



A new etymological group of Germanic verbs and their derivatives : a study on semantics

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KUNGL. VETENSKAPS- OCH VITTERHETS-SAMHÄLLES
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SJÄTTE FÖLJDEN. SER. A. BAND I. No 3.

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THEIR DERIVATIVES

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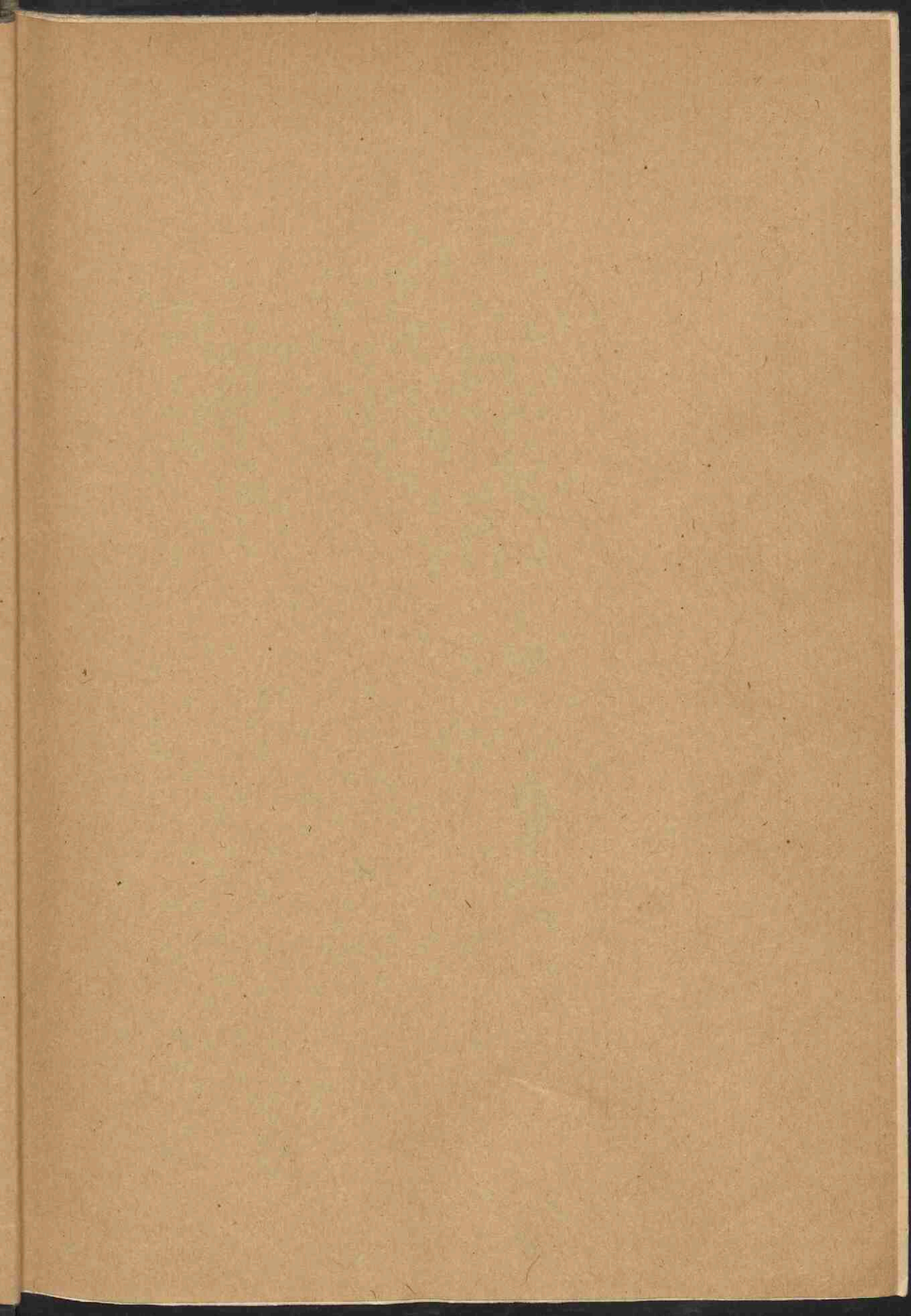
K. F. SUNDÉN

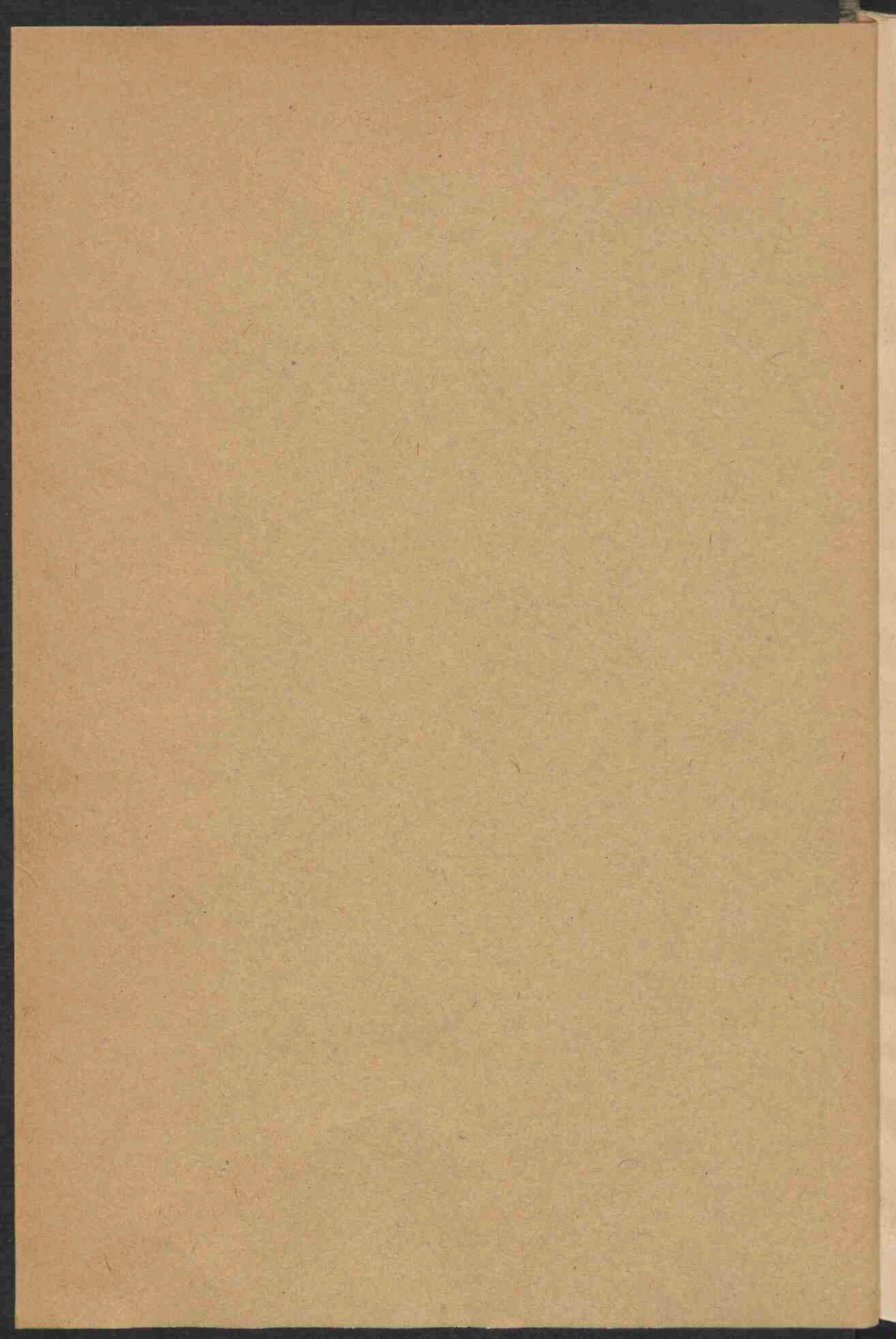
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INTRODUCTION.

In the Germanic family of languages there is a group of verbs and their derivatives whose phonetic shapes point to a weak base *nut* in Common Germanic and whose semantic aspects seem to have some affinity so as to invite an investigator to search for a primary signification that may have given rise to the factual meanings. It is true that this genetic category is unknown in the world of scholarship. It is also true that the senses may diverge to such a degree that there seems to be no glimmering of an idea how to bring them into etymological contact with one another. But the more the researcher extends the range of his investigation, the more he obtains valuable items of information which facilitate his task of genetically unravelling the skeen of senses and of proving their etymological relationship.

There are three features which, on a cursory examination, seem to be distinctive marks of the group of verbs we have in view. The first characteristic is the inflectional fact that all the verbs have weak conjugation, a state of things not suggestive of a very high age. The second characteristic is a stylistic fact. It is the quality that most of the factual senses of the verbs have no dignified associations. But that is practically equivalent to saying that they usually have a disparaging tone, i. e. they have an atmosphere about them indicative of the speaker's contempt or disapproval. It is only natural that the bad connotation of the verbs should be extended to their derivatives. The third characteristic of the group is of another type. It is the circumstance that the vast majority of its members have never attained general currency but are dialectal words, a quality explaining why they have been overlooked by etymological research. It is only Dutch *neutelen* and some of its derivatives which have from dialectal obscurity been raised into common parlance and literary use. But when Franck and van Wijk, the editors of 'Etymologisch Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal', had to deal with the genetic problem of these words, they refused to do their duty on the unacceptable plea that this was a laborious under-

taking. So it is doubtless, for the etymological explanation whatever it be must cover the whole ground. Otherwise said, whosoever wants to find out the basic sense of the group must pay attention to all its significations. Hence an isolated genetic interpretation of any member of the group is likely to be erroneous or else uncertain even though the real primary sense should happen to be found.

But, before proceeding further with our introductory remarks, it is meet to relate how the present writer chanced to come across the group of words whose etymological interrelation he is going to demonstrate. This is all the more appropriate as we shall then be in a position to eke out the group with a member whose occurrence is of an early date but whose sense and origin have hitherto been wrapped in impenetrable obscurity.

There is a Middle English alliterative poem, now called 'Purity' or 'Cleanness', which was written about 1375 in the Lancashire dialect by the unknown author of the finest romaunt of the period, to wit, Syr Gawayne and the Grene Knyzt. In the former poem there occurs once the verb *nytel*, a *ἀπαζ* λεγόμενον in English evidently called into play by the needs of alliteration. But when we are confronted with a word whose sense and origin are obscure, the only course open to us is to find out its congeners by means of its own contextual sense and phonetic shape. In the present case the latter may point to a base *nut*, and the context is illustrated by the annexed quotation: —

Clean. Day blwe a boffet in blande þat banned peple
 885 ff. Dat þay blustered as blynde as Bayard wat3 euer;
 Day lest of Lote3 logyng any lysoun to fynde
 Bot nyteled þe alle þe nyzt for nozt at þe last.

These lines represent a fragment of the Biblical tale in Genesis xix, the gist of which is as follows: — There came two angels to Sodom at even in order to save Lot and his family from the impending destruction of the town. But soon a mob surrounded his house clamouring for the new arrivals, whom they wanted to know. It was in vain that Lot resorted to expostulations and subterfuges. He was even ill-treated by the mob, though promptly rescued by the angels. Thereupon it says in the Bible (Gen. 19,11): »And they [= the angels] smote the men that (were) at the door of the house with blindness, both small and great: so that they wearied them-

1375
 kelike 1599
 herde zelde
 18^e meestal
 19^e eener!

selves to find the door.» It is this very passage that is paraphrased by the fragment quoted above. Its meaning is as follows: »They [= the angels] dealt the accursed people a blow by breathing a blast so that they strayed about as blind as Bayard ever was. They failed to find any trace of Lot's dwelling but 'nyteled' there in vain all the night at the last.»

From the view-point of contextual evidence, then, it would seem that the proximate sense of ME. *nytel* was 'to nose about in quest of something'. But if the fact is stressed that the people were struck with temporary blindness, then one is willing to accept as another possibility the sense 'to be busy in a trifling manner' (= Sw. 'gå och pyssla'), tentatively given by the N. E. D. An acceptable meaning is also 'to dawdle, loiter' (= Sw. 'gå och söla', 'gå och driva'), but the significations 'to struggle' and 'to make ado', suggested by R. J. Menner and I. Gollancz respectively, are unworthy of attention.¹⁾

Thus, in looking about for etymological cognates we should start from the contextual senses postulated above. If we do, it will turn out that both in Continental Germanic and in Scandinavian there are verbs whose stems point to a base *nut* in Common Germanic and whose semantic aspects present inter alia the meanings 'to be busy in a trifling manner', or 'to dawdle or loiter', or even 'to nose about in quest of something' in a literal or a figurative sense. Hence, previous to any special examination, there is a strong presumption that ME. *nytel* is genetically connected with the group of verbs we are going to discuss.

Under such circumstances it was a matter of course that our etymological interest should be extended from a single instance to the whole group of words that appeared to be its congeners. On further examination it turned out that the demonstration of the genetic affinity between the members of this group was still a problem that called for solution. This meant that there was much hard work to be done. For it implied not only the pains of collecting the words with the base *nut*, though the material be comparatively limited in amount, but also the selection of a primary signification from which all the factual senses might have taken their rise, be it proximately or ultimately. But this involved in its turn that the demonstration of the sense-development should be made in a manner that carries conviction. Hence we thought that

¹⁾ Cp. R. J. Menner (editor) *Purity*, New Haven, London 1920 (Yale Studies in English). Cp. I. Gollancz (editor) *Cleanness*, London 1921.

this task would best be carried out under guidance of the principles established by semantic research, a discipline which had been a focal centre of interest during the last few decades. But we also thought that it was a most favourable occasion for testing the suitability of these principles. But if so, it was necessary to devote a couple of chapters to giving some information about the mechanism of speech and the notion of meaning, and to taking a short but critical survey of the latest system of semantic changes.

The validity of our semantic demonstrations is dependent on their intrinsic probability. But though this evidence be sufficient to convince our own mind, it may to others perhaps appear as mere wanton conjectures. If so, we are able to adduce another evidence in support of our semantic postulations, a testimony that cannot be ignored by an honest mind since it is too strong for doubt or denial. This evidence is given by the derivatives from the Germanic base *nus*, which runs parallel with *nut* and in our opinion has the same primary signification. Hence we have found it appropriate to devote a chapter by itself to the cumulative evidence afforded by the sense-development arising from the base *nus*. And when this development deviates from that starting from the base *nut*, we have again tried to give an explanation under guidance of now prevailing scientific principles. In this way it came about that we ventured to turn this etymological investigation into a study on semantics as well, though in miniature.

CHAPTER I.

The Linguistic Material.

SCANDINAVIAN.

Swedish: — **Nåta** [nota]¹⁾ v. 1905 H. Vendell *Ordbok över de Östsvenska Dialekterna* (Helsingfors). Dröja, söla, i. e. to loiter, dawdle, to delay, be long about getting a thing done (Finnby in Finland). — **Nåttla**²⁾ v. c 1929 heard in actual use by the present writer. Hålla på med petgöra, i. e. 'Etwas Kleines, Schwieriges arbeiten' = sense 2 of Swiss Ger. *nütsle*³⁾ (Björketorp, a parish in Västergötland, and Ryssby, a parish in the Calmar district).

Norwegian: — **Nuta** v. 1895 H. Ross *Norsk Ordbok* (Christiania). Stikke Snuden frem; særlig: stikke Snuden frem (ned) i Fodret uden at æde, i. e. to push forth the snout; esp. to push forth (down) the snout into the fodder but without eating (Hardang).

In Norwegian dialects there is a verb *nutta* meaning (1) 'søge Foder, finde sig noget at æde, om Dyr', i. e. to search for food, said of animals (Søndmøre and other districts)⁴⁾; (2) 'pusle, arbeide smaat', i. e. to be busy in a trifling manner (Jædren, Hardang)⁵⁾. Taken at its face value, the word seems to be formed from the base *nut*. But it must be ruled out since it only occurs in districts noted for the peculiarity of having turned the consonantal combination *sl* into *tl*. Otherwise said, *nutta* is a mere phonetic variant of *nusla*, which has the same senses.⁶⁾

Danish: — **Nuta** v. 1908 J. C. S. Espersen *Bornholmsk Ordbog* (København). Nysle, smaasysle, have travlt med Ubetydeligheder, i. e. to be (eagerly) busy with trifling work; it. være langsom, ikke rask til sit Arbejde, i. e. to be slow, to be tardy in beginning or doing something. — **Nytle** [noʔel noʔler (Lindknud sogn),⁶⁾ *nødel nødle* (Sundeved)] v. 1894—1904 H. F. Feilberg *Ordbog over Jyske Almuesmål*

¹⁾ The *o* of this root-verb (<*nutōn) = a short mid back slack rounded vowel.

²⁾ The *å* of this verb = a short slightly raised flat slack neutral vowel.

³⁾ Cp. I. Aasen *Norsk Ordbog*, Christiania 1873 s. v. *nusla*.

⁴⁾ Cp. H. Ross *Norsk Ordbog*, Christiania 1895 s. v. *nusla*.

⁵⁾ Cp. H. Ross *Norske Bygdemaal* = Skrifter udgivne av Videnskabsselskabet i Christiania, Historisk-Filologisk Klasse 1909, Band II pp. 102—103.

⁶⁾ The dot under the *t* denotes glottal stop (= Dan. stød-tone).

(Kjøbenhavn). Være nævenyttig, i. e. to be deft or clever of hand. — **Notle** [*nåtəl, nåtlər, nållət* (Andst, Moss), impf. *nåtəlt* (Vensyssel), *notəl notlər* (Vejrum sogn; Hammerum herred)] v. 1894—1904 *Ibid.* (1) Sysle med al slags småarbejde; være nævenyttig, i. e. to be busy with all sorts of trifling work; to be skilful or expert in working with the hands or in handicraft; (2) være langsom til sit arbejde, i. e. to be tardy in beginning or doing anything. — **Nutte** [*nutət sə, nutər nutət* (Braderup)] v. 1894—1904 *Ibid.* 'Skultre sig' = udtryk for den bevægelse som et mske gör, når han bevæger overkroppen for at klø sig el. ryste noget af sig (Feilberg), i. e. to give one's upper body shakes or twists because of an itching or in order to get rid of something. — **Noddre** [*nåðər, noðer, -ðrər, -ðrat* (Darum sogn, Ribe herred; Lindknud sogn, Malt herred),¹⁾ *når* (Angel)] v. 1894—1904 *Ibid.* (1) Småsyngne, nynne, i. e. to hum an air, to croon; (2) om utydelig tale, i. e. to mutter, to utter in a low voice and indistinctly; (3) *han gor o noðrər a ð* (Andst) tilbringer tiden med al slags småsyssel, i. e. spends his time in doing all sorts of petty jobs. — **Nodle** [*norl ər ət*] v. 1894—1904 *Ibid.* Småsyngne, nynne, i. e. to hum an air, to croon.

Derivatives (see H. F. Feilberg *Ordbog over Jyske Almuesmål*): — **Nytleri** [*nøtlərij* (Lindknud sogn, Malt h.)] sb. Småarbejde, i. e. work comparatively small and unimportant. — **Notleri** [*nåtlərij* (vestjysk)] sb. Nottelværk, i. e. småt håndarbejde, i. e. work or thing comparatively small and unimportant done or made by the hands. — **Nottel** [*notəl* (Røgen)] sb. Nottelværk. — **Nottelarbejde** [*nåtlərəbøð* (vestjysk)] sb. Nottelværk. — **Nottelgavn** [*nåtləgavn* (vestjysk)] sb. Nottelværk. — **Nottelværk** [*nåtləværk* (vestjysk), *notəlværk* (Røgen)] sb. Småt håndarbejde (see above). — **Notteltang** [*nåttəlləŋ* (Andst) *noðəlləŋ* (Holstebro)] sb. Niptang, i. e. (a pair of) pliers, tweezers; skadenæb, i. e. lille niptang med cylindriske kæber [= jaws]. Orig. doubtless = tweezers used when 'nottelværk' was being done. — **Notler** [*nåtlər* (Vensyssel, Mors), *nåtlər* (Thy)] sb. En håndsløv, nævenyttig person; en kluddrer, som kan gøre alslags, men intet godt (Thy), i. e. a person deft or clever of hand; a bungler who can do or make work of any kind but in a clumsy or unskilful manner; also 'person som kan gøre håndværksarbejde uden at have stået i lære, husflidsarbejder', i. e. a person who can do or make the work of a craftsman without having been an apprentice, a person occupied with domestic industries, also 'nålemager', i. e. needle-maker

¹⁾ A horizontal stroke under a consonant or a vowel denotes length of the sound.

(Agerskov, Sønderjylland). — **Notlitot** [nållitåt (Han herred; Mors)] sb. En ligegyltig og tåbelig person, i. e. a listless and foolish person. — **Nottelvorn** [nåttelvarn (S. Sams)] a. Håndsløv, i. e. deft or clever of hand. — **Nodder** [noðær (Darum, Ribe herred)] sb. Nynnen, utydelig tale, i. e. humming (an air), crooning; indistinct speech. — **Noddreri** [noðræriʝ (Darum, Ribe herred)] sb. Utydlig tale (see above). — **Noddrigjög** sb. Bekkasin, i. e. a snipe. — **Noddrehors** sb. = noddregiög. Cp. Swed. *horsgök* (lit. horse-cuckoo) 'enkel beckasin', i. e. a jacksnipe or judcock. — **Noddresynge** [noðærsjøu (Lönborg sogn, N. Horne h.)] v. Nynne, i. e. to hum a tune, to croon. — **Noddresang** [noðærsang (Lönborg sogn)] sb. Nynnen, i. e. humming (an air), crooning.

GERMAN.

Low German. Low German or 'Niedersächsisch' has a large geographical extent. To that idiom belong part of the north of the Low Countries (the Netherlands), the province of Westphalia (except the district of Siegen), the province of Hannover (except Frisian remnants and the Middle German colony at Klaustal), Waldeck, Lippe, the northernmost corner of the former Electorate of Hessen, Brunswick, the bulk of Oldenburg, Sleswig-Holstein (unless it be Danish or Frisian), Hamburg, Lübeck, Bremen, the administrative district of Magdeburg (except the southernmost part), parts of Anhalt, Mecklenburg, Pomerania, Brandenburg (except the southernmost part), West and East Prussia (except a small Middle German district).¹⁾ H. Paul points out that »die Grenze des alten niedersächsischen Gebietes gegen das Mitteldeutsche ist ziemlich konstant geblieben», and that primitive Teutonic *þ* »hat auf hoch- und niederdeutschem Gebiete die gleiche Entwicklung durchgemacht, aber so, dass dieselbe vom Süden ihren Ausgang genommen und sich erst allmählich weiter nach Norden verbreitet hat».²⁾

Schleswig-Holstein: — **Nöteln** [nødln]³⁾ v. 1931 Otto Mensing *Schleswig-Holsteinisches Wörterbuch* (Neumünster) Bd III. Langsam sein, zaudern, schlendern (i. e. schlecht und nachlässig arbeiten). In the dict. *nöteln* is erroneously adduced as a variant of *nölen* [nøln] v. with the same senses (Sdtm., Elmsh., Föhr). — **Nödern** [nødan] v. 1931 *Ibid.* Schwach wiehern (vom Füllen), (Hus., Ang.). — **Nuddeln** [nudln] and **nuteln** [nüdln] v. 1931 *Ibid.* (1) Zaudern,

¹⁾ Cp. Hermann Paul *Deutsche Grammatik*, (Halle a S.) Bd I (1916) p. 87.

²⁾ Cp. Hermann Paul *Ibid.* pp. 87 and 106.

³⁾ The *o* under the *l* denotes sonantic function.

nicht vom Fleck kommen; (2) undeutlich sprechen, unverständlich murmeln. — **Nüddeln** [*nydln*] and **nüddern** [*nydan*] v. 1931 *Ibid.* Brummen, Holst. 1797; nörgeln (i. e. to grumble, to nag, to find fault), überlaunig Vorwürfe machen (Elbm).

Derivatives (see Otto Mensing *Schleswig-Holsteinisches Wb.* Bd. III): — **Nottelig** a. Unsauber. — **Nuddel** [*nudl*] sb. Schmutziger Mensch (Schlesw.). — **Nuddelig** [*nu'dəl̩i*], auch **nüddelig** (Dtm.), a. (1) Langsam, träge; (2) unordentlich, unsauber, schmutzig; (3) undeutlich. — **Nüddelig** [*ny'dəl̩i*] a. (1) Säumig, langsam, ungewandt (i. e. clumsy or unskilful); (2) geschickt im Verfertigen von allerlei Kleinkram, anstellig (i. e. skilful), brauchbar, tüchtig (Ang., vereinz. auch Mh.).¹⁾

Bremen and the adjacent district: — **Neteln** [*ŋ*]²⁾ v. 1768 *Versuch eines bremisch-niedersächsischen Wörterbuchs* hrsg. von der bremischen deutschen Gesellschaft (Bremen) Bd III. Zaudern, moras nectere; it. nicht aufhören können von einer Sache zu reden, einen langwierigen Stil im Tadeln haben. Es ist ein Wort, welches den Bremern besonders eigen, und dessen Abstammung noch unbekannt ist. In Hamb. *nöhlen* und *nüsseln*. — **Nöteln** [*oŋ*]²⁾ v. 1768 *Ibid.* Zaudern. S. Neteln.

Derivatives; see the dictionary mentioned above: — **Beneteln** v. In einem verdrüsslichen Ton und Stil etwas tadeln. — **Beneteld** ppl. a. Verlegen, verwirrt; ungewiss, wie man sich helfen soll. — **Vor neteln** v. *Enem wat vor neteln*: einem was vor tändeln, vor plaudern — **Neteler** sb. Zauderer, langsamer Mensch, es sey in der Arbeit, oder im Reden. — **Netel-goos** sb. Dasselbe — **Netelhaftig** und **Netelig** a. Zauderhaft, verdrüsslich-langsam. Doch wird der Unterscheid beobachtet, dass das erstere mehr von Personen, letzteres nur von Sachen gebraucht wird. — **Netel-kutte** sb. Ein Zauderer. — **Netelije** sb. Das Zaudern, Gezauder.

Mecklenburg and Hither Pomerania: — **Nuddeln** v. 1876 *Mi Wörterbuch der Mecklenburgisch-Vorpommerschen Mundart* (Leipzig). Säumen, langsam arbeiten. Cp. *nusseln* = *nuddeln*. — **Nüte** sb. Nase, Hans Nüte = ein possirlicher Mensch.

¹⁾ The adjectives *niddel* stössig, vom Rindvieh (Hus.); *nüttel* stössig, wild, vom Rindvieh (Dtm.); also *niddelig* (Dtm.) and *nöttlig* (Dtm. 1755); also *nüddelig* [*ny'dəl̩i*], *nuddelig*, and *nüttli* (no dialectal source is given), do not belong to the base *nut*. Cp. OE. *hnitol* adj. addicted to butting (of an ox) and OE. *hnitan* str. v. to thrust, gore, butt; cp. also Goth. *hnuþ-o*, *hnut-o* sb 'spitzer Pfal' and Swed. *stänga(s)* to gore, butt (said of cattle), from *stäng* sb. Pfal; cp. also the Germanic base *hnuþ* 'stossen, schlagen'.

²⁾ Greek letters.

Westphalia: — **Nöttlick** a. 1756 J. Ch. Strodtmann *Idioticon Osnabrugense* (Leipzig u. Altona) Een *nöttlick* keerl = ein wunderlicher sonderlicher Kerl (see s. v. *Nettlick*).

Waldeck. The idiom of Waldeck, earlier a principality, is by H. Paul taken to be Low German, and the Hessian dialect is by him classed as Middle German, except the northernmost corner of the former Kurhessen, which is Low German. Luise Berthold includes the vocabulary of Waldeck in her 'Hessen-Nassauisches Volkswörterbuch', which embraces the Prussian province of Hessen-Nassau, the Hessian province of Oberhessen, the Rhine district of Wetzlar, the Westphalian district of Wittgenstein, and the 'free state' of Waldeck. — **Nüt¹lⁿ** v. 1902 Karl Bauer *Waldeckisches Wörterbuch*, hrsg. von H. Collitz (Norden u. Leipzig).²) Murren, brummen. **Nutteln** [*nutələn*, Rhoden in Waldeck] v. 1935 Luise Berthold *Hessen-Nassauisches Volkswörterbuch* (Marburg). Näseln (Willersdf.—Fk), knurren (Rhoden). — **Nöt^rn** v. 1902 Karl Bauer *Waldeck. Wb.* Sich ungehalten über etwas aussprechen; brummen, murren.

Derivative: — **Nüttelpeter** sb. 1935 Luise Berthold *Hess.-Nass. Volksw.* Griesgram, i. e. a grumbler, growler, (Niedermörsb. — Ow.).

Livonia (and Esthonia). As to the dialectal nature of the German language as until recently occurring in Livonia (and Esthonia), we get the following information in W. von Gutzeit's dictionary of 1886 foll. (vol. I p. iii): »Die Sprache der deutschen Bevölkerung Livlands war anfangs die niederdeutsche, da Bremer, Westfälinger, Magdeburger, Braunschweiger, Lüneburger, Holsteiner, Schaumburger den grössten Theil der Bezwinger und Ansiedler dieses Landes ausmachten... Noch bis in die achtziger Jahre des verflissenen Jahrhunderts, und später selbst wurde sie [= die niederdeutsche Sprache] von dem Bürgerstande und auf den Edelhöfen — am längsten von den Frauen und im vertraulichen Kreise — in Gebrauch gezogen... Eine nicht unbedeutende Zahl von niederdeutschen Wörtern, Ausdrücken und Wortformen ist noch [= 1886] bei uns im Gebrauch... In der Schrift dagegen brachte sich neben und nach der lateinischen und plattdeutschen Sprache schon früh die hochdeutsche zur Geltung... War somit das Hochdeutsche in Livland bereits vor der Reformation bekannt und benutzt, so er-

¹) The *ū* denotes a short closed *u*. See Bauer's dict. pp. xii and 25.

²) = Vol. IV of *Wörterbücher* hrsg. vom Verein für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung.

blühte dasselbe doch erst seit ihrer Zeit, wenn auch noch ein Jahrhundert verfloss, bis die Niederdeutsche Mundart in den Hintergrund gedrängt war.»

Nöteln v. 1889 W. von Gutzeit *Wörterschatz der Deutschen Sprache Livlands* (Riga) zweiter Theil, Dritte Lieferung. Zaudern, trödeln, i. e. to dawdle, to loiter. Also in Esthonia, see K. Sallmann *Neue Beiträge zur deutschen Mundart in Estland* (Reval) 1880 p. 37. — **Nitteln** v. Gadebusch sagt:¹⁾ »**nütteln**, mussitare [i. e. in den Bart murmeln], iterum iterumque aliquid ægre ferre atque id verbis exprimere. Ein echt liefländisches Wort . . . Pictorius hat *nüseln*, in Hamburg sagt man *nuckern*«. von Gutzeit says, p. 291: »*Nitteln* bedeutet: an Allem etwas auszusetzen haben, und mit einer gewissen Kleinigkeitskrämerei oder Spitzfindigkeit dabei verfahren.« Also in Esthonia, see K. Sallmann *op. cit.* p. 37. He explains the word as follows: »nörgeln [i. e. to grumble, to find fault], in kritelnden Tönen murren, bekritteln.«²⁾

Derivatives: — **Benitteln** v. 1880 K. Sallmann *Neue Beiträge zur deutschen Mundart in Estland* (Reval) p. 97. In verdriesslichem Ton kleinlich bekritteln (see von Gutzeit's dict. s. v. *nitteln*). — The following derivatives are adduced in von Gutzeit's dictionary: — **Nittler** sb. Einer der nittelt. — **Nittlei** and **Nittlerei** = nomina actionis. — **Nittlerisch** a. Immer etwas zu nitteln habend. — **Nittlich** a. Milder als 'nittlerisch'.

The base *nut* does not seem to have been widely spread over the Low German territory. In point of fact, we have consulted quite a number of Low German vocabularies but without meeting with the base *nut*. These are:

- 1755 Michael Richey *Idioticon Hamburgense* (Hamburg).
1781 Johann Carl Dähnert *Platt-Deutsches Wörter-Buch (nach der alten und neuen Pommerschen und Rügischen Mundart (Stralsund))*.

¹⁾ Cp. F. C. Gadebusch *Zusätze zu Frischens Deutschem Wörterbuche* (in dem rügischen gelehrten Anzeiger von 1763—1767. But in the present case we are concerned with his *Zweite Sammlung von Zusätzen zu Frischens Deutschem Wörterbuche*. See also von Gutzeit's dictionary s. v. *nitteln*.

²⁾ In the dictionary compiled by von Gutzeit there is a verb *Nudeln* = 'murcheln, quälen'. This verb is, doubtless, connected with the base *hnuð*, stossen, schlagen', see Alf Torp *Wortschatz der Germanischen Spracheinheit*, Göttingen 1909 p. 100 (= August Fick, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen* III).

- 1858 Georg Schambach *Wörterbuch der niederdeutschen Mundart der Fürstenthümer Göttingen und Grubenhagen* (Hannover).
- 1859 J. F. Daneil *Wörterbuch der altmärkisch-plattdeutschen Mundart* (Salzwedel).
- 1882 Fr. Woeste *Wörterbuch der Westfälischen Mundart* (Norden und Leipzig). = Wörterbücher hrsg. Vom Verein f. niederdeutsche Sprachforschung Bd I.
- 1882—3 H. Frischbier *Preussisches Wörterbuch. Ost- und Westpreussische Provinzialismen in alphabetischer Folge* (Berlin).
- 1896 E. L. Fischer *Grammatik und Wortschatz der Plattdeutschen Mundart im preussischen Samlande* (Halle a. S.).
- 1907 Colmar Schumann *Der Wortschatz von Lübeck . . .* = Zs. f. deutsche Sprachforschung, Beih. zu Bd IX.
- 1910 *Wörterbuch der Elberfelder Mundart* nebst Abriss der Formenlehre und Sprachproben (Elberfeld).
- 1883 Heinrich Berghaus *Der Sprachschatz der Sassen oder ein Wörterbuch der Plattdeutschen Sprache in den hauptsächlichsten ihrer Mundarten* (Berlin) Bd II 1883.

The dictionary compiled by Berghaus was evidently meant to be the chief representative of the Low German vocabulary. But our base *nut* gets no valuable illustration. True, the delabialised form *netelen* and its derivatives are adduced but with reference to 'Versuch eines bremisch-niedersächsischen Wörterbuchs'. The form *nöteln* and its derivatives are also quoted but with reference to the East Frisian—Saxon dictionaries compiled by Stürenburg and ten Doornkaat Koolman respectively. He adduces the Mecklenburg form *nuddeln* also, but he gives no other item of information except the following word, which is, doubtless, connected with the base *nut* (Note its pejorative sense!): —

Nuttig a. and adv. Unbedeutend, schlecht (Richt. Berl. S. 56). The form and sense of the word presuppose the former existence of a verb **nutten* meaning 'to be slow and ineffective when working'.

Middle German comprises two main dialects, viz. *Frankish* and *East Middle German*. Through the High German consonant-shift *Frankish* is subdivided into categories. We have to note (1) *Middle Frankish* [= the chief part of the Rhine Province, Luxemburg, Siegen in Westphalia, the north-western part of Nassau], comprising

two subclasses, viz. *Riparian Frankish* (Cologne) and *Mosel Frankish* (Trier), said to be the fundament of the German language in Siebenbürgen; (2) *Rhine Frankish* [= the southern part of the Rhine Province, the German Lotharingia, the Bavarian Palatinate, the northernmost part of Alsatia, Hessen except the northernmost corner of the former Kurhessen, where Low German is spoken, Hessen-Darmstadt, a northern part of Baden and Württemberg, and Aschaffenburg in the Bavarian Franconia]; (3) *Southern Frankish*, forming a transition to Alemannic; (4) *East Frankish*, which together with Southern Frankish is denoted as *Upper Frankish* (Oberfränkisch) [= the bulk of the Bavarian Franconia, parts of Württemberg and Baden, the duchies of Meiningen, the Thuringian Hildburghausen, Koburg, and das Vogtland, i. e. Reuss and part of the former Kingdom of Saxony].

Again, *East Middle German* comprises three dialects: (1) *Thuringian* [= the former duchies of Weimar-Eisenach, Gotha, Altenburg, the former principalities of Schwarzburg, part of the province of Saxony, Klaus-tal]; (2) *Upper Saxon* (Obersächsisch) [= the former kingdom of Saxony except das Vogtland and the Lusatia (die Lausitz), parts of the province of Saxony, viz. Merseburg with the surrounding district and the southern strip of the district of Magdeburg, Anhalt, the southern part of Brandenburg, part of Bohemia]; (3) *Silesian* [= the Prussian and the Austrian Silesia, the Saxon Lusatia, parts of Bohemia, Moravia (Mähren), probably also Posen and a small Middle German district in Prussia].¹⁾

Cronenberg and the adjacent district. In his dictionary of this dialect E. Leihener says (p. ii) that it partly »sozusagen auf der Schwelle liegt zwischen ripuarischem und niederdeutschem Sprachboden«. Hence he points out: »ihre Mundart und ihr Wortschatz ist mittelfränkischen, niederfränkischen und westfälischen Kreuzungen ausgesetzt und findet hierin, und oft nur hierin, die richtige Wertung.»

Nöt(e)lig [*nȳ'e.tlɔχ*, cp. *nȳ'e.dəgən* = nötigen] a. 1908 Erich Leihener *Cronenberger Wörterbuch* (Marburg).²⁾ 'Verdriesslich', i. e. vexed, annoyed, grieved; peevish, sulky. Cp. Du. dial. *nötelik*.

Hessen: — **Notteln** v. 1886 Hermann v. Pfister *Nachträge zu A. F. C. Vilmar's Idiotikon von Hessen* (Marburg). In Bart vor sich hin brummeln: zumal am Westerwalde und im Unter-Maingaeue üblich.

Lipsic: — **Nuddeln** v. 1881 Karl Albrecht *Die Leipziger Mundart* (Leipzig). Schlecht, liederlich, ohne Ernst und Nachdruck

¹⁾ Cp. Hermann Paul *Deutsche Grammatik*, Halle a. S. 1916, Band I p. 90—92.

²⁾ = *Deutsche Dialektgeographie*, Heft II, hrsg. von Ferdinand Wrede.

arbeiten; auch: schlecht, langsam fahren. — **Nudeln** sb. 1881 *Ibid.* Halblautes, undeutliches, schlechtes Reden; auch Singen oder stümperhaftes Spiel auf einem Instrument; davon: die *Nudelei*. The stem-vowel is evidently = *ū*.

Bavarian Franconia with Aschaffenburg (= Rhine Frankish): — **Notzen** v. 1872—1877 J. A. Schmeller *Bayerisches Wörterbuch*, zweite Ausgabe bearbeitet von G. Karl Frommann (München). Langsam seyn, nicht vom Fleck kommen. Gehen Sie weiter, notzen Sie nicht so lang herum (Aschaff.). See column 1776.

As to the occurrence of the base *nut* in Middle German, we are unable to give definite information beyond what has already been adduced. For the great Badenese dictionary (editor Ernst Ochs, 1925 foll.) is still in progress, and there are other dialectal dictionaries that we have not been in a position to examine. Let us state, however, that there is a number of vocabularies examined where there is no representative of the base *nut* and that hence this base seems to be of rare occurrence in Middle German. These vocabularies are: —

- 1793 W. F. H. Reinwald *Hennebergisches Idioticon* etc. [= the dialect of Saxe-Meiningen], Berlin u. Stettin.
- 1881 Balthasar Spiess *Beiträge zu einem hennebergischen Idiotikon*, Wien.
- 1874 Martin Schulze *Idiotikon der nord-thüringischen Mundart*, Nordhausen.
- 1787 Johann Georg Berndt *Versuch zu einem schlesischen Idiotikon*, Steindal.
- 1855 Karl Weinhold *Beiträge zu einem schlesischen Wörterbuch*, Wien.
- 1927 Hugo Hoffmann *Die schlesische Mundart*, Marburg.
- 1825—48 K. G. Anton *Alphabet. Verzeichniss mehrerer in der Oberlausitz üblichen Wörter u. Redensarten* (Progr.), Görlitz.
- 1890 Friedrich Liesenberg *Die Stieger Mundart*, ein Idiom des Unterharzes, besonders hinsichtlich der Lautlehre dargestellt, Göttingen.
- 1925 Fritz Hoffmann *Niederhessisches Wörterbuch*, Marburg = Deutsche Dialektgeographie hrsg. von Ferdinand Wrede, Heft XIX.

High or South German (Oberdeutsch). This idiom comprises two main dialects, viz. *Bavarian* and *Alemannic*. The former dialect is divided into (1) *Northern Bavarian*, or *Upper Palatine* (Oberpfälzisch) [spoken in Upper Palatinate, the adjacent part of Bohemia, and part of Franconia with Nuremberg]; (2) *Middle Bavarian* [spoken in Upper and Lower Bavaria (except the southernmost strip of land), the northern part of Salzburg, and Upper and Lower Austria]; (3) *South Bavarian* [spoken in the southern strip of Upper Bavaria, in the southern part of Salzburg, the Tyrol, Carinthia (Kärnten), and Styria (Steiermark)].

The *Alemannic* dialect is divided into (1) *Swabian* [spoken in the chief part of Württemberg, in Hohenzollern, and the Bavarian province of Swabia]; (2) *Alemannian*, or *Alemannic* in a restricted sense [comprising the vernaculars in German Switzerland, Vorarlberg, south Baden and Alsatia except its northern (Frankish) part]. The latter dialect is in its turn divided into *High Alemannian*, i. e. the German vernaculars in Switzerland, except Basel, and *Low Alemannian*, i. e. the dialect in Basel, adjacent parts of Baden, and Alsatia.¹⁾

Alemannic.

Swabian: — **Nottere**^a [but the actually recorded form seems to be *Nodere*ⁿ] v. 1914 Hermann Fischer *Schwäbisches Wörterbuch* (Tübingen) Bd IV. Wühlen, schnattern, i. e. to cackle (of ducks, geese) or to chatter (of apes and women); »wenn man etwas sucht, *noderet* man überall; die Ente *noderet* im Schlamm (Rav Ringg.)»²⁾ — **Nottle**^a v. *Ibid.* In sense 'langsam, unsicher gehen' n. is most probably a formation from the base *nut* (not from *hnuð* 'stossen, schlagen', as is obviously the case when it denotes 'rütteln, schütteln').

Derivatives: — **Nottler** sb. Alter Mann; Schelte; wer schwankend geht. — **Nottlig** a. Schwankend, altersschwach. — **Nottlete** [-adē] sb. 1914 *Ibid.* Häkelarbeit, i. e. crotchet-work. The subst. seems to presuppose the former existence of a verb **nott(e)leⁿ* 'to be busy in a trifling manner', 'to be deft and clever of hand'.

¹⁾ Cp. Hermann Paul *Deutsche Grammatik*, (Halle a. S.) Bd I (1916) p. 92 foll.

²⁾ It is postulated by H. Fischer, though hesitantly, that *nottereⁿ* is genetically connected with the Swabian verb *nottleⁿ* 'rütteln, schütteln'; 'wackeln, unfest stehen'; 'langsam, unsicher gehen' and, of course, also with its derivatives: *Nottler* sb. 'Alter Mann; Schelte; wer schwankend geht', and *Nottlig* a. 'Schwankend, altersschwach'.

Alemanninan.

Low Alemannian.

Alsacia: — **Nutt^{le}**ⁿ [*nyllə* Roppenzw. Ruf. Geberschw. Logelnh. Ingersh.] v. 1899 E. Martin und H. Lienhart *Wörterbuch der Elsässischen Mundarten* (Strassburg) I 795. (1) Langsam thun, langsam an etwas herumarbeiten, herumzerren (i. e. to haul or pull about); (2) behaglich arbeiten, aus Langeweile, zum Zeitvertrieb arbeiten.¹⁾ — **Nott^{le}**ⁿ [*notte* Lutterb. Wh. Dehli] v. *Ibid.* Langsam gehen.

Derivative: — **Schiffsnottel** sb. *Ibid.* Bezeichnung für Schiffsleute, welche das Schiff selbst ziehen, wegen ihres langsamen, schwerfälligen Ganges.

High Alemannian.

Switzerland (except Basel): — **Nodern** v. 1812 Franz Joseph Stalder *Versuch eines Schweizerischen Idiotikon* (Aarau). 'Stänkern', i. e. herumschnüffeln (= to nose about, to pry about), 'wühlen', mit den Compos. *auf-, ver-, unternodern*, von Büchern, Feuer, selbst auch von flüssigen und halbflüssigen Dingen (Bw. Zg. Z. Gl. Schf.). **Nödereⁿ I**, *nödereⁿ* (ZO), *nottereⁿ* (GrHe., Mal.) v. 1901 F. Staub und L. Tobler *Schweizerisches Idiotikon. Wörterbuch der Schweizerdeutschen Sprache* (Frauenfeld) Bd IV 675 f. (1) Wühlen (to root up the ground), stochern (to poke the fire), stöbern (to nose or rummage about, to hunt in every corner), eig. und bildl. AaF.; Ke.; Ap; VO; »Gl»; G; Sch; SB.; Th; ZAuss., O., S., Stdt; (2) einer Sache nachsuchen, aufspüren; (3) korrigieren; widersprechen, mit einem Vorgange nicht zufrieden sein (G Id. 1790).²⁾ — **Nodern** v. 1812 Franz Joseph Stalder *Schweizerisches Idiotikon* (Aarau). 'Knarren', von Thüren, Fensterläden (St. Anth.). **Nödereⁿ II** v. 1901 F. Staub und L. Tobler *Schweizerisches Idiotikon* . . . Bd IV 676. (1) Knarren, von Thüren, Laden (GrA); (2) albern plaudern (BG.) — **Nüdereⁿ I**

¹⁾ The Germanic base *hnuð* is also represented in the dialect, viz. by the verb *nott^{le}*ⁿ [*notte* Lutterb. Wh. Dehli.] in sense 1, i. e. rütteln, schütteln, bewegen; but not in sense 2 = langsam gehen.

²⁾ The following senses are by the compilers of the dictionary conceived of as belonging to *Nödereⁿ I* although they doubtless represent the Germanic base *hnuð*, viz. 'an Etw. herum rütteln' (Gr He., Mal., Pr.); 'mit äusserer Anstrengung arbeiten', 'tüchtig drein schlagen', 'Alles bemeistern wollen' (G. T). As to the form with *t* the dictionary says (iv 676): »Zu der Form mit *t* [i. e. *nottereⁿ*] vgl. *fluderen: flattern, fluderen: flutteren, ledere: letteren.*» But *nottereⁿ* seems to contain the base *hnuð* (cp. the localities), and hence *t*-form is to be expected.

v. 1901 *Ibid.* IV 677 = *noderen* I BU. (auch dim. **nüderle**ⁿ); S.; Z. (Dr. Fahrner). ‚Je mehr man im Licht nüdere, desto schlechter brenne es.‘ N. B. Kal. 1840. — **Nüdere**ⁿ II v. 1901 *Ibid.* Undeutlich, leise reden. Mussare, nüselen oder n., durch die zän reden wie ein stumm. ‚Mussitare, nüselen, n., linss reden, schweigen; vernüselen, als wenn einer fürcht, man höre in reden.‘ Fris.; Mal. — **Nüttere**ⁿ v. 1901 *Ibid.* IV 876. Halbblaut, unverständlich sprechen (Schw.). Syn. *mütteren* (IV 579), which seems to have given rise to the *tt* in *nütteren*.

Derivatives (see F. Staub and L. Tobler *Schweizerisches Idiotikon*, Vol. IV 676—7): — **Üfnödere**ⁿ v. Aufwühlen, eig. und bildl. (Ap; Th; Z.). — **Ernödere**ⁿ v. Durchstöbern, erlesen (ZO). — **Vernödere**ⁿ v. Zerwühlen, z. B. von Mäusen (AaZein.; Ap; Z.); ‚s *Für* v., darin herum stochern und es dadurch auslöschen (Sch; S; Z.). — **Noderer** (GStdt; Z.), *Noderi* (S; Z.), *Nöderi* (ZO) sb. Wühler, Grübler. — **Noderete**ⁿ (Ap; Th; ZS.), *Nöderete*ⁿ (ZO.), *Notterete*ⁿ (GrHe.) sb. Abstr. (1) Zu *noderen* I (Ap; Th; Z.); (2) zu *noderen* II (GrHe.). — **Nöderle**ⁿ v. Dim. zu *nodere*ⁿ, (im Feuer oder in glühenden Kohlen) herumstochern (AaHl.). — **Vernödere**ⁿ v. = *vernödere*ⁿ (AaF., Ke.).

NETHERLANDISH (Du. *N e d e r l a n d s*).

The fundament of the *Dutch* and *Flemish idioms* is *Low Frankish* (Niederfränkisch). *Low Frankish* is spoken in half Belgium, in Holland as far as its language is not Frisian, or Saxon, or has an admixture of them, and in the northern part of the Rhine province beyond Düsseldorf. »Germanische Mundarten», says H. Paul (*Deutsche Gram.* I 89), »wohl teils fränkische, teils sächsische, erstrecken sich auch etwas nach Frankreich hinein und haben sich früher noch weiter erstreckt» But, as already intimated, there are within the kingdom of the Netherlands territories, also, where Frisian or Saxon is the dominant idiom. As to Saxon M. J. van der Meer says as follows)¹: »Es wird am reinsten gesprochen in der alten Grafschaft Zütphen, in Salland und Twente, weiter in Ostdrenthe.» Concerning Frisian he gives the following piece of information: »Das Friesische . . . wird jetzt noch ziemlich rein gesprochen in der Provinz Friesland nördlich von dem Flüsschen der Kuinre oder Tjonger . . . und auf den Inseln Schier-

¹) Cp. M. J. van der Meer *Historische Grammatik der Niederländischen Sprache* Bd I, Heidelberg 1927 p. XXX.

monnikoog und Terschelling, ausser in dem Dorfe Midsland. In den friesischen Städten hat das Holländische grossen Einfluss ausgeübt; dort hat sich eine friso-fränkische Mischsprache, stadtfriesisch (fri. *stetkers* »die städtische Sprache») gebildet.» Lastly, it may be mentioned that it is the idiom of the province of Holland, i. e. *the Holland Frankish*, that was gradually established as the standard language. Other Dutch dialects in Holland are *the Brabant Frankish* and *the Limburg Frankish*.

Dutch: — **Neutelen** v. 1701 Pieter Marin *Nieuw Nederduits en Frans Woordenboek* (Amsterdam). 'Futselen' (vide infra) '*lambiner*' (i. e. *agir lentement*, Littré), '*tracasser*' (i. e. *aller et venir sur place, pour de petites occupations*, Littré); 1777 Cornelii Kiliani Dufflaei *Etymologicum Teutonicæ linguæ: sive Dictionarium Teutonico-Latinum*, Antwerpiae MDXCIX, . . . curante Gerardo Hasselto Arnhemensi, qui et suas adnotationes adjecit. Trajecti Batavorum MDCCLXXVII (= Cornelis van Kiel, generally quoted as Kilian(us)). 'Frivola agere', i. e. to be busy in a trifling way. 1924 van Dale's *Groot Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, zesde uitgave ('s-Gravenhage & Leiden). Talmen, futselen, zich met beuzelingen ophouden, i. e. 'talmen' = met de uitvoering van iets wachten, langzaam werken; 'futselen' = zich met beuzelingen [= trifles] ophouden, langzaam werken.

Derivatives in Pieter Marin: — **Neutelaar** sb. *Futselaar* [i. e. a slowcoach], *lambin*, *ouvrier mal habil.* — **Neuteraar**¹⁾ sb. *Neutelaar*. — **Neutelary** sb. *Lambinage*, *tracasserie*.

Derivatives in Kilian: — **Neuteler**, **Neutelerken** sb. homuncio frivolus, assiduus in rebus frivolis agendis: multæ sedulitatis in re frivola. — **Neutken** (oud n.), **Neutellersken** sb. *anacula curax*, multæ sedulitatis anus.

Derivatives in van Dale: — **Neutel** sb. Klein mannetje, dreutel (= (1) keutel, hoopje dreck; (2) ventje, i. e. a puny person, often contemptuous). The word is denoted as dialectal by Franck and van Wijk²⁾ but not by van Dale. — **Neutelaar** sb. Talmer, i. e. a slowcoach. — **Neutelaarster** sb. Talmster, i. e. a female slowcoach. — **Neutelarij** sb. Talmerij, getalm, i. e. the action or quality of dawdling. — **Neutelig** a. Talmachtig (i. e. slow to act), verdrietig (i. e. displeased; annoying), gemelijk, i. e. misnoegd (= displeased),

¹⁾ Note that in Germanic both *l* and *r* had iterative, intensive, or diminutive function.

²⁾ *Etymologisch Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, 's-Gravenhage 1912.

knorrig (= cross, sour, ill-tempered). The word is in Molema's dictionary denoted as characteristic of Z. Holl. (= the South of Holland) and as meaning 'netelig van humeur'. In Franck's *Ety-mologisch Woordenboek* the adjective **nötelik** (s. v. *neutelen*) is described as belonging to the Achterhoeksch dialect (in the county of Zütphen) and as meaning 'verdrietig'. — **Neuteligheid** sb. Neutelarij, talmerij.

West Flemish: — **Treuteneuten** v. 1892 L.-L. De Bo *West-vlaamsch Idioticon* (Gent). Treuten en neuten, trutselen en nutselen (nusselen), neuteltreuten, met beuzelwerk zijnen tijd verslijten, fr. *chipoter, vétillér*. — **Neuteltreuten** v. 1892 L.-L. De Bo *op. cit.* Nutselen en trutselen, fr. *lambiner* [= *agir lentement*] *chipoter* [= *faire un travail, une besogne avec négligence ou lenteur*, Littré]. The compound presupposes the existence of the verb **neutelen** in Flemish, just as 'treuteneuten' states the existence of **neuten**. — **Neutenaatje** sb. 1892 *Ibid.*; dimin. see Neuteraar; also = Kilian's *neuteler, neutelerken* sb. Homuncio frivolus. — **Neuteraar** sb., dimin. **Neuteraartje** 1892 *Ibid.* Dwergje, een verneuteld ventje, fr. *petit homme rabougri* (i. e. *chétif, débile*).

FRISIAN.

The Frisian idiom, whose territory has been more and more encroached upon chiefly by Low Frankish and Low German, is ordinarily divided into three main dialects. We have to notice **West Frisian**, still spoken in the Dutch province of West Friesland. We have further to note **East Frisian**, which in the Middle Ages was spoken in the Dutch province of Groningen, in the Hannoverian East Friesland, and in the chief part of Oldenburg. But now its territory is reduced to two small districts, viz. the isle of Wangeroog and the Saterland.¹⁾ But the East Frisian idiom has considerably influenced the Low German dialect in the Saxonized districts. We have to distinguish two such idioms. One is *the Groningen dialect* in Holland. »Bis ins 15. Jahrhundert», says M. J. van der Meer (*op. cit.* p. XXXI), »wurde auf dem platten Lande von Groningen noch friesisch gesprochen. Durch Kolonisation aus der sächsischen Stadt Groningen wurde die friesische Bevölkerung saxoniert.» The other composite dialect is *the East Frisian-Saxon idiom in Prussian East Friesland*,

¹⁾ Cp. H. Paul *Deutsche Grammatik*, Halle a S., 1916 I 86.

where the Saxonizing process began at a still earlier date. Lastly, we have to distinguish **Northern Frisian**, spoken on the North Sea coast of Schleswig-Holstein and on the Halligen [= low-lying islets which become submerged in high tides], but the territory has been encroached upon by Low German and Danish. Also the vernaculars in the islands of Amroem, Föhr, Sylt, and Heligoland are counted as Northern Frisian.

West Frisian: — **Neutelen** v. 1903 Waling Dijkstra *Friesch Woordenboek* (Leeuwarden). Talmen, dralen, sukkelen, i. e. talmen = met de uitvoering van iets wachten, langzaam werken; dralen = talmen; sukkelen = inter alia 'traag, gebrekkig voortgaan'. — **Neutelje** v. 1903 *Ibid.* Neulen, zaniken; neulen = (1) binnenmonds brommen; (2) zaniken, i. e. to dwell tediously on the same subject; (3) zeuren, i. e. to be slow or tardy in performing a task; to harp on the same subject.

The Groningen (East Frisian — Saxon) idiom: — **Neutelg** a. 1888 H. Molema *Wörterbuch der Groningen Mundart im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (Norden und Leipzig).¹⁾ Brommig, knorrig, slecht gehumeurd. »Friesch neutelig = misnoegd, kribbig [i. e. quarrelsome], half verstoord [i. e. half angry]. *ZHoll. neutelig* = netelig van humeur.« — **Nutel** a. 1888 *Ibid.* Nuffig, fatterig; nuffig = als eene nuf, i. e. a conceited and overnice girl (especially one very proud of her hair and dress), fatterig, not in van Dale but evidently = fattig a. like a 'fat' = modegek, modepop.²⁾ 'n nutel man = iemand, die zich met vrouwelijke angstvalligheid kleedt. Bij *Hfft. beneutelen*, iets met meer aandacht, dan het verdient beneuzen, beneuzelen.« The adjective presupposes the former existence of a verb **nutelen* meaning 'to waste time on trifles, esp. on one's toilet'; 'to be foolishly attentive to one's appearance and dress', 'to deck oneself'.

The Prussian East Frisian — Saxon idiom: — **Nöteln** v. 1857 Cirk Heinrich Stürenburg *Ostfriesisches Wörterbuch* (Aurich). Zaudern, zögern, langsam arbeiten, nichts beschicken. The verb is erroneously adduced in connection with *nölen* as if the verb represented a phonetic variant of this word since they have

¹⁾ = Wörterbücher hrsg. vom Verein für Niederdeutsche Sprachforschung, Bd. III.

²⁾ Our supposition is correct, for the word is given in G. Ström *Nederlandsch-Zweedsch Woordenboek*, Gouda 1916, where *fatterig* means 'snobbig', 'sprättig', i. e. foppish.

here the same meaning. **Nöteln** v. 1882. J. ten Doornkaat Koolman¹⁾ *Wörterbuch der Ostfriesischen Sprache* (Norden). Sich lange wo u. wobei aufhalten u. womit beschäftigen, zaudern, saumselig sein, trändeln, trödeln; seine Zeit unnütz od. mit kleinlichen u. nichtnutzigen Dingen verschwenden etc. These significations admit of being reduced to the two leading senses 'to be slow or tardy in performing a task' and 'to be busy in a trifling manner'.

Derivatives: — **Genötel** sb. 1882 J. ten Doornkaat Koolman *op. cit.* Geträndel. Gezauder etc. — **Nötelee** sb. 1857 Cirk Heinrich Stürenburg *op. cit.* Zauderei. **Nötêlê** sb. 1882 J. ten Doornkaat Koolman *op. cit.* Trändelei, Zauderei, Saumseligkeit etc. — **Nöteler** sb. 1857 Cirk Heinrich Stürenburg *op. cit.* Zauderer. **Nöteler** sb. 1882 J. ten Doornkaat Koolman *op. cit.* Trändler, Zauderer, saumseliger Mensch etc. — **Nötelkraam** sb. 1857 Cirk Heinrich Stürenburg *op. cit.* Zauderei. — **Nötelkutte** sb. 1857. *Ibid.* Zauderer. — **Nötelig** a. 1857 *Ibid.* Zauderhaft. **Nötelig** a. 1882 J. ten Doornkaat Koolman *op. cit.* Trändelig, zauderig, saumselig, langsam.

Northern Frisian: — **Naeteln** v. 1857 Cirk Heinrich Stürenburg *Ostfriesisches Wörterbuch* (Aurich) s. v. *nöten, nõteln*. Zaudern, zögern, langsam arbeiten (Ditmarschen). **Nöteln** [*nødln*] v. 1931 Otto Mensing *Schleswig-Holsteinisches Wörterbuch* (Neumünster). Langsam sein, Zaudern, schlendern (Föhr). — **Niddeln** [*nidl̥n*] v. 1931 Otto Mensing *Schleswig-Holsteinisches Wörterbuch* (Neumünster). Nörgeln, kritisieren (Dtm.). **Niddelig** a. *Ibid.* Nörgelnd, immer scheltend (Dtm.). — **Nüddelig** a. *Ibid.* = *nuddelig* in Schlesw.-Holst. (Dtm.).²⁾

¹⁾ Neither Stürenburg nor ten Doornkaat Koolman give any information as to the relation between the Frisian and the Saxon linguistic elements. They do not even tell us from what sources they have drawn their materials. But we may safely postulate that their chief territorial source was the Prussian province of East Friesland.

²⁾ Whether it be right or wrong, we count here the idiom of Ditmarschen as Northern Frisian, seeing that this district was formerly Frisian territory and is adjacent to the district which is nowadays taken to represent the Northern Frisian idiom. Hence the idiom of Ditmarschen is likely to be a composite language. In his valuable dissertation *Die nordfriesische Mundart des Dorfes Ockholm und der Halligen* (Lund 1928, page v) Ernst Löfstedt says as follows: «Das Nordfries. zerfällt in das Festlandsnordfries. an der Westküste Schlesiws zwischen Tondern und Husum. . . und das hiervon in wichtigen Beziehungen ziemlich stark abweichende Inselnordfries. auf den Geestinseln Sylt, Föhr und Amrum sowie auf Helgoland. Zu dem festländischen Nordfries. gehören auch die Maa. der sog. Halligen.» Let it be noted that the verb *nöteln* is met with in the idiom of the island of Föhr, consequently in genuine northern Frisian.

ENGLISH.

North East Yorkshire: — **Nutil** a. (obsolete). 1898 Joseph Wright *The English Dialect Dictionary* (London) Useless, effeminate.

Lancashire: — **Nytel** v. a 1375 *Cleanness* line 1388. Contextual senses: (1) To nose or move about in quest of something; (2) to be busy in a trifling manner; (3) to dawdle, loiter.

Oxfordshire and Berkshire: — **Nutter** [*ne'to(r)*] v. 1898 Joseph Wright *The English Dialect Dictionary* (London). To whinny softly, as a mare and colt to one another (Oxf.). — **Nuttering** vbl. sb. 1898 *Ibid.* The whinnying of a colt; the hard, discontented noise made by a horse before whinnying (Oxf. Berks.).

Devonshire: — **Nottle** a. (obsolete). 1874 James Orchard Halliwell *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words*, 8th edit. vol. II (London). Foolish, trifling, absurd, wanton.¹⁾ Milles' MS. Glossary.

¹⁾ The authority of this scholar is not quite unimpeachable, according to a private letter which the present writer received many years ago from Professor W. A. Craigie, the well-known lexicographer. But in the present case there can be no doubt whatsoever about the authenticity of the word *nottle*, seeing that both form and sense class it as a derivative from the base *nut*. The author himself points out as follows (vol. I p. XIV): «My principal guide, however, for the dialectal words of this county [i. e. Devonshire] is a large MS. collection stated in Mr. Thomas Rodd's Catalogue of MSS. for 1845 (No. 276) to have been written by Dr. Milles, Dean of Exeter, and quoted in this work as Dean Milles' MS. I have been since informed that it was compiled by the late Rev. Richard Hole, but in either case its integrity and value are undoubted.»

CHAPTER II.

Comments on the Linguistic Material.

From the preceding survey it is apparent that the group of Germanic words we want to establish as an etymological category cannot be said to be scantily represented. And yet we do not claim to have exhaustively given the linguistic material. For there are dialectal vocabularies which we have not had at our disposal, and there are dialects insufficiently examined by scientific research. But we do maintain that the material adduced is quite sufficient to work upon for carrying out the purpose we have in view. And that aim is to prove the existence of a Germanic base *nut* but with a semantic aspect other than the sense 'to catch or capture'. The latter sense is the primary meaning of the Teut. base *nut* as occurring in Goth. *nuta* sb. catcher, fisherman, and in the weak verbs OE *notian* to use, enjoy, Germ. *nützen*, Sw. *nyttja*, etc., and, with another ablaut-grade, in OE *nēotan* to use, enjoy, Germ. *ge-niessen*, Sw. *njuta*, etc., all strong verbs.

The geographical spread of the base *nut* is considerable since it is met with in Scandinavia but also found in Alsatia and Switzerland and since it occurs in England and, until recently, also in Livonia and Esthonia. But there is a distinct territorial predilection distinguishable. For the chief occurrence of the base as manifested in a large number of derivatives is to be sought in the Continental Germanic countries along the North Sea coast and in Switzerland. In the east of Germany we have found the base *nut* only in Lipsic and Aschaffenburg, but there may be other instances.

But before we embark upon our semantic undertaking, there are three points of view from which the linguistic material should be commented upon. There is first the phonetic aspect of the base. Secondly, there is the nationality of some words. Thirdly, there is the etymological attitude adopted by scientific research towards some of the words adduced.

The phonetic shape of the base has by us been postulated to be *nut* with a short *u*. In the generality of instances there can be no doubt whatever as to the correctness of this view. But what about the quantity of *u* in Norw. **nuta** and Dan. **nuta**? The dialectal dictionaries give no direct information on that point. Yet there is a strong presumption that we are faced with a short *u*. For Swed. dial. **nåta**, whose *å* is short, should be derived from the root-verb **nūt-ōn*, and the verb has a parallel in Norw. dial. *nosa* with a short *å* 'vædre, snuse', i. e. to scent, to sniff or snuff, whose source is the root-verb **nūs-ōn*, a formation from the parallel base *nus*.¹⁾ We have to state, however, the existence of a few German instances where nowadays the base *nut* actually has a long *u*. This is the case with the Schleswig-Holstein verb **nuteln** [= *nūd!n*] (1) Zaudern, nicht vom Fleck kommen; (2) undeutlich sprechen, unverständlich murmeln. Such is also the case with the Lipsic substantive **Nudeln** (1) Halblautes, undeutliches, schlechtes Reden; (2) Singen oder stümperhaftes Spiel. But the former word appears to be a late phonetic variant of **nuddeln**, a verb with the same semantic area in the Schleswig-Holstein dialect. The Lipsic subst. presupposes the former existence of a verb **nūdeln* with corresponding senses. It is true that the semantic discrepancy does not seem to allow that this verb be apprehended as a phonetic variant of the Lipsic verb **nuddeln**, which denotes (1) schlecht, liederlich, ohne Ernst und Nachdruck arbeiten; (2) schlecht und langsam fahren. But none the less it is true that semantically both verbs go back to the the base *nut* with a short *u*. It should be noted that in the phonetic history of German speech we meet with the phenomenon, unheard-of in English, that a short *u* and *ü* may be lengthened in an open syllable, e. g. MHG *jūgent*, *mūle* (OHG *mulī(n)* f. vulgar L. *molīna*) = Ger. *Jugend*, *Mühle* (cp. *Flūg*, g. *Fluges*, pl. *Flūge* 'flight'). It was this phonetic tendency that gave rise to the sporadic appearance of the long *u* in German derivatives from the base *nut*.

In several of the German instances the stem of the words under discussion ends in *-d*. But since Prim. Teut. *þ* gradually became *d* over the whole of the German territory, the question arises whether or not it is necessary to postulate the form *nuþ* as a phonetic variant of the base *nut*. To this question an answer in the negative is given by all the other Germanic languages, and on closer examination the same seems to be the case with the German idioms, too.

¹⁾ Cp. Alf Torp *Nynorsk Etymologisk Ordbok*, Kristiania 1919, s. v. *nōsa*.

As to the Schlesvig-Holstein dialect so rich in representatives of the base *nut*, viz. **nöddern**, **nuddeln** and **nuteln** [= *nūdln*], **nüddern**, **nüddeln**, **niddeln**, **nöteln** [= *nēdl̥n*] with their derivatives, we find that all instances have a stem ending in *-d*. It is obvious that this fact is due to a phonetic tendency to turn *t* into *d* between voiced sounds, an indication also met with in the Danish part of the peninsula. The same tendency may have operated in point of **nuddeln** 'säumen, langsam sein' met with in Mecklenburg and Hither Pomerania, or else we may be concerned with a loan from the Schlesvig-Holstein dialect. But in respect of **nuddeln** and **nudeln** in the Lipsic idiom, it is possible to ascribe the stem in *-d* to the confusion of tenuis and media so characteristic of Middle German dialects. Again, the stem-forms in *-d* generally found in Switzerland, viz. **nödere**^a I and II, **nüdere**^a I and II, are evidently the result of the tendency to turn *t* into *d* between voiced sounds. The legitimacy of this view is proved by the fact that the Alsatian verb *nott^{le}n* 'rütteln, schütteln, bewegen' is in Swiss German represented by *nödere*ⁿ in the sense 'an Etwas herumrütteln, mit äusserster Anstrengung arbeiten, tüchtig dreinschlagen'. Both verbs are derivatives from the Prim. Teut. base *hnuđ* 'stossen, schlagen', which in OHG was turned into *hnud-* (= LG *knud-*), e. g. OHG *hnuttēn* 'vibrare', MHG *nütteln* 'sich hin und her bewegen, etw. schwingend zuschlagen, rütteln'. We find, then, that the *t*-form is retained in Alsatian but that it was turned into *d*-form in Swiss German.

In this connection we have to state another thing in point of Swiss German. The verb *nödere*ⁿ formed from the base *hnuđ*- coincided in form with the verb **nödere**^a that was formed from the base *nut*, both being derived by means of the intensive, iterative, or diminutive suffix *r*. Consequently the prehistoric appearance of the verbs was **hnuđ-r-ōn* and **nut-r-ōn*. Now *t* before *r* did not join in the OHG consonant-shift, but later on this *t* passed into *d* between voiced sounds so that the form **nödere**^a originated. But since the editors of the great 'Schweizerisches Idiotikon' (published in 1901 foll.) had no knowledge of a base *nut* other than that meaning 'to catch', they made no distinction between *nödere*ⁿ as formed from *hnuđ* and **nödere**^a as formed from *nut*- but classed both under the heading **Nodere**^a I. But there was also a verb *nödere*ⁿ which had a semantic area different from that presented by **Nodere**^a I. That verb was established by the editors as **Nodere**^a II and as a verb disconnected with the former word, though it is formed from the

base *nut*. It is impossible to imagine a genetic presentation more remote from the factual state of things.

When the Suabian dialect presents the form **nodere**ⁿ 'wühlen, schnattern', which is formed from the base *nut*, we may again be faced with the phonetic tendency to turn *t* into *d* between voiced sounds. We have found, then, that in German there is no unequivocal example of the base **nuþ*. It is worthy of note that the occurrence of this variant and of a variant *nūt* would not have disagreed with our view of the origin of the base *nut*. Note, however, p. 244.

There are some forms in our material whose nationality is doubtful or should be discussed. If we turn to the Scandinavian idioms, attention is drawn to the Jutland verbs **nytle** [*notəl notlər* (Lindk.); *nədəl nədələ* (Sundeved)] and **notle** [*nətəl nətələr nətət* (Andst; Mors); ft. tf. *nətət* (Vensyssel); *notəl* ft. *notlər* (Vejrum, Hammerum)]. For it should be noted that in the Jutland dialect the consonantal combination *tl* passed via *ðl* into *ll* by ordinary phonetic progression. Thus, for instance, ON *vatti* 'whey' appears there as [*waļ, wāl*, etc.]¹⁾ = Dan. *valle*, Sw. *vassle*, -a, dial. *valle*; Prim. Teut. **natilōn* 'nettle' appears there as [*naļ, naļə*, etc.] = Da. *nælde*, MSw. *nætla*, Sw. *nässla*, dial. *nälla* (the *i*-mutation is due to analogy).²⁾ Hence the absence of this phonetic development in point of **nytle** and **notle** arrests attention. It may be argued that in the substantives just quoted *tl* has no particular semantic function, whereas in the verbs adduced it denotes intensity, iteration, or diminution. But this difference is obviously no obstacle to the operation of what is called phonetic law. For if we take Prim. Teut. **kitilōn*, whence Continental Old Saxon *kitilōn*, OE *citelian* (< **kitilōjan*) 'to tickle' (with metathesis for **kittle*), that word appears in the Jutland dialect as [*ciļər ciļər ciļər ciļər* (Vensyssel),³⁾ *kilər -ər -ət* (Darum, vestjysk, Thy; Randers, Sundeved, Agerskov)] = Da. *kilde*, *kildre*, earlier *kidle*, Swed. *kittla*. Hence the *tl* of the Jutland verbs **nytle** and **notle** appears to suggest that they may be Low German loans. But to that assumption is opposed the mere fact that they have cognates in the other Scandinavian idioms. The true explanation is instead that the assimilative process did not take place in the combination *tll*, i. e. a long *t + l* was

¹⁾ Note that the length of a sound is by Feilberg indicated by a horizontal stroke under it and that *ļ* denotes palatalized *l*. See H. F. Feilberg's *Diet.* vol. I pp. IX, X.

²⁾ The *i* of **natilōn* fell away before the operation of the *i*-umlaut in Scandinavian.

³⁾ Note that *c* signifies a sort of *tj*-sound characteristic of the Vendelbo idiom.

retained in the Jutland dialect.¹⁾ For that reason we must assume that there once existed in the dialect the forms **nytte* (< **nutjan*) and **notte* (< **nutōn*) and that it was from these verbs that **nytle** and **notle** were formed by means of the *l*-suffix of intensive or diminutive force. As to the doubling of *t* in **nytte* and **notte*, it must have arisen from the same motive, to wit, a wish to denote intensity or diminution, just as Alf Torp postulates intensive or diminutive doubling of *s* in Norw. dial. *nyssa* v. 'plukke, snappe, rapse, plukke bort noget' as compared to *nysja* v. 'plukke, pille, pusle med smaat arbejde'.²⁾ The same explanation is used by Elof Hellquist when accounting for the doubling of *d* in MSw. *nudda* 'to beat, pound' as compared to the form *nāda*, both being derivatives from the Teut. base *hnud* 'to beat, hammer'.³⁾ It should also be noted that the Rhine-Frankish verb **notzen** (Aschaffenburg) 'langsam seyn, nicht vom Fleck kommen' presupposes the form **nottōn* for **nutōn*, formed from the base *nut*, and that the doubling of *t* doubtless had intensive or diminutive function. The legitimacy of postulating the forms **nytte* and **notte* in the Jutland dialect is corroborated by the factual occurrence in this dialect of the verb **nutte** [*nust sæ, nuter, nutel* (Braderup)] 'skultre sig'. For this is another derivative from the base *nut*, but representing another line of semantic development.

We have previously pointed out that the Low German idiom as until recently spoken in Livonia and Esthonia was chiefly taken from the north-western part of Germany, i. e. Schleswig-Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen, and so on, i. e. the very centre of the vitality of the base *nut* on German soil. This fact explains the rich representation of the base *nut* in Baltic German.

If it is true of the Swabian and the Alsatian idiom that through the operation of the High German consonant-shift the *t* in such a set of sounds as *not-l-* or *nut-l-* was turned into *ts*, then we must consider not only the Swabian words **nottle**^a 'langsam, unsicher gehen' and **Nottlete** 'Häkelaarheit' but also the Alsatian verbs **nuttle**^a [= *nytlə*] 'langsam thun, langsam herumarbeiten, behaglich arbeiten' and **nottle**^a [*notle*] 'langsam gehen' as loan-words from Low Frankish.

¹⁾ That was the view of our friend and teacher, the late Professor Evald Lidén, who was an eminent expert on Scandinavian languages, also.

²⁾ Cp. A. Torp *Nynorsk Etymologisk Ordbok*, Kristiania 1919 s. v. *nyssa* and *nysja*.

³⁾ Cp. E. Hellquist *Svensk Etymologisk Ordbok*, 2:dra uppl., Lund 1939 s. v. *nudda*.

We should call to mind H. Paul's words that Low Frankish and Saxon (= LG) idioms formerly penetrated deep into the north of France. In actual fact, the northern part of the Alsatian dialect is considered to be Low Frankish.

Let us now turn to the representation of the base *nut* in England. The earliest instance of this base, i. e. ME **nytel** of about 1375, is a ἀπαζ λεγόμενον in English. It is only met with in the Lancashire dialect, consequently in an idiom noted for its strong admixture of Scandinavian elements. But in the present case we are quite unwilling to postulate this influence, since the form of the ME verb presupposes **nutilōn* as its prehistoric source and the latter word would in Scandinavian have appeared as **nulla*, i. e. with absence of i-umlaut;¹⁾ cp. the phonetic development of **natilōn* p. 27. Perhaps it is not phonetically impossible to identify ME **nytel** with Dan. dial. **nytle**, but if so, this militates against the fact that the Scandinavian settlers in Lancashire chiefly consisted of Norsemen, as is also proved by the place-names of the county. But cannot ME. **nytel** be a Flemish loan-word? From the point of view of historical facts there is nothing to prevent this possibility. G. Brodnitz points out that in the reign of Henry III a large number of Flemish weavers had settled down in England and had been received in a friendly manner.²⁾ It is also a fact that Lancashire was not destitute of Flemish weavers in the ME period. But what about the hypothesis from a phonetic point of view? Let us discuss that question.

Both ME **nytel** and Du. **neutelen** presuppose **nutilōn* as their prehistoric source. In the Dutch idiom Prim. Teut. *ñ* when appearing in an open syllable and influenced by an *i* or *j* in the next syllable passed into [y] and thereupon into [ō], which was at the same time lengthened and subsequently written *eu*. As example: Prim. Teut. **ūbilaz* (Goth. *ubils*) passed via **ybil* into *ðbil*, which thereupon was written *euvel* = Germ. *übel*. But if *ñ* appeared in a closed syllable, it passed into [ū^h] written *u*, e. g. Prim. Teut. **þuokjan* (Goth. *þugkjan*) became *dunken* = G. *dünken*. It is worthy of note, however, that, irrespective of the occurrence or non-occurrence of an *i* or *j* in the following syllable, there are some Du. dialects which always turn every *u* when appearing in an open syllable into [ō] and others that turn them into [ō]. As examples: Prim. Teut. **fuylasb.* 'bird' passed into Du. *vogel*, in some dialects into *veugel*; Prim.

¹⁾ This view was held by the late Professor Evald Lidén, also.

²⁾ Cp. Georg Brodnitz *Englische Wirtschaftsgeschichte* Bd I, Jena 1918 p. 376 ff.

Teut. **luyinō* sb. 'a lie' passed into Du. *leugen*, in some dialects into *logen*,¹⁾ Hence in some dialects **neutelen** might have had **nutalōn* as prehistoric source.

Let us now return to ME **nytel**. If the word actually were a Low Frankish loan, then the latter word would have appeared as **nytelen* [y = ü). In the Lancashire dialect OE *y* (= *ü*) mostly appears as *i* [but written *y*] in ME, a delabialization taking place about the 12th century or earlier. But often, i. e. mostly before or after labials, OE *y* [= *ü*] was retained, and it was then written *u* like *ü* in French loan-words. Hence it is next to certain that Low Frankish *ü* in **nytelen* would have been retained and rendered by *u* if the word had been adopted by the dialect of the poem. Thus there seems to be no alternative left but to look upon ME *nytel* as a native verb, in spite of its localization. In this connection let us state that the existence of the ME word agrees with the fact that nowadays the idioms of the ancient Continental home of the Angles, i. e., in our opinion, the southern half of the Jutland Peninsula, are prolific in derivatives from the base *nut*.

There is a strange semantic correspondence between two derivatives from this base, one occurring in English and the other found in the Schleswig-Holstein idiom. For we have to state the fact that in the Oxfordshire and Berkshire dialects there is a verb **nutter** 'to whinny softly as a mare and colt to one another' and that exactly the same verb and the same sense occur in Schleswig-Holstein, viz. **nöddern** 'schwach wiehern (vom Füllen).' The meaning of the two words seems to be entirely unique, and yet there is apparently no reason whatever for supposing that one of them is an adoption of the other. Hence the question arises whether we ought to look upon the two verbs as an evidence in favour of Bede's view in his *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* that the Continental home of the Angles was Angeln in Schleswig-Holstein and — let us add — adjacent districts of the Jutland Peninsula. Or shall we unromantically ascribe the striking harmony to the long arm of coincidence? Provided there be no obstacle, we are personally inclined to adopt the former view since we do not distrust Bede's authority as to the Continental home of the Angles. But, in actual fact, there is a hindrance, viz. the Dan. dial. name of the jacksnipe, i. e. **noddrehors** and **noddregjök**. For in this case **noddre** is meant to denote the

¹⁾ Cp. M. Schönfeld *Historiese Grammatica van het Nederlands*, Zutphen 1924, p. 40.

sounds of the bird, which resemble the soft neighing of a horse. Hence it is most likely, nay certain, that the Danish verb once also denoted to 'whinny'. But if so, Eng. dial. **nutter** may be understood as a Danish loan-word since there are perhaps no insurmountable difficulties arising from the phonological aspect of the verbs. This may be the correct explanation of the co-existence in the two languages of a word formed from the same base *nut* and presenting an unique meaning. But, on the other hand, there is no denying the fact that the Eng. verb may be a Continental inheritance, all the more as **nöddern** occurs only in 'Hus.' and 'Ang.' i. e. Husby and Angeln, both in Schleswig-Holstein. In addition, Oxfordshire and Berkshire never belonged to the Danelagh. Hence we believe that the Eng. verb is likely to be a corroborative evidence for the legitimacy of Bede's view mentioned above.

Let us discuss the nationality of the English dialectal adjective **nutil** 'effeminate', 'useless', formerly occurring in north-east Yorkshire but now obsolete. The word is only met with in *A Glossary of Words used in the neighbourhood of Whitby*, compiled by F. K. Robinson (in *E. D. S.* 1876). But it is significant that Whitby is a seaport in the North Riding at the Esk's mouth in the North Sea and that it is noted for its important fisheries. We have previously seen that right across the North Sea in the Dutch province of Groningen there is an adj. **nutel** denoting 'nuffig. fatterig', i. e. nuffig = like a conceited, overnice girl, esp. one proud of her hair and dress; fatterig = foppish. The sense of the Groningen word, then, may be considered to mean 'effeminate', and the sense 'worthless' of the English word should be taken to be due to Permutation, or else we are concerned with Adequation since 'effeminate' and 'useless' may be understood as Notions of Interference. All these facts go to prove that Eng. dial. **nutil** is a (comparatively recent) loan from the Groningen dialect. And if somebody wants to get further particulars, we can safely maintain that we are faced with no Low Frankish word since its *u* would not then have been left phonetically intact. Hence the Continental adj. **nutel** must be either of Frisian or of Saxon origin. The latter alternative is perhaps to be preferred.

The problem of nationality is far more complicated in point of the Devonshire adjective **nottle** 'foolish, absurd, trifling, wanton', a word now obsolete but assuredly formed from the base *nut*. The mere fact of its isolated occurrence in a southern county and the phonetic appearance of the stem divergent from the other stems met with

in English are suggestive of foreign origin. On further examination it will turn out that we may have to count with either Low Frankish or Scandinavian provenance. Let us discuss the two alternatives.

The first considerable immigration of Flemings into England in ME times was made in the reign of Henry I. It was directed to Rhos and Pembroke in South Wales, and it was caused by the encroaching of the sea on their own territory. There is excellent documentary evidence for this event.¹⁾ As to immigration of Flemish weavers into medieval England, the present writer read once (about 15 years ago) an article on that point in the English Historical Review. It was there stated that Flemish weavers took up their abodes in England chiefly in four places. One was East Anglia, and this explains why Promptorium Parvulorum, a vocabulary originating in this district in 1440, teems with Continental Germanic loans. Another place was the town of York, a third was the county of Lancashire, and the fourth place was somewhere in the south of England. The reality of the last settlement is borne out by the dialect of Sir Ferumbras, a southern romaunt appearing about 1350 and showing many traces of Continental Germanic influence. As examples: d. and a. pl. *hymen* or *hemen* 'them', very common beside the native 'hem'; *dadest* (MDu. *dâdes* 'didst'); *sere* (mostly *sare* or *sore*): Oliver; *ons* (= 'us'): barons. Note especially the endings *-aþ*, *-iaþ* (= OE and OFris. *-aþ*, *-iaþ*) in the present indic., and infinitives in *-ia* (= OFris. *-ia*). Such forms are absolutely unique in the ME period, e. g. 3 pres. sing. *louaþ*; *hauaþ*, pres. pl. and imperat. *wollaþ*, *nemaþ*; pres. pl. of wk. vbs. class II *lokeaþ*, *loueaþ*, *herknyaþ*, *prikeaþ*; infinitives *prikea*, *trussyam* (= *trussya* + *hem*).¹⁾

As to the source of all these peculiarities, Heuser opines that their proximate source was probably the Frisian and LowFrankish composite idiom of West Flanders. He goes on to say (*op. cit.* p. 181): »Eigenthümlich (west)fries. ist das fürwort *hymen*, wenn auch das gebiet der verbreitung der form über das eigentliche Friesisch hinausgeragt haben mag; auf das Fries. weisen auch die rätselhaften verbalendungen *-ath*, *-iath* im prs. (*-ia* im inf.). Das Fries. aber reichte ehemals bis nach Westflandern hinein, die tradition weist

¹⁾ See W. Heuser *Festländische Einflüsse im Mittlenglischen* = *Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik* hrsg. von Professor Dr M. Trautmann. Heft XII (1902) p. 174.

¹⁾ Cp. W. Heuser *op. cit.*, p. 178 foll.

dem »Vrij von Brügge« verhältnismässig lange bewahrung der fries. sprache zu und noch der häutige westvlämische dialekt zeigt fries. züge im gegensatz zu dem rein niederfränk. dialekte des östl. Flanderns.» He is also of opinion that the Flemings who immigrated into South Wales were from the same territory.

Now it should be noticed that the ME pronoun *hymen* (*hemen*), which is almost exclusively met with in Sir Ferumbras, is still to be found in the modern Devonshire dialect but as *min*, *mun* (see N. E. D.). Hence it cannot be said to be a wanton conjecture to assume that the obsolete adjective **nottle**, which also is a characteristic of the Devonshire idiom, should be explained as a Continental Germanic loan-word, probably adopted in the form of a substantive; (cp. Kilian's **neutel** sb. 'homunicio frivolus' and mod. Du. **neutel** sb. 'klein mannetje, dreutel (often contemptuous)'). And the idiom that is likely to have been the loan-giver is the Low Frankish dialect, since it embraces dialectal varieties which have turned *ū* into [ō] in an open syllable and since in English a subs. or an adj. **nōtel* adopted from a foreign idiom is likely to have been turned into **nottle** (cp. OE *lȳtel* > ME, NE *little*). This explanation appears to be preferable to postulating Danish influence, which in ME times is but scantily represented in the southernmost part of England. Cp. also the Swabian words **nottle**^a 'langsam, unsicher gehen' and **Nottlete** 'Häkelarbeit', which must be Low Frankish loan-words.

Scandinavian origin of the adj. **nottle** should only be looked upon as being a mere abstract possibility. We may argue that at the time of the Danish invasion of England there may have existed a Danish verb **nottla* denoting 'to work slowly and inefficiently' and that on English soil this word was the source of further sense-development. We may also call to mind that in the days of Edward I half Devonshire was still a Cornish-speaking district, and that it was later on Anglicized by English immigration chiefly from the western parts of the Midlands. It is a fact that in this way some Scandinavian loan-words came to appear in the south-western part of England, i. e. in Devonshire and Cornwall.¹⁾ But since there is no other trustworthy trace of Scandinavian influence

¹⁾ Cp. J. O. Halliwell *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words*, 8th ed., London 1874, vol. i, p. xiv. See also K. F. Sundén *The ME verb Nuyse* (= Göteborgs Högskolas årsskrift XXXIX (1933): 2, p. 66) and K. F. Sundén *The Etymology of the ME verbs roþe, roþele, and ruþe* (= A Grammatical Miscellany offered to Otto Jespersen, 1930, p. 115.)

on the derivatives from the base *nut* in English, we must reject Scand. origin in point of *nottle*, too. Hence this word should be understood as a Low Frankish loan.

We have still to discuss the etymological speculations made in point of some words of our group.

The Scandinavian material has not been exposed to etymological attempts except Norw. dialectal *nuta* v. 'to push forth the snout, esp. to push forth (or down) the nose into the fodder but without eating'. This verb is by Alf Torp, though hesitantly, connected with the Goth. subst. *hnuþo* (variant *hnuto*) 'a pointed pole', ON. *hnúðr* sb. 'log, pole' and, outside Germanic, with Latvian *knute* sb. 'dünne Stange'.¹⁾ Semantically, the guess is not a bad one if it is meant that the primary notion of the Norw. verb was 'to poke with a stick or the like' involving or in the lapse of time assuming the sense of gentle activity. For in that case it is possible to explain several of the senses presented by the verbs of our category.

Let us take OE *potian* 'to push', 'butt', 'goad', all senses implying more or less a pushing with force or violence. The idea of slight activity did not attach to the verb until the 17th c., when it assumed the sense 'to poke with a stick or the like'. But this sense brought about the extinction of the word, because in the 16th century the idea of gentle poking began to be expressed by creating the derivative *potter*, whose *r* had iterative and diminutive force. Now note that the verb *potter* could denote not only 'to poke again and again' but also 'to occupy oneself in an ineffectual or trifling way; to work or act in a feeble or desultory manner, to walk about or work slowly, idly, or aimlessly; to dawdle, or loiter' (N. E. D.). In mod. Eng. dialects the verb *potter* means, inter alia, 'to do anything in a feeble, ineffectual way; to work in a lazy or inefficient manner; to waste time, to busy oneself with trifles' (cp. Eng. Dial. Dic.).

Take further the Eng. verb *to poke* (Du., LG *poken*), not evidenced before the 14th century. The starting-point of its semantic development was the sense 'to thrust or push (anything) with one's hand or arm, the point of a stick or the like so as to move or stir it' (N. E. D.). Later on it also signifies, amongst other things, 'to go prying into corners or looking about one', or fig. 'to make cu-

¹⁾ See Alf Torp *Nynorsk Etymologisk Ordbok*, Kristiania 1919 s. v. *Nuta* and *Nying*.

rious investigation, to move about in a desultory, ineffectual, or dawdling way' (N. E. D.). In modern dialects the verb means, inter alia, 'to dawdle, loiter', 'to perform work such as digging or quarrying in a slow, clumsy manner', and its agent noun, i. e. a *poke*, denotes 'a dawdler, a slow inactive person' (Eng. Dial. Dic.).

We find, then, that from the idea of 'poking gently' there may arise several senses also presented by verbs formed on the base *nut*. It is significant that this sense-development is absent when the immediate point of departure is 'to push with some force'. Hence this development is not met with in the case of Eng. *to thrust*, an adoption of ON *þrýsta*.

The primary sense of the base *nut*, however, cannot have been 'to push or to poke' since, apart from Norw. dial. *nuta*, this sense is not often met with, whereas it is retained alongside of the new meanings when it is the primary signification. Let it also be noted that there are meanings developed from the sense 'to push or to poke' which are never found in the descendants of the base *nut*, e. g. 'to struggle, gen. of some one lying down'; 'to make repeated efforts to reach anything' (= dial. senses offered by *pote*); 'to project, to bulge out'; 'to make fun of' (= dial. meanings presented by *poke*). On the other hand these verbs never denote 'to produce a set of sounds', a sense often a characteristic feature of verbs formed on the base *nut*. Hence it is obvious that the primary signification of the latter base cannot have been 'to push or to poke'.

The Continental representatives of the base *nut* have never been made the object of genetic explanation with the sole exception of the Dutch substantives *neutken* and *neutel*. But since their connection with the Dutch verb *neutelen* is not to be denied and the etymology of the latter word is disregarded, it hardly needs saying that this etymological attempt began at the wrong end and hence resulted in a failure. But let us quote the attitude of Dutch etymologists towards this verb: »*Neutelen* ww., sedert Kil. = nnd. *neteln*, *nöteln* „talmen, zeuren, zaniken“, fri. *neutelje* „neulen, zaniken“. In welke genetische verhouding dit woord staat tot het rijmwoord *dreutelen*, tot *neulen* en tot Kil. *neutken* (ook *neutellersken*) „bedrijvig vrouwtje“, is bezwaarlijk uit te maken. Kil. *neutken* kan wel evenals ndl. dial. *neutel* „klein mannetje“ van *neut* „noot“ komen, dat ook zelf voor kleine personen en voorwerpen gebruikt wordt (vgl. ook *dreutel*). *Neulen* zoowel als *neutelen* zijn

wsch. jonge woorden. Vgl. ook achterh. *nö(te)lik* „verdrietig” „Cf. Franck's *Etymologisch Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, Tweede Druk door Dr. N. van Wijk, 'S-Gravenhage 1912 s. v. *neutelen*, p. 457.

In these statements everything is erroneous except the meanings of the words to be explained. The expression 'sedert Kil.', i. e. since Kilian's dictionary of 1777, implies ignorance of the existence of Pieter Marin's dictionary of 1701. The subs. *neutel* is not dialectal if we can trust van Dale's 'Groot Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal' of 1924. To the view that *neutelen* is likely to be a young word is opposed the wide spread of the base *nut* over the Germanic territory. Besides, it should be noted that this base is old enough to have passed through the Old High German consonant-shift, as is proved by the Aschaffenburg verb *notzen* (< **nottōn* < **nutōn*). The very writing *nö(te)lik* is suggestive of the false view that there is a genetic connection between the adjectives *nötelik* and *nölik*. The interpretation of Kilian's *neutken* and *neutel* as derivatives formed from *neut* „noot” (= Eng. *nut*, Lat. *nux*) cannot be accepted. For how could it be possible for *neutken* 'a little nut' to pass into the meaning 'bedrijvig vrouwtje'? This word should instead be understood as connected with the verb *neuten* 'to be busy in a trifling manner', which evidently gave rise to a subst. **neut*. This root-verb is still found in 'Westvlaamsch', a fact obviously unknown to Franck and van Wijk. As to the subs. *neutel* it may be regarded as a back-formation from *neutelen*. The dialectal adjective *nötelik* is evidently a Saxon (= Low Ger.) word since it occurs in 'Achterhoesch', a dialect in the county of Zütphen (cf. p. 18). Of course no attempt is made to explain its sense 'verdrietig'.

Lastly, we are unable to realize that the etymology of Du. **neutelen** is so closely bound up with the etymology of *dreutelen* and *neulen*, its semantic congeners, that it should be a categorical imperative for us to deal with the genesis of the latter verbs also. But it is true that these words semantically largely agree with **neutelen**, as is apparent from the following descriptions in van Dale's dictionary: — *Dreutelen* v. (1) Drentelen [i. e. langzaam heen en weer wandelen; zich drentelend ergens heen begeven]; (2) talmen [i. e. dralen, i. e. met de uitvoering van iets wachten], treuzelen [i. e. langzaam werken]; (3) (gew.) onhandig te werk gaan. *Neulen* v. (1) (Gew.) binnenmonds brommen; (2) zaniken [i. e. gedurig herhalen, aanhoudend en op eene vervelende wijze over iets spreken,

eng *nut* 'a fellow'-
used as a form of
disparagement
(Webster)

iets vragen], zeuren [i. e. zaniken]. **Neutelen** v. (1) Talmen; (2) zich met beuzelingen ophouden, futselen [also = treuzelen].

The semantic harmony between *dreutelen* and **neutelen** is still more striking outside Dutch. In actual fact, nearly all the meanings presented by the former verb are also denoted by verbs containing the base *nut*. In Richey's *Idioticon Hamburgense* of 1755, where **nöteln** is absent, *dröteln* denotes 'zaudern, zögern', and *Dröteler* means 'Zauderer, der langsam arbeitet'. In the *Bremen dictionary* of 1768 *dröteln* signifies 'zaudern, zögern', *Dröteler* means ein Zauderer, and *Drötelgoos* 'dasselbe, eine langsame Frauensperson'. Woeste's *Wörterbuch der Westfälischen Mundart* of 1882 gives the form *drötelen* meaning 'schwätzen', and in Leihener's *Cronenberger Wörterbuch* of 1908 we come across the form *drädeln* denoting 'langsam gehen, zögern, zaudern'. If we turn to ten Doornkaat Koolman's *Wörterbuch der Ostfriesischen Sprache* of 1879, we find that *drötel(e)n* means 'sich (wo, wobei u. womit) aufhalten, trödeln, zaudern, zögern etc.', and that it has derivatives and compounds, e. g. *Gedrötel* (Gezauder, etc.), *Drötélé* (Zauderei), *Dröteler* and *Drötelmärs* (Zauderer, etc.). In Waling Dijkstra's *Friesch Woordenboek* of 1900 foll. *dreutelje* means 'dreutelen, talmen, luieren (i. e. lui in iets te werk gaan, traag iets verrichten', and there are derivatives, viz. *dreutelder* = dreutelaar, and *dreuteltsje* = weinigje (= weinigheid). In Molema's *Wörterbuch der Groningenschen Mundart* of 1888 *dreuteln* signifies 'talmen, dralen, treuzelen, en, eenmaal begonnen, langzaam doorwerken', and there are also compounds containing *dreutel*.

If we now turn to *Kilian's dictionary* of 1777, we find that *dreutelen* and its variant *drotelen* have a totally different sense, viz. *pumilionis passus facere, gradi instar nani* = 'kleine schreden doen als een dwerg', whereas the substantives *dreutel* and *drotel* denote 'pilula stercoria'; cp. mod. *dreutel* = (1) 'hoopje drek', (2) 'een klein mannetje, een dwerg'. If we consult *De Bo's Westvlaamsch Idioticon* of 1892, we find that *treutelen* and **neutelen** form riming combinations, viz. **neutel***treuten* = 'nutselen en trutselen', fr. *lambiner, chipoter, treuten***neuten** = 'treuten en neuten, trutselen en nutselen (nusselen), neuteltreuten, met beuzelverk zijnen tijd verslijten', Fr. *chipoter, vétiller*, i. e. *chipoter* = *faire un travail, une besogne avec négligence ou lenteur; s'arreter à de riens, faire des difficultés pour se décider* (Littré); *vétiller* = *s'amuser à des vétilles* (= bagatelles); *faire des difficultés sur de petites choses* (Littré). This West Flemish fact goes to show that *treutelen*, *trutselen* and **neutelen**,

nutselen were largely synonymous verbs. As to the form *nutselen*, which has not been recorded elsewhere, it is obviously an intentional modification of *nusselen* 'talmen, beuzelen; beuzelarijen verrichten, prutsen [= onhandig bezig zijn]'. Otherwise said, we seem to be concerned with an intentional formative contamination between *neutelen*, *treutelen* on the one hand and *nusselen* on the other hand, a contact due to semantic similarity.

But whatever may be the semantic history of Kilian's *dreutelen* and *drotelen* and whatever semantic or genetic contact there may have been between **neutelen** on the one hand and *dreutelen* or *treutelen* on the other hand, one thing stands out as being beyond dispute, viz. the circumstance that the semantic aspect of **neutelen** has experienced no influence whatsoever from this contact. This is evident from the fact that those meanings which **neutelen** has in common with the verbs mentioned, also occur in verbs formed from the base *nut* but met with in countries outside the Netherlands, e. g. Scandinavia and Switzerland. But if so, there is no reason for an inquirer who is dealing with the Germanic base *nut* to examine also the origin of the verbs *dreutelen* and *treutelen* and their interrelation.

The semantic harmony between *neulen* and **neutelen** is so considerable that there are lexicographers who believe that the former verb is a reduced form of the latter. This was evidently the view of C. H. Stürenburg since in his *Ostfriesisches Wörterbuch* of 1857 he deals with the two verbs at the same time and assigns to them the same senses: »*nöten*, *nöteln* zaudern, zögern, langsam arbeiten, nichts beschicken.» This etymological opinion is expressly pronounced by ten Doornkaat Koolman's *Wörterbuch der Ostfriesischen Sprache* of 1884 s. v. *nölen*, where we read: »cf. *nötelen*, wovon es zweifellos contrah. ist.» And if we turn to Grimm's *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, Bd VII, in 1889, s. v. *nö(h)len*, *nöteln*, we find that the same opinion is pronounced.

This genetic view is doubtless erroneous. For it is a priori most unlikely that such a contraction, in itself very doubtful under the circumstances, should get the upper hand so as to be spread over large territories where there is no trace of *nöteln* but where its supposed contraction manifests great vitality by constituting the base of derivatives or by being a member of compounds. As examples: 1781 J. C. Dähnert *Platt-Deutsches Wörterbuch nach der alten u. neuen Pommerschen u. Rügischen Mundart* (Stralsund): — *Nölen* v.

Zaudern, säumen. Derivatives and compounds: — *Nôlerij* f. das Zaudern. *Nôlert*, *Nôlbartel*, *Nôlfotze*, Schimpfnamen auf zaudernde Leute. — 1882 H. Frischbier *Preussisches Wörterbuch* (Ost- und Westpreussische Provinzialismen), (Berlin): — *Nälen* (ä lang) v. (1) Zögern, zaudern, saumselig u. langsam seine Arbeit fördern, eine Sache zustandebringen; (2) langsam trinken. Derivatives and compounds: — *Näler* m. Zauderer, Zögerer, Faulpelz. *Nälerei* f. Saumseligkeit. *Nälerig* adj. saumselig. *Benälen* v. *sich b.* 'sich allgemächlich nähelnd betrinken'. *Nälhans*, *-peter*, *-lize*, *trîn.* — 1858 G. Schambach *Wörterbuch der niederdeutschen Mundart der Fürstenthümer Göttingen u. Grubenhagen* (Hannover): — *Nôlen* v. (1) Ungebürlich langsam sprechen; (2) ohne Aufhören wovon sprechen; (3) zögern, zaudern, in seinem Thun übermässig langsam sein. Derivatives: — *Nôlerie* f. (1) Das allzu langsame Sprechen; (2) das immer wieder von neuem begonnene u. daher langweilige Reden; (3) das Hinzögern, die übergrosse Langsamkeit. *Nôlig* adj. Uebermässig langsam im Sprechen oder Thun.

It should be noted, however, that there are vocabularies which maintain that in Low German and Frisian the quality of the vowel of the stem is exactly the same in *nöteln* as in *nölen*. So does *Bremisch-Niedersächsisches Wörterbuch* of 1767 foll. which for both verbs employs the Greek letters [οη] to indicate the quality of the vowel. So does Stürenburg's *Ostfriesisches Wörterbuch* of 1857 in using for both the transcription [ö], and the same does also Mensing's *Schleswig-Holsteinisches Wörterbuch* of 1929 foll. when in both cases symbolizing the sound by means of the sign [ø]. A comparison between these transcriptions and those employed when close ö is to be denoted appears to prove that the former are meant to indicate, not an open ö as in German *Götter*, Swed. *bössa* (a gun), but a distinctly flat vowel. With the latter term is generally meant a vowel produced when the tongue lies in the neutral position with no part active = Eng. 'vocal murmur', phonetically written [ə] and described as a 'mid (low-mid) flat slack neutral' vowel. In the present case, however, we must assume that the sound is a little less slack than [ə] and that the middle parts of the tongue are somewhat more raised. Hence the sound should be described as a 'mid flat slack neutral' vowel. This type is represented by Swed. *ö* before *r*, e. g. *höra*, *börd* (with long vowels), *förr*, *först* (with short vowels). That we are concerned with this vowel in point of *nölen* and *nöteln*, too, where the vowel is long, seems to be obvious also from the

fact that, if the neutral position of the lips is only slightly widened, there originates a long *ä*. This explains the form *nälen* (in Prussia) and *neteln* (in Bremen) whose *e* is denoted as equivalent to Greek [η], which doubtless was by the author meant to denote [ä]; cp. *naeteln*, *naelen* (Ditmarschen, Stürenburg). In British English there exists, in addition to vocal murmur, a flat vowel but with long quantity, phonetically described by Jones as a mid flat tense neutral vowel, e. g. *birth*, *first* = [bæ: p], [fæ: st]. The quality of the vowel in these words is distinctly different from that of the vowel in the Swedish words *börd* and *först*¹⁾, which is due to the fact that in the former case there is some compression of the vocal cords. In North American English the Swed. short vowel is used before *r* followed by a consonant or before *r* final, but only in the speech of those Americans who use 'inverted *r*', i. e. the point of the tongue is lifted up and slightly inverted towards the roof of the mouth. But since this tongue position is practically taken while the vowel is being pronounced, the quality of the vowel is somewhat influenced. The symbol used by G. Ph. Krapp²⁾ for this sound is [ə], e. g. *mercy* [mə:si], *sir* [sə:]. Let us employ this symbol in order to denote the flat vowel we are here concerned with, though the colouring of an inverted *r* be absent.

From these items of phonetic information it is evident that we have to state that in Low German and Frisian the verbs *nölen* and **nöteln** have the same long stem-vowel, i. e. [æ:]. Judging from Richey's *Idioticon Hamburgense* of 1755 it is not easy to determine the exact distribution of this flat vowel. As examples: *móten* (oη) must = OE *mōtan*; *Kóche* (oη) *Küche* < Lat. *coquina*; *schólen*, *sólen* (oη) = *sollen* < **skulan*; *móhr* (oη) *mürbe* < **murwia*; *glóren* (oη) 'glimmen' = Norw. dial. *glóra*; *Klóve* (oη) *Spalte*, *fissura*. But, on the other hand, we meet with a close *ö* (= *oe*) in *klóben* *spalten*, < **klaubjan*; *bóten* *Feuer machen* < **bötjan* 'to better'; *tóven* Swed. *töva* < **töbjan*; etc. Anyhow, it is most likely that *nölen* and **nöteln** obtained their flat vowel independently of each other. The short flat stem-vowel, i. e. [ə], in Swedish dial. **nåttla** is due to spontaneous phonetic progression of *ä*.

It is obvious that in Dutch both *neulen* and **neutelen** are pronounced with a real *ö*-sound. Let us also point out that Du. *neulen*

¹⁾ Most English-speaking Swedes are ignorant of this fact.

²⁾ Cp. G. Ph. Krapp *The English Language in America*, vol. II p. 166, New York 1925.

is by Hj. Falk and Alf Torp¹⁾ considered to be an adoption of »LG. *nölen* langsam sein, zaudern; knarren, brummen». If we modify this opinion so as to mean LG. and Fris. *nölen*, then their allegation is quite acceptable since the word appears to be absent in West Flemish (cp. De Bo's dictionary) and wanting in derivatives in standard Dutch (cp. van Dale's dictionary). But if so, it is obvious that from the point of view of the Dutch idiom there is no genetic relationship between Du. *neutelen* and Du. *neulen*.

The two scholars mentioned above flatly deny that there is any genetic connection between LG *nölen* and LG *nöteln*.¹⁾ And later on Torp declares that *nölen* is of onomatopoeic origin, being connected with Swiss German *nüele*ⁿ (*müele*ⁿ) 'to jerk out inarticulate sounds', and that *nölen* originally meant 'gni', i. e. to rub, and thereupon 'brumme', i. e. to grumble.²⁾ This etymological view was evidently adopted by O. Mensing who says:³⁾ »Das Wort [= *nölen*] ist wohl ursprünglich lautmalend und bedeutet »Knurren», »brummen», »mürrisch sein» (und darum widerwillig und langsam bei der Arbeit.» The etymology given within parentheses cannot be said to be quite unacceptable, but it does not seem to be a common type of sense-change, that is, of Permutation. Besides, it should be noted that 'langsam arbeiten' is a very common sense. Hence it really appears that the onomatopoeic base was also meant to symbolize 'slowness in speech', and that slowness in action in general is a later semantic aspect, a change probably favoured by influence from the semantic area of *nöteln*. In actual fact, 'slowness of speech' is more often represented by *nölen* and its derivatives than by *nöteln*. The sense is met with in Dutch *neulen*, which means (accord. to van Dale's dictionary) not only 'binnenmonds brommen' but also 'zaniken', i. e. to dwell tediously on the same subject, and 'zeuren', i. e. to be slow or tardy in performing a task, to harp on the same subject. It is also represented by Low Germ. *nölen*, which denotes (1) ungebührlich langsam sprechen, ohne Aufhören wovon sprechen; (2) zögern, zaudern, in seinem Thun übermässig langsam sein (Göttingen and Grubenhagen)⁴⁾; or else lang-

¹⁾ Cp. H. S. Falk u. Alf Torp *Norwegisch-Dänisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1919 s. v. *nöle*.

²⁾ Cp. Alf Torp *Nynorsk Etymologisk Ordbok*, Kristiania 1919 s. v. *nöla*.

³⁾ Cp. Otto Mensing *Schleswig-Holsteinisches Wörterbuch*, Neumünster 1931 s. v. *nölen*.

⁴⁾ Cp. G. Schambach *Wb. der niederdeutschen Mundart der Fürstenthümer Göttingen u. Grubenhagen*, Hannover 1858.

weilig erzählen (= *nölen*, Rhoden in Waldeck; = *nählen* (Cass.)¹). Note the derivatives *Nöler* langweiliger Erzähler (Mardf.-Ki, Rho.), *Nölerei* langweilige Erzählerei (Rhoden), and the compound *Nöl(e)-peter* einer der (langsam und) langweilig erzählt. Note also *Nöltrine* langweilige Erzählerin (Rhoden), whence *nöltern* [= *nöltträn*] ungehalten reden, knurren, über Abwesende (Böses) reden (Rhoden)², obviously a back-formation from *Nölt(e)rine* < *nölen* + *Katarine*. The sense is also represented by *nölen*² in Baltic German (Esthonia), where it denotes 'langsam knarrend, eintönig und langweilig reden' (accord. to Sallmann). In Baltic German we also come across *nälen* (*nählen*, *nehlen*)³ zaudern, langsam eine Sache betreiben, trödeln, tändeln. But *nälen* in Esthonia = 'eintönig und langsam reden'.² In Posen *nälen* = langsam und langweilig sprechen.² In Unterharz *nēln* = 'langsam reden oder arbeiten', 'träge und langsam etwas betreiben'³, and in Silesia *nēlen* = zaudern, langsam handeln, langweilig reden.

It is very possible, then, that, when Low Germ. and Fris. **nöteln** denote 'to harp on the same subject', this sense is due to influence from *nölen*. Such is probably also the case when West Fris. **neutelje** is explained as meaning 'neulen'. Such is also likely to be the case when, in Baltic German, **nütteln** (18th c.) means 'iterum iterumque aliquid ægre ferre atque id verbis exprimere', and when **nitteln** (19th c.) denotes 'an Allem etwas auszusetzen haben, und mit einer gewissen kleinigkeitskrämerei oder Spitzfindigkeit dabei verfahren' (cp. the sense of *nölen* in Esthonia). It is even possible that the Bremen verb **neteln** (18th c.), when denoting 'nicht aufhören können von einer Sache zu reden', 'einen langwierigen Stil im Tadeln haben' (also = zaudern, moras nectere), got this semantic aspect from *nölen*, though this verb is not recorded by Versuch eines bremish-niedersächsischen Wörterbuchs (of 1768). In all these cases we may be confronted with a semantic loan from *nölen* due to 'semantic contagion', i. e. proportional Analogy. But it should also be noted that these cases readily admit of being explained in another way not suggestive of any influence from the outside. This will be the only explanation given when we deal with the semantic development starting from the base *nut*.

¹) Cp. Luise Berthold *Hessen-Nassauisches Volkswörterbuch*, Marburg 1935.

²) Cp. W. von Gutzeit *Wörterschatz der deutschen Sprache Livlands*, Riga 1887, s. v. *nölen*, *nälen*.

³) Cp. Friedrich Liesenberg *Die Stieger Mundart, ein Idiom des Unterharzes . . .*, Göttingen 1890 p. 181

There are several other semantic problems connected with the etymology of Low Germ. and Frisian *nölen*. For both in dialectal Scandinavian and German there are verbs whose phonetic shape suggests genetic connection with Low Germ. *nölen* but whose semantic area forbids this connection or else is due to influence from this verb. Thus, for instance, there is Norw. dial. *nöla* which means on the one hand 'ta knapt til, knipe, tøie, være omtrent nok' (i. e. to skimp, to be about sufficient, etc.), and on the other hand 'gi sig tid, drøse, søle, pusle, vente, bie' (i. e. to be slow in performing a task, to dawdle, to be busy in a trifling manner, to wait, etc.).¹⁾ The senses of the former semantic type is by A. Torp explained as derivatives from the Germanic base *hnō* 'reiben' (cp. Norw. dial. *nöla* 'arbejde sent og smaat, i sær med kniv'). The form *nöla* is by him understood as a diminutive of a verb answering to MHG. *nüezen* 'durch schaben glätten' (also = genau zusammenfügen) = OHG. *nōen* < **hnōjan*. This base is also represented by the verbs *nāln*, *nōln* (im Unterinntale), meaning 'eine unnütze Arbeit thun' but by Grimm's Wörterbuch (Bd VII, in 1889) identified with LG *nölen*, though it is evident that the sense should be understood as a contextual synonym for the sense 'durch schaben glätten' (orig. schaben um zu glätten), a fact that gave rise to the semantic change called Permutation. The senses of the latter semantic type of Norw. dial. *nöla* is by Torp understood as due to semantic influence from Danish *nøle* 'tøve, drøse, smøle, være sendrægtig, se tiden an, opsætte, udskyde'.²⁾ The Danish verb is by Torp explained as an adoption from Low German. Note also Swed. dial. *nöla* which means (1) söla med något som skall göras, dröja, vara senfärdig, i. e. to dawdle, to tarry, to be slow in performing a task (Scania, Helsingland, Finland); (2) gnola, i. e. to hum an air (Scania).³⁾

Furthermore, there are Alemannian verbs that must be considered when we deal with the semantic aspect of LG *nölen* and its cognates. Swiss German verbs are: *nüle*ⁿ (1) mit dummen oder unnützen Dingen seine Zeit vertreiben oder sich durch solche Dinge an der Arbeit hindern lassen; (2) sanft schlummern, schläfrig sein; *nuele*ⁿ or *nüele*ⁿ (1) wühlen, von Tieren (insbes. Schweinen) und Menschen; (2) *nüele*ⁿ = wohlüstig sein; (3) trändeln, langsam ar-

¹⁾ Cp. Alf Torp *Nymorsk Etymologisk Ordbok*, Kristiania 1919, s. v. *nöla*.

²⁾ Cp. B. T. Dahl og H. Hammer *Dansk Ordbog for Folket*, København og Kristiania Bd II 1914.

³⁾ Cp. J. E. Rietz *Svenskt Dialekt-lexikon*, Malmö 1867.

beiten, and there are compounds.¹⁾ Alsatian verbs are: *nueleⁿ*, *nüeleⁿ* (1) wühlen, (2) grübeln; *dur^{ch}nüeleⁿ* durchwühlen, *úfnüeleⁿ* aufwühlen, and other compounds.²⁾ Besides, we have to observe Bavarian *nüelen* 'mit dem Nueteissen oder Fughobel aushohlen' (evidently from the base *hnō-*). And there are certainly also other words worthy of note.

With all these problems, however, we have nothing to do since we are satisfied that LG. *nölen* and **nöteln**, and hence also Dutch *neulen* and **neutelen**, are of different etymological origin. The chief duty of an etymologist in the present case is to pay attention to the representatives of the base *nut* outside Dutch. But this axiomatic truth has been wholly disregarded by Franck and van Wijk. They have preferred to make a series of allegations, every one of which is entirely destitute of foundation. We cannot fully suppress the thought that such an attitude is unworthy of scientific researchers.

There only remains for us to deal with the etymological theory put forward by I. Gollancz in point of ME **nytel**. In his Explanatory Notes on the text of *Cleanness*, edited by him, he makes the following remark: »*nyteled*: probably a frequentative form, cp. OE *nyttian* to make use of; cp. 'al wat3 nedles her note', 381. 'They made ado there all the night'; cp. also *Patience*, 220.» It is true that *nyteled* is a frequentative form, but it is difficult to realize its connection with OE *nyttian* 'to make use of, enjoy' (the form *nyttian* is a figment) since it never meant 'to make ado'. Add to this the fact that the contextual sense of the verb had most probably an aspect other than 'to make a fuss', and it hardly needs saying that the explanation suggested by Gollancz is merely a wanton conjecture. But it has the merit that it presupposes the Germanic base *nut* as the phonetic source of the word.

¹⁾ Cp. F. Staub und L. Tobler *Schweizerisches Idiotikon*, Frauenfeld 1901 Bd IV, Sp. 717, 718.

²⁾ Cp. E. Martin und H. Lienhart *Wörterbuch der Elsässischen Mundarten*, Strassburg, 1899 I 768.

CHAPTER III.

Prolegomena to the Semantic-Genetic Interpretation I.

If we want to base the semantic-genetic interpretation of our material on scientific principles, it is indispensable to give some preliminary information on the mechanism of speech, on the notion of meaning, and on the classification of semantic changes we intend to employ. Science is but organized knowledge of what has already to some extent been brought within the range of comprehension. We are well aware of the slender foundation upon which its theories are frequently built, and the science of language certainly makes no exception. But none the less it is the only way in which to get a better understanding of the realities we are confronted with.

A. The Mechanism of Speech and the Notion of Meaning.

For the student of semantic development it should be of primary importance to have a correct conception of the very notion of *meaning*. But this is impossible to get without realizing the actual difference between language and speech and without knowledge of the outer mechanism of the latter.

The principal point of *the difference between speech and language* is the manner in which they have their being. Articulate *language* is *speech in abeyance*. It is a codified system of words, of manners how to pronounce and form them, and of schemes how to combine them so as to make them form syntactical units. Otherwise said, language represents *habits of speech*, and these have man's memory as their place of deposit. They are slumbering there and held together by the finest net-work of criss-cross associations, which makes it possible for man to master the linguistic material and its employment. It is obvious that the units of language are not sentences but *words*; for these are the smallest comparatively independent units into which a sentence admits of being broken up. Let it be noted, also, that language is a system of linguistic habits serving as a

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means of communication within a geographical territory of greater or less extent.

Speech, on the other hand, is *language as employed*. It is the actual use of language as a means of communication. This use consists in forming actual speech on the model of the mental pictures of former speech that constitute a language. The choice of the words is conditioned by the meaning that forms part of their semantic area and that is meant by the speaker to cover, i. e. to be fairly identical with, the semantic aspect in which the thing spoken about is viewed. But speech also implies the use of the schemes of sentence-form stored up in man's memory. It is evident, then, that the words and forms employed are none of the speaker's making but are drawn from language. But he has made his choice of them out of a great material at his disposal.

It is the interest of a community of speech that the speaker generally follows the beaten tracks of linguistic communication. But, on the other hand, it is the nature of man to give vent in his speech to his own individuality as much as is possible without the risk of being misunderstood. It should also be noted that the activity of speech is generally performed on the spur of the moment and that hence the choice of words may not always hit the exact mark. But adjustment to the sense actually meant immediately takes place, and context and situation are helping so that also in these cases the listener has ordinarily no difficulty in identifying the sense meant by the speaker. If semantic deviation in a certain case is repeated and becomes accepted by a linguistic community, then we are faced with a permanent semantic change of the word, i. e. with a fact of language. This is no rare phenomenon, though as a rule words are used in the way that language has decreed that they *shall* be used. Thus there is always a give and take between language and speech.¹⁾

Lastly, it should be noted that the activity of speaking is always meant to consist in forming sentences. Hence *sentence is the unit of speech*, and therefore it is the central notion of linguistics. It is strange that the real nature of this notion should be a matter of dispute ever since the days of Dyonysios Thrax, a distinguished Greek grammarian living about 100 B. C. Personally we are absolutely convinced that its secret is as follows: *Sentence is such a portion of speech as is putting for-*

¹⁾ Cp. A. H. Gardiner *The Theory of Speech and Language*, Oxford 1932 p. 136—7.

ook the smallest
comparatively
independent unit?
see p. 45)
But see p. 53

*ward to the listener a state of things (a thing-meant) as having validity, i. e. as being true.*¹⁾

This definition is of modal nature, and hence it is applicable to any form of human articulate speech, nay to any form of human utterance even such a speech as the quipu, the knotted-cord records of the Inca people. In fact, this wide applicability is an unavoidable criterion of the correctness of the definition of the sentence. For truth represents the modal fundament of any discursive train of thought, of any human communication, and it is the nature of things that this must be the case, or else no reasonable purpose can be served, no human progress can be obtained. But if so, truth or would-be truth *must* be the leading attribute, the unavoidable quality of any normal utterance or thinking irrespective of its origin. And hence every sentence is an item of truth, and every item of truth, if expressed, is a sentence. They are equipollent notions, and therefore they are interchangeable. But if so, the essence of the sentence *must* be that it is putting forward a state of things as true. But a scientific truth has mostly to fight an uphill battle against prejudice and ignorance. And the same will be the fate of our definition, though its truth be of axiomatic nature.

The outer mechanism of speech is primarily composed of a *speaker* who clothes in words his mental content for the moment. Otherwise said, he identifies the aspect in which each thing mentioned in a sentence is to be viewed, i. e. its class, with the class expressed by the portion of the semantic range of the word employed that is applicable. In this piecemeal way, done bit by bit, a many-word sentence is built up. In point of fact, we are concerned with a series of small sentences of identity. But thanks to the mechanization of speech they are not felt as such, and hence they do not obscure the thing meant by the whole sentence. In such an utterance as *Pussy is beautiful* it is 'Pussy's beauty' that is the state of things (the thing-meant) that is being put forward as having validity. But in the case of a many-word sentence we had better say with Gardiner that the thing meant by the sentence is the sentence itself. Lastly, let us remember that any act of speech owes its existence to the exertion of the speaker's will.

The outer mechanism of speech is also made up of a *listener*, i. e. a person to whom the speaker's utterance is addressed.

¹⁾ Cp. K. F. Sundén *Linguistic Theory and the Essence of the Sentence*, Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift XLVII, 1941:5, p. 40.

From his view-point each word is a stimulus to performing the act of understanding it, i. e. the act of identifying a portion of its semantic range with the sense actually meant by the speaker. For we should admit with Gardiner that the words pronounced by the speaker and conveyed to the listener are semantic clues from the view-point of the latter, whose intelligence has to make busy with the search after whatever can have been meant by these clues. In the present case, too, we are confronted with a series of one-word sentences of identity or rather with their predicates. And here, also, the process is mechanized so as to make the comprehension of the state of things meant by the whole sentence take place at lightning speed.

The third outer factor constituting the mechanism of speech is the thing spoken about. This is by Gardiner called *the thing-meant* but by Ogden and Richards 'the referent'.¹⁾ It ought to be an axiom of linguistic theory that speech always refers to something, whether we be concerned with sentences or with the individual words of a sentence. But this was an idea beyond the depth of linguists until Professor Karl Bühler of Vienna, a psychologist, pointed out this factor, indispensable from a semantic point of view.

For a fruitful linguistic theory it is in Gardiner's opinion necessary to apprehend the things-meant as things. Also such notions as *is*, *very*, and *in* in the sentence *It is very cold in this room* may be conceived of as things. In his opinion »the thing meant by *is* may fairly be characterized with the words 'the affirmed²⁾ existence of cold in this room', the thing meant by *very* with the words 'the high degree of cold in this room', and the thing meant by *in* with the words 'position in this room of great cold'.³⁾ But if so, it follows as a corollary that the relation between *is*, *very*, and *in*, and their corresponding things-meant, which also are conceived of as things, is that represented by the members of a predication of identity since it means 'what *is* implies = the existence of cold in this room', and so forth. We readily admit the legitimacy of understanding what is spoken about as a thing, and it would be interesting to know whether this view is mirrored in the external form of primitive idioms. The Indo-European languages far from always present the things spoken

¹⁾ Cp. C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards *The Meaning of Meaning*, London, 1923 (pp. 418 foll.).

²⁾ The expression 'affirmed' implies that the indicative expresses the mood of reality, whereas it is the sentence itself that performs this function.

³⁾ Cp. A. H. Gardiner *op. cit.* p. 40.

about as things. Thus, for instance, *is* is presented as a verb, *very* as an adverb, and *in* as a preposition. It is the disparity in presentation that forms the basis of the distinction between separate word-classes. And this very distinction is a permanent characteristic that appears to be inherent in the notions represented by the words, and hence it is a fact belonging to language. But this does not prevent the notions mentioned from being conceived of as things when they are the centre of our attention in thinking.

Let it be particularly noted that the things-meant exist outside the word-signs. If we call a spade a spade, the spade itself is extra-verbal and should be kept apart from the word with which we talk about it. The speaker, the listener, and the thing-meant are factors of speech but not parts of it. Gardiner points out (p. 24 f.) that one of the proofs that the things-meant are extra-verbal is the fact that one and the same thing can be expressed (i. e. referred to) in different ways, i. e. by several different sentences. Instead of *Pussy is beautiful* there might be substituted *Your cat is very lovely*. He also emphasizes (p. 27) that abstractions, feelings, and fictions may appear as things-meant and are then extra-verbal. »That 'religion' is a real thing», he says, »is vouched for by the millions to whom it is an all-pervading influence. That 'enthusiasm' can be shared is a sign that it is no individual emanation. And 'centaurs' have amused and inspired generations of artists». These, too, are mirrored in the mind and were not there to start with.

There is another point to be noticed, viz. the fact that it is necessary to make a distinction between *the ultimate thing-meant* and *the proximate thing-meant*. If somebody says *Let us run to that tree*, his objective is, as Gardiner points out (p. 258), the ultimate thing-meant, which belongs outside both speech and language. But if he says *The thing you imagined was a signpost is only a tree*, his objective is the proximate thing-meant. The difference may with Gardiner be termed in the following way (p. 257): »A meaning is said of a thing-meant; but the listener may be induced to stop at the meaning, in which case the thing-meant, though still there, fades into momentary insignificance [2nd ex.]; or else he may have his attention drawn on to the thing-meant, passing clean through the meaning, which is then merely a station upon the way [1st ex.].» To use again Gardiner's wording we may maintain (p. 258): »In more commonplace parlance, the proximate thing-meant is the aspect in which the ultimate thing-meant is

seen.» He points out that in some words, especially in those which play a subsidiary part in the sentence, e. g. prepositions, the balance is held so evenly between the proximate and the ultimate thing-meant that it is impossible to say which of the two was the more intended. If the proximate thing-meant is to be emphasized at the expense of the ultimate thing-meant, a vocal stress will achieve that end, e. g. 'She looked *over* her spectacles'. Of such a stressed employment of a word Gardiner says (p. 259) that in grammar it is called a *predicative* use. In our opinion the type of predicational nexus then involved is always a predication of identity.

There is another subdivision of the things-meant that should also be instituted, viz. the distinction between *things-meant expressed* and *things-meant implied*. For the legitimacy of the following dictum made by Gardiner can hardly be called in question (p. 82): »The thing meant by any utterance is whatever the speaker has intended to be understood from it by the listener.» But if so, the binary division given above cannot be dispensed with. His formulation is purposively made wide so as to comprise also such circumstances as are not expressed by the act of speech but have been referred to by implication only. As an example in point he takes (p. 71 ff) the picture of a married couple sitting in their home completely absorbed in reading. At a given moment the husband becomes aware that there is a heavy downpour outside and that this ruins their plan to walk over to Riverside for tea. He calls his wife's attention to the state of the weather and its consequences by uttering the monosyllable *Rain!* In itself the expression means 'There is rain!', i. e. a sentence of existence. But in the present case the thing-meant *also* comprises the consequences of the rain, i. e. the upsetting of their plans. That such is factually the case is clearly proved by his wife's rejoinder *What a bore!* It is obvious, then, that we should hold the two cases of things-meant apart so as to denote one of them as a thing-meant referred to by words and the other as a thing-meant referred to by implication only. The latter type is generally connected with the thing meant by a whole sentence. It is obvious that the thing-meant implied may be very complex. In the present instance it comprises the thought of the walk, the disappointment at its abandonment, and a good deal else as well. It is chiefly the thing meant by implication that may be a heavy tax on the listener's intellectual powers.

Let it further be noted that a thing meant by implication may also attach to an individual word of a sentence. In this case it may play a part in the semantic development of the words. This fact is disregarded by the systematizations of the semantic changes we have come to know, but none the less it is a fact, as is proved by the linguistic material we are going to examine and explain.

We can state, then, that things-meant are to be held separate from the words with which we talk about them since they are extra-verbal. For they must occur to our minds before they can be clothed in words. Says Gardiner (p. 142): »If I ask for a piece of cake, the thing I refer to is primarily the piece of cake as perceived by me, and only secondarily the piece of cake itself.» Let it further be noted that things-meant may be expressed in different ways and that they may be entertained without being expressed at all. The existence of a thing-meant need not even be a material reality but only a figment of the imagination, e. g. *centaur*.¹⁾

Before leaving the section dealing with the thing-meant, let us with Gardiner point out (p. 45) that there are exceptions to the rule that every word of a sentence has a thing-meant. Here belong more or less *stereotyped expressions* such as formulas of courtesy, e. g. *I beg your pardon*, (*Pray*) *don't mention it*, or idiosyncrasies as *Don't you know?* or *I mean* when often repeated in speech. In such cases it cannot be appropriate to say that the words represent separate and successive clues cumulatively working towards a given result. The same is true of *set phrases* which approximate the nature of compound words, e. g. *to hold one's tongue* or *to keep silent* (= Lat. *tacere*), *to trample under foot* (= to disregard), *to split the difference* (= to compromise), *to set the ball rolling* (= to initiate). »All these expressions», says Gardiner (p. 46), »come to the speaker ready-made. As composite units they are 'clues' which he can choose, but their component words are not 'clues' to anything except to the phrase itself.»

There are also *idiomatic expressions* where a word is used without achieving a specific end and hence is mere useless balast, a habit or mannerism accepted by an entire speaking community. This is, as Gardiner points out (p. 46), the case when the definite article is used in point of abstract nouns, e. g. Swed. *naturen* (Eng., *Nature*), Germ. *die Wahrheit* and Fr. *la vérité* (Eng., *truth*).

¹⁾ Cp. A. H. Gardiner *op. cit.*, pp. 31—32, 54, 78.

»Habits grow out of acts which at the start were deliberately purposed and then possessed a real utility. In their later state such acts may become mere superfluties. In mechanized bits of language we can usually discern a rational intention at the outset. In the French *ne...pas* the word *pas*, Latin *passum*, originally had emphasizing force; not a 'pace' further will he or she go. So, too, with the definite article; this has everywhere arisen from an identifying and locating demonstrative, while the indefinite article, originating in the numeral 'one', has now chiefly the negative function of indicating to the listener that the thing it qualifies is in no need of closer identification. The teaching afforded by these examples may be generalized. In contemporary use it cannot be maintained that every single word has deliberate significance or semantic importance, but in all cases we may be sure that the historic original was properly motivated and purposeful. The accumulation of old rubbish is so easy.»¹⁾

There is another factor belonging to the external apparatus of speech, an agent always at hand and indispensable for making speech effective. This element is called *the Situation*, and it consists in the setting in which the process of speech takes place. It is a matter of course that speaker and listener should be in the same spatial and temporal situation and have a common means of communication. It is chiefly in the situation that the listener's alert intelligence has to discover the things meant by the speaker's sentences. Hence it is plain that we are faced with a factor highly simplifying and facilitating the task of communication and the act of understanding.

The situation can be of many kinds. There is, as Gardiner points out (p. 51), a *Situation of Presence*, e. g. *Fire!*, *Encore!* There is also the *Situation of Visible Presence* (die Situation der Anschauung), i. e. a situation that makes the things spoken about immediately perceptible. We might also speak of a *Situation of Common Knowledge* as in *Napoleon was victorious at Austerlitz*, and there is a *Situation of Imagination*, as when an anecdote is being related (p. 51). On hearing the sentence *Two and two make four*, the listener attunes his mind to the *Situation of Mathematical Verities*, as we might call it.²⁾

¹⁾ Cp. A. H. Gardiner *op. cit.* p. 47.

²⁾ Cp. A. H. Gardiner *op. cit.* 114.

Let us just take a look at the central factor of speech, *the linguistic material* itself. We have previously pointed out that *words* are the units of language, that language consists of habits of speech, and that speech draws its linguistic material from these habits, i. e. puts them into practice. Hence it follows that words are units in speech, also, inasmuch as they are the elements that constitute the framework of the sentence, which is the only independent, i. e. self-sufficient, unit of speech.

The *words* as used in speech have a physical side, i. e. a phonetic body consisting of one articulate sound or a set of such sounds, and a psychic side, i. e. a semantic shape, generally consisting of more senses than one. The connective bond between the phonetic body and the semantic area is in our opinion that of a predication of identity. We have previously pointed out with Gardiner (op. cit. p. 35) that in uttering a word the speaker offers to the listener the whole range of its meaning, and that hence this is a semantic 'clue', and that the listener has to select from this range the sense which suits the context and the situation.

We have previously also touched upon the relation of words to the things referred to in speech. We have accepted Gardiner's view that what is referred to by a word may be conceived of as a thing, which hence may be called the thing-meant. In this case the relation between the intended part of the semantic range of the word and the aspect of the thing-meant which the speaker has in view is the same as that between the members of a predication of identity, the sense meant by the word forming the predicate. For, as Gardiner puts it (p. 38), every word without exception is a class-name. But if so, it is obvious that the aspect in which the thing-meant is viewed by the speaker and the listener is that of the *class* the thing-meant represents. But Gardiner also maintains that a word as applied to a thing-meant may be apprehended as adjectival (pp. 37, 43). He says (p. 33): »As he [= the grammarian] sees it, the meaning of a word or sentence qualifies the thing meant by it in the way that a predicative adjective qualifies a noun.» But the grammarian does nothing of the sort since he must be aware of the fact that he is faced with a predication of identity, provided he be a true grammarian. And besides, Gardiner's opinion involves an inconsistency that invalidates his view. For why should the thing-meant still be looked upon as a thing but not the qualifying word? And we may also ask whether he considers that the word, when conceived of as

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being adjectival, qualifies the thing-meant directly (= the ultimate thing-meant) or only as viewed in a particular aspect (= the proximate thing-meant). In the latter case it is sheer nonsense to speak of an adjectival function in point of the meaning of the word. For the aspect of the thing-meant which the speaker and the listener have in view is the class it represents, and this shall be identical with the class denoted by the word employed, an act of speech that doubtless implies the forming of a predication of identity. Direct qualification of the ultimate thing-meant by the word employed appears to have reality when the proximate thing-meant is obscured and attention is directed to the ultimate thing-meant itself.¹⁾ But this fact does not count when we have to state the relation between the word employed and its thing-meant, which is always denoted with reference to the aspect in which it is viewed by the speaker = the proximate thing-meant. Hence we must flatly deny that the words are 'adjectival' in respect of their relation to their things-meant. We admit the correctness of Gardiner's opinion when he says as follows (p. 38): »A word expresses the speaker's reaction to the thing spoken about.» But we deny the full legitimacy of his addition: »Thus when I say *my old hat* I am in substance saying to the listener: 'Think of something which I have felt, and you will feel [as to ownership] as being-mine, [as to age] as being-old, [as to substance and use] as being-hat'.» If the words put within square brackets are added, then we have no objection to make to the explanation given. For they represent the aspects in which the thing-meant is to be viewed, and hence we are faced with predications of identity.

That it is this kind of predicational nexus we are concerned with ought to be evident from the fact that, when the speaker has to denote the class of the thing-meant by a word, he tacitly asks (if need be): What class does it represent? And when the listener has to interpret a word he asks the question (if need be): What class is it meant to represent? It should be remembered that the relation between the word and its thing-meant is a predicational relation and that this relation is the same in the speech of any human idiom even the most primitive one. But if so, it is obvious that the predicational nexus does not represent a predication of subsumption, as some scholars think, nor, as Gardiner believes, a predication of attribution. For these types doubtless represent kinds of predicational

¹⁾ Cp. A. H. Gardiner *op. cit.* 257—8.

nexus that are the productions of later development of human thought. But, in our opinion, the predication of identity was the primordial sentence of human speech, in addition to the predication of existence.

Up to now we have paid attention to the notion of 'meaning' as represented by a word irrespective of its syntactical functions. This may be called its *radical meaning*. But the words have also a *relational meaning*, i. e. such semantic elements as are conditioned by their syntactical relations, mostly expressed by their inflexional forms and forms indicating their word-class (= part of speech) but often not expressed by a particular form. This additional meaning is by Gardiner called *word-form* and, as it is here to be understood, this term denotes as follows (p. 130): »Word-form is the name of a special kind of meaning which attaches to words over and above their radical meaning.» He points out that this additional meaning is of various kinds but that its characteristic feature is that it is always subsidiary to the meaning of the stem, i. e. the radical meaning. He makes a distinction between *inner word-form*, i. e. such cases where the relational meaning has got no particular expression, e. g. *He gave the boy a book*, where 'the boy' functions as a dative, and *outer word-form*, i. e. cases where the relational meaning has got an external expression, e. g. Latin gen. pl. *puerorum*. Gardiner appears to be justified in maintaining (p. 134) that word-classes (= parts of speech) are distinctions of word-form. He also contends that the form of a word is, just like its meaning, a fact of language, not of speech. After some other comments he gives again a definition of word-form, but he is now looking at it solely in its inner or semantic aspect (p. 138): »As so seen, word-form is a kind of meaning permanently attached to words over and above the meaning of the stem, intimating the formal character in which the listener may expect the speaker to have intended the thing-meant to be taken.»

We have seen that word-form is by Gardiner denoted as a fact of language. The corresponding fact in single acts of speech is by him called *word-function* (p. 141). He argues that in an act of speech the speaker's aim is to draw attention to something and that the words are, as it were, his functionaries whose office it is to present the thing-meant as possessing some particular formal character. In cases where form and function agree we are faced with *congruent function*, and in cases where these factors

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disagree we are confronted with *incongruent function*. An example of the latter case is the rhetorical question: *Have I ever done you an injury!* For it has the form of a question but serves as a denial. In reality, says Gardiner (p. 142), the things spoken about are not external phenomena, but the reflections of these, immediate or mediate, mirrored in the speaker's mind. If we say *Look how it rains!*, the rain is presented as an action, full of movement and activity. If we say *Look at the rain!*, then the rain is presented as a thing. Hence we have to conclude, Gardiner says (p. 143), that the things referred to in speech are always mentally conditioned and that the conditioning of them is subject to the speaker's will. When things-meant are spoken about, they have always assumed a particular form in the speaker's mind. Hence he defines word-function in the following way (p. 144): »Word-function is the work which a spoken word has to perform in order to present the thing meant by the speaker in the formal character in which he must be supposed to have intended the listener to see it.» But let us leave the notions of word-form and word-function since changes of the relational meaning are outside the scope of the present semantic investigation.

As to the nature of the semantic elements which constitute the word-meaning in itself, or as applied to a thing-meant, they may, as Stern points out (p. 46), be divided into *cognitive* and *emotive* elements, i. e. such as regard their radical meaning or else their emotional value. The latter elements are either permanent or incidental. As examples of the former case may be adduced with Stern (p. 55, 58) *steed* as compared to 'horse', *hovel* as compared to 'house', further words that denote emotive or affective qualities, such as *fear, anger, furious, to hate*. Concerning other divisions of the notion of meaning, see Stern, op. cit. p. 68 ff.

From what precedes it is obvious that *the meaning of a word* as used in speech is determined by the speaker, the thing-meant, the word itself, and the listener. Hence the definition given by Stern reads thus (p. 45): »The meaning of a word — in actual speech — is identical with those elements of the user's (speaker's or hearer's) subjective apprehension of the referent [= thing-meant] denoted by the word, which he apprehends as expressed by it.» He points out that the definition is applicable to affixes and stem-syllables, also, in so far as these carry a distinctive element of meaning. He also remarks that the definition is not applicable to speech as a

whole (utterance), owing to the purposive¹ function not being included.

If we turn to L. Bloomfield, an American linguistic theorist, we find that he maintains that a phonetic form which has meaning is a *linguistic form*. »Thus, any sentence, phrase, or word is a linguistic form, and so is a meaningful syllable, such as, say, [mɛl] in *maltreat*, or [mʌn] in *Monday*; a meaningful form may even consist of a single phoneme, such as the [s] which means 'more than one' in plural-forms like *hats, caps, books*.» His formulation of the notion of meaning is as follows: »We have defined the *meaning* of a linguistic form as the situation in which the speaker utters it and the response which it calls forth in the hearer.» He argues that the speaker's situation and the hearer's response are closely co-ordinated, thanks to the circumstance that every one of us learns to act indifferently as a speaker or as a hearer.¹⁾

In the present treatise we are exclusively concerned with radical word-meanings. Hence we want to point out the following characteristics only. *Radical word-meaning* from the speaker's view-point consists of the notional (and emotive) elements which he attaches to the word he employs in characterizing his apprehension of the thing-meant. From the listener's standpoint radical word-meaning is composed of the notional (and emotive) elements he attaches to the word received in finding out the speaker's apprehension of the thing-meant. The two meanings are supposed to be identical with one another, and so they are practically, thanks to the situation and to the knowledge of the semantic area of the word which both speaker and listener have in common.

¹⁾ Cp. Leonard Bloomfield *Language*, London 1935 p. 138 foll.

B. Outlines of the Categories of Sense-change.

In spite of the normative and arresting influence exercised by language, it is a fact that the words change their meaning in the lapse of time. If we say with G. Stern that this fact is due to the speech-activity, we have told the truth.¹⁾ But this verity is too evident and also too abstract to arouse any interest since inactivity is the great characteristic of language. It is a piece of more concrete information if we say that the variety of possible things-meant is far greater than the variety of expressional means in any speaker's vocabulary, and if we point out with John Locke that it is impossible for every particular thing [-meant] to have a [particular] name and useless also and not of any great advantage for the improvement of knowledge.²⁾ It is another item of concrete information if we state with A. H. Gardiner³⁾ that one of the most precious characteristics of language is its elasticity, which permits speech to stretch a word or a construction to suit the momentary fancy or need. Let us leave it at that. It is unprofitable for our present purpose to expatiate further on the general causes of semantic change.

There is no universally adopted classification of the sense-changes, and opinions differ as to the nature of individual types and their exemplification. It cannot of course be our duty to discuss at some length so great and thorny a subject. But, on the other hand, it is hard to disregard the Latin saying: nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri. Nor are we willing to brush aside the view that no one can explain with complete satisfaction a thing he cannot clearly understand himself. Hence we are bound to discuss several points of classification. To touch only briefly upon them and the general division of the sense-changes is all the present

¹⁾ Cp. Gustaf Stern *Meaning and Change of Meaning*, Göteborg 1931 p. 172 = Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift XXXVIII, 1932: 1.

²⁾ Cp. John Locke *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*, Book III, chap. III, sect. 2—4 (quoted from extract in Gardiner's work).

³⁾ Cp. A. H. Gardiner *op. cit.* p. 174.

opportunity allows before we embark upon our own semantic adventure.

If it is true that the constituent factors determining the radical meaning of the words as employed in speech are the words themselves, the things-meant, and the speaker together with the listener, then it should also be true that the various categories of semantic change admit of being classified according as one of these three determinants has been the *causa movens* of the sense-changes. This important truth was realized by G. Stern and employed as main division when he gave a systematic arrangement of the sense-changes he wanted to distinguish in his work 'Meaning and Change of Meaning' (1931). He opined that the seven classes of principal sense-changes distinguished by him form an organic system inasmuch as each of them may be referred to a change in one of the factors that constitute the meaning of a word, viz. the thing-meant, its apprehension by the speaker and the listener, and the traditional semantic range of the word employed. And he contends that, if only two of these factors are stable while the third varies, the meaning varies with the third. Let us adopt Stern's system of sense-changes, seeing that the existence of each of his seven main categories appears to be justified by reality. But it is another question whether he has properly delimited and exemplified his categories or whether they are sufficient to meet the demands of the factual state of things. In both these respects there are cogent reasons for adopting a sceptic or polemic attitude. His main categories are as follows, but their order and mostly their definition, nay even a name or two, have been changed. Besides, a new category of sense-change has been added.

a. *The Word-meaning has Changed.*

Class I. Sense-changes due to Analogy.

According to Stern there are three main types of Analogy:

(1) »*Combinative Analogy*, consisting in the isolation and fresh combination of meanings, basic or relational» (Stern p. 207).¹⁾

¹⁾ 'Basic meaning' is here = the meaning of the stem; 'relational meaning' is here = inflectional meanings, i. e. such as are represented by the inflectional forms of the words and their syntactical relations, or else = derivational meanings, i. e. the meanings assigned to a word by derivational affixes.

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(2) »*Correlative Analogy*, consisting in the naming of a referent [= a thing-meant] with a word that is evoked owing to a semantic correlation to another known word, in the same, or in another, language» (Stern p. 207).

(3) »*Phonetic Interference*, consisting in the semantic influence of one word on another, owing to phonetic similarity» (Stern p. 207).

We find, then, that Stern regards 'phonetic interference' as a subspecies of analogy. This implies giving the term a wider range than it generally has. But let us not quarrel about this enlargement since the term as used by linguists is not clearly conceived of. Analogy is defined by a philosopher, i. e. H. Høffding (*Analogi* 34), as »identity of relations between separate objects, not identity of the single characteristics», a definition sufficiently wide to be applicable from a linguistic view-point, also. A linguist, L. Bloomfield,¹⁾ points out that a grammatical pattern (sentence-type, construction, or substitution) is often called *analogy* and that hence we use the expression *on the analogy of* in sense 'on the pattern of'. H. Paul maintains that analogy consists »gewissermassen in der Auflösung einer Proportionengleichung».²⁾ This is in harmony with the source of the word, viz. Greek *ἀναλογία* 'mathematical proportion, or proportion generally, esp. grammatical analogy'.³⁾ But Paul's mathematical explanation is rejected by Delacroix who advocates the following view: »Il n'y a pas de raisonnement dans l'analogie linguistique.»⁴⁾ This is true, of course, considering the flashlike speed of analogical change. But the process may belong to the subconscious region. At any rate it appears to us to be beyond doubt that, in the case of Stern's 'correlative analogy', the analogical change actually consists »in der Auflösung einer Proportionengleichung», and we believe that the same interpretation holds good of his 'combinative analogy', also.

Proportional analogy presupposes the existence of two words or two groups of words standing in a certain relation to each other. Stern⁵⁾ points out that Paul makes a distinction between *material* or

¹⁾ Cp. Leonard Bloomfield *Language*, London 1935, p. 275.

²⁾ Cp. H. Paul *Principien der Sprachgeschichte*, 4th ed. (1909) p. 110.

³⁾ Cp. Liddell — Scott — Jones *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford 1925 foll.

⁴⁾ Cp. H. Delacroix *Le langage et la pensée*, Paris 1924, p. 250 (quoted from Stern's work).

⁵⁾ Cp. G. Stern *op. cit.* p. 202—204.

basic groups (stoffliche Gruppen), formed by words with identical or correlated basic meaning, and *formal groups* (formale Gruppen), composed of words with identical relational meaning. Basic groups of words are in Stern's opinion of three kinds: (1) *inflexional groups*; proximately constituted by the various inflexional forms of one word but mostly typical of the inflexion of a group of words; (2) *derivational groups*, »consisting of all the derivations of one stem that are still apprehended by linguistic feeling as belonging together»; (3) *correlative groups*, generally consisting of two or three words whose basic meanings are correlated in such a way that the words are apprehended by linguistic instinct as belonging together. To the correlative group belong the names of the months, of the days of the week, of the numerals, and so on, and word-pairs like *boy:girl*, *old:new*, *go:come*, *up:down*, etc. As to the *relational (formal) groups* there is no conclusive linguistic evidence for their existence (Stern p. 204).

Under such circumstances it is obvious that the natural division of the phenomena of analogy in a restricted sense should be as follows: (1) *Inflexional Analogy*, i. e. analogy taking place within an inflexional group; (2) *Derivational Analogy*, i. e. analogy taking place within a derivational group; (3) *Correlative Analogy*, i. e. analogy taking place within a correlative group. In actual fact, the imposing term 'combinative analogy' is mere moonshine. To say that the characteristic of this analogy consists in isolation and fresh combination of meanings involves spiriting away the analogical process itself, i. e. the naming of a new thing-meant. For 'isolation' (in semantic respect) is here the pre-requisite for the operation of analogy and 'fresh combination of meanings' is the result of its operation. Now both the pre-requisite and the result are characteristics of the correlative category, also. But in denoting its characteristics Stern is only mindful of the analogical process itself, i. e. the naming of a new thing-meant. In this way he has created a difference between his combinative analogy and his correlative analogy, a discrepancy that does not exist. The only difference consists in the nature of the group of forms or words within which the analogical transformation takes place. It is for this reason we must denounce the disgusting term 'combinative analogy'. Let us illustrate our categories by instances taken from Stern's material.

As an instance of *analogical semantic transformation within an inflexional group* may be

given the case that the OE adverbial comparative *hraðor* denoting 'sooner, more quickly' later on in the OE period adopted the sense of 'earlier', too, but that the sense 'early' did not appear in the positive form until the ME epoch. To the analysing mind the latter adoption seems to be based on the following syllogism, instinctively felt rather than made: 'Since the radical sense of most comparatives are legitimately used in the positive, also, the same must be the case in the present instance, too'.

The following fact may be given as an example of *semantic analogy within a derivational group*. The ME. adverb *faste* 'firmly, [immovably] soon acquired the meaning 'vigorously, violently, eagerly' and about 1300 the sense 'swiftly'. But the corresponding adj. *fast* 'firm, immovable' never had the sense 'vigorous, violent, eager', but none the less it adopted the sense of 'swift' at the end of the 14th century when atonic final *e* had mostly been dropped in English. But at first the adjectival sense was used as a qualification of nouns of action only, where the word might still be apprehended as an adverb but at the same time tended to appear as an adjective, e. g. *a fast runner* (= a vigorous or a swift r.).

Correlative semantic analogy, i. e. analogy taking place within a correlative group formed in *the same* language by two or more words, is in Stern's opinion a rare phenomenon. As illustrative example he gives the following fact. A *red letter day* came to denote an auspicious day on account of the old custom of marking the saints' days in the calendar with red letters. Hence a *black letter day* was apprehended as an inauspicious day (black letter = Gothic type). But this type of analogy is not so rare after all. For it embraces what is popularly called 'semantic contagion' (Swed. 'betydelsesmitta') consisting in the fact that, if two words have one or two senses in common, a second or third sense existing in one of the words only may be adopted by the other.

But a correlative group may also be formed by a native and a foreign word that in substance semantically correspond to each other. It may then happen that a piece of the semantic area of the latter which is absent in that of the former is analogically adopted. If so, we are faced with a foreign semantic loan, just as is the case with semantic contagion within the same language. Stern points out, for instance, that Old Eng. *civic* a. 'living' (cp. Eng. quick-born) had many senses in common with Lat. *vivus* and that hence it

was used in rendering 'aqua viva', 'panis vivus', phrases introduced by Christianity. As to the expression *aqua viva* itself, it is a case in point inasmuch as the combination is a Hebraism meaning 'running water', a sense which, in our opinion, was misinterpreted as implying 'bringing spiritual life' and hence also used in combination with 'panis'. A sense-loan, however, may be favoured by phonetic similarity. An example is afforded by OE *eorl* 'a brave man, warrior, leader, chief', which under the influence of Scandinavian *jarl*, its etymological cognate, later adopted the sense of OE *ealdorman* 'vice-roy, governor'.

We are concerned with the same semantic change when owing to literal translation of foreign phrases a native word or expression gets a new sense. As examples: Eng. *to jump or leap to the eye(s)* from French 'sauter aux yeux', *to cause us (one) furiously to think*, or *to make us (one) think furiously*, from French 'donner furieusement à penser'.¹⁾

Let us turn to *phonetic associative interference*. Stern points out (p. 230) that in the cases adduced the operation of analogy was primarily based on semantic similarity, where phonetic resemblance, if it actually occurred, played an inferior part. In point of the present case he holds the following view (p. 230): »Associative interference is based primarily on phonetic similarity, although it seems that some semantic resemblance, or at least connection, is necessary.» He also emphasizes that the present type of analogy affects words which are not felt to be members of any group. But if so, we are confronted, not with proportional but, with non-proportional analogy.

The linguistic units exposed to associative phonetic interference are mostly archaic words and form-words. But here belong also learned words with foreign phonetic bodies. In our opinion these readily become the objects of popular etymology in order to procure them associative ties. As an Eng. example of the former class we may with Stern adduce Eng. *sandblind* 'dimsighted'. The word appears to be a perversion of OE **sāmbblind* 'halfblind, purblind' (OE *sām-* 'half', with vowel-shortening usual in compounds; Prim. Teut. *sāmi-* = Lat. *sēmi-*), originating when *sam* was no longer an intelligible member of the English language. The word is an example of a change of meaning not accompanied by a change of thing-meant. Stern points out that there are cases where both

¹⁾ Cp. H. W. Fowler *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage*, Oxford 1926 s. v. *jump, leap, furiously*.

changes have taken place. As an illustrative instance he gives *shamefaced* 'showing shame in one's face', a remodelling of *shamefast* 'modest, bashful', a meaning also represented by *shamefaced*.

In conclusion, let it be noted that, when the law-term *affidavit* was turned into *Alfred David* by one of Dickens's creations, the connecting link must have been the pronunciation [*æfideivi*]. This looked like a combination of two hypocoristic forms of the names mentioned. But where is the semantic connection between *affidavit* 'a written statement confirmed by oath' and *Alfred David* or its intermediary [*affydavy*], a connection by Stern considered to be indispensable? We are evidently faced with an instance where semantic connection is absent. Analogy, then, has as motive simply the desire for or expectation of uniformity (proportional analogy), or else, as in the present type, the desire for associative connections.

Class II. Sense-changes due to Shortening.

The shortenings we are concerned with are *intentional historical shortenings* implying either a phonetic or a morphological reduction. The latter may happen also to a sentence-scheme, e. g. the Virgilian *Ouos ego . . .*, the Terentian *Si verbum adderis . . .* (threatenings), and the German types *Dass du gar nicht müde wirst!* (wonder). *Wäre ich erst da!* (wish). The shortening may also befall the scheme of a free word-combination within a sentence, e. g. *He went to his uncle's* (house or family), *This costs five* (shillings) *and six* (pence). In all these cases it is obvious that the linguistic expression presupposes a fuller form and that the meaning of the expression omitted is more or less clearly suggested by the morphological type expressed and the situation. But shortening may also bring about semantic change in point of individual words. But there is a pre-requisite. For if we intentionally reduce *perambulator* to *pram* and *comfortable* to *comfy*, we have produced a change only in emotional effect (a stylistic change), but not in the semantic area of the words curtailed, seeing that *pram* and *comfy* did not exist before in the English language.

It is obvious, then, that it is a pre-requisite for a change of the radical sense of a word by means of intentional shortening that the uncurtailed form should be a compound or a more or less stereotyped combination of words. For if the intentional abbreviation keeps to the morphological joint of the compound, then there re-

mains after the shortening a word that represents the whole sense of the compound in addition to its own ordinary semantic area. As examples: *private* for 'private soldier', *the fall* for 'the fall of the leaf', *bookie* for 'book-maker', *kerb* for 'kerbstone', *pin* for 'pin-apples', *straw* for 'strawhat', *tops* for 'topp-boots', *blue* for 'blue stocking', *public* (or *pub*) for 'public house', *four-oar* for 'four-oar boat';¹⁾ *to dissolve* (Parliament), *to leave* (school), *to pop* (the question), *to shake* (hands), *to strike* (colours), *to weigh* (anchor), etc.

The cause of the intentional reduction of individual words is a desire either chiefly to lend the expression abbreviated a new emotional effect (= the functional motive) or else chiefly to save energy and time in pronouncing a word. But these motives are generally bound up with one another in an inextricable way, now one of the causes, now the other having preponderance. This causal duality is by E. Wellander²⁾ considered to be a weak point in our delimitation of the notion of ellipsis made in a couple of writings.³⁾ But this view is rank nonsense since stating a fact can never be discreditable to a theory. Wellander's own delimitation of ellipsis is very nebulous and hence useless as a grammatical means of interpretation.

The view of intentional shortening and of semantic change connected with it which has here been outlined was long ago advocated by the present writer but under the name of ellipsis. It has been adopted by Stern, but the category of curtailed simplicia is by him called *clippings*, whereas the category of abbreviated compounds is called *omissions*.

If we want to give a succinct definition of sense-change due to Shortening, the following formulation may serve the purpose: *Shortening* is the kind of sense-change that takes place when the thing-meant remains the same but its linguistic expression is intentionally shortened leaving behind an expression which alone has to represent the thing-meant but which has also a meaning of its own.

¹⁾ In our opinion *four-oar* is a member of a compound word, i. e. 'four-oar boat', and so is *five-year* in 'the five-year plan'. On the other hand 'a four oars boat' and 'the five years plan' are free syntactical combinations, but none the less *four oars* and *five years* are compound words but like *four-oar* and *five-year* of the type we have called 'parasynthetic compounds', see D. A. Sundén *Svensk Språklära i Sammandrag*, Stockholm 1937, 29th ed. p. 188.

²⁾ E. Wellander *En ellipsteori* (cp. *Studier i Moderna Språk VIII* (1921)).

³⁾ Karl Sundén *Contributions to the Study of Elliptical Words in Modern English*, Uppsala 1904. K. F. Sundén *Till Frågan om Ellipsbegreppet*; cp. *Språk och Stil*, XI (1911).

As usual, the semantic change proximately consists in an enlargement of the semantic range of an expression. But this is here the result of a linguistic action actuated by a purpose other than that of bringing about a sense-change, viz. an emotional and a practical motive. But if so, the semantic enlargement is a 'Begleiterscheinung' of another phenomenon. But since the remaining expression has also a signification of its own, the new sense involves an extension of the semantic area of the word.

b. *Sense-changes due to Applying the Expression for an old Thing-meant to another Thing-meant.*

Class III. **Sense-changes due to Nomination.**

The term *Nomination* is employed by G. Stern to denote intentional naming of a thing-meant, new or old, with a designation that has not previously been used for it. He justly makes a distinction between words that are new coinages and such as are intentionally transferred from one thing-meant to another. The former case he calls 'intentional naming', though it monopolizes for a particular subclass a name that is applicable to the whole category. Hence let us instead employ the term *New Coinages*. As to the remaining types he makes use of a binary division according as the psychic factors that lead to the shift of sense are of purely cognitive or also of more or less emotive nature. The former case gives rise to *Intentional* (non-figurative) *Transfers*; the latter case, to *Figures of Speech*.

a) *New Coinages.*

Coinage of new names is employed to denote both new things-meant and old ones. Entirely new words, at least successful ones, are, as Stern points out, rare, e. g. *gas*, *kodak*. In most cases it is an old word or part of it that is employed to form new words. Such may consist in facetiously compressing two notions into one word (= portmanteau-word), e. g. *squarson* 'squire & parson in one', *coronotions* 'coronation notions', *chortle* 'chuckle loudly' (: chuckle and snort). They may also be made to meet the demands arising from new inventions and discoveries, or from new ideas in our intellectual and social life. The linguistic materials are then very often taken from the classical languages, e. g. *automobile*, *telephone*,

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æquator, unless there be a puristic tendency as in German, e. g. *Kraftwagen*, *Fernsprecher*, *Gleicher*. But native materials may also be used, e. g. *folklore*. This is of course mostly the case when a humorous effect is desired, e. g. *sky-pilot* or *devil-dodger* for 'clergyman', *sawbones* for 'surgeon', or else for slang purposes, e. g. *trotters* for 'feet' *peepers* for 'eyes', *shiners* or *sparklers* for 'precious stones'. But note that these new coinages do not involve any sense-change. sic

b) *Intentional* (non-figurative) *Transfer*.

This type of Nomination consists in intentionally denoting one thing-meant with a name belonging to another thing-meant. The causes of the transfer are cognitive, not emotive in character, and they are founded on some similarity or other relation between the old and the new thing-meant.

a) *Intentional Transfer based on Similarity*.

The type is often used in naming new things-meant originating from the scientific, technical, or social progress. Examples in point are, for instance, the *labyrinth* of the ear and the *atlas*, i. e. the vertebra supporting the skull (cp. the Greek god *Atlas*, who was supposed to hold up the universe). »All terms», says Bain I 142¹⁾ »derived from mechanical forces are adopted in the description of social forces: *impulses*, *propulsion*, *momentum*, *resistance*, *inertia*, *cohesion*, *attraction*.»

β) *Intentional Transfer based on other Relations*.

Here belongs the use of *proper names for objects*, such as *ohm*, *ampère*, *volt*, *sandwich*, *spencer*. Here belongs also the use of *place-names for products or events*, which, however, may be explained in more ways than one. »When we speak of *mokka*, *java*, *calico*, *china*, *a basque*, *a jersey*, *camembert*, *holland*, *cremona*, *bordeaux*, *champagne*, *boston* (a game at cards), etc., the names in their secondary use may be shortenings of *mokka coffee*, etc.»²⁾ When place-names are used for events which have happened at the place, Intentional Transfer is a possible but, in Stern's

¹⁾ Quoted from G. Stern *op. cit.* p. 294.

²⁾ Cp. G. Stern *op. cit.* p. 295.

opinion, a less likely explanation. He mentions also Permutation as an alternative explanation. But he opines that *Waterloo* for 'the battle of Waterloo' may be due to stylistic considerations, in which case we are, in his opinion, faced with a metaphor.

Waterloo?
 To the present category Stern assigns the use of *Christian names*. To our mind every Christian name has an individualizing function just as every generic name has the function of denoting a class. They are like each other inasmuch as a generic name is applicable to many individuals, and so is for obvious reasons a Christian name, too. But they are unlike each other inasmuch as every generic name attains its purpose, whereas a Christian name often does not do so and therefore requires an individualizing addition, e. g. a surname, a by-name. Hence we do not appreciate Stern's view when he says (op. cit. p. 296): »The *Richards* do not form any distinct category of human beings, and we are therefore not justified in speaking of the name as being still the same name, although with different meanings, as we do when, for instance, *ship* is used to denote various inventions in the way of vessels.» This is a very strange manner of expressing the difference. In our opinion *all Richards* may, if it serves any purpose, form an individualizing group linked together by using the *same* name, i. e. the same individualizing means. The use of proper names involves of course acts of Nomination. But its purpose is individualization, not classification as in other instances of Nomination. Hence they form a category of their own.

c. *Figures of Speech.*

This kind of Naming involves emotional (incl. æsthetic) factors, not plain statements. In our opinion the most characteristic feature of the figurative use of an expression is that it constitutes a means of indicating the speaker's personal (modal) attitude towards the thing-meant that shall be named.

In classifying the Figures of Speech Stern has abandoned the classical systematization, where a uniform basis seems to be absent and where synecdoche and metonymy are often regarded as main classes of sense-change. *Synecdoche* is according to Bain¹⁾ founded on *similarity*, and consists in putting (1) the species for the genus; (2) an individual for a genus; (3) the genus for the species;

¹⁾ Quoted from Stern *op. cit.* p. 297 foll.

(4) the Concrete for the Abstract; (5) the Abstract for the Concrete. In Stern's classification changes of these kinds are classed as Intentional Transfers, Metaphors, Regular Transfers, or Permutations. *Metonymy* is, according to Bain¹, founded on *contiguity* and consists in naming a thing by some accompaniment. The latter may be (1) the Sign or Symbol, or any significant Adjunct, (2) the Instrument for the Agent, (3) the Container for the Thing contained, (4) an Effect for a Cause, (5) a Maker for his Works, (6) the name of a Passion for the name of its Object. Closely related to these forms of metonymy are the forms of *synecdoche* founded on *contiguity*: (1) Naming a thing by some Part, (2) the reverse operation of using the Whole for the Part. All these types are meant to be divided up amongst various classes in Stern's system. He also points out that many figures of speech do not lead to permanent sense-changes and that hence they have been disregarded by him.

It is impossible for us here to grapple with the far-reaching question as to the position of *synecdoche* and *metonymy* in a system of sense-changes. In this connection we want only to emphasize the legitimacy of Stern's view that a distinction should be made between intentional and unintentional sense-changes and that *synecdoche* and *metonymy* should, if possible, be distributed amongst other classes. There can hardly be any doubt that the majority of sense-changes generally classed as *synecdoche* or *metonymy* are made intentionally. But if so, they are acts of denomination and hence they should have been dealt with under the heading of Nomination, or else under some other heading, seeing that every use of a word is in reality an act of denomination. But, as will be seen later on, these and similar instances have been adduced by Stern mostly under the heading of Permutation, though this type of sense-change is by himself supposed to take place unintentionally. We cannot help thinking that this is a glaring departure from consistency in Stern's classificatory system of semantic changes.

The only figures of speech that Stern wants to deal with are *metaphor*, *hyperbole*, *litotes*, *irony*, and *euphemism*. What is then the difference between metaphor and the other types of the figures of speech? Stern points out that the function of *euphemism* is to tone down the impression of a jarring thing-meant, e. g. the use of *transition* or *promotion* for 'death', whereas the function of the other types is to enhance the impression of the thing-meant they denote. It is the form of this enhance-

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 i sin polemik hem
 för en "anspråklig"
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 själv affekt

ment that, in Stern's opinion, determines the delimitation of the figures of speech, and hence he adopts the following view (p. 300): »We might say that a *metaphor* expresses an enhancement taking the form of a fusion of two disparate notions, referring to referents [= things-meant] not essentially identical; a *hyperbole* expresses an enhancement taking the form of an enlargement or multiplication; and a *litotes* expresses an enhancement taking the form of a reduction or diminution, that is to say, a contrast of a special type.» He goes on to say: »We can then define a metaphor as a figure of speech in which (1) the enhancement is the result of a fusion of two disparate notions, i. e. there is no essential identity between the two referents [= things-meant] involved; and (2) the relation between the two referents [= things-meant] is not expressed.»

What is the characteristic of *irony*? Its true nature appears best if we compare it with *litotes*. The latter figure of speech is by Bain described as being the negation of the opposite to that which is meant, or, as H. W. Fowler¹) puts it, that particular kind of rhetorical understatement in which for the positive notion required is substituted its opposite with a negative: 'a citizen of *no mean* city', 'er freut sich *nicht wenig*'. 'Je ne vous *blâme pas*'. Other examples are: 1 Cor. 11. 7. 22 *I praise you not* = I blame you; *not a few* = a great number; *not bad*, eh? = excellent, eh? But there is another type of litotes which consists in using an expression denoting an inferior size, quality, etc. of whatever is being referred to, e. g. *the little village* for London, *the herring pond* for the Atlantic, *my diggings* for, possibly, my quite comfortable apartments (Stern, p. 313). Litotes might be called an inversion of the hyperbole, e. g. *I have oceans of time* (= hyperbole), an expression at the same time metaphorical. If we turn to *irony*, we find that it consists in stating the contrary of what is meant, there being something in the tone or the manner to show the speaker's real drift (Bain I 213). Also irony, then, implies an understatement, but *causa movens* is not modesty but a polemic purpose, i. e. a desire to express disapproval, displeasure, or derision, but in a covert manner. Hence the instances of the second type of litotes may also be understood as irony if the situation permits of it. Ironical expressions may become habitual. As examples (Stern, p. 338): (1) Laudatory terms are used: 'A *nice job* I have!' 'Things have come to a *pretty pass*'; (2) oldfashioned and pompous words are used to throw a comical light over the expres-

¹) Cp. H. W. Fowler *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage*, Oxford 1925.

sion, e. g. *forsooth*; (3) intensifiers used ironically as downtoners, e. g. 'A lot you know about that!'; *much* for *not much* in some phrases: 'Much you care!' 'Much he knows!'

But let us return to the *metaphor*. It is the speaker who first experiences the association on which the metaphors are based, and it is he who formulates their linguistic expression. His aim, says Stern (p. 306), in employing a metaphor, is twofold: (1) to designate the thing-meant; (2) to invest the thing-meant with certain associations carried along with the word from its original meaning and sphere. The element in common must be prominent enough to permit of the metaphor being applied without difficulty to the actual thing-meant. Let us add with Stern (p. 307) that the metaphor also »aims at providing relief and expression for the speaker's feelings, and at impressing the hearer in a definite way». The fusion of the elements of the original meaning with those suggested by the apprehension of the new thing-meant enables the speaker to express shades of thought and feeling otherwise not easily formulated so concisely. And the fusion also makes the new thing-meant appear more vividly and completely. Lastly, it should be noted that metaphors may fade so that they lose their force and no longer carry with them associations from their original sphere (cf. Stern, 309).

As to the subdivision of metaphors Stern points out (p. 309) that it may be founded on similarity or else on other relations between the old thing-meant and the new one. He rightly holds the view that just as there are two kinds of unintentional sense-changes founded on similarity and correlative relation, viz. Unintentional Transfer and Permutation, so, too, there ought to be not only an intentional type corresponding to the former sense-change but also an intentional type answering to the latter. To take an example. In the expression *a touch of shame upon her cheek* the notion of *shame* is not similar to the notion of *blushing* but correlative to it. In our opinion it is also equipollent with it — since they are interdependent notions — and hence able to replace it.

1) *Metaphors based on Similarity.*

The following cases are adduced by Stern (p. 316 foll.).

Similarity of Appearance. This type is liable to produce numerous doubtful cases, merging into non-metaphorical Intentional Transfers and into Regular Transfers. The substantives

are concrete in meaning. As examples: *An old turnip of a watch* (1840). — The bay is curling and writhing in *white horses* (1849). — *snapdragon* (plant with flowers that can be made to gape and shut like mouth) = G. Löwenzahn. — *proboscis* long human nose (joc.), cp. an elephant's or an insect's p. — *a poker* (of a person's carriage and manner). — *Adonis* (a beau, dandy). — *secretary bird* (African bird with crest likened to pen stuck behind ear).

Similarity of Quality, Activity, or Function. As examples: *the city is a desert*, — *mountains of infamy*, — *a ray of hope*, — *a shade of doubt*, — *a flash of wit*, — *He is a fox*, — *Bring in the admiration* = the admired person (Shak.).

Similarity of Perceptual or Emotive Effect. Synaesthesia is an association that connects elements from different sensory spheres, the point of similarity being constituted by their effect on the perceiving subject (Stern, 322), e. g. *the sound and light of sweetest songs* (Swinburne) — *a tall talk* — *cold colours* — Abusive words as endearments: *O heav'nly fool!* (Sidney, 1586). — First Youth: *Hullo, congenital idiot!* Second Youth: *Hullo, you priceless old ass* (Punch)!

2) Metaphors based on other Relations.

This type, says Stern, corresponds to Permutations, and it is often difficult to discriminate the two. Adjectives and verbs are scantily represented.

Article of Dress, Tool, Implement, etc. for Person. As examples: *poke-bonnets* (= the Salvation Army women). — *Mr. B., the eminent silk-gown* (King's Counsel); — *pigtails* (Chinamen); — *two good knives and forks* (hearty eaters). — *buttons* page (orig. page's many buttoned coat); — *chips* a ship's carpenter (orig. pieces chipped off by the carpenter).

Symbol for Thing Symbolized. When we say *crown*, *sceptre*, or *throne* for 'royalty', the reason is stylistic, and hence the shift of sense is classed here; — *the pulpit* = preaching or preachers; — *lawn-sleeves* = a bishop or his office; *Ceres* is used for bread, *Bacchus* for wine, and *grey hairs* symbolize age, and *Arabia*, spices; etc.

Material for Object. As examples: *steel* may designate a weapon of steel; *laurel* may stand for laurel wreath.

Proper Names in Appellative Use. As examples: The London policeman is called a *bobby*, from Sir Robert Peel. —

Tommy Atkins, the nickname of the Army man, was a fictitious name in official blanks to show the recruits where to fill in their own names. — A *jackass* is a male and a *jenny* a female of the species. — *Poll* is the conventional name for a parrot. — *Jenny* is also used for machines; and *davit*, for machines, esp. for the contrivance for lowering ship's boats, from *David*. — A crowbar used by burglars is now called *jemmy*, formerly *bess* or *betty* (from *James* and *Elizabeth*).

Dates for Events. *The Forty-five* is not only the year 1745 but also the Jacobite rebellion of that year.

Habitual Expressions for Persons who use them. The name of *jingoes* for music-hall patriots who sing the jingo song (1878) is from the asseveration *by jingo* in a popular song of the period. — In Paris slang an Englishman is called *un goddam*.

Place-names in Various Uses. *Buncombe* or *Bunkum* 'political claptrap' (Am.). — *I am for Bedfordshire* 'I want to go to bed'. — *To send a person to Birching-lane* 'to whip'.

Class IV. **Regular Transfer.**

Regular Transfer is an immediate unintentional naming of a new thing-meant by means of the word for an old thing-meant, owing to some similarity between them for the moment appearing as the chief characteristic of the former.

The shift of meaning may be no small one, but at the moment of the transfer the dissimilar points were not in the focus of attention. The process is taking place immediately, i. e. it is not happening by degrees, and unintentionally, i. e. the word offers itself spontaneously as a suitable expression for the new thing-meant and is as spontaneously accepted. But on reflecting upon the relation between the new sense and the old one, the semantic change brought about looks like a *Figurative Transfer*.

Regular Transfer is in Stern's opinion the simplest type of sense-change, and hence it passes unperceived by the listener and is often used by children to supply the gaps in their vocabulary. Like every sense-change it is accompanied by Adequation, i. e. adjustment of the word to the new thing-meant, and must be repeated by a large part of the speaking community before it can become a member of the language concerned.

The present class differs from Intentional Transfer founded on similarity in being unintentional and in lacking emotive factors

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including æsthetic and stylistic elements. From Adequations and Permutations it differs chiefly in being immediately brought about, i. e. without gradual sense-change. But it is admittedly difficult to find out the distinctive mark between Regular Transfers and *fluctuations*, i. e. variations of meaning that do not lead to «another» meaning but stop within the range of the word itself. In that respect the following view is held by Stern (p. 346): «We should probably regard as fluctuations the variations in meaning of the word *land* in phrases like *land and sea*, *land and water*, *land and people*, or of the word *state* in *state and society*, *state and people*, *state and church* (Wundt II 537).» As a possible criterion he suggests the fact that fluctuations keep within the same category, while a transfer does not do so. «If we employ the word *saddle* to denote a mountain ridge shaped like a saddle, then the referents [= things-meant] do not belong to the same category.» In conclusion, Stern says (p. 346): «I define regular transfers as unintentional sense-changes based on similarity.»

To our mind *fluctuations* should be taken to be minor disturbances of the equilibrium as to prominence presented by the notional elements of a word-meaning as existing in language, disturbances brought about by the various contexts in which the word-meaning appears in speech. Let it also be noted that Stern's definition of Regular Transfers is incomplete. The characteristic features of the category is not only the intentlessness of the procedure but also its immediacy together with a considerable degree of similarity between the old sense and the new one.

As is pointed out by Stern (p. 346), Regular Transfers are frequent in all languages, and, being of a very simple type, they do not vary much and need no extensive illustration. The instances given by him represent nouns and adjectives only.

The *nouns* he divides into three categories: 'Identity of Appearance', 'Identical Function', and 'Identity of Relative Situation within a larger whole'. But why speak of identity when we are only concerned with similarity? As to the first subclass, i. e. *Similarity of Appearance*, Stern remarks that we have here to notice, first of all, simple geometrical and stereometrical shapes as bases of transfer. *Ball*, he says (p. 347), is transferred to 'a globular and rounded mass of any substance' and to 'objects or parts with rounded outline', and similarly is the case with *cone*, *cube*, *pyramid*, *tube*, etc. He also observes that words for every day objects of a conspicuous

shape are often used in Regular Transfers, e. g. *stick*, *board*, *lane*, *vein*, *ladder*, *barrel*, *bowl*, *belly*, *bag*, *brick*, *leaf*, *ring*, *tongue*, but he gives no other information about them. Thereupon he goes on to say: »a *bush* is any bushlike bunch or tuft, a *bear* is 'a rough mat for wiping boots on, a block covered with shaggy matting and used for scrubbing the decks of vessels' (or is this intentional?).» But if *bear*, as is evidently the case, refers to Bruin himself, it is a matter of course that we are concerned with a metaphor, i. e. an Intentional Transfer. But let us make up for the scarcity of real examples in Stern's description: *bag* denotes also 'puffy place under eyes'; *barrel*, also 'revolving cylinder in machinery'; *belly*, also 'cavity or bulging part of anything'; *brick*, also 'any brick-shaped thing'; *frill*, also 'natural fringe on bird'; *knee*, also 'part of garment covering the knee if the latter has left a mark on it'; *leaf*, also 'leaf of a book' (but the sense 'hinge-flap', e. g. of table, shutter, is an Intentional Transfer); *stick*, also 'a stick of chocolate, of dynamite, or of sealing-wax' (cp. Swed. *lackstång*, lit. a pole of sealing-wax).

As examples of *Similar Function* Stern gives *bonnet* when meaning 'protective cap in machinery' and 'bonnetlike structure', e. g. chimney-cowl; *bolster* when used of 'various things in the nature of a pad'; *bed* when denoting 'the last bed or surface on which anything rests'; *bridle* when used of 'various things resembling a horse's bridle in form or use'; *mouth* when said of 'the mouth of a river or bay'.

The subclass that may be denoted as *Similarity as to Relative Situation within a larger whole*, is also illustrated. Stern points out that when we speak of the *legs*, *arms*, *feet*, *body*, *head*, *neck*, etc. of an object, probably both appearance and relative position are operating factors, but that such words as *front*, *back*, *top*, *bottom*, *sides*, *waist*, etc. are likely to refer to the relative position only.

The *adjectives* are also divided by Stern into three sub-categories. The first consists of cases having *Similar* (Stern: Identical) *Appearance, Form, or Structure*. Here belong *sharp* when used of nose, referring only to the appearance, and losing the implication of cutting and penetrating, and *fast* 'immovable, stable', but when used of a covenant or law = 'firm, stable, reliable', or when used of friendship or fidelity = 'firm, steadfast', or of sleep, = 'deep, sound'. Stern remarks (p. 348) that words as *round*, *square*, *flat*, *narrow*, *low*, denoting simple shapes, have a correspondingly simple

meaning, offering few possibilities for specialization, and that the various uses are scarcely more than fluctuations within the range of the word. Yet he admits that when applied to abstract things-meant, e. g. *a narrow mind*, *low cunning*, and *flat notes*, the adjectives may be Intentional Transfers. The point of similarity does not always offer itself at once. Take the adjective *square*, which means 'of the shape of an equilateral rectangle' but also 'honest, candid, or fair'. What is here the point of similarity? In our opinion it is certainly not the fact that a square has six equilateral sides. It is instead the circumstance that this geometrical figure consists of straight horizontal and perpendicular lines. And we are satisfied that the same point of view underlies the slang metaphor *He is a brick*, i. e. 'a warmly approved person', but originally meaning 'he has straight lines like a brick', i. e. a rectangle. Cp. Swed. *Han är rätlinjig*, i. e. He is honest, reliable (lit., has straight lines), and Eng. *crooked* 'not straight, bent, wry' and hence 'dishonest'. We are afraid that the employment of both *square* and *brick* in the senses mentioned should be classed as Intentional Figurative Transfers.

The second subcategory of adjectives as used in Regular Transfers denotes *Similarity* (Stern: Identity) *of Function, Ability, or Behaviour*. As examples are adduced *sharp* when used of sight or eyes = 'acute, keen'; when used of a person's intellect = 'acute, keen, discerning'; and *light* when used of persons, their mood, mind, heart, or countenance = 'merry, cheerful', since the idea of being lightly burdened is here shifted to the mental sphere.

The third subcategory of adjectives is by Stern called *Relational Shifts*. Under this heading he deals with adjectives qualifying nouns with which they do not logically admit of being combined. This case is especially usual with agent nouns when the qualifier refers to the action expressed by the substantive. As examples: *an early riser*, *a hard student*, *a slow walker*, *a great admirer of T.*, *an enormous eater*, *a probable winner*. The incongruous function of the adjectives may also occur when the nouns denote a person as having a certain quality. For in that case the adjective may qualify the adjectival sense of the substantive in the way an adv. qualifies an adj. As examples: *a perfect stranger*, *a positive fool*, *her particular friend*. When Stern has to explain this illogical use of the adjectives, he quotes the superficial view presented by P. Feldkeller *Ueber Begriffsüberschiebungen* (Arch. f. d. gesammte

Psych. 36, 1917). Our own opinion is as follows. The starting-point for the incongruous use of the adjectives are free word-combinations, such as *to rise early*, *to study hard*, *to be perfectly strange*, *to be particularly friendly*, etc. On the other hand, there is a tendency in English to replace verbs by nominal expressions, esp. *to be* + a substantive or an adjective, e. g. *to be an indication of* or *to be indicative of* = to indicate. The increasing occurrence of such expressions favoured the tendency to use substantival expressions of the types *He is an early riser* (= rises early). *He is a perfect stranger to me* (= perfectly strange). But the really important factor is the associative power between the qualifier and its head-word, i. e. between the qualifying adverb and the verb or a predicatively used adjective. Hence there is a natural tendency on the part of the speaker to retain the same qualifier, but in the form of an adjective, when the head-word is turned into a substantive. This is equivalent to saying that the speaker is inclined to form the substantival expression on the analogy of the other expression so as not to break off the association between the qualifier and the thing qualified. But the possibility of doing so was due to the notional element of activity or of adjectival quality expressed by the substantives themselves. For this fact permitted the qualifiers to be used in their radical senses, only shifting their relational quality.

It is pointed out by Stern that the semantic change offered by the present section is a relational shift. So it is inasmuch as it consists in a change of adverbs into adjectives. But since the operating factors are analogy and associative power, the relational change does not belong to the present category but to *Sense-changes due to Analogy*.

The associative power between a qualifier and its head-word should not be underrated. This power may, in our opinion, even reveal itself in the converse direction, i. e. in retaining the qualifier of a substantive when the latter is replaced by the corresponding verb or adjective. In North American English it is a common phenomenon in colloquial speech that the phrase *kind of* + a noun, whose first member is formally but not really the thing qualified in the expression, is retained though the noun be exchanged for a verb or an adjective. This involves that, instead of the sentence *He set up a kind of laugh* (= not exactly a laugh), one may use the expression *He kind of laughed* (= laughed slightly). There is no denying the fact that this incongruous construction, now also cropp-

such set by
set here

ing up in British English, was made on the analogy of the substantival expression and that it was strongly favoured, nay made possible, by the circumstance that *kind of* in the substantival expression had been turned into a qualifier denoting the degree in which the action or the quality implied in the substantive should be understood. But if so, it was not unnatural for the speaker to retain the qualifier, which approached the nature of an adverbial adjunct, when the substantival head-word was replaced by a verb. Hence we are even inclined to believe that this analogical formation was made unintentionally. It is possible that the N. E. D. (s. v. *kind* 14 d) shares our view of the matter, but the explanation given by the dictionary is justly rejected by G. Ph. Krapp on account of its scantiness. His own interpretation, however, cannot be accepted.¹⁾ An Amer. example of *sort of* + an adjective is the sentence »I feel *sort of* sorry for 'em».

Class V. Identification.

Identification is the kind of sense-change that takes place when an old thing-meant is modified by external, i. e. non-linguistic, causes, but is identified by speaker and listener as essentially being the same thing-meant as before and hence furnished with its old name.

Identification, then, is another manner in which semantic variants of the same word originate, just as Regular Transfer is another method of creating semantic variants of a word. In both cases we are, strictly speaking, concerned with new things-meant which demand denomination. This demand is satisfied but in different ways. Yet both manners have that in common that they employ linguistic material already in existence. Otherwise said, the semantic change brought about consists in both cases in the widening of the semantic range of an old class-name.

The present category is by Stern called *Substitution* and is described in the following way (op. cit. 192): »Substitutions are sense-changes due to external, non-linguistic causes.» No term can be more misleading since, as in the case of Regular Transfers, we are here, too, confronted with new things-meant that call for denomination in order to be able to play a part in speech. Hence there

¹⁾ Cp. George Philip Krapp *The English Language in America*, New York 1925 II 269 foll.

is nothing to be substituted. Far less obnoxious is Wellander's term *Bedeutungsunterschiebung*.¹⁾ But this name disregards the *causa efficiens*, to wit, the identification of the class of the new thing-meant with the class of an old thing-meant, in spite of a minor discrepancy. This is the actual state of things, entirely hidden by Stern's term and somewhat obscured by Wellander's expression.

Let us with Stern take the subs. *horn* as illustrative example. Originally it meant an animal's horn only, but when later on it was used as a drinking vessel or as a wind instrument, this new thing-meant was identified with the old thing-meant since the function of the horn was apprehended as a subsidiary notional element as compared to its material and its form, which remained the same as before. In its new application the word was immediately exposed to Adequation so that the functional element became clearly conspicuous. When *horn* in sense of a wind instrument became a common thing, this notional element got the upper hand in prominence, and the idea of material and form became subsidiary elements. Hence, if the musical instrument designated as *horn* was manufactured of other material and got another form, it would still be called a *horn* if it continued to be a wind instrument capable of producing certain sounds.

An equivalent semantic process is presented by the Eng. subs. *pen*. Its ultimate source is Lat. *penna* a feather, but its proximate origin is OF *penne* meaning (1) a feather, a quill, (2) a quill-feather used as an instrument for writing with ink. In mod. English the word denotes not only the nib (the end) of a quill employed in writing but also a nib made of steel, nay any instrument adopted for writing with ink.

Another example is Eng. *booking-office*. It originally meant a place where travellers booked their names for a seat in a coach or conveyance. When the system of tickets was adopted, the name was retained for the place where these were sold, because, as Stern puts it, at a booking-office one paid for a journey in some conveyance and that was the main thing from the travellers' point of view. Hence the new application of the word appeared as essentially the same as the old application, and it was therefore provided with the same name.

It is pointed out by Stern (p. 193) that the present category is an extremely frequent form of semantic change since the constant

¹⁾ Cp. E. Wellander *Studien zum Bedeutungswandel im Deutschen I*, Uppsala 1917 pp. 55 ff, 70 ff.

progress and modification of all forms of human life and thought react on the meanings, that is, the development of meaning has followed the development of the things-meant. In the lapse of time such modifications of meaning may amount to considerable sense-changes. But he also mentions that there are many words that are not exposed to the action of cultural evolution. Here belong parts of the body, actions like *run, go, eat*, adjectives like *hard, soft, big, little*, also other words, such as *light, darkness, day, night, sleep, dream*, and many others. Let us also agree with Stern that from a semantic point of view the present category offers but little of interest.

He points out, however, that, according to the origin of the change, three main types are distinguishable.,

1) *Factual Change of the Thing-meant*. In this case the thing-meant is subjected to a functional change due to progress or modifications of technique, habits, etc. Changes due to technical progress have affected an enormous number of objects, such as *house, carriage, war, trade, horn, pen, booking-office*, etc. The gradual modifications of political conditions, says Stern (p. 197), is reflected in the different notions of the word *king*. He also mentions, like Paul (Prinz. 105), that the meanings of ethical, æsthetic, religious, philosophical, and other scientific terms are in a constant flux, e. g. *religion, moral, holy*.

2) *Change in Knowledge of the Thing-meant*. In this case the thing-meant remains unchanged, but our knowledge of it changes. It is a matter of course that, as Stern points out, the progress of scientific knowledge should have led to new notional elements being attached to many things-meant and consequently to the words denoting them, e. g. *electricity, atom*, and the word *meaning* itself.

3) *Change of Attitude to the Thing-meant*. This change is of emotional character and is due to external causes. Examples in point are political catchwords. Such expressions as *Corn Laws, Home Rule, Women's Suffrage* have, as Stern rightly remarks, been fraught with emotion for many speakers. The disrepute into which medieval *scholasticism* has fallen has tinged the meaning of the adjectives *scholastic* and *scholastical*.

intentional - unintentional : es ist nicht möglich
ein gradueller Übergang zu einer vollständigen Gegenstellung?

CHAPTER IV.

Prolegomena to the Semantic-Genetic Interpretation II.

There still remain two classes of sense-change to be considered, two leading types, the most important and interesting ones of all semantic change.

C. *Sense-changes due to a Change of the Speaker's and the Listener's Apprehension of the Thing-meant.*

Class VI. Sense-changes due to Adequation.

*Adequation*¹⁾ is a gradual unintentional adjustment of the sense of an expression to the semantic aspect of a new thing-meant which it is called upon to denote or else to a new apprehension of an old thing-meant.

The sense-change due to Adequation consists in the latter case in a gradual shift of attention from a dominant cognitive element of the thing-meant to a subsidiary but mostly indispensable cognitive element. Hence the latter becomes the predominant element, whereas the former recedes into the background and may disappear altogether.

From the definition given it appears that the sense-changes called Adequation proximately admit of a binary division, to wit, Adequation *after* a preceding sense-change and Adequation *without* a preceding sense-change.²⁾

a) *Adequation after a Preceding Sense-change.*

Adequation after Analogy: — When, for instance, the ME adjective *fast* borrowed the meaning 'rapid, swift' from the

¹⁾ The term was first used by J. Stöcklein *Bedeutungswandel der Wörter*, München 1898. Its notion implies a definite step forward in the apprehension of semantic phenomena.

²⁾ Cp. G. Stern *op. cit.* pp. 385 and 387.

handwritten note:
handwritten
his folgende
die folgende
erkennend

adverb *faste*, the use of this sense was at first restricted to qualifying *nomina actionis* only, where it was possible to apprehend the adjective as an adverb, also, after the time that ME atonic *-e* had fallen away. Gradually, through Adequation, the adjective grew capable of being used in its new meaning with any head-word.

Adequation after Shortening: — We have to assume, says Stern, that the use of *private* for *private soldier* occurred at first in definite contexts only and that, when through Adequation the feeling of connection with the fuller form disappeared, the word could be used in any context.

Adequation after Nomination: — Note especially the fading of metaphors, e. g. *Ever let the fancy roam, Pleasure never is at home. They bathed in smiles of glee. Contentment is the source whence all happiness flows.*¹⁾ — Note also the adequation of *Hyperboles*, e. g. *petrified, dumbfounded* (= confounded into dumbness), *paralysed, thunderstruck*. The verb *astonish* literally meant 'to thunderstrike' (ultimately f. Lat. *ex + tonare* to thunder). — Adequation may set in after *Litotes*, also, when this figure of speech is beginning to disappear. Thus, for instance, *den* and *diggings* may be conceived of as meaning plainly 'study' and 'apartments' respectively. — The *ironic* use of a word may be perpetuated, e. g. *sapient*, and hence the subs. *sapience*, orig. 'wisdom, understanding', denotes 'would-be wisdom'. — Adequation may set in after *Euphemisms*, too. Thus Stern rightly suggests (p. 413) that the depreciative development of the words *hussy* (< housewife), *quean*, and *wench* should be ascribed to Adequation, i. e. their use as euphemisms fell into oblivion. The word *disease*, which originally denoted 'discomfort', is no longer felt as a euphemism, whereas *in-discretion* and *transgression* in sense of 'crime' still retain their euphemistic character.

Adequation after Regular Transfer: — The instance given by Stern, viz. *saddle* (p. 403), is an example in point when its figurative use is obscured.

Adequation after Identification (Stern: Substitution): — When, say, *horn* was used of its function as a drinking vessel or as a musical instrument, Adequation set in in order to point out the purposive idea as the predominant notional element.

Adequation after Permutation: — When a word has passed through a Permutation, the new sense is proximately seen

¹⁾ These examples are not given by Stern.

under a particular aspect. Thus, for instance, when *bead*, orig. 'prayer', assumed the sense of 'pearl', the sense proximately referred to the small balls of a rosary by means of which the monks counted their prayers. This origin was later on forgotten through Adequation so that the word came to denote 'any small ball' (= Generalization) and thereupon 'pearl' (= Specialization).

In all these cases Adequation has adjusted the new sense to the thing-meant, a process which generally ends in an extended use of the new sense, e. g. *fast*, *private*, *bead*, *horn*. This extended use may also be due to the fading of a metaphor, or to a weakening of the picturesque force of another figure of speech, e. g. *den*, *diggings*, or to stabilizing the fig. sense, e. g. *sapient*, or to adjusting a euphemism to the real meaning, e. g. *hussy*.

b) *Adequation without a Previous Sense-change.*

The characteristic of this type of Adequation is the same as that of the other subclass inasmuch as we are still concerned with a gradual unintentional process of semantic adjustment of an expression to the sense of a thing-meant. But the difference is that we are here faced, not with a new thing-meant, but with a new apprehension of an old thing-meant. Hence the result of the sense-change takes other forms, and these should be the basis of further classification of the instances falling under this category.

When Stern is going to subdivide the present category, he obviously wants to take as ground of division the logical relation as to intension and extent existing between the new sense and the old one. This is a legitimate point of view. Hence his first subcategory is called *Generalization* or *Species pro Genere*. This involves a shift of attention to a characteristic of the thing-meant »which is of a more general nature than the formerly predominant characteristic, so that the word becomes capable of being extended to other referents [= things-meant], which it could not previously denote». As examples are adduced, amongst other things, the following words (Stern, p. 405 ff): — Germ. *anziehen*, Eng. *rubric*, *blackbird*, *half sb.*, *to walk over* (erroneously apprehended by Stern), *to turn*, etc.

His second subcategory is called *Specialization* or *The Pregnant Use*. He says (p. 408): »The pregnant use is a spe-

cialization on one or more characteristics of the referent [= the thing-meant] which are considered as typical and essential, and involves a valuation of the referent as such, as a pre-eminent specimen of its kind. It is emotive in nature and is not expressed by qualities.» The subcategory thus determined is by him also denoted as the *A p p r e c i a t i v e t y p e*. To this section are counted such cases as 'He was a *man*', 'a person of *quality*', 'What a *life* (glorious l.)'. 'That is not *cricket*', 'He never saw me *eat* (sc. in real earnest)'. But he admits (p. 408) that also expressions, such as 'She is a *woman*' (contemptuously said), 'What a *life* (= miserable l.)!', 'to call *names* (= opprobrious names)', must be genetically explained in exactly the same way as the laudatory expressions. And therefore he advocates the view (p. 411) that there is also a *D e p r e c i a t i v e t y p e* of *S p e c i a l i z a t i o n* (*T h e P r e g n a n t U s e*), and he makes the following allegation: »Depreciative specialization is more exclusively emotive in character than the appreciative type, and is caused by the circumstance that the speaker apprehends one or more characteristics as disadvantageous, contemptible, or ridiculous. The subjective factor is thus predominant.» As illustrative examples are adduced such instances as *lewd*, *menial*, *knave*, *politician*, *parson*, *sanctified*, *sanctimonious*, *dunce*, *crafty*, *artful*, etc.

In the present subcategory, i. e. *S p e c i a l i z a t i o n* or the *P r e g n a n t u s e*, as delimited by Stern, we are confronted with disparate things that should not be classed together under the same heading. In fact, it is both descriptively and genetically a grotesque classification if examples, such as 'He is a *man*', 'What a *life*', 'to call *names*', be put on a par with words such as *lewd*, *menial*, *parson*, etc. The former expressions are an intentional affair, and hence they cannot belong to unintentional Adequation. Personally we are even satisfied that instances of the types 'What a *life*!', 'to call *names*' do not belong to any of Stern's categories of semantic change. Hence there was no reason for him to adopt a cavalier attitude towards Wundt, who saw far deeper, and say (p. 387): »Wundt makes a separate class of what he terms 'Verdichtung', which I regard as a type of Adequation.» Let it also be noted that the depreciative ring presented by words like *lewd* and *parson* respectively is of different origin inasmuch as *lewd* came to denote a depreciatory quality, i. e. lascivious, indigent, whereas *parson* denotes a man with a respected profession but has none the less acquired a disparaging tone (see p. 90).

wascom dan
gedaan?

je

The third subcategory instituted by Stern is called *Particularization* or *The Unique Use*. »This happens», he says (p. 415), »when a term of more general import is habitually used in a particular sense. Thus, *the King*, without any qualification, is for English speakers the King of England. Similarly, *the River*, to a Londoner, is the Thames, *the city* is the City of London. I shall call this the unique use of the word.» But the strange part of this characterization is that it is meant to be applicable also to instances of genuine *Specialization* (or particularization, a term that should be discarded), i. e. cases where we are confronted with *Genus pro Specie*, e. g. the Eng. substantives *deer*, *hound*, *undertaker*, etc. But expressions such as *the King*, *the River*, *the City* are of a totally different kind, seeing that they represent a type of *Individualization*, just like any concrete substantive with the individualizing definite article. But the distinctive mark of Individualization is, on the one hand, that it is made intentionally and, on the other hand, that it refers to the *ultimate* thing-meant, which is a definite individual, whereas other designations refer to the proximate thing-meant, i. e. they are class-names. But if so, can expressions such as *the King* and *the River* be exposed to Adequation? Stern gives an affirmative answer saying (p. 415): »The unique use involves an adjustment of the meaning of the word within the relevant group of speakers — which may be equivalent to the whole speaking community — to the referent [= thing-meant] of which it is most frequently used.» Yes, there is factually a semantic change in these expressions, through Adequation, perceptible to every member of the speaking community. For thanks to the incessant repetition of such expressions as *the King*, *the River*, *the City*, they are in a fair way to become proper nouns. But this fact is not clearly pointed out by Stern. Furthermore, let it also be noted that he tries to establish a difference between the terms 'particularization' and 'specialization', a distinction unintelligible to the reader. The adjective *lewd*, for instance, is adduced as an example of specialization though it be nothing of the sort. In fact, we get no tenable idea of the manner in which the semantic development of the word should be explained.

We find, then, that Stern's second and third subcategories cannot be said to be the outcome of clear thinking. On the contrary, they present to the reader a confused mass of disparate things huddled together, which he himself has to disentangle. Let us now

on the basis of his material give a preliminary subdivision of the category called 'Adequation without a Previous Sense-change', and let us then pay due attention to the nature of the semantic change we are faced with, the only rational ground of classification.

a) *Generalization of Meaning, or Species pro Genere.*

The term Adequation is by Stöcklein (see p. 81, foot-note) illustrated by also adducing the Germ. word *anziehen*. Originally it signified 'to pull or draw on (boots, gloves)' but later 'to put on (an article of dress)'. This involves that the notion of physical effort gave up its place as predominant element to the notion of 'putting or getting on'. Stern goes on to say (p. 380): »When this point had been reached, it was further possible, through a transfer, or perhaps a mere extension, to say '*Hemd, Kragen, Gürtel, Kravatte anziehen*'. We have to distinguish carefully between the process of Adequation and the following Transfer.» But we are here concerned, not with a Transfer, but only with the gradual fading away of the notional element denoting physical effort in putting on an article of dress. The absence of this element widens the applicability of the word, i. e. it implies a *Generalization* of its sense. If we are here concerned with a mental process, it is that of Identification.

Another example is *rubric*, originally meaning a heading of a chapter, section, etc. written or printed in red (Lat. *ruber* red). But the function as heading was the important thing, and hence the word could, after the operation of Adequation, be employed to denote other headings as well. — *Blackbird*, a species of thrush, could, after Adequation, be used to denote also other birds dissimilar in colour but similar in other, more important respects. — The *half* of something is also part of a whole. Hence the sense 'part' may sometimes become predominant so as to make it possible to say: *it broke into three halves; the larger half*.

The disturbance of the equilibrium between the notional elements in words of the present subcategory was obviously due to the fact that the removal of the earlier predominant element would considerably widen the range of the applicability of the word. This is a distinct advantage since a genus may be used of a species, also. Hence the predominant element was liable to decrease in prominence, i. e. it gradually faded out.

β) *Specialization of Meaning, or Genus pro Specie.*

Let us first take as example OE *dēor* sb. 'animal, beast', 'any four-footed animal that was an object of chase' as distinguished from tame animals and birds. But among hunting people OE *dēor* or ME *dēr* came to be habitually used also of the Cervidae, i. e. *red deer, roedeer*, etc., which were the principal objects of chase. When in ME times the general sense of the word could be expressed by the loan-words *beast* and *animal*, the word *deer* survived only in its restricted sense, at first as a hunting term but later on in general speech. — Another hunting word, to wit, *hound*, has passed through a similar development. It came to denote habitually 'hounds as used for hunting', but subsequently the general sense was represented by *dog* alone (OE *docga*). — The word *undertaker* means literally 'one who undertakes to carry out work or business for another'. But it is now mostly used in the sense 'one who makes a business of carrying out the arrangements for funerals'.

γ) *Sense-change due to Logical Interference.*

As examples of Depreciative Specialization Stern adduces some instances that should be understood as implying logical Interference between the new sense and the old one. In point of Notions of Interference Wundt says, *Logik I* 128 (1906): — »Die Begriffe decken sich teilweise oder kreuzen sich, in dem jeder einen Teil vom Umfang des anderen einnimmt: *interferierende Begriffe.*» As an example in point he gives, inter alia, G. 'Neger' and 'Sklave'. This being so, we must also admit that, in medieval times when laymen often could neither read nor write, the OE adjective *lāwede* 'lay, laic' and the adjectival notions implying 'unlearned, untaught' constituted Notions of Interference. This implies that the sense of 'unlettered, untaught' constituted a subsidiary element in the notion of OE *lāwede*. Hence it is intelligible that in several contexts, e. g. co-ordination with an adj. denoting 'untaught', the sense of 'unlearned' should get prominence and, if often repeated, be attached to the word as a collateral sense. This change is factually met with since Old English *lāwede* also denotes 'unlearned'. In ME and NE times the word appeared as *lewd*. But the sense 'unlearned, ignorant' and the meaning 'foolish, ill-mannered' constituted Notions of Interference, and hence the latter meaning

was adopted by the word. But this sense had in its turn as a Notion of Interference the sense 'base, worthless', and hence this meaning became subsequently attached to the word. But the latter sense (now arch.) and the meaning 'lascivious, indecent' were Notions of Interference, and hence this sense was attached to *lewd*. We believe that the Notion of Interference gives the key to understanding the rich variety of meanings often presented by adjectives, but it is an interpretation not adopted by semantic research.

But this phenomenon plays also a part in substantival sense-changes. Such is the case with Eng. *boor* < OE *gebūr* (= Du. *boer*, Ger. *Bauer*), which Stern gives as an example of 'Depreciative Specialization'. The word originally meant 'a peasant, countryman'. But this sense had as Notion of Interference the sense 'a rustic lacking refinement, a country clown', and hence in the course of time it adopted this meaning. But the latter sense had as Notion of Interference 'any rude, or ill-bred fellow' and hence this meaning became attached to the word. All these senses are still represented by the word *boor*.

Just like G. 'Neger' and 'Sklave' form Notions of Interference, so the same is the case with E. *politician* and 'shrewd schemer or intriguer', seeing that politicians are not rarely distinguished by that quality, to which suitable contexts try to give prominence. Hence it is quite natural that the word should have adopted this sense and that it was subsequently generalized so as to mean 'crafty plotter in general'.

Let us remark in passing that we do not with Stern take the subst. *dunce* 'a stupid fellow' as an example of Adequation. Its source is John *Duns* Scotus (dead in 1308), the celebrated theologian whose scholastic system was attacked with ridicule in the 16th c. The primary sense of *duns* was 'a disciple or follower of Duns Scotus' (1527). Later on there originated as a contextual synonym for it the sense 'a hair-splitting reasoner, dull pedant, dullard' (1577). We are consequently faced with a case of Permutation.

On the other hand, it may be mentioned that the sense of the subst. *premises* should not with Stern be understood as a case of Permutation. *The premises* originally meant 'the aforesaid'. The word was consequently a pronominal expression, destitute of a fixed or permanent thing-meant. In legal documents concerning selling or letting houses or lands it was common to use 'the aforesaid' with reference to the houses, lands, or tenements enumerated before, or else to a house with its grounds and other appurtenances mentioned

before. Through favourable circumstances, to wit, the abolition of the French language in legal documents since 1749, *the premises*, i. e. the aforesaid, took over permanently the sense which it had so often represented occasionally. Otherwise said, the expression *the premises* was used in legal English, also, but only with reference to houses, lands, etc. in purchase- or sale-instruments. Owing to this, the pronominal expression got a fixed thing-meant, and as in the case of other expressions applied to a thing-meant, so here too the sense of the linguistic expression was adjusted to its thing-meant, i. e. the pronominal sense faded out and was replaced by the sense implied in the thing-meant. It is true that in the present case the semantic change has total character, yet the procedure was unmistakably that characteristic of Adequation.

We now come to a couple of types which are unlike the other species of Adequation without a Previous Sense-change. For we are no longer concerned with a semantic change where a predominant notional element recedes into the background (or is fading out) and is replaced by a subsidiary element. The Adequation appears instead in other forms.

δ) *Sense-change due to Adoption of Emotive Elements.*

Let us remark, to start with, that there are words and expressions whose very sense denotes something base, disagreeable, or disgraceful, and hence are wrapped in an unpleasant atmosphere, e. g. *lewd*, or whose sense gives rise to the idea of something precious or of exquisite beauty, e. g. *orient* in 'orient pearls'. In the present subclass we are not concerned with such cases. In other words, we have not to do with instances whose semantic development have led up to notions of this kind. We are instead concerned with examples which retain their cognitive elements but none the less adopt emotive elements in the lapse of time. These are brought to light by Adequation, and they may be of eulogistic or dyslogistic character, but the latter case is far more common than the former case, a natural outcome of man's delightful nature.

The present subclass, then, has a subtle and interesting subject. It has to state that obsolescent or archaic words often have a nobler ring than ordinary words have, and that this state of things perhaps is due to the fact that the past is likely to appear in a fairer

light than does the present time. Such words have their being in the highest style, e. g. *steed* as against 'horse'. The category has also to point out that there are Christian names which seem to have acquired an emotional aspect of their own, just as if they had been impregnated with suggestions of qualities characteristic of some of their former bearers. Thus, for instance, the name *Robert* sometimes appears to make an unpleasant impression, judging from the quotation below.¹⁾ And there are names so grand that their elliptical abbreviation to many a man appears as a sacrilege (see quot. infra²⁾).

Furthermore, in point of the present category we have to state that the applicability of ordinary words may be restricted by their adoption of a dyslogistic tone, and we have to explain this state of things. Take, for instance, the Eng. subs. *parson*. It originally meant a 'rector', but its use is now extended so as to include a vicar or any beneficed clergyman. »In the more extended use», says the N. E. D., »only colloquial, and (except in rural use) usually more or less depreciatory or dyslogistic». But the reason why the word should have adopted a disparaging tone is wrapped in obscurity. — It is mentioned by Stern that the subst. *cunning* is used by Shakespeare both in a depreciative and an appreciative sense but that nowadays it has only a depreciatory tone. Adjectives like *crafty*, *knowing*, *clever*, *cute*, *keen*, *sharp*, *smart*, *sly*, and *shrewd*, are all denoting a quality that is in itself blameless or even praiseworthy, but their intensification will appear to others whose interests suffer correspondingly in an unfavourable light. Conversely people who are *not* smart enough for being successful in this world will easily appear to others as being of inferior intelligence. Hence the words, *simple*, *innocent*, *guileless*, *unsophisticated*, have taken on a disparaging tone.³⁾ But let us turn to another subclass.

¹⁾ 1881 Florence Marryat *My Sister the Actress* 145: — 'At home they call me »Robert«, but that is such a hideous name, and »Bobby« sounds like a Baby'. — 'I don't think »Robert« is hideous', replies Betha, 'but I like »Rob« better'. — 'Then call me »Rob«'.

²⁾ Cp. 1865. *Chambers's Journal of Popular Lit., Science, and Arts*, p. 745. No man of correct taste or elevated sentiment can, without a shudder of regret, hear the grand old names of Abraham and Isaac, Moses, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel desecrated into Abe and Ike, Jerry and Zike, and applied to a group of ragged urchins grovelling in a gutter. Cp. Karl Sundén *Contributions to the Study of Elliptical Words in Modern English*, Upsala 1904, pp. 137, 107.

³⁾ Cp. H. Schreuder *Pejorative Sense Development in English*, Groningen 1929, pp. 154, 159 (Quoted from Stern's work).

ξ) *Sense-change due to Permanent Individualization or a Tendency to it.*

We have previously advocated the view that, when in England the expression *the King* under ordinary circumstances is regularly understood as referring to the King of England, and when in London *the River* and *the City* are regularly taken to mean the Thames and the City of London, we are then confronted with a sense-change that implies that these expressions distinctly approach the nature of proper nouns. We also suggested that this semantic change was due to the incessant repetitions of these expressions. We have seen that Stern is aware of this sense-change and its cause, but that he does not realize its nature since he is unable to characterize it. But we must answer the question what it implies that these expressions approximate to proper nouns.

On the one hand we are faced with class-names indicating the class of the proximate thing-meant, i. e. the view-point from which the ultimate thing-meant should proximately be seen. On the other hand we are confronted with class-names which at the same time directly refer to the ultimate thing-meant since they are provided with the individualizing definite article. The equilibrium between these two functions of the class-names is disturbed by the incessant repetition of the expressions mentioned. For this accentuates the individualizing function and obscures correspondingly the function of a class-name. Otherwise said, the individual characteristics of the ultimate thing-meant increase in prominence.

It is a matter of course that the so called occupative surnames, such as *Clark, Cooper, Smith, Taylor, Turner, Wright, and Walker*, should have passed through the same development until they became permanent means of identification, i. e. surnames. The same is true of other individualizing expressions, e. g. ME *atte* (= at the) *wode, atte pitt(e)*, which passed into the surnames *Atwood* and *Pitt*.

CLASS VII. **Sense-changes due to Permutation.**

Permutation is an unintentional sense-change consisting in the shift of attention from the actual thing meant by a word to quite another thing-meant cropping up in certain contexts and later on replacing it. From a certain point of view the thing-meant forms then an equipollent or synonymous notion with the old thing-meant, but from ordinary view-point the two factors are either disparate or correlative notions.

In this definition we have given prominence to the leading features of the present category such as we see them. To a certain extent it contrasts with Stern's definition which reads thus (p. 361): — »Permutations are unintentional sense-changes in which the subjective apprehension of a detail — denoted by a separate word — in a larger total changes, and the changed apprehension (the changed notion) is substituted for the previous meaning of the word.»

Here the circumstance is stressed that the pre-requisite for the semantic change of the word concerned is its occurrence as »a detail in a larger total» or, as Stern often puts it, as »a detail of a phrase-referent». But this characteristic may be said to occur also in certain types of Adequation, e. g. Species pro Genere and Sense-change due to Interference. Stern's definition disregards the heart of the matter, to wit, the appearance of quite another thing-meant and the circumstance that its relation to the old thing-meant is of a kind of its own. In fact, it is this very relation that should be taken as view-point if we want to make a further subdivision of the category. But since this distinction is of logical nature, it requires some comments.

Let us remark as to *i d e n t i t y o f n o t i o n s* that there can be no difference made, except as far as their linguistic expression is concerned. Wundt makes the following statement (Logik I 123): — »Gleiche Begriffe, die verschieden bezeichnet sind, heissen ä q u i p o l l e n t; die verschiedenen Wörter aber, die gleiche Begriffe bedeuten, werden s y n o n y m genannt. »Der Lehrer Alexanders» und »der Philosoph aus Stagira» sind äquipollente Begriffe. »Mord» und »Tötung» sind synonyme Wörter». But in making this identification of notions or of senses, such differences are disregarded as give rise to the difference in expression. Wundt points out as follows: — »Mord» und »Tötung» mögen in einem gegebenen Falle auf die nämliche Tatsache bezogen werden, doch die begriffliche Bedeutung beider ist nach dem Sprachgebrauch eine verschiedene. Die »Tötung» drückt einfach den Tatbestand aus, sie sagt nichts über dessen Motive; der »Mord» bezieht sich auf ein geplantes Verbrechen. Nur dann sind also die Begriffe in vollem Sinne identisch, wenn diese Identität auch in ihrem Ausdruck enthalten ist.» He also points out that the identity obtained through abstraction, i. e. $A = B$, is infinitely more fertile for our thinking than genuine identity is, i. e. $A = A$.

We have previously maintained in point of Permutation that the logical relation between the two operating notions may be that case of identity called equipollence or synonymy. But what should be particularly noticed is the strange fact that, outside the context in which the two notions appear as equipollent, they may be *disparate* notions, i. e. they cannot even be compared. Hence this subclass is a very interesting type, and it may justly be called *Permutation of Disparate Notions*.

On the other hand it should be observed that the two operating notions in Permutation may be *correlative* notions, i. e. such as presuppose the existence of each other. Says Wundt (*Logik* I 126): — »Beispiele solcher Wechselbegriffe sind: Mann und Frau, Vater und Mutter, Land und Meer, Berg und Tal, Ursache und Wirkung u. dgl. Auch bei der Korrelation lässt sich stets ein allgemeiner Begriff hinzudenken, dem die beiden Wechselbegriffe subsumiert werden können.» This subclass, then, may aptly be called *Permutation of Correlative Notions*.

A constitutive feature of both subclasses is the circumstance that at first the new sense appears as an alternative signification alongside of the old sense before it can appear as an independent meaning. But be it also noted that this first stage may appear without the next step being taken, i. e. without advancing to an independent sense. But what it is that gives the impetus to the factual Permutation of the notions seems to belong to those accidental circumstances which assuredly play a part in unintentional linguistic changes but which are hard to get to know. Lastly, let us emphasize the characteristic, also approved of by Stern, that Permutation is an unintentional process. It is not superfluous to discuss this point for a moment.

Let us analyse the sense-change presented by the Eng. subs. *bead* 'pearl', whose source is OE. *gebed* 'prayer'. This word is by Stern given as a typical example of Permutation, and hence he subjects it to an analysis (p. 352). On the page adjoining he maintains that the mental process is too complicated to be adequately represented by a diagram, but none the less he gives a scheme meant to elucidate the facts. But the semantic process is far less complicated than he has dreamt of in his speculations, which are evidently based on the false assumption that we are here faced with an unintentional process. In the Middle Ages when prayers, chiefly Pater Noster and Ave Maria, had daily to be said repeatedly a certain number of times,

it became necessary to make rosaries for the purpose of counting the prayers, a custom previously adopted by the Mahometans.

Hence each small ball of the rosary was from the beginning deliberately meant to represent a prayer, i. e. to be equipollent with 'a prayer', and a prayer was deliberately meant to be equipollent with 'a small ball of the rosary'. Hence *beads* in the expression *to count (or to tell) one's beads* meant at first 'prayers', since rosaries were made for the purpose of counting them. But the word could soon also mean 'small balls of the rosary', since this notion was meant to be equipollent with 'prayers' in this context (= Permutation). Later on, through Adequation, *bead* came to denote 'a small ball in general' (Species pro Genere), and thereupon 'pearl' (Genus pro Specie), whereas the original sense, i. e. prayer, had long ago faded out. We find, then, that in the present case the equipollence of the notions to be exchanged was purposively brought about. But if so, we must admit that the semantic change cannot be classed as gradual and unintentional. We must instead admit the existence of also *Intentional Permutation*.

A striking parallel to this intentional sense-change is presented by the Eng. subs. *knot* in sense of 'a nautical mile'. For the purpose of measuring the speed of ships knots were made in loglines, each knot being deliberately meant to represent a nautical mile. Hence from the view-point of measuring the speed of ships 'knot' and 'nautical mile' became equipollent or synonymous notions, and hence the word *knot* could be used to denote the latter notion, also, though it was seemingly a disparate notion.

Another instance is Eng. *quarter* originally meaning 'a fourth part' but later also 'region, district, place, locality'. The latter meaning started from the sense 'one of the four points or divisions of the compass', and hence it was deliberately meant to denote 'the region laying about or under one of these four principal points or divisions of the horizon'.

Still another example of creation of an equipollent or synonymous notion is Eng. *bush*, originally meaning 'a shrub, a bunch of ivy or something'. But when 'a bush of ivy' was hung up as a vintner's sign or as the sign-board of a tavern, then the sign or the word for it was deliberately meant to signify a notion equipollent with 'a vintner's shop' or with 'a tavern', and hence it could adopt these senses, e. g. *Twenty to one you find him at the bush* (1625).

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In these examples we are concerned with Intentional Permutation. Otherwise said, the word for an old thing-meant is deliberately used to be equipollent or synonymous with the sense of a new thing-meant and to be a name for it, if need be. Such a need is present in the case of *bead* ('a ball of a rosary'), *knot* ('a nautical mile'), and *quarter* ('the region laying about or under one of the four principal points or divisions of the horizon'). But as to *bush* there was no such need since the notions represented had names of their own. But if none the less the word was employed in sense of 'a tavern', this was an Intentional Permutation. But in the other cases mentioned the Permutation itself was probably an unintentional step. But none the less the sense-change should be classed as an intentional procedure since the equipollence of the notions was brought about intentionally. Hence there is no denying the fact that Intentional Permutation is a kind of Nomination and that it hence should strictly be kept apart from unintentional Permutation. But the intentional nature of the sense-change in the four instances adduced above is nowhere pointed out by Stern. Yet it is true that they illustrate the factual procedure when unintentional Permutation of Disparate Notions takes place. Let us now give some examples of the two types of unintentional Permutation that in our opinion may (but need not) be distinguished.

a) *Permutations of Disparate Notions.*

This interesting type seems to be of fairly rare occurrence. But appearances are proverbially deceptive, and this is likely to be the case in the present instance, too. The majority of our examples are taken from Stern's work but a few from our own experience, viz. *road*, OE *faru*, *admire*, *orient(al)*, and Lat. *pācare*.

Let us begin with the category of substantives. Engl. *road* now signifies 'way prepared for foot-passengers, riders, and vehicles to travel on', but its OE source *rād* meant 'a ride, riding, expedition, journey', seeing that the word is directly connected with OE *ridan* 'to ride'. South of the Humber the stem-vowel of the word became *ȳ* in ME, but the modern sense of the word did not appear until the 16th century. But long before that this sense is likely to have existed, but only as a sense alternating with the meaning 'a ride, riding'. In medieval England riding was a common means of travelling. Hence, in certain contexts such as *The ride there was miserable*, the

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notions of 'ride' and 'road' were equipollent notions from the view-point of (uncomfortable) travelling, and hence *road* adopted the sense of 'way', also, a meaning which later on became habitual and ousted the original sense altogether. Again, north of the Humber the stem-vowel of OE *rād* was retained in ME and so was its sense on the whole. In NE times this form was adopted by Standard English as a loan from the north but with Scotch spelling, viz. *raid* 'a military expedition on horseback'.

A similar semantic development took place in OE times in the case of OE *faru*, which means not only 'a going, a journey' but also 'way'. The point of view from which 'journey' and 'way' appeared as equipollent or synonymous notions was evidently the same as in the former case.

The same word, i. e. OE *faru*, retained in ME its old sense of 'journey'. This meaning obtained as equipollent notion 'a passage or excursion for which a price is paid', 'cost of conveyance'. This alternative sense is met with in the 16th century in contexts such as *Making the whole fare* [= journey or cost of conveyance, passage money] *worth four shillings* (1570—6). Later on the latter sense became an independent meaning. The view-point from which 'journey' is then looked upon is that of its cost.

Through external influence Eng. *board* came to mean also 'table used for meals'. In certain contexts there originated as a synonymous sense 'food served at table', e. g. *cumeð to borde* (1200), *Heo Seten to borde* (1275), where *borde* means 'table' but with 'meat or food' as an equipollent alternative notion. The view-point is here the purpose of the action of coming or sitting 'to borde'. The change is completed in the phrase *To pay for bord* (1386), where 'bord' is equivalent to 'food or meals'.

Another instance is afforded by Fr. *danger*, whence Eng. *danger*. Its etymon is late Lat. **dominiarium* (deriv. from *dominium* lordship, sovereignty) denoting 'domination, power'. But this sense had in several contexts the sense 'liability or exposure to harm', i. e. 'danger', as equipollent notion. The view-point was then the risk or consequence of being in somebody's power. But outside such contexts the notions of 'power' and 'danger' must be regarded as disparate notions.

The Eng. subs. *field* 'open land, plain' also acquired the sense of 'battlefield' in Old English. In certain contexts, such as *to win* or *to make the field*, *to get* or *to have the field*, there arose in the 15th

L'his sign de overgang

century the sense of 'victory' as an alternative synonym, a sense subsequently independent, but now obsolete.

The word *consideration* means 'the taking into account of anything as a motive or reason'. In such sentences as *We gave them cop-pers in consideration* (sc. of services, 1624) there arose as a synonym the sense 'payment, reward, remuneration', and this equipollent notion became an independent sense.

Let us take a couple of English verbs as examples of Permutation of Disparate Notions. In Peter Simple (ch. 16), one of Captain Marryat's novels, we come across the following dialogue between the captain of the ship and Peter Simple, midshipman: — »Mr. Simple, what are you about, sir? I was listening to what you said, replied I, touching my hat. I admire your candour, sir, replied he, but advise you to discontinue the practise.» It is obvious that in this setting *admire* has the sense 'to hold in the highest esteem' but that it also has an alternative synonymous sense, viz. 'to approve of' or 'to like'. But in spite of this semantic duplicity, the sense 'to like' has never become an independent meaning in British English.¹⁾ But this sense is of frequent occurrence in the North American variety, e. g. 1835 *I should admire to bet some gentleman \$ 10 on the bay.* Mod. *I should not admire to see the president.*²⁾

The earlier meaning of the verb *want* was 'to be in want of, to be without'. In several contexts there arose as an alternative synonym the sense 'to stand in need of, to require'. This sense, becoming habitual, got in its turn the sense 'to desire' as an alternative synonym in certain contexts, such as the following Scotch sentence: *Deyr cusyng, pray I thee, Quhen thow wantts gud, com fech yneuch fra me* (1470). In the lapse of time this sense became a new meaning of the word alongside of its earlier meanings.

The Lat. verb *pācāre* (f. *pāx*, *pācem* peace) means 'to appease, to pacify, to reduce to peace'. The sense 'to pacify', applied specifically to 'pacifying or satisfying a creditor', came in Common Romanic to mean 'to pay a creditor' (= Permutation) and so 'to pay' in general (Species pro Genere). In some of the Romanic langs. the vb. has still both senses, but in Fr. *payer*, whence Eng. *pay*, the sense 'satisfy, please' is now obsolete (See N. E. D. s. v. *pay*).

¹⁾ It is most probable that Capt. Marryat knew of the American usage, but he certainly did not adopt it here since Americanisms are denounced by him as debased English (see his work *A Diary in America*, 1839).

²⁾ Cp. R. H. Thornton *An American Glossary*, Philadelphia 1912.

There are also adjectives that may illustrate the present category. An instance in point is ME, NE *orient*, or *oriental*. When the words were used of pearls and precious stones of superior value and brilliancy, as coming anciently from the East, they became synonymous with the meaning 'precious, excellent' or 'brilliant, lustrous, sparkling'. Thereupon these senses became habitual so that it was possible to say: *These Pearls, though not altogether so orient as they in India* (1611).

It is justly maintained¹⁾ that the Germ. adj. *leer* 'empty' is directly related to the Germ. verb *lesen* 'to glean, etc.' and that it genetically is an adjective of possibility used of a corn-field already reaped but still having ears of corn left by the reapers, i. e. things that admit of being gleaned, a quality transferred to the corn-field. But if so, the sense 'empty' was originally in certain contexts a synonym for 'gleanable'.

In conclusion, it may be mentioned that, through Permutation, participles and substantives may be turned into conjunctions, e. g. Eng. *seeing (that), while*, Germ. *während, weil*.

b) *Permutation of Correlative Notions.*

If we stick to the definition of correlative notions given by logic, a definition implying that they are such notions as presuppose the existence of each other, then it is legitimate to count as correlative relations several types other than those mentioned by Wundt. Also these relations afford examples of unintentional Permutation, sometimes to a large extent. There is no difference between the present subclass and Permutation of Disparate Notions as far as the procedure is concerned, and hence it is of no consequence that their lines of demarcations may sometimes be debatable. In our opinion it is even permissible to assume that, in point of Permutation of Disparate Notions, equipollence presupposes correlative relation between the notions, but only in such contexts as give rise to Permutation. On the other hand, it is a matter of course that ordinarily correlative notions should still appear as being equipollent notions when they occur in contexts which give rise to Permutation. But there are types of correlative relation which literally invite to Permutation of their notions inasmuch as these occur in numerous contexts which favour the origination of a synonymous sense. Let

¹⁾ by Professor Axel Lindqvist (Göteborgs Högskola).

us from Stern's work adduce those correlative relations as appear to yield instances of unintentional Permutation.

(1) A Noun of Action is used for its Result or Product: — Thus, *lending* 'an act of lending' may also be used to denote 'something lent', and *leading* 'an act of leading' may also mean 'that which is led'. Furthermore, *asking* 'an act of asking' may be used of 'that asked for', *saying* 'an act of utterance' may stand for 'what is said' and hence mean 'common remark or maxim', and *lifting* may represent 'the thing lifted', and so on.

(2) A Noun of Action is used for its Agent: — *Help* 'the action of helping' may be used of 'any thing or person that affords help'; *failure* 'the fact of failing to effect one's purpose' may stand for 'a thing or person that proves unsuccessful'.

(3) Function or Mental State is used for Thing or Person causing it: — Here belongs *care* 'the function of having oversight with a view to protection and guidance', 'anxiety or occasion for it', a sense that may be exchanged for the meaning 'an object or matter of care, concern, or solicitude'. *Concern* in the sense of 'interest, solicitude, anxiety' may stand for 'a matter that concerns', *delight* 'the fact or condition of being delighted' may be used to denote 'any thing in which one takes delight', or 'anything which gives delight'; and *desire* 'the fact or condition of desiring' may imply 'an object of desire'. Similarly the subs. *hate* may denote 'the object of hatred', *pride* may mean 'that of which anyone is proud', and *trouble* may signify 'a thing or person that gives trouble'.

At the end of his exposition of the semantic change called Permutation Stern takes a general view of such relations between one thing-meant and another thing-meant as may in his opinion illustrate this type of sense-change. He says (p. 361) that no one has before him attempted to ascertain the extent of Permutation and its connection with and difference from other types. He tries to disarm criticism by admitting in advance that some of the shifts exemplified may have been effected intentionally, or through Shortening, or through Analogy, and that some of his explanations are made tentatively only. And he points out that when the sense-change seems to be mediated through expressions of double meaning from the period when the new sense emerges, it is probable, or at least possible, that the new sense is due to Permutation. But the latter

is this permutation?

fact is not an absolute criterion since equivocal instances appear elsewhere, too, for instance in cases of Adequation.

The survey given is in itself a creditable task. For we are here confronted with cases of semantic change whose nature has never been brought out clearly but whose paramount importance for semantic research nobody can deny. Hence it is that we cannot disregard Stern's account but must state our own opinion for what it is worth as to the classification of these cases. Some of them have already been adduced by us as true specimens of Permutation, but in some of the following cases we hold a view different from that advocated by Stern.

(1) Let us remark, to begin with, that the exchange of the name of A Building for its Purpose may appear to be a specimen of Adequation, e. g. *church, chapel, college, school*, and others. For *church* meant originally and may still mean 'a building for the purpose of performing divine service or religious acts in it', and the purposive factor is clearly prominent since it is an indispensable notional element. In other words, 'divine service' was from the beginning a cognitive element of the notion of 'church', though the idea of the building itself was the predominant element. But if so, the sense-change only implies that attention was shifted from the building and concentrated on its purpose so as to make it the predominant notional element of the thing-meant. But this is exactly what is characteristic of Adequation due to a new apprehension of an old thing-meant. Of course the sense-change was favoured by certain contexts, e. g. *to go to church, to be in church*, and disfavoured by other situations, e. g. *to look at the church, to be in the church*. In English the sense-change is manifested also in the absence of the definite article. But, on the other hand, there is no denying the fact that the building and its purpose are correlative notions and that they at the same time appear as equipollent notions. Hence the use of the sense denoting the purpose should be classed as Permutation. Cp. Stern, op. cit. 373.

(2) The same interpretation applies when An Organ made by Nature is used for its Purpose or Function since the latter qualities constitute cognitive elements clearly distinguishable in their notions. Examples of this sense-change are to hand when *ear* is employed in sing. or plur. for 'the sense of hearing', or when *eye* is used in sing. or plur. for 'the action or the function of the eyes' or for 'the sense of seeing', or when *nose* is used for 'the

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sense of smell', or when *palate* is popularly employed for 'the sense of taste'. Also in this case we are concerned with examples of Permutation. Cp. Stern, op. cit. 366.

(3) The same interpretation is also applicable when A Name of a Place or Locality is used for its Inhabitants or Frequenters, seeing that the former things were created or used for the purpose of giving accommodation to the latter beings or of housing them. Hence these beings constituted a subsidiary, but distinguishable and indispensable cognitive element of the notions denoting a place or locality, and hence we are faced with correlative notions that at the same time are equipollent notions. But if so, the sense-change is due to Permutation. Examples of this sense-change are presented by *the city* when used of its inhabitants, by *the whole house* when employed of those that dwell in it, and by *the gallery, the pit, the boxes* when referring to those sitting there during a performance. Cp. Stern, op. cit. 374 f.

(4) The same interpretation may also be made when A Receptacle is used for its Content. For the receptacle was obviously made for the purpose of containing something, and hence the idea of the receptacle also embraced the notion of a content, though of an indefinite nature, as a subsidiary cognitive element of some prominence. When the receptacle came to denote its content, the nature of the latter was determined by the general applicability of the former, but above all by the context. In this case, too, we seem to be concerned with correlative notions that at the same time are equipollent notions. As examples: A *barrel* may also denote 'the quantity of water contained in a barrel', and a *tub* is often used of 'the contents of a tub' or 'the water for bathing'. A *box* may be 'the money contained in a box', and a *sack* may denote 'the contents of a sack' or 'the amount usually contained in a sack'. A *wardrobe* originally denoted 'a room in which wearing apparel was kept', but later on it meant 'a person's stock of wearing apparel'. Cp. Stern, op. cit. 363.

It seems to be evident, then, that in the four groups of instances adduced above we are concerned, not with Adequations, but with Permutations, as is maintained by Stern. For it should be noted that we are faced with four groups of things made by man or nature for the purpose of filling a particular function. Hence every word of the groups contains two outstanding notional elements, viz. that of a material instrument and that of the performance of

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a function. Neither of these elements can be eliminated through unintentional Adequation. But they admit instead of being understood as equipollent notions, and hence they may be exchanged for each other by Permutation.

But let us continue our examination.

(5) There are instances where A Noun of Action is used of the Place of Action. In this case, too, Stern justly maintains that we are concerned with unintentional Permutation, and hence it is that we have already adduced NE. *road* and OE. *faru* as affording true specimens of Permutation of Disparate Notions. As an illustrative example Stern gives *crossing* when used of 'a place of crossing', but in this case the sense-change may be due to shortening of the expression 'a crossing of roads (streets)'. Stern points out that the present type is very common and very old, and he gives as further examples Lat. *accessus* denoting 'the action of entering' but also 'the place of entrance', and Lat. *exitus* and *aditus*, which present an equivalent sense-development. Let us also mention OE *utgang* 'going out, departure' and 'exit', and OE. *ingang* 'ingress' and 'entrance', and let us not forget Swed. *gång* in sense of 'a path' and Eng. *walk* in sense of 'a place or track meant or fit for walking'. Cp. Stern. op. cit. 372.

(6) It is no rare phenomenon that The Originator is used of the Product of his Hands or Brain. We are then faced with a correlative relation between an old thing-meant and a new one, between a cause and its effect. As illustrative examples are adduced the cases when *a Milton*, *a Shakespeare* are used in sense of 'a book by M.', 'a play by Sh.', and when *a Rembrandt* or *a Romney* is employed to denote 'a picture painted by Re. or Ro. It is obvious that these modes of expression were adopted intentionally and that they consequently are acts of Nomination. They may perhaps be called Intentional Permutations, but they appear to be specimens of a type of brachylogy whose causa movens is conciseness of speech. It is suggested by Stern that the incentive to the expression was given by the fact that the name of the originator appeared on the cover or the title-page of his work, or was signed on his picture, and that hence the usage constitutes a parallel to the case when *wines* are intentionally called by their labels, e. g. *Beaune*, *Cliquot*, *Johannisberger*. But his suggestion is not a likely one. The incentive was rather a desire for conciseness in expression. Cp. Stern, op. cit. 373.

(7) There are also the cases to be noted when The Geographical Origin is used as the Name of a Product, e. g. NE *nankeen* 'a yellowish-buff cotton cloth' from Nankin in China, or ME *tars* 'a rich cloth' from Tharsia, a country adjoining Cathay (= arch. and poet. name for China). The interpretation is doubtless different in different cases. We have to take ellipsis, perhaps also Permutation into consideration. Misapprehension is advocated by C. J. Efvergren in the case of *tars*.¹ He points out that in such expressions as *a cloth of tars* and *tapytez of tars* (Gaw. & Gr. Knt. 858) *of* may indicate the place of origin but also the material out of which something is made. But we believe beforehand that in many or most cases we should adopt the interpretation that here, too, we are confronted with acts of intentional naming and with a type of brachylogy whose incentive is conciseness in expression.

(8) It is a common phenomenon that A Concomitant implying a Concrete Thing is used to denote a Person possessive of this Thing. Here belong bahuwrihi-compounds — a Sanscrit word used of a rice-field and denoting possessive of or yielding 'much rice' —, such as Eng. *blue-coat*, *red-coat*, *coxcomb*, *red-hat*, Swed. *blåjacka* 'a sailor', (Erik) *Väderhatt* 'possessive of a hat bringing favourable weather'. The principle of expression is not changed if we are confronted with articles of equipment and simple words, such as *a standard* 'a standard-bearer' and *helms* 'soldiers with a helm'. Stern points out that in the 16th century there are instances such as *bow*, *corslet*, *drum*, *fife*, *bag-pipe*, *ensign*, and others, all denoting persons using a bow, corslet, drum, etc. There is no denying the fact that in all these instances we are concerned, not with Intentional Permutation, but with intentional Naming whose *causa movens* was a desire for a *brachylogical* expression or stylistic effect. Cp. Stern, op. cit. 367 f.

It ought not to make any difference as to apprehension if the concomitant be a quality, i. e. an abstract thing. Thus a woman may be called *a beauty*, and if so, we are assuredly concerned, not with Intentional Permutation, but instead with an instance of intentional Naming brought about by a desire for brachylogy. Therefore, if OE *zeoguþ* — whence Eng. 'youth', earlier **juyunþ*, whence also Ger. *Jugend* — meant not only 'the quality of being young' but also

¹ Cp. C. J. Efvergren *Names of Places in a Transferred Sense in English*, Lund 1909, p. 42 sqq.

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‘young people’, ‘or young warriors’ (as opposed to OE *duzuþ*), the concrete sense should be understood to mean orig. ‘individuals possessive of youth’, and hence it should be considered as an example of intentional Naming and as an instance of intentional brachylogy. The same is true of OE. *ieldu* — earlier **aldin* — which denotes ‘old age’ but also ‘old people’. Stern makes the following allegation (p. 372): »Analogy with foreign patterns may be suspected in some cases, since the »collective» type is old and international. Cf. Latin *juventus*, F. *jeunesse*, Germ. *Jugend*, E. *youth*.» But when he refers to *youth* and *Jugend*, this is sheer nonsense, as is also intimated by OE *duzuþ* — earlier **ðuyunþ* (f. *duzan* to be worth, be capable of), whence Ger. *Tugend* —, a word that means ‘excellence, strength, valour, glory’ but also ‘full-grown warriors, body of noble retainers’. — As another illustration of a quality expressing a concrete notion may be taken *length* in sense of ‘a long stretch or extent’. Cp. Stern, op. cit. 372.

(9) We have also to consider the cases when The Material is used to denote the Object made from it. An OE example is *isen* ‘iron’ when it also means ‘iron articles’, e. g. ‘a sword’. Later examples are Eng. *brass* when denoting ‘a sepulchral tablet of brass’ or ‘a musical instrument of brass’, perhaps even when meaning ‘brass or copper money’; further *lead* when denoting ‘a bob or lump of lead suspended by a string to ascertain the depth of water’; perhaps also *copper* in sense of ‘copper money’. Here belong also such words as *mahogany* in sense of ‘a table, esp. a dinner-table’; *sacking* in sense of ‘a piece of sacking’, i. e. a material used in making sacks; *sackcloth* in sense of ‘garments of sackcloth’, i. e. coarse stuff such as sacks are made of.

We admit that *brass* and *copper* in sense of ‘brass or copper money’ may, but need not absolutely, be explained as intentional Shortenings (= Ellipses). But we cannot agree with Stern that in several instances Permutation is a possible explanation. For firstly, we are faced with an intentional use of the words, a fact that precludes ordinary Permutation; secondly, Stern has not adduced any phrases of double meaning; and thirdly, the existence of such equivocal phrases is no infallible criterion of Permutation. To our mind we are instead concerned with acts of intentional naming of a thing-meant but in a manner that aims at brachylogy, i. e. conciseness of speech, in order to save energy, or else for stylistic reasons. It should be observed that in another place Stern himself classes the use of Ma-

terial for Object as a Metaphor, e. g. *steel* in sense of 'a weapon of steel'.

(10) Let us consider the case when A Constituent Detail or Part is used for the Whole. This type is illustrated by *hand* in sense of 'a person who does something, esp. with his hands', 'a manual worker in factory, etc.', and *blade* in sense of 'sword' as being the essential part of the weapon. Another instance is Fr. *bureau* when denoting 'a writing-table', but it originally meant 'the piece of cloth covering the top of the table'. The obvious fact that we are here faced with an intentional sense-change cannot have been hidden from Stern. Hence he must mean that we are here concerned with Intentional Permutation. But it is impossible to share this view, seeing that we are here faced with the phenomenon also called *Pars pro Toto*. Otherwise said, we have to do with the same thing-meant but with our attention focussed on a cognitive element different from those ordinarily predominant. But if so, we should instead say that we are in the presence of a type of Intentional Adequation. Cp. Stern, op. cit. 364. dat niet

As to instances of *Totum pro Parte* Stern says that they are doubtful and that they are more often Adequations. But none the less he seems to hold the view that examples in point are presented by the names of *trees* or *plants* when «used to denote the wood or the leaves or other parts of them». As examples: — *Do þer to sage and persely zoynng* (1420: the leaves of sage and parsley). *Smal-coale . . . is made of Sallow, Willow, Alder, Hasell, and the like* (1646: the wood of these trees). In the latter example the trees mentioned are deliberately considered from the view-point of their physical substance, which ordinarily forms a subsidiary element presented by a *sallow*, a *willow*, etc. Hence we are evidently faced with a type of Intentional Adequation. This implies that the origin of the sense of 'wood' in point of trees must be an intentional affair and no sense gradually cropping up. When in the former example *sage* and *parsley* are mentioned, reference is made, not to their leaves or other parts, but to their physical substance. Hence we are not confronted with specimens of *Totum pro Parte*. Nor are we faced with Permutation. We are instead concerned with Intentional Adequation. Cp. Stern 364. ? the trees are not considered at all

(11) We have also to state that there are cases where A Concrete Substantive is used to denote an Adjectival Quality. This quality is then inherent in the notion of

the substantive. Stern points out that, according to Wundt, it is a general rule that perceptions are named from exterior objects or states connected with them, and that this is due to the fact that no perceptions are independent of such objects or states, and that hence most modern colour names are the names of objects or materials: *orange, terracotta, indigo*. Very well! But all this does not imply that we are here confronted with Permutations, be it of the intentional sort or not. In the present case we may truly maintain that we are faced with instances of *Totum pro Parte*. But at bottom we are in the presence of a type of Intentional Adequation. For attention is obviously meant to be at once shifted from the dominant notional elements characteristic of the substantive in order to be focussed on a subsidiary adjectival element of the notion.

We have accomplished our critical review of the categories of semantic change distinguished by Stern. We do not deny the justification of establishing these categories, but in point of the classes of unintentional sense-change it has mostly been necessary to draw their lines of demarcation more clearly so as to make them better suited for being means of genetic interpretation. As to the classes of intentional sense-changes, there are only two main categories distinguished by Stern, to wit, Shortening and Nomination. He admits that the rhetorical categories called Synecdoche and Metonymy, which are generally intentional phenomena, are by him distributed on the other classes, but the reader gets no specified information on that point. It is evident that there is many a gap in his treatment of intentional sense-changes. To make a distinction between intentional und unintentional sense-changes is certainly a profitable step. It should not be objected that sometimes it is difficult to make such a distinction, for the very statement of this difficulty in individual cases is in itself a piece of information not destitute of interest. Of course it cannot be our duty to grapple here with a systematization of the intentional sense-changes, the less so as it is not required by our own material. But we have seen that there are such categories as Intentional Adequation, Intentional Permutation, and Intentional Brachylogy (for want of a better term) which are disregarded by Stern's classification. But what we particularly want to point out is the existence of two groups of sense-changes which Stern classifies as Adequation but which may aptly be described as Semantic Addition by Implication. There are instances in our material whose

the sense speaks for itself
term.

explanation is obviously concerned with one of these groups. This fact goes to show the importance of confronting reality with the sense-changes distinguished by semantics or *vice versa*. Let us discuss this type of sense-change. It can probably, like Adequation and Permutation, be said to belong to the general category of sense-changes due to a change of the Speaker's and the Listener's Apprehension of the thing-meant. For we are here faced with the Addition of a new thing-meant to an old thing-meant but put in a particular relation to it. Hence it may be permissible also to say that an old thing-meant has been apprehended in a new way by being viewed in its relation to another thing-meant. Otherwise we must establish a fourth general category of semantic change.

Class VIII. Sense-changes due to Semantic Addition by Implication.

The characteristic feature of this category consists in adding to the sense of a word when employed to denote a thing-meant another sense denoting another thing-meant but expressed by implication only, not in words.

We have previously seen that Semantic Addition by Implication may occur in point of sentences. Hence it is likely that we should sometimes meet with the same phenomenon when we have to do with individual words. There is at least one type of such an Addition that should be looked upon as a true instance in point. But there is also another group of examples that may be understood as illustrating Semantic Addition by Implication. But it is very divergent from the former type, and, in distinction to it, it is generally followed by another type of semantic change. Let us discuss these two subclasses.

a. *The Adjectival Type of Semantic Addition by Implication.*

If we coin sentences such as *He is a lion*, *He is a brick*, then we are concerned with predications of co-ordination meaning *He is like a lion*, *He is like a brick*. They involve that the listener is exhorted to leave all other qualities of the predicative substantives out of consideration and concentrate attention on the quality the speaker has in view, viz. courage and straight lines. Both from the speaker's and the listener's view-point we may be said to be faced with Intentional Adequation. The listener has no feeling of in-

completeness in the linguistic expression, but he must feel that he is in the presence of a type of Brachylogy since the sentences mean *He is like a lion in courage, like a brick in strait lines.*

Let us now say with Hamlet: *He was a man, take him for all in all*, or let us take the following lines in Goethe's Tasso: *Wenn ich nicht sinnen oder dichten soll, So ist das Leben mir kein Leben mehr.* In these two instances we are no longer concerned with sentences of co-ordination but with sentences of subsumption or of qualification denoting: *He was a true man. My life is not true (genuine) life.* The adjectival attribute 'true' or 'genuine' has not been expressed by a particular word. We are, according to Stern and others, faced with a *Pregnant* use of the words *man* and *Leben*. But this means at bottom an exhortation to the listener to concentrate his attention on those notional elements of the words that are essential characteristics, leaving aside all subsidiary elements, which may disturb the clearness of the essence of their meaning. It is obvious that the origination of this, as it were, refined or sublimated sense is due to Intentional Adequation, and that we consequently need not assume the existence of a linguistic omission or an Addition by Implication. It is in this sense we should take the expression 'pregnancy' or 'pregnant use'. Let us point out in passing that in the line from Tasso pregnancy has given rise to the rhetorical figure called *oxymoron*, i. e. an expression which in its superficial or literal meaning is self-contradictory but which at bottom is not absurd. Other examples of pregnancy are: *That is not cricket. That is life.*

Let us now consider the exclamation *What a life!* It is obvious that in this case *life* is not at all taken in its pregnant or refined sense. On the contrary, it is taken in its ordinary meaning, but it is qualified by an adjectival attribute meant by implication. For in the present case the sense not expressed in words is not 'true or genuine'. The expression means either *What a glorious life!*, or the like, or else *What a miserable life!*, or the like, according as is required by context and situation. We are here concerned with an intentional omission of an adjective made for stylistic purposes but added by implication. For the absence of a qualifier in these cases has greater effect, because of its appeal to the listener's imagination. But, as already intimated, the general tenor of the adjectival qualifier that is meant by implication is suggested by context and situation.

From what precedes it is evident that there is a distinct difference between the pregnant use of a substantive and the stylistic omission of an adjective and that only the latter cases are true examples of Semantic Addition by Implication. But the semantic situation in all these examples is grossly misunderstood by Stern when he declares (op. cit. p. 408 f.) that in the expressions *What a life!*, *to call a person names* we are faced with a pregnant use of *life* and *names*, or that in the sentence from Hamlet *man* is an instance of unintentional (!) Adequation, or that he sees no semantic and genetic difference between *man* and the former type.

Let us adduce some English instances of the type of sense-change we have called The Adjectival Type of Semantic Addition by Implication.

It is obvious that there is a difference between *What a life!* and *to call a person names* inasmuch as in the latter case, but not in the former instance, the tenor of the adjective omitted has been restricted so as to always imply a pejorative sense such as 'bad', 'opprobrious', 'bitter', etc. This semantic tenor was obviously chosen from the beginning. But none the less there is room left for the listener to make his choice from among various semantic possibilities. This fact keeps alive the feeling of an omission and hence also the stylistic force of the latter. This use of *names*, recorded from the end of the 17th century, hardly ever occurs outside its original linguistic setting.

A parallel instance affords the expression *to use language* in sense to use bad, coarse, or vulgar language.¹⁾

If we turn to the Eng. expressions *of family* and *of no family* in sentences such as *He is of family, of no family*, it is obvious that *family* is qualified by a eulogistic epithet such as 'noble, gentle, distinguished', or the like, and that this omission is still a living reality to the listener. The earliest instance of this case of omission is from the 2nd half of the 18th century.

There is certainly nothing omitted in such phrases as *to keep* or *to lose one's temper, to be out of temper*, as is supposed by G. Krüger (op. cit. p. 108), since here *temper* means 'mental balance or composure, equanimity, calmness'. But things are different when we are faced with the following sentence: — 1828 Webster, *Temper; The boy showed a great deal of temper when I reproved him.* In

¹⁾ Cp. G. Krüger *Die Auslassung oder Ellipse*, in Herrig's *Archiv*, vol. CVIII (1902) p. 108.

this instance we may be concerned with a Shortening of the compound *ill-temper*. But if we take *temper* to stand for 'bad, violent, etc. temper', then we are confronted with a specimen of the Adjectival Type of Semantic Addition by Implication.

Lastly, let us point out that the present type of the Semantic Addition by Implication is always intentionally brought about by the speaker.

b. *The Purposive and the Resultative Class of Semantic Addition by Implication.*

In the present case the Semantic Addition by Implication represents the purpose or the result of the activity expressed by the verb that gets the addition. It should be observed that there are examples where this Semantic Addition has been brought about intentionally. Let us illustrate this case by some instances.

In English the expression *to walk over* originally and literally meant 'to go over (a course) at a walking pace'. But in sporting parlance it is deliberately used to denote by implication a Purposive Addition, also, so as to get the sense 'to go over (the course) at a walking pace in order to be accounted the winner of a race where there is no competition' (said of a horse). From this semantic starting-point further sense-development took place, but this time unintentionally. Proximately there arose the sense 'to win a race where there is no competition'. In Stern's opinion this change was due to Adequation, i. e. to shifting the attention from the original sense to the Purposive Addition. This explanation may seem acceptable, but on closer consideration it should be abandoned.¹⁾ Let it be noted that the relation between an activity and its purpose may be conceived of as a case of interdependence, just as the relation between cause and effect should be conceived of in this way. Nobody denies the correlative nature of the latter relation. But the former relation may be apprehended in the same way, though in this case the correlation appears to be less pronounced, which is equivalent to saying that the relation is not very intimate. Anyhow, to unsophisticated linguistic instinct the old sense and the Purposive Addition obviously appeared as equipollent notions from

¹⁾ In his essay *Notes on the Vocabulary of Layamon's Brut in A Philological Miscellany presented to Eilert Ekwall* (= *Studia Neophilologica* XIV Nos. 1—3 pp. 296, 297) the present writer classed an equivalent sense-change as due to Adequation. But this view was immaterial to the etymological question dealt with.

omvælling
 vandrælling
 the kept
 the overgang
 the specialising
 the betænkning

the view-point of interdependence. But if so, the sense-change under consideration should be classed as Permutation, though it be likely that at first the old sense remained as a subsidiary element before it was ousted altogether. This is, in our opinion, the best explanation of the sense 'to be accounted the winner of a race without competition'. But it was through Adequation that later on this sense was generalized so as to mean 'to win a race or other contest with little or no effort'.

Another example affords Lat. *cancellāre* (formed from Lat. *cancellus*, *cancelli* cross-bars, lattice). The verb originally meant 'to inclose in lattice-work or rails', 'to make lattice-work'. But later on when used in point of writing, it unavoidably obtained a Semantic Addition by Implication denoting the purpose of the action so as to give rise to the sense 'to make lattice-work in order to deface or obliterate writing'. But since the old sense and the Purposive Addition, i. e. 'to cross out, to annul', were equipollent notions from the view-point of interdependence, Permutation took place so that the Purposive Addition, as being the more important notion, replaced the earlier notion, which, receding into the background, became a subsidiary notion before it faded out. Hence the Eng. verb *to cancel*, adopted via French *cancelier* from Latin, has the meaning 'to deface or obliterate (writing) by drawing lines across it lattice-wise'; 'to cross out, to annul'. The latter sense is due to Adequation (*Species pro Genere*).

But the addition of the purposive notion, which may supplant the earlier sense, is ordinarily not made intentionally. The incentive to adding tacitly the purpose to the sense denoting an activity is ordinarily given by the situation and the context. To our mind it is necessary to postulate a Purposive Addition able to form the basis of a Permutation where the purpose of the activity has replaced the activity itself, seeing that the two notions are not otherwise likely to come into contact in our minds for want of close associative bonds. Besides, there are cases where this Addition is met with as a living reality, even since Permutation has taken place (cp. *to cancel* and *to sniff*).

Let it be borne in mind that it is no rare phenomenon in semantic change that an activity has been exchanged for the notion denoting its purpose. The Eng. verb *to soothe* signifies 'to humour or calm a person'. But its source, OE *sōðian* (formed on *sōþ* a. true), denoted 'to prove true, to bear witness to the truth of (something)'. It is

obvious that the modern sense is the result of a Permutation where the Purposive Addition has replaced the OE sense, and that the intermediary stage was the sense 'to bear witness to the truth of a person's words in order to humour and calm him'. It is also evident that the Purposive Addition by Implication and the earlier sense constitute equipollent notions in this combination.

Let us take the Eng. verb *to sniff*, which is of imitative origin and originally meant 'to draw in air through the nose with short or sharp audible inhalations' (14th c.). This activity is ordinarily performed for the purpose of smelling, and hence it is likely that a Permutation should take place without the intermediate stage 'to sniff in order to smell'. But in spite of the fact that 'sniffing' and 'smelling' very often became equipollent notions, a Permutation of them is not recorded until the end of the 18th c., when we meet with the sense 'to smell with a sniff or sniffs' (1788). But the purpose of sniffing may also be the desire to give vent to a feeling. Hence we meet with the sense 'to sniff in order to show or express contempt, disdain, disparagement, incredulity, or similar feeling'. This sense, given by the N. E. D., clearly illustrates our view that a Purposive Addition by Implication may appear in combination with the original sense. But also in this case the purposive notion appeared as equipollent with the old sense of the verb and hence able to supplant it so as to give rise to the meaning 'to show or express disdain, disparagement, etc. by sniffing' (= Permutation). Later on Adequation set in, eliminating 'by sniffing', and the meaning became 'to regard with disdain or contempt', e. g. 1837 Carlyle *Fr. Rev.* *Thus some, with upturned nose, will altogether sniff and disdain Sansculotism.*

There are also examples presented by our own material. Thus, in Swiss German there is a verb *ernödere*ⁿ only denoting 'durchstöbern' and 'erlesen'. To everybody it is obvious beyond dispute that the former sense has given rise to the latter meaning. But in what manner did it do so? In the dialect of Schleswig-Holstein there is a verb *nüschē II* (formed from the extended base *nus-k-*) only denoting 'herumkramen (= herumwühlen)' and 'beim Essen die besten Bissen heraussuchen'. In this case, too, it is as clear as noonday that the former sense has brought the latter meaning into existence. But how was that possible? It was for the sake of this question that we were forced to establish the Purposive Type of Semantic Addition by Implication. It is evident that in the two

examples we are concerned with former Purposive Additions by Implication and that, from the view-point of interdependence, the latter constituted notions equipollent with the original senses, the semantic basis being in one case 'durchstöbern um zu erlesen', and in the other case 'herumkramen um beim Essen die besten Bissen herauszusuchen'.

Another type of interdependence is the relation between cause and effect. Hence the question arises whether the effect (= result) of an activity, i. e. a new sense, may by implication be added to its cause, i. e. the old sense, and thereupon replace it by Permutation. The parallelism with the purposive type of interdependence is too evident to permit of an answer in the negative. For also the old sense and the new one are equipollent notions from the view-point of interdependence, and hence Permutation may take place. But it should be noted that in the present case the correlative relation between the two notions are ordinarily a bit closer than in the former case, i. e. the semantic bond between them is as a rule stronger. Sometimes this associative bond is so strong that there is no need of a Semantic Addition as an intermediary for a Permutation to take place. This is for instance the case with the senses 'to catch' and 'to get or come into possession of' and with the senses 'to use or employ' and 'to waste or damage (a material) gradually by use or attrition'. Let it be noted that in these instances the effects constantly appear when conditioned by these causes. As illustrative examples: — The historical source of the Swed. verb *få* 'to get or acquire' is Prim. Teut. **fashan* 'to catch'. This sense is retained in Ger. *fangen*, whence Swed. *fånga* 'to catch', whose source is Prim. Teut. **fawjan*, a phonetic variant of **fashan*. — The strong ablaut-grade of the Germanic base *nut* 'to catch' appears in the Prim. Scand. verb **nautjan* 'to catch', whence MSwed. *nöta* 'to get', 'come into possession of'. But the MSwed. verb had also other senses, amongst them 'to use or employ', no matter how it originated. This meaning was in MSwed. times exchanged for the sense 'to waste or damage (a material) by use or attrition', nowadays the only survival of the MSwed. senses. — The OE verb *werian* (Prim. Teut. **wazjan*, whence also Goth. *wasjan* 'to clothe'), denoted 'to clothe' but also 'to carry or bear on one's body, to use', all senses still current in Eng. *to wear*. The common sense 'to waste, damage, or destroy by use' did not appear until the 14th c. It is suggested by the N. E. D. that *wear* in this sense perhaps originally is short for *forwear*, which is found earlier.

Certainly not. Permutation is likely to have taken place under any circumstances.

On the other hand, there are lots of cases where the Associative bond between cause and effect cannot be described as close. If none the less Permutation takes place so that the sense presented by the cause is replaced by that presented by the result, then we should postulate as an intermediary stage that the sense of the effect was by implication added to that of the cause. Otherwise said, we must assume that before the Permutation could take place there was a tacit Semantic Addition of the Resultative Type, suggested by situation and context. As a criterion of this Addition should be taken the circumstance that the correlative relation between cause and effect is not so close that the effect invariably appears when the cause is present in mind. Illustrative examples are the relations between 'to stumble' and 'to fall', between 'to deal a blow with a weapon' and 'to glance off'.

The semantic area of the Swed. dial. verb *trumla* consists of the senses 'to stumble' and 'to fall'. There is no doubt whatsoever that the former sense has given rise to the latter signification. It is also obvious that from the view-point of interdependence these notions are equipollent with each other, and that hence the meaning 'to stumble' may be exchanged for the sense 'to fall'. But in this case the Permutation presupposes a tacit Semantic Addition of the Resultative Type in order to bring the notions into contact in our mind, i. e. we must postulate the existence of the sense 'to stumble so as to have a fall'. The result of the Permutation was proximately the sense 'to have a fall through stumbling', which thereupon appeared as 'to have a fall', the subsidiary element gradually fading out (Adequation). An example of the same sense-change is afforded by the Eng. verb *to stumble* (prob. representing an unrecorded ON **stumla*; cp. Norw. *stumla* 'to grope and stumble in the dark', Sw. dial. *stomla*), which denotes not only 'to miss one's footing, to trip over an obstacle' but also, though rarely, 'to fall in consequence of a stumble'. — An example of Permutation of the senses 'to deal a stroke' and 'to glance off' is afforded by ON. *sveðja* (pa. t. *svaddi*) to glance off. The intermediary stage was the sense 'to deal a stroke so that the weapon glances off'.¹⁾

¹⁾ Cp. K. F. Sundén *Notes on the Vocabulary of Layamon's Brut in A Philological Miscellany presented to Eilert Ekwall* (= *Studia Neophilologica* vol. XIV (1942) Nos. 1—3 p. 294 seqq.).

Semantic Addition, however, is a phenomenon that probably manifests itself also in ways other than those consisting in the Addition of a purposive or resultative complement. Let us take the Ger. agent noun *Nusseler* as met with in the Bremen dialect in 1768. This subst. denoted on the one hand 'dem die Arbeit nicht von der Hand gehet', and on the other hand 'der ämsig ist und doch nichts beschicket'. There is no doubt that the first meaning represents the earlier sense. Hence we may safely assume that the second sense had originally the semantic form 'one who makes no progress in his work in spite of being diligent', and that this semantic order was changed since the adversative idea was the more important notional element (= Adequation). But if so, we are obviously in the presence of a Semantic Addition by Implication suggested by situation and context. This case may be described as Semantic Addition of the Adversative Type since the element added represents an obstacle to the validity of the earlier sense. There are probably also other types, but the existence of Semantic Addition by Implication as a form of sense-change has never been discussed and hence never acknowledged by orthodox semantics, i. e. the science of meaning.

CHAPTER V.

The Semantic Development from the Germanic Base *nut*.

When we have to determine the primary signification of the base *nut*, we are faced with the fact that, in spite of the semantic discrepancy, Norw. dial. **nuta** and Dan. dial. **nuta** (Bornholm) are likely to be etymologically the same word. For in Prim. Germanic there is no base *nut* known other than that denoting 'to catch, or capture'. But if so, it is far more likely than not (that the semantic area of the Norw. verb, used of animals, should be closer to the primary signification than the semantic area of the Bornholm word is, used of man. In the former case we are confronted with the senses 'to push forth the nose', esp. 'to push forth (or down) the nose into the fodder but without eating'. In the latter case we are concerned with the meanings 'to be busy in a trifling manner' and 'to be slow or tardy in beginning or doing something'. But the former senses seem to be closer to the original signification than the latter senses are since they seem to involve an activity denoting 'to sniff in order to smell' or 'to smell by sniffing'. It is true that this sense closely agrees with the chief contextual meaning presented by ME. **nytel**, i. e. 'to nose about in quest of something (in a figurative sense)' and with the meaning »stöbern, eig. und bild.», one of the senses presented by Swiss Germ. **nödere**^a I. But 'to smell by sniffs' cannot be the primary meaning. For it must not be forgotten that there are several verbs with the base *nut* which denote 'to emit a series of sounds', such as those produced by a creaking door, a whinnying colt, a quacking duck, a signalling snipe, or else sounds produced by a human being when muttering or grumbling indistinctly. In view of the tendency of human speech to use, if possible, the linguistic material available when denoting new things-meant, it is all but certain that this base *nut* must be the same as the base *nut* denoting 'to sniff in order to smell'. But if so, it is obvious that the latter sense cannot have been the ultimate source of a meaning denoting 'to emit a series of inarticulate sounds'. Hence we must postulate another primary

meaning but one closely allied to the sense 'to sniff in order to smell' or rather to the sense 'to sniff', which in the present case obviously is the earlier notion. Such a signification is to breathe audibly. With this semantic starting-point it is possible to give a very plausible genetic account of all the factual senses attached to the verbs containing the base *nut*. *griepin & hult*

From this primary signification there proximately originated two senses which evidently once were habitual meanings. It is obvious that the sense 'to breathe audibly' may easily pass into the meaning to breathe noisily. In point of fact, this meaning is so closely allied to the primary one that the use of the word in order to denote this sense should be understood as a case of Identification and the sense itself as a 'fluctuation'. From the primary meaning 'to breathe audibly', i. e. to inhale and exhale audibly (mostly through the nose), may also the sense to sniff or snuff originate, since it implies 'to make short audible inhalations or a long inhalation through the nose' and there consequently are several points of similarity between the two activities. But there are dissimilar points, also, since sniffing is an intentional action. Therefore the use of the verb with the primary meaning mentioned in the sense 'to sniff' should be classed as a case of Intentional (non-figurative) Transfer due to Similarity. The action of sniffing has often the purpose to clear the nose, a fact pointed out by the N. E. D. in defining the notion as follows: — 'to draw air through the nose with short or sharp audible inhalations in order to clear the nose in this way'. But the purpose of sniffing or snuffing may also be to smell something, and if this element is present in the speaker's mind, then we are faced with the Purposive Type of Semantic Addition by Implication, i. e. we are confronted with the sense to sniff or snuff in order to smell something. This meaning and the sense to breathe noisily are starting-points for two ramifications of semantic development which comprise all factual meanings presented by the verbs and their derivatives formed from the base *nut*.

A. *The Semantic Development from the sense 'to sniff or snuff in order to smell something'.*

We have previously seen that the Purposive Addition by Implication, i. e. 'to smell something', may appear as a notion equipollent with the old sense, i. e. 'to sniff or snuff', and that hence Permuta-

tion of these two senses may take place so as to give rise to the meaning 'to smell something by sniffing or sniffs'. It is obvious that this activity, too, may have a purpose, whether this be a desire 'to find out something' or a wish 'to follow a track by its scent', and that this purpose may be tacitly added by implication to the sense denoted by the verb itself. But it is also evident that this Purposive Addition may appear as a notion equipollent with the sense 'to smell something by sniffing or sniffs' and hence able to replace the latter sense by means of Permutation. If this sense-change actually takes place, then it gives rise to the meanings 'to try to find out something by the smell', 'to try to find or track something (game, prey, etc.) by the smell'. These senses are equivalent to the meaning 'to nose about in quest of something' and to the sense of Ger. 'stöbern'.

In our material the former sense is identical with the best contextual meaning of ME **nytel**. But since the sense 'to nose about in quest of something' is used of man, we are confronted with a Figure of Speech, to wit, a Metaphor based on Similarity. This semantic change is in this case always accompanied by an Adequation that eliminates cognitive elements characteristic of animals and adds new ones characteristic for man. The sense 'stöbern' is presented by the Swiss German verbs **nödere^a I** (*nödereⁿ, nöttereⁿ*) when denoting 'stöbern eig. und bildl.', 'einer Sache nachsuchen, aufspüren', and **ernödere^a** in sense 'durchstöbern'. We have previously pointed out that **ernödere^a** also means 'erlesen' and that this sense originally constituted a Purposive Addition to the former sense. In other words, the sense 'erlesen' presupposes the sense 'durchstöbern um zu erlesen' but also a subsequent Permutation, seeing that 'durchstöbern' and 'erlesen' appeared as equipollent notions. Note also Swiss Germ. **Noderete^a** (*Nödereteⁿ, Nöttereteⁿ*), noun of action of **nodere^a I**.

There appears to be a figurative use of the sense 'to nose' in the case of **beneutelen** in the dialect of Groningen, where it denotes 'iets met meer aandacht beneuzen, beneuzelen'. The latter verbs are not noted down by van Dale's Dutch dictionary, but cp. Du. *neuzelen* in sense of *neuzen* 'snuffelen', e. g. 'de hond snuffelte overal'. 1d

It is now appropriate to explain the origin of the semantic aspect of Norw. dial. **nuta**, i. e. 'to push forth the nose', esp. 'to push forth (or down) the nose into the fodder but without eating' (apparently chiefly said of horned cattle). It is a priori just as likely as not that the first sense was earlier than the second sense. If so,

it may appear to be a plausible postulation to assume that the first sense existed as a subsidiary element in cases where the predominant notional element was 'to smell (by sniffing)'. If the speaker and the listener repeatedly get the impression that the pushing forth of the nose is not made for the purpose of smelling but from some indefinite motive, then the subsidiary element gradually becomes the predominant notional element so that there arises the meaning 'to push forth the nose as if for the purpose of smelling'. If so, we are faced with Adequation. Owing to further operation of this transforming force, the purposive element disappeared altogether. But if so, we are confronted with the sense 'to push forth the nose'. It is a matter of course that the pre-requisite condition for this semantic development is the existence of the Situation of Visible Presence. It is true that 'pushing forth the nose' and 'smelling' may be apprehended as equipollent notions, but it is impossible to see how the sense 'to push forth the nose for the purpose of smelling' could be denoted by the word for 'smelling' since this semantic starting-point presupposes that 'pushing forth the nose' is the earlier sense, whereas the explanation given above is perhaps an abstract possibility.

The second sense of Norw. dial. *nuta*, i. e. 'to push forth (or down) the nose into the fodder but without eating', has the appearance of being a case of Semantic Addition by Implication. It is then the simplest explanation to assume that, owing to the Situation of Visible Presence and frequent repetition of it, the notional elements 'into the fodder but without eating' were attached to the verb so as to become a fact of language and hence capable of being reproduced by any member of the linguistic community concerned. If so, we are faced with a case of Semantic Addition by Implication, but obviously of a type other than that denoting purpose, or result, or adversative obstacle. For it would be unnatural to postulate as an intermediary stage the sense 'to push forth the nose in order to put it into the fodder but without eating'. But also this argumentation is a failure.

There is, however, another explanation to be considered, viz. the view that sense 2 is a modification — due to Adequation — of the notion of G. 'wühlen', i. e. 'to rout about, to poke or push about with the nose in or into something'. If so, sense 1 is the younger notion and has sense 2 as source. The first sense is then due to Adequation, supported by the Situation of Visible Presence. This is after all the correct explanation of the semantic aspect of Norw.

dial. *nuta*. Cp. Eng. *nuzzle I* and LG *nösseln* (see pp. 166, 211). But how could the notion of 'wühlen' be attached to the verb?

It appears to be no rare phenomenon that verbs meaning 'to nose about in quest of something' may also denote 'to root about with the snout in quest of something'. This fact is confirmed by our own material illustrating the semantic aspects of the verbs with the base *nut*. In this case we should assume that the sense 'to root about or up something' had as proximate source the meaning 'to nose about in order to root up (or root about for) something eatable'. In other words, we are faced with a Semantic Addition of the Purposive Type, and thereupon with Permutation.

In our material the sense 'to root about with the snout (in quest of something)', be it said of animals or used figuratively, is presupposed by Norw. *nuta* and factually met with in Swabian **nottereⁿ** 'wühlen, schnattern' and in some Swiss German verbs and their derivatives. We have to state the following instances: — **Nödereⁿ I** signifies not only 'stöbern, nachsuchen' but also 'wühlen, stochern (= to poke the fire)'; **nüdereⁿ I** (also dim. **nüderleⁿ**), e. g. »Je mehr man im Licht nüdere, desto schlechter brenne es» (7840).; **ûfnodereⁿ** aufwühlen, eig. und bildl.; **vernodereⁿ** zerwühlen, z. B. von Mäusen, 's *Für v.*, darin herumstochern und es dadurch auslöschen; **nöderleⁿ**, Dim. zu *nodereⁿ I*, im Feuer oder in glühenden Kohlen herumstochern; **vernüderen** = **vernodereⁿ**. The sense is also met with in agent nouns and in nouns of action, viz. **Noderer**, **Noderi** (*Nöderi*) Wühler, Grübler; **Nodereteⁿ**, *Nödereteⁿ* (*Nottereteⁿ*) Abstr. zu *nodereⁿ I*.

Let us in this connection point out that the sense 'stochern' or 'herumstochern', i. e. to poke the fire, has 'wühlen' as proximate source and hence involves a sense-change that in Stern's opinion should be classed as an Intentional Transfer, which is non-figurative since it is only based on cognitive points of similarity but is destitute of emotive causes. And furthermore, when the agent nouns denote not only 'Wühler' but also 'Grübler', then the latter sense should, according to his terminology, be classed as a Figure of Speech since this mode of Nomination involves an emotional (incl. æsthetic) element in the shape of a tone of contempt or disparagement.

In Scandinavian there is a verb with the base *nut* that has a sense obviously descended from the meaning 'to root up with the nose'. This verb is Dan. dial. **nutte**, 'skultre sig', i. e. to give one's upper body shakes and twists in order to get rid of an itching or some-

thing else (Jutland). If a speaker has to denote this human activity, he is strongly reminded of a pig that in rooting up a plant gives it shakes and twists in order to get it loose from the ground and shake off the earth. But if so, it is only natural for him to employ a word denoting 'to root up with the nose', a use, however, that presupposes the Situation of Visible Presence. The type of sense-change involved in this semantic transfer can hardly be apprehended as a Figure of Speech since no emotional element appears to have been operating. But if so, we are faced with an Intentional (non-figurative) Transfer due to Similarity. It is a matter of course that Adequation set in and adjusted the sense to the semantic aspect presented by the thing-meant. If the transfer was often repeated, it was thereupon adopted by the linguistic community concerned. This interpretation may appear as a wanton conjecture. But in Scandinavian there is a verb with the same sense formed from the Germanic base *nus*, whose derivatives semantically mostly run parallel with those descended from the base *nut* since *nus* has the same primary signification. This verb is Danish *nusse* 'skultre sig' (Jutland). In addition, there are other Scandinavian verbs formed from *nus* whose senses presuppose the former existence of the meaning 'to root (up) with the nose' (see next chapter).

From this semantic line of development, which started from the senses 'to nose about' and 'stöbern', we must now return to this point of departure. For it has also given rise to two or three other lines of development. And these represent the leading senses of the present verbs derived from the base *nut*, if we disregard for the moment the cases which derive their origin from the sense 'to breathe noisily'.

Let us assume the case that there was a thing-meant showing the picture of a person moving slowly and leisurely about in performing some task so as to give the impression of lazily wasting time or of wanting in efficiency. If a speaker had to clothe this human activity in words, he is likely to have been forcibly reminded of a pig or a hen moving slowly about in quest of food. And if so, he might have chosen the word describing this picture in the animal sphere since there were several points of similarity between both activities, viz. slowness, leisure, and the notion of walking about. If the speaker actually chose the expression referring to the animal world, then he employed a Figure of Speech. For an emotional element was then added to the cognitive elements that the two notions had in

common. And the emotion involved denoted disapproval and contempt of this sort of human activity by comparing it with a mode of action occurring in the animal world. We are accordingly faced with a case of Intentional Figurative Transfer. Thereupon Adequation immediately set in, adjusting the sense transferred to the characteristics of the new thing-meant. This consisted in eliminating notional elements belonging to the animal world and adding new ones characteristic of man. Later on, through Adequation, the notional element implying 'walking about' was eliminated as being of less importance than other cognitive elements. In this way it came about that there arose such senses as 'to loiter or dawdle', 'to be tardy', 'to be long or slow about getting a thing done' and modifications of them, such as 'to do or make work clumsily or unskilfully', or else 'inefficiently and without energy'.

These semantic aspects are more or less abundantly represented in our material as is apparent from the following survey.

Swedish: — **Nåta** v. 'Dröja, söla', i. e. to tarry or be tardy, to loiter or dawdle (Finnby in Finland).

Danish: — **Nuta** v. 'Være langsom, ikke rask til sit Arbejde', i. e. to delay or be tardy in beginning or doing anything (Bornholm). **Notle** v. 'Være langsom til sit arbejde', i. e. to delay or to be tardy in beginning or doing anything (Jutland). — **Notler** sb. 'En kludrer som kan gøre alslags, men intet godt', i. e. a bungler who can do or make work of any kind but in a clumsy and unskilful manner (Jutland). **Notlitot** sb. 'En ligegyldig og tåbelig person', i. e. a listless and foolish person (Jutland).

Low German. Schleswig-Holstein: — **Nöteln** v. Langsam sein, zaudern, schlendern (i. e. schlecht und nachlässig arbeiten). **Nuddeln** and **nuteln** v. Zaudern, nicht vom Fleck kommen. — **Nottelig** a. Unsauber. **Nuddel** sb. Schmutziger Mensch (Schleswig). **Nuddelig** a. Langsam, träge; unordentlich, unsauber, schmutzig. **Nüddelig** a. Säumig, langsam, ungewandt (= clumsy, unskilful).

Bremisch-Niedersächsisches Wörterbuch (of 1768): — **Neteln** v. Zaudern; but also = nicht aufhören können von einer Sache zu reden, einen langwierigen Stil im Tadeln haben. **Nöteln** v. Zaudern. — **Neteler** sb. Zauderer, langsamer Mensch, es sey in der Arbeit oder im Reden. **Netel-goos** sb. Dasselbe. **Netelhaftig** a., and **Netelig** a. Zauderhaft, verdrüßlich- langsam. **Netel-Kutte** sb. Ein Zauderer. **Netelijs** sb. Das Zaudern, Gezauder.

Mecklenburg and Hither Pomerania: — **Nuddeln** v. Säumen, langsam arbeiten.

Livonia and Esthonia (until recently): — **Nöteln** v. Zaudern, trödeln (i. e. to dawdle = to idle, to waste time).

The North of Germany: — **Nuttig** a. and adv. Unbedeutend, schlecht (Cp. H. Berghaus, Der Sprachsatz der Sassen etc. Berlin 1883).

Middle German. Lipsic: — **Nuddeln** v. Schlecht, liederlich, ohne Ernst und Nachdruck arbeiten; schlecht, langsam fahren.

Bavarian Franconia with Aschaffenburg: — **Notzen** v. Langsam seyn, nicht vom Fleck kommen (Aschaff.).

High German. Low Alemannian: — **Nutt^eleⁿ** [*nytle*] v. Langsam thun, langsam an etwas herumarbeiten, herumzerren; but also = behaglich arbeiten, aus Langeweile zum Zeitvertrieb arbeiten (Alsatia).

Netherlandish. Dutch: — **Neutelen** v. Lambiner, i. e. agir lentement (Pieter Marin, 1701); talmen, i. e. met de uitvoering van iets wachten, langzaam werken (van Dale, 1924). — Pieter Marin: **Neutelaar** sb. Futselaar, i. e. a slowcoach, 'lambin, ouvrier mal habil'. **Neutelary** sb. Lambinage. — van Dale: **Neutelaar** sb. Talmer, i. e. a slowcoach. **Neutelarij** sb. Talmerij, getalm, i. e. the action or quality of dawdling. **Neutelig** a. Talmachtig, i. e. slow to act. **Neuteligheid** sb. Neutelarij, talmerij.

Frisian. West Frisian (Holland): — **Neutelen** v. Talmen, dralen (= talmen). **Neutelje** v. Zaniken, i. e. to dwell tediously on the same subject; zeuren, i. e. to be slow in performing a task, to harp on the same subject.

The Frisian-Saxon Dial. in Groningen (Holland): — **Nutel** a. Nuffig, fatterig; 'nuffig' = als eene nuf, i. e. a conceited and overnice girl, esp. one very proud of her hair and dress; 'fatterig' = like a 'fat', i. e. modegek; hence 'fatterig' = foppish; 'n *nutel* man = iemand die zich met vrowelijke angstvalligheid kleedt.

The East Frisian-Saxon Idiom (Prussia): — **Nöteln** v. Zaudern, zögern, langsam arbeiten, nichts beschicken (Stürenburg, 1857). **Nöteln** v. Sich lange wo u. wobei aufhalten und womit beschäftigen; zaudern, saumselig sein, trändeln, trödeln (ten Doornkaat Koolman, 1882) — **Genötel** sb. Geträndel, Gezauder, etc. (ten

Doornkaat Koolman). **Nötelee** sb. Zauderei (Stürenburg). **Nötēlê** sb. Trändelei, Zauderei, Saumseligkeit, etc. (ten Doornkaat Koolman). **Nöteler** sb. Zauderer (Stürenburg). **Nöteler** sb. Trändeler, Zauderer, saumseliger Mensch, etc. (ten Doornkaat Koolman). **Nötelkraam** sb. Zauderei (Stürenburg). **Nötēl-Kutte** sb. Zauderer (Stürenburg). **Nötelig** a. Zauderhaft (Stürenburg). **Nötelig** a. Trändelig, zauderig, saumselig, langsam (ten Doornkaat Koolman).

Northern Frisian: — **Naeteln** v. Zaudern, zögern, langsam arbeiten (Ditmarschen). **Nöteln** [*nødln*] v. Langsam sein, zaudern, schlendern (Föhr, ep. the Schlesw.-Hol. Dialect). — **Nüddelig** a. Langsam, träge; unordentlich, unsauber, schmutzig (Ditmarschen).

English: — **ME. Nytel** v. In the alternative contextual sense 'to dawdle' (Lancashire). **Nottle** a. Foolish, trifling, absurd, wanton (now obsolete, Devonshire). **Nutil** a. Useless, effeminate (now obsolete, North East Yorkshire).

If we examine this material, we find that there are not only instances with the general sense 'to be slow in action or to be tardy to act' but also senses expressing 'want of skill or else absence of efficiency in doing or making something'. We may safely assume that the former sense is the earlier meaning since this is here the natural process of semantic development. But if so, we are proximately concerned with instances of Semantic Addition by Implication when the senses denote absence of efficiency. Here belong LG. **nuddeln** and **nuteln**, which mean 'zaudern' but also 'nicht vom Fleck kommen' (Schlesw.-Holst.), Mid. Ger. **notzen** signifying 'langsam seyn' and 'nicht vom Fleck kommen' (Aschaffenburg), and East Fris. **nöteln** denoting 'zaudern, zögern, langsam arbeiten', but also 'nichts beschicken' (Stürenburg). It is obvious that the sense 'nicht vom Fleck kommen', 'nichts beschicken' represents the result of the degree of activity implied in 'zaudern, langsam sein, langsam arbeiten', and that this fact presupposes the previous existence of the meaning 'langsam arbeiten und nichts beschicken'. But if so, we are obviously faced with an instance of Semantic Addition of the Resultative type. It is also evident that the old sense and the new one constitute equipollent notions and that hence the latter sense was likely to replace the earlier meaning = Permutation.

The same genetic account does not seem to be applicable to the origination of the senses expressing want of skill. Examples of this type are met with when Fris. **nöteln** in the dial. of Föhr means not only 'langsam arbeiten' but also 'schlendern', i. e. schlecht und nach-

lässig arbeiten, or when Ger. **nuddeln** in the dialect of Lipsic signifies 'schlecht, liederlich, ohne Ernst und Nachdruck arbeiten', a sense whose immediate source was most likely the meaning 'langsam arbeiten'. To our mind we are here concerned with a case of Adequation due to Interference. It should be noted that the sense 'to work slowly' generally had a disparaging tone and that hence poor quality and carelessness were sure to appear as subsidiary notional elements in this sense. But if so, it is nothing remarkable that the verb for the sense 'to work slowly' should be employed to denote a thing-meant implying 'to work badly and carelessly', esp. when this sense is supported by the Situation of Visible Presence. The same explanation should be applied when in Pieter Marin's dictionary Du. **neutelaar** denotes not only 'slowcoach' but also 'ouvrier mal habil'. It is also applicable when Dan. dial. **notler**, in addition to the sense 'a person who can do or make all sorts of handiwork without having been an apprentice', also means 'a bungler who can do or make work of any kind but in a clumsy and unskilful way'. The former sense should in its turn be understood as a case of Adequation due to Interference, seeing that the proximate source of the sense-change obviously was the sense 'a person deft and clever of hand', a signification also represented by Dan. dial. **notler**.

We have seen that formations from the base *nut* may denote tardiness, or slowness, or else inefficiency, or want of skill, as characteristics of human activity in general. But there are also a few examples where verbs with this base are employed to denote a particular kind of activity but performed in a way exhibiting these qualities. Such instances should be understood as specimens of that class of Adequation called Specialization, i. e. the use of Genus pro Specie. An example in point is **nuddeln** in the dialect of Lipsic. This verb denotes not only 'schlecht, liederlich, ohne Ernst und Nachdruck arbeiten' but also 'schlecht, langsam fahren', i. e. to drive badly and slowly. The latter sense is obviously genetically and logically a Specialization of the former activity, but genetically we may perhaps be concerned, not with an Adequation, but with an Intentional non-fig. Transfer due to Similarity, according as the sense-change is apprehended as unintentionally or as intentionally brought about. Another example is the West Fris. verb **neutelje** when, in addition to the sense 'binnenmonds brommeln', it also means 'zaniken', i. e. to dwell tediously on the same subject, and 'zeuren', i. e. 'to be slow in performing a task' and 'to harp

on the same subject'. As in point of Du. 'zeuren', so in the case of the West Fris. verb the sense 'to harp on the same subject' may be considered to be a Specialization of the meaning 'to be slow in performing a task', or else to be an Intentional non-fig. Transfer due to Similarity. Another example is LG **neteln**, which in the dialect of Bremen (1768) means not only 'zaudern' but also 'nicht aufhören können von einer Sache zu reden' and 'einen langwierigen Stil im Tadeln haben'. Hence the agent noun of the verb, i. e. **Neteler** or **Netelgoos**, signifies 'ein langsamer Mensch, es sey in der Arbeit oder im Reden'. Otherwise said, the sense 'nicht aufhören können von einer Sache zu reden' may be understood as a Specialization of 'zaudern' in the sense 'to be slow in performing a task', or else as an instance of Intentional non-fig. Transfer.

But the case is not exactly the same when we have to explain the sense 'einen langwierigen Stil im Tadeln haben'. For this meaning may be understood as a Regular Transfer of the meaning 'nicht aufhören können von einer Sache zu reden'. On the other hand, it is possible to assume that the sense 'einen langwierigen Stil im Tadeln haben' is a Specialization of the manner of performing the task of blaming, or criticizing. If so, we are faced with a case of Adequation without a previous Sense-change. But if so, we have only to explain the origin of the sense 'to blame or to criticize'. This is an easy task, but it belongs to the second main ramification of semantic development, i. e. the one starting from the sense 'to breathe noisily'. It may seem likely that, since both senses appear in the Bremen verb **neteln**, one of them should be classed as a Regular Transfer of the other. But personally we believe that the sense 'einen langwierigen Stil im Tadeln haben' should be explained as a Specialization of the sense 'to blame, to criticize', and that hence we are concerned with the use of Genus pro Specie. This view seems to be in harmony with the state of things in Baltic German (existing until recently). In that dialect we meet with the verb **nütteln** (18th c.), which denotes not only 'mussitare', i. e. in den Bart murmeln', but also 'iterum iterumque aliquid ægre ferre atque id verbis exprimere', i. e. a Specialization of displeasure or criticism as to its manner of expression. This fact explains the sense of modern Baltic **niteln**, i. e. 'an Allem etwas auszusetzen haben, und mit einer gewissen Kleinigkeitskrämerei oder Spitzfindigkeit dabei verfahren', and **benitteln** 'in verdriesslichem Ton kleinlich bekritteln'. Note also the agent noun **Nitteler** 'Einer der nittelt', the nouns of action **Nittelei**

and **Nittlerei**, and the adjectives **nittlerisch** 'immer etwas zu nitteln habend' and **nittlich** »milder als **nittlerisch**».

There is an example of the present type of semantic change, i. e. Genus pro Specie, whose former existence in a verb is proved by an adjectival derivative only. For the adjective **nutel** in the dialect of Groningen presupposes the former existence of a verb ***nutelen**. The adjective means 'conceited like a girl, foppish', and the corresponding verb from which it is formed evidently denoted 'to waste time on one's toilet', 'to be foolishly attentive to one's appearance and dress'. It is an interesting fact that in Norw. dialects the parallel base *nus* has a derivative denoting about the same thing, viz. **nossa**¹⁾ v. 'Sysle i mak og med omhu med paaklædning og morgenmaaltid; gjøre sig det behagelig', i. e. to spend time and care on one's toilet and meal in the morning, to make oneself comfortable. The latter sense of **nossa** is due to Intentional Permutation, being synonymous with the former sense.

In the Alsatian dialect the verb **nuttle**^a [*nytle*] means 'langsam thun, langsam an etwas herumarbeiten, herumzerren' but also 'behaglich arbeiten', 'aus Langeweile, zum Zeitvertrieb arbeiten'. It is easy to understand how the sense 'behaglich arbeiten' originated. In actual employment of the verb in sense of 'langsam arbeiten' there arose, under favourable circumstances, the meaning 'behaglich arbeiten' as a contextual synonym for it. Through Permutation and repetition this sense became firmly attached to the verb alongside of the earlier meaning. But the other sense, i. e. 'aus Langeweile zum Zeitvertrieb arbeiten', should probably be explained in another way. This sense is equivalent to the meaning 'to work leisurely in order to beguile the time'. But if so, the latter sense should be understood as presenting the Purposive Type of Semantic Addition by Implication, subsequently exposed to Permutation.

There are sometimes adjectives and substantives which are formed from verbs with the base *nut* and with the sense 'to be slow and tardy', 'to dandle', but which offer a semantic aspect not in harmony with that of the verb. In the Schleswig-Holstein dialect this is the case with the adjective **nottelig** 'unsauber'. We have previously pointed out (p. 88) that adjectives not rarely present a lot of

¹⁾ The vowel of the stem is pronounced with the extremely close *o* (with strong rounding of the lips) characteristic of Norwegian and Swedish. This is perhaps due to influence from Norw. *nosa* v., but the base of the verb is *nus*. See Alf Torp *Ny-norsk Etymologisk Ordbok*, Kristiania 1919 s. v. *nossa*.

senses which on closer inspection appear to be interrelated in the way that they constitute a series of senses whose origin is due to Adequation founded on logical Interference. In the present instance we are doubtless concerned with this kind of Adequation. In other words, there was a relation of Interference between the senses 'unordentlich' and 'unsauber', and hence the latter sense could replace the former meaning. And in its turn 'unordentlich' formed a relation of Interference with the sense 'langsam, träge', and hence it could replace this sense. But the earlier links of the semantic change of development need not fall into desuetude, as in the present case. They may be retained alongside of the new sense. This is actually the case with the adjective **nuddelig** in the dialect of Schleswig-Holstein, a word that means 'langsam, träge'; 'unordentlich'; 'unsauber', 'schmutzig'. The same meanings are presented by the adjective **nüddelig** (Ditmarschen). The subs. **Nuddel** 'schmutziger Mensch' (Schleswig) may be understood as a New Coinage correlative to the adjective **nuddelig** in sense of 'unsauber, schmutzig'. In Schleswig-Holstein the adjective **nüddelig** denotes, inter alia, 'säumig, langsam', and 'ungewandt', i. e. unskilful, clumsy. There is a relation of Interference between the former and the latter sense, and hence the appearance of the sense 'ungewandt' should be understood as an example of Adequation due to logical Interference. The meaning of Low German **nuttig** is 'unbedeutend, schlecht'. This is obviously a signification originating from 'langsam, säumig', a sense readily suggestive of inefficiency, and hence there is a relation of Interference between 'langsam, säumig' on the one hand, and 'inefficient', 'unbedeutend, schlecht' on the other hand. The Eng. dialectal adjective **nottle** (now obsolete) means 'foolish', 'trifling' (i. e. behaving idly or frivolously, foolish, insignificant), 'absurd' (i. e. unreasonable and hence ridiculous, silly), 'wanton' (i. e. unchaste, arbitrary, or unreasonable, also effeminate, arch.). All these are pejorative senses which may have had their ultimate origin in the sense 'slow, tardy' (in performing a task). They involve sense-changes due to Adequation as a result of relations of Interference. The semantic fundament, however, may also to some extent have been verbs meaning 'to be busy in a trifling way' (see p. 133). The Danish dialectal subst. **notlitot** 'a listless and foolish person' is a New Coinage, a compound evidently made up of the verb **nottle** in sense 'to work slowly and inefficiently' and the subs. *tott* (Jutland), meaning 'a tuft of hay', 'a puny little child', 'a bad or worthless fellow'.

But let us shake again the kaleidoscope of things-meant. It may then happen that there turns up a picture showing a person leisurely walking about in performing some minor task or doing some trifling work not requiring much physical effort or any amount of skill. When a speaker has to denote this thing-meant, he is again strongly reminded of an animal, say, a pig or a hen nosing or walking slowly about in order to root up or pick up something eatable. But in this case the speaker's attention is not directed to the low degree of efficiency and energy exhibited by a person in performing a task. His interest is instead concentrated on the low degree of physical effort required by a person in performing the task. This involves that the speaker wants to characterize an activity as being busy with trifles or trifling work. From this view-point the items of similarity between the activity performed by animals and the activity performed by man, i. e. the notional elements of slight work and of slowly walking about, are of sufficient strength to induce the speaker to transfer the expression from the animal world to the human sphere. Though in this case the emotional element is not so prominent as in the case of verbs with the base *nut* denoting 'to act slowly and indolently', it is not entirely absent. It chiefly consists in enshrouding the human activity with a dyslogistic atmosphere, and this bad connotation readily attaches to the person performing such an activity. Also in the present case, then, we are concerned with a semantic change that should be classed as illustrating that kind of Nomination called Intentional Figurative Transfer. And also here the notional element of 'walking about' may be eliminated by Adequation. In this way there originated the sense 'to be busy with trifles', 'to be busy in a trifling way'.

In our material this meaning and its semantic derivatives are rarely found in Swedish idioms but often in Danish dialects and in Netherlandish, as is evident from the following survey.

Swedish: — **Nåttla** v. 'Hålla på med petgöra', i. e. 'etwas Kleines, Schwieriges arbeiten' (the parishes of Björketorp and Ryssby in Sweden).

Danish: — **Nuta** v. 'Nysle, smaasysle, have travlt med Ubetydeligheder', i. e. 'to be busy in a trifling manner; also 'to work slowly, or the like' (Bornholm). **Nytle** v. 'Være nævenyttig', i. e. 'to be deft or clever of hand (Jutland). **Notle** v. 'Sysle med al slags småarbejde, være nævenyttig', i. e. 'to be busy with any sort of trifling work; to be skilful or expert in working with the hands or

in handicraft; also 'to work slowly, or the like' (Jutland). — **Nytleri** sb. 'Småarbejde', i. e. trifling work. **Notleri** sb. 'Nottelværk'. **Nottel** sb. 'Nottelværk'. **Nottelarbejde** sb. 'Nottelværk'. **Nottelgavn** sb. 'Nottelværk'. **Nottelværk** sb. 'Småt handarbejde', i. e. work or thing comparatively small and unimportant done or made by the hands. **Notteltang** sb. 'Niptang'; doubtless = tweezers employed in doing 'nottelværk'. **Notler** sb. 'En håndsløv, nævenyttig person'; 'en kluddrer som kan gøre als slags arbejde men intet godt', i. e. a person deft or clever of hand; a bungler who can do or make work of any kind but in a clumsy or unskilful manner; also 'person som kan gøre håndverksarbejde uden at have stået i lære', 'husflidsarbejder', i. e. a person who can do or make the work of a craftsman without having been an apprentice, a person occupied with domestic industry; also 'nålemager', i. e. needle-maker. — All these dialectal words are met with in the Jutland idiom.

Low German. Schleswig-Holstein: — **Nüddelig** a. Geschickt im Verfertigen von allerlei Kleinkram, anstellig (i. e. skilful), brauchbar, tüchtig; also 'säumig, langsam, ungewandt'.

Bremen and the surrounding Low-Saxon territory: — No examples found.

Middle German. No example found.

High German: Swabian: — **Nottlete** sb. 'Häkellarbeit'. No other example found in High German.

Netherlandish (Low Frankish). Dutch: — **Neutelen** v. 1701 Pieter Marin's dict. 'Futselen' (i. e. zich met beuzelingen [= trifles] ophouden, langzaam werken), 'lambiner' (i. e. agir lentement, Littré), 'tracasser' (i. e. aller et venir, sur place, pour de petites occupations, Littré). 1777 Kilian's dict. 'Frivola agere' i. e. to be busy with trifles. 1924 van Dale's dict. 'Talmen' (i. e. met de uitvoering van iets wachten, langzaam werken), 'futselen', 'zich met beuzelingen ophouden'. — *Derivatives:* Pieter Marin: **Neutelaar** sb. 'Futselaar'; ('lambin', 'ouvrier mal habil'). **Neuteraar** sb. Neutelaar. **Neutelary** sb. ('Lambinage'); tracasserie'. — Kilian: **Neuteler**, **Neutelerven** sb. 'homuncio frivolus, assiduus in rebus frivolis agendis: multæ sedulitatis in re frivola'. **Neutken** (oud n.), **Neutelersken** sb. 'anacula curax, multæ sedulitatis anus'. — van Dale: **Neutel** sb. 'Klein mannetje, dreutel' (i. e. ventje = a puny person, often contemptuous; also = keutel, hoopje dreck).

West Flemish: — **Treuteneuten** v. 1892 L.—L. De Bo's dict. 'Treuten en neuten, trutselen en nutselen, neuteltreuten,

met beuzelwerk zijnen tijd verslijten', i. e. to spend one's time on trifles. **Neuteltreuten** v. 1892 Ibid. »Nutselen en trutselen, fr. lam-biner, chipoter.» — **Neutenaatje** sb. 1892. Ibid. dimin. see **Neuteraar**, also = Kilian's *neuteler*, *neutelerken* sb.; **Neutelaar**, dimin. **Neuteraartje** sb. 1892 Ibid. 'Dwergje, een **verneuteld**¹⁾ ventje, fr. petit homme rabougri' (i. e. 'chétif', 'débile').

East Fris.-Saxon dialect in Groningen: — **Beneutelen** v. 1880 Molema's dict. (bij Hfft) 'Iets met meer aandacht dan het verdient beneuzen, beneuzelen'.

East Frisian-Saxon dialect in Prussian East Friesland: — **Nöteln** v. 1882 ten Doornkaat Koolman's dict. 'Seine Zeit unnütz od. mit kleinlichen u. nichtnützigen Dingen verschwenden'; auch 'zaudern, saumselig sein'.

English: — ME. **nytel** v. In the second contextual sense postulated, viz. 'to be busy in a trifling manner', a meaning tentatively suggested by the N. E. D.

In examining the linguistic material just quoted, we find that there are verbs with the base *nut* which denote 'to be busy in a trifling manner, i. e. with trifling things', but are wanting in the sense 'to act slowly or indolently', viz. Swed. dial. **nåtla**, Dan dial. **nytle**, Flemish **neuten** or **neutelen** in the compounds **treuteneuten** and **neuteltreuten**, and possibly ME. **nytel**. On the other hand, we find that there are instances where both senses appear alongside of each other, viz. Dan. dial. **nuta** (Bornholm) and **notle** (Jutland), East Fris.-Saxon **nöteln**, Dutch **neutelen**. Here belongs also the adjective **nüddelig** in Schleswig-Holstein, whose semantic area comprises the meanings (1) 'säumig, langsam, ungewant'; (2) 'geschickt im Verfertigen von allerlei Kleinkram, anstellig (i. e. skilful), brauchbar, tüchtig'. These senses are obviously founded on a verb that denoted the two meanings under consideration. When both senses are represented by the same verb, the question arises whether the co-existence of the two meanings may involve that one of them is the etymological source of the other. The answer should be in the negative. Let us take, for instance, the East Fris.-Saxon verb **nöteln**, which means (1) 'zaudern, saumselig sein', (2) 'seine Zeit unnütz oder mit kleinlichen u. nichtnützigen Dingen verschwenden', a modification (due to Adequation) of the sense 'to be busy with trifles'. In this case there appears to be no genetic interrelation between

¹⁾ The word is not elsewhere found in De Bo's dictionary, nor is it mentioned by van Dale.

the two senses. Otherwise said, it is not easy to imagine a context where the sense 'to be slow or indolent in performing an activity' may pass into the sense 'to be busy with trifles'. But, of course, it may pass into the sense 'to be busy in a trifling manner' if this expression be equivalent to the meaning 'to be performing a task in a slow or listless way'. But it is not this sense we have in view when using the expression 'to be busy in a trifling way' but the meaning 'to be busy with trifles'. Furthermore, let us take the sense of Baltic German **nitteln**, 'an Allem etwas auszusetzen haben, und mit einer gewissen Kleinigkeitskrämerei od. Spitzfindigkeit dabei verfahren'. Can the genesis of this sense be ascribed to the use of the general sense 'to be busy with trifles', so that we are here confronted with the use of Genus pro Specie? The sense 'to criticize' belongs to another main line of semantic development from the base *nut*. Hence we must assume that the sense of Baltic **nitteln**, i. e. 'to be busy with trifles in criticizing something', should be explained as a Specialization of the sense 'to criticize' but not of the sense 'to be busy with trifles'. This is the natural genetic explanation of the new sense, which has the appearance of being a blending of the senses 'to criticize' and 'to be busy with trifles'.

We have postulated that a bad connotation originally attached to the sense 'to be busy with trifling things' when expressed by a verb with the base *nut*, since a human activity was then denoted by a verb describing the activity of an animal. In some instances the pejorative atmosphere is still plainly perceptible. This is the case with East Fris.-Saxon **nöteln** when denoting 'seine Zeit unnütz und mit kleinlichen u. nichtnützigen Dingen verschwenden'. The same is obviously the case with Flemish **neuten** and **neutelen**, presupposed by the compounds **neuteltreuten** and **treuteneuten** and hence like them denoting 'met beuzelwerk zijnen tijd verslijten'. A disparaging tone is also to be assumed in point of ME **nytel** if denoting 'to be busy in a trifling way'.

In other cases there is no knowing whether the disparaging element has been eliminated by Adequation or is still attached to the verb. Perhaps we should adopt the latter alternative. Examples in point are Danish dial. **nuta** when meaning 'to spend one's time on doing all sorts of petty jobs' (Bornholm), and **noddre** when denoting the same sense (Jutland). Another example is Dutch **neutelen** when denoting (1) (accord. to Pieter Marin) 'tracasser', i. e. 'aller et venir, sur place, pour de petites occupations' (Littré); (2)

(accord. to Kilian) 'frivola agere'; (3) (accord. to van Dale) 'zieh met beuzelingen ophouden'. As to the derivative **neutel** 'klein mannetje, dreutel', it seems to have a disparaging tone. But if so, its meaning approaches the sense of 'worthless fellow', 'foolish fellow', which constitute Notions of Interference with the former signification. But if so, it is obvious that the Flemish. subst. ***nōtel**, postulated by us as the source of the Devonshire adjective **nottle** 'foolish, trifling, absurd, wanton' (now obsolete), may originally have meant 'klein mannetje, dreutel' and not necessarily 'a slow, listless, and inefficient worker'. We leave it an open question whether Dutch **neutel** ever had the function of an agent noun or was a New Coinage from **neutelen** in order to denote 'klein mannetje' since men usually performing petty jobs or trifling work are not likely to be hefty fellows. Historical evidence is in favour of the latter alternative. But if the word was originally an agent noun, it is easy to understand how the sense-change originated. For the sense 'a person doing trifling work' has 'klein mannetje' as contextual synonym since a person generally occupied in this way is likely to have poor physical powers. In this case the factual sense would be due to Permutation. It appears that this mode of explanation should be applied to West Flemish **neuteraar** (dimin. **neuteraatje**), which now means 'dvergie, en verneuteld ventje, fr. petit homme rabougri [i. e. chétif, débile]'. For the agential form of the word indicates that the original sense was 'a person busy with trifling work' (cp. the sense of the verbs **trenteneuten** and **neuteltreuten**).

In some instances there is obviously no disparaging tone present. This involves that the activity implying 'to be busy in a trifling manner' began to be apprehended in a slightly new way and that this mode of apprehension got the upper hand through repetition (= Adequation without a previous sense-change). An example of this type is Swed. dial. **nåttla** 'hålla på med petgöra', i. e. to be busy in a trifling manner, but a manner requiring attention and patience. There may perhaps be an emotional element present, but if so, this is of another type implying that the activity is tedious and tiresome. Another instance is Danish dial. **notle** when denoting 'to be busy with any sort of trifling work', seeing that it also means 'to be deft or clever of hand'. This stylistic neutrality presented by the former sense evidently attaches also to the substantives **notleri**, **nottel** (also in **notteltang**), **nottelarbejde**, **nottelgavn**, **nottelværk**,

all denoting 'småt håndarbejde', i. e. a work or thing comparatively small and unimportant done or made by the hands (Jutland). The same is true of Swabian **Nottle** 'Häkelaarbeit'.

On the other hand, there are instances of words with the base *nut* in which a eulogistic tone is plainly distinguishable. This is the case with the Danish dial. verb **notle**, which means, as we have seen, not only 'to be busy with all sorts of trifling work' but also 'være nævenyttig', i. e. to be skilful or expert in working with the hands or in handicraft. It is easy to understand how this sense originated. For the former meaning refers also to such activities as sewing, knitting, crotcheting, performed by women, or else to domestic crafts, generally performed by men. But these are occupations in which we often meet with skill and cleverness of hand. When such is the case, attention is drawn to this notional element so as to bring it to the fore. If this is often repeated, a sense-change is permanently brought about involving 'to be deft or clever of hand when doing or making trifling work'. If so, we are confronted with a semantic change due to Adequation without a previous Sense-change, i. e. we are faced with a gradual adjustment to a new apprehension of the thing-meant. This semantic change may be understood as a Specialization, but only in respect of the manner in which the activity is performed. The new sense may very well exist alongside of the earlier meaning, as is shown by the Dan. dial. verb **notle**. But it may also oust the earlier sense, as is evidenced by the Dan. dialectal verb **nytle**, which only means 'være nævenyttig', i. e. 'to be deft or clever of hand', whereas the substantive **nytleri** denotes 'småarbejde', i. e. trifling work.

The eulogistic tone may also appear in derivatives, and it may then be a natural analogical transfer from the verb. This is the case with the Dan. dial. subst. **notler** when it functions as the agent noun of **notle** in sense of 'være nævenyttig'. But **notler** means not only 'a person deft or clever of hand' but also 'a bungler, a person who can do or make work of any kind but in an unskilful or clumsy manner'. But the immediate source of the latter sense cannot have been the meaning 'a person deft or clever of hand when doing or making something'; for the difference in skill is too great to admit of postulating a direct genetic contact between the two senses. As previously pointed out, the immediate source was instead the sense 'a person who can do or make the work of a craftsman without having been an apprentice'. And the sense-change we are then

concerned with is Specialization as to the manner in which an activity is performed. When **notler** denotes 'needle-maker' (Jutland), we are faced with a New Coinage formed from the stem *nottle-* when denoting activities requiring the use of a needle, such as sewing, knitting, crotchetting.

A eulogistic tone may occur in derivatives without existing in the corresponding verb. Such is the case with the Low Germ. adjective **nüddelig** 'geschickt im Verfertigen von allerlei kleinkram, anstellig, brauchbar, tüchtig' (also 'säumig, langsam, ungewandt'), (Schles.-Holst.). It is obvious that this adjective presupposes the former existence of a verb ***nüddeln** denoting 'to be busy with trifling work' and that **nüddelig** may originally have meant 'busy with trifling work'. It seems, however, to be equally possible as not that the eulogistic sense of the adjective is an inheritance from the verb. Also in Kilian's Dutch there are examples of a eulogistic tone that may have originated in derivatives, to wit, **neuteler**, **neutelerken** 'homuncio frivolus, assiduus in rebus frivolis agendis', and **neutken**, **neutellersken** 'anacula curax, multæ sedulitatis anus'. In Flemish there is a diminutive **neutenaatje** meaning 'dwerdje' but also the same as Kilian's *neuteler*, *neutelerken*. In these instances, which should be understood as original agent nouns denoting 'a person busy with trifling work', attention was drawn to the fact that, in performing this activity, carefulness and diligence were often exhibited and hence came to the fore and were adopted as notional elements characteristic of a person when performing this activity = Specialization due to Adequation.

But let us return to the picture showing an animal slowly walking or nosing about in order to pick up or root up something eatable. It would not be a matter of surprise if the verb denoting this picture should also be used as a Metaphorical Transfer in order to denote a person's activity consisting in slowly walking about for some reason. In point of the parallel base *nus* there are derivatives whose semantic area comprises also the sense 'to walk slowly'. An informative example is presented by the West Fris. verb *nûskje* which denotes not only 'beuzelen', i. e. to be busy with trifling jobs, but also 'langzaam wandelen', i. e. to walk slowly. The co-existence of only these two senses makes it highly probable, not to say certain, that they are Metaphorical Transfers of the same sense but viewed from different angles, i. e. attention has been centred on different notional elements. The question arises then

angles

whether there are derivatives from the base *nut* presenting this Metaphorical Transfer (= Intentional Figurative T.). In our material there are most likely unequivocal examples of this semantic change, but they should be discussed.

In Alsatian there is a verb **nottle**ⁿ [*notte*, Lutterb. Wh.¹ Dehli.] that denotes (1) 'rütteln, schütteln, bewegen'; (2) 'langsam gehen'. There is also the subs. **Schiffnottel** 'Bezeichnung für Schiffsleute, welche das Schiff selbst ziehen, wegen ihres langsamen, schwerfälligen Ganges'. For our part we hold the view that the verb in sense 1 is formed from the Prim. Teut. base *hnuð* 'stossen, schlagen' (cp. OHG *hnuttên* 'vibrare', i. e. schwingen, schütteln, zittern; OHG *genuotôn* 'conquassare'; MHG *genuten*, *gnüthen* 'sich schwingen, wackeln'; MHG *notten* 'sich hin und her bewegen'), but that the verb in sense 2 is a derivative from the Prim. Teut. base *nut*, but dressed in a Low Frankish form. For it should be noted that the senses 1 and 2 are genetically irreconcilable, that the northern part of the dialect is admittedly Low Frankish, and that the two bases, if extended with the *l* affix, were here likely to coincide in form. But note also the following case.

In Swabian, too, there is a verb **nottle**ⁿ denoting (1) rütteln intr. (an etwas r.) and trans.; (2) mit »haben»; wackeln, unfest stehen; (3) mit »sein»; langsam, unsicher gehen. There are also the derivatives **Nottler** sb. Alter Mann, Schelte (»Liebkosewort»); Wer schwankend geht; and *nottlig* a. schwankend, altersschwach. In point of sense 1 there is no doubt that the verb is a derivative from the base *hnuð*, but in the case of sense 3 it is quite possible that it was formed from the base *nut* and adopted from Low Frankish, a not unlikely postulation since the Swab. subs. **Nottlete** 'Häkelarbeit' has this origin. If so, we must assume that the sense 'to walk slowly' gave rise to the sense 'to walk slowly and unsteadily' (= Adequation). If attention is centred on the notion of 'unsteadily' as being the more interesting element, then we get the sense 'to stand on one's legs unsteadily (when walking slowly)', a change due to Adequation. Thereupon the subsidiary notional elements, i. e. 'when walking slowly', were eliminated through further Adequation. But, on the other hand, the possibility is not to be denied that the sense 'to stand unsteadily' may be connected with the base *hnuð* (cp. MHG *genuten*, *gnüthen* sich schwingen, wackeln). But if so, the sense 'langsam, unsicher gehen' may perhaps have originated out of the sense 'wackeln'. But the difficulty is to give a plausible

account of this sense-change. Hence we are decidedly in favour of the view that Swab. **nottle**^a, at least in sense 'langsam, unsicher gehen' is a derivative from the base *nut* and an adoption from Low Frankish. But if so, the subs. **Nottler** is also a derivative from this base, and perhaps also the adj. *nottlig*, which, however, may contain the base *hnud*.

B. The semantic development from the sense to breathe noisily.

We now come to the second of the two semantic main ramifications from the base *nut* that are distinguishable. The point of departure is here to breathe noisily, consequently a sense almost identical with the primary signification. In the present case it is not, as in the former main category, the semantic aspect of the breathing or its aim that has determined the trend of the semantic development. It is instead the audibility, the phonetic aspect of the breathing that has determined the direction. Otherwise said, the predominant notional elements are here a series of subdued inarticulate sounds and their passage through the nose. These are the notional elements that are here uppermost in the speaker's consciousness when he first employs the verb with the base *nut* to characterize utterances of man. The results of the factual semantic development proximately admit of a binary division, according as the sounds are uttered by man or else belong to the animal world or inanimate objects in motion.

a) Sense-changes bearing upon Human Utterance.

With regard to the instances of the present category, it is possible to make a chronological distinction inasmuch as the proximate sense-change starting from the meaning 'to breathe noisily' is clearly distinguishable. This change consisted in giving rise to the meaning 'to speak indistinctly in a low voice and, occasionally, through the nose', or variants of it, such as 'to speak indistinctly in a low voice with nearly closed lips', 'to speak between one's teeth'. These senses are illustrated by the following instances in our material.

Danish (Jutland): — **Noddre** v. 'Om utydelig tale', i. e. said of indistinct speech (also = to hum an air; also = to be busy with trifles). — **Nodder** sb. 'Utydelig tale', i. e. indistinct speech

*dis kan niet zo goed
niet A voortkomen:
broddels. (met
het spreken)*

(also = nynnen, i. e. humming an air). **Noddreri** sb. 'Utydelig tale'.

Low German. Schleswig-Holstein: — **Nuddeln, Nuteln** v. Undeutlich sprechen, unverständlich murmeln (also = zaudern, nicht vom Fleck kommen); **Nuddelig** a. Undeutlich (also = langsam, träge; unordentlich, unsauber, schmutzig).

Baltic German (18th c.): — **Nütteln** v. 'Mussitare', i. e. in den Bart murmeln, i. e. to mutter to oneself (also = iterum iterumque aliquid ægre ferre atque id verbis exprimere).

Middle German (Lipsic): — **Nudeln** sb. Halblautes, undeutliches, schlechtes Reden (also = Singen oder stümperhaftes Spiel auf einem Instrument).

High Alemannian (Swiss German): — **Nüdere**ⁿ II v. Undeutlich, leise reden. 'Mussare', nüselen, n., durch die zän reden wie ein stumm. 'Mussitare', nüselen; vernüselen, als wenn einer fürcht, man höre in reden, linss reden, schweigen. **Nütterer**ⁿ v. Halblaut, unverständlich reden.

It is easy to understand how the sense 'to speak indistinctly in a low voice (and with a nasal twang)' originated. Let us postulate the appearance of a thing-meant whose characteristic features are indistinct talking in a subdued voice, then the speaker who had to denote this activity would be likely to select a verb in sense corresponding to Eng. 'mumble' or 'mutter'. But if the unpleasant impression of such speech was increased by worse articulation than usual or else by being uttered with a nasal twang, then it would be natural for him to employ a word denoting 'to breathe noisily through the nose'. For there would then be strong points of similarity between the thing meant to be named by a verb and the meaning of this verb itself, to wit, more or less inarticulate sounds produced in a low voice and passing through the nose. And an additional reason for using the verb with the base *nut* would be the fact that the speaker would then be able to express his displeasure with this mode of utterance, seeing that such speech would then be compared to unarticulated sounds unwittingly produced in breathing. Hence the sense-change we are here concerned with should be classed as an Intentional Figurative Transfer. There is nothing remarkable in this Transfer seeing that the ME verb *brethe* 'to breathe' was later on used in the sense 'to utter in the most quiet way, to whisper'; cp. Shaks., King John IV. II. 36.

In the way mentioned, then, we should explain the origin of the sense 'to speak indistinctly in a low voice (and with a nasal

n.b. noisily!

disagree

twang)'. The slight variations of this sense are due to variations in apprehending the thing-meant, accompanied by Adequation, i. e. adjustment of the sense of the word to the factual meaning of the thing-meant.

The signification now dealt with gave rise to further sense-development. From a genetic view-point the new senses may be divided into two subclasses, according as the subsequent sense-change proximately consists in something else than Semantic Addition by Implication, or else in this very type of semantic change.

1) Sense-changes proximately involving no Semantic Addition.

Let us first take a review of the verbs and their derivatives which illustrate this subclass in our material.

Danish (Jutland): — **Noddre** v. 'Smaasyngge, nynne', i. e. to hum an air, to croon (also said of indistinct speech; also = to pass one's time with all sorts of petty jobs). **Nodder** sb. 'Nynnen', i. e. humming a tune, crooning (also = indistinct speech). **Noddresyngge** v. 'Nynne', i. e. to hum an air, to croon. **Noddresang** sb. 'Nynnen', i. e. humming, crooning. **Nodle** v. 'Småsyngge, nynne', i. e. to hum an air, to croon.

Low German (Bremen, 18th c.): — **Vor neteln** v. Enem wat vor neteln: einem was vor tändeln, vor plaudern.

Middle German. Hessen-Nassau: — **Nutteln** v. Näseln (Willersdf-FK); but in Waldeck (L. G. territory) = knurren (pronounced *nüteln*). Lipsic: — **Nudeln** sb. Singen oder stümperhaftes Spiel auf einem Instrument; davon die *Nudelei*; (also = halblautes, undeutliches, schlechtes Reden).

High Alemannian (Swiss German): **Nödere^a II** v. Albern plaudern (also = knarren, von Thüren, Laden). **Nüdere^a II** v. Linss reden, schweigen (also = undeutlich, leise reden; durch die zän reden wie ein stumm, vernüselen).

It is easy to explain the origin of the sense 'to hum an air, to croon' presented by the Dan. dial. verbs **noddre**, **noddresyngge**, **nodle** (a parallel formation or rather a modification of **noddre**), and the nouns of action **nodder** and **noddresang**. We are here confronted with a thing-meant that presents a close similarity to the old thing-meant denoted by the verb **noddre** in sense 'to speak indistinctly'. For both the old and the new thing-meant are characterized by inarticulate sounds, (nearly or wholly) closed lips, a subdued voice,

and the passing of the sounds through the nose. But none the less the auditory and the purposive difference between the two activities is so considerable that the new sense should be classed as an Intentional non-figurative Transfer due to Similarity, not as a case of Regular (= unintentional) Transfer.

It is permissible to assume that the Germ. dial. subst. **Nudeln** when denoting 'Singen oder stümperhaftes Spiel auf einem Instrument' has a similar origin, seeing that it also means 'halblautes, undeutliches, schlechtes Reden', a noun of action presupposing a verb with the corresponding sense. For in the present case 'Singen' can hardly mean ordinary singing. It evidently means singing of a very poor kind since it is co-ordinate with the sense 'stümperhaftes Spiel'. But if so, the subs. *Nudeln* may once have meant 'humming of an air', and hence it is a possible explanation to say that it was this sense the speaker had in view when he used this subst. to denote 'miserable singing' = Intentional Figurative Transfer. As to the sense 'stümperhaftes Spiel', it may be correct to apprehend it as an Intentional non-figurative Transfer of the meaning 'wretched singing'. Yet the fact should not be kept from the reader that in the dialect of Schleswig-Holstein the verb *nüdeln* means 'drehen bes. von der Kurbel des Leierkastens' and that in this dialect *Nüdel-kasten* means 'Drehorgel'. Hence it is by no means unlikely that the word *Nudelei* should be explained as connected with these words. But if so, the same may be the case with the subs. **Nudeln** in sense of 'stümperhaftes Spiel', and hence the sense 'wretched singing' may be understood as an Intentional non-figurative Transfer of the former sense. But to this view is opposed the fact that the subs. *Nudeln* also means 'halblautes, undeutliches, schlechtes Reden', and that this mode of speaking gave rise to the sense 'to hum an air', 'to croon' in the Danish dial. verb **noddle** and its noun of action, i. e. **nodder**, which denotes 'nynnen, utydelig tale'. Hence it is likely that the source of the sense 'miserable singing' as presented by the subst. **Nudeln** was 'to hum an air'. Yet it is possible that in the sense 'stümperhaftes Spiel' this subs., whose *u* is long, and the subs. *Nudelei* were connected with the verb *nudeln* 'to grind an organ' (Schlesw.-Holstein) and that this verb coalesced with a verb **nüdeln* denoting 'to talk indistinctly in a subdued voice', 'to hum an air'. It should be noted that in Middle German dialects *t* and *d* has a tendency to coalesce and that in German, but not in English, a short *ü* in open syllables may be lengthened so as to become *ū*. In our

opinion the verb *nudeln* 'to grind an organ' belongs to the Germanic base *hnud* 'stossen, schlagen', which is met with in OHG. *hnutteln* 'vibrare', i. e. schwingen, schütteln, MHG *notten* 'sich hin und her bewegen', Swiss German *nudeln* 'pressen, drücken' (Stalder, Schweiz. Idiotikon 1812), nay also in *nudeln* 'mit nudeln mästen' and *nudel* 'gerolltes, halbgebackenes Teigstück'. F. Kluge says:¹⁾ — »Ein Etymon für *Nudel* fehlt«. But the word is doubtless a back-formation from the verb *nudeln* 'pressen, drücken', a sense which easily passed into the meaning 'to knead', 'to roll a piece of dough to and fro so as to get the form desired'. The verb *nudeln* in the sense 'to fatten geese' may be understood as a denominative formation from the substantive *Nudel*. But it may also be viewed as originally containing a Purposive Addition to the verb, i. e. 'to roll pieces of dough in order to be able to fatten geese'. If so, the subst. is a back-formation from the verb *nudeln* in this sense.

The Low Ger. expression *enem wat vor neteln* signifies 'inem was vor tändeln, vor plaudern' (Bremen, 18th c.), i. e. to prattle to a person about something. In this case we should not adopt the view that the sense 'to prattle' owes its origin to the meaning 'to speak indistinctly in a low voice'. We are instead concerned with a modification of the sense 'nicht aufhören können von einer Sache zu reden', presented by the Bremen verb *neteln*, consequently with a kind of Adequation. Also the latter sense has been explained by us as a specimen of Adequation.

We have seen that in the idiom of Hessen-Nassau there is a verb **nutteln** meaning 'näseln', i. e. to speak through the nose, to have a nasal twang. In explaining the origin of this sense, we should remember that the district of Rhoden in Waldeck, which is by Luise Berthold considered to belong to the dialect of Hessen-Nassau, also employs this verb in the sense of 'knurren'. Hence it is natural to assume that both senses once had as source the sense 'to speak indistinctly in a low voice and with a nasal twang'. From this semantic point of departure the sense of 'näseln' originated. For the disagreeable nasal twang became the element that most attracted attention (and hence came to the fore), whereas the other notional elements receded into the background and at last disappeared altogether. We are consequently concerned with a case of Adequation. Again, the sense 'knurren' presupposes that the semantic

¹⁾ Cp. F. Kluge *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache*, Strassburg 1905, p. 285.

starting-point got a Purposive Addition by Implication so as to mean 'to speak indistinctly in a low voice (and with a nasal twang) in order to give vent to displeasure' = 'knurren', i. e. to grumble, to growl.

It is evident that the meaning 'to talk nonsense' (= albern plaudern, lins reden), presented by Swiss **nödereⁿ II** and **nüdereⁿ II**, should be understood as a synonym for the meaning 'to talk indistinctly in a low voice (and with a nasal twang)', seeing that nothing worthy of attention is likely to be communicated in this way. Otherwise said, we are faced with a sense-change due to Permutation, but the Permutation is intentional since we are concerned, not with contextual, but with permanent synonyms. It may seem difficult to account for the origin of the sense 'schweigen', i. e. to be silent, presented by Swiss Ger. **nüdereⁿ II**. But also in this case it is obvious that we are confronted with a case of Intentional Permutation. For if a person has to give an answer, say, to a reproach but only mutters something unintelligible between his teeth, it is practically equivalent to being silent.

2) Sense-changes proximately implying a Semantic Addition.

Let us first pass in review the instances in our material which illustrate this subclass.

Low German. Schleswig-Holstein: — **Nüddeln** and **nüddern** v. Brummen (18th c.), nörgeln (i. e. to grumble, to nag, to find fault with), überlaunig Vorwürfe machen.

Bremen (18th c.): — **Neteln** v. Einen langwierigen Stil im Tadeln haben (also = zaudern, nicht aufhören können von einer Sache zu reden). **Beneteln** v. In einem verdrüsslichen Ton und Stil etwas tadeln. **Beneteld** ppl. a. Verlegen, verwirrt, ungewiss wie man sich helfen soll.

Waldeck: — **Nüt^elen** v. Murren, brummen (Bauer), knurren (Luise Berthold).

Baltic German: — **Nütteln** (18th c.) v. Iterum iterumque aliquid ægre ferre atque id verbis exprimere, also = mussitare, i. e. in den Bart murmeln (Gadebusch). **Nitteln** v. An Allem etwas aussetzen haben und mit einer gewissen Kleinigkeitskrämerei oder Spitzfindigkeit dabei verfahren (Livonia; von Gutzeit); nörgeln, in kittelnden Tönen murren, bekitteln (Esthonia; K. Sallmann). **Nittler** is an agent noun (= einer der nittelt). **Nittelei** and **Nittlerei** are nouns of action. The adjective **nittlerisch** = immer etwas zu

nitteln habend, and **nittlich** = milder als 'nittlerisch'. **Benitteln** = in verdriesslichem Ton kleinlich bekritteln (Esthonia, K. Sallmann).

Cronenberg (on the Low German border): — **Nötelig** [*nij'etlex*]
a. Verdriesslich, i. e. vexed, annoyed; peevish, sulky.

Hessen (adjacent to the L. G. territory): — **Notteln** v. In den Bart vor sich hinbrummeln.

High Alemannian (Switzerland): — **Nödereⁿ I** v. Korrigieren, widersprechen, mit einem Vorgange nicht zufrieden sein (also = wühlen, stochern, stöbern, einer Sache nachsuchen, aufspüren).

Dutch: — **Neutelig** a. Verdrietig (i. e. (1) verdriet hebbende, i. e. annoyed, angry; (2) van verdriet getuigende, e. g. een v. gezicht, i. e. annoyed, sour; (3) verdriet veroorzakende (= annoying), gemelijk (= misnoegd, i. e. displeased); 'neutelig' also = talmachtig, i. e. tardy, slow. **Nötelik** a. Verdrietig (achterhoeksch, a dialect in Zütphen). *Het wil ontbreekt by 3. Nu wel 25? Hoe dit niet vaakers direct uit de eerste hoofgroep voortkomt?*

Frisian: — **Neutelje** v. Neulen, i. e. binnenmonds brommeln (also = zaniken, zeuren), (West Frisian). **Neutelig** a. 'Misnoegd', i. e. displeased; 'kribbig', i. e. quarrelsome; 'half verstoord', i. e. half angry (see Molema's dictionary).

Groningen: — **Neutelg** a. Brommig, knorrig, slecht gehumeurd (see Molema's dictionary).

Ditmarschen: — **Niddeln** v. Nörgeln, kritisieren. **Niddelig** a. Nörgelnd, immer scheltend (see O. Mensing's dictionary).

We have previously pointed out that Semantic Addition by Implication ordinarily consists in adding tacitly to the sense of a word the idea of the purpose or the result of the activity implied in the word. The cause of the Semantic Addition may be said to be a change in the speaker's apprehension of the thing-meant. In the examples presented here by our material the Addition is of the purposive type implying 'in order to give vent to one's displeasure or disapproval', whereas the resultative type seems to occur in a couple of adjectives only. It is true that the Addition may occasionally occur when the sense of the verb has been indicated by us only to be 'to speak indistinctly in a low voice (and with nasal twang)', but the Addition does not count as long as it does not occur as an habitual notional element or has given rise to Permutation.

In our material there are instances where both the old sense and the old sense coupled with the Addition exist alongside of each

other. But the existence of the Addition as an habitual element of a sense is a fairly rare phenomenon, seeing that the semantic equilibrium of the whole sense is easily disturbed. For there is an unmistakable tendency to let the Addition take the precedence since it is the more interesting notion. If this change takes place, we are in the presence of a case of Permutation. This implies here that the sense 'to mutter, or mumble (= to speak indistinctly) in order to give vent to one's displeasure or disapproval' passes into the meaning 'to utter one's displeasure or disapproval by mumbling'. Later on the subsidiary element denoting 'by mumbling' is eliminated by Adequation.

The first or the second stage of this semantic development is obviously represented, or may be presented, by the following instances in our material.

Low German: — **Nüddeln** and **nüddern** brummen (but also = nörgeln, Vorwürfe machen), (Schlesw.-Holst.). — **Nüt^el^en** murren brummen (Bauer), **nut^el^en** knurren (Luise Berthold), (Waldeck). — **Nütteln** mussitare (also = iterum iterumque aliquid ægre ferre atque id verbis exprimere), (Baltic German).

Hessen: — **Notteln** in den Bart vor sich hin brummeln (= Lat. mussitare).

West Frisian: — **Neutelje** when denoting 'binnenmonds brommeln' (also = 'neulen' and 'zaniken').

The third stage of the semantic development implying the loss of the connotation 'by mumbling or grumbling' should be classed as that type of Adequation called Species pro Genere, seeing that the sense now is 'to utter one's displeasure or disapproval'. A synonym for this sense is 'to criticise'. But the latter sense cannot be understood as due to unintentional Permutation since it is a permanent synonym for the former sense, not a contextual synonym. Otherwise said, we are confronted with Intentional Permutation. The meaning 'to be displeased with something', 'to criticise' is met with in the following instances of our material.

Low German: — **Nüddeln** and **nüddern** nörgeln, i. e. to find fault with, to nag, Vorwürfe machen (auch = brummen), (Schlesw.-Holst.). — **Neteln** einen langwierigen Stil im Tadeln haben; **beneteln** in einem verdrüsslichen Ton und Stil etwas tadeln (Bremen, 18th c.). — **Nütteln** (18th c.) iterum iterumque aliquid ægre ferre atque id verbis exprimere (also = mussitare), and

nitteln (19th c.) an Allem etwas auszusetzen haben und mit einer gewissen Kleinigkeitskrämerei dabei verfahren; **benitteln** in verdrüsslichem Ton kleinlich bekritteln; also derivatives, viz. **Nittler**, einer der nittelt; **Nittlerei** and **Nittelei**, nouns of action; **nittlerisch** immer etwas zu nitteln habend; **nittlich** milder als nittlerisch (Baltic German).

Swiss German: — **Noddere**ⁿ I korrigieren, widersprechen, mit einem Vorgange nicht zufrieden sein.

Frisian: — **Niddeln** nörgeln, kritisieren; **niddelig** a. nörgelnd, immer scheltend (Ditmarschen).

As to derivatives it should be noted that **beneteld** (Bremen, 18th c.), a participial adj., means 'verlegen, verwirrt, ungewiss wie man sich helfen soll'. Since this meaning represents the consequence of being 'getadelt', i. e. upbraided or rebuked, it is obvious that we are here faced with an instance of Semantic Addition of the Resultative Type implying 'rebuked so as to be made confused', subsequently accompanied by Permutation so that the sense became 'confused'.

Let us furthermore note the following adjectives.

Low German: — **Nöt(e)lig** verdrüsslich (Cronenberg).

Dutch: — **Neutelig** 'verdrietig' (van Dale's dictionary); **nötelik** 'verdrietig' (Achterhoesch in Zütphen, see Frank-vanWijk, Etymol. Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal s. v. *neutelen*).

Frisian-Saxon: — **Neutelg** 'brommig, knorrig, schlecht gehumeurd' (Groningen).

Frisian: — **Neutelig** 'misnoegd', i. e. displeased; 'kribbig', i. e. quarrelsome; 'half verstoord', i. e. half angry (Molema's dictionary s. v. *neutelg*).

When these adjectives mean 'displeased, angry, annoyed', their senses correspond to the meaning 'to utter one's displeasure', 'to be displeased'. Hence they presuppose the existence of a corresponding verb with this sense. But sometimes they mean 'annoying' (cp. the sense of Du. *verdrietig*). In this case the genetic explanation must again adopt the view that we are faced with a Semantic Addition of the Resultative Type involving 'displeased so that it(or he) is annoying'. Owing to Permutation this meaning was turned into the sense 'annoying through his displeasure', and thereupon the subsidiary element gradually faded away since 'annoying' was of far greater importance than this notional element (= Adequation).

b. *Sense-changes bearing upon Animal Utterance and Squeaking or Creaking Inanimate Objects.*

The instances belonging to this subdivision are very few in number. We have come across the following examples only.

Danish (Jutland): — **Noddrégiög** sb. Jacksnipe. **Noddréhors** sb. = noddrégiög.

Low German (Schlesw.-Holst.): — **Nöddern** v. Schwach wiehern (von Füllen).

Swabian: — **Nottere**ⁿ [*nodere*ⁿ] v. 'Schnattern', i. e. 'to cackle' (said of ducks and geese) or 'to chatter' (said of apes and women); also = wühlen.

High Alemannian (Switzerland): — **Nödere**ⁿ **II** v. Knarren (von Thüren, Laden); also = albern plaudern.

English (Oxfordshire): — **Nutter** v. To whinny softly as a mare and colt to one another. **Nuttering** sb. The whinnying of a colt; the hard discontented noise made by a horse before whinnying (Oxfordshire, Berkshire).

Attention should proximately be drawn to LG. **nöddern** 'schwach wiehern (von Füllen)' and Eng. dial. **nutter** to whinny softly, as a mare and colt to one another. The ultimate source of this sense is doubtless the meaning 'to breathe noisily' (said of man). But the question arises whether the latter sense is to be understood as the immediate source of 'schwach wiehern' or whether the proximate source was the sense 'to speak indistinctly through the nose and in an undertone'. The latter view should be adopted, all the rather as we then get an additional point of similarity between the old thing-meant and the new one, to wit, the notional element of communication. In this case the semantic change should be classed as an instance of Intentional non-figurative Transfer based on Similarity. We cannot here be confronted with a metaphor, seeing that there is no emotional element present. We are concerned with the same type of semantic change if the sense 'to breathe noisily through the nose' is considered to have been the immediate source of the sense under discussion. But the view adopted is preferable since it is a far more natural explanation. When **nuttering** denotes 'the hard, discontented noise made by a horse before whinnying', it may be an Intentional non-figurative Transfer of the sense 'to grunt discontentedly', as said of man.

In view of the existence of the compounds **noddrégiök** and **noddréhors**, found in the dialect of Jutland, it is necessary, as already

mentioned in another connection, to postulate the former existence of a verb **noddre** meaning 'to whinny softly'. For this is the sense that should be assigned to **noddre** as a member of the compounds mentioned, seeing that they signify 'a jacksnipe'. This bird is distinguished by a cry suggestive of soft whinnying, a sound said to be produced by its tail-feathers. Cp. Swed. *horsgök* 'enkel beckasin', i. e. a jacksnipe, but literally meaning 'horse-cuckoo'.

The sense of the Swabian verb **nottere**^a [= *nodere*^a] is 'schnat-tern', which means 'to cackle' (said of ducks and geese), or 'to chatter' (said of apes and women). The former sense may be understood as an Intentional non-figurative Transfer of the sense of Lat. *mussitare*, i. e. 'to mutter to oneself', perhaps even directly of the meaning 'to breathe noisily through the nose'. If the verb is employed of the chatter of apes, it should be understood as a Regular (= unintentional) Transfer of the sense 'to cackle'. But if the verb is used of the inane gabble of women, we are faced with an Intentional Figurative Transfer since then an emotional element is distinctly prominent.

The Swiss German verb **nödere**^a II denotes 'knarren', i. e. to squeak or creak, said of doors or shutters. In this case we may seem to be faced with an Intentional non-figurative Transfer of the sense 'to breathe noisily', the point of similarity being 'a series of subdued inarticulate sounds'. But since the verb also means 'albern plaudern', a sense whose source obviously was 'to speak indistinctly in an undertone', this sense may perhaps have also been the source of the meaning 'to squeak or creak', said of inanimate objects in motion. If so, the sense-change was due to an Intentional Figurative Transfer, seeing that there must then have been an emotional element present involving a jocular touch.

We have performed our task to try to prove, on semantic-genetic grounds, that there existed in Primitive Teutonic a base *nut* other than that denoting 'to catch or capture'. The meaning that we assigned to this base was to breathe audibly, and the justification of this semantic hypothesis was borne out by all the factual senses denoted by words with the base *nut* and by those senses that we were forced to postulate as prehistoric links. For with this semantic starting-point there was no serious difficulty in demonstrating the proximate source of each sense in a plausible manner that ought to carry conviction. But if so, we have

demonstrated the legitimacy of considering this group of words to be genetically interrelated, i. e. to form an etymological category, though the latter be a novelty to etymological research.

The argumentation we employed was based on the results of semantic research, as far as it is represented by the categories of sense-change distinguished by G. Stern in his work 'Meaning and Change of Meaning' (1932) and provided with modifications and additions of our own. We readily admit that this modified system has stood us in good stead when we tried to classify the semantic changes that obviously had taken place. We also admit that the main categories of the system seem to rest on the solid fundament of reality, and that a general survey of the possibilities of semantic change is an asset very serviceable when the investigator has to give a semantic-genetic account of new linguistic material. But, on the other hand, it should be noted that in the present case the material itself is too limited in extent and too uniform in character to be a serious test of the suitability and sufficiency of the distinctions made in point of semantic change. And yet, even this test has been of importance. For it is above all the confrontation of the system of sense-changes with our own material that has forced us to modify several doctrines of semantic systematization. Otherwise it would in many cases have been impossible for us to give a plausible genetic interpretation.

There is another state of things that should be pointed out by researchers dealing genetically with a linguistic material. We refer to the fact that there are cases admitting of more than one genetic interpretation. Hence we cannot claim to have constantly found the correct solution of the minor genetic problems met with, although the etymological relationship of the senses be beyond doubt. There may also be instances where the basic origin itself appears to be doubtful. But if so, this has been pointed out. In the present case we have further to state the interesting fact that there is a Germanic base *nus* that runs parallel with the base *nut* and evidently has the same primary signification. It is true that we believe that our genetic account is innocent of any mistakes imperilling the result of our argumentation. But none the less we cannot superbly disregard the important fact that Fate has provided us with an external evidence for the justification of our semantic starting-point. For in view of the origin of the two bases it is beyond doubt that the primary sense of *nus* was the same as that of *nut*. But if so,

we must expect that the derivatives from the two bases should present a sense-development that to a large extent is uniform. If this expectation be realized, then we are faced with an evidence other than the semantic-genetic account for the factual existence of a new etymological group of Germanic verbs and their derivatives. Hence we are going to deal with this cumulative evidence in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI.

The Semantic Development from the Germanic Base *nus*.

The existence of a Germanic base *nus* has not until lately been acknowledged by etymological researchers. In OE *nosu*, OFris. *nosi*, MLG *nose*, Du. *neus* (Kilian: *neuse*), East Fris. *nūs*, all denoting 'a nose', we meet with a base *nus*. But this manifestation of its existence is generally considered to represent the stage of reduction, 'die Reduktionsstufe', i. e. *n_s*, of the IE base *nās* 'a nose'¹⁾, whence OE *nasu*, OHG *nasa* (G. *Nase*), ON *nos*, MSw. *nas*, etc. This view is held by Walde and Pokorny (in 1927)¹⁾, probably by Hellquist (in 1922)²⁾, and by Torp (in 1909)³⁾, who in the case of OE *nosu*, O Fris. *nosi*, *nose*, *nos* says as follows: »kaum zur Wz. (*s*)*nus*, wozu nnorw. *nusla* Futter suchen, nhd. mundartl. *nussen*, *nüschen* schnüffeln, wählerisch suchen s. *snus*.» In the N. E. D. (*N* edited by W. A. Craigie in 1907) we read the following declaration in point of the Eng. subs. *nose*: »The relationship to OE. *nasu* *Nase* and to *Nese* is not clear.» But this well-grounded sceptical attitude as to the correctness of the prevailing view never took the form of postulating a Germanic base *nus*. For when this scholar had to explain the origin of the Eng. verb *nuzzle I*, he derived it from *nose* sb. + the affix *l*. But there obviously worked some doubt in his mind since he made the following addition: »but cf. Du. *neuzelen* (Kilian *neuselen*), G. *nus(s)eln* *nüs(s)eln*, *nös(s)eln*, Sw. dial. *nössla* to poke with the nose, to snuffle, to speak through the nose.» Let us now turn to Nynorsk Etymologisk Ordbok (Kristiania 1919), compiled by Torp. In this work s. v. *nös*, pl. *naser* (p 462) this scholar advocates the following view in point of OE *nosu*, O Fris.

¹⁾ A. Walde and J. Pokorny *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen*, Berlin u. Leipzig 1927. Bd II, p. 318.

²⁾ E. Hellquist *Svensk Etymologisk Ordbok*, Lund, 1:sta uppl. 1922, s. v. *näsa*.

³⁾ Cp. A. Torp *Wortschatz der Germanischen Spracheinheit*, Göttingen 1909, p. 295 (= Aug. Fick, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen*, Dritter Teil).

nosi, M L G *nose*, East Fris. *nūs*, and Du. *neus*: »Dette er vel en laging til roten *nus* snuse», i. e. to nose, sniff, snuffle, snuff.¹⁾ This expression seems to mean that OE *nosu*, OFris. *nosi*, etc. should be apprehended, not as assimilations to the base *nus*, but as formations from this base. Personally we do not doubt that all these words denoting 'nose' are Germanic formations from the Germanic base *nus*. The Indo-Eur. tradition, i. e. the base *nās*, *nās* ('Dehnstufe'), survived into Primitive Teutonic as *nās* and *nōs*, and these roots are still richly represented in Germanic. Under such circumstances it is incomprehensible why the native base *nus*, which denoted 'to breathe audibly' and later on also 'to sniff, to smell', should be unable to denote an organ intimately connected with these functions, and why it should be preferable to postulate an IE reduced form *n_s*, whose very existence is doubtful, whereas the base *nus* is a solid reality. This strange fact can only be due to ignorance of the existence of a Germanic base *nus*. In East Frisian there is a subs. *nüsse* 'nose' which obviously is a back-formation from the verb *nüssen* in sense 'to root about with the nose'. There is also a LG subs. *Nüte* 'nose' which may have been formed from the parallel base *nut* in early German, but it may also be a late modification of M L G *snute* 'nose', being probably a nursery word. As to LG *Nuster*, G. *Nüster* nostril, it evidently contains the base *nus*, whether this be due to assimilation to it or not. But the formation of the word is a point at issue, and hence we had better disregard the form.

The only etymologist operating with the Germanic base *nus* seems to be Alf Torp. He was obviously forced to do so in his genetic explanation of the Norwegian dialectal vocabulary.²⁾ But the meaning he assigns to this base is 'snuse', i. e. to nose, sniff, snuffle, snuff. It is true that this meaning represents an early stage of the semantic development from the base *nus*, but it cannot be the primary signification. For with this semantic starting-point it is impossible to explain such senses as 'to sleep, to whisper, to speak indistinctly, to mutter to oneself'. Hence we must postulate that the primary signification of the base was the sense to breathe audibly, just as this was the case with the base *nut*.

Let us point out that the base *nus* has the phonetic variant *nās*. But this form is of rare occurrence; and when the long stem-vowel has been diphthongized, as in Swiss Ger. *nausen*, *näusen* 'schnüf-

¹⁾ Cp. J. Brynildsen *Norsk-Engelsk Ordbok*, Oslo 1927 s. v. *snuse*.

²⁾ Cp. Alf Torp *Nynorsk Etymologisk Ordbok*, Kristiania 1919, s. v. *nōs*.

= *passing*
)?
 man ds *nus* *nus*
 hoch eins of **nusi*
nus beruchte?

hochdeutsch
 entwickelten

felnd wühlen', we have disregarded the form. Hence our material derived from the base *nus* has no pretensions to completeness. But otherwise we have almost always noted down the instances of this base that we have come across. Therefore, the material is superabundant with regard to our chief purpose, which is to let the derivatives from *nus* corroborate the genetic relationship between the words appearing to have the base *nut* in common, an affinity hitherto established by us through an argumentation based on intrinsic semantic grounds only. But the material is also sufficient for illustrating the occurrence and geographical spread of the base *nus* itself. It must not be forgotten that an exposition of the sense-development starting from the base *nus* has also a value of its own. For the existence of a Germanic base *nus* is scarcely acknowledged by scholars other than Torp and has never obtained a synopsis such as the following presentation. There is also in this case a cumulative evidence for the existence of a genetic group of words formed on the base *nus*, to wit, the etymological category formed on the base *nut*. Hence we need not explain the origin of the senses that the former group has in common with the latter category, when we now take a conspectus of the words formed from the Germanic base *nus*.

SCANDINAVIAN.

Swedish (dials.). 1867 J. E. Rietz, *Ordbok öfver Svenska Allmogespråket* (Lund).

Noskäs v. dep. Luggas, i. e. to tear each other's hair, to pull a person's hair (Vesterbotten).

Nysla or **Nösla I** v. Vara sysselsatt med småsaker, hafva brådtom med många obetydliga göromål och ärender, men därvid uträtta allt senfärdigt, i. e. to be busy with trifles, to be eagerly busy with many petty jobs but slow in completing them (Scania).

Nössla II v. Gnaga, rota smått, i. e., to gnaw, to root with the snout in a trifling way (Halland, Scania).

Nyssla or **Nussla** v. Stappla, vara nära att falla, i. e. to stagger, to be near having a fall (Scania).

Derivatives: — **Nåskig**, **Noskig** a. Snuskig, osnygg, i. e. dirty, uncleanly (Uppl., Söderml., Vestmnl.); in Weste's dictionary **noskig** 'våpig, fånig', i. e. half-witted, foolish. — **Nysla** sb. Ett våpigt fruntimmer, som till föga duger och för hvilket arbetet ej vill gå ur händerna, i. e. a soft-witted woman slow and inefficient in her work; also **nösselkar** neut. and **nössel**, neut. (Scania).

1906 A. Vendell *Ordbok över de Östsvenska Dialekterna* (Helsingfors).¹⁾

Nossa I [*nos(a)*] v. (1) Lugga, i. e. to pull a person's hair; (2) skaka om, i. e. to give a good shake; (3) tukta, i. e. to chastise.

Nossa II [*nos*] v. Syssla, bestyra, bråka, i. e. to be busy (with trifles), to attend to or see after, to bustle or bother.

Nossa sig refl. v. Vända, vrida sig (i sängen av sömnlöshet), i. e. to turn round or to writhe (in bed for want of sleep).

Nossla [*nosla*] v. Söla, dröja, i. e. to loiter, to be late in coming, etc.

Nuska [*nusk*] v. Snoka, söka noga, i. e. to nose about for (a thing), to rummage.

Nussja [*nusi*] v. Tala för sig själv, mumla, i. e. to talk to oneself, to murmur or mutter.

Nyssja I [*nysi*] v. Lugga, i. e. to pull a person's hair.

Nyssja II [*nysy*] v. [1] Göra något smått, stöka, i. e. to be busy in a trifling way, to potter about putting things to rights (in a room); (2) tissla och tassla, i. e. to whisper gossip, or the like; (3) på falskt listmande sätt lista ut hemligheter eller taga reda på något, i. e. to wheedle secrets or information out of a person in a deceptive and insinuating way.

Derivatives: — **Noskog** [*noskug(är)*] a. Smutsig, ostädad, snuskig, i. e. dirty, untidy, uncleanly. **Noss** [*nos*] sb. (1) Lugg, i. e., a pull of a person's hair; (2) håret vid öronen, i. e. the tuft of hair at the ears. **Nossa** [*nosä*] sb. Drul, tölp, i. e. lout, churl. **Nuskog** [*nusko(gär)*] a. Illistigt nyfiken, i. e. inquisitive in a wily way.

Comments: — The sense 'to pull a person's hair' expressed by **noskäs** and **nossa I** most probably originated from the meaning 'to root (up) with the snout' or rather from one of the activities involved in the process of rooting up something such as shaking or tearing the roots of a plant. If so, we are faced with an instance of Intentional Figurative Transfer, but the sense-change presupposes the Situation of Visible Presence. The same is true of the sense 'to give a good shake', also, presented by **nossa I**, whereas its meaning 'to chastise' is due to a Semantic Addition of the Purposive Type and subsequent Permutation, the starting-point being 'to pull a person's hair (or to give him a good shake) in order to chastise him'. The meaning of **nossa sig**, i. e. 'to turn round or to writhe (in bed for want of sleep)', is obviously a synonym for the

¹⁾ As to *nossa sig*, *nyssja* in sense 3; *noss* in sense 2, and the form *nuskog*, see V. E. V. Wessman *Samling av ord ur Östsvenska Folkhäl*, Helsingfors 1926.

sense 'to bother oneself' in sense 'to worry oneself, to pester, or annoy oneself' (= Permutation).

When **nyssja II** denotes 'tissla och tassla',¹⁾ i. e. to whisper gossip, this sense may be taken to be an instance of Intentional non-figurative Transfer of the primary signification 'to breathe audibly' which passed into the meaning 'to whisper', cp. Eng. *to breathe* also = to whisper. Thereupon followed Specialization, i. e. the use of Genus pro Specie (a type of Adequation). The sense 'to wheedle secrets or information out of a person in a wily way', presented by the same verb, should proximately be explained as due to a Semantic Addition of the Purposive Type. In other words, it presupposes the previous existence of the sense 'to whisper gossip to a person (in order to wheedle secrets or information out of him in return)'. This semantic Addition by Implication was sooner or later followed by Permutation so that the Purposive Addition alone remained.

In the Scanian verb **nössla II** 'to gnaw', 'to root with the snout in a trifling way', the origin of the former sense is obviously genetically connected with the latter meaning. Let it be remembered that the origin of such senses as 'to pull a persons hair' and 'to shake' get a natural explanation when supported by the Situation of Visible Presence if we postulate that they are Intentional Transfers of senses representing special activities in the process of rooting up something. But if so, the same interpretation is also applicable to the origin of the activity of 'gnawing at a root'.

The Scanian verb **nyssla** or **nussla** 'to stagger, to be in danger of falling' should be particularly noted since its origin may appear to be doubtful. We may advocate the view that also in this case we are ultimately concerned with the sense 'to root up with the snout'. For this activity consists not only in tearing and in shaking (a root or a plant to be rooted up) but also in striking, pushing, or butting with the snout at a root to get it loose from the ground. Let it be noted that Dan. dial. *nöska* means 'at rykke Een i håret', 'banke', i. e. to pull a person's hair, to knock or beat (Bornholm). But the sense 'to knock' may easily give rise to the meaning 'to stagger' if it be used in the context 'to knock involuntarily with the foot against something'. The result of this action is 'to stumble', 'to stagger'. Hence, if the sense 'to knock' is taken as starting-point

¹⁾ Swed. *tissla* means 'to utter in a whisper', cp. D. A. Sundén *Ordbok öfver Svenska Språket*, Stockholm 1892.

for the origin of the sense 'to stumble or stagger', then the proximate sense-change consisted in a Semantic Addition of the Resultative Type, so as to give rise to the meaning 'to knock with the foot against something (so as to stumble or stagger)'. This sense was sooner or later followed by Permutation giving rise to the meaning 'to stumble or to stagger'. It seems to be obvious, then, that the semantic aspect of Scanian *nyssla* or *nussla* and of Dan. dial. *nöska* may be considered to have had as source 'to root up with the snout', and that hence they may be taken to represent the Germanic base *nus*.

On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that in ON and mod. Icel. there is a subs. *hnoss* f. ornament, trinket. This word is by Torp, understood as going back to Prim. Teut. **hnussi*, a form which, according to him, is the assimilative result of **hnuð-þi*, lit. 'gehämmertes', a derivative from the base *hnuð* 'stossen, schlagen' (cp. ON *hnjóða* pa. t. *hnuð* stossen schlagen, nieten). From the stem *hnuss-* (in **hnussi*) was obviously formed OE *hnossian* to strike, and in mod. Icel. there is a verb *hnúska* (with a short *u*) denoting 'knuse el. støde, saal. at der kommer en haevelse', i. e. to crush or knock (strike) so as to cause a swelling.¹⁾ The fundament of this word is obviously the extended stem **hnus(s)-k-*. Hence it is obvious that Scan. *nyssla* or *nussla* 'to stagger' may contain the stem **hnuss-* to strike, to knock. As to Dan. dial. *nöska* 'to pull a person's hair', 'to beat or knock', the latter sense probably took its rise from the sense 'to root up with the snout' since the former sense evidently did so. For we have noticed that the coexistence of two senses may be genetically significant.

Personally, however, we do not believe that the proximate semantic source of Scanian *nyssla* or *nussla* 'to stagger' was the sense 'to knock or to strike'. We believe instead that the source was 'to walk slowly'. For if this implies an habitual mode of locomotion, its cause is mostly physical debility. But if so, we must admit that 'to walk slowly' and 'to walk unsteadily' are Notions of Interference, i. e. they have some notional elements in common. For in this combination the notion presented by 'unsteadily' appears as a subsidiary element in the notion of 'slowly'. Hence the sense 'to walk slowly' may through Adequation be turned into the sense 'to walk unsteadily'. But this meaning is equivalent to the sense 'to walk with a tottering or reeling of the body as if about to fall', i. e. to stagger

¹⁾ Cp. S. Blöndal *Islandsk-Dansk Ordbog*, Reykjavik, 1920—1924.

(when walking). Through further Adequation, i. e. through shifting again the attention from the notional element of walking to the mode of its performance, the subsidiary element, i. e. 'when walking', was eliminated. This is the best genetic explanation, and it implies that the word is a derivative from the base *nus*. The sense 'to walk slowly' should be understood as an Intentional Figurative Transfer of the sense 'to nose about or to walk slowly about in quest of food' (said of animals), but with suppression of the purposive idea. A striking parallel to this explanation is afforded by the West Fris. verb *núskje* 'beuzelen', i. e. to be busy in a trifling manner, 'langzaam wandelen'.

If we turn to the nouns with the base *nus*, it is to be observed that **noss** means both 'a pull of a person's hair' and 'the tuft of hair at the ears'. This semantic duality is significant since it implies that in punishing children it was mostly the tuft of hair at the ears that was being pulled. Hence there arose the sense 'a pull of the tuft of hair at the ears', which involves a Specialization of the sense 'a pull of a person's hair'. This fact is the starting-point of the sense-change that ended in establishing 'the tuft of hair at the ears' as an independent sense. It may then be argued that there was a relation of interdependence between 'a pull' and this tuft of hair and that these meanings appeared in suitable contexts as equipollent notions from the view-point of being means of administering supposed justice, e. g. *Look out for the 'noss'!* If so, the appearance of the new sense was due to Permutation. But if this view be not accepted, then there is nothing for it but to regard the new sense as a case of Intentional Adequation.

As to the adjectives, let us only point out that **noskog** in sense 'inquisitive in a wily way' is an adjectival counterpart to the verb **nyssja** in sense 'to wheedle secrets or information out of a person in a deceptive and insinuating way'. For its meaning originated from the sense 'wheedling secrets out of a person wylily', a sense equipollent with the notion 'inquisitive in a wily way' and hence admitting of being replaced by the latter meaning (= Permutation).

Semantic parallels with verbs formed from the base *nut* are presented by the following verbs: — **Nysla** or **Nösla I** to be busy with trifles, **nösla II** in sense 'to root with the snout in a trifling way'; **nossla** 'to loiter, to be late in coming, etc.'; **nuska** 'to nose about, to rummage for'; **nyssja II** in sense 'to be busy in a trifling way'; **nussja** 'to talk to oneself, to murmur or mutter'.

As to derivatives we have to note that the substantives **nysla** 'a soft-witted woman slow and inefficient in her work' and **nossa** 'a lout, a churl' have semantic congeners amongst the derivatives from the base *nut*, e. g. Dan. dial. *notlitot*, Du. *neutel*, Low Frank. (Flemish) **nōtel*, the postulated source of the Devonshire adj. *nottle* = foolish, etc. (cp. Sw. dial. **noskig** foolish, soft-witted). Let us also state that the adjectives **noskig** and **noskog**, when denoting 'untidy, uncleanly, dirty', have semantic counterparts with the base *nut* in the Schleswig-Holstein dialect, viz. *nottelig* 'unsauber' and *nuddelig* or *nüddelig* 'unordentlich, unsauber, schmutzig'.

Norwegian: 1919 Alf Torp *Nynorsk Etymologisk Ordbok*, (Kristiania).

Nōsa [**nūsōn*] v. Lugte, snuse, i. e. to smell; to nose, sniff, snuff, snuffle.

Nossa [-oo-],¹⁾ **Nussa** (Sogn) v. (1) Sysle i mak og med omhu med paaklædning og morgenmaaltid, gjøre det sig behagelig, i. e. to spend time and care on one's toilet and meal in the morning, to make oneself comfortable; (2) gi sig god tid, især med smaa arbeider, pusle, i. e. to allow oneself plenty of time, esp. in performing petty jobs, to be busy in a trifling way. Also **nossa seg** refl. v. Gjøre sig tilgode, i. e. to make the most of it, to turn to good account.

Nosla v. Æte som en gris, med dens næselyd, i. e. to eat like a pig in emitting nasal sounds.

Nussa v. (1) Lugte til; lugte, snuse efter, i. e. to smell at (a thing), to smell, to nose after, to rummage for; (2) æte ivrig og med næselyd, i. e. to eat eagerly in emitting nasal sounds. Also **nussa seg**, refl. v. gi sig god tid, i. e. to allow oneself plenty of time, to be in no hurry. The verb is a kind of intensive of *nōsa*, *nūsa* (according to Torp).

Nuska v. (1) Søke, lete efter noget, især om dyr, gaa sakte om, luske om, i. e. to search for (esp. said of animals), to walk slowly about, to prowl about; (2) æte saa smaat, i. e. to eat slightly; (3) smaaastjæle, rapse, i. e. to pilfer.

Nusla, also **Nutla** v. (1) Søke fôr, om dyr, i. e. to search for food (said of animals); (2) plukke, pusle, arbeide smaat, i. e. to pluck, pick, to be busy in a trifling way; (3) *nulla* for *nusla* also = *nasla* 'æte smaat og med en næselyd, æte som en kat, gnage sagte', i. e. to eat slightly in emitting nasal sounds, to eat like a cat, to gnaw gently.

¹⁾ The pronunciation with a very close *o* is of doubtful origin.

Nustra v. Gjøre sent og skrøpelig arbeide, kludre, i. e. to be tardy and unskilful in doing or making something, to bungle.

Nûsa v. Lugte til, snuse efter, i. e. to smell at, to nose after, to rummage for.

Nysja [\langle **nus-ja-n*] pa. t. *nuste* v. Plukke, pille, pusle med smaat arbeide, i. e. to pluck or pick, to be busy with petty jobs or trifles.

Nyssa I v. Plukke, snappe, rapse, plukke bort, i. e. to pluck or pick, to snatch, to filch, to snatch away. The *ss* is due to intensive doubling (according to Torp).

**Nyssa II* v. Stange, puffe, i. e. to butt, to buffet, or to push. No connection with the base *nus*, according to Torp.

Nyssa III v. Vikle, svøpe om, i. e. to wrap up. Doubtful connection with the base *nus*, according to Torp.

Derivatives: — **Gnōs** sb. Lugt, i. e. smell, scent, odour.¹⁾ The *g* is an accessory sound. — **Noss* (also *noos*) sb. Liten Stakkar, i. e. a poor little creature (thing, wretch). — **Nuss** sb. (1) Lugt, vēr av noget, i. e. smell, scent = *nûs* sb.; (2) = *nusk* neut. — **Nusk I** sb. neut. Pilleri, drøsing, i. e. trifles or niggling, daudling. **Nusk II** sb. masc. Uansenlig person, i. e. an insignificant person. — **Nûs** sb. Lugt, vēr av noget, i. e. smell, scent of something.

Comments: — The most remarkable semantic feature amongst all these senses is the fact that there are verbs with the base *nus* which also mean 'to eat in a specified way'. When confronted with the verb **nosla**, whose *only* meaning is 'to eat like a pig in emitting nasal sounds', one is tempted to look upon it as a phonetic variant of *nasla*, which has the same sense but also means 'to eat like a cat', 'to gnaw slightly'. But none the less the verb is by Torp connected with **nusla**, which means, amongst other things, also 'nasla'. We have also seen that **nussa** may mean 'nasla' and that **nuska** may denote 'to eat in a trifling way'. These facts go to show that the sense 'to eat in a specified manner' is likely to have originated spontaneously in verbs with the base *nus*. But if so, it is also likely that this meaning took its rise from the sense 'to root up something with the snout', but only on the assumption that it got a Semantic Addition by Implication to the effect that the whole sense became 'to root up something in order to eat it'. Thereupon Permutation took place so as to give rise to the signification 'to eat'. This general sense was through Adequation spe-

¹⁾ Cp. J. Brynildsen *Norsk-Engelsk Ordbok*, Oslo 1927.

cialized in various ways, according to the nature of the thing-meant to which the word in the sense 'to eat' was applied.

Next after the sense 'to eat', attention is drawn to the meanings 'to pluck or pick; to snatch away, to pilfer', presented by **nuska** and **nyssa I**. Of course it is possible to trace the sense 'to pluck or pick' back to the meaning 'to rout or poke about in something' (= 'rota om i'), as is suggested by Torp. But he does not tell us the subsequent process of development. With this semantic starting-point, however, it is necessary to postulate that the process consisted proximately in a Semantic Addition by Implication denoting the purpose of the activity concerned so that there originated the sense 'to rout or poke about in something in order to pick up a thing'. Thereupon followed Permutation, yielding the sense 'to pick (up), to pluck'. This process of semantic change is, in our opinion, a very common phenomenon, and hence the explanation given is no wanton conjecture. But it is also possible to understand this sense as a Specialization of the general meaning 'to be busy in a trifling way' since this activity may consist in plucking or picking berries, fruit, flowers, weeds, scraps of paper, and other odds and ends. But this interpretation may perhaps seem too unlikely to reflect reality. For it operates with a source denoting an activity as performed by man, whereas the proximate source was likely to be an activity as performed by animals. But cp. the explanation of **nyssla III** and **nyssa I** infra. Let us add that we are not willing to adopt Torp's hypothesis as the only possible explanation. For it is obvious that the original sense may just as well have been the meaning 'to walk slowly about (in order to pick up something eatable)' as the sense 'to rout or poke about in something (in order to pick up something eatable)'. The former meaning is factually presented by **nuska**, a signification readily originating from the sense 'to nose about in quest of something'. All this goes to show that it is not superfluous to try to find out the ways in which semantic change takes place. As to the sense 'to pilfer', it is obvious that it took its rise from the sense 'to pluck, to pick'. But it is also evident that in certain contexts 'to pick' and 'to steal' were equipollent notions, e. g. *to pick and steal*, *to pick pockets* (= to steal from pockets), and that hence the sense-change is an instance of Permutation.

We have seen that the verb **nyssla III** means 'vikle, svøpe om', i. e. to wrap up, and that in Torp's opinion its connection with the base *nus* is doubtful. He suggests, however, that the word may

have taken its rise from **nyssa I**, which means 'to pluck or pick', 'to snatch away, to pilfer'. This origin is not to be denied, but only on the express condition that the semantic range of **nyssa I** had as proximate source the sense 'to busy oneself with trifling jobs' (= Swed. 'gå och pyssla'). For in our opinion the sense 'to wrap up' should be taken as a Specialization of this general sense when it was used to describe a person's behaviour towards another person. For the sense then implies 'to pay attention in several minor ways to a person's comfort' (= Swed. 'pyssla om någon'). It appears, then, that this fact gives us the unexpected piece of information, though in a roundabout way, that the sense 'to pluck or pick' may be explained as another Specialization of the sense 'to be busy in a trifling way'. And in fact, the same item of information is implied in the circumstance that the verb **nysja** means not only 'to be busy with trifling jobs' but also 'to pluck or pick'. It is plain, then, that the fact of two senses being expressed by the same word may be genetically significant.

Furthermore, we have found that the genetic connection between **nyssa II* denoting 'stange, puffe', i. e. to butt, to buffet, or push, and the base *nus* is denied by Torp. Instead he connects the verb with the Gothic subs. *hnuþō*, *hnutō* 'spitzer Pfahl', i. e. with the Prim. Teut. base *hnuþ* 'stossen, schlagen', i. e. with the stem *hnuss-* (< **hnuþ-þi*) with the same sense. It is true that we have previously tried to vindicate the possibility that the sense 'to push, to knock' as presented by verbs supposed to contain the base *nus* may also have taken its rise from the sense 'to root (up)' as one of the several activities involved in this comprehensive notion. It is also true that the semantic aspect of **nyssa II* is by H. Ross denoted to be 'smaastange, puffe'¹⁾ and that 'smaastange', i. e. to butt in a trifling way, is exactly the sense to be expected if the genesis be adopted that we have suggested as a possible alternative explanation in other cases. But **nyssa* does not also denote the sense 'to root up' or 'to pull a person's hair'. Also in German dialects there are several verbs, seemingly containing the base *nus*, which only denote 'stossen, schlagen'. Hence let us adopt the view that, when this is the case, we are concerned with a derivative from the stem *hnuss-*.

We have seen that **nussa seg** denotes 'to allow oneself plenty of time, to be in no hurry', whereas **nussa** means 'to smell at, to nose

¹⁾ Cp. H. Ross *Norsk Ordbog*, Kristiania 1895.

after, to rummage for'. It is obvious that the reflexive pronoun has here dative function, and that the sense of the reflexive verb is due to Permutation. For the sense of 'nosing about' may appear as a notion equipollent with the sense 'to be in no hurry'.

It is perhaps superfluous to mention that in our opinion the verb **nustra** is a form parallel to the verb **nussla**, their prehistoric sources being **nus-r-ōn* and **nus-l-ōn* respectively, and that both the *r* and the *l* are affixes with iterative, intensive, or diminutive force.

As to the derivatives it should be noted that the subs. **nūs** 'lugt, vêr av noget' is by Torp taken to be the source of the verb **nūsa** 'lugte til, snuse efter', which consequently is apprehended as a denominative verb. He also maintains that *nūs* is in ablaut-relation to the Norw. dial. subs. *njos* 'skarp lugt, stank', i. e. strong smell, stench. But the validity of these allegations appear to be rather doubtful. For there is no denying the possibility that **nūs** and **nūsa** are secondary phonetic variants of Norw. dial. *snūs* 'vêr av, nys om' and *snūsa*, 'snuse, snøfte, vêre, spore efter noget', and that *njos* may go back to the base *hnus*. Concerning the chronological interrelation of the words *snūs* and *snūsa*, it is most likely, nay certain that the verb has the priority since we are faced with a verbal base.

Let us particularly bring into notice the subs. *noss* 'liten stakkar'¹⁾, kleiner knirps, i. e. a pigmy, a poor little thing, since it is an interesting word. For it is perhaps identical with earlier Dan. *noss* (s) 'et kælenavn', i. e. a pet name, whose source is considered to be ON *hnoss* 'a costly thing, an ornament', i. e. the very word (Prim. Teut. **hnussi* < *hnud-þi*, according to Torp) that gave rise to the Prim. Teut. stem *hnuss-*. The sense 'a pigmy, a poor little thing' should then be understood as due to Permutation since this sense, too, may express fondness or familiarity.²⁾ Let us admit, however, that *noss* may be a derivative from *nus* and on a par with Norw. dial. *nusk II* 'an insignificant person' and Dan. dial. *nössel* in sense 'a poor little woman'.

Semantic parallelism, whether we be concerned with postulated senses or not, with the verbs formed from the base *nūt* is presented by the following verbs with the base *nus*: — **Nōsa**

¹⁾ Cp. Hj. Falk und Alf Torp *Norwegisch-Dänisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1910, Bd I s. v. *nusse*.

²⁾ Cp. O. Kalkar *Ordboog til Det ældre Danske Sprog*, København 1892—1901 s. v. *nos*.

to smell, to nose or snuff; **nossa** (-oo-) or **nussa** (1) to spend time and care on one's toilet and meal in the morning; cp. the sense of the postulated verb **nutelen* in the Groningen dialect presupposed by the adjective *nutel* foppish; (2) to allow oneself plenty of time, esp. in performing petty jobs, to be busy in a trifling way; **nussa** in the sense 'to smell at, to nose after or rummage for'; **nuska** in the sense 'to search for (esp. said of animals)', to walk slowly about, to prowling about; **nusla** (*nutla*) in the senses 'to search for food (said of animals)', 'to be busy in a trifling way'; **nustra** to be tardy and clumsy in performing a task, to bungle, cp. Dan. dial. *notler* a bungler; **nūsa** to smell a thing, to nose after; **nysja** (pa. t. *nuste*) in the sense 'to be busy with petty jobs'.

In point of derivatives it is worthy of note that the postverbal substantive **nusk** in sense 'an insignificant person' is a semantic parallel to Dutch *neutel* 'klein mannetje, dreutel', to Kilian's *neuteler*, *neutelerken* homuncio frivolus, and to West Flemish *neuteraar*, dim. *neuteraartje* (also *neutenaatje*) 'dwerdje, een verneuteld ventje'.

Danish (dials.): 1908 J. C. S. Espersen *Bornholmsk Ordbog* (København).

Nyssja, Nössja v. Eftersee, undersøge, hvad der ei vedkommer Een, i. e. to try to find out something that does not concern oneself.

Nöska v. At rykke Een i Haaret, banke, i. e. to pull a person's hair, to knock, to rap.

Nössla v. Nysle, smaasysle, smaapusle med Noget, i. e. to be busy with trifles (s. v. *nössel*).

Derivatives: — **Nössel** sb. (1) Een, som er villig i sin Gjerning, men ei kan udrette synderligt derved, i. e. person willing and assiduous but inefficient in his work; (2) et lille Kvindemeneske, i. e. a poor little woman, or an insignificant little woman.

1894—1904 H. F. Feilberg *Ordbog over Jyske Almuesmål* (Kjøbenhavn).

Nostre [*nåstør, nåstrø*] v. (1) Småsyngte for et lille barn, i. e. to croon or hum an air to a little child; småhviske uden at ordene kan høres, i. e. to whisper softly so as to make the words inaudible; (2) nysle (uden at bestille noget sønderligt), småsysle, i. e. to be busy with petty jobs but without efficiency.

Nusse [*nusø, nusi*] v. (1) Ryste, i. e. to shake; (2) skultre sig, i. e. to give one's upper body twists or shakes in order to get rid of something.

Nuske [*nusk, nosk, nøsk*] v. Ruske, i. e. to shake, to give a (good) shake.

Nusle [*nusal, nøsal*] v. (1) Pusle med et barn, gyngede det på hænderne, i. e. to busy oneself in a trifling way with a child, to move it up and down on one's hands; (2) arbejde uden fremgang el. kraft, i. e. to work but without success or efficiency.

Nysle, Nøse [*nysal, nøsal*] v. (1) Arbejde el. gå langsomt, i. e. to work or to walk slowly; also = gå langsomt (og dårlig), i. e. to walk slowly (and badly), (2) pusle med småting, i. e. to be busy in a trifling way.

Derivatives: — **Nos** [*nos*] sb. Lugt, i. e. smell. **Nostreret** [*nåstræret*] a. Fingernem, i. e. handy, deft and clever of hand. — **Nusk** [*nusk, nøsk*] sb. Et rusk, f. eks. i håret, i. e. a pull, say, of the hair. **Nussel** [*nøsal*] sb. En person, der arbejder dårligt, i. e. an inefficient worker. **Nusselvorn** [*nåsalværn*] a. Som arbejdet går langsomt for, i. e. slow and inefficient in one's work. — **Nysleskank** [*nøsalskank*] sb. En person, som ingen vegne kommer med sit arbejde, i. e. a person not making any progress in his work. **Nyslevorn** [*nøsalvorn*] a. Langsom i sitt arbejde el. gang, i. e. slow in one's work or in one's walk. **Nysleværk** [*nøsalværk*] sb. Arbejde, som ikke skrider fra hånden, i. e. work making no progress. **Nyssel** or **Nøssel** sb. (1) Nysselværk = småarbejde, i. e. trifling work; (2) en gammel nøssel, en gammel udslidt mand, der kun ævner att gøre småsommel, i. e. a worn-out old man only capable of doing petty jobs.

1914 B. T. Dahl, H. Hammer, H. Dahl *Dansk Ordbog for Folket* II København og Kristiania. (The words with the base *nus* mostly belong to the language of the streets.)

Nusse v. (1) Vulg. Kæle for, pleje, i. e. to take loving care of; **nusse sig I** hæge, pynte sig, i. e. to decorate or deck oneself; (2) = nusle.¹⁾ **Nusse sig II** v. Skutte sig, gnide sig opad ngt; i. e. to rub oneself against. **Nusle** v. Vulg. Pusle, sysle med Smaating, i. e. to be busy in a trifling way. — **Nysle** v. A variant of **nusle**.

Derivatives: — **Nusset** a. Vulg. Uordentlig, urenlig, i. e. untidy, uncleanly. **Nyslevorn** a. Som sysler med Smaating, i. e. busy in a trifling way. **Nysleri** sb. Arbejde med Smaating, i. e. occupation with trifles.

Comments: — As previously pointed out, the senses of the Bornholm verb **nöska**, i. e. 'to pull a person's hair' and 'to knock or rap', are likely to have taken their rise from various acts

¹⁾ Cp. J. Brynildsen *Norsk-Engelsk Ordbok*, Oslo 1927 (3rd ed.).

of the activity involved in the comprehensive meaning 'to root up with the snout.' The same explanation is applicable to the Jutland verbs **nuske** 'to shake' and **nusse** 'to shake', 'to give one's upper body shakes or twists in order to get rid of something'. Yet, in point of these three verbs we cannot be absolutely certain as to whether we are not concerned with the stem *hnuss-* after all. True, but on the other hand it should be remembered that the explanation given is a plausible hypothesis and that we are not confronted with the fact that these verbs only denote 'to knock, to push, or to beat'. This argumentum ex silentio should not be despised when we are faced with semantic-genetic questions. In the present case this seems to be proved by the German dialects when they present verbs meaning only 'stossen, schlagen' and seemingly containing the base *nus*. The absence of other senses undeniably suggests that we are then concerned with the stem *hnuss-*. The sense 'to shake' presented by **nuske** and **nusse**, if they be derived from the stem *hnuss-*, may have taken its rise from the sense 'to strike or beat something so as to make it shake' (= Semantic Addition of the Resultative Type). Cp. OHG *hnuttên* 'vibrare' (< *hnud* to strike; to beat). But the trans. sense of **nuske** and **nusse** is in favour of our explanation. In addition, the stem *hnuss-* need not have developed the sense 'to shake'.

It is obvious that when the Jutland verb **nusle** signifies 'pulsle med et barn', we are concerned with a Specialization of the general sense 'to be busy in a trifling way', and when it means 'to move a child up and down on one's hands', we are faced with a Specialization or a Permutation of the former meaning. A synonymous variant of the meaning 'to be busy in a trifling way with a child' is the sense 'kæle for, pleje', i. e. to take loving care of a person, presented by Dan. **nussle** (Intentional Permutation). But when **nusse sig** denotes 'hæge, pynte sig', i. e. to decorate or deck oneself, we may be in the presence of Permutation since this sense seems to have been substituted for the meaning 'to take good or loving care of oneself'. But the sense-change may also be apprehended as a Specialization of the latter sense.

The Jutland verb **nysle** or **nøsle** denotes, amongst other things, 'to work or to walk slowly'. This semantic description involves two senses which should genetically be kept apart, viz. 'to work slowly' and 'to walk slowly'. It may at first sight seem likely that the latter sense took its rise from the former meaning. But we cannot be concerned with a Specialization of sense since 'to walk slowly' is

generally an involuntary mode of locomotion and hence cannot be explained as due to using Genus, i. e. 'to work slowly', pro Specie, i. e. 'to walk slowly'. In addition, 'to walk' is no sub-species of the sense 'to work'. It should be remembered that the verb denotes not only 'to work slowly', but also 'to walk slowly and badly' and 'to be busy in a trifling way'. In the preceding chapter we postulated in point of verbs formed from *nut* that both the sense 'to work slowly or to dally', and the meaning 'to be busy in a trifling manner' were Intentional Figurative Transfers of the sense 'to nose or to walk slowly about in quest of food (said of animals)', a picture which admitted of being apprehended as slowness in performing a task or as occupation with petty jobs. But it is a matter of course that this picture might also be apprehended as illustrating 'slow walking' in performing a task. It is most interesting to find that the Jutland verb illustrates these three different modes of apprehension of the same picture of a Situation of Visible Presence, figuratively transferred from the animal world to denote a thing-meant in the human sphere.

Lastly, it is worthy of note that the Jutland verb **nostre** signifies not only 'to hum an air' or 'to whisper softly' but also 'to be busy in a trifling way'. For this goes to prove that the senses have sprung from the same primary meaning.

Semantic parallelism with verbs formed from the base *nut* are often met with. We have to state that the Bornholm verb **nyssja** or **nössja** denotes 'to try to find out something that does not concern oneself', obviously an Intentional Figurative Transfer of the sense 'to nose about in quest of something', and that **nössla** means 'to be busy in a trifling way'. We have further to note the Jutland verbs **nostre**, whose senses have just been mentioned (cp. *noddre*, in Jutland); **nusse** in sense 'skultre sig', evidently a Specialization of the meaning to shake (cp. *nutte*, Jutland); **nusle** in sense 'to work but without success or efficiency', and **nysle** or **nösle**, which denotes 'to work slowly', 'to walk slowly and badly' (cp. Alsatian *nottleⁿ*), and 'to be busy in a trifling manner'. Note also Dan. **nusse sig I** 'to decorate or deck oneself' and **nusle** (vulg.) 'to be busy with trifles'.

As to the derivatives there are many semantic parallels. We have to mention the substantives **nössel** (Bornholm) in sense 'an insignificant little woman' (cp. Du. *neutel* klein mannetje, ventje); **nussel** (Jutland) an inefficient worker (cp. Jut. *notler* in sense 'a

bungler'); **nysleskank** (Jutland) 'a person who makes no progress in his work' (cp. West Flem. *neutelaar* a slowcoach); **nyssel** or **nøssel** (Jutland) in sense 'småarbejde', i. e. trifling work; and **nysleri** (vulgar Dan.) 'arbeide med småting', i. e. occupation with trifles (cp. *nytleri* 'småarbejde', (Jutland)). We have also to mention the adjectives **nyslevorn** (Jutland) slow in one's work (cp. *nuddelig* langsam, träge in Schleswig-Holstein, and *nötelig* zauderhaft in East Frisia), **nostreret** (Jutland) 'handy, deft or clever of hand' (cp. *nottelvorn* deft and clever of hand (Jutland), and *nüddelig* (Schles.-Hols.) in sense 'geschickt im Verfertigen von allerlei Kleinkram, anstellig'). Note also **nusset** (vulgar Dan.) 'untidy, uncleanly' (cp. *nuddelig* or *nüddelig* 'unordentlich, unsauber, schmutzig' in the idiom of Schles.-Hols.).

GERMAN

Low German

Schleswig-Holstein: 1931 Otto Mensing *Schleswig-Holsteinisches Wörterbuch* (Neumünster).

Nusen [*nūzn*] v. Still und unauffällig arbeiten.

Nusseln [*nusln*], **Nuuseln** [*nūsln*] v. (1) Zaudern, langsam arbeiten, nicht aus der Stelle kommen; (2) unordentlich und unsauber arbeiten.

Nüseln [*nȳzln*] v. Schlafen.

Nüsseln [*nysln*] v. (1) Zögern, langsam arbeiten, nicht zu Ende kommen, nichts ordentlich machen (Dtm., etc.), cp. *nösseln* and *nusseln*; (2) langsam und schwankend gehen, taumeln (Dtm., etc.), cp. *nösseln*.

Nösseln [*nosln*] v. (1) Langsam und ungeschickt arbeiten, nicht aus der Stelle kommen, eigentl. wohl, mit der Nase in etwas wühlen, langsam in etwas herumsuchen; von Tieren: *de Köh nösselt wat in 't Heu* »sie fressen langsam und lustlos», »schnüffeln im Heu herum» (Dtm.); (2) langsam und unsicher gehen, taumeln, schwanken, straucheln, stolpern.

**Nuschen* [*nušn*], *Nuscheln* v. Schlagen, stossen.

**Nüschen I* [*nȳšn*] v. Schlagen.

Nüschen II [*nȳšn*] v. (1) Herumkramen; (2) beim Essen die besten Bissen heraussuchen.

**Nüschen III* [*nȳšn*] refl. v. Sich andrängen.

Derivatives: — Adjectives: **Nosselig**, **Nossig** schmutzig. — **Nusselig** [*nu'səlī*] (1) langsam in der Arbeit; (2) meist aber: un-

ordentlich, unsauber. **Nussig** [nu'si] dumpfig (i. e. mouldy), schmutzig. **Nuschig** [nu'si] unordentlich, schmutzig. — **Nüsselig** [ny'säli] (1) unsicher, taumelig, benebelt (Dtm.); (2) zuweilen auch für schläfrig (Dtm.). — **Nösselig** [nø'säli] (1) langsam bei der Arbeit, faul (Dtm.); (2) taumelig, schwindelig, nicht fest auf den Beinen.

Substantives: **Nusch** [nuš] Minderwertiges, cp. Norw. dial. *nusk* sb. neut. **Nusseler** langsamer Arbeiter. **Nusselie**, **Nusseligkeit** langsame, unordentliche Arbeit. **Nusselkram** Nusseligkeit. **Nusselkatrien**, **-liese**, **-peter**, **-puus**, **-pussel** (Wm. Dtm.), **-putt** (Dtm.) = Scheltwörter für langsame, unordentliche, schmutzige Menschen. — **Nüsel** kleiner Rausch. **Nüsseler** langsamer Mensch, in demselben Sinne: **Nüssel-büdel**, **-kopp**, **-peter**, **-puus** (Wm.) u. ähnl. **Nüsselie** langsame, nichts schaffende Arbeit. — **Nösel** [nø'sl] kleiner Rausch, Schwips.

Comments: — The sense 'still und unauffällig arbeiten' presented by **nusen** may be explained as a case of Permutation since it forms a notion equipollent with the meaning 'langsam arbeiten', a sense far more common than the other in point of verbs formed from the base *nus* and hence likely to have been the proximate source of the factual meaning.

As to the significations presented by **nusseln** or **nuuseln**, i. e. (1) 'zaudern, langsam arbeiten, nicht aus der Stelle kommen', and (2) 'unordentlich und unsauber arbeiten', the latter sense can hardly have originated from the meaning 'langsam arbeiten'. For 'unsauber' qualifies, not the verb, but the performer of the activity it implies. The sense is far more likely to have taken its rise in the corresponding agent noun, i. e. **Nusseler** 'a slow worker'. For this sense and the meaning 'an inefficient worker' are Notions of Interference, i. e. they have some notional elements in common, a fact that leads to an intentional concentration of one's attention on these elements if the subs. is employed in suitable contexts. The same relation exists between 'an inefficient worker' and 'a careless or negligent worker', and between the latter sense and the meaning 'an uncleanly or dirty worker'. Otherwise said, we are here faced with Adequations due to Interference. We entertain the opinion, then, that the sense 'unordentlich und unsauber arbeiten' may or should be explained as due to an Analogical Transfer (to the semantic area of the verb) of a new sense adopted by its answering agent noun. This Transfer was made in order to bring about the semantic harmony that ordinarily prevails between a verb and its agent noun. It is true that **Nusseler** only means 'a slow worker', but it may once have had

also the sense 'an uncleanly or dirty worker'. As to sense 1 of the verb under discussion, let us point out that the meaning 'nicht aus der Stelle kommen' may be understood as a Semantic Addition (by Implication) of the Resultative Type made to the sense 'langsam arbeiten' so as to give rise to the meaning 'to work slowly (but without any noteworthy success)', whereupon Permutation took place. Or else the Permutation was made directly, i. e. without the intermediacy of a Semantic Addition by Implication (= Intentional Permutation).

The verb **nüseln** denotes 'schlafen' only. It is obvious that in this case, too, we are faced with an instance of Permutation since under certain circumstances the sense 'to sleep' is a notion equipollent with the sense 'to breathe audibly'. It is interesting to see how the basic sense has in this veiled way been retained down the centuries.

We have been informed of the fact that the verbs **nysseln** and **nösseln** denote not only 'langsam arbeiten', or the like, but also 'langsam und schwankend gehen, taumeln'. We have previously pointed out that both senses should be understood as instances of Intentional Figurative Transfer of the sense 'to nose about', or rather, 'to walk slowly about in quest of food' (said of animals). Otherwise said, the proximate source of both senses was the figurative use of a meaning covering an old thing-meant but having the speaker's attention focussed on different notional elements on different occasions. We have also seen that in point of *nösseln* in sense 1, i. e. langsam und ungeschickt arbeiten, O. Mensing makes the genetic remark: — »eig. wohl mit der Nase in etwas wühlen, langsam in etwas herumsuchen«. This explanation cannot be employed in the present case for the simple reason that there are plenty of verbs, formed from the base *nus*, whose semantic area does not contain the sense 'mit der Nase in etwas wühlen' and probably never contained it. But his postulation cannot perhaps be called a wanton conjecture. For it is a fact that the Swed. verb *söla* originally denotes 'to make dirty, to soil, to pollute' (answering to Goth. *bisauljan* to defile, Norw. *söyla*; OHG *bisuljan*, OE *sylian* to sully), but also has the intr. sense 'sudda, söla, vara senfärdig', i. e. to dawdle, to be slow or tardy, a sense appearing in the 17th century.¹⁾ This semantic change is pointed out, but not explained, by Hellquist (in *Svensk Etymologisk Ordbok*). The solution of its genetic problem

¹⁾ Cp. D. A. Sundén *Ordbok öfver Svenska Språket*, Stockholm 1892.

is no business of ours, but it is obvious that there must have been contexts where the sense 'to soil, to pollute' and the sense 'to lose time, to be slow or tardy in bringing about, etc.' appeared as equipollent notions, representing cause and effect and that hence Permutation took place.

In our material we meet with the verbs **nuschen* and **nuscheln*, denoting 'schlagen, stossen', and there are also the verbs **nüschen I, III* to be considered. Let us repeat our view that, when a verb seemingly is formed from the base *nus* but only denotes 'to strike, to knock, or to push', we are probably faced with the stem *hnuss-*, be it with *k* exention or not. Hence we are of opinion that the verbs **nuschen* and **nuscheln*, which denote 'stossen, schlagen', are in all probability formed from the stem *hnuss-*. As to the verb **nüschén**, it is obvious that **nüschen III* is the same word as **nüschen I* 'schlagen' since the reflexive sense is founded on the transitive sense 'to push'. But it is perhaps not impossible to assume that also **nüschén II**, which denotes 'herumkramen' (i. e. mit der Gabel wühlen) and its purpose, expressed by the sense 'beim Essen die besten Bissen heraussuchen', consequently a meaning due to Permutation, is the same word as **nüschen III* and hence is identical also with **nüschen I* 'schlagen'. This view is favoured by the verb *nüschén* in Hither Pomerania since it denotes both 'durchprügeln' and 'durchschnauben'. It appears, then, that we must say either that we are concerned with the base *nus* or rather *nus-k-* in all the verbs **nüschén** or else that in point of Pomeran. *nüschén* we are concerned with a coalescence of the stem *hnuss-k-* and the base *nus-k-*. The latter alternative should be adopted.

In this connexion it is meet to point out the slender fundament on which in early times the evidence is based for the occurrence of verbs with the stem *hnuss-*. The only reliable instance is OE *hnossian* to strike. But this verb occurs only once in the OE literature, viz. Riddles 6 (7) *mec hnossiað homera lāfe*, i. e. swords (lit. the results of hammers) shall strike me. The corresponding *ja*-verb, i. e. *gehnysan* to afflict (< **ya-hnussjan*), which often runs parallel with *ō*-verbs like *hnossian* (< **hnussōjan* < **hnussōn*), is only recorded as a past participle, to wit, in Ps. C 127 *Se gehnysta gast, hiorte geclansod and geeadmeded spiritus contribulatus, cor contritum et humiliatum*. But this participle may belong to *gehnyscan* to crush (lit. to make nesh, cp. OE *hnesce, hnysce* soft, effeminate). As to modern times,

we have to note Eng. dial. *nozzle* to strike violently, and Icel. *hnúska* to crush or to strike so as to cause a swelling. But in favour of the existence of a stem *hnuss-* 'schlagen, stossen' is also the fact that verbs with this semantic aspect and a similar phonetic shape of the stem are widely spread in the German dialects. This fact can hardly be explained in another way.

If we turn to the derivatives, we find that there are some adjectives with the base *nus-* which denote 'untidy or negligent' or else 'uncleanly or dirty', viz. **nosselig**, **nossig** 'schmutzig'; **nusselig** 'langsam in der Arbeit' meist aber 'unordentlich, unsauber'; **nussig** 'schmutzig', also 'dumpfig' (i. e. mouldy, musty). To these words may be added the stem **nussel-** in several compounds. The sense 'untidily and negligently' easily originates from the sense 'to work slowly' since in this combination 'slowly' and 'untidily or negligently' often form Notions of Interference, and hence the former notion may be replaced by the latter sense (= Adequation due to logical Interference). But the sense 'uncleanly or dirty' cannot have originated as an element in the verbal idea since this qualification refers to the performer of an activity. In other words, we want to point out that the formation of the adjectives denoting 'untidy or negligent' has been suggested by the verbal idea denoting 'to work slowly, untidily, or negligently,' whether this idea appears as a predicate or as an agent noun, e. g. **Nusseler** 'langsamer Arbeiter'. But we want also to emphasize that the sense 'uncleanly and dirty' is a later development from these adjectives when qualifying nouns. It is evident that 'untidy or negligent' and 'uncleanly or dirty' constitute Notions of Interference and that the same is the case with the senses 'dirty' and 'mouldy'. This fact explains the origination of the senses 'dirty' and 'mouldy' (= Adequation due to logical Interference).

It may be a matter of surprise that the adjective **nuschig** should denote 'unordentlich, schmutzig', seeing that the ultimate source of this meaning is 'to work slowly' and there is no verb *nuschen* with a corresponding sense in the idiom of Schleswig-Holstein. But formerly there may have been such a verb; cp. *núskén* 'zauderhaft arbeiten' in the dialect of Osnabrück (1758).¹⁾ — As to **nüsselig**, which in Ditmarschen denotes 'unsicher, taumelig, benebelt' but sometimes also 'schläfrig', we may say that the latter sense is due to Permutation. For the notions of 'taumelig' and 'schläfrig' are equipollent notions

¹⁾ Cp. J. C. Strodtmann *Idioticon Osnabrugense*, Leipzig u. Altona 1758.

if the relation between them is considered to be that between effect and cause. Otherwise we are concerned with Adequation due to logical Interference.

In regard to substantival derivatives, attention is drawn to **Nüsel** 'kleiner Rausch'. The explanation of this meaning is given by the existence of the verb **nüseln** 'schlafen'. For this fact suggests that the subs. originally meant 'a snatch of sleep'. But nobody can deny that between 'a doze' and 'a slight booze' there often exists the relation between effect and cause. Hence we often meet with contexts in which these senses represent equipollent notions so that the cause may be substituted for the effect (= Permutation). The subs. **Nösel** [*nøsl*!], which means 'kleiner Rausch, Schwips', is merely a phonetic variant of **Nüsel**.

Semantic parallelism with words formed from the base *nut* occurs in several words formed from the base *nus*. Let us mention the verbs **nusseln** or **nuuseln** when denoting 'zaudern, langsam arbeiten, nicht aus der Stelle kommen', and **nüsseln** when expressing the sense 'zögern, langsam arbeiten, nicht zu Ende kommen' but also when denoting 'nichts ordentlich machen' (cp. the agent noun *notler* (Jutland) in sense of 'a person who can do or make work of any kind but in a clumsy and unskilful way'). Let us also point out that **nösseln** may mean 'langsam und ungeschickt arbeiten, nicht aus der Stelle kommen' and that there is a close affinity between **nösseln** in the sentence *de Köh nösselt wat in 't Heu* »sie fressen langsam und lustlos, schnüffeln im Heu herum» (Ditmarschen), and the sense of Norw. dial. *nuta* when denoting 'to push forth (or down) the nose into the fodder but without eating', a harmony that suits to a T our genetic explanation of the Norw. word. We should also mention **Nüsch** II in sense of herumkramen, i. e. herumwühlen; cp. Swabian *nottere*ⁿ 'wühlen, schnattern' and High Alemannian *nödere*ⁿ I 'wühlen, stochern, stöbern, etc.' But let us above all point out the interesting parallelism in sense-development presented by **nüsch** II, which denotes not only 'herumwühlen' but also 'beim Essen die besten Bissen herauswählen', and by High Alemannian *ernödere*ⁿ, which denotes 'durchstöbern' and 'erlesen'. Both verbs are examples of substituting the purposive idea, expressed by implication only, for the ordinary sense of the verb, and both sense-changes lead to about the same result and have started from about the same signification. Cp. p. 112. — Lastly, it is worthy of note that in the dialect of Schleswig-Holstein the adjectives containing

the base *nus* and denoting 'unordentlich', 'unsauber, schmutzig' have semantic parallels in adjectives containing the base *nut*, viz. *nottelig* 'unsauber', *nuddelig* or *nüddelig* 'unordentlich, unsauber, schmutzig.'

Hamburg: 1755 M. Richey *Idiotikon Hamburgense* (Hamburg).

Nüsseln [*ss molli*] v. Zauderhaft arbeiten.

Derivatives: — **Nüsseler** sb. Dem sein Werck nicht von der Hand gehet. **Nüsseley** sb. Arbeit, womit nichts geschaffet wird.

Bremen: 1768 *Versuch eines bremisch-niedersächsischen Wörterbuchs* etc. (Bremen).

Nussen [*ss molli*] v. Sich nicht entschliessen können.

Nusseln v (1) Mit der Nase worin herum wühlen; (2) etwas durchstänkern um etwas aus zu spüren. Metaph. von den Hunden; (3) zauderhaft arbeiten. R[ichey].

Nusteren [die mittelste Silbe ein langes e] v. Herum nusteren, etwas durchstänkern, durchsuchen. Ist von den Spürhunden entlehnet.

Nöseln v. Arbeiten und nichts beschicken.

Derivatives: — **Nusseler** sb. Dem die Arbeit nicht von der Hand gehet; der ämsig ist und doch nichts beschicket. **Nusseliye** sb. Eine Geschäftigkeit, womit nichts beschicket wird. R. — **Benöselt** ppl. a. Betrunknen: gleichsam, der mehr Nössel starkes Getränk zu sich genommen hat, als er vertragen konnte.

Comments: — It is a legitimate postulation to assume that the sense 'sich nicht entschliessen können' as expressed by the verb **nussen** (Bremen) had as immediate source the meaning 'to make no progress in one's work'. But since we are here concerned with mental work, we may adopt the view, if we so will, that we are faced with an Intentional non-figurative Transfer of a sense from the physical sphere to the mental domain, but also with a case of Permutation. As to the sense 'to make no progress in one's work', factually expressed by *Nüsseler*, *Nüsseley* (Hamburg) and by *nöseln*, *Nusseler*, *Nusseliye* (Bremen), it obviously represents a semantic Addition (expressed by implication only) of the Resultative Type, i. e. '(to work slowly) so as to make no progress in one's work', or else of the Adversative Type, i. e. '(to work slowly) but without making any noteworthy progress'. In either case we are concerned with the logical relation existing between cause and effect, and hence, from the viewpoint of semantic change, we are in either case faced with a specimen

of Permutation. As previously pointed out, it is likely that the earlier sense at first receded into the background as a subsidiary notional element until it faded away altogether, i. e. the sense became proximately 'to make no progress in one's work (through working slowly)'.

As to the verb **nusseln** (Bremen), let us point out that its second sense, i. e. 'etwas durchstänkern um etwas aus zu spüren', affords the interesting picture of a verb denoting an activity but provided by implication with a Semantic Addition of the Purposive Type. But let us also point out that the verb has as first sense 'mit der Nase worin herum wühlen' and as third meaning the figurative sense 'zauderhaft arbeiten'. This goes to support the probability that the second sense gave rise to the first sense, as we have postulated with regard to derivatives from the base *nūt*.

The verb **nusteren**, with stress on the penultimate, has a form and a sense suggesting that it may be a derivative from LG *Nuster* = G. *Nüster* nostril, all the more as Norw. dial. **nustra** and Dan. dial. **nostre** have other meanings. But none the less it is probable that also LG **nusteren** had the prehistoric form **nus-r-ōn* as its ultimate source, especially as the senses of the Scand. forms only represent a later stage in the semantic development. But if so, the LG form of the word was originally **nustren* or even **nusteren* (with a parasitic *e*). This form was later on brought into contact with and assimilated to MLG and LG verbs in *-êren* (= G. *-eeren*, *-ieren*).

In point of **benöselt** 'betrunken' we are confronted with a past pple. of a verb *benöseln*, not mentioned by the dictionary of the dialect of Bremen but met with in the Elberfeld dialect, viz *benöseln*, *seck benöseln* = sich betrinken. This verb is evidently formed from the subs. **Nüsel**, **Nösel** (= *-ü-*, *-ö-*) kleiner Rausch (Schlesw.-Holst.) and not from *Nössel* (= *-ö-*), 'ehm. kleines Flüssigkeitsmass', i. e. a pint, as is suggested by the dictionary.

As to the semantic aspect of the agent noun **Nusseler**, we have already genetically explained the sense 'dem die Arbeit nicht von der Hand gehet'. In the other sense of the agent noun **Nusseler**, i. e. 'der ämsig ist und doch nichts beschicket', there are no equipollent notions to be found, only a relation denoting cause and absence of effect. But we are evidently faced with a sense-change starting from the former meaning, seeing that the dominant notional element of the latter, i. e. 'absence of progress in one's work', is still met with but as a subsidiary notional element. It is obvious that the

second sense had originally the same form as its starting-point but with a Semantic Addition of the Adversative type so as to appear in the shape 'a person who makes no progress in his work, despite his diligence'. Through Adequation the Adversative Addition, as being of special interest, became the dominant notional element. The Semantic Addition itself was due to unintentional Adequation.

Semantic parallelism with words formed from the base *nut* are presented by the following words and senses: — Hamburg: **nüsseln** 'zauderhaftig arbeiten', **Nüsseler** 'dem sein Werk nicht von der Hand gehet'. **Nüsseley** 'Arbeit womit nichts geschaffet wird', cp. East Fris. *Nōtelé*. — Bremen: **nusseln** (1) 'mit der Nase worin herum wühlen', (2) 'etwas durchstänkern (um etwas aus zu spüren)', (3) 'zauderhaft arbeiten'; **herum nusteren** 'etwas durchstänkern, durchsuchen'; **nöseln** 'arbeiten und nichts beschicken'; **Nusseler** 'dem die Arbeit nicht von der Hand gehet'; **Nusseliye** 'eine Geschäftigkeit, womit nichts beschicket wird'.

Lübeck: 1907 Colmar Schumann *Der Wortschatz von Lübeck* (= Zs. f. deut. Sprachf., Beih. zu Bd IX).

**Nuschen* v. Schlagen, stossen.

Mecklenburg and Hither Pomerania: 1876 Mi *Wörterbuch des Mecklenburgisch-Vorpommerschen Mundart* (Leipzig).

Nusseln (= *nuddeln*) v. Säumen, langsam arbeiten.

Nüschén v. Durchprügeln, durchschnauben.

Derivatives: — **Nuss** sb. Eine Null, Jemand der nichts zu bedeuten hat.

Nussig or **Nusslig** a. Schläferig, zögerisch. **Nüsching** sb. Ein Schweinchen.

Pomerania & Rügen: 1781 C. J. Dähnert *Platt-deutsches Wörterbuch nach der alten u. neuen Pommersch. u. Rüg. Mundart* (Stralsund).

Nussen [das ss weich] v. Säumen, träge u. faul arbeiten, Nichts beschaffen.

Nüsseln [das ss weich] v. Taumeln, unversehens zum Fall kommen.

Nüschén v. (1) Etwas mit der Nase durchwühlen, wie die Schweine oder Hunde; (2) unter anderen Dingen etwas suchen, Sachen durchstänkern.

Derivatives: — **Nusse** [das ss weich] sb. 'Eine olle Nusse': Ein träger und fauler Arbeiter. **Nusserij** sb. Eine Arbeit die nicht von der Hand gehet. **Nussig** a. & adv. Träge, saumselig, langsam.

Nüschig a. Durchwühlet, durch Herumrühren in Unordnung gebracht.

Comments: — The verb **nuschen* denotes only 'schlagen, stossen' (Lübeck), and hence it is very likely that we are concerned with a formation from the stem *hnuss-*, with this sense. But, on the other hand, there is the verb **nüsch** denoting both 'durchprügeln' and 'durchschnauben' (Hither Pomerania), a semantic duality suggesting that the senses have sprung from the same base, viz. *nus*. And in fact, this explanation is in our opinion not to be dismissed in an offhand way. For in the picture of rooting up something there appear many activities, such as tearing, shaking, pushing, or striking, and all of them seem to appear (but not at the same time) in verbs which denote or formerly denoted 'to root up'. In the present case we must adopt the view either that the base of the verb **nüsch** is *nus* or else that we are here faced with a coalescence of the stem *hnuss-* and the base *nus*. It simplifies the genetic question if we adopt the former view, but the latter interpretation is probably the correct one.

We have seen that the verb **nüsseln** denotes (1) 'taumeln', (2) 'unversehens zum Fall kommen' (Pom. & Rüg.). It is obvious that sense 2 represents a Semantic Addition of the Resultative Type but expressed by implication only, not in words. Hence there appeared at first the sense 'to stumble so as to have a fall'. But it is a matter of course that the notion of falling should tend to be the focal centre of interest and that the notion of stumbling should tend to fall into the background. From the view-point of interdependence 'to stumble' and 'to fall' are understood as equipollent notions, and hence the latter notion could be substituted for the former notion. But the impulse to this Permutation was the difference in interest presented by the two notions. The sense 'to stagger' had as proximate source the meaning 'to walk slowly (and stumblingly)', and the sense 'to walk slowly' originated from the sense 'to nose or walk slowly about in quest of food', said of animals. We are consequently ultimately faced with an Intentional Figurative Transfer.

The adjectives **nussig** or **nusslig** denote 'schläferig' and 'zögerig' (Meck. & H. Pom.). Let us assume that the latter sense is the earlier notion in this case. Now 'zögerig' may be the effect of being 'schläferig'. But if so, they constitute equipollent notions from the view-point of interdependence, and hence the cause, i. e. 'schläferig', may be substituted for the effect, i. e. 'zögerig'. Note, however,

that, if 'schläferig' be the earlier notion, the same argumentation is applicable (*mutatis mutandis*). The semantic area of the adj. **nûschig** (Pom. & Rüg.) consists of the two senses 'durchwühlet' and 'durch herumrühren in Unordnung gebracht'. Also in this case we are faced with the relation between cause and effect and consequently also with two equipollent notions. But in the present instance it is the effect that is the more interesting notion, as is usually the case, and that therefore has replaced the other notion (= Permutation). — The subs. **Nûsching** 'ein Schweinchen' (Meck. & H. Pom.) is obviously a New Coinage from the stem of the verb **nûschen** in sense 'etwas mit der Nase durchwühlen wie ein Schwein'.

Semantic parallelism with words containing the base *nut* is by no means absent: — Mecklenburg & Hither Pomerania: **Nusseln** (= *nuddeln*) säumen, langsam arbeiten; **nûschen** in sense 'durchschnauben'; **nussig** or **nusslig** in sense 'zögerig'; and **Nuss** eine Null, Jemand der nichts zu bedeuten hat (cp. Du. *neutel* and LG. *nuttig* unbedeutend). — Pomerania & Rügen: **Nussen** säumen, träge und faul arbeiten, Nichts beschaffen; **nûschen** etwas mit der Nase durchwühlen, unter anderen Dingen etwas suchen, Sachen durchstänkern; **Nusse** ein träger und fauler Arbeiter; **Nusserij** eine Arbeit die nicht von der Hand gehet; **nussig** träge, saumselig, langsam.

Göttingen und Grubenhagen: 1858 G. Schambach *Wörterbuch der Mundart der Fürstenthümer Göttingen u. Grubenhagen* (Hannover).

Nuseln, Nûseln v. Nâseln, durch die Nase sprechen, murmeln. Häufig 'in'n bârd (door den bârd) nûseln'.

Osnabrück: 1756 J. Ch. Strodtmann *Idioticon Osnabrugense* (Leipzig u. Altona).

Nûsken v. Zauderhaft arbeiten.

Derivatives: — **Nûskerske** = Beyname zauderhafter Weiber (see Str. p. 148). **Nûsker** sb. and **Nûskery** sb. (see Str. p. 168).

Westphalia: 1882 Fr. Woeste *Wörterbuch der Westfälischen Mundart* (Norden u. Leipzig).

Nuseln v. Summen, i. e. to buzz, to hum a tune, undeutlich sprechen, durch die Nase schnarren, i. e. to speak with a nasal twang.

Nûskeln v. N. oppem hôve 'rûm, i. e. to nose about in the yard.

Elberfeld: 1910 *Wörterbuch der Elberfelder Mundart* (Elberfeld).

Nuseln (*u* kurz) v. näseln. — **Nuselei** sb.

Benöseln v. seck benöseln. Betrinken.

Waldeck: 1902 K. Bauer (H. Collitz) *Waldeckisches Wörterbuch*, Norden u. Leipzig.

Nūs^el^en [*û* = geschlossenes kurzes *ü*] v. Langsam oder heimlich ausser der Mahlzeit essen, schnucken.

Comments: — **Benöseln** 'betrinken' (Elberfeld) is obviously a denominative verb formed on the subst. *Nösel* 'kleiner Rausch'; cp. *benöselt* 'betrunken' in the dialect of Bremen (in 1768). As to **nūs^el^en** 'langsam oder heimlich ausser der Mahlzeit essen' (Waldeck), it is obvious that the sense 'langsam essen' should be understood as a Specialization of the general sense 'to be slow in performing an activity' and that we consequently are concerned with a case of Adequation (Genus pro Specie). It is also evident that this sense gave rise to the meaning 'heimlich ausser der Mahlzeit essen'. For under certain circumstances 'langsam essen' and 'heimlich essen' appeared as equipollent notions, and hence the latter sense as being of more interest than the former sense was able to replace it = Permutation.

Semantic parallelism with words formed from the base *nut* is presented by all the other words containing the base *nus*. But let us especially point out the verbs **nuseln**, **nüseln** 'näseln, durch die Nase sprechen, murmeln' (Gött. & Grubenh.), **nuseln** 'summen, undeutlich sprechen, durch die Nase schnarren' (Westphalia), **nuseln** (*u* kurz) 'näseln' (Elberfeld), and **nüskeln** 'to nose about' (Westphalia).

East and West Prussia: 1883 H. Frischbier *Preussisches Wörterbuch. Ost- und Westpreussische Provinzialismen* (Berlin).

Nüscheln v. (1) Mit der Nase wühlen; (2) zaudernd, säumig, ohne rechten Zweck arbeiten, eine Arbeit unvollkommen, unordentlich, oberflächlich verrichten; (3) schmutzig, unsauber arbeiten, Flecken in eine Arbeit bringen; in diesem Sinne auch **ab-**, **benuäscheln**. **Vernüscheln** auch verwischen, verwühlen.

Derivatives: — **Nüschel** sb. m. Unsaubere, träge, unordentliche Person. **Nüschel-** in compounds, viz. **-nase** f. Zur Bezeichnung einer säumigen, unfertigen, unsauberen und nicht sorgfältigen Arbeiterin; ebenso **-lise**, **-lotte**, **-hans**, **-peter**. **Nüschler** sb. m. = Nuschelhans, -peter. **Nüschlig** a. In allen Bedeutungen (scil. corresponding to those of the verb). **Nüschrig** a. Unsauber, unreinlich; unansehnlich, elend.

Comments: — As to *sch*, Frischbier gives the following piece of information pag. v: »*sch* bezeichnet den eigentümlichen Laut, der dem französischen *j* gleich klingt und polnisch durch *ż* ausgedrückt wird.» It is remarkable that there should be no examples of the stem *nus(s)-* or *nüs(s)-* in the dialect except *nüssen* 'nach Nüssen suchen', obviously formed on the pl. of *Nuss*, i. e. nut. Hence it is probable that *sch* represents earlier *zz* as found in the Hamburg verb *nusseln* (*ss molli*) 'zauderhaft arbeiten' (Richey in 1755) and in the Pomeranian words *nussen* (das *ss* weich) 'säumen, träge und faul arbeiten', *nüsseln* (das *ss* weich) 'taumeln, zum Fall kommen', *Nusse* (das *ss* weich) 'ein träger und fauler Arbeiter' (Dähnert in 1781). But as to *sch* in **nuscheln** in sense of 'wühlen', the source was probably earlier *sch* (< *sk*), which, however, was assimilated to the corresponding voiced sound (cp. *nüscheln* 'wühlen', Dähnert in 1781).

Concerning the semantic view-point, let us consider the third sense of **nuscheln**, i. e. 'schmutzig, unsauber arbeiten', 'Flecken in eine Arbeit bringen'. It is obvious that the latter sense was originally a Semantic Addition of the Resultative Type and that from the view-point of interdependence it was a notion equipollent with the former sense, i. e. 'schmutzig arbeiten', and hence able to replace it = Permutation. As to the meaning 'schmutzig arbeiten', it is a sense hardly arising from the verbal function of the word. Therefore, as we have previously pointed out, it should be looked upon as due to Analogy, i. e. as an Analogical Transfer of the sense 'unsauber Arbeiter' presented by the subst. **Nuschel**, which appeared as an agent noun and originally probably denoted 'langsamer Arbeiter'.

Let it also be noted in point of **nuscheln** that the relation between the sense 'zaudernd, säumig, ohne rechten Zweck arbeiten' and the sense 'eine Arbeit unvollkommen, unordentlich, oberflächlich verrichten' is that between cause and effect, and that hence the two senses are equipollent notions so that the sense expressing the effect may be substituted for the sense denoting the cause (= Permutation). The two senses are so closely connected that there is no need for assuming the intervention of a Semantic Addition of the Resultative Type. For they are permanent synonyms, i. e. synonyms not requiring a particular context, and hence we are faced with Intentional Permutation.

Semantic parallelism with words having the base *nut* is of course met with. Let us point out sense 1 and sense 2 of

nuscheln, i. e. 'wühlen' and 'zaudernd, säumig, ohne rechten Zweck arbeiten'. Note also the subst. **Nuschel** unsaubere, träge, unordentliche Person (cp. *Nuddel* schmutziger Mensch, Schlesw.-Holst.), and the adj. **nuschrig** unsauber, unreinlich; also unansehnlich, elend (cp. *nottelig* unsauber, *nuddelig* or *nüddelig* unordentlich, unsauber, schmutzig; also = langsam, träge (Schlesw.-Holst.); cp. also LG *nuttig* unbedeutend, schlecht).

Baltic German: 1887 ff. W. von Gutzeit *Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache Livlands* (Riga), Bd II (1889).

Nuscheln v. Zögern, trödeln, säumig eine Sache betreiben (Livonia, Bergmann u. Hupel); unordentlich und faul arbeiten (Esthonia; Sallmann).

Derivatives: — **Nusch** a. Klein. **Nuschelig** a. (1) Langsam in der Arbeit, saumselig (auch in Estland); (2) etwas nachlässig; n. aussehen, n. angekleidet; Hupel erklärt: unansehnlich, unordentlich; (3) unbedeutend (ein nuschliges Mädchen); Hupel hat: ein nuscheliges Pferd, u. erklärt mit elend, klein. **Nuschlerhaft** a. Was saumselig geschieht. **Nuschlerisch** a. Einem Nuschler eigen oder entsprechend. — **Nuschelei** sb. Nuschlisches Wesen u. Tun. **Nuschelpeter** sb. Einfältiger u. saumseliger Arbeiter; ähnlich sind **Nuschelhans** und **Nuscheltrine** (saumseliges, langsames Frauenzimmer). **Nuschelarbeit** sb. Genuschelte Arbeit, Nuschlerarbeit. **Nusch(e)ligkeit** sb. (1) Saumseliges Tun; (2) Unbedeutenheit. **Nuschler** sb. m., **Nuschlerin** sb. f. Saumseliger, langsam arbeitender Mensch; bei Hupel auch: einer der sich mit Kleinigkeiten beschäftigt. **Nuschlerarbeit** sb. Arbeit, die nicht vorwärts geht.

Comments: — Let us point out the absence of instances with the stems *nus(s)-*, *nüs(s)-*, or *nös(s)-*, though Baltic German was due to immigration from the north-western part of Germany where nowadays there is plenty of instances with these stems. The adj. **nusch** 'klein', however, is evidently connected with the subs. **Nusch** 'minderwertiges' met with in the idiom of Schleswig-Holstein.

As to semantic parallelism with words having the base *nut*, all the meanings given above may be said to be examples in point. Let us only remark that one of the two senses assigned by Hupel to **Nuschler** and **Nuschlerin**, which are agent nouns, is 'einer der sich mit Kleinigkeiten beschäftigt'. It should be observed that this signification is often attached to derivatives from the base *nut* but that it is perhaps not equally common in point of derivatives from the base *nus*.

Middle German.

Hessen: 1868 A. F. E. Vilmar *Idiotikon von Kurhessen* (Marburg u. Leipzig).

Nöseln (auch *nösseln*, *nusseln*, *nüsseln* gesprochen) v. (1) Herumkrämern, in etwas herumstöbern, namentlich aber (2) in den Speisen herumstöören (mit der Gabel), ohne ernstlich zu essen; wenig oder ohne Appetit essen; (3) undeutlich, namentlich durch die Nase sprechen, halblaut, wie Unzufriedene und Hinterhältige thun, und krittlich sprechen; sehr üblich, zumal »in den Bart nusseln«. Im Haungrunde und weiter ist die erste dieser drei Bedeutungen nicht vorhanden, die anderen beiden Bedeutungen aber werden durch zwei verschiedene Wörter vertreten: *näusel*n, ohne Appetit essen; *nüsseln*, durch die Nase, undeutlich sprechen, kritteln, tadeln.

Derivative: — **Nesset** (von *nösen*, *nösseln*) a. Wählerisch im Essen (Fulda).

Comments: — It is obvious that Vilmar's account leaves much to be desired in point of completeness and accuracy. Let us, however, consider sense 1 and sense 2 of **nöseln** or **nösseln**. To begin with, it is evident that the sense 'in den Speisen herumstöören' is an example of Intentional Figurative Transfer of the meaning 'in etwas herumstöörn'. It is also obvious that the sense 'ohne ernstlich zu essen' is a Semantic Addition expressed by implication only and that this Addition later on became an independent meaning in the form 'wenig oder ohne Appetit essen', which was a notional element of more interest than that expressed in words. It is evident, then, that the senses 'in den Speisen herumstöören' and 'ohne ernstlich zu essen' were apprehended as equipollent (= equivalent) notions and that hence the latter sense could be substituted for the former meaning (= Permutation). But note that the new sense has not ousted the earlier meaning with the Semantic Addition (as is usually the case) but appears alongside of it. And note above all that the relation between the sense 'in den Speisen herumstöören' and its Semantic Addition, i. e. 'ohne ernstlich zu essen', is not the relation of interdependence (as is the case when the Addition denotes the purpose or the result of the activity of the verb) but a relation that may be understood as adversative though here meant to involve equipollence (equivalence). The adj. **nesset** (-et < -eht) 'wählerisch' was obviously formed from the stem of the verb **nösseln** in sense 'to poke about in the food but without eating in real earnest'. The

3rd sense of **nöseln**, **nösseln** illustrates the semantic parallelism existing between the derivatives from the base *nus* and those derived from the base *nut*.

1886 H. v. Pfister *Nachträge zu A. F. C. Vilmar's Idiotikon von Hessen* (Marburg).

**Nussen*, **Nüssen* v. Stossen, schlagen (zumal am Westerwalde, doch auch sonst in unserem Stammes Gebiete); auch: im Ringen niederwerfen... Obige beide Zeitwörter decken begrifflich sich nahezu völlig mit ags. *hnossian* und *hnyssan*; desgleichen in der Form.

**Nüsseln* v. wird vom Voc. Hass. erläutert: »das Essen im Munde hin und her werfen wegen schlimmer Zähne«. Übrigens trennt auch jenes Glossar [i. e. *Vocabularium Hassiacum*, ein kleines handschriftliches Glossar aus der Mitte des vorigen Jahrhunderts, cp. p XVI, Einleitung] dies *nüsseln* ganz bestimmt von einem *nusseln* 'male loqui per nares'... In rheinischem Hessen meint *neseln* soviel als 'nergeln'.

Comments: — We should admit that **nussen*, **nüssen* 'stossen, schlagen' is most probably derived from the stem **hnuss-* and that the same is the case with **nüsseln*, whose sense 'das Essen im Munde hin und her werfen' should be understood as a Specialization of the sense 'to push' (stossen), i. e. Genus pro Specie. Hence it is correct to say that these verbs must be kept apart from **nusseln** 'male loqui per nares' and **neseln** 'nergeln', both of which are formed from the base *nus* and present semantic parallels with verbs formed from the base *nut*.

As to the sense 'im Ringen niederwerfen' expressed by **nussen*, **nüssen* 'stossen, schlagen', its source was obviously the sense 'schlagen', i. e. to deliver blows, as used of one of two parties in hostile opposition or in emulation (e. g. boxing). The sense-development is easily understandable if we postulate a Semantic Addition (by implication) of the Resultative Type so that the starting-point for further sense-development was 'to deliver blows (so that the antagonist is thrown down or overcome)'. But if so, we are confronted with two notions, cause and effect, which from the view-point of interdependence are equipollent. Hence the effect as being the more important, i. e. the more interesting, notion of them was able to replace its cause (= Permutation). Cp. Swed. *slå* (fienden, medtävlaren) and Eng. *to beat*, when they denote 'to overcome, to conquer in battle, or (in mod. use) in any other contest'. When the N. E. D. (s. v.

beat 10) says that this sense is »a natural extension of 4», i. e. the sense 'to thrash, to punish by beating', this is mere nonsense since also the latter meaning represents a Semantic Addition, but of the Purposive Type, i. e. 'to beat or thrash in order to punish', a meaning which passed into the sense 'to punish by beating' (= Permutation).

1926 F. Hofmann *Niederhessisches Wörterbuch* (die Mundart von Oberellenbach, Kreis Rotenburg (Fulda), Marburg).

Nussen [*nosən*] v. (1) In etw. herumstöbern; (2) kleinliche Arbeiten verrichten.

Nusseln [*nosəlŋ*] v. Undeutlich sprechen, näseln.

Derivative: **Nusselbart** [*nosəlbj̄rt*] sb. m. Undeutlich sprechender, näselnder Mensch.

Hessen-Nassau: 1935 Luise Berthold *Hessen-Nassauisches Volkswörterbuch* (Marburg).

Nusen [*nosən*] v. (1) In etwas herumstöbern; (2) kleinliche Arbeit verrichten.

Nuseln I or **Nüseln** v. (1) Durch die Nase reden; undeutlich, leise reden; weinerlich reden, weinen; missvergnügt brummen, tadeln, schimpfen; (2) schwer atmen (von Kindern); (3) leise regnen.

Nuseln II v. Trinken. *Einen n.* 'einen Schoppen trinken'.

**Nussen* v. Verprügeln, schlagen, Zerbrechliches zerbrechen; *sich n.* sich (den Kopf.) stossen.

Derivatives: — **Nusel-** in compounds, viz. **-bart** sb. Mensch, der undeutlich spricht; Mensch, der näseln; **-dingen** sb. Kind, das undeutlich spricht; **-nase** sb. Dasselbe wie Nuselbart; **-peter** sb. Dasselbe wie Nuselbart. **Nuseler I** sb. Mensch, der undeutlich spricht (durch die Nase spricht, leise spricht). **Nuseler II** sb. Trinker. — **Nüselig** a. Genau, kleinlich bei der Arbeit. **Nüsicht** a. (1) Wählerisch im Essen; (2) genau, kleinlich in der Arbeit; also *nösset*, *nesset* = wählerisch im Essen. **Nüstlich** a. Empfindlich im Essen.

Comments: — The twofold sense expressed by **nussen** (F. Hoffmann) and **nusen** (L. Berthold), i. e. 'in etwas herumstöbern' and 'kleinliche Arbeit verrichten', implies a valuable piece of information inasmuch as it plainly indicates the way in which the sense 'to be busy in a trifling manner' may have originated. For we are informed that the semantic starting-point was in the present case the sense 'to nose about in quest of something', said of animals, and that this meaning was intentionally transferred from the animal world to the human sphere so as to give rise to the signification 'to

walk about here and there (like an animal) in order to perform some trifling business'. In short, we are concerned with an Intentional Figurative Transfer due to points of similarity, consisting in walking about for the purpose of doing some trifling work. Later on the notion of walking about was often eliminated through Adequation.

The sense 'schwer atmen', said of children and expressed by **nuseln I** or **nüseln** in addition to other meanings (L. Berthold), forms a striking contrast to the semantic aspects usually expressed by the derivatives from the base *nus*. But it should be noted that this sense, i. e. 'to breathe heavily', is so closely allied to the meaning 'to breathe audibly', the primary signification, that the sense-change implied should be classed as a Regular Transfer, nay perhaps even as an Identification with the original sense. If so, we have to state the interesting fact that a slight variant of the primary sense has been preserved from early times down the centuries.

But **nuseln I** has also the senses 'weinerlich reden' and 'weinen'. The former sense and the meaning 'undeutlich, leise reden', also presented by this verb, are obviously Notions of Interference, and hence the former sense was brought about by the sense-change we have called Adequation due to logical Interference. Also the sense 'weinen' is a case of Adequation since it implies a total shift of attention from the notion of speaking (in 'weinerlich reden') to the equally prominent notion of crying, which appeared as the more interesting notional element, a semantic change which may be classed as a use of Species pro Genere.

Furthermore, there is the sense 'leise regnen' to be considered, also presented by **nuseln I**. The source of this meaning was evidently the sense 'undeutlich, leise reden' or rather its variant 'to murmur'. There is undeniably a certain acoustic similarity between the subdued and continuous sound of murmuring and the subdued and continuous swishing sound of gently falling rain. Hence it would not be impossible for a speaker to denote with the word for 'murmuring' an auditive perception coming from the outside and implying the sound of falling rain, the less so as the very phonetic shape of **nuseln** (the *u* is short) is apt to describe this sound. If so, we are faced with a sense-change due to Intentional non-figurative Transfer based on Similarity. Proximately the new sense denoted the sound of gently falling rain but immediately also the falling rain itself, since from the view-point of interdependence these things may be apprehended as equipollent notions and hence are liable to Permutation.

There is also a verb **nuseln II** denoting 'trinken', and the corresponding agent noun, viz. **Nuseler II** 'Trinker', whereas **Nuseler I** means 'Mensch der undeutlich spricht'. Hence Luise Berthold suggests, though hesitantly, that the element of 'trinken' took its rise in **Nuseler I**. This postulation involves the view that the sense 'trinken' should be understood as an Analogical Transfer from the agent noun denoting 'Trinker'. Of course it is true that indistinct speech is a characteristic of an inebriated fellow, but he must then be more than half-seas-over. Hence we should expect, not the sense 'Trinker', but the sense 'a drunken fellow', since this is the notion that may be equipollent with 'a fellow talking indistinctly'. It is evident, then, that **Nuseler II** derives its origin from **nuseln II** and not vice versa. In order to explain the origin of the sense 'trinken', there seems to be no alternative left but to assume that the original sense was 'langsam trinken'. If so, we are confronted with a Specialization of the general sense 'to perform an activity slowly', a meaning very often presented by verbs formed on the bases *nus* and *nut*. We have previously employed this type of Adequation (Genus pro Specie) in explaining the sense 'langsam oder heimlich ausser der Mahlzeit essen' presented by **nūs¹lⁿ** in the dialect of Waldeck, or in accounting for the sense 'to spend much time on one's toilet and breakfast in the morning' expressed by Norw. dial. **nossa**. And if we turn to verbs formed from the base *nut*, we have seen that *netelen* (Bremen) may denote slowness in speech and slowness in criticism, and *nuddeln* (Lipsic) slowness and clumsiness in driving, and there are other examples, also. Under such circumstances why should it here be wrong to postulate the sense *langsam trinken* in order to get the semantic connecting link between the sense 'to act slowly', which obviously was the earlier meaning of **nuseln II**, and 'to drink', its present sense! Of course an inveterate sceptic shakes his head in dismay. But if so, let us give him the piece of information that the verb *nölen*, which also denotes 'to act slowly', in the LG dialect, where it appears also in the form of *nälen*, means (1) *zögern, zaudern, saumselig und langsam eine Arbeit fördern, eine Sache zustande bringen*; (2) *langsam trinken*.¹⁾ Again, the sense 'trinken' is of course due to the type of Adequation called Generalization, i. e. the use of Species pro Genere.

Lastly, we have to note a couple of adjectives. The word **nüselig** signifies 'genau, kleinlich bei der Arbeit'. There appears to

¹⁾ Cp. H. Frischbier *Preussisches Wörterbuch*, Berlin 1883, Bd II s. v. *nälen, benälen*.

oder hörbar trinken

be no answering verb denoting 'to be painstaking and careful in doing a thing'. If there were, the proximate source of this sense would have been 'to be slow in doing a thing (because of being painstaking and careful)', the latter part of the sense being expressed by implication only. Thereupon Permutation would have taken place so that the cause was substituted for the effect. We need not, however, presuppose the former existence of such a verb, but we must then postulate that the adjective **nüselig** once had the sense 'langsam in der Arbeit', otherwise there would be no connecting link with the base *nus*. Now it is a common experience that slowness in one's work may be due to painstaking and carefulness. When this is the case, there exists between the qualities 'slow' and 'painstaking' the relation between effect and cause, and hence the cause may be substituted for the effect, seeing that they are equipollent notions from the view-point of interdependence. In the present case, then, we should say that **nüselig** originally meant 'slow in one's work' and that from this sense there originated, through Semantic Addition by implication of the cause and by subsequent Permutation, the meaning 'painstaking and careful in one's work', a signification that has ousted the old sense altogether.

The adjective **nüsiht** denotes (1) wählerisch im Essen (in this sense also *nösset*, *nesset*); (2) genau, kleinlich in der Arbeit. The former sense is obviously the earlier one since sense 2 is already expressed by *nüselig*. If so, we should assume that **nüsiht** was formed as an adjectival counterpart to a verb denoting, like **nisseln** in the Upper Lusatia (Oberlausitz), not only 'durchsuchen, durchwühle'n but also 'im Essen n'. = 'die besten Bissen herauswählen'. The same explanation should be adopted in point of **nüstlich** 'empfindlich im Essen', whose *t* is intrusive being due to careless pronunciation of the consonantal combination *sl*. The second sense of **nüsiht**, i. e. 'kleinlich in der Arbeit', may very well have had 'fastidious in eating' as proximate source. If so, we are faced with a Generalization of sense (Species pro Genere), giving as result 'fastidious in one's work', a sense equivalent to the meaning 'genau, kleinlich in der Arbeit'. Cp. the sense of Eng. 'fastidious': hard to please with regard to matters of *taste* or *propriety* (see N. E. D.)

Semantic parallelism with words formed from the base *nut* is met with in all other cases except **nussen* 'verprügeln, schlagen, Zerbrechliches zerbrechen', a word most probably formed from the stem *hnuss-*. Let us, however, particularly mention **nusen**

(1) in etwas herumstöbern; (2) kleinliche Arbeiten verrichten; and **nuseln I** (*nüseln*) in the senses 'durch die Nase reden', 'undeutlich, leise reden', 'missvergnügt brummen, tadeln'.

Unterharz: 1890 F. Liesenberg *Die Stieger Mundart, ein Idiom des Unterharzes* (Göttingen).

Nuseln v. Näseln, durch die Nase sprechen (cp. op. cit. p. 98).

**Nuschen* v. Schlagen, stossen, **ternuschen* v. durch-, abprügeln.

Derivatives: — **Nusche* sb. pl. Schläge. *Kopfnisse* sb. pl. Schläge an den Kopf (cp. op. cit. p. 120).

Lipsic: 1881 Karl Albrecht *Die Leipziger Mundart* (Leipzig).

**Nussen* v. Durchprügeln.

Nüscheln, auch **Nüscheln**, **Nusseln** v. Undeutlich sprechen.

Henneberg (in Saxe-Meiningen): 1881 B. Spiess *Beiträge zu einem Hennebergischen Idioticon* (Wien).

Nüseln [*nüsel*] v. In näselndem Tone verdriesslich über etwas sprechen, ohne genügende Ursache seine Unzufriedenheit äussern, in übler Laune gar zu viel an einer Sache zu tadeln haben.

Comments: — Let us only point out the occurrence of the words **nuschen* schlagen, stossen; **Nusche* pl. Schläge; *Kopfnisse* (Unterharz); and **nussen* durchprügeln (Lipsic), all of which in all probability belong to the stem *hnuss-* or to its extended form **hnuss-k-*.

Semantic parallelism with words formed from the base *nut* is presented by the verbs **nuseln** näseln, durch die Nase sprechen (Unterharz) and **nüscheln**, **nusseln** undeutlich sprechen (Lipsic). Note especially **nüseln** (Henneberg), whose sense is closely allied to that presented by the Bremen verb *neteln*, Baltic Germ. *nütteln*, *nitteln*.

Upper Lusatia (Oberlausitz): 1825 et seqq. K. G. Anton *Alphabet. Verz. mehrerer in der Oberlausitz üblichen, ihr zum Theil eigenthümlichen, Wörter u. Redensarten* (Görlitz, Progr.).

**Nusseln* v. Einem Kopfnüsse oder Schläge überhaupt geben, einen abprügeln.¹⁾

**Nuscheln* [mit kurzem *u*] v. Einen, d. h. ihn schlagen, besonders auf den Kopf = *nusseln*.²⁾

Nuscheln [mit gedehntem *u*] v. Niescheln.²⁾

¹⁾ Cp. K. G. Anton *op. cit.* zweites Stück p. 14.

²⁾ Cp. K. G. Anton *op. cit.* zehntes Stück p. 19 and 16, 17.

Niescheln v. Unverständlich und leise reden; durch die Nase reden.¹⁾

**Nischeln* v. Einen, ihn beim Kopf und den Haaren nehmen und raufen und schlagen.¹⁾

Nisseln v. Durchsuchen, durchwühlen; im Essen n. = die besten Bissen auswählen; auch fein regnen.²⁾

Nisteln v. Leise herumstöören, herumwühlen.²⁾

Derivative: — *Nischel* sb. Der Kopf, besonders der mit Haaren bewachsene Theil.¹⁾

Silesia (Schlesien): 1787 *Versuch zu einem Schlesischen Idiotikon* (Stendal).

Nuscheln v. Sles. man schreibt und spricht es vielleicht richtiger **nuseln**, durch die Nase reden.

1855 K. Weinhold *Versuch zu einem Schlesischen Wörterbuch* (Wien).

**Nischel* sb. Kopf.

Comments: — The stem-vowels *i* and *ī* (written *ie*) met with in some words adduced above should be explained as delabializations of *ũ* and *ū*. The long *u* of **nuscheln** in sense of **niescheln** and the long *i* of the latter verb are probably due to a nasalized, i. e. here an imitative, pronunciation, seeing that this pronunciation of short *u* is met with in the Bavarian verb **nuseln** 'durch die Nase oder sonst unverständlich reden'. — The semantic aspect of **nisteln** goes to show that the word is a derivative from the base *nus*. The intercalation of a *t* between *s* and *l* or its elimination in this position is no rare phonetic phenomenon. Thus, for instance, there is in English everyday parlance a tendency to use an accessory *t* in *scarcely*, whereas in English an original *t* is silent in words ending in *-stle*, e. g. *thistle* (OE *ðistel*), *whistle* (OE *hwistlian*). This phenomenon is due to carelessness as to the right moment for the tongue to articulate the *l*.

From a semantic view-point it is remarkable that the verb **nischeln* should denote 'einen beim Kopf und den Haaren nehmen und raufen und schlagen'. For this sense is inordinately rich in notional elements even if we reduce them to the meaning 'to pull a person's hair and to beat him on the head'. The original sense of **nischeln* was obviously the same as that of **nũ-*

¹⁾ Cp. K. G. Anton *op. cit.* zweites Stück p. 14.

²⁾ Cp. K. G. Anton *op. cit.* zehnte Stück p. 19 and 16, 17.

scheln, i. e. 'einen schlagen, besonders auf den Kopf'. The present great richness in notional elements appears to be difficult to explain, unless it be postulated that we are concerned with an Intentional Transfer of the former sense in order to denote a Situation of Visible Presence of the complex nature mirrored by the present sense of **nischeln*. The Transfer may be called figurative inasmuch as it is equivalent to using Pars pro Toto, i. e. in this case part of a small series of activities immediately following upon each other and hence forming a chronological whole. This explanation presupposes the collaboration of the Situation of Visible Presence and, as usual, of repetition of the Transfer until the association between the word and the new sense be firmly established.

We have seen that the semantic area of the verb **nisseln** comprises three senses, to wit, (1) durchsuchen, durchwühlen; (2) im Essen n. = die besten Bissen auswählen; (3) fein regnen. The second sense is an example of a Semantic Addition by Implication denoting the purpose of the activity expressed by the first sense of the verb. Hence the second sense formed a notion equipollent with that of the first sense and was able to be substituted for it (= Permutation). The third sense is another example of a verb formed from the base *nus* and presenting the meaning 'fein regnen'. The first instance was **nüseln** or **nuseln I** (Hessen) which denotes (1) durch die Nase reden, undeutlich, leise reden, missvergnügt brummen etc.; (2) schwer atmen (von Kindern); (3) leise regnen. The last sense was explained as a case of Intentional Transfer of the sense 'to murmur' in order to symbolize the sound of gently falling rain, which forms a notion equipollent with the rain itself. For they represent effect and cause, and therefore the cause could be substituted for the effect. The same explanation is applicable in the present case. But it presupposes that **nisseln** once had also the sense 'to murmur or mutter'. In view of the disparity in semantic area presented by the Lusatian **nisseln** and the Hessian *nüseln*, the sense 'fein regnen', as presented by *nisseln*, is likely to have had another origin. It may very well be derived from the sense 'durchsuchen, durchwühlen'. Let it be noted that **nisteln** signifies 'leise herumstören, herumwühlen', and that **nisseln** may have had this sense, too. As a matter of fact, **nisteln** has an intrusive *t* and was once identical with **nisseln**. But if so, this sense easily got a Semantic Addition by Implication denoting the result of the activity of the verb, i. e. the sense 'so as to make a slightly rustling sound'. Therupon

Permutation took place giving rise to the meaning 'to rustle slightly'. This sense is not recorded, but it was obviously the proximate source of the sense 'fein regnen'. For the former sense is well adapted for symbolizing the sound of gently falling rain, and the speaker's use of the word in this new sense (= Regular Transfer) may have been helped by a feeling of its phonetic appropriateness. But the new sense was immediately followed by an act of Permutation, the notion involving the cause, i. e. the fall of the rain, being substituted for the notion implying the effect, i. e. the sound of the falling rain.

The subs. **Nischel*, denoting 'Kopf', is obviously a formation from the stem of the verb **nischeln*, which, as we have seen, once had the same sense as **nuscheln*, i. e. 'einen schlagen besonders auf den Kopf'. Hence it follows that **Nischel*, a New Coinage, originally meant 'a knock on the head'. But if so, there was obviously a shift of attention from the notion of 'a knock' to the notion of 'the head', which gave rise to the sense 'the head (as having got a knock)', whereupon the subsidiary notional elements within brackets gradually faded away through unintentional Adequation. We have previously pointed out in an equivalent case that this shift of attention should be classed as Intentional Adequation. It should be noted that 'a blow' and 'the head' are no correlative notions, since a view-point is absent from which they may appear in this way. The case is another 'in point of 'a pull' and 'a tuft of hair', seeing that both notions may be understood as means of administering punishment (cp. Swed. *noss*).

Semantic parallelism with words formed from the base *nut* is presented by *nüşeln* and *niescheln* 'unverständlich und leise reden', 'durch die Nase reden'; *nisseln* 'durchsuchen, durch wühlen', '(im Essen) die besten Bissen herauswählen'; *nisteln* 'leise herumstören, herumwühlen' (Upper Lusatia); *nuscheln* or *nuseln* 'durch die Nase reden' (Silesia).

High or South German (Oberdeutsch).

Bavaria & Upper Palatinate: 1789 A. Zaupser *Versuch eines bairischen u. oberpfälzischen Idiotikons* (München).

Nuseln v. Durch die Nase reden — **Nüssig** a. Schlecht. A nüssiger Kerl, Ein unbedeutender Mensch.

1872—77 J. A. Schmeller *Baierisches Wörterbuch*, 2. Aufl. von G. K. Frommann (München).

Nuseln [*nu ~ s·ln*],¹⁾ auch **Nüseln** v. (1) Durch die Nase oder sonst unverständlich reden; (2) (OPf., Frank.) in etwas herumsuchen, herumlangen; (3) langsam, affectiert und wählerisch essen (cp. Schmeller I 764).

Nusteren v. Heimlich, leise reden, flüstern (cp. Schmeller I 1768).

**Nussen* v. Stossen, schlagen; **abnussen*, **dernussen*: abprügeln (cp. Schmeller I 1764).

Derivative: — **Nusse* sb. pl. Stösse, Schläge.

Carinthia (Kärnten): 1862 M. *Lexer Kärntisches Wörterbuch* (Leipzig).

Nüs·ln, Nus·len v. Heimlich reden, durch die Nase reden.

Comments: — The proximate source of the sense 'langsam, affectiert und wählerisch essen' (= sense 3) presented by **nuseln** or **nüseln** (Bavaria) is obviously the general sense 'in etwas herumsuchen' (= sense 2). But sense 3 presupposes that sense 2 was specialized so as to refer to 'eating' and imply 'beim Essen mit der Gabel herumsuchen' (Genus pro Specie). If so, there is no fundamental difference between this sense and the meaning 'langsam, affectiert und wählerisch essen'. In fact, they may on the whole be understood as ordinary synonymous notions, and hence the latter sense could be substituted for the former meaning (= Intentional Permutation).

We have seen that **nusteren** means 'heimlich, leise reden', 'flüstern' (Bavaria) and that **nüs·ln, nus·len** denotes 'heimlich reden', 'durch die Nase reden' (Carinthia). In point of 'heimlich reden' and 'leise reden', 'flüstern' the starting-point was the sense 'to murmur something to a person'. This sense very often suggests a Semantic Addition by Implication denoting the purpose of this mode of communication. Otherwise said, the Purposive Addition was something like 'in order not to be overheard', a notion which may be understood as a synonym for 'secretly'. If so, we are here faced with a case where a Purposive Addition by Implication has been established as a prominent notional element of a sense, viz. the meaning 'to murmur or whisper secretly'.

As semantic parallels with derivatives from the base *nut* we have to mention **nuseln** or **nüseln** 'durch die Nase reden

¹⁾ ~ nach einem Vocal zeigt an, dass dieser durch die Nase zu sprechen ist; · ein Punkt oben neben einem Buchstaben zeigt einen unausgesprochenen gebliebenen Vocal an (Schmeller).

oder sonst unverständlich reden', 'in etwas herumsuchen, herumlangen', **nūs·ln**, **nus·len** 'durch die Nase reden', and the adj. **nüssig** 'schlecht, unbedeutend' (cp. LG *nuttig* a. unbedeutend).

Swabian: 1914 H. Fischer *Schwäbisches Wörterbuch* Bd IV (Tübingen).

**Nusse*ⁿ v. (1) Nüsse ernten; (2) durchprügeln; weit verbr. Vgl. **durch-*, **her-*, **vernussen*.

Nusleⁿ v. An etwas herum essen ohne Appetit; cp. *nöseln* (Hessen; Vilmar).

Nüschēⁿ, **Nusche**ⁿ v. Suchen (Gaunerspr.)

Nustereⁿ, **Nüstere**ⁿ v. (1) *nūs-*: In etwas herumsuchen, stöbern; (2) *nūs-*, *nös-*, *nis-*: Leises Geräusch machen, knistern, rascheln.

Derivatives: **Nuseler** sb. (Obsolete) Schelte (the precise meaning is uncertain). **Nuschel** [*nüşl*] sb. Schwatzhafte, sich auffallend gebärdendes Weib. **Nüschel** [*nüşl*] sb. Haarschopf [also = Haarbüschel], wirre Haare, Hinterkopf. **Nussig** a. Grob.

Comments: — The two meanings presented by **nusse*ⁿ, viz. 'Nüsse ernten' and 'durchprügeln', are by Fischer obviously understood as genetically connected since he says: »Die Wallnüsse werden vom Baum heruntergeschlagen.« He also points out that *Nusser* existed as a family name as early as 1398 and that the sense 'durchprügeln' is widely spread, a statement corroborated by our own material. Let us accept Fischer's view that the sense 'Nüsse ernten' is not due to a denominative formation from the sb. *Nuss*, pl. *Nüsse*. The sense 'Nüsse ernten' should instead be explained as representing a Semantic Addition of the Purposive Type involving 'in order to bring down the walnuts'. From the viewpoint of interdependence this sense is equipollent with the notion 'to beat the boughs or twigs of walnut-trees' and was therefore able to be substituted for it (= Permutation).

The sense 'an etwas herumessen ohne Appetit' presented by **nuslen** is about synonymous with the sense 'to stir about in the food (with the fork) in order to pick out the choicest bits only (but not in order to eat in real earnest)', a sense previously explained genetically. Hence we may suppose that the latter sense was the proximate source of the former meaning and that the sense-change was due to substitution of an ordinary synonym for the earlier sense (= Intentional Permutation).

We have seen that **nustere**ⁿ or **nüstere**ⁿ denotes 'in etwas herumsuchen' but also 'leises Geräusch machen, knistern, rascheln'.

It is obvious that the latter meaning represents a Semantic Addition of the Resultative Type. Otherwise said, to the sense 'to seek all round' was added by implication the notion 'so as to make a rustling noise'. From the view-point of interdependence the cause and effect are equipollent notions, and hence the effect admitted of being substituted for the cause (= Permutation).

Let us turn to the substantives. As to **Nuschel** 'schwatzhaftes, sich auffallend gebärdendes Weib', it should be apprehended as an agent noun, though destitute of a corresponding verb which must once have existed denoting 'to prattle gossip (in an undertone)', or the like. — We have seen that **Nuschel** means 'Haarschopf' (i. e. a tuft of hair), 'wirre Haare', 'Hinterkopf'. There is no doubt that this word was originally a noun of action meaning 'a pull' and later on 'a pull of a tuft of hair' (= Specialization). It is obvious that in the latter expression there was once a shift of attention from the notion of 'a pull' to the notion of 'a tuft of hair', a phenomenon that gave rise to the sense 'a tuft of hair [as being pulled]'. Thereupon the subsidiary notional elements within brackets gradually faded away through unintentional Adequation. But how is this shift of attention to be classed? We persist in our opinion, previously advocated, that 'a pull' and 'a tuft of hair' may be apprehended as equipollent notions from the view-point of being means of administering correction for offence. Hence we are here concerned, not with Intentional Adequation, but with Permutation, presumably of the unintentional type. The possibility of this Permutation without being misunderstood by the listener was based on the associative power of the bond between the head-word and its qualifier. With this explanation we must expect that also the converse may take place, i. e. that 'a tuft of hair' and 'a pull', both appearing in the sense 'a tuft of hair as being pulled' may be exposed to Permutation so as to give rise to the sense 'a pull of a tuft of hair'. This semantic development is presented by the Swed. substantives *luf* and *lugg*, both originally meaning 'a tuft of hair hanging down' — they are derivatives from the Germanic bases *lubb* and *luy* 'to hang loosely down' — but subsequently also meaning 'a pull of a tuft of hair'¹⁾, a sense which, in our opinion, presupposes the intermediary signification 'a tuft of hair as being pulled'. The latter sense was due to a Semantic Addition by Implication, caused by repeated Situations of Visible Presence.

¹⁾ Cp. D. A. Sundén *Ordbok öfver Svenska Språket*, Stockholm 1892 s. v. *luf* and *lugg*.

As to the sense 'wirre Haare', it may be understood as a Specialization of the sense 'a tuft of hair', obviously due to the fact that this tuft of hair was often being pulled by way of chastisement. When we have to explain the sense 'Hinterkopf', we should remember that the expression 'wirre Haare' refers to the hair growing on the vertex, which forms part of the occiput, i. e. the back of the head. Hence the exchange of the notion of 'wirre Haare' for the notion of the vertex or the occiput should be explained as due to Intentional Adequation.

As semantic parallels with derivatives from the base *nut* we have to mention **nusle**ⁿ 'an etwas herum essen ohne Appetit' (cp. *nösseln* (Ditmarsehen) and Norw. dial. *nuta*); **nüsche**ⁿ or **nusche**ⁿ 'suchen'; **nustere**ⁿ or **nüstere**ⁿ 'in etwas herumsuchen, stöbern', and the adj. **nussig** 'grob' (cp. *nuttig*).

Low Alemannian.

Alsatia: 1899 E. Martin u. H. Lienhart *Wörterbuch der Elsässischen Mundarten* (Strassburg).

**Nusse*ⁿ I [*nùsə*] v. Mit den Knöcheln der geballten Faust auf den Kopf schlagen (p. 789).

Nusseⁿ II [*nysə*] v. Schlummern, leise schlafen; iⁿ **nusse**ⁿ v. einschlummern, einschlafen (p. 789).

Nusleⁿ [*njstə*] v. Langsam und ohne rechte Lust arbeiten (p. 789).

Nüschleⁿ [*nešlə* Wh., *njšlə* Hf.] v. (1) Kleine Arbeiten verrichten; (2) unter kleinem, wertlosem, altem Zeug suchend ein leises Geräusch verursachen (p. 789).

Nisseⁿ [*neslə*, M.] v. Knuspern, nagen (p. 787).

Derivatives: **Nuss* sb. Schlag auf den Kopf mit den Fingerknöcheln (p. 788). **Nusser** [*nysər*, Ropp.] sb. Schläfer, schläfriger Mensch (p. 789).

Basel: 1879 G. A. Seiler *Die Basler Mundart* (Basel):

Nüsle v. Durch die Nase reden.

Derivative: **Nüschel* sb. (Grob für) Kopf.

Comments: — The sense 'schlummern, leise schlafen' presented by **nussen** II has a semantic counterpart in the verb **nüseln** 'schlafen' (Schlesw.-Holst.), and the sense may be explained in the same way. But in the present case the verb has a phonetic appropriateness to symbolize 'slumbering', and hence this fact may have given rise to the sense 'to slumber'. If so, we are concerned with a New Coinage.

Let us further notice that the verb **nüsch^eleⁿ** [*nešlə, nyšlə*] means not only 'kleine Arbeiten verrichten' but also 'unter kleinem wertlosem, altem Zeug suchend ein leises Geräusch verursachen'. This sense is very interesting inasmuch as its proximate source was 'to rummage for something among all sorts of old rubbish so as to make a slight noise'. Otherwise said, a Resultative Addition by Implication was connected with the sense 'to rummage for something among old rubbish' and has replaced this sense by Permutation so as to turn it into a subsidiary notional element. But the interesting part of it is that the latter is retained and has not been eliminated by Adequation.

As to **nissleⁿ** [*neslə*] 'knuspern, nagen' we are probably concerned with a derivative formation from the base *nus* (cp. the pronunciation of **nüsch^eleⁿ**). If the source of this sense was 'to make a slight noise' (cp. *nüsch^eleⁿ*, but without its subsidiary notion), then we are obviously concerned with a case of Regular Transfer and of Permutation inasmuch as the cause of the sound to be denoted has been substituted for its effect. But the proximate source may perhaps have been 'to rustle'. If so, we may be confronted with an Intentional non-fig. Transfer due to some similarity in sound. Lastly, let us point out that **N ü s c h e l* means 'Kopf' (with a disparaging tone), just as **N i s c h e l* denotes Kopf in the Silesian dialect. Both words had probably as proximate semantic source, not 'a tuft of hair' (cp. Swab. *Nüschel*), but 'a blow on the head'. The operating factor was then Intentional Adequation, not Permutation since there seems to be no view-point from which 'a blow' and 'the head' may appear as equipollent notions.

As to semantic parallelisms with words formed from the base *nut*, we have to mention the verbs **nus^eleⁿ** [*nyšlə*] 'langsam und ohne rechte Lust arbeiten'; **nüsch^eleⁿ** in the sense 'kleine Arbeiten verrichten' (Alsatia); and **nüse** 'durch die Nase reden' (Basel).

High Alemannian.

Swiss German: 1901 F. Staub u. L. Tobler *Wörterbuch der Schweizerdeutschen Sprache* (Frauenfeld), Bd IV.

a) Words with the stems *nos-* or *nosch-*.

Nösereⁿ v. Wühlen. Syn. *nüsereⁿ* (825).

(*umeⁿ-*) **Nostleⁿ** v. In Etwas herumsuchen, -stöbern (846).¹⁾

¹⁾ The dictionary says: «Viell. blosse Nbf. zu *noschleⁿ*.» That is true if *sch* originated from *ss*. In any case the *t* is an accessory sound.

Nosch^{2e}ⁿ v. (1) Suchend in Etwas herumwühlen, -stöbern, -kramen und es dadurch in Unordnung bringen; (2) langsam und ungeschickt an Etw. herumfingern, herumarbeiten, sich mit kleinlicher Arbeit umständlich und ohne Erfolg zu schaffen machen; **vernoscheⁿ** einen Gegenstand verlegen; **dur^{ch}noscheⁿ** suchend durchwühlen (833).

No²sch²leⁿ (*nö²schlenⁿ, nöscheleⁿ, nöscheleⁿ*) Dim. zu *noscheⁿ*, v. (1) = *noscheⁿ* in sense 1; (2) = *noscheⁿ* in sense 2; also = allerlei kleine Arbeit verrichten; (3) einfädeln (333).

Nostereⁿ v. = *nustereⁿ II* (846).

Derivatives: **G^e-nosch** sb. n. (1) Das Herumwühlen in Etwas; (2) langsames, umständliches, ungeschicktes Arbeiten (833). — **Noscherei** sb. (1) = *G^enosch* in sense 1; (2) die dadurch bewirkte Unordnung. — **Noschi** sb. (1) Einer der unordentlich in Etwas herumwühlt; (2) langweiliger Arbeiter; (3) gedankenlose, vergessliche, nachlässige Person. — **Noschig** a. Verwirrt, unordentlich.

Comments: — Let us point out that the sense 'suchend in Etwas herumwühlen, -stöbern, -kramen (und es dadurch in Unordnung bringen)' presented by **nosch^{2e}**ⁿ illustrates the occurrence of a Semantic Addition by Implication denoting the result of the activity of the verb concerned. In the corresponding noun of action, viz. **Noscherei**, Permutation took place, i. e. the Resultative Addition became an independent meaning. Hence the word denotes (1) das Herumwühlen in Etwas; (2) die dadurch bewirkte Unordnung.

But **nosch^{2e}**ⁿ means also 'langsam und ungeschickt an Etwas herumfingern, herumarbeiten' and 'sich mit kleinlicher Arbeit umständlich und ohne Erfolg zu schaffen machen'. We are here seemingly confronted with two leading senses, viz. 'to work slowly and unskilfully' and 'to be busy with trifling work', lit. 'to make oneself busy with trifling work'. Let us disregard the relational sense-change involved in the literal sense and stick to its radical meaning, i. e. 'to be busy with trifling work'. It is obvious that the expression 'herumfingern, herumarbeiten' implies the notion of 'kleinliche Arbeit', and that 'langsam' and 'umständlich' are equivalent notions and 'unskilfully' and 'unsuccessfully' Notions of Interference. Hence we are justified in considering the two senses of sense 2 as being synonymous (quite apart from the relational sense-change). But if so, it is evident that these two senses should be apprehended as a Specialization of the manner in which the general sense, i. e. 'to be busy with trifling work', is performed.

The verb **no²schleⁿ** is a dim. of *noscheⁿ* and has about the same senses. But in addition it also denotes 'einfädeln' lit. 'to pass a thread through a needle', fig. 'to start (a conversation), to manoeuvre (a matter)'. We are probably concerned with a Specialization of the sense 'allerlei kleine Arbeit verrichten', also presented by the verb, esp. if 'einfädeln' may mean 'to arrange the threads properly when used in weaving' (= Genus pro Specie).

When the subs. **Noschi** means 'Einer der unordentlich in Etwas herumwühlt', we are faced with an agent noun. But the word denotes also 'langweiliger Arbeiter' and 'gedankenlose, vergessliche, nachlässige Person'. The former sense may be understood as having replaced the sense 'langsamer Arbeiter' (= Permutation), and the latter sense, too, should be ascribed to Permutation since it may be apprehended as a notion equipollent with the agential sense 'Einer der unordentlich in Etwas herumwühlt'. The adj. **noschig** 'verwirrt, unordentlich' is obviously a New Coinage from the stem *nosch-* as occurring in **Noscherei** (sense 2) and in **Noschi** (sense 1).

Semantic parallelism with derivatives from the base *nut* is presented by the verbs **nosereⁿ** (*nüsereⁿ*); (umen)- **nostlen** 'in etwas herumsuchen, -stöbern'; **noscheⁿ** in sense 2 'langsam und ungeschickt an Etwas herumarbeiten', and **noschleⁿ**, dim. of *noscheⁿ*, esp. in sense 'allerlei kleine Arbeit verrichten'. As to substantives, note **G^e-nosch** (1) Das Herumwühlen in Etwas; (2) langsames, unständliches, ungeschicktes Arbeiten, and **Noscherei** = *G^e-nosch* in sense 1. The adj. **noschig** 'verwirrt, unordentlich' has a parallel in the adj. *nuddelig*, *nüddelig* meaning, inter alia, 'unordentlich' in the dialect of Schleswig-Holstein.

b) Words with the stems *nus-* (*nüs-*), *nusch-* (*nüsch-*), *nust⁻¹*)

Nüslēⁿ (*nüslēⁿ*, *nüselēⁿ*, *nüsereⁿ*) v. (1) a) Näseln, undeutlich reden, b) leise (und darum unverständlich) reden, flüstern; 'mutire, heimlich oder leise reden, nüselen, mit ihm selbst reden'. (Denzl. 1677; 1715); (2) etwas Kleines, Schwieriges arbeiten Z; (3) seine Arbeit langsam verrichten Z (831).

**N ü s c h² eⁿ* I (*nüsch²eⁿ*) v. (1) (Mit den Hörnern) stossen, puffen; (2) (stossend) wühlen; (3) schlagen, bes. mit der Faust ins Gesicht, Ohrfeigen geben; (4) Einen beim Schopfe, bei den Haaren nehmen (833).

¹⁾ The *t* in *nustereⁿ*, *nüstereⁿ*, and *nostereⁿ* is in our opinion an old intercalation between *s* and *r*, the prototype being **nus-r-ōn*.

Nuscheⁿ II [-s¹-, nach anderer Angabe -s²-, *nū²sch¹eⁿ*, *nū²sch¹eⁿ*] v. (1) Näseln, undeutlich, leise reden (derber als *nüschelen*); (2) = *noscheⁿ* in sense 1, i. e. suchend in Etwas herumwühlen, -stöbern, -kramen, mit der Nebenvorstellung eines raschelnden Geräusches; (3) = *noscheⁿ* in sense 2; (4) sich im Geheimen nach Etwas umsehen, auf Etwas lauern (834).

**Nuschleⁿ* v. (1) Prügeln; (2) übh. scharf her-, hart mitnehmen, z. B. beim Spiel verlieren machen (834).

Nuschereⁿ (*nüsch¹ereⁿ*) v. (1) = *nuschen II* 1; (2) = *nuschen II* 2. »In Papier nuschern oder nüschern.« »Schnüffeln LE.»; (3) »unrechtliche Handgriffe im Verborgenen tun, heimlich etwas in die Tasche stecken LE.»; (4) ganz kleinliche Arbeit verrichten L. (834).

Nustereⁿ (*nüstereⁿ*, *nöstereⁿ*)¹ v. (1) Stöbern, wühlend suchen; mit der Nase untersuchen, schnüffeln; (2) a) an Etwas zupfen, herumtasten, sich mit Etwas zu schaffen machen, in tadelndem S.; b) sich mit Kleinigkeiten abgeben, unbedeutende Arbeiten machen (846—7).

Derivatives: — **Nuss* sb. Pl. Kopfnüsse Z., Prügel, Schläge (827). — **Nusch I* sb. Einer, der die Tiere kastriert. — **Nusch² II* sb. Derber Stoss (bes. mit den Hörnern), (2) Schlag, Streich; (3) Beule (833). — **Nuschⁱ** sb. m. (1) = *Noschi* 1; (2) = *Noschi* 2; (3) n. Verborgeⁿs; heimlicher Mensch, Schleicher (854). — **Nusteri** sb. Wer neugierig herumwühlt, stets herum fingert (847).

Comments: — As to **nüsleⁿ** there seems to be a causal relation between the senses 'Etwas Kleines, Schwieriges arbeiten' and 'eine Arbeit langsam verrichten', both occurring in Z [= Zürich] only. If so, the latter sense may be understood as a Resultative Addition (by Implication) to the former sense and hence as having originated by means of Permutation, though the sense 'eine Arbeit langsam verrichten' is widely spread and generally has another origin. But if so, we have only to account for the source of the sense 'Etwas Kleines, Schwieriges arbeiten'. This meaning is an exact correspondence to the Swed. sense 'hålla på med petgöra' presented by Swed. dial. *nättla*, and hence it should be explained in the same manner, i. e. it should be understood as a Specialization of the sense 'to be busy with trifling work' (Genus pro Specie).

In point of **nüscheⁿ I*, ultimately probably formed on the stem *hnuss-*, we have to state that it means not only 'stossen, puffen, stossend wühlen, schlagen, bes. mit der Faust ins Gesicht, Ohrfeigen geben' but also 'Einen beim Schopfe, bei den Haaren nehmen'. From a semantic view-point there appears to be no genetic connection

between the latter sense and the former meanings except 'wühlen'. But there is a chronological contiguity between the activities represented by them inasmuch as slaps on the face and boxes on the ear are often accompanied by pulls of the hair. Hence, when the verb **nusche*ⁿ I was used in the sense 'to give a person slaps on the face or boxes on the ear', there was often a Semantic Addition by Implication co-ordinate with this activity and denoting 'Einen bei den Haaren nehmen'. If the verb was used in the implied sense, this should be explained as due to Intentional Adequation, i. e. an intentional shift of the attention from the notion expressed by a word to the notion expressed by Implication only. This explanation presupposes the co-operation of the Situation of Visible Presence, but it may none the less justly appear as too venturesome to be the correct one. Hence we had better assume that the proximate source of the sense was 'wühlen' or rather one of the activities implied in this complex notion (see the explanation of Sw. dial. *noskäs* and *nossa I*).

Concerning *nusche*ⁿ II it is worthy of mention that it also means 'suchend in Etwas herumwühlen, -stöbern, -kramen, mit der Nebenvorstellung eines raschelnden Geräusches'. For this sense obviously contains a Semantic Addition by Implication denoting the result of the activity expressed by the verb, and it implies the fact that in the present case the Addition has not led to a Permutation so as to give rise to the sense 'rascheln'. But this verb has also the meaning 'sich im Geheimen nach Etwas umsehen', 'auf Etwas lauern'. The former sense took its rise from a figurative use of the meaning 'to nose about in quest of something'. The notional elements of 'secretly' and 'sneakingly' are likely to originate in this sense when used in several contexts. The sense 'auf Etwas lauern' may be understood as a contextual synonym for the signification 'sich im Geheimen nach Etwas umsehen'. Otherwise said, the sense 'auf Etwas lauern' may be apprehended as a Semantic Addition by Implication denoting the purpose of the activity of the verb, i. e. 'um auf etwas zu lauern', and hence as equipollent with the sense 'sich im Geheimen nach Etwas umsehen' and able to replace it (= Permutation).

In regard to the sense 'unrechtliche Handgriffe im Verborgenen tun', i. e. to do unlawful manipulations in secret, presented by *nuschere*ⁿ, it may be understood as a notion in itself equipollent with the sense 'to nose about secretly and surreptitiously in quest of something'. If so, we are faced with a case of Intentional Permuta-

tion. The meaning 'heimlich Etwas in die Tasche stecken', also presented by **nuschere**ⁿ, should be apprehended as a Specialization of the sense 'unrechtliche Handgriffe im Verborgenen tun' = Genus pro Specie.

If we turn to the verb **nustere**ⁿ, we find that, amongst other things, it denotes 'an Etwas zupfen, herumtasten', 'sich mit Etwas zu schaffen machen (in tadelndem S.)', but that it also signifies 'mit der Nase untersuchen, schnüffeln'. The sense 'an Etwas zupfen, herumtasten' may be conceived of as an Intentional Figurative Transfer of the latter sense. The meaning 'sich mit Etwas zu schaffen machen', i. e. 'to be busy with something' or 'to concern oneself about a thing', may be apprehended as a contextual synonym for the sense 'an Etwas zupfen, herumtasten', if the sense actually is (as is implied in the phrase 'in tadelndem Sinne') 'to concern oneself unduly about a thing'. If so, the new sense is due to Permutation, seeing that from the view-point of propriety and decency its notion is equipollent with the notion 'an Etwas zupfen, herumtasten'.

In point of derivatives we have to note **Nusch II*, which means not only 'derber Stoss, Schlag, Streich' but also 'Beule'. It is obvious that 'Beule' should be understood as a Resultative Addition by Implication to the sense 'Schlag, Streich', and that it hence was able to replace the latter sense by means of Permutation. Let us also remark that if *Nusch I*, denoting 'einer der die Tiere kastriert', actually is a derivative formation from the base *nus*, which perhaps is doubtful, then the sense may be a Specialization of the meaning 'an insignificant fellow', 'a person of inferior value' (= Adequation: Genus pro Specie). This sense may be postulated, since we meet with Norw. dial. *nusk* 'an insignificant person', LG *Nusch* sb. neut. 'Minderwertiges' (Schlesw.-Holst.), and LG *Nuss* 'eine Null, jemand der nichts zu bedeuten hat' (Lübeck).

Semantic parallelism with derivative formations from the base *nut* is presented by the verbs **nüśle**ⁿ in senses (1) näseln, undeutlich reden; (2) Etwas Kleines, Schwieriges arbeiten = the sense of Swed. dial. *nättla*; (3) seine Arbeit langsam verrichten; **nusche**^{n II} in senses (1) näseln, undeutlich, leise reden; (2) suchend in Etwas herumwühlen, -stöbern, -kramen; (3) langsam und ungeschickt an Etw. herumarbeiten; **nuschere**ⁿ in senses (1) näseln, undeutlich, leise reden; (2) suchend in Etwas herumwühlen, -stöbern, -kramen; schnüffeln; (3) ganz kleinliche Arbeit verrichten; **nustere**ⁿ in senses (1) stöbern, wühlend suchen, schnüffeln; (2) sich mit Kleinigkeiten abgeben, unbedeutende Arbeiten machen.

c) Words with the stems *nüs-*, *nüsch-*, and *nüst-* or *nist-*.

Nüseⁿ (*nüsseⁿ*, *nüseⁿ*) v. Durch die Nase reden, wie Einer der eine Hasenscharte hat (831).

Nüseleⁿ v. = *nusleⁿ*; **vernüselen** v. = mussitare.

Nüsseleⁿ I v. Lauern; **abnüsselen** v. = auf listige Art Einem Etwas ablocken, abschwatzen (831).

Nüsseleⁿ II v. An etwas geringfügigem herumdfitteln.

Derivatives: — **Nüseler** sb. (1) Einer der unverständlich (durch die Nase) redet; (2) Mensch mit einer Hasenscharte. — **Nüseler** sb. Wer Andern Etwas abzulocken, abzuschwatzen sucht oder versteht. — **Nüssi* sb. (1) Nasenstüber (= a rap on the nose, a fillip); (2) leichte Wunde, Beule, verursacht durch Schlag, Fall usw.; (3) Hautausschlag, Pustel, bes. an den Lippen; (4) leichter Krankheitsanfall, der von Einem zum Andern im Hause übergeht; (5) bildl. a) verstecktes Hinderniss, b) Nachteil, Schlappe (= check, reverse), c) Verweis (831).

**Nüssch²eⁿ* I v. = **nüssch²eⁿ* I, i. e. (mit den Hörnern) stossen, puffen; (stossend) wühlen; schlagen, bes. mit der Faust ins Gesicht; Einen bei den Haaren nehmen (833).

Nüsch²eⁿ v. Jmdn empfindlich schütteln. (835)

Nüsch²eⁿ II v. (1) = *nöschen*; (2) rülpsen (to belch, to break wind). (835)

Nüscheleⁿ I v. = *noschen* I, i. e. suchend in Etwas herumwühlen, -stöbern, -kramen; **erg'nüschleⁿ** v. Einen recht herumstossen. (834)

Nüsch¹eleⁿ II (*nüssch¹eleⁿ*, in Sis. -*üss²*-, *nüschleⁿ*) v. (1) a) = *nüscheⁿ* II 1, b) = *nusleⁿ* 1 b); (2) = *nuschen* II 2; (3) nachgrübeln, zu genau nach-, untersuchen. (834)

Derivatives: — **g'nüssch²et* ppl. a. Gefleckt, nur vom Kopfe des Schafes. — **G'nüsch¹el** sb. n. Undeutliches Reden (durch die Nase). — **Nüschel I** (*nüssch¹el*, in BSi. -*üss²*-) sb. m. Schnupfen. Syn. *Chnüsel* (Bd III 762). — **Nüscheler**, **Nüscheli** sb. m. Einer, der durch die Nase undeutlich redet. — **Nüsch¹er** sb. m. (1) auch **Nüscheri** = *Nuschi* 1 u. 2; (2) Knirps, i. e. a little man, a pygmy. — **Nüssch²el* II (*Nüss¹el*, *Nüss²gel*) sb. m. (1) Maul, Schnauze (roh, auch wenn vom Vieh gebraucht); (2) Schopf, Kopf (roh), (835). **Nüsch²eⁿ** sb. (1) = *Nösch* = *Hösch* (Bd II 1759); (2) = Rülpsen. (834—5)

Nüstereⁿ v. = *nustereⁿ*; **er-nüstereⁿ** v. = gänzlich durchstöbern; **üs-** = dem Vor., **dur^{ch}-** = durchsuchen (846—7).

Nüsterleⁿ v. Dim.: (1) grübeln; unruhig herumsuchen; einer Sache auf die Spur zu kommen suchen, heimlich ausforschen; (2) a) = *nustereⁿ* 2 a, i. e. an Etwas zupfen, herumtasten, sich mit Etwas zu schaffen machen; b) = *nustereⁿ* 2 b, i. e. sich mit Kleinigkeiten abgeben, unbedeutende Arbeiten machen. (847)

Nistereⁿ v. Ausstöbern, wühlend suchen, Kasten und Truhen durchsuchen. (845)

Nisteⁿ v. (1) Ein Nest bauen; (2) Ruhe gewinnen; (3) (a) in Etwas suchend wühlen, herumkramen; wühlen, stänkern in Etwas, selbst im Unrat; b) den Unrat wegschaffen. (844)

Derivatives: — **Nisti** sb. Wer seine Siebensachen in Kisten und Kasten zerstreut in steter Unordnung hat. **G^e-nistig** a. Wühlerisch, unruhig. (845).

Comments: — It is genetically necessary to keep apart the derivatives from the Germanic bases *nus* 'to breathe audibly', *nuhs*, *neuhs* 'wittern, untersuchen', and *hnus*, *hneus* 'niesen'.¹⁾ The base *nuhs*, *neuhs* is represented by Goth. *biniuhsjan* 'auspähen', ON. *nýsa* (or *hnýsa*) 'to snuffle, to scent; to peer, to pry, to look about', OSax. *nūsian*, *nūsōn* 'untersuchen', OE *nēosan*, *nēosian* 'nachspüren, besuchen', 'to search out, find out, inspect, etc.', OHG *ar-*, *biniusan* 'to try', *piniusan* 'to experience, attain'. The base *hnus*, *hneus* is met with in ON *hnjósa* 'to sneeze', Swed. *nýsa*, MLG *nēsen*, ME *nēsen*, OHG *nūsian*, MHG, G. *niesen*.¹⁾ It is also represented by Icel. *hnýsast* 'søge at komme paa Spor efter n-t, udspejde n-t', i. e. to track, to pry out²⁾, and Swiss Ger. *chnüssleⁿ* 'to sneak treacherously after a person'. sch. mit niesen?

Let us now turn to Swiss Ger. **nüsseleⁿ I** 'lauern', i. e. to wait impatiently for a thing; to be on the watch, to lie in wait (or ambush) for.³⁾ But G. 'lauern' seems also to mean 'to spy', 'to seek to discover by stealthy observation', 'to examine or observe closely or carefully'. If so, there appears to be no obstacle to understanding **nüsseleⁿ I** 'lauern' as a derivative from the base *nuhs*, *neuhs*; and the same is true of **nüsseleⁿ II** 'an Etwas geringfügigem herumdiffeln'. For 'diffeln' means »grübeln, über etwas nachsinnen, anhaltend

¹⁾ Cp. A Torp *Wortschatz der Germanischen Spracheinheit*, Göttingen 1909, pp. 299 and 100 (= A. Fick, *Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen*, vol. III).

²⁾ Cp. S. Blöndal *Íslandsk-Dansk Ordbog*, Reykjavik 1920—1924.

³⁾ Cp. Muret-Sanders *Deutsch-Englisches Wörterbuch*, Berlin—Schöneberg 1908 (2. Aufl.), s. v. *lauern*.

und tief nachdenken.»¹⁾ Hence 'herumdifteln' obviously means 'to examine or observe a thing closely and carefully'. But none the less we must a priori admit the likelihood that both **nüssele^a I** and **II** are derivatives from the base *nus*. For we have seen that *nusche^a II* denotes not only 'näseln, undeutlich, leise reden; suchend in Etwas herumwühlen; stöbern; langsam und ungeschickt an Etw. herumfingern, herumarbeiten', but also 'sich im geheimen nach Etwas umsehen, auf Etwas lauern'. And the sense 'grübeln, über Etwas nachsinnen' may be understood as a figurative use of 'herumwühlen', cp. Swiss Ger. *nodderer* 'Wühler', 'Grübler'. In point of the verb **abnüssele^a** our dictionary says (IV 831): — »Wrsch. blosse Nbf zu (ab-) *lüsselen* (s. Bd III 1455).» This view is erroneous, but it contains a fragment of truth inasmuch as the very combination with the prefix *ab-* may have been suggested by this verb. But if so, the formative influence itself was due also to some semantic similarity between the verbs, and hence it is legitimate to assume that **nüssele^a I** had also the sense 'auf listige Art Einem Etwas ablocken, abschwatzen', as is suggested by the corresponding agent noun, whose form is **Nüsseler** without the prefix *ab-*. But what was then the origin of this sense? The answer is given by a Swedish dialect in Finland. We there meet with a verb *nyssja* denoting (1) to be busy in a trifling way, to potter about putting things to rights in a room; (2) to whisper gossip; (3) to wheedle secrets and pieces of information out of a person in a deceptive and insinuating way', i. e. the very sense with which we are here confronted. The proximate source of this sense was obviously 'to whisper gossip' but with a Purposive Addition by Implication denoting 'so as to be able to wheedle secrets and pieces of information out of him in return'. From the view-point of interdependence the former sense, i. e. 'to whisper gossip', was a notion equipollent with the notion represented by the purposive idea, and hence it could be replaced by the latter meaning. The same explanation should be adopted in point of **nüssele^a I**. Hence we must postulate that this verb once had also the sense 'to whisper gossip', or the like. But if so, the genetic problem of **nüssele^a I** and also of **nüssele^a II** is solved in an unassailable manner. For it is then beyond dispute that they are derivatives from the base *nus*.

The meaning 'jmdn empfindlich schütteln' presented by **nüsch^{2e}** should in our opinion be explained as having originated from the

¹⁾ Cp. B. Spiess *Beiträge zu seinem Hennebergischen Idiotikon*, Wien 1881.

sense 'wühlen', whose complexity of activities also embraces 'to shake'. But if so, the verb may have been the same word as **n üsch²eⁿ I*, which denotes 'stossen', 'puffen', 'stossend wühlen', 'schlagen mit der Faust ins Gesicht', 'einen bei den Haaren nehmen'. For it should be noted that the quantitative difference between *ü* and *ĩ* is in Swiss German no safe genetic criterion. Cp. the pronunciation of the verb *nüsch¹eleⁿ II* and of the subst. *Nüschel I* and **Nüssi*, whose *ü* must be of late date. But the solution of the problem is probably the view that the senses 'wühlend stossen' and 'Einen bei den Haaren nehmen', presented by **n üschen I* (stem *hnuss-*), originally belonged to **nüschēn** (base *nus*), whose long *ü* may very well be the result of lengthening the short *ü* in an open syllable. Let it be noticed that **nüscheⁿ I* is only a phonetic variant of **nüscheⁿ I*, which has the same senses.

The sense 'rülpsen', i. e. to belch, to break wind, expressed by **nüsch²eⁿ II** is very difficult to explain unless it be permitted to understand it as an Intentional Figurative Transfer of the primary signification 'to breathe audibly'.

The semantic aspect of the verb **nisteⁿ** is genetically contradictory. The senses (a) 'in Etwas suchend herumwühlen; wühlen in Etwas, selbst im Unrat', i. e. dirt, rubbish, (um ihn wegzuschaffen) and (b) 'den Unrat wegschaffen' decidedly point to connection with the base *nus*. On the other hand, the senses (c) 'ein Nest bauen (um Ruhe zu gewinnen)' and (d) 'Ruhe gewinnen' just as decidedly point to connection with the German words *nisten* 'to build a nest' and *Nest* 'a nest'. The solution of this conflict is that the sense 'ein Nest bauen' has developed from the base *nus*. Further particulars will be given when we deal with the East Fris. verb *nüsseln*, which denotes 'to build a nest' along with the meaning 'mit der Nase in Etwas herumwühlen, saumselig herumkramen', 'zaudern', 'mit kleinlichen Arbeiten die Zeit verbringen'.

Let us turn to the derivatives from the stems we are concerned with. The sense 'gefleckt (nur vom Kopfe des Schafes)', presented by **g'n üsch²et* ppl. a., should obviously be understood as a notion equipollent with the notion of 'bruised' (in a figurative sense = as if bruised) and consequently as belonging to the verb **nüsche²eⁿ I*. If so, we are concerned with an instance of Intentional Figurative Transfer.

The subs. *Nüschel II* denotes (1) Maul, Schnauze (roh, auch wenn vom Vieh gebraucht); (2) Schopf, Kopf (roh). We have seen

that Suabian *Nüschel* denotes 'Haarschopf, wirre Haare, Hinterkopf' and that we supposed the source of these senses to be proximately 'a pull (of a tuft of hair)'. But in Swabian there was no semantically answering verb. But such a verb is met with in Swiss Germ. **nüsch^{2e}* I in sense 'Einen beim Schopfe nehmen', a sense which once must have existed in Suabian, too. Hence Swiss **Nüschel II* in sense of 'Schopf (= a tuft of hair on the crown of the head; the crown of the head), Kopf' should be explained in the same way as Suab. *Nüschel*. In other words, it is a formation from **nüscheⁿ* I originally denoting an act of an activity, i. e. a pull of the tuft of hair on the crown of the head, subsequently exposed to Permutation (= the tuft of hair on the top of the head) and thereupon to Intentional Adequation (= the crown of the head) and lastly to unintentional Adequation (= the head). As to the sense 'Maul, Schnauze', it should be understood as a New Coinage formed from **nüsch^{2e}* I in sense of 'wühlen', i. e. 'to rout about with the nose or Snout'.¹⁾ This origin explains why **Nüschel II* is »roh auch wenn vom Vieh gebraucht«. In conclusion, let us admit that the basic origin of the verb **nüscheⁿ* I (and hence also of the subs. **Nüschel II*) is somewhat doubtful, since it denotes not only 'stossen', 'schlagen' but also 'wühlen', 'bei den Haaren nehmen'. The former senses point to the stem *hnuss-*, the latter senses to the base *nus*. It would perhaps have been preferable to have understood the words as derivatives from the base *nus*.

It is a remarkable fact that the subs. **Nüschel I** (*nü²sch¹el*, in BSi. -*ü*-) should denote 'Schnupfen'; »Syn. *Chnüssel* (Bd III 762).« But let it be noted that the verb *nüsch¹eleⁿ* (-*ü*- or -*ü*-) II, with which it is phonetically identical as far as is possible, denotes, amongst other things, *näseln*; undeutlich, leise reden = *nüscheⁿ II 1*. Now it is obvious that the notion of 'näseln', when this mode of speaking is used by a person that has got a cold, is a notion equipollent with the sense 'to have got a cold in one's nose'. Hence the former sense may be replaced by the latter meaning (= Permutation), and hence a back-formation (G. Rückbildung) may take place giving rise to the word **Nüschel** 'Schnupfen'. Let us add that this is no wanton conjecture, since the verb *nüscheleⁿ II* in sense 1 factually has as a rare semantic variant 'den Schnupfen haben' (see vol. IV 834). — With regard to the subs. **Nüssi* 'Nasenstüber, leichte Wunde, Beule verursacht durch

¹⁾ Cp. East Fris. *nüssen* in sense 1, i. e. 'mit der Nase in Etwas herumwühlen' and East Fris. *Nüsse* sb. Nase, doubtless a New Coinage from the verb.

Schlag, Fall usw., Hautausslag, etc.', it is most likely that we are concerned with a derivative from the stem *hnuss-*.

Semantic parallelism with derivatives from the base *nut* is presented by several words. Let us only mention the verbs **nüse**ⁿ 'durch die Nase reden; **nüsche**ⁿ 'jmdn empfindlich schütteln' (cp. Dan dial. *nutte*); **nüschele**ⁿ I 'suchend in Etwas herumwühlen -stöbern, -kramen'; **nüschele**ⁿ II in sense 'näseln, undeutlich reden'; **nüsterle**ⁿ esp. in sense 'sich mit Kleinigkeiten abgeben, unbedeutende Arbeiten machen'. Note also the subst. **Nuschi** in sense of 'Knirps' a little man, a pigmy (cp. West. Flem. *neuteraartje* Dvergje, een verneuteld ventje); **G'nüschel** 'undeutliches Reden (durch die Nase)'; **Nüscheler**, **Nüscheli** 'Einer, der durch die Nase undeutlich redet'.

Netherlandish (Du. *Nederlands*).

Dutch: 1777 Cornelii Kiliani Dufflaei *Etymologicum Teutonicæ linguae: sive Dictionarium Teutonico-Latinum*, etc.

Neuselen I v. Mutire, i. e. to whisper; mussitare, i. e. to mutter to oneself. *Germ. nuselen, nusselen*.

Neuselen II v. Naso siue rostro tacite scrutari.

Derivatives: — **Neuseler** sb. Scrutator, clancularius (= a secret examiner, a spy). **Neuse** sb. Nasus, promontorium.

1924 van Dale's *Groot Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* ('s-Gravenhage & Leiden).

Neuzen v. (1) *In de boeken neuzen*, kijken, met den neus in de boeken zitten; *hij kwam eens neuzen*, eens kijken, inz. om zich van iets op de hoogte te stellen, zich van iets te overtuigen; *kijk hij neuzen*, den boel verkennen (= reconnoitre), bespieden (= to spy upon, watch); (2) door den neus spreken.

Neuzelen v. (1) Neuzen, snuffelen (= to snuff); (2) knutselen [= allerlei kleine voorwerpen (E. things) uit liefhebberij maken; broddelwerk (= slecht werk = E. scamped work) verrichten; (3) talmen (= met de uitvoering van iets wachten, langzaam werken).

Nusselen v. (1) Talmen; (2) beuzelen [= (gew.), beuzels (i. e. lies, trifles, chatter) vertellen; zich met nietigheid (= E. trifles) bezighouden]; (2) beuzelarijen (E. trifling jobs) verrichten, prutsen = onhandig (i. e. clumsily, unskilfully) bezig zijn; also knutselen.

Derivatives: — **Neus** sb. m. (1) E. nose; (2) het reukvermogen inz. (bij jagers) van een hond; (3) E. promontory. **Neuzelaar** sb. m., **Neuzelaarster** sb. f. Die neuzelt. **Neuzelwerk** sb. Peuterwerk,

i. e. fine and arduous work (= Sw. *petgöra*). — **Nusselaar** sb. m., **Nusselaarster** sb. f. Die nusselt. **Nusselarij** sb. (1) Het nusselen; (2) hetgeen (= what or that which) iem. nusselt.

West Flemish: 1892 L-L. De Bo *Westvlaamsch Idioticon* (Gent).

Neuzen v. (1) De neuze vooruit steken om te kijken; (2) snuffelen (= to snuff, to search . . . through), snuisteren (= to smell, sniff at; to try to find out by investigation; see De Bo), fr. *fureter*; (3) rieken, kyalijk rieken, fr. *répandre une (mauvaise) odeur*; (4) een Kinderspel.

Neuzelen v. (1) Door de neuse spreken, mompelen, fr. *nasiller*; (2) neutelen, nusselen, prutsen, zich met kleenigheden bezig houden, fr. *chipoter* (= (1) faire un travail, une besogne avec négligence ou lenteur; (2) s'arrêter à des riens, faire des difficultés pour se décider; Littré). **Afneuzelen** v. = *Afneuzen* v. Nieuwsgierig alles bezien.

Derivatives: — **Neuzelaar** sb. (1) Iemand die door de neuze spreekt; (2) neutelaar, fr. *chipoteur*. **Neuzeling** sb. (1) Het spreken door de neuze; (2) neuzelwerk. **Neuzelwerk** sb. Prutsewerk (= brodwerk, knoeiwerk = E. scamped work; fr. *bousillage* = tout ouvrage mal fait; De Bo, Littré), puntwerk (= kleen werk, fijn werk, dat geduld en nauwkeurigheid vraagt; De Bo), prullewerk (= onbeduidende bezigheid, werk van geener weerde; De Bo).

Comments: — Let us point out that in Kilian's dictionary **neuselen II** denotes 'to examine by the smell', 'to nose', that the answering agent noun, i. e. **neuseler**, means also 'a spy', and that consequently 'to spy' was a sense most probably expressed by the verb, also. As to **neuzen**, probably a root-verb (< **nūsōn*) like Norw. dial. *nōsa* and not a denominative formation from *neus* 'nose', it is remarkable that van Dale's dictionary does not mention the senses 'to examine by smelling', 'to nose', 'to scent', though they obviously are still in existence¹) and are or may be presupposed by the senses comprised under **neuzen** (van Dale), viz. 'to examine books in order to get knowledge', 'to peer or pry into things in order to get information or certainty', 'to spy upon', all senses that may owe their origin to a figurative use of the meaning 'to nose about in quest of something'. Furthermore, let us point out that the Du. verb **nusselen** in sense 'beuzelen' means not only 'to be busy with trifles' but probably also 'to tell trifling things or gossip (also 'lies')'.

¹) Cp. G. Ström *Nederlandsch-Zweedsch Woordenboek*, Gouda 1916 s. v. *neuzen* (nosa (på något), vädra, lukta, spåra (något), få nys om eller korn på (något)).

If so, the latter sense should be understood as a Specialization, rather than as an Intentional Transfer of the general sense 'to be busy with trifles' (= Genus pro Specie). The same is true of the meaning 'allerlei kleine voorwerpen uit liefhebberij maken', presented by Du. **neuzelen** in sense 2 (van Dale).

Semantic parallelism with representatives of the base *nut* are to be noted in several important cases. We meet with the sense 'mussitare', i. e. to mutter to oneself, presented by **neuselen** (Kilian), and the sense 'to speak through the nose', expressed by **neuzen** and its agent nouns **neuzelaar** and **neuzelaarster** (van Dale), and also expressed by West Fl. **neuzelen** since it also denotes 'mompelen', i. e. to murmur, to grumble, and by its agent noun **neuzelaar** and noun of action **neuzeling** in sense 1, i. e. het spreken door de neuze. We come across the early senses 'to smell' and 'to nose (about)', expressed by **neuselen II** (Kilian), by **neuzen** (Ström), and by West Fl. **neuzen**, which also denotes 'to have a bad smell' (= Specialization). We also meet with the characteristic meanings 'to delay, to be long about getting a thing done, to work slowly', presented by **neuzelen** and **nusselen** (van Dale) and by West Fl. **neuzelen** (De Bo), and 'to be busy with trifles or in a trifling way', expressed by **neuzelen** and **nusselen** (van Dale) and West Fl. **neuzelen** (De Bo). Lastly, let us not tacitly ignore that the sense 'to do or make something in a clumsy or unskilful manner', expressed by Du. **neuzelen**, is also represented by Dan. dial. *noller*, an agent noun, and that Du. **neuzelwerk** in sense 'fine and arduous work (= Sw. *petgöra*)' has semantic relationship to the Swed. dial. verb *nåttla* 'hålla på med petgöra'.

FRISIAN

West Frisian: 1903 Waling Dijkstra *Friesch Woordenboek* (Leeuwarden). (Lexicon Frisicum.)

Nusselje (*Nesselje*) v. Talmen in het werk; schijnbaar bezig zijn, zonder iets van belang te verrichten.

Núskje v. (1) Beuzelen (see Du. *nusselen* p. 205—6); (2) langzaam wandelen. In sense 2 also *nuiskje*.

Njuskje v. Talmen, dralen, met traagheid handelen, en te veel met kleinigheden bezig zijn. G. I. *nuyskje*. Thans (= nowadays)

Njeskje v. Met traagheid handelen, talmen, dralen.

The Groningen Idiom (East Frisian-Saxon): 1888 H. Molema *Wörterbuch der Groningensen Mundart* (Norden und Leipzig).

Nusseln I v. Beuzelen; langzaam werken om den tijd te verdrijven; ook het stil spelen van kinderen, bv. met eene bouwdoos.

Nusseln II v. = **nusteln** v. = dralen. *Oostfr.* nüsseln = met de vingers in iets woelen om iets te zoeken.)

Neusken v. Zonder verlof nauwkeurig (i. e. closely) bekijken = overal mit de neus inzitten.

The East Frisian-Saxon Idiom (in Prussia): 1857 C. H. Stürenburg *Ostfriesisches Wörterbuch* (Aurich).

Nüssen v. (1) Mit der Nase (*Nüsse, Nöse*) in etwas herumwühlen; auch nds.; (2) = *nüssken*; (3) = *nüsteln* nisten (von Vögeln).

Nüssken v. Zaudern, zögern, saumselig herumkramen, mit kleintlichen Arbeiten die Zeit verbringen, gleichsam nicht mit der Nase aus etwas kommen. Also *nüüsken*.

Derivatives: — **Nüsselk, Nüsselig** a. Saumselig. **Nüsseler** sb. Saumseliger Mensch, Pfuscher. Let us here also adduce **Nüsse** sb. Nase; jetzt **Nöse** oder **Nüüs**.

1882 J. ten Doornkaat *Koolman Wörterbuch der Ostfriesischen Sprache* (Norden).

Nusken, Nüsken v. Schnüffeln, stöbern; suchen; kramen, wühlen etc.

Nüsken, Nösken v. Schnüffeln (= to sniff the air), kritteln (= to make critical comments or adverse remarks upon a thing).

Nüsseln I v. Stöbern, suchen, kramen, wühlen etc.

Nüsseln II v. Langsam sein, zaudern, säumen, sich lange womit u. wobei aufhalten, nicht vorwärts kommen womit, arbeiten u. nichts beschicken, trändeln etc.

Derivatives: — **Nüsker, Nösker** sb. Schnüffeler, Kritiker. **Genüssel** sb. Gezauder, Gezöger etc. **Nüsselê** sb. Zauderei. **Nüsselig, Nüsslig, Nüsselg** a. Zauderig, säumig, langsam, mit Nichts vorwärts kommend etc. **Nöse** (Dimin, *nöske*) u. (seltener) **nüs** (Dimin, *nüsje, nüske*) sb. Nase; *nöske* and *nüske* denote 'kleine Nase, kleine scharfe Spürnase'; 'kleine scharfe weise Person, kleiner Naseweis'. **Nüs** a. Klug, scharf, weise, pfiffig = *snüs* a.; eigentlich wohl so viel als 'spürnasig' od. 'naseweis', i. e. endowed with a keen power of scent.

As to representatives of the base *nus* in the idiom of *Ditmarschen*, see the dialect of Schleswig-Holstein.

Comments: — It is worthy of note that W. Fris. **nüskje** signifies not only 'beuzelen', i. e. to be busy in a trifling way, but also 'langzaam wandelen', i. e. to walk slowly. This semantic duality seems to be suggestive of the way in which the senses

originated. We have previously advocated the view in point of verbs formed from the base *nut* that the former sense is an Intentional Figurative Transfer of the meaning 'to nose about or to walk slowly about in quest of food' (said of animals). As to the sense 'langzaam wandelen', the most natural explanation is to assume that we are concerned with an Intentional Figurative Transfer of the sense just mentioned, but with suppression of the purposive idea. Both cases of Transfer are based on similarity between the new thing-meant and the old one. The co-existence of the senses seems to give the interesting piece of information that the meaning 'to walk slowly (about)' has not as source the general sense 'to work slowly', an explanation in itself of but little likelihood.

The East Fris. verb **nūsken, nōsken** has the appearance of a denominative verb formed on *nūske, nōske* 'a nose'. But the quantity of the stem-vowel may be due only to associative influence from these forms. Anyhow, the verb denotes not only 'schnüffeln' but also 'kritteln', i. e. to make critical comments or adverse remarks upon (a thing). We may suppose that we are again faced with a case where the co-existence of two senses is genetically significant. Ger. 'schnüffeln', however, has several senses such as 'to sniff the air', 'to snuffle', 'to snuff or smell at a thing', 'to follow a scent' (fig. 'to spy out or about'), and 'to speak through the nose'. There are two of these senses which may have given rise to the sense 'kritteln'. One is the sense 'to sniff'. For just as Eng. 'to sniff at' has adopted the sense 'to show one's contempt for or displeasure with a thing by sniffing', so the same may have been the case with **nūsken, nōsken** in sense 'to sniff'. If so, this meaning was subsequently replaced by the sense 'kritteln', since the latter notion was equipollent with the former meaning and hence might be substituted for it (=Permutation). The other meaning from which the sense 'kritteln' may have arisen is 'to speak through the nose'. But this view is possible only under the proviso that this sense had the connotations of softness and difficulty in being understood and had the implication that this mode of utterance was used to show the speaker's displeasure with something. This is about the same way in which derivatives from the base *nut* acquired the sense 'to criticize'. But if **nūsken, nōsken** is a denominative verb, which is very possible, then we cannot count with the fulfilment of these conditions, and hence the former alternative, i. e. the sense 'to sniff at', is the correct explanation.

The East Fris. verb **nüssen** denotes (1) mit der Nase in etwas herumwühlen; (2) = *nüsken*, i. e. zaudern, zögern, saumselig herumkramen, mit kleinlichen Arbeiten die Zeit verbringen; (3) = *nüsteln* 'nisten' or *nüsten* 'nisten', i. e. to build a nest (said of birds). Cp. also *nüst*, pl. *nüsten* Nest, Lager. In view of the existence of Eng. *nest*, Ger. *Nest*, etc. = IE **nizdos*, whence Lat. *nidus*, it is evident that the stem-vowel *ü* in the subs. *nüst* and in the verbs **nüsteln**, **nüsten** is unoriginal and of late date. This vowel *must* be due to associative influence from **nüssen**, which is said to be the ordinary word for 'nisten' in East Frisian. But how did **nüssen** acquire the sense 'to build a nest'? Let it be remembered that the verb also means 'mit kleinlichen Arbeiten die Zeit verbringen', i. e. 'to be busy with trifling jobs'. It is this very sense or rather its proximate source, i. e. 'to move about in doing trifling jobs', that has been employed to denote the picture of a bird flying to and from its future home in order to build a nest. In this case the sense-change is due to an Intentional non-figurative Transfer based on a very striking similarity. This explanation is semantically so natural that it should be employed to explain the semantic area of the High Alemannian verb *niste*ⁿ, also. The only points of difficulty arising are here of morphological or phonetic nature. For it is obvious that also this verb must have had contact with the base *nus*, seeing that it also denotes 'wühlen, stänkern in Etwas'. But the mode of coming into this contact is not clear. There may have been a verb **nüsse*ⁿ in Swiss German, too, denoting, inter alia, 'to build a nest'. But the balance of probabilities is in favour of the view that this *niste*ⁿ originally appeared as **nüste*ⁿ, a form which may be understood as a back-formation from *nüstere*ⁿ 'gänzlich durchstöbern'.

As to the original sense of the adj. **nūs** 'klug, scharf, weise', it was obviously 'spürnasig' or 'naseweis', i. e. endowed with a keen power of scent, as is duly pointed out by the East Fris. dictionary. But 'a keen power of scent', when used figuratively, is a notion equipollent with 'Scharfsinn'. The same sense-development is presented by Goth. *snutrs*, ON *snotr*, OE *snot(t)or*, etc., all denoting 'prudent'.

Semantic parallels with words formed from the base *nut* are abundantly met with. We come across leading senses characteristic of the category of words derived from *nut*, such as 'to work slowly or inefficiently', 'to be dilatory', 'to be busy in a trifling manner'. There are also representatives of the senses 'to nose about in quest of something (lit. and fig.)', 'to root about with the nose',

and 'to make critical remarks upon a thing'. But let us particularly point out that to West Fris. **nusseln I** in sense 'langzaam werken om den tijd te verdrijven' answers Alsatian *nuttle* in sense 2, i. e. 'aus Langeweile, zum Zeitvertrieb arbeiten', and that to East Fris. **Nüsseler** 'saumseliger Mensch, Pfüscher' answers Dan. dial. *notler* a bungler, a word which also signifies 'a person deft or clever of hand'.

ENGLISH.

English dialects: 1898 J. Wright *The English Dialect Dictionary* (London).

Nuzzle v. (Sc. n. Cy. Nhb. Yks. Lanc. Chs. Nhp. Glo. Brks. Suf. Sur. Som. Dev. Cor.). Also in forms **Noosle** (Bnff.¹); **Noozle** (Se. w. Som.¹; Cor.); **Nouzle** (Cor.); **Nowzel** (Berks.¹); **Nozzle I** (Lnk. Nhb.¹ Lan.¹ Suf.¹ Sur.); **Nusle** (w. Yks.); **Nussle** (e. Lan.). = [nu:zl, ne:zl, no:zl]. (1) To push or poke about with the nose (Suf. Sur. Dev.); (2) to spend time on trifles, to loiter (n. Cy. w. Yks.¹ ne. Lan.¹); (3) to push in the nose, as an infant into the nurse's bosom; to creep closely or snugly; to nestle closely for protection or warmth; (4) to poke anything with the nose, to root with the snout as a pig; *gen.* to press, poke; push; also used *fig.*

**Nozzle II* v. (w. Yks.) [no:zl] To strike or hit violently; to do anything with great vigour.

Nozzle III v. (Bnff. Lnk. Nhb.) (1) To seize by the nose; (2) *fig.* to catch, assail, to expose to stormy weather; = *Nuzzle* in sense 5 (in Wright's Dict.).

Derivatives: — **Nozzle** sb. (Yks. Lan. Lin. Nhp. Brks. Hnt. Som.) [no:zl] The nose. **Nuzzler** sb. (s. Chs.¹) (1) A peg in a mole- or mouse-trap, which when touched by the mouse, releases a spring; (2) a mouse's nest caught up on the teeth of a mowing-machine.

General English: 1908 Sir James A. H. Murray *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, Oxford (*N* edited by W. A. Craigie).

Nuzzle I (formerly also in forms *Nosele*, etc.; *Nousle*; *Nusle*, etc.) v. (1) *intr.* To bring the nose towards the ground, to grovel; *obs.*, *rare* (c. 1425); (2) to burrow or dig with the nose; to thrust the nose into the ground or anything lying on it (since 1530); (3) to poke or push with the nose in or into something (since 1603); also *fig.*; b) to press or rub the nose *against* something; c) to snuff or poke with

the nose (of dogs); (4) to nestle, to lie snug in bed, etc. (since 1601); (5) trans. to root *up* with the nose or snout (since 1613), *rare*; to touch or rub with the nose (since 1812); (6) to thrust in the nose or head (since 1594). — There is also a verbal subs. **nuzzle** (*rare*) = an act of nuzzling, a rub with the nose (a 1890).

**Nuzzle II* (formerly also *nosyll*, *nossel*; *nowsel*, *nousle*; etc.) v. (1) *trans.* To accustom (a dog or hawk) to attack other animals or birds (1530—1688, now *obsolete*); (2) to train, educate, nurture (a person) *in* some opinion, habit, etc.; freq. with *up* (since 1519, now *obsolete*); (3) to bring up, rear, train, educate (since 1558, now *obs.*); (4) to nurse, to cherish fondly, to provide with a snug place of rest (since 1581); (5) to impose upon, deceive (*obs.*, *rare*, c. 1680, 1705). — There is also a verbal subs., viz. *nuzzling* = *nursling*.

Comments: — It is obvious that the dialectal verbs **nuzzle** and **nozzle I** are formed on the base *nus*, though the vowel of the stem of the latter word may be due to influence from the subs. *nose*. It is equally evident that *nozzle II*, denoting 'to strike or hit violently' or, in a transferred sense, 'to do anything with great vigour', should be understood as a derivative formation from the stem of OE. *hnossian* 'to strike', and that we consequently are concerned with the stem *hnuss-*. But **nozzle III** denoting 'to seize by the nose' and, owing to Permutation, 'to catch, assail, to expose to stormy weather', should be considered to be a formation from the dial. subs. **nozzle** 'nose', which in its turn is a derivative from the subs. **nose**.

The subs. **nuzzler** in sense 1, i. e. 'a peg in a mole- or mouse-trap, which when touched by the mouse releases a spring', is a New Coinage from the verb *nuzzle* when the latter in general English denotes 'to touch with the nose'. Hence the subs. denotes, not exactly an agent noun, but an implement made for the purpose of being touched by a nose. And the subs. **nuzzler** in sense 2, i. e. 'a mouse's nest caught upon the teeth of a mowing machine', is a New Coinage from the verb *nuzzle* when the latter in general English denotes 'to nestle, to be snug in bed', or the like. Hence we are faced, not exactly with an agent noun, but with a sense denoting a means or a place connected with nestling.

It is obvious that the sense 'to push in the nose as an infant into the nurse's bosom', presented by English dialectal **nuzzle**, is an Intentional Figurative Transfer of the sense 'to poke or push about with the nose *in* or *into* something' (said of animals), a meaning also

presented by this verb. The sense 'to nestle closely for protection or warmth' is a synonym for the action mentioned above in point of a child. But let us point out that, strictly speaking, the synonymous sense is expressed by the words 'to nestle closely' and that the words 'for protection and warmth' is a Semantic Addition by Implication denoting the purpose of the activity involved.

We have seen that in general English there is a verb **nuzzle I**, chiefly denoting the intrans senses 'to dig with the nose', 'to thrust the nose into something', 'to poke or push with the nose in or into something', also used transitively 'to root up something with the snout, or figuratively, 'to nestle' (in order to lie snug) and hence 'to lie snug in bed' (Permutation). The etymological source of this verb, which is identical with the dialectal *nuzzle*, is by the N. E. D. considered to be the subs. *nose* + *le*, »perh. originally suggested by the adv. *noseling*» (= on the nose, face downwards). This view is not acceptable and is obviously due to ignorance of the existence of a base *nus* in Common Germanic. It is true that the *l* affix is also a verbal formative with a frequentative or, sometimes, a diminutive force. It is also true that these English formations are sometimes of pre-English origin, e. g. *nestle*, *twinkle*, *wrestle*, and that, in ME and early NE times, the affix was extensively used, e. g. *crackle*, *crumple*, *dazzle*, *hobble*, *niggle*, etc., and that many of these formations are from echoic roots, as *babble*, *cackle*, *giggle*, *mumble*, etc. Hence it is possible that the formation of **nuzzle I** was not earlier than the 15th century, as is indicated by documentary evidence. But if so, the fundament of this formation was a verb containing the base *nus*, either without or with intensive doubling of *s*, and going back to the OE period, though unrecorded, nay even to pre-English times.

We have also seen that there is another verb with the same phonetic shape, viz. **nuzzle II*, now obsolete or rare. This verb has a semantic area quite different from that of the former verb. Let us point out again that **nuzzle II* denotes only transitive senses, viz. (1) to accustom (a dog or hawk) to attack other animals or birds; (2) to train, educate, nurture (a person) *in* some opinion, habit, etc.; (3) to bring up, rear, train, educate; (4) to nurse, to cherish fondly; to provide with a snug place of rest; (5) to impose upon, deceive. As to this verb the N. E. D. says as follows: — »Of obscure origin. The identity of the forms with those of the prec. verb [= *nuzzle I*] makes it possible that this also is f. *nose*

sb., but the connexion of sense is not clear. In sense 2 the word had great vogue from about 1530 to 1650.»

It is true that the genesis of this verb is a knotty problem since its phonetic body seems to be the same as that of **nuzzle I**, but its semantic area is of another type. One thing, however, is certain, viz. the chronology of the word. For we may rest assured that **nuzzle II* with its strange semantic area originated in the 16th century. Hence we can hardly be said to have abdicated the throne of reason if we postulate that this trans. verb was meant to be an iterative or diminutive form of the verb *nurse* in sense 'to bring up, rear, train, educate' (= sense 3 of **nuzzle II*) expressed by the *l* affix, and that the form was assimilated to the phonetic body of the chiefly intr. **nuzzle I**, a transformation probably favoured by weak articulation of the *r*. The verb *nurse* is considered to be a later form of *nourish* due to assimilation to the subs. *nurse* (see N. E. D.). Our view implies that sense 1 and sense 2 of *nuzzle II* originated spontaneously from sense 3 of this verb, since they are semantic changes easily intelligible. As to sense 4, i. e. 'to nurse, to cherish fondly, to provide with a snug place of rest', its late appearance (in 1581) and also the sense-history of *nurse* suggest that this sense was not adopted from the latter verb. If we compare this sense with sense 4 of *nuzzle I*, i. e. with the sense 'to nestle', 'to lie snug in bed', we must admit that the former sense appears as the transitive counterpart of the latter meaning. This is tantamount to saying that the former sense has causative aspect as compared to the latter meaning, seeing that it means 'to make a child nuzzle', 'to make it lie snug in bed'. But these senses are equivalent to the senses 'to cherish fondly' and 'to provide with a snug place of rest'. Hence it is a likely postulation if we assume that sense 4 of *nuzzle II* originated in the way that sense 4 of *nuzzle I* was deliberately used in the answering transitive sense. If so, we are faced with a sense-change that concerns the relational meaning of sense 4 of *nuzzle I*, not its radical meaning. But if so, the transitive sense under discussion belongs to **nuzzle I**, not to *nuzzle II*, to which it has been assigned because of its transitive function. It is an eloquent fact that *nursle* does not denote this sense (see *infra*). As to the possibility of making this change in the relational meaning, it should be noted that since about the 15th century any English transitive verb whose sense may be apprehended as having a causative aspect may, if need be, also be used in

the corresponding intransitive sense without implying a conspicuous deviation from the ordinary linguistic usage.¹⁾ Under such circumstances it cannot be a matter of surprise if an intransitive sense should occasionally also adopt the corresponding transitive sense, i. e. also appear with a causative aspect. Let us add that there are a few examples of the form *nursle* and that it denotes (1) the same as *nuzzle II* 2 (1596, etc.); (2) to bring up (a 1652), to foster, cherish (1746, 1829). This form is by the N. E. D. understood as a variant of *nuzzle II* assimilated to the verb *nurse*, a postulation implying the converse of our own view of the genesis of *nuzzle II*. A testimony to the associative bond between the two verbs, i. e. *nuzzle II* and *nurse*, is the fact, pointed out by the N. E. D., that in modernized reprints of 16th century works *nursle* is sometimes substituted for *nusle*, *nousle*, etc.

Lastly, let us not forget that *nuzzle II* also has the sense 'to impose upon, to deceive'. This meaning should not with the N. E. D. be connected with sense 3 of the verb, i. e. 'to bring up, rear, educate', but with sense 1, i. e. 'to train a hawk to attack other birds'. For as an element of this training there was the practice of putting a hood, i. e. a covering of leather, over the head of a hawk to blindfold her when not pursuing game. This outstanding element of the training is likely to have sometimes monopolized the attention so as to let *nuzzle II* also represent the meaning 'to hoodwink a hawk'. The earlier existence of this sense is proved by the very sense 'to impose upon, to deceive'. For the latter sense should be understood as an Intentional Figurative Transfer of the former meaning, its proximate sense being 'to blindfold mentally', i. e. to deceive, to humbug. Cp. the semantic area of the verb *hoodwink*. We have found, then, that the semantic aspect of *nuzzle II* goes to show that this verb is not a member of the etymological category of words which have the base *nus* in common.

Semantic parallelism with derivatives from the base *nut* is presented by Eng. dial. **nuzzle** or **nozzle** when denoting 'to push or poke about with the nose' (cp. Norw. dial. *nuta*), 'to spend time on trifles', 'to loiter', 'to root with the snout as a pig', and by **nuzzle I** in general English when denoting 'to push or poke with the nose into something', 'to snuff or poke with the nose (said of dogs)', 'to root up with the nose or snout' (cp. Swiss Germ. *nödereⁿ I*

¹⁾ Cp. K. F. Sundén *A Category of Predicational Change in English* (= Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift 1918, vol. I, p. 359).

wühlen, stöbern eig. und bildl.). But let us above all point out that **nuzzle I** in sense 3 b, i. e. 'to press or rub the nose against something', is a semantic congener of Dan. dial. *nutte* 'skultre sig' and *nusse* 'skultre sig' and of Dan. *nusse sig* 'skutte sig, gnide opad ngt', i. e. to rub oneself against something. This goes to prove that Dan. dial. *nutte* belongs to the etymological category that has the base *nut* as connective bond.

Our semantic-genetic review of the derivatives from the base *nus* is accomplished. It has proved that by indicating the proximate source of the senses step by step the words admit of being carried back to one and the same primary meaning, and that we consequently are faced with an etymological group of words. The examination has also made clear that these words are distinguished by the same general qualities as are characteristic of the derivatives from the base *nut*. For all the verbs have weak conjugation, and the members of the group have, as a rule, no dignified associations, and they are mostly current in dialects only, not in general speech. But first and foremost it has demonstrated that there is a uniformity in sense-development from the bases *nut* and *nus* that is so great that it can only be explained by postulating the same semantic starting-point. This primary signification is more clearly indicated by the sense-development from the base *nus* than it is by that from the base *nut*. For such senses as 'to sleep', 'to whisper' readily suggest the meaning 'to breathe audibly' as the proximate source. But if so, our examination of the semantic development from the base *nus* has been an invaluable means of verifying the justification of assigning this very sense to the base *nut*, hitherto unknown, and the legitimacy of distinguishing the lines of semantic development with which we have operated.

In point of frequency there is a difference between the two bases. For we have seen that in Swedish and Norwegian dialects the base *nus* cannot be said to be of rare occurrence, whereas the base *nut* is only scantily represented, and that the state of things is about the same in the East German dialects. But let us not forget the interesting fact that, taken all together, the difference in frequency is also manifested in the circumstance that the derivatives from the base *nus* present a sense-development far richer than that met with in the derivatives from the base *nut*. This has been a decided advantage, since we have turned our etymological investigation into a study on semantics as well. For we have been

confronted with a number of semantic-genetic problems not met with in the derivatives from the base *nut*. And, in fact, it has not always been easy to solve these problems, and hence we cannot always be confident of having given the proper solution. But the chief thing is to have been confronted with these questions and to have been forced to grapple with them.

This view of ours leads to another question worthy of consideration. It may be argued in point of our semantic-genetic interpretation that etymological research as pursued by comparative linguistics does not operate with a detailed indication of the sense-changes which are likely to have taken place in individual cases, and that none the less this discipline has been able to build up magnificent structures of genetic relationship between a number of words often seemingly disconnected. But let us remember that there are two different types of comparative linguistics distinguishable, at least when we are concerned with Indo-European languages. In one of them the proximate etymological horizon is limited by the Indo-European parent language. This type aims to establish genetic relationship between words belonging to the various linguistic families into which the Indo-European languages admit of being divided. In this type the phonetic connection of the words compared seems to be the principal problem, often difficult to solve. Under guidance of the stems of the words concerned the scholars try to establish an Indo-Eur. base or root with or without extensions from which the phonetic shape of the stems of the words may have taken their rise. But this root or base must also be provided with a sense or two. Hence the semantic problem consists in discovering such a sense or such senses as may be compatible with the function of the root of being the ultimate source of the semantic aspects presented by the words compared. It is obvious that this task must operate with probabilities only, not with particularized semantic changes. Otherwise said, the correctness of the basic sense chosen can hardly be verified by tracing in detail the development of senses from their existing aspect back to the starting-point. In doubtful cases the scholars only suggest possible or likely intermediate links or point out parallel developments. It is a matter of course that this kind of etymological investigation cannot advance the study of semantic change as a compensation for the information the latter imparts, a knowledge on which the semantic postulations are or should be based.

In the other type of comparative linguistics the proximate etymological horizon is limited by the parent language presented by one of the linguistic families into which the Indo-European parent language has been split up. But since also in this case we are ordinarily confronted with a proximate parent language, the method of etymological research is exactly the same as in the former case. In other words, the investigator aims to find a phonetic base which the words compared may have in common. He tries to provide it with a signification that admits of being the ultimate source of the semantic aspect of the words compared. And yet there is a difference between the two types of comparative etymology. For in the present case there is generally no difficulty in finding out the phonetic base, but it is by no means equally easy to determine its primary signification. Hence the semantic side of the words compared factually plays here a more important part than it does in point of the other etymological type where the words compared may have drifted further and further away from their ultimate phonetic source and where the semantic difference seems to give rise to less difficulty as compared to the phonetic dissimilarity. It should also be pointed out that, thanks to the closer etymological relationship between the linguistic material, it is in the present case factually possible to verify in detail the justification of the primary sense chosen, without incurring too much trouble or risking too hazardous postulations. But none the less etymological research employs also in this case the same conjectural method as before, though with less risks, in establishing the primary signification of an etymological group of words. It does not try to verify in detail the trend of the semantic development, nor to characterize the nature of the single types of semantic change it is operating with.

The present investigation is dealing genetically with a number of words from different Germanic idioms which form an etymological group, and hence it belongs to the second type of etymological research. But unlike the ordinary specimens of this type it has tried to justify the choice of the primary sense by demonstrating in detail that, with the semantic starting-point chosen, the factual senses of the words concerned admit of being genetically explained in a manner that carries conviction. Let us point out, however, that, from motives previously mentioned, our semantic interest has very often been greater than was necessary for establishing the etymological affinity of the words. For we have also tried to explain

peculiar or unexpected senses constituting part of the semantic area of the words but not affecting their general etymological relationship. For also within the semantic area of a word the genetic connection between the senses is far from always apparent. In this case the phonetic side of the word may be entirely disregarded, and if so, we are only faced with semantic-genetic problems.

The method of research adopted by us has not only served its purpose in a satisfactory way; it has also given us valuable information. We have learnt that it may be equally interesting, to say the least of it, to solve puzzling semantic-genetic problems within closely allied words or within the same word as it is to recognize etymological connection between words of different linguistic families. We have also learnt that comparison, a method of proved efficacy, is also able in the present case to throw unexpected light on puzzling problems, and that the same may occur if the senses actually met with are duly pondered over, inasmuch as the coexistence of senses in the same word are often suggestive of their proximate genetic origin. We have also learnt to know the arbitrary arrangement of the senses of the words in descriptive dictionaries, seeing that they mostly pay no attention to the semantic chronology even in cases where the latter is manifest. But above all we have become aware of the necessity of confronting the abstract dogmas of semantic change with the living realities of a linguistic material. For this confrontation involves that every sense should be explained as to its proximate origin, if need be. And hence it is obvious, at least in our opinion, that, if genetic semantics is going to make any progress, the best possible avenue of advance is confrontation of its system with reality. And this reality should be presented by etymological groups of words within the same linguistic family or by senses within the same word. For this is the best manner in which to discover shortcomings and lacunæ in the theory of semantic change.

EPILOGUE.

We have been confronted with two Germanic verbal bases whose phonetic shape differs only in the nature of the final consonant, whose primary signification is the same, and whose derivatives, therefore, present a remarkable harmony in semantic development. But they also agree in some other characteristics, inasmuch as the verbs have always weak conjugation, and the words mostly a disparaging tone and dialectal currency only. From all these facts it is safe to deduce that this extraordinary parallelism cannot be attributed to chance coincidence. It must be a truth beyond all cavil and doubt that there exists a close genetic relationship between the Germanic verbal bases *nut* and *nus*. There is no getting away from this deduction. But with the question of their origin we have reached the final stage in the present investigation.

It is obvious, to start with, that in the two bases *nut* and *nus* the final consonants exemplify two different modes of extension of the same fundamental root. But the phonetic aspect of the latter was not **nu* but *snu*. In other words, the forms *nut* and *nus* should be regarded as abbreviations of the Germanic verbal bases *snut* and *snus*, which also represent their ablaut-variants *snüt* and *snüs*.

The elimination of the initial *s* before a nasal consonant is not destitute of parallels. This abbreviation may have taken place in Indo-European times, but if so, Germanic seems to be a type of language where both forms are mostly recorded. There is, for instance, the Indo-Eur. verbal base *sner* 'drehen, winden, zusammendrehen, -schnüren; sich zusammenwinden, einschrumpfen', a base that also appears as *ner*.¹⁾ Compare on the one hand G. *schnurren* 'zusammenschrumpfen' or, with velar extension, Swed. dial. *snurken* 'zusammengeschrumpft', and on the other hand Lithuanian *neriù* (1 ps. sing. pres.), *nérti* (inf.) 'einfädeln, einschlängen, einziehen', or Prim. Teut. **nar-wa-* 'zusammengeschnürt', whence Eng. *narrow*

¹⁾ Cp. A. Walde und J. Pokorny *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen*, Berlin und Leipzig 1927, Bd II, 699 seqq.

and ON *Ngrva-sund* 'the strait(s) of Gibraltar'. There is also the Indo-Europ. onomatopoeic base *sner*, *snur* 'murren, knurren u. dgl.', which also presents itself as *ner*, *nur*. Note on the one hand G. *schnarren* (to rattle; to buzz, to whirl), *schnurren*, E. *snar* to growl (obsol.), whence *snarl*, or, with velar extension, ON *snorgla* (< **snar-yulōn*) 'röcheln'. Note on the other hand Lithuan. *niurniu*, *niurnėti* 'brummen, knurren', MHG *narren*, *nerren* 'knurren', and G. *nörgeln*, *nergeln* 'undeutlich sprechen, mit verdriesslichem näselnden Tone tadeln, kritteln'.¹⁾

Let us also adduce the Indo-Eur. base *mel* 'zerreiben'; in the European idioms also esp. 'Korn mahlen'. This base appears, for instance, in Greek *μύλλω* 'mahle, zerreibe, zermalme'; Lat. *molo* 'mahle'; Goth., OHG *malan*, ON *mala* 'mahlen'; OHG *muljan* 'zermalmen', ON *mylia* to crush to pieces; Goth. *malm* 'Sand', Sw. *malm* 'Sandebene', Erz'. In Baltic and Germanic this base sometimes appears as *smel*. Note Latvian *smelis*, *smēlis* 'Wassersand im Felde'; MHG *smoln* 'Brotkrümchen ablösen', Norw. dial. *smola* to crush to pieces, Sw. *smula* a crumb, small piece or fragment (cp. ON *moli* the same sense, also used collect. = bits, fragments).²⁾ The Indo-Europ. base *mel* may get a dental extension so as to appear as *mel-d-*. Note Greek *μείδω* 'schmelze'; Lat. *mollis* (< **moldy-is*) 'weich, geschmeidig, biegsam'; Prim. Teut. **mettan* str. v., whence OE *mettan* to dissolve, digest, to consume by fire, ON *melta* to digest; Prim. Teut. causative **maltjan* wk. v., whence Goth. **gamaltjan* to melt, dissolve (cp. *gamalteins* dissolving, death), OE *mieltan* to digest, refine, purge, Sw. *mälta* to malt; OE *mealt* steeped grain, malt, ON, Sw. *malt*. On the other hand, an initial *s-* is sometimes added to this base but, as far as we know, only in Germanic. Examples in point are OHG *smēlzan* 'zerfliessen, schmelzen', Sw. *smälta* str. v. intr., to melt, dissolve (< **smeltan*), also wk v. trans., to melt, dissolve, digest (< **smaltjan*); OE *smolt* a. mild, peaceful, still, gentle, and OE *smylte* a. mild, peaceable, calm, cheerful, prosperous, OE *smolt* sb. lard, fat, OE *smelt* a fish (*Osmerus eperlanus*), MSw. *smultna* v. to become calm (of the sea), Sw. *smultron* wild strawberries (from Sw. dial. *smulter* a. of loose consistency, easily dissoluble). Whether this addition of initial *s* be an inheritance from pre-Teutonic times or a native phenomenon, it is obvious that such pairs of words as Germanic **smeltan* and **mettan* may analogically suggest the elimina-

¹⁾ Cp. Walde & Pokorny *op. cit.* II 698.

²⁾ Cp. Walde & Pokorny *op. cit.* II 284 seqq.

tion of an original initial *s* before a nasal in derivatives from other bases.

Furthermore, there is an Indo-Eur. base *snēbh-(ri-)* »eng, dünn, schmal (auch »flink» aus »mager«)», chiefly occurring in Germanic but appearing there also without the initial *s*. Note on the one hand ON *snáfr* (acc. *-ran*) narrow, tight; tough, vigorous; ON *snáfugr*, 'rasch, flink', MSw. *snāver* 'schmal, eng, knapp', Sw. *snäv*, ON *snófr* 'schnell, flink' (< **snōb-ri*). Observe on the other hand ON *nófr*, MSw. *nāver*, *nōver* 'rasch, flink', MHG, NHG (Alem.) *nuofer* 'munter', frisch, nüchtern', NHG (Bavar.) *nuober*. It is more likely than not that the elimination of the initial *s* is a Germanic phenomenon, not an inheritance. It is true that in Armenian there is an adj. *nurb* 'eng, schmal, dünn', which Lidén (Arm. Stud. 64) derives from Indo-Eur. **snōbhri-*, but also in this case the loss of initial *s* may be a native affair.

Another instance of Germanic elimination of initial *s* before a consonant is perhaps presented by the Germanic base *naḅ* 'etwa hervorstechen, mit der Spitze streifen' as against the base *snaḅ* 'hervorstecken, mit der Spitze streifen, straucheln', since the latter base is by Torp understood as an ablaut-variant of *snēḅ*, Indo-Eur. *snēbh*.¹⁾ As illustrative examples may be adduced, on the one hand, Prim. Teut. **snaḅ-ula-*, whence OHG *snabul*, MHG *snabel* bill, beak, G. *Schnabel* bill, beak, mouth (contemptuously), prow, MLG, Du. *snavel* 'Schnabel, Rüssel, OFris. *snavel* mouth; and Prim. Teut. *snaḅja-*, West Teut. *snaḅb-ja-*, whence OFris. *snabba* mouth, older Du. (Kilian) *snabbe*, *snebbe* L. rostrum, i. e. bill, beak. On the other hand, we have to quote Prim. Teut. *naḅ-ja-*, whence ON *nef* beak, bill, nose, nasal bone; West Teut. *nabb-ja-*, whence OE *neb(b)* beak, bill, L G *nebbe*, whence Sw. *näbb* beak, bill.

But more trustworthy examples of the loss of initial *s* in Germanic times are afforded by the bases *nut* and *nus*, which have the outward appearance of being abbreviations of the Germanic bases *snut* and *snus*. That in this case appearances are not deceptive is suggested by the mere fact that the elimination of initial *s-*, as a rule, only happens to the dental extensions of the fundamental root *snu*. But the principal pre-requisite for postulating that in this case the loss of initial *s-* is of native origin is the existence of identity between the primary sense of the bases *nut* and *nus* on the one hand, and the

¹⁾ Cp. Alf Torp *Wortschatz der Germanischen Spracheinheit*, Göttingen 1909, p. 292 (= A. Fick III⁴).

primary sense of the bases *snut* and *snus* on the other hand. In other words, also the latter bases must have denoted 'to breathe audibly'. As a matter of fact, this is the very sense which Alf Torp assigns to the base *snut* when saying that it denotes »snuse, vêre (egtl. vel aande hørilig)», i. e. to nose about, to scent (orig. presumably 'to breathe audibly').¹⁾ From this admission it follows as a logical sequent that also the primary sense of the Germanic base *snus* must have been 'to breathe audibly' and not »snøfte», i. e. to snort, as is maintained by Torp, though the latter sense be not very remote from the former meaning. Now if the semantic starting-point of the subsequent sense-development is the same in the case of the four bases *nut*, *nus* and *snut*, *snus*, then we must expect not only that the sense-development from the bases *snut* and *snus* should present a great parallelism, but also that their semantic development should afford a striking similarity to that taking its rise from the bases *nut* and *nus*, at least in the earlier stages of the development. If the expectations of great parallelism in the sense-development of the four bases be fulfilled, then we may regard it as a proof beyond reasonable doubt that the bases *nut* and *nus* are Germanic abbreviations of the bases *snut* and *snus*. Hence we cannot entirely disregard the latter bases, whose existence has not until lately been recognized by scientific research. But since our illustration of the occurrence of these bases only aims to prove their quality as sources of the roots *nut* and *nus*, the examples need neither comments nor exhaustiveness. As a matter of fact, we are by no means willing to write the semantic history of four Germanic bases, merely because we wanted to demonstrate the existence of one of them, hitherto unknown in the world of scholarship. Hence, let us only adduce a number of instances taken from various Germanic idioms and illustrating the semantic aspect of the derivatives from the bases *snut* and *snus*.

a. The Semantic Aspect of the Derivatives from the Base *snut*.

Swedish: — *Snuta* [*snut*] v. Vädra, lukta, i. e. to snuff or smell, to scent (Finl., Vendell)²⁾

Snutta I [*snut(a)*] v. Tjura, vara surmulen, i. e. to sulk, to be surly (Finl., Vendell).

¹⁾ Cp. Alf Torp *Nynorsk Etymologisk ordbok*, Kristiania 1919 s. v. *snût*.

²⁾ Cp. H. Vendell *Ordbok över de Östsvenska Dialekterna*, Helsingfors 1906.

Snutta II v. *Glutta*, se oförmärkt genom ett hål, i. e. to peep stealthily through a hole (Smål., Rietz).¹⁾

Snutta III v. (1) Springa hit och dit med korta uppehåll, i. e. to run hither and thither with short stops (Vestergötl.); (2) *snafva*, i. e. to miss one's footing (Götal., Rietz p. 650).

Snåta I [*snota*] v. *Snoppa* ljus eller pärtä, i. e. to snuff a burning candle or stick of wood (Finl., Vendell).

Snåta II [*snot(a)*, *snohta*, *snuta*] v. (1) *Vädra*, *snoka* (ish. om hund), i. e. to sniff, snuff, or scent (said esp. of a dog), to nose about; (2) *snusa*; (3) *nosa på*, i. e. to smell (at), (Finl., Vendell).

Snotta v. (1) *Vädra* och söka efter något, i. e. to sniff or scent and be in quest of something; (2) söka ifrigt i alla hål, noga och ofta leta efter, hemligen utforska, i. e. to search eagerly in every hole, to rummage carefully and often for (something), to inquire into a matter secretly (Vestergötl., Rietz. s. v. *snokta*).

Snottra I [*snohtra*] v. *Nosa*, i. e. to sniff at, to smell (Finl., Vendell).

Snottra II [*snotra*] v. *Nedsöla*, ish. med *snor*, i. e. to soil, or be foul, esp. with nasal mucus (Finl., Vendell).

Snottra III [*snotär*, *snotra*, *snohtra*] v. (1) *Tala* snabbt och otydligt, *sluddra*, *sladdra*, i. e. to talk quickly and indistinctly, to sp(l)utter or stammer; to jabber away; (2) *puttra* (i grytan), i. e. to bubble in the pot (Finl., Vendell).

Snyta str. v. (in MSw. wk v.) (1) To clean or clear the nose from mucus; (2) to snuff a candle; (3) (vulg. and joc.) to steal, to cheat (general speech).

Derivatives: — MSw. *Snuta* sb. face in *snutofagher*, i. e. having a handsome face, but orig. denoting 'snout, mouth'. Sw. *Snut* sb. (1) = *snyte* = lång, smal och spetsig nos, i. e. a long, tapering muzzle; (2) *näsa*, *mun*, i. e. nose, mouth; (3) a pet name; (4) (now obsolete) ett slags spetsigt bröd, i. e. a sort of bread.²⁾ In Sw. dialects *snut* denotes not only 'nos, mule', i. e. snout, muzzle, and 'trut, mun', i. e. mug. mouth, but also 'hörn, udde', i. e. corner, promontory (Rietz, p. 645). — *Snutt* sb. hjärtunge, i. e. (my) poppet, popsy-wopsy (Vestergötl., Ihre³⁾. *Snutta* sb. Liten flicka, i. e. a little girl (Götal., Rietz; Finl., V. E. V. Wessman)⁴⁾, orig. a pet

¹⁾ Cp. J. E. Rietz *Svenskt Dialekt-lexikon*, Lund 1867.

²⁾ Cp. D. A. Sundén *Ordbok öfver Svenska Språket*, Stockholm 1892.

³⁾ Cp. Joh. Ihre *Svenskt Dialekt Lexicon*, Upsala 1766.

⁴⁾ Cp. V. E. V. Wessman *Samling av ord ur Östsvenska Folkhäl, Helsingfors 1932.*

name. — *Snutt* sb. Liten, kort stund, ögonblick, litet grand, i. e. a little while, a moment, the veriest trifle (Vestergötl., Rietz).

Snåt I [*snot*, *snåt*] sb. (1) Näsa, nos, tryne, i. e. nose, muzzle, snout; (2) trut, mun, i. e. mug, mouth; (3) nys, hum, väderkorn, i. e. an inkling, scent, power of scent (Finl., Vendell). *Snåt* II [*snot*] sb. Snor, i. e. nasal mucus (Finl., Vendell). *Snåt* III [*snot*] sb. (1) Ljus- eller pärtsot, i. e. soot from a candle or a burnt part of a stick of wood; (2) avbrunnet stycke av en pärtä, i. e. the spent part of a stick of wood used as a candle (Finl., Vendell). *Snåt* IV [*snot*] sb. Fån, i. e. fool (Finl., Vendell). — *Snått* [*snot*] sb. Varg, i. e. wolf; the term is obviously used as a noa word denoting 'one that noses about in quest of food'; also in form *snåtare*. (Finl., Vendell).

Snåtter [definite form *snåttra*, pl. *snåttren*] sb. Hjortron, i. e. cloudberry, *Rubus Chamæmorus* (Vester- och Norrbotten, Rietz); also *snåtterbär*, *snåttron* (Ångermanl., Rietz). *Snutterbär* sb. Smultron, i. e. wild strawberries, *Fragaria Vesca* (Dalarne, Helsingl., Rietz); also *snytter-*, *snötterbär* (Helsingl., Rietz); the word *snåtter*, *snutter*, etc. denotes that the berries (and hence the plants) may be scented by the flavour they emit. — *Snotter* [*snotär*] sb. Otydligt tal, pladder, joller, i. e. indistinct speech, babble, prattle (Finl., Vendell).

Snottra I [*snotra* or *-o*, *snohtra*, *snotra*, or *-o*] sb. (1) En kvinna som snottrar, i. e. a gossip; (2) en snuskig kvinnsperson, i. e. a slattern (Finl., Vendell). *Snottra* II [*snotro*] sb. Mun, trut, i. e. mouth, mug (Finl., Vendell).

Snulig a. Ond, vresig, i. e. angry, cross (Karlskoga Bergslag, Rietz p. 645).

Snutlig a. Hygglig, hyfsad, i. e. well-behaved or decent, cultivated (Öl., Rietz).

Snoter a. Våltalig, munvig, i. e. eloquent, voluble, ready-witted (Smål., Rietz). The original sense was 'having a keen power of scent' used figuratively, consequently the same sense as was originally presented by Ger. *naseweis*, now = 'pert, forward, prying, impertinent'. Cp. Goth. *snutrs* a. prudent (and *snutrei* prudence), OE *snot(t)or* a. clever, prudent (and *snyttu* prudence, cleverness; *snytrian* to be clever, wise), OHG *snotar* prudent; etc.

Snottrog I [*snotro(gär)*, *snohtrugär*] a. Osnygg, snuskig, i. e. uncleanly, dirty, filthy (Finl., Vendell). *Snottrog* II [*snotro(gär)*, *snotro(gär)*, *snotru(gär)*] a. Talande otydligt, pladder- och skvalleraktig, i. e. speaking indistinctly, prattling, gossipy (Finl., Vendell).

Snåtog I [*snoto(gär)*] a. Fallen för att snoka eller spana efter, i. e. addicted to nosing about or searching for something (Finland, Vendell). *Snåtog* II [*snotu-* or *snutu-*] a. Fånig, i. e. foolish (Finl., Vendell).

Norwegian ¹⁾ — *Snutta* v. Vise en spids, en tip. et glimt, i. e. to let appear (a point, a tip, a glimpse); a denominative verb, cp. the subs. *snöta* (= snute, tip. spids) and *snytt* (spids, top).

Snütra v. Snake, snuse efter, i. e. to rummage about, esp. for something to eat, to nose after.

Snöta v. Snuse, snake, i. e. to nose, sniff, snuffle, snuff; to rummage for, esp. for something to eat.

Snöta v. (1) Vêre, snuse, i. e. to scent; to nose, sniff, snuff; (2) lete, snake, i. e. to search for, to rummage about for; (3) sætte trut, surmule, i. e. to pout, to sulk; perhaps a denominative verb, cp. the sb. *snöt* (snute, trut. i. e. a muzzle, mug). *Snötra* = *Snütra*.

Snotta v. Snøfte, snuse, speide, i. e. to snort; to nose, sniff, snuff; to look out, watch, spy.

Snyta (mostly) str. v. (1) Stikke frem som en snute, i. e. to project like a muzzle, snout, or nose; (2) ta bort med raskt grep, i. e. to remove by making a sudden catch at something; (3) snyte næsen, i. e. to blow the nose; (4) pudse et lys, i. e. to snuff a candle; (5) narre, bedrage, i. e. to cheat, swindle.

Derivatives: — *Snüt* sb. m. Snute, i. e. muzzle, nozzle, snout; fremragende spids.

Snytt sb. m. Fremstikkende spids el. top, i. e. a projecting point, tip, or top. *Snyta* sb. fem. = *snytt*; also = grand, i. e. atom, particle, the veriest trifle, etc. *Snytta* sb. fem. Spids, top, i. e. a point, tip, top.

Snöt sb. m. Liten stump, i. e. a small stump, end, fag-end, etc. *Snott* sb. neut. Snot, i. e. nasal mucus; Prim. Teut. **snut(t)a-*. *Snöta* sb. fem. Snute, tip, spids, i. e. muzzle, nozzle, snout, tip, point; also = grand, smula, i. e. atom, particle, trifle, crumb, speck, etc.

Snót sb. (1) snute paa hund, ræv o. l., i. e. the nose of a dog, fox, or the like; (2) trût, i. e. mug, mouth. Note that *ó* stands for earlier *ǫ*, according to Torp. *Snôte* sb. Ræv, i. e. a fox. It should be understood as a noa word.

Danish: — *Snotta* v. Snøfte, i. e. to snort (Bornholm, Espersen).²⁾

¹⁾ The Norwegian words are taken from A. Torp *Nynorsk Etymologisk Ordbok*, Kristiania 1919.

²⁾ Cp. J. C. S. Espersen *Bornholmsk Ordbog*, København 1908.

Snyde v. (1) To clean or clear the nose from nasal mucus; (2) to snuff a candle; (3) to cheat (general speech).¹⁾

Derivatives: — *Snude* sb. (1) The nose and mouth of certain animals such as a dog or a bear; (2) (vulg.) the nose, mouth, face of men; (3) the foremost part of a ship or shoe (general speech).²⁾ *Snut* I sb. (Vulg.) Mouth, in imperative address: *hæl s.*, *lok di s.*; (2) en net tøs, ung pige = a nice or young girl (Jutland, Feilberg).³⁾ *Snut* II sb. (Vulg.) A pet word used of a young girl or a little child (general speech).²⁾

Snyde sb. Skarp irettesættelse, i. e. a sharp rebuke or reprimand (Jutland, Feilberg). *Snyder* sb. (1) (Vulg.) Nose; (2) (vulg.) a rebuke, reprimand, snub; (3) a cheat (general speech).

Snot sb. (earlier Dan. *snat*, *snøt*) sb. Nasal mucus (general speech).

Snuttet a. (1) Næsvis = nysgerrig, paatrængende, ubeskeden, i. e. inquisitive, intrusive, immodest or immoderate; (2) klog, dygtig til at begå sig, snu, i. e. prudent, clever at getting on in the world, smart, or shrewd (Jutland, Feilberg; hence *snuttethed* næsvished. — *Snottet* a. (1) Full of snot; (2) being under age and injudicious and yet intrusive; (3) half drunk (general speech) — *Snøttig* a. Håndsnild, i. e. dexter or clever of hand, cp. ON *snotr* wise (Jutland, Feilberg).

Low German.

Schleswig-Holstein:³⁾ — *Snuddeln* [*snudl̥n*], *Snotteln* v. Schmutzen, schmieren, sudeln.

Snuteln I v. = snuddeln. *Snuteln* II, *Snudeln* v. Küssen; zu Snuut.

Snüten [*snj̥dn̥*], *Snütjen* [*snj̥d̥zn̥*] wk. v. Schneuzen; *de Nese s.*, *dat Licht s.*; zu Snuut.

Snütern v. Küssen; zu *Snüter* m. u. *Snütjen* n., Diminutive zu Snuut.

Snotten [*snodn̥*] v. Rotzen; zu Snott. *Snotteln* v. = snuddeln.

Derivatives: — *Snuut* [*snūd*], *Snutt* sb. fem. Schnauze; (1) Tierschnauze; (2) grober Ausdruck für »Mund»; (3) grober Ausdruck für »Nase»; (3) die Umgebung von Mund und Nase: »Gesicht». Übertragen: (a) Spitze am Stiefel; (b) die beiden Spitzen am Schuh-

¹⁾ Cp. B. T. Dahl, H. Hammer, H. Dahl *Dansk Ordbog for Folket*, København og Kristiania 1914.

²⁾ Cp. H. F. Feilberg *Ordbog over Jyske Almuesmål*, Kjøbenhavn 1894—1904.

³⁾ As to the material see Otto Menzing *Schleswig-Holsteinisches Wörterbuch*, Neumünster 1931.

band; (c) Tülle [i. e. spout, nozzle] am Topf. *Snuutje* [snūdžə], *Snuttje* [snudžə], *Snuutjen* sb. Diminutive zu *Snuut*: »Schnäuzchen«. Auch Kosewörter für Kleine Kinder. *Snyter* [snjda] sb. m., *Snütjen* [snjdz̃n] sb. n. = Diminutive zu *Snuut*: »Schnäuzchen; also used as pet-names: *mien Snütjen* = mein Liebling. *Snüt* [snj̃d], *Snütj* [snj̃dz̃] sb. Koseform für Nase; in der Kindersprache auch *Nüt* [nj̃d]; auch Bezeichn. für einen hübschen Menschen: *he is en S.* — *Snüter* [snjda] sb. Lichtscheere.

Snott [snod] sb. m. Nasenschleim, Rotz; also in form *Snött* [snod]. *Snodder* [snoda] or *Snudder* [snud̃r] sb. Nasenschleim, Rotz; auch als Schelte: *du Snudder* »Rotznase«. *Snodder* and *Snudder* are prob. formed on the base *snuþ*.

Snutig I [snu'di], *Snudig*, *Snuttig* [snu'dix], *Snuddig* a. schnäuzig; zu *Snuut* = (1) mundfertig, schlagfertig; (2) vorlaut, frech; (3) gescheit, klug, pffiffig; schlau, gerissen. *Snutig* II [snu'di] a. Kalt (verdeutlicht *s. koold*). *Snuddelig* [snu'dali], *Snuttelig*, *Snutelig* a. Unsauber, unordentlich; ep. snuddeln, snuteln v.

Snottig [snodix], *Snuddig* [snu'dix] a. Rotzig. *Snodderig* [sno'deri], *Snudderig* a. Berotzt. Dann meist wie im Hochd. schnodderig, flegelhaft, dummdreist. *Snodderig*, *Snudderig* are prob. derivatives from *snuþ*.

Mecklenburg & Hither Pomerania:¹⁾ — *Snütern* v. Küssen (Mi), evidently a derivative from the subs. *Snut* 'Schnauze'.

Pomerania and Rügen:²⁾ — *Snüten* v. Schneuzen, betriegen. Hence *Snüterken* sb. Ein zärtlicher Tändel-Name, den man Kindern giebt.

Snute sb. fem. Die Schnauze, Nase. 'Holts de Snout', halts Maul. *Snutenwiis* a. Naseweis.

Hamburg:³⁾ — *Snütten* v. Schnäutzen: 'dat Licht afsnütten': das Licht putzen; 'de Nese uthsnütten': die Nase schnäutzen. Hence *Snutter*, *Licht-Snütter* sb. Licht-Putze.

Snute sb. Schnauze, Rüssel, Nase der Thiere... In der Pöbel-Sprache aber wird auch ein Menschen-Mund mit diesem Nahmen verächtlich beleget. 'Hohl de Snut': halts Maul. Hence *Afsnuten* v. Ablauffen lassen, übers Maul fahren. *Wys-Snut*; *wyssnuten*, *wyssnuttig*, *Wysnuterey*: nasenweise, Nasenweiserey.

¹⁾ Cp. Mi *Wörterbuch des Mecklenburgisch-Vorpommerschen Mundart*, Leipzig 1876.

²⁾ Cp. C. J. Dähnert *Platt-deutsches Wörterbuch nach der alten u. neuen Pommersch. u. Rüg. Mundart*, Stralsund 1781.

³⁾ Cp. M. Richey *Idioticon Hamburgense*, Hamburg 1755.

Bremen:¹⁾ — *Snottern* v. Mit der Nase ein Geräusch machen, als wenn sie voll Rotz ist; it. mit dem Rotz sudeln. Hence *Besnottern* v. Mit Rotz besudeln. — *Snotte* sb. Rotz, mucus, pituita narium. In compounds *Snott-*: *Snott-baarse* sb. Perca minor mucosa (= Sw. snorgärs), *Snott-bengel*, *-flegel* sb. Ein Rotznase, junger Lecker, rotziger Junge. The variant *Snotter* sb. is met with in the compounds *Snotter-näse*, *-snute* 'ein Rotznase, Rotzlöffel', and in the adj. *Snotterig* rotzig, der den Rotz hangen lässt.

Snute sb. The same senses as *Snute* in the dial. of Hamburg (see above). 'Een bösen Snuten': ein loses, zänkisches Maul. 'Enen wisen Snuten hebbben': ein naseweises Maul haben.

Göttingen & Grubenhagen:²⁾ — *Snuteren* [evidently -*ü*-] v. Durch die verstopfte Nase Athem ziehen.

Snutjen [evidently -*ü*-] v. So heftig weinen, dass davon die Nase fließt; heftig weinen.

Snut [-*ü*-] sb. m.; pl. *Snütte*. (1) Der Nasenschleim; (2) ein kleines Talglicht, wie sie zu Weihnachten den Ärmern die Stelle der Wachlichter an den Christbäumen vertreten; (3) die Mistel, eine Schmarotzerpflanze, welche auf Weiden und Apfelbäumen häufig gefunden wird. Ein daraus gekochter Thee wird den Kühen eingegeben, wenn sie gekalbt haben. Hence *Snutnäse* sb. Die Rotznase; oft als Schimpfwort gebraucht.

Snüte sb. f. Die Schnauze; der Mund. Hence *Snüten-tönjes* sb. m. Schimpfwort: das Dickmaul, d. i. ein mundfauler Mensch (*Tönjes* aus Antonius).

Baltic German: — *Schnottern* v. Räsönmiren. Hence *Schnotterer* sb. Räsönneur, Krakehler, Schwätzer. These words (cp. Swed. dial. *snotra* III) seem to occur in Esthonia only; see von Gutzeit's Dict. III 153).

Let us give a few examples of the base *snut* as occurring in High German.

Schnueten [*schnuatt'n*] v. Schnüffeln, riechen, suchen (Bavaria, Schmeller II 590).

Schnutern v. Plappern (= gedankenlos schwatzen), i. e. to chatter, jabber, etc. (Henneberg, i. e. the Dialect of Saxe-Meiningen; Reinwald).³⁾

¹⁾ Cp. *Versuch eines Bremisch-Niedersächsischen Wörterbuchs* IV Bremen 1770.

²⁾ Cp. G. Schambach *Wörterbuch der Niederdeutschen Mundart der Fürstenthümer Göttingen und Grubenhagen*, Hannover 1858.

³⁾ Cp. W. F. H. Reinwald *Hennebergisches Idioticon*, Berlin & Stettin, 1793.

*Schnüte*² [bzw. -ū¹- U., -u¹- ZO., doch -ū- nach einer Angabe] v. (1) Schwer und laut atmen; (2) = *schnüssen* 2, i. e. brummen³; (3) = *schnüssen* 3, i. e. mit heftigem Windstoss vorbeifahren, sausen; (von aufgeregten, zornigen Menschen) brummend fortgehen; unwillig weglafen; (4) von dem durch gewisse geistige of körperliche Gefühle verursachten Zsziehen des Mundes, wie dieses den Affen eigen ist (Swiss German, Staub und Tobler.¹)

Schnauzen v. (1) Aschaffenb.; (von genossenen Speisen of Getrânken) durch die Nase heraufriechen; (2) zornig reden (Bavaria, Schmeller II 591—2). Hence *Schnauzig* a. Anfahrerisch, hastig.²)

D u t c h:³) — *Snuiten* v. (1) Afknijpen, wegnemen (met een snuiter); (2) (bouwk.), (van een stuk hout) den snuit, een uitstekenden scherpen hoek, wegnemen; (3) den neus in een zakdoek ledigen; (4) beetnemen, bedriegen, inz. door te veel te laten betalen.

Snotten v. Veel den zakdoek gebruiken, snot loozen.

Snotteren v. (1) Snot loozen; (2) schreien, krijten, i. e. to cry, to weep, to whine.

Derivatives: — *Snuit* sb. (1) Voorste deel van den bek van varkens en olifanten; (2) neus, i. e. nose; (3) gezicht van den mensch; also = mouth, e. g. *hou je snuit* zwijg; (4) (werkt.) met een scherpen hoek vooruitstekende punt; (5) (zeew.) voorstevan; (6) afval van werk, vlas, i. e. refuse, waste products. *Snuiter* sb. (1) Werktuig om de verbrande pit (eener kaars) af te knijpen; (2) persoon die snuit; (3) kwant, zonderling mensch: 't is een rare, een vreemde snuiter. *Snuitsel* sb. Afsnoten deel van de pit eener kaars. — *Snoet* sb. (1) (plat) Snuit, e. g. *hou-je snoet* zwijg; (2) gezicht; (3) lieverd, schat = petnames. *Snoetje* sb. (gemenz.) Gezichtje. — *Snot* sb. (1) Nasal mucus; (2) *Piet Snot*, een sul, i. e. a good-natured person, a duffer or tomfool, a simpleton; (3) snotziekte, i. e. a kind of disease; (4) a horse with this disease. *Snotter* sb. (1) Snot; (2) neus; (3) snotjongen. *Snotterik* sb. Snotneus, i. e. brat, urchin.

Snottig a. (1) Snotterig; (2) niets waard zijnde, zeer onsterk; hence *Snottigheid*. *Snotterig* a. (1) Veel snot hebbende of loozende; (2) spoedig schreiende; hence *Snotterigheid*.

¹) Cp. F. Staub u. L. Tobler *Wörterbuch der Schweizerdeutschen Sprache*, Frauenfeld 1901.

²) Cp. J. A. Schmeller *Baierisches Wörterbuch*, 2. Aufl. von G. K. Frommann, München 1872—77.

³) Cp. van Dale's *Groot Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, 's-Gravenhage 1924.

By way of comparison let us also adduce the following instances from *Kilian's dictionary*.

Snutten v. (1) Mungere, emungere; (2) emungere pecuniis, fallere: deplumare, deglubere aliquem. — *Snuyten* v. *Holl.* = snutten, mungere. — *Snotten* v. = snutten, mungere. — *Snutteren* v. *Fland.* = snipperen, i. e. resecare, secare, incidere. This meaning obviously originated from the sense 'to snuff a candle'.

Snut, *Snot* sb. Mucus, myxa, narium humiditas, pituita nasi. — *Snuyte* sb. (1) Nasus; (2) rostrum; (3) proboscis, manus elephantis; (4) rostrum, rostra: pars navis primore in prora exporrectior & acutior. — *Snutter* sb. Kers-snutter, emunctorium. — *Snutsel* sb. (1) Mucus, narium purgamen; (2) snutsel van de keersse; fucus, fungus candela: myxus, candela: ellychnij pars exusta. — *Snoter*, *Snoteringhe* sb. *Fland.* Rheuma, catarrhus, coryza. — *Snottigh*, *Snotachtigh* a. Mucosus. — *Snuytert* a. Nasutus, naso insignis.

East Frisian-Saxon.¹⁾ — *Snöttern* v. Rotz od. Schleim anhaltend aus der Nase fließen lassen oder absondern.

Snüten v. Schneuzen, reinigen, putzen; schneiden, scheeren, abschneiden, einschneiden, stutzen, kürzen, ein- od. verkürzen etc. Cp. Dähnert (1781): *Snüten* v. (1) Schneuzen; (2) betriegen.

Derivatives: — *Snute* od. *Snüte*, *Snüt* sb. (1) Schnauze, Maul, Schnabel, Nase od. Rüssel; (2) die vorderste Spitze des Schuhwerks. — *Snöt*, *Snötte* sb. (1) Rotz, Schleim, Nasenschleim; (2) Verstand, Weisheit, e. g. *snöt* (od. *görte* Grütze) *in de kop hebben*. Cp. OFris. *snotta* nasal mucus, MLG *snot*, *snotte*, *snotter* Nasenschleim. *Snötter*, *Snötterd* sb. Rotzbengel, Gelbschnabel, Naseweis. — *Snüter* sb. Lichtscheere. *Snütsel* sb. (1) Das mit der Lichtscheere abgeschnittene od. abgeputzte u. ausgebrannte Dochtendchen od. die Schnuppe, Schneuze; (2) der abgechnittene od. abgeschorene Abfall von Bäumen, Sträuchern u. lebenden Hecken.

Snötterig, *Snötterg* a. (1) Rotzig, mit Rotz od. Nasenschleim beschmutzt; (2) naseweis, superklug, scharf, gewitzigt.

Let us here also adduce a verb from *the dialect of Groningen*, viz. *Snoetern* v. Pruilen, i. e. to be morose, sulky, angry; de lip laten hangen; eene ontefreden, lastige bui hebben, i. e. to have a fit of displeasure or bad temper (Molema's dict.)

¹⁾ Cp. J. ten Doornkaat Koolman *Wörterbuch der Ostfriesischen Sprache*, Norden 1882.

English ¹⁾ — OE *snȳtan* v. (1) to blow the nose; (2) to snuff a candle. cp. OE *candelsnȳtels* sb. m. candle-snuffers. Mod. Eng. *snite*, now dial. and Scotch.

Snoot I [*snūt*] v. To sneak, hang round, pry about (Lanc).

Snoot II [*snūt*] v. To hit on the nose (Wm.). See Wright op., cit. p. 595.

Snot [*snot*] v. (1) To blow the nose, esp. with the finger and thumb (Scotland); (2) to snort (n. Yks.); (3) to snuff a candle or lamp (Nhb. Dur.).

Snotter [*sno-tə(r)*] v. (1) To permit mucus to run from the nose; (2) to breathe heavily through the nose; to snuffle, snore, snort (north of the Humber and in n. Lin. and Wor.); (3) to cry, weep; to snivel, whine (north of the Humber); (4) to pull by the nose; to seize by the nostrils, to hit on the nose (Wm. w. Yks.).

Snut v. To curl the nose in disdain (obsolete, Sc.).

Snutter I [*snu-tə(r)*] v. To snigger, to snore (Yks.). Also in form *snother*.

Snutter II [*snu-tə(r)*] v. To miss one's footing (Lan.).

Snuut v. To move in a careless, inactive, or stupefied manner (Sc., Jamieson).

Snuitter v. To laugh in a suppressed manner through the nose (Fife, Jamieson). Also used as a substantive.

Snyte v. (1) To walk feebly; to walk in a slow, stupid manner, to loiter, to work stupidly and lazily. (Sc., Jam.). Cp. *snuut*.

Derivatives: — *Snot* I sb. (1) The mucus of the nose = OE. *zesnot* (now *dial.* or *vulgar* but common in the 17th c.); (2) the burnt wick or snuff of a candle or lamp (now *north. dial.*); (3) *fig.* a term of contempt for a dirty, mean, or despicable person (*dial.* and *slang*); see N. E. D. *Snot* II sb. The fruit of the yew-tree, *Taxus baccata* (Lin. Nhp. Som.). Also *snot-berry* or *snottle-berry* a yew-berry. — *Snotter* sb. *Sc.* and *north.* (1) Snot or nasal mucus; also used *fig.* to denote something of little or no value, significance, or importance; (2) *pl.* a bad cold in the head (Yks.); (3) the nose (Cum. s. Chs.); (4) the red membraneous portion of the beak of a turkey-cock (Sc. Fif.); (5) a sniggering laugh (Fif.); (6) a wasted candle, a candle that has guttered (Nhb.). — *Snout* sb. (1 a) The trunk of an elephant (c. 1220, etc.); (1 b) the projecting part of the head of an animal, which includes the nose and mouth; the

¹⁾ The linguistic material has been taken from J. Wright *Eng. Dial. Dict.* 1898 and from the N. E. D.

proboscis or rostrum of an insect; formerly also 'the beak or bill of a bird'; (2) the nose in man, esp. when large or badly shaped; formerly also the face or countenance; (3) the end of a ship's prow, the beak or rostrum of a vessel; (4) a structure, formation, projecting part, etc., resembling or suggestive of a snout; a nozzle or the like, a projecting point of land, rock, etc. (N. E. D.). Various other senses are recorded in the Eng. Dial. Dict.

Snotty a. (1) Foul with snot or nasal mucus; (2) dirty, mean, paltry, contemptible (now. *dial.* or *slang*); (3) angry, curt, short-tempered; pert, saucy, impudent; proud, conceited (*dial.* or *slang*); (4) consisting of snot, mucous, viscous, slimy, (N. E. D.). The word occurs also as a sb. in dial. use denoting (1) a person of dirty, slovenly habits; (2) a dunce, booby, dolt; (3) a saucy fellow (the Eng. Dial. Dict.).

b. The Semantic Aspect of the Derivatives from the Base *snus*.

Swedish: — *Snusa* I [-*ä*-] v. (1) draga andan ljudeligt under sömn, i. e. to breathe audibly while asleep; (2) to take snuff, orig. to draw up snuff through the nostrils; (3) sträft tilltala någon, *snusa te* eller *å*, i. e. to take a person up snappishly, to send a person away with a snub, or a flea in his ear (general speech, Rietz).

Snusa II [*snus(a)*] v. (1) Nosa, i. e. to nose at, to smell; (2) snoka, uppsnoka, i. e. to nose about for, to ferret out; (3) nysa, i. e. to sneeze (Finl., Vendell).

Snuska I [*snusk(a)*, *snusk(a)*] v. Snoka, nosa, i. e. to nose for or after (to rummage for); to nose at, to smell (Finl., Vendell).

Snuska II [*snusk(a)*] v. Smutsa, lorta, i. e. to make dirty, to befoul (Finl., Vendell).

Snuskla [*snuskla*, *snüskäl*] v. (1) Snoka, i. e. to nose about for or after; (2) obehörigen inblanda sig i andras affärer, i. e. to meddle with other people's affairs; (3) snatta, i. e. to pilfer (Finl., Vendell).

Snussla I v. (1) Dröja, uppehålla sig, i. e. to dawdle, to tarry, to stop or stay; (2) se åt något, betrakta, i. e. to glance at, to look at (Gotland, Rietz). It is obvious that sense 1 gave rise to sense 2 by getting a Semantic Addition by Implication so as to denote 'to stop or stay in order to look at'. Later on Permutation took place. In the same way sense 1 of *snuskla* gave rise to senses 2 and 3 of this verb.

Snussla II [*snusl*] v. Vara petig, småaktigt noggrann, i. e. to be finicky (Finl., Wessman). The proximate source of this sense was sense I of the preceding verb.

Snustär, *Snöstär* (pa. t. *-trä*) v. Vädra efter, lukta upp; om hundar, i. e. to nose about for (after), to scent out, to ferret out (said of hounds); (2) lägga sin näsa i allt, i. e. to be a busybody (Vesterbotten, Rietz). The *t* of the verb originated, in our opinion, between *s* and *r* (Prim. Teut. **snus-r-ōn*).

Snoskla [*snoskäl*] v. Snövla¹), i. e. to speak indistinctly with a snuffle, i. e. through the nose (Finl., Vendell).

Snossla [*snoł*] v. Snövla, tala genom näsan (Finl., Vendell).

Derivatives: — *Snus* [*-ū-*] sb. [1] Pulverized tobacco (general speech); (2) in Finland also = 'soft', i. e. dust (Vendell), probably a late sense. The word is either a shortening of earlier *snustobak* 1644, i. e. tobacco meant to be drawn up through the nostrils, or else it is a deverbative word, i. e. formed on the stem of the verb *snusa* I.

Snusk I [*snusk*] sb. neut. (1) Snokande, sökning, i. e. nosing for, search for (Finl., Vendell); (2) *i snusk* = i löndom, i. e. in secret (Dalarne, 18th c., Ihre²). The original sense was obviously 'in secret search'.

Snusk II sb. (1) Avfall, i. e. refuse, leavings (in older Swedish, Hellquist), a sense probably due to exchanging the notion of 'nosing about in leavings' for 'leavings as having been rummaged in' (= Permutation); (2) [*-ū-*] 'illaluktande orenlighet på kläder och möbler',³) i. e. leavings attached to clothes or furniture and emitting a nasty smell, evil-smelling dirt (general speech). We cannot share Hellquist's view that *snusk* II is to be connected with *snask* and *snaska*.⁴)

Snusk III [*snusk*] sb. Snusker, i. e. a dirty or filthy person (Finl., Vendell).

Snuska I [*snusko*] sb. The nose of a dog or a seal (Finl., Vendell).

Snuska II [*snusko*] sb. Kvinna som jagar efter nyheter och skvaller, i. e. a woman on the look-out for news and gossip (Finl., Vendell).

¹) Sw. *snövla* = 'tala oredigt med en obehaglig nästön', i. e. to speak indistinctly with a disagreeable nasal twang. See D. A. Sundén *Ordbok öfver Svenska Språket*, Stockholm 1892.

²) Cp. Joh. Ihre *Svenskt Dialect Lexicon*, Upsala 1766.

³) Cp. D. A. Sundén *Ordbok öfver Svenska Språket*, Stockholm 1892.

⁴) Cp. E. Hellquist *Svensk Etymologisk Ordbok*², Lund 1939.

Snuska III [*snusko*] sb. (1) Slag på näsan, i. e. a rap on the nose; (2) bannor, trätor, i. e. a scolding, quarrels (Finl., Wessman).

Snuska IV [*snosko*, *smusko*] sb. Snuskig, smutsig kvinna, i. e. a dirty woman (Finl., Wessman).

Snuskare [*snuskarä*] sb. (1) Snattare, i. e. a person committing petty larceny (Finl., Vendell); (2) *snuskare*, *snuskar*] en som snokar, tullsnok, a customs officer, one who noses about; (Finl. Wessman).

Snusken [*snuskin*, *snusji(n)*, *-tsi(n)*] sb. m. The wolf. This noa word is the definite form of *snusk* in sense 'one nosing or prowling about (in quest of food)'. (Finl., Vendell and Wessman s. v. *snusk*.)

Snusning [*snusning*] sb. Hum, nys om ngt, i. e. an inkling of something (Finl., Vendell).

Snusker [*snuskär*] sb. A dirty or filthy fellow (Finl., Vendell).

Snussik [*snussik*] sb. no plural. Slusk, snuskig person, i. e. a shabby fellow or scamp, a filthy person (Finl., Vendell).

Snyss [*snyss*] sb. (Joc.) Nos, i. e. nose, muzzle, snout (Finl., Wessman).

Snyssjare [*snyfar*] sb. En som lägger sin näsa i allt, i. e. a person poking his nose into everything (Finl., Vendell).

Snusen a. (1) Harmsen, vid elakt lynne, i. e. indignant, in a bad humour (Vesterbotten, Jämtland; Rietz); (2) halvfull, i. e. half drunk. På *snusen* id. Svea-, Götaland (Rietz). It is true that sense 1 may have given rise to sense 2 by means of Permutation and that the converse sense-change is also possible. But personally we have never heard *snusen* employed as an adj. in sense 'half drunk'. The expression employed was always på *snusen*. The use of preposition and the Swed. accent 1 go to show that we are here concerned with a sb. *snūs* abstracted from *snusa* II and denoting 'search for or after' (scil. adventures). Hence the expression may be understood as equivalent to 'half drunk', and hence the latter sense could be substituted for the former meaning (= Permutation). Cp. the parallel expression på *luffen*, where *luff* has been abstracted (as a sb. in the definite form) from the verb *luffa* (= back-formation). Cp. Eng. *on the move*.

Snuskig, *-og* [*snuski-*, *snusko(gär)*] a. (1) Snokande, nyfiken, i. e. nosing about for or after something, inquisitive; (2) skicklig, i. e. skilful (Finl., Vendell).

Snusog, *-ot* [*snusu-*, *snuso-*, *snusot*] a. (1) Ful, i. e. ugly; (2) ringa, obetydlig, i. e. insignificant (Finl., Vendell).

Snosklot [snosklat] a. Snövlande, i. e. snuffling (Finl., Vendell).

Snosslot [snollat-] a. Snövlande (Finl., Vendell).

Norwegian:¹⁾ — *Snûsa* [also *snûsa* and *snussa* (of a hound)] v. Snuse, snøfte, vêre, spore efter noget, i. e. to nose, sniff, snuffle, snuff; to snort; to scent or to get the wind of something, to trace or track.

Snuska v. Snake efter mat, rapse, i. e. to nose about for something to eat; to filch.

Snõsa v. Snuse, vêre, i. e. to nose, sniff, snuff; to scent or to get the wind of.

**Snõsa* v. Vêre, spejde, snake, i. e. to scent or to get the wind of something, to spy about for, to watch for, to nose about for. The form is obviously a blending of *nõsa* 'to smell' and verbs containing the base *snus*.

**Snøsa* v. Lugte, snuse, snøfte. Probably a derivative from *snõs* sb. (Torp).

Derivatives: — *Snûs* I sb. m. = Snugg, teft, i. e. lugt, vêt, spor av = smell, scent, trace or track. *Snus* II sb. (1) [also *snuss*] neutr. = Snustobak, i. e. snuff; (2) m. = en pris snus; smule, i. e. a pinch of snuff; an atom, a particle, a trifle. In sense 'a pinch of snuff', the word is, in Torp's opinion, prob. an adoption of LG *snûs* f. a pinch of snuff. But in sense of powdered tobacco the word is obviously of deverbative origin (note the neutral gender!) and denoted at first an inhalation through the nose, thereupon the thing inhaled. — *Snusk* sb. m. Avfald, levninger, i. e. refuse, offal, leavings. — **Snÿs* sb. f. Nys om, vêt av, i. e. scent of, an intimation of. Probably a blending of the substantives *snus* and *nys*. — **Snõs* sb. m. Lugt, vêt, tev, i. e. scent of, smell. Probably a back-formation from the verb *snõsa*.

Danish: — *Snuse* v. (1) Drage Vejret gennem Næsen for at opfange Lugten af ngt, vejre, i. e. to draw up air through the nose in order to scent something, to scent; gaa på Spor, støve efter ngt, i. e. to follow a trail or track, to nose about for or after; snuse til (ved) ngt, i. e. to smell (at); (2) bruke Snustobak = to be in the habit of taking snuff, to take snuff; (3) opdage, opspore ngt, i. e. to discover, find out; to run to ground, to track down (general speech).

Snussi [snusi -ør -et], *Snyssi* v. Ryste med ngt, i. e. to shake (Jutland, Feilberg).²⁾ Cp. *Nusse* v. Skultre sig (Jutland).

¹⁾ As to the Norw. instances, see Alf Torp *Nynorsk Etymologisk Ordbok*, Kristiania 1919.

²⁾ Cp. H. F. Feilberg *Ordbog over Jyske Almuesmaal*, København 1904—1908.

Derivatives: — *Snus* sb. m. (1) Snustoback, i. e. snuff; (2) en Pris, i. e. a pinch of snuff; fig. en Ubetydelighed, Smule, i. e. an insignificant thing, an atom, etc.; (3) Dadel, Irettesættelse, Revselse, Tugtelse, i. e. a rebuke, scolding, chastisement (general speech).¹⁾ *Snusen* sb. (en) Det at snuse, i. e. the action of taking snuff (general speech).¹⁾ *Snuser* sb. (en) Agent noun of 'snuse' (general speech).¹⁾ *Pottesnuser* sb. En mand, der blander sig i kvindernes køkkensyssel, i. e. a man who thrusts his nose into kitchen matters (Jutland, Feilberg).

Rusk-om-snusk sb. Alt hvad der er sammenblandet, især om madvarer, i. e. all things that have been mixed up (said esp. of articles of food). (Jutland, Feilberg). *Snysk* [*snysk*] sb. Grönærter, gulerødder, kartoffler opstuede i melk, i. e. green peas, carrots, potatoes stewed in milk (Jutland, Feilberg). — *Snusket* a. Snavset, sjusket, i. e. uncleanly or dirty; careless or negligent (general speech).

*Low German. Schleswig-Holstein:*²⁾ — *Snusseln* [*snusln*] v. Schmutzen, schmieren, sudeln (= *snuddeln*).

Snuschen [*snušn*] v. Fein regnen. The stem of the verb appears in the subs. *Snusch-regen* ganz feiner Staubregen (Angel).

Snöseln [*snözln*] v. Schnauzen, anlümmeln.

Derivatives: — *Snuus-tobak* [*snū-slobag*] sb. Schnupftabak. The first member of the compound is a verbal stem. — *Snusch* [*snuš*], *Snuusch*, *Snüsch* [*snysš*, Ang.] sb. Ein beliebtes Angler Gericht: junge Erbsen, junge Bohnen (Schnittbohnen), gelbe Wurzeln, junge Kartoffeln werden gekocht, dann mit gehackter Petersilie und einem Klümpehen Butter in heisse Milch getan und mit Schinken, gesalzenem Hering oder geräuchertem Speck gegessen. — *Snösel* [*snözl*] sb. Unverschämter, dummdreister Bengel, Grünschnabel, Schlingel.

Snuschig [*snu-šix*] a. Kalt, regnerisch ungemütlich (vom Wetter). — *Snusselig* a. Unsauber, unordentlich. — *Snöselig* [*snözeli*] a. Unverschämt, dummdreist, frech.

*Mecklenburg & Hither Pomerania:*³⁾ — *Snusen* [-ū-] v. Umhergucken, umhersuchen, spähen. — *Snus* [-ū-] sb. Ein verächtliches Ding. — *Snusig* a. Neugierig.

*Pomerania & Rügen:*⁴⁾ — *Snüscheln* v. Dryckt(!) eigentlich das Wühlen der Schweine mit der Nase aus. Uneigentlich

¹⁾ Cp. B. T. Dahl, H. Hammer, H. Dahl *Dansk Ordbog for Folket*, København og Kristiania 1914.

²⁾ Cp. Otto Mensing *Schleswig-Holsteinisches Wörterbuch*, Neumünster 1933.

³⁾ *Mi op. cit.*

⁴⁾ Cp. C. J. Dähnert *op. cit.*

heisst es: Esswerk durchsuchen um das beste(!) herauszunehmen. — *Snuus* sb. Eine Prise Schnupftobak. — *Snósel* sb. Ein schimpfwort auf einen jungen Laffen. Also *Snúsel*. — *Schnússelwark* sb. f. Was von dem besseren übrig geblieben ist.

Bremen:¹⁾ — *Snusseln*, *Snüsseln* v. (1) Mit vorn ausgestreckter Schnauze oder Nase etwas ausspüren. Und daher, mit Vorwitz alles ausforschen. Man sagt auch *nusseln*, von Nâse, Nase. 'Dat Kind snusselt an dem Titte': das Kind suchet die Brust. (2) Im Hannöveris. naschen. Daher *Snusseliye*, das Naschen, Naschwerk. *Herum snusseln*, an allen Seiten suchen und ausspüren, wie ein Spürhund: die Nase in alles stecken: alles durchstänkern. — *Snuus-haan* sb. Ein gar zu vorwitziger und naseweiser Mensch, der sich um alles bekümmert, der alles aufspüren und ausspâhen kann. In this case *snuus-* is a verbal stem. — *Snuss* (sb.) ist dasselbe mit *Snute*. Nur wird es für etwas gelinder und höflicher gehalten.

Osnabrück:²⁾ — *Schnússel* sb. Schnauze. *Snússel* occurs in Göttingen and Grubenhagen = der Rüssel, die Schnauze, z. B. von Schweinen, Hunden und Mäusen. — *Snústerye* sb. Kleinigkeiten.

It should be noted that in Low German there are also a verb *snüsen* 'schnauben, schnüffeln' (Fick III⁴ 525) and a sb. *snüs* snout (Hellquist op. cit.² 1016).

Let us also illustrate the occurrence of the base *snus* in *High German*. It is sufficient to adduce a few examples only.

*Schnäuse*ⁿ [-ae-] v. Wählerisch an den Speisen herum machen, die besten Bissen heraussuchen. (Suabian, Fischer).

*Schnause*ⁿ [bzw. -äu-, -ai-, -oi-, -ü²-] v. (1 a) Durchschnüffeln, -stöbern, mit hämischer Neugier stänkern, vorwitzig durchsuchen; Geschriebenes oder Gedrucktes wählerisch, flüchtig durchlesen; (1 b) naschen, Kleinigkeiten (besonders Esswaren) entwenden; (2) barsch anreden, schnauzen. Syn. *schnüssen*, *schnauzen*. Hence *Schnausig* a. (1 a) Schnüffelnd, (neu-)gierig stöbernd; wählerisch, naschhaft; (1 b) diebisch, frech, zudringlich; (2) barsch, mit Worten anfahrend, beissig; Syn. *schnauzig*; (3) schnell; Syn. *schnüssig*. (Swiss German, Staub und Tobler).

*Schnuse*ⁿ, frequentative form *Schnüsele*ⁿ v. (1) Von Kindern, an einem Lappen saugen, oder so saugen als hätten dieselben einen Lappen im Munde. Hence *Schnussi*, *Schnüssi* sb. (1) Sauglappen,

¹⁾ Versuch eines Bremisch-Niedersächsischen Wörterbuchs IV Bremen 1770, p. 904—5, cp. p. 908.

²⁾ Cp. Strodtmann op. cit.

Lutschbeutel; (2) Mutterbrust in der unfeineren Spr. (Swiss German, Staub und Tobler). As to the sense-development of *schnuse*ⁿ note LG 'dat Kind snusselt an dem Tittle': das Kind suchet die Brust (scil. um zu saugen). (Bremen dict. of 1770.)

*Schnüssele*ⁿ v. Hörbar atmen, von einem schlafenden Kinde (Swiss German, Staub und Tobler). — Note also the adj. *g^e-schnuslig* undeutlich im Sprechen (Swiss German, Staub und Tobler) and the subs. *Schnüss* [*šnes*] Maul, freche Schnauze (Alsatian, Martin und Lienhart).

Netherlandish: — Older Du. *Snoezen* v. Snuffelen, i. e. to snuff. (Franck's Etym. Woordenboek s. v. *snoeshaan*).

Snoesteren I s[ue] *Snuysteren* v. Snoepen (= catillare, ligurare, vorare poma), ligurare, vorare poma, etc. (Kilian). *Snoesteren* II v. Sloesteren (i. e. entbolsteren noten, i. e. nuts), demere culeolas, cortices siue putamina (Kilian).

Snuisteren I, *Snuusteren* v. (1) De snuit ergens in of aan steken en snuffelen (said of dogs); (2) naforschen, opzoekingen doen (West Vlaamsch, De Bo). *Snuisteren* II v. (1) Snoesteren, sloesteren, ontbolsteren, i. e. to peal; (2) snoepen = likkernijen (inz. in het geheim, verholen) nuttigen; verboden minnehandel drijven; (3) grissen, i. e. to snatch; stelen (kleinigheden), i. e. to steal or pilfer trifles; (4) (gew. Zuidn[ederlandsch]) snuffelen, i. e. to snuff, to pry into (van Dale). Hence the subs. *Snuisterij* (1) Kleinigheid, voorwerp van weinig waarde, i. e. a thing of little value; (2) nietigheid, i. e. a paltriness, a trifle, something insignificant (van Dale).

Note also Du. *Snoes* sb. (1) (gemeenz.) Lieverdje = lief kind, i. e. a darling; (2) snoeshaan; dim. *snoesje* (van Dale). *Snoeshaan* sb. (1) Zonderling mensch, vreemde snuister, i. e. a rum chap; pocher, snoever, i. e. a braggart (van Dale). — *Snoezig* a. Lief, aardig, snoep-erig, i. e. dear, nice or decent, pretty, etc. (van Dale).

East Frisian: — *Snûsken* v. Riechen, spüren, schnüffeln, stöbern etc. (Doornkaat Koolman).

Snûstern v. Schnüffeln, stöbern, suchen etc. (Doornkaat Koolman). Cp. *Snuustern* v. 'Snuffelen', i. e. to snuff, to rummage (the Groningen dialect, Molema).

Snûs a. Spitz, spitz vorragend; scharf, eindringend; pffiffig, klug, wise (Doornkaat Koolman). Cp. *Snuus* a. 'Beschaamd', i. e. ashamed, nonplussed (the Groningen dialect, Molema). — Note also the WestFris. adj. *snûsterich* 'doezelig, bedoezeld', i. e. drowsy or half asleep, stupefied (Waling Dijkstra).

English: — *Snush* [snɛʃ] v. To sniff at with a snorting sound (S. & Ork.). Hence *Snush* sb. A sniff, snort. See Wright's Eng. dial. Dict.

Snuzzle [snuzl] v. (1) Of swine: to rout *about* with the nose, 18th c. (Hmp.); (2) of a dog: to sniff or poke with the nose, 17th c.; (3) to sniff, to breathe heavily and noisily (n.Yks. m.Yks.); (4) of persons, esp. children: to nuzzle, snuggle, nestle, or settle down comfortably (Yks. Lan. Chs. s. Not. n. Lin.). See N. E. D. and Wright's Eng. Dial. Dict.

Snooze [snūz], also in form *snews* Cum. v. (1) To sleep, doze; to take a nap (Sc. Lnk. s. Don. Cum. w. Yks. Lan. Not. Lin. Lei.); (2) to nestle, to lie snugly and warm (w. Yks. Nhp.). In *gen.* dial. and colloq. use in Sc. Irel. and Eng. (Wright); see also N. E. D. (which says: »app. a cant or slang word of obscure origin»). Hence: *Snooze* sb. A short sleep; a nap, doze. *Snoozy* a. Inclined to sleep, sleepy (Wright and N. E. D.). Also *Snoozer* sb. One who snoozes. *Snoozing* vbl. sb. The fact of dozing or sleeping. *Snooziness* sb. The state of being snoozy or sleepy N. E. D.).

Snoozle [snūzl] v. (1) To nestle, to lie snugly and closely, to cuddle (Yks. ne. Lan. Not., Lin. Hrf. Brks. Sus. Hmp. w. Som.); (2) of a dog: to sniff and poke with the nose. (Per. Yks.); (3) to sleep, doze; to take a nap (Sc. Cum. n. Yks., etc.). Wright's Eng. Dial. Dict. The verb is also met with in the N. E. D., which gives the senses 'to nestle and sleep or doze, to nuzzle' and 'to thrust affectionately (its nose, said of a dog)'.

Snouse [snauz] v. To sleep (s. Chs.). — *Snuist* v. To sniff (Sc., obsolete). — *Snuister* v. To laugh, esp. in a suppressed manner through the nose (Sc.). Hence *Snuister* I sb. A suppressed laugh (Fif.). *Snuister* II sb. A sweetie (Sc., Ayr.). Cp. Wright Eng. Dial. Dict.

In conclusion it may be mentioned that through the operation of what is called Verner's law the base *snus* may sometimes appear as *snuz*. This form of the base is considered to underlie Sw. *snor*, dial. *snâr*, *snör* nasal mucus, older Dan. *snor*, *snør*; <**snuz-a-*. With *l* extension, i. e. *snuz-l-*, the base appears in Norw. dial. *snulla* 'snøvlé', i. e. to speak with a snuffle or nasal twang = Sw. dial. *snolla*, and in South Dutch we meet with *snollen* 'snuffelen'. In view of such examples it is permissible to ask whether the base *nus* also appeared as *nuz*. That is possible, but we have paid no attention to this possibility in collecting our material.

Our survey of a number of derivatives from the bases *snut* and *snus* has proved up to the hilt that both had the same primary signification and that this sense must have been 'to breathe audibly'. For we have been apprised that most of the senses of the verbal derivatives are in both cases centred on the passive or active function of the nose, such as breathing through it, snorting, sniffing, smelling, scenting, nosing or prying about, speaking (nay even laughing) through the nose, secreting nasal mucus, rooting about in or rooting up something with the nose, etc. And when the derivatives are substantives, but of a semantic type other than agent nouns or nouns of action, then they mostly denote nasal mucus or else nose, mouth, or even face. For in animals the nose may be the chief part of the head including also mouth and face in its notion.

But our survey has also proved the existence of a close semantic affinity between the derivatives from the bases *snut* and *snus* on the one hand, and the derivatives from the bases *nut* and *nus* on the other hand. In the earlier stages of the sense-development from the latter bases the parallelism with that from the former roots is so great that it presupposes the same primary signification. It should be admitted, however, that *nut* and *nus*, as being phonetically somewhat removed from their origin, i. e. *snut* and *snus*, were perhaps more likely than the latter to be the starting-points of further sense-development where new lines of semantic changes were due to Intentional Transfers. But rightly considered, the same semantic starting-point can never lead to total parallelism in the subsequent sense-development. For the versatility of the human mind and the comparative scantiness of the linguistic means of expression are too great to permit of any complete uniformity. Let it also be noted that such a quality would be at variance with the purpose and tendencies of human speech. Judging from the evidence, then, given by the linguistic material, we are obviously justified in coming to the conclusion that the Germanic bases *nut* and *nus* must be abbreviations of the bases *snut* and *snus*, since they have the same primary meaning, and that this phonetic change took place in Primitive Teutonic times.

If we put the question what cause it was that brought about the initial abbreviation of the bases *snut* and *snus* so as to make them appear as *nut* and *nus*, no definite answer can be given. In similar instances attention is never paid to this question by comparative linguistics, obviously for the reason that it can only be the subject of random guesses. Thus, in the present case we may perhaps

suppose that the reduction of *snus* to *nus* was due to a dissimilatory tendency and that the curtailment of *snut* to *nut* was brought about by associative influence from *snus*, which like the latter base was a dental extension of the base *snu*. But if the former abbreviation occurred at a date anterior to that of the latter shortening, this is at least in harmony with the fact that the base *nut* is very scantily represented in Swedish, Norwegian, and East German dialects, whereas the base *nus* is not so poorly recorded. But, after all, our supposition is mere guess-work. But if so, the elimination of an initial *s* must be taken as a fact, just as the addition of an initial *s* is a fact in Prim Teut. **smeltan* as against **meltan*, though not explained.

We have previously maintained that the bases *snut* and *snus* should be understood as phonetic extensions of the Germanic base *snu*. This is, no doubt, a legitimate view from the angle of the etymological state of things in the Germanic languages. The primary sense of this fundamental root need not have been 'to breathe audibly' but it was of course a sense not very remote from it. In Torp's opinion its primary signification was 'schnauben', i. e. to snort, pant, breathe heavily, an acceptable sense. But in his opinion it was also 'prusten', an uncertain signification. The original meaning of the base was according to him 'schaben, scharren, abschneiden'.¹⁾ But be this as it may, what is of importance to state is the fact that the base *snu* was also extended by means of consonants other than *t* and *s*. There are labial extensions, viz. *snüb-* (*sneüb-*), and *snüf*, e. g. MLG *snüve* a cold in the head (whence Sw. *snüva*); MLG *snüven* to snort, to blow the nose; MHG *snüben* str. v. to snort, to blow the nose, whence G. *schnauben*, i. e. to snort, to breathe hard; and perhaps *snüfen* str. v. whence G. *schnaufen*, i. e. to breathe heavily, to pant (where *snüf-* is generally considered to go back to Teut *snüp-*, cp. Fick III⁴, 525). Labial extensions are also met with when the basic vowel is short. We come across the form *snuw-* e. g. **snuwwōn*, whence norw. dial. *snugga* to smell, scent, or nose about, Sw. *snugga* 'snylta', i. e. to sponge on a person for one's meals or (of dogs) for morsels of food. We also meet with the form *snub-*, e. g. LG *snove* a cold (in the head), smell, scent, OE *snofl* phlegm, mucus, and **snyflan* presupposed by E. *snivel*. We also meet with the form *snubb-*, e. g. LG *snubbe* a cold, or with the form *snupp-* (< *bn*, according to Torp, Fick III⁴ 525), e. g. MLG *snoppe* nasal mucus, MSw. *snuppa*, *snoppa* to sob, MHG *snupfen* to

¹⁾ Cp. Fick III⁴ p. 524.

breathe hard, to sob, MHG *snupfe* a cold (whence G. *Schnupfen*). Lastly, there is also the form *snuff-*, e. g. Older Du. (Kilian) *snuf*, *snof* L. singultus, i. e. a sob, a derivative from *snuffen*, *snoffen* singultire (Kilian); Du. *snuffelen*, G. *schnüffelen*, E. *to snuff*. The Germanic base *snu* has also a velar extension with *k*, e. g. MLG *snucken* to sob, Norw. dial. *snukka* to snort, to smell at, Sw. dial. *snucka* to hiccup, Norw. dial. *snykta* to catch one's breath as in weeping, Swed. dial. *snykta* (< **snukkitōn*), Eng. dial. *snock* to snort contemptuously; to turn over with the nose as a dog or pig; to poke, press into (Scotch), and *snocker* to breathe heavily and noisily through the nose; to snort, snore; also used fig. (Scotch).¹⁾

The variation of the final consonant, when the base *snu* was extended, should in Hellquist's opinion (op. cit. s. v. *snuva*) be understood as essentially due to the onomatopoeic nature of the base. Cp. especially the forms with *ff*, which, according to him, hardly admit of being explained in a manner that is compatible with ordinary phonetic laws. But his view appears to refer only to the labial and velar extensions, not to the dental extensions with *t* and *s*. But it is evident that also the latter forms should be understood as onomatopoeic expressions.

But there is another thing that must not be forgotten in this connection. For we have to state and consider the important fact that there is a dental extension of the base *snu* other than those with *t* and *s*. This extension gave rise to the base *snuþ*, and it is most likely, nay certain that the primary sense of *snuþ* 2 was 'to breathe audibly', a form related to *snuþ* 1 'ab-, beschneiden'.

We meet with the base *snuþ*, for instance, in ON *snyðja* to sniff or snuffle, to rush; ON *snuðra* or *snöðra* to sniff or snuffle, to nose about for; whence Norw. dial. *snyðja* and *snöðra*. We also come across it in MLG *snüden* to snort or breathe audibly, to scoff or taunt; MLG *snoderen* to blow the nose, to have a cold; LG *snodder* nasal mucus; LG *snoddrig* full of phlegm, and other words. The base *snuþ* is also met with in High German, e. g. MHG *snüden* to breathe with difficulty, to snort, snore; MHG *snuderen* to snort or breathe hard; NHG dial. *Schnude*, *Schnudel* the nose (Henneberg, Reinwald); *schnodeln* to breathe through an almost stopped up nose (Bavaria, Schmeller II 572); *schnudern* to search for something

¹⁾ Cp. E. Hellquist *Svensk Etymologisk Ordbok*² s. v. *snuva*, *snyfta*, *snugga*², and A. Torp in Fick III⁴ pp. 524—5 and *Nynorsk Etymologisk Ordbok* s. v. *snugga*². *snykta*, etc.

with the nose or snout (Bavaria, Schmeller II 573); *schnôdern*, *schnüdern* to sneeze, to snort, said esp. of horses (Silesia, Weinhold); *schnudere*ⁿ, *schnodere*ⁿ [-û-, -ô-, -ö-] (1) to rout about with the bill or snout in the mud, said of ducks or pigs; (2) [-û-] to produce a vibrant tone with the lips, said of horses; (3) [-û-] to puff through the snout, said of pigs; (4) to gabble off (Suabia, Fischer); *snudern*, *snüdern* to secrete nasal mucus, to cry excessively so as to secrete mucus (Switzerland, Stalder); *Schnuder* mucus, *schnüderig* full of phlegm, and *Schnuderbeere* *vaccinium myrtillus* (Switzerland, Stalder).¹⁾ The base *snuþ* seems to occur only scantily in Dutch and Flemish, viz. *snodder*, *vetus*, mucus (Kilian) and *snodder*, *Fland.* sordes, i. e. dirt, filth, foul matter (Kilian), or not at all in West and East Frisian. We meet with the base again in OE *snyðian* to go nose or beak forwards (of a plough, Rd 22.⁶⁾, originally **snyþþan* < Prim. Teut. **snuþjan*,²⁾ and perhaps in modern Eng. dialects., if *snod* to doze (m. Yks.), *snoodle* (Lakel. Lan. Ches., etc.) to nestle, to fondle, to cuddle (also in form *snuddle*), and perhaps a few other words be examples in point. It appears, then, that nowadays the base *snuþ* 2 is chiefly rife in the German idioms.

The question arises now whether there was an elimination of initial *s* also in this dental extension of the base *snu*. This abbreviation is in itself by no means an unlikely occurrence, since *snuþ* 2 most probably, nay certainly had the same primary signification as was presented by *snut* and *snus*. But we have previously advocated the view that there is no unequivocal example of the base *nuþ* having once had existence. And if we have made mistakes on that point, which is possible esp. in the case of *nuddeln* and *nudeln* (Lipsic), it does not affect our semantic-genetic interpretation, seeing that the primary sense was in the present case, also, 'to breathe audibly', or at least a sense closely akin to it. In Torp's opinion the primary sense of *snuþ* 2 was 'schnauben', i. e. to snort, to breathe hard, to pant, and 'schnauzen', i. e. to talk roughly or rudely. But the latter sense is best explained as having developed from the sense 'to breathe noisily', and hence it should not have been postulated as a primary signification.

¹⁾ As to the dictionaries compiled by Reinwald, Schmeller, Weinhold, Fischer, and Stalder, see p. 15 foll.

²⁾ Cp. K. F. Sundén *Are Old English intransitive-inchoative ð-verbs originally ai-verbs?* See Minneskrift tillägnad Professor Axel Erdmann, Uppsala & Stockholm 1913.

But there is also another thing to be noticed with regard to the base *snuþ*. The importance of this base is highly overrated by Alf Torp, who puts it before us as an independent base, while *snut* is only mentioned in passing in connection with the etymological problem of a word (see Fick III⁴ 524—5). This fact is obviously, at least partly, the result of his view that the Eng. subst. *snot* and *snout* and their correspondences in other Germanic idioms should be derived from the inflected forms of a sb. **snūþan-* catarrh (cp. MHG *snūde* catarrh), viz. **snuþn-*, and from a sb. **snūþan-* snout, viz. **snūþn-*. From the phonetic result of these inflected forms there originated, according to Torp, in Prim. Teutonic the substantives **snut(t)a-* nasal mucus, catarrh, whence OE *zesnot*, i. e. *snot*, MHG *snuz* (gen. *snutzes*) catarrh, and **snūta-* snout, an animal's muzzle, whence prehistoric **snūtjan*, whence OE *snýtan*, ON *snýta*, OHG *snūzen* (MHG *sniuzen*, G. *schneuzen*). The base underlying **snut(t)a-* was in Torp's opinion *snuþ 2* denoting 'schnauben, schnauzen', but the base underlying **snūta-* was *snuþ 1* 'abschneiden beschneiden' or else *snuþ 2*. But he obviously regarded the latter base as originally the same as the former base, which primarily denoted 'kratzen'. And since he did not shrink from creating an Indo-Eur. source of the base *snuþ*, he suggested two alternative Indo-Eur. bases as sources (see infra). But all this is mere guess-work as long as he is unable to prove that the base *snut* is of younger date than the bases *snuþ* and *snus* are, and as long as it is admitted that *snut*, *snus*, and *snuþ-* are verbal bases. For if so, we should adopt the view that **snut(t)a-* and **snūta-* are to be understood as New Coinages, as substantival formations from the verbal stems *snut-* or **snutt-* (with intensive doubling of the *t* in verbs) and *snūt-*. It is in harmony with this view that we meet with the fact, pointed out by Professor Craigie (see N. E. D. s. v. *snite*), that OE *snýtan* to blow the nose, to snuff a candle and ON *snýta* to blow the nose, to destroy, both deriving their origin from a prehistoric **snūtjan*, appear many hundreds of years, before we meet with the substantives *snūt* or *snūte* in English or Norwegian. It should also be noted that each of the bases *snut* and *snus* has considerably greater frequency than that presented by the base *snuþ*. For these reasons we cannot share Torp's view that the latter base is the fundament of Germanic **snut(t)a-* mucus and **snūta-* snout. Let us add that later on he seems to have modified his view.¹⁾ The ME and Scand. subs. *snute*

¹⁾ Cp. Alf Torp *Nynorsk Etymologisk Ordbok*, Kristiania 1919 s. v. *snott, snūsa*.

Merke
is dit niet zo?

or *snut* are either loans from LG *snute* or else native creations due to proportional analogy with such desubstantival verbs as present *i*-umlaut, being formed by means of the *ja*-suffix (= the *ja* conjugation), whereas the substantives derived were devoid of *i*-umlaut.

Concerning the base *snus*, too, as occurring in Norw. dial. *snúsa* (also *snüsa* and *snussa*) 'to sniff or snuff, to snort, to scent', Torp had an opinion of his own. He maintained¹⁾ that its origin was probably due partly to derivation from the base *snus*, partly to derivation by means of *s* from the substantival stem **snüta-*, or even to derivation from the base *snuþ* by means of *s*. But there is no cogent reason whatever for adopting the view that the base *snüs* should partly have as source the stem **snüta-*, which in its turn should partly have as source the base *snüþ*, just as if the base *snuþ* alone had the privilege of having an ablaut variant with a long *u*, or of having passed through the great Germanic consonant-shift.

But Torp obviously also held the view that LG *snusseln* and *snüsseln* = *nusseln* 'to poke the nose into, to nose after' was formed from the LG sb. *snuss* snout, MLG *snusse* and *snutse*.¹⁾ It is probable that he looked upon MLG *snusse* as an assimilative product of MLG *snutse* (which he probably looked upon as an *s* derivative from MLG *snüte*). But in our opinion MLG *snusse*, LG *snuss* Schneuze, Maul der Thiere (Bremen 1770) had better be understood as a formation from the verbal stem *snuss-* in LG *snusseln*. This is all the more evident, because there are parallels where there is no final *s* in the stem to dim the etymological view. One parallel is presented by the LG sb. *snuff*, *snuffe* 'Nase, Schnauze', in the dialect of Bremen (1770), and *snüff* 'Schnauze, Nase', in the dialect of Hamburg (1755). These substantives are obviously formed from the stem *snuff-* or *snüff-* as appearing in the LG verbs *snuffeln* (Bremen 1770) and *snüffeln* (Hamburg 1755). Another parallel is afforded by the older Du. sb. *snuf*, *snof* 'rheuma, catarrhus, graveda (a cold in the head), coryza (the running at the nose)', doubtless from the stem in Du. »*snuffen*, *snoffen* naribus spirare, afflare, eflare, proflare, follicare . . . subolere. Germ. Schnauffen, erschnauffen» (Kilian). In view of these eloquent facts it is quite natural to regard not only LG *snuss* 'nose, snout' but also Prim. Ger. **snut(t)a-* 'catarrh, snot' and **snüta-* 'snout, mouth' as derivatives from verbal stems, viz. *snuss-*, *snut(t)-*, and *snüt-*.

¹⁾ Cp. Alf Torp *Nynorsk Etymologisk Ordbok*, Kristiania 1919 s. v. *snott*, *snüsa*.

The ulterior history of the Teutonic bases *snut* and *snus*, i. e. their Indo-European sources, is a thorny problem. It belongs to a field of research where the scholars often stand on shifty and treacherous ground, and this is certainly true of the present case, also. There is an Indo-Eur. base *snā* denoting 'fliessen, Feuchtigkeit', i. e. to flow, moisture or dampness, and »neben *snā*- liegt *snā*- und *sneu*-«. Let us listen to what is said as to the base *sneu*- in *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen* by A. Walde and J. Pokorny (Berlin & Leipzig II 693, 1927): — »Als Erweiterung von *sneu*- fasst man . . . mir. *snuad* »Fluss«, *snuad* »caesaries» (* »herabfliessend«), mhd. *snuz* »Schnupfen«, norw. *snott*, ags. *gesnott* »Rotz«, aisl. *snjta*, ahd. *snūzen*, nhd. *schneuzen*, norw. *snūt* m. »Schnauze«, nhd. *Schnauze*, mit idg. *t* mhd. *snudel*, *snuder*, *snāde* »Schnupfen«, ahd. *snūden* »schnauben, schnarchen«, aisl. *snjója* »schnüffeln, wittern (vom Hund)«, *snūdra*, *snōdra* ds., mit *p* mhd. *snupfe*, aisl. *snoppe* »Schnupfen«, mhd. *snūfen* »schnaufen«, *snūben* »schnauben« u. dgl.; doch ist es hinsichtlich der germ. Sippen mindestens ganz fraglich, ob ihnen der Begriff der Feuchtigkeit zugrunde gelegt werden darf.« This repudiating attitude towards the theory in point of Germanic is quite legitimate. For the Indo-Eur. basic sense 'Feuchtigkeit' as represented by 'nasal mucus' and 'the secretion of it' can in the present case easily be explained, if the primary sense of Germanic *snut* and *snus* was 'to breathe audibly through the nose'. The very English expression 'to blow the nose' is eloquent in this respect since it indicates that the method of removing troublesome nasal mucus consists in violently exhaling through the nose. Hence it should not be a matter of surprise, if from the stem of the verb denoting this action, e. g. LG *snütten* 'schneuzen das Licht und die Nase' (Bremen 1770), or from the stem of OE *snýtan*, Sw. *snýta* to blow the nose (< **snūtjan*) there was formed a substantive **snut(t)a* denoting nasal mucus or a substantive **snūta*-denoting its receptacle or place of origin, i. e. the nose. And hence the postulated connection of the Germanic bases *snut* and *snuþ*, etc. with the Indo-Eur. bases mentioned above should be classed as an exploded theory.

But there is also another proposal for solving the problem of an Indo-Eur. source of the Teut. bases *snut*, *snuþ*, and *snus*, to wit, the Indo-Eur. base *qen*- 'kratzen, schaben, reiben'. By postulating the addition of an initial *s*- to this base and the addition of the difthong *-eu* to the end of it, there originates a base *s-q(e)n-eu*-

'kratzen, schaben, reiben'. It is from this base that, in Torp's opinion, the Teut. bases *snu 2* 'abschneiden', orig. 'schaben, scharren', and *snu 3* 'schnauben, prusten' derive their origin, together with their extensions, e. g. *snuþ*, *snut*, *snus*, *snuk*, *snub*, etc. (all from *snu 3*).¹⁾ But these extensions were in his opinion evidently not purely Germanic in origin but presupposed an Indo-Eur. source. It is possible that to an expert in comparative linguistics all these postulations appear to be quite legitimate, but to a layman they are disquieting symptoms. But let us be just and admit that there are also experts who denounce this theory. For we read in the dictionary by Walde and Pokorny II 693: — »die Beziehung auf ein neben *gen* »kratzen« — s. d. am Schlusse — stehendes **sq(e)n-eu* ist freilich eine mir gänzlich ungläubliche Konstruktion.»

As an alternative Indo-Eur. source of the Germanic bases *snuþ* and *snus* Torp creates the forms *qs-nu-t* and *qs-nu-s*, postulated extensions of the base *qes* 'kratzen, kämmen'. Also this intrepid conjecture is obviously devoid of any probability.²⁾

But there is still another Indo-Eur. base that should be mentioned when we are considering the problem of the pre-Germanic sources of the base *snu 3* and its dental extensions. We mean the bases *qseu-*, *qsneu-*, *qneu-*, *sneu-* »und ähnliche Nachahmungen des Nieslautes«, e. g. Old Ind. *kṣāuti* sneezes, Latvian *škait*, *škaudēt* to sneeze. It is pointed out in the comparative dictionary by Walde and Pokorny (I 501—2) that, in these bases, also the *n* may have onomatopoeic function and that *qneu-* and *sneu-* may be simplifications of *qsneu-*. As Germanic examples of *qneu-* are adduced OHG *niosan*, MLG, ME *nēsen*, ON *hnjōsa*, all actually denoting 'to sneeze'. As examples of *sneu-* are quoted ME *snēsen*, NE *sneeze* »(ähnlich nd. *snūsen*, dän. *snuse* »schnobern, wittern«)«, NPers. *išnōša*, *ašnōša* to sneeze »(ähnlich lit. *šniaūkti* »schnupfen«)«. But what we want to point out is that the dictionary gives no Germanic instances of the weak ablaut-grade *snus* and that ME *snēsen*, NE *sneeze* are no examples in point. For this verb stands for ME *fnēsen* (OE **fnēosan*, presupposed by OE *fnēosung* sneezing), which is supposed to go back to the Indo-Eur. base *pneus-*. It is pointed out by Professor Craigie (N. E. D. s. v. *sneeze*) that the substitution of *snese* for late ME *fnese* was due to misreading or misprinting it as *fnese*

¹⁾ Cp. A. Torp in Fick III⁴ 524 s. v. *snu 3*.

²⁾ Cp. Fick III⁴ pp. 424—6 s. v. *snu 3*, *snuþ*, *snus*, and *snut*. Cp. also Walde and Pokorny *op. cit.* I 397 (*gen-*) and I 449 (*qes-*).

[written with a long *s*] after the initial combination *fn* had become unfamiliar early in the 15th century. He also remarks that the place of *fnese* 'to sneeze' was mainly supplied by *nese* to *neeze* (now north-dial. and Sc.), and that the adoption of *sneeze* was probably assisted by its phonetic appropriateness, since it may have been felt as a strengthened form of *neeze*. His view is in accord with our own experience that the derivatives from the Teut. base *snus* or any other extension of the Germanic base *snu 3* only rarely denote 'to sneeze'. Hence Torp and Walde & Pokorny have failed to make likely that the Germanic bases *snus* or *snu 3* ever denoted 'to sneeze'. And hence the sense 'prusten', i. e. to spit (said of cats), to sneeze (also = to burst out laughing), employed by Torp alongside of 'schnauben' in order to denote the semantic aspect of *snu 3*, is no true semantic description of the primary sense of this Teutonic base. It should be admitted, however, that from a semantic view-point there is no obstacle to the assumption that Germanic *snu-* 'schnauben', i. e. to snort, to breathe heavily, to pant, may very well be an ablaut-variant of Indo-European *sneu-* to sneeze. For the sense 'to snort' denotes 'to drive the breath violently through the nostrils by a voluntary action', and the sense 'to sneeze' implies 'to drive the breath suddenly and violently through the nose by an involuntary and convulsive action'.

Let us now touch upon the question whether the dental extensions of the Teut. base *snu* 'schnauben' have passed through the great sound-change which in early Primitive Germanic times happened to the plosives inherited from the Indo-European parent language. This phonetic change took place at different epochs, since there were different types of stopped consonants. The earliest consonant-shift consisted in transforming tenues and tenues aspiratæ into voiceless fricatives, e. g. *t* and *th* passed into β , i. e. a base *snut* became *snuβ*. The second consonant-shift found expression in turning mediæ aspiratæ into voiced fricatives, e. g. *dh* passed into δ , i. e. Indo-Eur. **medhu* became MSw. *miödher* 'mead'. The third consonant-shift consisted in changing mediæ into tenues, e. g. *d* passed into *t*, i. e. a base *snud* became *snut*. This last consonant-shift was accomplished at least before the middle of the last millennium B. C., probably still earlier. But since the only source of Old Germanic β is the Indo-Eur. *t* or *th*, it is obvious that the base *snuβ* once passed through the first consonant-shift in Primitive Teutonic and that consequently its original form was *snut*. But if so, it is also possible that the base

snut as occurring in younger Primitive Germanic had *snud* as source. For a dental extension with *d* or *s* may very well have existed alongside of the *t* extension, since we are concerned with onomatopoeic expressions. But there are obviously scholars who believe that the Germanic base *snut* originated after the operation of the great Germanic consonant-shifts, though its origin is then wrapped in mystery. This view was evidently held by Franck and van Wijk (op. cit. s. v. *snuit*) and by Torp (cp. Fick III⁴ 524 s. v. *snutra-*). In this case *snuþ* is regarded as the source of *snut*, but Torp's argumentation does not carry conviction (cp. Fick III⁴ p. 525). Hence we are satisfied that this opinion is erroneous, all the more as the base *snut* holds a very strong position in the Germanic vocabulary, especially in Swedish dialects, while the base *snuþ* is, on the whole, comparatively scantily represented.

We have found, then, that the Teutonic base *snu* 'to snort, pant, breathe heavily' and its dental extensions existed in early Germanic anterior to the consonantal shifts which are the great characteristic of the Germanic family of languages. It is true that there are extra-Teutonic words, such as Lith. *šniaūkti* 'schnupfen', *snūkis* 'Maul, Schnauze', and Celtic forms, which point to the necessity of acknowledging pre-Germanic connections for this base. But we have also seen that there is a great diversity of opinion in determining the nature of this relationship. For our own part we leave aside the ulterior history of the early Germanic base *snu* and its dental extensions and say with Hamlet's last words: — »The rest is silence.»

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*As to aids to the reader, there is no need of a special index of the derivatives from the bases *nut* and *nus* dealt with, since a survey of them, arranged geographically, has been given in Chapters I and VI. Also a special bibliographical list of works consulted and quoted is superfluous.*

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