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FRENCH ETYMOLOGIES

I. Fr. *harnais*, Eng. *harness*

The etymology has long been doubtful. Celtic origin has been generally abandoned; the *Dictionnaire général* (completed 1900) made a new proposal: "Dérivé d'un radical *harn-*, d'origine inconnue, à l'aide du suffixe *-isk*, *-eis*, *-ois*, *-ais*." Meyer-Lübke (*Roman. etym. Wörterbuch*, 4119) and Sheldon (*Webster's Dictionary*, 1910) give a qualified approval to Baist's more recent suggestion that the source was Norse *Herr*+*nest* 'viaticum'; cf. *vegnest*, *farnest*, 'Wegvorrat' 'Fahrtvorrat,' with contamination of suffix.¹

The O. Fr. forms, aside from the variation *her-*, *har-*, are three: *hernas*, *hernès*, *herneis*. The verb (*a*)*herneschier*, *hernaschier*, and other derivatives show the same alternation of vowel.² With *nèst* it is impossible to explain these frequent forms in *-nas*; the mediaeval Pic. texts show rather consistently *harnas* (Philippe Mousket, Adam de la Hale, *Aiol*), so in Dutch (see *Romania*, XXX, 100) and Wallonian, but never Pic. **harniès*,³ as we might expect if we were dealing with the vowel of *nèsan*.

In a discussion of these difficulties with my colleague F. A. Wood, he proposed as second element of the compound G. **nast*, pl. **nesti*, 'strap,' 'band,' a ground-form inferred by Grimm from mod. G. *Nestel*. Ital. *nastro* 'ribbon,' O. Pr. *nala*, and O. Fr. *nasliere*, the last recently established by A. Thomas (see *Romania*, XXXIX,

¹ *Zeitschr. f. roman. Phil.*, XXXII (1908), 38. From "germ. ou celt. **harnask*, d'où aussi **harnisk*," was proposed by A. Wallensköld, *Mélanges Wahlund*, 1896, p. 147.

² Preserved, here and there, to the present day; see *Atlas linguistique*, carte no. 684.

³ Cf. *viés-toi*, Ph. Mousket's *Chronique*, 24102, from Lat. *vesti*.

239) are important derivations from the same source; see also the next article, II. *lanière*. The original meaning of *heri-nast*, *heri-nesti* would be 'army-strap(s),' 'army-band(s),' whence 'army-gear' of all kinds, 'gear' in general, 'equipment.' The declensions from which resulted the three indeclinables *hernas*, *hernès*, *herneis*, may be reconstructed as follows:

I. Sg. nom. *hernast-s* > *hernaz*, Pic. *hernas*
obl. *hernas(t)*

Remarkably enough, the last form is preserved in Froissart, ed. Luce, IV, p. 211, V.L.: *des chevaulx et du harnast*, unless this is a new formation from nom. *harnas*, on the analogy of *mas*, obl. *mast*.

II. The Pl., used as such and as a collective Sg.:

nom. *hernesti* > *hernes(t)*
obl. *hernest-s* > *hernez*, Pic. *hernès*

So *hernès* (: *lais*), *G. de Dole*, 2616;¹ (: *fres*) *Escoufte*, 1587.

III. From II, on the analogy of pairs like *freis-fres*, *Tieis-Tiès*, *Angleis-Anglès* :

nom. *herneis*, Troie, 7812; later *hernois*
obl. *herneis*, Eliduc, 259; later *hernois*.

I note also the new-made obl. *harnoi* (: *palefroi*) in *Partonopeus de Blois*, 5544, and elsewhere.

Obviously the vowel of **nesti* supplies the O. Fr. *ě* which is needed to explain the early confusion with the G. suffix *-isk* > *-eis* and *-es*; *něsan*, on the other hand, would have furnished *è* (or *ie*) in O. Fr. It is evident that the word belonged originally to the Pic. region; when it appeared in Normanno-Angevin French (Gaimar, Wace, Benoît, Marie de France), it was in the new form *her-*, *harnais*, and its subsequent history is not different from that of other substantives in *-ois*, *-ais*.

¹ The form *harnòs* (: *òs* < *opus*), *G. de Dole*, 2004, is not a phonetic spelling, but is due rather to the desire to rime for the eye; so 5377 *oisiaus* is written for *oiseus* to rime with *ciaus* (error here for *ceus*). Another striking instance is *palois* (*ò palès*) *Partonopeus de Blois*, I, 55, 58, due to the rime-word *dois*; so also a scribe was capable of writing *Lanceloit* when the Impf. 3 ending shifted from *-ot* to *-oit* (*Fergus*, 146, 12). Meyer-Lübke's doubts whether the spelling *harnòs* is in any way phonetically significant (*Hist. Franz. Gram.*, I, § 55) are therefore well founded. Other rimes of *oe* : *e* in *G. de Dole* are *voel* : *escucel* 3149, *avoques* : *arcevesques* 4987, not to mention the frequent *soen* : *sen* 597, etc. As to *esloint* (: *maint* < *manet*) 4193, Matzke speaks of *esloint* as an early isolated instance of *oi* > *òè*, but he did not insist very strongly upon this interpretation. In view of all the facts it seems preferable to explain it as *eslueint*, cf. Eng. *quaint* for *queint*, and Pic. *engien* for *engin* (see *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXI [1906], 655).

II. Fr. *lanière*, Eng. *lanyard*

O. Fr. *lasniere*, 'strap,' 'thong,' seems to have issued from O. Fr. *nasliere*, 'cordon' > G. **nastila* + *-aria*¹ by reciprocal metathesis, *n . . l* passing to *l . . n*, as **alenare* for Lat. *anhelare*,² *quelogne* (Villon) for *quenoille*, O. Fr. *celenier*, G. *Kellner*, as compared with O. Fr. *cenelier*, both originally from *cellararius*.³ The opposite change in Sp. *cantinela* from *cantilena*, *quirnalda* from *quirlanda*. Dissimilation of *n . . n*, in the combination *une nasliere* > *une lasniere* was possibly not without influence upon the transposition of the consonants.

III. Fr. *cocu*, Eng. *cuckold*

Before entering upon a discussion of the derivation, I offer some considerations as to the cause of the ancient association of this bird with a husband whose wife is unchaste.

The dictionaries continue to explain that the cuckoo is known to lay its egg in another bird's nest. This is the time-honored explanation, but upon examination the reasoning involved appears somewhat confused. If the female cuckoo deposits her egg in a song-sparrow's nest, the injured party is certainly the song-sparrow, and not the male cuckoo; the latter, we imagine, consents to the trick and is not in the least to be commiserated; quite the contrary, for he escapes the labor of nest-building and the care of the fledgling. Nor does the logical hitch disappear if, with others, we twist the statement and allege that the *cocu* "causes another man to raise his children," for it is the essence of cuckoldom that the husband is *ridicoculisé* (to use Rostand's amusing word) against his will. The *Dict. gén.* explains: "la femelle du coucou va dans le nid d'autres oiseaux." While this formulation approaches nearer the truth, it does not, I believe, quite hit the mark. What is needed is the bird in the rôle of the unwilling husband of a voluntarily adulterous wife, the husband being justly an object of ridicule because of stupidity or weakness.⁴

¹ A. Thomas, *Romania*, XXXIX (1910), 239.

² A. Thomas, *Nouveaux Essais*, p. 276, adduces additional proof of this metathesis.

³ G. Paris, *Mélanges linguistiques*, p. 142.

⁴ Diez, with his usual lucidity, perceived the difficulty and questioned: "gab man dem betrogenen ehemann *per antiphrasin* den namen des vogels, der seine eier in fremde nester legt?" Dr. Johnson easily explained that 'cuckoo' was transferred from the adulterer to the husband "by mistake." The solution proposed by Rolland, *Faune populaire de la France*, II, 89, is similar and equally confused.

The male cuckoos, we learn from various sources, live apart: during the mating season each occupies a sort of district or *canton*; the female, on the contrary, frequents a larger region, passing from one *canton* to another, and, says one of our informants, “y fait choix d’un mâle avec lequel elle s’accouple. Aussitôt qu’elle a pondu le fruit de cet accouplement, elle va chercher un nouveau mâle pour l’abandonner bientôt comme le premier.” And further: “Prévoist prétend que l’accouplement est souvent répété trente fois et davantage dans le même jour; mais cet excès dure peu, et dès le troisième jour les deux amis commencent à se négliger, la femelle quitte son privilégié de la veille pour en choisir un nouveau.”¹ Here the male cuckoo appears in quite a different rôle: he is now the neglected former mate of a shameless female. May we not be reminded at this point that the folk-mind is generally keen and accurate in observation? During long generations, spring after spring, sharp eyes have noted the loose mating habits of the female cuckoo, and the indifference or cowardice of the male; hence he became, in the mind of the countryman, the cuckold *par excellence*. This explanation receives strong confirmation from the well-known fact that Lat. *cuculus*, like G. *Gauch* and Pr. *cogotz*, is applied at times to the adulterer. Littré cites Du Verdier: “Non seulement ceux qui abusent des femmes d’autrui, mais aussi les maris abusés sont appelés cocus.” Similarly a G. couplet, quoted by Sardinha: Der Kukuk ist ein braver Mann / Der sieben Frauen halten kann.

The fact appears to be that the original framer of what has hitherto been the received explanation hit upon what is perhaps the most peculiar habit of the cuckoo, that of not raising its own young, and overlooked another marked peculiarity, the conspicuous infidelity of the amorous female. The latter habit, it must be admitted, was far more likely to arrest the attention of the *vilain*, who, while he was certainly a keen observer, could not be expected to investigate with the thoroughness of an ornithologist.

Unlike the editors of the *Dict. gén.* and of the *New Eng. Dict.*, I can find no serious obstacle to Diez’ derivation of Fr. *cocu* from Lat. *cūcūlus*. The *cuku* (or *cuccu*) of MS Y of the *Fables* of Marie de France (Fable xlvi) is ϕ *çocu*, the loss of *-l* being due either to the

¹ Manoel da Silva Sardinha, *De Cuculo Canoro*, Diss. Zool., Bonn. 1877, pp. 11, 13.

nom. *cocus*, which in turn is quite regular: cf. nom. *cus*, obl. *cul* and *cu* < Lat. *cūlus*,¹ or the final consonant may have been dropped to make the word more perfectly echoic, for, as Meyer-Lübke very truly says, "die Schallnachahmung spielt gerade hier eine grosse Rolle." The normal development in mod. Fr. would have been *coucu*, instanced by Thurot (I, 263) but rare. E. Deschamps (I, 206; III, 296) has the form *cucu* (ϕ *cūcū*) due to assimilation of the first syllable to the second, while in mod. Fr. *coucou* the second has been assimilated to the first.²

The persistence of Lat. *ū* as *ü* in Fr. *cocu*, *cucu*, Pr. *coqul*, and the existence of the forms in *-l*, speak strongly in favor of the derivation from Lat. *cūcūlus*; there remains the "irregular" pretonic vowel (*o* instead of *ou*). This has been attributed to the provençal forms, to the influence of *coquin*, *coquart* (*Dict. gén.*) and to association with *coq* (Brinkmann; cf. G. *Hahnrei*). We have, however, in mod. Fr. a group of similar unexplained exceptions, among which are such common words as *corvée*, *ortie*, *forest*, *soleil*, and we are bound to ask whether *cocu* may not also be assigned to this group.

Examining the rich material collected by Thurot,³ we find that with *ü* in tonic position and pretonic *o* in open syllable, there has been in Middle French an unmistakable hesitation between *o* and *ou*: *molue* (or *morue*, Et. Boileau) and *moulue* (R. Estienne); *gotu* and *goulu*, *encolure* and *encoulure*. Also with *i* in the tonic:

¹ Godefroy has an example of the shortened form (*cu*) from the fifteenth century. Nyrop cites one from the sixteenth (Montaignon-Rothschild collection, V, 256) but the form is probably much older. In *nul* < Lat. *nullu*, final *-l* has been more resistant, but here we are dealing with *ll*, and there is besides the fem. O. Fr. *nule*. I have however noted the pun: *Nu(l) comme un ver*, in a modern cartoon.

² The *Atlas linguistique* (B 1520) shows (1) some instances of *coucu*; (2) that at present the tonic *-cu* has been replaced by *-cou* over the whole North; (3) *cōcū* is found in a broad zone which extends east and west (Depts. Creuse, Ain, Haute-Saône). That *-cu* formerly existed also in the North is proved sufficiently by the rimes *cuccu*: *fu*, Marie de France; *cucus*: *plus*: *salu*, Eustache Deschamps, as cited above, and others entered by Godefroy. Other variants are *coquou* (R. Estienne, *Thes.*), *coqueu* (Palsgrave) the latter also in the place-name *Chantecoqueu* (see P. Skok, *Zs. f. rom. Phil.*, XXXII [1908], 557). *Coqueu* represents a type with the suffix *-ilus*: nom. *coqueus*, obl. *coquel* (cf. Godefroy, II, 400, who in error prints *cuknel*); in another North French territory we should have from the same source an obl. *couquiol* (as *diolt* < Lat. *dolet*) often attested. In Anglo-Norman, the reduction of *ue* to *o*, as in *aiol*, *bercol*, *fillol*, *dol* (see Suchier, *Voyelles toniques*, p. 78) would result in a form *coucol*, *cucol*, which may have given us *cuckold*, with excrescent *-d*, or by folk-etymology (*old*) or by crossing with the forms in *-all*. One of the Pr. forms, *cogūl*, is discussed by Meyer-Lübke, *Mélanges Willemotte*, II, 386.

³ *De la Prononciation française*, I, 252-66.

polie and *poulië*, *sois* and *souris*, *norris* and *nourrir*; with other high-front vowels: *rosée* and *rousée*, *solier* and *soulier*, *soleil* and *souleil* (E. Deschamps); *gosier* and *gousier*, and many others. The case of *moulue* and *cocu* differs, however, from the others in that both vowels are strongly rounded, and the preference for *morue*, *cocu* is to be explained as a dissimilation by partial unrounding which at the same time relieved somewhat the difficult tongue-shift from *ou* to *ü*.¹

IV. Fr. *contretemps*

A. Darmesteter explained *entretemps* and *contretemps* as compounds of *contre* and *temps*, *entre* and *temps*.² Nothing apparently could be more obvious, yet there is good reason to suppose an entirely different origin for both these words.

As to *contretemps*, 'untoward accident, or opposition,' Bouhours (1671) speaks of it as "un terme assez nouveau" (*Dict. gén.*); *contrattempo* is also of late appearance in Italian. The expressions *agir*, *faire*, and especially *aller à contretemps* suggest the O. Fr. participle and gerundive *contrestant*, 'opposing,' later *contretant*, appearing oftenest in the adv., conj., and prep., *non contretant (que)*. For the erroneous spelling there is a close parallel in *entretant*, not seldom written *entretemps* in Froissart (see *Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil.*, VII, 18); cf. also *je attemps* for *j'attends*, *je antemps*, *estre contemps* in the letters of Catherine de Médicis (III, 145, 253; VII, 297). The *Dict. gén.* explains Fr. *entretemps* as "altération par fausse étymologie" of O. Fr. *entretant* (< *inter tantum*) 'meanwhile.' Thus in Mme. de Sévigné's *tout est à craindre dans cet entretemps*, the adverb has become a substantive, offering us a close parallel to *contretemps*.

¹ Extremely interesting is T. Cornelle's characterization of the pronunciation *norris*, *norrice* for *nourrir*, *nourrice* as "une prononciation trop délicate" "affectée par la plupart des femmes." (Thurot, *op. cit.*, I, 254). Have we here facts which might serve as basis to a theory of vowel-harmony in French, already hinted at by Jespersen and Rousselot? However that may be, certain it is that statements like that of Schwan-Behrens (8th ed., §§ 91, 95) are too systematic. To explain *o* in *soleil* as etymological reaction, for example, is beside the mark: such an explanation, considering that no word could be more of a folk-word than this, is incredible. Nothing is gained by elaborating fixed rules where what is classed as "irregular" is as important as the "regular." Even for pedagogical purposes, as Meyer-Lübke has recently emphasized (*Hist. Frz. Grammatik*, Vorwort, p. x) too much is lost if the exceptions to rules and laws are hidden away or their importance minimized.

² *Traité de la Formation des mots composés dans la langue française*, 1874.

While *contrester* is an ancient Romance verb, of frequent use in the older periods of French (Crestien, Garnier, Jean de Meun, Gilles li Muisis) thus far I have not succeeded in finding the needed instance of *aler*, or *venir*, with a *contrestant*. It is surprising that neither Stimming¹ nor Pfeiffer² quotes instances of *aller a*, *venir a*, with the ger. in *-ant*, although indications are not wanting that this formula had a wide use in pre-literary French.³ Bourciez⁴ quotes "a. fr. *aler à chevauchant*," without however citing a passage in proof. *Conq. de Jérusalem*, 1213: *estes vos lor a tant, De la grant tor David .iii. oiselés volant, Par desor le pomel aloient a roant*; *ibid.*, 6870: *la vienent a hiant* seem to be genuine instances, as only the simple verbs *roër*, *hiër* are known elsewhere. But to approach the subject in this way would be to confine ourselves to too narrow a view; the epics of the thirteenth century represent rather the close of a period of evolution in the uses of the gerundive. A juster method of approach would be to inquire whether the frequent variation *vait tarjant . . . vait atarjant*; *dont plus li vait pesant* (*Conq. de Jér.*, 3912) compared with: *Cum me vas apesant* (*Ch. de Willalme*, 729); *La compaigne Richart alout tuz tens creissant* (*Rou*, II, 4091) compared with *La gent nostre Seigneur va tousjours acroissant* (*Ch. d'Antioche*, II, 267) may not have its origin in twin formulae *vait tarjant . . . vait à tarjant*, *aler baiant . . . aler à baiant*, *venir volant . . . venir à volant*, etc. Châteaubriand used *aller croissant*, Zola *aller en croissant* (Pfeiffer, *op. cit.*, p. 35); a similar liberty may have been exercised with *à* in the oldest periods of French, a situation which would favor the appearance of the numerous pairs like *peser . . . apeser*, *tapir . . . atapir*, *rengier . . . arengier*, etc.

V. O. Fr. *hanse*, 'tax,' 'dues'

In the glossary to the romance of *Guillaume de Dole*, *ense*, which occurs vs. 1899: *Bien avez hui païé vostre ense* (: *porpense*) is entered as a "mot altéré." Mussafia, however, was inclined to hold fast to the MS reading: "so werden wir in *ense* ein bisher meines Wissens nicht nachgewiesenes Wort erkennen."⁵ This judgment is only

¹ *Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil.*, X (1896), 526 ff.

² *Umschreibung des Verbums im Französischen durch aller, venir + Gerundium*, Göttingen Diss., 1909.

³ Tobler, *Beiträge*, I, 45.

⁴ *Eléments de Linguistique romane*, p. 387.

⁵ *Zur Kritik u. Interpretation roman. Texte*, III, 13, n.; *Sitz. Wien. Akad.*, CXXXVI.

partially correct, for every consideration points toward identification of *ense*, as a Pic. spelling, with *hanse* as used by Gautier de Coinci (cited by Godefroy *s.v.*): *Ou feu d'enfer, tot main a main, Lor covendra paiier la hanse*. Godefroy also enters *hanse* as signifying, at Rouen, "certains droits sur les marchandises venant par l'eau," with which agrees mod. Dutch *hanze*. In this sense too is the proverb in Leroux de Lincy's collection (II, p. 76): *Au soir danse Qui matin hanse*.

It is uncertain whether the author of *G. de Dole* pronounced *ense* or *anse*, for he occasionally rimed *en* : *an*, as *gens* : *sachanz* 1992; so 2218, 3008, 4356. At any rate, cases of Pic. substitution of *en* for *an* are well known (see Suchier, *Aucassin u. Nicolette*⁵, p. 73). The non-appearance of G. *h-* has been noticed more than once in Pic. texts and made the subject of comment.¹ It can hardly be accident that the same hesitation is met with in Flemish texts of about the same period: *ane* (Hahn) *ant* (Hant) *out* (Holz).² Similarly Lübben's *MND Grammar*, § 44, cites *ansestat* for *hansestat*. The form without *h-* is therefore attested. At the same time, it is not impossible after all that we should read here *vo hanse*, for the *Escoufle* romance, very probably written by the author of *G. de Dole*, uses both forms: *vostre fille* 2163, and, a few lines below: *Vo fille avra le roi de France*. In either case, the identity of *ense* with G. *hanse* cannot be doubted.

VI. O. Fr. *enor*, 'ear-ring'

In a review of the new *Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, A. Thomas (see *Romania*, XLI [1912], 459) asks for instances of this rare word, from Lat. *inauris*. In the versified *Eructavit*, which I have attributed to Adam de Perseigne, the poet expands vss. 14–15 (*Omnis gloria ejus filiae regis ab intus, in fimbriis aureis, circumamicta varietatibus*) as follows: *El cuer sont les frengetes d'or, Li treceör et li anor, Li joël, li tissu de soie Que la pucele li anvoie*.³ Godefroy (IV, 491, *s.v. honor*) furnishes us with another example, from the thirteenth century, which he erroneously defines: 'les marques, les attributs de la dignité.' This passage reads: *Laiens erent lor femes*,

¹ Scheler, *Dict.*, *s.v. hanter*; Foerster in the glossary to *Aiol*; Helfenbein, *Die Sprache des Trouveres Adam de la Hale* (1911), § 73.

² J. Franck, *Mittelniederländische Grammatik*, 1910, § 115, 3, p. 100. I am indebted for these references to Mr. R. M. Ihrig.

³ Vss. 1673 ff. See also the note, p. 103.

*qui moult ont gens les cors, Vestues de diaspre, de cendaus et d'anors.*¹ It is impossible not to recognize here Lat. *inauris*, so frequent in the Vulgate and elsewhere in the meaning of 'ear-ring.' The only difficulty is the change of gender, but because of the absolute lack of fems. in *-ôr* in O. Fr., the word appears to have been associated at an early date with the mascs. *or*, *tor* < *taurum*, *tresor*.

VII. O. Fr. *desnir*, 'grow old'

Manuscript A of the poem *Eruclavit* (*Bib. Nat.*, f.f. 2094), which, as I have shown some reason to believe, was written in the region of Mâcon,² is alone in preserving a Ps. Sbj. 3 *desnisse* which requires an infinitive *desnir*, otherwise unknown. In paradise, says the poet—*Ja li hom n'avra mestier Ne de boire ne de mangier, Qu'el cors n'avra rien qui desnisse, Qui dechiée ne qui blesmisse.* The meaning and form fit remarkably well with Lat. *desenēre*, or *desenescere*, a compound used once by Sallust and attested by Priscian (*Inst.*, X, 20). Sallust also uses *corpus senectum*, very much as in O. Fr. one might speak of *un cors desni*. The derivation *desnir* < **desenire*, for *desenēre*, *desenescēre*, is parallel to *florir* < **florire*, for *florēre*, *florescere*. That *senescere* and *desenescere* could not have differed essentially in meaning is shown by Woelfflin, *Philologus*, XXXIV, 159.

VIII. O. Fr. *feire*, Lat. *foria*

Great interest attaches to the discovery by Mr. J. C. Fox³ that a noble dame Marie, who possibly was Marie de France, was abbess of Shaftesbury during the years 1181–1216. This lady Marie, it appears, was an illegitimate daughter of Geofroi V, Count of Anjou (†1151) hence half-sister of Henry II, and aunt of King John. The mother of at least one of the illegitimate children of Geofroi was "a lady of Maine."

If the abbess of Shaftesbury was really the poetess whose verses, in the time of Denis Pyramus as now,

suelent as dames plaire
E si les funt suvent retraire,

we should be justified in looking closely at her language for evidence of an Angevin environment, and certain rimes, rejected as spurious

¹ From *Les Chétifs*, ed. Hippeau, *Le Chevalier au Cygne*, II, 265.

² See my edition of the *Eruclavit*, pp. xxxv and 104–5.

³ *English Historical Review*, XXV (1910), 303; XXVI, 317.

by Warnke, might take on a new significance. Thus *espleit: fait*, El. 223 (cf. 337) thrown out by Warnke, is a rime very common in the contemporary *Partonopeus de Blois*, which, from trustworthy indications, belongs in the Loire valley, possibly in the region of the Sarthe.¹

The object of this note, however, is to attempt an explanation of the puzzling rime *foire : paire* (<*pareat*), *Fables*, p. 265. Has this any significance?

From Lat. *fōria* we should expect, in preliterary times, **fueire*. When we find in Anglo-Norman *foire*, this *oi* is not necessarily to be taken as evidence of *ō* in Lat. *foria*;² it may also be the A.-N. representative of the triphthong, as the well-known forms *oi* (*hodie*), *noit*, *voide* in the Oxford *Roland*, the name *Maldoit* in Domesday Book, and *koyce* (<*coxa*) in Lydgate. On the continent, the *Roman de Troie* 20163 shows *feire*, with the variant (6 MSS) *fere*. What seems to be the same word, used as an exclamation, occurs in the *Sermons* of Maurice de Sully (Boucherie, Niort ed., p. 221): "E quant vint a l'oïcten jor si demanderent a la mere coment il [*read el ?*] vodreit que sis filz oguist non, e ele lor repondit qu'il aureit non Johanz. Feire! firent il, mes en tot ton parenté n'a homme de cest non." The reduction **fueire* to *feire*, *fere*, might be expected after labial: there were parallels in the ancient **fueus* > *feus* (<*focus*), in *ferre* for *ferre*, G. *fōdr*, as Rou, III, 2179 (C), and recently demonstrated for Villon by Meyer-Lübke (*Frz. Hist. Gram.*, I, § 98). Not perhaps strictly dependent upon labial are *meire*, *mere* (**mōriat*) *Livre des Manieres*, 939, 620, *deire* (*dōcere*) 424; *trée* (Fr. *truie*), Str. CCXXXI, b, with which coincide the mod. place-names *Mée*, *Mées* < *Mōdia* (elsewhere *Muid*, *Muids*) cited by Östberg³ from the Departments

¹ As to *Partonopeus*, both Gröber and Foerster came to a different conclusion. The latter seems to have entirely overlooked the rimes of the type *deis* (*discus*): *palais*, I, 58, 141; II, 82; *queis* (*quietus*): *palais*, II, 3; *maneis* : *bellais*, II, 25; *deis* (**ditus*?) : *tu vais*, I, 117. The conclusion is unavoidable that we have in these rimes a point of agreement with the language of Fantosme (see Suchier, *Voyelles toniques*, p. 92) and that of Angier, whatever divergences on other points may exist in the language of these authors. Gröber labeled the poem "pikard," and elsewhere explained the rime *deis* : *palais* as "suddialektisch"; see Van Look's dissertation, 1881, *Der Partonopier Konrads v. Wurzburg*, p. 2. Foerster's opinion is stated, somewhat over-positively, *Literaturblatt f. Germ. u. Rom. Phil.*, XXIII (1902), coll. 28-29.

² A. Thomas, *Romania*, XXXI, 490; Meyer-Lübke, *Roman. etym. Wörterbuch*, 3438. The possibility of contamination with *fētor*, *fētere* might be considered.

³ *Les voyelles vélaires accentuées . . . dans quelques noms de lieux de la France du Nord* (1899), p. 88.

Eure-et-Loir, Mayenne, Manche, Sarthe, and Ille-et-Vilaine; further *quère* (*cōcere) and *nère* (nōcere) instanced by Joret (*Mélanges*, pp. xxviii, 51) from the neighborhood of Mortain and Avranches. One may add *anét* for O. Fr. *anuít*, which today has all but disappeared, the extreme end of the Loire valley still offering a few cases: see *Atlas linguistique*, carte 72, *aujourd'hui*.

Both Marie and the author of *Partonopeus*, it is true, show the rime *enui* : *lui*, and while this undoubtedly should stand as an integral feature of their literary language, there is no need to exclude the possibility that in the rime *feire* : *paire* Marie may have admitted a bit of western, or southwestern, dialect.

IX. O. Fr. *Escalibor*

In giving the history of the name of Arthur's sword, the *NED* does not touch upon the matter of the variation *Calibor* *Escalibor*. Some instances of an apparently removable O. Fr. prefix *es-* may be of interest, especially if cases can be found where this *es-* is added to proper names.¹

To deal mainly with substantives: Vergil's *pirus edura* represents a use of *ex-* which reappears later in ecclesiastical Latin: *exapertus* (Augustine), *exorativum* (Cassiodorus); it is no doubt this use which Rustebuef intends to imitate in: *Or prions au roi glorieus, Qui par son sanc esprecieus, Nos osta de destruction*.² So in the *Miracles nostre Dame* of Jean le Marchant : *Illeques sera, sans dotance, Escoronée vostre esperance*.³ Ambrose spoke of Samson as *calvatus* : Raimbaut de Vaqueiras allows his Genoese lady to describe him as *escalvado*. From these a transition to proper names may seem difficult, but the needed intermediary is found in the existence of doublets like *Estiennot* *Thiénot*, *Esmaragdus* *Maragdus*,⁴ in which *es-* has of course a different origin. Certain it is

¹ Nyrop, *Grammaire historique de la Langue française*, I², 440, groups together a number instances of "é- parasite" (none of them proper names); the prefix in these instances is, however, of diverse origins, and these should be distinguished. Behrens (*Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XIII, 407) explains some cases due to mis-division of the definite article, and calls for a more thorough investigation of the matter.

² *Complainte du Conte de Nevers*, 170 (ed. Kressner, p. 89). This instance was first noticed by Du Ménil, *Mélanges d'Archéologie et de Littérature*, p. 389, n.

³ Ed. Duplessis, p. 220.

⁴ Manitius, *Geschichte d. Lat. Litt. d. Mittelalters*, 1911, p. 462, notes as variants of the name of Smaragdus de St. Mihiel: *Exmaredus*, *Maragdus*, *Maradus*.

that an important group of these doublets have clerical associations, cf. *espurgatoire*, *esdiluvi* 'Deluge' (Appel, *Prov. Chrest.*), *escarboucle*. Here, I believe, belong the following: *St. Espoint* for *St. Point* (E. Deschamps, IX, 100); *St. Esblant* for *St. Blanc* (*Roman de Renard*, X, 1517, var.); *sainte Escrestine* (ed. *Estrestine*) for *Ste. Christine* (*Folie Tristan* of Berne, 261, where the editor sees a saint "probablement fantastique"); *mont Escalvaire* (*Coronement Looïs* 761, *Eruc-tavit* 442), which, after the silencing of s+cons., appears as *monte Calvaire* (*Conq. de Jérus.* 864, *Chanson de Roland* 3600, var. in C and V⁷) parallel to *monte Syon*, which is frequent in the translation of the *Maccabees*, and which Goerlich explained (*Roman. Bib.*, II, 99) as a reduction of *mont de Syon*. Goerlich's theory can hardly be correct, for from such a group we should expect *monde* rather than *monte*, as we do in fact have in Balzac's *monde piété* (*Le Cousin Pons*).

In the addition of *es-* a certain "heightening" effect is sought, leading in some cases toward the heroic. A mock-heroic effect seems intended in many of the remarkable names of Saracens listed in Langlois' useful *Table des noms propres dans les chansons de geste*, so also in *Espandragon* (*Girart de Rossillon* 150) and *Estrubert*, hero of the fabliau *Trubert*.¹ In this composition we have the best example I have met of the removable prefix: *Es-* is added or not *ad libitum*. Thus: *Et dit Trubert : Se Dieus m'ament* (258); *Dit Estrubert : Ce lo je bien* (560, cf. 357, 551, etc.). To change *Calibor* to *Escalibor* was, from all these analogies, to increase slightly the dignity of the name—to impart to it a shade of the heroic; and this was the work of clerical hands.

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¹ Ed. Ulrich, 1904, *Gesell. f. Rom. Litt.*, Band 4.