W.E. COLLINSON

CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH

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A PERSONAL SPEECH RECORD

BY

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PREFACE

This book is written primarily for foreign students and teachers of English. That purpose governs the whole presentment and organization of the material and the type of explanation offered. To my own fellow-countrymen it may, at the highest reckoning, offer a means of bringing to the surface hidden memories of curious and amusing words. Probably it brings them little that is new, but it may stimulate them to seek out and regroup their own linguistic experiences. In fifty years' time the work might even claim the attention of the English philologist, whom it will provide with a certain amount of dated material for his historical inductions. For the present its mission is more humble and more practical.

The first idea that such a collection as the present might not be unwelcome, I owe to Professor Jespersen, whose kindness in looking through the first draft and suggesting improvements I acknowledge with deep gratitude. Mr. Bradley and Mr. Hutton, both of the Liverpool University Library, have unselfishly given me the benefit of their sharp eyes and wide reading; a number of their proposed emendations and additions have been gratefully embodied. My special thanks are due to Dr. Hittmair of the University of Innsbruck, whose encouragement and ungrudging help have throughout been of the greatest value to me. Finally I feel I must express my gratitude to the firm of Teubner for its care in preparing my MS. for publication and in particular to Dr. Ehlers for his generosity in enabling me to supplement my section on war-words by drawing upon his well-known Greifswald dissertation.

As an Englishman, I am naturally gratified at the keen interest now taken in English Kulturpsychologie in the German schools. I hope I may not be thought presumptuous if I warn my readers against hasty generalizations as to our characteristics from the evidence of our language. Times are changing and some things taken as typical of us may cease to be so long before the abandonment of the linguistic forms which seem to express those typical aspects. However, I must let the material speak for itself. I like to regard this work as a debt of gratitude I am paying my German teachers and colleagues for the personal kindness I have always received from them and for the inspiration derived from their patient, thoughtful and courageous work in the philological field.

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INTRODUCTION

The focussing of attention in Germany on the cultural values inherent in the various modern languages encourages me to publish this study in the hope that even if the method of approach makes no appeal, at least the linguistic illustrations may be of some practical use. In some directions these collections may supplement the excellent repository of slang amassed by J. Manchon (Le Slang, Paris, 1923) and in others the well-known work of Spies. Admirable for reference by reason of its alphabetical arrangement, Manchon's book is precluded by its very fullness and an inevitable lack of fine discrimination between its entries (from various levels of society), from serving as a guide to enable the foreign student to make a practical use of it in his own speech. Labels like *familiar* and *vulgar*, though rough and ready, are enough for the reader looking up the meaning of a word, but the linguist will want to dig deeper and see the various strata as they lie superimposed upon each other in the mind of an average educated speaker. He will want to examine the dips where the familiar becomes the trivial as well as the anticlines or upward folds where the vulgar rises to the jocular. Moreover he may be interested in origins as far as ascertainable and in the processes of erosion and decomposition effected in a certain period of time. Such information could not be pressed into a handy dictionary. This is the point where Spies comes to the student's assistance and shows how the political and social tendencies of a whole epoch are reflected in the current speech. A certain amount of

linguistic raw material is common to both, for Manchon takes the word *slang* in a very catholic sense and Spies does not confine himself to bookish speech, but whereas the one records, the other interprets. Given such guides, of what use is a fresh study?

It is justified, if by adducing new material it can supplement Manchon and by adopting a new method further the work of Spies. It is a first sketchy attempt to trace an individual speech-history or rather to treat an individual mind as the meeting ground and area of impact of an extensive and representative series of linguistic impulses from the community around. It is in the main frankly subjective and therefore fallible, but its very errors may not be wholly without value to the discerning philologist.

We have long been familiar with the notion of 'individual speech' from the writings of men like *De Saussure* and *Junker* on general linguistics or certain illuminating observations made by *Spitzer*, but I am not acquainted with any comprehensive treatises based upon it. If only I could find a work on contemporary German conceived upon somewhat the same lines as this sketch, I should hail it with delight. And yet I think that the need is still greater for English, where the replacement of Regional by Class dialects (to use Prof. Wyld's terms) has gone further and where the delimitation of the literary, familiar and vulgar grows increasingly difficult.

It is with the individual as *receiver* rather than as *originator* that I am here concerned. Like many of my companions I have at times thrown into a limited circulation nonce-forms, which have soon passed into oblivion. Usually I think such departures from the norm will be found to spring from the analogy of words or processes of word-building popular at the moment. Where they offer special features of interest, e. g. in the works of great authors, dissertations abound. Still, it would serve a useful purpose if a careful record of occasional personally created forms with a note on the contextual situations could be included in a sort of linguistic diary

kept by any observant student. Here, however, the stress is laid upon the absorption and assimilation of words and expressions from the common stock, in other words, upon the individual's reaction to, rather than his action on, the language as institution. An attempt is made to supply an answer to the following questions among others: *when, where and how did certain select expressions come within the author's ken? how far can they be grouped and shown to represent factors influencing many different speakers? what evidence can be brought from memory and introspection as to their survival value? how far do contemporary writers confirm the author's impressions?*

To render easier the fulfilment of this ambitious programme I have used two interlocking methods of arranging the subject-matter, a chronological and a classificatory. My own biography forms as it were the thread from which the crystals shoot. Where convenient, I have not hesitated to carry the history of a given series of phenomena right down to the present before proceeding with the next. A brief 'curriculum vitae' will show how far my position in relation to the development of modern English may be taken as typical or average.

Another theoretical point or two remain to be discussed by way of introduction. In dealing with the linguistic attainments of any individual we may distinguish the following stages: (1) full comprehension of and power to handle a given word or locution, as shown by instantaneous response to stimuli from within or without and an unfaltering use in appropriate contexts — this is the case with the language of everyday life and may be taken as the norm; (2) sufficient understanding for practical purposes and ability to utilize up to a certain point, but difficulty in specifying the precise object of thought — here we might mention (a) vague terms like atmosphere or suggestion, (b) expression of valuations through a wealth of undiscriminated synonyms, e. g. topping, top-hole, top-notch (*all for 'excellent'*), (c) a knowledge of technical terms for objects with which

we are but superficially acquainted, just sufficient for us to frame a few true propositions about them, e. g. when a person ignorant of the technical side of wireless quite correctly states that X's crystal-set gives better results than R's valve-set. (3) The lowest grade of linguistic knowledge, where we cannot do more than pick out the sphere or category to which a given word belongs, e. g. where words like stymie or dormy[1]) are only just familiar enough to a non-golfer like myself for me to distinguish them as contingencies in the game rather than as names of golf-clubs.

If our knowledge of meaning and usage shows such varying degress of accuracy and precision, how much more so our memory of linguistic *events* or of our linguistic inventory at a particular period. We are only too apt to telescope experiences lying far apart or to drag asunder what rightly belongs together. Thus a contemporary author *Miles Newman*, who in his novel (Consummation, London, 1924) shows considerable ability to represent the latest slang, can hardly be right in making an undergraduate write to his friend some time before the war: cut out that sob-stuff (*omit all that sentiment*), for both terms seem to me to be recent importations from the American films. Fortunately I have some check on my own recollections in lists of words compiled by me in 1909 and 1912 as well as in the writings of men like *P. G. Wodehouse*, whose language always struck my brother and me even in our schooldays as being almost a photographic representation of that in vogue around us. Meanwhile I shall continue to collect observations in the hope that I may be spared to give another survey in ten years' time!

While it may be conceded that the foreign observer

[1]) The term dormy is used when one is as many holes ahead of an opponent as there are holes to play, hence dormy one etc.; stymie means that the opponent's ball lies on the putting green between the ball of the player and the hole he is playing for (N.E.D.). In Hoylake, a great golfing centre in the North, an enthusiast has named his house Dormy House!

has a certain advantage in fastening upon points, which the native, with faculties dulled by over-familiarity, might overlook, the fact remains that there are many cases where an ability to read between the lines and bring to light a hidden association would seem to presuppose a fund of experience directly accessible to a certain group only. A few trivial examples will illustrate this point. A novel contains the 'common or garden' phrase always merry and bright. In the context it may be taken at its face-value and evoke no particular emotional response. But to many it will recall a song popular during the war: 'Ive got a motter (*motto*) — always merry and bright'[1]) and may excite a train of imagery characterized by a certain feeling-tone. Perhaps we are puzzled in another novel' e. g. in *Nora Kent's* The Quest of Michael Harland (London, 1924, p. 171), by the insulation of the word stepped in the sentence Dickie 'stepped' — in response to an invitation to step upstairs. The deliberate segregation of this word is due to the writer's desire to remind us of landladies, hairdressers or shop-assistants, who constantly invite us to *step this way, please!* (H. W. Fowler, Dictionary of Modern English Usage p. 212). Or again we may see in a book-review e. g. (on p. 5 of the Observer of 20/9/25) the intriguing parenthesis: 'fractions (once believed to drive one mad)' and wonder what the allusion is 'until we recall the popular verse: —

Multiplication is vexation,
Division is as bad,
The rule of three doth puzzle me
And fractions (var. practice) drive me mad.[2])

These few examples should suffice to show how much a fund of common associations, based upon experiences

[1]) Peter Doody's song in the musical comedy The Arcadians, first produced in 1909.

[2]) Mr. Bradley thinks that this occurs in the dramatic version of Judge Parry's Katawampus (ca. 1901), but says his father remembers it at school more than 50 years ago with *practice* in the last line and either *it puzzles* or *doth puzzle* in the third.

shared by a whole speech-community counts even in everyday talk.

I will now preface my actual speech-history by a summary biography and a list of books, from which the checking quotations have been made. The relevant biographical facts are as follows: Born at Birmingham 1889. Parentage: Southern English. Resided in London 1892—1910. Educated: Dulwich College 1901—1907; University College, London 1907—1910. English lector in Cologne 1910—1913. Resident in Liverpool 1913 onwards. During the war: at Cambridge, in Wales and at the Admiralty. It only remains for me to add that through my father's connexion with an American company I frequently met Americans before the war and thus gained an advance knowledge of certain Americanisms which afterwards became popular, e. g. blow in (*turn up*), dinky (*neat*), nifty (*stylish*) etc. My father's electioneering activities gave me an interest in politics even in my teens and I soon learnt all the slogans and shibboleths of the Liberal party, especially at the 1906 election.

If I were to plot a graph to indicate the general course of my speech development, I think it would show two culminating points, or regions, the first covering my Dulwich period and the second the years of the Great War. The other stretches of time are marked by stabilisation and consolidation.

The various succeeding phases of my colloquial speech are most faithfully reflected in *Wodehouse's* long series of novels. This is not surprising for he left Dulwich only two years before I came there and has kept up a steady output down to the present year. Among his many books I refer to *The Pothunters* (abbreviated Poth.) published London, 1902, *Love among the Chickens* (Chickens) 1st ed. 1906, *The Swoop*, or *How Clarence Saved England* (Swoop 1909), *Psmith in the City* (City 1910) and of the post-war novels: *The Clicking of Cuthbert* (Cuthbert 1922), *Leave it to Psmith* (Psmith 1924,) *Ukridge* (Ukr. 1924), *Jill the Reckless* (Jill 1924). Ex-

cerpts have been made also from *Rose Macaulay's* amusing skit on the League of Nations: *Mystery at Geneva* and — in view of his growing popularity abroad — from *Galsworthy's White Monkey*, quoted (Gals) [worthy]. Other works are referred to by their full titles with the exception of *H. G. Wells: Christina Alberta's Father*, London 1925, which I quote as (Wells).

Needless to say I have derived much help from the Oxford English dictionary (N. E. D.) and, for Americanisms, from Funk and Wagnall's Standard dictionary (F. W.) I have used them especially to provide more accurate definitions of words, which one uses in certain contexts without a very precise awareness of their definable meaning.

CHILDHOOD

Starting right at the beginning with the talk of the nursery, I prefix the observation that no form of language is more conservative, as I can judge from my own children and others. Children still use, as in the nineties, and long before, mummy, daddy, nanny or nanna, nursie, and mothers and nurses use pseudo-infantile forms like pinny (*pinafore*), nappy (*napkin*, Amer. and older Engl. *diaper*), especially rhyme-forms which have aroused H. G. Wells' anger, like *roly-poly*[1]), *piggy-wiggy*, *Georgie-Porgie* etc. Children are still taught to say ta! for '*thank-you*' and ta-ta for *good-bye* whence to go tatas *to go for a walk*. All the commonest animals have their special child-speech forms, e. g. moo-cow, baa-lamb, gee-gee, nanny-goat, dicky-bird, polly-parrot, pussy-cat, bunny-rabbit (analogous to the German compounds), together with separate names like jumbo for *elephant* or bow-wow for *dog*. Trains are still called puff-puffs or puffers as agains the American onomatope choo-choo 'and toys generally

[1]) Cf. the child's rhyme: Roly Poly, pudding and pie | Kissed the girls and made them cry. Roly-poly is used for a rolled suet-pudding; if this contains currants or raisins it is known as spotted dog!

have retained their old names. True, in my childhood we had no Teddy bears or Teddies (from Theodore Roosevelt ca. 1907 N. E. D.) nor Felix the Cat[1]) (from the Films) or Bonzo the dog. As Meccano (a system of building metal structures like bridges, cranes etc.), jig-saw[2]) puzzles and Plasticine (for *modelling*) had not then been invented, we had to be content with wooden bricks *(Bauklötze)* eked out with clockwork engines, goods sets i. e. a set of goods trucks, figure of eight tracks etc. We also used to stick little coloured pictures or scraps in a scrap book and make pictures for ourselves by wetting and pressing transfers on paper. Children's toys which supply a background of associations for certain colloquial expressions, are the Jack in the Box often used for an object of comparison for verbs like *to jump up* and the monkey on a stick, often used to indicate someone very fidgety and restless. Dummies, titties or comforters (Danish: *narresut*, German: *Lutscher*) have somewhat gone out of fashion (for quietening babies), though crying hasn't! Bibs or feeders are still used at meals and the children play in pens *(enclosures)* and sleep in cots. The child's bedroom is now often called the night nursery, a term which I did not hear until recently, though Mr. Bradley knows it from the beginning of the century. I was amused to see that Manchon had faithfully recorded the interjection diddums! *'pour consoler un petit enfant'*, sometimes used jocularly by adults. It was also interesting to see Wodehouse using to shorten i. e. *put into short clothes* (Cuthbert p. 183) and Rose Macaulay using to shortcoat (Dangerous Ages, p. 73).

NURSERY RHYMES.

Pretty much the same nursery-rhymes appear to be prevalent as when I learnt them. Among the favourites

[1]) Cf. the popular phrase Felix keeps on walking from Felix's quick loping walk in the picture-houses.

[2]) Cf. O. Onions, (Ghosts in Daylight p. 33) where the separate pieces are called 'jigs'.

are still Ding, dong, bell!; Hey, diddle, diddle; Humpty-Dumpty sat on a wall (Cf. E. Wharton, The Writing of Fiction 1925, p. 38): — 'The spell will take as long to weave again as to get Humpty Dumpty back on his wall'; the Frog, he would a-wooing go; Little Jack Horner; Jack and Jill went up the hill; Little Miss Muffet; Who killed Cock Robin?; Old Mother Hubbard; There was an old woman, who lived in a shoe; Ten little nigger boys; The Queen of Hearts; There was a little man; Simple Simon among others, all sung to much the same tunes. I mention these nursery-songs, because they too form a certain background of associations, so that we at once have a feeling of familiarity with such phrases which occur in them as '*when she got there, the cupboard was bare*' (Mother Hubbard) or '*said, what a good boy am I*' (Jack Horner). Two rhyming pieces which were popular in my young days, but are perhaps less known to-day, may be quoted in full: —

Tiddley Winks[1]) the barber
Went to shave his father.
The razor slipped
And cut his lip —
Tiddley Winks the barber!

and the other (quoted in Gomme's Traditional Games of England, Vol. II, p. 64 with variants):

Up and down the City Road[2])
In and out the Eagle;
That's the way the money goes,
Pop goes the weazel!

The last line is still often quoted. It may be added that the Eagle is a tavern (See Gomme). Nor do I remember hearing except at home the phrase spoken to a child too fond of sugar: Sugar baby, sugar baby, one pound

[1]) Also the name of a game in which flat coloured disks are flipped into a cup.

[2]) Mr. Titley learnt the two lines as Half a pound of tuppeny rice | Half a pound of treacle.

ten! nor the back-slang form redwop to disguise the fact that we were being given a 'powder'.

CHILDREN'S GAMES.

I can be brief in mentioning the various games we played during childhood, as I can conveniently refer the reader to Gomme's big work. In glancing through this recently I was shocked to note what a small number, relatively, we had played out of the immense number of games available. I will mention — in alphabetical order — those described by Gomme, with which I am familiar and will annotate certain of them: — battledore and shuttlecock, blindman's buff, cat's cradles(Fr. *la scie;* Ger. *Abnehmen;* Du. *afneemspelletje* Norweg. *vende vugge*), cockfight (*between boys crouching with knees clasped*), conkers (conquerors *hitting horse-chestnuts* or conkers *on the end of a string*), ducks and drakes (*making flat stones rebound,* also fig. in to play ducks and drakes with one's money), dumb-crambo (*a guessing-game,* with clapping and hissing to indicate whether the rhyme-guesser was hot or cold — terms I imagine taken from the scent' in hunting), follow my leader, forfeits, hare and hounds, hide and seek (with the terms home for the base and the exclamation I spy!), honey pots ('weighing' by swinging under the arm-pits), hunt the slipper (a Christmas game), in which a slipper is given to a group of players to be repaired, with the words: Cobbler, cobbler, mend my shoe, / Stitch it up and that will do, / Get it done by half past two. On the retirement of the player the slipper is hidden and then has to be 'hunted' by him; King Caesar with the cry 'I crown thee, King Caesar!'), King of the Castle (standing on a mound and giving the challenge 'I'm King of the Castle / Get down, you dirty rascal!'), kiss in the ring, leap frog, marbles (in which I remember the term glass-alley, but not 'taw'), Mulberry bush, Musical chairs, noughts and crosses (a variant of the

ancient 'Nine Men's Morris' or Ger. *Mühle*, played on a slate or paper), Nuts in May, Odd man out, peg-tops and whip-tops, pitch and toss (or heads or tails[1]), i. e. *throwing up coppers*), poor Jenny is a-weeping' (a variant of Gomme's 'poor Mary sits a weeping), prisoner's base, puss in the corner (change of position of players when the centre one calls 'Poor pussy wants a corner' and then rushes to find a vacant place), ring a ring o' roses, Tom Tiddler's ground. One phrase, at least, general post for the rapid exchange of positions (as in 'puss in the corner') is often used figuratively when a number of reappointments to office are made simultaneously. Some of the games mentioned by Gomme, I have seen, but not played, viz. hop-scotch (Ger. *Paradiesspiel*) and tip-cat (*hitting up a piece of wood with a stick*). The version of Oranges and Lemons, which we played at children's parties was very similar to that given by Gomme II, p. 27:

Oranges and lemons
Say the bells of St. Clements,
When will you pay me?
Say the bells of Old Bailey,
When I grow rich,
Say the bells of Shoreditch.
I do not know
Says the big bell of Bow
Here comes a light (or candle) to light you to bed,
Here comes a chopper to chop off your head.

I also well remember the slate-game of Tit-tat-toe, in which a circle of many numbered divisions is drawn and an attempt made with closed eyes to land the slate pencil on a high number, to the accompaniment of:

Tit, tat, toe,
My first go.
Three jolly butcher-boys all in a row
Stick one up
Stick one down
Stick one in the old man's crown.

---

[1]) Cf. R. Knox, The Viaduct Murder, 1925 p. 232): "the beauty of psycho-analysis is that it's all 'Heads—I—win—tails—you—lose'."

'Crown' in the last line represents Gomme's ground. I notice also a curious deviation from Gomme's version in the last line of (Poor Jenny,) which goes:

> Now you're married I wish you joy
> First a girl and then a boy,
> Seven years after, son and daughter
> Pray come cuddle (Gomme : young couple)
> and kiss together etc.

Further, I was interested to see the kissing-forfeit game of postman's knock under the guise of 'American post' and I found no mention of the game of consequences (with slips of paper containing replies to various questions, folded over and passed around).

No doubt, all the above games would escape the censure of the keepers of our public parks, who in certain places forbid the playing of 'organised games'. It is a moot point whether rounders would come under the ban, for unlike 'Schlagball' or baseball with which it is intimately related, it is often an improvised game played by children or by adults at 'treats'[1]) or picnics.

Before leaving the subject of games I should like, at the cost of retracing my steps a little, to refer to one or two games played between adults and children, rather than by children alone. These are the tricks which children are taught to perform at quite an early stage (2nd year) such as hot pies! (the child puts its hand on its head — as in the German '*Wie groß ist das Kind?*') or pat-a-cake[2]), pat-a-cake, baker's man

[1]) The sports held at school-treats probably gave us our earliest knowledge of such types of races as the egg and spoon race, the three-legged race, the sack race and other obstacle races or of such feats of skill as threading the needle or trials of strength like the tug of war. Some children will be more likely to associate the treat with the big tea, at which tea was poured from big tea-urns and there was an unlimited supply of halfpenny or penny buns, whence perhaps the undignified term a tea-fight or bun-fight (syn. muffin-struggle). Prior to 1900 school-treats were held near our house at Wandsworth Common in a field, but now there is a wilderness of bricks and mortar — a sign of the prodigious growth of London in the present century.

[2]) Has given its name to a kind of biscuit.

(with the two hands) or the perennial excitement of peep-bo. Besides these there are the finger-manipulations to represent the various objects, one of these games illustrating the rhyme:

Here's the church
And here's the steeple.
Open the door and see all the people.
Here's the parson going up stairs,
And here's the parson saying his prayers.

and another used when playing with a baby's toes:

This little pig went to market,
This little pig stayed at home,
This little pig had roast beef,
This little pig had none,
This little pig (*the little toe*) said: Wee, wee, wee!
All the way home (variant: I want some).

And there is a game of which the accompanying rhyme begins Handy pandy sugar candy and for which Prof. Jespersen has kindly supplied the Danish parallel *trække handsker* lit. to pull gloves, consisting in the laying on and withdrawal of the hand from that of the other player in an endeavour to have one's free hand on top. Besides these there are games in which the child is passive, as when the adult plays with the child flying angels by lifting it on his shoulder and showing the child London by turning him head over heels, a game discussed in the (Niederdeutsches Korrespondenzblatt, Bd. XXVIII, 1907).

The student of games may like to know that quite recently (from Sept. 17, 1925) a number of letters have appeared in (the Liverpool Daily Post) giving old game-rhymes from the district.[1]) Among them were various 'counting-out' rhymes, of which I will append the version most familiar to me from my childhood: —

Eena, deena, dina, do[2])
Catch a nigger by his toe.
If he squeals (hollers) let him go,
Eena, deena, dina, do
Out goes she!

[1]) Cf. H. Carrington Bolton, Counting-out Rhymes, Journal of Amer. Folklore X (1897) (I).

[2]) Also Eeener, meener, miner, mo!

This was the rhyme recited to discover who should be he i. e. the catcher in the game of 'touch' (I am not familiar with the forms tig and tick for this game). From this game I remember the word home for the base to which the players tried to run without being caught and the custom of putting oneself out of the game altogether by crossing the fingers and saying pax! or faynights! [*feinaits*] or both together. In some types of the game a player could not be caught if he touched any piece of wood[1]), whence we all use the phrase touch wood! to avert a bad omen just as Germans say: *Unberufen!* and accompany the exclamation with three raps on the underside of a *wooden* piece of furniture. Professor Jespersen tells me that in Denmark there is a similer custom known as *banke under bordet.*

SUPERSTITIONS.

Of other superstitions still lingering I might here mention reluctance to spill salt (a mishap counteracted by throwing a little over the left shoulder), to sit thirteen at table (pretty general), to walk under a ladder (by some thought to be reminiscent of the hangman's ladder, but probably due to more practical precautions) and to look at a new moon through glass. We still pull the wish-bone (never called 'merrythought' in our house) and wish, call the tealeaves floating on the surface of the tea strangers and are familiar with the view that the accidental dropping of a knife or fork betokens the coming of a male or female visitor. Mr. Bradley reminds me of the old custom of using the tea-leaves or grouts left at the bottom of the cup for fortune-telling according to their appearance and the shape they suggested. Of the more eerie superstitions most of us will be aware that the fall of a picture from the wall or — as we gather

[1]) Mr. Bradley has kindly supplied the following note: — For touching cf. the story told by Borrow (Lavengro chap. 63 onwards) of the man who touched to avert the evil omen; and Borrow's claim (Romany Rye: Appendix, chap. 9) that the practice was never before described in print or all connected with it dissected, or the feelings which induce the performance described.

from stories — the ticking of the death watch beetle (Ger. *Totenuhr*) points to an approaching death, and that a sudden fit of shuddering anticipates the passing of someone over our grave.[1]) I find a niche here for such expressions heard in the course of childhood as red lane for the *throat* or the dustman (sandman) is coming when a child looks sleepy or the saying that our ears are burning when absent folk are speaking of us. There are also certain weather-rhymes, which are common property, the best known of which are: —

A red sky at night is the shepherd's delight
A red sky in the morning is the shepherd's warning.

and the saying that a wet St. Swithin's day will be followed by forty days of rain.

EARLY BOYHOOD.

Prior to Dulwich the linguistic yield is inconsiderable in respect of colloquial slang. Our holidays at Littlehampton on the south coast familiarised us with many technical terms of the sea-board, e. g. groyne, bell-buoy, turn of the tide, harbour bar etc. Trips in the little yacht called 'The Skylark' brought us a first introduction to nautical terms. Such early experiences as these explain why English speakers tend to make a greater use of sea-metaphors than many continental people whose holidays are often spent inland. Pierrots, niggers and other seaside buskers (entertainers of a lower order) must have given us certain colloquialisms with their topical songs and sketches, but I can only recall two specific terms in connexion with them, viz. the benefit-nights (of which the profits went to an individual member of the troupe) and the phrase to vamp (i. e. *improvise*) on the piano. In those early days there were still hokey-pokey (ice-cream) men calling 'Hokey pokey, penny a lump!' to-day replaced

[1]) Mr Titley thinks the most usual form is "a goose has walked over your grave". Hence the occasionally heard synonym "a goose" for a shudder.

by cyclists selling ice-cream briquettes or bricklets (formally comparable with sparklets for making soda-water) and another of the delicacies hawked on the beach was Devona (Devonshire cream toffee); neither of these seems to have survived. The Italian often known as an ice-cream Jack with his ice-cream barrow still follows his calling and no doubt the youngsters still ask for wafers and tasters[1]) (small quantities of ice in a glass). While living at Wandsworth Common we used to visit the Bank Holiday fairs on Clapham Common where we got to know the roundabouts, for which only later I heard merry go round, the swing boats (cf. the popular saying: 'What we lose on the swings, we make up on the roundabouts'), the cock-shies at the milky coconuts (cf. Swoop, p. 24), fortune-tellers and rifle-ranges. The place most typical of Cockney merry making was Hampstead Heath, whence the jocular phrase 'Arry and 'Arriet on 'Ampstead 'Eath. I have seen the Cockney costermongers wearing their pearlies (pearl buttons right down the front of the coat) and their girls with big feathers in their hats. A very common joke was for the men and women to change hats. — The exhibitions at Earl's Court and later at the White City acquainted us with further amusements in the shape of the switch-back and scenic railway, chute or water chute, looping the loop, a term afterwards adopted by the aviators, Maxim's flying boats, the Helter Skelter lighthouse etc. Wembley[2]) has produced further refinements of torture (1924) in the

[1]) Mr. Hutton informs me that these are called sliders in Edinburgh. — In this connexion I might mention the once popular song 'Oh, oh, Antonio' which ended up with the lines 'Then up will go Antonio and his ice-cream cart!'

[2]) Wembley's chief attraction to the general public in 1925 was the great military tattoo i. e. military evolutions of a spectacular character (N.E.D.), especially the torchlight procession. In 1924 there was much discussion about the cowboy displays in the rodeo, popularly [*'roᵘdioᵘ*], more correctly [*roᵘ'deo*], especially the steer-roping. The terms for the various vehicles to take visitors round like the railodocks are probably doomed to extinction.

Whip and the Caterpillar, but even in those days we knew the thrill of the big dip on the mountain railway. I rather suspect that these exhibitions popularized among us children the term side-shows[1]) (the *various booths and attractions*) and favoured its figurative extension by the general public, for they were visited by thousands from all parts.

As our house lay close to the London Brighton and South Coast Railway (then abbreviated as the Brighton Railway, now amalgamated with other companies to form the Southern Railway, a term formerly affected by novelists), we had ample opportunity of watching trains and engines. In those days troops of little boys used to note the numbers and names of the engines, competing to see who could obtain most. Through hanging about by the railway we soon got to know the up and down trains (i. e. to and from town), the main lines and suburban lines, the tank engines (*Tenderlokomotiven*) and express engines, and the parts of the engine from the front buffers to the tender. My father bought us books showing the boilers, firebox, sandblast etc. and we were soon quite at home with the terminology of the locomotive long before we had the slightest knowledge of its mechanics. However, our interest did not go so far as that of many boys who, in their teens or even before, regularly took in the Railway Magazine. A further source of information was Bradshaw's railway guide (Bradshaw for short) in which I used to follow my father's journeys. Here, long before I saw them, I got to know about dining-cars and slip-carriages (i. e.

[1]) The term side-show is undoubtedly much older. In the N.E.D. it is quoted first in connection with the American exhibition of freaks (*sports of nature and monstrosities*) known as Barnum and Baily's Show, which was very popular over here as well. The freaks included a pair of twins like the Siamese twins, a Bearded Lady, a Living Skeleton and an enormously fat woman; also an armless man who performed very skilfully with his feet. — Outside of Barnum's many of us will have heard of such legendary freaks as the Fat Boy of Peckham, whose counterpart in the Liverpool district is the Fat Boy of Hale.

carriages detached at intermediate stations where the train does not stop). We got to know too *the nicknames* for certain trains like the Flying Dutchman on the Great Western Railway, the Scotch Express or Flying Scotsman, the Brighton Limited, the Southern Belle, and later the Riviera Express (to Cornwall).

At the church school my brother and I attended, we soon had our ears attuned to intensives like blooming, blasted and even bloody, but our efforts to use them met with no encouragement at home. At this school we had our first taste of fighting or rather windmilling with the arms. We learnt the names of the different sweets sold in the shops, that is, after being sent like all the new boys to buy 'a ha'porth of what you don't sell, wrapped up in brown paper' following this request with a rapid exit. Stickjaw (*a kind of toffee*), Cupid's whispers (with mottoes on them), bull's eyes (*streaky peppermints*, called up North *humbugs*), acid drops, fondants, nougat and Turkish delight were some of the chief varieties, most of which are still in demand, though the popularity of monkey-nuts and tiger-nutshas some what waned and chewing gum had not yet come in.[1]) Although the generic terms sweets and sweet-shop persist, I have noticed a gradual encroachment of the American candy at their expense; four years back the Liverpool tradespeople instituted a candy week, so-called perhaps on account of its being easier to pronounce than sweet week as well as more up-to-date. One new term — as it was to me then — I well remember learning at the church school on account of the hard labour associated with it, viz. long tots for adding up long columns of figures (cf. to tot up).

During this period (1897—8) my brother and I used to play games on Wandsworth Common and there we learnt in addition to the customary nomenclature of cricket and football, such sporting slang terms as I bags

[1]) Cf. the amusing reminiscences of R.B. under the heading 'A Pennyworth' in the Liverpool Post, 16/7/25.

or bags I first go or first innings. (cf. Manchon s. v. bag), to make a duck's egg, duck or a blob (i. e. *nothing*) to stone-wall (*bat very carefully*), to swipe or slog (*to hit hard*), to block the ball, to fag, field or scout for a ball (*run after it when it goes some distance*), to butter a catch (i. e. *miss it*), and the exclamation 'butter-fingers!', lobs (*balls bowled underarm*) etc. Only gradually did the mysteries of yorkers, full tosses and legbreaks penetrate to us and googlies (all *various ways of bowling*) had not then come into vogue. Cricket has, of course, supplied a number of metaphors to the current language and we are all apt to use expressions like clean bowled, stumped, caught out (all *for 'beaten', non-plussed*) in figurative contexts. Wodehouse's early novels abound in such. It was only later through the newspapers that I heard such cricket-slang as to bring back the Ashes (viz. by winning a cricket-tour against Australia, from Sporting Times 1882 refering to the death and cremation of British cricket, quoted by Benham in his Book of Quotations (p. 456 b), the wagging of the tail (*good batting by the last members of the team to go in*). Other expressions than those in the text, possessing figurative applications as well as literal are: to keep one's end up (i. e. *to keep going*, especially in argument), to have one's innings, to stone-wall (see above).

Another source of linguistic knowledge was available in the children's parties, especially the performances of the ventriloquists and conjurers. We all know the magic effect of the cry: Hey, presto!, and can visualize the twirling of plates and the production of rabbits out of hats (cf. Star 27/11/25. Leading Article: 'because in familiar parlance, they cannot produce rabbits out of hats'). The phrase up one's sleeve sometimes recalls those days to mind and I have never forgotten one bit of the palaver of a conjurer, who was doing a trick with some eggs and called upon the pianist to play some eggy music, for this soon became in the family a household word for bad music generally!

Besides the parties there were also the *bazaars* organized by some church or chapel to get funds. Here one could for a small sum put one's hand into the bran-tub or lucky dive (*dip*) and draw out a prize or take part in a raffle or *lottery*. The term lucky bag is still used to denote a bag stuffed full of miscellaneous objects (cf. H. Priestley-Smith in The Mountains of Snowdonia, London 1925 — p. 359). There has been much controversy as to the morality — and legality — of raffles for winning some article bought partly from the proceeds of participants' contributions. More recently we have had lotteries.

Christmas was, of course, a time of festivity, though not to the same extent perhaps as in Germany. Some of our earliest recollections will hover round the Christmas tree, Santa Claus or Father Christmas, the putting out of stockings, the turkey, the Christmas pudding with the hidden threepenny bits, the mincemeat tarts and the snapdragon (snatching raisins out of a dish of burning brandy), the games of Hunt the Slipper and Forfeits, the holly and the mistletoe, the 'waits' or carol-singers[1]), the Christmas boxes or tips to the tradespeople. Of the other festivals Shrove Tuesday was remembered for the pancakes, Good Friday for the hot-cross buns and Easter Sunday for the Easter eggs.

Returning to winter pastimes I must not forget that occasionally, though all too rarely for our liking, there was enough snow to have a snowball fight and build a snowman and ice to make slides (if very slippery sometimes called a butterslide). The icing of the window panes was said to be due to Jack Frost. On a 5th of November I remember seeing a guy or effigy of Guy Fawkes wheeled in a barrow and we still have fireworks[2]) on that day.

[1]) The favourites are apparently still the same: Good King Wenceslas, Nowell, Hark the herald angels, While shepherds watched their flocks by night, etc.

[2]) The best-known varieties of fireworks are crackers *(Schwärmer)*, squibs *(Frösche)*, rockets, Roman candles *(römische Lichter)*, Catharine wheels *(Feuerräder)*, Bengal lights *(bengalische Flammen)*. Christmas crackers are also called bonbons.

That other relic of a distant past, the proverb, has now but a very precarious existence. My first acquaintance with the commoner ones like 'A stitch in time saves nine', 'A miss is as good as a mile', 'Birds of a feather flock together', 'The nearer the bone the sweeter the meat', and 'Faint heart never won fair lady' was due in the first place to a *game of cards* (inscribed with these sayings, the sense of which was not always clear to me in my early school-days) which I used to play with my paternal grandmother. The attitude of hostility to the proverb showed itself early in my case by the delight I experienced in collecting proverbs which contradicted each other like '*Out of sight, out of mind*' and '*Absence makes the heart grow fonder*'. My grandmother also possessed a pack of cards entitled Happy Families, which introduced me to such oft-quoted personages as Mr. Bung the Brewer, Mr. Bun the Baker, Mr. Pots the Painter and Mr. Tape the Tailor.

THE PREPARATORY SCHOOL.

My attendance at Dulwich College Preparatory School (the Prep.) coincided with the South African war. I can well remember the badges with the portraits of the commanders (Lord Roberts, Buller, French, Methuen, Baden-Powell) and the war-maps with their little flags stuck in. Supplementing Spies's remarks on pp. 78—9 I can call to mind the wholesale spread of the words he quotes viz. khaki, maffick, trek, kopje, though I do not remember stellenbosch for *to supersede an inefficient officer*. In addition many then heard for the first time of the veldt, of uitlanders, of kraals (if indeed we did not happen to have seen one already at Earl's Court), further of sjamboks (hide whips) and concentration camps. Many people read 'Black and White' for its admirable pictures from the front and many will remember the C. I. V's (*City Imperial Volunteers*). I can also well remember the phrase to wipe something off the slate with reference to the

necessity of making good the disaster of Majuba and the popular song composed by Rudyard Kipling entitled The Absent Minded Beggar, of which the chorus ran: 'Duke's son, cook's son, son of a thousand kings', ending with the lines 'Then pass the hat for your credit's sake / And pay, pay, pay!' Then there were the pro-Boers (a term burlesqued by *Lord Rosebery* in a speech I heard him deliver at the Albert Hall in which he said that, if the Liberals ventured to oppose an expedition to the moon they would be called pro-moons) (for pro-Boer, cf. Spies, p. 63), Finally, the rejoicings after the relief of Ladysmith and Mafeking found vent in the popular use of squirts (*little water-pistols*) and Kruger's ticklers or tiddlers (*little feather brushes*, which were pushed in the passer's face).

Apart from these words my vocabulary was not greatly increased during these two or three years. While at the Prep. I fell into the way of using pater for *father* and came to know the schoolboy question quis?[1]) for *who wants?* with the answer ego. There too I first came across the use of the Latin ordinals tertius, quartus etc. which with major and minor were used to distinguish members of the same family, for Christian names were seldom used. Here too, if not before, I learnt Pax! or faynights and cave! (*the warning-call*). The only distinctive word I remember from the Prep. is the curious to tolly for *to cane*, which I was surprised to rediscover in *Manchon*.

DULWICH COLLEGE.

From now onwards the material comes in thick and fast and no purpose would be served (even if it were possible) by adherence to chronology. The period covered at Dulwich is six years, but much of the slang is in origin a good deal older.

[1]) Quid commonly used in slang for £1; quâ [*kwe*ɪ] pedantically and often loosely used for *in the capacity of* or *in its quality as;* quorum the minimum number to make a committee or meeting effective; quod for *prison* is from quadrangle, haven

The references to Wodehouse will show pretty clearly what was in fashion at a particular time.

Among the tendencies in the speech of all school-boys the most prominent is the desire for drastic emphasis. They seem to feel an imperative necessity to avoid everyday vocables like 'throw, put, hit, run' etc. and to substitute for them a number of ill-differentiated synonyms. At Dulwich — as elsewhere — we never threw, but chucked, bunged or heaved things, we plunked things down, we shoved down notes or we shoved up lists (Pothunters 93) we found splarm more satisfying than 'smear', we swatted if we did never so little work, we bashed, biffed and whanged things instead of merely hitting them; if we had to run we hared or bunked for all we were worth, our talking was jawing and gassing and things didn't smell, but ponged, niffed or hummed. Most of these verbs had a corresponding substantive, e. g. an awful pong or hum, a pi jaw (*a moral talk*), give a biff (*to hit*), to have a boss (*a look*) etc., but a swat[1]) meant either *a laborious piece of work* (cf. *an awful fag*) or the *person swatting* (also *swatter*). All these words are apt to reemerge in the adult speech of my generation on occasion, but not so exclusively as with the schoolboy. The richest assortment of synonyms clusters round the idea of *motion* as the following selection from *Wodehouse* will illustrate — all of them heard by me in colloquial speech: trickle round to the post-office (City 45), drift across to the teashop (City 46), biff round (Ukridge 91), roll along (Jeeves 10), breeze along (ibid. 16), toddle off (ibid. 16), stagger along (ibid. 19), to which one might add buzz, filter, scoot, scuttle, skid among many others. This trait is shared by German and other languages.

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[1]) Sometimes, in the sense of a hard job, replaced by sweat e. g. an awful sweat or by grind. A grinder is a professional *coach* or tutor. A more recent use of the verb swat is originally American: swat that fly! meaning kill it by hitting it down.

Next we had our admiratives and our pejoratives and some of these may provide us with a starting-point for short surveys of their subsequent history. Evaluating words soon become worn and defaced in usage and call for substitutes. Sometimes they remain current through assuming the semblance of novelty, e. g. by contraction and truncation (see below), or they take on a new lease of life in a thinly disguised metamorphosis.

For the latter cf. *Wodehouse:* where are you suspended at present? for 'hang out', have your 'digs'; landed in the bouillon (ibid. 72), landed in the oxo (ibid. 167), cf. 'soup' for *mess, difficulty;* administer the push (ibid. 208) for *give the sack,* secure the Order of the Boot (ibid. 246) for be *'booted* out', *dismissed;* extended themselves (Ukridge 198) for *'spread themselves', 'threw their weight about'.* Further there were all the 'Kennings' in the sporting columns of the newspapers, e. g. sphere for *football,* the uprights or sticks for the *goalposts,* etc., cf. Ger. *das Leder* etc. (Noted by Jespersen, Growth § 147.)

In the opening years of the century the adjective expressing admiration was commonly ripping, but before I left school it had found a rival in topping, which in its turn (especially during and since the war) split into the more picturesque differentiations top-hole (hardly a golfing-term, but rather from the top buttonhole) and top-notch, this latter already in 1909 (cf. Swoop 100). The strong pejorative adjective rotten (whence a rotter) gave rise to putrid and putrescent (rarer) and where in 1906 we qualified anything as the limit (once as popular as *das ist die Höhe* in German), we soon came to speak of the outer edge (see below) or we used the phrase 'that puts the lid on', where in German one would rather say, *das stößt dem Faß den Boden aus!* Otherwise we showed our admiration by words like spiffing, corking, scrumptious or scrummy, grand, or the substantives a ripper, topper, stunner or corker, while personal qualities elicited the expression a sport, a good sport, sporting,

a brick, all of which are still going strong. Another expression which came into sudden popularity while I was at Dulwich (somewhere about 1904) was hot stuff and the shorter form hot in a variety of meanings. Whereas a hot story or a hot girl or saying that a woman was hot stuff implied moral censure, a hot player, to be hot at a game or a subject (synonym to be warm at [cf. Poth. 32]), to be hot stuff at, or the exclamation hot stuff! frequently marked superlative excellence — a truly strange instance of a 'vox media'. To round off the section I will add a few further synonyms of rotten, viz. beastly, filthy, measly combining with it the idea of *mean*, *petty* (cf. Cuthbert, 156). Monstrous and outrageous are higher in the scale.

Among the jocular forms of address were old buck, old chap, old sport, old top, old horse (a special favourite of Ukridge, see Chickens passim), which were reinforced during the war by old bean and old thing (Galsworthy 17, 26). Also occasionally one heard laddy (Chickens 16), and matey (the name of a character in Barrie's play 'Dear Brutus'), and the curious formation young fellow me lad (Swoop 86). Many of these terms — and others — were and are still used as more vivid substitutes for *man* or *fellow* outside the form of address, e. g. a blighter, a wretched little cuss of a chap, a jolly old buck, a fat little buffer (Chickens 101), a rum old buffer (ibid. 151), and a nice old bean. Here belongs too the facetious use of a wicked (or naughty) old man, where however 'old' has its normal significance.

There was no dearth of slang expressions for speeding the parting friend either. Probably the music-halls are in part responsible for the spread of them. We used to say ta-ta! (from children's talk), so long (Poth 93), pip-pip (Jeeves 269) sometimes with an imitation of a motor-horn, toodle-oo! (Jeeves 193 and cf. Swoop 76: pip-pip, toodle-oo and God save the King) and olive oil < *au revoir*. I have mislaid a reference to this in P. Selver's Schooling, 1924. The war gave us good-

bye-ee! (see below) and chin-chin! A short time ago a reveller is reported as taking leave of his companions with 'bung-ho and all that sort of rot!'

We did not go in much for profane or indecent swearing. Bloody was too vulgar and the mark of a bricky (any *low person*). We used harmless expletives like Great Scott, my aunt (cf. "My aunt, it was warm", Poth. 37) Ye Gods and little fishes, by Gosh (Ukridge 26), Jehoshaphat, by Gad, by Jiminy and by Jove (Poth. 35), my hat. It was not till the war that the old public-school boys made any considerable use of what the hell, what in hell, what the bloody hell (especially in the Army) and even damn in schooldays was more often than not replaced by darn or dash or ruddy or the stronger blast. Certainly we should have been more surprised then than now to hear a 'damn', let alone a 'bloody' or the use of 'guts' from the lips of an educated woman.[1]) At that time too the American gee or gee-whiz had not secured popular favour. With these exceptions the old expressions may still be taken as the normal.

As school-boys we certainly delved deeper into the stock of vulgar[2]) expressions than would appear natural or seemly in the educated adult. We were thoroughly familiar with the various synonyms for money like oof, tin, cash, rhino, dibs (often connected with the 'kitty' or pool in card-games), and with specific names of coins like quid for sovereign, cartwheel for a five-shilling piece not now minted, bob for a shilling, tanner for a sixpence, but less so with the betting terms a pony a £ 25, five of the best a £ 5, etc. Tike for *dog*, moke for *donkey* (Galsw. 218), mog for *cat* were

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1) Christina Alberta uses both 'damn' and guts on p. 264 of Wells' novel.

2) The term in common use was bad form especially as applied to conduct. To reprobate unseemly conduct we now currently employ the expression 'it's not done' (Galsw. 183, Wells 212) with the jocular variant 'it's not a done thing.'

quite usual. In speaking of parts of the body we might use boko for *nose* (Galsw. 280) or the boxer's term claret-jug or conk, but we did not — except in parody — use 'I'll hit you on the kisser (*mouth*)' nor was guts so common as it is now, at least in the figurative sense of *go, energy*. Comic papers, especially Comic Cuts and Chips, brought home to us the picturesque language of Weary Willy and Tired Tim (the genial *tramps* — whence these words are frequently used as appellatives for 'tramps' in general, like '*Sonnenbrüder*'). It was there I first became acquainted with Lewis Carroll's portmanteau-word chortle and there we heard of the judge as the beak or the informers as narks. Before leaving the subject of vulgar language I should like to warn the foreign student that certain abbreviations of words have a decidedly vulgar smack about them, e. g. gent, ad < advertisement, par < paragraph, invite < invitation, veg < vegetable, while others are unobjectionable. It will be convenient to subjoin here certain phrase-contractions, where the wear and tear is due to familiarity: an earthly (chance) > an earthly; the League was no earthly (sc. good Galsw. 116); then what's the skeleton (sc. in the cupboard) [*i. e. the secret*] (Galsw. 145).; the foggiest (notion) > the foggiest; to do things regardless (of expense) > regardless; play the heavy (father) > the heavy; oh, (good) shot, sir! > oh, shot, sir! (Chickens 311); without the option of a fine > without the option; penny for'em old man (N. Kent, The Quest of Michael Harland p. 169) < a penny for your thoughts! These are all *burschikos* rather than *vulgar*.

Before discussing some of the phenomena which influenced my speech outside of the College during the period ending 1907, I must allude to a few terms more specifically connected with the school and its functions, though many of these are no doubt common to most schools. Firstly there were the current abbreviations: coll. for < college, cf. coll-chaps (Poth. 65), pre for < prefect ('monitor' not being in use), prep for < pre-

paration (home-work), butt for < 'buttery' (a sort of college tuck-shop), pav for < pavilion (Poth. 33). I do not recollect the use of stinks for < chemistry, very prevalent elsewhere, but we certainly spoke of the stink-cupboard where flasks emitting malodorous fumes were put in the lab or chemical laboratory. I note that our contraction Math is elsewhere replaced by Maths. One of the prefects' duties was to prevent too much ragging (a word which later was much used in the newspapers in connection with a certain case in the Army) or rotting about (Poth. 75, Swoop 63) and one of his weapons of offence was to keep the boy in the Great Hall — a punishment called sending to Hall. The duty of keeping order in one of the blocks (Senior and Junior portions of the College buildings) or a portion thereof was called a patrol. The severest punishment which a prefect could inflict was a pre's bumming, i. e. *a caning*, administered by himself or by the captain of the school after consultation with the head-master. All the prefects from the different sides (Classical, Modern, Science, and Engineering) and special classes (Mathematical; Army, i. e. those preparing for Sandhurst and Woolwich) met once a week in a class taken by the head master or 'Old Man', as the Revd. J. H. Gilkes was affectionately called, to listen to readings and be set essay-subjects for essays to be read privately to him. If one of these essays was found worthy, it was put in an Honours book. In my days they covered a wide range from religious and moral topics to social and economic. The prefects also wore special caps, pre's caps, but they were not the only boys to be thus distinguished for members of the VIth form (Ger. *Primaner*,) the cricket elevens and Rugby fifteens, the gym or gymnastic team and the 'shooting eight' (entered for the Public Schools competition at Bisley) all had their proper caps. The caps worn by those who had their Rugger colours were called pork-pies from their shape. A further distinction, also shown in the caps, was that between boarders (four different

houses[1]), each distinguished) and day-boys or — to use ruder terms — day-bugs and boarder-bugs. In the main, little difference was made between the last two categories and in any case they all pulled their weight together in the College festivals like the Assault at Arms (*athletic display*) and concert held just before Christmas and Founder's Day (in June in honour of our founder Edward Alleyn) on which we had the speeches or scenes from plays (English, French, German, and Greek) and all wore cornflowers in our buttonholes. From our founder we derive our name Alleynians, the old boys being O. A's or Old Alleynians. Finally I must mention (without further identification!) the nicknames some of the masters were given behind their backs: Creeper (from his gait); Bricky (either from his careless attire or his severity: bricky < bricklayer, a term of abuse at Dulwich), Tue (from his pronunciation of 'two') Scotty (from his nationality) and Spongepot (from his habit of wiping the blackboard with a sponge dipped in a jamjar full of water instead of using the duster). One of the classical masters had a rostrum in his form room, a sort of prisoner's 'dock', in which the boy called upon to construe had to stand and in which he was apt to get a book thrown at his head if he persisted in making bindles (*wild shots or mishandled constructions*), a term I have never met with elsewhere, or downright howlers. It was all done in good temper. Altogether our school-life was most happy and it is a pleasure to run over some of my memories again.

[1]) Since my time the house-system has been reorganized and now day-boys are attached to different houses called after some British leader like Drake, Grenville or poet like Marlowe. The house which is the victor in the various matches and sports is now known by the name of the cock-house, a term traditional in many of the older public schools.

INFLUENCES DURING ADOLESCENCE.

CARD-GAMES.

Home influences probably did not count for so much during my adolescence as before it and the material here is scanty. Having got beyond the elementary card-games of snap, beat my neighbour, also called beat my neighbour out of doors or beggar my neighbour, we boys used to play nap and crib (*cribbage*) with our father. From the game of nap we derive the betting use of nap so often seen on the newspaper placards. To Mr. Hutton I owe the following explanation of the term nap selection: — 'A newspaper racing expert selects a winner for each event in a day's racing. Of the horses he so selects he fancies one to be the likeliest winner of the day. He stars this one, and the horse so starred is the nap selection.' Nap is still popular, though perhaps less so than whist, which again particularly in the higher social circles yields to bridge and auction (*bridge*). Cribbage is scored with pegs on a triangular board with two rows of holes on each side and supplied us with the technical expressions: level pegging or neck and neck (*from the racecourse*), turning Tattenham corner, (the last angle of the board from the corner in the Epsom racecourse) and to get on to the home stretch. If one of us won the first game, he had to give his opponent his revenge and if games were then even, a third was played, which was called riding the donkey to market or playing the conqueror (cf. the French progression *le jeu, la revanche, la belle*). Two curious terms used in crib scoring are (1) one for his nob ('nob' not 'knob' according to the N.E.D.) for holding a knave of the same suit as the turn-up, a phrase, which is used figuratively in the sense of settling a person's hash, giving him a good knock e. g. in give him one for his(k)nob! — and (2) two for his heels the points scored for turning up a knave or Jack.

Rather later than crib we learnt the American game of coon-can, according to F.W. properly *conquian* < Span. *con quien*'. i. e. with whom ?, a two hander game requiring 40 cards and Pit, in which the cards were called after the cereals: wheat, barley, oats and rye, the pack including a bull and a bear, in order that the players might speculate in grain as in the Chicago wheat-pit, cf. the novel The Pit by Frank Norris.

During our teens we also went to whist-drives, where we at least managed to secure the booby-prize (for the lowest score). At home we never played for money, the dibs (*stake*) in the kitty or *pool* being represented by beans or counters. These latter words I first heard from my father who also jocularly referred to the cards as the Devil's picture-gallery cf. the old term the Devil's prayer-book![1]) The card-expressions now most prevalent in a figurative application are drawn in the main from bridge e. g. to call one's hand (or one's bluff), to finesse, Honours are even, After you, partner, etc.

Of card-tricks one of the best known, apart from more harmless amusements, is the three-card trick also known as find the lady, popular with racecourse sharps. A queen and two other cards are spread out face downwards and bystanders invited to bet which is the queen (N.E.D.).

To bring the history of card-terms up to date I will include the following note on soldiers' games of chance[2]) during the great War, the information having been kindly supplied by Mr. Hutton from first-hand acquaintance. The games in question are House, Pontoon and the dice-game Crown and Anchor, the last being one of the most popular. In addition the troops played nap, bridge, solo-whist and Rummy

[1]) The term "the Devil's prayer-book" is extremely old and I believe dates back to Cromwellian period.

[2]) A colleague of mine overhearing my remark to a bachelor acquaintance to the effect that he would fall a victim to marriage before another, mutual friend, asked 'Is this a game of chance or a game of skill ?'

Crown and Anchor is played by means of dice marked with crowns, anchors, hearts etc. and a board similarly marked. Backers lay their money on the board, backing their fancies. The dice are shaken and cast and payment is made to those who have backed, on the board, the symbols which have been shown by the cast of the dice! House, a sort of Lotto (card-game with numbered cards) was more popular. Pontoon (vingt et un, twenty-ones) was popular in the East. Nap and Bridge were the two most popular games in Sinai and Palestine, and in the Egyptian hospitals, says Mr Hutton, we used to play bridge all day.

A detailed description of the game of Rummy, which is played with two packs and a joker i. e. an odd card ornamented with a special design, is given in a letter to the Sunday Times 27/6/26.

CYCLING

From about 1903 my brother and I took up cycling and soon went in for it keenly. My father had ridden one of the old cushion-tyred (i. e. non-pneumatic) bikes which had all the characteristics of a boneshaker except the height of the earlier ones. That was in the days of the fixed wheel (fixed in contra-distinction to free and only used after free wheels were introduced, cf. the rise of push-bike in necessary contrast to motor-bike), when the only way to coast down-hill (a term from American sleighing to denote letting the machine run free) was to put the feet up on the front fork. Our bikes had freewheels, but no back-pedalling brake or coaster hub. (Note here the slang use of back pedal!, vulgò also come off it, hold hard). We soon got to know the chief running parts from cotterpins to valve caps, and in addition picked up all sorts of words connected with cycling and cycling-tours, e. g. to go for a spin, i. e. *ride*, to have a spill i. e. *fall*, to take one's bearings, to get a puncture or a burst (more severe), to patch the inner tube, to

clean and overhaul; a cyclist's rest (a refreshment house, providing a wash and brush up — a cut above the carman's pull-up, which was another frequent road-sign); to push on (especially '*against time*' to a distant goal), to peg away or to plug along steadily, to scorch up and down hills (i. e. *dash*), switch-back roads, to pull against the collar, cf. collar-work (i. e. *the strain of going up a steep hill like a horse tugging at its collar*). The latter recall those cycling days to me, except when collar-work rather suggests breasting a steep rise when climbing a mountain on foot. Even in those early days the cyclist was not too friendly disposed to the motorists and those who scorched or exceeded the limit to the public danger were from the start characterized as road-hogs, a term which is still very much to the fore and which I knew by 1909, but is now sometimes replaced by speedmerchant. I can well remember the words *chauffeur* (jocularly corrupted to shover) and *garage* coming gradualy into fashion. It is instructive to look at a novel, *The Ligthning Conductor*, written by *C. N. and A. M. Williamson* in 1902 about a trip in one of the earliest types of touring-cars. Not only the photographs of the cars, but also the technical terms used strike us as very peculiar, although they are not yet a quarter of a century old. The term '*chauffeur*' is italicized and discussed on p. 7, '*garage*' is still in italics, and a number of expressions are employed which, though still understandable, would seem strange to the modern motorist. Some words like jockey-pulley have disappeared with the thing they designated, others like 'tonneau', 'explosion chamber', 'throttle valve lever' have been replaced by the simpler body, cylinder and accelerator respectively. The causes of breakdowns were very different in those days, 'I put the jockey on a trifle too quickly and snick! went a belt' (41). A motoring friend of mine, Mr. H. Potts, was good enough to look through my excerpts and has helped me wlth his advice. He was interested to see that the following technical words were already admissible so early:

to run sweetly (p. 3), backfiring (14), starting-handle (18), bonnet (29), legal limit of speed (now simply speed limit or the limit) on p. 29, ignition (35), touring car (45), a stranded car (45). We find the authors on p. 19 making use of the words a road like a billiard-table (cf. in cricket "the wicket" i. e. pitch like a shirtfront [City 240]); that must have been before the heavy studded tyres made big pot-holes[1]) (big cavities torn in the road surface before the days of tarmac and similar durable compositions.) To bring the story up to date I might add here some words which have in the last few months been constantly before the public eye through the press discussions of road traffic control. We hear of jams (sometimes spelt jambs) where lines of traffic converge and the proposal to mitigate this inconvenience by providing by-pass roads to dodge the busy centres. The 'toll of the road' (often used by the Daily Mail in 1925—6) has been so heavy that some of the local authorities have adopted the expedient of the white line (already 'taken off' in Punch, Dec. 1925) (to keep the two streams of traffic from mutual interference), one-way traffic roads and the safety zone (*a space between two standards which traffic must not cross*). In London the gyratory or roundabout system of traffic control has been adopted e. g. at Hyde Park Corner. Everywhere, the policemen on point-duty have a hard task to direct the traffic, and pedestrians are protected by numerous islands or refuges. A further safety first proposal (this term dates from about 1917) is to eliminate the blind corners, i. e. corners where oncoming traffic cannot be seen, which are even more dangerous than the hairpin bends in bringing about end-on-collisions. In London the large number of motor-buses and the rivalry between those run by the General Company and the private buses added to the

[1]) Pot-hole primarily a geological term for the cavities scooped out of a torrent bed by revolving pebbles. In this sense other languages use giants' pots (Fr. *marmites des géants*, Ger. *Riesentöpfe*, Dan. *Jættegryder*) etc.

terrors of the road, especially the nursing or shepherding of a pirate by two General company's buses, one keeping close behind and the other in front, and the attempts to race. To mitigate the 'jams' an order was recently issued forbidding straphanging in buses except during the rush-hours. Probably pillion-riding (cf. to ride pillion; Ger. *Soziussitz*, Dan. *Pigekammer*) will also be prohibited and dazzle head lights have to be dimmed. Many accidents are due to people taking unauthorized joy-rides (*Schwarzfahrt*).

Returning to our youthful cycling trips or spins, I should like to mention some terms we came across in our visits to churches where we were interested in the epitaphs and in the brasses. From the guidebooks and from conservation with a builder friend we picked up many of the technicalities of ecclesiastical architecture like stoup, piscina, sedilia, Easter sepulchre, aumbry, squint, rood-loft, rood-screen, quoin, mullion, long and short work, dog-tooth mouldings, etc. (cf. for German equivalents Englische Studien vol. 42 p. 61).

Although we never actually attempted it, we heard of the process of obtaining rubbings (*facsimiles*) (cf. City 69, brass-rubbings) from brasses by means of heelball (*cobbler's wax*) rubbed over paper. It may be added that English village churches are particularly rich in brasses. We also used to copy out epitaphs on the tombstones, one of which I can still recall: 'The World is a round place, / Full of crooked streets. / Death is the market-place, / Where all men meets. / If life were a thing that money could buy, / The rich man would live and the poor man would die' (in Rustington churchyard, Sussex).

VARIOUS GAMES AND SPORTS.

Side by side with cycling we played various games and so added to the variety of our sporting vocabulary, but these additions call for no special comment. We also witnessed the growth of various crazes or wide-spread fashions during our school-period. Thus we went in for

a time for diabolo, which however did not leave any imprint on our vocabulary and we watched the rise of roller-skating, which may be responsible for the expression the outer edge as a synonym for the limit. (Wodehouse uses the outside edge (the Swoop, p. 48) in reference to roller-skating). Ping-pong was all the rage for a time, but its terms except of course for the balls which slithered off the edge of the table, were taken over bodily from tennis (racket, net, service, volley, half-volley; also a ding-dong game for one with rapid vicissitudes, sudden death for a game played to bring a set to a sudden, decisive conclusion without playing out the full number; note also the abbreviation van < for advantage and at least one common metaphor from tennis or other ball-games, viz. she caught him on the rebound i. e. *got engaged to him, after he had been refused by someone else*). A little less popular is that other variety of tennis, badminton, played with shuttlecocks or shuttles instead of balls on a smaller court.

During my Dulwich period too there was great interest in wrestling and we heard a lot about the catch-as-catch-can, *Greco-Roman* and *Japanese* styles with their appropriate terminology. *Hackenschmidt* (City 185, the Hackenschmidt-Gotch act), *Madrali* (the 'Terrible Turk'), *Yukio Tani, Taro Miyake,* the exponents of jiu-jitsu (cf. E. Wharton, The Writing of Fiction p. 133: 'it [the situation] seizes the characters in its steely grip, and *jiu-jitsus* them into the required attitude'), and others appeared on the music-hall stage and were much in the public eye. Bouts and falls once more took on a topical significance and at least one highly technical expression to half-nelson or put a half-nelson on someone is even now occasionally heard. Since the war wrestling has rather dropped out of popular favour and its place has been taken by boxing, hence the latest slang terms with expressions like knock-out, to throw up the sponge (both signs of defeat), to throw in the towel, to take the count (lit. not to get up before 10 is counted), to spreadeagle (i. e. to lay out one's oppo-

nent so that he lies with arms outstretched) etc. With boxing there has — again since the war — been a remarkable recrudescence of enthusiasm for horse-racing, and gambling is very prevalent. Naturally, many of its contributions to modern slang long antedate the war, e.g. dark horse (whose chances are doubtful), outsider, runner up, an also ran (cf. the many expressions in Manchon characterized by T, i. e. *'tuyau'* or *tip*), but no doubt the present interest promotes their more rapid diffusion. In the big towns there is much betting on football matches and on dog coursing. Betting agents or touts are often had up before the courts for passing betting-slips in the streets to would-be backers. In the clubs and offices sweepstakes are organized on the occasion of races like the Derby and the Grand National; a given amount is put up by each member and the stake awarded after the draw, either all to the winner or in shares to several. The best-known sweepstake, perhaps, is the Calcutta Sweep which brings the winning ticket-purchaser a sum running into tens of thousands.

Of specific hunting terms I heard but few during my boyhood and it was not until after I left school that I watched a hunt from the South Downs near Arundel in the company of an old country man who impressed upon me the necessity of saying hounds for *dogs*, pads for *feet*, the brush for the *tail* and the mask for the *face*. It was not until a year or so ago that I met the word blooding in an illustrated weekly, depicting the ceremony of smearing with the fox's blood a girl taking part in her first hunt. The huntsman's cry 'Yoicks' quite recently became more popular through its use as the title of a 'revue', but it is not likely ever to become as well-known as 'Tally-ho' or to be in at the death. Still less than hunting was polo familiar to me and here again a technical word like chukker for a *round* of the game has but recently struck my attention in the newspapers.

Football or footer (divided into soccer and rugger) I did not play much and though thoroughly familiar with

its vocabulary cannot recall any general linguistic influence. Among the other field sports I might single out *running* with its terms like a flying start, to bore (i. e. *to hamper the movements of another runner*), cross-country[1]), paper-chase (*Schnitzeljagd*) etc. and the tug of war with its expressions to take the strain (i. e. when each side pulls the rope taut before the signal for the tug is given by the dropping of a handkerchief), and to pull one's weight (though this is really a rowing-term, abbreviated from 'to pull ones weight in the boat'), both of which lend themselves to figurative use.

Indoors my acquaintance with billiards was very slight, but sufficient to make me realize the significance of such phrases as to cannon into anyone (*Karambolage*) or to give anyone a miss in balk (*to cut* cf. Ukridge 94), balk or baulk being the space behind the transverse line and the point of the phrase being dependent upon the rule that the player is not permitted to aim directly at his opponent's ball when both his own and the latter are in balk.

Of board-games the easy snakes and ladders, in which one climbed the ladders and tumbled down the snakes, and halma were, during adolescence, gradually replaced by draughts with its terms like to huff (*blasen*) and to jump, but I never properly learnt chess, though some of its terms are familiar to me.

The period preceding the war was marked further by an enthusiasm for physical exercises in the home and many possessed *Sandow's* spring-grip dumbbells or his chest-expanders or had a sponge down and kept fit by doing *Muller* exercises and deep-breathing (Swoop 121). During my school-days, too, I remember first hearing the term simple-lifers and the growth of such centres as that of *Eustace Miles* for a reformed diet. Some of the food-faddists went beyond the vegetarian stage and became fruitarians; the apostles of

[1]) I note with interest that cross-country runners use the hunting abbreviation the plough for *ploughed land*, cf. reports in Observer *passim*.

thorough mastication or Fletcherism introduced their American gospel later. Camping-out holidays became ever more popular, for farmers were usually willing to grant a pitch for the tent in the hope of selling their produce to the campers. Others went off in roomy caravans (whence their name of caravaners) which they would halt by the road-side. Since the war whole caravan-towns have sprung up (e. g. at Moreton in Cheshire) in a hopeless attempt to cope with the shortage of housing accommodation. Before the war we had our fresh air fiends who did not scruple to expose their fellow-citizens to severe draughts and the hatless brigade, whose name is self-explanatory.

THE INFLUENCE OF BOOKS.

A word here as to the books of our childhood is apposite. Grimm's tales including the Three Bears, Little Snow-white, the Goose-girl, Hansel and Grethel (spelt thus), the Sleeping Beauty, greatly attracted us and I still remember the rhymes about Rumpelstiltskin and Falaba. Cinderella and the Ugly sisters, Bluebeard, Puss in Boots and Dick Whittington and his Cat were other favourites, with some of which we renewed acquaintance in the Christmas pantomimes, especially at Drury Lane with Dan Leno as the funny man. In Hans Andersen[1]) we liked the little Tin Soldier and the Little Mermaid best. The Arabian Nights with the Forty Thieves gave us open sesame!; recently we have had another taste of those old stories in the Fairbanks film the Thief of Bagdad. Sindbad the Sailor introduced us to the roc's egg and the Old Man of the Sea. Robinson Crusoe gave us Man Friday. Later on we liked to read Andrew Lang's collections of fairy-tales (the fairy-books of various colours). From Stead's admirable penny series (Books for

[1]) We usually drop the second name, Christian, and pronounce the first as [*hænz*].

the Bairns) we heard of the labours of Hercules, Perseus, Jason and of Beowulf and Childe Horn. Our chief delight was in the adventures of Brer Rabbit which have left their mark in the phrases to lie low, he ain't saying nothing, kittle-cattle — at any rate that is where I got them; Alice in Wonderland gave us the Mad Hatter < 'as mad as a hatter' and the Cheshire Cat < 'to grin like a Cheshire cat' together with 'you are old Father William, the young man said'[1]), the Walrus and the Carpenter and the song about them, the phrase cabbages and kings (whence the title of one of *O. Henry's* collections of short stories) and the picturesque words chortle, galumphing (*marching exultantly*), the Jabberwock and my beamish boy (cf. Benham 1196).

Apart from the stock school tales like Eric, St. Winifred's, The Fifth Form at St. Dominic's and Tom Brown's Schooldays our school-day reading was rather more in the direction of the adventure stories[2]) of Max Pemberton, Seton Merriman, Cutcliffe Hyne (Captain Kettle), Guy Boothby (*Dr. Nikola*) and especially the *Sherlock Holmes* stories then appearing in the Strand Magazine. Like many colleagues I still remain attracted by this last type of fiction. Holmes supplied us with the oft repeated phrase: 'You know my methods, Watson, — apply them.' If we wanted to burlesque the title of a detective or criminal story, we used to refer to the mystery of the blood-stained putty-knife (or acid-drop), otherwise known as the Painter's Doom,

[1]) A man with a long-flowing beard was sitting at a meeting I attended recently. A fellow-member, who did not know him, whi spered me: 'Who's Father William?'

[2]) It was particularly the Battersea Public Library with its well-stocked reference-room and lending department, which provided me with reading-matter. I might add that it was here that I made my first acquaintance with such technical expressions as to bespeak a book i. e. reserve it in advance by postcard, the card index, and the open access system. In the lending department books returned and issued were marked by numbered blue and red tabs in large indicators.

as Mr. Hutton reminds me. I have inserted a few technical terms used in detective thrillers in my section on Crime and Punishment. We also made the acquaintance of ghost-stories, especially, — to the best of my recollection, — a series by *Headon Hill* in Pearson's Magazine. To-day adults are much attracted by the well-written ghost yarns by *M. R. James*, the Provost of Eton, which are replete with curious antiquarian lore.

Of the serious authors read at Dulwich in class, Shakespeare was no doubt the most important linguistically. Of course an enormous number of words and phrases, owing their popularity if not their origin to Shakespeare, have entered into the very fabric of the language. I shall not make any attempt to assess this influence; it is too pervasive and yet elusive. We are all no doubt semi-conscious of the context of expressions like to be or not to be, all the world's a stage, for this relief much thanks, a Benedick, lend me your ears etc. etc., but who of us without much thought and searching could lay our finger right away on the crack of doom, one fell swoop, salad-days and halcyon days, forcible feeble, a tower of strength and literally hundreds of other Shakespeareanisms. At Dulwich we read Much Ado About Nothing, As You Like It, Coriolanus, Julius Caesar, Macbeth, King Lear and Richard II, often under the guidance of the head-master.

Of more recent poets Tennyson has left his mark on contemporary English. There are not only the stock quotations like: 'In the Spring a young man's fancy lightly turns to thoughts of love'; 'the Parliament of men, the Federation of the World' etc., but also many single expressions like crossing the bar for *dying*, across the walnuts and the wine i. e. after dinner when the port circulates and stories are told, a cycle of Cathay, the far-off divine event, stand four-square, the little rift within the lute and all the ringing phrases from the oft-recited Charge of the Light Brigade like: someone had blundered; their's not

to reason why, their's but to do and die, or from the Idylls of the King like reverenced his conscience as his king.

Among some of the more serious authors whom we read outside of school-hours I conceived a liking for *Scott* (especially Ivanhoe and The Fair Maid of Perth) before going to *Dickens* (my favourites being David Copperfield and Our Mutual Friend) or to *Thackeray*. In regard to Dickens I have worked through *A. L. Hayward's Dickens Encyclopaedia* (London 1924) with a view to discovering what mark he has left on the current speech of my generation. I suggest it would not be unprofitable for a younger man to see how much will have survived another decade or so. Of the characters the following will probably be familiar even to non-Dickensians: Barkis, if only for the phrase 'Barkis is willin'; Bumble, who has given us 'Bumbledom' (*fussy officialdom*), Mrs. Gamp, Uriah Heep the 'umble, Pecksniff for a hypocrite, Mr. Micawber who always 'waited for things to turn up', Mr. Pickwick (whose name has even crept into sober treatises on philosophy in the phrase Pickwickian sense for a complicated or sophisticated sense, as used by *G. Moore* and *C. D. Broad*), Sam Weller (whence wellerism for his characteristic mode of statement), Scrooge the miser and doubtless a few others.[1]) My father would call a fat man Uncle Pumblechook from *Great Expectations*. Further, few will be unacquainted with the following sayings, though not all

[1]) Mr. Hutton has kindly supplied me with some additional names of characters etc. often met with outside of Dickens. As a keen Dickensian, Mr. Hutton is naturally anxious that their source should not be overlooked! Thus, from Nicholas Nickleby we take Squeers as a type of bad head-master, Dotheboys Hall as a thoroughly bad boarding-school and the 'Infant Phenomenon', originally Ninetta Crummles advertised under that title. From Martin Chuzzlewit we have borrowed Mr. Pecksniff and the adjective pecksniffian for a canting hypocrite, 'Mrs. Harris' for an imaginary person from the one always quoted by Mrs. Sairey Gamp, 'Mark Tapley' for anyone irrepressibly jolly. In Oliver Twist we find Fagin, the receiver of stolen goods or fence, who taught boys to pick pockets and 'Bill

could lay hands on their source: prunes and prism (an aid to pronunciation — from Little Dorrit[1]) King Charles' head (the obsession of Mr. Dick in David Copperfield), Oliver Twist asking for more (*food*), 'Polly, put the kettle on, and we'll all have tea' (the song of Grip, the Raven), 'Gamp is my name and Gamp my natur' (with the substitution of another name and the normal pronunciation of 'nature'), 'going to the demnition bowwows' (Mr. Mantalini's plaint), 'When found make a note of' (Captain Cuttle's saying), and such words as artful dodger and the Circumlocution Office, the latter much used to characterize *dilatory official methods* during the War. I should judge that many owe their first acquaintance with those legal dummies John Doe and Richard Roe to the Old Curiosity Shop and their knowledge of Bow street runners to 'Oliver Twist'. Altogether I cannot think of any modern writer who has exercised so far-reaching an influence on our everyday speech; neither Scott nor Thackeray, let alone Jane Austen, Geo. Eliot, Meredith or Hardy have made so deep an impression. From Kipling's Kim many of us know to acquire merit and his poems have given us such catch-words as lest we forget and his flannelled fools and muddied oafs for cricketers and footballers respectively. Barrie gave us Peter Pan (*for one who does not grow up*), little Mary (as a euphemism for the *stomach*) and what every woman knows. Already a century old but still quoted even by those ignorant of the exact source are Blake's: Tiger, tiger, burning bright / In the forests

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Sykes', now often used as a synonym for burglar. From David Copperfield most of us remember the writhing Uriah Heep, who concealed his unscrupulous designs under a cloak of assumed humility. Pickwick supplies among many others Bob Sawyer, the medical man who tries all sorts of devices to increase his practice, the 'fat boy', Jingle, best known from his habit of speaking in disjointed phrases.

[1]) Cf. Little Dorrit (Gadshill Ed.) vol. II, p. 57: 'You will find it serviceable in the formation of a demeanour, if you sometimes say to yourself . . . papa, potatoes, poultry, prunes and prism, prunes and prism'.

of the night' and creeping Jesus, used by Galsworthy in the Forsyte Saga.

In my teens I read many popular expositions of the various sciences and felt particularly drawn to geology (especially in the works of Geikie and Watts). This early interest has — as I notice in re-reading this work — left its mark in impelling me to use geological metaphors like dip and outcrop. Chemistry too exerted a strong pull, before philology completely got hold of me. Here I would mention that — from University College London — I was well acquainted with German terms like *Verschiebung, Ablaut, Umlaut, Dehnung* long before I used sound-shift, gradation, mutation or stretching.

History lessons and history reading were bound to leave some deposit on the vocabulary. The stock stories which all English children hear in their early years include the following; — the Ancient Britons dyed themselves with woad and fought from chariots which had scythes attached to the wheels; Queen Boadicea (the Warrior Queen) harangued them from her chariot; King Alfred had his ears boxed by a peasant-woman for letting her cakes burn, which he had been told to watch; King Canute failed to stop the incoming tide by saying: 'Thus far shalt thou come . . .'; the Percy family was alleged to have received its name from the fact that one of its members had his eye pierced by a spear (Pearce-eye!); King Bruce was said to have gained encouragement to 'try again' from watching a spider; the Black Prince was said to have taken his motto Ich dien from the blind King of Bohemia whom he served at table; Cranmer said to Ridley at the stake :'Be of good comfort, Master Ridley. Play the man: we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out'; Bloody Mary's saying that Calais would be found written on her heart; Drake finishing his game of bowls on Plymouth Hoe when the Armada was entering the Channel; Raleigh spreading his cloak for Elizabeth (the Virgin Queen) to walk

over; Hampden refusing to pay ship-money; Cromwell in the House of Commons having the mace removed with the words: 'Take away this bauble!'; the Dutch admiral van Tromp[1]) carrying a broom at the masthead; the war with Spain (1739) over Jenkin's ear and Walpole's famous saying: 'They may ring the bells now; before long they will be wringing their hands;' the story of the Boston tea-party (1773) when a party of men disguised as Mohawk Indians threw cargoes of tea into the sea, because the British government had given the East India Company an exemption from duty; the story of George Washington, who could not tell a lie to his father, when asked who had chopped down a tree in the garden; Nelson's famous signal at Trafalgar. In addition to the above selection of anecdotes etc., the following terms and sobriquets are current; — the Conqueror (William I), the Domesday Book (1086), Magna Charta (1215), the Black Death (14th century), the Wars of the Roses (the red rose of Lancaster and white rose of York), the King-Maker (the Earl of Warwick), the Princes in the Tower (Edward V and his brother said to have been smothered by command of Richard III in 1485), Cardinal Morton's fork (a two-pronged instrument for securing money, for if a man had a shabby retinue, he was presumed to have hoarded his money, and if he made a great display, he must have had plenty of money to spare!), Enclosures (the appropriation and enclosure of common-land by landowners), the Field of the Cloth of Gold (interview of Henry VIII with Francis I in 1520 between Arras and Guines), the Pilgrimage of Grace (agrarian insurrection of 1536), the Queen's Maries (attendants of Mary Queen of Scots), the Gunpowder Plot (1605), priest-holes (secret chambers behind the panelling, where persecuted priests would hide), the Bloody Assizes (held by the notorious Judge Jeffreys in 1685 after the Monmouth Rebellion),

[1]) A popular song in my youth began: 'Van Tromp was an admiral brave and bold'.

the Riot Act (of 1715 giving J.P.'s or justices of the peace, sheriffs, under-sheriffs and mayors of towns authority to disperse unlawful assemblies of twelve or more persons; hence, figuratively, to read the Riot Act to a person, Ger. *die Leviten lesen*), the South Sea Bubble (failure of the South Sea Company in 1720), the Industrial Revolution (from the middle of the 18th century), the Great Commoner (Pitt the Younger) Martello towers (circular forts along the seacoast to resist Napoleon, still familiar to holiday makers on the south east coasts, the name corrupted from Sicilian: Mortella), the Iron Duke (the Duke of Wellington), Puffing Billy (the first locomotive engine, built in 1813), Waterloo (often used generically, to meet one's Waterloo), rotten boroughs (boroughs with very few voters; abolished by the Reform Act of 1832), peelers (old name for the policemen from Sir Robert Peel, whence also roberts and much more commonly bobbies). More recent sobriquets are Dizzy for Disraeli, the G.O.M. or Grand Old Man for Gladstone and, in our own day, the Welsh wizard for Lloyd George, the Tiger for Clemenceau, Jix for Joynson Hicks etc. We may wind up with the extraordinarily persistent historical phrase Queen Anne's dead!, often used to parody a statement of an obvious fact and alluded to even in such a serious article as Dr. M' Taggart's The Unreality of Time (Mind 1908).

In spite of our Divinity lessons at the Prep. and at Dulwich none of us got into the way of applying the texts of the Bible to the affairs of everyday life as was so often the case with the older generation. Perhaps we took to heart the saying that 'the Devil can quote (properly *cite*) scripture'. So much of the Authorised Version has embodied itself in the current spoken language, that I feel sure that comparatively few of us would ascribe the bulk of the following expressions offhand, without further reflection, to the *Bible*: darkness which might be felt, the apple of his eye, quiverfull (a large family of children), grind the faces of the poor, only a friend in name, halt be-

tween two opinions. Many would doubtlessly at once locate my brother's keeper, the shadow of death, bring down my grey hairs and a large number of others quite apart from the mention of names as in Saul among the prophets. Some locutions are often used in a jocose fashion: corn in Egypt, to spoil the Egyptians, tell it not in Gath, draw a bow at a venture (for which I heard at the Admiralty in 1918 the corruption draw a bow at a vulture, the same speaker purposely twisting round cast aspersions at into *cast nasturtiums at*), the perfect day (if this is the origin of the catch-phrase *the end of a perfect day*).[1]) In some cases we are apt to deviate from the original text, saying e. g. laws of the Medes and Persians (rather than of the Persians and the Medes) and calling children olive-branches rather than *'olive-plants'*. Not a few would be astonished to learn that Spare the rod and spoil the child formally reproduces Hudibras 'Spare the rod and spoil the child' rather than 'he that spareth his rod, hateth his son'. Biblical references often recur in the titles of novels — of them I will select as representative: 'A Daughter of Heth', 'The Shulamite', 'I Will Repay', 'Many Inventions' and two of *Henry James'* best known — 'the Wings of the Dove' and 'the Golden Bowl'.

The *Book of Common Prayer*, too, has left its specific imprint on my own and my contemporaries' speech, though we are not always mindful of this influence. I refer to such current expressions as: Read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest; all sorts and conditions of men; the pomps and vanity (often quoted as a plural) of this wicked world; flourishing like a green bay-tree; the iron entered into his soul. At the beginning of the catechism stands 'What is your name? Ans. N or M'.

It is less easy to appraise the contribution of the

[1]) Cf. the song 'When you come to the end of a perfect day' by Carrie Jacobs-Bond.

Pilgrim's Progress. Though we should not hesitate to assign the slough of despond to John Bunyan, I think many of us would hesitate to do so with muck-rake and hanging is too good for him.

For further instances of these theological allusions I must refer the reader to the admirable collections in Benham's Book of Quotations. I have contented myself with excerpting a few to illustrate specific tendencies.

It was not until well on in my adolescence that I read modern theological works. The Unitarian minister at Wandsworth, Rev. W. G. Tarrant, formerly editor of the 'Inquirer', stimulated me by his illuminating addresses to read the works of Liberal theologians like *J. Martineau* and *R. Armstrong*, whose 'God and the Soul' at that time made a strong appeal to me. These writers undoubtedly had their share in introducing me to the language of exegesis, commentary and controversy.

I would add here that music was not one of my studies. However, I mention as typical of the experience of many families the popularity of the tunes commonly known as Chop Sticks (not the Chinese eating-sticks, but a tune strummed out with one or two fingers), the Blue Bells of Scotland and a very old favourite The Maiden's Prayer (referred to by H. H. Richardson in The Way Home p. 187). As children, we of course made the acquaintance of instruments like the dulcimer (*Hackbrett*), jew's harp (*Maultrommel*) which often consisted of a piece of paper stretched tightly over a comb, and the penny-whistle or tin whistle. At the Prep. I had singing-lessons on the tonic solfa system, but was placed by the master among the 'talkers' in contradistinction to the singers. It was not until a much later date that I realized the meaning of technical terms like strings[1]), wind and wood-wind for various types

[1]) If these are used as nouns, then strings for the body of violins, cellos in the orchestra etc. is correct. The singular form is non-existent. If as adjectives, stringed is more usual.

of instruments or the significance of a score (*Partitur*, and cf. verb to score a piece i. e. orchestrate). At Liverpool we have a Phil. or Philharmonic Hall and at the University we sometimes have courses on appreciation.

JOHN BULL AND THE CHURCH.

Turning next to newspapers and periodicals we shall probably find that their linguistic influence is not marked directly until after the speaker has passed school age. However, there was one paper which by sheer blatancy forced itself upon the notice of the young as well as the old in the early years of the century. Very many were acquainted with the rhyme:

> Politics without party,
> Criticism without cant,
> Without fear or favour,
> Rancour or rant!

which formed the motto of Bottomley's organ John Bull (cf Swoop 28 for a mention of Bottomley). This paper had a copious supply of derogatory and virulent terms and though it did not invent the following words, it most certainly brought them into prominence and refreshed their vitality. I refer to kill-joy, spoil-sport and Nosey Parker (*a meddler*), all words I had not met before, and the column entitled John Bull's Biscuits in which Bottomley criticized any occurrences during the week which took the biscuit (a variant of the phrase to take the cake i. e. *to be the limit*).

One of Bottomley's favourite butts was the clergyman, and he took full advantage of the immoralities which came out in connection with the Agapemone or Abode of Love whither the followers of the famous *Smyth Piggott* (who in 1902 proclaimed himself the Messiah) had retired. The demand for unfrocking (*expulsion from priesthood*) was very much to the fore and probably many first made their acquaintance with the word in this context. I might here add some other popular or slang terms connected

with the church and its representatives, viz. sky-pilot and padre for any clergyman (the latter being used especially of the Army Chaplains during the war), a fighting parson (cf. 'muscular Christianity' from the days of Rev. Charles Kingsley); the names of buildings like a little Bethel (*nonconformist chapel*) or a tin tabernacle (one *roofed with corrugated iron*); institutions like the Y.M.C.A. with its sign the red triangle, or the P.S.A. (*Pleasant Sunday Afternoon*), with clasped hands as its symbol; dog-collar for the Roman type of collar, etc. The adjective churchy has a tone of disapproval for those whose devotions are considered excessive, and I have heard nonconformists branded as chapel-dodgers. The sort of neckerchief or scarf sometimes worn by old-fashioned preachers I have heard referred to as a choker and an ultra-pious person is described as turning up the whites of his eyes. Passing to more serious religious topics I well remember the rows — not yet altogether past in Liverpool — caused by the doings of the Ritualists, strongly opposed by the Kensitites or followers of John Kensit. The Confessional, Children's masses and the reservation (of the sacrament) were the chief matters of dispute in the public eye. At present the chief subject of discussion in the Church of England is that of the revision of the Prayer Book; another topic is reunion, whether with Rome or Non-conformity. In the Army the Church of England or *C of E* as it was usually called was the category into which all were put who did not profess to be *R. C*'s or to belong to what the sergeant-major was wont to call one of the fancy-religions! A man who did not want to attend any service at all was given fatigue-duty, he was not allowed to go to Parson Greenfields, as the saying is.

Certain Americanisms have become pretty popular in connection with religion. At the revival meetings, often held by the revivalists in the form of camp-meetings, the converts were said to get religion. From America too come the names of many new sects

like the Millennial Dawnists and the International Bible Students, whose motto Millions now living will never die stares at us from many hoardings. A Hard-shell-Baptist is another picturesque Americanism which has been adopted. A Primitive Methodist is sometimes called a Primitive dick.

HOBBIES.

Two slang-words I particularly associate with our youthful hobby of stamp-collecting. They are to swap (*exchange*), a fudge (a *false or non-genuine stamp*) cf. to fudge in the sense of to conceal defects. Another to fake (*to doctor or create a false impression*) from thieve's slang originally, e. g. to fake a picture, I owe to photography as also of course to snap (*take a snapshot*) and the joke about breaking the camera. We were very fond of taking photos with our Brownies (*small Kodaks*) and used to develop and tone them in the darkened tank-room, as that was before the days of 'daylight developers'. Neither my brother nor I had any bent for such useful occupations as fretwork (*Laubsägearbeit*) or pokerwork (*Brandmalerei*), strictly but less commonly poker-picture nor did we ever go in for collecting moths, butterflies (among which I still recall the terms Purple Emperor (Ger. *Feuerkaiser, großer Schillerfalter*), and White or Red Admiral (Ger. *Admiral*) used by my schoolfellows), beetles, birds'eggs etc. The only fishing we did, was fishing for tiddlers i. e. sticklebacks, in the pond of Wandsworth Common!

SOME ENGLISH DISHES.

I will here make an attempt to group together certain typically English dishes with which most of my fellow-countrymen will be thoroughly familiar from their childhood. The grounds for the selection will be the interest of their actual form or origin and their occurrence in certain common idioms.

First of all I would point to certain distinctions the Englishman always makes, but which the foreigner is apt to overlook. Right from the start we distinguished the gravy, consisting in the main of the juice from the meat with or without thickening, from a sauce, which is made of other ingredients like milk etc. Broth is always a meat-soup e. g. in mutton-broth; a particular variety, which we got to know as children when ill in bed, is beef-tea, made with gravy-beef, consisting of part of the leg. Another distinction which is now sometimes obscured is that between pie and tart. To us as children a pie always implied a cover consisting of a layer of baked dough, and cooking in a pie-dish, in which the pie appeared on the table. The filling of the pie could be meat e. g. rabbit pie, beef steak pie (cf. the notice outside some eating-houses, beef-steak pie like mother makes it!), fish, poultry (pigeon pie etc.) or fruit (apple-pie, whence the popular phrases in apple-pie order i. e. perfect order, and to make someone an apple-pie bed, Fr. un lit en portefeuille i. e. perform a practical joke[1]), consisting in folding the sheets of a bed in such a way that the victim cannot get into bed). The Americans often use pie where we should normally employ tart namely for a flat piece of pastry filled usually with jam or cooked fruit and sometimes crossed with bars of paste. We always speak of jam tart, treacle or syrup tart etc.; from my parents I heard the Essex dialect word taddlin for tart. On the other hand the word tart is not infre-

[1]) Another practical joke prevalent at the beginning of the present century was to hide a little rubber ball flat and deflated under the table-cloth where the plate would lie. By means of a tube connected with the ball and held by another person, the hidden ball could suddenly be inflated, causing the unsuspecting victim's plate to dance in a most disconcerting way. It was through this practice that I heard the phrase to have the jimjams, usually applied to drinkers, who imagine everything be in motion around them! Yet another practical joke, known to me more by hearsay and references in school-stories, was the fixing up of a booby-trap e. g. some contraption (*contrivance*) like a bucket of water over a door, which would fall and spill over anyone trying to push the door open.

quently employed e. g. in gooseberry tart where I should prefer to use pie from the fact that it is covered. Other well-known English varieties of tarts and pies are turnovers, the paste of which is rolled flat, fruit put on one half and then covered by turning over the other half (apple turnover) and short cakes, little sugared cakes made with the short paste left over from the main cooking.

For the rest I will content myself with a summary of names of dishes offering a special interest. Of the stews the best known is Irish Stew, which consists of pieces of mutton stewed up with potatoes and onions and sometimes containing dumplings (which at home we used to divide into hard and soft, the latter being made with suet). I do not remember ever tasting bubble and squeak, a dish in which meat and cabbage are fried up together. Beefsteak pudding, a very filling dish, is still a favourite in English households; some more popular restaurants used to display distorting mirrors at their doors showing how one looks before and after! In connection with poultry we soon learnt the expressions: the giblets, the gizzard, the wish-bone, and the parson's nose (the rump of poultry).

In the early years the second course usually consisted of milk-puddings made with rice, sago, tapioca or semolina. Bread-pudding and bread and butter pudding were made to use up the scraps of bread or pieces of bread and butter left over and hence were in the same category as resurrection pies in which the meat was used up.

A curious old term I heard subsequent to my childhood is gooseberry fool for gooseberries crushed and mixed with milk, cream or custard (N.E.D.). Fool is in the dictionary compared with trifle, a dish in which sponge cakes are covered with custard etc. Peculiar to English, too, is the expression lemon-cheese.

Coming to tea-time I note that many like the tea to draw or brew. Some have it so strong that the spoon stands up in it, as the saying goes. My mother calls

very weak tea husband's tea. The origin of this expression is obscure in contrast with the Ger. *Blümchenkaffee* i. e. so weak that one can see the flowers at the bottom of the cup. There is still considerable doubt as to whether the milk should be poured in the cup before the tea or vice-versa. Perforated spoons to act as tea-infusers have never become popular. From tea-drinking we get our expressions weak tea for anything rather feeble and sloppy, and a storm in a tea cup.

We no longer so often hear the muffin-bell, but we still distinguish those very English products the muffin, the crumpet, and the teacake. All are flat circular cakes. The muffin is spongy inside, but is slightly crusty outside; it is sliced through and buttered. The crumpet is soft throughout and pierced with holes. The teacake or Sally Lunn is sweet and of a consistency rather lighter than a scone.

I well remember the disgust we children felt at a lady (an Englishwoman) who always said a bread and butter, where we used *a piece of bread and butter*, and who called a fancy cake a pretty!

A curious abbreviated form which was certainly current in many families was something like F. H. B., meaning *Family Hold Back!* This cryptic sign was used to warn members of the family — if visitors were present — that there was not enough of the dish to go round.

Just as in Germany sprats are connected with Kiel, gingerbread with Nürnberg and marzipan with Lübeck, so in England we have a number of such geographical associations[1]), which often become mere labels to indicate good quality. Thus we have (a) of fishes: Yarmouth bloaters, Finnon haddies or haddocks,

[1]) Apart from food certain other geographical associations within the British Isles may perhaps be of interest: Axminster, Kidderminster and Wilton carpets, Nottingham and Honiton lace, Bradford woollens, Luton straw-hats, Northampton boots; Portland cement, Aberdeen granite etc.

Whitstable oysters, (b) of meat: Wiltshire bacon, the Dunmow flitch (a flitch of bacon awarded annually at a court held at Dunmow in Essex to the married couple which has lived the most harmonious life), (c) of dairy-produce: Devonshire cream, a well-known clotted or thick cream, Cheshire, Cheddar, and Stilton cheese — it is to be noted that though we speak of Dutch cheese, we use for Schweizerkäse the more specialized word Gruyère; Danish butter is still called Kiel butter! (d) of cakes: Banbury cakes, Eccles cakes for different kinds of currant buns or cakes. From Scotland, the 'land of cakes', we have borrowed scones pronounced both [*skon*] and [*skoun*], shortbreads, oatcakes or bannocks, (e) Yorkshire pudding for the batter pudding served with beef.

The foreign student is warned against confusing cakes, rusks, and biscuits. Cake is eaten at tea; we distinguish between plain cake and currant or sultana cake. A plain round cake is a Madeira cake; some cakes are in the form of slabs. Birthday cakes often have as many lighted candles on them as the child is years old, and bear the child's name. The wedding-cake is cut by the bride — with her husband's sword, if he is an officer. Pieces of wedding-cake are sent to friends. Rusks (*Zwieback*) are eaten with coffee or cocoa. Biscuits proper include a number of varieties, unknown outside of England, the chief of which include (1) from the originator: Abernethy, Bath Oliver, (2) Victorian in origin: Grosvenor, Osborne; Coronation biscuits recall the coronation of King Edward VII, (3) digestive biscuits e.g. oaten, wheatmeal, (4) unsweetened cheese-biscuits: cream crackers, dinner, milk, water, (5) sweetened crisp biscuits: arrowroot, butter-fingers, ginger-snaps, macaroon, Marie, petit-beurre, Nice etc. — all very well-known in English households.

In the restaurants I have noticed in the last few years a growing use of terms like ham-roll, exactly corre-

sponding to *Schinkenbrötchen.* Milk with a dash is used for milk with a dash of coffee. Americanisms are very prevalent in the names of iced drinks and sundaes (fruit with ice-cream), and, of course, in the different cocktails, but the latter have probably become international.

The insularity and conservatism of the English in regard to food was brought home to me during the war. I was with a naval officer in a restaurant at Havre. Some lamb was brought us. 'Nobby', the above-mentioned colleague, at once said: 'Where's the mint sauce?' I told him it was not the custom to eat it in France. He looked most disgusted and said: 'What blighters!'

After this summary treatment of our rather substantial food the chapter on the Doctor is the most appropriate continuation.

THE DOCTOR.

As children we made first-hand acquaintance with several of the infantile diseases and heard of many more. We could see in the streets cases of bodily deformities due to rickets or injuries and the remedies e. g. irons to correct bow-legs and back-boards to cure curvature of the spine. It was only during the war that the layman began to take an interest in the use of vitamin(e)s or accessory food-factors (fat-soluble vitamin A, water-soluble vitamin B etc.) to correct ailments due to deficiencies of diet. And it is only in the last year or so that we have heard of the reinvigorating or rejuvenating power of monkey-glands when grafted on to the patient!

My first recollections of remedies for the hurts of the body bring me to a medicine-chest, in which the bottles most commonly used contained: — camphorated oil; Elliman's embrocation and arnica for bruises; cod-liver oil and Scott's emulsion; castor oil; and various soothing and teething powders for the younger ones. If

we got a wasp-sting, recourse was had to a blue-bag, containing Reckitt's blue (q. v. below); a nettle-sting was counteracted by rubbing a dock-leaf on the place affected. As to the old-fashioned medicines I vaguely remember hearing about the former use of a black-draught as an opening medicine, of brimstone and treacle (flowers of sulphur and dark treacle) and of jalap.

Coated pills or tabloids, whence the common expression news in tabloid form have replaced many of the older herbal remedies, though recently I have noted in Liverpool the opening of several new herbalists' stores.

Of the more colloquial ways of indicating that there is something the matter or something wrong with our bodies, I will mention a small selection, all quite usual. I would first warn the foreign student against using: *what ails you?* quite out-of-date for what is the matter, what is up or what is wrong with you? If one feels generally indisposed, one is poorly or dicky, out of sorts, under the weather, seedy, not up to the mark, not one's self, not up to much. Perhaps one may be suffering from a bilious attack or a bout (fit) of indigestion; or one is nervy and jumpy (*fidgety*), has an attack of the blues and needs a tonic or a pick-me-up or one is done up with overwork, pumped out and thoroughly jaded and needs a rest to avert a complete break-down and to set one up; or perhaps one is sickening for an attack of 'flu (*influenza*), in which case one is often advised to go to bed and take a stiff toddy (*hot whisky and lemon*).

Few families escape the visitations of the commoner infectious diseases like chicken-pox, measles and German measles, mumps and scarlet-fever. Some technical terms in general use may be of interest. When a child sickens for one of these diseases, it gradually comes out in a rash, which the anxious parent hopes, is a mere harmless nettle-rash, or in spots, which, it is hoped, are heat-bumps. With chicken-pox there are pustules or pimples as in small-pox; these fill with matter and

come to a head i. e. maturate, but do not leave the patient pitted with pock marks. The temperature is taken with a clinical thermometer—a standing collocation for a small thermometer placed under the tongue or the armpits. If some infectious fever is diagnosed, the patient is either isolated in a room far removed from the rest of the family or, after the Health authorities have been notified, is removed to the isolation hospital in a fever van or ambulance. Another van is sent to the house to take away the bedding, which has to be stoved (sterilized by subjecting to a high temperature) and disinfected. The rooms are fumigated with sulphur or a formalin lamp. If there is doubt as to the presence of the disease in the patient when in hospital, he may be put in an observation ward, and a swab or plug of sterilized cotton-wool containing his sputum sent to the bacteriologist for examination. A temperature-chart is placed above the patient's bed and the swinging temperatures may betoken a crisis. When the patient has safely turned the corner he begins to pick up rapidly and soon becomes convalescent (from which we have the colloquial back-formation to convalesce). He may require a rest-cure and after-treatment.

Those who have been in close contact with the infected patient may have to remain in quarantine or dry-dock or be quarantined for a time, in case they may be carriers of the infection. Disease-germs are sometimes referred to as bugs. We speak of a ship being laid up for repairs, as well as a patient.

The best known methods of immunization are vaccination and inoculation. The former term applies to the injection of calf lymph with a view to causing cow-pox and preventing small-pox; inoculation is the term employd in connection with other diseases such as T. B. (euphemistic abbreviation for *tuberculosis*), diphtheria, tetanus, typhus etc. A conscientious objector to vaccination may be exempted from the obligation of having his child vaccinated by making

a statutory declaration of his objection. With some people vaccination and inoculation do not take i. e. are unsuccessful.

In spite of resort to inoculation, pine-lozenges, paregoric and various cough-mixtures most of us are plagued with coughs and colds through the winter and the author of „*Auch Einer*" could have made many detailed observations. They vary in intensity from the sniffling or sniffly cold to the churchyard cough! A cough may be of the barking type or — pseudo-vulgarly in jest — a nasty 'ackin' (*hacking*) cough, the last word being pronounced in this group [*kɔ:ʃ*]. Or we may be all stuffed up and our head smarting with a racking headache.

Modern specialization has not driven out the general practitioner and family doctor. If he has a good bedside manner and a fair amount of skill, we are soon sitting up and taking nourishment (this phrase often occurring in the form sit up and take notice and used of anyone perking up or becoming brisk rather suddenly). We still put out our tongue to and not *at* the Doctor and when he is listening to our heart and lungs, we say ninety nine at his behest. If necessary he will send us to a radiographer to get x-rayed (*sich durchleuchten lassen*). One of the latest curative agencies he may recommend, the artificial Höhensonne, is struggling for a name in English. Mr. Potts informs me that Alpine sun has been suggested. Although we have long had massage (subclass: vibro-massage), we still pronounce the word in the foreign way: [*mæsa:ʒ*] with the accent on either syllable.

A good recent novel dealing with the life of the medical student and the struggling practitioner is F. Brett-Young's The Young Physician.

In regard to the terms used in dentistry, I mention for the sake of the foreign student that the current conversational phrase for the pulling or drawing or extraction of a tooth is to have a tooth out. If a tooth is de-

caying or hollow, we have it stopped or filled — the stopping or filling being of gold or some composition — or crowned, or we have root-treatment (sterilization and withdrawal of nerve). When we sit in the dentist's chair, we submit to the painful process of having our teeth drilled, the grindstone used being known as a burr. If many teeth have to come out, we have gas and go off pretty quickly and do not remain under it long. If necessary we have a plate (set of false teeth or denture set on a plate) or bridge-work; for both a wax impression is usually taken.

In recent literature the best dentist is to be found in Bernard Shaw's "You never can tell".

Finally I draw attention to the topical interest of the vet's or veterinary surgeon's profession in the last year or two, owing to the prevalence of foot-and-mouth disease and the application of a closing-order to certain areas to prevent the movement of possibly infected cattle. Otherwise the vet is known to the layman more as a healer of dogs and cats, whose best known maladies are the mange and distemper; he is the last resort before they are sent to the lethal chamber in the Home for Lost Dogs or Cats.

CHANGING FASHIONS

In the course of my life-time considerable changes have taken place in men's fashions and all of them in the direction of less formality. The new articles of clothing have brought with them new designations. Business men who in the last century affected top-hats or toppers and frock-coats, had before the war begun to adopt the bowler or even the soft hat (though they did not favour such sub-varieties as slouch-hats, panamas and what we used to call a dustman's hat from its shape). Starched collars (whether stick-ups or turn-downs) have had to yield ground to soft collars, at first always fastened with a collar-pin. The wearing of evening dress (warpaint or full-fig (cf. Gals-

worthy 27) the latter denoting tails or swallow-tails, i. e. dress-suit in contrast with dinner-jacket) is still general at private and public functions of a more formal character, but much less insisted upon in the theatres. The war has influenced us here as, also in the continued use of plus fours (Wells 366), sporting breeches cut somewhat like the Guards' breeches in 1917, (i. e. with an overhang over the knee) and trench-coats (*showerproof overcoats with a belt*), though the British warms (*short coats*) are rarer now. Long before the war the elegant or would-be elegant wore white spats round the ankle and white slips inserted in the V-shaped opening of the waistcoat. Not long before, they also began to wear fancy or rainbow waistcoats (cf. City 170), a parallel to which is now observable in the bright-hued Telemarken or Fair Isle pull-overs. Since the war the brilliant socks have been apt to assume jazz(y) patterns or the soberer heather mixture[1]) (Cuthbert 166). Bandana handkerchiefs are less in vogue and so are cummerbunds (sashes worn instead of waistcoats) than before the war. On the other hand we have recently witnessed the rise of brogues (shoes sewn 'brogue' fashion but without the former thongs, sometimes of ox-blood or tony red[2]) colour), the use of crêpe rubber (roughened rubber) and driped (or oil-impregnated material) for the soles of boots and — most recent innovation of all — the spacious Oxford bags (wide trousers).

I will here append a short list of miscellaneous slang and technical terms in common colloquial use in con-

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[1]) An interesting return of this expression by way of metaphor to its native meaning is to be found in The Mountains of Snowdonia, (p. 360) in a reference to "diabolic tracts of 'heather mixture' (sic), which characterize the Rhinogs".

[2]) This and kiwi were polishes used for cleaning officers' brown boots and shoes during the war. The trade-use of the New Zealand bird's name has escaped the notice of Gibbons and Frazer, who adduce the word in their dictionary (Soldier and Sailor Words and Phrases, 1925) in the meaning of 'red tape, pipe-clay' which they refer back directly to the bird.

nection with clothes; — (a) generic terms for clothes in general: togs, duds; the term kit primarily in ludes equipment as well; we often say simply 'get your things on', (b) sports garments: flannels, blazer (often brightly coloured and with the arms or monogram of a college), sweater, greyers (grey flannel trousers and coat), shorts i. e. short trousers for running or playing football; bathing togs consisting of a bathing suit and slips, a reduced type of bathing-drawers, (c) sailor's clothes: young boys are dressed in sailor-suits with singlets or undershirts; the firemen on board ship wear dungarees of coarse material and the officers wear ducks or duck trousers in the hot weather, (d) out-of-date fashions, still sometimes alluded to: the ruffs (*Halskrausen*) of Elizabethan times, the stock or wide cravat (N.B. we now always use tie for cravat), the peg-top trousers of m d-Victorianism, the bell-bottom trousers originally worn by the sailors etc., (e) slang names for the umbrella: gamp, brolly; and for spectacles: goggles or simply specs, less slang glasses.

In dealing with women's clothes I shall tread warily and confine myself to the mention of but a few phenomena. The word crinoline I think I first heard from my maternal grandmother who had worn them, but do not remember hearing the word bustle before the performance of the play "Milestones" (1912). Of the particularities of woman's dress which struck me during my childhood I will mention only the leg of mutton sleeves and the bloomers (worn for cycling and the subject of many jests). Motoring brought in special veils and dust coats. A miscellaneous list of more recent innovations would include the following: — jumpers (a word which has penetrated to Germany), fabric gloves (i. e. of cotton fabric), gauntlet gloves (so called from their form over the wrist), sports coats, kimonos. The latest word I have collected is chubby (also dumpy) for one of the small squat umbrellas now in fashion — it is hardly more than a year old (1925). The winter of 1925/6 has seen the revival of Russian boots

for women, with shafts of soft leather and lined. Children have for some time past been wearing Wellingtons in the wet weather, but so far the fashion has not extended to men. In addition to the fashions in clothing there are the constantly changing fashions in women's hairdressing under American influence. The permanent wave — cf. verb to have the hair permanent(ly) waved — or Marcel wave has been followed in succession by bobbing (*Pagenkopf*), shingling (*Bubikopf*) and a combination of the two, bingling. The latest style, the Eton crop (hair cut close like a boy's, for crop cf. the term county crop from 'county gaol crop' for a close haircut in the case of men) in conjunction with horn-rimmed glasses tend to give women a more masculine appearance. Many papers joke about the change-over of the sexes in the newest fashions, for some of the men affect long hair as against the women's bobbed hair and the Oxford bags when carried to an extreme give the impression of a full skirt. On the other hand the distance between the sexes is increased by the growing habit of some women to make up i. e. use a coloured lip-stick, to powder the nose, to pencil the eyebrows, to paint or rouge (the cheeks), to stain the hair with henna or bleach it with peroxide. A much made-up and painted face is contemptuously said to be raddled from raddle or ruddle meaning red ochre.

About three years ago a fashion was started among men of wearing beards.[1]) These were greeted with the cry: Beaver!, a term now often applied to the beard itself n 'a beaver'. The cry is said to have originated in an Oxford game of counting all the beavers seen on a walk through the streets, but Oxford men prefer to

[1]) We still occasionally speak of such forgotten fashions in whiskers as Piccadilly weepers (long *drooping side whiskers*), Dundrearys (long *side whiskers*), mutton chops (Ger. *Koteletts*). A rough beard is sometimes called a bootbrush from its scrubby appearance, whereas an incipient moustache like that grown by the young subalterns before a clean shave was permitted, was rudely known as a toothbrush or (from cricket) eleven-a-side!

trace both this game and the Oxford bags to Cambridge! The latest variety of the game is to score the number of girls with long hair or flappers with pig-tails, a rarity in these days of bobbed hair; the highest points however go to anyone discovering a bearded woman or queen beaver!

One feature of woman's dress, popular by 1912, the hobble-skirt (*Humpelrock*) seems to have disappeared. It has gone the way of the divided skirt. Latterly we hear much of two-piece garments. We no longer hear so much about the evils of tight-lacing, but judging from the newspapers one could infer a considerable amount of interest in the waistline or shape of the figure.

Several articles of woman's clothing are often colloquially given as diminutives: nighty or nightie (Green Hat 23) for a night-shirt or night-gown, now often replaced by a sleeping-suit or pyjamas, woollies for woollen underwear, undies for underclothing; hanky for handkerchief is more general.

PUBLICITY AND ITS LINGUISTIC INFLUENCE

Although the word publicity was not very widely used prior to its official employment during the war, we have for a long time been importuned by multitudes of advertisements on the hoardings and in the press. Many brands of goods become so firmly established in the public estimation that their names sometimes become indistinguishable from *common* nouns. It was symptomatic of this spread of the advertisement's influence that, before the war, certain periodicals instituted prize competitions, offering sums of money to readers, able to guess certain well-known advertised products, by interpreting the pictorial clues provided or by merely appending the correct name to the picture actually employed in advertising. Some firms impressed their goods on the public by catchy phrases and rhymes, many of which are so widely known as to require no explanation

between Englishmen when they crop up in conversation, but may, in default of any knowledge of their allusiveness, seem singularly flat and banal to the foreigner. Lever Bros. the well-known manufacturers of Sunlight soap, have supplied at least two expressions: Monkey-brand (the name of a hard soap, advertised by the picture of a monkey looking at himself in a mirror), often applied derisively to an ugly face, and the phrase don't worry, use Sunlight! in which the last two words add nothing to the meaning. Another famous soap-firm has, through one of its pictures, popularized the greeting: Good morning, have you used Pear's soap?, and most of us know the picture of the tramp with the words: Twenty years ago I used your soap, since when I have used no other (the last words being often used now by themselves)[1]). The wording accompanying the picture of the ox sadly regarding the bottle of Bovril, has given us: Alas, my poor brother! and that accompanying the distressing pictures of human suffering, amenable to treatment by Doan's Backache Kidney Pills, supplies us with the useful Every picture tells a story! — often used derisively of anecdotal paintings. Another well-known series of pictures are those of Glaxo babies, so that a Glaxo baby is almost generic for a plump and healthy child. Wells has shown the power of advertisement in his novel Tono-Bungay. Then there are the little tags like Beecham's Pills, worth a guinea a box; like Johnny Walker (*a whisky*), still going strong; or Epps' cocoa, grateful and comforting (by rumour said to have been the names of Epps' two daughters!) and imagine the appeal of such rhymes as: —

> They come as a boon and a blessing to men,
> The Pickwick, the Owl, and the Waverley pen.

and

> High o'er the fence jumps Sunny Jim
> Force is the food that raises him

[1]) Cf. also the picture of the baby who can't reach the soap, with the title: 'He won't be happy till he gets it' (Galsworthy, p. 325).

from which lines many have first become acquainted with the expression Sunny Jim. Some trade-names are so well-known that unless distinguished by the use of a capital, they might be the first evocation of a given word in preference to its *normal* meaning, e. g. the phrase do it with vim might to the hearer convey *do it with Vim* (a well-known polishing powder) rather than *do it with vim* (i. e. energy). One curious development of some nouns is their power to form verbs: to zog a stain off (with a scouring powder), to ronuk [*rɔnʌk*] a floor (polish). Sometimes not only the name of the firm, but some jest about the product is common property; who has not heard the *chestnut* that Coleman's, the mustard makers, made their fortune out of the mustard left on people's plates? This jocular attitude to advertisements and the objects advertised is also to be seen in the nicknames given by the public to certain railways. Thus before the war most of us in the South had heard the waggish name London, Smash'em and Turn'em all over for the old London, Chatham and Dover Railway, though fewer were cognizant of the Drain for the City and South London Railway — London's first tube. Sometimes the companies themselves *try out* a name which may or not catch on. The portmanteau word Bakerloo (*Baker Street and Waterloo*) has proved very convenient, but Bromadilly (*Brompton and Piccadilly*) is less common[1]). Recently attempts have been made to put the short form metro[2]) before the public. In some cases it is quite conceivable that use in advertisement without actually introducing a word or even making its use more general, may modify the valuations or impressions customarily associated with it. I am inclined to believe that the admirable series of local guidebooks issued by the Homeland Association has not been without effect upon our speech-consciousness

[1]) The opening of the Morden tube extension in Sept. 1926 has produced various proposals for naming this railway.

[2]) Usually simply the Underground, cf. the rhyme: Underground everywhere! Quickest way, cheapest fare!

of that word homeland and possibly even of home-counties (especially those around London). To conclude this brief survey of the part played by commercial advertising in the development of our contemporary speech, I should like to make a tentative classification of those objects, the trade-designations of which have, through familiarity, almost come to be used as common terms: 1. means of locomotion (a) motor-cars: a Ford (with its synonyms flivver and tin Lizzie recently borrowed) a Rolls Royce etc. or bicycles: a Raleigh, a Rudge (i. e. a *Rudge-Whitworth*), a B.S.A. (*Birmingham Small Arms*) etc. — 2. Official guides or reports like A.B.C. (railway timetable) — thus there is a Liverpool A.B.C. as well as a general guide, Hansard (official reports of parliamentary debates). — 3. Medicaments and disinfectants like Milton, Sanitas, Lysol. — 4. Smokes, cigarettes: Woodbines (cf. the song: Little Willie's wild woodbines), Gold Flakes, State Express, Abdullahs etc. or cigars: corona (which has become so generalized that a *true* corona is called a *corona corona!* — 5. eatables, e. g. sauces like Worcester sauce and Yorkshire Relish or foods like Bovril, Oxo, Glaxo, Mellin's, Brand's and Liebig's. (In German the use of Mokka is often generalized). As indicated in some of the examples, the significant point is that most of these may be used with the indefinite article or in the plural number and for the average adult speaker of this generation require no explanatory generic term. When we hear *Have a Gold Flake!* most of us do not require the addition of the word *cigarette.*

At times advertisements exert their influence even on the language of literature as where Galsworthy, (p. 129) speaks of a certain shade of colour of the eyes as Reckitt's blue (cf. H. H. Richardson, The Way Home p. 113: "as for the sky, Mahony declared it made him think of a Reckitt's bluebag") from the blue-bags commonly used in washing clothes and manufactured by the firm of that name. When Wodehouse mentions

that schoolgirl complexion (Ukridge 240), many of us will at once think of the advertisement of Palmolive soap. It is almost as distinctive as the Kruschen feeling (being full of *zip* and *go*) from Kruschen salts.

Several general monitory or hortatory phrases sound to me to be American in origin (though I can give no precise reasons for this view) e. g. Say it with flowers!, Say it by telephone!, Eat more fruit! and possibly the Safety First device now ubiquitous, as also the motto: Do it now!, especially in offices (cf. City, p. 247 [1910]).

MUSIC HALLS AND THEATRES.

I have already mentioned the music-hall in connection with wrestling. A short section might here be appropriated to the 'halls' as foci of linguistic infection. Sometimes they may originate, at others they serve merely to drive the new expressions home. Catchy[1]) songs (*song hits* cf. '*Schlager*') and humorous sketches are the chief items of the programme responsible. Now and again we find allusions to these in literature, e. g. *Nora Kent* recalls in her novel (Vintage, p. 180) two of the popular favourites of the Boer War 'Bluebell' and 'Dolly Gray' as well as (on p. 215) two songs of the Great War: 'Who's your lady-friend?' and the famous 'Tipperary', and *P. G. Wodehouse* speaks of the 'Honeysuckle and the Bee' which was dinned in our ears in 1900, while I was still at the Prep. The earliest popular song of which I have any recollection is 'Taráraboomdeay' which, however, had suffered an eclipse before the end of the last century. Among the songs of the Great War which stick in the memory and are apt to have lines quoted from them still, are 'Pack up your troubles in your old

[1]) i. e. songs which catch on. Contrast the other contemporary slang use of catch in there's a catch in it (*something fishy or doubtful about it*), what's the catch? said incredulously in reply to some proposal too good to be true, where one fears to be sold a pup (*let down or cheated*).

kit-bag and smile, smile, smile' and the still prevalent good-bye-ee from the song 'Good-bye-ee, don't cry-ee, Baby dear, wipe that tear from your eye-ee!' American influence, which was already marked many years before the war (cf. nigger minstrels, the cake-walk, the picaninny and coon songs, etc.) gave us rag-time (whence to rag a melody) with 'Dixie land' and 'Yip-i-addy-i-ay'[1]) about the time I left Dulwich. I well remember the tune of the latter song reappearing in Cologne in the Kölsch dialect in 1910—1911 to the words '*Schrumm! ald (schon) widder (wieder) ein' Fleech (Fliege) kapott!*' Rag-time over here was replaced by jazz (whence jazz or jazzy colours etc.). Of recent American importations the best (and worst) example is perhaps Yes, we have no bananas. It is interesting to note that this quaint phrase became so wide-spread as to clamour for expression in circles when least suspected, for in 1923 I heard a learned colleague perpetrate the phrase 'Yes, we have no aspirates' in a philological lecture! Furthermore I was amused to see the German rendering *Ausgerechnet Bananen!* providing a model for the translation of the title of the Harold Lloyd film 'Safety last' as *Ausgerechnet Wolken-kratzer!*

Apart from the influence of the popular song there are also the little sayings which occur in the comedian's patter. I do not wish here to go into the question of the source of the following sayings, and suggest that some scrutiny of the comic songs of the period (stored in the British Museum) might show some to be taken from songs — I know them only as popular sayings. Here are a few: let 'em all come, (go and) get your

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[1]) On reflection I am inclined to agree with Mr. Bradley that Yip-i-addy-i-ay could hardly be counted as rag-time. He thinks it was a song in some musical comedy, perhaps 'Our Miss Gibbs' ca. 1909. The earliest ragtimes he can remember are 'Alexander's ragtime band' and 'That mysterious rag'; and the earliest revue he can date is 'Hullo Ragtime!' produced in London in 1912. Another early rag-time tune was 'Everybody's doing it'.

hair cut (from a song, I think), there's 'air — like wire; don't make me laugh — I've cut my lip!, let her rip!, don't let me catch you bending (cf. Pothunters, p. 70: 'copped him on the hop'), what ho — she bumps! (about the time of the South African War), won't you come home, Bill Bailey? (Bill Bailey often used as a jocular form of address before the war), Kelly from the Isle of Man, Archibald — certainly not! (cf. Pothunters, p. 249: Archibald, my long-lost brother); before the war Archibald was used somewhat derisively (cf. Chickens 167) as too were Percy and Marmaduke, but replaced during the war by the Cuthberts or stay-at-homes and archie came to be used for the Anti-Aircraft guns), that's the stuff to give 'em or to give the troops (very popular during the war) and all dressed up and nowhere to go[1]). I might append a few technical expressions of the Halls which are commonly known to English townsfolk, but not likely to find their way into all the dictionaries, e. g. the various items of the music hall programme such as cross-talk comedians who engage in back-chat or rapid dialogue while executing identical movements, a knock-about act (City 160), a song-scena (*song with appropriate setting*), potted plays ('potted' usually of meat fish etc., then of 'condensation' in general; here originating with Pellissier's Follies), lightning artists (*caricaturists working at great speed*), and thumb-nail sketches (*impersonation of types*), trick cyclists or the reactions of the audience who show their approval by giving a number of calls (Swoop 90), and their disapproval by giving the bird i. e. *hissing* (Swoop 90). or emitting catcalls or shrill whistles (Swoop 90). A bad actor is said to get the bird (no doubt from the whistling sound) or the rasp or the berry < pun on raspberry. One well-known rhyme I think I heard as early as 1897 from my school-fellows:

[1]) My colleague Mr. Titley ascribes the origin of this last saying to a song by Raymond Hitchcock, an American comedian.

Silence in the gallery!
Order in the pit!
The people in the boxes
Can't hear a bit.

Mr. Titley knows the variant:

A shilling in the stalls
Sixpence in the pit.
People in the gallery
Must not spit!

but it was at a much later date (now inaccessible to my memory) that I heard such theatrical slang as a complete frost for *failure*, (Ukridge 141), to get the needle (i. e. *stage-fright*) or dead-heads (Swoop 94) and paper for *people admitted on free tickets*. Also I remember the safety or fireproof curtain (Swoop 99) coming in, but cannot specify the date. From the theatre too we not only get the leading lady but also the villain of the piece and the heavy father. Theatrical rant is commonly burlesqued by such phrases as 'my long lost che-ild', which may be matched by (O. Onions, Ghosts in Daylight, p. 25) 'ter-rousseau' and as a supreme example of melodrama we hear quoted 'Maria Martin or the Mystery of the Red Barn'[1]), which has recently been revived. The English operas of *Gilbert* and *Sullivan* have left their mark on educated speech in such phrases as 'so now he is the ruler of the Queen's navee!', or 'I polished up the handle of the big front door' from the same song — or again from 'H.M.S, Pinafore' the words 'his sisters and his cousins and his aunts' or from 'the Mikado' the famous saying 'the flowers that bloom in the spring, tra-la, have nothing to do with the case' or from 'Trial by Jury' 'she has often been taken for forty-three in the dusk with the light behind her'. The last is given in the form in which the chorus repeats

[1]) This is the form of the title as usually quoted. Recently Mr. Bradley secured for 2 d. an account of the 'Trial entitled Maria Marten (sic) or the Murder in the Red Barn'. — Mr. Hutton draws my attention to another phrase which I dimly recollect as poking fun at the heroics of the stage: 'Lord Richard is on the seas, would to heaven the seas were on Lord Richard'.

with slight variations the Judge's line: 'She may very well pass for forty-three' etc. Nor must we forget the phrase 'no possible probable shadow of doubt, no possible doubt whatever' following on the words 'of that there is no possible doubt'. I saw recently in an account of a meeting of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants the following passage (Liverpool Post 19/6/1926): — Alderman Brown . . . spoke highly of the character and ability of municipal officials (a Voice: 'Of that there is no possible doubt', and laughter).

In the Observer 15/11/25 Mr. *F. W. Black* has a letter supplementing the remarks made by J. C. Squire in a review of (Harold Scott's English Song Book, Obs. 4/10/25). He gives a list of popular songs, the earliest of which 'our elders still sang only occasionally fifty years ago', such as 'Champagne Charlie', 'Slap, bang, here we are again', 'Cheer, boys, cheer', 'When Johnny comes marching home'. Next he cites the popular songs after the American civil war (still sung) e. g. 'John Brown's body', 'Marching through Georgia' and 'Dixie', then the items of the nigger minstrels, of which I mention as known to me as well: 'Poor old Joe' (made allusive to Chamberlain by the Liberals in 1906 on their song-sheet), 'Old folks at home', and 'Doodah' (first heard by me in camp on Salisbury Plain, 1909). Of the coon-songs still popular in my boyhood I would add 'Go to sleep, my little piccaninny' and draw attention to the use of coon for a *silly* or *stupid* person. Mr. Black groups together all the subsequent songs, putting them in rough chronological order. Many are unknown to me and I will content myself with a brief mention of 1. songs of which I know the titles, but which I do not remember hearing sung e. g. 'We don't want to fight, but by Jingo if we do', 'Nancy Lee', 'Tommy, make room for your uncle', 'The Two Obadiahs' 2. songs of which I have a more or less vivid memory, through I could not repeat the words: 'Over the Garden Wall', 'Hi-tiddly-hi-ti', 'Two Little Girls in Blue', 'Soldiers of the Queen', 'White Wings', 'Bicycle made for two', 'What cheer, 'Ria?', 'A little bit off the top': Chevalier's songs 'Mrs. 'Enery

'Awkins' and 'Knocked 'em in the Old Kent Road'; Vesta Tilley's 'Following in father's footsteps — yes, I'm following the dear old dad'; 'O Flo, what a change you know', 'Molly and I and the Baby', 'Afraid to go home in the dark', 'Beer, beer, glorious beer'. To the pre-war songs I would add 'Down at the old Bull and Bush' and 'O my darling Clementine' which together with the older 'Weeping willow tree', 'Wrap me up in my tarpaulin jacket', 'I do like a s-nice mince pie', the marching-song 'Three men went to mow, went to mow a meadow', the 'Farmyard chorus' and the 'Village Pump' constituted the repertory of the O. T. C. in 1909/10.

The war added to those mentioned in the text especially 'Keep the home fires burning', 'Who's your lady friend', the stuttering song 'K-K-K-Katie' and the tongue-twister, 'Sister Susie's sewing shirts' etc. 'Another little drink wouldn't do us any harm', 'It's a long, long trail a-winding to the land of my dreams', 'Rogerum' (the song of the ex-serviceman's society known as Toc H. for *Talbot House*, a rest-house and club at the front), the often unquotable 'Mademoiselle of Armen[tieres]' (to rhyme with 'years'!) or 'Charlie Chaplin's gone to France'. As I write these titles, snatches of the tunes flit across my mind and in many cases the words in the title are often to be heard in general conversation, but the aura does not leave them. Sometimes a mere couplet is preserved like: 'At Trinity Church I met my doom / And now I live in a top back room'. In others some might recall the whole chorus: 'Our lodger's such a nice young man, / Such a good young man is he, / So good, so kind — to all the familee. / He's never going to leave us — O dear, o dear, no! / He's such a very good young man, / Mama told me so!' — which I heard perhaps twenty-five years ago. My father, born 1859, reminds me of a song current in his youth, which stirs faint echoes of memory: 'I wish I had a penny. / What for? What for? / I'd buy a rope to hang the Pope. / Hurrah for Garibaldi!' From the seventies he recollects a song which I have also heard: 'Up in a balloon, boys!

Up in a balloon! / All among the pretty stars, all around the moon'. The once popular 'Everybody's down on poor Pilgarlic' has perhaps done something to keep alive the derisive 16th century expression Pilgarlic < a head of peeled garlic, used first of all for a bald-headed man and then in mock humility for one's self, cf. Ger. *Meine Wenigkeit* and in Engl. and Ger. present company e. g. in present company always excepted, *Anwesende ausgeschlossen* for one's self and friends present.

Here I would like to add a few more sayings, probably in part originating in Music Hall sketches though rightly characterized by Benham (from whom I extract those still familiar to me) as London Street Sayings 464a. From 1838 he quotes does your mother know you're out?; 1840, Hooky Walker! (for *'get out!'*) and do you see any green in my eye? (with appropriate gesture); from the sixties, keep your hair on (*don't get cross*), not in these boots for which we now say not in these [with or without the addition of trousers], not for Joe!, like a bird (he did it like a bird i. e. promptly, cf. like a shot), not for this child; from the eighties, get your hair cut!, where did you get that hat? and wo emma!, mind the paint!; ca. 1890 'e dunno when 'e are, mind the step! and a little later now we shan't be long; pre-war, have a banana < the song let's all go down the Strand (and) have a banana; Dec. 1914, thumbs up! and also from the earlier years not' alf (= *rather!*) and I don't think.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

The pirate is usually the first criminal with whom the boy becomes acquainted. The thrills afforded by the Jolly Roger (the pirate's black flag with its device of the skull and crossbones), the Spanish Main, doubloons and pieces of eight (coins), the punishment of making prisoners walk the plank or of hanging them at the yard-arm, marooning of men i. e.

abandoning them or casting them away on desert islands, derelict ships and the like came to us through the stories of R. L. Stevenson and Clarke Russell before the great vogue of Peter Pan with Captain Hook. On leaving childhood our interests turn rather to the pirate bus (see above) or pirated editions!

Next, terms connected with the detection and punishment of crime impressed themselves through the detective stories, followed later by a reading of the detailed reports of criminal cases which seem to fill the English newspapers to a greater extent than the German. Some of our Sunday and weekly rags are notorious for wallowing in unsavoury details and deserve the title of the gutter-press, which is, perhaps, a stage lower than the jingoistic Yellow Press.

Even our more reputable papers give very full reports of the evidence in divorce-cases and a movement is on foot to limit these reports to a bare official summary. Sensational cases leave a mark on the language at least temporarily. A few months back many were talking about an Indian prince — the victim of a blackmailing conspiracy — referred to as Mr. A, and about the same time we heard much about the legitimacy of the Russell baby. However, both of these cases must have been thrown into the shade by that of the Tichborne claimant (whose claim to vast estates rested on the allegation of a bogus burial). He first appeared in 1865, was non-suited in 1871 and later sentenced for perjury to 14 years penal servitude.

Since the war there has been a recrudescence of hold-ups by armed gangs, but the perpetrators are not held in high esteem like Dick Turpin (on his mare Black Bess) and the highwaymen who used to stop the coaches on the turnpike or toll-gate roads during the 18th century. Recently householders have been troubled by cat-burglars *(Fassadenkletterer)*, who make an entry by climbing up water-pipes, but who probably do not get their haul or swag down the same way.

Some of the murderers of the 19th century are still alluded to. Many, hearing the verb to burke a proposal i. e. to shelve it, will think of Burke and Hare, of whom the former was hanged[1]) in 1829. Then there came among others Charlie Peace, Jack the Ripper and in the present century Dr. Crippen and a man, whose claim to notice rests upon the murder of several wives in succession by the same method, the case being commonly known as that of the Brides in the Bath.

Right from the first police-court proceedings, through the presentment to the Grand Jury and the trial at the assizes to the carrying out of the sentence, the murderer is followed by many newspapers with a ghoulish curiosity. Probably few readers but have at one time or another had their attention held by the details, the solemn legal formulas and the dread technicalities of the last hours. Hence despite the repellence of the words and their associations it is necessary not to neglect this inevitable linguistic background. Thus, in a murder-case we hear of the various exhibits, often enumerated exhibit A etc., the speeches for the Crown and the defence, the banning of leading-questions *(Suggestivfragen)*, the judge's summing-up *(Rechtsbelehrung)* the retirement of the jury and announcement of the verdict by the foreman, the assumption of the black cap by the judge when passing sentence, the awful words of the sentence e. g. 'taken from the place whence you came ... to be hanged by the neck till you are dead ... and may the Lord have mercy on your soul'. Then the condemned cell and on failure of the appeal before the Court of Criminal Appeal, the last meal (*Henkersmahlzeit*), pinioning of the arms and the last scene on the scaffold where the condemned stands on the drop (used both for the trap-door released by drawing a bolt and for the distance through which the

[1]) Popular phrases connected with hanging are a hanging job for a capital crime, to swing for it and the dreadfully hackneyed phrase to be launched into eternity.

body drops). A bell is still tolled, but the black flag is no longer hoisted.[1])

From this recital it is a relief to turn to certain jocular and slang expressions currently used in connection with criminals. The magistrate, is vulgarly known as the Beak e. g. in up before the beak and prison as quod or chokey *(Loch, Kittchen)*, cf. in jug. The treadmill has been abolished and there is less picking of oakum, but the broad arrow still appears on all the clothes. Solitary confinement on bread and water is more a disciplinary punishment. A convict doing penal or doing time i. e. sentenced to penal servitude, is sometimes called a lag; the verb to lag also occurs in the sense of 'to send to penal servitude'. An old lag is an old gaolbird (cf. gallowsbird) or more technically an incorrigible or recidivist. After serving the major portion of his sentence, the convict may be released on ticket of leave i. e. remaining under police supervision. He is then known as a ticket of leave man. The system has its drawbacks in so far as the ex-convict finds it very difficult to regain his place in the community; as a marked man, shadowed by detectives, he is frequently driven from pillar to post in the vain search for employment. The best known prisons are Wormwood Scrubs and Dartmoor (Princetown). The prison-van is known as the Black Maria.

Coming to the details of various crimes we may note the terms crib-cracking, to crack a crib i. e. to burgle (back-formation from *burglar*); the jemmy, a short crowbar for opening doors; a coiner's den; to utter i. e. *put into circulation* counterfeit coin; to forge

[1]) Many of us will have heard of Lee, the Babbicombe murderer, the 'man they couldn't hang' in spite of three attempts, for on his release after serving about 15 years in gaol he refreshed memories by publishing his reminiscences in Lloyds' Weekly News! — The most distressing execution of recent years, that of Mrs. Thompson in 1923, moved Thomas Hardy to write a poem. There is much controversy as to the desirability of retaining capital punishment i. e. the death penalty.

Treasury notes or Bradburys (latter term used during the war); the confidence trick and a confidence man (swindling by extracting money under false pretences); to embezzle money *(unterschlagen)*; to abscond with the cash (make off, run away); to bilk (evade payment of a fare or a bill); a welsher (a betting cheat who runs off with the stakes); a betting tout (a man who canvasses for bets in the street); card-sharping (cheating at cards). Sometimes we hear of crimes committed by baby-farmers, women who undertake to look after babies for a consideration; Ger. has the term *Engelmacherin* for a woman who murders her charges.

In the case of minor offences the culprit may be bailed out or released on finding sureties in his friends. Lately we have heard a good deal about the shortcomings of the identification parades at the police-station and the means adopted to establish identity. In particular the case of a Mr. Beck some years back (the Adolf Beck case) and a few months ago of Major Sheppard (the Sheppard case) showed the possibilities of mistaken identity, and certain reforms have been put in operation.

A good deal of interest has been taken in recent years in the juvenile delinquent (official term for the *youthful offender*). Children's courts have been established. Special institutions, known as the Borstal institutions (whence the expression the Borstal system) endeavour to correct criminal tendencies. In minor cases the accused may be released on probation and placed under the supervision of a probationary officer. My knowledge of these terms is derived partly from the writings of psychologists like Cyril Burt.

Finally we may mention the Criminal Investigation Department at Scotland Yard or the Yard. I have already mentioned the Sherlock Holmes stories, which pitted the amateur Holmes against the professionals, of whom the chief type was Lestrade, well-meaning, but rather mutton-headed and incompetent. Both the stories

and the newspapers have recently adopted a number of American expressions like to apply the third degree, a form of interrogation conducted with great severity. Detectives are familiarly known as tecs or sleuths, they are said to shadow a suspect i. e. keep him under close observation and, after getting him in their toils or meshes by following up certain clues, manage to land him or run him to earth, especially if they can double-cross him by marring his counterplot. The American police were already familiar to many boys reading penny dreadfuls (cf. shilling shockers) in the Nick Carter and Sexton Blake series, but I did not come across these till near the end of my school-days and their linguistic influence on me was in no way comparable to that of Conan Doyle, whose style and composition have earned him the approval of foreign critics as well.

POLITICS

The foundations of my knowledge of political terms were laid during the years immediately preceding the great election of 1906 when the turn of the tide or swing of the pendulum brought the Liberals to power under Campbell Bannerman after they had been in opposition ever since the Khaki election at the time of the Boer war. I was initiated into politics in three ways: firstly by the stimulation of interest in home and foreign problems by my capable and energetic German-born teacher at Dulwich, next by a local circle (the Balham Junior Literary and Debating Society[1]) and chiefly by attending political meetings, reading the various pamphlets and election addresses and even in helping to canvass i. e. do personal propaganda and beat up electors to the booths on polling-day. The questions which were then in the 'spotlight' (or as we

[1]) There I first heard the Americanisms bedrock in 'to get to the bedrock' or 'a bedrock argument' and to side-track (*get* one *off the point*). (Cf. amusing burlesque of a debating-society, City 161.)

said then: the 'limelight') of public attention were the Conservative Education Act of 1902, the Drink question, Chinese Labour in South Africa (called by its promoters 'indentured labour' and by its opponents 'Chinese slavery'[1]) Tariff Reform and the Government of South Africa. The Education Act and the storm it let loose, made us all familiar with the term ad hoc elections, Cowper-Templeism and simple Bible teaching and especially with the passive resistance of those who refused to pay the rates. It is worthy of note, too, linguistically that about this time the word Board School began to be replaced by Council School or Elementary School in consonance with the new legislation. I remember our circle debated hotly such questions as 'secular education' and 'denominationalism' and interest was lively in Birrell's bill of 1906 (which was said to advocate Birreligion!) and McKenna's bill of 1908 which introduced many of us to the term contracting-out (subsequently heard mainly in connection with the Trade Union political levy and the Ulster question). The topical interest of the Licensing question led us to discuss 'prohibition of the Trade' or Prohibition and the 'Gothenburg system' and no doubt brought nearer to us such technicalities as tied houses and free houses (according to whether the public house was run by a brewery or a private individual), off-licences (i. e. to sell liquor for consumption off the premises), bona fide travellers (i. e. those entitled to a drink during restricted hours on the ground that they had spent the night in a place at least 3 miles distant), the black list[2]) (of *habitual drunkards*, also as a verb in figurative use), the employment of barmaids, the extinction of redundant licences, local option and compensation, Brewster

[1]) It was admitted by Winston Churchill that the word 'slavery' was a terminological inexactitude (a much repeated euphemism!).

[2]) Now in Oct. 1925 the Food Council propose to make a white list of bakers, who have reduced their prices, and blacklisted is now used of schools condemned as derelict.

sessions, etc. By the Children's Act children were excluded from the house, but were often left outside the Jug and Bottle department. Interest was reawakened in this sphere during the War when the restrictive measures of 1915 and later gave us a set of new expressions to use viz. scheduled areas (i. e. *scheduled for restrictions*), the long-pull (overmeasure of liquor obtained by pulling the handle of the beer-engine right over), treating and group-drinking and indulgence in nips of spirit (legally, quantities less than a reputed quart). Still greater interest has been shown in the Prohibition measures of the United States since the war and we all know — from the newspapers — about rum-running, Rum Row (*where the liquor ships gather outside the prohibited area*), boot-legging and boot-leggers (*smugglers from Canada*), home-brew with a kick in it (though hooch, for strong spirit which blinds the drinker, was unknown to me till I heard it from an American visitor last year — 1925). A well-known prohibitionist of quiet persuasive methods, Johnson, was known as Pussyfoot in the States. This nickname became popular in England during Pussyfoot's propaganda tour a few years back and has even given rise to a new verb e. g. when a correspondent in the Observer 18/10/25 speaks of Sir A. Conan Doyle — the famous author of Sherlock Holmes, but now chiefly occupied with occultism — as 'pussyfooting at the gates of Theosophy' i. e. carefully feeling his way without offending susceptibilities. But the most burning of all questions during my school-days was the issue between the Free Traders and the Protectionists. The latter in their turn were divided between the whole-hoggers or convinced followers of Chamberlain's full policy and the little-piggers who were prepared for a little Colonial Preference and supported Balfour

[1]) During a temporary period of unpopularity after the war Balfour was the victim of a Daily Mail stunt, in which the parrot-cry slogan was B.M.G. i. e. Balfour must go. However, he is now completely reinstated in the eyes of the public and is much respected.

whose policy — as he said — could be put on a half-sheet of notepaper. The fiscal controversy set everyone talking of dumping of foreign goods, the big loaf and the little loaf (used by Liberal propagandists), the free breakfast-table (i. e. free of duties), retaliation, tariff walls etc. and the German *'Zollverein'* well known to more then than either before or since. A picture postcard showing a number of Conservatives in a bed turning over at Chamberlain's command, bore the inscription when father says turn, we all turn, which became a popular saying. From one of Chamberlain's meetings at thus time (round 1906) dates the rhetorical question are we downhearted? to which the audience thunderously responds no!, a formula much used by the troops during the war. A very old political catch-word, Jesse Colling's three acres and a cow, was frequently trotted out in this controversy. In the election of 1923 some of the old slogans reappeared, but they seem to have lost their vitality.

Soon the Liberals were troubled by the suffragettes, especially by the militants, and their dealings with them brought to the fore the words to hunger-strike (since the war particularly associated with the Irish prisoners), forcible feeding and the Cat and Mouse Act or Temporary Discharge for Ill Healths Act, 1912 (providing for provisional release and rearrest, so that a term of imprisonment could be taken in driblets). Another electoral question much debated at that time was 'plural voting' and the influence on the polls of the out-voters (*resident outside a particular constituency*), called derisively carpet-baggers [from the American Civil War 1861—1865, when the only property qualification possessed by the northern immigrants was contained in their carpet-bag (N.E.D.)]. Discussion of these questions led us further to the position of the latch-key voter (*living in a lodging*) and to the wider issues of plebiscites and the referendum (though these became more topical when the Liberals had trouble with the House of Lords).

I do not remember our discussing one proposal which caused a storm in a teacup viz. the Deceased Wife's Sister's Bill [1907] — which gave us the portmanteau-form deezer and I fancy we were rather wary about touching the question of the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of England in Wales.

The Old Age Pensions Act (1908) supplied the language with at least one phrase: to qualify for the pension (*to be getting on in years*). The national health insurance scheme, brought forward in 1908, produced the expressions ninepence for fourpence and to be (or go) on the panel (i. e. *place oneself under the care of a panel doctor* or *Kassenarzt*). It was, however, the budget of 1909 over which most controversy raged, culminating in the rupture with the House of Lords. Lloyd George's proposals in regard to land-taxes[1]) set us all talking about the unearned increment (*Wertzuwachs*) and Form IV (in which the returns were to be made for assessment) and Lloyd George's *Limehouse speech* and his much criticized phrase to rob the hen-roosts became almost by-words. The Lords who were prepared to fight for their right of veto to the last ditch, became known as last-ditchers (a term still used for an irreconciliable just as during the war we had our never-endians and since the war our die-hards or die-hard Conservatives, the latter terms becoming especially prominent during the Irish controversy). Since the war many people dependent on private incomes have tried to evade the high taxation by escaping to the Channel Islands, which are said to be a bolt-hole i. e. like the hole to which a rabbit bolts when pursued.

In the economic field the big coal-strike of 1912 familiarized us with peaceful picketing (preventing blacklegs or scabs from taking the striker's jobs) after

[1]) I well remember the Liberal 'Land Song' sung at the election of 1906 just as I do the severe heckling of candidates at the election of 1910. Hecklers were often ejected by stewards, chosen for their fighting ability!

it had been legalized by the Trades Disputes Act (1906), nullifying the Taff Vale decision against such actions. Then there was the question of the compulsory levy made by the Trade Unions for political (as opposed to industrial) purposes and the Osborne judgment to protect dissentients. Industrial disputes since the war have brought into common talk such expressions as round table conferences, arbitration and conciliation boards and costings committees and have brought home to us the inconveniences of lightning-strikes, ca' canny policy (deliberate restriction of output) and working-to-rule (*upsetting an enterprise by a too literal adherence to all the various regulations*). Unemployment since the war has led to thousands being (or going) on the dole, i. e. *receiving unemployment benefit.* Maladministration of the relief system in Poplar in 1925 has led to the coinage of the expression Poplar finance. There is much anxiety lest the Labour movement should be run entirely by the wild men, who look to Russia for their inspiration. Another serious economic problem is that of the van-boys who help the carters on their rounds, and of others in blind-alley occupations (i. e. *where there is no chance of rising higher*).

Passing to military affairs we find that the Liberal Government before the war was active on land with the establishment of the Territorials or terriers and on sea with its programme of dreadnoughts and subsequently of super-dreadnoughts. Expressions figuring in the naval controversy were blue-water school (advocates of a strong Navy, called by their opponents the blue-funk school) the wet triangle (i. e. *North Sea*) and the doggerel rhyme We want eight (i. e. *Dreadnoughts*) and we won't wait. In this connection, too, the question of Imperialism would often crop up for discussion and it was then we heard of Little Englanders (though this term is older), the all-red route, of the respective merits of federation and devolution, of trade following the flag, and of the dangers of the open door and peaceful penetration.

We may next turn to the Irish question, though here the linguistic yield has been greater since the war. Many of us were acquainted with the words which were handed down from the troubles before our generation e. g. rack-rents (*exorbitant rents*), moonlighters (*moonlight raiders who maimed the cattle*) and of course boycott. Sinn Fein was known to most newspaper readers, though it was later to receive a further significance. Just before the war we heard a great deal about gun-running and one of the Ulster leaders, Galloper Smith (now Lord Birkenhead). Since the war we have been told about the Black and Tans (*a force of ex-service men*, organised by the Government to fight the Sinn Feiners and clad in khaki with a black hat, the term being familiar from its use in Black and Tan terriers), the rebel leaders and gunmen on the run, flying columns and finally of Dominion Status and the Dail *[dɔil]*. One small point I have noticed in Stephen Gwynn's articles in The Observer is the omission of the definite article before the word Government, which has bothered Mr. Bradley as well.[1])

India has especially since the war, claimed much public attention and the newspapers have acquainted us with Swarajists (*home-rulers*), the dyarchy system and the policy adopted by the Gandhi-ites of non-violent coercion, among various others.

The all too gradual clearing up of the mess left by the war has given new significance to a number of words. Thus the average Englishman was no more cognizant than the German of the peculiar use of sanction, which we have borrowed from the French. Reparations was less known as a plural than 'to make reparation'. The violent fluctuations of the Exchanges have familiarized us with the expression to peg the exchange (see chapter on Commerce below).

The spread of Bolshevistic propaganda has led to the fear, lest Labour should go red. Punch once took off

[1]) 'Government' without the article also occurs in reference to Indian affairs.

the awful alien jargon of bourgeoisie, internationale, the dictatorship of the proletariate and one might add sabotage, which has largely superseded the old Trade Union cant term to ratten for 'to deprive a non-unionist of his tools or to spoil the machinery, at which he is employed'. The British Fascists are a very small band, though there is now (Sept. 1925) a proposal to enlist citizens as willing to act as special constables in the event of a general strike to keep the essential supply services going, this body being known as O.M.S. i. e. Organization for the maintenance of supplies[1]).

Lloyd George's Kilverton speech (Sept. 1925) shows the growing concern felt for agriculture. Once again we hear of cooperative methods of marketing, of smallholdings and home-crofts. The Land, Housing and Unemployment are still three big issues before the present government. The housing difficulties were most acute round 1920 as I know from my own experience of house-hunting, but that topic requires separate treatment.

During the first half of 1926 our attention has been monopolized by industrial unrest, culminating in the General Strike in May and the stoppage in the mines. Once again the publication of the report of a Royal Commission on the Coal Industry has directly — its price being 3d — or indirectly through the newspapers aroused considerable interest in economic and social problems and made topical such expressions as the hewers (those who actually cut the coal at the coal-face, whence the contrast between the face-workers and off-hand men), mineral rights (entitling the owners of the surface property to royalties or dues calculated at so much per ton), multiple shifts (*Verdoppelung der Belegschaften*), pit-head committees (with representatives of the men as well as of the owners), pit-head baths, profit-sharing schemes (*Gewinnbeteiligung*), amalgamations (*Fusionen*) of

[1]) This organization contributed largely to the collapse of the General Strike.

companies, low-temperature carbonisation, liquefaction (*Verflüssigung*). With the progress of research we hear less of choke-damp (mainly carbonic acid gas which extinguishes the safety lamps — formerly Davy lamps from the inventor — and suffocates living beings), fire-damp (a combustible gas forming with air an explosive mixture) and after-damp (the suffocating gas remaining after the explosion). A more prevalent source of risk is the subsidence or caving in of a gallery by the collapse of the supporting pit-props (*Grubenholz*), the miners being trapped and pinned down by the falling roof. Apart from the winning of coal there is a good deal of interest in questions of distribution. Many have had the feeling that too much profit accrues to the middlemen (*Zwischenhändler*) or the coal-factors, who, in the words of the Report, 'purchase large tonnages from various collieries and distribute the coal to small merchants and consumers'. One suggested remedy is municipal buying. Finally I note for the sake of their topical interest the two opposed rhyming slogans: 'No coal, no dole' and that of the miners' leader Mr. Cook: 'Not a penny off the pay, not a minute on the day', which is quoted in many variant forms and which is called his never-never policy[1]).

In July 1926 there has been much discussion as to whether the railwaymen should handle black or scab coal, i. e. coal imported from abroad or dug by blacklegs during the stoppage. On July 9th the N.U.R. (National Union of Railwaymen) decided it could not help the miners in this way; the newspapers refer to the date as another Black Friday, the allusion being to the desertion of the miners by the other unions during the last coal-strike in 1921, when the Triple Alliance, consisting of the Miners' Federation, the

[1]) Mr. Cook's slogan is often called the parrot-cry or the parrot. On its abandonment in Sept. 1926 Punch parodied its own famous cartoon 'Dropping the Pilot', which portrayed the Kaiser and Bismarck, by representing Mr. Cook 'dropping the parrot'.

National Union of Railwaymen and the National Transport Worker's Federation, broke down.

In the financial stress in which our industrial troubles have left us, we shall soon be hearing again about the necessity for further cuts in the expenditure on the public services, even after the retrenchments effected by the Geddes axe (*Abbau*) in the Coalition government. Further employees may be axed. The Chancellor of the Exchequer is imposing a new Betting tax and, in spite of opposition, is raiding the road-fund i. e. money obtained from the motor car duty, originally earmarked for the upkeep of the roads.

Meanwhile the Liberal Party is torn by internal quarrels, partly fomented by the Tadpoles and Tapers, to use the picturesque names introduced by Disraeli's Coningsby (1844) for party-hacks and hangers-on. We do not yet know whether a new cave will be formed within the party, cf. E. J. Bright's use of the Adullam for the seceding body of malcontents in 1861.

We still use the term to be on the stump for to go about the constituencies making public speeches and from it we derive stump-orators. Also, judging from the remarks of many, one would suppose that we were infested with paid agitators. My brother and I often heard the mob-orators and tub-thumpers who were allowed to let off their revolutionary steam on Clapham Common. Many spoke from chairs or waggons and occasionally got mobbed and man-handled by the crowds.

From platform speaking we take the Americanism the platform for the programme of a political party and each point of policy is said to be a plank. We also speak of the party's ticket, for which the synonym coupon was used of the Lloyd Georgian party at the 1918 election.

A few words are apposite here on current interest in overseas settlement and Empire matters. There is perhaps less of the flag-wagging type of oratory, so obnoxious to the schoolboys in Kipling's 'Stalky and

Co'. Through becoming trite, phrases like the vast open spaces, outposts of Empire, the wilds and the like have sacrificed some of their original emotional energy. Judging from current literature, both fiction and the drama, I note a good deal of preoccupation with the problem of the contact of the white man with the coloured races. One still often hears Kipling's famous lines quoted: 'For East is East, and West is West / And never the twain shall meet'. We find that mixed marriages form the dominant theme in such novels as *Brown wife — or white?* by Reginald Campbell or the South Sea yarns by the pseudonymous Asterisk. A West African play *White Cargo* recently had a very successful run in London. Life in Kenya and Tanganyika is admirably portrayed in several novels by Francis Brett Young. These are some of the authors who, like Kipling before the war, are now rousing interest in various parts of the Empire. In them we grow familiar with the different items of tropical kit like the topee (*shaded hat*) or of tropical life like tiffin (*a very old Anglo Indian term for lunch*) or a sundowner (*a drink at sunset*).

MODERN HOUSES

The problem of house-hunting brought with it various technical terms or rather revived interest in them viz. key-money or premium paid to secure a tenancy, kitchenette (*a tiny kitchen in a flat*), bed-sitter (bedroom and living-room combined), parlour houses (there being a doubt as to the desirability of including a parlour in workmen's dwellings), all-steel houses, corporation houses (built by the Municipality). We got familiar with the house-agent's repulsive terminology e.g. the usual offices, a three nines agreement (i. e. 999 years) and his magnification of rooms in which there was not enough room to swing a cat) (a phrase referred by Gibbons and Frazer 'to the restricted space between decks on a warship, where there was not room to swing

a cat o' nine tails'). I beg leave to insert here some words connected with the equipment of houses, which though not new have been much to the fore in recent years. The extensive use of electricity (regulated by light and power switches) has led to the fixing of wall-plugs or points, from which flex (flexible tubing) supplies the current for a radiator or an electric kettle or iron. The term point may also refer to gas-supply. In spite of the advantages of central heating, open fires remain the norm — they sometimes have brass canopies and tiled surrounds and are more often well-grates (i. e. low) than basket-grates (with hobs for the kettle), and the fender is sometimes a curb fender with corner seats. In connexion with the water-supply I would draw attention to the following terms: h. and c. in the auctioneer's announcements for 'hot and cold water laid on', (cf. Cuthbert, p. 12) or sometimes company's water, presumably in contradistinction to well or spring-water; taking water from the main (Ger. *Leitung*); the turnkey (the municipal employee who turns water on and off at the main). Armed with an order to view (cf. the title of one of Charles Marriott's novels) we proceed to inspect the interior to see whether the floors are parquet, how much linoleum or lino (cf. cork-lino) will be required. We may find a range of cupboards in the butler's pantry and a set of shelves along one wall with return shelves at right angles. If the house is new the doors will probably have latch-handles and all the chief rooms be provided with picture-rails and friezes, and there will be a cloak room near the entrance.

Next we come to the question of furnishing, but here I content myself with noting a few curiosities such as expanding or sectional book-cases, the earliest system being known as the Globe-Wernicke and a later one as the Oxford (often used generically), knee-hole desks, gate-leg tables (*where the legs fold back under*), refectory tables (*long narrow ones*), the revival of Welsh dressers, wheel-backs and

ladderbacks (*old fashioned chairs*), mule-chests (*buffets without legs*), chesterfields (*roomy sofas with ends to let down*), boot-cabinets, corner cupboards (*rounded or triangular cupboards fixed in a corner*) etc. The old lace and velvet long curtains are now often replaced by casement-curtains in white or colours fitted behind the panes. Reversible mats or rugs are often used and the carpets are often laid on underfelt.

As to the gardens some of the larger ones are terraced and often have rockeries for Alpine flowers. Very often the paths have crazy paving[1]) (irregular fragments of stone). Instead of tennis-lawns some gardens contain made or hard courts laid down in a material known as en tout cas. While speaking of new materials one should mention the coke-breeze (a composition of coke-refuse pressed into slabs), which was often used for making the partition walls when houses were converted into flats, and which certainly proved more substantial than the millboard (pasteboard made from hemp, rope-yarn etc.), which some of the less scrupulous landlords would use. Returning to the garden I feel bound to mention one curious tree-name, the monkey puzzle (*Araucaria imbricata; die Chilifichte*), as it is the title of one of J. D. Beresford's recent novels.

Lodgings we still call familiarly digs, whence the phrase: 'where do you dig?' A particular room set off for one's privacy, is a den or a sanctum. A very cosy room is sometimes called a snuggery.

WAR WORDS

I cannot attempt here more than a sketchy treatment of war-words. Some which attalned a considerable propagation during the war period were already in use before the war began, though known only to certain restricted circles. Two or three expressions I learnt

[1]) Cf. crazy quilt (patchwork quilt) given in the Oxford dictionary as an Americanism, but often used here.

at Bisley in 1909 when doing target-practice in the London O.T.C. viz. the six o'clock aim (from position on target focussed)[1]), a sighting shot (sometimes used figuratively), a washout (failure to score on the target so called from the custom, observed by the markers of washing off the mark in the iron target — very familiar during and since the war in the sense of somebody or something rotten). The term moppers up, applied to those who kill off the enemy wounded, is a derivative of the verb to mop up (*clear up the remains*) used by *Wodehouse* in 1902 (Pothunters 17). Cold feet (*funk*), see red (*get wild*), see it through are all older expressions which the war introduced to wider circles, the last phrase becoming especially popular through *H. G. Wells'* famous novel. At Salisbury Plain and Camberley in 1909/10 I learnt a number of camping expressions like fleabag (*sleeping bag*), palliasses (*straw-filled mattresses*), biscuits (*small mattresses reputed to be as hard as dog-biscuits*); Balaclava helmet (*a woven hood to protect the sleeper's head from the cold*), webbing (*a material used for belts*), Sam Browne (*the strap in an officer's uniform carried transversely over the right shoulder*); dixie (*a camp kettle*), lats (*latrines*), incinerator (*refuse-destructor*); tentpole, guy-ropes (*to keep the tent up*). Puttees (*Wickelgamaschen*) and Khaki were then already in general use. In the O.T.C. I first heard the pronunciation [*raut*] in route march, but it was not until the Great war that I noticed [*pūtš*] for 'pouch' or the accentuation of the second syllable in sedentary (in 'sedentary occupation') and discipline. Well do I remember the feeling of novelty I experienced in 1914, when I heard the American expressions it's up to you (but cf. City p. 239 written in 1910), to be up against it, a stiff proposition used in addressing cadets, and

[1]) From the boyish sport of shooting at a target with an air-gun I was already familiar with the technical terms for the concentric rings of the target: outer, inner, magpie, bull (short for bull's eye). To score a bull (*ins schwarze treffen*) is often used figuratively.

it was not until August 1917 that I heard in the O.C.B. (Officer's Cadet Battalion) at Cambridge the word click in the following applications 1. to do a drill movement with a click, 2. to click for a fatigue or a duty (i. e. be put down for one), 3. to click with a member of the opposite sex, syn. to get off with one (also to click used absolutely without an object e. g. in 'he's clicked') in the sense of 'picking up or making the acquaintance of', 4. a woman clicked if she found herself pregnant. In all these senses the word is still (1926) not uncommon. During the war a man was said to click for V.D. (*venereal disease*) or V.C. (*venereal case*), the latter containing a pun on the celebrate V.C. or Victoria Cross. A war-word I heard possibly a year previously was cushy (a word referred by G. W. Gurner in the Times Lit. Suppl. of 10/9/25. to Persian (similarly [1919] in Cassell's Dict.), khushi 'pleasure', coming through Urdu) in the senses of 1. a cushy one, stop a cushy one, i. e. to be slightly wounded and be sent into dock (*hospital*) for a brief respite from the firing-line, 2. comfortable, easy, especially in a cushy job. I fancy I heard this first from an Officer on his return wounded after the battle of Loos (Sept. 1915). This word, too, is still quite prevalent. Glad rags is now less common, though occasionally used for one's best clothes — it meant (in 1917) the walking out clothes worn by Officers and the use of glad is presumably dependent upon its meaning in the American importation (pre-war) the glad-eye, to give the glad-eye (*to glance at with a view to attract*), often abbreviated to the glad. A few other persistent words may here be quoted. There are the useful makeshift words like gadget (cf. before the war jigger[1]) which, I think, spread from the Navy), the nth degree,

[1]) A definite technical term denoting a certain part of a lathe, but used — owing to its felt expressiveness — in many ways like 'gadget'. Jigger is now used especially for a combination-knife in which used Gillette-pattern safety blades are used as string-cutters, cigar-cutters, etc.

for the nth time (Galsw. 193) which owes its origin to algebra, but probably extended its sphere through the artillerymen or others who had to use formulae; umpteen and umpteenth for an indeterminate number (like nth) to indicate an inordinately large number, e. g. 'I told him umpteen times, cf. when I told him for the nth time; oodles in we've got oodles of time; the insertion of old extended from any old thing to any old when, how or where. All these persist in familiar conversation. Now and again war-phrases crop up in a figurative use, e. g. in a Committee report at Liverpool University, Greek was said to occupy a key-position (1923) and I remember in the same year a colleague, about to be married, being asked: when are you going over the top? In the war the much discussed phrase to go west was used of *being killed*; now it is often used in the sense of *being mislaid*, e. g. my pen's gone west or even his chances have gone west (cf. Galsw. 11). We still send chits (a word used before the war, but rather restricted) and find things posh and pukka (in the war especially of a regular or pukka officer), but swish seems now more popular for '*smart*'. Whereas brass-hats (*staff-officers*) have ceased to worry us, we have a reminiscence of tin-hat (worn by the troops in action) in that puts the tin-hat on it as a variation of that puts the lid on it, lid being used during the war in the sense of the tin-hat as well.

In order to test on a bigger scale which war-expressions were familiar to me (who, owing to the nature of my work, may be said to occupy a half-way position between the men at the front and the civilian population) I have worked through the collection published by Frazer and Gibbons (Soldier and Sailor Words and Phrases [London 1925]). I was astounded to discover the extent of my ignorance, but suspect that some of the words recorded were somewhat local. Perhaps it will be most convenient if, instead of giving an alphabetical list, I attempt a rough classification of the expressions noted. 1. **Old soldier words** — I am most familiar

with pawny (*water*), rooty (*bread*), gippo (*gravy*), scoff (*eat*), pozzy (*jam*), duff (*pudding* — especially *plum-duff*); rooky (*recruit*); buckshee (i. e. *'bakshish' for something superfluous*) — where there was an excess of officers in a training camp, they were nicknamed buckshee officers and buckshee was often used for some little extra perquisite; to swing the lead (perhaps from swinging the line when taking soundings, the present meaning 'to go sick under false pretences', 'to malinger' perhaps being mediated by the idea of sounding to see how far one dare go); to get one's ticket (to get one's discharge, *become demobilized* or demobbed). The phrase to come the old soldier was used of anyone *who tried bluff to get out of a duty* or who chucked his weight about (*swanked*) and tried to domineer. 2. **Officers' and instructors' words** of command, which have extended their sphere beyond the military e. g. carry on! (Ger. *bitte, bequem!*) said by an officer entering a company of privates to get them from the position of attention to a continuation of their activities — and now often said to encourage another to proceed (cf. Galsworthy 280), as you were! (command given when a movement has been badly executed to return to the initial position, and now a means of pulling up someone's over-hasty utterance), double up! (command to go at the double or break into a run — now equivalent to 'hurry!'), jump to it! (*to encourage anyone to act promptly*), put a jerk in it! (used by the P.T. or physical training instructors to *inculcate smartness*) (cf. N. Kent The Quest of Michael Harland 1921 p. 241, where we are told that the father learns it from a young doctor!) and we may note the use of hipe for 'rifle' on account of the command which sounds like slope hipe! (*slope arms!*). 3. **Nicknames widely known during the war:** Anzacs (*Australians* and *New-Zealanders*), Aussies (*Australians*), Canucks (*Canadians*), Chinks (*Chinamen*), Doughboys (*Americans*), Gippoes or Gippies (*Egyptians*), Jocks (*Highlanders*), Pork and Beans (*Portuguese* with jocular sin-

gular Portugoose); the Bocne, Fritz and Jerry; Die-hards (*Middlesex Regt.*, except the battalion of Anglo-Germans known as the Kaiser's own!); Big Willie and Little Willie (*the Kaiser and the Crown Prince* from Hazelden's cartoons in the Daily Mirror); Dunsterforce (*an Eastern force* under command of Dunsterville); Mespot (*Mesopotamia*); (the old) Contemptibles (*the original British Expeditionary Force*), Terriers (*Territorials* — pre-war); place-names at the Front like Wipers (*Ypres*) and Plugstreet (*Ploegstreet*); appellations like sea-lawyer for an argumentative man, vet for an *army doctor* (otherwise known as the M. O. or medical officer), wallah (fellow or as a suffix indicating '*person*'); naval, like snotty for a *midshipman*. **4. Words connected with: (a) drinking**—originating outside the Army in many cases, but popularized during the war: to have a (or go on the) binge, razzle-dazzle, ran-tan; to have a blind; to make a night of it; to paint the town red (pre-war); to be a bit on, canned up, well oiled, jugged, done to the wide, blotto, squiffy (all *for various stages of drunkenness* — the last already in 'Fanny's First Play') as well as the older half seasover and three sheets in the wind; the question what's yours? in inviting to a drink, say when! in asking how much whisky should be poured in, chin chin as *a toast*; (b) **the companionship of women:** the older term square-pushing (associated by Frazer and Gibbons with a square piece for a respectable woman and the soldier's prerogative of pushing the nurse's pram — I first heard square-pushing used by an old sweat or old army man at Cambridge in 1917), bird (used like Ger. *Biene* especially for a more flirtatious or less reputable type of girl, in this sense tending to oust the tart which together with dream and peach — these latter simply for a *pretty girl* — I learnt at Dulwich), to click (discussed above); the red lamp as the sign of a '*maison tolérée*'; war-wedding, war-baby (especially an *illegitimate child*), ring-money (the wife's allowance given if she

could produce her marriage lines or certificate of registration, (c) **card-games:** the prohibited game of Crown and Anchor was widely known by name as also the more harmless rummy and solo whist, (d) **stories which went the round of the army** and are still occasionally heard e. g. those referred to by Frazer and Gibbons like the mutilation of the message 'going to advance, send reinforcements' into 'going to a dance, send three and fourpence' (told us in 1909 by our O.T.C. instructors) or the story of the general who put the wind up (i. e. *frightened*) a private by telling him he was the left hand man, of the left hand section, of the left hand platoon etc. up to being on the extreme left of the British Army in France, for the man wondered how long it would take him to get into the new position if the Army were given the command 'Right form' and he would have to move round the quadrant of a gigantic circle, while the man on the extreme right 'marked time'! — Two of the chief serious stories accepted by many civilians were that of the help given by the Angels of Mons and the perhaps deliberately maintained fiction of Russian troops being landed in Scotland to reinforce our army and being recognized by their fur coats or — as some may put it — by the snow on their uniforms, as they travelled southward, (e) **the generally known pleasantries** of the Sergeant Majors to recruits like 'We'll soon lick you into shape, we're lion-tamers here' or after seeing a drill-movement throughly badly performed 'Thank God we've got a navy' and the exhortation to do everything with a click (so admirably taken off by the Russian Chauve-souris company in their turn *Wooden Soldiers*) and without the flicker of an eyelid, (f) **the soldier's names for his punishments:** for minor offences he would be told off or ticked off (still common pre-war slang), strafed or chewed up; if expecting a dressing-down (*severe talking-to*) or worse, he was said to be for it (you're or I'm for it still quite prevalent (Galsw. 317)) and to be in the presence of the angry superior officer was to be on the mat.

To go on to the charge-sheet for a more serious military offence was to be crimed and among the penalties were C.B. (*confinement to barracks*), crucifixion[1]) (a field *punishment consisting in leaving the delinquent tied up*) and at worst clink[2]) (*military prison*), (g) **nicknames for guns** like Long Tom (first popular during the South African war) and the German Big Bertha; for various projectiles like pip-squeak (used also derisively of a man), whizz-bang, non-stop (from the Express trains on the Underground railways), big stuff including crumps, coal-boxes and Jack Johnsons (from the Champion negro boxer); dud '*Blindgänger*' is often used still for anything or anybody of no value, also as an adjective: a dud show (*a worthless business*). Other artillery terms which spread were O pip (for 'observation post' from the signallers' use of pip for P, cf. ack for A, beer for B, don for D, esses for S, toc for T — cf. toc H for Talbot House, vick for V, also ack emma for a. m. and pip emma for p. m.), a creeping barrage, drum-fire, fairy lights (Verey lights to send up the S.O.S. or distress signals), to straddle or bracket (aim each side of the objective in turn), to unload stuff (*fire it off*); an ammunition dump, (h) widely known **borrowings from outside England** including the Canadian bonza and Australian dinkum, both for 'good' (the Australian wattle plant being also familiar from its use in decorating their hospital wards); the French scraps like na poo < '*il n'y a plus*' (*for* '*no good*' *or* nothing doing; no can do as was said in imitation of Pidgin), compree and no compree (before the

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[1]) There were two methods of crucifixion. The prisoner might be tied to a gun-wheel or he might be laid on the ground and his outstretched hands and feet roped to tent pegs which had been driven into the ground. The official name for this punishment was Field Punishment No. 1. It was abolished during the war, in spite of the plea of military necessity.

[2]) Mr. Hutton says field detention camp (or compound) was reckoned to be the very worst punishment, that could befall a British soldier.

war we used to ask jocularly twiggy or twiggy vous? with — y representing — ez), apree la guere finie for *après la guerre finie*, which was bogus French for *at the end of the war*, avec, beaucoup as well as matlo for a marine; the German words and loan-translations like der Tag (often pronounced [*tæg*]) or the Day, Ersatz, war-zone, U-boat, *spurlos versenkt* (*spurlos* sometimes used alone in the sense of 'gone west'), Minenwerfer, Drachen (sometimes mistranslated 'dragon' by the journalists, who also were unaware of the equivalents of many German geographical terms like *Weichsel)*, to strafe [*streif* or *sträf*], sb. a strafe or a strafing for (1) an artillery bombardment or shoot, (2) a dressing-down or severe rebuke, still used in the latter sense; the Hymn of Hate (whence a morning hate for a 'strafe' in the first sense), shock-troops; frightfulness, Kultur (often called [*kʌltə*]), Sittlichkeit (in the newspapers); hammerblows (from the German communiqués, especially those directed against what our journalists called the Russian steam-roller!), (i) **miscellaneous soldier words and phrases:** designations for a cigarette like gasper, fag (pre-war), woodbine, coffin-nail; absorption of Americanisms like attaboy < 'that's the boy', to beat it (*to make tracks* or *clear out*), a big noise (for generals and other big bugs), a dead cinch for 'a dead cert or certainty' (I heard the phrase a lead-pipe cinch used by my brother-in-law on his return from Canada in 1909), dope for *drugs* like cocaine (also snow), dough for '*money*', have a hunch (*to have an inkling*), hot air (for '*nonsense*', see below), hobo (*a tramp*), give the frozen mitt (*show the cold shoulder, to cut*), a stunt (anything extraordinary, cf. post-war expressions like the stunt press for the Northcliffe papers which were said to work stunts and also the stunting of airmen for various tricks like looping the loop performed in the air (in M. Arlen, The Green Hat the heroine says she detests the word stunt (p. 23 [Used by Galsworthy p. 198]); to get wise and to put wise about a matter — cf. a few further notes below on

Americanisms; words meaning 'to appropriate' like to win, scrounge, adopt; words illustrative of a certain fatalism like mascot (pre-war for the animal pets kept by different regiments, now used often for the little dolls or toys carried on motor-cars — before the war, too, there was a craze for Billikins or little oriental gods of luck), thumbs up! (cf. Ger. *jem. den Daumen halten*), old phrases like my luck's in, to touch lucky, touch wood! (see above), the idea that the same match must not be used for more than two persons (a superstition ascribed in jest to the big match firm (Bryant and May's) or that 'every bullet had its billet' or as it was put in the late war had a name written on it; noteworthy phrases used in Army orders to particular troops e. g. stick it, Welsh (Welsh *dal ati, Gymro*) or to the airmen tails up! (originally *from the hounds in full cry*, cf. the converse, with their tails between their legs); or words connected with borrowing money like to sting or touch one for a sum (post-war often to bite one's ear) or with getting something done by indirect means (push or influence) such as to wangle (trans. verb used with objects like 'leave' (*Urlaub*), 'a ticket' 'a job' etc. or used absolutely and forming the derivative wangler — before the war we used verbs like to work or manage a job and may still employ them), cf. further the griffin for a *tip* or *hint* received, for which we also say to tip the wink; popularization of certain playful pronunciations which, probably, were heard in the Music Halls e. g. k-nuts < nuts (dogs, bloods, *smart fellows*), the b-hoys < boys (perhaps from the Irish aspiration, cf. the b(h)oy for *whisky*), the comedian Wilkie Bard's stressing of 'cabbage' [*kæbāž*] and 'carrot' [*kærɔ't*] and the actual use of the name of the comedians in Fred Karno's navy for the Dover patrol and Harry Tate's navy for the R.N.V.R. (*Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve*); humorous designations of weights and measures, which were still used jocularly by a friend — an airman — in September 1925 and which we finally systematized somewhat as follows: —

for solids like bacon or bread 3 fids = one wad, for semi-liquid food like porridge 3 dollops = one wallop — and I would add here the ubiquitous doings for gravy, salt, sugar, pepper, milk or anything wanted at a particular time for a particular purpose; unclassified expressions which are still in full vogue like to get the wind up (*be alarmed*), to have the wind up, there was a great wind up (cf. Ger. *dicke Luft*), varied by the substitution of bree ze or vertical breeze, cf. also the adjective windy for funky, afraid (just as we used to say to be in a blue funk); to do the dirty on a person (*to act meanly behind his back*) eyewash (or, as we also say, window-dressing for anything specious); to get away with a thing (get through with impunity, to pull a thing off i. e. manage it successfully); he's well away (he has got into his stride or into swing whether in tackling a meal or a flirtation or in drink); to get down to a task (to buckle to it, *tackle it energetically*); to grouch, grouse (*grumble*), grouser — all pre-war; not on the map (*unheard of*); put a sock in it! (*stop your noise, shut up* — perhaps as Frazer and Gibbons suggest from an effectual means of damping the noise of a gramophone); to give anyone a putty medal (pre-war, just said by way of humorous encouragement)[1]); to put it across a person (give him what for, go for him, take him to task, make him work hard); a do, a show (*for any big affair*, even of a battle — we use a do for a *dinner* or *entertainment* and the shows are the *theatres* and *music-halls*). 5. **Words connected with civilian activities** such as silver bullets for the money contributed to the war loans, land girls, food hoarders and profiteers, national registration and rationing with ration-books, recruiting with the Bantams (men under 5 ft 3 inches in height) and the Derby scheme of voluntary attestation (to attest was to declare one's readiness to undertake military service if called upon) and its

[1]) Mr. Hutton supplies the variant: a paper medal with a wooden string — not known to me.

famous categories ranging from A 1 to C 3 (and D for unfit) — of which C 3 for *inferior* is still in common use, then full-blown conscription bringing in its train tribunals to consider applications for exemption from conchies (*conscientious objectors*) and indispensables. Even (Poth. [1902]) p. 17 has the phrase 'a conscientious objection to scrapping with you' and it was often used of *opponents of vaccination*. Cuthberts or slackers, limpets desirous of sticking to their government office or funk-holes, the term bolt-hole, originally (a hole *for a rabbit to bolt* or *escape to*) at a time when dug-outs (especially *retired officers* 'dug out' of their seclusion) were taking the place of younger men. Most of the above terms may still occur on occasion as well as to comb out, a combing out process, in contexts other than military (cf. Wells 274), 6. **Naval words** for further specimens of which I may refer to my articles in the Modern Language Review (vols 14 and 15) (with German renderings): blister (protuberant side armour to warship), part brass rags (used by Wodehouse, Chickens 120) for 'to quarrel', taken from the custom of two sailors polishing the brass work together by pulling a rag between them, chew the fat (now common slang for 'grumble'), dazzle painted (for which the common term outside is camouflaged) (cf. Spies pp. 68 ff. and more recently Galsw. 209) the Herbaceous Border (single-screw sloops called after flowers like aster, begonia etc.), hush-hush or mystery ships, juice (very prevalent still for *electric current*), tip and run raids (like some of the German East Coast raids). Many more will be found in the works of *Bartimeus*, '*Taffrail*' and '*Klaxon*', this last himself a submarine commander. 7. **Words connected with aviation,** of which I will mention only ace (*a champion flying man*), bus (Ger. *die Kiste*), Richthofen's circus, cock-pit (still used for the pilot's seat), conk out (to *give out*), crash dive (whence that's crashed it! as a variant of that's done it! or

that's torn it!), joy-stick (the *control lever*); doped fabric, for the material for covering the planes with a coat of shellac; the various movements like taxi-ing (rolling on ground or water before mounting), pancaking (*to drop flat*), banking (*inclining to the side*) nose-dive (*to drop nose first*), stunting (*aerial acrobatics*), zooming (*soaring up vertically*), stalling (*going at minimum speed*); airships with their vocabulary, cf. sausage balloons, blimps (for *coastal escort*), zepps, mooring-mast, gasbags and since the war trans-Atlantic flight; air-raid terminology like to bomb a place, the maroon (warning rocket), 'all clear'; the development of commercial aviation since the war which has given us airways. In so far as the vocabulary of aviation is not original as in the examples given, it borrows much from the sea e. g. turn turtle (*capsize*), landing speed, yaw (*bend out of the course*), to navigate an airship, streamline form, fore and aft, etc.

This whole list represents, I think, pretty adequately the war-words which were best known to large numbers of the civilians as well, and therefore had a better chance of surviving. In addition I first recollect hearing at the Admiralty (1918) the non-military idioms to be at a loose end (*be at leisure involuntarily*), to go like hot cakes (*to sell well*).

During the final revision of my MS. I had an opportunity of consulting Dr. Ehlers' [Farbige Worte im England der Kriegszeit] and gladly avail myself of his permission to make use of his carefully documented material. My reading of his work was not unaccompanied with a certain amount of grim and bitter amusement at the merciless showing-up of some of the more distressing symptoms of that war-psychosis, which afflicted us in common with the other belligerent nations. Fortunately some of the most rabid terms of abuse were enlisted only for the duration (as we said of the new recruits) and have either receded into the background or even acquired a playful or teasing significance! Some like

the mad dog, the mailed fist, the All Highest stir dormant historical memories. At the mention of Kultur — a word nearly as blessed as Kadaver to the journalist — I always recall a Music Hall aquadrama of 1915, in which a very Cockney Kaiser surveyed the flooded arena, representing the Flanders fields, and harangued his troops on Krupp [*krʌp*] and Kultur [*kʌltə*]! We still occasionally use frightfulness for any violent measures or unpleasant opposition, the hidden hand for secret or malign influences, a place in the sun for a chance in life, peaceful penetration for activities other than Germany's commercial ambitions and Haldane's spiritual home has been used of other countries. The Russian steamroller no longer consoles us for our anxieties in the face of revolutionary Russia; it served its turn like the story of the Russian troops passing through England. Somewhere in France has ceased to bore us stiff with its hackneyed variants. Finally, I can assure Dr. Ehlers that most of us are now prepared to say to the worst expressions he has collected from our war-literature: Na poo, toodle-oo, good-bye-ee!

MODERN PSYCHOLOGY

Without going into much technical detail I should like to present here certain terms coined or used recently by psychologists, which have acquired a certain topical flavour. Interest in hypnotism, which has now gone far to replace mesmerism, was, of course, already strong before my entry on the scene and the terms to make passes, to go off (scil. *to sleep*) easily, a deep trance and such like in full use. Hypnosis and hypnoidal are still rather technical, but to hypnotize and hypnotic are frequently heard. Thought-reading became more widely known through the Variety theatres especially through the Zancigs; clairvoyance and crystal-gazing possibly through the very popular works of Andrew Lang like *Cock Lane and Common Sense* etc.;

mesmerism through du Maurier's novel and play: *Trilby*. The doings of Psychical Research Society and the work of Myers and Sir W. Crooks (more recently of Sir O. Lodge and Conan Doyle) brought wider recognition of the supernormal phenomena, which have imported into our vocabulary words like medium, séance, planchette, ouija from *oui* and *ja* — a planchette with alphabetic signs—, table-turning, table-rapping, poltergeist, a term which we still use in English, though in German it is often replaced by *Klopfgeist*, cross-correspondence, and more recently television, now likely to be popularized by wireless, telekinesis, teleplasm (cf. ectoplasm), besides automatic writing, controls (*controlling spirits*) and the old practice of dowsing or water-finding with a forked twig or divining-rod (*Wünschelrute*). The ancient ecclesiastical expression to lay a ghost i. e. exorcise it and stop it from haunting a locality, is most effectively used by F. Brett Young in his novel 'Woodsmoke'. The news of the cessation of a besetting anxiety is telegraphed: 'Ghost laid. Love. Jim'! To Theosophists like *Madame Blavatsky* and *Colonel Olcott* are due the spread of Oriental words like karma, mahatma, yogi (Wells 283) and of a particular use of plane (*Ebene*) and body (*Körper*) e. g. in astral body etc. Here in England as elsewhere occultism received a great impetus from the war. It is perhaps of interest to note that we still use spiritualism for occult beliefs rather than the continental spiritism, though the latter is gradually attaining a wider circulation owing to the convenience of discriminating occultism from the philosophical theory.

The promotion of efficiency in thought and action has been a constant watchword since the beginning of the century. It was not only the Theosophists who taught the value of concentration (the topical nature of which expression is evinced in a song popular in 1917 'Have you ever really learned to concentrate? I don't know the meaning of the word!' and (Wells 232)), but above all the Correspondence Schools and the Pel-

man Institute, the latter supplying us with the convenient term to pelmanize (*commit to memory*). Suggestion and auto-suggestion are now associated particularly with the name of Coué, whence the term Couéism and its well-known recipe, often-quoted and parodied 'Everyday and in every way I am feeling better and better'. The Christian Scientists have brought closer to us the notions and terminology of mental healing, faith cures etc., partly through the newspaper reports of inquests. This whole group of ideas sometimes leaves a mark in literature as when (Galsw. p. 247) says 'he does the Coué stunt' and (Wells p. 250) has 'Magic or Coué or something'. Perhaps, here we might mention too that phrenologists are still with us feeling our bumps, whence we speak of a bump of locality (for a good *sense of orientation*, though to an average Englishman such a definition would indicate ignotum per ignotius).

The branch of psychology which strives to embrace efficiency in action is industrial psychology or Taylorism. Reaction-times and fatigue-processes are investigated and series of movements analyzed into their components. A natural corollary to this is the enlistment of the psychologist's help for vocational guidance (*Berufsberatung*).

Above all it is psycho-analysis which now stands in the limelight. Many over here, I think, owe their first introduction to it to a little book (The Psychology of Insanity by B. Hart) just before the war, though a certain number were already acquainted with translations of the works of *Freud* by *Brill*. The problem of dissociation or multiple personality was already known chiefly through R. L. Stevenson's story: Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde (cf. too the war-novel by Chas. Marriot: Davenport[1]), but the new science brought a whole host of new words or usages like complex (Wells 268), inferiority complex (Galsw. 108), fading complex,

[1]) The classic case is that of Sally Beauchamp described by Morton Prince in 'The Dissociation of a Personality'.

repression, discharge, sublimation and the Censor. Most educated people will by now have heard of the Oedipus complex and will have a nodding acquaintance with libido and imago and may have, with distressing results, tried on themselves the method of free-association. Freud's name appears in (Galsw. 169). 'Freud bored him stiff' and *passim* in a most amusing and instructive novel by J. C. Anderson: The Soul Sifters, in which the place of the criminal in a detective-story is taken by a disturbing complex in an ex-officer, which is hunted down in turn by the Freudians, Jungians, and Adlerians. Susan Glaspell has too an amusing skit (Supressed Desires) which may perhaps help to popularize the abbreviation to psyche [*saik*] e. g. in "to go and get psyched" as being more convenient than Mr. Punch's to psycho.

Other psychological studies may be more briefly treated. *W. James*' work on 'Varieties of Religious Experience' served to interest the layman in the phenomena of conversion. Day-dreams and reveries have claimed some attention (cf. the treatise by Varendonck); there are casual references in Wells and The Green Hat (140 as a verb and 134 a dream-child). Some years back there was much correspondence in the Saturday Westminster about youthful memories of an invisible playmate.

German has not been without its influence on psychological terminology especially in America where the journals not infrequently use feeling-toned (*gefühlsbetont*), clang-colour (*Klangfarbe*). In his 'Principles of Literary Criticism', Mr. Richards makes use of the contrast pleasure-unpleasure (*Lust — Unlust*) and Vernon Lee (in the Psychology of Beauty) discusses empathy (*Einfühlung*). In a lecture by Dr. C. S. Myers on Industrial Psychology I heard the interesting suggestion to render '*Anregung*' by incitation and '*Gewöhnung*' by settlement, when used in a particular technical sense.

Of miscellaneous psychological terms sometimes misapplied in ordinary speech are: the personal equa-

tion, the psychological moment in which moment now taken to refer to time, originally stands for 'momentum' in the German expression *das psychologische Moment* used in the Kreuzzeitung in 1870 and then in French by Sarcey in 1871, the true sense being *determining factor*, cf. E. Weekley's article 'Misunderstood' (Atlantic Monthly June 1925), the specious present, properly applied to the present time actually experienced, the stream of consciousness, the field of consciousness with its focal and marginal presentations, the life-force, élan vital etc. etc.

THE SEXES

Spies (pp. 187 ff.) gives a good idea of the developments in this sphere, and all I shall attempt is to fill in certain details of his picture. The slang terms for 'billing and cooing' in my youth were to mash a girl (sb. masher), to spoon (usually in rhyme with 'moon' in the sentimental songs) and to canoodle (cf. particularly Wells 17 for a picture of the flirtations of the seaside girl — or, if she had her hair down, the flapper — with the male trippers or short-period excursionists). To pick up a girl (Wells 279) now often replaced by to click with or to get off with (vulgo used absolutely she's got off). The old phrase to make an honest woman (of a girl in trouble) is often used in jest in innocent contexts and occurs (Wells 333) 'it (marriage) makes an honest woman of you'. To pop the question > to pop still signifies a proposal of marriage, to which the orthodox reply is this is so sudden[1]) (Wells 207). To jilt is sometimes to chuck,

[1]) To this group of expressions belong also such prevalent sayings as:— Wait till Mr. Right or Miss Right comes along!, i. e. a fitting suitor, cf. Isabel Smith, A Marriage in Ceylon 1925 p. 129: "'Mr. Right', as they used to say when I was a girl, will be sure to come along presently". Then a girl is said to be getting together her bottomdrawer (trousseau, *Aussteuer*). A chaperone (*Anstandsdame*) is said to play gooseberry, cf. dialectal gooseberry-picker or play propriety (cf. op. cit. p. 137). A frequent mode of consoling a rejected suitor is to tell him that there are as many fishes left in the sea as ever came out!

throw over or give the chuck. Not to respond to a suitor's advances is to turn him down, to give him the go-by (or the bird) — — otherwise in respect of the actual proposal 'accept' and 'refuse' are the normal expressions used. The supposed feminine ideal of the strong, silent man has made way — under American influence through the films, together with books of the Tarzan type — to the cave-man, the sheikh[1]) or the he-man (Green Hat 258: "something they have in America called, 'as Venice swears on oath', a 'he man.' "). The female counterpart of these monsters is the vampire or vamp (Galsw. 235) (for the abbreviation cf. pash for 'passion' often derisively), but to vamp is often employed quite harmlessly for seeking to attract by a superficial imitation of the vamp's methods. The treatment of sex in the drama and in fiction is still adverted to when we use terms like the triangular situation (of Ibsen fame), problem play, bedroom scene, problem novel, sex-play, sex-novel. Individuals are sometimes characterized as oversexed or unsexed.

The problem of the sexual enlightenment of the adolescent is still to the fore, as evidenced by the advertising of what the Americans call 'sexological' books (What a young man ought to know, etc.), discussions and such chance remarks as (Wells 278) where Christina Alberta had, in the spirit of Butler and Shaw, 'conceived of parents generally in relation to their children as embarrassed hypocrites with an instinctive disposition towards restraint and suppression'.

Despite the strenuous opposition of the Catholics, Dr. Marie Stopes and the apostles of birth-control continue their propaganda and it is no uncommon thing to see, in journals like The Nation, advertisements of a book on contraception and contraceptives. Cases still

[1]) A writer in the Observer 2/11/926 says of a character in Charlotte Bronte's novel Jane Eyre: 'Rochester, of course, is merely the sheikh of a later lady novelist'. Again in the Observer 20/6/1926 a critic says with reference to Schanzer's play Rebhuhn: 'the banker's daughter loves the Sheik (sic) type of real he-man'.

come before the courts of illegal operations to procure an abortion (Green Hat 168: 'reports of trials of wretched women who had operated'). The pain of childbirth is sometimes allayed by the method of twilight sleep.

If, in jest, we wish to adopt forms of speech belonging to a different social level, we might refer to a fiancé as a fiasco or ask who a certain person's follower (or lady-friend as the case may be) is or who so and so is walking out with. These are all popular expressions of courtship, never used seriously by the educated, but often used derisively or of servants. They are grouped to some extent with ring-money and marriage-lines (see above) in regard to their social context.

COMMERCE

Although my father was a business-man with business friends and although I taught students of commerce in Cologne, I cannot fairly claim more than a very superficial acquaintance with many of the specific terms used. I shall therefore limit myself to a few modernisms. First there are the various innovations like filing-cabinets; duplicating or copying machines like the jellygraph (Poth. 182), hectograph or roneo (with verbs formed direct); fountain-pens with the subdivision stylo (for stylographic pen — with its technical terms point-section, spring-needle, body, cap, glass-filler, lever, clip), ink-pencils and eversharps (pencils with refills or spare leads); dictaphones, all as part of the office equipment. Of business transactions on the various exchanges the man in the street will have heard of the formation of trusts and rings, cornering a commodity, even if he has not read F. Norris's novel The Pit, the bulls and bears (operators who buy in expectation of a rise and operators who sell in expectation of a fall respectively), terms familiar even to children through the exciting card game of Pit with cards representing the various cereals, guinea-pigs (*directors of companies, who pocket*

their guinea fees), bucket-shop (*an unauthorized business for speculating in stocks*), explained by quotation in the N.E.D. as an Americanism due to the use by such a firm of the phrase: "to go and get another 'bucketful' of clients" (i. e. br ng them up by lift when business was getting slack), to peg the market or the exchange (*to fix the price by buying or selling freely*). Most, too, will know the phrase to have a flutter (*speculate on the exchange*), to get in on the groundfloor (*buy at the lowest or 'rock-bottom' price*), wild-cat finance, and be as familiar with the abbreviation consols as with rubbers (rubber-shares). Recent amalgamations of companies have given us through the newspapers an added knowledge of mergers or combinations of firms and of the pooling of capital; we are also at times painfully aware of the results of watering stock by further large applications for capital. Liverpool people will also not be ignorant of futures (the contracts entered into by spinners to cover themselves against a rise in cotton values, when they have sold yarn for delivery forward, cf. Manchester Gnardian Yearbook 1926). The stock-exchange terms at par, below par sometimes have a wider application, the latter term being used of the state of health in feeling below par; stocks above par are said to be at a premium, below parat a discount.

Of insurance terms ('*insure*' commoner than '*assure*') the only ones in popular use beyond the necessary technical designations like 'premium, bonus, endowment, fire-policy, life-policy, reinsurance' are the phrase to be covered by so and so much, as also the recently mooted idea of a Government scheme of all-in insurance, to cover sickness and accidents as well as death and damage due to fire, burglary etc. We used to call the New York Life Insurance Company by its usual abbreviation Nylic [*nailik*]. The best known English company, the Prudential, is often called the Pru.

Next I would mention to cook an account (*to falsify* (Ch. 221) or engineer, an absconding cashier

(*who makes off after embezzling money*); to salt a mine (*plant specimens of ore to deceive investigators*); shop-soiled (often used figuratively); to pay by the instalment system.

For an amusing description of the life of the shop-assistant H. G. Wells' Kipps will be read with interest. A favourite butt of the humourist is the pompous shop-walker (American *floor walker*), one of whose duties is to check the assistant's bills when he hears the call sign!, commonly caricatured by the affected pronunciation [*sein*]. The complicated organization of the big departmental stores is well taken off in a comic song, once popular in the Halls, with the refrain: 'Round the corner and up the stairs, another department please.' From the years before the War we have become familiar with the multiple system as contrasted with the single firm business. The firm of Lipton (Lipton's teas), the Northampton boot-manufacturers, Boots' cash chemists, the Mac Fisheries and in recent years the American firm of Woolworth have established branches in most cities. On the other hand a long firm, such as has recently figured in the papers, is a combination of swindlers who buy goods on credit, sell them and decamp with the proceeds (N.E.D.).

VARIOUS INVENTIONS

Under this vague heading we may class such heterogeneous articles as tractors or tractor-ploughs (mechanically driven ploughs), excavators or mechanical navvies for breaking up hard surfaces in road-making, vacuum cleaners, automatic telephones (just starting on their career) or such innovations as the monomark system for registering addresses, or again the motor scooter (a development from the child's scooter or *Schnelläufer*, propelled by a small motor). The phonograph and then the gramophone brought in their train records, trumpet, tone-arm, sound-box, fibre-needles, needle-cutter, restarter and

latest of all the pleated diaphragm. As to wireless I must own that I am not a wireless expert and many of the technical terms I know only by hearsay. Therefore, perhaps, I am in a favourable position to judge what wireless terms are most wide-spread among the members of the general public at the present moment (1925). Most I think will know the term to listen-in broadcast, broadcasting, and the abbreviation B.B.C. (*British Broadcasting Company*) — they will know further that there are crystal sets and valve sets and probably that the waves are received either on an aerial fixed outside, or on a frame aerial inside, and that there has to be an earth. If they have heard through a friend's set they will know of either loud-speakers or head-phones and will have some inkling of the mysteries of tuning in and tuning out and the trouble caused by jams, atmospherics, and howlings. On the other hand the layman will probably not be able to visualize easily 'variometers' or know precisely what a 'superheterodyne' is, though the chances are in favour of him assigning both terms to the wireless sphere.

Here too we might add a notice of various grandiose schemes for combating unemployment by the building of super-power stations (to use our coal more economically), the Severn Scheme (harnessing the tidal power of the Severn) and arterial roads (*Verkehrsadern*). So far little has been achieved in these directions.

THE CINEMA AND AMERICANISMS

In view of the various articles published on the influence of the picture house on the language of to-day (cf. Spies, passim) I will content myself with a brief note. We all know the word movies, but still use pictures or cinema [*si'nima*][1]) in preference to the American term. Screen (s. and vb.), reel, the

[1]) Mr. Titley adds the slang flicks or flickers, unknown to me

flicker of the film, fade-out (s. and vb.), register (emotions) and close-up (s.) are technical words which have passed into general use as also to feature and to star. Another curious term is a cut-back for the glimpses of episodes already narrated, which often so annoyingly interrupt the progress of the reel. Among the Americanisms which constantly appear in the captions of the films and have — probably more through them than through other means — attained a measure of popularity are uplift, high-brow (intellectual), low-brow, sob-stuff, mush, mushy; guy, stiff, boob, mutt (synonyms for '*person, fellow*'); joint (*public house* or *saloon*); to put wise, get wise; make a get away, beat it for to *escape* especially in the 'crook' dramas, but also in literature, (cf. R. Knox, The Viaduct Murder — 1925 — p. 146). The intensive some in some fellow etc. is still prevalent. As an example or two of the extravagant Americanisms which are shown to us, I quote from the film '*Hay Fever*' the description of a girl as a 'cornfed canary with a Broadway smile', and the threat of her father to 'manicure the gizzard' of the suitor, who was so inventive that he invented 'a three-cornered mouthpiece so that a hair-lipped (sic) man could play the saxophone'. Another film *The Soilers*, showed a healthy reaction against the fustian of 'heroic' phrases once used in all seriousness like 'I broke him with my two bare hands', which it burlesques admirably.

The newspapers and magazines as well as many popular novels (especially detective stories and authors like Sinclair Lewis) play a great part in familiarising us with Americanisms. We probably do not keep pace with the neologisms, nor do we ever attain to the rich diversity of American slang (in particular we are immune from the slang of the baseball field), but we seem to offer less and less resistance to the new importations. I have in my survey deliberately refrained in many cases from specifying a given expression as American, as I am often unaware whether it is in origin American or not, and was surprised

when reading *Mencken* to see how much I had just taken for granted as native English. The popularity of Mark Twain and Max Adeler had somewhat waned during my boyhood.

SOME PRESENT TENDENCIES

In going through Manchon I have been struck by one or two phenomena which are perhaps worth recording. One is the protean form of many idioms, a fact I will supplement from my own observations. I had heard for the first time in 1915 a phrase used to designate patches of blue sky appearing among clouds, 'there is enough blue sky to make a pair of policeman's trousers out of', the material of the latter being navy-blue cloth. Recently August 1925 I heard a colleague characterise the same phenomenon as patches enough for a Dutchman's breeks as known to him for many years. Mr. Hutton often heard in his childhood enough blue sky to make a pair of trousers; the version known to Mr. Bradley about the same time was enough to make a cat a pair of trousers! Professor Jespersen informs me that the Danish *nok til at lave et par buxer af* was known to him even in childhood and is found as a popular saying in Thiele, Danmarks Folkesagn 1860. Again I had always heard (and used) nothing to write home about for 'not worth making a fuss about' until August 1925, when I heard nothing to write to mother about (possibly there is a form to write home to mother about combining the two). The next point I note is a certain fluidity in the meanings expressed by slang words. A very common phrase since the war is to go (in) off the deep end, an expression evidently taken from the deep end of a swimming-bath where the diving board is. It always refers to some rather sudden and violent mental excitement followed by action, but in some contexts it indicates in addition 'to turn and attack a person, to let fly at him, to show sudden anger

or resentment'. The third point I have observed is the facility with which certain ideas tend to crystallize round themselves an enormous mass of synonymous designations. In every case I think these ideas will be found to possess a strong feeling-tone. We have already mentioned a large number of words expressing appreciation and depreciation. Sometimes this proliferation of linguistic expressions is accompanied by fine differentiations, e. g. the various states of drunkenness, the names of which appear to be more numerous than the score of terms used by the North Welshmen to denote the various ear-marks on his sheep. Another category which finds multiple expression is 'nonsense, rubbish'. Thus in The White Monkey alone we find (43) feeling is tosh!, pity is tripe!, (58) pity was pop, (short for poppycock) (cf. 151), (111) gup, (166) pity was pulp!, sentiment was bilge!, (214) crude blurb, also (321) (especially of written matter) — (318) drivel, (319) guff, to which might be added piffle, trash, slush, mush, rot, clap-trap, gas, hot-air, as also the expression to talk through one's hat or through the back of one's head. In the opening number of the Irish Statesman Sept. 1923 Mr. *Bernard Shaw* speaks of 'our huge national stock of junk and bilge'. Anger is expressed by such phrases as these in ascending order of intensity: he was niffed or peeved, he got shirty or hairy, he got his rag out, he flared up at me, he flew out at me, he gave me a frightful dressing-down, among others. Oddness is indicated by using the synonyms rum or rummy, fishy and dicky in a pejorative sense. 'To play the fool' is to rag about, rot about, fool about, play the [giddy] goat, bucket around. Mental debility finds adequate expression in a whole series: he's not all there, a bit off [the top], he's off his chump (vulgar syns. onion, crumpet, rocker), he's touched, he's balmy (a little vulgar!), he's got a screw loose or bats in the belfry etc. Even a specific phrase like 'to hand over money' can be given in at least three slang idioms: to shell out, fork out,

and cough up money. A few out of the many current modes of intensifying are demonstrated in pots of money, a mere slip of a girl, the surprise of his lifetime, come right in, thank you so much, a jolly sight too dear, a precious sight too good (Chickens 29 — sometimes a sight is sufficient); like blazes, like billi-o, like fun, like one o'clock; to look or feel like nothing on earth (*very bad*) etc. etc.

Here I will insert a few current comparisons which are in frequent colloquial use: as good as gold, as right as rain, as fresh as paint, as cool as a cucumber (especially of aplomb), as quick as lightning, as slow as molasses in winter (an Americanism), as fat as a pig, as thin as a lath or rake or rail, as blind as a bat, as deaf as a post (otherwise stone deaf), as mad as a March hare or a hatter, as quiet as a mouse, as sharp as a needle, as heavy as lead, as light as a feather, as slippery as an eel, as strong as a lion, as weak as water, as black as soot, as white as a sheet, as red as a turkey-cock or a peony, as yellow as a guinea, as firm as a rock, as hard as nails, as flat as a pancake, as rich as Croesus (*rolling in money*), as poor as a church-mouse, as dull as ditchwater or dishwater, as straight as a die (otherwise we speak of making a bee-line for a place), as happy as the day is long or as a sandboy, as merry as a cricket, as sound as a bell, as clean as a whistle (e. g. after some phrase like to cut off, chop off), as clean as a new pin, as high as Haman (after the phrase to hang somebody), as hot as blazes, as drunk as a lord, as sober as a judge. That is a small, but representative collection!

Next there are the comparisons used after verbal forms e. g. to drink like a fish, run like a hare, work like a nigger or a slave, swear like a trooper, sleep like a top, blow like a grampus, swim like a fish. To talk to a person like a

Dutch uncle means 'to give a severe talking-to, to upbraid'. We say to lie like print, but yet in cold print seems to imply greater authority for the printed word. To do something like a bird means eagerly, immediately. If, on the other hand we say: So and so swims like a brick, we imply the opposite of swims like a fish. We have a sort of oxymoron, with which we may compare the colloquial word-groups: Hobson's choice i. e. the option of taking the thing offered or nothing, already proverbial in 1660 from Tobias Hobson, a Cambridge carrier who let out horses and compelled his customers to take the horse nearest to the stable-door or go without (N.E.D); an Irishman's rise i. e. in the wrong direction; a busman's holiday i. e. a holiday spent in working.

Listening with half an ear to the linguistic peculiarities shown by the jocular remarks of the holiday makers round me while I write out this part of my notes (Sept. 1925), I observe that 'back-formations' are still popular. *Wodehouse's*: 'Care for a game of tennis? do you ten?' (Chickens 171) or the pre-war to buttle for the activities of a butler are matched not only by Galsworthy's stab and bludge (280) < bludgeon, but also by the following cases heard around one: have you trigged? i. e. pulled the trigger (of the camera!) in making a snap-shot, and to gramp[1]) < to blow like a grampus!

[1]) This is a good instance of an individual's creation becoming a family word. The friend who coined it, has recently thrown out in course of conversation the following novelties, which I noted while he was off his guard! A man bent on marrying a woman a good deal younger is sometimes jocularly known as a baby-snatcher. From this was formed with the help of the analogy of 'catch: caught' a new compound verb with an outrageous participle, for a certain girl was said to have been baby-snaught! The same friend referred to the lift-attendants in a big multiple shop as the liftees. Sometimes a party of us go swimming together and then lunch together; we are said to wet-feed, whereas those who join us at lunch without having had their swim are said to dry-feed. A Scotch colleague celebrated Burns' birthday by inviting guests to come and have some haggis (a sort of minced meat pudding); the evening was known to us all by the curious hybrid: haggis-abend or the walp-haggis-nicht!

I notice also a growing prevalence in the use of the form 'on the (adjective) side' to indicate 'fairly, rather, somewhat'. Thus we say that the weather is on the cool side, just as J. Ch. Anderson in the Soul Sifters p. 252 says 'Michelmore was always on the rough side'. Another way of 'toning down' the meaning of the adjective (I do not like the expression 'down-toner') is to extend the use of-ish, thus latish (255) for 'rather late' as in (Psmith 255) 'he's going to look in at the flat latish' or with a number sixish (Wells 237 in a telegram) indicating indefinite propinquity in time: 'round about six o'clock'. A further small observation I have made is that of the fashion of imitating the novelist's style in adding to one's reply a declaration in the third person e. g. in response to 'do you like that'? we hear the person addressed say 'No, said he frowning'!

I might next advert to the frivolous use of the vulgar I don't think or fink in emphatic repudiation of a foregoing statement. Thus Wells 398 has 'as for bringing a contrite heart ... I don't fink'. This expression was much used in the early years of the century, but always with an awareness of its vulgar origin. Much more respectable is the method of rebutting another person's suggestion e. g. (The Green Hat p. 269) 'we must get ...' 'Must nothing', an alternative reply being '[*there's*] no must about it!' I note, too, from the Green Hat a form of the negative more often used in collocations like 'I think not, I should say not', but here (p. 279) used in 'for pity's sake, please not!'

RELATION TO DIALECTS AND TO THE FOREIGNER

The next point repaying mention is our relation to the form of English spoken in Wales, Scotland, and Ireland.[1])

[1]) The nickname for the Welshman is Taffy, cf. the nursery-rhyme which casts an unfair aspersion on them: 'Taffy was a Welshman, Taffy was a thief—Taffy came to my house and stole a leg of beef!' Scotsmen are often called Sandy < Alexander, or Jock. An Irishman is often called Pat. Scotsmen are said to be over-careful with their money and it is not easy for them, when bang goes saxpence!

To the average Englishman the most striking peculiarity of Welsh English is, in addition to the intonation and pure vowels, the adverbial use of whatever, where we say however (both ideas being often expressed in Welsh by the same word-group). This is one of the points seized upon by the comedians when taking off the Welshman. The latter also uses certain idioms like fair play to him (W. chwareu têg iddo) and to keep a noise (cf. use of Welsh cadw), which, however, are less widely known outside. Of Scotch expressions many Englishmen will know and use unco' guid in a pejorative sense and many will say dour (*stern, glum*) and pawky (of *dry humour*) without any idea of their origin. The comedian Harry Lauder must have attuned the ears of thousands to Scottish modes of speech, quite apart from the knowledge of Scotch words brought by the novels of *Black*, *Ian Maclaren*, and *Crockett* and others of the Kailyard school and the plays of *Barrie* in recent times. Most of us, too, know and like the sound of the different Irish brogues and certain Irish-English expressions are very well-know here, e.g. spuds and murphies for potatoes, shillelagh (a heavy stick), pot-stills for *illicit distilleries* and potheen for the *spirit*, colleen for an *Irish girl*, turf for *peat* etc. Among the Irish stories which are very popular over here, those of '*George R. Birmingham*' deserve special mention. Englishmen trying to take off the Irish, often make ludicrous mistakes in the use of such Gaelic idioms as 'I am after going' as well as in the subtler differences. From Irish localities we get the expressions: to fight like Kilkenny cats, of whom it is said that only the tails were left, a Donnybrook fair used somewhat like the German '*polnische Wirtschaft*' for a disorderly or tumultuous assembly, derived from a rowdy fair which took place in a town in Co. (County) Dublin, and a limerick, from the town, for a five-line nonsense poem, one of the best known examples being: **There was a young lady of Riga/Who went for a ride on a tiger!/They came back from the ride / With the lady inside / And a smile on the face of the tiger!**

The Irish are also famous for their bulls or surprising incongruities of speech or thought as when one said that a certain speaker could not open his mouth without putting his foot in it (i. e. being indiscreet). In a recent number of Punch a passenger in a continental train is made to remark on the slowness of the journey: 'If we were not in Italy, we should be in Venice by now!'

In regard to our relation to our own dialects a few words might here be apposite. I will, however, first mention a few peculiarities with which I have become acquainted in the North since taking up residence in Liverpool in 1913. Apart from the Liverpudlian pronunciation of the vowels in 'hat' (retracted towards low-back), 'come' as in 'good', 'butcher' (underrounded o), (cf. Wyld, Historical Study of the Mother Tongue p. 41)), 'care' (retracted almost to the sound in 'bird'), I have noticed particularly the following in speech and in the local press: Aye! as the affirmative particle, blacklead for *'pencil'*, bridewell for *'prison'*, buttie, general in North for a piece of *bread and butter* (together with jam-buttie), car where in London we usually said *'tram'*, contract for *'season-ticket'* on the railways, a do for any *festivity or treat*, float for a *sort of waggon*, hot-pot for a specific Lancashire dish in which meat and potatoes are cooked in alternate layers, lurry as a by-form of 'lorry', panto-night — a students' term for a great annual festival which includes a visit to the pantomime in which students take part. The most popular play of recent years in which dialect has played a part is, I should say, Eden Philpott's The Farmer's Wife [Devonshire], a fact which leads me to remark that to me — who am practically a Londoner — the most pleasing pronunciations of English are those of the South West, of Sussex, Midlothian, the Highlands and above all the soft and beautifully modulated brogues of the South and West of Ireland. From my mother, born at Margaretting in Essex, I heard quoted certain words of the Essex dialect like hoppet for an enclosed field near a

house, wapple way for a *bridle-path*; also the pronunciation [*gū*] for *go* and the curious locution used when speaking to a single person: 'Where are you going *together?*' The term taddlin mentioned in the chapter on English dishes above, is not recorded in the Dialect Dictionary.

It is convenient here to add but a few words on our attitude to the foreigner as reflected in current speech. The proverbial mistrust of all strangers is shown in the hackneyed phrase: "'e's a stranger. 'Eave 'alf a brick at 'im!" The term Aliens became circulated through the various Aliens Restrictions Acts. Foreign devils we get from the Chinese (Chinks or John Chinaman). We have borrowed the Americanism dago to designate the Southern Romance peoples. I can remember a characteristic comic song as to the alien who does the Britisher out of his job, with the words: 'Tell 'em your name is Mulligatawny, / Anything else you like. / Over here, if you want to get on, / Tell 'em you come from the Continong!'

The use of national terms as adjectives in certain standing phrases offers points of interest. Though the word French frequently implies *risqué, piquant,* it has no such connotation in the expressions to French polish and to take French leave. German occurs adjectivally chiefly in German silver (*Neusilber*) and German measles (*Röteln*). Dutch is rather more prolific, for we talk like a Dutch uncle to a person, when we speak to him with paternal severity; we talk double Dutch, when others cannot understand us, and to express the climax of inadmissibility we say: 'If that is so, I'm a Dutchman' cf. Ger. *so heiß ich Hans* — an English synonymous expression is I'll eat my hat! Further there are the Dutchman's breeks already mentioned, a Dutch auction where prices are gradually lowered, a Dutch barn for a shed used in storing grain or hay, and the Dutch courage which is the result of much drinking. My old Dutch from Chevalier's song is equivalent to *my old woman* or *wife.* Spain supplies

Spanish onions, Sweden gives us swedes *(Kohlrübe)* and from Brussels we name Brussels sprouts. Denmark gives us a dog, the great Dane.

Returning now to Britain it is noteworthy that we take off or mimic the extreme type of townsman, the Cockney, mainly by making him drop the h.[1]) On the other hand the peasant — Hodge — or farmer, derisively, Farmer Giles, Farmer Hayseed — and all our other country cousins or country bumpkins are liberally supplied by the minor novelist and penny-a-liner with nobbut < not but meaning *only*, mebbe < maybe etc. in default of special knowledge of a particular dialect.

UNIVERSITY LIFE

Under this head I find it convenient to mention certain words of which I learnt the full practical significance in the actual conduct of my work. The elements of committee English which I had picked up in the Debating Society were soon reinforced by the constantly heard expressions: standing orders, terms of reference (defining the scope of a committee's labours), to refer back (to a committee for further consideration), and I gradually got to know the differences between, and relative importance of statutes, ordinances, and regulations. It is regrettable to have to confess that it was not until coming here that I attached any precise meaning to words I had seen before, of the type of log-rolling, lobbying or caucusing for 'combinations for mutual assistance in political action', all I think originally American and the first derived from the proverbial phrase 'You roll my log and I'll roll yours'. Se-

[1]) Innumerable tales are told in which less genteel forms of speech are used to provoke mirth. Here is a typical one with variants. I think it appeared in Punch, but my mother's daily-woman knew versions of it. A child goes into a shop to buy some bread. It says to the shop man: 'Mother says, please will you cut it with the 'ammy (*hammy*) knife', [quoted sometimes as if it were butter to be cut with a jammy knife], 'cos Muvver's got company!'

lection committees to University posts first familiarised me with the meaning of the short list (*engere Wahl*).

Extra-mural activities under the direction of the University Extension Board made one acquainted with the Workers' Educational Association (abbreviated W.E.A.) and the problems of Adult Education, as well as introducing one to settlements or centres such as the Beechcroft at Birkenhead. But it was not until June 1925 that I came across the technical terms: shift classes (where the course is repeated to different shifts of workers) and direct contact classes (where contact is established between the approved teacher and organizations run by workmen and not merely for them).

In regard to teaching within the University the only terms worthy of notice are the use of Oral (where some universities use Viva for Viva Voce, pronounced English-fashion [*vaivə vousi*]) and tutorials (practical classes for recapitulating the formal lectures). German readers may be amused to hear that during the war the German department here was — quite good-temperedly — called by the students 'the Hunnery'!

Finally a word as to my linguistic indebtedness to the University Club. Here I first heard the older Universities' slang-word to sconce (to *fine a tankard of ale for some breach of convention*) and also to black-ball a candidate (*exclude by adverse vote*).

This chapter would have been somewhat jejune, had not Mr. Bradley, in response to my request, kindly supplied me with a list of current Oxford and Cambridge slang and colloquial forms. Most of them are widely known outside the older universities and have been heard by me from colleagues or members of the University Club. I will present them here with an attempt at a classification. They consist of 1. names of examinations: in Oxford, Smalls (responsions), followed by Mods (moderations) with the sub-class Divvers (for Divinity moderations) and Greats (for Finals in Literae Humaniores); in Cambridge, the Little-Go (or Previous Examination) and the Trip (Tripos) —

at Liverpool our students have no special terms beyond the customary Matric, First Year or Inter (Intermediate under the older system), Finals and Honours, 2. special institutions: in Oxford a college-servant is called a scout, in Cambridge a gyp; cf. further prog for *proctor* and the verbal forms to prog and be progged, the latter meaning to be caught out by the proctor in some offence; bull-dogs or bullers for the proctor's attendants; to be gated as a punishment i. e. to be confined to college after 9 p. m.; Hall for a dinner in Hall; to sport one's oak i. e. to shut the big outer door to one's quarters; the literal abbreviations S.C.R. and J.C.R. for the Senior and Junior common rooms respectively, the term at Cambridge being combination-room; the Oxford quad (quadrangle) and the Cambridge court; the backs at Cambridge i. e. the lawns sloping down to the river behind the colleges, 3. formation of slang-forms with the suffix -er, a special characteristic of Oxford, though words like footer (football), soccer (Association football), and rugger (Rugby football) are in general use; of these forms we have (a) common nouns like brekker (breakfast) — the best known outside — rollers (roll-call), bonner (bonfire), colleckers (*collections* or terminal examinations, known to our Liverpool undergrads[1]) as terminals), toggers (Torpids) and such playful formations as the Pragger Wagger (the Prince of Wales for whom the newspaper name is Prince Charming!) and wagger pagger bagger *waste-paper basket* and (b) names of colleges, localities and buildings: Jaggers (*Jesus*), Quaggers (*Queen's*), Woggins (*Worcester*), Pemmer or Pemmy *Pembroke*, Bodder (*Bodleian library*), Radder (*Radcliffe Camera*), Ugger (*the Union*), Adders (*Addison's Walk in Magdalen*), the Giler (*St Giles*)

[1]) Mr. Titley informs me that undergrads as an abbreviation is confined to the *modern* universities. It is the worst kind of solecism to use in Oxford and regarded as a typical mistake of strangers or 'townees'. On notices the word students is there usually replaced by gentlemen.

together with the personal name a Tosher (*non-collegiate student*), 4. names of colleges differently formed: Teddy Hall (*St Edmund Hall*), Univ (*University*), and the House, a thoroughly respectable title for Christchurch, the *aedes Christi*, 5. names of localities in and around Oxford: The High (*High Street*), the Broad (*Broad Street*), the Corn (*Cornmarket Street*), the Turl (*Turl Street*); the Cher (River Cherwell); Hell[1]) Passage (St Helen's Passage), and Cat Street (St Catherine's Street); Phil and Jim (St Philip's and St James' Church); St Olds (St Aldate's); Barneys (St Barnabas, a noted 'high' church).

Oxford has left its mark on the younger Universities in regard to the slang-forms adopted and it must be confessed that some of the words, which seem appropriate in the older setting, do not fit in well with the newer. Varsity, in particular, seems out of place. On the other hand the abbreviation Commem for the Commemoration Week (held in Liverpool at the end of the summer term) may have developed independently by a natural process. It is to be hoped that, as the newer Universities develop, they will themselves become originators rather than remain imitators.

EPILOGUE

Since the completion of this work there has been issued from the Oxford University Press a Dictionary of Modern English Usage by H. W. Fowler, joint-author of the deservedly popular King's English and the Concise Oxford Dictionary. Though its chief concern is with the written language and its aim avowedly normative, it contains references to many of the words discussed here, and at several points, most valuably supplements my material. I have not, for instance, mentioned a prevalent tendency to 'saxonise' by using foreword

[1]) Mr. Attlee tells me that Hell and Cat in these collocations are, as a matter of fact, the original forms, St Helen's and St Catherine's being bowdlerisms!

for preface, to english for to translate etc. nor did it lie in my intention to show up the all too conscious and deliberate use of archaisms — anent, bounden, howbeit and the like, or the stock-in-trade of Wardour Street (to use Fowler's picturesque term for such antiquated curiosities as maugre, sans etc.). He rightly castigates the use of such 'battered ornaments' as alma mater and hackneyed jokes like the curate's egg, which was good in parts. He is out against literary and intellectual snobbery such as the didactic and superior attitude which leads one to pronounce harem as [*harī'm*] or to make fetiches of split infinitives and prepositions at the end of the sentence. The critic's jargon — banality, meticulous etc. — and the heavy academic type of humour with its polysyllabisms like pachydermatous for *thick-skinned* are unsparingly exposed. Still more blameworthy is the shoddy genteelism which we referred to in the introductory chapter in connection with step, and the absurd pomposities like edifice and beverage, with which some people try to assume an educated air. Fowler also succeeds in disgusting us with the 'stock pathos' of loved and lost, the pity of it etc. and the painful 'novelese' with its living deaths and sinister machinations and hosts of expressions never uttered by ordinary men and women. On the other hand I should hesitate — from the point of view of the spoken language — to ban his so-called barbarisms like electrocute, cablegram or even coastal and some of his 'illiteracies' are pretty well established in conversational usage e. g. to write a person like 'to phone a person, wire a person, *jemand sprechen* etc'. One of the most interesting articles as relevant to the present work, was that on 'facetious formations'. The English play-impulse has certainly produced some remarkable forms, which are by Fowler very neaty classified into 1. puns and parodies (anecdotage < anecdote and dotage), 2. mock-mistakes (mischievious for *mischievous*, the pronunciation [*aitælaiæn*] for [*itæljən*] which, I may add, is found in Gilbert

and Sullivan's H.M.S. Pinafore, underconstumble for understand, splendiferous for splendid), 3. real or supposed popular etymologies (highstrikes for *hysterics* or jawbation — now more often jobation — for a jawing or 'telling off'; both rather feeble words), 4. mock-Latin, under which he classes such accepted forms as bonus, bogus, hocus-pocus and the still more uncouth hi-cocalorum for *in high spirits*, 5. portmanteau words cf. p. 40 above, 6. such wonderful English-Latin crosses as disgruntled, for put out, contraption for gadget, apparatus, squandermania, absquatulate for abscond, 7. irreverent familiarity which consists in using oaths known to be commonly employed by the vulgar e. g. blimy! or crikey!, 8. onomatopes like the collywobbles for internal colic-like pains — to which I would add the mulligrubs for internal discomfort and the jimjams for fidgets, ramshackle for tumble-down *baufällig*; pernickety for over-punctilious, 9. long and ludicrous words like cantankerous for cross, skedaddle for to scoot off, run away; the great panjandrum cf. p. 130; to spiflicate for to destroy utterly. Fowler deserves great credit for having given us such an instructive collection of this flotsam and jetsam of colloquial speech. I do not much like most of such forms myself, but can testify to the vitality of the impulse to form them as far as some friends are concerned. Quite recently I have heard ghastly purposely mispronounced as [*gæšli*] or pseudo-dialectal forms like [*wækn ʌp*] instead of wake up or expressive forms like wonky for shaky and very often to go phut for to *go bust* or 'be punctured or destroyed'. No doubt the same tendency is at work as is responsible for German *Streck-* and *Schüttelformen* (spoonerisms from an Oxford scholar e. g. a punch of sniff for a *pinch of snuff*). We see language here in the making and the subject deserves further study. In the meantime I can but warmly recommend my readers to look at Fowler's fine dictionary.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES ON RHYMES AND HIDDEN ALLUSIONS.

Other rhymes which are common property and sometimes crop out are: 1. Big fleas have little fleas / Upon their backs to bite 'em / And little fleas have smaller fleas / And so ad infinitum. — in which the last line is often repeated. 2. The famous rhyme: The Devil was sick, The Devil a monk would be / The Devil got well, the devil a monk was he. 3. He who takes (that prigs) what isn't his'n / When he's cotched, he goes to prison. 4. The couplet (which becomes nonsense by misplacing the pauses): Charles the First walked and talked / Half an hour after his head was cut off. 5. An old tag, which I recently rediscovered in a Liverpool shop: See a pin and pick it up / All the day you'll have good luck. 6. The warning inscribed by school children in their books: Black is the raven, blacker the rook / But blackest the boy (girl) who steals this book, the lines being sometimes quoted as 'Small is the wren, black is the rook / Blacker the sinner, that steals this book (cf. Benham 465 a). 7. To one asking for the return of a gift: Give a thing and take a thing / A black man's plaything! 8. The lines often used as a warning during the war and also said to have been used by *Rockefeller* in a speech (concerning the War Loan in 1915). A wise old owl lived in an oak. / The more he saw, the less he spoke. / The less he spoke, the more he heard. / Why can't we all be like that bird? (cf. Benham 442a and Frazer and Gibbons). 9. and 10. Old rhymes referred by *Benham* to the 17th century, but still widely known: If all the world were paper / And all the sea were ink, / If all the trees were bread and cheese, / How should we do for drink? (1640, Wit's Recreations) and The King of France (sometimes quoted: King of Spain) went up the hill / With twenty thousand men / The King of France came down the hill, / And ne'er went up again. (Old Tarlton's song, quoted 1642). 11. Best known for the two last lines (cf. Benham 447a): There was a little girl, and she had a little curl / Right in the middle of the forehead. / When

she was good, she was very very good, / But when she was bad, she was horrid. 12. The Irish welcome (cf. Benham 444a). Come in the evening, come in the morning, / Come when expected, come without warning, / Thousands of welcomes you'll find here before you / And the oftener you come, the more we'll adore you. 13. Heard by me in my childhood and then from Liverpool children in 1919: Dr. Foster's a very good man, / He does for his patients all he can, / And if they don't get better quick, / He never forgets to use his stick! 14. Another much quoted 17th century couplet (cf. Benham) For he that fights and runs away / May live to fight another day! 15. To a wood or coal-fire, as a love-token: If you love me, pop and fly! / If not, lie there silently! 16. At least the phrase comin' through the rye from a couplet of Burns, (referred by Benham to Charms of Melody 1810): Gin a body meet a body, comin' through the rye / Gin a body kiss a body, need a body cry? — Comin' through the rye is the title of a well-known novel — 17. A rhyme to which Dr. Ehlers has called my attention but which I cannot remember ever hearing: The difference between the optimist / And pessimist is droll, / The optimist sees the doughnut / The pessimist the hole! The optimist is frequently described as one who falling from the 40th floor of a skyscraper is said to have ejaculated on reaching the 20th floor: All right, so far! 18. A man convinced against his will / Is of the same opinion still. 19. I do not like you Dr. Fell. / The reason why I cannot tell, / But this I know — I know full well, / I do not like you Dr. Fell. 20. For a long nonsense-passage beginning: So she went into the garden to cut a cabbage leaf, to make an apple-pie, cf. Benham 440 b. It is sometimes quoted at length, and everybody is familiar with the expression the Great Panjandrum. It is said to be by Mr. Foote and occurs in Miss Edgeworth's *Harry and Lucy* (1825). I will next quote a few instances of pretty generally known allusions reemerging under the thinnest of disguises in curious surroundings: 1. The Nation 3/10/25 quotes from Mr. Aldous Huxley's *Along the Road* the phrase 'I was not one of Nature's walkers' —

the prototype being one of Nature's gentlemen (cf. H. H. Richardson, The Way Home p. 308). 2. Liverpool Post 7/10/25 reports Sir Max Muspratt as asking the public "not to 'shoot' (sic) the industrialist, for he was doing his best", which is based on the reputed Wild West notice: 'Don't shoot the pianist, he's doing his best!' 3. The Observer 15/11/25 in the column At Random jokingly alludes to a man who had a mania for pulling down walls as 'an original member of the Anti-Balbus League' in which we are reminded of the time-honoured sentence 'Balbus builds a wall' in our Latin Exercises. 4. Ronald Knox: The Viaduct Murder, 1925, p. 238 has in connexion with golf the phrase: 'the Game, the whole Game and nothing but the Game' — a reminiscence of the formula in taking the oath 'the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth.' 5. Parodies on such well known appellations as the Royal and Ancient game for *golf*, derived from the title of St Andrews Club, or on the titles of clubs or societies, beginning The Ancient Order of . . ., e. g. Froth-blowers (a national 'organization' of beer-drinkers started under the auspices of the Sporting Times for charitable purposes, whereas the Mustard Club consisting of all mustard-eaters is merely an advertiser's invention).

INDEX OF SUBJECTS AND NAMES

INDEX OF WORDS AND SAYINGS[1])

1) In the difficult task of finding suitable renderings I have received valuable help from Dr. Hittmair and Frl. Dr. Wahn.

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Growth and Structure of the English Language. By *Otto Jespersen.* Awarded the Volney Price of the Institute de France 1906. 5 ed. revised. Geh. ℛℳ 4.50, geb. ℛℳ 6.—

A Grammar of Spoken English. On a strictly Phonetic Basis. By *Harold E. Palmer.* Geb. ℛℳ 14.—

An Outline of English Phonetics. By *D. Jones,* M. A. With 131 Illustrations. 3. ed. [U. d. Pr. 1927.]

An English Pronouncing Dictionary. On strictly Phonetic principles. By *Daniel Jones,* M. A., Professor in the University of London. 420 S. In Ganzleinen geb. ℛℳ 8.60

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„... Welche Fülle einflußreicher Persönlichkeiten! Napoleon an der Spitze! Jede einzelne ist meisterlich charakterisiert hinsichtlich ihres Wesens, ihres Wollens und der Tragweite ihres Wirkens. Tief- und Weitblick verbinden sich, um mit suggestiver Kraft Gewaltiges in knapper Form zu bieten und dem Leser Ein- und Ausblicke zu verschaffen. Welches Wissen um die Seele, die offenbarte und die nichtoffenbarte dieser Neueren. Das Bedeutsamste aber für uns Deutsche an diesem darstellerisch wie kritisch so vielseitigen Buche ist, wie bereits erwähnt, die aus sorgfältigsten Einzeluntersuchungen so überzeugend herausgearbeitete Verschiedenheit der deutschen und französischen Romantik mit ihrer tief begründeten urtümlichen Verschiedenheit des Deutschen und des Franzosen." **(Dresdener Anzeiger.)**

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