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Jersey-French Fishing Terms¹

I. Introduction

Fishing in Jersey is a moribund industry; the vastly increased prosperity of agriculture has drawn men away from the sea. In any case, modern communications, by permitting the importation

¹ The material for the following article was collected mainly between 1948 and 1951 during a wider investigation of the Norman dialect spoken in Jersey. The medium of investigation was English, now firmly established as the standard language of the Channel Islands; a questionnaire was used, but the method of '*conversation dirigée*' was also used extensively with certain subjects.

The accompanying map indicates the areas from which my informants were drawn, together with their names and ages. It will be noted that all of them, except F. Bisson (J. 1) and J. Priaux (0.1), were from the east of the Island. This is due mainly to the fact that the traditional fishing 'harbours', with the exception of Bonne Nuit Bay in the centre of the North coast, are in that part of the Island. Lexical, as distinct from phonetic, variations are not very numerous. Since this is primarily a lexical and ethnographical study, I have to some extent simplified and normalised the notation of the dialect, except where quoting words given by specific individuals. Roughly speaking, the more archaic form has been normalised: e.g., the diphthong *au* deriving from Latin *al* + consonant, which is still heard in E. Jersey, has been assimilated to *ou* in W. Jersey. In general, however, secondary developments are found above all in E. Jersey. The following key will help in the interpretation of the normalised forms.

Normalised form	West Jersey form (abbrev. WJ; NWJ = N.W. Jersey)	East Jersey form (abbrev. EJ; SEJ = S.E. Jersey NEJ = N.E. Jersey)
\bar{a}	\bar{a}	\bar{a}
ℓ	ℓ	ℓ
ℓ	ℓ	ℓ

of fish from England, have made it almost impossible for the local man to compete with the trawler fleets of Lowestoft, Grimsby or Hull¹, except in a special field such as lobster-fishing. As early as 1913, the French geographer, C. Vallaux, speaking of the south-eastern and eastern coasts of the Island, wrote:

'C'est là, en particulier à Gorey, à La Rocque et au Hocq, qu'il faut chercher les rares pêcheurs qui existent aujourd'hui dans cette île ou les métiers de mer n'attirent plus personne².'

F. Bisson of St. John's, born in 1874, remembered the days when seventy men fished from Bonne Nuit Bay: now there are only five, of whom three are 'foreigners' – that is, Englishmen (or, to quote certain local fishermen – *dɛ bɯgr d ăgyeɪ!*).

Normalised form	West Jersey form	East Jersey form
\tilde{e}	\tilde{e}	Rozel, Grouville \tilde{a} , with intermediate stage \tilde{e} in some other parts of E.J.
\tilde{e} (< Lat. -in-)	\tilde{e}	\tilde{e} , also \tilde{e} at Rozel, \tilde{e} and \tilde{e}_i at Grouville.
\tilde{o}	\tilde{o}, \tilde{o}^u	\tilde{o}, \tilde{o}^u
\tilde{o}	\tilde{o}	\tilde{o} , in final position usually \tilde{o}^u
\tilde{o}	\tilde{o}	a_i in most words, $\tilde{o}u$ where the free development of the diphthong is hindered by analogy, etc.
a_u (< Lat. -al)	ou	a_u
Vowel before retained final nasal		
a	a	\tilde{a}
\tilde{e}	\tilde{e}	generally \tilde{a}
\tilde{a} (< long e + nasal)	\tilde{a}	generally \tilde{a}
i	i	i , NEJ e

I have not generally marked a as a front vowel, since it tends towards a velar articulation.

The accent has been noted only where it does not fall on the final syllable.

¹ In 1952, 898 tons of fish were imported into Jersey (*Statistics of exports and imports, Jersey, 1953*).

² *L'archipel de la Manche*, Rennes-Paris, 1913.

It is a far cry from the days when the Channel Islanders played an important part in the Newfoundland fisheries¹, or from the early decades of the nineteenth century, when the oyster fisheries in Grouville Bay gave employment to some 2,000 English and Island fishermen, as well as hundreds of other workers ashore². Overfishing of the beds led to a rapid decline in the industry, and it was practically extinct by the middle of the century. Sporadic efforts were made later to revive the beds, and F. Bisson remembers sailing with the oyster boats – decked craft of about 35 ft. known as *kotōr* ('cutters') – some sixty-five years ago.

Young men today do not feel that fishing (*peik* f.; *ōn bwōn peik* 'a good catch'; *peicī* v., *alē* v. *ou peisō* 'to fish, go fishing') is a worth-while occupation; they say that it is tedious and, above all, unprofitable. Everyone connected with the industry agreed that fish were much scarcer than formerly, ascribing this variously to pollution of the sea by waste fuel oil, to the disappearance of the fields of marine grass (*Zostera marina*) which formerly attracted many fish³, and to the inroads of French fishermen outside the coastal limit.

Judging by the local saying *meicī peicō, meicī pyēršō*⁴ ('fishing trade, lazy trade'), fishing has not for a long time been a very highly respected calling. The small boat (*bate*, pl. *bačay*; *bate* m. *d peik*, *bate* m. *peicō* 'fishing-boat') of the average fisherman (*peicō* m., pl. *peicō*; R. 2 also *peisunī* m., pl. *peisunyer*, generally

¹ Over a hundred ships sailed for Newfoundland from Jersey in 1646. About two centuries later, an official document about the Newfoundland trade showed that in 1835, 79 Jersey ships totalling 8,485 tons, with a complement of 1,275 men, were engaged in the fisheries, and a further 2,680 men employed in shore establishments owned by Jersey firms. Jersey ships continued to sail for the Banks, in gradually decreasing numbers until the 1880's (cf. P. DALIDO, *Jersey: île agricole anglo-normande*, Vannes, 1951, p. 79).

² Vide G. R. BALLEINE, *History of Jersey*, London, 1950, p. 287.

³ *Zostera* beds off the American, British and French coasts were almost wiped out by a mysterious disease which made its appearance in 1931 (cf. L. R. BRIGHTWELL, *Sea-shore life of Britain*, London [1947], p. 70).

⁴ West Jersey form; the EJ equivalent of *ō* in most words is a secondary diphthong *ai* – hence EJ *peicai*, *pyēršai*, etc.

used with sense of 'fish-monger') could not venture far in unsettled weather, and there must have been long periods of inactivity during which he eked out a precarious living cultivating his small patch of land. Today's fishermen are, with rare exceptions, men of sixty and over, some of them veterans of the old wind-jammers. Most of them have land as well as their boats, which are normally laid up (*eĩšwē* v., *mētr a tēr*) during the winter, but they are still among the poorer members of the community.

The average fisherman has an intimate knowledge of the currents and rocks on his part of the coast, and of the various states of the tide, which in these waters falls as much as forty feet during the equinoxes. He seldom ventures more than a few miles from the coast, for this is sufficient for his purpose. His craft is an open boat, seldom more than eighteen feet long, powered by a small engine or outboard motor; sail went out of general use in the 1920's. He concentrates on the setting of lobster- and crab-pots and stationary nets and lines, working sometimes with a partner, but alone if needs be. Some fishing is done with 'flow-lines' trailed from a moving boat, and there is some trawling in the Bay of Grouville, but the Jersey fisherman is generally content to wait for fish to enter his traps, and then collect them at his leisure.

II. 'Low-Water Fishing'

During the big equinoctial tides, particularly large areas of sands and rock-masses, interspersed with pools and gullies, are uncovered by the sea. At some points on the south coast the sea goes out nearly two miles. The rocks and pools are rich in shell-fish, and harbour some lobsters, spider-crabs and an occasional conger eel, offering a variety of enterprises to the 'low-water fisherman' (*alē* v. *a la bās yaŋ*, *bāslē* v., WJ *bāsyōtē* v. 'to go low-water fishing': *bāslō* m. 'low-water fisherman'), who is generally an amateur out for an afternoon's entertainment.

For centuries, Jerseymen have been making up parties to go 'sandeeling' (*alē* v. *oŋ lāšō* m., *lāšūnē* v.) by day or night. The eels lie buried in the sand near the low-water mark, and are generally impaled on the long teeth of special rakes (*rātē* m. *a lāšō*) which

are dragged through the sand by men wading in the shallow water. As they are caught, the eels are transferred to long, narrow boxes (*bweît* f. *a lâšō*) slung waist-high in front of the fishermen. Alternatively, the eels can be scraped out of the sand above the low-water mark with the aid of a sickle-like hool (*krôčē* m. *ă lâšō*).

The low-water fisherman can also attempt to spear (*herpō* m., *dîgē* m. 'fishing spear or trident'; *herpūnē* v. 'to spear': *alē* v. *ou dîgē* 'to go fishing with a spear') plaice and other flatfish, or go shrimping in the open sea or in the rock pools (*hav* f. 'shrimping net')¹.

In the pools (*mað* f.)², conger eels and lobsters are sometimes found lurking in crevices and holes (known as *hul* f.³; *hulē* v. 'to probe for lobsters and eels in these holes'), from which they are dislodged with the aid of a tool known as a *hās* f.⁴, consisting of a short pole to which is lashed an outsize fishing hook (*ē* m.). Lobsters and crayfish were also sought in the gaps and hollows which occurred in the fields of marine grass (*la plîz*⁵ 'Zostera marina': *ōn ərbi* m., pl. *ərbyēr* – 'field of marine grass', C. 1. *kayddōl*, J. 1. *kougdōl* f.⁶ 'hollow in field of marine grass', C. 1.

¹ Back-formation from masc. *havenet* attested in Guernsey and Alderney as well as in Normandy: cf. *FEW* XIV, 112, Old Norse *HAFR-NET*.

² Equivalent of Fr. *mare*: *ð* in the dialect derives in all cases from intervocalic *r* (or in some cases *rr*). Assibilation > *z* and assimilation to consonant in contact also take place under certain conditions – cf. N 6.

³ Similar forms in West French (vide *REW* 4166 – Anglo-Saxon *HOL*).

⁴ Vide *FEW* IV, *HASTA*. The sense of the Norman *hanse* is generally that of 'scythe handle'.

⁵ From Lat. *PILOSA*, with change of suffix.

⁶ This word was also applied by some informants to fruit which has fallen before reaching maturity. In the latter sense it was closely related to the verb *ēkayde* '(of plants, fruit) to fail to reach maturity' (cf. Middle Fr. *echauder*, 'avorter (fruits, plantes)'; a form **kaydərōl* would become *kayddōl* in the dialect through the 'accommodation' of *r* to preceding consonant (cf. *lētī* f. 'dairy', *il ātādda* 'he will wait', etc.), but the resulting group *dd* seems to have dissimilated to *gd* in this word and probably in the word

ēðan f.¹ 'small hollow, bare patch in field of marine grass'). Holes formed at the edges of the hollows, among the matted roots of the grass, and it was in these that the lobsters sought refuge. This type of lair was called not a *hul* f., but a *veiz* f.², and the verb *veize* (R. 1., C. 1) was applied to its exploration.

A shellfish which is far more sought after than the common winkles, whelks or cockles (for the names of the shellfish of the Island *vide infra* pp. 21–2), is the 'ormer' or haliotis (*auris marina*), an ear-shaped shell found only on extremely low tides, wedged in narrow rock-crevices. The only implement required for 'ormering' is a short iron hook flattened at one end (*krø* m. *a ormer*) used to prise the shellfish off their rocks.

III. Boats (*bate* m., pl. *baçau*)

The boats in service are a mixture of English-, French- and Island-built craft. The latter are probably now in the minority; when one of them is withdrawn from service, it is replaced, if it is replaced at all, by an imported boat. The Jersey boat is an open craft varying in length from about twelve to twenty feet (for some reason fishermen frequently call it a *trezpi* or 'thirteen-footer', regardless of its exact length); decked craft of about 30–35 feet (*kotör* m. – 'cutter') used to be found at Gorey where they were used for trawling (*trāle* v. 'to trawl') and oyster-dredging (*draġi* v. *pur dz itr* 'to dredge for oysters'). The smaller boat is a sturdily-built craft with a very broad beam (*leiz* f.)³ and deep draught for

sāgdō 'lugworm' (*vide* N 3, p. 208). In the sense 'hollow in field of marine grass', *kaḡddol/kaḡgdol* probably first had the sense of 'patch where the grass has withered'.

¹ The West Jersey form would be **ēðen*. The word could derive from Lat. *ARENA*, as there are a number of examples of the closure of *a > ē* before intervocalic *-r-* (cf. *ēðāñi* f. (WJ) 'spider's web', (EJ) 'spider, spider's web', *heðā* m. 'herring', *ēðe* = Fr. '*aurai*', etc.), but the *FEW* does not mention any cognate forms in the Norman dialects.

² From Franconian **waso*, the oblique case of which has developed to *gazon* in French?

³ Cf. Old Fr. *laisé* < L. *LATIA*. The beam is usually a third or

stability and safe handling. The bow is straight-stemmed, the stern of the transom type. Most local boats are carvel-built (*bate a rōd kwōtūđ* 'carvel-built boat' – lit. 'round-seam boat': a clinker-built boat = *ō bate a rkyē* – cf. Fr. *reclin*); the older boats are remarkable for the small number of planks used. A feature made necessary by the big tidal fall are the 'legs' (*legz* f.) – one on each side – which prevent a craft from falling over on to its side when it is left dry at its moorings. These legs are stowed (*šipe*¹ v. *le legz*) when the boat is under weigh.

All boats are now equipped with motors (*āžē* m.)²; few ever use sail. Formerly they were cutter-rigged, with gaff and boom, or sprit and boom, or simply with a sprit.

Many men have a small dinghy (*pti bate* – literally 'small boat', *dini* m., *pēnt* m.) or flat-bottomed boat (*pya fō* m., *flat* m.)³ for pulling to and from their moorings.

An unseaworthy dilapidated boat is called a *nyēđol* f. (a derivative of the verb *nyē* 'to drown' > L. *NECARE*) or a *bērk* f. (which is also the name given to a barque).

Parts of boat:

(i) The hull.

čēl f. 'keel', *čērlēg* f. 'keelson'⁴, *faus čēl* f. 'false keel' (not found on older boats), *talō* m. 'heel (of keel)', *eitān* f.⁵ 'stem, stempost', *koyi* m. (cf. Fr. *collier*) *d la bayprē* 'ring through which bowsprit is passed', *mābr* m. pl. 'ribs, timbers' (usually of elm, sweated into

over of the length – a boat I measured had a beam of five feet six inches, and a length of fifteen feet ten inches.

¹ Adaptation of English verb *to ship* in sense 'to take or draw into ship or boat'.

² Semantic calque of English *engine*?

³ *dini*, *pēnt* and *flat* are pure anglicisms, although the use of the term *pēnt* with reference to a dinghy is not normal in standard English.

⁴ Cf. Fr. *carlingue*. C. 1 also mentioned the term *šučē* m. (literally 'block of wood') 'block into which mast fitted'.

⁵ Local development of Norse *stafn*, with assimilation of prae-consonantal *f* to *n*.

shape), *vrāg* f. (cf. Fr. *varangue*) (R. 1, R. 2) 'ribs of boat', (J. 1) 'lower part of ribs', *bōrdāl* f. 'planking, sheathing (of boat)' (usually of imported pine), *pyātŭŕm* f. 'bottom-boards (literally 'platform')', *maršəpī* m. 'narrower bottom-boards fitted at bows and stern', *aymăđ* f.¹ 'locker used for storing tackle, cuddy', (R. 1) *ursā* m. 'bilge-channel' (cf. Fr. *loussec*, *lousseau*), *nāby* m. 'plug' (cf. Fr. *nable*), *pōp* f. 'pump', *bay* m. 'bows' (0.1 *lę žoy* f. pl. – literally = 'the cheeks'), *drīęđ* m., *čū* m. 'stern' (literally = Fr. *derrière*, *cul*), (C. 1, LR. 1) *lę grā rŕ*² 'the wide part of the boat', *bā* m. 'thwart', *tŕleĭ*, LR. 1, J. 1 *tŕleĭ* m. pl. 'thole-pins' (cf. Fr. *tolets*), *tŕlčęđ*, LR. 1, J. 1 *tŕlčęđ* f. pl. 'holes for thole-pins' (now replaced by swivel rowlocks – *roulik*, R. 1 *rŕlik*, C. 1 *rŕliks*, 0.1 *rouliks*, J. 1 *rālik* m. pl.); (R. 2, C. 1) *skŕr* f.³ 'rounded groove cut in transom for single oar when sculling', *bār* f. 'tiller', *gŕvērñā* m. 'rudder', *legz* f. pl., R. 1 *bęčĭl* f. pl.⁴ 'wooden supports (literally 'legs') fitted on either side of boat to prevent it from falling on its side when it is left high and dry by the fall of the tide'.

(ii) Masts and rigging⁵.

Boats were cutter-rigged, with either topsail and gaff, or spritsail, the latter being particularly favoured because it was easier to lower when the boat was fishing at anchor. The mast (*mā* m.) fitted into a hole in the keelson, and was held to one of the thwarts by an iron clamp (R. 1 *krāp*, R. 2 *klāmp* f.). Other spars (*spēr* f.)⁶ were the bowsprit (*bayprĕ* f.), the boom (R. 2, G. 1 *bŕb*

¹ Vide *FEW* I, ARMARIUM. The word is applied only to the locker or 'cuddy' of a boat. In the ordinary sense of 'cupboard' it has been replaced by the form *armwęđ*.

² The word is used in the dialect with the sense of 'room to move' – cf. phrase *y a tŕ pyĕ đā rŕ* 'there is plenty of room'. Cf. Old Fr. *run* 'espace', Franconian *RUM*, *REW* 7435.

³ Borrowing from English *score* in the sense of 'notch'.

⁴ Borrowing from Fr. *béquilles*? It is only used in this sense: the dialect word for 'crutch' is *eĭkaš* f.

⁵ Almost universally replaced by petrol engines.

⁶ The terms *mātŕz*, EJ *mātqĭz* f. 'masts and spars (Fr. *māture*)' and *vęrg* f. pl. 'yards' are hardly applicable to small boats of this type.

f., R. 1, R. 4, C. 1, 0.1 *būm* m.)¹ the gaff (*gaf* m.), and, on spritsail-rigged boats, the sprit (*sprēd* f.)².

The sails (*vēl* f.) were the following: – *grā vēl* f. 'mainsail', *vēl* f. *d'avā* 'foresail (or stay foresail)', *gīb* f. (C. 1 m.) 'jib' (or 'storm-jib' = *sakfō* m.)³, and on a few boats, *topsel* m. 'topsail'.

Also connected with the sails and rigging (*rīgāž* m.): – *pik* m. (*d la vēl*) 'peak (of sail)', *gorž* f. (*d la vēl*) 'throat (of sail)', *pī* m.⁴ (*d la vēl*) 'clew (of sail)', *rālēg* f. 'leech, bolt-rope of sail', *lof* m. 'luff (of sail)', *deīlō* m. 'cringle'⁵, *īyē* m.⁶ 'eyelet (in sail)', *pwēt* f. *a rīzi* 'reefing point', *amađ* f., *amađāž* m. 'lashings (securing sail to boom etc.)', *eīkut* f. 'sheets (of sail)', *sērky* m. 'mast-hoop', *īsā* m. pl. 'halliards', *mīnawē* m.⁷ 'loop holding lower end of sprit against mast', *puyī* f. '(block and) pulley', *dubys puyī* f. 'double blocks'.

Accessories, repair materials: –

aviđō m. 'oar' (*la pēl dō l* ~ 'the blade of the oar'), *gaf* f. 'boat hook', *deīfās* f. 'fender', *gīšō* m.⁸ 'bailer' (G. 1 *pūšāi* m.)⁹.

pāñi m. *a dox* 'fisherman's wicker basket' (Fr. '*panier à dos*'), *īlēi* m. pl. 'oilskins', *kōrsē* m. *d'ōvr* 'jersey (usually blue) worn by fishermen'.

¹ Early adaptation of English 'boom'? The form *bōb* was also applied by certain dialect-speakers to the bung of a cask. If this is an adaptation of dialectal English *bum* 'bung', as I believe, there appears to have been a tendency to render lengthened English *m* by an articulatory effort leading to closure and plosion of the last element.

² The term *spread* is used for 'sprit' in local English, and is the source of the dialect word.

³ < ? I have not found any cognate forms for this term.

⁴ Literally = 'foot'.

⁵ Brass ring sewn into corner of sail. For dialect form *vide* FEW III, DIGITALE, in particular p. 76, N 4.

⁶ Vide FEW VI, OCULUS.

⁷ Cf. nautical French *minahouet* 'appareil pour raidir un cordage' (Willaumez), a variant of Fr. *minot* 'pièce de la proue du navire portant une poulie où passe l'amure de la voile de misaine' (DGén.), both of which appear to be derivatives of Breton *min* 'beak' (*vide* REW 5582).

⁸ The word was also given the sense of 'wooden bowl' by another informant. It is found in the Norman dialects: cf. Bessin, Val de Saire *guichon* 'tasse en bois', Hague *guichon* 'vase à boire en terre'.

⁹ Derivative of verb *pūšī* 'to draw (water, etc.)'.

filē m. 'rope'¹, *dwōl* f. *də filē* 'coil of rope', *mērlē* m. 'marline', (R. 1, C. 1, J. 1) *mērləspik*, (R. 2, 0.1) *mērləspi*, (R. 4) *mērləspik*, (LR. 1) *mēləspik* m. 'marline-spike', *aġūl* f. *a kwōtr* 'seaming-needle' (= Fr. *aiguille à coudre*), *aġūl* f. *a rālēġi* 'roping-needle', *paumē* m. 'sailmaker's palm' (cf. Fr. *paumelle*), *fid* f. 'fid (tool used for splicing rope)', *eitup* f. 'oakum (used for caulking seams of carvel-built boat)', *tað* f. 'pitch (used for sealing seams)', *koultēr* f.² 'coal-tar, creosote (painted on wood to preserve it)'.

Repairs, maintenance: –

*ergrei*³ v. 'to repair', *ergrīaž* m. 'repairs', *kalfeite* v. *ōn kwōtūð* 'to caulk a seam', *taðe* v. *ō bate* 'to caulk seams of boat with pitch (after packing them with oakum)', *koultēre* v. 'to treat with creosote', *eipisi* v. 'to splice (rope)', *eipisōz* f. 'splice' (*lōg* ~ 'long splice', *kurt* ~ 'short splice'), *gauffre*⁴ v. *ōn deifās* 'to cover a fender with a woven net of cord', *dwōyi* v. *dū filē* 'to coil rope', *kwōtr* v. 'to sew', *rālēġi* v. 'to sew bolt-rope round sail', *fēð* v. *ō nō* (EJ *nō*, pl. *nōū*) 'to tie a knot, knot together'⁵: *nō* m. *driġaž* 'shroud knot', *nō* m. *d boylin* 'bowline knot', *pya nō* m. 'reef knot', *pweġ* m.⁶ 'spliced loop', *nō ā kū d pulē* 'slip knot'.

¹ The word seems to be used only by the maritime community; other speakers talk about *kprd* f.

² The form *tað* is paralleled by Guernsey *tare* f. 'goudron'; the assibilation of *r* shows that it is an earlier borrowing than *koultēr*; in any case the expression 'coal-tar' in English dates only from the early 19th century.

³ *rgrei* after word ending in a vowel. For sense development, *vide* FEW XVI, GREIDA.

⁴ Cf. French *gauffrer* with same sense (due to comparison between the pattern of the weave and that of a *gauffre*).

⁵ The verb *nūe* is little used (although I have heard it) because of the danger of confusion with *nūe* v. 'to swim' (< V. L. *NAUTARE), which is itself tending to be replaced by *naži* under the influence of standard French *nager*. Confusion with *naži* 'to row a boat' is not likely because the unambiguous fuller forms *naži l bate*, *naži ō bate* are nearly always used. I did not hear the word *nouachir* 'nouer' mentioned in the *Glossaire du patois jersiais*.

⁶ Cf. Hague *pouais* 'nœud en rosette', Guernsey *pouais*, Percy *pouet* 'nœud coulant'; < ?

IV. Harbours (*hāvr* m.), Moorings (*mwōrē* m. pl.)

Most of the island's bays are provided with a solidly built granite breakwater (*kayšī* f.) offering a certain amount of protection against storms. Each has a small granite shed (*la barak*)¹ for storing tackle and supplies, and in the more exposed bays there is a crane (*kran* f. – EJ usually *krân*) for the raising and lowering of boats.

When not in use boats are generally moored (*amaðe* v.) in the shelter of the pier. Moorings (*mwōrē* m. pl.) are adapted to local conditions. On the sandy bottoms of the southern and eastern coasts an ordinary anchor would not hold, so safe moorings have to be made by burying heavy blocks of stone, lengths of chain, or metal plates (burying a 'dead man')². On rock or pebble bottoms an anchor (*ākr* f.: *pat* f. 'prong', *žwē* m. 'stock') or grapnel (*grapē* m.) can be used with comparative safety³. In most cases a boat is on an 'endless rope' (R. 1, C. 1 *ō va e vē*; literally = Fr. *un va et vient*) which runs through a block on the anchor-rope (*amað* f. *d l ākr*, *kāby* m., *hāsyēð* f.)⁴; with this arrangement a boat can be pulled in to the embarkation steps, or returned to its moorings after disembarkation. *lā bū dā drīēð* 'the stern-fast (literally = 'le bout de derrière')', *lā bū d l avā* 'the forward mooring (tied to bows)'; *bōs* f. 'painter (of dinghy)'⁵.

¹ I only heard the word *barak* used in this connection; the usual word for 'shed' is *apātī* m. and f. (or denasalized form *apōtī*); *eītr* f. 'storeroom' (< L. *EXTERA*), *čērkaðī* f. 'cartshed', etc., are other 'special' terms.

² LR. 1 *ō kōr mōr* – a calque of the English term? J. 1 *ōn lūwīs* (borrowing from English *lewis* 'iron contrivance for gripping heavy blocks of stone, etc.').

³ For fishing at anchor, a heavy stone lashed into place inside a wooden fork is frequently used as an anchor; this appliance is known as an *ērš* f. (*vide* FEW IV, 431 a, *HIRPEX*).

⁴ Generally applied only to a thick ship's hawser. The *ā* of *hāsyēð* is probably due to association with the word *hā* m. 'galingale (*Cyperus longus*)', a plant formerly used locally for making ropes.

⁵ Cf. Fr. *bosse* with similar sense: (*DGén.*) *bosse* '... 7° Par ext. (Marine) cordage, terminé par de gros nœuds, fixé par une de ses extrémités sur un point de navire...'.

Nearly all craft are laid up (R. 1 *eišųę* v. – literally ‘to beach’, R. 2 *ramōtę* v., C. 1 *mętr a tēr*) during the winter months, and launched again (*lāši* v.) in the spring.

V. Seamanship and Navigation

s āberči refl. v. ‘to embark’, *āberči* v. ‘to take on board’, *naži* v. (*ō bate*) ‘to row (a boat)’, *gabaðę* v.¹ ‘to scull, single-oar’, *guverne* ‘to steer’, *vęļę* v. ‘to sail’, (R. 2) *bęnde* v. *ļę vēļ*² ‘to attach sails to spars, mast’, *haištę* v. *ļę vēļ* ‘to hoist the sails’, *pači* v. *ļę vēļ* ‘to furl the sails’, *deīpači* v. *ļę vēļ* ‘to unfurl the sails’, *rīzi* v. *ļę vēļ* ‘to reef the sails’ (*prādr* v. *ō rī*, ‘to take in a reef’), *ļovyę* v. ‘to tack’ *viðę* v. *ļę vēļ* ‘to stay (put over to opposite tack)’, (LR. 1) *arīvē* v. ‘to keep head of boat out of wind’: *swō l vā* ‘on the lee side’, *ou vā* ‘to windward’.

prādr v. *dę męr* ‘to take bearings’ (*męr* m. ‘landmark’, *bwī* f. ‘buoy’), *ažūstę* v. (or *fęð* v.) *ōn kurs* ‘to set a course’, *ęrlāši* v. ‘to run back to shelter’, *ā rlāš* f. ‘weather-bound’, *ā kap* f. ‘laid-to’.

lei m. ‘ballast’, (R. 2, C. 1 *swō lei*, R. 1, LR. 1, O. 1 *ā lei* ‘in ballast’), *leite* v. ‘to take on ballast’, *deīleite* v. ‘to take off ballast’, *saumō* m. pl. ‘iron ballast’ (‘pigs’ – cf. Fr. *saumon*), *avę* v. *d la list* ‘to have a list’ (C. 1 *listę* ‘listing’); *pa l nę* ‘down by the bows’ (literally = ‘by the nose’), *pa l cū* ‘down by the stern’; *ā trim*³ ‘on an even keel’, *trimę* v. ‘to trim ship’.

a fyō ‘afloat’, *afyųę* v. ‘to become water-borne’; *fyōtę* v. ‘to float’; *eišųę* v. 1. ‘to beach (a boat)’, 2. (intrans.) ‘to run aground’, 3. (intrans.) ‘to be grounded by the fall of the tide’; *ęrtiðę* v. ... *pī d yaų* ‘to draw ... feet of water’: *prādr* v. (or *fęð* v.) *d yaų* ‘to leak’ (R. 1 *lā bate fę d yaų kųm ō pāni* ‘the boat is leaking like a sieve’ – literally ‘like a basket’), *kulę* v. 1. ‘to leak’, 2. ‘to sink’, *vęrsę* v. ‘to capsizes’, *drīvē* v. ‘to drift’; *ā drīv* f. ‘adrift’, *tūę* v. ‘to tow’.

*vaðāž*⁴ m. ‘flotsam and jetsam’.

¹ Vide FEW II, CARABUS.

² Adaptation of English *to bend* ‘attach with knot (cable, sail)’.

³ Calque of English *in trim*.

⁴ I have not been able to find any mention of cognate forms in the Norman dialects or in O. Fr.; der. of L. VARARE ‘to cross water’?

VI. Sea, Coast and Tide

mē f. 'sea', *d la says* 'sea-water', (*d yay*) *saymat* 'brackish (water)', *mað* f. 'pool'.

kouʔ f. 'coast', *beɪ* f. 'bay', *pwēt* f. 'headland', *kav* f. 'cave', *grēv* f. 'beach' (Gorey *pyā* m.)¹, *sabyō* m. 'sand', *galō* m. (pl. *galou*) 'pebble', *sēgy*² m., J. 1 *galış* f. 'shingle'; *bā* m. *d sabyō* 'sand-bank', *dē sabyō bwōžā* m. pl. 'quicksands', *vāz* f. 'black sand or mud'³.

fō m. '(sea)bottom', *d la grōn*⁴ f. collective 'rocks' (also *ōn grōn* 'a rock'), *rōcē* m. (pl. *rōcēr*) 'rock', *pērō* m. 'small rock (or small 'head' of rock showing above water)', *teit* f. 'rock «head» showing above water', *bār* f. *d rōcēr*, *bā* m. *d rōcēr* 'reef', *fouʔe* m. 'perpendicular rock wall (literally 'bank')', *kanē* (EJ *kānē*) m., *šna* m., *pāsaž* m., *ātrādō* (EJ *ātrādai*) m. 'channel (between rocks)'.

lwām (NEJ, SEJ *lwām*, LR. 1, C. 1 *wām*) f.⁵ 'wave, breaker', (*ptit, grād*) *pyēš* f. *dā mē* f. '(small, big) wave', *y a d la mē*, *la mē eī ō myō sū l rūd* 'the sea is a bit rough', *y a d la lop* (0.1 *lap*)⁶ 'the sea is choppy', (R. 1) *y a dū lapōtē* 'the sea is a little choppy', *la mē ē kurt* 'there is a short (i. e. choppy) sea', (R. 2, C. 1) *la mē lāfr* 'the tide is running strongly, the tide is swirling', (R. 1, R. 2) *lāfreɪ* m. 'swirl, heavy run of tide', (R. 1, C. 1) *halā* m. 'run of

¹ The WJ equivalent would be *pyē*, and the word would appear to derive from L. PLANUM.

² Distortion of the English word *shingle*?

³ Formerly often collected by farmers and used as a fertiliser because of its high lime content.

⁴ Vide FEW XIV, GRUNN (Old Norse).

⁵ A cross between Fr. *lame* and Engl. *wave*?

⁶ Borrowing from English *lop* = 'breaking of water in short lumpy waves'; English *q* has been adapted as *a* in some dialect words (e.g. *kapōr* 'copper in which clothes are boiled'), as here in the forms given by 0.1 (*lap*) and R. 1 (*lapōtē* m.).

⁷ Calque of the English expression?

⁸ LR. 1 *lāfreɪ* or *āfreɪ* m. 'spray' (cf. also *Glossaire du patois jersiais*, *lan/frais* s. m. 'embrun'). R. 1 gave the word *lap* for 'spray' (other subjects applying it to 'choppiness of sea'), suggesting that the idea is not clearly dissociated from the water movements which produce it. I have not been able to trace any forms related to *lāfre*, *lāfreɪ*.

tide, undertow'¹, *kwəðã* m. 'current', *rã* m. 'race'², (R. 1) *deĩlaši* v.³, *deĩbãre* v., *kaplẽ* v. i.⁴ '(of rocks) to uncover', *trãcĩl* 'calm'.

Tides: –

maðẽ f. 'tide', *la dmyẽ môtẽ* f. 'half-flood', *la dmyẽ rtrẽt* f. 'half-ebb', *la dmĩ*, *la maðẽ a dmĩ* 'half-tide', *la mẽ hayt*, *lã hay d yaũ*, C. 1 *lã pyẽ* 'high tide', *la mẽ bãs*, *lã bã d yaũ* 'low tide', *fyọ* m., *mõtã* m. 'flood (rising tide)', *ertĩðã* m. 'ebb', *mõtẽ* v. 'to rise (of tide)', *ertĩðẽ* v., *dvalẽ* v. 'to ebb (of tide)'.

pwəñã m. 'springing tide', *mẽ d ẽrcĩã* m., *ẽrcĩã* m.⁵ 'neaping tide', *ẽĩcĩnɔk* f. pl. 'the Equinoxes', *grã* m. *d yaũ* 'spring tide', *mɔrcãũ* f. 'neap tide'; *la mẽ pwẽ*, *la mẽ rpwẽ* 'the tide is springing'⁶.

VII. Fishing Tackle

(i) Pots (*kyavẽ* m., pl. *kyavyaũ*)⁷.

The most important items in the equipment of every local fisherman are the various types of wicker pot⁸ which he baits and

¹ Derivative of verb *halẽ* 'to pull' (< O. Norse HALA).

² Applied particularly to *lã rã d ɔrĩñĩ* 'the Race of Alderney'.

³ Mentioned in the *FEW* among the derivatives of V. L. *LAXICARE, to which, unless it is phonetically irregular, it cannot belong – *LAXICARE > *lãši*. Phonetically, it could be a derivative of V. L. *LACEARE, and a metaphorical 'untying' of the rocks as the tide falls appears an adequate, if not completely satisfying, explanation of the sense development.

⁴ Vide *FEW* II, CAPPELLUS.

⁵ From present participle of verb *ẽrcẽĩ* 'to fall again' (*re-* + *ẽcẽĩ* < V. L. *CADERE, used substantively).

⁶ C. 1 also *la mẽ ã fẽ* 'the tide is springing (literally 'making')', *la mẽ ã pẽr* 'the tide is neaping (literally 'losing')', *lãši* v. 'to spring (of tide)'.

⁷ The word 'clavel' or 'claveau' is not attested in this exact sense in the *FEW* under either L. CLAVA or L. CLAVELLUS, although several possible lines of semantic development suggest themselves. 'Clavel' or 'claveau' from L. CLAVELLUS was specialized in several technical senses – 'ring of coat of mail' (in Poitou and Saintonge also 'ring put in pig's snout') and 'fishhook' (and by extension 'various types of fish-hook' or 'type of line fitted with fish-hooks'): the continuant of CLAVA and its derivatives 'clavel', 'claveau' have

sets for lobsters, crayfish and spider-crabs, and to a lesser extent for wrasse, prawns and whelks.

Many fishermen still weave their own pots (*ye*¹ v. *õ kyave* 'to weave – literally 'to tie' – a pot'); each takes several hours to make. The mouth of the pot (*yî* m. = literally 'the eye', LR. 1 *la gul*, *l anou* m.) is made first; lengths of young, pliable willow (*d l ouzi*, 0.1 *ouzyî* m.) are inserted into a circular series of holes pierced in a flat, round piece of wood known as *lâ mûl* ('the mould'). Then thin willow (known as *la yêreîs*)¹ is interwoven between the uprights to a height of about five inches². This portion forms the mouth. The uprights (*verg* f., *vergêf* f. pl., J. 1 *kout* f. pl. – literally 'ribs') are then bent outwards and downwards to the shape of an inverted pudding-basin, and held in place with the aid of a hoop (*sêrky* m.) until the completion of horizontal ties (R. 1, R. 2 *yêreîs* f., J. 1 *yî* f., LR. 1 *kordê* m.)³ which hold the uprights in position. The flat, round bottom (*fô* m.) of the pot is made separately of elm sticks (*dâ l orm* m. or f.) closely interwoven with willow, and strengthened (*râfôrşî* v.) below by a further row of heavier cross-bars (C. 1 *dû râfôr* m. 'strengthening, reinforcement') in order to reduce the effects of dragging on the sea-bed. The final stage is the joining of the body and of the bottom. Some fishermen also fit their pots with a wicker handle (*hân* f., LR. 1 *har* m.)⁴, and an opening for a small trap-door

been applied, particularly in Norman, to a variety of wooden bars, poles and wedges. None of these senses is very close to the Jersey one, yet none is impossibly distant from it; the *kyave* is an '*engin de pêche*', even if it does not involve fish-hooks; its main feature is a ring-shaped mouth, and finally it is constructed of lengths of elm and willow.

⁸ Many of them are now makeshift contraptions of wire and wire netting.

¹ Derivative of L. *LIGARE* (> *ye*).

² In the case of the larger lobster and crab pots.

³ LR. 1 *kordê* v. 'to weave the ties'.

⁴ *han* (EJ *hân*) f. is the usual name for 'handle (of cup, jug, basket)' (> ?) but this was the only time I heard the word *har*. Vide FEW XVI, *HARD*.

(R. 1, LR. 1 *kyiše*, C. 1 *kiše* m.¹, J. 1 *trap* f.) to facilitate the removal of the catch.

The two main types of pot are the lobster-pot (*kyavē a hūmar*) and the crab- and crayfish-pot (*kyavē a pīhan* or *kyavē a krabakō*)², which are of the same size but have mouths of different sizes: 5–6 inches in diameter in the case of the former, but 9 inches in the case of the latter. Smaller and less common types are the wrasse-pot (*kyavē a vrā*), the prawn-pot (*kyavē a šervēt*), and, at La Rocque, the whelk-pot (*kyavē a kōklūš*).

Pots are usually set (*mētr lē kyavyayū bā* – literally ‘to put the pots down’) near the coast in 10–12 fathoms (*braš* f.) of water, but they have been used in depths of up to 36 fathoms. In most of the bays they are set separately weighted with stones (*pēre* v., *pyēre* v.) and each attached to a surface line (EJ *haylīn*, NEJ *haylēn* f.³, SEJ *bāde* m.⁴, WJ *kāby* m.) buoyed up by cork floats (*yēž* m., *fyot* f.)⁵ every three fathoms, and ending in a larger float (described variously as R. 1, R. 4 *la fyot*, J. 1 *la teit dā fyot*, LR. 1 *la teit dū bāde*, C. 1 *la bwī*), often provided with a small flag or other distinguishing mark⁶ to facilitate location and identification.

On relatively clear bottoms it is possible to drop groups of two or three pots linked by ten-fathom lengths of cord, with a single surface line (*ōn žwē d kyavyayū* ‘group of linked pots’, *dē kyavyayū ā žwē* ‘linked pots’)⁷.

¹ Adaptation of Fr. *guichet*; the autochthonous form is preserved in the word *vičē* m. mentioned by other subjects for ‘trap-door’, ‘door of pig-sty’, etc.

² The names of fishes and crustacea are listed on pp. 209–214.

³ Appears to be a reduction of *hayt līn* (= Fr. *haute ligne*); L. LINEA > *līn* (*lēn* in NEJ) through depalatalization of *ñ* in secondary final position (cf. *vīn*, NEJ *vēn* f. *dā patat* ‘potato haulm’).

⁴ Dialect equivalent of Fr. *bandeau*.

⁵ *yēž* m. (Fr. *liège*) refers specifically to a cork float, while *fyot* is a general term.

⁶ Usually called a *mēr* m. (‘mark, marker’), regardless of type.

⁷ Derivative of *žwē* < L. *JOCARI* in sense of ‘to move freely’? Vide FEW V, 40a. Alternatively, *žwē* may be a feminine derivative of L. *JOCUM* in its collective sense (cf. Fr. *un jeu de cartes*). I have not found any example of the word *jouée* used elsewhere in this particular sense of ‘group of pots’.

Twice a day, at times varying with the state of the tide, the fishermen go out to inspect their pots (*kyavtē*, *kyavtē* v., SEJ *marāde* v. *sē kyavyau*¹ 'to see to one's pots': *lvē* v. *lē kyavyau* 'to haul up one's pots').

Captured lobsters and crayfish are often kept for a while in large coffin-like wooden boxes (known as *nwōrīš* f. pl. – literally 'wet-nurses') moored out in the bays.

(ii) Nets (*dranē* m., pl. *dranē*)²

Only two types of net are in common use: the first is the 'set net' (R. 1 LR. 1, O. 1 *reī* f. pl., G. 1 m. pl.)³ placed across a tidal gully at low water, and later stretched taut to trap the fish which have entered it with the rising tide: the second is the trammel (*tramā* m.) consisting of a small-meshed inner net (*ptīt mēš* f., R. 4 *ptīt mēl* f. 'small mesh')⁴ and two outer nets of a larger mesh.

Occasionally a seine (*sān*, SEJ, NEJ *sān* f.) is used in shallow water for netting smelts (*sāne*, EJ *sāne* v. 'to net with seine') or other small fish. A little trawling is also still done in the Bay of Grouville (*trāle* v. 'to trawl', *trāl* f. 'trawl': *bīm* m. 'beam of trawl', *fyer* m. pl. *la trāl*⁵ 'iron fittings at either end of beam, to which net is attached').

¹ The presence of unassibilated -r- in the word *marāde*, in the speech of two persons who normally assibilated intervocalic -r-, without the lengthening of preceding vowel which usually occurs before retained r (cf. *bār* f. 'bar', *kārē* m. 'square', etc.), would suggest that this is not an autochthonous form, but I have not been able to trace any similar dialectal French or English word from which it might have been borrowed.

² Cf. FEW III, DRAGNET (English), which shows that the word is current in the Norman dialects (under form *dranē*, *dranē*, etc.), but retaining sense of 'dragnet', whereas in Jersey it is now the general term for 'fishing net'.

³ Normally used in the plural, like Fr. *rets*, but LR. 1 also mentioned the singular form (*ōn reī d bāraž* 'a set net'). C. 1 was unable to decide whether the word was feminine or masculine, as he never used the singular.

⁴ *mēl* f. is the usual word for the link of a chain (< L. MACULA), but R. 4 was the only subject to use it in this connection, and it is difficult to know whether his reply reflects genuine usage.

⁵ Literally 'irons' (cf. *ō fē d žva*, *dē fyer dā žva* 'a horse-shoe, horse-shoes').

When oyster fishing was still carried on, a dredge (*drag* f.) was pulled along the sea-bed, scooping up (*draġi* v. *dz i*tr 'to dredge oysters') oysters as it went.

tādr v. *dē draneĭ* 'to set nets', *halē* v. *oḡ draneĭ* 'to haul in nets', *lve* v. *dē draneĭ* 'to lift (stationary) nets'; *ergreĭ* v. *dē draneĭ* 'to repair nets', *tanē* v. *dē draneĭ* 'to «tan» nets (i. e. camouflage and preserve them with *tā* m., a dye made from a kind of bark)'.

(iii) Fishing-lines (*lin*, NEJ *len* f. *də peik*)

The main types of line used by the professional fishermen are: -

1. The weighted 'flow-line' towed after a moving boat (*lin*, NEJ *len* f. *də fyo*; a horse-hair line of this type = *ön lin də krē*).
2. Conger-eel trots (thick lines laid parallel to the sea-bottom, with snoods and hooks at intervals, known collectively as *d lapyē* m.)¹. The trot is moored at either end by a fairly heavy stone (called a *wāne* m., pl. *wānyay* by R. 1, R. 2)² attached to a short anchor-line. Snoods (R. 1, C. 1 *linnō*, LR. 1 *linnōy*, R. 2 *linnō*, O. 1, G. 1 *linō* m.)³ are attached to the main line⁴ at intervals of about three fathoms. Because of the strength and ferocity of the conger, the upper part of the snood is of doubled cord (whence its name, *lə duby*) while the lower part (*eršō* m.)⁵, to which the hook (*ē* m.) is attached, consists of four strands of cord. Like the lobster-pots, trots are linked with the surface by a buoy-line

¹ Vide FEW I, APPLICUM.

² The WJ form would be *wānē*; < ?

³ *linō* and *linnō* (and variants) are derivatives of **linā* < L. LINEA. The first form does not call for comment, but it is perhaps necessary to say a few words about the latter. It would appear to be the local development of a form **linārō*; with the fall of 'mute e', *ā* in contact with following consonant probably depalatalized to *n* (cf. development of verb *kyinte*, a derivative of V. L. *CLUDINIARE) and weakened *r* was assimilated to the *n* as in the words *pānnē* f. 'basketful' (Fr. *panerée*), *kwōšunnī* f. 'bungled piece of work' (Fr. *cochonnerie*). The form *linnō* is presumably the result of a dissimilation of *nn* > *mn*.

⁴ Not usually distinguished from *lapyē* - but cf. J. 1 *lə šē d lapyē* (originally borrowed from Fr. *chef*?)

⁵ Derivative of L. HIRPEX = vide FEW IV, 431 a.

ending in a large distinctive float (R. 2 *bwī* f. – literally ‘buoy’, R. 1, R. 4 *fyot* f. *d apyē*).

3. ‘Bay-lines’ (as they are called in local English) consist of thinner line, with hooks at intervals, laid in shallow water about a foot from the bottom to catch plaice, Pollack whiting and garfish. The dialect name *beilē* f.¹ ($\sim a y\tilde{e} = EJ \sim a y\tilde{o}y$ – ‘whiting-line’, $\sim a py\tilde{e}$ ‘plaice-line’) is normally used in the plural.

4. Ground lines (*līn*, NEJ *lēn* f. *də fō*, LR. 1 *kordə d pī* – literally ‘foot-line’) are used mainly for wrasse. The snood or snoods are attached to a small swivelling piece of bone or wood (known as *ō brōdē*)² about four or five feet from the sinker (*pyō* m.) at the end of the line.

ē (SEJ, NEJ *ā*) m. ‘hook’, *barbē* m. *də l ē* ‘barb of hook’, *ēūlet* f. *də l ē* ‘butt of hook’, R. 1, R. 2, C. 1 *bēndē* v. *ōn ā* ‘to tie on a hook’³; *ēēdē* m.⁴ ‘wooden frame on to which line is wound’.

Fishing-rods (*vaŷl* f.)⁵ are not used by the professional fishermen. Bait (*d la bēt*): –⁶

¹ L. SAINÉAN (*Sources indigènes de la langue française* II, 167) mentions West French *belée* ‘corde flottante’, but his derivation of the word from Old French *baler* with the sense of ‘to float’ is phonetically unsatisfactory, unless one admits the possibility of a change of vowel by association with, say, *baie* ‘bay’.

² < ? The sense suggests a connection with O. Fr., Middle Fr. *bort* ‘board’ (< Franconian BORD), but no *bordel* derivative appears to be attested (*vide* FEW I, 438–9), and metathesis of *bor-* > *bro-* is not regular in the dialect (cf. *bōrdāl* ‘planking of boat’, *bōrdōz*, EJ *bōrdaiž* f. ‘flower-bed’).

³ Adaptation of English *to bend* ‘to tie’.

⁴ Could be a variant development of Lat. QUADRATUM; the group *kar-* frequently > *ēer* (cf. *ēerbō* m. ‘coal’, *ēerlēg* f. ‘keelson’, *ēēdwon* f. ‘old, useless animal’ (< V. L. CARONIA), etc., but not the group *karr-* (*kār* f. ‘corner’, *kārē* m. ‘square’, *kāryēd* f. ‘quarry’), except where *-rr-* appears to have reduced early (*ēēdū* f. ‘plough’, *ēēdyē* v. ‘to cart’, etc.). If there was hesitation between **karē* and **kārē*, the former would have developed to *ēēdē*.

⁵ Cf. Fr. *gaule* (< Gmc. *WALU): in Jersey the word appears to have been specialised in the sense of ‘fishing-rod’ and not to have retained that of rod in general.

⁶ *Vide* FEW I, BEITA (Old Norse).

bēte v. 'to bait', *dū šervē* m.¹ 'small salted shrimps thrown into the sea in order to attract mullet and other fish', *ōn fyāk* (literally = 'a flank') 'shiny piece of mackerel or garfish taken from the tail end of the fish and used as bait on flowlines', *dū vēr* m. *d rōčī* 'rock-worm, a kind of worm which makes its home in the crevices of a soft, crumbling rock found in some of the bays', *vērme* v. 'to go «rock-worming»' (a small pick – *ō pīkwei* – is used to dig out the worms), *byāš kat* (EJ frequently *kāt*)² f. (R. 1 *byā ka* m.) 'type of worm found in sand at low tide (literally = 'white she-cat')', *rwōž kat* f. (R. 1 *rwōž ka* m.) 'red worm found in sea-gravel (literally = 'red she-cat')', R. 1, R. 2, R. 4, C. 1 *sāgdō* m., I.R. 1, G. 1 *sādō* m. J. 1 *sādrō* m.³ 'lugworm'.

VIII. Fishes, Mollusea and Crustacea

After giving a few general terms I have listed the names of fishes, and then those of mollusca and crustacea, in alphabetical order. I did my best to identify fish in the light of fishermen's descriptions and their recognition of illustrations⁴, but in a number of cases I was forced to accept the identifications given in

¹ Back-formation from *šervet* f. 'shrimp, prawn', with substitution of suffix *-ē*, which has collective, diminutive and usually pejorative value in the dialect (cf. *dū fraplē* 'small fry', *dū kرابē* 'collection of small, and therefore useless, crabs', *də l weīzlē* m. 'flock of small birds', etc.).

² Accented *a* frequently > *ā* in N. E. Jersey, and sporadically in the rest of E. Jersey in emphatic speech.

³ Sand-eels and certain flat-fish when buried in the sand are said to be *sādrē* – if the word is a derivative of English *sand*, it appears likely that the names of the lugworm are also derived from it. *sādō* and *sādrō* are comparatively straightforward forms, but *sāgdō* is less so. If we postulate an original form **sāndərō*, the development is comparable to that of the form *kaygdōl* which exists along with *kayddōl* (vide supra p. 193, note 6) – **sāndərō* > **sāddō* by 'accommodation' of weak *-r-* to preceding consonant, > *sāgdō* by dissimilation of the *d*'s in contact.

⁴ Those of L. JOUBIN and E. LE DANOIS, *Catalogue Illustré des animaux marins comestibles des côtes de France et des mers limitrophes*, 2 Vols., Paris, 1925 and 1928.

J. Sinel's list of the *Fishes of the Channel Islands*¹, which sometimes mentions dialect names; in others I have been reduced to vague generalities of the type 'small redish fish'.

(i) Fishes

General terms: – *peisō* m. 'fish', *mōl*² f. *d peisō* (C. 1 *skol*³ f. *d peisō*) 'shoal of fish', *dū fraplē*⁴ m. collective 'small fry'; *gîn* (NEJ *gên*) f.⁵ 'gills', *eikrēd* f. pl.⁶ 'scales', *finz* (NEJ *fenz*) m. pl. 'fins', *qvr*⁷ f. pl. 'fish-roe', *šivyeđ* (or *šūvyēđ*) f. *a brā*, 'egg capsule of skate (literally = 'hand-barrow')'⁸.

Fish-names: – *āgūl* f. 'conger-eel', J. 1 *āž* f. 'angel fish, monk fish (*Squalus squatina*, Lin.)⁹', *bar* m. 'bass', R. 1 *bavai* m.¹⁰ 'variety of blenny', *brām* (EJ *brām*) f. 'fish known locally as «bream», but which is according to Sinel «old wife» (*Cantarus lineatus*, Gun.)', *brīl* m. 'brill', *brōcē* (LR. 1 *brōšē*) m. 'picked dogfish (*Galeus amanthius*, Johnson)', NEJ *bwōđē* m.¹¹ 'bib (*Gadus minutus*, Lin.)', NEJ *čā* m.¹² 'lesser spotted dogfish (*Squalus catulus*, Lin.)', *daufē* m. 'dolphin', *dmuwezēl* f.¹³ 'smooth hound (*Squalus mustelus*, Lin.)', *gōndōrī* m. 'John Dory (*Zeus faber*, Lin.)', SEJ *fyabō* m.¹⁴ 'bib

¹ *Transactions of the Société Guernesiaise*, 5, 56–65.

² By extension from a phrase *ōn mōl dā* with sense 'a lot of' (cf. Fr. 'un tas de')?

³ Borrowing from English *school* (cf. 'school of porpoises', etc.).

⁴ Vide FEW III, 400b, FALUPPA 'strohfaser; wertloses zeug'.

⁵ Vide FEW II, CIN. ⁶ Vide REW 7977, SKERDA.

⁷ Cf. Guernsey *œuvres* f. pl. 'œufs de poisson', Old French *ove*, *ueve* 'collectif d'œuf' (GODEFROY); < L. OVA, with final intrusive *r*.

⁸ Cf. the English expression *skate wheel-barrow*.

⁹ As in the case of *mwōn* (vide *infra*), the name may have been suggested by the English of the questionnaire. *Ange* with the sense of *Squalus squatina* is not attested in the North of France, although it is current in Provençal (vide FEW I, ANGELUS).

¹⁰ Literally 'dribbler'.

¹¹ < ? The fish has other names in SEJ (*fyabō* m.) and NWJ (*tabūl* f.). Bib tend to congregate; a 'nest' of them is called *ōn bwōđēđ* (R. 2, C. 1) or *ōn kōtrē a bwōđēđ* (R. 1).

¹² Literally 'dog' (cf. Fr. *chien de mer*).

¹³ Vide FEW III, 134a, DOMNICELLA.

¹⁴ Metaphorical extension of Middle French *flabel* 'éventail', from shape of fish?

(*Gadus minutus*, Lin.), *fyēt* f.¹ (J. 1 *fyī*) 'Allis shad (*Clupea alosa*, Cuv.)', *fyay* f.² 'skate (*Raia batis*, Lin.)', *fyōdr* f.³ 'flounder (*Platessa flessus*, Yar., Jen.)', *grādoṃ* m.⁴ 'smelt (*Atherina presbyter*, Guv., Yar.)', *grōdē* m. 'gurnard', *halībō* m. 'halibut', *hēdā* m. 'herring', *hōrfī* (LR. 1 *ōrfī*) m. 'garfish' (*Belone vulgaris*, Cuv., Yar.), *hay* m.⁵ 'tope (*Squalus galeus*, Lin.)', *kabō* m.⁶ 'smooth blenny (*Blennius pholis*, Yar., Gun.)', *kaplā*, *kaplē* m.⁷ 'cap(e)lin (fish of smelt family)', *kāre* m.⁸ 'horse mackerel (*Trachurus trachurus*)', C. 1 *kat* f. 'dab (*Platessa limanda*)?', *kō* m. 'crested blenny (*Blennius gatturogine*, Lin., Cuv.)', R. 1, C. 1 *krapay* m. 'small inedible fish with large flattish head (literally = 'toad')', *kukū* m. 'cuckoo wrasse (*Labrus mixtus*, Lin.)', *lāšō* m.⁹ 'sandeel (the terms *vēr* ~ and *rwōž* ~ appear to refer to the greater sandeel – *Ammodytes lanceolatus* – and lesser sandeel – *Ammodytes tobianus* – respectively)¹⁰, *lē* m. 'ling', *lwōš* f. 'three-bearded rockling and five-bearded rockling (*Motella tricirrata* and *Motella quinquecirrata*)', *makdē* m.¹¹ 'mackerel', *matō* m.¹² (*vide* also *čā* m.) 'lesser spotted dogfish (*Squalus catulus*, Lin.)', LR. 1 *mwōn* m. 'monkfish'¹³, *mwōdū* f. 'cod', *mūlē* m. 'mullet' (*grī* ~ 'grey mullet', *rwōž* ~

¹ Cf. St. Malo *fleinte* 'Clupea alosa'.

² < ?

³ *Vide* FEW III, FLUNDRA (Old Danish).

⁴ *Vide* E. ROLLAND, *Faune populaire de la France*, III, 158.

⁵ *Vide* FEW XVI, HAR (Old Norse).

⁶ *Vide* FEW II, 346, N 5 for discussion of etymology of Fr. *chabot*, Pic., Norm. *cabot*.

⁷ Latter form influenced by the English *caplin*.

⁸ *Vide* FEW II, 1403b, QUADRUS.

⁹ Dialect equivalent of Fr. *lançon* (der. of Lat. LANCEA).

¹⁰ *Vide infra* *twōš* also.

¹¹ There are a number of phonetic variations of the word due to differing development of intervocalic -r-; in the plural the form was consistently WJ *makədyōy*, EJ *makədyay*, except for C. 1's *makəryay*, but in the singular, in contact with *k*, -r- variously remained as *r* or assimilated to *đ* (devoiced on occasion to *θ*) or *z* (devoiced on occasion to *s*).

¹² Variant of Fr. *matou* 'tomcat' (etymology obscure), used metaphorically? *Vide* alternative name *čā* = literally 'dog'.

¹³ Cf. Bessin *mouēne* m. 'espèce de squalé (*Squalina angelus*)'.

'red mullet'), *perle* m.¹ 'spotted wrasse (*Labrus maculatus*, Gun., Yar.)', *purpei* m. 'porpoise', *pyē* f. 'plaice', *rei* f. 'ray skate', R. 1 *ernar* m. 'fish resembling trout (literally = 'fox')', *rus* f. 'great spotted dogfish (*Squalus catulus*, Lin.)'², *sard* f. 'common sea bream' (*Pagellus centrodentus*, Cuv., Gun.), *sol* f. 'sole (*Solea vulgaris*, Yar.) and lemon sole (*Platessa limanda*)', R. 1 *šāneiz* f.³ 'fish of wrasse family (*Acantholabrus exoleta*, Yar., Jen.? Cf. Sinel, *op. cit.* p. 56)', *šōrk* (R. 2 *šērk*) m. 'shark', O. 1 *tabūl* f.⁴ 'bib' (*vide supra* *bwōdē*, *fyabō*), R. 1 *tābur* m. 'small reddish fish (literally 'drum')', *tūrbō* (R. 3 *tōrbō*) m. 'turbot', *twōš* f. 'yellowish sandeel'⁵, *viđlē*⁶ m. 'yellow sculpin, dragonet (*Callionymus lyra*, Lin., Yar.)' R. 1 *vyōlō* m. 'angel fish, monk fish (*Squalus squatina*, Lin.) (?)', *d la vnīz*⁷ f. collective 'name given to shoals of small silvery fish, known locally as *whitebait*, which Sinel (*op. cit.*, p. 63) thought were young sprats', *vra*⁸ (pl. *vrā*) m. 'wrasse in general, comber wrasse (*Labrus vulgaris*, Yar.) in particular', *yō* m. 'Pollack whiting (*Gadus pollachius*, Lin.)' (cf. regional Fr. *lieu* 'espèce de merlan', of which this is the phonetic equivalent).

Fresh-water fishes: —

There are few fresh-water fishes on the island — eels (*āgūl* f. *d yaū dwōš*), tench, sticklebacks and a few trout (*trūit* f.) in the streams (*kanē*, EJ *kānē* m., *du* m.) and carp (*karp* f.) in the manorial fishponds (*vivī* m., pl. *vivyē*).

(ii) Crustacea

General terms: — *krab* f. 'crab', *dū krabē* m. collective 'contemp-

¹ Derivative of *perl* f. 'pearl', from appearance of spots?

² Cf. Fr. *rousset* 'chien de mer'. Named because of colour of skin.

³ Adaptation of English *shanny* 'smooth blenny'?

⁴ < ?

⁵ Believed by SINEL to be the female of the sandeel when full of roe (*op. cit.*, p. 62); < ?

⁶ Cf. Norman *virli*, *firli*, 'great weever and little weever', considered by PAUL BARBIER *filis* to be a derivative of the verb *virer* (RLR 63, 65).

⁷ < ?

⁸ Cf. Guern. *vrac* 'carpe de mer', Hague *vra(c)*, Bessin *vra* 'labre tacheté'. For discussion of etymology, *vide* BARBIER *filis*, RLR 51, 406.

tuous term for small crabs', *eikal* f. 'shell (of crab)', *pěšēt* f. pl. 'pincers (of crab, etc.)'.

Names: – *gręžeis* f.¹ (or *krab* ~) 'velvet crab, lady crab' (*Portunus puber*, Leach), *hymar* m. 'lobster' (*vide* also *mwōð* f.), *krab* f. 'crab' (~ *gręžeiz* '*Portunus puber*'; *vertā* ~ 'shore crab' – *Carcinus maenas*, Pen.), *krabakō* f.² 'crayfish', *mwōð* f.³ 'spawn-carrying female lobster', *pihan* (EJ *pihān*) f.⁴ 'spider crab' (*vide* also WJ *wōlē* m.), *pwēkyoy* m.⁵ '*Cancer pagarus*', *saūtīkō* m. 'sandhopper', *sudar* m. 'hermit-crab'⁶, O. 1 *wōlē* m.⁷ 'spider-crab'.

(iii) Mollusca

General terms: – *vlik* f.⁸ 'shellfish', *eikal* f. 'shell', *kapüşō* m. 'operculum (of winkle, etc.)', *pōpī*, *pēpī* f. 'shell of cuttle-fish' (compared to tongue covered by scale of *la pēpī* 'the pip'?)

Names: – *bēk* f. *dā kōrbē* 'mussel'⁹, *bānak* (SEJ, NEJ *bānak*) f.

¹ Derivative of V. L. *GREVIARE, which becomes in Jersey *grégir* 'se mettre en colère'; this crab, though small, is fierce. *Vide* FEW IV, GRAVIARE.

² Cf. also Guernsey *crabe-à-co* 'langouste'. Could be taken literally as meaning 'the crab with the neck (*kō* m.)', although this does not appear a very apposite name for the crayfish.

³ The word WJ *mwēð*, EJ *mwōð* f. (< L. MORA) also means 'blackberry'. Is the sense 'spawn-carrying lobster' due to the dark colour of the lobster (which is not restricted to the female) or to some resemblance of the spawn to berries?

⁴ < ?

⁵ Cf. Norman *clopoing* '*Cancer pagarus*', from resemblance of crab to closed fist. *Vide* FEW II, 748, CLAUDERE.

⁶ Literally = 'soldier': the crab is humorously compared with a soldier in a sentry-box.

⁷ Cf. Guernsey *haeuilin*, *houvlin*, *houblin*, m. 'araignée de mer', Manche *houlin* '*Maia squinado*', etc. (ROLLAND, *Faune populaire*, III, 226–7). P. BARBIER fils (*Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical Society*, VI, 59) suggests that these and similar forms are diminutives of Old Norse *HOFR* 'hoof' (> *houvel*, *houvelin*, etc.). The Jersey form is obviously allied to the Norman ones, but derivation from *HOFR* would be difficult to explain (*wōlē* would be expected to derive from lengthened *ū* – cf. *rwōlē* f. 'hive').

⁸ Adaptation of English *whelk* (pronounced *wilk*), or early borrowing from Anglo-Saxon *VEOLC*?

⁹ Literally 'crow's beak'.

'barnacle', *bānī* (EJ *bānī*) m.¹ 'limpet', EJ *bqb* f.² 'cockle', R. 1 *brīqš* f. 'razor-fish'³ (*vide infra māšq* m.), *eītel* f. (or *eītel də mē*) 'starfish', *ītr* f. 'oyster', WJ *kqk* f. 'cockle', WJ *kqk* f. *a žvoū* 'dog-whelk' (literally = 'horse-whelk'), *kqklūš* f.⁴ 'whelk', *kqliḡšyaū* m. pl.⁵ 'queens', *koune* m.⁶ 'cuttle-fish', *māšq* m. 'razor-fish', *mūl* f. 'mussel', *qrmēr* m.⁷ 'haliotis (*Auris marina*)'⁸, R. 1 *patq* m.⁹ 'queen' (*vide supra kqliḡšyaū*), *pōvr*, *pōrv* f.¹⁰ 'octopus', *sēš* f. 'cuttle-fish', *skwid* f. 'squid', WJ *šākr* m.¹¹ 'edible crab (*Cancer pagarus*, Lin.)' (*vide infra pwēkyou*), *šervet* f.¹² 'shrimp, prawn',

¹ Vide FEW I, BERNIC (Breton) for forms *bānak* and *bānī*.

² < ? The FEW groups together under a rubric BOB- (onomatopœia) a large number of words containing this sound group; the most common senses of the words deriving from the root are 'pout, grimace' or 'swollen face'. The Jersey sense may be due to a metaphorical comparison with full, pouting lips, or go back to the underlying sense ascribed to the root – 'etwas aufgedunsenes, dickes, geschwollenes ...' (FEW I, 419 a).

³ Literally = 'clasp-knife' (from the shape of the shell-fish); cf. similar metaphors in Engl. *razor-fish*, Fr. *manche de couteau*, and the term more frequently used in the dialect, *māšq* (derivative of V. L. *MANICU). The form *brioche* 'broie' is given by Cotgrave as Norman and appears to be a derivative of Gmc. BREKAN (> Fr. *broyer*), but it is not quite clear how the name of an implement used for breaking or crushing came to designate one used for cutting.

⁴ Cf. Coutances, Avranches, Granville *coqueluche* 'mollusc du genre Venus' (ROLLAND, *Faune populaire* III, 220).

⁵ < ?

⁶ Cf. Middle and Modern Fr. *cornet* 'cuttle-fish', a metaphor from *cornet* 'ink-horn' because of the dark fluid ejected by the cuttle-fish. In the dialect *r* normally falls when followed by *l* or *n* (cf. EJ *kouŋ* f. 'horn' < V. L. *CORNA).

⁷ < L. AURIS MARIS: final -*r* has normally become silent in singulars, while being retained in plurals, and the singular *qrmēr* is presumably due to the analogical generalisation of the plural form.

⁸ The entrails of the ormer are known variously as *pīḡ* m. pl. (R. 2, LR. 1, J. 1, G. 1), *pītozyer* m. pl. (R. 1), *pīḡzyer* m. pl. (0.1), *pītozḡ* m. pl. (C. 1, J. 1), *pītozē* m. pl. (R. 2).

⁹ Derivative of *pat* f. 'paw', used metaphorically?

¹⁰ Vide N 12.

¹¹ Francien form found also in Guernsey (*chancre* s. m. 'crabe').

¹² From Middle French *chevrete*, with transposition of *vr* > *rv*,

šervē m.¹ collective 'opossum shrimps (*Mysis chameleon*, Thomp.) and fairy shrimps (*Mysis ornata*, Thomp.)', *vane* (pl. *vanyay*) m.² 'scallop', EJ *vlīk* f. *süqiz*³ 'small inedible winkle-like shellfish', J.1 *vlīk špršyēð*⁴ 'small inedible winkle-like shellfish', *vlīk* m. 'winkle'.

Belfast.

N. C. W. Spence.

Index of dialect terms mentioned

The following alphabetical order has been adopted: – *a, ā, b, c, d, e, ē, ě, f, g, ġ, h, i, k, l, m, n, ñ* (and *ñ*), *o, õ, ö, ō, p, r* (and *ð* deriving from intervocalic *r*), *s, š, t, u, ü, w, ü, y, z, ž*.

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which occurs also in words *ēserve* v. 'to wean' (der. of V. L. *SEPERARE), *swōšervō* m. 'type of rafter' (der. of Lat. CAPRA), and *pōrv*, variant of *pōvr* f. 'octopus' (< Lat. POLYPUM).

¹ Vide supra p. 208, N 1.

² Vide Guernsey *vannet* 'coquille St. Jacques', Cherbourg *vanneau* 'Pecten opercularis', *vanne* 'Pecten Jacobaeus'; derivatives of L. VANNUS, from resemblance of shell to winnowing basket?

³ The W. Jersey form would be *süqz*; the word appears to be a derivative of the verb *sūe* 'to sweat, to ooze'.

⁴ Possibly the same shellfish as the preceding one; the name means literally 'witch shellfish' (or 'sorcerer shellfish'), possibly from resemblance to a pointed witch's or wizard's hat.

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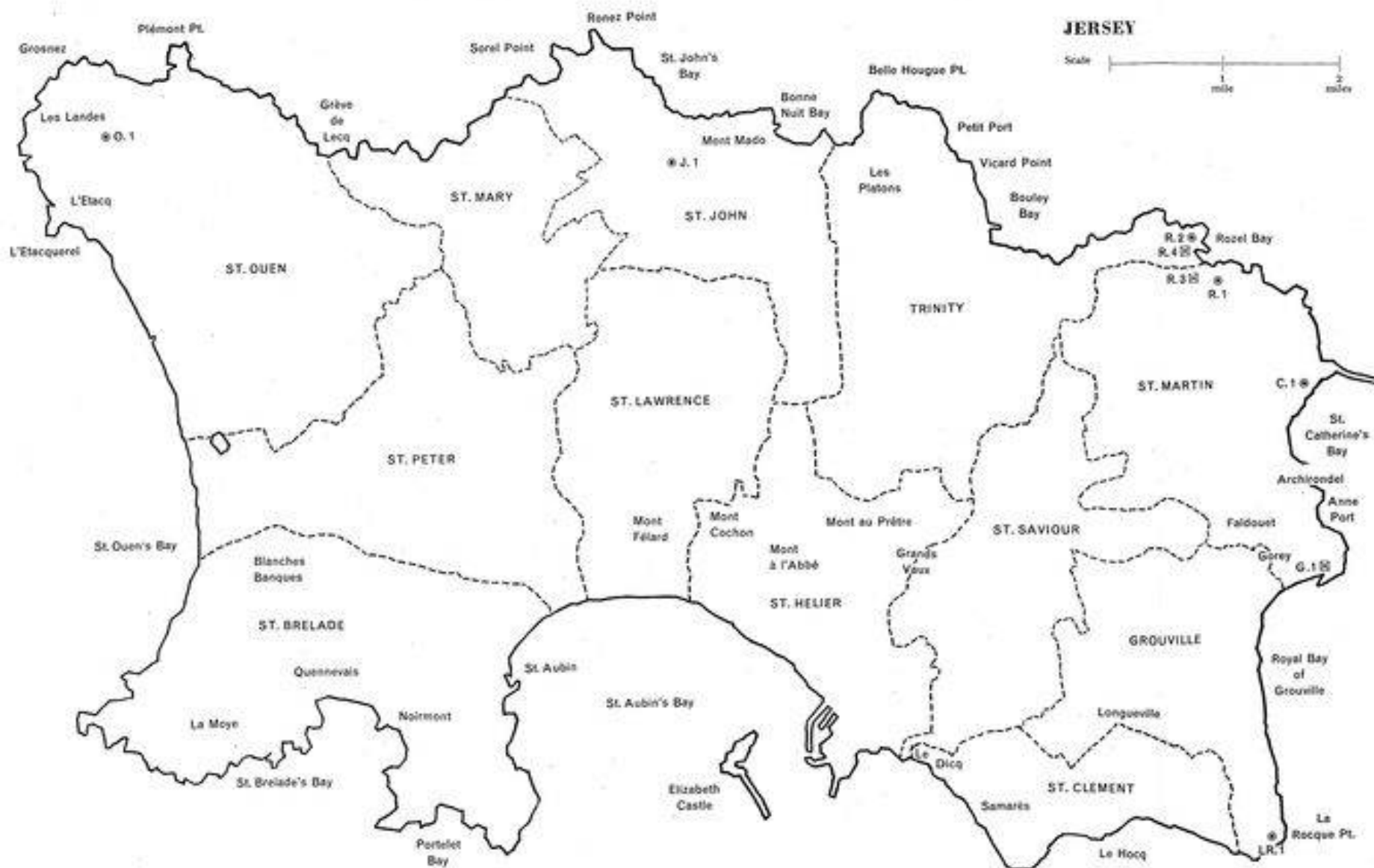
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JERSEY






Jersey-French Fishing Terms


List of informants:-


The approximate birth-places of my principal subjects are indicated by the sign , and those of minor informants by the sign .

- (a) Rozel area:-
 R. 1  G. Le Cocq, born c. 1880
 R. 2  G. Amy, born c. 1890
 R. 3  E. Renoud, born c. 1880, now deceased
 R. 4  C. Blampied, born c. 1880, now dead

- (b) St. Catherine's and Gorey areas:-
 C. 1  H. J. Robins, born c. 1900
 G. 1  C. Godfrey, born c. 1885

- (c) La Rocque area:-
 LR. 1  E. Gallichan, born c. 1880, now deceased

- (d) St. John's area:-
 J. 1  F. Blison, born c. 1873, now dead

- (e) St. Ouen's area:-
 O. 1  J. Priaulx, born c. 1877, now deceased

My informant J. Priaulx (O. 1) farmed at St. John's, but was a keen amateur fisherman in his younger days. All other subjects were, or had been, fishermen or sailors.