STUDIES IN PHYSICAL CULTURE AND TOURISM
Vol. 16, No. 1, 2009

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ON THE ORIGIN AND DIFFUSION OF EUROPEAN BALL GAMES.
A LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

Key words: historical linguistics, origins of games, diffusion of games, medieval football and related games.

ABSTRACT

In this article, it will be shown how the methods of historical linguistics and dialectology can be brought to bear on elucidating the origins and diffusion of European competitive ball games, and that these methods, in the absence of explicit literary documents constitute almost the only means of doing this. It thus appears that the medieval chivalric tournament served as the model for the ancestor of all, medieval football, and that this came was later the inspiration for other games such as hockey, tennis, and, ultimately, of seemingly unrelated games such as golf.

It is a popular belief that modern sports and games originated in England. Today, the very idea has not infrequently a rather melancholic ring for people who still remember the former grandeur of English lawn tennis the last example of which was seen in the performance of the great Fred Perry in the 1930s. For many, another sad the year was 1953 when the English soccer team, invincible hitherto, were for the first time routed on their home ground, Wembley Stadium, by the brilliant Hungarians [1]. Despite their success at the World Championships in 1966, the English never seem to have recovered from this shock.

If we consider the history of sport more generally, it becomes evident that the pre-eminence of British sport is a relatively recent phenomenon and one of rather short duration. Before the nineteenth century, sports and games hardly enjoyed greater popularity in England than in other European countries. During the Middle Ages when the majority of our games came into being, they were even less important in the British Isles than elsewhere. Very often, they made an appearance there after they had for centuries been firmly established on the European continent. Even cricket, England’s national game, seems to have a continental origin, introduced, perhaps with France acting as a go-between, at a time (towards the end of the fifteenth century) when its medieval ancestor was on the point of becoming extinct in its place of origin, the Low Countries. Fortunately, it was the very slowness with which the English found favour with games from the continent which helped cricket to survive. Apparently, they welcomed it on their pastures when its continental adepts no longer considered it fashionable and had begun to forget it.

The popular fallacy that England is the cradle of the majority of our games results, firstly, from the long reign of English sports since the middle of
the nineteenth century which today finds its expression in the language of sport in European languages, and, secondly, from sports historiography itself, which to this very day has mostly been of an anecdotal nature and which has very rarely made an attempt at drawing a complete picture. It has to be admitted, however, that sources have seldom been of sufficient quality and number to do this, and this is even more true as one steps back in time. References to sports and games in writings of the Middle Ages, for example, are so isolated and little explicit that historians are in a quandary if they try to determine the origin of the games and their evolution using traditional methods.

We therefore have to look for methods enabling us to tell a coherent story, and in what follows an attempt is made to show that this can be done by the methods of historical linguistics and dialectology. In order to give the reader an idea of what these are like and how suited they are for the investigation of the history of games two examples will be drawn upon.

The first is an example from word geography, a scholarly method which was introduced into France at the beginning of the twentieth century introduced by the famous dialectologist Jules Gilliéron, the author of the *Atlas linguistique de la France* [2]. It illustrates the spread of wine-growing on the basis of words denoting the wine press. If the image is correct, the art reached the Germanic tribes via three independent routes. The noun *pressoir* was in use in the north of France whence Dutch *pers*. The Latin term *calculator* (variant *calcaturia*), in turn, resulted in its German equivalent *Kelter*, and raised the vowel *a* to *e* in the German loan word. This enables the linguist to determine the arrival of wine-growing in this country with some precision: it must have occurred before the ninth century [3].

The analysis of phonological change is of such precision that some scholars have even been led to speak of phonological laws. However, there can hardly be any doubt that phonological change is of great importance whenever an attempt is made at establishing a chronology in the evolution of a cultural phenomenon.

The next example illustrate a method developed and applied with much success by an Italian linguistic school called *scuola della linguistica spaziale* or *L’école néolinguistique* in French [4]. These “Neolinguists”, after analysing the dissemination of linguistic entities such as sounds, words, inflectional or derivational morphemes and syntactic structures, noticed the fact that within the boundaries of a language it was the marginal areas where older or more archaic linguistic features prevailed. They demonstrated how in the evolution of Latin during the Roman Empire at certain intervals linguistic innovations took place in the varying centres of its vast territory.

The first example shows how a new word was introduced in the Latin of the Iberian peninsula, namely the noun *perro*, ‘dog’, in the dialect of Castile, while the lateral Western and Eastern “dialects” of Portuguese and Catalan preserved the derivations from Classical Latin *canem* [5].

The second example exemplifies a phase in the evolution when within the varieties of the Romance languages that of Gaul became more progressive and introduced a new verb, *labourer*, ‘to plough’. In other countries such as Italy, but notably in the ancient province of Dacia, modern Romania, because of her remoteness from the original centre, the old term derived from Latin *arare* persisted.

The third example gives evidence of how the speech communities of ancient Gaul and Italy at one point decided to use Latin *ad illam horam* and *bullire* to mean ‘now’ and ‘to boil’, hence *alors* and *bouillir* and *allora* and *bollire* in modern French and Italian respectively. The equivalent terms in Spanish and Romanian, however, are still reflexes of Classical Latin usage. We therefore have to conclude that it is always the marginal or lateral varieties which preserve the original forms. The principle of marginality is not only of great importance for the reconstruction of the original forms of a language but also permits us to reconstruct cultural phenomena in general. It is no exaggeration to claim that the transmission of the latter follows the same principles as that of linguistic ones. It is well known that in the United States the /r/ is pronounced in words such as *car* and *card* whereas in British English the pronunciation of the consonant was discontinued towards the end of the eighteenth century. Contrary to the general belief that American English is more innovative than that of England, retention of the /r/ in the former reflects the pre-eighteenth-century usage of the Old World [6]. The same principle prevails in other areas of culture. If, for instance, one intends to study English popular ballads of the
seventeenth century, one would do well not to begin with investigations in England, but in the valleys of the Rocky Mountains [7].

At this point it is perhaps not altogether out of place to add a few remarks on another form of linguistic marginality of which the neolinguistic school does not seem to have been aware. It is the distance which exists between the languages of adults and that of children, a social distance rather than a geographic one. The conservatism characteristic of the latter can be illustrated by an example taken from medieval English literature. In the famous fourteenth-century romance Sir Gawain and the Green Knight a knight clad in green sends the following challenge to the knights of King Arthur’s Round Table: He invites them to deal him a blow with his axe on the condition that the candidate agrees to suffer the same blow from him after the lapse of exactly one year [8]. Having issued his challenge and in order to prevent hostilities then and there, the Green Knight utters the word “barley!” [9] This word, which in the Middle Ages served as a formula for ‘armistice’, has long disappeared in the language of grown-ups, but has survived in the language of children [10].

The methods of linguistics described here can be applied to research into the origins and migrations of games if a sufficiently complex assessment of their terminology has been made beforehand. An example of how this works can be seen in figure 3 which, as it were, sums up my investigations into the history of ball games. The terminology of our traditional ball games is characterised by numerous words from the semantic field of war, which suggests that in the Middle Ages these games for ordinary people were a kind of ersatz for warfare, or rather for the chivalric tournament which, in its turn, was an “ersatz” for war itself. Traditionally, the ideal venue for the tournament was the level ground in front of a castle or town gate.

We dispose of a precious literary document from as early as the first half of the ninth century which proves that this ground was also used for the staging of competitive ball games [11]. In the Historia Britonum, which has been attributed, albeit wrongly, to Nennius, we for the first time encounter the story of King Vortigern, ruler of the Britons, who, in order to defend himself against the outrageous Saxons, instructs his architects to build for him a strong castle. Unfortunately, this castle, as soon as it had been set up, collapsed, and Vortigern, in order to avoid another architectural fiasco, seeks the advice of his magicians. These suggest to him that another disaster could be ruled out if the foundations of the construction were sprinkled with the blood of a child without a father. Vortigern now sent his emissaries to the four corners of his empire in order to find a child of this description. Eventually, Vortigern’s men arrive at a place called Campus Elleti where they see a group of gamins playing at ball. A quarrel breaks out between the players during which one of them insults another by calling him a ‘man without a father’ [12]. The boy so called is young Merlin, the famous magician of Arthurian romance. In this version of the story, he goes by the name of Ambrosius, and it is he who according to legend was engendered by the devil and therefore had no father.

In due course, this story was in a significant way adopted into the main work of Geoffrey of Monmouth, the Histoire des Rois de Bretagne (Historia Regum Britanniae) which was completed by 1138. Geoffrey dedicated his work to the English King Stephen and to the dignitaries of the Norman clergy, and this is the reason why the scene described above underwent a significant change. Geoffrey informs his readers that the game is played in front of the town gate (juvenes ante portam ludentes constipuerunt) and thus evokes a scene with which his patrons were very familiar. He does not even mention that the game in question was a game with a ball. The same familiarity with the ball games of northern France also becomes evident from the work of the Norman chronicler Wace in his Roman de Brut, and that the area in front of the town gate was in medieval France the venue par excellence for ball games, and the game of soule in particular, eventually becomes manifest in the work of Robert de Boron in his Livre de Merlin. The rhymed original of this novel has not been preserved, but a prose version of it has nevertheless come down to us in a 13th century transcript. Its original dates either from the end of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century, and in it the rather short descriptions of the game by Geoffrey of Monmouth and Wace has been elaborated upon and enlivened in a way likely to send the sports historian into raptures. The author not only informs us that it was exactly a match of soule which was contended on the spacious ground in front of the town gate, he also mentions a quarrel which broke out among the gamins playing there Merlin, who wanted to attract the attention of
Vortigern’s emissaries, after raising his “hockey stick” had dealt a vicious blow to the shinbone of one of the players, who, in turn, and as Merlin knew he would, flew into a rage calling Merlin a dirty bastard without a father.

The prose of Robert de Boron has to offer other precious details to offer. Among these are sporting terms such as the nouns camp, ‘pitch’, and croche, ‘playing stick’, and the verb form choulloient, ‘they played the game of soule’, which all reflect the phonology of the dialects of northern France, Norman and Picard. They are phonologically distinct from their equivalents in the dialect of Paris, namely champ, croce, and souloient. Against the background of what has been said in our discussion of the third example we can deduct the following about the diffusion of the game. Towards the end of the 12th century the game of soule was staged in the north of France in front of the gate of a town. It existed in two forms, the game of soule proper, the medieval game of football, and that of soule à la crosse, for which a curved stick was used to drive the ball, or to hook it from a forest of legs.

We can now try to sketch out the various forms proliferating from this archetypal game of soule. In so doing, we will again and again avail ourselves of the linguistic methods outlined above. At an early date, soule itself found its way into the British Isles. In one of sermons belonging to the school of the reformer John Wyclif there is a passage in which the author refers to the Pope and his bishops, who use their edicts and regulations in much the same way as the players of the soule game use their shin pads. The most intriguing detail of this passage is the the English verb used to describe the game, namely chullen. The sermon was composed towards the end of the 14th or at the beginning of the 15th century, but the initial consonant of the verb, so very characteristic of loan words from Normandy and Picardy, proves that the term alongside with the game must have been introduced at a much earlier date, some time between the Norman conquest and the middle of the 13th century. Had it been adopted at a later date, the loan word would in all probability have come from the more prestigious dialect of the Île de France and therefore taken the form sullen which is evidently not the case [13].

The verbs choulérer/chullen in French and English have another remarkable terminological parallel in both languages. As has been said, the inventors of our competitive ball games took as a model the medieval chivalric tournament where a distinction was made between teams positioned either at the foot of a hill or on its top (French en aval/en amont). It is therefore no surprise that in the French Départements of Mayenne and Ille-et-Vilaine as well as in the Cantô de Melle the terms bas and haut in traditional football matches denote the opposing camps. At the same time, down’ards and up’ards or Uppies and Downies, or even Down-the-Gates and Up-the-Gates are in frequent use in football games at peripheral places in the British Isles, the West coast and the far-away Orkneys [14]. The principle of marginality can also be observed in a variety of football played in northeast Italy. Here the terms applied to the opposing teams are those del monte and those del piano [15]. In all these cases the geographical “marginality” of these places proves the antiquity of these games.

Stepping down the right hand branch of our genealogical tree we notice another important feature. The more we advance in time, the more the savagery with which the gate was attacked and defended in the tournament and the games descending from gave way to skill. That is why the dimensions of the goals are reduced step by step. At the extremity of the chain we find the game of golf which, although in it the implement of the curved soule stick is preserved, the dimensions of the goal are minimized at last. In general, the process presented here in broad outline only can be considered as an instance of what the sociologist Norbert Elias called the Process of Civilisation [16].

As for the terminology of these games, we notice the survival of the defence of the gate in the term in or innings (singular!) in cricket, a loan translation of French dedans which in medieval tournaments denoted the team championing the cause of the town or castle. This term persisted in the game of jeu de la paume (real tennis) where it refers to the players who defend the opening of the transverse gallery and have the right of service [17]. After this last observation it is time to consider the various representatives of jeu de la paume on the left hand side of our genealogical tree. To this tree could be added another member of the family played in the village of Tavole in the Ligurian Alps and called balùn. The only reason for its not having been given a place here is, for the time being, the usual nonchalance and laziness of Italian informants. The point of departure is again the chivalric
tourney as it was practiced in the north of France and its language. With regard to the latter we dispose of an explicit literary document from the end of the 13th century, the *Roman du Hem* by the trouvère Sarrasin. According to the Roman, the term for the venue of the tournament characterised by a wood enclosure was *parc*, a word of Celtic origin. The term was adopted early into primitive forms of ball games, but seems to have soon been abandoned. This is proved by the games of the Frisians who are unique in preserving it. In the Middle Ages, the Frisians inhabited the region bordering immediately on the north of France, and owing to the inaccessibility of their settlements, and most notably those of the so-called Saterland and Gotland, well illustrate the neolinguistic principle of marginality [18]. The Saterland, a strip of land in the west of the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg, may not exactly be very remote from the north of France, but was until the middle of the 19th century surrounded, with the exception of frosty winters, by an almost impenetrable swamp. The Swedish island of Gotland, besides its isolated position in the Baltic Sea, was in a literal sense at a great distance from France. For the same reason, the terms have preserved is therefore proof of their great antiquity. For the same reason, the terms *buppe* and *unner*, loan translations of the French terms *amont* and *aval*, in the Saterlandic game can also be considered to belong to the oldest language layer of European competitive ball games, a fact which we have already noted in the terminology of traditional football games in France, Italy and the British Isles.

It is remarkable that the distinction between teams *amont* and *aval* is also a feature of the tennis games of Italy and Colombia, the games remotest from their original home, Picardy. Conversely, the absence of this distinction in the various forms of Basque pelota (and even in its most ancient representative, *bote luzea*) confirms the linguist’s belief that these games arrived in the Basque country rather late. The fact that the English king Henry VII played ball against a Biscayan, the fact that in the 19th century Augurio Perreira, a friend of Harry Gem, one of the inventors of lawn tennis, was a pelota player, and more recently the achievements in lawn tennis of Jean Borotra, the “Bounding Basque”, have all contributed to the myth of the unsurpassable antiquity of Basque pelota games. Linguistics, however, can lend no support to such a belief. However, it can suggest (albeit not without reservation) a chronology of the diffusion of games. A feature shared by all traditional ball games is the presence of the term employed in medieval tournaments for the attack and which in Modern French resulted in the noun *chassé*. A characteristic of the terms corresponding to it in the Frisian games is the preservation of the initial consonant /k/ (*keats, kas, kot*) which we also encounter in the medieval Picard term *cache* [19]. The Frisian terms exist alongside the derivations of *parc* (*perk, park, pork*) which, as we have seen, is the oldest technical term of all and which occurs only in the Frisian games and nowhere else. We the-refore have to conclude that Picardy is the region from where our ball games originated. After the use of the term *parc* was discontinued, the ancestor of tennis found its way to the Isle de France where Picard *cache* took the form of *chace* (Modern French *chasés*) in the dialect of Paris. It was through the intermediary of Parisian French that our ball game was introduced in the Mediterranean since it is evident from the form *chaza* in both the ball game of Colombia and Basque pelota that its pronunciation reflects that of Parisian French. A peculiarity of the latter in Old French is the stop /t/ preceding the sibilant. This is still present in English loan words from French, compare Prince Charles, or, for that matter, chase (from *chasé*). In French, the phoneme /t/ disappeared around the year 1200 [20], and one might speculate about whether the implication of the pronunciation of the term in Spanish (namely *chaza*) is that the word was introduced, together with the game, before /t/ was dropped in French. There is, however, no satisfactory answer to this question yet. Since Spanish in its phonological system does not dispose of the initial cluster of Modern French *chasés* (without /t/) it would have been impossible for its native speakers to adopt the word otherwise. Somewhat less speculative than linguistic arguments are some observations outside the sphere of linguistics. In the *juego de la chaza* of Colombia, as well as in the Italian game of *palla* and the Frisian games, the *chace* is marked where the ball is stopped after its second bounce [21]. In the French *jeu de la paume*, this rule was abandoned, according to the Spaniard Juan Luis Vives in his *Exercitatio linguae latinae*, prior to the year 1539. Again, the Colombian game, *palla* and the Frisian games are illustrative of the principle of marginality. Another feature by which the age of our ball games can be assessed with somewhat more precision is their method of scoring. All the
members of their large family (the Colombian *juego de la chaza* included) score in fifties, with the notable exception of the Frisian games. That is why the latter can be said to have separated from the former before this method of counting became established. Unfortunately, coun-ting in 15s is not mentioned earlier than the beginning of the 15th century (*The Bataile of Agyncourt*). In order to narrow down this date still farther we will have to wait until an earlier refe-rence to this method of emerges.

Linguistics can also contribute to the solution of two problems which have harassed sports historians, namely the question of the origins of *cricket* and *golf*. As for *cricket*, we may take the Picard term *cache*, ‘chase’, which has already claimed our attention, as a starting point. A deriva-tive of this noun is the Picard verb *cachier*, ‘to drive a ball’. A derivative of cachier, in turn, is the verb *racachier*, ‘to return the ball’, whence, by way of back formation, the noun *racache*, ‘return’. In Picardian children’s language, *racache* eventually came to mean ‘implement with which a ball is returned’. Given the fact that the language of children is characterized by the principle of social marginality and therefore extremely conservative, it seems not unlikely that we here have before us the oldest representative of Modern French *raquette* and English *racket*. Still, the phonological differ-ence between the Picard and the French and English term is very striking. It could be argued that the difference was caused by “popular etymology”, namely by the speakers’ simply replacing the unfamiliar second element –*cache* by the more familiar suffix –*ette*, traditionally used for tools (e.g. *pincette*). However, it would be better to proceed from a form the second element of which is closer to the resulting suffix –*ette*. This presents itself in the Flemish verb derived from Picardian *cachier*, namely *ketsen*. This may in turn have yielded a noun *raketse*, a form for the existence of which there is some likelihood in view of the noun *ketse* in Danish, a loanword from Flemish.

This brings us to a consideration of the etymology of *cricket*, England’s truly national game. If one could speak of *raketse* in Flanders whenever one played *jeu de la paume* one could also speak of *met de krik/krek ketsen*, ‘to play with the curved stick’, whenever one was engaged in a game of *cricket*. The term *krekkets* (with final /s/) was introduced in England around the middle of the 16th century, possibly by Flemish textile workers. After having adopted the term together with the game, the natives conceived of the final –s as a plural and as a consequence eliminated it, hence English *cricket*. This etymology, advanced by the present writer many years ago, has in the meanwhile been considered the most likely one by the specialists of the *Oxford English Dictionary* [22]. It must be admitted, however, that evidence for the existence of the game on the European continent is rare [23].

In this respect, the situation for the game of golf is much more favourable. In the field of linguistics, technical terms such as *golf*, *putt*, and *bunker*, and in all probability *tee*, are of Flemish origin, although modern European languages have inherited them from England and, ultimately, from Scotland. The fact again mirrors the superiority (the linguistic surplus value) of English sports in the 19th century [24]. As for *tee*, there is, at least at first sight, a semantic incomparability of this noun in the language of golf with *tee* in the language of curling. The first, as is well know, refers to the starting point of the game, whereas the latter the goal or destination. In the Low Countries, the term for ‘target’ (in shooting) was *tese* which was pronounced like the French feminine noun *la these*. It is likely that at first *tese* referred to the goal in both continental games. In golf of old, the *tee* was a little heap of sand which had been taken from the nearby hole constituting the goal of the game. When by the construction of putting greens and the introduction of artificial tees the tee was separated from the hole, *tee* (the meaning of which was, of course, no longer understood) continued to be used, however now for the starting point. It retained its old meaning in curling, though. Final –s in *tese*, which was still in evidence, in the form of *teaz* (the grapheme <z> here denoted a voiced s), in the first occurrence of the word in the English language, was in due course eliminated in the same way as in the case of *kreketts*, ‘cricket’. The numerous examples of words of Flemish or Dutch origin in the language of golf to which *tee* may thus be added have nevertheless failed to convince Anglo-Saxon golf historians of a continental origin of golf. Malcolm Campbell, for instance, in his *Encyclopedi-a of Golf*, subtitle *The Definitive Guide to the Game*, believed that in continental games of *kolf* or *kollen* “a single, simple element [was] missing” which separated them from the game of golf as we know it today. This was, to his mind, “the existence of the hole”, and this located “the game’s origins
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firmly in Scotland.” Today, we not only dispose of a literary source in which a continental game of golf making use of the hole is described at length and which antedates the earliest Scottish description by almost a century [25]. There is also convincing evidence that a ban levelled at a game called golf in 1457 by an act of Parliament, allegedly the earliest reference to the game in Scotland, was in reality meant to stop the violent medieval game of hockey (French soule à la crosse) [26].

Figure 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Portugal</th>
<th>Castille</th>
<th>Catalogne</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>auis devient ave</td>
<td>passer, 'oiseau'</td>
<td>auis (aucellus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(pássaro dans le langage populaire)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fermentum fermento</td>
<td>leuamen, levadura 'levure'</td>
<td>fermentum llevat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lectus (cama)</td>
<td>cama, 'lit'</td>
<td>lectus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agnus (cordeiro)</td>
<td>cordero, 'agneau'</td>
<td>agnus, anyell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>canis cao</td>
<td>perro, 'chien'</td>
<td>canis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sub sob</td>
<td>bassum, bajo 'sous'</td>
<td>sub(tus) sota</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Iberie</th>
<th>Gaule</th>
<th>Italie</th>
<th>Dacie</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nora, nuera; port. nora</td>
<td>bratis, belle-fille</td>
<td>nora, nuòra</td>
<td>nora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fuligo, hollin; port. fuligem</td>
<td>sugia, suie</td>
<td>fuligo, fuliggine</td>
<td>fuligo, funingine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cratis, reja; port. grade</td>
<td>cleta, claie</td>
<td>cratis, grata?</td>
<td>cratis, grattii pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cum, con; port. com</td>
<td>ab</td>
<td>cum</td>
<td>cum. cu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arare, arar; port. arar</td>
<td>laborare, 'labourer'</td>
<td>arare</td>
<td>arare, ara</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Iberie</th>
<th>Gaule</th>
<th>Italie</th>
<th>Dacie</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>feruere</em></td>
<td><em>bullire</em></td>
<td><em>bullire</em></td>
<td><em>feruere</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hervir; (port. bulir, ferver)</td>
<td>bouillir</td>
<td>bollire</td>
<td>a fierbe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>magis fortis</em></td>
<td><em>plus fortis</em></td>
<td><em>plus fortis</em></td>
<td><em>magis fortis</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mas; port. mais</td>
<td>plus</td>
<td>piu</td>
<td>masa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>formosus</em></td>
<td><em>bellus</em></td>
<td><em>bellus</em></td>
<td><em>formosus</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hermoso; formoso (belo)</td>
<td>beau</td>
<td>bello</td>
<td>frumos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tunc</em></td>
<td>ad illam horam</td>
<td>ad illam horam</td>
<td><em>tunc</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>entonces; port. entás</td>
<td>alors</td>
<td>allora</td>
<td>atunci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>equa</em>; port. égua</td>
<td>caballa</td>
<td>caballa</td>
<td><em>equa</em>, iapa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4.

![The Pedigree of Competitive Ballgames](image)

The Concept of the Chase
1. Old northern French cache
   Central French chase
2. French: chasse
   English: chase
   2.1. kalt (Saterland, Germany)
   2.1.1. keats (Frieland)
   2.1.2. kas (Gotland)
   2.2.chaza (Basque Country)
   2.3.caccia (Tuscany)
   2.4.chaza (Colombia)

3. Caccia (Italy; calcio)

Figure 5.
FOOT-NOTES


[5] Derivations in Romance languages are mostly based on the Latin accusative form.


[8] It is the valiant Sir Gawain who takes up this rather unusual challenge.


[12] “O homo sine patrem, bonum non habebis”, literally, oh man without a father, you will have nothing good’.

[13] The forms soule/choule suggest that the form underlying them featured the sequence /ke/, cf. the author’s Second Service, p. 45 f. He has suggested popular Latin cepulla (a diminutive of cepa, ‘onion’), a slang word for ‘ball’; Latin /p/ disappears in Old French before /u/, compare lupum, ‘wolf’, > lou[p].


[15] On the importance of this variety for the evolution of modern soccer see the present writer’s “Vom Burgtor zum Fußballtor”, p. 18 f.


[18] The Saterlandic and Gotlandic terms corresponding to Old French parc are pork and pärk respectively.

[19] Cache was also adopted into Flemish whence the Scottish term for the jeu de la paume, caich.


[23] For an instance of an undoubtedly French children’s game le criket at the beginning of the 19th century see the present writer’s Tennis. A Cultural History, p. 13 f.

This is the Tyrocinium latinae linguae by Pieter van Afferden (1542). The term here employed for the hole is cuil. The present writer’s contention that Modern English *putt* is derived from Dutch *putten* (from *put*, ‘hole’), ‘to put into a hole’, is confirmed by the terminology of the Dutch children’s games of marbles where the target is a hole in the ground. These either use cuil or the diminutive *putje*, ‘little hole’, cf. J. Heinsius, ed., Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal, Vol. 8, s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff 1916, p. 503, and A. Beets, Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal, vol. 7, 1, s-Gravenhage, Martinus Nijhoff 1926, p. 2538b.

[26] Cf. above all the present writer’s “Golf on the Rhine”.


[25] This is the Tyrocinium latinae linguae by Pieter van Afferden (1542).