

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

HEINER GILLMEISTER  
Institut für Anglistik, Amerikanistik und Keltologie der Universität, Bonn

**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

---

\* This is the revised and updated version of an earlier study which appeared in French as "Les sports et les jeux: origines et diffusion", in Jean-Marc Silvain and Noureddine Seoudi, eds., *Regards sur le sport. Hommage à Bernard Jeu* [Collection UL3 travaux et recherches], Lille, Université Charles de Gaulle 2002, pp. 105-126.

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 *calcatorium* (variant *calcatura*), 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 conspexerunt*) 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 13<sup>th</sup> century transcript. Its original dates either from the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> 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 *chouloient*, '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 12<sup>th</sup> 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 14<sup>th</sup> or at the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> 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 13<sup>th</sup> 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 *chouler/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 Canton 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 curbed *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 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

tournament 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 13<sup>th</sup> 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 19<sup>th</sup> 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. The term *parc* which the two games 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 *en amont* and *en 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 19<sup>th</sup> century Augurio Pereira, 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 *chasse*. 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 therefore 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 *chasse*) 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 *chace*). 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 *chasse* (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 fifteens, 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, counting in 15s is not mentioned earlier than the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century (*The Bataile of Agyncourt*). In order to narrow down this date still farther we will have to wait until an earlier reference 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 derivative 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 difference 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 *raketsen* 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 16<sup>th</sup> 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 19<sup>th</sup> 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 known, 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 *krekkets*, ‘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 *Encyclopedia of Golf*, subtitle *The Definitive Guide to the Game*, believed that in continental games of *kolf* or *kolven* “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

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].

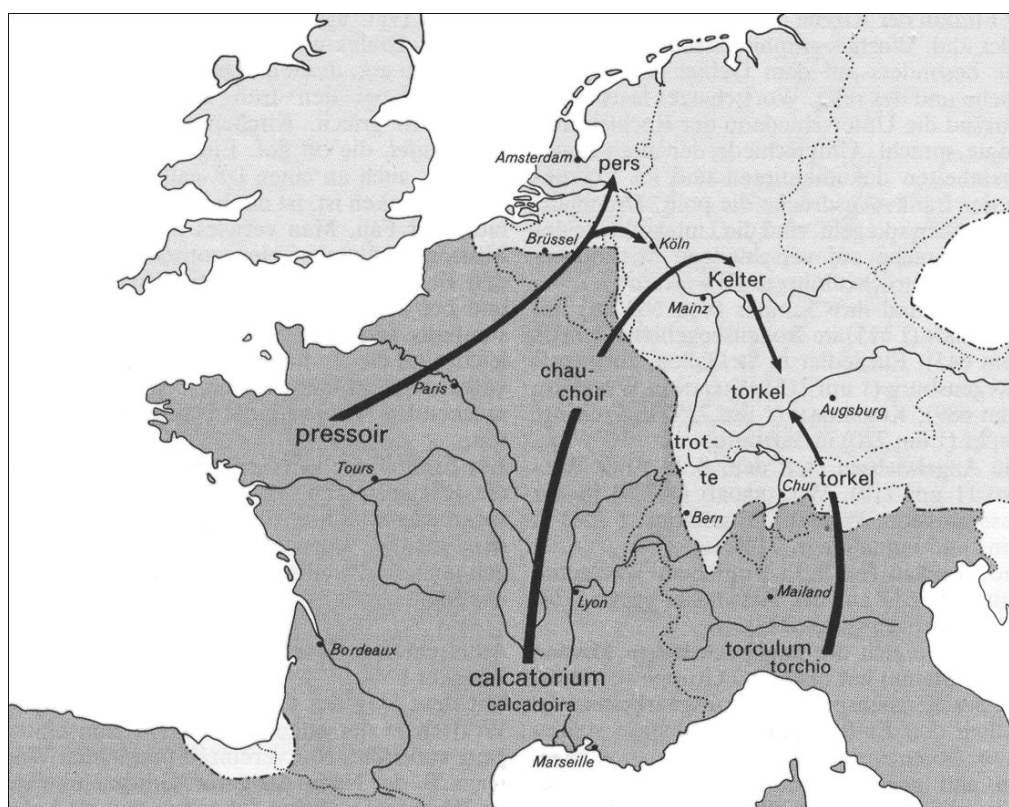


Figure 1.

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

Figure 2.

Iberie	Gaule	Italie	Dacie
<b>nora, nuera</b> ; port. <b>nora</b>	<b>brutis</b> , belle-fille	<b>nora</b> , nuòra	<b>nora</b>
<b>fuligo, hollín</b> ; port. <b>fuligem</b>	<b>sugia</b> , suie	<b>fuligo, fuliggine</b>	<b>fuligo, funingine</b>
<b>cratis, reja</b> ; port. <b>grade</b>	<b>cleta</b> , claie	<b>cratis, grata?</b>	<b>cratis, gratii</b> pl.
<b>cum, con</b> ; port. <b>com</b>	<b>ab</b>	<b>cum</b>	<b>cum. cu</b>
<b>arare, arar</b> ; port. <b>arar</b>	<b>laborare</b> , 'labourer'	<b>arare</b>	<b>arare, ara</b>

Figure 3.

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

Figure 4.

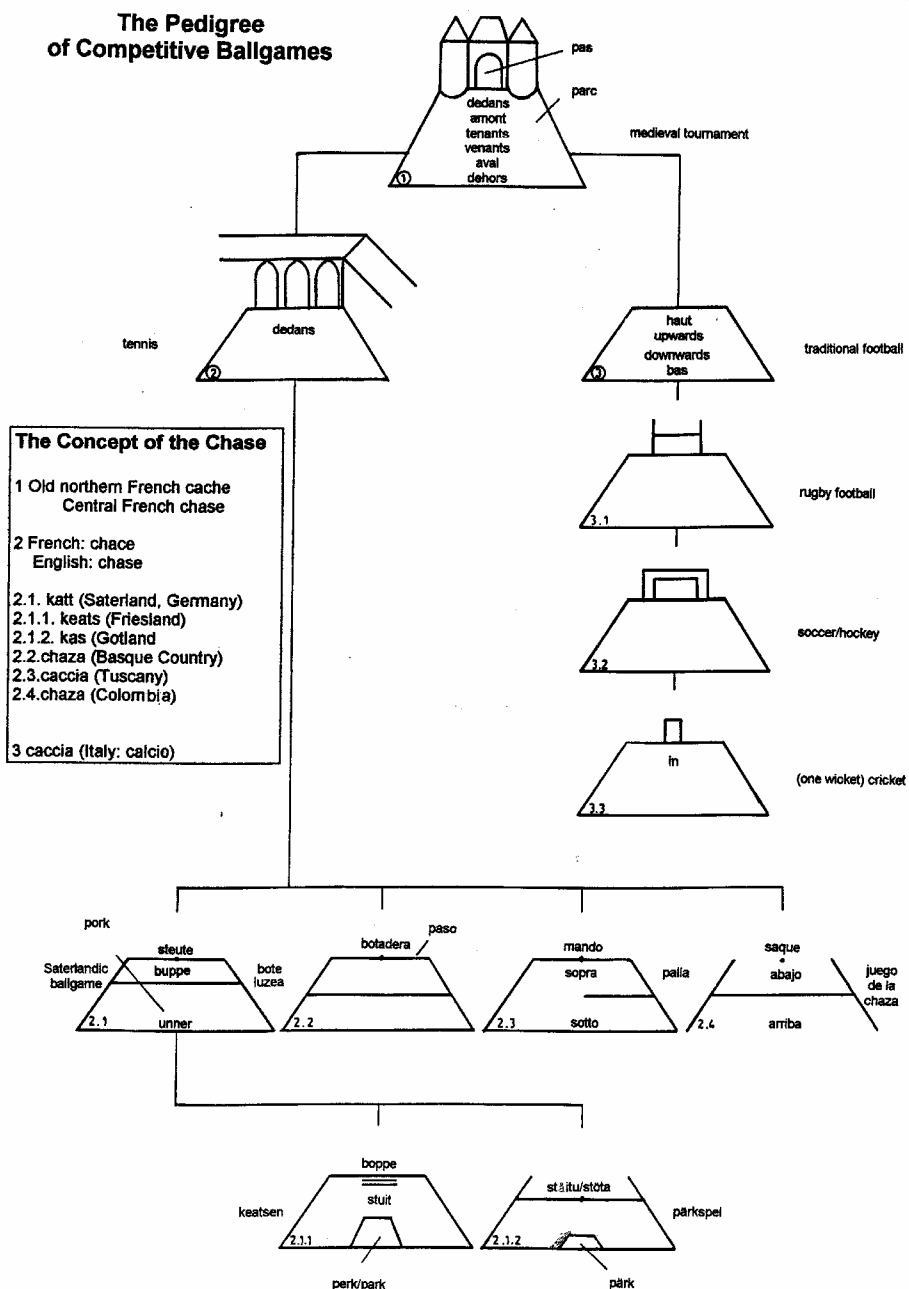


Figure 5.



FOOT-NOTES

- [1] Cf. John Arlott, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Sports & Games*, London: Oxford University Press 1975, p. 801, s.v. Puskas: “[...] captain in the great years of the 1950’s, during which his country became the first non-British national team to beat England in England, [...]”
- [2] Cf. J.K. Chambers and Peter Trudgill, *Dialectology* [Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics], 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1998, p. 16 f.
- [3] Cf. W. Braune and W. Mitzka, *Althochdeutsche Grammatik*, 10th edition, Tübingen 1961, p. 50, § 51.
- [4] Cf. Chambers and Trudgill, p. 167 f.
- [5] Derivations in Romance languages are mostly based on the Latin accusative form.
- [6] Cf. the author’s *Second Service*. *Kleine Geschichte der englischen Sprache*, Sankt Augustin: Asgard 2002, p. 3.
- [7] In the world of games, a non-linguistic feature transferred from the tournament is the retention of a wooden enclosure and the custom of writing challenge letters in *pärkspel* played on the island of Gotland, cf. the present writer’s *Tennis. A Cultural History*, London: Leicester University Press 1998, p. 93 f., and “Challenge Letters from a Medieval Tournament and the Traditional Ball-Game of Gotland. A Typological Comparison”, in *Stadion*, Vol. 16 (1990), pp. 184-222.
- [8] It is the valiant Sir Gawain who takes up this rather unusual challenge.
- [9] Cf. R.A. Waldron, ed., *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, London: Edward Arnold Publishers 1970, p. 43, line 296.
- [10] Cf. the *Oxford English Dictionary*, S.V. Barley, Int., I. and P. Opie, *The Lore and Language of School-children*, Oxford, 1959, pp. 146-149, and G.L. Brook, *Varieties of English*, London: 1973, p. 52: “[...] words used by children who wish to gain a respite in a game. This is usually accompanied by a gesture of crossing the fingers. They include kings, cree, [...] parleys [...]”
- [11] Cf. the author’s study *The Language of English Sport Medieval and Modern*, in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, Vol. 233 (1996), pp. 269-271.
- [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]*.
- [14] On the whole issue, see the present writer’s *Vom Burgtor zum Fußballtor. Gedanken zum Ursprung des Spiels mit dem runden Leder*”, in Uwe Baumann und Dittmar Dahlmann, eds., *Kopfball, Einwurf, Nach-spielzeit. Gespräche und Beiträge zur Aktualität und Geschichte des Fußballspiels*, Essen: Klartext Verlag 2008, p. 17-19, and Hugh Hornby, *Uppies and Downies. The extraordinary football games of Britain*, English Heritage 2008.
- [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.
- [16] Cf. Norbert Elias, *Über den Prozeß der Zivilisation*, 17th ed., Berne: Verlag Francke AG 1969, rpt. Edition Suhrkamp 1992, Vol. I, pp. 260-301 (on the “reduction of aggressiveness”).
- [17] For a more recent contribution of the present writer on the history of *jeu de la paume* see “*Der Topspin taugte nichts im alten Jeu de la Paume: das Tennisspiel in drei Jahrhunderten (1500-1800)*”, and “*Das Jeu de la Paume*”, in Rebekka von Mallinc-krodt, ed., *Bewegtes Leben. Körpertechniken in der Frühen Neuzeit* [Exhibition Catalogue Herzog August Bibliothek No 89], Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek 2008, pp. 205-229 and 352-365.
- [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*.
- [20] Cf. Hans Rheinfelder, *Altfranzösische Grammatik*, Part I, Phonology, 4th ed., Munich: Max Hueber Verlag 164, § 398.
- [21] Cf. Hugo Angel Jaramillo, *El Deporte Indígena de America (Desde antes de la conquista)*, Pereira: Universidad Tecnológica 1977, p. 79: “Se dice señalar una chaza, el acto de indicar con una pedrezuela [...] el sitio donde fue atajada la pelota por el bando de abajo.” Roger Morgan, “*The Tuscan Game of Palla. A Descendant of the Medieval Game of Tennis*”, in *Stadion*, Vol. XI (1985), pp. 176-192, especially p. 186 f. For an explanation of the chase rule in the *jeu de la paume* see now the present writer’s “*Der Topspin taugte nichts im alten Jeu de la Paume*”, pp. 213-215.
- [22] Cf. John Eddowes, *The Language of Cricket*, Manchester: Carcanet Press 1997, pp. 2 and 4 f.
- [23] For an instance of an undoubtedly French children’s game *le criquet* at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century see the present writer’s *Tennis. A Cultural History*, p. 13 f.
- [24] Cf. the present writer’s “*A Tee for Two: On the Origins of Golf*”, in *Homo Ludens. Internationale Beiträge des Instituts für Spielforschung und Spielpädagogik an der Hochschule ‘Mozarteum’*

Salzburg [Ball- und Kugelspiele 6 (1996), pp. 17-37; “The Language of English Sports Medieval and Modern”, in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, Vol. 233 (1996), pp. 268-285; “Golf on the Rhine. On the Origins of Golf, with Sidelights on Polo”, (in:) *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (March 2002), pp. 1-30; and, more recently, *100 Jahre Golf in Deutschland. Vol. 1 Gründerzeiten bis 1924* [Contributions by Christoph Meister and Dietrich R. Quanz], Munich: Albrecht Golf Verlag GmbH 2007; “Die Schotten und das Golfspiel, oder: You Can’t Teach an Old Dog New Tricks”, in *Golf – Facetten einer Leidenschaft* [1st Drossapharm Golf Symposium 2008, papers and exhibition catalogue, Basle/Arlesheim: Drossapharm AG 2008, pp. 8-15 and 14-21.

[25] 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”.