A Hand-Book of the English Language



ROBERT GORDON LATHAM

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THE

ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

BY

ROBERT GORDON LATHAM, M.D., F.R.S.,

LATE FELLOW OF KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE; FELLOW OF THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF
PHYSICIANS, LONDON; MEMBER OF THE ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
NEW YORK; LATE PROFESSOR OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON.

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TO

THE REV. WILLIAM BUTCHER, M.A.,

OF

ROPSLEY, LINCOLNSHIRE,

IN ADMIRATION OF HIS ACCOMPLISHMENTS AS A LINGUIST,

AND AS A TESTIMONY OF PRIVATE REGARD,

The following pages are Inscribed,

BY HIS FRIEND,

THE AUTHOR.

LONDON,
Nov. 4, 1841.

PREFACE

TO THE

SECOND EDITION.

The first edition of the present work was laid before the public, with the intention of representing in a form as systematic as the extent of the subject would allow, those views concerning the structure and relations of the English language, which amongst such scholars as had studied them with the proper means and opportunities, were then generally received; and which, so being received, might take their stand as established and recognized facts. With the results of modern criticism, as applied to his native tongue, it was conceived that an educated Englishman should be familiar. To this extent the special details of the language were exhibited; and to this extent the work was strictly a Grammar of the English Language.

But besides this, it was well known that the current grammarians, and the critical philologists, had long ceased to write alike upon the English, or indeed upon any other, language. For this reason the sphere of the work became enlarged; so that, on many occasions, general principles had to be enounced, fresh terms to be defined, and old classifications to be remodelled. This introduced extraneous elements of criticism, and points of discussion which, in a

more advanced stage of English philology, would have been superfluous. It also introduced elements which had a tendency to displace the account of some of the more special and proper details of the language. There was not room for the exposition of general principles, for the introduction of the necessary amount of preliminary considerations, and for the *minutiæ* of an extreme analysis. Nor is there room for all this at present. A work that should, at one and the same time, prove its principles, instead of assuming them, supply the full and necessary preliminaries in the way of logic, phonetics, and ethnology, and, besides this, give a history of every variety in the form of every word, although, perhaps, a work that one man might write, would be a full and perfect *Thesaurus* of the English Language, and, would probably extend to many volumes. For, in the English language, there are many first principles to be established, and much historical knowledge to be applied. Besides which, the particular points both of etymology and syntax are far more numerous than is imagined. Scanty as is the amount of declension and conjugation in current use, there are to be found in every department of our grammars, numerous isolated words which exhibit the fragments of a fuller inflection, and of a more highly developed etymology. This is well-known to every scholar who has not only viewed our language as a derivative of the Anglo-Saxon, and observed that there are similar relations between many other languages (*e. g.* the Italian and Latin, the German and Mœso-Gothic, &c.), but who has, also, generalized the phenomena of such forms of relationship and derivation, and enabled himself to see in the most uninflected languages of the nineteenth century, the fragments of a fuller and more systematic inflection, altered by

time, but altered in a uniform and a general manner.

The point, however, upon which, in the prefaces both of the first edition of the present work and of his English Grammar, the writer has most urgently insisted is the *disciplinal* character of grammatical studies in general, combined with the fact, that the grammatical study of one's own language is almost *exclusively* disciplinal. It is undoubtedly true, that in schools something that is called English Grammar is taught: and it is taught pretty generally. It is taught so generally that, I believe, here are only two classes of English boys and girls who escape it—those who are taught nothing at all in any school whatever, and those who are sent so early to the great classical schools (where nothing is taught but Latin and Greek), as to escape altogether the English part of their scholastic education. But what is it that is thus generally taught? not the familiar practice of speaking English—that has been already attained by the simple fact of the pupil having been born on English soil, and of English parents. Not the scientific theory of the language—that is an impossibility with the existing text-books. Neither, then, of these matters is taught. Nevertheless labour is expended, and time is consumed. What is taught? Something undoubtedly. The facts, that language is more or less regular (*i. e.* capable of having its structure exhibited by rules); that there is such a thing as grammar; and that certain expressions should be avoided, are all matters worth knowing. And they are all taught even by the worst method of teaching. But are these the proper objects of *systematic* teaching? Is the importance of their acquisition equivalent to the time, the trouble, and the displacement of more valuable subjects, which are involved in their explanation? I think not. Gross vulgarity of language

is a fault to be prevented; but the proper prevention is to be got from habit—not rules. The proprieties of the English language are to be learned, like the proprieties of English manners, by conversation and intercourse; and the proper school for both, is the best society in which the learner is placed. If this be good, systematic teaching is superfluous; if bad, insufficient. There *are* undoubted points where a young person may doubt as to the grammatical propriety of a certain expression. In this case let him ask some one older, and more instructed. Grammar, as an *art*, is, undoubtedly, *the art of speaking and writing correctly*—but then, as an *art*, it is only required for *foreign* languages. For our *own* we have the necessary practice and familiarity.

The claim of English grammar to form part and parcel of an English education stands or falls with the value of the philological and historical knowledge to which grammatical studies may serve as an introduction, and with the value of scientific grammar as a *disciplinal* study. I have no fear of being supposed to undervalue its importance in this respect. Indeed in assuming that it is very great, I also assume that wherever grammar is studied as grammar, the language which the grammar so studied should represent, must be the mother-tongue of the student; *whatever that mother-tongue may be*—English for Englishmen, Welsh for Welshmen, French for Frenchmen, German for Germans, &c. This study is the study of a theory; and for this reason it should be complicated as little as possible by points of practice. For this reason a man's mother-tongue is the best medium for the elements of scientific philology, simply because it is the one which he knows best in practice.

Now if, over and above the remarks upon the English language, and the languages allied to it, there occur in the present volume, episodical discussions of points connected with other languages, especially the Latin and Greek, it is because a greater portion of the current ideas on philological subjects is taken from those languages than from our own. Besides which, a second question still stands over. There is still the question as to the relative disciplinal merits of the different *non*-vernacular languages of the world. What is the next best vehicle for philological philosophy to our mother-tongue, whatever that mother-tongue maybe? Each Athenian who fought at Salamis considered his own contributions to that great naval victory the greatest; and he considered them so because they were *his own*. So it is with the language which we speak, and use, and have learned as our own. Yet each same Athenian awarded the second place of honour to Themistocles. The great classical languages of Greece and Rome are in the position of Themistocles. They are the best when the question of ourselves and our possessions is excluded. They are the best in the eyes of an indifferent umpire. More than this; if we take into account the studies of the learned world, they are second only to the particular mother-tongue of the particular student, in the way of practical familiarity. Without either affirming or denying that, on the simple scores of etymological regularity, etymological variety, and syntactic logic, the Sanskrit may be their equal, it must still be admitted that this last-named language has no claims to a high value as a practical philological discipline upon the grounds of its universality as a point of education; nor will it have. Older than the Greek, it may (or may not) be; more multiform than the Latin, it may (or may not)

be: but equally rich in the attractions of an unsurpassed literature, and equally influential as a standard of imitation, it neither has been nor can be. We may admit all that is stated by those who admire its epics, or elucidate its philosophy; we may admire all this and much more besides, but we shall still miss the great elements of oratory and history, that connect the ancient languages of Greece and Italy with the thoughts, and feelings, and admiration of recent Europe.

The same sort of reasoning applies to the Semitic languages. One element they have, in their grammatical representation, which gives them a value in philological philosophy, in the abstract, above all other languages—the *generality* of the expression of their structure. This is *symbolic*, and its advantage is that it exhibits the naturally universal phenomena of their construction in a universal language. Yet neither this nor their historical value raises them to the level of the classical languages.

Now, what has just been written has been written with a view towards a special inference, and as the preliminary to a practical deduction; and it would not have been written but for some such ulterior application. If these languages have so high a disciplinal value, how necessary it is that the expression of their philological phenomena should be accurate, scientific, and representative of their true growth and form? How essential that their grammars should exhibit nothing that may hereafter be unlearned? *Pace grammaticorum dixerim*, this is not the case. Bad as is Lindley Murray in English, Busby and Lilly are worse in Greek and Latin. This is the comparison of the men on the low rounds of the ladder. What do we find as we ascend? Is the

grammatical science of even men like Mathiæ and Zump *much* above that of Wallis? Does Buttmann's Greek give so little to be unlearned as Grimm's German? By any one who has gone far in comparative philology, the answer will be given in the negative.

This is not written in the spirit of a destructive criticism. If an opinion as to the fact is stated without reserve, it is accompanied by an explanation, and (partially, perhaps) by a justification. It is the business of a Greek and Latin grammarian to teach Greek and Latin *cito, tute, ac jucunde*,—*cito*, that is, between the years of twelve and twenty-four; *tute*, that is, in a way that quantities may be read truly, and hard passages translated accurately; *jucunde*, that is, as the taste and memory of the pupil may determine. With this view the grammar must be *artificial*. Granted. But then it should profess to be so. It should profess to address the memory only, not the understanding. Above all it should prefer to leave a point untaught, than to teach it in a way that must be unlearned.

In 1840, so little had been done by Englishmen for the English language, that in acknowledging my great obligations to foreign scholars, I was only able to speak to what *might be done* by my own countrymen. Since then, however, there has been a good beginning of what is likely to be done well. My references to the works of Messrs. Kemble, Garnet, and Guest, show that my authorities are *now* as much English as German. And this is likely to be the case. The details of the syntax, the illustrations drawn from our provincial dialects, the minute history of individual words, and the whole system of articulate sounds can, for the English, only be done safely by

an Englishman: or, to speak more generally, can, for any language, only be dealt with properly by the grammarian whose mother-tongue is that language. The *Deutsche Grammatik* of Grimm is the work not of an age nor of a century, but, like the great history of the Athenian, a κτῆμα εἰς ἀεί. It is the magazine from whence all draw their facts and illustrations. Yet it is only the proper German portion that pretends to be exhaustive. The Dutch and Scandinavians have each improved the exhibition of their own respective languages. Monument as is the *Deutsche Grammatik* of learning, industry, comprehensiveness, and arrangement, it is not a book that should be read to the exclusion of others: nor must it be considered to exhibit the grammar of the Gothic languages, in a form unsusceptible of improvement. Like all great works, it is more easily improved than imitated. One is almost unwilling to recur to the old comparison between Aristotle, who absorbed the labour of his predecessors, and the Eastern sultans, who kill-off their younger brothers. But such is the case with Grimm and his fore-runners in philology. Germany, that, in respect to the Reformation, is content to be told that Erasmus laid the egg which Luther hatched, must also acknowledge that accurate and systematic scholars of other countries prepared the way for the *Deutsche Grammatik*,—Ten Kate in Holland; Dowbrowsky, a Slavonian; and Rask, a Dane.

Nor are there wanting older works in English that have a value in Gothic philology. I should be sorry to speak as if, beyond the writers of what may be called the modern school of philology, there was nothing for the English grammarian both to read and study. The fragments of Ben Jonson's English Grammar are worth the entireties of many later writers. The work of Wallis is eminently logical and precise. The voice

of a mere ruler of rules is a sound to flee from; but the voice of a truly powerful understanding is a thing to be heard on all matters. It is this which gives to Cobbett and Priestley, to Horne Tooke as a subtle etymologist, and to Johnson as a practical lexicographer, a value in literary history, which they never can have in grammar. It converts unwholesome doctrines into a fertile discipline of thought.

The method of the present work is mixed. It is partly historical, and partly logical. The historical portions exhibit the way in which words and inflections *have been* used; the logical, the way in which they *ought to be* used. Now I cannot conceal from either my readers or myself the fact that philological criticism at the present moment is of an essentially historical character. It has been by working the historical method that all the great results both in general and special scholarship have been arrived at; and it is on historical investigation that the whole *induction* of modern philology rests. All beyond is *à priori* argument; and, according to many, *à priori* argument out of place. Now, this gives to the questions in philology, to questions concerning the phenomena of concord, government, &c. a subordinate character. It does so, however, improperly. Logic is in language what it is in reasoning,—a rule and standard. But in its application to reasoning and to language there is this difference. Whilst illogical reasoning, and illogical grammar are equally phenomena of the human mind, even as physical disease is a phenomenon of the human body, the illogical grammar can rectify itself by its mere continuance, propagation, and repetition. In this respect the phenomena of language stand apart from the other phenomena of either mind or organized matter. No

amount of false argument can make a fallacy other than a fallacy. No amount of frequency can make physical disease other than a predisposing cause to physical disorganization. The argument that halts in its logic, is not on a *par* with the argument that is sound. Such also is the case with any bodily organ. No prevalence of sickness can ever evolve health. Language, however, as long as it preserves the same amount of intelligibility is always language. Provided it serve as a medium, it does its proper work; and as long as it does this, it is, as far as its application is concerned, faultless. Now there is a limit in logical regularity which language is perpetually overstepping; just as there is a logical limit which the reasoning of common life is perpetually overstepping, and just as there is a physiological limit which the average health of men and women may depart from. This limit is investigated by the historical method; which shows the amount of latitude in which language may indulge and yet maintain its great essential of intelligibility. Nay, more, it can show that it sometimes transgresses the limit in so remarkable a manner, as to induce writers to talk about the *corruption of a language*, or *the pathology of a language*, with the application of many similar metaphors. Yet it is very doubtful whether all languages, in all their stages, are not equally intelligible, and, consequently, equally what they ought to be, viz., mediums of intercourse between man and man; whilst, in respect to their growth, it is almost certain that so far from exhibiting signs of dissolution, they are, on the contrary, like the Tithonus of mythology, the Strulbrugs of Laputa, or, lastly, such monsters as Frankenstein, very liable to the causes of death, but utterly unable to die. Hence, in language, *whatever is, is right*; a fact which, taken

by itself, gives great value to the historical method of inquiry, and leaves little to the *à priori* considerations of logic.

But, on the other hand, there is a limit in logical regularity, which language *never* oversteps: and as long as this is the case, the study of the logical standard of what language is in its normal form must go hand in hand with the study of the processes that deflect it. The investigation of the irregularities of language—and be it remembered that almost all change implies original irregularity—is analogous to the investigation of fallacies in logic. It is the comparison between the rule and the practice, with this difference, that in language the practice can change the rule, which in logic is impossible. I am sure that these remarks are necessary in order to anticipate objections that may be raised against certain statements laid down in the syntax. I often write as if I took no account of the historical evidence, in respect to particular uses of particular words. I do so, not because I undervalue that department of philology, but because it is out of place. To show that one or more writers, generally correct, have used a particular expression is to show that they speak, in a few instances, as the vulgar speak in many. To show that the vulgar use one expression for another is to show that two ideas are sufficiently allied to be expressed in the same manner: in other words, the historical fact is accompanied by a logical explanation; and the historical deviation is measured by a logical standard.

I am not desirous of sacrificing a truth to an antithesis, but so certain is language to change from logical accuracy to logical licence, and, at the same

time, so certain is language, when so changed, to be just as intelligible as before, that I venture upon asserting that, not only *whatever is, is right*, but also, that in many cases, *whatever was, was wrong*. There is an antagonism, between logic and practice; and the phenomena on both sides must be studied.

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AN INTRODUCTION

TO THE STUDY OF

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

PART I.

GENERAL ETHNOLOGICAL RELATIONS OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

CHAPTER I.

GERMANIC ORIGIN OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE. —DATE.

§ 1. The first point to be remembered in the history of the English Language, is that it was not the original language of any of the British Islands altogether or of any portion of them. Indeed, of the *whole* of Great Britain it is not the language at the present moment. Welsh is spoken in Wales, Manks in the Isle of Man, Scotch Gaelic in the Highlands of Scotland, and Irish Gaelic in Ireland. Hence, the English that is now spoken was once as foreign to our country as it is at present to the East Indies; and it is no more our primitive vernacular tongue, than it

is the primitive vernacular tongue for North America, Jamaica, or Australia. Like the English of Sydney, or the English of Pennsylvania, the English of Great Britain spread itself at the expense of some earlier and more aboriginal language, which it displaced and superseded.

§ 2. The next point involves the real origin and the real affinities of the English Language. Its *real* origin is on the continent of Europe, and its *real* affinities are with certain languages there spoken. To speak more specifically, the native country of the English Language is *Germany*; and the *Germanic* languages are those that are the most closely connected with our own. In Germany, languages and dialects allied to each other and allied to the mother-tongue of the English have been spoken from times anterior to history; and these, for most purposes of philology, may be considered as the aboriginal languages and dialects of that country.

§ 3. *Accredited details of the different immigrations from Germany into Britain.*—Until lately the details of the different Germanic invasions of England, both in respect to the particular tribes by which they were made, and the order in which they succeeded each other, were received with but little doubt, and as little criticism.

Respecting the tribes by which they were made, the current opinion was, that they were chiefly, if not exclusively, those of the Jutes, the Saxons, and the Angles.

The particular chieftains that headed each descent were also known, as well as the different localities upon which they descended. These were as follows:—

§ 4. *First settlement of invaders from Germany.*—The account of this gives us the year 449 for the first permanent Germanic tribes settled in Britain. Ebbsfleet, in the Isle of Thanet, was the spot where they landed; and the particular name that these tribes gave themselves was that of *Jutes*. Their leaders were Hengist and Horsa. Six years after their landing they had established the kingdom of Kent; so that the county of Kent was the first district where the original British was superseded by the mother-tongue of the present English, introduced from Germany.

§ 5. *Second settlement of invaders from Germany.*—In the year 477 invaders from Northern Germany made the second permanent settlement in Britain. The coast of Sussex was the spot whereon they landed. The particular name that these tribes gave themselves was that of *Saxons*. Their leader was Ella. They established the kingdom of the South Saxons (Sussex); so that the county of Sussex was the second district where the original British was superseded by the mother-tongue of the present English, introduced from Northern Germany.

§ 6. *Third settlement of invaders from Germany.*—In the year 495 invaders from Northern Germany made the third permanent settlement in Britain. The coast of Hampshire was the spot whereon they landed. Like the invaders last mentioned, these tribes were Saxons. Their leader was Cerdic. They established the kingdom of the West Saxons (Wessex); so that the county of Hants was the third district where the original British was superseded by the mother-tongue of the present English, introduced from Northern Germany.

§ 7. *Fourth settlement of invaders from Germany.*—A.D. 530, certain Saxons landed in Essex, so that the county of Essex was the fourth district where the original British was superseded by the mother-tongue of the present English, introduced from Northern Germany.

§ 8. *Fifth settlement of invaders from Germany.*—These were *Angles* in Norfolk and Suffolk. This settlement, of which the precise date is not known, took place during the reign of Cerdic in Wessex. The fifth district where the original British was superseded by the mother-tongue of the present English was the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk; the particular dialect introduced being that of the *Angles*.

§ 9. *Sixth settlement of invaders from Germany.*—In the year 547 invaders from Northern Germany made the sixth permanent settlement in Britain. The south-eastern counties of Scotland, between the rivers Tweed and Forth, were the districts where they landed. They were of the tribe of the Angles, and their leader was Ida. The south-eastern parts of Scotland constituted the sixth district where the original British was superseded by the mother-tongue of the present English, introduced from Northern Germany.

§ 10. It would be satisfactory if these details rested upon cotemporary evidence; in which case the next question would be that of the relations of the immigrant tribes to each other *as Germans*, *i.e.* the extent to which the Jute differed from (or agreed with) the Angle, or the Saxon, and the relations of the Angle and the Saxon to each other. Did they speak different languages?—different dialects of a common tongue!—or dialects absolutely identical?

Did they belong to the same or to different confederations? Was one polity common to all? Were the civilizations similar?

Questions like these being answered, and a certain amount of mutual difference being ascertained, it would then stand over to inquire whether any traces of this original difference were still to be found in the modern English. Have any provincial dialects characteristics which are Jute rather than Angle? or Angle rather than Saxon?

It is clear that the second of these questions is involved in the answer given to the first.

§ 11. *The accredited relations of the Jutes, Angles, and Saxons to each other as Germans.*—These are as follows:—

1. That the geographical locality of the Jutes was the Peninsula of Jutland.

2. That that of Angles, was the present Dutchy of Sleswick; so that they were the southern neighbours of the Jutes.

3. That that of the Saxons was a small tract north of the Elbe, and some distinct point—more or less extensive—between the Elbe and Rhine.

4. That, although there were, probably, dialectal differences between the languages, the speech of all the three tribes was mutually intelligible.

§ 12. Assuming, then, the accuracy of our historical facts, the inference is, that, without expecting to find any very prominent and characteristic differences between the different inhabitants of England arising out of the original differences between the Germanic

immigrants, we are to look for what few there are in the following quarters—

1. For the characteristic *differentiæ* of the Jutes, in Kent, part of Sussex, and the Isle of Wight.

2. For those of the Saxons in Sussex, Essex, Hants (Wessex), and Middlesex.

3. For those of the Angles in Norfolk, Suffolk, Yorkshire, Durham, and Northumberland.

Or, changing the expression:—

1. The *differentiæ* of the people of Kent, part of Sussex, and the Isle of Wight (if any), are to be explained by the *differentiæ* of the original Jute immigrants—

2. Those of the rest of Sussex, Wessex, Essex, and Middlesex, by those of the Saxons—

3. Those of the people of Norfolk, &c., by those of the Angles.

Such is our reasoning, and such a sketch of our philological researches—assuming that the opinions just exhibited, concerning the dates, conductors, localities, and order, are absolute and unimpeachable historical facts.

§ 13. *Criticism of the aforesaid details.*—As a preliminary to this part of the subject, the present writer takes occasion to state once for all, that nearly the whole of the following criticism is not his own (except, of course, so far as he adopts it—which he does), but Mr. Kemble's, and that it forms the introduction to his valuable work on the Saxons in England.

1. *The evidence to the details just given, is not historical, but traditional.—a.* Bede, from whom it is chiefly taken, wrote more than 300 years after the supposed event, *i.e.*, the landing of Hengist and Horsa, in A.D. 449.

b. The nearest contemporary author is Gildas, and *he* lived at least 100 years after it.

2. *The account of Hengist's and Horsa's landing, has elements which are fictional rather than historical—a.* Thus "when we find Hengist and Horsa approaching the coasts of Kent in three keels, and Ælli effecting a landing in Sussex with the same number, we are reminded of the Gothic tradition which carries a migration of Ostrogoths, Visigoths, and Gepidæ, also in three vessels, to the mouths of the Vistula."

b. The murder of the British chieftains by Hengist is told *totidem verbis*, by Widukind, and others of the Old Saxons in Thuringia.

c. Geoffry of Monmouth relates also, how "Hengist obtained from the Britons as much land as could be enclosed by an ox-hide; then, cutting the hide into thongs, enclosed a much larger space than the granters intended, on which he erected Thong Castle —a tale too familiar to need illustration, and which runs throughout the mythus of many nations. Among the Old Saxons, the tradition is in reality the same, though recorded with a slight variety of detail. In their story, a lap-full of earth is purchased at a dear rate from a Thuringian; the companions of the Saxon jeer him for his imprudent bargain; but he sows the purchased earth upon a large space of ground, which he claims, and, by the aid of his comrades, ultimately wrests it from the Thuringians."

3. *There is direct evidence in favour of there having been German tribes in England anterior to* A.D. 447.—*a.* At the close of the Marcomannic war, Marcus Antoninus transplanted a number of Germans into Britain.—Dio Cassius, lxxi. lxiii.

b. Alemannic auxiliaries served along with Roman legions under Valentinian.

c. The *Notitia utriusque imperii*, of which the latest date is half a century earlier than the epoch of Hengist, mentions, as an officer of State, the *Comes littoris Saxonici per Britannias*; his government extending along the coast from Portsmouth to the Wash.

I conclude with the following extract:—"We are ignorant what *fasti* or even mode of reckoning the revolutions of seasons prevailed in England, previous to the introduction of Christianity. We know not how any event before the year 600 was recorded, or to what period the memory of man extended. There may have been rare annals: there may have been poems: if such there were they have perished, and have left no trace behind, unless we are to attribute to them such scanty notices as the Saxon Chronicle adds to Beda's account. From such sources, however, little could have been gained of accurate information either as to the real internal state, the domestic progress, or development of a people. The dry bare entries of the Chronicles in historical periods may supply the means of judging what sort of annals were likely to exist before the general introduction of the Roman alphabet and parchment, while, in all probability, runes supplied the place of letters, and stones, or the *beech*-wood, from which their name is derived, of *books*. Again, the traditions embodied in

the epic, are pre-eminently those of kings and princes; they are heroical, devoted to celebrate the divine or half-divine founders of a race, the fortunes of their warlike descendants, the manners and mode of life of military adventurers, not the obscure progress, household peace, and orderly habits of the humble husband-man. They are full of feasts and fighting, shining arms and golden goblets: the gods mingle among men almost their equals, share in the same pursuits, are animated by the same passions of love, and jealousy, and hatred; or, blending the divine with the mortal nature, become the founders of races, kingly, because derived from divinity itself. But one race knows little of another, or its traditions, and cares as little for them. Alliances or wars alone bring them in contact with one another, and the terms of intercourse between the races will, for the most part, determine the character under which foreign heroes shall be admitted into the national epos, or whether they shall be admitted at all. All history, then, which is founded in any degree upon epical tradition (and national history is usually more or less so founded) must be to that extent imperfect, if not inaccurate; only when corrected by the written references of contemporaneous authors, can we assign any certainty to its records.

"Let us apply these observations to the early events of Saxon history: of Kent, indeed, we have the vague and uncertain notices which I have mentioned; even more vague and uncertain are those of Sussex and Wessex. Of the former, we learn that in the year 477, Ælli, with three sons, Cymen, Wlencing, and Cissa, landed in Sussex; that in the year 485 they defeated the Welsh, and that in 491 they destroyed the population of Anderida. Not another word is there about Sussex before the arrival of Augustine, except

a late assertion of the military pre-eminence of Ælli among the Saxon chieftains. The events of Wessex are somewhat better detailed; we learn that in 495 two nobles, Cerdic and Cynerîc, came to England, and landed at *Cerdices-ora*, where, on the same day, they fought a battle: that in 501 they were followed by a noble named Port, who, with his two sons, Bieda and Mægla, made a forcible landing at Portsmouth: and that in 508, they gained a great battle over a British king, whom they slew, together with five thousand of his people. In 514 Stuff and Wihtgár, their nephews, brought them a reinforcement of three ships; in 519, they again defeated the Britons, and established the kingdom of Wessex. In 527, a new victory is recorded; in 530, the Isle of Wight was subdued and given to Wihtgár; and in 534, Cerdic died, and was succeeded by Cynerîc, who reigned twenty-six years. In 544, Wihtgár died. A victory of Cynerîc, in 552 and 556, and Ceawlin's accession to the throne of Wessex are next recorded. Wars of the West-Saxon kings are noted in 568, 571, 577, 584. From 590 to 595, a king of that race, named Ceól, is mentioned: in 591, we learn the expulsion of Ceawlin from power; in 593, the deaths of Ceawlin, Cwichelm, and Crida, are mentioned, and in 597, the year of Augustine's arrival, we learn that Ceólwulf ascended the throne of Wessex.

"Meagre as these details are, they far exceed what is related of Northumberland, Essex, or East-Anglia. In 547, we are told that Ida began to reign in the first of these kingdoms, and that he was succeeded in 560, by Ælli: that after a reign of *thirty* years, he died in 588, and was succeeded by Æþelrîc, who again, in 593, was succeeded by Æþelfriþ. This is all we learn of Northumbria; of Mercia, Essex, East-Anglia, and

the innumerable kingdoms that must have been comprised under these general appellations, we hear not a single word.

"If this be all that we can now recover of events, a great number of which must have fallen within the lives of those to whom Augustine preached, what credit shall we give to the inconsistent accounts of earlier actions? How shall we supply the almost total want of information respecting the first settlements? What explanation have we to give of the alliance between Jutes, Angles, and Saxon, which preceded the invasions of England? What knowledge will these records supply of the real number and quality of the chieftains, the language and blood of the populations who gradually spread themselves from the Atlantic to the Frith of Forth; of the remains of Roman cultivation, or the amount of British power with which they had to contend? of the vicissitudes of good and evil fortune which visited the independent principalities before they were swallowed up in the kingdoms of the heptarchy, or the extent of the influence which they retained after the event! On all these several points we are left entirely in the dark; and yet these are facts which it most imports us to know, if we would comprehend the growth of a society which endured for at least 700 years in England, and formed the foundation of that in which we live."—*The Saxons in England.* Vol. I, pp. 28-32.

§ 14. *Inference.*—As it is nearly certain, that the year 449 is *not* the date of the first introduction of German tribes into Britain, we must consider that the displacement of the original British began at an earlier period than the one usually admitted, and, consequently, that it was more gradual than is usually supposed.

Perhaps, if we substitute the middle of the fourth, instead of the middle of the fifth century, as the epoch of the Germanic immigrations into Britain, we shall not be far from the truth.

CHAPTER II.

GERMANIC ORIGIN OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE. —THE IMMIGRANT TRIBES, AND THEIR RELATIONS TO EACH OTHER.

§ 15. By referring to §§ 3-12, it may be seen that out of the numerous tribes and nations of Germany, *three* in particular have been considered as the chief, if not the exclusive, sources of the present English, viz.: the Angles, the Saxons and the Jutes.

To criticise the evidence which derives the *English* in general from the *Angles*, the particular inhabitants of *Sussex*, *Essex*, *Middlesex* and *Wessex*, from the *Saxons*, and the *Anglo-Saxon* language from the *Angle* and *Saxon* would be superfluous; whilst to doubt the truth of the main facts which it attests would exhibit an unnecessary and unhealthy scepticism. That the Angles and Saxons formed at least seven-tenths of the Germanic invaders may be safely admitted. The *Jute* element, however, requires further notice.

§ 16. The *Jutes*.—Were any of the German immigrants *Jutes*? If so, what were their relations to the other German tribes?

a. Were there Jutes in England? That there was a Jute element in England is to be maintained, not upon the *tradition* that one of the three ships of Hengist and Horsa was manned by Jutes, but from

the following extract from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle:—

"Of Jotum comon Cantware and Wihtware, þæt is seo mæiað, þe nú eardaþ on Wiht, and þæt cynn on West-Sexum ðe man gyt hæt Iútnacyn. Of Eald-Seaxum comon Eást-Seaxan, and Suð-Seaxan, and

From the Jutes came the inhabitants of Kent and of Wight, that is, the race that now dwells in Wight, and that tribe amongst the West-Saxons which is yet called the Jute tribe. From

West-Seaxan Of Angle comon (se á siððan stód westig betwix Iútum and Seaxum) Eást-Engle, Middel-Angle, Mearce, and ealle Norðymbre.

Old-Saxons came the East-Saxons, and South-Saxons, and West-Saxons. From the Angles (which has since always stood betwixt the Jutes and Saxons) came the East-Angles, Middle-Angles, Mercians, and all

the
Northumbrians.

Here the words *gyt hæt Iútnacynn* constitute cotemporary evidence.

Still there is a flaw in it; since it is quite possible that the term *Iútnacynn* may have been no true denomination of a section of the Germans of England, but only the synonym of a different word, *Wiht-sætan*. Alfred writes—comon hi of þrym folcum þam strangestan Germaniæ; þæt of *Seaxum*, and of *Angle*, and of *Geatum*. Of Geatum fruman sindon Cantware and *Wiht-sætan*, þæt is seo þeód se Wiht þæt ealond on eardað—*they came of three folk, the strongest of Germany; that of* Saxons *and of* Angles, *and of* Geats. *Of* Geats *originally are* the Kent people *and* Wiht-set; *that is the people which* Wiht *the Island live on*.

This changes the reasoning, and leads us to the following facts.

a. The word in question is a compound = *Wight* = *the name of the isle*, + *sætan* = *people*; as Somer-*set*, and Dor-*set*.

b. The peninsula *Jut*-land was also called *Vit*-land, or *With*-land.

c. The *wiht-* in *Wiht*-sætan is, undoubtedly, no such element as the *vit-* in *Vit*-land = *Jut-land*; since it represents the older Celtic term, known to us in the Romanized form *Vectis*.

Putting all this together, it becomes possible (nay probable) that the whole doctrine of a *Jute* element in the Anglo-Saxon migration may have arisen out of the fact of there being a portion of the people of

Southern England neighbours of the Saxons, and bearing the name *Wiht*-sætan; a fact which, taken along with the juxtaposition of the *Vit*-landers (*Jut*-landers) and Saxons on the Continent, suggested to the writers of a long later age the doctrine of a Jute migration.

§ 17. As this last objection impugns the evidence rather than the fact, the following question finds place:—

What were the Jutes of Germany? At present they are the natives of Jutland, and their language is Danish rather than German.

Neither is there reason to suppose that during the third and fourth centuries it was otherwise.

§ 18. This last circumstance detracts from the likelihood of the *fact*; since in no part of Kent, Sussex, Hants, nor even in the Isle of Wight—a likely place for a language to remain unchanged—have any traces of the old Jute been found.

§ 19. On the other hand the fact of Jutes, *even though Danes*, being members of a Germanic confederation is not only probable, but such was actually the case; at least for continental wars—*subactis, cum Saxonibus, Euciis* (Eutiis), *qui se nobis* (*i.e.*, the Franks), *propriâ voluntate tradiderunt ... usque in Oceani littoribus dominio nostro porrigitur*.—Theodebert to the Emperor Justinian.—

> "Quem *Geta*, Vasco tremunt, Danus,
> Eutheo,[1] Saxo, Britannus,
> Cum patre quos acie te domitasse patet."

Venantius Fortunatus ad Chilpericum regem.[2]

§ 20. *Inference.*—Of the three following views—(1.) that the Jutes of Jutland in the fourth and fifth centuries spoke Saxon; (2.) that they spoke Danish at home, but lost their language after three or four centuries' residence in England; and (3.) that a later historian was induced by the similarity between the term *Wiht-sætan*, as applied to the *people of the Isle of Wight*, and *Wit-land*, as applied to *Jutland*, combined with the real probability of the fact supposed, to assume a Jute origin for the Saxons of the parts in question, the third is, in the mind of the present writer, the most probable.

§ 21. It has already been stated that concerning the Angles and Saxons, no reasonable man will put the question which was put in respect to the Jutes, *viz.*, had they any real place among the Germanic invaders of England? Respecting, however, their relations to each other, and their respective geographical localities whilst occupants of Germany, anterior to their immigration into Britain, there is much that requires investigation. What were the Saxons of Germany—what the Angles?

§ 22. *Difficulties respecting the identification of the Saxons.*—There are two senses of the word *Saxon*, one of which causes difficulty by being too limited; the other by being too wide.

a. The limited sense of the word Saxon.—This is what we get from Ptolemy, the first author who names the Saxons, and who gives them a limited locality at the mouth of the Elbe, bounded by the Sigulones, the Sabalingi, the Kobandi, the Chali, the Phundusii, the Harudes, and other tribes of the Cimbric Peninsula, of which the Saxons just occupied the neck, and three small islands opposite—probably Fohr, Sylt,

and Nordstand.

Now a sense of the word *Saxon* thus limited, would restrict the joint conquerors of Britain to the small area comprized between the Elbe and Eyder, of which they do not seem even to have held the whole.

b. The wide sense of the word Saxon.—The reader need scarcely be reminded that the present kingdom of Saxony is as far inland as the northern frontier of Bohemia. Laying this, however, out of the question, as the effect of an extension subsequent to the invasion of Britain, we still find Saxons in ancient Hanover, ancient Oldenburg, ancient Westphalia, and (speaking roughly) over the greater part of the country drained by the Weser, and of the area inclosed by the eastern feeders of the Lower Rhine, the Elbe, and the range of the Hartz.

Now as it is not likely that the limited Saxon area of Ptolemy should have supplied the whole of our Saxon population, so on the other hand, it is certain, that of a considerable portion of the Saxon area in its *wider* extent tribes other than the Saxons of England, were occupants.

§ 23. *Difficulties respecting the word Angle.*—The reader is referred to an extract from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, in § 16, where it is stated, that "from the Angles' land (which has since always stood waste betwixt the Jutes and the Saxons) came the East-Angles, Middle-Angles, Mercians, and all the Northumbrians."

Thus to bring the great Angle population from an area no larger than the county of Rutland, is an objection—but it is not the chief one.

The chief objection to the Angles of England being derived from the little district of Anglen, in Sleswick, lies in the fact of there being mention of *Angli* in another part of Germany.

§ 24. This exposition of the elements of uncertainty will be followed by an enumeration of—

1. Those portions of the Germanic populations, which from their geographical position, are the likeliest, *à priori*, to have helped to people England.

2. Those portions of the Germanic population, which although not supposed to have contributed in any notable degree to the population of Britain, had such continental relations to the Angles and Saxons, as to help in fixing their localities.

These two scenes of facts, give us what may be called our preliminary *apparatus criticus*.

§ 25. Between the northern limits of the Celtic populations of Gaul and the southern boundary of the Scandinavians of Jutland, we find the area which is most likely to have given origin to the Germans of England. This is best considered under two heads.

a. That of the proper *seaboard*, or the *coast* from the Rhine to the Eyder.

b. That of the *rivers*, *i.e.*, the communications between the ocean and the inland country.

This double division is *sufficient*, since it is not likely that Britain was peopled by any tribes which were not either maritime, or the occupants of a river.

On the other hand, it is *necessary*, since although the *à priori* view is in favour of the *coast* having supplied the British immigration, the chances of its having

proceeded from the interior by the way of the large rivers Rhine, Weser, and Elbe, must also be taken into consideration.

The importance of this latter alternative, will soon be seen.

§ 26. *The Menapians.*—Locality, from the country of the Morini on the French side of the Straits of Dover, to the Scheldt. It is generally considered that these were not Germans but Celts. The fact, however, is by no means ascertained. If Germans, the Menapians were the tribes nearest to Britain. Again, supposing that the present Flemings of Belgium are the oldest inhabitants of the country, their origin is either wholly, or in part, Menapian. Mentioned by Cæsar.

§ 27. *The Batavians.*—Mentioned by Cæsar; locality, from the Maas to the Zuyder Zee. Conterminous with the Menapians on the south, and with the Frisians on the north. If the present Dutch of Holland be the inhabitants of the country from the time of Cæsar downwards, their origin is Batavian.

§ 28. *The Frisians.*—First known to the Romans during the campaign of Drusus—"tributum *Frisiis* transrhenano populo—Drusus jusserat modicum;"[3] Tacitus, Ann. iv. 72. Extended, according to Ptolemy, as far north as the Ems—τὴν δὲ παρωκεανῖτιν κατέχουσιν ... οἱ Φρίσσιοι, μέχρι τοῦ Αμισίου ποταμοῦ.

Now, as the dialect of the modern province of Friesland differs in many important points from the Dutch of Holland and Flanders; and as there is every reason to believe that the same, or greater difference, existed between the old Frisians and the old Batavians, assuming each to have been the mother-

tongues of the present Frisian and Dutch respectively, we may consider that in reaching the parts to the north of the Zuyder-Zee, we have come to a second sub-division of the Germanic dialects; nevertheless, it is not the division to which either the Angles or the Saxons belong, as may be ascertained by the difference of dialect, or rather language.

§ 29. *The Chauci.*—Connected with the Frisii.—Falling into two divisions—the lesser (?) Chauci, from the Ems to the Weser; the greater (?) Chauci from the Weser to the Elbe—μετὰ δὲ τούτους (the Frisians), Καῦχοι οἱ μικροὶ μέχρι τοῦ Οὐισούργιος ποταμοῦ, εἶτα Καῦχοι οἱ μειζοῦς, μέχρι τοῦ Ἄλβιος ποταμοῦ.

Tacitus describes the Chauci thus:—"Tam immensum terrarum spatium non tenent tantum Chauci, sed et implent; populus inter Germanos nobilissimus."

The Frisians, as has been stated, represent a separate subdivision of the German dialects, as opposed to the ancient Batavian, and the modern Dutch and Flemish. Did the Chauci represent a third, or were they part of the Frisian division?

The latter is the more likely, and that for the following reasons—Vestiges of Frisian dialects are to be found on the Continent, in Oldenburgh, and also in the island of Heligoland.

More important still is the North-Frisian dialect. *North of the Elbe*, in the Dutchy of Sleswick, and from the Eyder to Tondern, we find a tract of land called, by Saxo Grammaticus, *Frisia Minor*, and by other writers, *Frisia Eydorensis*.

Now, as there are no grounds for considering these

North Frisians as other than indigenous to the tract in question, we get an additional reason for looking upon the intermediate line of coast as Frisian rather than either Angle or Saxon—or, at least, such parts of it as are not expressly stated to be otherwise.

§ 30. *Inference.*—As the whole coast south of the Elbe seems to have been occupied by tribes speaking either Frisian or Batavian dialects, and as neither of these sub-divisions represents the language of the Angles and Saxons, the original localities of those invaders must be sought for either north of the Elbe, or inland, along the course of the rivers, *i.e.*—inland.

§ 31. *The Saxons and Nordalbingians.*—North of the Elbe, and south of the Eyder (as stated in § 22), we meet the Saxons of Ptolemy; but that in a very circumscribed locality.

In the ninth century, the tribes of these parts are divided into three divisions:—

a. The *Holtsati* = the people of Holstein. Here *holt* = *wood*, whilst *sat* is the *-set* in Somer-*set* and Dor-*set*.

b. The *Thiedmarsi* = *the people of Ditmarsh*.

c. The *Stormarii* = *the people of Stormar*.

Besides the names of these three particular divisions the tribes between the Elbe and Eyder were called by the *general* name of *Nordalbingii* = *i.e. people to the north of the Elbe*.

§ 32. *The people of Anglen*—North of the Nordalbingii; Anglen being the name of a *district* between the Schlie and Flensburg.

§ 33. *The Jutes.*—In *Jut*-land, north of the Angles and

the Northfrisians.

§ 34. *The Saxons of Holstein, how large their area?*—There is no reason for considering the Nordalbingian *Holtsati*, *Thiedmarsi* and *Stormarii* as other than Saxons; although the fact of the Northfrisians to the north, and of the Frisians of Hanover to the south of them, is a slight complication of the *primâ facie* view.

Neither is it necessary to identify the two divisions, and to consider the Saxons as Frisians, or the Frisians as Saxons, as is done by some authors.

It is only necessary to perceive the complication which the existence of the Northfrisians introduces, and to recognise the improbability of *parts* of the present dutchies of Holstein and Sleswick having constituted the *whole* of the Anglo-Saxon area.

In other words, we have to ascertain in what direction the Germanic population represented by the Saxons at the mouth of the Elbe extended itself—for some further extension there undoubtedly must have been.

§ 35. This brings us to the other series of preliminary facts, viz.: the consideration of the more important tribes of the middle and lower courses of the three great rivers, the Rhine, the Weser, and the Elbe.

§ 36. *The Germans of the Middle Rhine.*—Of the Germans of the Lower and Middle Rhine, it is only necessary to mention one—

The Franks.—We shall see that, taking the two terms in their widest sense, the *Franks* and the *Saxons* were in contact, a fact which makes it necessary to notice at least some portion of the Frank area.

a. Salian Franks.—If the element *Sal-* represent the *-sel*, in the name of the Dutch river *Y-ssel*, the locality of the Salian Franks was Overyssel and Guelderland, whilst their ethnological relations were most probably with the Batavians.

b. Chamavi.—In the Tabula Peutingeriana we find—Chamavi qui *Elpranci* (*leg. et Franci*). They were conterminous with the Salii—Ὑπεδεξάμην μὲν μοῖραν τοῦ Σαλίων ἔθνους, Χαμάβους δὲ ἐξήλασα.—Julian, Op. p. 280.—D.N.

The following extract is more important, as it shows that a Roman communication *at least* took place between the Rhine and Britain: Χαμάβων γὰρ μὴ βουλευομένων, ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν τὴν τῆς Βρεταννίκης νήσου σιτοπομπίαν ἐπὶ τὰ Ῥωμάϊκα φρούρία διαπέμπεσθαι.—Eunap. in Except. leg. ed., Bonn, p. 42.—D.N.

The name Chamavi is still preserved in that of the district of *Hameland*, near Deventer.—D.N. and G.D.S.

The Bructeri, Sigambri, and Ripuarian Franks bring us to the Franks of the Middle Rhine, a portion of the division which it is not necessary to follow.

§ 37. *The Thuringians.*—First mentioned in the beginning of the fourth century. Locality, between the Hartz, the Werra a feeder of the Weser, and the Sala a feeder of the Elbe. As early as the sixth century the Thuringians and Saxons are conterminous, and members of the same confederation against the Franks.—D.N.

§ 38. *The Catti.*—Locality, the valley of the Fulda, forming part of the Upper Weser. Conterminous with

the Thuringi (from whom they were separated by the river Werra) on the east, and the Franks on the west. The modern form of the word *Catti* is *Hesse*, and the principality of Hesse is their old locality.—G.D.S.

§ 39. *Geographical conditions of the Saxon area.—Southern and northern limits.*—The Saxons were in league with the Thuringians and Jutes against the Franks.

By the Jutes they were limited on the north, by the Thuringians on the south-east, and by the Franks on the south-west; the middle portion of the southern frontier being formed by the Catti between the Franks and Thuringians.

This gives us a *southern* and a *northern* limit.

Western limit.—This is formed by the Batavians and Frisians of the sea-coast, *i.e.*, by the Batavians of Holland, Guelderland, and Overyssel, and, afterwards, by the Frisians of West and East Friesland, and of Oldenburg.

Here, however, the breadth of the non-Saxon area is uncertain. Generally speaking, it is broadest in the southern, and narrowest in the northern portion. The Frisian line is narrower than the Batavian, whilst when we reach the Elbe the Saxons appear on the sea-coast. Perhaps they do so on the Weser as well.

§ 40. *Eastern limit.—Preliminary remark.*—Before the eastern limit of the Saxons is investigated, it will be well to indicate the extent to which it differs from the southern.

a. The Thuringians, Catti (or Hessians), and Franks, on the southern boundary of the Saxon area were *Germans*. Hence the line of demarcation between

their language was no broad and definite line, like that between the English and the Welsh, but rather one representing a difference of dialect, like that between the Yorkshire and the Lowland Scotch. Hence, too, we ought not only not to be surprised, if we find dialects intermediate to the Frank and Saxon, the Saxon and Thuringian, &c., but we must expect to find them.

b. The same is the case with the Batavian and Frisian frontier.—We really find specimens of language which some writers call Saxon, and others Dutch (Batavian).

The eastern frontier, however, will be like the frontier between England and Wales, where the line of demarcation is broad and definite, where there are no intermediate and transitional dialects, and where the two contiguous languages belong to different philological classes.—*The languages to the east of the Saxon area will be allied to the languages of Russia, Poland, and Bohemia;* i.e., *they will be not Germanic but Slavonic.*

Note.—The northern frontier of the Saxon area is intermediate in character to the western and southern on one hand, and to the eastern on the other; the Danish of the Cimbric Peninsula being—though not German—Gothic.

We begin at the northern portion of the Saxon area, *i.e.*, the south-eastern corner of the Cimbric Peninsula, and the parts about the Town of Lubeck; where the Dutchies of Mecklenburg Schwerin and Holstein join. The attention of the reader is particularly directed to the dates.

§ 41. *Slavonians of Holstein, Mecklenburg, and*

Lauenburg.—The *Polabi*—From *po* = *on*, and *Labe* = *the Elbe*. Name Slavonic. Germanized by the addition of the termination—*ing*, and so become *Po-lab-ing-i*; just as in *Kent* we find the *Kent-ing-s*. Conterminous with the Nordalbingian *Stormarii*, from whom they are divided by the river *Bille*, a small confluent of the Elbe. Capital Ratzeburg. First mentioned by writers subsequent to the time of Charlemagne.—D.N.

§ 42. The *Wagrians*.—North of the Polabi, and within the Cimbric Peninsula, divided from the Danes by the Eyder, from the Non-Danish Nordalbingians by the Trave. Capital Oldenburg. The Isle of Femern was Wagrian. Authorities—chiefly writers of and subsequent to the time of Charlemagne. In one of these we learn that the town of *Haðum* (Sleswick) lies between the Angles, the Saxons, and the *Wends*.

Now, *Wend* is the German designation of the *Slavonians*; so that there must have been Slavonians in the Cimbric Peninsula at least as early as the ninth century.—D.N.

§ 43. *Obotriti*, written also *Obotritæ*, *Abotriti*, *Abotridi*; *Apodritæ*, *Abatareni*, *Apdrede*, *Afdrege*, and for the sake of distinction from a people of the same name, *Nort-Obtrezi*, occupants of the western part of Mecklenburg, and extended as far east as the Warnow, as far south as Schwerin. Called by Adam of Bremen, *Reregi*. The Obotrites were allies of the Franks against the Saxons, and after the defeat and partial removal of the latter, were transplanted to some of their localities.—"Saxones transtulit" (*i.e.*, Charlemagne), "in Franciam et pagos transalbianos Abodritis dedit."—Eginhart Ann. A.D. 804.—D.N.

§ 44. The *Lini*—Slavonians on the left bank of the Elbe, and the first met with on that side of the river.

Occupants of Danneburg, Luchow and Wustrow, in Luneburg. By the writers subsequent to the time of Charlemagne the *Smeldengi* (a German designation), and the *Bethenici* are mentioned along with the Lini (or Linones). Of this Slavonic a Paternoster may be seen in the Mithridates representing the dialect of the neighbourhood in Luchow in A.D. 1691. It is much mixed with the German. About the middle of the last century this (Cis-Albian Slavonic) dialect became extinct.—D.N.

§ 45. The *Warnabi* or *Warnavi*.—Locality. Parts about Grabow, Valley of the Elbe. This is the locality of the *Varini* of Tacitus, the Οὐΐρούνοι of Ptolemy, and the *Werini* of later writers, a tribe connected with the Angli, and generally considered as Germanic.—D.N.

§ 46. *Morizani*.—The district round the Moritz Lake. —D.N.

§ 47. *Doxani*.—Locality; the valley of the Dosse.—D.N.

§ 48. *Hevelli*.—Locality; the valley of the Hevel. These are the Slavonians of Brandenburg and Mittelmark.—D.N.

§ 49. *Slavonians of Altmark*.—In Altmark, as in Lunenburg, though on the German side of the Elbe we find the names of the places Slavonic, *e.g.*, Klotze, Wrepke, Solpke, Blatz, Regatz, Colbitz, &c.; so that Altmark, like Lunenburg, was originally a *Cis*-Albian Slavonic locality.

§ 50. South of the Hevel we meet with the *Sorabian*, or *Sorb* Slavonians, the descendants of whom form at the present time part of the population of Lusatia and Silesia. It is not, however, necessary to follow

these further, since the German frontier now begins to be Thuringian rather than Saxon.

§ 51. *Saxon area.*—From the preceding investigations we determine the area occupied by the Saxons of Germany to be nearly as follows:

a.—Ethnologically considered.—Tract bounded on the north by the North Frisian Germans and Jute Danes of Sleswick; on the north and north-east by the Slavonians of the Elbe, sometimes *Trans*-Albian like the Wagrians and Obotrites; sometimes *Cis*-Albian, like the Linones and the Slaves of Altmark; on the south by the Thuringians, Catti, and Franks; on the west by the Franks, Batavians, and Frisians.

b. Considered in relation to the ancient population that it comprised.—The country of the Saxons of Ptolemy; the Angli of Tacitus; the Langobardi of Tacitus; the Angrivarii; the Dulgubini; the Ampsivarii (?); the Bructeri Minores (?); the Fosi, and Cherusci; and probably part of the Cauci. Of populations mentioned by the later writers (*i.e.* of those between the seventh and eleventh centuries), the following belong to this area—the Stormarii, Thietmarsi, Hotsati (=the Nordalbingii, or Nordleudi), the Ostfali, (Osterluidi), Westfali, Angarii, and Eald-Seaxan (Old Saxons).

c. Considered in relation to its modern population.—Here it coincides most closely with the kingdom of Hanover, *plus* parts of the Dutchies of Holstein and Oldenburg, and parts of Altmark? Brunswick? and Westphalia, and *minus* the Frisian portion of East Friesland, and the Slavonic part of Luneburg.

d. River system.—By extending the Saxons of Westphalia as far as Cleves (which has been done by competent judges) we carry the western limit to the

neighbourhood of the Rhine. This, however, is as far as it can safely be carried. In the respect to the Upper Ems, it was probably Saxon, the lower part being Frisian. The Weser is pre-eminently the river of the Saxons, with the water-system of which their area coincides more closely than with any other physical division. The Elbe was much in the same relation to the Germans and Slavonians, as the Rhine was to the Germans and the Gauls. Roughly speaking, it is the frontier—the *Cis*-Albian Slaves (the Linones and the Slavonians of Altmark) being quite as numerous as the *Trans*-Albian Germans, (the people of Stormar, Ditmarsh, and Holstein). The Eyder was perhaps equally Danish, Frisian, and Saxon.

e. Mountains.—The watershed of the Weser on the one side, and of the Ruhr and Lippe on the other, is the chief high land *contained* within the Saxon area, and is noticed as being the line most likely to form a subdivision of the Saxon population, either in the way of dialect or political relations—*in case such a subdivision exists*, a point which will be considered in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE DIALECTS OF THE SAXON AREA, AND OF THE SO-CALLED, OLD SAXON.

§ 52. The area occupied by the Saxons of Germany has been investigated; and it now remains to ask, how far the language of the occupants was absolutely identical throughout, or how far it fell into dialects or sub-dialects. In doing this, it may as well be asked, First, what we expect, *à priori*; Second, what we really find.

§ 53. To the Saxon area in Germany, there are five philological frontiers, the Slavonic, the Frisian, the Batavian, the Frank, and the Thuringian, to which may probably be added the Hessian; in each of which, except the Slavonic, we may expect that the philological phenomenon of intermixture and transition will occur. Thus—

a. The Saxon of Holstein may be expected to approach the Jute and Frisian.

b. That of South Oldenburg and East Friesland, the Frisian and Batavian.

c. That of Westphalia, the Batavian and Frank.

d, *e*. That of the Hessian and Thuringian frontiers, the Hessian and Thuringian.

Finally, the Saxon of the centre of the area is expected to be the Saxon of the most typical character.

§ 54. Such is what we expect. How far it was the fact is not known for want of *data*. What is known, however, is as follows.—There were at least *two* divisions of the Saxon; (1st) the Saxon of which the extant specimens are of English origin, and (2nd), the Saxon of which the extant specimens are of continental origin. We will call these at present the Saxon of England, and the Saxon of the Continent.

§ 55. Respecting the Saxon of England and the Saxon of the Continent, there is good reason for believing that the first was spoken in the northern, the second in the southern portion of the Saxon area, *i.e.*, the one in Hanover and the other in Westphalia, the probable boundaries between them being the line of highlands between Osnaburg and Paderborn.

§ 56. Respecting the Saxon of England and the Saxon of the Continent, there is good reason for believing that, whilst the former was the mother-tongue of the Angles and the conquerors of England, the latter was that of the Cherusci of Arminius, the conquerors and the annihilators of the legions of Varus.

§ 57. Respecting the Saxon of England and the Saxon of the Continent, it is a fact that whilst we have a full literature in the former, we have but fragmentary specimens of the latter—these being chiefly the following: (1) the Heliand, (2) Hildubrand and Hathubrant, (3) the Carolinian Psalms.

§ 58. The preceding points have been predicated respecting the difference between the two ascertained Saxon dialects, for the sake of preparing the reader for the names by which they are known. Supposing the nomenclature to be based upon any of the preceding facts, we might have the following nomenclature:—

FOR THE SAXONS OF THE CONTINENT.	FOR THE SAXON OF ENGLAND.
1. Insular Continental Saxon.	Saxon.
2. English German Saxon.	Saxon.
3. Hanoverian Westphalian Saxon.	Saxon.

4.	North Saxon.	South Saxon.
5.	Angle Saxon.	Cherusaxon.
6.	Saxon of Beowulf. [4]	Saxon of the Heliand. [4]

Of these names the last would be the best for strictly scientific purposes, or for the purposes of investigation; since the fact upon which it is based is the most undeniable.

Such is what the nomenclature might be, or, perhaps, ought to be. What it is *is* another question.

§ 59. The Saxon of England is called Anglo-Saxon; a term against which no exception can be raised.

§ 60. The Saxon of the Continental *used to* be called *Dano*-Saxon, and *is* called *Old* Saxon.

§ 61. *Why called* Dano-*Saxon.*—When the poem called *Heliand* was first discovered (and that in an English library), the difference in language between it and the common Anglo-Saxon composition was accounted for by the assumption of a *Danish* intermixture.

§ 62. *Why called* Old *Saxon.*—When the Continental origin of the *Heliand* was recognised, the language was called *Old Saxon*, because it represented the Saxon of the mother-country, the natives of which

were called *Old* Saxons by the *Anglo*-Saxons themselves. Still the term is exceptionable; the Saxon of the Heliand is most probably a *sister*-dialect of the *Anglo*-Saxon, rather the *Anglo*-Saxon itself is a continental locality. Exceptionable, however, as it is, it will be employed.

§ 63. The *data* for the study of the Old Saxon are as follows:—

1. *Abrenuntiatio Diaboli, e Codice Vaticano.*—Graff, Diutisca, ii. 191.

2. *Confessionis Formulæ, e Codice Essensi.*—Lacomblet, Archiv, für Geschichte des Niederrhins, 1, 4-9.

3. *Fragmentum de Festo omnium Sanctorum, e Codice Essensi.*—Ibid.

4. *Rotulus redituum Essensis.*—Ibid.

5. *The Frekkenhorst Roll.*—Denkmäler von Dorow, 1, 2, 1.

6. *Glossæ Saxonicæ, e Codice Argentorat.*—Diutisca, 192.

7. *T. Lipsii; Epist. cent. III. ad Belgas pertinentium, Ep.* 44.

8. *Hildebrand.*—Heroic fragment, in alliterative metre.

9. *The Carolinian Psalms.*—A translation of the Psalms, referred to the time of Charlemagne; sometimes considered to be old Batavian.

10. *Heliand*, a Gospel Harmony in alliterative metre, and the chief *Old* Saxon composition extant.

SPECIMEN.

§ 64. *Heliand*, pp. 12, 13. (*Schmeller's Edition.*)

LUC. II. 8-13.

Tho uuard managcud, Obar thesa uuidon uueroldUuardas antfundun, Thea thar ehuscaeg Uta uuarun, Uueroldan uuahtun, Uuiggeas gomeagn, Fehas aftar felda: Gisahan finistri an tuue Telatan an lufte; Endi quam lioht — Godes, Uuan sa thurh

Then it was to many known, Over all this wide world. The words they discovered, Those that there, as horse-grooms, Were without, Men an watch, Horses to tend, Cattle on the field — They saw the

thui darkness
uuolcan in;
Endi two
thea Dissipated
uuardon is
thar the
Bifeng atmosphere,
an And
them came
felda. a
Sie light
uurdun of
an God
forhtun —
tho, through
Thea the
man welkin;
an And
ira the
moda, words
Gisahtun there
thar Caught
mahtigna
Godes the
Engil field.
cumaft; They
The were
im in
tegegnis fright
sprac. then
Het The
that men
im in
thea their
uuardon s mood
— —

"Uuiht ne antdrēdun Ledes fon them liohtaIc scal eu quad he liobora thing, Suidospake. uuarlik Uuillean seggean, Cudean craft mikil.— Nu is Krist geboran, An thesem selbun naht, Salig barn Godes, An thera Davides burg, glad

They saw thēre mighty Angel of God come; That to them face to face spake. lōk to lōnde them these words —"Dread not a whit Of mischief from the light. I shall to you speak

Drohtin the godo. That is mendso Manng cunnes, Allard firiho fruma Thar gi ina fidan mugus, An Bethlehe burg, Barno rikiost Hebbiad that te tecna, That ic eu gitellea mag, Uuaru uuordu, That he thar biuund

things, Very true; Say commands; Show great strength. Now is Christ born, In this self- same night; The blessed child of God, In David's city, The Lord the good. That is exultation To the races of

ligid, men,
That Of
kind all
an men
enera the
cribbia advancement.
Tho There
he ye
si may
cuning find
obar him
al In
Erdun the
endi city
himile of,
Endi Bethlehem,
obar The
eldeo noblest
barn, of
Uuero children
uualda —nd."
Reht Ye
so have
he as
tho a
that token
uuord That
gespra cenun
So tell
uuard ye
thar True
engilo words,
te That
them he
Unrim there
cuman swathed

Helag lieth,
herisk Ehe,
Fon child
hebanin uanga,
Fagara
folc crib,
Godes, Though
Endi he
filu be
sprakun, King
Lofuuord over
manag, all
Liudeo Earth
herron, and
Athobe Heaven,
tho And
helagna ver
sang, the
Tho sons
sie of
eft men,
te Of
hebanthe anga
Uundwo world
thurh the
thin Ruler."
uuolcan Right
Thea as
uuardbe
horduth, that
Huo word
thin spake,
engilo So
craft was
Alomahtigna
God, of

Suido uuerdico Uuordun louodun. "Diuria si nu," quadun sie, "Drohost selbur, An them hohosta Himilo rikea; Endi fridu an erdu, Firiho barnun Godu gumun, Themwords the God antkenne Thurh hluttra hugi."

Angels to them, In a multitude, come A holy host, From the Heaven-plains, The fair folk of God, And much they praise-*To* the Lord of Hosts (people). They raised the holy

song,
As
they
back
to
the
Heaven-
plains
Wound
through
the
welkin.
The
words
they
heard,
How
the
strength
of
the
Angels
The
Almighty
God,
Very
worthily,
With
words
praised.
"Love
be
there
now,"
quoth
they,

"To
the
Lord
himself
On
the
highest
Kingdom
of
Heaven,
And
peace
on
earth
To
the
children
of
men,
Goodwilled
men
Who
know
God,
Through
a
pure
mind."

CHAPTER IV.

AFFINITIES OF THE ENGLISH WITH THE LANGUAGES OF GERMANY AND SCANDINAVIA.

§ 65. The last chapter has limited the Anglo-Saxon

area to the northern part of the Saxon area in general. Further details, however, upon this point, may stand over until the *general* affinities of the English language have been considered.

§ 66. Over and above those languages of Germany and Holland which were akin to the dialects of the Angles and the Saxons, cognate languages were spoken in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Iceland, and the Feroe isles, *i.e.*, in Scandinavia.

§ 67. The general collective designation for the Germanic tongues of Germany and Holland, and for the Scandinavian languages of Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Iceland, and the Feroe Isles, is taken from the name of those German tribes who, during the decline of the Roman Empire, were best known to the Romans as the *Goths*; the term *Gothic* for the Scandinavian and Germanic languages, collectively, being both current and convenient.

§ 68. Of this great *stock* of languages the Scandinavian is one *branch*; the Germanic, called also Teutonic, another.

§ 69. The Scandinavian branch of the Gothic stock comprehends, 1. The dialects of Scandinavia Proper, *i.e.*, of Norway and Sweden; 2. of the Danish isles and Jutland; 3. of Iceland; 4. of the Feroe Isles. On the side of Lapland the languages of this branch come in contact with the Laplandic and Finlandic; whilst in Sleswick they are bounded by the Low German.

SPECIMENS.

Icelandic (Fareyïnga-Saga—Ed. Mohnike).

Ok nú er þat eitthvert sinn um sumarit, at Sigmundr mælti til þóris: "Hvat mun verða, þo at við farim í skóg þenna, er hèr er norðr frá garði?" þórir svarar: "á því er mèr eingi forvitni," segir hann. "Ekki er mèr svâ gefit," segir Sigmundr, "ok þángat skal ek fara." "þú munt ráða hljóta," segir þûrir, "en brjótum við þa boðorð fóstra míns." Nu fóru þeir, ok hafði Sigmundr viðaröxi eina i hendi sèr; koma i skóginn, ok í rjôðr eitt fagurt; ok er þeir hafa þar eigi leingi verit, þá heyra þeir björn mikinn harðla ok grimligan. þat var viðbjörn mikill, úlfgrár at lit. þeir hlaupa nu aptra á stiginn þan, er þeir hölðu þángat farit; stigrinn var mjór ok þraurigr, ok hleypr þórir fyrir, en Sigmundr síðar. Dýrit bleypr nú eptir þeim á stiginn, ok verðr því þraungr stigrinn, ok brotna eikrnar fyrir þvi. Sigmundr snyr þá skjótt út af stignum millum trjánna, ok biðr þar til er dyrit kemr jafn-fram honum. þa höggr hann jafnt meðal hlusta á dŷrinu með tveim höndum, svâ at exin sökkr. En dŷrit fellr áfram, ok er dautt.

Feroic.

Nú vär so til ajna Ferina um Summari, at Sigmundur snakkaji so vi Towra: "Kvat man bagga, towat vìd färin uj henda Skowin, uj èr hèr noran-firi Gärin?" Towrur svärar, "Ikkji hävi e Hu at forvitnast ettir tuj," sìir han. "Ikkji eri e so sintur," sìir Sigmundur, "og häar skäl e fara." "Tù fert tå at råa," sìir Towrur, "men tå browtum vid Forbo Fostirfäjir mujns." Nù fowru tajr, og Sigmundur heji ajna öksi til Brennuvì uj Hondini; tajr koma in uj Skowin, og å ajt väkurt rudda Plos men ikkji häva tajr veri här lájngji, firin tajr hojra kvödtt Brak uj Skownun, og bråt ettir sujgja tajr ajna egvulia stowra Björdn og gruiska. Tä vä ajn

stowr Skowbjödn grågulmut å Litinun. Tair lejpa nù attir å Råsina, sum tajr höddu gingji ettir; Råsin vär mjåv og trong; Towrur lejpur undan, og Sigmundur attanå. Djowri leipur nù ettir tajmum å Råsini; og nù verur Råsin trong kjå tuj, so at Ajkjinar brotnavu frå tuj. Sigmundur snujur tå kvikliani útäf Råsini inimidlum Trjini, og bujar här til Djowri kjemur abajnt han. Tå höggur han bajnt uj Ojrnalystri å Djowrinum vi båvun Hondun, so at öxin sökkur in, og Djowri dettir bajnt framettir, og er standejt.

Swedish.

Och nu var det engång on sommaren, som Sigmund sade till Thorer: "Hvad månde väl deraf warda, om vi åter gå ut i skogen, som ligger der norr on gården?" "Det är jag alldeles icke nyfiken att veta," svarade Thor. "Icke går det så med mig," sade Sigmund, "och ditret mäste jag." "Du kommer då att råda," sade Thor, "men dermed öfverträda vi vår Fosterfaders bud." De gingo nu åstad, och Sigmund bade en vedyxa i handen; de kommo in i skogen, och strat derpå fingo de se en ganska stor och vildsinnt björn, en dråpelig skogsbjörn, varg-grå till färgen. De sprungo då tillbaka på samma stig som de hade kommit dit. Stigen var smal och trång; och Thorer sprang fråmst, men Sigmund efterst. Djuret lopp nu efter dem på stigen, och stigen blef trång för detsamma, så att träden sönderbrötos i dess lopp. Sigmund vände då kurtigt retaf från stigen, och ställde sig mellan träden, samt stod der, tills djuret kom fram midt för honom. Då fattade han yxan med begge händerna, och högg midt emellan öronen på djuret, så att yxan gick in, och djuret störtade framåt, och dog på stället.

Danish.

Og nu var det engang om Sommeren, at Sigmund sagde til Thorer: "Hvad mon der vel kan flyde af, om vi end gaae hen i den Skov, som ligger her nordenfor Gaarden?" "Det er jeg ikken nysgjerrig efter at vide," svarede Thorer. "Ei gaar det mig saa," sagde Sigmund, "og derud maa jeg." "Du kommer da til at raade," sagde Thorer, "men da overtræde, vi vor Fosterfaders Bud." De gik nu, og Sigmund havde en Vedöxe i Haanden; de kom ind i Skoven, og strax derpaa saae de en meget stor og grum Björn, en drabelig Skovejörn, ulvegraa af Farve. De löb da tilbage ad den samme Sti, ad hvilken de vare komne derhen. Stien var smal og trang; og Thorer löb forrest, men Sigmund bagerst. Dyret löb nu efter dem paa Stien, og Stien blev trang for det, og Træerne brödes i dets. Löb Sigmund dreiede da nu hurtig ud af Stien, og stillede sig imellem Træerne, og stod der indtil Dyret kom frem lige for ham. Da fattede han öxen med begge Hænder, og hug lige imellem örerne paa Dyret, saa at öxen sank i, og Dyret styrtede fremad, og var dödt paa Stedet.

English.

And now is it a time about the summer, that Sigmund spake to Thorir: "What would become, even if we two go into the wood (shaw), which here is north from the house?" Thorir answers, "Thereto there is to me no curiosity," says he. "So is it not with me," says Sigmund, "and thither shall I go." "Thou mayst counsel," says Thorir, "but we two break the bidding-word of foster-father mine." Now go they, and Sigmund had a wood-axe in his hands; they come into the wood,

and into a fair place; and as they had not been there long, they hear a bear, big, fierce, and grim. It was a wood-bear, big, wolf-grey in hue. They run (leap) now back (after) to the path, by which they had gone thither. The path was narrow and strait; and Thorir runs first, and Sigmund after. The beast runs now after them on the path, and the path becomes strait, and broken oaks before it. Sigmund turns then short out of the path among the trees, and bides there till the beast comes even with him. Then cuts he even in between the ears of the beast with his two hands, so that the axe sinks, and the beast falls forward, and is dead.

§ 70. The Teutonic branch falls into three divisions: —

1. The Mœso-Gothic.

2. The High Germanic.

3. The Low Germanic.

§ 71. It is in the Mœso-Gothic that the most ancient specimen of any Gothic tongue has been preserved. It is also the Mœso-Gothic that was spoken by the conquerors of ancient Rome; by the subjects of Hermanic, Alaric, Theodoric, Genseric (?), Euric, Athanaric, and Totila.

This history of this language, and the meaning of the term by which it is designated, is best explained by the following passages:—

a. A.D. 482. "Trocondo et Severino consulibus— Theodoricus cognomento Valamer utramque Macedoniam, Thessaliamque depopulatus est, Larissam quoque metropolim depredatus, Fausto solo

consule (A.D. 485)—Idem Theodoricus rex Gothorum Zenonis Augusti munificentia pene pacatus, magisterque præsentis militiæ factus, consul quoque designatus, *creditam sibi Ripensis Daciæ partem* Mœsiæque *inferioris, cum suis satellitibus pro tempore tenuit*."—Marcellini Comitis Chronicon, D.N.

b. "Frederichus ad Theodoricum regem, qui tunc apud Novam Civitatem provinciæ Mœsiæ morabatur, profectus est."—Vita S. Severini, D.N.

c. "Zeno misit ad Civitatem Novam, in quâ erat Theodoricus dux Gothorum, filius Valameris, et eum invitavit in solatium sibi adversus Basiliscum."—Anon. Valesii, p. 663, D.N.

d. Civitas Nova is Nicopolis on the Danube; and the nation thus spoken of is the Gothic nation in the time of Zeno. At this time they are settled in the Lower Mœsia, or Bulgaria.

How they got here from the *northern* side of the Danube we find in the history of the reign of Valens. When pressed by intestine wars, and by the movements of the Huns, they were assisted by that emperor, and settled in the parts in question.

Furthermore, they were converted to Christianity; and the Bible was translated into their language by their Bishop Ulphilas.

Fragments of this translation, chiefly from the Gospels, have come down to the present time; and the Bible translation of the Arian Bishop Ulphilas, in the language of the Goths of Mœsia, during the reign of Valens, exhibits the earliest sample of any Gothic tongue.

§ 72. How Gothic tribes reached the Lower Danube is

a point upon which there is a variety of opinion. The following facts, however, may serve as the basis of our reasoning.

A.D. 249-251—The Goths are found about equidistant from the Euxine Sea, and the eastern portion of the range of Mount Hæmus, in the Lower Mœsia, and at Marcianopolis. Here they gain a great battle against the Romans, in which the Emperor Decius is killed.

His successor, Gallus, purchases a peace.

Valerian defends himself against them.

During the reign of Gallienus they appear as *maritime* warriors, and ravage Asia Minor, Greece, and Illyria.

A.D. 269—Are conquered at Naissus, on the western boundary of Mœsia *Superior* by Claudius.

A.D. 282—Are defeated by Carus.

A.D. 321—Ravage Mœsia (Inferior?) and Thrace.

A.D. 336—Attacked by Constantine in Dacia—*north* of the Danube.

A.D. 373—In the reign of Valens (as already stated), they were admitted to settle within the limits of the empire.

§ 73. Now, although all this explains, how a Gothic language was spoken in Bulgaria, and how remnants of it have been preserved until the nineteenth century, the manner in which the tribe who spoke it reached Marcianopolis, so as to conquer the Emperor Decius, in A.D. 249, is unexplained.

Concerning this there are three opinions—

A. The Baltic doctrine. According to this the Goths migrated from the Baltic to the Mæotis, from the Mæotis to the Euxine, and from the Euxine to the Danube, along which river they moved from *east to west.*

B. The Getic doctrine.—Here the Goths are made out to be the aborigines of the Lower Danube, of Dacia, Mœsia, and even Thrace; in which case their movement was, also, from *east to west.*

C. The German doctrine.—Here the migration is from west to east, along the course of the Danube, from some part of south-eastern Germany, as its starting-point, to Asia Minor as its extreme point, and to Bulgaria (*Mœsia Inferior*) as its point of settlement.

§ 74. Respecting the first of these views the most that can be said in its favour is, that it is laid down by Jornandes, who wrote in the fifth century, and founded his history upon the earlier writings of Ablavius and Dexippus, Gothic historians, who, in their turn took their account from the old legends of the Goths themselves—*in priscis eorum carminibus, pæne historico ritu.* On the other hand, the evidence is, at best, traditional, the fact improbable, and the likelihood of some such genealogy being concocted after the relationship between the Goths of the Euxine, and Germans of the Baltic had been ascertained exceedingly great.

§ 75. The second is supported by no less an authority than Grimm, in his latest work, the History of the German Language;—and the fact of so learned and comprehensive an investigator having admitted it, is, in the mind of the present writer, the only circumstance in its favour. Over and above the arguments that may be founded on a fact which will

soon be noticed, the chief reasons are deduced from a list of Dacian or Getic plants in Dioscorides, which are considered to bear names significant in the German. Whether or not, the details of this line of criticism will satisfy the reader who refers to them, it is certain that they are not likely to take a more cogent form than they take in the hands of the *Deutsche Grammatik*.

§ 76. The third opinion is the likeliest; and if it were not for a single difficulty would, probably, never have been demurred to. The fact in question is the similarity between the words *Getæ* and *Gothi*.

The fact that a tribe called G-O-T-H-I should, when they first peopled the Mœsogothic country, have hit upon the country of a people with a name so like their own as G-E-T-Æ, by mere accident, is strange. English or American colonies might be sent to some thousand places before one would be found with a name so like that of the mother-country as *Get* is to *Got*. The chances, therefore, are that the similarity of name is *not* accidental, but that there is some historical, ethnological, or geographical grounds to account for it. Grimm's view has been noticed. He recognises the difficulty, and accounts for it by making the *Goths* indigenous to the land of Getæ.

To a writer who (at one and the same time) finds difficulty in believing that this similarity is accidental and is dissatisfied with Grimm's reasoning, there seems to be no other alternative but to consider that the Goths of the Lower Danube had no existence at all in Germany *under that name*, that they left their country under a different[5] one, and that they took the one by which they were known to the Romans (and through them to us), on reaching the land of the

Getæ—as, in England, the Saxons of *Essex* and *Wessex* did *not* (since they brought their name with them), but as the East and West *Kent-ings*[6] did.

This doctrine, of course, falls to the ground directly it can be shown that the Goths of Mœsia were either called *Goths* in Germany, or any where else, anterior to their settlement in the *Geta*-land.

Be this, however, as it may, the first division of the Teutonic branch of languages is the Mœso-Gothic of the Goths of the Lower Danube, in the fourth century, as preserved in the translation of Ulphilas, and in other less important fragments.

SPECIMEN.

LUKE i. 46-56.

> Jah quaþ Mariam. Mikileid saivala meina Fan, jah svegneid ahma meins du Goþa nasjand meinamma. Unte insahu du hnaivenai þiujos seinaizos: sai allis fram himma nu audagjand mik alla kunja. Unte gatavida mis mikilein sa mahteiga, jah veih namo is. Jah armahairtei is in aldins aldê þaim ogandam ina. Gatavida svinthein in arma seinamma; distahida mikilþuhtans gahugdai hairtins seinis; gadrausida mahteigans af stolam, jah ushauhida gahnaividans; gredigans gasôþida þiuþe, jah gabignandans insandida lausans; hleibida Israela þiumagu seinamma, gamundans armahairteins, sva sve rodida du attam unsaraim Abrahaima jah fraiv is und aiv.

§ 77. The Old High German, called also Francic and Alemannic, was spoken in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, in Suabia, Bavaria, and Franconia. It is in the Old High German that the Krist

of Otfrid, the Psalms of Notker, the Canticle of Willeram, the Glosses of Kero, the Vita Annonis, &c., are composed.

SPECIMEN.

KRIST, i. 12. (Edit. Graff.)

Tho uuarun thar in lante hirta haltente;
Thes fehes datun uuarta uuidar fianta.
Zi ín quam boto sconi, engil scinenti;
Joh uuurtun sie inliuhte fon himilisgen liohte.
Forahtun sie in tho gahun so sinan anasahun;
Joh hintarquamun harto thes Gotes boten uuorto.
Sprah ther Gotes boto sar. "Ih scal íú sagen uuuntar.
Ju scal sin fon Gote heil; nales forahta nihein.
Ih scal iu sagen imbot, gibot ther himilisgo Got;
Ouh nist ther er gihorti so fronisg arunti.
Thes uuirdit uuorolt sinu zi euuidon blidu,
Joh al giscaft thiu in uuorolti thesa erdun ist ouh dretenti
Niuuui boran habet thiz lant then himilisgon Heilant;
The ist Druhtin Krist guater fon iungeru muater.
In Bethleem thiue kuninga thie uuarun alle thanana,
Fon in uuard ouh giboran iu sin muater magad sconu.
Sagen ih íú, guate man, uuio ir nan sculut

findan,
Zeichen ouh gizami thuruh thaz seltsani.
Zi theru burgi faret hinana, ir findet, so ih íú sageta,
Kind niuuui boranaz in kripphun gilegitaz.
Tho quam unz er zin tho sprah engilo heriscaf,
Himilisgu menigi, sus alle singenti—
In himilriches hohi si Gote guallichi;
Si in erdu fridu ouh allen thie fol sin guates uuillen

The Same, in English.

Then there was in the land herdsmen feeding:
Of their cattle they made watch against foes.
To them came a messenger fair, an angel shining,
And they became lit with heavenly light.
They feared, suddenly as on him they looked;
And followed much the words of God's messenger:
Spake there God's messenger strait, "I shall to you say wonders.
To you shall there be from God health; fear nothing at all.
I shall to you say a message, the bidding of the heavenly God:
Also there is none who has heard so glad an errand.

Therefore becomes his world for ever
blythe,
And all creatures that in the world are
treading this earth.
Newly borne has this land the heavenly
Savior,
Who is the Lord Christ, good, from a
young mother.
In Bethleem, of the kings they were all
thence—
From them was also born his mother, a
maid fair.
I say to you, good men, how ye him shall
find,
A sign and token, through this wonder.
To your burgh fare hence, ye find, so as I
to you said,
A child, new born, in a crib lying."
Then came, while he to them spake, of
angels an host,
A heavenly retinue, thus all singing:
"In the heavenly kingdom's highth be to
God glory;
Be on earth peace also to all who are
full of God's will."

The Middle High German ranges from the thirteenth Century to the Reformation.

§ 78. The Low Germanic Division, to which the Anglo-Saxon belongs, is currently said to comprise six languages, or rather four languages in different stages.

I. II.—The Anglo-Saxon and Modern English.

III.—The Old Saxon.

IV. V.—The Old Frisian and Modern Dutch.

VI.—The Platt-Deutsch, or Low German.

§ 79. *The Frisian and Dutch.*—It is a current statement that the Old Frisian bears the same relation to the Modern Dutch of Holland that the Anglo-Saxon does to the English.

The truer view of the question is as follows:—

1. That a single language, spoken in two dialects, was originally common to both Holland and Friesland.

2. That from the northern of these dialects we have the Modern Frisian of Friesland.

3. From the southern, the Modern Dutch of Holland.

The reason for this refinement is as follows:—

The Modern Dutch has certain grammatical forms *older* than those of the Old Frisian; *e.g.*, the Dutch infinitives and the Dutch weak substantives, in their oblique cases, end in *-en*; those of the Old Frisian in *-a*: the form in *-en* being the older.

§ 80. The true Frisian is spoken in few and isolated localities. There is—

1. The Frisian of the Dutch state called Friesland.

2. The Frisian of the parish of Saterland, in Westphalia.

3. The Frisian of Heligoland.

4. The North Frisian, spoken in a few villages of Sleswick. One of the characters of the North Frisian is the possession of a Dual Number.

§ 81. In respect to its stages, we have the Old Frisian of the Asega-bog, the Middle Frisian of Gysbert Japicx, and the Modern Frisian of the present Frieslanders, Westphalians, and Heligolanders.

Asega-bog, i. 3. p. 13, 14. (*Ed. Wiarda.*)

Thet is thiu thredde liodkest and thes Kynig Kerles ieft, theter allera monna ek ana sina eyna gode besitte umberavat. Hit ne se thet ma hine urwinne mith tele and mith rethe and mith riuchta thingate, sa hebbere alsam sin Asega dema and dele to lioda londriuchte. Ther ne hach nen Asega nenne dom to delande hit ne se thet hi to fara tha Keysere fon Rume esweren hebbe and thet hi fon da liodon ekeren se. Sa hoch hi thenne to demande and to delande tha fiande alsare friounde, thruch des ethes willa, ther hi to fara tha Keysere fon Rume esweren heth, tho demande and to delande widuon and weson, waluberon and alle werlosa liodon, like to helpande and sine threa knilinge. Alsa thi Asega nimth tha unriuchta mida and tha urlouada panninga, and ma hini urtinga mi mith twam sine juenethon an thes Kyninges bonne, sa ne hoch hi nenne dom mar to delande, truch thet thi Asega thi biteknath thene prestere, hwande hia send siande and hia skilun wesa agon there heliga Kerstenede, hia skilun helpa alle tham ther hiam seluon nauwet helpa ne muge.

The Same, in English.

That is the third determination and concession of King Charles, that of all men each one possess his own goods (house?) unrobbed. It may not be that

> any man overcome him with charge (tales), and with summons (rede), and with legal action. So let him hold as his Asega (judge) dooms and deals according to the land-right of the people. There shall no Asega deal a doom unless it be that before the Cæsar of Rome he shall have sworn, and that he shall have been by the people chosen. He has then to doom and deal to foes as to friends, through the force (will) of the oath which he before the Cæsar of Rome has sworn, to doom and to deal to widows and orphans, to wayfarers and all defenceless people, to help them as his own kind in the third degree. If the Asega take an illegal reward, or pledged money, and a man convict him before two of his colleagues in the King's Court, he has no more to doom, since it is the Asega that betokens the priest, and they are seeing, and they should be the eyes of the Holy Christendom, they should help all those who may nought help themselves.

§ 82. *The Low German and Platt-Deutsch.*—The words *Low German* are not only lax in their application, but they are *equivocal*; since the term has two meanings, a *general* meaning when it signifies a division of the Germanic languages, comprising English, Dutch, Anglo-Saxon, Old Saxon, and Frisian, and a limited one when it means the particular dialects of the Ems, the Weser, and the Elbe. To avoid this the dialects in question will be henceforth called by their continental name of *Platt-Deutsch*; which although foreign, is convenient.

§ 83. The points of likeness and difference between two languages belonging to different branches of the same Gothic stock may be partially collected from the following comparison between certain Icelandic,

Norse or Scandinavian, and certain Anglo-Saxon or Germanic inflections.

Declension of substantives ending with a *vowel*.

		Saxon.	*Icelandic.*
		Neuter.	*Neuter.*
Sing.	*Nom.*	Eáge (*an eye*).	Auga (*an eye*).
	Acc.	Eáge	Auga.
	Dat.	Eágan	Auga.
	Gen.	Eágan	Auga.
Plur.	*Nom.*	Eágan	Augu.
	Acc.	Eágan	Augu.
	Dat.	Eágan	Augum.
	Gen.	Eágan	Augna.
		Masculine.	*Masculine.*
Sing.	*Nom.*	Nama (*a name*).	Bogi (*a bow*).
	Acc.	Naman	Boga.
	Dat.	Naman	Boga.
	Gen.	Naman	Boga.
Plur.	*Nom.*	Naman	Bogar.
	Acc.	Naman	Boga.
	Dat.	Namum	Bogum.
	Gen.	Namena	Boga.
		Feminine.	*Feminine.*
Sing.	*Nom.*	Tunge (*a tongue*).	Túnga (*a tongue*).
	Acc.	Tungan	Túngu.
	Dat.	Tungan	Túngu.
	Gen.	Tungan	Túngu.

Plur.	*Nom.*	Tungan	Túngur.
	Acc.	Tungan	Túngur.
	Dat.	Tungum	Túngum.
	Gen.	Tungena	Túngna.

Declension of Substantives ending with a *Consonant*.

		Saxon.	*Icelandic.*
		Neuter.	*Neuter.*
Sing.	*Nom.*	Leáf (*a leaf*).	Skip (*a ship*).
	Acc.	Leáf	Skip.
	Dat.	Leáfe	Skipi.
	Gen.	Leáfes	Skips.
Plur.	*Nom.*	Leáf	Skip.
	Acc.	Leáf	Skip.
	Dat.	Leáfum	Skipum.
	Gen.	Leáfa	Skipa.
		Masculine.	*Masculine.*
Sing.	*Nom.*	Smið (*a smith*).	Konungr (*a king*).
	Acc.	Smið	Konung.
	Dat.	Smiðe	Konungi.
	Gen.	Smiðes	Konungs.
Plur.	*Nom.*	Smiðas	Konungar.
	Acc.	Smiðas	Konunga.
	Dat.	Smiðum	Konungum.
	Gen.	Smiða	Konunga.
		Feminine.	*Feminine.*
Sing.	*Nom.*	Spræc (*a speech*).	Brúðr (*a bride*).

	Acc.	Spræce	Brúi.
	Dat.	Spræce	Brúði.
	Gen.	Spræce	Brúðar.
Plur.	*Nom.*	Spræca	Brúðir.
	Acc.	Spræca	Brúðir.
	Dat.	Spræcum	Brúðum.
	Gen.	Spræca	Brúða.

§ 84. The most characteristic difference between the Saxon and Icelandic lies in the peculiar position of the definite article in the latter language. In Saxon, the article corresponding with the modern word *the*, is *þæt*, *se*, *seó*, for the neuter, masculine, and feminine genders respectively; and these words, regularly declined, are *prefixed* to the words with which they agree, just as is the case with the English and with the majority of languages. In Icelandic, however, the article, instead of preceding, *follows* its noun, *with which it coalesces*, having previously suffered a change in form. The Icelandic article corresponding to *þæt*, *se*, *seó*, is *hitt* (N.), *hinn* (M.), *hin* (F.): from this the *h* is ejected, so that, instead of the regular inflection (*a*), we have the forms (*b*).

a.

		Neut.	*Masc.*	*Fem.*
Sing.	*Nom.*	Hitt	Hinn	Hin.
	Acc.	Hitt	Hinn	Hina.
	Dat.	Hinu	Hinum	Hinni.
	Gen.	Hins	Hins	Hinnar.
Plur.	*Nom.*	Hin	Hinir	Hinar.
	Acc.	Hin	Hina	Hinar.
	Dat.	Hinum	Hinum	Hinum.

	Gen.	Hinna	Hinna	Hinna.

b.

Sing.	*Nom.*	—it	—inn	—in.
	Acc.	—it	—inn	—ina (-na).
	Dat.	—nu	—num	—inni (-nni).
	Gen.	—ins	—ins	—innar (-nnar).
Plur.	*Nom.*	—in	—nir	—nar.
	Acc.	—in	—na	—nar.
	Dat.	—num	—num	—num.
	Gen.	—nna	—nna	—nna.

whence, as an affix, in composition,

		Neut.	*Masc.*	*Fem.*
Sing.	*Nom.*	Augat	Boginn	Túngan.
	Acc.	Augat	Boginn	Túnguna.
	Dat.	Auganu	Boganum	Túngunni.
	Gen.	Augans	Bogans	Túngunnar.
Plur.	*Nom.*	Augun	Bogarnir	Túngurnar.
	Acc.	Augun	Bogana	Túngurnar.
	Dat.	Augunum	Bogunum	Túngunum.
	Gen.	Augnanna	Boganna	Túngnanna.

§ 85. In the Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish this peculiarity in the position of the definite article is preserved. Its origin, however, is concealed; and an accidental identity with the indefinite article has led to false notions respecting its nature. In the languages in point the *i* is changed into *e*, so that what in Icelandic is *it* and *in*, is in Danish *et* and *en*. *En*, however, as a separate word, is the numeral *one*, and also the indefinite article *a*; whilst in the neuter

gender it is *et*—en Sol, *a sun*; et Bord, *a table*: Solen, *the sun*; Bordet, *the table*. From modern forms like those just quoted, it has been imagined that the definite is merely the indefinite article transposed. This it is not.

Reference will be made to this passage on more occasions than one, to show how words originally distinct may, in the process of time, take the appearance of being identical. To apply an expression of Mr. Cobbett's, *en = a*, and *-en = the*, are *the same combination of letters, but not the same word.*

DECLENSION OF ADJECTIVES.

Saxon.

Definite.[7]

Singular.

	Neut.	*Masc.*	*Fem.*
Nom.	Góde	Góda	Góde.
Acc.	Góde	Gódan	Gódan.
Abl.	Gódan	Gódan	Gódan.
Dat.	Gódan	Gódan	Gódan.
Gen.	Gódan	Gódan	Gódan.

Plural.

Nom.	Gódan	Gódan	Gódan.
Acc.	Gódan	Gódan	Gódan.
Abl.	Gódum	Gódum	Gódum.
Dat.	Gódum	Gódum	Gódum.
Gen.	Gódena	Gódena	Gódena.

Icelandic.

Definite.[7]

Singular.

	Neut.	*Masc.*	*Fen*
Nom.	Haga	Hagi	Ha
Acc.	Haga	Haga	Hö
Abl.	Haga	Haga	Hö
Dat.	Haga	Haga	Hö
Gen.	Haga	Haga	Hö

Högu is the Plural form fo
the Cases and all the Gen

Indefinite.			
	Singular.		
	Neut.	*Masc.*	*Fem.*
Nom.	Gód	Gód	Gód.
Acc.	Gód	Gódne	Góde.
Abl.	Góde	Góde	Gódre.
Dat.	Gódum	Gódum	Gódre.
Gen.	Gódes	Gódes	Gódre.
	Plural.		
Nom.	Góde	Góde	Góde.
Acc.	Góde	Góde	Góde.
Abl.	Gódum	Gódum	Gódum.
Dat.	Gódum	Gódum	Gódum.
Gen.	Gódra	Gódra	Gódra.

Indefinite.			
	Singular.		
	Neut.	*Masc.*	*Fem*
Nom.	Hagt	Hagr	Hö
Acc.	Hagt	Hagan	Hö
Abl.	Högu	Högum	Ha
Dat.	Högu	Högum	Ha
Gen.	Hags	Hags	Ha
	Plural.		
Nom.	Hög	Hagir	Ha
Acc.	Hög	Haga	Ha
Abl.	Högum	Högum	Hö
Dat.	Högum	Högum	Hö
Gen.	Hagra	Hagra	Ha

§ 86. Observe in the Icelandic forms the absence of the termination *-an*. Observe also the neuter termination *-t*, as *hagr*, *hagt*. Throughout the modern forms of the Icelandic (*viz.* the Swedish, Danish, and Norwegian languages) this termination is still preserved: e.g., *en god Hest*, a good horse; *et godt Hjært*, a good heart; *en skön Pige*, a beautiful damsel; *et skarpt Svœrd*, a sharp sword.

§ 87. Amongst the pronouns the following differences present themselves. The Saxon forms are, for the pronoun of the second person, *þu* (thou), *git* (ye *two*), *ge* (ye); whilst in Icelandic they are *þu*, *þið*, *per*, respectively. Again, in Saxon there is no reflective pronoun corresponding with the Latin *se*. In Icelandic we have *sik*, *sér*, *sin*, corresponding to the Latin *se*, *sibi*, *suus*. Besides this, the word *sin* is

declined, so that like the Latin *suus* it becomes adjectival.

Sing.	*Nom.*	Sitt	Sinn	Sín.
	Acc.	Sitt	Sinn	Sína.
	Dat.	Sínu	Sínum	Sinni.
	Gen.	Sins	Sins	Sinnar.
Plur.	*Nom.*	Sín	Sínir	Sínar.
	Acc.	Sín	Sína	Sínar.
	Dat.	Sínum	Sínum	Sínum.
	Gen.	Sinna	Sinna	Sinna.

In Saxon there is of course no such an adjectival form. *There* the Possessives of the Third Person correspond not with the Latin *suus*, *sua*, *suum*; but with the Latin *ejus* and *eorum*. The English words *his* and *her* are *genitive* cases, not *adjectives*.

Further remarks upon the presence of the Reflective Pronoun *sik* in Icelandic, and its absence in Saxon, will appear in the sequel.

THE NUMERALS.

	Saxon.	*Icelandic.*
1.	Án	Eitt, einn, ein.
2.	Twá	Tvö, tveir.
3.	Þreó	Þrju, þrir.
4.	Feower	Fjögur, fjórir.
5.	Fíf	Fimm.
6.	Six	Sex.
7.	Seofon	Sjö.
8.	Eahta	Átta.
9.	Nigon	Niu.
10.	Tyn	Tiu.

Of the Icelandic verbs the infinitives end in *-a*; as *kalla*, to call; *elska*, to love; whereas the Saxon termination is *-an*; as *lufian*, to love; *wyrcan*, to work.

§ 88. The persons are as follows:—

		Saxon.	*Icelandic.*
Pres.	*Sing.*	1. Bærne	Brenni.
		2. Bærnst	Brennir.
		3. Bærnð	Brennir.
	Plur.	1. Bærnað	Brennum.
		2. Bærnað	Brennið.
		3. Bærnað	Brenna.

§ 89. The characteristic, however, of the Icelandic (indeed, of all the Scandinavian languages) is the possession of a *passive* form, or a *passive* voice, ending in *-st*:—*Ek, þu, hann brennist = I, thou, he is burnt*; *Ver brennumst = We are burnt*; *þér brennizt = ye are burnt*; *þeir brennast = they are burnt*. Past tense, *Ek, þu, hann brendist*; *ver brendumst, þér brenduzt, þeir brendust*. Imperat.: *brenstu = be thou burnt*. Infinit.: *brennast = to be burnt*.

In the modern Danish and Swedish, the passive is still preserved, but without the final *t*. In the *older* stages of Icelandic, on the other hand, the termination was not *-st* but *-sc*; which *-sc* grew out of the reflective pronoun *sik*. With these phenomena the Scandinavian languages give us the evolution and development of a passive voice; wherein we have the following series of changes:—1st. the reflective pronoun coalesces with the verb, whilst the sense changes from that of a reflective to that of a middle verb; 2nd. the *c* changes to *t*, whilst the middle sense passes into a passive one; 3rd. *t* is dropped from the end of the word, and the expression that was once

reflective then becomes strictly passive.

Now the Saxons have no passive voice at all. That they should have one *originating* like that of the Scandinavians was impossible. Having no reflective pronoun, they had nothing to evolve it from.

The Auxiliary Verb.

	Saxon.	*Icelandic.*
	Indicative. Present.	
Sing.	1. Eom (*I am*)	Em.
	2. Eart.	Ert.
	3. Is.	Er.
Plur.	1. Synd (Syndon)	Erum.
	2. Synd (Syndon)	Eruð.
	3. Synd (Syndon)	Eru.
	Indicative. Past.	
Sing.	1. Wǽs	Var.
	2. Wǽre	Vart.
	3. Wǽs	Var.
Plur.	1. Wǽron	Vorum.
	2. Wǽron	Voru.
	3. Wǽron	Voru.
	Subjunctive. Present.	
Sing.	1. Sý	Sé.
	2. Sý	Sér.
	3. Sý	Sé.
Plur.	1. Sýn	Séum.
	2. Sýn	Seuð.
	3. Sýn	Séu.
	Subjunctive. Past.	

Sing.	1. Wǽre	Væri.
	2. Wǽre	Værir.
	3. Wǽre	Væri.
Plur.	1. Wǽron	Værum.
	2. Wǽron	Væru.
	3. Wǽron	Væruð.

Infinitive.	
Wesan	Vera.

Participle.	
Wesende	Verandi.

§ 90. Recapitulating, we find that the characteristic differences of the greatest importance between the Icelandic and Saxon are three in number:—

1st. The peculiar nature of the definite article.

2nd. The neuter form of the adjectives in *-t*.

3rd. The existence of a passive voice in *-sc*, *-st*, or *-s*.

§ 91. In the previous comparison the substantives were divided as follows:—1st. into those ending with a vowel; 2ndly, into those ending with a consonant. In respect to the substantives ending with a vowel (*eáge*, *nama*, *tunge*), it may have been observed that their cases were in A. S. almost exclusively formed in *-n*, as *eágan*, *tungan*, &c.; whilst words like *skip* and *smið* had, throughout their whole declension, no case formed in *-n*; no case indeed wherein the sound of *-n* entered. This enables us (at least with the A. S.) to make a general assertion concerning the substantives ending in a *vowel* in contrast to those ending in a *consonant*, viz. that they take an inflection in *-n*.

In Icelandic this inflection in *-n* is concealed by the fact of *-an* having been changed into *-a*. However, as this *-a* represents *-an*, and as fragments or rudiments of *-n* are found in the genitive plurals of the neuter and feminine genders (*augna*, *tungna*), we may make the same general assertion in Icelandic that we make in A. S., *viz.* that substantives ending in a vowel take an inflection in *-n*.

§ 92. The points of likeness and difference between two languages, belonging to different *divisions* of the same Germanic *branch*, may be partially collected from the following comparison between certain Mœso-Gothic and certain Anglo-Saxon inflections.

§ 93. It must, however, be premised, that, although the distinction between nouns taking an inflection in *-n*, and nouns not so inflected, exists equally in the Mœso-Gothic and the Icelandic, the form in which the difference shows itself is different; and along with the indication of this difference may be introduced the important terms *weak* and *strong*, as applied to the declension of nouns.

Weak nouns end in a vowel; or, if in a consonant, in a consonant that has become final from the loss of the vowel that originally followed it. They also form a certain proportion of their oblique cases in *-n*, or an equivalent to *-n*—Nom. *augô*, gen. *aug-in-s*.

Strong nouns end in a consonant; or, if in a vowel, in one of the vowels allied to the semivowels *y* or *w*, and through them to the consonants. They also form their oblique cases by the addition of a simple inflection, without the insertion of *n*.

Furthermore, be it observed that *nouns* in general are *weak* and *strong*, in other words, that adjectives are

weak or *strong*, as well as substantives. Between substantives and adjectives, however, there is this difference:—

1. A substantive is *either* weak or strong, *i.e.*, it has one of the two inflections, but not both. *Augô = an eye*, is weak under all circumstances; *waurd = a word*, is strong under all circumstances.

2. An adjective is *both* weak and strong. The Anglo-Saxon for *good* is sometimes *god* (strong), sometimes *gode* (weak). Which of the two forms is used depends not on the word itself, but on the state of its construction.

In this respect the following two rules are important: —

1. The definite sense is generally expressed by the weak form, as *se blinde man = the blind man*.

2. The indefinite sense is generally expressed by the strong form, as *sum blind man = a blind man*.

Hence, as far as adjectives are concerned, the words *definite* and *indefinite* coincide with the words *weak* and *strong* respectively, except that the former are terms based on the syntax, the latter terms based on the etymology of the word to which they apply.

Declension of Weak Substantives in Mœso-Gothic.

Neuter.

	Singular.	*Plural.*
Nom.	Áugô (*an eye*)	Áugôna.
Acc.	Áugô	Áugôna.
Dat.	Áugin	Áugam.
Gen.	Áugins	Áugônê.

Masculine.

Nom.	Manna (*a man*)	Mannans.
Acc.	Mannan	Mannans.
Dat.	Mannin	Mannam.
Gen.	Mannins	Mannanê.

Feminine.

Nom.	Tuggô (*a tongue*)	Tuggôns.
Acc.	Tuggôn	Tuggôns.
Dat.	Tuggôn	Tuggôm.
Gen.	Tuggôns	Tuggônô.

Declension of Strong Substantives in Mœso-Gothic.

Neuter.

	Singular.	*Plural.*
Nom.	Vaúrd (*a word*)	Vaúrda.
Acc.	Vaúrd	Vaúrda.
Dat.	Vaúrda	Vaúrdam.
Gen.	Vaúrdis	Vaúrdê.

Masculine.

Nom.	Fisks (*a fish*)	Fiskôs.
Acc.	Fisk	Fiskans.
Dat.	Fiska	Fiskam.
Gen.	Fiskis	Fiskê.

Feminine.

Nom.	Brûþs (*a bride*)	Brûþeis.
Acc.	Brûþ	Brûþins.
Dat.	Brûþai	Brûþim.
Gen.	Brûþais	Brûþê.

These may be compared with the Saxon declensions; viz. *aúgô* with *eáge*, *manna* with *nama*, *tuggô* with *tunge*, *vaúrd* with *leáf*, *fisks* with *smið*, and *brûþs* with *spræc*.

Declension of Weak (or Definite) Adjectives in Mœso-Gothic.[8]

Singular.

	Neuter.	*Masculine.*	*Feminine.*
Nom.	Blindô	Blinda	Blindô.
Acc.	Blindô	Blindan	Blindôn.
Dat.	Blindin	Blindin	Blindôn.
Gen.	Blindins	Blindins	Blindôns.

Plural.

Nom.	Blindôna	Blindans	Blindôns.
Acc.	Blindôna	Blindans	Blindôns.
Dat.	Blindam	Blindam	Blindôm.
Gen.	Blindônê	Blindanê	Blindônô.

Declension of strong (or indefinite) adjectives in Mœso-Gothic.[9]

Singular.

Nom.	Blindata	Blinds	Blinda.
Acc.	Blindata	Blindana	Blinda.
Dat.	Blindamma	Blindamma	Blindái.
Gen.	Blindis	Blindis	Blindáizôs.

Plural.

Nom.	Blinda	Blindái	Blindôs.
Acc.	Blinda	Blindans	Blindôs.
Dat.	Blindáim	Blindáim	Blindáim.

Gen.	Blindáizê	Blindáizê	Blindáizô.

Observe—In the neuter form *blindata* M. G. we have the sound of *t*, as in Icelandic. This becomes *z* (*ts*) in Old High German, and *s* in modern German.

The conjugation of the M. G. is as follows. From the Anglo-Saxon it differs most in its plural persons.

	Indicative.			*Subjunctive.*	
	M.G.	A.S.		M.G.	A.S.
	Present.			*Present.*	
Sing.	1. Sôk-ja	Lufie.	*Sing.*	1. Sôkjáu	Lufige.
	2. Sôk-eis	Lufast.		2. Sôkjáis	
	3. Sôk-eiþ	Lufað.		3. Sôkjái	
Plur.	1. Sôk-jam	Lufiað.	*Plur.*	1. Sôkjáima	Lufion.
	2. Sôk-eiþ	Lufiað.		2. Sôkjáiþ	
	3. Sôk-jand	Lufiað.		3. Sôkjáina	
	Prœt.			*Prœt.*	
Sing.	1. Sôkida	Lufode.	*Sing.*	1. Sôkidêdjáu	Lufode.
	2. Sôkides	Lufodest.		2. Sôkidêdeis	
	3. Sôkida	Lufode.		3. Sôkidêdi	
Plur.	1. Sôkidêdum	Lufodon.	*Plur.*	1. Sôkidêdeima	Lufodon
	2. Sôkidêduþ	Lufodon.		2. Sôkidêdeiþ	
	3. Sôkidêdun	Lufodon.		3. Sôkidêdeina	

The conjugation of the auxiliary verb in Mœso-Gothic is as follows. It may be compared with the A. S. § 89.

Indicative. Pres.		*Subjunctive. Pres.*	
Sing.	*Plur.*	*Sing.*	*Plur.*
1. Im (*I am*)	Sijum.	1. Sijáu	Sijáima.
2. Is	Sijuþ.	2. Sijáis	Sijáiþ.
3. Ist	Sind.	3. Sijái	Sijáina.
Prœt.		*Prœt.*	
1. Vas	Vêsum.	1. Vêsjáu	Vêseima.
2. Vast	Vêsuþ.	2. Vêseis	Vêseiþ.
3. Vas	Vêsun.	3. Vêsei	Vêseina.

Inf. Visan and Sijan—(*to be*).

Part. Visands—(*being*).

§ 94. The points of likeness or difference between two languages, each of the Low Germanic division, may be partially collected from the following comparison between certain Old Frisian and certain Anglo-Saxon inflections.

In the comparison the first point to be noticed is the *Transition of Letters*.

á in Frisian corresponds to *eá* in A. S.; as *dád*, *rád*, *lás*, *strám*, *bám*, *cáp*, *áre*, *háp*, Frisian; *deád*, *reád*, *leás*, *streám*, *beám*, *ceáp*, *eáre*, *heáp*, Saxon; *dead*, *red*, *loose*, *stream*, *tree* (boom), *bargain* (cheap, chapman), *ear*, *heap*, English.

é Frisian corresponds to [a]), the A. S. *á*; as *Eth*,

téken, *hél*, *bréd*, Fris.; *áþ*, *tácen*, *hál*, *brád*, Saxon; *oath*, *token*, *hale*, *broad*, English;—[b]), to A. S. *æ*; *hér*, *déde*, *bréda*, Frisian; *hær*, *dæd*, *brædan*, A. S.; *hair*, *deed*, *roast*, English.

e to *ea* and *æ* A. S.—Frisian *thet*, A. S. *þæt*, Engl. *that*, Fris. *gers*, A. S. *gærs*, Engl. *grass*.—Also to *eo*; *prestere*, Fr.; *preost* A. S., *priest* Engl.; *berch* Fr., *beorh* A. S.; *hill* (*berg*, as in *iceberg*) Engl.; *melok* Fr., *meoloc* A. S., *milk* Engl.

i to *eo* A. S.—Fr. *irthe*, A. S. *eorðe*; Fris. *hirte*; A. S. *heorte*; Fris. *fir* A. S. *feor* = in English *earth*, *heart*, *far*.

já = *eo* A. S.; as *bjada*, *beódan*, *bid*—*thet fjarde*, *feorðe*, *the fourth*—*sják*, *seóc*, *sick*.

ju = *y* or *eo* A. S.; *rjucht*, *ryth*, *right*—*frjund*, *freond*, *friend*.

Dsz = A. S. *cg*; Fr. *sedza*, *lidzja*; A. S. *secgan*, *licgan*; Engl. *to say*, *to lie*.

Tz, *ts*, *sz*, *sth* = A. S. *c* or *ce*; as *szereke*, or *sthereke*, Frisian; *cyrice* A. S., *church* Engl.; *czetel* Fr., *cytel* A. S., *kettle* English.

ch Fr. = *h* A. S., as *thjach* Fr., *þeóh* A. S., *thigh* Engl. —*berch*, *beórh*, *hill* (berg)—*dochter*, *dohtor*, *daughter*, &c.

As a general statement we may say, that in the transition letters the Frisian corresponds with the A. S. more closely than it does with any other language. It must, moreover, be remarked, that, in such pairs of words as *frjund* and *freond*, the difference (as far at least as the *e* and *j* are concerned) is a mere difference of orthography. Such also is probably the

case with the words *déd* and *dæd*, and many others.

The Anglo-Saxon inflection of [a]) Substantives ending in a vowel, [b]) Substantives ending in a consonant, [c]) Adjectives with an indefinite [d]) Adjectives with a definite sense, [e]) Verbs Active [f]) and verbs auxiliar, may be seen in the comparison between the A. S. and the Icelandic. The corresponding inflections in Frisian are as follows:—

(*a*).

Substantives ending in a vowel.

		Neuter.	*Masculine.*	*Feminine.*
Sing.	*Nom.*	Áre (*an ear*)	Campa (*a champion*)	Tunge (*a tongue*).
	Acc.	Áre	Campa	Tunga.
	Dat.	Ára	Campa	Tunga.
	Gen.	Ára	Campa	Tunga.
Plur.	*Nom.*	Ára	Campa	Tunga.
	Acc.	Ára	Campa	Tunga.
	Dat.	Áron	Campon	Tungon.
	Gen.	Árona	Campona	Tungona.

(*b*).

Substantives ending in a consonant.

		Neuter.	*Feminine.*
Sing.	*Nom.*	Skip (*a ship*)	Hond (*a hand*).
	Acc.	Skip	Hond.
	Dat.	Skipe	Hond.
	Gen.	Skipis	Honde.
Plur.	*Nom.*	Skipu	Honda.
	Acc.	Skipu	Honda.

	Dat.	Skipum	Hondum (-on).
	Gen.	Skipa	Honda.

With respect to the masculine substantives terminating in a consonant, it must be observed that in A. S. there are two modes of declension; in one, the plural ends in *-s*; in the other, in *-a*. The specimen in § 83 represents the first of these modes only. From this the Frisian is essentially different. With the second it has a close alliance; *e.g.*:—

		Saxon.	*Frisian.*
Sing.	*Nom.*	Sunu (*a son*)	Sunu.
	Acc.	Sunu	Sunu.
	Dat.	Suna	Suna.
	Gen.	Suna	Suna.
Plur.	*Nom.*	Suna	Suna.
	Acc.	Suna	Suna.
	Dat.	Sunum	Sunum.
	Gen.	Sunena	(Sunena).

(*c*).

Indefinite Declension of Adjectives.

		Neuter.	*Masculine.*	*Feminine.*
Sing.	*Nom.*	Gód	Gód	Gód.
	Acc.	Gód	Gódene	Góde.
	Dat.	Góda (-um)	Góda (-um).	Gódere.
	Gen.	Gódes	Gódes	Gódere.
Plur.	*Nom.*	Góde	Góde	Góde.
	Acc.	Góde	Góde	Góde.
	Dat.	Gódum (-a)	Gódum (-a)	Gódum (-a).
	Gen.	Gódera	Gódera	Gódera.

(*d*).

Definite.

		Neuter.	*Masculine.*	*Feminine.*
Sing.	*Nom.*	Góde	Góda	Góde.
	Acc.	Góde	Góda	Góda.
	Dat.	Góda	Góda	Góda.
	Gen.	Góda	Góda	Góda.
Plur.	*Nom.*	Góda	Góda	Góda.
	Acc.	Góda	Góda	Góda.
	Dat.	Góda (-on)	Góda (-on)	Góda (-on).
	Gen.	Góda (-ona)	Góda (-ona)	Góda (-ona).

(*e*).

The Persons of the Present Tense.

Indicative Mood.

Sing.	1. Berne	*I burn.*
	2. Bernst	*Thou burnest.*
	3. Bernth	*He burns.*
Plur.	1. Bernath	*We burn.*
	2. Bernath	*Ye burn.*
	3. Bernath	*They burn.*

In the inflection of the verbs there is between the Frisian and A. S. this important difference. In A. S. the infinite ends in *-an macian*, to make, *læran*, to learn, *bærnan*, to burn; whilst in Frisian it ends in *-a*, as *maka*, *léra*, *berna*.

(*f*).

The Auxiliar Verb Wesa, *To Be*.

Indicative.

	Present.	*Past.*	
Sing.	1. Ik ben	1. Ik	Was.
	2. ?	2. Thú	
	3. Hi is	3. Hi	
Plur.	1. Wi	1. Wi	Weron.
	2. I	2. I	
	3. Hja	3. Hja	

Subjunctive.

	Present.	*Past.*
Sing.	1. 2. 3. Se	1. 2. 3. Wére.
Plur.	1. 2. 3. Se	1. 2. 3. Wére.

Infin. *Wesa.* *Pr. Part.* Wesande. *Past Part.* E-wesen.

The Frisian numerals (to be compared with those of the Anglo-Saxons, p. 43), are as follows:—*Én*, *twá*, *thrjú*, *fjúwer*, *fíf*, *sex*, *sjúgun*, *achta*, *njugun*, *tian*, &c. Of these the first three take an inflection, e.g., *En*, like *Gode* and the adjectives, has both a definite and an indefinite form, *en*, and *thet ene*; whilst *twa* and *thrjú* run as follows:—*Nom.* and *Acc. Neut.* twa; *Masc.* twene; *Fem.* twa; *Dat.* twam; *Gen.* twira.—*Nom.* and *Acc. Neut.* thrju; *Masc.* thre; *Fem.* thrja; *Dat.* thrim; *Gen.* thrira.

In respect to the Pronouns, there is in the Old Frisian of Friesland no dual number, as there is in Anglo-

Saxon. On the other hand, however, the Frisians (whilst they have no such form as *his*) possess, like the Icelandic, the inflected adjectival pronoun *sin*, corresponding to the Latin *suus*: whilst, like the Anglo-Saxons, and unlike the Icelanders, they have nothing to correspond with the Latin *se*.

§ 95. In Frisian there is between the demonstrative pronoun used as an article, and the same word used as a demonstrative in the limited sense of the term, the following difference of declension:—

THE ARTICLE.

		Neuter.	*Masculine.*	*Feminine.*
Sing.	*Nom.*	Thet	Thi	Thjú.
	Acc.	Thet	Thene	Thá.
	Dat.	Thá		There.
	Gen.	Thes		There.
Plur.	*Nom.*	Thá.		
	Acc.	Thá.		
	Dat.	Thá.		
	Gen.	Théra.		

PRONOUN.

The Demonstrative in the limited sense of the word.

		Neuter.	*Masculine.*	*Feminine.*
Sing.	*Nom.*	Thet	Thi	Se.
	Acc.	Thet	Thene	Se.
	Dat.	Tham		There.

	Gen.	Thes	There.
Plur.	*Nom.*	Se.	
	Acc.	Se.	
	Dat.	Thám.	
	Gen.	Théra.	

The Saxons draw no such a distinction. With them the article and demonstrative is declined as follows: —

		Neuter.	*Masculine.*	*Feminine.*
Sing.	*Nom.*	Þæt	Se	Seo.
	Acc.	Þæt	Þone	Þá.
	Dat.	Þam		Þære.
	Gen.	Þæs		Þære.
Plur.	*Nom.*	Þá.		
	Acc.	Þá.		
	Dat.	Þám.		
	Gen.	Þára.		

§ 96. *Specimen of Glossarial affinity.*—Taken from Rask's Preface to his Frisian Grammar:—

Frisian.	*Anglo Saxon.*	*English.*
Ágе	Eáge	*Eye.*
Háved	Heáfod	*Head.*
Kind	Cild	*Child.*
Erva	Eafora	*Heir.*
Drochten	Drihten	*Lord.*

Nacht	Niht	*Night*.
Réd	Ræd	*Council* (*Rede*).
Déde	Dæd	*Deed*.
Nose	Nasu	*Nose*.
Éin	Ágen	*Own*.
Kápie	Ceapige	*I buy* (*Chapman*).
Dua	Don	*To do*.
Slá	Sleán	*Slay*.
Gunga	Gangan	*Go* (*Gang*).

§ 97. In this Chapter there has been, thus far, an attempt to do two things at once. Firstly, to exhibit the *general* likeness between stocks, branches, &c.; and secondly, to show the *special* affinities between certain languages allied to our own, and of the Gothic Stock. What follows, consists of certain observations upon two or three points of nomenclature.

§ 98. *German.*—The points to remember concerning this term are—

1. That it is no national name, but a name given by the Latins to the natives of the country called Germania. The word *German* is foreign to all the Gothic languages.

2. That it was first applied to proper Germanic tribes in the time of Julius Cæsar, and that it served to distinguish the Gothic Germans from the Celtic Gauls.

3. That, anterior to the time of Cæsar, there is no proof of it being applied as a distinctive designation to any of the tribes to whom it was afterwards

limited. The first tribe to whom it was applied, was (in the opinion of the present writer) a Gallic tribe.

4. That since the time of Julius Cæsar, its application has been constant, *i.e.*, it has always meant Gothic tribes, or Gothic languages.

5. That sometimes it has been general to the whole nation—*Unde fit ut tantæ populorum multitudines arctoo sub axe oriantur, ut non immerito universa illa regio Tanai tenus usque ad occiduum, licet et propriis loca ea singula nuncupentur nominibus, generali tamen vocabulo Germania vocitetur ... Gothi, siquidem, Vandalique, Rugi, Heruli, atque Turcilingi, necnon etiam aliæ feroces ac barbaræ nationes e Germania prodierunt.*—Paulus Diaconus.

6. That sometimes it has been peculiar and distinctive to certain prominent portions of the nation—*equi frænis* Germanicis, *sellis* Saxonicis *falerati*.

7. That the general power of the word has been, with few exceptions, limited to the Germans of Germany. We do not find either English or Scandinavian writers calling their countrymen *Germani*.

8. That the two German tribes most generally meant, when the word *German* is used in a limited sense, are the Franks and the Alemanni.

9. That by a similar latitude the words *Francic* and *Alemannic* have been occasionally used as synonymous with *Germanic*.

10. That the origin of the word *Germani*, in the Latin language, is a point upon which there are two hypotheses.

a. That it is connected with the Latin word *Germani* = *brothers*, meaning either tribes akin to one another, or tribes in a degree of *brotherly* alliance with Rome.

b. That it grew out of some such German word as *Herman*, *Irmin*, *Wehrmann*, or the *Herm-* in *Hermunduri*, *Hermiones*, &c.

Neither of these views satisfies the present writer.

For all the facts concerning the word *Germani*, see the Introduction to the third edition of the Deutsche Grammar.

§ 99. *Dutch.*—For the purposes of Philology the meaning given to this word is inconvenient. In England, it means the language of the people of Holland.

In Germany, Holland, and Scandinavia, it means the language of the people of Germany in *general*; and this *general* power of the word is retained even with us in the expression High-Dutch, and Low-Dutch. In the present work the term is avoided as much as possible. Nevertheless, wherever it occurs it means the Dutch of Holland.

The origin of the word has been a subject of much investigation; the question, however, may be considered to be settled by the remarks of Grimm, D. G.—*Introduction to the third edition.*

1. It was originally no national name at all.

2. In the earliest passage where it occurs, the derivative form *þiudiskô* corresponds with the Greek word ἐθνικῶς—*The Mœso-Gothic Translation of the New Testament—Galatians*, ii. 14.

3. The derivation of the word from the substantive *þiudu = a people, a nation*, is undoubted.

4. So also is the derivation of the modern word *Dutch*, in all its varied forms:—Old High-German, *Diutisc*; Anglo-Saxon, *Þeódisc*; Latin, *Theodisca*, *Theudisca*, *Teutisca*; Italian, *Tedesco*; Danish, *Tyske*; English, *Dutch*; the latter part of the word being the adjectival ending *-isc = ish*.

5. The original meaning being *of, or belonging to, the people*, or *of, or belonging to, the nation*, secondary meanings grew out of it.

6. Of these the most remarkable are *a*) the power given to the word in Ulphilas (*heathen*), illustrated by the similarly secondary power of the Greek ἔθνικος; *b*) the meaning *vernacular*, *provincial* or *vulgar* given to it as applied to language.

7. This latter power was probably given to it about the ninth century.

8. That it was not given much before, is inferred from negative evidence. The word *theotisca* is not found in the Latin writers of the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, although there are plenty of passages where it might well have been used had it existed. The terms really used are either *patrius sermo*, *sermo barbaricus*, *sermo vulgaricus*, *lingua rustica*; or else the names of particular tribes, as *lingua Anglorum*, *Alamannorum*.

9. That it was current in the ninth century is evident from a variety of quotations:—*Ut quilibet episcopus homilias aperte transferre studeat in rusticam Romanam linguam, aut* þeotiscam*, quo tandem cuncti possint intelligere quæ dicantur.*—Synodus Turonensis. *Quod*

in lingua Thiudisca *scaftlegi, id est armorum depositio, vocatur.*—Capit. Wormatiense. *De collectis quas* Theudisca *lingua heriszuph appellat.*—Conventus Silvacensis. *Si* barbara*, quam* Teutiscam *dicunt, lingua loqueretur.*—Vita Adalhardi, &c.—D.G., i. p. 14, *Introduction.*

10. That its present national sense is wholly secondary and derivative, and that originally it was no more the name of a people or a language than the word *vulgate* in the expression *the vulgate translation of the Scriptures* is the name of a people or a language.

§ 100. *Teutonic.*—About the tenth century the Latin writers upon German affairs began to use not only the words *Theotiscus* and *Theotiscé*, but also the words *Teutonicus* and *Teutonicé*. Upon this, Grimm remarks that the latter term sounded more learned; since *Teutonicus* was a classical word, an adjective derived from the Gentile name of the Teutones conquered by Manus. Be it so. It then follows that the connexion between *Teutonicus* and *Theotiscus* is a mere accident, the origin of the two words being different. The worthlessness of all evidence concerning the Germanic origin of the Teutonic tribes conquered by Marius, based upon the connexion between the word *Teuton* and Dutch, has been pointed out by the present writer in the 17th number of the Philological Transactions.[10] All that is proved is this, *viz.*, that out of the confusion between the two words arose a confusion between the two nations. These last may or may not have been of the same race.

§ 101. *Anglo-Saxon*—In the ninth century the language of England was *Angle*, or *English*. The *lingua*

Anglorum of Bede is translated by Alfred *on englisce*. The term *Saxon* was in use also at an early (perhaps an equally early) date—*fures quos* Saxonice *dicimus vergeld* þeóvas. The compound term *Anglo-Saxon* is later.—Grimm, *Introduction to the third edition of* D.G., p. 2.

§ 102. *Icelandic, Old Norse.*—Although *Icelandic* is the usual name for the mother-tongue of the Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian, the Norwegian philologists generally prefer the term *Old Norse*.

In favour of this view is the fact that Norway was the mother-country, Iceland the colony, and that much of what is called Old Icelandic was composed in Norway.

Still the reason is insufficient; since the present term *Icelandic* is given to the language not because Iceland *was* the country that *produced*, but because it is the country that has *preserved* it.

This leads to the argument in its most general form—should a language be named from the colony, or from the mother-country? The Norwegians say from the mother-country. Let us consider this.

Suppose that whilst the Latin of Virgil and Cicero in Italy had been changing into the modern Italian, in some old Roman colony (say Sardinia) it had remained either wholly unaltered, or else, altered so little as for the modern *Sardinian*—provided he could read at all—to be able to read the authors of the Augustan age, just like those of the era of Charles Albert; no other portion of the old Roman territory—not even Rome itself—having any tongue more like to that of the Classical writers, than the most antiquated dialect of the present Italian. Suppose,

too, that the term *Latin* had become obsolete, would it be imperative upon us to call the language of the Classics *Old Italian*, *Old Roman*, or at least *Old Latin*, when no modern native of Rome, Latium, or Italy could read them? Would it be wrong to call it *Sardinian* when every Sarde *could* read them? I think not. *Mutatis mutandis*, this is the case with Iceland and Norway.

CHAPTER V.

ANALYSIS OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE— GERMANIC ELEMENTS.

§ 103. The population and, to a certain extent, the language of England, have been formed of three elements, which in the most general way may be expressed as follows:—

a. Elements referable to the original British population, and derived from times anterior to the Anglo-Saxon invasion.

b. Anglo-Saxon, Germanic, or imported elements.

c. Elements introduced since the Anglo-Saxon conquest.

§ 104. Each of these requires a special analysis, but that of the second will be taken first, and will form the contents of the present chapter.

All that we have at present learned concerning the Germanic invaders of England, is the geographical area which they wholly or partially occupied, and the tribes and nations with which they were conterminous whilst in Germany. How far, however, it was simple Saxons who conquered England single-handed, or how far the particular Saxon Germans were portions of a complex population, requires further investigation. Were the Saxons one division of the German population, whilst the Angles were another? or were the Angles a section of the Saxons, so that the latter was a generic term, including the former? Again, although the Saxon invasion may be the one which has had the greatest influence, and

drawn the most attention, why may there not have been separate and independent migrations, the effects and record of which, have in the lapse of time, become fused with those of the more important divisions?

Questions like these require notice, and in a more advanced state of what may be called *minute ethnographical philology* will obtain more of it than has hitherto been their share. At present our facts are few, and our methods of investigation imperfect.

§ 105. In respect to this last, it is necessary to distinguish between the opinions based on *external*, and the opinions based on *internal* evidence. To the former class belong the testimonies of cotemporary records, or (wanting these) of records based upon transmitted, but cotemporary, evidence. To the latter belong the inferences drawn from similarity of language, name, and other ethnological *data*. Of such, a portion only will be considered in the present chapter; not that they have no proper place in it, but because the minuter investigation of an important section of these (*i.e.*, the subject of the *English dialects*) will be treated as a separate subject elsewhere.

§ 106. *The Angles; who were they, and what was their relation to the Saxons?*—The first answer to this question embodies a great fact in the way of internal evidence, *viz.*, that they were the people from whom *England* derives the name it bears = *the Angle-land*, i.e., *land of the Angles*. Our language too is *English*, i.e., *Angle*. Whatever, then, they may have been on the Continent, they were a leading section of the invaders here. Why then has their position in our inquiries been hitherto so subordinate to that of the

Saxons? It is because their definitude and preponderance are not so manifest in Germany as we infer (from the terms *England* and *English*) it to have been in Britain. Nay more, their historical place amongst the nations of Germany, and within the German area, is both insignificant and doubtful; indeed, it will be seen from the sequel, that *in and of themselves* we know next to nothing about them, knowing them only in their *relations*, *i.e.*, to ourselves and to the Saxons. The following, however, are the chief facts that form the foundation for our inferences.

§ 107. Although they are the section of the immigration which gave the name to England, and as such, the preponderating element in the eyes of the present *English*, they were not so in the eyes of the original British; who neither knew at the time of the Conquest, nor know now, of any other name for their German enemies but *Saxon*. And *Saxon* is the name by which the present English are known to the Welsh, Armorican, and Gaelic Celts.

Welsh	*Saxon*.
Armorican	*Soson*.
Gaelic	*Sassenach*.

§ 108. Although they are the section of the immigration which gave the name to *England*, &c., they were quite as little Angles as Saxons, in the eyes of foreign cotemporary writers; since the expression *Saxoniæ trans-marinæ*, occurs as applied to England.

§ 109. Although they are the section of the immigration which gave the name to *England*, &c., the material notice of them as Germans of Germany, are limited to the following facts.

Extract from Tacitus.—This merely connects them with certain other tribes, and affirms the existence of certain religious ordinances common to them—

"Contra Langobardos paucitas nobilitat: plurimis ac valentissimis nationibus cincti, non per obsequium, sed prœliis et periclitando tuti sunt. Reudigni deinde, et Aviones, et *Angli*, et Varini, et Eudoses, et Suardones, et Nuithones, fluminibus aut silvis muniuntur: nec quidquam notabile in singulis, nisi quod in commune Herthum, id est, Terram matrem colunt, eamque intervenire rebus hominum, invehi populis, arbitrantur. Est in insula Oceani castum nemus, dicatumque in eo vehiculum, veste contectum, attingere uni sacerdoti concessum. Is adesse penetrali deam intelligit, vectamque bobus feminis multâ cum veneratione prosequitur. Læti tunc dies, festa loca, quæcumque adventu hospitioque dignatur. Non bella ineunt, non arma sumunt, clausum omne ferrum; pax et quies tunc tantùm nota, tunc tantùm amata, donec idem sacerdos satiatam conversatione mortalium deam templo reddat: mox vehiculum et vestes, et, si credere velis, numen ipsum secreto lacu abluitur. Servi ministrant, quos statim idem lacus haurit. Arcanus hinc terror, sanctaque ignorantia, quid sit id, quod tantùm perituri vident."[11]

Extract from Ptolemy.—This connects the Angles with the *Suevi*, and *Langobardi*, and places them on the Middle Elbe.

Ἐντὸς καὶ μεσογείων ἐθνῶν μέγιστα μέν ἐστι τό, τε τῶν Σουήβων τῶν Ἀγγειλῶν, οἵ εἰσιν ἀνατολικώτεροι τῶν Λαγγοβάρδων, ἀνατείνοντες πρὸς τὰς ἄρκτους μέχρι τῶν μέσων τοῦ Ἄλβιος ποταμοῦ.

Extract from Procopius.—For this see § 129.

Heading of a law referred to the age of Charlemagne.—This connects them with the Werini (Varni), and the Thuringians—"Incipit lex *Angliorum* et *Verinorum* (*Varni*); hoc est *Thuringorum*."—Zeuss, 495, and Grimm. G.D.S.

§ 110. These notices agree in giving the Angles a German locality, and in connecting them ethnologically, and philologically with the Germans of Germany. The notices that follow, traverse this view of the question, by indicating a slightly different area, and Danish rather than German affinities.

Extracts connecting them with the inhabitants of the Cimbric Peninsula.—a. The quotation from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle of § 16.

b. From Bede; "Porro de Anglis, hoc est illa patria, quæ *Angulus* dicitur, et ab eo tempore usque hodie, manere desertus inter provincias Jutarum et Saxonum perhibetur."—Angl. i. 15.

c. From Alfred, "And be wæstan eald Seaxum is Albe muða þære ea and Frisland. And þanon west norð is þæt land, the man *Angle*, hæt and Sillende, and summe dæl Dena."[12]—Oros. p. 20.

Also, speaking of Other's voyage,[13] "He seglode to þæm porte þe man hæt Hæþum; se stent betwuhs Winedum and Seaxum, and *Angle*, and hyrð in on Dene ... and þa twegen dagas ær he to Hædhum come, him wæs on þæt steorbord Gothland and Sillende and iglanda fela. On þæm landum eardodon Engle, ær hi hiðer on land comon."[14]—Oros. p. 23.

d. From Etherwerd, writing in the eleventh century —"*Anglia* vetus sita est inter Saxones et Giotos,

habens oppidum capitale, quod sermone Saxonico *Sleswic* nuncupatur, secundum vero Danos *Hathaby*."[14]

§ 111. *The district called Angle.*—The district of *Anglen*, so called (where it is mentioned at all) at the present moment, is a part of the Dutchy of Sleswick, which is literally an *Angle*; *i.e.*, a triangle of irregular shape, formed by the Schlie, the Flensborger Fiord, and a line drawn from Flensborg to Sleswick; every geographical name in it being, at present, Danish, whatever it may have been previously. Thus some villages end in *bye* (Danish = *town*) as Hus-*bye*, Herreds-*bye*, Ulse-*bye*, &c.; some in *gaard* (= *house*), as *Oegaard*; whilst the other Danish forms are *skov* = *wood* (*shaw*), *hofved* = *head*, *lund* = *grove*, &c. In short it has nothing to distinguish it from the other parts of the peninsula.

§ 112. Add to these the Danish expression, that *Dan* and *Angul* were brothers, as the exponent of a recognised relationship between the two populations, and we have a view of the evidence in favour of the Danish affinity.

§ 113. *Inferences and remarks.—a.* That whilst the root *Angl-* in Tacitus, Ptolemy, Procopius, and the Leges Anglorum, &c., is the name of a *people*, the root *Angl-* in the *Anglen* of Sleswick, is the name of a district; a fact which is further confirmed by the circumstance of there being in at least one other part of Scandinavia, a district with a similar name —"Hann átti bu a Halogolandi i *Aungli*."[14]— Heimskringla, iii. 454.

b. That the derivation of the *Angles* of England from the *Anglen* of Sleswick is an inference of the same kind with the one respecting the Jutes (see § 20),

made by the same writers, probably on the same principle, and most likely incorrectly.

c. That the Angles of England were the Angli of Tacitus, Ptolemy, Procopius, and the Leges Anglorum et Werinorum, whatever these were.

§ 114. What were the *Langobardi*, with whom the Angles were connected by Tacitus? The most important facts to be known concerning them are, (1) that the general opinion is in favour of their having belonged to the *High*-German, or Mœso-Gothic division, rather than to the *Low*; (2) that their original locality either reached or lay beyond the Elbe; a locality, which, in the tenth century, was *Slavonic*, and which, in the opinion of the present writer, we have no reason to consider to have been other than Slavonic during the nine preceding ones. —That they were partially, at least, on this side of the Elbe, we learn from the following:—"Receptæ Cauchorum nationes, fracti Langobardi, gens etiam Germanis feritate ferocior; denique usque ad flumen Albim ... Romanus cum signis perductus exercitus."[15]—Velleius Paterc. ii. 106.

§ 115. What were the *Suevi*, with whom the Angles were connected by Tacitus? The most important facts to be known concerning them are, (1) that the general opinion is in favour of their having belonged to the *High*-German or Mœso-Gothic, division, rather than to the *Low*; (2) that their original locality either reached or lay beyond the Elbe; a locality, which, in the tenth century, was *Slavonic*, and which, in the opinion of the present writer, we have no reason to consider to have been other than Slavonic during the nine preceding ones. In other words, what applies to the Langobardi applies to the Suevi also.

What the Suevi were, the Semnones were also, "Vetustissimos se nobilissimosque Suevorum Semnones memorant." Tac. Germ., 39. Speaking, too, of their great extension, he says, *centum pagi ab iis habitantur*.[15]

Velleius states that there were Suevi on the west of the Middle Elbe, Ptolemy, that there were Suevi to the east of it, *i.e.*, as far as the River Suebus (Oder?). —Καὶ τὸ τῶν Σουήβων τῶν Σεμνόνων, οἵτινες διήκουσι μετὰ τὸν Ἄλβιν ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰρημένου μέρους (the middle Elbe) πρὸς ἀνατολὰς μέχρι τοῦ Σουήβου ποταμοῦ.[16]

In the letter of Theodeberht to the Emperor Justinian, we find the *North*-Suevians mentioned along with the Thuringians, as having been conquered by the Franks; "Subactis Thuringis ... *Norsavorum* gentis nobis placata majestas colla subdidit."[16]

§ 116. What were the *Werini*, with whom the Angles were connected in the *Leges Anglorum et Werinorum*? Without having any particular *data* for connecting the Werini (Varni, Οὐάρνοι) with either the High-German, or the Mœso-Gothic divisions, there are in favour of their being Slavonic in locality, the same facts as applied to the Suevi and Langobardi, with the additional one, that the name probably exists at present in the River *Warnow*, of Mecklenburg Schwerin, at the mouth of which (Warnemunde) the town of Rostock stands.

§ 117. What were the *Thuringians*, with whom the Angles are connected in the *Leges Anglorum*, &c.; Germanic in locality, and most probably allied to the Goths of Mœsia in language.

§ 118. Of the Reudigni, Eudoses, Nuithones, Suardones, and Aviones, too little is known in detail to make the details an inquiry of importance. Respecting them all, it may be said at once, that whatever may be the Germanic affinities involved in their connection with the Suevi, Langobardi, Angli, &c., they are traversed by the fact of their locality being in the tenth century Slavonic.

§ 119. The last tribe which will be mentioned, is that of the *Angrarii*, most probably another form of the *Angrivarii* of Tacitus, the name of the occupants of the valley of the Aller, the northern confluent of the Weser.

As this word is compound (*-varii = ware = inhabitants*), the root remains *Angr-*, a word which only requires the *r* to become *l* in order to make *Angl-*. As both the locality and the relation to the Saxons, make the *Angrivarian* locality one of the best we could assume for the *Angles*, the only difficulty lies in the change from *r* to *l*. Unfortunately, this, in the Saxon-German, is an unlikely one.

§ 120. The last fact connected with the Angles, will be found in a more expanded form in the Chapter on the Dialects of the English Language. It relates to the distribution over the conquered parts of Britain. Their chief area was the Midland and Eastern counties, Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Leicestershire, &c., rather than the parts south of the Thames, which were Saxon, and those north of the Wash, where Danish influences have been considerable.

§ 121. The reader has now got a general view of the extent to which the position of the Angles, as a German tribe, is complicated by conflicting

statements; statements which connect them with (probably) *High*-German Thuringians, Suevi, and Langobardi, and with (probably) *Slavonic* Varni, Eudoses, Suardones, &c.; whereas in England, they are scarcely distinguishable from the *Low*-German Saxons. In the present state of our knowledge, the only safe fact seems to be, that of the common relation of both *Angle* and Saxon, to the present *English* of England.

This brings the two sections within a very close degree of affinity, and makes it probable, that just, as at present, descendants of the Saxons are English (*Angle*) in Britain, so, in the third and fourth centuries, ancestors of the Angles were Saxons in Germany. Why, however, the one name preponderated on the Continent, and the other in England is difficult to ascertain.

§ 122. By considering the Angles as Saxons under another name (or *vice versâ*), and by treating the statement as to the existence of Jutes in Hampshire and the Isle of Wight as wholly unhistorical, we get, as a general expression for the Anglo-Germanic immigration, that it consisted of the closely allied tribes of the North-Saxon area, an expression that implies a general uniformity of population. Is there reason to think that the uniformity was absolute?

§ 123. The following series of facts, when put together, will prepare us for a fresh train of reasoning concerning the different geographical and ethnological relations of the immigrants into England, during their previous habitation in Germany.

1. The termination *-as* is, like the *-s* in the modern English, the sign of the plural number in Anglo-

Saxon.

2. The termination *-ing* denotes, *in the first instance*, a certain number of individuals collected together, and united with each other as a clan, tribe, family, household.

3. In doing this, it generally indicates a relationship of a *personal* or *political* character. Thus two *Baningas* might be connected with each other, and (as such) indicated by the same term from any of the following causes—relationship, subordination to the same chief, origin from the same locality, &c.

4. Of these *personal* connections, the one which is considered to be the commonest is that of *descent* from a common ancestor, so that the termination *-ing* in this case, is a real *patronymic*.

5. Such an ancestor need not be real; indeed, he rarely if ever is so. Like the *eponymus* of the classical writers, he is the hypothetical, or mythological, progenitor of the clan, sept, or tribe, as the case may be; *i.e.*, as Æolus, Dorus, and Ion to the Æolians, Dorians, and Ionians.

Now, by admitting these facts without limitation, and by applying them freely and boldly to the Germanic population of England, we arrive at the following inferences.

1. That where we meet two (or more) households, families, tribes, clans, or septs of the same name (that name ending in *-ing*), in different parts of England, we may connect them with each other, either directly or indirectly; directly when we look on the second as an offset from the first; indirectly, when we derive both from some third source.

2. That when we find families, tribes, &c., of the same name, both in Britain and in Germany, we may derive the English ones from the continental.

Now neither of these views is hypothetical. On the contrary each is a real fact. Thus in respect to divisions of the population, designated by names ending in *-ing*, we have

1. In Essex, Somerset, and Sussex,—*Æstingas*.

2. In Kent, Dorset, Devonshire, and Lincoln,—*Alingas*.

3. In Sussex, Berks, and Northamptonshire,—*Ardingas*.

4. In Devonshire, Gloucestershire, and Sussex,—*Arlingas*.

5. In Herts, Kent, Lincolnshire, and Salop,—*Baningas*.

6. In Norfolk, Suffolk, Surrey, Sussex, and the Isle of Wight,—*Beadingas*.

7. In Kent, Devonshire, Lincolnshire, Herefordshire, Salop, and Somerset,—*Beringas*.

8. In Bedford, Durham, Kent, Lancashire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Northamptonshire, Northumberland, Salop, Sussex, and the Isle of Wight,—*Billingas*, &c.—the list being taken from Mr. Kemble, vol. i. p. 64.

§ 124. On the other hand, the following Anglo-Saxon names in *-ing*, reappear in different parts of Germany, sometimes in definite geographical localities, as the occupants of particular districts, sometimes as mentioned in poems without further notice.

1. *Wælsingas*,—as the Volsungar of the Iceland, and the Wælsingen of the German heroic legends.

2. *Herelingas*,—mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon poem known by the name of the Traveller's Song, containing a long list of the Gothic tribes, families, nations, &c.

3. *Brentingas.*—Ibid.

4. *Scyldingas.*—Ibid.

5. *Scylfingas.*—Ibid.

6. *Ardingas.*

7. *Baningas*, Traveller's Song, mentioned as the subjects of Becca.

8. *Helsingas.*—Ibid.

9. *Myrgingas.*—Ibid.

10. *Hundingas.*—Ibid.

11. *Hocingas.*—Ibid.

12. *Seringas.*—Ibid.

13. *Dhyringas* = Thuringians. (?)

14. *Bleccingas.*

15. *Gytingas.*

16. *Scydingas.*

17. *Dylingas.*

§ 125. We will still, for argument's sake, and for the sake of the illustration of an ethnological method, take these names along with the observations by which they were preceded, as if they were wholly

unexceptionable; and, having done this, ask how far each is known as *German*. So doing, we must make two divisions:

a. Those which we have no reason to think other than Angle or Saxon.

b. Those which indicate elements of the migration other than Angle or Saxon.

§ 126. *Patronymics which do not necessarily denote a non-Saxon element.*—Of these, the following are so little known, that they may pass as Saxons, simply because we have no grounds for thinking them aught else; the Brentings, Banings, Helsings, Serings, Ardings, Hundings, Blekings, Herelings, Gytings, Scydings, Dylings. The Scyldings and Scefings, belong, in a more positive way, to the Anglo-Saxon division; since their eponymi, Scyld and Sceaf, form a portion of the Anglo-Saxon mythology.

§ 127. *Patronymics indicating a non-Saxon, rather than a Saxon element.—a.* The Wælsings—In the way of tradition and mythology, this is a *Frank* gentile name.

b. The Myrgings.—*Ditto.* This is the German form of the Merovingians.

c. The Hocings.—This is the German form of the Chauci, and, as such, a Frisian gentile name.

d. The Dhyrings.—Perhaps Thuringians of Thuringia.

Thus, then, if we still assume that the method in question is unexceptionable, we have, from the evidence of what may be called either the *gentile forms*, or the *patronymics* in *-ing*, reasons for believing that Frank *Myrgings*, Frisian *Hocings*, and Thuringian

Dhyrings, formed part of the invasion—these, at least; possibly others besides.

And why should the reason be other than unexceptionable? Do we not in North America, believe, that, *as a general rule*, the families with particular names, coincide with the families so-called in England; that the names of certain places, *sometimes*, at least, indicate a population originating in places similarly designated here? that the Smiths and Johnstons are English in origin, and that O'Connors and O'Neils are Irish? We certainly believe all this, and, in many cases, we believe it, on the ground of the identity of name only.

§ 128. *Exceptions.*—Still there are exceptions. Of these the most important are as follows:—

1. The termination *-ing* is sometimes added to an undoubtedly British root, so as to have originated within the island, rather than to have been brought from the continent, *e.g.*, the *Kent-ings = the people of Kent*. In such a case, the similarity to a German name, if it exist at all, exists as an accident.

2. The same, or nearly the same, name may not only occur in different parts of one and the same division of the Germanic areas, but in different ones, *e.g.*, the Dhyrings *may* denote the Thuringians of Thuringia; but they may also denote the people of a district, or town, in Belgium, designated as *Dorringen*.[17]

Still as a method, the one in question should be understood; although it has been too short a time before the learned world to have borne fruit.

N.B.—What applies to the coincidence of *gentile* or *patronymic* names on the two sides of the water,

applies also to dialects; *e.g.*, if (say) the Kentish differed from the other dialects of England, just in the same way, and with the same peculiar words and forms, as (say) the Verden dialect differed from the ones of Germany, we might fairly argue, that it was from the district of Verden that the county of Kent is peopled. At present we are writing simply for the sake of illustrating certain philological methods. The question of dialect will be treated in Part VII.

§ 129. *German tribes where there is no direct evidence as to their having made part of the population of England, but where the* à priori *probabilities are strongly in their favour.* This applies to—*a.* The Batavians. No direct evidence, but great *à priori* probability.

b. The Frisians.—Great *à priori* probability, and something more; Βριττίαν δὲ τὴν νῆσον ἔθνη τρία πολυανθρωπότατα ἔχουσι, βασιλεύς τε εἷς αὐτῶν ἑκάστῳ ἐφέστηκεν, ὀνόματα δὲ κεῖται τοῖς ἔθνεσι τούτοις Ἀγγίλοι τε καὶ Φρίσσονες καὶ οἱ τῇ νήσῳ ὁμώνυμοι Βρίττωνες. Τοσαύτη δὲ ἡ τῶνδε τῶν ἐθνῶν πολυανθρωπία φαίνεται οὖσα ὥστε ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος κατὰ πολλοὺς ἐνθένδε μετανιστάμενοι ξὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν ἐς Φράγγους χώρουσιν.[18]—Procop. B. G. iv. 20.

§ 130. I believe, for my own part, there were portions in the early Germanic population of Britain, which were not strictly either Angle or Saxon (Anglo-Saxon); but I do this without thinking that it bore any great ratio to the remainder, and without even guessing at what that ratio was, or whereabouts its different component elements were located—the Frisians and Batavians being the most probable. With this view, there may have been Jutes as well; notwithstanding what has been said in §§ 16-20;

since the reasoning there is not so against a Jute element *in toto*, as against that particular Jute element, in which Beda, Alfred, and the later writers believed and believe.

§ 131. No exception against the existence of Batavian, Frisian, Frank, and other elements not strictly Anglo-Saxon, is to be taken from the absence of traces of such in the present language, and that for the following reason. *Languages which differ in an older form may so far change according to a common principle, as to become identical in a newer one. E.g.*, the Frisian infinitive in verbs ends in *-a*, (as *bærna = to burn*), the Saxon in *-an* (as *bærnan = to burn*). Here is a difference. Let, however, the same change affect both languages; that change being the abandonment, on both sides, of the infinitive termination altogether. What follows? even that the two originally different forms *bærn-a*, and *bærn-an*, both come out *bærn* (*burn*); so that the result is the same, though the original forms were different.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CELTIC STOCK OF LANGUAGES, AND THEIR RELATIONS TO THE ENGLISH.

§ 132. The languages of Great Britain at the invasion of Julius Cæsar were of the Celtic stock.

Of the Celtic stock there are two branches.

1. The British or Cambrian branch, represented by the present Welsh, and containing, besides, the Cornish of Cornwall (lately extinct) and the Armorican of the French province of Brittany. It is

almost certain that the old British, the ancient language of Gaul, and the Pictish were of this branch.

2. The Gaelic or Erse Branch, represented by the present Irish Gaelic, and containing, besides, the Gaelic of the Highlands of Scotland and the Manks of the Isle of Man.

SPECIMENS.

BRITISH.

The Lord's Prayer in Cornish.

Old Cornish.	*Modern Cornish.*
An	Agan
Taz,	Taz,
ny	leb
es	ez
yn	en
nêf,	nêv,
bethens	henigas
thy	beth
hannow	dhe
ughella,	hanno,
gwrêns	gurra
doz	de
thy	gulasketh
gulas	deaz,
ker:	de
bethens	voth
thy	beth
voth	gwrêz
gwrâz	en'
yn	oar
oar	pokar
kepar	en
hag	nêv;
yn	ro
nêf:	dony
ro	hithow
thyn	agan
ny	pyb
hithow	dyth
agan	bara;
peb	ha
dyth	gava
bara;	do
gava	ny

thyn agan
ny cabmow,
ny pokara
agan ny
cam, gava
keparen
ha gy
gava leb
ny es
neb cam
es mo
cam war
ma bidn
erbynny;
ny; ha
nyn na
homfredege
ny ny
en en
antel,antail,
mez brez
gwythgwitha
ny ny
the dort
worthdroge;
drok: rag
rag an
gans mychteyrneth
te ew
yn chee
an do
mightenerneth,
and ha
crevederder,
hag crêvder,
an' ha

worryans,
byz 'worryans,
a rag
venithbisqueth
ha
bisqueth.

Welsh (Cambrian).

Luke xv. 11. 19.

The Prodigal Son.

11. Yr oedd gan ryw wr ddau fab:

12. A 'r jeuangaf o honynt a ddwedoddwrth *ei* dâdd, Fy nhâd, dyro i mi y rhan a ddigwydd o 'r da. Ac efe a ranodd iddynt *ei* fywyd.

13. Ac yn ôl ychydig ddyddiau y mâb jeuangaf a gasglodd y cwbl ynghyd, ac a gymmerth ei daith i wlâd bell; ac yno efe a wasgarodd ei dda, gan fyw yn affrallon.

14. Ac wedi iddo dreulio 'r cwbl, y cododd newyn mawr trwy 'r wlâd honno; ac yntef a ddechreuodd fod mewn eisiau.

15. Ac efe a aeth, ac a lynodd wrth un o ddinaswyr y wlâd honno; ac efe a 'i hanfonodd ef i 'w faefydd i borthi môch.

16. Ac efe a chwennychai lenwi ei fol â 'r cibaua fwytai 'r môch; ac ni roddodd neb iddo.

17. A phan ddaeth arto ei hur, efe addywedodd, Pa sawl gwâs cyflog o 'r eiddo fy nhâd sydd yn cael eu gwala a 'i gweddill o fara, a minnau yn

marw o newyn!

18. Mi a godaf, ac a âf at fy nhâd, ac a ddwyedaf wrtho, Fy nhâd, pechais yn erbyn y nef, ac o'th flaen dithau.

19. Ac mwyach nid ydwyf deilwng i 'm galw yn fâb i ti: gwna si fel un o'th weision cyflog.

Armorican of Bas-Bretagne (Cambrian).

THE SAME.

11. Eunn dén en doa daou vab.

12. Hag ar iaouanka anézhô a lavaraz d'he dâd.—Va zâd, ro d'in al lôden zanvez a zigouéz d'in. Hag hén a rannaz hé zanvez gant ho.

13. Hag eunn nébeûd dervésiou goudé, ar mâb iaounka, ô véza dastumet kémend en doa en em lékéaz enn hent évit mond étrézég eur vrô bell meûrbeá, hag énô é tispiñaz hé zanvez ô véva gant gadélez.

14. Ha pa en doé dispiñet kémend en doa, é c'hoarvézaz eunn naounégez vrâz er vrô-ze, hag é teûaz, da ézommékaat.

15. Kuîd éz éaz eta, hag en em lakaad a réaz é gópr gand eunn dén eûz ar vro. Hag hé man hen kasaz enn eunn ti d'ézhan war ar méaz, évit mesa ar môc'h.

16. C'hoantéed en divije leûña he góf gand ar c'hlosou a zebré ar môc'h: ha dén na rôé d'ézhan.

17. Hôgen ô veza distrôed d'ezhan hé unar, é lavaraz: a béd gôpraer zo é ti va zâd hag en deûz bara é leiz, ha mé a varv aman gand ann naoun!

18. Sévet a rinn, hag éz inn étrézé va zad, hag é livirinn d'ezhan: Va zâd, pech 'ed em euz a eneb ann env hag enu da enep.

19. N'ounn két talvoudek pello 'ch da véza galved da vâb: Va zigémer ével unar euz da c'hôpraerien.

GAELIC.

Irish Gaelic (Gaelic).

THE SAME.

11. Do bhádar diás mac ag duine áirighe:

12. Agus a dubhairt an ti dob óige aca re *na* athair, Athair, tabhair dhamh an chuid roitheas *misi* dod mhaóin. Agus do roim seision a mhaoin eatorra.

13. Agus tar éis bheagáin aimsire ag cruinniughadh a choda uile don mhac dob óige, do chúaidh sé air coigcrigh a dtalamh imchian, agus do dhiombail se ann sin a mhaóin lé na bheathaidh báoth-chaithfigh.

14. Agus tar éis a choda uile do chaitheamh dho, deirigh gorta romhór ann sa tír sin; agus do thosaigh seision ar bheith a ríachdanus.

15. Agus do imthigh sé roimhe agus do cheangal sé e féin do cháthruightheoir don tír sin; noch do chuir fá na dhúichte a mach é do bhúachuilleachd muc.

16. Agus bá mhián leis a bholg do línoadh do na féithléoguibh do ithidís na muca: agus ní thugadh éunduine dhó íad.

17. Agus an tan do chuimhnigh sé air féin, a

dubhairt sé, Gá mhéd do luchd tuarasdail matharsa aga bhfúil iomarcdid aráin, agus misi ag dul a múghd lé gorta!

18. Eíréochaidh mé agus rachaidh mé dionnsuighe mathair, agus deáruidh me ris; A athair! do pheacaid mé a naghaidh neimhe agusad fhíadhnuisisi.

19. Agus ní fiú mé feasda do mhacsa do ghairm dhoim: déana mé mar áon dod luchd thuarasduil.

Scotch Gaelic (Gaelic).

THE SAME.

11. Bha aig duine àraidh dithis mhac:

12. Agus thubhairt *mac* a b'òige dhiubh r' *a athair*, Athair, thoir dhomhsa chuid-roim a thig *orm*, do *d* mhaoin. Agus roinn e eatorra a bheathacahadh.

13. Agus an déigh beagain do láithibh, chruinnich am mac a b'òige a chuid uile, agus ghabh e a thurus do dhùthaich fad air astar, agus an sin chaith e a mhaoin le beatha struidheasaich.

14. Agus an uair achaith e a *chuid* uile, dh' éirich gorta ro mhòr san tír sin; agus thoisich e ri bhi ann an uireasbhuidh.

15. Agus chaidh e agus cheangail se e féin ri aon do shaor-dhaoinibh na dùcha sin: agus chuir ed' fhearan e, a bhiadhadh mhuc.

16. Agus bu mhiann leis a bhrú a liònadh do na plaosgaibh a bha na mucan ag itheadh; oir cha d' thug neach air bith dha.

17. Agus un uair a thainig e chuige féin, thubhairt e, Cia lìon do luchd tuarasdail m'atharsa aig am bheil aran gu leoir agus r' a sheach-nadh, 'nuair a ta mise a' bàsachadh le gorta!

18. Eiridh me, agus théid omi dh' ionnsuidh m' athar, agus their mi ris athair, pheaeaich mi 'n aghaidh fhlaitheanais, agus a' d' là thairsa.

19. Agus cha 'n fhiu mi tuilleadh gu 'n goirte do mhacsa dhiom: deon mi mar aon do d' luchd tuarasdail.

Manks (Gaelic).

THE SAME.

11. Va daa vac ec dooinney dy row:

12. As doort y fer saa rish e ayr; Ayr! cur dooys yh ayrn dy chooid ta my chour. As rheynn eh e chooid orroo.

13. As laghyn ny lurg shen, hymsee yn mac saa ooilley cooidjagh as ghow eh jurnah gys cheer foddey, as ayns shen hug he jummal er e chooid liorish baghey rouanagh.

14. As tra va ooilley baarit eihey, dirree genney vooar ayns y cheer shen; as ren eh toshiaght dy ve ayns feme.

15. As hie eh as daill eh eh-hene rish cummaltagh jeh'n cheer shen; as hug eshyn eh magh gys ny magheryn echey dy ve son bochilley muickey.

16. As by-vian lesh e volg y lhieeney lesh ny bleaystyn va ny muckyn dy ee: as cha row dooinney erbee hug eooney da.

17. As tra v'eh er jeet huggey hene, dooyrt eh, Nagh nhimmey sharvaant failt t'ee my ayr ta nyn saie arran oe, as fooilliagh, as ta mish goll mow laecal beaghey!

18. Trog-ym orrym, as hem roym gys my ayr, as jir-ym rish, Ayr! ta mee er n'yannoo peecah noi niau, as kiongoyrt rhyt's.

19. As cha vel mee ny-sodjey feeu dy ve enmyssit dty vac: dell rhym myr rish fer jeh dty harvaantyr failt.

§ 133. Taken altogether the Celtic tongues form a very remarkable class. As compared with those of the Gothic stock they are marked by the following characteristics—

The scantiness of the declension of Celtic nouns.—In Irish there is a peculiar form for the dative plural, as *cos = foot*, *cos-aibh = to feet* (ped-*ibus*); and beyond this there is nothing else whatever in the way of *case*, as found in the German, Latin, Greek, and other tongues. Even the isolated form in question is not found in the Welsh and Breton. Hence the Celtic tongues are preeminently uninflected in the way of *declension*.

§ 134.—2. *The agglutinate character of their verbal inflections.*—In Welsh the pronouns for *we*, *ye*, and *they*, are *ni*, *chwyi*, and *hwynt* respectively. In Welsh also the root = *love* is *car*. As conjugated in the plural number this is—

car-*wn* = am-*amus*.
car-*ych* = am-*atis*.
car-*ant* = am-*ant*.

Now the *-wn*, *-ych*, and *-ant*, of the persons of the verbs are the personal pronouns, so that the inflection is really a verb and a pronoun in a state of *agglutination*; *i. e.*, in a state where the original separate existence of the two sorts of words is still manifest. This is probably the case with languages in general. The Celtic, however, has the peculiarity of exhibiting it in an unmistakable manner; showing, as it were, an inflexion in the process of formation, and (as such) exhibiting an early stage of language.

§ 135. *The system of initial mutations.*—The Celtic, as has been seen, is deficient in the ordinary means of expressing case. How does it make up for this? Even thus. The noun changes its initial letter according to its relation to the other words of the sentence. Of course this is subject to rule. As, however, I am only writing for the sake of illustrating in a general way the peculiarities of the Celtic tongues, the following table, from Prichard's Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations, is sufficient.

Câr, *a kinsman*.

1. *form*, Câr agos, *a near kinsman*.
2. Ei gâr, *his kinsman*.
3. Ei châr, *her kinsman*.
4. Vy nghâr, *my kinsman*.

Tâd, *a father*.

1. *form*, Tâd y plentyn, *the child's father*.
2. Ei dâd, *his father*.
3. Ei thâd, *her father*.
4. Vy nhâd, *my father*.

Pen, *a head*.

1. *form*, Pen gwr, *the head of a man*.

2. Ei ben, *his head.*
3. Ei phen, *her head.*
4. Vy mhen, *my head.*

Gwâs, *a servant.*
1. *form,* Gwâs fydhlon, *a faithful servant.*
2. Ei wâs, *his servant.*
3. Vy ngwas, *my servant.*

Duw, *a god.*
1. *form,* Duw trugarog, *a merciful god.*
2. Ei dhuw, *his god.*
3. Vy nuw, *my god.*

Bara, *bread.*
1. *form,* Bara cann, *white bread.*
2. Ei vara, *his bread.*
3. Vy mara, *my bread.*

Lhaw, *a hand.*
1. *form,* Lhaw wenn, *a white hand.*
2. Ei law, *his hand.*

Mam, *a mother.*
1. *form,* Mam dirion, *a tender mother.*
2. Ei vam, *his mother.*

Rhwyd, *a net.*
1. *form,* Rhwyd lawn, *a full net.*
2. Ei rwyd, *his net.*

From the Erse.

Súil, *an eye.*

1. *form*, Súil.
2. A húil, *his eye*.

Sláinte, *health*.
2. *form*, Do hláinte, *your health*.

§ 136. When we have seen that one of the great characteristics of the Celtic tongues is to express inflection by initial changes, we may ask how far the principle of such change is common to the two branches—British or Gaelic; this and a few other details being quite sufficient to show the affinity between them.

Inflections formed by Changes of Initial Consonants.

The changes in Welsh, classified according to the relationship of the sounds are—

1. From the sharp lenes to the corresponding flats; as *p* to *b*, *t* to *d*, *c* to *g*. The changes in Irish are the same.

2. From the flat lenes to their corresponding so-called aspirates; as *b* to *v*, *d* to *ð*. This is the change in Welsh. In Irish we have the same, but only as far as *b* is concerned; the aspirate of *d* (*ð*) being wanting in that language. In neither Welsh nor Irish occurs the true aspirate of *g*. In neither Welsh nor Irish occurs the true aspirate of *c*; which, being wanting, is replaced by the sound of the *ch* in the German *auch*, here spelt *ç*.

Now the Welsh grammarians deal with the changes from sharp to flat, and from lene to aspirate, alike; since, in respect to the grammar of their language, they are enabled to state that they take place under the same circumstances. Taken collectively they are

called light: and words wherein *p* is changed to *b*, and those wherein *b* is changed to *v*, are equally said to assume the light sound. This the Welsh express in spelling, and write *ben* for *pen*, and *vraint* for *braint*, &c. In Irish the arrangement is different. When a so-called aspirate is substituted for a lene, the word is said to take an aspiration, and *bheul* is written *beul*. If, however, the sharp be made flat, the original sound is said to be eclipsed. In spelling, however, it is preserved; so that *teine*, with the *t* changed, is written *dteine*, and pronounced *deine*. With this view we can now ask how far the change from *p* to *b*, *t* to *d*, *c* to *g*, *b* to *v*, *c* to ç, takes place in Irish and Welsh under similar circumstances.

In *Welsh*—after all verbs, except those of the infinitive mood; as *caravi gaer* (for *caer*) = *I love a fort*.

In *Irish*—after all verbs, provided that the substantive be masculine; as *ta me ag gearrad çrainn* = *I am cutting (at to cut) a tree*. Here *çrainn* comes from *crainn*. This change in Irish extends only to the change from lene to aspirate.

In *Welsh*—after the possessive pronouns *thy*, *thine*, *his*, *its*, *mine* (but not *my*); as *dy vâr* (for *bâr*) = *thy wrath*; *ei vraint* (from *braint*) = *his privilege*. *N. B.* Although the same word (*ei*) means *her*, *his*, and *its*, it induces the light change only when it is either masculine or neuter.

In *Irish*—after the possessive pronouns *my*, *thy*, and *his*. Here the change is of the first sort only, or an aspiration; as *mo vàs* (*bàs*) = *my death*; *do ços* (*cos*) = *thy foot*; *çeann* (*ceann*) = *his head*. *N. B.* Although the same word (*a*) means *her*, *his*, and *its*, it induces the aspirate only when it is either masculine or neuter.

In *Welsh*—the initials of adjectives become light when their substantive is feminine.

In *Irish*—the initials of adjectives singular, aspirated in the oblique cases only of the masculine, are aspirated throughout in the feminine.

In *Welsh*—after certain adverbs called formative, used like the English words *to*, *as*, &c., in the formation of the degrees of nouns, and the moods of verbs (in other words, after certain particles), initial sounds become light; as *rhy vyçan* (*byçan*) = *very* (*over*) *little*; *ni çarav* (*carav*) = *I do not love*.

In *Irish*—the same, in respect to the change from lene to aspirate; *ro veag* = *very little*; *ni vualim* (*bualim*) = *I do not beat*; *do vuaileas* = *I struck*, &c.

In *Welsh*—initials are light after all prepositions except *in* and *towards*.

In *Irish*—the prepositions either eclipse the noun that they govern or else aspirate it. A Welsh grammarian would say that it made them light.

In *Welsh*—initials of feminines become light after the Articles.

In *Irish*—masculines are aspirated in the genitive and dative singular; feminines in the nominative and dative. *N.B.* The difference here is less than it appears to be. The masculine dative is changed, not as a masculine, but by the effect of the particle *do*, the sign of the dative; the genitive, perhaps, is changed *ob differentiam*. This being the fact, the nominative is the only case that is changed *as such*. Now this is done with the feminines only. The inflection explains this.

Masc.		*Fem.*	
Nom.	an crann = *the tree*.	*Nom.*	an ços = *the foot*.
Gen.	an çrainn.	*Gen.*	an cos.
Dat.	don çrann.	*Dat.*	don ços.
Acc.	an crainn.	*Acc.*	an cos.

Such the changes from sharp to flat, and from lene to aspirate. The second order of changes is remarkable, *viz.* from the mutes to their corresponding liquids, and, in the case of series *k*, to *ng*. This, in Welsh, is as follows:—

Sharp.	*Flat.*
p to [19]*m* = *h*.	*b* to *m*.
t to [19]*n* = *h*.	*d* to *n*.
k to *ng* = *h*.	*g* to *ng*.

e.g., *nheyrnas* for *teyrnas*, *ngherð* for *cerð*, *nuw* for *duw*, &c.

In Irish the combinations *m* + *h*, *n* + *h*, *ng* + *h* are wanting: *t*, however, under certain conditions, becomes *h*, as *mo high* (*tigh*) = *my house*. With the unaspirated liquids the change, however, coincides with that of the Welsh—*ar maile* (spelt *mbaile*) = *our town*; *ar nia* (spelt *ndia*) = *our God*; *ar ngearran* = *our complaint*. These words come respectively from *baile*, *dia*, *gearran*. To show that this change takes place in Irish and Welsh under similar circumstances is more than can be expected; since *ð* being wanting in Irish, leaves *d* to be changed into *n*.

Inflections formed by changes in the middle of words.

Plurals from Singulars.

Welsh.				*Irish.*			
Singular.			*Plural.*	*Singular.*			*Plural.*
Aber	=	*a*	ebyr.	Ball	=	*a*	baill.
	conflux;				*spot*;		
Barð	=	*a*	beirð.	Cnoc	=	*a*	cnoic.
	bard;				*hill*;		
Bràn	=	*a*	brain.	Poll	=	*a*	poil.
	crow;				*pit*;		
Fon	=	*a*	fyn	Fonn	=	*a*	foinn.
	staff;				*tune*;		
Maen	=	*a*	mein.	Crann	=	*a*	crainn.
	stone;				*tree*;		
Gûr	=	*a*	gûyr.	Fear	=	*a*	fir.
	man;				*man*;		
	&c.				&c.		

Inflections formed by addition.

Plural forms.—When not expressed by a change of vowel, *-d* (or an allied sound) both in Welsh and Irish has a plural power; as *merç*, *merçed*; *hyð*, *hyðoð*; *teyrn*, *teyrneð* = *girls*, *stags*, *kings*; Welsh:—*gealaç*, *gealaçad*; *sgolog*, *sgolagad*; *uiseog*, *uiseogad* = *moons*, *farmers*, *larks*; Irish. In each language there are plural forms in *-d*.

Also in *-n*, as *dyn* = *a person*, *dynion* = *persons*. In Irish there is the form *cu* = *a greyhound*; Plural *cuin*. It may be doubted, however, whether *-n* is not ejected in the singular rather than added in the plural.

Also in *-au*, Welsh (as *pén-au* = *heads*), and in *-a*, Irish (as *cos-a* = *feet*).

In each language there is, in respect to both case and

gender, an equal paucity of inflections. The Irish, however, preserves the Indo-European dative plural in *b*; as *ços-aiv* = ped-*ibus*.

The ordinals in Welsh are expressed by *-ved*; as *saiþ* = *seven*, *seiþved* = *seventh*. The ordinals in Irish are expressed by *-vad*, as *seaçt* = *seven*, *seaçt-vad* = *seventh* (spelt *seachmhadh*).

The terminations *-n* and *-g* are diminutive in Welsh; as *dyn-yn* = *mannikin*, *oen-ig* = *lambkin*. They have the same power in Irish; as *cnoc-an* = *a hillock*; *duil-eog* = *a leaflet*. In Irish, currently spoken, there is no inflection for the comparative degrees;—there is, however, an obsolete form in *-d*, as *glass*, *glaiside* = *green*, *greener*. In Welsh the true comparative ends in *ç*, as *main* = *slender*, *mainaç* = *more slender*. A form, however, exists in *-ed*, meaning equality, and so implying comparison, *viz.*, *mein-ed* = *so slender*.

As expressive of an agent, the termination *-r* is common to both languages. Welsh, *mor-ûr* = *a seaman*; *telynaur* = *a harpist*; Irish, *sealg-aire* = *a hunter*; *figead-oir* = *a weaver*.

As expressive of "abounding in," the termination *-c* (or *-g*) is common in both languages. Welsh, *boliûag* = *abounding in belly*; *toirteaç* = *abounding in fruit*. In each language a sound of series *t*, is equivalent to the English *-ly*. Welsh, *mab-aið* = *boy-like*. Irish, *duin-eata* = *manly*.

Of the personal terminations it may be said, that those of both the Irish and Welsh are those of the other European tongues, and that they coincide and differ in the same way with those of the Gothic stock: the form in *m* being the one more constant. For the

theory of the personal terminations, the reader is referred to the Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations, by Dr. Prichard.

The present notices being indicative of grammatical affinities only, the glossarial points of likeness between the Welsh and Irish are omitted.

§ 137. The Celtic tongues have lately received especial illustration from the researches of Mr. Garnett. Amongst other, the two following points are particularly investigated by him:—

1. The affinities of the ancient language of Gaul.

2. The affinities of the Pictish language or dialect.

§ 138. *The ancient language of Gaul Cambrian.*—The evidence in favour of the ancient language of Gaul being Cambrian rather than Gaelic, lies in the following facts:—

The old Gallic glosses are more Welsh than Gaelic.

a. Petorritum = a four-wheeled carriage, from the Welsh, *peaer = four*, and *rhod = a wheel*. The Gaelic for *four* is *ceathair*, and the Gaelic compound would have been different.

b. Pempedula, the *cinque-foil*, from the Welsh *pump = five*, and *dalen = a leaf*. The Gaelic for *five* is *cuig*, and the Gaelic compound would have been different.

c. Candetum = a measure of 100 feet, from the Welsh *cant* = 100. The Gaelic for *a hundred* is *cead*, and the Gaelic compound would have been different.

d. Epona = the goddess of horses. In the Old Armorican the root *ep = horse*. The Gaelic for a horse is *each*.

e. The evidence from the names of geographical localities in Gaul, both ancient and modern, goes the same way: *Nantuates*, *Nantouin*, *Nanteuil*, are derived from the Welsh *nant = a valley*, a word unknown in Gaelic.

f. The evidence of certain French provincial words, which are Welsh and Armorican rather than Erse or Gaelic.

g. An inscription on an ancient Celtic tablet found at Paris, A.D. 1711, and representing a bull and three birds (cranes), is TARWOS TRI GARANOS. Now, for the first two names, the Gaelic affords as good an explanation as the Welsh; the third, however, is best explained by the Welsh.

Bull = *tarw*, Welsh; *tarbh*, Gaelic.
Three = *tri*, Welsh; *tre*, Gaelic.
Crane = *garan*, Welsh; *corr*, Gaelic.

§ 139. *The Pictish most probably Cambrian.*—The evidence in favour of the Pictish being Cambrian rather than Gaelic lies in the following facts:—

a. When St. Columba preached, whose mother-tongue was Irish Gaelic, he used an interpreter—*Adamnanus apud Colgarum*, 1, 11, c.32. This is a point of external evidence, and shows the *difference* between the Pict and Gaelic. What follows are points of internal evidence, and show the affinity between the Pict and Welsh.

b. A manuscript in the Colbertine library contains a list of Pictish kings from the fifth century downwards. These names are not only more Celtic than Gothic, but more Welsh than Gaelic. *Taran = thunder* in Welsh. *Uven* is the Welsh *Owen*.

The first syllable in *Talorg* (=*forehead*) is the *tal* in *Talhaiarn*=*iron forehead*, *Taliessin*=*splendid forehead*, Welsh names. *Wrgust* is nearer to the Welsh *Gwrgust* than to the Irish *Fergus*. Finally, *Drust*, *Drostan*, *Wrad*, *Necton*, closely resemble the Welsh *Trwst*, *Trwstan*, *Gwriad*, *Nwython*. *Cineod* and *Domhnall* (*Kenneth* and *Donnell*), are the only true Erse forms in the list.

c. The only Pictish common name extant is the well-known compound *pen val*, which is in the oldest MS. of Bede *peann fahel*. This means *caput valli*, and is the name for the eastern termination of the Vallum of Antoninus. Herein *pen* is unequivocally Welsh, meaning *head*. It is an impossible form in Gaelic. *Fal*, on the other hand, is apparently Gaelic, the Welsh for a *rampart* being *gwall*. *Fal*, however, occurs in Welsh also, and means *inclosure*.

The evidence just indicated is rendered nearly conclusive by an interpolation, apparently of the twelfth century, of the Durham MS. of Nennius, whereby it is stated that the spot in question was called in Gaelic *Cenail*. Now Cenail is the modern name *Kinneil*, and it is also a Gaelic translation of the Pict *pen val*, since *cean* is the Gaelic for *head*, and *fhail* for *rampart* or *wall*. If the older form were Gaelic, the substitution, or translation, would have been superfluous.

d. The name of the *Ochil Hills* in Perthshire is better explained from the Pict *uchel*=*high*, than from the Gaelic *uasal*.

e. Bryneich, the British form of the province Bernicia, is better explained by the Welsh *bryn*=*ridge* (*hilly country*), than by any word in Gaelic.—Garnett, in *Transactions of Philological Society*.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ANGLO-NORMAN, AND THE LANGUAGES OF THE CLASSICAL STOCK.

§ 140. The languages of Greece and Rome belong to one and the same stock.

The Greek and its dialects, both ancient and modern, constitute the Greek or Hellenic branch of the Classical stock.

The Latin in all its dialects, the old Italian languages allied to it, and the modern tongues derived from the Roman, constitute the Latin or Ausonian branch of the Classical stock.

Now, although the Greek or Hellenic dialects are of secondary importance in the illustration of the history of the English language, the Latin or Ausonian elements require a special consideration.

The French element appeared in our language as a result of the battle of Hastings (A.D. 1066), *perhaps, in a slight degree, at a somewhat earlier period.*

§ 141. Previous to the notice of the immediate relations of the Norman-French, or, as it was called after its introduction into England, Anglo-Norman, its position in respect to the other languages derived from the Latin may be exhibited.

The Latin language overspread the greater part of the Roman empire. It supplanted a multiplicity of aboriginal languages; just as the English of North America *has* supplanted the aboriginal tongues of the native Indians, and just as the Russian *is* supplanting those of Siberia and Kamskatcha.

Sometimes the war that the Romans carried on against the old inhabitants was a war of extermination. In this case the original language was superseded *at once*. In other cases their influence was introduced gradually. In this case the influence of the original language was greater and more permanent.

Just as in the United States the English came in contact with an American, whilst in New Holland it comes in contact with an Australian language, so was the Latin language of Rome engrafted, sometimes on a Celtic, sometimes on a Gothic, and sometimes on some other stock. The nature of the original language must always be borne in mind.

From Italy, its original seat, the Latin was extended in the following chronological order:—

1. To the Spanish Peninsula; where it overlaid or was engrafted on languages allied to the present Biscayan (*i.e.*, languages of the Iberic stock), mixed in a degree (scarcely determinable) with Celtic elements = Celtiberic.

2. To Gaul, or France, where it overlaid or was engrafted on languages of the Celtic stock. This took place, at least for the more extreme parts of Gaul, in the time of Julius Cæsar; for the more contiguous parts, in the earlier ages of the Republic.

3. To Dacia and Pannonia; where it overlaid or was engrafted on a language the stock whereof is undetermined. The introduction of the Latin into Dacia and Pannonia took place in the time of Trajan.

From (1stly,) the original Latin of Italy, and from the imported Latin, of (2ndly,) the Spanish Peninsula, (3rdly,) Gaul, (4thly,) Dacia and Pannonia, we have

(amongst others) the following modern languages—1st Italian, 2nd Spanish and Portuguese, 3rd French, 4th Wallachian. How far these languages differ from each other is currently known. *One* essential cause of this difference is the difference of the original language upon which the Latin was engrafted.

§ 142. I am not doing too much for the sake of system if I classify the languages, of which the Italian, French, &c., are the representatives, as the languages of Germany were classified, *viz.*, into divisions.

I. The Spanish and Portuguese are sufficiently like the Italian to be arranged in a single division. This may conveniently be called the Hesperian division.

II. The second division is the Transalpine. This comprises the languages of Gaul, *viz.*, the Modern French, the Anglo-Norman, and the Provençal. It also includes a language not yet mentioned, the Romanese (*Rumonsch*), or the language of the Grisons, or Graubünten, of Switzerland.

Specimen of the Romanese.

Luke XV. 11.

11. Ün Hum veva dus Filgs:

12. Ad ilg juven da quels schet alg Bab, "Bab mi dai la Part de la Rauba c' aud' à mi:" ad el parchè or ad els la Rauba.

13. A bucca bears Gis suenter, cur ilg Filg juven vet tut mess ansemel, scha tilà 'l navent en ünna Terra dalunsch: a lou sfiget el tut sia Rauba cun viver senza spargn.

14. A cur el vet tut sfaig, scha vangit ei en quella Terra ün grond Fumaz: ad el antschavet a ver basengs.

15. Ad el mà, à: sa plidè enn ün Burgeis da quella Terra; a quel ilg tarmatet or sin sês Beins a parchirar ils Porcs.

16. Ad el grigiava dad amplanir sieu Venter cun las Criscas ch' ils Porcs malgiavan; mo nagin lgi deva.

17. Mo el mà en sasez a schet: "Quonts Fumelgs da mieu Bab han budonza da Pann, a jou miei d' fom!"

18. "Jou vi lavar si, ad ir tier mieu Bab, e vi gir a lgi: 'Bab, jou hai faig puccau ancunter ilg Tschiel ad avont tei;

19. "'A sunt bucca pli vangonts da vangir numnaus tieu Filg: fai mei esser sco ün da tes Fumelgs.'"

III. The third division is the Dacian, Pannonian, or Wallachian, containing the present languages of Wallachia and Moldavia.

In the *Jahrbücher der Literatur*, June, 1829, specimens are given of two of its dialects: 1, the Daco-Wallachian, north of the Danube; 2, the Macedono-Wallachian, south of the Danube. The present specimen varies from both. It is taken from the New Testament, printed at Smyrna, 1838. The Dacian division is marked by placing the article after the noun, as *homul = the man = homo ille*.

Luke xv. 11.

11. Un om avea doĭ fec´orĭ.

12. Shi a zis c´el maĭ tinr din eĭ tatluĭ su: tat, dmĭ partea c´e mi se kade de avucie: shi de a imprcit lor avuciea.

13. Shi nu dup multe zile, adunint toate fec orul c ´el maĭ tinr, s'a dus intr 'o car departe, shi akolo a rsipit toat avuciea ca, viecuind intr dezmĭerdrĭ.

14. Shi keltuind el toate, c'a fkut foamete mare intr' ac´ea car: shi el a inc´eput a se lipsi.

15. Shi mergina c'a lipit de unul din lkuitorĭĭ crĭĭ ac´eia: si 'l a trimis pre el la carinide sale c pask porc´ĭĭ.

16. Shi doria c 'shĭ sature pinctec´ele sŭ de roshkobele c´e minka porc´ĭĭ; shi nimĭnĭ nu ĭ da luĭ.

17. Iar viind intru sine, a zis: kicĭ argacĭ aĭ tatluĭ mieŭ sint indestulacĭ de piĭne, iar eŭ pĭeiŭ de foame.

18. Skula-m-vioŭ, shi m' voiŭ duc´e la tata micŭ, shi vioŭ zic´e lui:

19. Tat, greshit-am la c´er shi inaintea ta, shi nu mai sint vrednik a m kema fiul tŭ; fm ka pre unul din argacĭĭ tĭ.

§ 143. Such is the *general* view of the languages derived from the Latin, *i.e.*, of the languages of the Latin branch of the Classical stock.

The French languages of the Transalpine division require to be more minutely exhibited.

Between the provincial French of the north and the

provincial French of the south, there is a difference, at the present day, at least of dialect, and perhaps of language. This is shown by the following specimens: the first from the canton of Arras, on the confines of Flanders; the second, from the department of Var, in Provence. The date of each is A.D. 1807.

I.

Luke XV. 11.

11. Ain homme avoüait deeux garchéons.

12. L'pus jone dit a sain père, "Main père, baillé m'chou qui doüo me 'r'v'nir ed vous bien," et leu père leu partit sain bien.

13. Ain n'sais yur, tro, quate, chéon jours après l'pus tiò d'cnés déeux éféans oyant r'cuéllé tout s'n' héritt'main, s'ot' ainvoye dains nâin pahis gramain loüon, dû qu'il échilla tout s'n' argint ain fageant l'braingand dains chés cabarets.

14. Abord qu'il o eu tout bu, tout mié et tout drélé, il o v'nu adonc dains ch' pahis lo ainn' famaine cruüelle, et i c'mainchouait d'avoir fon-ye d' pon-ye (*i.e.* faim de pain).

II.

THE SAME.

11. Un homé avié dous enfans.

12. Lou plus pichoun diguét a son päiré, "Moun päiré, dounas mi ce què mi reven de vouastré ben;" lou päiré faguet lou partagé de tout ce que poussédavo.

13. Paou de jours après, lou pichoun vendét tout

se què soun päiré li avié desamparat, et s'en anét dins un päis fourço luench, ounté dissipét tout soun ben en debaucho.

14. Quand aguét ton aecaba, uno grosso famino arribet dins aqueou päis et, leou, si veguét reduech à la derniero misèro.

Practically speaking, although in the central parts of France the northern and southern dialects melt each into the other, the Loire may be considered as a line of demarcation between two languages; the term language being employed because, in the Middle Ages, whatever may be their real difference, the northern tongue and the southern tongue were dealt with not as separate dialects, but as distinct languages—the southern being called Provençal, the northern Norman-French.

Of these two languages (for so they will in the following pages be called, for the sake of convenience) the southern or Provençal approaches the dialects of Spain; the Valencian of Spain and the Catalonian of Spain being Provençal rather than standard Spanish or Castilian.

The southern French is sometimes called the Langue d'Oc, and sometimes the Limousin.

It is in the Southern French (Provençal, Langue d'Oc, or Limousin) that we have the following specimen, *viz.*, the Oath of Ludwig, sworn A.D. 842.

The Oath of the King.

Pro Deo amur et pro Xristian poblo et nostro commun salvament, d'ist di en avant, in quant Deus savir et podir me dunat, si salvarai eo cist

meon fradre Karlo, et in ajudha et in cadhuna cosa, si cum om per dreit son fradra salvar dist, in o quid il mi altresi fazet: et ab Ludher nul plaid nunquam prindrai qui, meon vol, cist meon fradre Karle in damno sit.

The Oath of the People.

Si Loduuigs sagrament, que son fradre Karlo jurat, conservat; et Karlus, meos sendra, de suo part non lo stanit; si io returnar non l'int pois, ne io, ne neuls cui eo returnar int pois, in nulla ajudha contra Lodhuwig num li iver.

The same in Modern French.

Pour de Dieu l'amour et pour du Chrêtien peuple et le notre commun salut, de ce jour en avant, en quant que Dieu savoir et pouvoir me donne assurément sauverai moi ce mon frère Charles, et en aide, et en chacune chose, ainsi comme homme par droit son frère sauver doit, en cela que lui à moi pareillement fera: et avec Lothaire nul traité ne onques prendrai qui, à mon vouloir, à ce mien frère Charles en dommage soit.

Si Louis le serment, qu'à son frère Charles il jure, conserve; Charles, mon seigneur, de sa part ne le maintient; si je détourner ne l'en puis, ni moi, ne nul que je détourner en puis, en nulle aide contre Louis ne lui irai.

§ 144. The Norman-French, spoken from the Loire to the confines of Flanders, and called also the Langue d'Oyl, differed from the Provençal in (amongst others) the following circumstances.

1. It was of later origin; the southern parts of Gaul having been colonized at an early period by the Romans.

2. It was in geographical contact, not with the allied languages of Spain, but with the Gothic tongues of Germany and Holland.

It is the Norman-French that most especially bears upon the history of the English language.

The proportion of the original Celtic in the present languages of France has still to be determined. It may, however, be safely asserted, that at a certain epoch between the first and fifth centuries, the language of Gaul was more Roman and less Celtic than that of Britain.

SPECIMEN.

From the Anglo-Norman Poem of Charlemagne.

Un jur fu Karléun al Seint-Denis muster,
Reout prise sa corune, en croiz seignat sun chef,
E ad ceinte sa espée: li pons fud d'or mer.
Dux i out e demeines e baruns e chevalers.
Li emperères reguardet la reine sa muillers.
Ele fut ben corunée al plus bel e as meuz.
Il la prist par le poin desuz un oliver,
De sa pleine parole la prist à reisuner:
"Dame, véistes unkes humc nul de desuz ceil
Tant ben séist espée ne la corone el chef?
Uncore cunquerrei-jo citez ot mun espeez."
Cele ne fud pas sage, folement respondeit:
"Emperere," dist-ele, trop vus poez preiser.

"Uncore en sa-jo on ki plus se fait léger,
Quant il porte corune entre ses chevalers;
Kaunt il met sur sa teste, plus belement lui
set."

In the northern French we must recognise not only a Celtic and a Classical, but also a Gothic element: since Clovis and Charlemagne were no Frenchmen, but Germans; their language being *High*-Germanic. The High-Germanic element in French has still to be determined.

In the northern French of *Normandy* there is a second Gothic element, *viz.*, a Scandinavian element. By this the proper northern French underwent a further modification.

Until the time of the Scandinavians or Northmen, the present province of Normandy was called Neustria. A generation before the Norman Conquest, a Norwegian captain, named in his own country *Rolf*, and in France *Rollo*, or *Rou*, settled upon the coast of Normandy. What Hengist and the Germans are supposed to have been in Britain, Rollo and his Scandinavians were in France. The province took from them its name of Normandy. The *Norwegian* element in the Norman-French has yet to be determined. Respecting it, however, the following statements may, even in the present state of the question, be made:—

1. That a Norse dialect was spoken in Normandy at Bayeux, some time after the battle of Hastings.

2. That William the Conqueror understood the Norse language.

3. That the names Jersey, Guernsey, and Alderney

are as truly Norse names as Orkney and Shetland.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE POSITION OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AS INDO-EUROPEAN.

§ 145. In each of the three preceding chapters a separate stock of languages has been considered; and it has been shown, in some degree, how far languages of the same stock differ from, or agree with, each other.

Furthermore, in each stock there has been some particular language that especially illustrates the English.

In the Gothic stock there has been the Anglo-Saxon; in the Celtic the Welsh; and in the Classical the Anglo-Norman.

Nevertheless, the importance of the languages of these three divisions is by no means equal. The Gothic tongues supply the basis of our investigations. The Celtic afford a few remnants of that language which the Anglo-Saxon superseded. The Anglo-Norman language exhibits certain superadded elements.

§ 146. Over and above the Gothic, Celtic, and Classical languages, there are others that illustrate the English; and some of our commonest grammatical inflections can be but half understood unless we go beyond the groups already enumerated.

The Gothic, Celtic (?),[20] and Classical stocks are but subordinate divisions of a wider class. Each has a

sufficient amount of mutual affinities to be illustrative of each other, and each is contained, along with two other groups of equal value, under a higher denomination in philology.

What is the nature of that affinity which connects languages so different as the Gothic, Celtic (?), and Classical stocks? or what is the amount of likeness between, *e.g.*, the German and Portuguese, the Greek and Islandic, the Latin and Swedish, the Anglo-Saxon and Italian? And what other languages are so connected?

What other philological groups are connected with each other, and with the languages already noticed, by the same affinities which connect the Gothic, Celtic (?), and Classical stocks? Whatever these languages may be, it is nearly certain that they will be necessary, on some point or other, for the full illustration of the English.

As both these questions are points of general, rather than of English, philology, and as a partial answer may be got to the first from attention to the degree in which the body of the present work exhibits illustrations drawn from widely different languages, the following statements are considered sufficient.

§ 147. The philological denomination of the class which contains the Gothic, Celtic (?), and Classical divisions, and, along with the languages contained therein, all others similarly allied, is *Indo-European*; so that the Gothic, Celtic (?), Classical and certain other languages are Indo-European.

All Indo-European languages illustrate each other.

The other divisions of the great Indo-European group

of languages are as follows:—

1. The Iranian stock of languages.—This contains the proper Persian languages of Persia (Iran) in all their stages, the Kurd language, and all the languages of Asia (whatever they may be) derived from the Zend or Sanskrit.

2. The Sarmatian stock of languages.—This contains the languages of Russia, Poland, Bohemia, and of the Slavonian tribes in general. It contains also the Lithuanic languages, *i.e.*, the Lithuanic of Lithuania, the old Prussian of Prussia (now extinct), and the Lettish or Livonic of Courland and Livonia.

3, 4, 5. The Classical, Gothic, and Celtic (?) stocks complete the catalogue of languages undoubtedly Indo-European, and at the same time they explain the import of the term. Indo-European is the name of a class which embraces the majority of the languages of *Europe*, and is extended over Asia as far as *India*. Until the Celtic was shown by Dr. Prichard to have certain affinities with the Latin, Greek, Slavonic, Lithuanic, Gothic, Sanskrit, and Zend, as those tongues had with each other, the class in question was called Indo-*Germanic*; since, up to that time, the Germanic languages had formed its western limit.

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§ 148. *Meaning of the note of interrogation (?) after the word Celtic.*—In a paper read before the Ethnological Society, February 28th, 1849, and published in the Edinburgh Philosophical Magazine, the present writer has given reasons for considering the claims of the Celtic to be Indo-European as somewhat doubtful; at the same time he admits, and highly values, all the facts in favour of its being so, which are to be found in Prichard's Eastern Origin of the

Celtic Nations.

He believes, however, that the Celtic can only be brought in the same group with the Gothic, Slavonic, &c., by *extending* the value of the class.

"To draw an illustration from the common ties of relationship, as between man and man, it is clear that a family may be enlarged in two ways.

"*a.* A brother, or a cousin, may be discovered, of which the existence was previously unknown. Herein the family is enlarged, or increased, by the *real* addition of a new member, in a recognised degree of relationship.

"*b.* A degree of relationship previously unrecognised may be recognised, *i.e.*, a family wherein it was previously considered that a second-cousinship was as much as could be admitted within its pale, may incorporate third, fourth, or fifth cousins. Here the family is enlarged, or increased, by a *verbal* extension of the term.

"Now it is believed that the distinction between increase by the way of real addition, and increase by the way of verbal extension, has not been sufficiently attended to. Yet, that it should be more closely attended to, is evident; since, in mistaking a verbal increase for a real one, the whole end and aim of classification is overlooked. The publication of Dr. Prichard's Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations, in 1831, supplied philologists with the most definite addition that has perhaps, yet been made to ethnographical philology.

"Ever since then the Celtic has been considered to be Indo-European. Indeed its position in the same group

with the Iranian, Classical, Slavono-Lithuanic, and Gothic tongues, supplied the reason for substituting the term Indo-*European* for the previous one Indo-*Germanic*.

"On the other hand, it seems necessary to admit that *languages are allied just in proportion as they were separated from the mother-tongue in the same stage of its development.*

"If so, the Celtic became detached anterior *to the evolution of the declension of nouns*, whereas the Gothic, Slavonic, Classical and Iranian languages all separated *subsequent to that stage*."[21]

This, along with other reasons indicated elsewhere, [22] induces the present writer to admit an affinity between the Celtic and the other so-called Indo-European tongues, but to deny that it is the same affinity which connects the Iranian, Classical, Gothic and Slavonic groups.

PART II.

HISTORY AND ANALYSIS OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

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CHAPTER I.

HISTORICAL AND LOGICAL ELEMENTS OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

§ 149. The Celtic elements of the present English fall into five classes.

1. Those that are of late introduction, and cannot be called original and constituent parts of the language. Such are (amongst others) the words *flannel*, *crowd* (a fiddle), from the Cambrian; and *kerne* (an Irish foot-soldier), *galore* (enough), *tartan*, *plaid*, &c., from the Gaelic branch.

2. Those that are common to both the Celtic and Gothic stocks, and are Indo-European rather than either Welsh, or Gaelic, or Saxon. Such (amongst others) are *brother*, *mother*, in Celtic *brathair*, *mathair*; the numerals, &c.

3. Those that have come to us from the Celtic, but have come to us through the medium of another language. Such are *druid* and *bard*, whose *immediate* source is, not the Celtic but, the Latin.

4. Celtic elements of the Anglo-Norman, introduced into England after the Conquest, and occurring in that language as remains of the original Celtic of Gaul.

5. Those that have been retained from the original Celtic of the island, and which form genuine constituents of our language. These fall into three subdivisions.

a. Proper names—generally of geographical localities; as *the Thames*, *Kent*, &c.

b. Common names retained in the provincial dialects of England, but not retained in the current language; as *gwethall = household stuff*, and *gwlanen = flannel* in Herefordshire.

c. Common names retained in the current language. —The following list is Mr. Garnett's:—

Welsh.	*English.*
Basgawd	*Basket.*
Berfa	*Barrow.*
Botwm	*Button.*
Bràn	*Bran.*
Clwt	*Clout, Rag.*
Crochan	*Crock, Crockery.*
Crog	*Crook, Hook.*
Cwch	*Cock,* in *Cock-boat.*
Cwysed	*Gusset.*
Cyl, Cyln	*Kiln* (*Kill,* provinc.).
Dantaeth	*Dainty.*
Darn	*Darn.*
Deentur	*Tenter,* in *Tenterhook.*
Fflaim	*Fleam, Cattle-lancet.*
Fflaw	*Flaw.*
Ffynnell (air-hole)	*Funnel.*
Gefyn (fetter)	*Gyve.*
Greidell	*Grid,* in *Gridiron.*
Grual	*Gruel.*
Gwald (hem, border)	*Welt.*
Gwiced (little door)	*Wicket.*
Gwn	*Gown.*
Gwyfr	*Wire.*
Masg (stitch in netting)	*Mesh.*
Mattog	*Mattock.*
Mop	*Mop.*
Rhail (fence)	*Rail.*
Rhasg (slice)	*Rasher.*
Rhuwch	*Rug.*
Sawduriaw	*Solder.*

Syth (glue)	*Size*.
Tacl	*Tackle*.

§ 150. *Latin of the first period.*—Of the Latin introduced by Cæsar and his successors, the few words remaining are those that relate to military affairs; *viz. street* (*strata*); *coln* (as in *Lincoln = Lindi colonia*); *cest* (as in *Gloucester = glevæ castra*) from *castra*. The Latin words introduced between the time of Cæsar and Hengist may be called the *Latin of the first period*, or the *Latin of the Celtic period*.

§ 151. *The Anglo-Saxon.*—This is not noticed here, because from being the staple of the present language it is more or less the subject of the book throughout.

§ 152. *The Danish, or Norse.*—The pirates that pillaged Britain, under the name of Danes, were not exclusively the inhabitants of Denmark. Of the three Scandinavian nations, the Swedes took the least share, the Norwegians the greatest in these invasions. Not that the Swedes were less piratical, but that they robbed elsewhere,—in Russia, for instance, and in Finland.

The language of the three nations was the same; the differences being differences of dialect. It was that which is now spoken in Iceland, having been once common to Scandinavia and Denmark. Whether this was aboriginal in *Denmark*, is uncertain. In *Scandinavia* it was imported; the tongue that it supplanted having been, in all probability, the mother-tongue of the present Laplandic.

The Danish that became incorporated with our language, under the reign of Canute and his sons, may be called the direct Danish (Norse or

Scandinavian) element, in contradistinction to the indirect Danish of §§ 144, 155.

The determination of the amount of Danish in English is difficult. It is not difficult to prove a word *Scandinavian*. We must also show that it is not German. A few years back the current opinion was against the doctrine that there was much Danish in England. At present, the tendency is rather the other way. The following facts are from Mr. Garnett.—Phil. Trans. Vol. i.

1. The Saxon name of the present town of *Whitby* in Yorkshire was *Streoneshalch*. The present name *Whitby*, *Hvitby*, or *White-town*, is Danish.

2. The Saxon name of the capital of Derbyshire was *Northweortheg*. The present name is Danish.

3. The termination *-by = town* is Norse.

4. On a monument in Aldburgh church, Holdernesse, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, referred to the age of Edward the Confessor, is found the following inscription:—

Ulf het aræran cyrice *for hanum* and for
Gunthara saula.
"Ulf bid rear the church for him and for
the soul of Gunthar."

Now, in this inscription, *Ulf*, in opposition to the Anglo-Saxon *wulf*, is a Norse form; whilst *hanum* is a Norse dative, and by no means an Anglo-Saxon one. —Old Norse *hanum*, Swedish *honom*.

5. The use of *at* for *to* as the sign of the infinitive mood is Norse, not Saxon. It is the regular prefix in Icelandic, Danish, Swedish, and Feroic. It is also

found in the northern dialects of the Old English, and in the particular dialect of Westmoreland at the present day.

6. The use of *sum* for *as*; *e.g.*—*swa sum* we forgive oure detturs.

7. Isolated words in the northern dialects are Norse rather than Saxon.

Provincial.	*Common Dialect.*	*Norse.*
Braid	*Resemble*	Bråas, *Swed.*
Eldin	*Firing*	Eld, *Dan.*
Force	*Waterfall*	Fors, *D. Swed.*
Gar	*Make*	Göra, *Swed.*
Gill	*Ravine*	Gil, *Iceland.*
Greet	*Weep*	Grata, *Iceland.*
Ket	*Carrion*	Kiöd = Flesh, *Dan.*
Lait	*Seek*	Lede, *Dan.*
Lathe	*Barn*	Lade, *Dan.*
Lile	*Little*	Lille, *Dan.*

§ 153. *Roman of the Second Period.*—Of the Latin introduced under the Christianised Saxon sovereigns, many words are extant. They relate chiefly to ecclesiastical matters, just as the Latin of the Celtic period bore upon military affairs.—*Mynster*, a minster, *monasterium*; *portic*, a porch, *porticus*; *cluster*, a cloister, *claustrum*; *munuc*, a monk, *monachus*; *bisceop*, a bishop, *episcopus*; *arcebisceop*, archbishop, *archiepiscopus*; *sanct*, a saint, *sanctus*; *profost*, a provost, *propositus*; *pall*, a pall, *pallium*; *calic*, a chalice, *calix*; *candel*, a candle, *candela*; *psalter*, a psalter, *psalterium*; *mæsse*, a mass, *missa*; *pistel*, an

epistle, *epistola*; *prædic-ian*, to preach, *prædicare*; *prof-ian*, to prove, *probare*.

The following are the names of foreign plants and animals:—*camell*, a camel, *camelus*; *ylp*, elephant, *elephas*; *ficbeam*, fig-tree, *ficus*; *feferfuge*, feverfew, *febrifuga*; *peterselige*, parsley, *petroselinum*.

Others are the names of articles of foreign origin, as *pipor*, pepper, *piper*; *purpur*, purple, *purpura*; *pumicstan*, pumice-stone, *pumex*.

The above-given list is from Guest's English Rhythms (B. iii. c. 3). It constitutes that portion of the elements of our language which may be called the Latin of the second, or Saxon period.

§ 154. *The Anglo-Norman element.*—For practical purposes we may say that the French or Anglo-Norman element appeared in our language after the battle of Hastings, A.D. 1066.

Previous, however, to that period we find notices of intercourse between the two countries.

1. The residence in England of Louis Outremer.

2. Ethelred II. married Emma, daughter of Richard Duke of Normandy, and the two children were sent to Normandy for education.

3. Edward the Confessor is particularly stated to have encouraged French manners and the French language in England.

4. Ingulphus of Croydon speaks of his own knowledge of French.

5. Harold passed some time in Normandy.

6. The French article *la*, in the term *la Drove*, occurs in a deed of A.D. 975.—See Ranouard, *Journal des Savans*, 1830.

The chief Anglo-Norman elements of our language are the terms connected with the feudal system, the terms relating to war and chivalry, and a great portion of the law terms—*duke*, *count*, *baron*, *villain*, *service*, *chivalry*, *warrant*, *esquire*, *challenge*, *domain*, &c.

§ 155. The Norwegian, Danish, Norse, or Scandinavian element of the Anglo-Norman (as in the proper names *Guernsey*, *Jersey*, *Alderney*, and perhaps others) constitutes the *indirect* Scandinavian element of the English.

§ 156. *Latin of the Third Period.*—This means the Latin which was introduced between the battle of Hastings and the revival of literature. It chiefly originated with the monks, in the universities, and, to a certain extent, in the courts of law. It must be distinguished from the *indirect* Latin introduced as part and parcel of the Anglo-Norman. It has yet to be accurately analyzed.

Latin of the Fourth Period.—This means the Latin which has been introduced between the revival of literature and the present time. It has originated in the writings of learned men in general, and is distinguished from that of the previous periods by—

1. Being less altered in form—

2. Preserving, in the case of substantives, in many cases its original inflections; *axis*, *axes*; *basis*, *bases*—

3. Relating to objects and ideas for which the increase of the range of science in general has

required a nomenclature.

§ 157. *Greek.*—Words derived *directly* from the Greek are in the same predicament as the Latin of the third period—*phænomenon*, *phænomena*; *criterion*, *criteria*, &c.; words which are only *indirectly* of Greek origin, being considered to belong to the language from which they were immediately introduced into the English. Such are *deacon*, *priest*, &c., introduced through the Latin; thus a word like *church* proves no more in regard to a Greek element in English, than the word *abbot* proves in respect to a Syrian one.

§ 158. The Latin of the fourth period and the Greek agree in retaining, in many cases, the Latin or Greek inflexions rather than adopting the English ones; in other words, they agree in being but *imperfectly incorporated*. The phænomenon of imperfect incorporation (an important one) is reducible to the following rules:—

1. That it has a direct ratio to the date of the introduction, *i.e.*, the more recent the word the more likely it is to retain its original inflexion.

2. That it has a relation to the number of meanings belonging to the words: thus, when a single word has two meanings, the original inflexion expresses one, the English inflexion another—*genius*, *genii*, often (*spirits*), *geniuses* (*men of genius*).

3. That it occurs with substantives only, and that only in the expression of number. Thus, although the plural of substantives like *axis* and *genius* are Latin, the possessive cases are English. So also are the degrees of comparison, for adjectives like *circular*, and the tenses, &c. for verbs, like perambulate.

§ 159. The following is a list of the chief Latin substantives, introduced during the latter part of the fourth period; and, preserving the *Latin* plural forms —

FIRST CLASS.

Words wherein the Latin Plural is the same as the Latin Singular.

(*a*). *Sing.*	*Plur.*	(*b*). *Sing.*	*Plur.*
Apparatus	apparat*us*	Caries	carie*s*
Hiatus	hiat*us*	Congeries	congerie*s*
Impetus	impet*us*	Series	serie*s*
		Species	specie*s*
		Superficies	superficie*s*.

SECOND CLASS.

Words wherein the Latin Plural is formed from the Latin Singular by changing the last Syllable.

(*a*).—*Where the Singular termination* -a *is changed in the Plural into* -æ:—

Sing.	*Plur.*	*Sing.*	*Plur.*
Formula	formul*æ*	Nebula	nebul*æ*
Lamina	lamin*æ*	Scoria	scori*æ*.
Larva	larv*æ*		

(*b*).—*Where the singular termination* -us *is changed in the Plural into* -i:—

Sing.	*Sing.*	*Plur.*	*Plur.*
Calculus	Polypus	calculi	polypi
Colossus	Radius	colossi	radii
Convolvulus	Ramulus	convolvuli	ramuli
	Sarcophagus		sarcophagi
Focus		foci	
Genius	Schirrhus	genii	schirrhi
Magus	Stimulus	magi	stimuli
Nautilus	Tumulus	nautili	tumuli.
Œsophagus		œsophagi	

(*c*).—*Where the Singular termination* -um *is changed in the Plural into* -a:—

Sing.	*Sing.*	*Plur.*	*Plur.*
Animalculum	Maximum	animalcula	maxima
Arcanum	Medium	arcana	media
Collyrium	Memorandum	collyria	memoranda
Datum	Menstruum	data	menstrua
Desideratum	Momentum	desiderata	momenta
Effluvium	Premium	effluvia	premia
Emporium	Scholium	emporia	scholia
Encomium	Spectrum	encomia	spectra
Erratum	Speculum	errata	specula
Gymnasium	Stratum	gymnasia	strata
Lixivium	Succedaneum	lixivia	succedanea.
Lustrum		lustra	

(*d*).—*Where the singular termination* -is *is changed in the Plural into* -es:—

Sing.	*Sing.*	*Plur.*	*Plur.*
Amanuen*sis*	Ellip*sis*	amanuen*ses*	ellip*ses*
Analy*sis*	Emphas*is*	analy*ses*	emphas*es*
Antith*esis*	Hypoth*esis*	antith*eses*	hypoth*eses*
A*xis*	Oas*is*	ax*es*	oas*es*
Bas*is*	Parenthes*is*	bas*es*	parenthes*es*
Cris*is*		cris*es*	
Diær*esis*	Synthes*is*	diær*eses*	syntheses
	Thes*is*		thes*es*.

THIRD CLASS.

Words wherein the Plural is formed by inserting -e *between the last two sounds of the singular, so that the former number always contains a syllable more than the latter*:—

Sing.			*Plur.*
Apex	*sounded*	apec-*s*	apic*es*
Appendix	—	appendic-*s*	appendic*es*
Calix	—	calic-*s*	calic*es*
Cicatrix	—	cicatric-*s*	cicatric*es*
Helix	—	helic-*s*	helic*es*
Index	—	indec-*s*	indic*es*
Radix	—	radic-*s*	radic*es*
Vertex	—	vertec-*s*	vertic*es*
Vortex	—	vortec-*s*	vortic*es*.

In all these words the *c* of the singular number is sounded as *k*, of the plural as *s*.

§ 160. The following is a list of the chief Greek substantives lately introduced, and preserving the

Greek plural forms—

FIRST CLASS.

Words where the singular termination -on *is changed in the plural into* -a:—

Sing.	*Sing.*	*Plur.*	*Plur.*
Aphelion	Criterion	aphelia	criteria
Perihelion	Ephemeron	perihelia	ephemera
Autophænomenon		autophænomena.	

SECOND CLASS.

Words where the plural is formed from the original root by adding either -es *or* -a*, but where the singular rejects the last letter of the original root.*

Plurals in -es:—

Original root.	*Plur.*	*Sing.*
Apsid-	apsid*es*	apsis
Cantharid-	cantharid*es*	cantharis
Chrysalid-	chrysalid*es*	chrysalis
Ephemerid-	ephemerid*es*	ephemeris
Tripod-	tripod*es*	tripos.

Plurals in -a:—

Original root.	*Plur.*	*Sing.*
Dogmat-	dogmat*a*	dogma
Lemmat-	lemmat*a*	lemma
Miasmat-	miasmat*a*	miasma[23]

§ 161. *Miscellaneous elements.*—Of miscellaneous elements we have two sorts; those that are

incorporated in our language, and are currently understood (*e.g.*, the Spanish word *sherry*, the Arabic word *alkali*, and the Persian word *turban*), and those that, even amongst the educated, are considered strangers. Of this latter kind (amongst many others) are the Oriental words *hummum*, *kaftan*, *gul*, &c.

Of the currently understood miscellaneous elements of the English language, the most important are from the French; some of which agree with those of the Latin of the fourth period, and the Greek in preserving the *French* plural forms—as *beau*, *beaux*, *billets-doux*.

Italian.—Some words of Italian origin do the same: as *virtuoso*, *virtuosi*.

Hebrew.—The Hebrew words, *cherub* and *seraph* do the same; the form *cherub-im*, and *seraph-im*, being not only plurals but Hebrew plurals.

Beyond the words derived from these five languages, none form their plurals other than after the English method, *i.e.*, in *-s*: as *waltzes*, from the German word *waltz*.

§ 162. The extent to which a language, which like the English, at one and the same time requires names for many objects, comes in contact with the tongues of half the world, and has, moreover, a great power of incorporating foreign elements, derives fresh words from varied sources, may be seen from the following incomplete notice of the languages which have, in different degrees, supplied it with new terms.

Arabic.—Admiral, alchemist, alchemy, alcohol, alcove, alembic, algebra, alkali, assassin, from a

paper of Mr. Crawford, read at the British Association, 1849.

Persian.—Turban, caravan, dervise, &c.—*Ditto.*

Turkish.—Coffee, bashaw, divan, scimitar, janisary, &c.—*Ditto.*

Hindu languages.—Calico, chintz, cowrie, curry, lac, muslin, toddy, &c.—*Ditto.*

Chinese.—Tea, bohea, congou, hyson, soy, nankin, &c.—*Ditto.*

Malay.—Bantam (fowl), gamboge, rattan, sago, shaddock, &c.—*Ditto.*

Polynesian.—Taboo, tattoo.—*Ditto.*

Tungusian, or some similar Siberian language.—Mammoth, the bones of which are chiefly from the banks of the Lena.

North American Indian.—Squaw, wigwam, pemmican.

Peruvian.—Charki = prepared meat; whence *jerked* beef.

Caribbean.—Hammock.

Ancient Carian.—Mausoleum.

§ 163. In § 157 a distinction is drawn between the *direct* and *indirect*, the latter leading to the *ultimate origin* of words.

Thus a word borrowed into the English from the French, might have been borrowed into the French from the Latin, into the Latin from the Greek, into the Greek from the Persian, &c., and so *ad infinitum*.

The investigation of this is a matter of literary curiosity rather than any important branch of philology.

The ultimate known origin of many common words sometimes goes back to a great date, and points to extinct languages—

Ancient Nubian (?)—Barbarous.
Ancient Egyptian.—Ammonia.
Ancient Syrian.—Cyder.
Ancient Syrian.—Pandar.
Ancient Lydian.—Mæander.
Ancient Persian.—Paradise.

§ 164. Again, a word from a given language may be introduced by more lines than one; or it may be introduced twice over; once at an earlier, and again at a later period. In such a case its form will, most probably, vary; and, what is more, its meaning as well. Words of this sort may be called *di-morphic*, their *di-morphism*, having originated in one of two reasons—a difference of channel, or a difference of date. Instances of the first are, *syrup*, *sherbet*, and *shrub*, all originally from the *Arabic*, *srb*; but introduced differently, viz., the first through the Latin, the second through the Persian, and the third through the Hindoo. Instances of the second are words like *minster*, introduced in the Anglo-Saxon, as contrasted with *monastery*, introduced during the Anglo-Norman period. By the proper application of these processes, we account for words so different in present form, yet so identical in origin, as *priest* and *presbyter*, *episcopal* and *bishop*, &c.

§ 165. *Distinction.*—The history of the languages that have been spoken in a particular country, is a different subject from the history of a particular language. The history of the languages that have been spoken in the United States of America, is the history of *Indian* languages. The history of the languages of the United States is the history of the Germanic language.

§ 166. *Words of foreign simulating a vernacular origin.*—These may occur in any mixed language whatever; they occur, however, oftener in the English than in any other.

Let a word be introduced from a foreign language—let it have some resemblance in sound to a real English one: lastly, let the meanings of the two words be not absolutely incompatible. We may then have a word of foreign origin taking the appearance of an English one. Such, amongst others, are *beef-eater*, from *bœuffetier*; *sparrow-grass*, *asparagus*; *Shotover*, *Chateau vert*;[24] *Jerusalem*, *Girasole*;[25] *Spanish beefeater*, *Spina befida*; *periwig*, *peruke*; *runagate*, *renegade*; *lutestring*, *lustrino*;[26] *O yes*, *Oyez! ancient*, *ensign*.[27]

Dog-cheap.—This has nothing to do with *dogs*. The first syllable is *god* = *good* transposed, and the second the *ch-p* in *chapman* (= *merchant*) *cheap*, and *East-cheap*. In Sir J. Mandeville, we find *god-kepe* = *good bargain*.

Sky-larking.—Nothing to do with *larks* of any sort; still less the particular species, *alauda arvensis*. The word improperly spelt *l-a-r-k*, and banished to the slang regions of the English language, is the Anglo-Saxon *lác* = *game*, or *sport*; wherein the *a* is sounded as in *father* (not as in *farther*). *Lek* = *game*, in the present Scandinavian languages.

Zachary Macaulay = *Zumalacarregui*; *Billy Ruffian* = *Bellerophon*; *Sir Roger Dowlass* = *Surajah Dowlah*, although so limited to the common soldiers, and sailors who first used them, as to be exploded vulgarisms rather than integral parts of the language, are examples of the same tendency towards the irregular accommodation of misunderstood foreign

terms.

Birdbolt.—An incorrect name for the *gadus lota*, or *eel-pout*, and a transformation of *barbote*.

Whistle-fish.—The same for *gadus mustela*, or *weazel-cod*.

Liquorice = glycyrrhiza.

Wormwood = weremuth, is an instance of a word from the same language, in an antiquated shape, being equally transformed with a word of really foreign origin.

§ 167. Sometimes the transformation of the *name* has engendered a change in the object to which it applies, or, at least, has evolved new ideas in connection with it. How easy for a person who used the words *beef-eater*, *sparrow-grass*, or *Jerusalem*, to believe that the officers designated by the former either eat or used to eat more beef than other people (or at least had an allowance of that viand); that the second word was the name for a *grass*, or herb of which *sparrows* were fond; and that *Jerusalem* artichokes came from Palestine.

What has just been supposed is sometimes a real occurrence. To account for the name *Shotover-hill*, I have heard that Little John *shot over* it. Here the confusion in order to set itself right, breeds a fiction. Again, in chess, the piece now called the *queen*, was originally the *elephant*. This was in Persian, *ferz*. In French it became *vierge*, which, in time, came to be mistaken for a derivative, and *virgo = the virgin*, *the lady*, *the queen*.

§ 168. Sometimes, where the form of a word in respect to its *sound* is not affected, a false spirit of

accommodation introduces an unetymological *spelling*; as *frontispiece*[28] from *frontispecium*, *sove*reig*n*, from *sovrano*, *colle*a*gue* from *collega*, *lan*t*h*o*rn* (old orthography) from *lanterna*.

The value of forms like these consists in their showing that language is affected by false etymologies as well as by true ones.

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§ 169. In *lambkin* and *lancet*, the final syllables (*-kin* and *-et*) have the same power. They both express the idea of smallness or diminutiveness. These words are but two out of a multitude, the one (*lamb*) being of Saxon, the other (*lance*) of Norman origin. The same is the case with the superadded syllables: *-kin* is Saxon; *-et* Norman. Now to add a Saxon termination to a Norman word, or *vice versâ*, is to corrupt the English language.

This leads to some observations respecting—

§ 170. *Introduction of new words—Hybridism.*—Hybridism is a term derived from *hybrid-a*, *a mongrel*; a Latin word *of Greek extraction*.

The terminations *-ize* (as in *criticize*), *-ism* (as in *criticism*), *-ic* (as in *comic*), these, amongst many others, are Greek terminations. To add them to words of other than of Greek origin is to be guilty of hybridism.

The terminations *-ble* (as in *penetrable*), *-bility* (as in *penetrability*, *-al* (as in *parental*)—these, amongst many others, are Latin terminations. To add them to words of other than of Latin origin is to be guilty of hybridism.

Hybridism is the commonest fault that accompanies

the introduction of new words. The hybrid additions to the English language are most numerous in works on science.

It must not, however, be concealed that several well established words are hybrid; and that, even in the writings of the classical Roman authors, there is hybridism between the Latin and the Greek.

The etymological view of every word of foreign origin is, not that it is put together in England, but that it is brought whole from the language to which it is vernacular. Now no derived word can be brought whole from a language unless, in that language, all its parts exist. The word *penetrability* is not derived from the English word *penetrable*, by the addition of *-ty*. It is the Latin word *penetrabilitas* imported.

In derived words all the parts must belong to one and the same language, or, changing the expression, *every derived word must have a possible form in the language from which it is taken*. Such is the rule against Hybridism.

§ 171. A true word sometimes takes the appearance of a hybrid without really being so. The *-icle*, in *icicle*, is apparently the same as the *-icle* in *radicle*. Now, as *ice* is Gothic, and *-icle* classical, hybridism is simulated. *Icicle*, however, is not a derivative but a compound; its parts being *is* and *gicel*, both Anglo-Saxon words.

§ 172. *On Incompletion of the Radical.*—Let there be in a given language a series of roots ending in *-t*, as *sæmat*. Let a euphonic influence eject the *-t*, as often as the word occurs in the nominative case. Let the nominative case be erroneously considered to

represent the root, or radical, of the word. Let a derivative word be formed accordingly, *i.e.*, on the notion that the nominative form and the radical form coincide. Such a derivative will exhibit only a part of the root; in other words, the radical will be incomplete.

Now all this is what actually takes place in words like *hæmo-ptysis* (*spitting of blood*), *sema-phore* (*a sort of telegraph*). The Greek imparisyllabics eject a part of the root in the nominative case; the radical forms being *hæmat-* and *sæmat-*, not *hæm-* and *sæm-*.

Incompletion of the radical is one of the commonest causes of words being coined faultily. It must not, however, be concealed, that even in the classical writers, we have (in words like δίστομος) examples of incompletion of the radical.

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§ 173. The preceding chapters have paved the way for a distinction between the *historical* analysis of a language, and the *logical* analysis of one.

Let the present language of England (for illustration's sake only) consist of 40,000 words. Of these let 30,000 be Anglo-Saxon, 5,000 Anglo-Norman, 100 Celtic, 10 Latin of the first, 20 Latin of the second, and 30 Latin of the third period, 50 Scandinavian, and the rest miscellaneous. In this case the language is considered according to the historical origin of the words that compose it, and the analysis (or, if the process be reversed, the synthesis) is an historical analysis.

But it is very evident that the English, or any other language, is capable of being contemplated in another view, and that the same number of words

may be very differently classified. Instead of arranging them according to the languages whence they are derived, let them be disposed according to the meanings that they convey. Let it be said, for instance, that out of 40,000 words, 10,000 are the names of natural objects, that 1000 denote abstract ideas, that 1000 relate to warfare, 1000 to church matters, 500 to points of chivalry, 1000 to agriculture, and so on through the whole. In this case the analysis (or, if the process be reversed, the synthesis) is not historical but logical; the words being classed not according to their origin, but according to their meaning.

Now the logical and historical analysis of a language generally in some degree coincides, as may be seen by noticing the kind of words introduced from the Anglo-Norman, the Latin of the fourth period, and the Arabic.

CHAPTER II.

THE RELATION OF THE ENGLISH TO THE ANGLO-SAXON, AND THE STAGES OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

§ 174. The relation of the present English to the Anglo-Saxon is that of a *modern* language to an *ancient* one: the words *modern* and *ancient* being used in a defined and technical sense.

Let the word *smiðum* illustrate this. *Smiðum*, the dative plural of *smið*, is equivalent in meaning to the English *to smiths*, or to the Latin *fabris*. *Smiðum* however, is a single Anglo-Saxon word (a substantive, and nothing more); whilst its English

equivalent is two words *i.e.*, a substantive with the addition of a preposition). The letter *s*, in *smiths* shows that the word is plural. The *-um*, in *smiðum*, does this and something more. It is the sign of the *dative case* plural. The *-um* in *smiðum*, is the part of a word. The preposition to is a separate word with an independent existence. *Smiðum* is the radical syllable *smið*, *plus* the subordinate inflectional syllable *-um*, the sign of the dative case. *To smiths* is the substantive *smiths*, *plus* the preposition *to*, equivalent in power to the sign of a dative case, but different from it in form. As far, then, as the word just quoted is concerned, the Anglo-Saxon differs from the English thus. It expresses a given idea by a modification of the form of the root, whereas the modern English denotes the same idea by the addition of a preposition. The Saxon inflection is superseded by a combination of words.

The part that is played by the preposition with nouns, is played by the auxiliaries (*have*, *be*, &c.) with verbs.

The sentences in italics are mere variations of the same general statement. (1.) *The earlier the stage of a given language the greater the amount of its inflectional forms, and the later the stage of a given language, the smaller the amount of them.* (2.) *As languages become modern they substitute prepositions and auxiliary verbs for cases and tenses.* (3.) *The amount of inflection is in the inverse proportion to the amount of prepositions and auxiliary verbs.* (4.) *In the course of time languages drop their inflection and substitute in its stead circumlocutions by means of prepositions, &c. The reverse never takes place.* (5.) *Given two modes of expression, the one inflectional* (smiðum)*, the other circumlocutional* (to smiths)*, we can state that the first belongs to an early,*

the second to a late, stage of language.

The present chapter, then, showing the relation of the English to the Anglo-Saxon, shows something more. It exhibits the general relation of a modern to an ancient language. As the English is to the Anglo-Saxon, so are the Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian, to the old Norse; so also the Modern High German to the Mœso-Gothic; so the Modern Dutch of Holland to the Old Frisian; so, moreover, amongst the languages of a different stock, are the French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Romanese and Wallachian to the Latin, and the Romaic to the Ancient Greek.

§ 175. Contrasted with the English, but contrasted with it only in those points where the ancient tongue is compared with the modern one, the Anglo-Saxon has the following differences.

NOUNS.

Of Gender.—In Anglo-Saxon there are three genders, the masculine, the feminine, and the neuter. With *adjectives* each gender has its peculiar declension; with *substantives* there are also appropriate terminations, but only to a certain degree; *e.g.*, of words ending in *-a* (*nama*, a name; *cuma*, a guest), it may be stated that they are always masculine; of words in *-u* (*sunu*, a son; *gifu*, a gift), that they are never neuter; in other words, that they are either mas. or fem.

The definite article varies with the gender of its substantive; *þæt eage*, the eye; *se steorra*, the star; *seo tunge*, the tongue.

Of Number.—The plural form in *-en* (as in *oxen*), rare in English, was common in Anglo-Saxon. It was the

regular termination of a whole declension; *e.g.*, *eágan*, eyes; *steorran*, stars; *tungan*, tongues. Besides this, the Anglo-Saxons had forms in *-u* and *-a*, as *ricu*, kingdoms; *gifa*, gifts. The termination *-s*, current in the present English was confined to a single gender and to a single declension, as *endas*, ends; *dagas*, days; *smiðas*, smiths.

Of Case.—Of these the Saxons had, for their substantives, at least three; viz. the nominative, dative, genitive. With the pronouns and adjectives there was a true accusative form; and with a few especial words an ablative or instrumental one. *Smið*, a smith; *smiðe*, to a smith; *smiðes*, of a smith. Plural, *smiðas*, smiths; *smiðum*, to smiths; *smiða*, of smiths: *he*, he; *hine*, him; *him*, to him; *his*, his; *se*, the; *þa*, the; *þy*, with the; *þam*, to the; *þæs*, of the.

Of the dative in *-um*, the word *whilom* (*at times*, *at whiles*) is a still extant and an almost isolated specimen.

Of Declension.—In *Anglo-Saxon* it is necessary to determine the termination of a substantive. There is the weak, or simple declension for words ending in a vowel (as *eage*, *steorra*, *tunga*), and the strong, or complex declension for words ending in a consonant (*smið*, *spræc*, *leáf*). The letters *i* and *u* are dealt with as semivowels, semivowels being dealt with as consonants; so that words like *sunu* and *gifu* belong to the same declension as *smið* and *spréc*.

That the form of adjectives varies with their definitude or indefinitude, has been seen from § 93: definite adjectives following the inflection of the simple; indefinite ones that of the complex declension.

The detail of the Anglo-Saxon declension may be collected from §§ 83-89.

The Anglo-Saxon inflection of the participles present is remarkable. With the exception of the form for the genitive plural definite (which, instead of *-ena*, is *-ra*,) they follow the declension of the adjectives. From the masculine substantives formed from them, and denoting the agent, they may be distinguished by a difference of inflection.

		Participle.	*Substantive.*
		Wegferende = *Wayfaring*.	Wegferend = *Wayfarer*.
Sing.	*Nom.*	Wegferende	Wegferend.
	Acc.	Wegferendne	Wegferend.
	Abl.	Wegferende	Wegferende.
	Dat.	Wegferendum	Wegferende.
	Gen.	Wegferendes	Wegferendes.
Plur.	*Nom.*	Wegferende	Wegferendas.
	Dat.	Wegferendum	Wegferendum.
	Gen.	Wegferendra	Wegferenda.

Pronouns Personal.—Of the pronominal inflection in Saxon, the character may be gathered from the chapter upon pronouns. At present, it may be stated that, like the Mœso-Gothic and the Icelandic, the Anglo-Saxon language possessed for the first two persons a *dual* number; inflected as follows:

	1st Person.			*2nd Person.*	
Nom.	Wit	*We two.*	*Nom.*	Git	*Ye two.*
Acc.	Unc	*Us two.*	*Acc.*	Inc	*You two.*
Gen.	Uncer	*Of us two.*	*Gen.*	Incer	*Of you two.*

Besides this, the demonstrative, possessive, and relative pronouns, as well as the numerals *twa* and *þreo*, had a fuller declension than they have at present.

VERBS.

Mood.—The subjunctive mood that in the present English (with the exception of the conjugation of the verb substantive) differs from the indicative only in the third person singular, was in Anglo-Saxon inflected as follows:

Indicative Mood.

Pres. Sing.	1.	Lufige.	*Plur.*	1.	Lufiað.
	2.	Lufast.		2.	}
	3.	Lufað.		3.	}

Subjunctive Mood.

Pres. Sing.	1.	Lufige.	*Plur.*	1.	Lufion.
	2.	}		2.	}
	3.	}		3.	}

The Saxon infinitive ended in *-an* (*lufian*), and besides this there was a so-called gerundial form, to *lufigenne*.

Tense.—In regard to tense, the Anglo-Saxon coincided with the English. The present language has two tenses, the present and the past; the Saxon had no more. This past tense the modern English forms either by addition (*love*, *loved*), or by change (*fall*, *fell*). So did the Anglo-Saxons.

Number and Person.—In the present English the

termination *-eth* (*moveth*) is antiquated. In Anglo-Saxon it was the only form recognized. In English the plural number (indicative as well as subjunctive) has no distinguishing inflection. It was not so in Anglo-Saxon. There, although the *persons* were identical in form, the *numbers* were distinguished by the termination *-að* for the indicative, and *-n* for the subjunctive. (*See above.*) For certain forms in the second conjugation, see the remarks on the forms *drunk* and *drank*, in Part IV.

Such are the chief points in the declension of nouns and the conjugation of verbs that give a difference of character between the ancient Anglo-Saxon and the modern English: and it has already been stated that the difference between the New and the Old German, the Dutch and the Frisian, the Italian, &c., and the Latin, the Romaic and the Greek, &c., are precisely similar.

How far two languages pass with equal rapidity from their ancient to their modern, from their inflected to their uninflected state (in other words, how far all languages alter at the same rate), is a question that will be noticed elsewhere. At present, it is sufficient to say, that (just as we should expect *à priori*) languages do *not* alter at the same rate.

Akin to the last question is a second one: viz.: how far the rate of change in a given language can be accelerated by external circumstances. This second question bears immediately upon the history of the English language. The grammar of the current idiom compared with the grammar of the Anglo-Saxon is simplified. How far was this simplification of the grammar promoted by the Norman Conquest. The current views exaggerate the influence of the

Norman Conquest and of French connexions. The remark of Mr. Price in his Preface to Warton, acceded to by Mr. Hallam in his Introduction to the Literature of Europe, is, that every one of the other Low Germanic languages (affected by nothing corresponding to the Norman Conquest) displays the same simplification of grammar as the Anglo-Saxon (affected by the Norman Conquest) displays. Confirmatory of this remark, it may be added, that compared with the Icelandic, the Danish and Swedish do the same. Derogatory to it is the comparatively complex grammar of the *new* German, compared, not only with the Old High German, but with the Mœso-Gothic. An extract from Mr. Hallam shall close the present section and introduce the next.

> "Nothing can be more difficult, except by an arbitrary line, than to determine the commencement of the English language: not so much, as in those on the Continent, because we are in want of materials, but rather from an opposite reason, the possibility of showing a very gradual succession of verbal changes that ended in a change of denomination. We should probably experience a similar difficulty, if we knew equally well the current idiom of France or Italy in the seventh and eighth centuries. For when we compare the earliest English of the thirteenth century with the Anglo-Saxon of the twelfth, it seems hard to pronounce why it should pass for a separate language, rather than a modification or simplification of the former. We must conform, however, to usage, and say that the Anglo-Saxon was converted into English:—1. By contracting and otherwise modifying the pronunciation and

> orthography of words. 2. By omitting many inflections, especially of the noun, and consequently making more use of articles and auxiliaries. 3. By the introduction of French derivatives. 4. By using less inversion and ellipsis, especially in poetry. Of these, the second alone, I think, can be considered as sufficient to describe a new form of language; and this was brought about so gradually, that we are not relieved from much of our difficulty, as to whether some compositions shall pass for the latest offspring of the mother, or the earlier fruits of the daughter's fertility. It is a proof of this difficulty that the best masters of our ancient language have lately introduced the word Semi-Saxon, which is to cover everything from A.D. 1150 to A.D. 1250."—Chapter i. 47.

§ 176. At a given period, then, the Anglo-Saxon of the standard, and (if the expression may be used) classical authors, such as Cædmon, Alfred, Ælfric, &c., had undergone such a change as to induce the scholars of the present age to denominate it, not Saxon, but *Semi*-Saxon. It had ceased to be genuine Saxon, but had not yet become English. In certain parts of the kingdom, where the mode of speech changed more rapidly than elsewhere, the Semi-Saxon stage of our language came earlier. It was, as it were, precipitated.

The History of King Leir and his Daughters is found in two forms. Between these there is a difference either of dialect or of date, and possibly of both. Each, however, is Semi-Saxon. The extracts are made from Thorpe's Analecta Anglo-Saxonica, p. 143.

Blaðud hafde one sunne, Leir was in hafne, Efter his fader dæie, He held his þis drihtlice lond, Sona swa he an hond, his laste lifes dæges, He sixti marka gafe. and He rihte makede buruh, Þurh rædbora his porh cræftes menne And dæade, he And hebbine lette nemen,

Efter	After
him	him
sealdan;	sealdan;
Kaire-	Kaire-
Leir	Leir
heht	heht
þeþe	þeþe
burh.	burh.
Leof	Leof
he	he
wes	was
þa	þa
king	king;
Þa	Þa
we,	we,
anon	anon
ure	ure
lesse	speche,
quiþ,	Liþ,
Leir-	Leir-
chestre	chestre
cleopiþ,	cleopiþ,
Ipiad,	Ipiad,
Gepare	Gepare
a eolde	a eolde
þaiye.	daiye.
holde	holde
dawon.	dawon.

The Grave, a poetical fragment, the latter part of the Saxon Chronicle, a Homily for St. Edmund's Day (given in the Analecta), and above all the printed extracts of the poem of Layamon, are the more accessible specimens of the Semi-Saxon. The Ormulum, although in many points English rather than Saxon, retains the dual number of the Anglo-Saxon pronouns. However, lest too much stress be laid upon this circumstance, the epistolary character

of the Ormulum must be borne in mind.

It is very evident that if, even in the present day, there were spoken in some remote district the language of Alfred and Ælfric, such a mode of speech would be called, not Modern English, but Anglo-Saxon. This teaches us that the stage of language is to be measured, not by its date, but by its structure. Hence, Saxon ends and Semi-Saxon begins, not at a given year, A.D., but at that time (whenever it be) when certain grammatical inflections disappear, and certain characters of a more advanced stage are introduced.

Some amongst others, of the earlier changes of the standard Anglo-Saxon are,

1. The substitution of *-an* for *-as*, in the plural of substantives, *munucan* for *munucas* (monks); and, conversely, the substitution of *-s* for *-n*, as *steorres* for *steorran* (stars). The use of *-s*, as the sign of the plural, without respect to gender, or declension, may be one of those changes that the Norman Conquest forwarded; *-s* being the sign of the plural in Anglo-Norman.

2. The ejection or shortening of final vowels, *þæt ylc* for *þæt ylce*; *sone* for *sunu*; *name* for *nama*; *dages* for *dagas*.

3. The substitution of *-n* for *-m* in the dative case, *hwilon* for *hwilum*.

4. The ejection of the *-n* of the infinitive mood, *cumme* for *cuman* (*to come*), *nemne* for *nemnen* (*to name*).

5. The ejection of *-en* in the participle passive, *I-hote* for *gehaten* (*called, hight*).

6. The gerundial termination *-enne*, superseded by the infinitive termination *-en*; as *to lufian* for *to lufienne*, or *lufigenne*.

7. The substitution of *-en* for *-að* in the persons plural of verbs; *hi clepen* (*they call*) for *hi clypiað*, &c.

The preponderance (not the occasional occurrence) of forms like those above constitute Semi-Saxon in contradistinction to standard Saxon, classical Saxon, or Anglo-Saxon proper.

§ 177. *Old English Stage.*—Further changes convert Semi-Saxon into Old English. Some, amongst others, are the following:—

1. The ejection of the dative plural termination *-um*, and the substitution of the preposition *to* and the plural sign *-s*; as *to smiths* for *smiðum*. Of the dative singular the *-e* is retained (*ende*, *worde*); but it is by no means certain that, although recognized in writing, it was recognized in pronunciation also.

2. The ejection of *-es* in the genitive singular whenever the preposition *of* came before it; *Godes love* (*God's love*), but the *love of God*, and not the *love of Godes*.

3. The syllable *-es* as a sign of the genitive case extended to all genders and to all declensions; *heart's* for *heortan*; *sun's* for *sunnan*.

4. The same in respect to the plural number; *sterres* for *steorran*; *sons* for *suna*.

5. The ejection of *-na* in the genitive plural; as *of tunges'* for *tungena*.

6. The use of the word *the*, as an article, instead of *se*, &c.

The preponderance of the forms above (and not their occasional occurrence) constitutes old English in contradistinction to Semi-Saxon.

The following extract from Henry's history (vol. viii. append. iv.) is the proclamation of Henry III. to the people of Huntingdonshire, A.D. 1258. It currently passes for the earliest specimen of English.

"Henry, thurg Godes fultome, King on Engleneloande, lhoaurd on Yrloand, Duke on Normand, on Acquitain, Eorl on Anjou, send I greting, to alle hise holde, ilærde & ilewerde on Huntingdonschiere.

"That witen ge well alle, thæt we willen & unnen (grant) thæt ure rædesmen alle other, the moare del of heom, thæt beoth ichosen thurg us and thurg thæt loandes-folk on ure Kuneriche, habbith idon, and schullen don, in the worthnes of God, and ure threowthe, for the freme of the loande, thurg the besigte of than toforen iseide rædesmen, beo stedfæst and ilestinde in alle thinge abutan ænde, and we heaten alle ure treowe, in the treowthe thæt heo us ogen, thet heo stede-feslliche healden & weren to healden & to swerien the isetnesses thet beon makede and beo to makien, thurg than toforen iseide rædesmen, other thurg the moare del of heom alswo, also hit is before iseide. And thet æheother helpe thet for to done bitham ilche other, aganes alle men in alle thet heo ogt for to done, and to foangen. And noan ne of mine loande, ne of egetewhere, thurg this besigte, muge beon ilet other iwersed on oniewise. And gif oni ether onie cumen her ongenes, we willen & heaten, thæt alle ure treowe heom healden deadlichistan. And for

> thæt we willen thæt this beo stædfast and lestinde, we senden gew this writ open, iseined with ure seel, to halden amanges gew ine hord. Witnes us-selven æt Lundæn, thæne egetetenthe day on the monthe of Octobr, in the two and fowertigthe geare of ure crunning."

§ 178. The songs amongst the political verses printed by the Camden Society, the romance of Havelok the Dane, William and the Werwolf, the Gestes of Alisaundre, King Horn, Ipomedon, and the King of Tars; and, amongst the longer works, Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, and the poems of Robert of Bourn (Brunn), are (amongst others) Old English. Broadly speaking, the *Old* English may be said to begin with the reign of Henry III., and to end with that of Edward III.

In the Old English the following forms predominate.

1. A fuller inflection of the demonstrative pronoun, or definite article; *þan*, *þenne*, *þære*, *þam*;—in contradistinction to the Middle English.

2. The presence of the dative singular in *-e*; *ende*, *smithe*;—*ditto*.

3. The existence of a genitive plural in *-r* or *-ra*; *heora*, theirs; *aller*, of all;—*ditto*. This with substantives and adjectives is less common.

4. The substitution of *heo* for *they*, of *heora* for *their*, of *hem* for *them*;—in contradistinction to the later stages of English, and in contradistinction to old Lowland *Scotch*. (See Chapter III.)

5. A more frequent use of *min* and *thin*, for *my* and *thy*;—in contradistinction to middle and modern English.

6. The use of *heo* for *she*;—in contradistinction to middle and modern English and old Lowland *Scotch*.

7. The use of broader vowels; as in *iclepud* or *iclepod* (for *icleped* or *yclept*); *geongost*, youngest; *ascode*, asked; *eldore*, elder.

8. The use of the strong preterits (*see* the chapter on the tenses of verbs), where in the present English the weak form is found; *wex*, *wop*, *dalf*, for *waxed*, *wept*, *delved*.

9. The omission not only of the gerundial termination *-enne*, but also of the infinitive sign *-en* after *to*; *to honte*, *to speke*;—in contradistinction to Semi-Saxon.

10. The substitution of *-en* for *-eþ* or *-eð* in the first and second persons plural of verbs; *we wollen*, we will: *heo schullen*, they should;—*ditto*.

11. The comparative absence of the articles *se* and *seo*;—*ditto*.

12. The substitution of *ben* and *beeth*, for *synd* and *syndon* = *we*, *ye*, *they are*;—in contradistinction to Semi-Saxon.

§ 179. The degree to which the Anglo-Saxon was actually influenced by the Anglo-Norman has been noticed. The degree wherein the two languages came in contact is, plainly, another consideration. The first is the question, How far one of two languages influenced the other? The second asks, How far one of two languages had the opportunity of influencing the other? Concerning the extent to which the Anglo-Norman was used, I retail the following statements and quotations.

1. "Letters even of a private nature were written in Latin till the beginning of the reign of Edward I., soon after 1270, when a sudden change brought in the use of French."—*Mr. Hallam, communicated by Mr. Stevenson* (*Literature of Europe, I. 52, and note*).

2. Conversation between the Members of the Universities was ordered to be carried on either in Latin or French:—"*Si qua inter se proferant, colloquio Latino vel saltem Gallico perfruantur.*"—*Statutes of Oriel College, Oxford.—Hallam, ibid.* from Warton.

3. "The Minutes of the Corporation of London, recorded in the Town Clerk's Office, were in French, as well as the Proceedings in Parliament, and in the Courts of Justice."—*Ibid.*

4. "In Grammar Schools, boys were made to construe their Latin into French,"—*Ibid.* "*Pueri in scholis, contra morem cæterarum nationum, et Normannorum adventu, derelicto proprio vulgari, construere Gallice compelluntur. Item quod filii nobilium ab ipsis cunabulorum crepundiis ad Gallicum idioma informantur. Quibus profecto rurales homines assimulari volentes, ut per hoc spectabiliores videantur, Francigenari satagunt omni nisu.*"—*Higden* (*Ed. Gale*, p. 210).

That there was French in England before the battle of Hastings appears on the authority of Camden:—

"Herein is a notable argument of our ancestors' steadfastness in esteeming and retaining their own tongue. For, as *before the Conquest*, they misliked nothing more in King Edward the Confessor, than that he was Frenchified, and

> accounted the desire of a foreign language then to be a foretoken of the bringing in of foreign powers, which indeed happened."—*Remains*, p. 30.

§ 180. In Chaucer and Mandeville, and perhaps in all the writers of the reign of Edward III., we have a transition from the Old to the Middle English. The last characteristic of a grammar different from that of the present English, is the plural form in *-en*; *we tellen*, *ye tellen*, *they tellen*. As this disappears, which it does in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (Spenser has it continually), the Middle English may be said to pass into the New or Modern English.

§ 181. The *present* tendencies of the English may be determined by observation; and as most of them will be noticed in the etymological part of this volume, the few here indicated must be looked upon as illustrations only.

1. The distinction between the subjunctive and indicative mood is likely to pass away. We verify this by the very general tendency to say *if it is*, and *if he speaks*, for *if it be*, and *if he speak*.

2. The distinction (as far as it goes) between the participle passive and the past tense is likely to pass away. We verify this by the tendency to say *it is broke*, and *he is smote*, for *it is broken*, and *he is smitten*.

3. Of the double forms, *sung* and *sang*, *drank* and *drunk*, &c. one only will be the permanent.

As stated above, these tendencies are a few out of a number, and have been adduced in order to indicate the subject rather than to exhaust it.

§ 182. What the present language of England would have been had the Norman Conquest never taken place, the analogy of Holland, Denmark, and of many other countries enables us to determine. It would have been much as it is at present. What it would have been had the *Saxon* conquest never taken place, is a question wherein there is far more speculation. Of France, of Italy, of Wallachia, and of the Spanish Peninsula, the analogies all point the same way. They indicate that the original Celtic would have been superseded by the Latin of the conquerors, and consequently that our language in its later stages would have been neither British nor Gaelic, but Roman. Upon these analogies, however, we may refine. Italy, was from the beginning, Roman; the Spanish Peninsula was invaded full early; no ocean divided Gaul from Rome; and the war against the ancestors of the Wallachians was a war of extermination.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE LOWLAND SCOTCH.

§ 183. The term *Lowland* is used to distinguish the Scotch of the South-east from the Scotch of the Highlands. The former is English in its immediate affinities, and Germanic in origin; the latter is nearly the same language with the Gaelic of Ireland, and is, consequently, Celtic.

The question as to whether the Lowland Scotch is a dialect of the English, or a separate and independent language, is a verbal rather than a real one.

Reasons for considering the Scotch and English as

dialects of one and the same language lie in the fact of their being (except in the case of the more extreme forms of each) mutually intelligible.

Reasons for calling one a dialect of the other depend upon causes other than philological, *e.g.*, political preponderance, literary development, and the like.

Reasons for treating the Scotch as a separate substantive language lie in the extent to which it has the qualities of a regular cultivated tongue, and a separate substantive literature—partially separate and substantive at the present time, wholly separate and substantive in the times anterior to the union of the crowns, and in the hands of Wyntoun, Blind Harry, Dunbar, and Lindsay.

§ 184. Reasons for making the *philological* distinction between the English and Scotch dialects exactly coincide with the geographical and political boundaries between the two kingdoms are not so easily given. It is not likely that the Tweed and Solway should divide modes of speech so accurately as they divide laws and customs; that broad and trenchant lines of demarcation should separate the Scotch from the English exactly along the line of the Border; and that there should be no Scotch elements in Northumberland, and no Northumbrian ones in Scotland. Neither is such the case. Hence, in speaking of the Lowland Scotch, it means the language in its typical rather than in its transitional forms; indeed, it means the *literary* Lowland Scotch which, under the first five Stuarts, was as truly an independent language as compared with the English, as Swedish is to Danish, Portuguese to Spanish, or *vice versâ*.

§ 185. This limitation leaves us fully sufficient room

for the notice of the question as to its *origin*; a notice all the more necessary from the fact of its having created controversy.

What is the *primâ facie* view of the relations between the English of England, and the mutually intelligible language (Scotch or English, as we choose to call it) of Scotland? One of three:—

1. That it originated in England, and spread in the way of extension and diffusion northwards, and so reached Scotland.

2. That it originated in Scotland, and spread in the way of extension and diffusion southwards, and so reached England.

3. That it was introduced in each country from a common source.

In any of these cases it is Angle, or Saxon, or Anglo-Saxon, even as English is Angle, or Saxon, or Anglo-Saxon.

§ 186. A view, however, different from these, and one disconnecting the Lowland Scotch from the English and Anglo-Saxon equally, is what may be called the *Pict* doctrine. Herein it is maintained that the Lowland *Scotch is derived from the Pict, and that the Picts were of Gothic* origin. The reasoning upon these matters is to be found in the Dissertation upon the Origin of the Scottish Language prefixed to Jamieson's Etymological Dictionary: two extracts from which explain the view which the author undertakes to combat:—

a. "It is an opinion which, after many others, has been pretty generally received, and, perhaps, almost taken for granted, that the language spoken in the

Lowlands of Scotland is merely a corrupt dialect of the English, or at least of the Anglo-Saxon."

b. "It has generally been supposed that the Saxon language was introduced into Scotland in the reign of Malcolm Canmore by his good queen and her retinue; or partly by means of the intercourse which prevailed between the inhabitants of Scotland and those of Cumberland, Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham, which were held by the Kings of Scotland as fiefs of the crown of England. An English writer, not less distinguished for his amiable disposition and candour than for the cultivation of his mind, has objected to this hypothesis with great force of argument."

§ 187. Now, as against any such notion as that involved in the preceding extracts, the reasoning of the learned author of the Scottish Dictionary may, perhaps, be valid. No such view, however, is held, at the present moment, by any competent judge; and it is doubtful whether, in the extreme way in which it is put forward by the opponent of it, it was ever maintained at all.

Be this, however, as it may, the theory which is opposed to it rests upon the following positions—

1. That the Lowland Scotch were Picts.

2. That the Picts were Goths.

In favour of this latter view the chief reasons are—

1. That what the Belgæ were the Picts were also.

2. That the Belgæ were Germanic.

Again—

1. That the natives of the Orkneys were Picts.

2. That they were also Scandinavian.

So that the Picts were Scandinavian Goths.

From whence it follows that—assuming what is true concerning the Orkneys is true concerning the Lowland Scotch—the Lowland Scotch was Pict, Scandinavian, Gothic, and (as such) more or less Belgic.

For the non-Gothic character of the Picts see the researches of Mr. Garnett, as given in § 139, as well as a paper—believed to be from the same author—in the Quarterly Review for 1834.

For the position of the Belgæ, see Chapter IV.

§ 188. That what is true concerning the Orkneys (viz. that they were Scandinavian) is *not* true for the south and eastern parts of Scotland, is to be collected from the peculiar distribution of the Scottish Gaelic; which indicates a distinction between the Scandinavian of the north of Scotland and the Scandinavian of the east of England. The Lowland Scotch recedes as we go northward. Notwithstanding this, it is *not* the extreme north that is most Gaelic. In Caithness the geographical names are Norse. *Sutherland*, the most northern county of Scotland, takes its name from being *south*; that is, of Norway. The Orkneys and Shetland are in name, manners, and language, Norse or Scandinavian. The Hebrides are Gaelic mixed with Scandinavian. The Isle of Man is the same. The word *Sodor* (in Sodor and Man) is Norse, with the same meaning as it has in *Sutherland*. All this indicates a more preponderating, and an earlier infusion of Norse along the coast of Scotland, than that which

took place under the Danes upon the coasts of England, in the days of Alfred and under the reign of Canute. The first may, moreover, have this additional peculiarity, *viz.* of being Norwegian rather than Danish. Hence I infer that the Scandinavians settled in the northern parts of Scotland at an early period, but that it was a late period when they ravaged the southern ones; so that, though the language of Orkney may be Norse, that of the Lothians may be Saxon.

To verify these views we want not a general dictionary of the Scottish language taken altogether, but a series of local glossaries, or at any rate a vocabulary, 1st, of the northern; 2ndly, of the southern Scottish.

Between the English and Lowland Scotch we must account for the likeness as well as the difference. The Scandinavian theory accounts for the difference only.

§ 189. Of the following specimens of the Lowland Scotch, the first is from The Bruce, a poem written by Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, between the years 1360 and 1375; the second from Wyntoun; the third from Blind Harry's poem, Wallace, 1460; and the fourth from Gawin Douglas's translation of the Æneid, A.D. 1513.

The Bruce, iv. 871—892.

And as he raid in to the nycht,
So saw he, with the monys lycht,
Schynnyng off scheldys gret plenté;
And had wondre quhat it mycht be.
With that all hale thai gaiff a cry,
And he, that hard sa suddainly
Sic noyis, sumdele affrayit was.

Bot in schort time he till him tais
His spyrites full hardely;
For his gentill hart, and worthy,
Assurit hym in to that nede.
Then with the spuris he strak the sted,
And ruschyt in amaing them all.
The feyrst he met he gert him fall;
And syne his suord he swapyt out,
And roucht about him mony rout,
And slew sexsum weill sone and ma:
Then wndre him his horss thai sla:
And he fell; but he smertty rass,
And strykand rowm about him mass:
And slew off thaim a quantité.
But woundyt wondre sar was he.

Wyntoun's Chronicle, I. xiii. 1—22.

Blessyde Bretayn Beelde sulde be
Of all þe Ilys in þe Se,
Quhare Flowrys are fele on Feldys fayre
Hale of hewe, haylsum of ayre.
Of all corne þare is copy gret,
Pese and A'tys, Bere and Qwhet:
Báth froyt on Tre, and fysche in flwde;
And tyl all Catale pasture gwde.
Solynus Sayis, in Brettany
Sum steddys growys sá habowndanly
Of Gyrs, þat sum tym (but) þair Fe
Frá fwlth of Mete refrenyht be,
Đair fwde sall turne þam to peryle,
To rot, or bryst, or dey sum quhyle.
Đare wylde in Wode has welth at wille;
Đare hyrdys hydys Holme and Hille:
Đare Bwyis bowys all for Byrtht,
Báthe Merle and Maẅesys mellys for
myrtht:

Đare huntyng is at all kyne Dere,
And rycht gud hawlkyn on Bÿwer;
Of Fysche þaire is habowndance;
And nedfulle thyng to Mannys substance.

Wallace, xi. 230-262.

A lord off court, quhen he approchyt thar,
Wnwisytly sperd, withoutyn prouision;
"Wallace, dar ye go fecht on our lioun?"
And he said; "Ya, so the Kyng suffyr me;
Or on your selff, gyff ye ocht bettyr be."
Quhat will ye mar? this thing amittyt was,
That Wallace suld on to the lioun pas.
The King thaim chargyt to bring him gud harnas:
Then he said; "Nay, God scheild me fra sic cass.
I wald tak weid, suld I fecht with a man;
But (for) a dog, that nocht off armes can,
I will haiff nayn, bot synglar as I ga."
A gret manteill about his hand can ta,
And his gud suerd; with him he tuk na mar;
Abandounly in barrace entryt thar.
Gret chenys was wrocht in the yet with a gyn,
And pulld it to quhen Wallace was tharin.
The wod lyoun, on Wallace quhar he stud,
Rampand he braid, for he desyryt blud;
With his rude pollis in the mantill rocht sa.
Aukwart the bak than Wallace can him ta,
With his gud suerd, that was off burnest steill,
His body in twa it thruschyt euirilkdeill.
Syn to the King he raykyt in gret ire,

And said on lowd; "Was this all your
desyr,
To wayr a Scot thus lychtly in to wayn?
Is thar mar doggis at ye wald yeit haiff
slayne?
Go, bryng thaim furth, sen I mon doggis
qwell,
To do byddyng, quhill that with thee
duell.
It gaynd full weill I graithit me to
Scotland;
For grettar deidis thair men has apon
hand,
Than with a dog in battaill to escheiff—
At you in France for euir I tak my leiff."

Gawin Douglas, Æn. ii.

As Laocon that was Neptunus priest,
And chosin by cavil vnto that ilk office,
Ane fare grete bull offerit in sacrifice,
Solempnithe before the haly altere,
Throw the still sey from Tenedos in fere,
Lo twa gret lowpit edderis with mony
thraw
First throw the flude towart the land can
draw.
(My sprete abhorris this matter to declare)
Aboue the wattir thare hals stude
euirmare,
With bludy creistis outwith the wallis hie,
The remanent swam always vnder the se,
With grisly bodyis lynkit mony fald,
The salt fame stouris from the fard they
hald,
Unto the ground thay glade with glowand

ene,
Stuffit full of venom, fire and felloun tene,
With tounges quhissling in thar mouthis
red,
Thay lik the twynkilland stangis in thar
hed.
We fled away al bludles for effere.
Bot with ane braide to Laocon in fere
Thay stert attanis, and his twa sonnys
zyng
First athir serpent lappit like ane ring,
And with thare cruel bit, and stangis fell,
Of tender membris tuke mony sory
morsel;
Syne thay the preist invadit baith twane,
Quhilk wyth his wappins did his besy
pane
His childer for to helpen and reskew.
Bot thay about him lowpit in wympillis
threw,
And twis circulit his myddel round about,
And twys faldit thare sprutillit skynnis but
dout,
About his hals, baith neck and hed they
schent.
As he ettis thare hankis to haue rent,
And with his handis thaym away haue
draw,
His hede bendis and garlandis all war
blaw
Full of vennum and rank poysoun attanis,
Quhilk infekkis the flesche, blude, and
banys.

§ 190. In the way of orthography, the most characteristic difference between the English and

Scotch is the use, on the part of the latter, of *qu* for *wh*; as *quhen*, *quhare*, *quhat*, for *when*, *where*, *what*. The substitution of *sch* for *sh* (as *scho* for *she*), and of *z* for the Old English ȝ (as *zour* for *ȝeowr*, *your*), is as much northern English as Scotch.

In pronunciation, the substitution of *d* for *ð* (if not a point of spelling), as in *fader* for *father*; of *a* for *o*, as *báith* for *both*; of *s* for *sh*, as *sall* for *shall*; and the use of the guttural sound of *ch*, as in *loch*, *nocht*, are the same.

The ejection of the *n* before *t*, or an allied sound, and the lengthening of the preceding vowel, by way of compensation, as in *begouth* for *beginneth*, seems truly Scotch. It is the same change that in Greek turns the radical syllable ὀδοντ into ὀδοὺς.

The formation of the plural of verbs in *-s*, rather than in *-th* (the Anglo-Saxon form), is Northern English as well as Scotch:—Scotch, *slepys*, *lovys*; Northern English, *slepis*, *lovis*; Old English, *slepen*, *loven*; Anglo-Saxon *slepiað*, *lufiað*.

The formation of the plural number of the genitive case by the addition of the syllable *-is* (*blastis*, *birdis*, *bloomis*), instead of the letter *-s* (*blasts*, *birds*, *blooms*), carries with it a metrical advantage, inasmuch as it gives a greater number of double rhymes.

The same may be said of the participial forms, *affrayit*, *assurit*, for *affrayd*, *assured*.

Concerning the comparative rate of change in the two languages no general assertion can be made. In the Scotch words *sterand*, *slepand*, &c., for *steering*, *sleeping*, the form is antiquated, and Anglo-Saxon rather than English. It is not so, however, with the

words *thai* (*they*), *thaim* (*them*), *thair* (*their*), compared with the contemporary words in English, *heo*, *hem*, *heora*. In these it is the Scottish that is least, and the English that is most Anglo-Saxon.

CHAPTER IV.

OF CERTAIN UNDETERMINED AND FICTITIOUS LANGUAGES OF GREAT BRITAIN.

§ 191. The languages mentioned in the present chapter claim their place on one ground only,—*they have been the subject of controversy*. The notice of them will be brief. The current texts upon which the controversies have turned will be quoted; whilst the opinion of the present writer is left to be collected from the title of the chapter.

The Belgæ.—By some these are considered a Germanic rather than a Celtic tribe; the view being supported by the following extracts from Cæsar:—"*Gallia est omnis divisa in tres partes; quarum unam incolunt Belgæ, aliam Aquitani, tertiam, qui ipsorum lingua Celtæ, nostra Galli, appellantur. Hi omnes lingua, institutis, legibus inter se differunt. Gallos—a Belgis Matrona et Sequana dividit.*"—B. G. i. "*Belgæ ab extremis Galliæ finibus oriuntur.*"—B. G. ii. "*Quum ab his quæreret, quæ civitates, quantæque in armis essent, et quid in bello possent, sic reperiebat: plerosque Belgas esse ortos a Germanis, Rhenumque antiquitùs transductos, propter loci fertilitatem ibi consedisse; Gallosque, qui ea loca incolerent, expulisse; solosque esse qui patrum nostrorum memoria, omni Gallia vexata Teutones Cimbrosque intra fines suos ingredi prohibuerunt.*"—B. G. ii. 4. "*Britanniæ pars interior ab iis incolitur quos natos in insulâ ipsâ memoriâ proditum*

dicunt: maritima pars ab iis, qui prædæ ac belli inferendi causa ex Belgio transierant."—B. G. v. 12.

§ 192. The possibly Germanic origin of the Belgæ, and the Belgic element of the British population, are matters which bear upon the question indicated in § 10, or that of the Germanic influences anterior to A.D. 449.

They have a still more important bearing, the historian over and above identifying the Belgæ with the Germans, affirms *that what applies to the Belgæ applies to the Picts* also.

Now this is one of the arguments in favour of the doctrine exhibited (and objected to) in pp. 124-127, and the extent of questions upon which it bears, may be collected from the following quotation:—"A variety of other considerations might be mentioned, which, although they do not singly amount to proof, yet merit attention, as viewed in connexion with what has been already stated.

"As so great a part of the eastern coast of what is now called England was so early peopled by the Belgæ, it is hardly conceivable that neither so enterprising a people, nor any of their kindred tribes, should ever think of extending their descents a little farther eastward. For that the Belgæ and the inhabitants of the countries bordering on the Baltic, had a common origin, there seems to be little reason to doubt. The Dutch assert that their progenitors were Scandinavians, who, about a century before the common era, left Jutland and the neighbouring territories, in quest of new habitations.[29] The Saxons must be viewed as a branch from the same stock; for they also proceeded from modern Jutland and its vicinity. Now, there is nothing repugnant to

reason in supposing that some of these tribes should pass over directly to the coast of Scotland opposite to them, even before the Christian era. For Mr. Whitaker admits that the Saxons, whom he strangely makes a Gaulic people, in the second century applied themselves to navigation, and soon became formidable to the Romans.[30] Before they could become formidable to so powerful a people, they must have been at least so well acquainted with navigation as to account it no great enterprise to cross from the shores of the Baltic over to Scotland, especially if they took the islands of Shetland and Orkney in their way.

"As we have seen that, according to Ptolemy, there were, in his time, different tribes of Belgæ, settled on the northern extremity of our country: the most natural idea undoubtedly is, that they came directly from the Continent. For had these Belgæ crossed the English Channel, according to the common progress of barbarous nations, it is scarcely supposable that this island would have been settled to its utmost extremity so early as the age of Agricola.

"There is every reason to believe, that the Belgic tribes in Caledonia, described by Ptolemy, were Picts. For as the Belgæ, Picts, and Saxons seem to have had a common origin, it is not worth while to differ about names. These frequently arise from causes so trivial, that their origin becomes totally inscrutable to succeeding ages. The Angles, although only one tribe, have accidentally given their name to the country which they invaded, and to all the descendants of the Saxons and Belgæ, who were by far more numerous.

"It is universally admitted, that there is a certain

national character, of an external kind, which distinguishes one people from another. This is often so strong that those who have travelled through various countries, or have accurately marked the diversities of this character, will scarcely be deceived even as to a straggling individual. Tacitus long ago remarked the striking resemblance between the Germans and Caledonians. Every stranger, at this day, observes the great difference and complexion between the Highlanders and Lowlanders. No intelligent person in England is in danger of confounding the Welsh with the posterity of the Saxons. Now, if the Lowland Scots be not a Gothic race, but in fact the descendants of the ancient British, they must be supposed to retain some national resemblance of the Welsh. But will any impartial observer venture to assert, that in feature, complexion, or form, there is any such similarity as to induce the slightest apprehension that they have been originally the same people?"[31]

It is doubtful, however, whether Cæsar meant to say more than that over above certain differences which distinguished the Belgæ from the other inhabitants of the common country *Gallia*, there was an intermixture of Germans.

The import of a possibly Germanic origin for the Belgæ gives us the import of a possibly Germanic origin for—

§ 193. *The Caledonians.*—A speculative sentence of Tacitus indicates the chance of the Caledonians being Germanic:—"*Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint, indigenæ an advecti, ut inter barbaros, parum compertum. Habitus corporum varii: atque ex eo argumenta: namque rutilæ Caledoniam habitantium*

comæ, magni artus, Germanicam originem adseverant."—Agricola, xi.

The continuation of the passage quoted in § 193 has induced the notion that there have been in Britain Spanish, Iberic, or Basque tribes:—"*Silurum colorati vultus, et torti plerumque crines, et posita contra Hispania, Iberos veteres trajecisse, easque sedes occupâsse fidem faciunt.*"—Agricola, xi.

As this, although an opinion connected with the history of the languages of Great Britain, is not an opinion connected with the history of the English language, it is a question for the Celtic, rather than the Gothic, philologist. The same applies to the points noticed in §§ 136-138. Nevertheless they are necessary for the purposes of minute philological analysis.

§ 194. As early as the year A.D. 1676, an opinion was advanced by[32] Aylett Sammes, in a work entitled Britannia Antiqua Illustrata, that the first colonisers of Ireland were the merchants of Tyre and Sidon. In confirmation of this opinion the existence of several Eastern customs in Ireland was adduced by subsequent antiquarians. Further marks of an Eastern origin of the Irish were soon found in the Gaelic dialect of that country. Finally, the matter (in the eyes at least of the national writers) was satisfactorily settled by the famous discovery, attributed to General Vallancey, of the true meaning of the Carthaginian lines in Plautus.

In the Little Carthaginian (Pœnulus) of the Latin comic writer Plautus, a portion of the dialogue is carried on in the language of Carthage.

That the Punic language of Carthage should closely

resemble that of the mother-city Tyre, which was Phœnician; and that the Phœnician of Tyre should be allied to the language of Palestine and Syria, was soon remarked by the classical commentators of the time. Joseph Scaliger asserted that the Punic of the Pœnulus *differed but little from pure Hebrew*—"*Ab Hebraismi puritate parum abesse.*"

Emendated and interpreted by Bochart, the first ten lines of a speech in Act v. s. 1. stand thus:—

1. N' yth alionim valionuth sicorath
   jismacon sith
2. Chy-mlachai jythmu mitslia mittebariim
   ischi
3. Liphorcaneth yth beni ith jad adi
   ubinuthai
4. Birua rob syllohom alonim
   ubymisyrtohom
5. Bythrym moth ymoth othi helech
   Antidamarchon
6. Ys sideli: brim tyfel yth chili schontem
   liphul
7. Uth bin imys dibur thim nocuth nu'
   Agorastocles
8. Ythem aneti hy chyr saely choc, sith
   naso.
9. Binni id chi lu hilli gubylim lasibil thym
10. Body aly thera ynn' yss' immoncon lu
    sim—

The Same, in Hebrew Characters.

1. נא את עליונים ועליונות שכורת יסמכון זאת:
2. כי מלכי נתמו: מצליח מדבריהם עסקי:
3. לפורקנת את בני את יד עדי ובנותי:
4. ברוח רב שלהם עליונים ובמשורתהם:

5. בטרם מות חנות אותי הלך אנתידמרכון:
איש שידעלי: ברם טפל את חילי שכינתם לאפל:
6.
7. את בן אמיץ דבור תם נקוט נוה אגורסטוקליס:
8. חותם חנותי הוא כיור שאלי חוק זאת נושא:
9. ביני עד כי לו האלה גבולים לשבת תם:
בוא די עלי תרע אנא: הנו אשאל אם מנכר לו אם
.01

Six lines following these were determined to be *Liby*-Phœnician, or the language of the native Africans in the neighbourhood of Carthage, mixed with Punic. These, it was stated, had the same meaning with the ten lines in Carthaginian.

The following lines of Plautus have, by all commentators, been viewed in the same light, *viz.* as the Latin version of the speech of the Carthaginian.

1. Deos deasque veneror, qui hanc urbem
   colunt,
2. Ut, quod de mea re huc veni, rite
   venerim.
3. Measque hic ut gnatas, et mei fratris
   filium
4. Reperire me siritis: Di, vostram fidem!
5. Quæ mihi surruptæ sunt, et fratris
   filium:
6. Sed hic mihi antehac hospes Antidamas
   fuit.
7. Eum fecisse aiunt, sibi quod faciendum
   fuit.
8. Ejus filium hic esse prædicant
   Agorastoclem:
9. Deum hospitalem et tesseram mecum
   fero:

10. In hisce habitare monstratum est regionibus.
11. Hos percunctabor, qui huc egrediuntur foras.

Guided by the metrical *paraphrase* of the original author, Bochart laid before the scholars of his time a Latin version, of which the following is an English translation:—

Close Translation of Bochart's Latin Version.

1. I ask the gods and goddesses that preside over this city,
2. That my plans may be fulfilled.—May my business prosper under their guidance!
3. The release of my son and my daughters from the hands of a robber.
4. May the gods grant this, through the mighty spirit that is in them and by their providence!
5. Before his death, Antidamarchus used to sojourn with me.
6. A man intimate with me: but he has joined the ranks of those whose dwelling is in darkness (the dead).
7. There is a general report that his son has here taken his abode; *viz.* Agorastocles.
8. The token (tally) of my claim to hospitality is a carven tablet, the sculpture whereof is my god. This I carry.
9. A witness has informed me that he lives in this neighbourhood.

10. Somebody comes this way through the
gate: behold him: I'll ask him
whether he knows the name.

To professed classics and to professed orientalists, the version of Bochart has, *on the whole*, appeared satisfactory. Divisions of opinion there have been, it is true, even amongst those who received it; but merely upon matters of detail. Some have held that the Punic is Syriac rather than Hebraic, whilst others have called in to its interpretation the Arabic, the Maltese, or the Chaldee; all (be it observed) languages akin to the Hebrew. Those who look further than this for their affinities, Gesenius[33] dismisses in the following cavalier and cursory manner:—"*Ne eorum somnia memorem, qui e Vasconum et Hiberniæ linguis huic causæ succurri posse opinati sunt; de quibus copiosius referre piget.*"

The remark of Gesenius concerning the pretended affinities between the Punic and Hibernian arose from the discovery attributed to General Vallancey; *viz.* that the speech in Plautus was Irish Gaelic, and consequently that the Irish was Carthaginian, and *vice versâ*. The word *attributed* is used because the true originator of the hypothesis was not Vallancey, but O'Neachtan.

The Gaelic Version.

1. N 'iath all o nimh uath lonnaithe
socruidshe me comsith
2. Chimi lach chuinigh! muini is toil,
miocht beiridh iar mo scith
3. Liomhtha can ati bi mitche ad éadan
beannaithe
4. Bior nar ob siladh umhal: o nimh!

ibhim a frotha!
5. Beith liom! mo thime noctaithe; neil ach tan ti daisic mac coinme
6. Is i de leabhraim tafach leith, chi lis con teampluibh ulla
7. Uch bin nim i is de beart inn a ccomhnuithe Agorastocles!
8. Itche mana ith a chithirsi; leicceath sith nosa!
9. Buaine na iad cheile ile: gabh liom an la so bithim'!
10. Bo dileachtach nionath n' isle, mon cothoil us im.

In English.

1. Omnipotent much-dreaded Deity of this country! assuage my troubled mind!
2. Thou! the support of feeble captives! being now exhausted with fatigue, of thy free will guide to my children!
3. O let my prayers be perfectly acceptable in thy sight!
4. An inexhaustible fountain to the humble: O Deity! let me drink of its streams!
5. Forsake me not! my earnest desire is now disclosed, which is only that of recovering my daughters.
6. This was my fervent prayer, lamenting their misfortunes in thy sacred temples.
7. O bounteous Deity! it is reported here dwelleth Agorastocles.
8. Should my request appear just, let here

my disquietudes cease.
9. Let them be no longer concealed; O that
I may this day find my daughters!
10. They will be fatherless, and preys to
the worst of men, unless it be thy
pleasure that I should find them.

From the quotations already given, the general reader may see that both the text and the translation of Plautus are least violated in the reading and rendering of Bochart, a reading and rendering which no *Gothic* or *Semitic* scholar has ever set aside.

§ 195. *The hypothesis of an aboriginal Finnic population in Britain and elsewhere.*—A Celtic population of Britain preceded the Germanic. Are there any reasons for believing that any older population preceded the Celtic?

The reasoning upon this point is preeminently that of the Scandinavian (*i.e.* Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian) school of philology and ethnology.

Arndt, I believe, was the first who argued that if the so-called Indo-European nations were as closely connected with each other as they are generally considered, their separation from the common stock must have been subsequent to the occupation of Europe by some portion or other of the human species—in other words, that this earlier population must have been spread over those areas of which the Indo-Europeans took possession only at a later period.

That the divisions of such an earlier population were, *at least*, as closely connected with each other as the different members of the so-called Indo-European class, was a reasonable opinion. It was even

reasonable to suppose that they were *more* closely connected; since the date of their diffusion must have been nearer the time of the original dispersion of mankind.

If so, all Europe (the British Isles included) might have had as its aborigines a family older than the oldest members of the Indo-European stock; a family of which every member may now be extinct, or a family of which remains may still survive.

Where are such remains to be sought? In two sorts of localities—

1. Parts *beyond* the limits of the area occupied by the so-called Indo-Europeans.

2. Parts *within* the limits of the so-called Indo-Europeans; but so fortified by nature as to have been the stronghold of a retiring population.

What are the chief parts coming under the first of these conditions?

a. The countries beyond the Indo-Europeans of the Scandinavian and Slavonic areas, *i.e.* the countries of the Laplanders and Finnlanders.

b. The countries beyond the Indo-Europeans of the Iranian stock, *i.e.* the Dekkan, or the country of those natives of India (whatever they may be) whose languages are not derived from the Sanscrit.

What are parts coming under the second of these conditions?

a. The Basque districts of the Pyrenees, where the language represents that of the aborigines of Spain anterior to the conquest of the Roman.

b. The Albanians.—Such the doctrine of the *continuity* of an *ante*-Indo-European population, from Cape Comorin to Lapland, and from Lapland to the Pyrenees. There is *some* philological evidence of this: whether there is *enough* is another matter.

This view, which on its *philological* side has been taken up by Rask, Kayser, and the chief Scandinavian scholars, and which, whether right or wrong, is the idea of a bold and comprehensive mind, as well as a powerful instrument of criticism in the way of a provisional theory, has also been adopted on its *physiological* side by the chief Scandinavian anatomists and palæontologists—Retzius, Eschricht, Niilson, and others. Skulls differing in shape from the Celtic skulls of Gaul, and from the Gothic skulls of Germany and Scandinavia, have been found in considerable numbers; and generally in burial-places of an apparently greater antiquity than those which contain typical Celtic, or typical Gothic crania. Hence there is some *anatomical* as well as philological evidence: whether there is enough is another question.

PART III.

SOUNDS, LETTERS, PRONUNCIATION, SPELLING.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL NATURE OF ARTICULATE SOUNDS.

§ 196. To two points connected with the subject of the following Chapter, the attention of the reader is

requested.

I. In the comparison of sounds the ear is liable to be misled by the eye.

The syllables *ka* and *ga* are similar syllables. The vowel is in each the same, and the consonant is but slightly different. Now the words *ka* and *ga* are more allied to each other than the words *ka* and *ba*, *ka* and *ta*, &c., because the consonantal sounds of *k* and *g* are more allied than the consonantal sounds of *k* and *b*, *k* and *t*.

Comparing the syllables *ga* and *ka*, we see the affinity between the sounds, and we see it at the first glance. It lies on the surface, and strikes the ear at once.

It is, however, very evident that ways might be devised, or might arise from accident, of concealing the likeness between the two sounds, or, at any rate, of making it less palpable. One of such ways would be a faulty mode of spelling. If instead of *ga* we wrote *gha* the following would be the effect: the syllable would appear less simple than it really was; it would look as if it consisted of three parts instead of two, and consequently its affinity to *ka* would seem less than it really was. It is perfectly true that a little consideration would tell us that, as long as the sound remained the same, the relation of the two syllables remained the same; and that, if the contrary appeared to be the case, the ear was misled by the eye. Still a little consideration would be required. Now in the English language we have, amongst others, the following modes of spelling that have a tendency to mislead:—

The sounds of *ph* and of *f*, in *Philip* and *fillip*, differ to

the eye, but to the ear are identical. Here a difference is simulated.

The sounds of *th* in *thin*, and of *th* in *thine*, differ to the ear, but to the eye seem the same. Here a difference is concealed.

These last sounds appear to the eye to be double or compound. This is not the case; they are simple single sounds, and not the sounds of *t* followed by *h*, as the spelling leads us to imagine.

II. Besides improper modes of spelling, there is another way of concealing the true nature of sounds. If I say that *ka* and *ga* are allied, the alliance is manifest; since I compare the actual sounds. If I say *ka* and *gee* are allied, the alliance is concealed; since I compare, not the actual sounds, but only the names of the letters that express those sounds. Now in the English language we have, amongst others, the following names of letters that have a tendency to mislead:—

The sounds *fa* and *va* are allied. The names *eff* and *vee* conceal this alliance.

The sounds *sa* and *za* are allied. The names *ess* and *zed* conceal the alliance.

In comparing sounds it is advisable to have nothing to do either with letters or names of letters. Compare the sounds themselves.

In many cases it is sufficient, in comparing consonants, to compare syllables that contain those consonants; *e.g.*, to determine the relations of *p*, *b*, *f*, *v*, we say *pa*, *ba*, *fa*, *va*; or for those of *s* and *z*, we say *sa*, *za*. Here we compare *syllables*, each consonant being followed by a vowel. At times this is

insufficient. We are often obliged to isolate the consonant from its vowel, and bring our organs to utter (or half utter) imperfect sounds of *p'*, *b'*, *t'*, *d'*. In doing this we isolate the consonant.

§ 197. Let any of the *vowels* (for instance, the *a* in *father*) be sounded. The lips, the tongue, and the parts within the throat remain in the same position: and as long as these remain in the same position the sound is that of the vowel under consideration. Let, however, a change take place in the position of the organs of sound; let, for instance, the lips be closed, or the tongue be applied to the front part of the mouth: in that case the vowel sound is cut short. It undergoes a change. It terminates in a sound that is different, according to the state of those organs whereof the position has been changed. If, on the vowel in question, the lips be closed, there then arises an imperfect sound of *b* or *p*. If, on the other hand, the tongue be applied to the front teeth, or to the fore part of the palate, the sound is one (more or less imperfect) of *t* or *d*. This fact illustrates the difference between the vowels and the consonants. It may be verified by pronouncing the *a* in *fate*, *ee* in *feet*, *oo* in *book*, *o* in *note*, &c.

It is a further condition in the formation of a vowel sound, that the passage of the breath be uninterrupted. In the sound of the *l'* in *lo* (isolated from its vowel) the sound is as continuous as it is with the *a* in *fate*. Between, however, the consonant *l* and the vowel *a* there is this difference: with *a*, the passage of the breath is uninterrupted; with *l*, the tongue is applied to the palate, breaking or arresting the passage of the breath.

§ 198. The primary division of our articulate sounds

is into vowels and consonants. The latter are again divided into liquids (*l*, *m*, *n*, *r*) and mutes (*p*, *b*, *f*, *v*, *t*, *d*, *g*, *s*, *z*, &c.) *Definitions* for the different sorts of articulate sounds have still to be laid down. In place of these, we have general assertions concerning the properties and qualities of the respective classes. Concerning the consonants as a class, we may predicate one thing concerning the liquids, and concerning the mutes, another. What the nature of these assertions is, will be seen after the explanation of certain terms.

§ 199. *Sharp and flat.*—Take the sounds of *p*, *f*, *t*, *k*, *s*; isolate them from their vowels, and pronounce them. The sound is the sound of a whisper.

Let *b*, *v*, *d*, *g*, *z*, be similarly treated. The sound is no whisper, but one at the natural tone of our voice.

Now *p*, *f*, *t*, *k*, *s* (with some others that will be brought forward anon) are *sharp*, whilst *b*, *v*, &c. are *flat*. Instead of *sharp*, some say *hard*, and instead of *flat*, some say *soft*. The Sanskrit terms *sonant* and *surd* are, in a scientific point of view, the least exceptionable. They have, however, the disadvantage of being pedantic. The *tenues* of the classics (as far as they go) are sharp, the *mediæ* flat.

Continuous and explosive.—Isolate the sounds of *b*, *p*, *t*, *d*, *k*, *g*. Pronounce them. You have no power of prolonging the sounds, or of resting upon them. They escape with the breath, and they escape at once.

It is not so with *f*, *v*, *sh*, *zh*. Here the breath is transmitted by degrees, and the sound can be drawn out and prolonged for an indefinite space of time. Now *b*, *p*, *t*, &c. are explosive *f*, *v*, &c. continuous.

§ 200. Concerning the vowels, we may predicate *a*) that they are all continuous, *b*) that they are all flat.

Concerning the liquids, we may predicate *a*) that they are all continuous, *b*) that they are all flat.

Concerning the mutes, we may predicate *a*) that one half of them is flat, and the other half sharp, and *b*) that some are continuous, and that others are explosive.

§ 201.—The letter *h* is no articulate sound, but only a breathing.

For the semivowels and the diphthongs, see the sequel.

CHAPTER II.

SYSTEM OF ARTICULATE SOUNDS.

§ 202.—The attention of the reader is now directed to the following *foreign* vowel sounds.

1. *é fermé*, of the French.—This is a sound allied to, but different from, the *a* in *fate*, and the *ee* in *feet*. It is intermediate to the two.

2. *u* of the French, *ü* of the Germans, *y* of the Danes. —This sound is intermediate to the *ee* in *feet*, and the *oo* in *book*.

3. *o chiuso*, of the Italians.—Intermediate to the *o* in *note*, and the *oo* in *book*.

For these sounds we have the following sequences: *a* in *fate*, *é fermé*, *ee* in *feet*, *ü* in *übel* (German), *oo* in *book*, *o chiuso*, *o* in *note*. And this is the true order of

alliance among the vowels; *a* in *fate*, and *o* in *note*, being the extremes; the other sounds being transitional or intermediate. As the English orthography is at once singular and faulty, it exhibits the relationship but imperfectly.

§ 203. *The system of the mutes.*—Preliminary to the consideration of the system of the mutes, let it be observed:—

1. that the *th* in *thin* is a simple single sound, different from the *th* in *thine*, and that it may be expressed by the sign þ.

2. That the *th* in *thine* is a simple single sound, different from the *th* in *thin*, and that it may be expressed by the sign ð.

3. That the *sh* in *shine* is a simple single sound, and that it may be expressed by the sign σ (Greek σῖγμα).

4. That the *z* in *azure*, *glazier* (French *j*), is a simple single sound, and that it may be expressed by the sign ζ (Greek ζῆτα).

5. That in the Laplandic, and possibly in many other languages, there are two peculiar sounds, different from any in English, German, and French, &c., and that they may respectively be expressed by the sign κ and the sign γ (Greek κάππα and γάμμα).

With these preliminary notices we may exhibit the system of the sixteen mutes; having previously determined the meaning of two fresh terms, and bearing in mind what was said concerning the words sharp and flat, continuous and explosive.

Lene and aspirate.—From the sound of *p* in *pat*, the sound of *f* in *fat* differs in a certain degree. This

difference is not owing to a difference in their sharpness or flatness. Each is sharp. Neither is it owing to a difference in their continuity or explosiveness; although, at the first glance, such might appear to be the case. *F* is continuous, whilst *p* is explosive. *S*, however, is continuous, and *s*, in respect to the difference under consideration, is classed not with *f* the continuous sound but with *p* the explosive one. I am unable to account for the difference between *p* and *f*. It exists: it is visible. It has been expressed by a term. *P* is called *lene*, *f* is called *aspirate*.

As *f* is to *p* so is *v* to *b*.
As *v* is to *b* so is *þ* to *t*.
As *þ* is to *t* so is *ð* to *d*.
As *ð* is to *d* so is ĸ to *k*.
As ĸ is to *k* so is ɣ to *g*.
As ɣ is to *g* so is σ to *s*.
As σ is to *s* so is ζ to *z*.

Hence *p*, *b*, *t*, *d*, *k*, *g*, *s*, *z*, are *lene*; *f*, *v*, *þ*, *ð*, ĸ, ɣ, σ, ζ, are *aspirate*. Also *p*, *f*, *t*, *þ*, *k*, ĸ, *s*, σ, are *sharp*, whilst *b*, *v*, *d*, *ð*, *g*, ɣ, *z*, ζ, are *flat*; so that there is a double series of relationship capable of being expressed as follows:—

Lene.		*Aspirate*.		*Sharp*.		
Sharp.	*Flat*.	*Sharp*.	*Flat*.	*Lene*.	*Aspirate*.	*L*
p	*b*	*f*	*v*	*p*	*f*	
t	*d*	*þ*	*ð*	*t*	*þ*	
k	*g*	ĸ	ɣ	*k*	ĸ	
s	*z*	σ	ζ	*s*	σ	

I am not familiar enough with the early grammarians to know when the terms *lene* and *aspirate* were first

used. They were the Latin equivalents to the Greek words ψἰλον (*psilon*) and δἀσυ (*dasy*) respectively. The Greek terms are preferable. *They* convey no determinate idea, whereas the Latin terms convey a false one. The origin of the word aspirate I imagine to be as follows. The Latin language, wanting both the sound of the Greek *theta*, and the sign to express it (θ) rendered it by *th*. This orthography engenders the false notion that θ differed from τ by the addition of the aspirate *h*. To guard against similar false notions, I rarely hereafter use the word aspirate without qualifying it by the addition of the adjective *so-called*.

All the so-called aspirates are continuous; and, with the exception of *s* and *z*, all the lenes are explosive.

I believe that in the fact of each mute appearing in a fourfold form (*i.e.* sharp, or flat, lene, or (so-called) aspirate), lies the essential character of the mutes as opposed to the liquids.

Y and *w*.—These sounds, respectively intermediate to γ and *i* (the *ee* in *feet*), and to υ and *u* (*oo* in *book*), form a transition from the vowels to the consonants.

§ 204. It has been seen that the sixteen mutes are reducible to four series. Of these series, *p*, *t*, *k*, *s*, may respectively be taken as the types. Of the liquids it may be predicated as follows:—

1. That *m* is allied to the series *p*.—The combination *inp* has a tendency to become *imp*.

2. That *n* is allied to the series *t*.—The combination *imt* has a tendency to become either *impt*, or *int*.

3. That *l* is allied to the series *k*.—The evidence of this lies deep in comparative philology.

4. That *r* is allied to the series *s*.—The evidence of this is of the same nature with that of the preceding assertion.

The series *p* and *k* have this peculiarity.—They are connected with the vowels through *w* and *u* (*oo*), and through *y* and *i* (*ee*) respectively.

§ 205. The French word *roi* and the English words *oil*, *house*, are specimens of a fresh class of articulations; *viz.*, of compound vowel sounds or *diphthongs*. The diphthong *oi* is the vowel *o* modified, plus the *semi*vowel *y* (not the *vowel i*) modified. The diphthongal sound in *roi* is the vowel *o* modified, *plus* the semivowel *w* (not the vowel *u* or *oo*) modified. In *roi* the semivowel element precedes, in *oil* it follows. In *roi* it is the semivowel allied to series *p*; in *oil* it is the semivowel allied to series *k*. *The nature of the modification that the component parts of a diphthong undergo has yet to be determined*; although it is certain there is one. If it were not so, the articulations would be *double*, not *compound*.

The words quoted indicate the nature of the diphthongal system.

1. Diphthongs with the semivowel *w*, *a*) *preceding*, as in the French word *roi*, *b*) *following*, as in the English word *new*.

2. Diphthongs with the semivowel *y*, *a*) *preceding*, as is common in the languages of the Lithuanic and Slavonic stocks, *b*) *following*, as in the word *oil*.

3. Triphthongs with a semivowel both *preceding* and *following*.

The diphthongs in English are four; *ow* as in *house*, *ew* as in *new*, *oi* as in *oil*, *i* as in *bite*, *fight*.

§ 206. *Chest*, *jest*.—Here we have compound consonantal sounds. The *ch* in *chest* is *t* + *sh* (σ), the *j* in *jest* is *d* + *zh* (ζ). I believe that in these combinations one or both the elements, *viz.*, *t* and *sh*, *d* and *zh*, are modified; but I am unable to state the exact nature of this modification.

§ 207. *Ng*.—The sound of the *ng* in *sing*, *king*, *throng*, when at the end of a word, or of *singer*, *ringing*, &c. in the middle of a word, is not the natural sound of the combination *n* and *g*, each letter retaining its natural power and sound; but a simple single sound, of which the combination *ng* is a conventional mode of expressing.

§ 208. Other terms, chiefly relating to the vowels, have still to be explained. The *é* of the French has been called *fermé*, or *close* (Italian, *chiuso*). Its opposite, the *a* in *fate*, is *open*.

Compared with *a* in *fate*, and the *o* in *note*, *a* in *father*, and the *aw* in *bawl*, are *broad*, the vowels of *note* and *fate* being *slender*.

§ 209. In *fat*, the vowel is, according to common parlance, *short*; in *fate*, it is *long*. Here we have the introduction of two fresh terms. For the words *long* and *short*, I would fain substitute *independent* and *dependent*. If from the word *fate* I separate the final consonantal sound, the syllable, *fa* remains. In this syllable the *a* has precisely the sound that it had before. It remains unaltered. The removal of the consonant has in nowise modified its sound or power. It is not so with the vowel in the word *fat*. If from this I remove the consonant following, and so leave the *a* at the end of the syllable, instead of in the middle, I must do one of two things: I must sound it either as the *a* in *fate*, or else as the *a* in

father. Its (so-called) short sound it cannot retain, unless it be supported by a consonant following. For this reason it is *dependent*. The same is the case with all the so-called short sounds, *viz.*, the *e* in *bed*, *i* in *fit*, *u* in *bull*, *o* in *not*, *u* in *but*.

To the preceding remarks the following statements may be added.

1. That the words *independent* and *dependent* correspond with the terms *perfect* and *imperfect* of the Hebrew grammarians.

2. That the Hebrew grammars give us the truest notions respecting these particular properties of vowels.

The following sentences are copied from Lee's Hebrew Grammar, Art. 33, 34:—"By *perfect vowels* is meant, vowels which, being preceded by a consonant" (*or without being so preceded*), "will constitute a complete syllable, as בָּ *bā*. By *imperfect vowels* is meant those vowels which are not generally" (*never*) "found to constitute syllables without either the addition of a consonant or of an accent. Such syllables, therefore, must be either like בַּד *bad*, or בָּ *bā*, *i.e.*, followed by a consonant, or accompanied by an accent." For further remarks on this subject, see the chapter on accent.

§ 210. Before *i*, *e*, and *y* of the English alphabet, and before *ü* and *ö* German, the letters *c* and *g* have the tendency to assume the sound and power of *s* or *z*, of *sh* or *zh*, of *ch* or *j*; in other words, of becoming either *s* or some sound allied to *s*. Compared with *a*, *o*, and *u* (as in *gat*, *got*, *gun*), which are *full*, *i*, *e*, *y*, are *small* vowels.

It not every vowel that is susceptible of every modification. *I* (*ee*) and *u* (*oo*) are incapable of becoming broad. *E* in *bed* (as I have convinced myself), although both broad and slender, is incapable of becoming independent. For the *u* in *but*, and for the *ö* of certain foreign languages, I have no satisfactory systematic position.

§ 211. *Vowel System.*

Broad.	*Slender.*	
Independent.	*Independent.*	*Dependent.*
a, in *father*	*a*, in *fate*	*a*, in *fat*.
	e fermé, *long*	*e fermé*, *short*.
e, in *meine*, Germ.		*e*, in *bed*.
	ee, in *feet*	*i*, in *pit*.
	ü, of the German, *long*	the same, *short*.
	oo, in *book*	*ou*, in *could*.
	o chiuso	the same, *short*.
aw, in *bawl*	*o*, in *note*	*o*, in *note*.

From these, the semivowels *w* and *y* make a transition to the consonants *v* and the so-called aspirate of *g* (γ, not being in English), respectively.

§ 212. *System of Consonants.*

Liquids.	*Mutes.*				*Semiv*
	Lene.		*Aspirate.*		
	Sharp.	*Flat.*	*Sharp.*	*Flat.*	
m	*p*	*b*	*f*	*v*	*w*

n	*t*	*d*	*þ*	*ð*		
l	*k*	*g*	κ	γ		*y*
r	*s*	*z*	σ	ζ		

§ 213. Concerning the vowel system I venture no assertion. The consonantal system I conceive to have been exhibited above in its whole fulness. The number of mutes, *specifically* distinct, I consider to be sixteen and no more: the number of liquids, four. What then are the powers of the numerous letters in alphabets like those of Arabia and Armenia? What is the German *ch*, and Irish *gh*? *Varieties* of one or other of the sounds exhibited above, and not articulations specifically distinct.

§ 214. There is a *difference between a connexion in phonetics and a connexion in grammar*.—Phonetics is a word expressive of the subject-matter of the present chapter. The present chapter determines (amongst other things) the systematic relation of articulate sounds. The word *phônœticos* (φωνήτιχος) signifies *appertaining to articulate sounds*. It is evident that between sounds like *b* and *v*, *s* and *z*, there is a connexion in phonetics. Now in the grammar of languages there is often a change, or a permutation of letters: *e.g.*, in the words *tooth*, *teeth*, the vowel, in *price*, *prize*, the consonant, is changed. Here there is a connexion in grammar.

That the letters most closely allied in phonetics should be most frequently interchanged in grammar, is what, on *à priori* grounds, we most naturally are led to expect. And that such is *often* the case, the study of languages tells us. That, however, it is always so, would be a hasty and an erroneous assertion. The Greek language changes *p* into *f*. Here the connexion in phonetics and the connexion in

language closely coincide. The Welsh language changes *p* into *m*. Here the connexion in phonetics and the connexion in language do *not* closely coincide.

CHAPTER III.

OF CERTAIN COMBINATIONS OF ARTICULATE SOUNDS.

§ 215. Certain combinations of articulate sounds are incapable of being pronounced. The following rule is one that, in the forthcoming pages, will frequently be referred to. *Two (or more)* mutes*, of different degrees of sharpness and flatness, are incapable of coming together in the same syllable.* For instance, *b*, *v*, *d*, *g*, *z*, &c. being flat, and *p*, *f*, *t*, *k*, *s*, &c. being sharp, such combinations as *abt*, *avt*, *apd*, *afd*, *agt*, *akd*, *atz*, *ads*, &c., are unpronounceable. *Spelt*, indeed, they may be; but attempts at pronunciation end in a *change* of the combination. In this case either the flat letter is changed to its sharp equivalent (*b* to *p*, *d* to *t*, &c.) or *vice versâ* (*p* to *b*, *t* to *d*). The combinations *abt*, and *agt*, to be pronounced, must become either *apt* or *abd*, or else *akt* or *agd*.

For determining which of the two letters shall be changed, in other words, whether it shall be the first that accommodates itself to the second, or the second that accommodates itself to the first, there are no general rules. This is settled by the particular habit of the language in consideration.

The word *mutes* in the second sentence of this section must be dwelt on. It is only with the *mutes* that there is an impossibility of pronouncing the heterogeneous

combinations above mentioned. The liquids and the vowels are flat; but the liquids and vowels, although flat, may be followed by a sharp consonant. If this were not the case, the combinations *ap*, *at*, *alp*, *alt*, &c. would be unpronounceable.

The semivowels, although flat, admit of being followed by a sharp consonant.

The law exhibited above may be called the law of accommodation.

Combinations like *gt*, *kd*, &c., may be called incompatible combinations.

§ 216. *Unstable combinations.*—That certain sounds in combination with others have a tendency to undergo changes, may be collected from the observation of our own language, as we find it spoken by those around us, or by ourselves. The *ew* in *new* is a sample of what may be called an unsteady or unstable combination. There is a natural tendency to change it either into *oo* (*noo*) or *yoo* (*nyoo*); perhaps also into *yew* (*nyew*).

§ 217. *Effect of the semivowel* y *on certain letters when they precede it.*—Taken by itself the semivowel *y*, followed by a vowel (*ya*, *yee*, *yo*, *you*, &c.), forms a stable combination. Not so, however, if it be preceded by a consonant, of the series *t*, *k*, or *s*, as *tya*, *tyo*; *dya*, *dyo*; *kya*, *kyo*; *sya*, *syo*. There then arises an unstable combination. *Sya* and *syo* we pronounce as *sha* and *sho*; *tya* and *tyo* we pronounce as *cha* and *ja* (*i.e. tsh*, *dzh*.). This we may verify from our pronunciation of words like *sure*, *picture*, *verdure* (*shoor*, *pictshoor*, *verdzhoor*), having previously remarked that the *u* in those words is not sounded as *oo* but as *yoo*. The effect of the semivowel *y*, taken

with instability of the combination *ew*, accounts for the tendency to pronounce *dew* as if written *jew*.

§ 218. *The evolution of new sounds.*—To an English ear the sound of the German *ch* falls strange. To an English organ it is at first difficult to pronounce. The same is the case with the German vowels *ö* and *ü* and with the French sounds *u*, *eu*, &c.

To a German, however, and a Frenchman, the sound of the English *th* (either in *thin* or *thine*) is equally a matter of difficulty.

The reason of this lies in the fact of the respective sounds being absent in the German, French, and English languages; since sounds are easy or hard to pronounce just in proportion as we have been familiarised with them.

There is no instance of a new sound being introduced at once into a language. Where they originate at all, they are *evolved*, not imported.

§ 219. *Evolution of sounds.*—Let there be a language where there is no such a sound as that of *z*, but where there is the sound of *s*. The sound of *z* may be evolved under (amongst others) the following conditions. 1. Let there be a number of words ending in the flat mutes; as *slab*, *stag*, *stud*, &c. 2. Let a certain form (the plural number or the genitive case) be formed by the addition of *is* or *es*; as *slabis*, *stages*, *studes*, &c. 3. Let the tendency that words have to contract eject the intermediate vowel, *e* or *i*, so that the *s* of the inflexion (a *sharp* mute) and the *b*, *d*, *g*, &c. of the original word (*flat* mutes) be brought into juxta-position, *slabs*, *studs*, *stags*. There is then an incompatible termination, and one of two changes must take place; either *b*, *d*, or *g* must become *p*, *t*, or

k (*slaps*, *staks*, *stuts*); or *s* must become *z* (*stagz*, *studz*, *slabz*). In this latter case *z* is evolved. Again,

Let there be a language wherein there are no such sounds as *sh*, *ch* (*tsh*), or *j* (*dzh*); but where there are the sounds of *s*, *t*, *d*, and *y*.

Let a change affect the unstable combinations *sy*, *ty*, *dy*. From this will arise the evolved sounds of *sh*, *ch*, and *j*.

The phenomena of evolution help to determine the pronunciation of dead languages.

§ 220. *On the value of a sufficient system of sounds.*—In certain imaginable cases, a language may be materially affected by the paucity of its elementary articulate sounds.

In a given language let there be the absence of the sound *z*, the other conditions being those noted in the case of the words *stag*, *slab*, *stud*, &c. Let the intermediate vowel be ejected. Then, instead of the *s* being changed into an evolved *z*, let the other alternative take place; so that the words become *staks*, *slaps*, *stuts*. In this latter case we have an alteration of the original word, brought about by the insufficiency of the system of articulate sounds.

§ 221. *Double consonants rare.*—It cannot be too clearly understood that in words like *pitted*, *stabbing*, *massy*, &c. there is no real reduplication of the sounds of *t*, *b*, and *s*, respectively. Between the words *pitted* (as with the small-pox) and *pitied* (as being an object of pity) there is a difference in spelling only. In speech the words are identical. *The reduplication of the consonant is in English, and the generality of languages, a conventional mode of expressing upon*

paper the shortness (dependence) of the vowel that precedes.

§ 222. Real reduplications of consonants, *i.e.*, reduplications of their *sound*, are, in all languages, extremely rare. I am fully aware of certain statements made respecting the Laplandic and Finlandic languages, *viz.*, that doubled consonants are, in them, of common occurrence. Notwithstanding this, I have an impression that it is generally under one condition that true reduplication takes place. In compound and derived words, where the original root *ends*, and the superadded affix *begins* with the same letter, there is a reduplication of the sound, and not otherwise. In the word *soulless*, the *l* is doubled to the ear as well as to the eye; and it is a false pronunciation to call it *souless* (*soless*). In the "Deformed Transformed" it is made to rhyme with *no less*, improperly.

"Clay, not dead but soulless,
Though no mortal man would choose
thee,
An immortal no less
Deigns not to refuse thee."

In the following words, all of which are compounds, we have true specimens of the doubled consonant.

n	is doubled in	*unnatural*, *innate*, *oneness*.
l	—	*soulless*, *civil-list*, *palely*.
k	—	*book-case*.
t	—	*seaport-town*.

It must not, however, be concealed, that, in the mouths even of correct speakers, one of the doubled sounds is often dropped.

§ 223. *True aspirates rare.*—The criticism applied to words like *pitted*, &c., applies also to words like *Philip*, *thin*, *thine*, &c. There is therein no sound of *h*. How the so-called aspirates differ from their corresponding lenes has not yet been determined. That it is *not* by the addition of *h* is evident. *Ph* and *th* are conventional modes of spelling simple single sounds, which might better be expressed by simple single signs.

In our own language the *true* aspirates, like the true duplications, are found only in compound words; and there they are often slurred in the pronunciation.

We find	*p* and *h*	in the words	*haphazard*, *upholder*.
—	*b* and *h*	—	*abhorrent*, *cub-hunting*.

—	*f* and *h*	—	*knife-handle, offhand.*
—	*v* and *h*	—	*stave-head.*
—	*d* and *h*	—	*adhesive, childhood.*
—	*t* and *h*	—	*nuthook.*
—	*th* and *h*	—	*withhold.*
—	*k* and *h*	—	*inkhorn, bakehouse.*
—	*g* and *h*	—	*gig-horse.*
—	*s* and *h*	—	*race-horse, falsehood.*
—	*z* and *h*	—	*exhibit, exhort.*
—	*r* and *h*	—	*perhaps.*
—	*l* and *h*	—	*well-head, foolhardy.*
—	*m* and *h*	—	*Amherst.*
—	*n* and *h*	—	*unhinge, inherent, unhappy.*

Now in certain languages the *true* aspirates are of common occurrence, *i.e.*, sounds like the *t* in *nuthook*, the *ph* in *haphazard*, &c., are as frequent as the sounds of *p*, *b*, *s*, &c. In the spelling of these sounds by means of the English we are hampered by the circumstance of *th* and *ph* being already used in a different sense.

CHAPTER IV.

EUPHONY; THE PERMUTATION AND THE TRANSITION OF LETTERS.

§ 224. 1. Let there be two syllables, of which the one ends in *m*, and the other begins with *r*, as we have in

the syllables *num-* and *-rus* of the Latin word *numerus*.

2. Let an ejection of the intervening letters bring these two syllables into immediate contact, *numrus*. The *m* and *r* form an unstable combination. To remedy this there is a tendency (mark, not an absolute necessity) to insert an intervening sound.

In English, the form which the Latin word *numerus* takes is *num*b*er*; in Spanish, *nom*b*re*. The *b* makes no part of the original word, but has been inserted for the sake of euphony; or, to speak more properly, by a euphonic process. The word euphony is derived from εὖ (*well*), and φώνη (*fônœ*, a voice). The province of euphony has not been very accurately determined.

§ 225. In the word *number*, *nombre*, the letter inserted was *b*; and for *b* being the particular letter employed, there is a reason derived from the *system* of articulate sounds.

1. That the letter inserted should be a consonant is evident. The *vowel e* (in *num*e*rus*) had been previously ejected.

2. That it should be a mute is evident. A liquid would have given the unstable or unpronounceable combinations *mnr*, *mlr*, *mrr*, *mmr*.

3. That it should be a consonant, either of series *b* or of series *s*, was natural; it being series *b* and series *s* with which *m* and *r* are respectively connected.

4. That it should be a consonant of series *b*, rather than one of series *s*, we collect from the fact that *msr* (*numsrus*) or *mzr* (*numzrus*) give inharmonious, and, consequently, unstable combinations.

5. That of the *b* series, it should be *b* or *v* (flat) rather than *p* or *f* (sharp), we infer from the fact of *m* and *r* both being flat.

6. Of *v* and *b*, the latter alone gives a stable combination, so that we have the Spanish form *nom*b*re*, and not *nom*v*re*.

In this we have an illustration of the use of attending to the nature and connections of articulate sounds in general.

§ 226. The affinity of *m* for the series *b*, of *n* for the series *t*, gives occasion to further euphonic changes. The combinations *mt*, *md*, *mþ*, *mð*, are unstable. The syllables *emt*, *emd*, are liable to one of two modifications. Either *p* or *b* will be inserted, and so make them *empt* (as in *tempt*), *embd* (as in *Embden*), or else the *m* will become *n*, forming the syllable *ent*, *end*, *enþ*, *enð*.

Similar tendencies, in a certain degree, affect the combinations *enp*, *enb*. They are liable to become *emp*, or *emb*. Any one may see that the word *enperor* embarrasses the utterance.

§ 227. The combination *tupt* is stable, so also is the combination *tuft*. But the combination *tupth* is unstable: since the *p* is lene, the *þ* is a (so-called) aspirate. Hence arises a process of accommodation by which the word becomes either *tupt* or *tufth* (*tufþ*).

In respect to the unstable combination *tupth*, we may observe this, *viz.* that the ways of altering it are two. Either the first letter may be accommodated to the second, *tufþ*, or the second may be accommodated to the first, *tupt*. Which of these two changes shall take place is determined by the particular habit of the

language. In Greek we add to the radical syllable τυπ-, the inflectional syllable -θην. The *first* letter, π, is accommodated to the second, θ, and the word becomes τυφθην (*tyfþæn*), as in ἐτύφθην (*etyfþæn*). In English we add to the radical syllable *stag*, the inflectional syllable *s*. Here the *second* letter is accommodated to the first, and the resulting word is not *staks*, but *stagz*.

§ 228. The Irish Gaelic, above most other languages, illustrates a euphonic principle that modifies the vowels of a word. The vowels *a*, *o*, *u*, are full, whilst *i*, *e*, *y*, are small. Now if to a syllable containing a small vowel, as *buil*, there be added a syllable containing a broad one, as *-am*, a change takes place. Either the first syllable is accommodated to the second, or the second to the first; so that the vowels respectively contained in them are either both full or both small. Hence arises, in respect to the word quoted, either the form *bualam*, or else the form *builim*.

§ 229. In the words *give* and *gave* we have a change of tense expressed by a change of vowel. In the words *price* and *prize* a change of meaning is expressed by a change of consonant. In *clothe* and *clad* there is a change both of a vowel and of a consonant. In the words *to use* and *a use* there is a similar change, although it is not expressed by the spelling. To the ear the verb *to use* ends in *z*, although not to the eye. The following are instances of the permutation of letters.

Permutation of Vowels.

a	to	*ĕ*,	as	*man*, *men*.
a	to	*oo*,	as	*stand*, *stood*.

a	to	*u*,	as	*dare*, *durst*.
a	to	*ē*,	as	*was*, *were*.
ea	to	*o*,	as	*speak*, *spoken*.
ea = *ĕ*	to	*ea* = *ē*,	as	*breath*, *breathe*.
ee	to	*ĕ*,	as	*deep*, *depth*.
ea	to	*o*,	as	*bear*, *bore*.
i	to	*a*,	as	*spin*, *span*.
i	to	*u*,	as	*spin*, *spun*.
i = *ei*	to	*o*,	as	*smite*, *smote*.
i = *ei*	to	*ĭ*,	as	*smite*, *smitten*.
i	to	*a*,	as	*give*, *gave*.
i = *ei*	to	*a*,	as	*rise*, *raise*.
ĭ	to	*e*,	as	*sit*, *set*.
ow	to	*ew*,	as	*blow*, *blew*.
o	to	*e*,	as	*strong*, *strength*.
oo	to	*ee*,	as	*tooth*, *teeth*.
o	to	*i*,	as	*top*, *tip*.
o	to	*e*,	as	*old*, *elder*; *tell*, *told*.
ŏ	to	*e*,	as	*brother*, *brethren*.
ō = *oo*	to	*i*,	as	*do*, *did*.
o = *oo*	to	*o* = *ŭ*,	as	*do*, *done*.
oo	to	*o*,	as	*choose*, *chose*.

Permutation of Consonants.

f	to	*v*,	*life*, *live*; *calf*, *calves*.
þ	to	*ð*,	*breath*, *to breathe*.
ð	to	*d*,	*seethe*, *sod*; *clothe*, *clad*.
d	to	*t*,	*build*, *built*.
s	to	*z*,	*use*, *to use*.

s to *r*, *was*, *were*; *lose*, *forlorn*.

In *have* and *had* we have the *ejection* of a sound; in *work* and *wrought*, the *transposition* of one. Important changes are undergone by the sounds *k*, *g*, and the allied ones *nk*, *ng*, *y*, as will be seen in the chapter on verbs.

Permutation of Combinations.

ie = *i*	to	*ow*,	as	*grind*, *ground*.
ow	to	*i* = *ei*,	as	*mouse*, *mice*; *cow*, *kine*.
ink	to	*augh*,	as	*drink*, *draught*.
ing	to	*ough*,	as	*bring*, *brought*.
y (formerly *g*),		*ough*,	as	*buy*, *bought*.
igh = *ei*	to	*ough*,	as	*fight*, *fought*.
eek	to	*ough*,	as	*seek*, *sought*.

It must be noticed that the list above is far from being an exhaustive one. The expression too of the changes undergone has been rendered difficult on account of the imperfection of our orthography. The whole section has been written in illustration of the meaning of the word *permutation*, rather than for any specific object in grammar.

§ 230. In all the words above the change of sound has been brought about by the grammatical inflection of the word wherein it occurs. This is the case with the words *life* and *live*, and with all the rest. With the German word *leben*, compared with the corresponding word *live*, in English, the change is similar. It is brought about, however, not by a grammatical inflection, but by a difference of time, and by a difference of place. This indicates the

distinction between the permutation of letters and the transition of letters. In dealing with permutations, we compare different parts of speech; in dealing with transitions, we compare different languages, or different stages of a single language.

CHAPTER V.

ON THE FORMATION OF SYLLABLES.

§ 231. In respect to the formation of syllables, I am aware of no more than one point that requires any especial consideration.

In certain words, of more than one syllable, it is difficult to say to which syllable an intervening consonant belongs. For instance, does the *v* in *river*, and the *v* in *fever*, belong to the first or the second syllable? Are the words to be divided thus, *ri-ver*, *fe-ver*? or thus, *riv-er*, *fev-er*?

The solution of the question lies by no means on the surface.

In the first place, the case is capable of being viewed in two points of view—an etymological and a phonetic one.

That the *c* and *r* in *become*, *berhymed*, &c. belong to the second syllable, we determine at once by taking the words to pieces; whereby we get the words *come* and *rhymed* in an isolated independent form. But this fact, although it settles the point in etymology, leaves it as it was in phonetics; since it in nowise follows, that, because the *c* in the *simple* word *come* is exclusively attached to the letter that follows it, it is, in the *compound* word *become*, exclusively attached

to it also.

To the following point of structure in the consonantal sounds the reader's attention is particularly directed.

1. Let the vowel *a* (as in *fate*) be sounded.—2. Let it be followed by the consonant *p*, so as to form the syllable *āp*. To form the sound of *p*, it will be found that the lips close on the sound of *a*, and arrest it. Now, if the lips be left to themselves they will not *remain* closed on the sound, but will open again, in a slight degree indeed, but in a degree sufficient to cause a kind of vibration, or, at any rate, to allow an escape of the remainder of the current of breath by which the sound was originally formed. To re-open in a slight degree is the natural tendency of the lips in the case exhibited above.

Now, by an effort, let this tendency to re-open be counteracted. Let the remaining current of breath be cut short. We have, then, only this, *viz.*, so much of the syllable *āp* as can be formed by the *closure* of the lips. All that portion of it that is caused by their re-opening is deficient. The resulting sound seems truncated, cut short, or incomplete. It is the sound of *p*, *minus* the remnant of breath. All of the sound *p* that is now left is formed, not by the *escape* of the breath, but by the *arrest* of it.

The *p* in *āp* is a *final* sound. With initial sounds the case is different. Let the lips be *closed*, and let an attempt be made to form the syllable *pa* by suddenly opening them. The sound appears incomplete; but its incompleteness is at the *beginning* of the sound, and not at the end of it. In the natural course of things there would have been a current of breath *preceding*, and this current would have given a vibration, now

wanting. All the sound that is formed here is formed, not by the *arrest* of breath, but by the *escape* of it.

I feel that this account of the mechanism of the apparently simple sound *p*, labours under all the difficulties that attend the *description* of a sound; and for this reason I again request the reader to satisfy himself either of its truth or its inaccuracy, before he proceeds to the conclusions that will be drawn from it.

The account, however, being recognised, we have in the current natural sound of *p* two elements:—

1. That formed by the current of air and the closure of the lips, as in *āp*. This may be called the sound of breath *arrested*.

2. That formed by the current of air and the opening of the lips, as in *pā*. This may be called the sound of breath *escaping*.

Now what may be said of *p* may be said of all the other consonants, the words *tongue*, *teeth*, &c. being used instead of *lips*, according to the case.

Let the sound of breath arrested be expressed by π, and that of breath escaping be expressed by ϖ, the two together form the current natural sound *p* (π + ϖ = *p*).

Thus *āp* (as quoted above) is *p* - ϖ, or π; whilst *pa* (sounded similarly) is *p* - π, or ϖ.

In the formation of syllables, I consider that the sound of breath arrested belongs to the first, and the sound of breath escaping to the second syllable; that each sound being expressed by a separate sign, the word *happy* is divided thus, *ha*π-ϖ*y*; and that such is

the case with all consonants between two syllables. The *whole* consonant belongs neither to one syllable nor the other. Half of it belongs to each. The reduplication of the *p* in *happy*, the *t* in *pitted*, &c, is a mere point of spelling, of which more will be said in the chapter on orthography.

CHAPTER VI.

ON QUANTITY.

§ 232. The dependent vowels, as the *a* in *fat*, *i* in *fit*, *u* in *but*, *o* in *not*, have this character; *viz.* they are all uttered with rapidity, and pass quickly in the enunciation, the voice not resting on them. This rapidity of utterance becomes more evident when we contrast with them the prolonged sounds of the *a* in *fate*, *ee* in *feet*, *oo* in *book*, *o* in *note*; wherein the utterance is retarded, and wherein the voice rests, delays, or is prolonged. The *f* and *t* of *fate* are separated by a longer interval than the *f* and *t* of *fat*; and the same is the case with *fit*, *feet*, &c.

Let the *n* and the *t* of *not* be each as 1, the *o* also being as 1: then each letter, consonant or vowel, shall constitute ⅓ of the whole word.

Let, however, the *n* and *t* of *note* be each as 1, the *o* being as 2. Then, instead of each consonant constituting ⅓ of the whole word, it shall constitute but ¼.

Upon the comparative extent to which the voice is prolonged, the division of vowels and syllables into *long* and *short* has been established: the *o* in *note* being long, the *o* in *not* being short. And the longness

or shortness of a vowel or syllable is said to be its quantity.

§ 233. The division of *vowels* into long and short coincides *nearly* with the division of them into independent and dependent. Mark the word *vowels*, and mark the word *nearly*. In the length and shortness of vowels there are degrees. This is especially the case with the broad vowels. The *a* in *father* is capable of being pronounced either very quickly, or very slowly. It may be attend most rapidly and yet preserve its broad character, *i.e.*, become neither the *a* in *fat*, nor the *a* in *fate*.

In the independence and dependence of vowels there are no degrees.

Subject to the views laid down in the next section, the vowel *ee* in *seeing* is long, and it is certainly independent. Whether the *syllable see-* be long is another question.

1. All long vowels are independent, but all independent vowels are not long.

2. All dependent vowels are short, but all short vowels are not dependent.

Clear notions upon these matters are necessary for determining the structure of the English and classical metres.

§ 234. The qualified manner in which it was stated that the *vowel* in the word *seeing* was long, and the attention directed to the word *vowels* in the preceding section, arose from a distinction, that is now about to be drawn, between the length of *vowels* and the length of *syllables*.

The independent vowel in the syllable *see-* is long; and long it remains, whether it stand as it is, or be followed by a consonant, as in *seen*, or by a vowel, as in *see-ing*.

The dependent vowel in the word *sit* is short. If followed by a vowel it becomes unpronounceable, except as the *ea* in *seat* or the *i* in *sight*. By a consonant, however, it may be followed, and still retain its dependent character and also its shortness. Such is the power it has in the word quoted, *sit*. Followed by a *second* consonant, it still retains its shortness, *e.g.*, *sits*. Whatever the comparative length of the *syllables*, *see* and *seen*, *sit* and *sits*, may be, the length of their respective *vowels* is the same.

Now, if we determine the character of the syllable by the character of the vowel, all syllables are short wherein there is a short vowel, and all are long wherein there is a long one. Measured by the quantity of the vowel the word *sits* is short, and the syllable *see-* in *seeing* is long.

But it is well known that this view is not the view commonly taken of the syllables *see* (in *seeing*) and *sits*. It is well known, that, in the eyes of a classical scholar, the *see* (in *seeing*) is short, and that in the word *sits* the *i* is long. The classic differs from the Englishman thus,—*He measures his quantity, not by the length of the vowel but, by the length of the syllable taken altogether*. The perception of this distinction enables us to comprehend the following statements.

I. That vowels long by nature may *appear* to become short by position, and *vice versâ*.

II. That, by a laxity of language, the *vowel* may be said to have changed its quantity, whilst it is the

syllable alone that has been altered.

III. That, if one person measures his quantities by the vowels, and another by the syllables, what is short to the one, shall be long to the other, and *vice versâ*. The same is the case with nations.

IV. That one of the most essential differences between the English and the classical languages is that the quantities (as far as they go) of the first are measured by the vowel, those of the latter by the syllable. To a Roman the word *monument* consists of two short syllables and one long one; to an Englishman it contains three short syllables.

These remarks are appreciated when we consider the comparative characters of the classical and the English prosody.

CHAPTER VII.

ON ACCENT.

§ 235. In the word *tyrant* there is an emphasis, or stress, upon the first syllable. In the word *presume* there is an emphasis, or stress, on the second syllable. This emphasis, or stress, is called *Accent*. The circumstance of a syllable bearing an accent is sometimes expressed by a mark (´); in which case the word is said to be accentuated, *i.e.*, to have the accent signified in writing.

Words accented on the last syllable—*Brigáde*, *preténce*, *harpoón*, *reliéve*, *detér*, *assúme*, *besoúght*, *beréft*, *befóre*, *abroád*, *abóde*, *abstrúse*, *intermíx*, *superádd*, *cavaliér*.

Words accented on the last syllable but one—*An´chor*, *ar´gue*, *hásten*, *fáther*, *fóxes*, *smíting*, *húsband*, *márket*, *vápour*, *bárefoot*, *archángel*, *bespátter*, *disáble*, *terrífic*.

Words accented on the last syllable but two—*Régular*, *an´tidote*, *for´tify*, *suscéptible*, *incontrovértible*.

Words accented on the last syllable but three (rare)—*Réceptacle*, *régulating*, *tálkativeness*, *ábsolutely*, *lúminary*, *inévitable*, &c.

A great number of words are distinguished by the accent alone. The following list is from Nares' Orthoepy, a work to which the reader is referred.

An *áttribute*.	To *attríbute*.
The month *Aúgust*.	An *augúst* person.
A *com´pact*.	*Compáct* (close).
To *con´jure* (magically).	*Conjúre* (enjoin).
Des´ert, wilderness.	*Desért*, merit.
Inválid, not valid.	*Invalíd*, a sickly person.
Mínute, 60 seconds.	*Minúte*, small.
Súpine, part of speech.	*Supíne*, careless, &c.

That class of words that by a change of accent are converted from nouns into verbs (*súrvey*, *survéy*, *cóntrast*, *contrást*, &c.) will be noticed more at large in the Chapter on Derivation.

§ 236. In words like *thínking*, *fóxes*, *lon´ger*, *len´gthen*, &c. we have two parts; first the original word, the root, or the radical part, as *think*, *fox*, *long*, *length*, &c.; and next, the inflectional, or the subordinate

part, *-ing*, *-es*, *-er*, *-en*, &c.

To assert as a universal rule that the *accent is always on the root, and never on the subordinate part of a word*, is too much. Although in the *English* language such an assertion (with one exception) is found true; by the French and other languages it is invalidated.

In words like *len´g-then-ing*, we have a *second* inflectional or subordinate syllable; and the accent remains in its original place, *absolutely, but not relatively*. *It is all the farther from the end of the word.* Besides indicating the propriety of determining the place of the accent by counting from the end, rather than the beginning of a word, this circumstance indicates something else.

Imagine the English participles to be declined, and to possess cases, formed by the addition of fresh syllables. In this case the word *len´gthening* would become a quadri-syllable. But to throw the accent to the fourth syllable from the end is inconvenient. Hence a necessity of removing it from the radical, and placing it on an inflectional syllable.

The German word *lében* (to *live*) illustrates the foregoing sentence. *Léb-* is the root, *léb-end = living*, from whence *lebéndig = lively* (with the accent on an inflectional syllable), although this last word might without inconvenience have been accented on the first syllable; that being only the third from the end.

Confusion between the radical and inflectional syllables of a word, arising from the situation of the accent, may work the deterioration of a language.

§ 237. In *týrant* and *presúme*, we deal with single words; and in each *word* we determine which *syllable*

is accented. Contrasted with the sort of accent that follows, this may be called a *verbal* accent.

In the line,

> Better for *us*, perhaps, it might appear,
>
> (POPE'S *Essay on Man*, I. 169.)

the pronoun *us* is strongly brought forward. An especial stress or emphasis is laid upon it, denoting that *there are other beings to whom it might not appear*, &c. This is collected from the context. Here there is a *logical* accent. "When one word in a sentence is distinguished by a stress, as more important than the rest, we may say that it is *emphatical*, or that an *emphasis* is laid upon it. When one syllable in a word is distinguished by a stress, and more audible than the rest, we say that it is accented, or that an accent is put upon it. Accent, therefore, is to syllables what emphasis is to sentences; it distinguishes one from the crowd, and brings it forward to observation."—(Nares' Orthoepy, Part II. Chap. I.)

§ 238. Accent plays an important part in determining the nature of certain compound words—For this, see the Chapter on Composition.

It also plays an important part in determining the nature of the English metres—See Prosody.

Thirdly (the subject of the present section), it plays an important part in all systems of orthography.

The quotation from Professor Lee's Hebrew Grammar, in p. 149, is referred to; and a particular attention to a somewhat difficult subject is requisite.

The *u* in the word *monument* is what a classic would

call *short*.

The second *syllable* in the word *monument* is what a classical scholar would call *short*. The vowel is *short*, and the syllable taken altogether is *short*. Herein it agrees with the first syllable *mon-*. It differs, however, from the syllable *mon-* in being destitute of an accent, *mónument*. With the third syllable *-ment*, it agrees in the eyes of an Englishman, but differs in the eyes of a scholar. The vowels *u* and *e* are equally short, and, as the Englishman measures by the vowel the syllables *-u* and *-ment* are both short. Not so, however, with the scholar. He measures by the syllable and determines that the *e*, although naturally a short vowel, is made *long* by position. However, in being each destitute of an accent the syllables *-u* and *-ment* agree. Be it remarked a second time that the accent in *mónument* lies on the first syllable.

Now the *-u* in *mónument* although *short*, is not *dependent*.

If, however, the syllable *-nu* take an accent; that is, if the place of the accent be removed from the first to the second syllable, the vowel *u* still being kept short, we have a word which we spell thus, *monumment*. Now the *u* in *monumment* is not only short, but dependent. It is upon this effect of an accent that the quotation from Lee's Hebrew Grammar, p. 149, especially bears.

And now two questions arise:—1. How is it that the accent has the effect of rendering such a syllable as the *u* in *monumment* dependent? 2. Why do we in spelling such a syllable double the consonant?

An accent falling upon a syllable must, of necessity, do one of two things: it must affect the vowel, or it

must affect the consonant. If it affect the vowel, the vowel becomes the predominant part of the syllable, as in *mónoument*; but, if it affect the consonant, the consonant becomes the predominant part of the syllable, as *monum´ment*.

In words like *monumment* the consonant is, strictly speaking, as single as it is in *monument*, or *monoument*. Its *absolute* sound is the same. Not so its *relative* sound. This is exaggerated by two circumstances:—1, The comparative shortness of the vowel *u*; 2, the fact of the accent falling on it. The increased relative importance of the letter *m* in the word *monumment* is mistaken for a reduplication of the sound. This is the reason why in most languages the shortness of a vowel is expressed by the doubling of the consonant following; this doubling being no true reduplication of the sound, but a mere orthographical conventionality.

§ 239. Accent and quantity, as may have been collected from pp. 164-167, do *not* coincide. Nothing shows this more clearly than words like the adjective *augúst*, and the substantive *Aúgust* (the month), where the quantity remains the same, although the accent is different. The following quotation from Mr. Guest's English Rhythms is made for the sake of four things:—

1. Of showing that the generality of writers have the credit of confusing accent with quantity—

2. Of showing that there is a reason for such a confusion having existed—

3. Of indicating the propriety of the expressions in italics—It is not stated that the consonant *c* is doubled, but that it is added to the first syllable. The

difference lies, not in its reduplication, but in its distribution.

4. Of taking a slight exception—A syllable (accented or unaccented) must be either independent or dependent; if the latter, then in most immediate contact with the consonant that follows.

"Besides the increase of loudness, and the sharper tone which distinguishes the accented syllable, there is also a tendency to dwell upon it, or, in other words, to lengthen its quantity. We cannot increase the loudness or the sharpness of a tone without a certain degree of muscular action: and to put the muscles in motion requires time. It would seem that the time required for producing a perceptible increase in the loudness or sharpness of a tone is greater than that of pronouncing some of our shorter syllables. If we attempt, for instance, to throw the accent on the first syllable of the word *become*, we must either lengthen the vowel, and pronounce the word *bee-come*, *or add the adjoining consonant to the first syllable, and so pronounce the word bec-ome*. We often find it convenient to lengthen the quantity even of the longer syllables, when we wish to give them a very strong and marked accent. Hence, no doubt, arose the vulgar notion, that accent always lengthens the quantity of a syllable.

"It is astonishing how widely this notion has misled men, whose judgment, in most other matters of criticism, it would be very unsafe to question. Our earlier writers, almost to a man, confound accent with quantity."—B. i. C. iv.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PRINCIPLES OF ORTHOEPY.

§ 240. The present chapter is one, not upon the details of the pronunciation of the English language, but upon the principles of orthoepy. For the details of pronunciation the reader is referred to Nares' Orthoepy, and to the common pronouncing dictionaries, with the preliminary recommendation to use them with caution. *Orthoepy*, a word derived from the Greek *orthon* (*upright*), and *epos* (*a word*), signifies the right utterance of words. Orthoepy differs from orthography by determining how words are spoken, whereas orthography decides how they are spelt. The one is a question of speech, the other a question of spelling. Orthography presupposes orthoepy.

§ 241. Of pronunciation there are two kinds, the colloquial and the rhetorical. In common conversation we pronounce the *i* in *wind*, like the *i* in *bit*; in rehearsing, or in declamation, however, we pronounce it like the *i* in *bite*; that is, we give it a diphthongal sound. In reading the Scriptures we say *blesséd*; in current speech we say *blest*. It is the same with many words occurring in poetry.

§ 242. Errors in pronunciation are capable of being classified. In the first place, they may be arranged according to their situation. The man who pronounces the verb *to survéy*, as if it was *súrvey* (that is, with the accent on the wrong syllable), errs in respect to the accentuation of the word; the situation, or seat of his error, being the accent. To say *orātor* instead of *orător* is to err in respect to the quantity of the word, the seat of the error being in

the quantity; and to pronounce the *a* in *father*, as it is pronounced in Yorkshire, or the *s* in *sound*, as it is pronounced in Devonshire (that is, as *z*), is to err in the matter of the articulate sounds. To mispronounce a word because it is misspelt[34] is only indirectly an error of orthoepy. It is an error, not so much of orthoepy, as of orthography; and to give a wrong inflection to a word is not bad pronunciation but bad grammar. For practical purposes, however, many words that are really points of grammar and of orthography, may be dealt with as points of orthoepy.

That the preceding classification is natural I am induced to believe by the following circumstances. Errors in the way of articulation generally arise from a source different from those of accent and of quantity. Errors in accent and quantity are generally referable to insufficient grammatical or etymological knowledge, whilst the errors of articulation betray a provincial dialect.

The misdivision of syllables, an orthoepical error of a fourth kind, has in the English, and perhaps in other languages, given rise to a peculiar class of words. There have been those who have written *a nambassador* for *an ambassador*, misdividing the syllables, and misdistributing the sound of the letter *n*. The double form (*a* and *an*) of the English indefinite article, encourages this misdivision. Now, in certain words an error of this kind has had a permanent influence. The English word *nag* is, in Danish, *ög*; the *n*, in English, having originally belonged to the indefinite *an*, which preceded it. The words, instead of being divided thus, *an ag*, were divided thus, *a nag*, and the fault became perpetuated. That the Danish is the true form we

collect, firstly, from the ease with which the English form is accounted for, and, secondly, from the old Saxon form *ehu*, Latin *equus*. In *adder* we have the process reversed. The true form is *nadder*, old English; *natter*, German. Here the *n* is taken from the substantive and added to the article. In *newt* and *eft* we have each form. The list of words of this sort can be increased.

§ 243. In the second place, faults of pronunciation may be arranged according to their cause.

1. *The fault of incompetent enunciation.*—A person who says *sick* for *thick*, or *elebben* for *eleven*, does so, not because he knows no better, but because he cannot enounce the right sounds of *th* and *v*. He is *incompetent* to it. His error is not one of ignorance. It is an acoustic or a phonetic defect. As such it differs from—

2. *The fault of erroneous enunciation.*—This is the error of a person who talks of *jocholate* instead of *chocolate*. It is not that he *cannot* pronounce rightly, but that he mistakes the nature of the sound required. Still more the person who calls *a hedge a nedge*, and *an edge a hedge*.

§ 244. Incompetent enunciation, and erroneous enunciation are, however, only the proximate and immediate causes of bad orthoepy. Amongst the remote causes (the immediate causes of *erroneous* enunciation) are the following.

I. *Undefined notions as to the language to which a word belongs.*—The flower called *anemone* is variously pronounced. Those who know Greek say *anemōne*, speaking as if the word was written *anemohny*. The

mass say, *anemŏne*, speaking as if the word was written *anemmony*. Now, the doubt here is as to the language of the word. If it be Greek, it is *anemōne*.

> Ἄϊμα ῥοδὸν τίκτει, τὰ δὲ δάκρυα τᾶν
> ἀνεμῶναν.
>
> BION.

And if it be English, it is (on the score of analogy) as undoubtedly *anémmony*. The pronunciation of the word in point is determined when we have determined the language of it.

II. *Mistakes as to fact, the language of a word being determined.*—To know the word *anemōne* to be Greek, and to use it as a Greek word, but to call it *anemŏny*, is not to be undecided as to a matter of language, but to be ignorant as to a matter of quantity.

III. *Neglect of analogy.*—Each and all of the following words, *orator*, *theatre*, *senator*, &c. are in the Latin language, from whence they are derived, accented on the second syllable; as *orátor*, *theátre*, *senátor*. In English, on the contrary, they are accented on the first; as *órator*, *théatre*, *sénator*. The same is the case with many other words similarly derived. They similarly suffer a change of accent. So many words do this, that it is the rule in English for words to throw their accent from the second syllable (counting from the end of the word) to the third. It was on the strength of this rule,—in other words, on the analogies of *orator*, &c., that the English pronunciation of the Greek word ἀνεμώνη was stated to be *anémmone*. Now, to take a word derived from the Latin, and to look to its original quantity only, without consulting the analogies of other words

similarly derived, is to be neglectful of the analogies of our own language, and attentive to the quantities of a foreign one.

These, amongst others, the immediate causes of erroneous enunciation, have been adduced not for the sake of exhausting, but for the sake of illustrating the subject.

§ 245. In matters of orthoepy it is the usual custom to appeal to one of the following standards.

I. *The authority of scholars.*—This is of value up to a certain point only. The fittest person for determining the classical pronunciation of a word like *anemone* is the classical scholar; but the mere classical scholar is far from being the fittest person to determine the analogies that such a word follows in English.

II. *The usage of educated bodies, such as the bar, the pulpit, the senate,* &c.—These are recommended by two circumstances: 1. The chance that each member of them is sufficiently a scholar in foreign tongues to determine the original pronunciation of derived words, and sufficiently a critic in his own language to be aware of the analogies that are in operation. 2. The quantity of imitators that, irrespective of the worth of his pronunciation, each individual can carry with him. On this latter ground the stage is a sort of standard.

The objection to the authority of educated bodies is its impracticability. It is only the usage of the component individuals that can be determined. Of these many may carry with them the dialects of their provinces, so that, although good standards on points of accent and quantity, they are bad ones upon points of articulation.

III. *The authority of societies constituted with the express purpose of taking cognizance of the language of the country.*—These, although recognized in Italy and other parts of the Continent, have only been proposed in Great Britain. Their inefficacy arises from the inutility of attempting to fix that which, like language, is essentially fluctuating.

IV. *The authority of the written language.*—The value of this may be collected from the chapter on orthography.

V. These, amongst others, the standards that have been appealed to, are adduced not for the sake of exhausting the subject, but to show the unsatisfactory nature of authority in matters of speech.

§ 246. For a person, on a point of pronunciation, to trust to his own judgment, he must be capable, with every word that he doubts about, of discussing three questions:—

I. *The abstract or theoretical propriety of a certain pronunciation.*—To determine this he must have a sufficient knowledge of foreign tongues and a sufficient knowledge of English analogies. He must also have some test by which he can determine to what language an equivocal word belongs. Of tests for this purpose, one, amongst others, is the following:—Let it be asked whether the word *lens* (in Optics) is English or Latin; whether it is to be considered as a naturalised word or a strange one. The following fact will give an answer. There is of the word *lens* a plural number, and this plural number is the English form *lenses*, and not the Latin form *lentes*. The existence of an English inflection proves that the word to which it belongs is English,

although its absence does not prove the contrary. That the word *anemone* is English (and consequently pronounced *anemŏne*) we know from the plural form, which is not *anemonæ*, but *anemones*.

II. *The preference of one pronunciation over another on the score of utility*.—The word *ascetic*, for certain orthographical reasons, notwithstanding its origin from the Greek word *askeó*, is called *assetic*. From similar reasons there is a tendency to call the word *sceptic*, *septic*. Theoretical propriety (and, be it observed, the analogy of *ascetic* has not been overlooked) is in favour of the word being sounded *skeptic*. The tendency of language, however, is the other way. Now, the tendency of language and the theoretical propriety being equal, there is an advantage (a point of utility) in saying *skeptic*, which turns the scale. By sounding the *k* we distinguish the word *skeptic* from *septic*. By this the language gains a point in perspicuity, so that we can talk of the *anti-skeptic* writings of Bishop Warburton and of the *anti-septic* properties of charcoal.

III. *The tendencies of language*.—From p. 153, we see that the combination *ew* is an unstable combination, that it has a tendency to become *yoo*, and that the *y* in *yoo* has a tendency to change a *d* preceding into *j*; in other words, we see the reason why, by many persons, *dew* is pronounced *jew*.

It is generally an easier matter to say how a word will be sounded a hundred years hence, than to determine its present pronunciation. Theoretical propriety is in favour of *dew*, so also is the view in the way of utility. Notwithstanding this, posterity will say *jew*, for the tendencies of language are paramount to all other influences.

We may now judge of the relative value of the three lines of criticism exhibited above. Other things being equal, the language should have the advantage of the doubt, and the utility of a given pronunciation should prevail over its theoretical propriety. Where, however, the tendencies are overwhelming, we can only choose whether, in doubtful words, we shall speak like our ancestors, or like our posterity.[35]

CHAPTER IX.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF ORTHOGRAPHY.

§ 247. Orthoepy determines the correct pronunciation of words, and deals with a language as it is *spoken*; orthography determines the correct spelling of words, and deals with a language as it is *written*. The term is derived from the Greek words *orthos* (*upright*), and *graphé*, or *grafœ* (*writing*). Orthography is less essential to language than orthoepy; since all languages are spoken, whilst but a few languages are written. Orthography presupposes orthoepy. Orthography addresses itself to the eye, orthoepy to the ear. Orthoepy deals with the articulate sounds that constitute syllables and words; orthography treats of the signs by which such articulate sounds are expressed in writing. A *letter* is the sign of an articulate (and, in the case of *h*, of an inarticulate) sound.

A full and perfect system of orthography consists in two things:—1. The possession of a sufficient and consistent alphabet. 2. The right application of such an alphabet. This position may be illustrated more fully.

§ 248. First, in respect to a full and perfect alphabet. Let there be in a certain language, simple single articulate sounds, to the number of forty, whilst the simple single signs, or letters, expressive of them, amount to no more than *thirty*. In this case the alphabet is insufficient. It is not full enough: since ten of the simple single articulate sounds have no corresponding signs whereby they may be expressed. In our own language, the sounds (amongst others) of *th* in *thin*, and of *th* in *thine*, are simple and single, whilst there is no sign equally simple and single to spell them with.

An alphabet, however, may be sufficient, and yet imperfect. It may err on the score of inconsistency. Let there be in a given language two simple single sounds, for instance, the *p* in *pate*, and the *f* in *fate*. Let these sounds stand in a given relation to each other. Let a given sign, for instance, פ (as is actually the case in Hebrew), stand for the *p* in *pate*; and let a second sign be required for the *f* in *fate*. Concerning the nature of this latter sign, two views may be taken. One framer of the alphabet, perceiving that the two sounds are mere modifications of each other, may argue that no new sign (or letter) is at all necessary, but that the sound of *f* in *fate* may be expressed by a mere modification of the sign (or letter) פ ,and may be written thus פ ,or thus פ ´or פ ', &c.; upon the principle that, like sounds should be expressed by like signs. The other framer of the alphabet, contemplating the difference between the two sounds, rather than the likeness, may propose, not a mere modification of the sign פ , but a letter altogether new, such as *f*, or φ, &c., upon the principle that sounds of a given degree of dissimilitude should be expressed by signs of a different degree of dissimilitude.

Hitherto the expression of the sounds in point is a matter of convenience only. No question has been raised as to its consistency or inconsistency. This begins under conditions like the following:—Let there be in the language in point the sounds of the *t* in *tin*, and of the *th* in *thin*; which (it may be remembered) are precisely in the same relation to each other as the *p* in *pate* and the *f* in *fate*. Let each of these sounds have a sign (or letter) expressive of it. Upon the nature of these signs, or letters, will depend the nature of the sign or letter required for the *f* in *fate*. If the letter expressing the *th* in *thin* be a mere modification of the letter expressing the *t* in *tin*, then must the letter expressive of the *f* in *fate* be a mere modification of the letter expressing the *p* in *pate*, and *vice versâ*. If this be not the case, the alphabet is inconsistent.

In the English alphabet we have (amongst others) the following inconsistency:—The sound of the *f* in *fate*, in a certain relation to the sound of the *p* in *pate*, is expressed by a totally distinct sign; whereas, the sound of the *th* in *thin* (similarly related to the *t* in *tin*) is expressed by no new sign, but by a mere modification of *t*; viz., *th*.

A third element in the faultiness of an alphabet is the fault of erroneous representation. The best illustration of this we get from the Hebrew alphabet, where the sounds of ת and ט, mere *varieties* of each other, are represented by distinct and dissimilar signs, whilst ת and תּ, sounds *specifically* distinct, are expressed by a mere modification of the same sign, or letter.

§ 249. *The right application of an alphabet.*—An alphabet may be both sufficient and consistent,

accurate in its representation of the alliances between articulate sounds, and in nowise redundant; and yet, withal, it may be so wrongly applied as to be defective. Of defect in the use or application of the letters of an alphabet, the three main causes are the following:—

1. *Unsteadiness in the power of letters.*—Of this there are two kinds. In the first, there is one sound with two (or more) ways of expressing it. Such is the sound of the letter *f* in English. In words of Anglo-Saxon origin it is spelt with a single simple sign, as in *fill*; whilst in Greek words it is denoted by a combination, as in *Philip*. The reverse of this takes place with the letter *g*; here a single sign has a double power; in *gibbet* it is sounded as *j*, and in *gibberish* as *g* in *got*.

2. *The aim at secondary objects.*—The natural aim of orthography, of spelling, or of writing (for the three terms mean the same thing), is to express the *sounds* of a language. Syllables and words it takes as they meet the ear, it translates them by appropriate signs, and so paints them, as it were, to the eye. That this is the natural and primary object is self-evident; but beyond this natural and primary object there is, with the orthographical systems of most languages, a secondary one, *viz.* the attempt to combine with the representation of the sound of a given word the representation of its history and origin.

The sound of the *c*, in *city*, is the sound that we naturally spell with the letter *s*, and if the expression of this sound was the *only* object of our orthographists, the word would be spelt accordingly (*sity*). The following facts, however, traverse this simple view of the matter. The word is a derived

word; it is transplanted into our own language from the Latin, where it is spelt with a *c* (*civitas*); and to change this *c* into *s* conceals the origin and history of the word. For this reason the *c* is retained, although, as far as the mere expression of sounds (the primary object in orthography) is concerned, the letter is a superfluity. In cases like the one adduced the orthography is bent to a secondary end, and is traversed by the etymology.

3. *Obsoleteness.*—It is very evident that modes of spelling which at one time may have been correct, may, by a change of pronunciation, become incorrect; so that orthography becomes obsolete whenever there takes place a change of speech without a correspondent change of spelling.

§ 250. *Difference between the change of a sound and the original false expression of a sound.*—The letter *u* is a simple single sign. The sound of *ow*, in *town*, is a diphthongal, or a double, sound. Now, in Anglo-Saxon, the modern word *town* is spelt *tún*. In this case one of two things must have taken place: either the word must have changed its sound, or the Anglo-Saxons must have expressed it falsely and improperly.

§ 251. From the foregoing sections we arrive at the theory of a full and perfect alphabet and orthography, of which a few (amongst many others) of the chief conditions are as follow:—

1. That for every simple single sound, incapable of being represented by a combination of letters, there be a simple single sign.

2. That sounds within a determined degree of likeness be represented by signs within a determined

degree of likeness; whilst sounds beyond a certain degree of likeness be represented by distinct and different signs, *and that uniformly*.

3. That no sound have more than one sign to express it.

4. That no sign express more than one sound.

5. That the primary aim of orthography be to express the sounds of words, and not their histories.

6. That changes of speech be followed by corresponding changes of spelling.

With these principles in our mind we may measure the imperfections of our own and of other alphabets.

§ 252. Previous to considering the sufficiency or insufficiency of the English alphabet, it is necessary to enumerate the elementary articulate sounds of the language. The enumeration of these is, strictly speaking, a point, not of orthography, but of orthoepy. It is, however, so intimately connected with the former that the present chapter seems its proper place. The vowels belonging to the English language are the *twelve* following:—

1.	~~7~~	~~1~~	*~~a~~t ~~a~~thatin~~e~~ fa~~i~~therbed.*
		of	of
2.	~~8~~.	*~~a~~*	*~~i~~ fa~~t.~~* *pit.*
3.	~~9~~.	*~~a~~*	*~~ee~~fa~~te~~.* *feet.*
4.	~~10~~.	*~~aw~~*	*~~u~~ ba~~w~~l.* *bull.*
5.	~~11~~.	*~~o~~*	*~~oo~~no~~t.~~* *fool.*
6.	~~12~~.	*~~o~~*	*~~u~~ no~~te~~.* *duck.*

For the relations of these see Chapter II.

The diphthongal sounds are *four*.

1. That of *ou* in *house*.
2. — *ew* — *new*.
3. — *oi* — *oil*.
4. — *i* — *bite*.

This last sound being most incorrectly expressed by the single letter *i*.

The consonantal sounds are, 1. the two semivowels; 2. the four liquids; 3. fourteen out of the sixteen mutes; 4. *ch* in *chest*, and *j* in *jest*, compound sibilants; 5. *ng*, as in *king*; 6. the aspirate *h*. In all, twenty-four.

1.	*w*	13. as *sh*	*wet.*	*thin.*
		14. in *th*	—	*thine.*
2.	*y*	15. — *g*	*yet.*	*gun.*
3.	*m*	16. — *k*	*man.*	*kind.*
4.	*n*	17. — *s*	*not.*	*sin.*
5.	*l*	18. — *z*	*let.*	*zeal.*
6.	*r*	19. — *sh*	*run.*	*shine.*
7.	*p*	20. — *z*	*pate.*	*azure,*
8.	*b*	—	*ban.*	*glazier.*
9.	*f*	21. — *ch*	*fan.*	*chest.*
10.	*v*	22. — *j*	*van.*	*jest.*
11.	*g*	23. — *ng*	*tin.*	*king.*
12.	*d*	24. — *h*	*din.*	*hot.*

Some writers would add to these the additional sound of the *é fermé* of the French; believing that the vowel in words like *their* and *vein* has a different sound from the vowel in words like *there* and *vain*.

For my own part I cannot detect such a difference either in my own speech or that of my neighbours; although I am far from denying that in certain *dialects* of our language such may have been the case. The following is an extract from the Danish grammar for Englishmen, by Professor Rask, whose eye, in the matter in question, seems to have misled his ear: "The *é fermé*, or *close é*, is very frequent in Danish, but scarcely perceptible in English; unless in such words as, *their*, *vein*, *veil*, which appear to sound a little different from *there*, *vain*, *vale*."

The vowels being twelve, the diphthongs four, and the consonantal sounds twenty-four, we have altogether as many as forty sounds, some being so closely allied to each other as to be mere modifications, and others being combinations rather than simple sounds; all, however, agreeing in requiring to be expressed by letters or by combinations of letters, and to be distinguished from each other.

Now, although every sound specifically distinct should be expressed by a distinct sign, it does not follow that mere modifications or varieties (especially if they be within certain limits) should be so expressed. In the Greek language sounds as like as the *o* in *not* and the *o* in *note* are expressed by signs as unlike as ο and ω; that is, by the letters *omicron* and *omega* respectively; and so it is with ε and η. All that can be said in this case is, that it is the character of the Greek alphabet to represent a difference which the English neglects.

With respect to the diphthongs it is incorrect, uncommon, and inconvenient to represent them by simple single signs, rather than by combinations. In

the English language the sounds of *ou*, *ew*, and *oi*, are properly spelt with two letters. Not so, however, of *i* in *bite*.

The compound sibilants may also be expressed not by single signs, but by the combinations *tsh* and *dzh*; although, for certain reasons, such a mode of spelling is inconvenient. With these views we may appreciate,

I. *The insufficiency of the English alphabet.*

A. *In respect to the vowels.*—Notwithstanding the fact that the sounds of the *a* in *father*, *fate*, and *fat*, and of the *o* and the *aw* in *note*, *not*, and *bawl*, are modifications of *a* and *o* respectively, we have still *six* vowel sounds specifically distinct, for which (*y* being a consonant rather than a vowel) we have but *five* signs. The *u* in *duck*, specifically distinct from the *u* in *bull*, has no specifically distinct sign to represent it.

B. *In respect to the consonants.*—The *th* in *thin*, the *th* in *thine*, the *sh* in *shine*, the *z* in *azure*, and the *ng* in *king*, five sounds specifically distinct, and five sounds perfectly simple require corresponding signs, which they have not.

II. *Its inconsistency.*—The *f* in *fan*, and the *v* in *van* sounds in a certain degree of relationship to *p* and *b*, are expressed by signs as unlike as *f* is unlike *p*, and as *v* is unlike *b*. The sound of the *th* in *thin*, the *th* in *thine*, the *sh* in *shine*, similarly related to *t*, *d*, and *s*, are expressed by signs as like *t*, *d*, and *s*, respectively, as *th* and *sh*.

The compound sibilant sound of *j* in *jest* is spelt with the single sign *j*, whilst the compound sibilant sound in *chest* is spelt with the combination *ch*.

III. *Erroneousness.*—The sound of the *ee* in *feet* is considered the long (independent) sound of the *e* in *bed*; whereas it is the long (independent) sound of the *i* in *pit*.

The *i* in *bite* is considered as the long (independent) sound of the *i* in *pit*; whereas it is a diphthongal sound.

The *u* in *duck* is looked upon as a modification of the *u* in *bull*; whereas it is a specifically distinct sound.

The *ou* in *house* and the *oi* in *oil* are looked upon as the compounds of *o* and *i* and of *o* and *u* respectively; whereas the latter element of them is not *i* and *u*, but *y* and *w*.

The *th* in *thin* and the *th* in *thine* are dealt with as one and the same sound; whereas they are sounds specifically distinct.

The *ch* in *chest* is dealt with as a modification of *c* (either with the power of *k* or of *s*); whereas its elements are *t* and *sh*.

IV. *Redundancy.*—As far as the representation of sounds is concerned the letter *c* is superfluous. In words like *citizen* it may be replaced by *s*; in words like *cat* by *k*. In *ch*, as in *chest*, it has no proper place. In *ch*, as in *mechanical*, it may be replaced by *k*.

Q is superfluous, *cw* or *kw* being its equivalent.

X also is superfluous, *ks*, *gz*, or *z*, being equivalent to it.

The diphthongal forms *æ* and *œ*, as in *Æneas* and *Crœsus*, except in the way of etymology, are superfluous and redundant.

V. *Unsteadiness.*—Here we have (amongst many other examples), 1. The consonant *c* with the double power of *s* and *k*; 2. *g* with its sound in *gun* and also with its sound in *gin*; 3. *x* with its sounds in *Alexander*, *apoplexy*, *Xenophon*.

In the foregoing examples a single sign has a double power; in the words *Philip* and *filip*, &c., a single sound has a double sign.

In respect to the degree wherein the English orthography is made subservient to etymology, it is sufficient to repeat the statement that the *c*, *æ*, and *œ* are retained in the alphabet for etymological purposes only.

The defects noticed in the preceding sections are *absolute* defects, and would exist, as they do at present, were there no language in the world except the English. This is not the case with those that are now about to be noticed; for them, indeed, the word *defect* is somewhat too strong a term. They may more properly be termed inconveniences.

Compared with the languages of the rest of the world the use of many letters in the English alphabet is *singular*. The letter *i* (when long or independent) is, with the exception of England, generally sounded as *ee*. With Englishmen it has a diphthongal power. The inconvenience of this is the necessity that it imposes upon us, in studying foreign languages, of unlearning the sound which we give it in our own, and of learning the sound which it bears in the language studied. So it is (amongst many others) with the letter *j*. In English this has the sound of *dzh*, in French of *zh*, and in German of *y*. From singularity in the use of letters arises inconvenience in the study of foreign tongues.

In using *j* as *dzh* there is a second objection. It is not only inconvenient, but it is theoretically incorrect. The letter *j* was originally a modification of the vowel *i*. The Germans, who used it as the semivowel *y*, have perverted it from its original power less than the English have done, who sound it *dzh*.

With these views we may appreciate, of the English alphabet and orthography,

I). *Its convenience or inconvenience in respect to learning foreign tongues.*—The sound given to the *a* in *fate* is singular. Other nations sound it as *a* in *father*.

The sound given to the *e*, long (or independent), is singular. Other nations sound it either as *a* in *fate*, or as *é fermé*.

The sound given to the *i* in *bite* is singular. Other nations sound it as *ee* in *feet*.

The sound given to the *oo* in *fool* is singular. Other nations sound it as the *o* in *note*, or as the *ó chiuso*.

The sound given to the *u* in *duck* is singular. Other nations sound it as the *u* in *bull*.

The sound given to the *ou* in *house* is singular. Other nations, more correctly, represent it by *au* or *aw*.

The sound given to the *w* in *wet* is somewhat singular, but is also correct and convenient. With many nations it is not found at all, whilst with those where it occurs it has the sound (there or thereabouts) of *v*.

The sound given to *y* is somewhat singular. In Danish it has a vowel power. In German the semivowel sound is spelt with *j*.

The sound given to *z* is not the sound which it has in German and Italian; but its power in English is convenient and correct.

The sound given to *ch* in *chest* is singular. In other languages it has generally a guttural sound; in French that of *sh*. The English usage is more correct than the French, but less correct than the German.

The sound given to *j* (as said before) is singular.

II.) *The historical propriety of certain letters.*—The use of *i* with a diphthongal power is not only singular and inconvenient, but also historically incorrect. The Greek *iota*, from whence it originates, has the sound of *i* and *ee*, as in *pit* and *feet*.

The *y*, sounded as in *yet*, is historically incorrect. It grew out of the Greek υ, a vowel, and no semivowel. The Danes still use it as such, that is, with the power of the German *ü*.

The use of *j* for *dzh* is historically incorrect.

The use of *c* for *k* in words derived from the Greek, as *mechanical*, *ascetic*, &c., is historically incorrect. The form *c* is the representative of γ and σ and not of the Greek *kappa*.

In remodelling alphabets the question of historical propriety should be recognized. Other reasons for the use of a particular letter in a particular sense being equal, the historical propriety should decide the question. The above examples are illustrative, not exhaustive.

§ 253. *On certain conventional modes of spelling.*—In the Greek language the sounds of *o* in *not* and of *o* in *note* (although allied) are expressed by the unlike

signs or letters o and ω, respectively. In most other languages the difference between the sounds is considered too slight to require for its expression signs so distinct and dissimilar. In some languages the difference is neglected altogether. In many, however, it is expressed, and that by some modification of the original letter.

Let the sign (¯) denote that the vowel over which it stands is long, or independent, whilst the sign (˘) indicates shortness, or dependence. In such a case, instead of writing *not* and *nωt*, like the Greeks, we may write *nŏt* and *nōt*, the sign serving for a fresh letter. Herein the expression of the nature of the sound is natural, because the natural use of (¯) and (˘) is to express length or shortness, dependence or independence. Now, supposing the broad sound of *o* to be already represented, it is very evident that, of the other two sounds of *o*, the one must be long (independent), and the other short (dependent); and as it is only necessary to express one of these conditions, we may, if we choose, use the sign (¯) alone; its presence denoting length, and its absence shortness (independence or dependence).

As signs of this kind, one mark is as good as another; and instead of (¯) we may, if we choose, substitute such a mark as (´) (and write *nót=nōt=nωt=nōte)*; provided only that the sign (´) expresses no other condition or affection of a sound. This use of the mark (´), *viz.* as a sign that the vowel over which it is placed is long (independent), is common in many languages. But is this use of (´) natural? For a reason that the reader has anticipated, it is not natural, but conventional. It is used elsewhere not as the sign of *quantity*, but as the sign of *accent*; consequently, being placed over a letter, and being interpreted

according to its natural meaning, it gives the idea, not that the syllable is long, but that it is emphatic or accented. Its use as a sign of quantity is an orthographical expedient, or a conventional mode of spelling.

The English language abounds in orthographical expedients; the mode of expressing the quantity of the vowels being particularly numerous. To begin with these:

The reduplication of a vowel where there is but one syllable (as in *feet*, *cool*), is an orthographical expedient. It merely means that the syllable is long (or independent).

The juxta-position of two different vowels, where there is but one syllable (as in *plain*, *moan*), is an orthographical expedient. It generally means the same as the reduplication of a vowel, *i.e.*, that the syllable is long (independent).

The addition of the *e* mute, as in *plane*, *whale* (whatever may have been its origin), is, at present, but an orthographical expedient. It denotes the lengthening of the syllable.

The reduplication of the consonant after a vowel, as in *spotted*, *torrent*, is in most cases but an orthographical expedient. It merely denotes that the preceding vowel is short (dependent).

The use of *ph* for *f* in *Philip*, is an orthographical expedient, founded upon etymological reasons.

The use of *th* for the simple sound of the first consonant in *thin* and *thine*, is an orthographical expedient. The combination must be dealt with as a single letter.

X, however, and *q* are not orthographical expedients. They are orthographical compendiums.

The above instances have been adduced as illustrations only. Further details will be found hereafter. For many of them we can give a reason (for instance, for the reduplication of a consonant to express the shortness of the preceding vowel), and of many of them we can give an historical account (see Chapter X.).

§ 254. The mischief of orthographical expedients is this:—When a sign, or letter, is used in a *conventional*, it precludes us from using it (at least without further explanation) in its *natural* sense: *e.g.*, the double *o* in *mood* constitutes but one syllable. If in a foreign language we had, immediately succeeding each other, first the syllable *mo*, and next the syllable *od*, we should have to spell it *mo-od*, or *möod* or *mo-o̊d*, &c. Again, it is only by our knowledge of the language that the *th* in *nuthook*, is not pronounced like the *th* in *burthen*. In the languages of India the true sound of *t* + *h* is common. This, however, we cannot spell naturally because the combination *th* conveys to us another notion. Hence such combinations as *thh*, or *t*‘, &c., in writing Hindoo words.

A second mischief of orthographical conventionalities, is the wrong notions that they engender, the eye misleading the ear. That *th* is really *t* + *h*, no one would have believed had it not been for the spelling.

§ 255. The present section is the partial application of the preceding observations. It is a running commentary upon the orthographical part of Dr. Johnson's Grammar. Presuming a knowledge of the

detail of the English orthography, it attempts an explanation of some of its leading characters. Many of these it possesses in common with other tongues. Several are peculiar to itself.

"*A*, sounded as *aw*, or as a modification of *o*."—*A*, as in *father*, and *o*, as in *note* (as may be seen in p. 150), form the extremities of the vowel system. Notwithstanding this, the two sounds often interchange. The orthographical systems of most languages bear witness to this. In French the *au* in *autel* has the sound of *o*; in Danish *aa* = *o* (*baade* being pronounced *bohde*); in Swedish *å* has the same power. In Old English the forms *hond*, *strond*, &c., occur, instead of *hand*, strand, &c. In Anglo-Saxon, brád, stán, &c., correspond to the English forms *broad*, *stone*. I am not able to say whether *a* changes oftenest to *o*, or *o* to *a*. The form *hond* is older than the form *hand*. In the word *salt*, however, the *a* was pronounced as the *a* in *fat* before it was pronounced (as at present) like the *o* in *not*. If this were not the case it would never have been spelt with an *a*. In the words *launch* and *haunch*, by some called *lanch*, *hanch*, and by others *lawnch*, *hawnch*, we find a present tendency to interchange these sounds.

The change from *a* to *o* takes place most especially before the liquid *l*, *wall*, *call*, *fall*. When the liquid *l* is followed by another consonant, it (*viz. l*) is generally sunk in pronunciation, *falcon*, *salmon*, &c., pronounced *faucon*, *sammon*, or *saumon*. The reason of this lies in the following fact, *viz.*, *that syllables wherein there are, at the same time, two final consonants and a long vowel, have a tendency to become shortened by one of two processes, viz., either by ejecting one of the consonants, or by shortening the vowel*. That the *l* in *falcon* is affected not by the change of *a* to *o*,

but by the change of a short vowel to a long, or of a slender one to a broad one, is shown in the tendency which the common people have to say *hode* for *hold*, as well as by the Scotch form *gowd* for *gold*. This fact bears upon the difficult problem in the Greek (and in other languages), *viz.*, whether the *lengthening* of the vowel in words like ὀδοὺς (compared with ὀδόντος), is the cause or the effect of the rejection of the consonant.

"*E* is long, as in *scene*; or short, as in *cellar*."'—*Johnson.* It has been stated before that the (so-called) long sound of *e* is non-existent, and the *e* in *scene*, is the (so-called) long sound of the *i* in *pit*.

For the power of *e* in *since* and *once*, see the remarks on *s*.

For the power of *e* in *hedge* and *oblige*, see the remarks on *g*.

The power of *e* mute in words like *cane*, *bane*, *tune*, *robe*, *pope*, *fire*, *cure*, *tube*, has already been noticed. It serves to denote the length of the preceding vowel. For this purpose it is retained; but it was not for this purpose that it was invented. Originally it expressed a sound, and it is only by a change of language that it has come, as it were by accident, to be an orthographical expedient.

Let a word consist of two syllables. Let the latter end in a vowel. Let there be between the vowel of the first and the vowel of the second syllable, one consonant and no more, *e. g.*, *namæ*. Let the consonant belong to the root of the word; and let the first syllable of the word be the essential and the radical part of it. Let this same syllable (as the essential and radical part of it) have an accent. The

chances are that, under such circumstances, the vowel of the first syllable will be long (independent), just as the chances are that a vowel followed by two consonants will be short. Let a change in language affect the *final* vowel, so that a word which was originally pronounced *nama*, should become, first, *namë*, and afterwards *nām*, *naim*, or *nœm*; the vowel being sounded as the *a* in *fate*. Let the final *e*, although lost in pronunciation, be retained in the spelling. The chances are that, the above conditions being given, such an *e* (final and mute) shall, whenever it occurs, occur at the end of a long syllable. The next process is for a succeeding generation to mistake a coincidence for a sign, and to imagine that an *e* mute expresses the length of syllable.

I consider this to be the key to the use of the *e* mute in all words where it is preceded by one consonant only.

From the circumstance that the French and the English are the only nations wherein the *e* mute is part and parcel of the orthography, it has been hastily imagined that the employment of it is to be attributed to the Norman Conquest. The truth, however, is, that we find it equally in words of Saxon and of Norman origin.

The fact that, in certain words, an *e* mute is preceded by two consonants and by a short vowel, does not militate against the view given above.

"*I* has a sound, long, as in *fine*, and short, as in *fin*. That is eminently observable in *i*, which may be likewise remarked in other letters, that the short sound is not the long sound contracted, but a sound wholly different."—*Johnson.* This extract has been

made in order to add the authority of Johnson to the statement so often repeated already; *viz.*, that the *i* in *bite* is not the long sound of the *i* in *bit*.

For the sound of *u* in *guest*, *prorogue*, *guard*, see the remarks on *g*.

As a vowel, *y* is wholly superfluous. It is a current remark that more words end in *y* (*fortify*, *pretty*) than in any other letter. This is true only in respect to their spelling. As a matter of *speech*, the *y* final has always the sound either of the *ee* in *feet*, or of the *i* in *bite*. Such is the case with the words *fortify* and *pretty*, quoted above. For some reason or other, the vowel *e* is never, in English, written at the end of words, unless when it is mute; whilst *i* is never written at all. Instead of *cri*, we write *cry*, &c. This is a peculiarity of our orthography, for which I have no satisfactory reason. It *may* be, that with words ending in *e*, *y* is written for the sake of showing that the vowel is not mute, but sounded. Again, the adjectives ending in *y* as *any*, and the adverbs in *ly*, as *manly*, in the older stages of our language ended, not in *y*, but in *ig* (*manlig*, *ænig*); so that the present *y*, in such words, may be less the equivalent of *i* than the compendium of *ig*. I venture this indication with no particular confidence.

The *b* in *debtor*, *subtile*, *doubt*, agrees with the *b* in *lamb*, *limb*, *dumb*, *thumb*, *womb*, in being mute. It differs, however, in another respect. The words *debtor*, *subtle*, *doubt*, are of classical, the words *lamb*, *limb*, *dumb*, &c., are of Saxon, origin. In *debtor*, &c., the *b* was, undoubtedly, at one time, pronounced, since it belonged to a different syllable; *debitor*, *subtilis*, *dubito*, being the original forms. I am far from being certain that with the other words, *lamb*, &c.,

this was the case. With them the *b* belonged (if it belonged to the word at all) to the same syllable as the *m*. I think, however, that instead of this being the case, the *b*, in *speech*, never made a part of the word at all; that it belongs now, and that it always belonged, to the *written* language only; and that it was inserted in the spelling upon what may be called the principle of imitation. For a further illustration of this, see the remarks on the word *could*.

"*Ch* has a sound which is analysed into *tsh*, as *church*, *chin*, *crutch*. *C* might be omitted in the language without loss, since one of its sounds might be supplied by *s*, and the other by *k*, but that it preserves to the eye the etymology of words, as *face* from *facies*, *captive* from *captivus*"—*Johnson.*

Before *a*, *o*, *u* (that is, before a full vowel), *c* is sounded as *k*; before *e*, *i*, and *y* (that is, before a small vowel), it has the power of *s*. This change of sound according to the nature of the vowel following, is so far from being the peculiarity of the English, that it is common in all languages; except that sometimes *c*, instead of becoming *s*, becomes *ts*, *tsh*, *ksh*, in other words, some other sibilant; *but always a sibilant*. A reference to p. 153 will explain this change. At a certain time, *k* (written *c*, as is the case in Latin) becomes changed by the vowel following into *ksh*, and from thence into *s*, *ts*, or *tsh*. That the syllables *cit*, *cyt*, *cet*, were at one time pronounced *kit*, *kyt*, *ket*, we believe: 1. from the circumstance that if it were not so, they would have been spelt with an *s*; 2. from the comparison of the Greek and Latin languages, where the words *cete*, *circus*, *cystis*, Latin, are κητὴ, κίρκος, κύστις, Greek.

In the words *mechanical*, *choler*, &c., derived from the

Greek, it must not be imagined that the *c* represents the Greek *kappa* or κ. The combination *c* + *h* is to be dealt with as a single letter. Thus it was that the Romans, who had in their language neither the sound of χ, nor the sign κ, rendered the Greek *chi* (χ), just as by *th* they rendered θ, and by *ph*, φ.

The faulty representation of the Greek χ has given rise to a faulty representation of the Greek κ, as in *ascetic*, from ἀσκήτικος.

"*C*, according to the English orthography, never ends a word; therefore we write *stick*, *block*, which were originally *sticke*, *blocke*. In such words *c* is now mute."—*Johnson.* Just as there was a prejudice against *i* or *e* ending a word there seems to have been one in the case of *c*. In the word *Frederick* there are three modes of spelling: 1. Frederic; 2. Frederik; 3. Frederick. Of these three it is the last only that seems, to an Englishman, natural. The form Frederic seems exceptionable, because the last letter is *c*, whilst Frederik is objected to because *k* comes in immediate contact with the short vowel.

Now the reason against *c* ending a word seems this. From what has been remarked above, *c* seems, in and of itself, to have no power at all. Whether it shall be sounded as *k* or as *s* seems undetermined, except by the nature of the vowel following. If the vowel following be small, *c* = *s*, if full, *c* = *k*. But *c* followed by nothing is equivocal and ambiguous. Now *c* final is *c* followed by nothing; and therefore *c* equivocal, ambiguous, indefinite, undetermined. This is the reason why *c* is never final. Let there be such words as *sticke* and *blocke*. Let the *k* be taken away. The words remain *stice*, *bloce*. The *k* being taken away, there is a danger of calling them *stise*, *blose*.

A verbal exception being taken, the statement of Dr. Johnson, that in words like *stick* and *block* the *c* is mute, is objectionable. The mute letter is not so much the *c* as the *k*.

"*G* at the end of a word is always hard, as *ring*, *sing*."—*Johnson.* A verbal exception may be taken here. *Ng*, is not a combination of the sounds of *n* + *g*, but the representation of a simple single sound; so that, as in the case of *th* and *sh*, the two letters must be dealt with as a single one.

"*G* before *n* is mute, as *gnash*, *sign*, *foreign*."—*Johnson.* The three words quoted above are not in the same predicament. In words like *gnash* the *g* has been silently dropped on the score of euphony (see remarks on *k*); in *sign* and *foreign* the *g* has not been dropped, but changed. It has taken the allied sound of the semivowel *y*, and so, with the preceding vowel, constitutes a diphthong.

Before *a*, *o*, *u* (full vowels), *g* has the sound, as in *gay*, *go*, *gun*: before *e*, *i*, *y*, that of *gem*, *giant*.

At the end of a word (that is, followed by nothing at all), or followed by a consonant, it has the same sound that it has before *a*, *o*, *u*—*agog*, *grand*. This shows that such is its natural sound. In *hedge* and *oblige* the *e* mute serves to show that the *g* is to be pronounced as *j*.

Let there be the word *rŏg*. Let the vowel be lengthened. Let this lengthening be expressed by the addition of *e* mute, *roge*. There is now a risk of the word being called *roje*. This is avoided by inserting *u*, as in *prorogue*. Why, however, is it that the *u* runs no chance of being pronounced, and the word of being sounded *prorogwé*? The reason for this lies in three

facts. 1. The affinities between the sounds of *ga* and *ka*. 2. The fact that *qu* is merely *kw*. 3. The fact that in *qu*, followed by another vowel, as in *quoit* (pronounced *koyt*), *antique*, &c., the *u* is altogether omitted in pronunciation. In other words, the analogy of *qu* is extended to *gu*.

For the varied sounds of *gh* in *plough*, *tough*, *enough* (*enow*), *through*, we must remember that the original sound of *gh* was a hard guttural, as is at present the case in Scotland, and between *g*, *h*, *f*, *v*, *w*, there are frequent interchanges.

"*H* is a note of aspiration."—It is under the notion that *th*, *ph*, *sh*, as in *thin*, *thine*, *Philip*, *shine*, are aspirated sounds, that *h* is admitted in the spelling. As has been repeatedly stated, *th*, *ph*, *sh* are to be treated as single signs or letters.

"*J*, consonant, sounds uniformly like the soft *g* (*i.e.*, as in *gem*), and is, therefore, a letter useless, except in etymology, as *ejaculation*, *jester*, *jocund*, *juice*."—*Johnson.* It may be added that it never occurs in words of Saxon origin, and that in the single word *Allelujah* it has the sound of *y*, as in the German.

K never comes before *a*, *o*, *u*, or before a consonant. It is used before *e*, *i*, *y*, where *c* would, according to the English analogy, be liable to be sounded as *s*; as in *kept*, *king*, *skirt*. These words, if written *cept*, *cing*, *scirt*, would run the risk of being sounded *sept*, *sing*, *sirt*. Broadly speaking, *k* is never used except where *c* would be inconvenient. The reason of this lies in the fact of there being no such letter as *k* in the Latin language. Hence arose in the eyes of the etymologist the propriety of retaining, in all words derived from the Latin (*crown*, *concave*, *concupiscence*, &c.), the letter *c*, to the exclusion of *k*. Besides this, the Anglo-

Saxon alphabet, being taken from the Roman, excluded *k*, so that *c* was written even before the small vowels, *a*, *e*, *i*, *y*; as *cyning*, or *cining*, *a king*. *C* then supplants *k* upon etymological grounds only. In the languages derived from the Latin this dislike to the use of *k* leads to several orthographical inconveniences. As the tendency of *c*, before *e*, *i*, *y*, to be sounded as *s* (or as a sound allied to *s*), is the same in those languages as in others; and as in those languages, as in others, there frequently occur such sounds as *kit*, *ket*, *kin*, &c., a difficulty arises as to the spelling. If spelt *cit*, *cet*, &c., there is the risk of their being sounded *sit*, *set*. To remedy this, an *h* is interposed—*chit*, *chet*, &c. This, however, only substitutes one difficulty for another, since *ch* is, in all probability, already used with a different sound, *e.g.*, that of *sh*, as in French, or that of *k* guttural, as in German. The Spanish orthography is thus hampered. Unwilling to spell the word *chimera* (pronounced *kimera*) with a *k*; unable to spell it with either *c* or *ch*, it writes the word *quimæra*. This distaste for *k* is an orthographical prejudice. Even in the way of etymology it is but partially advantageous, since in the other Gothic languages, where the alphabet is less rigidly Latin, the words that in English are spelt with a *c*, are there written with *k*,—*kam*, German; *komme*, Danish; *skrapa*, Swedish; = *came*, *come*, *scrape*.

The use of *k* final, as in *stick*, &c., has been noticed in p. 194.

"*Skeptic*, for so it should be written, not *sceptic*."—*Johnson*. Quoted for the sake of adding authority to the statement made in p. 193, *viz.*, that the Greek *kappa* is to be represented not by *c*, but by *k*.

"*K* is never doubled, but *c* is used before it to shorten the vowel by a double consonant, as *cŏckle, pĭckle*."—*Johnson.* This is referable to the statement that *k* is never used where *c* is admissible.

"*K* is used before *n*, *knell*, *knot*, but totally loses its sound."—*Johnson.* This, however, is not the ease in the allied languages; in German and Danish, in words like *knecht*, *knive*, the *k* is sounded. This teaches us that such was once the case in English. Hence we learn that in the words *knife*, *knight* (and also in *gnaw*, *gnash*), we have an antiquated or obsolete orthography.

For the ejection of the sound of *l* in *calf*, *salmon*, *falcon*, &c. see under *a*. For the *l* in *could*, see that word.

"*N* is sometimes mute after *m*, as *damn*, *condemn*, *hymn*."—*Johnson.* In all these words the *n* originally belonged to a succeeding syllable, *dam-no*, *condem-no*, *hym-nus*.

Q, accurately speaking, is neither a letter, nor an abbreviation. It is always followed by *u*, as *queen*, *quilt*, and the two letters *qu* must be looked upon as a single sign, equivalent to (but scarcely an abbreviation) of *kw*. *Q* is not = *k* alone. The combination *qu*, is never sounded *koo*. Neither is *kw*. If it were so, there would be in the word *queen* (currently speaking) *three* sounds of *u*, *viz.*, two belonging to *q* (= *kw*), and one belonging to *u* itself. *W* being considered as = 2 *u*: *q* = *k* + ½ *w*. This view of *q* bears upon the theory of words like *prorogue*, &c.

The reader is referred to p. 152. There he is told that, when a word ends in a flat consonant, *b*, *v*, *d*, *g*, the plural termination is not the sound of *s*, but that of *z*

(*stagz*, *dogz*); although *s* be the letter *written*. Such also is the case with words ending in the vowels or the liquids (*peaz*, *beanz*, *hillz*, not *peace*, *beance*, *hillce*). This fact influences our orthography. The majority of words ending in *s* are found to be plural numbers, or else (what is the same thing in respect to form) either genitive cases, or verbs of the third person singular; whilst in the majority of these the *s* is sounded as *z*. Hence, the inference from analogy that *s* single, at the end of words, is sounded as *z*. Now this fact hampers the orthography of those words wherein *s* final retains its natural sound, as *since*, *once*, *mass*, *mace*; for let these be written *sins*, *ons*, *mas*, the chances are that they will be pronounced *sinz*, *onz*, *maz*. To remedy this, the *s* may be doubled, as in *mass*. This, however, can be done in a few cases only. It cannot be done conveniently where the vowel is long, the effect of a double consonant being to denote that the preceding vowel is short. Neither can it be done conveniently after a consonant, such combinations as *sinss*, &c., being unsightly. This throws the grammarian upon the use of *c*, which, as stated above, has, in certain situations, the power of *s*. To write, however, simply *sinc*, or *onc*, would induce the risk of the words being sounded *sink*, *onk*. To obviate this, *e* is added, which has the double effect of not requiring to be sounded (being mute), and of showing that the *c* has the sound of *s* (being small).

"It is the peculiar quality of *s* that it may be sounded before all consonants, except *x* and *z*, in which *s* is comprised, *x* being only *ks*, and *z* only a hard [flat] or gross *s*. This *s* is therefore termed by grammarians *suæ potestatis litera*, the reason of which the learned Dr. Clarke erroneously supposed to be, that in some words it might be doubled at pleasure."—*Johnson.* A

reference to the current Greek Grammars will indicate another reason for σ being called *suæ potestatis litera*. It will there be seen that, whilst π, β, φ—κ, γ, χ—τ, δ, θ—are grouped together, as *tenues*, *mediæ*, and *aspiratæ*, and as *inter se cognatæ*, σ stands by itself; ζ its media (flat sound) being treated as a double letter, and *sh*, its so-called aspirate, being non-existent in the Greek language.

The sound of *ti* before a vowel, as in *salvation*, is explained in p. 153.

"*Th* has two sounds; the one soft [flat], as *thus*, *whether*; the other hard [sharp], as *thing*, *think*. The sound is soft [flat] in all words between two vowels, as *father*, *whether*; and between *r* and a vowel, as *burthen*."—*Johnson.* The reason of the latter statement lies in the fact of both the vowels and *r* being *flat* (see p. 152), and so exerting a flattening influence upon the sounds in contact with them.

In the substantives *breath* and *cloth*, the *th* is sharp (*i.e.*, as *th* in *thin*); in the verbs *breathe* and *clothe*, the *th* is flat (*i.e.*, as *th* in *thine*).—A great number of substantives may be made verbs by changing the sound of their final consonant. However, with the words *breathe* and *clothe*, a second change has taken place, *viz.*, the vowel has been lengthened. Now of these two changes, *viz.*, the lengthening of the vowel, and the flattening of the consonant, which is the one represented by the *e* mute, in *clothe* and *breathe*, as compared with *cloth* and *breath*? I imagine the former. Hence an exception is taken to the following statement of Dr. Johnson:—"When it (*th*) is softened [flattened] at the end of a word, an *e* silent must be added, as *breath*, *breathe*, *cloth*, *clothe*."

The sounds of the *s* in *sure*, of the *t* in *picture* (when

pronounced *pictshure*), and of the *z* in *azure* and *glazier*, are explained in p. 153.

The present chapter is intended not to exhaust the list, but to illustrate the character of those orthographical expedients which insufficient alphabets, changes in language, and the influences of etymology engender both in the English and in other tongues.

CHAPTER X.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE ENGLISH ALPHABET.

§ 256. The preceding chapter has exhibited the theory of a full and perfect alphabet; it has shown how far the English alphabet falls short of such a standard; and, above all, it has exhibited the various conventional modes of spelling which the insufficiency of alphabets, combined with other causes, has engendered. The present chapter gives a *history* of our alphabet, whereby many of its defects are *accounted for*. These defects, it may be said, once for all, the English alphabet shares with those of the rest of the world; although, with the doubtful exception of the French, it possesses them in a higher degree than any.

With few, if any, exceptions, all the modes of writing in the world originate, directly or indirectly, from the Phœnician, Hebrew, or Semitic alphabet. This is easily accounted for when we call to mind,—1. The fact that the Greek, the Latin, and the Arabian alphabets, are all founded upon this; and, 2. The great influence of the nations speaking those three languages. The present sketch, however, is given

only for the sake of accounting for defects.

§ 257. *Phœnician, Hebrew, or Semitic Period.*—At a certain period the alphabet of Palestine, Phœnicia, and the neighbouring languages of the Semitic tribes, consisted of twenty-two separate and distinct letters. For these see the Hebrew Grammars and the Phœnicia of Gesenius.

The chances are, that, let a language possess as few elementary articulate sounds as possible, an alphabet of only twenty-two letters will be insufficient. Now, in the particular case of the languages in point, the number of elementary sounds, as we infer from the present Arabic, was above the average. It may safely be asserted, that the original Semitic alphabet was *insufficient* for even the Semitic languages.

It was, moreover, *inconsistent*: since sounds as like as those of *teth* and *tau* (mere variations of each other) were expressed by signs as unlike as ט and ת ;whilst sounds as unlike as those of *beth* with a point, and *beth* without a point (*b* and *v*), were expressed (if expressed at all) by signs as like as ב and בּ .

In this state it was imported into Greece. Now, as it rarely happens that any two languages have precisely the same elementary articulate sounds, so it rarely happens that an alphabet can be transplanted from one tongue to another, and be found, at once, to coincide.

The Greeks had, in all probability, sounds which were wanting in Palestine and Phœnicia. In Palestine and Phœnicia it is certain that there were sounds wanting in Greece.

Of the twenty-two Phœnician letters the Greeks took

but twenty-one. The eighteenth letter, *tsadi*, ץ, was never imported into Europe.

§ 258. *Greek Period.*—Compared with the Semitic, the *Old* Greek alphabet ran thus:—

	Hebrew.	*Hebrew.*	*Greek.*	*Greek.*
1.	13.א	מ	A.	M.
2.	14.ב	נ	B.	N.
3.	15.ג	ס	Γ.	Σ?
4.	16.ד	ע	Δ.	O.
5.	17.ה	פ	E.	Π.
6.	18.ו	צ	F.	—
7.	19.ז	ק	Z.	A letter
8.	ח		H.	called
9.	ט		Θ.	koppa,
10.	י		I.	afterwards ejected.
11.	20.כ	ר	K.	P.
12.	21.ל	ש	Λ.	M afterwards Σ?
	22.	ת		T.

Such the order and form of the Greek and Hebrew letters. Here it may be remarked, that, of each alphabet, it is only the modern forms that are compared; the likeness in the *shape* of the letters may be seen by comparing them in their older stages. Of these the exhibition, in a work like the present, is inconvenient. They may, however, be studied in the work already referred to in the *Phœnicia* of Gesenius. The *names* of the letters are as follows:—

	Hebrew.	*Hebrew.*	*Greek.*	*Greek.*
1.	12.	Aleph	Alpha.	Lambda.
2.	13.	Beth	Mem	Bæta.	Mu.
3.	14.	Gimel	Nun	Gamma.	Nu.
4.	15.	Daleth	Samech	Delta.	Sigma?
5.	16.	He.	Ayn	E, *psilon.*	O.
6.	17.	Vau	Pe	*Digamma.*	Pi.
7.	18.	Zayn	Tsadi	Zæta.	——
8.	19.	Heth	Kof	Hæta.	Koppa,
9.		Teth		Thæta.	*Archaic.*
10.	20.	Yod	Resh	Iôta.	Rho.
11.	21.	Kaph	Sin	Kappa.	San,
					Doric.
	22.	Tau		Tau.	

§ 259. The Asiatic alphabet of Phœnicia and Palestine is now adapted to the European language of Greece. The first change took place in the manner of writing. The Orientals wrote from right to left; the Greeks from left to right. Besides this, the following principles, applicable whenever the alphabet of one language is transferred to another, were recognised: —

1. Letters for which there was no use were left behind. This was the case, as seen above, with the eighteenth letter, *tsadi.*

2. Letters expressive of sounds for which there was no precise equivalent in Greek, were used with other powers. This was the case with letters 5, 8, 16, and probably with some others.

3. Letters of which the original sound, in the course

of time, became changed, were allowed, as it were, to drop out of the alphabet. This was the case with 6 and 19.

4. For such simple single elementary articulate sounds as there was no sign or letter representant, new signs, or letters, were invented. This principle gave to the Greek alphabet the new signs φ, χ, υ, ω.

5. The new signs were not mere modifications of the older ones (as was the case with פ , פ , ב , ב , &c. in Hebrew), but new, distinct, and independent letters.

In all this there was an improvement. The faults of the newer Greek alphabet consisted in the admission of the compendium ψ = *ps*, and the retention of the fifteenth letter (*samech*, *xi*), with the power of *ks*, it being also a compendium.

§ 260. *The Italian or old Latin period.*—That it was either from the original Phœnician, or from the *old* Greek, that the Italian alphabets were imported, we learn from the existence in them of the letters *f* and *q*, corresponding respectively to the sixth and nineteenth letters; these having, in the second stage of the Greek alphabet, been ejected.

§ 261. The first alphabet imported into Italy was the Etruscan. In this the β, δ, and ο were ejected, their sounds (as it is stated) not being found in the Etruscan language. Be it observed, that the sounds both of β and δ are *flat*. Just as in the Devonshire dialect the flat sounds (*z*, *v*, &c.) have the preponderance, so, in the Etruscan, does there seem to have been a preponderating quantity of the sharp sounds. This prepares us for a change, the effects whereof exist in almost all the alphabets of Europe. In Greek and Hebrew the third letter (*gimel*, *gamma*)

had the power of the flat mute *g*, as in *gun*. In the Etruscan it had the power of *k*. In this use of the third letter the Romans followed the Etruscans: but, as they had also in their language the sound of *g* (as in *gun*), they used, up to the Second Punic War, the third letter (*viz. c*), to denote both sounds. In the Duillian column we have MACESTRATOS, CARTHACINIENSES.[36] Afterwards, however, the separate sign (or letter) *g* was invented, being originally a mere modification of *c*. The *place* of *g* in the alphabet is involved in the history of *z*.

§ 262. The Roman alphabet had a double origin. For the first two centuries after the foundation of the city the alphabet used was the Etruscan, derived directly from the Greek, and from the *old* Greek. This accounts for the presence of *f* and *q*.

Afterwards, however, the Romans modified their alphabet by the alphabet of the Italian Greeks; these Italian Greeks using the late Greek alphabet. This accounts for the presence of *v*, originating in the Greek *ypsilon*.

In accommodating the Greek alphabet to their own language, the Latins recognised the following principles:—

I. The ejection of such letters as were not wanted. Thus it was that the seventh letter (*zayn*, *zæta*) was thrown out of the alphabet, and the new letter, *g*, put in its place. Subsequently, *z* was restored for the sake of spelling Greek words, but was placed at the end of the alphabet. Thus also it was, that *thæta*, *kappa* (*c* being equivalent to *k*), and the fifteenth letter, were ejected, while ψ and χ were never admitted. In after-times the fifteenth letter (now *xi*) was restored, for

the same reason that *z* was restored, and, like *z*, was placed at the end of the alphabet.

II. The use of the imported letters with a new power. Hence the sixth letter took the sound, not of *v* or *w*, but of *f*; and the eighth of *h*.

Beyond this the Romans made but slight alterations. In ejecting *kappa*, *thæta* and *chi*, they did mischief. The same in changing the power of *c*. The representation of φ by *ph*, and of θ by *th* was highly erroneous. The retention of *x* and *q* was unnecessary. *V* and *j*, two letters whereby the alphabet was really enriched, were mere modifications of *u* and *i* respectively. *Y* also seems a modification of *v*.

Neither the Latin, Greek, nor Hebrew orthographies were much warped to etymological purposes.

It should be observed, that in the Latin the letters have no longer any names (like *beth*, *bæta*), except such as are derived from their powers (*be*, *ce*).

It may now be seen that with a language containing such sounds as the *th* in *thin* and *thine*, and the *ch* in the German *auch*, it is to their advantage to derive their alphabet from the Greek; whilst, with a language containing such sounds as *h* and *v*, it is to their advantage to derive it from the Latin.

It may also be seen, that, without due alterations and additions, the alphabet of one country will not serve as the alphabet of another.

§ 263. *The Mœso-Gothic alphabet.*—In the third century the classical alphabets were applied to a Gothic language. I use the word alphabets because the Mœso-Gothic letters borrowed from both the Latin and the Greek. Their form and order may be

seen in Hickes' Thesaurus and in Lye's Grammar. With the Greek they agree in the following particulars.

1. In the sound of the third letter being not that of κ (*c*), but of the *g* in *gun*.

2. In retaining *kappa* and *chi*.

3. In expressing the simple single sound of *th* by a simple single sign. This sign, however, has neither the shape nor alphabetical position of the Greek *thœta*.

With the Latin they agree, 1. in possessing letters equivalent to *f*, *g*, *h*, *q*, *y*.

2. In placing *z* at the end of the alphabet.

The Mœso-Gothic alphabet seems to have been formed on eclectic principles, and on principles sufficiently bold. Neither was its application traversed by etymological views. I cannot trace its influence, except, perhaps, in the case of the Anglo-Saxon letters *þ* and ƿ, upon any other alphabet; nor does it seem to have been acted upon by any earlier Gothic alphabet.

§ 264. *The Anglo-Saxon alphabet.*—What sort of an alphabet the Gothic languages possess we know: what sort of alphabet they require, we can determine. For the following sounds (amongst others) current in the Gothic, either one or both of the classical languages are deficient in corresponding signs.

1. The *th* in *thin*.—A sign in Greek (θ), but none in Latin.

2. The *th* in *thine*.—A sign neither in Greek nor Latin.

3. The *ch* in the German *auch*.—A sign in Greek (χ), but none in Latin.

4. The flat sound of the same, or the probable sound of the *h* in *þurh*, *leoht*, &c., Anglo-Saxon.—A sign neither in Greek nor Latin.

5. The *sh* in *shine*.—A sign neither in Greek nor Latin.

6. The *z* in *azure*.—A sign neither in Greek nor Latin.

7. The *ch* in *chest*.—A sign neither in Greek nor Latin, unless we suppose that at the time when the Anglo-Saxon alphabet was formed, the Latin *c* in words like *civitas* had the power, which it has in the present Italian, of *ch*.

8. The *j* in *jest*.—A sign neither in Greek nor Latin, unless we admit the same supposition in respect to *g*, that has been indicated in respect to *c*.

9. The sound of the *kj*; in the Norwegian *kjenner*; *viz.*, that (thereabouts) of *ksh*.—A sign neither in Latin nor Greek.

10. The English sound of *w*.—A sign neither in Latin nor Greek.

11. The sound of the German *ü*, Danish *y*.—No sign in Latin; probably one in Greek, *viz.*, υ.

12. Signs for distinguishing the long and short vowels, as ε and η, ο and ω.—Wanting in Latin, but existing in Greek.

In all these points the classical alphabets (one or both) were deficient. To make up for their insufficiency one of two things was necessary, either to coin new letters, or to use conventional combinations of the old.

In the Anglo-Saxon alphabet (derived from the Latin) we have the following features:—

1. *C* used to the exclusion of *k*.

2. The absence of the letter *j*, either with the power of *y*, as in German, of *zh*, as in French, or of *dzh*, as in English.

3. The absence of *q*; a useful omission, *cw* serving instead.

4. The absence of *v*; *u*, either single or double, being used instead.

5. The use of *y* as a vowel, and of *e* as *y*.

6. The absence of *z*.

7. Use of *uu*, as *w*, or *v*: Old Saxon.

8. The use, in certain conditions, of *f* for *v*.

9. The presence of the simple single signs *þ* and *ð*, for the *th* in *thin*, and the *th* in *thine*.

Of the Anglo-Saxon alphabet we may safely say that it was *insufficient*. The points wherein the Latin alphabet was improved in its adaptation to the Gothic tongues, are, 1. the admission of *þ* and *ð*; 2. the evolution of *w* out of *u*. Upon this latter circumstance, and on *k* and *z*, I make the following extract from the Latin Dedication of Otfrid's Krist: —"Hujus enim linguæ barbaries, ut est inculta et indisciplinabilis, atque insueta capi regulari freno grammaticæ artis, sic etiam in multis dictis scriptu est difficilis propter literarum aut congeriem, aut incognitam sonoritatem. Nam interdum tria *u u u* ut puto quærit in sono; priores duo consonantes, ut mihi videtur, tertium vocali sono manente," And,

further, in respect to other orthographical difficulties:—"Interdum vero nec *a*, nec *e*, nec *i*, nec *u*, vocalium sonos præcanere potui, ibi *y* Grecum mihi videbatur ascribi. Et etiam hoc elementum lingua hæc horrescit interdum; nulli se characteri aliquotiens in quodam sono nisi difficile jungens. *K* et *z* sæpius hæc lingua extra usum Latinitatis utitur; quæ grammatici inter litteras dicunt esse superfluas. Ob stridorem autem dentium interdum ut puto in hac lingua *z* utuntur, *k* autem propter faucium sonoritatem."

§ 265. *The Anglo-Norman Period.*—Between the Latin alphabet, as applied to the Anglo-Saxon, and the Latin alphabet, as applied to the Norman-French, there are certain points of difference. In the first place, the sound-system of the languages (like the French) derived from the Latin, bore a greater resemblance to that of the Romans, than was to be found amongst the Gothic tongues. Secondly, the alphabets of the languages in point were more exclusively Latin. In the present French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese, there is an exclusion of the *k*. This is not the case with the Anglo-Norman. Like the Latins, the Anglo-Normans considered that the sound of the Greek θ was represented by *th*: not, however, having this sound in their language, there was no corresponding sign in their alphabet. The greatest mischief done by the Norman influence was the ejection from the English alphabet of *þ* and *ð*. In other respects the alphabet was improved. The letters *z*, *k*, *j*, were either imported or more currently recognised. The letter *y* took a semi-vowel power, having been previously represented by *e*; itself having the power of *i*. The mode of spelling the compound sibilant with *ch* was evolved. My notions concerning this mode of spelling are as follows:—At

a given period the sound of *ce* in *ceaster*, originally that of *ke*, had become, first, that of *ksh*, and, secondly, that of *tsh*; still it was spelt *ce*, the *e*, in the eyes of the Anglo-Saxons, having the power of *y*. In the eyes also of the Anglo-Saxons the compound sound of *ksh*, or *tsh*, would differ from that of *k* by the addition of *y*: this, it may be said, was the Anglo-Saxon view of the matter. The Anglo-Norman view was different. Modified by the part that, in the combination *th*, was played by the aspirate *h*, it was conceived by the Anglo-Normans, that *ksh*, or *tsh*, differed from *k*, not by the addition of *y* (expressed by *e*), but by that of *h*. Hence the combination *ch* as sounded in *chest*. The same was the case with *sh*. This latter statement is a point in the history, not so much of an alphabet, as of an orthography.

The preceding sketch, as has been said more than once before, has been given with one view only, *viz.*, that of accounting for defective modes of spelling. The history of almost all alphabets is the same. Originally either insufficient, erroneous, or inconsistent, they are transplanted from one language to a different, due alterations and additions rarely being made.

§ 266. The reduplication of the consonant following, to express the shortness (dependence) of the preceding vowel, is as old as the classical languages: *terra*, θάλασσα. The following extract from the Ormulum (written in the thirteenth century) is the fullest recognition of the practice that I have met with. The extract is from Thorpe's Analecta Anglo-Saxonica.

And whase wilenn shall þis boc,
Efft oþerr siþe writenn,
Himm bidde iec þatt hett write rihht,
Swa sum þiss boc himm tæcheþþ;
All þwerrt utt affterr þatt itt iss
Oppo þiss firrste bisne,
Wiþþ all swilc rime als her iss sett,
Wiþþ alse fele wordess:

And tatt he loke wel þatt he
An boc-staff write twiggess,[37]
Eggwhær þær itt uppo þiss boc
Iss writenn o þatt wise:
Loke he well þatt hett write swa,
Forr he ne magg noht elless,
On Englissh writenn rihht te word,
Þatt wite he wel to soþe.

Concerning the various other orthographical expedients, such as the reduplication of the vowel to express its length (*mood*), &c., I can give no satisfactory detailed history. The influence of the Anglo-Norman, a language derived from the Latin, established, in its fullest force, the recognition of the etymological principle.

§ 267. "I cannot trace the influence of the Mœso-Gothic alphabet, except, perhaps, in the case of the Anglo-Saxon letters *þ* and ƿ, upon any other alphabet; *nor does it seem to have been itself acted upon by any earlier Gothic alphabet*." (See p. 205.) The reason for the remark in Italics was as follows: In the Icelandic language the word *run* signifies a *letter*, and the word *runa* a *furrow*, or *line*. It has also some secondary meanings, which it is unnecessary to give in detail. Upon a vast number of inscriptions, some

upon rocks, some upon stones of a defined shape, we find an alphabet different (at least, apparently so) from that of the Greeks, Latins, and Hebrews, and also unlike that of any modern nation. In this alphabet there is a marked deficiency of curved or rounded lines, and an exclusive preponderance of straight ones. As it was engraved rather than written, this is what we naturally expect. These letters are called Runes, and the alphabet which they constitute is called the Runic alphabet. Sometimes, by an extension of meaning, the Old Norse language, wherein they most frequently occur, is called the Runic language. This is as incorrect as to call a language an alphabetic language. To say, however, the Runic stage of a language is neither inaccurate nor inconvenient. The Runic alphabet, whether borrowed or invented by the early Goths, is of greater antiquity than either the oldest Teutonic or the Mœso-Gothic alphabets. The forms, names, and order of the letters may be seen in Hickes' Thesaurus, in Olai Wormii Literatura Runica, in Rask's Icelandic Grammar, and in W. Grimm's Deutsche Runer.

The original number of the Runic letters is sixteen; expressing the sounds of *f*, *u*, *þ*, *o*, *r*, *k*, *h*, *n*, *a*, *i*, *s*, *t*, *b*, *l*, *m*, *y*. To these are added four spurious Runes, denoting *c*, *x*, *æ*, *ö*, and eight pointed Runes after the fashion of the pointed letters in Hebrew. In all this we see the influence of the imported alphabet upon the original Runes, rather than that of the original Runes upon the imported alphabet. It should, however, be remarked, that in the Runic alphabet the sound of *th* in *thin* is expressed by a simple sign, and that by a sign not unlike the Anglo-Saxon þ.

§ 268. *The Order of the Alphabet.*—In the history of our alphabet, we have had the history of the changes

in the arrangement, as well as of the changes in the number and power of its letters. The following question now presents itself: *viz.*, Is there in the order of the letters any *natural* arrangement, or is the original as well as the present succession of letters arbitrary and accidental? In the year 1835 I conceived, that in the order of the Hebrew alphabet I had discovered a very artificial arrangement. I also imagined that this artificial arrangement had been detected by no one besides myself. Two years afterwards a friend[38] stated to me that he had made a similar observation, and in 1839 appeared, in Mr. Donaldson's New Cratylus, the quotation with which the present section will be concluded. The three views in the main coincide; and, as each has been formed independently (Mr. Donaldson's being the first recorded), they give the satisfactory result of three separate investigations coinciding in a theory essentially the same. The order of the Hebrew alphabet is as follows:—

	Name.	*Sound.*
1.	*Aleph*	Either L. a vowel or a breathing.
2.	*Beth*	B.
3.	*Gimel*	G. as in *gun*.
4.	*Daleth*	D.
5.	*He*	Either a vowel or ~~or~~?
6.	*Vaw*	V.
7.	*Zayn*	Z.
8.	*Kheth*	a variety of K.
9.	*Teth*	a variety of T.
10.	*Yod*	I.
11.	*Caph*	K.
12.	*Lamed*	L.
13.	*Mem*	M.
14.	*Nun*	N.
15.	*Samech*	a variety of S.
16.	*Ayn*	Either a vowel or? an aspirate.
17.	*Pe*	P.
18.	*Tsadi*	TS.
19.	*Koph*	a variety of K.
20.	*Resh*	R.
21.	*Sin*	S.
22.	*Tau*	T.

Let *beth*, *vaw*, and *pe* (*b*, *v*, *p*) constitute a series called series P. Let *gimel*, *kheth*, and *koph* (*g*, *kh*, *k`*) constitute a series called series K. Let *daleth*, *teth*, and *tau* (*d*, *t`*, *t*) constitute a series called series T. Let *aleph*, *he*, and *ayn* constitute a series called the vowel series. Let the first four letters be taken in their order.

1. *Aleph* of the vowel series.
2. *Beth* of series P.
3. *Gimel* of series K.

4. *Daleth* of series T.

Herein the consonant of series B comes next to the letter of the vowel series; that of series K follows; and, in the last place, comes the letter of series D. After this the order changes: *daleth* being followed by *he* of the vowel series.

5. *He* of the vowel series.
6. *Vaw* of series P.
7. *Zayn* ——
8. *Kheth* of series K.
9. *Teth* of series T.

In this second sequence the *relative* positions of *v*, *kh*, and *t`* are the same in respect to each other, and the same in respect to the vowel series. The sequence itself is broken by the letter *zayn*, but it is remarkable that the principle of the sequence is the same. Series P follows the vowel, and series T is farthest from it. After this the system becomes but fragmentary. Still, even now, *pe*, of series P, follows *ayn*; *tau*, of series D, is farthest from it; and *koph*, of series K, is intermediate. I am satisfied that we have in the Hebrew alphabet, and in all alphabets derived from it (consequently in the English), if not a system, the rudiments of a system, and that the system is of the sort indicated above; in other words, that the order of the alphabet is a *circulating order*.

In Mr. Donaldson's hands this view is not only a fact, but an instrument of criticism:—"The fact is, in our opinion, the original Semitic alphabet contained only sixteen letters. This appears from the organic arrangement of their characters. The remaining sixteen letters appear in the following order:—*aleph*, *beth*, *gimel*, *daleth*, *he*, *vaw*, *kheth*, *teth*, *lamed*, *mem*,

nun, *samech*, *ayn*, *pe*, *koph*, *tau*. If we examine this order more minutely, we shall see that it is not arbitrary or accidental, but strictly organic, according to the Semitic articulation. We have four classes, each consisting of four letters: the first and second classes consist each of three mutes, preceded by a breathing; the third of the three liquids and the sibilant, which, perhaps, closed the oldest alphabet of all; and the fourth contains the three supernumerary mutes, preceded by a breathing. We place the characters first vertically:—

Aleph	א	First breathing	
Beth	ב	B	*Media.*
Gimel	ג	G	
Daleth	ד	D	
He	ה	Second breathing.	
Vaw	ו	Bh	*Aspirate.*
Kheth	ח	Gh	
Teth	ט	Dh	
Lamed	ל	L	*Liquids.*
Mem	מ	M	
Nun	נ	N	
Samech	ס	S *The Sibilant.*	
Ayn	ע	Third breathing.	
Pe	פ	P	*Tenues.*
Koph	ק	K	
Tau	ת	T	

In the horizontal arrangement we shall, for the sake of greater simplicity, omit the liquids and the sibilant, and then we have

Breathings.	*Labials.*	*Palatals.*	*Linguals.*
א	ב	ג	ד
ה	ו	ח	ט
ע	פ	ק	ת

In this we see, that, while the horizontal lines give us the arrangement of the mutes according to the breathings, the vertical columns exhibit them arranged according to the organ by which they are produced. Such a classification is obviously artificial."

§ 269. *Parallel and equivalent orthographies.*—Let there be in two given languages the sound of *k*, as in *kin*. Let each of these languages represent it by the same letter, *k*. In this case, the two orthographies are identical. Let, however, one nation represent it by *k*, and another by *c*. In this case the orthographies are not identical, but parallel. The same is the case with combinations. Let one nation (say the Anglo-Saxon) represent the sound of *y* (in *ye*) by *e*, whilst another nation (the Norse) represents it by *j*. What the Anglo-Saxon spells *ceaster*, the Northman spells *kjaster*; and what the Northman spells *kjære*, the Anglo-Saxon spells *ceære*. Let the sound of this *ce* and *kj* undergo a change, and become *ksh*; *kjære* and *ceære*, being pronounced *kshære*. The view of the Northman and Anglo-Saxon will be the same; each will consider that the compound sound differs from the simple one by the addition of the sound of *y*; that sound being expressed in one nation by *e*, and in the other by *j*. In this case the two expressions of the compound sound are parallel, its elements being considered the same,

although the signs by which those elements are expressed are different.

Let, however, a different view of the compound sound be taken. Let it be thought that the sound of *ksh* differs from that of *k*, not by the addition of the sound of *y*, but by that of *h*; and so let it be spelt *kh* or *ch*. In this case the orthographies *kh* and *kj* (or *ce*) are not parallel, but equivalent. They express the same sound, but they do not denote the same elements. The same sound is, very possibly, expressed by the Anglo-Saxon *ce*, the Norwegian *kj*, and the English *ch*. In this case *ce* and *kj* are parallel, *ce* and *ch* equivalent, orthographies.

PART IV.

ETYMOLOGY.

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CHAPTER I.

ON THE PROVINCE OF ETYMOLOGY.

§ 270. The word etymology, derived from the Greek, in the current language of scholars and grammarians, has a double meaning. At times it is used in a wide, and at times in a restricted, sense. What follows is an exhibition of the province or department of etymology.

If in the English language we take such a word as *fathers*, we are enabled to divide it into two parts; in other words, to reduce it into two elements. By comparing it with the word *father*, we see that the *s*

is neither part nor parcel of the original word. The word *fathers* is a word capable of being analysed; *father* being the original primitive word, and *s* the secondary superadded termination. From the word *father*, the word *fathers* is derived, or (changing the expression) deduced, or descended. What has been said of the word *fathers* may also be said of *fatherly*, *fatherlike*, *fatherless*, &c. Now, from the word *father*, all these words (*fathers*, *fatherly*, *fatherlike* and *fatherless*) differ in form, and (not, however, necessarily) in meaning. To become such a word as *fathers*, &c., the word *father* is changed. Of changes of this sort, it is the province of etymology to take cognizance.

Compared with the form *fathers*, the word *father* is the older form of the two. The word *father* is a word current in this the nineteenth century. The same word was current in the first century, although under a different form, and in a different language. Thus, in the Latin language, the form was *pater*; and earlier still, there is the Sanskrit form *pitr*. Now, just as the word *father*, compared with *fathers*, is original and primitive, so is *pater*, compared with *father*, original and primitive. The difference is, that in respect to *father* and *fathers*, the change that takes place, takes place within the same language, whilst the change that takes place between *pater* and *father* takes place within different languages. Of changes of this latter kind it is the province of etymology to take cognizance.

In its widest signification, etymology takes cognizance *of the changes of the form of words*. However, as the etymology that compares the forms *fathers* and *father* is different from the etymology that compares *father* and *pater*, we have, of etymology,

two sorts: one dealing with the changes of form that words undergo in one and the same language (*father*, *fathers*), the other dealing with the changes that words undergo in passing from one language to another (*pater*, *father*).

The first of these sorts may be called etymology in the limited sense of the word, or the etymology of the grammarian. In this case it is opposed to orthoepy, orthography, syntax, and the other parts of grammar. This is the etymology of the ensuing pages.

The second may be called etymology in the wide sense of the word, historical etymology, or comparative etymology.

It must be again repeated that the two sorts of etymology agree in one point, viz., in taking cognizance of the *changes of form that words undergo*. Whether the change arise from grammatical reasons, as *father*, *fathers*, or from a change of language taking place in the lapse of time, as *pater*, *father*, is a matter of indifference.

In the Latin *pater*, and in the English *father*, we have one of two things, either two words descended or derived from each other, or two words descended or derived from a common original source.

In *fathers* we have a formation deduced from the radical word *father*.

In *fatherlike* we have a compound word capable of being analysed into the two primitive words, 1. *father*; 2. *like*.

With these preliminaries we may appreciate (or criticise) Dr. Johnson's explanation of the word etymology.

"ETYMOLOGY, N. S. (*etymologia*, Lat.) ἔτυμος (*etymos*) *true*, and λόγος (*logos*) *a word*.

"1. *The descent or derivation of a word from its original; the deduction of formations from the radical word; the analysis of compounds into primitives.*

"2. *The part of grammar which delivers the inflections of nouns and verbs.*"

CHAPTER II.

ON GENDER.

§ 271. The nature of gender is best exhibited by reference to those languages wherein the distinction of gender is most conspicuous. Such a language, amongst others, is the Latin.

How far is there such a thing as gender in the English language? This depends upon the meaning that we attach to the word gender.

In the Latin language, where there are confessedly genders, we have the words *taurus*, meaning a *bull*, and *vacca*, meaning a *cow*. Here the natural distinction of sex is expressed by *wholly* different words. With this we have corresponding modes of expression in English: *e.g.*,

Male.	*Male.*	*Female.*	*Female.*
Bachelor	Horse	Spinster.	Mare.
Boar	Ram	Sow.	Ewe.
Boy	Son	Girl.	Daughter.
Brother	Uncle	Sister.	Aunt.
Buck	Father	Doe.	Mother, &c.

The mode, however, of expressing different sexes by *wholly* different words is not a matter of gender. The words *boy* and *girl* bear no *etymological* relation to each other; neither being derived from the other, nor in any way connected with it.

§ 272. Neither are words like *cock-sparrow*, *man-servant*, *he-goat*, &c., as compared with *hen-sparrow*, *maid-servant*, *she-goat*, &c., specimens of gender. Here a difference of sex is indicated by the addition of a fresh term, from which is formed a compound word.

§ 273. In the Latin words *genitrix = a mother*, and *genitor = a father*, we have a nearer approach to gender. Here the difference of sex is expressed by a difference of termination; the words *genitor* and *genitrix* being in a true etymological relation, *i. e.*, either derived from each other, or from some common source. With this we have, in English corresponding modes of expression: *e. g.*,

Male.	*Female.*
Actor	Actress.
Lion	Lioness.
Arbiter	Arbitress.
Peer	Peeress.
Baron	Baroness.
Poet	Poetess.
Benefactor	Benefactress.
Sorcerer	Sorceress.
Countryman	Countrywoman.
Songster	Songstress.
Duke	Duchess.
Tiger	Tigress.

This, however, in strict grammatical language, is an approach to gender rather than gender itself. Its difference from true grammatical gender is as follows:—

Let the Latin words *genitor* and *genitrix* be declined:—

Sing.	*Nom.*	Genitor	Genitrix.
	Gen.	Genitor-*is*	Genitric-*is*.
	Dat.	Genitor-*i*	Genitric-*i*.
	Acc.	Genitor-*em*	Genitric-*em*.
	Voc.	Genitor	Genitrix.
Plur.	*Nom.*	Genitor-*es*	Genitric-*es*.
	Gen.	Genitor-*um*	Genitric-*um*.
	Dat.	Genitor-*ibus*	Genitric-*ibus*.
	Acc.	Genitor-*es*	Genitric-*es*.
	Voc.	Genitor-*es*	Genitric-*es*.

The syllables in italics are the signs of the cases and numbers. Now these signs are the same in each word, the difference of meaning (or sex) not affecting them.

§ 274. Contrast, however, with the words *genitor* and *genitrix* the words *domina = a mistress*, and *dominus = a master*.

Sing.	*Nom.*	Domin-*a*	Domin-*us*.
	Gen.	Domin-*æ*	Domin-*i*.
	Dat.	Domin-*æ*	Domin-*o*.
	Acc.	Domin-*am*	Domin-*um*.
	Voc.	Domin-*a*	Domin-*e*.
Plur.	*Nom.*	Domin-*æ*	Domin-*i*.
	Gen.	Domin-*arum*	Domin-*orum*.
	Dat.	Domin-*abus*	Domin-*is*.
	Acc.	Domin-*as*	Domin-*os*.
	Voc.	Domin-*æ*	Domin-*i*.

Here the letters in italics, or the signs of the cases and numbers, are different, the difference being brought about by the difference of gender. Now it is very evident that, if *genitrix* be a specimen of gender, *domina* is something more.

As terms, to be useful, must be limited, it may be laid down, as a sort of definition, that *there is no gender where there is no affection of the declension*: consequently, that, although we have, in English, words corresponding to *genitrix* and *genitor*, we have no true genders until we find words corresponding to *dominus* and *domina*.

§ 275. The second element in the notion of gender, although I will not venture to call it an essential one, is the following:—In the words *domina* and *dominus*, *mistress* and *master*, there is a *natural* distinction of sex; the one being masculine, or male, the other feminine, or female. In the words *sword* and *lance* there is *no natural* distinction of sex. Notwithstanding this, the word *hasta*, in Latin, is as much a feminine gender as *domina*, whilst *gladius = a sword* is, like *dominus*, a masculine noun. From this we see that, in

languages wherein there are true genders, a fictitious or conventional sex is attributed even to inanimate objects. Sex is a natural distinction, gender a grammatical one.

§ 276. "Although we have, in English, words corresponding to *genitrix* and *genitor*, we have no true genders until we find *words corresponding to dominus and domina*."—The sentence was intentionally worded with caution. Words like *dominus* and *domina*, that is, words where the declension is affected by the sex, *are* to be found.

The pronoun *him*, from the Anglo-Saxon and English *he*, as compared with the pronoun *her*, from the Anglo-Saxon *heò*, is affected in its declension by the difference of sex, and is a true, though fragmentary, specimen of gender: for be it observed, that as both words are in the same case and number, the difference in form must be referred to a difference of sex expressed by gender. The same is the case with the form *his* as compared with *her*.

The pronoun *it* (originally *hit*), as compared with *he*, is a specimen of gender.

The relative *what*, as compared with the masculine *who*, is a specimen of gender.

The forms *it* (for *hit*) and *he* are as much genders as *hic* and *hæc*, and the forms *hic* and *hæc* are as much genders as *dominus* and *domina*.

§ 277. The formation of the neuter gender by the addition of *-t*, in words like *wha-t*, *i-t*, and *tha-t*, occurs in other Indo-European languages. The *-t* in *tha-t* is the *-d* in *istu-d*, Latin, and the *-t* in *ta-t*, Sanskrit. Except, however, in the Gothic tongues, the

inflection *-t* is confined to the *pronouns*. In the Gothic this is not the case. Throughout all those languages where there is a neuter form for *adjectives* at all, that form is either *-t*, or a sound derived from it:—Mœso-Gothic, *blind-ata*; Old High German, *plint-ez*; Icelandic, *blind-t*; German, *blind-es* = *blind*, *cæc-um*.—See Bopp's Comparative Grammar, Eastwick and Wilson's translation, p. 171.

Which, as seen below, is *not* the neuter of *who*.

§ 278. Just as there are in English fragments of a gender modifying the declension, so are there, also, fragments of the second element of gender; *viz.*, the attribution of sex to objects naturally destitute of it. *The sun in* his *glory*, *the moon in* her *wane*, are examples of this. A sailor calls his ship *she*. A husbandman, according to Mr. Cobbett, does the same with his *plough* and working implements:—"In speaking of a *ship* we say *she* and *her*. And you know that our country-folks in Hampshire call almost everything *he* or *she*. It is curious to observe that country labourers give the feminine appellation to those things only which are more closely identified with themselves, and by the qualities or conditions of which their own efforts, and their character as workmen, are affected. The mower calls his *scythe* a *she*, the ploughman calls his *plough* a *she*; but a prong, or a shovel, or a harrow, which passes promiscuously from hand to hand, and which is appropriated to no particular labourer, is called a *he*."—*English Grammar*, Letter V.

Now, although Mr. Cobbett's statements may account for a sailor calling his ship *she*, they will not account for the custom of giving to the sun a masculine, and to the moon a feminine, pronoun, as is done in the

expressions quoted at the head of this section; still less will it account for the circumstance of the Germans reversing the gender, and making the *sun* feminine, and the *moon* masculine.

Let there be a period in the history of a nation wherein the sun and moon are dealt with, not as inanimate masses of matter, but as animated divinities. Let there, in other words, be a period in the history of a nation wherein dead things are personified, and wherein there is a mythology. Let an object like the *sun* be deemed a male, and an object like the *moon* a female, deity.

The Germans say the *sun in* her *glory*; the *moon in* his *wane*. This difference between the usage of the two languages, like so many others, is explained by the influence of the classical languages upon the English. —"*Mundilfori had two children; a son, Mâni (Moon), and a daughter, Sôl (Sun).*"—Such is an extract (taken second-hand from Grimm, vol. iii. p. 349) out of an Icelandic mythological work, *viz.*, the prose Edda. In the classical languages, however, *Phœbus* and *Sol* are masculine, and *Luna* and *Diana* feminine. Hence it is that, although in Anglo-Saxon and Old-Saxon the *sun* is *feminine*, it is in English masculine.

Philosophy, *charity*, &c., or the names of abstract qualities personified, take a conventional sex, and are feminine from their being feminine in Latin.

As in these words there is no change of form, the consideration of them is a point of rhetoric, rather than of etymology.

Upon phrases like *Cock Robin*, *Robin Redbreast*, *Jenny Wren*, expressive of sex, much information may be collected from Grimm's Deutsche Grammatik, vol. iii.

p. 359.

§ 279. The remainder of this chapter is devoted to miscellaneous remarks upon the true and apparent genders of the English language.

1. With the false genders like *baron*, *baroness*, it is a general rule that the feminine form is derived from the masculine, and not the masculine from the feminine; as *peer*, *peeress*. The words *widower*, *gander*, and *drake* are exceptions. For the word *wizard*, from *witch*, see the section on augmentative forms.

2. The termination *-ess*, in which so large a portion of our feminine substantives terminate, is not of Saxon but of classical origin, being derived from the termination *-ix*, *genitrix*.

3. The words *shepherdess*, *huntress*, and *hostess* are faulty; the radical part of the word being Germanic, and the secondary part classical: indeed, in strict English grammar, the termination *-ess* has no place at all. It is a classic, not a Gothic, element.

4. The termination *-inn*, so current in German, as the equivalent to *-ess*, and as a feminine affix (*freund = a friend*; *freundinn = a female friend*), is found only in one or two words in English.

> There were five *carlins* in the south
> That fell upon a scheme,
> To send a lad to London town
> To bring them tidings hame.
>
> BURNS.

Carlin means an *old woman*: Icelandic, *kerling*; Sw., *käring*; Dan. *kælling*. Root, *carl*.

Vixen is a true feminine derivative from *fox*. German, *füchsinn*.

Bruin = the bear, may be either a female form, as in Old High German *përo = a he-bear*, *pirinn = a she-bear*, or it may be the Norse form *björn = a bear*, male or female.

Words like *margravine* and *landgravine* prove nothing, being scarcely naturalised.

5. The termination *-str*, as in *webster*, *songster*, and *baxter*, was originally a feminine affix. Thus, in Anglo-Saxon,

Sangere, *a male singer*	were opposed to	Sangëstre, *a female singer*.
Bäcere, *a male baker*		Bacestre, *a female baker*.
Fiðelere, *a male fiddler*		Fiðelstre, *a female fiddler*.
Vebbere, *a male weaver*		Vëbbëstre, *a female weaver*.
Rædere, *a male reader*		Rædestre, *a female reader*.
Seamere, *a male seamer*		Seamestre, *a female seamer*.

The same is the case in the present Dutch of Holland: *e.g.*, *spookster = a female fortune-teller*; *bakster = a baking-woman*; *waschster = a washerwoman*. (Grimm, Deutsche Grammatik, iii. p. 339.) The word *spinster* still retains its original feminine force.

6. The words *songstress* and *seamstress*, besides being, as far as concerns the intermixture of languages, in the predicament of *shepherdess*, have, moreover, a double feminine termination; 1st. *-str*, of Germanic,

2nd. *-ess*, of classical, origin.

7. In the word *heroine* we have a Greek termination, just as *-ix* is a Latin, and *-inn* a German one. It must not, however, be considered as derived from *hero*, by any process of the English language, but be dealt with as a separate importation from the Greek language.

8. The form *deaconess* is not wholly unexceptionable; since the termination *-ess* is of Latin, the root *deacon* of Greek origin: this Greek origin being rendered all the more conspicuous by the spelling, *deacon* (from *diaconos*), as compared with the Latin *decanus*.

9. The circumstance of *prince* ending in the sound of *s*, works a change in the accent of the word. As *s* is the final letter, it is necessary, in forming the plural number, and the genitive case, to add, not the simple letter *s*, as in *peers*, *priests*, &c., but the syllable *-es*. This makes the plural number and genitive case the same as the feminine form. Hence the feminine form is accented *princéss*, while *peéress*, *príestess*, &c., carry the accent on the first syllable. *Princéss* is remarkable as being the only word in English where the accent lies on the subordinate syllable.

10. It is uncertain whether *kit*, as compared with *cat*, be a feminine form or a diminutive form; in other words, whether it mean a *female cat* or a *young cat*.—See the Chapter on the Diminutives.

11. *Goose*, *gander*.—One peculiarity in this pair of words has already been indicated. In the older forms of the word *goose*, such as χὴν, Greek; *anser*, Latin; *gans*, German, as well as in the derived form *gander*, we have the proofs that, originally, there belonged to the word the sound of the letter *n*. In the forms

ὀδοὺς, ὀδόντος, Greek; *dens*, *dentis*, Latin; *zahn*, German; *tooth*, English, we find the analogy that accounts for the ejection of the *n*, and the lengthening of the vowel preceding. With respect, however, to the *d* in *gander*, it is not easy to say whether it is inserted in one word or omitted in the other. Neither can we give the precise power of the *-er*. The following forms (taken from Grimm, iii. p. 341) occur in the different Gothic dialects. *Gans*, fem.; *ganazzo*, masc., Old High German—*gôs*, f.; *gandra*, m., Anglo-Saxon—*gâs*, Icelandic, f.; *gaas*, Danish, f.; *gassi*, Icelandic, m.; *gasse*, Danish, m.—*ganser*, *ganserer*, *gansart*, *gänserich*, *gander*, masculine forms in different New German dialects.

12. Observe, the form *gänserich* has a masculine termination. The word *täuberich*, in provincial New German, has the same form and the same power. It denotes a *male dove*; *taube*, in German, signifying a *dove*. In *gänserich* and *täuberich*, we find preserved the termination *-rich* (or *-rik*), with a masculine power. Of this termination we have a remnant, in English, preserved in the curious word *drake*. To *duck* the word *drake* has no etymological relation whatsoever. It is derived from a word with which it has but one letter in common; *viz.* the Latin *anas = a duck*. Of this the root is *anat-*, as seen in the genitive case *anatis*. In Old High German we find the form *anetrekho = a drake*; in provincial New High German there is *enterich* and *äntrecht*, from whence come the English and Low German form *drake*. (Grimm, Deutsche Grammatik, iii. p. 341.)

13. *Peacock*, *peahen*, *bridegroom*.—In these compounds, it is not the words *pea* and *bride* that are rendered masculine or feminine by the addition of *cock*, *hen*, and *groom*, but it is the words *cock*, *hen*,

and *groom* that are modified by prefixing *pea* and *bride*. For an appreciation of this distinction, see the Chapter on Composition.

CHAPTER III.

THE NUMBERS.

§ 280. In the Greek language the word *patær* signifies a father, speaking of *one*, whilst *patere* signifies *two fathers*, speaking of a pair, and thirdly, *pateres* signifies *fathers*, speaking of any number beyond two. The three words, *patær*, *patere*, and *pateres*, are said to be in different numbers, the difference of meaning being expressed by a difference of form. These numbers have names. The number that speaks of *one* is the singular, the number that speaks of *two* is the *dual* (from the Latin word *duo* = *two*), and the number that speaks of *more than two* is the *plural*.

All languages have numbers, but all languages have not them to the same extent. The Hebrew has a dual, but it is restricted to nouns only (in Greek being extended to verbs). It has, moreover, this peculiarity; it applies, for the most part, only to things which are naturally double, as *the two eyes*, *the two hands*, &c. The Latin has no dual number at all, except the natural dual in the words *ambo* and *duo*.

§ 281. The question presents itself,—to what extent have we numbers in English? Like the Greek, Hebrew, and Latin, we have a singular and a plural. Like the Latin, and unlike the Greek and Hebrew, we have no dual.

§ Different from the question, to what degree have

we numbers? is the question,—over what extent of our language have we numbers? This distinction has already been foreshadowed or indicated. The Greeks, who said *typtô = I beat*, *typteton = ye two beat*, *typtomen = we beat*, had a dual number for their verbs as well as their nouns; while the Hebrew dual was limited to the nouns only. In the Greek, then, the dual number is spread over a greater extent of the language than in the Hebrew.

There is no dual in the present English. It has been seen, however, that in the Anglo-Saxon there *was* a dual. But the Anglo-Saxon dual, being restricted to the personal pronouns (*wit = we two*; *git = ye two*), was not co-extensive with the Greek dual.

There is no dual in the present German. In the ancient German there was one.

In the present Danish and Swedish there is no dual. In the Old Norse and in the present Icelandic a dual number is to be found.

From this we learn that the dual number is one of those inflections that languages drop as they become modern.

The numbers, then, in the present English are two, the singular and the plural. Over what extent of language have we a plural? The Latins say, *bonus pater = a good father*; *boni patres = good fathers*. In the Latin, the adjective *bonus* changes its form with the change of number of the substantive that it accompanies. In English it is only the substantive that is changed. Hence we see that in the Latin language the numbers were extended to adjectives, whereas in English they are confined to the substantives and pronouns. Compared with the

Anglo-Saxon, the present English is in the same relation as it is with the Latin. In the Anglo-Saxon there were plural forms for the adjectives.

For the forms *selves* and *others*, see the Syntax. For the present, it is sufficient to foreshadow a remark which will be made on the word *self*, *viz.* that whether it be a pronoun, a substantive, or an adjective, is a disputed point.

Words like *wheat*, *pitch*, *gold*, &c., where the idea is naturally singular; words like *bellows*, *scissors*, *lungs*, &c., where the idea is naturally plural; and words like *deer*, *sheep*, where the same form serves for the singular and plural, inasmuch as there takes place no change of form, are not under the province of etymology.

§ 282. The current rule is, that the plural number is formed from the singular by adding *s*, as *father*, *fathers*. However, if the reader will revert to the Section upon the sharp and flat Mutes, where it is stated that mutes of different degrees of sharpness and flatness cannot come together in the same syllable, he will find occasion to take to the current rule a verbal exception. The letter added to the word *father*, making it *fathers*, is *s* to the eye only. To the ear it is *z*. The word sounds *fatherz*. If the *s* retained its sound, the spelling would be *fatherce*. In *stags*, *lads*, &c., the sound is *stagz*, *ladz*. The rule, then, for the formation of the English plurals, rigorously expressed, is as follows.—*The plural is formed from the singular, by adding to words ending in a vowel, a liquid or flat mute, the flat lene sibilant (z); and to words ending in a sharp mute, the sharp lene sibilant (s): e.g.* (the *sound* of the word being expressed), *pea*, *peaz*; *tree*, *treez*; *day*, *dayz*; *hill*, *hillz*; *hen*, *henz*; *gig*,

gigz; *trap*, *traps*; *pit*, *pits*; *stack*, *stacks*. Upon the formation of the English plural some further remarks are necessary.

I. In the case of words ending in *b*, *v*, *d*, the *th* in *thine* = ð, or *g*, a change either of the final flat consonant, or of the sharp *s* affixed, was not a matter of choice, but of necessity; the combinations *abs*, *avs*, *ads*, *aðs*, *ags*, being unpronounceable. See the Section on the Law of Accommodation.

II. Whether the first of the two mutes should be accommodated to the second (*aps*, *afs*, *ats*, *aþs*, *asks*), or the second to the first (*abz*, *avz*, *aðz*, *agz*), is determined by the habit of the particular language in question; and, with a few apparent exceptions (mark the word *apparent*), it is the rule of the English language to accommodate the second sound to the first, and not *vice versâ*.

III. Such combinations as *peas*, *trees*, *hills*, *hens*, &c. (the *s* preserving its original power, and being sounded as if written *peace*, *treece*, *hillce*, *hence*), being pronounceable, the change from *s* to *z*, in words so ending, is *not* a matter determined by the necessity of the case, but by the habit of the English language.

IV. Although the vast majority of our plurals ends, not in *s*, but in *z*, the original addition was not *z*, but *s*. This we infer from three facts: 1. From the spelling; 2. from the fact of the sound of *z* being either rare or non-existent in Anglo-Saxon; 3. from the sufficiency of the causes to bring about the change.

It may now be seen that some slight variations in the form of our plurals are either mere points of

orthography, or else capable of being explained on very simple euphonic principles.

§ 283. *Boxes, churches, judges, lashes, kisses, blazes, princes.*—Here there is the addition, not of the mere letter *s*, but of the syllable *-es*. As *s* cannot be immediately added to *s*, the intervention of a vowel becomes necessary; and that all the words whose plural is formed in *-es* really end either in the sounds of *s*, or in the allied sounds of *z*, *sh*, or *zh*, may be seen by analysis; since *x*=*ks*, *ch*=*tsh*, and *j* or *ge*=*dzh*, whilst *ce*, in *prince*, is a mere point of orthography for *s*.

Monarchs, heresiarchs.—Here the *ch* equals not *tsh*, but *k*, so that there is no need of being told that they do not follow the analogy of *church*, &c.

Cargoes, echoes.—From *cargo* and *echo*, with the addition of *e*; an orthographical expedient for the sake of denoting the length of the vowel *o*.

Beauty, beauties; key, keys.—Like the word *cargoes*, &c., these forms are points, not of etymology, but of orthography.

§ 284. "A few *apparent* exceptions."—These words are taken from Observation II. in the present section. The apparent exceptions to the rule there laid down are the words *loaf*, *wife*, and a few others, whose plural is not sounded *loafs*, *wifs* (*loafce*, *wifce*), but *loavz*, *wivz* (written *loaves*, *wives*). Here it seems as if *z* had been added to the singular; and, contrary to rule, the final letter of the original word been accommodated to the *z*, instead of the *z* being accommodated to the final syllable of the word, and so becoming *s*. It is, however, very probable that instead of the plural form being changed, it is the singular that has been

modified. In the Anglo-Saxon the *f* at the end of words (as in the present Swedish) had the power of *v*. In the allied language the words in point are spelt with the *flat* mute, as *weib*, *laub*, *kalb*, *halb*, *stab*, German. The same is the case with *leaf*, *leaves*; *calf*, *calves*; *half*, *halves*; *staff*, *staves*; *beef*, *beeves*: this last word being Anglo-Norman.

Pence.—The peculiarity of this word consists in having a *flat* liquid followed by the sharp sibilant *s* (spelt *ce*), contrary to the rule given above. In the first place, it is a contracted form from *pennies*; in the second place, its sense is collective rather than plural; in the third place, the use of the sharp sibilant lene distinguishes it from *lens*, sounded *lenz*. That its sense is collective rather than plural (a distinction to which the reader's attention is directed), we learn from the word *sixpence*, which, compared with *sixpences*, is no plural, but a singular form.

Dice.—In respect to its form, peculiar for the reason that *pence* is peculiar. We find the sound of *s* after a vowel, where that of *z* is expected. This distinguishes *dice* for play, from *dies* (*diez*) for coining. *Dice*, perhaps, like *pence*, is collective rather than plural.

In *geese*, *lice*, and *mice*, we have, apparently, the same phenomenon as in *dice*, viz., a sharp sibilant (*s*) where a *flat* one (*z*) is expected. The *s*, however, in these words is not the sign of the plural, but the last letter of the original word.

Alms.—This is no true plural form. The *s* belongs to the original word, Anglo-Saxon, *ælmesse*; Greek, ἐλεημοσύνη; just as the *s* in *goose* does. How far the word, although a true singular in its form, may have a collective signification, and require its verb to be plural, is a point not of etymology, but of syntax. The

same is the case with the word *riches*, from the French *richesse*. In *riches* the last syllable being sounded as *ez*, increases its liability to pass for a plural.

News, *means*, *pains*.—These, the reverse of *alms* and *riches*, are true plural forms. How far, in sense, they are singular is a point not of etymology, but of syntax.

Mathematics, *metaphysics*, *politics*, *ethics*, *optics*, *physics*.—The following is an exhibition of my hypothesis respecting these words, to which I invite the reader's criticism. All the words in point are of Greek origin, and all are derived from a Greek adjective. Each is the name of some department of study, of some art, or of some science. As the words are Greek, so also are the sciences which they denote, either of Greek origin, or else such as flourished in Greece. Let the arts and sciences of Greece be expressed, in Greek, rather by a substantive and an adjective combined, than by a simple substantive; for instance, let it be the habit of the language to say *the musical art*, rather than *music*. Let the Greek for *art* be a word in the feminine gender; *e.g.*, τέχνη (*tekhnæ*), so that the *musical art* be ἡ μουσίκη τέχνη (*hæ mousikæ tekhnæ*). Let, in the progress of language (as was actually the case in Greece), the article and substantive be omitted, so that, for the *musical art*, or for *music*, there stand only the feminine adjective, μουσίκη. Let there be, upon a given art or science, a series of books, or treatises; the Greek for *book*, or *treatise*, being a neuter substantive, βίβλιον (*biblion*). Let the substantive meaning *treatise* be, in the course of language, omitted, so that whilst the science of physics is called φυσίκη (*fysikæ*), *physic*, from ἡ φυσίκη τέχνη, a series

of treatises (or even chapters) upon the science shall be called φὐσικα (*fysika*) or physics. Now all this was what happened in Greece. The science was denoted by a feminine adjective singular, as φυσἰκη (*fysicæ*), and the treatises upon it, by the neuter adjective plural, as φὐσικα (*fysica*). The treatises of Aristotle are generally so named. To apply this, I conceive, that in the middle ages a science of Greek origin might have its name drawn from two sources, viz., from the name of the art or science, or from the name of the books wherein it was treated. In the first case it had a singular form, as *physic*, *logic*; in the second place a plural form, as *mathematics*, *metaphysics*, *optics*.

In what number these words, having a collective sense, require their verbs to be, is a point of syntax.

§ 285. The plural form *children* (*child-er-en*) requires particular notice.

In the first place it is a double plural: the *-en* being the *-en* in *oxen*, whilst the simpler form *child-er* occurs in the old English, and in certain provincial dialects.

Now, what is the *-er* in *child-er*?

In Icelandic, no plural termination is commoner than that in *-r*; as *geisl-ar = flashes*, *tung-ur = tongues*, &c. Nevertheless, it is not the Icelandic that explains the plural form in question.

Besides the word *childer*, we collect from the other Gothic tongue the following forms in *-r*.—

Hus-er,	*Houses*.	Old High German.

Chalp-ir,	*Calves*.		ditto.
Lemp-ir,	*Lambs*.		ditto.
Plet-ir,	*Blades grass*.	*of*	ditto.
Eig-ir,	*Eggs*.		ditto.

and others, the peculiarity of which is the fact of their all being *of the neuter gender*. The particular Gothic dialect wherein they occur most frequently is the Dutch of Holland.

Now, the theory respecting the form so propounded by Grimm (D. G. iii. p. 270) is as follows:—

1. The *-r* represents an earlier *-s*.

2. Which was, originally, no sign of a plural number, but merely a neuter derivative affix, common to the singular as well as to the plural number.

3. In this form it appears in the Mœso-Gothic: *ag-is = fear* (whence *ague = shivering*), *hat-is = hate*, *rigv-is = smoke* (*reek*). In none of these words is the *-s* radical, and in none is it limited to the singular number.

To these views Bopp adds, that the termination in question is the Sanskrit *-as*, a neuter affix; as in *têj-as = splendour*, *strength*, from *tij* = to *sharpen*.—V. G. pp. 141-259, Eastwick's and Wilson's translation.

To these doctrines of Grimm and Bopp, it should be added, that the reason why a singular derivational affix should become the sign of the plural number, lies, most probably, in the *collective* nature of the words in which it occurs: *Husir = a collection of houses*, *eigir = a collection of eggs, eggery* or *eyry*. For

further observations on the power of *-r*, and for reasons for believing it to be the same as in the words *Jew-r-y*, *yeoman-r-y*, see a paper of Mr. Guest's, Philol. Trans., May 26, 1843. There we find the remarkable form *lamb-r-en*, from Wicliffe, Joh. xxi. *Lamb-r-en* : *lamb* :: *child-r-en* : *child*.

§ 286. *The form in -en.*—In the Anglo-Saxon no termination of the plural number is more common than *-n*: *tungan*, tongues; *steorran*, stars. Of this termination we have evident remains in the words *oxen*, *hosen*, *shoon*, *eyne*, words more or less antiquated. This, perhaps, is *no* true plural. In *welk-in = the clouds*, the original singular form is lost.

§ 287. *Men, feet, teeth, mice, lice, geese.*—In these we have some of the oldest words in the language. If these were, to a certainty, true plurals, we should have an appearance somewhat corresponding to the weak and strong tenses of verbs; *viz.*, one series of plurals formed by a change of the vowel, and another by the addition of the sibilant. The word *kye*, used in Scotland for *cows*, is of the same class. The list in Anglo-Saxon of words of this kind is different from that of the present English.

Sing.	*Plur.*	
Freónd	Frýnd	*Friends.*
Feónd	Fynd	*Foes.*
Niht	Niht	*Nights.*
Bóc	Béc	*Books.*
Burh	Byrig	*Burghs.*
Bróc	Bréc	*Breeches.*
Turf	Týrf	*Turves.*

§ 288. *Brethren.*—Here there are two changes. 1. The alteration of the vowel. 2. The addition of *-en.* Mr.

Guest quotes the forms *brethre* and *brothre* from the Old English. The sense is collective rather than plural.

Peasen = *pulse*.—As *children* is a double form of one sort (*r* + *en*), so is *peasen* a double form of another (*s* + *en*); *pea*, *pea-s*, *pea-s-en*. Wallis speaks to the *singular* power of the form in *-s*:—"Dicunt nonnulli *a pease*, pluraliter *peasen*; at melius, singulariter *a pea*, pluraliter *pease*:"—P. 77. He might have added, that, theoretically, *pease* was the proper singular form; as shown by the Latin *pis-um*.

Pullen = poultry.

> *Lussurioso.*—What? three-and-twenty years in law?
>
> *Vendice.*—I have known those who have been five-and-fifty, and all about *pullen* and pigs.—*Revenger's Tragedy*, iv. 1.

If this were a plural form, it would be a very anomalous one. The *-en*, however, is no more a sign of the plural than is the *-es* in *rich-es* (*richesse*). The proper form is in *-ain* or *-eyn*.

> A false theefe,
> That came like a false fox, my *pullain* to kill and mischeefe.
>
> *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, v. 2.

Chickens.—A third variety of the double inflection (*en* + *s*), with the additional peculiarity of the form *chicken* being used, at present, almost exclusively in the singular number, although, originally, it was,

probably, the plural of *chick*. So Wallis considered it:—"At olim etiam per *-en* vel *-yn* formabant pluralia: quorum pauca admodum adhuc retinemus. Ut, *an ox*, *a chick*, pluraliter *oxen*, *chicken* (sunt qui dicunt in singulari *chicken*, et in plurali *chickens*)."—(P. 77). *Chick*, *chick-en*, *chick-en-s*.

Fern.—According to Wallis the *-n* in *fer-n* is the *-en* in *oxen*, in other words, a plural termination:—"A *fere* (*filix*) pluraliter *fern* (verum nunc plerumque *fern* utroque numero dicitur, sed et in plurali *ferns*); nam *fere* et *feres* prope obsoleta sunt."—(P. 77.) Subject to this view, the word *fer-n-s* would exhibit the same phenomenon as the word *chicke-n-s*. It is doubtful, however, whether Wallis's view be correct. A reason for believing the *-n* to be radical is presented by the Anglo-Saxon form *fearn*, and the Old High German, *varam*.

Women.—Pronounced *wimmen*, as opposed to the singular form *woomman*. Probably an instance of accommodation.

Houses.—Pronounced *houz-ez*. The same peculiarity in the case of *s* and *z*, as occurs between *f* and *v* in words like *life*, *lives*, &c.

Paths, youths.—Pronounced *padhz*, *yoodhz*. The same peculiarity in the case of *þ* and *ð*, as occurs between *s* and *z* in the words *house*, *houses*. "Finita in *f* plerumque alleviantur in plurali numero, substituendo *v*; ut *wife*, *wives*, &c. Eademque alleviatio est etiam in *s* et *th*, quamvis retento charactere, in *house*, *cloth*, *path*."—P. 79.

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE CASES.

§ 289. The extent to which there are, in the English language, cases, depends on the meaning which we attach to the word case. In the sentence *a house of a father*, the idea expressed by the words *of a father*, is an idea of relation between them and the word *house*. This idea is an idea of property or possession. The relation between the words *father* and *house* may be called the possessive relation. This relation, or connexion, between the two words is expressed by the preposition *of*.

In *a fathers house* the idea is, there or thereabouts, the same; the relation or connexion between the two words being the same. The expression, however, differs. In *a father's house* the relation, or connexion, is expressed, not by a preposition, but by a change of form, *father* becoming *father's*.

He gave the house to a father.—Here the words *father* and *house* stand in another sort of relationship; the relationship being expressed by the preposition *to*. The idea *to a father* differs from the idea *of a father*, in being expressed in one way only; *viz.*, by the preposition. There is no second mode of expressing it by a change of form, as was done with *father's*.

The father taught the child.—Here there is neither preposition nor change of form. The connexion between the words *father* and *child* is expressed by the arrangement only.

Now if the relation alone between two words constitutes a case, the words or sentences, *child*; *to a father*; *of a father*; and *father's*, are all equally cases; of which one may be called the accusative, another the dative, a third the genitive, and so on.

Perhaps, however, the relationship alone does not constitute a case. Perhaps there is a necessity of either the addition of a preposition (as in *of a father*), or of a change in form (as in *father's*). In this case (although *child* be not so) *father's*, *of a father*, and *to a father*, are all equally cases.

Now it is a remark, at least as old as Dr. Beattie,[39] that if the use of a preposition constitute a case, there must be as many cases in a language as there are prepositions, and that "*above a man*, *beneath a man*, *beyond a man*, *round about a man*, *within a man*, *without a man*, shall be cases, as well as *of a man*, *to a man*, and *with a man*."

For etymological purposes it is necessary to limit the meaning of the word case; and, as a sort of definition, it may be laid down that *where there is no change of form there is no case*. With this remark, the English language may be compared with the Latin.

		Latin.	*English.*
Sing.	*Nom.*	*Pater*	*a father.*
	Gen.	*Patris*	*a father's.*
	Dat.	*Patri*	*to a father.*
	Acc.	*Patrem*	*a father.*
	Abl.	*Patre*	*from a father.*

Here, since in the Latin language there are five changes of form, whilst in English there are but *two*, there are (as far, at least, as the word *pater* and *father* are concerned) three more cases in Latin than in English. It does not, however, follow that because in *father* we have but two cases, there may not be other words wherein there are more than two.

In order to constitute a case there must be a change of

form.—This statement is a matter of definition. A second question, however, arises out of it; *viz.*, whether *every change of form constitute a case*? In the Greek language there are the words ἔριν (*erin*), and ἔριδα (*erida*). Unlike the words *father* and *father's* these two words have precisely the same meaning. Each is called an accusative; and each, consequently, is said to be in the same case with the other. This indicates the statement, that in order to constitute a case there must be not *only a change of form, but also a change of meaning*. Whether such a limitation of the word be convenient, is a question for the general grammarian. At present we merely state that there *is no change of case unless there be a change of form*. Hence, in respect to the word *patribus* (and others like it), which is sometimes translated *from fathers*, and at other times *to fathers*, we must say, not that in the one case the word is ablative and in the other dative, but that a certain case is used with a certain latitude of meaning. This remark bears on the word *her* in English. In *her book* the sense is that of the case currently called genitive. In *it moved her*, the sense is that of the case currently called the accusative. If we adhere, however, to what we have laid down, we must take exceptions to this mode of speaking. It is not that out of the single form *her* we can get two cases, but that a certain form has two powers; one that of the Latin genitive, and another that of the Latin accusative.

§ 290. This leads to an interesting question, *viz.*, what notions are sufficiently allied to be expressed *by* the same form, and *in* the same case? The word *her*, in its two senses, may, perhaps, be dealt with as a single case, because the notions conveyed by the genitive and accusative are, perhaps, sufficiently allied to be expressed by the same word. Are the

notions, however, *of a mistress*, and *mistresses*, so allied? I think not; and yet in the Latin language the same form, *dominæ*, expresses both. Of *dominæ = of a mistress*, and of *dominæ = mistresses*, we cannot say that there is one and the same case with a latitude of meaning. The words were, perhaps, once different. And this leads to the distinction between *a real and an accidental identity of form*.

In the language of the Anglo-Saxons the genitive cases of the words *smith* (*smið*), *end* (*ende*), and *day* (*dæg*), were, respectively, *smithes* (*smiðes*), *endes*, and *dayes* (*dæges*); whilst the nominative plurals were, respectively, *smithas* (*smiðas*), *endas*, and *dayas* (*dægas*). A process of change took place, by which the vowel of the last syllable in each word was ejected. The result was, that the forms of the genitive singular and the nominative plural, originally different, became one and the same; so that the identity of the two cases is an accident.

This fact relieves the English grammarian from a difficulty. The nominative plural and the genitive singular are, in the present language of England, identical; the apostrophe in *father's* being a mere matter of orthography. However, there was *once* a difference. This modifies the previous statement, which may now stand thus:—*for a change of case there must be a change of form existing or presumed*.

§ 291. *The number of our cases and the extent of language over which they spread.*—In the English language there is undoubtedly a *nominative* case. This occurs in substantives, adjectives, and pronouns (*father*, *good*, *he*) equally. It is found in both numbers.

Accusative.—Some call this the objective case. The

words *him* (singular) and *them* (plural) (whatever they may have been originally) are now true accusatives. The accusative case is found in pronouns only. *Thee*, *me*, *us*, and *you* are, to a certain extent, true accusatives.

They are accusative thus far: 1. They are not derived from any other case. 2. They are distinguished from the forms *I*, *my*, &c. 3. Their meaning is accusative. Nevertheless, they are only imperfect accusatives. They have no sign of case, and are distinguished by negative characters only.

One word of English is probably a true accusative in the strict sense of the term, *viz.*, the word *twain = two*. The *-n* in *twai-n* is the *-n* in *hine = him* and *hwone = whom*. This we see from the following inflection:—

	Neut.	*Masc.*	*Fem.*
N. and Ac.	Twá,	Twégen,	Twá.
Abl. and Dat.	Twám,		Twǽm.
Gen.	Twegra,		Twega.

Although nominative as well as accusative, I have little doubt as to the original character of *twégen* being accusative. The *-n* is by no means radical; besides which, it *is* the sign of an accusative case, and is *not* the sign of a nominative.

Note.—The words *him* and *them* are true accusatives in even a less degree than *thee*, *me*, *us*, and *you*. The Anglo-Saxon equivalents to the Latin words *eos* and *illos* were *hi* (or *hig*) and *þá* (or *þæge*); in other words, the sign of the accusative was other than the sound of *-m*. The case which *really* ended in *-m* was the so-

called dative; so that the Anglo-Saxon forms *him* (or *heom*) and *þám* = the Latin *iis* and *illis*.

This fact explains the meaning of the words, *whatever they may have been originally*, in a preceding sentence. It also indicates a fresh element in the criticism and nomenclature of the grammarian; *viz.*, the extent to which the *history* of a form regulates its position as an inflection.

Dative.—In the antiquated word *whilom* (*at times*), we have a remnant of the old dative in *-m*. The *sense* of the word is adverbial; its form, however, is that of a dative case.

Genitive.—Some call this the possessive case. It is found in substantives and pronouns (*father's*, *his*), but not in adjectives. It is formed like the nominative plural, by the addition of the lene sibilant (*father*, *fathers*; *buck*, *bucks*); or if the word end in *s*, by that of *es* (*boxes*, *judges*, &c.) It is found in both numbers: *the men's hearts*; *the children's bread*. In the plural number, however, it is rare; so rare, indeed, that wherever the plural ends in *s* (as it almost always does), there is no genitive. If it were not so, we should have such words as *fatherses*, *foxeses*, *princesseses*, &c.

Instrumental.—The following extracts from Rask's Anglo-Saxon Grammar, teach us that there exist in the present English two powers of the word spelt *t-h-e*, or of the so-called definite article.

"The demonstrative pronouns are *þæt*, *se*, *seó* (*id*, *is*, *ea*), which are also used for the article; and *þis*, *þes*, *þeós* (*hoc*, *hic*, *hæc*). They are thus declined:—

	Neut.	*Masc.*	*Fem.*	*Neut.*	*Masc.*

Sing.	*N.*	þæt	se	seó	þis	þes
	A.	þæt	þone	þá	þis	þisne
	Abl.		þý	þære		þise
	D.		þám	þære		þisum
	G.		þæs	þære		þises
Plur.	*N. and A.*			þá		þás.
	Abl. and D.			þám		þisum.
	G.			þára.		þissa.

"The indeclinable *þe* is often used instead of *þæt*, *se*, *seo*, in all cases, but especially with a relative signification, and, in later times, as an article. Hence the English article *the*.

"*þy* seems justly to be received as a proper *ablativus instrumenti*, as it occurs often in this character, even in the masculine gender; as, *mid þy áþe = with that oath* (Inæ Reges, 53). And in the same place in the dative, *on þǽm áþe = in that oath*."—Pp. 56, 57.

Hence the *the* that has originated out of the Anglo-Saxon *þý* is one word; the *the* that has originated out of the Anglo-Saxon *þe*, another. The latter is the common article: the former the *the* in expressions like *all the more*, *all the better = more by all that*, *better by all that*, and the Latin phrases *eo majus*, *eo melius*.

That *why* is in the same case with the instrumental *the* (= *þy*) may be seen from the following Anglo-Saxon inflection of the interrogative pronoun:—

	Neut.	*Masc.*
N.	Hwæt	Hwá.
A.	Hwæt	Hwone (hwæne).

Abl.	*Hwi*
D.	Hwám (hwæ'm)
G.	Hwæs.

Hence, then, in *the* and *why* we have instrumental ablatives, or, simply, *instrumentals*.

§ 292. *The determination of cases.*—How do we determine cases? In other words, why do we call *him* and *them* accusatives rather than datives or genitives? By one of two means; *viz.*, either by the sense or the form.

Suppose that in the English language there were ten thousand dative cases and as many accusatives. Suppose, also, that all the dative cases ended in *-m*, and all the accusatives in some other letter. It is very evident that, whatever might be the meaning of the words *him* and *them* their form would be dative. In this case the meaning being accusative, and the form dative, we should doubt which test to take.

My own opinion is, that it would be convenient to determine cases by the *form* of the word *alone*; so that, even if a word had a dative sense only once, where it had an accusative sense ten thousand times, such a word should be said to be in the dative case. Now, as stated above, the words *him* and *them* (to which we may add *whom*) were once dative cases; *-m* in Anglo-Saxon being the sign of the dative case. In the time of the Anglo-Saxons their sense coincided with their form. At present they are dative forms with an accusative meaning. Still, as the word *give* takes after it a dative case, we have, even now, in the sentence, *give it him*, *give it them*, remnants of the old dative sense. To say *give it to him*, *to them*, is

unnecessary and pedantic: neither do I object to the expression, *whom shall I give it*? If ever the *formal* test become generally recognised and consistently adhered to, *him*, *them*, and *whom* will be called datives with a latitude of meaning; and then the only true and unequivocal accusatives in the English language will be the forms *you*, *thee*, *us*, *me*, and *twain*.

My, an accusative form (*meh*, *me*, *mec*), has now a genitive sense. The same may be said of *thy*.

Me, originally an accusative form (both *me* and *my* can grow out of *mec* and *meh*), had, even with the Anglo-Saxons, a dative sense. *Give it me* is correct English. The same may be said of *thee*.

Him, a dative form, has now an accusative sense.

Her.—For this word, as well as for further details on *me* and *my*, see the Chapters on the Personal and Demonstrative Pronouns.

§ 293. When all traces of the original dative signification are effaced, and when all the dative cases in a language are similarly affected, an accusative case may be said to have originated out of a dative.

§ 294. Thus far the question has been concerning the immediate origin of cases: their remote origin is a different matter.

The word *um* occurs in Icelandic. In Danish and Swedish it is *om*; in the Germanic languages *omme*, *umbi*, *umpi*, *ymbe*, and also *um*. Its meaning is *at*, *on*, *about*. The word *whilom* is the substantive *while* = *a time* or *pause* (Dan. *hvile* = *to rest*), with the addition of the preposition *om*. That the particular dative

form in *om* has arisen out of the noun *plus* the preposition is a safe assertion. I am not prepared, however, to account for the formation of all the cases in this manner.

§ 295. *Analysis of cases.*—In the word *children's* we are enabled to separate the word into three parts. 1. The root *child*. 2. The plural signs *r* and *en*. 3. The sign of the genitive case, *s*. In this case the word is said to be analysed, since we not only take it to pieces, but also give the respective powers of each of its elements; stating which denotes the case, and which the number. Although it is too much to say that the analysis of every case of every number can be thus effected, it ought always to be attempted.

§ 296. *The true nature of the genitive form in s.*—It is a common notion that the genitive form *father's* is contracted from *father his*. The expression in our liturgy, *for Jesus Christ his sake*, which is merely a pleonastic one, is the only foundation for this assertion. As the idea, however, is not only one of the commonest, but also one of the greatest errors in etymology, the following three statements are given for the sake of contradiction to it.

1. The expression the *Queen's Majesty* is not capable of being reduced to the *Queen his Majesty*.

2. In the form *his* itself, the *s* has precisely the power that it has in *father's*, &c. Now *his* cannot be said to arise out of *he* + *his*.

3. In all the languages of the vast Indo-European tribe, except the Celtic, the genitive ends in *s*, just as it does in English; so that even if the words *father his* would account for the English word *father's*, it would not account for the Sanskrit genitive *pad-as*, of a foot;

the Zend *dughdhar-s*, of a daughter; the Lithuanic *dugter-s*; the Greek ὀδόντ-ος; the Latin *dent-is*, &c.

For further remarks upon the English genitive, see the Cambridge Philological Museum, vol. ii. p. 246.

CHAPTER V.

THE PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

§ 297. *I, we, us, me, thou, ye.*—These constitute the true personal pronouns. From *he*, *she*, and *it*, they differ in being destitute of gender.

These latter words are demonstrative rather than personal, so that there are in English true personal pronouns for the first two persons only.

In other languages the current pronouns of the third person are, as in English, demonstrative rather than personal.

The usual declension of the personal pronouns is exceptionable. *I* and *me*, *thou* and *ye*, stand in no etymological relations to each other. The true view of the words is, that they are not irregular but defective. *I* has no *oblique*, and *me* no nominative case. And so with respect to the rest.

I, in German *ich*, Icelandic *ek*, corresponds with ἐγὼ, and *ego* of the classical languages; *ego* and ἐγὼ being, like *I*, defective in the oblique cases.

My, as stated above, is a form originally accusative, but now used in a genitive sense.

Me.—In Anglo-Saxon this was called a dative form. The fact seems to be that both *my* and *me* grow out

of an accusative form, *meh*, *mec*.

That the sound of *k* originally belonged to the pronouns *me* and *thee*, we learn not only from the Anglo-Saxons *mec*, *þec*, *meh*, *þeh*, but from the Icelandic *mik*, *þik*, and the German *mich*, *dich*. This accounts for the form *my*; since *y* = *ey*, and the sounds of *y* and *g* are allied. That both *me* and *my* can be evolved from *mik*, we see in the present Scandinavian languages, where, very often even in the same district, *mig* is pronounced both *mey* and *mee*.

We and *our*.—These words are not in the condition of *I* and *me*. Although the fact be obscured, they are really in an etymological relation to each other. This we infer from the alliance between the sounds of *w* and *ou*, and from the Danish forms *vi* (*we*), *vor* (*our*). It may be doubted, however, whether *our* be a true genitive rather than an adjectival form. In the form *ours* we find it playing the part, not of a case, but of an independent word. Upon this, however, too much stress cannot be laid. In Danish it takes a neuter form: *vor* = *noster*; *vort* = *nostrum*. From this I conceive that it agrees, not with the Latin genitive *nostrûm*, but with the adjective *noster*.

Us, we, our.—Even *us* is in an etymological relation to *we*. That *we* and *our* are so, has just been shown. Now in Anglo-Saxon there were two forms of *our*, *viz*., *úre* (= *nostrûm*), and *user* (= *noster*). This connects *we* and *us* through *our*.

From these preliminary notices we have the changes in form of the true personal pronouns, as follows:—

1ST PERSON

1st Term. (*for nominative singular*).

I.
Undeclined.

2nd Term. (*for the singular number*).

Acc. *Me*.	Gen. *My*.	Form in *n* —*Mine*.

3rd Term. (*for the plural number*).

Nom. *We*.	Acc. *Us*.	Form in *r* —*Our*, *ours*.

2ND PERSON.

1st Term. (*for the singular number*).

Nom. *Thou*.	Acc. *Thee*. Gen. *Thy*.	Form in *n* —*Thine*.

2nd Term. (*for the plural number*).

Nom. *Ye*.	Acc. *You*.	Form in *r* —*Your*, *yours*.

§ 298. *We* and *me* have been dealt with as distinct words. But it is only for practical purposes that they can be considered to be thus separate; since the sounds of *m* and *w* are allied, and in Sanskrit the singular form *ma* = *I* is looked upon as part of the same word with *vayam* = *we*. The same is the case with the Greek με (*me*), and the plural form ἡμεῖς (*hæmeis*) = *we*.

You.—As far as the practice of the present mode of speech is concerned, the word *you* is a *nominative* form; since we say *you move*, *you are moving*, *you were speaking*.

Why should it not be treated as such? There is no absolute reason why it should not. All that can be said is, that the historical reason and the logical reason are at variance. The Anglo-Saxon form for *you* was *eow*, for *ye*, *ge*. Neither bear any sign of case at all, so that, form for form, they are equally and indifferently nominative and accusative, as the habit of language may make them. Hence, it, perhaps, is more logical to say that a certain form (*you*) is used *either* as a nominative or accusative, than to say that the accusative case is used instead of a nominative. It is clear that *you* can be used instead of *ye* only so far as it is nominative in power.

Ye.—As far as the evidence of such expressions as *get on with ye* is concerned, the word *ye* is an accusative form. The reasons why it should or should not be treated as such are involved in the previous paragraph.

Me.—Carrying out the views just laid down, and admitting *you* to be a nominative, or *quasi*-nominative case, we may extend the reasoning to the word *me*, and call it also a secondary nominative; inasmuch as such phrases as *it is me = it is I* are common.

Now to call such expressions incorrect English is to assume the point. No one says that *c'est moi* is bad French, and that *c'est je* is good. The fact is, that the whole question is a question of degree. Has or has not the custom been sufficiently prevalent to have transferred the forms *me*, *ye*, and *you* from one case to another, as it is admitted to have done with the forms *him* and *whom*, once dative, but now accusative?

Observe.—That the expression *it is me = it is I* will not

justify the use of *it is him*, *it is her = it is he* and *it is she*. *Me*, *ye*, *you*, are what may be called *indifferent* forms, *i. e.* nominative as much as accusative, and accusative as much as nominative. *Him* and *her*, on the other hand, are not indifferent. The *-m* and *-r* are respectively the signs of cases other than the nominative.

Again: the reasons which allow the form *you* to be considered as a nominative plural, on the strength of its being used for *ye*, will not allow it to be considered a nominative singular on the strength of its being used for *thou*. It is submitted to the reader, that in phrases like *you are speaking*, &c., even when applied to a single individual, the idea is really plural; in other words, that the courtesy consists in treating *one* person as *more than one*, and addressing him as such, rather than in using a plural form in a singular sense. It is certain that, grammatically considered, *you = thou* is a plural, since the verb with which it agrees is plural:—*you are speaking*, not *you art speaking*.

CHAPTER VI.

ON THE TRUE REFLECTIVE PRONOUN IN THE GOTHIC LANGUAGES, AND ON ITS ABSENCE IN ENGLISH.

§ 299. A true reflective pronoun is wanting in English. In other words, there are no equivalents to the Latin pronominal forms *sui*, *sibi*, *se*.

Nor yet are there any equivalents in English to the so-called adjectival forms *suus*, *sua*, *suum*: since *his* and *her* are the equivalents to *ejus* and *illius*, and are

not adjectives but genitive cases.

At the first view, this last sentence seems unnecessary. It might seem superfluous to state, that, if there were no such primitive form as *se* (or its equivalent), there could be no such secondary form as *suus* (or its equivalent).

Such, however, is not the case. *Suus* might exist in the language, and yet *se* be absent; in other words, the derivative form might have continued whilst the original one had become extinct.

Such is really the case with the *Old* Frisian. The reflective personal form, the equivalent to *se*, is lost, whilst the reflective possessive form, the equivalent to *suus*, is found. In the *Modern* Frisian, however, both forms are lost; as they also are in the present English.

The history of the reflective pronoun in the Gothic tongues is as follows:—

In Mœso-Gothic.—Found in three cases, *seina*, *sis*, *sik* = *sui*, *sibi*, *se*.

In Old Norse.—Ditto. *Sin*, *ser*, *sik* = *sui*, *sibi*, *se*.

In Old High German.—The dative form lost; there being no such word as *sir* = *sis* = *sibi*. Besides this, the genitive or possessive form *sin* is used only in the masculine and neuter genders.

In Old Frisian.—As stated above, there is here no equivalent to *se*; whilst there *is* the form *sin* = *suus*.

In Old Saxon.—The equivalent to *se*, *sibi*, and *sui* very rare. The equivalent to *suus* not common, but commoner than in Anglo-Saxon.

In Anglo-Saxon.—No instance of the equivalent to *se* at all. The forms *sinne = suum*, and *sinum = suo*, occur in Beowulf. In Cædmon cases of *sin = suus* are more frequent. Still the usual form is *his = ejus*.

In the Dutch, Danish, and Swedish, the true reflectives, both personal and possessive, occur; so that the modern Frisian and English stand alone in respect to the entire absence of them.—Deutsche Grammatik, iv. 321-348.

The statement concerning the absence of the true reflective in English, although negative, has an important philological bearing on more points than one.

1. It renders the use of the word *self* much more necessary than it would be otherwise.

2. It renders us unable to draw a distinction between the meanings of the Latin words *suus* and *ejus*.

3. It precludes the possibility of the evolution of a middle voice like that of the Old Norse, where *kalla-sc = kalla-sik*.

CHAPTER VII.

THE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS, &c.

§ 300. The demonstrative pronouns are, 1. *He*, *it*. 2. *She*. 3. *This*, *that*. 4. *The*.

He, *she*, and *it*, generally looked on as personal, are here treated as demonstrative pronouns, for the following reasons.

1. The personal pronouns form an extremely natural

class, if the pronouns of the two first persons (and *se* when found in the language) be taken by themselves. This is not the case if they be taken along with *he*, *it*, and *she*. The absence of gender, the peculiarity in their declension, and their defectiveness are marked characters wherein they agree with each other, but not with any other words.

2. The idea expressed by *he*, *it*, and *she* is naturally that of demonstrativeness. In the Latin language *is*, *ea*, *id*; *ille*, *illa*, *illud*; *hic*, *hæc*, *hoc*, are demonstrative pronouns in sense, as well as in declension.

3. The plural forms *they*, *them*, in the present English, are the plural forms of the root of *that*, a true demonstrative pronoun; so that even if *he*, *she*, and *it* could be treated as personal pronouns, it could only be in their so-called singular number.

4. The word *she* has grown out of the Anglo-Saxon *seó*. Now *seó* was in Anglo-Saxon the feminine form of the definite article; the definite article being a demonstrative pronoun.

Compared with the Anglo-Saxon the present English stands as follows:—

She.—The Anglo-Saxon form *heó*, being lost to the language, is replaced by the feminine article *seó*.

Her.—This is a case, not of the present *she*, but of the Anglo-Saxon *heó*: so that *she* may be said to be defective in the oblique cases and *her* to be defective in the nominative.

Him.—A true dative form, which has replaced the Anglo-Saxon *hine*. When used as a dative, it was neuter as well as masculine.

His.—Originally neuter as well as masculine. Now as a neuter, replaced by *its*—"et quidem ipsa vox *his*, ut et interrogativum *whose*, nihil aliud sunt quam *hee's*, *who's*, ubi *s* omnino idem præstat quod in aliis possessivis. Similiter autem *his* pro *hee's* eodem errore quo nonnunquam *bin* pro *been*; item *whose* pro *who's* eodem errore quo *done*, *gone*, *knowne*, *growne*, &c., pro *doen*, *goen*, *knowen*, vel *do'n*, *go'n*, *know'n*, *grow'n*; utrobique contra analogiam linguæ; sed usu defenditur."—Wallis, c. v.

It.—Changed from the Anglo-Saxon *hit*, by the ejection of *h*. The *t* is no part of the original word, but a sign of the neuter gender, forming it regularly from *he*. The same neuter sign is preserved in the Latin *id* and *illud*.

Its.—In the course of time the nature of the neuter sign *t*, in *it*, the form being found in but a few words, became misunderstood. Instead of being looked on as an affix, it passed for part of the original word. Hence was formed from *it* the anomalous genitive *its*, superseding the Saxon *his*. The same was the case with—

Hers.—The *r* is no part of the original word, but the sign of the dative case. These formations are of value in the history of cases.

They, *their*, *them.*—When *hit* had been changed into *it*, when *heó* had been replaced by *she*, and when the single form *the*, as an article, had come to serve for all the cases of all the genders, two circumstances took place: 1. The forms *þám* and *þára* as definite articles became superfluous; and, 2. The connexion between the plural forms *hí*, *heom*, *heora*, and the singular forms *he* and *it*, grew indistinct. These were conditions favourable to the use of the forms *they*,

them, and *their*, instead of *hí*, *heom*, *heora*.

Theirs.—In the same predicament with *hers* and *its*; either the case of an adjective, or a case formed from a case.

Than or *then*, and *there*.—Although now adverbs, they were once demonstrative pronouns, in a certain case and in a certain gender.—*Than* and *then* masculine accusative and singular, *there* feminine dative and singular.

An exhibition of the Anglo-Saxon declension is the best explanation of the English. Be it observed, that the cases marked in italics are found in the present language.

I.

Se, *seó*.

Of this word we meet two forms only, both of the singular number, and both in the nominative case; *viz.* masc. *se*; fem. *seó* (the). The neuter gender and the other cases of the article were taken from the pronoun *þæt* (that).

II.

þæt (that, the), and *þis* (this).

		Neut.	*Masc.*	*Fem.*	*Neut.*	*Masc.*
Sing.	Nom.	*þæt*	—	—	*þis*	þes
	Acc.	*þæt*	*þone*	þâ.	þis	þisne
	Abl.	*þy*	*þy*	*þére*.	*þise*	þise
	Dat.	þám	þám	*þére*.	þisum	þisum
	Gen.	þæs	þæs	*þére*.	þises	þises

Plur.	Nom. Acc.	*þá*.	*þás*.
	Abl. Dat.	*þám*.	þisum
	Gen.	*þára*.	þissa.

III.

Hit (it), *he* (he), *heó* (she).

Sing.	Nom.	*hit*	*he*	heó.
	Acc.	*hit*	hine	hí.
	Dat.	*him*	*him*	*hire*.
	Gen.	*his*	*his*	*hire*.
Plur.	Nom. Acc.		hi	
	Dat.		him (heom).	
	Gen.		hira (heora).	

IV.

þe (the)—Undeclined, and used for all cases and genders.

§ 301. *These.*—Here observe—

1st. That the *s* is no inflection, but a radical part of the word, like the *s* in *geese*.

2nd. That the Anglo-Saxon form is *þâs*.

These facts create difficulties in respect to the word *these*. Mr. Guest's view is, perhaps, the best; *viz.* that the plural element of the word is the letter *e*, and that this *-e* is the old English and Anglo-Saxon adjective plural; so that *thes-e* is formed from *thes*, as *gode* (=*boni*) is formed from *god* (=*bonus*).

The nominative plural in the Old English ended in *e*;

as,

Singular.			*Plural.*		
M.	*F.*	*N.*	*M.*	*F.*	*N.*
God,	*god,*	*god,*		*gode.*	

In Old English MSS. this plural in *-e* is general. It occurs not only in adjectives and pronouns as a regular inflection, but even as a plural of the genitive *his*, that word being treated as a nominative singular; so that *hise* is formed from *his*, as *sui* from *suus*, or as *eji* might have been formed from *ejus*; provided that in the Latin language this last word had been mistaken for a nominative singular. The following examples are Mr. Guest's.

1. In these lay a gret multitude of *syke* men, *blinde*, crokid, and *drye*.

Wicliffe, Jon. v.

2. In all the orders foure is non that can
So much of dalliance and faire
language,
He hadde ymade ful many a marriage
—
His tippet was ay farsed ful of knives,
And pinnes for to given *faire* wives.

Chau., Prol.

3. And *al* the cuntre of Judee wente out to him, and *alle* men of Jerusalem.—*Wiclif*, Mark i.

4. He ghyueth lif to *alle* men, and brething, and *alle* thingis; and made of von *al* kynde of men to inhabit on *al* the face of the erthe.—*Wicliffe*, Dedis of Apostlis, xvii.

5. That fadres sone which *alle* thinges
wrought;
And *all*, that wrought is with a skilful
thought,
The Gost that from the fader gan
procede,
Hath souled hem.

Chau., The Second Nonnes Tale.

6. And *alle* we that ben in this aray
And maken *all* this lamentation,
We losten *alle* our husbondes at that
toun.

Chau., The Knightes Tale.

7. A *good* man bryngeth forth *gode* thingis of *good* tresore.—*Wicliffe*, Matt. xii.

8. So every *good* tree maketh *gode* fruytis, but an yvel tree maketh yvel fruytes. A *good* tree may not mak yvel fruytis, neither an yvel tree may make *gode* fruytis. Every tree that maketh not *good* fruyt schal be cut down.—*Wicliffe*, Matt. vii.

9. Men loveden more darknessis than light for her werkes weren *yvele*, for ech man that doeth *yvel*, hateth the light.—*Wicliffe*, Jon. iii.

10. And *othere* seedis felden among thornes wexen up and strangliden hem, and *othere* seedis felden into good lond and gaven fruyt, sum an hundred fold, *another* sixty fold, an *other* thritty fold, &c.—*Wicliffe*, Matt. xiii.

11. Yet the while he spake to the puple lo *his* mother and *hise* brethren stonden withoute forth. —*Wicliffe*, Matt. xii.

12. And *hise* disciplis camen and token *his* body. —*Wicliffe*, Matt. xiv.

13. Whan *thise* Bretons tuo were fled out
of *this* lond
Ine toke his feaute of alle, &c.

Rob. Brunne, p. 3.

14. *This* is thilk disciple that bereth witnessyng of *these* thingis, and wroot them.—*Wicliffe*, John xxi.

15. Seye to us in what powers thou doist *these* thingis, and who is he that gaf to thee *this* power. —*Wicliffe*, Luke xx.

§ 302. *Those.*—Perhaps the Anglo-Saxon *þá* with *s* added. Perhaps the *þás* from *þis* with its power altered. Rask, in his Anglo-Saxon Grammar, writes

"from þis we find, in the plural, þæs for þás. From which afterwards, with a distinction in signification, *these* and *those*." The English form *they* is illustrated by the Anglo-Saxon form *ðage = þá*. The whole doctrine of the forms in question has yet to assume a satisfactory shape.

The present declension of the demonstrative pronouns is as follows:—

I.

The—Undeclined.

II.

She—Defective in the oblique cases.

III.

He.

	Masc.	*Neut.*	*Fem.*
Nom.	He	It (from *hit*)	—
Acc.	Him	It	Her.
Dat.	Him	—	Her.
Gen.	His	—	Her.
Secondary Gen.	—	Its	Hers.

No plural form.

IV.

That.

Neut.	*Masc.*	*Fem.*

Sing.	*Nom.*	That	—	—
	Acc.	That	Than,[40] then	—
	Dat.	—	—	There.[40]
Plur.	*Nom.*		They.[41]	
	Acc.		Them.[41]	
	Gen.		Their.[41]	
Secondary Gen.			Theirs.[41]	

V.

Singular, This. *Plural*, These.

VI.

Those.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE RELATIVE, INTERROGATIVE, AND CERTAIN OTHER PRONOUNS.

§ 303. In the relative and interrogative pronouns, *who*, *what*, *whom*, *whose*, we have, expressed by a change of form, a neuter gender, *what*; a dative case, *whom*; and a genitive case, *whose*: the true power of the *s* (*viz.* as the sign of a case) being obscured by the orthographical addition of the *e* mute.

To these may be added, 1. the adverb *why*, originally the ablative form *hvi* (*quo modo? quâ viâ?*). 2. The adverb *where*, a feminine dative, like *there*. 3. *When*,

a masculine accusative (in Anglo-Saxon *hwæne*), and analogous to *then*.

§ 304. The following points in the history of the demonstrative and relative pronouns are taken from Grimm's Deutsche Grammatik, vol. iii. pp. 1, 2, 3.

Throughout the Indo-European tribe the interrogative or relative idea is expressed by *k*, or by a modification of *k*; e.g., *qu*, *hv*, or *h*; as Sanskrit, *kas*, who; *kataras*, which of two; *katama*, which of many. —Lithuanic, *kas*, who; *koks*, of what sort; *kokelys*, how great; *kaip*, how.—Slavonic: *kto*, who, Russian and Polish; *kdo*, who, Bohemian; *kotory*, which, Russian; *kolik*, how great.—*Quot*, *qualis*, *quantus*, Latin.—Κόσος, κοῖος, κότε, Ionic Greek; in the other dialects, however, πότερος, πόσος, &c.—Gothic: *hvas*, who, Mœso-Gothic; *huer*, Old High German; *hvaþar*, which of two, Mœso-Gothic; *huëdar*, Old High German; *hvem*, *hvad*, *huanne*, *huar*, Norse; *what*, *why*, *which*, *where*, &c., English.

Throughout the Indo-European tribe the demonstrative idea is expressed by *t*, or by a modification of it; as, Sanskrit, *tat*, that; *tata-ras*, such a one out of two.—Lithuanic, *tas*, he; *toks*, such; *tokelys*, so great; *taip*, so.—Slavonic, *t'* or *ta*, he; *taku*, such; *tako*, so.—*Tot*, *talis*, *tantum*, Latin.—Τόσος, τοῖος, τότε, Greek; *this*, *that*, *thus*, English, &c.

The two sounds in the Danish words *hvi*, *hvad*, &c., and the two sounds in the English, *what*, *when* (Anglo-Saxon, *hwæt*, *hwæne*), account for the forms *why* and *how*. In the first the *w* alone, in the second the *h* alone, is sounded. The Danish for why is *hvi*, pronounced *vi*; in Swedish the word is *hu*.

§ 305. The following remarks (some of them not

strictly etymological) apply to a few of the remaining pronouns. For further details, see Grimm, D. G. iii. 4.

Same.—Wanting in Anglo-Saxon, where it was replaced by the word *ylca, ylce*. Probably derived from the Norse.

Self.—In *myself*, *thyself*, *herself*, *ourselves*, *yourselves*, a substantive (or with a substantival power), and preceded by a genitive case. In *himself* and *themselves* an adjective (or with an adjectival power), and preceded by an accusative case. *Itself* is equivocal, since we cannot say whether its elements are *it* and *self*, or *its* and *self*; the *s* having been dropped in utterance. It is very evident that either the form like *himself*, or the form like *thyself*, is exceptionable; in other words, that the use of the word is inconsistent. As this inconsistency is as old as the Anglo-Saxons, the history of the word gives us no elucidation. In favour of the forms like *myself* (*self* being a substantive), are the following facts:—

1. The plural word *selves*, a substantival, and not an adjectival form.

2. The Middle High German phrases, *mîn lîp*, *dîn lîp*, *my body*, *thy body*, equivalent in sense to *myself*, *thyself*.

3. The circumstance that if *self* be dealt with as a substantive, such phrases as *my own self*, *his own great self*, &c., can be used; whereby the language is a gainer.

"Vox *self*, pluraliter *selves*, quamvis etiam pronomen a quibusdam censeatur (quoniam ut plurimum per Latinum *ipse* redditur), est tamen plane nomen substantivum, cui quidem vix aliquod apud Latinos

substantivum respondet; proxime tamen accedet vox *persona* vel *propria persona*, ut *my self*, *thy self*, *our selves*, *your selves*, &c. (*ego ipse*, *tu ipse*, *nos ipsi*, *vos ipsi*, &c.), ad verbum *mea persona*, *tua persona*, &c. Fateor tamen *himself*, *itself*, *themselves* vulgo dici pro *his-self*, *its-self*, *theirselves*; at (interposito *own*) *his own self*, &c., *ipsius propria persona*, &c."—Wallis, c. vii.

4. The fact that many persons actually say *hisself* and *theirselves*.

Whit.—As in the phrase *not a whit*. This enters in the compound pronouns *aught* and *naught*.

One.—As in the phrase *one does so and so*. From the French *on*. Observe that this is from the Latin *homo*, in Old French *hom*, *om*. In the Germanic tongues *man* is used in the same sense: *man sagt = one says = on dit*. *One*, like *self* and *other*, is so far a substantive, that it is inflected. Gen. sing, *one's own self*: plural, *my wife and little ones are well*.

Derived pronouns.—Any, in Anglo-Saxon, *ænig*. In Old High German we have *einîc = any*, and *einac = single*. In Anglo-Saxon *ânega* means *single*. In Middle High German *einec* is always *single*. In New High German *einig* means, 1. *a certain person* (*quidam*), 2. *agreeing*; *einzig*, meaning *single*. In Dutch *ênech* has both meanings. This indicates the word *án*, *one*, as the root of the word in question.—Grimm, D. G. iii. 9.

Compound pronouns.—Which, as has been already stated more than once, is most incorrectly called the neuter of *who*. Instead of being a neuter, it is a compound word. The adjective *leiks*, *like*, is preserved in the Mœso-Gothic words *galeiks*, and *missaleiks*. In Old High German the form is *lih*, in Anglo-Saxon *lic*. Hence we have Mœso-Gothic,

hvêleiks; Old High German, *huëlih*; Anglo-Saxon, *huilic* and *hvilc*; Old Frisian, *hwelik*; Danish, *hvilk-en*; German, *welch*; Scotch, *whilk*; English, *which*. (Grimm, D. G., iii. 47). The same is the case with—

1. *Such.*—Mœso-Gothic, *svaleiks*; Old High German, *sôlih*; Old Saxon, *sulîc*; Anglo-Saxon, *svilc*; German, *solch*; English, *such*. (Grimm, D. G. iii. 48). Rask's derivation of the Anglo-Saxon *swilc* from *swa-ylc*, is exceptionable.

2. *Thilk.*—An old English word, found in the provincial dialects, as *thick*, *thuck*, *theck*, and hastily derived by Tyrwhitt, Ritson, and Weber, from *së ylca*, is found in the following forms: Mœso-Gothic, *þêleiks*; Norse, *þvilikr*. (Grimm, iii. 49.)

3. *Ilk.*—Found in the Scotch, and always preceded by the article; *the ilk*, or *that ilk*, meaning *the same*. In Anglo-Saxon this word is *ylca*, preceded also by the article *se ylca*, *seó ylce*, *þæt ylce*. In English, as seen above, the word is replaced by *same*. In no other Gothic dialect does it occur. According to Grimm, this is no simple word, but a compound one, of which some such word as *ei* is the first, and *lîc* the second element. (Deutsche Grammatik, iii. 50.)

Aught.—In Mœso-Gothic is found the particle *aiv*, *ever*, but only in negative propositions; *ni* (*not*) preceding it. Its Old High German form is *êo*, *io*; in Middle High German, *ie* in New High German, *je*; in Old Saxon, *io*; in Anglo-Saxon, *â*; in Norse, *æ*. Combined with this particle the word *whit* (*thing*) gives the following forms: Old High German, *éowiht*; Anglo-Saxon, *âviht*; Old Frisian, *âwet*; English, *aught*. The word *naught* is *aught* preceded by the negative particle. (Deutsche Grammatik, iii. 52.)

Each.—The particle *gi* enters, like the particle in the composition of pronouns. Old High German, *êogalîher*, every one; *êocalih*, all; Middle High German, *iegelich*; New High German, *jeglich*; Anglo-Saxon, *ælc*; English, *each*; the *l* being dropped, as in *which and such*. *Ælc*, as the original of the English *each* and the Scotch *ilka*,[42] must by no means be confounded with the word *ylce*, *the same*. (Grimm, D. G. iii. 54.)

Every, in Old English, *everich*, *everech*, *everilk one*, is *ælc*, preceded by the particle *ever*. (Grimm, D. G. iii. 54.)

Either.—Old High German, *êogahuëdar*; Middle High German, *iegewëder*; Anglo-Saxon, *æghväðer*, *ægðer*; Old Frisian, *eider*.

Neither.—The same, with the negative article prefixed. *Neither* : *either* :: *naught* : *aught*.

Other, *whether*.—These words, although derived forms, being simpler than some that have preceded, might fairly have been dealt with before. They make, however, a transition from the present to the succeeding chapter, and so find a place here.

A. *First*, it may be stated of them that the idea which they express is not that *of one out of many*, but that of *one out of two*.

1. In Sanskrit there are two forms, [a]) *kataras*, the same word as *whether*, meaning *which out of two*; [b]) *katamas*, *which out of many*. So also *êkateras*, *one out of two*; *êkatamas*, *one out of many*. In Greek, the Ionic form κότερος (πότερος); in Latin, *uter*, *neuter*, *alter*; and in Mœso-Gothic, *hvathar*, have the same form and the same meaning.

2. In the Scandinavian language the word *anden*, Dano-Saxon *annar*, Iceland corresponds to the English word *second*, and not the German *zweite:* e. g., *Karl den Anden, Charles the Second*. Now *anthar* is the older form of *other*.

B. *Secondly*, it may be stated of them, that the termination *-er* is the same termination that we find in the comparative degree.

1. The idea expressed by the comparative degree is the comparison, not of *many*, but of *two* things; *this is better than that*.

2. In all the Indo-European languages where there are pronouns in *-ter*, there is also a comparative degree in *-ter*. See next chapter.

3. As the Sanskrit form *kataras* corresponds with the comparative degree, where there is the comparison of *two things with each other*; so the word *katamas* is a superlative form; and in the superlative degree lies the comparison of *many* things with each other.

Hence *other* and *whether* (to which may be added *either* and *neither*) are pronouns with the comparative form.

Other has the additional peculiarity of possessing the plural form *others*. Hence, like *self*, it is, in the strictest sense, a substantival pronoun.

CHAPTER IX.

ON CERTAIN FORMS IN -ER.

§ 306. Preparatory to the consideration of the

degrees of comparison, it is necessary to make some remarks upon a certain class of words, which, with considerable differences of signification, all agree in one fact, viz., all terminate in *-er*, or *t-er*.

1. Certain pronouns, as *ei-th-er*, *n-ei-th-er*, *whe-th-er*, *o-th-er*.

2. Certain prepositions and adverbs, as *ov-er*, *und-er*, *af-t-er*.

3. Certain adjectives, with the form of the comparative, but the power of the positive degree; as *upp-er*, *und-er*, *inn-er*, *out-er*, *hind-er*.

4. All adjectives of the comparative degree; as *wis-er*, *strong-er*, *bett-er*, &c.

Now what is the idea common to all these words, expressed by the sign *-er*, and connecting the four divisions into one class? It is not the mere idea of comparison; although it is the comparative degree, to the expression of which the affix in question is more particularly applied. Bopp, who has best generalised the view of these forms, considers the fundamental idea to be that of *duality*. In the comparative degree we have a relation between one object and *some* other object like it, or a relation between two single elements of comparison: *A is wiser than B*. In the superlative degree we have a relation between one object and *all* others like it, or a relation between one single and one complex element of comparison: *A is wiser than B, C, D*, &c.

"As in comparatives a relation between *two*, and in superlatives a relation between *many*, lies at the bottom, it is natural that their suffixes should be transferred to other words, whose chief notion is

individualised through that of duality or plurality."—Vergleichende Grammatik, § 292, Eastwick's and Wilson's Translation.

The most important proofs of the view adduced by Bopp are,—

1. The Sanskrit forms *kataras* = *which of two persons?* a comparative form; *katamas* = *which of more than two persons?* a superlative form. Similarly, *êkataras* = *one of two persons*; *êkatamas* = *one of more than two persons*.

2. The Greek forms, ἑκάτερος = *each or either out of two persons*; ἕκαστος = *each or any out of more than two persons*.

§ 307. The more important of the specific modifications of the general idea involved in the comparison of two objects are,—

1. Contrariety; as in *inner*, *outer*, *under*, *upper*, *over*. In Latin the words for *right* and *left* end in *-er*,—*dexter*, *sinister*.

2. Choice in the way of an alternative; as *either*, *neither*, *whether*, *other*.

An extension of the reasoning probably explains forms like the Greek ἀμφό-τερ-ος, and the *plural* possessive forms νωΐ-τερ-ος, ἡμέ-τερ-ος, &c, which, like our own forms in *-r*, (*ou-r*, *you-r*) correspond in termination with the comparative degree (σοφώ-τερ-ος, *wiser*). Words, also, like *hither* and *thither* are instances of what is probably the effect of a similar association of ideas.

§ 308. A confirmation of Bopp's view is afforded by the Laplandic languages. Herein the distinction

between *one of two* and *one of more than two* is expressed by affixes; and these affixes are the signs of the comparative and superlative: *gi* = *who*; *guabba* = *who of two*; *gutte-mush* = *who of many*.

1. *Gi* = *who*, so that *guabba* may be called its comparative form.

2. *Gutte* also = *who*, so that *guttemush* may be called its superlative.

3. Precisely as the words *guabba* and *guttemush* are formed, so also are the regular degrees of adjectives.

a. Nuorra = *young*; *nuor-ab* = *younger*; *nuora-mush* = *youngest*.

b. Bahha = *bad*; *baha-b* = *worse*; *baha-mush* = *worst*.

The following extracts from Stockfleth's Lappish Grammar were probably written without any reference to the Sanskrit or Greek. "*Guabba*, of which the form and meaning are comparative, appears to have originated in a combination of the pronoun *gi*, and the comparative affix *-abbo*."—"*Guttemush*, of which the form and meaning are superlative, is similarly derived from the pronoun *gutte*, and the superlative affix *-mush*."—Grammatik i det Lappiske Sprog, §§ 192, 193.

§ 309. *Either*, *neither*, *other*, *whether*.—It has just been stated that the general fundamental idea common to all these forms is that of *choice between one of two objects in the way of an alternative*. Thus far the termination *-er* in *either*, &c., is the termination *-er* in the true comparatives, *brav-er*, *wis-er*, &c. *Either* and *neither* are common pronouns. *Other*, like *one*, is a pronoun capable of taking the plural form of a substantive (*others*), and also that of the genitive case

(*the other's money*, *the other's bread*). *Whether* is a pronoun in the almost obsolete form *whether (=which) of the two do you prefer*, and a conjunction in sentences like *whether will you do this or not?* The use of the form *others* is recent. "*They are taken out of the way as all other.*"—Job. "*And leave their riches for other.*"—Psalms.

CHAPTER X.

THE COMPARATIVE DEGREE.

§ 310. The proper preliminary to the study of the comparative and quasi-comparative forms in English is the history of the inflection or inflections by which they are expressed. There is no part of our grammar where it is more necessary to extend our view beyond the common limit of the Gothic stock of languages, than here.

In the Sanskrit language the signs of the comparative degree are two:—1. *-tara*, as *punya=pure*; *punya-tara=purer*; 2. *-îyas*, as *kśipra=swift*; *kśêpîyas=swifter*. Of these the first is the most in use.

The same forms occur in the Zend; as *husko=dry*; *huskô-tara=drier*; *-îyas*, however, is changed into *-is*.

In the classical languages we have the same forms. 1. in *uter*, *neuter*, *alter*, πότερος, λεπτότερος. 2. In the adverb *magis*, Lat. In Bohemian and Polish, *-ssj* and *-szy* correspond with the Sanskrit forms *-îyas*.

Thus we collect, that, expressive of the comparative degree, there are two parallel forms; *viz.*, the form in *tr*, and the form in *s*; of which one is the most in use in one language, and the other in another.

§ 311. Before we consider the Gothic forms of the comparative, it may be advisable to note two changes to which it is liable. 1. The change of *s* into *r*; the Latin word *meliorem* being supposed to have been originally *meliosem*, and the *s* in *nigrius*, *firmius*, &c., being considered not so much the sign of the neuter gender as the old comparative *s* in its oldest form. 2. The ejection of *t*, as in the Latin words *inferus*, *superus*, compared with the Greek λεπτότερος (*leptoteros*).

§ 312. Now, of the two parallel forms, the Gothic one was the form *s*; the words *other* and *whether* only preserving the form *tr*. And here comes the application of the remarks that have just gone before. The vast majority of our comparatives end in *r*, and so seem to come from *tr* rather than from *s*. This, however, is not the case. The *r* in words like *sweeter* is derived, not from *tar—t*, but from *s*, changed into *r*. In Mœso-Gothic the comparative ended in *s* (*z*); in Old High German the *s* has become *r*: Mœso-Gothic *aldiza*, *batiza*, *sutiza*; Old High German, *altiro*, *betsiro*, *suatsiro*; English, *older*, *better*, *sweeter*.

The importance of a knowledge of the form in *s* is appreciated when we learn that, even in the present English, there are vestiges of it.

§ 313. *Comparison of adverbs.—The sun shines bright.* —Herein the word *bright* means *brightly*; and although the use of the latter word would have been the more elegant, the expression is not ungrammatical; the word *bright* being looked upon as an adjectival adverb.

The sun shines to-day brighter than it did yesterday, and to-morrow it will shine brightest.—Here also the sense

is adverbial; from whence we get the fact, that adverbs take degrees of comparison.

Now let the root *mag-*, as in *magnus*, μέγας, and *mikil* (Norse), give the idea of greatness. In the Latin language we have from it two comparative forms: 1. the adjectival comparative *major* = *greater*; 2. the adverbial comparative *magis* = *more* (*plus*). The same takes place in Mœso-Gothic: *maiza* means *greater*, and is adjectival; *mais* means *more*, and is adverbial. The Anglo-Saxon forms are more instructive still; *e.g.*, *þäs þe mâ* = *all the more*, *þäs þe bet* = *all the better*, have a comparative sense, but not a comparative form, the sign *r* being absent. Now, compared with *major*, and subject to the remarks that have gone before, the Latin *magis* is the older form. With *mâ* and *bet*, compared with *more* and *better*, this may or may not be the case. *Mâ* and *bet* may each be one of two forms; 1. a positive used in a comparative sense; 2. a true comparative, which has lost its termination. The present section has been written not for the sake of exhausting the subject, but to show that in the comparative degree there were often two forms; of which one, the adverbial, was either more antiquated, or more imperfect than the other: a fact bearing upon some of the forthcoming trains of etymological reasoning.

§ 314. *Change of vowel.*—By reference to Rask's Grammar, § 128, it may be seen that in the Anglo-Saxon there were, for the comparative and superlative degrees, two forms; *viz.* *-or* and *-re*, and *-ost* and *-este*, respectively.

By reference to p. 159 of the present volume, it may be seen that the fulness or smallness of a vowel in a given syllable may work a change in the nature of

the vowel in a syllable adjoining. In the Anglo-Saxon the following words exhibit a change of vowel.

Positive.	*Comparative.*	*Superlative.*	
Lang,	Lengre,	Lengest.	*Long.*
Strang,	Strengre,	Strengest.	*Strong.*
Geong,	Gyngre,	Gyngest.	*Young.*
Sceort,	Scyrtre,	Scyrtest.	*Short.*
Heáh,	Hyrre,	Hyhst.	*High.*
Eald,	Yldre,	Yldest.	*Old.*

Of this change, the word last quoted is a still-existing specimen, as *old*, *elder* and *older*, *eldest* and *oldest*. Between the two forms there is a difference in meaning, *elder* being used as a substantive, and having a plural form, *elders*.

§ 315. The previous section has stated that in Anglo-Saxon there were two forms for the comparative and superlative degrees, one in *-re* and *-este*, the other in *-or* and *-ost*, respectively. Now the first of these was the form taken by adjectives; as *se scearpre sweord = the sharper sword*, and *se scearpeste sweord = the sharpest sword*. The second, on the other hand, was the form taken by adverbs; as, *se sweord scyrð scearpor = the sword cuts sharper*, and *se sweord scyrð scearpost = the sword cuts sharpest*.

The adjectival form has, as seen above, a tendency to make the vowel of the preceding syllable small: *old*, *elder*.

The adverbial form has a tendency to make the vowel of the preceding syllable full.

Of this effect on the part of the adverbial form the adverbial comparative *rather* is a specimen. We

pronounce the *a* as in *father*, or full. Nevertheless, the positive form is small, the *a* being pronounced as the *a* in *fate*.

The word *rather* means *quick*, *easy* = the classical root ῥαδ- in ῥᾴδιος. What we do *quickly* and *willingly* we do *preferably*. Now if the word *rather* were an adjective, the vowel of the comparative would be sounded as the *a* in *fate*. As it is, however, it is adverbial, and as such is properly sounded as the *a* in *father*.

The difference between the action of the small vowel in *-re*, and of the full in *-or*, effects this difference.

§ 316. *Excess of expression.*—Of this two samples have already been given: 1. in words like *songstress*; 2. in words like *children*. This may be called *excess of expression*; the feminine gender, in words like *songstress*, and the plural number, in words like *children*, being expressed twice over. In the vulgarism *betterer* for *better*, and in the antiquated forms *worser* for *worse*, and *lesser* for *less*, we have, in the case of the comparatives, as elsewhere, an excess of expression. In the Old High German we have the forms *betsërôro*, *mêrôro*, *êrërëra* = *better*, *more*, *ere*.

§ 317. *Better.*—Although in the superlative form *best* there is a slight variation from the strict form of that degree, the word *better* is perfectly regular. So far, then, from truth are the current statements that the comparison of the words *good*, *better*, and *best* is irregular. The inflection is not irregular, but defective. As the statement that applies to *good*, *better*, and *best* applies to many words besides, it will be well in this place, once for all, to exhibit it in full.

§ 318. *Difference between a sequence in logic and a*

sequence in etymology.—The ideas or notions of *thou*, *thy*, *thee*, are ideas between which there is a metaphysical or logical connexion. The train of such ideas may be said to form a sequence and such a sequence may be called a logical one.

The forms (or words) *thou*, *thy*, *thee*, are forms or words between which there is a formal or an etymological connexion. A train of such words may be called a sequence, and such a sequence may be called an etymological one.

In the case of *thou*, *thy*, *thee*, the etymological sequence tallies with the logical one.

The ideas of *I*, *my*, and *me* are also in a logical sequence: but the forms *I*, *my*, and *me* are not altogether in an etymological one.

In the case of *I*, *my*, *me*, the etymological sequence does *not* tally (or tallies imperfectly) with the logical one.

This is only another way of saying that between the words *I* and *me* there is no connexion in etymology.

It is also only another way of saying, that, in the oblique cases, *I*, and, in the nominative case, *me*, are defective.

Now the same is the case with *good*, *better*, *bad*, *worse*, &c. *Good* and *bad* are defective in the comparative and superlative degrees; *better* and *worse* are defective in the positive; whilst between *good* and *better*, *bad* and *worse*, there is a sequence in logic, but no sequence in etymology.

To return, however, to the word *better*; no absolute positive degree is found in any of the allied

languages, and in none of the allied languages is there found any comparative form of *good*. Its root occurs in the following adverbial forms: Mœso-Gothic, *bats*; Old High German, *pats*; Old Saxon and Anglo-Saxon, *bet*; Middle High German, *baz*; Middle Dutch, *bat*, *bet*.—Grimm, D. G. iii. 604.

§ 319. *Worse.*—Mœso-Gothic, *vairsiza*; Old High German, *wirsiro*; Middle High German, *wirser*; Old Saxon, *wirso*; Anglo-Saxon, *vyrsa*; Old Norse, *vërri*; Danish, *værre*; and Swedish, *värre*. Such are the adjectival forms. The adverbial forms are Mœso-Gothic, *vairs*; Old High German, *virs*; Middle High German, *wirs*; Anglo-Saxon, *vyrs*: Old Norse, *vërr*; Danish, *værre*; Swedish, *värre*.—Grimm, D. G. iii. 606. Whether the present form in English be originally adjectival or adverbial is indifferent; since, as soon as the final *a* of *vyrsa* was omitted, the two words would be the same. The forms, however, *vairsiza*, *wirser*, *worse*, and *vërri*, make the word one of the most perplexing in the language.

If the form *worse* be taken without respect to the rest, the view of the matter is simply that in the termination *s* we have a remnant of the Mœso-Gothic forms, like *sutiza*, &c., in other words, the old comparative in *s*.

Wirser and *vairsiza* traverse this view. They indicate the likelihood of the *s* being no sign of the degree, but a part of the original word. Otherwise the *r* in *wirser*, and the *z* in *vairsiza*, denote an excess of expression.

The analogies of *songstress*, *children*, and *betsërôro* show that excess of expression frequently occurs.

The analogy of *mâ* and *bet* show that *worse* may

possibly be a positive form.

The word *vërri* indicates the belief that the *s* is no part of the root.

Finally the euphonic processes of the Scandinavian languages tell us that, even had there been an *s*, it would, in all probability, have been ejected. These difficulties verify the statement that the word *worse* is one of the most perplexing in the language.

§ 320. *Much*, *more*.—Here, although the words be unlike each other, there is a true etymological relation. Mœso-Gothic, *mikils*; Old High German, *mihhil*; Old Saxon, *mikil*; Anglo-Saxon, *mycel*; Old Norse, *mickill*; Scotch, *muckle* and *mickle* (all ending in *l*): Danish, *megen*, m.; *meget*, n.; Swedish, *mycken*, m.; *myckett*, n. (where no *l* is found). Such is the adjectival form of the positive, rarely found in the Modern Gothic languages, being replaced in German by *gross*, in English by *great*, in Danish by *stor*. The adverbial forms are *miök* and *miög*, Norse; *much*, English. It is remarkable that this last form is not found in Anglo-Saxon, being replaced by *sâre*, Germ, *sehr*.—Grimm, D. G. iii. 608.

The adverbial and the Norse forms indicate that the *l* is no part of the original word. Comparison with other Indo-European languages gives us the same circumstance: Sanskrit, *maha*; Latin, *mag-nus*; Greek, μἐγας (*megas*).

There is in Mœso-Gothic the comparative form *máiza*, and there is no objection to presuming a longer form, *magiza*; since in the Greek form μεἰζων, compared with μἐγας, there is a similar disappearance of the *g*. In the Old High German we find *mêro*, corresponding with *máiza*, Mœso-Gothic,

and with *more*, English.

Mickle (replaced by *great*) expresses size; *much*, quantity; *many*, number. The words *more* and *most* apply equally to number and quantity. I am not prepared either to assert or to deny that *many*, in Anglo-Saxon *mænig*, is from the same root with *much*. Of the word *mâ* notice has already been taken. Its later form, *moe*, occurs as late as Queen Elizabeth, with an adjectival as well as an adverbial sense.

§ 321. *Little*, *less*.—Like *much* and *more*, these words are in an etymological relation to each other. Mœso-Gothic, *leitils*; Old High German, *luzil*; Old Saxon, *luttil*; Anglo-Saxon, *lytel*; Middle High German, *lützel*; Old Norse, *lîtill*. In these forms we have the letter *l*. Old High German Provincial, *luzíc*; Old Frisian, *litich*; Middle Dutch, *luttik*; Swedish, *liten*; Danish, *liden*.—Deutsche Grammatik, iii. 611. From these we find that the *l* is either no part of the original word, or one that is easily got rid of. In Swedish and Danish there are the forms *lille* and *liden*; whilst in the neuter form, *lidt*, the *d* is unpronounced. Even the word *liden* the Danes have a tendency to pronounce *leen*. My own notion is that these changes leave it possible for *less* to be derived from the root of *little*. According to Grimm, the Anglo-Saxon *lässa* is the Gothic *lasivôza*, the comparative of *lasivs* = *weak*.—Deutsche Grammatik, iii. 611. In Anglo-Saxon there was the adjectival form *læssa*, and the adverbial form *læs*. In either case we have the form *s*.

§ 322. *Near*, *nearer*.—Anglo-Saxon, *neah*; comparative, *nearre*, *near*, *nyr*; superlative, *nyhst*, *nehst*. Observe, in the Anglo-Saxon positive and superlative, the absence of the *r*. This shows that the English positive *near* is the Anglo-Saxon comparative

nearre, and that in the secondary comparative *nearer*, we have an excess of expression. It may be, however, that the *r* in *near* is a mere point of orthography, and that it is not pronounced. The fact that in the English language the words *father* and *farther* are, for the most part, pronounced alike, is the key to the forms *near* and *nearer*.

§ 323. *Farther.*—Anglo-Saxon *feor*, *fyrre*, *fyrrest*. The *th* seems euphonic, inserted by the same process that gives the δ in ἄνδρος.

Further.—Confounded with *farther*, although in reality from a different word, *fore*. Old High German, *furdir*; New High German, *der vordere*; Anglo-Saxon, *fyrðre*.

§ 324. *Former.*—A comparative formed from the superlative; *forma* being such. Consequently, an instance of excess of expression, combined with irregularity.

Languages have a comparative without a superlative degree; no *language has a superlative degree without having also a comparative one*.

§ 325. In Mœso-Gothic *spêdists* means *last*, and *spêdiza* = *later*. Of the word *spêdists* two views may be taken. According to one it is the positive degree with the addition of *st*; according to the other, it is the comparative degree with the addition only of *t*. Now, Grimm and others lay down as a rule, that the superlative is formed, not directly from the positive, but indirectly through the comparative.

With the exception of *worse* and *less*, all the English comparatives end in *r*: yet no superlative ends in *rt*, the form being, not *wise*, *wiser*, *wisert*, but *wise*, *wiser*,

wisest. This fact, without invalidating the notion just laid down, gives additional importance to the comparative forms in *s*; since it is from these, before they have changed to *r*, that we must suppose the superlatives to have been derived. The theory being admitted, we can, by approximation, determine the comparative antiquity of the superlative degree. It was introduced into the Indo-European tongues after the establishment of the comparative, and before the change of *-s* into *-r*. I give no opinion as to the truth of this theory.

CHAPTER XI.

THE SUPERLATIVE DEGREE.

§ 326. The history of the superlative form, accurately parallel with what has been stated of the comparative, is as follows:—

In Sanskrit there is, 1. the form *tama*, 2. the form *ishta*; the first being the commonest. The same is the case in the Zend.

Each of these appears again in the Greek. The first, as τατ (*tat*), in λεπτότατος (*leptotatos*); the second, as ιστ (*ist*), in οἴκτιστος (*oiktistos*). For certain reasons, Grimm thinks that the tat stands for *tamt*, or *tant*.

In Latin, words like *intimus*, *extimus*, *ultimus*, preserve *im*; whilst *venustus*, *vetustus*, and *robustus*, are considered as positives, preserving the superlative form *-st*.

Just as in *inferus* and *nuperus*, there was the ejection of the *t* in the comparative *ter*, so in *infimus*, *nigerrimus*, &c., is there the ejection of the same letter

in the superlative *tim*.

This gives us, as signs of the superlative, 1. *tm*; 2. *st*; 3. *m*, *t* being lost; 4. *t*, *m* being lost.

Of the first and last of these, there are amongst the *true* superlatives, in English, no specimens.

Of the third, there is a specimen in the Anglo-Saxon *se forma*, *the first*, from the root *fore*, as compared with the Latin *primus*, and the Lithuanic *pirmas*.

The second, *st* (*wise*, *wisest*), is the current termination.

Of the English superlatives, the only ones that demand a detailed examination are those that are generally despatched without difficulty; *viz.*, the words in *most*; such as *midmost*, *foremost*, &c. The current view is the one adopted by Rask in his Anglo-Saxon Grammar (§ 133), *viz.*, that they are compound words, formed from simple ones by the addition of the superlative term *most*. Grimm's view is opposed to this. In appreciating Grimm's view, we must bear in mind the phenomena of *excess of expression*; at the same time we must not depart from the current theory without duly considering the fact stated by Rask; which is, that we have in Icelandic the forms *nærmeir*, *fjærmeir*, &c., *nearer*, and *farther*, most unequivocally compounded of *near* and *more*, and of *far* and *more*.

Let especial notice be taken of the Mœso-Gothic forms *fruma*, first; *aftuma*, last; and of the Anglo-Saxon forms *forma*, *aftema*, aftermost; *ufema*, upmost; *hindema*, hindmost; *midema*, midmost; *innema*, inmost; *ûtema*, outmost; *siðema*, last; *latema*, last; *niðema*, nethermost. These account for the *m*.

Add to this, with an excess of expression, the letters *st*. This accounts for the whole form, as *mid-m-ost*, *in-m-ost*, &c. Such is Grimm's view.

Furthermost, *innermost*, *hindermost*.—Here there is a true addition of *most*, and an excess of inflection, a superlative form being added to a word in the comparative degree.

Former.—Here, as stated before, a comparative sign is added to a word in the superlative degree.

§ 327. The combination *st* occurs in other words besides those of the superlative degree; amongst others, in certain adverbs and prepositions, as *among*, *amongst*; *while*, *whilst*; *between*, *betwixt*.—Its power here has not been well explained.

CHAPTER XII.

OF THE CARDINAL NUMBERS.

§ 328. In one sense the cardinal numbers form no part of a work on etymology. They are single words, apparently simple, and, as such, appertaining to a dictionary rather than to a grammar.

In another sense they are strictly etymological. They are the basis of the ordinals, which are formed from them by derivation. Furthermore, some of them either have, or are supposed to have, certain peculiarities of form which can be accounted for only by considering them derivatives, and that of a very peculiar kind.

§ 329. It is an ethnological fact, that the numerals are essentially the same throughout the whole Indo-

European class of languages. The English *three* is the Latin *tres*, the Sanskrit *tri*, &c. In the Indo-European languages the numerals agree, even when many common terms differ.

And it is also an ethnological fact, that in a great many other groups of languages the numerals differ, even when many of the common terms agree. This is the case with many of the African and American dialects. Languages alike in the common terms for common objects differ in respect to the numerals.

What is the reason for this inconsistency in the similarity or dissimilarity of the numerals as compared with the similarity or dissimilarity of other words? I believe that the following distinction leads the way to it:—

The word *two* = 2, absolutely and unequivocally, and in a primary manner.

The word *pair* also = 2; but not absolutely, not unequivocally, and only in a secondary manner.

Hence the distinction between absolute terms expressive of number, and secondary terms expressive of number.

When languages separate from a common stock before the use of certain words is fixed as *absolute*, there is room for considerable latitude in the choice of numerals; *e.g.*, whilst with one tribe the word *pair* = *two*, another tribe may use the word *couple*, a third *brace*, and so on. In this case dialects that agree in other respects may differ in respect to their numerals.

When, on the other hand, languages separate from a common stock after the meaning of such a word as

two has been fixed absolutely, there is no room for latitude; and the numerals agree where the remainder of the language differs.

1. *One* = *unus*, Latin; ἑῖς (ἓν), Greek.

2. *Two* = *duo*, δύο.

3. *Three* = *tres*, τρεῖς.

4. *Four* = *quatuor*, τέτταρα. This is apparently problematical. Nevertheless, the assumed changes can be verified by the following forms:—

α. *Fidvor*, Mœso-Gothic. To be compared with *quatuor*.

β. Πίσυρες, Æolic. Illustrates the change between τ- and π- (allied to *f*-), within the pale of the classical languages.

5. *Five* = *quinque*, πέντε. Verified by the following forms:—

α. Πέμπε, Æolic Greek.

β. *Pump*, Welsh. These account for the change from the *n* + *t* in πέντε to *m* + *p*.

γ. *Fimf*, Mœso-Gothic; *fünf*, Modern High German.

δ. *Fem*, Norse.

The change from the π- of πέντε to the *qu*- of *quinque* is the change so often quoted by Latin and Celtic scholars between *p* and *k*: ἵππος, ἵκκος, *equus*.

6. *Six* = ἕξ, *sex*.

7. *Seven* = ἑπτὰ, *septem*.

This form is difficult. The Mœso-Gothic form is *sibun*,

without a *-t-*; the Norse, *syv*, without either *-t-* or *-n* (=*-m*). A doubtful explanation of the form *seven*, &c., will be found in the following chapter.

8. *Eight* = ὀκτὼ, *octo*.

9. *Nine* = ἐννέα, *novem*. The Mœso-Gothic form is *nigun*, the Icelandic *niu*. In the Latin *novem* the *v* = the *g* of *nigun*. In the English and Greek it is wanting. The explanation of the *-n* and *-m* will be found in the following chapter.

10. *Ten* = δέκα, *decem*. The Mœso-Gothic form is *tihun*; wherein the *h* = the *c* of *decem* and the κ of δέκα. The Icelandic form is *tiu*, and, like δέκα, is without the *-n* (or *-m*). The hypothesis as to the *-m* or *-n* will be given in the next chapter.

11. *Eleven.* By no means the equivalent to *undecim* = 1 + 10.

α. The *e* is *ein* = *one*. *Ein*lif, *ein*-lef, *ei*lef, *ei*lf, *e*lf, Old High German; *and*lova, Old Frisian; *end*-leofan, *end*lufan, Anglo-Saxon. This is universally admitted.

β. The *-lev-* is a modification of the root *laib-an* = *manere* = *to stay* = *to be over*. Hence *eleven* = *one over* (*ten*). This is *not* universally admitted.

γ. The *-n* has not been well accounted for. It is peculiar to the Low Germanic dialects.—Deutsche Grammatik, ii. 946.

12. *Twelve* = the root *two* + the root *laib* = *two over* (*ten*). *Tvalif*, Mœso-Gothic; *zuelif*, Old High German; *toll*, Swedish. The same doubts that apply to the doctrine of the *-lv-* in *eleven* representing the root *-laib*, apply to the *-lv-* in *twelve*.—Deutsche Grammatik, ii. 946.

13. *Thirteen* = 3 + 10. So on till twenty.

30. *Thirty* = 3 × 10, or three decads. This difference in the decimal power of the syllables *-teen* and *-ty* is illustrated by—

α. The Mœso-Gothic.—Here we find the root *tig-* used as a true substantive, equivalent in form as well as power to the Greek δέκ-ας. *Tváim tigum þusandjom* = *duobus decadibus myriadum.* (Luke xiv. 31.) *Jêrê þrijê tigivé* = *annorum duarum decadum.* (Luke iii. 23.) *þrins tiguns silubrinaize* = *tres decadas argenteorum.* (Matthew xxvii. 3, 9.)—Deutsche Grammatik, ii. 948.

β. The Icelandic.—"The numbers from 20 to 100 are formed by means of the numeral substantive, *tigr*, declined like *viðr*, and naturally taking the word which it numerically determines in the genitive case.

Nom.	Fjórir tigir manna	= *four tens of men.*
Gen.	Fjögurra tiga manna	= *of four tens of men.*
Dat.	Fjórum tigum manna	= *to four tens of men.*
Acc.	Fjóra tiga manna	= *four tens of men.*

"This is the form of the inflection in the best and oldest MSS. A little later was adopted the *indeclinable* form *tigi*, which was used adjectivally."—Det Oldnorske Sprogs Grammatik, af P. A. Munch, og C. B. Unger, Christiania, 1847.

§ 330. Generally speaking, the greater part of the numerals are undeclined, even in inflected languages. As far as *number* goes, this is necessary.

One is naturally and exclusively singular.

Two is naturally dual.

The rest are naturally and exclusively plural.

As to the inflection of gender and cases, there is no reason why all the numerals should not be as fully inflected as the Latin *unus*, *una*, *unum*, *unius*.

CHAPTER XIII.

ON THE ORDINAL NUMBERS.

§ 331. The remarks at the close of the last chapter but one indicated the fact that superlative forms were found beyond the superlative degree. The present chapter shows that they are certainly found in some, and possibly in all of the ordinal numbers.

First.—In Mœso-Gothic, *fruma*, *frumist*; in Anglo-Saxon, *forma*, *fyrmest*; in Old High German, *vurist*; in Old Norse, *fyrst*; in New High German, *erst*. In all these words, whether in *m*, in *mst*, or in *st*, there is a superlative form. The same is the case with *pratamas*, Sanskrit; *fratemas*, Zend; πρῶτος, Greek; *primus*, Latin; *primas*, Lithuanic. Considering that, *compared with the other ordinals*, the ordinal of *one* is a sort of superlative, this is not at all surprising.

Between the words *one* and *first* there is no etymological relation. This is the case in most languages. *Unus*, *primus*, ἑῖς, πρῶτος, &c.

§ 332. *Second.*—Between this word and its cardinal, *two*, there is no etymological connexion. This is the case in many, if not in most, languages. In Latin the cardinal is *duo*, and the ordinal *secundus*, a gerund of *sequor*, and meaning *the following*. In Anglo-Saxon the form was *se oðer = the other*. In the present German, the ordinal is *zweite*, a word etymologically

connected with the cardinal *zwei = two*.

Old High German, *andar*; Old Saxon, *othar*; Old Frisian, *other*; Middle Dutch, *ander*. In all these words we have the comparative form *-ter*; and considering that, *compared with the word first*, the word *second* is a sort of comparative, there is nothing in the circumstance to surprise us. The Greek forms δεύτερος and ἕτερος, the Latin *alter*, and the Lithuanic *antras*, are the same.

§ 333. With the third ordinal number begin difficulties: 1. in respect to their form; 2. in respect to the idea conveyed by them.

1. Comparing *third*, *fourth*, *fifth*, &c., with *three*, *four*, and *five*, the formation of the ordinal from the cardinal form may seem simply to consist in the addition of *d* or *th*. Such, however, is far from being the case.

2. Arguing from the nature of the first two ordinals, namely, the words *first* and *second*, of which one has been called a superlative and the other a comparative, it may seem a simple matter to associate, in regard to the rest, the idea of ordinalism with the idea of comparison. A plain distinction, however, will show that the case of the first two ordinals is peculiar. *First* is a superlative, not as compared with its cardinal, *one*, but as compared with the other numerals. *Second*, or *other*, is a comparative, not as compared with its cardinal, *two*, but as compared with the numeral *one*. Now it is very evident, that, if the other ordinals be either comparatives or superlatives, they must be so, not as compared with one another, but as compared with their respective cardinals. *Sixth*, to be anything like a superlative, must be so when compared with *six*.

§ 334. Now there are, in etymology, two ways of determining the affinity of ideas. The first is the metaphysical, the second the empirical, method.

This is better than that, is a sentence which the pure metaphysician may deal with. He may first determine that there is in it the idea of comparison; and next that the comparison is the comparison between *two* objects, and no more than two. This idea he may compare with others. He may determine, that, with a sentence like *this is one and that is the other*, it has something in common; since both assert something concerning *one out of two objects*. Upon this connexion in sense he is at liberty to reason. He is at liberty to conceive that in certain languages words expressive of allied ideas may also be allied in form. Whether such be really the case, he leaves to etymologists to decide.

The pure etymologist proceeds differently. He assumes the connexion in meaning from the connexion in form. All that he at first observes is, that words like *other* and *better* have one and the same termination. For this identity he attempts to give a reason, and finds that he can best account for it by presuming some affinity in sense. Whether there be such an affinity, he leaves to the metaphysician to decide. This is the empirical method.

At times the two methods coincide, and ideas evidently allied are expressed by forms evidently allied.

At times the connexion between the ideas is evident; but the connexion between the forms obscure: and *vice versâ*. Oftener, however, the case is as it is with the subjects of the present chapter. Are the ideas of ordinalism in number, and of superlativeness in

degree, allied? The metaphysical view, taken by itself, gives us but unsatisfactory evidence; whilst the empirical view, taken by itself, does the same. The two views, however, taken together, give us evidence of the kind called cumulative, which is weak or strong according to its degree.

Compared with *three*, *four*, &c., all the ordinals are formed by the addition of *th*, or *t*; and *th*, *ð*, *t*, or *d*, is the ordinal sign, not only in English, but in the other Gothic languages. But, as stated before, this is not the whole of the question.

The letter *t* is found, with a similar power, 1. In Latin, as in *tertius*, *quartus*, *quintus*, *sextus*; 2. Greek, as in τρἰτος (*tritos*), τἐταρτος (*tetartos*), πἑμπτος (*pemptos*), ἕκτος (*hectos*), ἔννατος (*ennatos*), δἑκατος (*dekatos*); 3. Sanskrit, as in *tritiyas*, *ćaturtas*, *shasht´as* = *third*, *fourth*, *sixth*; 4. In Zend, as in *thrityas* = *the third*, *haptathas* = *the seventh*; 5. In Lithuanic, as *ketwirtas* = *fourth*, *penktas* = *fifth*, *szesztas* = *sixth*; 6. In Old Slavonic, as in *cétvertyi* = *fourth*, *pjatyi* = *fifth*, *shestyi* = *sixth*, *devjatyi* = *ninth*, *desjatyi* = *tenth*. Speaking more generally, it is found, with a similar force, throughout the Indo-European stock.

The following forms indicate a fresh train of reasoning. The Greek ἑπτὰ (*hepta*), and Icelandic *sjau*, have been compared with the Latin *septem* and the Anglo-Saxon *seofon*. In the Greek and Icelandic there is the absence, in the Latin and Anglo-Saxon the presence, of a final liquid (*m* or *n*).

Again, the Greek forms ἐννἑα (*ennea*), and the Icelandic *níu* = *nine*, have been compared with the Latin *novem* and the Gothic *nigun*.

Thirdly, the Greek δἑκα (*deka*), and the Icelandic *tíu*,

have been compared with the Latin *decem* and the Gothic *tihun* = *ten*.

These three examples indicate the same circumstance; *viz.* that the *m* or *n*, in *seven*, *nine*, and *ten*, is no part of the original word.

§ 335. The following hypotheses account for these phenomena; *viz.* that the termination of the ordinals is the superlative termination *-tam*: that in some words, like the Latin *septimus,* the whole form is preserved; that in some, as in τέταρτος = *fourth*, the *t* only remains; and that in others, as in *decimus*, the *m* alone remains. Finally, that in *seven*, *nine*, and *ten*, the final liquid, although now belonging to the cardinal, was once the characteristic of the ordinal number. For a fuller exhibition of these views, see Grimm, Deutsche Grammatik, iii. 640.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE ARTICLES.

§ 336. In the generality of grammars the definite article *the*, and the indefinite article *an*, are the very first parts of speech that are considered. This is exceptionable. So far are they from being essential to language, that, in many dialects, they are wholly wanting. In Greek there is no indefinite, in Latin there is neither an indefinite nor a definite article. In the former language they say ἀνήρ τις = *a certain man*: in the Latin the words *filius patris* mean equally *the son of the father*, *a son of a father*, *a son of the father*, or *the son of a father*. In Mœso-Gothic and in Old Norse, there is an equal absence of the indefinite article; or, at any rate, if there be one at all, it is a

different word from what occurs in English. In these the Greek τις is expressed by the Gothic root *sum*.

Now, as it is very evident that, as far as the sense is concerned, the words *some man*, *a certain man*, and *a man*, are, there or thereabouts, the same, an exception may be taken to the statement that in Greek and Mœso-Gothic there is no indefinite article. It may, in the present state of the argument, be fairly said that the words *sum* and τις are pronouns with a certain sense, and that *a* and *an* are no more; consequently, that in Greek the indefinite article is τις, in Mœso-Gothic *sum*, and in English *a* or *an*,

A distinction, however, may be made. In the expression ἀνήρ τις (*anœr tis*) = *a certain man*, or *a man*, and in the expression *sum mann*, the words *sum* and τις preserve their natural and original meaning; whilst in *a man* and *an ox* the words *a* and *an* are used in a secondary sense. These words, as is currently known, are one and the same, the *n*, in the form *a*, being ejected through a euphonic process. They are, moreover, the same words with the numeral *one*; Anglo-Saxon, *án*; Scotch, *ane*. Now, between the words *a man* and *one man*, there is a difference in meaning; the first expression being the most indefinite. Hence comes the difference between the English and the Mœso-Gothic expressions. In the one the word *sum* has a natural, in the other the word *an* has a secondary power.

The same reasoning applies to the word *the*. Compared with *a man*, the words *the man* are very definite. Compared, however, with the words *that man*, they are the contrary. Now, just as *an* and *a* have arisen out of the numeral *one*, so has *the* arisen out of the demonstrative pronoun *þæt*, or at least

from some common root. It will be remembered that in Anglo-Saxon there was a form *þe*, undeclined, and common to all the cases of all the numbers.

In no language in its oldest stage is there ever a word giving, in its primary sense, the ideas of *a* and *the*. As tongues become modern, some noun with a *similar* sense is used to express them. In the course of time a change of form takes place, corresponding to the change of meaning; *e. g.*, *one* becomes *an*, and afterwards *a*. Then it is that articles become looked upon as separate parts of speech, and are dealt with accordingly. No invalidation of this statement is drawn from the Greek language. Although the first page of the etymology gives us ὁ, ἡ, τὸ (*ho*, *hæ*, *to*), as the definite articles, the corresponding page in the syntax informs us, that, in the oldest stage of the language, ὁ (*ho*) = *the*, had the power of οὗτος (*howtos*) = *this*.

The origin of the articles seems uniform. In German *ein*, in Danish *en*, stand to *one* in the same relation that *an* does. The French *un*, Italian and Spanish *uno*, are similarly related to *unus* = *one*.

And as, in English *the*, in German *der*, in Danish *den*, come from the demonstrative pronouns, so in the classical languages are the French *le*, the Italian *il* and *lo*, and the Spanish *el*, derived from the Latin demonstrative, *ille*.

In his Outlines of Logic, the present writer has given reasons for considering the word *no* (as in *no man*) an article.

That *the*, in expressions like *all the more*, *all the better*, &c., is no article, has already been shown.

CHAPTER XV.

DIMINUTIVES, AUGMENTATIVES, AND PATRONYMICS.

§ 337. Compared with the words *lamb*, *man*, and *hill*, the words *lambkin*, *mannikin*, and *hillock* convey the idea of comparative smallness or diminution. Now, as the word *hillock = a little hill* differs in form from *hill* we have in English a series of diminutive forms, or diminutives.

The English diminutives may be arranged according to a variety of principles. Amongst others:

1. *According to their form.*—The word *hillock* is derived from *hill*, by the addition of a syllable. The word *tip* is derived from *top*, by the change of a vowel.

2. *According to their meaning.*—In the word *hillock* there is the simple expression of comparative smallness in size. In the word *doggie* for *dog*, *lassie* for *lass*, the addition of the *-ie* makes the word not so much a diminutive as a term of tenderness or endearment. The idea of smallness, accompanied, perhaps, with that of neatness, generally carries with it the idea of approbation. The word *clean* in English, means, in German, *little = kleine*. The feeling of protection which is extended to small objects engenders the notion of endearment. In Middle High German we have *vaterlìn = little father*, *mütterlìn = little mother*. In Middle High German there is the diminutive *sunnelìn*; and the French *soleil* is from the Latin form *solillus*. In Slavonic the word *slunze = sun* is a diminutive form.

The Greek word μείωσις (*meiôsis*) means diminution;

the Greek word ὑποκόρισμα means an endearing expression. Hence we get names for the two kinds of diminutives; *viz.*, the term *meiotic* for the true diminutives, and the term *hypocoristic* for the diminutives of endearment.—Grimm, Deutsche Grammatik, iii. 664.

3. *According to their historical origin.*—The syllable *-ock*, as in *hillock*, is of Anglo-Saxon and Gothic origin. The *-et*, as in *lancet*, is of French and classical origin.

4. *According as they affect proper names or common names.—Hawkin*, *Perkin*, *Wilkin*, &c. In these words we have the diminutives of *Hal*, *Peter*, *Will*, &c.

§ 338. The diminutive forms of Gothic origin are the first to be considered.

1. *Those formed by a change of vowel.—Tip*, from *top*. The relation of the feminine to the masculine is allied to the ideas conveyed by many diminutives. Hence in the word *kit*, from *cat*, it is doubtful whether there be meant a female cat or a little cat. *Kid* is a diminutive form of *goat*.

2. *Those formed by the addition of a letter or letters.*—Of the diminutive characteristics thus formed the commonest, beginning from the simpler forms, are

Ie.—Almost peculiar to the Lowland Scotch; as *daddie*, *lassie*, *minnie*, *wifie*, *mousie*, *doggie*, *boatie*, &c. —Deutsche Grammatik, iii. 686.

Ock.—Bullock, *hillock*.

Kin.—Lambkin, *mannikin*, *ladikin*, &c. As is seen above, common in proper names.

En.—Chicken, *kitten*, from *cock*, *cat*. The notion of

diminution, if indeed that be the notion originally conveyed, lies not in the *-en*, but in the vowel. In the word *chicken*, from *cock*, observe the effect of the small vowel on the *c*.

The consideration of words like *duckling* and *gosling* is purposely deferred.

The chief diminutive of classical origin is—

Et, as in *trumpet*, *lancet*, *pocket*; the word *pock*, as in *meal-pock = a meal-bag*, being found in the Scottish. From the French *-ette*, as in *caissette*, *poulette*.

The forms *-rel*, as in *cockerel*, *pickerel*, and *-let*, as in *streamlet*, require a separate consideration. The first has nothing to do with the Italian forms *acquerella* and *coserella*—themselves, perhaps, of Gothic, rather than of classical origin.

In the Old High-German there are a multitude of diminutive forms in *-l*; as *ouga = an eye*, *ougili = a little eye*, *lied = a song*, *liedel = a little song*. "In Austria and Bavaria are the forms *mannel*, *weibel*, *hundel*, &c., or *mannl*, *weibl*, *hundl*, &c. In some districts there is an *r* before the *l*, as *madarl = a little maid*, *muadarl = a little mother*, *briadarl = a little brother*, &c. This is occasioned by the false analogy of the diminutives of the derived form in *r*."—Deutsche Grammatik, iii. p. 674. This indicates the nature of words like *cockerel*.

Even in English the diminutive power of *-el* can be traced in the following words:—

Soare = a deer in its third year. *Sor-rel* = a deer in its second year.—See *Love's Labour Lost*, with the note.

Tiercel = a small sort of hawk, one-third less (*tierce*) than the common kind.

Kantle = small corner, from *cant = a corner*.—*Henry IV.*

Hurdle; in Dutch *horde*; German, *hurde*. *Hording*, without the *-l*, is used in an allied sense by builders in English.

In the words in point we must assume an earlier form, *cocker* and *piker*, to which the diminutive form *-el* is affixed. If this be true, we have, in English, representatives of the diminutive form *-l*, so common in the High Germanic dialects. *Wolfer = a wolf*, *hunker = a haunch*, *flitcher = a flitch*, *teamer = a team*, *fresher = a frog*,—these are north country forms of the present English.[43]

The termination *-let*, as in *streamlet*, seems to be double, and to consist of the Gothic diminutive *-l*, and the French diminutive *-t*.

§ 339. *Augmentatives.*—Compared with *capello = a hat*, the Italian word *capellone = a great hat* is an augmentative. The augmentative forms, pre-eminently common in the Italian language, often carry with them a depreciating sense.

The termination *-rd* (in Old High German, *-hart*), as in *drunkard*, *braggart*, *laggard*, *stinkard*, carries with it this idea of depreciation. In *buzzard*, and *reynard*, the name of the *fox*, it is simply augmentative. In *wizard*, from *witch*, it has the power of a masculine form.

The termination *-rd*, taken from the Gothic, appears in the modern languages of classical origin: French, *vieillard*; Spanish, *codardo*. From these we get at, second-hand, the word *coward*.—Deutsche Grammatik, iii. 707.

The word *sweetheart* is a derived word of this sort, rather than a compound word; since in Old High

German and Middle High German, we have the corresponding form *liebhart*. Now the form for *heart* is in German not *hart*, but *herz*.

Words like *braggadocio*, *trombone*, *balloon*, being words of foreign origin, prove nothing as to the further existence of augmentative forms in English.

§ 340. *Patronymics.*—In the Greek language the notion of lineal descent, in other words, the relation of the son to the father, is expressed by a particular termination; as, Πηλεὺς (*Peleus*), Πηλείδης (*Peleidæs*), the son of Peleus. It is very evident that this mode of expression is very different from either the English form *Johnson*, or Gaelic *MacDonald*. In these last-named words, the words *son* and *Mac* mean the same thing; so that *Johnson* and *MacDonald* are not derived, but compound words. This Greek way of expressing descent is peculiar, and the words wherein it occurs are classed together by the peculiar name *patronymic*, from *patær = a father*, and *onoma = a name*. Is there anything in English corresponding to the Greek patronymics? It was for the sake of this question that the consideration of the termination *-ling*, as in *duckling*, &c., was deferred.

The termination *-ling*, like the terminations *-rel* and *-let*, is compound. Its simpler form is *-ing*. This, from being affixed to the derived forms in *-l*, has become *-ling*.

In Anglo-Saxon the termination *-ing* is as truly patronymic as -ιδης is in Greek. In the Bible-translation the son of Elisha is called *Elising*. In the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle occur such genealogies as the following:—*Ida wæs Eopping, Eoppa Êsing, Êsa Inging, Inga Angenviting, Angenvit Alocing, Aloc Beonocing, Beonoc Branding, Brand Bældæging, Bældæg Vódening,*

Vóden Friðowulfing, Friðowulf Finning, Finn Godwulfing, Godwulf Geating = Ida was the son of Eoppa, Eoppa of Esing, Esing of Inga, Inga of Angenvit, Angenvit of Aloc, Aloc of Beonoc, Beonoc of Brand, Brand of Bældag, Bældag of Woden, Woden of Friðowulf, Friðowulf of Finn, Finn of Godwulf, Godwulf of Geat.—In Greek, Ἴδα ἦν Ἐοππείδης, Ἔοππα Ἠσείδης, Ἦσα Ἰγγείδης, Ἴγγα Ἀγγενφιτείδης, &c. In the plural number these forms denote the *race of*; as *Scyldingas* = *the Scyldings*, or the race of *Scyld*, &c. Edgar Atheling means Edgar of the race of the nobles. The primary of *-ing* and *-l-ing* is descent or relationship; from these comes the idea of youth and endearment, and thence the true diminutive idea. In *darling*, *stripling*, *duckling*, *gosling* (pr. *gesling*), *kitling* (pr. for *kitten*), *nestling*, *yearling*, *chickling*, *fatling*, *fledgling*, *firstling*, the idea of descent still remains. In *hireling* the idea of diminution is accompanied with the idea of contempt. In *changeling* we have a Gothic termination and a classical root. See, for the full exposition of this view, Deutsche Grammatik, ii. 349-364, iii. 682.

In the opening speech of Marlow's Jew of Malta we have the following lines:—

> Here have I pursed their paltry *silverlings*.
> Fie! what a trouble 'tis to count this trash!
> Well fare the Arabs, that so richly pay
> For what they traffick in with wedge of
> gold.

The word *silverlings* has troubled the commentators. *Burst their silverbins* has been proposed as the true reading. The word, however, is a true diminutive, as *siluparlinc*, *silarbarling* = *a small silver coin*, Old High German.

A good chapter on the English diminutives may be seen in the Cambridge Philological Museum, vol. i. p. 679.

CHAPTER XVI.

GENTILE FORMS.

§ 341. These have been illustrated by Mr. Guest in the Transactions of the Philological Society.

The only word in the present English that requires explanation is the name of the principality *Wales*.

1. The form is plural, however much the meaning may be singular; so that the *-s* in *Wale-s* is the *-s* in *fathers*, &c.

2. It has grown out of the Anglo-Saxon from *wealhas = foreigners*, the name by which the Welsh are spoken of by the Germans of England, just as the Italians are called Welsh by the Germans of Germany: *wal-nuts = foreign nuts*.

3. The transfer of the name of the *people* inhabiting a certain country to the *country* so inhabited, was one of the commonest processes in both Anglo-Saxon and Old English.—Guest, Phil. Trans.

CHAPTER XVII.

ON THE CONNEXION BETWEEN THE NOUN AND VERB, AND ON THE INFLECTION OF THE INFINITIVE MOOD.

§ 342. In order to understand clearly the use of the

so-called infinitive mood in English, it is necessary to bear in mind two facts, one a matter of logic, the other a matter of history.

In the way of logic, the difference between a noun and a verb is less marked than it is in the way of grammar.

Grammatically, the contrast is considerable. The inflection of nouns expresses the ideas of sex as denoted by gender, and of relation in place as denoted by cases. That of verbs rarely expresses sex, and never position. On the other hand, however, it expresses what no noun ever does or can express; *e.g.*, the relation of the agent to the individual speaking, by means of person; the time in which acts take place, by means of tense; and the conditions of their occurrence, by means of mood.

The idea of number is the only one that, on a superficial view, is common to these two important parts of speech.

Logically, the contrast is inconsiderable. A noun denotes an object of which either the senses or the intellect can take cognizance, and a verb does no more. *To move = motion*, *to rise = rising*, *to err = error*, *to forgive = forgiveness*. The only difference between the two parts of speech is this, that, whereas a noun may express any object whatever, verbs can only express those objects which consist in an action. And it is this superadded idea of action that superadds to the verb the phenomena of tense, mood, person, and voice; in other words, the phenomena of conjugation.

§ 343. A noun is a word capable of declension only. A verb is a word capable of declension and conjugation also. The fact of verbs being declined as

well as conjugated must be remembered. The participle has the declension of a noun adjective, the infinite mood the declension of a noun substantive. Gerunds and supines, in languages where they occur, are only names for certain cases of the verb.

Although in all languages the verb is equally capable of declension, it is not equally declined. The Greeks, for instance, used forms like

τὸ φθονεῖν = *invidia*.
τοῦ φθονεῖν = *invidiæ*.
ἐν τῷ φθονεῖν = *in invidia*.

oftener than the Romans. The fact of there being an article in Greek may account for this.

§ 344. Returning, however, to the illustration of the substantival character of the so-called infinitive mood, we may easily see—

α. The name of any action may be used without any mention of the agent. Thus, we may speak of the simple fact of *walking* or *moving*, independently of any specification of the *walker* or *mover*.

β. That, when actions are spoken of thus indefinitely, the idea of either person or number has no place in the conception; from which it follows that the so-called infinitive mood must be at once impersonal, and without the distinction of singular, dual, and plural.

γ. That, nevertheless, the ideas of time and relation in space *have* place in the conception. We can think of a person being *in the act of striking a blow*, of his *having been in the act of striking a blow*, or of his *being*

about to be in the act of striking a blow. We can also think of a person being *in the act of doing a good action*, or of his being *from the act of doing a good action*.

This has been written to show that verbs of languages in general are as naturally declinable as nouns. What follows will show that the verbs of the Gothic languages in particular were actually declined, and that fragments of this declension remain in the present English.

§ 345. The inflection of the verb in its impersonal (or infinitive form) consisted, in full, of three cases, a nominative (or accusative), a dative, and a genitive. The genitive is put last, because its occurrence in the Gothic language is the least constant.

In Anglo-Saxon the nominative (or accusative) ended in -an:

Lufian = *to love* = *amare*.
Bærnan = *to burn* = *urere*.
Syllan = *to give* = *dare*.

Be it observed, that the *-en* in words like *strengthen*, &c., is a derivational termination, and by no means a representation of the Anglo-Saxon infinitive inflection. The Anglo-Saxon infinitive inflection is lost in the present English, except in certain provincial dialects.

In Anglo-Saxon the dative of the infinitive verb ended in *-nne*, and was (as a matter of syntax) generally, perhaps always, preceded by the preposition *to*.

To lufienne = *ad amandum*.

To bærnenne = *ad urendum*.
To syllanne = *ad dandum*.

The genitive, ending in *-es*, occurs only in Old High German and Modern High German, *plâsannes*, *weinnenes*.

§ 346. With these preliminaries we can take a clear view of the English infinitives. They exist under two forms, and are referable to a double origin.

1. The independent form.—This is used after the words *can*, *may*, *shall*, *will*, and some others, as, *I can speak*, *I may go*, *I shall come*, *I will move*. Here there is no preposition, and the origin of the infinitive is from the form in *-an*.

2. The prepositional form.—This is used after the majority of English verbs, as *I wish to speak*, *I mean to go*, *I intend to come*, *I determine to move*. Here we have the preposition *to* and the origin of the infinitive is from the form in *-nne*.

Expressions like *to err = error*, *to forgive = forgiveness*, in lines like

> To err is human, to forgive divine,

are very remarkable. They exhibit the phenomena of a nominative case having grown not only out of a dative but out of a dative *plus* its governing preposition.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ON DERIVED VERBS.

§ 347. Of number, person, mood, tense, and conjugation, special notice is taken in their respective chapters. Of the divisions of verbs into active and passive, transitive and intransitive, unless there be an accompanying change of form, etymology takes no cognisance. The forces of the auxiliary verbs, and the tenses to which they are equivalent, are also points of syntax rather than of etymology.

Four classes, however, of derived verbs, as opposed to simple, especially deserve notice.

I. Those ending in *-en*; as *soften*, *whiten*, *strengthen*, &c. Here it has been already remarked that the *-en* is a derivational affix; and not a representative of the Anglo-Saxon infinitive form *-an* (as *lufian*, *bærnan = to love*, *to burn*), and the Old English *-en* (as *tellen*, *loven*).

II. Transitive verbs derived from intransitives by a change of the vowel of the root.

Primitive Form.	*Intransitive*	*Derived Form.*	*Transitive*
	Rise		Raise.
	Lie		Lay.
	Sit		Set.
	Fall		Fell.
	Drink		Drench.

In Anglo-Saxon these words were more numerous than they are at present. The following list is taken from the Cambridge Philological Museum, ii. 386.

Intrans. Infinitive.	*Trans. Infinitive.*
Yrnan, *to run*	Ærnan, *to make to run*.

Byrnan, *to burn*	Bærnan, *to make to burn*.
Drincan, *to drink*	Drencan, *to drench*.
Sincan, *to sink*	Sencan, *to make to sink*.
Liegan, *to lie*	Lecgan, *to lay*.
Sittan, *to sit*	Settan, *to set*.
Drífan, *to drift*	Dræfan, *to drive*.
Fëallan, *to fall*	Fyllan, *to fell*.
Wëallan, *to boil*	Wyllan, *to make to boil*.
Flëogan, *to fly*	A-fligan, *to put to flight*.
Bëogan, *to bow*	Bígan, *to bend*.
Faran, *to go*	Feran, *to convey*.
Wacan, *to wake*	Weccan, *to awaken*.

All these intransitives form their præterite by a change of vowel, as *sink*, *sank*; all the transitives by the addition of *d* or *t*, as *fell*, *fell'd*.

III. Verbs derived from nouns by a change of accent; as *to survéy*, from a *súrvey*. For a fuller list see the Chapter on Derivation. Walker attributes the change of accent to the influence of the participial termination *-ing*. All words thus affected are of foreign origin.

IV. Verbs formed from nouns by changing a final sharp consonant into its corresponding flat one; as,

The use	*to* use,	*pronounced*	uze.
The breath	*to* breathe	—	breadhe.
The cloth	*to* clothe	—	clodhe.

CHAPTER XIX.

ON THE PERSONS.

§ 348. Compared with the Latin, the Greek, the Mœso-Gothic, and almost all the ancient languages, there is, in English, in respect to the persons of the verbs, but a very slight amount of inflection. This may be seen by comparing the English word *call* with the Latin *voco*.

Sing.	*Plur.*	*Sing.*	*Plur.*
1. Voc-*o*.	Voc-*amus*.	Call.	Call.
2. Voc-as.	Voc-*atis*.	Call-est.	Call.
3. Voc-at.	Voc-*ant*.	[44]Call-eth.	Call.

Here the Latins have different forms for each different person, whilst the English have forms for two only; and even of these one (*callest*) is becoming obsolete. With the forms of *voco* marked in italics there is, in the current English, nothing correspondent.

In the word *am*, as compared with *are* and *art*, we find a sign of the first person singular.

In the old forms *tellen*, *weren*, &c., we have a sign of the plural number.

In the Modern English, the Old English, and the Anglo-Saxon, the peculiarities of our personal inflections are very great. This may be seen from the following tables of comparison:—

Present Tense, Indicative Mood.

Mœso-Gothic.

1st person.	*2nd person.*	*3rd person.*

Singular.	Sôkja.	Sôkeis.	Sôkeiþ—*seek.*
Plural.	Sôkjam.	Sôkeiþ.	Sôkjand.
	Old High German.		
Singular.	Prennu.	Prennîs.	Prennit—*burn.*
Plural.	Prennames.	Prennat.	Prennant.
	Icelandic.		
Singular.	Kalla.	Kallar.	Kallar—*call.*
Plural.	Köllum.	Kalliþ.	Kalla.
	Old Saxon.		
Singular.	Sôkju.	Sôkîs.	Sôkîd—*seek.*
Plural.	Sôkjad.	Sôkjad.	Sôkjad.
	Anglo-Saxon.		
Singular.	Lufige.	Lufast.	Lufað.
Plural.	Lufiað.	Lufiað.	Lufiað.
	Old English.		
Singular.	Love.	Lovest.	Loveth.
Plural.	Loven.	Loven.	Loven.
	Modern English.		
Singular.	Love.	Lovest.	Loveth (or Loves).
Plural.	Love.	Love.	Love.

Herein remark; 1. the Anglo-Saxon addition of *t* in the second person singular; 2. the identity in form of

the three persons of the plural number; 3. the change of *-að* into *-en* in the Old English plural; 4. the total absence of plural forms in the Modern English; 5. the change of the *th* into *s*, in *loveth* and *loves*. These are points bearing especially upon the history of the English persons. The following points indicate a more general question.

1. The full form *prennames* in the newer Old High German, as compared with *sókjam* in the *old* Mœso-Gothic.

2. The appearance of the *r* in Icelandic.

3. The difference between the Old Saxon and the Anglo-Saxon in the second person singular; the final *t* being absent in Old Saxon.

4. The respective powers of M in the first, of S in the second, and of T (or its allied sounds) in the third persons singular; of MES in the first, of T (or its allied sounds) in the second, and of ND in the third persons plural. In this we have a regular expression of the persons by means of regular signs; and this the history of the personal terminations verifies.

§ 349. *First person singular.*—That the original sign of this person was M we learn from the following forms: *dadâmi*, Sanskrit; *dadhâmi*, Zend; δίδωμι, Greek; *dumi*, Lithuanic; *damy*, Slavonic = *I give*. The Latin language preserves it in *sum* and *inquam*, and in the first persons of tenses, like *legam*, *legebam*, *legerem*, *legissem*. The form *im* = *I am* occurs in Mœso-Gothic; and the words *stom* = *I stand*, *lirnem* = *I shall learn*, in Old High German. The word *am* is a fragmentary specimen of it in our own language.

Plural.—The original sign MES. *Dadmas*, Sanskrit;

δἰδομες, afterwards δἰδομεν, Greek; *damus*, Latin = *we give*. The current form in Old High German.

These forms in M may or may not be derived from the pronoun of the first person; *mâ*, Sanskrit; *me*, Latin, English, &c.

Second person singular.—The original sign S. *Dadasi*, Sanskrit; δἰδως, Greek; *das*, Latin; *dasi*, Slavonic. Preserved in the Gothic languages.

Plural.—The original sign T, or an allied sound. *Dadyata*, Sanskrit; *daidhyâta*, Zend; δἰδοτε, Greek; *datis*, Latin; *d[ou]kite*, Lithuanic; *dashdite*, Slavonic = *ye give*. Current in the Gothic languages.

These forms in T and S may or may not be derived from the pronoun of the second person; *tva*, Sanskrit; σὺ, Greek; *thou*, English.

Third person singular.—-The original sign T. *Dadati*, Sanskrit; *dadhâiti*, Zend; δἰδωτι, Old Greek; *dat*, Latin; *d[ou]sti*, Lithuanic; *dasty*, Slavonic = *he gives*. Preserved in the Gothic languages.

Plural.—The original sign NT. *Dadenti*, Zend; δἰδοντι, afterwards διδοῦσι, Greek; *dant*, Latin = *they give*. In Mœso-Gothic and Old High German.

The preceding examples are from Grimm and Bopp. To them add the Welsh form *carant* = *they love*, and the Persian *budend* = *they are*.

The forms in T and NT may or may not be derived from the demonstrative pronoun *ta*, Saxon; τὸ, Greek; *that*, English, &c.

§ 350. The present state of the personal inflection in English, so different from that of the older languages,

has been brought about by two processes.

I. *Change of form.*—[a]) The ejection of *-es* in *-mes*, as in *sôkjam* and *köllum*, compared with *prennames*; [b]) the ejection of *-m*, as in the first person singular, almost throughout; [c]) the change of *-s* into *-r*, as in the Norse *kallar*, compared with the Germanic *sôkeis*; [d]) the ejection of *-d* from *-nd*, as in *loven* (if this be the true explanation of that form) compared with *prennant*; [e]) the ejection of *-nd*, as in *kalla*; [f]) the addition of *-t*, as in *lufast* and *lovest*. In all these cases we have a change of form.

II. *Confusion or extension.*—In vulgarisms like *I goes*, *I is*, one person is used instead of another. In vulgarisms like *I are*, *we goes*, one number is used instead of another. In vulgarisms like *I be tired*, or *if I am tired*, one mood is used instead of another. In vulgarisms like *I give* for *I gave*, one tense is used for another. In all this there is confusion. There is also extension: since, in the phrase *I is*, the third person is used instead of the first; in other words, it is used with an extension of its natural meaning. It has the power of the third person + that of the first. In the course of time one person may entirely supplant, supersede, or replace another. The application of this is as follows:—

The only person of the plural number originally ending in ð is the second; as *sókeiþ*, *prennat*, *kalliþ*, *lufiað*; the original ending of the first person being *-mes*, or *-m*, as *prennames*, *sôkjam*, *köllum*. Now, in Anglo-Saxon, the *first* person ends in ð, as *lufiað*. Has *-m*, or *-mes*, changed to ð, or has the second person superseded the first? The latter alternative seems the likelier.

§ 351. The detail of the persons seems to be as

follows:—

I call, first person singular.—The word *call* is not one person more than another. It is the simple verb, wholly uninflected. It is very probable that the first person was the one where the characteristic termination was first lost. In the Modern Norse language it is replaced by the second: *Jeg taler = I speak*, Danish.

Thou callest, second person singular.—The final *-t* appears throughout the Anglo-Saxon, although wanting in Old Saxon. In Old High German it begins to appear in Otfrid, and is general in Notker. In Middle High German and New High German it is universal.—Deutsche Grammatik, i. 1041. 857.

He calleth, or *he calls*, third person singular.—The *-s* in *calls* is the *-th* in *calleth*, changed. The Norse form *kallar* either derives its *-r* from the *-th* by way of change, or else the form is that of the second person replacing the first.

Lufiað, Anglo-Saxon, first person plural.—The second person in the place of the first. The same in Old Saxon.

Lufiað, Anglo-Saxon, third person plural.—Possibly changed from -ND, as in *sôkjand*. More probably the second person.

Loven, Old English.—For all the persons of the plural. This form may be accounted for in three ways: 1. The *-m* of the Mœso-Gothic and High Old German became *-n*; as it is in the Middle and Modern German, where all traces of the original *-m* are lost. In this case the first person has replaced the other two. 2. The *-nd* may have become *-n*; in which case it

is the third person that replaces the others. 3. The indicative form *loven* may have arisen out of a subjunctive one; since there was in Anglo-Saxon the form *lufion*, or *lufian*, subjunctive. In the Modern Norse languages the third person replaces the other two: *Vi tale*, *I tale*, *de tale* = *we talk*, *ye talk*, *they talk*.

§ 352. *The person in* -T.—*Art*, *wast*, *wert*, *shalt*, *wilt*. Here the second person singular ends, not in *-st*, but in *-t*. A reason for this (though not wholly satisfactory) we find in the Mœso-Gothic and the Icelandic.

In those languages the form of the person changes with the tense, and the second singular of the præterite tense of one conjugation is, not *-s*, but *-t*; as Mœso-Gothic, *svôr* = *I swore*, *svôrt* = *thou swarest*, *gráip* = *I griped*, *gráipt* = *thou gripedst*; Icelandic, *brannt* = *thou burnest*, *gaft* = *thou gavest*. In the same languages ten verbs are conjugated like præterites. Of these, in each language, *skal* is one.

Mœso-Gothic.

Singular.	*Dual.*	*Plural.*
1. Skal.	Skulu.	Skulum.
2. Skalt.	Skuluts.	Skuluþ.
3. Skall.	Skuluts.	Skulun.

Icelandic.

Singular.	*Plural.*
1. Skall.	Skulum.
2. Skalt.	Skuluð.
3. Skal.	Skulu.

§ 353. *Thou spakest, thou brakest, thou sungest.*[45]—In these forms there is a slight though natural anomaly.

They belong to the class of verbs which form their præterite by changing the vowel of the present; as *sing*, *sang*, &c. Now, all words of this sort in Anglo-Saxon formed their second singular præterite, not in *-st*, but in *-e*; as *þú funde = thou foundest*, *þú sunge = thou sungest*. The English termination is derived from the present. Observe that this applies only to the præterites formed by changing the vowel. *Thou loved'st* is Anglo-Saxon as well as English, *viz.*, *þú lufodest*.

§ 354. In the northern dialects of the Anglo-Saxon the -ð of plurals like *lufiað = we love* becomes *-s*. In the Scottish this change was still more prevalent:

The Scottes come that to this day
Havys, and Scotland haldyn ay.

WINTOUN, 11. 9. 73.

James I. of England ends nearly all his plurals in *-s*.

CHAPTER XX.

ON THE NUMBERS OF VERBS.

§ 355. The inflection of the present tense, not only in Anglo-Saxon, but in several other languages as well, has been given in the preceding chapter. As compared with the present plural forms, *we love*, *ye love*, *they love*, both the Anglo-Saxon *we lufiað*, *ge lufiað*, *hi lufiað*, and the Old English *we loven*, *ye loven*, *they loven*, have a peculiar termination for the plural number which the present language wants. In other words, the Anglo-Saxon and the Old English have a plural *personal* characteristic, whilst the Modern English has nothing to correspond with it.

The word *personal* is printed in italics. It does not follow, that, because there is no plural *personal* characteristic, there is also no plural characteristic.

There is no reason against the inflection of the word *love* running thus—*I love*, *thou lovest*, *he loves*; *we lave*, *ye lave*, *they lave*; in other words, there is no reason against the vowel of the root being changed with the number. In such a case there would be no *personal* inflection, though there would be a plural, or a *numeral*, inflection.

Now, in Anglo-Saxon, with a great number of verbs

such a plural inflection not only actually takes place, but takes place most regularly. It takes place, however, in the past tense only. And this is the case in all the Gothic languages as well as in Anglo-Saxon. Amongst the rest, in—

Mœso-Gothic.

Skáin, *I shone*;	Gaf, *I gave*;
skinum, *we shone.*	gêbum, *we gave.*
Smáit, *I smote*;	At, *I ete*;
smitum, *we smote.*	êtum, *we ete.*
Káus, *I chose*;	Stal, *I stole*;
kusum, *we chose.*	stêlum, *we stole.*
Láug, *I lied*;	Qvam, *I came*;
lugum, *we lied.*	qvêmum, *we came.*

Anglo-Saxon.

Arn, *I ran*; Dranc, *I drank*; urnon, *we run*. druncon, *we drunk*.

Ongan, *I began*; Sanc, *I sank*; ongunnon, *we began*; suncon, *we sunk*.

Span, *I span*; Sprang, *I sprang*; spunnon, *we spun*; sprungon, *we sprung*.

Sang, *I sang*; Swam, *I swam*; sungon, *we sung*; swummon, *we swum*.

Swang, *I swang*; Rang, *I rang*; swungon, *we swung*; rungon, *we rung*.

In all the Anglo-Saxon words, it may be remarked that the change is from *a* to *u*, and that both the vowels are short, or dependent. Also, that the vowel of the present tense is *i* short; as *swim*, *sing*, &c. The Anglo-Saxon form of *run* is *yrnan*.

In the following words the change is from the Anglo-Saxon *á* to the Anglo-Saxon *ī*. In English, the regularity of the change is obscured by a change of pronunciation.

Bát,	Smát,
I	*I*
bit;	*smote*;
biton,	smiton,
we	*we*
bit.	*smit.*

From these examples the reader has himself drawn his inference; *viz.* that words like

Began,	*Sank,*
begun.	*sunk.*
Ran,	*Swam,*
run.	*swum.*
Span,	*Rang,*
spun.	*rung.*
Sang,	*Bat,*
sung.	*bit.*
Swang, [46]	*Smote,*
swung.	*smit.*
Sprang,	*Drank,*
sprung.	*drunk,*
	&c.,

generally called double forms of the past tense, were originally different numbers of the same tense, the forms in *u*, as *swum*, and the forms in *i*, *bit*, being plural.

CHAPTER XXI.

ON MOODS.

§ 356. The Anglo-Saxon infinitive has already been

considered.

§ 357. Between the second plural imperative, and the second plural indicative, *speak ye* and *ye speak*, there is no difference of form. Between the second singular imperative *speak*, and the second singular indicative, *speakest*, there is a difference in form. Still, as the imperative form *speak* is distinguished from the indicative form *speakest* by the negation of a character rather than by the possession of one, it cannot be said that there is in English any imperative mood.

§ 358. *If he speak*, as opposed to *if he speaks*, is characterised by a negative sign only, and consequently is no true example of a subjunctive. *Be*, as opposed to *am*, in the sentence *if it be so*, is an uninflected word used in a limited sense, and consequently no true example of a subjunctive.

The only true subjunctive inflection in the English language is that of *were* and *wert*, as opposed to the indicative forms *was* and *wast*.

Indicative.		*Subjunctive.*	
Singular.	*Plural.*	*Singular.*	*Plural.*
1. I was.	We were.	If I were.	If we were.
2. Thou wast.	Ye were.	If thou wert.	If ye were.
3. He was.	They were.	If he were.	If they were.

CHAPTER XXII.

ON TENSES IN GENERAL.

§ 359. The nature of tenses in general is best exhibited by reference to the Greek; since in that language they are more numerous, and more strongly marked than elsewhere.

I strike, I struck.—Of these words, the first implies an action taking place at the time of speaking, the second marks an action that has already taken place.

These two notions of present and of past time, being expressed by a change of form, are true tenses. They are however, the only true tenses in our language. In *I was beating*, *I have beaten*, *I had beaten*, and *I shall beat*, a difference of time is expressed; but as it is expressed by a combination of words, and not by a change of form, no true tenses are constituted.

In Greek the case is different. Τύπτω (*typtô*) = *I beat*; ἔτυπτον (*etypton*) = *I was beating*; τύψω (*typsô*) = *I shall beat*; ἔτυψα (*etypsa*) = *I beat*; τέτυφα (*tetyfa*) = *I have beaten*; ἐτετύφειν (*etetyfein*) = *I had beaten*. In these words we have, of the same mood, the same voice, and the same conjugation, six different tenses; [47] whereas, in English, there are but two. The forms τέτυφα and ἔτυψα are so strongly marked, that we recognise them wheresoever they occur. The first is formed by a reduplication of the initial τ, and, consequently, may be called the reduplicate form. As a tense it is called the perfect. In the form ἔτυψα an ε is prefixed, and an σ is added. In the allied language of Italy the ε disappears, whilst the σ (*s*) remains. Ἔτυψα is said to be an aorist tense. *Scripsi* : *scribo* :: ἔτυψα : τύπτω.

§ 360. Now in the Latin language a confusion takes place between these two tenses. Both forms exist. They are used, however, indiscriminately. The aorist form has, besides its own, the sense of the perfect.

The perfect has, besides its own, the sense of the aorist. In the following pair of quotations, *vixi*, the aorist form, is translated *I have lived*, while *tetigit*, the perfect form, is translated *he touched*.

> *Vixi*, et quem dederat cursum Fortuna
> peregi;
> Et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago.
> —*Æn.* iv.

> Ut primum alatis *tetigit* magalia plantis.—
> *Æn.* iv.

When a difference of form has ceased to express a difference of meaning, it has become superfluous. This is the case with the two forms in question. One of them may be dispensed with; and the consequence is, that, although in the Latin language both the perfect and the aorist forms are found, they are, with few exceptions, never found in the same word. Wherever there is the perfect, the aorist is wanting, and *vice versâ*. The two ideas *I have struck* and *I struck* are merged into the notion of past time in general, and are expressed by one of two forms, sometimes by that of the Greek perfect, and sometimes by that of the Greek aorist. On account of this the grammarians have cut down the number of Latin tenses to *five*; forms like *cucurri* and *vixi* being dealt with as one and the same tense. The true view is, that in *curro* the aorist form is replaced by the perfect, and in *vixi* the perfect form is replaced by the aorist.

§ 361. In the present English there is no undoubted perfect or reduplicate form. The form *moved* corresponds in meaning not with τέτυφα and *momordi*, but with ἔτυψα and *vixi*. Its sense is that of ἔτυψα, and not that of τέτυφα. The notion given by

τὲτυφα we express by the circumlocution *I have beaten*. We have no such form as *bebeat* or *memove*. In the Mœso-Gothic, however, there was a true reduplicate form; in other words, a perfect tense as well as an aorist. It is by the possession of this form that the verbs of the first six conjugations are characterized.

1st.	Falþa,	*I fold*	Fáifalþ,	*I have folded*, or *I folded*.
	Halda,	*I feed*	Háihald,	*I have fed*, or *I fed*.
	Haha,	*I hang*	Háihah,	*I have hanged*, or *I hanged*.
2nd.	Háita,	*I call*	Háiháit,	*I have called*, or *I called*.
	Láika,	*I play*	Láiláik,	*I have played*, or *I played*.
3d.	Hláupa,	*I run*	Hláiláup,	*I have run*, or *I ran*.
4th.	Slêpa,	*I sleep*	Sáizlêp,	*I have slept*, or *I slept*.

5th.	Láia,	*I laugh*	Láilô,	*I have laughed*, or *I laught*.
	Sáija,	*I sow*	Sáisô,	*I have sown*, or *I sowed*.
6th	Grêta,	*I weep*	Gáigrôt,	*I have wept*, or *I wept*.
	Têka,	*I touch*	Táitôk,	*I have touched*, or *I touched*.

In Mœso-Gothic, as in Latin, the perfect forms have, besides their own, an aorist sense, and *vice versâ*.

In Mœso-Gothic, as in Latin, few (if any) words are found in both forms.

In Mœso-Gothic, as in Latin, the two forms are dealt with as a single tense; *láilô* being called the præterite of *láia*, and *svôr* the præterite of *svara*. The true view, however, is that in Mœso-Gothic, as in Latin, there are two past tenses, each having a certain latitude of meaning, and each, in certain words, replacing the other.

The reduplicate form, in other words, the perfect tense, is current in none of the Gothic languages except the Mœso-Gothic. A trace of it is found in the Anglo-Saxon of the seventh century in the word *heht*, which is considered to be *hê-ht*, the Mœso-Gothic *háiháit*, *vocavi*. This statement is taken from the

Cambridge Philological Museum, ii. 378. *Did* from *do* is also considered to be a reduplicate form.

§ 362. In the English language the tense corresponding with the Greek aorist and the Latin forms like *vixi*, is formed after two modes; 1, as in *fell*, *sang*, and *took*, from *fall*, *sing*, and *take*, by changing the vowel of the present: 2, as in *moved* and *wept*, from *move* and *weep*, by the addition of *d* or *t*; the *d* or *t* not being found in the original word, but being a fresh element added to it. In forms, on the contrary, like *sang* and *fell*, no addition being made, no new element appears. The vowel, indeed, is changed, but nothing is added. Verbs, then, of the first sort, may be said to form their præterites out of themselves; whilst verbs of the second sort require something from without. To speak in a metaphor, words like *sang* and *fell* are comparatively independent. Be this as it may, the German grammarians call the tenses formed by a change of vowel the strong tenses, the strong verbs, the strong conjugation, or the strong order; and those formed by the addition of *d* or *t*, the weak tenses, the weak verbs, the weak conjugation, or the weak order. *Bound*, *spoke*, *gave*, *lay*, &c., are strong; *moved*, *favoured*, *instructed*, &c., are weak. For the proof that the division of verbs into weak and strong is a natural division, see the Chapter on Conjugation.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE STRONG TENSES.

§ 363. The strong præterites are formed from the present by changing the vowel, as *sing*, *sang*, *speak*, *spoke*.

The first point in the history of these tenses that the reader is required to be aware of, is stated in the Chapter upon the Numbers, viz., that, in Anglo-Saxon, several præterites change, in their plural, the vowel of their singular; as

Ic sang, *I sang*.	We sungon, *we sung*.
Þu sunge, *thou sungest*.	Ge sungon, *ye sung*.
He sang, *he sang*.	Hi sungon, *they sung*.

As a general rule, the second singular has the same vowel with the plural persons, as *burne*, *thou burntest*, plural *burnon*, *we burnt*.

The bearing of this fact upon the præterites has been indicated in p. 300. In a great number of words we have a double form, as *ran* and *run*, *sang* and *sung*, *drank* and *drunk*, &c. One of these forms is derived from the singular, and the other from the plural. I cannot say at what period the difference of form ceased to denote a difference of sense.

In cases where but one form is preserved, that form is not necessarily the singular one. For instance, Ic fand, *I found*, we fundon, *we found*, are the Anglo-Saxon forms. Now the present word *found* comes, not from the singular *fand*, but from the plural *fund*; although in the Lowland Scotch dialect and in the old writers, the singular form occurs.

> Donald Caird finds orra things,
> Where Allan Gregor *fand* the tings.—Scott.

Even in the present English it will be found convenient to call the forms like *sang* and *drank* the singular, and those like *sung* and *bound* the plural forms.

Be it observed, that, though this fact accounts for most of our double forms, it will not account for all. In the Anglo-Saxon, Ic spræc, *I spake*, we spræcon, *we spake*. There is no change of number to account for the two forms *spake* and *spoke*.

First Class.

§ 364. Contains the two words *fall* and *fell*, *hold* and *held*, where the sound of *o* is changed into that of *ĕ*. Here must be noticed the natural tendency of *a* to become *o*; since the forms in Anglo-Saxon are, *Ic fealle*, I fall; *Ic feoll*, I fell; *Ic healde*, I hold; *Ic heold*, I held.

Second Class.

§ 365. Here the præterite ends in *-ew*. Words of this class are distinguished from those of the third Class by the different form of the present tense.

Present.	*Præterite.*
Draw	Drew.
Slay	Slew.
Fly	Flew.

In these words the *w* has grown out of a *g*, as may be seen from the Anglo-Saxon forms. The word *see* (*saw*) belongs to this class: since, in Anglo-Saxon, we find the forms *geseáh* and *gesegen*, and in the Swedish the præterite form is *saag*.

Third Class.

§ 366. Here an *o* before *w*, in the present, becomes *e* before *w* in the præterite; as

Present.	*Present.*	*Prætérite.*	*Prætérite.*
Blow.	Know.	Blew.	Knew.
Crow.	Grow.	Crew.	Grew.
Throw.		Threw.	

Fourth Class.

§ 367. Contains the single word *let*, where a short *e* in the present remains unchanged in the prætérite. In the Anglo-Saxon the present form was *Ic lætе*, the prætérite *Ic lét*.

Fifth Class.

§ 368. Contains the single word *beat*, where a long *e* remains unchanged. In Anglo-Saxon the forms were *Ic beate*, *Ic beot*.

Sixth Class.

§ 369. Present *come*, prætérite *came*, participle *come*. In Anglo-Saxon, *cume*, *com*, *cumen*.

Seventh Class.

§ 370. In this class we have the sounds of the *ee*, in *feet*, and of the *a* in *fate* (spelt *ea* or *a*), changed into *o* or *oo*. As several words in this class have a second form in *a*, the prætérite in *o* or *oo* will be called the primary, the prætérite in *a* the secondary form.

Present.	*Primary Prætérite.*	*Secondary Prætérite.*
Heave	[48]Hove	—
Cleave	Clove	[48]Clave.
Weave	Wove	—

Freeze	Froze	—
Steal	Stole	[48]Stale.
Speak	Spoke	Spake.
Swear	Swore	Sware.
Bear	Bore	Bare.
Tear	Tore	[48]Tare.
Shear	[48]Shore	—
Wear	Wore	[48]Ware.
Break	Broke	Brake.
Shake	Shook	—
Take	Took	—
Forsake	Forsook	—
Stand	Stood	—
—	Quoth	—
Get	Got	[48]Gat.

The præterite of *stand* was originally long. This we collect from the spelling, and from the Anglo-Saxon form *stód*. The process that ejects the *nd* is the same process that, in Greek, converts ὀδόντ-ος into ὀδούς.

All the words with secondary forms will appear again in the eighth class.

Eighth Class.

§ 371. In this class the sound of the *ee* in *feet*, and the *a* in *fate* (spelt *ea*), is changed into *a*. Several words of this class have secondary forms. Further details may be seen in the remarks that come after the following list of verbs.

Present.	*Primary Præterite.*	*Secondary Præterite.*
Speak	Spake	Spoke.

Break	Brake	Broke.
Cleave	[49]Clave	Clove.
Steal	[49]Stale	Stole.
Eat	Ate	—
Seethe	—	[49]Sod.
Tread	[49]Trad	Trod.
Bear	Bare	Bore.
Tear	Tare	Tore.
Swear	Sware	Swore.
Wear	[49]Ware	Wore.
Bid	Bade	Bid.
Sit	Sate	—
Give	Gave	—
Lie	Lay	—
Get	[49]Gat	Got.

Here observe,—1. That in *speak*, *cleave*, *steal*, the *ea* has the same power with the *ee* in *freeze* and *seethe*; so that it may be dealt with as the long (or independent) sound of the *i* in *bid*, *sit*, *give*.

2. That the same view may be taken of the *ea* in *break*, although the word by some persons is pronounced *brake*. *Gabrika*, *gabrak*, Mœso-Gothic; *briku*, *brak*, Old Saxon; *brece*, *brac*, Anglo-Saxon. Also of *bear*, *tear*, *swear*, *wear*. In the provincial dialects these words are even now pronounced *beer*, *teer*, *sweer*. The forms in the allied languages are, in respect to these last-mentioned words, less confirmatory; Mœso-Gothic, *svara*, *báira*; Old High German, *sverju*, *piru*.

3. That the *ea* in *tread* was originally long; Anglo-Saxon, *tredan*, *trede*, *trǽd*, *treden*.

4. *Lie.*—Here the sound is diphthongal, having grown out of the Anglo-Saxon forms *licgan*, *lǽg*, *legen*.

5. *Sat.*—The original præterite was long. This we collect from the spelling *sate*, and from the Anglo-Saxon *sǽt*.

Ninth Class.

§ 372. *A*, as in *fate*, is changed either into the *o* in *note*, or the *oo* in *book*. Here it should be noticed that, unlike *break* and *swear*, &c., there is no tendency to sound the *a* of the present as *ee*, neither is there, as was the case with *clove* and *spoke*, any tendency to secondary forms in *a*. A partial reason for this lies in the original nature of the vowel. The original vowel in *speak* was *e*. If this was the *é fermé* of the French, it was a sound from which the *a* in *fate* and the *ee* in *feet* might equally have been evolved. The vowel sound of the verbs of the present class was that of *a* for the present and that of *ó* for the præterite forms; as *wace*, *wóc*, *grafe*, *gróf*. Now of these two sounds it may be said that the *a* has no tendency to become the *ee* in *feet*, and that the *ó* has no tendency to become the *a* in *fate*.

The sounds that are evolved from the accentuated *ó*, are the *o* in *note* and the *oo* in *book*.

Present.	*Præterite.*
Awake	Awoke.
Wake	Woke.
Lade	[50]Lode.
Grave	[50]Grove.
Take	Took.
Shake	Shook.
Forsake	Forsook.

Shape [50]Shope.

Tenth Class.

§ 373. Containing the single word *strike*, *struck*, *stricken*. It is only in the Middle High German, the Middle Dutch, the New High German, the Modern Dutch, and the English, that this word is found in its præterite forms. These are, in Middle High German, *streich*; New High German, *strich*; Middle Dutch, *strêc*; Modern Dutch, *strîk*. Originally it must have been referable to the ninth class.

Eleventh Class.

§ 374. In this class we first find the secondary forms accounted for by the difference of form between the singular and plural numbers. The change is from the *i* in *bite* to the *o* in *note*, and the *i* in *pit*. Sometimes it is from the *i* in *bit* to the *a* in *bat*. The Anglo-Saxon conjugation (A) may be compared with the present English (B).

A.

Present.	*Præterite sing.*		*Præterite plur.*	
Scine (*shine*)	Sceán (*I shone*)		Scinon (*we shone*).	
Arise (*arise*)	Arás (*I arose*)		Arison (*we arose*).	
Smite (*smite*)	Smát (*I smote*)		Smiton (*we smite*).	

B.

Present.	*Prœt.—Sing. form.*	*Prœt.—Pl. form.*
Rise	Rose	[51]Ris.
Abide	Abode	—
Shine	Shone	—
Smite	Smote	Smit.
Ride	Rode	[51]Rid.
Stride	Strode	Strid.
Slide	[51]Slode	Slid.
Glide	[51]Glode	—
Chide	[51]Chode	—
Drive	Drove	[51]Driv.
Thrive	Throve	[51]Thriv.
Strive	Strove	—
Write	Wrote	Writ.
Climb	Clomb	—
Slit	[51]Slat	Slit.
Bite	[51]Bat	Bit.

On this list we may make the following observations and statements.

1. That, with the exception of the word *slit*, the *i* is sounded as a diphthong.

2. That, with the exception of *bat* and *slat*, it is changed into *o* in the singular and into *ĭ* in the plural forms.

3. That, with the exception of *shone*, the *o* is always long (or independent).

4. That, even with the word *shone*, the *o* was originally long. This is known from the final *-e* mute, and from the Anglo-Saxon form *scéan*; Mœso-Gothic,

skáin; Old Norse, *skein*.

5. That the *o*, in English, represents an *á* in Anglo-Saxon.

6. That the statement last made shows that even *bat* and *slat* were once in the same condition with *arose* and *smote*, the Anglo-Saxon forms being *arás*, *smát*, *bát*, *slát*.

Twelfth Class.

§ 375. In this class *i* is generally short; originally it was always so. In the singular form it becomes *ă*, in the plural, *ŭ*.

Present.	*Prœt.—Sing. form.*	*Prœt.—Pl. form.*
Swim	Swam	Swum.
Begin	Began	Begun.
Spin	[52]Span	Spun.
Win	[52]Wan	[53]Won.
Sing	Sang	Sung.
Swing	[52]Swang	Swung.
Spring	Sprang	Sprung.
Sting	[52]Stang	Stung.
Ring	Rang	Rung.
Wring	[52]Wrang	Wrung.
Fling	Flang	Flung.
Cling	—	Clung.
[52]Hing	Hang	Hung.
String	[52]Strang	Strung.
Sling	—	Slung.
Sink	Sank	Sunk.
Drink	Drank	Drunk.

Shrink	Shrank	Shrunk.
Stink	[52]Stank	Stunk.
Swink	—	—
Slink	—	Slunk.
Swell	Swoll	—
Melt	[54]Molt	—
Help	[54]Holp	—
Delve	[54]Dolv	—
Dig	—	Dug.
Stick	[54]Stack	Stuck.
Run	Ran	Run.
Burst	—	Burst.
Bind	Band	Bound.
Find	[54]Fand	Found.
Grind	—	Ground.
Wind	—	Wound.

Upon this list we make the following observations and statements:—

1. That, with the exceptions of *bind*, *find*, *grind*, and *wind*, the vowels are short (or dependent) throughout.

2. That, with the exception of *run* and *burst*, the vowel of the present tense is either the *i* or *e*.

3. That *i* short changes into *a* for the singular, and into *u* for the plural forms.

4. That *e* changes into *o* in the singular forms; these being the only ones preserved.

5. That the *i* in *bind*, &c., changes into *ou* in the plural forms; the only ones current.

6. That the vowel before *m* or *n* is, with the single exception of *run*, always *i*.

7. That the vowel before *l* and *r* is, with the single exception of *burst*, always *e*.

8. That, where the *i* is sounded as in *bind*, the combination following is *-nd*.

9. That *ng* being considered as a modification of *k* (the Norse and Mœso-Gothic forms being *drecka* and *drikjan*), it may be stated that *i* short, in the twelfth class, precedes either a liquid or a mute of series *k*.

From these observations, even on the English forms only, we find thus much regularity; and from these observations, even on the English forms only, we may lay down a rule like the following: *viz.* that *i* or *u*, short, before the consonants *m*, *n*, or *ck*, is changed into *a* for the singular, and into *u* for the plural forms; that *i* long, or diphthongal, becomes *ou*; that *e* before *l* becomes *o*; and that *u* before *r* remains unchanged.

This statement, however, is nothing like so general as the one that, after a comparison of the older forms and the allied languages, we are enabled to make. Here we are taught,

1. That, in the words *bind*, &c., the *i* was once pronounced as in *till*, *fill*; in other words, that it was the simple short vowel, and not the diphthong *ey*; or at least that it was treated as such.

		Mœso-Gothic.	
Binda	Band	Bundum	Bundans.
Bivinda	Bivand	Bivundum	Bivundums.
Finþa	Fanþ	Funþum	Funþans.

Anglo-Saxon.

Bind	Band	Bundon	Bunden.
Finde	Fand	Fundon	Funden.
Grinde	Grand	Grundon	Grunden.
Winde	Wand	Wundon	Wunden.

Old Norse.

Finn	Fann	Funðum	Funninn.
Bind	Batt	Bundum	Bundinn.
Vind	Vatt	Undum	Undinn.

When the vowel *ĭ* of the present took the sound of the *i* in *bite*, the *ŭ* in the præterite became the *ou* in *mouse*. From this we see that the words *bind*, &c., are naturally subject to the same changes with *spin*, &c., and that, *mutatis mutandis*, they are so still.

2. That the *e* in *swell*, &c., was once *ĭ*. This we collect from the following forms:—*hilpa*, Mœso-Gothic; *hilfu*, Old High German; *hilpu*, Old Saxon; *hilpe*, Middle High German; *hilpe*, Old Frisian. *Suillu* = *swell*, Old High German. *Tilfu* = *delve*, Old High German; *dilbu*, Old Saxon. *Smilzu*, Old High German = *smelt* or *melt*. This shows that originally the vowel *i* ran throughout, but that before *l* and *r* it was changed into *e*. This change took place at different periods in different dialects. The Old Saxon preserved the *i* longer than the Anglo-Saxon. It is found even in the *middle* High German; in the *new* it has become *e*; as *schwelle*, *schmelze*. In one word *milk*, the original *i* is still preserved; although in Anglo-Saxon it was *e*; as *melce*, *mealc* = *milked*, *mulcon*. In the Norse the change from *i* to *e* took place full soon, as *svëll* = *swells*. The Norse language is in this respect important.

3. That the *o* in *swoll*, *holp*, was originally *a*; as

Hilpa	Halp	Hulpum	Mœso-Gothic.
Suillu	Sual	Suullumês	Old High German.
Hilfu	Half	Hulfumês	Ditto.
Tilfu	Talf	Tulfumês	Ditto.
Hilpe	Halp	Hulpun	Middle High German.
Dilbe	Dalp	Dulbun	Ditto.
Hilpe	Halp	Hulpon	Ditto.
Svëll	Svall	Sullum	Old Norse.
Melte	Mealt	Multon	Anglo-Saxon.
Helpe	Haelp	Hulpon	Ditto.
Delfe	Dealf	Dulfon	Ditto.

4. That a change between *a* and *o* took place by times. The Anglo-Saxon præterite of *swelle* is *sweoll*; whilst *ongon*, *bond*, *song*, *gelomp*, are found in the same language for *ongan*, *band*, *sang*, *gelamp*.—Rask's Anglo-Saxon Grammar, p. 90.

5. That *run* is only an apparent exception, the older form being *rinn*.

> The rain *rinns* down through Merriland town;
> So doth it down the Pa.—*Old Ballad.*

The Anglo-Saxon form is *yrnan*; in the præterite *arn*, *urnon*. A transposition has since taken place. The word *run* seems to have been originally no present, but a præterite form.

6. That *burst* is only an apparent exception. Before *r*,

ĕ, *ĭ*, *ŭ*, are pronounced alike. We draw no distinction between the vowels in *pert*, *flirt*, *hurt*. The Anglo-Saxon forms are, *berste*, *byrst*, *bærse*, *burston*, *borsten*.

Thirteenth Class.

§ 376. Contains the single word *choose*, in the præterite *chose*; in Anglo-Saxon, *ceóse*, *ceás*.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE WEAK TENSES.

§ 377. The præterite tense of the weak verbs is formed by the addition of *-d* or *-t*. If necessary, the syllable *-ed* is substituted for *-d*.

The current statement that the syllable *-ed*, rather than the letter *-d*, is the sign of the præterite tense, is true only in regard to the written language. In *stabbed*, *moved*, *bragged*, *whizzed*, *judged*, *filled*, *slurred*, *slammed*, *shunned*, *barred*, *strewed*, the *e* is a point of spelling only. In *language*, except in declamation, there is no second vowel sound. The *-d* comes in immediate contact with the final letter of the original word, and the number of syllables remains the same as it was before.

When, however, the original word ends in *-d* or *-t*, as *slight* or *brand*, then, and then only (and that not always), is there the addition of the syllable *-ed*; as in *slighted*, *branded*. This is necessary, since the combinations *slightt* and *brandd* are unpronounceable.

Whether the addition be *-d* or *-t* depends upon the flatness or sharpness of the preceding letter.

After *b*, *v*, *th* (as in *clothe*), *g*, or *z*, the addition is *-d*. This is a matter of necessity. We say *stabd*, *môvd*, *clôthd*, *braggd*, *whizzd*, because *stabt*, *môvt*, *clotht*, *braggt*, *whizzt*, are unpronounceable.

After *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, *w*, *y*, or a vowel, the addition is also *-d*. This is the habit of the English language. *Filt*, *slurt*, *strayt*, &c., are as pronounceable as *filld*, *slurrd*, *strayd*, &c. It is the habit, however, of the English language to prefer the latter forms. All this, as the reader has probably observed, is merely the reasoning concerning the *s*, in words like *father's*, &c., applied to another letter and to another part of speech.

For some historical notices respecting the use of *-d*, *-t*, and *-ed*, in the spelling of the English præterites and participles, the reader is referred to the Cambridge Philological Museum, vol. i. p. 655.

§ 378. The verbs of the weak conjugation fall into three classes. In the first there is the simple addition of *-d*, *-t*, or *-ed*.

Serve, served.
Cry, cried.
Betray, betrayed.
Expel, expelled.
Accuse, accused.
Instruct, instructed.
Invite, invited.
Waste, wasted.

Dip, dipped (*dipt*).
Slip, slipped (*slipt*).
Step, stepped (*stept*).
Look, looked (*lookt*).
Pluck, plucked (*pluckt*).
Toss, tossed (*tost*).
Push, pushed (*pusht*).
Confess, confessed (*confest*)

To this class belong the greater part of the weak verbs and all verbs of foreign origin.

§ 379. In the second class, besides the addition of *-t* or *-d*, the vowel is *shortened*. It also contains those words which end in *-d* or *-t*, and at the same time have a short vowel in the præterite. Such, amongst others, are *cut*, *cost*, &c., where the two tenses are alike, and *bend*, *rend*, &c., where the præterite is

formed from the present by changing *-d* into *-t*, as *bent*, *rent*, &c.

In the following list, the words ending in *-p* are remarkable; since, in Anglo-Saxon, each of them had, instead of a weak, a strong præterite.

Leave,	Creep,
left.	crept.
Cleave,	Sleep,
cleft.	slept.
Bereave,	Leap,
bereft	lept.
Deal,	Keep,
deăl*t*.	kept.
Feel,	Weep,
fel*t*.	wept.
Dream,	Sweep,
dreăm*t*.	swept.
Lean,	Lose,
leăn*t*.	lost.
Learn,	Flee,
learn*t*.	fled.

In this class we sometimes find *-t* where the *-d* is expected; the forms being *left* and *dealt*, instead of *leaved* and *dealed*.

§ 380. Third class.—In the second class the vowel of the present tense was *shortened* in the præterite. In the third class it is *changed*.

Tell,	Sell,
told.	sold.
Will,	Shall,
would.	should.

To this class belong the remarkable præterites of the verbs *seek*, *beseech*, *catch*, *teach*, *bring*, *think*, and *buy*, *viz.*, *sought*, *besought*, *caught*, *taught*, *brought*, *thought*, and *bought*. In all these, the final consonant is either *g* or *k*, or else a sound allied to those mutes. When the tendency of these sounds to become *h* and *y*, as well as to undergo farther changes, is remembered, the forms in point cease to seem anomalous. In *wrought*, from *work*, there is a transposition. In *laid* and *said* the present forms make a show of regularity which they have not. The true original forms should be *legde* and *sægde*, the infinitives being *lecgan*, *secgan*. In these words the *i* represents the semivowel *y*, into which the original *g* was changed. The Anglo-Saxon forms of the other words are as follows:—

Byegan,	Bringan,
bóhte.	bróhte.
Sècan,	Þencan,
sóhte.	þóhte.
Wyrcan,	
wórhte.	

§ 381. Out of the three classes into which the weak verbs in Anglo-Saxon are divided, only one takes a vowel before the *d* or *t*. The other two add the syllables *-te*, or *-de*, to the last letter of the original word. The vowel that, in one out of the three Anglo-Saxon classes, precedes *d* is *o*. Thus we have *lufian*, *lufode*; *clypian*, *clypode*. In the other two classes the

forms are respectively *bærnan*, *bærnde*; and *tellan*, *tealde*, no vowel being found. The participle, however, as stated above, ended, not in *-de* or *-te*, but in *-d* or *-t*; and in two out of the three classes it was preceded by a vowel, *gelufod*, *bærned*, *geteald*. Now in those conjugations where no vowel preceded the *d* of the præterite, and where the original word ended in *-d* or *-t*, a difficulty, which has already been indicated, arose. To add the sign of the præterite to a word like *eard-ian* (*to dwell*) was an easy matter, inasmuch as *eardian* was a word belonging to the first class, and in the first class the præterite was formed in *-ode*. Here the vowel *o* kept the two d's from coming in contact. With words, however, like *métan* and *sendan*, this was not the case. Here no vowel intervened; so that the natural præterite forms were *met-te*, *send-de*, combinations wherein one of the letters ran every chance of being dropped in the pronunciation. Hence, with the exception of the verbs in the first class, words ending in *-d* or *-t* in the root admitted no additional *d* or *t* in the præterite. This difficulty, existing in the present English as it existed in the Anglo-Saxon, modifies the præterites of most words ending in *-t* or *-d*.

In several words there is the actual addition of the syllable *-ed*; in other words *d* is separated from the last letter of the original word by the addition of a vowel; as *ended*, *instructed*, &c. Of this *e* two views may be taken.

1. It may be derived from the original *o* in *-ode*, the termination of the first class in Anglo-Saxon. This is the opinion which we form when the word in question is known to have belonged to the Anglo-Saxon language, and, in it, to the first class. *Ended*, *planted*, *warded*, *hated*, *heeded*, are (amongst others)

words of this sort; their Anglo-Saxon forms being *endode*, *plantode*, *weardode*, *hatode*, and *eahtode*, from *endian*, *plantian*, *weardian*, *hatian*, and *eahtian*.

2. The form may be looked upon, not as that of the præterite, but as that of the participle in a transferred sense. This is the view when we have two forms, one with the vowel, and the other without it, as *bended* and *bent*, *wended* and *went*, *plighted* and *plight*.

A. In several words the final *-d* is changed into *-t*, as *bend*, *bent*; *rend*, *rent*; *send*, *sent*; *gild*, *gilt*; *build*, *built*; *spend*, *spent*, &c.

B. In several words the vowel of the root is changed; as *feed*, *fed*; *bleed*, *bled*; *breed*, *bred*; *meet*, *met*; *speed*, *sped*; *rēad*, *rĕad*, &c. Words of this last-named class cause occasional difficulty to the grammarian. No addition is made to the root, and, in this circumstance, they agree with the strong verbs. Moreover, there is a change of the vowel. In this circumstance also they agree with the strong verbs. Hence with forms like *fed* and *led* we are in doubt as to the conjugation. This doubt we have three means of settling, as may be shown by the word *beat*.

a. By the form of the participle.—The *-en* in *beaten* shows that the word *beat* is strong.

b. By the nature of the vowel.—The weak form of *to beat* would be *bet*, or *beăt*, after the analogy of *feed* and *rēad*. By some persons the word is pronounced *bet*, and with those who do so the word is weak.

c. By a knowledge of the older forms.—The Anglo-Saxon form is *beáte*, *beot*. There is no such a weak form as *beáte*, *bætte*. The præterite of *sendan* is *sende*,

weak. There is in Anglo-Saxon no such form as *sand*, strong.

In all this we see a series of expedients for separating the præterite form from the present, when the root ends with the same sound with which the affix begins.

The addition of the vowel takes place only in verbs of the first class.

The change from a long vowel to a short one, as in *feed*, *fed*, &c., can only take place where there is a long vowel to be changed.

Where the vowels are short, and, at the same time, the word ends in *-d*, the *-d* of the present may become *-t* in the præterite. Such is the case with *bend*, *bent*.

When there is no long vowel to shorten, and no *-d* to change into *-t*, the two tenses, of necessity, remain alike; such is the case with *cut*, *cost*, &c.

Words like *planted*, *heeded*, &c., belong to the first class. Words like *feed*, *lead*, to the second class. *Bend* and *cut* belong also to the second class; they belong to it, however, by what may be termed an etymological fiction. The vowel would be changed if it could.

§ 382. *Made, had.*—In these words there is nothing remarkable but the ejection of a consonant. The Anglo-Saxon forms are *macode* and *hæfde*, respectively. The words, however, in regard to the amount of change, are not upon a par. The *f* in *hæfde* was probably sounded as *v*. Now *v* is a letter excessively liable to be ejected, which *k* is not. *K*, before it is ejected, is generally changed into either *g*

or *y*.

Would, should, could.—It must not be imagined that *could* is in the same predicament with these words. In *will* and *shall* the *-l* is part of the original word. This is not the case with *can*. For the form *could*, see the Chapter upon Irregularity.

Aught.—In Anglo-Saxon *áhte*, the præterite of the present form *áh*, plural *ágan*.—As late as the time of Elizabeth we find *owe* used for *own*. The present form *own* seems to have arisen from the plural *ágen*. *Aught* is the præterite of the Anglo-Saxon *áh*; *owed* of the English *owe* = *debeo*; *owned* of the English *own* = *possideo*. The word *own*, in the expression *to own to a thing*, has a totally different origin. It comes from the Anglo-Saxon *an* (plural, *unnon*) = *I give*, or *grant* = *concedo*.

Durst.—The verb *dare* is both transitive and intransitive. We can say either *I dare do such a thing*, or *I dare* (*challenge*) *such a man to do it*. This, in the present tense, is unequivocally correct. In the past the double power of the word *dare* is ambiguous; still it is, to my mind at least, allowable. We can certainly say *I dared him to accept my challenge*; and we can, perhaps, say *I dared venture on the expedition*. In this last sentence, however, *durst* is the preferable expression.

Now, although *dare* is both transitive and intransitive, *durst* is only intransitive. It never agrees with the Latin word *provoco*; only with the Latin word *audeo*. Moreover, the word *durst* has both a present and a past sense. The difficulty which it presents consists in the presence of the *-st*, letters characteristic of the second person singular, but here found in all the persons alike; as *I durst*, *they durst*,

&c.

The Mœso-Gothic forms are *dar*, *dart? dar*, *daúrum*, *daúruþ*, *daúrun*, for the persons of the present tense; and *daúrsta*, *daúrstês*, *daúrsta*, &c., for those of the præterite. The same is the case throughout the Germanic languages. No *-s*, however, appears in the Scandinavian; the præterites being *þorði* and *törde*, Icelandic and Danish. The Anglo-Saxon is *dear = I dare*, *dearst = thou darest*, *durron = we*, *ye*, or *they dare*; subjunctive, *durre*, *dorste*, *dorston*. Old Saxon, present, *dar*; præterite *dursta*. The Mœso-Gothic tense, *daúrsta*, instead of *daúrda*, shows the antiquity of this form in *-s*.

The readiest mode of accounting for the form in question is to suppose that the second singular has been extended over all the other persons. This view, however, is traversed by the absence of the *-s* in the Mœso-Gothic present. The form there (real or presumed) is not *darst*, but *dart*. Of this latter form, however, it must be remarked that its existence is hypothetical.

In Matthew xxvi. 67, of the Mœso-Gothic Gospel of Ulphilas, is found the form *kaúpastêdun*, instead of *kaúpatidédun*, the præterite plural of *kaúpatjan = to beat*. Here there is a similar insertion of the *-s*.—Deutsche Grammatik, i. 848, 852, 853.

The *-s* in *durst* has still to be satisfactorily accounted for.

Must.—A form common to all persons, numbers, and tenses. That neither the *-s* nor the *-t* are part of the original root, is indicated by the Scandinavian form *maae* (Danish), pronounced *moh*; præterite *maatte*.

The readiest mode of accounting for the *-s* in *must*, is to presume that it belongs to the second singular, extended to the other persons, *mo-est = must*. Irrespective, however, of other objections, this view is traversed by the forms *môtan*, Mœso-Gothic (an infinitive), and *mót*, Mœso-Gothic, Old Saxon, and Anglo-Saxon (a first person present). These neutralise the evidence given by the Danish form *maae*, and indicate that the *-t* is truly a part of the original root.

Now, the *-t* being considered as part of the root, the *-s* cannot be derived from the second singular; inasmuch as it precedes, instead of following the *-t*.

At one time, for want of a better theory, I conceived, that in the word in point (and also in *durst* and a few others), we had traces of the Scandinavian passive. This notion I have, for evident reasons, abandoned.

In p. 298 it was stated that the Mœso-Gothic termination of the second singular of the strong præterites was *-t*. It is here mentioned that *must* is a præterite form. Now the final letter of the root *mot*, and the sign of the second singular of the strong præterite, are the same, *-t*. Now, as *-t* cannot be immediately added to *t*, the natural form of the second singular *mót-t* is impracticable. Hence, before the *-t* of the second person, the *-t* of the root is changed, so that, instead of *máimáit-t*, *bigat-t*, *fáifalþ-t*, *láilot-t*, &c., we have *máimáis-t*, *bigas-t*, *fáifals-t*, *láilos-t*, &c., Mœso-Gothic.—See Deutsche Grammatik, 844.

The euphonic reason for the *-s*, in *must*, is sufficient to show that it is in a different predicament from *durst*.

The provincial form *mun*, there or thereabouts

equivalent in meaning to *must*, has no etymological connexion with this last named word. It is a distinct word, in Scandinavian *monne*.

Wist.—In its present form a regular præterite from *wiss* = *know*. The difficulties of this word arise from the parallel forms *wit* (as in *to wit*), and *wot* = *knew*. The following are the forms of this peculiar word:—

In Mœso-Gothic, 1 sing. pres. ind. *váit*; 2. do., *váist*; 1. pl. *vitum*; præterite 1. s. *vissa*; 2 *vissêss*; 1. pl. *vissêdum*. From the form *váist* we see that the second singular is formed after the manner of *must*; that is, *váist* stands instead of *váit-t*. From the form *vissêdum* we see that the præterite is not strong, but weak; therefore that *vissa* is euphonic for *vista*.

In Anglo-Saxon.—*Wât*, *wâst*, *witon*, *wiste* and *wisse*, *wiston*.—Here the double forms, *wiste* and *wisse*, verify the statement concerning the Mœso-Gothic *vissa*.

In Icelandic.—*Veit*, *veizt*, *vitum*, *vissi*. Danish *ved*, *vide*, *vidste*. Observe the form *vidste*; since, in it, the *-d* of the root (in spelling, at least), is preserved. The *-t* of the Anglo-Saxon *wiste* is the *-t*, not of the root, but of the inflection.

In respect to the four forms in question, *viz.*, *wit*, *wot*, *wiss*, *wist*; the first seems to be the root; the second a strong præterite regularly formed, but used (like οἶδα in Greek) with a present sense; the third a weak præterite, of which the *-t* has been ejected by a euphonic process, used also with a present sense; the fourth is a second singular from *wiss* after the manner of *wert* from *were*, a second singular from *wit* after the manner of *must*, a secondary præterite from *wiss*, or finally, the form *wisse*, anterior to the

operation of the euphonic process that ejected the *-t*.

Do.—In the phrase *this will do = this will answer the purpose*, the word *do* is wholly different from the word *do*, meaning *to act*. In the first case it is equivalent to the Latin *valere*; in the second to the Latin *facere*. Of the first the Anglo-Saxon inflection is *deáh*, *dugon*, *dohte*, *dohtest*, &c. Of the second it is *dó*, *dóð*, *dyde*, &c. I doubt whether the præterite did, as equivalent to *valebat = was good for*, is correct. In the phrase *it did for him = it finished him*, either meaning may be allowed.

In the present Danish they write *duger*, but say *duer*: as *duger et noget? = Is it worth anything?* pronounced *dooer deh note?* This accounts for the ejection of the *g*. The Anglo-Saxon form *deah* does the same.

In respect to the præterite of *do = facio*, difficulties present themselves.

Is the word weak?—This is the view that arises from the form *did*. The participle *done* traverses this view.

Is the word strong?—In favour of this notion we have the English participle *done*, and the præterite second singular in Old High German *tâti*. Against it are the Old Saxon *dédos*, and the Anglo-Saxon *dydest*, as second singulars.

Is there a reduplication?—If this were the case, we might assume such a form as *dôan*, *dáidô*, for the Mœso-Gothic. This view, however, is traversed by the substantival forms *dêds*, Mœso-Gothic; *tât*, Old High German; *dæd*, Anglo-Saxon; which show that the second *-d* is part of the original word.

The true nature of the form *did* has yet to be exhibited.—See Deutsche Grammatik, i. 1041.

Mind—mind and do so and so.—In this sentence the word *mind* is wholly different from the noun *mind*. The Anglo-Saxon forms are *geman*, *gemanst*, *gemunon*, without the *-d*; this letter occurring only in the præterite tense (*gemunde*, *gemundon*), of which it is the sign. *Mind* is, then, a præterite form with a present sense; whilst *minded* (as in *he minded his business*) is an instance of excess of inflection; in other words, it is a præterite formed from a præterite.

A præterite formed upon a præterite may also be called a secondary præterite; just as the word *theirs*, derived from *their* (a case formed from a case), is called a secondary genitive.

In like manner the present form *mind* is not a genuine present, but a præterite with a present sense; *its form being taken as the test*. Presents of this sort may be called transformed præterites.

It is very evident that the præterites most likely to become present are those of the strong class. In the first place, the fact of their being præterite is less marked. The word *tell* carries with it fewer marks of its tense than the word *moved*. In the second place they can more conveniently give rise to secondary præterites. A weak præterite already ends in *-d* or *-t*. If this be used as a present, a second *-d* or *-t* must be appended.

Hence it is that all the transposed præterites in the Gothic tongues were, before they took the present sense, not weak, but strong. The word in question, *mind* (from whence *minded*), is only an apparent exception to this statement.

Now the words *shall*, *can*, *owe* (whence *aught*), *dare*,

may, *man* (of the Anglo-Saxon *geman*, the origin of *mind*), are, (irrespective of their other peculiarities), for certain etymological reasons, looked upon as præterite forms with a present sense.

And the words *should*, *could*, *aught*, *dared* (or *durst*), *must*, *wist*, *might*, *mind*, are, for certain etymological reasons, looked upon as secondary præterites.

This fact alters our view of the form *minded*. Instead of being a secondary præterite, it is a tertiary one. *Geman* (the apparent present) being dealt with as a strong præterite with a present sense, *mind* (from the Anglo-Saxon *gemunde*) is the secondary præterite, and *minded* (from the English *mind*) is a tertiary præterite. To analyse the word, the præterite is first formed by the vowel *a*, then by the addition of *-d*, and, thirdly, by the termination *-ed*; *man*, *mind*, *minded*.

The proof of this we collect from the second persons singular, Mœso-Gothic. The second singular præterite of the strong class is *-t*; of the weak class, *-es*; of the present, both weak and strong, *-s*. Now the second singular of the words in point is *skal-t*, *kan-t*, *áih-t*, *dar-t*? *mag-t*, *man-t*, respectively.—Deutsche Grammatik, i. 852.

Besides this, in Anglo-Saxon, the plural forms are those of the strong præterites. See Rask, p. 79.

Yode.—The obsolete præterite of *go*, now replaced by *went*, the præterite of *wend*. Regular, except that the initial *g* has become *y*.

CHAPTER XXV.

ON CONJUGATION.

§ 383. The current statement respecting verbs like *sing* and *fall*, &c., is that they are irregular. How far this is the case may be seen from a review of the twelve classes in Mœso-Gothic, where the change of the vowel is subject to fewer irregularities than elsewhere. In the first six conjugations the præterite is replaced by a perfect tense. Consequently, there is a reduplication. Of these the fifth and sixth superadd to the reduplication a change of the vowel.

	Present.	*Past.*[55]		*Past Participle.*
		Sing.	*Plural.*	
1.	Salta	Sáisalt	Sáisaltum	Saltans
2.	Háita	Háiháit	Háiháitum	Háitans
3.	Hláupa	Hláiláup	Hláiláupum	Hláupans
4.	Slêpa	Sáizlêp	Sáislêpum	Slêpans
5.	Láia	Láilô	Láilôum	Láilans
6.	Grêta	Gáigrôt	Gáigrôtum	Grêtans
7.	Svara	Svôr	Svôrum	Svarans
8.	Greipa	Gráip	Gripum	Gripans
9.	Biuda	Báuþ	Budum	Budans
10.	Giba	Gab	Gêbum	Gibans
11.	Stila	Stal	Stêlum	Stulans
12.	Rinna	Rann	Runnum	Runnans

Exhibited in a tabular form, the changes of the vowels in Mœso-Gothic are as follows:—

	Prs.	*Prs.*	*Pst. S.*	*Pst. S.*	*Pst. Pl.*	*Pst. Pl.*	*Part.*	*Part.*
1.	7.a	a	a	ô	a	ô	a	a
2.	8.ái	ei	ái	ái	ái	i	ái	i
3.	9.áu	iu	áu	áu	áu	u	áu	u
4.	10.ê	i	ê	a	ê	ê	ê	i
5.	11.ái	i	ô	a	ô	ê	a	u
6.	12.ê	i	ô	a	ô	u	ê	u

§ 384. Such is the arrangement of the strong verbs in Mœso-Gothic, with which the arrangement of the strong verbs in the other Gothic languages may or may not coincide.

For a full and perfect coincidence three things are necessary:—1. the coincidence of form; 2. the coincidence of distribution; 3. the coincidence of order.

1. *Coincidence of form.*.—Compared with the Mœso-Gothic *rinna*, *rann*, *runnum*, *runnans*, the Old High German inflection coincides most rigidly; *e.g.*, *rinnu*, *ran*, *runnumês*, *runnanê*. The vowel is the same in the two languages, and it is similarly changed in each. It is very evident that this might be otherwise. The Mœso-Gothic *i* might have become *e*, or the *u* might have become *o*. In this case, the formula for the two languages would not have been the same. Instead of *i, a, u, u* (see the tabular arrangement), serving for the Old High German as well as the Mœso-Gothic, the formula would have been, for the Mœso-Gothic, *i, a, u, u*, and for the Old High German *e, a, u, u*, or *i, a, o, o*. The forms in this latter case would have been equivalent, but not the same.

2. *Coincidence of distribution.*—A given number of words in the Mœso-Gothic form their præterites by changing *i* into *a*; in other words, a given number of verbs in Mœso-Gothic are inflected like *rinna* and *rann*. The same is the case with the Old High German. Now if these words are the same in the two languages, the Mœso-Gothic and the Old High German (as far as the agreement extends) coincide in the distribution of their verbs; that is, the same words are arranged in the same class, or (changing the phrase) are distributed alike.

3. *Coincidence of order.*—The conjugation to which the Mœso-Gothic words *rinna* and *rann* belong is the twelfth. The same is the case in Old High German. It might, however, have been the case that in Old High German the class corresponding with the twelfth in Mœso-Gothic was the first, second, third, or any other.

Now a coincidence of form, a coincidence of distribution, and a coincidence of order, in all the classes of all the Gothic languages, is more than can be expected. If such were the case, the tenses would be identical throughout.

Coincidence of form is infringed upon by the simple tendency of sounds to change. *Hilpa* in Mœso-Gothic is *helpe* in Anglo-Saxon: *hulpans* in Mœso-Gothic is *holfanêr* in Old High German, and *holpen* in Anglo-Saxon. A change, however, of this sort is insufficient to affect the arrangement. *Helpan*, in Anglo-Saxon, is placed in the same class with *spinnan*; and all that can be said is, that the Mœso-Gothic *i* is, in Anglo-Saxon, represented not by *i* exclusively, but sometimes by *i* and sometimes by *ĕ*.

Coincidence of distribution is of great etymological

importance. A word may in one stage of a language take the form of one conjugation, and in another that of another. The word *climban* is, in Anglo-Saxon, placed in the same conjugation with *drincan*, &c. For this there was a reason; *viz.*, the fact of the *i* being short. For the *i* being short there was a reason also. The *b* preceded the vowel *a*, and consequently was sounded. This was the case whether the word was divided *clim-ban* or *climb-an*. *An*, however, was no part of the original word, but only the sign of the infinitive mood. As such it became ejected. The letter *b* then came at the end of the word; but as the combination *mb*, followed by nothing was unstable, *b* was soon lost in pronunciation. Now *b* being lost, the vowel which was once short became lengthened, or rather it became the sound of the diphthong *ei*; so that the word was no longer called *clĭmb*, but *clime*. Now the words that follow the analogy of *spin*, *span* ,&c. (and consequently constitute the twelfth class), do so, not because the vowel is *i*, but because it is a short *i*; and when the *i* is sounded like a diphthong, the præterite is formed differently. The Anglo-Saxon præterite of *climban* was sounded *clŏmm*, and rhymed to *from*; the English præterite (when strong) of *climb* is sounded *clōmbe*, rhyming to *roam*. The word *climb*, which was once classed with *spin* and *sing*, is now to be classed with *arise* and *smite*; in other words, it is distributed differently.

Coincidence in the order of the classes is violated when a class which was (for instance) the third in one language becomes, in another language the fourth, &c. In Mœso-Gothic the class containing the words *smeita*, *smáit*, *smitum*, *smitans*, is the eighth. This is a natural place for it. In the class preceding it, the vowel is the same in both numbers. In the classes that follow it, the vowel is changed in the plural. The

number of classes that in Mœso-Gothic change the vowel is five; *viz.*, the eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth. Of these the eighth is the first. The classes where the change in question takes place form a natural subdivision, of which the eighth class stands at the head. Now in Anglo-Saxon the vowel is not changed so much as in the Mœso-Gothic. In words like *choose*, *give*, and *steal*, the vowel remains unaltered in the plural. In Mœso-Gothic, however, these words are, respectively, of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh classes. It is not till we get to the eleventh that the Anglo-Saxon plurals take a fresh vowel. As the presence or absence of a change of vowel naturally regulates the order of the classes, the eighth class in Mœso-Gothic becomes the eleventh in Anglo-Saxon. If it were not so, the classes where a change took place in the plural would be separated from each other.

The later the stage of the language, the less complete the coincidence in the classes.

Of the present arrangement, the twelfth class coincides most throughout the Gothic languages.

In the word *climb*, a reason was given for its having changed from the twelfth class to the eleventh class. This, in the present state of our knowledge, cannot always be done.

These statements are made lest the reader should expect to find between the English and the Anglo-Saxon classification anything more than a partial coincidence. A detailed exhibition of the English conjugations would form a work of itself. Moreover, the present classes of the strong verbs must, to a great degree, be considered as provisional.

Observe, that it is the *classes* of the strong verbs that are provisional. With the great divisions into weak and strong, the case is far otherwise. The general assertions which will be made in p. 333, respecting the strong conjugation, show most cogently that the division is a natural one.

§ 385. Preliminary, however, to making them, the reader's attention is directed to the following list of verbs. In the present English they all form the præterite in *-d* or *-t*; in Anglo-Saxon, they all form it by a change of the vowel. In other words they are weak verbs that were once strong.

Præterites.

English.		*Anglo-Saxon.*	
Present.	*Præterite.*	*Present.*	*Præterite.*
Wreak	Wreaked.	Wrece	Wræc.
Fret	Fretted.	Frete	Fræt.
Mete	Meted.	Mete	Mæt.
Shear	Sheared.	Scere	Scear.
Braid	Braided.	Brede	Bræd.
Knead	Kneaded.	Cnede	Cnæd.
Dread	Dreaded.	Dræde	Dred.
Sleep	Slept.	Slápe	Slep.
Fold	Folded.	Fealde	Feold.
Wield	Wielded.	Wealde	Weold.
Wax	Waxed.	Weaxe	Weox.
Leap	Leapt.	Hleápe	Hleop.
Sweep	Swept.	Swápe	Sweop.
Weep	Wept.	Wepe	Weop.
Sow	Sowed.	Sáwe	Seow.
Bake	Baked.	Bace	Bók.
Gnaw	Gnawed.	Gnage	Gnóh.

Laugh	Laughed.	Hlihhe	Hlóh.
Wade	Waded.	Wade	Wód.
Lade	Laded.	Hlade	Hlód.
Grave	Graved.	Grafe	Gróf.
Shave	Shaved.	Scafe	Scóf.
Step	Stepped.	Steppe	Stóp.
Wash	Washed.	Wacse	Wócs.
Bellow	Bellowed.	Belge	Bealh.
Swallow	Swallowed.	Swelge	Swealh.
Mourn	Mourned.	Murne	Mearn.
Spurn	Spurned.	Spurne	Spearn.
Carve	Carved.	Ceorfe	Cearf.
Starve	Starved.	Steorfe	Stærf.
Thresh	Threshed.	Þersce	Þærse.
Hew	Hewed.	Heawe	Heow.
Flow	Flowed.	Flówe	Fleow.
Row	Rowed.	Rówe	Reow.
Creep	Crept.	Creópe	Creáp.
Dive	Dived.	Deófe	Deáf.
Shove	Shoved.	Scéofe	Sceáf.
Chew	Chewed.	Ceówe	Ceáw.
Brew	Brewed.	Breówe	Breáw.
Lock	Locked.	Lûce	Leác.
Suck	Sucked.	Sûce	Seác.
Reek	Reeked.	Reóce	Reác.
Smoke	Smoked.	Smeóce	Smeác.
Bow	Bowed.	Beóge	Beáh.
Lie	Lied.	Leóge	Leáh.
Gripe	Griped.	Grípe	Gráp.
Span	Spanned.	Spanne	Spén.
Eke	Eked.	Eáce	Eóc.

Fare	Fared.	Fare	Fôr.

§ 386. The first of the general statements made concerning strong verbs, with a view of proving that the order is *natural*, shall be the one arising out of the preceding list of præterites.

I. Many strong verbs become weak; whilst no weak verb ever becomes strong.

II. All the strong verbs are of Saxon origin. None are classical.

III. The greater number of them are strong throughout the Gothic tongues.

IV. No new word is ever, upon its importation, inflected according to the strong conjugation. It is always weak. As early as A.D. 1085, the French word *adouber = to dubb*, was introduced into English. Its præterite was *dubbade*.[56]

V. All derived words are inflected weak. The intransitive forms *drink* and *lie*, are strong; the transitive forms *drench* and *lay*, are weak.

The fourth statement will again be recurred to. The present object is to show that the division into strong and weak is natural.

§ 387. *Obsolete forms.*—Instead of *lept*, *slept*, *mowed*, *snowed*, &c., we find, in the provincial dialects and in the older writers, the strong forms *lep*, *step*, *mew*, *snew*, &c. This is no more than what we expect. Here there are two forms, and each form is of a different conjugation.

§ 388. *Double Forms.*—In *lep* and *mew* we have two forms, of which one only is current. In *swoll* and

swelled, in *clomb* and *climbed*, and in *hung* and *hanged*, we have two forms, of which both are current. These latter are true double forms. Of double forms there are two kinds.

1. Those like *swoll* and *swelled*; where there is the same tense, but a different conjugation.

2. Those like *spoke* and *spake*; where the tense is the same and the conjugation the same, but where the form is different.

The bearings of these double forms (which, however, are points of general rather than of English grammar) are as follows. Their number in a given language may be very great, and the grammarian of a given language may call them, not double forms of the same tense, but different tenses. Let the number of words like *swoll* and *swelled* be multiplied by 1000. The chances are, that, in the present state of etymology, they would be called first præterites and second præterites. The bearing of this remark upon the so-called aorists and futures of the Greek language is evident. I think that a writer in the Cambridge Philological Museum[57] indicates the true nature of those tenses. They are the same tense in a different conjugation, and differ from *swoll* and *swelled* only in the frequency of their occurrence.

Difference of form, and difference of conjugation, may each simulate a difference of tense.

CHAPTER XXVI.

DEFECTIVENESS AND IRREGULARITY.

§ 389. In § 361 the distinction between irregularity

and defectiveness was slightly foreshadowed. In pp. 243, 267, it was exhibited in its principles. In the present chapter the difference is more urgently insisted on.

The words that have hitherto served as illustrations are the personal pronouns *I* and *me*, and the adjectives *good*, *better*, and *best*. See the sections referred to above.

The view of these words was as follows: *viz.*, that none of them were irregular, but that they were all defective. *Me* wanted the nominative, *I* the oblique cases. *Good* was without a comparative, *better* and *best* had no positive degree.

Now *me* and *better* may be said to make good the defectiveness of *I* and *good*; and *I* and *good* may be said to replace the forms wanting in *me* and *better*. This gives us the principle of compensation. To introduce a new term, *I* and *me*, *good* and *better*, may be said to be complementary to each other.

What applies to nouns applies to verbs also. *Go* and *went* are not irregularities. *Go* is (at least in the present stage of our language) defective in the past tense. *Went* (at least in its current sense) is without a present. The two words, however, compensate their mutual deficiencies, and are to each other complementary.

The distinction between defectiveness and irregularity, is the first instrument of criticism for coming to true views concerning the proportion of the regular and irregular verbs.

The second instrument of criticism in determining the irregular verbs, is the meaning that we attach to

terms.

It is very evident that it is in the power of the grammarian to raise the number of etymological irregularities to any amount, by narrowing the definition of the word irregular; in other words, by framing an exclusive rule. The current rule of the common grammarians is that the præterite is formed by the addition of *-t*, or *-d*, or *-ed*. Now this position is sufficiently exclusive; since it proscribes not only the whole class of strong verbs, but also words like *bent* and *sent*, where *-t* exists, but where it does not exist as *an addition*. The regular forms, it may be said, should be *bended* and *sended*.

Exclusive, however, as the rule in question is, it is plain that it might be made more so. The regular forms might, by the *fiat* of a rule, be restricted to those in *-d*. In this case words like *wept* and *burnt* would be added to the already numerous list of irregulars.

Finally, a further limitation might be made, by laying down as a rule that no word was regular, unless it ended in *-ed*.

Thus much concerning the modes of making rules exclusive, and, consequently, of raising the amount of irregularities. This is the last art that the philosophic grammarian is ambitious of acquiring. True etymology reduces irregularity by making the rules of grammar, not exclusive, but general. The *quantum* of irregularity is in the inverse proportion to the generality of our rules. In language itself there is no irregularity. The word itself is only another name for our ignorance of the processes that change words; and, as irregularity is in the direct proportion to the exclusiveness of our rules, the exclusiveness of our

rules is in the direct proportion to our ignorance of etymological processes.

The explanation of some fresh terms will lead us towards (but not to) the definition of the word irregular.

I. *Vital and obsolete processes.*—The word *moved* is formed from *move*, by the addition of *-d*. The addition of *-d* is the process by which the present form is rendered præterite. The word *fell* is formed from *fall*, by changing *a* into *e*. The change of vowel is the process by which the present form is rendered præterite. Of the two processes the result is the same. In what respect do they differ?

For the sake of illustration, let a new word be introduced into the language. Let a præterite tense of it be formed. This præterite would be formed, not by changing the vowel, but by adding *-d*. No new verb ever takes a strong præterite. The like takes place with nouns. No new substantive would form its plural, like *oxen* or *geese*, by adding *-en*, or by changing the vowel. It would rather, like *fathers* and *horses*, add the lene sibilant.

Now, the processes that change *fall*, *ox*, and *goose* into *fell*, *oxen*, and *geese*, inasmuch as they cease to operate on the language in its present stage, are obsolete processes; whilst those that change *move* into *moved*, and *horse* into *horses*, operating on the language in its present stage, are vital processes.

A definition of the word irregular might be so framed as to include all words whose forms could not be accounted for by the vital processes. Such a definition would, in the present English, make words like *bent*, *sought*, &c. (the euphonic processes being

allowed for), regular, and all the strong verbs irregular.

The very fact of so natural a class as that of the strong verbs being reduced to the condition of irregulars, invalidates such a definition as this.

II. *Processes of necessity as opposed to processes of habit.*—The combinations *-pd-*, *-fd-*, *-kd-*, *-sd-*, and some others, are unpronounceable. Hence words like *step*, *quaff*, *back*, *kiss*, &c., take after them the sound of *-t*: *stept*, *quafft*, &c. (the *sound* being represented), being their præterites, instead of *stepd*, *quaffd*. Here the change from *-d* (the natural termination) to *-t* is a matter (or process) of necessity. It is not so with words like *weep* and *wept*, &c. Here the change of vowel is not necessary. *Weept* might have been said if the habit of the language had permitted.

A definition of the word irregular might be so framed as to include all words whose natural form was modified by any euphonic process whatever. In this case *stept* (modified by a process of necessity), and *wept* (modified by a process of habit), would be equally irregular.

A less limited definition might account words regular as long as the process by which they are deflected from their natural form was a process of necessity. Those, however, which were modified by a process of habit it would class with the irregulars.

Definitions thus limited arise from ignorance of euphonic processes, or rather from an ignorance of the generality of their operation.

III. *Ordinary processes as opposed to extraordinary processes.*—The whole scheme of language is

analogical. A new word introduced into a language takes the forms of its cases or tenses, &c., from the forms of the cases or tenses, &c., of the old words. The analogy is extended. Now few forms (if any) are so unique as not to have some others corresponding with them; and few processes of change are so unique as not to affect more words than one. The forms *wept* and *slept* correspond with each other. They are brought about by the same process; *viz.* by the shortening of the vowel in *weep* and *sleep*. The analogy of *weep* is extended to *sleep*, and *vice versâ*. Changing our expression, a common influence affects both words. The alteration itself is an ultimate fact. The extent of its influence is an instrument of classification. When processes affect a considerable number of words, they may be called ordinary processes; as opposed to extraordinary processes, which affect one or few words.

When a word stands by itself, with no other corresponding to it, we confess our ignorance, and say that it is affected by an extraordinary process, by a process peculiar to itself, or by a process to which we know nothing similar.

A definition of the word irregular might be so framed as to include all words affected by extraordinary processes; the rest being considered regular.

IV. *Positive processes as opposed to ambiguous processes.*—The words *wept* and *slept* are similarly affected. Each is changed from *weep* and *sleep* respectively; and we know that the process which affects the one is the process that affects the other also. Here there is a positive process.

Reference is now made to words of a different sort. The nature of the word *worse* is explained in p. 267,

and the reader is referred to the section. There the form is accounted for in two ways, of which only one can be the true one. Of the two processes, each might equally have brought about the present form. Which of the two it was, we are unable to say. Here the process is ambiguous.

A definition of the word irregular might be so framed as to include all words affected by ambiguous processes.

V. *Normal processes as opposed to processes of confusion.*—Let a certain word come under class A. Let all words under class A be similarly affected. Let a given word come under class A. This word will be affected even as the rest of class A is affected. The process affecting, and the change resulting, will be normal, regular, or analogical.

Let, however, a word, instead of really coming under class A, *appear* to do so. Let it be dealt with accordingly. The analogy then is a false one. The principle of imitation is a wrong one. The process affecting is a process of confusion.

Examples of this (a few amongst many) are words like *songstress*, *theirs*, *minded*, where the words *songstr-*, *their-*, and *mind-*, are dealt with as roots, which they are not.

Ambiguous processes, extraordinary processes, processes of confusion—each, or all of these are legitimate reasons for calling words irregular. The practice of etymologists will determine what definition is most convenient.

With extraordinary processes we know nothing about the word. With ambiguous processes we are unable

to make a choice. With processes of confusion we see the analogy, but, at the same time, see that it is a false one.

§ 390. *Could.*—With all persons who pronounce the *l* this word is truly irregular. The Anglo-Saxon form is *cuðe*. The *-l* is inserted by a process of confusion.

Can, *cunne*, *canst*, *cunnon*, *cunnan*, *cuðe*, *cuðon*, *cuð*—such are the remaining forms in Anglo-Saxon. None of them account for the *-l*. The presence of the *-l* makes the word *could* irregular. No reference to the allied languages accounts for it.

Notwithstanding this, the presence of the *-l* is accounted for. In *would* and *should* the *-l* has a proper place. It is part of the original words, *will* and *shall*. A false analogy looked upon *could* in the same light. Hence a true irregularity; *provided that the* L *be pronounced*.

The L, however, is pronounced by few, and that only in pursuance to the spelling. This reduces the word *could* to an irregularity, not of language, but only of orthography.

That the mere ejection of the *-n* in *can*, and that the mere lengthening of the vowel, are not irregularities, we learn from a knowledge of the processes that convert the Greek ὀδόντος (*odontos*) into ὀδούς (*odows*).

§ 391. The verb *quoth* is truly defective. It is found in only one tense, one number, and one person. It is the third person singular of the præterite tense. It has the further peculiarity of preceding its pronoun. Instead of saying *he quoth*, we say *quoth he*. In Anglo-Saxon, however, it was not defective. It was found in the

other tenses, in the other number, and in other moods. *Ic cweðe*, *þu cwyst*, *he cwyð*. *Ic cwæð*, *þú cwæðe*, *he cwæð*, *we cwædon*, *ge cwædon*, *hi cwædon*. Imperative, *cweð*. Participle, *gecweden*. In the Scandinavian it is current in all its forms. There, however, it means, not *to speak* but to *sing*. As far as its conjugation goes, it is strong. As far as its class goes, it follows the form of *speak*, *spoke*. Like speak, its Anglo-Saxon form is in *æ*, as *cwæð*. Like one of the forms of *speak*, its English form is in o, as *quoth*, *spoke*.

The whole of the present chapter is indicative of the nature of irregularity, and of the elements that should enter into the definition of it, rather than exhaustive of the detail.

The principle that I recognise for myself is to consider no word irregular unless it can be proved so. This view includes the words affected by ambiguous processes, and by processes of confusion, and no others. The words affected by extraordinary processes form a provisional class, which a future increase of our etymological knowledge may show to be regular. *Worse* and *could* (its spelling being considered) are the fairest specimens of our irregulars. The class, instead of filling pages, is exceedingly limited.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE IMPERSONAL VERBS.

§ 392. *Meseems.*—Equivalent to *it seems to me*; *mihi videtur*, φαίνεταί μοι. The verb *seems* is intransitive; consequently the pronoun *me* has the power of a

dative case. The pronoun it is not required to accompany the verb.

§ 393. *Methinks.*—In Anglo-Saxon there are two forms; *þencan = to think*, and *þincan = to seem*. It is from the latter form that the verb in *methinks* comes. Such being the case, it is intransitive, and consequently the pronoun *me* has the power of a dative case. The pronoun *it* is not required to accompany the verb.

Of this word we have also the past form *methought*.

Methought I saw my late espoused wife
Brought to me, like Alcestis, from the
grave.

MILTON.

§ 394. *Me listeth*, or *me lists*.—Equivalent to *it pleases me = me juvat*. Anglo-Saxon *lystan = to wish, to choose*, also *to please, to delight*; Norse, *lysta*. Unlike the other two, the verb is transitive, so that the pronoun *me* has the power of an accusative case. The pronoun *it* is not required to accompany the verb.

These three are the only true impersonal verbs in the English language. They form a class by themselves, because no pronoun accompanies them, as is the case with the equivalent expressions *it appears*, *it pleases*, and with all the other verbs in the language.

In the old language impersonal verbs, or rather the impersonal use of verbs, was commoner than at present.

Him *oughten* now to have the lese pain.

Legend of Good Women, 429.

Him *ought* not to be a tyrant.

Legend of Good Women, 377.

Me mete.—CHAUCER.

Well me quemeth.—*Conf. Amantis.*

In the following lines the construction is, *it shall please your Majesty*.

I'll muster up my friends to meet your
Grace,
Where and what time your Majesty shall
please.

Richard III., iv. 4.

See a paper of Mr. Guest's, Phil. Trans., vol. ii. 241.

Strictly speaking, the impersonal verbs are a part of syntax rather than of etymology.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE VERB SUBSTANTIVE.

§ 395. The verb substantive is generally dealt with as an irregular verb. This is inaccurate. The true notion is that the idea of *being* or *existing* is expressed by four different verbs, each of which is defective in some of its parts. The parts, however, that are wanting in one verb, are made up by the inflections of one of the others. There is, for example, no præterite of the verb *am*, and no present of the verb *was*. The absence, however, of the present form of *was* is made up by the word *am*, and the absence of the præterite form of *am* is made up by the word *was*.

§ 396. *Was.*—Defective, except in the præterite tense, where it is found both in the indicative and conjunctive.

Indicative.		*Conjunctive.*	
Sing.	*Plur.*	*Sing.*	*Plur.*
1. Was.	Were.	1. Were.	Were.

2. Wast.	Were.	2. Wert.	Were.
3. Was.	Were.	3. Were.	Were.

In the older stages of the Gothic languages the word has both a full conjugation and a regular one. In Anglo-Saxon it has an infinitive, a participle present, and a participle past. In Mœso-Gothic it is inflected throughout with *-s*; as *visa*, *vas*, *vêsum*, *visans*. In that language it has the power of the Latin *maneo = to remain*. The *-r* first appears in the Old High German; *wisu*, *was*, *wârumês*, *wësaner*. In Norse the *s* entirely disappears, and the word is inflected with *r* throughout; *vera*, *var*, *vorum*, &c.

§ 397. *Be.*—Inflected in Anglo-Saxon throughout the present tense, both indicative and subjunctive; found also as an infinitive *beón*, as a gerund to *beonne*, and as a participle *beonde*. In the present English its inflection is as follows:—

Present.

Indicative.		*Conjunctive.*		*Imperative.*	
Sing.	*Plur.*	*Sing.*	*Plur.*	*Sing.*	*Plur.*
1. —	—	Be.	Be.	—	—
2. Beest.	—	Beest?	Be.	Be.	Be.
3. —	—	Be.	Be, Bin.	—	—

Infin. To be. *Pres. P.* Being. *Past Part.* Been.

The line in Milton beginning *If thou beest he*—(P. L. b. ii.), leads to the notion that the antiquated form *beest* is not indicative, but conjunctive. Such, however, is not the case: *býst* in Anglo-Saxon is

indicative, the conjunctive form being *beó*.—*And every thing that pretty bin* (Cymbeline).—Here the word *bin* is the conjunctive plural, in Anglo-Saxon *béon*; so that the words *every thing* are to be considered equivalent to the plural form *all things*. The phrase in Latin would stand thus, *quotquot pulcra sint*; in Greek thus, ὰ ἄν κάλα ᾖ. The *indicative* plural is, in Anglo-Saxon, not *beón*, but *beóð* and *beó*.

§ 398. In the Deutsche Grammatik, i. 1051, it is stated that the Anglo-Saxon forms *beó*, *bist*, *bið*, *beoð*, or *beó*, have not a present, but a future sense; that whilst *am* means *I am*, *beó* means *I shall be*; and that in the older languages it is only where the form *am* is not found that *be* has the power of a present form. The same root occurs in the Slavonic and Lithuanic tongues with the same power; as, *esmi* = *I am*; *búsu* = *I shall be*, Lithuanic.—*Esmu* = *I am*; *buhshu* = *I shall be*, Livonic.—*Jesm* = *I am*; *budu* = *I shall be*, Slavonic.—*Gsem* = *I am*; *budu* = *I shall be*, Bohemian. This, however, proves, not that there is in Anglo-Saxon a future tense (or form), but that the word *beó* has a future sense. There is no fresh tense where there is no fresh form.

The following is a specimen of the future power of *beón* in Anglo-Saxon:—"*Hi ne* beóð *na cílde, soðlice, on domesdæge, ac* beóð *swa micele menn swa swa hi, migton beón gif hi full weoxon on gewunlicre ylde.*"—Ælfric's Homilies. "They *will not* be children, forsooth, on Domesday, but *will be* as much (so muckle) men as they might be if they were full grown (waxen) in customary age."

§ 399. If we consider the word *beón* like the word *weorðan* (see below) to mean not so much *to be* as to *become*, we get an element of the idea of futurity.

Things which are *becoming anything* have yet something further to either do or suffer. Again, from the idea of futurity we get the idea of contingency, and this explains the subjunctive power of *be*. In English we often say *may* for *shall*, and the same was done in Anglo-Saxon.—"*Ic ðe secge, heò is be ðam húse ðe Fegor hátte, and nán man nis ðe hig wíte* (*shall, may know*) *ær ðám myclan dóme*."—Ælfric's Homilies, 44.

§ 400. *Am.*—Of this form it should be stated, that the letter *-m* is no part of the original word. It is the sign of the first person, just as it is in all the Indo-European languages.

It should also be stated, that, although the fact be obscured, and although the changes be insufficiently accounted for, the forms *am*, *art*, *are*, and *is*, are not, like *am* and *was*, parts of different words, but forms of one and the same word; in other terms, that, although between *am* and *be* there is no etymological connexion, there is one between *am* and *is*. This we collect from the comparison of the Indo-European languages.

	1.	2.	3.
Sanskrit	*Asmi.*	*Asi.*	*Asti.*
Zend	*Ahmi.*	*Ani.*	*Ashti.*
Greek	Εἰμι.	Εἰς.	Εἰ.
Latin	*Sum.*	*Es.*	*Esti.*
Lithuanic	*Esmi.*	*Essi.*	*Esti.*
Old Slavonic	*Yesmy.*	*Yesi.*	*Yesty.*
Mœso-Gothic	*Im.*	*Is.*	*Ist.*
Old Saxon	—	[58]*Is.*	*Ist.*
Anglo-Saxon	*Eom.*	*Eart.*	*Is.*
Icelandic	*Em.*	*Ert.*	*Er.*

English	*Am.*	*Art.*	*Is.*

In English and Anglo-Saxon the word is found in the present indicative only. In English it is inflected through both numbers; in Anglo-Saxon in the singular number only. The Anglo-Saxon plurals are forms of the German *seyn*, a verb whereof we have, in the present English, no vestiges.

Worth.—In the following lines of Scott, the word *worth = is*, and is a fragment of the regular Anglo-Saxon verb *weorðan = to be*, or *to become*; German, *werden*.

> Woe *worth* the chase, woe *worth* the day,
> That cost thy life, my gallant grey.
>
> *Lady of the Lake.*

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE.

§ 401. The present participle, called also the active participle and the participle in *-ing*, is formed from the original word by adding *-ing*; as, *move*, *moving*. In the older languages the termination was more marked, being *-nd*. Like the Latin participle in *-ns*, it was originally declined. The Mœso-Gothic and Old High German forms are *habands* and *hapêntêr = having*, respectively. The *-s* in the one language, and the *-êr* in the other, are the signs of the case and gender. In the Old Saxon and Anglo-Saxon the forms are *-and* and *-ande*; as *bindand*, *bindande = binding*. In all the Norse languages, ancient and modern, the *-d* is preserved. So it is in the Old

Lowland Scotch, and in many of the modern provincial dialects of England, where *strikand*, *goand*, is said for *striking*, *going*. In Staffordshire, where the *-ing* is pronounced *-ingg*, there is a fuller sound than that of the current English. In Old English the form in *-nd* is predominant, in Middle English, the use fluctuates, and in New English the termination *-ing* is universal. In the Scotch of the modern writers we find the form *-in*.

The rising sun o'er Galston muirs
Wi' glorious light was glintin';
The hares were hirplin' down the furs,
The lav'rocks they were chantin'.

BURNS' *Holy Fair*.

It is with the oblique cases of the present participles of the classical languages, rather than with the nominative, that we must compare the corresponding participle in Gothic; *e.g.*, ἔχοντ-ος (*ekhontos*), Greek; *habent-is*, Latin; *hapênt-êr*, Old High German.

§ 402. It has often been remarked that the participle is used in many languages as a substantive. This is true in Greek,

Ὁ πράσσων = *the actor*, when a male.
Ἡ πρασσοῦσα = *the actor*, when a female.
Τὸ πράττον = *the active principle of a thing*.

§ 403. But it is also stated, that, in the English language, the participle is used as a substantive in a greater degree than elsewhere, and that it is used in several cases and in both numbers, *e.g.*,

Rising early is healthy,
There is health *in rising* early.

This is the advantage *of rising* early.
The *risings* in the North, &c.

Archbishop Whately has some remarks on this substantival power in his Logic.

Some remarks of Mr. R. Taylor, in the Introduction to his edition of Tooke's Diversions of Purley, modify this view. According to these, the *-ing* in words like *rising* is not the *-ing* of the present participle; neither has it originated in the Anglo-Saxon *-end*. It is rather the *-ing* in words like *morning*, which is anything but a participle of the non-existent verb *morn*, and which has originated in the Anglo-Saxon substantival termination *-ung*. Upon this Rask writes as follows: —"*Gitsung*, *gewilnung = desire*; *swutelung = manifestation*; *clænsung = a cleansing*; *sceawung = view, contemplation*; *eorð beofung = an earthquake*; *gesomnung = an assembly*. This termination is chiefly used in forming substantives from verbs of the first class in *-ian*; as, *hálgung = consecration*, from *hálgian = to consecrate*. These verbs are all feminine."—Anglo-Saxon Grammar, p. 107.

Now, whatever may be the theory of the origin of the termination *-ing* in old phrases like *rising early is healthy*, it cannot apply to expressions of recent introduction. Here the direct origin in *-ung* is out of the question.

The view, then, that remains to be taken of the forms in question is this:

1. That the older forms in *-ing* are substantival in origin, and = the Anglo-Saxon *-ung*.

2. That the latter ones are participial, and have been

formed on a false analogy.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE PAST PARTICIPLE.

§ 404. The participle in *-en*.—In the Anglo-Saxon this participle was declined like the adjectives. Like the adjectives, it is, in the present English, undeclined.

In Anglo-Saxon it always ended in *-en*, as *sungen*, *funden*, *bunden*. In English this *-en* is often wanting, as *found*, *bound*; the word *bounden* being antiquated. Words where the *-en* is wanting may be viewed in two lights; 1, they may be looked upon as participles that have lost their termination; 2, they may be considered as præterites with a participial sense.

§ 405. *Drank, drunk, drunken.*—With all words wherein the vowel of the plural differs from that of the singular, the participle takes the plural form. To say *I have drunk*, is to use an ambiguous expression; since *drunk* may be either a participle *minus* its termination, or a præterite with a participial sense. To say *I have drank*, is to use a præterite for a participle. To say *I have drunken*, is to use an unexceptionable form.

In all words with a double form, as *spake* and *spoke*, *brake* and *broke*, *clave* and *clove*, the participle follows the form in *o*, as *spoken*, *broken*, *cloven*. *Spaken*, *braken*, *claven*, are impossible forms. There are degrees in laxity of language, and to say *the spear is broke* is better than to say *the spear is brake*.

These two statements bear upon the future history of the præterite. That of the two forms *sang* and *sung*,

one will, in the course of language, become obsolete is nearly certain; and, as the plural form is also that of the participle, it is the plural form which is most likely to be the surviving one.

§ 406. As a general rule, we find the participle in *-en* wherever the præterite is strong; indeed, the participle in *-en* may be called the strong participle, or the participle of the strong conjugation. Still the two forms do not always coincide. In *mow*, *mowed*, *mown*; *sow*, *sowed*, *sown*; and several other words, we find the participle strong, and the præterite weak. I remember no instances of the converse. This is only another way of saying that the præterite has a greater tendency to pass from strong to weak than the participle.

§ 407. In the Latin language the change from *s* to *r*, and *vice versâ*, is very common. We have the double forms *arbor* and *arbos*, *honor* and *honos*, &c. Of this change we have a few specimens in English. The words *rear* and *raise*, as compared with each other, are examples. In Anglo-Saxon a few words undergo a similar change in the plural number of the strong præterites.

Ceóse, *I choose*; ceás, *I chose*; curon, *we chose*; gecoren, *chosen*.
Forleóse, *I lose*; forleás, *I lost*; forluron, *we lost*; forloren, *lost*.
Hreose, *I rush*; hreás, *I rushed*; hruron, *we rushed*; gehroren, *rushed*.

This accounts for the participial form *forlorn*, or *lost*, in New High German *verloren*. In Milton's lines,

the
pie
air

Burns *frore*, and cold performs the effect
of fire.

Paradise Lost, b. ii.

we have a form from the Anglo-Saxon participle *gefroren* = *frozen*.

§ 408. The participle in *-d*, *-t*, or *-ed*.—In the Anglo-Saxon this participle was declined like the adjective. Like the adjective, it is, in the present English, undeclined.

In Anglo-Saxon it differed in form from the præterite, inasmuch as it ended in *-ed*, or *-t*, whereas the præterite ended in *-ode*, *-de*, or *-te*: as, *lufode*, *bærnde*, *dypte*, præterites; *gelufod*, *bærned*, *dypt*, participles.

As the ejection of the *e* reduces words like *bærned* and *bærnde* to the same form, it is easy to account for the present identity of form between the weak præterites and the participles in *-d*: *e. g.*, *I moved*, *I have moved*, &c.

§ 409. In the older writers, and in works written, like Thomson's Castle of Indolence, in imitation of them, we find prefixed to the præterite participle the letter *y-*, as *yclept* = *called*: *yclad* = *clothed*: *ydrad* = *dreaded*.

The following are the chief facts and the current opinion concerning this prefix:—

1. It has grown out of the fuller forms *ge-*: Anglo-Saxon, *ge-*: Old Saxon, *gi-*: Mœso-Gothic, *ga-*: Old High German, *ka-*, *cha-*, *ga-*, *ki-*, *gi-*.

2. It occurs in each and all of the Germanic languages of the Gothic stock.

3. It occurs, with a few fragmentary exceptions, in none of the Scandinavian languages of the Gothic stock.

4. In Anglo-Saxon it occasionally indicates a difference of sense; as *hâten = called*, *ge*-hâten = *promised*, *boren = borne*, *ge*-boren = *born*.

5. It occurs in nouns as well as verbs.

6. Its power, in the case of nouns, is generally some idea of *association*, or *collection*.—Mœso-Gothic, *sinþs = a journey*, *ga-sinþa = a companion*; Old High German, *perc = hill*; *ki-perki* (*ge-birge*) = *a range of hills*.

7. But it has also a *frequentative* power; a frequentative power which is, in all probability, secondary to its collective power: since things which recur frequently recur with a tendency to collection or association; Middle High German, *ge-rassel = rustling*; *ge-rumpel = c-rumple*.

8. And it has also the power of expressing the possession of a quality.

Anglo-Saxon.	*English.*	*Anglo-Saxon.*	*Latin.*
Feax	*Hair*	*Ge*-feax	*Comatus*.
Heorte	*Heart*	*Ge*-heort	*Cordatus*.
Stence	*Odour*	*Ge*-stence	*Odorus*.

This power is also a collective, since every quality is associated with the object that possesses it: *a sea with waves = a wavy sea*.

9. Hence it is probable that the *ga-*, *ki-*, or *gi-*, Gothic,

is the *cum* of Latin languages. Such is Grimm's view, as given in Deutsche Grammatik, i. 1016.

Concerning this, it may be said that it is deficient in an essential point. It does not show how the participle past is collective. Undoubtedly it may be said that every such participle is in the condition of words like *ge-feax* and *ge-heort*; *i. e.*, that they imply an association between the object and the action or state. But this does not seem to be Grimm's view; he rather suggests that the *ge-* may have been a prefix to verbs in general, originally attached to all their forms, but finally abandoned everywhere except in the case of the participle. The theory of this prefix has yet to assume a satisfactory form.

CHAPTER XXXI.

COMPOSITION.

§ 410. In the following words, amongst many others, we have palpable and indubitable specimens of composition. *Day-star*, *vine-yard*, *sun-beam*, *apple-tree*, *ship-load*, *silver-smith*, &c. The words *palpable* and *indubitable* have been used, because, in many cases, as will be seen hereafter, it is difficult to determine whether a word be a true compound or not.

Now, in each of the compounds quoted above, it may be seen that it is the second word which is qualified, or defined, by the first, and that it is not the first which is qualified or defined, by the second. Of *yards*, *beams*, *trees*, *loads*, *smiths*, there may be many sorts, and, in order to determine what *particular* sort of *yard*, *beam*, *tree*, *load*, or *smith*, may be meant, the words *vine*, *sun*, *apple*, *ship*, and *silver*, are prefixed. In

compound words it is the *first* term that defines or particularises the second.

§ 411. That the idea given by the word *apple-tree* is not referable to the words *apple* and *tree*, irrespective of the order in which they occur, may be seen by reversing the position of them. The word *tree-apple*, although not existing in the language, is as correct a word as *thorn-apple*. In *tree-apple*, the particular sort of *apple* meant is denoted by the word *tree*, and if there were in our gardens various sorts of plants called *apples*, of which some grew along the ground and others upon trees, such a word as *tree-apple* would be required in order to be opposed to *earth-apple*, or *ground-apple*, or some word of the kind.

In the compound words *tree-apple* and *apple-tree*, we have the same elements differently arranged. However, as the word *tree-apple* is not current in the language, the class of compounds indicated by it may seem to be merely imaginary. Nothing is farther from being the case. A *tree-rose* is a rose of a particular sort. The generality of roses being on *shrubs*, this grows on a *tree*. Its peculiarity consists in this fact, and this particular character is expressed by the word *tree prefixed*. A *rose-tree* is a *tree* of a particular sort, distinguished from *apple-trees*, and *trees* in general (in other words, particularised or defined) by the word *rose prefixed*.

A *ground-nut* is a *nut* particularised by growing in the ground. *A nut-ground* is a *ground* particularised by producing nuts.

A *finger-ring*, as distinguished from *ear-rings*, and from *rings* in general (and so particularised), is a *ring* for the *finger*. A *ring finger*, as distinguished from *fore-fingers*, and from *fingers* in general (and so

particularised), is a *finger* whereon *rings* are worn.

§ 412. At times this rule seems to be violated. The words *spitfire* and *daredevil* seem exceptions to it. At the first glance it seems, in the case of a *spitfire*, that what he (or she) *spits* is *fire*; and that, in the case of a *daredevil*, what he (or she) *dares* is the *devil*. In this case the initial words *spit* and *dare*, are particularised by the final ones *fire* and *devil*. The true idea, however, confirms the original rule. A *spitfire* voids his fire by spitting. A *daredevil*, in meeting the fiend, would not shrink from him, but would defy him. A *spitfire* is not one who spits fire, but one whose fire is *spit*. A *daredevil* is not one who dares even the devil, but one by whom the devil is even dared.

§ 413. Of the two elements of a compound word, which is the most important? In one sense the latter, in another sense the former. The latter word is the most *essential*; since the general idea of *trees* must exist before it can be defined or particularised; so becoming the idea which we have in *apple-tree*, *rose-tree*, &c. The former word, however, is the most *influential*. It is by this that the original idea is qualified. The latter word is the staple original element: the former is the superadded influencing element. Compared with each other, the former element is active, the latter passive. Etymologically speaking, the former element, in English compounds, is the most important.

§ 414. Most numerous are the observations that bear upon the composition of words; *e.g.*, how nouns combine with nouns, as in *sunbeam*; nouns with verbs, as in *daredevil*, &c. It is thought sufficient in the present work to be content with, 1. defining the meaning of the term composition; 2. explaining the

nature of some obscure compounds.

Composition is the joining together, *in language*, of two *different words*, and *treating the combination as a single term*. Observe the words in italics.

In language.—A great number of our compounds, like the word *merry-making*, are divided by the sign -, or the hyphen. It is very plain that if all words *spelt* with a hyphen were to be considered as compounds, the formation of them would be not a matter of speech, or language, but one of writing or spelling. This distinguishes compounds in language from mere printers' compounds.

Different.—In Old High German we find the form *sëlp-sëlpo*. Here there is the junction of two words, but not the junction of two *different* ones. This distinguishes composition from gemination.—Grimm, Deutsche Grammatik, iii. 405.

Words.—In *father-s*, *clear-er*, *four-th*, &c., there is the addition of a letter or a syllable, and it may be even of the part of a word. There is no addition, however, of a whole word. This distinguishes composition from derivation.

Treating the combination as a single term.—In determining, in certain cases, between derived words and compound words, there is an occasional perplexity; the perplexity, however, is far greater in determining between a compound word and *two words*. In the eyes of one grammarian the term *mountain height* may be as truly a compound word as *sunbeam*. In the eyes of another grammarian it may be no compound word, but two words, just as *Alpine height* is two words; *mountain* being dealt with as an adjective. It is in the determination of this that the

accent plays an important part. This fact was foreshadowed in the Chapter upon Accents.

§ 415. The attention of the reader is drawn to the following line, slightly altered, from Churchill:—

"Then rést, my friénd, *and spáre* thy
précious bréath."

On each of the syllables *rest*, *friend*, *spare*, *prec-*, *breath*, there is an accent. Each of these syllables must be compared with the one that precedes it; *rest* with *then*, *friend* with *my*, and so on throughout the line. Compared with the word *and*, the word *spare* is not only accented, but the accent is conspicuous and prominent. There is so little on *and*, and so much on *spare*, that the disparity of accent is very manifest.

Now, if in the place of *and*, there was some other word, a word not so much accented as *spare*, but still more accented than *and*, this disparity would be diminished, and the accents of the two words might be said to be at *par*, or nearly so. As said before, the line was slightly altered from Churchill, the real reading being

Then rést, my friénd, *spare, spare* thy
précious breath.—

In the true reading we actually find what had previously only been supposed. In the words *spare, spare*, the accents are nearly at *par*. Such the difference between accent at *par* and disparity of accent.

Good illustrations of the parity and disparity of accent may be drawn from certain names of places. Let there be such a sentence as the following: *the lime*

house near the bridge north of the new port. Compare the parity of accent on the separate words *lime* and *house*, *bridge* and *north*, *new* and *port*, with the disparity of accent in the compound words *Límehouse*, *Brídgenorth*, and *Néwport*. The separate words *beef steak*, where the accent is nearly at *par*, compared with the compound word *sweépstakes*, where there is a great disparity of accent, are further illustrations of the same difference.

§ 416. The difference between a compound word and two words is greatest where the first is an adjective. This we see in comparing such terms as the following: *blácк bírd*, meaning a *bird that is black*, with *bláckbird* = the Latin *merula*; or *blúe béll*, meaning a *bell that is blue*, with *blúebell*, the flower. Expressions like *a shárp edgéd instrument*, meaning *an instrument that is sharp and has edges*, as opposed to a *shárp-edged instrument*, meaning *an instrument with sharp edges*, further exemplify this difference.

Subject to four small classes of exceptions, it may be laid down, that, in the English language, *there is no composition unless there is either a change of form or a change of accent.*

The reader is now informed, that unless, in what has gone before, he has taken an exception to either a statement or an inference, he has either seen beyond what has been already laid down by the author, or else has read him with insufficient attention. This may be shown by drawing a distinction between a compound form and a compound idea.

In the words *a red house*, each word preserves its natural and original meaning, and the statement is *that a house is red.* By a parity of reasoning *a mad house* should mean a *house that is mad*; and, provided

that each word retain its natural meaning and its natural accent, such is the fact. Let a *house* mean, as it often does, a *family*. Then the phrase, *a mad house*, means that the *house, or family, is mad*, just as a *red house* means that the *house is red*. Such, however, is not the current meaning of the word. Every one knows that *a mad house* means *a house for mad men*; in which case it is treated as a compound word, and has a marked accent on the first syllable, just as *Límehouse* has. Now, compared with the word *red house*, meaning a house of a *red colour*, and compared with the words *mad house*, meaning a *deranged family*, the word *mádhouse*, in its common sense, expresses a compound idea; as opposed to two ideas, or a double idea. The word *beef steak* is evidently a compound idea; but, as there is no disparity of accent, it is not a compound word. Its sense is compound; its form is not compound, but double. This indicates the objection anticipated, which is this: *viz.*, that a definition, which would exclude such a word as *beef steak* from the list of compounds, is, for that very reason, exceptionable. I answer to this, that the term in question is a compound idea, and not a compound form; in other words, that it is a compound in logic, but not a compound in etymology. Now etymology, taking cognisance of forms only, has nothing to do with ideas, except so far as they influence forms.

Such is the commentary upon the words, "*treating the combination as a single term*;" in other words, such the difference between a compound word and two words. The rule, being repeated, stands (subject to the four classes of exceptions) thus: *There is no true composition without either a change of form or a change of accent.* As I wish to be clear upon this point, I shall illustrate the statement by its application.

The word *trée-rose* is often pronounced *trée róse*; that is, with the accent at *par*. It is compound in the one case; it is two words in the other.

The words *mountain ash* and *mountain height* are generally (perhaps always) pronounced with an equal accent on the syllables *mount-* and *ash*, *mount-* and *height*, respectively. In this case the word *mountain* must be dealt with as an adjective, and the words considered as two. The word *moúntain wave* is often pronounced with a visible diminution of accent on the last syllable. In this case there is a disparity of accent, and the word is compound.

§ 417. The following quotation indicates a further cause of perplexity in determining between compound words and two words:—

1.

A wet sheet and a blowing gale,
  A breeze that follows fast;
That fills the white and swelling sail,
  And bends the *gallant mast*.

ALLAN CUNNINGHAM.

2.

Britannia needs no bulwarks,
  No towers along the steep;
Her march is o'er the *mountain-wave*,
  Her home is on the deep.

THOMAS CAMPBELL.

To speak first of the word (or words) *gallant mast*. If *gallant* mean *brave,* there are *two words*. If the words

be two, there is a stronger accent on *mast*. If the accent on *mast* be stronger, the rhyme with *fast* is more complete; in other words, the metre favours the notion of the words being considered as *two*. *Gallant-mast*, however, is a compound word, with an especial nautical meaning. In this case the accent is stronger on *gal-* and weaker on *-mast*. This, however, is not the state of things that the metre favours. The same applies to *mountain wave*. The same person who in prose would throw a stronger accent on *mount-* and a weaker one on *wave* (so dealing with the word as a compound), might, in poetry, make the words *two*, by giving to the last syllable a parity of accent.

The following quotation from Ben Jonson may be read in two ways; and the accent may vary with the reading.

1.

Lay thy bow of pearl apart,
And thy *silver shining* quiver.

2.

Lay thy bow of pearl apart,
And thy *silver-shining* quiver.

Cynthia's Revels.

§ 418. *On certain words wherein the fact of their being compound is obscured.*—Composition is the addition of a word to a word, derivation is the addition of letters or syllables to a word. In a compound form each element has a separate and independent existence; in a derived form, only one of the elements has such. Now it is very possible that in an older stage of a language two words may exist, may

be put together, and may so form a compound; at the time in point each word having a separate and independent existence: whilst, in a later stage of language, only one of these words may have a separate and independent existence, the other having become obsolete. In this case a compound word would take the appearance of a derived one, since but one of its elements could be exhibited as a separate and independent word. Such is the case with, amongst others, the word *bishopric*. In the present language the word *ric* has no separate and independent existence. For all this, the word is a true compound, since, in Anglo-Saxon, we have the noun *ríce* as a separate, independent word, signifying *kingdom* or domain.

Again, without becoming obsolete, a word may alter its form. This is the case with most of our adjectives in *-ly*. At present they appear derivative; their termination *-ly* having no separate and independent existence. The older language, however, shows that they are compounds; since *-ly* is nothing else than *-lic*, Anglo-Saxon; *-lih*, Old High German; *-leiks*, Mœso-Gothic; = *like*, or *similis*, and equally with it an independent separate word.

For the following words a separate independent root is presumed rather than shown. It is presumed, however, on grounds that satisfy the etymologist.

Mis-, as in *misdeed*, &c.—Mœso-Gothic, *missô* = *in turns*; Old Norse, *â mis* = *alternately*; Middle High German, *misse* = *mistake*. The original notion *alternation*, thence *change*, thence *defect*. Compare the Greek ἄλλως.—Grimm, Deutsche Grammatik, ii. 470.

Dom, as in *wisdom*, &c.—The substantive *dôm* presumed.—Deutsche Grammatik, ii. 491.

Hood and *head*, as in *Godhead*, *manhood*, &c.—The substantive *háids* = *person*, *order*, *kind*, presumed.—Deutsche Grammatik, ii. 497. Nothing to do with the word *head*.

Ship, as in *friendship*.—Anglo-Saxon, *-scipe* and *-sceäft*; German, *-schaft*; Mœso-Gothic, *gaskafts* = *a creature*, or *creation*. The substantive *skafts* or *skap* presumed. The *-skip* or *-scape* in *landskip* is only an older form.—Deutsche Grammatik, ii. 522.

Less, as in *sleepless*, &c., has nothing to do with *less*. Derived from *láus*, *lôs*, *destitute of* = Latin, *expers*.—Deutsche Grammatik, ii. 565.

For the further details, which are very numerous, see the Deutsche Grammatik, vol. iii.

§ 419. "Subject to four classes of exceptions, it may be laid down that *there is no true composition unless there is either a change of form or a change of accent*."—Such is the statement made in p. 359. The first class of exceptions consists of those words where the natural tendency to disparity of accent is traversed by some rule of euphony. For example, let two words be put together, which at their point of contact form a combination of sounds foreign to our habits of pronunciation. The rarity of the combination will cause an effort in utterance. The effort in utterance will cause an accent to be laid on the latter half of the compound. This will equalize the accent, and abolish the disparity. The word *monkshood*, the name of a flower (*aconitum napellus*), where, to my ear at least, there is quite as much accent on the *-hood* as on the *monks-*, may serve in the way of illustration. Monks is one word, hood another. When joined together, the *h-* of the *-hood* is put in immediate opposition with the *-s* of the

monks-. Hence the combination *monkshood*. At the letters *s* and *h* is the point of contact. Now the sound of *s* followed immediately by the sound of *h* is a true aspirate. But true aspirates are rare in the English language. Being of rare occurrence, the pronunciation of them is a matter of attention and effort; and this attention and effort creates an accent which otherwise would be absent. Hence words like *monkshóod*, *well-héad*, and some others.

Real reduplications of consonants, as in *hop-pole*, may have the same parity of accent with the true aspirates: and for the same reasons. They are rare combinations that require effort and attention.

The second class of exceptions contains those words wherein between the first element and the second there is so great a disparity, either in the length of the vowel, or the length of the syllable *en masse*, as to counteract the natural tendency of the first element to become accented. One of the few specimens of this class (which after all may consist of double words) is the term *upstánding*. Here it should be remembered, that words like *hapházard*, *foolhárdy*, *uphólder*, and *withhóld* come under the first class of the exceptions.

The third class of exceptions contains words like *perchánce* and *perháps*. In all respects but one these are double words, just as *by chance* is a double word. *Per*, however, differs from *by* in having no separate existence. This sort of words we owe to the multiplicity of elements (classical and Gothic) in the English language.

To anticipate objections to the rule respecting the disparity of accent, it may be well to state in fresh terms a fact already indicated, viz., that the same

combination of words may in one sense be compound, and in the other double (or two). *An uphill game* gives us the combination *up + hill* as a compound. *He ran up hill* gives us the combination *up + hill* as two words. So it is with *down + hill*, *down + right*, and other words. *Man-servant*, *cock-sparrow*, &c., are double or compound, as they are pronounced *mán-sérvant*, *mán-servant*, *cóck-spárrow*, or *cóck-sparrow*.

The fourth class is hypothetical. I can, however, imagine that certain compounds may, if used almost exclusively in poetry, and with the accent at *par*, become so accented even in the current language.

§ 420. For a remark on the words *peacock*, *peahen*, see the Chapter upon Gender.—If these words be rendered masculine or feminine by the addition of the elements *-cock* and *-hen*, the statements made in the beginning of the present chapter are invalidated. Since, if the word *pea-* be particularized, qualified, or defined by the words *-cock* and *-hen*, the second term defines or particularises the first, which is contrary to the rule of p. 355. The truth, however, is, that the words *-cock* and *-hen* are defined by the prefix *pea-*. Preparatory to the exhibition of this, let us remember that the word *pea* (although now found in composition only) is a true and independent substantive, the name of a species of fowl, like *pheasant*, *partridge*, or any other appellation. It is the Latin *pavo*, German *pfau*. Now, if the word *peacock* mean a *pea* (*pfau* or *pavo*) that is a male, then do *wood-cock*, *black-cock*, and *bantam-cock*, mean *woods*, *blacks*, and *bantams* that are male. Or if the word *peahen* mean a *pea* (*pfau* or *pavo*) that is female, then do *moorhen* and *guineahen* mean *moors* and *guineas* that are female. Again, if a *peahen* mean a *pea* (*pfau*

or *pavo*) that is female, then does the compound *pheasant-hen* mean the same as *hen-pheasant*; which is not the case. The fact is that *peacock* means a *cock that is a pea* (*pfau* or *pavo*); *peahen* means a *hen that is a pea* (*pfau* or *pavo*); and, finally, *peafowl* means a *fowl that is a pea* (*pfau* or *pavo*). In the same way *moorfowl* means, not a *moor that is connected with a fowl*, but a *fowl that is connected with a moor*.

§ 421. It must be clear, *ex vi termini*, that in every compound word there are two parts; *i. e.*, the whole or part of the original, and the whole or part of the superadded word. In the most perfect forms of inflection there is a third element, *viz.*, a vowel, consonant, or syllable that joins the first word with the second.

In the older forms of all the Gothic languages the presence of this third element was the rule rather than the exception. In the present English it exists in but few words.

a. The *-a-* in *black-a-moor* is possibly such a connecting element.

b. The *-in-* in *night-in-gale* is most probably such a connecting element. Compare the German form *nacht-i-gale*, and remember the tendency of vowels to take the sound of *-ng* before *g*.

§ 422. *Improper compounds.*—The *-s-* in words like *Thur-s-day*, *hunt-s-man*, may be one of two things.

a. It may be the sign of the genitive case, so that *Thursday = Thoris dies*. In this case the word is an improper compound, since it is like the word *pater-familias* in Latin, in a common state of syntactical construction.

b. It may be a connecting sound, like the *-i-* in *nacht-i-gale*. Reasons for this view occur in the following fact:—

In the Modern German languages the genitive case of feminine nouns ends otherwise than in *-s*. Nevertheless, the sound of *-s-* occurs in composition equally, whether the noun it follows be masculine or feminine. This fact, as far as it goes, makes it convenient to consider the sound in question as a connective rather than a case. Probably, it is neither one nor the other exactly, but the effect of a false analogy.

§ 423. *Decomposites.*—"Composition is the joining together of *two* words."—See p. 357.

In the first edition the sentence ran "*two or more*" words; being so written to account for compounds like *mid-ship-man*, *gentle-man-like*, &c., where the number of verbal elements seems to amount to three.

Nevertheless, the caution was unnecessary. Compound radicals like *midship* and *gentleman*, are, for the purposes of composition, single words. Compounds wherein one element is compound are called decomposites.

§ 424. The present chapter closes with the notice of two classes of words. They are mentioned now, not because they are compounds, but because they can be treated of here more conveniently than elsewhere.

There are a number of words which are never found by themselves; or, if so found, have never the same sense that they have in combination. Mark the word combination. The terms in question are points of combination, not of composition: since they form not

the parts of words, but the parts of phrases. Such are the expressions *time and tide—might and main—rede me my riddle—pay your shot—rhyme and reason*, &c. These words are evidently of the same class, though not of the same species with *bishopric*, *colewort*, *spillikin*, *gossip*, *mainswearer*, and the words quoted in p. 362. These last-mentioned terms give us obsolete words preserved in composition. The former give us obsolete words preserved in combination.

The other words are etymological curiosities. They may occur in any language. The English, however, from the extent of its classical element, is particularly abundant in them. It is a mere accident that they are all compound words.

CHAPTER XXXII.

ON DERIVATION AND INFLECTION.

§ 425. Derivation, like *etymology*, is a word used in a wide and in a limited sense. In the wide sense of the term every word, except it be in the simple form of a root, is a derived word. In this sense the cases, numbers, and genders of nouns, the persons, moods, and tenses of verbs, the ordinal numbers, the diminutives, and even the compound words, are alike matters of derivation. In the wide sense of the term the word *fathers*, from *father*, is equally in a state of derivation with the word *strength*, from *strong*.

In the use of the word, even in its limited sense, there is considerable laxity and uncertainty.

Gender, number, case.—These have been called the

accidents of the noun, and these it has been agreed to separate from derivation in its stricter sense, or from derivation properly so called, and to class together under the name of declension. Nouns are declined.

Person, number, tense, voice.—These have been called the accidents of a verb, and these it has been agreed to separate from derivation properly so called, and to class together under the name of conjugation. Verbs are conjugated.

Conjugation and declension constitute inflection. Nouns and verbs, speaking generally, are inflected.

Inflection, a part of derivation in its wider sense, is separated from derivation properly so called, or from derivation in its limited sense.

The degrees of comparison, or certain derived forms of adjectives; the ordinals, or certain derived forms of the numerals; the diminutives, &c., or certain derived forms of the substantive, have been separated from derivation properly so called. I am not certain, however, that for so doing there is any better reason than mere convenience. By some the decrees of comparison are considered as points of inflection.

Derivation proper, the subject of the present chapter, comprises all the changes that words undergo, which are not referable to some of the preceding heads. As such, it is, in its details, a wider field than even composition. The details, however, are not entered into.

§ 426. Derivation proper may be divided according to a variety of principles. Amongst others,

I. *According to the evidence.*—In the evidence that a

word is not simple, but derived, there are at least two degrees.

A. That the word *strength* is a derived word I collect to a certainty from the word *strong*, an independent form, which I can separate from it. Of the nature of the word *strength* there is the clearest evidence, or evidence of the first degree.

B. *Fowl, hail, nail, sail, tail, soul;* in Anglo-Saxon, *fugel, hægel, nægel, segel, tægel, sawel.* —These words are by the best grammarians considered as derivatives. Now, with these words I can not do what was done with the word *strength*, I can not take from them the part which I look upon as the derivational addition, and after that leave an independent word. *Strength* - *th* is a true word; *fowl* or *fugel* - *l* is no true word. If I believe these latter words to be derivations at all, I do it because I find in words like *handle*, &c., the *-l* as a derivational addition. Yet, as the fact of a word being sometimes used as a derivational addition does not preclude it from being at other times a part of the root, the evidence that the words in question are not simple, but derived, is not cogent. In other words, it is evidence of the second degree.

II. *According to the effect.*—The syllable *-en* in the word *whiten* changes the noun *white* into a verb. This is its effect. We may so classify as to arrange combinations like *-en* (whose effect is to give the idea of the verb) in one order; whilst combinations like *th* (whose effect is, as in the word *strength*, to give the idea of abstraction) form another order.

III. *According to the form.*—Sometimes the derivational element is a vowel (as the *-ie* in *doggie*); sometimes a consonant combined: in other words, a syllable (as the *-en* in *whiten*); sometimes a change of

vowel without any addition (as the *i* in *tip*, compared with *top*); sometimes a change of consonant without any addition (as the *z* in *prize*, compared with *price*; sometimes it is a change of *accent*, like *a súrvey*, compared with *to survéy*. To classify derivations in this manner is to classify them according to their form. For the detail of the derivative forms, see Deutsche Grammatik, ii. 89-405.

IV. *According to the historical origin of the derivational elements.*—For this see the Chapter upon Hybridism.

V. *According to the number of the derivational elements.*—In *fisher*, as compared with *fish*, there is but one derivational affix. In *fishery*, as compared with *fish*, the number of derivational elements is two.

§ 427. The list (taken from Walker) of words alluded to in p. 293, is as follows:—

Nouns	*Nouns.*	*Verbs.*	*Verbs.*
Ábsent	Extract	absént	extráct.
Ábstract	Férment	abstráct.	fermént.
Áccent	Fréquent	accént.	frequént.
Áffix	Ímport	affíx.	impórt.
Aúgment	Íntense	augmént.	inténse.
Cólleague	Insult	colléague.	insúlt.
Cómpact	Object	compáct.	objéct.
Cómperfume	Perfume	compérfume.	perfúme.
Cómpress	Pérmit	compréss.	permít.
Cóncert	Préfix	concért.	préfix.
Cóncrete	Prémise	concréte.	prémise.
Cónduct	Présage	conduct.	présage.
Cónfine	Présent	confíne.	présent.
Cónflict	Próduce	conflict.	produce.
Cónserve	Próject	consérve.	project.
Cónsort	Prótest	consórt.	protést.
Cóntract	Rébel	contráct.	rebél.
Cóntrast	Récord	contrást.	recórd.
Cónverse	Réfuse	convérse.	refúse.
Cónvert	Súbject	convért.	subject.
Désert	Súrvey	desért.	survéy.
Déscant	Tórment	descánt.	tormént.
Dígest	Tránsfer	digést.	transfér.
Éssay	Tránsport	essáy.	transpórt.

§ 428. *Churl*, *earl*, *owl*, *fowl*, *hail*, *nail*, *sail*, *snail*, *tail*, *hazel*, *needle*, *soul*, *teazle*, *fair*, *beam*, *bottom*, *arm*, *team*, *worm*, *heaven*, *morn*, *dust*, *ghost*, *breast*, *rest*,

night, *spright*, *blind*, *harp*, *flax*, *fox*, *finch*, *stork*, &c. All these words, for certain etymological reasons, are currently considered, by the latest philologists, as derivatives. Notwithstanding the general prevalence of a fuller form in the Anglo-Saxon, it is clear that, in respect to the evidence, they come under division B.

§ 429. Forms like *tip*, from *top*, *price* and *prize*, &c., are of importance in general etymology. Let it be received as a theory (as with some philologists is really the case) that fragmentary sounds like the *-en* in *whiten*, the *-th* in *strength*, &c., were once *words*; or, changing the expression, let it be considered that all derivation was once composition. Let this view be opposed. The first words that are brought to militate against it are those like *tip* and *prize*, where, instead of any *addition*, there is only *a change*; and, consequently, no vestiges of an older *word*. This argument, good as far as it goes, is rebutted in the following manner. Let the word *top* have attached to it a second word, in which second word there is a small vowel. Let this small vowel act upon the full one in *top*, changing it to *tip*. After this, let the second word be ejected. We then get the form *tip* by the law of accommodation, and not as an immediate sign of derivation. The *i* in *chick* (from *cock*) may be thus accounted for, the *-en* in *chicken* being supposed to have exerted, first, an influence of accommodation, and afterwards to have fallen off. The *i* in *chick* may, however, be accounted for by simple processes.

§ 430. In words like *bishopric*, and many others mentioned in the last chapter, we had compound words under the appearance of derived ones; in words like *upmost*, and many others, we have derivation under the appearance of composition.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

ADVERBS.

§ 431. *Adverbs.*—The adverbs are capable of being classified after a variety of principles.

Firstly, they may be divided according to their meaning. In this case we speak of the adverbs of time, place, number, manner. This division is logical rather than etymological.

A division, however, which although logical bears upon etymology, is the following:—

Well, better, ill, worse.—Here we have a class of adverbs expressive of degree, or intensity. Adverbs of this kind are capable of taking an inflection, *viz.*, that of the comparative and superlative degrees.

Now, then, here, there.—In the idea expressed by these words there are no degrees of intensity. Adverbs of this kind are incapable of taking any inflection.

Words like *better* and *worse* are adjectives or adverbs as they are joined to nouns or verbs.

Adverbs differ from nouns and verbs in being susceptible of one sort of inflection only, *viz.*, that of degree.

Secondly, adverbs may be divided according to their form and origin. This is truly an etymological classification.

A *Better, worse.*—Here the combination of sounds gives equally an adjective and an adverb. *This book is better than that*—here *better* agrees with *book*, and is

therefore adjectival. *This looks better than that*—here *better* qualifies *looks*, and is therefore adverbial. Again; *to do a thing with violence* is equivalent *to do a thing violently*. This shows how adverbs may arise out of cases. In words like the English *better*, the Latin *vi* = *violenter*, the Greek κἀλον = κἀλως, we have adjectives in their degrees, and substantives in their cases, with adverbial powers. In other words, nouns are deflected from their natural sense to an adverbial one. Adverbs of this kind are adverbs of deflection.

B *Brightly, bravely.*—Here an adjective is rendered adverbial by the addition of the derivative syllable -*ly*. Adverbs like *brightly*, &c., may (laxly speaking) be called adverbs of derivation.

C *Now.*—This word has not satisfactorily been shown to have originated as any other part of speech but as an adverb. Words of this sort are adverbs absolute.

When, now, well, worse, better.—here the adverbial expression consists in a single word, and is *simple*. *To-day*, *yesterday*, *not at all*, *somewhat*—here the adverbial expression consists of a compound word, or a phrase. This indicates the division of adverbs into simple and complex.

§ 432. The adverbs of deflection (of the chief importance in etymology) may be arranged after a variety of principles. I. According to the part of speech from whence they originate. This is often an adjective, often a substantive, at times a pronoun, occasionally a preposition, rarely a verb. II. According to the part of the inflection from whence they originate. This is often an ablative case, often a neuter accusative, often a dative, occasionally a genitive.

The following notices are miscellaneous rather than systematic.

Else, unawares, eftsoons.—These are the genitive forms of adjectives. *By rights* is a word of the same sort.

Once, twice, thrice.—These are the genitive forms of numerals.

Needs (as in *needs must go*) is the genitive case of a substantive.

Seldom.—The old dative (singular or plural) of the adjective *seld*.

Whilom.—The dative (singular or plural) of the substantive *while*.

Little, less, well.—Neuter accusatives of adjectives. *Bright*, in the *sun shines bright*, is a word of the same class. The neuter accusative is a common source of adverbs in all tongues.

Athwart.—A neuter accusative, and a word exhibiting the Norse neuter in *-t*.

§ 433. *Darkling.*—This is no participle of a verb *darkle*, but an adverb of derivation, like *unwaringun* = *unawares*, Old High German; *stillinge* = *secretly*, Middle High German; *blindlings* = *blindly*, New High German; *darnungo* = *secretly*, Old Saxon; *nichtinge* = *by night*, Middle Dutch; *blindeling* = *blindly*, New Dutch; *bæclinga* = *backwards*, *handlunga* = *hand to hand*, Anglo-Saxon; and, finally, *blindlins*, *backlins*, *darklins*, *middlins*, *scantlins*, *stridelins*, *stowlins*, in Lowland Scotch.—Deutsche Grammatik, iii. 236.

§ 434. "Adverbs like *brightly* may (laxly speaking) be

called adverbs of derivation." Such the assertion made a few paragraphs above. The first circumstance that strikes the reader is, that the termination *-ly* is common both to adjectives and to adverbs. This termination was once an independent word, *viz.*, *leik*. Now, as *-ly* sprung out of the Anglo-Saxon *-lice*, and as words like *early*, *dearly*, &c., were originally *arlîce*, *deorlîce*, &c., and as *arlîce*, *deorlîce*, &c., were adjectives, the adverbs in *-ly* are (*strictly speaking*) adverbs, not of derivation, but of deflection.

It is highly probable that not only the adverbs of derivation, but that also the absolute adverbs, may eventually be reduced to adverbs of deflection. For *now*, see Deutsche Grammatik, iii. 249.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

ON CERTAIN ADVERBS OF PLACE.

§ 435. It is a common practice for languages to express by different modifications of the same root the three following ideas:—

1. The idea of rest *in* a place.

2. The idea of motion *towards* a place.

3. The idea of motion *from* a place.

This habit gives us three correlative adverbs—one of position, and two of direction.

§ 436. It is also a common practice of language to depart from the original expression of each particular idea, and to interchange the signs by which they are expressed.

§ 437. This may be seen in the following table, illustrative of the forms *here*, *hither*, *hence*, and taken from the Deutsche Grammatik, iii. 199.

Mœso-Gothic	þar, þaþ, þaþro,	*there, thither, thence*.
	hêr, hiþ, hidrô,	*here, hither, hence*.
Old High German	huâr, huara, huanana,	*where, whither, whence*.
	dâr, dara, danana,	*there, thither, thence*.
	hear, hêra, hinana,	*here, hither, hence*.
Old Saxon	huar, huar, huanan,	*where, whither, whence*.
	thar, thar, thanan,	*there, thither, thence*.
	hêr, hër, hënan,	*here, hither, hence*.
Anglo-Saxon	þar, þider, þonan,	*there, thither, thence*.
	hvar, hvider, hvonan,	*where, whither, whence*.
	hêr, hider, hënan,	*here, hither, hence*.

Old Norse	þar, þaðra, þaðan,	*there, thither, thence.*
	hvar, hvert, hvaðan,	*where, whither, whence.*
	hêr, hëðra, hëðan,	*here, hither, hence.*
Middle High German	dâ, dan,dannen,	*there, thither, thence.*
	wâ, war, wannen,	*where, whither, whence.*
	hie, hër, hennen,	*here, hither, hence.*
Modern High German	da, dar, dannen,	*there, thither, thence.*
	wo, wohin, wannen,	*where, whither, whence.*
	hier, her, hinnen,	*here, hither, hence.*

§ 438. These local terminations were commoner in the earlier stages of language than at present. The following are from the Mœso-Gothic:—

Ïnnaþrô = *from within.*
Ūtaþrô = *from without.*
Ïnnaþrô = *from above.*
Fáirraþrô = *from afar.*
Allaþrô = *from all quarters.*

Now a reason for the comparative frequency of these forms in Mœso-Gothic lies in the fact of the Gospel of Ulphilas being a translation from the Greek. The Greek forms in -θεν, ἔσωθεν, ἔξωθεν, ἄνωθεν, πόῤῥωθεν, πάντοθεν, were just the forms to encourage such a formation as that in *-þro*.—Deutsche Grammatik, iii. 199, &c.

§ 439. The *-ce* (=*es*) in *hen-ce*, *when-ce*, *then-ce*, has yet to be satisfactorily explained. The Old English is *whenn-es*, *thenn-es*. As far, therefore, as the spelling is concerned, they are in the same predicament with the word *once*, which is properly *on-es*, the genitive of *one*. This statement, however, explains only the peculiarity of their orthography; since it by no means follows, that, because the *-s* in *ones* and the *-s* in *whennes*, *thennes* are equally replaced by *-ce* in orthography, they must equally have the same origin in etymology.

§ 440. *Yonder.*—In the Mœso-Gothic we have the following forms: *jáinar*, *jáina*, *jáinþrô*=*illic*, *illuc*, *illinc*. They do not, however, explain the form *yon-d-er*. It is not clear whether the *d*=the *-d* in *jâind*, or the *þ* in *jáinþro*.

Anon, as used by Shakspeare, in the sense of *presently*.—The probable history of this word is as follows: the first syllable contains a root akin to the root *yon*, signifying *distance in place*. The second is a shortened form of the Old High German and Middle High German, *-nt*, a termination expressive, 1, of removal in space; 2, of removal in time; Old High German, *ënont*, *ënnont*; Middle High German, *ënentlig*, *jenunt*=*beyond*. The transition from the idea of *place* to that of *time* is shown in the Old High German, *nâhunt*, and the Middle High German, *vërnent*=*lately*;

the first from the root *nigh*, the latter from the root *far*.—See Deutsche Grammatik, iii. 215.

CHAPTER XXXV.

ON WHEN, THEN, AND THAN.

§ 441. The Anglo-Saxon adverbs are *whenne* and *þenne* = *when*, *then*.

The masculine accusative cases of the relative and demonstrative pronoun are *hwæne* (*hwone*) and *þæne* (*þone*).

Notwithstanding the difference, the first form is a variety of the second; so that the adverbs *when* and *then* are pronominal in origin.

As to the word *than*, the conjunction of comparison, it is a variety of *then*; the notions of *order*, *sequence*, and *comparison* being allied.

This is good: *then* (or *next in order*) *that is good*, is an expression sufficiently similar to *this is better than that* to have given rise to it.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

PREPOSITIONS AND CONJUNCTIONS.

§ 442. *Prepositions.*—Prepositions, as such, are wholly unsusceptible of inflection. Other parts of speech, in a state of inflection, may be used with a prepositional sense. This, however, is not an inflection of prepositions.

No word is ever made a preposition by the addition of a derivational[59] element. If it were not for this, the practical classification of the prepositions, in respect to their form, would coincide with that of the adverbs. As it is, there are only the prepositions of deflection, and the absolute prepositions. On another principle of division there are the simple prepositions (*in*, *on*, &c.), and the complex prepositions (*upon*, *roundabout*, *across*).

The prepositions of deflection, when simple, originate chiefly in adverbs, as *up*, *down*, *within*, *without*, unless, indeed, we change the assertion, and say that the words in point (and the others like them) are adverbs originating in prepositions. The absence of characteristic terminations renders these decisions difficult.

The prepositions of deflection, when complex, originate chiefly in nouns, accompanied by an absolute preposition; as *instead of* of substantival, *between* of adjectival origin.

The absolute prepositions, in the English language, are *in*, *on*, *of*, *at*, *up*, *by*, *to*, *for*, *from*, *till*, *with*, *through*.

§ 443. *Conjunctions.*—Conjunctions, like prepositions, are wholly unsusceptible of inflection. Like prepositions they are never made by means of a derivational element. Like prepositions they are either simple (as *and*, *if*), or complex (as *also*, *nevertheless*).

The conjunctions of deflection originate chiefly in imperative moods (as *all* save *one*, *all* except *one*); participles used like the ablative absolute in Latin (as *all* saving *one*, *all* excepting *one*); adverbs (as *so*);

prepositions (as *for*); and relative neuters (as *that*).

The absolute conjunctions in the English language are *and*, *or*, *but*, *if*.

§ 444. *Yes, no.*—Although *not* may be reduced to an adverb, *nor* to a conjunction, and *none* to a noun, these two words (the direct affirmative, and the direct negative) are referable to none of the current parts of speech. Accurate grammar places them in a class by themselves.

§ 445. *Particles.*—The word particle is a collective term for all those parts of speech that are *naturally* unsusceptible of inflection; comprising, 1, interjections; 2, direct affirmatives; 3, direct negatives; 4, absolute conjunctions; 5, absolute prepositions; 6, adverbs unsusceptible of degrees of comparison; 7, inseparable prefixes.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

ON THE GRAMMATICAL POSITION OF THE WORDS **MINE** AND **THINE**.

§ 446. The inflection of pronouns has its natural peculiarities in language; it has also its natural difficulties in philology. These occur not in one language in particular, but in all generally. The most common peculiarity in the grammar of pronouns is the fact of what may be called their *convertibility*. Of this *convertibility* the following statements serve as illustration:—

1. *Of case.*—In our own language the words *my* and *thy*, although at present possessives, were previously datives, and, earlier still, accusatives. Again, the

accusative *you* replaces the nominative *ye*, and *vice versâ*.

2. *Of number.*—The words *thou* and *thee* are, except in the mouths of Quakers, obsolete. The plural forms, *ye* and *you*, have replaced them.

3. *Of person.*—Laying aside the habit of the Germans and other nations, of using the third person plural for the second singular (as in expressions like *wie befinden sie sich = how do they find themselves?* instead of *how do you find yourself?*) the Greek language gives us examples of interchange in the way of persons in the promiscuous use of νιν, μιν, σφε, and ἑαυτοῦ; whilst *sich* and *sik* are used with a similar latitude in the Middle High German and Scandinavian.

4. *Of class.*—The demonstrative pronouns become

a. Personal pronouns.
b. Relative pronouns.
c. Articles.

The reflective pronoun often becomes reciprocal.

These statements are made for the sake of illustrating, not of exhausting, the subject. It follows, however, as an inference from them, that the classification of pronouns is complicated. Even if we knew the original power and derivation of every form of every pronoun in a language, it would be far from an easy matter to determine therefrom the paradigm that they should take in grammar. To place a word according to its power in a late stage of language might confuse the study of an early stage. To say that because a word was once in a given class, it should always be so, would be to deny that in the

present English *they*, *these*, and *she* are personal pronouns at all.

The two tests, then, of the grammatical place of a pronoun, its *present power* and its *original power*, are often conflicting.

In the English language the point of most importance in this department of grammar is the place of forms like *mine* and *thine*; in other words, of the forms in *-n*. Are they genitive cases of a personal pronoun, as *mei* and *tui* are supposed to be in Latin, or are they possessive pronouns like *meus* and *tuus*?

Now, if we take up the common grammars of the English language *as it is*, we find, that, whilst *my* and *thy* are dealt with as genitive cases, *mine* and *thine* are considered adjectives. In the Anglo-Saxon grammars, however, *min* and *þin*, the older forms of *mine* and *thine*, are treated as genitives; of which *my* and *thy* have been dealt with as abbreviated forms, and that by respectable scholars.

Now, to prove from the syntax of the older English that in many cases the two forms were convertible, and to answer that the words in question are *either* genitive cases or adjectives, is lax philology; since the real question is, *which of the two is the primary, and which the secondary meaning?*

§ 447. The *à priori* view of the likelihood of words like *mine* and *thine* being genitive cases, must be determined by the comparison of three series of facts.

1. The ideas expressed by the genitive case, with particular reference to the two preponderating notions of possession and partition.

2. The circumstance of the particular notion of possession being, in the case of the personal pronouns of the two first persons singular, generally expressed by a form undoubtedly adjectival.

3. The extent to which the idea of partition becomes merged in that of possession, and *vice versâ*.

§ 448. *The ideas of possession and partition as expressed by genitive forms.*—If we take a hundred genitive cases, and observe their construction, we shall find, that, with a vast majority of them, the meaning is reducible to one of two heads; *viz.*, the idea of possession or the idea of partition.

Compared with these two powers all the others are inconsiderable, both in number and importance; and if, as in the Greek and Latin languages, they take up a large space in the grammars, it is from their exceptional character rather than from their normal genitival signification.

Again, if both the ideas of possession and partition may, and in many cases must be, reduced to the more general idea of relation, this is a point of grammatical phraseology by no means affecting the practical and special bearings of the present division.

§ 449. *The adjectival expression of the idea of possession.*—All the world over, a property is a possession; and *persons*, at least, may be said to be the owners of their attributes. Whatever may be the nature of words like *mine* and *thine*, the adjectival character of their Latin equivalents, *meus* and *tuus*, is undoubted.

The ideas of partition and possession merge into one another.—A man's spade is the possession *of a man; a*

man's hand is the part *of a man.* Nevertheless, when a man uses his hand as the instrument of his will, the idea which arises from the fact of its being *part* of his body is merged in the idea of the possessorship which arises from the feeling of ownership or mastery which is evinced in its subservience and application. Without following the refinements to which the further investigation of these questions would lead us, it is sufficient to suggest that the preponderance of the two allied ideas of partition and possession is often determined by the personality or the non-personality of the subject, and that, when the subject is a person, the idea is chiefly possessive; when a thing, partitive—*caput fluvii = the head, which is a part, of a river*; *caput Toli = the head, which is the possession, of Tolus*.

But as persons may be degraded to the rank of things, and as things may, by personification, be elevated to the level of persons, this distinction, although real, may become apparently invalid. In phrases like a *tributary to the Tiber—the criminal lost his eye—this field belongs to that parish*—the ideas of possessorship and partition, as allied ideas subordinate to the idea of relationship in general, verify the interchange.

§ 450. These observations should bring us to the fact that there are two ideas which, more than any other, determine the evolution of a genitive case—the idea of partition and the idea of possession; *and that genitive cases are likely to be evolved just in proportion as there is a necessity for the expression of these two ideas*.—Let this be applied to the question of the à priori probability of the evolution of a genitive case to the pronouns of the first and second persons of the singular number.

§ 451. *The idea of* possession*, and its likelihood of determining the evolution of a genitive form to the pronouns of the first and second person singular.* —It is less likely to do so with such pronouns than with other words, inasmuch as it is less necessary. It has been before observed, that the practice of most languages shows a tendency to express the relation by adjectival forms—*meus*, *tuus*.

An objection against the conclusiveness of this argument will be mentioned in the sequel.

§ 452. *The idea of* partition*, and its likelihood of determining the evolution of a genitive form, &c.*—Less than with other words.

A personal pronoun of the *singular* number is the name of a unity, and, as such, the name of an object far less likely to be separated into parts than the name of a collection. Phrases like, *some of them*, *one of you*, *many of us*, *any of them*, *few of us*, &c., have no analogues in the singular number, such as *one of me*, *a few of thee*, &c. The partitive words that can combine with singular pronouns are comparatively few; *viz.*, *half*, *quarter*, *part*, &c.: and they can all combine equally with plurals—*half of us*, *a quarter of them*, *a part of you*, *a portion of us*. The partition of a singular object with a pronominal name is of rare occurrence in language.

This last statement proves something more than appears at first sight. It proves that no argument in favour of the so-called *singular* genitives, like *mine* and *thine*, can be drawn from the admission (if made) of the existence of the true plural genitives *ou-r*, *you-r*, *thei-r*. The two ideas are not in the same predicament. We can say, *one of ten*, or *ten of twenty*; but we cannot say *one of one—Wæs hira Matheus*

sum = Matthew was one of them; Andreas—*Your noither = neither of you*; Amis and Ameloun—from Mr. Guest: *Her eyder = either of them*; Octavian.—Besides this, the form of the two numbers are neither identical, nor equally genitival; as may be seen by contrasting *mi-n* and *thi-n* with *ou-r* and *you-r*.

§ 453. Such are the chief *à priori* arguments against the genitival character of words like *mine* and *thine*.

Akin to these, and a point which precedes the *à posteriori* evidence as to the nature of the words in question, is the determination of the side on which lies the *onus probandi*. This question is material; inasmuch as, although the present writer believes, for his own part, that the forms under discussion are adjectival rather than genitival, this is not the point upon which he insists. What he insists upon is the fact of the genitival character of *mine* and *thine* requiring a particular proof; which particular proof no one has yet given: in other words, his position is that they are not to be thought genitive until proved to be such.

It has not been sufficiently considered that the *primâ facie* evidence is against them. They have not the form of a genitive case—indeed, they have a different one; and whoever assumes a second form for a given case has the burden of proof on his side.

§ 454. Against this circumstance of the *-n* in *mine* and *thine* being the sign of anything rather than of a genitive case, and against the *primâ facie* evidence afforded by it, the following facts may, or have been, adduced as reasons on the other side. The appreciation of their value, either taken singly or in the way of cumulative evidence, is submitted to the reader. It will be seen that none of them are

unexceptionable.

§ 455. *The fact, that, if the words* mine *and* thine *are not genitive cases, there is not a genitive case at all.*—It is not necessary that there should be one. Particular reasons in favour of the probability of personal pronouns of the singular number being destitute of such a case have been already adduced. *It is more likely that a word should be defective than that it should have a separate form.*

§ 456. *The analogy of the forms* mei *and* ἐμοῦ *in Latin and Greek.*—It cannot be denied that this has some value. Nevertheless, the argument deducible from it is anything but conclusive.

1. It is by no means an indubitable fact that *mei* and ἐμοῦ are really cases of the pronoun. The *extension* of a principle acknowledged in the Greek language might make them the genitive cases of adjectives used pronominally. Thus,

Τὸ ἐμὸν = ἐγὼ,
Τοῦ ἐμοῦ = ἐμοῦ,
Τῷ ἐμῷ = ἐμοί.

Assume the omission of the article and the extension of the Greek principle to the Latin language, and ἐμοῦ and *mei* may be cases, not of ἐμὲ and *me*, but of ἐμὸς and *meus*.

2. In the classical languages the partitive power was expressed by the genitive.

> "—— multaque pars mei
> Vitabit Libitinam."

This is a reason for the evolution of a genitive power.

Few such forms exist in the Gothic; *part my* is not English, nor was *dæl min* Anglo-Saxon, = *part of me*, or *pars mei*.

§ 457. The following differences of form, are found in the different Gothic languages, between the equivalents of *mei* and *tui*, the so-called genitives of *ego* and *tu*, and the equivalents of *meus* and *tuus*, the so-called possessive adjectives.

Mœso-Gothic	meina = *mei*	as opposed to	meins = *meus*.
	þeina = *tui*	,,	þeins = *tuus*.
Old High German	mîn = *mei*	,,	mîner = *meus*.
	dîn = *tui*	,,	dîner = *tuus*.
Old Norse	min = *mei*	,,	minn = *meus*.
	þin = *tui*	,,	þinn = *tuus*.
Middle Dutch	mîns = *mei*	,,	mîn = *meus*.
	dîns = *tui*	,,	dîn = *tuus*.
Modern High German	mein = *mei*	,,	meiner = *meus*.
	dein = *tui*	,,	deiner = *tuus*.

In this list, those languages where the two forms are alike are not exhibited. This is the case with the Anglo-Saxon and Old Saxon.

In the above-noticed differences of form lie the best reasons for the assumption of a genitive case, as the

origin of an adjectival form; and, undoubtedly, in those languages, where both forms occur, it is convenient to consider one as a case and one as an adjective.

§ 458. But this is not the present question. In Anglo-Saxon there is but one form, *min* and *þin* = *mei* and *meus*, *tui* and *tuus*, indifferently. Is this form an oblique case or an adjective?

This involves two sorts of evidence.

§ 459. *Etymological evidence.*—Assuming two *powers* for the words *min* and *þin*, one genitive, and one adjectival, which is the original one? or, going beyond the Anglo-Saxon, assuming that of two *forms* like *meina* and *meins*, the one has been derived from the other, which is the primitive, radical, primary, or original one?

Men, from whom it is generally unsafe to differ, consider that the adjectival form is the derived one; and, as far as forms like *mîner*, as opposed to *mîn*, are concerned, the evidence of the foregoing list is in their favour. But what is the case with the Middle Dutch? The genitive *mîns* is evidently the derivative of *mîn*.

The reason why the forms like *mîner* seem derived is because they are longer and more complex than the others. Nevertheless, it is by no means an absolute rule in philology that the least compound form is the oldest. A word may be adapted to a secondary meaning by a change in its parts in the way of omission, as well as by a change in the way of addition. Such is the general statement. Reasons for believing that in the particular cases of the words in question such is the fact, will be found hereafter.

As to the question whether it is most likely for an adjective to be derived from a case, or a case from an adjective, it may be said, that philology furnishes instances both ways. *Ours* is a case derived, in syntax at least, from an adjective. *Cujus* (as in *cujum pecus*) and *sestertium* are Latin instances of a nominative case being evolved from an oblique one.

§ 460. *Syntactic evidence.*—If in Anglo-Saxon we found such expressions as *dæl min* = *pars mei*, *hælf þin* = *dimidium tui*, we should have a reason, as far as it went, for believing in the existence of a genitive with a partitive power. Such instances, however, have yet to be quoted; whilst, even if quoted, they would not be *conclusive*. Expressions like σὸς πόθος = *desiderium tui*, σῆ προμηθίᾳ = *providentiâ propter te*, show the extent to which the possessive expression encroaches on the partitive.

1. The words *min* or *þin*, with a power anything rather than possessive, would not for that reason be proved (on the strength of their meaning) to be genitive cases rather than possessive pronouns; since such latitude in the power of the possessive pronoun is borne out by the comparison of languages—πατὲρ ἡμῶν (not ἡμέτερος) in Greek is *pater noster* (not *nostrum*) in Latin.

§ 461. Again—as *min* and *þin* are declined like adjectives, even as *meus* and *tuus* are so declined, we have means of ascertaining their nature from the form they take in certain constructions; thus, *min*ra = *me*orum, and *min*re = *me*æ, are the genitive plural and the dative singular respectively. Thus, too, the Anglo-Saxon for *of thy eyes* should be *eagena þinra*, and the Anglo-Saxon for *to my widow*, should be *wuduwan minre*; just as in Latin, they would be

oculorum tuorum, and *viduæ meæ*.

If, however, instead of this we find such expressions as *eagena þin*, or *wuduwan min*, we find evidence in favour of a genitive case; for then the construction is not one of concord, but one of government, and the words *þin* and *min* must be construed as the Latin forms *tui* and *mei* would be in *oculorum mei*, and *viduæ mei*; viz.: as genitive cases. Now, whether a sufficient proportion of such constructions (real or apparent) exist or not, they have not yet been brought forward.

Such instances have yet to be quoted; whilst even if quoted, they would not be conclusive.

§ 462. A few references to the *Deutsche Grammatik* will explain this.

As early as the Mœso-Gothic stage of our language, we find rudiments of the omission of the inflection. The possessive pronouns in the *neuter singular* sometimes take the inflection, sometimes appear as crude forms, *nim thata badi theinata* = ἆρον σοῦ τὸν κράββατον (Mark ii. 9.) opposed to *nim thata badi thein* two verses afterwards. So also with *mein* and *meinata*.—Deutsche Grammatik, iv. 470. It is remarkable that this omission should begin with forms so marked as those of the neuter (*-ata*). It has, perhaps, its origin in the adverbial character of that gender.

Old High German.—Here the nominatives, both masculine and feminine, lose the inflection, whilst the neuter retains it—*thin dohter*, *sîn quenâ*, *min dohter*, *sinaz lîb*. In a few cases, when the pronoun comes after, even the *oblique* cases drop the inflection.—Deutsche Grammatik, 474-478.

Middle High German.—Preceding the noun, the nominative of all genders is destitute of inflection; *sîn lîb*, *mîn ere*, *dîn lîb*, &c. *Following* the nouns, the oblique cases do the same; *ine herse sîn*.—Deutsche Grammatik, 480. The influence of position should here be noticed. Undoubtedly a place *after* the substantive influences the omission of the inflection. This appears in its *maximum* in the Middle High German. In Mœso-Gothic we have *mein leik* and *leik meinata*.—Deutsche Grammatik, 470.

§ 463. Now by assuming (which is only a fair assumption) the extension of the Middle High German omission of the inflection to the Anglo-Saxon; and by supposing it to affect the words in question in *all* positions (*i.e.*, both before and after their nouns), we explain these constructions by a process which, in the mind of the present writer, is involved in fewer difficulties than the opposite doctrine of a genitive case, in words where it is not wanted, and with a termination which is foreign to it elsewhere.

To suppose *two* adjectival forms, one inflected (*min*, *minre*, &c.), and one uninflected, or common to all genders and both numbers (*min*), is to suppose no more than is the case with the uninflected *þe*, as compared with the inflected *þæt*.—See pp. 251-253.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

ON THE CONSTITUTION OF THE WEAK PRÆTERITE.

§ 464. The remote origin of the weak præterite in *-d* or *-t*, has been considered by Grimm, in the Deutsche

Grammatik. He maintains that it is the *d* in *d-d*, the reduplicate præterite of *do*. In all the Gothic languages the termination of the past tense is either *-da*, *-ta*, *-de*, *-ði*, *-d*, *-t*, or *-ed*, for the singular, and *-don*, *-ton*, *-tûmês*, or *-ðum*, for the plural; in other words, *d*, or an allied sound, appears once, if not oftener. In the plural præterite of the Mœso-Gothic we have something more, *viz.* the termination *-dêdum*; as *nas-idêdum*, *nas-idêduþ*, *nas-idêdum*, from *nas-ja*; *sôk-idêdum*, *sôk-idêduþ*, *sôk-idêdum* from *sôk-ja*; *salb-ôdêdum*, *salb-ôdêduþ*, *sâlb-ôdêdun*, from *salbô*. Here there is a second *d*. The same takes place with the dual form *salb-ôdêduts*; and with the subjunctive forms, *salb-ôdêdjan*, *salb-ôdêduts*, *salb-ôdêdi*, *salb-ôdêdeits*, *salb-ôdêdeima*, *salb-ôdêdeiþ*, *salb-ôdêdeina*. The English phrase, *we did salve*, as compared with *salb-ôdêdum*, is confirmatory of this.—Deutsche Grammatik, i. 1042.

§ 465. Some remarks of Dr. Trithen's on the Slavonic præterite, in the Transactions of the Philological Society, induce me to identify the *d-* in words like *moved*, &c., with the *-t* of the passive participles of the Latin language; as found in mon-*it*-us, voc-*at*-us, rap-*t*-us, and probably in Greek forms like τυφ-θ-εἰς.

l. The Slavonic præterite is commonly said to possess genders: in other words, there is one form for speaking of a past action when done by a male, and another for speaking of a past action when done by a female.

2. These forms are identical with those of the participles, masculine or feminine, as the case may be. Indeed the præterite is a participle; and the fact of its being so accounts for the apparently remarkable fact of its inflection. If, instead of saying

ille amavit, the Latins said *ille amatus*, whilst instead of saying *illa amavit* they said *illa amata*, they would exactly use the grammar of the Slavonians.

3. Hence, as one language, the Slavonic gives us the undoubted fact of an active præterite growing out of a passive participle (unless, indeed, we chose to say that both are derived from a common origin); and as the English participle and præterite, when weak, are nearly identical, we have reason for believing that the *d*, in the English active præterite, is the *t* in the Latin passive participle.

§ 466. The following extract exhibits Dr. Trithen's remarks on the Slavonic verb:—

> "A peculiarity which distinguishes the grammar of all the Slavish languages, consists in the use of the past participle, taken in an active sense, for the purpose of expressing the præterite. This participle generally ends in *l*; and much uncertainty prevails both as to its origin and its relations, though the termination has been compared by various philologists with similar affixes in the Sanscrit, and the classical languages.
>
> "In the Old Slavish, or the language of the church, there are three methods of expressing the past tense: one of them consists in the union of the verb substantive with the participle; as,
>
> *Rek esm´ chital esmi´*
> *Rek esi´ chital esi´*
> *Rek est´ chital est´.*
>
> "In the corresponding tense of the Slavonic dialect we have the verb substantive placed before the

participle:

Yasam imao mi´ smo imali
Ti si imao vi´ ste imali
On ye imao omi su imali.

"In the Polish it appears as a suffix:

Czytalem czytalismy
Czytales czytaliscie
Czytal czytalie.

"And in the Servian it follows the participle:

Igrao sam igrali smo
Igrao si igrali ste
Igrao ye igrali su.

"The ending *ao*, of *igrao* and *imao*, stands for the Russian *al*, as in some English dialects *a'* is used for *all*."

PART V.

SYNTAX.

CHAPTER I.

ON SYNTAX IN GENERAL.

§ 467. The word *syntax* is derived from the Greek *syn* (*with* or *together*), and *taxis* (*arrangement*). It relates to the arrangement, or putting together of words. Two or more words must be used before there can be any

application of studied syntax.

Much that is considered by the generality of grammarians as syntax, can either be omitted altogether, or else be better studied under another name.

§ 468. To reduce a sentence to its elements, and to show that these elements are, 1, the subject, 2, the predicate, 3, the copula; to distinguish between simple terms and complex terms,—this is the department of logic.

To show the difference in force of expression, between such a sentence as *great is Diana of the Ephesians*, and *Diana of the Ephesians is great*, wherein the natural order of the subject and predicate is reversed, is a point of rhetoric.

I am moving.—To state that such a combination as *I am moving* is grammatical, is undoubtedly a point of syntax. Nevertheless it is a point better explained in a separate treatise, than in a work upon any particular language. The expression proves its correctness by the simple fact of its universal intelligibility.

I speaks.—To state that such a combination as *I speaks*, admitting that *I* is exclusively the pronoun in the first person, and that *speaks* is exclusively the verb in the third, is undoubtedly a point of syntax. Nevertheless, it is a point which is better explained in a separate treatise, than in a work upon any particular language. An expression so ungrammatical, involves a contradiction in terms, which unassisted common sense can deal with. This position will again be reverted to.

There is to me a father.—Here we have a circumlocution equivalent to *I have a father*. In the English language the circumlocution is unnatural. In the Latin it is common. To determine this, is a matter of idiom rather than of syntax.

I am speaking, I was reading.—There was a stage in the Gothic languages when these forms were either inadmissible, or rare. Instead thereof, we had the present tense, *I speak*, and the past, *I spoke*. The same is the case with the classical languages in the classical stage. To determine the difference in idea between these pairs of forms is a matter of metaphysics. To determine at what period each idea came to have a separate mode of expression is a matter of the *history* of language. For example, *vas láisands* appears in Ulphilas (Matt. vii. 29). There, it appears as a rare form, and as a literal translation of the Greek ἦν διδασκών (*was teaching*). The Greek form itself was, however, an unclassical expression for ἐδίδασκε. In Anglo-Saxon this mode of speaking became common, and in English it is commoner still. —Deutsche Grammatik, iv. 5. This is a point of idiom involved with one of history.

Swear by your sword—swear on your sword.—Which of these two expressions is right? This depends on what the speaker means. If he mean *make your oath in the full remembrance of the trust you put in your sword, and with the imprecation, therein implied, that it shall fail you, or turn against you if you speak falsely*, the former expression is the right one. But, if he mean swear *with your hand upon your sword*, it is the latter which expresses his meaning. To take a different view of this question, and to write as a rule that *verbs of swearing are followed by the preposition on* (or *by*) is to mistake the province of the grammar.

Grammar tells no one what he should wish to say. It only tells him how what he wishes to say should be said.

Much of the criticism on the use of *will* and *shall* is faulty in this respect. *Will* expresses one idea of futurity, *shall* another. The syntax of the two words is very nearly that of any other two. That one of the words is oftenest used with a first person, and the other with a second, is a fact, as will be seen hereafter, connected with the nature of *things*, not of words.

§ 469. The following question now occurs. If the history of forms of speech be one thing, and the history of idioms another; if this question be a part of logic, and that question a part of rhetoric; and if such truly grammatical facts as government and concord are, as matters of common sense, to be left uninvestigated and unexplained, what remains as syntax? This is answered by the following distinction. There are two sorts of syntax; theoretical and practical, scientific and historical, pure and mixed. Of these, the first consists in the analysis and proof of those rules which common practice applies without investigation, and common sense appreciates, in a rough and gross manner, from an appreciation of the results. This is the syntax of government and concord, or of those points which find no place in the present work, for the following reason—*they are either too easy or too hard for it.* If explained scientifically they are matters of close and minute reasoning; if exhibited empirically they are mere rules for the memory. Besides this they are universal facts of languages in general, and not the particular facts of any one language. Like other universal facts they are capable of being expressed

symbolically. That the verb (A) agrees with its pronoun (B) is an immutable fact: or, changing the mode of expression, we may say that language can only fulfil its great primary object of intelligibility when A = B. And so on throughout. A formal syntax thus exhibited, and even devised *à priori*, is a philological possibility. And it is also the measure of philological anomalies.

§ 470. *Pure syntax.*—So much for one sort of syntax; *viz.*, that portion of grammar which bears the same relation to the practice of language, that the investigation of the syllogism bears to the practice of reasoning. The positions concerning it are by no means invalidated by such phrases as *I speaks* (for *I speak*), &c. In cases like these there is no contradiction; since the peculiarity of the expression consists not in joining two incompatible persons, but in mistaking a third person for a first—*and as far as the speaker is concerned, actually making it so*. I must here anticipate some objections that may be raised to these views, by stating that I am perfectly aware that they lead to a conclusion which to most readers must appear startling and to some monstrous, *viz.*, to the conclusion that *there is no such thing as bad grammar at all*; *that everything is what the speaker chooses to make it*; *that a speaker may choose to make any expression whatever, provided it answer the purpose of language, and be intelligible*; *that, in short, whatever is is right*. Notwithstanding this view of the consequence I still am satisfied with the truth of the premises. I may also add that the terms *pure* and *mixed*, themselves suggestive of much thought on the subject which they express, are not mine but Professor Sylvester's.

§ 471. *Mixed syntax.*—That, notwithstanding the

previous limitations, there is still a considerable amount of syntax in the English, as in all other languages, may be seen from the sequel. If I undertook to indicate the essentials of mixed syntax, I should say that they consisted in the explanation of combinations *apparently* ungrammatical; in other words, that they ascertained the results of those causes which disturb the regularity of the pure syntax; that they measured the extent of the deviation; and that they referred it to some principle of the human mind—so accounting for it.

I am going.—Pure syntax explains this.

I have gone.—Pure syntax will not explain this. Nevertheless, the expression is good English. The power, however, of both *have* and *gone* is different from the usual power of those words. This difference mixed syntax explains.

§ 472. Mixed syntax requires two sorts of knowledge —metaphysical, and historical.

1. To account for such a fact in language as the expression *the man as rides to market*, instead of the usual expression *the man who rides to market*, is a question of what is commonly called metaphysics. The idea of comparison is the idea common to the words *as* and *who*.

2. To account for such a fact in language as the expression *I have ridden a horse* is a question of history. We must know that when there was a sign of an accusative case in English the word *horse* had that sign; in other words that the expression was, originally, *I have a horse as a ridden thing*. These two views illustrate each other.

§ 473. In the English, as in all other languages, it is convenient to notice certain so-called figures of speech. They always furnish convenient modes of expression, and sometimes, as in the case of the one immediately about to be noticed, *account* for facts.

§ 474. *Personification.*—The ideas of apposition and collectiveness account for the apparent violations of the concord of number. The idea of personification applies to the concord of gender. A masculine or feminine gender, characteristic of persons, may be substituted for the neuter gender, characteristic of things. In this case the term is said to be personified.

The cities who aspired to liberty.—A personification of the idea expressed by *cities* is here necessary to justify the expression.

It, the sign of the neuter gender, as applied to a male or female *child*, is the reverse of the process.

§ 475. *Ellipsis* (from the Greek *elleipein = to fall short*), or a *falling short*, occurs in sentences like *I sent to the bookseller's*. Here the word *shop* or *house* is understood. Expressions like *to go on all fours*, and *to eat of the fruit of the tree*, are reducible to ellipses.

§ 476. *Pleonasm* (from the Greek *pleonazein = to be in excess*) occurs in sentences like *the king, he reigns*. Here the word *he* is superabundant. In many *pleonastic* expressions we may suppose an interruption of the sentence, and afterwards an abrupt renewal of it; as *the king—he reigns*.

The fact of the word *he* neither qualifying nor explaining the word *king*, distinguishes pleonasm from apposition.

Pleonasm, as far as the view above is applicable, is

reduced to what is, apparently, its opposite, *viz.*, ellipsis.

My banks, they are furnished,—the most straitest sect,— these are pleonastic expressions. In *the king, he reigns*, the word *king* is in the same predicament as in *the king, God bless him*.

The double negative, allowed in Greek and Anglo-Saxon, but not admissible in English, is pleonastic.

The verb *do*, in *I do speak*, is *not* pleonastic. In respect to the sense it adds intensity. In respect to the construction it is not in apposition, but in the same predicament with verbs like *must* and *should*, as in *I must go*, &c.; *i. e.* it is a verb followed by an infinitive. This we know from its power in those languages where the infinitive has a characteristic sign; as, in German,

Die Augen *thaten* ihm winken.—GOETHE.

Besides this, *make* is similarly used in Old English.—*But men make draw the branch thereof, and beren him to be graffed at Babyloyne.*—Sir J. Mandeville.

§ 477. *The figure zeugma.—They wear a garment like that of the Scythians, but a language peculiar to themselves.*—The verb, naturally applying to *garment* only, is here used to govern *language*. This is called in Greek, *zeugma* (junction).

§ 478. *My paternal home was made desolate, and he himself was sacrificed.*—The sense of this is plain; *he* means *my father*. Yet no such substantive as *father* has gone before. It is supplied, however, from the word *paternal*. The sense indicated by *paternal* gives us a subject to which *he* can refer. In other words, the word *he* is understood, according to what is indicated, rather than according to what is expressed. This figure in Greek is called *pros to semainomenon* (*according to the thing indicated*).

§ 479. *Apposition.—Cæsar, the Roman emperor, invades Britain.*—Here the words *Roman emperor* explain, or define, the word *Cæsar*; and the sentence, filled up, might stand, *Cæsar, that is, the Roman emperor*, &c. Again, the words *Roman emperor* might be wholly ejected; or, if not ejected, they might be thrown into a parenthesis. The practical bearing of this fact is exhibited by changing the form of the sentence, and inserting the conjunction *and*. In this case, instead of one person, two are spoken of, and the verb *invades* must be changed from the singular to the plural.

Now the words *Roman emperor* are said to be in

apposition to *Cæsar*. They constitute, not an additional idea, but an explanation of the original one. They are, as it were, *laid alongside* (*appositi*) *of* the word *Cæsar*. Cases of doubtful number, wherein two substantives precede a verb, and wherein it is uncertain whether the verb should be singular or plural, are decided by determining whether the substantives be in apposition or the contrary. No matter how many nouns there may be, as long as it can be shown that they are in apposition, the verb is in the singular number.

§ 480. *Collectiveness as opposed to plurality.*—In sentences like *the meeting* was *large*, *the multitude* pursue *pleasure*, *meeting*, and *multitude* are each collective nouns; that is, although they present the idea of a single object, that object consists of a plurality of individuals. Hence, *pursue* is put in the plural number. To say, however, *the meeting were large* would sound improper. The number of the verb that shall accompany a collective noun depends upon whether the idea of the multiplicity of individuals, or that of the unity of the aggregate, shall predominate.

Sand and salt and a mass of iron is easier to bear than a man without understanding.—Let *sand and salt and a mass of iron* be dealt with as a series of things the aggregate of which forms a mixture, and the expression is allowable.

The king and the lords and commons forms *an excellent frame of government.*—Here the expression is doubtful. Substitute *with* for the first *and*, and there is no doubt as to the propriety of the singular form *is*.

§ 481. *The reduction of complex forms to simple ones.*—Take, for instance, the current illustration, viz., *the-king-of-Saxony's army*.—Here the assertion is, not that

the army belongs to *Saxony*, but that it belongs to the *king of Saxony*; which words must, for the sake of taking a true view of the construction, be dealt with as a single word in the possessive case. Here two cases are dealt with as one; and a complex term is treated as a single word.

The same reasoning applies to phrases like *the two king Williams*. If we say *the two kings William*, we must account for the phrase by apposition.

§ 482. *True notion of the part of speech in use.*—In *he is gone*, the word *gone* must be considered as equivalent to *absent*; that is, as an adjective. Otherwise the expression is as incorrect as the expression *she is eloped*. Strong participles are adjectival oftener than weak ones; their form being common to many adjectives.

True notion of the original form.—In the phrase *I must speak*, the word *speak* is an infinitive. In the phrase *I am forced to speak*, the word *speak* is (in the present English) an infinitive also. In one case, however, it is preceded by *to*; whilst in the other, the particle *to* is absent. The reason for this lies in the original difference of form. *Speak* - *to* = the Anglo-Saxon *sprécan*, a simple infinitive; *to speak*, or *speak* + *to* = the Anglo-Saxon *to sprécanne*, an infinitive in the dative case.

§ 483. *Convertibility.*—In the English language, the greater part of the words may, as far as their form is concerned, be one part of speech as well as another. Thus the combinations *s-a-n-th*, or *f-r-e-n-k*, if they existed at all, might exist as either nouns or verbs, as either substantives or adjectives, as conjunctions, adverbs, or prepositions. This is not the case in the Greek language. There, if a word be a substantive, it

will probably end in *-s*, if an infinitive verb, in *-ein*, &c. The bearings of this difference between languages like the English and languages like the Greek will soon appear.

At present, it is sufficient to say that a word, originally one part of speech (*e.g.* a noun), may become another (*e.g.* a verb). This may be called the convertibility of words.

There is an etymological convertibility, and a syntactic convertibility; and although, in some cases, the line of demarcation is not easily drawn between them, the distinction is intelligible and convenient.

§ 484. *Etymological convertibility.*—The words *then* and *than*, now adverbs or conjunctions, were once cases: in other words, they have been converted from one part of speech to another. Or, they may even be said to be cases, at the present moment; although only in an historical point of view. For the practice of language, they are not only adverbs or conjunctions, but they are adverbs or conjunctions exclusively.

§ 485. *Syntactic convertibility.*—The combination *to err*, is at this moment an infinitive verb. Nevertheless it can be used as the equivalent to the substantive *error*.

To err is human = error is human. Now this is an instance of syntactic conversion. Of the two meanings, there is no doubt as to which is the primary one; which primary meaning is part and parcel of the language at this moment.

The infinitive, when used as a substantive, can be used in a singular form only.

To err = error; but we have no such form as *to*

errs = errors. Nor is it wanted. The infinitive, in a substantival sense, always conveys a general statement, so that even when singular, it has a plural power; just as *man is mortal = men are mortal*.

§ 486. *The adjective used as a substantive.*—Of these, we have examples in expressions like the *blacks of Africa—the bitters and sweets of life—all fours were put to the ground*. These are true instances of conversion, and are proved to be so by the fact of their taking a plural form.

Let the blind lead the blind is not an instance of conversion. The word *blind* in both instances remains an adjective, and is shown to remain so by its being uninflected.

§ 487. *Uninflected parts of speech, used as substantive.* —When King Richard III. says, *none of your ifs*, he uses the word *if* as a substantive = *expressions of doubt*.

So in the expression *one long now*, the word *now = present time*.

§ 488. The convertibility of words in English is very great; and it is so because the structure of the language favours it. As few words have any peculiar signs expressive of their being particular parts of speech, interchange is easy, and conversion follows the logical association of ideas unimpeded.

The convertibility of words is in the inverse ratio to the amount of their inflection.

CHAPTER II.

SYNTAX OF SUBSTANTIVES.

§ 489. The phenomena of convertibility have been already explained.

The remaining points connected with the syntax of substantives, are chiefly points of either ellipsis, or apposition.

Ellipsis of substantives.—The historical view of phrases, like *Rundell and Bridge's*, *St. Pauls'*, &c., shows that this ellipsis is common to the English and the other Gothic languages. Furthermore, it shows that it is met with in languages not of the Gothic stock; and, finally, that the class of words to which it applies, is, there or thereabouts, the same generally.

A. 1. The words most commonly understood, are *house* and *family*, or words reducible to them. In Latin, *Dianæ = ædem Dianæ*.—Deutsche Grammatik, iv. 262.

2. *Country, retinue.*—Deutsche Grammatik, iv. 262.

3. *Son*, *daughter*, *wife*, *widow*.—Deutsche Grammatik, iv. 262.—Νηλεὺς Κόδρου, Greek.

B. The following phrases are referable to a different class of relations—

1. *Right and left*—supply *hand*. This is, probably, a real ellipsis. The words *right* and *left*, have not yet become true substantives; inasmuch as they have no plural forms. In this respect, they stand in contrast with *bitter* and *sweet*; inasmuch as we can say *he has tasted both the bitters and sweets of life*. Nevertheless, the expression can be refined on.

2. *All fours.—To go on all fours.* No ellipsis. The word *fours*, is a true substantive, as proved by its existence

as a plural.

From expressions like ποτήριον ψυχροῦ (Matt. xiv. 51), from the Greek, and *perfundit gelido* (understand *latice*), from the Latin, we find that the present ellipsis was used with greater latitude in the classical languages than our own.

§ 490. *Proper names can only be used in the singular number.*—This is a rule of logic, rather than of grammar. When we say *the four Georges*, *the Pitts and Camdens*, &c., the words that thus take a plural form, have ceased to be proper names. They either mean—

1. The persons called *George*, &c.

2. Or, persons so like *George*, that they may be considered as identical.

§ 491. *Collocation.*—In the present English, the genitive case always precedes the noun by which it is governed—*the man's hat = hominis pileus*; never *the hat man's = pileus hominis*.

CHAPTER III.

SYNTAX OF ADJECTIVES.

§ 492. *Pleonasm.*—Pleonasm can take place with adjectives only in the expression of the degrees of comparison. Over and above the etymological signs of the comparative and superlative degrees, there may be used the superlative words *more* and *most*.

And this pleonasm really occurs—

The more serener *spirit*.
The most straitest *sect*.

These are instances of pleonasm in the strictest sense of the term.

§ 493. *Collocation.*—As a general rule, the adjective precedes the substantive—*a good man*, not *a man good*.

When, however, the adjective is qualified by either the expression of its degree, or accompanied by another adjective, it may follow the substantive—

A man *just and good*.
A woman *wise and fair*.
A hero *devoted to his country*.
A patriot *disinterested to a great degree*.

Single simple adjectives thus placed after their substantive, belong to the poetry of England, and especially to the ballad poetry—*sighs profound—the leaves green*.

§ 494. *Government.*—The only adjective that governs a case, is the word *like*. In the expression, *this is like him*, &c., the original power of the dative remains. This we infer—

1. From the fact that in most languages which have inflections to a sufficient extent, the word meaning *like* governs a dative case.

2. That if ever we use in English any preposition at all to express similitude, it is the preposition *to—like to me*, *like to death*, &c.

Expressions like *full of meat*, *good for John*, are by no means instances of the government of adjectives; the really governing words being the prepositions *to* and *for* respectively.

The most that can be said, in cases like these, is that particular adjectives determine the use of particular prepositions—thus the preposition *of*, generally follows the adjective *full*, &c.

§ 495. The positive degree preceded by the adjective more, is equivalent to the comparative form—*e. g.*, *more wise = wiser*.

The reasons for employing one expression in preference to the other, depend upon the nature of the particular word used.

When the word is, at one and the same time, of Anglo-Saxon origin and monosyllabic, there is no doubt about the preference to be given to the form in *-er*. Thus, *wis-er* is preferable to *more wise*.

When, however, the word is compound, or trisyllabic, the combination with the word *more*, is preferable.

more fruitful	*fruitfuller*.
more villanous	*villanouser*.

Between these two extremes, there are several intermediate forms wherein the use of one rather than another, will depend upon the taste of the writer. The question, however, is a question of euphony, rather than of aught else. It is also illustrated by the principle of not multiplying secondary elements. In such a word as *fruit-full-er*, there are two additions to the root. The same is the case with the superlative, *fruit-full-est*.

§ 496. The 9th Chapter of Part IV., should be read carefully. There, there is indicated a refinement upon the current notions as to the power of the comparative degree, and reasons are given for

believing that the fundamental notion expressed by the comparative inflexion is the idea of comparison or contrast between *two* objects.

In this case, it is better in speaking of only two objects to use the comparative degree rather than the superlative—even when we use the definite article *the*. Thus—

This is *the better* of the two

is preferable to

This is *the best* of the two.

This principle is capable of an application more extensive than our habits of speaking and writing will verify. Thus, to go to other parts of speech, we should logically say—

Whether of the two

rather than

Which of the two.

Either the father or the son,

but not

Either the father, the son, or the daughter.

This statement may be refined on. It is chiefly made for the sake of giving fresh prominence to the idea of duality expressed by the terminations *-er* and *-ter*.

§ 497. The absence of inflection simplifies the syntax of adjectives. Violations of concord are impossible. We could not make an adjective disagree with its

substantive if we wished.

CHAPTER IV.

SYNTAX OF PRONOUNS.

§ 498. The syntax of substantives is, in English, simple, from the paucity of its inflections, a condition which is unfavourable towards the evolution of constructional complexities; the most remarkable exception being the phenomenon of convertibility noticed above.

The same is the case with adjectives. The want of inflexion simplifies their syntax equally with that of the substantives.

But with the pronouns this is not the case. Here we have—

1. Signs of gender; 2. Signs of case; 3. Signs of number, to a greater extent, and with more peculiarities, than elsewhere.

Furthermore, the pronouns exhibit in a great degree the phenomena of conversion indicated in p. 400.

§ 499. *Pleonasm in the syntax of pronouns.*—In the following sentences the words in italics are pleonastic.

1. The king *he* is just.
2. I saw *her*, the queen.
3. The *men*, they were there.
4. The king, *his* crown.

Of these forms, the first is more common than the

second and third, and the fourth more common than the first.

§ 500. The fourth has another element of importance. It has given rise to the absurd notion that the genitive case in *-s* (*father-s*) is a contraction from *his* (*father his*).

To say nothing about the inapplicability of this rule to feminine genders, and plural numbers, the whole history of the Indo-Germanic languages is against it.

1. We cannot reduce *the queen's majesty* to *the queen his majesty*.

2. We cannot reduce *the children's bread* to *the children his bread.*

3. The Anglo-Saxon forms are in *-es*, not in *his*.

4. The word *his* itself must be accounted for; and that cannot be done by assuming to be *he* + *his*.

5. The *-s* in *father's* is the *-is* in *patris*, and the -ος in πατέρος.

§ 501. The preceding examples illustrate an apparent paradox, *viz.*, the fact of pleonasm and ellipsis being closely allied. *The king he is just*, dealt with as a *single* sentence, is undoubtedly pleonastic. But it is not necessary to be considered as a mere simple sentence. *The king*—may represent a first sentence incomplete, whilst *he is just* represents a second sentence in full. What is pleonasm in a single sentence, is ellipsis in a double one.

CHAPTER V.

THE TRUE PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

§ 502. *Personal pronouns.*—The use of the second person plural instead of the second singular has been noticed in p. 246. This use of one number for another is current throughout the Gothic languages. A pronoun so used is conveniently called the *pronomen reverentiæ*.

§ 503. In English, however, there is a second change over and above the change of number, *viz.* that of case. We not only say *ye* instead of *thou*, but *you* instead of *ye*.—(See p. 245).

Mr. Guest remarks, "that at one time the two forms *ye* and *you* seem to have been nearly changing place in our language.

> As I have made *ye* one, Lords, one remain;
> So I grow stronger *you* more honour gain.
>
> *Henry VIII.* 4, 2.
>
> What gain *you* by forbidding it to teaze *ye*,
> It now can neither trouble you nor please
> *ye*.
>
> DRYDEN."

In German and the Danish the *pronomen reverentiæ* is got at by a change, not of number, but of person—in other words, the pronoun of the *third* person is used instead of that of the *second*; just as if, in the English, we said *will they walk* = *will you walk*, *will ye walk*, *wilt thou walk*.

§ 504. *Dativus ethicus.*—In the phrase

> Rob me the exchequer.—*Henry IV.*

the *me* is expletive, and is equivalent to *for me*. This expletive use of the dative is conveniently called the *dativus ethicus*. It occurs more frequently in the Latin than in the English, and more frequently in the Greek than in the Latin.

§ 505. *The reflected personal pronoun.*—In the English language there is no equivalent to the Latin *se*, the German *sich*, and the Scandinavian *sik*, and *sig*.

It follows from this that the word *self* is used to a greater extent than would otherwise be the case.

I strike me is awkward, but not ambiguous.

Thou strikest thee is awkward, but not ambiguous.

He strikes him is ambiguous; inasmuch as *him* may mean either the *person who strikes* or some one else. In order to be clear we add the word *self* when the idea is reflective. *He strikes himself* is, at once, idiomatic, and unequivocal.

So it is with the plural persons.

We strike us is awkward, but not ambiguous.

Ye strike you is the same.

They strike them is ambiguous.

This shows the value of a reflective pronoun for the third person.

As a general rule, therefore, whenever we use a verb reflectively we use the word *self* in combination with the personal pronoun.

Yet this was not always the case. The use of the simple personal pronoun was current in Anglo-Saxon, and that, not only for the two first persons, but for

the third as well.

The exceptions to this rule are either poetical expressions, or imperative moods.

> He sat *him* down at a pillar's base.—
> BYRON.

> Sit thee down.

§ 506. *Reflective neuters.*—In the phrase *I strike me* the verb *strike* is transitive; in other words, the word *me* expresses the object of an action, and the meaning is different from the meaning of the simple expression *I strike*.

In the phrase *I fear me* (used by Lord Campbell in his Lives of the Chancellors), the verb *fear* is intransitive or neuter; in other words, the word *me* (unless, indeed, *fear* mean *terrify*) expresses no object of any action at all; whilst the meaning is the same as in the simple expression *I fear*.

Here the reflective pronoun appears out of place, *i. e.*, after a neuter or intransitive verb.

Such a use, however, is but the fragment of an extensive system of reflective verbs thus formed, developed in different degrees in the different Gothic languages; but in all more than in the English.

§ 507. *Equivocal reflectives.*—The proper place of the reflective is *after* the verb.

The proper place of the governing pronoun is, in the indicative and subjunctive moods, *before* the verb.

Hence in expressions like the preceding there is no doubt as to the power of the pronoun.

The imperative mood, however, sometimes presents a complication. Here the governing person may follow the verb.

Mount ye = either *be mounted*, or *mount yourselves*. In phrases like this, and in phrases

Busk ye, busk ye, my bonny, bonny bride,
Busk ye, busk ye, my winsome marrow,

the construction is ambiguous. *Ye* may either be a nominative case governing the verb *busk*, or an accusative case governed by it.

This is an instance of what may be called the *equivocal reflective*.

CHAPTER VI.

ON THE SYNTAX OF THE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS, AND THE PRONOUNS OF THE THIRD PERSON.

§ 508. Reasons have been given in p. 249, for considering the so-called pronouns of the third person (*he*, *she*, *it*, *they*) demonstrative rather than truly personal.

§ 509. As *his*, and *her*, are genitive cases (and not adjectives), there is no need of explaining such combinations as *his mother*, *her father*, inasmuch as no concord of gender is expected. The expressions are respectively equivalent to

mater ejus, not *mater sua*;
pater ejus, — *pater suus*.

§ 510. From p. 250, it may be seen that *its* is a secondary genitive, and it may be added, that it is of late origin in the language. The Anglo-Saxon form was *his*, the genitive of *he* for the neuter and masculine equally. Hence, when, in the old writers, we meet *his*, where we expect *its*, we must not suppose that any personification takes place, but simply that the old genitive common to the two genders is used in preference to the modern one limited to the neuter, and irregularly formed. This has been illustrated by Mr. Guest.

The following instances are the latest specimens of its use.

> "The apoplexy is, as I take it, a kind of lethargy. I have read the cause of *his* effects in Galen; *it* is a kind of deafness."—2 *Henry IV.* i. 2.
>
> "If the salt have lost *his* flavour, wherewith shall it be seasoned. *It* is neither fit for the land nor yet for the dunghill, but men cast *it* out."—*Luke* xiv. 35.
>
> "Some affirm that every plant has *his* particular fly or caterpillar, which it breeds and feeds."—WALTON'S *Angler*.
>
> "This rule is not so general, but that *it* admitteth of *his* exceptions."—CAREW.

"The genitive *its* is of late introduction into our language. Though used by our dramatists and many of their cotemporaries, it does not occur in the versions of our Bible, the substitute being *his* or the compound term *thereof*."—Phil. Trans., No. 25.

§ 511. For the archaic and provincial use of *him* and

he for *it* see *ibid.*; remembering that the two cases are different. *His* for *its* is an old form retained: *him* and *he* for *it* are really changes of gender.

§ 512. *Take them things away.*—Here we have *them* for *those*. The expression, although not to be imitated, is explained by the originally demonstrative power of *them*.

Sometimes the expression is still more anomalous, and we hear the so-called nominative case used instead of the accusative. In the expression *take they things away*, the use of *they* for *them* (itself for *those*) is similarly capable of being, down to a certain period of our language, explained as an archaism. The original accusative was *þa*, and *þo*: the form in -*m* being dative.

§ 513. *This* and *that.*—The remarks upon the use of these words in certain expressions is brought at once to the Latin scholar by the quotation of the two following lines from Ovid, and the suggestion of a well-known rule in the Eton Latin Grammar.

Quocunque aspicies nihil est nisi pontus et aer;
Nubibus hic tumidus, fluctibus ille minax.

Here *hic* (=*this* or *the one*) refers to the antecedent last named (the *air*); whilst *ille* (=*that* or *the other*) refers to the antecedent first named (the *sea*).

Now on the strength of this example, combined with others, it is laid down as a rule in Latin that *hic* (*this*) refers to the last-named antecedent, *ille* to the first-named.

§ 514. What is the rule in English?

Suppose we say *John's is a good sword and so is Charles's*; *this cut through a thick rope, the other cut through an iron rod*. Or instead of saying *this* and *that* we may say *the one* and *the other*. It is clear that, in determining to which of the two swords the respective demonstratives refer, the meaning will not help us at all, so that our only recourse is to the rules of grammar; and it is the opinion of the present writer that the rules of grammar will help us just as little. The Latin rule is adopted by scholars, but still it is a Latin rule rather than an English one.

The truth is, that it is a question which no authority can settle; and all that grammar can tell us is (what we know without it) that *this* refers to the name of the idea which is logically the most close at hand, and *that* to the idea which is logically the most distant.

What constitutes nearness or distance of ideas, in other words, what determines the sequence of ideas is another question. That the idea, however, of sequence, and, consequently of logical proximity and logical distance, is the fundamental idea in regard to the expressions in question is evident from the very use of the words *this* and *that*.

Now the sequence of ideas is capable of being determined by two tests.

1. The idea to which the name was last given, or (changing the expression) the name of the last idea may be the nearest idea in the order of sequence, and, consequently, the idea referred to by the pronoun of proximity. In this case the idea closest at hand to the writer of the second line of the couplet quoted above was the idea of the *atmosphere* (*aer*), and it was, consequently, expressed by (*this*) *hic*.

2. Or the idea to which the name was first given, or (changing the expression) the name of the first idea may be the nearest idea in the order of sequence, and consequently the idea referred to it by the pronoun of proximity; inasmuch as the idea which occurs first is the most prominent one, and what is prominent appears near. In this case, the idea closest at hand to the writer of the second line of the couplet quoted above would have been the idea of the *sea* (*pontus*), and it would, consequently, have been the idea expressed by *this* (*hic*).

As Ovid, however, considered the idea at the end of the last half of one sentence to be the idea nearest to the beginning of the next, we have him expressing himself as he does. On the other hand, it is easy to conceive a writer with whom the nearest idea is the idea that led the way to the others.

As I believe that one and the same individual may measure the sequence of his ideas sometimes according to one of these principles, and sometimes according to another, I believe that all rules about the relations of *this* and *that* are arbitrary.

It is just a matter of chance whether a thinker take up his line of ideas by the end or by the beginning. The analogies of such expressions as the following are in favour of *this*, in English, applying to the *first* subject, *that* to the *second*; since the word *attorney* takes the place of *this*, and applies to the first name of the two, *i. e.*, to *Thurlow*.

> "It was a proud day for the bar when Lord North made Thurlow (1) and (2) Wedderburn (1) Attorney (2) and Solicitor General."—*Mathias from Lord Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors.*

CHAPTER VII.

ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE WORD SELF.

§ 515. The undoubted constructions of the word *self*, in the present state of the cultivated English, are three-fold.

1. *Government.*—In *my-self*, *thy-self*, *our-selves*, and *your-selves*, the construction is that of a common substantive with an adjective or genitive case. *My-self = my individuality*, and is similarly construed—*mea individualitas* (or *persona*), or *mei individualitas* (or *persona*).

2. *Apposition.*—In *him-self* and *them-selves*, when accusative, the construction is that of a substantive in apposition with a pronoun. *Him-self = him, the individual.*

3. *Composition.*—It is only, however, when *himself* and *themselves*, are in the accusative case, that the construction is appositional. When they are used as nominatives, it must be explained on another principle. In phrases like

He *himself* was present.

They *themselves* were present.

There is neither apposition nor government; *him* and *them*, being neither related to *my* and *thy*, so as to be governed, nor yet to *he* and *they*, so as to form an apposition. In order to come under one of these conditions, the phrases should be either *he his self* (*they their selves*), or else *he he self* (*they they selves*). In this difficulty, the only logical view that can be

taken of the matter, is to consider the words *himself* and *themselves*, not as two words, but as a single word compounded; and even then, the compound will be of an irregular kind; inasmuch as the inflectional element *-m*, is dealt with as part and parcel of the root.

§ 516. *Her-self.*—The construction here is ambiguous. It is one of the preceding constructions. Which, however it is, is uncertain; since *her* may be either a so-called genitive, like *my*, or an accusative like *him*.

Itself—is also ambiguous. The *s* may represent the *-s* in *its*, as well as the *s-* in *self*.

This inconsistency is as old as the Anglo-Saxon stage of the English language.

§ 517. In the exhibition of the second construction of the word *self* it was assumed that the case was a case of apposition, and that *self* was substantival in character. Nevertheless, this is by no means a necessary phenomenon. *Self* might, as far as its power is determined by its construction alone, in words like *himself* as easily be an adjective as a substantive. In which case the construction would be a matter, not of apposition, but of *agreement*. To illustrate this by the Latin language, *himself*, might equal either *eum personam* (*him, the person*), or *eum personalem* (*him personal*). The evidence, however, of the forms like *myself*, as well as other facts adduceable from comparative philology, prove the substantival character of *self*. On the other hand, it ought not to be concealed that another word, whereof the preponderance of the adjectival over the substantival power is undoubted, is found in the Old English, with just the same inconsistency as the word *self*; *i.e.*, sometimes in government (like a

substantive), and sometimes in either concord or apposition, like a word which may be *either* substantive or adjective. This word is *one*; the following illustrations of which are from Mr. Guest. —*Phil. Trans. No. 22.*

> In this world wote I no knight,
> Who durst *his one* with hym fight.
>
> *Ipomedon*, 1690.
>
> þah ha *hire ane* were
> Ayein so kene keisere and al his kine riche.
>
> *St. Catherine*, 90.
>
> Though she *alone* were
> Against so fierce a kaiser, and all his kingdom.

Here *his one*, *her one*, mean *his singleness*, *her singleness*.

> He made his mone
> Within a garden all *him one*.
>
> GOWER, *Confess. Amant.*

Here *him one* = *himself* in respect to its construction.

§ 518. As to the inflection of the word *-self*, all its compounds are substantives; inasmuch as they all take plural forms as far as certain logical limitations will allow them to do so—*ourselves*, *yourselves*, *themselves*.

Myself, *thyself*, *himself*, *itself*, and *herself*, are naturally

singular, and under no circumstances can become plural.

Themselves is naturally plural, and under no circumstances can become singular.

Ourselves and *yourselves* are naturally plural; yet under certain circumstances they become singular.

a. Just as men say *we* for *I*, so may they say *our* for *my*.

b. Just as men say *you* for *thou*, so may they say *your* for *thy*.

In respect to the inflection in the way of case, there are no logical limitations whatever. There is nothing against the existence of a genitive form *self's* except the habit of the English language not to use one, founded on the little necessity for so doing.—*Are you sure this is your own? Yes, I am sure it is my own self's.* Such an expression is both logic and grammar.

When an adjective intervenes between *self* and its personal pronoun the construction is always in the way of government; in other words, the personal pronoun is always put in the genitive case.

> His own self, *not* him own self.
> Their own selves, *not* them own selves.

§ 519. The construction of *self* and a personal pronoun with a verb may be noticed in this place. It is only in the case of the two pronouns of the singular number that any doubt can arise.

1. When *myself* or *thyself* stands alone, the verb that follows is in the third person—*myself is* (not *am*) *weak*, *thyself is* (not *art*) *weak*. Here the construction

is just the same as in the proposition *my body is weak*.

2. When *myself* or *thyself* is preceded by *I* or *thou*, the verb that follows is in the first person—*I, myself, am* (not *is*) *weak*; *thou, thyself, art* (not *is*) *weak*.

CHAPTER VIII.

ON THE POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS.

§ 520. The possessive pronouns fall into two classes. The first class contains the forms connected, partially in their etymology and wholly in their syntax, with *my* and *thy*, &c. The second class contains the forms connected, partially in their etymology and wholly in their syntax, with *mine* and *thine*, &c.

The first class is the class of what may be called the *oblique* possessives; the name being founded upon the etymological fact of their being connected with the oblique cases of the pronominal inflection.—*My*, *thy*, *his* (as in *his book*), *her*, *its* (as in *its book*), *our*, *your*, *their*. These are conveniently considered as the equivalents to the Latin forms *mei*, *tui*, *ejus*, *nostrum*, *vestrum*, *eorum*.

The second class is the class of what may be called the *absolute* possessives; the name being founded upon the syntactic fact of their being able to form the term of a proposition by themselves; as *whose is this? Mine* (not *my*).—*Mine*, *thine*, *his* (as *in the book is his*), *hers*, *ours*, *yours*, *theirs* are conveniently considered as the equivalents to the Latin forms *meus, mea, meum*; *tuus, tua, tuum*; *suus, sua, suum*; *noster, nostra, nostrum*; *vester, vestra, vestrum*. How far

either or both of these two classes of pronouns are cases, or adjectives, is a point of etymology that has already been noticed (Part IV., chap. 37).

How far either or both are cases or adjectives is, in syntax, a matter of indifference.

§ 521. There is, however, a palpable difference between the construction of *my* and *mine*. We cannot say *this is mine hat*, and we cannot say *this hat is my*. Nevertheless, this difference is not explained by any change of construction from that of adjectives to that of cases. As far as the syntax is concerned the construction of *my* and *mine* is equally that of an adjective *agreeing* with a substantive, and of a genitive (or possessive) case *governed* by a substantive.

Now a common genitive case can be used in two ways; either as part of a term, or as a whole term (*i. e.*, absolutely).—1. As part of a term—*this is John's hat*. 2. As a whole term—*this hat is John's*.

And a common adjective can be used in two ways; either as part of a term, or as a whole term (*i. e.*, absolutely).—1. As part of a term—*these are good hats*. 2. As a whole term—*these hats are good*.

Now whether we consider *my*, and the words like it, as adjectives or cases, they possess only *one* of the properties just illustrated, *i. e.*, they can only be used as part of a term—*this is my hat*; not *this hat is my*.

And whether we consider *mine*, and the words like it, as adjectives or cases, they possess only *one* of the properties just illustrated, *i. e.*, they can only be used as whole terms, or absolutely—*this hat is mine*; not *this is mine hat*.

For a full and perfect construction whether of an adjective or a genitive case, the possessive pronouns present the phenomenon of being, singly, incomplete, but, nevertheless, complimentary to each other when taken in their two forms.

In the absolute construction of a genitive case, the term is formed by the single word only so far as the *expression* is concerned. A substantive is always *understood* from what has preceded.—*This discovery is Newton's = this discovery is Newton's discovery*.

The same with adjectives.—*This weather is fine = this weather is fine weather*.

And the same with absolute pronouns.—*This hat is mine = this hat is my hat*; and *this is a hat of mine = this is a hat of my hats*.

In respect to all matters of syntax considered exclusively, it is so thoroughly a matter of indifference whether a word be an adjective or a genitive case that Wallis considers the forms in *-'s* like *father's*, not as genitive cases but as adjectives. Looking to the logic of the question alone he is right, and looking to the practical syntax of the question he is right, also. He is only wrong on the etymological side of the question.

> "Nomina substantiva apud nos nullum vel generum vel casuum discrimen sortiuntur."—p. 76.
>
> "Duo sunt adjectivorum genera, a substantivis immediate descendentia, quæ semper substantivis suis præponuntur. Primum quidem adjectivum possessivum libet appellare. Fit autem a quovis substantivo, sive singulari sive plurali, addito *-s*.

—Ut *man's nature*, *the nature of man*, natura humana vel hominis; *men's nature*, natura humana vel hominum; *Virgil's poems*, *the poems of Virgil*, poemata Virgilii vel Virgiliana."—p. 89.

CHAPTER IX.

THE RELATIVE PRONOUNS.

§ 522. The word *that*, although originally, when a demonstrative pronoun, a neuter singular, is now used as a relative for all genders, and both numbers.

1. He *that* spoke.—*Masculine gender.*
2. She *that* spoke.—*Feminine gender.*
3. They *that* fought.—*Plural number.*
4. The man *that* I struck.—*Objective case.*

§ 523. Etymologically, *which* is no true neuter of *who*, but a compound word. It is used, however, with less latitude than *that*. The beginning of the Lord's Prayer exhibits it in combination with a masculine noun. Generally, however, it is confined to the neuter gender; in which it is common to both numbers.

1. The dagger *which* stabbed Cæsar.—*Nominative singular.*
2. The daggers *which* stabbed Cæsar.—*Nominative plural.*
3. The dagger *which* I grasp.—*Objective singular.*
4. The daggers *which* I grasp.—*Objective plural.*

§ 524. *Which* has so nearly replaced *what* that the general use of this last word with its proper power,

as a neuter relative, is, in the present English, vulgar, *e.g.*,

1. The dagger *what* stabbed Cæsar.
2. The dagger *what* I grasp.

In one case, however, *what* is used as a true relative, *viz.*, when the antecedent is either *this* or *that*.

This is *what* I mean; *not*, this is *which* I mean.
That is *what* I mean; *not*, that is *which* I mean.

§ 525. The word *as*, properly a conjunction, is occasionally used as a relative—*the man* as *rides to market*.

This expression is not to be imitated. It ought, however, to be explained. *As* is a conjunction denoting comparison. The ideas of comparison and equivalence are allied. The relative is *ex vi termini* the equivalent, in one part of a sentence, to the antecedent in another.

(1) The man—(2) who speaks.

Here *who* = *man*.

(1) As white—(2) as snow.

Here *snow* = *white*.

§ 526. It is necessary that the relative be in the same *gender* as the antecedent—*the man who—the woman who—the thing which*.

§ 527. It is necessary that the relative be in the same

number with the antecedent. As, however, *who*, *which*, *whom*, are equally singular and plural, and as *what*, which is really singular, is not used as a relative, the application of this law is limited to the word *whose*. Now *whose* is, etymologically, a genitive case, and a genitive case of the singular number. Hence the expression *the men whose daggers stabbed Cæsar* can only be justified by considering that the word *whose* is plural as well as singular. Such is the case. If not the expression is as illogical as *homines* cujus *sicæ*, &c. would be in Latin.

§ 528. It is *not* necessary for the relative to be in the same case with its antecedent.

1. John, *who* trusts me, comes here.
2. John, *whom* I trust, comes here.
3. John, *whose* confidence I possess, comes here.
4. I trust John *who* trusts me.

§ 529. The reason why the relative must agree with its antecedent in both number and gender, whilst it need not agree with it in case, is found in the following observations.

1. All sentences containing a relative contain two verbs—*John who* (1) *trusts me* (2) *comes here*.

2. Two verbs express two actions—(1) *trust* (2) *come*.

3. Whilst, however, the actions are two in number, the person or thing which does, or suffers them is single—*John*.

4. *He* (*she* or *it*) is single *ex vi termini*. The relative expresses the *identity* between the subjects (or objects) of the two actions. Thus *who* = *John*, or is

another name for John.

5. Things and persons that are one and the same, are of one and the same gender. The *John* who *trusts* is necessarily of the same gender with the *John* who *comes*.

6. Things and persons that are one and the same, are of one and the same number. The number of *Johns* who *trust*, is the same as the number of *Johns* who *come*. Both these elements of concord are immutable.

7. But a third element of concord is not immutable. The person or thing that is an agent in the one part of the sentence, may be the object of an action in the other. The *John* whom I *trust* may *trust* me also. Hence

a. I trust John—*John* the object.
b. John trusts me—*John* the agent.

As the relative is only the antecedent in another form, it may change its case according to the construction.

1. I trust John—(2) *John* trusts me.
2. I trust John—(2) *He* trusts me.
3. I trust John—(2) *Who* trusts me.
4. John trusts me—(2) I trust *John*.
5. John trusts me—(2) I trust *him*.
6. John trusts me—(2) I trust *whom*.
7. John trusts me—(2) *Whom* I trust.
8. John—(2) *Whom* I trust trusts me.

§ 530. *The books I want are here.*—This is a specimen of a true ellipsis. In all such phrases in *full*, there are *three* essential elements.

1. The first proposition; as *the books are here*.

2. The second proposition; as *I want*.

3. The word which connects the two propositions, and without which, they naturally make separate, independent, unconnected statements.

Now, although true and unequivocal ellipses are scarce, the preceding is one of the most unequivocal kind—the word which connects the two propositions being wanting.

§ 531. One or two points connected with the construction of those sentences wherein relative pronouns occur, are necessary to be familiarly understood in order for us to see our way clearly to certain real and apparent anomalies in the syntax of this class of words.

1. Every sentence wherein a relative occurs, is complex, *i.e.*, it consists of two propositions—*the man who rides is come* = (1) *the man is come*; (2) *who rides*. Here the relative *who* has no meaning in itself, but takes a meaning from the noun of the preceding clause.

2. *The relative is the demonstrative or personal pronoun under another form.*—The two propositions (1) *the man is come*; (2) *who rides* = (1) *the man is come*; (2) *he rides*.

3. *The demonstrative or personal pronoun is the substantive in another form.*—The two propositions (1) *the man is come*; (2) *he rides* = (1) *the man is come*; (2) *the man rides*.

4. Hence the relative is the equivalent to a demonstrative pronoun, or to a substantive,

indifferently.

5. But the relative is the equivalent to the pronoun and substantive, and *something more*. In sentences like

The man is come—he rides—
The man is come—the man rides.

The identity between the person mentioned in the two propositions is implied, not expressed. This the relative *expresses*; and hence its use in languages.

6. From these observations we get a practical rule for determining doubtful constructions.

a. Reduce the sentence to the several propositions (which are never less than two) which it contains.

b. Replace the relative by its equivalent personal or demonstrative pronoun, or by its equivalent substantive.

c. The case of the demonstrative or substantive, is the case of the relative also.

By applying this rule to such expressions as

Satan, than *whom*
None higher sat, thus spake

we find them, *according to the current etymology*, incorrect—

Satan spake—none sat higher than he sat.
Satan spake—none sat higher than Satan sat.

Hence the expression should be,

Satan than *who*
None higher sat.

Observe.—The words, *according to the current etymology*, indicate an explanation which, rightly or wrongly, has been urged in favour of expressions like the one in question, and which will be noticed in a future chapter.

§ 532. *Observe.*—That three circumstances complicate the syntax of the relative pronoun.

1. The elliptic form of the generality of the sentences wherein it follows the word *than*.

2. The influence of the oblique interrogation.

3. The influence of an omitted relative.

§ 533. This last finds place in the present chapter.

When the relative and antecedent are in different cases, and the relative is omitted, the antecedent is sometimes put in the case of the relative.

He whom I accuse has entered.

Contracted according to p. 424.

He I accuse has entered.

Changed, according to the present section,—

Him I accuse has entered.

And so (as shown by Mr. Guest, *Philological Transactions*), Shakspeare has really written,—

Him I accuse,
The city gates by this has entered.

Coriolanus, v. 5.

Better leave undone, than by our deeds
acquire
Too high a fame, when *him* we serve's
away.

Antony and Cleopatra, iii. 1.

The reason of this is clear. The verb that determines the case of the relative is brought in contact with the antecedent, and the case of the antecedent is accommodated to the case of the relative.

The Greek phrase, χρῶμαι βιβλίοις οἷς ἔχω, is an instance of the converse process.

§ 534. *When there are two words in a clause, each capable of being an antecedent, the relative refers to the latter.*

1. *Solomon the son of David who slew Goliah.* This is unexceptionable.

2. *Solomon the son of David who built the temple.* This is exceptionable.

Nevertheless, it is defensible, on the supposition that *Solomon-the-son-of-David* is a single many-worded name.

CHAPTER X.

ON THE INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN.

§ 535. Questions are of two sorts, direct and oblique.

Direct.—Who is he?

Oblique.—Who do you say that he is?

All difficulties about the cases of the interrogative pronoun may be determined by framing an answer, and observing the case of the word with which the interrogative coincides. Whatever be the case of this word will also be the case of the interrogative.

DIRECT.

Qu. Who is this?—*Ans. I.*
Qu. Whose is this?—*Ans. His.*
Qu. Whom do you seek?—*Ans. Him.*

OBLIQUE.

Qu. Who do you say that it is?—*Ans. He.*
Qu. Whose do you say that it is?—*Ans. His.*
Qu. Whom do you say that they seek?—
Ans. Him.

Note.—The answer should always be made by means of a pronoun, as, by so doing we distinguish the accusative case from the nominative.

Note.—And, if necessary, it should be made in full. Thus the full answer to *whom do you say that they seek?* is, *I say that they seek him.*

§ 536. Nevertheless, such expressions as *whom do they say that it is?* are common, especially in oblique questions. The following examples are Mr. Guest's.—*Philological Transactions.*

> "And he axed hem and seide, *whom* seien the people that I am? Thei answereden and seiden, Jon Baptist—and he seide to hem, But *whom* seien ye that I am?"—WICLIF, *Luke* ix.

"Tell me in sadness *whom* she is you love."

Romeo and Juliet, i. 1.

"And as John fulfilled his course, he said, *whom* think ye that I am?"—*Acts* xiii. 25.

Two circumstances encourage this confusion. 1. The presence of a second verb, which takes the appearance of a governing verb. 2. The omission of a really oblique antecedent or relative. 3. The use of accusative for nominative forms in the case of personal pronouns.

§ 537. *The presence of a second verb*, &c.—*Tell* me *whom* she *is*. Here *tell* is made to govern *whom*, instead of *whom* being left, as *who*, to agree with *she*.

§ 538. *The omission*, &c.—Tell me *whom* she is you *love*. Here the full construction requires a second pronoun—tell me *who* she is *whom* you *love*; or else, tell me *her whom* you love.

§ 539. To the question, *who is* this? many would answer not *I*, but *me*. This confusion of the case in the answer favours a confusion of case in the question.

It is clear that much of this reasoning applies to the relative powers of *who*, as well as to the interrogative.

But, it is possible that there may be no incorrectness at all: insomuch as *whom* may have become a true nominative. Mr. Guest has truly remarked that such is the case in the Scandinavian language, where *hvem = who = qui*.

This view, if true, justifies the use of *whom* after the

conjunctions *than* and *as*; so that the expression,—

Satan than *whom*
None higher sat,

may be right.

Nevertheless, it does not justify such expressions as—

None sit higher than *me*.
None sit higher than *thee*.
None sit higher than *us*.
None sit higher than *her*.

The reason of this is clear. *Whom* is supposed to be admissible, not because the sentence admits an accusative case; but because custom has converted it into a nominative. For my own part, I doubt the application of the Danish rule to the English language. Things may be going that way, but they have not, as yet, gone far enough.

CHAPTER XI.

THE RECIPROCAL CONSTRUCTION.

§ 540. In all sentences containing the statement of a reciprocal or mutual action there are in reality two assertions, *viz.*, the assertion that A. *strikes* (or *loves*) B., and the assertion that B. *strikes* (or *loves*) A.; the action forming one, the reaction another. Hence, if the expressions exactly coincided with the fact signified, there would always be two propositions. This, however, is not the habit of language. Hence arises a more compendious form of expression, giving origin to an ellipsis of a peculiar kind. Phrases

like *Eteocles and Polynices killed each other* are elliptical, for *Eteocles and Polynices killed—each the other*. Here the second proposition expands and explains the first, whilst the first supplies the verb to the second. Each, however, is elliptic. The first is without the object, the second without the verb. That the verb must be in the plural (or dual) number, that one of the nouns must be in the nominative case, and that the other must be objective, is self-evident from the structure of the sentence; such being the conditions of the expression of the idea. An aposiopesis takes place after a plural verb, and then there follows a clause wherein the verb is supplied from what went before.

§ 541. This is the syntax. As to the power of the words *each* and *one* in the expression (*each other* and *one another*), I am not prepared to say that in the common practice of the English language there is any distinction between them. A distinction, however, if it existed would give strength to our language. Where two persons performed a reciprocal action on another, the expression might be *one another*; as *Eteocles and Polynices killed one another*. Where more than two persons were engaged on each side of a reciprocal action the expression might be *each other*; as, *the ten champions praised each other*.

This amount of perspicuity is attained, by different processes, in the French, Spanish, and Scandinavian languages.

1. French.—*Ils* (*i.e.*, A. and B.) *se battaient—l'un l'autre*. *Ils* (A. B. C.) *se battaient—les uns les autres*. In Spanish, *uno otro* = *l'un l'autre*, and *unos otros* = *les uns les autres*.

2. Danish.—*Hin*ander = the French *l'un l'autre*; whilst

hverandre = les uns les autres.

The Lapplandic, and, probably other languages, have the same elements of perspicuity.

CHAPTER XII.

THE INDETERMINATE PRONOUNS.

§ 542. Different nations have different methods of expressing indeterminate propositions.

Sometimes it is by the use of the passive voice. This is the common method in Latin and Greek, and is also current in English—*dicitur*, λέγεται, *it is said*.

Sometimes the verb is reflective—*si dice = it says itself*, Italian.

Sometimes the plural pronoun of the third person is used. This also is an English locution—*they say = the world at large says*.

Finally, the use of some word = *man* is a common indeterminate expression.

The word *man* has an indeterminate sense in the Modern German; as, *man sagt = they say*.

The word *man* was also used indeterminately in the Old English, although it is not so used in the Modern. —Deutsche Grammatik.

In the Old English, the form *man* often lost the *-n*, and became *me*.—Deutsche Grammatik. This form is also extinct.

The present indeterminate pronoun is *one*; as, *one says = they say = it is said = man sagt*, German = *on dit*,

French = *si dice*, Italian.

It has been stated in p. 257, that the indeterminate pronoun *one* has no etymological connection with the numeral *one*; but that it is derived from the French *on* = *homme* = *homo* = *man*; and that it has replaced the Old English, *man* or *me*.

§ 543. Two other pronouns, or, to speak more in accordance with the present habit of the English language, one pronoun, and one adverb of pronominal origin are also used indeterminately viz., *it* and *there*.

§ 544. *It* can be either the subject or the predicate of a sentence,—*it is this*, *this is it*, *I am it*, *it is I*. When *it* is the subject of a proposition, the verb necessarily agrees with it, and can be of the singular number only; no matter what be the number of the predicate —*it is this*, *it is these*.

When *it* is the predicate of a proposition, the number of the verb depends upon the number of the subject. These points of universal syntax are mentioned here for the sake of illustrating some anomalous forms.

§ 545. *There* can only be the predicate of a subject. It differs from *it* in this respect. It follows also that it must differ from *it* in never affecting the number of the verb. This is determined by the nature of the subject—*there is this*, *there are these*.

When we say *there is these*, the analogy between the words *there* and *it* misleads us; the expression being illogical.

Furthermore, although a predicate, *there* always stands in the beginning of propositions, *i.e.*, in the place of the subject. This also misleads.

§ 546. Although *it*, when the subject, being itself singular, absolutely requires that its verb should be singular also, there is a tendency to use it incorrectly, and to treat it as a plural. Thus, in German, when the predicate is plural, the verb joined to the singular form *es* (=*it*) is plural—*es sind menschen*, literally translated=*it are men*; which, though bad English, is good German.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ARTICLES.

§ 547. The rule of most practical importance about the articles is the rule that determines when the article shall be repeated as often as there is a fresh substantive, and when it shall not.

When two or more substantives following each other denote the same object, the article precedes the first only. We say *the secretary and treasurer* (or, *a secretary and treasurer*), when the two offices are held by one person.

When two or more substantives following each other denote different objects, the article is repeated, and precedes each. We say *the* (or *a*) *secretary and the* (or *a*) *treasurer*, when the two offices are held by different persons.

This rule is much neglected.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE NUMERALS.

§ 548. The numeral *one* is naturally single. All the rest are naturally plural.

Nevertheless such expressions—*one two* (=*one collection of two*), *two threes* (=*two collections of three*), are legitimate. These are so because the sense of the word is changed. We may talk of several *ones* just as we may talk of several *aces*; and of *one two* just as of *one pair*.

Expressions like *the thousandth-and-first* are incorrect. They mean neither one thing nor another: 1001st being expressed by *the thousand-and-first*, and 1000th + 1st being expressed by *the thousandth and the first*.

Here it may be noticed that, although I never found it to do so, the word *odd* is capable of taking an ordinal form. The *thousand-and-odd-th* is as good an expression as the *thousand-and-eight-th*.

The construction of phrases like the *thousand-and-first* is the same construction as we find in the *king-of-Saxony's army*.

§ 549. It is by no means a matter of indifference whether we say the *two first* or the *first two*.

The captains of two different classes at school should be called the *two first boys*. The first and second boys of the same class should be called the *first two boys*. I believe that when this rule is attended to, more is due to the printer than to the author: such, at least, is the case with myself.

CHAPTER XV.

ON VERBS IN GENERAL.

§ 550. For the purposes of syntax it is necessary to divide verbs into the five following divisions: transitive, intransitive, auxiliary, substantive, and impersonal.

Transitive verbs.—In transitive verbs the action is never a simple action. It always affects some object or other,—*I move my limbs*; *I strike my enemy*. The presence of a transitive verb implies also the presence of a noun; which noun is the name of the object affected. A transitive verb, unaccompanied by a noun, either expressed or understood, is a contradiction in terms. The absence of the nouns, in and of itself, makes it intransitive. *I move* means, simply, *I am in a state of moving*. *I strike* means, simply, *I am in the act of striking*. Verbs like *move* and *strike* are naturally transitive.

Intransitive verbs.—An act may take place, and yet no object be affected by it. *To hunger*, *to thirst*, *to sleep*, *to wake*, are verbs that indicate states of being, rather than actions affecting objects. Verbs like *hunger*, and *sleep*, are naturally intransitive.

Many verbs, naturally transitive, may be used as intransitive,—*e.g.*, *I move*, *I strike*, &c.

Many verbs, naturally intransitive, may be used as transitives,—*e.g.*, *I walked the horse*=*I made the horse walk*.

This variation in the use of one and the same verb is of much importance in the question of the government of verbs.

A. Transitive verbs are naturally followed by some noun or other; and that noun is *always* the name of something affected by them *as an object*.

B. Intransitive verbs are not naturally followed by any noun at all; and when they are so followed, the noun is *never* the name of anything affected by them *as an object*.

Nevertheless, intransitive verbs may be followed by nouns denoting the manner, degree, or instrumentality of their action,—*I walk with my feet = incedo pedibus*.

§ 551. *The auxiliary verbs* will be noticed fully in Chapter XXIII.

§ 552. The verb *substantive* has this peculiarity, *viz.* that for all purposes of syntax it is no verb at all. *I speak* may, logically, be reduced to *I am speaking*; in which case it is only the *part* of a verb. Etymologically, indeed, the verb substantive is a verb; inasmuch as it is inflected as such: but for the purposes of construction, it is a copula only, *i.e.*, it merely denotes the agreement or disagreement between the subject and the predicate.

This does not apply to the infinitive mood. The infinitive mood of the so-called verb substantive is a noun; not, however, because it is a verb substantive, but because it is an infinitive mood.

For the *impersonal* verbs see Part IV., Chapter 27.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CONCORD OF VERBS.

§ 553. The verb must agree with its subject in person, *I walk*, not *I walks*: *he walks*, not *he walk*.

It must also agree with it in number,—*we walk*, not *we walks*: *he walks*, not *he walk*.

Clear as these rules are, they require some expansion before they become sufficient to solve all the doubtful points of English syntax connected with the concord of the verb.

A. *It is I, your master, who command you.* Query? would *it is I, your master, who commands you*, be correct? This is an example of a disputed point of concord in respect to the person of the verb.

B. *The wages of sin is death.* Query? would *the wages of sin* are *death* be correct? This is an example of a disputed point of concord in respect to the number of the verb.

§ 554. In respect to the concord of person the following rules will carry us through a portion of the difficulties.

Rule.—In sentences, where there is but one proposition, when a noun and a pronoun of different persons are in apposition, the verb agrees with the first of them,—*I, your master, command you* (not *commands*): *your master, I, commands you* (not *command*).

To understand the nature of the difficulty, it is necessary to remember that subjects may be extremely complex as well as perfectly simple; and that a complex subject may contain, at one and the same time, a noun substantive and a pronoun,—*I, the keeper*; *he, the merchant*, &c.

Now all noun-substantives are naturally of the third person—*John speaks*, *the men run*, *the commander gives orders*. Consequently the verb is of the third

person also.

But, the pronoun with which such a noun-substantive may be placed in apposition, may be a pronoun of either person, the first or second: *I* or *thou—I the commander—thou the commander*.—In this case the construction requires consideration. With which does the verb agree? with the substantive which requires a third person? or with the pronoun which requires a first or second?

Undoubtedly the idea which comes first is the leading idea; and, undoubtedly, the idea which explains, qualifies, or defines it, is the subordinate idea: and, undoubtedly, it is the leading idea which determines the construction of the verb. We may illustrate this from the analogy of a similar construction in respect to number—*a man with a horse and a gig meets me on the road*. Here the ideas are three; nevertheless the verb is singular. No addition of subordinate elements interferes with the construction that is determined by the leading idea. In the expression *I, your master*, the ideas are two; viz. the idea expressed by *I*, and the idea expressed by *master*. Nevertheless, as the one only explains or defines the other, the construction is the same as if the idea were single. *Your master, I*, is in the same condition. The general statement is made concerning the *master*, and it is intended to say what *he* does. The word *I* merely defines the expression by stating who the master is. Of the two expressions the latter is the awkwardest. The construction, however, is the same for both.

From the analysis of the structure of complex subjects of the kind in question, combined with a rule concerning the position of the subject, which

will soon be laid down, I believe that, for all single propositions, the foregoing rule is absolute.

Rule.—In all single propositions the verb agrees in person with the noun (whether substantive or pronoun) which comes first.

§ 555. But the expression *it is I, your master, who command* (or *commands*) *you*, is not a single proposition. It is a sentence containing two propositions.

1. *It is I.*
2. *Who commands you.*

Here, the word *master* is, so to say, undistributed. It may belong to either clause of the sentence, *i.e.*, the whole sentence may be divided into

Either—*it is I your master*—
Or—*your master who commands you*.

This is the first point to observe. The next is that the verb in the second clause (*command* or *commands*) is governed, not by either the personal pronoun or the substantive, but by the relative, *i.e.*, in the particular case before us, not by either *I* or *master*, but by *who*.

And this brings us to the following question—with which of the two antecedents does the *relative* agree? with *I* or with *master*?

This may be answered by the two following rules:—

Rule 1.—When the two antecedents are in the same proposition, the relative agrees with the first. Thus—

1. It is *I* your *master*—

2. Who *command* you.

Rule 2.—When the two antecedents are in different propositions, the relative agrees with the second. Thus—

1. It is *I*—
2. Your *master* who *commands* you.

This, however, is not all. What determines whether the two antecedents shall be in the same or in different propositions? I believe that the following rules for what may be called *the distribution of the substantive antecedent* will bear criticism.

Rule 1. That when there is any natural connection between the substantive antecedent and the verb governed by the relative, the antecedent belongs to the second clause. Thus, in the expression just quoted, the word *master* is logically connected with the word *command*; and this fact makes the expression, *It is I your master who commands you* the better of the two.

Rule 2. That when there is no natural connection between the substantive antecedent and the verb governed by the relative, the antecedent belongs to the first clause. *It is I, John, who command* (not *commands*) *you.*

To recapitulate, the train of reasoning has been as follows:—

1. The person of the second verb is the person of the relative.

2. The person of the relative is that of one of two antecedents.

3. Of such two antecedents the relative agrees with the one which stands in the same proposition with itself.

4. Which position is determined by the connection or want of connection between the substantive antecedent and the verb governed by the relative.

Respecting the person of the verb in the *first* proposition of a complex sentence there is no doubt. *I, your master, who commands you to make haste, am* (not *is*) *in a hurry*. Here, *I am in a hurry* is the first proposition; *who commands you to make haste*, the second.

It is not difficult to see why the construction of sentences consisting of two propositions is open to an amount of latitude which is not admissible in the construction of single propositions. As long as the different parts of a complex idea are contained within the limits of a single proposition, their subordinate character is easily discerned. When, however, they amount to whole propositions, they take the appearance of being independent members of the sentence.

§ 556. *The concord of number.*—It is believed that the following three rules will carry us through all difficulties of the kind just exhibited.

Rule 1. That the verb agrees with the subject, and with nothing but the subject. The only way to justify such an expression as *the wages of sin is death*, is to consider *death* not as the subject, but as the predicate; in other words, to consider the construction to be, *death is the wages of sin*.

Rule 2. That, except in the case of the word *there* (p.

434), the word which comes first is always the subject, until the contrary be proved.

Rule 3. That no number of connected singular nouns can govern a plural verb, unless they be connected by a copulative conjunction. *The sun* and *moon shine*, —*the sun* in conjunction with *the moon shines*.

§ 557. *Plural subjects with singular predicates.*—The wages of sin *are* death.—Honest men *are* the salt of the earth.

Singular subjects with plural predicates.—These constructions are rarer than the preceding: inasmuch as two or more persons (or things) are oftener spoken of as being equivalent to one, than one person (or thing) is spoken of as being equivalent to two or more.

Sixpence *is* twelve halfpennies.
He *is* all head and shoulders.
Vulnera totus *erat*.
Tu *es* deliciæ meæ.

Ἕκτορ, ἀτὰρ σύ μοι ἐσσὶ πατὴρ καὶ
πότνια μήτηρ,
Ἠδὲ κασίγνητος, σὺ δέ μοι θαλερὸς
παρακοίτης.

CHAPTER XVII.

ON THE GOVERNMENT OF VERBS.

§ 558. The government of verbs is of two sorts, (1.) *objective*, and (2.) *modal*.

It is objective where the noun which follows the verb

is the name of some object affected by the action of the verb,—as *he strikes me*; *he wounds the enemy*.

It is modal when the noun which follows the verb is not the name of any object affected by the verb, but the name of some object explaining the manner in which the action of the verb takes place, the instrument with which it is done, the end for which it is done, &c.

The government of all transitive verbs is necessarily objective. It may also be modal,—*I strike the enemy with the sword = ferio hostem gladio*.

The government of all intransitive verbs can only be modal,—*I walk with the stick*. When we say, *I walk the horse*, the word *walk* has changed its meaning, and signifies *make to walk*, and is, by the very fact of its being followed by the name of an object, converted from an intransitive into a transitive verb.

The modal construction may also be called the *adverbial construction*; because the effect of the noun is akin to that of an adverb,—*I fight with bravery = I fight bravely*: *he walks a king = he walks regally*. The modal (or adverbial) construction (or government) sometimes takes the appearance of the objective: inasmuch as intransitive verbs are frequently followed by a substantive; which substantive is in the objective case. Nevertheless, this is no proof of government. For a verb to be capable of governing an objective case, it must be a verb signifying an action affecting an object: and if there be no such object, there is no room for any objective government. *To break the sleep of the righteous*, is to *affect, by breaking, the sleep of the righteous*: but, *to sleep the sleep of the righteous*, is not to *affect by sleeping the sleep of the righteous*; since the act of

sleeping is an act that affects no object whatever. It is a *state*. We may, indeed, give it the appearance of a transitive verb, as we do when we say, *the opiate slept the patient*, meaning thereby, *lulled to sleep*; but the transitive character is only apparent.

To sleep the sleep of the righteous is to *sleep in agreement with*—or *according to*—or *after the manner of—the sleep of the righteous*, and the construction is adverbial.

In the grammars of the classical languages, the following rule is exceptionable—*Quodvis verbum admittit accusativum nominis sibi cognati*. It does so; but it governs the accusative case not objectively but modally.

§ 559. Modal verbs may be divided into a multiplicity of divisions. Of such, it is not necessary in English to give more than the following four:—

1. *Appositional.*—As, *she walks a queen*: *you consider me safe*. The appositional construction is, in reality, a matter of concord rather than of gender. It will be considered more fully in the following section.

2. *Traditive.*—As, *I give the book to you = do librum tibi. I teach you the lesson* = διδάσκω σὲ τὴν διδασκάλιαν. In all traditive expressions there are three ideas; (1.) an agent, (2.) an object, (3.) a person, or thing, to which the object is made over, or transferred, by the agent. For this idea the term dative is too restricted: since in Greek and some other languages, both the name of the object conveyed, and the name of the person to whom it is conveyed are, frequently, put in the accusative case.

3. *Instrumental.*—As, *I fight with a sword = pugno*

ense = feohte sweorde,—Anglo-Saxon.

4. *Emphatic.*—As, *he sleeps the sleep of the righteous*.

§ 560. *Verb and nominative case.*—No verb governs a nominative case. The appositional construction *seems* to require such a form of government; but the form is only apparent.

It is I.
It is thou.
It is he, &c.

Here, although the word *is* is *followed* by a nominative case, it by no means governs one—at least not as a verb.

It has been stated above that the so-called verb substantive is only a verb for the purposes of etymology. In syntax, it is only a part of a verb, *i. e.*, the copula.

Now this fact changes the question of the construction in expressions like *it is I*, &c., from a point of government to one of concord. In the previous examples the words *it*, *is*, and *I*, were, respectively, *subject*, *copula*, and *predicate*; and, as it is the function of the copula to denote the agreement between the predicate and the subject, the real point to investigate is the nature of the concord between these two parts of a proposition.

Now the predicate need agree with the subject in case only.

1. It has no necessary concord in gender—*she is a man in courage—he is a woman in effeminacy—it is a girl.*

2. It has no necessary concord in number—*sin is the wages of death—it is these that do the mischief*.

3. It has no necessary concord in person—*I am he whom you mean*.

4. It *has*, however, a necessary concord in case. Nothing but a nominative case can, by itself, constitute a term of either kind—subject or predicate. Hence, both terms must be in the nominative, and, consequently, both in the same case. Expressions like *this is for me* are elliptic. The logical expression is *this is a thing for me*.

Rule.—The predicate must be of the same case with its subject.

Hence—The copula instead of determining[60] a case expresses a concord.

Rule 1.—All words connected with a nominative case by the copula (*i.e.*, the so-called verb-substantive) must be nominative.—*It is I*; *I am safe*.

Rule 2.—All words in apposition with a word so connected must be nominative.—It is difficult to illustrate this from the English language from our want of inflexions. In Latin, however, we say *vocor Johannes = I am called John*, not *vocor Johannem*. Here the logical equivalent is *ego sum vocatus Johannes*—where—

1. *Ego*, is nominative because it is the subject.

2. *Vocatus* is nominative because it is the predicate agreeing with the subject.

3. *Johannes*, is nominative because it is part of the predicate, and in apposition with *vocatus*.

N.B. Although in precise language *Johannes* is said to agree with *vocatus* rather than to be in apposition with it, the expression, as it stands, is correct. Apposition is the agreement of substantives, agreement the apposition of adjectives.

Rule 3.—All verbs which, when resolved into a copula and participle, have their participle in apposition (or agreeing) with the noun, are in the same condition as simple copulas—*she walks a queen = she is walking a queen = illa est incedens regina.*

Rule 4.—The construction of a subject and copula preceded by the conjunction *that*, is the same in respect to the predicate by which they are followed as if the sentence were an isolated proposition.

This rule determines the propriety of the expression —*I believe that it is he* as opposed to the expression *I believe that it is him.*

I believe = I am believing, and forms one proposition.

It is he, forms a second.

That, connects the two; but belongs to neither.

Now, as the relation between the subject and predicate of a proposition cannot be affected by a word which does not belong to it, the construction is the same as if the propositions were wholly separate.

N.B. The question (in cases where the conjunction *that* is not used), as to the greater propriety of the two expressions—*I believe it to be him*—*I believe it to be he*—has yet to be considered.

§ 561. *The verb and genitive case.*—No verb in the present English governs a genitive case. In Anglo-

Saxon certain verbs did: *e.g.*, *verbs of ruling* and others—*weolde thises middangeardes = he ruled* (*wealded*) *this earth's*. Genitive cases, too, governed by a verb are common both in Latin and Greek. *To eat of the fruit of the tree* is no genitive construction, however much it may be equivalent to one. *Fruit* is in the objective case, and is governed not by the verb but by the preposition *of*.

§ 562. *The verb and accusative.*—All transitive verbs govern an accusative case,—*he strikes me*, *thee*, *him*, *her*, *it*, *us*, *you*, *them*.

The verb and dative case.—The word *give*, and a few others, govern a dative case. Phrases like *give it him*, *whom shall I give it*, are perfectly correct, and have been explained above. The prepositional construction *give it* to *him*,—*to whom shall I give it?* is unnecessary. The evidence of this is the same as in the construction of the adjective *like*.

§ 563. *The partitive construction.*—Certain transitive verbs, the action whereof is extended not to the whole, but only to a part of their object, are followed by the preposition of and an objective case. *To eat of the fruit of the tree = to eat a part* (or *some*) *of the fruit of the tree*: *to drink of the water of the well = to drink a part* (or *some*) *of the water of the well*. It is not necessary, here, to suppose the ellipsis of the words *part* (or *some*). The construction is a construction that has grown out of the partitive power of the genitive case; for which case the preposition *of*, followed by the objective, serves as an equivalent.

§ 564. It has been already stated that forms like *I believe it to be him*, and forms like *I believe it to be he*, had not been investigated. Of these, the former is, logically, correct.

Here, the word, *to be*, is, in respect to its power, a noun.

As such, it is in the accusative case after the verb *believe*.

With this accusative infinitive, *it* agrees, as being part of the same complex idea. And *him* does the same.

In English we have two methods of expressing one idea; the method in question, and the method by means of the conjunction, *that*.

1. *I believe it to be him.*
2. *I believe that it is he.*

In the first example, *it* is the object; and *it-to-be-him* forms one complex term.

In the second, *he* agrees with *it*; and *it* is the subject of a separate, though connected, proposition.

Of these two forms the Latin language adopts but one, *viz.*, the former,—*credo eum esse*, not *credo quod illud est ille*.

§ 565. *The expression* ob differentiam.—The classical languages, although having but one of the two previous forms, are enabled to effect a variation in the application of it, which, although perhaps illogical, is convenient. When the speaker means himself, the noun that follows, *esse*, or εἶναι, is nominative,—φημὶ εἶναι δεσπότης = *I say that I am the master*: *ait fuisse celerrimus* = *he says that he himself was the swiftest*—but, φημὶ εἶναι δεσπότην = *I say that he* (some one else) *is the master*; and *ait fuisse celerrimum* = *he says that he* (some one else) *is the swiftest*. This, though not adopted in English, is

capable of being adopted,—*He believes it to be he* (*i.e.*, the speaker) *who invented the machine*; but, *he believes it to be him* (that is, another person) *who invented it.*

§ 566. When the substantive infinitive, *to be*, is preceded by a passive participle, combined with the verb substantive, the construction is nominative,—*it is believed to be he who spoke*, not *it is believed to be him*.—Here there are two propositions:

1. It is believed.—
2. Who spoke.

Now, here, *it* is the subject, and, as such, nominative. But it is also the equivalent to *to be he*, which must be nominative as well. *To be he is believed = esse-ille creditur*,—or, changing the mode of proof,—

1. *It* is the subject and nominative.

2. *Believed* is part of the predicate; and, consequently, nominative also.

3. *To be he* is a subordinate part of the predicate, in apposition with *believed—est creditum, nempe entitas ejus*. Or, *to be he is believed = esse-ille est creditum*.

As a general expression for the syntax of copulas and appositional constructions, the current rule, that *copulas and appositional verbs must be followed by the same case by which they are preceded*, stands good.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ON THE PARTICIPLES.

§ 567. The present participle, or the participle in *-ing*,

must be considered in respect to its relations with the substantive in *-ing*. *Dying-day* is, probably, no more a participle than *morning-walk*. In respect to the syntax of such expressions as the forthcoming, I consider that they are *either* participles or substantives.

1. When substantives, they are in regimen, and govern a genitive case—*What is the meaning of the lady's holding up her train?* Here the word *holding = the act of holding.—Quid est significatio elevationis pallæ de parte fœminæ.*

2. When participles, they are in apposition or concord, and would, if inflected, appear in the same case with the substantive, or pronoun, preceding them—*What is the meaning of the lady holding up her train?* Here the word *holding = in the act of holding*, and answers to the Latin *fœminæ elevantis.—Quid est significatio fœminæ elevantis pallam?*

For the extent to which the view differs from that of Priestley, and still more with that of Mr. Guest, see *Phil. Trans.*, 25.

§ 568. The past participle corresponds not with the Greek form τυπτόμενος, but with the form τετυμμένος. *I am beaten* is essentially a combination, expressive not of present but of past time, just like the Latin *sum verberatus*. Its Greek equivalent is not εἰμὶ τυπτόμενος = *I am a man in the act of being beaten*, but εἰμὶ τετυμμένος = *I am a man who has been beaten*. It is past in respect to the action, though present in respect to the state brought about by the action. This essentially past element in the so-called present expression, *I am beaten*, will be again referred to.

CHAPTER XIX.

ON THE MOODS.

§ 569. The infinitive mood is a noun. The current rule that *when two verbs come together the latter is placed in the infinitive mood* means that one verb can govern another only by converting it into a noun—*I begin to move = I begin the act of moving*. Verbs, *as verbs*, can only come together in the way of apposition—*I irritate, I beat, I talk at him, I call him names*, &c.

§ 570. The construction, however, of English infinitives is twofold. (1.) Objective. (2.) Gerundial.

When one verb is followed by another without the preposition *to*, the construction must be considered to have grown out of the objective case, or from the form in *-an*.

This is the case with the following words, and, probably, with others.

I may go,	*not*	I may *to* go.
I might go,	—	I might *to* go.
I can move,	—	I can *to* move.
I could move,	—	I could *to* move.
I will speak,	—	I will *to* speak.
I would speak,	—	I would *to* speak.
I shall wait,	—	I shall *to* wait.
I should wait,	—	I should *to* wait.
Let me go,	—	Let me *to* go.
He let me go,	—	He let me *to* go.
I do speak,	—	I do *to* speak.

I did speak, — I did *to* speak.
I dare go, — I dare *to* go.
I durst go, — I durst *to* go.

Thou shalt not *see* thy brother's ox or his ass *fall* down by the way.

We *heard* him *say* I will destroy the temple.

I *feel* the pain *abate*.

He *bid* her *alight*.

I would fain *have* any one *name* to me that tongue that any one can speak as he should do by the rules of grammar.

This, in the present English, is the rarer of the two constructions.

When a verb is followed by another, preceded by the preposition *to*, the construction must be considered to have grown out of the so-called gerund, *i.e.*, the form in *-nne*, *i.e.*, the dative case—*I begin to move*. This is the case with the great majority of English verbs.

The following examples, from the Old English, of the gerundial construction where we have, at present, the objective, are Mr. Guest's.

1. Eilrid *myght nought to stand* þam ageyn.

R. Br.

2. Whether feith schall *mowe to save* him?

WICLIF, *James* ii.

3. My woful child what flight *maist thou to take*?

HIGGINS, *Lady Sabrine*, 4.

4. Never to retourne no more,
Except he *would* his life *to loose* therfore.

HIGGINS, *King Albanaet*, 6.

5. He said he *could not to forsake* my love.

HIGGINS, *Queen Elstride*, 20.

6. The mayster *lette* X men and mo
To wende.

Octavian, 381.

7. And though we owe the fall of Troy requite,
Yet *let* revenge thereof from gods *to* lighte.

HIGGINS, *King Albanaet*, 16.

8. *I durst*, my lord, *to wager* she is honest.

Othello, iv. 2.

9. Whom, when on ground, she grovelling

saw to roll,
She ran in haste, &c.

F. Q. iv. 7, 32.

§ 571. Imperatives have three peculiarities. (1.) They can only, in English, be used in the second person: (2.) They take pronouns after, instead of before, them: (3.) They often omit the pronoun altogether.

§ 572. For the syntax of subjunctives, see the Chapter on Conjunctions.

CHAPTER XX.

ON THE TENSES.

§ 573. Notwithstanding its name, the present tense in English, does not express a strictly *present* action. It rather expresses an habitual one. *He speaks well = he is a good speaker*. If a man means to say that he is in the act of speaking, he says *I am speaking*.

It has also, especially when combined with a subjunctive mood, a future power—*I beat you* (*= I will beat you*) *if you don't leave off*.

§ 574. The English præterite is the equivalent, not to the Greek perfect but the Greek aorist. *I beat* = ἔτυψα not τέτυφα. The true perfect is expressed, in English, by the auxiliary *have* + the past participle.

CHAPTER XXI.

SYNTAX OF THE PERSONS OF VERBS.

§ 575. For the impersonal verbs see Part IV. Chapter 27.

§ 576. *The concord of persons.*—A difficulty that occurs frequently in the Latin language is rare in English. In expressions like *ego et ille* followed by a verb, there arises a question as to the person in which that verb should be used. Is it to be in the first person in order to agree with *ego*, or in the *third* in order to agree with *ille*? For the sake of laying down a rule upon these and similar points, the classical grammarians arrange the persons (as they do the genders) according to their *dignity*, making the verb (or adjective if it be a question of gender) agree with the most *worthy*. In respect to persons, the first is more worthy than the second, and the second more worthy than the third. Hence, the Latins said—

Ego et *Balbus sustulimus* manus.
Tu et *Balbus sustulistis* manus.

Now, in English, the plural form is the same for all three persons. Hence we say *I and you are friends*, *you and I are friends*, *I and he are friends*, &c., so that, for the practice of language, the question as to the relative dignity of the three persons is a matter of indifference.

Nevertheless, it *may* occur even in English. Whenever two or more pronouns of different persons, and of the *singular* number, follow each other *disjunctively*, the question of concord arises. *I or you,—you or he,—he or I*. I believe that, in these cases, the rule is as follows:—

1. Whenever the words *either* or *neither* precede the pronouns, the verb is in the third person. *Either you or I is in the wrong*; *neither you nor I is in the wrong*.

2. Whenever the disjunctive is simple (*i. e.* unaccompanied with the word *either* or *neither*) the verb agrees with the *first* of the two pronouns.

I or *he am* in the wrong.
He or *I is* in the wrong.
Thou or *he art* in the wrong.
He or *thou is* in the wrong.

The reasons for these rules will appear in the Chapter on Conjunctions.

Now, provided that they are correct, it is clear that the English language knows nothing about the relative degrees of dignity between these three pronouns; since its habit is to make the verb agree with the one which is placed first—whatever may be the person. I am strongly inclined to believe that the same is the case in Latin; in which case (in the sentence *ego et Balbus sustulimus manus*) *sustulimus* agrees, in person, with *ego*, not because the first person is the worthiest, but because it comes first in the proposition. That the greater supposed worth of the first person may be a reason for putting it first in the proposition is likely enough.

CHAPTER XXII.

ON THE VOICES OF VERBS.

§ 577. In English there is neither a passive nor a middle voice.

The following couplet from Dryden's "Mac Flecnoe" exhibits a construction which requires explanation:—

An ancient fabric, raised to'inform the
sight,
There stood of yore, and Barbican *it hight*.

Here the word *hight = was called*, and seems to present an instance of the participle being used in a passive sense without the so-called verb substantive. Yet it does no such thing. The word is no participle at all; but a simple preterite. Certain verbs are *naturally* either passive or active, as one of two allied meanings may predominate. *To be called* is passive; so is, *to be beaten*. But, *to bear as a name* is active; so is, *to take a beating*. The word, *hight*, is of the same class of verbs with the Latin *vapulo*; and it is the same as the Latin word, *cluo*.—*Barbican cluit = Barbican audivit = Barbican it hight*.

CHAPTER XXIII.

ON THE AUXILIARY VERBS.

§ 578. The auxiliary verbs, in English, play a most important part in the syntax of the language. They may be classified upon a variety of principles. The following, however, are all that need here be applied.

A. *Classification of auxiliaries according to their inflectional or non-inflectional powers.*—Inflectional auxiliaries are those that may either replace or be replaced by an inflection. Thus—*I am struck* = the Latin *ferior*, and the Greek τύπτομαι. These auxiliaries are in the same relation to verbs that prepositions are to nouns. The inflectional auxiliaries are,—

1. *Have*; equivalent to an inflection in the way of tense—*I have bitten = mo-mordi.*

2. *Shall*; ditto. *I shall call = voc-abo.*

3. *Will*; ditto. *I will call = voc-abo.*

4. *May*; equivalent to an inflection in the way of mood. *I am come that I may see = venio ut vid-eam.*

5. *Be*; equivalent to an inflection in the way of voice. *To be beaten = verberari*, τὐπτεσθαι.

6. *Am, art, is, are*; ditto. Also equivalent to an inflection in the way of tense. *I am moving = move-o.*

7. *Was, were*; ditto, ditto. *I was beaten* = ἐ-τὐφθην. *I was moving = move-bam.*

Do, *can*, *must*, and *let*, are non-inflectional auxiliaries.

B. *Classification of auxiliaries according to their non-auxiliary significations.*—The power of the word *have* in the combination of *I have a horse* is clear enough. It means possession. The power of the same word in the combination *I have been* is not so clear; nevertheless it is a power which has grown out of the idea of possession. This shows that the power of a verb as an auxiliary may be a modification of its original power; *i. e.*, of the power it has in non-auxiliary constructions. Sometimes the difference is very little: the word *let*, in *let us go*, has its natural sense of permission unimpaired. Sometimes it is lost altogether. *Can* and *may* exist only as auxiliaries.

1. Auxiliary derived from the idea of possession—*have*.

2. Auxiliaries derived from the idea of existence—*be*, *is*, *was*.

3. Auxiliary derived from the idea of future destination, dependent upon circumstances external to the agent—*shall*. There are etymological reasons for believing that *shall* is no present tense, but a perfect.

4. Auxiliary derived from the idea of future destination, dependent upon the volition of the agent —*will*. *Shall* is simply predictive; *will* is predictive and promissive as well.

5. Auxiliary derived from the idea of power, dependent upon circumstances external to the agent —*may*.

6. Auxiliary derived from the idea of power, dependent upon circumstances internal to the agent —*can*. *May* is simply permissive; *can* is potential. In respect to the idea of power residing in the agent being the cause which determines a contingent action, *can* is in the same relation to *may* as *will* is to *shall*.

> "*May* et *can*, cum eorum præteritis imperfectis, *might* et *could*, potentiam innuunt: cum hoc tamen discrimine: *may* et *might* vel de jure vel saltem de rei possibilitate dicuntur, at *can* et *could* de viribus agentis."—WALLIS, p. 107.

7. Auxiliary derived from the idea of sufferance—*let*.

8. Auxiliary derived from the idea of necessity—*must*.

> "*Must* necessitatem innuit. Debeo, oportet, necesse est urere, *I must burn*. Aliquando sed rarius in præterito dicitur *must* (quasi ex *must'd* seu *must't* contractum). Sic, si de præterito

dicatur, *he must* (seu *must't*) *be burnt*, oportebat uri seu necesse habuit ut ureretur."—WALLIS, 107.

9. Auxiliary derived from the idea of action—*do*.

C. *Classification of auxiliary verbs in respect to their mode of construction.*—Auxiliary verbs combine with others in three ways.

1. *With participles.*—*a*) With the present, or active, participle—*I am speaking*: *b*) With the past, or passive, participle—*I am beaten, I have beaten*.

2. *With infinitives.*—*a*) With the objective infinitive—*I can speak*: *b*) With the gerundial infinitive—*I have to speak*.

3. *With both infinitives and participles.*—*I shall have done, I mean to have done.*

D. *Auxiliary verbs may be classified according to their effect.*—Thus—*have* makes the combination in which it appears equivalent to a tense; *be* to a passive form; *may* to a sign of mood, &c.

This sketch of the different lights under which auxiliary verbs may be viewed, has been written for the sake of illustrating, rather than exhausting, the subject.

§ 579. The following is an exhibition of some of the *times* in which an action may take place, as found in either the English or other languages, expressed by the use of either an inflection or a combination.

Time considered in one point only—

1. *Present.*—An action taking place at the time of speaking, and incomplete.—*I am beating, I am being*

beaten. *Not* expressed, in English, by the simple present tense; since *I beat* means *I am in the habit of beating*.

2. *Aorist.*—An action that took place in past time, or previous to the time of speaking, and which has no connection with the time of speaking.—*I struck*, *I was stricken*. Expressed, in English, by the præterite, in Greek by the aorist. The term aorist, from the Greek ἀ-ὁριστος = *undefined*, is a convenient name for this sort of time.

3. *Future.*—An action that has neither taken place, nor is taking place at the time of speaking, but which is stated as one which *will* take place.—Expressed, in English, by the combination of *will* or *shall* with an infinitive mood. In Latin and Greek by an inflection. *I shall* (or *will*) *speak*, λἑκ-σω, *dica-m*.

None of these expressions imply more than a single action; in other words, they have no relation to any second action occurring simultaneously with them, before them, or after them.—*I am speaking now*, *I spoke yesterday*, *I shall speak to-morrow*. Of course, the act of mentioning them is not considered as an action related to them in the sense here meant.

By considering past, present, or future actions not only by themselves, but as related to other past, present, or future actions, we get fresh varieties of expression. Thus, an act may have been going on, when some other act, itself an act of past time, interrupted it. Here the action agrees with a present action, in being incomplete; but it differs from it in having been rendered incomplete by an action that has past. This is exactly the case with the—

4. *Imperfect.—I was reading when he entered.* Here we

have two acts; the act of *reading* and the act of *entering*. Both are past as regards the time of speaking, but both are present as regards each other. This is expressed, in English, by the past tense of the verb substantive and the present participle, *I was speaking*; and in Latin and Greek by the imperfect tense, *dicebam*, ἔτυπτον.

5. *Perfect.*—Action past, but connected with the present by its effects or consequences.—*I* have *written, and here is the letter.* Expressed in English by the auxiliary verb *have*, followed by the *participle passive in the accusative case and neuter gender of the singular number*. The Greek expresses this by the reduplicate perfect: τὲ-τυφα = *I have beaten.*

6. *Pluperfect.*—Action past, but connected with a second action, subsequent to it, *which is also past.*—*I* had *written when he* came *in.*

7. *Future present.*—Action future as regards the time of speaking, present as regards some future time.—*I shall* be speaking *about this time to-morrow.*

8. *Future præterite.*—Action future as regards the time of speaking, past as regards some future time.—*I shall* have spoken *by this time to-morrow.*

These are the chief expressions which are simply determined by the relations of actions to each other, and to the time of speaking, either in the English or any other language. But over and above the simple idea of *time*, there may be others superadded: thus, the phrase, I do *speak* means, not only that *I am in the habit of speaking*, but that I also *insist* upon it being understood that I am so.

Again, an action that is mentioned as either taking

place, or as having taken place at a given time, may take place again and again. Hence the idea of *habit* may arise out of the idea of either present time or aorist time.

α. In English, the present form expresses *habit*. See p. 455.

β. In Greek the aorist expresses habit.

Again, one tense, or one combination, may be used for another. *I was speaking when he enters.*

The results of these facts may now be noticed:

1. The *emphatic present and præterite.*—Expressed by *do* (or *did*), as stated above. A man says *I do* (or *did*) *speak*, *read*, &c., when, either directly or by implication, it is asserted or implied that he does not. As a question implies doubt, *do* is used in interrogations.

> "*Do* et *did* indicant emphatice tempus præsens, et præteritum imperfectum. *Uro*, *urebam*; *I burn*, *I burned*: vel (emphatice) *I do burn*, *I did burn*."—WALLIS, p. 106.

2. *The predictive future.—I shall be there to-morrow.* This means simply that the speaker will be present. It gives no clue to the circumstances that will determine his being so.

3. The *promissive future.—I will be there to-morrow.*—This means not only that the speaker will be present, but that he *intends* being so. For further observations on *shall* and *will*, see pp. 471-474.

4. That the power of the present tense is, in English, not present, but habitual, has already been twice

stated.

§ 580. *The representative expression of past and future time.*—An action may be past; yet, for the sake of bringing it more vividly before the hearers, we may make it present. *He walks (*for *walked) up to him, and knocks (*for *knocked) him down.* This denotes a single action; and is by no means the natural habitual power of the English present. So, in respect to a future, *I beat you if you don't leave off*, for *I will beat you*. This use of the present tense is sometimes called the *historic* use of the present tense. I find it more convenient to call it the representative use; inasmuch as it is used more after the principles of painting than of history; the former of which, necessarily, *represents* things as present, the latter, more naturally, describes them as *past*.

The use of the representative present to express simple actions is unequivocally correct. To the expression, however, of complex actions it gives an illogical character,—*As I was doing this he enters* (for *entered*). Nevertheless, such a use of the present is a fact in language, and we must take it as it occurs.

§ 581. The present tense can be used instead of the future; and that on the principle of representation. Can a future be used for a present? No.

The present tense can be used instead of the aorist; and that on the principle of representation. Can a past tense, or combination, be used for a present?

In respect to the perfect tense there is no doubt. The answer is in the affirmative. For all purposes of syntax a perfect tense, or a combination equivalent to one, is a present tense. Contrast the expression, *I come that I may see*; with the expression, *I came that I*

might see; *i.e.*, the present construction with the aorist. Then, bring in the perfect construction, *I have come*. It differs with the aorist, and agrees with the present. *I have come that I may see.* The reason for this is clear. There is not only a present element in all perfects, but for the purposes of syntax, the present element predominates. Hence expressions like *I shall go*, need give us no trouble; even though *shall* be considered as a perfect tense. Suppose the root, *sk-ll* to mean *to be destined* (or *fated*). Provided we consider the effects of the action to be continued up to the time of speaking, we may say *I* have been *destined to go*, just as well as we can say *I* am *destined to go*.

The use of the aorist as a present (except so far as both the tenses agree in their power of expressing *habitual* actions) is a more difficult investigation. It bears upon such expressions as *I ought to go*, &c., and will be taken up in p. 475.

§ 582. Certain adverbs, *i.e.*, those of time, require certain tenses. *I am then*, *I was now*, *I was hereafter*, &c., are contradictory expressions. They are not so much bad grammar as impossible nonsense. Nevertheless, we have in Latin such expressions as

> "Ut *sumus* in ponto ter frigore constitit
> Ister."

Here the connection of the present and perfect ideas explains the apparent contradiction. The present state may be the result of a previous one; so that a preterite element may be involved in a present expression. *Ut sumus = since I have been where I am.*

It is hardly necessary to remark that such expressions as *since I am here* (where *since = inasmuch as*) do not

come under this class.

§ 583. Two fresh varieties in the use of tenses and auxiliary verbs may be arrived at by considering the following ideas, which may be superadded to that of simple time.

1. *Continuance in the case of future actions.*—A future action may not only take place, but continue: thus, a man may, on a given day, not only be called by a particular name, but may *keep* that name. When Hesiod says that, notwithstanding certain changes which shall have taken place, good shall *continue* to be mixed with bad, he does not say, ἐσθλὰ μιχθήσεται κακοῖσιν, but,

> Ἀλλ' ἔμπης καὶ τοῖσι μεμίξεται ἐσθλὰ
> κακοῖσιν.
>
> *Opera et Dies.*

Again,—

> Ἔπειθ' ὁ πολίτης ἐντεθεὶς ἐν καταλόγῳ
> Οὐδεὶς κατὰ σπουδὰς μετεγγραφήσεται,
> Ἀλλ' ὅσπερ ἦν τὸ πρῶτυν ἐγγεγράψεται.
>
> ARISTOPH. *Equites*, 1366.

Here μετεγγραφήσεται means *change from one class to another*, ἠγγεγράψεται *continuance in the same.*—See Mathiæ, ii. § 498.

Upon the lines,—

> Ὅθεν πρὸς ἀνδρῶν ὑστέρων κεκλήσεται
> Δούρειος ἵππος.

Troades, 13, 14.

Seidler remarks that κληθήσεται, est *nomen accipiet*; κεκλήσεται, *nomen geret*.

Now it is quite true that this Greek tense, the so-called *paulo-post-futurum*, "bears the same relation to the other futures as, among the tenses of past time, the perfectum does to the aorist."—(Mathiæ.) And it is also true that it by no means answers to the English *shall have been*. Yet the logical elements of both are the same. In the English expression, the *past* power of the perfect predominates, in the Greek its *present* power.

2. *Habit in the case of past actions.—I had dined when I rode out.* This may apply to a particular dinner, followed by a particular ride. But it may also mean that when the speaker *had dined, according to habit, he rode out, according to habit also*. This gives us a variety of pluperfect; which is, in the French language, represented by separate combination—*j'avais diné, j'eus diné*.

§ 584. It is necessary to remember that the connection between the present and the past time, which is involved in the idea of a perfect tense (τέτυφα), or perfect combination (*I have beaten*), is of several sorts.

It may consist in the *present proof* of the *past* fact,—*I have written, and here is the evidence*.

It may consist in the *present effects* of the *past* fact,—*I have written, and here is the answer*.

Without either enumerating or classifying these different kinds of connexion, it is necessary to indicate two sorts of *inference* to which they may

give origin.

1. *The inference of continuance.*—When a person says, *I have learned my lesson*, we presume that he can say it, *i. e.*, that, *he has a present knowledge of it*. Upon this principle κἐκτημαι = *I have earned* = *I possess*. The past action is assumed to be continued in its effects.

2. *The inference of contrast.*—When a person says, *I have been young*, we presume that he is so no longer. The action is past, but it is continued up to the time of speaking by the contrast which it supplies. Upon this principle, *fuit Ilium* means *Ilium is no more*.

In speaking, this difference can be expressed by a difference of accent. *I* have *learned my lesson*, implies that *I don't mean to learn it again*. *I have* learned *my lesson*, implies that *I can say it*.

§ 585. The construction of the auxiliary, *may*, will be considered in the Chapter on Conjunctions; that of *can*, *must*, and *let*, offer nothing remarkable. The combination of the auxiliary, *have*, with the past participle requires notice. It is, here, advisable to make the following classifications.

1. The combination with the participle of a *transitive verb*.—*I have ridden the horse*; *thou hast broken the sword*; *he has smitten the enemy*.

2. The combination with the participle of an *intransitive* verb,—*I have waited*; *thou hast hungered*; *he has slept*.

3. The combination with the participle of the verb substantive,—*I have been*; *thou hast been*; *he has been*.

It is by examples of the first of these three divisions that the true construction is to be shown.

For an object of any sort to be in the possession of a person, it must previously have existed. If I possess a horse, that horse must have had a previous existence.

Hence, in all expressions like *I have ridden a horse*, there are two ideas, a past idea in the participle, and a present idea in the word denoting possession.

For an object of any sort, affected in a particular manner, to be in the possession of a person, it must previously have been affected in the manner required. If I possess a horse that has been ridden, the riding must have taken place before I mention the fact of the ridden horse being in my possession; inasmuch as I speak of it as a thing already done,—the participle, *ridden*, being in the past tense.

I have ridden a horse = I have a horse ridden = I have a horse as a ridden horse, or (changing the gender and dealing with the word *horse* as a thing) = *I have a horse as a ridden thing*.

In this case the syntax is of the usual sort. (1) *Have = own = habeo = teneo*; (2) *horse* is the accusative case = *equum*; (3) *ridden* is a past participle agreeing either with *horse*, or *with a word in apposition with it understood*.

Mark the words in italics. The word *ridden* does not agree with *horse*, since it is of the neuter gender. Neither if we said *I have ridden the horses*, would it agree with *horses*; since it is of the singular number.

The true construction is arrived at by supplying the word *thing*. *I have a horse as a ridden thing = habeo equum equitatum* (neuter). Here the construction is the same as *triste lupus stabulis*.

I have horses as a ridden thing = habeo equos equitatam

(singular, neuter). Here the construction is—

"Triste ... maturis frugibus imbres,
Arboribus venti, nobis Amaryllides iræ."

or in Greek—

Δεινὸν γυναιξὶν αἱ δι' ὠδίνων γοναί.

The classical writers supply instances of this use of *have*. *Compertum habeo*, milites, verba viris virtutem non addere = *I have discovered* = *I am in possession of the discovery*. Quæ cum ita sint, satis de Cæsare hoc *dictum habeo*.

2. The combination of *have* with an intransitive verb is irreducible to the idea of possession: indeed, it is illogical. In *I have waited*, we cannot make the idea expressed by the word *waited* the object of the *verb* have or *possess*. The expression has become a part of language by means of the extension of a false analogy. It is an instance of an illegitimate imitation.

3. The combination of *have* with *been* is more illogical still, and is a stronger instance of the influence of an illegitimate imitation. In German and Italian, where even *intransitive* verbs are combined with the equivalents to the English *have* (*haben* and *avere*), the verb substantive is not so combined; on the contrary, the combinations are

Italian; *io sono stato* = *I am been*.
German; *ich bin gewesen* = *ditto*.

which is logical.

§ 586. *I am to speak*.—Three facts explain this idiom.

1. The idea of *direction towards an object* conveyed by

the dative case, and by combinations equivalent to it.

2. The extent to which the ideas of necessity, obligation, or intention are connected with the idea of *something that has to be done*, or *something towards which some action has a tendency*.

3. The fact that expressions like the one in question historically represent an original dative case, or its equivalent; since *to speak* grows out of the Anglo-Saxon form *to sprecanne*, which, although called a gerund, is really a dative case of the infinitive mood.

When Johnson (see Mr. Guest, *Phil. Trans.* No. 44) thought that, in the phrase *he is to blame*, the word *blame* was a noun, if he meant a noun in the way that *culpa* is a noun, his view was wrong. But if he meant a noun in the way that *culpare*, *ad culpandum*, are nouns, it was right.

§ 587. *I am to blame.*—This idiom is one degree more complex than the previous one; since *I am to blame* = *I am to be blamed*. As early, however, as the Anglo-Saxon period the gerunds were liable to be used in a passive sense: *he is to lufigenne* = not *he is to love*, but *he is to be loved*.

The principle of this confusion may be discovered by considering that *an object to be blamed*, is *an object for some one to blame*, *an object to be loved* is *an object for some one to love*.

§ 588. *Shall* and *will.*—The simply predictive future verb is *shall*. Nevertheless, it is only used in the first person. The second and third persons are expressed by the promissive verb *will*.

The promissive future verb is *will*. Nevertheless, it is only used in the first person. The second and third

persons are expressed by the predictive verb *shall*.

"In *primis* personis *shall* simpliciter prædicentis est; *will*, quasi promittentis aut minantis.

"In secundis et tertiis personis, *shall* promittentis est aut minantis: *will* simpliciter prædicentis.

"Uram	Uris	Uret	Uremus	*We shall burn.*
Ures	Uretis		*Thou wilt burn.*	*Ye will burn.*
Uret	Urent		*He will burn.*	*They will burn.*

nempe, hoc futurum prædico.

"*I will burn.*	*We will burn.*
Thou shalt burn.	*Ye shall burn.*
He shall burn.	*They shall burn.*

nempe, hoc futurum spondeo, vel faxo ut sit."

Again—"*would* et *should* illud indicant quod erat vel esset futurum: cum hoc tantum discrimine: *would* voluntatem innuit, seu agentis propensionem: *should* simpliciter futuritionem."—Wallis, p. 107.

§ 589. Archdeacon Hare explains this by a *usus ethicus*. "In fact, this was one of the artifices to which the genius of the Greek language had recourse, to avoid speaking presumptuously of the future: for there is an awful, irrepressible, and almost instinctive consciousness of the uncertainty of the future, and of our own powerlessness over it, which, in all cultivated languages, has silently and imperceptibly modified the modes of expression with regard to it: and from a double kind of *litotes*, the one belonging to human nature generally, the other imposed by good-breeding on the individual, and urging him to veil the manifestations of his will, we are induced to frame all sorts of shifts for the sake of speaking with becoming modesty. Another method, as we know, frequently adopted by the Greeks was the use of the conditional moods: and as sentiments of this kind always imply some degree of intellectual refinement, and strengthen with its increase, this is called an Attic usage. The same name too has often been given to the above-mentioned middle forms of the future; not that in either case the practice was peculiar to the Attic dialect, but that it was more general where the feelings which produced it were strong and more distinct. Here again our own language supplies us with an exact parallel: indeed this is the only way of accounting for the singular mixture of the two verbs *shall* and *will*, by which, as we have no auxiliary answering to the German *werde*, we express the future tense. Our future, or at least what answers to it, is, *I shall, thou wilt, he will*. When speaking in the first person, we speak submissively: when speaking to or of another, we speak courteously. In our older writers, for instance in our translation of the Bible, *shall* is applied to all three persons: we had not then reacht that stage of

politeness which shrinks from the appearance even of speaking compulsorily of another. On the other hand the Scotch use *will* in the first person: that is, as a nation they have not acquired that particular shade of good-breeding which shrinks from thrusting itself[61] forward."

§ 590. *Notice of the use of* will *and* shall*, by Professor De Morgan.*—"The matter to be explained is the synonymous character of *will* in the first person with *shall* in the second and third; and of *shall* in the first person with *will* in the second and third: *shall* (1) and *will* (2, 3) are called *predictive*: *shall* (2, 3) and *will* (1) *promissive*. The suggestion now proposed will require four distinctive names.

"Archdeacon Hare's *usus ethicus* is taken from the brighter side of human nature:—'When speaking in the first person we speak submissively; when speaking to or of another, we speak courteously.' This explains *I shall, thou wilt*; but I cannot think it explains *I will, thou shalt*. It often happens that *you will*, with a persuasive tone, is used courteously for something next to, if not quite, *you shall*. The present explanation is taken from the darker side; and it is to be feared that the *à priori* probabilities are in its favour.

"In introducing the common mode of stating the future tenses, grammar has proceeded as if she were more than a formal science. She has no more business to collect together *I shall, thou wilt, he will*, than to do the same with *I rule, thou art ruled, he is ruled*.

"It seems to be the natural disposition of man to think of his own volition in two of the following

catagories, and of another man's in the other two:

Compelling, non-compelling; restrained,
non-restrained.

"The *ego*, with reference to the *non-ego*, is apt, thinking of himself, to propound the alternative, 'Shall I compel, or shall I leave him to do as he likes?' so that, thinking of the other, the alternative is, 'shall he be restrained, or shall he be left to his own will?' Accordingly, the express introduction of his own will is likely to have reference to compulsion, in case of opposition: the express introduction of the will of another, is likely to mean no more than the gracious permission of the *ego* to let *non-ego* do as he likes. Correlatively, the suppression of reference to his own will, and the adoption of a simply predictive form on the part of the *ego*, is likely to be the mode with which, when the person is changed, he will associate the idea of another having his own way; while the suppression of reference to the will of the *non-ego* is likely to infer restraint produced by the predominant will of the *ego*.

"Occasionally, the will of the *non-ego* is referred to as under restraint in modern times. To *I will not*, the answer is sometimes *you shall*, meaning, in spite of the will—sometimes *you will*, meaning that the will will be changed by fear or sense of the inutility of resistance."[62]

§ 591. *I am beaten.*—This is a present combination, and it is present on the strength of the verb *am*, not on the strength of the participle *beaten*, which is præterite.

The following table exhibits the *expedients* on the

part of the different languages of the Gothic stock, since the loss of the proper passive form of the Mœso-Gothic.

Language.	Latin *datur*.	Latin *datus est*.
Mœso-Gothic	gibada,	ist, vas, varth gibans.
Old High German	ist, wirdit kepan,	was, warth kepan.
Notker	wirt keben,	ist keben.
Middle High German	wirt geben,	ist geben.
New High German	wird gegeben,	ist gegeben worden.
Old Saxon	is, wirtheth gebhan,	was, warth gebhan.
Middle Dutch	es, blîft ghegheven,	waert, blêf ghegeven.
New Dutch	wordt gegeven,	es gegeven worden.
Old Frisian	werth ejeven,	is ejeven.
Anglo-Saxon	weorded gifen,	is gifen.
English	is given,	has been given.
Old Norse	er gefinn,	hefr verit gefinn.
Swedish	gifves,	har varit gifven.
Danish	bliver, vorder given,	har varet given.

Deutsche Grammatik, iv. 19.

§ 592. *Ought, would, &c., used as presents.*—These words are not in the predicament of *shall*.

They are *present* in power, and *past* in form. So, perhaps, is *shall*.

But they are not, like *shall*, perfect forms; *i. e.*, they have no natural present element in them.

They are *aorist* præterites. Nevertheless, they have a present sense.

So had their equivalents in Greek: ἐχρῆν = χρὴ, ἔδει = δεῖ, προσῆκεν = προσήκει.

In Latin, too, *would* was often not represented by either *volo* or *volebam*, but by *velim*.

I believe that the *usus ethicus* is at the bottom of this construction.

The assertion of *duty* or *obligation* is one of those assertions which men like to soften in the expression: *should, ought*.

So is the expression of power, as denoted by *may* or *can—might, could*.

Very often when we say *you should* (or *ought to*) *do this*, we leave to be added by implication—*but you do not*.

Very often when we say *I could* (or *might*) *do this*, we leave to be added by implication—*but I do not exert my power*.

Now, if what is left undone be the *present* element in this assertion, the duty to do it, or the power of doing it, constitutes a past element in it; since the power (or duty) is, in relation to the performance, a

cause—insufficient, indeed, but still antecedent. This hypothesis is suggested rather than asserted.

§ 593. By substituting the words *I am bound* for *I ought*, we may see the expedients to which this present use of the præterite forces us.

I am bound *to do this* now = *I* owe *to do this* now. However, we do not say *owe*, but *ought*.

Hence, when we wish to say *I* was bound *to do this* two years ago, we cannot say *I ought* (*owed*) *to do this*, &c., since *ought* is already used in a present sense.

We therefore say, instead, *I* ought to have done *this* two years ago; which has a similar, but by no means an identical meaning.

I was bound to pay two years ago, means *two years ago I was under an obligation to make a payment, either then or at some future time.*

I was bound to have paid, &c., means *I was under an obligation to have made a payment.*

If we use the word *ought*, this difference cannot be expressed.

Common people sometimes say, *you had not ought to do so and so*; and they have a reason for saying it.

The Latin language is more logical. It says not *debet factum fuisse*, but *debuit fieri*.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE SYNTAX OF ADVERBS.

§ 594. The syntax of the adverb is simpler than that of any other part of speech, excepting, perhaps, that of the adjective.

Adverbs have no concord.

Neither have they any government. They *seem*, indeed, to have it, when they are in the comparative or superlative degree; but it is merely apparent. In *this is better than that*, the word *that* is governed neither by *better* nor by *than*. It is not governed at all. It is a nominative case; the subject of a separate proposition. *This is better* (*i. e.*, *more good*) *than that is good*. Even if we admit such an expression as *he is stronger than me* to be good English, there is no adverbial government. *Than*, if it govern *me* at all, governs it as a preposition.

The position of an adverb is, in respect to matters of syntax, pre-eminently parenthetic; *i. e.*, it may be omitted without injuring the construction. *He is fighting—now*; *he was fighting—then*; *he fights—bravely*; *I am—almost—tired*, &c.

§ 595. By referring to the Chapter on the Adverbs, we shall find that the neuter adjective is frequently converted into an adverb by deflection. As any neuter adjective may be so deflected, we may justify such expressions as *full* (for *fully*) *as conspicuous*, and *peculiar* (for *peculiarly*) *bad grace*, &c. We are not, however, bound to imitate everything that we can justify.

§ 596. The termination *-ly* was originally adjectival. At present it is a derivational syllable by which we can convert an adjective into an adverb: *brave*, *brave-ly*. When, however, the adjective ends in *-ly* already, the formation is awkward. *I eat my daily bread* is

unexceptionable English; *I eat my bread daily* is exceptionable. One of two things must here take place: the two syllables *-ly* are packed into one (the full expression being *dai-li-ly*), or else the construction is that of a neuter adjective deflected.

Adverbs are convertible. *The then men* = οἱ νῦν βρότοι, &c. This will be seen more clearly in the Chapter on Conjunctions.

§ 597. It has been remarked that in expressions like *he sleeps the sleep of the righteous*, the construction is adverbial. So it is in expressions like *he walked a mile*, *it weighs a pound*. The ideas expressed by *mile* and *pound* are not the names of anything that serves as either object or instrument to the verb. They only denote the *manner* of the action, and define the meaning of the verb.

§ 598. *From whence, from thence.*—This is an expression which, if it have not taken root in our language, is likely to do so. It is an instance of excess of expression in the way of syntax; the *-ce* denoting direction *from* a place, and the preposition doing the same. It is not so important to determine what this construction *is*, as to suggest what it is *not*. It is *not* an instance of an adverb governed by a preposition. If the two words be dealt with as logically separate, *whence* (or *thence*) must be a noun = *which place* (or *that place*); just as *from then till now* = *from that time to this*. But if (which is the better view) the two words be dealt with as one (*i. e.*, as an improper compound) the preposition *from* has lost its natural power, and become the element of an adverb.

CHAPTER XXV.

ON PREPOSITIONS.

§ 599. All prepositions govern an oblique case. If a word cease to do this, it ceases to be a preposition. In the first of the two following sentences the word *up* is a preposition, in the second an adverb.

1. *I climbed up the tree.*
2. *I climbed up.*

All prepositions in English precede the noun which they govern. *I climbed up the tree*, never *I climbed the tree up*. This is a matter not of government, but of collocation. It is the case in most languages; and, from the frequency of its occurrence, the term *preposition* (or *prefix*) has originated. Nevertheless, it is by no means a philological necessity. In many languages the prepositions are *post-positive*, following their noun.

§ 600. No preposition, in the present English, governs a genitive case. This remark is made, because expressions like the *part of the body = pars corporis*,—*a piece of the bread = portio panis*, make it appear as if the preposition *of* did so. The true expression is, that the preposition *of* followed by an objective case, is equivalent, in many instances, to the genitive case of the classical languages.

§ 601. The writer, however, of a paper on English preterites and genitives, in the Philological Museum (II. 261) objects to the current doctrine concerning such constructions as, *this is a picture of the king's*. Instead of considering the sentence elliptic, and equivalent to *this is a picture of* or (*from*) *the king's pictures*, he entertains the following view,—"I confess, however, that I feel some doubt whether this phrase is indeed to be regarded as elliptical, that is,

whether the phrase in room of which it is said to stand, was ever actually in use. It has sometimes struck me that this may be a relict of the old practice of using the genitive after nouns as well as before them, only with the insertion of the preposition *of*. One of the passages quoted above from 'Arnold's Chronicle,' supplies an instance of a genitive so situated; and one cannot help thinking that it was the notion that *of* governed the genitive, that led the old translators of Virgil to call his poem *The Booke of Eneidos*, as it is termed by Phaer, and Gawin Douglas, and in the translation printed by Caxton. Hence it may be that we put the genitive after the noun in such cases, in order to express those relations which are most appropriately expressed by the genitive preceding it. *A picture of the king's* is something very different from *the king's picture*: and so many other relations are designated by *of* with the objective noun, that if we wish to denote possession thereby, it leaves an ambiguity: so, for this purpose, when we want to subjoin the name of the possessor to the thing possest, we have recourse to the genitive, by prefixing which we are wont to express the same idea. At all events as, if we were askt whose castle Alnwick is, we should answer, *The Duke of Northumberland's*; so we should also say, *What a grand castle that is of the Duke of Northumberland's!* without at all taking into account whether he had other castles besides: and our expression would be equally appropriate, whether he had or not."

Again, Mr. Guest quotes, amongst other passages, the following:—

> Suffice this hill *of ours*—
> They fought two houres *of the nightes*—

Yet neither class of examples is conclusive.

Ours does not necessarily mean *of us*. It may also mean of *our hills*, *i. e.*, of *the hills of our choice*. *Nightes* may mean *of the night's hours*. In the expression, *what a grand castle*, &c., it is submitted to the reader that we *do* take into our account other castles, which the Duke of Northumberland may or may not have. *The Booke of Eneidos* is a mistaken Latinism. As it does not seem to have been sufficiently considered that the real case governed by *of* (as by *de* in Latin) is the ablative, it is the opinion of the present writer that no instance has yet been produced of *of* either governing, or having governed a genitive case.

§ 602. It is not so safe to say in the present English that no preposition governs a dative. The expression *give it him* is good English; and it is also equivalent to the Latin *da ei*. But we may also say *give it to him*. Now the German *zu = to* governs a dative case, and in Anglo-Saxon, the preposition *to*, when prefixed to the infinitive mood, required the case that followed it to be a dative.

§ 603. When the infinitive mood is used as the subject of a proposition, *i.e.*, as a nominative case, it is impossible to allow to the preposition *to*, by which it is preceded, any separate existence whatever,—*to rise = rising*; *to err = error*. Here the preposition must, for the purposes of syntax, be considered as incorporated with the noun, just like an inseparable inflection. As such it may be preceded by another preposition. The following example, although a Grecism, illustrates this:—

> Yet not to have been dipt in Lethe's lake,
> Could save the son of Thetis *from to die*.

§ 604. Akin to this, but not the same, is the so-called vulgarism, consisting of the use of the preposition *for*. *I am ready to go*=*I am ready for going*=the so-called vulgarism, *I am ready* for *to go*. Now, this expression differs from the last in exhibiting, not only a *verbal* accumulation of prepositions, but a *logical* accumulation as well: inasmuch as *for* and *to* express like ideas.

§ 605. Composition converts prepositions into adverbs. Whether we say *upstanding* or *standing-up*, we express the *manner* in which an action takes place, and not the relation between two substantives. The so-called prepositional compounds in Greek (ἀναβαίνω, ἀποθνήσκω, &c.) are all adverbial.

CHAPTER XXVI.

ON CONJUNCTIONS.

§ 606. A CONJUNCTION is a part of speech which connects *propositions*,—*the day is bright*, is one proposition. *The sun shines*, is another. *The day is bright* because *the sun shines* is a pair of propositions connected by the conjunction, *because*.

From this it follows, that whenever there is a conjunction, there are two subjects, two copulas, and two predicates: *i.e.*, two propositions in all their parts.

But this may be expressed compendiously. *The sun shines, and the moon shines*, may be expressed by the *sun and moon shine*.

Nevertheless, however compendious may be the expression, there are always two propositions

wherever there is one conjunction. A part of speech that merely combines two words is a preposition—*the sun along with the moon shines*.

It is highly important to remember that conjunctions connect propositions.

It is also highly important to remember that many double propositions may be expressed so compendiously as to look like one. When this takes place, and any question arises as to the construction, they must be exhibited in their fully expanded form; *i.e.*, the second subject, the second predicate, and the second copula must be supplied. This can always be done from the first proposition,—*he likes you better than me = he likes you better than he likes me*. The compendious expression of the second proposition is the first point of note in the syntax of conjunctions.

§ 607. The second point in the syntax of conjunctions is the fact of their great convertibility. Most conjunctions have been developed out of some other part of speech.

The conjunction of comparison, *than*, is derived from the adverb of time, *then*; which is derived from the accusative singular of the demonstrative pronoun.

The conjunction, *that*, is derived also from a demonstrative pronoun.

The conjunction, *therefore*, is a demonstrative pronoun + a preposition.

The conjunction, *because*, is a substantive governed by a preposition.

One and the same word, in one and the same sentence, may be a conjunction or preposition, as the

case may be.

All fled but John.—If this mean *all fled* except *John*, the word *but* is a preposition, the word *John* is an accusative case, and the proposition is single. If, instead of *John*, we had a personal pronoun, we should say *all fled but* him.

All fled but John.—If this mean *all fled, but John did not fly*, the word *but* is a conjunction, the word *John* is a nominative case, and the propositions are two in number. If, instead of *John*, we had a personal pronoun, we should say, *all fled but* he.

From the fact of the great convertibility of conjunctions it is often necessary to determine whether a word be a conjunction or not. *If it be a conjunction, it cannot govern a case. If it govern a case, it is no conjunction but a preposition.* A conjunction cannot govern a case, for the following reason,—the word that follows it *must* be the subject of the second proposition, and, as such, a nominative case.

§ 608. The third point to determine in the syntax of conjunctions is the certainty or uncertainty in the mind of the speaker as to the facts expressed by the propositions which they serve to connect.

1. Each proposition may contain a certain, definite, absolute fact—*the day is clear* because *the sun shines*. Here, there is neither doubt nor contingency of either the *day being clear*, or of the *sun shining*.

2. Of two propositions one may be the condition of the other—*the day will be clear* if *the sun shine*. Here, although it is certain that *if the sun shine the day will be clear*, there is no certainty of *the sun shining*. Of the two propositions one only embodies a certain fact,

and that is certain only conditionally.

Now an action, wherein there enters any notion of uncertainty, or indefinitude, and is at the same time connected with another action, is expressed, not by the indicative mood, but by the subjunctive. *If the sun* shine (not *shines*) *the day will be clear*.

Simple uncertainty will not constitute a subjunctive construction,—*I am*, perhaps, *in the wrong*.

Neither will simple connection,—*I am wrong* because *you are right*.

But, the two combined constitute the construction in question,—*if I* be *wrong*, *you are right*.

Now, a conjunction that connects two certain propositions may be said to govern an indicative mood.

And a conjunction that connects an uncertain proposition with a certain one, may be said to govern a subjunctive mood.

The government of mood is the only form of government of which conjunctions are capable.

§ 609. Previous to the question of the government of conjunctions in the way of mood, it is necessary to notice certain points of agreement between them and the relative pronouns; inasmuch as, in many cases, the relative pronoun exerts the same government, in the way of determining the mood of the verb, as the conjunction.

Between the relative pronouns and conjunctions in general there is this point of connection,—both join propositions. Wherever there is a relative, there is a second proposition. So there is wherever there is a

conjunction.

Between certain relative pronouns and those particular conjunctions that govern a subjunctive mood there is also a point of connection. Both suggest an element of uncertainty or indefinitude. This the relative pronouns do, through the logical elements common to them and to the interrogatives: these latter essentially suggesting the idea of doubt. Wherever the person, or thing, connected with an action, and expressed by a relative be indefinite, there is room for the use a subjunctive mood. Thus—he that troubled you shall bear his judgment, *whosoever* he *be*.

§ 610. By considering the nature of such words as *when*, their origin as relatives on the one hand, and their conjunctional character on the other hand, we are prepared for finding a relative element in words like *till*, *until*, *before*, *as long as*, &c. These can all be expanded into expressions like *until the time when*, *during the time when*, &c. Hence, in an expression like *seek out his wickedness till thou* find (not *findest*) *none*, the principle of the construction is nearly the same as in *he that troubled you*, &c., or *vice versâ*.[63]

§ 611. In most conditional expressions the subjunctive mood should follow the conjunction. All the following expressions are conditional.

> 1. *Except* I *be* by Silvia in the night,
> There is no music in the nightingale.
>
> SHAKSPEARE.

2. Let us go and sacrifice to the Lord our God, *lest* he *fall* upon us with pestilence.—*Old Testament.*

3.—— Revenge back on itself recoils.
Let it. I reck not, *so* it *light* well aimed.

J. MILTON.

4. *If* this *be* the case.

5. *Although* my house *be* not so with God.—*Old Testament.*

6. He shall not eat of the holy thing *unless* he *wash* his flesh with water.—*Old Testament.*

Expressions like *except* and *unless* are equally conditional with words like *if* and *provided that*, since they are equivalent to *if—not.*

Expressions like *though* and *although* are peculiar. They join propositions, of which the one is a *primâ facie* reason against the existence of the other: and this is the conditional element. In the sentence, *if the children be so badly brought up, they are not to be trusted*, the *bad bringing-up* is the reason for their *being unfit to be trusted*; and, as far as the expression is concerned, *is admitted to be so*. The only uncertainty lies in the question as to the degree of the badness of the education. The inference from it is unequivocal.

But if, instead of saying *if*, we say *although*, and omit the word *not*, so that the sentence run *although the children be so badly brought up they are to be trusted*, we do two things: we indicate the general relation of cause and effect that exists between *bad bringing-up* and *unfitness for being trusted*, but we also, at the same time, take an exception to it in the particular instance before us. These remarks have been made for the sake of showing the extent to which words

like *though*, &c., are conditional.

It must be remembered, however, that conjunctions, like the ones lately quoted, do not govern subjunctive moods because they are conditional, but because, in the particular condition which they accompany, there is an element of uncertainty.

§ 612. This introduces a fresh question. Conditional conjunctions are of two sorts:—

1. Those which express a condition as an actual fact, and one admitted as such by the speaker.

2. Those which express a condition as a possible fact, and one which the speaker either does not admit, or admits only in a qualified manner.

Since *the children* are *so badly brought up*, &c.—This is an instance of the first construction. The speaker admits as an actual fact the *bad bringing-up of the children*.

If *the children* be *so badly brought-up*, &c.—This is an instance of the second construction. The speaker admits as a possible (perhaps, as a probable) fact the *bad bringing-up of the children*: but he does not adopt it as an indubitable one.

§ 613. Now, if every conjunction had a fixed unvariable meaning, there would be no difficulty in determining whether a condition was absolute, and beyond doubt, or possible, and liable to doubt. But such is not the case.

Although may precede a proposition which is admitted as well as one which is doubted.

a. Although *the children* are, &c.

b. Although *the children* be, &c.

If, too, may precede propositions wherein there is no doubt whatever implied: in other words it may be used instead of *since*.

In some languages this interchange goes farther than in others; in the Greek, for instance, such is the case with εἰ, to a very great extent indeed.

Hence we must look to the meaning of the sentence in general, rather than to the particular conjunction used.

It is a philological fact (probably referable to the *usus ethicus*) that *if* may stand instead of *since*.

It is also a philological fact that when it does so it should be followed by the indicative mood.

This is written in the way of illustration. What applies to *if* applies to other conjunctions as well.

§ 614. As a point of practice, the following method of determining the amount of doubt expressed in a conditional proposition is useful:—

Insert, immediately after the conjunction, one of the two following phrases,—(1.) *as is the case*; (2.) *as may or may not be the case*. By ascertaining which of these two supplements expresses the meaning of the speaker, we ascertain the mood of the verb which follows.

When the first formula is one required, there is no element of doubt, and the verb should be in the indicative mood. *If* (*as is the case*), *he* is *gone, I must follow him*.

When the second formula is the one required, there *is*

an element of doubt, and the verb should be in the subjunctive mood. *If* (*as may or may not be the case*) *he* be *gone, I must follow him*.

§ 615. The use of the word *that* in expressions like *I eat that I may live*, &c., is a modification of the subjunctive construction, that is conveniently called *potential*. It denotes that one act is done for the sake of supplying the *power* or opportunity for the performance of another.

In English the word *that*, so used, cannot be said to govern a mood, although generally followed by either *may* or *might*. It should rather be said to require a certain combination to follow it. The most important point connected with the powers of *that* is the so-called *succession of tenses*.

§ 616. *The succession of tenses.*—Whenever the conjunction *that* expresses intention, and consequently connects two verbs, the second of which takes place *after* the first, the verbs in question must be in the same tense.

I *do* this *that* I *may* gain by it.

I *did* this *that* I *might* gain by it.

In the Greek language this is expressed by a difference of mood; the subjunctive being the construction equivalent to *may*, the optative to *might*. The Latin idiom coincides with the English.

A little consideration will show that this rule is absolute. For a man *to be doing* one action (in present time) in order that some other action may *follow* it (in past time) is to reverse the order of cause and effect. To do anything in A.D. 1851, that something

may result from it in 1850 is a contradiction; and so it is to say *I* do *this* that *I* might *gain by it*.

The reasons against the converse construction are nearly, if not equally cogent. To have done anything at any *previous* time in order that a *present* effect may follow, is, *ipso facto*, to convert a past act into a present one, or, to speak in the language of the grammarian, to convert an aorist into a perfect. To say *I* did *this* that *I may gain by it*, is to make, by the very effect of the expression, either *may* equivalent to *might*, or *did* equivalent to *have done*.

I did *this* that *I* might *gain*.

I have done *this* that *I* may *gain*.

A clear perception of the logical necessity of the law of the succession of tenses, is necessary for understanding the nature of several anomalous passages in the classical writers. In the following, an aorist is followed not by an optative, but by a subjunctive.

Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη· ἑῖς κοίρανος
ἔστω,
Ἑῖς βασιλεὺς, ᾧ ἔδωκε Κρόνου παῖς
ἀγκυλομήτεω
Σκῆπτρόν τ' ἠδὲ θέμιστας, ἵνα σφίσιν
ἐμβασιλεύῃ.

Here it is necessary to construe ἔδωκε, *has given and continues to allow*, which is to construe it like a *perfect*[64] tense. Upon similar passages Mathiæ writes, "but frequently the conjunctive is used, although the preceding word be in the time past, viz., when the verb which depends upon the

conjunction shows an action continued to the present time." That means when the verb is really a perfect.

In Latin, where the same form is both aorist and perfect, the succession of tenses is a means of determining which of the two meanings it conveys. *Veni ut videam = I have come that I may see. Veni ut viderem = I came that I might see.*

Arnold states, from Krüger and Zumpt, that even where the præterite was clearly a perfect (*i. e.*, *= to have* with the participle), the Roman ear was so accustomed to the *imperfect* subjunctive, that it preferred such an expression *as diu dubitavi num melius esset to diu dubitavi num melius sit*. The latter part of the statement is sure enough; but it is by no means so sure that *dubitavi*, and similar forms in similar constructions are perfects. There is no reason for considering this to be the case in the present instance. It seems to be so, because it is connected with *diu*; but an action may last a long time, and yet not last up to the time of speaking. *Diu dubitavi* probably expresses, *I doubted a long time*, and leaves it to be inferred that *now I do not doubt.*

§ 617. It has been stated above that whilst the Latin and English have a succession of *tenses*, the Greek language exhibits what may be called a succession of *moods*. This suggests inquiry. Is the difference real? If so, how is it explained? If not, which of the two grammatical systems is right?—the English and Latin on the one side, or the Greek on the other? Should τύπτοιμι be reduced to a past tense, or *verberarem* be considered an optative mood.

The present writer has no hesitation in stating his belief, that all the phænomena explicable by the assumption of an optative mood are equally

explicable by an expansion of the subjunctive, and a different distribution of its tenses.

1. Let τύψω be considered a subjunctive *future* instead of a subjunctive aorist.

2. Let τύῶτοιμι be considered an *imperfect subjunctive*.

3. Let τετύφοιμι be considered a *pluperfect subjunctive*.

4. Let τύψαιμι be considered an aorist *subjunctive*.

Against this view there are two reasons:

1. The double forms τύψαιμι and τύψοιμι, one of which would remain unplaced.

2. The use of the optative and conjunctive in simple propositions, as—

ὦ παῖ, γένοιο πατρὸς εὐτυχέστερος.

The first reason I am not prepared to impugn. *Valeat quantum*, &c. The second indicates a class of expressions which tense will *not* explain, and which mood *will*. Yet this is not conclusive. *Would that thou wert* is thoroughly optative: yet it is expressed by a tense.

The *form* of the so-called optatives proves nothing. Neither the subjunctive nor the optative has any signs of *mood* at all, except the negative one of the absence of the augment. Their signs are the signs of *tense*.

In favour of the view are the following reasons:—

1. The analogy of other languages. The imperfect has a subjunctive in Latin. So has the future.

2. The undoubtedly future character of the so-called

aorist imperative. To give an order to do a thing in *past* time is a philological contradiction. Forms like βλέψον *must* be future. Though θὲς and τίθει differ in power, they both mean an action subsequent to, or, at any rate, simultaneous with the order given; certainly not one anterior to it.

§ 618. *Be* may stand for *may be*. In this case the preterite is not *were* but *might be*. The sentence, *what* care *I how fair the lady* be, *if she be not fair to her admirer*? is accurate. Here *be* = *may be*. But, *what* cared *I how fair the lady* were, *if she were not fair to her admirer*? is inaccurate. It ought to run thus,—*what* cared *I how fair the lady* might be, *if she were not fair to her admirer*?[65]

§ 619. *Disjunctives*.—Disjunctives (*or*, *nor*) are of two sorts, real, and nominal.

A king or queen always rules in England. Here the disjunction is real; *king* or *queen* being different names for different objects. In all *real* disjunctions the inference is, that if one out of two (or more) individuals (or classes) do not perform a certain action, the other does.

A sovereign or supreme ruler always rules in England. Here the disjunction is nominal; *sovereign* and *supreme governor* being different names for the same object. In all nominal disjunctives the inference is, that if an agent (or agents) do not perform a certain action under one name, he does (or they do) it under another.

Nominal disjunctives are called by Harris, *sub*disjunctives.

In the English language there is no separate word to

distinguish the nominal from the real disjunctive. In Latin, *vel* is considered by Harris to be disjunctive, *sive* subdisjunctive. As a periphrasis the combination *in other words* is subdisjunctive.

Both nominal and real disjunctives agree in this,—whatever may be the number of nouns which they connect, the construction of the verb is the same as if there were but one—Henry *or* John, *or* Thomas, *walks* (not *walk*); the sun, *or* solar luminary, *shines* (not *shine*). The disjunctive *isolates* the subject however much it may be placed in juxtaposition with other nouns.

§ 620. *Either, neither.*—Many disjunctives imply an alternative. If it be not this person (or thing) that performs a certain action (or exists in a certain state) it is some other. If a person (or thing) do not perform a certain action (or exist in a certain state), under one name, he (or it) does so under another. This alternative is expressed by the word *either*.

When the word *either* is connected immediately with the copula of a proposition, it is, if not a true conjunction, at least *a part of a conjunctional periphrasis*.—*This either is or is not so.*

When it belongs more to one of the terms of a proposition than to the copula, it is a pronoun,—*Either I or you is in the wrong. It is either you or I.*

I use the words, *part of a conjunctional periphrasis*, because the full conjunction is *either* + *or* (or *neither* + *nor*); the essential conjunctions being the latter words. To these, *either* (or *neither*) is superadded, indicating the *manner* in which the disjunction expressed by *or* (or *nor*) takes place; *i. e.*, they show that it takes place in the manner of an alternative.

Now, this superadded power is rather adverbial than conjunctional.

§ 621. From the pronominal character of the word *either*, when it forms part of a term, and from the power of the disjunctive, *or*, in *isolating* the subject of the verb, combined with an assumption which will be explained hereafter, we get at the principle of certain rules for doubtful constructions.

In expressions like *either you or I is in the wrong*, we must consider *either* not only as *a* pronoun, but as *the leading* pronoun of the proposition; a pronoun of which *or I* is an explanation; and, finally, as the pronoun which determines the person of the verb. *Either you or I is wrong* = *one of us* (*you or I*) *is wrong*.

Then, as to expressions like *I, or you, am in the wrong*. Here, *I* is the leading pronoun, which determines the person of the verbs; the words, *or you*, being parenthetic, and subordinate. These statements bear upon the rules of p. 457.

§ 622. Will this principle justify such expressions as *either they or we is in the wrong*?

Or will it justify such expressions as *either he or they is in the wrong*?

Or will it justify such expressions as *I or they am in the wrong*? In all which sentences one pronoun is plural.

Perhaps not. The assumption that has been just alluded to, as helping to explain certain doubtful constructions, is the following, *viz.*, that in cases of apposition, disjunction, and complex terms, the *first* word is the one which determines the character of the sentence wherein it occurs. This is a practice of

the English language, which, in the opinion of the present writer, nothing but a very decided preponderance of a difference in person, gender, or number, can overrule. Such may fairly be considered to be the case in the three examples just adduced; especially as there is also the secondary influence of the conjunctional character of the word *either*. Thus, although we say,—

One of two parties, they or we, is in the wrong.

We also say,—

Either they or we are in the wrong.

As for the other two expressions, they are in the same predicament, with an additional reason for the use of the plural. It *contains* the singular. The chief object of the present remarks has been less to explain details than to give due prominence to the following leading principles.

1. That *either* (or *neither*) is[66] essentially singular in number.

2. That it is, like any common noun, of the third person.

3. That it is pronominal where it is in apposition with another noun.

4. That when it is the first word of the proposition it determines the concord of the verb, unless its character of a noun of the singular number and third person be disguised by the prominence of some plural form, or some pronoun of the first or second person in the latter part of the term.

5. That in a simple disjunctive proposition (*i.e.*, one where *either* does not occur) all nouns are subordinate to the first.

§ 623. I believe that the use of *either* is limited to *real* disjunctives; in other words, that we can say *either a king or a queen always reigns in England*, but that we cannot say *either a sovereign or a supreme ruler always reigns in England*.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE SYNTAX OF THE NEGATIVE.

§ 624. When the verb is in the infinitive mood, the negative precedes it.—*Not to advance is to retreat.*

When the verb is not in the infinitive mood, the negative follows it.—*He advanced not. I cannot.*

This rule is absolute. It only *seems* to precede the verb in such expressions as *I do not advance*, *I cannot advance*, *I have not advanced*, &c. However, the words *do*, *can*, and *have*, are no infinitives; and it consequently follows them. The word *advance* is an infinitive, and it consequently precedes it. Wallis's rule makes an equivalent statement, although differently. "Adverbium negandi *not* (non) verbo postponitur (nempe auxiliari primo si adsit; aut si non adsit auxiliare, verbo principali): aliis tamen orationis partibus præfigi solet."—P. 113.

That the negative is rarely used, except with an auxiliary, in other words, that the presence of a negative converts a simple form like *it burneth not* into the circumlocution it *does not burn*, is a fact in the practice of the English language. The syntax is

the same in either expression.

§ 625. What may be called the *distribution* of the negative is pretty regular in English. Thus, when the word *not* comes between an indicative, imperative, or subjunctive mood and an infinitive verb, it almost always is taken with the word which it *follows—I can not eat* may mean either *I can—not eat* (*i.e.*, *I can abstain*), or *I can not—eat* (*i.e.*, *I am unable to eat*); but, as stated above, it *almost* always has the latter signification.

But not *always*. In Byron's "Deformed Transformed" we find the following lines:—

> Clay! not dead but soulless,
> Though no mortal man would choose
> thee,
> An immortal no less
> Deigns *not to refuse* thee.

Here *not to refuse = to accept*; and is probably a Grecism. *To not refuse* would, perhaps, be better.

The next expression is still more foreign to the English idiom:—

> For *not* to have been dipped in Lethe's lake
> *Could save* the son of Thetis from to die.

Here *not* is to be taken with *could*.

§ 626. In the present English, two negatives make an affirmative. *I have not not seen him = I have seen him.* In Greek this was not the case. *Duæ aut plures negativæ apud Græcos vehementius negant* is a well-known rule. The Anglo-Saxon idiom differed from the English and coincided with the Greek. The

French negative is only apparently double; words like *point*, *pas*, mean not *not*, but *at all*. *Je ne parle pas* = *I not speak at all*, not *I not speak no*.

§ 627. *Questions of appeal.*—All questions imply want of information; want of information may then imply doubt; doubt, perplexity; and perplexity the absence of an alternative. In this way, what are called, by Mr. Arnold,[67] *questions of appeal*, are, practically speaking, negatives. *What should I do?* when asked in extreme perplexity, means that nothing can well be done. In the following passage we have the presence of a question instead of a negative:—

> Or hear'st thou (*cluis*, Lat.) rather pure
> ætherial stream,
> Whose fountain who (*no one*) shall tell?
>
> *Paradise Lost.*

§ 628. The following extract from the Philological Museum (vol. ii.) illustrates a curious and minute distinction, which the author shows to have been current when Wicliffe wrote, but which was becoming obsolete when Sir Thomas More wrote. It is an extract from that writer against Tyndall.

"I would not here note by the way that Tyndall here translateth *no* for *nay*, for it is but a trifle and mistaking of the Englishe worde: saving that ye shoulde see that he whych in two so plain Englishe wordes, and so common as in *naye* and *no* can not tell when he should take the one and when the tother, is not for translating into Englishe a man very mete. For the use of these two wordes in aunswering a question is this. *No* aunswereth the question framed by the affirmative. As for ensample if a

manne should aske Tindall himselfe: ys an heretike meete to translate Holy Scripture into Englishe? lo to thys question if he will aunswere trew Englishe, he must aunswere *nay* and not *no*. But and if the question be asked hym thus lo: is not an heretike mete to translate Holy Scripture into Englishe? To this question if he will aunswere trewe Englishe, he must aunswere *no* and not *nay*. And a lyke difference is there betwene these two adverbs *ye* and *yes*. For if the question bee framed unto Tindall by the affirmative in thys fashion. If an heretique falsely translate the New Testament into Englishe, to make his false heresyes seem the word of Godde, be his bokes worthy to be burned? To this questyon asked in thys wyse, yf he will aunswere true Englishe, he must aunswere *ye* and not *yes*. But now if the question be asked him thus lo; by the negative. If an heretike falsely translate the Newe Testament into Englishe to make his false heresyes seme the word of God, be not hys bokes well worthy to be burned? To thys question in thys fashion framed if he will aunswere trewe Englishe he may not aunswere *ye* but he must answere *yes*, and say yes marry be they, bothe the translation and the translatour, and al that wyll hold wyth them."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ON THE CASE ABSOLUTE.

§ 629. Broadly speaking, all adverbial constructions are absolute. The term, however, is conveniently limited to a particular combination of the noun, verb, and participle. When two actions are connected with each other either by the fact of their

simultaneous occurrence, or as cause and effect, they may be expressed within the limits of a single proposition, by expressing the one by means of a verb, and the other by means of a noun and participle agreeing with each other. *The door being open, the horse was stolen.*

Considering the nature of the connection between the two actions, we find good grounds for expecting *à priori* that the participle will be in the instrumental case, when such exists in the language; and when not, in some case allied to it, *i.e.*, the ablative or dative.

In Latin the ablative is the case that is used absolutely. *Sole orto, claruit dies.*

In Anglo-Saxon the absolute case was the dative. This is logical.

In the present English, however, the nominative is the absolute case. *He made the best proverbs, him alone excepted*, is an expression of Tillotson's. We should now write *he alone excepted*. The present mode of expression is only to be justified by considering the nominative form to be a dative one, just as in the expression *you are here*, the word *you*, although an accusative, is considered as a nominative. A real nominative absolute is as illogical as a real accusative case governing a verb.

PART VI.

ON THE PROSODY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

§ 630. Prosody deals with metre; and with accent, quantity and the articulate sounds, as subordinate to

metre. For these the reader is referred to Part III. Chapters 1. 6. 7.

Metre is a general term for the recurrence, within certain intervals, of syllables similarly affected.

Syllables may be similarly affected: 1. in respect to their quantities; 2. in respect to their accents; 3. in respect to their articulations.

1.

Pălāi kŭnægĕtoūntă kāi mĕtroūmĕnōn.
Παλαι κυνηγετουντα και μετρουμενων.—
SOPH. *Ajax*, 3.

Here there is the recurrence of similar quantities.

2.

The wáy was lóng, the wínd was cóld.

Lay of the Last Minstrel.

Here there is the recurrence of similar accents.

3.

The way was long, the wind was *cold*,
The minstrel was infirm and *old*.—*Ditto.*

Here, besides the recurrence of similar accents, there is a recurrence of the same articulate sounds; *viz.* of *o* + *ld*.

§ 631. Metres founded upon the periodic recurrence of similar articulations are of two sorts.

1. *Alliterative metres.*—In alliterative metres a certain

number of words, within a certain period, must *begin* with a similar articulation.

> In Caines cynne
> þone cwealm gewræc.
>
> CÆDMON.

Alliteration is the general character of all the *early* Gothic metres. (See Rask's *Anglo-Saxon Grammar*, Rask, *On the Icelandic Prosody*, and Conybeare, *On Anglo-Saxon Poetry*.)

2. *Assonant metres.*—In assonant metres a certain number of words, within a certain period, must *end* with a similar articulation. All *rhymes* and all approaches to rhyme, form the assonant metres. The word *assonant* has a limited as well as a general sense.

§ 632. All metre goes by the name of poetry, although all poetry is not metrical. The Hebrew poetry (*see* Lowth, *De Sacra Poesi Hebræorum*) is characterized by the recurrence of similar *ideas*.

§ 633. The metres of the classical languages consist *essentially* in the recurrence of similar quantities; accent also playing a part. The incompatibility of the classical metres with the English prosody lies in the fact (stated at p. 166), *that the classic writer measures quantity by the length of the syllable taken altogether, while the Englishman measures it by the length of the vowel alone*.

§ 634. The English metres consist essentially of the recurrence of similar accents; the recurrence of similar articulations being sometimes (as in all rhyming poetry) superadded.

§ 635. In the specimen of alliteration lately quoted the only articulation that occurred was the letter *c*. It is very evident that the *two*, the *three*, or the *four* first letters, or even the whole syllable, might have coincided. Such is the case with the following lines from Lord Byron:

> Already doubled is the cape, the bay
> Receives the *prow*, that *prou*dly *sp*urns the
> *sp*ray.

Alliteration, as an ornament, must be distinguished from alliteration as the essential character of metre. Alliteration, as an ornament, is liable to many varieties.

§ 636. *Rhyme.*—In *English* versification, *rhyme* is, next to accent, the most important element. The true nature of a rhyme may best be exhibited after the analysis of a syllable, and the exhibition of certain recurrent combinations, that look like rhyme without being so.

Let the syllable *told* be taken to pieces. For metrical purposes it consists of three parts or elements: 1, the vowel (*o*); 2, the part preceding the vowel (*t*); 3, the part following the vowel (*ld*). The same may be done with the word *bold*. The two words can now be compared with each other. The comparison shows that the vowel is in each the same (*o*); that the part following the vowel (*ld*) is the same; and, finally, that the part preceding the vowel is *different* (*t* and *b*). This difference between the part preceding the vowel is essential.

Told, compared with itself (*told*), is no rhyme, but an *homœoteleuton* (ὁμοῖος, *homoios* = *like*, and τελεύτη, *teleutæ* = *end*) or *like-ending*. It differs from a rhyme in

having the parts preceding the vowel alike. Absolute identity of termination is not recognized in English poetry, except so far as it is mistaken for rhyme.

> The soft-flowing outline that steals from
> the *eye*,
> Who threw o'er the surface? did you or
> did *I*?
>
> WHITEHEAD.

Here the difference in spelling simulates a difference in sound, and a *homœoteleuton* takes the appearance of a rhyme.

Bold and *note*.—As compared with each other, these words have two of the elements of a rhyme: *viz.* the identity of the vowel, and the difference of the parts preceding it. They want, however, the third essential, or the identity of the parts following; *ld* being different from *t*. The coincidence, however, as far as it goes, constitutes a point in metre. The words in question are assonances in the limited sense of the term; and because the identity lies in the *vowels*, they may be named vowel assonances. Vowel assonances are recognized in (amongst others) the Spanish and Scandinavian metrical systems. In English they occur only when they pass as rhymes.

Bold and *mild*.—Here also are two of the elements of a rhyme, viz., the identity of the parts following the vowel (*ld*), and the difference of the parts preceding (*b* and *m*). The identity of the vowel (*o* being different from *i*) is, however, wanting. The words in question are assonances in the limited sense of the term, and consonantal assonances. Recognized in the Scandinavian, they occur in English only when they

pass as rhymes.

Rhymes may consist of a single syllable, as *told*, *bold*, of two syllables, as *water*, *daughter*; of three, as *cheerily*, *wearily*. Now, the rhyme begins where the dissimilarity of parts immediately before the main vowel begins. Then follows the vowel; and, lastly, the parts after the vowel. All the parts after the vowel must be absolutely identical. Mere similarity is insufficient.

> Then come ere a *minute's* gone,
> For the long summer day
> Puts its wings, swift as *linnets'* on,
> For flying away.—CLARE.[68]

In the lines just quoted there is no rhyme, but an assonance. The identity of the parts after the main syllable is destroyed by the single sound of *g in gone*.

A rhyme, to be perfect, must fall on syllables equally accented.—To make *sky* and the last syllable of merri*ly* serve as rhymes, is to couple an accented syllable with an unaccented one.

A rhyme, to be perfect, must fall upon syllables absolutely accented.—To make the last syllables of words like fligh*ty* and merri*ly* serve as rhymes, is to couple together two unaccented syllables.

Hence there may be (as in the case of blank verse) accent without rhyme; but there cannot be rhyme without accent.

A rhyme consists in the combination of like and unlike *sounds*.—Words like *I* and *eye* (*homœoteleuta*), *ease* and *cease* (vowel assonances), *love* and *grove* (consonantal assonances), are printers' rhymes; or

mere combinations of like and unlike letters.

A rhyme, moreover, consists in the combination of like and unlike *articulate* sounds. *Hit* and *it* are not rhymes, but identical endings; the *h* being no articulation. To my ear, at least, the pair of words, *hit* and *it*, comes under a different class from the pair *hit* (or *it*) and *pit*.

§ 637. A full and perfect rhyme (the term being stringently defined) consists in *the recurrence of one or more final syllables equally and absolutely accented, wherein the vowel and the part following the vowel shall be identical, whilst the part preceding the vowel shall be different. It is also necessary that the part preceding the vowel be articulate.*[69]

The deviations from the above-given rule, so common in the poetry of all languages, constitute not rhymes, but assonances, &c., that, by poetic licence, are recognized as equivalents to rhymes.

§ 638. *Measure.*—In lines like the following, the accent occurs on every second syllable; in other words, every accented syllable is accompanied by an unaccented one.

The wáy was lóng, the wínd was cóld.

This accented syllable and its accompanying unaccented one constitute a *measure*. The number of the syllables being two, the measure in question is dissyllabic.

§ 639. In lines like the following the accent falls on every third syllable, so that the number of syllables to the measure is three, and the measure is trisyllabic.

At the clóse of the dáy when the hámlet is
stíll.—BEATTIE.

The primary division of the English measures is into the dissyllabic and the trisyllabic.

§ 640. *Dissyllabic measures.*—The words *týrant* and *presúme* are equally dissyllabic measures; in one, however, the accent falls on the first, in the other on the second syllable. This leads us to a farther division of the English measures.

A measure like *presúme* (where the accent lies on the second syllable) may be repeated throughout a whole verse, or a whole series of verses; as,

Then fáre thee wéll mine ówn dear lóve;
The wórld has nów for ús
No gréater gríef, no paín abóve,
The páin of párting thús.—MOORE.

Here the accent falls on the second syllable of the measure.

A measure like *týrant* (where the accent lies on the first syllable) may be repeated throughout a whole verse, or a whole series of verses; as,

Héed! O héed, my fátal stóry;
Í am Hósier's ínjured ghóst;
Cóme to séek for fáme and glóry,
Fór the glóry Í have lóst.—GLOVER.

The number of dissyllabic measures is, of necessity, limited to two.

§ 641. *Trisyllabic measures.*—The words *mérrily*, *disáble*, *cavaliér*, are equally trisyllabic, but not

similarly accented. Each constitutes a separate measure, which may be continued through a whole verse, or a whole series of verses; as,

1.

Mérrily, mérrily, sháll I live nów,
Únder the blóssom that hángs on the
bóugh.

Tempest.

2.

But váinly thou wárrest;
For thís is alóne in
Thy pówer to decláre:
That ín the dim fórest
Thou heárd'st a low moáning,
And sáw'st a bright lády surpássingly
faír.

Christabel.

There's a beáuty for éver unfádingly
bríght;
Like the lóng ruddy lápse of a súmmer-
day's níght.

Lalla Rookh.

The number of trisyllabic measures is, of necessity, limited to three.

§ 642. The nature of measures may, as we have already seen, be determined by the proportion of the accented and unaccented syllables. It may also be determined by the proportion of the long and short

syllables.—In the one case we measure by the accent, in the other by the quantity. Measures determined by the quantity are called *feet*. The word *foot* being thus defined, we have no *feet* in the English metres; since in English we determine our measures by accent only.

The classical grammarians express their feet by symbols; [¯] denoting length, [˘] shortness. Forms like [˘ ¯ ˘˘ ¯˘ ˘¯] &c., are the symbolical representations of the classical feet.

The classical grammarians have names for their feet; *e.g.*, *iambic* is the name of [˘¯], *trochee* of [¯˘], *dactyle* of [¯˘˘], *amphibrachys* of [˘¯˘], *Anapæst* of [˘˘¯], &c.

The English grammarians have no symbols for their feet: since they have no form for expressing the absence of the accent. Sometimes they borrow the classical forms [˘] and [¯]. These, however, being originally meant for the expression of *quantity*, confusion arises from the use of them.

Neither have the English grammarians names for their measures. Sometimes, they borrow the classical terms *iambic*, *trochee*, &c. These, however, being meant for the expression of *quantity*, confusion arises from the use of them.

As symbols for the English measures, I indicate the use of *a* as denoting an accented, *x* an unaccented syllable; or else that of + as denoting an accented, - an unaccented syllable. Finally, ´ may denote the accent, ¨ the absence of it.

As names for the English measures I have nothing to offer. At times it is convenient to suppose that they have a definite order of arrangement, and to call

words like *týrant* the *first* measure, and words like *presúme* the second measure. In like manner, *mérrily* is measure 3; *disáble*, 4; and *cavaliér*, 5. As the number of measures is (from the necessity of the case) limited, this can be done conveniently. The classical names are never used with impunity. Their adoption invariably engenders confusion. It is very true that, *mutatis mutandis* (*i. e.*, accent being substituted for quantity), words like *týrant* and *presúme* are trochees and iambics; but it is also true that, with the common nomenclature, the full extent of the change is rarely appreciated.

Symbolically expressed, the following forms denote the following measures:

1. + - , or ´ ¨ , or *a x* = *týrant*.
2. - + , or ¨ ´ , or *x a* = *presúme*.
3. + - -, or ´ ¨ ¨, or *a x x* = *mérrily*.
4. - + -, or ¨ ´ ¨, or *x a x* = *disáble*.
5. - - +, or ¨ ¨ ´, or *x x a* = *cavaliér*.

On these measures the following general assertions may be made; *viz.*

That the dissyllabic measures are, in English, commoner than the trisyllabic.

That, of the dissyllabic measures, the second is commoner than the first.

That of the trisyllabic measures, No. 3 is the least common.

That however much one measure may predominate in a series of verses, it is rarely unmixed with others. In

Týrants swim sáfest in a púrple floód—

MARLOWE—

the measure *a x* appears in the place of *x a*. This is but a single example of a very general fact, and of a subject liable to a multiplicity of rules.

§ 643. Grouped together according to certain rules, measures constitute lines or verses; and grouped together according to certain rules, lines constitute couplets, triplets, stanzas, &c.

The absence or the presence of rhyme constitutes blank verse, or rhyming verse.

The succession, or periodic return, of rhymes constitutes stanzas, or continuous metre as the case may be.

The quantity of rhymes in succession constitutes couplets, or triplets.

The quantity of *accents* in a line constitutes the nature of the verse, taken by itself.

The succession, or periodic return, of verses of the same length has the same effect with the succession, or periodic return, of rhymes; *viz.*, it constitutes stanzas, or continuous metre, as the case may be.

This leads to the nomenclature of the English metres. Of these, none in any of the trisyllabic measures have recognized and technical names; neither have any that are referable to the measure *a x*.

§ 644. Taking, however, those that are named, we have the following list of terms.

1. *Octosyllabics.*—Four measures *x a*, and (unless the rhyme be double) eight syllables. Common in Sir W. Scott's poetry.

The way was long the wind was cold.

Lay of the Last Minstrel.

2. *Heroics.*—Five measures *x a*. This is the common measure in narrative and didactic poetry.

To err is human, to forgive divine.

3. *Alexandrines.*—Six measures *x a*. This name is said to be taken from the early romances on the deeds of Alexander the Great.

He lifted up his hand | that back againe
did start.—SPENSER.

4. *Service metre.*—Seven measures *x a*. This is the common metre of the psalm-versions. Thence its name.

But one request I made to him | that sits
the skies above,
That I were freely out of debt | as I were
out of love.

SIR JOHN SUCKLING.

§ 645. Such are the names of certain lines or verses taken by themselves. Combined or divided they form —

1. *Heroic couplets.*—Heroics, in rhyming couplets, successive.—

'Tis hard to say if greater want of skill
Appear in writing or in judging ill.

Essay on Criticism.

The heroic couplet is called also *riding rhyme*; it being the metre wherein Chaucer's Canterbury Tales (told by a party riding to Canterbury) are chiefly written.

2. *Heroic triplets.*—Same as the preceding, except that three rhymes come in succession.

3. *Blank verse.*—Heroics without rhyme.

4. *Elegiacs.*—The metre of Gray's Elegy. Heroics in four-line stanzas with alternate rhymes.

5. *Rhyme royal.*—Seven lines of heroics, with the last two rhymes successive, and the first five recurring at intervals. Sometimes the last line is an Alexandrine. There are varieties in this metre according to the intervals of the first five rhymes:—

This Troilus in gift of curtesie
  With hauke on hond, and with a huge
      rout
Of knights, rode and did her companie
  Passing all the valey far without,
  And ferther would have ridden out of
      doubt,
Full faine, and wo was him to gone so
      sone,
And tourne he must, and it was eke to
      doen.

CHAUCER'S *Troilus*.

6. *Ottava rima.*—The metre in Italian for narrative poetry. Eight lines of heroics; the first six rhyming

alternately, the last two in succession.—Byron's Don Juan in English, Orlando Furioso, &c., in Italian.

7. *Spenserian stanza.*—Eight lines of heroics closed by an Alexandrine. There are varieties of this metre according to the interval of the rhymes.

8. *Terza rima.*—Taken from the Italian, where it is the metre of Dante's Divina Commedia. Heroics with *three* rhymes recurring at intervals.—Lord Byron's Prophecy of Dante.

9. *Poulterer's measure.*—Alexandrines and service measures alternately. Found in the poetry of Henry the Eighth's time.

10. *Ballad metre.*—Stanzas of four lines; the first and third having four, the second and fourth having three measures each. Rhymes alternate.

> Turn, gentle hermit of the dale,
> And guide thy lonely way,
> To where yon taper cheers the vale
> With hospitable ray.
>
> *Edwin and Angelina.*

§ 646. *Scansion.*—Let the stanza just quoted be read as two lines, and it will be seen that a couplet of ballad metre is equivalent to a line of service metre. Such, indeed, was the origin of the ballad metre. Observe also the pause (marked |) both in the Alexandrine and the service metres. This indicates a question as to where lines *end*; in other words, how can we distinguish one long line from two short ones.

It may, perhaps, partake of the nature of a metrical

fiction to consider that (in all rhyming poetry) the length of the verse is determined by the occurrence of the rhyme. Nevertheless, as the matter cannot be left to the printer only, and as some definition is requisite, the one in point is attended by as few inconveniences as any other. It must not, however, be concealed that lines as short as

> It screamed and growled, | and cracked
> and howled—

it treats as *two*; and that lines as long as

> Where Virtue wants and Vice abounds,
> And Wealth is but a baited hook—

it reduces to a single verse.

§ 647. In metres of measure *a x*, the number of syllables is double the number of accents, unless the final rhyme be single; in which case the syllables are the fewest.

In metres of measure *x a* the number of syllables is double the number of accents, unless the rhyme be double (or treble); in which case the syllables are the most numerous.

Now this view (which may be carried throughout the whole five measures) of the proportion between the accents and the syllables, taken with the fact that it is determined by the nature of the final syllable, indicates a division of our metres into symmetrical (where the number of the syllables is the multiple of the number of accents), and unsymmetrical (where it is not so).

For practical purposes, however, the length of the

last measure may be considered as indifferent, and the terms indicated may be reserved for the forthcoming class of metres.

§ 648. Of the metres in question, Coleridge's Christabel and Byron's Siege of Corinth are the current specimens. In the latter we have the couplet:

> He sát him dówn at a píllar's báse,
> And dréw his hánd athwárt his fáce.

In the second of these lines, the accents and the syllables are symmetrical; which is not the case with the first. Now to every, or any, accent in the second line an additional unaccented syllable may be added, and the movement be still preserved. It is the fact of the accents and syllables (irrespective of the latitude allowed to the final measure) being here unsymmetrical (or, if symmetrical, only so by accident) that gives to the metres in question their peculiar character. Added to this, the change from *x x a*, to *x a x*, and *a x x*, is more frequent than elsewhere. One point respecting them must be borne in mind; *viz.*, that they are essentially trisyllabic metres from which unaccented syllables are withdrawn, rather than dissyllabic ones wherein unaccented syllables are inserted.

§ 649. Of measures of one, and of measures of four syllables the occurrence is rare, and perhaps equivocal.

§ 650. The majority of English *words* are of the form *a x*; that is, words like *týrant* are commoner than words like *presúme*.

The majority of English *metres* are of the form *x a*; that is, lines like

The wáy was lóng, the wínd was cóld

are commoner than lines like

Qúeen and húntress cháste and fáir.

The multitude of unaccentuated words like *the*, *from*, &c., taken along with the fact that they *precede* the words with which they agree, or which they govern, accounts for the apparent antagonism between the formulæ of our *words* and the formulæ of our *metres*. The contrast between a Swedish line of the form *a x*, and its literal English version (*x a*), shows this. In Swedish, the secondary part of the construction *follows*, in English it *precedes*, the main word:—

Swedish. Vár*en* kómm*er*; fúgl*en* qvittr*ar*;
skóv*en* lófv*as*;
sól*en* lér.

English. The spríng *is* cóme; *the* bírd *is*
blýthe; *the* wóod *is* gréen;
the sún *is* bríght.

This is quoted for the sake of showing the bearing of the etymology and syntax of a language upon its prosody.

§ 651. *The classical metres as read by Englishmen.*—In p. 500 it is stated that "the metres of the classical languages consist essentially in the recurrence of similar quantities; *accent playing a part*." Now there are reasons for investigating the facts involved in this statement more closely than has hitherto been done; since the following circumstances make some inquiry into the extent of the differences between the English and the classical systems of metre, an appropriate element of a work upon the English language.

1. The classical poets are authors preeminently familiarized to the educated English reader.

2. The notions imbibed from a study of the classical prosodies have been unduly mixed up with those which should have been derived more especially from the poetry of the Gothic nations.

3. The attempt to introduce (so-called) Latin and Greek metres into the Gothic tongues, has been partially successful on the Continent, and not unattempted in Great Britain.

§ 652. The first of these statements requires no comment.

The second, viz., "that the notions imbibed, &c." will bear some illustration; an illustration which verifies the assertion made in p. 505, that the English grammarians "sometimes borrow the classical terms *iambic*, *trochee*," &c., and apply them to their own metres.

How is this done? In two ways, one of which is wholly incorrect, the other partially correct, but inconvenient.

To imagine that we have in English, for the practical purposes of prosody, syllables *long in quantity* or *short in quantity*, syllables capable of being arranged in groups constituting feet, and feet adapted for the construction of hexametres, pentametres, sapphics, and alcaics, just as the Latins and Greeks had, is wholly incorrect. The English system of versification is founded, not upon the periodic recurrence of similar *quantities*, but upon the periodic recurrence of similar accents.

The less incorrect method consists in giving up all

ideas of the existence of *quantity*, in the proper sense of the word, as an essential element in English metre; whilst we admit *accent* as its equivalent; in which case the presence of an accent is supposed to have the same import as the lengthening and the absence of one, as the shortening of a syllable; so that, *mutatis mutandis*, *a* is the equivalent to [¯], and *x* to [˘].

In this case the metrical notation for—

> The wáy was lóng, the wínd was cóld—
> Mérrily, mérrily, sháll I live nów—

would be, not—

> *x a, x a, x a, x a,*
> *a x x, a x x, a x x, a*

respectively, but—

> [˘ ¯ ˘ ¯ ˘ ¯ ˘ ¯]
> [¯ ˘ ˘ ¯ ˘ ˘ ¯ ˘ ˘ ¯]

Again—

> As they splásh in the blóod of the slíppery
> streét,

is not—

> *x x a, x x a, x x a, x x a,*

but

> [˘ ˘ ¯ ˘ ˘ ¯ ˘ ˘ ¯ ˘ ˘ ¯]

§ 653. With this view there are a certain number of classical *feet*, with their syllables affected in the way of *quantity*, to which they are equivalent English

measures with their syllables affected in the way of *accent*. Thus if the formula

A, [¯ ˘]	be a classical,	the formula	*a* *x*	is an English	*trochee*.
B, [˘ ¯]	,,	,,	*x* *a*	,,	*iambus*.
C, [¯ ˘ ˘]	,,	,,	*a* *x* *x*	,,	*dactyle*.
D, [˘ ¯ ˘]	,,	,,	*x* *a* *x*	,,	*amphibrachys*.
E, [˘ ˘ ¯]	,,	,,	*x* *x* *a*	,,	*anapæst*.

And so on in respect to the larger groups of similarly affected syllables which constitute whole lines and stanzas; verses like

A. Cóme to séek for fáme and glóry—
B. The wáy was lóng, the wínd was cóld—
C. Mérrily, mérrily sháll I live nów—
D. But váinly thou wárrest—
E. At the clóse of the dáy when the hámlet
is stíll—

are (A), trochaic; (B), iambic; (C), dactylic; (D), amphibrachych; and (E), anapæstic, respectively.

And so, with the exception of the word *amphibrachych* (which I do not remember to have seen) the terms have been used. And so, with the

same exception, systems of versification have been classified.

§ 654. *Reasons against the classical nomenclature as applied to English metres.*—These lie in the two following facts:—

1. Certain English metres have often a very different character from their supposed classical analogues.

2. Certain classical *feet* have no English equivalents.

§ 655. *Certain English metres have often a very different metrical character, &c.*—Compare such a so-called English anapæst as—

> As they splásh in the blóod of the slíppery
> stréet—

with

> Δεκατον μεν ετος τοδ' επει Πριαμου.

For the latter line to have the same movement as the former, it must be read thus—

> Dekatón men etós to d' epéi Priamóu.

Now we well know that, whatever may be any English scholar's notions of the Greek accents, this is not the way in which he reads Greek anapæsts.

Again the *trochaic* movement of the *iambic* senarius is a point upon which the most exclusive Greek metrists have insisted; urging the necessity of reading (for example) the first line in the Hecuba—

> Hǽko nékron keuthmóna kai skótou pýlas.

rather than—

Hækó nekrón keuthmóna kai skotóu pylás.

§ 656. I have said that *certain English metres have often a very different metrical character*, &c. I can strengthen the reasons against the use of classical terms in English prosody, by enlarging upon the word *often*. The frequency of the occurrence of a difference of character between classical and English metres similarly named is not a matter of *accident*, but is, in many cases, a necessity arising out of the structure of the English language as compared with that of the Greek and Latin—especially the Greek.

With the exception of the so-called second futures, there is no word in Greek whereof the *last* syllable is accented. Hence, no English line ending with an accented syllable can have a Greek equivalent. Accent for accent—

GREEK.	LATIN.		ENGLISH.
Týpto,	*Vóco*	=	*Týrant*,
Týptomen,	*Scríbere*	=	*Mérrily*,
Keuthmóna,	*Vidístis*	=	*Disáble*,

but no Greek word (with the exception of the so-called second futures like νεμῶ = *nemô*) and (probably) no Latin word at all, is accented like *presúme* and *cavalíer*.

From this it follows that although the first three measures of such so-called English anapæsts as—

As they splásh in the blóod of the slíppery
stréet,

may be represented by Greek equivalents (*i. e.*,

equivalents in the way of accent)—

Ep' omóisi feroúsi ta kleína—

a parallel to the last measure (*-ery stréet*) can only be got at by one of two methods; *i. e.*, by making the verse end in a so-called second future, or else in a vowel preceded by an accented syllable, and cut off —

Ep' omóisi feróusi ta kleína nemó—

or,

Ep' omóisi feróusi ta kleína prosóp'.[70]

Now it is clear that when, over and above the fact of certain Greek metres having a different movement from their supposed English equivalents, there is the additional circumstance of such an incompatibility being less an accident than a necessary effect of difference of character in the two languages, the use of terms suggestive of a closer likeness than either does or ever can exist is to be condemned; and this is the case with the words, *dactylic*, *trochaic*, *iambic*, *anapæstic*, as applied to English versification.

§ 657. *Certain classical feet have no English equivalents.* —Whoever has considered the principles of English prosody, must have realized the important fact that, *ex vi termini, no English measure can have either more or less than* one *accented syllable*.

On the other hand, the classical metrists have several measures in both predicaments. Thus to go no farther than the trisyllabic feet, we have the pyrrhic ([˘ ˘]) and tribrach ([˘ ˘ ˘]) without a long syllable at all,

and the spondee ([¯ ¯]), amphimacer ([¯ ˘ ¯]), and molossus ([¯ ¯ ¯]) with more than one long syllable. It follows, then that (even *mutatis mutandis*, *i.e.*, with the accent considered as the equivalent to the long syllable) English pyrrhics, English tribrachs, English amphimacers, English spondees, and English molossi are, each and all, prosodial impossibilities.

It is submitted to the reader that the latter reason (based wholly upon the limitations that arise out of the structure of language) strengthens the objections of the previous section.

§ 658. *The classical metres metrical even to English readers.* The attention of the reader is directed to the difficulty involved in the following (apparently or partially) contradictory facts.

1. Accent and quantity differ; and the metrical systems founded upon them differ also.

2. The classical systems are founded upon quantity.

3. The English upon accent.

4. Nevertheless, notwithstanding the difference of the principle upon which they are constructed, the classical metres, even as read by Englishmen, and read *accentually*, are metrical to English ears.

§ 659. Preliminary to the investigation of the problem in question it is necessary to remark—

1. That, the correctness or incorrectness of the English pronunciation of the dead languages has nothing to do with the matter. Whether we read Homer exactly, as Homer would read his own immortal poems, or whether we read them in such a way as would be unintelligible to Homer reappearing

upon earth, is perfectly indifferent.

2. That whether, as was indicated by the author of Μὲτρον ἄριστον, we pronounce the anapæst *pătŭlæ*, precisely as we pronounce the dactyle *Tītўrĕ*, or draw a distinction between them is also indifferent. However much, as is done in some of the schools, we may say *scri-bere* rather than *scrib-ere*, or *am-or*, rather than *a-mor*, under the notion that we are lengthening or shortening certain syllables, one unsurmountable dilemma still remains, viz., that the shorter we pronounce the vowel, the more we suggest the notion of the consonant which follows it being doubled; whilst double consonants *lengthen* the vowel which precedes them. Hence, whilst it is certain that *patulæ* and *Tityre* may be pronounced (and that without hurting the metre) so as to be both of the same *quantity*, it is doubtful what that *quantity* is. Sound for sound *Tĭtyre* may be as short as *pătulæ*. Sound for sound *pāttulæ* may be as long as *Tīttyre*.

Hence, the only assumptions requisite are—

a. That Englishmen do *not* read the classical metres according to their quantities.

b. That, nevertheless, they find metre in them.

§ 660. *Why are the classical metres metrical to English readers?*—Notwithstanding the extent to which quantity differs from accent, there is no metre so exclusively founded upon the former as to be without a certain amount of the latter; and in the majority (at least) of the classical (and probably other) metres *there is a sufficient amount of accentual elements to constitute metre; even independent of the quantitative ones.*

§ 661. *Latitude in respect to the periodicity of the recurrence of similarly accented syllables in English.*—Metre (as stated in p. 499), "is the recurrence, within certain intervals, of syllables similarly affected."

The particular way in which syllables are *affected* in English metre is that of *accent*.

The more regular the period at which similar accents recur the more typical the metre.

Nevertheless absolute regularity is not requisite.

This leads to the difference between symmetrical and unsymmetrical metres.

§ 662. *Symmetrical metres.*—Allowing for indifference of the number of syllables in the last measure, it is evident that in all lines where the measures are dissyllabic the syllables will be a multiple of the accents, *i. e.*, they will be twice as numerous. Hence, with three accents there are six syllables; with four accents, eight syllables, &c.

Similarly, in all lines where the measures are trisyllabic the syllables will also be multiples of the accents, *i. e.*, they will be thrice as numerous. Hence, with three accents there will be nine syllables, with four accents, twelve syllables, and with seven accents, twenty-one syllables.

Lines of this sort may be called symmetrical.

§ 663. *Unsymmetrical metres.*—Lines, where the syllables are *not* a multiple of the accents, may be called unsymmetrical. Occasional specimens of such lines occur interspersed amongst others of symmetrical character. Where this occurs the general character of the versification may be considered as

symmetrical also.

The case, however, is different where the whole character of the versification is unsymmetrical, as it is in the greater part of Coleridge's Christabel, and Byron's Siege of Corinth.

In the yéar since Jésus diéd for mén,
Eíghteen húndred yeárs and tén,
Wé were a gállant cómpaný,
Ríding o'er lánd and sáiling o'er séa.
Óh! but wé went mérrilý!
We fórded the ríver, and clómb the high
híll,
Néver our steéds for a dáy stood stíll.
Whéther we láy in the cáve or the shéd,
Our sleép fell sóft on the hárdest béd;
Whéther we cóuch'd on our róugh capóte,
Or the róugher plánk of our glíding bóat;
Or strétch'd on the beách or our sáddles
spréad
As a píllow beneáth the résting héad,
Frésh we wóke upón the mórrow.
Áll our thóughts and wórds had scópe,
Wé had héalth and wé had hópe,
Tóil and trável, bút no sórrow.

§ 664. *Many* (*perhaps all*) *classical metres on a level with the unsymmetrical English ones*.—The following is the notation of the extract in the preceding section.

x x a x a x a x a
a x a x a x a
a x x a x a x a
a x x a x a x x a
a x a x a x x
x a x x a x x a x x a

a x x a x x a x a
a x x a x x a x x a
x a x a x x a x a
a x x a x x a x a
x x a x a x x a x a
x a x x a x x a x a
x x a x x a x a x a
a x a x a x a x
a x a x a x a
a x a x a x a
a x a x a x a x

Now many Latin metres present a recurrence of accent little more irregular than the quotation just analysed. The following is the accentual formula of the first two stanzas of the second ode of the first Book of Horace.

Accentual Formula of the Latin Sapphic.

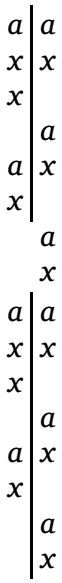
a	*a*
a	*x*
x	
	a
a	*x*
x	
	a
	x
a	*a*
x	*x*
x	
	a
a	*x*
x	
	a
	x

a | *a*
x | *x*
x |
| *a*
a | *x*
x |
a
x

a
x
x

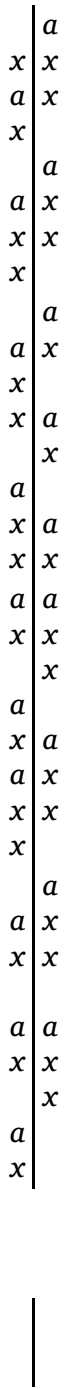
a
x

a | *a*
x | *x*
x |
| *a*
a | *x*
x |
| *a*
| *x*



Latin Asclepiad.

Horace, Od. I. I., 1-6.



	a
a	*x*
x	*x*
a	*a*
x	*x*
	x
a	
x	
	a
x	*x*
a	*x*
x	
	a
a	*x*
x	*a*
x	*x*

Latin Hexameter.

Æn. I., 1-5.

a x x a x a x a x x a x
x a x x a x a x x a x x a x
a x x x a x a x x x a x x a x
x a x x a x a x x x a x x a x.

A longer list of examples would show us that, throughout the whole of the classical metres the same accents recur, sometimes with less, and sometimes with but very little more irregularity than they recur in the *unsymmetrical* metres of our own language.

§ 665. *Conversion of English into classical metres.*—In the preface to his Translation of Aristophanes, Mr. Walsh has shown (and, I believe, for the first time),

that, by a different distribution of lines, very fair hexameters may be made out of the well-known lines on the Burial of Sir John Moore:—

Not a drum was
Heard, not a funeral note as his corse to
the rampart we hurried,
Not a soldier dis-
Charged his farewell shot o'er the grave
where our hero we buried.

We buried him
Darkly at dead of night, the sods with our
bayonets turning;
By the struggling
Moonbeams' misty light and the lantern
dimly burning.

Lightly they'll
Talk of the spirit that's gone, and o'er his
cold ashes upbraid him,
But little he'll
Reck if they let him sleep on in the grave
where a Briton has laid him.

§ 666. Again, such lines as Coleridge's—

1. Make réady my gráve clothes to-
mórrow;

or Shelly's—

2. Líquid Péneus was flówing,

are the exact analogues of lines like—

1. Jam lácte depúlsum leónem,

and

2. Gráto Pýrrha sub ántro.

§ 667. The rationale of so remarkable a phænomenon as *regularity of accent in verses considered to have been composed with a view to quantity only* has yet to be investigated. That it was necessary to the structure of the metres in question is certain.

§ 668. *Cæsura.*—The *cæsura* of the classical metrists is the result of—

1. The necessity in the classical metres (as just indicated) of an accented syllable in certain parts of the verses.

2. The nearly total absence in the classical languages of words with an accent on the last syllable.

From the joint effect of these two causes, it follows that in certain parts of a verse no final syllable can occur, or (changing the expression) no word can terminate.

Thus, in a language consisting chiefly of dissyllables, of which the first alone was accented, and in a metre which required the sixth syllable to be accented, the fifth and seventh would each be at end of words, and that simply because the sixth was not.

Whilst in a language consisting chiefly of either dissyllables or trisyllables, and in a metre of the same sort as before, if the fifth were not final, the seventh would be so, or *vice versa*.

§ 669. *Cæsura* means *cutting*. In a language destitute of words accented on the last syllable, and in a metre requiring the sixth syllable to be accented, a measure

(foot) of either the formula *x a*, or *x x a* (*i. e.*, a measure with the accent at the end), except in the case of words of four or more syllables, must always be either itself divided, or else cause the division of the following measures—*division* meaning the distribution of the syllables of the measure (foot) over two or more words. Thus—

a. If the accented syllable (the sixth) be the first of a word of any length, the preceding one (the fifth) must be the final one of the word which went before; in which case the first and last parts belong to different words, and the measure (foot) is divided or *cut*.

b. If the accented syllable (the sixth) be the second of a word of three syllables, the succeeding one which is at the end of the word, is the first part of the measure which follows; in which case the first and last parts of the measure (foot) which follows the accented syllable is divided or *cut*.

As the *cæsura*, or the necessity for dividing certain measures between two words, arises out of the structure of language, it only occurs in tongues where there is a notable absence of words accented on the last syllable. Consequently there is no cæsura[71] in the English.

§ 670. As far as accent is concerned, the classical poets write in *measures* rather than *feet*. See p. 505.

§ 671. Although the idea of writing English hexameters, &c., on the principle of an accent in a measure taking the place of the long syllables in a foot, is chimerical; it is perfectly practicable to write English verses upon the same principle which the

classics themselves have written on, *i.e.*, with accents recurring within certain limits; in which case the so-called classical metre is merely an unsymmetrical verse of a new kind. This may be either blank verse or rhyme.

§ 672. The chief reason against the naturalization of metres of the sort in question (over and above the practical one of our having another kind in use already), lies in the fact of their being perplexing to the readers who have *not* been trained to classical cadences, whilst they suggest and violate the idea of *quantity* to those who have.

Why his idea of quantity is violated may be seen in p. 165.

§ 673. *Convertible metres.*—Such a line as—

Ere her faithless sons betray'd her,

may be read in two ways. We may either lay full stress upon the word *ere*, and read—

Ére her faíthless sóns betráy'd her;

or we may lay little or no stress upon either *ere* or *her*, reserving the full accentuation for the syllable *faith-* in *faithless*, in which case the reading would be

Ere her faíthless sóns betráy'd her.

Lines of this sort may be called examples of *convertible metres*, since by changing the accent a dissyllabic line may be converted into one partially trisyllabic, and *vice versâ*.

This property of convertibility is explained by the fact of accentuation being *a relative quality*. In the example before us *ere* is sufficiently strongly accented to stand in contrast to *her*, but it is not sufficiently strongly accented to stand upon a par with the *faith-* in *faithless* if decidedly pronounced.

The real character of convertible lines is determined from the character of the lines with which they are associated. That the second mode of reading the line in question is the proper one, may be shown by reference to the stanza wherein it occurs.

Let Érin remémber her dáys of óld,
  Ere her faíthless sóns betráy'd her,
When Málachi wóre the cóllar of góld,
  Which he wón from the próud inváder.

Again, such a line as

For the glory I have lost,

although it may be read

For the glóry I have lóst,

would be read improperly. The stanza wherein it occurs is essentially dissyllabic (*a x*).

Heéd, oh heéd my fátal stóry!
  Í am Hósier's ínjured ghóst,
Cóme to seék for fáme and glóry—
  Fór the glóry Í have lóst.

§ 674. *Metrical and grammatical combinations.*— Words, or parts of words, that are combined as measures, are words, or parts of words, combined *metrically*, or in *metrical combination*.

Syllables combined as words, or words combined as portions of a sentence, are syllables and words *grammatically combined*, or in *grammatical combination*.

The syllables *ere her faith-* form a metrical combination.

The words *her faithless sons* form a grammatical combination.

When the syllables contained in the same measure (or connected metrically) are also contained in the same construction (or connected grammatically), the metrical and the grammatical combinations coincide. Such is the case with the line

> Remémber | the glóries | of Brían | the Bráve;

where the same division separates both the measure and the subdivisions of the sense, inasmuch as the word *the* is connected with the word *glories* equally in grammar and in metre, in syntax and in prosody. So is *of* with *Brian*, and *the* with *Brave*.

Contrast with this such a line as

> A chieftain to the Highlands bound.

Here the metrical division is one thing, the grammatical division another, and there is no coincidence.

Metrical,

> A chíef | tain tó | the Hígh | lands bóund.

Grammatical,

A chieftain | to the Highlands | bound.

In the following stanza the coincidence of the metrical and grammatical combination is nearly complete:—

To árms! to árms! The sérfs, they róam
O'er híll, and dále, and glén:
The kíng is deád, and tíme is cóme
To choóse a chiéf agáin.

In

Wárriors or chiéfs, should the sháft or the swórd
Piérce me in léading the hóst of the Lórd,
Heéd not the córse, though a kíng's in your páth,
Búry your stéel in the bósoms of Gáth.—
BYRON.

there is a non-coincidence equally complete.

§ 675. *Rhythm.*—The character of a metre is marked and prominent in proportion as the metrical and the grammatical combinations coincide. The extent to which the measure *a x x* is the basis of the stanza last quoted is concealed by the antagonism of the metre and the construction. If it were not for the axiom, that *every metre is to be considered uniform until there is proof to the contrary*, the lines might be divided thus:—

a x, x a, x x a, x x a,
a x, x a x, x a x, x a,
a x, x a, x x a, x x a,
a x, x a x, x a x, x a.

The variety which arises in versification from the different degrees of the coincidence and non-coincidence between the metrical and grammatical combinations may be called *rhythm*.

§ 676. *Constant and inconstant parts of a rhythm.*—See § 636. Of the three parts or elements of a rhyme, the vowel and the part which follows the vowel are *constant*, *i.e.*, they cannot be changed without changing or destroying the rhyme. In *told* and *bold*, *plunder*, *blunder*, both the *o* or *u* on one side, and the *-ld* or *-nder* on the other are immutable.

Of the three parts, or elements, of a rhyme the part which precedes the vowel is *inconstant*, *i.e*, it must be changed in order to effect the rhyme. Thus, *old* and *old*, *told* and *told*, *bold* and *bold*, do *not* rhyme with each other; although *old*, *bold*, *told*, *scold*, &c. do.

Rule 1. In two or more syllables that rhyme with each other, neither the vowel nor the sounds which *follow* it can be *different*.

Rule 2. In two or more syllables that rhyme with each other, the sounds which *precede* the vowel cannot be *alike*.

Now the number of sounds which can precede a vowel is limited: it is that of the consonants and consonantal combinations; of which a list can be made *a priori*.

p	*pl*	*pr*	*b*	*bl*	*br*
f	*fl*	*fr*	*v*	*vl*	*vr*
t	*tl*	*tr*	*d*	*dl*	*dr*
th	*thl*	*thr*	*dh*	*dhl*	*dhr*
k	*kl*	*kr*	*g*	*gl*	*gr*
s	*sp*	*sf*	*st*	*sth,*	*&c.*

and so on, the combinations of s being the most complex.

This gives us the following method (or receipt) for the discovery of rhymes:—

1. Divide the word to which a rhyme is required, into its *constant* and *inconstant* elements.

2. Make up the inconstant element by the different consonants and consonantal combinations until they are exhausted.

3. In the list of words so formed, mark off those which have an existence in the language; these will all rhyme with each other; and if the list of combinations be exhaustive, there are no other words which will do so.

Example.—From the word *told*, separate the *o* and *-ld*, which are constant.

Instead of the inconstant element *t*, write successively, *p*, *pl*, *pr*, *b*, *bl*, *br*, &c.: so that you have the following list:—*t-old*, *p-old*, *pl-old*, *pr-old*, *b-old*, *bl-old*, *br-old*, &c.

Of these *plold*, *blold*, and *brold*, have no existence in the language; the rest, however, are rhymes.

§ 677. All words have the same number of possible, but not the same number of actual rhymes. Thus, *silver* is a word amenable to the same process as *told* —*pilver*, *plilver*, *prilver*, *bilver*, &c.; yet *silver* is a word without a corresponding rhyme. This is because the combinations which answer to it do not constitute words, or combinations of words in the English language.

This has been written, not for the sake of showing

poets how to manufacture rhymes, but in order to prove that a result which apparently depends on the ingenuity of writers, is reducible to a very humble mechanical process, founded upon the nature of rhyme and the limits to the combinations of consonants.

PART VII.

THE DIALECTS OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

§ 678. The consideration of the dialects of the English language is best taken in hand after the historical investigation of the elements of the English population. For this, see Part I.

It is also best taken in hand after the analysis of the grammatical structure of the language. For this, see Part IV.

This is because both the last-named subjects are necessary as preliminaries. The structure of the language supplies us with the points in which one dialect may differ from another, whilst the history of the immigrant populations may furnish an ethnological reason for such differences as are found to occur.

For a further illustration of this see pp. 4, 5.

§ 679. By putting together the history of the migrations into a country, and the grammatical structure of the language which they introduced, we find that there are two methods of classifying the dialects. These may be called the ethnological, and the structural methods.

According to the former, we place in the same class those dialects which were introduced by the same section of immigrants. Thus, a body of Germans, starting from the same part of Germany, and belonging to the same section of the Germanic population, even if, whilst at sea, they separated into two, three, or more divisions, and landed upon widely separated portions of Great Britain, would introduce dialects which were allied *ethnologically*; even though, by one of them changing rapidly, and the others not changing at all, they might, in their external characters, differ from each other, and agree with dialects of a different introduction. Hence, the ethnological principle is essentially historical, and is based upon the idea of *affiliation* or affinity in the way of descent.

The *structural* principle is different. Two dialects introduced by different sections (perhaps it would be better to say *sub*-sections) of an immigrant population may suffer similar changes; *e. g.*, they may lose the same inflexions, adopt similar euphonic processes, or incorporate the same words. In this case, their external characters become mutually alike. Hence, if we take two (or move) such dialects, and place them in the same class, we do so simply because they are alike; not because they are affiliated.

Such are the two chief principles of classification. Generally, they coincide; in other words, similarity of external characters is *primâ facie* evidence of affinity in the way of affiliation, identity of origin being the safest assumption in the way of cause; whilst identity of origin is generally a sufficient ground for calculating upon similarity of external form; such being, *a priori*, its probable effect.

Still, the evidence of one in favour of the other is only *primâ facie* evidence. Dialects of the same origin may grow unlike; dialects of different origins alike.

§ 680. The causes, then, which determine those minute differences of language, which go by the name of *dialects* are twofold.—1. Original difference; 2. Subsequent change.

§ 681. The original difference between the two sections (or *sub*-sections) of an immigrant population are referable to either—1. Difference of locality in respect to the portion of the country from which they originated; or 2. Difference in the date of the invasion.

Two bodies of immigrants, one from the Eyder, and the other from the Scheldt, even if they left their respective localities on the same day of the same month, would most probably differ from one another; and that in the same way that a Yorkshireman differs from a Hampshire man.

On the other hand, two bodies of immigrants, each leaving the very same locality, but one in 200 A.D., and the other in 500 A.D., would also, most probably, differ; and that as a Yorkshireman of 1850 A.D. differs from one of 1550 A.D.

§ 682. The subsequent changes which may affect the dialect of an immigrant population are chiefly referable to either, 1. Influences exerted by the dialects of the aborigines of the invaded country; 2. Influences of simple growth, or development. A dialect introduced from Germany to a portion of Great Britain, where the aborigines spoke Gaelic, would (if affected at all by the indigenous dialect) be differently affected from a dialect similarly

circumstanced in a British, Welsh, and Cambrian district.

A language which changes rapidly, will, at the end of a certain period, wear a different aspect from one which changes slowly.

§ 683. A full and perfect apparatus for the minute philology of the dialects of a country like Great Britain, would consist in—

1. The exact details of the present provincialisms.

2. The details of the history of each dialect through all its stages.

3. The exact details of the provincialisms of the whole of that part of Germany which contributed, or is supposed to have contributed, to the Anglo-Saxon immigration.

4. The details of the original languages or dialects of the Aboriginal Britons at the time of the different invasions.

This last is both the least important and the most unattainable.

§ 684. Such are the preliminaries which are wanted for the purposes of investigation. Others are requisite for the proper understanding of the facts already ascertained, and the doctrines generally admitted; the present writer believing that these two classes are by no means coextensive.

Of such preliminaries, the most important are those connected with 1. the structure of language, and 2. the history of individual documents; in other words, certain points of philology, and certain points of bibliography.

§ 685. *Philological preliminaries.*—These are points of pronunciation, points of grammatical structure, and glossarial peculiarities. It is only the first two which will be noticed. They occur in 1. the modern, 2. the ancient local forms of speech.

§ 686. *Present provincial dialects.*—In the way of grammar we find, in the present provincial dialects (amongst many others), the following old forms—

1. A plural in *en—we call-en*, *ye call-en*, they *call-en*. Respecting this, the writer in the Quarterly Review, has the following doctrine:—

"It appears to have been popularly known, if not in East Anglia proper, at all events in the district immediately to the westward, since we find it in Orm, in an Eastern-Midland copy of the Rule of Nuns, sæc. XIII., and in process of time in Suffolk. Various conjectures have been advanced as to the origin of this form, of which we have no certain examples before the thirteenth century.[72] We believe the true state of the case to have been as follows. It is well known that the Saxon dialects differ from the Gothic, Old-German, &c. in the form of the present indicative plural—making all three persons to end in *-aþ* or *-ad;—we—ʒe—hi—lufi-aþ* (*-ad*). Schmeller and other German philologists observe that a nasal has been here elided, the true ancient form being *-and*, *-ant*, or *-ent*. Traces of this termination are found in the Cotton MS. of the Old Saxon Evangelical Harmony, and still more abundantly in the popular dialects of the Middle-Rhenish district from Cologne to the borders of Switzerland. These not only exhibit the full termination *-ent*, but also two modifications of it, one dropping the nasal and the other the dental. *E.g.*:—

Pres. Indic.	Plur. 1, 2, 3	liebent;
,,	,,	lieb-et;
,,	,,	lieb-en;

—the last exactly corresponding with the Mercian. It is remarkable that none of the above forms appear in classical German compositions, while they abound in the Miracle-plays, vernacular sermons, and similar productions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, specially addressed to the uneducated classes. We may, therefore, reasonably conclude from analogy that similar forms were popularly current in our midland counties, gradually insinuating themselves into the written language. We have plenty of examples of similar phenomena. It would be difficult to find written instances of the pronouns *scho*, or *she*, *their*, *you*, the auxiliaries *sal*, *suld*, &c., before the twelfth century; but their extensive prevalence in the thirteenth proves that they must have been popularly employed somewhere even in times which have left us no documentary evidence of their existence."

I prefer to consider this termination as *-en*, a mere extension of the subjunctive form to the indicative.

2. An infinitive form in *-ie*; as to *sowie*, to *reapie*,—Wiltshire. (Mr. Guest).

3. The participial form in *-and*; as *goand*, *slepand*,—Lincolnshire (?), Northumberland, Scotland.

4. The common use of the termination *-th* in the third person present; *goeth*, *hath*, *speaketh*,—Devonshire.

5. Plural forms in *-en*; as *housen*,—Leicestershire and elsewhere.

6. Old preterite forms of certain verbs; as,

Clom,	from	*climb*,	Hereford and elsewhere.
Hove,	—	*heave*,	ditto.
Puck,	—	*pick*,	ditto.
Shuck,	—	*shook*,	ditto.
Squoze,	—	*squeeze*,	ditto.
Shew,	—	*sow*,	Essex.
Rep,	—	*reap*,	ditto.
Mew,	—	*mow*,	ditto, &c.

The following changes (a few out of many) are matters not of grammar, but of pronunciation:—

Ui for *oo—cuil*, *bluid*, for *cool*, *blood*,—Cumberland, Scotland.

Oy for *i—foyne*, *twoyne*, for *fine*, *twine*,—Cheshire, Cambridgeshire, Suffolk.

Oy for *oo—foyt* for *foot*,—Halifax.

Oy for *o—noite*, *foil*, *coil*, *hoil*, for *note*, *foal*, *coal*, *hole*, —Halifax.

Oy for *a—loyne* for *lane*,—Halifax.

Ooy for *oo—nooin*, *gooise*, *fooil*, *tooil*, for *noon*, *goose*, *fool*, *tool*,—Halifax.

W inserted (with or without a modification)—as *spwort*, *scworn*, *whoam*, for *sport*, *scorn*, *home*,—Cumberland, West Riding of Yorkshire.

Ew for *oo*, or *yoo—tewn* for *tune*,—Suffolk, Westmoreland.

Iv for *oo*, or *yoo* when a vowel follows—as *Samivel*

for *Samuel*; *Emmanivel* for *Emmanuel*. In all these we have seen a tendency to *diphthongal* sounds.

In the following instances the practice is reversed, and instead of the vowel being made a diphthong, the diphthong becomes a vowel, as,

O for *oy—boh* for *boy*, Suffolk, &c.

Oo for *ow—broon* for *brown*,—Bilsdale.

Ee for *i—neet* for *night*,—Cheshire.

O for *ou—bawn'* for *bound*,—Westmoreland.

Of these the substitution of *oo* for *ow*, and of *ee* for *i*, are of importance in the questions of the Appendix.

Ēē for *a—theere* for *there*,—Cumberland.

Ēē for *ĕ—reed*, *seeven*, for *red*, *seven*,—Cumberland, Craven.

Ā for *ō—sair*, *mair*, *baith*, for *sore*, *more*, *both*,—Cumberland, Scotland.

Ă for *ŏ—saft* for *soft*,—Cheshire.

O for *ă—mon* for *man*,—Cheshire. *Lond* for *land*,—East-Anglian Semi-Saxon.

Y inserted before a vowel—*styake*, *ryape*, for *stake*, *rope*,—Borrowdale; especially after *g* (a point to be noticed), *gyarden*, *gyown*, for *garden*, *gown*,—Warwickshire, &c.; and at the beginning of a word, as *yat*, *yan*, for *ate*, *one* (*ane*),—Westmoreland, Bilsdale.

H inserted—*hafter*, *hoppen*, for *after*, *open*,—Westmoreland, &c.

H omitted—*at*, *ard*, for *hat*, *hard*,—*Passim*.

Transition of Consonants.

B for *v*—*Whitehebbon* for *Whitehaven*,—Borrowdale.

P for *b*—*poat* for *boat*.—Welsh pronunciation of many English words. See the speeches of Sir Hugh Evans in Merry Wives of Windsor.

V for *f*—*vind* for *find*,—characteristic of Devonshire, Kent.

T for *d* (final)—*deet* for *deed*,—Borrowdale.

T for *ch* (*tsh*)—*fet* for *fetch*,—Devonshire.

D for *j* (*dzh*)—*sled* for *sledge*,—Hereford.

D for *th* (*þ*)—*wid* = *with*; *tudder* = *the other*,—Borrowdale, Westmoreland. Initial (especially before a consonant)—*drash*, *droo* = *thrash*, *through*,—Devonshire, Wilts.

K for *ch* (*tsh*)—*thack*, *pick*, for *thatch*, *pitch*,—Westmoreland, Lincolnshire, Halifax.

G for *j* (*dzh*)—*brig* for *bridge*—Lincolnshire, Hereford.

G preserved from the Anglo-Saxon—*lig*, *lie*. Anglo-Saxon, *licgan*,—Lincolnshire, North of England.

Z for *s*—*zee* for *see*,—Devonshire.

S for *sh*—*sall* for *shall*,—Craven, Scotland.

Y for *g*—*yet* for *gate*,—Yorkshire, Scotland.

W for *v*—*wiew* for *view*,—Essex, London.

N for *ng*—*bleedin* for *bleeding*,—Cumberland, Scotland.

Sk for *sh*—*busk* for *bush*,—Halifax.

Ejection of Letters.

K before *s*, the preceding vowel being lengthened by way of compensation—*neist* for *next*, *seist* for *sixth*,—Halifax.

D and *v* after a consonant—*gol* for *gold*, *siller* for *silver*,—Suffolk. The ejection of *f* is rarer; *mysel* for *myself*, however, occurs in most dialects.

L final, after a short vowel,—in which case the vowel is lengthened—*poo* for *pull*,—Cheshire, Scotland.

Al changed to *a* open—*hawf* for *half*, *saumo*n for *salmon*,—Cumberland, Scotland.

Transposition.

Transpositions of the liquid *r* are common in all our provincial dialects; as *gars*, *brid*, *perty*, for *grass*, *bird*, *pretty*. Here the provincial forms are the oldest, *gærs*, *brid*, &c., being the Anglo-Saxon forms. Again; *acsian*, Anglo-Saxon = *ask*, English.

§ 687. *Ancient forms of speech.*—In the way of grammar—

1. The *ge-* (see § 409), prefixed to the past participle (*ge-boren* = *borne*) is, in certain localities,[73] omitted.

2. The present[74] plural form *-s*, encroaches upon the form in *-n*. Thus, *munuces* = *munucan* = *monks*.

3. The infinitive ends in *-a*, instead of *-an*. This is Scandinavian, but it is also Frisian.

4. The particle *at* is used instead of *to* before the infinitive verb.

5. The article[74] *the* is used instead of *se*, *seo*, *þæt* = ὁ, ἡ, τὸ, for both the numbers, and all the cases and genders.

6. The form in *-s* (*use*, *usse*) replaces *ure* = *our*.

In the way of sound—

1. Forms with the slenderer, or more vocalic[74] sounds, replace forms which in the West-Saxon are broad or diphthongal.[75] Beda mentions that *Cœlin* is the Northumbrian form of *Ceawlin*.

2. The simple[74] sound of *k* replaces the combination out of which the modern sound of *ch* has been evolved.

3. The sound of *sk* replaces either the *sh*, or the sound out of which it has been evolved.

The meaning of these last two statements is explained by the following extract: "Another characteristic is the infusion of Scandinavian words, of which there are slight traces in monuments of the tenth century, and strong and unequivocal ones in those of the thirteenth and fourteenth. Some of the above criteria may be verified by a simple and obvious process, namely, a reference to the topographical nomenclature of our provinces. Whoever takes the trouble to consult the Gazetteer of England will find, that of our numerous 'Carltons' not one is to be met with south of the Mersey, west of the Staffordshire Tame, or south of the Thames; and that 'Fiskertons,' 'Skiptons,' 'Skelbrookes,' and a whole host of similar names are equally *introuvables* in the same district. They are, with scarcely a single exception, northern or eastern; and we know from Ælfric's Glossary, from Domesday and the

Chartularies, that this distinction of pronunciation was established as early as the eleventh century. 'Kirby' or 'Kirkby,' is a specimen of joint Anglian and Scandinavian influence, furnishing a clue to the ethnology of the district wherever it occurs. The converse of this rule does not hold with equal universality, various causes having gradually introduced soft palatal sounds into districts to which they did not properly belong. Such are, however, of very partial occurrence, and form the exception rather than the rule."—*Quarterly Review*, No. CLXIV.

Bibliographical preliminaries.—The leading facts here are the difference between 1. the locality of the authorship, and 2, the locality of the transcription of a book.

Thus: the composition of a Devonshire poet may find readers in Northumberland, and his work be transcribed by Northumbrian copyist. Now this Northumbrian copyist may do one of two things: he may transcribe the Devonian production *verbatim et literatim*; in which case his countrymen read the MS. just as a Londoner reads Burns, *i.e.*, in the dialect of the writer, and not in the dialect of the reader. On the other hand, he may *accommodate* as well as transcribe, *i.e.*, he may change the *non*-Northumbrian into Northumbrian expressions, in which case his countrymen read the MS. in their own rather than the writer's dialect.

Now it is clear, that in a literature where transcription, *combined with accommodation*, is as common as *simple* transcription, we are never sure of knowing the dialect of an author unless we also know the dialect of his transcriber. In no literature is there more of this *semi*-translation than in the Anglo-

Saxon and the early English; a fact which sometimes raises difficulties, by disconnecting the evidence of authorship with the otherwise natural inferences as to the dialect employed; whilst, at others, it smoothes them away by supplying as many specimens of fresh dialects, as there are extant MSS. of an often copied composition.

Inquiring whether certain peculiarities of dialect in Layamon's Brut, really emanated from the author, a writer in the Quarterly Review, (No. clxiv.) remarks, that to decide this it "would be necessary to have access either to the priest's autograph, or to a more faithful copy of it than it was the practice to make either in his age or the succeeding ones. A transcriber of an early English composition followed his own ideas of language, grammar, and orthography; and if he did not entirely obliterate the characteristic peculiarities of his original, he was pretty sure, like the Conde de Olivares, 'd'y meter beaucour du sein.' The practical proof of this is to be found in the existing copies of those works, almost every one of which exhibits some peculiarity of features. We have 'Trevisa' and 'Robert of Gloucester,' in two distinct forms—'Pier's Ploughman,' in at least three, and 'Hampole's Pricke of Conscience,' in half a dozen, without any absolute certainty which approximates most to what the authors wrote. With regard to Layamon, it might be supposed that the older copy is the more likely to represent the original; but we have internal evidence that it is not the priest's autograph; and it is impossible to know what alterations it may have undergone in the course of one or more transcriptions."

Again, in noticing the orthography of the Ormulum (alluded to in the present volume, § 266), he writes:

"It is true that in this instance we have the rare advantage of possessing the author's autograph, a circumstance which cannot with confidence be predicated of any other considerable work of the same period. The author was, moreover, as Mr. Thorpe observes, a kind of critic in his own language; and we therefore find in his work, a regularity of orthography, grammar, and metre, hardly to be paralleled in the same age. All this might, in a great measure, disappear in the very next copy; for fidelity of transcription was no virtue of the thirteenth or the fourteenth century; at least with respect to vernacular works. It becomes, therefore, in many cases a problem of no small complication, to decide with certainty respecting the original metre, or language, of a given mediæval composition, with such data as we now possess."

From all this it follows, that the inquirer must talk of *copies* rather than of *authors*.

§ 688. *Caution.*—Differences of spelling do not always imply differences of pronunciation; perhaps they may be *primâ facie* of such. Still it is uncritical to be over-hasty in separating, as specimens of *dialect*, works which, perhaps, only differ in being specimens of separate *orthographies*.

§ 689. *Caution.*—The accommodation of a transcribed work is susceptible of *degrees*. It may go so far as absolutely to replace one dialect by another, or it may go no farther than the omission of the more unintelligible expressions, and the substitution of others more familiar. I again quote the Quarterly Review,—"There are very few matters more difficult than to determine *à priori*, in what precise form a vernacular composition of the thirteenth century

might be written, or what form it might assume in a very short period. Among the Anglo-Saxon charters of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, many are modelled upon the literary Anglo-Saxon, with a few slight changes of orthography and inflection; while others abound with dialectical peculiarities of various sorts. Those peculiarities may generally be accounted for from local causes. An East-Anglian scribe does not employ broad western forms, nor a West of England man East-Anglian ones; though each might keep his provincial peculiarities out of sight, and produce something not materially different from the language of Ælfric."

§ 690. *Caution.*—In the Reeve's Tale, Chaucer puts into the mouth of one of his north-country clerks, a native of the Strother, in the north-west part of the deanery of Craven, where the Northumbrian dialect rather preponderates over the Anglian, certain Yorkshire glosses. "Chaucer[76] undoubtedly copied the language of some native; and the general accuracy, with which he gives it, shows that he was an attentive observer of all that passed around him.

"We subjoin an extract from the poem, in order to give our readers an opportunity of comparing southern and northern English, as they co-existed in the fifteenth century. It is from a MS. that has never been collated; but which we believe to be well worthy the attention of any future editor of the Canterbury Tales. The italics denote variations from the printed text:—

"John highte that oon and Aleyn highte
that other:
Of *oo* toun were thei born that highte
Strother,

Ffer in the north I can not tellen where.
This Aleyn maketh redy al his gere—
And on an hors the sak he caste anoon.
Fforth goth Aleyn the clerk and also John,
With good swerde and bokeler by his side.
John knewe the weye—hym nedes no gide;
And atte melle the sak a down he layth.
Aleyn spak first: Al heyle, Symond—in fayth—
How fares thi fayre daughter and thi wyf?
Aleyn welcome—quod Symkyn—be my lyf—
And John also—how now, what do ye here?
By God, quod John—Symond, nede has *na* pere.
Hym bihoves *to* serve him self that has na swayn;
Or *ellis* he is a fool as clerkes sayn.
Oure maunciple I hope he wil be ded—
Swa *werkes hym* ay the wanges in his heed.
And therefore is I come and eek Aleyn—
To grynde oure corn, and carye it *ham* agayne,
I pray yow *spedes*[77] us *hethen* that ye may.
It shal be done, quod Symkyn, by my fay!
What wol ye done while it is in hande?
By God, right by the hoper wol I stande,
Quod John, and see *how gates* the corn gas inne;
Yit saugh I never, by my fader kynne,
How that the hoper wagges til and fra!
Aleyn answerde—John wil *ye* swa?

Than wil I be bynethe, by my crown,
And se *how gates* the mele falles down
In til the trough—that sal be my disport.
Quod John—In faith, I is of youre sort—
I is as ille a meller as *are* ye.
* * * * * *
And when the mele is sakked and ybounde,
This John goth out and fynt his hors away—
And gan to crie, harow, and wele away!—
Our hors is lost—Aleyn, for Godde's banes,
Stepe on thi feet—come of man attanes!
Allas, oure wardeyn has his palfrey lorn!
This Aleyn al forgat bothe mele and corn—
Al was out of his mynde, his housbonderie.
What—whilke way is he goon? he gan to crie.
The wyf come lepynge *in* at a ren;
She saide—Allas, youre hors goth to the fen
With wylde mares, as faste as he may go.
Unthank come on this hand that *band* him so—
And he that *bet* sholde have knet the reyne.
Alas! quod John, Alayn, for Criste's peyne,
Lay down thi swerde, and I *wil* myn alswa;
I is ful *swift*—God wat—as is a ra—
By Goddes *herte* he sal nought scape us bathe.
Why ne hadde thou put the capel in the lathe?
Il hayl, by God, Aleyn, thou *is* fonne."

"Excepting the obsolete forms *hethen* (hence), *swa*, *lorn*, *whilke*, *alswa*, *capel*—all the above provincialisms are still, more or less, current in the north-west part of Yorkshire. *Na*, *ham*(e), *fra*, *banes*, *attanes*, *ra*, *bathe*, are pure Northumbrian. *Wang* (cheek or temple) is seldom heard, except in the phrase *wang tooth*, *dens molaris*. *Ill*, adj., for *bad*—*lathe* (barn)—and *fond* (foolish)—are most frequently and familiarly used in the West Riding, or its immediate borders."

Now this indicates a class of writings which, in the critical history of our local dialect, must be used with great caution and address. An imitation of dialect may be so lax as to let its only merit consist in a deviation from the standard idiom.

In the Lear of Shakspeare we have speeches from a Kentish clown. Is this the dialect of the character, the dialect of the writer, or is it some conventional dialect appropriated to theatrical purposes? I think the latter.

In Ben Jonson's Tale of a Tub, one (and more than one of the characters) speaks thus. His residence is the neighbourhood of London, Tottenham Court.

> Is it no sand? nor buttermilk? if't be,
> Ich 'am no zive, or watering-pot, to draw
> Knots in your 'casions. If you trust me, zo
> —
> If not, *pra*forme 't your zelves, '*C*ham no
> man's wife,
> But resolute Hilts: you'll vind me in the
> buttry.
>
> *Act* I. *Scene* 1.

I consider that this represents the dialect of the neighbourhood of London, not on the strength of its being put in the mouth of a man of Tottenham, but from other and independent circumstances.

Not so, however, with the provincialisms of another of Ben Jonson's plays, the Sad Shepherd:—

——— shew your
sell
Tu all the sheepards, bauldly; gaing
amang hem.
Be mickle in their eye, frequent and
fugeand.
And, gif they ask ye of Eiarine,
Or of these claithes; say that I ga' hem ye,
And say no more. I ha' that wark in hand,
That web upon the luime, sall gar em
thinke.

Act II. *Scene* 3.

The scene of the play is Sherwood Forest: the language, however, as far as I may venture an opinion, is not the language from which the present Nottinghamshire dialect has come down.

§ 691. *Caution.*—Again, the word *old*, as applied to language, has a double meaning.

The language of the United States was imported from England into America in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The language of South Australia has been introduced within the present generation. In one sense, the American English is older than the Australian. It was earliest separated from the mother-tongue.

The language, however, of America may (I speak only in the way of illustration, and consequently hypothetically), in the course of time, become the least old of the two; the word *old* being taken in another sense. It may change with greater rapidity. It may lose its inflections. It may depart more from the structure of the mother-tongue, and preserve fewer of its *old* elements. In this sense the Australian (provided that it has altered least, and that it retain the greatest number of the *old* inflections) will be the older tongue of the two.

Now what may be said of the language of two countries, may be said of the dialects of two districts. The one dialect may run its changes apace; the other alter but by degrees. Hence, of two works in two such dialects, the one would appear older than the other, although in reality the two were cotemporary.

Hence, also, it is a lax expression to say that it is the old forms (the archaisms) that the provincial dialects retain. The provincial forms are archaic only when the current language changes more rapidly than the local idiom. When the local idiom changes fastest, the archaic forms belong to the standard mode of speech.

The provincial forms, *goand*, *slepand*, for *going* and *sleeping*, are archaic. Here the archaism is with the provincial form.

The forms *almost*, *horses*, *nought but*, contrasted with the provincialisms *ommost*, *hosses*, *nobbot*, are archaic. They have not been changed so much as they will be. Here the archaism (that is, the nearer approach to the older form) is with the standard idiom. A sequestered locality is preservative of old forms. But writing and education are preservatives of

them also.

§ 692. With these preliminaries a brief notice of the English dialects, in their different stages, may begin.

The districts north of the Humber.—There is so large an amount of specimens of the dialects of this area in the Anglo-Saxon stage of our language, the area itself so closely coincides with the political division of the kingdom of Northumberland, whilst the present arrangement (more or less provisional) of the Anglo-Saxon dialects consists of the divisions of them into the, 1, West-Saxon; 2, Mercian; and 3, Northumbrian, that it is best to give a general view of the whole tract before the minuter details of the different counties which compose them are noticed. The *data* for the Northumbrian division of the Anglo-Saxon dialects are as follows:—

1. *Wanley's Fragment of Cædmon.*—The north-east of Yorkshire was the birth-place of the Anglo-Saxon monk Cædmon. Nevertheless, the form in which his poems in full have come down to us is that of a West-Saxon composition. This indicates the probability of the original work having first been re-cast, and afterwards lost. Be this as it may, the following short fragment has been printed by Wanley, from an ancient MS., and by Hickes from Bede, Hist. Eccl., 4, 24, and it is considered, in the first form, to approach or, perhaps, to represent the Northumbrian of the original poem.

1. 2.

Wanley. Hickes.

Nu seylum herga Herfaeder ricaes Metudes mæcti End his modgethanc. Uerc uulduf Sue he uundra gihuaes, Eci dricten, Ord stelidae. He ærist scopa, Elda barnum, Heben

Nú we sceolan herigean Heofon- ríces weard, Metodes mihte, And hiṫ anc. módgethanc. Weorc wuldor- fæder, Sva he wundra gewæs, Ecé driten, Ord onstealde. Ne ærest scóp, Eorðan bearnum,

til Heofon
hrofe; tó
Halegrófe;
scepen Hálig
Tha scyppend:
mittun Dé
Moncyn mid
uard, Moncynnes
Eci weard,
drictin, Ece
Æfterdrihten,
tiaðæ, Æfter
Firum teóde,
foldu, Firum
Frea foldan,
allmeh Frea
almihtig.

Translation.

Now we should praise The heaven-kingdom's preserver, The might of the Creator, And his mood-thought, The glory-father of works, As he, of wonders, each Eternal Lord, Originally established. He erst shaped,

For earth's bairns, Heaven to roof; Holy shaper; Then mid-earth, Mankind's home, Eternal Lord, After formed, For the homes of men, Lord Almighty.

2. *The death-bed verses of Bede.*

Fore neidfaraes,
Before the necessary

Naenig uuiurthit
None journey,

Thoc snottur
Not one

Than him tharf sie
Wiser than he need

To ymbhycggannе,
To consider,

Aer his hionongae,
Before his departure,

Huaet, his gastae,
What, for his spirit,

Godaes aeththe yflaes,
Of good or evil,

Æfter deothdaege,
After the death-day,

Doemid uuierthae.
Shall be doomed.

From a MS. at St. Gallen; quoted by Mr. Kemble,

Archæologia, vol. xxviii.

3. *The Ruthwell Runes.*—The inscription in Anglo-Saxon Runic letters, on the Ruthwell Cross, is thus deciphered and translated by Mr. Kemble:—

. .
. .
. .
. .
. .
. .
. me.
mik. The
Riikna powerful
kyning, King,
Hifunæ the
hlafard, Lord
Hælda of
ic Heaven,
ne I
dærstæ dared
Bismere[d] me
ungkeld with
men, They
Bâ reviled
ætgædr[e] us
Ik two,
(n)iðbædh Both
bist(e)ongeð(h) together,
. I
. stained
. with
. the
. pledge
. of
. .
. .
. .
. .
. .
. .

. .
. .
geredæ
Hinæ .
gamældæ
Estig, .
ða .
he .
walde prepared
An Himself
galgu spake
gistîga Benignantly
Môdig when
fore he
Men, would
. Go
. up
. upon
. the
. cross,
. Courageously
. before
. Men
. .
. .
. .
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. .
Mid .
stralum
giwundæd,
Alegdun
hiæ .
hinæ,.
Limwêrigne.
Gistodun
him Wounded
. with
. shafts,
. They
. laid
. him
. down,
. Limb-
. weary.
. They
. stood
. by
. him.
. .
Krist .
wæs .
on .
rôdi; .
Hweðræ
ther .
fûsæ .
Fearran
cwomu
Æðilcahrist

ti was
lænum on
Ic cross.
that Lo!
al there
bih with
(eôld) speed
. From
. afar
. came
. Nobles
. to
sæ him
(...) in
Ic misery.
w(æ)s I
mi(d) that
ga(l)ga all
Æ beheld
(. .
. .
. .
.) .
rod .
. .
ha .
. .
. .
. .
. I
. was
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"The dialect of these lines is that of Northumberland in the seventh, eighth, and even ninth centuries. The first peculiarity is in the *æ* for *e* in the oblique cases, and which I have observed in the cotemporary MS. of Cuðberht's letter at St. Gallen. This, which is strictly organic, and represents the uncorrupted Gothic genitive in *-as*, and dative in *-a*, as well as the Old Saxon forms of the substantive, is evidence of great antiquity. But that which is, perhaps, the most characteristic of the Northumbrian dialect is the formation of the infinitive in *-a* and *-æ*, instead of *-an* (*hældæ*, *gistiga*). The Durham Book has, I believe, throughout but one single verb, which makes the infinitive in *-an*, and that is the anomalous word *bean = to be*; even *wosa* and *wiortha* following the common rule. The word *ungket* is another incontrovertible proof of extreme antiquity, having,

to the best of my knowledge, never been found but in this passage. It is the dual of the first personal pronoun *Ic*, and corresponds to the very rare dual of the second personal pronoun *incit*, which occurs twice in Cædmon."[78]

4. *The Cotton Psalter.*—This is a Latin Psalter in the Cotton collection, accompanied by an Anglo-Saxon interlineation. Place uncertain. Time, ninth century or earlier. The following points of difference between this and the West-Saxon are indicated by Mr. Garnett, Phil. Soc. No. 27.

COTTON PSALTER.	WEST-SAXON.
Boen, *prayer*	Bën.
Boec, *books*	Béc.
Coelan, *cool*	Célan.
Doeman, *judge*	Déman.
Foedan, *feed*	Fédan.
Spoed, *fortune*	Spéd.
Swoet, *sweet*	Swét.
Woenan, *think*, *ween*	Wénan.

5. *The Durham Gospels—Quatuor Evangelia Latine, ex translatione B. Hieronymi, cum glossâ interlineatâ Saxonica.* Nero, D. 4.

Matthew, cap. 2.

miððy	arod	gecenned	were	haelend	in	ðær byrig
Cum	ergo	natus	esset	Jesus	in	Bethlee
in	dagum	Herodes	cyninges	heonu		ða tungulcraeftg
in	diebus	Herodis	Regis,	ecce		magi

				cweoðonde			
				hiu			
cwomun	to	hierusalem	cwoedon	huer	is	ðe	
venerunt		Hierosolymam,	dicentes,	Ubi	est	qu	

					we	tungul	
is	cynig	Judeunu	gesegon	forðon	sterru	l	
est	rex	Judæorum?	vidimus	enim	stellam	e	

		we	to			
eustdæl	and	cwomon	worðanne	hine	geherde	
oriente	et	venimus	adorare	eum.	Audiens	

							ða burgwæra
herodes							ða
se cynig		gedroefed	wæs	and	alle	hierusolemisc	
Herodes		turbatus	est	et	omnis	Hierosolyma	

							ða	mes
him	and	gesomnede		alle	aldormenn	bi		
illo.	Et	congregatis	(*sic*)	omnes	principes	sace		

			geascode				
	ða	ðæs	georne				
and	uðuutta	folces	gefragnde	fra	him	huer	
et	scribas	populi,	sciscitabatur	ab	iis	ubi	

acenned
were.
nasceretur.

6. *The Rituale Ecclesiæ Dunhelmensis.*—Edited for the Surtees Society by Mr. Stevenson. Place: neighbourhood of Durham. Time: A.D. 970. Differences between the Psalter and Ritual:—

a. The form for the first person is in the Psalter generally *-u*. In the Ritual it is generally *-o*. In West Saxon, *-e*.

PSALTER.—*Getreow-u*, I believe; *cleopi-u*, I call; *sell-u*, I give; *ondred-u*, I fear; *ageld-u*, I pay; *getimbr-u*, I build. Forms in *-o*; *sitt-o*, I sit; *drinc-o*, I drink.

RITUAL.—*Feht-o*, I fight; *wuldrig-o*, I glory. The ending in *-u* is rarer.

b. In the West Saxon the plural present of verbs ends in *-að*: *we lufi-að*, *ge lufi-að*, *hi lufi-að*. The Psalter also exhibits this West Saxon form. But the plurals of the Ritual end in *-s*: as, *bidd-as = we pray*; *giwoed-es = put on*; *wyrc-as = do*.

c. The infinitives of verbs end in the West Saxon in *-an*, as *cwed-an = to say*. So they do in the Psalter. But in the Ritual the *-n* is omitted, and the infinitive ends simply in *-a*: *cuoetha = to say*; *inngeonga = to enter*.

d. The oblique cases and plurals of substantives in West Saxon end in *-an*: as *heortan = heart's*; *heortan = hearts*. So they do in the Psalter. But in the Ritual the *-n* is omitted, and the word ends simply in *-a* or *-e*; as *nome = of a name* (West Saxon *nam-an*); *hearta = hearts*.

7. *The Rushworth Gospels.*—Place, Harewood in Wharfdale, Yorkshire. Time, according to Wanley, the end of the ninth century.

Here observe—

1. That the Ruthwell inscription gives us a sample of the so-called Northumbrian Anglo-Saxon, and that as it is spoken in Scotland, *i.e.*, in Galloway. For the bearings of this see Part II., c. 3.

2. That the Rushworth Gospels take us as far south as the West Riding of Yorkshire.

3. That there are no specimens from any

Cumberland, Westmoreland, or North Lancashire localities, these being, most probably, exclusively Celtic.

§ 693. The most general statements concerning this great section of the Anglo-Saxon, is that—

1. It prefers the slenderer and more vocalic to the broader and more diphthongal forms.

2. The sounds of *k* and *s*, to those of *ch* and *sh*.

3. The forms without the prefix *ge-*, to those with them. Nevertheless the form *ge-cenned* (=*natus*) occurs in the first line of the extract from the Durham Gospels.

§ 694. The Old and Middle English MSS. from this quarter are numerous; falling into two classes:

1. Transcriptions with accommodation from works composed southwards. Here the characteristics of the dialect are not absolute.

2. Northern copies of northern compositions. Here the characteristics of the dialect are at the maximum. Sir Tristram is one of the most important works of this class; and in the wider sense of the term *Northumbrian*, it is a matter of indifference on which side of the Border it was composed. See § 190.

§ 695. Taking the counties in detail, we have—

Northumberland.—Northern frontier, East Scotland; the direction of the influence being from South to North, rather than from North to South, *i. e.*, Berwickshire and the Lothians being Northumbrian and English, rather than Northumberland Scotch.

West frontier Celtic—the Cumberland and

Westmoreland Britons having been encroached upon by the Northumbrians of Northumberland.

Present dialect.—Believed to be nearly uniform over the counties of Northumberland and Durham; but changing in character in North Yorkshire, and in Cumberland and Westmoreland.

The Anglo-Saxon immigration considered to have been Angle (so-called) rather than Saxon.

Danish admixture—Very great. Possibly, as far as the marks that it has left on the language, greater than in any other part of *England*.[79]—See § 152.

Cumberland, Westmoreland, North Lancashire.—Anglo-Saxon elements introduced from portions of Northumbria rather than directly from the Continent.

Celtic language persistent until a comparatively late though undetermined period.

Northern frontier, West-Scotland—the direction of the influence being from Scotland to England, rather than *vice versâ*; Carlisle being more of a Scotch town than Berwick.

Specimens of the dialects in the older stages, few and doubtful.

Topographical nomenclature characterized by the preponderance of compounds of *-thwaite*; as *Braithwaite*, &c.

North Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland, "exhibit many Anglian[80] peculiarities, which may have been occasioned in some degree by the colonies in the south, planted in that district by William Rufus (Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1092.) A comparison of

Anderson's ballads with Burns's songs, will show how like Cumbrian is to Scottish, but how different. We believe that Weber is right in referring the romance of Sir Amadas to this district. The mixture of the Anglian forms *gwo*, *gwon*, *bwons*, *boyd-word* (in pure Northumbrian), *gae*, *gane*, *banes*, *bod-worde*, with the northern terms, *tynt*, *kent*, *bathe*, *mare*, and many others of the same class, could hardly have occurred in any other part of England."[81]

Yorkshire, North and part of West Riding.—The Anglo-Saxon specimens of this area have been noticed in § 692.

The extract from Chaucer is also from this district.

The modern dialects best known are—

1. *The Craven.*—This, in northern localities, "becomes slightly tinctured with Northumbrian."—Quart. Rev. *ut supra*.

2. *The Cleveland.*—With not only Northumbrian, but even Scotch characters. Quart. Rev. *ut supra*.

Danish admixture—Considerable.

All these dialects, if rightly classified, belong to the Northumbrian division of the Angle branch of the Anglo-Saxon language; whilst, if the *primâ facie* view of their affiliation or descent, be the true one, they are the dialects of § 692, in their modern forms.

§ 696. The classification which gives this arrangement now draws a line of distinction at the river Ribble, in Lancashire, which separates *South* from North Lancashire; whilst in Yorkshire, the East Riding, and that part of the West which does not belong to the Wapentake of Claro, belong to the class

which is supposed to exclude the previous and contain the following dialects:—

§ 697. *South Lancashire and Cheshire.*—Sub-varieties of the same dialects, but not sub-varieties of the previous ones.

The plural form in *-en* is a marked character of this dialect—at least of the Lancashire portion.

Supposed original population—Angle rather than Saxon.

Original political relations—Mercian rather than Northumbrian.

These last two statements apply to all the forthcoming areas north of Essex. The latter is a simple historical fact; the former supposes an amount of difference between the Angle and the Saxon which has been assumed rather than proved; or, at any rate, which has never been defined accurately.

The elements of uncertainty thus developed, will be noticed in §§ 704-708. At present it is sufficient to say, that if the South Lancashire dialect has been separated from the north, on the score of its having been *Mercian* rather than *Northumbrian*, the principle of classification has been based upon *political* rather than *philological* grounds; and as such is exceptionable.

§ 698. *Shropshire, Staffordshire, and West Derbyshire.*—Supposing the South Lancashire and Cheshire to be the Mercian (which we must remember is a *political* term), the Shropshire, Staffordshire, and *West* Derbyshire are Mercian also; transitional, however, in character.

Shropshire and Cheshire have a Celtic frontier.

Here, also, both the *a priori* probabilities and the known facts make the Danish intermixture at its *minimum*.

§ 699. *East Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire.*—Here the language is considered to change from the mode of speech of which the South Lancashire is the type, to the mode of speech of which the Norfolk and Suffolk dialect is the type.

Danish elements may now be expected, Derbyshire being the most inland Danish area.

Original political relations—Mercian.

Specimens of the dialects in their older stages, preeminently scanty.

Hallamshire.—This means the parts about Sheffield extended so as to include that portion of the West Riding of Yorkshire which stands over from § 696. Probably belonging to the same group with the *South* Lancashire.

East Riding of Yorkshire.—It is not safe to say more of this dialect than that its affinities are with the dialects spoken to the *north* rather than with those spoken to the south of it, *i.e.*, that of—

Lincolnshire.—Frontier—On the Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire frontier, passing into the form of speech of those counties. Pretty definitely separated from that of Norfolk. Less so from that of North Cambridgeshire. Scarcely at all from that of Huntingdonshire, and North Northamptonshire.

Danish admixture.—The number of towns and villages ending in the characteristic Danish

termination *-by*, at its *maximum*; particularly in the neighbourhood of Spils*by*.

Traditions Danish, *e. g.*, that of Havelok the Dane, at Grimsby.

Physiognomy, Danish.

Language not Danish in proportion to the other signs of Scandinavian intermixture.

Specimens of the dialects in its older form—Havelok[82] the Dane (?), Manning's Chronicle (supposing the MS. to have been transcribed in the county where the author was born).

Provincial peculiarities (*i.e.*, deviations from the written language) nearly at the *minimum*.

Huntingdonshire, North Northamptonshire, and Rutland.—Anglo-Saxon period.—The latter part of the Saxon Chronicle was written at Peterboro. Probably, also, the poems of Helena and Andreas. Hence, this area is that of the *old* Mercian in its most typical form; whilst South Lancashire is that of the *new*—a practical instance of the inconvenience of applying *political* terms to philological subjects.

§ 700. *Norfolk, Suffolk, and the fen part of Cambridgeshire.*—Here the population is pre-eminently Angle. The political character East-Anglian rather than Mercian.

Specimens of the dialects in the Anglo-Saxon stage.—The Natale St. Edmundi, in Thorpe's Analecta Anglo-Saxonica.

Early English—The Promtuarium Parvulorum.

§ 701. *Leicestershire, Warwickshire, and South Northamptonshire.*—Mercian (so-called) rather than West-Saxon (so-called).

Probably, approaching the written language of England more closely than is the case with the dialects spoken to the south of them.

Certainly, approaching the written language of England less closely than is the case with the dialect of Huntingdonshire, North Northamptonshire, and South Lincolnshire.

§ 702. These remarks have the following import. They bear upon the question of the origin of the *written* language of England.

Mr. Guest first diverted the attention of scholars from the consideration of the West Saxon of the chief Anglo-Saxon writers as the mother-dialect of the present English, to the Mercian; so turning their attention from the south to the centre of England.

The general principle that a *central* locality has the *a priori* likelihood in its favour, subtracts nothing from the value of his suggestion.

Neither does the fact of the nearest approach to the written language being found about the parts in question; since the doctrine to which the present writer commits himself, viz., that in the parts between Huntingdon and Stamford, the purest English is most generally spoken, is, neither universally recognised, nor yet part of Mr. Guest's argument.

Mr. Guest's arguments arose out of the evidence of the MSS. of the parts in question.

That the dialect most closely allied to the dialect (or dialects) out of which the present literary language of England is developed, is to be found either in Northamptonshire or the neighbouring counties is nearly certain. Mr. Guest looks for it on the western side of that county (Leicestershire); the present writer on the eastern (Huntingdonshire).

§ 703. It is now convenient to pass from the dialects of the water-system of the Ouse, Nene, and Welland to those spoken along the lower course of the Thames.

These, to a certain extent, may be dealt with like those to the north of the Humber. Just as the latter were, in the first instance, and in the more general way, thrown into a single class (the Northumbrian), so may the dialects in question form the provisional centre of another separate class. For this we have no very convenient name. The dialects, however, which it contains agree in the following points.

1. These are considered to be derived from that variety of the Anglo-Saxon which is represented by the chief remains of the Anglo-Saxon literature, *i.e.*, the so-called standard or classical language of Alfred, Ælfric, the present text of Cædmon, &c.

2. About half their *present eastern* area consists of the *counties* ending in *-sex*; viz., Sus*sex*, Es*sex*, and Middle*sex*.

3. Nearly the *whole* of their *original* area consisted in *kingdoms* (or sub-kingdoms) ending in *-sex*; viz., the districts just enumerated, and the kingdom of Wes*sex*.

Hence they are—

a.—Considered with reference to their literary history.—They are dialects whereof the literary development began early, but ceased at the time of the Norman Conquest, being superseded by that of the central dialects (*Mercian* so-called) of the island. The truth of this view depends on the truth of Mr. Guest's doctrine noticed in page 555. If true, it is by no means an isolated phænomenon. In Holland the present Dutch is the descendant of some dialect (or dialects) which was uncultivated in the earlier periods of the language; whereas the Old Frisian, which was *then* the written language, is *now* represented by a provincial dialect only.

"In speaking of the Anglo-Saxon language, scholars universally intend that particular form of speech in which all the principal monuments of our most ancient literature are composed, and which, with very slight variations, is found in Beowulf and Cædmon, in the Exeter and Vercelli Codices, in the translation of the Gospels and Homilies, and in the works of Ælfred the Great. For all general purposes this nomenclature is sufficiently exact; and in this point of view, the prevalent dialect, which contains the greatest number of literary remains, may be fairly called the Anglo-Saxon language, of which all varying forms were dialects. It is, however, obvious that this is in fact an erroneous way of considering the subject; the utmost that can be asserted is, that Ælfred wrote his own language, viz., that which was current in Wessex; and that this, having partly through the devastations of heathen enemies in other parts of the island, partly through the preponderance of the West-Saxon power and extinction of the other royal families, become the language of the one supreme court, soon became that of literature and the pulpit also."—Kemble. Phil. Trans. No. 35.

b.—Considered in respect to their political relations.—Subject to the influence of the *Wessex* portion of the so-called Heptarchy, rather than to the *Mercian*,

c.—Considered ethnologically—Saxon rather than *Angle*. The exceptions that lie against this class will be noticed hereafter.

§ 704. *Kent—Theoretically*, Kent, is Jute rather than Saxon, and Saxon rather than Angle.

Celtic elements, probably, at the *minimum*.

Predominance of local terms compounded of the word *-hurst*; as, Pens*hurst*, Staple*hurst*, &c.

Frisian hypothesis.—The following facts and statements (taken along with those of §§ 15-20, and §§ 129-131), pre-eminently require criticism.

1. Hengest the supposed father of the Kentish kingdom is a Frisian hero—Kemble's *Sächsische Stamtaffel*.

2. The dialect of the Durham Gospels and Ritual contain a probably Frisian form.

3. "The country called by the Anglo-Saxons Northumberland, and which may loosely be said to have extended from the Humber to Edinburgh, and from the North Sea to the hills of Cumberland, was peopled by tribes of Angles. Such, at least, is the tradition reported by Beda, who adds that Kent was first settled by Jutes. Who these Jutes were is not clearly ascertained, but from various circumstances it may be inferred that there was at least a considerable admixture of Frisians amongst them. Hengest, the supposed founder of the Kentish kingdom, is a Frisian hero, and Jutes, 'ëotenas,' is a

usual name for the Frisians in Bëówulf. Beda, it is true, does not enumerate Frisians among the Teutonic races by which England was colonized, but this omission is repaired by the far more valuable evidence of Procopius, who, living at the time of some great invasion of Britain by the Germans, expressly numbers Frisians among the invaders. Now the Anglo-Saxon traditions themselves, however obscurely they may express it, point to a close connection between Kent and Northumberland: the latter country, according to these traditions, was colonized from Kent, and for a long time received its rulers or dukes from that kingdom. Without attaching to this legend more importance than it deserves, we may conclude that it asserts an original communion between the tribes that settled in the two countries; and consequently, if any Frisic influence is found to operate in the one, it will be necessary to inquire whether a similar action can be detected in the other. This will be of some moment hereafter, when we enter upon a more detailed examination of the dialect. The most important peculiarity in which the Durham Evangeles and Ritual differ from the Psalter is the form of the infinitive mood in verbs. This in the Durham books is, with exception of one verb, beán, *esse*, invariably formed in *-a*, not in *-an*, the usual form in all the other Anglo-Saxon dialects. Now this is also a peculiarity of the Frisic, and of the Old Norse, and is found in no other Germanic tongue; it is then an interesting inquiry whether the one or the other of these tongues is the origin of this peculiarity; whether, in short, it belongs to the old, the original Frisic form which prevailed in the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries, or whether it is owing to Norse influence, acting in the ninth and tenth, through the

establishment of Danish invaders and a Danish dynasty in the countries north of the Humber."—Kemble. Phil. Trans. No. 35.

The details necessary for either the verification or the overthrow of the doctrine of a similarity of origin between portions of the Northumbrian[83] and portions of the Kentish population have yet to be worked out.

So have the *differentiæ* between the dialects of *Kent*, and the dialects of Sus*sex*, Es*sex*, Middle*sex*, and Wes*sex*.

Probable Anglo-Saxon of Kent.—Codex Diplomaticus, No. 191.

§ 705. *Sussex.*—The characteristics are involved in those of Kent—thus, if Kent be simply Saxon the two counties have the same ethnological relation; whilst if Kent be Frisian or Jute(?) Sussex may be either like or unlike.

Hampshire.—Theoretically, Saxon rather than Angle, and West Saxon (Wessex) rather than south, east, or Middle-Saxon.

Jute elements in either the Hants or Isle of Wight dialects, hitherto undiscovered. Probably, non-existent.

Present dialect certainly not the closest representative of the classical Anglo-Saxon, *i. e.*, the so-called *West* Saxon.

Berkshire.—Present dialect, probably, the closest representative of the classical Anglo-Saxon.

Cornwall.—Celtic elements at the *maximum*.

Devonshire and West Somerset.—Present dialect strongly marked by the use of *z* for *s* (*Zomerzet* = *Somerset*).

Celtic elements probably considerable.

Worcestershire.—The language of the Anglo-Saxon period is characterized by the exclusive, or nearly exclusive, use of *s* in the forms *usse* and *usses* for *ure* and *ures*. See Codex Diplomaticus, Nos. 95 and 97.

The affiliation of the present dialect has yet to be investigated.

North Glostershire.—Politically, both North Gloster and Worcestershire are Mercian rather than West-Saxon.

Now the language of Layamon was North Gloster.

And one at least of the MSS. is supposed to represent this language.

Nevertheless its character is said to be West Saxon rather than Mercian.

What does this prove? Not that the West Saxon dialect extended into Mercia, but that a political nomenclature is out of place in philology.

The Welsh frontier.—Herefordshire, &c.—Celtic elements. General character of the dialects, probably, that of the counties immediately to the east of them.

Essex.—Theoretically, Saxon rather than Angle. No such distinction, however, is indicated by the ascertained characteristic of the Essex dialects as opposed to the East Anglian, Suffolk, and the Mercian.

Hertfordshire.—I am not aware of any thing that distinguishes the South Hertfordshire form of speech from those of—

Middlesex.—Here, as far as there are any characteristics at all, they are those of *Ess*ex. The use of *v* for *w*, attributed (and partially due) to Londoners, occurs—not because there is any such thing as a London dialect, but because London is a town on the Essex side of Middlesex.

Surrey.—The name (*Suð rige = southern kingdom*) indicates an original political relation with the parts *north* rather than *south* of the Thames.

The evidence of the dialect is, probably, the other way.

§ 706. *Supposed East-Anglian and Saxon frontier.*—For the area just noticed there are two lines of demarcation—one geographical, and one ethnological.

a. Geographical.—The river Thames.

b. Ethnological.—The line which separates Middle*sex* and Es*sex* (*so-called* Saxon localities) from Herts and Suffolk (*so-called* Angle localities).

Of these the first line involves an undeniable fact; the second a very doubtful one. No evidence has been adduced in favour of disconnecting Saxon Essex from Anglian Suffolk, nor yet for connecting it with Sus*sex* and Wes*sex*. The termination *-sex* is an undoubted fact; the difference between the Saxons and Angles which it is supposed to indicate is an assumption.

§ 707. The dialects of the remaining counties have, probably, the transitional characters, indicated by

their geographical position.

Dorset—Hants and Somerset.

Wilts.—Hants, Dorset, Somerset, Berks.

Buckingham, Beds, Northampton.—These connect the two most convenient *provisional* centres of the so-called West-Saxon of Alfred, &c., and mother-dialect of the present written English, viz.: Wantage and Stamford (or Huntingdon); and in doing this they connect dialects which, although placed in separate classes (West-Saxon and Mercian), were, probably, more alike than many subdivisions of the same group.

To investigate the question as to the Mercian or West-Saxon origin of the present written English without previously stating whether the comparison be made between such extreme dialects as those of the New Forest, and the neighbourhood of Manchester, or such transitional ones as those of Windsor and Northampton is to reduce a real to a mere verbal discussion.

Warwickshire, Staffordshire.—From their central position, probably transitional to both the north and south, and the east and west groups.

Celtic elements increasing.

Danish elements decreasing. Perhaps at the *minimum*.

§ 708. The exceptions suggested in §§ 703, 704, lie not only against the particular group called West-Saxon, but (as may have been anticipated) against all classifications which assume either—

1. A coincidence between the philological divisions of the Anglo-Saxon language, and the political

division of the Anglo-Saxon territory.

2. Any broad difference between the Angles and the Saxons.

3. The existence of a Jute population.

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§ 709. *English dialects not in continuity with the mother-tongue.*—Of these the most remarkable are those of—

1. *Little England beyond Wales.*—In Pembrokeshire, and a part of Glamorganshire, the language is English rather than Welsh. The following extracts from Higden have effected the belief that this is the result of a Flemish colony. "*Sed et Flandrenses, tempore Regis Henrici Primi in magna copia juxta Mailros ad orientalem Angliæ plagam habitationem pro tempore accipientes, septimam in insula gentem fecerunt: jubente tamen eodem rege, ad occidentalem Walliæ partem, apud Haverford, sunt translati. Sicque Britannia ... his ... nationibus habitatur in præsenti ... Flandrensibus in West Wallia.*"

A little below, however, we learn that these Flemings are distinguished by their origin only, and not by their language:—"*Flandrenses vero qui in Occidua Walliæ incolunt, dimissa jam barbarie, Saxonice satis loquuntur.*"—Higden, edit. Gale, p. 210.

On the other hand, Mr. Guest has thrown a reasonable doubt upon this inference; suggesting the probability of its having been simply English. The following vocabulary collected by the Rev. J. Collins, [84] in the little peninsula of Gower, confirms this view. It contains no exclusively Flemish elements.

Angletouch, n. s. *worm*.

Bumbagus, n. s. *bittern*.
Brandis, n. s. *iron stand for a pot or kettle*.

Caffle, adj. *entangled*.
Cammet, adj. *crooked*.
Cloam, n. s. *earthenware*.
Charnel, n. s. *a place raised in the roof for hanging bacon*.
Clit, v. *to stick together*.

Deal, n. s. *litter, of pigs*.
Dotted, adj. *giddy, of a sheep*.
Dome, adj. *damp*.
Dreshel, n. s. *a flail*.

Eddish, n. s. *wheat-stubble*.
Evil, n. s. a *three-pronged fork for dung, &c.*

Firmy, v. *to clean out, of a stable, &c.*
Fleet, adj. *exposed in situation, bleak*.
Flott, n. s. *aftergrass*.
Flamiring, s. *an eruption of the nature of erysipelas*.
Fraith, adj. *free-spoken, talkative*.
Frithing, adj. *a fence made of thorns wattled*.
Foust, v. act. *to tumble*.
Flathin, n. s. *a dish made of curds, eggs, and milk*.

Gloy, n. s. *refuse straw after the "reed" has been taken out*.
Gloice, n. s., *a sharp pang of pain*.

Heavgar, adj. *heavier* (so also *near-ger*, *far-*

ger).
Hamrach, n. s. *harness collar made of straw*.
Hay, n. s. *a small plot of ground attached to a dwelling*.

Kittybags, n. s. *gaiters*.

Lipe, n. s. *matted basket of peculiar shape*.
Letto, n. s. *a lout, a foolish fellow*.

Main, adj. *strong*, *fine* (*of growing crops*),

Nesseltrip, n. s. *the small pig in a litter*.
Nommet, n. s. *a luncheon of bread, cheese, &c.—not a regular meal*.
Noppet, Nipperty, adj. *lively—convalescent*.

Ovice, n. s. *eaves of a building*.

Plym, v. *to fill, to plump up*.
Plym, adj. *full*.
Planche, v. *to make a boarded floor*.
Peert, adj. *lively*, *brisk*.
Purty, v. n. *to turn sulky*.

Quat, v. act. *to press down*, *flatten*.
Quapp, v. n. *to throb*.

Rathe, adj. *early, of crops*.
Reremouse, n. s. *bat*.
Ryle, v. *to angle in the sea*.
Riff, n. s. *an instrument for sharpening scythes*.

Seggy, v. act. *to tease*, *to provoke*.
Semmatt, n. s. *sieve made of skin for winnowing*.
Shoat, n. s. *small wheaten loaf*.

Showy, v. n. *to clear* (*of weather*); (show, *with termination* y, *common*).
Soul, n. s. *cheese, butter, &c*. (*as eaten with bread*).
Snead, n. s. *handle of a scythe*.
Songalls, n. s. *gleanings*: "to gather *songall*" *is* to glean.
Sull, *or* Zull, n. s. *a wooden plough*.
Stiping, n. s. *a mode of fastening a sheep's foreleg to its head by a band of straw, or withy*.
Susan, n. s. *a brown earthenware pitcher*.
Sump, n. s. *any bulk that is carried*.
Suant, part. *regular in order*.
Slade, n. s. *ground sloping towards the sea*.

Tite, v. *to tumble over*.
Toit, n. s. *a small seat or stool made of straw*.
Toit, adj. *frisky*, *wanton*.

Vair, n. s. *weasel* or *stoat*.

Want, n. s. *a mole*.
Wirg, n. s. *a willow*.
Wimble, v. *to winnow*.
Weest, adj. *lonely*, *desolate*.
Wash-dish, n. s. *the titmouse*.

§ 710. *The baronies of Forth and Bargie in the County Wexford.*—The barony of Forth "lies south of the city of Wexford, and is bounded by the sea to the south and east, and by the barony of Bargie to the west. It is said to have been colonized by the Welshmen who accompanied Strongbow in his invasion of Ireland; but by the term Welshmen, as here used, we must no doubt understand the English settlers of Gower and

Pembroke. Vallancey published a specimen of their language. Some of the grammatical forms can hardly fail to interest the English scholar, and we may venture more particularly to call his attention to the verbal ending *th*. In no other of our spoken dialects do we find the *th* still lingering as an inflection of the *plural* verb."

ADDRESS IN THE BARONY OF FORTH LANGUAGE.

Presented in August 1836, to the Marquis of Normanby, then Earl of Mulgrave, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; with a Translation of the Address in English.

To's Excellencie Constantine Harrie Phipps, Earle Mulgrave, "Lord Lieutenant and Generall Governour of Ireland. Ye soumisse spaken o' ouz Dwellers o' Baronie Forthe, Weisforthe.

To His Excellency Constantine Henry Phipps, Earl Mulgrave, Lord Lieutenant-General and Governor of Ireland: The humble Address of the Inhabitants of Barony Forth, Wexford.

Mai't be plesaunt to th' Excellencie,

May it please your Excellency,

Wee, Vassalles o' "His

We, the subjects of

Most Gracious Majesty Wilyam ee 4th an az wee verilie chote na coshe an loyale Dwellers na Baronie Forth, crave na dicke luckie acte t'uck neche th' Excellencie, an na plaine garbe o' oure yola talke,	His Most Gracious Majesty William IV., and as we truly believe both faithful and loyal inhabitants of the Barony Forth, beg leave, at this favourable opportunity to approach Your Excellency, and in the simple garb of

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[85]

§ 711. *Americanisms.*—These, which may be studied

in the excellent dictionary of J. R. Bartlett, are chiefly referable to five causes—

1. Influence of the aboriginal Indian languages.

2. Influence of the languages introduced from Europe anterior to the predominance of English; viz.: French in Louisiana, Spanish in Florida, Swedish in Pennsylvania and Delaware, and Dutch in New York.

3. Influence, &c., subsequent to the predominance of the English; viz.: German in Pennsylvania, and Gaelic and Welsh generally.

4. Influence of the original difference of dialect between the different portions of the English population.

5. Influence of the preponderance of the Anglo-Saxon over the Anglo-Norman element in the American population in general.

§ 712. *Extract.*—In a sound and sagacious paper upon the Probable Future Position of the English Language,[86] Mr. Watts, after comparing the previous predominance of the French language beyond the pale of France, with the present spread of the German beyond Germany, and after deciding in favour of the latter tongue, remarks that there is "The existence of another language whose claims are still more commanding. That language is our own. Two centuries ago the proud position that it now occupies was beyond the reach of anticipation. We all smile at the well-known boast of Waller in his lines on the death of Cromwell, but it was the loftiest that at the time the poet found it in his power to make:—

'Under the tropie is our language spoke,

And part of Flanders hath received our
yoke.'

"'I care not,' said Milton, 'to be once named abroad, though perhaps I could attain to that, being content with these islands as my world.' A French Jesuit, Garnier, in 1678, laying down rules for the arrangement of a library, thought it superfluous to say anything of English books, because, as he observed, 'libri Anglicâ scripti linguâ vix mare transmittunt.' Swift, in the earlier part of the eighteenth century, in his 'Proposal for correcting, improving, and ascertaining the English Tongue,' observed, 'the fame of our writers is usually confined to these two islands." Not quite a hundred years ago Dr. Johnson seems to have entertained far from a lofty idea of the legitimate aspirations of an English author. He quotes in a number of the 'Rambler' (No. 118, May 4th, 1751), from the address of Africanus as given by Cicero, in his Dream of Scipio:—'The territory which you inhabit is no more than a scanty island inclosed by a small body of water, to which you give the name of the great sea and the Atlantic Ocean. And even in this known and frequented continent what hope can you entertain that your renown will pass the stream of Ganges or the cliffs of Caucasus, or by whom will your name be uttered in the extremities of the north or south towards the rising or the setting sun? So narrow is the space to which your fame can be propagated, and even there how long will it remain?' 'I am not inclined,' remarks Johnson, 'to believe that they who among us pass their lives in the cultivation of knowledge or acquisition of power, have very anxiously inquired what opinions prevail on the further banks of the Ganges.... The hopes and fears of modern minds are

content to range in a narrower compass; a single nation, and a few years have generally sufficient amplitude to fill our imagination.' What a singular comment on this passage is supplied by the fact that the dominions of England now stretch from the Ganges to the Indus, that the whole space of India is dotted with the regimental libraries of its European conquerors, and that Rasselas has been translated into Bengalee! A few years later the great historian of England had a much clearer perception of what was then in the womb of Fate. When Gibbon, as has been already mentioned, submitted to Hume, a specimen of his intended History of Switzerland, composed in French, he received a remarkable letter in reply: 'Why,' said Hume, 'do you compose in French and carry faggots into the wood, as Horace says with regard to Romans who wrote in Greek? I grant that you have a like motive to those Romans, and adopt a language much more generally diffused than your native tongue, but have you not remarked the fate of those two ancient languages in following ages? The Latin, though then less celebrated and confined to more narrow limits, has in some measure outlived the Greek, and is now more generally understood by men of letters. Let the French therefore triumph in the present diffusion of their tongue. Our solid and increasing establishments in America, where we need less dread the inundation of barbarians, promise a superior stability and duration to the English language.'

"Every year that has since elapsed has added a superior degree of probability to the anticipations of Hume. At present the prospects of the English language are the most splendid that the world has ever seen. It is spreading in each of the quarters of the globe by fashion, by emigration, and by

conquest. The increase of population alone in the two great states of Europe and America in which it is spoken, adds to the number of its speakers in every year that passes, a greater amount than the whole number of those who speak some of the literary languages of Europe, either Swedish, or Danish, or Dutch. It is calculated that, before the lapse of the present century, a time that so many now alive will live to witness, it will be the native and vernacular language of about one hundred and fifty millions of human beings.

"What will be the state of Christendom at the time that this vast preponderance of one language will be brought to bear on all its relations,—at the time when a leading nation in Europe and a gigantic nation in America make use of the same idiom,—when in Africa and Australasia the same language is in use by rising and influential communities, and the world is circled by the accents of Shakspeare and Milton? At that time such of the other languages of Europe as do not extend their empire beyond this quarter of the globe will be reduced to the same degree of insignificance in comparison with English, as the subordinate languages of modern Europe to those of the state they belong to,—the Welsh to the English, the Basque to the Spanish, the Finnish to the Russian. This predominance, we may flatter ourselves, will be a more signal blessing to literature than that of any other language could possibly be. The English is essentially a medium language;—in the Teutonic family it stands midway between the Germanic and Scandinavian branches—it unites as no other language unites, the Romanic and the Teutonic stocks. This fits it admirably in many cases for translation. A German writer, Prince Pückler Muskau, has given it as his opinion that English is

even better adapted than German to be the general interpreter of the literature of Europe. Another German writer, Jenisch, in his elaborate 'Comparison of Fourteen Ancient and Modern Languages of Europe,' which obtained a prize from the Berlin Academy in 1796, assigns the general palm of excellence to the English. In literary treasures what other language can claim the superiority? If Rivarol more than sixty years back thought the collective wealth of its literature able to dispute the pre-eminence with the French, the victory has certainly not departed from us in the time that has since elapsed,—the time of Wordsworth and Southey, of Rogers and Campbell, of Scott, of Moore, and of Byron.

"The prospect is so glorious that it seems an ungrateful task to interrupt its enjoyment by a shade of doubt: but as the English language has attained to this eminent station from small beginnings, may it not be advisable to consider whether obstacles are not in existence, which, equally small in their beginnings, have a probability of growing larger? The first consideration that presents itself is that English is not the only language firmly planted on the soil of America, the only one to which a glorious future is, in the probable course of things, assured.

"A sufficient importance has not always been attached to the fact, that in South America, and in a portion of the northern continent, the languages of the Peninsula are spoken by large and increasing populations. The Spanish language is undoubtedly of easier acquisition for the purposes of conversation than our own, from the harmony and clearness of its pronunciation; and it has the recommendation to the inhabitants of Southern Europe of greater affinity to

their own languages and the Latin. Perhaps the extraordinary neglect which has been the portion of this language for the last century and a half may soon give place to a juster measure of cultivation, and indeed the recent labours of Prescott and Ticknor seem to show that the dawn of that period has already broken. That the men of the North should acquire an easy and harmonious southern language seems in itself much more probable than that the men of the south should study a northern language, not only rugged in its pronunciation, but capricious in its orthography. The dominion of Spanish in America is, however, interrupted and narrowed by that of Portuguese, and to a singular degree by that of the native languages, some of which are possibly destined to be used for literary purposes in ages to come.

"At the time when Hume wrote his letter to Gibbon, the conquest of Canada had very recently been effected. The rivalry of the French and English in North America had been terminated by the most signal triumph of the English arms. Had measures been taken at that time to discourage the use of French and to introduce that of English, there can be little doubt that English would now be as much the language of Quebec and Montreal as it is of New York and the Delaware. Those measures were not taken. At this moment, when we are approaching a century from the battle of the Heights of Abraham, there is still a distinction of races in Canada, nourished by a distinction of language, and both appear likely to continue.

"Within the United States themselves, a very large body of the inhabitants have remained for generation after generation ignorant of the English language.

The number is uncertain. According to Stricker, in his dissertation 'Die Verbreitung des deutschen Volkes über die Erde,' published in 1845, the population of German origin in the United States in 1844 was 4,886,632, out of a total of 18,980,650. This statement, though made in the most positive terms, is founded on an estimate only, and has been shown to be much exaggerated. Wappaus (in his 'Deutsche Auswanderung und Colonisation'), after a careful examination, arrives at the conclusion that the total cannot amount to a million and a half. Many of these are of course acquainted with both languages—in several cases where amalgamation has taken place, the German language has died out and been replaced by the English,—but the number of communities where it is still prevalent is much larger than is generally supposed. In Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Missouri, to say nothing of other states, there are masses of population of German origin or descent, who are only acquainted with German. This tendency has of late years increased instead of declining. It has been a favourite project with recent German emigrants to form in America a state, in which the language should be German, and from the vast numbers in which they have crossed the Atlantic, there is nothing improbable in the supposition, that, by obtaining a majority in some one state, this object will be attained. In 1835 the legislature of Pennsylvania placed the German language in its legal rights on the same footing with the English.

"It may be asked if any damage will be done by this? The damage, it may be answered, will be twofold. The parties who are thus formed into an isolated community, with a language distinct from that of those around them, will be placed under the same

disadvantages as the Welsh of our own day, who find themselves always as it were some inches shorter than their neighbours, and have to make an exertion to be on their level. Those of them who are only masters of one language are in a sort of prison; those who are masters of two, might, if English had been their original speech, have had their choice of the remaining languages of the world to exert the same degree of labour on, with a better prospect of advantage. In the case of Welsh, the language has many ties: even those who see most clearly the necessity of forsaking it, must lament the harsh necessity of abandoning to oblivion the ancient tongue of an ancient nation. But these associations and feelings could not be pleaded in favour of transferring the Welsh to Otaheite; and when these feelings are withdrawn, what valid reason will remain for the perpetuation of Welsh, or even, it may be said, of German?

"The injury done to the community itself is perhaps the greatest; but there is a damage done to the world in general. It will be a splendid and a novel experiment in modern society, if a single language becomes so predominant over all others as to reduce them in comparison to the proportion of provincial dialects. To have this experiment fairly tried, is a great object. Every atom that is subtracted from the amount of the majority has its influence—it goes into the opposite scale. If the Germans succeed in establishing their language in the United States, other nations may follow. The Hungarian emigrants, who are now removing thither from the vengeance of Austria, may perpetuate their native Magyar, and America may in time present a surface as checkered as Europe, or in some parts, as Hungary itself, where the traveller often in passing from one village to

another, finds himself in the domain of a different language. That this consummation may be averted must be the wish not only of every Englishman and of every Anglo-American, but of every sincere friend of the advancement of literature and civilization. Perhaps a few more years of inattention to the subject will allow the evil to make such progress that exertion to oppose it may come too late."

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§ 713. Of the Gypsy language I need only say, that it is not only Indo-Germanic, but that it is Hindoo. Few words from it have mixed themselves with our standard (or even our provincial) dialects.

Thieves' language, or that dialect for which there is no name, but one from its own vocabulary, *viz.* Slang, is of greater value in philology than in commerce. It serves to show that in speech nothing is arbitrary. Its compound phrases are either periphrastic or metaphorical; its simple monosyllables are generally those of the current language in an older form. The thieves of London are conservators of Anglo-Saxonisms. In this dialect I know of no specimens earlier than the reign of Queen Elizabeth. In the dramatic literature of that age they are rife and common. The Roaring Girl, the Jolly Beggars, amongst the plays, and Deckar's Bellman amongst the tracts, preserve us a copious vocabulary, similar to what we have now, and similar to what it was in Gay's time. Of this the greater part is Saxon. Here and there appears a word of Latin origin, *e.g.*, *pannum*, bread; *cassons*, cheese. Of the Gypsy language I have discovered no trace.

§ 714. The Talkee-Talkee is a Lingua Franca based on the English, and spoken by the Negroes of Surinam.

It is Dutch rather than English; it shows, however, the latter language as an element of admixture.

SPECIMEN.[87]

1. Drie deh na bakka dem holi wan bruiloft na Cana na Galilea; on mamma va Jesus ben de dapeh.

2. Ma dem ben kali Jesus nanga hem discipel toe, va kom na da bruiloft.

3. En teh wieni kaba, mamma va Jesus takki na hem; dem no habi wieni morro.

4. Jesus takki na hem: mi mamma, hoeworko mi habi nanga joe? Tem va mi no ben kom jette.

5. Hem mamma takki na dem foetoeboi; oene doe sanni a takki gi oene.

6. Ma dem ben poetti dapeh siksi biggi watra-djoggo, na da fasi va Djoe vo krieni dem: inniwan djoggo holi toe effi drie kannetjes.

7. Jesus takki na dem [foetoeboi]: Oene foeloe dem watra-djoggo nanga watra. Ed dem foeloe dem teh na moeffe.

8. En dan a takki na dem: Oene poeloe pikinso, tjarri go na grang-foetoeboi. En dem doe so.

9. Ma teh grangfoetoeboi tesi da watra, dissi ben tron wieni, kaba a no sabi, na hoepeh da wieni komotto (ma dem foetoeboi dissi ben teki da watra ben sabi): a kali da bruidigom.

10. A takki na hem: Inniwan somma njoesoe va gi fossi da morro switti wieni, en teh dem dringi noeffe kaba, na bakka da mendre swittiwan; ma

joe ben kiebri da morro boennewan.

11. Datti da fossi marki dissi Jesus ben doe; en datti ben passa na Cana na Galilea va dem somma si hem glori. En dem discipel va hem briebi na hem.

1. Three day after back, them hold one marriage in Cana in Galilee, and mamma of Jesus been there.

2. But them been call Jesus with him disciple, for come to that marriage.

3. And when wine end, mamma of Jesus talk to him, them no have wine more.

4. Jesus talk to him, me mamma how work me have with you? Time of me no been come yet.

5. Him mamma talk to them footboy, ye do things he talk to ye.

6. But them been put there six big water-jug, after the fashion of Jew for clean them; every one jug hold two or three firkins.

7. Jesus talk to them (footboy): ye fill them water jug with water. And them fill them till to mouth.

8. And then he talk to them, ye pour little, carry go to grandfootboy. And them do so.

9. But when grandfootboy taste that water, this been turn wine, could he no know from where that wine come-out-of (but them footboy this been take that water well know): he call the bridegroom.

10. He talk to him, every one man use of give first the more sweet wine; and when them drink enough end, after back the less sweety wine: but you been cover that more good wine.

11. That the first miracle that Jesus been do, and that been pass in Cana in Galilee, for them men see him glory. And them disciple of him believe in him.

§ 715. That the Anglo-Norman of England was, in the reign of Edward III., not the French of Paris (and most probably not the Franco-Norman of Normandy), we learn from the well-known quotation from Chaucer:—

> And Frenche she spake ful feteously,
> After the scole of Stratforde at Bowe,
> For Frenche of Parys was to her unknowe.
>
> *Prologue to the Canterbury Tales.*

§ 716. The concluding extract from the Testamenta Eboracensia, published by the Surtees' Society, is from the will of a gentleman in Yorkshire. To me it seems to impugn the assertion of Higden, that the Norman was spoken throughout England without a variety of pronunciation: "Mirandum videtur quomodo nativa propria Anglorum lingua, in unica insula coartata, pronunciatione ipsa fit tam diversa, cum tamen Normannica lingua, quæ adventicia est, univoca maneat penes cunctos."—*Ed. Gale*, p. 210.

Testamenta Eboracensia, CLIX.

En le noune de Dieu, et de notre Dame Sante Marie, et en noun de teuz le sauntez de Paradyse, Amen. Moi Brian de Stapylton devise m'alme a

Dieu et a notre Dame Saunte Marie, et a touz lez Sauntz de Paradyse, et mon chautiff corps d'estre enterre en le Priourie de le Parke decoste ma compaigne, que Dieu l'assoille, et sur mon corps seit un drape de blew saye; et ma volunte ett au l'aide de Dieu d'avoire un herce ov synke tapirs, chescun tapir de synk livers, et tresze hommes vestuz en bluw ov tresze torchez, de queux tresze torchez, si ne saiount degastez, jeo voile que quatre demore a le dit Priorie.

Item jeo devyse que j'ay un homme armes en mes armes et ma hewme ene sa teste, et quy soit bien monte et un homme de bon entaille de qil condicon que y sort.

Item jeo devyse que touz ceaux, qui a moy appendent meignialx en ma maison, soient vestuz en bluw a mes costagez. Et a touz les poores, qils veignent le jour de mon enterment jeo devise et voile que chescun ait un denier en ovre de charrte, et en aide de ma chitiffe alme, et jeo voile que les sires mes compaignons mez aliez et mez voiseignez, qui vollionť venir de lour bone gre prier pour moy et pour faire honour a mon chettife corps, qi peue ne vault, jeo oille et chargez mez executour que y soient mesme cel jour bien a eise, et q'il eient a boiere asseth, et a cest ma volunté parfournir jeo devise ci marcæ ove l'estore de maison taunke juiste seit.

§ 717. *Relations of dialects* (*so-called*) *to languages* (*so-called*).—"It is necessary clearly to conceive the nature and character of what we call dialects. The Doric, Æolic, and Ionic for example, in the language of grammarians, are dialects of the Greek: to what does this assertion amount? To this only, that among

a people called the Greeks, some being Dorians spoke a language called Doric, some being Æolians spoke another language called Æolic, while a third class, Ionians, spoke a third language called, from them, Ionic. But though all these are termed dialects of the Greek, it does not follow that there was ever a Greek language of which these were variations, and which had any being apart from these. Dialects then are essentially languages: and the name dialect itself is but a convenient grammarian's phrase, invented as part of the machinery by which to carry on reasonings respecting languages. We learn the language which has the best and largest literature extant; and having done so, we treat all very nearly resembling languages as *variations* from what we have learnt. And that dialects are in truth several languages, will readily appear to any one who perceives the progressive development of the principle of separation in cognate tongues. The language of the Bavarian highlander or High Dutch, the language of the Hanoverian lowlander or Low Dutch, are German dialects: elevate, as it is called, regulate, and purify the one, and it assumes the name and character of a language—it is German. Transplant the other to England, let nine centuries pass over it, and it becomes a language too, and a language of more importance than any which was ever yet spoken in the world, it has become English. Yet none but practised philologists can acknowledge the fact that the German and English languages are dialects of one Teutonic tongue."

§ 718. *Relation of dialects to the older stages of the mother-tongue.*—This has been noticed in § 691. The following extract from Mr. Kemble's paper just quoted, illustrates what he calls the *spontaneity* of dialects:—

"Those who imagine language invented by a man or men, originally confined and limited in its powers, and gradually enlarged and enriched by continuous practice and the reflection of wise and learned individuals—unless, indeed, they look upon it as potentially only—in *posse* though not in *esse*—as the tree may be said to exist in the seed, though requiring time and culture to flourish in all its majesty—appear to neglect the facts which history proves. There is nothing more certain than this, that the earlier we can trace back any one language, the more full, complete, and consistent are its forms; that the later we find it existing, the more compressed, colloquial, and business-like it has become. Like the trees of our forests, it grows at first wild, luxuriant, rich in foliage, full of light and shadow, and flings abroad in its vast branches the fruits of a vigorous youthful nature: transplanted into the garden of civilization and trained for purposes of commerce, it becomes regulated, trimmed and pruned; nature indeed still gives it life, but art prescribes the direction and extent of its vegetation. Compare the Sanscrit with the Gothic, the Gothic with the Anglo-Saxon, and again the Anglo-Saxon with the English: or what is even better, take two periods of the Anglo-Saxon itself, the eighth and tenth centuries for example. Always we perceive a compression, a gradual loss of fine distinctions, a perishing of forms, terminations and conjugations, in the younger state of the language. The truth is, that in language up to a certain period, there is a real indwelling vitality, a principle acting unconsciously but pervasively in every part: men wield their forms of speech as they do their

limbs, spontaneously, knowing nothing of their construction, or the means by which these instruments possess their power. There are flexors and extensors long before the anatomist discovers and names them, and we use our arms without inquiring by what wonderful mechanism they are made obedient to our will. So is it with language long before the grammarian undertakes its investigation. It may even be said, that the commencement of the age of self-consciousness is identical with the close of that of vitality in language; for it is a great error to speak of languages as dead, only when they have ceased to be spoken. They are dead when they have ceased to possess the power of adaptation to the wants of the people, and no longer contain in themselves the means of their own extension. The Anglo-Saxon, in the spirit and analogy of his whole language, could have used words which had never been heard before, and been at once understood: if we would introduce a new name for a new thing, we must take refuge in the courtesy of our neighbours, and borrow from the French, or Greek, or Latin, terms which never cease to betray their foreign origin, by never putting off the forms of the tongue from which they were taken, or assuming those of the tongue into which they are adopted. The English language is a dead one.

"In general it may be said that dialects possess this vitality in a remarkable degree, and that their very existence is the strongest proof of its continuance. This is peculiarly the case when we use the word to denote the popular or provincial forms of speech in a country where, by common consent of the learned and educated classes, one

particular form of speech has been elevated to the dignity of the national language. It is then only the strength of the principles which first determined the peculiarities of the dialect that continues to support them, and preserves them from being gradually rounded down, as stones are by friction, and confounded in the course of a wide-spreading centralization. Increased opportunity of intercommunion with other provincials or the metropolis (dependent upon increased facilities of locomotion, the improvement of roads and the spread of mechanical inventions) sweeps away much of these original distinctions, but it never destroys them all. This is a necessary consequence of the fact that they are in some degree connected with the physical features of the country itself, and all those causes which influence the atmosphere. A sort of pseudo-vitality even till late periods bears witness to the indwelling power, and the consciousness of oppression from without: *false* analogies are the form this life assumes. How often have we not heard it asserted that particular districts were remarkable for the Saxonism of their speech, because they had retained the archaisms, *kine*, *shoon*, *housen*! Well and good! Archaisms they are, but they are false forms nevertheless, based upon an analogy just as erroneous as that which led men in the last century to say *crowed*, *hanged* for *crew*, *hung*. The Anglo-Saxon language never knew any such forms, and one wonders not to find by their side equally gratuitous Saxonisms, *mousen*, *lousen*."—Phil. Soc. No. 35.

The doctrine that languages become *dead* when they

lose a certain power of evolving new forms out of previously existing ones, is incompatible with views to which the present writer has committed himself in the preface. If the views there exhibited be true the test of the *vitality* of a language, if such metaphors *must* be used, is the same as the test of vitality in material organisms, *i.e.*, the power of fulfilling certain functions. Whether this is done by the evolution of new forms out of existing materials, or by the amalgamation (the particular power of the English language) of foreign terms is a mere difference of process.

§ 719. *Effect of common physical conditions.*—I again quote the same paper of Mr. Kemble's:—

> "Professor Willis of Cambridge, in the course of some most ingenious experiments upon the organization and conditions of the human larynx, came upon the law which regulated the pronunciation of the vowels. He found this to be partly in proportion to the size of the opening in the pipe, partly to the force with which the air was propelled through it, and by the adaptation of a tremulous artificial larynx to the pipe of an organ, he produced the several vowels at will. Now bearing in mind the difference between the living organ and the dead one, the susceptibility of the former to dilatation and compression, from the effects, not only of the human will, but also of cold, of denser or thinner currents of air, and above all the influence which the general state of the body must have upon every part of it, we are furnished at once with the necessary hypothesis; viz. that climate, and the local positions on which climate much depends, are the main agency in producing the original variations of dialect. Once

produced, tradition perpetuates them, with subsequent modifications proportionate to the change in the original conditions, the migration to localities of a different character, the congregation into towns, the cutting down of forests, the cultivation of the soil, by which the prevalent degrees of cold and the very direction of the currents of air are in no small degree altered. It is clear that the same influences will apply to all such consonants as can in any way be affected by the greater or less tension of the organs, consequently above all to the gutturals; next to the palatals, which may be defined by the position of the tongue; least of all to the labials, and generally to the liquids also, though these may be more or less strongly pronounced by different peoples. This hint must suffice here, as the pursuit of it is rather a physiological than a philological problem, and it is my business rather to show historically what facts bear upon my present inquiry, than to investigate the philosophical reasons for their existence. Still, for the very honour of human nature, one of whose greatest and most universal privileges is the recognition of and voluntary subjection to the laws of beauty and harmony, it is necessary to state that no developed language exists which does not acknowledge some internal laws of euphony, from which many of its peculiarities arise, and which by these assimilates its whole practice and assumes an artistical consistency. On this faculty, which is rather to be considered as a moral quality of the people than a necessity of their language, depends the facility of employing the language for certain purposes of art, and the form which poetry and rhythm shall assume in

the period of their cultivation.

> "In reviewing the principal languages of the ancient and modern world, where the migrations of those that spoke them can be traced with certainty, we are struck with the fact that the dwellers in chains of mountains, or on the elevated plains of hilly districts, strongly affect broad vowels and guttural consonants. Compare the German of the Tyrol, Switzerland, or Bavaria, with that of the lowlands of Germany, Westphalia, Hanover, and Mecklenburg: compare the Doric with the Attic, or still more the soft Ionic Greek: follow the Italian of our own day into the mountains of the Abruzzi: pursue the English into the hills of Northumberland; mark the characteristics of the Celtic in the highlands of Wales and Scotland, of the Vascongado, in the hilly ranges of Spain. Everywhere we find the same type; everywhere the same love for broad sounds and guttural forms; everywhere these appear as the peculiarity of mountaineers. The difference of latitude between Holstein and Inspruck is not great; that between Newcastle and Coventry is less; Sparta is more southerly than Athens; Crete more so than either; but this does not explain our problem; its solution is found in the comparative number of feet above the level of the sea, in the hills and the valleys which they enclose."

If true, the bearings of this is important; since, if common physical conditions effect a common physiognomy of language, we may have a certain amount of resemblance without a corresponding amount of ethnological affinity.

PRAXIS.

The following extracts are given in the form of simple texts. They are meant, more especially, to be explained by masters to their classes; and as such were used by myself during the time that I was Professor of the English language and literature at University College. They are almost all taken from editions wherein either a translation or a full commentary can be found by reference. To have enlarged the present Appendix into a full Praxis, would have been to overstep the prescribed limits of the present work.

I.

MŒSO-GOTHIC.

Mark, Chap. 1.

1. 2. Anastodeins aivaggeljons ïesuis
xristaus sunaus guþs. sve
gameliþ ïst ïn esaï in praufetau. sai. ïk
ïnsandja aggilu meinana
faura þus. saei gamanveiþ vig þeinana
faura þus. stibna vopjandins
3. ïn auþidai. manveiþ vig fraujins. raihtos
vaurkeiþ
4. staigos guþs unsaris. vas ïohannes
daupjands ïn auþidai jah
5. merjands daupein ïdreigos du aflageinai
fravaurhte. jah usïddjedun
du ïmma all ïudaialand jah ïairusaulymeis
jah daupidai
vesun allai ïn ïaurdane awai fram ïmma
andhaitandans fravaurhtim

6. seinaim. vasuþ-þan ïohannes gavasiþs
taglam ulbandaus
jah gairda filleina bi hup seinana jah
matida þramsteins
7. jah miliþ haiþivisk jah merida qiþands.
qimiþ svinþoza mis sa
afar mis. þizei ïk ni ïm vairþs
anahneivands andbindan
skaudaraip
8. skohe is. aþþan ïk daupja ïzvis ïn vatin.
ïþ ïs daupeiþ ïzvis
9. ïn ahmin veihamma. jah varþ ïn
jainaim dagam. qam
ïesus fram nazaraiþ galeilaias jah daupiþs
vas fram ïohanne ïn
10. ïaurdane. jah suns usgaggands us
þamma vatin gasaw usluknans
11. himinans jah ahman sve ahak
atgaggandan ana ïna. jah
stibna qam us himinam. þu ïs sunus meins
sa liuba. ïn þuzei
12. vaila galeikaida. jah suns sai. ahma
ïna ustauh ïn auþida.
13. jah vas in þizai auþidai dage
fidvortiguns fraisans fram satanin
14. jah vas miþ diuzam jah aggileis
andbahtidedun ïmma. ïp afar
þatei atgibans varþ ïohannes. qam ïesus ïn
galeilaia merjands
15. aivaggeljon þiudangardjos guþs
qiþands þatei usfullnoda þata
mel jah atnewida sik þiudangardi guþs.
ïdreigoþ jah galaubeiþ
16. ïn aivaggeljon. jah warbonds faur
marein galeilaias gasaw
seimonu jah andraian broþar ïs. þis

seimonis. vairpandans
17. nati ïn marein. vesun auk fiskjans. jah
qaþ ïm ïesus. hirjats
18. afar mis jah gatauja ïgqis vairþan
nutans manne. jah suns
19. affetandans þo natja seina laistidedun
afar ïmma. jah jainþro
ïnngaggands framis leitil gasaw ïakobu
þana zaibaidaiaus jah
20. ïohanne broþar ïs jah þans ïn skipa
manvjandans natja. jah
suns haihait ïns jah affetandans attan
seinana zaibaidaiu ïn þamma
skipa miþ asnjam galiþun afar ïmma jah
galiþun ïn kafarnaum.
21. jah suns sabbato daga galeiþands ïn
synagogen laisida
22. ïns jah usfilmans vaurþun ana þizai
laiseinai ïs. unte vas laisjands
23. ïns sve valdufni habands jah ni svasve
þai bokarjos. jah
vas ïn þizai synagogen ïze manna ïn
unhrainjamma ahmin jah
24. ufhropida qiþands. fralet. wa uns jah
þus ïesu nazorenai.
qamt fraqistjan uns. kann þuk was þu ïs.
sa veiha guþs.
25. jah andbait ïna ïesus qiþands. þahai
jah usgagg ut us þamma.
26. ahma unhrainja. jah tahida ïna ahma
sa unhrainja jah hropjands
27. stibnai mikilai usïddja us ïmma. jah
afslauþnodedun
allai sildaleikjandans. svaei sokidedun miþ
sis misso qiþandans.
wa sijai þata. wo so laiseino so niujo. ei

miþ valdufnja jah
ahmam þaim unhrainjam anabiudiþ jah
ufhausjand ïmma.
28. usïddja þan meriþa ïs suns and allans
bisitands galeilaias.
29. jah suns us þizai synagogen
usgaggandans qemun ïn garda
seimonis
30. jah andraiïns miþ ïokobau jah
ïohannem. ïþ svaihro
31. seimonis log ïn brinnon. jah suns
qeþun ïmma bi ïja. jah
duatgaggands urraisida þo undgreipands
handu ïzos. jah affailot
32. þo so brinno suns jah andbahtida ïm.
andanahtja þan vaurþanamma.
þan gasaggq sauïl. berun du ïmma allans
þans ubil
33. habandans jah unhulþons habandans.
jah so baurgs alla garunnana
34. vas at daura. jah gahailida managans
ubil habandans
missaleikaim sauhtim jah unhulþons
managos usvarp jah ni
35. fralailot rodjan þos unhulþons. unte
kunþedun ïna. jah air
uhtvon usstandans usïddja jah galaiþ ana
auþjana staþ jah jainar
36. baþ. jah galaistans vaurþun ïmma
seimon jah þai miþ
37. ïmma. jah bigitandans ïna qeþun du
ïmma þatei allai þuk
38. sokjand. jah qaþ du ïm. gaggam du
þaim bisunjane haimom
39. jah baurgim. ei jah jainar merjau. unte
duþe qam. jah

vas merjands ïn synagogim ïze and alla
galeilaian jah unholþons
40. usvairpands. jah qam at ïmma þrutsfill
habands bidjands
ïna jah knivam knussjands jah qiþands du
ïmma þatei. jabai
41. vileis. magt mik gahrainjan. ïþ ïesus
ïnfeinands ufrakjands
handu seina attaitok ïmma jah qaþ ïmma.
viljau. vairþ hrains.
42. jah biþe qaþ þata ïesus. suns þata
þrutsfill affaiþ af ïmma jah
43. hrains varþ. jah gawotjands ïmma suns
ussandida ïna jah qaþ
44. du ïmma. saiw ei mannhun ni qiþais
vaiht ak gagg þuk silban
ataugjan gudjin jah atbair fram
gahraineinai peinai. þatei
45. anabauþ moses du veitvodiþai ïm. ïþ ïs
usgaggands dugann
merjan filu jah usqiþan þata vaurd. svasve
ïs juþan ni mahta
andaugjo ïn baurg galeiþan ak uta ana
auþjaim stadim vas.
jah ïddjedun du ïmma allaþro.

II.

OLD HIGH-GERMAN.

MUSPILLI.

From Schmeller.

... sîn ta piqueme,
Das er towian scal,

Wanta sâr so sih dui sêla
In dem sind arhevit,
Ente si den lîhhamun
Likkan lâzzit;
So quimith ein heri
Fona himilzungalon;
Daz andar fona pehhe:
Dar pâgant siu umpi.
Sorgên mac diu sêla,
Unzi diu suona argêt,
Za wideremo herie,
Si gihalot werde.
Wanta ipu sia daz Satanazsses
Kisindi giwinnit,
Das leitet sia sâr
Dar iru leid wirdit,
In fiur enti in finstri,
Dazu ist reht virinlih ding.
Upi sia avar kihalont die,
Die dar fona himile quemant,
Enti si dero engilo eigan wirdit,
Die pringant sia sâr ûf in himilo rîhhi,
Darî est lîp âno tôd, lioht âno finstri,
Selida âno sorgun; dar nist neoman suih.
Denne der mar in pardîsu
Pû kiwinnit,
Hûs in himile,
Dar quimit imu hilfa kinuok
Pidiu ist durft mihhil allero manno
welilihemo
Daz in es sîn muot kispane,
Daz er kotes willun
Kerno tuo,
Ente hella fuir
Harto wîsê,
Pehhes pina,

Dar piutit den Satanaz altist
Heizzan lauc. So mac huckan za diu,
Sorgên drâto
Der sih suntigen weiz.
Wê demo in vinstrî scal
Sîno virina stuen,
Prinnan in pehhe;
Daz ist rehto palwig ding—
Daz man den harêt ze gote,
Ente imo helfa ni quimit;
Wânit sih kinâda
Diu wênaga sêla
Ni ist in kihuctin
Himiliskin gote,
Wanta hiar in werolti
After ni werkôta.
So denne der mahtigo khuninc
Daz mahal kipannit
Dara scal queman
Chunno kilîhhaz
Denne ni kitar parno nohhein
Den pan furisizzan,
Dî allero manno welîh
Ze demo mahale sculi,
Der scal er, vora demo ricche,
Az rahhu stantan,
Pî daz er, in werolti,
Kiwerkota hapêta.
Daz hôrt ih rahhon
Dia werolt-rehtwîson,
Daz sculi der Antichristo
Mit Eliase pâgan.
Der warch ist kiwâfanit;
Denne wirdit untar in wîk arhapan;
Khensun sind so kreftic,
Diri kosa ist so mihhil.

Elias strîtît
Pî den ewigon lîp,
Wili den rehtkernon
Daz rîhhi kistarkan;
Pidiu scal imo halfan
Der himiles kiwaltit.
Der Anticristo stêt
Pî dem Altfiante
Stêt pî demo Satanase,
Der inan farsenkan scal;
Pidiu scal er in der wîcsteti
Wunt pivallan,
Enti in demo sinde
Sigalos werdan.
Doh wânit des vila gotmanno,
Daz Elias in demo wîge arwartit (werdit).
Sâr so daz Eliases pluot
In erda kitruifit,
So inprinnant die perga,
Poum ni kistentit
Einic in erdu,
Aha artruknênt,
Muor varsuilhet sih,
Suilizot lougui der himil
Mâno vallit,
Prinnit mittilagart,
Stein ni kistentit einik in erdu.
Verit denne stuatago in lant,
Verit mit diu viuriu
Viriho wîsôn,
Dar ni mai denne mâk andremo
Helfan vora dema Muspille.
Denne daz preita wasal
Allaz varprinnit,
Enti viur enti luft
Iz allaz arfurpit,

War ist denne diu marha,
Dar man dar eo mit sînem magon
(Diu marha ist farprunnan
Diu sêla stêt pidungan),
Ni weiz mit win puoze;
Sâr verit si za wîze.
Pidui ist dem manne so guot,
Denne er ze demo mahale quimit,
Daz er rahhono welihha
Rehto arteile;
Denne ni darf er sorgên,
Denne er ze deru suonu quimit.
Denne varant engila;
Uper dio marho,
Wecchant diota,
Wîssant ze dinge;
Denne scal manno gelîh
Fona deru moltu arsten;
Lôssan sih ar dero lêuuo vazzon
Scal imo avar sîn lîp piqueman,
Daz er sîn reht allaz
Kirahhon muozzi,
Enti imo after sînen tâtin
Arteilet werde.
Denne der gisizzit,
Der dar suonnan scal,
Enti arteillan scal,
Tôten enti quekken,
Denne stêt darumpi
Engilo menigi,
Quotero gomono girust so mihhil.
Dara quimit ze deru rightungu so vilo dia
dar arstent,
So dar manno nohhein
Wiht pimîdan ni mak;
Dar scal denne hant sprehhan,

Houpit sagên,
Allero lido wehh
Unsi id den luzigun vinger.
Ni weiz der wênago man
Wielihhan urteil er habêt;
Denne er mit den miaton
Marrit daz rehta,
Daz der tiuval darpî
Kitarnit stentit;
Der habêt in ruovu
Rahhono welihha,
Daz der man er enti sîd
Upiles kifrumita,
Daz er iz allaz kisagêt,
Denne or ze deru suonu quimit.

* * * * * *

III.

ANGLO-SAXON.

Evangelium Nicodemi, xxi.

From Thwaite's Heptateuch.

Hyt wæs ða swiþe angrislic, ða ða Satanas, ðære Helle ealdor and þæs deaþes heretoga, cwæþ to þære Helle; "Gegearwa þe sylfe, þat ðu mæge Chryst onfon; se hyne sylfne gewuldrod hæfð, and ys Godes sunu and eac man, and eac se Deað ys hyne ondrædende, and myn sawl ys swa unrot þæt me þincþ þæt ic alybban ne mæg, for þig he ys mycel wyðerwynna and yfel wyrcende ongean me, and eac ongean þe: and fæla, þe ic hæfde to me gewyld and to atogen, blynde and healte,

gebygede and hreoslan, eallo he fram ðe atyhð." Seo Hell þa, swiþe grymme and swiþe egeslice, answarode ða Satanase ðam ealdan deofle, and cwæð: "Hwæt is se þe ys swa strang and swa myhtig, gif he man is, þæt he ne sig þone Deað ondrædende, þe wyt gefyrn beclysed hæfdon, for þam ealle þa þe on eorþan anweald hæfdon þu hig myd þynre myhte to me getuge, and ic hig fæste geheold; and, gif þu swa mihhtig eart swa þu ær wære, hwæt ys se man and se Hælend þe ne sig þone Deað and þyne mihte ondrædende? to forðan ic wat, gif he on mennyscnysse swa mihtig ys, þæt he naþer ne unc ne þond Deað ne ondræt, þonne gefohð he þe and þe byþ æfre wa to ecere worulde." Satanos þa, þæs cwicsusles ealdor þære Helle andswarode, and þus cwæd: "Hwæt twyneð þe, oþþe hwæt ondrædst þu þe þone Hælend to onfonne, mynne wyþerwynnan and eac þynne; Ac forðon ic his costnode, and ic gedyde him þæt eal þæt Iudeisce folc þæt hig wæron ongean him myd yrre and mid andan awehte, and ic gedyde þæt he wæs mid spere gesticod, and ic gedyde þæt hym man dryncan mengde myd eallan and myd ecede, and ic gedyde þæt man hym treowene rode gegearwode, and hyne þær on aheng, and hyne mid næglum gefæstnode and nu æt nextan ic wylle his deað to þe gelædan, and he sceal beon underþeod agwhær ge me ge þe." Seo Hell þa swyþe angrysenlice þus cwœþ; "Wyte þæt ðu swa do þæt he ða deadan fram me ateo, for þam þe her fæla syndon geornfulle fram me mig, þæt hig on me wunian noldon; ac ic wat þæt hig fram mig ne gewytaþ þurh heora agene myhte, butan hig se Ælmytiga God fram me ateo, se þe Lazarum of me genam, þone þe ic heold deadne feower nyht fæstne gebunden, ac ic hyne æft cwicne ageaf

þurh his bedodu." Da andswarode Satanas and cwæþ: "Se ylca hyt is se þe Lazarum of unc bam genam." Seo Hell hym þa þus to cwæp. "Eala hic halgige þe þuhr þyne mægenu, and eac þuhr myne, þæt þu næfre ne geþafige pæt he on me cume, for þam þa ic gehyrde, þæt worde his bebodes, ic was myd miclum ege afyriht, and ealle mynne arleasan þenas wæron samod myd me gedrehte and gedrefede, swa þæt we ni myhton Lazarum gehealdan, ac he wæs hyne asceacende eal swa earn þonne he myd hrædum flythe wyle forð afleon, and he swa wæs fram us ræfende, and seo eorþe þe Lazarus deadan lichaman heold, heo hyne cwycne ageaf, and þæt ic nu wat þæt se man þe eall þæt gedyde þæt he ys on Gode strang and myhtig, and gif þu hyne to me lædest, ealle þa þe her syndon on þysum wælhreowan cwearterne beclysde, and on þysum bendum myd synnum gewryðene, ealle he myd þys godcundnysse fram me atyhð, and to lyfe gelæt."

IV.

From Schmid's Anglo-Saxon Laws.

Þis syndon þa domas þe Ælfred se cyning geceas.

Drihten wæs precende þæs word to Moyse and þus cwæð:

1. Ic eam drihten þin god. Ic þe utgelædde of Ægypta land and of heora þeowdome; ne lufa þu oðre fremde godas ofer me.

2. Ne minne naman ne cig þu on idelnesse, forþon þe þu ne bist unscyldig wið me, gif þu on

idelnesse cigst minne naman.

3. Gemine þæt þu gehalgie þone ræstedæg. Wyrceað eow syx dagas, and on þam seofaðan restað eow, þu and þin sunu and þine dohter and þin þeowe and þine wylne and þin weorcynten and se cuma þe bið binnan þinan durum. Forþam on syx dagum Crist geworhte heofenas and eorðan, sæas and ealle gesceafta þe on him sint and hine gereste on þam seofaðan dæge, and forþon drihten hine gehalgode.

4. Ara þinum fæder and þinre meder, þa þe drihten sealde þe, þæt þu sy þy leng libbende on eorðan.

5. Ne slea þu.

6. Ne stala þu.

7. Ne lige þu dearnunga.

8. Ne sæge þu lease gewitnesse wið þinum nehstan.

9. Ne wilna þu þines nehstan yrfes mid unrihte.

10. Ne wyrc þu þe gyldene godas oððe seolfrene.

11. Þis synd þa domas þe þu him settan scealt. § 1. Gif hwa gebycge Christenne þeow, VI gear þeowige he, þe seofoðan beo he freoh orceapunga. § 2. Mid swylce hrægle he ineode, mid swilce gange he ut. § 3. Gif he wif sylf hæbbe, gange heo ut mid him. § 4. Gif se hlaford þonne him wif sealde, sy heo and hire beam þæs hlafordes. § 5. Gif se þeowa þonne cwæðe: nelle ic fram minum hlaforde, ne fram minum wife, ne fram minum bearne,—breng hine þonne his

hlaford to þære dura þæs temples and þurhþyrlige his eare mid eale to tacne, þæt he sy æfre syððan þeow.

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13. Se man þe his gewealdes monnan ofslea, swelte se deaðe. Se-þe hine þonne neades ofsloge oððe unwillum oððe ungewealdes, swylce hine god swa sende on his honda and he hine ne ymb syrede, sy he his feores wyrðe and folcrihtre bot, gif he fryðstowe gesece. Gif hwa þonne of gyrnesse oððe gewealdes ofslea his þone nehstan þurh syrwa, aluc þu hine fram minum weofode, to þam þæt he deaðe swelte.

14. Se-þe slea his fæder oððe his modor, ne sceal deaðe sweltan.

15. Se-þe frione forstæle and he hyne bebycge and hit onbetæled sy, þæt he hine bereccan ne mæg, swelte se deaðe. § 1. Se-se wyrge his fæder oððe his modor, swelte se deaðe.

16. Gif hwa slea his þone nehstan mid stane oððe mid fyste, and he þeah utgangan mæge be stafe, begyte him læce and wyrce his weorc þa hwile, þe he sylf ne mæge.

17. Se-þe slea his agenne þeowne esne oððe mennen, and he ne sy þy dæges dead, þeah he libbe twa niht oððe þreo, ne bið he ealles swa scyldig, forþon þe hit wæs his agen feoh. Gif he þonne sy idæges dead, þonne sitte seo scyld on him.

18. Gif hwa on ceast eacniend wif gewerde, bete þone æfwyrdlan swa him domeras gereccan. Gif heo dead sy, sylle sawle wið sawle.

19. Gif hwa oðrum his eage oðdo, sylle his agen for; toð for toð, handa for handa, fet for fet, bærning for bærning, wund wið wund, læl wið læle.

20. Gif hwa ofslea his þeowe oððe his þeowenne þæt eage ut, and he þonne hi gedo ænigge, gefreoge hi forþon. Gif he þonne toð ofslea, do þæt ylce.

21. Gif oxa ofhnite wer oððe wif, þæt hy deade synd, sy he mid stanum ofweorpod and ne sy his flæsc geeton and se hlaford bið unscyldig. § 1. Gif se oxa hnitol wære twam dagum ære oððe þrym and se hlaford hit wist and hine inne betynan nolde, and he þonne were oððe wif ofsloge, sy he mid stanum ofworpod and sy se hlaford ofslegen oððe forgolden, swa þæt witan to riht findan. § 2. Sunu oððe dohtor gif he ofstinge, þæs ylcan domes sy he wyrðe. § 3. Gif he þonne þeow oððe þeowe mennen ofstynge, gesylle þæm hlaford XXX scill. seolfres and se oxa sy mid stanum ofworpod.

22. Gif hwa adelfe wæterpytte oððe betynedne untyne and hine eft ne betyne, gyld swylc neat swa þær on befealle and hæbbe him þæt dead.

23. Gif oxa oðres mannes oxan gewundige and he þonne dead sy, bebycggen þone oxan and hæbben him þæt weorð gemæne and eac þæt flæsc swa þæs deadan. Gif se hlaford þonne wiste, þæt se oxa hnitol wære and hine healdan nolde, sylle him oðerne oxan fore and hæbbe him ealle þæt flæsc.

24. Gif hwa forstæle oðres oxan and hine ofslea

oððe bebycge, sylle twegen wið and feower sceap wið anum. Gif he hæbbe hwæt he sylle, sy he sylf beboht wið þam feoh.

25. Gif þeof brece mannes hus nihtes and he wyrðe þær ofslægen, ne sy he na manslæges scyldig, þe him sloge. Gif he syððan æfter sunnan upgonge þis deð, he bið mansleges scyldig and he þonne sylfa swylte, butan he nyddæda wære. Gif mid him cwicum sy funden þæt he ær stale, be twyfealdum forgylde hit.

26. Gif hwa gewerde oðres monnes wingeard oððe his æceras oððe his landes awuht, gebete swa hit man geeahtige.

27. Gif fyr sy ontended ryt to bærnenne, gebete þone æfwerdelsan se þæt fyr ontendeð.

28. Gif hwa oðfæste his friend feoh, gif he hit sylf stæl, forgylde be twyfealdum. § 1. Gif he nyste, hwa hit stæle, geladige hine sylfne, þæt he þær nan facn ne gefremede. § 2. Gif hit þonne cucu feoh wære and he secge, þæt hit here name oððe þæt hit sylf acwæle, and he gewitnesse hæbbe, ne þearf he þæt gyldan. § 3. Gif he þonne gewitnesse næbbe, and he him ne getriewe ne sy, swerige he þonne.

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30. Þa fœmnan þe gewunniað onfon galdorcræftigan and scinlæcan and wiccan, ne læt þu þa libban.

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32. And se þe godgeldum onsæcge ofer god ænne, swelte deaðe.

33. Utancumene and ætþeodige ne geswenc þu

no, forþon þe ge wæron ælþeodige on Ægypta land.

34. Þa wudewan and þa steopcilde ne sceaððað ne hi nawer deriað. Gif ge þonne elles doð, hi cleopiað to me and ic gehire hi, and ic eow þonne slea mid minum sweorde and ic gedo pæt eowra wif bið wudewan and eowre bearn byð steopcilde.

35. Gif þu feoh to borh gesylle þinum geferan, þe mid þe eardian wille, ne nide þu hine swa nidling and ne gehene þu hine mid þy eacan.

36. Gif man næbbe butan anfeald hrægle hine mid to wreonne and to werianne and he hit to wedde sylle, ær sunnan setlgange sy hit agyfen. Gif þu swa ne dest, þonne cleopað he to me and ic hine gehyre, forþon þe ic eom swiðe mildheort.

37. Ne tæl þu þinne drihten, ne þone hlaford þæs folces ne werge þu.

38. Þine teoðan sceattas and þine frumripan gangendes and weaxendos agyfe þu gode.

39. Ealle þæt flæsc þæt wilddeor læfan, ne etan ge þæt ac syllað hit hundum.

40. Leases mannes word ne recce þu no þæs to gehyranno, ne his domas ne geþafa þu, ne næne gewitnysse æfter him ne saga þu.

41. Ne wend þu þe na on þæs folces unræd and on unriht gewillon hiora spræce and gecleps ofer þin riht, and on þæs unwisestan lare þu ne geþafa.

42. Gif þe becume oðres mannes gymeleas feoh on hand, þeah hit sy þin feonde, gecyðe hit him.

43. Dem þu swiðe emne; de dem þu oðerne dom pæm welegan oðerne þam earman, ne oðerne þam leofran oðerne þam laðran ne deme þu.

44. Onscuna þu a leasunga.

45. Soðfæstne man and unscildigne, ne acwele þu þone æfre.

46. Ne onfo þu næfre medsceattum, forþon hi ablendað ful oft wisra manna geþoht and hiora word onwendað.

47. Þam ælþeodigan and utancumenan ne læt þu na uncuðlice wið hine, ne mid nanum unrihtum þu hine ne drecce.

48. Ne swerigen ge næfre under hæðene godas, ne on nanum þingum ne cleopien ge to him.

V.

OPENING OF BEOWULF.

Edited and Translated by J. M. Kemble.

Hwæt we Gár-Dena, in gear-dagum, þeód-cyninga, þrym gefrunon — hû ða æþelingas ellen fremedon — oft Scyldhe Scefing sceaþena þreatum, monegum mægþum, meodo-setla of-teáh — egsode eorl — syðða ærest

fela-hror feran on freán wæ-ne, þá hy-ne þá æt-bæron tó brimes faroðe, swæse gode síþas, swá self hine (d) þenden wordum wine Scyldinga leóf land-fruma lange áhte — þæer æt

weard hýðe
feá- stód
sceaf thringed-
funden stefna,
he isig
þæs and
frófre út-
ge- fús,
bá(d), æþelinges
weóx fær;
underá-
wolcnen hleoðon
weorð þá
myndum hleoðrne
þáh; þeóden,
oð beága
þ¯ bryttan,
him on
ægh- bearm
hwylcum scipes,
þára mærne
ymb- be
sittendra, drá,ste:
ofer þær
hron- wæs
ráde, mádma
hýran fela
scolde, of
gombe- fær-
gyldan wegum
— frætwa
þ¯ ge-
wæs læded.
gód Ne
cyninga hýrde
— ic

ðæm cy˙mlicor
eaferæceol
wǽs ge-
æfer gy˙rwan,
cenneðilde-
geongwæpnum
in and
geardhra,ðo-
þone wǽdum,
gód billum
sendeand
folce by˙rnum
to him
frófrep,n
fy˙ren-þearme
þearfedæg
on- mádma
geat, menigo,
þ¯ þa
híe him
ær mid
drugonsc,oldon
aldor-on
(le)ásefl.ódes
langeæht
hwíle,feor
him ge-
þæs wítan.
líf- Nalæs
freá, hí
wuldnes
wealdendes, lænsan
worolda-cum
áre teódan,
for- þeód-
geaf ge-

— streónum,
Beó- þon
wulf þá
wǽs dy˙don
breme þe
blǽd hine,
wíde æt
sprang, frum-
Scy˙lde sceafte,
eafera, forð
Scedeon- on-
landum sendon,
in ǽnne
— ofer
swa ýðe,
sceal umbor-
(wig- wesende.
fru)ma þá
góde gy˙t
ge- híe
wirce him
— á-
fromum settun
feo- segen
giftum (gy˙l
on denne,
fæder- heáh
(feo)rum ofer,
þ⁻ heáfod
hine, —
on leton
y˙lde, holm
eft ber(an)
ge- geafon
wunigen in
wi(l)- gár-

ge- secg:
síþas, him
þonne wæs
wig geomor-
cume sefa
leóde murnende
ge- mód
læsten, ——
lof- men
dædūne
sceal, cunnon
in secgan,
mægþa tá ge-
hwære sóðe,
man séle
ge- rædenne,
þeón hæleð
—— under
him, heofenū
ðá hwá
Scyldþæm
ge- hlæste
wát on-
tó feng.
ge-
scæp
hwíle

VI.

THE BATTLE OF BRUNANBURG.

From Warton's History of English Poetry, Ed. 1840. Vol. I. p. lxvii. *Translated* by R. Taylor.

Æthelstān cyning, eorla drihten, beáh-gyfa, and his bróthor eac, Eadmund ætheling, ealdor langne tir, geslogon æt secce, sweord ecgum, ymbe Brunanburh. Bord-weal clufon, heowan heathe linda, hamor lafum, eáfora Eadwearde. Swa him geæthele

gleame on north, Constantinus, har hylderinc Hreman mid ingefte meca gemanan. Her wæs his maga geheard, freonda gefylled, on wlburh. folc-stede, beslægen ætt secce; and his sunu (he) earlas. on wæl-stowe,

wæs wundum-
from forgrunden,
cneo- geongne
mægum ætt
thæt guthe.
híe Gylpan
æt ne
campe thórfte,
oft, beorn
with blanden-
lathra feax,
gehwane bille,
land geslehtes,
ealgodes land,
hord inwitta;
and ne
hámas, Anláf
hetende ðy
crungon má,
Scotta mid
leode, heora
and here-
scip- lafum,
flotan, hlihan
fæge ne
feollon thorfton,
Feld thæt
dennad ðe,
secga beadu-
swate, weorca
sith- beteran
than wurdon,
sunne on
úp, camp-
on stede,
morgen- umbol-

tíd, gehnastes,
mæregár
tuncgol,
glád gumena
ofer gemotes,
grundwæpen-
Godesgewrixles,
candelthæs
be the
orht, híe
éces on
Drihtnwæl-
oth- felda
thæt with
sio Eadweardes
æthelaeáforan
gesceaftegodon.
sáh Gewiton
tó hym
setle. tha
Thær Northmen,
læg nægledon
secg cnearrum,
monig, dreorig
gárumdaretha
ageted, láf,
gumanon
northerne ges
ofer mere,
scyld ofer
scotendeop
Swylcwæter,
Scyttisc Dyflin
eac, secan,
werigeft
wigesYraland,

sæd. æwisc-
West-mode.
SeaxeSwylce
forth, thá
ondlangeghe other,
dæg begen
eorodæt
cystumsamne,
on cyning
last and
lægdonætheling,
lathumcyththe
theodscohton,
HeowWest
here- Seaxna
flymanland,
hindanwiges
thearfe, remige.
mecumlæton
mylen- him
scearpumbehindan,
Myrce- hrá
ne brittian,
wyrnendonwig
heardepadan,
hand-thone
plegansweartan
hælethahæfn,
nanumhyrned-
thára nebban;
the and
mid thone
Anlafe, hasean
ofer padan,
ear- earn
geblondenaftan

on hwit,
lides æses
bosme, brucan,
land grædigne
gesohton, guth-
fæge hafoc;
to and
feohtenne thæt
Fife græge
lægon, deor,
on wulf
thám on
campstede, wealle.
cyninges Næs
geonge, wearth
sweordum wann
aswefede, eáre,
Swylc on
seofen thys
éac igland,
eorlas æfre
Anlafes, gyta,
unrím folces
herige, gefylled,
flotan beforan
and thissum,
Sceotta sweordes
Thær ecgum,
geflymed deal
wearth, the
Northmanna us
bregu, secgath
nyde béc,
gebæded hæfde
to uthwitan,
lides sith-

stefne, litle wereden. Cread cnear on- flot, cyning ut- gewat, on fealwer flod, feorh generede. Swylc thær éac se froda,

than eastan hider Engle and Seaxe úp becomon, ofer brade brimu Brytene sohton, wlance wig- smithas, Weales ofer- comon, eorlas árhwáte, eard begeaton.

VII.

HILDIBRAND AND HATHUBRAND.

TEXT OF GRIMM. TRANSLATION IBID.

Also in—*Langue et Litérature des Anciens Francs, par G. Gley*.

Ih gihorta that seggen, that sie urhetton ænon muotin
Hildibraht enti Hathubrant untar heriuntuem,

Sunu fatar ungo; iro saro rihtun,
Garutun se iro guthhamun, gurtun sih iro suert ana,
Helidos, ubar ringa, do sie to dero hiltu ritun.
Hiltibraht gimahalta, Heribrantes sunu, her was heroro man,
Ferahes frotoro, her fragen gistuont,
Fohem wortum: wer sin fater wari;
Fires in folche, eddo weliches cnuosles du sis?
Ibu du mi aenan sages, ik mideo are-wet,
Chind in chuninchriche, chud ist min al irmindeot.
Hadubraht gimahalti Hiltibrantes sunu:
Dat sagetun mi
Usere liuti alte anti frote, dea erhina warun,
Dat Hilbrant haetti min fater, ïh heittu Hadubrant.
Forn her ostar gihueit, floh her Otachres nid
Hina miti Theotriche enti sinero degano filu;
Her furlach in lante luttila sitten
Prut in bure; barn unwahsan,
Arbeolosa heraet, ostar hina det,
Sid delriche darba gistuontum, fatereres mines,
Dat was so friuntlaos man, her was Otachre unmettirri,
Degano dechisto, unti Deotriche darba gistontum;
Her was eo folches at ente, imo was eo feheta ti leop.
Chud was her chonnem mannuma, ni

wanin ih, in lib habbe.
Wittu Irmin-Got, quad Hiltibraht, obana
ab havane,
Dat du neo danahalt mit sus sippan man
dinc in gileitos!
Want her do ar arme wuntane bouga,
Cheiswringu gitan, so imo seder chuning
gap
Huneo truhtin; dat ih dir it un bi huldi
gibu!
Hadubraht gimalta, Hiltibrantes sunu:
Mit geru scal man geba infahan,
Ort widar orte, du bist dir, alter Hun,
ummet,
Spaher, spenis mi mit dinem wortema,
Wilihuh di nu speru werpan,
Pist al so gialtet man, so du ewin inwit
fortos;
Dat sagetun mi Sacolidante
Westar ubar Wentilsaeo, dat man wic
furnam,
Tot ist Hiltibraht Heribrantes suno,
Hildibrant gimahalta Heribrantes suno:
wela gisihu ih,
In dinem hrustim, dat du habes heine
herron goten,
Dat du noh bi desemo riche reccheo ni
wurti,
Welaga, nu waltant Got, quad Hiltibrant,
we wurt skihit!
Ih wallota sumaro enti wintro sehstick
urlante.
Dar man mih eo scerita in folc scestantero.
So man mir at burc einigeru banun ni
gifasta;
Nu scal mih suasat chind suertu hauwan,

Bieton mit sinu billiu, eddo ih imo tí banin
werden.
Doh maht du nu aodlicho, ibu dir din
ellent aoc,
In sus heremo man hrusti girwinnan;
Rauba bi hrahanen ibu du dar enic reht
habes.
Der si doh nu argosto, quad Hildibrant,
ostarliuto,
Der dir nu wiges warne, nu dih es so wel
lustit.
Gudea gimeirum niused emotti.
Wer dar sih hiutu dero prel-zilo hrumen
muotti,
Erdo desero brunnono bedero waltan.
Do laettun se aerist asckim scritan
Scarpen scurim, dat in dem sciltim stout;
Do stoptun tosamene, starmbort chludun,
Hewun harmilicco huitte scilti
Unti im iro lintun luttilo wurtun—

VIII.

OLD SAXON.

FROM THE TEXT OF A. YPEIJ.

Taalkundig Magazijn. P. 1, No. 1.—*p. 54.*

Psalm LIV.

2. Gehori got gebet min, in ne furuuir bida mina; thenke te mi in gehori mi.

3. Gidruouit bin an tilogon minro, in mistrot bin fan stimmon fiundes, in fan arbeide sundiges.

4. Uuanda geneigedon an mi unreht, in an abulge

unsuoti uuaron mi.

5. Herta min gidruouit ist an mi, in forta duodis fiel ouir mi.

6. Forthta in biuonga quamon ouer mi, in bethecoda mi thuisternussi.

7. In ic quad "uuie sal geuan mi fetheron also duuon, in ic fliugon sal, in raston sal."

8. Ecco! firroda ic fliende, inde bleif an eudi.

9. Ic sal beidan sin, thie behaldon mi deda fan luzzilheide geistis in fan geuuidere.

10. Bescurgi, herro, te deile tunga iro, uuanda ic gesag unriht in fluoc an burgi.

11. An dag in naht umbefangan sal sia ouir mura ira, unreht in arbeit an mitdon iro in unreht.

12. In ne te fuor fan straton iro prisma in losunga.

13. Uuanda of fiunt flukit mi, is tholodit geuuisso; in of thie thie hatoda mi, ouir mi mikila thing spreke, ic burge mi so mohti geburran, fan imo.

14. Thu geuuisso man einmuodigo, leido min in cundo min.

15. Thu samon mit mi suota nami muos, an huse gode giengon uuir mit geluni.

16. Cum dot ouir sia, in nithir stigin an hellon libbinda. Uuanda arheide an selethe iro, an mitdon ini.

17. Ic eft te gode riepo, in herro behielt mi.

18. An auont in an morgan in an mitdondage tellon

sal ic, in kundon; in he gehoron sal.

19. Irlosin sal an frithe sela mina fan then, thia ginacont mi, uuanda under managon he uuas mit mi.

20. Gehorun sal got in ginetheron sal sia; thie ist er uueroldi.

21. Ne geuuisso ist ini uuihsil; in ne forchtedon got. Theneda hant sina an uuitherloni.

IX.

MODERN DUTCH OF HOLLAND.

Mark, *Chap.* I.

1. Het begin des Evangelies van JEZUS CHRISTUS, den Zoon van God.

2. Gelijk geschreven is in de Profeten: ziet, Ik zend mijnen Engel voor uw aangezigt, die uwen weg voor u heen bereiden zal.

3. De stem des roependen in de woestijn: bereidt den weg des Heeren, maakt zijne paden regt!

4. Johannes was doopende in de woestijn, en predikende den doop der bekeering tot vergeving der zonden.

5. En al het Joodsche land ging tot hem uit, en die van Jerûzalem; en werden allen van hem gedoopt in the rivier de Jordaan, belijdende hunne zonden.

6. En Johannes was gekleed met kemelshaar, en met eenen lederen gordel om zijne lendenen, en at sprinkhannen en wilden honig.

7. En hij predikte, zeggende: na mij komt, die sterker

is dan ik, wien ik niet waardig ben, nederbukkende, den riem zijner schoenen te ontbinden.

8. Ik heb ulieden wel gedoopt met water, maar hij zal u doopen met den Heiligen Geest.

9. En het geschiedde in diezelve dagen, dat Jezus kwam van Názareth, *gelegen* in Galiléa, en werd van Johannes gedoopt in de Jordaan.

10. En terstond, als hij uit het water opklom, zag bij de hemelen opengaan, en den Geest, gelijk eene duive, op hem nederdalen.

11. En er geschiedde eene stem nit de hemelen: gij zijt mijn geliefde Zoon, in denwelken Ik mijn welbehagen heb!

12. En terstond dreef hem de Geest uit in de woestijn.

13. En hij was aldaar in de woestijn vertig dagen, verzocht van den Satan; en was bij de wilde gedierten; en de Engelen dienden hem.

14. En nadat Johannes overgeleverd was, kwam Jezus in Galiléa, predikende het Evangelie van het Koningrijk Gods,

15. En zeggende: de tijd is vervuld, en het Koningrijk Gods nabij gekomen; bekeert u, en gelooft het Evangelie.

16. En wandelende bij de Galilésche zee, zag hij Simon en Andréas, zijnen broeder, werpende het net in de zee (want zij waren visschers);

17 En Jezus zeide tot hen: volgt mij na, en ik zal maken, dat gij visschers der menschen zult worden.

18. En zij, terstond hunne netten verlatende, zijn hem gevolgd.

19. En van daar een weinig voortgegaan zijnde, zag hij Jacobus, den zoon van Zebedéüs, en Johannes, zijnen broeder, en dezelve in het schip hunne netten vermakende.

20. En terstond riep hij hen; en zij, latende hunnen vader Zebedéüs in het schip, met de huurlingen, zijn hem nagevolgd.

21. En zij kwamen binnen Kapernaüm; en terstond op den Sabbatdag in de Synagoge gegaan zijnde, leerde hij.

22. En zij versloegen zich over zijne leer: want hij leerde hen, als magt hebbende, en niet als de Schriftgeleerden.

23. En er was in hunne Synagoge een mensch, met eenen onreinen geest, en hij riep uit,

24. Zeggende: laat af, wat hebben wij met u *te doen*, gij Jezus Nazaréner! zijt gij gekomen, om ons to verderven? Ik ken u, wie gij zijt, *namelijk* de Heilige Gods.

25. En Jezus bestrafte hem, zeggende: zwijg stil, en ga nit van hem.

26. En de onreine geest, hem scheurende, en roepende met eene groote stem, ging uit van hem.

27. En zij werden allen verbaasd, zoodat zij onder elkander vraagden, zeggende: wat is dit? wat nieuwe leer is deze, dat hij met magt ook den onreineen geesten gebiedt, en zig hem gehoorzaam zijn!

28. En zijn gerucht ging terstond uit, in het geheel

omliggen land van Galiléa.

29. En van stonde aan uit de Synagoge gegaan zijnde, kwamen zij in het huis van Simon en Andréas, met Jacobus en Johannes.

30. En Simons vrouws moeder lag met de koorts; en terstond zeiden zij hem van haar.

31. En hij, tot haar gaande, vattede hare hand, en rigtte ze op; en terstond verliet haar de koorts, en zij diende henlieden.

32. Als het nu avond geworden was, toen de zon onderging, bragten zij tot hem allen, die kwalijk gesteld, en van den duivel bezeten waren.

33. En de geheele stad was bijeenvergaderd omtrent de deur.

34. En hij genas er velen, die door verscheidene ziekten kwalijk gesteld waren; en wierpe vele duivelen uit, en liet de duivelen niet toe te spreken, omdat zij hem kenden.

35. En des morgens vroeg, als het nog diep in den nacht was, opgestaan zijnde, ging hij uit, en ging henen in eene woeste plaats, en bad aldaar.

36. En Simon, en die met hem *waren*, zijn hem nagevolgd.

37. En zij hem gevonden hebbende, zeiden tot hem: zig zoeken u allen.

38. En hij zeide tot hen: laat ons in de bijliggende vlekken gaan, opdat ik ook daar predike: want daartoe ben ik uitgegaan.

39. En hij predikte in hunne Synagogen, door geheel

Galiléa, en wierp de duivelen uit.

40. En tot hem kwam een melaatsche, biddende hem, en vallende voor hem op de knieën, en tothem zeggende: indien gij wilt, gij kunt mij reinigen.

41. En Jezus, met barmhartigheid innerlijk bewogen zijnde, strekte de hand uit, en raakte hem aan, en zeide tot hem: ik wil, word gereinigd.

42. En als hij *dit* gezegd had, ging de melaatschheid terstond van hem, en hy werd gereinigd.

43. En als hij hem strengelijk verboden had, deed hij hem terstond van zich gaan;

44. En zeide tot hem: zie, dat gij niemand iets zegt; maar ga heen en vertoon u zelven den Priester, en offer voor uwe reiniging, hetgeen Mozes geboden heeft, hun tot eene getuigenis.

45. Maar hij vitgegaan zijnde, begon vele dingen te verkondigen, en dat woord te verbreiden, alzoo dat hij niet meer openbaar in de stad kon komen, maar was buiten in de woeste plaatsen; en zij kwamen tot hem van alle kanten.

X.

OLD NORSE.

THE DESCENT OF ODIN.

From the Edda of Sæmund. Copenhagen Edition.

2. 9.

Upp reis Óðinn alda gautr, ok hann á Sleipni söðul um lagði; reið hann niðr þaðan til, mœtti hann hvelpi þeim er or helju kom.

"Höðr berr háfan hróðrbarm þinnig; mun Baldri bana verða, ok Óðins son aldri þræna; hjarðug sagðak, nú mun ek þegja.

10.

3. Sá var blóðugr um brjóst framan, ok galdrs föður gól um lengi. Framm reið Óðinn foldvegr dundi, hann kom at háfu Heljar ranni.

"Þegiattu völva! þik vil ek fregna, unz alkunna, vil ek enn vita: hverr mun heipt Heði hefnt of vinna eða Baldrs bana á bál vega?

11.

4. Þá

"Rindr berr i vostrsölum,

reið sá
Óðinn mun
fyr Oðins
austan synr
dyrr, einnættr
þar vega;
er bond
hann um
vissi þvær
völu né
leiði. höfuð
Nam kembir
hann áðr
vitugra i
valgalda hár
kveða, um
unz berr
nauðig Baldrs
reis, andskota;
nás nauðug
orð sagðak,
um nú
kvað: mun
ek
þegja.

5.

12.

"Hvat
er "Þegiattu
manna völva!
þat þik
mér vil

ókunna
er mér
hefir
aukit
erfit
sinni?
var ek
snivin
snjófi
ok
slegin
regni
ok
drifin
döggu,
dauð
var ek
lengi.

ek fregna, unz alkunna, vil ek enn vita: hverjar þær meyjar, er at muni gráta ok á himin verpa hálsa skautum?

6.

13.

"Vegtamr ek heiti, sonr em ek Valtams, segðu

"Ertattu Vegtamr, sem ek hugða, heldr

mér ertu
or Óðinn,
helju, aldinn
ek gautr."
mun "Ertattu
or völva
heimi né
hveim vis
eru kona,
bekki heldr
bauga ertu
sánir, þriggja
flet þursa
fagrliga móðir.
flóð
gulli?

14.

7. "Heim
rið
"Hér þú,
stendr Óðinn!
Baldri ok
of ver
brugghrómóðigr!
mjöðr, svá
skirar komit
veigar, manna
liggr meir
skjöld ar ptr
yfir; á
en vit,
ásmegir

í ofvæni, nauðugir sagðak nú mun ek þegja.

lauss lyki liðr kr böndum, ok ragna rök rjúfendr koma."

8.

"Þegiattu völva! þik vil ek fregna, unz alkunna, vil ek enn vita: hverr mun Baldri at bana verða, ok Oðins son

aldri
ræna?

XI.

ICELANDIC.

From Snorro's Heimskringla. Translated by Laing.

Y'NGLINGA SAGA.

KAP. I.

Her Segir frá Landa Skipan.

Sva er sagt, at kringla heimsins, sú er mannfólkit byggir, er mjök vag-skorin: gánga höf stór úr útsjánum inn í jordina. Er þat kunnigt, at haf gengr af Njorvasundum, ok allt út til Jórsala-lands. Af hafinu gengr lángr hafsbotn til landnordrs, er heitir Svartahaf: sa skilr heims þridjúngana: heitir fyrin austan Asia, en fyrir vestan kalla sumir Evrópa, en sumir Enea. En nordan at Svartahafi gengr Sviþjod in mikla eda in kalda. Svíþjód ena miklu kalla sumir menn ecki minni enn Serkland hít mikla; sumir jafna henni vid Bláland hit mikla. Hinn neyrdri lutr Svíþjódar liggr óbygdr af frosti ok kulda, swa sem hinn sydri lutr Blálands er audr af sólarbruna. I Svíþjód eru stór hérut mörg: þar eru ok margskonar þjodir undarligar, ok margar túngur: þar eru risar, ok þar eru dvergar: þar eru ok blámenn; þar eru dýr ok drekar furdulega stórin. Ur Nordri frá fjöllum þeim, er fyrir utan eru bygd alla, fellr á um Svíþjód, sú er at rettu heitir Tanais; hún var fordum köllut Tanaqvísl edr Vanaquísl; hún kémur til sjávar inu i Svarta-haf. I Vanaqlvíslum var þa kallat Vanaland,

edr Vanheimr; sú á skiir heimsþridjúngana; heitir fyrir austan Asia, en fyrir vestan Evrópa.

KAP. II.

Frá Asía Mönnum.

Fyrir austan Tanaqvísl í Asía, var kallat Asa-land edr Asaheimr; en höfutborgina, er í var landinu, kölludu þeir Asgard. En í borginni var höfdíngi sá er Odinn var kalladr, þar var blótstadr mikill. Þar var þar sidr at 12 hofgodar vóru æztir; skyldu þeir ráda fyrir blótum ok dómum manna í milli; þat eru Diar kalladir edr drottnar: þeim skyldi þjónustu veita allr folk ok lotníng. Odinn var hermadr mikill ok mjök vidförull, ok eignadiz mörg riki: han var sva Sigrfæll, at í hvörri orustu feck hann gagn. Ok sva kom at hans menn trúdu því, at hann ætti heimilann sigr í hverri orustu. Þat var háttr hans ef ann sendi menn sína til orustu, edr adrar sendifarar, at hann lagdi adr hendur í höfut þeim, ok gaf þeim bjanak; trúdu þeir at þá mundi vel faraz. Sva var ok um hans menn, hvar sem þeir urdu í naudum staddir á sjá edr á landi, þá kölludu þeir á nafn hans, ok þóttuz jafnan fá af því fro; þar þottuz þeir ega allt traust er hann var. Hann fór opt sva lángt í brot, at hann dvaldiz í ferdinni mörg misseri.

XII.

SAGA ÓLAFS KONÚNGS TRYGGVASONAR.

Bardagi í Storð.

Hákon konúngr hafði þá fylkt liði síno, ok segja menn at hann steypti af sèr brynjunni áðr orrostan tækist; Hákon konúngr valdi mjök menn með sèr í hirð at afli ok hreysti, svâ sem gert hafði Haraldr

konúngr faðir hans; þar var þá með konúngi Þorálfr hinn sterki Skólmsson, ok gekk á aðra hlið konúngi; hann hafði hjálm ok skjöld, kesju ok sverð þat er kallat var Fetbreiðr; þat var mælt at þeir Hákon konúngr væri jafnsterkir; þessa getr Þórðr Sjáreksson í drápu þeirri er hann orti um Þórálf:

> Þar er bavðbarðir börðust
> bands jó draugar landa
> lystr gekk herr til hjörva
> hnitz í Storð á Fitjum:
> ok gimslöngvir gánga
> gífrs hlèmána drífu
> nausta blaks hit næsta
> Norðmanna gram þorði.

En er fylkíngar gengu saman, var fyrst skotit spjótum, þvínæst brugðu menn sverðum; Gerðist þá orostan óð ok mannskjæd; Hákon konúngr ok Þórálfr gengu þá fram um merkin ok hjöggu til beggja handa; Hákon konúngr var auðkendr, meiri enn aðrir menn, lýsti ok mjök af hjálmi hans er sólin shein á; þá varð vopnaburðr mikill at konúngi; tók þá Eyvindr Finnsson hatt einn, ok setti yfir hjálm konúngsins; þá kallaði hátt Eyvindr Skreyja: leynist hann nú Norðmanna konúngr, eðr hefir hann flýit, þvíat horfinn er nú gullhjálmrinn? Eyvindr ok Álfr bróðir hans gengu þá hart fram svâ sem óðir ok galnir væri, hjöggu til beggja handa; þa mælti Hákon konúngr hátt til Eyvindar: haltu svâ fram stefnunni ef þú vill finna hann Norðmanna konúng, Var þá skampt at bíða at Eyvindr kom þar, reiddi upp sverþit ok hjó til konúngs; Þórálfr skaut við honum Eyvindi skildinum, svâ at hann stakaði við; konúngr tók þá tveim höndum sverþit Kvernbít, ok hjó til Eyvindar, klauf hjálminn ok höfuðit alt í herþar niðr;

í því bili drap Þórálfr Álf Askmann. Svâ segir Eyvindr Skáldaspillir:

> Veit ek at beit enn bitri
> byggvíng meðal dyggvan
> búlka skiðs or báðum
> benvöndr konúngs höndum:
> úfælinnklauf ála
> eldraugar skör hauga
> gullhjaltaðum galtar
> grandráðr Dana brandi.

Eptir fall þeirra bræðra gekk Hákon konúngr svâ hart fram at alt hravkk fur honum; sló þá felmt ok flótta á lið Eiríks sona, en Hákon konúngr var í öndverðri sinni fylkíng, ok fylgði fast flóttamönnum, ok hjó tídt ok hart; þá fló ör ein, er Fleinn er kallaðr, ok kom í hönd Hákoni konúngi uppi í músina firir neþan öxl, ok er þat margra manna sögn at skósveinn Gunnhildar, sá er Kispíngr er nefndr, ljóp fram í þysinn ok kallaði: gefi rúm konúngs bananum, ok skaut þá fleinnum til konúngs; en sumir segja at engi vissi hverr skaut; má þat ok vel vera, firir því at örvar ok spjót ok önnur skotvâpn flugu svâ þykkt sem drífa; fjöldi manns fèll þar af Eiríks sonum, en honúngarnir allir komust á skipin, ok rèro þegar undan, en Hákonar menn eptir þeim; svâ segir Þórðr Sjáreksson:

> Varði víga myrðir
> vídt svá skal frið slíta
> jöfur vildo þann eldast
> öndvert fólk á löndum:
> starf hófst upp, þá er arfi
> ótta vanr á flótta
> gulls er gramr var fallinn
> Gunnhildar kom sunnan.

Þrót var sýnt þá er settust
sinn róðr við þraum stinna
maðr lèt önd ok annarr
úfár bændr sárir
afreks veit þat er jöfri
allríkr í styr slíkum
göndlar njörðr sá er gerði
gekk næst hugins drekku.

XIII.

MODERN SWEDISH.

FRITHIOFS SAGA.

XI.

Frithiof hos Angantyr.

1.

Nu är att säga huru Jarl Angantyr satt uti sin sal af furu, Ock drack med sina män; Han var så glad i hågen, Såg ut åt

9.

Nu skiftas svärdshugg dryga, Och dråpslag hvassa nu; Och begges skjöldar flyga, På samma gång de kämpar utan tadel Stå dock i kredsen fast; Men skarpt bet

blånad Angurvadel,
ban,
Der Och
solen Atles
sjunk klinga
i brast.
vågen,

Allt
som
än
gyllne 10.
svan. "Mod
svärdlös
man
jag
svänger,"

2. Sad
Vid Frithiof,
fönstret, "ej,
gamle mitt
Halvar svärd."
Men
Stod lyster
utanför det
på dig
vakt; länger,
Hann Vi
vaktade pröfva
med annan
allvar, färd.
Gaf Som
ock vågor
på då

mjöden akt.
En sed den gamle hade;
Hann jemt i botten dräckt;
Ock intet ord hann sade;

Blott hornet i hann stack.

3.
Nu slängde han det vida

11.
De hösten,
De begge stormade an;
Ock ståll beklädda brösten,
Slå tätt emot hvarann.

De brottades som björnar,

Uppå sitt fjäll af snö;
De spände hop som örnar,

I salen in och qvad, "Skepp ser jag böljan rida;
Den färden är ej glad. Män ser jag döden nära,
Nu lägga de i land: Ock tvenne jättar bära
De bleknade på

Utöfver vredgad sjö. Rodfästad klippa hölle
Vel knappast ut att stå; Ock lummig jernek fölle
För mindre tag än så.

12.

Från pannan svetten lackar,
Och bröstet

strand häfves kallt;
Och buskar, sten, ock backar,
4. Uppsparkas öfver allt.
Med bäfvän slutet bida
Ställklädde män å strand;
Det brottandet var vida
Berömdt i Nordens land.

13. Til

Så slut
blickad dock
ingen Frithiof
annan fällde

I Sin
Nordens finde
land til
som jord,
den." Hann
knät
mod
bröstet
ställde,

5. Och
tallte
Från vredens
dryckesbord ord,
held "Blott
modig nu
mitt
Sprang svärd
Atle jag
Viking hade,
då: Du
Svartskåggig svarte
Berserk, Berserksskägg,
blodig Jag
genom
Ock lifvet
grym lade,
at
se På
uppå. dig
"Nu,
sad'

han, den hvassa ägg.
vil jag pröfva,

Hvad rycktet ment dermed,
At Frithiof svärd kann döfva;

Och alldrig ber om fred."

6.

Och upp med honom sprungo
Hans bistraena, kämpa-tolf:

14.

"Det skal ei hinder bringa,"

Sad Atle stolt i håg,
"Gå du, ock ta din klinga,

Jag licgar som jag låg.
Den som den

Med andra,
forhand Skal
luften engång
stungen, Valhall
Och se: Ida
svängde skal
svärd jag
och väl
kolf. vandra;
De I
stormade morgon
mot du
stranden, kanske."
Hvor
tröttadt
drakskepp
stod.
Men
Frithiof
satt
å
sanden.

Ock
talte
kraft
och
mod.

7.

15.

Ei
länge
Frithiof
dröjde;

Den
lek
han
sluta
vill:
Han
Angurvadel
höjde;

"Lätt kunde jag dig fälla," Shrek Atle med stort gny. "Vill i ditt val dock ställa, Att kämpa eller fly. Men blott on fred du beder

Men Atle låg dock still. Det körde hjeltens sinne; Sin vrede då hann band; Höll midt i huggett inne, Ock tog den fallnes hand.

Fastän än kämpe hård, Jag som än

vän
dig
leder,

Allt
up
til
Jarlens
gård."

8.

"Väl
är
jag
trött
af
färden;"

Genmälte
Frithiof
vred,
"Dock
må
vi
pröfva
svärden,

Förr
än
jag
tigger
fred."

Då
såg
man
stålen
ljunga,

I
solbrun
kämpehand;
På
Angurvadels
tunga,

Hvar
runa
stod
i
brand.

THE END.

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NOTES

[1] Qu. the people of *Euten*, in Holstein.

[2] Zeus, p. 591.

[3] From Zeuss, *v. v. Frisii, Chauci.*

[4] The chief works in the two dialects or languages.

[5] Probably, for reasons, too long to enter upon, those of Grutungs and Tervings; this latter pointing to Thuringia, the present provincial dialect of which tract was stated, even by Michaelis, to be more like the Mœso-Gothic than any other dialect of Germany.

[6] Nearly analogous to *Ostro*-goth, and *Visi*-goth.

[7] The meaning of these terms is explained in § 90-92. The order of the cases and genders is from Rask. It is certainly more natural than the usual one.

[8] Compare with the Anglo-Saxon adjectives in § 85.

[9] Compare with the Anglo-Saxon adjectives in § 85.

[10] The syllables *vulg-*, and *Belg-*, are quite as much alike as *Teuton-*, and *Deut-sch*; yet how unreasonable it would be for an Englishman to argue that he was a descendant of the *Belgæ* because he spoke the *Vulgar* Tongue. *Mutatis mutandis*, however, this is the exact argument of nine out of ten of the German writers.

[11] Tacitus, De Mor. Germ. 40.

[12] And on the west of the Old Saxons is the mouth of the river Elbe and Friesland; and then north-west is the land which is called *Angle* and Sealand, and some part of the Danes.

[13] He sailed to the harbour which is called Hæðum, which stands betwixt the Wends (*i.e.* the Wagrian Slaves, for which see § 42) and Saxons, and *Angle*, and belongs to Denmark ... and two days before he came to Hæðum, there was on his starboard Gothland, and Sealand, and many islands. On that land lived *Angles*, before they hither to the land came.

[14] Zeus, in *voc*.

[15] Zeus, in *voc.*

[16] Zeus, in *voc.*

[17] See G. D. S. Vol. ii. II.

[18] Zeus, p. 492.

[19] As in *Amherst* and *inherent*.

[20] The meaning of the note of interrogation is explained in § 148.

[21] Edinburgh Philosophical Magazine.

[22] Natural History of Man.

[23] This list is taken from Smart's valuable and logical English Grammar.

[24] As in *Shotover Hill*, near Oxford.

[25] As in *Jerusalem artichoke*.

[26] A sort of silk.

[27] *Ancient Cassio*—"Othello."

[28] This class of words was pointed out to me by the very intelligent Reader of my first

edition.

[29] V. Beknopte Historie van't Vaderland, i. 3, 4.

[30] Hist. Manch. b. i. c. 12.

[31] Dissertation of the Origin of the Scottish Language.—JAMIESON'S Etymological Dictionary, vol. i. p. 45, 46.

[32] Sir W. Betham's Gael and Cymry, c. iii.

[33] Scripturæ Linguæque Phœniciæ Monumenta, iv. 3.

[34] To say, for instance, *Chemist* for *Chymist*, or *vice versâ*; for I give no opinion as to the proper mode of spelling.

[35] Mr. Pitman, of Bath, is likely to add to his claims as an orthographist by being engaged in the attempt to determine, inductively, the orthoepy of a certain number of doubtful words. He collects the pronunciations of a large number of educated men, and takes that of the majority as the true one.

[36] Gesenius, p. 73.

[37] Write one letter twice.

[38] Rev. W. Harvey, author of Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Vindex Catholicus.

[39] Murray's Grammar, vol. i. p. 79.

[40] Used as adverbs.

[41] Used as the plurals of *he*, *she*, and *it*.

[42] Different from *ilk*.

[43] Guest, ii. 192.

[44] Or *call-s*.

[45] *Thou sangest*, *thou drankest*, &c.—For a reason given in the sequel, these forms are less unexceptionable than *sungest*, *drunkest*, &c.

[46] Antiquated.

[47] As the present section is written with the single view of illustrating the subject, no mention has been made of the forms τυπῶ (*typô*), and ἔτυπον (*etypon*).

[48] Obsolete.

[49] Obsolete.

[50] Obsolete.

[51] The forms marked thus[51] are either obsolete or provincial.

[52] Obsolete.

[53] Sounded *wun*.

[54] Obsolete.

[55] Præterite, or Perfect.

[56] Philological Museum, ii. p. 387.

[57] Vol. ii. p. 203.

[58] Found rarely; bist being the current form.—Deutsche Grammatik, i. 894.

[59] *Over, under, after.*—These, although

derived forms, are not prepositions of derivation; since it is not by the affix *-er* that they are made prepositions. *He went over*, *he went under*, *he went after*—these sentences prove the forms to be as much adverbial as prepositional.

[60] In the first edition of this work I wrote, "Verbs substantive govern the nominative case." Upon this Mr. Connon, in his "System of English Grammar," remarks, "The idea of the *nominative* being *governed* is contrary to all received notions of grammar. I consider that the verb *to be*, in all its parts, acts merely as a connective, and can have no effect in governing anything." Of Mr. Connon's two reasons, the second is so sufficient that it ought to have stood alone. The true view of the so-called verb substantive is that it is no verb at all, but only the fraction of one. Hence, what I wrote was inaccurate. As to the question of the impropriety of considering nominative cases fit subjects for government it is a matter of definition.

[61] The paper *On certain tenses attributed to the Greek verb* has already been quoted. The author, however, of the doctrine on the use of *shall* and *will*, is not the author of the doctrine alluded to in the Chapter on the Tenses. There are, in the same number of the Philological Museum, two papers under one title: first, the text by a writer who signs himself T. F. B.; and, next, a comment, by the editor, signed J. C. H. (Julius Charles Hare). The *usus ethicus* of the future is due

to Archdeacon Hare; the question being brought in incidentally and by way of illustration.

The subject of the original paper was the nature of the so-called second aorists, second futures, and preterite middles. These were held to be no separate tenses, but irregular forms of the same tense. Undoubtedly this has long been an opinion amongst scholars; and the writer of the comments is quite right in stating that it is no novelty to the learned world. I think, however, that in putting this forward as the chief point in the original paper, he does the author somewhat less than justice. His merit, in my eyes, seems to consist, not in showing that real forms of the *aoristus secundus*, *futurum secundum*, and *præteritum medium* were either rare or equivocal (this having been done before), but in illustrating his point from the English language; in showing that between double forms like συνελέχθην and συνελέγην, and double forms like *hang* and *hanged*, there was only a difference in degree (if there was that), not of kind; and, finally, in enouncing the very legitimate inference, that either we had two preterites, or that the Greeks had only one. "Now, if the circumstances of the Greek and English, in regard to these two tenses, are so precisely parallel, a simple and obvious inquiry arises, Which are in the right, the Greek grammarians or our own? For either ours must be wrong in not having fitted up for our verb the framework of a first and second preterite, teaching the pupil

to say, 1st pret. *I finded*, 2d pret. *I found*; 1st pret. *I glided*, 2d pret. *I glode*: or the others must be so in teaching the learner to imagine two aorists for εὑρίσκω, as, aor. 1, εὕρησα, aor. 2, ἐῦρον; or for ἀκούω, aor. 1, ἤκουσα, aor. 2, ἤκοον."—p. 198.

The inference is, that of the two languages it is the English that is in the right. Now the following remarks, in the comment, upon this inference are a step in the wrong direction:—"The comparison, I grant, is perfectly just; but is it a just inference from that comparison, that we ought to alter the system of our Greek grammars, which has been drawn up at the cost of so much learning and thought, for the sake of adapting it to the system, if system it can be called, of our own grammars, which are seldom remarkable for anything else than their slovenliness, their ignorance, and their presumption? Is the higher to be brought down to the level of the baser? is Apollo to be drest out in a coat and waistcoat? Rather might it be deemed advisable to remodel the system of our own grammars."

This, whether right or wrong as a broad assertion, was, in the case in hand, irrelevant. No *general* superiority had been claimed for the English grammars. For all that had been stated in the original paper they might, as compared with the Greek and Latin, be wrong in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred. All that was claimed for them was that they were right in the present instance; just as for a clock that stands may be

claimed the credit of being right once in every twelve hours. That the inference in favour of altering the *system* of the Greek grammars is illegitimate is most undeniably true; but then it is an inference of the critic's not of the author's. As the illustration in question has always seemed to me of great value,—although it may easily be less original than I imagine,—I have gone thus far towards putting it in a proper light.

Taking up the question where it is left by the two writers in question, we find that the difficulties of the so-called *second* tenses in Greek are met by reducing them to the same tense in different conjugations; and, according to the current views of grammarians, this is a point gained. Is it so really? Is it not rather the substitution of one difficulty for another? A second conjugation is a second mode of expressing the same idea, and a second tense is no more. Real criticism is as unwilling to multiply the one as the other. Furthermore, the tendency of English criticism is towards the very doctrines which the Greek grammarian wishes to get rid of. *We* have the difficulty of a second conjugation: but, on the other hand, instead of four past tenses (an imperfect, perfect, pluperfect, and aorist), we have only one (the aorist). Now, when we find that good reasons can be given for supposing that the strong preterite in the Gothic languages was once a reduplicate perfect, we are at liberty to suppose that what is now the same tense under two forms, was, originally, different

tenses. Hence, in English, we avoid the difficulty of a second conjugation by the very same process which we eschew in Greek; viz., the assumption of a second *tense*. But this we can do, as we have a tense to spare.

Will any process reconcile this conflict of difficulties? I submit to scholars the following hypotheses:—

1. That the *true* second future in Greek (*i.e.*, the future of verbs with a liquid as a characteristic) is a variety of the *present*, formed by accentuating the last syllable; just as *I beát you = I will beat you*.

2. That this accent effects a change on the quantity and nature of the vowel of the penultimate.

3. That the second aorist is an *imperfect* formed from this secondary present.

4. That the so-called perfect middle is a similar perfect active.

[62] Transactions of Philological Society. No. 90, Jan. 25, 1850.

[63] Notwithstanding the extent to which a relative may take the appearance of conjunction, there is always one unequivocal method of deciding its true nature. The relative is always a *part* of the second proposition. A conjunction is *no part* of either.

[64] Unless another view be taken of the

construction, and it be argued that ἔδωκε is, etymologically speaking, no aorist but a perfect. In form, it is almost as much one tense as another. If it wants the reduplication of the perfect, it has the perfect characteristic κ, to the exclusion of the aorist σ; and thus far the evidence is equal. The persons, however, are more aorist than perfect. For one of Mathiæ's aorists (μεθῆκε) a still better case might be made, showing it to be, even in etymology, more perfect than aorist.

Κτείνει με χρυσοῦ, τὸν
ταλαίπωρον, χάριν
Ξένος πατρῷος, καὶ κτανὼν ἐς
οἶδμ' ἁλὸς
Μεθῆχ', ἵν' αὐτὸς χρυσὸν ἐν δόμοις
ἔχῃ.
Κεῖμαι δ' ἐπ' ἀκταῖς.

Eur. *Hec.*

[65] It is almost unnecessary to state that the sentence quoted in the text is really a beautiful couplet of Withers's poetry *transposed*. It was advisable to do this, for the sake of guarding against the effect of the rhyme. To have written,

What care I how fair she *is*
If she be not fair to me?

would have made the grammar seem worse than it really was, by disappointing the reader of a rhyme. On the other hand, to have written,

What care I how fair she *were*,
If she were not kind as *fair*?

would have made the grammar seem better than it really was, by supplying one.

[66] In the first edition of the present work I inaccurately stated that *neither* should take a plural and *either* a singular verb; adding that "in predicating something concerning *neither you nor I*, a negative assertion is made concerning *both*. In predicating something concerning *either you or I*, a positive assertion is made concerning *one of two*." This Mr. Connon (p. 129) has truly stated to be at variance with the principles laid down by me elsewhere.

[67] Latin Prose Composition, p. 123.

[68] Quoted from Guest's English Rhythms.

[69] To the definition in the text, words like *old* and *bold* form no exception. At the first view it may be objected that in words like *old* there is no part preceding the vowel. Compared, however, with *bold*, the negation of that part constitutes a difference. The same applies to words like *go* and *lo*, where the negation of a part following the vowel is a point of identity. Furthermore, I may observe, that the word *part* is used in the singular number. The assertion is not that every individual sound preceding the vowel must be different, but that the aggregate of them must be so. Hence, *pray* and *bray* (where the *r* is common to both forms) form as true a rhyme as *bray* and *play*, where all

the sounds preceding *a*, differ.

[70] For *prosópa*. The Greek has been transliterated into English for the sake of showing the effect of the accents more conveniently.

[71] For the sake of showing the extent to which the *accentual element* must be recognised in the classical metres, I reprint the following paper On the Doctrine of the Cæsura in the Greek senarius, from the Transactions of the Philological Society, June 23, 1843:—

"In respect to the cæsura of the Greek tragic senarius, the rules, as laid down by Porson in the Supplement to his Preface to the Hecuba, and as recognized, more or less, by the English school of critics, seem capable of a more general expression, and, at the same time, liable to certain limitations in regard to fact. This becomes apparent when we investigate the principle that serves as the foundation to these rules; in other words, when we exhibit the *rationale*, or doctrine, of the cæsura in question. At this we can arrive by taking cognizance of a second element of metre beyond that of quantity.

"It is assumed that the element in metre which goes, in works of different writers, under the name of ictus metricus, or of arsis, is the same as accent, *in the sense of that word in English*. It is this that constitutes the difference between words like *týrant* and *resúme*, or *súrvey* and *survéy*; or (to take

more convenient examples) between the word *Aúgust*, used as the name of a month, and *augúst*, used as an adjective. Without inquiring how far this coincides with the accent and accentuation of the classical grammarians, it may be stated that, in the forthcoming pages, arsis, ictus metricus, and accent (*in the English sense of the word*), mean one and the same thing. With this view of the arsis, or ictus, we may ask how far, in each particular foot of the senarius, it coincides with the quantity.

First Foot.—In the first place of a tragic senarius it is a matter of indifference whether the arsis fall on the first or second syllable; that is, it is a matter of indifference whether the foot be sounded as *týrant* or as *resúme*, as *Aúgust* or as *augúst*. In the following lines the words ἡκω, παλαι, εἰπερ, τινας, may be pronounced either as ἡ ΄κω, πα΄λαι, ει΄περ, τι΄νας, or as ἡκω΄, παλαι΄, ειπερ΄, τινα΄ς, without any detriment to the character of the line wherein they occur.

Ἡ΄κω νεκρων κευθμωνα και
σκοτου πυλας.
Πα΄λαι κυνηγετουντα και
μετρουμενον.
Ει΄περ δἰκαιος εσθ' εμος τα
πατροθεν.
Τι΄νας ποθ' ἑδρας τασδε μοι
θοαζετε.

or,

Ἥκω΄ νεκρων κευθμωνα και
σκοτου πυλας.
Παλαι΄ κυνηγετουντα και
μετρουμενον.
Ειπερ΄ δικαιος εσθ' εμος τα
πατροθεν.
Τινα΄ς ποθ' ἑδρας τασδε μοι
θοαζετε.

Second Foot.—In the second place, it is also a matter of indifference whether the foot be sounded as *Aúgust* or as *augúst*. In the first of the four lines quoted above we may say either νε΄κρων or νεκρω΄ν, without violating the rhythm of the verse.

Third Foot.—In this part of the senarius it is no longer a matter of indifference whether the foot be sounded as *Aúgust* or as *augúst*; that is, it is no longer a matter of indifference whether the arsis and the quantity coincide. In the circumstance that the last syllable of the third foot *must* be accented (in the English sense of the word), taken along with a second fact, soon about to be exhibited, lies the doctrine of the penthimimer and hepthimimer cæsuras.

The proof of the coincidence between the arsis and the quantity in the third foot is derived partly from *a posteriori*, partly from *a priori* evidence.

1. In the Supplices of Æschylus, the Persæ, and the Bacchæ, three dramas where licences in regard to metre are pre-eminently common, the number of lines wherein the sixth syllable (*i. e.*, the last half

of the third foot) is without an arsis, is at the highest sixteen, at the lowest five; whilst in the remainder of the extant dramas the proportion is undoubtedly smaller.

2. In all lines where the sixth syllable is destitute of ictus, the iambic character is violated: as

Θρηκην περασα΄ντες μογις πολλῳ
πονῳ.
Δυοιν γεροντοι΄ν δε στρατηγειται
φυγη.

These are facts which may be verified either by referring to the tragedians, or by constructing senarii like the lines last quoted. The only difficulty that occurs arises in determining, in a dead language like the Greek, the absence or presence of the arsis. In this matter the writer had satisfied himself of the truth of the two following propositions:—1. That the accentuation of the grammarians denotes some modification of pronunciation other than that which constitutes the difference between *Aúgust* and *augúst*; since, if it were not so, the word ἄγγελον would be sounded like *mérrily*, and the word ἀγγέλων like *disáble*; which is improbable, 2. That the arsis lies upon radical rather than inflectional syllables, and out of two inflectional syllables upon the first rather than the second; as βλε΄π-ω, βλεψ-α΄σ-α, not βλεπ-ω΄, βλεψ-ασ-α΄. The evidence upon these points is derived from the structure of language in general. The *onus*

probandi lies with the author who presumes an arsis (accent in the English sense) on a *non*-radical syllable. Doubts, however, as to the pronunciation of certain words, leave the precise number of lines violating the rule given above undetermined. It is considered sufficient to show that wherever they occur the iambic character is violated.

The circumstance, however, of the last half of the third foot requiring an arsis, brings us only half way towards the doctrine of the cæsura. With this must be combined a second fact, arising out of the constitution of the Greek language in respect to its accent. In accordance with the views just exhibited, the author conceives that no Greek word has an arsis upon the last syllable, except in the three following cases: —

1. Monosyllables, not enclitic; as σφω΄ν, πα΄ς, χθω΄ν, δμω΄ς, νω΄ν, νυ΄ν, &c.

2. Circumflex futures; as νεμω΄, τεμω΄, &c.

3. Words abbreviated by apocope; in which case the penultimate is converted into a final syllable; δω΄μ', φειδεσ΄θ', κεντει΄τ', εγω΄γ', &c.

Now the fact of a syllable with an arsis being, in Greek, rarely final, taken along with that of the sixth syllable requiring, in the senarius, an arsis, gives as a matter of necessity, the circumstance that, in the Greek drama, the sixth syllable shall occur anywhere rather than at the end of a word;

and this is only another way of saying, that, in a tragic senarius, the syllable in question shall generally be followed by other syllables in the same word. All this the author considers as so truly a matter of necessity, that the objection to his view of the Greek cæsura must lie either against his idea of the nature of the accents, or nowhere; since, that being admitted, the rest follows of course.

As the sixth syllable must not be final, it must be followed in the same word by one syllable, or by more than one.

1. *The sixth syllable followed by one syllable in the same word.*—This is only another name for the seventh syllable occurring at the end of a word, and it gives at once the hepthimimer cæsura: as

Ἠκω νεκρων κευθμω´να και
σκοτου πυλας.
Ἰκτηριοις κλαδοι´σιν εξεστεμμενοι.
Ὁμου τε παιανω´ν τε και
στεναγματων.

2. *The sixth syllables followed by two* (*or more*) *syllables in the same word.* This is only another name for the eighth (or some syllable after the eighth) syllable occurring at the end of a word; as

Οδμη βροτειων αἱ´ματων με
προσγελα.
Λαμπρους δυναστας εμ´πρεποντας
αιθερι.

Now this arrangement of syllables, taken by itself, gives anything rather than a hepthimimer; so that if it was at this point that our investigations terminated, little would be done towards the evolution of the *rationale* of the cæsura. It will appear, however, that in those cases where the circumstance of the sixth syllable being followed by two others in the same words, causes the eighth (or some syllable after the eighth) to be final, either a penthimimer cæsura, or an equivalent, will, with but few exceptions, be the result. This we may prove by taking the eighth syllable and counting back from it. What *follows* this syllable is immaterial: it is the number of syllables in the same word that *precedes* it that demands attention.

1. *The eighth syllable preceded in the same word by nothing.*—This is equivalent to the seventh syllable at the end of the preceding word: a state of things which, as noticed above, gives the hepthimimer cæsura.

Ανηριθμον γελα΄σμα παμ|μητορ δε
γη.

2. *The eighth syllable preceded in the same word by one syllable.*—This is equivalent to the sixth syllable at the end of the word preceding; a state of things which, as noticed above, rarely occurs. When however it does occur, one of the three conditions under which a final syllable can take an arsis must accompany it. Each of these conditions requires notice.

α). With a non-enclitic *mono*-syllable the result is a penthimimer cæsura; since the syllable preceding a monosyllable is necessarily final.

Ἠκω σεβι΄ζων σο΄ν Κλυ΄ται|
μνηστρα κρατος.

No remark has been made by critics upon lines constructed in this manner, since the cæsura is a penthimimer, and consequently their rules are undisturbed.

β). With *poly*-syllabic circumflex futures constituting the third foot, there would be a violation of the current rules respecting the cæsura. Notwithstanding this, if the views of the present paper be true, there would be no violation of the iambic character of the senarius. Against such a line as

Καγω το σον νεμω΄ ποθει|νον
αυλιον

there is no argument *a priori* on the score of the iambic character being violated; whilst in respect to objections derived from evidence *a posteriori*, there is sufficient reason for such lines being rare.

γ). With *poly*-syllables abbreviated by apocope, we have the state of things which the metrists have recognised under the name of quasi-cæsura; as

Κεντειτε μη φειδε΄σθ' εγω | 'τεκον
Παριν.

3. *The eighth syllable preceded in the same word by two syllables.*—This is equivalent to the fifth syllable occurring at the end of the word preceding: a state of things which gives the penthimimer cæsura; as

Οδμη βροτειων αἱ´ματῶν | με
προσγελα.
Λαμπρους δυναστας εμ´πρεπον
τας αιθερι.
Αψυχον εικω προ´σγελῳσα
σωματος.

4. *The eighth syllable preceded in the same word by three or more than three syllables.*—This is equivalent to the fourth (or some syllable preceding the fourth) syllable occurring at the end of the word preceding; a state of things which would include the third and fourth feet in one and the same word. This concurrence is denounced in the Supplement to the Preface to the Hecuba; where, however, the rule, as in the case of the quasi-cæsura, from being based upon merely empirical evidence, requires limitation. In lines like

Και ταλλα πολλ' επει´κασαι |
δικαιον ην,

or (an imaginary example),

Τοις σοισιν ασπιδη´στροφοις|ιν
ανδρασι,

there is no violation of the iambic character, and consequently no reason against similar

lines having been written; although from the average proportion of Greek words like επεικασαι and ασπιδηστροφοισιν, there is every reason for their being rare.

After the details just given, the recapitulation is brief.

1. It was essential to the character of the senarius that the sixth syllable, or latter half of the third foot, should have an arsis, ictus metricus, or accent in the English sense. To this condition of the iambic rhythm the Greek tragedians, either consciously or unconsciously, adhered.

2. It was the character of the Greek language to admit an arsis on the last syllable of a word only under circumstances comparatively rare.

3. These two facts, taken together, caused the sixth syllable of a line to be anywhere rather than at the end of a word.

4. If followed by a single syllable in the same word, the result was a hepthimimer cæsura.

5. If followed by more syllables than one, some syllable in an earlier part of the line ended the word preceding, and so caused either a penthimimer, a quasi-cæsura, or the occurrence of the third and fourth foot in the same word.

6. As these two last-mentioned circumstances were rare, the general phænomenon presented in the Greek

senarius was the occurrence of either the penthimimer or hepthimimer.

7. Respecting these two sorts of cæsura, the rules, instead of being exhibited in detail, may be replaced by the simple assertion that there should be an arsis on the sixth syllable. From this the rest follows.

8. Respecting the non-occurrence of the third and fourth feet in the same word, the assertion may be withdrawn entirely.

9. Respecting the quasi-cæsura, the rules, if not altogether withdrawn, may be extended to the admission of the last syllable of circumflex futures (or to any other polysyllables with an equal claim to be considered accented on the last syllable) in the latter half of the third foot.

[72] *Sceolon*, *aron*, and a few similar words, are no real exceptions, being in structure not present tenses but preterites.

[73] Quarterly Review, No. clxiv.

[74] Quarterly Review, No. clxiv.

[75] From the Quarterly Review, No. cx.

[76] From the Quarterly Review, No. cx.

[77] Apparently a *lapsus calami* for *spede*.

[78] J. M. Kemble, "On Anglo-Saxon Runes," *Archæologia*, vol. xxviii.

[79] But not of *Great Britain*. The Lowland Scotch is, probably, more Danish than any

South-British dialect.

[80] In opposition to the typical Northumbrian.

[81] Quarterly Review—*ut supra*.

[82] The subject is a Lincolnshire tradition; the language, also, is pre-eminently Danish. On the other hand, the modern Lincolnshire dialect is by no means evidently descended from it.

[83] For some few details see Phil. Trans., No. 36.

[84] Transactions of the Philological Society. No. 93.

[85] Philological Transactions. No. 84.

[86] Transactions of the Philological Society, No. 92.

[87] Quarterly Review, vol. xliii.

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