* " sauter, gambader (des animaux) ; chasser, pourchasser ", Le Puisaye (Yonne) *dailler* " s'enfuir, courir d'une manière folle (des bêtes à cornes piquées par les taons) ", but the Sancerre et Le Puisaye words are to be connected with a Northern group and cannot be separated from Morvan *dâler* " aller de côté et d'autre, flâner ; se sauver précipitamment, en parlant des animaux. Les bêtes à cornes dâlent lorsqu'elles s'enfuient de frayeur en ruant et en dressant la queue en l'air " (Chambure, 237).

I do not agree with the arrangement of the North French words containing DAL-, DAILL- given by *FEW*, iii, 7. These words are in my opinion derived from Frankish, and in the brief explanation of my view given below, the Frankish words are represented by the equivalent Middle Dutch and Flemish forms, and failing such by the equivalent forms in some other Low German dialect :

I. — *A*. — Middle Dutch DAL " dale, valley ". — Liège *dal* " vallon, petite vallée, espace de terre entre deux côteaux " (Forir, i, 205) ; Norman *dalle* " vallée " (Moisy, 179) ; Norman placenames like *Dieppedale*, etc., are Frankish (*Dieppedale* cannot represent O. N. *djûpr* and *dalr*).

B. — Low German DAL " pipe " properly " place where is running of water " (cf. meanings of German *Pinne*) ; eventually the same word as DAL " dale, valley ". — O. and Middle French *dale* " sewer, sink " and generally speaking all the words given in *FEW*, iii, 4 art. ON. *dâela* " rinne " under 1°.

N. B. — *FEW*'s argument that these words are from O. Norse because they are first attested in Norman texts is unconvincing. Norman is particularly rich in old texts ; further naval terms like

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dalot " scupper " naturally occur in texts from the coast ; and in any case the occurrence of the words and forms in question in Picardy and elsewhere outside Normandy seems decisive against O. Norse origin.

II. — Middle Dutch DALEN (from DAL) " to go down, to descend, to sink " (cf. Middle Dutch *dellen* " to go down " from *delle* " valley ", also Fr. *avaler*, *dévaler* from *val*). — Walloon *daler* " aller ", Mons *daller*, *s'aindaller* " s'en aller " (Sigart, 139); Flandre Franç. *daller* " aller, s'en aller " (Vermesse, 180); Rouchi, Picard *s'en daler* " s'en aller "; Auvergne *se dala* " descendre " (Chambure, 237); cf. Rouchi *mète à dalache* " mettre en train " (Hécart, 142), Mons *à dallage* " en train, en marche, en danse " (Sigart, 139) with Mons *adayer* " exercer, former ; mettre en train ", Perwez *s'adayi* " se mettre à faire quelque chose ", Namur *s'adayi*, Stavelot *adayeter*, Vielsalm *adayeti* " accourir à toutes jambes ", and for this last meaning, cf. Morvan *dâler*, Sancerre, Le Puisaye *dailler* quoted above. All these words should be separated from the others grouped by *FEW*, iii, 6-7 under German *dahlen* " tändeln ".

III. — Middle Dutch DEL " part, portion, share, etc. ". — 1° Norm. *delle* " groupe de pièces en labour " ; *dellage* " région d'une plaine en labour, où les pièces ont leurs sillons tracés dans le même sens et aboutissent le plus souvent à un chemin d'exploitation commun ".

2° Middle Fr. *dalle* " slice of big fish " but not the other words given in *FEW*, iii, 5 art. O. Norse *dâela* " rinne " under 2°.

N.B. — Fr. *dalle de saumon* is used before 1380 by G. Tirel, the king's chef, who had been in one or another of the households of the royal family from the age of about twelve (1326). When Borel in 1655 says : " *Dale* ou *dele*, c'est-à-dire en Normandie une tranche... " it is because the word as applied to big sea fish — *dalle de cabillaud*, *de bar* — would naturally be found particularly in the coast provinces.

IV. — Middle Dutch DELEN " to divide, to share, etc. ", VERDELEN " id. ". — See note **71** on Morvan *feurdale*.

V. — Middle Dutche DELE (Dutch *deel*. — Cf. 1630 *Den Schat der duytschen Tale* : " *deele*, *dele*, planche, bois de fente, membrure de sciage, aussi un pavé "). — Walloon *dalle* " planche mince de sapin ou autre bois blanc " (Grandgagnage, i, 162) ; Walloon *dêl* " din : roche sur laquelle la mine repose ; celle qui est au-dessus de

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la couche s'appelle le toit" (Grandgagnage, i, 164, 347 and ii, xx). — French *dalle* " flagstone ", *daller* " to pave with flags " and the words given by *FEW*, iii, 5, art. O. Norse *dâela* " rinne " under 2° (first two paragraphs).

V. — Dutch DALJEN (also *dalijen, dalgen*) " op eene of andere wijze verliefd aanraken (door zachte klagjes te geven) ", considered by Knüttel, *Woordenboek d. nederl. Taal*, iii², 2257 as probably the same word as E. Fris. *daljen, daljen* "hauen, schlagen, prügeln ", *dördaljen* " durchhauen, durchprügeln " (Doornkaat-Koolman, *Wtb.*, i, 275); cf. L. Germ. *daljen, dalgen* " hauen, schlagen, prügeln ", also dial. H. German *dalgen, talken* " prügeln ", German *talgen* " kneten ".

The following words may be arranged under this heading :

1° Engl. *to dally* " 1° : to play, or wanton as in interchanging caresses, 2° : to trifle away time, loiter, delay ", Mid. Engl. *dalien*, generally supposed and I think rightly to derive from A. Norm. trisyllabic *dalier* " to play, to trifle ", cf. A. Norm. *s'entredalier* " s'entreréjouir " (*God.*, iii, 284); the A. Norm. forms occur in the texts of the xiith century but no corresponding forms occur in Old Fr. texts of the continent. This has led *FEW* to suppose that the Anglo-Norm. words were derived from English; but borrowing from English in early A. Norm. is very rare.

2° On the other hand, some dialects of the Continent appear to keep the same word in special senses, see *FEW*, iii, 6-7, particularly those of the Meuse and Moselle, e. g. Meuse *dailli* " dire des sornettes aux portes et aux fenêtres des maisons le soir en contrefaisant la voix ", etc.

3° The meaning " to strike " is attested in A. Norm. in the early xivth century :

C. 1310 Pierre de Langtoft, *Chron.*, Rolls Series, ii, 246 : " Ke nesun de tuz al fet valt une maylle, For (s) Patrick de Graham, ke demourt et daille Del espé furbie, mes tuez est sans faille ".

The same meaning seems to me quite possible in the Old Walloon text given by *God.* who translates by " railler ":

a. 1449 J. de Stavelot, *Chron.*, éd. Borgnet, 365 : " Anchois que ons asseist nulles des grosses bombardes, vinrent des jovenes compangnons liegeois, raides et legiers comme chiers et commenchont tout jouwant a dallier cheaux qui estoient a bollewerque, et a traire et a lanchier ".

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Here is no doubt to be mentioned *adayer* " to provoke, to incense, urge, egge, stir up, move unto wrath " given as Picard by Cotgrave (1611) ; cf. Walloon *daler* " importuner " (Grandgagnage, *Dict.*, ii, 519); also Walloon *daie* " coup violent, coup dangereux " (Grandgagnage, *Dict.*, i, 162). Here also should be placed Gaumet *ferdailli*.

Here too I should put Jura *fredaller* :

1857 Monnier, *Vocab. de la Séquanie*, 332 : " *Fredaller*, v. a. User par le frôlement, comme on gâte une robe par le frou-frou (Arlay) ".

The sense of " user " at onee suggests the Germanic prefix we are discussing here. The idea of " gentle touch " is inherent in the Dutch *daljen*, as can be seen in the definition given by Knüttel.

42. — Gaumet *ferdochène*.

1897 E. Liégeois, *Compl. du lex. Gaumet*, in *Bull. de la Soc. liégeoise de litt. wallonne*, xli, 157 : " *Ferdochène*, n. f. *C'est ti qui pay'rès la fèrdŏchène*. C'est toi qui payeras les pots cassés ".

The root is probably that of Mid. Dutch *docken* " dare pugnos, ingerere verbera ", Mid. Flem. *docken* " frapper, battre, férir ". *La ferdochène* would be " what is smashed up by blows ".

43. — Middle French (Valenciennes) *ferfel*.

See note **93** on *frefel*.

44. — N. Eastern *fergard*.

See note **77** on *flégard*.

45. — Valenciennes *fergu* " pleased ".

SOURCE :
1834 Hécart, *Dict. Rouchi*, 205 : " *Fergu*, joyeux. *Il étôt tout fergu d'eune telle rechette* ".

It is difficult not to admit connection with the past participle of Dutch *vernoeghen* " to satisfy " i. e. *vergenoegd* (cf. German *vergnügt*). *Den Schat der duytscher Tale*, in 1630, gives *vernoeghen* and *vernueghen* " satisfaire ". *Fergu* seems to correspond to the past participle *vergenuegt* with loss of the *n*, due to clashing with *g*, *g* + *n* being rare in popular speech.

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46. — E. Norm. *ferlamper* " boire comme un ivrogne ",
Picard *ferlamper* " boire avec avidité ".

For these verbs, also Yonne *ferlampe* " association de buveurs et de débauchés ", Norm. and Pic. *ferlampier* " drunkard ", French *frelampier* " ruffian ; poor wretch, beggar, cadger ", Boulogne *ferlampes* " matières diverses, filaments albumineux qui flottent dans un liquide ", see *Miscellanea Lexicographica*, iv, 7.

47. — Walloon (Liége) *ferlanguer* " to squander, to fritter away ".

Sources :

1823 L. Remacle, *Dict. wallon et franç.*, 152 : " *Furlangueg*. s. m. prodigalité. — *Furlangueu*, adj. s. prodigue, dissipateur. — *Furlangué*, v. a. Dissiper, prodiguer, dilapider, gaspiller.

[In the 2nd edition, these words practically disappear, for although in vol. I, p. 686 we find : " *furlangué, furlangueu*. Voy. *profané, profaneu, profaneur* ", there are no such articles as *profané*, etc., in vol. ii, p. 491].

[1866 H. Forir, *Dict. liégeois-franç.*, i, 403 gives also *furlangué* " dissiper, prodiguer, consumer ", *furlanguech, furlangueu*].

1845 Grandgagnage, *Dict. étym. de la langue wallonne*, I, 204 : " *Ferlanguer*, Remacle :*furlang*[*u*]*er* (prodiguer). Le simple *lagan* (largesse, profusion) se trouve dans Roquefort, *Gloss*. Nota : il est remarquable que *languer* soit deux fois parallèle à *lozer* : d'abord dans *ferlanguer* et *forlozer* qui sont synonymes, ensuite dans le Namur *berlanguer* = Liége *berlozer* ".

It is clear that *ferlanguer* is not explainable by the usual senses of Dutch and Flemish *verlangen* or *verlengen* : cf. :

1630 *Den Schat der duytscher Tale* : " *verlanghen, verlanghen hebben*, avoir une attente ou désir après quelque chose, désirer affectueusement, affecter... *verlangen, lang maken*, prolonger, différer... *verlenghen*, dilayer, allonger, prolonger, rallonger, faire long... ".

But on the other hand it is clearly connected with Dutch and Flemish *langen* " to give " : cf. :

1630 *Den Schat der duytscher Tale* : " *Langhen ende gheven*, avaindre, attaindre, *de handt langhen*, tendre la main ; *te drincken langhen*, présenter à boire ".

1730 Marin, *Gr. Dict. holl.-franç.*, 510 : " *Langen*. v. a., *Geeven*. Donner, présenter. *Zyn heer brood langen, drinken langen*. Donner le pain, donner à boire à son maître ",

and we may suppose a verb *verlanghen* with the meaning " to con-

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sume, spend, squander, waste, lose, by giving away " ; cf. from the *Schat der duytschen Tale* :

verdempen, despendre son bien en friandises ;
verdijcken, consommer à faire des dicques ou terraces ;
verleckeren, despendre son argent en friandises ;
verluyaerden, perdre par paresse ou négligence ;
verreysen, despendre à faire voyage ;
etc.

48. — Picard *ferlaper*.

For Picard *ferlaper* " boire avec avidité ", *ferlapeux* " buveur, gourmand, dissipateur ", *ferlape* " langue ", *ferlape* " hanging bit of skin or cloth ", see my *Miscellanea Lexicographica*, iv, 7. Cf. Saint-Pol *fourlaper* (« usité à Nuncq » acc. to Edmont, *Lexique Saint-Polois*, 123).

49. — O. Fr. *ferlier*.

See note **38** on O. Fr. *ferarmer*, etc.

50. — N^th^ Eastern *ferloper*, *ferlouper*.

For Erquinghem *f'rlouper* " friper, franger ", *f'rloupe*, *verloupe* " dentelure, effilochage au bas d'une robe, d'un pantalon ", *ferlopé* " déchiré " in a text of 1624, Mons *ferlopes*, *farlopes* " marc, fèces qui se trouvent suspendues dans les liqueurs non clarifiées ", see my *Misc. Lexic.*, iv, 7.

51. — Dialectal *ferloquer*, *ferloque*.

See note **99** on *freloquer*.

52. — Fr. Flanders *ferlouper*.

See note **50** on *ferloper*.

53. — Les Mauges *fermailler*.

See note **56** on *fernailler*.

54. — Jura *fernaché*.

See note **59** on *fernaquer*

55. — Lorraine *fèrnâhhe* " zeal ", etc.

SOURCES :

1924 Zêliqzon, *Dict. d. pat. rom. de la Moselle*, 264 : " *Fèrnâhhe*. s. f. zèle. Voir

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feurnāhhe. — *Fèrnāhiè*. adj. Trop zélé. Voir *feurnāhieu*". — Id., 267 : " *Feurnāche, feurnāhhe*. s. f. 1° zèle, empressement, précipitation. 2° Folie, lubie, bêtise fredaine. — *Feurnāhieu*. adj. Trop zélé. Voir *anfournāhieu*". — Id., 283 : " *Fornāche, fornāhhe* . s. m. Qui s'emporte vite ". — Id., 285 : " *Fournahhe*. s. f. zèle Voir *feurnāhhe* ". — Id., 17 : " *Anfeurnahieu*, 1°. v. tr. Tourmenter, faire endêver Part. passé : qui s'emporte vite, endiablé, forcené, suppôt du diable. 2° v. intr. être pressé, affairé, vouloir faire son ouvrage trop vite ".

The *-hh-* of *fèrnāhhe, feurnāhhe, fornāhhe* points to -SK- in the original, and the word is a verbal substantive of *fernahieu* (cf. *anfeurnahieu*), équivalent to Mons *fournasquer* (cf. *einfournasquer*) and the other forms discussed in note **59**. Such senses of Dutch *snakken* as " flairer, aspirer, désirer fort " suggest an explanation of the special semantic development in Lorraine.

56. — Angevin *fernailler* [1] " to nail a boar's snout to prevent its rooting ".

1895 Dottin, *Gloss. du Bas-Maine* : " *Enfermailler*, ferrer le grouin du porc... *Enfromailler*, ferrer le nez des porcs ".

1906 Verrier et Onillon, *Gloss. de l'Anfou*, i, 341 : " *Enfernailler* (Craon, Ancenis). v. a. Mettre des pointes ou du fil de fer dans le groin d'un porc pour l'empêcher de fouiller la terre. *Syn.* de *formâiller* . — *Enfernailler un taureau*, lui mettre une pince au nez. — Quelques-uns disent : *enfermailler* ". — ...342 : " *Enfornailler*. v. a. le même que *enfernailler* "... 385 : " *Fernailler*. v. a. clouer le nez d'un porc pour l'empêcher de fouger. V. *formailler* "... 400 : " *Formailler* (Montjean) v. a. Planter des clous dans. Garnir de clous le groin d'un porc pour l'empêcher de fouger... ".

The starting-point for all these forms in certainly *fernailler*. The word is derived from a Germanic form corresponding to Dutch and Flemish *vernageln* ; cf. :

1630 *Den Schat der duytscher Tale* : " *Vernaghelen*, cloüer, *vernaghelen een peert*, encloüer un cheval ; *vernaghelen 'tgheschut*, encloüer l'artillerie ".

The forms with *o* seem to show the influence of *forme*. The influence of *fermer* is also discernible ; cf. :

1912 H. Cormeau, *Terroirs Mauges*, i, 194 : " *Fermailler*, v. a. Placer des fils de fer, annelés aux bouts, dans les naseaux des taureaux et des verrats. Ces fermaux aident ensuite à se rendre maître de ces animaux quand ils se montrent difficiles à conduire ".

57. — Berry *fernailler* [2], *frenailler, fenailler*, Picard *fenailler* " to whip, to thrash ".

ML, 3252 *FERINARE " schlagen " has been introduced to explain

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O. Fr. *ferner* and nothing else. Not only is * FERINARE hypothetical, but morphologically, as a derivative of FERIRE, it is unconvincing.

The meaning " frapper " is attributed by *God.* to O. French *ferner* attested in only two texts, the first in the *Ju du Pelerin*, ed. de Coussemaker, 416, the second in the following Picard text :

a. 1272 *Rec. gén. des Jeux-partis français*, SATF, i, 285 : " Ferri, nus ne doit ferner Chelui qui, pour avoir en sa baillie L'amour sa dame, a traïson bastie ".

It appears possible to confirm the meaning given by *God.* by the following indications on a derivative of *ferner* in the modern dialects :

1856 Jaubert, *Gloss. du Centre*, i, 459 : " *Frenailler*, *fernailler* v. a. régenter de la main ".
1903 H. Lapaire, *Le patois berrichon*, 65 : " *Fenailler*, fouetter ".
1851 Corblet, *Gloss. Picard*, 456 : " *Fenailler*, battre violemment ".
1893 Ledieu, *Gloss. de Démuin*, 96 : " *Fenailler*, v. a. battre violemment, donner une rossée, corriger les enfants indociles ".

The importance of O. Fr. *ferner* is that it enables us to reject at once any explanation of dialectal *frenailler*, *fernailler*, *fenailler* by a Germanic compound verb of the type I have studied in this series.

It would be satisfactory to confirm the position of O. Fr. *ferner* by an etymological explanation. I am inclined to reject both L. ferire and L. frenum, the first on morphological, the second on semantic grounds ; and to turn to L. fenum " hay " and identify O. Fr. *ferner* with O. Prov. *fenar*, O. Fr. *fener*, Mod. Fr. *faner*. The sense of " striking " would come from the blows given in cutting hay (cf. Fr. *coup* and *couper* ; cf. Engl. *hay* from the root of A. Sax. *heawian* " to cut " ; see also note on *fretailler*).

The introduction of an *r* into this verb occurs as far south as Lyon and Craponne : Craponne *jarné* " flétri, fané ", Lyon *farno*, Panissières *fërno* " mûrir (en parlant des fruits dans le fruitier) " ; this last meaning is to be explained by the fruit being left to ripen on hay or straw. One may also compare Anjou *fenir* " faner, se faner " (Verrier-Onillon, i, 384) with Poitou *frenir* " s'affaiblir, s'étioler » (Favre, 160), *freni* " dépérir (s'applique aussi bien aux personnes qu'aux choses " (Lalanne, 140) ; Anjou *défréner*, *défrener*

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" décliner, s'affaiblir, s'étioler, ne pas pousser, tomber en langueur de maladie " (Verrier-Onillon, i, 272).

58. — Bresse louhannaise *fernailler* [3], *frenailler*, *fournailler* " to poke about, to fumble ", Norm. *frénailler*, *vernailler*, etc.

The verb discussed in note **59** which occurs in the forms : Mons *fournasquer*, Rouchi, Flandre franç. *fournaqner*, Picardy *fernaquer*, *fornaquer*, *fournaquer*, Boulogne, Val d'Yères *fournaguer*, Eure *fournaguer*, *fournager* appears to be replaced in more southern parts of the country by forms in *-ailler*.

Thus to Eure *fournaguer*, *fournager* " fureter bruyamment " one may compare : Norm. *frénailler* " remuer des objets avec bruit, fureter, fouiller " (Moisy, 306), " faire un bruit irritant " (Duméril, 109) ; B.-Maine *furnailler* " rechercher avec bruit " (Bierné) (Dottin, 211) ; cf. also Norm. *vernailler* " remuer, faire du bruit ", probablement une métathèse de *frénailler* (Duméril, 217), Anjou *fernaillère* " ouverture longitudinale sur le côté ou au devant d'un cotillon et qui sert aux femmes pour certains soins intimes " (Vernier-Onillon, i, 355) ; *fournailler* " activer le feu, surtout dans un four, tisonner " (Verrier-Onillon, i, 404) ; cf. B.-Maine *défournailler* " tirer peu à peu d'une cachette " (Dottin, 144) with Anjou *s'évernailler* " sortir d'une cachette, se montrer subitement ; se secouer, se réveiller, faire montre d'énergie " ; Poitou *vernailler* " vétiller " ; Bresse louhannaise *fernailler*, *frenailler*, *fournailler* " remuer comme dans un four, farfouiller ". The attempt in some definitions to connect this word with *four* " oven " is merely popular etymology.

The close relation between the verb-forms in *-asquer*, *-aquer*, *-aguer* and those in *-ailler* is confirmed in my mind by the fact that to the more northerly words of the *fourniquer*, *fourniguer* type correspond forms in *-iller* : cf. B.-Maine *ferniller* " remuer " (Bierné) (Dottin, 198), *fourniller* " fouiller, chercher " (Olivet) (Dottin, 214), *founiller* " fouiller, fureter en déplaçant maladroitement les objets " (Dottin, 212), *feuniller* " chercher partout " (Dottin, 200) ; also Rennes *founiller* " farfouiller " (Coulabin, 169), Anjou (Segré) *fourniller* " heurter, fureter " (Verrier-Onillon, i, 404), Jura *fourniller* " avoir la manie de chercher partout " (Monnier, 332). Cf. also B.-Maine *défourniller* note **10** ; and also note **182** on *vreniller*.

There remains the question whether to the third form — **fer-*

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noquer which I have postulated to explain the Norman *fènoc* " prickle of a thorn " (note **37**) — corresponds a verb of the form *fernouiller, frenouiller, fournouiller* :

1611 Cotgrave : " *Frenouiller*. To fidder, to rake, to pudder " [i. e. " farfouiller, fourgonner, patrouiller "].

Cotgrave gives *frenouiller* as a word from the Blois district and it survives there :

1892 Thibault, *Gloss. du pays blaisois*, 153 : " *Fernouiller* v. n. Fureter au milieu d'un tas d'objets qu'on remue confusément. — Remuer salement un liquide : Il fernouille dans la mase ". [*Mase* " mare d'eau "].

It is important to note that this form does not occur in the North, but in a Central belt : cf. :

1912 Cormeau, *Terroirs Mauges*, i (Gloss.), 194 : " *Fernoyère* n. f. Fente du jupon — synonyme de *migaillère* et plus fréquemment employé ; fente ménagée dans les blouses de chaque côté, à la hauteur des poches, et pour en permettre l'accès ". [Cf. *fernaillère* above, and Fr. *fouillouse* " poche "].

1878 Chambure, *Gl. du Morvan*, 369 : " *Fornoiller*, s. n. Se dit du ciel lorsqu'il se couvre de nuages, lorsqu'il s'obscurcit et prépare un changement de temps ". — This meaning is connected with the following : *op. cit.*, 352 : " *En feurnoïau*, en tas, en monceau, se dit d'un lot de moutons qui, durant la chaleur, se réunissent obstinément en groupe ". — Cf. also *op. cit.*, 376 : " *Fournouilleu*. s. m. Individu qui s'habille à la mode, personne fringante... " which appears to be derived from *fournouiller* in the sense of " faire des embarras ".

According to Chambure, *fernouiller* means " frétiller " in the neighbourhood of Sens (Yonne), and Juret quotes for Pierrecourt (Haute-Saône) *fåẅnŏyĭ* " farfouiller ".

The original meaning would be " fureter ", then " farfouiller ; mettre en désordre, en tas ; embarrasser " and the two words *enfenouiller, défenouiller*, which have possibly felt the action, by popular etymology, of *fenouil*, would be derived from it. — *Enfenouiller* is not in *God.* ; something of its history and its meanings can be gathered from the following :

1482 J. Molinet, *Complainte pour le trespas de Madame Marie de Bourgogne*, in P. Champion, *Hist. poét. du XV^e s.*, ii, 352 : " Pauvres gens sont puis sa mort exillez,
Royez, taillez, assommez, affaibliz,
Crocquez, chocquez, despouillez, desbillez,
Adommagez, affamez, accueilliz,
Enfenoullez, essourdez, assailliz,

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Honteux, honniz, passionez, pugniz,
Matz, desconfiz, et meurdris bien souvent... ".
1612 Béroalde de Verville, *Moyen de parvenir* : " Ce jeune enfenouillé... ".
1834 Hécart, *Dict. rouchi*, 176 : " *Enfenoulié*. On appelle un homme qui paraît avoir beaucoup d'affaires, qui s'agite en tous sens, qui fait l'empressé : *Monsieur l'enfenoulié. Il est ben enfenoulié*. — *Ête enfenoulié*, être embarrassé soit au moral, soit au physique. Au moral, c'est ne savoir quel parti prendre ; au physique, c'est être dans la boue sans pouvoir s'en tirer... — *Enfenoulier*, embarrasser, mettre dans l'embarras ".
1851 Corblet, *Gloss. pic.*, 440 : " *Enfenouillié*, qui a beaucoup d'affaires. — *Enfenouiller*, exciter, animer quelqu'un ".
1915 L. Seurvat, *Canchon d'guerre*, 2d ed., ii : " Is ont enfenouillé nos plaines D'leus marmites et pis d'leus obus ".

Cf. also :

1852 Decorde, *Dict. du pat. de Bray*, 76 : " *Enfenouillé*, enveloppé, enfoncé dans : ex. : enfénouillez bien vos pieds dans le foin pour ne point avoir froid ",

with the sense of *enfournaquer, enfourniquer*. And for an attempt at connecting with *fenouil* :

1908 Verrier-Onillon, *Gloss. de l'Anjou*, i, 341 : " *Enfenouiller* (Angers) v. a. Porter au cœur comme ferait l'odeur du fenouil. — " Les radis, je les aime ben ; mais les bonbons, ça m'enfenouille ".

For *défenouiller*, the source is :

1893 Ledieu, *Gloss. de Démuin*, 69 : " *Défenouiller*, v. a., enlever les mauvaises herbes ; — fig., débarrasser, débrouiller ".

Properly speaking the starting point is " débarrasser, débrouiller " ; and the sense of " enlever les mauvaises herbes " is merely a specialised application of " débarrasser " which should be compared to B.-Maine *défouniller* " défricher ".

59. — Démuin *fernaquer*, verduno-chalonnais *feurnâcher*, etc., " to scent, to ferret out ", etc.

Sources :
1866 Sigart, *Gloss. de Mons*, 186 : " *Fournasquier*, *fournasker* v. n. Fureter. V. *nak* ". — 159 : " *Einfournasquer*. v. a. rendre stupéfait, stupide, décontenancer ; envelopper, enfoncer ".
1834 Hécart, *Dict. rouchi*, 216 : " *Fournaquer*, fureter, remuer, mettre en désordre. *Fournaquer au feu*, c'est y toucher continuellement. M. Lorin dit que c'est un mot picard que le rouchi pourrait bien revendiquer, à cause de l'usage habituel qu'on en fait ". — 176 : *Ete enfournaqué*, être fort enveloppé, être

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enfoncé dans son lit. Usité en Picardie. *S'enfournaquer*, enfourniquer. Se mettre dans de mauvaises affaires ".

1851 Corblet, *Gloss. pic.*, 466 : " *Fournaker*. Fouiller, remuer, mettre en désordre ". — 440 : " *S'enfournaker*. S'envelopper, se fourrer dans son lit ".

1867 Vermesse, *Dict. du pat. de la Flandre franç.*, 251 : " *Fournaquer*, v. a. Fureter ". —

1893 Ledieu, *Gloss. de Démuin*, 96 : " *Fernaquer*. V. *fornaquer* ". — 103 : " *Fornaquer*, v. a. mettre en désordre, tout remuer en cherchant quelque chose ; *quoi que tu fornaque lo* ? que cherches-tu ? " — 104 : " *Fournaquer*, v. *fornaquer* ". — 83 : " *S'enfournaquer* v. pr., se fourrer dans un tas de paille, s'enfoncer dans son lit ; — fig., être dans de mauvaises affaires ".

1903 Haigneré, *Vocab. boulonnais*, 275 : " *Fournaguer* v. n. fouiller, chercher en fouillant ".

1876 Delboulle, *Gloss. de la vallée d'Yères*, 158 : " *Fournaguer* v. n. Fouiller de tous côtés, examiner curieusement... ".

1879 Robin..., *Dict. du pat. de l'Eure*, 195 : " *Fournacher, fournager*, fureter bruyamment ; chercher une chose en en dérangeant beaucoup d'autres. Verbe très employé surtout dans son sens propre ".

1893 Martellière, *Gloss. du Vendomois*, 136 : " *Fourndcher* v. n. Fourbancer, fureter, fourgonner ".

1896 Richenet, *Pat. du Petit-Noir (Jura)*, 139 : " *Ferndché*, fourrager, chercher indiscrètement ".

1896 Fertiault, *Dict. du lang. pop. verduno-chalonnais*, 174 : " *Feurnâcher* v. tr. farfouiller, fureter, sans trop savoir ce que l'on veut ".

Of the forms here quoted the verb *fernaquer*, etc., is used in Hainault, in the departments of the Nord, the Pas-de-Calais, the Somme, the Seine-Inférieure and the Eure, then further south in the Loir-et-Cher, and again in the East in the Saône-et-Loire and the Jura. The meaning has suggested the influence of *four* (*fourn-*), of *fourrer* and of *fouiller* ; with none of these words has it any connection. Up to a point its origin is certain : it cannot be separated fr. O. French *naschier*, *nasquer* " to scent, to search or ferret out by the sense of smell ", which survives in such forms as Walloon *nagueler* " fureter, fouiller, remuer, agiter " (Grandgagnage, ii, 152) ; Mons *nakier*, *naker*, *nakter* " fureter, se mêler de tout, regarder à tout, faire comme les chiens qui cherchent leur proie " (Sigart, 263) ; Rouchi *naquer* " flairer, chercher en flairant, en parlant des animaux ; se mêler de tout, regarder à tout, trouver à reprendre sur tout " (Hécart, 317) ; Démuin *naguer* v. a. " flairer, chercher en flairant, en parlant des animaux (fig.), se dit des personnes qui cherchent après quelque chose sans en avoir l'air " (Ledieu, 169) ; Vallée d'Yères *naguer* v. a. et n. " examiner curieusement, fureter

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de tous côtés comme un voleur " (Delboulle, 239), etc. In the verb *fernaquer*, etc., not only have we a prefix *fer-* explained only by Germanic, but the root itself cannot be explained by a suppositious L. **nasicare* (cf. ML, 5835 **nasicare* " schnüffeln, schnuppen "), for the equivalent verb is not found in South France (see Mistral), and appears to be limited to the North-East of the country and to Belgium. With the simple verb *naquer*, *naguer*, etc., goes a substantive : Mons *nak* " odorat " (Sigart, 263), rouchi *naque* " odorat, réputation, renommée " (Hécart, 317), Fr. Flanders *naque* " odorat " (Vermesse, 346), Artois *nake* " piste ", Picard *avoir bon nac* " avoir bon nez " (Corblet, 546), etc. Particularly interesting is the following extract :

1867 Vermesse, *Dict. du pat. de la Flandre française*, 346 : " *Avoir du nacque*.. Avoir l'odorat très fin. *J'cros qu'te cros que j n'ai pus d'nacque*, a dit Brûle-maison. Malgré cette citation nous devons déclarer que, à Lille, on dit plus souvent dans le même sens : *Avoir du snack* ". — 468 : " *Avoir du snack*, *loc.* Avoir le nez fin, être rusé... "

which leads me to compare the following Germanic forms :

1630 *Den Schat der duytscher Tale* : " *Snack*, respiration, haleine, abbay ; *Snacken*, appeler ou desirer fort ;... *snic*, *snac*, un hochet, soupir ou respiration ; *den lesten snic*, le dernier hochet ou souspir... ; *snicken*, suivre le trac ou la trace par l'odeur ; *snicken*, gloutir ; ... *snock*, hochet, hocquet, sanglout ; *snocken*, *nocken*, senglouter ".

The attested meanings, in the Dutch and Flemish dialects, of the verb *snakken* are as follows :

(1) " sangloter, hoqueter " ;

(2) " aspirer, désirer fort " ;

(3) " happer " (cf. particularly W. Flem. *snakken* " haastig grijpen naar iets ", *snakker* " défense, lime, dague, croc, dent canine, dent laniaire " in De Bo, *Westvlaamsch Idioticon*, 910, 911 ; English *to snack*, « to bite, to snatch, to go shares », *snack* " bite ; snap, snatch of the jaws ; bit, fragment, portion " ; also *to snatch*) ;

(4) " babiller " (cf. the name of *snackaert* given as a nickname to the French soldiers at Bruges in 1302 according to Franck-Van Wijk, *Etym. Wdb.*, 629 ; also German *schnik-schnak* " verbiage, galimatias ").

The fundamental idea of the verb seems to be " to breathe (through the nose) " whence the sense of *snikken* " suivre le trac

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ou la trace par l'odeur " whence the meaning of O. Fr. *naschier*, and of the forms we have already discussed above. For the sense of " hoqueter ", we may note :

1859 De Montesson, *Vocab. du Haut-Maine*, 333 : " *Naquer*, *Naqueter* v. n. Bégayer, ânonner, avoir le hoquet ".

The meanings connected with the sense of " happer " are particularly numerous; for the meaning " tooth ", cf. : (I) Cherbourg *naqueter* " claquer des dents, trembler de froid ", Orne *naquets* " yeux " (terme familier : ? " ceux qui happent "), Dol *nachard*, *naquin* " taquin, mauvais plaisant ", Pléchâtel *nachard* " sournois, en dessous ", *nacharder* " faire le nachard "; (Duméril, 161 ; Lecomte, I, 148, 149 ; Dottin et Langouet) ;

(II) Haut-Maine *nacron* " épine crochue de ronce, de rosier ", *nagre* " rude, sévère, maussade, chagrin " (De Montesson, 333) ;

B.-Maine *naguer* " prendre avec les dents (en parlant des animaux), être vexé (en parlant des hommes) "; *naguet* " qui nargue, hargneux "; *nagoter* " mordiller, taquiner ", *nague*, *nagre* " hargneux, rude ", *naquard* " taquin ", *naqueron* " piquant de ronce, de rosier, d'épine, d'arête de poissons " [i. e. tout ce qui happe], " maussade " (Dottin, 364, 610) ;

(III) Perche *naquet* " dent de chien " ;

(IV) Vendômois *naquée* " coup de dent, morsure " ; *naquets* " dents canines, surtout en parlant des animaux carnivores " ; *naqueter* " mordre, se servir de ses naquets, trembler de froid, claquer des dents " (Martellière, 217) ;

(V) Berry *naque*, *naquette*, *naquaude*, " dent d'enfant " ; *naquer* " claquer des dents " ; *naqueter* " mordiller, claquer des dents ", *naquetée* " morsure " (Jaubert, II, 98, 581, *Suppl.*, 21) ;

(VI) Morvan *naquette*, *naquotte*, " petite dent, dent d'enfant " ; *nagueiller* " mâchonner, mordre avec négligence sans manger " (Chambure, 588, 589) ;

(VII) Champagne *naque*, *naquelle* " dent ", *naquetter* " tirer avec les dents ", *naquiller* " manger du bout des dents " ;

(VIII) Meuse *nâcher*, *nâquiller* " manger dédaigneusement et du bout des dents " ; *nâchaw* " qui mange sans goût, du bout des dents ", *nâcheries* " aliments malsains, indigestes comme les fruits verts ", *naquoter* " frapper à petits coups redoublés avec un outil en piochant la terre, travailler nonchalamment surtout lorsqu'il s'agit de culture " ; etc.

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Another idea connected with that of " breathing through the nose ", is that of " snot " :

(1) Poitou *nacre* " morve du nez ", *nacrou* " morveux, drôle " (Lalanne, 192) ; verduno-chalonnais *naque* " morve ", *naqué* " craché ", *naquou* " morveux " (Fertiault, 278) ; Bresse louhannaise *naque*, *niaque*, *niaquou* ; Bresse *naquer* " faire jaillir de l'eau, de la boue " ; Bourgogne *naiquai* (Mignard, 227);

(11) Saintonge *naquet*, *naqueton* " petit laquais, petit valet ", *naqueter* (Jonain, 277); Forez *naquerot* " nain, petit homme " (Gras, 105) ; cf. Middle Fr. *naquet*.

Still another meaning derived from this root and connected with the idea " happer, attraper, accrocher " must be mentioned here : Haut-Maine *nâche* " longe, lien " (Montesson, 333); Bas-Maine *nâche* " attache qui lie une vache à la mangeoire, collet pour prendre le gibier " (Dottin, 364); Anjou *nâche* " attache qui lie une vache à la mangeoire, licol, corde qui sert spécialement à conduire les bestiaux ", *nâcher* " attacher les vaches à l'étable " (Verrier et Onillon, 11, 51); Dol *nache* (Lecomte, 1, 149) ; Pléchâtel *nâche*, *nâcher* (Dottin et Langouet, 121) ; Rennes *nâche*, *nâcher* (Coulabin, 255); etc., because ML, 5837 would derive it from Breton *nask* " corde qui sert à attacher les bestiaux par les cornes, soit pour les retenir à l'étable, soit pour les conduire dans les champs pour paître ", *naska* " attacher les bestiaux par les cornes " (Legonidec, 346); but the Breton word has no analogues in Cornish and Welsh and must be an old borrowing from the French dialects.

Lastly with *snakken* " babiller " probably in principle " to speak through the nose, to speak unintelligibly " must be compared : B.-Maine *nâcheiller* " parler du nez ", *nâcheillou* " qui parle du nez " ; *nâchonner* " parler du nez " ; *naquer* " bredouiller ; *naquet* " qui bredouille ", *naqueter* " bredouiller " (Dottin, 364) ; H.-Maine *nacter* " bégayer, bredouiller, ânonner ", *naquer* " bégayer, ânonner, avoir le hoquet " (Montesson, 333).

That early Germanic may have had a form NAKKAN by the side of SNAKKAN will be admitted : it still has *nikken*, *nokken* by the side of *snikken*, *snokken*. But there are strong reasons in favour of SNAKKAN as the type from which emanated the forms of the French dialects discussed in this note :

(1) Guernesey *énaquer* " crisser et claquer des dents comme un

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chien qui ronge un os ", *énacs* " restes d'un festin, happées " (Métivier, 201) implies SNAKK ;

(II) Lille *avoir bon snac* ; cf. 1834 Hécart, *Dict. rouchi*, 433 : " *Snaque*, réputation. *S'nom n'est pas en trop bon snaque...* " [with a quotation from *Chansons Lilloises*];

(III) O. French *naschier*, *nasquer* ;

(IV) Fr. *renasquer*, a dialectal (? from Belgium) form accepted by the Académie in 1694 and suppressed in 1798;

(V) Breton *nask*, *naska* alluded to above, and borrowed from an early French *nasque*, *nasquer* ;

(VI) Mons *fournasquer*, *einfournasquer*.

These facts can best be accounted for by admitting that SNAKKAN passed into the speech of North France in the metathetic form NASKAN.

It seems then to me that a type *fer-snakkan* is the one that will best account for the word *fernaquer*, etc., which clearly is an old borrowing from Germanic. Only we must suppose the intermediate form *fernaskan*.

With Picard *fernaquer*, *fournaquer* will go the Picard adjective *fenake* :

1851 Corblet, *Gloss. pic.*, 456 : " *Fenake* adj. qui s'emploie toujours dans un sens négatif. On dit en parlant du poisson : *î n'est pas bien fenake*, il n'est pas très frais. — Pour exprimer qu'une plante ne pousse pas bien on dit aussi qu'elle n'est pas bien *fenake* ",

in which the original idea is connected with " breath, scent, smell ".

See also note **58** on *fernailler*[3].

To the sources given above, I may add from the dictionary of the dialect of Erquinghem-sur-la-Lys, compiled in the winter of 1914-5 :

" *Fernaki* " fureter, farfouiller ".
Fournaki " mettre le nez partout ".

60. — Bas-Maine *ferniller* " to move about ", *fourniller* " to search ", *feuniller*, *founiller*, Rennes *founiller* " to fumble or ferret about ", Anjou, Jura *fourniller*, etc.

See note **58** on *fernailler*[3].

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61. — *Fernillère* "spider".

Rolland, *Fa. Pop.*, XII, 124 among the names of the spider gives *ferniyère* f. for Saint-Braix (Suisse rom.), which is a communication of E. Edmont, cf. *ALF*, Map 50, point 72.

This isolated name of the spider looks like a substantive of the agent from a verb *ferniller*, *fernier*; cf :

1630 *Den Schat der duytscher Tale* : " *Vernaeyen*, recouldre *; al syn garen vernaeyen*, employer tout son fil à coudre " ; —

cf. also Alsatian *vernäjen* „ zu Ende nähen, fertig nähen ".

Cf. the Germanic names of the spider derived from the root of SPINNAN : Dutch *spin*, *spinnekop* ; English *spider* ; Germ. *Spinne* ; and the *filère* which in various forms (*filire*, *felère*, *flère*, *frèle*, *flire*) is quoted for Alsace, the Vosges, the Meurthe by Rolland, *Fa. Pop.*, III, 236 and XII, 124 ; Moselle *feulère* (Zéliqzon, 265).

62. — O. Fr. *fernoer*.

See note **38** on *ferarmer*, etc.

The O. Fr. *fernoer* is attested by *God.*, in only one text.

The word survives in the East of France :

1898 Liégeois, *Lexique du pat. gaumet*, *Compl.*, in *Bull. de la soc. liégeoise de litt. wallonne*, XLI, 156 : " *Farnoweye* v. tr. Faire un nœud double ".

1924 Zéliqzon, *Dict. des pat. rom. de la Moselle*, 264 : " *Fèrnowaⁱ*. Noué par tous les bouts, difficile à défaire ". — 17 : " *Anfernawé*. Noué par tous les bouts, difficile à défaire, en désordre. Se dit surtout du fil, de la ficelle, etc ".

Cf. also technical French *fornouer*.

63. — Boulogne-s-Mer *ferpigné*.

SOURCE :

1903 Haigneré, *Vocab. du pat. boulonn.*, 264 : " *Ferpigné*. adj. se dit des cheveux ou d'une pelote de fil, lorsqu'ils sont hérissés, enchevêtrés les uns dans les autres, frisés, et mêlés dans un désordre inextricable. *Ses caveux i sont tout ferpignés* ".

Seems to be a compound of *fer-* and *pigner* " peigner ".

64. — Anjou *fersiller*, Maine *ferziller*, Ille-et-Vilaine *ferziller*, *fesiller* " to sizzle ; to begin to seethe " ; Valenciennes *verziller* " to be very much on the move ".

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Sources :

1891 H. Coulabin, *Dict. des loc. pop. de Rennes*, 164 : " *Fesiller* v. n. Ce verbe manque à notre langue. Il exprime d'une façon imitative le bruit du beurre ou de la graisse dans la poêle, du fer rouge plongé dans l'eau ou appliqué sur la peau ".

1895 Dottin, *Gloss. du Bas-Maine*, 200 : " *Ferzillant*, tout à fait, très. — *Ferziller*, faire du bruit (la graisse dans la poêle ou le fer rouge dans l'eau) ". — 575 " *Ferziller*, frétiller ; bruire ; fourmiller : *Ca me ferzille dans le bras* (Craonnais) ".

1899 Dottin et Langouet, *Gloss. de Pléchâtel*, 63 : " *Fersiller*, frétiller ".

1908 Verrier et Onillon, *Gloss. de l'Anjou*. i, 386 : " *Fersiller*. v. n. Se dit pour un liquide qui commence à bouillir ".

Fersiller is probably for earlier *fersier*, *fersëer* corresponding to a middle Dutch *versêden* : cf.

1630 *Den Schat der duytscher Tale* : " *Verzieden, insieden*, consumer à bouillir, bouillir entièrement ".

1730 Marin, *Gr. dict. holl.-franç.*, " *Verzieden*..., ébouillir... ";

cf. also the various senses of German *versieden*.

What is the real meaning of O. Prov. *frezillar* (in *ab son drut frezilla*) which Raynouard, *Lex. rom.*, iii, 400 translates by " frétiller " ? Is *frezillar* used metaphorically like the Fr. *frémir* or the English *seethe* ? The influence of *frétiller* has been felt in the explanations of *ferziller* given by dialect dictionnaries. From the sense of " to seethe " to that of " to be very much on the move " there seems a natural development and it is likely that the following group of words from Maubeuge should be added to the derivatives of the root of Dutch *zieden* :

1834 Hécart, *Dict. rouchi*, 479 : " *Verzillant, ante*, adj. Remuant... *Verziller*. v. n. remuer beaucoup. *Verzillon*, dessin en zigzag. *Verzillonner*, tourner, aller en zigzag. Ces mots m'ont été communiqués par M. Quivy de Maubeuge ".

Cf. also Norm. (Pays de Caux) *vézillant* " alerte, vif, remuant, se dit d'un enfant bien portant " (De Fresnay, 272), given also by Decorde, 133 as *vésillant* for the Pays de Bray.

For a similar development of meaning, cf. in Mistral, *Trésor*, i, 1182 : *Fresina* " frémir, en parlant d'un liquide qui bout " and old French *fresine* " agitation " in *Joufrois*, 4091.

The oldest instance of the verb here considered is of the xiiith century : c. 1235 Huon de Meri, *Tournoiement Antecrist*, in *God.*, iv, 141 :

" [C']estoit une melodie,

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De bouire apres tel pain tel vin,
Si fort, si franc, si fres, si fin,
Si sade, souef, si fresillant,
Que tout en fumes embasmet... ",

where I should propose to replace *God.*'s translation : " qui brille " by " qui mousse ". *Un vin mousseux* is no doubt " a sparkling wine ", but the word *fresillant* rather refers to the bubbling of the wine which recalls that of water beginning to boil.

65. — Poitevin *fertaler* " (of rain, hail, blows) to fall heavily ".

SOURCE :

1868 Lalanne, *Gloss. poitevin*, 134 : " *Fertalé.* v. n. tomber en abondance en parlant de la pluie, de la grêle ou des coups. V[ienne]. arr. Chât. Mairé... " *Fertalée.* s. f. abondance, grande quantité : " Fertalée d'eau, fertalée de coups ". V[ienne], arr. Chât., Mairé ".

Fertaler seems to be a metathetic form of *ferlater* equivalent to Fr. *frelater* q. v. as applied to the pouring out of liquids for clarification.

66. — Anjou, Maine *fertouper*, Anjou *fortouper*.

See note **129** on *vartaupe.*

67. — O. Fr. *fervestir.*

See note **38** on *ferarmer.*

68. — Ille-et-Vilaine *fesiller.*

See note **64** on *fersiller.*

69. — Mons *festéquer.*

Sigart, *Dict. du wallon de Mons* (1866), 176 :

" *Festéquer, festéquier,* v. n. faire un ouvrage inutile, un mauvais ouvrage, s'amuser à des riens ; faire semblant de travailler ; s'agiter sans résultat. V. fr. *affaitier*, raccommoder ".

This verb, not mentioned by other lexicographers, seems clearly by its form to be connected with Dutch *steeken* " to prick, to peg, to stake, etc. ", but by what semantic process is not clear. It may be connected with such uses as are seen in *een werk laaten steeken* " to leave a piece of work unfinished ", *een zaak laaten steeken* " not to

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go on with a thing one has undertaken ". The senses of Dutch *versteeken* given in dictionaries do not appear to suit the senses given by Sigart for *festéquer*. Dornkaat-Koolman, *Wtb. d. ostfriesischen Sprache*, i, 467, explains E. Fris. *fer-stäken*, *fer-stëken* by German " verstecken, verstechen, wegstecken, verbergen, umstecken ".

70. — Picard *festiller*.

See note **33** on Picard *faustriquer*.

71. — Morvan *feurdale*.

SOURCE :

1878 De Chambure, *Gloss. du Morvan*, 351 : " *Feurdale*. s. f. Ne s'emploie guère que dans cette locution : *il n'en reste que des feurdales*, pour dire il n'en reste rien ou presque rien en parlant d'un grave dommage causé par un incendie, un coup de force quelconque ".

The meaning of *feurdale* appears to be " fragment ". Cf. :

1630 *Den Schat der duytscher Tale* : " *Verdeelen*, despartir, diviser... *Deel*, part, portion ".

72. — B.-Maine *feurdonner*, Verduno-Chalonnais *feûrdoner*.

See note **92** on *fredonner*.

73. — Verduno-Chalonnais *feurnâcher*.

See note **59** on *fernaquer*.

74. — Morvan *feurnoïau*.

See note **58** on *fernailler* [3].

75. — Verduno-Chalonnais *feurtiller*, Morvan *feurteiller*.

See note **111** on *fretiller*.

76. — Gaumet *firloque*.

SOURCE :

1897 Liégeois, *Lex. du pat. gaum.*, in *Bull. de la Soc. liég. de lit. wallonne*, xxxvii, 328 : " *Firloque*. n. f. Chiffon, lambeau d'étoffe ; *firloqui*. n. m. chiffonnier ".

See note **98** on *freloque*.

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77. — Picardy, French Flanders *flégard, flagard, fergard.*

The word *flégard* is dealt with as follows in dictionaries of the North-Eastern dialects :

1787 *Dict. roman, walon, celtique et tudesque*, 119 : " *Flégard*, lieu public, qui n'appartient, en propre, à aucun particulier : tel est un marché, une rue, ou quelque commune ".

1834 Hécart, *Dict. rouchi*, 210 : " *Flégard*, petite ruelle étroite qui reçoit les eaux sales des maisons voisines, qu'elle conduit à la rivière ; elle est ordinairement fermée. Ce mot est employé en plusieurs endroits, même dans une signification plus étendue, puisqu'il y signifie tout endroit à découvert, qui n'est la propriété d'aucun particulier... A Lille on l'emploie pour le revers des pavés des maisons, pour les séparer du fil de l'eau ou ruisseau qui les longent ".

1851 Corblet, *Gloss. pic.*, 462 : " *Flégard*. Endroit public à découvert. Cotgrave donne ce nom comme Picard. Il n'est guère usité qu'à Boulogne-sur-Mer ".

1867 Vermesse, *Dict. du pat. de la Flandre franç.*, 236 : " *Flégard* ou *fergards*. s. m. Espace entre la maison et le fil d'eau qui longe la chaussée et que l'on nomme aujourd'hui trottoir ".

1880 Jouancoux, *Études*, i, 284 : " *Flagard*, espace perdu d'un chemin, d'une rue, d'une place ".

1903 Haigneré, *Vocab. boulonnais*, 272 : " *Flégard*. s. m. Terrain communal inculte, ordinairement composé par des excès de largeur contigus aux chemins publics. On prononce quelquefois *fergard* (variantes anciennes : *flegart, fleguart* et *fregart*) ".

The form *flégard* (in documents also *flagard* e. g. in a text of 1688 in *God.* ; cf. also Jouancoux, *Études*, i, 284, art. *flagard*) seems to be the most frequent in late documents as in a Flines text of 1630 in *God.* ; it is the one occurring most often in the *Coutumiers* (see examples in *God.*), and it is noted in the bigger dictionaries e. g. Bescherelle, *Dict. Univ.*, i, 1596 : " *Flégart* ou *Flégard* s. m. Anc. cout. Place commune, grand chemin ". We have a definition in the following :

1700 Liger, *Nouv. mais. rustique*, ed. 1755, i, 897 : " Les frocs sont les places, carrefours, rues et autres lieux incultes, communs et publics à tout le village. On les appelle aussi en différentes provinces *frous, frotis* et *flégards*, en bas latin *froccus* ".

It was noted in 1611 by Cotgrave as a Picard word meaning " a common place or way " and the oldest exactly dated text known to me in which it occurs is the following :

1507 *Coutumes d'Amiens*, in A. Thierry, *Monum. de l'hist. du Tiers-État*, 1ere s., ii, 529 : " Nul ne pœult picquier, fouir ne heuer sur les frocs et flegards ne en la

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terre et juridiction d'icelle [ville], sans le gré, consentement et licence des dits maieur, prevost et eschevins... ".

By the side of *flégard* ou *flagard*, the forms *fregard* (cf. *fergard* still used at Lille and Boulogne) and *fegard* occur in older documents :

1441 *Cart. de l'univ. des chapel. de N.-D. d'Amiens*, 41 v°, Bibl. Amiens : " En toutes les voiries, fros, fegars de le dicte ville ".

? Arch, P. 137, f° 13 r° (*Dénombr. des baill. d'Amiens et de Doullens*) : " Le cloistre, voiriez, fregas, fros des rues du dit cloistre... ".

The word *flégard*, etc., is used only in Picardy, Artois and French Flanders. Sigart does not know it in Hainault. Properly speaking it means " common land not used for cultivation " and it is said of open spaces, market squares, crossroads, roads, etc., in the village ; it is often applied to waste or unproductive land on both sides of the road, and so to the space between the houses in the village and the cutting made along the sides of the road for waste water, and so to the pavement in such villages as had any. In Valenciennes, its meaning was limited to the equivalent of " sewer ", to the conduit which carried away the waste water of the houses to the river.

From the phonetic point of view, it seems that of the forms *fergard*, *fregard*, *fegart*, *flégard*, the form *fergard* or *fregard* is the original one, and we may consider *flégard* and *fegart* as showing two types of dissimilation of the first *r* of the original form.

The geographical limits within which the word is found are of course very strongly in favour of a Germanic source. In the word *fergard*, *fregard*, we may then, as in other cases we have considered, find a substantive derived from an unattested verb **fergarer* or **fergarder*. As *fergard* is no doubt a very early loan-word, the *g* of the word must, in a Picard or Flemish dialect, go back to a Germanic G. An investigation of the possibilities suggests the verb *vergaren* of the Flemish and Dutch dialects, which is for *vergaderen* (Engl. *to foregather*). For the treatment of *vergaderen* in the Northern dialects one may compare the naval French *gabord*, attested from 1538, which like Engl. *garboard* corresponds to the Dutch *garboord*, *gaderboord*.

It seems possible then that *fergar* " common land " was derived from a lost verb **fergarer* = Dutch *vergaren* " to associate, the unite ; to meet, to foregather ". It would then be in principle the land held in common, in association or union, by all.

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78. = O. Walloon *forhopper*.

Forhopper is quoted by Grandgagnage, *Dict. étym. de la langue wallonne*, ii, 594 as an Old Walloon technical term used by drapers with the following extracts in support :

1527 Texts fr. *Rec. des chartes et privilèges des 32 bons métiers de la cité de Liége*, i, 325 s, 237m : " Ne pourrat ourdir chaine de forures forhoppés " ; — " Hors d'un forhoppé le tisseur ne peut jeter que six fils ".

The form of the word *forhopper* naturally suggests the Dutch *hoppen, hoppelen* " sauter, sautiller " (cf. A. Sax. *hoppian*). The verb *forhopper* must mean " to jump over, to miss (a thread) ".

79. — Anjou *formailler*.

See note **56** on *fernailler* [1].

80. — Walloon *fotriker* " to strike (mortar) ", B.-Maine *foutiquer* " to hurry over one's work, to do something without proper care ".

SOURCE :

1845 Grandgagnage, *Dict. étym. de la langue wallonne*, i, 218 : " 1. *Fotrikè* (fiche, outil de maçon) an., *fotriker* (ficher le mortier) id. Ce mot paraît être un dérivé de *foter* nº 1, par l'intermédiaire de la forme française correspondante ".

The *fiche* used by masons is a kind of *strike*, i. e. a straight edged instrument for levelling something, as grain in a measure, clay in a bricklayer's or potter's mould, or sand in a founder's mould, by scraping of the superfluous portion on top. In England, masons use *to strike* " to make level (by wiping off projecting mortar from a joint) ". In the Flemish and Dutch dialects, the verb *strijken* and its compounds are used by masons also ; cf. :

1730 Marin, *Gr. dict. holland.-franç.*, 261 : " Met kalk en kwast overstryken ;... men moet die muur met nieuwe kalk aanstryken... " — 397 : " Kalk om muuren te bestryken ".

The Walloon *fotriker* represents a compound of the Germanic verb STRIKAN : cf. Germ. *verstreichen* in *eine Mauer mit Mörtel verstreichen, die Dachziegel mit Mörtel oder Speis verstreichen*. If the type whence *fotriker* is derived is a Frankish FIR-STRIKAN it is admissible to suppose that the normal Walloon **fostriker* has become *fotriker*

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" ficher " through the influence of Walloon *foter* " ficher ", but it is not necessary.

81. — Rennes *founigoter*, B.-Maine *fournicoter*, *fournigoter* " to search, to seek ", Valenciennes *enfourniquer*, Gaumet *fourniqueye*.

In note **59** on Démuin *fernaque*, *fornaquer*, *fournaquer* " to ferret out, etc. ", I have endeavoured to show the survival of a Germanic SNAKK- in the North French dialects ; and I have called attention to the equivalence of Germanic SNAKK- and Germanic SNIKK-.

There is no doubt that the North French dialects offer traces of the survival of Germanic SNIKK- although in less profusion than of Germanic SNAKK-, so that we are unable to distinguish SNIKK- from NIKK- as we can distinguish SNAKK- from NAKK- (see note **59**).

It is usual to explain French *nique* in *faire la nique*, *niche* in *faire une niche*, Walloon, Rouchi, Franc.-Comtois *niquet* " after dinner nap ", Bourg. *niquet* " nod " by Dutch *nik*, *nikken* " to bow, to nod ". It is of course doubtful that *nique* " sign of derision " and *niche* " prank, practical joke " have the same origin ; in any case in the Dutch and Flemish dialects *knikken* is equivalent to *nikken* :

1630 *Den Schat der duytscher Tale* : " *Nick*, ziet *Knick ; nicken met ten hoofde*, hocher la teste, faire signe de la teste ; ... *Knicken met ten hoofde*, niqueter, faire signe de la teste ; *eenen knick*, niquet, nique, le signe qu'on fait de la teste en demonstrant son vouloir ".

Further *faire la nique* is of course not " to nod with the head " but " to make some sign of mockery " ; cf.

1611 Cotgrave, *Dict.* : " *Nique, faire la nique*, To mock by nodding, or lifting up of the chinne ; or more properly, to threaten or defie, by putting the thumb naile into the mouth, and with a jerke (from the upper teeth) make it to knack... *Niquet*, as *Nique* ; also a knick, tickle, snap with the teeth, or fingers ; a trifle, nifle, bable, matter of small value... ".

Here the sign of derision made with the nail against the upper teeth brings us nearer to *snacken*, *snicken* and their attested values. One may also compare with Cotgrave's " lifting up of the chinne ", the translation " chuck under the chin " given to *niquet* in the following passage by the editor of the text :

1512 *Contreblason de faulses amours*, in G. Alexis, *Œuvres*, SATF, i, 316 :
" Fuyez. — Jeudz, tournois, volleries, chasse,

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Baisiers, attouchemens, nicquès,
Lascivieux mos, telz ou quelz,
Que Dieu de vous tout mal enchasse ".

Again, in regard to French *niqueter* " to nick (a horse's tail) " not attested before the xixth century, *GEW*, 638 says : " *niqueter* . . . ist wall. Mons aus englisch *to nick* " einkerben ", adopting the assertion of *Sigart, Gloss. de Mons*, 266 ; but *niqueter* " to notch " is attested in the xvth century :

1421 *Inv. de l'artill. de Blois*, in Gay, *Gloss. Arch.*, i, 47 : " Une arbaleste d'if de Romenie, lyee a deux liens de fer, a un esmail d'argent, semee de fleurs de lys en l'arbrier au dessoulz de la noix, et est l'arbrier niqueté ".

Enough has been said to show that the exact origin of the words of the form *nique, niquer, niquet, niqueter* in French is not known ; the origin is Germanic but the original form remains doubtful.

The following quotations on the meaning of the verb *snikken* will be useful :

(I) 1630 *Den Schat der duytscher Tale* : " *Snikken*, suivre le trac ou la trace par l'odeur ".

(II) E. Fris. *snikken, snikkern* " singultire oder stossweise einen laut hören lassen " (Doornkaat-Koolman, *Wtb. d. ost-friesischen Sprache*, iii, 244).

(III) For the German *schnicken* " to throw back (of birds), to shake the tail vertically, to shake off (the rain) " where the first sense is " to shake " ; cf. W. Flem. *snokken* " tirer par saccade, par secousses (De Bo, 915) ".

For the sense of " to shake ", cf.

1823 Remacle, *Dict. wallon-franç.*, 233 : " *Niket.* s. m. Cahot, saut d'une voiture ; secousse ; ébranlement de ce qui est secoué . . . *Nikté.* v. a. Agiter, tirer par secousses, par bonds ; s'agiter, se remuer ".

For the other senses, in so far as they occur in the dialects of North France, it is important to see how closely they approximate to those attested for *snakk-* in note **59**:

I. — With *nac, naque* " flair, odorat, nez ", cf. Poitou *nicle* " narine " (Favre, 241), *niclouère* " narine " (Lalanne, 194), the latter form implying **nicler* " to scent " ;

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II. — With *naque* " morve ", cf. : Montbéliard *nique* " morve, mucus nasal ", *se niquai* " se moucher avec les doigts, se moucher ", *niquai* " morveux ", *niqueret* " gros paquet de morve, moucher ", *niquet* " gros paquet de morve " (Contejean, 305) ; Franche-Montagne *nique* " morve " (Grammont) ; Gr.-Combe *nique* " mucus nasal " (Boillot, 212) ; Bournois *nique* " morve ", *niquet* " masse de morve " (Roussey, 219) ; also Montbéliard *renichai* " renifler " (Contejean, 385), by the side of Eure *niquer* " moucher " (Robin, 274), *niquette* " mouchoir ", etc ;

III. — With *naque* " dent ", cf. Poitou *nequette*, *niquette* " dent " (Lalanne, 193), Berry *nique*, *niquette* " dent " (Jaubert, ii, 609). Cf. also with Meuse *nâcher* " manger dédaigneusement et du bout des dents ", W. Norm. *niquet* " délicat, nice " (Duméril, 162);

IV. — With *renâcler*, etc., cf. Bresse louhannaise *renâcler*, *renacquer*, *renicler* " faire quelque chose en rechignant, avec humeur ; trouver des obstacles, des prétextes pour ne point faire ce que l'on vous ordonne ; reculer " (Guillemaut, 266) ; Verduno-Chalonnais *renicler* " renâcler ; (au fig.) hésiter, reculer ", *reniquer* " renier, refuser la chose promise " (Fertiault, 369) ; Morvan *eurniquer* " refuser quelque chose à quelqu'un " (Chambure, 336) ; Berry *renicler* " renâcler " (Jaubert, ii, 609) ; cf. also Valenciennes *renicter* " trouver à reprendre, critiquer minutieusement ", *renicteux* " qui trouve à reprendre à tout, qui regarde à tout " (Hécart, 402);

V. — With *naquer* " to hiccup, to babble, to stutter ", etc., cf. H.-Maine *niquer* " bégayer " (Montesson, 337).

The object of this rather long introduction has been to show the close connection between the North French dialectal words containing Germanic SNAKK- and those which appear to contain Germanic SNIKK- ; and in that way to lead to the question of the survival of any combination of the type FER-SNIKKAN parallel to that of the type FER-SNAKKAN which we have considered in note **59**. The survival is indicated by the following facts :

(1) Hécart, *Dict. rouchi*, 176 translated *s'enfournaquer* by " enfourniquer, se mettre dans de mauvaises affaires " ;

(2) Liégeois, *Compl[t] du Lexique Gaumet*, in *Bull. de la Soc. liégeoise de litt. wallonne*, xli, 159 gives : " *Fourniqueye.* v. int. Fureter, chercher parmi diverses choses éparses " ;

(3) West of the departments of the Eure and the Seine-Inférieure we lose traces of *fernaquer*, *fournaquer*, *fournaguer*, *fournager*

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(see note **59**); but in Maine and French speaking Britanny occur forms which imply *fourniquer*, *fourniguer* :

1895 Dottin, *Gloss. du Bas-Maine*, 214 : " *Fournigauder*, *fournigoter*, chercher, fureter, remuer avec un bâton " [for *bâton*, due probably to *fourgoter* " agiter un bâton dans un trou "]. " *Fournicoter*, fouiller, chercher ".

1891 Coulabin, *Dict. des loc. pop. de Rennes*, 169 : " *Founigoter*. v. a. farfouiller, mettre son nez où l'on n'a que faire... *Ça v's' apprendra à founigoter dans mes affaires* ".

82. — O. Fr. *fourbot*.

Source from *God.*, iv, 114 :

1310 Arch. comm. de Mons, *Ch. du comte Guillaume I de Hainaut pour la draperie de Mons*, 26 juin : " Et qui fourbot u assanlee feroit, il seroit a sissante sauls a nous et a chiunch sauls a le draperie essauchier ".

God., who gives no other example of *fourbot*, explains it by " tumulte ". It seems to mean " anything forbidden " and to be equivalent to the *verbod* of the Dutch and Flemish dialects.

Cf. note on *verbode*.

83. — Gaumet *fourboulaye*.

See note **40** on Moselle *fèrbolaye*.

84. — French *fourlore*, *frelore*.

For this word derived from the Frankish word corresponding to Middle Dutch *verloren*, I call attention to the variable form of the prefix, as it confirms the views derived from the examination of many other words :

(1) O. Fr. *forelore* ; c. 1190 *Roman de Renart*, Br. xv (Méon, 2840) : " Dist Renart : " Tot est forelores " ;

(2) Norm. *fourlore* s. m. " feu follet " (Duméril, 108); cf. slang *fourloure* " sick " attested from 1690 ;

(3) Norm. *furlore* is quoted by Sainéan, *Sources indigènes*, i, 273, as given by Moisy. I cannot find it. That it is a likely form is shown by the *fur-* forms given in notes **114-125**. Norm. *fourolle*, s. f. " torche " (Duméril, 108) seems to be to *fourlore* as *furole*, *furolle* " feu follet, lutin, revenant " to an attested form *furlore* ;

(4) Poitou *ferlor*, *-e*, adj. " Enfoncé ". Gâtine (Lalanne, 134);

(5) Middle Fr. *frelore* ; c. 1464 *Maistre Pathelin* : " Nostre fait seroit tout frelore, S'il vous trouvoit levé " ; 1552 Rabelais, iv, 18 :

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" tout est frelore, bigoth ". — Cf. Genève, *frelore* " perdu "; Damprichard *freloure* " perdu " (Boillot, *Pat. de la Grand'Combe*, 147), etc. ; Middle Fr. *frelorier* " vaurien " (one example in *God*).

85. — O. Fr. *fourmont* " ? levier ", Walloon *formonte* " part of a wall rising above the roof ", etc.

SOURCE in *God.*, iv, 115 :

1404 Arch. JJ, 258, pièce 361 : " Les quelx deux couples de fer le suppliant a un hostil dit fourmont, il leva ou arracha ".

The tool called *fourmont* would seem to have been a lever so that *fourmont* would be the verbal substantive of a verb **fourmonter* " to raise up " which has not so far been attested.

The existence of a verb *formonter* in Walloon is shown by the verbal substantive *formonte* :

1880 Grandgagnage, *Dict. étym. de la langue wallonne*, ii, 526 : " *Formonte*, partie du mur qui dépasse le toit, Sim. 2; *f. di teût* : pièce de bois qui fait le haut de la charpente d'un bâtiment; table de plomb creuse qu'on met au haut d'un toit, Rouv. ".

86. — Picard *fournaquer*, Boulogne *fournaguer*, Norman *fournaguer*, Mons *fournasquer*.

See note **59** on Démuin *fernaquer*.

87. — B.-Maine *fournicoter*, *fournigoter*.

See note **81** on Rennes *founigoter*.

88. — Gaumet *fourniqueye*, Maine *fournicoter*, *fournigoter*.

See note **81** on Rennes *founigoter*.

89. — *Fralater*, *fralatement*, etc.

See note **96** on *frelater*.

90. — Norm. *frateler* " to tell ", *fretel* " tale ".

SOURCE :

1627 David Ferrand, *Muse Normande*, ed. Héron, i, 111 : " Ne fratelle-t'on point la haut, devers ste Boise De st'agnel qu'ont mangé chinq ou six chavetiers ? "

1642 *op. cit.*, ii, 235 : " Ne no z'eluge illoq de ten fretel... ".

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1647 *op. cit.*, iii, 143 : " Mais y n'avet d'autre fretel : " J'ai trouvay un nid dans du plastre ".

1651 *op. cit.*, iii, 241 : " Et ne dis pu jamais su vieux frestel : " Bien, ch'est tout un pour may, je l'ay ouy dire ".

1669 *op. cit.*, iv, 140 : " Dy may, Fleuren, chette deffaite Que tu prosne par ten fretel... ".

In the Glossaire to the *Muse Normande*, *frateler* is translated by " bavarder " and *fretel*, *frestel* by bavardage ". The verb in the only passage in which it occurs means " to tell ", " to relate ". The substantive *fretel* can, I think, be translated by " tale " in the four passages in which it occurs. *Frateler* otherwise not attested seems to bear the same relation to Flemish and Dutch *vertellen* as *fralater*, *frelater* does to Flemish and Dutch *verlaten*.

91. — French *fredaine*.

Fredaine has always been a source of difficulty to etymologists.

Ménage suggested a form **fraudana* from L. *fraus*. Both Littré and the *DG* declare the origin unknown. Littré however adds the question : " Faudrait-il y voir un rapport avec le bourguignon *vredai* " aller çà et là " ou plutôt avec *fredon*, la fredaine étant à la conduite ce que le fredon est au chant "?

GEW, 440 : " Fredaine jugendstreich ", 15. Jhdt. " arrogantes Auftreten " ist. Abl. von afrz. *fredir* " übel mitnehmen ", s. Godefr. *froidir*, dieses aus mlat. (*fredare*) " die Strafsumme einfordern ", dann " belastigen ", s. *frais* ".

L. Sainéan, *Sources indigènes de l'étym. franç.*, ii, considers *fredaine* to be connected with *fredon* : " L'alternance *trudon-trudaine* trouve son pendant en *fredon-fredaine*, le premier appliqué au chant des oiseaux et de l'homme (XVI^e^ siècle), le deuxième, dès le XV^e^ siècle, avec le sens figuré de folie de jeunesse, proprement chanson, et refrain de chanson : " fredon, fredon, fredondille... " (Rabelais, i, 27) ".

The modern meaning of *fredaine* is " écart de conduite par folie de jeunesse, de tempérament ou autrement " (Littré). If we go back to Cotgrave (1611) we get : " *fredaine* : f. a gudgeon, mockery, wile, gullery; a deceitfull part, a roguish pranke, a knavish or cousening device ". In the *Muse Normande* (1625 sq.) the word

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occurs e. g. iii, 257, 274 and Héron, the editor, translates it by " mauvais tour " ; in the following passage (i, 85) :

" Un fol antien no mit à la fredaine
De rebuter et le Rey et la Reine,
Disant qu'un roc suffiset o z'echets... ".

he renders *mettre à la fredaine* by " pousser à la folie ". The earliest texts in which *fredaine* has been found are :

1420 See Ducange, arts *fredare*, *narire* : the explanation given is " fanfaronnade, vanterie ".

c. 1470-80 Coquillard, *Œuvres*, Bibl. Elz., i, 174 : " La bourgeoise eust un autre amy,
A qui elle donne et advance
Ces quatre aunes de satin cy.
Il les prent et est resjouy,
Il fringue et en faict sa fredaine ". [The explanation suggested by the editor is " folie, folle ostentation "].

To explain *freiaine*, the first point to note is that it is a Northern word. Mistral has no equivalent of it. The first text containing the word and which it is to possible to locate is from Champagne. It is used in Normandy and in Picardy; for Picardy, cf. Fruges *fardaine* " fredaine " in Edmont, *Lexique Saint-Polois*, 103.

Then the meanings best attested in French are " youthful folly, foolish prank, foolish ostentation ".

I suggest that these meanings are explained by a Germanic form represented by Middle Dutch and Middle Flemish *verdaen*, past part. of the verb *verdoen* in which the idea of " folly " is already clearly marked; cf :

1630 *Den Schat der duytscher Tale* : " *Verdoen syn goedt*, dissiper, gaspiller ou consommer et despendre follement son bien... *Verdaen*, dissipé, gaspillé, consommé ".

It is in the French-speaking districts that *fredaine* would have come to be used as a substantive meaning " wild or foolish or useless expenditure ". From the idea of " foolish expense, wild dissipation " the meanings attested in French for *fredaine* are derivable.

92. — French *fredonner* " 1. (obs.) to trill; 2. to hum ".

DG, 1117 derives *fredonner* from *fredon* and considers *fredon* of unknown origin.

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GEW, 440 has attempted to explain these words as follows : " FREDON " Triller, Vereinigung von drei gleichen Karten beim Kartenspiel " 16. Jhdt., ist mit Suffixwechsel umgestaltet aus **fredor*, das sich aus mittellatein. *frigdorae* im 11. Jhdt. erschliessen lässt; dieses scheint zu lat. *friguttire*, *fringulire* " zwitschern " zu gehören ; vielleicht liegt ein vlat. **frigitore* zu lat. *frĭgĕre* " quietschen " zugrunde.

Dazu seit dem 16. Jhdt. die Abl. *fredonner* " trillern, trällern ". Oder ursprünglich Refrain ? ".

This explanation, it seems to me, can only have been put forward for want of a better and is certainly to be rejected.

The first known appearance of *fredonner* or of its derivatives is of the year 1546 (*fredonnement*, Rabelais, iii, 46 : " Les fredonnements des lucs, rebecs et violons " ; *fredon* in *Palmerin d'Olive*, 228b : " Chacun s'en resjouyssoit ; mesmement des fredons et nouveaux passages dont il usoit) ". They are, from the beginning of the evidence we have of them, terms of music, of playing and singing, and their use in the xvith century can be gleaned from Cotgrave :

1611 Cotgrave, *Dict.* : " *Fredon* : m. A semy-quaver, or semy-semy-quaver in musicke ; and hence, division ; and a warbling, shaking, or quavering. *Faire fredon sur fredon*. To heape curiosity upon curiosity, to adde one nice point unto another, or use many together. *Fredonner*. To shake, divide, warble, quaver in singing, or playing on an instrument.

Fredonneux : m. *euse* : f. full of semie-semie-quavers ; or of quavering, shaking, warbling ; dividing much.

Fredonniser, as *fredonner* ".

The Modern Dutch *deunen* " to sing, to play " is dealt with as follows by *Den Schat der duytscher Tale* in 1630 :

" *Deunen*, jouer, bourder, ou reten[t]ir, faire bruit, sonner, resonner, esclater, tonner.

Deuninghe, retentissement, modulation, facétie.

Donen, ziet *deunen* ".

The Modern Dutch *deun* " lied, gesang " is attested in a Middle Dutch form *don(e)* in the xvth century (Frank van Wyk, *Etym. Woordenboek d. nederlandsche Taal*, 1912, p. 113). A Middle Dutch **verdonen* would explain the French *fredonner* and could be compared with German *versingen* " to spend (e. g. the time) in singing, to drive away (e. g. care) by singing, etc. ", or German *verspielen* " to spend (e. g. the time) in playing ". This explanation of the

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French *fredonner* would be satisfactory if we could be certain that it was introduced into French in the xvith century for the first time ; but it is well to add that although the Dutch *don*(*e*) is not attested before the xvth century, it belongs to a Germanic root which is attested long before : cf. O. Sax. *dunian*, A. Sax. *dynian* interpreted by German *dröhnen* i. e. " gronder, retentir, trembler " ; so that even if it could be shown that the Fr. *fredonner* was much older than the xvith century, the explanation byt he same Germanic root would hold good.

The form *veurdonner* in Bas-Maine should be noted :

1895 Dottin, *Gloss. du B.-Maine*, 519 : " *Veurdonner*, fredonner ; — danser (Ernée) ".

Cf. also :

1869 Jonain, *Gloss. saintongeais*, 184 : " *F'rdouner*, fredonner... ".

1895 Dottin, *Gloss. du B.-Maine*, 198 : " *Feurdonner*, fredonner ".

1896 Fertiault, *Dict. verduno-chalonnais*, 174 : " *Feûrdoner*, v. tr. fredonner, chantonner ".

93. — O. French *frefel*.

God.'s article *Frefel* (with variants *frefeil*, *ferfel*, *fravall*), contains eleven probatory texts.

One of these, the last, of 1398, comes from the Archives of Fribourg in Switzerland, and contains the form *fravall*, which has nothing to do with *frefeil*, and the origin of which is dealt with by Tappolet, *Die alemannischen Lehnwörter in den Mundarten der französischen Schweiz*, ii, 43, 44.

Of the remaining texts, one is from *Li Beaus Desconeus* and in it the expression *en grant ferfel* rimes with *somel* (= Fr. *sommeil*). The other nine are from Froissart's *Poésies* or from his *Chroniques*. Invariably we have the combination *en frefel* (*en ce f.*, *en tel f.*, *en grant f.*). The same assertion may be made of three other examples in Froissart's *Meliador*, SATF, 11338, 11963, 20751 (*en frefel*, *en ce frefeil*), in which *frefeil* rimes with *conseil*.

The word *frefeil* (*frefel*, *ferfel*) is translated by *God.* " trouble, tumulte, agitation ", by Longnon, the editor of *Meliador*, " agitation, trouble ". It has survived :

(*a*) at Valenciennes : *fourfèle*, *fourfiele* " émoi ", *être en fourfèle* (Hécart, 215) ;

(*b*) at Lille : *in fourfelle*, *in foufelle* (Vermesse, 250) ;

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(*c*) at Tourcoing : *in foufelle* ;
(*d*) at Frameries, 5 k. s. E. of Mons ; corrupted to *in foufète*.

J. Haust, in *Romania*, xlvii, 565, and *Étymologies wallonnes et françaises*, 102, explains *frefeil*, *frefel* as from a form corresponding to Dutch *wrevel* " colère, humeur revêche, farouche, hargneuse, fantasque ". My objections to this explanation are partly phonetic (WR-> *fr*-) and partly semantic.

I prefer to put *frefel*, *frefeil*, *ferfel* into relation with Dutch *verveelen* :

1730 Marin, *Grand dict. holl.-franç.*, 949 : " *Verveelen*. v. a. lastig vallen, verdrieten. Incommoder, fatiguer, ennuyer. — *Ik vrees u te verveelen*. Je crains de vous incommoder. *Dat geraas my te veel*. Ce bruit m'incommode trop ".

For the origin of the meaning of this verb derived from *veel* " much ", cf. Frank van Wijk, *Etym. Wdb*, 733, 737 under the words *verlangen*, *verveelen*.

94. — N. Eastern *fregar*.

See note **77** on *flégard*.

95. — French *frelampier*.

See note **46** on *ferlamper*.

96. — French *frelater* " to adulterate, to sophisticate ".

The first example of this word at present known is :

1546 Rabelais, iii, 38 : " Couillon frelatté ",

where the meaning of *frelatté* is perhaps " loose, hanging down ".

The origin of *frelater* and its derivation from an equivalent of Dutch *verlaten* " to leave, forsake, let go, etc. " has long been known.

The usual meaning of *frelater* as applied to wine comes from such a phrase as *verlaten den wijn* :

1630 *Den Schat der duytscher Tale* : " *Verlaten den wijn*, clarifier le vin, fralater ",

properly " to let go, to pour out the wine so as to get rid of the lees " :

1611 Cotgrave, *Dict.* : " *fralater*. To rack wine, to draw it off the lees ; to shift, or powre it out of one vessell into another... *frelater*, to racke, or draw wine from the lees, and put it into a new vessel... ".

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1630 *Den Schat der duytscher Tale* : " *Verlaten, afgieten d'olie,* tirer l'huile de ses ordures... ".

So *frelater des harengs* is to pass them from one keg into another. The sense of adulteration (of wine) is later than that of clarification.

As the origin of *frelater* is certain, one should note the variant forms with FRA-, FAR- :

(i) 1549 R. Estienne, *Dict.*, in *DG* : " Fralater du vin "; 1611 Cotgrave who gives *fralater, fralatement* as well as *frelater, frelatement, frelateur*; *DG* gives *frelatage* with a first example of 1684 but *fralatage* occurs before 1655 in Nicolas de Bonnefons, *Délices de la Campagne*, ed. 1665, p. 46 : " C'est une espèce de fralatage ou changement de tonneau, qui diminue et affaiblit nos vins d'autour de Paris ".

Cf. rouchi *fralatache* in Hécart, 217.

(ii) Example of 1609 of *farlaterie* given by *DG* as the first known of *frelaterie*.

See also notes on *fertaler, vrelater*.

97. — Jura *freleucher*.

SOURCE :

1857 D. Monnier, *Vocab. de la Séquanie*, 332 : " Freleucher, v. n., faire le freluquet, se pavaner ".

See note **105** on *freluquet*.

98. — French *freloche*, dial. *freloque*, etc.

See *Miscell. Lexic.*, iv, 9; also note **9** on Anjou *déferloquer* and note **76** on Gaumet *firloque, firloqui*; also *ALF*, 150 for *ferlok* " langue "; also Sigart, *Gloss. montois* (1866), 165 for " *erloqueter, r'lokter*, v. a., nettoyer avec une loque mouillée ".

99. — O. Fr. *freloquer*.

See *Miscell. lexic.*, iv, 9.

100. — Fr. *frelore*.

See note **84** on Fr. *fourlore*.

101. — Late Middle French *frelu*.

See notes **105, 106** on *freluquet, frelus*.

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102. — French *freluche.*

See *Misc. Lexic.*, iv, 9.

103. — Norm. *frelufer.*

See note **122** on *furlufer.*

104. — Champagne *freluque* " wisp (of hair) ".

See *Misc. Lexic.*, iv, 9.

105. — Fr. *freluquet.*

There are three meanings attested for *freluquet* :

(I) " Very small coin " : 1611 Cotgrave : " *Freluquet* : m. a. French halfpenny " ; *Nouv. Fabrique des traits de vérité* in *DG* : " Quarante quatre freluquets de trois blancs ".

(II) " Homme léger, frivole, et sans mérite " (1718 ACAD. which adds : " Il est du style familier). — The word is often used with the adjective *petit* : 1686 Baron, *L'homme à bonnes fortunes*, iii, 1 : " Ce petit freluquet de Monade, avec ses avis impertinents ! " — 1611 Cotgrave : " *Freluquet* : m. also a spruce dwarfe, a pretty dapper fellow ".

(III) " Little leaden weight used by ribbon-makers " : 1760 Savary des Bruslons, *Dict. du Comm.*, ii, 764 : " *Freluquet* (Rubanier). Ce sont de très petits poids de plomb pesant environ un demi-gros : ce petit poids est percé d'outre en outre pour donner passage à un fil qui les suspend : ce fil est arrêté par les deux bouts noués au trou du poids, et sert à passer chaque brin de glacis pour le tenir en équilibre pendant le travail ".

Freluquet (I) is a diminutive of *freluque* on which we have the following information :

1454 Arch., JJ 184, pièce 478 : " Pour ung virelan de noire monnoie nommee au pays frelusques " [le pays = Ponthieu].

1459 Arch., JJ 189, pièce 358 : " Le duc de Bourgoigne a fait courir ou pays de Boullenois... certaines monnoies noires de son coing de petite valeur que aucuns appeloient *frelucques* ".

The from *freluque* explained by " demi-denier tournois " is given for Guernesey by Métivier, *Dict. franco-norm.*, 225, and *frelusque* for la Vallée d'Yères by *God.* *Freluque* as a name of a coin appears to

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be the same word as *freluque* (= Fr. *freluche*) in the sense of " thing of small value ", given jestingly to the Burgundian coins issued for currency by Philip the Good. But I take it that the proper form of the name was *frelique, furlique*, and that it meant a " quarter " :

1375 Arch., JJ 107, pièce 66 : " Lequel Robert changeur a achaté et prins monnoie appellee poitevines on furreliques.... ".

This is made clear by the text of 1454 quoted above where the proper name of the coins is given as *virelan* from *virlenc* (cf. Dutch *vierling* " fourth part of a piece of money "). The from *furrelique* may be compared with *virlique*, a term of the game called *romestecq* :

1758 *Acad. Univ. des jeux*, ed. 1789, i, 335 : " On appelle virlicque, lorsqu'il arrive en main à un joueur, quatre as, quatre rois ou quatre de quelque autre point que ce soit, en observant que le plus haut emporte le plus bas et celui qui gagne la partie ".

So far as the form *freluque* is concerned, it must be considered as the same word as French *freluche*, given in jest to coin called *furrelique* or *virlan*.

Freluquet (II) has been dealt with by Le Duchat in his explanation of *frelu* in the passage of the *Satire Ménippée* quoted in note 106 on *frelus*. I extract the following :

1750 Ménage, *Dict. étym.*, i, 625 : " *Frelu.* T. d'injure et de mépris... De ce mot vient le diminutif *freluquet*, qui chez nous signifie un gueux dont les habits sont tout déchirés et chargés de freloques... Dans ce passage du Catholicon d'Espagne, *frelu* ou *gueux* veut dire hérétique, et c'est une allusion aux réformés de Flandre, auxquels on donne le nom de gueux. De *frelu* vient aussi *freluquet* qui se dit d'un jeune homme qui se fait un mérite d'être frisé et godronné, à l'exemple des mignons du roi Henri iii ".

According to Le Duchat, then :

(*a*) *Frelu* properly means " ragged beggar " and was given as a name to the Protestants just as *gueux* in 1566 was applied to the Protestant insurgents in the Low Countries. This would explain that as a term of abuse *frelu* was transferred like other words (ex. g. *guilbedoin*) from the Protestants to the Politiques by the partisans of the Ligue. If *frelu* comes from Champagne as appears to be the case (see text of 1592 in note on *frelus*), one may remember that it is in Champagne that *freluche* is attested in the sense of

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"rag" and I am informed by Dr Chassinat-Gigot, whose birth-place is Reims, that in that city *freluchon* is used of a "man in rags".

(*b*) *Freluquet* is a diminutive of *frelu*; in his own part of the country (Lorraine : Le Duchat was born at Metz in 1653), *freluquet* means "ragged beggar". *Freluquet*, he seems to suggest, was applied to the favourites of Henry iii; this tallies with the fact that so far no text containing *freluquet* in sense (II) has been found before Cotgrave (1611). *Freluquet* might then be explained by a comparison of the ornaments of dress (ruffles, laces, etc.) of the minions to rags or trifles.

Freluquet (III) is considered by the *DG* as an extension of the meaning of *freluquet* (I). If that be so, then all the meanings of *freluquet* are to be connected with Fr. *freluche*, the history of which I have examined in *Miscellanea Lexicographica*, iv, 9, and the root of which remains unknown.

106. — Late Middle French *frelus* "lost; routed".

The only xvith century texts containing *frelu* are quoted by Sainéan, *Sources indigènes*, i, 324 as follows :

1592 Pigenat, *Traité en faveur de la maison de Lorraine* : "Ceux que nous appelons *Maheutres* à Paris, *Frelus et Mettins* en Champagne, *Guilbedoins* en Basse-Normandie et en Poitou, *Bigarrez* en Provence...".

1593 *Satire Ménippée*, ed. Franck, 181 : "C'est un Maheustre et un Frelu Pire qu'un Turc ou Mammelu...".

These texts quote nicknames applied in various parts of France to the *Politiques* or moderate party of the time, and the first of them is interesting because it claims that *frelu* was in that sense used in Champagne.

Sainéan supposes the word was introduced from Berry whereas the only evidence of contemporaries is in favour of its introduction from Champagne. He further says : "*Frelu* (*freluc*) "gourmand" a acquis, en passant en français, le sens de "voleur" (Cotgrave) par une évolution analogue à celle de "*fripon*". I know of no sound evidence for either of these meanings. What Cotgrave says is this :

1611 Cotgrave : "*Frelus*, as *Frelore*; or overthrowne horse and foot".

In other words *frelus* means "lost" and is used of a defeated

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army in the sense of " routed ". It is clear that Cotgrave had access to texts which have not yet been noted and where *frelus* was probably a different word from the *frelu* found in the quotations of 1592 and 1593.

Without dated and located texts, it is impossible to clear up the origin of *ferlus* " lost ". It is apparently not a noun (E. Fris. *ferlûs* " loss " = German *verlust*), but an adjective or a participle ; cf. :

(i) E. Fris. *verlüdt*, verloren, verkommen, verschollen, etc. ; *de bûdel* (Wirthschaft, Haushalt, Familie, Sache, etc.) *is gans ferlüdt* (verloren, verkommen, nicht mehr zu halten u. zu retten, etc.) ; — *hê is ferlüdt* (verloren, weg, verschollen, etc.). Wohl zu *ferlüden* (als beläutet u. so auch todt, weg, etc.) od. zu *ferlûden* im Sinn von verhallen, vertönen, verschallen, etc., wo dann *ferlüdt* = vertönt, ausgetönt, etc., u. so still, todt, verstorben, weg, etc., wäre (Doornkaat-Koolman, *Wtb. d. ostfries. Spr.* i, 455) ;

and of much less probable influence :

(ii) E. Fris. *ferlütjen, ferlütjern*, verkleinen, verkleinern, kleiner machen, etc. (Doornkaat-Koolman, *op. et loc. cit.*) ;

(iii) W. Flem. *verlutsen* " perdre " in *zijne tijd verlutsen, zijne geld verlutsen* (De Bo, *Westvlaamsch Idioticon*, 1104) ; from Dutch and Flemish *lutsen* " to waste one's time " (cf. Dutch *leuteren*, Engl. *to loiter*).

107. — Blois *frenouiller*.

See note **58** on *fernailler* [3].

108. — O. Fr. *fresillant*.

See note **64** on *fersiller*.

109. — O. Fr. *fressanger*.

See note **31** on *farsinguer*.

110. — Mid. Fr. *fretailler* " to cut up or divide, (of stuffs) to slash " ; Berry *fretailler* " to strike ".

God., iv, 99, has a single example of the verb *fortailler* " tailler trop abondamment " :

1386 Arch., MM 31, f° 13 v° : " Senz iceulz prez, eaues, ne bos fortailler ne desroiier fors que a droite taille ne roie... ".

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The translation " tailler abondamment " is not a good one, since the noun-objects of *fortailler* are *prez*, *eaues*, *bos*, and I would rather interpret by " to cut up, to divide ".

So in the single example of *fortailleresse* given by *God.*, iv, 99 :

c. 1330 G. de Deguilleville, *Trois Pèlerinages*, f° 64d, Impr. Instit. : " Et une borgne cousturiere Fortailleresse parmentiere... ",

the translation : " qui taille mal " is not the right one ; the word *fortailleresse* used in conjunction with *cousturiere* and *parmentiere* must be taken to refer to a woman whose work was to cut up or slash stuff, cf. Fr. *déchiqueter* properly " to cut pieces out of " and it is worth while noting the following gloss :

1630 *Den Schat der duytscher Tale* : " *Versnijden*, *versnipperen*, deschiqueter, découper, couper menu et entièrement ".

God. gives two examples of *fretailler* where it clearly means " to slash (stuffs) " :

p. 1500 *Nef des folz*, 4 r° : " Manteaux divers et fretaillez... ".

1584 G. Bouchet, *Serées*, ed. Roybet, i, 203 : " le feu se print à sa chemise, qui estoit toute fretaillee de filets... ".

Cotgrave explains : *chemise fretaillee de filets* by " a shirt, or smock wrought in frets about the skirts " and the word *fretaillé* by " cut, hackt, notcht, jagged ". Two verbal substantives of *fretailler* are attested, each in one text only :

(*a*) 1611 Cotgrave : " *Fretail de perles*. Refuse, or ragged pearles ; pearls of small value ".

(*b*) xvth c. Arch. Vienne, Trinité, liasse 19 (*God.*) : " A Johan Babilhon, draper, lxv. s. pour une aune et un tiers de brunete necessaire pour faire les fretailles de la dite huque ".

Fretaille is a " slashing ", and *fretailles de la huque* may be compared with *manteaux fretaillez* above ; the translation " support " given by *God.* is not understandable and should be rejected. Further, *fretaille*, in the following passage :

1587 Cholieres, *Apresdinees*, ed. Libr. des bibliophiles, 71 : " Ceux... qui y ont eu commandement... estiment que ceux auxquels ils ont affaire, soient leurs gouges, goujats et telle fretaille ",

is also probably a verbal substantive of *fretailler* ; the meaning in the passage is " small fry, riff-raff " and this figurative sense is

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perhaps derived from " fragment " and so from the verbal sense of " to cut up or divide ".

The verb *fretailler* has survived in Berry :

1856 Jaubert, *Gloss. du Centre*, i, 460 : " *Fretailler*, v. a. frapper ".

The meaning " frapper " derives no doubt from " to cut, to hack " (cf. the relations between *coup* and *couper*).

111. — French *frétiller*.

DG, 1120 :

FRÉTILLER. — V. intr.

[ÉTYM. Origine incertaine ; peut-être onomatopée. — XIVe s. Crier fretiller n'i valut, *Renart le contrefait*, dans GODEF., *Compl.* — || S'agiter par petits mouvements rapides.

GEW, 441 :

" FRÉTILLER " Zappeln " 14. Jhdt., ist mit Suffixwechsel aus afrz. *fresteler* umgestaltet, dieses " Lärm machen ", dann " mit grossem Lärm gallopieren ", " sich abzappeln " u. ä. ; es bedeutet ursprünglich " auf der Schalmei spielen " d. i. Abl. von afrz. *frestele* " Schalmei ", " Art Flötte ", dieses vorhistorische Abl. von afrz. *freste* " Rohrpfeife " aus lat. *fistula* dass. ; vgl. *fêle*, *ZRP*, xli, 638.

Zu afrz. **freter* " reiben ", s. *frotter*, Spitzer, *AR*, vii, 390 anm. ist schon deshalb unmöglich, weil es ein afrz. **freter* " reiben " nicht gibt ".

On a fourth etymology which has been proposed for *frétiller*, Sainéan, *Sources indigènes*, i, 2 says :

" Pour l'origine d'un vocable, probablement onomatopéique, comme *frétiller*, Scheler propose ce triple type latin : " Soit d'un verbe latin *fritillare*, secouer, supposé par Saumaise sur la base du subst. *fritillus*, cornet à dés ; soit de **frictillare*, dérivé supposé de *frictare*, fréquentatif de *fricare*, frotter ; soit enfin du bas-latin *fritillare*, piler du poivre dans un mortier (*fritillum*), à cause du mouvement de va-et-vient du pilon ". Si ce sont là des " résultats de la science moderne ", avouons franchement qu'ils ne diffèrent point de ceux de l'époque de Ménage ".

I begin by pointing out that *frétiller* is attested before the xivth century :

c. 1159 (?) *Richeut*, ed. Romanic Review, 1127 : " San[sonez] d'angoisse fretille... ".

Then, so far as the meaning is concerned, *frétiller* is said particularly of cases of moving when the moving is from the ground, in other words when some idea of raising is involved. It is said of worms, of eels, of serpents, etc. ; cf. Gérard de Nerval in Besche-

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relle, s. v. *frétiller* : " *Les caméléons, les salamandres, les lézards frétillaient parmi les rochers* ", or again of the movements of a fish that has fallen to the ground : " *Cette carpe était bien en vie, elle frétille encore* ". It is said in reference to various parts of the body : *les pieds lui frétillent, la langue lui frétille* ; of a dog's tail when he raises and wags it : *frétiller de la queue* ; of wings :

1582 Gauchet, *Plaisir des Champs*, 167 : " Tel leve en haut le bec, tel fertillant des ailes, En vain va debattant ses esclaves aisselles... ".

(Cf. slang *frétiller* " danser " and *frétillante* " tail "). Some of the translations given by Cotgrave :

1611 Cotgrave, *Dict.* : " *Fretiller*, to move, wag, stirre often, stand on no ground ; to wriggle, frig, tickle, itch, lust to be at it "

suggest the restlessness, the effort to be up and doing which are implied in this verb. Cf.

1750 Ménage, *Dict. étym.*, ed. 1750, ii, 543 : " Se trémousser, c'est proprement fertiller, ne pouvoir demeurer en repos ".

As I have already said *frétiller* is found in *Richeut*, and although the date 1159 which has been assigned to that text from a supposed allusion to the siege of Toulouse in that year is very doubtful, there is no doubt that the poem is of the xiith century. I should propose to derive *frétiller* from a Frankish verb *FER-TILLAN based on the following :

(1) 1630 *Den Schat der duytscher Tale* : " *Tillen, heffen*, lever... *Tilbargoedt, tilbaerhave*, ustensiles, meubles ".

1730 Marin, *Grand Dict. holl.-franç.*, 875 : " *Til*, action d'élever ; *tillen*, lever de terre, soulever " ; cf. 947 ; " *Vertillen*, zie *Optillen* en *Tillen* " ; cf. 691 : " *Optillen*, lever de terre, hausser ".

(2) E. Fris. *fer-tillen* " verheben, von der Stelle heben ; (sich) durch Heben verletzen oder einen Schaden zuziehen ". Cf. O. Fris. *tilla* " lever ".

A certain number of remarks may be added on the evidence afforded by dialect dictionaries :

(i) The Germanic verb is transitive whereas in French *frétiller* is intransitive. But in the dialects *frétiller* occurs as a transitive :

1867 Vermesse, *Dict. du pat. de la Flandre française*, 240 : " *Fertiller*. v. n. Frétiller. *I fertille comme un vier.*

In veyant ses tours, même eun' biêt' feroce
F'rot fertiller s'queue in marque d'plaisi.

La Desrousseaux, *Le poisson d'avril.*

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1878 De Chambure, *Gl. du Morvan*, 352 : " En français *frétiller* exprime une action purement physique. Chez nous, *feurteiller* se prend dans une acception de blâme ou de moquerie et sous-entend qu'on s'agite mal à propos. On emploie quelquefois le mot avec le sens actif pour " agiter vivement, chiffonner, froisser... ".

(ii) The dialects show the existence by the side of *fertiller*, *fertillement*, of parallel forms with initial *v* :

1372 *Le livre du chevalier de la Tour Landry*, Bibl. Elzév., 27 : " Et ainsi celle qui avoit la meilleure et la plus seure maniere, fut royne d'Angleterre, et l'ainsnee fut refusee pour le vertillement et legiereté de son visaige et pour son resgard qui estoit un peu vertilleux... ". Le chevalier de la Tour Landry was a Poitevin.

1625-1627 *La Muse Normande*, ed. Héron, i, 47 : " Mais pour votre petiot, il est sain et dispos, Vretillant et replet et d'une imeur viouge... ". — Cf. ii, 79, the indicative present *vretille*.

1856 Jaubert, *Gloss. du Centre*, iii, 432 : " *Verdiller*, *vertiller*, v. n. frétiller, remuer sans cesse... *Verdillon*, *vertillon*, *vertillou*, s. m., personne agitée, qui verdille ".

1867 Favre, *Gloss. du Poitou*, 348 : " *Vertiller*, v. n. Frétiller ".

(iii) The dialects have also forms with *d* for *t* like the Berry forms just quoted : cf. Boulogne *verdiller* " s'agiter, remuer vivement " (Haigneré, 612) ; B.-Maine *verdiller* " vétiller, s'amuser à des bagatelles ", *verdille* " vétille, bagatelle ", *verdillon* " individu remuant, pétulant " (Dottin, 519) ; Anjou *verdeiller* " remuer sans cesse, frétiller " (Verrier-Onillon, ii, 316).

An interesting use of *vertiller* :

1587 L. Joubert, *Erreurs pop.*, ed. 1587, 1re partie, v, 5 : " les tettes commencent à s'enfler et vertiller, lorsque le sang menstrual commence à dilater les veines de la matrice "

has been noted by Cotgravè :

1611 Cotgrave, *Dict.* : " *Vertiller*, To swell, or increase, as women's breasts doe when the matricall veines are stretched by the menstrual bloud ".

112. — Middle French *fretouiller*.

The earliest example of the form *fretouiller* is given by *God.* :

1541 *Le banquet des chambrieres fait aux étuves*, in *Anc. poès. franç.*, Bibl. Elz., ii, 295 : " Quand je manie cette andouille, Il m'est avis qu'on m'en fretouille, Le gout me monte jusqu'au cœur ".

God. translates *fretouiller* in this example by " faire frétiller ".

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Fretouiller is noted neither by Cotgrave nor by the larger modern French dictionaries. The dialect dictionaries treat the word as follows :

1903 Haigneré, *Vocab. du pat. boulonnais*, 265 : " *Fertouiller*, v. n. frétiller, ressentir un violent désir de faire quelque chose. D'après le Glossaire de M. l'abbé Corblet, le picard emploie ce mot dans un sens actif qui est inconnu ici ".

1851 Corblet, *Gloss. pic.*, 457 : " *Fertouiller*, remuer, tripoter, barboter ".

1834 Hécart, *Dict. rouchi*, 205 : " *Ferdoulier*, agiter l'eau comme font les enfants pour s'amuser. M. Quivy explique ce mot par être gênant par excès d'ampleur ".

1895 Dottin, *Gloss. du Bas-Maine*, 199 : " *Fertouiller*, bruire (Argentré) ".

1856 Jaubert, *Gloss. du Centre*, i, 459 : " *Fertouiller*, v. n. (de *frétiller*). Remuer l'eau en faisant un léger bruit ".

At Boulogne *fertouiller* has the meaning of *frétiller*. The influence of *frétiller* is seen again in Jaubert's contribution. The meaning " remuer, agiter " is the most constant and that of " bruire " seems secondary.

On the other hand the verb *touiller* means " agiter, remuer pour mêler " and is particularly said of liquids like *fretouiller* so that one may ask oneself whether *fretouiller*, *fertouiller* is not decomposable into *fre-*, *fer-* + *touiller*. And on the whole that appears to me the more satisfactory solution.

With *fertouiller* will go Morvan *en feurtou*, *être en feurtou* " poursuivre, rechercher quelque chose avec agitation, inquiétude ". It seems too that it is quite possible that we have the same verb in O. Fr. *vertouiller* :

xiiith c. *Du fevre de Creil*, in *Fabliaux*, ed. Montaiglon, i, 435 : " Quant li vallés ot la promesse Si trait le vit, dont une asnesse Peust bien estre vertoillie... ".

a. 1328 Chr. Legouais, *Fables d'Ovide* in *God.* : " Entre .ii. roches par le vis Me court l'eve qui tout me moille Tant me destort, tant me vertoille ".

God. translates *vertouiller* in the second passage by " faire tourner de côté et d'autre ", as he is under the impression that *vertouiller* derives from L. vertere, but the sense of " agiter, remuer " seems quite satisfactory for both these passages as well as for the 1541 example of *fretouiller*. So in *Girard de Roussillon*, ed. Mignard, 3443 :

" Et si c'est la meniere de felon orguoilloux
Que con plus le prion plus se fait vertoilloux ",

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the meaning " remuant, agité, violent " is acceptable.

113. — Morvan *frimouille*.

See note **148** on Fr. *vermiller*.

114. — Walloon *furdon* " jerk ".

SOURCE :

1845 Grandgagnage, *Dict. étym.*, i, 227 : " *Furdon* (saccade : *cô de furdon* : coup de force, saccade) ". From a MS vocab. of about 1800 by Canon de Jaer.

115. — *Fureluche* = *freluche*.

1624 *Gr. dict. fr.-flam.* : " *Fureluche*, voyez *fereluche* ". *Fereluche* is not in the *Gr. Dict. fr.-flam.*, but in 1611 Cotgrave has : " *Fereluche* as *Freluche* ".

116. — *Furelussé* " ennuyé, dégoûté " (Oudin).

See *God.*, iv, 183.

117. — *Furemplage*.

Cotgrave in 1611 gives *au furemplagé de* " proportionably, according to, after the rate of ".

Various examples are quoted by *God*.

118. — Walloon *furlanguer*.

See note **47** on *ferlanguer*.

119. — Walloon *furlop*, *furlor* " spirits ".

SOURCE :

1880 Grandgagnage, *Dict. étym.*, ii, 527 : " *Furlor* (esprit de vin). Lob. ; Villers : *furlop* (esprit de genièvre) ".

Furlop is from Malmédy (Villers in 1793) and *furlor* from Verviers (Lobel in 1854). Neither form is quoted for Liège by Forir.

Although these forms are quoted from the extreme East of the Walloon area, they do not correspond to High German words, but to Dutch and Flemish *verloopen*, *verloren* and refer perhaps to the volatility of alcoholic liquor. De Bo, *Westvlaamsch Idioticon*, 1104 says of *verloopen* : " Wordt ook gez. van dranken die kracht en smaak verliezen door't lang loopen. Verloopen bier of azijn (die van de kraan afleekt, of wel die men van een ton aftapt sedert lang aan't loopen). Verloopen kaffie (kaffie van de tweede of derde geut) ".

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Cf. :

1762 Savary des Bruslons, *Dict. du Comm.*, iv, 1177 . " *Verloopt*. Les Hollandois appellent ainsi les meilleures eaux-de-vie de France qu'ils nomment aussi *eaux-de-vie de trois quints* ou de *trois cinquièmes...* "; iv, 1256 : " *Voorloop*. C'est le nom que les Hollandois donnent également, et à l'eau-de-vie rectifiée, et à l'esprit de vin, suivant le génie de leur langue. Ce mot est composé d'une préposition et d'un verbe au présent. Il signifie tout entier proprement *avant-coureur*, parce qu'en rectifiant, par la distillation, l'eau-de-vie, ou en faisant de l'esprit-de-vin, cet esprit sort toujours le premier, ou avant le phlegme qui ne sort jamais que le dernier dans cette distillation. M. Savary l'a mal nommé, en lui donnant le nom de *verloopt*. Ce mot signifieroit, s'il étoit d'usage chez les Hollandois, *mauvaise eau-de-vie*, dans laquelle on a fait distiller le phlegme à force de pousser le feu jusqu'à la dernière goute d'humidité, ce qui en gâte le goût entièrement ".

120. — Walloon *furlozer*.

J. Haust, *Étym. wall. et franç.* (1923), 97 proposes to explain Walloon *forlozer*, *furlozer* " to squander " by Flemish *waerloosen* " to neglect" , rejecting the explanation given by Grandgagnage, *Dict. étym.*, i, 215 (and accepted by Behrens, *Beiträge*, 265), by O. Sax. *farliosan*, *forleosan*.

The explanation by *waerloosen* is satisfactory neither from the phonetic nor from the semantic side.

For-, *fur-* in Walloon points to a verb containing the equivalent Dutch and Flemish *ver-*. In a large number of words containing *ver-*, the idea of " spending, wasting " is found (see note **47** on *ferlanguer*, *furlanguer*).

Haust is no doubt right in insisting on the phonetic difficulties raised by Grandgagnage's proposal, considering that O. Sax. *farliosan*, *forleosan* corresponds to Mod. Dutch *verliesen* and that A. Sax. *leosan* in *for-leosan* has resulted in the archaic English *to leese*.

Den Schat der duytscher Tale (ed. 1630) gives *loosen* in the sense of English " to lose " as well as English " to loose ". *To lose* corresponds to A. Sax. *losian* and it appears to me probable that the Walloon *furlozer* is to be connected with an equivalent form.

121. — *Furlucqué*.

Source :

1611 Cotgrave, *Dict.* : " † *furlucqué* : m. *ée* : f. Searched, ferreted, hunted out ".

This is the past participle of a verb meaning " to look for ". The

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root of this verb is that dealt with by ML, art. 5102 : "*Loeken* (fläm.) " blicken " : wallon. *luki*, pikard., norm. *lüke* (> fr. *reluquer*) ".

Den Schat der duytscher Tale (ed. 1630) gives *loken* " veoir ". To such forms as *loken*, *locken* correspond Mons *louker*, *loukié*, *loukie* (Sigart, 235), Fr. Flanders *relouquer* (Vermesse, 440), rouchi *erlouquer*, *relouquer* (Hécart 186, 399), Norm. *louquer* (Duméril, 147). But Norm. *luquer* and the wide-spread *erluquer*, *reluquer*, Geneva *relucher*, etc., clearly require a Germanic form with *u*. *Den Schat der duytscher Tale* gives both *loken* and *luijcken* in the sense of " sluyten " i. e. " fermer ", and there is reason for supposing another form of the type *luijcken* for *loken* " to see ".

122. — Norm. *furlufer*.

Furlufer : 1° intr. " enrager, s'emporter "; 2° réfl. " s'irriter, s'emporter " occurs repeatedly in the *Muse Normande* (1625-1653). The form *frulufer* occurs once and *frelufer* twice (see the *Glossaire* in Héron's edition, vol. V, 97, 100).

In 1849 the brothers Duméril introduced into the *Dict. du patois normand* the following :

" *Furluché*, part. pass. (arr. de Rouen), Hérissé, irrité : Furluchés ainchin que des coqs (Ferrand, *Muse Norm.*, p. 27). *Furluffer*, v. a. (arr. de Rouen) Fâcher, pousser à bout. Chest pour nous faire furluffer (Ferrand, *Muse Norm.*, p. 26). Peut-être le même mot que le précédent ".

Furluché does not occur in Héron's edition; Héron reads " furlufez ainchin que des coqs " (I, 41).

123. — B.-Maine *furnailler*.

See note **58** on *fernailler* [3].

124. — Walloon (Liège) *furloye* " remains of meat; pluck, haslet ".

J. Haust, *Étym. wall. et franç.* (1923), 103 considers this word as equivalent to a French *fretouille*; cf. note **112**.

125. — Picard *fustiker* " to cheat (at games) ".

See note **33** on *faustriquer*.

126. — Poitou *vargayer* " to totter, to stagger ".

SOURCES :

1867 Favre, *Gloss. du Poitou*, 345 : " *Vargayer*, v. n. Jambes qui flageolent par ivresse ou faiblesse ".

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1868 Lalanne, *Gloss. poitevin*, 258 : " *Va*[*r*]*gayer*, v. n. Chanceler sur ses jambes, vaciller ".

Both Favre and Lalanne quote as their source Mademoiselle Clémentine Poey-Davant, of Fontenay (Vendée).

With *vargayer* goes very probably the substantive *vergaie* quoted in the form *vergaye* as the name of a dance by Nicot (1606) and Cotgrave (1611) and of which *God.* gives one example :

XVIth c. *Églogue sur le retour de Bacchus*, in *Anc. poés. franç.*, ed. Bibl. Elzév., i, 250 : " Et d'autre part les vigneronnes frisques Portent au cœur des douleurs nompareilles, Sans plus danser vergaies ne morisques ".

The verb *vargayer* seems, by its form and by its meaning to be connected with a Germanic FER-WAGAN ; cf.

1630 *Den Schat der duytscher Tale* : " *Waeghe*, une balance ; *waegen*, hazarder, aventurer ; *waggelen*, chanceler, vaciller, se tenir pas ferme ".

Cf. the Engl. verbs *to waw, to wag, to waggle*. For the composition cf. German *verwagen* " hasarder ".

127. — French *varlope*.

It is usually admitted (*DG*, 2221, *GEW*, 879) that Fr. *varlope* " trying plane, jointing plane " is derived from the *voorlooper* of the Dutch and Flemish dialects, which is attested in the sense of *varlope* in Dutch and Flemish dictionaries of the xvith and xviith centuries ; cf.

1624 Mellema, *Gr. dict. franç.-flam.* : " *Une uuarloppe de menuisier*, een voorlooper van een schrijnwercker of een schave ".

This explanation however offers many difficulties :

(i) it neglects the early forms (xvth c. *vuarlope*, *GEW* ; 1564 *uuarloppe*, Thierry, *Dict. franç.-lat.* in *DG*) as well as dialectal *warlope* attested for Mons (Sigart, 378) and Valenciennes (Hécart, 487) ;

(ii) it omits to note that *vreloper* (1546 Rabelais, iii, 1) and *vrelope*, both attested in the xvith c., are West French forms and that borrowing from Dutch in the xvth and xvith century is out of the question for the West French dialects ;

(iii) this leads one to point out that the word *varlope* occurs in one form or another in all North France and that it is as a dialectal form that it penetrated into the written language ; the forms such as they occur in dialect dictionaries are : Saintonge *v'rlope* (Jonain,

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469); Anjou *varloupe, verlope* with the verb *verloper* (Verrier-Onillon, ii, 311, 317); Bas-Maine *verlope, verloupe* with the verb *verloper, verlouper* (Dottin, 521); Norm. *verlope, verloper, verlopure* (Moisy, 663) also *varlope* (Robin, 397); Franche-Montagne *véloupe* (Grammont, 266), Grand-Combe *varloupe* (Boillot, 303); Moselle *verlope* (Zéliqzon, 693);

(iv) the wide distribution of the word *varlope*, its appearance in the earliest known texts in forms that originate in such different sources as the North Eastern and the Western dialects of France together suggest that the word is much older in these dialects than the period of earliest attestation, i e. the xvth century. Further a study of Germanic borrowings of similar construction rather leads to the belief that the substantive *varlope* is derived from the verb *varloper* and not *varloper* from *varlope* : cf. *farfouil, ferlampe, ferlape, ferlope, feurdale, fourmont, fredon, freloque, freluche, fressange, vartaupe, verdrecque, verglas, vertot, verzin*, etc. ;

(v) one must take into consideration the South French forms : Languedoc *garlopo* and the verb *garloupa*, and the forms from over the Pyrenees : Catal., Span., Portug. *garlopa*. It is probable that Rhodanian *verlopo* and Marseille *varlopo* (and the verb *varloupa*) are imported from North France. The *gar-* of Catal., Span., Portug. *garlopa* prove also that the word has been imported from some French source. But South French *garlopo*, with the verb *garloupa*, appears to correspond to an unattested O. Fr. **garlope, *garloper*, which with Norm. *varlope, verlope*, Mons, Valenciennes *warlope* would require explanation by a Germanic form with initial w ;

(vi) one may then ask oneself whether the Germanic dialects which gave to the plane called *varlope* names derived from its swift motion (W. Flem. *weerlicht* in De Bo, 1189 ; cf. *donder* in De Bo, 216), and in particular a name derived from the verb *loopen* (i. e. *voorlooper*), might not have used other compounds of *loopen* besides *voorloopen* and more specially *weerloopen, wederloopen*, and perhaps *verloopen*. In many respects *weerloopen* is semantically just as satisfactory as *voorloopen*, and phonetically it has over *voorloopen* the advantage of explaining Mons-Valenciennes *warlope*, Norm. *varlope, verlope*, and Languedoc *garlopo*. One may compare for a compound of *weder-, weer-* my explanation of Boulogne *wadracquer* (whence the subst. *wadracque*) by a form equivalent to Dutch and Flemish *weerdraghen, wederdraghen* in *ZFSL*, iiii (1930), 12 ;

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(vii) but even if *wederloopen* solves certain difficulties it does not solve them all. For the forms of the East French dialects (*véloupe, varloupe, verlope*) and of the West French dialects (*varloupe, vrelope, verlope, verloupe*) seem to require *verloopen* and not *wederloopen* as their starting-point. Further the Norman forms would be satisfactorily explained by either *verloopen* or *wederloopen*.

128. — Anjou, etc., *varloupe*.

See note **127** on *varlope*.

129. — Berry, Anjou, Poitou *vartaupe, vertaupe*, " tumour, abcess, boil " and Anjou, Maine *fertouper*, Anjou *fortouper*.

SOURCES for *vartaupe, vertaupe* :

1856 Jaubert, *Gloss. du Centre*, ii, 415 : " *Vartaupe*, s. f., tumeur qui vient à diverses parties du corps : guérir la vartaupe " ; ii, 426 : " *Vertaupe*, s. f. (voy. *vartaupe*) ".

1867 Favre, *Gloss. du Poitou*, 348 : " *Vertaupe*, s. m., abcès, furoncle ".

1868 Lalanne, *Gloss. poitevin*, 261 : *Vertaupe*, s. f., tumeur. Les sorciers, les empiriques, les toucheurs traitent cette maladie. V[ienne], D[eux-Sèvres] ".

1908 Verrier et Onillon, *Gloss. de l'Anjou*, ii, 311 : " *Vartaupe*, s. f., abcès, dépôt. De *var* (ver) et *taupe* ".

Cf. also :

1875 Laisnel de la Salle, *Croyances du Centre de la France*, i, 298. " La vertaupe est une affection très connue dans quelques contrées du Berry. On appelle ordinairement de ce nom, tantôt un engorgement glanduleux, tantôt une douleur rhumatismale, tantôt un abcès froid. La vertaupe produit l'effet de taupes qui *boutent* (poussent) dans l'endroit douloureux. Pour guérir cette maladie, il faut laisser presser la partie malade en plusieurs sens par une personne à laquelle, dans son enfance, on a fait étouffer sept taupes avant qu'elle ait mangé de la soupe à la graisse. Nos paysans admettent sept espèces de taupes et par contre sept variétés de la maladie qu'ils désignent sous le nom de *vertaupe*. L'enfant, par exemple, qui n'aurait étouffé que trois ou quatre taupes de différentes espèces ne pourrait guérir que trois ou quatre variétés de la maladie ".

It is clear that *vartaupe, vertaupe* has felt the influence of the word *taupe* and that it is felt as a compound of *var, ver* (L. vermis) and *taupe* (L. talpa). Verrier and Onillon quote an example of the plural *vers-taupes*. The primitive form must have been **vartoupe*, **vertoupe* and derived from a verb **vertouper*. The meaning of *vartaupe* is connected with that of palpitation or beating e. g. of the heart, of any troublesome and throbbing part of the body, and the word should be put into relation with the following:

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1908 Verrier et Onillon, *Gloss. de l'Anjou*, ii, 288 : " *Touper* (Saumur, Saint-Paul-du-Bois), v. n. Faire ressentir des élancements douloureux. Ex. ça *toupe* dans mon panaris. Syn de *bouter*, *saquer*. || Palpiter, battre, en parlant du cœur. V. *toupiner*. || (Segré) Gronder avec des paroles véhémentes [1883 Ménière, *Gloss. des pat. angev.*, is referred to for the last meaning].

Toupiner (Saumur, Saint-Paul-du-Bois), v. n. Faire entendre des coups sourds ; battre, palpiter. Ex. le cœur me *toupine*, c'est comme un cul de paisse. Dim. de *touper*. — Faire tic-tac ; se dit du cœur, des pulsations ".

Touper which is derived from O. Fr. *toup* is not attested elsewhere ; but *toupiner* from *toupin* is common over all Normandy :

1849 Duméril, *Dict. du pat. norm.*, 207 : " *Toupin*, s. m. Sabot, toupie que l'on fait tourner à coups de fouet. — *Toupiner*. Tourner sur soi-même comme un *toupin* : le français dit *toupiller* ".

1852 Decorde, *Dict. du pat. de Bray*, 128 : " *Toupiner*, tourner à la même place et n'avancer à rien, comme une toupie ".

1870 Métivier, *Dict. franco-norm.*, 474 : " *Toupin*, *toupinaïr* ".

1876 Delboulle, *Gloss. de la vallée d'Yères*, 327 : " *Toupier*, *toupiner*, v. n. Tourner, s'agiter sur place comme une toupie ".

1887 Moisy, *Dict. du pat. norm.*, 632 : " *Toupiner* se dit aussi au figuré pour. aller et venir auprès de son travail, sans vouloir s'en occuper sérieusement ". Cf. 1656 Oudin, *Curios. franç.* : " *Toupier*, tourner de côté et d'autre, travailler lentement ".

The sense of " whirring or whirling round " is attested for *toupiner* as well as *toupier* in O. Fr. :

c. 1250 *Doon de Mayence*, 7519 : " Si fort le trait a li, puis le va empoignant, Que plus de .c. degrés mesconte en toupinant ".

Another sense is quoted for W. Normandy :

1913 De Beaucoudrey, *Le langage normand de Percy* (Manche), 456 : " *Toupiner* un arbre : creuser tout autour de la souche et couper les racines jusque par-dessous pour l'abattre ",

which is quite old, as De Beaucoudrey points out :

xiiith c. *Coutumier des forêts d'Évreux*, ed. L. Delisle, 363 : " Si les arbres ne sont secs à touspin, c'est assavoir tout autour... ",

and which is particularly important because it is connected, with the meaning " top ", in a special way. *A toupin* which the xiiith century text explains by " all around " really means " top-wise, a-top, like a top ", the tree, being made by digging round its trunk and cutting its roots, to stand on its tip like a top, so as eventually to topple over.

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The meaning of *toupiner* in Anjou shows a quite different semantic development to that in Normandy. The meaning in Anjou of *touper* and *toupiner* appear to develop from the meanings (*a*) to whip a top, (*b*) to produce a humming or rumbling sound like a top in motion, whence (i) to produce a dull sound like that of palpitation, etc., (ii) to scold. The form **vertouper* is not given in dialect dictionaries; but *fertouper* occurs in both Maine and Anjou and *fortouper* in Anjou :

1895 Dottin, *Gloss. du Bas-Maine*, 199 ; " *Fertouper*, chasser avec un bâton, battre ".

1908 Verrier et Onillon, *Gloss. de l'Anjou*, i, 386 : " *Fertouper*, v. a. frapper dur et longtemps ". [Source : 1883 Ménière, *Gloss. des parlers angevins*]. — i, 400 : " *Fortouper*, v. a. Crosser ",

and appears to offer meanings deriving from " to whip a top ". The existence of *fertouper* in this isolated way in Maine and Anjou and the probability that *vartaupe* is from a lost *vartouper*, *vertouper* once used in Berry and Poitou points to a very ancient borrowing from Germanic. That Frankish TOPP- in the sense of (1) top, summit, (2) tuft of hair on the top of the head, (3) top (plaything), had been borrowed is of course well known ; not only *toup*, but *toupet*, *toupie*, *toupin*, *toupier*, *toupiner*, etc., occur in O. French. As for Angevin *touper*, one may note that the Flemish *toppen* is glossed by Fr. *toupier* in the 1630 *Schat der duytscher Tale*. But the survival in the Western dialects of forms like *fertouper* and *vartaupe* with the prefix *fer-* (*ver-*) is the more remarkable that the corresponding Germanic form *vertoppen* is not attested in any of the vocabularies to which I have access.

130. — Verduno-Chalonnais *vaudruger* " to grow thickly (of plants) ".

SOURCE :

1896 Fertiault, *Dict. verduno-chalonnais*, 443 : " *vaudru*, adj., qui pousse vigoureusement, presque avec excès. Se dit des plantes. Bresse *vaudru* (v. *vaudruger*). *Vaudruger*, v. intr., pousser dru ".

Cf.

1859 D. Monnier, *Vocab. de la langue de la Séquanie*, 286 : " *Vadru*, adj. Qui croît rapidement, tel que le chanvre. *Qui va dru* (Val. de la Seille) ".

1896 Richenet, *Patois de Petit-Noir* (Jura), 222 : " Terrain *vadru*, très fertile ".

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The two words *vaudruger*, *vaudru* are clearly connected with the French verb *druger* and the French adjective *dru*. It seems therefore likely that *vaudruger* is not derived from *vaudru*, but rather that *vaudru* is derived from *vaudruger*, a compound of *druger*.

If we compare verduno-chalonnais *vorteiller* " rouler (quelqu'un) par terre, le battre " (Fertiault, 453) which is for *varteiller*, *verteiller*, we may admit that *vaudruger*, *vadruger* go back to a dissimilation of **vardruger*, **verdruger* : cf. Pierrecourt (Haute-Saône) *vŏdĭ* " verdir ", *vŏdŏyí* " verdoyer ", *vŏdlăw* " verdelet " (Juret, 151); Montbéliard *vordjus* " verjus ", *vorlyais* " verglas ", *vormèché* " vermisseau " (Contejean, 423); Bournois *vŏdji* " verdir ", *vŏrdju* " verjus ", etc. (Roussey, 327, 328); Les Fourgs *vadaï* " verdoyer ", *vadot* " vert " (Tissot, 423).

The French *druger* " to grow thickly, luxuriantly " represents a form d r u t i c a r e, assured by a gloss in which occurs the compound i n d r u t i c a r e; so that if it is accepted that d r u t i c a r e is of Gaulish origin, my hypothesis would suggest that *vaudruger* represents a compound of a Germanic prefix with a Latinised verb of Gaulish root.

131. — Fr.-Comté *véloupe*.

See note **127** on *varlope*.

132. — O. N. E. French *verbode*.

SOURCE :

Chart. de composit. entre les comtes de Flandre et les échevins de Gand, in Du Cange, s. v. *verbum* : " Item se nous cuens devant dis, u nos baillus et li plus grande partie des eschevins devant dis fesissiens estatus, ke on appelle verbode, a durer a terme chertain, il doivent durer lor terme tout hors ".

From the *verbod* of the Dutch and Flemish dialects : Behrens, *Beiträge*, 83. Cf. note **87** on *fourbot*.

133. — French *verboquet*.

Bescherelle, *Dict. Nat.*, ii, 1935 has :

" VERBOQUET, s. m. Constr. Cordage attaché à un fardeau que l'on élève, soit pour le maintenir et l'empêcher de tourner, soit pour l'empêcher de toucher à quelque saillie ou échafaud. On dit aussi *virebouquet* ",

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and a little further on (ii, 1938) :

" VERLOQUET, s. m. Mar. Cordage servant à guider l'extrémité d'une pièce de bois pendant qu'on la hisse à bord ".

Verloquet is not in the naval dictionaries of Lescallier (1777-1797) and Romme (1792, 1813), and I find it for the first time in the following :

1848 De Bonnefoux & Paris, *Dict. de Marine*, ed. 1856, i, 730 : " VERLOQUET, s. m. *Directing rope*. Cordage faisant fonction de guide, et que l'on amarre à la partie inférieure d'une pièce de bois qu'il s'agit de hisser à bord, pendant la construction d'un bâtiment ou en d'autres cas pareils. Des hommes éloignés du bord font force sur ce cordage pour que la pièce de bois ne soit pas arrêtée par des obstacles ou corps avoisinants, lorsqu'on la hisse ".

It appears to me as if it were a misprint for *verboquet*, which is already attested by Félibien :

1676 Félibien, *Principes d'archit.*, 769 : " VERBOQUET. Quand les charpentiers ont une pièce de bois fort longue à monter, ils l'attachent avec un petit cordage au gros chable, à deux toises environ du *halement*, pour empêcher le *hiement* ou ébranlement de la pierre. Cette manière d'attacher avec un petit cordage se nomme *verboquet*. On s'en sert aussi lorsqu'on monte des colonnes de pierre ou de marbre, ou d'autres grandes pierres ".

Richelet, *Dict.*, ii (1679), 517 gives *verbouquet* as well as *verboquet* and says that *verbouquet* is in more common usage.

As for *virebouquet* Boiste seems first to have noted it as tiler's term :

1823 Boiste, *Dict. Univ.*, ii, 328 : " † *Virebouquet*, s. m. Cheville pour arrêter la défense, t. de couvreur ".

1832 Raymond, *Dict. Gén.*, ii, 753 : " *Virebouquet*, s. m. Cheville dont les couvreurs se servent pour arrêter la corde attachée à l'amortissement d'une flèche de clocher ".

Littré gives *verboquet* and also *virbouquet*, each with nothing more than a reference to *virebouquet* (*Dict.*, ii, 2502) which he explains as follows :

" VIREBOUQUET, s. m. T. de constr. Cordage attaché à un fardeau que l'on élève, pour le maintenir et l'empêcher de tourner. || T. de charpenterie. Nom des cordages servant à lier les pièces au câble d'un engin ".

Here Boiste and Raymond's *virbouquet* which was a peg, " une cheville ", has become a rope, " un cordage ". On the other hand, Bescherelle, *Dict. Nat.*, ii, 1972 gives *virebouquet* with nothing but

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a reference to *verboquet* and *virbouquet* ; but whereas he explains *verboquet* as a rope, *virbouquet* is defined almost word for word as Raymond's *virebouquet*.

I have no means of checking Littré's identification of *virebouquet* with *verboquet* and *verbouquet*. The spelling *virbouquet* occurs before him (1842 *Compl. du dict. de l'Acad.*, 1263) but with Raymond's definition of *virebouquet* (" cheville ", etc.) and with a reference back to *verboquet*.

Two things seem clear enough :

(i) there is no relation between the words here discussed and the South French *virobouquet* and *virabouca* :

1884 Mistral, *Tresor*, ii, 1130 : " *Virobouquet*, lim. *virabriquet*, lang., gasc. *biro-bouquet*, s. m. Bilboquet... V. *vira-bouca* ". Cf. ii, 1129 : " *Vira-bouca*, rouerg. *biro-bouca*, v. a. Renverser sur la bouche ou la gueule. *Virābouco lou ferrat*, renverser le seau. R. *vira, bouco* " ;

(ii) the word *virebouquet* as a name of a rope used for hoisting heavy weights and preventing them from turning cannot be derived from the verb *virer* " to turn ", and if *virebouquet* is the name of such a rope, it is only so by popular etymology.

The proper names of this rope are the earliest attested : *verboquet*, *verbouquet*. They are probably old, but I know of no evidence for them before 1676. They are to be connected with Dutch and Flem. *bok* " he goat " used as technical term :

1730 Marin, *Gr. dict. holland.-franç.*, 135 : " *Bok*, chèvre, machine dont on se sert à soulever de grands fardeaux ".

Cf. Fr. *bouc* " poulie garnie de cornes de fer pour faire monter la chaîne qui élève les eaux des puits salants " ; Fr. *chèvre* " machine à élever des fardeaux ", etc. The W. Flem. verb *bokken* is explained by " geboeien, gedieschen, uitharden, Fr. *supporter* " in De Bo, *Westvlaamsch Idioticon*, 140.

134. — Anjou *verdeiller*, B.-Maine, Boulogne *verdiller*.

See note **111** on *fretiller*.

135. — Guernesey *verdinguer*.

SOURCE :

1870 Métivier, *Dict. franco-norm.*, 488 : " *Verdinguer*, v. Fustiger. C'est fouet-

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ter avec la vigne d'un centurion romain, néo-lat. *verdiga*, espèce de vigne, selon Petrus de Crescentiis...

L'vier maître angllais qui m'apprint, je l'sai bien,
Qu'jouaïr valait mûx qu'apprendre mâins que rien,
M'*verdinguait* tant que j'n'en t'nais aucûn compte;
I m'capuchait, et j'n'en avais pas honte.
MSS. ".

This verb appears to be a compound of a Germanic verb of the form DINGAN ; cf. Engl. *to ding* " 1. To strike or punch violently; to pound; (in Scottand) to whip, to beat; to overcome, to defeat ". Cf. also E. Fris. *dengeln* " klopfen, hämmern, durch Hämmern dünn machen u. schärfen " (Doornkaat-Koolman, *Wtb. d. ostfriesischen Sprache*, i, 291).

136. — Boulogne *verdrecque*.

SOURCE :

1903 Haigneré, *Vocab. du pat. boulonnais*, 612 : " *Verdrecque*, s. f. délit, transgression, fredaine de jeunesse. — T'as core fait enne verdrecque, ou des verdrecques, aujourd'hui; je voie cha a ten air ".

This word appears to be derived from a verb **verdrecquer* corresponding to a *verdrekken* of the Dutch and Flemish dialects, based on *drek* " L. merda ", Middle Dutch *dreck*. *Verdrekken* would mean " to befoul, to dirty " and the first meaning of the substantive derived from it would be equivalent to Fr. *saleté*, English *dirty trick*. Cf. :

Martin-Lienhardt, *Wtb. d. elsäss. Mundarten*, ii, 750 n. : " *Verdrëcke* " : 1. Mit Schmutz besudeln; 2. refl. seinen guten Ruf usw. beflecken ".

137. — Middle Fr. *vergaie*, name of a dance.

See note **126** on Poitou *vargayer*.

138. — Morvan *vergâme*.

SOURCE :

1878 De Chambure, *Gloss. du Morvan*, 907 : " *Vergâme*, s. m. Ce qu'on pense du prochain, le jugement que l'on porte sur lui, l'opinion qu'on en a : dire son vergâme à un homme, lui dire son fait, lui faire son procès, lui donner son paquet ".

This word appears to be quite isolated so that comparison with other forms and meanings cannot help to a solution.

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139. — French *verglas* " glazed frost, frozen rain, coating of smooth and very slippery ice ", and the verb *verglasser*.

DG, 2230 :

VERGLAS, s. m.

[ETYM. Subst. verbal de l'anc. verbe *verglacier*, *verreglacier*, composé de *glacer* et d'un premier élément qui paraît être d'origine germanique. — xiie-xiiie Qui fes as riches verglaz Por els fere verreglacier, HÉLINAND, *Vers de la Mort*, dans GODEF., *verreglacier*. || Pluie glacée qui se congèle sur le sol en couche mince et glissante.

GEW, 884 :

VERGLAS " Glatteis " 12.-13. Jhdt. *verreglaz*, aus vlat. **vitriglacium*, d. i. Zusammensetzung von lat. *vitrum* " Glas ", s. *verre*, und *glacies* " Eis " s. *glace*; die Bildung muss schon vlat. sein, da sie auch in Oberitalien vorkommt ; Diez 697, REW 9403 ; dazu afrz. seit dem 13. Jhdt. die Abl. *verreglacier* " auf dem Glatteis fallen ".

It is clear that we must admit the influence, by popular etymology, of : (i) Fr. *voirre*, *verre* (< L. vitrum) seen in the xiith century *verreglaz*, *verreglacier* of Hélinand's *Vers de la Mort* ; (ii) Fr. *glace* (< spoken Latin *GLACIA for Cl. L. glaciem) seen in the surd sibilant of the verb *verglasser*, but such a type as *vitriglacium is to be rejected in favour of a Germanic FIR-GLASAN : cf. Dutch *verglasen*, E. Fris. *ferglasen*, Germ. *verglasen* " 1. se vitrifier, 2. vitrifier, plomber, azurer, vernir, vernisser ". It is the Germanic (Frankish) GLAS- which explains both the influence of L. vitrum and the influence of L. glacies ; that of L. vitrum because of its semantic equivalence, that of L. glacies, partly because of phonetic approximation, partly because of semantic influence (since the glassy surface referred to is the glassy surface of ice). The real thing to note is that the starting point of *verglacer* and *verglas* is to be found in Germanic GLAS- and not in Latin glacies.

I am inclined to think that some of the senses of the Fr. *glacer*, those indicated by the *DG* in its section 3 of the meanings of that verb : " revêtir d'un vernis poli, transparent, qui a l'apparence de la glace " (cf. Engl. *to glaze*, German *glasen*, etc.), and also some of the senses of Fr. *glace*, those given under ii, 1° by the *DG* : " glass of a mirror, mirror ; glass of a carriage door ", are due to Germanic GLAS- and not to Latin glacies and it would be interesting to put together texts which would tend to clear up their history.

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140. — Norman *verhaule, verhole, verhoule.*

DG, 1254 :

HOULE, s. f.

[ETYM. Origine inconnue. — xvie s. cap en houlle, RAB. iv, 20. || (Marine) Forte ondulation de la mer agitée, précédant ou suivant une tempête.

GEW, 519 :

" HOULE " hohle See " " Schlagwelle " 16. Jhdt. aus bretonisch *houl* Plural zu *houlenn* " Woge ", Diez 226; Thurn. KR 69; REW 4204; dazu seit den 18. Jhdt. die Ableitung *houleux* " unruhig " " hohlgehend ".

Nicht eins mit afrz *oule* " Topf ", trotz spanish *olla* " Wirbel im Meer oder Fluss ", Baist ZRP xxxii, 426; wenn noch im 17. Jhdt. für *houle* die Bedeutungen " Topf " " Wallung " " Strudel " angegeben wird, Sainéan RER, viii, 38, so beweist dies nicht die ursprüngliche Identität von *oule* und *houle,* sondern den sekundären Zusammenfall der beiden Wörter ".

One must bear in mind the following points :

(i) Legonidec, *Dict. celto-breton* (1821), 281 gives Breton *houl*, s. m. " houle, flot, lame " whence *houlenn* (pl. *houlennou, houl*) " une seule houle, une seule vague ", and the verb *houlenna* " former des houles, des vagues, en parlant de la mer, ondoyer ". These words are by the author marked with a star and a note of interrogation to indicate his ignorance of their origin. They are omitted in Henry's *Lexique étymologique du breton moderne* (1900). Nothing corresponding to Breton *houl* is to be found in Cornish or Welsh, and that word must be considered as borrowed by Breton from the French dialects ;

(ii) Span. *olla* " any gulf of seas or rivers in which are whirlpools ; whirlpool " is merely an attraction, by popular etymology, to Span. *olla* " pot " (< L. olla) of Span *ola* " 1. wave, wave raised above the level of the surface, 2. a sudden violent commotion " ; cf. Span. *olage* " succession of waves ", *oleada* " surge, swell of the sea " ; and Span. *ola* is the same word as and probably borrowed from, French *houle, oule*;

(iii) Of the two French forms *houle, oule,* the first attested is *houle* (1552 Rabelais, iv, 20 *houlle*). *Houle* is properly " the hollow between the crests of two waves ", then " waves of a stormy sea ". With *houle* in its first sense of " hole, hollow " may be compared : Sth French *oulo* " creux de rocher " ; *houlette de connil* " rabbit hole " (1596 Hulsius, 1611 Cotgrave), still used in Normandy according to Fleury, *Ess. s. le patois de la Hague* ; Maine *houle* " cavité sous la

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racine des arbres, au bord de l'eau ", *houler* " se dit soit du poisson qui se cache sous les houles, soit des pêcheurs qui battent l'eau dans ces endroits " (Montesson, 282, also Dottin, 256); La Hague *houle* " trou, caverne, surtout dans les rochers ", *se houlâĕ, s'ahoulâĕ* " se cacher dans une houle " (Fleury); Bessin *hōle, houōle* " creux où se cache le poisson ", *s'houlé* " se cacher dans un trou " (Joret) ;

(iv) The facts are all in favour of derivation from a Germanic word with initial *h* and specifically from a Frankish equivalent of Dutch *hol* : Middle Dutch *hol*, adj. " hollow ", *hol*, subst. " hole "; cf. A. Sax. *hol* as adj. and subst. Cf. :

1730 Marin, *Gr. Dict. holland.-franç.*, 388 : " *'T is een holle zee, de zee is hol.* La mer se tourmente fort, est bien émue, agitée. — *Een konyne hol*, un trou à lapins. — *Holen*, des creux, des cavernes, antres, cavitez ".

My object in elaborating this explanation of French *houle* already suggested by Jal and by Behrens in 1902 (*ZRPh*, xxvi, 652) has been to lead up to the examination of the term *verhaule, verhole, verhoule*.

Sources :

1848 De Bonnefoux et Paris, *Dict. de Marine*, ed. 1856, i, 729 : " *Verhole*, s. m. Syn. de *retour de marée*. P. l'expl. voy. au mot *retour* ". i, 637 : " *Retour*, s. m. (Eddy)... Lorsqu'il est question d'une marée, son retour est le changement de direction du courant de cette marée, en une direction opposée, après un obstacle rencontré par ce courant. Il ne faut pas confondre *retour de marée* avec *retour de la marée*... ".

1879 Robin, *Dict. du pat. de l'Eure*, 401 : " *Verhaule.* — Terme de marine, fort usité à l'embouchure de la Seine : contre-courant, remou. Au moment du flot, il y a le long des quais de Quillebeuf une *verhaule* favorable à l'appareillage des navires qui s'apprêtent à descendre vers le Havre... ".

The form *verhoule* is to be found in the following text quoted by Delboulle in *Romania*, xxxv, 420 :

1683 Le Cordier, *Instruction des Pilotes*, ed. 1761, p. 58 : " La verhoulle, c'est à dire la marée qui sort de la riviere de Seine... ".

xviith c. Godefroy de Nifriville, in Le Goffic, *Morceaux choisis des écrivains havrais*, 56 : " Cette verhoule admirable qui est inconnue aux autres ports ; verhoule qui retient encore son plein lorsque les autres ports de la mesme coste sont à deux tiers de baisse ".

Behrens in *ZFSL*, xxx, 360, has proposed to connect *verhole, verhoule* with Dutch *verhaal*, E. Fris. *ferhal* " Erholung, Pause ". Now an eddy is " a whirl or backward-circling current of water, a

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whirlpool " and it is characterised by the " hole or hollow formed by the whirling water ". The form *verhoule* in particular is against connection with Dutch *verhaal* ; and it will be noted that *verhole*, *verhoule* correspond very satisfactorily with *hole, houle* " hole " quoted for La Hague and Bessin by Fleury and Joret. I should the refore propose to consider *verhole, verhoule* as a substantive meaning " hollow, hollowing " derived from a verb **verhouler* " to hollow ". Cf. Dutch *holen* " caver, excaver " in the 1630 *Schat der duytscher Tale* ; and for the compound German *verhohlene Flut* " marée faible " ; finally E. Fris. *ferhâlen, ferhôlen* " verhohlen, verborgen, versteckt, etc. " (Doornkaat-Koolman, *Wtb. d. ostfries. Spr.*, i, 448).

141. — Fr. *verker, verquair.*

This word is not in Littré. Bescherelle, *Dict. Nat.*, ii, 1939 : VERKER, s. m. Jeux. Sorte de trictrac allemand introduit en France sous la régence. On l'appelle aussi " backgammon ". — The word is noted by Marin :

1728 Marin, *Gr. Dict. franç-holland.*, 1177 : " VERKER, m. Lisez *verquair*, c'est le nom d'un jeu de trictrac fort commun en Allemagne et en Hollande, ainsi nommé de *verkeeren* " changer ", à cause des révolutions continuelles pour et contre dont il est varié. VERKEEREN. Jouer une partie au verker ".

1730 Marin, *Gr. Dict. holland.-franç.*, 932 : " VERKEERBOORD, n. Damier, un tablier sur lequel on joue une sorte de trictrac inusité en France ".

The *NED* supposes, with probability, that the English form *verquere*, the only one attested as a name of the game, is borrowed from an unattested French *verquere* (cf. Marin's *verquair* above). The same authority gives three examples of *verquere* of a. 1700, 1714 and 1721, of which the first is favorable to the view that the name of the game came from Dutch rather than from German :

a. 1700 *Games most in use*, 50 : " The famous game called verquere, came originally . . . from Holland, and is said to be the only noted game, upon the tables, that they practise and are good at ".

The passage also encourages one to think that the name of this game became known to the French in the second half of the xviith century, at the time of the wars in the Netherlands. In the following extract, in which Parival speaks of the games played in Holland :

a. 1678 [Parival], *Les delices de la Hollande*, dernière édition, (1678), p. 283 :

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" J'oubliois à vous dire que l'on joue au billard..., qu'on y trouve des jeux de quille, de courte boule, de paume, d'eschets, de cartes, de trictrac.., ",

there is a probable reference to *verquere*, but it is the French word *trictrac* that is used.

On the other hand the game and its probably Dutch name are clearly given by Richelet:

1680 Richelet, *Dict.*, i, 84 : " *Verker*, s. m. Monsieur Arnell, gentilhomme suédois... m'a assuré que le mot de verker venoit de l'allemand *verkehren* qui signifie changer, tourner. Le verker est une sorte de jeu auquel on joue sur un trictrac avec des dames et des dez. C'est en un mot une manière de trictrac allemand où l'on joue depuis quelques années en France dans les Académies, et dans les maisons particulières ".

This note on *verker* is of course given in order to get as exhaustive a list of words containing Germanic *fer-* as possible. *Verker* is of course a relatively recent borrowing. A. Thomas has quoted the oldest known instance of its use in *Mélanges d'étymologie française*, 130 :

1656-8 *Journ. de voyage de deux jeunes Hollandais à Paris*, ed. Marillier, 196 : " Nous y passasmes toute l'apresdinée à jouer au verkier des fraises et des cerises ".

142. — Moselle *verlater*.

1924 L. Zéliqzon, *Dict. des pat. romans de la Moselle*, 693.
" *Vèrlater*, v. intr. Travailler doucement (péjoratif) ".

Verlater seems to be the Dutch and Flemish *verlaten* " délaisser (i. e. son travail) ".

143. — Poitevin *verlemé*.

See note **149** on *vermoulu*.

144. — Norm., Angev., etc., *verlope, verloper, verlopure*.

See note on **127** on *varlope*.

145. — *Verloquet*.

Misprint : see note **133** on *Verboquet*.

146. — Maine *verloupe, verlouper*.

See note **127** on *varlope*.

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147. — W. French *verluter* " to overthrow or roll over (someone) in a struggle ".

SOURCES :

1869 Jonain, *Dict. du pat. saintongeais*, 469 : " *V'rleuter*, renverser à la lutte ". Cf. 240 : " *Leûter*, lutter, soit actif, soit neutre ".

1867 Favre, *Gloss. du Poitou*, 349 : " *Veurluter*, v. a. Rouler. Au fig. répliquer vivement avec malice et ironie.

Mais cré que je peûris vous veurluter tretou ".
[Burgaud des Marets, *Fables et Contes*, 12].

1908 Verrier-Onillon, *Gloss. de l'Anjou*, ii, 317 : " *Se verlouter* (Cholet), v. réfl. Se rouler. " Fichez-nous donc pour quatre sous de tabac, que j'allions nous *verlouter* par les draps ". — " *Verluter* (Saint-Paul-des-Bois), v. a. Faire rouler à terre, terrasser. — V. réfl. Se rouler à terre, se vautrer. — Se terrasser, se rouler réciproquement à terre... ".

A compound with Fr. *lutter*. See note **38** on *ferarmer*, etc., and also notes on *fertouiller*, *ferpigné*, *vertigné*.

148. — French *vermiller* " (of the boar) to root ", *vermillonner* " (of the badger) to root ", Jura *varmouiller* " to eat like a pig ", Bresse louhannaise *vremouilli* " to root about (like a pig) ".

DG, 2232 ;

(*a*) VERMILLIER. — v. intr.

[ETYM. Dér. de *ver*. -- ACAD 1694-1740 écrit *vermeiller*. — xive s. Manieres de mangeures y a que l'on appelle vermillier, GAST. PHÉBUS, *Chasse*, dans GODEF.

|| (Vénerie) Fouiller la terre pour y chercher des vers, des racines (se dit du sanglier), cf. VERMILLONNER.

(*b*) VERMILLONNER. -- v. intr.

[ETYM. Dér. de *vermiller*. — 1690 FURET. — Admis ACAD 1798.

|| (Vénerie) Fouiller la terre (se dit du blaireau).

GEW, 885 : " *Vermiller* " nach Würmen wühlen ", 14. Jhdt., auch *vermeiller* ist in Anlehnung an afrz. *foeiller*, s. *fouiller*, abgeleitet von afrz. *verm* " Wurm ", s. *ver* ; vgl. dazu das unmittelbar von *vermeil* abgeleitete afrz. *vermeiller* " rot färben " ; dazu seit dem 17. Jhdt. die abl. *vermillonner* " die Erde durchwühlen " (vom Dachs) ". Cf. also :

1842 *Compl. du Dict. de l'Acad.*, 1354 : " *Vermillage*, s. m. (anc. cout.). Droit qu'on payait afin que les cochons puissent fouiller dans une forêt ".

The verb *vermiller* is known to us from the second half of the xivth century. Besides the instance from Gaston Phébus' work on cynegetics, two others are to be found in the works of Eustache Deschamps, ed. SATF, ii, 57, iii, 58. In these three cases the verb appears as *vermillier*. Later a form *vermeiller* occurs in the *Dict. de*

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l'Académie in 1694 and with it will go a verbal substantive *vermeil* attested earlier than the verb :

c 1378 *Modus* ap. La Curne de Sainte-Palaye : " L'autre maniere de menjues ou le sanglier et les bestes noires vont mengier est appellé *vermeil* ".

In addition to *vermillage* " due paid for allowing pigs to root in a forest " given above, we have in a text of 1366 *vermillage* with the notable variant *vermullage* with the meaning of " act of rooting (by pigs) " or " rooting ground (for pigs) " :

1366 Arch., JJ 97, pièce 305 (Ducange *vermileus*) : " Si ont pasturage en la dite forest [de Loncbouel] et es metes d'icelle pour leurs bestes, pannage et vermullage pour leurs pors, quand pannage y a, par payant pour chascun porc un denier pour le dit pannage et pour chascun maile pour le dit vermullage. Chascun d'eulx est accoustumé prendre et avoir... le boy vert en gesant... Pour chascun porc pour le vermillage avoir en la dite forest, une maille aus sergenz d'icelle ".

To these historical data must now be added the information derived from modern dictionaries of dialect :

1859 D. Monnier, *Vocab. de la Séquanie*, in *Ann. du Dépt du Jura*, 2e s., xxe ann., 287 : " *Varmouiller*, v. n. Manger comme un cochon. Le porc *varmouille* en agitant avec son groin ses aliments liquides ".

1894-1902 L. Guillemaut, *Dict. pat. de la Bresse louhannaise*, p. 329 : " *Vremouilli*, se dit des cochons qui fouillent la terre avecleur groin : " Les pouas ont tout vremouilli le pré ".

Cf. also perhaps :

1878 Chambure, *Gloss. du Morvan*, 385 : " *Frimouille*, s. f. frimousse, figure, visage ".

In the investigation of the etymology of this series, we must get rid of the idea that the Fr. *vermiller* is derived from the L. vermis. I do not think that there is, apart from the initial *v*, any marked trace of influence of popular etymology from that Latin word. In the following definition :

1611 Cotgrave : " *Vermiller*. To worme, or root for wormes ",

Cotgrave is merely reproducing a book etymology due to the initial *verm-* of *vermiller*. *Vermiller* invariably refers in early instances to the wild boar and the pig ; the boar does not root for worms, it roots for roots, and an expert will even indicate particular roots :

1655 Salnove, *Venerie royale*, ed. 1872, *Dict. des Chasseurs*, xxxvii : " *Vermil-*

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ler, c'est quand les bestes noires suivent avec le bout du nez ou boutoy la trace des mulots pour dénicher leur magazin. " Again, p. 353 : " Les mangeures qui luy plairont le plus, qui sont les bledz et bien que verds... il ne laisse pas de les pasturer, fouiller et vermiller y mangeant des racines de chiendent, de pissenlis, de bassinets, de naveaux sauvages et de senez... ".

So in reference to *vermillonner*, it may be added that the food of the badger consists of roots, earth nuts, fruit, the young of birds, insects, reptiles and small quadrupeds.

Properly speaking *vermiller* indicates the action of the boar's snout, as it uses it for rooting into the ground for his food. The root of *vermiller* is to be found in a Germanic form corresponding to Middle Dutch and Flemish *muyl* " boar or pig's snout " for earlier MUL- (cf. German *maul*) :

1630 *Den Schat der duytscher Tale* : " *Muyl, verekens muyl*, cal ou groin de pourceau ; † *muylen*, rechigner, faire la moue ; *vermuylen*, faire le rechignard, le desdaigneux ou le despiteux, avoir chevre, faire la moue comme les enfants apres qu'ils sont battus : *vermuylen syn eten* ne manger pas par un despit, se desdaigner de manger ".

The meaning of *vermuylen* is " to pout, to push forward the lips, the mouth, so as to make it like a pig's snout ". In form the Middle French *vermiller* corresponds then to Middle Dutch and Flemish *vermuylen*. The Middle French *vermillier* suggests that the original infinitive suffix was -IARE for a Germanic *-jan*, so that we might suppose such a form as FER-MUL-JAN as the starting point. From it we should expect an Old French *vermuillier* and I take is that such was the Old French form. If my view is correct, the *vermullage* of the text of 1366 given above alone preserves the *u* of the Germanic root. The change from *vermuillier* to *vermiller* is normal enough. The *ou* of the dialectal forms given above appears to show the influence of *mouiller*.

149. — French *vermoulu* " worm eaten, worm holed, etc., crumbling to dust ".

DG, 2232 :
VERMOULU, UE, adj.
[ETYM. Composé avec *ver* et *moulu*, part. de *moudre*. — xiiie s. Fust de pressoir viés ou vermoulu. BEAUMAN. 1141 Salmon || Piqué, mangé par les vers. *Bois vermoulu*.

GEW, 885 :
VERMOULER, refl. " Wurmstichig werden " 17./18. Jhdt., ist Rückbildung von

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vermoulu " wurmstichig ", 13. Jhdt., wörtlich " von Würmern zermahlen, zermalmt ", d. i. alte Zusammensetzung von *ver* " Wurm " und *moulu*, d. i. Part. von *moudre* " mahlen " s. d.; von *vermoulu* seit dem 13. Jhdt. die Abl. *vermoulure* " Wurmfrass ". REW 9231.

The *DG* and *GEW* look upon *vermoulu* as a compound of the *maintenir*, *colporter* type. As the word is necessarily of early formation, it is right to note that no Latin **vermi-molere* is attested, that outside France such a combination is suggested by no Neo-Latin dialect, and that, so far as the French dialects are concerned, if Germanic offers a form that will explain the French *vermoulu* the hypothesis *vermi-molere* ceases to have any *raison d'être*.

In the French *vermoulu*, it is not easy to say whether the root idea is " worm " or " dust ". Taking the idea "worm " first, Germanic has certain compounds of the prefix *fer-* (*ver-*) and the word meaning "worm " ; cf. :

1630 *Den Schat der duytscher Tale* : " *Verwormen*, se vermoulir, devenir véreux ; *verwormt*, vermoulu, véreux ; *een verwormde note*, une noix véreuse ; *verwormnghe*, *verwormicheyt*, vermoulissure ".

Here *verwormen* is formed like *vermotten* " to be eaten away by moths " from Middle Dutch *motte* (Mod. Dutch *mot*) " moth ". So cf. :

1630 *Den Schat der duytschen Tale* : " *vermeluwen*, *vol meluwen worden*, devenir vermoulu comme fromage ; *vermeluden Kase* fourmage vermoulu... *Meluwen*, *milwe*, mites ou mines, petits vers qui naissent es febves, formages, etc ".

The words *meluwe*, *milwe* must be compared to O. H. G. *milwa* (German *Milbe* " mite, cheese-mite, moth, etc. ").

I do not wish to multiply instances of similar Germanic formations (cf. e. g. E. Fris. *fermîten*, *fermitern* in Doornkaat-Koolman, *IVtb.*, i, 456) but rather to call attention to the fact that the Middle Flemish past participle *vermeluden* in *vermeluden Kase* offers a very satisfactory solution of the *u* of the French *vermoulu*, particularly noticeable if, as both the *DG* and *GEW* admit, *vermoulu* is the starting point of the French series : *vermoulu*, *vermoulure*, *vermoulir*, *vermoulissure*, *vermouler* — I give them in the order of their earliest attestation in dated texts — and this explanation of *vermoulu* is rendered convincing by the O. Fr. form *vermelu* which corresponds sound for sound with the Germanic *vermeluden*. *Vermelu* is noted in

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God. (*Compl.*), x, 847 as occurring in Hélinand's *Vers de la Mort*, but there has been here a confusion with another poem of the same title, and the quotation should read as follows :

xiiith c. Robert le Clerc d'Arras, *Vers de la Mort* in MS. BN. 375, f° 340 v° : " Que trop couste a bien retenir Maisons a tous le[s] vermelue ".

The *e* of *vermelu* has the backing of the following dialectal forms :

(i) Poitou (Vienne) *verlemé* " piqué de vers " (Lalanne, 259); (ii) Poitou (Vienne, Deux-Sèvres) *vermelou* " vermoulu " (Lalanne, 259); (iii) H.-Maine *vermeleux, se* " piqué de vers " (Montesson, 467).

It is not impossible that the *ou* of *vermoulu* may also be explained by the influence of a Germanic form. The Germanic dialects are rich in words expressing ideas similar to that in Fr. *vermoulu* : cf. W. Flem. *olm* " vermoulure " (De Bo, 664), Brabant *olm* " een wormken, maaiken, of dierken dat in 't graan zit " (*Alg. Vl. Idiot.*,), E. Fris. *fer-ulmen* " verfaulen, vermodern, etc. " (Doornkaat-Koolman, *Wtb*, i, 470); cf. also W. Flem. *vermummelen* " se vermouler " (De Bo, 1106), Middle Flem. *vermolmen* " vermoulir " (1630 *Den Schat d. duystcher Tale*), E. Fris. *fer-mulmen* " zu Mulm oder Staub werden " (Doornkaat-Koolman, *Wtb.*, i, 457), German *molm, mulm* " gravois en forme de poussière, poussière de bois pourri, (du bois) pourriture, vermoulure ", *molmen mulmen* " réduire en poussière " (cf. *zermalmen*). Particularly interesting is Dutch *mul* translated by " turfmolm " in Vercoullie, *Etym. Wdb.* (1925), 235 and by " moilon, le déchet de petites pieces de tourbes " in *Den Schat der duytscher Tale* (1630); cf. German *mill, müll* " décombres, ordures, gravois, balayures ", O. H. G. *mullen* " zermalmen ", *farmullian, farmullen* " zerreiben zu Staub ".

The action, by popular etymology, of Fr. *ver* " worm " and Fr. *moulu* past participle of *moudre*, may then have exercised little, if any influence on either the form or the meaning of French *vermoulu*. This is the more curious because such an influence would be so natural ; the Fr. verb. *mouliner* is used of worms reducing wood to dust, and the Germanic words we have quoted in this note are connected with the proto-Germanic verb meaning " to grind " (cf. Gothic *malan*) and so cognate with L. molere.

150. — Norman *vernailler*, Anjou *s'évernailler*.

See note **58** on *fernailler* [3].

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151. — Saône-et-Loire *vernauler, veurneûler*.

Source :

1896 Fertiault, *Dict. du lang. pop. verduno-chalonnais*, 448 : " *Veùrneûler, vernauler*, v. intr. flâner, rôder, se promener sans but, courir, perdre son temps. (V. *gueùrnouiller, veùrder*) ".

For the form *veurneûler*, cf. Saintonge *v'rneuiller* " aller et venir pour rien à peu près " (Jonain, 410) and see note **170** on *vreniller*.

Verneûler, vernauler " to loaf about without any object, to waste one's time " are to be brought into relation with the forms *fernouiller, frenouiller*, etc., discussed in note **58** on *fernailler*[3] ; just as Saintonge, Poitou *vreniller*, etc. " to loaf about without any object" are to be brought into relation with *ferniller, fourniller*, etc., discussed in the same note ; the original sense is " fureter ", then " farfouiller ".

152. — Fr. *verquair, verquere*.

See note **141** on *verker*.

153. — Orléans *vertaper*.

1611 Cotgrave, *Dict.* : " *Vertaper*. To stop with a bung. ¶ *Orléan*. ".

This verb is not, to my knowledge, attested elsewhere, but it is clearly connected with the simple form in French *taper* " 1. to strike, hit, slap, etc., 2. to stop, to plug, etc. " which is derived from a Germanic TAPP.

One may compare for the compound verb :

(i) 1630 *Den Schat der duytscher Tale* : " *Vertappen*, tirer d'un vaisseau à l'autre " ; 1730 Merin, *Gr. Dict. holl.-franç.*, 947 : " *Vertappen*, v. a. *Hy vertapt veel bier*. Il vend beaucoup de bière au pot, en détail ".

(ii) German *verzapfen* in 1° *Er hat heute ein ganzes Fass verzapft*, he has sold to day a whole barrelful from the tap ; 2° *Ein Stück Holz verzapfen*, to mortise a piece of wood.

154. — Middle Fr. *vertigné* " moth-eaten ".

Our source is :

1611 Cotgrave, *Dict.* : " † *Vertigné* : m. *ée* : f. Worme-eaten ".

The root-word is L. tinea. *Vertigné* is no doubt formed on such a type as Dutch and Flemish *vermotten* " moth-eaten ". For the

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formation by a Germanic prefix with a word of Latin origin see the references at note **38** on O. Fr. *ferarmer* and note **147** on W. Fr. *verluter*.

155. — Poitou, Centre *vertiller*, Norm. *vretiller*, etc.

See note **111** on *fretiller*.

156. — O. French *vertoquer* " to strike a spigot into a cask ".

We owe to Ducange the knowledge of the only example of the O. Fr. *vertoquer* :

1387 Arch., JJ 132, pièce 5 : " Ainsi que Jehan le Normant feust pres d'une queue que appareilloit et vertoquoit Gillet tonnelier... ".

It may be translated : " As Jehan le Normand was near a cask that Gillet the cooper was putting right and into which he was fixing a spigot... ". Properly speaking *vertoquer* is " to strike the spigot into the cask, to fix the spigot into the bunghole of the cask by striking with a hammer or otherwise " and the word is to be put into relation with the French *toquer* " to strike, to hit, to knock, to beat, etc. ", with Picard *doquer* " to strike ", French *doguer* " to butt " (cf. *vertaper* of note **153** and Fr. *taper*) ; one may read the valuable contribution of Behrens, *Beiträge zur französischen Wortgeschichte und Grammatik*, pp. 80-81, on the relation of these words with *tokken*, *dokken* of the Flemish and Dutch dialects.

The following extracts :

1867 Favre, *Gloss. du Poitou*, 161 : " *Fretoc*, s. m. Piège à rat ".

1869 Jonain, *Gloss. saintongeais*, 185 : " *F'rtic f'rtoc*, imitation du bruit de la pierre aiguisant la faux... *f'rtoc*, gros et court bondon à la fonçure d'un tonneau... *f'rtoquer*, " battre, rosser... "

show that the verb *vertoquer* in a form *fertoquer* has existed in Poitou and still exists in Saintonge and that with it go a substantive *fertoc*, *f'rtoc*, with two meanings : (*a*) " rat-trap ", cf. *frapeau*, s. m. " piège pour prendre les oiseaux : c'est une cage qui se ferme par une détente que fait partir l'oiseau en se posant sur une baguette placée à l'entrée du piège " (Favre, *Gloss. du Poitou*, 159) from the root of *frapper* ; (*b*) " short thick spigot fixed in the bottom of the cask ". This second meaning occurs over all North and North East

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France. For Normandy we find the word with the following variants *vertau, verdot, vrêtot, vredeau, fredot, vertot* :

1842 Duméril, *Dict. du pat. norm.*, 217 : " *Vertau*, s. m. (arr. de Bayeux). Bonde de tonneau... ; " *id.*, 221 : " *Vredeau*, s. m. Fausset, cheville pour donner de l'air aux tonneaux ".

1852 Decorde, *Dict. du pat. de Bray*, 132 : " *Verdot*, gros fausset qui se met au bas des tonneaux ".

1879 Robin..., *Dict. du pat. de l'Eure*, 185 : " *Ferdot*, *feurdot* et quelquefois *verdot*. — Gros fausset, morceau de bois arrondi qui sert à boucher le trou d'un tonneau et qu'on remplace ordinairement par une chantepleure quand on veut mettre le tonneau en vidange. Le *ferdot* est de plus grande dimension que la *pignette* ".

1887 Moisy, *Dict. du pat. norm.*, 664 : " *Vertot*, s. m., gros fausset... L'on prononce quelquefois *verdot* ou *ferdot*... En patois normand de Jersey, l'on dit *vrêtot*, par métathèse... ".

The reduction of original *-oc* by the loss of final *c* and the assimilation to such suffixes as *-eau*, *-au*, *-ot*, is old. Cotgrave (1611) has : " *Vertau* : m. a stopple, or bung... " and in the following text of 1468 *vertail* is evidently formed analogically from a plural *vertaus* :

1468 *Stat.* in Ducange, art. *vertebrum* : " Item, les diz tonneliers ne pourront enfoncer queues neufves sans vertail, jusques a ce qu'elles seront veues et visitees par les maistres esgards ".

It is of some importance to note that the forms of the North East have initial *w-* :

1834 Hécart, *Dict. rouchi*, 490 : " *Werteau*, sorte de marque qu'on apposait sur les tonneaux après la jauge faite par les préposés du fisc ; il s'appliquait sur le bondon. On donnait ce nom au bondon même... ".

1867 Vermesse, *Dict. du pat. de la Flandre franç.*, 506 : " *Werteau*, s. m. marque que le jaugeur sermenté apposait sur les tonneaux après vérification ".

It seems certain that the starting point for the group of words here discussed is a Frankish *FER-TOKKAN and quite unnecessary to suppose for the explanation of the North-Eastern forms of another form with the prefix WEDER-, WEER-, so that the *w* of *werteau* must be considered as due to some analogical influence. It is possible, for example, that the fact that in the North-Eastern dialects the word *werteau* is particularly used of the mark put by the inspectors of the treasury on the spigot of the cask, and that the meaning "spigot" seems less well known, indicates that the treasury inspectors generally came to the Flemish areas from further West, from

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Normandy and West Picardy for example where *v* in certain cases was the equivalent of *w* in the East Picard and Flemish areas.

To the form *vertoquer* of the text of 1387 correspond in older texts the Central French *vertocher* (*-aucher*, *-oucher*, *-ucher*) :

(i) xiiith c. *Vie des Pères*, in *God.*, art. *verroucher* " bâillonner "; A Thomas, *Romania*, xxxv, 421 has shown that the right reading *vertoucher* occurs in two MSS of the BN containing the text.

(ii) xiiith c. *Antidotaire Nicolas*, ed. Dorveaux, 38 : " Vertochez... vertuchez bien le tonel... ".

(iii) 1320 Text in J. M. Richard, *La Comtesse Mahaut*, 144 : " Pour amener les diz xx tonneaux de vins du Crotoi a Hesdin, pour les traire des celiers ou il estoient, pour les vertanchier (read *vertauchier*)... ".

(iv) 1380 *Viandier de Taillevent*, ed. Pichon et Vicaire, *Suppl.*, 251 : " Et ne soit le baston que ung pié dedans le vaissel, et puis le vertochiez... ".

157. — O. Fr. *vertouiller*.

See note **112** on *fretouiller*.

158. — Valenciennes *vervessou* " sickly, pale ", Lille *vervessou* " phlegmatic fellow ; one that does not seem to enjoy his own jokes ".

See note **161** on Valenciennes *verzouleux*.

159. — Walloon *verzin*.

Grandgagnage, *Dict. étym. de la langue wallonne*, ii, 463 : " *Verzin* (caprice, lubie) N. it. "

The word is noted by Sigart for Mons :

1866 Sigart, *Gloss. montois*, 368 : " *Verzin*, s. m., idée folle ; caprice subit. *Il a passé ein verzin pa s'tiette. Quée verzin est-ce qui vos preind co là ?* — Fl. *weêrzin*, répugnance. — Mais *verzin* est probablement un dérivé de *verzeler* ".

Instead of an impossible v e r v e c i n u s suggested in a note of Grandgagnage's dictionary, Sigart hesitates between two explanations. The explanation first suggested by Sigart appears to have been accepted by J. Haust, an authority on the Walloon dialects ; cf.

1920 *Bull. du Dict. Gén. de la langue wallonne*, 14 sq. (*Étym. wall. et franç.*, 271) : " [after proposing to explain the E. Walloon *virer* by OHG *widiron*]. La dérivation que je propose ci-dessus satisfait pleinement pour le sens. Elle ne fait pas grande difficulté pour la lettre : *wideren* s'est normalement contracté en **wieren* par la chute du *d* intervocal ; comp. le néerl. *weder* : *weer* et l'all. *widersinn* : bas-all. *wiersen* (Aix-la-Chapelle), neerl. *weerzin* (d'où le w. *vèrzin*). Le changement de *w* en *v* est rare, mais non sans exemple ; comp. *a l'avîr*, altéré de *a l'awîr* ;

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le nam. *vèci* pour **wé-ci* et, ci-après, la fin de l'article *vûse*. De même le nom de lieu *Visé* (*i* long), en flamand *Wezet*, dérivé de l'all. *Wiese*, prairie ".

In support of Germanic *w* > Walloon *v*, a change which he states to be rare, he quotes two instances : (1) Walloon *vuse* (< O. H. G. *visa*), a derivation which is highly improbable (cf. Haust, *Étym. wall et franç.*, 278) ; (2) Walloon *verzin* (< Dutch *weerzin*).

Now Dutch and Flemish *weerzin* is noted neither by *Den Schat der duytscher Tale* (1630), nor by Marin, in his *Grand dictionnaire holland.-français* (1730), nor by De Bo, for West Flemish. Doornkaat-Koolman, *Wtb. d. ostfries. Sprache*, iii, 542 gives *wër-sin* and *wër-sinnig* and Van Dale, *Handwoordenboek d. Nederlandsche Taal*, 931, explains Dutch *weerzin* by " tegenzin ". Quite orherwise is it with the verb *verzinnen* :

1630 *Den Schat der duytscher Tale :* " *Verzinnen*, controuver, excogiter ; *verzinnen*, considérer, penser, cogiter, recogiter, repenser, recorder, remémorer, aviser, appenser, méditer, machiner ".

1730 Marin, *Gr. dict. holl.-fr.*, 954 : " *Verzinnen*, inventer, trouver le premier. — *Zig verzinnen*. Se tromper, se méprendre. — *Verzinning*. Invention... Bévue, erreur, méprise ".

Verzin is not only an East Walloon word, it is quoted for Mons as well as Liège and it is probably old. Its meanings in the dialects are more naturally explicable by the meanings of *verzinnen* than by the narrow connotation of *weerzin* ; and I should therefore be inclined to equate the word with the Old Fr. *forsen* from *forsener*, and so see in it a substantive derived from a verb equivalent in form and meaning to the Dutch *verzinnen*.

160. — B.-Maine *verzouiller* " to fall ".

SOURCE :
1895 Dottin, *Gloss. du Bas-Maine*, 522 : " *Verzouiller*, tomber (Bierné) ".

This is the only indication on this word known to me. The word is, I suppose, intransitive.

If the meaning is " to fall from overdrinking ", then *verzouiller* is the same word as the Picard *verzouler* dealt with in the next note.

161. — Valenciennes *verzouleux* " drinker of spirits ".

SOURCE :
1834 Hécart, *Dict. rouchi*, 489 : " *Verzouleux*, buveur d'eau-de-vie et de liqueurs,

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qui a le visage bouffi par l'usage des liqueurs spiritueuses, de la couleur blafarde de la peau de ceux qui ont cette dangereuse habitude ".

Verzouleux implies a verb *verzouler* " to drink to excess " which I should compare to Walloon *forsôlé* :

1845 Grandgagnage, *Dict. étym. de la langue wallonne*, i, 216 : " *Forsôlé* (verb. : trop *soûlé*. On traite de *forsôléz* les hommes ou les animaux qui se conduisent en êtres trop, ou trop bien repus; en conséquence ce mot équivaut à : 1° dégoûté, difficile dans le boire et le manger... ;
2° plus souvent à : dissolu, débauché... ".

We should then have a verb which was a compound of our Germanic prefix and the Fr. *soûler*, in other words Walloon *forsôler* and Valenciennes *verzouler* would be equivalent to an O. Fr. **forsaouler*, **foursaouler*. To the family of such a verb may perhaps belong the following words :

(*a*) arr. de Bayeux *velousseux* " paillard " (Duméril, 216) by metathesis for *vessouleux*, *versouleux* ;

(*b*) ? W. Norman *vesou* dealt with Duméril, 218 in the following cryptic fashion : " *Vesou*, s. m. Jouet, littéralement fou ; du lat. *vesanus* ; c'est un souvenir des plaisirs du moyen-âge " ;

(*c*) Démuin *vésoul*, s. f. " femme malpropre qui se tient mal ", ch'est enne grosse vésoul (Ledieu, 228); *vésoul* normally *vésoule* for *verzoule*;

(*d*) Boulogne *verzou* " caprice soudain " (Haigneré, 614);

(*e*) ?? Walloon *vèsou* " pâle, blême, qui a mauvaise mine " (Grandgagnage, *Dict.*, ii, 465) ; for the meaning, cf. Hécart's definition of *verzouleux* above. But then what of Valenciennes *vervesson* " qui est d'une faible complexion, qui a la mine pâle, qui a l'air souffrant " (Hécart, 479), Lille *vervessou* " pisse-froid, pince-sans-rire " (Grandgagnage ad *vèsou*) ? In this case it looks rather as if *vèsou* was connected with *vesi* " vesser " ; cf. Valenciennes *vessou* " vesseur " ; in which case *vervesson* might be derived from an unattested verb **vervesser*, a compound of *vesser*.

162. — Norm. *vesillant, vezillant*.

See note **64** on *fersiller*.

163. — B.-Maine *veurdonner*.

See note **92** on Fr. *fredonner*.

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164. — B.-Maine *virbouillon*.

SOURCE :

1895 Dottin, *Gloss. du B.-Maine*, 636 : " *Virbouillon*, turbulent, irréfléchi ".

Is this an alteration of *verbouillon* formed from the compound of *fer-* and *bouillir* referred to in note on *fèrbolaye* ?

L. Adam, *Les Patois lorrains*, 253 quotes among the representatives of this verb such forms as *ferbeli* " blanchir des légumes " at La Bresse, *frebli* " cuire à.moitié " at Le Tholy, and the substantive *frebélon* " enfant très remuant " at Allain.

See notes **40, 83.**

165. — Fr. *virbouquet, virebouquet*.

See note **133** on *verboquet*.

166. — *Vrelepingue* (Rabelais, iv, 40).

In his *Langue de Rabelais*, ii, 483, Sainéan, after examining the list of the cooks' names in Rabelais, iv, 40, says :

" Résidu obscur : Apigratis, Delyqualquain, Escarsaufle, Urelipipingues, ce dernier mot burlesque à finale semblable à Albingues ou Myrelingues ".

Urelipipingues corresponds to " *Vrelelipipingues* in Marty-Laveaux' edition of Rabelais' works, ii, 411. This cook's name has suffered much in various editions, and the current one in les Classiques Garnier gives it as *Vrefelipipinguet*.

Cotgrave has a much simpler form : " *Vrelepingue* : a drink spiller. ¶ Rab. ". His spelling and his translation suggest Dutch and Flemish *verlapping*. The *vre-* of *vrelepingue* (cf. Rabelais' *vrelopper, vretaquer*) makes one wonder whether the Western dialects had a verb *vreleper, vrelaper* equivalent to Picard *ferlaper, fourlaper*.

167. — Poitou *vreliard* " false to one's word ".

SOURCE :

1867 Favre, *Gloss. du Poitou*, 354 : " *Vreliard*, adj. des deux genres. Homme qui manque à sa parole. G. L. ".

G. L. indicates Favre's source of information : Gustave Levrier of Celles (Deux-Sèvres).

Vreliard implies a verb *vrelier* " to be false to one's word ". *Vrelier*

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would be satisfactorily explained by such a type as FIR-LIAGAN : cf. O. Fris. *liagan*, O. Sax. *liogan* (Dutch *liegen*), A. Sax. *leogan* (English *lie*), O. H. G. *liogan*, etc. For modern compounds of *ver-* and the same radical, cf. Dutch *verloochenen* " nier, renier ", Germ. *verlügen* " dire des mensonges de quelqu'un ", etc.

168. — W. French *vrelopper* " to plane " (Rabelais iii, prol.).

See note **127** on French *varlope*.

169. — Bresse louhannaise *vremouilli* " to root about (like a pig) ".

See note **148** on French *vermiller*, *vermillonner*.

170. — Saintonge, Poitou *vreniller*.

Cotgrave's Dictionary (1611) contains an article :

" VRENILLER. To pisse, or void urine. ¶ Rab. ".

Cotgrave puts under V words beginning with U, V and W. He seems to consider *vreniller* as *ureniller* and to connect it with L. urina being no doubt determined thereto by the context in his source :

1552 Rabelais, iv, 10 : " Tant chiasser et vreniller. Dea, je ne dis pas que je n'en tirasse quelque traict... ",

where *vreniller* follows on *chiasser*. So Rabelais, *Œuvres*, ed. Jannet, vii (*Glossaire*, 1874), 217 : " *Ureniller*, diminutif d'*uriner* ".

But *vreniller* is one of those words of the West French dialects which Rabelais has so often introduced into his novel and the xixth century dialect dictionaries attest it in two forms :

(1) VRENILLER, for Saintonge and Poitou :

1869 Jonain, *Dict. du pat. saintongeais*, 410 : " *V'reniller*, *v'rneuiller*. Aller et venir pour rien, à peu près comme *v'stiller*. Tous ces verbes font leurs adjectifs : *v'rnilloû*, etc. ".

1887 Éveillé, *Gloss. saintongeais*, 378 : *Vreniller*, v. n. Se remuer beaucoup sans utilité selon M. Burgaud des Marets ".

1867 Favre, *Gloss. du Poitou*, 354 : " *Vreniller*, v. n. Tourner d'un côté et d'autre, aller de tous côtés (Voyez *vertiller*). — Après avoir bien *vrenillé* de ci et de là (A. Delveau, *Françoise*, 83) ".

(2) FERNILLER, FOURNILLER in other Northern dialects (see note **58** on *fernailler* [3] for these forms, and also note on Rennes *fournigoter* for the etymology proposed for the word).

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171. — *Vretacquer* (Rabelais, iv, 20).

1552 Rabelais, iv, 20 :

> " Uretacque, hau ! (cria le pilot) Uretacque ! la main à l'insail !
> Amene ! Uretacque ! Bressine ! Uretacque ! guare la passe !
> Hau amure ! amure bas ! Hau uretacque ! Cap en houlle !
> Desmanche le heaulme ! Accapaye ! ".

The word *uretacque* is always spelt with initial *u* in editions of Rabelais. It is not noted by Cotgrave (1611). The first appearance of the corresponding noun with a definition is in the following :

1694 T. Corneille, *Dict.*, ii, 597 : " *Uretac*, s. m. T. de marine. Manœuvre qu'on passe dans une poulie qui est tenue par une herse dans l'éperon, au-dessus de la lieure de beaupré. Cette manœuvre sert à renforcer l'amare de misaine, quand elle a besoin d'estre renforcée ".

In the xviiith century dictionaries *uretac* disappears giving place to the misprint *uretau* which is found, with an abridgment of Corneille's definition, in the 1719 and 1732 editions of Richelet. The last of the big dictionaries to note *uretau* is probably the *Dictionnaire de Trévoux* which in its 1771 edition explains it by means of the full definition given by Corneille except that it changes Corneille's *amare* (mod. Fr. *amarre*) " mooring rope " to *amure* " tack ", and Corneille's *lieure* to *saisine*.

It should be noted that none of these dictionaries distinguish between initial *u* and initial *v* in their method of printing. But the distinction is of course made later and in the following explanation of Rabelais' *uretacque* :

1874 Rabelais, *Œuvres*, ed. Jannet, vii (Glossaire), 217 : " *Uretacque, ureteau* ; manœuvre passée dans une poulie tenue par une herse dans l'éperon au-dessus de la saisine du beaupré, pour renforcer l'amure de misaine ; et commandement pour le faire mouvoir ",

we have a definite choice of *u* as the initial of *uretacque*, a further misprint in *ureteau* for *uretau* of the xviiith century dictionaries, a slight modification of the definition of *uretau* in the *Dict. de Trévoux*, and an addition due to the editor : *commandement pour le faire mouvoir*, due to his desire to interpret the imperative character of Rabelais' use of the word.

The word is not noted in the naval dictionaries of the xviiith century; it is not in Lescallier's *Vocabulaire* in 1777 and 1797, nor in

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Romme's *Dictionnaire* in 1792 and 1813. But it reappears as *vretac* in Boiste :

1823 Boiste, *Dict. Univ.*, ii, 341 : " *Vretac*, s. m. Manœuvre tenue par une herse "

and in two forms in Bonnefoux and Paris.:

1848 De Bonnefoux et Paris, *Dict. de Marine*, ed. 1856, i, 716 : " *Uretac*, s. m. (Winding tackle) Sorte de pantoire ou de fausse amure de misaine... " — 741 : " *Vretac*. s. m. (Preventer tack). Cordage qui servait à renforcer l'amure de misaine ".

Strictly speaking we have only two sources. Rabelais, iv, 20, is our source for the verb *vretaquer* used in the imperative second person singular like *amene, bressine, guare, desmanche, accapaye* from *amener, bressiner*, etc. The *vre-* of *vretaquer* shows that Rabelais is using a verb from the W. French ports. For the substantive *vretac*, which is evidently from the same coast, our earliest source is T. Corneille's *Dictionnaire* (1694).

The verb *vretaquer* is to be connected with the Germanic root TAKK- (Dutch *tak*, Mid. Dutch *tacke* ; Mid. Engl. *takke* " small nail "; cf. German *Zacke* and Fr. *attacher*). *Vretaquer* corresponds in form to such a verb as E. Fris. *fertaken* " verhaken " (Doornkaat-Koolman, *Wtb. d. ostfries. Spr.*, i, 469). Its meaning is probably that of the nautical Engl. *to tack* " to change the direction of the vessel by shifting the helm to leeward, to veer round ". The substantive *vretac* corresponds to the nautical Engl. *foretack* " tack of a foresail "; the tack of a sail is called in French *amure*, so that the foretack is *l'amure de misaine*.

172. — Norman *vretillant*.

See note **111** on Fr. *frétiller*.

Leeds. PAUL BARBIER.

Le Gérant : A. TERRACHER.

MACON, PROTAT FRÈRES, IMPRIMEURS — MCMXXXII

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