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At the Wordface: J.R.R. Tolkien's Work on the *Oxford English Dictionary*

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Abstract

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Additional Keywords

lexicographer; Oxford English Dictionary

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Peter M. Gilliver

Abstract: A description of J.R.R. Tolkien's time working on the *Oxford English Dictionary* together with a detailed analysis of the evidence for his contribution to the entries for individual words.

Keywords: lexicographer, *Oxford English Dictionary*

That Tolkien considered his involvement in the compiling of the *Oxford English Dictionary* in 1919-20 to have been time well spent is shown by his observation that he "learned more in those two years than in any other equal period of my life" (quoted in Carpenter, 1977, p. 101). That he also conceived an abiding affection for the Dictionary is evident from the episode in *Farmer Giles of Ham* where "Four Wise Clerks of Oxenford", consulted as to the meaning of *blunderbuss*, reply with the *OED* definition (the Clerkes being of course the four original Editors of the *OED*).¹ As a lexicographer at work on the same dictionary some seventy years later, I was interested to learn what I could about Tolkien's tasks and working methods.

Long before the completion of its first edition in 1928, the *Oxford English Dictionary* was already justly famous as the largest survey of the English language ever undertaken.² Work began in the 1850s under the auspices of the Philological Society, and publication began in 1884 with the first instalment, or fascicle, under the editorship of its first and most famous Editor, James Murray. To increase the rate of progress Henry Bradley was appointed as a second Editor in 1887; he was later joined by William Craigie and Charles Onions. Sir James Murray died in 1915, so that when Tolkien arrived there remained three teams of lexicographers proceeding through separate swathes of the alphabet, each headed by an Editor. At the beginning of 1919 the letters U-Z and parts of S had not yet appeared in print: Tolkien was assigned to Henry Bradley's team, which had just begun work at the beginning of W. Tolkien's background and philological training suited him particularly well for work on vocabulary of Germanic origin, in which W was probably the richest of the remaining letters.

Having been unable to consult the diary which, uncharacteristically, Tolkien kept from the beginning of

1919, I have had to rely instead on the available *OED* working papers. The Dictionary was passed to press in the form of bundles of slips, each bearing either illustrative quotations (most of which were sent in by members of the public) or portions of editorial text. Much of this copy was donated to the Bodleian Library, along with some slips discarded in the course of the editorial process, but not before the extraction and dispersal of three components of the text: materials relating to Scottish, Middle English, and early Modern English were (somewhat haphazardly) separated out and dispatched to the historical dictionary projects concerned. Various other contemporaneous bodies of material still reside in the archives of Oxford Dictionaries, including slips intended for use in the preparation of the 1933 *Supplement*. The standard "Dictionary slip" was a quarter-sheet of foolscap, but some contributors sent in quotations on more or less any similarly-sized piece of paper that came to hand, and many of the lexicographers did likewise: in their case this included torn-up proofs of earlier *OED* fascicles and, crucially, discarded earlier drafts of editorial material.³ (Of course, a slip of paper discarded by Tolkien might not be re-used until it was picked up years later by another lexicographer.) Some slips must have been destroyed altogether, and many others are presently unavailable because of the aforementioned dispersal of the slips; but by examining the remaining material for the letter W, I hope that I have managed to reconstruct a reasonably full picture of Tolkien's involvement in the creation of Dictionary text. (Although he could conceivably have been involved in the coverage of words beginning with other letters, the manuscript evidence available to me suggests otherwise, at least as far as the first edition of the *OED* is concerned.)

Precise dating of most of Tolkien's lexicographical work is difficult, since very few slips (and none of Tolkien's) bear

¹ Another passage in Tolkien's creative writing which contains a concealed reference to the *OED* occurs in the *Notion Club Papers*, where "Michael Ramer" ponders the implications of an 1877 definition of the word *crystal* by Thomas Huxley, which is cited in the *OED* entry for the word (Tolkien, 1992, p. 208).

² For a more comprehensive account of the history of the *OED* see Murray, 1977.

³ Tolkien also made use of these for other purposes: parts of a revision of *The Fall of Gondolin* were written on drafts of the etymology of *wariangle* (Tolkien, 1984, p. 147). The versos of slips are also informative about other *OED* workers: see Dutton, 1987.

warm (wārm), adj.

[Com. Teut. ; OE. wearm = OFris. warm (mod. W.Fris. waerm, N.Fris. wāram), MDu., Du. warm ~~wearm~~, OS. warm (MLG. war(e)m, LG. warm), OHG. war(a)m (MHG., G. warm), ON. varmr (Norw., Sw., Da. varm) Goth. warm- in warmjan 'to warm, cherish': — OTeut. *warmō, also *werm- (in ON. vermel 'red', masc. warult, OHG. wirma, MHG. wirm(e) fem. warult).

The further relationship of this word is somewhat doubtful.

In spite of ^{certain} the difficulties attending such an etymology it is probably to be compared ^{ident. with Indo-European} with Pre-Teut. *gwhormō, or *gwhermō ^{found in} Skr. gharmā 'heat', Avesta garamō 'hot', Grk. θερμός 'hot', L. formus 'warm', OPrussian gorme 'heat', Albanian zjarm 'heat', Armenian yerm 'warm', derivatives of *gwher- with a radical sense of heat. For another possible example of initial w- in Teut. from *gwh- or *ghw- see WILD adj. Compare also the similar phonetic phenomena in Latin whereby older gw- gave g- before i, and consonants, v- before other vowels (e.g. vorare, gurgēs).

Figure 1: OED slips, headword *Warm*, etymology. (Reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library)

any indication of when they were written. A certain amount can be deduced from the dates stamped on bundles of slips when they were sent for typesetting: for example, Tolkien must have started writing definitions before 3 April 1919, which is when the first bundle to which he contributed was sent to press. Beyond this, all that is certain regarding the start of his work is that by the end of March 1919, according to Oxford University Press accounts, he had been paid one-and-a-half months' salary, although this may have been for work begun late in 1918 and carried out part-time. (Humphrey Carpenter's biography states that Tolkien joined the staff of the Dictionary in November, soon after the Armistice.) The OUP accounts also show that he ceased to be paid out of Dictionary funds at the end of June 1920, but that for the last month he was engaged in work connected with an anthology of Middle English texts (Sisam, 1921)⁴

rather than the OED – although, as we shall see, this work did in fact continue to benefit the Dictionary. Tolkien remained in touch with Henry Bradley after ceasing to work for OUP, as is shown by a postcard from Leeds, dated 26 June 1922, in which he quotes an Anglo-Saxon riddle (which he describes as *enigma saxonicum nuper inventum*), but it seems unlikely that the contact was more than social.⁵ As for the order in which Tolkien performed the main body of his lexicographical work – the drafting of Dictionary entries – I have had to assume that work proceeded through the alphabetical sequence, as it does in Oxford Dictionaries today, and have therefore described it in alphabetical order by headword, except where there is good reason to do otherwise.

According to Humphrey Carpenter, in his first weeks Tolkien "was given the job of researching the etymology of

⁴ Tolkien's contribution was the preparation of a glossary, which appeared separately as *A Middle English Vocabulary* (1922) – his first published book.

⁵ Later in 1923 Tolkien's riddle was published in the anthology *A Northern Venture* (Leeds University English School Association, 1923) under the heading "Enigmata Saxonica Nuper Inventa Duo". The cordiality of Tolkien's relations with Bradley are vividly conveyed in the heartfelt obituary (signed "J.R.R.T."): "To see him working in the Dictionary Room at the Old Ashmolean and to work for a time under his wise and kindly hand was a privilege not at that time looked for. [. . .] The Memory of more recent years recalls with a sense of great loss his piled table in the Dictionary Room; and many, whether occasional visitors, or workers in that great dusty workshop, that brownest of brown studies, preserve a picture of him as he sat writing there, glimpses of him momentarily held in thought, with eyes looking into the grey shadows of the roof, pen poised in the air to descend at last and fix a sentence or a paragraph complete and rounded, without blot or erasure, on the paper before him" (Tolkien, 1923). The obituary ends with an alliterative verse tribute to Bradley, once again in Anglo-Saxon.

warm, wasp, water, wick (lamp), and winter" (Carpenter, 1977, p. 101). The extent to which Tolkien's work on these etymologies was made use of by later editors is, unfortunately, uncertain, since many of the relevant slips are missing: however, most of the etymology of *warm* at least is in Tolkien's hand, and although it is completed in Henry Bradley's hand, it is likely that this is based on an earlier draft by Tolkien (see figure 1).

Probably even before this etymological research, and certainly before he began to draft entries on a substantial scale, Tolkien embarked on an ancillary task which drew upon his thorough knowledge of Old English, and whose results were made use of long after he had given up work on the Dictionary. At some stage during the collection of quotation evidence, numerous important Old and Middle English texts had been examined by readers who copied out illustrative quotations but were unable to lemmatize the words illustrated, that is, to convert the form occurring in the text to the form with which a dictionary entry would be headed. Tolkien was one of a small number of people who lemmatized these slips by writing the correct lemmas alongside the cited forms noted by the less able readers, thereby allowing the slips for each lemma to be placed together. Quotations of this type exist for words in the range *waedle* to *wursien*.

Somewhat surprisingly, I have found very little evidence that Tolkien habitually wrote out quotations encountered during his everyday reading, as his colleagues certainly did: slips sent in by readers from all over the English-speaking world were, of course, still flooding in – as they do to this day – and it must surely have been as automatic for lexicographers in Tolkien's time as it is now for myself and my colleagues to contribute quotations from their own reading in the same way. However, apart from a single quotation for the word *smirkle*, taken from Lewis Carroll's *Sylvie and Bruno*, no quotations in Tolkien's handwriting for words outside the letter W have come to light. The existence of one slip, nevertheless, does suggest that there were others which simply cannot be found; which is a pity, since they would have provided an interesting glimpse of Tolkien's recreational reading habits.

After some little time spent in learning his job, then, Tolkien at last started work on the drafting of Dictionary entries. This central task seems to have been organized much as it is today: each assistant was allocated an alphabetical range by his or her Editor, and would deal with all aspects of the final text – pronunciation, spelling variants, and etymology, as well as the defining of the various senses and the selection and copy-editing of illustrative quotations. The text prepared in this way would eventually be revised by the Editor, who frequently made substantial changes such as re-classifying the senses (and rewriting the definitions accordingly), choosing different quotations, and even deciding to reject a word entirely, often because of a paucity of quotation evidence. Variations to this routine were made

when some assistants were not competent to deal with certain aspects of particular entries, such as the etymology of a word derived from an unusual language (in some cases these were even left to be added in proof).

The raw material for the creation of Dictionary text, namely the quotation slips, would have already undergone some initial processing by the time an assistant such as Tolkien came to work on it: this included sorting into alphabetical order (no small task) and, in the case of more complex words, preliminary arrangement of slips approximately by sense. Some of the sub-editors who carried out this work went further, and wrote first drafts of definitions.⁶ A great many of these editorial slips were, however, rejected by the "official" lexicographers, including Tolkien, as is shown by the fact that definitions by these later workers are frequently written on the backs of the earlier drafts.

Tolkien's first editorial range appears to have been a short one consisting of the verb *waggle* and its cognates. Quite what training he will have received is not at all clear: it seems most likely to me that once embarked on drafting proper, assistants would be expected to learn from their mistakes. Certainly these early slips show an incomplete grasp of "house style", as can be seen from the number of corrections made by Bradley, who also rewrote the etymology of *waggle* v. completely (see figure 2). This initial range (*waggle* to *waggly*) was evidently returned with annotations to Tolkien, who made some further corrections. Tolkien also wrote out two quotations for an unrelated word (dealt with for the most part by Bradley), *wag(g)el* "a name for the Black-backed Gull, *Larus marinus*, in its immature state", probably through finding misfiled references to them among the evidence for *waggle*.

His next task, alphabetically, was to work on parts of the entry for the noun *wain* (wagon). He may have dealt with the whole entry, but all slips relating to the three main published senses show evidence only of Bradley's hand, and it seems more likely that Tolkien was assigned only the etymology and the end of the entry (where combinations such as *wain-house* and *wain-trees* are dealt with). Characteristically, the long etymological note contains a speculation about the ultimate derivation of the word, which Bradley felt obliged to tone down (see figures 3a and 3b).

The same division of labour between Tolkien and Bradley is observed in the case of *waist*: here, however, several of the *waist*- combinations require entries of their own, and in some cases division into senses. Thus having organized the final paragraphs of the entry for the main noun, Tolkien proceeded to write full entries for *waistband* (two senses), *waist-cloth* (three senses), and – after considerable deliberation (surely to be expected of a future connoisseur of the garment) – *waistcoat* (see figure 4). In fact Tolkien identified no less than four distinct varieties of garment denoted by this word, two of which he further subdivided into several subsenses (including at least three senses omitted from the published

⁶ For a full account of the various stages of the editorial process, see the article "The history of the Oxford English Dictionary" which appears in the prefatory matter to the Second Edition of the *OED*. See also Murray, 1977.

(waggle sb.) 911 (50)

waggle, sb^l [f. WAGGLE v.] ~~no se. waggle~~

~~The action of WAGGLE v.~~

1 ~~wagging or shaking anything held, or fixed at one end, chiefly used as a spec. term in Golf (see quote i).~~

~~in trans. act of wagging; spec. in Golf (see quote) 1897~~

William

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(waggle, v.)

916

1. & trans.

~~transitive~~ a. To move (anything held, or fixed at one end) to and fro with short ~~rapid~~ quick ^{undulation} motions, or with a rapid ~~motion~~; esp. to shake (any movable part of the body) (of persons or animals). In sports or games often (colloq. or humorous) to wield or manipulate anything held in the hand. (a bat, racket, etc.)

Figure 2: OED slips, headword Waggle, (a) noun (start); (b) verb (first sense). (Reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library)

(Wain, sb.)

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[OE. wagen & wæn], str. masc. = OFris. wein str. masc. (mod. Wfris. wein, woin, win, Nfris. wein, wā(w)ij), ODu. ~~reidi-~~ wagan (MDu. wæghen, Du. wagen), MLG, LG. wagen, OHG. wagan str. masc. (MHG., G. wagen), ON. vagn str. masc. cart, barrow (Norw. vagn ^{the Great Bear}, vogn cart, Da. vogn, Sw. vagn cart): — OTeut. * wāgnoz — The Pre-Teut. form was probably * wegnos = GIr. Eén waggan, as Radical not-abstract in forms with the same suffix is improbable, and ~~there is some evidence~~ ^{some evidence} ~~that~~ ^{has been} a primitive Teut. change ~~of~~ weg to wa before consonant groups. Allied forms are Sansk. vahana riding, vahana vehicle, ~~and~~ without suffix Gk. ἄγος ~~is~~ waggon. All are derivatives of * wegh (see WEIGH)]

Figure 3a: OED slips, headword *Wain*, etymology. (Reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library)

entry), with two historical notes in small type completing the thorough description. (The note attached to sense 1a is in Bradley's hand, but is probably based on a first draft by Tolkien.)

After *waistcoat* follow several other *waist-* compounds and derivatives (*waisted*, *waist-rail* and the like). The complex word *wait* was dealt with by Bradley, but he once again allowed Tolkien to "mop up" the related words, including *waiting* (together with combinations such as *waiting-room* and *waiting-woman*), *wait-a-bit* (a South African plant, whose diversity of spelling received comprehensive treatment before the simplifying touch of Bradley's pen) and *waiter*, whose eleven senses were left much as Tolkien drafted them. In a dictionary the size of the *OED* even nonce-words can find room; however, at this stage in the project the Editors were under considerable pressure to keep the volume of text down as much as possible, and so Tolkien's original full-scale entries for *waiterage* ("the performance of a waiter's duties"), *waiterdom* ("waiters considered as a class, or collectively"), *waiterhood* ("the state or condition of a waiter") and *waitering* ("the occupation of a waiter") were subsequently condensed into a subentry under *waiter*, and his definition of *waiterful* ("as much of anything as can be carried on a waiter, or tray") was omitted entirely.

With the exception of *waith* and *waive* and their cognates, the next five pages of the published Dictionary are closely based on Tolkien's work, including entries for the various kinds of *wake* – the nouns, that is: Bradley apparently considered the main verb too important or difficult for Tolkien at this stage, wrote the etymology himself and left the senses to be defined by another assistant. The nouns

were, in any case, something of a handful, there being possibly as many as five etymologically distinct words, of which three were eventually included. It may be worth examining some of the evidence left by Tolkien of his deliberations about two of these (see figure 5). The senses to do with vigils and wakefulness go back to Middle English, although now surviving only in connection with funerals (especially in Irish contexts) and some rural English merrymaking. Once again Tolkien's impulse was to say more about the history of the word and its connotations than Bradley could allow space for: the final draft of the published sense 3 carried a small-type note in which Tolkien observed, "This custom (cf. next sense) appears never to have been free from frivolous or disorderly tendencies. It now survives most vigorously in Ireland, or colonies of Irish." This (deleted) note represents the last stage in a long struggle to convey a sense of the word's overtones: earlier drafts of sense 4b (originally further subdivided into two subsenses by Tolkien) show a whole succession of attempts to capture aspects of a rural English wake:

very frequently mentioned with disapproval and characterised by riot, drunkenness, and dissolute conduct

a typical scene of uncultured excess or of unsophisticated simple speech

associated with the preservation of certain rustic sports as wrestling, single-sticks etc. [. . .] also used as a typical scene of boorish, sometimes unsophisticated or simple, speech and manners

the holiday-making marked by fairs, sports and often riot and drunkenness incident to such annual local

WAIN.

† **Waiming.** *Obs.* Also 4 **wamming**, 5 **waymynge**. [Perh. a corruption of **WAYMENT sb.** or **WAYMINTING vbl. sb.**, perh. an alteration of **wain-ing**, **WONING vbl. sb.**] Lamentation.

a 1300 *Cursor M.* 5721 He herd þair waiming and vn-quest.
Ibid. 14314 Iesus þair wamming [Gott. wainig.] vnderstod.
c 1420 *Auturs of Arth.* 87 (Douce MS.), Hit þaules, hit þauneres, with waymynges wete.

Waimto, *obs.* form of **WAME-TOW**.

Wain (wān), *sb.*¹ Forms: 1 wæzn, (wēzn), wæzen, wēn, 2-3 *Orm.* wazzn, 3-7 wayne, waine, 4-7 wayn, (5 wayen, 6 waayne, 4 *Sc. vayn*), 4-5 weyne, (5 wene, 6 weene, weane, 7 wean, wheane), 5-7 wane, 3- wain. [OE. *wægen*, *wān*, str. masc. = OFris. *wein* str. masc. (mod. Wfris. *wein*, *wain*, *wīn*, Nfris. *wein*, *wā(i)nf*), OLow Frankish *reit-wagan* (MDu. *waeghen*, Du. *wagen*), MLG., LG. *wagen*. OHG. *wagan* str. masc. (MHG., G. *wagen*), ON. *vagn* str. masc. cart, barrow (Norw. *vagn* the Great Bear, *vogn* cart, Da. *vogn*, Sw. *vagn* cart):—OTeut. **wagno-z*:—pre-Teut. **woghno-s* f. Indogermanic root **wegh-*, **wogh-* to carry, etc.: cf. WEIGH, WAW *vbs.*, WAY *sb.* Outside Teut. cognate words of similar meaning are Irish *fén* (:—pre-Celtic **weghno-s*) wagon, Gr. *ὄχος* (*φόχος*:—**wogho-s*), chariot, Skr. *vahana* neut., *vāhana* neut., chariot.

The pre-Teut. form may possibly have been **weghno-s*, corresponding with the pre-Celtic form; there is some evidence of an OTeut. change of *w-* to *wa-* before consonant groups.]

1. A large open vehicle, drawn by horses or oxen, for carrying heavy loads, esp. of agricultural produce; usually four-wheeled (but see 1 b); a wagon.

The word does not occur in the Bible of 1611, though Wyclif and the 16th c. translators use it. As a colloquial word it survives only in dialects, but in poetry it is commonly used instead of *wagon*.

Beowulf 3134 þær wæs wunden gold on wæn hladen. c 725 *Corpus Gl.* (Hessels) U 143 *Ueniculum* [read *Uchiculum*], wæzn. c 1250 *Gen. & Ex.* 2362 He bad cartes and waines nimen, And fechen wiues, and childre, and men, And gaf hem þor al lond gersen. 1297 R. Glouc. (Rolls) 8596 þat þer nas non so heuy charge of wayn ne of ober þinge þat me ne mihte ouer grete wateres boþe lede & bringe. a 1300 *Cursor M.* 5229 His suns all and þair flitting... In weynis war þai don to lede. 1375 *Barbour Bruce* x. 164 That apou his cowyn gat he Men that mycht [ane] enbuschement ma, Quhill that he with his wayn suld ga Till lede thaim hay in-to the peill. *Ibid.* xi. 24 A liull stane oft, as men sayis, May ger weltir ane mekill wane. 1398 *Trevisa Barth. De P. R.* xvii. lxxii. (1495) 646 And at the laste heye is led home in cartes and in waynes and broughte in to bernes for dyuers vse and nedes. 1432-50 tr. *Hyden* (Rolls) I. 137 Thei haue noo how-es, caryenge thaire wyfes and children in waynes [L. in *plaustris*]. 1449 *Yatton Churchw. Acc.* (Somerset Rec. Soc.) 92 For custom for our wene to Bristowe warde comyng and goyng, iij d. 1473 *Rental Bk. Cupar-Angus* (1879) I. 182 The said tenandis... sal lede to the abbay viii score of fuderis of petis the abbai fyndand wanis meit and drink to the ledaris. 1521 *Lincoln Wills* (1914) I. 83 To William my son my bonden wane, ij oxen that cam from Horncastell, [etc.]. 1523-34 *Fitzherb. Husb.* § 5 And or he shall lode his corne, he muste haue a wayne, a copyoke, [etc.]. 1576 *Act 18 Eliz.* c. 10 § 1 Everye person... shalbe charged to finde... one Carte Wayne Tumbrell... Carres or Draggis furnished for thameudent... of the Highe wayes within the severall Parishes. 1588 in *Archæologia* LXIV. 266 For viij weanes of Pillesley which ladd Timber from Pentridge, xvj d. 1617 *Moryson Itin.* iii. 19 Alexander the great set on fier with his owne hands the wanes of carriage taken from Darius. 1627 *May Lucan* v. li. The horses trample ore Safely where ships haue saild; the Bessians Furrow Mæotis frozen backe with waines. 1641 *Best Farm. Bks.* (Surtees) 46 Wee leade in our winter corne usually with three waines. 1688 *W. Scot Hist. Name Scot* i. (1894) 35 According to the old Proverb, They but fell from the Wains tail. 1731 *T. Boston Mem.* vii. (1899) 106 On Thursday... came the wains with the household-furniture from Dunse. 1784 *Cowper Task*

feasts.

The second etymologically distinct noun *wake* gave Tolkien problems of a different kind, to do with the arrangement of the senses. At one point he copied out the *OED* definitions of several senses of the words *rear* and *train* onto separate slips, presumably as models on which to base his own treatment of the corresponding senses: indeed his final draft of the preamble to the phrase “in the wake of” suggested that “in these expressions **WAKE** is often practically synonymous with **TRAIN**” – a remark deleted by Bradley as not in keeping with the usually self-contained style of *OED* entries, with minimal cross-referencing. Tolkien was clearly still learning.

The words following *wake* (except for an entry for *wake-robin*) belonged to the ranges of other assistants. Tolkien’s next word was *wallop*: both the relatively straightforward noun, and the verb, concerning the etymology of which Tolkien provides no less than five paragraphs of scholarly speculation, hardly altered at all by Bradley, who by this stage clearly had considerable confidence in him (see figure 6) – sufficient confidence to entrust him with the Old English word *walm* (synonymous in some senses with *wallop*, which is perhaps why Tolkien was given both to do). Incidentally, Tolkien apparently had sufficient evidence for the bizarre expression “the right to wallop one’s own nigger” to draft a slip for it, but must have excised it from his entry at a fairly early stage, judging from its provisional sense number.

In the next few pages of the Dictionary, most of which is the work of others, Tolkien contributed to three other isolated words: *walnut*, *walrus* and *wampum*. I am sure that the reason for this departure from the usual assignment of a continuous alphabetical range is that all three words turned out to have unusually tricky etymologies. Frustratingly, the entire entry for *wampumpeag* (the Algonquian word from which *wampum* derives) is missing; but Tolkien’s deliberations over *walnut* and *walrus* have certainly left their mark.⁷ In the case of *walrus* at least six neatly written versions (of which figure 7 is probably one of the earliest) of the etymology precede the final printed form, all attempting to reconstruct the route by which Old Norse *rosmhvalr* or *rosmall* arrived in Dutch (from which it was borrowed into English in the seventeenth century) as *walrus*. Bradley was obviously pleased with the result since when the fascicle *W-Wash* was published in October 1921, *walnut*, *walrus* and *wampum* were amongst the few entries singled out in its Introduction as containing “etymological facts or suggestions not given in other dictionaries”.

Tolkien seems next to have been assigned the whole of the range containing the challenging words *wan*, *wander* and *wane*. Whether or not there is any truth in the suggestion, often made, that in his creative writing Tolkien brings particular enthusiasm to his descriptions of “bad things”, he certainly relished the task of working out the sense-development of *wan* and *wane*. In particular he was intrigued that *wan*, which in Old English had meant “dark, gloomy,

⁷ Tolkien’s daughter Priscilla has kindly informed me that he was sufficiently exercised by these two words in particular to discuss them at home.

Wake (wə'k), *sb.*¹ Forms: 4 wak, woke, *Sc.* walk, 6 waoke, also *pl.* (sense 4) waakes, wakesses, waks, 2- wake. [In form the word corresponds to OE. *wacu str. fem., occurring once in *nichtwaco* night-watch. Compare also the wk. fem. forms, MDu. *wake* (Du. *waak*), MLG. *wake*, OHG. *wacha* (MHG., modG. *wache*), wakefulness, watching, watch, ON. *waka* (MSw., Sw. *waka*, Norw. *waka*) watch, vigil, eve of a feast; related to WAKE *v.* In the sense 'state of wakefulness', the sb. is prob. in part a new formation in ME. on the stem of WAKE *v.*, on the analogy of *sleep* vb. and sb. In sense 4 adoption from ON. is possible; the sense 'merry-making' is found in ON. and Norw.; cf. ON. *finswaka*, Norw. *fins(w)aka* St. John's Eve, Midsummer festivities.]

1. The state of wakefulness *esp.* during normal hours of sleep. *Obs. exc. in sleep and (or) wake, wake and dream.*

a 1250 *Owl & Night*. 1590 Al for hire louerdes sake Hanep daies care and nites wake. 1596 SHAKS. 1 *Hen. IV.* III. i. 219 Making such difference betwixt Wake and Sleepe, As is the difference betwixt Day and Night. 1823 'JON BEE' *Dict. Turf & v.*, At Bristol one eye is ever upon the wake while the other nappeth. 1844 MRS. BROWNING *Brown Rosary* II, Repeat the vow—declare its cause and kind Which, not to break, in sleep or wake, thou bearest on thy mind. 1898 J. B. CROZIER *My Inner Life* I. iv. 33 In that half-conscious state between sleep and wake. 1913 *Edin. Rev.* Jan. 194 Their beauty is the beauty of a kind of mirage that haunts the borders between wake and dream.

† b. A state or period of wakefulness. *Obs.*
1621 HEAUM. & FL. *Philaster* II. (1620)25 What thinke you of a pleasing dreame to last till morning? *Gal.* I shall chose

Church of Westminster. a 1642 Bp. MOUNTAGU *Acts & Mon.* (1642) 434 After this Supper ended followes (among the Essenes) a sacred wake, or vigill, kept in this manner.

3. The watching (*esp.* by night) of relatives and friends beside the body of a dead person from death to burial, or during a part of that time; the drinking, feasting, and other observances incidental to this. Now chiefly *Anglo-Irish* or with reference to Irish custom. Also applied to similar funeral customs in other times or among pagan peoples.

1412-20 LYDG. *Chron. Troy* IV. 3261 What shulde I now any lenger dwelle. . . for to telle. . . of þe plicies called palestrial, Nor þe wastelyng þat was at þe wake? a 1529 SHELTON *P. Sparrowe* 437 The gosse and the gander, The gucke and the drake, Shall wache at this wake. 1573 *Inu. Ketschange* (Somerset Ho.), Her wacke and buriall xliij'. 1700 DRYDEN *Pal. & Arc.* III. 998 The warlike Wakes continu'd all the Night, And Funeral Games were played at new-returning Light. 1724 SWIFT *Acc. Wool's Exec.* Misc. (1735) V. 317 When he was cut down, the Body was carried through the whole City to gather Contributions for his Wake. 1726-31 WALDRON *Descr. Isle of Man* (1865) 60 When a person dies, several of his acquaintance come to sit up with him, which they call the Wake. 1778 *Phil. Surv. S. Irel.* 210 The series of ceremonies used on the night, . . . that the corpse remains unburied, is what they call a wake. 1814 W. S. MASON *Statist. Acc. Irel.* I. 596 The Presbyterian wake is conducted with profound silence and great decorum. . . The wakes of the members of the established church differ little from those in other parts of Ireland. 1827 LIVINGSTONE *Trav.* xxiii. 468 A poor man and his wife were accused of having bewitched the man, whose wake was now held in the village. 1874 C. E. NORTON *Lett.* (1912) II. 47 Summer is dead. We have had a great wake over him, and the echoes of it have scarcely yet died away. 1894 GLADSTONE *Odes Hor.* II. xviii. 18 New contracts for new marble: thou dost make, But thou art near thy wake.

4. The vigil of a festival (and senses thence derived).

In this use *wake* is a translation of Eccl. I. *vigilia*, primarily referring to the rule of the early church that certain feast-days should be preceded by services lasting through the night. When this rule had ceased to exist, the vigil continued to be a pretext for nocturnal festivity, and the use of the word *wake* was extended to denote not only the eve but also the feast-day itself, and the whole period during which festivities continued.

a. The vigil or eve of a festival, and the observances belonging to this. Also, a festival. *Obs. exc. dial.*

15. . . *Part of a Register* (1593) 64 Their Saints dayes and their prescript seruice. Their waakes, and idolatrous bankets. 1523 BERNERS *Froiss.* (1812) I. clxix. 207 Great solemnities were made in all churches, and great fyers and wakes, throughout all Englande. 1600 SUFFOLK *Country Farm* II. liiii. 276, I knowe well that the common sort doe verily thinke and auzere, that this seede cannot be gathered but on the night of the wakes of S. John in sommer. a 1629 HINDS *J. Bruen* xxix. (1641) 83 Their Wakes and Vigils, in all riot and excesse of eating and drinking. a 1806 H. K. WHITE *Poems* (1837) 136 Such is the jocund wake of Whitsuntide. 1876 *Mid-Yorks. Gloss.*, *Wake*, casually employed in Mid-Yorks. and the north, for vigils, or the superstitious rites performed on the eves of St. Agnes and St. Mark.

b. The local annual festival of an English (now chiefly rural) parish, observed (originally on the feast of the patron saint of the church, but now usually on some particular Sunday and the two or three days following) as an occasion for making holiday, entertainment of friends, and often for village sports, dancing, and other amusements.

In modern rustic use chiefly *pl.* in sing. sense and often with sing. construction (cf. the double *pl. wakesses*, in 16th c. *wakesses*). The word is now current only in certain districts, mainly northern and west midland; elsewhere the equivalent term is *feast or revels*.

a 1225 *Ancre. R.* 314 Heo hefde ileaned one wurmone to one wake on of hore weaden. c 1290 *S. Eng. Leg.* 412/381

Waka (wə'k), *sb.*² Also 6 ?walk, 7 wack.

[Not found before the 16th c., but possibly much older; either directly or mediately a. ON. (**waku*) *upk* str. fem., *waka* wk. fem., hole or opening in ice. The ON. word was probably applied to the path made for itself by a vessel through ice, and from this use the sense 'trace or track of a vessel in the water' may have been developed by Scandinavian navigators in British seas. Sense 5, 'line of hay', if it really belongs to the same word, may be a transferred use of the nautical sense.]

The word is represented in all the Scandinavian dialects, and has been adopted in Du., Fris., and Ger. The sense 'track of a vessel' is found, outside Eng., only in Norw. *wak* (dial. *waki*, N. Fris. (Sylt) *wak*; the older sense, 'hole or channel in ice' (sometimes, 'a piece of water kept unfrozen by wind or current') belongs to MSw. *vaak*, *wak*, Sw. *wak* cf. Sw. *räcka* to cut a hole in ice), Norw. *wak*, Da. *vnage*, W. Fris. *wak*, *wjekke*, Du. *wak* neut., MLG., LG. (whence mod. G.) *wake* fem.

The word is commonly supposed to be connected with ON. *upk-r*, Du. *wak*, moist, damp; see WAK *a.* This view involves some difficulty, as the ON. adj. has the stem *upk-r*, while the sb. has genit. *wakar*, pl. *wakar*, -ir. Connexion with WAKE *a.* and *v.* seems not impossible: the freeing of the water from ice may have been regarded as an awakening.]

1. The track left on the water's surface by a ship (in the sea often marked by a smooth appearance).

[1547; see 4a.] 1627 CAPT. J. SMITH *Sea Gram.* ix. 49 The wake of a ship is the smooth water a sterne shewing the way shee hath gone in the sea. 1703 DAMPIER *Voy.* III. i. 97 In the Wake of the Ship (as 'tis call'd) or the Smoothness which the Ship's passing has made on the Sea. 1768-74 TUCKER *Lt. Nat.* (1834) I. 412 The wake of a ship (by which, I think, the sailors understand the stream drawn after the stern by its motion) follows the ship throughout her voyage. 1820 W. SCORESBY *Acc. Arctic Regions* II. 240 An 'eddy' having somewhat the resemblance of the 'wake' or track of a ship. 1852 CROUGH *Poems*, 'Where lies the land' 8 Or, o'er the stern reclining, watch below The foaming wake far widening as we go. 1861 DICKENS *Gt. Expect.* liv, Both steamers were drifting away from us, and we were rising and falling in a troubled wake of water. 1882 W. H. WHITE *Nasal Arch.* (ed. 2) 553 The actual wake of a ship combines the stream line motions with those due to the frictional drag of the skin upon the water. 1913 *Engl. Rev.* Nov. 506 Her wake was without foam and closed sluggishly behind her.

attrib. 1865 MACFREGOR 'Rob Roy *Baltic* 229 A canoe was pulled at a rapid pace in the two wake waves astern of this great smack. 1909 BRIDGES *Paraphr. Virg.* *Æn. VI* 342 What God. . . Pluckt you away and drown'd it? *swif* wake-water abandon'd?

† b. Phrases. *To fetch (get, get into, have) the wake of* (a nursed vessel): to get so close to her

II. 5. A line of hay prepared for carting. *dial.*

1847 HALLIWELL *Wake*, hay placed in large rolls for the convenience of being carried. *West. Ibd.*, *Wakes*, rows of green damp grass. 1872-4 JEFFERIES *Toilers of Field* (1892) 259 The waggon safely jolted over the furrow, and on between the wakes of light-brown hay. 1879 — *Wild Life in S. Co.* vii. 113 Watching that the 'wallows' waves be turned over properly, and the 'wakes' made at a just distance from each other.

III. 6. An open hole, or unfrozen place in the ice. *dial.* (East Anglia.)

1895 P. H. EMERSON *Birds etc. Norf. Broadland* II. xiii. 379, I passed a 'wake' — or open space in the ice — where the swans were swimming like sentries on duty.

† **Wake**, *sb.*³ *Obs. rare*-. [Possibly a. some native African word, but evidently regarded by Jobson as onomatopoeic.] A North African bird.

1623 JOBSON *Golden Trade* 155 The next [bird] in greatness, is called a Wake, in regard of the great noise hee makes when hee flyeth, which resembleth what he is called by. . . [It] is a bird of great stature, hauing the vpper part of his head carrying a beautifull shew, with a pleasing tuft on his Crowne, which I haue seene worne by great personages here at home.

WALLOP.

(Boxing) His opponent... has a prodigious 'wallop', but no great amount of skill.

b. *dial. (Sc.)* A (violent) beat of the heart or of the pulse.

1787 BURNS *Addr. Unco Guid* iv, Think, when your castigated pulse Gies now and then a wallop, What ragings must his veins convulse, That still eternal gallop. 1824 MACTAGART *Gallow. Encycl.* 484, I thought it [my heart] wad hae jumped clean out o' my brisket; lord I what wallops it gaed.

5. A flapping or fluttering rag. *Sc.*

1776 C. KEITH *Farmer's Ha'* xxxiv, Beggars they come in gelore, Wi' wallops flapping in great store. 1866 GREGOR *Banffsh. Gloss., Wallop*, a rag hanging loose and fluttering.

Wallop (wɒ'lɒp), *v.* Inflected walloped (wɒ'lɒpt), walloping. Forms: 4-5 wallop(e, 5 walloppe, 5-6 walap, walloppe, 5-7 walopp(e, 9 wallup, whallup, wollup, 6- wallop [a. ONF. *waloper = F. galoper (see GALLOP v.1)]. The existence of this form is evidenced in addition to the English forms by OF. *walos* sb. pl. and the adopted form Flem. *walop*(pe), MHG. *walop*, -ap sb. MHG. *walopiren* vb., and probably by mod. Walloon (Sigart) *waloper* to rinse linen in water. Cf. Norw. (Aasen) *val(h)hoppa* vb., app. an etymologizing alteration, after Norw. *hoppa* to leap, dance.

A satisfactory origin for this word in French has not been suggested. It is probably purely echoic, or an echoic alteration of some Teut. element or elements. The Provençal form *galauper* has suggested Teut. *ga-hlaupan (OE. *gehlaupan*, f. ge-Y prefix + *hlapan* to LEAP), but the evidence for original *w-* precludes the comparison of the initial element.

In English the onomatopoeic suggestion of the word has lent itself to varied extension of meanings and to a vague (usually colloq. and humorous) application to violent noisy movements, more especially since the form GALLOP ousted it from the more elevated uses (in the course of the 16th c.).

The sense 'to boil rapidly' is probably derived directly by transference from sense 1 (cf. GALLOP v.2 to boil) in spite of the close resemblance of the word to WALL v.1 + UP (cf. *wall up*, and Du. *opwallen*). The relation of POTWALLOPER to POTWALLER indicates that some such association was active.

The sense 'to beat' may be ultimately due to the causative use (sense 2, and cf. F. *galoper* trans.), or may be entirely due to onomatopoeic extension.]

† I. 1. *intr.* To gallop. *Obs.*

a. of horses.

a 1400 [see WALLOPING *ppl. a.*] c 1430 *Syr Gener.* (Roxb.) 3642 Al this folk of mych price in feire armes, and helmes shene, . . . withe feire stedes walopand. c 1440 *Promp. Parv.* 514/2 Waloppon, as horse, *volopto*. c 1489 CAXTON *Sonnes of Aymon* xiv. 346 Cam there kyng charlemagn, as fast as his horse myghte walop. 1513 DOUGLAS *Eneis* xi. x. 23 (1710), He [the courser] sprentis furth, and ful proude waloppis he, Hie strekand vp his hede with mony ane ne. 1590 LEVINS *Manip.* 169/34 To gallop, *fundere gradus*, to Wallop, *idem, cursitare*.

b. of a rider.

1375 BARBOUR *Bruce* II. 440 To this word thai assentyt all, And fra thaim walopyt owyr mar. c 1420 WYNTOUN *Cron.* iv. 234 (Cott.) De cursoure he straik wibe be spuris, And walapande our floyis and furis Al befor be ost he rade. c 1440 *Generydes* 3325 He founde anon The kyng of kynggez vppe and down rideng, And he anon to hym com waloping. c 1500 *Melusine* xxi. 130 And thenne the Knight broched hys hors, and waloped toward hys felawes. 1529 LYNDESAY *Compl.* 179 And sum, to schaw thare courtlie corsis, Wald ryid to leith, and ryn thare horssis, And wychtlie walloppe ouer the sandis. 1721 RAMSAY *Up in Air* i, And witches wallop o'er to France, Up in the air On my bony grey mare.

† 2. *trans.* To let gallop, put to the gallop. *Obs. rare.* (Cf. GALLOP v.1 3.)

c 1489 CAXTON *Blanchardyn* xi. 42 Blanchardyn wyth a glad chere waloped his courser as bruyantly as he coude. 1490 — *Eneydos* lxi. 161 A knyghte . . . came ayenste hym as faste as he myghte spore and waloppe his horse.

II. 3. *intr.* To boil violently and with a noisy bubbling. Also *fig.*

1579 TOMSON *Cabin's Serm. Tim.* 191/2 Oure affections boyle within vs, & wallop, frothing as a seething potte. 1617 J. MOORE *Mappe Mans Mortalitie* i. iii. 25 This corruption . . . sendeth out the filthy scum of all vncleanesse, which continually broyleth and walloppeth in our nature. a 1649 S. CROOKE *Div. Charact.* l. xxxiii. (1658) 499 There is litle to choose between a boyling pot unscummed, and the pot that,

black", should have come to be applied to pale or faint things: the published entry represents his final conclusions (see figure 8), and is once again largely unchanged by Bradley, but it does not suggest the welter of different versions Tolkien considered, some of which are barely more than strings of near-synonymous words, apparently jotted down in an attempt to clarify his thinking (e.g. "with connot[at]ions of fading foulness unnatural pallor"; "anaemic emaciated"): the various versions between them contain approximately forty "bad" adjectives and nouns, and even the final form of the entry is unusually plentiful in these. The verb *wane* may not have been all Tolkien's work, although the etymology is in his handwriting (a number of the senses are defined in Bradley's hand, and I could find no rejected versions by Tolkien): he did, however, deal with the archaic and obsolete nouns and adjective. By far the largest component of this range, however, was the work required on the verb *wander* and its cluster of related words. Once again Tolkien's final versions reach the printed page with little or no alteration. (On the back of one quotation for *wandering* are some rather curious jottings in Tolkien's hand, which appear to be rapidly-noted examples of some consonantal changes occurring in Indo-European languages (see figure 9). I regret to say that I cannot connect this philological doodle with either his lexicographical work or the invented languages he was working on at this time: it more probably relates to an incidental rumination or discussion with a colleague. Some of the Greek jottings appear to be an illustration of the philological rule known as Grassmann's Law.) Two of Tolkien's other entries in this range reflect his awareness of the poetical qualities of words: early draft entries for the obsolete nouns *wan* "bruise" and *wandreth* "adversity" include a note of the other *w-* words which frequently co-occur with each of them in alliterative writing — something not often commented on in *OED* definitions (and in fact deleted from *wan* by Bradley). In the case of *wandreth* Tolkien perceived in these co-occurring words (grouped as *woel/wraket/wer* and *wel/welthel/worldes riches*) a basis for distinguishing two senses, denoting respectively "evil circumstances, affliction, misery" and "embarrassment of circumstances, poverty": once again this was too expansive for the *OED*, and Bradley collapsed them into one definition, although a brief comment on the word's alliterative companions remains.

Tolkien's next word was *want* — one of the twenty or so commonest verbs in English, and surely ample evidence of Bradley's willingness to let him tackle even the most significant entries more or less without intervention or correction. Of the twenty-eight separate definitions for the verb, nineteen of Tolkien's slips went to press, including those for most of the main senses, and at least two more formed the basis of revised slips by Bradley. The early part of the entry for the noun is missing, but most of what remains in the manuscript is also Tolkien's largely unaltered text.

Isolated words, rather than alphabetical ranges, make up the rest of Tolkien's contribution to the first edition of the *OED*. He dealt with the etymologically troublesome

Cf. also earlier G. roszwal, ruszwal, Norw. russwal
 ? OFr. rohal (rohant, later rochal by association with
roche) walrus-ivory (but DuCange rohanlum, -allum,
).

This formation has been interpreted as 'horse-whale' which is zoologically ~~original~~ and appears to be only one of the popular etymologies that have influenced the forms of the word. The existence of an ON. ~~rosswal~~ rosshvalr a kind of whale (not walrus) may have assisted this and have been the origin even of the OE. form occurring as it does ^{only} in Alfred's record of the Scandinavian Guthere's report. An element in the purple contains recs the that speakers of Southern Teut. languages heard and confused his word with

Figure 7: OED reject slips, headword *Walrus*. (Reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library)

wariangle (a name for the shrike, found in Chaucer), and with the once almost obsolete word *warlock*, which seems to have been revived by its use in the novels of Walter Scott: unfortunately many slips for this entry are missing, but from what remains it is clear that the etymology and sense-division, and most of the definition text, are Tolkien's work. Finally there are a small number of words which, while scattered across the letter W, are sufficiently similar in form for their early spellings to coincide, thus making it sensible for someone to work on them as a group. The main members of the group are *Weald*, *wield*, *wild* and *wold*: apart from *Weald* (much of which is missing, although the word itself and several derivatives were at least started by Tolkien), all of these lie in ranges edited not by Bradley but by his colleague C.T. Onions, who seems to have preferred rewriting a slip to attempting to annotate it with his corrections – thus leaving frustratingly few of Tolkien's own slips. However, discarded slips for most of the entry for *wold* have survived, as has Tolkien's etymology for *wild*, and I suspect that he in fact dealt with these words in their entirety, although to judge from the example of *wold* the definitions in the printed text are probably mainly the work of Onions: very little of Tolkien's definitions of *wold*, or even of his division of it into senses, escaped alteration. The etymologies, however, are vintage Tolkien, complete with long lists of cognates in other European languages living and dead, speculations about the ulterior origins of Old Teutonic

**wilbijaz* and **walpuz*, and some general remarks about the sense-development of *wold* which are unusually chatty even for Tolkien:

The primitive meaning of this word was probably "wild, unexplored, or untilled land; wilderness". In early Northern Europe these senses would easily interchange with the sense "forest". In OE. this later is the only evidenced meaning, and the occasional application of the word to mountainous districts appears to be a translation of L. *saltus* (e.g. *Pireni weald*). Some of the senses that appear later in English seem more easily derivable from an original meaning "wilderness", but this development is probably connected solely with the historical deforestation of England, which has produced districts of very varying character in place of former woodlands.

WOLD (and its different forms) appears generally speaking to have become obsolete during the 15th., or early in the 16th., century, except locally or dialectally (especially as applied as a fixed name to certain definite localities). From the seventeenth century onwards its use is largely artificial, and its senses apparently due either to the changed character of the localities where the name had become fixed, or to knowledge of the word in OE. or ME. The distinction drawn in quot[ation] 1577 (Sense 1) between the forms *Wald* and *Wold*, and so by implication between Northern and

brigade ("now a subdivision (usually a 3rd or 4th part) of a 'division', and consisting of 3-6 battalions" – obviously based on his own recent experiences), and his observation that, in addition to the entry for the Middle English diminutive *-kin*, the suffix *-kins* should be included because of its modern colloquial use "in endearing forms of address" (an entry along these lines did indeed appear in the 1933 *Supplement*).

But the vast majority of Tolkien's marginal annotations originate in the work he did on a number of fourteenth-century texts for Kenneth Sisam during the spring of 1920. The publication of "Sisam's 14th Cent[ur]y reader" (as it appears in the OUP ledger) entailed the careful examination of many important texts of the period, which are excerpted or given in their entirety in the book: in the course of this scrutiny Tolkien came across several dozen antedatings (instances of particular words being used earlier than their first date as given in the *OED*). So, for example, whereas in the *OED* the verb *hem* "to edge or border (a garment or cloth); to decorate with a border, fringe, or the like" is recorded no earlier than 1440, Tolkien noted the phrase "þe gurdel þat is golde-hemmed" in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, which constitutes an antedating of at least forty years: in a few cases words were antedated by over a century.

Perhaps surprisingly, most of these marginalia have not been acted on: thus the second edition (1989) of the *OED* contains entries for *brigade* and *hem* which are unchanged as far as Tolkien's comments are concerned. The explanation of this lies in the two decades following the publication of the 1933 *Supplement*, during which OUP disbanded the *OED* team and work on maintaining the Dictionary ceased completely. Operations recommenced in 1957 with the appointment of Robert Burchfield to oversee the expansion of the 1933 *Supplement* into what eventually became four volumes, later to be combined with the original twelve together with about 5000 new entries to form the twenty-volume second edition of 1989; but this expanded edition is not a comprehensive revision of the original work, and many

of the materials assembled for the task of revision have yet to be taken into account. In consequence, these handwritten notes by Tolkien may be made use of well into the next century, as work proceeds toward the third edition of the *OED*.

Conclusion

The significance of Tolkien's work on the *OED* at the beginning of his academic career is not easy to assess. His publications in the years immediately following 1920 include much in terms of philology that follows on directly from his work with Henry Bradley and Kenneth Sisam,⁹ and his own statements indicate the value he himself placed on what he learnt while at work on the Dictionary. It is perhaps sufficient to say that without such an early and extensive opportunity to nurture his native fascination with words as individuals to be studied, the course of his subsequent academic career might have been very different. Certainly there are clear early signs of familiar tendencies in Tolkien's approach to writing of any kind: repeated and increasingly hasty re-drafting, a desire to say more than practical constraints allow, and an acute sensitivity to the impact words can have in addition to their apparent meanings.

I have not attempted to trace in detail the influence of Tolkien's lexicography on the vocabulary he used in his creative writing, but I would suggest that such research has the potential to cast considerable light on his creative processes. To take an obvious example, his use of the word *wold* – a fairly unusual word in modern English – to denote the grassy uplands of Rohan becomes more significant when we know how thoroughly he studied and puzzled over its origins and meanings. His writings of the 1920s, in particular the fragmentary *Lay of the Fall of Gondolin* and the various alliterative poems of that period, may contain evidence that other words assigned to him by Bradley continued to loom large in his vocabulary. I hope that by mapping out the extent of his work on the *OED* I have made available the raw materials on which such further research may be conducted.

Appendix: Entries in the *OED* worked on by Tolkien

(Wag(g)el)

Waggle sb., v.; Waggly

Wain sb.

Waist; Waistband, Waist-cloth, Waistcoat, Waistcoated, Waistcoateer, Waist-rail, Waist-tree; Waisted, Waister, Waistless

Wait-a-bit

Waiter; Waitership

Waiting sb., a.; Waiting-maid, Waiting-man, Waiting-room, Waiting-woman

Waitress

Wake sb., v.; Wake-robin, Wake-wort

Waldend

Wallop sb., v.; Walloper, Walloping sb., a.

Walm sb., v.; Walming

Walnut

⁹ Indeed, with the exception of the edition of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (1925), which he prepared with E.V. Gordon, all of his scholarly output up to 1932 can be described as philological: see Hammond, 1993.

Walrus
 Wampum (?Wampumpeag?)
 Wan sb., a., v.
 Wander sb., v.; Wanderable, Wandered, Wanderer, Wandering sb., a., Wanderment; Wander-year
 Wandreth
 Wane sb., a., v.
 Want sb., v; Want-louse
 Wariangle
 Warlock sb., v.; Warlockry
 Warm a.
 (?Wasp, Water?)
 Weald; Wealden, Wealding
 (?Wick?)
 Wield
 Wild
 (?Winter?)
 Wold

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