

An Aspect of Lexicography Still Not Fully Professionalized: The Search for Antedatings and Postdatings (With Examples Mostly from English and Some from Other Languages)

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“Etymologiseren zonder dateren van
het materiaal is varen zonder kompas”
(de Tollenaere 1983:28) ‘Etymologizing
without dating the material is like
navigating without a compass’

“Dictionary making is an art, a science and a marathon.
A lexicographer needs the precision of a poet, the patience of a saint,
and the perseverance of a cross-country runner”
(an unnamed reviewer quoted in Pei 1967:360)

A. Introduction

The research literature contains detailed discussions of many techniques of historical linguistics, including historical lexicography, but hardly anything has been said about the goals, methods, and standards of antedating (also called *predating*).¹ This article proposes to fill the gap at least in part.

B. The importance of antedating

B.1. In linguistics

Reconstructing the history of each lexeme includes discovering, as far as possible, its earliest use in each of its meanings in speech and, if the language has a writing system, in writing. In general, that pursuit sheds light on the history of a language and its users. For instance, by finding out when a word meaning ‘aspirin’ was first used in each of the world’s languages, we could measure the speed with which aspirin was adopted around the world. In particular, as Félicien de Tollenaere implied in 1983, determining, as far as possible, earliest uses is essential for etymological (and, we should add, etiological) research. Here are a dozen examples:

1. Since the earliest known evidence for French *bistro* ~ *bistrot* 'wine merchant' is from 1884 (Gold in press 2), the story circulating in lay circles that this word arose during the Russian occupation of Paris (1814-1820), when, supposedly, Russian soldiers ordering food in certain of the city's eateries called for it to be brought *bystro!* (Russian for 'fast!'), cannot be right because the gap of at least sixty-four years between the Russian occupation and the earliest known use of the word in that sense is too big in a lect -- nineteenth-century Parisian French -- whose vocabulary is extremely well documented. Consequently, we have strong circumstantial evidence that the French word in the sense indicated does not, in all likelihood, go back so far as the second decade of the nineteenth century.

2. Despite the claim of some cocktail-party etymologists, the American English slang adjective *copacetic* 'fine, all right' cannot derive from the Israeli Hebrew informalism *hakol beseder* 'everything's all right' because the former is older than the latter (Gold in press 3).

3. Because our earliest evidence for the Yiddish verb *davnen* ~ *davenen* is from the sixteenth century, the story which two Sunday-afternoon etymologists circulated about its having arisen in the eighteenth cannot be right (Birnbbaum 1985, Gold 1985a, Gold 1985b, and ms. 6).²

4. The Third College Edition of *Webster's New World Dictionary* calls *groundhog* 'woodchuck [*Marmota monax*]' an American coinage and says that the word is probably a translation of Afrikaans *aardvark* 'aardvark [*Orycteropus afer*]'. Had attention been paid to dates, to say nothing of the considerable difference between those two animals, the unlikelihood of that etymology would have leaped to the eye of the person who wrote it: since our earliest evidence for *groundhog* 'woodchuck [*Marmota monax*]' is from the 1650s and Afrikaans began taking shape only in 1652, the latter could not have influenced American English, to say nothing of the fact that American English was closed at that time to southern African influence of any kind (because the Thirteen Colonies were not in contact with southern Africa).³

5. "*Hubbub*, according to the National Geographic Society, comes from the shouts of 'Hub-hub-hub' that accompanied an American Indian dice-like game" (Pei 1967:109). Whereas one might consider relying on the National Geographic Society when it comes to geography, Pei was naive to take it seriously on *hubbub*. Our earliest evidence for that English word comes from England and is dated 1555. Anglophones in the British Isles were not in contact with speakers of First Languages of the Americas. Consequently, the etymological chain would have to have been "a First Language of North America > American English > British English". Before 1555, that etymological chain America was seldom realized. An American Indian dice-like game" was unlikely to be of interest to speakers of British English before 1555 or, for that matter, at any time. The semantics of the etymology are not in order. For all those reasons, Pei, who was often naive linguistically, was in all likelihood wrong. English *hubbub* is likelier to come from one or more Celtic languages of the British Isles.

6. "LONDON--The 17-foot oak table on which, according to tradition, James I 'knighted' a loin of beef, dubbing it 'Sir Loin,' has been saved from the salesroom by a High Court judge' (*The New York Times*, 20 November 1969, p. 23)" (Kelsie Harder, in *ANS Bulletin*, published by the American Name Society, no. 18, April 1970, p. 15). Reporting that tradition and the judge's decision is acceptable provided that you say that that oft-repeated story is fiction if its intention is to explain the emergence of *sirloin*, a

French-origin word first known to have been used in 1554 (since James was not born until 1566, he could not have coined or been present at the birth of the word), whereas it is possibly true provided that it is reformulated to refer to events said to have occurred in 1603, when James VI of Scotland was on his way south to assume the throne of Great Britain (as James I), and provided that the story is not used as an explanation of the origin of English *sirloin*. As Anthony Burgess put the reformulated story, "What was supposed to happen at that northern stopping-place on James's journey south to take up the British throne was roughly this: COURTIER: You have been making too many knights, sire. JAMES: Och, aye? What meat is this, laddie? COURTIER: Sirloin, sire. JAMES: Sirloin, eh? Not yet it isn't. I maun dub it first. (James swooping down on it with his sword, splashing gravy into the faces of the Sassenach grumblers about too many knighthoods). That's the story" (*The New York Times*, 25 February 1973).

7. Most of the few English dictionaries which bother to etymologize the botanical terms *dogberry*, *dogtree*, and *dogwood* say just "*dog* + *berry*," "*dog* + *tree*," and "*dog* + *wood*". Hardly of the few etiologize the terms: why *dog*? One of the very few which try to answer the question is *Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language: Second Edition: Unabridged* (1934): at *dogwood* it refers us to *dogtree*; at *dogtree* it refers us to *dogberry*; and at *dogberry* it offers this etiology: "Prop. inferior, not fit for human food". Number 31 of *ANS Bulletin*, published by the American Name Society and dated June 1973, offers a different etiology, which it got from *Springfield Republican* (Springfield, Massachusetts) of 30 July 1972: "The Dogwood tree got its name because a solution made from it was used as a flea remedy for dogs". The first known use of *dogwood* is dated 1617, which seems too earlier for flea remedies for dogs, though maybe I am wrong.

8. Without comment, the same number of *ANS Bulletin* reproduces the following from *Parade Magazine* of 26 March 1973: "The word [*quiz*] was coined in 1780 by an Irish theater manager in Dublin named Daly. He bet a friend that he could introduce a meaningless word into the English language in 24 hours. He hired boys to chalk QUIZ all over the walls and sidewalks of Dublin. No one knew what the four letters meant, but the word was quickly adopted". That explanation sounds fishy for two reasons. First, if no one knew what the word meant, why would people have adopted it (do you buy a gadget the purpose of which is wholly unknown to you?), and how did they all come to use it in the same way (an essential of communication)? Second, the earliest known use of the word is dated 1749. Are we just to change the date in the story and accept it or, as we may suspect, does the discrepancy of dates provide further circumstantial evidence that the story is fiction?

9. *ANS Bulletin*, no. 57, August 1979, p. 15, reported that the author of "El nombre de América nació en Nicaragua" (an article on the editorial page of *Progreso Latino* of 10 May 1978) said that the Spanish place name *América* "es auténticamente americano y concretamente nicaragüense según afirmación del erudito tradicionalista peruano Ricardo Palma" (1833-1919). The suggestion was not original with Palma, for in his "Una carta de Indias" we read the following:

Entre col y col, lechuga; y a propósito de las *Cartas de Indias* recientemente publicadas, vamos a dedicar un párrafo a una cuestión interesantísima y que la aparición de aquella importante obra ha puesto sobre el tapete. Trátase de probar que la voz *América* es exclusivamente *americana*, y no un derivado del prenombre del piloto mayor de Indias Albérico Vespuccio. De varias preciosas y eruditas disquisiciones que sobre tan curioso tema hemos leído, sacamos

en síntesis que *América* o *Americ* es nombre del lugar en Nicaragua, y que designa una cadena de montañas en la provincia de Chontales. La terminación *ic* (*ica, ique, ico*, castellaniza) se encuentra frecuentemente en los nombres de lugares, en las lenguas y dialectos indígenas de Centro-América y aun de las Antillas. Parece que significa *grande, elevado, prominente*, y se aplica a las cumbres montañosas en que no hay volcanes. Aun cuando Colón, en su *lettera rarissima* describiendo su cuarto viaje (1502), no menciona el nombre de *América*, es más que probable que verbalmente lo hubiera transmitido él a sus compañeros, tomándolo como que el oro provenía de la región llamada América por los nicaragüenses. De presumir es también que este nombre *América* fué esparciéndose poco a poco hasta generalizarse en Europa, y que no conociéndose otra relación impresa, descriptiva de esas regiones, que la de *Albericus Vespuccius*, publicada en latín en 1505 y en alemán en 1506 y 1508, creyesen ver en el prenombre *Albericus* el origen, un tanto alterado, del nombre América. Cuando, en 1522, se publicó en Bâle la primera carta marítima con el nombre de *América provincia*, Colón y sus principales compañeros habían ya muerto, y no hubo quien parara mientes en el nombre. Por otra parte, en toda Europa no era *América* nombre de pila que se aplicara a hombre o mujer, y llamándose *Vespucio Albérico*, claro es que si él hubiera dado nombre al Nuevo Mundo, debió éste llamarse *Albericia*, por ejemplo, y no América. Otra consideración: sólo las testas coronadas bautizaron países con su nombre: verbigracia, Georgia, Luisana, Carolina, Maryland, Filipinas, etcétera, mientras que los descubridores les daban su apellido, tales como Magallanes, Vancouver, Diemen, Cook, etcétera. El mismo Colón no ha dado *Cristofonia* o *Cristofia*, sino *Colonjia* y *Colón*. Es evidente, pues, que el autor del plano de 1522 oyó antes pronunciar el nombre indígena de América a alguno de los que acompañaron a Colón en 1503, y tomó el rábano por las hojas. Cuando apareció la carta de Bâle, ya Vespuccio había muerto, sin sospechar, por cierto, la paternidad histórica que se le preparaba.

Según el historiador vizconde de Santarem, el florentino Vespuccio (que murió en Sevilla el 22 de febrero de 1512) vino por primera vez al Nuevo Mundo a fines de 1499, en la expedición de Cabral, y la descripción que escribió de estas regiones fué publicada por Waldseemuller, en Lorena, en 1508. Fué Waldseemuller quien tuvo entonces la injustificable ocurrencia de sobreponer el nombre del descriptor al del descubridor.

En conclusión: por su origen, por las noticias de Colón en su cuarto viaje, por su valor filológico y demás consideraciones someramente apuntadas, puede sin gran esfuerzo deducirse que la voz *América*, exclusivamente indígena, nada tiene que ver con el nombre del piloto Vespuccio [Palma 1957:66-67].

The foregoing passage elicits these comments:

a. Vespucci's Italian and Latin names are *Amerigo Vespucci* and *Americus Vespucci* respectively. "Albérico Vespuccio" and "Albericus Vespuccius" were Palma's fantasies.

b. Too bad Palma did not identify the "preciosas y eruditas disquisiciones," which predate 1874, as we know from the fact that "Una carta de Indias" was reprinted in Palma 1874 (where it is the second chapter). Palma 1874, which I have been unable to see, presumably tells us when and where "Una carta de Indias" first appeared.

c. The first Europeans known to have reached what is now Nicaragua were Christopher Columbus and his crew, who in 1502 briefly landed on the northeast coast, where they encountered the Miskitos (no Europeans were to return to what is now Nicaragua until, in the early 1520s, the first Spanish settlement was established). The Department of Chontales is in southeastern Nicaragua.

Furthermore, landing on the northeast coast of Nicaragua, you first find marshland (which extends for about sixty-five kilometers inland); beyond that marshland you come to about another 130 kilometers of lowland; and to reach mountain peaks, you have to go considerably farther inland. Yet Columbus and his men never left the coast.

It would thus seem that Columbus and his crew were unlikely to have heard the First-People place name in question.

Palma had a response to that argument against his explanation: "tomándolo como que

el oro provenía de la región llamada América por los nicaragüenses" (that is, Columbus adopted the First-People name of the mountain range in question because gold came from that area).

Here is our counter-response: are we to believe that the locals were naive enough to tell Columbus whence the gold and, if they were, was he naive enough to mention the place by name after getting back to Europe?

d. Palma's conjecture of oral transmission of the name is not convincing: "es más que probable que verbalmente lo hubiera transmitido él a sus compañeros, tomándolo como que el oro provenía de la región llamada América por los nicaragüenses". Were that so, our earliest written evidence for the name in question would likeliest be in some language of Spain and in some document written there.

e. This conjecture too is unconvincing: "De presumir es también que este nombre *América* fué esparciéndose poco a poco hasta generalizarse en Europa, y que no conociéndose otra relación impresa, descriptiva de esas regiones, que la de *Albericus Vespuccius*, publicada en latín en 1505 y en alemán en 1506 y 1508, creyesen ver en el prenombre *Albericus* el origen, un tanto alterado, del nombre América".

Rather, the generally accepted etymology of *America* appears to be right: "In 1507 a humanist, Martin Waldseemüller, reprinted at Sainte Dié in Lorraine the 'Quattuor Americi navigationes' ('Four American Voyages'), preceded by a pamphlet of his own entitled 'Cosmographiae introductio,' and he suggested that the newly discovered world be named 'Ab Americo inventore... quasi Americi terram sive Americam' ('from Amerigo the discoverer... as if it were the land of Americus or America'). The proposal is perpetuated in a large planisphere of Waldseemüller's, in which the name America appears for the first time, although applied only to South America. The suggestion caught on; the extension of the name to North America, however, came later" (*The New Encyclopædia Britannica*, fifteenth edition, 1991 imprint, vol. 12, p. 337, s.v. *Vespucci, Amerigo*). A thousand copies of Waldseemüller's planisphere (according to one secondary source) or maybe a thousand (according to another) were printed; just one, now in private hands, is known to have survived. Application of the name *America* to the entire Western Hemisphere came with Gerardus Mercator's maps and globes.

We thus have not only Latin *America* 'South America' in a text dated 1507 but also, in the same text, an explicit link between that place name and Amerigo Vespucci.

In all likelihood, therefore, the formal similarity between *Americ* and *America* is another of the many chance resemblances in the vocabularies of the world's languages (Gold 1990, 1995, and in press 7). If so, *ANS Bulletin* of August 1979 was rebroadcasting a myth over a hundred and five years old.⁴

10. Michel de Ghelderode created the fictional character of Kwiebe-Kwiebus, a philosopher. Here is my translation of a passage in French in which the author describes Kwiebe-Kwiebus's arrival in a certain city: '[It was] divided into one hundred well-delimited districts, each one having its belfry with its bell. Kwiebus went from district to district, noticing that the inhabitants of each one had no desire to know the inhabitants of the others. Everywhere he met people who said: "Isn't our bell unique? Could there possibly exist another one that even approaches its accuracy, tone, size, form, and the peal of its tongue?" Kwiebus concluded that these connoisseurs [...], by dint of hearing only one bell, heard only one sound'. Reading the passage but not knowing when de Ghelderode lives, I reached these tentative conclusions: (1) the passage inspired the French idiom *esprit de clocher* 'parochialism, parochial spirit' (literally 'belfry spirit'); (2) that idiom inspired French *politique de clocher* 'parish-pump politics' and *rivalités de clocher* 'local bickering, local rivalries'; (3) French *esprit de clocher* inspired Spanish *espíritu de campanario* 'parochialism, parochial spirit'; (4) one or more of the aforementioned Spanish and/or

French idioms inspired Spanish *política de campanario* 'narrowly focused local politics'; (5) either one or more of the French idioms inspired Italian *amore di campanile* 'love of one's home district' (= German *Heimatsliebe*), *contese di campanile* 'local bickering, local quarrels', and *campanilismo* 'parochialism; exaggerated local pride' or one or more of the French idioms inspired fewer than all the Italian idioms and the Italian one or ones not so inspired were inspired by one or more of the other Italian ones. However, later I learned that Michel de Ghelderode was born on 3 April 1898 and died on 1 April 1962 and, knowing that at least French *esprit de clocher* predated the twentieth century, realized that it was probably the other way round: that idiom probably inspired the passage. Suggestions (2)-(5), however, may be right. Influences in other directions (Spanish --> French, Spanish --> Italian, Italian --> French, or Italian --> Spanish) are unlikely in the extreme.

11. One of the etymologies suggested for the American English slang noun *doozy* 'a person or thing that is remarkable, wonderful, beautiful, or the like' is "< *Duesenberg*, the name of a very expensive and desirable car of the 1920s and 30s," but since our earliest evidence for that slangism is from 1916, it probably derives from the American English slang adjective *doozy* 'fancy, splendid' (which is attested for 1903 and 1911), and the car in question did not go on sale until 1919 or 1920, that name cannot be relevant to the genesis of the slangisms (Gold ms. 5 will give more details), although the name of the car may have -- later -- reinforced use of the slang noun, adjective, or both.

12. See guideline 15 in section D.

Because etymologists and other historical linguists cannot usually be certain that the earliest known use of a linguistic item (whether a meaning, a lexeme, a construction, or whatever) is also its earliest use, they are always trying to find earlier evidence, that is, antedatings.

B.2. In textology

Since "anachronisms are the rock on which counterfeit works almost always run most risk of shipwreck (Farrer 1907:2), a text containing usages that did not exist at the time it is said to have been written is a forgery. The problem here is determining what did and did not exist. If our earliest evidence for a word is in a text dated, say, 1850 and we later find the word in a text dated 1849, is the latter text an authentic text providing us with an antedating or, rather, is it a counterfeit text? No universally valid answer to that question can be given, for each text must be examined separately. Gold ms. 1 will give an example.

B.3. Elsewhere

Wilhelm Kesselring, author of *Dictionnaire chronologique du vocabulaire français: Le XVI^e siècle*, "believes that a compilation of this kind will answer such questions as what words were new at a given moment in history, and that not only language historians but also social scientists, philosophers, and theologians would benefit from such information" (de Gorog 1985:479).

Gold 1984 notes that with the introduction of earliest known dates of usage into a general English dictionary (*Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary*, published in 1983) people could now easily play an instructive parlor game: trying to guess the dates.

C. Sources of antedatings

An antedating may be from a published source not well known to linguists (see **shul**) or it may be from an unpublished source (see **rush**). It may be from a central part, so to speak, of the source or from a peripheral one.⁵ It may contain the lexeme in precisely the same spelling as that used today (see **rush**), in a different spelling (see **shul** and **yucca**), or in a different form (see **Alaska** and **burro**). If the lexeme has more than one meaning, the antedating is for just one of them (see **burro**, **closet**, **cobbler**, **Negritude**, and **weepers**).

Oral sources are no less important than published or unpublished written ones, though at least two students of language have been unwilling to rely on reports of unpublished spoken use:

1. In the 1970s or 1980s, Ronald R. Butters, editor of *American Speech: A Quarterly of Linguistic Usage*, refused to publish my oral evidence for the American English informalism *fit quick* 'fit snugly' (said of clothing), which I could attest for "after 1932 and before 1941," that being the earliest evidence we had for the expression at the time and maybe now too.

2. In the early 1980, when I told Laurence Urdang that I remembered Eastern Ashkenazic American English *Joe Shmo* 'Joe Blow' from New York City of the late 1950s, he refused to believe even that the lexeme existed. Here are some later examples:

In July 1994 I heard *Joe Shmo* several times from a New York City Christian Black.

"According to a museum employee, Byrne was asked to leave the place after attempting to gain free admission with a friend's membership pass. 'He's in this place all the time, and it's obvious he's not just Joe Shmo, says one witness' (Sprague 1998, which deals with an attempt by a well-known person, thinking he would be undetected, to use someone else's free pass to the Guggenheim Museum; the person quoted is a New-York-Cityite).

"Joe Schmoe does not speak English, and he doesn't want to. For him, the World Wide Web will mostly be in Chinese with some English" (Mark VanHern, a founder of Excite and the product manager in charge of its Chinese version, quoted in Marriott 1998:G7).

"Imagine if every Joe Shmo had one of these" (John Deutzman, a reporter, 10-PM News, WNYW-TV, New York City, 20 November 2003).

3. In the mid 1980s, when I remarked to David B. Guralnik, editor in chief of Webster's New World Dictionaries, that before 1975 I had heard the English verb *de-accession* applied in New York City to books, his reaction was that because I could provide no written evidence for that application and he had none himself, he would not broaden the definition of the word in the Second College Edition of *Webster's New World Dictionary*, which is 'to remove (a work of art) from a museum collection preparatory to selling it'.

It is natural to be wary of reports of oral usage when they refer to past times because people's memories may trick them (they may think they remember the item for earlier than the time they in fact first saw or heard it or their memory may actually be for a similar item) and because dishonest people, eager for "fame," may deliberately report an earlier date, but there are reporters and there are reporters: honest people with a good memory who can tie the use of a linguistic item to a certain event or events should be believed:

1. With respect to *fit quick*, my mother, who has a good memory, came to the United States and settled in New York City in 1932. Just as today people speak of "before 9/11" and "after 9/11" or "since 9/11" and know where they were on 9 September 2001 when first hearing about the attack on the World Trade Center, in an earlier time people in the United States took 7 December 1941 as an important date in their lives and remember where they were when first hearing about the bombing of Pearl Harbor (my mother was walking on the east side of the Grand Concourse between Fordham Road and East 203 Street). Consequently, my mother is credible when she told me that she first heard *fit quick* "before the war" from my father's aunt who lived in New York City.

2. As for *Joe Shmo*, 1954 and 1962 were major boundaries in my life because in the first year my family moved from Bronx, New York, to Oakland Gardens, New York (I remember distinctly that *Joe Shmo* was one of the new expressions I heard in the first few years thereafter), and in the second year I was graduated from high school, upon which I left New York City for an extended period. Urdang's denial was especially outrageous in light of his never succeeding, the few times he has tried, in describing any aspect of Jewish English fully and accurately and my being recognized in knowledgeable circles as the leading student of this lect.

3. Regarding *de-accession* applied to books, 1975 was a major boundary in my life because in that year I left the United States to take up residence in Israel, so that in the mid 1980s I could still easily recall New York City English usages that had struck me as out of the ordinary five to fifteen years earlier.⁶

See **BB gun** and **Danish** for two more examples of oral antedatings by an honest reporter with a good memory who can tie the usages to datable events.

No one denies the acceptability of published spoken use. See **doodle** for an example.

D. Fifteen guidelines for gatherers of citations in general and of antedatings in particular.

Besides spoken and written texts that provide incontrovertible attestations for a usage, we find several other kinds of texts:

A. Those providing circumstantial evidence of the strongest kind for a usage are discussed in guidelines 1, 2, and 3 below.

B. Those providing foreshadowings are discussed in guideline 4 below.

C. Those providing material of other kinds are discussed in guidelines 5-9 below.

Guidelines 10-15 below discuss additional matters.

Guideline 1. A citation for a reflex that predates the earliest known use of its etymon is circumstantial evidence of the strongest kind for the prior use of the etymon. Here we must be certain that the presumed reflex is in fact a reflex of that etymon. Thus, if French *week-end*, for example, were attested earlier than English *weekend*, we would indeed have evidence from French that the English word is older than the French one inasmuch as the latter derives from the former. In contrast, since the French noun *wattman* 'driver [of a tram or an electric train]' was coined in French, it is no evidence for English **wattman*, which so far as we know has never existed (the French word was coined in French with English raw material and hence its English look).

It follows from the foregoing that if the oldest known use of a proper word derived from a nonproper word predates the oldest known use of the nonproper word, the earliest attestation for the proper word is circumstantial evidence of the strongest kind for the prior use of the nonproper word. In 1920 the University of London awarded a master of arts degree to Dorothy Pilkington for an essay showing, inter alia, that over three hundred nonproper words in *Oxford English Dictionary* could be antedated with circumstantial evidence in the form of nicknames that she had culled from British archival material. Chapter VIII of Weekley 1930, called "Surnames and the Chronology of the English Language," gives many examples of her finds, taken from her essay, like the nickname *Redhead*, which she documented from the thirteenth century on, whereas the earliest citation for the common noun *redhead* in *Oxford English Dictionary* is only from 1664. Since *Redhead* comes from *redhead*, the latter must predate the earliest known use of the former.⁷ Possibly useful too for antedating are Hitching 1910-1911 and Pollin 1974.

Guideline 2. A nonbase form can be circumstantial evidence of the strongest kind for the corresponding base form (for example, *Miss Nancyism*, mentioned in note 38 of the present article allows us to infer the prior existence of *Miss Nancy* ‘effeminate male’), but not always, for certain nonbase forms may predate base ones and the base ones may in fact not even exist. For instance, the English plural *statistics* is older than the corresponding singular (*statistic*) and the English noun *riches* ‘wealth’ occurs only in the plural (a singular noun *rich* does exist, but since it means ‘rich person’, it is not the singular of *riches* ‘wealth’). Also, certain base forms may exist only as citation forms, like the English auxiliary verb *can* and the Spanish auxiliary verb *soler*, which are never used in their infinitive forms (except as citation forms, as in “Can you make up a sentence with the infinitive of the verb *can*?” and “¿Puedes hacer una frase con el infinitivo del verbo *soler*?” which is to say, except metalinguistically), so that all citations for those verbs showing nonmetalinguistic use contain finite forms.

Guideline 3. If a certain definiendum is known to be older than the earliest attestation of a certain definiens and we have no reason to doubt that that definiens was used to designate that definiendum even before the date of the earliest attestation for the definiens, we have circumstantial evidence that the definiens is older than our earliest attestation for it.⁸ Thus, to summarize the following example, our earliest attestation for Dutch *Verhuysdag* ~ *Verhuisdag* ‘Moving Day’ is dated 1696; we have circumstantial evidence that the custom of Moving Day on Dutch-speaking territory predates 1664; we have no reason to doubt that the custom was always called *Verhuysdag* in Dutch; consequently, we assume that the word is older than 1696.

Formerly, at least in Amsterdam and presumably in other parts of Dutch-speaking areas of Europe too the last day of April was called *Verhuysdag* (older spelling) ~ *Verhuisdag* (newer spelling), that is, ‘Moving Day’, because it was the custom to have all leases on real estate expire on that day (at twelve noon), so that many people at that time moved, whether from their residences or their businesses, out of old quarters into new ones (if 30 April fell on a Sunday, Moving Day was postponed to the following Thursday). Here, for example, is the treatment of that Dutch word in *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* (vol. XIX, cols. 2646-2647, 1982)):

dag waarop verhuist wordt. In bep. aanh. is een vaste dag bedoeld, bepaald in functie van den dag waarop de jaarlijksche huur verliep. || Verhuysdag. *The ordinary day of removing, which is in Amsterdam the 30 of April.* MARIN [1701]. Sewel [1727]. *Holl.-Hoogd. Handwdb.* [1809], BOMHOFF, *Ned.-Fr. Wdb.* [1835]. V. DALE [1872]. -- Ik kan met dese May off verhuysdagen geen timmerman krijgen, in *Ts. Ned. Muziekgesch.* 9, 153 [1696]. De huishuur eindigt op ... den dertigsten April, wanneer de huurders gehouden zyn, voor twaalf uren op den middag te verhuizen ... Wanneer de dertigste April op eenen Zondag komt, wordt de Verhuysdag ... op Donderdag te voeren ... gesteld, WAGEN, *Amst.* 3, 24 b [1767]. „Ik heb een wonderlijk wee gevoel zoowat in mijn maag, maar ‘t is geen honger’, legde ze ‘t uit tot Dora en Loet, die, evenals zij, dien heelen nacht niet geslapen hadden, vervuld van den grooten verhuysdag. NAEFF *Veulen* 309 [1903].

We thus have attestations for the custom in Dutch-speaking Europe that are dated 1696, 1701, 1727, 1767, 1809, 1835, 1872, and 1903.

The custom was taken from Dutch-speaking Europe to New Netherland, but in New Netherland, for some reason, Moving Day was the first of May (presumably postponed to the following Thursday if the first was a Sunday). Might the clergy of the Dutch Reformed Church in New Netherland have wanted to discourage celebration of May Day (see three paragraphs below on that holiday) because they saw it as un-Christian and thus made Moving Day one day later so that people would be engaged in moving and therefore have

little or no time to celebrate that originally pre-Christian holiday?⁹

New Netherland came to an end in the summer of 1664 (when the British occupied the colony, soon renaming it *New-York*), at which time its contacts with Dutch-speaking Europe began to weaken (the Dutch did recapture their former colony in 1674 but held it for just a few months). We assume that the custom was called *Vehuysdag* from its inception both in Dutch-speaking Europe and in New Netherland. If our assumption is right, the existence of the custom in New Netherland, that is, before 1664, is circumstantial evidence for the existence of the word in Dutch-speaking Europe not only before 1696 but also before 1664.¹⁰

The New Netherland custom of Moving Day continued to be observed at least in New York City, as we see from part of the entry for 1 May 1790 in Macley's journal: "This is a day of general moving in New York, being the day on which their leases chiefly expire".¹¹ The custom of holding Moving Day on 1 May was to survive in the city at least until 1848.¹²

At some time after 1848, Moving Day, at least in New York City, was shifted to the first day of October. To understand the probable reason for the change, let us first quote part of the entry headed *May Day* in 1991 imprint of the fifteenth edition of *The New Encyclopædia Britannica* (vol. 7, p. 969):

"*May Day*, in medieval and modern Europe, day (May 1) for traditional springtime celebrations, probably originating in pre-Christian agricultural rituals. Though local usage varies widely, these celebrations commonly included the carrying in procession of trees, green branches, or garlands [...].

"*May Day* was designated as an international labour day by the International Socialist congress of 1889. It is major holiday in the Soviet Union and other Communist countries, and elsewhere it is the occasion for important political demonstrations".

Because they were not held in the street, traditional May Day celebrations probably did not interfere with moving on the first of May, whereas the socialist holiday in New York presumably did cause problems because it was celebrated with large outdoor gatherings like street parades and demonstrations, which would hamper vehicular traffic.¹³ If so, we should not be surprised that the date of Moving Day in New York City was eventually changed -- by no later than 1916, it was the first of October:

"In 1916 William Dean Howells, nearing his eightieth year but always a faithful observer of New York life, published *The Daughter of the Storage*, a story telling of the marriage of a young couple in the storage-warehouse where their first meeting and subsequent courtship had taken place--their respective families were perpetually either 'going into storage' or coming out of it. The first of October was 'moving day,' and in the residential quarters of Manhattan you saw, on nearly every street, the huge, gaily painted, lumbering vans that announced a restless annual migration to new domiciles, probably soon to be abandoned in their turn".¹⁴

It would be good to try to document in detail the displacement of Moving Day by May Day and the decline of Moving Day itself. Probably at least since 1950 New York City has had no Moving Day.¹⁵

At least in certain parts of Canada, at least through the 1960s, the traditional month for moving has been May (although the country does not seem to have ever had a Moving Day). Is it only a coincidence that Moving Day in New Netherland and in early New York City was also in May?

In sum, we have here a little corner of language and of history that deserves comparative study: how many countries have had set moving days, what are they called, what are the days, has there been crosscultural influence, and does a comparison of the dates tell us anything?¹⁶

Guideline 4. Citations for foreshadowings, that is, forerunners of the lexeme or the meaning under scrutiny, should be bracketed (for example, English *televista*, the forerunner of English *television*). See the *big apple* in guideline 14 and *closet*, *the state of the art*, and *ticket speculator* in section H.

Guideline 5. A citation in which the writer or the speaker prefaces use of the item by an explanatory remark like “to use a Judezmo word” and “as we say in Western Yiddish”. See “called by the Indians *a metate*” at *metate*.

Often, a lexeme may be treated inconsistently in the same text, a hypothetical example being three citations in an article written by one person that read:

A. “To use a Yiddish word, they have some *khutspe!*” or, “They have, as we say in Yiddish, some *khutspe!*” We have here a Yiddish word cited in English.

B. “This is outrageous *khutspe!*” or “This is outrageous ‘*khutspe!*’” Is that an English word or, rather, a Yiddish word cited in English?

C. “They will not stand for such *khutspe!*” That is an English word.

Guideline 6. If the lexeme under scrutiny is grammatically integrated but is set off typographically (by quotation marks, italics, underlining, or some other device) from the rest of the text (see *burro*, *metate*, and *stage whisper*), the citation requires analysis. If special typography was chosen because the writer believed the usage to be new or unconventional at the time (whether or not it actually was), the citation is prima-facie evidence for the usage (thus, the writer’s belief, whether right or wrong, is irrelevant). If special typography was chosen because the writer’s intention was to quote a usage from another language and no explanatory remark like the ones given in example A in guideline 5 appears, the citation is for an allolingual, not an endolingual, usage. The problem, therefore, is guessing the writer’s or the speaker’s intention. Since asking laypeople, who usually have trouble distinguishing synchrony and diachrony, whether they are using, for example, an English word of Yiddish origin or, rather, quoting a Yiddish word in English is likely to induce an unclear answer, a confusing one, a misleading one, or none at all, it is often better not to ask and thus leave the question open.¹⁷

Guideline 7. A citation in which the writer uses special typography and does not integrate the item grammatically into the rest of the text is ambiguous. For an example, see “a brook, (*arrojo*,) which ran through the bottom of the ravine” at *arroyo*, which may be a citation for the Spanish word *arroyo* rather than for the English one so spelled.

Guideline 8. A citation may be self-contradictory, for example, “To use a Yiddish word, this is called a *blints*”. The Yiddish word is actually *blintse*. *Blints* is an English singular back-formed from the English plural *blintses*, which comes from the Yiddish plural *blintses*, whose singular, as just stated, is *blintse*. Which is to say that Yiddish, despite the writer’s or speaker’s assertion, has no word **blints*. In such cases, the researcher must go by the facts of the language, not by what the author of the utterance mistakenly thinks the facts to be. Thus, since the speaker or writer used *blints*, which we know to be English and not Yiddish, we should treat that form as an English word even though (s)he mistook it to be Yiddish.

Guideline 9. A literal translation from another language may create a new usage, but if the translator is translating merely because no existing endolingual equivalent comes to mind, the citation is not in the same category as one for straightforward use of the item. For an example, see the discussion of **do Verdun* at *do*.

Guideline 10. As in all other linguistic work, we must be sure to identify the item correctly. For instance,

A. "Such a Mag. would begin to pay about 1000 subscribers; and with 5000 would be a fortune worth talking about" (Edgar Allan Poe in a letter to Edward H.N. Patterson written late in April 1849, quoted in Poe 1966, vol. 2, pp. 439-441). In the assumption that the period in the third word is Poe's and not the editor's addition, we take *mag.* to be not the slangism *mag* 'magazine' (if it were, this would be the oldest known use of that slang usage) but an abbreviation of *magazine*.¹⁸

B. "General W. H. McNaught sent me a curiosity, Handbook of Old Burial Hill, Plymouth, Massachusetts: Its History, Its Famous Dead, and Its Quaint Epitaphs (Plymouth, Mass.: The Rogers Print, 1947). In it are listed such great names and epitaphs as Mehitable Atwood, Gov. Bradford, Capt. Brewster, the Cotton family, the Spooners, and so on. The really important matter, however, is that Gen. McNaught pointed out an early use of *Ms* that occurred in an inscription: 'Here lies Interred/ The Body of Ms Sarah Spoon-/er who dece-/ased January / Ye 25th AD 1767/ In ye 72d year of/ her age. She was widow to -- (The hand points to the next stone, which marks the grave of her husband" (Kelsie Harder in *ANS Bulletin*, published by the American Name Society, no. 35, "Date: Between Nos. 34 and 36" [thus, between April and September 1974], p. 4; number 37, dated December 1974, repeats most of that information [p. 1], except that there the introduction is "As a slightly scholarly footnote, I would like to note that *Ms*. has a rather long pedigree" and the word *body* is not capitalized). Harder's implication is thus that *Ms* as the title of respect preceding the name of a woman whose marital status is irrelevant or unknown (our earliest evidence for which is dated 1950) goes back to *Ms* as the title of respect preceding the name of a married woman and that the 1767 sepulchral inscription is, consequently, an antedating. As etymology and meaning tell us, the two usages are unconnected: *Ms* on the tombstone is an abbreviation of *Mistress* and *Ms*. ~ *Ms* as the title of respect was formed by retaining the two letters shared by *Miss* and *Mrs*. ~ *Mrs* and was introduced in 1950 or shortly before by a business which wanted a title when sending letters to woman whose marital status it did not know. We therefore do not have even a foreshadowing here.¹⁹

C. On coming across the following sentence, I first thought it contained the ethnophaulism *Hebe* ~ *Heeb* 'Jew' (= a clipping of *Hebrew* 'Jew'), but later realized that it shows transferred use of *Hebe* 'the Greek goddess of youth' because a young woman (but no Jew) is mentioned earlier in the author's narrative: "The portly old figure at the bar, and his busy staff, look very much pleased as they cast a frequent glance at the table, for this Hebe is a great coiner to them of a golden vintage" (*The Night Side of New York*, compiled by members of the New York City press, New York, Excelsior Publishing House, 1866).

Guideline 11. Since diaries and private letters are often penned in less than fully polished form, their authors, editors, or typesetters may introduce changes when publishing them. Therefore, when dating material found in the published versions of such works, we can be sure only that it existed at the time of publication. If the gatherer of citations has any doubt about the validity of the material, it should be expressed (with respect to the letters and diaries quoted in the present article, we have no reason to believe that any of the items listed were added in the course of publication).

Guideline 12. If a passage refers to an earlier time, it is not evidence for use of any linguistic item at that time (see **elevated** and **L** for examples) unless it contains a wording like "As they used to say thirty years ago" and provided that we have no reason to doubt the accuracy of a temporal reference of that kind. However, as implied at those two entries, such references should spur us to look for antedatings from the times they mention.

Guideline 13. Approximated speech and writing and, all the more so, made-up speech and writing purporting to be from the past should not be considered as evidence of past usage. In its issue of 14 November 2001, *The New York Times*, which fancies itself “the newspaper of record,” printed the text of a conversation which Henry J. Raymond (a co-founder and the first publisher of that newspaper) and P.T. Barnum supposedly had in December 1851. Barnum says “It’s an interesting gimmick” (p. H52) and Raymond says “It would be quite a gimmick” (ibidem). Since our earliest evidence for *gimmick* is from about 1926, antedating the word by seventy-five years would indeed be an important advance, but the entire conversation gives clear evidence of having been contrived in recent times, as we see from its containing the latter-day usage “indulge in personalities”.

For more from the self-styled “newspaper of record” see **rock ‘n’ roll** in section H.

Guideline 14. The ambiguity exemplified in example B in guideline 5 is not the only kind of ambiguity that we find. “Controversy rages over who coined ‘the Big Apple’ as a moniker for New York. ¶ The earliest citation is in Edward Martin’s 1909 book, ‘The Wayfarer in New York’. [...] ‘Kansas is apt to see in New York a greedy city. ... It inclines to think that the big apple gets a disproportionate share of the national sap’. ¶ The Random House Historical Dictionary of American Slang notes an absence of capitalization or quotation marks in this citation and thinks it ‘probable that the 1909 citation represents a metaphorical or perhaps proverbial usage, rather than a concrete example of the later slang term’. I dunno about that; capitalization is not necessary in coinage, and quotation marks only would suggest an earlier use” (Safire 2000:40). That passage elicits eight comments:

A. There is no “controversy,” only uncertainty.

B. Martin’s book contains the earliest known use (not “the earliest citation”) of *the big apple* applied to New York City.²⁰

C. Since application and meaning are different (the sentence “Susan’s a scientist” is not evidence that *scientist* means *‘Susan’), we do not know whether that three-word collocation meant *‘New York City’ in 1909 or before: would any people asked for the meaning of, say, “I live in the big apple” have answered ‘I live in New York City’?

D. If Martin had used *the big apple* as a name (here, specifically a nickname), he would have capitalized it. Since he did not, that is not a name.

E. Had *the big apple* then been a recent coinage, Martin would likely have put quotation marks around it to signal its newness or unconventionality (quotation marks, pace Safire, do not serve only to quote someone else’s use of a linguistic item, as we see at **weepers**). Instead of “only would suggest an earlier use” read “would suggest only an earlier use”.

F. The absence of capitalization and quotation marks, therefore, strongly suggests that the collocation *the big apple* is not a name in Martin 1909 and, hence, that it did not mean *‘New York City’ at the time, even though the collocation refers to New York City in that passage. If so, the only possibilities remaining are a metaphorical or a proverbial usage. If the proverb **the big apple gets all the sap* exists, it could have influenced Martin’s choice of words.

G. *The Random House Historical Dictionary of American Slang* is therefore right in saying that “Various factors--the absence of capitalization or quotation marks around what would have been considered an unusual term, the large gap between the first and second citations [that is, Martin 1909 and *New York Times* 1928, where we have unambiguous use of *the Big Apple*, so spelled, referring to New York City (D.L.G.)], and the evident novelty of the term in the 1920’s--make it probable that the 1909 quot. represents a metaphorical or perhaps proverbial usage, rather than a concrete example of the later slang term”. Martin’s “the big apple,” then, seems to be a foreshadowing of *the Big Apple* ‘New York

City' rather than an instance of it.

H. See the discussion of *bistro* in the second paragraph of section B and **Black English** in section H for more on hiatuses in the citational evidence, which are different from gaps: during a hiatus, a form is not used; during a gap, it is, but we have no evidence for it from that time. As with "considerable intervals" (see **Black English** in section H), distinguishing a hiatus and a gap may be hard or impossible.

Guideline 15. If done right, searching for antedatings is an easy way of contributing to the study of language.²¹ Even people with little training in linguistics, as long as they are honest and intelligent, can lend a hand, although many times only a linguist can evaluate the admissibility of a citation and, if it is admissible, use it properly (for examples, see the entries in section H that include a discussion of meaning, etymology, or other substantive matters).

"Easy," however, does not mean that carelessness is impossible:

A. Gold in press 5 documents how, in at least two of its dictionaries, Merriam-Webster gave 1939 as the year of the first known use of English *Molotov cocktail* because it took the unreliable Eric Partridge at his word, when in fact, as noted in that article and in section H of the present one, our earliest evidence is dated 27 January 1940. Nigel Rees says that "[...] Partridge was notoriously unreliable about dating" (1987:56), the allusion being to his infamous "guesstimates": instead of going by the earliest known evidence for lexemes and meanings, he would *guess* when they arose. Partridge was notorious in other ways too (Gold 1981, Gold 1989a, Gold ms. 4, and Legman 1951 point out just a few of the exhalations from his incredibly vast extent of rubbish).

B. Just as unacceptable as Partridge's many "guesstimates" are the no less plentiful ones in *The Random House Dictionary of the English Language: Second Edition: Unabridged*, published in 1987, which were made by people who not only, like Partridge, proceeded in an unscientific manner (if you have the date of the earliest known use, that's what you should give) but failed to consult easily available sources. To the examples in Gold in press 1 may be added these:

i. *blimp* 'dirigible airship' "1915-1920". Since the word is attested for 1916 and the first blimps were made by the British Navy during World War One, the right dating is "1916 or shortly before but in no case before the start of World War One".²²

ii. *confidence man* "1840-1850" (as is clear by now, the guesstimators working for Random House liked decades and lustrums). Smith 1969, published eighteen years before the dictionary, shows that the expression resulted from a series of incidents that had occurred in New York City in 1849: in *New-York Herald* of 8 July 1849, under the heading "Arrest of the Confidence Man," we read that "For the last few months a man has been travelling about the city, known as the 'Confidence Man'; that is, he would go up to a perfect stranger and being a man of genteel appearance, would easily command an interview. Upon this interview he would say, after some little conversation, 'have you confidence in me to trust me with your watch until to-morrow'; the stranger, at this novel request, supposing him to be some old acquaintance, not at that moment recollected, allows him to take the watch, thus placing 'confidence' in the honesty of the stranger, who walks off, laughing, and the other supposing it to be a joke allows him so to do. In this way many have been duped" (p. 2, col. 3, as quoted by Smith). The genesis of *confidence man* has been treated exhaustively: besides Smith 1969, see Bergmann 1969a, Bergmann 1969b, and Reynolds 1971. Reynolds notes that "from reading the running stories, one gets the impression that the paper coined the word for the occasion to describe the *modus operandi* of the criminal" (p. 1013, ft. 4).

iii. *electrocardiogram* "1900-05". As is well known, "In 1903 [Willem Einthoven, a Dutch physiologist (D.L.G.)] devised the first string galvanometer, known as the

Einthoven galvanometer; with this instrument he was able to measure the changes of electrical potential caused by contractions of the heart muscle and to record them graphically. He coined the term electrocardiogram for this process" (*The New Encyclopædia Britannica*, 15 ed., 1991 imprint, vol. 4, p. 403). Einthoven coined not English *electrocardiogram* (the encyclopedia is wrong on that score) but Dutch *elektrocardiogram*, which was the model for that English word, the earliest known attestation for which is from around 1904. Consequently, if an English word is calqued on a Dutch one and the latter resulted from a 1903 invention, the English word could not date to 1900, 1901, or 1902. In contrast to guesstimating, sticking to the facts leads us to reasonable assumptions: Einthoven presumably coined Dutch *elektrocardiogram* after inventing the string galvanometer (thus, both in 1903) and soon thereafter, when his invention and technique became known in the English-speaking world, that word was calqued in English as *electrocardiogram* (either later in 1903 or in 1904²³).

iv. For *limnology* that dictionary gives "1890-95," yet it is well known that the word is an adaptation of French *limnologie* 'limnology', that the French word was coined by François-Alphonse Forel (1841-1912), the founder of limnology, and that he first used it in print in the first volume of his *Le Léman: Monographie limnologique* (3 vols., 1892-1904). Obviously, therefore, the English word cannot be older than the French one (not surprisingly, the earliest known use of *limnology* is from 1893). To boot, the dictionary gives only a synchronic derivation for *limnology*, as if it had been coined in English under no allolingual influence.²⁴

For *kindergartner* that dictionary gives "1870-75," but the earliest known use of the word (in Elizabeth Palmer Peabody's *The Kindergartner*, published in 1872) requires us to exclude 1873, 1874, and 1875 and, although it could have been used in 1870 or 1871, we have no reason to assume it was.

v. *Post-Impressionism* "1905-10". As is well known, Roger Fry coined the word after visiting an exhibition of art in London, England, in December 1910.

C. Gold ms. 2 gives examples of how at least two English dictionaries have adopted certain phantom antedatings from *A Dictionary of American English on Historical Principles* and *A Dictionary of Americanisms on Historical Principles*.

D. The following passage could lead the unwary into thinking that English *hooligan* appears in a book published in 1844: "Today's guide [for members of the British parliament (D.L.G.)] prescribes rules of 'good temper and moderation' for parliamentary debate and is an extension of Sir Thomas Erskine May's 1844 treatise on parliamentary usage. The following epithets are expressly forbidden: [...] *hooligan* [...]" (Pei 1967:267). Pei found the word in the 1946 edition of May's *A Treatise on the Laws, Privileges, Proceedings and Usage of Parliament*, but since no pre-1898 edition contains it, we have no antedating here.²⁵

E. Postdatings

If linguists have paid little attention to professionalizing the pursuit of antedatings, they have paid even less to professionalizing the hunt for postdatings, Goosse 1973 being the only treatment of the subject which has come to my attention. A postdating is an example of usage later than the youngest one recorded in certain dictionaries or other works well known to students of the language in question. Postdatings are helpful in studying the frequency of items and in the assignment of labels like *archaic*, *obsolete*, *obsolescent*, *old-fashioned*, and *rare*. Most of the remarks in the present article on antedating also apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to postdating.²⁶

Here is a postdating. On 10 January 2004, Dorothy Willis, who was born in Jamaica

in 1942 or thereabouts, said to me (in New York City), "The building hasn't finished repairing" (meaning 'the building hasn't finished being repaired'), which illustrates a construction often thought to have died out in the nineteenth century.²⁷ Astounded to hear it today (most people now use the progressive passive, also called the *imperfect passive*, exemplified by my glosses) and wanting to be sure my ears were not deceiving me, I pretended not to hear and asked her to repeat what she had said. She again used the construction, but this time in the present tense: "The building isn't finished repairing" (meaning 'the building isn't finished being repaired'). During the two whole days we spent together (also 11 January) she used the construction three more times. Thus, postdatings are, like antedatings, provisional, though they are in fact even more so, since people may revive usages.

F. Excerpters (including antedaters) are not etymologists in the sense in which 'etymologist' is understood in linguistics

Gathering citations (whether antedatings, postdatings, or other examples of usage) is a handmaiden to lexicological, lexicographical, and etymological research; it requires little training; and as more and more texts become searchable electronically, it is going the way of scribbling -- although the human mind will always be needed, for example to evaluate the reliability and the appositeness of citations (a task which may or may not be assigned to excerpters) and to determine meaning (a job for definers, who are usually not excerpters). Excerpters thus belong to the mid or upper levels of the clerical section of a lexicographical team, at an appreciable distance from those at the highest level (the definers and the etymologists), though in searching for antedatings, they may come upon self-evident etymologies and etiologies, an example being the citation from *New-York Herald* of 8 July 1849 in guideline 15 in section D, which convincingly explains the genesis of the lexeme *confidence man*, of which *con man* is the shortening.

Plowing through published and unpublished writings in search of citations is one thing and etymologizing as it is understood in linguistics is another, though just as many people untrained in linguistics think that 'linguist' is a synonym of 'polyglot' ("Oh, you're a linguist, are you. How many languages do you know?"), so are many under the impression that excerpters or antedaters are necessarily etymologists and that, consequently, etymological research consists of nothing more than finding the earliest use of a linguistic item or determining the etiology of picturesque or racy idioms (who was the Riley to whom the phrase *live the life of Riley* refers? how did *the Big Apple* as a nickname of New York City come about? why the number nine in the idiom *dressed to the nines*? and so on). Etiologizing idioms is indeed an important endeavor, which, because it requires hardly anything more than patience and a flair for sniffing out the relevant early texts, is linguistic research at its easiest. Yet because the genesis of idioms fascinates the general public (nonlinguists care nought about the validity of Nostratic reconstructions, the question of the Proto-Indo-European laryngeals, the relationship, if any, between the Uralic and the Altaic languages, the affinities of Basque, Japanese, and other isolates, Florence Guggenheim-Grünberg's belief that Max Weinreich's reconstruction of Yiddish protovowel 54, by far the most problematic Yiddish protovowel, is not wholly suitable for Western Yiddish, or a host of other problems on the agenda of historical linguistics), the laity does not distinguish etymologists, etiologists, and excerpters, usually dubbing all of them "etymologists":

1. [...] it was not until 1996 that researcher Barry Popik discovered a newspaper article that dates *hobo* as far back as 1848; previously it had been observed only since 1889" (Barnhart and Metcalf 1997:ix). "Researcher" is a sober though here overly broad

description: Popik, so far as I can tell, is precisely describable as an excerpter of American English linguistic material with an interest in antedatings and the etiology of picturesque idioms.

2. "[Barry Popik] is a New York administrative law judge who handles things like parking violations. By night, he is an amateur etymologist who has traced the origina [presumably a misprint for "origins" (D.L.G.)] of thousands of words and phrases" (Popik 2004). It would be good to see Popik's etymologies -- in the linguist's sense of 'etymology'.

3. "The etymologist Barry Popik, with fresh support from the phrase detectives Fred Shapiro and Gerald Cohen, has been campaigning to give coinage honors to John J. Fitzgerald, a turf writer" (Safire 2000:40). "Phrase detective" is apt.

4. "[Barry Popik] an attorney by vocation and a word searcher by avocation" (in a publication the details of which I have mislaid). "Word searcher" is apt.

5. "Barry Popik] researches New York words and phrases on his Web site, barrypopik.com [...]" (Mooney 2005). See the comment at 1.

6. Referring to Fred Shapiro (a law librarian?), a reporter said that "As an expert not only on famous quotations but also on words, phrases and legal citations, he used to spend hours and days at a time in research libraries, poring over books, journals, newspapers and periodicals for the origins of particular words and phrases. 'Now it's done in a few seconds,' he said. [...] Mr. Shapiro has also explored the origin of the term 'personal computer'" (Hafner 2001). Looking for examples of usage is one thing; determining origins in the sense of 'etymons', another. Shapiro, who, like Popik, appears to have no training in linguistics, is a gatherer of citations who has come upon the etiologies of certain phrases. Careful writers seldom if ever use words like "expert" and "scholar," which flow freely from the pen of the uncritical and the unknowledgeable. Who knows everything about even one language?

7. "David Shulman, a finder of the obscure origins of thousands of words for the Oxford English Dictionary, died Oct. 30 in Brooklyn. He was 91. Shulman is credited with finding the origins of terms like 'The Great White Way,' 'Big Apple,' 'doozy,' and 'hot dog'" (unsigned, untitled, *Metro*, New York, 8 November 2004, p. 8). Shulman had no training in linguistics and thus did not qualify as an etymologist, though -- to put it soberly, without reporters' hyperbole -- he was a good excerpter of nineteenth- and twentieth-century published English texts in the New York Public Library and did antedate an appreciable number of English lexemes, in which endeavor he came upon the etiologies of several of them.²⁸ Despite what he imagined or what others imagine about his "finding" the "origin" of the American English slangism *doozy*, its derivation is still unknown (Gold ms. 5 will contribute to the discussion just a bit).²⁹

8. "An obituary on Sunday about David Shulman, who traced the origins of many words for the Oxford English Dictionary, misstated the derivation of the word shyster. It came from the English slang version of a German vulgarism meaning 'crooked lawyer,' not from a Yiddish corruption of the German word. The obituary also misspelled the surname of a word scholar who wrote a book with Mr. Shulman and Gerald Cohen on the origins of 'hot dog,' to be published this year. He is Barry Popik, not Popick" (unsigned correction, *The New York Times*, 11 November 2004, p. A2). The obituary is Martin 2004, which, like Martin 1999, makes clear that Shulman was a gatherer of citations (rightly, Martin says nothing about etymology). As for "the origins of many words," fact is that Shulman found many antedatings and a few etiologies, nothing more.³⁰

The popular prints, with their ears always attuned to who's popular in popular circles, devote an outrageously large amount of space to people who are marginal in linguistics and even outside its pale, all the while ignoring, or almost so, most of the important people in the field: try to find even one word about, say, Dwight Bolinger or Yakov Malkiel or

André Martinet or Eugenio Coseriu or scores of other major linguists in *The New York Times* (aside from paid death notices) or see how little space it devoted to obituaries of, among others, Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Max Weinreich, and Uriel Weinreich in comparison to what it lavished on Eric Partridge, who is remembered in linguistics chiefly for his putting thousands of English misetymologies into mass circulation, or David Shulman, who is remembered mainly as an assiduous English excerpter.

G. Concluding remarks

As more and more texts become available electronically (preferably as searchable photographic reproductions), antedating -- indeed, the gathering of citations in general -- becomes easier, quicker (see section F), and less dependent on human intelligence, though the task will never be fully automated because human judgment will always be indispensable when the citations have to be evaluated in various respects, for instance, with regard to meaning (see *theatricals* for an example). As more and more texts are culled for antedatings, the possibility diminishes of discovering new ones.³¹ Likewise, as the number of extant but still undiscovered texts decreases, more and more noncontemporary lexis are becoming closed corpuses. Consequently, the chances of finding antedatings that involve, say, Old English are now slim; they are better for Middle English; and they are still excellent for Modern English. The same is true, mutatis mutandis, of precontemporary lexis of many other languages. Here is an example. As Ralph de Gorog noted in 1972, the earliest attestations then on hand for Italian *difficile* 'difficult, hard' and *facile* 'easy' were from "the works of Domenico Cavalca (ca. 1270-1342)" (1972:116). An Italian dictionary published exactly twenty years after his article still dated both words to "ante 1342" (Palazzo et al. 1992). In contrast, antedating certain innovations in Modern Italian is easy.³²

The last two words of note 21 of the present article express the two themes of the present article. The verb phrase "is gathering" should be taken in its current sense. That is, *gather* here is an intransitive verb meaning 'come together, congregate'. In that sense, the phrase alludes to the ease with which antedatings may be found -- so many remain to be collected that they come tumbling out of various sources almost on their own, almost without human intervention, almost as easily as, say, a storm gathers or dust gathers. But the phrase should also be taken in its archaic sense of 'are being gathered'. Which is to say that *gather* here is a transitive verb too, the verb phrase is in the passive voice, and, consequently, an agent is implied. That agent is the human being. Whether humans hunt for antedatings just with their brains or with the help of a computer, they must be familiar with the principles of antedating.³³

H. List of antedatings, foreshadowings, and leads to follow up

It was in the course of reading whose aim was something other than the discovery of earlier or later uses that I found most of the antedatings, foreshadowings, and leads to follow up in the list below. Which goes to show how easy antedating can be for English of the last few hundred years. Indeed, to stimulate their students' interest, teachers of historical linguistics, lexicography, or the history of a particular language could give as one of their first assignments the discovery of antedatings, that task requiring only some preliminary training (plunging into the texts and learning how to navigate them will soon make you a professional), a flair for sniffing out material likely to yield pay dirt, an ability to copy accurately, awareness of the need to record as much of the text as will reveal as much as possible about the usage under scrutiny (something I have not always done here because the

idea of collecting antedatings came to me after I had excerpted some of the sources for other purposes), patience, and honesty.

The most careful of researchers will want to verify even passages that I have seen myself and for which I give full bibliographical references (see entry 2 for an example). The somewhat less demanding will not bother to check such passages but will follow up references if I do not give citations (see entry 1 for an example) and will pursue all leads (see entry 30 for an example).

A separate article will give possible evidence for *doughnut* ~ *donut* from the late eighteenth century (Gold ms. 2). The symbol ¶, which is my addition, indicates a new paragraph.³⁴

1. **Alaska** (count noun) is defined as ‘baked ice’ in George Augustus Sala’s *America Revisited* (London, 1883), in reference to New York City of 1879. This, then, is the earlier variant of what is now called *baked Alaska*. Baked ice was renamed *baked Alaska* to commemorate the purchase of Alaska by the United States.

2. **amount** with plural count nouns that do not designate time or money (a usage which many prescriptivists try to discourage in favor of the word *number*). “The reader will perceive on summing up the above table that the amount is only 4,837,100” (von Humboldt 1811, vol. II, book III, chap. viii, p. 356, referring to people).

3. **arroyo**. “The greatest of all defects was, the want of water, the garrison depending on a supply from a brook, (*arroyo*), which ran through the bottom of the ravine, at a distance of nearly eight hundred paces from the fort” (Robinson 1820:121). See guideline 7 in section D on the unclear status of *arroyo* (sic recte) in that passage. The dieresis is a misprint (Spanish does not have the grapheme or the allograph *ÿ at all), which also occurs in “Playa Vicente” (p. ix) and “Y no me hagaís sufrir” (p. 259), the correct spellings being *Playa* and *hagaís*.

4. **Astorian** ‘native and/or resident of Astoria, Queens’. “Astorian Tells of Remarkable Escape in Tunnel Blow-Out” (a headline in *Long Island Star-Journal* of 21 February 1916; the person in question was Marshall M. Mabey, who was then living on Theodore Street, a street in Astoria which is now called *Forty-Second Street*).

5. **baseball**. “The first known record of the term ‘base-ball’ in America came in a 1791 ordinance in Pittsfield, Mass., that prohibited ballplaying near the town’s new meetinghouse. but this was not the first appearance of that name in print. That distinction belongs to an English children’s book of 1744, ‘A Little Pretty Pocket-Book’” (Lamster 2005). Since the hyphen comes at the end of a line, we cannot tell whether it is hard or soft (see the comment on Wong’s spelling, below), a question which Block 2005 presumably answers. Lamster uses a correct wording “first known record” and an incorrect one (“the first appearance [...] in print”); xxxxxxxxxx see note 19 of the present article.

“[...] diverting themselves with baseball, a play all who are or have been schoolboys are well acquainted with” (Lady Hervey in a letter dated 1748 referring to the family of the then Prince of Wales, quoted in Wong 2001:22). We cannot tell from Wong’s citation whether Hervey wrote *baseball*, *base-ball*, or *base ball*, *schoolboys*, *school-boys*, or *school boys*.

6. **BB gun**. “In 1928, my brother, Henry de Gorog, who was born in London, England, in 1912 and died in California in 1974, got a BB gun as a Christmas present (we were then living on Central Park West and West 108 Street, in Manhattan, New York). My sister

Elizabeth, who was born in 1916, and I both recall that our family called it a *BB gun* at the time and I remember the date because it was Christmas and because my brother was then sixteen. Since my family lived in Montreal, Canada, from 1916 to 1923 (and, earlier, in London, England) and I remember that as I child in New York City I had to unlearn certain forms used in our family because they were German or German-based (like *get dressed out* 'get undressed' [a blend of English *get undressed* and German *sich ausziehen*], *linsen soup* 'lentil soup', and by 'at' [as in "by the butcher's"] or British or Canadian but not American English (like *cotton wool*, *greengrocer*, and *peg* 'clothespin'), I wonder whether *BB gun* might not have entered our family's English earlier, namely in Canada" (Ralph de Gorog, letter to David L. Gold, 15 December 2000).

7. Black English. Wood 1975:190 quotes this passage from *South Carolina Gazette* of 30 March 1734: "Four young Negroe Men slaves and a Girl, who . . . speak very good (Black-) English," the suspension points being his. He comments that "This is the earliest known American record of the specific term 'black English'" (ibid., ft. 70). It is actually the earliest known use of that glottonym anywhere. The second earliest citation we now have for *Black English* is dated 1969.

The more two citations for a linguistic item are distant from each other in time, as here, and no intervening citations are known, the more we need to address the question of what relationship, if any, obtains between them (see guidelines 4 and 14 in section D on *the big apple* and *the Big Apple*):

1. If the writer of the 1969 citation of *Black English* knew the passage written in 1734 and was inspired by it to use that glottonym, we have a revival.

2. If that person was unacquainted with that passage and coined the glottonym spontaneously, the passage is a foreshadowing if the interval is considerable, although how much is "considerable" is not determinable objectively. Thus, whereas the hiatus between 1734 and 1969 is considerable, that between 1968 and 1969 would not be (say, if one person spontaneously coined *Black English* in 1968 and another person did so in 1969), but are fifty years, forty years, or thirty years considerable?

3. If all the uses of the glottonym are genetically related in one way or another, that is, if one person coined the glottonym (an event which would have to have occurred no later than 1734) and all later uses of it derive in one way or another from that person's coinage, we have a serious gap -- of 235 years -- in the citational evidence.

Since possibility 1 and especially possibility 3 are not likely, we conclude that the glottonym *Black English* was coined spontaneously at least twice.

8. blizzard. Whether any tokens of the family names *Blézard*, *Blissett*, *Blizard*, *Blizhard*, and *Blizzard* go back to the common noun *blizzard*, our earliest evidence for which is dated 1829, is unclear. The following information is given in case it is relevant.

Blizzard Island is the name of a now disappeared islet consisting of a low rocky ledge at the mouth of the Hutchinson River in what is now Bronx, New York. Once supporting the eastern arch of the original Pelham Bridge (built in the late 1880s), it was eventually joined to the mainland (today, what was once Blizzard Island is just east of Shore Road and part of Pelham Bay Park). The islet was named either for the Blizzard family or for David Blizzard, a member of it, who, according to Beers 1868, owned and operated a small hotel on Tallapoosa Point, which was opposite the islet (from other sources we learn that David Blizzard also rented boats and sold fishing tackle). David Blizzard Elliott, who lived in what is now Bronx, New York, in the early nineteenth century was a relative of his.

9. bowler 'bowler hat'. Two etymologies have been offered for this word: according to one of them, it consists of English *bowl* and *-er* (so called because the hat resembles a bowl);

according to the other, the word derives from the family name of the senior partner (J. Bowler) of the firm of Bowler & Jarrett, Ltd (of St. Swithins Lane, London, England), which is said to have first made these hats and advertized them in *Daily News* (London) of 8 August 1868. Since the earliest evidence for *bowler* 'bowler hat' is from 1861, the second explanation, though it sounds likelier than the first one, cannot be accepted in the absence of further investigation. It would be good to know what the advertizement says and whether any earlier ones for the hat, whether placed by Bowler & Jarrett or anyone else, can be found. In any case, the right etymology must be consonant with the date of the earliest known use of *bowler* 'bowler hat'.

Someone writing in *Newsweek* of 1 December 1969 takes for granted that the second explanation is right and his opinion is repeated as fact in number 31 of *ANS Bulletin*, published by the American Name Society and dated June 1973 (p. 5). Let's not be hasty.

10. **burro** 'burrito' (the food). "[...] one asked me if I should like 'to eat a *burro* in the mean time?' [...] They proved to be hot tortillas, with cheese in them, and we found them particularly good" (Calderón de la Barca 1845, entry dated 25 November 1841). Do italics (in the printed version at least) mean that the author is quoting a Spanish word rather than using an English one?

11. **closet**. "It was said of Socrates, that he brought philosophy down from heaven, to inhabit among men: and I shall be ambitious to have it said of me, that I have brought philosophy out of closets and libraries, schools and colleges, to dwell in clubs and assemblies, at tea-tables and in coffee-houses" (Joseph Addison, in *The Spectator*, 12 March 1711). That passage does not give us an antedating for the word *closet* or for the special sense of that word which was first used by English-speaking gays (as in *be in the closet* 'be covertly homosexual' and *come out of the closet* 'disclose one's homosexuality'), but a foreshadowing of that sense.

12. **cobbler** (the food). Philadelphia's *Daily Chronicle* of 22 May 1840 contains an advertizement placed by Richard Harbord for his Decatur Coffee House (located at 6 Decatur Street in that city), where we read of "Mint Juleps, Cobblers, Egg Noggs, &c, served in a superior style".

13. **concert saloon**. *The Whip*, 29 January 1842.

14. **coolly** 'calmly'. "The ladies who have collected ounces and made purses, send their friends and admirers to the tables to try their luck for them; and in some of the inferior houses, the Señoras of a lower class occasionally try their fortune for themselves. I saw one of these, who had probably lost, by no means 'taking it coolly'" (Calderón de la Barca 1843, entry dated 10 June 1841).

15. **Danish** 'Danish pastry'. "I heard this shortening for the first time in the cafeteria of the College of the City of New York in 1947, when I began teaching at the school" (Ralph de Gorog, letter to David L. Gold, 15 December 2000).

16. **do** 'engage in, engage in an activity having to do with'. "Maybe it all started with the Hollywood expression 'Let's do lunch'. But lately 'do' has become *the* verb at New York restaurants with diners who use it as a hip way to order. Patrick Van den Bergh, the service director at Union Pacific, often hears people saying they'll 'do' foods on the menu ('We'll do the prix fixe menu,' 'We'll do the salmon'). ¶ To some, 'do' sounds coarse or aggressive compared with 'I'd like' or 'I'll have'. 'It depends on who's using it,' said Nina

Griscom, a columnist for Food & Wine magazine. 'It can sound gross. Like a bull in a china store'. Ms. Griscom, who compared 'I'll do the salmon' with dress-down Fridays, says 'do' reflects a more casual attitude in restaurants. Stephen Beckta, sommelier and manager at Cafe Boulud, where 'do' is popular with the 20- and 30-something patrons, agreed. 'The traditional exchange between captain and customer is changing,' he said, 'because of the customer's more casual approach to dining. There's a lot of new wealth in New York, a lot of young people eating out and ordering the way they'd order in another kind of establishment'. Why is 'do' cool? Bert Vaux, a Harvard University linguist, said 'The "do x" construction is newer, hence less worn out, and seems to come from the young/surfer/California set (cf. Mountain Dew's grunge ad campaign slogan "Do the Dew")' (Schacter 2000). The usage goes back at least to 1863 and we have other early citations too:

1. "During our brief sojourn we 'did' its most interesting features--the cathedral, built of brick, and decorated within in the worst style--where we saw among other figures that of the Virgin habited in a short tarlatan dress, and looking like a ballet dancer; the promenade on the seawall, with its dismounted guns, overlooking the bay and islands; the innumerable bells of the churches, all cracked, and beaten with hammers instead of being run" (Merwin 1863:16).

2. "More than 110,000 people swarmed through subway gates that evening and saw the stations and platforms for themselves. New Yorkers were so excited by their discovery of the IRT that they coined a phrase to describe the experience: 'doing the subway'" (Hood 1993:95, the evening being that of 27 October 1904).

3. "Because of [...] many many meetings at which your girl friend endeavors to preside, she will be unable to do lunch tomorrow [...]" (Elizabeth Waugh in a letter to Edmund Wilson written shortly after December 1935, the girl friend being Waugh herself; quoted in Friedman 1999, ft. 32, p. 122).

Since French military slang of World War One had *faire Verdun* 'participate in the Battle of Verdun' (literally 'do Verdun'), it is possible that English military slang of that time had **do Verdun* 'idem'. Weber 2002 says that "three-quarters of the army the French fielded on the Western Front had 'done Verdun,'" but without further research we should not take that passage as necessarily being evidence for **do Verdun* in World-War-One English military slang because the reviewer may have merely been translating the French idiom here for the benefit of Frenchless readers. Is French "*faire* + machonym or polemonym" a productive construction?

17. **doodle** 'aimless drawing' (noun) and/or 'draw (s.th.) aimlessly' (verb). In *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town*, an American motion picture released in 1936, the word is used at least once (I forgot to note whether it was the noun or the verb) and from the fact that it is used nonchalantly we may infer that it was an established usage at the time, that is, one which the script-writer assumed at least American audiences would understand.

18. **elevated** (noun) 'elevated railroad'. Since Walter G. Marshall was a Britisher and the usage in question arose in the United States, he could not have coined it. Since our earliest evidence for the word is Marshall 1881, which is his account of his ninth-month stay in the United States (in late 1878 and early 1879), he must have picked it up during his stay (he used it when describing New York City). Consequently, the word must go back to those nine months, if not earlier. New York City sources of 1879 and earlier should be checked. The foregoing remarks apply to L too.

19. **fendilate**. Von Humboldt 1811, vol. I, book I, chap. III, p. 76.

20. **fierce** (slang) 'remarkable'; [hence] splendid'. "[...] the enclosed cutting from the *Family Herald* of 17 November, 1900, may provide a slight help towards a really good slang, cant, or dialect dictionary:--"It's fierce" is New York's latest slang phrase. If one wears a shirt that has plenty of colour, one's friends say "It's fierce"; if a young lady comes out with snowy shoulders and a diamond tiara, her admirers whisper, one to another, "Isn't she fierce?" If a horse shows up well on the track, the word passes along that "Whirlwind is fierce to-day". The golfer who succeeds in winning five out of six holes is "fierce"; and when the baby is brought out all dressed in its downiest coat and softest laces, its beautiful auntie holds up her hands and exclaims, "Oh, isn't the darling fierce!"'" (Herbert B. Clayton, in *Notes and Queries*, ninth series, vol. IX, 21 June 1902, p. 495).

21. **guava**. Narváez Santos 1960, which may have antedatings for other English words too, gives a citation dated 1553.

22. **French poodle**. "And now we prepared, before the sun went down, to leave our watery prison; and the captain's boat being manned, and having taken leave of the officers, we, that is, C---n, the commander, and I, and my French maid and her French poodle, got into it" (Calderón de la Barca 1843, entry dated 18 December 1839).

23. **heaven dust** 'cocaine' (an originally or solely Black usage?). "The use of 'coke' is probably much more widely spread among Negroes than among whites. 'Heaven dust' they call it [...]" (*The New York Times*, 2 August 1908).

24. **jaywalker**. The earliest known use of the word, which refers to someone who crosses the street carelessly or at an inappropriate, dangerous, or illegal place, is dated 1917. "There was no name for this crime until around 1915, when New York's police commissioner raised hackles by calling these scofflaws 'jaywalkers'--which meant country bumpkins, souls too dull-witted to figure out how to get to the other side" (Bovsun 2004). Too bad that Bovsun does not reveal her source. Two parts of her statement require correction. "Around 1915" should be made to refer to the person, not the crime, which was named after the person was. Contrary to her belief, *jaywalker* has no literal meaning, whether 'country bumpkin' or any other. Rather, either the first syllable of *jaywalker* comes from the English slangism *jay* 'stupid, gullible, or gawky person' (so that the country bumpkin is a jay, not a jaywalker) or the word was formed on the model of the pre-existing American English word *jayhawker*, which has several meanings. An examination of New York City newspapers predating the earliest known use of the word might result in an antedating.

25. **kibosh**. The earliest citation for *put the kibosh on [...]* in *Oxford English Dictionary* is from Charles Dickens's "Seven Dials" as published in his *Sketches of Life and Character* (now usually called *Sketches by Boz*), a collection which appeared on 7 February 1836. We can antedate that citation by a little over four months because "Seven Dials" first saw the light of day in *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle* of 27 September 1835, where Dickens (writing under the pen name of *Tibbs*) spelled the word either **?kyebosh* or **?kyebosh* (since *kye-* appears at the end of the fifty-ninth line of text of the first column of the first page and *bosh* at the beginning of the sixtieth line, the manuscript of the story has been lost, and the word does not appear anywhere else in the story, we cannot tell whether the hyphen is soft or hard or precisely when Dickens penned the manuscript). Gold ms. 3 will solve at least part of the etymological puzzle of that often discussed but always misetymologized word.³⁵

26. **kwashiorkor**. "In 1929 an English woman physician working among tribes in the Gold Coast of West Africa encountered a puzzling disease. It seemed to attack only young children, and it was usually fatal. Dr. Cicely Williams judged that the disease was due to malnutrition, and named the disease kwashiorkor, as the Ga tribe called it" (*Scientific American*, December 1954). The citation strongly suggests that she named it in 1929. Speakers of Ga do not call the phenomenon *kwashiorkor* and they do not consider it a disease. Rather, they call it *kwašio* (Williams being an /r/-dropper, she added *r* to indicate better the vowels in the last two syllables) and they consider it to be the influence which a child is under when his or her mother is pregnant with her next child.

27. **L** (noun) 'elevated railroad'. The remarks at **elevated** apply here too.

28. **macadamize**. "the M'Adamizing system" and "the M'Adamizing principle" (Bullock 1824:39 and 487 respectively).

29. **margarita**. English dictionaries say that *margarita*, the name of a certain kind of cocktail, is derived from the Spanish female given name *Margarita* 'Margaret' and offer no etiology. In 1964 someone in Mexico City whose name I have forgotten told me that a Mexican woman bearing that given name invented the drink in Lana Turner's house in Acapulco around 1949. In May 1995 the same story was told on a New York City television news program. This time, her family name was mentioned, but I missed it. Frank J. Priol writes that "The margarita appeared in the days after the repeal of Prohibition when everyone was creating new cocktails. One widely circulated creation myth credits a bartender who some versions say worked outside Los Angeles and others place near Tijuana. He reportedly concocted the drink for a starlet who could only drink tequila but didn't like its taste. Her name was Marjorie -- Margarita in Spanish" (Priol 2003:F6). Objectivity ("explanation") is preferable to subjectivity ("creation myth").

The earliest evidence for English *margarita* known to students of English is dated 1963. If Priol is right that "The margarita appeared in the days after the repeal of Prohibition," we should be able to antedate the word to shortly after 5 December 1933, the day of nationwide repeal.

How Spanish *margarita* 'margarita' fits into the picture is unclear:

1. Spanish female given name *Margarita* > Spanish *margarita* 'margarita' > English *margarita* 'margarita'?

2. Spanish female given name *Margarita* > English *margarita* 'margarita' > Spanish *margarita* 'margarita'?

30. **maternity wear**. Williams and Radlauer say that Lena Bryant (also known as Lane Bryant) began making dresses in her apartment on the Lower East Side of Manhattan in 1900 and "designed what is considered the first maternity wear" in the United States (2002:73). However, "Antiques Roadshow," an American television program, once showed a maternity-mourning dress made in the late 1840s or early 1850s (its overfullness in the abdominal area shows it to be a maternity dress and its black color shows it to be a mourning garment). Consequently, we have two leads to follow up in the quest for the earliest use of the term *maternity wear*: they may or may not lead to antedatings.

31. **memo** 'memorandum'. "This memo, in my own handwriting is to be taken as a codicil and can be easily proven by any of my friends" (John Allan, of Richmond, Virginia, 15 March 1833, Will Book 2, p. 457, in the Circuit Court of the City of Richmond, Virginia, Division 1).

32. **metate**. “It is then ground up, with much labour, between two flat stones, called by the Indians *a metate* [...]” (Robinson 1820:94, in an asterisked footnote). Since Robinson was speaking of early-nineteenth-century Mexico, the First Peoples of which did not know English, he had in mind some non-English language, namely Spanish, which has *metate*, whose plural is *metates*. However, since the first italicized word, *a*, can be only English, the entire italicized portion belongs to no language (the Spanish indefinite article is not **a*), so that we have either the compositor’s uncorrected misprint or a faithful reflection of a slip of the pen in the manuscript. The word is again italicized on page 279: “The operation was performed by the patriots in a very tedious manner, by means of *metates*”. Robinson probably considered *metate* and *metates* to be Spanish forms only. If so, his integrating them grammatically into the English text does not show that he considered them English words.

33. **Miss Nancyism**. See note 37 of the present article.

34. **mister** ‘male madam, male keeper of a brothel’. See **nellie** for a citation dated 1939.

35. **mock bird**. *The American Mock Bird: Containing a New Collection of the Most Favourite Songs Now in Vogue*, 1 ed., 1760, printed in New York for James Rivington and sold at his warehouse in Philadelphia (Widener Library, at Harvard University, has a microfilm).

36. **mofette**. The word, in the plural and capitalized (*Mofettes*), appears in von Humboldt 1811, vol. I, book II, chap. V, p. 126.

37. **Molotoff cocktail**. “One of the Russian tanks had been destroyed by only one direct hit from a 3in. gun. The tanks often get stuck on the road, as the petrol mixture used—the so-called Molotoff cocktail—seems to be unsuitable for these temperatures” (*The Times*, London, 27 January 1940, p. 6; the article begins “From Our Special Correspondent” “ON THE ARCTIC FRONT”). Here, *Molotoff cocktail* refers not to the Finns’ missile or to its contents but to the gasoline mixture used in the Soviet tanks. See note 32 of the present article.

38. **Negritude**. The word has two meanings and as many etymologies.

When meaning ‘an esthetic and ideological concept affirming the independent nature, quality, and validity of Black culture’, English *negritude* is an adaptation of French *négritude* ‘the sum total of cultural values of the Negro-African world’, which Léopold Sédar Senghor (1906–2001) coined and so defined (in French). In that sense, our earliest evidence for the English word is from 1950.

For English *negritude* ‘being Black’, we have an antedating from July 1863: “Eleven p.m. Fire bells clanking, as they have clanked at intervals throughout the evening. There have been sundry collisions between the rabble and the authorities, civil and military. Many details come in of yesterday’s brutal, cowardly ruffianism and plunder. Shops were cleared out and a black man hanged in Carmine Street, for no offence but that of Negritude” (diary entry of George Templeton Strong written at the time of the New York Draft Riots, 13–16 July 1863 [Strong 1952]).³⁶

How *negritude* ‘being Black’ arose is not clear. Did Strong coin it? Did he pick it up from someone else? Was a word in some other language the model for it? The first or second possibility is likelier than the third. If French has *négritude* ‘being Black’ predates July 1863, we would have to consider whether it was the model of the English word, vice versa, or each word was coined independently of the other one.

39. **nellie** 'effeminate; effeminate male'. Antedaters have till now taken this American English slang adjective and noun back to the 1940s. Asbury 1939 says that "Miss Carol of Baronne Street carried on a general procuring business in girls and women, and also had a profitable side-line--she found boys for the amusement of male degenerates. There was a great influx of these men into New Orleans about 1890, and Miss Carol is said to have been the financial backer of an assignation house which was opened for their convenience on Lafayette Street near Baronne. The mister of this establishment was a man who called himself Miss Big Nellie, and the permanent roomers included Lady Richard, Lady Beulah Toto, Lady Fresh, and Chicago Belle. Balls were frequently given at the house, to which both white and Negro men were invited" (p. 393, referring to New Orleans of the 1890s). Since the leading procuress in New Orleans in the 1880s and 1890s was probably "Nellie Haley of Customhouse Street, called the Queen of the Procuresses, who was arrested in Chicago in 1893 but acquitted" (p. 392), the etymology could well be: female personal name *Nellie* as borne by Nellie Haley > [*Miss Big*] *Nellie* (the nickname of a certain partly identified male in New Orleans) > common noun *nellie* 'effeminate; effeminate male'. Analogous developments would be these slangisms meaning 'effeminate male': English *Agnes*, *Annie*, *Betty*, *Daisy*, *Ethel*, *Gussie* (possibly limited to Australia, that word is derived from a pet form of *Augusta*), *Jessie*, *Lily*, *Margery*, *Mary Ann*, *Miss Molly* ~ *Molly* (optionally shortened to *moll*),³⁷ *Miss Nancy* ~ *Nancy*,³⁸ *Margery*, *Mary*, *Mary Ann*, *Nellie*, *Percy* ~ *Percy-boy* ~ *Percy-pants*; Pachuco Spanish *jaimito* (< *Jaimito*, a pet form of the Spanish male given name *Jaime* 'James'), *juaquinillo* (< *Joaquinillo*, a pet form of the Spanish male given name *Joaquín* 'Joachim'),³⁹ and *leandro* (< *Leandro*, a Spanish male given name).

Those names thus fall into these categories:

1. Female given name or female pet form taken or assigned as a nickname (optionally preceded by either *Miss* or *Miss and Big*).

2. Male given name or pet form (presumably first borne by certain effeminate men, who were thus the eponyms).

Maybe the obsolete English slangism *Cousin Betty* 'prostitute' should be included there too.

40. **paint the town red**. "And when I gets rowdy I paints de town red" (a line in the ditty "Der Nue Orleans Tuff," published in *Lantern* of 14 May 1887; quoted on page 359 of Asbury 1939). The text quoted is in Black English.

41. **pi** (the mathematical term). "Soon mathematicians expanded the little number even further. It reached 100 digits in 1706, the same year a British mathematician gave pi its Greek name" (Watson 2000:74). If we take the citation at face value, the mathematician was writing in Greek (which is possible but unlikely for an early-eighteenth-century English mathematician). Since, as noted in guideline 6 in section D, the laity often does not keep diachrony and synchrony apart when it comes to language (Watson presumably meant that the mathematician 'gave pi its English name by assigning it the English name of the Greek letter pi' or 'gave pi its Latin name by assigning it the Latin name of the Greek letter pi'), we do not know whether following up that lead will bring us to an antedating. Whereas we may be reasonably certain that the mathematician (who was it?) was not writing in Greek, we cannot tell a priori whether he was writing in English or in Latin. If in English, we have an antedating. Presumably, one or more of Watson's sources (Beckmann 1971, Berggren et al. 1997, Blatner 1997, Hobson 1953, and Preston 1992), which I have not seen, can help us.

42. **place** 'male worshiper's own space in a synagog, varying in size and in prestige [in

Ashkenazic synagogues, prestige is measured by closeness to the eastern wall and to the Holy Ark], either (1) bought and inheritable or (2) rented for an annual fee, payable before the Jewish New Year, and inheritable' (probably obsolete Ashkenazic English). "I am now obliged to resign the two places in Shoole Bought by my late husband--deceased--as I can't afford paying more than forty shillings per year for my son" (Fanny Lazarus, of New York City, in a letter dated 16 December 1798 to an officer of Shearith Israel - The Spanish and Portuguese Congregation, in the same city, quoted in de Sola Pool 1952:315; the original of the letter was in Shearith Israel's archives in the early 1950s and is probably still there).

The Yiddish equivalent of *place* in that sense is *shtot*, which Alexander Harkavy, in his *Yiddish-English-Hebrew Dictionary* (1925¹, 1928²), translates as 'pew' and 'makom perati (lehamitpalelim bevet hakeneset)'. Following Harkavy, Uriel Weinreich, in his *Modern English-Yiddish Yiddish English Dictionary* (1968), translates *shtot* as 'pew'. 'Pew' comes close but since a pew is a structure whereas what is known in Yiddish as a *shtot* is just a space for one or more seats (and there are other differences), we have here cultural equivalents (which should be separated by an equals sign) rather than perfect translation equivalents. Harkavy's Hebrew gloss, which translates as 'private place (for worshipers in a synagog)' is better, but still not enlightening because 'private place' might suggest a private room.⁴⁰

For another Ashkenazic American English antedating see *shul* and for some Ashkenazic British English antedatings see Gold 1986.

43. **rock 'n' roll**. The earliest citation for *rock 'n' roll* in *Oxford English Dictionary* is dated 1934, but maybe the following passages will prompt someone to look for an antedating:

1. "As applied to a type of popular music, [*rock 'n' roll*] was first popularized by Alan Freed, an American disc jockey (1922-65). He is generally credited with first discovering and promoting the music. He acted as an impresario for rock 'n' roll performers in concerts and on radio and TV programmes. In 1951, for example, he was hosting *Moondog's Rock 'n' Roll Party* on a radio station in Cleveland. It was not until he moved to New York City in 1954, however, that the term 'took off'. ¶ But he did not invent the term 'rock 'n' roll'. The combination of 'rock' and 'roll' (attractive because of the alliteration) had been used in the title of a 1934 song, *Rock and Roll*. I have also been told that it was originally a piece of Black slang for the sexual act. As 'jazz' meant the same thing, it is interesting that the twentieth century's two most significant inventions in popular music both derive from the same black sexual source" (Rees 1987:177).

2. "Who coined the phrase 'rock 'n' roll'? Back around the mid '30s, when big bands were the thing, Chick Webb and his band, featuring Ella Fitzgerald as the vocalist, recorded a song called 'Rock It for Me'. One line in the lyrics went this way: 'You can satisfy my soul with the rock 'n' roll'. That song was quite popular in our neighborhood. I believe this record pre-dates Alan Freed by quite a few years, so let's give credit where credit is due" (Hayes 1999).

3. "In 1950 and 1951, the blues artist Cecil Gant (a k a Private Gant, the G.I. sensation) came out with two songs that brought *roll* onto the music scene. 'We're Gonna Rock' was a remake of a lesser-known 1947 song by Wild Bill Moore, which repeated the words 'We're gonna rock, we're gonna *roll*' for most of the song. The second was 'Rock Little Baby' (the title bottoms on 'rockabye your baby'), which included the line 'Rock little daddy, send me with a rock and a *roll*'. By June 1951, the disc jockey Alan Freed promoted the revolution in popular music that became known as *rock 'n' roll*. The phrase 'Let's *rock and roll*' was an excited call to dance to that music. Later--and this is the etymological conjecture of a confirmed fox-trotter--with the *rock* clipped out, the phrase became a more general exhortation to nonmusical movement or action" (Safire 2001).

The foregoing notwithstanding, in 2002, Mark A. Stein, a reporter for “the newspaper of record” (see guideline 13 in section D), claimed that “Allen Freed, a Cleveland radio disc jockey, coined the term ‘rock ‘n’ roll’ in 1952. That same year, the first rock ‘n’ roll concert, the Moondog Coronation Ball, was held in Cleveland” (Stein 2002).

The supposition is thus that at least before 1934 Black American English had **rock ‘n’ roll* ‘sexual intercourse’. Can anyone attest the expression? Since post-1934 attestations might be based on the song, they would not help us etymologically.

44. **rose cold**. “Every Spring she seems to lose her strength & appetite & with the fresh breath of spring Flowers every spring she suffers from ‘Rose cold,’ which is in its effects a severe influenza lasting from six to eight weeks” (Catherine Gansevoort in a letter to Maria Melville written in early November 1869, quoted in Leyda 1951, vol. two, pp. 705-706).

45. **rush** (verb) ‘recruit for a fraternity or a sorority’. “How comes on Tom [?] Clark, I had not the pleasure of bidding him farewell, tell him to be a good boy and not upon any consideration to quaff the intoxicating fluid to excess more than twice a week, or I will say twice for each time that he get decently rushed under old/Old [?] Johnny -- Remember me kindly to Sam [?] and Kenneth” (T. Haughton in an unpublished letter dated 18 November 1845, quoted as far as decipherable in Gold in press 4; question marks indicate the places where I am unable to read the manuscript with full certainty; a slash separates alternate readings, one of which must be right).

46. **serape**. “The elegant costume of the more wealthy cavaliers of the city of Mexico I have already alluded to, and do not now speak of. [...]. ¶ The serape, however, is the great curse of the Mexicans, the bane of industry, and the conserver as well as propagator of infectious diseases; it is made like an oblong blanket, with a slit in the centre to put the head through; and is among the mass of the people almost invariably of a sombre dark colour. ¶ This cloak is usually worn wrapped around the body, hanging down behind as far as the joints of the knees, with one end thrown over the left shoulder, so as to cover the mouth and nose. It is in fact the Roman toga, which sounds so well in reading, and gives such graceful ideas of drapery, and the Lord knows what; but which, in sober truth, was just another wretched substitute for every comfort and convenience as the Mexican serape. ¶ When the sun shines hot, the inhabitants cover themselves up to the eyes to keep out its rays; when the chilly mornings and evenings make the cold more piercing from the intense heat of the day, the serape is again made use of, to keep its owner warm; but in either case, so long as this cloak is not thrown off, no kind of work or exertion can be undertaken. ¶ As they are never cleaned, and are frequently handed down from father to son for several generations, their filthy state does not require any very minute inspection to be made apparent; and as they serve for bedclothes at night as well as covering during the day, there is always a most unpleasant effluvia hanging about them. To inherit one of these woollen articles from a man who died of a fever; to continue for a short time by a sick bed when shrouded in one of them; to carry a corpse to the grave, exposed as the dead are on a couch; are almost certain sources of contagion. It is well known, that the Turks keep alive the germ of the plague, by the rich and magnificent dresses which become the heir-loom of a family; and I have myself no doubt, but that the celebrated Pandora’s box, which afflicted humanity with so many evils, was merely a legacy of the ‘well-saved’ garments of a venerated ancestor” (Beaufoy 1828:236-238).

Four passages in Hardy 1829 contain the word:

1. “I therefore wrapped myself up in my serape (blanket) and slept so soundly, that the sun was high the next morning before I awoke” (diary entry dated 5 December 1825, p.

26).

2. “[...] he suddenly threw open his manta or serape” (diary entry dated 22 February 1826, referring to Vicente Gómez, a Mexican politician, p. 125).

3. “[...] I wrapped round my stomach a woollen serape (a sort of blanket,) according to the custom in this country, to break the force of stone-pointed arrows [...]” (diary entry dated 6 April 1826, p. 189).

4. “The rain continued pouring all night. During the day, I had the opportunity of trying the water-proof qualities of my woollen serape, and although it sheltered me for a few hours, there was such an increase of weight, in consequence of the amazing quantity of water absorbed by it, that even an exposure to rain was infinitely preferable to an aching back and shoulders” (diary entry of the same date, p. 209).

“[...] the servants crowded into it for the night, with a saddle and a Sērāpě* each for a bed” (Ward 1828, vol. I, p. 410). The asterisked footnote reads: “The Serape is the woollen blanket (of home manufacture) worn by the lower orders as a ‘manga’ for riding”.

47. **shul** ‘synagog’ (Ashkenazic English). See **place** for an antedating with the English-based, now obsolete spelling “Shoole”. That Ashkenazic English word, which no dictionary etymologizes correctly, comes from Yiddish *shul* ‘synagog’ in its Western Yiddish pronunciation, /ʃu:l/. The spelling “Shoole” thus contains *sh* as in English *shoot* (capitalized because the writer was referring to the synagogue in question antonomastically), *oo* as in English *pool*, *l* as in English *pool*, and silent *e* as in English *rule*.

48. **software**. According to dictionaries, the earliest known use of the word is dated 1960. If we had confirmation of the following assertion, the year could be moved back: “It was not until 1958 that the first published mention of ‘software’ as a computing term appeared” (Lohr 2004).

49. **stage whisper**. “Don Miguel, with his head out of the window, and not very easy in his mind, called up the two bundles and gave them directions as to their line of conduct in a *stage* whisper, and they trotted off, primed with valour, while we very cold (and I answer for myself) rather frightened, proceeded on our way” (Calderón de la Barca 1843, entry dated 24 December 1839). Italicization of *stage* is presumably meant to emphasize the fact that although Don Miguel was not on stage he spoke in a stage whisper.

50. **stuped**. “a new stuped awning” (in a document dated 18 November 1900 quoted in Gilfoyle 1992:175). Probably a misspelling of *stooped* ‘slanted’.

51. **sundae**. Our earliest attestation for this word is dated 1897, but we read in *ANS Bulletin*, published by the American Name Society, that “Ice cream sundaes were invented 100 years ago in Evanston, Ill., when selling soda was banned on Sundays” (no. 31, June 1973, p. 16), the source of the bulletin’s information being *Springfield Republican* of 18 March 1973, a newspaper published in Springfield, Massachusetts. Was the newspaper right? What was its evidence? We probably have here a string of secondary sources one copying from the other uncritically.⁴¹

52. **tea bag**. Antedaters have taken *tea bag* back to 1930. From the following passage in Williams and Radlauer 2002, which presumably refers to the late nineteenth century, we assume that earlier evidence may be discoverable: “A fleet of 500 horse-drawn wagons delivered purchases throughout the city. The merchandise ranged from ladies’ and men’s apparel, home furnishings, foodstuffs—one employee is credited with inventing the teabag—to the latest craze, bicycles, which could be test ridden on the store’s own track. By the turn

of the century, Macy's had outgrown its premises and become a pioneer in the wilds of Herald Square" (p. 72).

53. theatricals 'amateur performances'. For *theatricals* 'stage properties', the first edition of *Oxford English Dictionary*, where the word is so defined, gives one citation, from an 1855 letter by Dickens: "I have some theatricals at home" (vol. 1, p. 397, of the 1880 edition of his letters). Looking at more of the letter ("I shan't be able to come tomorrow, for I have some theatricals at home"), we realize that since only an event, not stage properties (or anything similar, like stage costumes), could have prevented Dickens from coming, that dictionary has misinterpreted the word, which in the letter is used to mean 'amateur performances'.

Seeking an evaluation of my reading of the letter, I wrote Graham Storey (General Editor of the Pilgrim Edition of Dickens's letters published by Oxford University Press under the auspices of the Pilgrim Trust), who responded on 14 July 1981 as follows: "I have looked at the letter of 1855 and it is clear that CD is using the word (as I think he always does) in its first *OED* meaning of 'performances, especially amateur'. Other letters make it quite clear that he is referring to private performances of a play. I am virtually certain that he never uses the word to mean either 'stage properties' or 'actors' costumes'".

The word as Dickens used it is thus semantically analogous and formally identical to *operatics* 'opera performances', as in "Won't you come see our amateur operatics?", both of them being reductions: *theatrical performances* or *theatrical productions* --> *theatricals*; *operatic performances* or *operatic productions* --> *operatics*.⁴²

A *Supplement to the Oxford English Dictionary* adds *theatricals* 'amateur theatricals' and provides citations dated 1873, 1892, and 1965, but erroneously gives the passage from the 1855 letter as evidence for 'stage properties'. Because the second edition of *Oxford English Dictionary* is merely a fusion of the first edition and that supplement, it repeats the mistake.

Since Dickens's letter of 1855 is the earliest evidence we have for *theatricals* meaning 'amateur theatricals', it constitutes an antedating by eighteen years.

54. the crowded hours 'the rush hour'. Marshall 1882 uses the expression in reference to New York City.

55. the state of the art. "After showing the incompetency of our criticism, as at present managed, to present a true picture of American Poetry, our Lecturer turned to an inspection of the works themselves of our poets--and especially to the several 'collections' of American poetry which have successively appeared as *representing* the state of the art in our country" (Academicus, of Newark, Delaware, in a letter to the editor, *Delaware State Journal*, Wilmington, 2 January 1844, describing Edgar Allan Poe's lecture on American poetry at Newark Academy on 23 December 1843; Academicus's real name has not been determined, though we may say at least that he was probably a male (Latin *academicus* is masculine) -- unless a woman was using a pseudonym that made her appear to be a male -- and a presumably teacher or administrator at that academy; whether Poe used the expression is not known either). The citation probably gives us a foreshadowing of *the state of the art* in its current meaning rather than an antedating thereof.

56. ticket speculator 'ticket scalper' is found in Hatton 1884:124, referring to New York City of 1883. Should we consider the term a foreshadowing of the current American term, *ticket scalper* (for short: *scalper*)?

57. wave of heat. According to the second edition of *Oxford English Dictionary*, the

earliest known use of *heat wave* is on page 35 of issue cxxvi of *North American Review*, published in 1878. That dictionary not giving any preciser date for the issue and I being unable to check the issue, we cannot yet tell whether *wave of heat* in the entry dated 8 July 1878 in H.M. Levick's manuscript diary once in the possession of Carmen D. Valentino, Rare Books & Manuscripts (Philadelphia) is younger or older, though even if we knew the precise date of the issue, the relevant manuscript was penned before the issue appeared, so that dates of published materials are not comparable to those of dated handwritten ones, like the diary, though even the latter must be used with caution when trying to antedate or postdate because of the possibility, remote in most cases, of entries actually penned before or after the dates they indicate.

In any case, since English has a tendency toward attributive nouns (Byington 1928), *wave of heat* is probably older than *heat wave*, whatever our earliest citation for each of the forms may be.

The relationships between French *vague de chaleur* 'heat wave', German *Hitzewelle* 'heat wave', and the two English variants are unclear. Presumably, convergence may be ruled out.

58. **weepers** (plural noun). "Broadway is clad in 'weepers' from Wall Street to Union Square" (diary entry of George Templeton Strong dated 15 April 1865 [Strong 1952]; double quotation marks in the published version). Sense 3 of *weeper* in *Oxford English Dictionary* is 'A conventional badge of mourning. Usually pl', with four subsenses:

3.a. 'A strip of white linen or muslin formerly worn on the cuff of a man's sleeve'. Cf. F. *pleureuse* (with citations for 1724 and 1892).

3.b. 'A broad white cuff worn by widows' (1755 and 1889).

3.c. 'A long black hat-band formerly worn by men' (1832 and 1898).

3.d. 'The long black crepe veil of a widow' (1860 and 1872).

If Strong was using *Broadway* figuratively here ('people on Broadway'), that instance of *weepers* is not semantically innovative and we do not know whether we have an antedating or a postdating (the citation would give us an antedating if he intended sense 3.b and a postdating if he intended 3.a). If he intended the literal sense of *Broadway*, he saw buildings and lampposts on Broadway clad in black as a sign of mourning, he was using *weepers* in a hitherto unrecorded sense ('black bunting or crepe used as a sign of mourning'), and our earliest (and sole?) evidence for that sense is the passage in question. Double quotation marks are not necessarily a sign of a new usage (hence they are no evidence that the second possibility is the right one), for they can also signal a temporary shift of register (here, to an informal one). See the discussion of quotation marks in guideline 6 in section D.

59. **yarrel** 'condom' (obsolete New York City slang). In District Attorney's Indictment Papers, Court of General Sessions [now in the New York City Municipal Archives and Records Center], *People versus Sieckel*, 6 June 1872. Has this word been used outside New York City too? The only possible etymon which comes to mind is the American Christian family name *Yarrell* (the paid death notice for Charles Bascom in *The New York Times* of 17 June 2004, p. C13, mentions that he and Sylvia Yarrell, of Brooklyn, New York, were married in 1965; in 2004 people bearing that family name were living at least in these counties of New York State: Bronx, Kings, Queens, and Westchester). If so, a person named *Yarrell*, probably a male, was presumably a pre-1872 manufacturer of condoms, possibly in New York City.

60. **yucca**. Narváez Santos 1960 gives a citation dated 1555, where the word is spelled *iucca*. Several English dictionaries say that the immediate source of Spanish *yuca* (>

earlier English *iucca* > current English *yucca*) is unknown or not fully clear. According to Alvar 1970, the Spanish word is from Taino as used on Hispaniola (p. 104, with references). Students of English etymology would do well to read the book.

61. **zinfandel**. "Black Zinfandel, of Hungary" (in the catalog of the Prince Nursery issued in 1830; the nursery was in Flushing, New York; the text indeed has *r*, not a second *n*). See Gold in press 6.

Notes

1. Ladislav Zgusta, who has assembled a large bibliography of writings on lexicography in general and English lexicography in particular, told me on 20 August 2003 that he had found no article on guidelines or problems of English antedating. For French, the literature is ampler. See Quemada 1959-1965, especially vol. 1, pp. 3-7, and the references therein, to which may now be added de Gorog 1981, 1984, and 1985. For Spanish, see de Gorog 1967, de Gorog 1977, de Gorog 1979, de Gorog 1986, and some of the references therein. Ralph de Gorog is harsh on Juan Corominas (Joan Coromines) when he writes that "[his] dates are often inaccurate" (1986:255). Since an inaccurate date of first known use would be one claimed to be earlier than the actual date of first known use (say, if the earliest known evidence for an item was dated 1800 and Corominas claimed that it was dated 1799), whereas Corominas's dates which de Gorog had in mind are later than those of first known use, the charge of inaccuracy is unjustified. Earlier, de Gorog had been fairer: "the provisional status of the first dates given continues to be a feature which invites further research" (1977:230).

2. Other strong evidence, besides the chronological argument, militates against the misetymologies of *bistro* ~ *bistrot*, *copacetic*, and *davnen* ~ *davenen* in question. For details see the articles cited.

3. The mistaken etymology resulted when someone noticed that *groundhog* also means 'aardvark [*Orycteropus afer*]' and that the Afrikaans for 'aardvark' [*Orycteropus afer*] translates literally as 'ground hog'. However, English *groundhog* 'aardvark [*Orycteropus afer*]' is a literal translation of Afrikaans *erdvark* 'aardvark [*Orycteropus afer*]' and/or South African Dutch *aardvark* 'aardvark [*Orycteropus afer*]' whereas English *groundhog* 'woodchuck [*Marmota monax*]' is a literal translation of New Netherland Dutch *eerdvark* 'woodchuck [*Marmota monax*]'.

Marmota monax is called *groundhog* at least in the English of Pennsylvania and New York City, *woodchuck* at least in the English of New England, and *whistle pig* in varieties of English I have been unable to specify. In New England, *woodchuck* is also slang for 'native-born resident of the backwoods' and as such the word may be applied with no fear of causing offense only to people one knows well.

"According to popular legend in the United States, the groundhog emerges from hibernation each year on February 2, designated as Groundhog Day, and the duration of winter may be foretold from that day's conditions: the presence of the groundhog's shadow warns of continued cold weather, while its absence signals an early spring" (*The New Encyclopædia Britannica*, 15 ed., 1991 printing, vol. 12, p. 741). That folk belief is of European origin, as we see from the existence of a Scottish couplet that goes "If Candlemas Day is bright and clear, there'll be two winters in the year" (Candlemas Day being 2 February) and from the existence of a folk belief in German-speaking areas of Europe that an animal's seeing its shadow on that day portends more cold weather.

The Random House Dictionary of the English Language: Second Edition: Unabridged (1987) makes multiple mistakes in its derivation of English *aardvark*: "< Afrik *erdvark* < D *aardvarken*, equiv. to *aarde* earth + *varken* pig". Actually, the English word comes from South African Dutch *aardvark*; the Afrikaans word comes from the South African Dutch one; the European Dutch word, which that dictionary calls the "Dutch" word, comes from the South African Dutch one; and the South African Dutch word was formed in South African Dutch from South African Dutch *aard* and South African Dutch *vark*. Consequently, the etymology should read: originally South African

English *aardvark* < South African Dutch *aardvark* (> European Dutch *aardvarken* and Afrikaans *erdvark*) = South African Dutch *aard* (< European Dutch *aarde*) + South African Dutch *vark* (< European Dutch *varken*).

The first edition of *The Random House Dictionary of the English Language* (1966) gives this etymology for English *aardvark*: “obs. SAfD *aardvark* (replaced by *erdvark*), equiv. to *aarde* earth + *vark* pig,” which, aside from “obs”. and “replaced by *erdvark*” is right (South African Dutch may no longer be used, but *aardvark* continues to be the South African Dutch name of the aardvark, so that “obsolete” is wrong; and “replaced by *ervark*” should be “> Afrikaans *erdvark*”).

In general, be wary of the etymologies in dictionaries, including etymological dictionaries, and do not think that changes from one edition to the next are necessarily for the better.

4. Minor comments on the passages quoted: The Spanish name of Basel is not “Bâle” (which is the city’s French name) but *Basilea*. Amerigo Vespuccio’s Spanish name was *Américo Vesputio*, not the forms that Palma used. Avoid the tautologies “verbigracia [...] etcétera” and “tales como [...] etcétera”. Read “Waldseemüller” instead of “Waldseemuller” and ‘Amerigo Vespucci’s Four Voyages’ instead of ‘Four American Voyages’.

5. It is thus hard to disagree with someone who tells me that the appearance of an item in the index of a book or on an added title page could not count as an antedating if the item does not also occur at least once in the text “proper” of the publication. It should not make any difference where the item occurs. A dated latrine graffito (say, one that appeared in a photograph in a dated newspaper, which would give us a terminus ante quem) is no less worthy of attention than the appearance of a lofty word in a dated first-rate work of literature.

6. Written evidence for the second usage turned up recently: “And Spike TV, formerly TNN, has ‘The Joe Schmo Show’. It is a full-blown satire of reality shows that centers on one unsuspecting contestant in a faux reality series. The contestant obviously performs gag challenges (‘Keep One Hand on the High-Priced Hooker’) with a cast of comic improvisational actors who try to keep him from discovering the joke” (Carter 2003:C1).

Written and recorded oral evidence for the third usage turned up too: “de-accessioning those books” (Shulevitz 2002).

“Newspapers were de-accessioned by libraries” (Selby Kiffer, an American who works in Manhattan, New York, speaking on “Antiques Roadshow: New Orleans: Part 3,” which was broadcast on WJNJ-TV [Montclair, New Jersey] on 22 July 2003).

7. Curiously, the two main gatherers of English citations – the staff of Oxford English Dictionary and that of Merriam-Webster – have all these years overlooked Pilkington’s findings. Granted that her essay is not well known, but Weekley 1930 is familiar to students of English, it is easily accessible, and it should therefore have led those gatherers to the essay. Not surprisingly, *Webster’s Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary*, published in 1983, still shows 1664 as the date of the earliest known use of *redhead*.

‘Non-literary archives frequently show a word or sense in currency a hundred years, sometimes three hundred years, before *NED*’s first citation” (Hulme 1958:383, ft. 6).

8. What follows is an expansion of Gold 2005b.

9. From the journal entry dated 12 May 1790 in Maclay 1927:254 we do know that some kind of pagan-origin celebration was customary in New York City on the first of May at least around 1790: “This day exhibited a grotesque scene in the streets of New York. Being the old 1st of May, the Sons of St. Tammany had a grand parade through the town in Indian dresses”. The words “the old 1st of May” refer to 1 May on the Julian calendar, which in 1790 corresponded to 12 May on the Gregorian one. Thus, when the Gregorian calendar replaced the Julian one in the Thirteen Colonies (in 1752), at least the May Day celebration in New York City was transferred to 12 May. Contrast note 11 of the present article. Apparently, when the parade was held on 1 May, it was not large enough to disturb Moving Day.

10. We could hardly imagine the only other possibilities: (1) the custom arose in New Netherland and was from there taken to Dutch-speaking Europe, where the date was changed from 1 May to 30 April; (2) the custom arose independently in Dutch-speaking Europe and in New Netherland.

11. Page 245. Maclay was in New York City at the time and his wording (“in New York,” which means ‘in New York City’) makes clear that he did not know the custom from any other

place.

Thus, whereas May Day in New York City was moved to 12 May when the Gregorian replaced the Julian calendar (see note 9 of the present article), Moving Day was still held on 1 May.

12. Unfortunately, I have mislaid the bibliographical reference for the 1848 evidence for New York City. It may be an entry (headed *Moving Day*?) in Bartlett 1848, to which I no longer have access.

13. The first May Day parade organized by socialists in New York City was held on 1 May 1886.

14. Morris 1951:291-292. Although *The Daughter of the Storage* is fiction, Morris was right to assume that Howells ("always a faithful observer of New York life") had given the actual new date. Still, it would be good to have prima-facie evidence from nonfictional sources for it.

15. *Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language: Second Edition: Unabridged*, first published in 1934, has an entry for *moving day* (defined there as 'A day when one's residential, office, or store effects are transported to another location'), but since lower case is used, reference is not to a recurring date on the calendar.

16. In Déguignet 2004:33 we read that Michaelmas Day (29 September) is (?) or was (?) the "traditional date for new farm leases" (in Lower Brittany? in all of Brittany? in all of France?). On page 335, Déguignet (19 July 1834 - 29 August 1905), referring at least to Lower Brittany, says that Michaelmas Day is 'the season when tenant farmers pull together their every sou to send to the landowner'.

In England and Ireland, Michaelmas Day is one of the four days of the year on which quarterly rents are due and quarterly interest is paid, the other three being Lady Day (25 March), Midsummer Day (24 June), and Christmas Day (25 December). In Scotland, the four days are Candlemas Day (2 February), Whitsunday (15 May), Lammas Day (1 August), and Martinmas Day (11 November).

17. Confusion of synchrony and diachrony may result in representation of diachronic facts as if they were synchronic ones, as in this sentence: "[Joel Siegel's *Lessons for Dylan*] leaves a legacy of playfulness. Its Yiddish glossary defines words like *meeskeit* ('Ugly. Not a sight for sore eyes, a sight that will make your eyes sore') [...]" (Maslin 2002). Siegel actually uses certain Ashkenazic English words of Yiddish origin, like *mieskeyt* ~ *miskeyt* (sic recte). For more examples, see **pi** in section H and **floripondio** in note 34 of the present article. Relevant too are guidelines 7 and 8.

18. Certain short forms arise in writing earlier than in speech, their existence in writing subsequently prompting their emergence in speech, like informal American English *av* 'avenue', which came about as a pronunciation of the written form *Av*. 'Avenue'. However, since the abbreviation *mag*. 'magazine' has never been an established usage (in contrast, *Av*. 'Avenue' is), *mag* 'magazine' does not derive from that abbreviation (which is presumably Poe's nonce or, at most, a sporadicism in hasty writing). Rather, *mag* is a clipping of the spoken form of *magazine*.

19. According to an Associated Press dispatch dated 26 April 1970 that is cited in *ANS Bulletin*, no. 19, September 1970, p. 18, *Ms* is pronounced identically to *miss*. I am unaware of that pronunciation and know only [ml:z].

Karl M.D. Rosen writes in *ANS Bulletin*, no. 22, June 1971: "It seems to me that the abbreviation *Ms*. can be read handily by anyone who knows the woman's marital status, Miss if single, Miz if married" (p. 6). That's not a good suggestion because it defeats the purpose of *Ms*, which is to be a title of respect accompanying a woman's family name that does not refer to her marital status.

20. Scores of times over the years, Safire, naively assuming that everything about first uses is ascertainable and has been ascertained, has made the mistake of thinking that the first known use of a linguistic item is necessarily its first use. For example, "*Finagler* first appeared in the United States in 1922" (Safire 2002), a statement which should be recast in one of these ways:

1. "In the United States, *finagler* was first used, so far as we know, in 1922".
2. "The earliest known use of *finagler* in the United States was in 1922".
3. "The earliest evidence we have so far for American use of *finagler* is dated 1922".
4. "No later than 1922, *finagler* was being used in the United States".

Gold in press 1 gives more examples of Safire's mistake, which others have made too

Or, many people mistakenly think that because the earliest known use of certain items is in

Shakespeare's works, he coined them (see Sacharoff 1972:90 for an example), when in fact all we can say with certainty is that Shakespeare is the first known user of the items in question and, since he was in certain respects innovative, he probably coined a certain number of them, it being statistically unlikely, however, that he minted all of them. Slowly, that misconception about Shakespeare is disappearing: "Until just recently, there had been no doubt that Shakespeare holds the all-time record for bringing new words into the English language. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the authority on such matters, Shakespeare's use is the earliest evidence for more than a thousand words that we use today. but there is growing evidence that Shakespeare was not the inventor of quite so many words, just the popularizer of them. The editors of the *Oxford English Dictionary* are discovering this new evidence as they revise that work for the twenty-first century. They are scrutinizing many lesser known texts of Shakespeare's time, texts that were passed over in making the first edition of the dictionary. In this process, time and again they have found other authors using words before Shakespeare did" (Metcalf 2002:60-61). Beware of anyone using the word "authority" or "authoritative" and beware too of the "authorities".

See entry 5 and the second paragraph of note 42 of the present article.

21. Of the sixty-five citations gathered, forty-one turned out to provide definite antedatings (*Alaska*, *amount*, *Astorian*, *baseball*, *Black English*, *burro*, *cobbler*, *concert saloon*, *coolly*, *do*, *doodle*, *fendilate*, *fierce*, *guava*, *French poodle*, *heaven dust*, *kibosh*, *macademize*, *memo*, *Miss Nancyism*, *mister*, *mock bird*, *mofette*, *Molotov cocktail*, *Negritude*, *paint the town red*, *place*, *rose cold*, *rush*, *serape*, *shul*, *stage whisper*, *stuped*, *ticket speculator*, *the crowded hours*, *the state of the art*, *wave of heat*, *yarrel*, *yucca*, and *zinfandel*); two, possible antedatings (*arroyo* and *weepers*); one, a doubtful antedating (*metate*); one, a foreshadowing (*closet*); and six, leads to follow up (*blizzard*, *elevated*, *L*, *nellie*, *pi*, and *rock 'n' roll*), that being a good return on a small investment especially since all but two of the finds were serendipitous (see the first paragraph of note 33 of the present article for those that were not). From the eighteenth century come five of the definite antedatings (*Black English*, 1734; *baseball*, 1744 and 1748; *mock bird*, 1760, *place*, 1798, and *shul*, 1798), the foreshadowing (*closet*, 1711), and one of the lead to follow up (*pi*, 1706), the rest of the material dating to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Imagine how much more we could get from systematic reading. A second set of citations is gathering.

22. Of the three etymologies offered for *blimp*, only the first one sounds convincing, but I do not know which of its three variants is the right one:

1. a fusion of *B* and *Limp* as they occur in:

A. *Airship*, *Type B*, *Limp*

B. *Type B*, *Limp*

C. *Class B*, *Limp*.

2. an echoic word:

A. echoic of the sound made when one snaps one's fingers against the side of a blimp.

B. echoic of the sound made when one strikes one's thumb against the gas bag of a blimp.

23. The celerity with which new Dutch medical inventions or techniques became known in British medical circles during the first decade of the twentieth century (a time of international medical congresses, circulation of medical journals between different countries, and epistolary and face-to-face contacts between leading practitioners) precludes, especially in two countries as geographically close to each other as the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, our assuming any year later than 1904 for the coining of the English word.

24. *Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary*, published in 1983, gives "c. 1875" as the date of the earliest known use of the English word. Is that not a misprint of "c. 1895"?

25. Pei may have found an antedating, but since his dating is not precise, we cannot tell: "One curious historical note about the term television itself is that it seems to have made its first appearance in 1907, in a magazine entitled *The World Today*, where it is defined as 'photographing through a telegraph wire,' obviously the process by which distant news photos are received today" (1967:235-236). So far, our earliest evidence for English *television* is from a different periodical, dated 15 June 1907. If the issue of *The World Today* bears an earlier date, Pei found an antedating.

26. Giving us another of the many examples of how much easier it is to prove a positive than a negative, Rufino José Cuervo wrote that "Por lo que hace al vocabulario, más fácil es computar sus aumentos que sus pérdidas" (Cuervo 1919), that is, 'documenting the addition of lexical items

is easier than documenting their loss'. Thus, although we know that English has *icebox* 'refrigerator', it is not easy to say when the word went out of use, if we can say so at all. Had we not the following evidence, it would have been hard to imagine that anyone, except in conscious imitation of earlier usage, was using the word in the United States as late as 2001: Moe Greengrass, who was born in Manhattan on 11 January 1917 and died there on 1 January 2002, "never stopped calling the restaurant's refrigerator an icebox [...]" (Martin 2002).

When usages that dictionaries label obsolete or archaic are still used, do we suppose the dictionaries to be wrong or the usages to have been revived? Two examples are French *submersible* 'sea-going submarine' (labeled archaic in Mansion et al. 1967 but used, one time, on *Le Journal*, a news program broadcast on Télé 5, Paris, on 23 April 2004) and *à l'aveugle* 'blindly' (labeled by that dictionary archaic in the collocation *aller à l'aveugle* 'grope one's way' [the only use which it shows for that prepositional phrase even though it is not limited to it] but which was used on the same news program a few weeks or months earlier).

27. In his journal, William Maclay wrote "While the minutes were reading, I stepped to Elsworth and asked if he would not join me in an attempt to regain the clause we had lost on Saturday" (entry of 13 July 1789) and "The pay list is making out, which seems likely to finish the business" (entry of 28 September 1789) (Maclay 1927: 104 and 164 respectively). In chapter I of his *Walks in the North* (first published in *Plymouth and Devonport Weekly Journal* of 1 October 1840), Charles A. Brown wrote "though, as she said, she was in a 'squeer, as all her house was whitewashing'" (Keats 1958, vol. one, p. 424).

28. Shulman was born on 12 November 1912 "and grew up on the Lower East Side speaking Yiddish, according to an interview in *The Jerusalem Report* in 1999" (Martin 2004), but by the time I made his acquaintance (around 1968) his Yiddish had long been reduced to a handful of single words (by then he could not hold even a simple conversation in the language), he in fact being monolingual in English. Either English monolingualism or lack of training in linguistics -- all the more so, both -- is enough to preclude anyone's being able to etymologize "thousands" of English words.

It was easy to tell from Shulman's manner of speaking that he was innocent of any linguistics, as when he would tell me that such and such a word was a "corruption" of some other (see also note 30 of the present article). When in response to his question of "How many Yiddish dialects are there?" I said that it all depends on how many isoglosses you choose and which ones, it being possible to consider every idiolect a dialect, he asked what isoglosses and idiolects were. Unsurprisingly, Shulman's few publications of Jewish interest are, like Cohen's, just congeries of misunderstandings.

29. A modest, realistic view of self was not one of Shulman's endowments:

1. "It is time for me to put aside my intensive research as a paid contributor for the Oxford English Dictionary to respond to the article by [...]" (so begins one of his published writings).

2. He complained to me that "Minor got a book [written about him] but I haven't, even though in his day it was far easier to find antedatings than now," the book being Winchester 1998. Antedating English usages is just as easy in our time (witness the antedatings offered in the present article, all but two of which were found serendipitously) as it was in William Chester Minor's because the constant accretion of usages in a living language makes the antedater's agenda never ending. Had Minor been only an excerpter of citations, Winchester would not have devoted a book to him, but fact is that his curious life and the unusual circumstances in which he gathered citations for *Oxford English Dictionary* make a biography not unwarranted.

3. Sometime in the mid 1990s Shulman wrote me that he had "an important matter to discuss" and therefore asked for my telephone number. Innocently, I gave it to him. Little did I know that a twice-monthly oral report of his achievements was to begin -- "Burchfield [editor of *A New Supplement to the Oxford English Dictionary*] invited me to dinner when he was here [in New York City]" (in fact, all the major American contributors of material to the supplement were invited to a joint meal); "I now contribute more citations to *Oxford English Dictionary* than anyone else" (in his preface to volume 4 of *A New Supplement to the Oxford English Dictionary*, Burchfield says that "Major contributors of quotations in the period 1982-5 included the following" and then lists seven, Shulman not being one of them), "*Oxford English Dictionary* pays me more for my citations than anyone else gets," and so on -- after which he would launch into a series of questions many

of which had no scientifically reasonable answers (see note 28 of the present article for an example).

30. Regarding *shyster*, Martin 2004 had written: "Mr. Cohen said that Mr. Shulman was first to challenge that 'shyster' derived from a lawyer named Scheuster. Others, particularly Roger Mohovich, then traced the etymology to 1843-1844. 'Shyster' turned out to be a Yiddish corruption of a German vulgarism meaning a crooked lawyer". Whether Shulman was the first remains to be seen. In any case, if the American English informalism *shyster* has any Jewish connection, no one has proved that it does (Gold 1989b). See note 28 of the present article on the shibbolethic word "corruption".

31. A probably underutilized source of antedatings is menus, which have the drawback of often being undated. The largest gathering of American menus (and possibly the biggest collection of menus in the world) is The Miss Frank E. Buttolph American Menu Collection, now at The New York Public Library. Buttolph started gathering her material in 1900 and continued to collect for the rest of her life (she died in 1924). Still growing, with now more than twenty-five thousand items (just for 1900, it contains almost 1700 menus), this rich collection is accessible on-line too (see Lee 2000 for some details). The W. Johnson Quinn Hotel Collection (at The New-York Historical Society) also has American menus.

Lee writes: "Spaghetti and chow mein were served alongside schmaltz herring at some kosher restaurants in the Lower East Side". Read *shmaltshering* instead of "schmaltz herring" and "on the Lower East Side" instead of "in the Lower East Side".

32. For the history of linguistics in general and of lexicography in particular, the terminology of new dating needs to be collected. A new dating (English *new dating*, French *datation nouvelle*) can be an antedating or a postdating. In English, *antedating* seems to be more frequent than *predating*. Yiddish has the nouns *oysshrayber fun tsitain* and *oysshrayber* 'excerpter' (the longer form is used when the shorter one might be ambiguous) and the verb *oysshraybn* 'excerpt'. I have coined the concrete Yiddish nouns *friere raye* 'antedating' and *shpetere raye* 'postdating'.

33. Others found two of the antedatings in section H: knowing that for etymological studies of *Molotoff cocktail* ~ *Molotov cocktail* and *sarape* ~ *serape* ~ *zarape* I was looking for early examples of those lexemes, David Landau volunteered to search for the first one, Robert Singerman volunteered for the second, and they both came up with antedatings.

Joanne M. Despres checked the second edition of *Oxford English Dictionary* and the files of Merriam-Webster to make certain my citations were antedatings. Fourteen, given in note 34 of the present article, turned out not to be.

Robert Schleifer called my attention to the mistreatment of *groundhog* (section B).

John R. Krueger provided the copies of *ANS Bulletin*.

Rob Rentenaar alerted me to the existence of Moving Day in Dutch-speaking Europe and provided a photocopy of the entry for *Verhuisdag* in *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*.

34. These passages, which do not provide antedatings, postdatings, or foreshadowings, are offered here anyway because historical lexicologists also need intermediate attestations:

bullet-proof. "The beast seemed bullet-proof" (Calderón de la Barca 1843, entry dated 20 November 1841).

bobtailed. "A bobtailed stage or car is one without a conductor or man to collect the fares [...]" (Marshall 1882, referring to New York City).

capital (noun) 'capital case'. "In other Capitalls this has been practised; when then is it not practised in this case, if really judged to be so heinous as is made for?" (letter of Thomas Brattle dated 8 October 1692, transcribed in Burr 1914:178-179).

caramba. "Caramba! Eet ess a conspiracy!" (in a 1909 instalment of "The Fineheimer Twins," a comic strip by Harold Knerr, which appeared in American newspapers; here, Spanish-influenced English is mimicked).

clam chowder (*The Times*, London, England, 9 September 1887, referring to Coney Island, New York; the word is in quotation marks).

floripondio. "We rode out early this morning, and passing through the lanes bordered with fruit trees, and others covered with blossoms of extraordinary beauty, of whose names I only know the *floripundio*" (Calderón de la Barca 1843, entry dated 1 December 1841). *Oxford English Dictionary* defines *floripondio* as 'The Spanish name of two Peruvian species of datura or thorn-

apple, *D. arborea* and *D. sanguinea*', which shows a confusion of synchrony and diachrony: if the word is Spanish, it is not English, and if it is not English, it has no place in an English dictionary (see guideline 6 in section D). Actually, *floripondio* is an English word (of immediate Spanish origin) and thus belongs in English dictionaries. *Floripundio* is presumably either an uncorrected misprint in the published version or a faithful reproduction of the author's (mis?)spelling.

heads I win, tails you lose (Calderón de la Barca 1843, entry dated 10 June 1841).

hedging (in the financial sense). "a sort of *hedging*" (Calderón de la Barca 1843, entry dated 10 June 1841).

make choice of. "The Indians make choice of pieces of snow mixed with agglutinated hail" (von Humboldt 1811, vol. IV, book V, chap. XII, p. 191).

oryctognosy. "The best mineralogical work in the Spanish language was printed at Mexico, I mean the *Manual of Oryctognosy* composed by M. del Río, according to the principles of the school of Freyberg in which the author was formed" (von Humboldt 1811, vol. I, book II, chap. VII, p. 217).

prose. As a verb, this word is implied in "my prosing" (Calderón de la Barca 1843, entry dated 17 June 1840).

put one's best foot foremost. "putting his best foot foremost" (Calderón de la Barca 1843, entry dated 4 November 1841). British English has both *put one's best foot foremost* and *put one's best foot forward*; at least contemporary American English, so far as I know, has only the latter variant.

snake's-head fritillary (Hammarskjöld 1965:26).

tertulia. "We used, every day, to have a Tertulia in the library of Mr. Ackermann, which was attended by the following individuals [...]" (Hardy 1829, entry dated 27 May 1827, p. 510).

35. *The Barnhart Dictionary of Etymology* says, at *kibosh*, "The present spelling [*kibosh*] is first recorded in *The Slang Dictionary* (1869), defined as nonsense, stuff, humbug [...]" . Sol Steinmetz tells me that "1869" is a misprint for 1859.

36. *The New York Times* of 21 October 2001 misquoted the passage by writing "automobiles" instead of "authorities" but the issue of 28 October 2001 carried a correction (sec. 14, p. 2).

37. In 1782, Deborah Sampson, who was born in Plympton, Massachusetts, on 17 December 1760 and died in Sharon, Massachusetts, on 29 April 1827, assumed a man's identity and enlisted in the Fourth Massachusetts Regiment of the Continental Army. Because "he" had no facial hair, the other soldiers nicknamed "him" *Molly*.

Grose 1785 has an entry that reads "MOLLY, a miss Molly, an effeminate fellow, a sodomite," which I interpret to mean that British English of the time had both *Molly* and *miss Molly*. At least eighteenth-century British English also had *molly house* 'place where men come to cross-dress and couple', which Grose did not list.

Despite the above-mentioned dates, I guess that the British usage is older than the American one (and that the latter continues the former).

An unrelated matter: the notion that English *moll* 'prostitute', which is also found in *gun moll* and maybe other collocations too, is from Yiddish *meydl* 'Jewish girl', is untenable on chronological, phonological, and semantic grounds. Rather, the word is a commonization of the English female personal name *Moll*, which is related to the English female personal name *Mollie* ~ *Molly* (either the former is shortened from the latter or the latter is lengthened from the former).

38. The earliest evidence that I can find for *Miss Nancyism* 'effeminacy or overprecision in a man' is dated 22 February 1845: "This gentleman has become one of the editors of the 'Evening Mirror'. We rejoice at the fact. We hope to see the columns of that paper relieved of much of the Miss Nancyism of Willis, and a more manly vigor infused into them" (*Town*, a New York City weekly devoted to satirizing local literati). "This gentleman" is Edgar Allan Poe.

39. The *u* of Pachuco Spanish *juaquinillo* represents the raising of the pretonic /o/ of *Joaquinillo* to /u/ (here, phonetically [w]), a phenomenon not infrequent in certain varieties of nonstandard Spanish (and standard in the pronunciation of the Mexican place name *Oaxaca*: [waxaka]). At least once, *Juaquin* (representing the nonstandard pronunciation of *Joaquin*) has been officialized at least on a road sign: *Surfing* of November 2001 carries a photograph of a road sign that reads "SAN IGNACIO 58 / SAN JUAQUIN 42 / SAN ZACARIAS 36" (the *U* of SAN JUAQUIN is clearly not a partly rubbed out *O*). Where are those three places and is *San Juaquin*

found just on the road sign?

Regarding the pronunciation of the Spanish place name *Oaxaca*, Manuel Seco says: "Se pronuncia /oajáka/, no /oaksáka/" (1998:316). He is right in correcting "/ks/" to "/x/", but "/oa/" is wrong unless one notes too that those two phonemes are realized as [wa] in that name.

40. So far as I know, the women's section of a synagogue does not have special places for purchase or rent.

Yiddish *shtot* in the sense under discussion here and Yiddish *shtet* 'city' are identical in gender (feminine), their plural form (*shtet*), and pronunciation (which varies topolectally), but they have different etymologies (the first word is cognate with New High German *Stätte* 'place, spot' [plural *Stätten*] and thus one of the small number of Yiddish religious terms of non-Hebrew-Aramaic origin; the second word is cognate with New High German *Stadt* 'city' [plural *Städte*]) and, since they differ in meaning, different collocational possibilities. In Yiddish, the money paid to buy or rent such a place in the synagogue is called *shtotgelt* and *shtot-moes* and a bought or rented place along the eastern wall of the synagogue is called *mizrekht-shtet* (plural *mizrekht-shtet*), *shtet in mizrekht* (plural *shtet in mizrekht*), and *shtet in mizrekht-vant* (plural *shtet in mizrekht-vant*).

In connection with that wall, note the following: "MIZRAH (Heb. 'east'): In fulfillment of Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the Temple 'And they shall pray unto Thee toward their land which Thou gavest unto their fathers, the city which Thou hast chosen and the house which I have built to Thy Name' (I Kings 8:48), Jews everywhere turn in prayer in the direction of the Temple mount. Thus, in countries west of Israel, they turn toward the east, and the Ark is placed in the eastern wall of the synagogue. This practice meant that the *mizrah* side of the synagogue came to be considered especially distinguished, and the seats there were reserved for the honored members of the community" (Werblowsky and Wigoder 1966:266-267).

For more details see Rivkind 1959, entry 611, p. 2688.

41. *ANS Bulletin* is also mentioned in subsection 1 of section B (four times), section D (three times), and entry 9. Gold ms. comments further on the first fifty-six issues of that publication.

42. "A special type of conversion is the one in which a premodifying name (which of course has an adjectival function) is made into a noun that denotes the content of premodifier + noun: 'a fragrant odour of full-flavoured Cubas' (*The Pickwick Papers* 30, 407, 'Cuba cigars'). In one of his letters Dickens substitutes *Sundays* for *Sunday papers*, which must have been highly unusual in the nineteenth century: '... the papers in which it [sc. an advertisement] must be inserted, which, indeed are all the morning and evening ones. The Sundays we may leave alone'. (*Pilg.* 2 225, 1841)" (Sørensen 1985:35).

Unfortunately, Sørensen too thinks that the earliest known use of a linguistic item is the earliest use: "The entries [in Appendix A: Neologisms] are Dickensian neologisms, most of them established as such on the authority of the *OED*" (p. 114), by which he means that if the earliest citation in *Oxford English Dictionary* is from Dickens or if Dickens used the item earlier than the date of the earliest citation in that dictionary, Dickens coined it. Sørensen's book does, however, have the advantage, among others, of providing antedatings and postdatings. See note 19 of the present article.

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