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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. Priaulx (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 ay 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. Jersev
$ar{a}$	$ar{a}$	å
ę	ę	ę
ę	£	ę

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 southeastern 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 – de būgr d āgyei!).

Normalised form West J	ersey fo	orm East Jersey form
ę	ę	Rozel, Grouville \tilde{a} , with intermediate stage \tilde{e} in some other parts of EJ.
ệ (< Latin-)	ē .	\tilde{e} , also \tilde{e} at Rozel, \tilde{e} and $\tilde{e}i$ at Grouville.
Q	Q,Q^{u}	ρ, ρ^{u}
o Ö	\ddot{o} , $o_{\check{n}}$	$\ddot{ ho}$, in final position usually $\ddot{ ho}^{\ddot{u}}$
$ar{arrho}$	ē	ai in most words, öü where the free development of the diphthong is hindered by analogy, etc.
ay (< Latal)	ou	ay
Vowel before r	etained	l final nasal
a	a	å
ę	ę	generally a
$ar{ ilde{a}}$ ($<$ long e $+$ nasal)	$ar{ar{a}}_i$	generally $ar{q}$
\vec{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 $k \phi t \ddot{\phi} r$ ('cutters') – some sixty-five years ago.

Young men today do not feel that fishing (peik f.; ön bwon peik 'a good catch'; peiĉi v., ale v. ou peisõ '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 $mei\hat{c}i$ $pei\hat{c}\bar{o}$, $mei\hat{c}i$ $pyerš\bar{o}^4$ ('fishing trade, lazy trade'), fishing has not for a long time been a very highly respected calling. The small boat (bate, pl. $ba\hat{c}au$; bate m. d peik, bate m. $pei\hat{c}\bar{o}$ 'fishing-boat') of the average fisherman ($pei\hat{c}\bar{o}$ m., pl. $pei\hat{c}\bar{o}$; R. 2 also peisuni 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 anglonormande, 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 $\tilde{\varrho}$ in most words is a secondary diphthong $q\dot{q}$ - hence EJ $pe\dot{q}\dot{c}q\dot{q}$, $py\check{e}r\check{s}q\dot{q}$, 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 (eiswe v., metr a ter) 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' (ale v. a la bās yau, bāsle v., WJ bāsyote v. 'to go low-water fishing': bāslo 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' (ale v. ou lāšo m., lāšune 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 (rāte m. a lāšo) 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 (bweit f. a $l\tilde{a}\tilde{s}\tilde{\rho}$) 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 ($kr\varrho\tilde{c}\tilde{e}$ m. \tilde{a} $l\tilde{a}\tilde{s}\tilde{\rho}$).

The low-water fisherman can also attempt to spear ($herp\tilde{\rho}$ m., $di\hat{g}e$ m. 'fishing spear or trident'; herpune v. 'to spear': ale v. ou $di\hat{g}e$ '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 $(ma\eth f.)^2$, conger eels and lobsters are sometimes found lurking in crevices and holes (known as hul f.³; hule v. 'to probe for lobsters and eels in these holes'), from which they are dislodged with the aid of a tool known as a $h\bar{a}s$ f.⁴, consisting of a short pole to which is lashed an outsize fishing hook (\tilde{e} m.). Lobsters and crayfish were also sought in the gaps and hollows which occurred in the fields of marine grass (la $pl\bar{i}z^5$ 'Zostera marina': $\tilde{o}n$ $erb\bar{i}$ m., pl. erbyer – 'field of marine grass', C. 1. kayddol, J. 1. koygdol f.⁵ '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*: \eth 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 $\bar{e}kaude$ '(of plants, fruit) to fail to reach maturity' (cf. Middle Fr. echauder, 'avorter (fruits, plantes)'; a form *kaudevole would become kaudevole in the dialect through the 'accommodation' of r to preceding consonant (cf. $lett\bar{i}$ f. 'dairy', il atadda 'he will wait', etc.), but the resulting group dd seems to have dissimilated to gd in this word and probably in the word

eðan 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 (kro m. a ormer) used to prise the shellfish off their rocks.

III. Boats (bate m., pl. baĉaŭ)

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 ($k\varrho t\varrho r$ m. – 'cutter') used to be found at Gorey where they were used for trawling (trale v. 'to trawl') and oyster-dredging ($dra\hat{g}i$ v. pur dz itr 'to dredge for oysters'). The smaller boat is a sturdily-built craft with a very broad beam (leiz f.) and deep draught for

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

¹ The West Jersey form would be * $e\partial en$. The word could derive from Lat. Arena, as there are a number of examples of the closure of a > e before intervocalic -r- (cf. $e\partial a\tilde{n}i$ f. (WJ) 'spider's web', (EJ) 'spider, spider's web', $he\partial a$ m. 'herring', $e\partial e$ = 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. laise < 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 $a r\~od kw\~ot\~u\~o$ 'carvel-built boat' – lit. 'round-seam boat': a clinker-built boat = $\~o$ bate $a rky\~e$ – 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 ($\~ot$ legz) when the boat is under weigh.

All boats are now equipped with motors $(\tilde{a}\tilde{z}\tilde{e} \text{ m.})^2$; 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', $dini\ m.$, $pent\ m.$) or flat-bottomed boat ($pya\ fomega\ m.$, $flat\ m.$)³ for pulling to and from their moorings.

An unseaworthy dilapidated boat is called a $nye\partial \varrho l$ f. (a derivative of the verb nye 'to drown' > L. NECARE) or a berk f. (which is also the name given to a barque).

Parts of boat:

(i) The hull.

cel f. 'keel', cerleg f. 'keelson', faus cel f. 'false keel' (not found on older boats), talo m. 'heel (of keel)', eitan f. 's 'stem, stempost', koyi m. (cf. Fr. collier) d la bauprē '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, pent and flat are pure anglicisms, although the use of the term pent with reference to a dinghy is not normal in standard English.

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

 $^{^5}$ Local development of Norse stafn, with assimilation of praeconsonantal f to n.

shape), vrāg f. (cf. Fr. varangue) (R. 1, R. 2) 'ribs of boat', (J. 1) 'lower part of ribs', bordāl f. 'planking, sheathing (of boat)' (usually of imported pine), pyătform f. 'bottom-boards (literally 'platform')', maršəpi m. 'narrower bottom-boards fitted at bows and stern', aymãð f.1 'locker used for storing tackle, cuddy', (R. 1) ursā m. 'bilge-channel' (cf. Fr. loussec, lousseau), nāby m. 'plug' (cf. Fr. nable), põp f. 'pump', bay m. 'bows' (0.1 le žoy f. pl. - literally = 'the cheeks'), $dr_{i}^{2}e\delta$ m., $\hat{c}\ddot{u}$ m. 'stern' (literally = Fr. derrière, cul), (C. 1, LR. 1) lə $gr\tilde{a} r\tilde{b}^2$ 'the wide part of the boat', bā m. 'thwart', tolei, LR. 1, J. 1 tulei m. pl. 'thole-pins' (cf. Fr. tolets), tolĉeð, LR. 1, J. 1 tulĉeð f. pl. 'holes for thole-pins' (now replaced by swivel rowlocks - roylik, R. 1 rolik, C. 1 roliks, 0.1 rouliks, J. 1 rālik m. pl.); (R. 2, C. 1) skor f.3 'rounded groove cut in transom for single oar when sculling', bar f. 'tiller', guverna m. 'rudder', legz f. pl., R. 1 beĉil 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 $(m\bar{a} \text{ m.})$ fitted into a hole in the keelson, and was held to one of the thwarts by an iron clamp (R. 1 $kr\tilde{a}p$, R. 2 klqmp f.). Other spars $(sp\bar{e}r \text{ f.})^6$ were the bowsprit $(baqpr\bar{e} \text{ f.})$, the boom (R. 2, G. 1 $b\tilde{o}b$

Yide 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 armweð.

² The word is used in the dialect with the sense of 'room to move' – cf. phrase $y \, a \, t u \, p y \tilde{e} \, d \sigma \, r \tilde{o}$ '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 eikaš f.

⁵ Almost universally replaced by petrol engines.

⁶ The terms $m\bar{a}t\bar{\varrho}z$, EJ $m\dot{a}tq\dot{\imath}z$ f. 'masts and spars (Fr. $m\hat{a}ture$)' and verg f. pl. 'yards' are hardly applicable to small boats of this type.

f., R. 1, R. 4, C. 1, $0.1 b \bar{\nu} m$ m.)¹ the gaff (gqf m.), and, on spritsail-rigged boats, the sprit (spred f.)².

The sails ($v \neq l$ f.) were the following: $-gr\tilde{a} v \neq l$ f. 'mainsail', $v \neq l$ f. $d av \tilde{a}$ 'foresail (or stay foresail)', $\hat{g}ib$ f. (C. 1 m.) 'jib' (or 'storm-jib' $= sakf \ddot{\varrho}$ m.)³, and on a few boats, $t \varrho p s \neq l$ m. 'topsail'.

Also connected with the sails and rigging (rigaž m.): – pik m. (d la vęl) 'peak (of sail)', gọrž f. (d la vęl) 'throat (of sail)', pi m. 4 (d la vęl) 'clew (of sail)', rālēg f. 'leech, bolt-rope of sail', lọf m. 'luff (of sail)', deilo m. 'cringle's, iye m. 'eyelet (in sail)', pwēt f. a rīzi 'reefing point', amað f., amaðaž m. 'lashings (securing sail to boom etc.)', eikut f. 'sheets (of sail)', serky m. 'mast-hoop', isā m. pl. 'halliards', minawe m. 'loop holding lower end of sprit against mast', puyī f. '(block and) pulley', dubyə puyī f. 'double blocks'.

Accessories, repair materials: -

 $avi\tilde{o}\tilde{o}$ m. 'oar' ($la\ pel\ d\tilde{o}\ l\sim$ 'the blade of the oar'), gaf f. 'boat hook', $deif\tilde{a}s$ f. 'fender', $\hat{g}i\check{s}\tilde{o}$ m.⁸ 'bailer' (G. 1 $p\ddot{u}\check{s}a\dot{i}$ m.)⁹.

påñi m. a dou 'fisherman's wicker basket (Fr. 'panier à dos)', wilei m. pl. 'oilskins', korse m. d övr 'jersey (usually blue) worn by fishermen'.

- ¹ Early adaptation of English 'boom'? The form $b\tilde{\rho}b$ 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. *minol* '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 půši 'to draw (water, etc.)'.

filę̃ m. 'rope'¹, dwǫl̄ f. də filę̃ 'coil of rope', męrlę̃ m. 'marline', (R. 1, C. 1, J. 1) męrləspik, (R. 2, 0.1) męrləspi, (R. 4) męrlę̃spik, (LR. 1) męləspik m. 'marline-spike', aĝūl̄ f. a kwǫtr 'seaming-needle (= Fr. aiguille à coudre)', aĝūl̄ f. a rālę̃gi 'roping-needle', paume m. 'sailmaker's palm (cf. Fr. paumelle)', fid̄ f. 'fid̄ (tool used for splicing rope)', eitup f. 'oakum (used for caulking seams of carvel-built boat)', tað f. 'pitch (used for sealing seams)', koultę̃r f.² 'coal-tar, creosote (painted on wood to preserve it)'.

Repairs, maintenance: -

ergrei³ v. 'to repair', ergrīaž m. 'repairs', kalfeite v. ön kwōtüð 'to caulk a seam', taðe v. δ 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' (lõg ~ 'long splice', kurt ~ 'short splice'), gaufre⁴ v. ön deifās 'to cover a fender with a woven net of cord', $dw\bar{o}yi$ v. $d\bar{u}$ filē 'to coil rope', $kw\bar{o}tr$ v. 'to sew', $r\bar{a}l\bar{e}\hat{g}i$ v. 'to sew bolt-rope round sail', $fe\bar{o}$ v. \bar{o} $n\bar{o}$ (EJ $n\bar{o}$, pl. $n\bar{o}$)' 'to tie a knot, knot together'5: $n\bar{o}$ m. d rigaž 'shroud knot', $n\bar{o}$ m. d boulin 'bowline knot', pya $n\bar{o}$ m. 'reef knot', pwei m. 'spliced loop', $n\bar{o}$ \bar{a} $k\bar{u}$ d $pul\bar{e}$ 'slip knot'.

 $^{^{1}}$ The word seems to be used only by the maritime community; other speakers talk about kqrd f.

² The form $ta\tilde{\sigma}$ is paralleled by Guernsey tare f. 'goudron'; the assibilation of r shows that it is an earlier borrowing than $koult\tilde{\varrho}r$; 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 n u e is little used (although I have heard it) because of the danger of confusion with n u e v. 'to swim' (< V. L. *NAUTARE), which is itself tending to be replaced by n a u e under the influence of standard French u e. Confusion with u u e 'to row a boat' is not likely because the unambiguous fuller forms u u e it bate, u u e are nearly always used. I did not hear the word u u e in ouer' 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 (mwǫre m. pl.)

Most of the island's bays are provided with a solidly built granite breakwater ($kau\check{s}_{i}$ 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 $kr\mathring{a}n$) for the raising and lowering of boats.

When not in use boats are generally moored ($ama\delta e$ v.) in the shelter of the pier. Moorings ($mw\bar{\varrho}r\tilde{e}$ 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 ($\tilde{a}kr$ f.: pat f. 'prong', $\check{z}we$ m. 'stock') or grapnel ($grap\tilde{e}$ m.) can be used with comparative safety³. In most cases a boat is on an 'endless rope' (R. 1, C. 1 \tilde{o} va e $v\tilde{e}$; literally = Fr. un va et vient) which runs through a block on the anchor-rope ($ama\delta$ f. d l akr, $k\bar{a}by$ m., $h\tilde{a}sye\delta$ f.)⁴; with this arrangement a boat can be pulled in to the embarkation steps, or returned to its moorings after disembarkation. la $b\ddot{u}$ da $dr\bar{u}e\delta$ 'the stern-fast (literally = 'le bout de derriere')', la $b\ddot{u}$ d l ava 'the forward mooring (tied to bows)'; $b\varrho s$ f. 'painter (of dinghy)'³.

¹ I only heard the word barak used in this connection; the usual word for 'shed' is $ap\tilde{a}t\tilde{\imath}$ m. and f. (or denasalized form $ap\varrho t\tilde{\imath}$); $e\tilde{\imath}tr$ f. 'storeroom' (< L. EXTERA), $\hat{c}\varrho rk\partial\tilde{\imath}$ f. 'cartshed', etc., are other 'special' terms.

² LR. 1 5 kor mor – a calque of the English term? J. 1 ön lūwis (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 *erš* f. (vide FEW IV, 431a, HIRPEX).

⁴ Generally applied only to a thick ship's hawser. The \tilde{a} of $h\tilde{a}sy\varrho\tilde{\sigma}$ is probably due to association with the word $h\tilde{a}$ m. 'galingale (Cyperus longus)', a plant formerly used locally for making ropes.

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

Nearly all craft are laid up (R. 1 e i š u e v. – literally 'to beach', R. 2 $ram \delta t e v$., C. 1 metr a t e r) during the winter months, and launched again (l a š e v.) in the spring.

V. Seamanship and Navigation

s $\tilde{a}ber\hat{c}i$ refl. v. 'to embark', $\tilde{a}ber\hat{c}i$ v. 'to take on board', $na\check{z}i$ v. ($\tilde{b}bate$) 'to row (a boat)', $gaba\check{d}e$ v. 'to scull, single-oar', guverne 'to steer', vele v. 'to sail', (R. 2) bende v. le vel^2 'to attach sails to spars, mast', $ha\check{i}ste$ v. le vel 'to hoist the sails', $pa\hat{c}i$ v. le vel 'to furl the sails', $de\check{i}pa\hat{c}i$ v. le vel 'to unfurl the sails', $r\bar{i}zi$ v. le vel 'to reef the sails' ($pr\tilde{a}dr$ v. \tilde{b} $r\bar{i}$, 'to take in a reef'), love v. 'to tack' $vi\check{d}e$ v. le vel 'to stay (put over to opposite tack)', (LR. 1) $ar\bar{i}ve$ v. 'to keep head of boat out of wind': $sw\bar{o}$ l $v\tilde{a}$ 'on the lee side', ou $v\tilde{a}$ 'to windward'.

prādr v. de mer 'to take bearings' (mer m. 'landmark', bwī f. 'buoy'), ažūste v. (or feð v.) ön kurs 'to set a course', erlāšī 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', deileite v. 'to take off ballast', saumõ m. pl. 'iron ballast ('pigs' – cf. Fr. saumon)', ave v. d la list 'to have a list' (C. 1 liste 'listing'); pa l nē 'down by the bows (literally = 'by the nose')', pa l ĉü 'down by the stern'; ā trim' 'on an even keel', trime v. 'to trim ship'.

a fyo 'afloat', afyue v. 'to become water-borne'; fyote v. 'to float'; eišue v. 1. 'to beach (a boat)', 2. (intrans.) 'to run aground', 3. (intrans.) 'to be grounded by the fall of the tide'; ertiõe v. ... pī d yau 'to draw ... feet of water': prādr v. (or feð v.) d yau 'to leak' (R. 1 lə bate fe d yau kum õ påni 'the boat is leaking like a sieve' – literally 'like a basket'), kule v. 1. 'to leak', 2. 'to sink', verse v. 'to capsize, drive v. 'to drift'; ā driv f. 'adrift', tūe v. 'to tow'.

vaðaž4 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

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

koutf. 'coast', bei f. 'bay', pwę̃t f. 'headland', kav f. 'cave', gręv f. 'beach' (Gorey pyā m.)¹, sabyõ m. 'sand', galo m. (pl. galou) 'pebble', sẽgy² m., J. 1 gališ f. 'shingle'; bā m. d sabyõ 'sand-bank', de sabyõ bwožā m. pl. 'quicksands', vāz f. 'black sand or mud'³.

fo m. '(sea)bottom', d la grön¹ f. collective 'rocks' (also ön grön 'a rock'), roci m. (pl. rocer) 'rock', pēro m. 'small rock (or small 'head' of rock showing above water)', teit f. 'rock «head» showing above water', bār f. d rocer, bā m. d rocer 'reef', fouse m. 'perpendicular rock wall (literally 'bank')', kane (EJ kåne) m., šna m., pāsaž m., ātrədō (EJ ātrədai) m. 'channel (between rocks)'.

lwām (NEJ, SEJ lwām, LR. 1, C. 1 wām) f.5 'wave, breaker', (ptit, grād) pyęš f. də mẹ f. '(small, big) wave', y a d la mẹ, la mẹ ei õ myọ sự l rựd 'the sea is a bit rough', y a d la lọp (0.1 lap)6 'the sea is choppy', (R. 1) y a dự lapọtẽ 'the sea is a little choppy', la mẹ e kurt 'there is a short (i. e. choppy) sea', (R. 2, C. 1) la mẹ lāfr 'the tide is running strongly, the tide is swirling', (R. 1, R. 2) lāfrei m. 'swirl, heavy run of tide's, (R. 1, C. 1) halā m. 'run of

¹ The WJ equivalent would be $py\tilde{\ell}$, 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 ϱ has been adapted as a in some dialect words (e.g. $kap\ddot{\varrho}r$ 'copper in which clothes are boiled'), as here in the forms given by 0.1 (lap) and R. 1 $(lap\varrho t\ddot{\varrho}$ m.).

⁷ Calque of the English expression?

^{*} LR. 1 lāfrei or āfrei m. 'spray' (cf. also Glossaire du patois jersiais, lanfrais 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, lāfrei.

tide, undertow'¹, kwoðā m. 'current', rā m. 'race'², (R. 1) deilaši v.³, deibāre v., kaple v. i.⁴ '(of rocks) to uncover', trāĉil 'calm'.

Tides: -

maðē f. 'tide', la dmye mõtē f. 'half-flood', la dmye rtret f. 'half-ebb', la dmī, la maðē a dmī 'half-tide', la me haut, lə hau d yau, C. 1 lə pyē 'high tide', la me bās, lə bā d yau 'low tide', fyo m., mõtā m. 'flood (rising tide)', ertiðā m. 'ebb', mõte v. 'to rise (of tide)', ertiðe v., dvale v. 'to ebb (of tide)'.

pwoñā m. 'springing tide', me d ercīā m., ercīā m. 'neaping tide', eicinok f. pl. 'the Equinoxes', grā m. d yau 'spring tide', morcau f. 'neap tide'; la me pwē, la me rpwē 'the tide is springing'.

VII. Fishing Tackle

(i) Pots (kyavę m., pl. kyavyau)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 hale 'to pull' (< O. Norse hala).

² Applied particularly to la rā d oriñi '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 > $l\bar{a}si$. 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 $er\hat{c}e\hat{i}$ 'to fall again' $(re-+\hat{c}e\hat{i} < V. L. *CADERE, used substantivally).$

⁶ C. 1 also la me ã fe 'the tide is springing (literally 'making'), la me ã per '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 of the 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 (ye1 v. 5 kyave 'to weave - literally 'to tie' - a pot'); each takes several hours to make. The mouth of the pot (yi m. = literally 'the eye', LR. 1)la gul, l anou m.) is made first; lengths of young, pliable willow (d l ouzi, 0.1 ouzyi m.) are inserted into a circular series of holes pierced in a flat, round piece of wood known as la mul ('the mould'). Then thin willow (known as la yēreis)1 is interwoven between the uprights to a height of about five inches2. This portion forms the mouth. The uprights (verg f., verget 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 (serky m.) until the completion of horizontal ties (R. 1, R. 2 yēreis f., J. 1 yī f., LR. 1 kordo m.) which hold the uprights in position. The flat, round bottom ($f\tilde{\rho}$ m.) of the pot is made separately of elm sticks (do l grm m. or f.) closely interwoven with willow, and strengthened (raforši v.) below by a further row of heavier cross-bars (C. 1 dü rāfor 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 (hån 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 korde v. 'to weave the ties'.

⁴ han (EJ hån) 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 kyjšę, C. 1 kjšę m.¹, J. 1 trap f.) to facilitate the removal of the catch.

The two main types of pot are the lobster-pot (kyave a humar) and the crab- and crayfish-pot (kyave a pihan or kyave a krabako)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 (kyave a vrā), the prawn-pot (kyave a šervet), and, at La Rocque, the whelk-pot (kyave a koklūš).

Pots are usually set ($m\varrho tr$ $l\varrho$ kyavyau $b\bar{a}$ – literally 'to put the pots down') near the coast in 10–12 fathoms ($bra\check{s}$ 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 ($p\bar{\varrho}r\varrho$ v., $py\bar{\varrho}r\varrho$ v.) and each attached to a surface line (EJ haulin, NEJ haulen f.³, SEJ $b\bar{a}d\varrho$ m.⁴, WJ $k\bar{a}by$ m.) buoyed up by cork floats ($y\varrho\check{z}$ m., $fy\varrho t$ f.)⁵ every three fathoms, and ending in a larger float (described variously as R. 1, R. 4 la $fy\varrho t$. J. 1 la $te\dot{\iota}t$ $d\bar{\iota}t$ $d\bar{\iota}t$ $b\bar{a}d\varrho$, C. 1 la $bw\bar{\iota}t$), often provided with a small flag or other distinguishing mark 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 $(\ddot{o}n\ \check{z}w\ddot{\varrho}\ d\ kyavyau\$ 'group of linked pots', $d\varrho\ kyavyau\$ $\check{a}\ \check{z}w\ddot{\varrho}$ 'linked pots').

¹ Adaptation of Fr. guichel; the autochthonous form is preserved in the word viĉę 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 haut lin (= Fr. haute ligne); L. LINEA > lin (len in NEJ) through depalatalization of \tilde{n} in secondary final position (cf. vin, NEJ ven f. də patat 'potato haulm').

⁴ Dialect equivalent of Fr. bandeau.

 $^{^5}$ $y \not e \check z$ m. (Fr. $li\grave e g e)$ refers specifically to a cork float, while $f y \varrho t$ is a general term.

⁶ Usually called a mer m. ('mark, marker'), regardless of type.

⁷ Derivative of $\check{z} u \check{e} < L$. Jocari in sense of 'to move freely'? Vide FEW V, 40 a. Alternatively, $\check{z} w \bar{e}$ 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 particfular 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 (kyavte, kyavte v., SEJ marade v. se kyavyau¹ 'to see to one's pots': lve v. le 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 $nw\bar{\varrho}ris$ f. pl. – literally 'wet-nurses') moored out in the bays.

(ii) Nets (drane m., pl. dranei)2

Only two types of net are in common use: the first is the 'set net' (R. 1 LR. 1, O. 1 rei 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 ($tram\bar{a}$ m.) consisting of a small-meshed inner net (ptit mes f., R. 4 ptit mel f. 'small mesh')⁴ and two outer nets of a larger mesh.

Occasionally a seine $(s\bar{q}n, \text{SEJ}, \text{NEJ} s\bar{q}n \text{ f.})$ is used in shallow water for netting smelts $(s\bar{q}ne, \text{EJ} s\bar{q}ne \text{ v. 'to net with seine'})$ or other small fish. A little trawling is also still done in the Bay of Grouville $(tr\bar{a}le \text{ v. 'to trawl'}, tr\bar{a}l \text{ f. 'trawl'}: b\bar{p}m \text{ m. 'beam of trawl'}, fyer \text{ m. pl. } d$ la $tr\bar{a}l^5$ 'iron fittings at either end of beam, to whichnet is attached').

¹ The presence of unassibilated -r- in the word $mar\tilde{a}de$, in the speech of two persons who normally assibilated intervocalic -r-, without the lengthening of preceding vowel which usually occurs before retained r (cf. $b\bar{a}r$ f. 'bar', $k\bar{a}re$ 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 dranę, 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 ($\ddot{o}n$ re \dot{i} d $b\bar{a}ra\check{z}$ 'a set net'). C. 1 was unable to decide whether the word was feminine or masculine, as he never used the singular.

⁴ męl 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. \tilde{o} fe d žva, de fyer də 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 $(dra\hat{g}i v. dz itr 'to dredge oysters')$ oysters as it went.

tãdr v. de dranei 'to set nets', hale v. ou dranei 'to haul in nets', lve v. de dranei 'to lift (stationary) nets'; ergrei v. de dranei 'to repair nets', tane v. de dranei 'to «tan» nets (i. e. camouflage and preserve them with tã m., a dye made from a kind of bark)'.

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

The main types of line used by the professional fishermen are: - 1. The weighted 'flow-line' towed after a moving boat (lin, NEJ lin f. dialog fyo; a horse-hair line of this type = $\ddot{o}n \ lin \ da \ kr\tilde{e}$).

2. Conger-eel trots (thick lines laid parallel to the sea-bottom, with snoods and hooks at intervals, known collectively as $d \, l \, apy e$ m.)¹. The trot is moored at either end by a fairly heavy stone (called a $w\bar{q}ne$ m., pl. $w\bar{q}nyau$ by R. 1, R. 2)² attached to a short anchor-line. Snoods (R. 1, C. 1 $linn\tilde{o}$, LR. 1 $linn\tilde{o}u$, R. 2 $limn\tilde{o}$, O. 1, G. 1 $li\tilde{n}\tilde{o}$ 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, lilet aught) while the lower part ($er\tilde{s}o$ m.)⁵, to which the hook (ellet aught) 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, APPLICTUM.

² The WJ form would be $w\bar{q}n\check{e};<?$

³ $li\tilde{n}\tilde{o}$ and $linn\tilde{o}$ (and variants) are derivatives of * $li\tilde{n}\vartheta$ < 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 * $li\tilde{n}\vartheta\tilde{o}$; with the fall of 'mute e', \tilde{n} 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 $p\tilde{a}nn\bar{e}$ f. 'basketful' (Fr. $paner\acute{e}e$), $kwošunn\bar{i}$ f. 'bungled piece of work' (Fr. cochonnerie). The form $limn\tilde{o}$ is presumably the result of a dissimilation of nn > mn.

⁴ Not usually distinguished from l apye – but cf. J. 1 l δe d l apye (originally borrowed from Fr. chef?)

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

ending in a large distinctive float (R. 2 $bw\bar{i}$ f. – literally 'buoy', R. 1, R. 4 fyqt f. d apyq).

- 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 $beil\bar{\ell}$ f.¹ ($\sim a y\bar{\ell} = EJ \sim a y\bar{\ell}$) "whiting-line', $\sim a py\bar{\ell}$ 'plaice-line') is normally used in the plural.
- 4. Ground lines (lin, NEJ lin f. dialog f, LR. 1 kqrdialog dialog f 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 $\tilde{b} brqdq$)² about four or five feet from the sinker ($py\tilde{q}$ m.) at the end of the line.

 \tilde{e} (SEJ, NEJ \tilde{a}) m. 'hook', barbe m. $d \ni l \tilde{e}$ 'barb of hook', $\hat{c} \tilde{u} l e t$ f. $d \ni l \tilde{e}$ 'butt of hook', R. 1, R.2, C.1 bende v. $\tilde{o}n \tilde{a}$ 'to tie on a hook's; $\hat{c} e \tilde{d} e \tilde{e}$ m.4 'wooden frame on to which line is wound'.

Fishing-rods (vaul f.)5 are not used by the professional fishermen. Bait (d la bet): -6

¹ L. Sainean (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 bordet derivative appears to be attested (vide FEW I, 438-9), and metathesis of bor-> brois not regular in the dialect (cf. bordāl 'planking of boat', bordēz, EJ bordaiz f. 'flower-bed').

³ Adaptation of English to bend 'to tie'.

⁴ Could be a variant development of Lat. Quadratum; the group kar- frequently $> \hat{c}er$ (cf. $\hat{c}erb\tilde{\rho}$ m. 'coal', $\hat{c}erl\tilde{\rho}g$ f. 'keelson', $\hat{c}e\tilde{\rho}w\rho n$ f. 'old, useless animal' (< V. L. Caronia), etc., but not the group karr- ($k\bar{a}r$ f. 'corner', $k\bar{a}re$ m. 'square', $k\bar{a}rye\tilde{\sigma}$ f. 'quarry'), except where -rr- appears to have reduced early ($\hat{c}e\tilde{\sigma}\ddot{\psi}$ f. 'plough', $\hat{c}e\tilde{\sigma}ye$ v. 'to cart', etc.). If there was hesitation between *kare and * $ka\bar{r}e$, the former would have developed to $\hat{c}e\tilde{\sigma}e$.

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).

bętę v. 'to bait', dū šęrvę̃ m.¹ 'small salted shrimps thrown into the sea in order to attract mullet and other fish', ön 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 vẹr m. d rọči 'rock-worm, a kind of worm which makes its home in the crevices of a soft, crumbling rock found in some of the bays', vẹrmẹ v. 'to go «rock-worming»' (a small pick – ɔ̃ pikwei – is used to dig out the worms), byāš kat (EJ frequently kåt)² f. (R. 1 byā ka m.) 'type of worm found in sand at low tide (literally = 'white she-cat')', rwǫž kat f. (R. 1 rwǫž ka m.) 'red worm found in sea-gravel (literally = 'red she-cat')', R. 1, R. 2, R. 4, C. 1 sāgdõ m., LR. 1, G. 1 sādõ m. J. 1 sādorõ 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 $\S erv \not et$ f. 'shrimp, prawn', with substitution of suffix $-\~e$, which has collective, diminutive and usually pejorative value in the dialect (cf. $d\~u$ frapl $\~e$ 'small fry', $d\~u$ krab $\~e$ 'collection of small, and therefore useless, crabs', $d\~o$ l weizl $\~e$ m. 'flock of small birds', etc.).

² Accented a frequently $> \mathring{a}$ 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 $s\tilde{a}dr\tilde{e}$ – if the word is a derivative of English sand, it appears likely that the names of the lugworm are also derived from it. $s\tilde{a}d\tilde{o}$ and $s\tilde{a}dr\tilde{o}$ are comparatively straightforward forms, but $s\tilde{a}gd\tilde{o}$ is less so. If we postulate an original form $*s\tilde{a}nd\tilde{o}r\tilde{o}$, the development is comparable to that of the form kaugdol which exists along with kauddol (vide supra p. 193, note 6) – $*s\tilde{a}nd\tilde{o}r\tilde{o} > *s\tilde{a}dd\tilde{o}$ by 'accommodation' of weak -r- to preceding consonant, $>s\tilde{a}gd\tilde{o}$ 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: $-pe\underline{i}s\tilde{\rho}$ m. 'fish', $m\ddot{\rho}l^2$ f. d $pe\underline{i}s\tilde{\rho}$ (C. 1 $sk\varrho l^3$ f. d $pe\underline{i}s\tilde{\rho}$) 'shoal of fish', $d\ddot{u}$ $frapl\tilde{e}^4$ m. collective 'small fry'; $\hat{g}in$ (NEJ $\hat{g}en$) f.⁵ 'gills', $e\underline{i}kr\varrho d$ f. pl.⁶ 'scales', finz (NEJ fenz) m. pl. 'fins', $\ddot{\rho}vr^7$ f. pl. 'fish-roe', $\breve{s}ivy\varrho\tilde{\sigma}$ (or $\breve{s}\ddot{u}vy\varrho\tilde{\sigma}$) f. a $br\bar{a}$, 'egg capsule of skate (literally = 'hand-barrow')'⁸.

Fish-names: $-\tilde{a}\tilde{g}\tilde{u}l$ f. 'conger-eel', J. 1 $\tilde{a}\tilde{z}$ f. 'angel fish, monk fish (Squalus squatina, Lin.)*, bar m. 'bass', R. 1 bavai m. 'o 'variety of blenny', brām (EJ brām) f. 'fish known locally as «bream», but which is according to Sinel «old wife» (Cantarus lineatus, Gun.)', bril m. 'brill', broĉe (LR. 1 broše) m. 'picked dogfish (Galeus amanthius, Johnson)', NEJ bwoðe m. '11 'bib (Gadus minutus, Lin.)', NEJ ĉā m. '12 'lesser spotted dogfish (Squalus catulus, Lin.)', daufē m. 'dolphin', dmweizel f. '13 'smooth hound (Squalus mustelus, Lin.)', ĝondōri m. 'John Dory (Zeus faber, Lin.)', SEJ fyabö m. '14 'bib

- ¹ Transactions of the Société Guernesiaise, 5, 56-65.
- ² By extension from a phrase $\ddot{\phi}n \ m\ddot{\phi}l \ d\vartheta$ with sense 'a lot of' (cf. Fr. 'un las 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 *mwon* (*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 ($fyab\ddot{o}$ m.) and NWJ ($tab\ddot{u}l$ f.). Bib tend to congregate; a 'nest' of them is called $\ddot{o}n$ $bw\phi d\hat{c}\phi d$ (R. 2, C. 1) or $\ddot{o}n$ $k\tilde{o}tr\ddot{e}$ a $bw\phi de\dot{g}$ (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.)', fyau f.2 'skate (Raia batis, Lin.)', fyodr f.3 'flounder (Platessa flessus, Yar., Jen.)', grādou m.4 'smelt (Atherina presbyter, Guv., Yar.)', grõdē m. 'gurnard', halibo m. 'halibut', heða m. 'herring', horfi (LR. 1 orfi) m. 'garfish' (Belone vulgaris, Cuv., Yar.)', hay m.5 'tope (Squalus galeus, Lin.)', kabo m.6 'smooth blenny (Blennus pholis, Yar., Gun.), kaplā, kaplē m.7 'cap(e)lin (fish of smelt family)', kare m.8 'horse mackerel (Trachurus trachurus)', C. 1 kat f. 'dab (Platessa limanda)?', ko m. 'crested blenny (Blennius gatturogine, Lin., Cuv.)', R. 1, C. 1 krapay m. 'small inedible fish with large flattish head (literally = 'toad')', kuku m. 'cuckoo wrasse (Labrus mixtus, Lin.)', lašo m.º 'sandeel (the terms $ver \sim$ and $rwoz \sim$ appear to refer to the greater sandeel -Ammodytes lanceolatus – and lesser sandeel – Ammodytes tobianus – respectively)'10, le m. 'ling', lwos f. 'three-bearded rockling and five-bearded rockling (Motella tricirrata and Motella quinquecirrata)', makðe m.11 'mackerel', mato m.12 (vide also ĉã m.) 'lesser spotted dogfish (Squalus catulus, Lin.)', LR. 1 mwon m. 'monkfish'13, $mwo\delta\tilde{u}$ f. 'cod', $m\tilde{u}le$ m. 'mullet' ($gr\tilde{i} \sim$ 'grey mullet', $rwo\tilde{z} \sim$

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

 $^{^{2} &}lt; ?$

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 twoš also.

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 $mak > \partial yo y$, EJ $mak > \partial yo y$, except for C. 1's $mak > \partial rya y$, but in the singular, in contact with k, -r- variously remained as r or assibilated to ∂ (devoiced on occasion to ∂) or z (devoiced on occasion to s).

¹² Variant of Fr. *matou* 'tomcat' (etymology obscure), used metaphorically? *Vide* alternative name $\hat{c}\tilde{a}$ = literally 'dog'.

¹³ Cf. Bessin mouene m. 'espèce de squale (Squatina 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)', šörk (R. 2 šerk) m. 'shark', O. 1 tabül f.4 'bib' (vide supra bwoðe, fyabö), R. 1 tābur m. 'small reddish fish (literally 'drum')', türbo (R. 3 törbo) m. 'turbot', twoš f. 'yellowish sandeel'5, viðlē m. 'yellow sculpin, dragonet (Callionymus lyra, Lin., Yar.)' R. 1 vyolo m. 'angel fish, monk fish (Squalus squalina, Lin.) (?), d la vnįz⁷ 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* (pl. vrā) m. 'wrasse in general, comber wrasse (Labrus vulgaris, Yar.) in particular', yö 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 $(\tilde{a}\hat{g}\ddot{u}l \, f. \, d \, yau \, dwoš)$, tench, sticklebacks and a few trout $(tr\ddot{w}it \, f.)$ in the streams $(kane, EJ \, kane \, m., \, du \, m.)$ and carp $(karp \, f.)$ in the manorial fishponds $(vivi \, m., \, pl. \, vivyer)$.

(ii) Crustacea

General terms: - krab f. 'crab', dü 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 &}lt; ?

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

⁴ Cf. Norman virli, firli, 'great weever and little weever', considered by Paul Barbier fils to be a derivative of the verb virer (RLR 63, 65).

^{7 &}lt; ?

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

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

Names: -gręžeis f.¹ (or $krab \sim$) 'velvet crab, lady crab' (Portunus puber, Leach), $h \mu mar$ m. 'lobster' (vide also $m w \varrho \delta$ f.), krab f. 'crab' ($\sim gręžeiz$ 'Portunus puber'; $verte \sim$ 'shore crab' -Carcinus m w n as, Pen.), $krabak \varrho$ f.² 'crayfish', $m w \varrho \delta$ f.³ 'spawn-carrying female lobster', pihan (EJ pihan) f.⁴ 'spider crab' (vide also WJ $w \bar{\varrho} l \bar{\varrho}$ m.), $p w \bar{\varrho} k y \varrho \mu$ m.⁵ 'Cancer pagarus', $s u \psi i k \varrho$ m. 'sand-hopper', $s u \psi d ar$ m. 'hermit-crab'6, O. 1 $w \bar{\varrho} l \bar{\varrho}$ m.7 'spider-crab'.

(iii) Mollusca

General terms: -vlik f.* 'shellfish', eikal f. 'shell', $kapüš\~o$ m. 'operculum (of winkle, etc.)', $p\~op\~p$, $pep\~p$ f. 'shell of cuttle-fish' (compared to tongue covered by scale of $la\ pep\~p$ 'the pip'?)

Names: - bęk f. də korbę 'mussel', banak (SEJ, NEJ banak) 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 $crabe-\grave{a}-co$ 'langouste'. Could be taken literally as meaning 'the crab with the neck (ko m.)', although this does not appear a very apposite name for the crayfish.
- ³ The word WJ $mw\varrho \delta$, EJ $mw\varrho \delta$ 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 firt. *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 hoff '(> houvel, houvelin, etc.). The Jersey form is obviously allied to the Norman ones, but derivation from hoff would be difficult to explain ($w\bar{\varrho}$ would be expected to derive from lengthened \ddot{u} cf. $rw\bar{\varrho}k$ f. 'hive').
- * Adaptation of English whelk (pronounced wilk), or early borrowing from Anglo-Saxon veolc?
 - 9 Literally 'crow's beak'.

'barnacle', bāni (EJ bāni) m.¹ 'limpet', EJ bob f.² 'cockle', R. 1 brīoš f. 'razor-fish'³ (vide infra māšo m.), eitel f. (or eitel də me) 'starfish', ītr f. 'oyster', WJ kok f. 'cockle', WJ kok f. a žvou 'dogwhelk' (literally = 'horse-whelk'), koklüš f.⁴ 'whelk', kolifišyau m. pl.⁵ 'queens', koune m.⁶ 'cuttle-fish', māšo m. 'razor-fish', mūl f. 'mussel', ormer m.⁶ 'cuttle-fish', māso m. 'razor-fish', mūl 'queen' (vide supra kolifišyau), pövr, pörv f.¹¹ 'octopus', seš f. 'cuttle-fish', skwid f. 'squid', WJ šākr m.¹¹ 'edible crab (Cancer pagarus, Lin.)' (vide infra pwēkyou), šervet f.¹² 'shrimp, prawn',

Vide FEW I, BERNIC (Breton) for forms bānak and bāni.

 $^{^2}$ < ? The FEW groups together under a rubric BoB- (onomatopæia) 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, mãšo (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 &}lt; ?

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 koyn 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 $\rho rm\rho r$ is presumably due to the analogical generalisation of the plural form.

^{*} The entrails of the ormer are known variously as $pit\tilde{\rho}$ m. pl. (R. 2, LR. 1, J. 1, G. 1), pitouzyer m. pl. (R. 1), pituzyer m. pl. (0.1), $pitouz\tilde{\rho}$ m. pl. (C. 1, J. 1), $pitouz\tilde{\rho}$ 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,

šęrvę̃ m.¹ collective 'opossum shrimps (Mysis chameleon, Thomp.) and fairy shrimps (Mysis ornata, Thomp.)', vanę (pl. vanyaų) m.² 'scallop', EJ vlįk f. süqįz³ 'small inedible winkle-like shellfish', J. 1 vlįk šǫršyęð⁴ 'small inedible winkle-like shellfish', vlįko m. 'winkle'.

Belfast.

.N. C. W. Spence.

Index of dialect terms mentioned

The following alphabetical order has been adopted: -a, \tilde{a} , b, \hat{c} , d, e, \tilde{e} , \tilde{e} , f, g, \hat{g} , h, i, k, l, m, n, \tilde{n} (and \dot{n}), o, \tilde{o} \ddot{o} , \tilde{o} , p, r (and \tilde{d}) deriving from intervocalic r), s, \check{s} , t, u, \ddot{u} , w, \ddot{w} , y, z, \check{z} .

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which occurs also in words \bar{e} serve v. 'to wean' (der. of V. L. *seperare), $sw\bar{o}$ serv \bar{o} m. 'type of rafter' (der. of Lat. capra), and $p\bar{o}$ rv, variant of $p\bar{o}$ vr f. 'octopus' (< Lat. polypum).

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 $s\ddot{w}\ddot{\varrho}z$; the word appears to be a derivative of the verb $s\ddot{u}e$ 'to sweat, to ooze'.

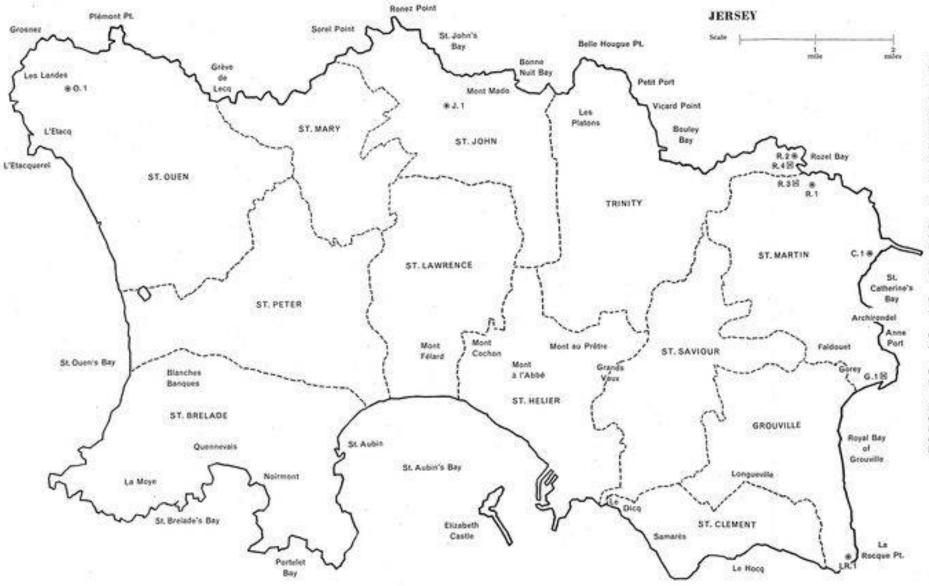
⁴ Possibly the same shellfish as the preceding one; the name means literally 'witch shellfish' (or 'sorcerer shellfish'), possibly from resemblance to a pointed witch's or wizard's hat.

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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 8.

(a) Bozel area:

B. 1 . G. Le Goog, born c. 1880

R.2 @ G. Amy, born c. 1890

R.3 S E. Renouf, horn c. 1880, now deceased

R.4 S C. Blampied, born c. 1880, now dead

(b) St. Catherine's and

Gorey areas:-

C.1 . H. J. Robins, born c. 1909

G. 1 2 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 @ P. Bisson, born e, 1873, now dead

(e) St. Ouen's area:-

O.1 . J. Priaulx, born

c. 1877, now decrased

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.