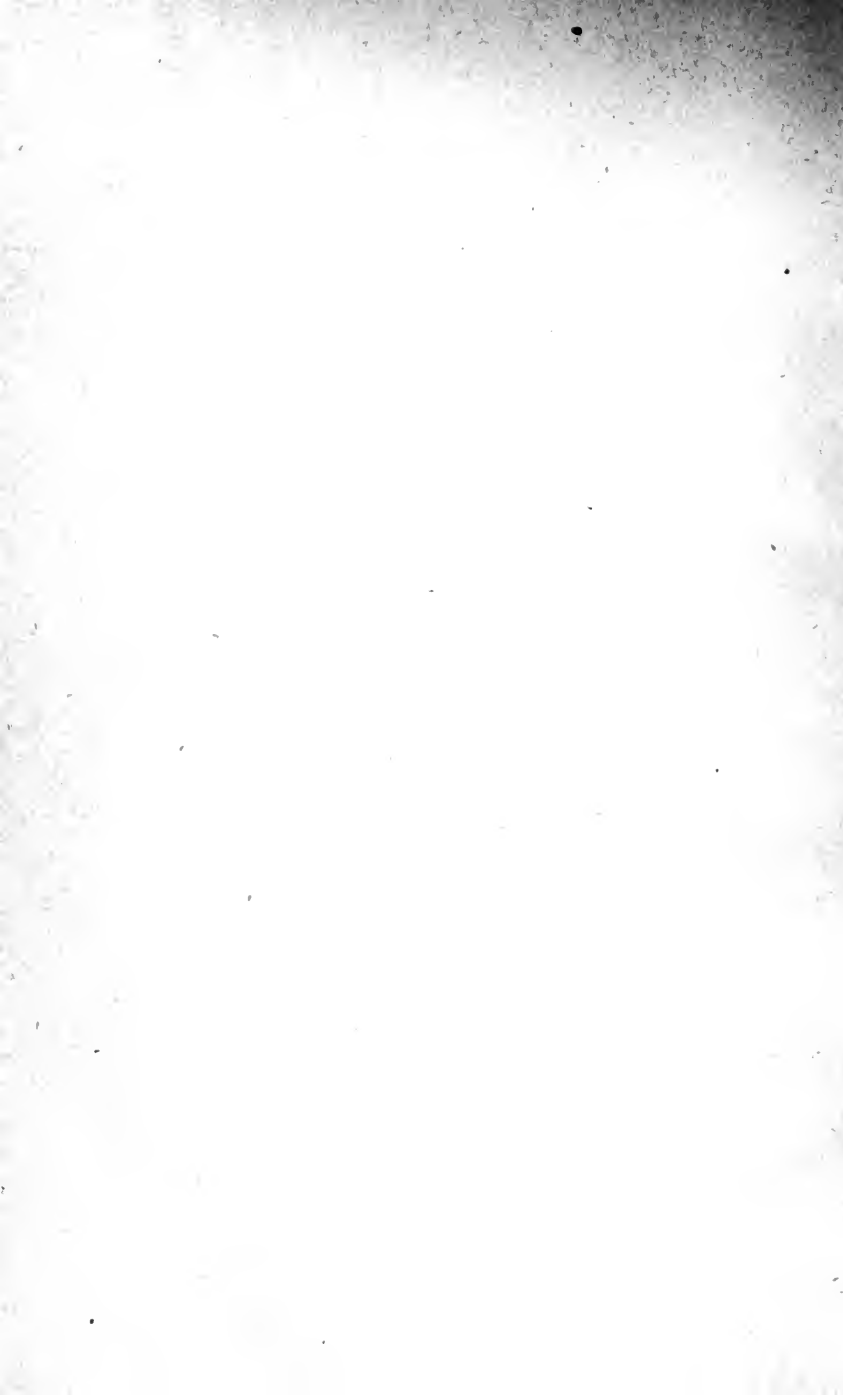


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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY

1856.

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CONTENTS.

	Page
I. On the Connexion of the Finn and Lapp with the other European Languages; by HENSLEIGH WEDGWOOD, Esq.	1
II. On the Liquids, especially in relation to certain Mutes; by R. F. WEYMOUTH, Esq.	18
III. Miscellaneous English Etymologies; by HENSLEIGH WEDGWOOD, Esq.	32
IV. On a Zaza Vocabulary; by Dr. H. SANDWITH. Communicated by Dr. G. R. LATHAM	40
V. On the Derivation and Meaning of <i>ἦπιος</i> ; by THEODORE AUFRECHT, Esq.	42
VI. On the Affix of the Welsh Degree of Equality; by THEODORE AUFRECHT, Esq.	47
VII. On the Nasalization of Initial Mutes in Welsh; by THEODORE AUFRECHT, Esq.	51
VIII. On the Etymology of the Latin Adverb <i>Actutum</i> ; by THEODORE AUFRECHT, Esq.	54
IX. On the Languages of Northern, Western, and Central America; by R. G. LATHAM, M.D.	57
X. On the Derivation of the Latin <i>Sons</i> ; by THEODORE AUFRECHT, Esq.	115
XI. On the Irregularities of the Versification of Homer; by JAMES YATES, Esq., M.A., F.R.S.	119
XII. On the Derivation of the Latin <i>Otium</i> ; by THEODORE AUFRECHT, Esq.	143
XIII. On the Latin Terminations <i>tia</i> , <i>tio-</i> ; by THEODORE AUFRECHT, Esq.	144
XIV. On some English Idioms; by the Rev. J. J. STEWART PEROWNE, B.D. Part I.	146
XV. Further Observations on the Connexion of the Finnish and Indo-Germanic Classes of Languages; by HENSLEIGH WEDGWOOD, Esq.	172

	Page
XVI. Miscellaneous Etymologies illustrated from the Finnish Languages; by HENSLEIGH WEDGWOOD, Esq.	179
XVII. On the Word <i>Distributed</i> , as used in Logic; by R. G. LATHAM, Esq., M.D.	190
XVIII. Hints on the Thesis "The Old-Friesic above all others the ' <i>fons et origo</i> ' of the Old-English"; by M. DE HAAN HETTEMA, Juris Doctor, Member of the Friesic Chivalry	196
XIX. On some Affinities in the Basque Language, with Words referred to the Finnish and Indo-Germanic Languages; by JAMES KENNEDY, Esq., LL.B.	216
Scrap. <i>Fanatics</i> .—Introduction and Derivation of the Word	218
XX. On Diminutives.—I. English; by T. HEWITT KEY, Esq., M.A.	219
XXI. On the Affinities between the Languages of the Northern Tribes of the Old and New Continents; by LEWIS K. B. DAA, Esq., of Christiania, Norway	251
Scrap. <i>Cherte</i> .—The word explained	294
XXII. [On Diminutives.—II. Latin; or] On the Representatives of the Keltic Suffix <i>agh</i> or <i>ach</i> 'little,' in the Latin Vocabulary; by T. HEWITT KEY, Esq., M.A.	295
—————	
INDEX	355
—————	
Notices of Meetings, Treasurer's Cash Account, &c.	359

CORRIGENDA.

Page 112, line 7 from bottom, for *vocabulary read* vocabulary.

Page 239, line 25, *niding* (or *nidget*) 'a base fellow'; should be transferred three lines lower down, so as to fall between *lording* and *riding* in the collection of English words.

Page 300, line 17, for *lig-neo-* read *lign-eo-*.

— 301, — 23, — *cor-ag-an* read *cur-ach-an*.

— —, — 27, — *tus-sil-ag-on-* read *tussil-ag-on-*.

— 302, — 7, — *ag-an* read *ach-an*.

— 334, — 1, — *verg-, verg-* read *ver-g-, ver-g-*.

— 341, — 5, — *glomes* read *glomes-*.

— —, — 6, — *in* read *is*.

— 344, — 17, — *a* read *α*.

— 347, note||, line 9, for *σφωτερο* read *σφωτερο-*.

AUDIT ACCOUNT, 1856.

Dr.

HENSLEIGH WEDGWOOD, Esq., Treasurer, in account with the PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

Cr.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
1855. CASH RECEIVED.							
May. To Balance from last Account,							
<i>viz.</i> —							
Amount of Exchequer Bills.....	300	0	0				
Cash at Bankers'	60	11	5				
Cash in Assistant-Secretary's hands	5	6	3				
			365	17		8	
1856.							
March 18. To interest on £300 Exchequer Bills ex-							
changed	10	6	0				
May 13. To gain on sale of £200 Exchequer Bills	1	1	9				
May 19. To Subscriptions received since							
last Audit, <i>viz.</i> —							
For Arrears	26	5	0				
For 1856	75	12	0				
			101	17		0	
To Entrance Fees—							
For Arrears	5	5	0				
For 1856.....	4	4	0				
			9	9		0	
To Sale of Proceedings			35	13		0	
			524	4		5	

	£	s.	d.
CASH PAID.			
By Rent to Midsummer 1855	35	0	0
— Salary to Assistant-Secretary to April 1, 1856 ...	15	0	0
— Messrs. Taylor, for Printing	233	5	0
— Mr. Owen Jones, Printing in 1849...	2	15	0
— Stationery, & circulating Transactions	15	19	9
			251
— Collector's Poundage	1	19	6
— Refreshments and Attendance.....	7	0	4
— Balance carried to next Account—			
Amount of Exchequer Bills.....	100	0	0
Cash at Bankers'	108	2	2
Cash in Assistant-Secretary's hands	5	2	8
			213
			4
			10

We have examined the Treasurer's vouchers and approve of his Cash Account above, { PHILIP J. CHABOT,
 { FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL, } *Auditors.*
May the 23rd, 1856.



TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.
1856.

I.—ON THE CONNEXION OF THE FINN AND LAPP
WITH THE OTHER EUROPEAN LANGUAGES. BY
HENSLEIGH WEDGWOOD, Esq.

[*Read January the 11th.*]

IN the second volume of our Proceedings (pp. 180–187), Professor Key has called attention to remarkable agreements between the grammars of the Lapp and Finn, and of the Greek and Latin languages. The identity is occasionally so complete, that it is truly astonishing how it can have been preserved through the series of ages which must have elapsed since the Finns and Latins can have separated from a common stock, or even have been in such close communication as to exert much influence on each other's language. One or two examples may be added to those given by Professor Key. Thus in Lapp *cum* or *queim*, as in Latin, is 'with'; *mocum*, *tocum*, *socum*—*mecum*, *tecum*, *secum*. Lapp *ets* and Finn *itse* correspond to Lat. *ipse*; *mon ets*, *ego ipse*. The particles *ek*, *ke*, *ak*, *ka*, are used in Lapp to give emphasis to the pronoun, in precisely the same way as *ce*, *que*, in Lat. Thus from *tat*, *hic*, *ille*, is formed *tatek*, *hicce*, acc. *tabke*; from *kâ*, *qui*, *kâke*, agreeing in form with *quisque*, but translated *aliquis*. Lapp *jam* is used much as *jam* in Lat. as a reference to

certain circumstances affecting the action: *mi le jam tat?*—what then is that? *påti jam*,—come then.

The formation of the Finn languages is commonly explained as if they were composed of two distinct parts, viz. the primitive language of the race itself, and an enormous importation from the Scandinavian peoples with whom they are mixed, with which must be classed numerous words borrowed from the Teutonic, Slavic, and Lithuanian. It is however hardly possible to account on such a principle for the whole of the phænomena before us. No doubt a great proportion of the analogous forms must be considered as directly borrowed from a Scandinavian source; but after every allowance has been made for such an influence, a large amount of resemblance will remain, offering the same kind of evidence in favour of a remote community of origin, as in the case of other related races, as the Celts and Teutons, Celts and Slaves, &c. The words common to the Finns and Slaves or Lithuanians, are far from being simply or even chiefly the names of objects, the use of which may be supposed to have been learnt from people in a more advanced state of civilization, but frequently express actions or abstract notions which must be conceived by nations in the rudest condition of life. We may cite—

Finn *palaan*, *pallata*, to burn; Bohem. *paliti*.

— *puoli*, half, side, middle; Bohem. *pûle*.

— *lentää* or *letä*, to fly; Bohem. *letiti*.

— *wedan*, *wetää*, to draw, to lead; Lith. and Bohem. *wedu*, *westi*.

Lapp *wuoras*, old; Lith. *woras*.

— *jaure*, a lake, Lith. *jures* (plu.), the sea.

— *pak*, *paka*, heat; Bohem. *pek*, the root of E. *bake*.

Nor are we without evidence of a Celtic connexion of similar nature—

Finn *korsi*, stipula, calamus; W. *korsen*, a reed.

— *kannan*, *kantaa*, to bear, carry, hold; W. *cannu*, to hold, as a vessel.

— *pullo*, thick bark, cork, the floats of a net; Gael. *bolla*, a net or anchor buoy.

Lapp *buwe*, sheep, cattle; W. *buw*, an ox, kine.

— *wele*, more; W. *gwell*, better, in a greater degree.

— *habra*, a goat; W. *gafr*.

Finn *jälke*, footstep, hinder part, behind; W. *ol* in the same sense.

— *jäljin*, hindmost; W. *olaf*.

— *jälillen*, remaining, the rest; W. *olion*, things left behind, refuse.

— *jällen*, back again, at last; W. *yn ol*, back, back again.

— *osata*, to hit the mark, to aim right, to be able to do; *osattaa*, to aim at; *osaella*, to try to do. W. *osio*, to try to do; E. to *oss*.

— *sota*, war, battle; *sotia*, to fight. W. *cad*; G. *cath*.

Lapp *kåkkel*, a distaff; W. *cogel*.

Many isolated words are common to the Finn and Scandinavian languages without corresponding words in the other branches of the Gothic stock. The whole of these are broadly ascribed by Ihre (than whom there is no more acute or judicious philologist) to a Finn origin, and in one important instance at least, it seems certain that the course of language has run in this direction.

The Icel. negative is *ei*, *eigi*, Dan. *ikke*, corresponding to Finn *ei*, *eikå*; *eikå-eikå*, *neque-nec*. Now the Icel. *ei* is an adverb, applying equally to all persons, while Finn *ei* is appropriated to propositions of the third person, being part of a regular conjugation, *en*, *et*, *ei*, *emme*, *ette*, *eiwat*, *non ego*, *non tu*, &c. As conjugations of such a nature were contrary to the idiom of the Scandinavians, they seem to have adopted for general use the negative of the third person, from the far greater frequency with which propositions of that form would occur than those of the first and second persons. It is certain then, that because a word is common to a Finn and Scandinavian language, it cannot be assumed that it is necessarily borrowed by the former from the latter.

A considerable list may be made of Finn forms and corresponding ones in Greek and Latin, either without independent analogues in the Teutonic languages, or only such as are more distantly related than the classical forms:—

Finn *onki*, a fishhook;—Gr. *ογκη*, *ογκος*, a hook, a barb.

— *onkalo*, a nook;—*αγκυλος*, crooked; *αγκαλη*, the bending of the arm.

— *kampela*, crooked;—*καμπυλος*.

— *wuori*, a mountain;—*ορος*.

— *myykia*, to low;—*μυκαομαι*.

— *uros*, male of animals, grown man, strong man, hero; *uro-teko*, factum heroicum;—*ήρωος*.

— *kommata*, graviter sono ut campana, vas vacuum;—*κομπειν*, to ring, to clang.

— *mamma*, a breast; Lat. *mamma*.

— *marketa*, to fade; Lat. *marc-escere*.

— *murheh*, grief; Lat. *mæror*.

— *orpo*, orphan; Lat. *orba*.

— *orwitseta*, to deprive of parents, to disinherit; Lat. *orbare*.

— *panen*, *panna*, to place; Lat. *pono*.

— *porsas*, a pig; Lat. *porcus*.

— *oras*, a boar; Lat. *verres*.

— *ihminen*, a man; Lat. *homo* (*homin*).

— *waimoinen*, womanly; Lat. *femininus*.

— *werma*, firm, trusty; Lat. *firmus*.

— *wermasti*, firmly; Lat. *firmiter*.

— *waras*, a thief; Lat. *fur*; Russ. *vor*.

— *warkahin*, secretly; Lat. *furtim*.

— *wiho*, greenness, green fruit; *wihanta*, *wiheriä*, *wiheriäinen*, green; Lat. *viridis*.

— *wihota*, *wihertää*, Hung. *virít*, *virül*, to be green, to flourish; Lat. *vireo*, *viresco*.

— *wilu*, frost; Lapp *jåla*, cold; Lat. *gelu*.

— *ajaa*, to drive; Lat. *agere*.

— *ryökia*, to belch; Lat. *eructo*.

— *krapistä*; Lat. *crepare*, *crepitare*.

— *krapistus*; Lat. *crepitus*, *crepitaculum*.

— *papu*, beans, pulse; Lat. *faba*; Hung. *bab*; Pol. *bob*.

— *pölly*, dust, snow driven about by the wind; Lat. *pulvis*, *pollen*.

— *ohra*, barley; Lat. *hordeum*.

Finn *kaula*, the neck; Lat. *collum*.

— *uhwoa*, to howl; Lat. *uhulo*.

— *sarpa*, a reed; Lat. *scirpus*.

— *kara* or *sara*, sedge; Lat. *carex*.

— *sarawisto* or *sarawikko*; Lat. *carectum*.

— *salawa*, a willow, sallow; Lat. *salix*.

— *salawisto*, *salawikko*; Lat. *salictum*.

— *salata*, to hide, conceal; Lat. *celo*.

Hence *sala*, anything hidden, the locative case of which, *salaan*, is used adverbially in the sense of secretly, in a hidden place, *clam*.

Finn *salainen*, clandestine; Lat. *clandestinus*.

Lapp *palen*, in the presence of; Lat. *palam*.

Finn *pyytiä*, to seek, to invite; Lat. *peto*.

— *puhdas*, pure; Lat. *purus*, *putus*.

— *puhtaus*, purity, cleanliness.

— *suola*, salt; Lat. *sal*.

— *kallo*, the scalp, forehead, skin of the forehead; Lat. *calva*, *callus*.

— *jää-kallo*, crust of ice covering the ground; Lat. *callum*, applied to the hard surface of the ground.

— *kallokas*, shoe of raw hide;

Lapp *kallok*, shoe of skin of reindeer; } Lat. *calceus*.

Finn *kakistaa*, *kikottaa*, to chatter as a pie, laugh loud; Lat. *cachinno*.

— *ääri*, margin, edge; Lat. *ora*.

Lapp *hâpos*, a horse; Gr. *ἵππος*.

— *pir*, *pira*, about, around; Finn *piiri*, a circle; Gr. *περι*.

— *walla*, but; Gr. *αλλα*.

— *wuoke*, form, likeness; Gr. *εικος*.

— *wuokak*, like, equal; *wuokas*, fit, convenient; Gr. *εικα*, to be like, to be fit.

— *ara*, early, soon; Gr. *ηρι*.

— *aina*, *ainak*, only, single, simple; Lat. *unicus*; Lith. *wenas*, *wenokas*.

— *all*, high; Lat. *altus*.

— *aletet*, *haletet*, to fly; Lat. *ales* (*alut*), bird.

— *air*, *aira*, copper; Lat. *æs* (*æter*); Lith. *waras*.

Lapp *pullistaa*, to puff up, to swell; *pulli*, a flask; Lat. *ampulla*.

— *pullikoitsita*, to speak in an inflated manner; Lat. *ampullari*.

— *buola*, *puola*, a bit; Lat. *bolus*.

— *ruopses*, red; Lat. *ruber*.

— *taibet*; Lat. *debere*, *oportere*.

— *kona*, *kuna*, ashes; Lat. *cinis*; Gr. *kovis*.

— *wade*, a ford; Lat. *vadum*.

— *juomits*, a twin; Lat. *gemellus*; Fr. *jumeau*.

— *järbes*, round; Lat. *orbis*.

— *kawak* (*flexuosus*, *curvus*); Lat. *cavus*, hollow.

— *muorje*, a berry; Lat. *morum*, a mulberry; Wallach. *mour*, a blackberry.

— *mostos*, out of humour, sorrowful; Lat. *mæstus*.

— *harret*, to growl; Lat. *hurrere*.

— *kattjett*, to fall; Finn *kadota*, to perish; Lat. *cadere*.

— *sanahet*, to endeavour; Lat. *conari*.

— *sarwa*, *sarwes*, an entire reindeer; Lat. *cervus*.

The Finn *sarwi*, Hung. *szaru*, *szarv*, a horn (whence *szarvas*, horned, also a stag), show the radical meaning of Lat. *cervus*, and at the same time bring Finn *sarwi* into correspondence with Gr. *κερας* and Lat. *cornu*. Other words which *primâ facie* we should suppose to be borrowed from a Scandinavian source, are found also in Hungarian, a language which has not undergone the same mixture with the Gothic tongues, and may thus put forward a fair claim to be considered as part of the original stock of the language. No one would doubt that Lapp *garde*, a hedge, inclosed place; *gardot*, to hedge; *garden*, a farm; Finn *kartano*, a yard, court, were borrowed from Sw. *gård*, a yard; *gårde*, a field; *gårda*, to fence, and the like, were it not that the Hungarian has *kert*, a garden; *kerit*, *kertel*, to inclose; *keritek*, *kertelez*, an inclosure, curtilage, hedge. So we have Lapp *waret*, to keep, to guard; Finn *warrota*, to watch, observe, wait for; *wartia*, a watchman, guard, apparently borrowed from Sw. *wara*, to observe, and its derivatives, but the same root is preserved in Hung. *vár*, to wait for; *vár*, a fortress; *varta*, a watch or guard. The Finn

mesi, meden, honey, agrees on the one hand with Lith. *medus*, Slav. *med*, Lat. *mel*; and with W. *medd*, E. *mead*, a drink prepared from honey, while on the other it is shown to be a genuine Ugrian word by the Hung. *mez*, honey. So Finn *wesi*, water, lake; *wesinen, wetinen*, watery, wet; *wettya*, to become full of water; Hung. *viz*, water, river. Lapp *nikke, nekke*, the neck; Hung. *nyak*. Lapp *lapa*, the sole of the foot; Finn *lapa*, a blade, as shoulder-blade, blade of an oar, might be supposed to be borrowed from a Gothic root corresponding to E. *lap, flap*: but the Hung. has *lap*, flat side, plate, leaf; *lapoczka*, shoulder-blade, spatula, shovel.

The Finn languages are extremely rich in words expressing different kinds of sounds, and there is hardly a page in the dictionary without some word translated by *parum crepo, strepo, strideo, susurro, murmuro*. As a specimen may be cited *kohista, kolistá, komista, kopista, korista, tihista, tikista, tirista, titista, wikista, wilista, winista, hohista, hawista, jumista, morista, nirista, porista, sohista, &c.*, with almost every possible combination of the two consonants, and every variation of the vowel by which they are connected in the radical syllable. Of such words as the foregoing, many are represented by similar forms in Swedish, German, or English, but very many have no corresponding terms in those languages. Now as long as direct imitation is a living principle in the use of a word, the primary cause of the articulation is apparent on the face of it, and there is no occasion to seek the origin in another language in which the same image may be represented by a similar sound, unless overwhelming evidence of borrowing be forced upon us from other quarters.

The syllable *slam* is used in Swedish and English as well as in Lapp to represent a loud noise; Sw. *slamra*, to jingle, jabber, to talk idly (Widegren.). In Lapp *slam*, a noise, *nialme slam*, *strepitus verborum* (*nialme*, the mouth), *uksa slamketi*, 'the door was slammed,' *janua cum strepitu claudebatur*; *slamem*, ruin, fall. Here the imitative force of the word is as manifest in Lapp as in English. And there seems as little reason for supposing that the word must have been borrowed by the

Laps from the Swedes, as *vice versâ*. The same root seems to be truly represented by the Latin *clamo*, *clamor*, as we have seen many instances in which a Finnish *s* corresponds to a Latin *c*. In the same way it is probable that there may have been no direct borrowing in any of the following examples:—

Finn *natista*, leviter crepo ut mus rodens; G. *knattern*, to patter; Dan. *gnaddre*, to grumble, growl.

Finn *naputtaa*, leviter ico, crepito; *napista*, *napsaa*, leviter crepo, murmuro, strepo ut dentes in manducando; G. *knap-pern*; Sw. *knapra*, to gnaw.

Finn *narrata*, strideo, crepo ut cardines januæ; G. *knarren*; Sw. *knorra*, to murmur, grumble, growl.

Finn *porata*, *porista*, vociferor, ebullior; Du. *borrelen*, to *purl*, to bubble up, or in Flemish to vociferate; Port. *borborinha*, vociferation; Finn *poret*, a bubble; O. E. a *burble*.

Finn *hossottaa*, leviter ferio, *e. g.* vestes vergis; Fr. *housser*, to switch.

Finn *hikka*, singultus, *hiccough*; Fr. *hoquet*; Sw. *hicka*.

Lapp *suokket*, *sjuoketet*, to sob; Sw. *sucka*.

Finn *huiska*, scopa minor lavationi apta, a *whisk*; *huiskata*, huc illuc cursitare, *huiskua*, huc illuc jactor ut arbor vento, *huiskuttaa*, huc et illuc moveo, quasso, ut canis caudam; *huiskutan* wettäã, I splash water about; *huiskutus*, quassatio.

Finn *humata*, *humista*, to *hum*, to sigh as the wind among trees; Icel. *umra*, *kumra*, to murmur.

Finn *huutaa*, clamo, vocifero, to *hoot*; *huuto*, clamor, vociferatio, rumor, fama vagans.

Finn *hurrata*, *hurista*, susurro, ut aqua fluens vel apes volantes, to *whirr*; Sw. *hurra*, surra.

Finn *kummata*, *kummista*, to sound as a large bell; *kimista*, acute tinnio, to *chime*; *kumina*, resonance.

Another argument in favour of a connexion of very old standing between the Finn and other European languages, may be drawn from the numerous cases in which it enables us to explain words without apparent derivation in their own language. One of the cases of Finn *sama*, the same, is *samalla*, in the same; *samalla muodolla*, in the same manner; but *samalla* alone is used elliptically in the sense of 'at the

same moment,' agreeing with Lat. *simul*. A somewhat different modification of the same root in a widely different language, gives Malay *samo-samo*, together, from *samo*, the same.

Lapp *kastas*, wet; *kastatet*, to wet, to baptize, seems to indicate the idea of washing, as the origin of the Bohem. *čisty*, clean, pure, chaste (whence *čistiti*, to cleanse, and *cisterna*, a cleansing or washing place, a cistern), and of the Lat. *castus*, chaste.

The name of the domestic cock, Finn *kukko*, Hung. *kakas*, is derived, like that of so many animals, from the sound by which we imitate his cry; Finn *kukkua*, cuculo, cucurio; Lith. *kukti*, to crow, to hoot; Bohem. *kokrhati*, to crow. From the upright strut of a cock, the term is then applied to whatever cocks or stands up, as a cock of hay, &c. In Finn *kukku* is the pile in heaped measure; *kukkelo*, *kukkura*, the top of a mountain, affording a plausible explanation of Lat. *cacumen*.

Lapp *kukke*, long; *kukketet*, to prolong; *kukkehet*, to think or find it long; *kukkelastet*, to remain long, to delay; Finn *kokottaa*, to expect, wait for, delay, exhibit a root which might easily pass into Lat. *cunctari*. The origin of these words seems to lie in Finn *koko*, a heap or pile, applied in a secondary sense to the structure or stature of the body, whence *ko'okas*, tall, great. The local cases of *koko* are used in the sense of the Lat. *con*, together, as *pane kokoon* or *ko'olle*, bring into a heap, place together; *tulewat kokoon* or *ko'olle*, they come together; and as the second *k* is actually lost in one of these forms, it is not difficult to suppose that *kokoon* may be the exact equivalent of Lat. *con*.

Again, *koko*, in composition, is used in the sense of totus, omnino; *koko-kylä*, the whole village; *koko-mies*, a complete man; *kokona*, *kokonansa*, wholly, entirely; *kokonainen*, whole, unbroken. Thus the Lat. *cunctus* might be derived from the same root with *cunctari* and with the preposition *con*.

The expression of relations of place by reference to parts of the body is worthy of remark. From Finn *korwa*, an ear, is derived the expression for nearness, by the side of, 'locus juxta quid, ut aures juxta caput;' on tien *korwalla*, it is by

the side of the road, literally in the ear of the road; *korwainen*, by the side of, about. In like manner, *hântä*, a tail, is used in the locative cases in the sense of *behind*, and probably explains the origin of that word. *Käypi hännässani*, he comes at my tail, comes after me; *juokse sen häntään*, run after him; *hântyre*, a follower; *hännittää*, to follow any one close, insector quem quasi ad caudam.

Finn *rataan*, *radata*, to squeak, creak, crepito ut mus, currus, affords a plausible derivation, as well of the *rat*, the squeaker, as of Finn *ratas*, Lat. *rota*, a wheel, the creaking of which, before the use of grease, would be a most obtrusive characteristic. The plural *rattaat*, as Lith. *ratai*, is used in the sense of a chariot, whence perhaps Lat. *rheda*. The origin of Lat. *carrus* and E. *car*, *carry*, may in like manner be found in Finn *karista*, strideo, crepo; G. *garrezen* (Schmeller); Icel. *karra*, to jar, to creak.

Finn *kalkkata*, to clank, sonum edo crepantem ut ferrum in cudendo, suggests a natural origin of Gr. *χαλκος*, brass; and Lapp *maret*, to roar, rush, murmur, of *mare* the sea, the *πολυφλοισβος θαλασσα*.

Lapp *suokket*, *sjuoketet*; Sw. *sucka*, to sigh, correspond to Lat. *sing-ultus*; and in the same way Finn *tomu*, sonus gravis, tumultus, pulvis, to Lat. *tum-ultus*, where the same connexion may be noticed as in our own language between kicking up a dust and making a disturbance. Finn *tomista*, to make a deep sound, to make a dust; *tohu*, strepitus, tumultus, pulvis. So G. *getümmel*, confused noise, hurly-burley, bustle. The syllable *tom* is used in other languages as representative of a heavy sound, as in the Indian *tom-tom*; a drum, and in a list of onomapoeitic words given by Dr. Latham in 'The Varieties of Man,' as spoken by the half-breeds in Oregon, is *tum*, a heavy noise; *tum-wata*, a waterfall. From the same source is doubtless W. *twmpio*, Fr. *tomber*, to fall, *tumble*.

The feelings of discontent, grief, anger, are naturally designated by words derived from the murmuring sounds uttered under those emotions. Thus from G. *jammern*, to wimper or wail, is *jammer*, grief; from *murren*, to grumble, *mürrisch*, peevish, morose. So in Finn *morista*, *murista*, to growl, to

be discontented; *murrus*, mentis indolis murmurans, indignatio, tristitia; *murahtaa*, subito murmuro ut canis, obmurmuro ut homo iracundus; *murheh* or *murhet*, sorrow, grief, distress, corresponding to Lat. *mæreo*, *mæror*. In like manner Finn *surrata*, to whizz or buzz, Sw. *surra*, to buzz, to murmur, lead to Finn *suru*, grief, sorrow; *surra*, to grieve; *surrua*, *surkua*, to be sorrowful. Analogy then would lead us to suppose that *ira* might be connected with *hirrire*, to snarl, which loses the initial *h* in *irritare* (properly, to cause to snarl), to provoke, and in support of such a supposition may be cited Finn *hyristå*, to hum or buzz; *håristå*, *åristå*, to snarl, to snort with anger, to be angry and surly; *håriståå*, to cause to snarl, irritate; *åri*, iracunde hirriens, iracundus, morosus; *årinå*, hirritus, murmuratio, iracundia.

From Finn *muu*, other, is formed *muutoin*, otherwise; *muuttaa*, to transfer to another place, to change to another form, to change clothes, horses, countenance; G. *umändern*, *verändern*. Hence may be derived Lat. *muto* in analogy with Gr. *αλλάσσω*, to change, from *αλλος*, and G. *ändern*, from *ander*.

The sound of catching the breath, as in sobbing or choking, is imitated by the syllable *nick* or *nack*. Thus we are informed by Lieut. Burton (Pilgrimage to Medina, i. 222), that to 'nakh,' in vulgar as in classical Arabic, is to gurgle *ikh! ikh!* in the bottom of one's throat till the camel kneels down. With an initial *s*, *snickup* or *sneckup* was formerly used in E. for hiccough. In Hung. we have *nyög*, to sob, to groan, *nyekken*, to make a bleating sound; Lapp *niakket*, to sob, to hiccup, and in Finn *nikka*, a sob; *nikottåå*, to cause to sob; *nikistaa*, to choke, to suffocate, halitu privo, strangulo; *nikahtua*, to be suffocated. Then, as the cessation of breath is the first sign of death, to stop the breath and to choke, are frequently applied to any kind of violent death. Thus G. *würgen*, the equivalent of E. *worry*, of which the primary signification is to choke or strangle, is also used in the sense of killing, massacreing, cutting the throat; *einen schaf würgen*, to kill a sheep. So Dan. *quæle*, to strangle, choke, smother, is the equivalent of E. *kill*; A.-S. *qualstow*, a place of death,

cwyllan, to die. In the same way it is probable that Lat. *necare*, to kill (generally as we are told applied to putting to death without a weapon), is analogous to Finn *nikistää*, to suffocate. And that the primitive sense of the word was never entirely lost sight of, is witnessed by the use of *necare*, *negare*, in Mid. Lat. (Diez, from the Burgundian laws) in the sense of drowning, whence It. *annegare*, Fr. *noyer*. From the same root is probably the name of the water-demon, Lapp *Nik*, Finn *Nakki*, Icel. *Nikr*, Sw. *Näcken*, 'genius fluviorum, homines cupidè aquis submergens,' often supposed to be the origin of 'Old Nick,' the familiar designation of the devil. But that expression, as has elsewhere been pointed out, is really derived from a different development of the root in Pl.-D. *Nikker*, the executioner, 'the old executioner,' from Flem. *necken*, A.-S. *hnæcan*, to slay, in which the meaning of the word has undergone the same transition as in Lat. *necare*. The same fundamental image would supply a satisfactory designation of the word *neck*, which we must then suppose to have been first applied to the throat, from the guttural sounds imitated by the syllables *nik* or *nak*; so in G. *gurgel*, the throat, from the gurgling sounds which it produces. The diversion of meaning in G. *nacke*, Fr. *nuque*, to the back of the neck, need cause little difficulty.

Finn *painaa*, to weigh down, to be heavy, to press; *paino*, weight, pressure; *paini*, depression, curving downwards, seem radically connected, not only with Lat *pondus*, a weight, but *pando*, *pandare*, to bend, weigh down; *pandus*, curved, and also with *πovος*, labour, the lifting a weight being the most obvious type of labour in general. The term is in Finn also applied to exertion of force, as in *ponnistaa*, to do anything with great exertion, to string a bow, G. *spannen*, in which probably the same root is contained. As over-exertion becomes highly painful, *πovος* is used in the sense of pain, suffering, distress, grief. The word *pain* itself is probably from the original sense of the Finn root *painaa* to press, whence A.-S. *pinan*, to torture; Du. *pyn*, ache, pain. To pine or languish is to suffer pain. *Pain*, in the sense of punishment, from Lat. *pæna*, Gr. *πovνη* and *punio*, to punish,

are radically distinct, being derived from the custom of making reconciliation by paying the price of blood, from Gr. *φονος*, offering an example of a phænomenon which has been frequently pointed out, where the convergence of meanings originally widely different in words of similar sound has ended in the coalescence of the words themselves.

The mention of *πoinη* as the price of blood, suggests a much more natural derivation than the one usually given of the A.-S. *wera*, the weregild or penalty to be paid to the relations of the slain man, in Finn *weri*, Hung. *vér*, blood, making *weregild* the precise equivalent of the G. *blut-geld*.

The Lat. *puniceus*, purple, Gr. *φοινιξ*, red (*φοινισσα φλοξ*), are commonly supposed to have reference simply to the peculiar dye in which the Tyrians or Phœnicians excelled. But this may perhaps be an early instance of false etymology, as Gr. *φοινος*, *φοινιος*, blood-red, seems to point to a connexion with *φονος*, blood, bloodshed, similar to that of Hung. *vorös*, red, with *vér*, blood. A like connexion may be seen in Finn *puna*, red colour; *punistaa*, to stain with red; *puna-tauti* (*tauti*, illness), dysentery or discharge of blood. The primary origin may perhaps be Goth. *fon*, *funins*, fire, whence *funisks*, fiery, may be compared with Gr. *φοινιξ*; and a similar relation may be observed between *purpureus* and *πυρ*, fire.

From Finn *madan*, *mataa*, to creep or crawl; Hung. *masz*, to creep, is formed *mato*, *matikko*, a worm, maggot, explaining Icel. *madkr*, a *mawk* or maggot, and G. *made*, a maggot, mite, as well as E. *moth*, a designation which would first be applied to the larva by which the mischief is done, and secondarily to the winged insect into which it changes.

Lapp *sjuddet*, to hum or buzz, explains Sw. *sjuda*, G. *sieden*, E. *seethe*, to boil.

Finn *pulata*, to splash, as a duck in diving, or fish in jumping; *pulahtaa*, to spring as a fish, to dive, to fall into the water, analogous to G. *spülen*, to wash, to rinse, and probably to Sw. *spilla*, to *spill* or splash over, seems the origin of *pula*, an opening in the ice, and W. *pwl*, E. *pool*, a piece of water.

From Finn *tiukkua*, to pipe or make a shrill sound, is

probably derived Lapp *tjuk*, the young of birds or quadrupeds, as of dogs or cats, Hung. *tyuk*, a chicken, fowl. Hence might arise provincial E. *tyke*, a dog, originally a young dog, then an affectionate expression for the animal independent of age. The colliers in the north always speak of their bull-dog as 'the pup.' A.-S. *bridda*, is a young bird; It. *piccione*, *pipione* (whence the E. *pigeon*), is properly a young pigeon, from the peeping sound of a young bird.

Lapp *wikke*, a fault, *wikkalati*, guilty; Finn *wika*, a bodily defect, injury, moral fault; *wikainen*, guilty, seem to preserve the origin of E. *wicked*.

Finn *karsta*, soot, and hence dirt, filth, explains G. *garstig*, nasty, filthy.

The syllable *mut* or *muk* is widely taken as representative of a low inarticulate sound, the least audible sound, whence G. *mukken*, *mucksen*, Lat. *mutire*, *muttire*, Gr. $\mu\nu\zeta\omega$, $\mu\nu\xi\omega$, to utter such a sound. The analogues in Finn are *mutista*, *mytista*, *mussito*, *susurro*, whence *mutina*, a murmuring (explaining *mutiny*, a murmuring among soldiers), and *mytiainen*, *culex minor*, from the humming of the gnat, leading to the derivation of G. *mücke*, a *midge*, from the other form of the root, *muk*. The name of the *gnat* is probably derived, on the same principle, from the syllable *nat*, which is used as representative of a low indistinct sound, in Finn *natista*, *leviter crepo ut mus rodens*, and in Dan. *gnaddre*, to grumble, growl. From *muk* is formed Finn *myhkkia*, *mussito*, clam loquor, *susurro*, Dan. *mukke*, to mutter, Finn *mykaista*, to hush, to forbid one even to mutter; *mykystya*, to be silent; *mykkå*, dumb (as Lat. *mutus* from *mut*); *mykkyri*, *homo taciturnus vel occultus*; G. *mucken*, to keep a surly silence. Hence a numerous class of words applied to doing a thing secretly, as G. *meuchel-mord*, clandestine murder, assassination; Sw. *i mjugg*, secretly, underhand; *le i mjugg*, to laugh in one's sleeve; E. *hugger-mugger*, clandestinely, privately, and consequently shabbily, in a disorderly manner, agreeing very much with Finn *myhky-mähkin*, *temere, sine ordine*. The addition of an initial *s* gives Sw. *y smyg*, *smygwis*, clandestinely; *smygga*, to slip in, to do a thing secretly; *smygga sig på någon*, to spy one, explaining Fr. *mouchard*, a spy; *smyg-handel*,

-secret dealing, *smuggling*; *smuga*, a hole, corner, hiding-place; Icel. *smiugr*, *smuga*, a hole, a crack, narrow opening; *smeigia*, Dan. *smöge*, to slip on; Icel. *smocka* ser inn, to slip into something just big enough. Hence *smockr*, a sheath, a tube, and E. *smock*, a dress that you slip into.

From Finn *holata*, *holista*, to give a hollow sound (einen dumpfen Laut erregen), as that of the flowing of water, or murmuring of a crowd, *holo*, anything *hollow*; *holo-puu*, a hollow tree. So from *kopista*, to thump, to sound hollow (dumpf tönen), are formed *kopina*, sonus ex pulsu, and *kopano*, caudex arboris cavus pulsu resonans, which seems essentially the same word with Lat. *campana*. The corresponding form in Gr. *κοπανον*, a pestle, is applied to the instrument which gives the blow, instead of the body which receives it. The nasalized form *κομπεω*, to clang or ring,—

κομπει χαλκος επι στηθεσσι φαεινος,

leads to Mid. Lat. *campana*, as a modification agreeing very closely in sense with Finn *kopano*, to which it answers in form, in the same way as Sp. *timbal*, a kettledrum, to Arab. *tabl* (Burton, Pilgrimage to Medina), *atabal*. The name originally given to a drum, like those of the South Sea islanders, composed of a hollow block of tree, and, in a more advanced state of the art, to the instrument made by stretching a skin over the mouth of a brazen vessel, would naturally be preserved when the sound was produced by striking against the metal itself, when the kettledrum would become a bell. The usual derivation of *campana*, from bells being first used at Nola in Campania, is a most improbable one, even if the fact were true. They plainly would not have been known by that name in Campania itself, and if the instrument had spread in such a manner from a single centre, the Campanian name would probably have travelled with it. But the whole story is in all probability a myth, founded solely on the fact that bells were known by the two names of Nola and Campana. Now as *bell* is from the imitative root which gives Icel. *belia*, boare; G. *bellen*, to bark, and E. *bellow* (templorum campana boant, Duc.), and G. *glocke*, E. *clock* (originally a bell), from the root which survives in Fr. *claque*, E. *clack*, Bohem. *hluk*, din, noise, so doubtless *nola* is from G. *knall*, a loud noise, as

the report of a gun, crack of a whip, &c., the E. representative of which (*knell*) is appropriated to the clang of bells*.

Other modifications of the root *kop*, as representing a sounding blow, are Gr. *κυμβος*, *κυμβη*, any hollow, especially a hollow vessel, cup, basin, boat; *κυμβαλον*, a cymbal; and in Finn *kopio*, vacuus, resonans ut vas vacuum; *koppa*, cavum quid, a cup; Lapp *kuppe*, hollow; *kopera*, excavatus, concavus, curvus; and as another form of *kopera* is *kovera*, the *p* passing easily into a *w* in Finn, we are brought through the Lapp *kuowat*, to hollow out, *kawat*, to crook, to bend, *kawak*, flexuosus, curvus, to the Lat. *cavus*, as an offshoot from the same root.

The E. *worth*, W. *gwerth*, price, has a plausible derivation in the Finn *wero*, the equivalent of Lapp *wuoro*, vicis, a turn or time (whence *wuorom*, by turns, sometimes), although the Finn word is not given as having that signification in the nominative. But in what is called the *elative* case, *werosta*, it is used as Lat. *vice*, for 'in the place of, instead of,' and hence comes to signify, what is of the same value with. Thus, I eat cheese instead of bread; I take corn instead of money; I stand in the place of a man, *i. e.* I reckon as a man; ancient custom stands in the place of law, has the force or validity of law. The adjective *weroinen* is in like manner applied to what stands in the place of, is of the same value or estimation with, and hence *werta*, what may supply the place of or be compared with anything, what is equal in respect of quantity or value, *worth*; *sen werta*, so much; *kouraan werta rahaa*, a handful of money (*koura*, the grasping hand); *werteinen*, par, æqualis; *wertaan*, *werrata*, to compare; *wertaus*, comparison, parable.

The Lapp *waro*, merx, wares, Finn *wara*, copia, opes, goods, might appear simply borrowed from Sw. *wara*, merchandise, but the origin of the word is shown so clearly in the Finnish, that that language may fairly lay claim to an original right in it. The radical sense seems to be simply provisions, what is

* This derivation of *campana* is supported by the Albanian *kemboig*, *koumboig*, I ring, resound, sound; *kambane*, *kembone*, *koumbone*, a cattle- or church-bell.—Hahn.

provided beforehand, from *wara*, foresight, caution, warning; *warata*, to beware, to make provision; *wara-mies*, a supplemental man, a man *provided* to take the place of another; *wara-huonet*, a barn, a provision-house; *taka-wara*, provision for the future (*taka*, after); *warustaa*, to provide one with necessaries, to fit one out, to arm. Hence Lapp *warjo*, arms; G. *wehr*; *waret*, *warjet*, to keep, to guard.

Lapp *welkes*, white; *welkotet*, to become white, to grow pale, Finn *walkia*, white, *walawa*, whitish, explain G. *welken*, E. *welk*, *welewe*, to wither, fade, decay:—

“The which was whilome grene gras,
Is *welwed* hay as tyme now is.”—Gower in Halliwell.

So in Latin, *palescunt frondes*, they wither.

Finn *wako*, Lith. *waga*, *wagas*, a furrow, give a most satisfactory explanation of E. *wake*, the furrow-like track left by an object moving through the water, for which however it is remarkable that the Finn has a distinct word, *wana*, translated ‘fürchen-ähnliche spur’ by those who had no thought of the connection of the English word with the Finn *wako*.

From Finn *salata*, to hide, keep secret, the equivalent apparently of Lat. *celare*, has been shown the origin of an adverb *salaan*, corresponding exactly to the Lat. *clam*. The opposite *palam* seems also to have its analogue and explanation in Lapp *palen*, the locative of *pale*, a time or turn (*vicis*). *Akta palen*, once; *tann palen*, at that time; *tai pali* (in the plural), those times, formerly; *peiwe palen*, in the day-time; *mo palen*, in my presence; *weres âlmai palen*, in the presence of witnesses (*weres âlma*, literally a man unconnected by blood, a witness). The ultimate root seems to be the Finn *palaan*, *pallata*, to turn, return, to roll.

Among the agreements pointed out by Professor Key in the Paper above alluded to, is Lat. *cæcus* with Finn *sokia*, blind; which is supported by the number of cases in which we have seen a Finn initial *s* correspond to a Latin *c*. Now *sokia* in Finn appears to be derived from *sakaan*, *sa'ata*, to mix, to trouble, to make thick; *sakia*, thick, turbid; *sekainen*, *sekawa*, *mixtus*, *promiscuus*, *confusus*, *perturbatus*, *haud clarus*, *e. c. aqua*, *intricatus*, *obscuratus*, *e. c. oculus*, *seu visus*.

Hence *soka*, what troubles or obscures, as a mote in the eye, dregs or sediment in water; *sokainen*, turbid, impure; *sokenen*, *soeta*, to become turbid, to become blind; *sokaan*, *soata*, to make water foul, turbid; *sokaistus*, making turbid, blinding. In the same way the G. *trübe* is used of any defect of brightness or transparency and also of sight: *trübes wasser*, *trübes wetter*, and *trübe augen*. We speak of a dull glass, dull weather, and dull of sight.

But possibly the same Finn root may give the derivative also of Lat. *secale*, rye, which is spoken of by Pliny as a fertile but inferior grain, hardly eatable by itself, tantum ad arcedam famem utile, which it was usual to mix with another grain,—admiscetur huic far, ut mitiget amaritudinem ejus. Now Finn *sekuli*, *sekali*, signify any kind of mixed food, though the former is chiefly applied to a mixture of barley and oats, the latter to one of greens and pease. Thus Lat. *secale* would be equivalent to G. *mengkorn*, Sw. *bland-korn*.

II.—ON THE LIQUIDS, ESPECIALLY IN RELATION TO CERTAIN MUTES. BY R. F. WEYMOUTH, Esq.

[Read January the 25th.]

THE special phænomenon, the consideration of which led to the writing of the following paper, though not the only subject treated in it, is the insertion of certain mutes in Greek and other languages into certain pairs of liquids. This, though the bare fact is one with which every scholar is familiar, has perhaps never yet been sufficiently accounted for. Matthiæ says, speaking of ἡμβροτον, ἐμβραμένη, &c.: "These are probably not mere poetic licences, but relics of old forms." Like Pott before them, Jelf and Latham simply apply the epithet "euphonic" to the intruding mute. Donaldson predicates of the Greek ear "a particular aversion to the immediate concurrence of $\mu\lambda$, $\mu\rho$, &c."

In order however to arrive at a just solution of the

problem, it is necessary carefully to investigate the character and mode of formation of the letters concerned, and especially of the so-called liquids, which, except by the Sanskrit grammarians, have rarely been satisfactorily dealt with in the classification of the alphabet. Not only do we find one liquid, which plays a somewhat conspicuous part in Greek, and still more in our own language, commonly ignored; but even when the list of liquids is complete, a distinction of considerable importance that subsists between certain of them is often altogether overlooked. In Dr. Latham's works I have not found any allusion to it. Professor Key, in his admirable Essay on the Alphabet, affords us only a rapid glimpse of it. The distinction in question is however pointed out in Heyse's German Grammar, to which I have this moment referred, where he describes *r* and *l* as *mundlaute*, and *m* and *n* as *nasenlaute* (vol. i. p. 326).

The liquid above alluded to, as commonly excluded from the list—and that even by Heyse, although it is quite as important an element in the German language as in Greek or English—is of course the *ng* of *king*, *song*, *rung*; *klingen*, *meinung*; and the γ of *ἔγχος*, *ἀγκάλη*, &c. Of this Dr. Latham observes: "The simple sound is related to *n* and *g* in a manner that has not yet been determined." (Eng. Lang. first edition, p. 110.) This relation then it is important for our present purpose that we endeavour to determine. But Dr. Latham's later researches afford no assistance. In 1855 he affirms: "*Ng* is no true consonant, but a vowel of a peculiar character, *i. e.* a nasal vowel, formed by the passage of air through the nostrils instead of the lips." (Handbook, 2nd edition, p. 144.) Of the argument that seems to be implied in this last clause, it is not difficult to dispose. It seems tolerably plain, that with equally good reason *m* and *n* may be described as "vowels of peculiar character, *i. e.* nasal vowels, formed by the passage of air through the nostrils instead of the lips." Word for word, and letter for letter, the statement contained in the latter clause will hold good "*mutato nomine*," and therefore the same inference may be drawn, if the reasoning is conclusive. It is not

necessary for me, so far as my present purpose is concerned, to give definitions of a vowel and of a consonant respectively; but it would be a singular definition indeed that would include *ng* in the list of vowels, and not embrace *n* and *m* also. These three consonants possess just this one striking feature in common, that when we pronounce them, the breath passes not through the lips, but through the nostrils. We will however approach them from another quarter.

In many, perhaps most, languages of civilized nations, there are, as in English, just six *explosive* consonants; that is to say, consonants for the articulation of which all exit of the breath is restrained by a complete stoppage of the orifice of the mouth, preparatory to a sudden outburst. These are the two classes of mutes which we usually call the *tenues* and the *mediæ*; in Greek π , κ , τ , and β , γ , δ . All the other consonants are *continuous*—the liquids included.

Again, the terms *tenues* and *mediæ* are commonly applied only to the six mutes just mentioned. But the difference that subsists between them is found also to distinguish certain other pairs of sounds, as the English *s* and *z*, or the French *ch* and *j*, which are equivalent to the middle consonant sounds in *lashing* and *measure*. Now if those physiologists are right who attribute this difference to the relaxation of the vocal chords of the larynx when π , κ , τ , are sounded, and the tension, and therefore vibration, of these same chords when the *mediæ* and similar consonants are pronounced, so that with these latter there is a more perfect sound; perhaps the names *surd* and *sonant*, adopted in some of our Sanskrit grammars, best express this distinction. In this sense the liquids are all sonant. In this they agree with the medial mutes; in being continuous, not explosive, they differ from them.

Can the comparison be carried further? Yes, if we exclude the *mundlaute* *r* and *l*, and confine our consideration to the three remaining liquids *m*, *ng*, and *n*. These, so far as the mouth alone is concerned, might be termed explosives, and as sonant explosives they would identify themselves with β , γ , δ , which they closely resemble. Thus in sounding both *b* and

m, the tongue lies passive, and the lips are tightly closed, so that no breath escapes thence. Comparing the final consonants of *rug* and *rung*, we find in each that, while the mouth is open, the body of the tongue is pressed against the palate, and thus the orifice of the mouth is completely stopped. So is it with *d* and *n*, to sound both of which the *tip* of the tongue is pressed against the palate, and, though the mouth is open, no exit is afforded for the breath. Thus these letters pair off most amicably, the difference in each case being the following.

In the English language the liquids *m*, *n*, and *ng*, and in other languages these same sounds or such modifications of them as occur, *alone* are sounded by the aid of the nasal cavity. All others, including the remaining liquids *r* and *l*, are what Heyse calls *mouth-sounds*. More accurately thus: in pronouncing *m*, *n*, and *ng*, the pendulous portion of the *velum palati* is lowered, so that the breath passes through the nose instead of through the mouth. In sounding *all* the other letters, vowels included, this soft palate is raised so as to touch the back of the pharynx, and thus the nasal cavity is entirely closed. Yet not entirely in the case of those persons, either on this or on the other side of the Atlantic, who speak with what is not unaptly termed a "nasal twang."

To distinguish the nasal from the non-nasal letters, a simple but decisive experiment is to hold, while sounding any vowel or consonant, a small looking-glass (or the blade of a penknife, or any similar object presenting a polished surface, and *cold*) horizontally against the upper lip, with the bright surface upwards; this surface will then be dulled by the breath only when *m*, *n*, and *ng* are produced, or when there is the "nasal twang*." While trying this experiment, we cannot fail to perceive how, the moment the *velum palati* is

* This suggestion has already been made by the present writer in a few observations on a part of this subject that have appeared in the *Adversaria* of the Cambridge Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology, No. 6, p. 333. But the presumed interest of the subject as a whole to the general philologist, seemed to warrant its somewhat fuller treatment in a more appropriate place.

lowered, *b* changes into *m*, *d* into *n*, and *g* (hard) into *ng*; or, when we raise it, *m* is turned into *b*, *n* into *d*, and *ng* into *g*.

But the fact that these consonants are related in some such way is sufficiently established by the experience of any one who is suffering from a bad cold in the head, such experience not being pleasant, but profitable nevertheless to the philologist. At such a time *made* becomes *bade*; *tongue*, *tug*; *pain*, *paid*; and so forth. In the Welsh and Irish languages moreover this affinity of *b*, *d*, *g* (hard), to *m*, *n*, *ng*, is fully recognized, the change from the former to the latter being termed "aspiration" in the grammars; but I have nowhere met with a satisfactory attempt to explain the exact nature of this affinity.

We have now, I hope, succeeded in fixing the relation of *ng* to *g*; showing it at the same time to be fully coordinate with *n* and *m*,—not less a liquid than either of these, nor on the other hand, as it has been I think inaccurately described, "a more complete nasal."

As to *r* and *l*, which differ so materially from *m*, *n*, and *ng*, it seems to be not a happy arrangement by which, in the classification of the alphabet, these are all herded together. It would seem far preferable that these two non-nasals should retain the name by which they were known to the Greek grammarians, of *semivowels* (ἡμίφωνοι). This name we now commonly apply only to *w* and *y*, but in fact *r* and *l* (and indeed the sibilants also) approach quite as nearly as do they to the nature of vowels: they can just as readily be sounded by themselves, and with just as little use of the more active organs of speech; and they as readily combine with other consonants to form what almost seems a single articulation; so that if, notwithstanding the presence of the *w* or the *y* in the spoken words *dwell* and *thwack*, or *duke* and *newt*, we may yet consider them as all but bilaterals (disregarding vowels of course in the use of this term), so we may regard *trap* and *drill*, or *gleam* and *flat*, notwithstanding the presence of the *l* or the *r*.

At length therefore we are in a position to consider why "cuphony" changes μέμλεται into μέμβλεται, contracts ἀνέρος

into *ἀνδρός*, and so forth. In the transition from the μ to the λ , and from the ν to the ρ , besides the other changes in which the lips and tongue are concerned, the *velum palati* must be raised to close the nasal orifice. In fact, therefore, the process is divided in such instances as these before us, and the transition made by halves, the orifice being closed first, and the other changes effected afterwards. But thus, we find at the intermediate stage of the transition, the *m* has become *b*, the *n*, *d*, and the *ng*, *g*; and this constitutes the so-called euphonic insertion of the mute*.

It cannot fail to be observed, that as yet it has been assumed that the Greek β and δ were equivalent to our *b* and *d*; although those letters are pronounced by the modern Greeks much more like our *v* and sonant *th*; and it is at least probable, as is Matthiæ's opinion, that they have preserved the true ancient pronunciation of these letters. But if we adopt this supposition, and these consonants—classed by the grammarians with the *ἄφωνα*—were thus, to use Plato's expression, *φωνήεντα μὲν οὐ, οὐ μέντοι γε ἄφθογγα*, being continuous instead of explosive; then, inasmuch as the orifice of the mouth will not be quite closed in pronouncing them, the resemblance that they bear to *m* and *n* respectively becomes somewhat less marked; yet the difference is but slight, and they will still, as to the precise mode of their articulation, occupy an intermediate place between *m* or *n* and the succeeding non-nasal consonant.

The individual phænomena upon which light seems to be thrown by the foregoing remarks, are readily divisible into the following classes:—

I. Those in which the mute is inserted between a nasal liquid and a following consonant. Of this kind are the Greek words already discussed, with several others—*ἄμβρο-*

* Since this paper was read to the Society, a friend has informed me that I have been anticipated in these views—to what extent I am not aware—by a German writer little known on our side of the Channel. In 1838, H. E. BINDSEIL published at Hamburg the first, and as yet only, volume of his '*Abhandlungen zur allgemeinen vergleichenden Sprachlehre,*' the first Part of which is specially devoted to a consideration of the Physiology of vocal sounds.—I. *Physiologie der Stimm- und Sprachlaute.* II. *Ueber die verschiedenen Bezeichnungsweisen des Genus in den Sprachen.*

τος, σινδρός, μεσημβρία, &c.; and the numerous analogous instances furnished by other ancient or modern European languages; Lat. *templum*, Fr. *viendrai*, &c. Of similar words a large collection may be found in Pott. Of the *g* thus inserted, the French *épinde* is the only example I have met with. Derived from the Lat. *spinula*, it assumes the forms *espinule*, *épinule*, *épinle*. In the last of these the second syllable terminates with the well-known French nasal akin to the English and German *ng*, though weaker, and thus more resembling the Sanscrit *anuswāra*. From this sound to the *l* there is then a transition which is broken by the insertion of the *g*. The French *ébranler*, like the English *ringlet*, the Germ. *jüngling*, &c., does not take the mute.

II. Those in which a vowel intervenes, at least in the word as spoken, between the nasal liquid of the root and the sequent consonant, the euphonic mute being still inserted. Of this we see examples in the Eng. *number*, *tumble*, &c., where the *b* belongs not to the root. Also in *cinder*, *gender*, *thunder*, *gander**, *t-run-dle*, &c.; in which a radical *n* is supported by its cognate but exotic *d*. And thus we may explain the difference in the pronunciation of the *ng* in such a pair of words as the English *younger* and its German equivalent *jünger*. In the latter the *ng* represents one simple sound, and in this comparative, as in *älter*, *stärker*, and the Engl. *broader*, *wiser*, &c., we find nothing anomalous; the regular comparatival termination being appended immediately to the root. But in the comparatives of English adjectives in *-ng*,

* "With regard to the *d* in *gander*," writes Dr. Latham, "it is not easy to say whether it is inserted in one word or omitted in the other [*gans*]." (Handbook, 2nd edition, p. 214.) The analogy of the other similar words mentioned in the text gives a high degree of probability to the former supposition; and this is confirmed by the great rarity, if not non-existence, of precisely analogous instances of an omitted *d*, and by the long list of cognate words in various Indo-European languages, in none of which a *d* is found, except where an *r* is affixed, as in the A.-S. *gandra* and the Engl. and Low Germ. *gander*. Eichhoff, Pott, and Dr. Latham himself, furnish the following:—Sanc. *hansa*, *hansí*; Pers. *kay*; Greek *χῆν*; Lat. *anser* (and *gan-lus*); Germ. *gans* and *hahn*; O.H.G. *kans*; M.H.G., a masculine form *ganazzo*; Lith. *zasis*, and several others.

we insert between the root and the termination *-er*, the hard *g*, which, as has been above shown, is the explosive mute akin to the nasal *ng*; and the *young-g-er*, *long-g-er*, *strong-g-er*, which result, are precisely analogous formations to *number* and *cinder*.

But as the *ng* in *younger* does not stand for the simple nasal liquid as in *young*, but for that liquid + its cognate mute; if we search in the direction thus indicated, may we not find other instances besides the French *épingle*, in which the ear, if not the eye, can discover an insertion of the mute between two consonants, without an intervening vowel, just as in ἄμβροτος and ἄνδρός? *Wrangler*, pronounced *wrang-g-ler*, contains a hard *g* which does not belong either to the root *wring*, or to the termination; so does *hungry*, if the Germans have preserved the earlier pronunciation of the noun *hunger*. Compare also the French *Hongrois* with the German *Ungar*. Examples of this kind, however, are not numerous; and with most of them there is a prior form, in which, as in *younger*, a vowel sound is interposed between the nasal liquid and the next consonant.

And here we may not unsuitably inquire what combinations of consonants there are, either with or without an intervening vowel, which thus invite the introduction of a mute. 1. *Mρ* takes the inserted *β* in ἄμβροτος, &c. 2. *Μλ* inserts *β* in μέμβλωκα, ἀμβλύνω for ἀμαλύνω, &c. 3. In the Latin *templum*, *ml* has taken *p*. 4. In Σαμφών from the Hebr. *Shimshōn*, and Τέμψα, *μς* has a *π* inserted according to our pronunciation, but a *b* (English) according to the pronunciation of the modern Greeks, who would read these words as *Sambzōn* and *Tem'bzα*. 5. *Mt* takes *p* in the Latin *emptus*, *sumptus*, &c. 6. In the Greek λάμβδα, derived from the Semitic name *lamed*, we find *β* inserted between *μ* and *δ*. 7. Chaucer's *Sompnour*, *dampnacioun*, &c., show the *p* inserted between two nasal liquids.

N gives us less variety. 1. Between *ν* and *ρ* there is a *δ* in ἄνδρός. 2. Our English verb to *trundle* shows the *d* between *n* and *l*.

Ng takes the additional sound of the hard *g*:—1. before *r* in *Hongrois*, *younger*, &c.; 2. before *l* in *wrangler*.

III. But again we find in many words in some modern languages, that a nasal liquid, which is not followed by any syllable, but is itself the final of the root, has its cognate mute appended. A familiar example is found in the English *hound* as compared with the Latin *can*, the Greek *κυν*, and the Sanskrit *śwan*. Such also are *comb* and *lamb*, though in these in modern English we do not sound the final consonant. It is indeed contended, on the authority of the old Sanskrit grammarians, that such forms as *hound*, *kind*, *tendo*, are older than the allied forms without the mute, and that the change which has occurred is one of subtraction rather than addition. To discuss this point now would be simply a digression: suffice to say therefore that there are forms in which beyond dispute the addition has taken place; such as *tyrant*, *ancient*, *Normandy*, Germ. *jemand*, *niemand*, &c.

A similar formation to that of *comb* from the biliteral root that may be traced in the Germ. *kamm* (primarily signifying a range of hills), the French *cime*, the Lat. *cum-ulus*, and the Greek *κύπτω* with its numerous offspring, is the Greek *τύμβος*. At least it seems probable that the root of this word is *τυμ*, as found in the Lat. *tumeo*, *tumulus*, &c.; and that the verb *τύφω*, from which Liddell and Scott derive it, is rather to be regarded as an imitative word of separate origin. The roots *τυμ* and *τυφ*, though resembling each other, as they express kindred notions, may yet be altogether independent of one another; the latter with its continuous non-nasal consonant being well-fitted—like multitudes of similar words (*e. g.* *θέω*, *τρέχω*, *curro*, A.-S. *yrnan*, Germ. *laufen*)—to convey that idea of visible motion, namely of the rising smoke, which is not inherent in the former.

Lastly under this head must be mentioned words terminating in *-ng*, as *king* and *song*, when pronounced as in some parts of England, *kingg* and *songg*. But in *young* and the Germ. *jung*, when we trace them back to their origin, we find reason to believe that the process by which *kingg* and *songg* have assumed a guttural that does not belong to them, is in this word, in the later stages of its growth, reversed. Supposing the radical form to be the Sanskrit *yuvan* or the Lat.

juven, the middle consonant first becomes fully vocalized in such a form as the Lith. *jaunas* and in the Lat. *junior* for *juvenior*; a guttural is then added in the Gothic *juggs* (pronounced *junggs*, the doubled *g* being = $\gamma\gamma$ in Greek), the O. H. G. *junk* and the M. H. G. *junc* (the Engl. *younker* being evidently derived from some such form), and this guttural is again dropped in A.-S. *geong*(?), Engl. *young*, and N. H. G. *jung*.

IV. A fourth class of facts are supplied by some of the dialects of Western Africa, in which a great number of words may be found to begin with a suppressed vowel sound followed by a nasal liquid and a mute. In these it seems most probable that of the two consonants only one is radical and the other euphonic. The combinations are those of *m* with *b* or *p*; of *n* with *t*, *d*, or its compound *j*; and of *ng* with *g* or *k*; as exhibited in the Dualla *'mbenga*, dove; *'mpimba*, nose; *'ndabo*, house; *'ngodi*, girdle—or *'nggodi*, as the compiler of the fragmentary Isubu grammar writes such words, the *ng* being sounded as in the English *younger*. The nasal liquid is in this class of words always followed by its cognate surd or sonant explosive mute, each being distinctly pronounced (continuous mutes are apparently unknown to these languages except in imported words).

V. It is doubtless owing to the close affinity between the labial pair of these letters, that in the etymology of the languages just alluded to, the Dualla and the Isubu, these letters have one function so much in common. In six out of seven classes of plural nouns, the plural prefix begins with an *m* or a *b*. And compare the Kafir plural prefixes *aba* and *ama*.

But in like manner numerous instances may be adduced of the interchange of these letters, and not of the labial pair alone, but of the palatals and gutturals also.

1. *M* and *b* or *p* are apparently thus interchanged in the following words: Germ. *bad*, Engl. *bath*, Sanskr. *mid*, Lat. *ma-deo*, Lith. *maudau*: Germ. *burg*, Engl. *borough*, Sanskr. *mur*, Lat. *murus*: Germ. *weib*, Engl. *womb*, Germ. *wamme*; also in *husband* for *house-man*; and more clearly in certain cases where an *r* or *l* follows, as $\beta\lambda\acute{\iota}\tau\tau\omega$ from $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota$, &c. (See Eichhoff, and Key on the Alphabet.)

2. *N* is interchanged with the palatal mutes in the Sanskr. *navan*, Lat. *novem*, Lith. *dewyni*, Russ. *dewiat'* ; in the Greek roots $\mu\alpha\theta$ and $\mu\epsilon\nu$, &c. (See Key.)

3. The consonantal sound with which our word *tongue* closes, and which we have in the Germ. *zunge*, is not found in the cognate verbs, the Engl. *lick*, Germ. *lecken*, O. H. G. *lekon*, Goth. *laigon*, Greek $\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\chi\omega$, Sanskr. *lih*. And as in the Sanskrit form of this root, the nasal is substituted by the softened guttural *h*, so in Gothic we find *juhiza* as equivalent to the O. H. G. *jungiro* and N. H. G. *jünger*. Compare also the French *join-d-re* with the Greek root $\zeta\epsilon\nu\gamma$, and the Lat. *jugum*.

But perhaps in most or all of these cases, if the interchange is real, and the words in question are not derivatives of roots of independent origin simulating affinity, such interchange is indirect and may be referred to euphonic causes. Thus the root *jug* being strengthened, as is the case in several words shortly to be alluded to, by the insertion of the allied nasal, becomes *jung* (the verb being doubtless pronounced *jung-go*), and the newcomer now ousts the original guttural mute to form the French *join-t**, &c. So in the root *lih*, *lick*, $\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\chi$, &c., the same nasal being inserted gives the various forms *lingua*, Celt. *dingua*, Goth. *tuggo* (pronounced *tung-go*), O. H. G. *zunka*, Swedish *tunga*, N. H. G. *zunge*, Low Germ. *tunge*, Engl. *tongue*; the original guttural being quite lost in the last three or four of these. Very similarly may we trace the growth of the German forms *menge* and *Pfingsten* from primitives in which this nasal is not found. They do, however, contain another nasal for which *ng* has been substituted. The former of these words is from the O. H. G. *managi*, allied to the Engl. *many*, &c. Here the vowel of the second syllable being dropped, euphony required an exchange of nasal liquids, and finally the guttural was lost from pronunciation. So in

* It may be observed in passing, that this French *anuswāra* may represent as a final any one of the nasal liquids: thus it is substituted for the true labial *m* in *chambre* from *camera*, *champ* from *campus*, *impur* from *impurus*; it stands for *n* in *chanvre* from *cannabis*, *chanter* from *cantare*, *bon* from *bonus*; and for *ng* in *point* from *punctum*, *éteindre* from *extinguo*, *plandre* from *plango*, and so forth.

Pfingsten from the Greek *πεντηκοστή*, syncope produced some such form as *πεν-κοστη*, necessarily modified into *peng-koste*; then the *k* is dropped, and the Low German *pingsten*, M. H. G. *pfingesten*, and N. H. G. *Pfingsten* result.

VI. Familiar to every Greek scholar are the numerous cases in which the mute is the radical, and the liquid the auxiliary; such as *μανθάνω*, *λανθάνω*, *πένθος*, &c. And as the *θ* here represents in some sort its kinsman *δ*, which we have generally hitherto found combining with the *n*; so instead of the combination *μβ* we have *μφ* in *ρίμφα* and *ρίμφαλέος*, *dashing*, from the root *ρίπ*. *Μβ* occurs however in *λαμβάνω*, *θάμβος* (and the Latin *plumbum*), and *τύμπανον*, pronounced by the modern Greeks *tēem'banōn*, with *π* = the English *b*; in all of which the *μ* does not belong to the root. The inserted *ng* we find in *λαγχάνω* from *λαχ*, and *τυγχάνω* from *τυχ*; as well as in the Lat. *jungo* and Goth. *tuggo*, which have been already discussed.

But can this insertion be anyway accounted for? I think so, if we bear in mind that in the class of Greek verbs just mentioned, the short form is used chiefly and almost exclusively in the 2nd Aorists, tenses which represent the action of the verb at once in its completeness; the form with the liquid belongs only to the imperfect tenses, which represent the action as prolonged or habitual. It is that the sound may answer to the sense, that to express the idea in the latter form, the sound of the word is prolonged by the strengthening of the already continuous mute by another continuous consonant, its cognate liquid. Similarly, it is that the mind may dwell on the notion which the word conveys to it, that the sound is thus strengthened in *βένθος*, *τύμπανον*, *plumbum*, &c. And may we not thus account for the fact that the participial termination *t* or *d*, the simple explosive mute, is so extensively used in the Indo-European languages for the perfect tense, and the form in *nt* or *nd* for the imperfect? Let us compare the two following lists.

1. Perfect participles.—Sansk. *āpt-a(s)*, Gr. *βιωτ-ός*, Lat. *lect-us*, Fr. *couvert*, Germ. *geliebt*, O. H. G. *giladot*, Dutch *gedrukt*, A.-S. *gelufod*, Lith. *lēt-as*, Engl. *loved* and *learnt*.

2. Imperfect participles.—Sanskr. *pachant* (in declension), Gr. *τύπτοντ-ος* (pronounced *tēp'tōndōs* by the modern Greeks with $\tau =$ the English *d*), Lat. *amant-is* and *amand-us*, Fr. *allant*, Germ. *liebend*, Low Germ. *lewent* (in such a phrase as *dat Lewent* = Engl. “infinitive in *-ing*,” *living*), Goth. *stigands*, Du. *woonende*, A.-S. *tellende*, Lith. *lejand*; Engl. *telling*, or in the midland counties *tellingg*.

The prolonged sound of the termination in words of the latter class, as contrasted with the rapidity with which that of the others is dismissed, seems to render such forms very appropriate for their office of expressing an action as still continued and incomplete.

VII. The explanation above offered of the affinity of *m* with *b* will fully account also for the μ substituted for β in *ἐρεμνός* and *σεμνός*. The roots being *ερεβ* and *σεβ*,—and the Hebrew language proves this in one case, and the Sanskrit in the other,—the termination *-νος* is to be appended. But the *ν* is a nasal liquid, that is, it is sounded with the *velum palati* lowered. This may be lowered therefore after the β is pronounced; but it is much easier to effect this change in the position of the organs at the opportunity which the preceding vowel affords, and to sound both the consonants that intervene between the ϵ and \omicron with the organs as much as possible in the same position, that is, with the nasal cavity open for them both; the first consonant being assimilated to the second, according to the rule of the Greek language, rather than the second to the first; and hence *ἐρεμνός*, *σεμνός*. A like change is effected by the letter *n* in the Swedish *hamn* and its derivatives and compounds. Here the termination *-n* is appended to a root ending in *v* or *f*, the root being doubtless found in the Danish *hav*, German *haff*, and Swedish *haf*; whence are derived *havn* in Danish, *hafen* in German, and *haven* in English. But contact with *n* has in the Swedish word changed the labial mute into the labial nasal liquid.

VIII. There are, however, some instances of a mute inserted where the first consonant is not a nasal liquid, but a sibilant.

The first is the adjective *ἐσθλός*,—if at least we adopt the opinion of Jelf, Donaldson, and others, that the Doric *ἐσλός*

is the original form. Then the θ is thus derived. I assume its common pronunciation among ourselves to be the true one, being that of our surd *th*, as it is pronounced by the modern Greeks. It may then be remarked, that the formation of the three sounds of *s*, *th*, and *l*, requires the tongue to be pressed against the teeth for the first, to touch the anterior part of the palate for the second, and to touch the palate again further back for the third; so that in the transition from *s* to *l*, the tongue passes by, if not actually through, the very position that is necessary to pronounce the *th*. Hermann however identifies this word, and I think rightly, with the German *edel*; and if this be allowed, so that $\epsilon\theta\lambda$ is the root, like the Anglo-Saxon *æðel* (*æthel*), and the Doric form stands for $\acute{\epsilon}\theta\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$ as $\sigma\acute{\iota}\acute{o}\varsigma$ for $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\acute{o}\varsigma$, the problem to solve will be to account for the σ prefixed to the θ of the root. This is not easy; though we may at least assert that the strengthening of the θ by the cognate semivowel σ is analogous to that of the mute by an inserted nasal liquid in $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\mu\pi\alpha\nu\omega\nu$, $\tau\upsilon\gamma\chi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$, &c. Whether in $\iota\sigma\theta\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$, $\acute{\iota}\mu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\lambda\eta$, $\mu\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\mu\alpha$, ($\tau\upsilon\pi\pi\acute{\iota}$)- $\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha$, &c., the σ or the θ is the radical, is perhaps not readily determined.

A second case is that of Μεστραΐμ , as the name appears in Manetho's fragments apud Syncellum, though the LXX. write the name Μεσραΐμ or -ίν without the τ . This τ may have been derived directly from the Hebrew *tsade* of the original word, so that Μεστραΐμ is but varied by metathesis for Μετσραΐμ , which to Greek organs of speech would be an impossible form. If on the other hand, as seems more probable, the τ is simply euphonic, its introduction may be explained just as that of the θ in $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$: it serves in precisely the same way as a stepping-stone from the sibilant to the succeeding consonant. A parallel case is the Ἔσδρας of the LXX. for the Hebrew *Ezrā*, where however the *z* is *zayin*, not *tsade*.

From this point of view let us examine the Latin *castrum*. The root I believe to be the biliteral *cas**, found also in *casa*

* Dawson and Rushton, in their Terminational Dictionary, divide the word *ca-stra*. I venture to think this a mistake. They err in the other

and the Croatic *kuzha*, and easy to be identified by the aid of Grimm's Law with the Germ. *haus*, A.-S. *hús*, Engl. *house*, &c. Is then *-trum* the termination? I think not: I believe *-trum*, wherever its force can be distinctly seen, marks the instrument, as is laid down by Professor Key in his Latin Grammar. I would therefore hazard the conjecture, that *cas-lum* or *cas-ulum* was the original form, signifying primarily a little house, *i. e.* a tent or hut, that element in short of which a camp will be composed; and then coming, through the associated military ideas, to signify a fortified dwelling, and hence a fort. Suppose this so. We know that no word either in Greek or Latin begins with *sl*, and that this was scarcely a tolerable combination to the Greek or Latin mouth. A *t* was therefore inserted, on the principles above explained, *stl* being (in both these languages) a possible group of consonants,—yet not a favourite combination, and the *l* was therefore changed into *r* to facilitate pronunciation, as in the very similar old French forms *apostre* from *apostolus*, *epistre* from *epistola*, and numerous other examples. (See Key on the Alphabet, p. 73.)

III.—MISCELLANEOUS ENGLISH ETYMOLOGIES.

BY HENSLEIGH WEDGWOOD, ESQ.

[Read April the 11th.]

GULL, a dupe; to *gull*, to deceive, to make a dupe of. A metaphor taken from the utter helplessness of a young bird, still provincially called a gull. Wilbraham (Cheshire Glossary) says that all nestling birds in quite an unfledged state are called 'naked gulls,' doubtless from the yellow tint of the naked skin about the beak and other parts; Icel. *gulr*, Dan.

direction in the case of *astrum*, of which they make *ast* the root and *rum* the termination; though the Germ. *stern*, the English *star*, the Greek *ἀστὴρ*, the Sanskrit *tārā*, &c. all prove that the *r* in this case belongs to the root.

gull, yellow. In Surrey the term is commonly applied to a gosling. In the same way the Fr. *béjaune*, the proper meaning of which is a young bird (yellow-beak), is used in the sense of a novice or simpleton; *béjaunage*, *béjaunise*, simplicity, inexperience, doltishness (Cotgr.). Another variation of the metaphor designates the dupe as a pigeon, originally signifying a young bird, from Lat. *pipio*, 'a young pipping or chirping bird, a squab' (Andrews). Hence It. *pippione*, passing into *piccione* (as *sappia* and *saccia* from *sapere*, *abbia* and *aggia* from *habere*), applied to the young pigeon in the same way as *fowl* to cocks and hens, or *bird* in sportsmen's language to the partridge. 'Pippione, a pigeon, a silly gull; pippionare, to pigeon, to gull one, to make one swallow a gudgeon.' (Florio.) Again, the Fr. *niais*, a nestling, is taken as the type of simplicity or folly. 'Niais, a nestling; hence a youngling, novice, ninny, a simple, witless and inexperienced gull.' (Cotgr.)

BEZONIAN. The Fr. *béjaune*, mentioned in the last article, is I doubt not the origin of the 'Bezonian' of our dramatists, commonly supposed to be derived from It. *bisogno*, want, *bisognoso*, necessitous, making the term equivalent to 'poor devil.' But this is not the sense of the Sp. *bisoño*, from whence doubtless the expression immediately comes, that term being applied to a raw recruit, novice, tyro, simpleton, 'incongru, *béjaune*, sot, niais.' (Nuñez.) The term *bisogni* was also applied in Italian to new-levied soldiers, and in the long Italian wars of the middle ages, when French, Spanish and Italians were mixed up together, any piece of military slang would pass with the utmost facility from one language to the other. The sound of the French *j*, being foreign to the two other languages, would naturally be represented by a *z*, as in the Piedmontese *bisó* from *bijou*, a jewel. The Italian, unskilled in French, says *zoli* for *joli*, *zour* for *jour*.

GOBLIN. The Goblin, under one name or another, was a superstition very widely spread over Europe in less instructed times. It was generally conceived as a supernatural being of small size, but of great strength, dwelling under ground, in mounds or desert places, not generally ill-disposed towards

man, and in some cases domesticating himself with him and rendering him service. Hence the frequent addition of a familiar appellation, as in Hob-goblin, Robin Goodfellow, Hob Thrush (Cotgr. in *v. Lutin*; Hob-drudge?). It was known in Germany by the name of Kobold, and was supposed particularly to frequent mines, where it is capriciously favourable or mischievous. The miners, says Adelung, who have always much to do with the Kobold, call him *Berg-geist*, *Berg-männchen* (which may be translated 'mine-ghost, mine-dwarf'), Matthew Kobalein. From the prevalence of the superstition among this peculiar class has arisen the name of the mineral *cobalt*, the value of which has only been discovered in modern times, being formerly only known as an incumbrance among valuable ores attributed to the ill-offices of the Kobold, whence the name is said to have arisen.

There can be no doubt that the name Kobold is identical with the Fr. *gobelin*, the habits of which are mentioned by Ordericus Vitalis, as quoted by Adelung: "Dæmon enim quem de Dianæ fano expulit adhuc in eadem urbe degit et in variis frequenter formis apparens neminem lædit. Hunc vulgus *gobelinum* appellat." He is known in Breton by the name of *gobilin*, and is there supposed to engage in household drudgery, to curry the horses of a night, for instance, like Milton's Lubber-fiend.

It is among the Celts probably that the origin as well of the name as of the superstition itself is to be looked for. The name in Welsh is *coblyn*, signifying in the first instance a knocker, from *cobio*, to knock, to thump; *cobiwr*, a knocker, a pecker; *coblyn y coed*, a woodpecker. The origin of the appellation seems to be indicated in a passage in which there is no reference to the name *goblin*, and the writer of which had probably never thought of any connexion between that word and the superstition he is describing. "People will laugh at us Cardiganshire miners," says a correspondent, quoted in 'Bridge's Guide to Llandudno,' "who maintain the existence of *knockers* in mines, a kind of goodnatured impalpable people, not to be seen, but heard, and who seem to us to work in the mines. The miners have a notion that these

knockers, or little people, as we call them" (compare G. *bergmännchen*) "are of their own tribe and profession, and are a harmless people who mean well."

It will be observed that the Kobold in Germany is peculiarly a miner's superstition, while Cardiganshire has been a mining district from the earliest period.

GAZETTE. Commonly derived from *gazzetta*, the name of a small Venetian coin supposed to be the price of the original newspaper. But the value of the *gazzetta* was so small ('not worth a farthing of ours,' Florio), that it never could have been the price either of a written or printed sheet. Schmeller was nearer the mark when he derived the word from *gazzetta*, the diminutive of *gazza*, a magpie, supposing that the image of that bird may have been impressed upon the earlier newspapers as the emblem of talkativeness. But without evidence of the supposed practice, a guess of this kind is worthless. Moreover, in the present instance the supposition is wholly unnecessary. The magpie is called *gazza* in Italian, as chatter-pie in English, from a widely-spread root representing a chattering noise, which is exemplified in E. *chat*, *chatter*; Hung. *csatora* (*cs* = English *ch*), noise, racket, *csatorázni*, to make a noise, chatter, talk much, *csacsogni*, to chatter or prattle, *csacsogány*, a chatter-box, magpie, jackdaw; Pol. *gadać*, to talk, *gadu-gadu*, chit-chat, tittle-tattle; Fr. *gazouiller*, to twitter, to murmur; It. *gazzereare*, *gazzolare*, *gazzogliare*, *gazzettare*, to chatter as a pie or jay, to prate (Florio). Hence *gazzetta*, *gazzette*, 'all manner of idle chattings or vain prattlings, but now generally used for running reports, daily news, intelligences and advertisements as are daily invented and written unto foreign nations, viz. from Venice, Rome, and Amsterdam.' (Florio.)

The primitive meaning of the word then is simply *chit-chat*, the appropriateness of which may be illustrated from a late Number of the Quarterly Review on Advertisements: "At the same time, the public journals, it is clear, had not performed that part of their office which was really more acceptable to the country reader than any other—the retailing of the political and social chit-chat of the day." (No. 193. p. 204.)

BOWELS. Lat. *botulus*, a sausage; It. *budelle*; Venet. *buéle*; O. Fr. *boel*; Bret. *bouzellen*, plur. *bouzellou* or *bouellen*, *bouellou*, bowels. Perhaps named on account of the *βορβορυγμος* or rumbling sound which takes place in them, from Bret. *bouda*, to hum, to murmur, the equivalent of E. *buzz*. The W. *poten*, the belly, a pudding, is probably the same word, and may be illustrated by the Finn *potina*, gemurmel, a rumbling or murmuring, from *potista*, rauce ebullio ut puls fervida, mussito, dumpf tonen, murmeln. In like manner, in Icelandic the belly is termed *bumbr*, from *bumla*, to resound; Gr. *βομβυλιαζω*, to rumble, ventris murmur edo; *βομβυλη*, a narrow-mouthed guggling vessel. Probably *guts*, the proper English designation of the bowels, is derived from another imitation of the internal rumbling exhibited in Icel. *gutl*, by which is represented the agitation of liquids in a vessel; 'at *gutla*, agitare liquida ut bilbiant,' to guggle.

His guttes begonne to *gothelen*

Like two greddy sowes.—P.P.

Plat. D. *guddern* is applied to the rattling sound of things falling in abundance, as apples from a tree, water pouring from a roof. The W. and Gael. *bru*, the belly, seem in like manner connected with It. *bruire*, to rumble; *il ventre mi bruisce*, my guts rumble (Altieri). So also Pol. *brzuch*, the belly, and *brzęczeń*, to hum, to buzz; Russ. *briučho*, belly, and *briuzchat*, to grumble.

To **BUCK.** A mode of preparation for washing formerly in universal use, by soaking the linen in a solution of wood ashes. The word was very generally spread. In G. it is *beuchen*, *buchen*, *büchen*, *büken*; Sw. *byka*; Dan. *byge*; Fr. *buquer*, *buer*; It. *bucatare*. The derivation has been much discussed. The more plausible suggestions are—1. Dan. *bög-asker*, the ashes of beech wood, chiefly employed in making potash; but the practice of bucking would have arisen long before any particular kind of wood was employed in procuring a supply of ashes. 2. It. *bucata*, buck-ashes, supposed to be derived from *buca*, a hole, because the ashes are strained through a pierced dish, whence the ashes for bucking, or the act of bucking itself, or the linen operated on, are called

colada in Spanish, from *colar*, to strain. But the analogy fails, because *bucare* does not appear ever to have been used in the sense of straining or filtering.

The true derivation is the Gael. *bog*, moist, soft, and as a verb, to steep, to soak, to soften; Bret. *bouk*, soft, tender, whence *boukaat*, to soften, doubtless originally to soak. In the same way It. *molle* signifies both moist and soft, and the Lat. *mollire*, to soften, is identical with Fr. *mouiller*, to wet.

The frequent interchange of *b* and *m* (as in W. *baban*, *maban*, a baby) leads us to identify the Celtic root with the Slavonic *mok*, wet, appearing in Eng. *muck*, *meeek*, and Lat. *macero*, as mentioned in a former paper. Hence Russ. *mokro*, wet, *moknut*, to become wet, *mochit*, to wet, to soak; Bohem. *mok*, a steep for flax; Pol. *moczyć* (*mochits*), to soak foul linen before washing. In Lat. *imbuere*, to soak, the root has lost the final guttural, as in Fr. *buée* for *buquée*.

Host, an army. This is one of the words, with respect to which little is gained by simply mentioning the origin without sufficient illustration to explain the mode in which it came to acquire the actual signification.

In the troubled times following the breaking up of the Roman empire, the first duty of the subject was to follow his lord into the field when called on by proclamation to march against the enemy. The demand for military service was expressed by the term 'bannire in hostem,' to order out against the enemy, as in an edict of Charlemagne quoted by Muratori, Diss. 26: 'Quicumque liber homo in hostem ban-nitus fuerit et venire contempserit, plenum heribannum componat,' *i. e.* as it is explained, '60 solidos solvat.' The term *hostis* then, which primarily indicated the enemy against whom the expedition was to be made, was compendiously used for the military service itself, and is frequently taken as synonymous with 'hostilis expeditio,' or 'exercitalis expeditio,' and is then used as a feminine noun. A supplication is addressed to Charlemagne, 'ne episcopi deinceps sicut hactenus vexentur *hostibus* (*i. e.* with demands of military service) sed quando nos in hostem pergimus' (which may be translated either, when we march against the enemy, or, when we proceed on military duty or

join the ranks), 'ipsi propriis resideant in parochiis.' The same immunity is expressed in a charter of A.D. 965: 'Nec ab hominibus ipsius ecclesiæ, hostilis expeditio requiratur.' 'Hostem facere' was to perform military service. In a law of Lothaire a certain fine is imposed on those who, having the means, neglect 'hostem bene facere,' while those are excused 'qui propter nimiam paupertatem neque per se hostem facere, neque adjutorium præstare possunt;' and the same sense is expressed in contemporary documents, 'qui in exercitalem ire possunt expeditionem.' In like manner in Italian, 'Boglio fare la hoste sopra Palestrina,' *Fragm. Hist. Rom. in Muratori*. 'Bandire hoste,' to proclaim war (*Florio*). The term would easily pass from signifying military service to the body of men engaged in such service, or to signify an army, and thence any numerous assemblage.

TOURNAMENT. Commonly explained from the combatants having to turn back their horses after each tilt to make a fresh charge, 'quia scilicet equos celeriter in orbem circumversant' (*Skinner*). But probably the signification has been attained by a somewhat different track. The peculiarity of a tournament was not so much the wheeling of the horses, which no doubt is one signification of Fr. *tournoyer*, but the fighting within a railed-off field, or lists, a 'champ clos,' as it was called in Fr. Now another meaning of Fr. *tournoyer*, as of It. *torneare*, is to surround or fence round; *torneamento*, a fence, hedge, enclosure; and hence probably it was that the term *torneo* or *torneamento* was applied to a combat within lists. An old Italian chronicler in *Muratori* (vol. iii.), speaking of the Black Prince at the battle of Crecy, says, 'Fece attorniare soa huoste con pali di ferro moito spessi ficcati in terra. Quesso attorniamiento fu fatto alla rotonna a modo di ferro da cavallo.'

TRADE. This is one of those cases, several of which have been previously pointed out, where a modern word has been formed from the coalescence of two others originally distinct, but resembling each other in sound, and of similar meaning in certain applications.

From Lat. *tractare*, to handle, transact, discuss, treat, was

formed It. *trattare*, to treat; Fr. *traiter*, to treat, handle, deal in or meddle with, debate, contract with (Cotgr.); Sp. *tratar*, to handle, treat on a subject, to discuss, to manage, to traffic, to trade (Newman and Baretti). Hence *trato*, treatment, intercourse, trade, traffic, commerce; Fr. *traite*, a draught, course, trace, proceeding, also a transportation, outward vent or shipping over (Cotgr.). ‘La traite des noirs,’ the slave trade. At the same time, from a totally different action, expressed by A.-S. *tredan*, to tread, was formed A.-S. *trod*, a path, track, course; in O. E. *trade*, *trode*, *troad*.

Wyth wynd at wylle the *trad* held thai,
And in England com rycht swyth.—Wyntoun.

They say they con to heaven the highway,
But by my soul I dare undersay,
They never set foot in that same *troad*,
But balk the right way and strayen abroad.

Spenser, Shep. Cal.

So ‘trade wind,’ a wind preserving a certain course.

The word was then metaphorically used in the sense of course or habit of action:—

Tho would I seek for queen-apples unripe
To give my Rosalind, and in summer shade
Dight gaudy girlonds was my common *trade*
To crown her golden locks.—Shep. Cal.

It seems then to have been applied to any special course or mode of occupation by which a man earned his living, and thus came to signify handicraft or mercantile business, as distinguished from agricultural labour, the common lot of the mass in less advanced times. It now became confounded with Sp. *trato* and Fr. *traite*, and attracted to itself the signification of commerce or traffic properly belonging to the Roman derivation.

IV.—ON A ZAZA VOCABULARY. BY DR. H. SANDWITH.
COMMUNICATED BY DR. R. G. LATHAM.

[Read May the 23rd.]

The following vocabulary is one taken by Dr. H. Sandwith from a Kurd of the Zaza tribe, one of the rudest of the whole Kurd family, and one for which we have no philological specimens.

ENGLISH.	ZAZA.	ENGLISH.	ZAZA.
<i>head</i>	sèrè-min.	<i>bread</i>	noan.
<i>eyes</i>	tchim-emin.	<i>water</i>	āwè.
<i>eyebrows</i>	buruè-min.	<i>child</i>	katchimo.
<i>nose</i>	zinjè-min.	<i>virgin</i>	keinima.
<i>moustache</i>	simile-min.	<i>orphan</i>	lajekima.
<i>beard</i>	ardishè-min.	<i>morning</i>	shaurow.
<i>tongue</i>	zoanè-min.	<i>tree</i>	dori.
<i>teeth</i>	dildonè-min.	<i>iron</i>	asin.
<i>ears</i>	gushè-min.	<i>hare</i>	aurish.
<i>fingers</i>	ingishtè-min.	<i>greyhound</i>	taji.
<i>arm</i>	paziè-min.	<i>pig</i>	khooz.
<i>legs</i>	híngè-min.	<i>earth</i>	ert.
<i>father</i>	pie-min.	<i>fire</i>	adir.
<i>mother</i>	mai-min.	<i>stone</i>	see.
<i>sister</i>	wai-min.	<i>silver</i>	sém.
<i>brother</i>	brai-min.	<i>strength</i>	kote.
<i>the back</i>	pashtiai-min.	<i>sword</i>	shimshir.
<i>hair</i>	porè-min.	<i>a fox</i>	krèvesh.
<i>cold</i>	serdo.	<i>stag</i>	kivè.
<i>hot</i>	auroghermo.	<i>partridge</i>	zaraj.
<i>sun</i>	rojshwesho.	<i>milk</i>	shut.
<i>moon</i>	hashmè.	<i>horse</i>	istor.
<i>star</i>	sterrai.	<i>mare</i>	mahinè.
<i>mountain</i>	khoo.	<i>grapes</i>	eshkijshi.
<i>sea</i>	aho.	<i>a house</i>	kè.
<i>valley</i>	derèi.	<i>green</i>	kesk.
<i>eggs</i>	hoiki.	<i>crimson</i>	soor.
<i>a fowl</i>	kerghi.	<i>black</i>	siah.
<i>welcome</i>	tebèxairomè.	<i>white</i>	supèò.
<i>come</i>	bèiri.	<i>sleep</i>	rausume.
<i>stay</i>	ròshè.	<i>go</i>	shoori.

The meaning of the termination *-min* has been explained by Pott and Rödiger in their *Kurdische Studien*. It is the possessive pronoun of the first person = *my* = *meus* = $\epsilon\mu\delta\varsigma$, &c.; so that *sèrè-min* = *caput-meum* (or *mei*), and *pie-min* = *pater-meus* (or *mei*).

So little was the Zaza who supplied Dr. Sandwith with the list under notice able to conceive a *hand* or *father*, except so far as they were related to himself, or something else, and so essentially concrete rather than abstract were his notions, that he combined the pronoun with the substantive whenever he had a *part of the human body* or a *degree of consanguinity* to name. It is difficult to say how far this amalgamation is natural to the uncultivated understanding, *i. e.* it is difficult to say so on *à priori* grounds. That the condition of a person applied to for the purpose of making a glossary out of his communications is different from that under which we maintain our ordinary conversation, is evident. Ordinary conversation gives us a certain number of words, and a context as well. A glossary gives us words only, and disappoints the speaker who is familiar with contexts.

If this be true, imperfect contexts, like the combinations *pie-min*, &c. should be no uncommon occurrences. Nor are they so. They are pre-eminently common in the American languages. Thus in Mr. Wallace's vocabularies from River Uapes the list runs thus:—

ENGLISH.	UAINAMBEU.	JURI.	BARRÈ.
<i>head (my)</i>	<i>eri-bida</i>	<i>tcho-kereu</i>	<i>no-dusia</i> .
<i>mouth (my)</i> ..	<i>eri-numa</i> ..	<i>tcho-ia</i>	<i>no-nunia</i> .
&c.	&c.	&c.	&c.

similar illustrations being found in almost every American glossary.

In his Appendix to Macgillivray's *Voyage of the Rattlesnake*, the present writer pointed out instances of this amalgamation in the languages of the *Louisiade*. He now adds, that he has also found it in some of the samples of the ordinary Gipsy language of England, as he has taken it from the mouth of English gipsies.

He considers it to be a personal rather than a philological characteristic, certain individuals having a *minimum* amount of abstracting power, and such individuals being inordinately common amongst the American Indians.

V.—ON THE DERIVATION AND MEANING OF ἥπιος.

BY THEODORE AUFRECHT, Esq.*

[Read May the 9th.]

If we inquire for the older etymologies which have been given of ἥπιος, we gather from Eustathius, that some grammarians derived it from ἦδω : against these the learned bishop urges the objection, that they disregarded the mutes in *κατηπιόωντο* and in *ἐπί τ' ἥπια φάρμακα πάσσει*. Fol. 566, 40 (edit. rom.) : *καὶ σημειώσαι, ὡς ψιλούται τὸ ἥπιον. οὐ γὰρ λέγει καθηπιόωντο, ἀλλὰ ψιλῶς κατηπιόωντο. δῆλον δ' αὐτὸ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς ἐκ τοῦ ἐπί τ' ἥπια φάρμακα πάσσειν τῶν δέ γε μεθ' Ὀμηρὸν τινες ἐδάσυνον αὐτὸ, ἐκ τοῦ ἦδω παράγοντες*. Another explanation, generally adopted by modern lexicographers, is furnished by the *Etymologicum Magnum* : ἥπιος οὕτως πρότερον ἐκαλεῖτο ὁ Ἀσκληπιός· ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν τρόπων, ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης, καὶ τῆς τῶν χειρῶν ἠπιότητος· ᾧ καὶ γυναῖκα παραδίδωσιν Ἡπιόνην, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ γενέσθαι Ἰάσονα, Πανάκειαν· Δεκτίων ἐν ὑπομνήματι Λυκόφρονος. ἥπιος σημαίνει κυρίως τὸν λογισμὸν. Παρὰ τὸ ἔπω τὸ λέγω, ἔπιος καὶ ἥπιος, ὁ ἐν λόγῳ πάντα ποιῶν, καὶ μὴ πάθει. ἐκ μεταλήψεως δὲ καὶ ὁ διὰ λόγου προσηγῆς καὶ πρᾶος· καὶ ἠπιώτατος, ὁ ἐν λόγοις πρᾶότατος καὶ ἡσύχος. Supposing this derivation to be true, it would be strange, that while *εἰπεῖν* and *ἔπος* show everywhere an initial digamma in Homer, no trace of it should be preserved in ἥπιος. On the contrary, the absence of it is evident in verses like Δ. 830 :—

νῖζ' ὕδατι λιαρῶ, ἐπὶ δ' ἥπια φάρμακα πάσσει.—Θ. 40 :

πρόφρονι μυθέομαι· ἐθέλω δέ τοι ἥπιος εἶναι.

* This paper is sent simultaneously, in German, to Kuhn's Zeitschrift.

If the Greeks had ever felt that any connexion existed between *ἥπιος* and *εἰπεῖν*, we should have expected that the digamma would have alike remained in both words. Nor can I believe, that in such a case, Homer would have formed the adjective *ἥπιόδωρος*, or even later poets the epithet *ἥπιόχειρ*,—the literal rendering of which would be, “with whose hands one can speak.” Benfey’s derivation (*Wurzellexicon*, ii. 356) from the Sanskrit *vap* (to cut, to shave), may be conformable with the ideas of India, where lovers scratch and bite each other, but it has not been handed down to us that the Greeks manifested their affection in a similar manner. Ebel, in Kuhn’s *Zeitschrift*, iv. 447, not less arbitrarily compares *ἥπιος* with the Latin *pious*. This word is pronounced *piho* in Umbrian and Volscan, and still more fully, *piihio*, in the Oscan, which latter is very far from *ἥπιος**.

Homer employs *ἥπιος* as an attribute of persons, with the meaning of *kind, affable, complying*; and of things, in the sense of *soothing, congenial, useful*. It occurs in the following passages, Θ. 40. X. 184:—

θάρσει, Τριτογένεια, φίλον τέκος· οὐ νύ τι θυμῷ
πρόφρονι μυθέομαι· ἐθέλω δέ τοι ἥπιος εἶναι.

“I will comply with your wishes.” Ψ. 281:—

τοίου γὰρ κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἀπώλεσαν ἠνιόχοιο,
ἥπιου, ὃ σφῶν μάλα πολλάκις ὑγρὸν ἔλαιον
χαϊτάων κατέχευε, λοέσσας ὕδατι λευκῷ.

Ω. 770:— ἐκυρὸς δὲ πατὴρ ὡς ἥπιος αἰεί.

Ω. 775:— οὐ γάρ τίς μοι ἔτ’ ἄλλος ἐνὶ Τροίῃ εὐρείῃ
ἥπιος οὐδὲ φίλος, πάντες δέ με πεφρίκασιν.

β. 47:— πατέρ’ ἐσθλὸν ἀπώλεσα, ὅς ποτ’ ἐν ὑμῖν
τοῖσδεσσιν βασιλεε, πατὴρ δ’ ὡς ἥπιος ἦεν.

β. 230, 234 = ε. 8, 12:—

μή τις ἔτι πρόφρων ἀγανὸς καὶ ἥπιος ἔστω
σκηπτούχος βασιλεὺς, μηδὲ φρεσὶν αἴσιμα εἰδώς,

* Freund (*Lex. s. v.*), and Mommsen (*Unt. Dial. p. 287*) say that Cicero wrote *piius* instead of *pious*. Both copied this false statement out of Forcellini, without taking the trouble to verify what really stands in Quintilian, who only mentions *aiio* and *Maiia*.

ἀλλ αἰεὶ χαλεπός τ' εἶη καὶ αἴσυλα ῥέζοι,
ὡς οὔτις μέμνηται Ὀδυσσῆος θείοιο
λαῶν, οἰσιν ἄνασσε, πατὴρ δ' ὡς ἥπιος ἦεν.

κ. 337 :— ὦ Κίρκη, πῶς γάρ με κέλειαι σοὶ ἥπιον εἶναι

“To comply with your wishes.” λ. 441 :—

τῷ νῦν μήποτε καὶ σὺ γυναικί περ ἥπιος εἶναι.

ν. 314 :— τοῦτο δ' ἐγὼν εὖ οἶδ', ὅτι μοι πάρος ἠπήλη ἦσθα
εἴως ἐν Τροίῃ πολεμίζομεν υἱες Ἀχαιῶν.

ξ. 139 :— οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ἄλλον

ἥπιον ὧδε ἄνακτα κιχῆσομαι, ὅππός' ἐπέλθω,
οὐδ' εἴ κεν πατὴρ καὶ μητέρος αὐτίς ἴκωμαι
οἶκον.

ο. 152 :— ἦ γὰρ ἔμοιγε πατὴρ ὡς ἥπιος ἦεν.

ο. 490 :— ἐπεὶ ἀνδρὸς δώματ' ἀφίκεο πολλὰ μογήσας
ἥπιου, ὃς δὴ τοι παρέχει βρώσιν τε πόσιν τε.

Δ. 218 :— αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ἴδεν ἔλκος, ὅθ' ἔμπεσε πικρὸς οἶστος,
αἶμ' ἐκμυζήσας ἐπ' ἄρ' ἥπια φάρμακα εἰδὼς
πάσσε.

Λ. 515 :— ἱητρὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀντάξιος ἄλλων
[ἰοὺς τ' ἐκτάμνειν, ἐπὶ τ' ἥπια φάρμακα πάσσειν.]

Λ. 830 :— μηροῦ δ' ἕκταμ' οἶστον, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δ' αἶμα κελαινὸν
νίζ' ὕδατι λιαρῶ, ἐπὶ δ' ἥπια φάρμακα πάσσε.

Δ. 361 :— οἶδα γὰρ ὡς τοι θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φίλοισιν
ἥπια δήνεα οἶδε.

Compare Hesiod, Th. 236 :—

αὐτὰρ (Νηρέα) καλέουσι γέροντα
οὔνεκα νημερτῆς τε καὶ ἥπιος, οὐδὲ θεμιστέων
λήθεται, ἀλλὰ δίκαια καὶ ἥπια δήνεα οἶδεν.

ν. 327 :—

Τηλεμάχῳ δέ κε μῦθον ἐγὼ καὶ μητέρι φαίην
ἥπιον, εἴ σφωὶν κραδίη ἄδοι ἀμφοτέροισιν.

Π. 73 :—

τάχα κεν φεύγοντες ἐναύλους
πλήσειαν νεκύων, εἴ μοι κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων
ἥπια εἰδείη.

“Had been kind towards me,” v. 405. o. 39:—

αὐτὸς δὲ πρῶτιστα συβώτην εἰσαφικέσθαι,
ὅς τοι ὑῶν ἐπιούρος, ὁμῶς δέ τοι ἦπια οἶδεν,
παῖδά τε σὸν φιλέει καὶ ἐχέφρονα Πηνελόπειαν.

o. 557:—

συβώτης

ἐσθλὸς ἐὼν ἐνίαυεν, ἀνάκτεσιν ἦπια εἰδῶς.

Z. 251:—

ἐνθα οἱ ἠπιόδωρος ἐναντίη ἤλυθε μήτηρ.

The post-Homeric writers do not differ in the application of ἦπιος, except that they use it more freely as an epithet of things. Thus Hesiod, Op. 787:—

ἀλλ' ἐρίφους τάμνειν καὶ πῶεα μῆλων,
σηκόν τ' ἀμφιβαλεῖν ποιμνήϊον ἦπιον ἦμαρ.

“A day suitable for—” Soph. Phil. 691:—

ὅς τὰν θερμοτάταν αἵμαδα κηκιομέναν ἐλκέων
ἐνθήρου ποδὸς ἠπίοισι φύλλοις
κατευνάσειεν, etc.

*Ἠπιος seems to me to be derived from a verb, just as ἅγιος is from ἄζω, ἄρκιος from ἀρκέω, ἀσπάσιος from ἀσπ'ίζομαι, κλόπιος from κλέπτω, μειλίχιος from μειλίσσω, σφάγιος from σφάζω. As ἅγιος agrees in every point with the Sanskrit *yajya* (*sacrificio colendus*), so does ἦπιος correspond with the Sanskrit *āp̄ya*, of which I shall treat presently. The root of both words is *āp*, to obtain, to acquire, which in Sanskrit appears in this form, but in Latin as *ap̄*. Ἠπιος might be explained as *obtainable, accessible, easy to be got at*, from which the meaning of *kind* would develop itself, just as in *εὐπρόσοδος*; but I prefer to take another way. The original meaning of *apiscor* is not *I get*, but *I tie for myself*. In the primæval state of civilization, when cattle* formed the only property, a man *acquired* it by tying up under his own roof cows and horses which he had either found in a wild state, or taken in incursions into the enemy's territory. This meaning of *apiscor* rests upon the following facts. In the first instance we have *aptus*, which very commonly signifies *joined, connected with* (*apta et connexa, apta et cohærentia*, Cic.), and the verb *apere*, to tie, is recorded by Festus and Servius. Festus apud

* *Pecus* itself means *alligatum*.

Paul. Diac. p. 16: *Apex*, qui est sacerdotum insigne, dictus est ab eo, quod *comprehendere antiqui vinculo aperē dicebant*. Servius ad Virg. *Æn.* x. 270: *Aperē* veteres ritu flaminum alligare dicebant, unde apicem dictum volunt*. Taking this meaning of the root *ap* as my basis, I believe that ἥπιος signified originally *connected*, connected by the ties of kindred or society, and that its usual meaning sprang from that source. I may remind my hearers, that the English *kind* owes its meaning to a similar process.

This etymology is supported by two words which occur frequently in the Vaidic Sanskrit: *âpya*, kindred and akin, and *âpī*, akin. I give a few instances.

1. *âpya*, kindred, relationship.

Rv. i. 105, 13: Agne tava tyad ukthyam deveshv asty âpyam. "O Agni, thy relationship to the gods is worthy of being praised."

viii. 10, 3: Yayor asti pra nah sakhyam deveshv adhy âpyam. "Whose friendship to us, whose relationship to the gods, is intimate."

viii. 27, 10: Asti hi vah sajâtyam riçâdaso devâso asty âpyam. "O gods, destroyers of our enemies, you sprang from the same parents and family."

2. *âpya*, a relation.

Rv. vii. 15, 1: Upasadyâya mîlhusa âsye juhutâ havis,
Yo no nedishtham âpyam.

"Pour the ghee into the mouth of the revered liberal Agni, who is our nearest relation."

vii. 32, 19: Nahi tvad anyan maghavan na âpyam vasyo asti pitâ cana.

"For no other relation, not even our father, is more liberal to us, than thou, O Indra."

viii. 86, 7: Mâ na indra parâ vrinag, bhava nah sadhamâdyah.

Tvam na ûtî, tvam in na âpyam, ma na indra parâ vrinak.

* Compare also Paulus Diac. exc.: *ape* apud antiquos dicebatur prohibe, compece.

“Do not repel us, O Indra, but partake of our rejoicings ; thou art our help and friend : O Indra, do not repel us.”

3. *âpî*, akin, related.

iv. 25, 6 : Nâsushver âpir na sakhâ na jâmir dushprâvyo 'vahanted avâcas.

“Indra is neither a relation, nor friend, nor brother, to a man who does not sacrifice to him ; he hears not, but destroys, a man who does not praise him.”

iv. 41, 2 : Indrâ ha yo varunâ cakra âpî devau martah sakhyâya prayasvân,

Sa hanti vritrâ samitheshu çatrûn.

“The mortal who makes Indra and Varuna his friends by offering oblations, destroys in the battle all enemies.”

vi. 45, 17 : Yo grinatâm id âsitha âpir ûtî çivah sakhâ Sa tvam na indra mrilaya.

“O Indra, who provest thyself a near relation and true friend to all who praise thee, prosper us.”

If we except the neuter gender, which is peculiar to the Sanskrit, as for instance also in *mitra*, friend, *vritra*, enemy, it is clear that the above-mentioned *âpya*, a relation, agrees in every respect with ἡπιος.

VI.—ON THE AFFIX OF THE WELSH DEGREE OF EQUALITY. BY THEODORE AUFRECHT, ESQ.

[Read May the 9th.]

The terminations of the Welsh comparative and superlative ending in *ach* and *af* agree with the same in the Armorican, formed by *och* and *a*, for which latter the ancient language shows *af*. We have, for instance, in Welsh :—

gwenn, white. *gwennach*, whiter. *gwennaf*, whitest.

In Armorican *gwenn*, „ *gwennoch*, „ *gwenna(f)* „

These terminations have been rightly compared with the Latin *ior* (*ios*), and *imus* in such forms as *minimus*, *infimus*.

The Welsh has, besides, a peculiar degree of comparison, which, according to the native grammarians, expresses either *equality* or *admiration*, and is translated in English by *as*, *so*, or *how* with the positive. This degree is formed from the positive by affixing the syllable *ed*, observing the same rules as in the derivation of the comparative and superlative. We have therefore, for instance :—

POSITIVE.	COMPARATIVE.	SUPERLATIVE.	EQUAL.
glan, <i>pure</i>	glanach	glanaf	glaned.
hardd, <i>handsome</i>	harddach	harddaf	hardded.
main, <i>thin</i>	meinach	meinaf	meined.
crwn, <i>round</i>	crynach	crynaf	cryned.
tlawd, <i>poor</i>	tlotach	tlotaf	tloted.
gwlyb, <i>wet</i>	gwlypach	gwlypaf	gwlyped.
rhad, <i>cheap</i>	rhatach	rhataf	rhated.
teg, <i>fine</i>	tecach	tecaf	teced.

In construction, the particles *cyn* or *can* (*as*, *so*), and in South Wales *mor* (*as*, *so*) are frequently, but not necessarily, placed before it: *daed*, or *cyn* (*can*) *ddaed*, or *mor ddaed*, as good. A few examples, extracted from the grammars of Owen Pughe and Rowland, will serve to illustrate the application of this form.

I. EQUALITY.

“*Cued ganddo ei bleser, fel na ddaw.*” His pleasure is so dear to him, that he will not come. “*Y mae cyn ddoethed, fel y gwyr y cwbl.*” He is so wise that he knows the whole. “*Dos ymaith (cyn) gynted ag y gelli.*” Go away as soon as you can. “*Rhedodd cyn gyflymed, fel na allodd ei ddal.*” He ran so fast that he could not be stopped. “*Y mae Arthur cyn hardded a Dafydd.*” Arthur is as handsome as David.

“*Am dy laned*

Bardd tuchaned

A griddfaned

Gwrdd ofynion.—W. Lleyn.

For thou art *so beautiful*, let a bard murmur, and let him loudly sigh his ardent wishes.

Fy march melyngan

Cyfred a gwylan.—Taliesin.

My steed of yellow-white, *as swift* as a sea-mew.

Drwg yw yn *dryced* an buchedd.—G. ab Gwrgeneu.

Evil it is to us that *so evil* our life.

Arien *deced*,

Eirian *drefred*,

Arwydd *codded*,

Am dy *giried*,

Er dy *garu*.—Gro. Dhu.

As the hoar *so fair*, of splendid state, the token of affliction, for thy pleasure, on account of loving thee."

II. ADMIRATION.

"*Wyned* yw'r eira! *Cyn wyned* yw'r eira!" *How white* is the snow! "*Duw anwyl, fyred* einioes!" My beloved Lord, *how short* is life!

"Merch brenin dwyrain a ddaeth i Frefi,

Wrth glywed *daed* tynged Dewi.—G. Brycheiniawg.

A daughter of the king of the east did come to Brevi, by hearing *how good* the destiny of Dewi.

Goddefwn, gwylwn *gwaeled* arnan

Gwyth gyman.—Ll. P. Moch.

Let us be patient, let us bewail *how wretched* upon us the contact of wrath.

Syniwn—

Dielwed fydd dyn y dydd y ganer.—G. ab yr Ynad Coch.

Let us consider *how helpless* is man the day he is born."

The second category appears to me quite identical with the first, and only qualified by the rhetorical accent which accompanies the sentence. The idea conveyed by saying "So short is life!" or, "Life is so short!" is much the same with "How short is life!" There is no reason to assume that the affix *ed* has in one case a demonstrative, in the other a relative or interrogative meaning.

The ancient Welsh preserves *et* instead of *ed* as the termination of the *equal*. I copy a passage in Zeuss's Celtic Gram-

mar, i. 307 :—“Notanda est post enumeratas terminationes gradationis Cambrica terminatio æqualitatis—ET, addita adjectivis, quibus præfigitur compositione part. *ky, kyn*, subditurque præp. *a, ac* (cum) : *niuer kyhardet a hwnnw* (congregatio æque splendens cum hac), Mab. i. 16: *gwas kynuonhedicket athi* (puer æque nobilis ac tu), i. 264: *achytristet oedynt ac agheu* (et æque tristes erunt cum morte), i. 36.”

A grammatical form so commonly used in one branch of the Celtic dialects, though not found in the others, cannot be without its parallel in the wider range of the Indo-European languages. I believe the Welsh *et* corresponds to the Sanskrit *vat*, with the loss of the initial *v*, in the same manner as in *oen*, pl. *wyn* (lamb), compared with Lat. *ovis*, Sanskrit *avi*, *ci* pl. *cwn* (dog), *κῶων*, Sanskrit *çvan*; *hūn* (sleep), Sanskrit *svapna*. The Sanskrit *vat** very commonly forms adverbs, expressing a similarity or likeness, as well from adjectives as substantives; I give a few instances :—“Sa çrigâla âtmânânam *mritavat* sandarçya sthitas.” The jackal pretended to be dead; literally, showing himself as (if) dead.—Rigveda, i. 124, 9.

“Tâh *pratnavan* navyasîr nûnam asme revad uchantu sudinâ ushâsas.” As in old times may the brilliant dawn appear again today with her glorious light.—Rv. ii. 17, 1.

“Tad asmai navyam Angirasvad arcata.” Sing to him this new song, as Angiras did before you; literally, like Angiras.—Rv. i. 31, 17.

“*Manushvad* agne, *Angirasvad* angiras, *Yayâtivat* sadane *pûrvavac* chuce.

Acha yâhy, â vaha daivyam janam.” Brilliant Agni, as thou camest to Manus, as to Angiras, to Yayâti, to our ancestors, come to the place of sacrifice, and bring with thee the gods.

These passages, the number of which could be greatly increased, may suffice to show, that the two affixes *et* and *vat*, though not entirely agreeing in their application, still bear a certain likeness which proves them to be of the same origin.

* This suffix always throws the accent on to the last syllable.

VII.—ON THE NASALIZATION OF INITIAL MUTES
IN WELSH. BY THEODORE AUFRECHT, ESQ.

[Read May the 23rd.]

Professor Key, in his Paper on the preposition *ává*, in the Society's Transactions for 1855 (p. 9), and again in his Paper on *évl*, in the same volume (p. 93), tries to prove the affinity of *ad* and *ává*, *δύω* and *νεύω*, by the analogy of similar consonantal changes in Welsh. He says: "In Welsh the interchange becomes in some cases a law of the language, so that an initial *d* is sure under certain circumstances to take the form of an *n*. Thus, though *dant* means 'tooth,' and *dysgu* 'learning,' yet for 'seven teeth,' 'my learning,' the phrases are *saiith nant*, *fy nysgu*." For my part I know no instance where *d* passes into *n* otherwise than by assimilation. We find indeed that the Old-Italian dialects change *d* into *n*, but only after a preceding *n*. The Umbrian substitutes regularly *nn* for *nd* in the middle of words, and writes for instance *pihaner* for *piandi*, *pane* for *quande**; the Oscan has *upsannam* for *operandam*, and Plautus, by birth an Umbrian, says in the well-known line of the *Miles Gloriosus*,

"dispennite hominem divorsum et distennite,"

using *dispennite* and *distennite* for *dispendite* and *distendite*. Thus, for "to grunt," one finds *grunnire* as frequently as *grundire*. In these cases the cause by which the change is produced is clear, though the mode of assimilation differs from the usual one.

As to the Welsh change of an initial mute letter into a nasal, we have to observe that it takes place only in certain combinations. *Dant* (tooth) can never become *nant* when it stands alone, but it may perhaps be allowable to say *saiith nant* (seven teeth), though *saiith dant* is now alone usual. But C G, P B, T D, are respectively changed into NGH NG, MH M,

* The Umbrian, like the oldest Latin, does not express a double consonant in writing (compare Aufrecht and Kirchhoff, *Umbrische Sprachdenkmäler*, i. pp. 70, 87).

NH N, if preceded by the possessive pronoun *fy* (my), the preposition *yn* (in), and certain numerals. These numerals are *pump* or *pum* (five), *saith* (seven), *wyth* (eight), *naw* (nine), *deg* (ten), *ugain* (twenty) and its compounds, *can* (a hundred). It would be a grammatical blunder to say *chwech niwrnod* (six days), or *pedwar mwystfil* (four animals) instead of *chwech diwrnod* and *pedwar bwystfil*. Only three words undergo usually a change after these, namely, *blwydd* or *blynedd* (year), and *diwrnod* (day). The simple reason why the above-mentioned numerals only, and no others, have this influence, is, because they alone ended originally with an *n*. Compare

WELSH.	SANSKRIT.	GOthic.	LITHUANIAN.
<i>pump</i>	<i>pancan</i>	—	—
<i>saith</i>	<i>saptan</i>	<i>sibun</i>	<i>septyni</i> .
<i>wyth</i>	<i>ashtan</i>	—	<i>asztūni</i> .
<i>nau</i>	<i>navan</i>	<i>niun</i>	<i>dewyni</i> .
<i>deg</i>	<i>daçan</i>	<i>taihun</i>	—

On the other hand we have :

<i>dau</i>	<i>dvi</i>	<i>tvai</i>	<i>du</i> .
<i>tri</i>	<i>tri</i>	<i>thri</i>	<i>trys</i> .
<i>pedwar</i>	<i>catvar</i>	<i>fidvor</i>	<i>keturi</i> .
<i>chwech</i>	<i>shash</i>	<i>saihs</i>	<i>szeszi</i> .

Can, a corruption of *cant*, which still exists and agrees with the Irish *cet*, has exceeded these limits, and produces the change in consequence of its present final *n*, while *un* (one) is prevented from exercising a similar influence because it originally terminated with a vowel (*uno*). The preposition *yn* agrees with *év*, Latin *in*, Gothic *in*, Oscan and Umbrian *en*, Lithuanian *in*, and belongs to the same category as *pump*, &c.

In composition, a corresponding nasal must be substituted for a mute, if a word is preceded by the negative particle *an*, which corresponds to the Greek *áv*, Umbrian and Oscan *an*, Sanskrit *an*, Gothic *un*, Latin *in*. Thus we have *anghadarn* (powerless) for *an* + *cadarn*, *anmhech* (sinless) for *an* + *pech*, *anneffro* (not awake) for *an* + *deffro*. The same takes place

after another particle, *cy*, ξύν, *cum*; we find, therefore, *cynghas* (mutual hate) from *cy* + *cas*, *cyngofal* (mutual care) from *cy* + *gofal*, *cymhorth* (mutual aid) from *cy-porth*, *cy-mrawdd* (discourse) from *cy-brawdd*, *cynhebygu* (to compare) from *cy* + *tebygu*, *cynefod* (custom) from *cy* + *defod*.

For all these cases it is evident, that the *n* coming in contact with the following mute, had the power to assimilate it, though in course of time the cause might disappear and the effect alone remain. An ordinary Welshman in saying *deg mlynedd* is as little able to account for the transmutation of the *b* into *m*, as any unschooled man in England to explain the transition of the *ou* in *mouse* into the *i* of *mice*. Certain grammatical processes are conventionally continued for centuries, when the power that first put them in operation has long vanished, and they appear then to the untutored eye as arbitrary, or are falsely attributed to euphony.

Having shown that nasalization took place only where a preceding word ended with an *n*, we are naturally led to suppose that *fy* (*my*) also must have been originally *fyn*, though this form is no longer to be discovered even in the oldest literary monuments of the Kelt. But we must recollect, that our *my*, *thy*, are a similar corruption of the Anglo-Saxon *mīn*, *þīn*, and that the Gothic *mein*, as well as the Lithuanian *mānas*, have an *n* in the possessive pronoun.

This may suffice to show that the transition in Welsh of mutes into nasals is based on the same principle as that by which the Latin *distendite* is changed into *distennite*, and cannot be employed as an analogy for totally different cases. As long as it remains unproved, that *d* standing by itself, and not in contact with other consonants, can pass into *n*, the comparison of *ává* and *ad*, *δύω* and *νεύω* must be considered as problematical. This proof would be given, if the Lithuanian *dewyni* (nine) and *debesis* (heaven) were really simple transmutations of the Sanskrit *navan* and *nabhas*, Latin *novem* and *nebula*; but I need not dwell on these words, as the true explanation of them has been already advanced by Professor Ahrens in the *Rheinisches Museum*, 1843, pp. 169, 170, where he shows that the oldest forms of *navan* and *nabhas* were

dnavan and *dnabhas* (Greek *δνόφος*, *ἰοδνεφής*), of which some languages preserved the nasal, the Lithuanian the lingual letter.

VIII.—ON THE ETYMOLOGY OF THE LATIN AD-
VERB *ACTUTUM*. BY THEODORE AUFRECHT, Esq.

[Read June the 13th.]

Dr. Ebel proposes, in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, iv. 320, a new and very ingenious derivation of *actutum*. This adverb occurs frequently in the older Latin literature, especially in Plautus, very rarely in the classical period, and has the meaning of "quickly, shortly, instantly." Comparing it with the German *augenblicklich*,—to which the English phrase "in the twinkling of an eye," the French *en un clin d'œil*, St. Paul's *ἐν ῥιπή ὀφθαλμοῦ*, and the Sanskrit *nimesha* might have been added,—Dr. Ebel thinks, that *actutum* is a compound of *ac* and *tutum*. He takes the latter word as the past participle of *tueri*, and recognizes in the former the shorter and older form of *oculus*. That such a shorter form has really existed, is proved by the Greek *ὤψ*, which appears with a short vowel in compounds like *αἶθοψ*, *οἶνοψ*. Again, if the Sanskrit *akshi* (eye) can be compared with these words, I would suggest that even this word exists in a monosyllabic form in the Vaidic *an-aksh*, eyeless, blind. Nor does the *a* in the supposed *ac*, as compared with the *o* in *oculus*, constitute a real difficulty, for the *a* appears in the Lithuanian *akis* and the old Prussian *ackis*, and there is no want of instances in which an original *a* coexisted with an *e*, *i*, or *o*. Thus we find *gressus gradior*, *fessus fatiscor*, *ferctum farctum*, *pignus pangere*, *ovis avilla*, *foveo favilla*, *fovea favissa*. So far, therefore, we must allow that the proposed derivation, if not true, claims the right of being possible.

But is there really any necessity to go beyond the actual state of the Latin, and to give up the usual explanation of

actutum? I think not. Scholars may differ as to the mode of derivation, but I doubt whether many will be inclined to separate *actutum* from *actus*. Passing over those authors who in full earnest explained our adverb as a compound of *actu* and *tum*, I quote a more reasonable explanation proposed by Lindemann (De Adverbio Latino Specimen iv., Zittaviae, 1827, p. 17): "Actutum quid sit, nondum recte explicatum legi, descendere videtur ab antiquo verbo *actuere*, quod eodem modo ab subst. *actus* eformatum fuit, ut *statuere* a *statu*. Sit igitur *actuere* in actu ponere, quemadmodum *statuere* statui reponere, statum alicui rei dare. Unde participium *actutus* in actu positus, ad actum emotus, exercitus. Ergo *actutum* significabit *cum actu multo*, non segniter, celeriter, thätig, rasch, *actutum redi*, kehre rasch zurück, kehre eilig zurück." But are we to suppose also verbs like *astuere*, *cornuere*, *nasuere*, in order to explain *astutus*, *cornutus*, *nasutus*?

Actus signifies not only action, act, acting, but occurs also sometimes in the sense of motion, movement, activity. Lucan says—

Pilaque contorsit violenti spiritus actu.

Virgil—

Fertur in abruptum magno mons improbus actu.

Petronius—

Pocula quae facili vilis rota finxerat actu.

Lucretius, iii. 186—

At quod mobile tantopere est, constare rutundis
 Perquam seminibus debet perquamque minutis,
 Momine uti parvo possint impulsa moveri.
 Namque movetur aqua, et tantillo momine flutat,
 Quippe volubilibus parvisque creata figuris.
 At contra mellis constantior est natura,
 Et pigri latices magis, et cunctantior actus.

Two derivatives of *actus* show the same meaning,—*actuarius* in *actuarium navigium*, a fast-sailing ship (compare *celox*), and *actuusus* (but this only metaphorically). Seneca says, "Noster animus in motu est, eo mobilior et actuosior, quo vehementior fuerit," and Cicero de Oratore, iii. 26, which passage must be

read with the context, "quam leniter, quam remisse, quam non actuose." That *agere* itself implied sometimes a rapid motion, is shown by *age*, *agite*, "be on the move," and *agilis**. This is the point from which we must proceed, in order to explain *actutum*. The Romans formed from *actus* an adjective *actutus*, meaning "endowed with movement, being on the move, full of activity," so that for instance "ite actutum in frondiferos locos" would be translated literally "go in-a-state-of-lively-activity into leafy places." The neuter alone is now preserved, the adjective being lost in the same way as is the case with *temere*. The transition from the notion of activity into that of speed is simple and common enough. We find an analogy in "quick quickly, alive lively," life presupposing a superior degree of activity.

I add a few words on the formation of *actutum*. It agrees entirely with *cinctutus* and *versutus*, which are derived from the substantives *cinctus* and *versus*, the formation from the latter having taken place at a time when it still had its original meaning of "turning." The same affix appears in *astutus*, *cornutus*, *nasutus*, *verutus*, from *astu*, *cornu*, *nasus* (*ús*†), *veru*. In all these forms I consider the *ütus* as a contraction of *u-ütus*, and compare them with the two adjectives *fortu-itus* and *gratu-itus*. The two vowels *u* + *i*, that is, the *u* of the base and the *i* of the affix, coalesce into *ü* just as in *manüs* for *manu-is*, *equitatü* (dat.) for *equitatu-i*. The same affix appears in *auritus*, *crinitus*, *ignitus*, *pellitus*, *turritus*, *mellititus*, for *auri-itus*, *crini-itus* and so on, and has the meaning of "possessed of, endowed with." That this *itus* stands in a near connexion with the *tus* (*itus*) of the past participle need hardly be stated.

* The best translation of *agilis* in German would be "rührig."

† This form has not yet come to light, but must be inferred from *nasutus*. From *nasus*, *nasi* we should have *nasütus*, just as *galerütus* comes from *galerum*, and *avitus* from *avus*. If this supposition be true, we should have for 'nose' five different forms in Latin, *nasus*, *-i*, and *nasum*, *naris*, *nasus*, *-ús*, and lastly a monosyllabic form *nas*, seen in *nasturcium*. Compare Varro apud Nonium, p. 12, "nasturcium nonne vides ab eo dici, quod nasum torqueat, vestispicam, quod vestem speciat?" And Virgil, Moretum, 84, "quaeque trahunt acri vultus nasturcia morsu."

IX.—ON THE LANGUAGES OF NORTHERN, WESTERN, AND CENTRAL AMERICA. BY R. G. LATHAM, M.D.

[Read May the 9th.]

The present paper is a supplement to two well-known contributions to American philology by the late A. Gallatin. The first was published in the second volume of the *Archæologia Americana*, and gives a systematic view of the languages spoken within the *then* boundaries of the United States; these being the River Sabine and the Rocky Mountains, Texas being then Mexican, and, *à fortiori*, New Mexico and California; Oregon, also, being common property between the Americans and ourselves. The second is a commentary, in the second volume of the *Transactions of the American Ethnological Society*, upon the multifarious mass of philological *data* collected by Mr. Hale, during the United States Exploring Expedition, to which he acted as official and professional philologue; only, however, so far as they applied to the American parts of Oregon. The groups of this latter paper—the paper of the *Transactions* as opposed to that of the *Archæologia*—so far as they are separate from those of the former, are—

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|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. The Kitunaha. | 7. The Jakon. |
| 2. The Tshihaili-Selish. | 8. The Lutuami. |
| 3. The Sahaptin. | 9. The Shasti. |
| 4. The Waiilatpu. | 10. The Palaik. |
| 5. The Tsinuk or Chinook. | 11. The Shoshoni or Snake |
| 6. The Kalapuya. | Indians. |

To which add the Arrapaho, a language of Kansas, concerning which information had been obtained since 1828, the date of the first paper. Of course, some of these families extended beyond the frontiers of the United States, so that any notice of them as American carried with it so much information respecting them to the investigators of the philology of the Canadas, the Hudson's Bay Territory, or Mexico.

Again—three languages, the Eskimo, and Kenai, and Ta-kulli, though not spoken within the limits of the United States, were illustrated. Hence, upon more than one of the

groups of the papers in question there still remains something to be said; however much the special and proper subject of the present dissertation may be the languages that lay beyond the pale of Gallatin's researches.

The first groups of tongues thus noticed for the second time are—

I. THE IROQUOIS, and

II. THE SIOUX.—I have little to say respecting these families except that they appear to belong to some higher class,—a class which, without being raised to any inordinate value, may eventually include not only these two now distinct families, but also the Catawba, Wocoon, Cherokee, Choctah, and (perhaps) Caddo groups,—perhaps also the Pawnee and its ally the Riccaree.

III. THE ALGONKIN GROUP.—The present form of this group differs from that which appears in the *Archæologia Americana*, by exhibiting larger dimensions. Nothing that was then placed within has since been subtracted from it; indeed, subtractions from any class of Gallatin's making are well-nigh impossible. In respect to additions, the case stands differently.

Additions of no slight importance have been made to the Algonkin group. The earliest was that of—

The Bethuck.—The Bethuck is the native language of Newfoundland. In 1846, the collation of a Bethuck vocabulary enabled me to state that the language of the extinct, or doubtfully extant, aborigines of that island was akin to those of the ordinary American Indians rather than to the Eskimo; further investigation showing that, of the ordinary American languages, it was Algonkin rather than aught else.

A sample of the evidence of this is to be found in the following table; a table formed, not upon the collation of the whole MS., but only upon the more important words contained in it.

English, son.

Bethuck, *mageraguis*.

Cree, *equssis*.

Ojibbeway, *ningwisis* } = my son.

————, *negwis*.

Ottawa, *kwis*.

Micmac, *unquece*.

Passamaquoddy, *n'kos*.

Narragansetts, *nummuckiese* =
my son.

Delaware, *quissau* = his son.

Miami, *akwissima*.

Miami, *ungwissah*.

Shawnoe, *koisso*.

Sack & Fox, *nekwessa*.

Menomeni, *nekeesh*.

English, girl.

Bethuck, *woaseesh*.

Cree, *squaisis*.

Ojibbeway, *ekwaizais*.

Ottawa, *aguesens*.

Old Algonkin, *ickwessen*.

Sheshatapoosh, *squashish*.

Passamaquoddy, *pelsquasis*.

Narragansetts, *squasese*.

Montaug, *squasses*.

Sack & Fox, *skwessah*.

Cree, *awásis* = child.

Sheshatapoosh, *awash* = child.

English, mouth.

Bethuck, *mamadthun*.

Nanticoke, *mettoon*.

Massachusetts, *muttoon*.

Narragansetts, *wuttoon*.

Penobscot, *madoon*.

Acadcan, *meton*.

Micmac, *toon*.

Abenaki, *ootoon*.

English, nose.

Bethuck, *gheen*.

Miami, *keouane*.

English, teeth.

Bethuck, *bocbodza*.

Micmac, *neebeet*.

Abenaki, *neebeet*.

English, hand.

Bethuck, *maemed*.

Micmac, *paeteen*.

Abenaki, *mpateen*.

English, ear.

Bethuck, *mootchiman*.

Micmac, *mootooween*.

Abenaki, *nootawee*.

English, smoke.

Bethuck, *bassdik*.

Abenaki, *ettfoodake*.

English, oil.

Bethuck, *emet*.

Micmac, *memaye*.

Abenaki, *pemmee*.

English, sun.

Bethuck, *keuse*.

Cree, &c., *kisis*.

Abenaki, *kesus*.

Mohican, *kesogh*.

Delaware, *gishukh*.

Illinois, *kisipol*.

Shawnoe, *kesathwa*.

Sack & Fox, *kejessoah*.

Menomeni, *kaysho*.

Passamaquoddy, *kisos* = moon.

Abenaki, *kisus* = moon.

Illinois, *kisis* = moon.

Cree, *kesecow* = day.

Ojibbeway, *kijik* = day and light.

Ottawa, *kijik* = ditto.

Abenaki, *kiseoukou* = ditto.

Delaware, *gieshku* = ditto.

Illinois, *kisik* = ditto.

Shawnoe, *keeshqua* = ditto.

Sack & Fox, *keeshekeh* = ditto.

English, fire.

Bethuck, *boobeeshawt*.

Cree, *esquitti*, *scoutay*.

Ojibbeway, *ishkodui*, *skootae*.

Ottawa, *ashkote*.

Old Algonkin, *skootay*.

Sheshatapoosh, *schootay*.
 Passamaquoddy, *skeet*.
 Abenaki, *skoutai*.
 Massachusetts, *squitta*.
 Narragansetts, *squtta*.

English, white.

Bethuck, *wobee*.

Cree, *wabisca*.

—, *wapishkawo*.

Ojibbeway, *wawbiskkaw*.

—, *wawbizze*.

Old Algonkin, *wabi*.

Sheshatapoosh, *wahpou*.

Micmac, *ouabeg, wabeck*.

Mountaineer, *wapsiou*.

Passamaquoddy, *wapiyo*.

Abenaki, *wanbighenour*.

—, *wanbegan*.

Massachusetts, *wompi*.

Narragansetts, *wompesu*.

Mohican, *waupaaek*.

Montaug, *wampayo*.

Delaware, *wape, wapsu, wapsit*.

Nanticoke, *wauppauyu*.

Miami, *wapekinggek*.

Shawnoe, *opee*.

Sack & Fox, *wapeskayah*.

Menomeni, *waubish keewah*.

English, black.

Bethuck, *mandzey*.

Ojibbeway, *mukkudaiwa*.

Ottawa, *mackateh*.

Narragansetts, *mowesu*.

Massachusetts, *mooi*.

English, house.

Bethuck, *meeootick*.

Narragansetts, *wetu*.

English, shoe.

Bethuck, *mosen*.

Abenaki, *mkessen*.

English, snow.

Bethuck, *kaasussabook*.

Cree, *sasagun* = hail.

Ojibbeway, *saisaigan*.

Sheshatapoosh, *shashaygan*.

English, speak.

Bethuck, *ieroothack*.

Taculli, *yaltuck*.

Cree, *athemetakcouse*.

Wyandot, *atakea*.

English, yes.

Bethuck, *yeathun*.

Cree, *ahhah*.

Passamaquoddy, *netek*.

English, no.

Bethuck, *newin*.

Cree, *namaw*.

Ojibbeway, *kawine*.

Ottawa, *kawween*.

English, hatchet.

Bethuck, *dthoonanyen*.

Taculli, *thynle*.

English, knife.

Bethuck, *eewaeen*.

Micmac, *uagan*.

English, bad.

Bethuck, *muddy*.

Cree, *myaton*.

Ojibbeway, *monadud*.

—, *mudji*.

Ottawa, *matche*.

Micmac, *matoualkr.*
 Massachusetts, *matche.*
 Narragansetts, *matchit.*
 Mohican, *matchit.*
 Montaug, *matateayah.*

Montaug, *muttadeeaco.*
 Delaware, *makhtitsu.*
 Nanticoke, *mattik.*
 Sack & Fox, *motchie.*
 —————, *matchathie.*

The Shyenne.—A second addition of the Algonkin class was that of the Shyenne language—a language suspected to be Algonkin at the publication of the *Archæologia Americana*. In a treaty made between the United States and the Shyenne Indians in 1825, the names of the chiefs who signed were Sioux, or significant in the Sioux language. It was not unreasonable to consider this as *prima-facie* evidence of the Shyenne tongue itself being Sioux. Nevertheless, there were some decided statements in the way of external evidence in another direction. There was the special evidence of a gentleman well-acquainted with the fact, that the names of the treaty, so significant in the Sioux language, were only translations from the proper Shyenne, there having been no Shyenne interpreter at the drawing-up of the document. What then was the true Shyenne? A vocabulary of Lieut. Abert's settled this. The numerals of this were published earlier than the other words, and on these the present writer remarked that they were Algonkin (Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1847,—Transactions of the Sections, p. 123). Meanwhile, the full vocabulary, which was in the hands of Gallatin, and collated by him, gave the contemplated result:—"Out of forty-seven Shyenne words for which we have equivalents in other languages, there are thirteen which are indubitably Algonkin, and twenty-five which have affinities more or less remote with some of the languages of that family." (Transactions of the American Ethnological Society, vol. ii. p. cxi. 1848.)

The Blackfoot.—In the same volume (p. cxiii), and by the same author, we find a table showing the Blackfoot to be Algonkin; a fact that must now be generally recognized, having been confirmed by later *data*. The probability of this affinity was surmised in a paper in the 28th Number of the Proceedings of the present Society.

The Arrapaho.—This is the name of a tribe in Kansas; occupant of a district in immediate contact with the Shyenne country.

But the Shyennes are no *indigenæ* to Kansas. Neither are the Arrapahos. The so-called Fall Indians, of whose language we have long had a very short trader's vocabulary in Umfreville, are named from their occupancy which is on the Falls of the Saskatshewan. The Nehethewa, or Crees, of their neighbourhood call them so; so that it is a Cree term of which the English is a translation. Another name (English also) is *Big-belly*, in French *Gros ventre*. This has given rise to some confusion. *Gros-ventre* is a name also given to the Minetari of the Yellow-stone River; whence the name Minetari itself has, most improperly, been applied (though not, perhaps, very often or by good authorities) to the Fall Indians.

The Minetari *Gros-ventres* belong to the Sioux family. Not so the *Gros-ventres* of the Falls. Adelung remarked that some of their words had an affinity with the Algonkin, or as he called it, the Chippeway-Delaware, family, *e. g.* the names for *tobacco, arrow, four, and ten*.

Umfreville's vocabulary was too short for anything but the most general purposes and the most cautious of suggestions. It was, however, for a long time the only one known. The next to it, in the order of time, was one in MS., belonging to Gallatin, but which was seen by Dr. Prichard and collated by the present writer, his remarks upon it being published in the 134th Number of the Proceedings of this Society. They were simply to the effect that the language had certain miscellaneous affinities. An Arrapaho vocabulary in Schoolcraft tells us something more than this; viz. not only that it is, decidedly, the same language as the Fall Indian of Umfreville, but that it has definite and preponderating affinities with the Shyenne, and, through it, with the great Algonkin class in general.

ENGLISH.	ARRAPAHO.	SHYENNE.
<i>scalp</i>	mithash	metake.
<i>tongue</i>	nathun.	vetunno.

ENGLISH.	ARRAPAHO.	SHYENNE.
<i>tooth</i>	veathtah	veisike.
<i>beard</i>	vasesanon	meatsa.
<i>hand</i>	mahchetun	maharts.
<i>blood</i>	bahe	mahe.
<i>sinew</i>	anita	antikah.
<i>heart</i>	battah	estah.
<i>mouth</i>	nettee	marthe.
<i>girl</i>	issaha	xsa.
<i>husband</i>	nash	nah.
<i>son</i>	naah	nah.
<i>daughter</i>	nahtahnah	nahtch.
<i>one</i>	chassa	nuké.
<i>two</i>	neis	neguth.
<i>three</i>	nas	nahe.
<i>four</i>	yeane	nave.
<i>five</i>	yorthun	noane.
<i>six</i>	nitahter	nahsato.
<i>seven</i>	nisorter	nisoto.
<i>eight</i>	nahsorter	nahnoto.
<i>nine</i>	siautah	soto.
<i>ten</i>	mahtahtah	mahtoto.

ENGLISH.	ARRAPAHO.	OTHER ALGONKIN LANGUAGES.
<i>man</i>	enanetah	enainneew, <i>Menom.</i> &c.
<i>father, my</i>	nasonnah	nosaw, <i>Miami.</i>
<i>mother, my</i>	nanah	nekeah, <i>Menom.</i>
<i>husband, my</i>	nash	nah, <i>Shyenne.</i>
<i>son, my</i>	naah	nah, <i>Shyenne.</i>
—	—	nikwithah, <i>Shawnee.</i>
<i>daughter, my</i>	nahtahnah	netawnah, <i>Miami.</i>
<i>brother, my</i>	nasistsah	nesawsah, <i>Miami.</i>
<i>sister, my</i>	naecahtaiah	nekoshaymank, <i>Menom.</i>
<i>Indian</i>	enenitah	ah wainhukai, <i>Delaware.</i>
<i>eye</i>	mishishi	maishkayshaik, <i>Menom.</i>
<i>mouth</i>	netti	may tone, <i>Menom.</i>
<i>tongue</i>	nathun	wilano, <i>Delaware.</i>
<i>tooth</i>	veathtah	wi pit, <i>Delaware.</i>
<i>beard</i>	vasesanon	witonahi, <i>Delaware.</i>
<i>back</i>	nerkorbah	pawkawmema, <i>Miami.</i>
<i>hand</i>	machetun	olatshi, <i>Shawnee.</i>

ENGLISH.	ARRAPAHO.	OTHER ALGONKIN LANGUAGES.
<i>foot</i>	nauthaitah ..	ozit, <i>Delaware</i> .
<i>bone</i>	hahunnah	ohkonne, <i>Menom.</i>
<i>heart</i>	battah	maytah, <i>Menom.</i>
<i>blood</i>	bahe	mainhki, <i>Menom.</i>
<i>sinew</i>	anita	ohtah, <i>Menom.</i>
<i>flesh</i>	wonnunyah ..	weensama, <i>Miami.</i>
<i>skin</i>	tahyatch	xais, <i>Delaware.</i>
<i>town</i>	haitan	otainahe, <i>Delaware.</i>
<i>door</i>	tichunwa	kwawntame, <i>Miami.</i>
<i>sun</i>	nishi-ish	kayshoh, <i>Menom.</i>
<i>star</i>	ahthah	allangwh, <i>Delaware.</i>
<i>day</i>	ishi	kishko, <i>Delaware.</i>
<i>autumn</i>	tahuni	tahkoxko, <i>Delaware.</i>
<i>wind</i>	assisi	kaishxing, <i>Delaware.</i>
<i>fire</i>	ishshitta	ishkotawi, <i>Menom.</i>
<i>water</i>	nutch	nape, <i>Miami.</i>
<i>ice</i>	wahhu	mainquom, <i>Menom.</i>
<i>mountain</i>	ahhi	wahchiwi, <i>Shawnee.</i>
<i>hot</i>	hastah	ksita, <i>Shawnee.</i>
<i>he</i>	enun	enaw, <i>Miami.</i>
—	—	waynanh, <i>Menom.</i>
<i>that (in)</i>	hinnah	aynaih, <i>Menom.</i>
<i>who</i>	unnahah	ahwahnay, <i>Menom.</i>
<i>no</i>	chinnani	kawn, <i>Menom.</i>
<i>eat</i>	mennisi	mitishin, <i>Menom.</i>
<i>drink</i>	bannah	maynaan, <i>Menom.</i>
<i>kill</i>	nauaiut	osh-nainhnay, <i>Menom.</i>

Fitzhugh Sound forms in -skum.—There is still a possible addition to the Algonkin group; though it is probable that it cannot be added to it without raising the value of the class. The exact value and interpretation of the following fact has yet to be made out. I lay it, however, before the reader. The language for the parts about Fitzhugh Sound seems to belong to a class which will appear in the sequel under the name Hailtsa or Haetsuk. The numerals, however, have this peculiarity, viz. they end in the syllable *-kum*. And this is what, in one specimen, at least, two of the Blackfoot terms do.

English, two.

Fitzhugh Sound, *mal-skum*.

Hailsuk, *maluk*.

Blackfoot, *nartoke-skum*.

English, three.

Fitzhugh Sound, *uta-skum*.

Hailsuk, *yutuk*.

Blackfoot, *nahoke-skum*.

What, however, if this syllable *-skum* be other than true Blackfoot; *i. e.* what if the numerals were taken from the mouth of a *Hailtsa* Indian? The possibility of this must be borne in mind. With this remark upon the similarity of ending between *one specimen* of Blackfoot numerals and the *Hailtsa* dialect of Fitzhugh Sound, we may take leave of the Algonkin class of tongues and pass on to—

IV. THE ATHABASKAN GROUP.—The vast size of the area over which the Athabaskan tongues have spread themselves, has commanded less attention than it deserves. It should command attention if it were only for the fact of its touching both the Oceans—the Atlantic on the one side, the Pacific on the other. But this is not all. With the exception of the Eskimo, the Athabaskan forms of speech are the most northern of the New World; nay, as the Eskimos are, by no means, universally recognized as American, the Athabaskan area is, in the eyes of many, absolutely and actually the most northern portion of America—the most northern portion of America considered ethnologically or philologically, the Eskimo country being considered Asiatic. To say that the Athabaskan area extends from ocean to ocean, is to say that, as a matter of course, it extends to both sides of the Rocky Mountains. It is also to say that the Athabaskan family is common to both British and Russian America.

For the northern Athabaskans, the main body of the family, the philological details were, until lately, eminently scanty and insufficient. There was, indeed, an imperfect substitute for them in the statements of several highly trustworthy authors as to certain tribes who spoke a language allied to the Chepewyan, and as to others who did not;—statements which, on the whole, have been shown to be correct; statements, however, which required the confirmation of vocabularies. These have now been procured; if not to the full extent of all the details of the family, to an extent

quite sufficient for the purposes of the philologue. They show that the most western branch of the stock, the Chepewyan proper, or the language of what Dobbs called the Northern Indians, is closely akin to that of the Dog-ribs, the Hare (or Slave) and the Beaver Indians, and that the Dahodinni, called from their warlike habits the Mauvais Monde, are but slightly separated from them. Farther west a change takes place, but not one of much importance. Interpreters are understood with greater difficulty, but still understood.

The Sikani and Sussi tongues are known by specimens of considerable length and value, and these languages, lying as far south as the drainage of the Saskatshewan, and as far west as the Rocky Mountains, are, and have been for some years, known as Athabaskan.

Then came the Takulli of New Caledonia, of whose language there was an old sample procured by Harmon. This was the Nagail, or Chin Indian of Mackenzie, or nearly so. Now, *Nagail* I hold to be the same word as *Takull-i*, whilst *Chin* is *Tshin* = *Dinne* = *Tnai* = *Atna* = *Knai* = *Man*. The Takulli division falls into no less than eleven (?) minor sections; all of which but one end in this root, viz. *-tin*.

1. The Tau-*tin*, or Talko-*tin*.

(?) 2. The Tsilko-*tin* or Chilko-*tin*; perhaps the same word in a different dialect.

3. The Nasko-*tin*.

8. The Natliau-*tin*.

4. The Thetlio-*tin*.

9. The Nikozliau-*tin*.

5. The Tsatsno-*tin*.

10. The Tatshiau-*tin*, and

6. The Nulaau-*tin*.

11. The Babin Indians.

7. The Ntaauo-*tin*.

Sir John Richardson, from vocabularies procured by him during his last expedition, the value of which is greatly enhanced by his ethnological chapter on the characteristics of the populations which supplied them, has shown, what was before but suspected, that the Loucheux Indians of Mackenzie River are Athabaskan; a most important addition to our knowledge. Now, the Loucheux are a tribe known under many names; under that of the Quarrellers, under that of the Squinters, under that of the Thycothe and Digothi. Sir John Richard-

son calls them *Kutshin*, a name which we shall find in several compounds, just as we found the root *-tin* in the several sections of the *Takulli*, and as we shall find its modified form *dinni* among the eastern Athabascans. The particular tribes of the *Kutshin* division, occupants of either the eastern frontier of Russian America, or the north-western parts of the Hudson's Bay Territory, are (according to the same authority) as follows :

1. The *Artez-kutshi* = Hard people.
2. The *Tshu-kutshi* = Water people.
3. The *Tatzei-kutshi* = Rampart people ; falling into four bands.
4. The *Teystse-kutshi* = People of the shelter.
5. The *Vanta-kutshi* = People of the lakes.
6. The *Neyetse-kutshi* = People of the open country.
7. The *Tlagga-silla* = Little dogs.

This brings us to the *Kenay*. Word for word *Kenay* is *Knai* = *Tnai*, a modified form of the now familiar root *t-n* = *man*, a root which has yet to appear and reappear under various new, and sometimes unfamiliar and unexpected, forms. A *Kenay* vocabulary has long been known. It appears in *Lisianisky* tabulated with the *Kadiak*, *Sitkan*, and *Unalaskan* of the Aleutian Islands. It was supplied by the occupants of Cook's Inlet. Were these Athabaskan? The present writer owes to Mr. *Isbister* the suggestion that they were *Loucheux*, and to the same authority he was indebted for the use of a very short *Loucheux* vocabulary. Having compared this with *Lisiansky's*, he placed both languages in the same category—rightly in respect to the main point, wrongly in respect to a subordinate. He determined the place of the *Loucheux* (*Kutshin* as he would now call them) by that of the *Kenay*, and made both *Kolush*. He would now reverse the process and make both Athabaskan, as Sir John Richardson has also suggested.

To proceed—three vocabularies in *Baer's Beiträge* are in the same category with the *Kenay*, viz.—

1. The *Atna*.—This is our old friend *t-n* again, the form *Tnai* and others occurring. It deserves notice, because,

unless noticed, it may create confusion. As more populations than one may call themselves *man*, a word like *Atna* may appear and re-appear as often as there is a dialect which so renders the Latin word *homo*. Hence, there may not only be more *Atnas* than one, but there actually are more than one. This is a point to which we shall again revert. At present it is enough that the *Atnas* under notice are occupants of the mouth of the Copper River, Indians of Russian America and Athabaskan.

2. The *Koltshani*.—As *t-n = man*, so does *k-ltsh = stranger, guest, enemy, friend*; and *mutatis mutandis*, the criticism that applied to *Atna* applies to words like *Koltshan*, *Golzan*, and *Kolush*. There may be more than one population so called.

3. The *Ugalents* or *Ugalyackh-mutsi*.—This is the name of a few families near Mount St. Elias. Now—

The *Atna* at the mouth of the Copper River, the *Koltshani* higher up the stream, and the *Ugalents*, are all held by the present writer to be Athabaskan—not, indeed, so decidedly as the Beaver Indians, the Dog-ribs, or the Proper Chepewyans, but still Athabaskan. They are not Eskimo, though they have Eskimo affinities. They are not Kolush, though they have Kolush affinities. They are by no means isolated, and as little are they to be made into a class by themselves. At the same time, it should be added that by including these *we raise the value of the class*.

For all the languages hitherto mentioned we have specimens. For some, however, of the populations whose names appear in the maps, within the Athabaskan area, we have yet to satisfy ourselves with the testimony of writers, or to rely on inference. In some cases, too, we have the same population under different names. This is the case when we have a native designation as well as a French or English one—*e. g.* Loucheux, Squinters, Kutshin. This, too, is the case when we have, besides the native name (or instead of it), the name by which a tribe is called by its neighbours. Without giving any minute criticism, I will briefly state that all the Indians of the Athabaskan area whose names end in *-dinni* are Athabaskan; viz.—

1. The See-issaw-*dinni* = Rising-sun-men.
2. The Tau-tsawot-*dinni* = Birch-rind-men.
3. The Thlingeha-*dinni* = Dog-rib-men.
4. The Etsh-tawút-*dinni* = Thickwood-men.
5. The Ambah-tawút-*dinni* = Mountain-sheep-men.
6. The Tsillaw-awdút-*dinni* = Bushwood-men.

Lastly—Carriers, Slave-Indians, Yellow-knives, Copper-Indians, and Strong-bows are synonyms for some of the tribes already mentioned. The *Hare*-Indians are called *Kancho*. The Nehanni and some other populations of less importance are also, to almost a certainty, Athabaskan.

If we compare the Athabaskan with the tongues in its neighbourhood, we shall find that it is broadly and definitely separated from them in proportion as we move from west to east. In Russian America, the Eskimo, Sitkan, and Athabaskan tongues graduate into each other. In the same parts the Athabaskan forms of speech differ most from each other. On the other hand, to the east of the Rocky Mountains, the Dog-rib, the Hare, and the Chepewyan are cut off by lines equally trenchant from the Eskimo to the north, and from the Algonkin to the south. I infer from this that the diffusion of the language over those parts is comparatively recent; in other words, that the Athabaskan family has moved from west to east rather than from east to west.

Of the proper Athabaskan, *i. e.* of the Athabaskan in the original sense of the word, the southern boundary, beginning at Fort Churchill, on Hudson's Bay, follows (there or thereabouts) the course of the Mississippi; to the north of which lie the Chepewyans who are Athabaskan, to the south of which lie the Crees, or Knistenaux, who are Algonkin. Westward come the Blackfeet (Algonkin) and the Sussees (Athabaskan), the former to the north, the latter to the south, until the Rocky Mountains are reached. The Takulli succeed—occupants of New Caledonia; to the south of whom lie Kutani and Atnas. The Takulli area nowhere touches the ocean, from which its western frontier is separated to the south of 55° north latitude by some unplaced languages; to the north of 55°, by the Sitkan—but only as far as the Rocky Moun-

tains; unless, indeed, some faint Algonkin characteristics lead future inquirers to extend the Algonkin area westwards, which is not improbable. The value of the class, however, if this be done, will have to be raised.

The most southern of the Athabaskans are the Sussees, in north latitude 51° —there or thereabouts. But the Sussees, far south as they lie, are only the most southern of the Athabaskans *en masse*. There are outliers of the stock as far south as the southern parts of Oregon. More than this, there are Athabaskans in California, New Mexico, and Sonora.

Few discoveries respecting the distribution of languages are more interesting than one made by Mr. Hale, to the effect that the Umkwa, Kwaliokwa, and Tlatskanai dialects of a district so far south as the mouth of the River Columbia, and the upper portion of the Umkwa river (further south still) were outlying members of the Athabaskan stock, a stock pre-eminently northern—not to say Arctic—in its main area.

Yet the dialects just named were shown, by a subsequent discovery of Professor Turner's, to be only penultimate ramifications of their stock; inasmuch as further south and further south still, in California, New Mexico, Sonora, and even Chihuahua, as far south as 30° north latitude, Athabaskan forms of speech were to be found; the Navaho of Utah and New Mexico, the Jecorilla of New Mexico, and the Apatch of New Mexico, California, and Sonora, being Athabaskan. The Hoopah of California is also Athabaskan.

The first of the populations to the south of the Athabaskan area, who, lying on, or to the west of, the Rocky Mountains, are other than Algonkin, are—

V. THE KITUNAHA.—The Kitunaha, Cutani, Cootanie or Flatbow area is long rather than broad, and it follows the line of the Rocky Mountains between 52° and 48° north latitude. How definitely it is divided by the main ridge from that of the Blackfoots I am unable to say, but as a general rule, the Kutani lie west, the Blackfoots east; the former being Indians of New Caledonia and Oregon, the latter of the Hudson's Bay Territory and the United States. On the west the Kutani

country is bounded by that of the Shushap and Selish Atnas, on the north by the Sussee, Sikanni, and Nagail Athabaskans, on the south (I think) by some of the Upsaroka or Crow tribes. All these relations are remarkable, and so is the geographical position of the area. It is in a mountain-range; and, as such, in a district likely to be an ancient occupancy. The languages with which the Kutani lies in contact are referable to four different families—the Athabaskan, the Atna, the Algonkin, and the Sioux; the last two of which, the Black-foot (Algonkin) and the Crow (Sioux), are both extreme forms, *i. e.* forms sufficiently unlike the other members of these respective groups to have had their true position long overlooked; forms, too, sufficiently peculiar to justify the philologue in raising them to the rank of separate divisions. It suffices, however, for the present to say, that the Kutani language is bounded by four tongues differing in respect to the class to which they belong and from each other, and different from the Kutani itself.

The Kutani, then, differs notably from the tongues with which it is in geographical contact; though, like all the languages of America, it has numerous miscellaneous affinities. In respect to its phonesis it agrees with the North Oregon languages. The similarity in name to the Loucheux, whom Richardson calls *Kutshin*, deserves notice. Upon the whole, few languages deserve attention more than the one under notice.

VI. THE ATNA GROUP.—West of the Kutanis and south of the Takulli Athabaskans lie the northernmost members of a great family which extends as far south as the Sahaptin frontier, the Sahaptin being a family of Southern, or American, Oregon. Such being the case, the great group now under notice came under the cognizance of the two American philologues, whose important labours have already been noticed, by whom it has been denominated Tsihaili-Selish. It contains the Shushwap, Selish, Skitsnish (or Cœur d'Alene) Piskwans, Nusdalum, Kawitchen, Skwali, Chechili, Kowelits, and Nsietshawus forms of speech.

In regard to the Atna I have a statement of my own to

correct, or at any rate to modify. In a paper, read before the Ethnological Society, on the Languages of the Oregon Territory (Dec. 11, 1844), I pronounced that an Atna vocabulary found in Mackenzie's Travels, though different from the Atna of the Copper River, belonged to the same group. The *group*, however, to which the Atna of the Copper River belongs is the Athabaskan.

The Tsihaili-Selish languages reach the sea in the parts to the south of the mouth of Frazer's River, *i. e.* the parts opposite Vancouver's Island; perhaps they touch it further to the north also; perhaps, too, some of the Takulli forms of the speech further north still reach the sea. The current statements, however, are to the effect, that to the south of the parts opposite Sitka, and to the north of the parts opposite Vancouver's Island, the two families in question are separated from the Pacific by a narrow strip of separate languages—separate and but imperfectly known. These are, beginning from the north—

VII. THE HAIDAH GROUP OF LANGUAGES.—Spoken by the Skittegats, Massetts, Kumshahas, and Kyganie of Queen Charlotte's Islands and the Prince of Wales Archipelago. Its area lies immediately to that of the south of the so-called Kolush languages.

VIII. THE CHEMMESYAN.—Spoken along the sea-coast and islands of north latitude 55° .

IX. THE BILLECHULA.—Spoken at the mouth of Salmon River; a language to which I have shown, elsewhere, that a vocabulary from Mackenzie's Travels of the dialect spoken at Friendly Village was referable.

X. THE HAILTSA.—The Hailtsa contains the dialects of the sea-coast between Hawkesbury Island and Broughton's Archipelago, also those of the northern part of Vancouver's Island.

In Gallatin, the Chemmesyan, Billechula, and Hailtsa are all thrown in a group called *Naas*. The Billechula numerals are, certainly, the same as the Hailtsa; the remainder of the vocabulary being unlike, though not altogether destitute of coincidences. The Chemmesyan is more outlying still. I

do not, however, in thus separating these three languages, absolutely deny the validity of the *Naas* family. I only imagine that if it really contain languages so different as the Chemmesyan and Hailtsa, it may also contain the Haidah and other groups, *e. g.* the one that comes next, or—

XI. THE WAKASH of Quadra and Vancouver's Island.

South of the Wakash area come, over and above the southern members of the Atna family and the Oregon outliers of the Athabaskan, the following groups, of value hitherto unascertained.

- A. The Tshinuk, or Chinuk ;
- B. The Kalapuya ;
- C. The Jakon ;—all agreeing in the harshness of their phonesis, and (so doing) contrasted with—
- D. The Sahaptin, and
- E. The Shoshoni.

The Sahaptin is separated by Gallatin from the Waiilatpu containing the Cayús or Molelé form of speech. The present writer throws them both into the same group. The numerals, the words wherein it must be admitted that the two languages agree the most closely, are in—

ENGLISH.	SAHAPTIN.	CAYÚS.
<i>one</i>	naks	ná.
<i>two</i>	lapit	lepl-in.
<i>three</i>	mitat	mat-nin.
<i>six</i>	oi-lak	noi-na.
<i>seven</i>	oi-napt.....	noi-lip.
<i>eight</i>	oi-matat	noi-mat.

The meaning of the *oi* and *noi* in these words requires investigation. It is not *five*; the Sahaptin and Cayús for *five* being *pakhat* (S.) and *tawit* (C.). Nor yet is it *hand* (as the word for *five* often is), the word for *hand* being *epih* and *apah*. It ought, however, theoretically to be something of the kind, inasmuch as

Oi-lak and *noi-na* = ? + 1.

Oi-napt and *noi-lip* = ? + 2.

Oi-matat and *noi-mat* = ? + 3.

Of the Shoshoni more will be said in the sequel. At present it is enough to state that the Shoshoni and Sahaptin languages are as remarkable for the apparent ease and simplicity of their phonesis as the Jakon, Kalapuya, and Tshinúk are for the opposite qualities. It may also be added that the Shoshoni tongues will often be called by the more general name of Paduca.

South of the Cayús, Wailatpu, and Wihinast, or Western Shoshonis, come the languages which are common to Oregon and

CALIFORNIA.

For three of these we have vocabularies (Mr. Hale's):—

I. (a.) THE LUTUAMI; (b.) THE PALAIK; (c.) THE SHASTI.—There may be other forms of speech common to the two countries, but these three are the only ones known to us by specimens. The Lutuami, Shasti, and Palaik are thrown by Gallatin into three separate classes. They are, without doubt, mutually unintelligible. Nevertheless they cannot be very widely separated.

Man = in Lutuami *hishu-atsus*, in Palaik = *yatui*. Qu. *atsus* = *yatui*.

Woman = Lutuami *tar-itsi*, Palaik = *umteu-itsen* Qu. *itsi* = *itsen*.

In Palaik, *Son* = *yau-itsa*, *Daughter* = *lumau-itsa*.

Head = Palaik *lah*. In Lutuami *lak* = *hair*. Qu. *mak* = *head* in Shasti, *makh* = *hair*, Shasti.

Ear = Lutuami *mumoutsh*, Palaik *ku-mumuats*.

Mouth = *au* Shasti, *ap* Palaik.

Tooth = *itsau* Shasti, *itsi* Palaik.

Sun = *tsoare* Shasti, *tsul* Palaik = *sun* and *moon*. In Lutuami *tsol* = *star*.

Fire = Shasti *ima* = Palaik *malis*. The termination *-l-* common in Palaik,—*ipili* = *tongue*, *kelala* = *shoes*, *usehela* = *sky*, &c.

Water = Shasti *atsa*, Palaik *as*.

Snow = Lutuami *kais*, Shasti *kae*.

Earth = Lutuami *kaela*, Palaik *kela*, Shasti *tarak*. This is the second time we have had a Shasti *r* for a Palaik *l*—*tsoare* = *tsul*.

Bear = *tokunks* Lutuami, *lokhoa* Palaik.

Bird = Lutuami *lalak*, Shasti *tararakh*.

I = Lutuami *no*. Qu. is this the *n* in *n-as* = *head* and *n-ap* = *hand*, for which latter word the Shasti is *ap-ka*?

NUMERALS.

ENGLISH.	SHASTI.	PALAIK.
<i>one</i>	tshiamu	umis.
<i>two</i>	hoka	kaki.

Neither are there wanting affinities to the Sahaptin and Cayús languages, allied to each other. Thus—

Ear = *mumutsh* Lutuami = *ku-mumuats* Palaik = *mutswi* Sahaptin.

tsak Shasti = *taksh* Cayús.

Mouth = *shum* Lutuami = *shum-kaksh* Cayús = *him* Sahaptin.

Tongue = *pawus* Lutuami = *pawish* Sahaptin = *push* Cayús.

Tooth = *tut* Lutuami = *til* Sahaptin.

Foot = *akwes* Shasti = *akhua* Sahaptin.

Blood = *ahati* Palaik = *kiket* Sahaptin.

Fire = *loloks* Lutuami = *ihiksha* Sahaptin.

One = *natshik* Lutuami = *naks* Sahaptin = *na* Cayús.

Two = *lapit* Lutuami = *lapit* Sahaptin = *leptin* Cayús.

The Lutuami seems somewhat the most Sahaptin of the three, and this is what we expect from its geographical position, it being conterminous with the Molelé (or Cayús) and the allied Wailatpu. It is also conterminous with the Wihinast Shoshoni, or Paduca, as is the Palaik. Both Palaik and Lutuami (along with the Shasti) have Shoshoni affinities.

ENGLISH.	SHOSHONI.
<i>nose</i>	moui=i ^a mi, <i>Palaik</i> .
<i>mouth</i>	timpa=shum, <i>Lutuami</i> .
<i>ear</i>	inaka=isak, <i>Shasti</i> .
<i>sun</i>	tava=sapas, <i>Lutuami</i> .
<i>water</i>	pa=ampo, <i>Lutuami</i> .
<i>I</i>	ni=no, <i>Lutuami</i> .
<i>thou</i>	i=i, <i>Lutuami</i> .
<i>he</i>	oo=hot, <i>Lutuami</i> .
<i>one</i>	shimutsi= <i>tshiamuu</i> , Shasti; <i>umis</i> , Palaik.

The chief language in contact with the Shasti is the intrusive Athabaskan of the Umkwa and Tlatskanai tribes. Hence the nearest languages with which it should be compared are the Jakon and Kalapuya, from which it is geographically separated. For this reason we do not expect any great amount of coincidence. We find however the following—

ENGLISH.	JAKON.
<i>head</i>	tkhlokia=lah, <i>Palaik</i> .
<i>star</i>	tkhlalt=tshol, <i>Lutuami</i> .
<i>night</i>	kaeche=apkha, <i>Shasti</i> .
<i>blood</i>	pouts=poits, <i>Lutuami</i> .
<i>one</i>	khum=tshiamu, <i>Palaik</i> .

Of three languages spoken in the north of California and mentioned in Schoolcraft, by name, though not given in specimens,—(1) the Watsahewa, (2) the Howtetch, and (3) the Nabilitse,—the first is said to be that of the Shasti bands ;

Of the Howtetch I can say nothing ;

The Nabilitse is, probably, the language of the Tototune ; at least Rogue's River is its locality, and the Rascal Indians is an English name for the Tototune.

South of the Shasti and Lutuami areas we find—

II. THE EHNIK.

III. THE TAHLEWAH.

The latter vocabulary is short, and taken from a *Seragoin* Indian, *i. e.* from an Indian to whom it was not the native tongue. We are warned of this—the inference being that the Tahlewah vocabulary is less trustworthy than the others.

ENGLISH.	EHNEK.	TAHLEWAH
<i>man</i>	ahwunsh	pohlusanh.
<i>boy</i>	anak'hocha	kerrhn.
<i>girl</i>	yehnipahoitch	kernihl.
<i>Indian</i>	ahrah	astowah.
<i>head</i>	akhoutshhoutsh	astintah.
<i>beard</i>	merruhw	semerrhperrh.
<i>neck</i>	sihn	schoniti.
<i>face</i>	ahve	wetawaluh.
<i>tongue</i>	upri	so'h.
<i>teeth</i>	wu'h	shti.
<i>foot</i>	fissi	stah.
<i>one</i>	issah	titskoh.
<i>two</i>	achhok	kitchnik.
<i>three</i>	keurakh	kltchnah.

ENGLISH.	EHNEK.	TAHLEWAH.
<i>four</i>	peehs	tshahanik.
<i>five</i>	tirahho	schwallah.
<i>ten</i>	trah.....	swellah.

The junction of the Rivers Klamatl and Trinity gives us the locality for—

IV. THE LANGUAGES AKIN TO THE WEITSPEK.—The Weitspek itself is spoken at the junction, but its dialects of the Weyot and Wishosk extend far into Humboldt County, where they are, probably, the prevailing forms of speech, being used on the Mad River, and the parts about Cape Mendocino.

The Weyot and Wishosk are mere dialects of the same language. From the Weitspek they differ much more than they do from each other. It is in the names of the parts of the body where the chief resemblances lie.

V. THE MENDOCINO (?) GROUP.—This is the name suggested for the *Choweshak*, *Batemdaikai*, *Kulanapo*, *Yukai*, and *Khwaklamayu* forms of speech collectively.

1, 2. The *Choweshak* and *Batemdaikai* are spoken on Eel River, and in the direction of the southern branches of the Weitspek group, with which they have affinities.

3, 4, 5. The *Kulanapo* is spoken about Clear Lake, the *Yukai* on Russian River. These forms of speech, closely allied to each other, are also allied to the so-called Northern Indians of Baër's Beiträge, Northern meaning to the north of the settlement of Ross. The particular tribe of which we have a vocabulary called themselves *Khwakhlamayü*.

ENGLISH.	KHWAKHLAMAYU.	KULANAPO.
<i>head</i>	khommo	kaiyah.
<i>hair</i>	shuka	musuh.
<i>eye</i>	iiu	ui.
<i>ear</i>	shuma.....	shimah.
<i>nose</i>	pla	labahbo.
<i>mouth</i>	aa	katsideh.
<i>tooth</i>	oo	yaoh.
<i>tongue</i>	aba	bal.
<i>hand</i>	psha	biyah.
<i>foot</i>	sakki	kahmah.
<i>sun</i>	ada	lah.

ENGLISH.	WEITSPEK.	KULANAPO.
<i>moon</i>	kalazha	luelah.
<i>star</i>	kamoi	uiyahhoh.
<i>fire</i>	okho	k'hoh.
<i>water</i>	aka	k'hah.
<i>one</i>	ku	khahlih.
<i>two</i>	koo	kots.
<i>three</i>	subo	homeka.
<i>four</i>	mura	dol.
<i>five</i>	tysha	lehmah.
<i>six</i>	lara	tsadi.

The following shows the difference between the Weitspek and Kulanapo; one belonging to the northern, the other to the southern division of their respective groups.

ENGLISH.	WEITSPEK.	KULANAPO.
<i>man</i>	pagehk	kaah.
<i>woman</i>	wintsuk	dah.
<i>boy</i>	hohksh	kahwih.
<i>girl</i>	wai inuksh	dahhats.
<i>head</i>	tegueh	kaiyah.
<i>hair</i>	leptaitl	musuh.
<i>ear</i>	spèhguh	shímah.
<i>eye</i>	mylih	ui.
<i>nose</i>	metpí	labahbo.
<i>mouth</i>	mihlutl	katsédeh.
<i>tongue</i>	mehpl'h	bal.
<i>teeth</i>	merpetl	yaóh.
<i>beard</i>	mehperch	katsutsu.
<i>arm</i>	mehsheh'	tsuah.
<i>hand</i>	tsewush	biyyah.
<i>foot</i>	metské	kahmah.
<i>blood</i>	happ'l	bahlaik.
<i>sun</i>	wánoushleh	lah.
<i>moon</i>	ketnewahr	luëlah.
<i>star</i>	haugets	uiyahoh.
<i>day</i>	tehnep	dahmul.
<i>dark</i>	ketutski	petih.
<i>fire</i>	mets	k'hoh.
<i>water</i>	paha	k'hah.
<i>I</i>	nek	hah.

ENGLISH.	WEITSPEK.	KULANAPO.
<i>thou</i>	kehl	ma.
<i>one</i>	spinekoh	k'hahlih.
<i>two</i>	nuehr	kots.
<i>three</i>	naksa	homeka.
<i>four</i>	tohhunne	dol.
<i>five</i>	mahrotum	lehmah.
<i>six</i>	hohtcho	tsadi.
<i>seven</i>	tchewurr	kulahots.
<i>eight</i>	k'hehwuh	kokodohl.
<i>nine</i>	kerr	hadarolshum.
<i>ten</i>	wert'hlehwerh.	hadorutlek.

In the *Kulanapo* language *yacal ma napo* = *all the cities*. Here *napo* = *Napa*, the name of one of the counties to the north of the Bay of San Francisco and to the south of Clear Lake.

We may now turn to the drainage of the Sacramento and the parts south of the Shasti area. Here we shall find three vocabularies, of which the chief is called—

VI. THE COPEH.—How far this will eventually turn out to be a convenient name for the group (or how far the group itself will be real), is uncertain. A vocabulary in Gallatin from the Upper Sacramento, and one from Mag Readings (in the south of Shasti county) in Schoolcraft, belong to the group.

Mag Readings is on the upper third of the Sacramento—there or thereabouts.

ENGLISH.	COPEH.	M. R. INDIAN.	U. SACR.
<i>man</i>	pehtluk	winnoke	—
<i>woman</i>	muhlteh	dokke	—
<i>head</i>	buhk	pok	—
<i>hair</i>	tiih	tomi	tomoi.
<i>eye</i>	sah	chuti	tumut.
<i>nose</i>	kiunik	—	tsono.
<i>mouth</i>	kohl	—	kal.
<i>teeth</i>	siih	shi	—
<i>beard</i>	chehsaki	khetcheki	—
<i>arm</i>	sahlah	—	keole.
<i>hand</i>	semh	shim	tsemut(<i>fingers</i>).
<i>foot</i>	mai'h	mat	ktamoso.
<i>blood</i>	sahk	chedik	—

ENGLISH	COPEH.	M. R. INDIAN.	U. SACR.
<i>sun</i>	sunh	tuku	sas.
<i>wind</i>	toudi	kleyhi	—
<i>rain</i>	yohro	luhollo	—
<i>snow</i>	yohl	yola.	—
<i>fire</i>	poh	pau.	po.
<i>water</i>	mehm	mem	mem.
<i>earth</i>	kirrh	kosh	—

In the paper of No. 134 the import of a slight amount of likeness between the Upper Sacramento vocabulary and the Jakon is overvalued. The real preponderance of the affinities of the group taken in mass is that which its geographical position induces us to expect *à priori*. With the Shasti, &c. the Copeh has the following words in common:—

ENGLISH.	COPEH.	SHASTI, ETC.
<i>head</i>	buhk	uiak, S.
<i>hair</i>	teih	tiyi, P.
<i>teeth</i>	siih	itsa, P.
<i>ear</i>	maht	<i>mu</i> -mutsh, L.
<i>eye</i>	sah	asu, P.
<i>foot</i>	mat	pats, L.
<i>sun</i>	sunh	tsul, P.
<i>thou</i>	mih	mai, S.

and, probably, others.

The Copeh is spoken at the head of Putos Creek.

Observe that the Copeh for *water* is *mem*, as it is in the languages of the next group, which we may provisionally call—

VII. THE PUJUNI.—Concerning this we have a notice in Hale, based upon information given by Captain Suter to Mr. Dana. It was to the effect that, about eighty or a hundred miles from its mouth, the river Sacramento formed a division between two languages, one using *mom*i, the other *kik* = *water*.

The Pujuni, &c. say *mom*i; as did the speakers of the Copeh.

For the group we have the (a) Pujuni, (b) Secumne, and (c) Tsamak specimens of Hale, as also the Cushna vocabulary, from the county Yuba, of Schoolcraft; the Cushna numerals,

as well as other words, being nearly the same as the Secumne, *e. g.*

ENGLISH.	SECUMNE.	CUSHNA.
<i>one</i>	wikte	wikte- <i>m.</i>
<i>two</i>	pen	pani- <i>m.</i>
<i>three</i>	sapui	sapui- <i>m.</i>
<i>four</i>	tsi	tsui- <i>m.</i>
<i>five</i>	mauk	marku- <i>m</i> (mahkum?).

So are several other words besides, as—

<i>head</i>	tsol	chole.
<i>hair</i>	ono	ono.
<i>ear</i>	bono	bono.
<i>eye</i>	il	hin.
<i>sun</i>	oko	okpi.

VIII. THE MOQUELUMNE GROUP.—Hale's vocabulary of the Talatui belongs to the group for which the name *Moquelumne* is proposed, a Moquelumne Hill (in Calaveras county) and a Moquelumne River being found within the area over which the languages belonging to it are spoken. Again, the names of the tribes that speak them end largely in *-mne*,—*Chupumne*, &c. As far south as Tuol-*umne* county the language belongs to this division, as may be seen from the following table; the Talatui being from Hale, the Tuolumne from Schoolcraft; the Tuolumne Indians being on the Tuolumne River, and Cornelius being their great chief, with six subordinates under him, each at the head of a different ranchora containing from fifty to two hundred individuals. Of these six members of what we may call the Cornelian captaincy, five speak the language represented by the vocabulary: viz.

1. The Mumaltachi.
2. The Mullateco.
3. The Apangasi.
4. The Lapappu.
5. The Siyante or Typoxi.

The sixth band is that of the Aplaches (?Apaches), under Hawhaw, residing further in the mountains.

ENGLISH.	TUOLUMNE.	TALATUI.
<i>head</i>	hownah	tiket.
<i>hair</i>	esok	munu.
<i>ear</i>	tolko	alok.
<i>eye</i>	húnteh	wilai.
<i>nose</i>	nító.....	uk (?).
<i>mouth</i>	ahwúk.....	hube (?).
<i>sky</i>	wutsha	witçuk.
<i>sun</i>	heamhah.....	hi.
<i>day</i>	hemaah	hiúmu.
<i>night</i>	kowillah	kawil.
<i>darkness</i>	pozattah	hunaba.
<i>fire</i>	wúkah.....	wike.
<i>water</i>	kíkah	kík.
<i>stone</i>	lowwak	sawa.

As far west as the sea-coast languages of the Moquelumne group are spoken. Thus—

A short vocabulary of the San Rafael is Moquelumne.

So are the Sonoma dialects, as represented by the Tshokoyem vocabulary and the Chocouyem and Yonkiousme Paternosters.

So is the *Olamentke* of Kostromitonov in Bær's Beiträge.

So much for the forms of speech to the north of the Gulf of San Francisco. On the south the philology is somewhat more obscure. The Paternosters for the *Mission de Santa Clara* and the *Vallee de los Tulares* of Mofras seem to belong to the same language. Then there is, in the same author, one of the *Langue Guiloco de la Mission de San Francisco*. These I make Moquelumne provisionally. I also make a provisional division for a vocabulary called—

IX. THE COSTANO.—The tribes under the supervision of the Mission of Dolores were five in number; the Ahwastes, the Olhones, or Costanos of the coast, the Romonans, the Tulomos, and the Altatmos. The vocabulary of which the following is an extract was taken from Pedro Alcantara, who was a boy when the Mission was founded, A.D. 1776. He was of the Romonan tribe.

ENGLISH.	COSTANO.	TSHOKOYEM.
<i>man</i>	imhen.....	tai-esse.
<i>woman</i>	ratichma.....	kuleh-esse.

ENGLISH.	COSTANO.	TSHOKOYEM.
<i>boy</i>	shínísmuk	yokeh (<i>small</i>).
<i>girl</i>	katra	koyah.
<i>head</i>	úlc	moloh.
<i>ear</i>	tuorus	ahlohk.
<i>eye</i>	rehin	shut.
<i>nose</i>	ús	huk.
<i>mouth</i>	werper	lapgup.
<i>tongue</i>	tassek	lehntip.
<i>tooth</i>	síit	kuht.
<i>neck</i>	lani	heleкке.
<i>foot</i>	kolo	koyok.
<i>blood</i>	payan	kichawh.
<i>sky</i>	reneme	lihlih.
<i>sun</i>	ishmen	hih.
<i>moon</i>	kolma	pululuk.
<i>star</i>	agweh	hittish.
<i>day</i>	puhe (<i>light</i>)	hiahnah.
<i>night</i>	moor (<i>dark</i>)	kawul.
<i>fire</i>	roretaon	wikih.
<i>water</i>	sii	kihk.
<i>river</i>	orush	polah.
<i>stone</i>	erek	lepeh.
<i>I</i>	kahnah	kahni.
<i>thou</i>	mene	mih.
<i>he</i>	wahche	ikkoh.
<i>they</i>	nekumsah	mukkam.
<i>all</i>	kete	mukkam.
<i>who</i>	mato	mahnti.
<i>eat</i>	ahmush	yohlomosih.
<i>drink</i>	owahto	ushu.
<i>run</i>	akamtoha	hihchiah.
<i>see</i>	atepimah	ellih.

This shows that it differs notably from the Tshokoyem; the personal pronouns, however, being alike. Again, the word for *man* = *l-aman-tiya* in the San Rafael. On the other hand, it has certain Cushna affinities.

Upon the whole, however, the affinities seem to run in the direction of the languages of the next group, especially in that of the Ruslen:—

I=*kah-nah*, Cost.=*ka*=*mine*, Ruslen.

Thou=*me-ne*, Cost.=*mé*=*thine*, Ruslen.

Sun=*ishmen*, Cost.=*ishmen*=*light*, Ruslen.

Water=*sii*, Cost.=*ziy*, Ruslen.

(?) *Boy*=*shinishmuk*, Cost.=*enshinsh*, Ruslen.

(?) *Girl*=*katra*, Cost.=*kaana*, Ruslen.

Lest these last three coincidences seem far-fetched, it should be remembered that the phonesis in these languages is very difficult, and that the Ruslen orthography is Spanish, the Costano being English. Add to this, there is every appearance, in the San Miguel and other vocabularies, of the *r* being something more than the *r* in *brand*, &c., every appearance of its being some guttural or palatal, which may, by a variation of orthography, be spelt by *l*.

Finally, I remark that the *-ma* in the Costano *ratich-ma* = *woman*, is, probably, the *-me* in the Soledad *mue* (= *man*) and *shurish-me* (= *woman*), and the *amk* (*ank*) of the Ruslen *muguy-amk* (= *man*) and *latrayam-ank* (= *woman*); (?) *latraya* = *ratich*. Nevertheless, for the present I place the Costano by itself, as a transitional form of speech to the languages spoken north, east, and south of the Bay of San Francisco.

X. THE MARIPOSA LANGUAGES.—In the north of Mariposa county, and not far south of the Tuolumne area, the language seems changed, and the *Coconoons* is spoken by some bands on the Mercede River, under a chief named Nuella. They are said to be the remnants of three distinct bands, each with its own distinct language.

ENGLISH.	COCONOONS.	TULARE.
<i>head</i>	oto	utno.
<i>hair</i>	tolus	celis.
<i>ear</i>	took	took.
<i>nose</i>	thedick	tunec.
<i>mouth</i>	sammack	shemmak.
<i>tongue</i>	talcotch	talkat.
<i>tooth</i>	talee	talee.
<i>sun</i>	suyou	oop.
<i>moon</i>	offaum	taahmemna.
<i>star</i>	tchietas	sahel.

ENGLISH.	COCONOONS.	TULARE.
<i>day</i>	hial	tahoh*.
<i>fire</i>	sottol	ossel.
<i>water</i>	illeck	illick.

XI. THE SALINAS GROUP.—This is a name which I propose for a group of considerable compass, and one which contains more than one mutually unintelligible form of speech. It is taken from the river Salinas, the drainage of which lies in the counties of Monterey and San Luis Obispo. The southern boundary of Santa Cruz lies but a little to the north of its mouth.

The Gioloco may possibly belong to this group, notwithstanding its reference to the Mission of San Francisco. The *alla*, and *mut-* (in *mut-ryocusé*), may = the *ahay* and *i-mit-a* (*sky*) of the Eslen.

The Ruslen has already been mentioned, and that in respect to its relations to the Costano. It belongs to this group.

So does the Soledad of *Mofras*; which, though it differs from that of Hale in the last half of the numerals, seems to represent the same language.

So do the Eslen and Carmel forms of speech; allied to one another somewhat more closely than to the Ruslen and Soledad.

So do the San Antonio and San Miguel forms of speech.

The Ruslen, Eslen, San Antonio, and San Miguel are, probably, four mutually unintelligible languages.

The Salinas languages are succeeded to the south by the forms of speech of—

XII. THE SANTA BARBARA GROUP—containing the Santa Barbara, Santa Inez, and San Luis *Obispo* languages.

XIII. THE CAPISTRANO GROUP.—Capistrano is a name suggested by that of the Mission of San Juan Capistrano. The group, I think, falls into two divisions:—

1. *The Proper Capistrano, or Netela*, of San Luis *Rey* and San Juan Capistrano.

2. *The San Gabriel, or Kij*, of San Gabriel and San Fernando.

* Same word as *taech* = *light* in Coconoons; in Pima *tai*.

XIV. THE YUMA LANGUAGES.—At the junction of the Gila and Colorado stands Fort Yuma, in the district of the Yuma Indians. They occupy each side of the Colorado, both above and below its junction with the Gila. How far they extend northwards is unknown, probably more than 100 miles. They are also called *Cuchans*, and are a fierce predatory nation, encroaching equally on tribes of their own language and on aliens.

From these *Yuma* Indians I take the name for the group now under notice. It contains, besides the Yuma Proper, the Dieguno of San Diego and the Coco-maricopa.

The Coco-maricopa Indians are joint-occupants of certain villages on the Gila; the population with which they are associated being *Pima*. Alike in other respects, the Pima and Coco-maricopa Indians differ in language, as may be seen from the following table, confirmatory of the testimony of numerous trustworthy authorities to the same effect.

ENGLISH.	PIMO.	CUCHAN.	COCOMARICOPA.	DIEGUNO.
<i>man</i>	huth	epatsh	apatch	{ àycutcht. epatch.
<i>woman</i> ..	hahri	sinyak	seniact	sun.
<i>Indian</i> ..	huup	metepaie	—	—
<i>head</i>	mouk	{ ecoutsucherowo and umwelthoocouo . }	—	estar.
<i>hair</i> ..	ptmuk	etche	—	hiletar.
<i>ear</i>	ptnahauk	smythl	—	—
<i>nose</i> ..	tahnk	—	—	hu.
<i>mouth</i> ..	chinitis	—	—	ah.
<i>tongue</i> .	neuen	epulche	—	—
<i>tooth</i> ..	ptahan	aredoche	—	—
<i>beard</i> ..	chinyo	yahboineh	—	—
<i>hand</i> ..	mahahtk	eesalche	issalis	selh.
<i>foot</i> ..	tetaght	emetchslipaslapya	ametche	hamulyay.
<i>sky</i>	ptchuwik	ammai	—	—
<i>sun</i>	tahs	nyatch	—	—
<i>moon</i> ..	mahsa	huthlya	—	—
<i>star</i> ..	uon	klupwalaie	—	—
<i>snow</i> ..	chiah	halup	—	—

and man Guihi tamma yaa gambuegjula *evil* kepujui ambinyijua pennayala dedaudugùjua, giulugui pagkajim ;

and Guihi yaa tagamuegla hui ambinyijua *although* hi doomo puhuegjua, *and* he doomo pogonunyim ;

and Tagamuegjua *earth* guihi usimahel *bless* kəammet è decuinimo, guihi yaa hui *evil* ambinyi yaa gambuegpea pagkaudugum.

Lastly, in 33° north latitude, the language of San Luis El *Rey*, which is Yuma, is succeeded by that of San Luis *Obispo*, which is Capistrano.

I conclude, then, that the Yuma language belongs to the southern parts of *New* and the northern parts of *Old* California.

Of recent notices of any of the languages of Old California, *eo nomine*, I know none. In the Mithridates the information is pre-eminently scanty.

According to the only work which I have examined at first-hand, the *Nachrichten von der Americanischen Halbinsel Kalifornien* (Mannheim, 1772 ; in the Mithridates, 1773), the anonymous author of which was a Jesuit missionary in the middle parts of the Peninsula, the languages of Old California were—

1. The *Waikur*, spoken in several dialects.
2. The *Ushiti*.
3. The *Layamon*.
4. The *Cochimi*, north, and
5. The *Pericu*, at the southern extremity of the peninsula.
6. A probably new form of speech used by some tribes visited by Linck.

This is what we learn from what we call the Mannheim account ; the way in which the author expresses himself being not exactly in the form just exhibited, but to the effect that, besides the Waikur with its dialects, there were five others.

The Waikur Proper, the language which the author under

notice was most especially engaged on, and which he says that he knew sufficiently for his purposes as a missionary, is the language of the middle part of the peninsula. How far the Utshiti and Layamon were dialects of it, how far they were separate substantive languages, is not very clearly expressed. The writer had Utshis, and Utshipujes, and Atschimes in his mission, "thoroughly distinct tribes — *lauter verschiedene Völcklein.*" Nevertheless he always speaks as if the Waikur tongue was sufficient for his purposes. On the other hand, the Utshiti is especially mentioned as a separate language. Adelung makes it a form of the Waikur; as he does the Layamon, and also the Cora and Aripe. Then there comes a population called *Ika*, probably the Picos or Ficos of Bagert, another authority for these parts. Are these, the sixth population of the Mannheim account, the unknown tribes visited by Linck? I think not. They are mentioned in another part of the book as *known*.

To the names already mentioned

- | | |
|-----------|---------------|
| 1. Ika, | 3. Utshipuje, |
| 2. Utshi, | 4. Atschime, |

add

- | | |
|------------------|----------------------------|
| 5. Paurus, | 9. Mitsheriku-tamais, |
| 6. Teakwas, | 10. Mitsheriku-tearus, |
| 7. Teengúabebes, | 11. Mitsheriku-ruanajeres, |
| 8. Angukwares, | |

and you have a list of the tribes with which a missionary for those parts of California where the Waikur languages prevailed, came in contact. Altogether they gave no more than some 500 individuals, so miserably scanty was the population.

The occupancies of these lay chiefly within the Cochimi area, which reached as far south as the parts about Loretto in 26° north latitude; the Loretto language being the Layamon. This at least is the inference from the very short table of the Mithridates, which, however little it may tell us in other respects, at least informs us that the San Xavier, San Borgia,

and Loretto forms of speech were nearer akin to each other than to the Waikur.

ENGLISH.	ST. XAVIER.	S. BORGIA.	LORETTO.	WAIKUR.
<i>sky</i>	ambayujub..	ambeink	—	terereka-datemba.
<i>earth</i> ..	amet	amate-guang..	—	datemba.
<i>fire</i>	usi	ussi	—	
<i>man</i>	tämma	tama	tamma ..	ti.
<i>father</i> ..	käkka	iham	keneda... ..	—
<i>son</i>	uisaham	—	tshanu.	

The short compositions of Hervas (given in the Mithridates) show the same.

THE WAIKUR.—This is the language of what I have called the Mannheim account, namely the anonymous work of a Jesuit missionary of the Waikur country published at Mannheim.

It gives us the following specimens—Waikur and German :

Kepe-däre	tekerekádatembi	dai ;			
<i>unser Vater</i>	<i>gebogene Erd</i>	<i>du bist ;</i>			
ei-rì	akatuikè-pu-me ;				
<i>dichodas</i>	<i>erkennen alle werden ;</i>				
tshakárrake-pu-me	ti tshie ;				
	<i>loben alle werden Leut und ;</i>				
ecùn gracia-ri	acúme carè	tekerekadatembi	tshie ;		
<i>dein gratia o dass haben werden wir</i>	<i>gebogene Erd</i>	<i>und ;</i>			
eiri	jebarrakemi	ti	pu jaupe datemba		
<i>dir o dass gehorsamen werden Menschen alle</i>	<i>heer</i>	<i>Erd,</i>			
pae ei	jebarrakere	aëna kóa ;			
<i>wie dir gehorsamen droben seynd ;</i>					
kepecun	bu.	kepe	ken	jatúpe	untairi ;
<i>unser</i>	<i>Speis</i>	<i>uns</i>	<i>gebe</i>	<i>dieser</i>	<i>tag ;</i>
catè	kuitscharakè	tei	tshie	kepecun	atacamara
<i>uns</i>	<i>verzehe</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>und</i>	<i>unser</i>	<i>Böses ;</i>
paè	kuitscharrakère	catè	tshie	cavape	atukiàra
<i>wie</i>	<i>verzehen</i>	<i>wir</i>	<i>auch</i>	<i>die</i>	<i>Böses</i>
					<i>uns thun ;</i>
catè	tikakambà	têi	tshie ;		
<i>uns</i>	<i>helfe</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>und ;</i>		
cuvumerà	catè	uè	atukiàra ;		
<i>wollen werden Nicht</i>	<i>wir</i>	<i>etwas</i>	<i>Böses ;</i>		
kepe	kakunja	pe	atacara	tshie.	Amen.
<i>uns</i>	<i>beschutze</i>	<i>von</i>	<i>Bösen</i>	<i>und.</i>	<i>Amen.</i>

The compound *tekereka-datembi* = *bent land* = *sky* = *heaven*.

To this very periphrastic Paternoster we may add the following fragments of the Waikur conjugation:—

Bè Ei Tutâu Catè Petè Tucáva	} amukirere =	{ <i>ego ludo.</i> <i>tu ludis.</i> <i>ille ludit.</i> <i>nos ludimus.</i> <i>vos luditis.</i> <i>illi ludunt.</i>
Bè Ei Tutâu Catè Petè Tucáva	} amukiririkeri =	{ <i>ego lusi.</i> <i>tu lusisti.</i> <i>ille lusit.</i> <i>nos lusimus.</i> <i>vos lusistis.</i> <i>illi luserunt.</i>
Amukirimè =		} <i>ludere.</i>

Amukiri tei = *lude*.

Amukiri tu = *ludite*.

Bè-ri Ei-ri Tutâu-ri Catè-ri Petè-ri Tucáva-ri	} amukiririkarikara =	{ <i>I wish I had not played.</i> <i>Thou &c.</i> <i>He &c.</i> <i>We &c.</i> <i>Ye &c.</i> <i>They &c.</i>
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Of the *Pericu* spoken at the south extremity of the peninsula, I know no specimens.

We now turn to that part of the Yuma area which lies along the course of the Gila, and more especially the parts along the Cocomaricopa villages, of which one portion of the occupants speak a language belonging to the Yuma, the other one belonging to the Pima class.

This latter leads us to the languages of the northern provinces of Mexico—

SONORA AND SINALOA.

For these two provinces, the languages for which we have specimens fall into five divisions:—

1. THE PIMA.
2. THE HIAQUI.

3. THE TUBAR.

4. THE TARAHUMARA.

5. THE CORA.

That the Pima group contains the Pima Proper, the Opata, and the Eudeve, may be seen from the Mithridates. That the language of the Papagos, or Papago-cotam, is also Pima, rests upon good external evidence. Whether the speech of the Ciris, and population of the island of Tiburon and the parts opposite, be also Pima, is at present uncertain; though not likely to be so long, inasmuch as I believe that Mr. Bartlett, the Boundary Commissioner, is about to publish samples, not only of this, but of the other languages of Sonora.

West of the Pima lies the Tarahumara, and south of it the Hiaqui, succeeded by the Tubar and Cora of Sinaloa.

The following Paternosters of these four languages may be compared with the Opata dialect of the Pima. The words that, by appearing in more than one of them, command our attention and suggest the likelihood of a closer relationship than is indicated in the Mithridates, or elsewhere, are in italics.

OPATA.

Tamo mas teguiacachigua cacame;

Amo tegua santo à;

Amo reino tame macte;

Hinadeia iguati terepa ania teguiacachivèri;

Chiama tamo guaco veu tamo mac;

Guatame neavere tamo cai naideni acà api tame neavere tomo opagua;

Gua cai tame taotitudare;

Cai naideni chiguadu—Apita cachià.

HIAQUI.

Itom-achai teve-capo catecame;

Che-chevasu yoyorvva;

Itou piepsana em yaorahua;

Em harepo in buyapo annua amante (tevecapo?) vecapo annua beni;

Machuveitom-buareu yem itom amica-itom;

Esoc alulutiria ca-aljiton-anecau itepo soc alulutiria ebeni itom veherim;

Caitom butia huenacuchi cativiri betana ;
 Aman *itom*-yeretua.

TUBAR.

Ite-cañar *tegmucarichua catemat* ;
Imit tegmumarac militaraba teochiquialac ;
Imit huegmica carinite bacachin-assifaguin ;
Imit avamunarir echu nañagualac imo cuigan amo nachic *tegmue-*
caricheri ;
Ite cokuatarit, essemmer taniguarit, iabbe *ite micam* ;
Ite tatacoli ikiri atzomua ikirirain *ite* bacachin cale kuegma nañegua
 cantem ;
 Caisa *ite* nosam bacatatacoli ;
 Bacachin ackiro muetzerac *ite*.

TARAHUMARA.

Tami nonò, mamù reguì guamí gatiki ;
Tami noinéruje mu regua ;
 Telimea rekijena ;
Tami neguaruje mu jelaliki henná, guetshiki, mapu hatschibe re-
 guega guami ;
Tami nututuge hipeba ;
Tami guecanje *tami* guikeliki, matamé hatschibe reguega *tami* gue-
 canje putse *tami* guikejameke ;
 Ke ta *tami* satuje ;
 Telegatigemeke mechka hulà. *Amen*.

CORA.

Ta yaoppe *tapahoa* pethebe ;
 Cherihuaca eia teaguarira ;
 Chemeahuabeni *tahemi* (to us) eia chianaca ;
 Cheaquasteni eia jevira iye (as) chianacatapoan tup up *tapahoa* ;
 Eii ta hamuit (*bread*) eu te huima tahetze rej rujeve ihic (*to-day*)
 ta taa ;
 Huatauniraca ta xanacan tetup itcahmo tatahuatauni titaxanacante ;
 Ta vaehre teatcai havobereni xanacat hetze huabachreaca tecai tahemi
 rutahuaga tehai eu ene.
 Che-enhuatahua.

With these end our *data*, but not our lists of dialects ; the

names Maya, Guazave, Heria, Sicuraba, Xixime, Topia, Tepeguana, and Acaxee all being, either in Hervas, or elsewhere, as applied to the different forms of speech of Sonora and Sinaloa; to which may be added the Tahu, the Pacasca, and the Acasca, which is probably the same word as Acaxee, as Huimi is the same as Yuma, and Zaque as Hiaqui. Of the Guazave a particular dialect is named as the Ahome. Add also the Zoe and Huitcole, probably the same as the Huite.

That some of these unrepresented forms of speech belong to the same class with the Pima, Hiaqui, &c., is nearly certain. How many, however, do so is another question; it may be that *all* are in the same predicament; it may be only a few.

The languages of

MECHOACAN.

These are—

1. THE PIRINDA.
2. THE TARASCA.
3. THE OTOMI.

The last will be considered at once, and dismissed. More has been written on the Otomi than any other language of these parts; the proper Mexican not excepted. It was observed by Naxera that it was *monosyllabic* rather than *polysynthetic*, as so many of the American languages are, with somewhat doubtful propriety, denominated. A Mexican language, with a Chinese characteristic, could scarcely fail to suggest comparisons. Hence, the first operation on the Otomi was to disconnect it from the languages of the New, and to connect it with those of the Old World. With his accustomed caution, Gallatin satisfies himself with stating what others have said, his own opinion evidently being that the relation to the Chinese was one of analogy rather than affinity.

Doubtless this is the sounder view; and one confirmed by three series of comparisons made by the present writer.

The first shows that the Otomi, as compared with the monosyllabic languages of Asia, *en masse*, has several words in common. But the second qualifies our inferences, by showing that the Maya, a language more distant from China than the Otomi,

and, by no means inordinately monosyllabic in its structure, has, there or thereabouts, as many. The third forbids any separation of the Otomi from the other languages of America, by showing that it has the ordinary amount of miscellaneous affinities.

In respect to the Chinese, &c., the real question is not whether it has *so many affinities with the Otomi*, but whether it has *more affinities with the Otomi than with the Maya or any other American language*; a matter which we must not investigate without remembering that *some* difference in favour of the Otomi is to be expected, inasmuch as two languages with short or monosyllabic words will, from the very fact of the shortness and simplicity of their constituent elements, have more words alike than two polysyllabic forms of speech.

The fact, however, which most affects the place of the Otomi language is the monosyllabic character of other American languages, *e. g.* the Athabaskan and the Attacapa.

As these are likely to be the subject of some future investigation, I lay the Otomi, for the present, out of consideration; limiting myself to the expression of an opinion, to the effect that its philological affinities are not very different from what its geographical position suggests.

Of the Pirinda and Tarasca we have grammars, or rather grammatical sketches; abstracts of which, by Gallatin, may be found in his Notes on the Semi-civilized Nations of Mexico, Yucatan, and Central America, in the first volume of the Transactions of the American Ethnological Society. The following are from the Mithridates.

PIRINDA PATERNOSTER.

Cabutumtaki ke exjehori pininte ;
 Niboteachatii tucathi nitubuteallu ;
 Tantoki hacacovi nitubutea pininte ;
 Tarejoki nirihonta manicatii ninujami propininte ;
 Boturimegui dammuce tupacovi chii ;
 Exgemundicovi boturichochii, kicatii pracavovi kuşentumundijo boturichochijo ;

Niantexechichovi rumkuęentuvi innivochochii ;
 Moripachitovi cuinenzimo tegui.
 Tucatii.

TARASCA PATERNOSTER.

Tata uchàveri tukire hacahini avàndaro ;
 Santo arikeve tucheveti hacangurikua ;
 Wetzin andarenoni tucheveti irecheekua ;
 Ukuareve tucheveti wekua iskire avandaro, na humengaca istu umen-
 gave ixu excherendo.
 Huchaveveri curinda hanganari pakua intzcutzini yaru ;
 Santzin wepovacheras huchaveveri hatzingakuareta, izki huchanac
 wepocacuanita haca huchàveri hatzingakuaechani ;
 Ca hastzin teruhtazema teruniguta perakua himbo ;
 Evapentztatzini yaru catzingurita himbo. Isevengua.

It now becomes convenient to turn to the parts to the east of California, viz.

UTAH AND NEW MEXICO.

In Utah the philology is simple, all its forms of speech being

1. Athabaskan ;
2. Paduca ; or
3. Pueblo.

1. The Navaho, along with the Jecorilla of New Mexico, the Hoopah of California, and Apatch of California, New Mexico and Sonora, is Athabaskan.

ENGLISH.	NAVAHO.	APATCH.
<i>man</i>	tennai	ailée.
<i>woman</i>	estsomnee	eetzan.
<i>head (my)</i>	hutzeetsin	seezee.
<i>hair (my)</i>	hutzee	seesga.
<i>face (my)</i>	hunnee	streenee.
<i>ear (my)</i>	hutjah	seetza.
<i>eye (my)</i>	hunnah	sleeda.
<i>nose (my)</i>	hutchih	seetzee.
<i>mouth (my)</i>	huzzai	sheeda.
<i>tongue (my)</i>	huttso	sheedare.
<i>tooth (my)</i>	hurgo	sheego.

ENGLISH.	NAVAHO.	APATCH.
<i>sky</i>	ceyah	eah.
<i>sun</i>	chokonoi	skeemai.
<i>moon</i>	klaihonoi	clanai.
<i>star</i>	sonh	suns.
<i>day</i>	cheen-go	eeska.
<i>night</i>	klai-go	cla.
<i>light</i>	hoascen-go	skee.
<i>rain</i>	naheltinh	nagostee.
<i>snow</i>	yas	zalis.
<i>hail</i>	neelo	heeloah.
<i>fire</i>	konh	kou.
<i>water</i>	tonh	toah.
<i>stone</i>	tsai	zeyzay.
<i>one</i>	tlahee	tahse.
<i>two</i>	nahkee	nahkee.
<i>three</i>	tanh	tau.

2. The Utah with its allied dialects is Paduca, *i. e.* a member of the class to which the Shoshoni, Wihinast, and Cumanch languages belong.

3. The Moqui is one of the languages of

THE PUEBLO INDIANS OF NEW MEXICO.

The comparative civilization of the Pueblo Indians has always attracted the attention of the ethnologist. Until lately, however, he had but a *minimum* amount of trustworthy information concerning either their habits or their language. He has now a fair amount of *data* for both. For philological purposes he has vocabularies for six (probably for all) of them.

Of the Pueblo languages two belong to the drainage of the Rio Colorado and four to that of the Rio Grande. Of these two divisions the former lies the farthest west, and, of the two Colorado Pueblos, the most western is that of

The Moqui.—The Moqui vocabulary was procured by Lieut. Simpson from a Moqui Indian who happened to be at Chelly.

The Zuni country lies in 35° north latitude, to the south and east of the Moqui, and is probably divided by the Sierra de Zuni from

The Acoma, or Laguna, the most southern of the Pueblos of the Rio Grande. North of the Acoma area lies that of *The Jemez*, on the San Josef.

The two that still stand over lie on the main stream of the Rio Grande itself. They are—

The Tesuque; and

The Taos or Picuri.—The northern boundaries of the Tesuque seem to be the southern ones of Taos. Connect these *Pueblos* with the town of Taos, and the Tesuque with Santa Fé, and the ordinary maps give us the geography.

The philological affinities of the Pueblo languages scarcely coincide with the geographical relations. The Moqui lies far west. Laying this then out of the question, the three that, in their outward signs, most strike the eye in tables, as agreeing with each other, are the Laguna, the Jemez, and the Tesuque. The other two that thus outwardly agree are the Taos and the Zuni,—two that are not in the most immediate geographical juxtaposition.

What is meant by the “outward signs that most strike the eye on tables”? This is shown in the following tables:—

ENGLISH.	ZUNI.	TESUQUE.
<i>head</i>	<i>oshoquinnee</i>	<i>pto.</i>
<i>hair</i>	<i>tiyahwee</i>	<i>po.</i>
<i>ear</i>	<i>lahjotinnee</i>	<i>oyez.</i>
<i>eye</i>	<i>tonahwee</i>	<i>tzie.</i>
<i>nose</i>	<i>nohahhunee</i>	<i>heu.</i>
<i>mouth</i>	<i>ahwahtinnee</i>	<i>so.</i>
<i>tongue</i>	<i>honinnee</i>	<i>hae.</i>
<i>tooth</i>	<i>oahnahwee</i>	<i>muai.</i>

The following are some of the most patent miscellaneous affinities:—

English, sun.
Tesuque, *pah*.
Jemez, *pah*.

Jemez, *pahah*.
Taos, *pannah*.
Moqui, *muyah*.

English, moon.
Tesuque, *pooye*.

English, man.
Tesuque, *sayen*.
Jemez, *tahhanenah*.

English, woman.
 Tesuque, *ker*.
 Zuni, *ocare*.
English, wife.
 Tesuque, *naveso*.
 Jemez, *neohoy*.
English, boy.
 Tesuque, *onue*.
 Jemez, *annoh*.
English, forehead.
 Tesuque, *siccovah*.
 Laguna, *cophay*.
English, face.
 Tesuque, *chaay*.
 Laguna, *kowah*.
English, eye.
 Tesuque, *chay*.
 Jemez, *saech*.
English, teeth.
 Tesuque, *muah*.
 Taos, *moen-nahenhay*.
 Moqui, *moah*=mouth.
English, chin.
 Tesuque, *shabbok*.
 Taos, *claybonhai*.

The Moqui, which is not to be separated from the other Pueblo languages, has, out of twenty-one words compared, eight coinciding with the Utah.

Neither are there wanting words common to the Pueblo languages and those of the Athabaskan Navahos, Jecorillas and Apaches.

English, deer.
 Navaho, *payer*.
 Jecorilla, *payah*.
 Jemez, *pahah*.
English, cat.
 Navaho, *muse*.
 Jecorilla, *mussah*.

English, hand.
 Tesuque, *mah*.
 Jemez, *mahtish*.
 Moqui, *moktay*.
 Moqui, *mahlatz*=finger.
English, breast.
 Tesuque, *peah*.
 Laguna, *quaist-pay*.
 Taos, *pahakkaynaynemay*.
 Jemez, *pay-lu*.
 Utah, *pay*.
English, deer.
 Tesuque, *pahye*.
 Jemez, *pahah*.
English, rattlesnake.
 Tesuque, *payyoh*.
 Taos, *pihoovn*.
English, cat.
 Tesuque, *musah*.
 Laguna, *mus*.
 Taos, *museenah*.
 Jemez, *moonsah*.
 Zuni, *musah*.
English, fire.
 Tesuque, *tah*.
 Jemez, *twaah*.

Tesuque, *musah*.
 Laguna, &c.*, *mus*.

English, earth.
 Navaho, *ne*.
 Jecorilla, *nay*.
 Tesuque, *nah*.

* The Utah is *musah*.

English, man.
 Navaho, *tennay*.
 Jecorilla, *tinlay*.
 Tesuque, *sayen*.
 Jemez, *tahhanenah*.

English, mouth.
 Navaho, *hu-zzay*.
 Jecorilla, *hu-zzy*.
 Tesuque, *sho*.

Of these the first two may be borrowed. In

KANZAS

the languages are *Arapaho*, and *Shyenne*, already noticed; and *Cumanach*, which is Paduca.

For the *Kioway* we want specimens. In

NEBRASKA

they are *Sioux*, already noticed, and *Pawnee*, allied to the *Riccaree*. Kansas leads us to

TEXAS.

It is convenient in a notice of the languages of the State of Texas to bear in mind its early, as well as its present relations to the United States. In a country where the spread of the population from the other portions of the Union has been so rapid, and where the occupancy is so complete, we are prepared to expect but a small proportion of aborigines. And such, upon the whole, is the case. The displacement of the Indian tribes of Texas has been great. Even, however, when Mexican, Texas was not in the category of the older and more original portions of Mexico. It was not brought under the *régime* of the missionaries, as we may see by turning to that portion of the Mithridates which treats of the parts west of the Mississippi. The references here are to Dupratz, to Lewis and Clarke, to Charlevoix, to French and English writers rather than to the great authority for the other parts of Spanish America—Hervas. And the information is less precise and complete. All this is because Texas in the earlier part of its history was, in respect to its exploration and description, a part of Louisiana (and, as such, French) rather than a part of Mexico, and (as such) Spanish.

The notices of Texas, in the Mithridates, taken along with

our subsequent *data*, are to the effect that (a) the *Caddo*, (b) the *Adaize* or *Adahi*, (c) the *Attacapa*, and (d) the *Choktah* are the prevailing languages of Texas; to which may be added a few others of minor importance.

The details as to the distribution of the subordinate forms of speech over these four leading languages are as follows:—

a. The Nandakoes, Nabadaches, Alich (or Eyish), and Ini or Tachi are expressly stated to be *Caddo*; and, as it is from the name of the last of these that the word Texas is derived, we have satisfactory evidence that *some* members, at least, of the *Caddo* family are *truly and originally* Texian.

b. The Yatassi, Natchitoches, *Adaize* (or *Adaye*), Nacogdoches, and Keyes, belong to the *Caddo* confederacy, but without speaking the *Caddo* language.

c. The Carancouas, the *Attacapas*, the Apelusas, the Mayes speak dialects of the same language.

d. The Tunicas speak the same language as the Choctahs.

Concerning the philology of the Washas, the Bedies, the Acoessesaws, and the Cancas, no statements are made.

It is obvious that the information supplied by the Mithridates is measured by the extent of our knowledge of the four languages to which it refers.

Of these, the *Choktah*, which Adelung calls the *Mobilian*, is the only one for which the Mithridates itself supplies, or could supply, specimens; the other three being unrepresented by any sample whatever. Hence, to say that the Tachi was *Caddo*, that the Yatassi was *Adahi*, or that the Carancoua was *Attacapa*, was to give an instance, in the way of explanation, of the *obscurum per obscurius*. Since the publication of the Mithridates, however, we have got samples of all three—*Caddo*, *Adahi*, and *Attacapa*—so that our standards of comparison are improved. They are to be found in a tabulated form, and in a form convenient for collation and comparison in both of Gallatin's papers. They were all collected before the annexation of Texas, and they appear in the papers just referred to as Louisiana, rather than truly Texian, languages; being common to the two areas.

Of the works and papers written upon Texas since it

became a field of observation for English and American, as opposed to French and Spanish observers, the two on which the present writer, when he treated of the subject in his work on the Varieties of Mankind, most especially, and perhaps exclusively relied, were the well-known work of Kennedy on Texas, and a MS. with which he was favoured by Mr. Bollaert, specially limited to the ethnology of the State. Of this MS. a short abstract is to be found in the Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science for the year 1846, made by Mr. Bollaert himself.

The later the notice of Texas the greater the prominence given to a tribe of which nothing is said in the Mithridates, viz. the *Cumanch*. As late as 1844 we had nothing beyond the numerals and a most scanty MS. list of words to tell us what the Cumanch language really was. These, however, were sufficient to show that its affinities were of a somewhat remarkable kind, viz. with the Shoshoni, or Snake, tongues of the southern parts of Oregon*. In Mr. Bollaert's notice the Cumanches are divided into three sections: (1) the Cumanch or Jetan, (2) the Lemparack, and (3) the Tenuha, and a list of no less than thirty-five other tribes follows this division, some of these being said to be wholly extinct, some partially so; some to be more or less Cumanch, some to be other than Cumanch.

The tendency of the Mithridates is to give prominence to the Caddo, Attacapa, and Adahi tongues, and to incline the investigator, when dealing with the other forms of speech, to ask how far they are connected with one of these three. The tendency of the writers last-named is to give prominence to the Cumanch, and to suggest the question: How far is this (or that) form of speech Cumanch or other than Cumanch?

Working with the Mithridates, the MS. of Mr. Bollaert, and Mr. Kennedy's volume on Texas before me, I find that the list of Texian Indians which these authorities justified me in publishing in 1848, contained (1) Coshattas, (2) Towiachs, Towakenos, Towecas, and Wacos, (3) Lipans or Sipans, (4)

* "On the Languages of the Oregon Territory." By R. G. Latham, M.D. Read before the Ethnological Society, Dec. 1844.—*Note*.

Aliche or Eyish, (5) Acoressesaws, (6) Navaosos, (7) Mayes, (8) Cancas, (9) Toncahuas, (10) Tuhuktukis, (11) Unataquas or Anadarcos, (12) Mascovie, (13) Tawanis or Ionis, (14) Wico, ? Waco, (15) Avoyelles, (16) Washitas, (17) Ketchi, (18) Xaramenes, (19) Caicaches, (20) Bidias, (21) Caddo, (22) Attacapa, (23) Adahi; besides the Carankahuas (of which the Cokes are made a branch) classed with the Attacapa, and not including certain Cherokees, Choctahs, Chikkasahs, and Sioux.

A *Washita* vocabulary, which will be referred to in the sequel, concludes the list of Texian languages known by specimens.

At present, then, the chief question respecting the philology of Texas is one of distribution. Given as centres to certain groups

1. The Choctah,
2. The Caddo,
3. The Adahi,
4. The Attakapa,
5. The Cumanch, and
6. The Washita languages,

how do we arrange the tribes just enumerated? Two works help us here:—1. A Letter from the Ex-president Burnett to Schoolcraft on the Indians of Texas. Date 1847. 2. A Statistical Notice of the same by Jesse Stem. Date 1851.

Stem's statistics run thus:—

TRIBES.	NUMBERS.
Towacarros	141
Wacos	114
Ketchies	38
Caddos	161
Andarcos	202
Ioni	113
Tonkaways	1152
Wichitas	100
Lipans	500
Comanches	20,000

giving us several of the names that have already appeared ;

giving also great prominence to the Cumanches—numerically at least.

In Mr. Burnett's Letter the term *Caddo* is prominent; but whether it denote the *Caddo language*, or merely the *Caddo confederation*, is uncertain. Neither can I find from the context whether the statements respecting the Indians of the *Caddo connexion* (for this is what we must call it at present) are made on the personal authority of the writer, or whether they are taken, either directly or indirectly, from the Mithridates. The term that Burnett uses is *stock*, his statement being that the Waco, the Tawacani, the Towiash, the Aynic, the San Pedro Indians, the Nabaducho, and the Nacodocheets are all both Texian in origin and *Caddo* in *stock*.

His other tribes are—

1. The *Ketchi*: a small tribe on Trinity River, hated by the Cumanches as sorcerers, and, perhaps, the same as—

2. The *Hitchi*, once a distinct tribe, now assimilated with their neighbours.

3. The *Tonkaways*, a separate tribe, of which, however, the distinctive characters are not stated.

Whatever may be the exact details of the languages, dialects, and subdialects of Texas, the general outline is simple.

The *Choctah* forms of speech are anything but native. They are of foreign origin and recent introduction. So are certain Sioux and other dialects spoken within the Texian area.

The *Cumanch* is in the same predicament; though not, perhaps, so decidedly. It belongs to the Paduca class, and its affinities are with the Shoshoni and Wihinast of Oregon.

The *Caddo* Proper is said to be intrusive, having been introduced so late as 1819 from the parts between the great Raft and the Natchitoches or Red River. I hold, however, that *some* *Caddo* forms of speech must be indigenous.

The *Witchita* is probably one of these:—

ENGLISH.	CADDO.	WITCHITA.
<i>head</i>	<i>cundo</i>	<i>etskase</i> .
<i>hair</i>	<i>beunuo</i>	<i>deodske</i> .
<i>eye</i>	<i>nockkochun</i>	<i>kidahkuck</i> .

ENGLISH.	CADDO.	WITCHITA.
<i>nose</i>	sol	dutstistoe.
<i>mouth</i>	nowoese	hawkoo.
<i>tongue</i>	ockkotunna.....	hutskee.
<i>tooth</i>	ockkodeta	awk.
<i>one</i>	whiste	cherche.
<i>two</i>	bit	mitch.
<i>three</i>	dowoh.....	daub.
<i>four</i>	peaweh	dawquats.
<i>five</i>	dissickka.....	esquats.
<i>six</i>	dunkkee	kehass.
<i>seven</i>	bissickka.....	keopits.
<i>eight</i>	dowsickka	keotope.
<i>nine</i>	pewesickka.....	sherchekeite.
<i>ten</i>	binnah.....	skedorash.

The *Adahi* has already been noticed as being a comparatively isolated language, but, nevertheless, a language with numerous miscellaneous affinities.

The *Attacapa* is one of the pauro-syllabic languages of America, by which I mean languages that, if not monosyllabic after the fashion of the languages of south-eastern Asia, have the appearance of being so. They form a remarkable class, but it is doubtful whether they form a natural one, *i. e.* whether they are more closely connected with each other in the other elements of philological affinity than they are with the tongues not so characterized. They deserve, however, what cannot be given in the present paper, a special consideration.

For the north-eastern districts of Mexico, New Leon, Tamaulipas, &c., *i. e.* for the parts between the Rio Grande and Tampico, no language is known to us by specimens. It is only known that the Cumanch dips deeply into Mexico. So does the Apatsh.

A tribe, lately mentioned, that of the Lipans, is, *perhaps*, Apatsh. Burnett states that they agree with the Mescalero and Seratics of the parts about the Paso del Norte. For these, however, we still want vocabularies *iis nominibus*.

Be the Lipan affinities what they may, it is clear that both the Cumanch and Apatsh languages belong to a class foreign to a great part of the areas over which they are spread—

foreign, and (as such) intrusive—intrusive, and (as such) developed at the expense of some native language.

That the original area of the latter is that of the Navahos, Jecorillas, Hoopahs, Umkwas, Tlatskanai, and that these occupy the parts between the Algonkin and Eskimo frontiers—parts as far north as the Arctic circle—has already been stated. No repetition, however, is superfluous that gives definitude and familiarity to the very remarkable phænomena connected with the geographical distribution of the Athabaskans.

Neither are the details of the Paduca area—the area of the Wihinast, Shoshoni, Utah, and Cumanch forms of speech—without interest. To the north of California, the Wihinast, or Western Shoshonis, are separated from the Pacific by a thin strip of Jacón and Kalapuya country, being succeeded in the direction of Utah by the Shoshonis Proper. Then follow the Bonaks and Sampiches; the Shoshoni affinities of which need not be doubted, though the evidence of them is still capable of improvement. The Utah of the parts about Lake Utah is known to us by a vocabulary; and known to be Cumanch or Shoshoni—call it which you will. I call them all *Paduca*, from a population so named by Pike.

Now, out of twenty-one words common to the Utah and Moqui, eight are alike.

Again, the Shoshoni and Sahaptin have several words in common, and those out of short vocabularies.

Thirdly, the Shoshoni and Wihinast, though spoken within (comparatively) narrow limits, differ from each other more than the several forms of the Cumanch, though spread over a vast tract of land.

The inference from this is, that the Paduca forms of South Oregon and Utah are *in situ*; those of New Mexico, Texas, and New Leon, &c. being intrusive. In respect to these, I imagine that a line drawn from the south-eastern corner of the Utah Lake to the source of the Red or Salt Fork branch of the River Arkansas, would pass through a country nearly, if not wholly, Paduca; a country which would lie partly in Utah, partly in New Mexico, and partly in Kansas. It would cross the Rocky Mountains, or the watershed be-

tween the drainages of the Colorado and the Missouri. It would lie along a high and barren country. It would have on its west the Navaho, Moqui, and Apatsh areas; on its east certain Sioux tribes, and (further south) the Arapahos and Shyennes. It would begin in California and end in the parts about Tampico.

MEXICO.—GUATIMALA.

The Cumanches, on the very verge, or within the tropics, vex by their predatory inroads the Mexican states of Zacatecas and Durango. Along with the Lipans they are the sparse occupants of the Bolson de Mapimi. Along with the Apaches they plunder the traders and travellers of Chihuahua.

For the parts about Tampico the language belongs to the Huasteca branch of

THE MAYA.—The Maya succeeds the languages just enumerated on the *east*. On the *west*, the Otomi, Pirinda, and Tarasca are succeeded by

THE MEXICAN PROPER.—But the Maya and Mexican Proper are languages of such importance, that the present paper will merely notify their presence in Mexico and Central America.

The languages that, from their comparative obscurity, claim the attention of the investigator, are those which are *other than* Maya and *other than* Mexican Proper.

Of these, the first succeeds the Huasteca of Huastecapan, or the parts about Tampico; which it separates, or helps to separate, from the northern branches of the Maya Proper, being

THE TONACA of Vera Cruz, of which the following is the Paternoster; the German being that of the Mithridates.

TONACA.

Unser Vater o im Himmel steht
 Quintlatcané nac tiayan huil;
gemacht hoch werde dein Nahme
 Tacollalihuacahuanli ò mi macoxot;
komme dein (reich?)
 Niquiminanin ò mintacacchi

gethan werde dein Wille
 Tacholahuanla ò min pahuat
wie wie in Himmel
 Cholei ix cacnitiet chalchix nac tiayan ;
unser Brot,
 O quin chouhcan lacalliya
uns gib heute
 niquilaixquiuh yanohue ;
uns vergib unsre Sünde
 Caquilamatzancaniuh quintacallitcan
wie wir vergeben
 Chonlei ò quitnan lamatzancaniyauh
*unsern *Schuldigern*
 ò quintalac allaniyan ;
Und nicht uns lasse
 Ca ala quilamactaxtoyauh
damit wir stehen in Versuchung
 Nali yojauh naca liyogni
gethan werde
 Chontacholacahuanla.

The same from Hervas.

Kintaccan ò natiayan huill ;
 Tacotllali huacahuanla o min paxca maocxot
 Camill omintagchi,
 Tacholaca huanla ixcaçgnitiet ot
 skiniau chon cholacan ocnatiayan ;
 Alyanohue nikila ixkiu ki lalali chaocan ;
 Kilamatzancaniau kintacagllitcan
 Kintalacatlanian ochonkinan iclamatzan—
 Caniau kintalacatlanian ;
 Nikilamapotaxtou ala nicliyolau
 lacotlanacatalit nikilamapotexto
 lamatzon lacacolcana.
 Chontacholacahuanla.

Cross the watershed from Vera Paz to Oaxaca, and you come to the area of

THE MIXTECA.—In the ordinary maps, Tepezcolula, on the boundaries of Oaxaca and Puebla, is the locality for its chief dialect, of which there are several.

MIXTECA PATERNOSTER.

Dzutundoo, zo dzicani andihui ;
 Naca cuneihuando sasanine ;
 Nakisi santoniisini ;
 Nacahui ñuññaihui saha yocuhui inini dzahuatnaha yocuhui andihui ;
 Dzitandoo yutnaa yutnaa tasinisindo hiutni ;
 Dzandooni cuachisindo dzaguatnaha yodzandoondoondi hindo suhani
 sindoo ;
 Huasi kihui ñahani nucuitandodzondo kuachi ;
 Tahui ñahani ndihindo sahañavvhuaka dzahua ;
 Nacuhui.

The Mixteca succeeds the Mexican Proper, itself being other than Mexican, just as the Totonaca succeeded the Huasteca, which was Maya, the Totonaca being other than Maya.

The Mixteca is the language of Northern,
 THE ZAPOTECA that of Southern, Oaxaca.

Hervas writes, that the Zapoteca, Mazateca, Chinanteca, and Mixe were allied. The Mixe locality is the district around Tehuantepec.

South of the areas of the three languages just enumerated comes the main division of the Maya—the Maya of Guatemala and Yucatan, as opposed to the Huasteca of the parts about Tampico. This, however, we pass over *sicco pede*, for

HONDURAS AND SAN SALVADOR.

Limiting ourselves to the districts that undeniably belong to those two States, we have samples of four dialects of

THE LENCA language ; these being from the four Pueblos of Guajiquiro, Opatoro, Intibucá, and Sirmlaton, those of the last being shorter and less complete than the others. They are quite recent, and are to be found only in the Spanish edition of Mr. Squier's Notes on Central America. The English is without them.

ENGLISH.	GUAJIQUIRO.	OPATORO.	INTIBUCA.
<i>man</i>	—	taho	amashe.
<i>woman</i> . .	—	move	napu.
<i>boy</i>	—	guagua	hua.
<i>head</i>	toro	tohoro	cagasi.

ENGLISH.	GUAJIQUIRO.	OPATORO.	INTIBUCA.
<i>ear</i>	yang	yan	yangaga.
<i>eye</i>	saing	saringla	saring.
<i>nose</i>	napse	napseh	nepton.
<i>mouth</i> . .	ingh	ambeingh	ingori.
<i>tongue</i> . .	nafel	navel	napel.
<i>teeth</i> . .	nagha.	neas	nigh.
<i>neck</i>	ampshala	ampshala	cange.
<i>arm</i>	kenin	kenin	kening.
<i>fingers</i> . .	lasel	gualalasel	—
<i>foot</i>	güagi	quagi	guaskaring.
<i>blood</i> . . .	uahug	uah.	quch.
<i>sun</i>	gasi	gashi	gashi.
<i>star</i>	siri	siri	—
<i>fire</i>	uga	'ua	yuga.
<i>water</i> . . .	guass	uash	guash.
<i>stone</i> . . .	caa	caa	tupan.
<i>tree</i>	ili	ili	ili.
<i>one</i>	ita	ita	itaska.
<i>two</i>	naa	—	—
<i>three</i> . . .	lagua	—	—
<i>four</i>	aria	—	—
<i>five</i>	saihe	saihe	—
<i>six</i>	huie	hue.	—
<i>seven</i> . . .	huis-ca	—	—
<i>eight</i> . . .	teef-ca	—	—
<i>nine</i>	kaiapá	—	—
<i>ten</i>	isis	issis	—

As Mr. Squier is the sole authority for the Lenca of San Salvador and Honduras, so he is for

NICARAGUA.

Limiting ourselves to the undoubtedly Nicaraguan area, and taking no note of the Mexican Proper of more than one interesting Mexican settlement, the three forms of speech for which we have specimens are—

1. THE CHORETEGA;
2. THE NAGRANDA; and
3. THE WULWA, of the Chontal district.

And now we pass to the Debateable Ground. The language of

THE MOSKITO COUNTRY

gives us a fourth form of speech ; at least (I think) as different from the Choretega, Nagranda, Wulwa, and Lenca, as they are from each other. This is—

THE WAIKNA of the Indians of the coast, and, probably, of several allied tribes inland.

Of the Waikna, Wulwa, Nagranda, and Choretega, samples may be found either in Squier's Nicaragua, or vol. iii. of the Transactions of the American Ethnological Society.

ENGLISH.	NAGRANDA.	CHORETEGA.
<i>man</i>	rahpa	nuho.
<i>woman</i>	rapa-ku	n-ahseyomo.
<i>boy</i>	sai-ka	n-asome.
<i>girl</i>	sai-kee	n-ahenyum.
<i>child</i>	chichi	n-aneyame.
<i>father</i>	ana	goo-ha.
<i>mother</i>	autu	goo-mo.
<i>husband</i>	a'mbin	'mhohue.
<i>wife</i>	a'guyu	nume.
<i>son</i>	sacul-e	n-asomeyamo.
<i>daughter</i>	saicul-a	n-asayme.
<i>head</i>	{ a'cu	goochemo.
	{ edi	—
<i>hair</i>	tu'su	membe.
<i>face</i>	enu	grote.
<i>forehead</i>	guitu	goola.
<i>ear</i>	nau	nuhme.
<i>eye</i>	setu	nahte.
<i>nose</i>	ta'co	mungoo.
<i>mouth</i>	dahnu	nunnu.
<i>tongue</i>	duhu	greuhe.
<i>tooth</i>	semu	nahe.
<i>foot</i>	naku	grahu.
<i>sky</i>	dehmalu	nekupe.
<i>sun</i>	ahca	numbu.
<i>star</i>	ucu	nuete.
<i>fire</i>	ahku	nahu.
<i>water</i>	eeia	nimbu.
<i>stone</i>	{ esee	nugo.
	{ esenu	—

ENGLISH.	NAGRANDA.	CHORETEGA.
<i>I</i>	ic-u	saho.
<i>thou</i>	ic-a	sumusheta.
<i>he</i>	ic-a	—
<i>we</i>	hechel-u	semehmu.
<i>ye</i>	hechel-a	—
<i>they</i>	icanu	—
<i>this</i>	ca-la	—

For the Waikna there are other materials. The Wulwa specimens are few. Hence it may be doubtful whether the real difference between it and the Waikna be so great as the following table suggests.

ENGLISH.	WULWA.	WAIKNA.
<i>man</i>	all	waikna.
<i>woman</i>	y-all	mairen.
<i>son</i>	pau-ni-ma	lupia-waikna.
<i>daughter</i>	pau-co-ma	lupia-mairen.
<i>head</i>	tunni	let.
<i>eye</i>	minik-taka	nakro.
<i>nose</i>	magni-tak	kamka.
<i>mouth</i>	dinibas	bila.
<i>blood</i>	anassca	tala.
<i>all</i>	duwawa	semehmu.
<i>drink</i>	mahuia	bo-prima.
<i>run</i>	dagalnu	bo-tupu.
<i>leap</i>	masiga	bo-ora.
<i>go</i>	{ aiyu	pa-ya.
	{ icu	—
<i>sing</i>	nagamo	pa-coondamu.
<i>sleep</i>	ami	pa-yacope.

COSTA RICA.

The following is from a vocabulary of Dr. Karl Scherzers of the languages of the *Blanco*, *Valiente*, and *Talamenca* Indians of Costa Rica, occupants of the parts between the River Zent and the Boca del Toro. We may call it a specimen of

THE TALAMENCA.—It seems to be, there or thereabouts, as different from the preceding languages as they are from each other.

ENGL.	TALAMENCA.	ENGL.	TALAMENCA.
<i>ear</i>	<i>su-kuke.</i>	<i>star</i>	<i>bewue.</i>
<i>eye</i>	<i>su-wuaketei.</i>	<i>fire</i>	<i>tshuko.</i>
<i>nose</i>	<i>su-tshukoto.</i>	<i>water</i>	<i>ditzita.</i>
<i>mouth,</i>	<i>su-'kuwu.</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>e-tawa.</i>
<i>tongue</i>	<i>es-kuptu.</i>	<i>two</i>	<i>bo-tewa.</i>
<i>tooth</i>	<i>sa-ka.</i>	<i>three</i>	<i>magna-tewa.</i>
<i>beard</i>	<i>sa-karku mezili.</i>	<i>four</i>	<i>ske-tewa.</i>
<i>neck-joint?</i>	<i>tzin.</i>	<i>five</i>	<i>si-tawa.</i>
<i>arm</i>	<i>sa-fra.</i>	<i>six</i>	<i>si-wo-ske-le.</i>
<i>hand.</i>	<i>sa-fra-tzin-sek.</i>	<i>seven</i>	<i>si-wo-wora.</i>
<i>finger</i>	<i>fra-wuata.</i>	<i>eight.</i>	<i>si-wo-magnana.</i>
<i>nail</i>	<i>sa-krasku.</i>	<i>nine</i>	<i>si-wo-ske-tewa.</i>
<i>sun</i>	<i>kanhue.</i>	<i>ten</i>	<i>sa-flat-ka.</i>
<i>moon.</i>	<i>tulu.</i>		

The same volume of the Transactions of the American Ethnological Society that supplies us with Mr. Squier's vocabularies for Nicaragua supplies us with Dr. Seeman's for

VERAGUA.

These being for

THE BAYANO ;
THE SAVANERIC ; and
THE CHOLO.

The Cholo is the same as Dr. Cullen's Yule, and also the same as Cunacuna and Darien of Balbi and the Mithridates.

ENGLISH.	CUNACUNA.	DARIEN.
<i>one</i>	<i>quensa-cua</i>	<i>conjungo.</i>
<i>two</i>	<i>vo-cua</i>	<i>poquah.</i>
<i>three</i>	<i>paa-cua</i>	<i>pauquah.</i>
<i>four.</i>	<i>paque-cua</i>	<i>pake-quah.</i>
<i>five</i>	<i>atale</i>	<i>eterrah.</i>
<i>six</i>	<i>ner-cua</i>	<i>indricah.</i>
<i>seven</i>	<i>cugle</i>	<i>coogolah.</i>
<i>eight</i>	<i>vau-agua</i>	<i>paukopah.</i>
<i>nine.</i>	<i>paque-hague</i>	<i>pakekopah.</i>
<i>ten</i>	<i>ambegui</i>	<i>anivego.</i>

It is also the same as some short specimens of the Mithridates ; where

water=dulah.
 moon=nu.
 father=tautah.
 mother=naunah.

brother=rupah.
 sister=ninah.
 wife (woman)=poonah.

The Cholo leads us into South America, where, for the present, we leave it.

ADDENDA.

I will now add two notes, which may possibly save some future investigator an unremunerative search.

First, concerning a language called *Mokorosi*. In Jülg, this is made a language of Mexico. It is really the *Moxa* of South America under an altered name.

ENGLISH.	MOKOROSI.	MOXA.
<i>I</i>	nùti	nuti.
<i>thou</i>	pìti	piti.
<i>he</i>	ema	ema.
<i>this</i>	màca	maca.
<i>that</i>	màena	maena.
<i>that you</i>	màro	maro.
<i>she</i>	esu	esu.
<i>my</i>	nuyee	nuyee.
<i>thy</i>	piyee	piyee.
<i>his</i>	mayee	mayee.
<i>one</i>	eto	eto.
<i>two</i>	api	api.
<i>three</i>	mopo	mopo.

This is from an *Arte y vocabulario de la Lengua Mokorosi, compuesto por un padre de la compañía de Jesus misionero de la Provincia de los Moxos dedicado a la Serenissima Reyna de los Angeles, siempre Virgen Maria, Patrona de estas Misiones; en Madrid, año de 1699.*

A Lima edition A.D. 1701 differs from this in omitting the name *Mokorosi*, and being dedicated to a different patron. In other respects the two works agree *verbatim et literatim*.

Secondly, in respect to a language called *Timuacuana*. For this

we have a *Catechismo y examen para los que comulgan ex lingua Castellana y Timuquana, por el Padre Fr. Francisco Pareja*; and *y Padre de la Provincia de Santa Elena de la Florida, &c. Mexico, 1627.*

Also, the following numerals in Balbi, perhaps, taken from the above:—

ENG.	TIMUACUANA.	||	ENG.	TIMUACUANA.
one . . .	minecotamano.		six . . .	napikichama.
two . . .	nauchamima.		seven . .	napikinahuma.
three . .	nahapumina.		eight . .	napekechetama.
four . .	nacheketamima.		nine . .	natumama.
five . .	namaruama.			

X.—ON THE DERIVATION OF THE LATIN SONS.

BY THEODORE AUFRECHT, ESQ.

[Read June the 27th.]

The Sanskrit *ksh*, a combination of *k* + *s*, is usually represented in Greek and Latin by ξ *x*, σκ *sc*, κτ *ct*. Some cognate words will exemplify this:—

SANSKRIT.	GREEK.	LATIN.
<i>aksha</i> (axle)	ἄξων . . .	axis.
<i>dakshina</i> (right)	δεξιός . . .	dexter.
<i>shash</i> , Zend. <i>kshvas</i> * . . .	Ἑξ	sex.
<i>kshura</i> (razor)	ξυρόν . . .	—
<i>makshu</i> (quickly)	—	mox.
<i>maksha</i> (fly)	—	musca †.
<i>kshap</i> (night, literally she who covers)	σκέπω . . .	—

* Both a corruption of *kshvaksh*. The Greek form with the digamma occurs in the 'Tabulae Heracleenses.'

† *Múia* ought not—as it generally is—to be compared with these words, before it is shown that ξ or σκ can be dropped between two vowels in Greek, as is apparently, but only apparently, the case in Latin. I believe that *μúia* stands for *μύσια*, and that this little animal, as well as *μύs*, *mus* received its name from its propensity for stealing.

SANSKRIT.	GREEK.	LATIN.
<i>riksha</i> (bear)	ἄρκτος	ursus (for ursus).
<i>takshan</i> (faber)	τέκτων	{ texere (basilicam, naves).
<i>kshan</i> (to kill)	KTAN	—
<i>kshi</i> (to kill)	KTI	—
	<i>kshinumas</i> —κτίνυμες.	
<i>naksha-tra</i> (star)*	νυκτ	noct.

Wherever the Sanskrit *ksh* agrees with *κτ* in Greek, we must consider the latter as the older form, and the *ksh* as a corruption, because *s* being weaker than *t*, can never, unless influenced by a subsequent mute, turn into the stronger sound. Sanskrit is as little able as Latin to bear *kt* at the beginning of words, but Sanskrit shows an additional weakness in never suffering it to stand at the end of roots. Forms like *flect*, *nect*, *pect*, *plect*, *τεκτ*, are impossible in Sanskrit. But all three languages have often transformed *kt* into some softer sound, and in many cases we are hardly able to trace the original form. I should not venture at present to prove the maxim, though I believe it will be confirmed hereafter, that every *ksh*, *ξ*, and *x*, found in the radical part of words, arose from *kt*. It may be interesting to show the different organic transmutations which *kt* might undergo in Greek and Latin.

1. The *k* might be dropped. Compare *κτύπος* and *τύπτω*. *kt*, *t*.

* This term rendered literally signifies 'watcher of the night,' from *naksha* for *nakta* (night) and *tra* (protector). The latter stands RV. I. 100, 7. As *naksha* does not occur separately, it is probable that the change took place in order to avoid the cacophony of two *t*'s in two adjoining unaccented syllables. Bopp and Benfey (S. V.) derive *nákshatra* from *naksh*, without stating the meaning of that root. The native grammarians, as in most cases where a derivation does not lie on the surface, indulge in all kinds of absurdities. Yáska, one of the oldest, derives it from a verb *naksh* 'to go.' But as most things might be called from the same activity, and locomotion is not a very striking feature of the stars, and as *naksh* never signifies simply 'to go,' this etymology seems to be arbitrary. According to other grammarians, the stars are the imperishable, eternal, from *na* + *kshar* or *na* + *kshi*. This shows more sense, but less knowledge of grammar.

2. The *t* is changed into *s*. Compare τέκτων and *texo*, *fixum* for *fic-tum*, *noxa* for *noc-ta*. *kt*, *ks*.

3. The initial *k* might be changed into *p*.

4. The *ξ* and *x* might either be changed into *σκ*, *sc*, or lose the initial guttural and appear as *σ* and *s*. Compare 1, ξίφος and σκίφος, *maksha* and *musca*. 2, ξύν and σύν, Ζόννυξος and Διώνυσος, κίννυμι and σίνις, *Sextius* and *Sestius*, *mixtus* and *mistus*, the Oscan *Santia* and *Xantias*. *kt* = *ks*, *sk*; *kt* = *ks*, *s*.

Having laid down these rules, I shall proceed more safely in tracing the origin of *sons* at present, and of one or two Latin words hereafter. I readily believe that Festus is right in explaining *sons* by *nocens*. Qu. xiv. 1, 22, "Sons nocens, ut ex contrario insons innocens." Qu. xiii. 27, 24, "Sonticum morbum in xii. significare ait Aelius Stilo certum cum justa causa, quem non nulli putant esse, qui noceat, quod sontes significat esse nocentes. Naevius ait: sonticam esse oportet causam, quam ob rem perdas mulierem." But the analogy between *nocens*, *noxius*, and *sons*, appears to me far more intimate than the Latin grammarians are aware of. As "nocere alicui" is nothing else but "neci esse alicui," to be the cause of destruction, of death, to somebody, so *sons* signified originally "destroying, killing," and, as every destroyer is held to account by the laws of society, passed from thence easily into the usual meaning of "guilty." The original signification appears clearly in *sonticus morbus*, a deadly disease, that is, a disease which either causes or threatens death. Compare Gellius, xx. 1, 27, "Ceteroquin morbum vehementiorem, vim graviter nocendi habentem, legum istarum scriptores alio in loco non per se morbum, sed morbum sonticum appellat." An attack of such a disease excused a soldier from appearing at the appointed day of a levy, and stopped all farther proceedings in a lawsuit. Hence, or as I am more inclined to believe, from the fact that death and murder inspire the human mind with the greatest awe in any state of society, we find *sonticus*, but very rarely, in the sense of "extreme, urgent*."

* We have an analogy in the use of "deadly," for "extremely, exceed-

I consider *sons* as one of those participles—a small number of which remain in every language—which have passed into adjectives and substantives, and are apparently unconnected with any primitive verb. Thus in Latin *dent* (*edent*), *font* (*χέοντ*, or rather an obsolete *χύντ*, according to Pott*), frequent, clement, in Greek *ἄκοντ*, *ἔκοντ* (= Sanskr. *uçant*, willing, Pott), *γέροντ*, *δράκοντ*. The verb to which *sons* belongs, is the Greek *KTAN*, in that shorter form *KTA*, which appears in the aorist *ἔκταν*, so that *sont* agrees in every respect with *κτάντ* (*κτάς†*). *KTAN*, when turned into Latin, could—after what I have previously said—only become *xan* or *scan*, and if we suppose it took the first form at a time when the Latin could bear an *x* at the beginning of words, it was necessary at a later period to give up the guttural. In the same manner we find that the Greek *σίνις* is derived from *κτι*, a third form in which our verb appears. For *κταν* and *κτι*, we find in Sanskrit *kshan* and *kshi*. In Icelandic we have the verb *KTA* as *ská*. Compare Edda, 111 *a*.

Mjök er osviðr ef hann enn sparir
fjanda inn F O L K S K Â ;

“he is very unwise, if he any longer spares the man-hurting enemy.” The neuter *skae*, hurt, occurs frequently. I find, for instance, a ship called, in the *Fagrskinna*, p. 21, *blámoerar skae*, “the hurter of the blue plain.”

ingly,” in some provincial dialects, as for instance, “a deadly lively child,” for “a very lively child.”—The Dialect and Folk-lore of Northamptonshire, by Thomas Sternberg, p. 29: John Noakes and Mary Styles, by Charles Clark, p. 38.

* Kuhn in his *Journal*, iii. 399, proposes a new, but by no means superior, derivation from the Sanskrit *dhavant*, *currens*, *lavans*, *abluens*.

† With regard to the *o*, compare *dos* from *dare*, *cos* from **care*, the participle of which we have in *cätus*.

XI.—ON THE IRREGULARITIES IN THE VERSIFICATION OF HOMER. By JAMES YATES, Esq., M.A., F.R.S.

[*Read April the 25th.*]

[Mr. JAMES YATES communicated to the Society “An Essay on the Irregularities in Homer’s Versification.”]

Mr. Yates stated that his Essay had been written many years ago, and had been originally communicated to a private Society bearing the same name as our own. As the essay extended to a considerable length, Mr. Yates read only parts of it, omitting, besides other portions of it, very many lines cited from Homer in proof of his positions.

Professor Malden has kindly prepared the MS. for the press, retaining in general Mr. Yates’s words, and adding notes of his own, with the consent of the author.]

In the poems attributed to Homer we perpetually find combinations of letters, which contradict the established rules of prosody. Among the ancients these irregularities seem to have excited little attention; but by modern critics they have been placed among the most curious subjects of classical investigation. It will be the object of the following essay to explain the circumstances in which they occur, and the causes to which they are to be ascribed.

Respecting these irregularities, it may be remarked as a universal principle, that they consist not in the excess, but in the deficiency of letters. For in every instance, the prosody may be made regular *by the insertion of one or two additional letters*. It will be proved, that, in many cases, such letters were originally in the text; but that, in others, the time which would have been occupied in their enunciation, was filled up in a different manner.

As it would be impossible to ascertain in what instances letters have been omitted out of the original text, until we have determined what latitude was taken in deviating from the general rules of prosody, it appears proper to attend, first, to those cases in which the time was completed without the use of letters subsequently expunged.

§ I. In the first place, the time was often occupied *by a*

pause depending upon the sense. Any one who recites poetry uses the liberty of making such pauses longer or shorter, and more or less distinct, according to his own taste and choice. Examples of this license affecting the versification present themselves with a variety of circumstances. A short vowel at the end of a word is not cut off, and a diphthong or long vowel retains its time, although the word following begins with another vowel; and where a consonant intervenes, a syllable naturally short is used as long. Thus in—

Π. vi. v. 46. Ζώγρει, Ἄτρεός υἱέ.

— viii. v. 120. Τῖδὸν ὑπερθύμου Θηβαίου, Ἕνιοπῆα.

— *ib.* v. 105. Ἄλλ' ἄγ' ἐμῶν ὀχέων ἐπιβήσοο, ὄφρα ἴδῃαι.

— *ib.* v. 158. Ἀὔτις ἀν' ἰωχμόν' ἐπὶ δὲ Τρώές τε καὶ Ἑκτωρ.

The license occurs, whether the syllable be the first, second, or third of a foot*; and whether there be, or be not, a cæsura. The principle here stated is an obvious one, arising from the nature of *sound*, which necessarily occupies time, and of *language*, which requires that the time, usually given to sound, be occupied at intervals by pauses. The effect of the pause has been recognized by some of the most distinguished writers upon this subject †.

§ II. Besides the pause, the time necessary to complete the metre was, in many cases, filled up *by lengthening the sound* of syllables naturally short, or *retaining short vowels*, which

* In the *first* syllable of a foot more especially, the principle to be mentioned next comes into play likewise.—ED.

† Eandem, nisi majorem, efficaciam habet interpunctio, quæ brevem syllabam excipit. Cujus generis longe plurima Ilias et Odyssea exempla suppeditant, et tempus, sive moram, quæ syllabæ deerat, pausâ explent, ut etiamnum musici nostri facere consueverunt.....Neque autem hanc numero ipsi insitam vim veteres prorsus effugisse statuendum est. Jam Eustathius ad Π. ζ. 265, p. 645, vulgatam scripturam, μένεος, ἀλκῆς τε λάθωμαι, eo nomine defendit, scribens: τὸ δὲ μένεος ἐκτείνει μετρικῶς ἐνταῦθα τὴν λήγουσαν διὰ τὴν ἀρέσκουσαν Ἀριστάρχῳ τελείαν στιγμὴν, καὶ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ οὕτω χρονίζον καὶ στάσιμον τῆς φωνῆς λόγῳ κοινῆς συλλαβῆς. Profecto autem in aprico est, eam ob rem nonnunquam syllabas brevissimas produci, quibus alio modo jus illud vix concedendum esset; idque, quo gravior, quæ a tergo quasi instat, interpunctio est, eo lubentius admitti posse.—Spitzner, De Versu Græcorum Heroico, p. 20.

according to the usual practice would be cut off. This principle may be deduced, almost as obviously as the last, from the nature of speech and of verse. Since metre consists in the succession of long and short sounds arranged in a certain order, any one who recites verses, will, *through the force of habit*, become disposed to enunciate long and short syllables in their proper metrical places according to the prescribed arrangement, although their times are not represented by the letters before his eyes. Yielding to this propensity, he will supply the deficiencies of the metre by dwelling upon those syllables, the shortening or elision of which would interrupt its regularity.

This prolongation, or retention, of short syllables in accommodation to the metre may take place, whether those syllables are the *final* or *initial*, or, in some cases, even *medial* syllables of a word. Hence this mode of supplying metrical deficiencies is far more frequent than that already described, which can be employed only in final syllables: and although the admission of this license is restricted by a regard to the necessity of *determining* the metre by a succession of syllables which are of the proper length in their own nature, yet the instances of its adoption are much more numerous than the cases in which the metre is completed by the intervention of a pause. The following passages selected from the 8th book of the Iliad are examples:—

v. 13. Ἡ μιν ἔλων ῥίψω ἐς Τάρταρον. v. 25. περὶ ῥίον Οὐλύμποιο. v. 66. ἀέξετο ἱερὸν ἦμαρ. v. 229. Πῆ ἔβαν. v. 248. τέκος ἐλάφοιο ταχείης. v. 262. θοῦριν ἐπιειμένοι ἀλκῆν. v. 267. σάκεϊ Τελαμωνιάδαο. v. 290. δὺω ἵππους. vv. 300 & 309. ἀπὸ νευρῆφιν ἴαλλεν. v. 324. θῆκε δ' ἐπὶ νευρῆ. v. 359. φθίμενος ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ. v. 392. Ἡρη δὲ μάστιγι. v. 473. πολέμου ἀποπαύσεται. v. 474. πρὶν ᾄρθαι. v. 517. Διὶ φίλοι ἀγγελλόντων.

The cases referable to the principle here described, consist, *first*, of diphthongs or long vowels, which retain their time, instead of becoming short, before another vowel; *secondly*, of short vowels (*a, e, i, o*), which in the same situations do not suffer elision; and, *thirdly*, of short vowels, followed by a

single consonant either at the end of the same word or at the beginning of the next, which supply the place of long syllables. In most, if not in all cases of this third class, the syllable was made long by dwelling, not upon the vowel, but upon the consonant. This may be inferred from the analogy of those syllables, which are not final, but in which the same prolongation occurs. In these the consonant is usually written double, as in Ἄχιλλεύς, Ὀδυσσεύς, ὄππη, ὄττι. In the few cases where it is not so doubled, such as ὄβριμος Ἄρης, we may infer from analogy, that it was pronounced, though not written, double*; and by extending the analogy to the final syllables, which were lengthened upon the same principle, we may conclude, that in them also the consonant is to be pronounced twice, though written only once. A circumstance which confirms this doctrine is, that the prolongation of short syllables, whether at the end of words, or not at the end, commonly took place before the consonants, which were most readily dwelt upon, or doubled, in pronunciation, namely, the four liquids, λ, μ, ν, ρ, and the letter σ. This tends to prove that the prolongation depended upon the consonant rather than upon the vowel. According to this view the instances of short vowels used as long, cited from the 8th Iliad, ought to be pronounced as follows:—περὶρ ῥίον Οὐλύμπιοι, τέκος σελάφοιο ταχείης, θοῦριν νεπιειμένοι ἀλκῆν, ἀπὸν νευρήφιν, ἐπὶν νευρῆ, φθίμενος σεν πατρίδι γαίῃ, Ἡρη δὲμ μάστιγι, πρὶν νῶρθαι; and perhaps σάκειτ Τελαμωνιάδαο†.

It has been usual with the authors, who have treated of these irregularities, to say that they were occasioned by the *cæsura*. A long section in Spitzner's Treatise is entitled *De*

* That the consonant was not always doubled appears from instances in which a short vowel was changed into a diphthong or a corresponding long vowel, as in οὐλόμενος for ὀλόμενος, Οὐλύμπιοι from Ὀλυμπος, and the adjectives ἡμερόεις, ἡμαθόεις, from the nouns ἄνεμος, ἄματος. There is no reason why a vowel should not be lengthened before a consonant, as well as before another vowel, as in εἶαρος from the nominative ἕαρ, and the familiar forms χρῦσειος, χάλκειος.—ED.

† Hardly Διφ φίλοι, since the aspirate consonants are never doubled. Here, more probably, the final vowel was lengthened, Δι φίλοι.—ED.

*syllabis in vocabulorum fine cæsura vi productis**; and Hermann, in a disquisition *De productionibus ob cæsuram*†, says, “His constat nihil apud Homerum atque Hesiodum esse frequentius.”

The force of the cæsura appears to be *assumed* by these authors. They offer no evidence whatsoever in proof of its reality. It is true, that there very frequently is a cæsura where this prolongation occurs. In other words, it is a fact, that the prolonged final syllable of a word is seldom the final syllable of a foot. This arises from two causes: first, because, as the first syllable of *every* foot is long, the reciter habitually expects a long syllable at the regular intervals, and therefore is ready to make a syllable long in that place, even though it be not long in itself; but as the feet may be dactyls or spondees, there is no *habit* of recitation which leads to the lengthening of the second syllable of a foot, and consequently the lengthening of a syllable in that place is comparatively rare: and, secondly, because, in the structure of hexameter verse, it was a general rule to avoid the well-known want of euphony, which results from feet ending at the end of a word. The authors, who assign the cæsura as the cause of the prolongation of short syllables, do not offer any reason *why* the cæsura should have this effect; nor is it possible to prove that there was any connexion of the one circumstance with the other, except the coincidence arising from the structure of the verse, which has been pointed out. Examples of prolongation without cæsura are necessarily uncommon, but they are not unknown. We find the following instances of short syllables used as long:—πολλὰ | λισσομένη, Π. ε. 358.—πολλὰ | ῥυστάζεσκεν, ω. 755.—βλοσυρῶπις | ἐστεφάνωτο, λ. 36.—πρὶν | ἐλθεῖν, ν. 172, χ. 156.—πρὶν | οὐτάσαι, π. 322; and the instances in which a short vowel at the end of a word retains its quantity, instead of suffering elision, before a word beginning with a vowel, as in θ. 66, ἀέξετο | ἱερὸν ἡμαρ, are substantially of the same nature.

* De Versu Græcorum Heroico, maxime Homérico, cap. ii. sec. i. pp. 14-69.

† Orphica, pp. 697-720.

While most authors have ascribed the irregularities in question to the cæsura, some have attributed them to the *Ictus metricus* or *Arsis*. This account, though it has the advantage of being applicable to the initial and medial syllables of words, as well as to final syllables, does not on the whole appear more satisfactory than that which has been considered. There is a confusion in the use of the terms *Ictus* and *Arsis*. Some authors use these words as synonymous, while others employ them in distinct senses. According to some, *Arsis* was the raising of the *voice*; according to others, the raising of the *hand* or *foot* in beating time. Böckh indeed has proved, that, in the language of the ancient Greek writers on music and metre, *Arsis* meant the raising of the hand or foot; *Thesis*, the putting it down; and consequently that the *Thesis* coincided with the elevation of the voice, which Bentley, and the modern writers who have followed him, call *Arsis**. The learned editor of Morell's Thesaurus, who favours the doctrine now under review, has collected the principal definitions of *Arsis*†, from which one thing at least is evident, that the meaning of the term is unsettled, and consequently that any theory, which attributes metrical irregularities to arsis, must be obscure. Professor Dunbar of Edinburgh says rightly, that "in hexameter verse the ictus, or arsis (using the words as synonymous) is always upon the first syllable of the foot ‡:" but, if so, no theory of arsis will explain irregularities in the second and third syllables. It appears also, that the writers who speak of arsis, consider it as something which affects either the *accent* of syllables, giving them a higher tone on the musical scale, or the *loudness* and *strength* of the voice in uttering them, rather than the *time* occupied in their enunciation; so that after all, the

* Priscian, in writing upon accents, not upon metre, applies the terms to the voice, and says that the syllables of a word, up to the accented syllable inclusively, are *in arsi*, and the remaining syllables *in thesi*. This use has misled modern metrical writers.—ED.

† See Maltby's valuable "Observationes," prefixed to Morell's Thesaurus, cap. iii. § 2.

‡ Prosodia Græca, p. 24.

doctrine of the arsis does not reach the case to which it is intended to apply, and which has to do, not with the *accent* of syllables, nor with their *loudness*, but with the slowness or rapidity of their enunciation.

If the opinions of those authors, who attribute the various usages in question either to cæsura, or to arsis, be unsatisfactory, there is the greater reason to believe, that Homer did not acknowledge the formal restraints of inviolable rules, but chose occasionally to employ combinations of sounds, which, though offensive if too frequent, give an agreeable variety to the versification of a long poem, when admitted in moderate proportion, and which require from the reader slight and appropriate modifications, which are easy and natural to him, because coinciding with the general strain of the metre. And if it be admitted, that *habit* thus operated in preserving the regularity of Homer's verses, when they were uttered aloud, it is evident that, since the first syllable of *every* foot was long, and since the reciter would consequently be more disposed and prepared to supply any deficiency in the first syllable than in the second or third, the same principle which explains these irregularities in all their variety, shows also why they were admitted most frequently at the beginning of the foot.

§ III. Having ascertained what licenses the poet himself used in constructing his verses, we may now proceed to determine what irregularities have arisen from the omission of letters originally belonging to the words which he employed. The letters so omitted were principally, if not solely, two, F, called *Vau*, and Σ, called *San* or *Sigma*. These were not mere breathings, nor arbitrary and occasional modifications of the words to which they belonged, but constituent parts of them, which in the early stages of the language were uttered as distinctly, as fully, and as constantly, as the other letters in the same words.

The existence of F, as a letter of the primitive Greek alphabet, appears from the testimony of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and many others of the ancient critics and grammarians. By most of them it is called *the Æolic Digamma*,

because its form was that of a *double gamma*, and because it continued in use among those who employed the Æolic dialect, after it was rejected by the other Greeks. The fact testified by these authors is confirmed by the use of this letter among the Greeks to the latest times as a numeral standing for 6, and by the existence of the same letter, occupying the same place, in alphabets, which had the same origin with the Greek, and which exhibit a general correspondence with it. To these evidences, which were long esteemed sufficient by the ablest judges, we may now add the actual appearance of this letter in ancient inscriptions.

The sagacity of Bentley long ago assigned a place to F in particular words, because he observed its effect in rectifying the prosody of Homer, and because he noticed the existence of letters having the same sound (V in Latin, and W in English) in corresponding Latin and English words. It is a remarkable coincidence of fact with theory, and a singularly strong confirmation of the general doctrine of this great critic, that the digamma has been found in coins and marbles at the commencement of the very same words to which he had prefixed it in his copy of Homer. Since his time also, the very curious and important inquiry into the analogy of languages has been pushed much further, and has furnished decisive proofs of the accuracy of his conclusions in many instances. The languages which are more particularly allied to the Greek, and which are consequently subservient to the illustration of this subject, are the Latin, and the other ancient languages of Italy; the Mæso-Gothic, and other languages of the Teutonic stock, including our own Saxon; the Sanscrit; and the ancient Persic.

With respect to the sound of F in those Homeric words, from which it has been excluded, nothing has yet been brought forward sufficient to shake the opinion originally advanced by Bentley, that it was that of the English W*. The argument founded upon the fancied harshness of this sound, though

* That this was the opinion of Bentley appears from Clarke's note on Iliad π. 172.

principally relied on in opposition to the common opinion*, appears very futile. The later Greeks did esteem it an offensive sound, and therefore rejected it. But their predecessors, we may be assured, perceived no more coarseness in it than the modern English do, when they employ it in speaking their mother tongue. If scholars of the present day are unable to endure the insertion of W before *εργον* and other Homeric words, it is because they are unaccustomed to it in those situations. They never complain of the frequent occurrence of this sound in the lines of Milton, Pope, or Spenser; and would exclaim with vehemence against any proposal to improve their euphony by expunging W, or substituting F or V in its place. Even in Homer they are habituated to the sound in certain words, such as *νίος* and *μεμανία*, and in them they perceive no harshness. The arguments which conspire to show that F was pronounced like the English W, have been so often stated, that it is unnecessary to repeat them here. The reader is referred to 'Foster on Accent and Quantity,' pp. 127-130; Burgess, 'Adnotatio in Dawesii Miscellanea Critica,' p. 422; and the Critical Review for February 1817, pp. 112, 113†.

The general considerations which have been now stated, respecting the restoration of the digamma to Homer's poems, will be best illustrated by a review of the principal words which began with this letter in his time, and must begin with it now, in order that his prosody may exhibit its original degree of regularity.

* *Ἄστυ*, a City.

The use of *ἄστυ* in Homer requires the introduction of an initial consonant. It is true that a great number of the instances in which it occurs, afford no evidence upon the subject, inasmuch as it is found at the beginning of a line, or

* Marsh's *Horæ Pelasgiæ*, chap. iv. § 5.

† There is no more harshness in an initial F in Greek, than in an initial W in English. The difficulty in pronunciation occurs where the F would appear between two vowels, as in the augmented tenses of verbs beginning with an F, especially if the second syllable is short, as in the aorists *εἶδον*, *εἶδον*, and where there is a reduplication, as in *φεφοικα*, *φεφοργα*.—ED.

preceded by a long syllable, or by ν ἐφέλκυστικόν. With these perhaps may be included forty-four passages in which it is preceded by the prepositions *περί, ποτί, προτί,* and *πρό,* in which the final short vowel is not subject to elision. But besides these, there are more than forty which favour the admission of an initial consonant, and only seven which are against it. In some of the verses which oppose the insertion of an initial consonant, it may be introduced by very slight alterations of the text. Thus, in *Il. γ. 140,* for ἄνδρός τε προτέρωιο καὶ ἄστεος, we may read with Heyne, ἄνδρός τε προτέρου καὶ φάστεος. In *σ. 207,* ἐξ ἄστεος, and *ω. 320,* ὑπὲρ ἄστεος, we may substitute ἐκ and διά, the latter word being supported by the evidence of numerous MSS. now extant, and by the testimony of scholia, respecting those of ancient times. There remain *λ. 732,* ἀμφίσταντο δὴ ἄστν; *σ. 274,* ἔξομεν, ἄστν δὲ πύργοι; *Od. ρ. 25,* ἐκάθεν δέ τοι ἄστν; and in *Il. ο. 455,* there is an elision before the proper name, Ἄστυνόφ.

The inscription *FAΣT* appears on a coin published by Goltz*. To what place this inscription referred is uncertain. Havercamp supposes it to stand for *Φαστυρηῶν,* meaning the inhabitants of Ἄστυρις, a city in Bœotia, mentioned by Stephanus Byzantinus†. But there can be no doubt, that whatever city might be indicated by this inscription, its name was derived from the noun, the primitive form of which is the subject of this investigation.

* Ἄστν or *Φαστυ,* is the Sanskrit *vāstu,* site of a habitation; and probably contains the same root as words of a similar meaning, which ran through the ancient Teutonic languages, appearing, for example, in Suio-Gothic, as *FASTE,* a citadel or fortification (Ihre's Glossar. Suio-Goth. vol. i. p. 437), and represented in our own language by *FASTNESS.* The

* Græciæ ejusque Insularum Numismata, Tab. xvii. (quoted by Havercamp, Sylloge Scriptorum, p. 275).

† "In nummis Bœoticis apud Eckhel. Doctr. Num. ii. p. 196 legitur: *Εὐφάρα* et *Φαστ.* quod supplendum esse videtur *Φάστν* (*ἄστν*)."—Savelsberg De Digammo, cap. ii. p. 5. The same writer gives *Φαστυμειδόντιος* on the authority of Ulrich, Iter Græcum, vol. i. p. 247.—ED.

French verb BÂTIR, anciently BASTIR, with its derivatives *Bastile*, *Bastion*, &c., may be of the same origin.

Ἔπος, a *Word*; εἶπον, *I said*; Ὀψ, Ὀσσα, *Voice*.

An inscription, discovered in Elis, and brought to England by Sir W. Gell, contains the word FEΠOΣ, *word*, thus written with the digamma*. Dawes has filled more than three pages of his 'Miscellanea Critica' with those instances of the occurrence of this word in Homer, in which it is preceded by a short syllable ending in a consonant, and that syllable is made long. Spitzner admits, that the number of verses which seem to require the introduction of the digamma before ἔπος, is *almost infinite*. He nevertheless contends that a large proportion oppose its use. His collection, which is copious, and apparently complete, contains twenty-six examples from the Iliad, in which the words ἔπος and εἶπον, in different positions, seem to refuse the digamma, besides η. 68, and many other lines, in which the phrase ὄφρ' εἶπω occurs. In no less than twelve of these instances, the dative plural in the form ἐπέεσσι is preceded by an elision; and the lines may be corrected by the substitution of *φέπεσσι* with the preceding vowel not elided: *e.g.* in ε. 893, for δάμνημ' ἐπέεσσι, we may read δάμνημι *φέπεσσι*. In some other instances the genuine form may be restored by alterations equally slight. For example, in β. 213 and 342, for ὅς ῥ' ἔπεα and γάρ ῥ' ἐπέεσσ', we may read ὅς *φέπεα*, and γάρ *φεπέεσσ'*: and in η. 375, for καὶ δὲ τόδ' εἰπέμεναι, simply καὶ τόδε *φειπέμεναι*. These, and some other corrections, are no greater than those which a modern critic conceives himself entitled to make in conformity with any established principle of language; and the reverse alterations are exactly such as the ancient editors of Homer would introduce upon their own authority, in order to correct the irregularities arising from the omission of the digamma. The remaining instances, the correction of which is less easy, do not present an amount of evidence sufficient to counterbalance, or even to throw doubt upon, the evidence for the existence of the digamma in this family of words;

* Böckh. Corp. Inscip. t. i. p. 26, n. 11.

especially as some at least of the lines are liable to the suspicion of interpolation.

The insertion of *F* explains also the frequent occurrence of the second aorist with the syllabic augment, ἔειπον, ἔειπε, and in compounds, as μετέειπε, προσέειπε; and the occurrence of compounds, in which the short vowel of a preposition is not elided, as ἀποειπών, διαειπέμεν.

Heyne has maintained that in *compounds* the *F* was often omitted. But the instances which favour this opinion are neither numerous, nor very decisive. In *Il. a.* 555, we find—

Νῦν δ' αἰνώσ δειδοῖκα κατὰ φρένα, μὴ σε παρείπη
Ἄργυρόπεζα Θέτις.

In the expression αἴσιμα πᾶρειπών (*i. e.* παρφειπών, *Il. ζ.* 62, *η.* 121), the verb is followed by an accusative of *the thing spoken*. It is used without any case after it in *Il. λ.* 792, *ο.* 404,—

—εἴ κέν οἱ σὺν δαίμονι θυμὸν ὀρίνω
Παρφειπών.

And in the only other passage, where it occurs, *Il. ζ.* 337,—

Νῦν δέ με παρφειποῦσ' ἄλοχος μαλακοῖσι φέπεσσι
Ὠρμησ' ἐς πόλεμον,

με may be considered as governed by ὤρμησε. The genuine reading, therefore, of *Il. a.* 555, may be μὴ παρφείπη, without the accusative of the person.

The passages which remain, are—

Il. κ. 425, εὔδουσ', ἧ ἀπάνευθε; δίειπε μοι, ὄφρα δαεῖω.

Il. τ. 75, μῆνιν ἀπειπόντος μεγαθύμου Πηλείωνος.

Od. a. 91, μνηστήρεσσιν ἀπειπέμεν.

In the last passage we may read μνηστήρεσσ' ἀποφειπέμεν. With regard to *Il. τ.* 75, according to Bentley, Heyne, and Knight, the whole verse is spurious; and certainly it may be spared with advantage rather than injury to the passage*.

**Οψ*, *the voice*, being in all probability of the same origin as ἔπος, *word*, had, like it, the digamma. In thirteen places

* It is doubtful whether it is worth while to try to correct the particular line, *Il. κ.* 425. Some critics, not without reason, believe this whole book to be of later date than the main bulk of the *Iliad*.—ED.

where it occurs in Homer, the circumstances are such as to afford no evidence either for or against the introduction of this additional letter. But *thirteen* others require its admission to make the prosody regular; and three only would require alteration. By the usual substitution of $\sigma\sigma$ for κ , the κ itself taking the place of π , *φοσσα* was produced, which also the prosody of Homer requires.

That the words belonging to this root originally began with F, and that this sound was a component part of the root, and that the *p* sound at the end of the root varied to *k*, is manifest, from a comparison of the cognate tongues. In Latin we have *vox*, *vōc-is*, *voice*, *vōca-re*, *to call*; in Sanskrit, *vāch*, *voice*, *vach*, *to talk*. The Mæso-Gothic *vopsan*, *to cry aloud, to shout*, and the English *whoop*, probably represent the same root with the final *p*.

Ἔργον, *Work*.

The Elean Inscription, to which reference has been made under this last head, contains the word written FAPFON. The expression is, Αἰ δέ τι δέου, αἴτε φέπος, αἴτε φάργον: "If there be occasion for anything, either to be said or done." This combination was frequent in Greek, like the phrase, "Aut dicto aut facto" in Latin, and "Rath und That" in German, or "word or deed" in English. Hermann, in a note to one of the Homeric Hymns (Hymn. ad Ven. v. 86, p. 92) states the various prosodiocal circumstances in which this root (*εργ*) is found, and refers to more than sixty passages in the Iliad and Odyssey, where the measure is rendered complete by the insertion of the digamma before it. The form *φάργον* for *φέργον* in the Elean Inscription, is like other antiquated forms, which the grammarians call Æolic, such as *αι* and *αἴτε* just before, for *ει* and *εἴτε*.

The insertion of the digamma before this word is countenanced by strong analogies in the cognate languages; in Mæso-Gothic, *Waurk* or *Waurg*, *work*, and the verb *Waurk-jan*, *to work*; in the Suio-Gothic, *Werk*, *opus* (Ihre, Gloss. S. Goth. p. 1096, t. ii.); Alemannic, *Werch*; Anglo-Saxon *Weorc*, and the verb *wyrcan*. Hence the modern German

and Dutch *Werk*, and the English *Work*, and the Lowland-Scotch *Wark*.

Ἔτης, *Fellow-citizen*.

In the Elean Inscription we further find *FETAΣ*, meaning a *private citizen* (Böckh. Corp. Ins. p. 31), as opposed to a magistrate, *τελέστα*, or to a small community or village, *δᾶμος*. As this inscription throws light on the sense, as well as the form, of this word, it may be worth while with the help of it to examine the several instances of the word in Homer.

Il. ζ. 239. When Hector comes from the field of battle to the Scæan Gates, the wives and daughters of the Trojans flock around him,—

Εἰρόμεναι παῖδάς τε, κασιγνητούς τε, *φέτας* τε,
Καὶ πόσιαι,

“inquiring after their sons, brothers, *fellow-citizens*, and husbands.”

Il. η. 295. Hector advises Ajax to relinquish the contest, so as to gratify all the Greeks, but especially his own *fellow-citizens*, and his particular friends:—

᾽Ως σύ τ' εὐφρήνης πάντας παρὰ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιοὺς,
Σοὺς τε μάλιστα *φέτας*, καὶ ἑταίρους, οἳ τοι ἔασιν.

This passage illustrates the difference between *φέτης* and *ἑταῖρος*. Hesychius and Apollonius, in the usual vague manner of the ancient lexicographers, represent these words as synonymous; and one of the ancient scholiasts uses their assumed identity of signification as a reason for marking the verse as spurious (Heyne ad loc.) But we cannot have a more decisive proof of its genuineness, than that it contains a word used in its exact and proper sense, and in its ancient form, the meaning of which was generally forgotten in the time of the grammarians. The difference between the two words is this: *φέται* denotes those joined by *citizenship*; *ἑταῖροι*, those joined by *familiarity and friendship*.

Il. ι. 460. Ἡ μὲν πολλὰ *φέται* καὶ ἀνεψιοὶ ἀμφὶς ἔόντες.

Here Phœnix speaks of his fellow-citizens, *φέται*, as opposed to his cousins or distant relatives, *ἀνεψιοί*.

Π. π. 456. ἔνθα σὲ ταρχύσουσι κασιγνητοὶ τε φέται τε.

The corpse of Sarpedon was to be conveyed to Lycia, his native land, where his brethren and *fellow-citizens* were to raise a tomb over him.

Π. ζ. 262. ὡς τήνη κέκμηκας, ἀμύνων σοῖσι φέτησι.

i. e. "as thou art wearied, defending thy *fellow-citizens*." The words are addressed to Hector by his mother, on his return from the battle.

In the *Odyssey* the word occurs only twice, *Od.* δ. 3, and 16; where we are told, that the neighbours and *fellow-citizens* of Menelaus—

Γείτονες ἡδὲ φέται Μενελάου κυδαλίμοιο,

were feasting in his palace on occasion of the marriages of his son and daughter. The Scholia published by Mai (p. 120, ed. Buttman) give the true explanation: "Ἔται δὲ, οἱ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως, οἱ συνήθεις.

Ἔτος, *Year*.

This word is found written with the digamma, not only in the Elean Inscription, but also in the Heracleian Tablets, and in the Orchomenian Inscription now in the British Museum among the Elgin Marbles*. It requires an initial consonant to complete the prosody in Homer.

Εἴκοσι, *Twenty*.

The Orchomenian Marble presents this word written FIKATI. In the Heracleian Tablets it is written Γ.ΕΙΚΑΤΙ, the digamma having here the form Ε, which has been confounded with Σ†.

In eleven passages the metre of Homer requires that εἴκοσι should begin with a consonant: viz. *Il.* β. 510, 748; ν. 260; ο. 678; ψ. 264; ω. 765; *Od.* β. 212; δ. 669; ι. 209, 241; κ. 208.

A slight alteration is required in the following passages: viz. the omission of a redundant τε in *Il.* ι. 379; χ. 349;

* On this inscription, see Böckh, *Corp. Inscr.*, vol. i. p. 740.

† Mazocchi, *Tab. Heracl. Napoli*, 1754, fol.

Od. π. 249; of χρυσού for χρυσοῖο in Il. λ. 25, and of ἦλθον for ἦλυθον in Od. π. 206, τ. 484, φ. 208, ω. 322; and the omission of κ' in Od. ε. 34.

The digamma at the beginning of this numeral is probably the *υ* of *δυο*. In some languages the first letter *d* or *t* is retained: thus Mæso-Gothic *twaimtig*; German *zwanzig*; Anglo-Saxon and Dutch *twentig*. In others the initial consonant is dropped: thus Sanskrit *vinçati*; Latin *viginti*, from which come the French, Italian, Spanish, &c.; and Greek *ἑκατι*, *ἑκατι*, *ἑκακοσι*.

The latter part of this word (*tig* in the Teutonic languages; *çat* in the Sanskrit; *gint* in the Latin; and *κατ* or *κοσ* in the Greek) seems to be a modification of *daçan*, *decem*, *δεκα*, *ten*; so that *twain-tig*, &c. signify *two tens*.

Ἑλις, *Elis*.

The inhabitants of Elis are called in the before-mentioned Inscription, brought from that country, *FAΛEIOI*; and various coins are represented by Goltz (pl. 35, 36), Pellerin (*Recueil de Médailles*, tom. i. pl. 10), and Combe (*Hunt. Mus. No. 21, 22*), as having the inscription *FAΛEION* more or less curtailed. Mr. Spencer Stanhope, in his splendid work on 'Olympia' (London, 1824, folio), has published eleven coins with the first two letters only, *FA*, and two with the entire word *FAΛEION*. There can be little doubt, that the name of this country was still used in its ancient form when Homer wrote.

Οἶκος, *House*.

A brazen tablet, discovered near the site of the ancient Petilia, contains the word *FOIKIAN*, very distinctly written*: and in an inscription from Orchomenus in Bœotia, published by Leake in the *Classical Journal*, we find *ἸΥΚΙΑΣ*, *υ* being substituted for *οι*, as in numerous examples of the same dialect†.

* Marsh's *Horæ Pelagicæ*, pp. 60-62; Böckh, *Corp. Inscr. n. 4*, p. 11.

† *Class. Journal*, vol. xiii. p. 332. Böckh, *Staats-haushaltung*, vol. ii. p. 398, and *Corp. Inscr. i. n. 1562*. According to Böckh, this inscription is as late as Alexander the Great.

The rules of prosody require that the digamma be restored to *οἶκος* and its derivatives throughout the poems attributed to Homer. For although a certain number of passages may require amendment in order to admit it, they are very few compared with those passages in which the prosody is rendered perfect by the insertion of it.

The root exhibits a corresponding form in the cognate languages: Sanskrit *vic*; Latin *vicus*, a village; Anglo-Saxon *wick*, a house or castle; Armorican *gwic*, villa (see Ihre, Gloss. Suio-Goth. Proœm. p. xi.).

Ἄρνες, Lambs.

A *Ταμίλας* or treasurer of Orchomenus is mentioned in an inscription from Bœotia, among the Elgin Marbles, by the name *ΦΑΡΝΩΝ* (Walpole's Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey, p. 474*), and Greek proper names in *-ων*, *-ωνος*, were sometimes taken from the names of animals, as *Λύκων*, *-ωνος*, and *Φάρων* may have been derived from the noun signifying *a lamb*.

Previously to the discovery of this inscription, Heyne had placed this noun (of which the nominative singular is not found, but the other cases are *ἀρνός*, *ἀρνί*, &c.) in his catalogue of digammated words, although the metrical evidence is not by any means so decisive in this as in most other instances †.

Ἄρνημι, I break.

The occurrence of F on ancient coins, and in inscriptions, in some of the same words, to which it had been ascribed with a view to the correction of the irregularities in the versification of Homer, presents the strongest confirmation of the hypothesis which could have been desired, and justifies the insertion of that letter at the commencement of other words, where the prosody requires it, and where the addition is supported by the existence of the same or equivalent letters in corresponding words in any of the cognate languages.

* Corp. Inscr. i. n. 1569.

† Cf. Sanskrit *ūrṇā*, *wool*, from the root *vr*. The affinity has been noticed by Pott, Etym. Forsch.—ED.

Proceeding in alphabetical order, we shall first consider the evidence, that ἄγνυμι, *I break*, was written φαγνυμι. There are eight passages in Homer, which have such words as ἄρματα and ἀνχένα before the verb, without the loss of their final short vowel, and which therefore require an initial consonant; to which may be added fifteen instances of the first aorist ἔαξα, or second aorist passive ἐάγην, formed with the syllabic instead of the temporal augment. Two passages require alteration, viz. Il. ψ. 392, Ἴππειον δέ οἱ ἦξε θεὰ ζυγόν, and Od. τ. 539, Πᾶσι κατ' ἀνχένας ἦξε, for which we may read πᾶσι κατ' ἀνχένα φᾶξε, or ἀνχέν' ἔφαξε.

Κανάξαις (καφφάξαις), which occurs in Hesiod, 'Works and Days,' vv. 664, 691, contains a remarkable remnant of the general use of the digamma. But for the existence of this letter at the beginning of the simple verb, we should have met with κατάξαις, not κανάξαις. Compare the Sanskrit *bhanj*, to break.

Ἄραιός, *Slender, Narrow.*

This is a word of rare occurrence; but as it is applied to a variety of objects, we are the better able to determine what it means. It is used to describe a narrow passage (Od. κ. 90), a thin delicate hand (Il. ε. 425), the weak slender legs of Vulcan (Il. σ. 411, υ. 37); and wolves are represented (Il. π. 161) lapping water, γλώσσησιν ἀραιήσι, with long slender tongues. In this, and in one other passage (Od. κ. 90), it is preceded by the paragogic ν, and consequently these passages decide nothing. In the other three passages, however, the prosody is incomplete without an initial consonant. These are, Il. ε. 425, χεῖρα ἀραιήν; and Il. σ. 411, ψ. 37, ὑπὸ δὲ κνήμαι ῥώνοντο ἀραιαί.

Ἔαρ, *Spring.*

The lines, Od. τ. 519, and Il. θ. 307, indicate that Homer used this word with an initial consonant; and that the consonant was F, we may conclude from the fact, that the same word exists in this form in the languages of two countries so remote as Latium and Sweden. *Ver* is the corresponding

word in Latin; *wâr* in Suio-Gothic (Thre, v. ii. p. 1082). All the intermediate nations have described this season by words expressive of other ideas, such as *Printemps, Frühjahr, Spring*. Terentianus Maurus quotes *ἔαρ, ἦρ*, among the words to which the digamma was prefixed in the Æolic dialect*.

“*Ἐδνον, Wedding-gift.*”

This word, which Homer uses only in the plural, denoted the presents given by the bridegroom to the bride before marriage (see the Scholia on Il. *ι.* 146). In the present text of Homer we find both *ἔδνα* and *ἔδνα*, for which Heyne proposes *ἔδνα* and *ἔφδνα*. Such a variety of form, which is found also in other digammated words (*ἑλίκοσι, ἔφελίκοσι, &c.*), is agreeable to the genius of the older Greek language. Hence the adjective *ἀνέφδνος, without wedding-gifts* (Il. *ι.* 146, 288, *ν.* 366†).

“*Ἰδεῖν, To see.*”

This verb, with modifications expressing the ideas of *knowing, seeming, appearing*, occurs continually, and with comparatively few exceptions requires an initial consonant to complete the prosody. That the lost consonant was F may be concluded from the parallel forms in various other languages, such as *vid-ere* in Latin; *vid, know*, in Sanskrit; *wizzan, to know*, Alemannic; *wissen* in German; and the Anglo-Saxon forms represented in modern English by the verbs *wit, wot, wist*, and the noun *wit*, and adjective *wise*. In Suio-Gothic we find *sam-wete, con-scientia, συν-εἰδησις*.

“*Ἐννυμι, I clothe.*”

This word was *ἔννυμι*, and hence *ἑῖμα, a garment*, and *ἑσθής, raiment*, and numerous other forms. Il. *ε.* 905, must

* “*Iones dicunt βῆρ;*” Varro, De Ling. Lat. vi. p. 192.

† In the ordinary texts of Homer this word appears as *ἀνάεδνος, i. e. ἀνάφδνος*. Both *ανα* and *ανε* are possible forms of the negative in composition, which commonly appears as *αν* or *α*, but which is certainly akin to the preposition *ἀνευ*. See Buttm. Ausf. Gr. Sprachlehre, vol. ii. p. 466.—ED.

have been *χαρίεντα δὲ Φεΐματα Φέσσε*, and *ψ. 67, τοῖα περὶ χροῖ Φεΐματα Φεστο*.

Analogous to the Greek *Φεσθής* is the Latin *vestis*, and Sanskrit *vas, to wear, as clothes*. From the same root we find in Suio-Gothic *wäd* and *wüst*; in Mæso-Gothic *wastjom, clothes*; in Anglo-Saxon, *væda, a garment*; and we have in English a curious remnant of the same root in *weed*, used now only in two phrases, a *palmer's weeds*, and a *widow's weeds*.

Ἐκών, *Willing*.

This is an ancient participle, and connected with *ἐκῆτι, by the will of*, which appears to be the dative of an obsolete noun. The words were *Φεκών* and *Φέκῆτι*, and hence are formed *ἀΦέκων, ἀΦέκῆτι, ἀΦεκαζόμενος*. The root *Φεκ* is found in Sanskrit with no material difference of sound, as *vac, to desire, to will*, whence *vaça, wish, will*.

§ IV. It has, I believe, been universally supposed by the authors, who have recommended the insertion of the digamma in the Homeric poems, that this is the only letter which has been omitted at the commencement of certain words. But, as the digamma has been expunged from one set of words, so the letter sigma has been taken from the commencement of others. If, on the one hand, it is an ascertained fact, that *F* existed at the beginning of some Greek words, which were afterwards always used without it, it is no less certain that this was the case with the letter *Σ* also; since there are words used in both forms, such as *σῦς* and *ῦς, συφορβός* and *ύφορβός*, which show the transition from the complete to the abbreviated state; and since numerous words beginning with the aspirate in Greek begin with *s* in the cognate languages, such as *ἔξ, sex*, Sanskr. *shash*; *ἑπτα, septem*, Sanskr. *saptan*; *ὄλκος, sulcus**. The evidence for the insertion of *Σ* in the one

* The list of words, which in the later Greek began only with the rough breathing, but which in Latin began with *s*, may be easily augmented. But the traces of the passage of *σ* into the rough breathing in Greek itself have been less often observed. *Ἰστημι* must have been originally *σί-στη-μι*, formed with the usual and regular reduplication from the root *στα*, as *δί-δω-μι* from *δο*, and corresponded in form, as well as in meaning, with

set of words, is, generally speaking, as copious and decisive as the evidence for the insertion of F in the other set; and we are able to determine by circumstances in each case, whether the one letter or the other ought to be supplied.

Ἐκυρός, *Father-in-law*.

A line, which has made a principal figure in controversies respecting the digamma, is one addressed by Helen to Priam, II. γ. 172:—

Λιδιόος τε μοι ἑσσί, φίλε ἔκυρέ, δεινός τε.

The digamma has been prefixed to ἔκυρέ, but this does not remove all difficulty. It appears strange that the analogy of *socer* in Latin should not have suggested the insertion of σ instead of F. The lengthening of the preceding syllable then takes place without any difficulty; since, as was stated in the second section, no letter is more frequently prolonged or doubled to accommodate the quantity than σ. Ἐκυρός, and the feminine ἔκυρή, occur only thrice besides in the Iliad (in χ. 451, and ω. 770), in which passages the σ may be inserted without any further change*.

the Latin causative verb *sisto*. So the perfect ἕστηκα must have been originally σέ-στη-κα. From the second aorist ἕσχον, and other forms, we conclude that the root of the verb ἕχω was primitively σεχ (cf. Sanskrit *sah*). It appears with the aspiration in the future ἕξω, and other forms, in which the final χ is modified. But the Greek law of euphony, which forbids the same syllable to begin and end with an aspirate letter, or two consecutive syllables to begin with aspirates, leaves the present ἕχω with the smooth breathing, so that the original σ is not represented. In like manner, ἕσχω, the strengthened form of ἕχω, has taken the place of σί-σχω, which originally stood to σέχω in the same relation as μί-μνω to μένω; that is, it was formed by reduplication, like γί-γνομαι from the root γεν, and πί-πτω from πετ. There are vestiges of such archaic forms in Homer. The defective metre of II. λ. 36,—

τῆ δ' ἔπι μὲν Γοργῶ βλοσυρῶπις ἔστεφάνωτο,

which has been noticed above in § II. may be restored by reading with the old reduplication of the perfect, βλοσυρῶπις σεστεφάνωτο. The hiatus in Od. ι. 122, οὗτ' ἄρα ποιμήνησι καταίσχεται, οὗτ' ἀρότοισιν, will be removed if we read κατασίσχεται. So in II. ε. 90, οὗτ' ἄρα ἔρκεα ἕσχει ἀλώων ἐριθηλέων, we should probably read οὗτ' ἄρα φέρκεα σίσχει.—ED.

* The German *Schwieger*, used in the compounds *Schwieger-vater* and

Ἐκάς, *Far*; Ἐκαστος, *Each*.

Festus, a grammatical writer of the fourth century, informs us that Valgius derived the Latin *sæcus*, *otherwise*, from the Greek *ἐκάς**. This derivation seems highly probable, although Festus quotes the remark for the purpose of refuting it. The aspirate of *ἐκάς* may be considered as a remnant of the initial Σ. With this restoration the Greek and Latin words are almost the same in sound; and the sense of the Latin word is obviously deducible from the primary acceptation in Greek. With *ἐκάς* are to be associated *ἕκαθεν*, and the derivatives Ἐκατος, Ἐκάτη, ἐκάεργος, ἐκηβόλος, ἐκατηβελέτης, which are titles or epithets of Apollo and Artemis.

Ἐκαστος, ἐκάτερος, and ἐκάτερθε, are perhaps to be referred to the same root †.

There are many passages in Homer, in which *ἕκαστος* *Schwieger-mutter*, father-in-law and mother-in-law, and likewise *Schwager*, brother-in-law, strongly suggest the conjecture, that the Greek *ἐκυρός* originally had both the Vau and the Sigma, and was *σφεκυρός*, so that the *ε* in the preceding *φίλε* was lengthened simply by position, *φίλε σφεκυρέ*. The same conclusion might be drawn, though less certainly, from the appearance of *o* in the Latin *socer*. The *o* is not merely substituted for *ε*, but represents *φε*. The Sanskrit *svaçura* is conclusive. It is noticed by Bopp, &c. The combination *σφ* at the beginning of words appears to have been not unusual. It is commonly admitted that the adjective *ἡδύς* began with a consonant; but the comparison of the Latin words *suavis*, *suadeo*, and the English *sweet*, shows that it probably began with the two consonants *σφ*. A similar conclusion is drawn from a comparison of *ἔθος*, *wont*, and kindred words, with the Latin forms *suesco*, *suetus*, &c. The pronoun *οὔ*, *οἱ*, *ἐ*, which has the old accusative *σφε*, and the plural *σφεῖς*, &c., and which corresponds to the Latin *sui*, *se*, with the possessive pronoun *ὄς*, corresponding to the Latin *suus*, must have had originally the forms *σφε*, &c.; and where the *σ* was retained in later Greek the *φ* passed into *φ*. In words of this class in Homer, although in some passages there are indications that *both* consonants were preserved, as in *σφεκυρέ* in Il. γ. 172, yet, more usually, one consonant (probably the *σ*) seems to have been dropped, and one (the *φ*) retained alone. Cf. Donaldson, *New Cratylus*, p. 120.—ED.

* So Donaldson, *New Cratylus*, p. 356. See also *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1854, p. 167.—ED.

† These latter words are apparently derived from the Sanskrit numeral *eka*, *one*.—ED.

requires an initial consonant; but many also, in which it seems to reject it. In several of the latter kind the preceding word ends in *s*, as in *Il. o.* 288, *μάλα ἔλπετο θυμὸς ἑκάστου*. It is worth considering, whether, in the older language, when one word ended in *s*, and the next began with the same letter, the former *s* might not be dropped in pronunciation, as in the old Latin. We have *sanctu' Serapis* (Lucilius), and perhaps we ought to have *θυμὸ' σεκάστου*.

Οὐ, οί, ἔ, *Him*; ὄς, *His*.

The advocates of the digamma have found no words more perplexing than the personal and possessive pronouns of the third person. They agree, however, in believing that the digamma belonged to their primitive form. But the insertion of *F* is little adapted for removing the difficulty of those passages, in which a short vowel at the end of the preceding word is not only not cut off, but even takes the place of a long syllable; as in the following instances:—

Il. ε. 343. Ἡ δὲ μέγα ἰάχουσα ἀπὸ ἔο κάββαλεν υἱόν.

— *ζ.* 62. ————— ὁ δ' ἀπὸ ἔθεν ὤσατο χειρί.

— *μ.* 205. ————— ἀπὸ ἔθεν ἦκε χαμᾶζε.

— *ν.* 163. Ἀσπίδα ταυρείην σχέθ' ἀπὸ ἔο, δεῖσε δὲ θυμῷ.

— *ν.* 261. Πηλεΐδης δὲ σάκος μὲν ἀπὸ ἔο χειρὶ παχείη.

— *β.* 832. }
— *λ.* 330. }

Ἡιδεε μαντοσύνας, οὐδὲ οὖς παῖδας ἔασκε.

It is more probable that the pronoun began with a *σ*, which in these passages was doubled in pronunciation (see above, § *Il.* p. 122*).

In not a few of the passages, in which the pronoun apparently rejects an initial consonant, the preceding word ends in *s*, as in *Il. λ.* 403:—

ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπε πρὸς ὃν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν,

* It has been suggested in a preceding note, that the original form of this pronoun was *σφε*, *σφεο*, &c. This assumption satisfies the requirements of these passages. Elsewhere one consonant only is required; and it is likely that the *σ* was dropped, and the forms remained *φε*, *φοι*, &c.—ED.

a line which recurs often ; and in *a.* 609,—

Ζεὺς δὲ πρὸς δὴν λέχος ἤϊ' Ὀλύμπιος ἀστεροπήτης.

It is possible that in these instances the text is not corrupted, as has been often supposed, but that the final *ς* was dropped in pronunciation before the initial sigma, and that we ought to pronounce *πρὸ' σὸν λέχος*, &c.

The insertion of *σ* receives abundant confirmation from the cognate languages. We have in Sanskrit, *sva* ; in Latin, *sui*, *se*, *suus*, &c. ; in Alemannic and Suio-Gothic, *sin* ; and in Mæso-Gothic, *sein*, *his*, whence the German *sein* ; in German also, *sie*, *she*, and *sie*, *they*, &c.

Ἦρα, *Juno*.

Whether Ἦρα was ever used by Homer with an initial consonant, as Heyne supposes, appears to me to be doubtful ; but, if it was, the circumstances tend to show, that the initial consonant was not *F*, but *Σ*. The cases which require an initial consonant to complete the prosody, and which have induced Heyne and others to assume the reading *Ἐηρα*, are twenty-nine in number, but consist altogether of the recurrence of one combination of words, viz. *πότνια Ἦρα*. The evidence is certainly much weaker than if we found several phrases with the hiatus.

But of the passages in which Ἦρα apparently rejects an initial consonant, thirty-four (which are about three-fifths of the whole number) present before Ἦρα a word ending in *ς*, as in the frequently recurring phrase *θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἦρα*. It is possible that we ought to pronounce *θεὰ λευκώλενο' ἠΣήρ*, upon the principle already indicated*.

* Where there is evidence that a word, which in the later Greek began with an aspirated vowel, began in the earlier Greek with a consonant, the aspiration gives ground for assuming, that the lost consonant was *σ* rather than *ϕ*. The instances in which an initial *ϕ* is represented by a rough breathing, are comparatively few ; while those in which the breathing is manifestly the substitute for an original *σ*, are many. It deserves, however, to be considered, whether the rough breathing itself, the *H* of the ancient alphabet, had not sometimes the power of a consonant. There is another most important consideration, which has been overlooked by the

XII.—ON THE DERIVATION OF THE LATIN OTIUM.

BY THEODORE AUFRECHT, Esq.

[Read June the 13th.]

Amongst the abstracts in *ia*, *io-* (*ium*), we find several derived from a past participle. Thus, *exercitium* from *exercito-*, *nuptiae* from *nupto-*, *argutiae*, *minutiae*, from *arguto-*, *minuto-*, *controversia* from *controverso-*, *inscitia* from *in-scito-*, *impolitia* from *im-polito-*, *comitium*, *exitium*, *initium*, from *comito-*, *exito-*, *inito-*. Lastly, I mention *lōtium* from *lōto-*, as bearing the greatest resemblance with our word. As *lōtus* is a contraction of *lav-ī-tus* from *lāvere*, we may perhaps suppose that *ōtio-* comes from a participle *oto-*=*avito-*, this being derived from a verb *avere*. Everybody knows, that the verbs terminating with a *v* undergo a strong syncope in the past participle, as *jūto-*, *cauto-*, *fauto-*, *fōto-*, *mōto-*, for *jūv-i-to-*, *cāv-i-to-*, *fāv-i-to-*, *fōv-i-to-*, *mōv-i-to-*. I hope that a better etymology will be proposed hereafter; in the mean time I offer it as my conjecture, that *ōtium* meant originally “enjoyment, happiness,” and owes its origin to the verb *avēre*, “to be happy,” of which the imperative *ave*, *aveto*, *avete*, and the infinitive have alone been preserved*. The fact that *avere* has an initial *h* in some inscriptions and manuscripts is, I conceive, no objection to my proposed derivation. I tried to show elsewhere (Aufrecht und Kuhn, Zeitschrift. I. p. 358) that the English *rest*, and German *rast* (Gothic *rimis*) come from a root *ram*, which in Sanskrit signifies both ‘to be happy’ and ‘to rest.’

scholars who have been most intent upon replacing the digamma in the Homeric text; and the same remark will apply to the restitution of the initial sigma. As the consonants were confessedly lost in the progress of the language, and as such a change in pronunciation could not have taken place suddenly, there must have been a period and state of transition; and this time of transition may have been earlier for some words, and later for others. It is possible, therefore, and not at all improbable, that, when the Homeric poems were composed, some at least of the words, which anciently began with *F* or *σ*, were in a state of transition, and may have been used by the poet, sometimes as beginning with a consonant, sometimes with a vowel.—Ed.

* Compare also Gellius xix. 7, 9, (Laevius) ‘avens’ posuit pro ‘libens.’

I know only of one previous explanation which deserves any attention. Graff, Wellmann, and Döderlein connected *ōtium* with the Gothic *auþ* 'deserted,' *auþida* 'a desert.' Solitude might be an apt name for leisure, if *auþ* signified solitary, but neither the Gothic nor the other Teutonic languages exhibit it in any other meaning than that of 'deserted, waste, barren, empty.'

XIII.—ON THE LATIN TERMINATIONS TIA, TIO-.

By THEODORE AUFRECHT, Esq.

[Read November the 6th.]

The Latin abstracts ending in *tia*, *tie-*, *tio-* (*tium*), must not be confounded with those in *ia*, *ie-*, *io-*, derived from nouns the crude form of which has the termination *to* or *t*, as for instance *angustia* from *angusto-*, *scientia* from *scient-*, *septimontium* from *septimont-*, *silentium* from *silent-*. In Latin the former are never derived from a verbal root. Professor Bopp says indeed, in his Comparative Grammar, § 844: "We find in Latin, together with *i-tio*, also *i-tiu-m* in the compound *in-i-tiu-m*, which agrees in its suffix with the noun-derivative *servi-tium*." But it need hardly be stated that this comparison is wrong. While *servitium* contains the termination *tio-*, we have to derive *initium*, as well as *exitium*, *comitium*, from the participles *inito-*, *exito-*, *comito-*, by means of the suffix *io*, unless indeed words like *exercitium*, *lotium*, *nuptiae*, *argutiae*, *inscitia*, are to be divided into *exerci-tium*, *lo-tium*, &c. I intend at present to offer a conjecture as to the origin of the first-mentioned abstracts in *tia*, *tie-*, *tio-*. Most of them are derived from adjectives, only a few from substantives. I know of the following:—

I. A-declension.

Amicitia, *inimicitia*, *avaritia*, *blanditia*, *canitia*, *duritia*, *justitia*, *injustitia*, *laetitia*, *lautitia*, *malitia*, *moestitia*, *mollitia*, *munditia*, *immunditia*, *notitia*, *pigritia*, *planitia*, *primitiae*,

puccitia, impudicitia, impuritia, saevitia, scabritia, segnitia, spurcitia, stultitia, tristitia, vafritia. *Nequitia* comes from *nequam*, the latter being derived, according to Ritschl, from an adjective *nequus* for *ne-æquus*. *Pueritia* is the only instance of *tia* being connected with a substantive; for *lanitia, lanities, lanitium*, seem to be more rightly spelt with a *c*, all three being derivatives from the adjective *lanicius*.

II. E-declension.

Most of the words above mentioned belong also to this declension. They are, *nequities, amarities, amicities, avarities, blandities, calvities, canities, durities, mollities, mundities, notities, planities, saevities, scabrities, segnities, spurcities, tardities, tristities, vastities.* Only *imbalnities* and *pullities* are derived from other nouns.

III. o-declension.

Calvitium from *calvus*. All the others are derived from substantives, namely, *famulitium, servitium, conservitium, sodalitium.* *Ostium* is so concrete in its meaning, that I hesitate to derive it immediately from *os*. *Gurgustium* is quite obscure. It is probable that *convitium* also belongs to this class, and stands for *convoc-i-tium*. This derivation has been very ably defended by Fleckeisen in the *Rheinisches Museum*, 1853. p. 221 *seq.*

Bopp, in his *Comparative Grammar*, § 846, considers *tia*, and *tio-* as lengthened forms of *ti*. But *ti*, Greek $\sigma\iota$ (compare *men-ti-*, $\theta\eta\text{-}\sigma\iota\text{-s}$), form only primary derivatives, and I know of not a single instance where *-ti-* is attached to another noun. For *sementis* is not derived from *semen*, but both are independently formed from the root *se*; or, to express the fact more precisely, the one word shows the shorter suffix *men* for *ment*, the other the enlarged form *menti*; and each stands in the same relation to the other as *momen* does to *momentum*. I divide, therefore, *sementis* thus, *se-ment-i-s*, not *semen-ti-s*. Pott, in his *Etymol. Forsch.* ii. 494, considers *tio, tia*, as increased forms of *io, ia*, without accounting in any other way for the existence of the *t*.

The two principal suffixes for forming secondary abstracts in Sanskrit are *tā* (fem.) and *tva* (neut.). The former is represented in Latin by *ta* in *juven-ta*, *senec-ta*, *olivi-ta*, and *τη* in Greek in *ἀρε-τή*, and appears frequently in Gothic in the shape of *tha*,—for instance, *diupi-tha*, depth; *hauhi-tha*, height; *garaihti-tha*, justice. The other suffix, *tva*, very frequently forms abstracts from adjectives and substantives in Sanskrit, as for instance, *mahat-tva*, greatness, from *mahat*, great; *sakhi-tva*, friendship, from *sakhi*, friend. It appears in Slavonic in the form of *s-tvo*, as *apostol'-stvo*, the mission of apostles, from *apostol'*; *mnoz'-stvo*, multitude, from *mnog'**. I believe that the Latin *tia*, *tio*, agree completely with the Sanskrit *tva*, on the assumption that the *v* was first vocalized (*tua*, *tuo*), and the *u* at a later time weakened to *i*. We know that the Latin *i* stands frequently for an older *u*. Even the oldest Latin knows only *tibi*, but it is certain that this pronoun is weakened from *tubi*, Sanskr. *tubhyam*. The Umbrian has, in the accusative of the same pronoun, *tiom*, which, when we compare it with the Sanskrit *tvām*, we are sure can only stand for *tuo-m*. This explanation of the abstracts in *tia*, *tio*, removes all other difficulties, and restores to the Latin a suffix, traces of which remain in all the Indo-European languages.

XIV.—ON SOME ENGLISH IDIOMS.

BY THE REV. J. J. STEWART PEROWNE, B.D.

[Read February the 8th.]

The idioms of a language are its strength. Far more characteristic than its words, even in their earlier and simpler forms, the Idiom individualizes a language, and marks it out from the group to which it belongs. When we find the same words (and often the same grammatical inflections) in Sanskrit and in Greek, in German and in English, we are

* Schleicher in Aufrecht and Kuhn's Zeitschrift, i. 142.

convinced that these languages had a common origin. When we find that each language has notwithstanding a perfectly distinct manner of expressing the same ideas, we see in this fact evidence of different culture, different associations, different pursuits.

The Idiom may be said generally to consist, not in the peculiarity of the words employed, but in the peculiarity of their collocation. Each word by itself may be literally translatable in another tongue, but not in the peculiar position in which it is placed. We must resort to other words, or to a different collocation, to express the same thought. Take, for instance, the German phrase 'das Seinige zu Rathe halten,' and the corresponding English phrase 'to husband one's means:' the one is not a rendering of the other, but the substitution merely of a phrase of similar meaning to convey the same idea. Each word in the German has its English equivalent, and yet a literal translation would be out of the question. So common an expression as 'Es thut mir leid,' must be expressed by 'I am sorry for it;' not, 'it does me woe.' Even 'Il a raison' must be Englished by 'He is right;' for although Dryden did venture on the Gallicism 'he has reason,' his authority was not sufficient to make it current. Such transplanted idioms seem to have a natural tendency to die out. Berners, in his translation of Froissart's Cronycle, renders the French 'se battre à l'outrance,' by 'fight at utteraunce;' and Shakspeare also writes 'to the utterance.' Modern English refuses to recognize the stranger except in its native garb.

There are idioms no doubt which are identical in two or more languages. These are probably, in some instances, a common inheritance derived originally from the same parent. Sometimes, again, they may very nearly approach, but a single word in the one language will refuse to surrender to the other. Thus the French phrase 'Il y a tout lieu de croire,' may be rendered in English 'There is *much* room to suppose,' or 'there is every *reason* to suppose.' In the one case we slightly modify the expression; in the other we change the figure. There is this difference between idioms and words. Foreign

words are admitted and naturalized. In a language like our own, their foreign birth is no bar to their reception; but the language will not bow its neck to a foreign yoke. It is one thing to welcome strangers; they may increase our wealth. It is another to submit to their dictation; this is to resign our independence.

Examples might readily be multiplied; but my object in this paper is rather to direct attention to the idioms of our own language, and more especially to those (many of them now obsolete) which are to be found in our earlier writers. Under this head I shall also include certain peculiarities of construction which I do not remember to have seen noticed elsewhere. These must be regarded only as first-fruits. There is a large harvest still to be gathered. Our dictionaries and grammars have done but little for us here. Richardson's Dictionary, useful as it is in many respects, is in this extremely deficient. One looks almost in vain in his pages for idiomatic usages, and it is to be regretted that such idiomatic expressions as he does give, are not classed separately, as in our Latin and Greek Lexicons, instead of being mixed up with the ordinary usages of the word. So again with regard to constructions, you will not learn from him that Hooker writes, 'Drawn from those beaten paths *wherewith* they have been *inured,*' or that Latimer tells us 'not to *flatter with* anybody,' or that Roger Ascham speaks of 'chaunging a good [word] *with* a worse.' Nor do I know of any grammar that at all supplies the deficiency. We have numbers of books on the study of *words*, and the changes through which words have passed,—what have fallen into desuetude,—what still survive,—what additions have been made from time to time to our existing stock. But nothing I believe has yet been done to illustrate the idioms* of our language, or to classify its constructions. And yet, important as the study of words is, that of idioms is certainly not less important. We admit this readily enough in our study of foreign languages. One of the first things in such a study is to notice the idioms

* Perhaps I ought to except Dr. Roget's useful Thesaurus, but this does not profess to travel beyond modern usage.

of the language. We know well enough how our first essays at composition in Greek, or Latin, or French, engage us in a perpetual hunt after phrases. It is wonderful with what zest these are seized on and treasured up, and with what ingenuity we torture ourselves that they may figure in our translations. But it is remarkable that the same solicitude about the idioms of our own language is never instilled into us, and we are expected to write as we speak, by a kind of natural gift*.

The collection of idioms and constructions which follows, is, as I have said, only a fragmentary contribution to a knowledge of this subject. It is taken chiefly from Piers Ploughman, Wiclif, Gower, and Chaucer. In a few instances I have traced the idiom down to a later time. I hope in a future paper to continue my investigation at least through the writers of the Elizabethan period, if not to our own.

I. PHRASES.

Blame.—‘To fall in blame, set in blame.’

- (1.) Forthy men shulden nothing hide
That mighte *fall in blame* of pride.

i. e. that might be censured as pride.

Gower †, C. A. vol. i. p. 145.

And again,

So might thou lightly *fall in blame*.—Ib. p. 229.

With this we may compare the French ‘*tomber en faute*.’ The Germans say, ‘*die Schuld fällt auf mich*,’ and we now say, ‘the blame falls or rests on me,’ or ‘I am to blame.’ This however is somewhat different from Gower’s phrase, especially in the first instance given above.

- (2.) And thei have self ben thilke same
That *setten* most the world *in blame*.—Gower.

* Coleridge somewhere gives as a test of a good style, that it should be untranslatable in other and simpler words of the same language without loss of sense or dignity. He has also remarked on the great excellence of a thoroughly idiomatic style. It seems probable that the more idiomatic a style is, the less translatable it will be in other words.

† The references are to Dr. Pauli’s edition of Gower, which will shortly be published.

Cf. the Latin expression 'Ponere aliquem in culpa,' Cic. pro Cluent. c. 45. We should now say, 'find fault with.' When this latter idiom first arose I cannot say, but in Heb. viii. 8, *μεμφόμενος αὐτοῖς* is translated 'finding fault with them.' This is clearly idiomatic, and very different from the expression 'to find fault in a person,' which in the Bible is merely a literal rendering of the Hebrew or Greek words.

Boot.—'To do boot of a thing,' &c., *i. e.* 'to remedy, make amends,' &c.

And ye that may *do boot*

Of al my languor with your wordes glad.

Chaucer*, vol. iv. p. 182.

There can no wight thereof *do bote.*—Gower, Prol. C. A.

So also, 'to have bote' (Chaucer); and 'to find bote' (Gower). Shakspeare's '*Make boot* upon the summer's velvet buds,' is a different kind of expression. 'To do boot' is to do service, confer a benefit, &c. 'To make boot' is to reap a benefit, to gain in any way, as by spoil or pillage. Hence the word *booty*. The original meaning of the word is simply that of *addition*. This appears in the phrase 'to boot,' which we still use. On the different usage of the verbs 'make' and 'do' in the composition of phrases, I shall say something further on.

Cast.—'To cast one's cheer, look, wits,' &c. The phrase 'to cast one's cheer,' in the sense of 'to cast one's eye,' 'turn one's face,' &c., is of frequent occurrence.

Up to the heven he *caste his chere.*—Gower, i. 143.

His *chere* aweiward from me *caste.*—Ib. p. 46.

She *caste* on me no goodly *chere.*—Ib.

In the following passage the expression seems to be used rather differently:—

This Acteon, as he wel might

Above all other *caste his chere*

And used it from yere to yere

With houndes and with grete hornes

* The edition of Chaucer referred to is that in Bell's Annotated Edition of the English Poets.

Among the wodes and the thornes
To make his hunting, &c.—Ib. 53.

Here it seems equivalent to 'carried his head.'

Again, 'to cast one's look':—

And as he *caste his loke*
Into the well, and hede toke.—Ib. p. 120.

We still say 'to cast a look.' Also—

Here *wittes* thereupon they *caste*
And ben appointed atte laste.—p. 114.

i. e. they reflected upon it and at last came to an agreement.

Other phrases are:—

And such a *loue* on her he *caste*
That he her wedded ate laste.—Ib. 125.

And—

So that upon his trecherie
A lesinge in his herte he *caste*.—Ib. 137.

Chaucer uses the expression 'to cast off the heart' in the sense 'to give up,' 'to despair.'

Cast off thine *herte*, for all her wordes white.
Vol. iv. p. 168.

Hand.—(1.) 'To take or have on hand, upon hand,' &c.
Gower writes—

And thus the whele is all miswent
The which fortune *hath upon honde*.—Vol. i. p. 130.

And—

Which every kinde *hath upon honde*.—Ib. p. 42.

Chaucer:—

Such maner wordes *hadde we on honde*.—Vol. ii. p. 56.

It is curious in what a general way this phrase is made use of by Gower. He writes—

For who that *hath humblesse on honde*.—Vol. i. p. 153.

And even—

Though I sikenesse *have upon honde*.—Prol. p. 5.

(2.) Similarly 'to take on honde,' which however does not correspond so much to the modern 'take in hand,' as to the phrase 'to take to':—

And thus they casten care away
And *token lustes upon honde*.—Gower, i. 126.

i. e. took to, or engaged in, tourneys, &c.

Tho *toke* he lesinge upon *honde*.—Ib. 214.

And—

Thou must humblesse *take on honde*.—Ib. 145.

i. e. have recourse to lying, to humility, &c.

(3.) And to add an instance without the verbs 'have' or 'take':—

Tho *was* ther gret merveile on *honde*.—Ib. p. 151.

(4.) The very curious expression 'to bear on honde' = 'to insist upon,' 'persuade.' Tyrwhitt explains it, 'to accuse falsely, to persuade falsely,' but I think incorrectly. The falseness of the persuasion is only an accidental, not a necessary, idea:—

And *bare on honde* it was no wit
Ne time for to speke as tho.—Gower, ii. 2.

i. e. 'would have it.'

I wis a wyf if that she can hir good
Shal *beren him on hond* the cow is wood.—Chaucer, ii. 51.

i. e. shall make him believe anything, however extravagant.

Bar I styf min housebondes on *honde*
That thus they sayde.—Ib. 56.

I *bare* him on *honde* he had enchanted me.—Ib. 62.

So also, with a sort of *prægnans locutio*:—

Ye wise wyves that can understonde
Thus schulde ye speke, and *bere hem wrong on honde*,
For half so boldely can there no man
Swere and lye as a womman can.—Id. ii. 51.

i. e. make them out to be, insist upon it that they are, in the wrong.

(5.) 'To be brought to honde' = 'to be brought down (sc. under the hand), subdued,' &c.

But yet he was nought of such might
The strength of love to withstonde
That he ne was so *brought to honde*

That malgre wher he wol or no
This yonge wife he loveth so, &c.—Gower, i. p. 68.

Make :—

(a.) .. your bewte may not strecche
To *make amendis of* so cruel a dede.—Chaucer, v. 67.

(b.) .. and assaieth
His God which *made* him nothing *straunge*.
Gower, i. 140.

i. e. who did not turn away as a stranger from his request,
but listened to and granted it.

The persoun of the toun, for sche was feir,
In purpos was to maken hir his heir,
Bothe of his catel and his mesuage,
And *straunge made it* of hir mariage.—Chaucer, i. 222.

i. e. made it a matter of difficulty to obtain her in marriage.
Again—

He made it strange, and swore so God him save,
Lesse than a thousand pound he wold not have.
Id. ii. 242.

Similarly, 'to make wise,'

(c.) Oure counseil was not longe for to seeke ;
Us thought it was not worth to *make it wys*.
And graunted him withoute more avys.—Id. i. 108.

i. e. to make it a matter of wisdom or deliberation. (Tyrwhitt.)

(d.) And he shoulde eke here truth alowe
With al his herte and *make him chere*.—Gower, ii. 8.
He *maketh* the messenger *no chere*.—Id. i. 193.

(e.) And swore, if she *him daunger make*.—Ib. 195.

It is a matter of some interest to compare the usages of this verb with those of the verb 'to do'. We shall find that the modern idiom differs widely in some of these from the ancient. I have already observed on the difference of meaning between such phrases as 'to do boot' and 'to make boot,' and I will now supply some further illustrations. Thus Chaucer writes—

The sely wydow, and her doughtres tuo,
Herden these hennys crie and *maken wo*.—iii. 233.

And—

Witness on Jobe, whom we *dede ful wo*.—Chaucer, ii. 96.

Feyne wold she wote al hole your thoughte

And why you *do here* al this *wo*.—vi. 69.

We see that in the above examples, 'to make wo' is intransitive, 'to do wo' is transitive; that in the former the action rests with the agent, in the latter it passes over to an object. The same kind of distinction holds in some phrases still in use. Thus we say 'to make mischief,' and 'to do mischief,' but with this difference,—that in the first phrase the *subject* or *maker* is the more prominent; in the other, the *object* or the person injured. So again we say 'to make good' *i. e.* to repair some injury which the *subject* has inflicted and for which the *subject* is responsible; 'to do good' *i. e.* to benefit some person who is the *object* of our regard. Yet on the other hand, 'to do well,' 'to do ill,' 'to do evil,'—in all these forms of speech the action of the verb limits itself to the agent.

The following are some of the principal idiomatic usages of the verb 'do,' which are deserving of notice:—

(1.) Falsnesse for fere thanne

Fleigh to the ffreres,

And Gyle *dooth* hym to go,

A gast for to dye.—Vision of Piers Ploughman, 1302.

i. e. 'stirs himself,' 'sets himself to go.'

(2.) Have mercy quod Mede

Of men that it haunteth,

And I shal covere your kirk

Your cloistre *do maken*.—Ib. 1473.

We should now say 'have made.'

But natheles this marquys hath *doon make*

Of gemmes, set in gold and in asure,

Broches andrynges, for Grisilde's sake.—Chaucer, ii. 132.

(3.) Where we should now use the verb 'make*;' followed

* Chaucer also uses the verb 'make' in such construction:—

Sche *made* to clippe or schere his heres away

And *made* his foomen all his craft espien.—iii. 189.

by another verb, either with, or without, the prepositions 'to,' 'for to':—

Thou schalt no more, thurgh thy flaterye
Do me to synge and wynke with myn ye.

Chaucer, iii. 234.

And *doo* that I my shippe to haven wynne.—Id. vi. 180.

Which is the way to *doon* you to be trewe?—Ib. 189.

Men wolde say that we were theves stronge
And for our tresour *doon* us for to honge.—Id. iii. 84.

And *did* him plainly for to wite.—Gower, ii. 4.

i. e. 'made him to know,' or as we should probably express it, 'gave him to understand.'

As yet for aught that is befalle
May no man *do* my chekes *rede*.—Gower, ii. 7.

i. e. make them blush.

So that his loking *dooth* myn herte *colde*.

Chaucer, viii. 52.

So also followed by the transitive verb, where we should now use the passive:—

.. what a peyne
Al sodeynly about myn herte
Ther com at ones, and how smerte
In creping softe! as who should stele
Or *do me robbe* of al myn hele.—Chaucer, vi. 62.

The modern idiom would be 'make me, cause me to be robbed,' &c.

(4.) Where 'do' is equivalent to 'put.' This Professor Key considers the original meaning of the verb (Lat. Gram. p. 65 note).

Thei ben acombred with covitise
Thei konne nought *doon* it from them.

Piers Pl. Vision, l. 852.

How I may *do* lachesse away.—Gower, ii. 4.

Quod Pandarus, 'Be stil! and let me slepe
And *do down** thin hood, thi nedis spedde be.'

* Tyrwhitt reads *doe on*, whence *don*.

(5.) With various nouns, either with (*a.*) or without (*b.*) a personal object :—

(*a.*) But he and hise discipulis *don* many *extorcions* to the pore puple.—Wiclif, Three Treatises*, p. cxliv.

Her men taken sumwhat sooth, and *don dremyng* to this treuthe.—Ib. p. xvii.

.. if that I may *doon ease*

To thee, sir cook, &c.—Chaucer, iii. 257, and often.

Fain would I *do* you *mirthe* wiste I how.—Id. i. 108.

Ye *done* hym neither *good* ne *gentilnesse*.—Id. v. 146.

She *doth* her self a *shame* and hym a *gyle*.—Ib. 143.

And *doo* to me *adversite* and *grame*.—Id. vi. 188.

I *do no fors* the whether of the two.—Id. ii. 86.

(*b.*) Now wolden some men say paradventure

That for my negligence I *do no cure*

To telle you the joye and tharray, &c.—Chaucer, ii. 81.

Ther was a knyght, that loved and *dede his peyne*

To serven a lady in his beste wise.—Ib. 227.

For whiche cause the more wee doute

To *do a fault* while sche is oute.—Id. vi. 62.

(6.) Absolutely :—

And everich had a chapelet on her hedde,

Which *did* right well upon the shining here.—Chaucer.

i. e. sat, or looked well.

(7.) Passive, with the meaning ‘to be killed’ :—

And this thei seien is mortesied and patrimonye of Crist, that *was doon* on the cross.—Wiclif, Three Treatises, xxviii.

Tyrwhitt observes that Chaucer rarely uses ‘do’ as an auxiliary verb. He quotes, as illustrative of this usage, a passage in the Monkes Tale :—

His yonge sone that three yere was of age,

Unto him said, fader, why *do* ye wepe?

Whan will the gailer bringen our potage?

Is there no morsel bred that ye *do* kepe?—l. 14742.

It occurs again a little further on,—

And whan the woful fader *did* it sey.

* The references are to Dr. Todd’s edition, Dublin, 1851.

He also notices that the transitive use is more common, as in v. 10074, *Do stripen me, Faites me dépouiller*; v. 10075, *Do me drenche, Faites me noyer*. But it occurs still more frequently, he says, to save the repetition of a verb*.

Put :—

We may not pynche at this lawe that God him silf ordeyned first, but if we *putten* blasfeme on God, that he ordeynede thanne foolily.—Wiclif, *Three Treatises*, p. xxviii.

But for I shewed you Areyte,
Al that men wolde to me wryte
And was so bysy you to delyte,
Myn honour saufe, meke, kynde and fre,
Therefore ye *put on me* this wyte.—Chaucer, vi. 188.

And thinke ye that furthrid be your name
To love a newe, and ben untrewre aye,
And *put yow in sclaunder* now and blame.—Ibid.

There is no sleighte. . . .

That he ne *put it in assay*

As him belongeth for to done.—Gower, i. 65.

That he hath *put all his assay*

To winne thing, &c.—Ib. 68.

Prise or Price :—

And to gret chepe is *holden at litel prise*.

Chaucer, ii. 60.

And evermore he *hadde a sovereyn prys*.—Id. i. 79.

i. e. was in high esteem.

Tho *was* knighthood in *pris* by name.—Gower, i. 6.

In which he found so mochel grace

That all *his prise* on her *he laide*

In audience.—Ib. 154.

* Wiclif uses 'do,' 'make,' and 'give,' as synonymous in the following passage :—

. . . . Crist seith hymself in the gospel, false Cristis and false prophetis shulen rise and shulen *gyve grete synynes and grete wondris*, so that if it may be don, also the chosen ben sent into errours. Now oure faithful men *done wondres* whenne thei suffren persecucions; but thenne the knyztis of this beemoth, that is Sathanas, shulun *make wondris*, 3u whenne thei maken persecucion.—*Three Treatises*, p. cxx.

Set :—

And be other men never so hooly and kepen Goddis lawe, lewde ydiotis thei ben clepyn, and *lityl* thei *sett bi* hem.—Wiclif, Three Treatises, p. cxlii.

I sette nought an hawe
Of his proverbe, ne of his old sawe.—Chaucer, ii. 65.

Of grete men, for *of* the smale
As for to accompt he *set* no *tale*.—Gower, i. 64.

And *of* the counseil none *accompte*
He *sette* whiche his fader taught.—Id. ii. 37.

A king whilom was yonge and wise
The which *set of* his wit great *prise*.—Gower, i. 145.

And they have self ben thilke same
That *setten* most the world *in blame*.—Id. i. 63.

.. and *set* your herte *in ese*.—Chaucer, iv. 150.

Whom folwest thou? where is thy herte *ysette*?—Ib. 176.

Was none of hem so ware, that might
Set eye, where that he becom*.—Gower, i. 143.

Of suche men as now aday
This vice *setten in assay*.—Gower, i. 229.

For thilke shirte unto the bone
His body *set a fire* anone.—Ib. 236.

i. e. as we still say, *set on fire*.

Among these other of slouthes kinde
Which all labour *set behinde*.—Id. ii. 38.

we should say 'set aside.'

Take :—This verb is used in a variety of phrases :—

(1.) The thridde part of the chirche fighthith her after Crist ;
and *taketh ensauple* and wei of him to com to hevене as he cam.
Wiclif, Three Treatises, p. viii.

But for thou canst not, as in this contré
Wynne thy cost, *tak her ensauple of me*.

Chaucer, ii. 99.

(2.) But Jewes a3enstoden hem fast, and hethen mens *token*

* Compare with this, Chaucer, Leg. of Good Women (Leg. of Ariadne,
ad. fin.) :—

Alas, wher shall I wretched wight become?

hem *with wille*, and receyveden the Hooli Ghoost.—Wiclif, *ut supra*, p. ix.

- (3.) This fals Arcyte, of his newefanglenesse,
For she to hym so lowly was and trewe
Tooke lesse deynte for hir stedfasnesse.—Chaucer, vi. 184.

i. e. set less value upon it.

- (4.) *Take keep* = take heed :—

What shulde I *take kepe* hem for to plese.

Chaucer, ii. 50.

We loveth no man that *takith kepe* or charge
When that we goon.—Ib. p. 54.

He bad hem of the stremes depe
That they beware and *take kepe*.—Gower, i. 233.

Also construed with the preposition ‘upon.’

For it is good ye *take kepe*

Upon a thing which is me tolde.—Ib. 215.

With the negative—

And *take of* foul delite *no kepe*.—Ib. 56.

This idiom is very common, both in Chaucer and Gower, perhaps even more so than the synonymous ‘take heed.’ Wiclif, so far as my observation has gone, does not use ‘to take keep’: but he has ‘to take tent,’ which I have not met with in either of the others:

God grant this lordes grace to *take tent* thereto: to bisy hem for the cause of God more thenne for her owne.—Three Treatises, p. cliii.

The idiom which is common to all three writers ‘take heed,’ is the only one which still survives. We are, however, so rich in phrases of similar import that we need scarcely regret our loss. Thus we can say either ‘to give,’ or ‘to take heed’: ‘to pay attention’: ‘to take care’; not, however, ‘to give care’; for this we must substitute ‘to give diligence,’ or ‘to do one’s diligence.’

Tell,—in the sense of to reckon, account, &c. :—

Crist *telde not by* sicke abite.—Wiclif.

i. e. Christ made no account of, set no value on, such habit.

Crist loved more ye treue prestis thenne these worldly goods; he

[*i. e.* Antecrist] and hise *tellen* more *bi* strumpetis prestis, and more thei shal be sett by and worshiped, &c.—Id. Three Treatises, p. cli.

But by my fay! I *told of it no stoor*.—Chaucer, ii. 50.
i. e. did not care about it.

And I say forther more
That I ne *tell* of laxatives *no store*.—Id. iii. 225.

.. but he was but seven yer old
And therefor litel *tale* hath he *told*
Of eny drem, so holy was his hert.—Ib. 224.

They loved me so wel, by God above!
That I *tolde* no *deynte* of her love.—Id. ii. 50.

Instead of to 'tell store of,' we now say 'to set store by' a thing. The word 'tell' means properly 'to count' or 'reckon.' Arnold connects it with the Greek *τέλος*, tax, *toll*, and *τελείν*. We have preserved this meaning of the root in the modern 'tellers' in parliamentary phrase, and in such expressions as 'it tells against him,' 'an argument, or a blow which tells,' &c.

Well:—'To be well,' &c., with the opposite 'to be wo.'
'Well worth,' and 'wo worth.'

My faire maid, *well the be*
Of thin answe, and eke of the
Me liketh well.—Gower, i. 154.

Wel were they that thider mighte winne!

Chaucer, vi. 63.

Well worthe of this thinge grete clerkes
That trete of this and other werkes.—Ib. 195.

In Bell's edition of Chaucer there is a strange note on this idiom. He says, "*Worthe* is a verb, of which *grete clerkes* is the subject. It often occurs in combination with *wel* and *wo*, and appears to mean *to attribute*. Thus the meaning of this sentence would be, 'Great scholars attribute a great value to this thing'; and the exclamation, 'Woe worth the day,' would mean 'May evil be attributed to this day.' Thus the worth of a thing means the value attributed to it." It is scarcely necessary to observe that the word 'worthe' here is only the Anglo-Saxon *weorðe*, from the verb *weorðan* (Germ. *werden*), 'to become'; and 'well worthe,' 'wo worthe'

is 'well become,' or 'well be'; 'wo become,' or 'wo be.' Hence we find Gower writes:

Hereof *was* Poliphemus *wo*.—i. 163.

.. and to beware also

Of the perill er *him be woo*.—Ib. 78.

And Chaucer,—

And if so be my ladye it refuse

For lack of ornate speech, *I would be woe*

That I presume to her to writen so.—iv. 130.

Wo worthe the faire gemme vertules!

Wo worthe that herbe also that doth no boot!

Wo worthe that bewte also that is rowtheless!

Wo worthe that wight that tret ech undur foot.—v. 67.

II. CONSTRUCTIONS.

I. Words construed with the preposition 'of.'

A. Verbs.

(1.) *Thank*,—*of* a thing, where we should now use *for* (Fr. *remercier de*):—

And she ayen, in right goodly manere

Thanketh her *of* her most frendly chere.

Chaucer, iv. 252.

They may now, God be *thanked of* his lone,

Maken her jubile, and walk alloone

* * * *

Save that to Crist I sayd an orisoun

Thankyng him *of* my revelacioun.—Id. ii. 109, 110.

So also the same construction occurs twice in the *Preces de Chauceres* at the end of the *Canterbury Tales*, vol. iv. p. 102. 4. The *person* thanked is governed by the preposition 'to.' Thus,—

And *to* our hihe goddes *thanke* we

Of honoures that our eldres with us left.—Id. iii. 194.

(2.) *Pray*, *beseech*, &c.—*of* a thing:—

So longe *preyeden* they the king *of* grace

Til he his lif hath graunted in the place.

Chaucer, ii. 751.

And him *of* lordschip and *of* mercy *prayde*.—Id. i. 147.

Besechyng her of mercy and of grace,
As she that is my lady souveraine.—Id. iv. 207.

Pray, beseech, &c.—to a person :—

And mekely she to the sergeant *preyde*.—Id. iii. 141.

(3.) *Reprove, upbraid, &c.* :—

And therefore, sir, syth that I yow nought greve
Of my poverb no more me *repreve*.

Now, sir, of elde ye *repreve* me, &c.—Ib. 85.

(Cf. ii. 77.)

Soo pleyne she was, and did her fulle myghte,
That she nyl hiden noothyng from her knyghte,
Lest he of any untrouthe her *upbreyde*.—Id. vi. 184.

.. and whenne synne regneth among greet men : and thei dreden
of worldli harme : thei doren not *synbbe* men of this synne : lest her
order leese worldli help.—Wiclif, Three Treatises, p. xxxvi.

(4.) *Hearken* :—

.. and this wey is cleped penitence. *Of* which men schulden
gladly *herken* and enquere with al here herte, to wyte what is peni-
tence, &c.—Chaucer, C. T., Persones Tale.

Perhaps, however, in this instance, the verb ‘herken,’ by a
kind of attraction, takes the same government as the verb
‘enquere.’

(5.) *Espy* :—

And as God wolde, he gan so faste ryde
That no wight of his countenance *espyed*.

Chaucer, T. & C. vi. 6.

(6.) *Know* :—

And sythen that I *knewe* of loves peyne.—Id. i. 146.

The same construction as of the verb ‘to wite.’—

Ful litel *woot* Arcite of his felawe.

Id. i. 137, and frequently.

(7.) *Help of* = cure of :—

Ther nas quyksylver, litarge, ne brimstone
Ne oynement that wolde clense and byte,
That him might *helpen* of his whelkes white
Ne of the knobbes sitting on his cheekes.—Id. i. 103.

(8.) *Give* :—

He *gaf* nat *of* that text a pulled hen
That seith that hunters been noon holy men.—Id. i. 85.

Here, 'of' is probably = 'for.' And, 'he gaf not of,' to be explained by, 'he would not have given for.'

(9.) *Pass, &c.* :—

.. whose heavenly figured face
So pleasaunt was, and her wele shape person
That *of* beauty she *past* hem everichon.—Id. iv. 242.

That, as me thought, of goodlihede
They *passed* alle, and womanhede.— Id. vi. 48.

For al the worlde, so hadde she
Surmountede hem alle *of* beaute
Of manere and *of* comelynesse
Of stature and *of* so wel sette gladnesse, &c.—Ib. 162.

[But also 'pass in' :—

That no wight *passed* *hir* in hardynesse
Ne in lynage, ne in other gentilnesse.—Id. iii. 195.]

(10.) *Remember* :—

And for to doon his observaunce to May
Remembryng *of* the poýnt of his desire,
He on his courser, stertyng as the fire
Is riden into feeldes him to pleye.—Id. i. 136.

[Another construction,—

This noble wyf Prudence *remembered* *hire* upon the sentens of
Ovide, in his book that cleped is the Remedy of Love, &c.—Chaucer,
iii. 130.

And,—

On Dorigen *remembreth* atte lest.—Id. ii. 254.]

(11.) *Hope* :—

For sothly, whil contricioun lastith, man may ever *hope* *of* for-
giveness.—Chaucer, iv. 30.

(12.) *Cease* :—

Sche never *cessed*, as I writen finde,
Of hire prayer and God to love and drede.

Chaucer, iii. 10.

(13.) *Teach* :—

Tho gan sche him ful besily to preche
Of Cristes come, and *of* his peynes *teche*.—Chaucer, p. 17.

(14.) This Preposition is also used after verbs in expressing not immediate dependence, but a more general relation to the action contained in the verb. Thus,

Whanne that Anelyda, this wofull quene,
Hath *of* herhande *written* in this wise.—Chaucer, vi. 191.

Again,

Right *of* hir honde a letter *maked* she.—Chaucer.

And again, Tr. & C. b. ii. 1005 (Tyrwhitt). Fr. *de sa main*.
We should now say, ‘*with* her hand.’

(15.) In the partitive construction. In the case of certain verbs the action of the verb is extended, not to the whole, but only to a part of its object. The preposition ‘*of*’ in these instances expresses the same relation as is expressed in Greek by the genitive case. But this usage is more limited in modern, than in early, English. Chaucer not only says—

Or *gif* us *of* youre braune, if ye have eny,—ii. 105 ;

(with which we may compare ‘*Give* us *of* your oil, for our lamps are gone out,’—Matt. xxv. 8, Auth. Vers.), but

Of smale houndes *hadde* sche, that sche fedde
With rosted fleissh and mylk and wastel breed.

ProL. C. T. i. 83.

Perhaps to the same principle may be referred the construction :—

It *snewed* in his hous *of* mete and drynk,
Of alle deyntees that men cowde thynke.—Id. i. 92.

and that in the following passages :—

And then seyde Gamelyn, ‘So mot I wel fare
I have nought yet halvendel sold up my ware.’
Tho seyde the champioun, ‘So brouk I my swere,
He is a fool that *thereof* *buyeth*, thou selleth it so deere.
Id. i. 248.

And in the schippe me drewe on heye
And seyden alle that I wolde deye ;
And leyde me long down by the maste,
And *of* hire clothes on me *caste*.—Chaucer, vi. 89.

Wiclif also employs the partitive construction :—

Crist *parted* with folke *of* goodis that he had.—Three Treatises, cxxxviii.

‘To eat of,’ ‘to take of,’ (found in Chaucer, vol. iv. 32), and ‘to give of,’ all occur in the authorised version of the Bible, and with these verbs the construction is still not obsolete.

(16.) A sort of pleonastic use :—

And thus though I that lawe obeie
Of which that kinges ben *put under*.—Gower, i. 117.

(17.) Where ‘*of*,’ = ‘*concerning*’ :—

For thi I lere yow, lordes,
Leveth swiche werkes
To *writen* in wyndowes
Of youre wel deedes.—Piers Pl. Vision, 1493.

Passives.—The construction with the preposition ‘*of*’ after passive verbs and participles is extremely common. This construction has been retained to a very considerable extent in the authorised translation of the Scriptures, but modern English has almost entirely discarded it, substituting mostly the preposition ‘*by*’ for the preposition ‘*of*’*):—

Thus in delyt he liveth and hath don yore
Biloved and *dred*, thurgh favour of fortune,
Bothe *of* his lordes and *of* his comune.—Chaucer, ii. 127.

[But in iii. 154 we have,—

.. that he be *bilovid with* his subgites and with his neighebour.]

Al was this lond *fulfilled of* fayrie.—Ib. 73.

Though here doubtless ‘*fulfilled*’ = ‘*filled full*.’ Cf. vi. 181 *et al.*

Who that holt him *payd of* his povert,
I holde him riche, al had he nought a schert.—Ib. 84.

Cf. Wiclif (Three Treatises, cxxxviii.) :—

Antecrist holdeth hym a *payzed of* this : and punysheth hem not therfor.

* The French carefully distinguish as to the use of *de* or *par* after passive verbs.

[But also with the preposition 'on':—

.. and therfor Cristis apostlis and other disciplis longe after hem, weren not bisie aboute dymes: but helden hem *payed on* litil that the puple 3af hem redily.—Ib. p. xxviii.]

.. false freris that blynden myche puple bi colour of hir clothes; the wheche were never *grounded of* God, &c.—Wiclif, *ut supra*, cxlii.

.. for ellis eche pope were blessed; al3if he were falsly *chosun of* fends.—Ib. xxi.

And that was *proved* well by night

Whilome *of* the maidens five.—Gower, ii. 10.

Now sith that I have told yow *of* whiche folke ye schul *be counseiled*, now wil I telle yow which conseil ye ought eschewe.—Chaucer, iii. 144.

[Just before, however, we have the same word construed with the preposition 'by':—

And werke nought alwey in every need by oon conseilour alloone; for som tyme byhoveth it be *counseiled by* mony.]

Tho they were *served of* messes two or thre,

Than sayde Gamelyn, 'How serve ye me?'

Chaucer, i. 253.

In this instance we should now employ the preposition 'with' instead of 'by.' The preposition 'of' seems, however, to convey somewhat of a partitive meaning, = 'they were served with some of,' &c.:

The following passage illustrates more than one of the constructions already noticed:—

Then am I *fed of* that they faste,

And *laugh of** that I se hem loure,

And thus *of* that they brewe soure

I drinke swete, and am wel esed

Of that I wote they ben disesed.—Gower, i. 167, 168.

B. *Adjectives.*

The adjective is frequently followed by the preposition 'of,' and a noun, when the noun serves still further to

* Cf. Chaucer, i. 136:—

And fyry Phebus riseth up so bright

That all the orient *laugheth of* the light.

define and limit the meaning of the adjective. Generally, the noun thus dependent on the adjective will be a *thing*, more rarely a *person*.

(1.) *Clean* :—

A good wyf that is *clene of* werk and thought.

Chaucer, iii. 241.

Chaucer uses both constructions, 'clean *of*' and 'clean *in*' :—

This manner wymmen, that observe chastitè,

Muste be *clene in* herte as wel as in body. . . .

and it bihoveth that sche be holy in herte, and *clene of* body.—
Persones Tale, iv. 90.

But 'clean *of*,' is also used as = 'pure from.'

For be we never so vicious withinne,

We schuln be holde wys and *clene of* synne.—Id. ii. 77.

(2.) *Large* :—

She loveyde as man may do hys brother,

Of which love she was wounder *large*.—Id. vi. 164.

[Wiclif uses this adjective with the preposition 'to' before the *personal* object :—

Crist and hise apostlis weren *large to* the puple.—Three Treatises,
p. cxliv.]

(3.) *Rich* :—

But *riche* he was *of* holy thought and werk.

Chaucer, i. 97.

O Salomon, fulfilled of sapience

. . . . and *richest of* riches.—Gower.

(4.) *Big* :—

The mellere was a stout carle for the nones,

Ful *big* he was *of* braun and eek *of* bones.

Chaucer, i. 100.

(5.) *High* :—

So *high* he set him selfe above

Of stature and *of* beaute bothe

That him thought alle women lothe.—Gower, i. 118.

(6.) *Worthy* :—

This knight Brauchus was *of* his honde

The *worthiest* of all that londe.—Gower.

And all they were so *worthy of* hir honde
In hir time that none might hem withstond.

Chaucer, iv. 255.

(7.) *Wise*:—

And oon of hem, that *wisest* was of lore

* * * *

He to the marquys sayd, as ye schuln hiere.—Id. ii. 127.

(8.) *Most*:—

He was a jangler, and a golyardeys,

And that was *most of* synne and harlotries.—Id. i. 100.

i. e. one who was most given to sin, &c.

(9.) *Least*:—

And were it the foulest cherl, or the foulest womman that lyveth,
and *lest of* value, &c.—Id. iv. 17.

Chaucer has a vast number of such constructions; such as ‘*gentle of kinde*’ (iv. 244), ‘*daungerous of speche*,’ ‘*expert of lawe*’ (i. 101), &c.

(10.) *Negative adjectives*:—

This Galathe, saith the poete

Above all other was *unmete*

Of beaute, that men thanne knewe.—Gower, i. 163.

‘Nay,’ quod the fox, ‘but God give him meschaunce

That is so *undiscret* of governaunce.’—Chaucer, iii. 234.

(11.) Gower uses the phrase ‘to be glad of a *person*’: we now say only ‘to be glad of a *thing*.’ Just as we have seen before he speaks of ‘setting the heart upon a *person*,’ whereas we apply the expression only to a neuter object:—

They toke her into felaship,

As they that weren *of her glade*.—i. 184.

An instance of this construction likewise occurs in the authorized version of the Bible (Isaiah, xxxix. 1, 2):—

“At that time Merodach-Baladan, the son of Baladan, king of Babylon, sent letters and a present to Hezekiah, for he had heard that he had been sick and was recovered. And Hezekiah was *glad of them*, and showed them the house of his precious things, the silver and the gold,” &c.

It is true no personal object is mentioned, but messengers

are implied in the verb 'sent,' and that Hezekiah was glad of the *messengers*, not of the *letters*, is clear from the following 'and showed them,' &c.

II. Words construed with the preposition 'to' or 'unto.'

(1.) Verbs implying *obedience*, &c. :—

No man may *serve to* two lordis.—Wiclif.

.. for siche seruen not to Crist; but seruen to her womb.—Id. Three Treatises, p. cxxii.

But men most nede *unto* her lust *obeye*.

Chaucer, ii. 140.

.... and ben redy to *obeye to* alle youre commandements.—Id. iii. 179.

And she *to* his bidding *obeid**.—Gower, i. 128.

But also without the preposition.

And hire *obeie*, and folwe hire wille in al.—Chau. ii. 227.

(2.) *Command*, &c.

.. but ilche man myte *glyche comaunde*† *to* other.—Wiclif, Three Treatises, p. xcv.

.. but Crist *bad to* the poor man: let ye dede *birye* the dede.—Ib. p. cxlix.

With the verb 'enjoin,' Wiclif uses the preposition, not before the personal object, but before the thing enjoined :—

.. thei *enjoynen* hem *to* brede and watur and to go barefote.—Ib.

* We have a lingering remnant of this construction in the authorized version of Acts, vii. 39 :—“.. *to* whom our fathers would not *obey*.” So also in Rom. vi. 16 :—“his servants ye are *to* whom ye *obey*.”

† There are a few instances in the authorized version of the Bible where the verb 'command' is thus followed by the preposition 'to' :—

Then an herald cried aloud, *To* you it is *commanded*, O people, nations, and languages.—Dan. iii. 4.

And *unto* the married I *command*.—1 Cor. vii. 10.

It is to be observed, however, that here (and the same holds good of the examples cited under the verb 'to obey') the pronoun precedes the verb, and the preposition seems to be demanded by the emphasis, as will be evident to any one who will try to read these passages without the preposition.

(3.) *Injury, harm, &c.* :—

TOUCH. To speke or jangle in any wise

That *toucheth to* my ladies name.—Gower, i. 177.

ANNOY. Salamon saith, that right as motthes in schepes flies *annoyeth* the clothes, and the smale wormes *to* the tre, right so *annoyeth* sorwe to the herte.—Chaucer, iii. 131.

TRESPASS. Al be it so that of your pryde and heigh presumpcioun and folye. . . . ye have mysbore yow, and *trespased unto* me, &c.

And, again—

. . . that God of his endeles mercy wolle at the tyme of our deyenge forgive us our giltes, that we have *trespased to* him in this wretchid world.—Ib. p. 181.

(4.) *Profit* :—

For it *spedith to* thee that one of thi membres perische than all thi body go into helle.—Wiclif, Transl. of Matt. v.

(5.) *Accord* :—

And after this, thou schalt considere the thinges that *accorden to* that purpos for to do by thy counseil, if resoun *accorde thereto*, and eek if thy might may *accorde thereto*, and if the more part and the better part of thy counsellours *accorde thereto* or noon.—Chaucer, iii. 146, 7.

Wiclif also uses this construction. Elsewhere Chaucer prefers the preposition 'with'*

The wise Plato saith, as ye may rede,

The word mot neede *accorde with* the deede,

If men schul telle properly a thing

The word mot *corde with* the thing werkyng.—iii. 243.(6.) *To forgive, &c.*

Forsothe ȝif ȝee schulen *forȝyve to* men here synnes.—Wiclif†.

* So also in Wiclif we find the verb 'assent' (as well as the noun), followed by the preposition 'with' :—

For fals mayntenȝng makith eretikus, and so *assente with* siche falsched bryngith inne ofte eresies, and Crist wote not *assente with* thes : for thei may not be sothe.—Three Treatises, &c. p. xxiv.

† So in 2 Cor. ii. 10 (authorized version) :—

To whom ye *forgive* anything, I forgive also ;

where the same remark holds with regard to the emphatic position of the pronoun as above, p. 169, note †.

.. the whiche shul not *spare to* the folk of God.—Wiclif, Three Treatises, p. cxxii.

(7.) *To have need* :—

hole men *han no nede* to a leche.—Wiclif.

And if thou *to us have neede*, thou schalt fynde us prest.

Chaucer, i. 264.

Similarly,—

for youre fadir woot what *is nede to* you.—Wiclif.

(8.) The following constructions with this preposition are also worth notice :—

(a.) And if there *be to* this matere

Some goodly tale for to here.—Gower, ii. 3.

where 'to' = 'in reference to.'

(b.) Whilom Eneas

Whom Anchises *to sonne hadde*.—Gower, ii. 4.

And he a lusty maide

To doughter *hadde*.—Ib. 43.

.. whilom I was one

That *to* my fader *hadde* a kinge.—Ib. 48.

We can still say 'to have to wife,' but not 'to son,' 'to daughter,' &c.

(c.) This proude king let make a statu of gold,

Sixty cubites long, and seven in brede,

To which ymage bothe yonge and olde

Comaunded he *to love* and *have in drede*.

Chaucer, iii. 192.

Here, either 'to love' = 'to have love'; or, 'to' may be used in an indefinite way for 'with regard to'; or possibly for 'loue' we ought to read 'boue,' *i. e.* 'bow.'

(9.) After adjectives and nouns :—

The pover childe is bore as *able*

To vertue as is the kinges sone.—Gower, i. 269.

Eke thou that art his sone art proud also,

And knowest al this thing so verrayly,

And art *rebel* to God and art his fo.—Chaucer, iii. 194.

.. thei senden maundementis thikke aboute for covetise of ve-

niaunce to curse and to putte out of chirche for *rebelnesse* to hem.
—Wiclif, Three Treatises, p. cxlv.

A little further on we have '*rebelnes ageyns* God.'

III. Use of the preposition 'upon.'

Gower uses this preposition in a very peculiar manner.
Thus,—

For God....

.... hath set him but a little while

That he shall regne *upon* depose.

i. e. subject to deposition: or, so as to be deposed; *on such terms and conditions.*

And she *upon* *childehood* him tolde

That Perse her litel hounde was dede.—i. 219.

i. e. as you would expect from a child, in her child-like way.

Here it is not so easy to see the exact force of the preposition.

Again,—

.. so that *upon* *his trecherie*

A lesinge in his herte he caste.—i. 187.

And similarly Chaucer,—

Ere ye doon eny execuccion,

Upon *your ire* for suspeccioun.—iii. 245.

i. e. because you are angry, or, *on the ground of* your anger.

In each of the last two instances the preposition will allow of a similar explanation, viz.: 'on the ground of.'

[To be continued.]

XV.—FURTHER OBSERVATIONS ON THE CONNEXION OF THE FINNISH AND INDO-GERMANIC CLASSES OF LANGUAGES. BY HENSLEIGH WEDGWOOD, Esq.

[Read November the 6th.]

Since my former communication on the connexion of the Finn and Lapp with the languages of Western Europe, I have had an opportunity of inspecting the grammars and vocabularies of other members of the Ugrian race, reaching to

the extremities of Siberia, and in all of them I find, to a greater or less extent, instances of a similar community of radical forms, strongly corroborating the evidence already produced of a primæval connexion between the languages of the Ugrian and Indo-European classes.

It might be suspected that the Lapp *wuoksa*, an ox, was merely a modification of the Swedish *oxe*, but the same name may be recognized in Ostiak *uges*, Syrianian *ös*, Wotiak *oj* (French *j*), and even in the Turkish *ogys*.

In like manner Finn *porsas* a pig, agreeing in so striking a manner with Lat. *porcus*, corresponds to Syr. *pors*, Ost. *purash*, Wot. *parj* (Fr. *j*), Samoiede *pares*, *pores*.

The names of two of our wild berries are cranberry (*i. e.* crane-berry) and crow-berry, and it is remarkable that they are known by names having the same meaning among the Samoiedes, with whom the word for crane is *kar*, *karra*, or in another dialect *haru*, *haro* (which may perhaps be radically identical with *crane*, W. *garan*), while the name of the cranberry is *karan af* or *kara chober*, *harun ode*; *chober* or *odea* signifying a berry. The name of the crow-berry is *warño*, while *warña* is a crow, agreeing with Lith. *warna*, Servian *wrana* and W. *bran*. Esthon. *warres*, a crow, *warresse marjad*, crowberries.

As the *r* of Lat. *morus*, a mulberry, changes to an *l* in the provincial Fr. *molle* (Vocabulaire de Berri) and E. *mulberry*, so we find Lapp *muorje* corresponding to Esthon. and Wot. *muli*, berry, fruit. In the latter language a berry is also designated by a name, *bory*, almost identical with the English word. In most of the Ugrian languages the word for grease is *voi* or *vai*, as Ost. *voi*, tallow, fat; Finn and Esthon. *voi*, butter; Lapp *wuoi*, butter, oil. The Albanian has a double form, *voi* or *vai*, and *valj*, by which the Finnish *voi* is connected with E. *oil*.

Other instances in which the Albanian seems to connect Ugrian and Indo-European roots may be cited, as—

Esthon. *lil*, *lillik*; Alban. *ljoulje*, a flower; Lat. *lilium*.

Turk. *bulbul*, a nightingale; Alban. *bilj bilj*; Gr. *φίλομηλα*.

Syrianian *gaj* (Fr. *j*), joy, *gajma*, I rejoice; Alban. *gazelim*, *gezim*, joy, *gezoig*, I rejoice; Lat. *gaudeo*.

Several unsatisfactory explanations of the word *king* have been given from different Teutonic roots. An inspection of the Ugrian forms will convince us of the radical identity of the word with the Tartar *chan*, the *g* of E. *king*, or *ig* of G. *könig* being in all probability a suffix originally of diminutive signification. Thus we have Ostiak *chon*, emperor; Wot. *kun*, king, emperor; *kunlen*, queen; *kunoka*, lord, chief; Lapp *konogas* or *konoges*, king; Lith. *kuningas*, a proprietor of a higher class (petty proprietors being addressed by the title *pon*), and especially the pastor of the parish; *kuningėne*, the pastor's wife.

The Greek *apa*, a prayer, may perhaps admit of explanation from the Syrianian *ara*, a song; *Turum-ara*, prayers, literally a God-song, from *Turum*, God.

As examples of verbal agreement may be cited—

E. pot; Finn *pata*; Ost. *put*; Cheremiss. *pat*, a kettle.

E. weather; Pol. *wiatr*; Ost. *wot*, wind.

E. teat; G. *tzitze*; Alb. *tsitse*; Ost. *tuti*, the breast.

E. name; Lapp *namm*, *namma*; Ost. *nem*; Wot. *nim*, name; *nimo*, celebrated.

E. meed; G. *miethen*, to hire; Ost. *mit*; Syr. Wot. *med*, reward, wages; Ost. *midaden*; Wot. *medjalo*, to hire; Wot. *medo*, hired person.

E. to bore; Lat. *forare*; Hung. *furni*, to bore, *furó*, a borer; Ost. *por*, *par*, a borer; *ket-por*, an awl (*ket*=hand); Samoiede *parti*; Finn *puras*, a chisel, borer, scalprum fabrilis, terebra sculptoria.

E. cot; Esthon. *koddo*, a house; Lapp *kâte*, a tent, house; Ost. *chot*.

E. must; Ost. *most*, in the same sense, *tede most*, one must eat.

Sc. *gang*, to go; Ost. *jangam*.

E. nasty; Syrian. *njasti*, sordes, *njasties*, sordidus.

E. lip; Syrian. *ljöb*.

E. son; Syr. *zon*.

E. lime, bird-lime; Esthon. *limma*, slime; Syr. *läm*, glue.

E. latch, lace; Syr. *latsj*, laqueus.

W. *cogel*, a distaff; Lapp *kåkkel*; Syr. *kozjalj*.

E. year; Icel. *år*, harvest, produce of the earth, year; Syr. *ar*, autumn; Wot. *ar*, year, *aran*, harvest.

Lat. *multus*; Wot. *multes*, much.

E. kill, quell; Dan. *quæle*, to choke; Esthon. *kolima*, to die; Finn *kuolta*, to die, *kuolettaa*, to kill; Wot. *kulo*, to die, *kulem*, dead, *kulto*, to kill; Syrian. *kula*, I die; *kulj*, a water-demon, always on the watch to drown his victims (a Nicker.)

E. border, O.-E. *brade*, a brim, as *brade-ful*, brim-ful; Icel. *bard*, *hatt-bard*, ala pilei; Syrian. *bord*, ala, axilla, an edge, brim, as *nyr-bord*, nares, ala nasi; Wot. *bord*, side.

E. burn, a brook; G. *brunn*, a spring, well; Syrian. *burnja*, a well.

E. sere, dry; to sear, to dry up; Hung. *száras*, dry, *szárit*, to become dry; Ost. *sorom*, dry, *sorettem*, to make dry, to sear.

E. brink; Pol. *brzeg*, edge, brink, shore; Bohem. *breh*; Wot. *bereg*, shore.

E. care; Lat. *cura*; Wot. *kur*, care, sorrow.

E. sinew; Esthon. *soon*, sinew, vein; Wot. *sön*, sinew, *sön-wir*, vein (*wir* = blood).

But perhaps a more striking instance than any of these, is the occurrence of a word of so abstract a meaning as the relative *such*, as if transplanted from English, in the Wotiak *sotsche*. Nor is it a mere coincidence of sound, but the logical construction and manifold relations of the word are the same in both cases. The formation of *such* is apparent from the Goth. *sva-leiks*, O.H.G. *solih*, G. *solcher*, O.E. *swilk*, and with absorption of the *l*, *swich*, *such*, literally so-like. The Gr. *τηλικος*, Lat. *talis*, O.E. *thilk*, Prov.E. *thic*, Lith. *tokis*, are equivalent forms with the dental instead of the sibilant modification of the demonstrative, and with a similar loss of the *l* in the two last forms. Corresponding to these is a series formed of the same termination, with a relative instead of a demonstrative particle; Goth. *hwileiks*, Gr.

πηλικος (for κηλικος), Lat. *qualis*, E. *whilk*, *which*, Lith. *kokis*. A fourth series must be considered as formed of the indefinite pronoun *is*, he, with the same termination, having the signification of 'ejus formæ,' 'ejus speciei.' Of this series we can only point out Gr. ἡλικος, of such a size, A.S. *ilc*, same. Now the Wotiak possesses analogues of each of the four series above mentioned. It has both forms of the demonstrative, *ta*, this, and *so*, that, which are confounded with each other in Sanskr. *sa*, *sā*, *tat*, Gr. ὁ, ἡ, το (with an aspirate instead of an initial *s*), A.S. *se*, *seo*, *thæt*; and from these are formed *tatsche*, the equivalent of Gr. τηλικος, Lat. *talis*, E. *thilk*, *thic*, Lith. *tokis*; and *sotsche*, corresponding to Goth. *svaleiks*, G. *solcher*, E. *swilk*, *such*. The analogue of Goth. *hvileiks*, Lat. *qualis*, E. *whilk*, *which*, Lith. *kokis*, is the Wotiak *ketsche*, what, of what kind, and with a negative, *no-ketsche*, of no kind; and between *ketsche* and *sotsche* there is an indefinite *etsche*, of such a nature, him-like, corresponding to Gr. ἡλικος and A.S. *ilc*. The Wot. *kyzi*, manner, and adverbially in the sense of how, as, seems identical with G. *weise*, E. *guise*, *wise*, Bret. *giz*, *kiz*; Wot. *nokyzi*, nohow, in nowise.

I have said in accordance with the general doctrine that *such* is to be explained *so-like*, and in the same way is commonly understood the termination in words like Goth. *sama-leiks*, Lat. *similis*, G. *ähnlich*, E. *slovenly*; but the Lapp enables us to take up the explanation at an earlier stage, and to treat the idea of *likeness* itself as a secondary formation. In that language the substantive *lake*, manner, custom, mode, is also used as a termination equivalent to E. *ly*, by which adjectives are converted into adverbs. *Mann lakai? kutte lakai?* in what manner, how? *Arges laka*, in a timid manner, timidly, from *arges*, timid; *heimalaka*, homely, more domestico, tanquam domi, from *heima*, home. From this element is formed the adjectival termination *lakats*, the exact equivalent of the Goth. *leiks*, Lat. *lis*, and G. *lich*. Thus from *kalkos*, slow, are formed *kalkos laka*, slowly, and *kalkos lakats*, slowish; from *akta*, one, *aktalaka*, in one and the same manner, *aktalakats*, æqualis, similis, of one form or

mode of being (whence it would seem that the Sanskrit *eka*, one may constitute the first element of Lat. *æqualis*); to *lakats*, of your nature, tui *similis*, your like; *tann lakats* (*tan* being the genitive of *tat*, that), literally, of that nature, talis; *mann lakats*, of what nature, qualis.

A nearer approach to the Lapp form was preserved in the O.E. termination *lock*, where we now use *ly*. We find in Layamon, *kenlok*, bold, from A.S. *cen*, keen; *wod-lok*, synonymous with *wood*, mad; *worthlok*, from worth, worthy; *grislok*, grisly, frightful. The same element is also employed in the formation of substantives, regularly in Icelandic, and in one or two scattered instances in English. Thus in the former language, from *karg*, obstinate, is formed *karg leiki*, obstinate condition or character, obstinacy; from *rösk*, brave, *röskleiki*, bravery. In English we have *wed-lock*, wedded condition; *knowledge*, formerly *knowleche*, the form or scheme of what is known, or condition of one knowing; and in A.S. *reaf-lac*, the condition designated by the term *rob*, robbery. The Esthonian form of the word *luggu* or *lukku* is explained state, manner, subject, condition, *zustand*, *art*, *sache*, *beschaffenheit*. The Finnish form is *lai*, genus vel indoles rei, agendi modus, mos, giving rise to an adjectival termination *lainen*; *pahan lainen*, mali indolis; *sen lainen*, ejus generis, talis (the proper equivalent of E. such), *minkä lainen*, of what nature, qualis, the equivalent of Lapp *man lakats* above mentioned. Here doubtless is shown the import of the termination *lei* in G. *einerlei*, of one kind, *aller-lei*, of all kinds. The course of development in meaning is probably, look, countenance, appearance, form, mode of being; Servian *lik*, vultus; Pers. *liqa*, facies, vultus, forma (Dieffenbach); O.E. *læche*, *liche*, form; *læche*, *leche*, look, countenance, gesture (Layamon); Lapp *lake*, custom, mode. Then with a prefix implying unity, community or identity of nature, Goth. *galeiks*, of common form, G. *gleich*, similar, like; Goth. *samaleiks*, of the same nature, Lat. *similis*; O.H.G. *ana-lih*, *anagalih*, A.S. *anlic*, G. *ähnlich*, of one form or nature, resembling, a meaning which has been transferred in most of the Teutonic dialects to the simple form *like*.

The foregoing view of the original meaning of the adjectival termination *lis*, *lich*, *ly*, and of the mode in which the sense of *like* arises out of that of appearance, form, is corroborated by several similar formations in the Finnish languages. The substantive *muoto* is used in Lapp in the sense of face, appearance, form, image; whence *muotok*, like; *attje muotok*, like his father, having the appearance of his father; *muotolas*, likeness.

The meaning is extended in Finn to the mode or manner of doing anything, the word itself being probably identical with Lat. *modus*; *niin muodoin*, in that manner; *monella muodolla*, in many manners. From *muoto* is then formed the adjectival termination *muotoinen*, contracted into *moinen*, *alicujus formæ*, *gestaltet*, *ähnlich*, equivalent to the Lapp *lakats* or Finn *lainen*, above mentioned; *sen muotoinen*, or *sem moinen*, of that nature, *ejus generis*, *talis*, as from *lai*, *sen lainen*, in the same sense; *isänsä muotoinen*, *patri similis*, from *isä*, *isän*, father. So also from *kuwa*, form, figure, image, *kuwainen*, resembling; from *hahmo*, form, appearance, *hahmoinen*, resembling.

The Lapp has also *wuoke*, form, figure, appearance, manner (apparently from the same primitive root with Gr. *εικω*, I seem, *εικων*, an image, or with the digamma, *Feikω*, *Feikων*); *tan wuokai*, in this manner, as *tan lakai* above mentioned. Hence *wuokak*, like, equal, and *wuokok*, or *wuokasats*, as an adjectival termination, equivalent to our *ly*; *piädnak*, a dog, *piädnak-wuokasats*, or *piädnak-lakats*, dog-like; *akta-wuokok*, or *akta-lakats*, *uniformis*, *æqualis*.

In Esthonian also, the adjectival termination analogous to *lis* or *ly*, is formed from words signifying form, manner, sort, viz. *kombe*, and *wiis*, the latter identical with G. *weise*, E. *wise*. *Sedda wisi*, or *sel wisil*, or *sel kombel*, on this wise; *latse wisil* or *latse kombel*, in the manner of a child, child-like, childish. The employment of so many words, and especially of Esthon. *wiis*, signifying form or mode, in the formation of the adjectival suffix suggests an analogous explanation of the termination *sam* or *some*, in G. *einsam*, *langsam*, E. *lone-some*, *gamesome*.

I endeavoured to show in a former paper that the meaning of E. *wise*, Bret. *giz*, *kiz*, manner, was derived from the sense of 'footsteps, traces, track,' which seems to be the original signification of the Breton word, the track or way to a place affording the most natural metaphor by which to express the mode of obtaining an end, or manner of doing anything. Now the Esthon. has *sam*, a step, corresponding probably to Alban. *kame*, a foot, *kames*, a foot passenger, W. *cam*, a foot-step (whence Fr. *chemin*, a way), as an initial *s* in the Finnish dialects often corresponds to a hard *c* in Latin; and in Wotiak, where also the *s* of other Ugrian dialects is in other instances represented by a Fr. *j*, we find *jam* (Fr. *j*) signifying manner, way, closely approaching Fr. *chemin*, and through it uniting *sam* and *cam* above mentioned.

The word *jam* is then employed in composition in a mode exactly similar to Esthon. *kombe* or *wisi*, or to the Goth. *leiks*; *ta jamen*, so; *muzon jamen*, otherwise. If we consider the Ugrian element as identical with the Teutonic *sam* or *some*, it will explain in a satisfactory manner the force of that termination in such examples as those above quoted; *einsam*, one-wise, in the manner of one; *langsam*, in long manner, slow; *gamesome*, in the way of game.

XVI. — MISCELLANEOUS ETYMOLOGIES ILLUSTRATED FROM THE FINNISH LANGUAGES. · BY HENSLEIGH WEDGWOOD, ESQ.

[Read December the 4th.]

THRE somewhere observes that where a word is of so ancient a standing as to be common to several of the great ethnographic divisions, as Latin, Gothic, Celtic, it is in vain to search for the original derivation; and doubtless in the vast extent of time that must have elapsed since those great branches of language can have separated from a common stock, there is ample opportunity for a particular form to have been lost in any given language, or to have become

irrecognizable by continual change in sound and signification. But words are not, like material things, subject to the action of disintegrating forces, certain to produce their effect if a sufficient period of time be allowed. Their duration seems altogether matter of accident, and a root which was lost two thousand years ago, leaving perhaps a solitary derivative in Latin or Greek, may be preserved and largely developed in the uncultivated Finnish, Slavonic, or Celtic tongues. Thus we have shown that the purely Finn root *mu* (other), affords a satisfactory origin of the Lat. *muto*, Finn *muuttaa*, Esthon. *muduma*, to change. We have traced the Lat. *macero*, to soak, to a root *mok* or *mak*, signifying 'wet,' which has a numerous progeny in the Slavonic and Gothic languages. In like manner the W. *coll*, loss, damage, supplies us with precisely the form which is required to explain the Lat. *incolumis*, safe, without loss or damage. But as there is a deeply implanted prejudice against this kind of derivation, while the evidence in its favour gains rapidly in strength in proportion to the number of individual cases which are satisfactorily made out, I shall proceed in the present paper to the discussion of additional instances in which doubtful or wholly unsettled etymologies may be illustrated from the Finnish languages.

To BORE, BURIN, BUR.—The wide-spread range of the word *bore* was mentioned in a late paper (p. 174), in which it was identified with the Lat. *forare*; Hung. *furni*, to bore, *furó*, borer; Finn *puras*, a chisel, *terebra sculptoria*; *purastaa*, to make holes with such a tool, *scalpro terebro*, *sculpo*; and the same root was plainly recognized in several Siberian dialects.

The Finn *purra*, to bite, leaves little doubt of the primitive image from whence the expression is taken, the action of biting affording the most obvious analogy from whence to name the operation of a cutting instrument or the gradual working a hole in anything. The Icel. *bit* is used to signify the point or edge of a knife; *bitr*, sharp, pointed. We speak in English of an edge which will not *bite*, and it is doubtless in the sense of the Icel. *bit* that the term *centre-bit* is applied to an instrument for boring.

The analogy between the operation of a cutting instrument and the act of gnawing or biting leads to the application of the Finn *puru*, Esthon. *purro*, to anything comminuted by either kind of action, as *puru*, chewed food for infants, *sahan puru*, *pu purro* (*pu*=wood), sawdust, identical with O.H.G. *urboru*, *uzboru*, the gnawings as it were of the saw or borer. Probably also we may here have the origin of Fr. *bourre*, flocks or locks of wool, &c., used to stuff saddles, &c., also less properly (says Cotgrave), any such trash as chaff, shales, husks, &c. But if our theory be correct, the original application would be to sawdust or bran used for stuffing, then to flocks of wool, from their use in stuffing, and thence to down or nap in general. Hence Eng. *bur*, a flock of wool, then applied to the seed-vessels of certain plants which stick to one's clothes like a flock of wool.

Again, from Finn *purra*, to bite, is derived *purin*, dens mordens vel caninus, a biter, giving a satisfactory explanation of *burin*, a graving tool, the tool with which the engraver *bites* into his copper-plate, a word which is commonly connected with the verb to *bore*.

The Lapp equivalent is *pârret*, to bite, and thence to eat; whence *pârrets*, an awl, a borer; *pârremas*, food; *pârrestallet*, to devour, eat greedily, vorare, cibo se ingurgitare. Hence we are led to Gr. *βοφα*, food, *βοπος*, voracious, *βρω*, *βρωσσω*, *βιβρωσσω*, to eat, from which it is difficult to separate Lat. *voru*, although the signification of the latter word is to swallow down, with apparent opposition to the notion of biting or chewing. But the notion of eating greedily, gulping down, might easily be expressed by a modification more or less distinct of the word for biting or eating, as in the Lapp example above quoted. Thus Lat. *vorare* and *forare* would be brought under the same root as slightly modified forms designating the act of biting applied to different purposes.

AUGER.—The consideration of the verb to *bore* naturally leads to that of *auger*, of which the explanation in Finn is singularly complete. It must be observed that *auger* is one of that numerous class of words which are used with and without an initial *n*, which may have been improperly added

in the first case or omitted in the second. It was formerly written *nauger* in English, in A.-S. *nafogar*, Ober Deutsch *nabeger*, Pl.D. *näviger*, Du. *neviger*, *eviger* (Kil.). Another A.-S. form was *naf-bor*, giving rise to G. *nebber*. The word is explained by the author of the Bremisch Wörterbuch as signifying such a tool as is used to bore the *nave* of a wheel. But the Finn establishes a connexion of a totally different kind with the *nave* of the wheel. In that language *napa* signifies navel, and thence the middle of anything, centre of a circle, axis of a wheel, anything which revolves, as from *mere*, the sea, *meren-napa*, a whirlpool; from *rauta*, iron, *napa-rauta*, the iron stem on which the upper millstone rests and turns; *maan-napa*, the axis of the earth; Lapp *nape*, navel, centre, axle. With *kaira*, a borer, the equivalent of A.-S. *gar*, the Finn forms *napa-kaira*, precisely corresponding to the common English name of the tool, a centre-bit; the first element in the English, as in the Finnish word, indicating the nature of the action, namely the revolution of the tool round a fixed axis or centre.

The root of the Finn *kaira*, a piercer, is preserved in the English expression of being *gored* by a bull, *i. e.* being torn or transfixd by his horns:—

Oh, be advised, thou knowest not what it is,

With javelin's point a churlish swine to *gore*.—Shakspeare.

A.-S. *gar*, a javelin; *gara*, an angular point of land, a promontory, seem named from their pointed shape. Finn *kairi*, a *gore* in a garment, is a pointed piece of cloth let in to increase the width downwards. Perhaps Gr. *γάρων*, Lat. *garum* are originally so named from the pungent biting taste of the sauce which they designated.

TURNIP.—The force of the Finn *napa* seems also to explain Lat. *napus*, A.-S. *nape*, a turnip, as a root shaped like the nave of a wheel, spindle-shaped, or having an axis projecting out of the centre. The ordinary name of a turnip in Finn is *nauris*, whence *nauriin napa*, radix rapæ perpendicularis; *napakka*, a long tap-shaped turnip; *napoan*, *nawota* (exhibiting the same relation between *p* and *v* as in Lat. *napus*,

Fr. *navet*), to cut off the roots of turnips. The syllable *turn* seems to have been added in English to express the same axial or spindle-shaped character which was conveyed by the Finn *napa*, but was no longer sensible to an English ear in the element *næp* or *nep*. The Esthon. equivalent *nabba*, the navel or centre part of anything, is applied to other tap-rooted plants. *Nabba-juur* (*juur*=root), tormentil or burnet.

Λιαν.—In the Finnish dialects *liika*, *like*, *liig*, signify excess, superfluity, unfitness; Finn *liika*, a tumour in the body, excrescence on a tree, the oblique cases of which are used in the sense of Lat. *nimis*; *liian suuri*, too great (identical with Gr. *λιαν*); *liian paljo* (*paljo*=*πολυς*, much) or *liiaksi*, or *liialta*, too much; *teen liika*, I do what is not fit; *liika-wieras*, an uninvited guest; *liika-liha*, proud flesh; *liika-aika*, tempus vacuum, otiosum; *liika-nimi*, cognomen; *liikenen*, *liieta*, to remain over. Lapp *like-namm*, a surname; *like-mana*, a bastard; *likai*, to boot. Esthon. *liig-assi*, ungerechte sache; *liig juus*, false hair, perruque; *liig kitsi*, too tight; *liig naene*, concubine; *liig-nimmi*, zuname, surname, nickname; *liig-te*, by-way, wrong way; *liig-pajatus* (*pajatus*=speech), lies, unprofitable talk. I have given so many examples of the force of this Finnish element on account of the light which it throws on several English etymologies where we have hitherto been either quite at a loss or troubled with a superfluity of explanations.

NICKNAME.—The present word is one of the same class with *auger* and *nauger* above mentioned, which vary with and without an initial *n*. In O.E. *eke-name* was current; *neke-name* or *ekenname*, agnomen (Prompt.); in Sw. *öknamn*, G. *eich-name*, *ekel-name*, as well as *neckname*. Here we have three plausible derivations: 1st, from Sw. *öka*, Eng. *eke*, to increase or lengthen out, as if the intention were to signify an additional name. But *öka* or *eke* are not used in composition in the sense of additional in any other instance; 2nd, from G. *ekel*, disgust, as a name given from dislike; and 3rd, from *necken*, to tease or banter, a name given in banter or ridicule:—

“Susurro, a privy whisperer or secret carry-tale, that slaundreth, backbiteth and *nicketh* one’s name.”—Junius Nomenclator in Way’s Prompt.

The last explanation would do very well if it stood by itself; but if such be the true origin of nickname, it is plain that in the formation of *eke-name* and *ekel-name*, the principle has been at work to which we have often alluded, in virtue of which, when some element of a compound word has lost its significance by lapse of time or introduction into a foreign language, a blind attempt is made to support the meaning which it seems to bear in the expression by such a modification of the sound as may serve to give the significance required. And this I believe has really been the case with *nickname* itself. The derivation from the form corresponding to Lapp *like-namm*, signifying additional name, seems far more probable; and in the case of G. *zu-name*, we see a word of this general significance also applied to a name given in ridicule. The interchange of an initial *l* and *n* is very common. The Lat. *lympa* and *nympha* seem both to have signified water, whence *nymphæa*, a water-lily, the Finn name of which has also a double form, *lupukka* and *nupukka*; in the same language *laskata* and *naskata*, Sw. *laska*, to *lash*, to sew leather edge upon edge; Eng. *level* corresponds to Fr. *niveau*, It. *nivello*, *livello*; Lapp *lakkula*, Sw. *nyckel*, a key.

LEISURE.—The compound *liika-aika*, vacant time, leisure, affords a plausible origin of Lat. *licet*, it is open to you to do so and so, you are permitted to do so. The significations of permission and leisure readily pass into each other, and as we suppose the Lat. *licet* to arise out of a word signifying leisure, so doubtless the word *leisure* itself, Fr. *loisir*, is derived from the infinitive *licere*, as *plaisir* from *placere*. The Provençal equivalent *lezer* is rendered by Raynouard *loisir*, permission, moyen. ‘A selat o per lezer,’ in secret or with permission.

The like development of meaning may be seen in the formation of G. *müssen*, Eng. *must*, from *musse*, leisure, where the verb *must* originally have had the signification of Lat. *licere*, and *must* thence have proceeded to imply ‘necessity’ by a figure of speech, inasmuch as the permission given by a supe-

rior is often only a civil cloaking of command. We have thus the same idea of necessity or compulsion expressed in Latin by *opus*, work, and in Teutonic by the exact opposite *musse*, leisure, *opus est*, you *must*; while in Latin itself the two opposites are expressed by the same word *opera*, in one application signifying work, and in another leisure.

LIE.—On a similar principle to that on which from Finn *liika-aika* has been deduced Lat. *licet*, the Esthon. *liig-pajatus* above mentioned may be regarded as the origin of Slavon. *liigati*, Goth. *liugan*, Ger. *liigen*, to *lie*, viz. by supposing in the one case the loss of the element signifying time, and in the other of that which signifies speech.

The root we are considering gives rise to a considerable number of words in Lith.: *lykus*, excess, overplus; *likti*, to remain over, to leave (the equivalent of Finn *liikenen*, *liieta*, to be superfluous, to remain over, and of Lat. *linquere*, *relinquere*, *relictum*, to leave); *lėkas*, over and above, odd; *lėkani*, *daikti* (*daikti*=things), relics. The numbers from ten to twenty, *wėno-lika*, *dwa-lika*, &c., must be explained, one, two, &c. in excess (over ten). In the Slavonic the root gives Boh. *lich*, an odd number; *lichy*, odd, mean, wrong, unjust: and probably *lichwa*, usury, to be compared with Esthon. *liig-otus*, usury, excessive interest, where the element signifying interest is lost, as in *liika-aika* and *liig-pajatus* above mentioned.

LACK.—To the same root must probably be referred Eng. *lack*, to want, although it seems to signify the reverse of excess; but it must be remembered that opposites are often expressed by the same root, or slight modifications of the same. So in English, to cleave, is expressed the adherence of two things together, or the separation of one thing into two; the It. *caldo*, hot, is radically identical with G. *kalt*, *cold*, and in Lith. we have *sziltas*, warm, *szaltas*, cold; the Fr. *blanc*, white, is essentially the same word with E. *black*; the Lat. *opera* is used, as we have just observed, in the apparently opposite applications of work and leisure. Now what we *lack* may be considered as something in excess of what we have, and the Gr. *λειπω*, the correlative of the Lat. *linquo*, is also used in the sense of wanting, being deficient. The factitive

form of the Lapp verb from *like*, excess, is *likotet*, which regularly should signify to cause to be superfluous, but is translated *perdere posse*, *carere posse*, *opus non habere*, to do without, a notion which might easily pass into that of being without, feeling the want of.

LIND-WURM.—Attempts have in vain been made to explain G. *lind wurm*, Icel. *ling ormr*, a dragon, from a Gothic source. The compound is in fact a mixture of Finnish and Teutonic. The Esthon. is *lendew-maddo*, a flying serpent, from *lendama*, to fly, *lendwa*, *lendew*, flying (whence *lind*, a bird), and *maddo*, a worm or snake. Finn. *lentää*, *letä*; Bohem. *letati*, to fly.

Μηκων.—The name of the poppy, Gr. *μηκων*, Esthon. *maggona*, Ober Deutsch *magen*, G. *mohn*, is explained by the Esthon. *maggema*, *makkema*, to sleep,—the sleep-inducing plant.

NURUS.—Lat. *nurus*, a daughter-in-law, young woman, married woman (Andrews). The original meaning is probably young married woman. Esthon. *noor*, fresh, young; *norik*, young woman.

ARBITER.—The primary sense of *arbiter* is commonly given as an eye-witness, from whence that of an umpire or judge is supposed to be derived, as a witness specially called in for the purpose of declaring the event under trial. But there is no recognized derivation in Latin itself which would explain either of these meanings*. Now the Finn affords what is at least a very plausible explanation.

There is a common tendency in an uninformed state of society to seek for the resolution of questions in which there is no means of direct knowledge, by casting of lots in some shape or another. Thus in Latin, *sors* is taken in the sense of an oracle, and *sortilegus* is a soothsayer, one who gives oracles or answers questions by the casting of lots. Alban. *short*, a lot, *shortár*, a soothsayer, and this doubtless is the origin of our *sorcerer*, *sorcery*. One of the points upon which the cunning man of the present day is most frequently

* Prof. Key, in vol. iv. of the Society's Proceedings, p. 94, derives *arbiter* from the old preposition *ar*, near (as seen in *arvena*=*advena*, &c.), and the root *bit*, go.

consulted is the finding of lost property, and if a dispute upon such a question had arisen among a barbarous people, the most obvious means of settling it would be to refer it to one who was supposed to have supernatural means of knowing the truth. Thus the *wahr-sager*, the truthsayer or soothsayer, would naturally be called in as an arbiter or doomsman. Now we find in Finn, *arpa*, a lot, symbol, divining rod, or any instrument of divination; *arpa-mies* (*mies* = man), sortium ductor, arbiter, hariolus; *arpelen*, *arwella*, to decide by lot, to divine; *arwata*, conjicio, auguror, æstimo, arbitror; *arwaaja*, arbiter in re censendâ; *arwelo*, arbitrium, opinio, conjectura; *arwaus*, conjectura, æstimatio arbitraria. It will be observed in how large a proportion of these cases the Lat. *arbiter* and its derivatives are used in explanation of the Finn words derived from *arpa*.

QUISQUILIAE.—The signification of *quisquiliæ* seems to be, light dry fragments of things, the small twigs and leaves that fall from trees; stipulæ immixtæ surculis et foliis aridis (Isidore in Forcellini). Hence rubbish, refuse. Langued. *couscouliou*, husks of peas, beans, &c. The Gaelic equivalent *gusgul* is explained, refuse, filth, idle words, and we have the same metaphorical application in Latin:—

Quisquillas, volantis venti spolia, memoras.—Cæcilius in Forcellini.

Now in Finn, light refuse matters of the foregoing description are designated from the rustling noise which they make. From *kuhata*, *kuhista*, to whisper, hum, rustle, is formed *kuhu-ohrat*, refuse barley; *kuhaja*, *quisquiliæ* vel *paleæ* quæ motæ leviter susurrant; from *kahata*, *kahista*, leviter crepo, movendo parum strideo ut gramen sub pedibus euntis vel arundo vento agitata, *kahu*, *kahina*, *kahuja*, refuse oats or barley, mere husks.

Another modification of the same imitative root gives *kulista*, *kulata*, obscure sonare, whence *kulu*, *kulina*, hordeum vile, *paleæ*; *kulo*, *quisquiliæ* graminis vel gramen aridum tempore vernali in pratis. Here we have the element forming the latter half of the Gael. *gusgul* or its Lat. equivalent with the signification of the entire word. The syllable *quis* may

be compared with the *whis* of *whisper*, O.-Sc. *quhisper*, or (with the ordinary interchange of *p* and *qu*) with It. *pissipissi*, a whispering, buzzing, or humming noise. The original structure then of the word *quisquiliæ* would qualify it (by the repetition of the imitative element, as in *susurro* and numerous other instances) for the vivid expression of a whispering or rustling noise, such as is actually signified by It. *bisbiglio* or *pispigliò*, a form which differs only from *quisquiliæ*, as W. *pump* from Lat. *quinque*, or Oscan *pitpit* from *quicquid*. But in the process of logical development, the Latin word, like the Finnish equivalent above mentioned, has passed on to signify a rustling object, while the Italian one has been confined to the sound originally represented.

ORTS.—The word *orts* is used in Provincial English much in the sense of *quisquiliæ* in Latin, for scraps and remnants of fodder dropped by cattle, chips or odds and ends left by a person working: '*quisquiliæ pabuli a pecoribus rejectæ.*' Finn Dict. The word is very widely spread through the Teutonic dialects. *Ooraete*, *oorete*, *reliquiæ fastiditi pabuli sive cibi, esca superflua* (Kil.). Swiss *urschi*, *ursi*, remnants of food (Stalder); Westerwald *urze*; Prov. Dan. *orre*, *orred*, *orret*, *ovred*, *ovret*, *ort*.

Kilian's derivation from *over-aete*, as if the word signified what remained over after eating, is plausible in itself, and seems supported by forms like *oorætigh*, *fastidiens nimiâ satietate* (Kil.); *oorassen*, to eat with disgust; *oorässiger*, one who picks and chooses, does not eat all that is set before him; *urässen*, *uräzen mit etwas*, *verurässen etwas*, to waste, to use wastefully, *fastidiose cibum capere aliqua legendo, rejiciendo aliqua* (Schmeller). It is probable, however, that the foregoing forms (like Fr. *brinoter*, to eat little and without appetite, from *brin*, a fragment.—Patois de Braye.) are derived from the noun *ooræte*, *uräss*, *urez*, *orts*, remnants, the last syllable of which has been unconsciously assimilated to the verb *essen*, to eat, in consequence of the chief application of the word to remnants of food. The original meaning of the word seems to be far more general, as it appears in Gaelic *ord*, Irish *orda*, a fragment. The Lapp *arates*, *reliquiæ*

cibi, prandii vel cœni, has a satisfactory native root in Esthon. *warrisema*, to rustle, to fall out, as ripe oats; *warrid* was herunter fällt, crumbs, droppings; Finn *warista*, minutim et sparsim decido ut grana e spica vel folia arborum autumnno; *waret*, spicæ, glumæ, &c. in trituro decidentes, chaff,—parallel with which may be mentioned the application of Eng. *orts* in America to the coarser siftings of flour, sharps, or pollards. It is remarkable that there is the same adoption of an initial *w* in Sc. *worts*; ‘E’enings *worts* are gude mornings fodderings’ (Jamieson).

ORDURE.—Schmeller has already suggested that Fr. *ordure* may be derived from *ort* in the signification of refuse, rubbish. And such no doubt would be a most natural step in the development of language. From the notion of fragments, remnants, offal of food, to that of rejection, refuse, rubbish, and ultimately, filth, is an easy transition. A child is said to *ort* his bread when he breaks it down into crumbs. The term is also applied to a cow that refuses or throws aside its provender. It is hence metaphorically used to denote rejection in whatever sense: ‘The lasses nowadays *ort* nane of God’s creatures’ (Jamieson). In the same way in Finn, *runsu*, quisquilie pabuli a pecoribus rejectæ, *orts*, inde rejectaneum quid, purgamentum; *runsimies*, a scavenger, a remover of *ordures*.

RUNCARE, to weed.—The verb *runsia*, derived from the last-mentioned root, is explained ‘rejectanea vel purgamenta secerno, inde viliora quævis rejicio,’ describing exactly the object effected in weeding, viz. the removal of the worthless herbs from among the cultivated corn. Now although the word *runsi* itself does not appear to be used in Finn to designate a weed, yet we find an exact synonym applied to that purpose. From *rikkoa*, to break or crumble, is formed *rikko*, a fragment, minutum quid rejectaneum, naucus, purgamentum, and hence (as a weed is the rubbish of a corn-field), *rikka-ruoho* (*ruoho* = herb), a weed. Remembering then how often the hard *c* in Latin corresponds to an *s* in Finn, it will be no forced comparison if we indicate in the Finn *runsia* the analogue and explanation of the Latin *runcare*.

XVII.—ON THE WORD *DISTRIBUTED*, AS USED IN LOGIC. BY R. G. LATHAM, M.D.

[Read December the 18th.]

The present paper is an attempt to reconcile the logical and etymological meanings of the word *Distributed*.

Speaking roughly, *distributed* means *universal*: “a term is said to be *distributed* when it is taken universally, so as to stand for everything it is capable of being applied to.”—*Whately*, i. § 5.

Speaking more closely, it means *universal in one premiss*; it being a rule in the ordinary logic that no conclusion is possible unless one premiss be, either negatively or affirmatively, universal.

Assuredly there is no etymological connexion between the two words. Hence De Morgan writes:—“By *distributed* is here meant *universally spoken of*. I do not use this term in the present work, because I do not see why, in any deducible meaning of the word *distributed*, it can be applied to universal as distinguished from particular.”—*Formal Logic*, chap. vii.

Neither can it be so applied. It is nevertheless an accurate term.

Let it mean *related to more than one class*, and the power of the prefix *dis-*, at least, becomes intelligible.

For *all* the purposes of logic this is not enough; inasmuch as the particular character of the relation (all-important in the structure of the syllogism) is not, at present, given. It is enough, however, to give import to the syllable *dis-*.

In affirmative propositions this relation is connective on both sides, *i. e.* the middle term forms part of *both* the others. In negative propositions this relation is connective on *one* side, disjunctive on the *other*.

In— All men are mortal,
 All heroes are men,

the middle term *men* forms a part of the class called *mortal*, by being connected with it in the way that certain contents are connected with the case that contains them; whilst it also

stands in connexion with the class of *heroes* in the way that cases are connected with their contents. In—

No man is perfect,

Heroes are men,

the same double relation occurs. The class *man*, however, though part of the class *hero*, is no part of the class *perfect*; but, on the contrary, expressly excluded from it. Now this expression of exclusion constitutes a relation—disjunctive indeed, but still a relation; and this is all that is wanted to give an import to the prefix *dis-* in *distributed*.

Wherever there is distribution there is inference, no matter whether the distributed term be universal or not. If the ordinary rules for the structure of the syllogism tell us the contrary to this, they only tell the truth, so far as certain assumptions on which they rest are legitimate. These limit us to the use of three terms expressive of quantity,—*all*, *none*, and *some*; and it is quite true that, with this limitation, universality and distribution coincide.

Say that Some Y is X,
 Some Z is Y,

and the question will arise whether the Y that is X is also the Y that is Z. That *some* Y belongs to both classes is clear; whether, however, it be the same Y is doubtful. Yet unless it be so, no conclusion can be drawn. And it may easily be different. Hence, as long as we use the word *some*, we have no assurance that there is any distribution of the middle term.

Instead, however, of *some* write *all*, and it is obvious that some Y must be both X and Z; and when such is the case—

Some X must be Z, and

Some Z must be X.

Universality, then, of the middle term in one premiss is, by no means, the *direct* condition that gives us an inference, but only a *secondary* one. The direct condition is the distribution. Of this, the universality of the middle term is only a *sign*, and it is the only sign we have, because *all* and *some* are the only words we have to choose from. If others were allowed, the appearance which the two words (*distributed* and

universal) have of being synonymous would disappear. And so they do when we abandon the limitations imposed upon us by the words *all* and *some*. So they do in the numerically definite syllogism, exemplified in—

More than half Y is X,
More than half Y is Z,
Some Z is X.

So, also, they do when it is assumed that the Y's which are X and the Y's which are Z are identical.

Y is X,
The same Y is Z,
Some Z is X.

In each of these formulæ there is distribution without universality, *i. e.* there is distribution with a quality other than that of universality as its criterion. The following extract not only explains this, but gives a fresh proof, if fresh proof be needed, that *distributed* and *universal* are used synonymously. The "comparison of each of the two terms must be equally with the whole, or with the same part of the third term; and to secure this, (1) either the middle term must be distributed in one premiss at least, or (2) the two terms must be compared with the same specified part of the middle, or (3), in the two premises taken together, the middle must be distributed, and something more, though not distributed in either singly."—*Thompson, Outline of the Laws of Thought*, §39.

Here *distributed* means *universal*; Mr. Thompson's being the ordinary terminology. In the eyes of the present writer "distributed in one premiss" is a contradiction in terms.

Of the two terms, *distributed* is the more general; yet it is not the usual one. That it has been avoided by De Morgan has been shown. It may be added, that from the Port Royal Logic it is wholly excluded.

The statement that, in negative propositions, the relation is connective on *one* side, and disjunctive on the *other*, requires further notice. It is by no means a matter of indifference on which side the connexion or disjunction lies.

(*a.*) It is the class denoted by the major, of which the middle term of a negative syllogism is expressly stated to form *no*

part, or from which it is disjoined. (*b.*) It is the class denoted by the minor, of which the same middle term is expressly stated to form part, or with which it is connected.

No man is perfect—

here the proposition is a major, and the middle term *man* is expressly separated from the class *perfect*.

All heroes are men—

here it is a minor, and the middle term *man* is expressly connected with class *hero*.

A connective relation to the major, and a disjunctive relation to the minor are impossible in negative syllogisms. The exceptions to this are only apparent. The two most prominent are the formulæ *Camestres* and *Camenes*, in both of which it is the minor premiss wherein the relation is disjunctive. But this is an accident; an accident arising out of the fact of the major and minor being convertible.

Bokardo is in a different predicament. *Bokardo*, along with *Baroko*, is the only formula containing a particular negative as a premiss. Now the particular negatives are, for so many of the purposes of logic, particular affirmatives, that they may be neglected for the present; the object at present being to ascertain the rules for the structure of truly and unquestionably negative syllogisms. Of these we may predicate that—their minor proposition is always either actually affirmative or capable of becoming so by transposition.

To go further into the relations between the middle term and the minor, would be to travel beyond the field under present notice; the immediate object of the present paper being to explain the import of the word *distributed*. That it may, both logically and etymologically, mean *related to two classes* is clear—clear as a matter of fact. Whether, however, *related to two classes* be the meaning that the history of logic gives us, is a point upon which I abstain from giving an opinion. I only suggest that, in elementary treatises, the terms *universal* and *distributed* should be separated more widely than they are; one series of remarks upon—

a. Distribution as a condition of inference, being followed by another on—

b. Universality of the middle term in one premiss as a sign of distribution.

So much for the extent to which the present remarks suggest the purely practical question as to how the teaching of Aristotelian logic may be improved. There is another, however, beyond it; one of a more theoretical, indeed of an eminently theoretical, nature. It raises doubts as to the propriety of the word *all* itself; doubts as to the propriety of the term *universal*.

The existence of such a word as *all* in the premiss, although existing therein merely as a contrivance for reconciling the evidence of the distribution of the middle term with a certain amount of simplicity in the way of terminology, could scarcely fail, in conjunction with some of its other properties, to give it what is here considered an undue amount of importance. It made it look like the opposite to *none*. Yet this is what it is not. The opposite to *none* is *not-none*, or *some*; the opposite to *all* is *one*. In *one* and *all* we have the highest and lowest numbers of the individuals that constitute a class. In *none* and *some* we have the difference between existence and non-existence. That *all* is a mere mode of *some*, has been insisted on by many logicians, denied by few or none. Between *all* and *some*, there is, at best, but a difference of degree. Between *some* and *none*, the difference is a difference of kind. *Some* may, by strengthening, be converted into *all*. No strengthening may obliterate the difference between *all* and *not-all*. From this it follows that the logic of *none* and *some*, the logic of connexion and disjunction (the logic of *two* signs), is much more widely different from the logic of *part* and *whole* (the logic of *three* signs) than is usually admitted; the former being a logic of pure *quality*, the latter a logic of *quality* and *quantity* as well.

Has the admixture done good? I doubt whether it has. The logic of pure and simple Quality would, undoubtedly, have given but little; nothing but negative conclusions on one side, and possible particulars on the other. Nevertheless it would have given a logic of the Possible and Impossible.

Again, as at present constituted, the Quantitative logic, the

logic of *all* and *some*, embraces either too much or too little. *All* is, as aforesaid, only a particular form of *more than none*. So is *most*. Now such syllogisms as—

Most men are fallible,
Most men are rational,
Some men are both frail and fallible ;

or,

Some frail things are fallible,

are inadmissible in the Aristotelian paradigms. A claim, however, is set up for their admission. Grant it, and you may say instead of *most*—

Fifty-one per cent., &c. ;

but this is only a particular instance. You may combine any two numbers in any way you like, provided only that the sum be greater than unity. Now this may be arithmetic, and it may be fact ; but it is scarcely formal logic ; at any rate it is anything but general.

It is the logic of *some* and its modifications *one*, *all*, and *anything between one and all*, as opposed to the logic of the simple absolute *some* (*some* the opposite to *none*), and a little consideration will show that it is also the logic of the *probable*, with its modification the *proven*, (*proven* is *probable*, as *all* is *some*,) as opposed to the logic of the *possible* and *impossible*. Let, in such a pair of propositions as—

Some of the men of the brigade were brave,

Some of the men of the brigade were killed,

the number expressed by *some*, as well as the number of the men of the *brigade*, be known, and the question as to whether

Some brave men were killed,

is a problem in the doctrine of chances. One per cent. of each will make it very unlikely that the single brave man was also the single killed one. Forty-nine per cent. of each will make it highly probable that more than one good soldier met his fate. With fifty on one side, and fifty-one on the other, we have *one* at least. With *all* (either *killed* or *brave*), we have the same ; and that without knowing any numbers at all.

XVIII.—HINTS ON THE THESIS “THE OLD-FRIESIC ABOVE ALL OTHERS THE ‘*FONS ET ORIGO*’ OF THE OLD-ENGLISH.” BY M. DE HAAN HETTEMA, Juris Doctor, Member of the Friesic Chivalry.

[Read December the 4th.]

On reading the Rev. J. Davies’s Paper “On the Races of Lancashire, as indicated by the Local Names and the Dialect of the County” (Phil. Soc. Trans. 1855, pp. 210–245), I was led to doubt whether all the words there indicated as Keltic, really have a Keltic origin, or whether the most part of them have not an Old-Friesic origin. I will give the results of my inquiry, by comparing some of these words with similar ones in the Old-Friesic, Dutch, and Flemish.

I shall add a comparison between the Old-English and Old-Scotch words that I have found in a Paper by P. Hjort, “Om det engelske Konjugations-system,” Kjobenhavn, 1843, and the same languages. This will prove that the greater part of these too have an Old-Friesic origin.

I have little doubt, therefore, that in the dialects of the counties of England there remain many words of Old-Friesic origin which are considered as Keltic, or of which the true origin has not been shown by English authors. If I had the opportunity of examining all the glossaries of those dialects—which are not to be got here,—I would take upon myself to prove, that many of these words are to be found in Old-Friesic, Dutch, or Flemish; and this will confirm the thesis of the Rev. J. Davies, at the end of his Paper, where he says:—“It is highly important for the purposes of English philology, that this (Old-Friesic) language should be more carefully studied by us, as it is, above all others, the *fons et origo* of our own.”

KELTIC NAMES OF NATURAL OBJECTS AND OF PLACES IN THE COUNTY OF LANCASTER,

Compared with the Old-Friesic and with the Dutch.

The following words are all names of towns, villages, hamlets, lakes, &c. in the district of Friesland, taken from the

work, "Oud en Nieuw Friesland, of Aardrykskundige Beschryving van die Provintie, byeen verzameld door Jhr. Mr. M. de Haan Hettema, Leeuwarden, 1840." It is very difficult to give the original meanings of these words, because they so often depend on the situation of the places, whether they are on heights, in low places, on rivers, or marshes; and there are no terms now extant in Friesic to explain them. Help, however, is to be obtained by referring to the languages related to the Friesic.

From my comparison with the names of places given by the Rev. J. Davies, I expect it will be found that the situations of his Lancashire places agree with those of the Friesic ones given by myself. But before giving the names of the places, I will give some of the words that form parts of those names, the meanings of which are known, and are to be found in the above-mentioned work:—

<i>aard, eer, eerd</i> ; hill, hillock.	<i>haule, hoole</i> ; hill, hillock.
<i>bal, bel, bol</i> ; height, convex body, head.	<i>kat</i> ; dirt, mire, turfmoor.
<i>bird</i> ; bank, border.	<i>kerk</i> ; church.
<i>bran, bron, brun</i> ; pointed, high.	<i>kol</i> ; cold.
<i>buurt, buren</i> ; hamlet.	<i>krim, krom</i> ; inflected.
<i>corn, horn</i> ; corner.	<i>land</i> ; district.
<i>deel</i> ; district.	<i>lau, lee</i> ; smooth.
<i>end</i> ; end.	<i>mar, mor, mur</i> ; marsh.
<i>eer, ir, ee</i> ; water.	<i>man, men</i> ; common.
<i>ga, gae</i> ; village.	<i>meer</i> ; lake.
<i>gaast</i> ; heath.	<i>pan, pen, pin</i> ; head or summit.
<i>go</i> ; district.	<i>piek, pike</i> ; a pointed end.
<i>gjum, gum, jum, um</i> ; home, abode, village.	<i>ryp</i> ; way, road.
<i>ham, hem</i> ; <i>idem</i> .	<i>scharn, schern</i> ; shred, part, corner, marshy ground.
<i>hem</i> ; districtus.	<i>schet, schot</i> ; dirt, mire, turfmoor.
<i>hal, hol</i> ; hill, height.	<i>tan, ton, tun</i> ; environing, encompassing.
<i>herne, horne</i> ; corner, top, tip.	<i>toet</i> ; mouth.
<i>hes, has</i> ; marsh.	<i>terp</i> ; height, hill.

<i>trop, troop</i> ; height.	|||	<i>win, wyn</i> ; wrinkle (<i>wynerts</i> ,
<i>waerd, waert, werd, werth,</i>		a wrinkled currant).
<i>wier</i> ; hill, hillock.		<i>wolde, woud, woude</i> ; wood,
<i>wir, wier</i> ; sea-weed.		forest.

MOUNTAINS AND HILLS.

- Pendle Hill.* Fr. Pingmeer, a lake ; Pingjum, a village ; Pandregae, *id.*
- Rivington Pike.* Fr. Piekmeer, a lake ; Pikmeer, *id.*
- Hentoe, Hentor.* Fr. Hennaard, a village ; Henshuizen, a hamlet ; Henswoude, *id.* ; Hantum, a village.
- Sholver.* Fr. Hallum, a village ; Hollum, *id.* ; Holwerd, *id.*
- Tandle Hills.* Fr. Tania, a farm with right of voting ; Tonawerth, a village.
- Bryn.* Fr. Brantgum, a village ; Brongergae, *id.* ; Bruindeer, a hamlet.
- Buersill Hill.* Fr. Burgwert, a village ; Burum, *id.*
- Crimbles.* Fr. Krinserarm, or Krimserarm, an inflected dam against the water ; Kromwal, a hamlet (*krom*, curved ; *wal*, shore).
- Tooter Hill.* Fr. Toetsmeer, a lake.

RIVERS AND VALLEYS.

- Irk—Irwell (Irkwell?* the well of the Irk). Fr. Eernsum, a village ; Irnsum, *id.* ; Eernwoude, *id.*
- Medlock.* Fr. Medemelaca, a town ; D. Medenblok, *id.*
- Ribble.* Fr. Ryperkerk, a village ; Rypend, a hamlet.
- Calder.* Fr. Kolderwolde, a village ; Koldum, *id.* ; Kollum, *id.*
- Lune.* Fr. Terluine, a farm with right of voting ; Luinjebird, a village.
- Wyre.* Fr. Wierum, a village ; Wirdum, *id.*
- Beal.* Fr. Beuil, a village ; Balk, *id.* ; Belkum, *id.*
- Leven.* Fr. Lauwers, a sea, a lake ; Leeuwarden, a town.
- Loud.* Fr. Lioessens, a village ; Luds, a little lake.
- Kennet (Kunnet).* Fr. Kuinder, a river.
- Morecambe.* Fr. Morra, a village ; Marrum, *id.* ; Marsum, *id.*
- Winander.* Fr. Winerts, a little current ; Wynjeterp, a village.

NAMES OF PLACES.

- Manchester.* Fr. Mantgum, a village.
Catterall. Fr. Katlyk, a village; Kattebuuren, a hamlet.
Werneth. Fr. Warns, a village; Warniahuizen, a hamlet.
Carnforth. Fr. Cornjum, a village; Cornwerd, *id.*
Scotforth. Fr. Schoterland, a district in Friesland.
Cinderland. Fr. Sindelra or Sondel, a village.
Penketh. See *Pendle Hill.*
Heskin, Hesketh. Fr. Haskerland, a district in Friesland;
 Hesensermeer, a lake.
Sarneyford, Sharneyford. Fr. Scharnum, or Schernhemstra,
 or Scharnegoutum, a village; Scharnebuuren, a hamlet;
 De Scharren, *id.*
Camel Hill. Fr. Kahool, a farm; Koehool, a hamlet.

KELTIC WORDS IN THE DIALECT OF LANCASHIRE.

- addle, rotten.* Fr. *atter*; D. *etter* (pus); Fr. *aedel*, dung-hole;
 D. *aal*, dung-water.
agog, eager, desirous. Fr. *aegjen, eagjen*, to aim at.
boggart, an apparition, a hobgoblin. Fr. *boghen*, deceits
 (fraudes, deceptiones).
brawsen, stuffed with food, gorged. D. *gebreeuwd*, calked.
brewis, a dish made of oat-cakes soaked in broth. Fr. *bry*,
 milk-porridge; D. *pap*, *id.*
brog, a bushy or swampy spot. D. *broeck, broekland*, marshy
 land.
bruit, to talk, to publish. D. *verbreiden* (to divulge).
burleymon, a person appointed at courts-leet, to examine and
to determine about disputed fences. Fr. *buraldermon* (judex
 vici).
ceckle, to speak insolently. D. *kakelen*, to chatter (garrire).
cleawse, an enclosure, a field, a close. Fr. *clowa* (districtus);
 D. *kluft*, *id.*
cock-boat, a small boat. D. *kogge, koghschip* (celox).
cosy, comfortable, snug. Fr. *kosya* (ludere modo amatoris);
 D. *liefkoosen*; Fr. *kos* (pacificatio).
cratchinly, feebly, weakly. D. Kil. *kraecke* (domus ruinosa).

crib, to steal, to filch a small part of anything. Fr. *krabben*, *kribbelen* (occulte auferre, furare); D. *krabbelen*, *schrabben* (colligere).

cuddle, to fondle, to embrace, to press to the bosom, to lie closely. D. *kittelen*, to tickle.

dossuck, a dirty, slovenly woman. D. Kil. *duyse* (concupina).

dunder-head, a blockhead, a silly fellow. D. *dun* (tenuis, exilis).

farrant, decent, respectable, worthy. Fr. *fara* (agere); *fera* (administrare); *fere* (utilis); D. *ervaren*, expert, experienced.

fattle, to trifle about business. D. *vaddich*, *vadsig* (ignavus, piger).

garth, the belly-band of a horse. D. *buik-gordel*, id.

goltch, to be gluttonous. D. *gulzig* (gulosus); Kil. *golpe* (gurgus, vorago).

gry, to be in an ague-fit. D. *grysen* (ringere, fremere); Kil. *greesen* (perterrefacere).

gullion, a soft, worthless fellow. Fr. *gol*, *golle* (mitis, benevolus); *sul*, a very good-natured man; *sulachtig*, simple, foolish.

gyre, to purge. D. *keeren* (scopis purgare pavementum).

hawk, to cough, to bring up phlegm. D. *hoesten* (tussire).

hopper, a receptacle for corn in a mill, a basket. Fr. *opper*, *van hooi* (meta fœni).

howse, to stir up. D. *husschen*, *hisschen*, *hitsen* (accendere, inflammare).

huff, *huft*, to treat scornfully, to attack with scornful reproofs. Fr. *schoff* (opprobrium); *schoffieren* (afficere ignominia).

hutch, to lift up the shoulders uneasily, to move the body with an uneasy motion. D. *hutsen*, *hutselen*, *hotsen* (quatere, concutere).

keen, to burn. D. *kenen* (regerminare).

lake, to idle, to play truant. Fr. *loayckjen* (sedere pigritiæ); *loay* (ignavus).

lithe, v. to thicken broth or soup with meal. Fr. *lithe*, milk porridge; D. *pap*, *bry*, id.

lurch, to lurk, to lie hid. D. *loeren* (observare, insidiari).

lutch, to pulsate strongly and painfully, as an angry tumour.

D. *klotsen*, *klutsen* (quaterē).

mog, to move off, to depart quickly. D. *moffelen*, to remove secretly to some place.

mulloch, dirt, rubbish. Fr. *molâe* (humus); *moude* (pulvis).

natter, to gnaw, to nibble. D. *knotten*, to top (amputare).

oandurth, afternoon. Fr. *unden* (post meridiem).

powse, *powsement*, dirt, refuse, offal. D. *poesen*, *morsen*, to dirt, to puddle.

punse, to kick. Fr. *bonsjen*, *bonsen*, to throw; D. *bons*, bounce, thump, hard blow.

purr, to kick. Fr. *porren*, to thrust.

reawt, a way, a route. Fr. *reed*, alley; Kil. *rafter*, *rauftere* (materia trabis).

reeack, to scream, to shriek. Fr. *rogia*, *ruia* (accusare);

Kil. *roken* (instigare); *roeck* (dilator).

rock, *rocket*, a frock. D. *rok*, coat.

slat, to spill, to dash water about. Fr. *slatten*, id.; D. *slooten*, to intersect with ditches, to dig ditches (purgare lamas).

sow, the head. Kil. *sop*, *tsop* (supremum, summitas).

spree, a wild mischievous frolic. D. *spreeuw*, a jester, a scoffer; *spreeuwen*, to jest.

tackle, to equip, to set in order, to take a person in hand with the intent to subdue him, or set him in order. Fr. *optakelen*, *toetakelen* (adornare, verberare); D. *takelen*, to rig.

whop, a smart, sharp blow. Fr. *wepen* (bellum); Kil. *wapper* (flagellum).

wyzles, the stalks of the potato-plant. D. *vezels*, fibres, strings.

berm, *barm*, yeast. D. Kil. *berm*, *barme* (fæx, spuma cerevisiæ).

cark, to be careful or anxious. Fr. *karfesta*, *karena*, *karina* (pœnitentia 40 dierum); *karefester* (cui pœna inflictâ est, jejunii 40 dierum, pœnitentiarius).

drab, a prostitute, a vile, dirty woman. D. *dribbe*, a scold; *dribben* (mentiri, injuriare).

- gabloc*, an iron bar, a gavelock. Fr. *gaffel*, pitchfork (bidens, merga).
riddle, a coarse sieve. Fr. *riddle* (febris a terrore, sive horrore);
 D. *redde*, *ryde*, id.
rhute, passion, a paroxysm of anger. Fr. *rit* (vexat); D. Kil.
ryden (agitari irâ, irasci); *ritsch* (catuliens).

ANGLO-SAXON AND DANISH (ANGLIAN).

- beetneed*, a helper, one applied to in distress. Fr. *beta* (reparare); *nede* (periculum).
bigg, to build. Fr. *buwa*; *boeghia* (habitare).
brattle, to spend money foolishly or ostentatiously, to squander. D. *brassen* (bacchari), to feast, to debauch.
bryed, to spread abroad. Fr. *breia* (projicere); D. *verbreiden*, to spread.
crib, a pen, a manger or rack. Fr. *crib*, id.; D. *kribbè*, id.
dateless, foolish, silly, weak in body and mind. D. Kil. *doten*, *dutten* (delirare, desipere); *dotelore* (mentis error, insania, delitium).
ding, to strike or knock about, to reiterate an accusation. Fr. *thingia*, id.; D. *dingen* (judicare); *thinght* (processus).
dree, long, tedious, wearisome. Fr. *dreeg iten*, heavy food; *dreeg wurk*, heavy or hard work.
fleet, to take the cream off the milk. D. *vlooten*; *vlieten de melk*, to skim (cremorem lactis colligere, cremorem tollere).
 Fr. *flut*, skim-milk (lac gelatum); *vlotemelk*, id.
flooze, *fleeze*, small particles of wool or cotton. D. *vlies*, id.;
 Fr. *fluus* (lana ex ove demta), fleece, flock, flue; D. *pluis*, id.
frist, trust, confidence. Fr. *frithia* (liberare, pacificare); *friudelf* (maritus, amatus), wooer.
gawster, to boast, to swagger. Fr. *gysten* (vehemens).
glendur, to stare, to look in amazement. Fr. *gleon*, *gleaun*, *glandig* (iratus, calidus); D. *glinsteren* (fulgere).
haust, a cough. D. *hoest*, id.
lit, a few, little. Fr. *litje* (parum); *lits* (parvus).
menseful, decent, managing, thoughtful. D. *meenen* (arbitrari, sentire); *meening* (sententia, mens, opinio, mente plenus).

neb, an edge or rim, the peak of a bonnet, a piece broken off.

Fr. *neb* (os); D. Kil. *nebbe* (rostrum navium).

neeze, to sneeze. D. *niesen*, id.; Fr. *fniezen*, id.

snidge, a greedy sordid person. Fr. *snoad*, pauper; Kil.

snoode (vilis, turpis); *snodder*, sordes.

snite, to blow the nose. Fr. *snuten*, id.; D. *snuiten*, id.

steigh, a ladder, a stile. Fr. D. *steiger*, scaffold.

swill, v. to wash or rinse vessels. D. *dweilen*, to clean with a clout; *dweil*, towel, swab.

sye, to drain milk through a sieve. D. *zeeven* (cribrare).

syle, to rain continuously. Fr. *syle* (cataracta), sluice; D. *shuis*, id.

tan, a twig. D. *teen*, *twyg*, id.; Fr. *tyn* (virga, vimen).

teagle, a crane for winding-up goods. D. Kil. *taeckel* (remulcus); *taekelen* (subducere).

teend, to light a fire. D. Kil. *teenen* (irritare).

tore, to labour hard for a living. Fr. *toarnen* (laborare).

wakes, the extremities of the lips, the corners of the mouth.

Fr. *weage* (paries); Kil. *weeg*, id.

fey, to do anything cleverly. D. Kil. *vey* (vigens, vegetus).

spur, a prop in building. D. Kil. *sparre* (sudes).

SCANDINAVIAN WORDS (PARTLY ANGLIAN).

barkle, to stick to, to adhere; trans. to cover over. D. Kil. *barcke*, *bercke* (cortex); *barcken*, *bercken* (arbores decorticare); *bergen* (condere, abscondere).

cleg, a clever person, an adept. Fr. *clewa*, *bycliwa* (florescere, firmem sive fortem fieri); D. *beklyven* (coalescere, concreocere).

creel, a frame to wind yarn upon. D. Kil. *kreelen*, to bind; Fr. *kraga* (boja, vinculum, quo collum circumdatur).

dab, a blow. D. *douw*, a push; Kil. *dabben* (palpare, subigere); Fr. *tapa* (capere).

doage, wet, damp. Fr. *douwe*, id.; D. *daauw* (ros); Kil. *daeck*, *dake* (nebula).

faddle, nonsense, trifling. D. Kil. *vaesen* (farcire).

fleak, to bask in the sun. Fr. *blakerje ynne son*, id.

- flit*, to remove from one house to another. Fr. *flet* (mobilis); *fletech* (refugus).
- forelders*, seniors, ancestors. Fr. *eldra* (seniores); D. *voorouders*, id.; Fr. *forâders*, id.
- frum*, tender, delicate, easily broken. Fr. *frumdede* (actio principalis); *fremo* (utilis).
- gain*, *gainer* (a gainer way is a shorter way). D. Kil. *gaeneruen* (hæredes accelerantes); Fr. *gaelick* (repentinus, in-tempestivus); *galick* (conveniens).
- gar*, to make, to do, to compel. D. Kil. *gaerwen* (præparare, conficere).
- gawby*, a clownish simpleton. D. Kil. *gabberen* (nugari); *gabber*, *gabbarus* (homo insulsus).
- geck*, a jest, a mocking sarcasm. D. Kil. *gheck* (jocus); *gekken*, to jest.
- hetter*, keen, eager, as a dog in fighting. D. Kil. *hetsen* (incitare, instigare).
- hippin-stones*, stones at the crossing of a stream. Fr. *wippen* (saltare); D. Kil. *hippen*, *wippen* (agitare, vibrare).
- kench*, a twist, a strain. D. *kinkhoorn* (turbo, concha), a kind of shell like a paper case in the form of a cone.
- kick*, fashion, mode. D. Kil. *schick* (apparatus); *opschik*, finery; Fr. *schick jaen*, to model.
- kipper*, amorous, lascivious. D. Kil. *kippen* (pullulare); *kip* (pullities).
- lam*, to beat soundly, to chastise. Fr. *lamma*, *lemma* (debilitare); *lom* (debilis).
- lane*, to conceal. Fr. *leyna* (mentiri); *leynd* (mendax).
- late*, to seek. Fr. *letten* (advertere animum, specularé aliquem, vacare alicui rei).
- lither*, idle, lazy. D. Kil. *lydden-tyd* (homo ignavus, otiosus, tempus transigens ignave); *lyden* (tolerare).
- lurgy*, idle. D. Kil. *loren* (ignave aliquid agere); *loeren* (con-
nivere); *lurts* (sinister).
- mood*, satiated, filled to repletion. Fr. *moed* (satisfactio).
- neeve*, *neyve*, a fist. Fr. *knevel* (homo fortis); D. *knevelen* (manus vinculis illaqueare); *knevelband* (manicæ, vincula manuum).

- plucher*, to pilfer, to steal slyly. D. Kil. *phuysteren* (diripere, spoliare).
- scar*, a steep bare rock. D. Kil. *schaere* (scopulus, rupes).
- sowl*, whatever is eaten with bread. D. *suyvel* (lactantia).
- skellut*, crooked, awry. Fr. *schelf* (quod non est rectus, planus); D. *schelferen* (stringere, radere).
- skyme, skyoyme*, to look scornfully, to be cold and distant in manner, as a purse-proud parvenu to his old friends. D. Kil. *schuymmer* (delator, musca).
- slood*, the track of wheels. Fr. *slata* (excitare incilia); *slate, slaet, sleat* (fossa).
- slunt*, to be idle. D. *slenderen*, to loiter; Kil. *sluns* (homo ignavus).
- sny*, to turn up the nose in contempt, to affect dislike. D. Kil. *snoecks* (nasutulus); *snoecks sien* (argutis et acribus oculis intueri); *snuytert* (nasutus).
- whack*, a heavy blow. D. *kwak*, plump, sudden; *kwakken*, to throw, cast.
- whip off*, to go off quickly. Fr. *wippen* (saltare); D. Kil. *wippen*, to hasten, to jump.
- whoave*, to cover over, to overwhelm. Fr. *wob* (vestis); D. Kil. *woack* (amiculum ferale).
- yark*, to strike hard. D. Kil. *jacken* (flagellare scutica); *jacke* (scutica); *jackener* (auriga).

WORDS BELONGING TO ALL THE CLASSES (1), (2), (3).

(Davies, p. 277.)

- botch*, to mend clumsily. D. Kil. *boeten* (emendare); Fr. *beta* (reparare).
- cant*, to raise up a barrel, to set it on edge. D. *kantelen*, to overturn; *kant*, edge.
- frame*, to set about a thing, to show capacity in beginning anything. Fr. *framia* (prodesse); *fremo* (utilis).
- fremd*, strange, not belonging to the family. Fr. *fraemd*, id.; D. *vreemd*, id.
- grit*, sand. D. Kil. *gries, greus* (arena, glareas).
- gull*, a fool, one easily cheated. Fr. *kul*, id.; D. *sul*, id.; *kullen*, to fool.

- greel*, to weep, to lament. Fr. *greta* (accusare); D. *kryten*, to lament.
- kittle*, ticklish, difficult, uncertain. D. *kittelen*, to tickle; *kitteloorig*, *kittelig*, easily offended.
- mack*, race, family, sort. Fr. *meck* (conventus matrimonialis); Fr. *maga* (cognatus).
- wad*, a pledge, a forfeit. Fr. *wed* (impensa, noxa, cautio, promissio; læsio).

P. HJORT. *Om det engelske Konjugations-system*. Kjøbenhavn, 1843. *Tillæg* (Side 79 seq.).

I.—WORDS OF CANTERBURY DIALECT.

A. *Verbs*.

- claw*, to stroke, to rub. Fr. *clawa*, to scratch, claw.
- dele*, to divide. Fr. *dela*, id.
- deme*, to judge. Fr. *dema*, id.
- foster*, to nourish. D. *voeden*, *voederen*, id.
- hete*, to be called. Fr. *heten*, id.
- kyke*, to look stedfastly. D. *kyken*, to look.
- legge* (hond upon him), to lay, &c. Fr. *leggia hond up him*, id.; D. *leggen*, to lay.
- ligge*, to lie down. Fr. *liggia*, id.; D. *liggen*, id.
- mene*, to mean. Fr. *mena*, id.
- shifte*, to divide. Fr. *skifta*, to separate.
- snibbed*, reprovèd. Fr. *snawd*, id.
- spille*, to throw away. D. *verspillen*, to squander away.
- thole*, to suffer. Fr. *thola*, id.; D. *dulden*, id.
- uttre*, to publish. Fr. *utia*, to utter; D. *witten*, id.
- welde*, to govern. Fr. *walda*, *welda*, id.

B. *Substantives*.

- length* and *brede*, breadth. D. *lengte en breedte*, id.
- fee* (all that lond and). Fr. *al that lond and fia* (omnes possessiones, omnes agri et omne pecus).
- fostring*, nutriment. D. *voeder*, *voedering*, id.

heved, head. Fr. *hafed*, id.
knoppe, a button. D. *knoop*, *knop*, id.
querne, a hand-mill. D. *kwern*, *quern*, *quernmolen*, id.
unhele, misfortune. D. *onheil*, id.
wanhope, despair. D. *wanhoop*, id.
wantrust, distrust. D. *wantrouwen*, id.

c. *Other Words.*

deve, deaf. Fr. *daf*, id.; D. *doof*, id.
owerthwart, across. D. *overdwars*, id.
threttene, thirteen. Fr. *threttine*, id.
thridde, third. Fr. *thredde*, id.
wisly, certainly. D. *wis*, *gewisselyk*, id.
whilke, way is he gone. Fr. *hwelke wei is hi gongen*, id.

II.—OLD ENGLISH DOCUMENTS.

blere, to stay. Fr. *bliva*; D. *blyven*, id.
bollen, swollen. D. *verbolgen*, id.
forlese, to lose entirely. Fr. *forliesa*, to lose.
forlete, to quit. Fr. *forlitta*, id.
halte, to go lamely. Fr. *halta*, id.
knopped, buttoned. D. *geknoopt*, *geknopt*, id.
rere, to raise. Fr. *rera*, to move; D. *roeren*, id.
welwilly, propitious. D. *welwillend*, id.
wrote, to dig with the snout. D. *wroeten*, to turn up.

III.—THE MOST KNOWN POEMS OF THE MIDDLE AGE.

A. *Verbs.*

he bad, prayed. Fr. *hi bad*, id.
bede, *bide*, to abide, remain. D. *beiden*, id.
bygge, to build. Fr. *buwia*, *bowa*, id.
bygginge, building. Fr. *buwinge*, id.
drogh, drew. D. *trok*, id.
eche, to add. Fr. *aca* (augmentare).
feltred, felter'd, shaggy. D. *viltig*.
grade, *gredde*, cried, wept. Fr. *greta*, to weep; D. *kryten*, id.
haylse, salute. D. *heil* (salus).
leke, lock, shut. Fr. *luka* (claudere).

quadth, said. Fr. *quath*, id.
rive, to tear. D. *ryven*, *ryten*, id.
rope, to cry loud. Fr. *hropa*, to call.
skyste, deal out, divide. Fr. *skifta*, to separate.
spir, to ask, inquire. Fr. *spera*, to investigate; D. *speuren*, id.
sprenden, spread. Fr. *spreid*, id.
wete, *wite*, know, learn. Fr. *witan*, to know; D. *weeten*, id.

B. Substantives.

ande, *onde*, breath, life. Fr. *andema*, *ondema* (anima, animus).
bane, death, misery. Fr. *banthe* (homicidium); *bona* (homicida).
barn, child. Fr. *bern*, id.
brygge, bridge. Fr. *bregge*, id.
egge, edge. Fr. *eg*, *igge*, id.
ern, eagle. Fr. *earne*, id.
gase, goose. Fr. *gies* (anseris).
get, goat. D. *geit*, id.
glede, a burning coal. Fr. *glede*, glowing fire.
hawe, churchyard. Fr. *hof*, id.
leche, leech or physician. Fr. *letza*, id.
make, mate, companion. D. *makker*, id.
mawe, stomach. Fr. *maga*, id.
meollen, mills. D. *molens*, id.
nese, nose. D. *neus*, id.
panne, *paune*, head, skull, brain-pan. Fr. *breinpanne* (cranium); D. *hersenpan*, id.
punge, purse. Fr. *ponge*, id.
ryg, *rigge*, back. Fr. *regge*, id.; D. *rug*, id.
scil, *skile*, cause, right. Fr. *scheel* (dissidium).
stede, place. Fr. *stede*, id.; D. *steed*, id.
gyrdyl-steed, the waist. D. *gordel steed*, id.
stubbe, stump, stake. Fr. *stobbe*, thump.
sty, house, building. D. *stée*, *steed*, stead.
sweme, swimming, qualm. Fr. *swima*, id.
tale, talk, speech. D. *taal* (lingua).
tide, time. Fr. *tid*, id.; D. *tyd*, id.
wrethe, rage, harm, wrath. D. *wreedheid*, cruelty.

c. *Other Words and Combinations.*

- ain, heyen*, eyes. Fr. *eaghen*, eyes; also, *eren* and *eghen*, Fr. *earen* and *eaghen*, or *ara* and *agha*, ears and eyes.
- alond*, ashore. Fr. *a londe*, id.
- blyde*, blithe. Fr. *blide*, id.; D. *blyde*, id.
- eighte, eghte*, goods, property. Fr. *ain, egin* (proprium).
- ek*, also. Fr. *ek*, id.
- ellis*, else, otherwise. D. *elders* (alibi).
- fyle*, vile, foul. D. *vuil*, id.
- hol*, whole, sound. Fr. *heel* (sanatus).
- godhede*. D. *goedheid*, goodness.
- gowl, gules*. Fr. *giel*, id.; D. *geel*, id.
- lath, loth*. D. *laatdunkend*, self-conceited.
- lite, lytte*, little. Fr. *litje; litka* (parvus).
- overtwert, overthwart*. D. *overdwars*, id.
- recke*, care. D. *roeck* (cura); Fr. *rokolos* (temerarius).
- rightwise*, righteous. Fr. *riuchtfirdich* (justus).
- skere, shyre*, sheer, clear. D. *schieren* (ornare).
- slike*, such. D. *zulke*, id.
- store*, loud, stark, stir. Fr. *stoer, stor* (magnus).
- thermyd*, therewith. Fr. *thermithe*, id.
- tholmod*, patient. Fr. *thola* (pati); D. *dulden*, id.; Fr. *mode* (animus).

IV.—OLD SCOTTISH, FROM THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY, &c.

A. *Verbs.*

- aynding*, breathing. Fr. *andema* (spiritus, anima).
- big*, to build. Fr. *buwa*, id.
- buller*, move like the tide when it meets with resistance. D. *bulderen*, to bluster.
- clag*, to clog, adhere. Fr. *clay* (argilla); D. *klei*, id.; D. *kleven* (to cleave).
- clever*, to climb. Fr. *cliwa, klieuwen*, id.; D. *klaveren, klau-teren*, to clamber.
- deve*, to deafen. Fr. *daua, dawa*, id.; D. *doven, verdoven*, id.
- doop*, to dip, to baptize. D. *doopen*, id.; Fr. *depa* (to baptize).
- dreip*, to drop. Fr. *drippa*, id.; D. *druppen*, id.

- dunder*, to make a noise like thunder. D. *donderen*, to thunder one about.
- dwine*, to decay. D. *kwynen*, id.
- eak*, to increase. Fr. *aket* (auctus).
- forstaw*, to understand. D. *verstaan*, id.
- ga*, to go. Fr. *ga*, id.; D. *gaan*, id.
- gang*, to go, walk. Fr. *ganga*, id.
- gigle, kekke*, to laugh. D. *kakelen* (insane loqui).
- gnap*, to eat. D. *knappen*, id.
- gnidge*, to pinch, to squeeze. D. *knypen*, id.
- herie*, to plunder, to ruin. D. *verheeren*, to waste.
- keik*, to spy, peep. D. *kyken*, id.
- kemp*, to strive, contend. Fr. *kempa*, to fight; D. *kampen*, id.
- lak*, to depreciate, vilify. Fr. *leckia*, id.; D. *laken*, id.
- layke*, to sport. Fr. *hlakia*, *laytse*, to laugh.
- losin* (pediculos capere). D. *luizen*, id.
- lukk*, to shut up, to inclose. Fr. *luka*, to shut.
- narr, nurr*, to snarl, as dogs. D. *gnorren, knorren*, id.
- nikker, nichar*, to neigh like a horse. D. *hinneken*, id.
- rede*, to unravel, clear away. D. *reeden, gereed maken, bereiden*, to prepare.
- schute*, to push. Fr. *scodda*; D. *schudden*, to shake.
- sipe*, to leak. D. *zyppen*, to drip.
- smikker*, to smile in a seducing manner. D. Kil. *smeeken* (blandiri).
- sned*, to prune, cut off, dress by lopping off. D. *snyden, snoejen*, id.
- speir, spere*, to ask, make inquiry. D. *sporen, opsporen*, to trace up.
- spill, spyll*, to corrupt. D. *verspillen*, to squander away.
- stevin* (proras obvertere). D. *stevenen*, to steer.
- syle*, (*a.*) to hoodwink, (*b.*) to deceive. D. *sul* (imbecillis).
- toot, tout*, to sound a horn. D. *toeten*, id.; *toet*, mouth.
- uphe*, to lift up, exalt. D. *opheffen*, id.
- upheis*, to lift up. D. *ophysschen*, id.

B. *Substantives.*

afterclap, evil consequence. D. *achterklap*, id.

- age, edge. D. *egge*, id.
- anyng*, union. Fr. *eninghe* (contractus) ; *enigad* (congregatus).
- barne*, *bairne*, child, young person. Fr. *bern*, id.
- bak*, *bauk*. D. *kinnebak*, jaw-bone ; *bakkebaard*, favourites.
- bode*, offer from a buyer to a seller. Fr. *bod*, offering.
- brydal*, marriage-feast. Fr. *brulloft*, id.
- cail*, kale, cabbage. D. *kool*, id. ; Fr. *koal*, id.
- cap*, cup. D. *kop*, id.
- cap*, mantle, cloak. D. *monnikskap*, capouch.
- chaftis*, chops. D. *schaafsel*, chips.
- claver*, clover. D. *klaver*, id.
- cloude*, clout, rag. D. *kluit*, clod of earth.
- dag*, thick fog, mist. Fr. *dook*, id.
- dale*, *dele*, part, division. Fr. *deel*, id.
- dynn*, *din*, noise. D. *deun*, tune, song.
- dirk*, dagger. D. *dirk*, id.
- dow*, worth, value, avail. Fr. *doghet*, virtue.
- drottes*, nobles, knights. Fr. *drochten* (dominus).
- eiderdown*, the smaller feathers of any kind of birds. D. *eiderdons*, id. ; *dons*, down.
- eild*, age. Fr. *eld* (senis).
- etion*, kindred. Fr. *etein* (procreatus).
- fader*, father. Fr. *father*, id.
- farand*, becoming, behaving. Fr. *feren* (confectus, formatus).
- farand man*, stranger, pilgrim. Fr. *farand man*, id. ; *fara* (peregrinari).
- fe*, sheep. Fr. *fia* (pecus) ; D. *vee*, id.
- frog*, upper-coat. D. *frack*, coat.
- gab*, mouth. Fr. *gapper*, id.
- gaizlings*, goslings. Fr. *gies* (anseris).
- garth*, (a) yard, inclosure, (b) garden. D. *gaard*, garden.
- glede*, *gledes*, a very small fire, a spark of fire, hot embers.
Fr. *glede*, glowing fire.
- grape*, a trident fork for cleaning stables. Fr. *grype*, id.
- hans in kelder*, Jack in the cellar. Fr. *hansje in de kelder*, id.
- hansell*, (a) the first money taken, (b) or benefit received upon any particular occasion. D. *handgeld*, handsel.
- lallandis*, lowlands. D. *laage landen*, id.

- lauch*, law, privilege. Fr. *lawa*, law.
lave, remainder. Fr. *lefd* (relictus).
leif, leave, permission. D. *verlof*, id.
lith, joint. Fr. *lithe*, id.
loan, *loaning*, a vacant piece of ground, close by, or leading to, a farm-house. Fr. *loane*, alley; D. *laan*, id.
low, flame, blaze. Fr. *loghe*, id.
lute, *lent*, sluggard. Fr. *leuterer*, *slenterer*, loiterer.
maik, mate, equal. Fr. *makker*, id.
maigh, son-in-law. Fr. *maag*, *meg*, kin.
mold, the ground of earth. Fr. *molde*, *moude*, mould.
mone, the moon. Fr. *moanne*, *mona*, id.
morn, to-morrow. Fr. *morns* (mane).
mose, moss, (a) a boggy place, a marsh, (b) a heath. D. *moeras*, a marsh.
muck, *mullock*, dung. Fr. *miuks*, id.
neb, beak, sharp point. D. *neb*, *snavel*, bill.
owke, *ouk*, week. Fr. *wike*, id.; D. *week*, id.
reik, smoke. Fr. *reeck*, id.
ruck, rick, stack. Fr. *rook*, id.
scharne, dung of cattle. Fr. *skern*, id.
schote, the shutter of a window. Fr. *schotel*, id.
slike, lime, mud. D. *slyk*, mud.
stede, *stead*, farm-house with dependencies. Fr. *state*, id., with right of voting.
stew, fumes, cloud of dust. D. *stof* (pulvis).
tid, time. Fr. *tid*, id.
wald, plain, ground. Fr. *wald* (nemus).
wan-luck, misfortune. D. *ongeluk*, id.
wan-trow, to distrust. D. *wantrouwen*, id.
wan-wyt, want of knowledge. Fr. *wanwytship*, id.
wone, *one*, car or carriage. Fr. *vaine*, *wayne*, wagon, wain.

c. Other Words.

- bald*, bold. Fr. *bold*, id.
blythe, cheerful, merry. Fr. *blide*, blithe.
brak, brackish, salt. Fr. *brak*, id.
faurd, coloured, complexioned. Fr. *verfd*, coloured.

- fete, fail*, great, very. Fr. *fel, fele* (multum); D. *veel*, id.
forwakyt, exhausted by lying long awake. D. *verwaakt*, id.
hais, hoarse. D. *heesch*, id.
heal, whole. Fr. *hel* (illæsus); D. *heel*, id.
law, humble, low. D. *laag*, id.
loune, well sheltered, without wind or wave. D. *luuwte*,
 place sheltered from the wind.
muthe, exhausted with fatigue. Fr. *moed*, weary; D. *ver-
 moeid*, id.
namekouth, famous, well known. D. *naamkundig*, id.; Fr.
burcuth (vicinis notus).
ouklie, weekly. Fr. *wieks*, id.; D. *wekelyks*, id.
raith, quickly, hastily. D. *rasch*, id.
sakless, guiltless, free. Fr. *secka* (accusatus).
side, hanging, reaching low. Fr. *side* (profundus).
sikken, such kind of. Fr. *sokken* (talis).
smaddit, bedaubed, smuttled. Fr. *smodsig*, id.; D. *besmet*, id.
smittle, infectious. D. *besmettelyk*, id.
sprekled, spotted, speckled. D. *gesprikkelid*, id.
sute, sweet. D. *zoet*, id.; Fr. *swiet*, id.
sythyn, ever after that time. D. *sedert*, since.
thick, intimate, familiar. Fr. *tige*, worthy; D. *deeg*, id.
tute-mowit, having prominent lips. D. *toet-mond*, id.
op-a-land, at a distance from the sea. D. *op in het land* (in
 terram versus).
wan-schaipen, deformed. D. *wanschapen*, id.
wat, weit, wet, to wet. Fr. *wet* (humidus).
yeld, eild, barren, that gives no milk. Fr. *geld*, id.

V.—PROVINCIAL DIALECTS.

A. Verbs.

- bede*, pray. Fr. *bidde*, to pray; D. *bidden*, id.
bidden, invited. Fr. *bidden*, id.; D. *gebeden*, id.
boot, it boots not, is to no use. Fr. *batia* (prodesse).
brak, broke. Fr. *brak*, from *breka*, to break.
brosten, burst. Fr. *bursten, broken, brutsen*, burst, cracked.
drub, beat. Fr. *drope* (ictus).
feal, hide. Fr. *fel* (cutis).

- fey*, cleanse. Fr. *feye*, id.; D. *veegen*, id.
gang, go. Fr. *ganga*, id.
gee, give. D. *geven*, id.; Fr. *giva*, id.
glowing, staring. D. *gloed*, glowing.
heald, incline. D. *hellen*, to incline.
knab, seize hastily. D. *snappen*, id.
lake, leak, play. Fr. *hlacka*, to laugh; D. *lagchen*, id.
lowe, flame. Fr. *loghe*, id.
querken'd, suffocated. Fr. *querdzed*, id.
rid, remove, prepare. D. *redden*, *opredden*, to put in order.
saa, sow. D. *zaaien*, to sow.
sabbed, wet. D. *besabd*, slabbered.
sag, hang down on one side. D. *zakken*, *zygen*, to sink down.
scrab, scratch or claw. D. *krabben*, *klaauwen*, to scratch.
shie, *shy*, avoid a person. D. *schuwen*, to avoid.
shift, change one's clothes. D. *schiften*, to separate.
skrike, shriek. D. *schrikken*, to startle.
slade, carry goods in a sledge. D. *sleeden*, id.
smudge, soil, besmear. Fr. *smodse*, to soil.
spar, ask, inquire. D. *speuren*, *sporen*, to inquire.
stive, raise dust. D. *stuiven*, to raise dust.
swag, hang on one side. D. *waggelen*, to stagger.
swell, swallow. D. *zwellen*, to swallow.
sy, put milk through a sieve. D. *zeeven*, id.
sy, drop gently, distil. D. *zypen*, to drop.
sy *up*, drink up. Fr. *opsupe*, to drink up; D. *opzuipen*, id.
welt, overturn. Fr. *welda* (regere, dominare).

B. Substantives.

- call*, obligation: ex. 'as he had no call to do it.' Fr. *kalla*
 (vocare).
clu, hoof. Fr. *klau*, *klew*, id.
crib, a rack to hold hay for cows and horses. Fr. *krebbe*, *krib*, id.
dag, dew. Fr. *dook*, id.; D. *daauw*, id.
dell, low, hollow place. Fr. *del* (infra); D. *deel*, floor.
frimfolks, strangers. Fr. *fremdfolck*, id.
gob, open, wide mouth. Fr. *gapje*, to gape; D. *gaapen*, id.
gripe, dung-fork. Fr. *grype*, *gryp*, id.
herne, nook of land projecting into another field. Fr. *herne*,
 corner.

haugh, haw } hill, hillock. Fr. *heagte*, high; D. *hoogte*, id.;
heaug, heuf } *heuvel*, hill.
how }

holl, a dry ditch. D. *hol* (spelunca); *holte* (cavitas).

holt, a wood. Fr. *holt*, id.

kern-milk, butter-milk. D. *karnemelk*, id.; Fr. *suup, soupe, tserne molke*, id.

mauf, meaugh, brother-in-law. D. *maag*; Fr. *meg* (cognatus).

scarn, dung. Fr. *skern*, id.

slade, sledge. D. *slede, sleed*, id.

stead, place to stand on. Fr. *stee*, id.

sted, place or house. D. *huisstede* (locus in quo domus est exstructa).

steert, point. Fr. *stirt, stut* (cauda); D. *staart* (fig. finis).

stew, cloud of dust or vapour. D. *stof*, id.

stub, stump of a tree. Fr. *stobbe*, thump.

wark, ache, pain. Fr. *'t werkt my in 't lif* (dolorem sentio in ventre).

yarth, earth. Fr. *irthe*, id.; D. *aarde*, id.

c. Other Words.

bleek, pale, sickly. D. *bleek, ziekelyk*, id.

efter, after. Fr. *efter, after*, id.

full, drunk. D. *vol, dronken*, id.

goel, yellow. Fr. *giel*, id.; D. *geel*, id.

over, more than. Fr. *over*, more than enough.

reet, right. D. *regt*, id.

seel'n, seldom. D. *zelden*, id.

stolt, stout. Fr. *stout*, id.

stumpy, short and thick. D. *stompig*, dully.

swimmy, giddy in the head, having a dimness in the sight.

Fr. *swima*, swoon; D. *zwym*, swoon.

unrid, disorderly, filthy. Fr. *onree*, id.

war, beware! take care. D. *waar!* (*cura*).

worfor, wherefore. Fr. *werfor*, id.; D. *waarvoor*, id.

yell, barren, or that gives no milk. Fr. *geld*, id.

XIX.—ON SOME AFFINITIES IN THE BASQUE LANGUAGE, WITH WORDS REFERRED TO THE FINNISH AND INDO-GERMANIC LANGUAGES. BY JAMES KENNEDY, Esq., LL.B.

[Read December the 18th.]

On the reading of Mr. Wedgwood's observations on the 4th of November last, on the connexion of the Finnish and Indo-Germanic classes of languages, some of the Society now present may recollect that I called their attention to several remarkable coincidences of words then cited, with their co-relatives in the Basque language. Those coincidences, then shown to exist so remarkably within so small a compass of words, gave good ground for the suggestion that many more might be found upon a fuller investigation; and it may, therefore, be well worthy of consideration for those interested in such pursuits, to have a detailed account of the words I referred to, for the purpose of assisting them in their future inquiries.

The Basque has been pronounced by the generality of writers to be a language *sui generis*, though some have hazarded other opinions respecting it, into the validity of which it is not my intention at present to enter. The language is certainly well deserving of the most careful investigation, and more especially so as all the theories heretofore published respecting it appear to me open to very considerable objections. One, however, of those opinions, expressed by Mr. Borrow in his work 'The Bible in Spain,' that it is a Tartar language, I will venture to cite, as from the analogies now shown to exist, there really seems some reason for supposing it to have some foundation, though I have not met with any higher authority for so curious a fact in philology than the dictum of that amusing writer. But the neglect of the Basque is the opprobrium of modern philology, in which our English philologists must also take their share; for it seems an inconsistency with right judgment, that while we have been exploring the intricacies of the languages of the most remote times and countries, we have not, in English researches, any account rendered of this extraordinary language of a very ex-

traordinary people living within a few hours' sail of our shores, and forming component parts of the neighbouring kingdoms of France and Spain. Even in those kingdoms, though almost innumerable works have appeared from time to time relating to Basque, I do not know of one entitled to the least respect in a philological point of view. William Humboldt indeed, in German, has given the world one of a higher class, yet I venture to think that even he, upon this subject, adopted an erroneous theory, and was thus led to many controvertible conclusions.

Contenting myself for the present with these observations, I proceed to point out the coincidences I referred to, and take first Mr. Wedgwood's preference, above other explanations of the word *king* from different Teutonic roots, of the radical identity, as he calls it, of the word with the Tartar *chan*. This, or *khan*, is the only word instanced by Mr. Borrow, and in the paper before us is associated with the Ostiack *chon*, 'emperor,' and other words. The Basques being determined republicans, own no king, and the king of Spain is, by their Fueros, only lord (*jaun* or *jauna*) of Biscay. This word is pronounced with a strong aspirate, *haun* or *hauna*, by the French writers spelt *yauna*. The only word in Basque for God is *Haum-goycoa*, literally 'the Lord dweller on high.'

In the same page (*ante*, p. 174) are the following other words instanced, to which I append their correlatives in Basque, referring the reader to the analogies given by Mr. Wedgwood, connecting them with other languages:—

Eng. pot,	Basq. <i>pota</i>.	||	Eng. oil,	Basq. <i>olioa</i> .
— teat,	— <i>titia</i>.	||	— border,	— <i>borde</i> .
— nasty,	— <i>nastia</i>.	||	— dry,	— <i>idorra</i> .
— kill,	— <i>il</i> .			

To these I might add several other analogies, from which I abstain, as they might not be so readily admitted as the preceding. I will however instance E. *father*, B. *aita*, compared with Lapp *attje*; and Eng. *guise*, B. *guisa*, with the Breton *giz*, *kiz* (*ante*, p. 176), adding, that this word seems to me to have been adopted into other languages from the Basque, in which it is of radical signification.

The words above enumerated comprise nearly the half of those given in the "Observations," to which these may be considered a supplement. If they show in connexion with them any allowable affinity to words in other languages so wide apart as Finnish and others, they show a still more marked relationship to the English, and this will prove the justice of the remark I made at the outset, of the impropriety of our philologists passing over so negligently a language spoken opposite our own shores, and to which our lexicographers have never turned in search of the unde-derivaturs they might have sometimes found there.

FANATICS.—INTRODUCTION AND DERIVATION OF THE WORD.

There is a new word coined, within few months*, called fanatics, which, by the close stickling thereof, seemeth well cut out and proportioned to signify what is meant thereby, even the sectaries of our age.

Some (most forcedly) will have it Hebrew, derived from the word to see or face one †, importing such whose piety consisteth chiefly in visage, looks, and outward shows; others will have it Greek, from *φάνομαι*, to show and appear; their meteor piety consisting only in short blazing, the forerunner of their extinction. But most certainly the word is Latin, from *fanum*, a temple; and *fanatici* were such who, living in or attending thereabouts, were frightened with *spectra*, or apparitions, which they either saw or fancied themselves to have seen. These people, in their fits and wild raptures, pretended to strange predictions:—

————— ut fanaticus cestro
 Percussus, Bellona tuo, divinat, et ingens
 Omen habes, inquit, magni clarique triumphi.—Juv. Sat. 4.
 Ut mala quem scabies et morbus regius urget,
 Aut fanaticus error.—Hor. in Poet.

It will be said we have already (more than a good) many nicknames of parties, which doth but inflame the difference, and make the breach the wider betwixt us. It is confessed; but withal it is promised, that when they withdraw the thing we will substract the name. Let them leave off their wild fancies, inconsistent with Scripture, antiquity, and reason itself, and then we will endeavour to bury the fanatic, and all other names in perpetual oblivion.—*Fuller's Mixt Contemplations on these Times*; published in May, 1660.

* Of May 1660.

† פנה vidit.

XX.—ON DIMINUTIVES. I. ENGLISH.

By T. HEWITT KEY, Esq., M.A.

[Read February the 22nd.]

As it is the fashion of essays in the present day to begin at a point that has apparently no relation with the subject matter, I will first offer some remarks on a passage in Niebuhr's Roman History. In p. 53 of the translation of his second volume, he considers the origin of the word *municeps*, where he tells us that "*munus* properly signified a duty which a citizen was bound to discharge, whether by personal or pecuniary services: and *municeps* was the opposite of *immunis*, which designated a person exempt from such burthens." He goes on to say, "that the last syllable (*ceps*), though it has a deceptive look of coming from a verb, is nothing more than one of those manifold terminations in which the Latin language luxuriates." In a note, we receive further etymological information: "That the additional syllable does not affect the meaning is evident in *princeps* for *primus*, and in the consecutive ancient ordinals given by Varro, *terticeps*, *quarticeps*, and the rest. So *biceps* probably meant nothing more than *twofold*, *triceps* *threefold*." Subsequently he refers to *anceps* as another proof of his principle; and ridicules the idea that *cap* of *caput* or of *capere* enters into any of these words. By an awkward omission he leaves out of view *auceps* and *praeceps*, two words which I suspect he would have found it difficult to explain without some reference to the roots just mentioned.

Now in the first place, *municeps*, to speak with accuracy, is derived, not from *munus*, but from the allied neuter sb. *munia*, more familiar in the plural *munia*; whence also *immunis*. Then again Niebuhr seems to lose sight of the original meaning of these words, viz. "share" or "part"; a meaning which again subdivides itself according as the object is desirable or not, and according as the object is physical or not. A share in that which exists and is desirable may be regarded as 'a gift.' But duties to be performed may also be divided. Here again, if the duty be one of honour, it will be 'an office,'

and the holder 'an officer or chargé d'affaires.' If it be something not desirable, it may be entitled 'a burden or charge.'

Another German writer, whose studies were specially connected with linguistic principles, Dr. Carl F. Becker, uses expressions of a similar character. In his Grammar of the German language he thinks it right to include in the list of primary substantives, "some which have assumed one of the terminations *er, el, en*; as *messer* 'knife,' *schenkel* 'leg,' *bissen* 'bit;'" and, in a note upon the passage, he observes: "These terminations, *er, el, en*, differ from affixes of secondary derivatives, in having no influence on the signification of words to which they are added."

My main object in quoting these passages is to oppose the doctrine that any language whatever has dealings with meaningless terminations; and the protest is the more called for, when the doctrine comes to us with the sanction of such high authorities. But the error is a common one, sometimes expressed in distinct language, as when we are told that such a syllable is 'only a termination.' More frequently the final letters of a word are quietly ignored, especially in our dictionaries, where it is deemed sufficient to explain the formation of the first part of a word, or perhaps to give only, what is designated by the vague term 'theme.' Yet as regards dictionaries, we have the less reason to be censorious, because it is the duty rather of grammars to deal with those analogies which belong to final syllables. Yet here again there is for the most part a sad deficiency, as soon as we leave the particular class of suffixes which belong to the conjugation of verbs or the declension of nouns.

But among the terminations which are treated with indifference, none have met with such neglect as those of diminutival power; and this perhaps chiefly owing to two facts: first, that they often lose their distinction as diminutives; and secondly, that they are apt altogether to supplant the primitive word. We will not stop now to prove these two assertions; but rather assuming their truth we would point to the causes which have produced such results. Diminutives are used

with various objects, as *a*, to denote smallness; *b*, tenderness or affection; *c*, pity; *d*, contempt. But of these four meanings the first requires subdivision. An object may be small in comparison to others of its own class; or it may be one of a class, all the members of which are regarded as small. In this latter case the use of a derived diminutival form beside the primitive is in a great measure superfluous; the result of which is, that one of the two rivals has soon to give way. In a contest of this nature it is commonly the shorter form which is abandoned, so that the remaining word, for the reason that it stands by itself, seems to claim the honours of a primitive. Yet it often happens that some cognate language, or an older stage of the same language, exhibits the simpler word; or, what is equally useful for an analysis, we may find the radical part connected with some equivalent suffix of different form. But instances may make this clearer. When we say ‘little robin redbreast,’ we use the epithet, not to distinguish one redbreast from another, but to compare this whole class of birds with classes of larger size. It is in this way that the term *starling* is applicable to any one of those birds which were formerly called *stares*; but the former term alone is now in ordinary use. Again, *violet* of our own tongue and *veilchen* in German, are partly explained by the Latin *viola*; but this again needs explanation from the Greek *ιον* (*Fiον*), or rather from an obsolete noun *via* (violet), which would correspond to the Greek *Fiον*, much as *rosa* to *ροδον*. The English *sparrow* too and German *sperling* alike point to a monosyllabic form *spar* or *sper*, of which the initial sibilant is probably no more an essential portion than it is in the Greek adj. *σμικρος*, the Latin sb. *spina*, or the English vb. *smelt*. Thus we arrive at *par*, a syllable nearly akin to that which is seen in the first part of the Latin *pass-er*, as we may infer from the ready interchange of the sounds *s* and *r*.

So long as the diminutival suffix has maintained itself in its full form, or something approaching to fulness, it is a tolerably easy matter to detect it; but from the very circumstance of its being to a great extent an all but superfluous addition, it is apt to be compressed and corrupted; and the

danger is the greater because the closing syllable of a word has rarely the accent. Thus it often appears as a single consonant or single vowel; nay, at times so completely disappears, that we have no other evidence of its having belonged to a word but in the modification of the root-vowel effected by it, as in *Jem* for *Jemie*, from *James*; *Kit* for *Kitty*, from *Kate*. In such extreme cases it requires not a little nicety in the use of the dissecting-knife to demonstrate the diminutival element.

Again, in modern times the power of forming diminutives may be in one country a living principle, so that it is permitted to form such words *ad libitum*; while in another, those only are admissible which have already received the stamp of authority. Thus the suffixes *chen* and *lein* are employed with almost unlimited freedom in the ordinary language of Germany; and in Southern Germany diminutives in *el* may be at pleasure created without fear of the charge of innovation.

The original purpose of the present paper was solely to examine the suffixes of diminutival power in the Latin language, but an inquiry of this nature often derives much benefit from the light of comparative grammar. Moreover in a dead language, the books of which deal little in the conversational style of private life, we cannot expect this particular formation to be exhibited in its fulness. It is not so much in the elevated literature of a country, nor indeed in public life, but rather by the private fireside, or in the intercourse of rustic society, that the free use of diminutives is found. Hence, to speak of England in particular, only a small proportion of such words is honoured by admission into our leading dictionaries. In the provincial dialects they still abound; but we may perhaps affirm, that nowhere more than in Scotland is the formation of such words still a living principle of the language. The fact is familiar to a native Scotchman, but the Southron must accept the assertion on the authority of others, as of Jamieson in his *Scottish Dictionary*.

We shall begin then with some inquiry into the several classes of diminutives which belong to the Saxon element of

our own tongue, illustrated occasionally by some of its sister dialects on the continent; and here our first duty is to consult the elaborate work of Grimm. But the benefit we can derive from this source is far from being all we could desire. Throughout his book he treats our portion of the family with comparative neglect. Thus of the diminutival suffix *ock*, one of the most important we possess, he gives but two examples, and several of our other terminations of like power he leaves unmentioned. Still, what Grimm places before us in some detail of the diminutival forms in the sister dialects, ancient and modern, throws much light on the inquiry; and his deficiencies in respect to the English language are to some extent supplied, in this department, by a valuable paper published at Cambridge in 1832, in the *Philological Museum*, No. iii. p. 679, from the pen of one of our own members, Mr., now Sir G. Cornwall, Lewis. The chief sources, then, of which I have availed myself, are those just mentioned, Grimm's Grammar, Sir G. C. Lewis's paper, and Jamieson's Dictionary, including the Supplement; together with some of our provincial glossaries, as Jennings' *Somersetshire Glossary*, Grose's *Glossary*, Wilbraham's *Cheshire Glossary*, and Moor's *Suffolk Words**. But in addition to the matter thus obtained, there is also in what follows much for which they are not responsible.

I. Simple diminutival suffixes :

A. a. *ock*, as—

<p><i>baddock</i>, J., fry of the coal fish. (See other names below.)</p> <p><i>bannock</i>, J., an oat or barley cake. (Cf. our <i>bun</i> and Gael. <i>bonnach</i>.)</p> <p><i>bittock</i>, J., a little <i>bit</i>.</p> <p><i>bladrock</i>, J., a talkative, silly fellow, from <i>blather</i> or <i>blether</i>, 'idle talk.'</p>	<p><i>brannock</i>, J., the samlet, a small fish called in Yorkshire <i>brannin</i>.</p> <p><i>bullock</i>, a young bull.</p> <p><i>buttock</i>, the first syllable also in <i>bott-om</i> and German <i>bod-en</i>.</p> <p><i>cabock</i>, J., or <i>kebbuck</i>, cheese (Gael. <i>cabag</i>).</p> <p><i>cammock</i>, J., a crooked stick</p>
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* These will be abbreviated thus :—D.G. Grimm's *Deutsche Grammatik*; L., Sir G. Lewis's paper; J. or Scotch, Jamieson's work; S.W., Moor's *Suffolk Words*, &c.

- (Gael. *camag*, crooked, from *cam*, crooked).
- castock*, J., core of a cabbage-stalk.
- charlock*, the weed.
- clubbock*, J., the spotted blenny fish.
- crummock*, J., a staff with a crooked head, or a cow with crooked horns.
- devilock*, J., a little devil.
- dunnock*, hedge-sparrow (Cheshire).
- earock*, J., a pullet (Gael. *eireag*, pullet, *eun*, a bird).
- emmock*, J., an emmet or ant.
- fillock*, J., a filly.
- finnock*, J., or *finner*, a white trout (Gael. *fionnag*, from *fionn*, 'white').
- fintock*, J., the cloudberry, *Rubus chamaemorus*.
- gavelock*, J., an iron crow, an earwig (from *gavel* or *gabel*, 'a fork').
- haddock*.
- hammock*.
- hassock*, J., anything bushy, a besom, a turf in form of a seat, a kneeling cushion.
- hattock*, J., a little *hat*.
- hemlock*.
- hillock*.
- hirplock*, J., one who hirples or goes lame.
- hollyhock*.
- hornock*, J., old *Hornie*.
- hummock*, J., or *hummie*, the hand so arranged that the tips of all the fingers press the point of the thumb.
- humplock*, J., a small heap.
- Jamock*, J., little James.
- kittock*, J., or *kittie*, a loose woman.
- knublock*, J., a little knob.
- laddock*, J., a little lad.
- lassock*, J., a little lass.
- laverock*, J., a lark (Lancashire *learock*).
- lythocks*, J., a poultice, from *lithe*, vb. 'to soften.' But in Cheshire 'to *lithe* the pot' is to put thickening in it, as flour or oatmeal.
- mammock*, a piece, a fragment.
- mannock*, J., a little *man*.
- mattock*.
- mullock*, dirt, rubbish.
- mulock*, J., or *mulin*, a crumb.
- munshock*, J., red bilberry.
- paddock*, J., a frog (*pade* A.S. 'toad').
- paddock*, or *parrock*, a small inclosure or park.
- pellock*, J., a porpoise, regarded as a little whale.
- pellock*, J., a ball or bullet. (Cf. *pellet*.)
- piltock*, J., a coal fish a year old, then called *billet* at Scarborough.
- playock*, or *plaik*, J., a plaything.
- pollock*, J., young of the coal fish; and also, I am told, a small edible crab.
- queock*, J., young cow.
- raplock*, J., coarse woollen cloth.
- rillock*.
- ruddock*, S., red-breast (robin-*riddick*, Jennings).
- rullocks*, from an obsol. dim. of

the vb. *row*, seen in the Scotch
role, 'to row.'

sillock, J., or *sillick*, fry of the
coal fish,

shamrock.

shillock, J., lighter part of oats
(comp. *shell*).

sourock, J., *sorrel*.

tammock, J., or *tummock*, a hill-
ock (comp. Gael. *tom*, a knoll,
and Lat. *tumulo*-).

tarrock, the bird *Larus tridac-*
tylus.

Hence with the guttural softened to a final *w* :

b. *ow*, as :—

1. SUBSTANTIVES.

arrow.

barrow, 'truck' (*bear*, vb.).

barrow, (*boar*).

bellows, Germ. *balg*.

billow.

farrow, Germ. *ferk-el*.

fellow.

furrow (comp. *rig* and *fur*, Scotch
and North of England for
'ridge and furrow,' and the
Dan. *fure*, 'a furrow').

gallows, Germ. *galgen*.

haddow, or *haddock*.

harrow (compare *harry*, *harass*,
and A.S. *herian*).

killow, 'black earth.'

mallow, Germ. *malve*.

marrow, A.S. *mearh*, also *smere*
and *smeru*, 'fat, grease'; Gael.
smeor, 'marrow,' and *smeur*,
'smear.'

marrow, match, fellow, pair.

tussock, J., a tuft of wheat in
a cornfield. (Comp. our
tassel.)

wallock, J., lapwing.

warlock, J., wizard. Note that
wizards and witches are ge-
nerally depicted as dwarfs;
and for the root syllable
compare the Germ. *wahr-*
sager.

whilock, J., a little while.

wifock, J., a little wife.

winnock, J., window*.

minnow (comp. *minnikin*).

morrow (comp. *mor-n* and the
Germ. *morg-en*).

pillow, comp. A.S. *pile*, the same.

sallow, comp. A.S. *seal* and Gael.
sael, 'willow,' Germ. *saal-*
weide.

scarrow, J., faint light; comp.
A.S. *scir*, sheer, bright.

shadow, *shade*.

shirrow, or *skrow*, or *skrew*,
shrew-mouse; A.S. *screawa*.

sorrow, from *sore* (A.S. *sár*, 'sore,
sorrow'); Germ. *sorge*.

sparrow, Germ. *sper-ling*.

swallow, Germ. *schwalbe*.

tallow, Germ. *talg*.

willow, comp. Germ. *weide*, Eng.
withy; probably from vb. *wind*.

window, Scotch *winnock*, from
sb. *wind*.

2. ADJECTIVES.

callow, Germ. *kahl*.

* This list might easily have been doubled with the assistance of
Jamieson's work.

fallow, Germ. *brach*, Dan. *brak*, probably the same word, and so related to our adj. *bare*.

hollow, from *hole*; note that in Scotch we have verbs *holl* and *holk* or *houk*, 'to dig.'

mellow, Germ. *mürbe*, which is the same word; Dan. *mær*.

orow, or *orra*, J., what is odd or over. From the same root *orrels*, what is left over, refuse, and a vb. *ort*, reject, as well as the provincial Eng. sb. pl. *orts*, refuse. Thus *orow* seems to be for *over-ow*. Comp. for form *lark* and *larrick* from *laverock*. See J.

sallow, Germ. prov. *sal*, 'sallow, dirty'; Eng. *soil*, sb. and vb.; Fr. *sale*.

shallow, *shoal*, adj. in shoal-water.

yellow, Germ. *gel-b*, Dan. *gul*.

Hence also our *gol-d*, and several Scotch words, as *gule* or *gool*, the corn-marigold, *gulset* or *gulschock*, jaundice, and perhaps the heraldic adj. *gules*, 'red.'

3. VERBS.

bellow, from the old verb to *bell*.

borrow, Germ. *borg-en*.

burrow, from vb. *bore*. Comp. also *bury*.

follow, Germ. *folg-en*.

hallow, Germ. *heilig-en*, and as an adj. *heilig* and our *holy*: Probably from such a root as our *whole*, Germ. *heil*, whence the Germ. sb. *heil*, happiness, safety, salvation.

swallow, Germ. *schluck-en*, *schling-en*, and *schwel-g-en*, Dan. *sluge* or *svælge*. The simple vb. survives in vulgar life, *swill*, Somersetsh. *swell* or *zwell*.

tarrow, or *tarry*, J., 'delay,' make a difficulty of. The Germ. *zöger-n* seems to imply that the first syllable *tar* has already been compressed from a disyllabic form, such as *tager*, and so related to *tug* or *tow*, draw out; Germ. *zieh-en* (*zug*).

wallow, 'roll,' Germ. prov. *walgen*.

winnow, Germ. *wann-en*; Somersetsh. (Jennings) *wim*; akin to *fan*; Lat. *vanno-*; our vb. 'to wind'; Lat. *vento-*; and Gr. *aveµo-*.

I was at first tempted to insert in this list the Cheshire words *drumbow* or *drumble* 'a dingle,' *songow* or *songle* 'gleaned corn,' *stubbo* 'stubble,' *bricco* 'brittle'; but I was soon satisfied that the *ow* (*o*) in these forms was for *ol*, just as *pow* in the same county stands for *poll*. Still two provincial verbs in Wilbraham's Glossary seem entitled to a place in the list, *ballow* 'choose' (comp. *wale* 'choose,' Scotch and Germ. *wahl-en*), and *bradow* 'brood over.'

Also by weakening the vowel of *ock* we have:—

c. *ick*, as *lassick*, J., 'a little lass'; *laddick*, J., 'a little lad,' &c. whence again by softening the guttural:—

d. *ie* (or *y*), as *haddie*, *lassie*, *laddie*, *crummie*.

This last form, having the sanction of the Scotch capital, is established in Scotch literature, and seems to be extending its domain over the provincial dialects of Scotland, so that at Glasgow *haddie* is said to be now superseding the form *haddow*, which till recently prevailed there. But *haddock* and *haddick* still hold their ground in some quarters. In England a final *y* is preferred to *ie*, as *bury*, *tarry*, *worry*, *penny*, *lassy*, *laddy*.

In not a few of the diminutives, a compression has taken place either of the root syllable or of the suffix, in which cases the form of the latter is often so far modified as in a great measure to conceal its connexion with the original form. But the changes are scarcely more violent than the varieties of sound which attach themselves to the combination *ough* in our anomalous spelling. Again, in different parts of England we hear *shock*, *shoof* and *sheaf* of corn; and the loss of a guttural in writing a word is the less open to suspicion, as sometimes even when written, it is dropped in pronunciation, as the *fluke* of an anchor, commonly called *flue*. Indeed we ought perhaps to have included among the various forms of our suffix, as above given, that of *och* (pronounced as an aspirate), for this form is not unfrequently given by Jamieson; in which case the Scotch *ock* and *och* would have corresponded with some accuracy to the Gaelic diminutival suffixes *ag* and *ach*. Sometimes indeed, when the compression is limited to the first syllable, the suffix may retain one of the forms already enumerated. Thus suspicion, and in some more than a suspicion, that a disyllabic form has suffered a compression, attaches to the following words, which we would therefore propose for examination:—

e. *Block* (same as *clog* and *log* of wood); *clock*, 'a beetle' (Scotch *golach*—see *clock*, *clock*-bee, and *clock*-leddie, 'a lady-bird,' in J.); *crook*, *flock* (of sheep), *flock* or *lock* (of wool), *frock*, *stock*.

f. *Blow*, vb. (flare); *blow*, vb. (florere); *blow*, sb. (ictus); *flow*, *glow*, *grow*, *know*, *throw*, *low*, *row*, sb.; *row*, vb.

g. *Brick*, *click*, *crick*, *rick*, *stick*, *trick*.

More commonly some other variety presents itself, as—

h. *Brook*, sb. (*br*=*bur* of *bur-n*, of the same meaning); *brook*, vb. (Germ. *brauch-en*); *crook*^s (*cr*=*cur* of *cur-l*); *nook*; *rook* (a variety of the sb. *crow*).

i. *Pluck*, vb. (from *pull*); *pluck*, sb. (perhaps of the same origin); *ruck*.

j. *Fluke* of an anchor, and *fluke* a worm, where the root portion *fl* denotes flatness, as in *flat* itself, and represents the *pl* of the Latin *plano-*, and the *pal* (*pad*) of *pand-*, *palam*, *palma*, *palud-*, &c.; *luke-warm* (Germ. *lau*).

k. *Black*, *brack*, *nack*, *rack*, *slack*, *wrack*, 'sea-weed' (*war*, A.S., and *ware*, Scotch, 'sea-weed').

l. *Brake*, 'fern'; *flake*, *lake*, *rake* (=harrow), to which add *break* and *wreak*.

m. *Fleck*, 'fur of rabbits' (Moor's S.W.); *freck* or *freckle* (Germ. *fleck*, *flecken*), *speck*.

n. *Bark*, vb. (from *bell*, vb. obsol.; comp. Germ. *bell-en*, 'to bark'); *bark*, sb.; *cark*, sb. obsol. from *care*; *cask*; *caulk* (a ship), (Scotch vb. *calf* or *colf*, the same; also *calfing*, for the 'wadding' of a gun); *chink* (*chine*); *dark* (*darn*, vb. 'to hide'; *darn*, adj. 'secret' in Scotch, J.); *hark* (*hear*; comp. also *hearken*); *holk*, Scotch 'to dig' (*holl*, the same, J.); *hulk*, sb. (also *hull* of a ship); *jerk*; *lark* for *larrick*, Scotch, and that for *laverock*; *lurk* (Scotch vb. *loure*; Germ. *lauern*, the same); *milk* (A.S. *meoloc*, as well as *meolc*; comp. γαλακτ-); *park* (A.S. *pearrok* or *parruc*, same as our *pad-dock*); *pink*, vb. as with a dagger (also to *pin* in the same sense); *sark*, prov. 'a shirt,' which is probably the same word; *shank* (*shin*); *shirk* or *shark* (Scotch), vb.; *spark*; *stark* (as *stark-naked*, *stark-mad*; comp. the Germ. *starr*, 'stiff, rigid,' whence *starr-blind*, 'utterly blind'); *stirk*, 'a steer'; *talk* (*tell*); *walk* (Old Germ. *wall-en*, 'to go'); *whelk*; *work* (comp. *ware*, 'the produce of labour'; also *ear*, vb. obsolete, 'to plough,' or, as the French say, labourer la terre); *wink*; *yolk* (=yellow).

o. *Brog*, J., or *prog*, J. and Moor (our *prong*), 'a sharp point, spike, goad' (from vb. *bore* ?); *clog*, *flog*, *frog* (perhaps the same word as the Scotch and provincial *paddock*, first changed to *par-rock*, just as the other word *paddock* has in fact been); *grog*, *log*.

p. *Brag*, *crag* (A.S. *carr*, 'a rock'; prov. *scarre*, 'bare rock,' N. Grose, Gl., and *carrock*, the same: see Bosworth); *drag*, *flag*, sb.; *flag*, vb.; *lag*, *scrag*, *slag*, *snag*, *stag*.

- q. *Plug, rug, skrug*, 'shrew,' J.; *snug*.
- r. *Claw, craw, draw, flaw, straw*.
- s. *Sirrah* (contemptuous dim. of *Sir*).
- t. *Brew, crew, new, screw, shrew, sinew, strew*.
- u. *Blue, clue, flue* (of anchor), *flue* (downy matter), *glue, rue*.
- v. *Groo*, 'water partially congealed,' J.
- w. *Floe, roe* (deer), *roe* (of fish), *throe*.
- x. The syllable *ough*, variously sounded, as: *plough, rough, slough, through* (Germ. *durch*, from *dur*), *trough*.
- y. *Bring, cling, fling, ring, wring*.
- z. *Prong, strong, throng*.
- aa. *Bluff, fluff, gruff*, adj. *gruff*, 'a mine,' Somersetsh. (akin to *grave* and *grub*); *luff, ruff, stuff*.
- bb. *Calf, half, turf* (the simple *toor* or *ture* is given in J.), *wharf* (Fr. *gare*, 'a landing place'), *wolf* (perhaps from *gul*, 'yellow').
- cc. *Crave, grave*.
- dd. *Club, grub, shrub, rub, snub*.
- ee. *Crib, glib, nib, rib*.
- ff. *Larrop*, vb. of the low language, perhaps contracted from an obsolete vb. *latherop* from *leather* or *lather*, vb., the same; (comp. *where* for *whether* (Somersetsh.); *or* for *other*; *smure*, Scotch, for *smother*; *far*, Danish, for *father* in *far-broder*, 'patruus'; *far-fader*, 'father's father'; so also in Somersetsh. *gramfer, grammer* for 'grandfather, grandmother'); *scallop* (*shell*); *wallop*, vb. (to *wall* or *well*, Scotch form of *weld*, beat (metal) into one mass); *wallop*, 'boil' (Suffolk), (Germ. *wall-en*, 'to boil,' our vb. *well*; comp. also *pot-walloper*).
- gg. *Carp*, sb., *chirp, help, sharp* (comp. *shear*, vb.), *warp, whelp*.
- hh. *Bree* (= *brow*, as in the Scotch *ee-bree*; A.S. *break*); *knee* (A.S. *cneow*); *tree* (A.S. *treow*), to which add *flea*—(comp. also for the form of these words the Germ. *schnee*=*snow*).
- ii. *Cry, dry* (Germ. *trocken*), *fly* vb., *fly* sb. (A.S. *fleoht*), *fry* sb., *fry* vb., *ivy, sky, try, wry*.
- kk. *et** (for *ec*), as: *badget* 'badger,' *brisket* 'piece of the

* In our mixed language it is of course important to distinguish between the Norman and Saxon element. Thus in reference to the suffix *et*, we must carefully separate from such words as are given above, those which represent the French suffixes *et, ette*, as *trumpet, lancet, billet, facet*. Yet it must be confessed that this separation is at times difficult, seeing that the French language possesses not a few Teutonic words, to say nothing

breast' (for *brist-ock* or *bristick*, from *breast*), *cricket*, *emmet* (comp. Scotch *emmock*, or *immick*), *fitchet* (*fitch*, Somersetsh.) 'polecat,' *gimlet* (Scotch *gemlick*), *gobbet* 'a piece' (Shakspeare), comp. *gappocks* and perhaps *gabbocks*, Scotch, J., *hornet*, *mammet** (= *mammock*), *limpet*, *locket* (*lock*), *mallet* (*maul* or *mall*, prov. the same), *pack-et*, *pock-et*, *sippet* (*sop*), *smicket* (*smock*), *tippet* (from *top*; comp. *hood* and *cape*, both originally signifying 'head'), *wewet* 'a spider's web' (Somersetsh.), *worret* (Suffolk, &c. for *worry*).

ll. The same contracted to a simple *t*: *graft*, *haft*, *left* (laevo-), *lift* vb., *silt* (*soil*), *tilt* vb. (*tall*), *tuft* (*tuff*, the same, Scotch), *wart* (A.S. *wear*, 'callosity, knot, wart'; *ware*, Scotch, 'knot in a tree').

mm. *ot* (for *ock*): *ballot* (*ball*), *blot*, *clot*, *eyot* (or *ait*), *grots* (pronounced *grits*), *lot*, *maggot* (perhaps for *madock*, akin to Germ. *made*, and the precise representative of the A.S. *maðu* maggot), *rot*, *spigot* (*spike*), *spot* (= *speck*), *trot*.

This change of *k* to *t* may be illustrated by the double forms *apricock* and *apricot*, *bruckle* and *brickle* (Scotch), now corrupted among us, in spite of the word *break*, to *brittle*, the old sb. *make* and its modern representative *mate*, our ordinary verbs *leak*, *poke*, *slack* (lime), and the Somersetshire *leät*, *pooüt* or *pote*, *slait*.

But the sound *k* is always apt to interchange with the sibilant *ch* or *sh*. Of this we have the best evidence in the double forms which prevail in France, viz. *ch* in Paris, *c* in Picardy, &c., as *chat* and *cat*. Thus it often happens that we have by preference adopted the guttural forms in the Norman portion of our language, as *castle* (*château*), *captive* and *caitiff* (*chétif*), while not unfrequently we have the two forms existing together beside each other, as *chevalier* and *cavalier*, *cape* and *chief*, *bank* and *bench*. It is therefore noway surprising that among our Saxon stock we have both varieties coexisting, as *kirk* and *church*, *wake* and *watch*, *dike* and *ditch*, *twig* and *switch*. And so too our diminutival suffixes *ock* and *ick* have given place to sibilants, as—

of those primitive words which may be claimed as natives both by the Romance and the Teutonic languages.

* See below for the examination of this word.

nn. *ch*, as: *scratch* (from *scar*), *winch* (from *wind*, vb.), *blotch* (*blot*).

oo. *sh*, as: *wish* (from *will*, as the Germ. *wünsch-en* from *wollen*), *sulsh* vb. (Somersetsh. = *soil* vb.) and *slush* sb., *blueish*, *blackish*, *brackish*, &c., *frosh* (= *frog*), *brush*.

pp. *ass*, *ss*, as: *harass* (= *harrow* or *harry*, A.S. *herian*), *morass*.

Before leaving this division of the subject it may be useful to point to a few diminutival adjectives, which often fail to be recognized as such, viz. *any* (*einig*), *many** (*mannig*, now found only in compounds), and perhaps the German *wenig* may be the representative of our *minny* or *minnie*.

B. Diminutives formed with *el* and its varieties.

a. *el* (*al*, *il*, *ul*).

Gothic: *magu-s* 'boy,' *magula* 'little boy,' *fisk-s* 'fish,' *fiskila* 'little fish.'

Old Germ.: *lichamo* 'body,' *lichamilo* 'little body,' *purc* 'a fort,' *purgilâ* 'little fort.' (See D. G.)

Modern Germ.: *acht-el* 'eighth part,' *ärmel* 'sleeve,' *bündel* (bund), *dümpfel* 'puddle' (*dumpf*), *esel* (comp. our *ass*), *fessel* 'fetter,' *ferkel* 'young pig,' *gipfel* 'summit,' *kümmel* 'cummin,' *hügel* 'hillock,' *kettel* 'little chain' (*kette*), *lümme* 'lubber,' *merg-el* 'marl' (comp. *mark* 'marrow,' *i. e.* grease), *nabel* 'navel,' *nagel* 'nail,' *nebel* 'mist,' *nessel* 'nettle,' *schenkel* (comp. our *shank*) 'leg,' *stachel* 'stink,' *stöpfel* 'stopper,' *viert-el* 'fourth part,' *würfel* 'die.'

Austrian: *mann-el*, *weib-el*, *hund-el*, *äug-el*, *füess-el*, *mannl*, *weibl*, &c.

Tyrolese: *waibal*, &c.

English: *beetle*, *darnel*, *fennel*, *freckle*, *funnel*, *nail*, *navel*, *needle*, *nozzle*, *shovel*, *snail* (*snagge* in Sussex says Ray), *sorrel*, *speckle*, *spittle*, *thistle*, *throstle* (*thrush*), *thimble* (*thumb*), *wagtail* (corruption of *wachtel*), *weasel* (*vare* 'a species of weasel,' Somersetsh.), *weevil*, *wennel*, prov. 'a weaned calf,' &c.; adj. *little*, *mickle* or *muckle*, *evil*; vbs. *ramble* (*roam*), *mingle* (Scotch *mang*), *grumble*, *drawl* (*draw*), *role*, vb. (Scotch for *row*, J.).

But the liquid *l* in all languages is apt to interchange with its neighbour liquids, where the word neighbour is used in

* For the presence of such a suffix in a word denoting excess, see what is said below of the adj. *mickle*.

reference to the natural order of the liquids, namely, *r, l, n, ng, m*; *i. e.* the order in which the pronunciation passes from the back of the mouth to the front. Hence—

b. *er*, as :

Germ.: *bech-er, eit-er, fehl-er, fing-er, geif-er, had-er* ‘rag, wiping-clout’ (comp. *had-el* ‘a bunch of ears of corn’), *hamm-er, jamm-er, mard-er* (comp. our *marten*), *kumm-er, maser* (comp. our *measles* and the Lat. *macula*), *schlumm-er, splitt-er, wuch-er*. (These from Grimm, vol. ii. p. 122, who, however, abstains from assigning any special meaning to the suffix.) Many others might be added, as: *koff-er* (=Lat. *cofinus*, our *coffin* and *coffer*), *lager* or *luger* ‘bed,’ &c. (our *lair*), *mess-er* (in old Frisian and, I believe, Dutch, *mes*).

English: *adder, badger, beaker, beaver** (?), *bladder* (Germ. *blase*), *clover, dodder, fetter, finger, fresher* ‘a young *frog* or *frosk*’ (Suffolk), *fritter* ‘a small pancake’ (a full-sized one called *froize* in Suffolk), *garter* (*gird*; comp. Scotch *girten* or *gairtain*), *heather* (*heath*), *leather, otter, shoulder, splinter*; and the verbs *flatter* (from adj. *flat*; comp. *palpare* from *palma* ‘the flat hand’); *flitter* (*flit*), *simmer* (the primitive *sam* or *zam* ‘to heat for some time over the fire but not to boil,’ a Somersetsh. word), *slumber* (Scotch *sloom*), *quiver* (*quake*), *shiver* (*shake*), *clamber* (*climb*), *wander, whisper*.

c. *en†*:

Germ.: *besen* ‘besom or broom,’ *bissen* ‘bit,’ *boden* ‘bottom,’

* In dealing with this suffix especial caution is necessary, as it often denotes an agent, often a male. Thus the bird *diver* clearly means ‘one that dives.’ Hence the *beaver* may possibly have received his name from his habit of constructing, and so be derived from the German root *bau-en*, in which case it will be only a variety of the German *bauer*, our *boor*. Nor is this suggestion at variance with the indisputable fact that *beaver* represents the Latin *fiber*, for this may be but a variety of *faber*, in which case we should be brought to the same result. Instances of *er* as a suffix denoting the male of course abound. Thus *kater*, as signifying ‘a tom cat,’ has no title for admission among the German nouns in *er* which we have just quoted from Grimm. *Gand-er*, and perhaps the Latin *anser*, may also have a suffix possessed of this power. Still, in speaking of the two senses agent and male, we would not wish to oppose the doctrine that both these senses may result from the idea of ‘man’; *kater* ‘the man-cat,’ *diver* ‘the dive-man,’ formed as our *chap-man*.

† The diminutives in *et* may very possibly, more or less of them, have

bogen 'bow,' *bolzen* 'bolt, arrow,' *busen* 'bosom,' *daumen* (*daum*) 'thumb,' *degen* 'sword' (but in form our *dagger*), *faden* 'fathom,' *fohlen* 'foal,' *finken* (*fink*) 'finch,' *garten* 'garden,' *kloben* 'clue,' *kuchen* 'tart,' *magen* 'maw,' *stern* 'star,' *waffen* 'weapon,' *zeichen* 'token.'

Eng.: *batten* (*bat*), *garden*, *maiden*, *token*, and esp. *speken* 'a small spike,' besides *speke* 'a spike' (Suffolk), vb. *open*, *blacken*, *widen*, *hearken*, *listen*—add *weapon*, *reckon*, *beckon*, *senon* (Scotch) = *sinew*—and compressed; *bairn* (*bear*, vb.); *burn*, vb.; *burn*, sb. (= *brook*), *churn*, *corn*, *earn*, *fawn*, *fern*, *learn* (Germ. *lehr-en*, our *lore*), *mourn*, *run* (Somersetsh. *hir-n*), *shun* (Germ. *scheu-en*), *stern* (*steer*), *tarn*, *turn*, *warn* (*ware*, vb. obsol.).

Less frequently.

d. *em* (*om*), as:

Germ.: *athem* 'breath,' *schirm* (our *screen*), *warm* 'warm,' adj.; old Germ. *varam* 'fern.'

Eng.: *besom* or *broom*, *blossom* and *bloom* (*blow*, vb.), *bosom*, *bottom*, *fathom*, *film* (*fell* 'skin'), and perhaps *gleam*, *seam*, *team*, from the several verbs *glow*, *sew*, *tow*. Also *warm*.

The convertibility of the suffix *el* with *er* and *en* (occasionally *em* or *om*) appears tolerably evident from the actual cases which occur among the examples which have been cited, as: *fessel*, *fetter*; *kümmel*, *cummin*; *lümmel*, *lubber*; *stöffel*, *stopper*; *hader*, *hadel*; *marder*, *marten*; *koffer*, *coffin*; *degen*, *dagger*; *besen*, *besom*; *boden*, *bottom*; *busen*, *bosom*; *faden*, *fathom*; *varam* (old Germ.), *fern*.

Still more striking is the evidence when three varieties of one word are found to coexist, as in the case of *avel* 'beard of barley' (Moor's S.W.), the plural of which appears in Essex as *ails*, in Scotland and the North of England as *awns*, but generally as *awms*.

We have ventured to include in the lists which have been given the forms *little*, *mickle*, *evil*, in spite of the doubt ex-

grown out of *en*, seeing that the letters *n* and *t* are very commonly convertible. Thus *brisket* has also a provincial form *briskin*, and other examples may be cited. But the same form of suffix, *et*, is also convertible with *ec* (*eck*); and accordingly the examples of diminutives in *et* will be found above under another head.

pressed by Grimm (p. 687) as to the fitness of such a suffix to enter into a word which denotes greatness. For surely there can be no serious objection to softening the idea of greatness, as is so clearly the case in our conversational adjective *largish* for 'rather large.' Moreover, if we assign a diminutival power to the last syllable of *little* (Goth. *leitil*), *mickle* (Goth. *mikil*), *evil* (Goth. *ubil*), which last syllable is by all admitted not to be radical, we have at once an explanation of the fact that this syllable is dropped, when we form the comparatives and superlatives of those adjectives, for such a syllable would then be wholly out of place.

If then the suffixes of these three familiar adjectives have been rightly classed with the diminutives, the convertibility of the liquids *l* and *n* in this class of words receives confirmation from the varieties, Swed. *mycken*, Dan. *megen*, for *mickle*; Sw. *liten*, Dan. *liden*, for *little*. Nay, as I am writing, I hear a little gentleman (aged two) calling himself *licken Liel* (little Lionel).

This may perhaps be the most convenient place for a remark on the diminutival verbs, viz. that the idea of pettiness is in them accompanied by that of iteration. In the grammars of some languages this is broadly stated. Thus in Finnish (Vhael's Gr. p. 60), we are told that derivative verbs with the suffix *el* are habitually formed from simpler verbs with this double notion, as from *lasken* 'dimittere,' *laskelen* 'paulatim dimittere.' So we find in the same language (ibid. p. 66) *hyppelen* 'choreas ducere,' *kävelen* 'ambulare.' But the frequentative character of diminutival verbs is tolerably apparent of itself in *ransack*, *mimick*, *pluck*, *lurk*, *harass*, *worry*;—*ramble*, *gobble*; *wander*, *clamber*; *hearken*, *reckon*; *warm*, *gleam*. Even among substantives the suffix of diminution often implies at the same time something collective: as *gravel*, *shingle*; *darnel*, *sorrel*, *clover*, *dodder*; *fern*; *charlock*; *shamrock*; *farrow*; *vraik*, *silt*; *ivy*, *fry*.

Before proceeding to the suffix *ing* as employed to denote diminutives, we must recall attention to the valuable paper with which the fourth volume of our 'Proceedings' opens. It will be remembered that Mr. Kemble there explains over

three hundred geographical names in this island as formed by attaching the suffix *ing* to the name of a former owner of the property, and he contends that the principle may in fact be extended to the explanation of more than thirteen hundred such names. Thus his detailed list contains towns, &c. which seem to have for the first element such abbreviated Christian names as *Ben, Bill, Bob*, and such surnames as *Agg, Babb, Beard, Buck, Budd, Broad, Brett, Bright, Brown, Bunn, Bunt, Burt, Butt, Bird, Burr, Case, Cole, Dill, Dodd, Dunn, Hall, Home, Horn, Mann, Munn, Part, Peat, Pott, Read, Rust, Todd, Wase, Ware, White, Wren*, forms still more or less familiar in the pages of a modern Directory. In the examples to which we are now referring, the names have for their final element the Saxon representative of what we commonly write as *borough, burn, den, fold, ford, ham, hanger, hurst, land, ley, mead, meer, moor, stoke, street, ton, wick*. Thus the theory supported by Mr. Kemble, that the syllable *ing* is substantially a genitival suffix, gives a most intelligible interpretation of a vast number of the geographical terms distributed over the maps of England. But it may perhaps be objected that the theory is an over-bold one which supposes large towns such as *Warrington, Buckingham, Nottingham, Huntingdon, Chippenham, Twickenham, Farnham*, to have been the property of mere individuals. The answer is simple. As Christian names are given to individuals when they are infants, so what may be now a large city must have begun with being a solitary house, and of such solitary house the owner may well have been plain Mr. *Warre, Mr. Buck, Mr. Nott, Mr. Hunt, Mr. Copp, Mr. Tooke, or Mr. Farr*. But the argument is confirmed by the fact that our English word *town* (*-ton*) and the French *ville*, though now applied to large aggregates of buildings, had for their first meaning 'a farm-house.' Such was certainly the meaning of the Latin *villa*, and is the present use of the word *town* in Scotland. Again, it not unfrequently happens, as Mr. Kemble has pointed out, that the geographical name terminates with the syllable *ing*, without the addition of any of the substantives just enumerated; as, for example, *Worthing, Lancing, Reading, Tarring*,

Poling. This also admits of satisfactory explanation on the same theory, for nothing is more common than to speak of 'Mr. Smith's,' meaning his house; and thus the five names just enumerated tell us that early proprietors of the farms or houses, out of which they grew, were Mr. *Worth*, Mr. *Lance*, Mr. *Read*, Mr. *Tarr*, Mr. *Pole*.

It is felt, however, by some to be a difficulty in Mr. Kemble's theory that the Anglo-Saxon genitives of masculine nouns commonly end in *es*, not in *en* or *ing*. To me, this, so far from being a difficulty, is an advantage on which I greatly rely, for I have long contended for the ready convertibility of the letters *n* and *s* (see our own 'Proceedings,' vol. iii. pp. 50 and 51), and especially in the suffix of the genitive case, *ibid.* p. 55, where I have instanced the words *mensch-en-alter*, *hasen-lager*, *monden-licht*, as containing a genitival suffix in the first portion, as appears also in our own *Frier-n Barnett* compared with *Abbot's Langley*, *Leamington Prior's*. So also, as I stated in the same page, *mine* and *thine* are really genitives; and I might have added that the vulgarisms *hisn* and *hern* would never have established themselves but from a consciousness that the *n* was well qualified to perform the office of a genitival suffix.

But I find evidence in favour of the claim which the genitive case has upon the liquid *n* in the Anglo-Saxon declensions themselves. I do not here refer to the declension which Rask in his Grammar has honoured with the first place, for the syllable *an*, in one, if not more of the words collected under that head, really forms part of the crude form, viz. *naman* (Lat. *nomen*) 'name.' The error in the view propounded by Rask is precisely the same with that of the Latin grammarians, who fail to see that the nominatives *virgo*, *homo*, *ratio* have lost a final *n*, and so are unable to explain the forms *virgun-cula*, *homun-culus*, *ratiun-cula*. It is on the plural genitives of Rask's third declension that I rely: *sunen-a* 'filiorum,' *gifen-a* 'donorum.'

Nay, even Sanscrit scholars have been so blind to the connexion of this liquid with the genitive, that with abundant genitives plural in *n-am* before them, they have yet persisted

in appealing to the doctrine of epenthesis in order to account for the appearance of what they regard as an intruder.

Much in the same erroneous way it has been proposed at times to regard the *r* of *musarum* as an intrusive letter, whose sole office it is to prevent a disagreeable hiatus between the vowels *a* and *u*. Such a theory has been perhaps founded on the consideration of the Greek *μουσαων*. But here, as in many other cases, the Latin has the advantage of the Greek. The older form of the genitive plural no doubt was something like *musas-um*, *musas* being a singular genitive like *familias* (in *paterfamilias*), and *um* the symbol of plurality; for it is a common habit of language to form the plural cases of a noun by adding to the corresponding cases of the singular some element to denote plurality. But such a form would of course be modified according to the genius of each language. Thus the Latin, as usual, converts the *s* to an *r*, and the Greek, as usual, omits it altogether.

Moreover, in a question of this nature it is scarcely philosophic in Anglo-Saxon scholars, because the existing books of that language limit the *n* in the genitive to feminine nouns, to be stopped by this fact. Declension in its original forms must have been totally independent of gender, as completely so as prepositions are.

It is the more necessary to deal with this unphilosophical doctrine, as Grimm, in his chapter on diminutives, has repeatedly urged it. Thus, while he admits the suffix *chen*, or rather *ichen*, and others, to consist of two elements, he speaks of the *n* as something epenthetic or 'shoved in,' contending that it was first adopted in the oblique cases as an aid to declension, and then erroneously extended to the nominative.—See his remarks on the suffix *ilin* (pp. 667, 668), *clin* (pp. 670–672), *lin* or *len* (p. 674), *kin* or *chen* (p. 678), *in* (pp. 683, 684).

But there has been a difference of opinion among the members of our Society whether the suffix *ing*, as seen in such forms as *Reading*, *Buckingham*, may not constitute an adjective ('Proceedings,' iv. 83). To any such theory I would oppose a counter-theory, that our so-called adjectives in *en*

are themselves at bottom genitives. Thus, *flaxen*, *golden*, *wooden*, may well have been converted from genitives to adjectives, having originally signified 'of flax,' 'of gold,' 'of wood.' The metamorphosis of a substantive into an adjective is well seen in the Latin gen. *cujus*, subjected to the indignity of declension, as *cujus*, *cuja*, *cujum*. I have assumed in this argument that the suffixes *ing* and *en* may be regarded as substantially one. Thus I hold it to be of no material moment, that in one county of England we write *Buckingham*, in another *Buckenham*. Mr. Kemble too has pointed out that *Surrenden* in Kent represents the Anglo-Saxon *Swiðdrædingden*. The fact is, that such a secondary syllable so placed is unlikely to obtain a distinct utterance; and hence it is that we find it often still farther reduced, and sometimes wholly absorbed. Thus *Aspenden* in Hertfordshire is habitually pronounced *Aspeden*, and what was *Oxenford* is now *Oxford*. It is precisely in this way that the Anglo-Saxon *Sunnandæg* and old Scotch *Sonounday* have been compressed to *Sunday*. It is thus again that *iron* and *cotton* are used as adjectives (orig. genitives) in such phrases as *iron-railing*, *cotton-gown*; and even *leathern* will soon be superseded by *leather* used in the same sense. That *Sunday*, *Monday* must have once contained a genitive in the first element is supported not merely by the corresponding Latin forms *Solis dies*, *Lunae dies*, but also by the allied forms *Wednesday*, *Thursday*. Similarly the genitival origin of *Buckingham*, *Chippenham*, &c. receives confirmation from the accompanying forms, such as *Broxburn* (*Brock*), *Hoddesden* (*Hood*), *Wadesmill* (*Wade*).

But the ordinary use of the suffix *ing* is to form patronymics. True; and does not this fact confirm the theory that its original power was to form genitives? In $\Delta\eta\mu\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu\eta\varsigma$ δ $\Delta\eta\mu\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ the last word performs the office of patronymic. Again, in Wales nearly every surname is well known to have been at first a patronymic; yet these are but genitives, as *Davis* (*David's*), *Edwards*, *Evans*, *Harris* (*Harry*), *Hughes* (*Hugh*), *Jones* (*John*), *Richards*, *Roberts*, *Toms*, *Watts*, *Wills*, *Williams*. Of course when the Christian name already ended in *s*, it was

useless to add another, so that Christian and surname are blended in *Charles, James, Thomas**. It may be useful to observe that the Romans also had their genitives used as patronymics. Thus, while *Marcus, Quintus, Sextus, Decimus, Tullus, Atta*, correspond to our Christian names, as belonging to individual members of a family, so *Marcus, Quintus, Sextus, Septimius, Octavius, Nonius, Decimus, Tullius, Attius* came into use as surnames, and originally no doubt as patronymics; and indeed they copy *cujus* in the habit of declension, as *Tullia Lex, Octavia Porticus*. Again, we may as well point to the patronymics, which are plainly mere genitives, now current as surnames in Germany, *Ernesti, Jacobi, Matthiae, Pauli, &c.*

But if *ing*, originally a genitival suffix, be well adapted for the formation of patronymics, the passage from a patronymic or child to a diminutive is easy. Thus when Jamieson argued for the identity of the suffix *kin* in *lambkin* with the word *kin* or *kind* 'a child,' he put forward a doctrine which had in it much that was plausible, although the preponderance of evidence must decide us to reject his theory.

But it is time that we pass from discussion about the form and origin of *ing* to instances of its occurrence in diminutives; and first as a solitary suffix unaided by the suffix *el*.

c. *-ing*; as Germ.: *ferd-ing*, 'farthing'; *häring*, 'herring'; *lemming* (the *Mus lemming*, Linn.); *niding* (or *nidget*), 'a base fellow'; together with some fifty words where this suffix is preceded by *el* ('l), so as to constitute the syllable *ling*.

Eng.: *whiting, bunting, herring, gelding, farthing, lording, riding* (division of Yorkshire), *tithing, shilling* (A.S. *scill, scilling*), *morning, evening, sweeting*.

The evident derivation of *farthing* and *tithing* from *fourth* and *tithe* or *tenth*, goes far to prove that *riding* is but a corruption of *thrid-ing*, from *third*, the *th* having been absorbed in the prefixed words *north, east, and west*. Indeed *northriding* should be divided into *nor-thriding*, for *nor* is the simpler word, as seen or heard in *Nor-way, Nor-man, Nor-folk, Nor-west, &c.*, and *nor-th* is but a derivative from it.

* See also above the series *Dawkins, Edkins*.

Perhaps we ought here to introduce a suffix *en*, as growing out of, or rather only another form, and perhaps an older form of *ing*. Thus *farthing* with the vulgar is often *farden*. But we have already given the suffix, as being a variety of *el*. See examples under that head.

We next proceed to the consideration of compound diminutival suffixes, in which two or even more elements make a contribution to the idea of smallness:—

D. *kin*=*ock*+*in*, Eng.; *chen*, German =*ich*+*en*.

This is justly regarded by Grimm as made up of a guttural and a nasal element, such as we have above classed under the heads *ock* and *en*. But the full form is perhaps best seen in the Gaelic. The simple diminutival suffixes in this language are *ach*, *ag*, and *an*, which are often united in the uncorrupted form *ach-an* or *ag-an*. Thus we find from—

<i>bata</i> , a cudgel or bat	<i>batachan</i> , a little staff.
<i>bàta</i> , a boat	<i>bàtadhan</i> , a little boat.
<i>be-ach</i> , a bee	<i>beachan</i> , a little bee.
<i>cuach</i> , a cup	<i>cuachan</i> , a little cup.
<i>curach</i> , a wicker boat	<i>curachan</i> , a little coracle.
<i>duine</i> , a man	<i>duineachan</i> , a mannikin.
<i>eun</i> , a bird	<i>eunachan</i> , a little bird.
<i>goblag</i> , a small fork, or } <i>goblach</i> , adj. forked }	<i>goblachan</i> , an earwig.
<i>gunna</i> , a gun	<i>gunnachan</i> , a little gun.
<i>leum</i> , to leap	<i>leumachan</i> , a frog.
<i>meur</i> , a finger	<i>meuragan</i> , a thimble.
<i>pòca</i> , bag, pocket	<i>pòcachan</i> , a little pocket.
<i>pus</i> , a cat	<i>pusachan</i> , a whining boy.
<i>ron</i> , a seal, sea-calf	<i>ronachan</i> , (a fellow like) a sea-calf.
<i>sgàil</i> , shade	<i>sgàileagan</i> *, a fan or umbrella.
<i>sgall</i> , baldness	<i>sgallachan</i> *, a bald-headed person.
<i>sguab</i> , a besom	<i>sguabachan</i> *, a little besom.
<i>teine</i> , fire	<i>teineachan</i> , a small fire.
<i>uan</i> , a lamb	<i>uanachan</i> , a little lamb.

It will be here seen that the suffixes *ach* and *an* are clearly

* Intermediate forms are *sgàleag*, a little shade, veil, parasol, umbrella; *sgallach*, bald; *sguabag*, a little besom. Comp. with *sguab*, the English *swab*, and Latin *scopae*.

independent of each other, for example, in the instances of *beach*, *cuach*, and *curach*, where the simple roots are not to be found in the language. So also from *boc*, a buck, *loch*, a lake, *cnap*, a knob, are deduced the diminutives *bochan*, *lochan*, *cnapan*; and again there occur *caile*, a (coarse) girl, *caileag*, a little girl, lassie; *cam*, crooked, *camag*, a curl, a crook, &c.; *gobhal*, a fork, *gobhlag*, a little fork. Again, it happens at times that the suffix *an* precedes the other. Thus beside *leum-ach-an*, a frog, there exists *leum-n-ach*, of the same meaning.

In Scotch and English too, the forms in *ock* and *ick* often have an existence independent of the forms in *kin*. Examples of the former we have already seen.

The following table of words in *ikin* or *kin** is made up from Mr. Lewis's paper, and from those which occur in Jamieson, with a few additions from other sources.

I. APPELLATIVES.

1. aughtikin, J.	19. griskin, L.	36. nipprikin, J.
2. bodkin, L.	20. hudkin, M.	37. pannikin, M.
3. bootikin, L.	21. hulken, M.	38. pipkin, L.
4. brakkins, J.	22. jerkin, L. <i>a</i> .	39. prettikin, J.
5. brotikin, L.	23. jerkin, L. <i>b</i> .	40. pumpkin, L.
6. bulkin, M.	24. kilderkin, L.	41. roddikin, J.
7. bumpkin, L.	25. kinken, J.	42. siskin, L.
8. buskin, L.	26. lakin, L.	43. slammikin, L.
9. cannikin, J.	27. lambkin, L.	44. slibrikin, J.
10. catkin, L.	28. malkin <i>or</i> maul-	45. smirikin, J.
11. ciderkin.	kin, L.	46. smootrikin, J.
12. cutikins, L.	29. mannikin, L.	47. smulachin, J.
13. finikin, L.	30. memerkyn, J.	48. spillikin, L.
14. firkin, L.	31. minikin, L.	49. thumbikin, L.
15. flichen, J.	32. muskin.	50. toopikin, J.
16. flindrikin, J.	33. mutchkin, J.	51. weerikins, J.
17. girkin, L.	34. nadkin, J.	52. whinkens, J.
18. grimalkin, L.	35. napkin, L.	

* Such forms as *wyfockie*, *lassickie*, are but corruptions of *wyfockin*, *lassickin*; so that they call for no special consideration. Still the full forms in *kin* seem entitled to a place in our list.

II. PROPER NAMES: properly Christian names, but sometimes Surnames, especially with an added *s*.

Dawkin	from	Davy.	Malkin	from	Mal or Mol.
Dickin	—	Dick.	Peterkin	}	— Peter.
Edkin(s)	—	Ed(ward).	or Perkin		
Hawkin	—	Hal.	Popkin	—	Bob.
Higgin	—	Hugh.	Sawkin	—	Sal.
Hodgkin	—	Hodge.	Simpkin	—	Simeon §.
Hopkin	—	Hob.	Timkin	—	Tim.
Jenkin	—	Jean*.	Tomkin	—	Tom.
Larkin	—	Larry †.	Watkin	—	Wat.
Lukin	—	Luke ‡.	Wilkin	—	Will.

The following remarks will be easily referred to the items of the first Table:—

1. An eighth part of a barrel or half-firkin, from *aucht*, 'eight.'
2. Probably from our verb *bore*, the Latin analogue of which appears as *forare*, *fodere*, *fossa*. *Bodkin*, in Shakspeare's *Hamlet*, is a dagger, a word which, as well as the German *degen*, comes from the verb *dig*.
3. The instrument of torture.
4. The remains of a feast, the fragments.
5. = Fr. *brodequin*.
6. A young bull, Moor's 'Suffolk Words,' under 'pannikin.'
7. From *boom*, a tree; comp. blockhead.
8. Perhaps a variety of *bootikin*. 11. Poor cider, Johnson.
13. Splatterdashes, from *cute*, ankle.
14. A fourth part of a barrel, from *four*, weakened by the umlaut.
15. An atom, akin to the German *fleck*.
16. One who flitters about.
17. From a sb., such as the Germ. *gurke* or Eng. *gourd*.
18. i. e. *gris malkin*; see 'malkin,' below.
19. From *grice* or *gris*, a pig. But this is scarcely satisfactory. Is it connected with *gristle*?
20. A little hood or hat for the finger, a finger-stall.
21. A piece of skin, Moor's 'Suffolk Words,' perhaps from G. *hull*, a husk or shell.
22. A jacket, connected with the Dutch *jurk*, a frock.

* Or perhaps John.

† i. e. Lawrence.

‡ Or Lewis.

§ or Simon, or possibly Samuel.

23. A hawk; comp. *geier*, a hawk or vulture, Germ., and our *ger-falcon*.

24. From *kilder=vas*.

25. A small barrel; perhaps the same as *cannikin*.

26. 'By'r lakin,' in Shakspeare, *i. e.* 'by our ladikin,' meaning the Virgin Mary.

28. Of many senses, as: *a.* little Mal or Mol, *i. e.* Mary; *b.* a dirty maid-servant; *c.* a mop or clout for cleaning ovens; *d.* a name for 'pussy,' as Tom with us for a male cat,—hence *grimalkin*, first a cat, then a hobgoblin; *e.* a hare, in Scotland.—The doctrine of Hanmer, as quoted by Mr. Lewis, that 'a mop made of clouts for sweeping ovens,' was the earlier meaning, and that of 'a dirty wench' derived from it, is upset by the recollection of other instances where we apply the name of a servant &c. to what performs the office of a servant &c., as a dolly, *i. e.* a washing machine, a jack or bottle-jack, a footman, a dumb-waiter, a housewife *i. e.* needle-book.

30. See Jamieson. 31. Very little, esp. a little pin.

32. A tit-mouse.

33. Compared by J. with a Swed. *maatt*, a pint.

34. A foul smell, says J., perhaps a nosegay ironically, and so from *nose*.

35. From Fr. *nappe*; but this must have been thoroughly naturalized before taking the Saxon suffix.

36. A small bit, from *nip*, the same.

37. A little pan for warming pap, Moor's 'Suffolk Words.'

38. From *pipe*. 39. A little trick, from *prattik*, a trick.

40. From a sb. = the Germ. *pompe*, gourd.

41. The fourth stomach of a ruminating animal, from *reid*, the same. 42. A bird, so called, perhaps = Germ. *süsschen*.

43. A drab or slovenly woman, akin to the Germ. *schlamm*, dirt, and our *slime*; in Jennings' Glossary spelled *slomaking*.

44. 'Slibbrikin mouse,' a fondling term, probably meaning 'sleek,' and akin to our *slippery* and *slip*, as also to the Latin *lubricus* and *labi*.

45. Or *smurachin*, a stolen kiss,—qu. from the Scotch vb. *smure*, smother or suppress.

46. 'Smootrikin mouse,' a fondling term.—See Jamieson.

47. Puny, akin to the Gael. *smeileach*, pale, *smeilean*, a puny or pale creature.

48. From *spill*, a splinter. 49. Instrument of torture.

50. A pinnacle, from *top*. 51. Or *whirkins*, posteriors?, J.
52. Flummery.

I have not thought it desirable to give any list of German nouns in *chen*, as the language swarms with them.

E. *ling* = *el* + *ing*.

In German the number is too great for enumeration here.

Engl.: *bantling*, a child in swaddling bands, *changeling*, *chitterlings* (Germ. *kuttel*, the same), *darling* (*dear*), *duckling*, *dumpling* (*dough?*), *easterling*, 'of the east country,' *firstling* (of a flock), *fondling*, *foundling*, *gosling*, *grayling*, *hireling*, *inkling**, *kitling* (prov. for 'kitten'), *lordling*, *nestling*, *nurseling*, *overling* (*oferlyng* in the ballad of 'Richard of Almaine,' Percy, vol. ii.), *popeling*, 'Roman Catholic,' *porkling*, *sanderling*, a bird frequenting sea-sands, *sapling*, *scantling*, *seedling*, *starling* (= *stare*), *sterling*, a little coin marked with a *star*, *stripling*, *suckling*, *underling*, *westling*, 'of the west country,' *witling*, *yearling*†.

F. *let* = *el* + *et*.

armlet, (*bracelet*), *circlet*, (*corslet*), *croset*, *eyelet*, *gimblet*, *hamlet*, (*islet*), *martlet*, *pikelet*, *ringlet*, *rivulet*, *rootlet*, *runlet*, *springlet*, *streamlet*, *tartlet*‡.

G. *rel* = *er* + *el*.

cockerel, *mackerel*, *pickerel*.

Some of the words belonging to the class *-let* have been placed within brackets as of French origin. Yet *islet* may be only a blunder for *ey-let*, as *island* is for *ey-land*. *Mackerel* (*macquereau*) is probably a northern rather than a native French word; but how has *rivulet* found its way into our language?

These double diminutives are the more entitled to separate consideration, because it is probable that in many cases they are not built up by successive additions of single suffixes, but formed at once from the root-syllable by the addition of what was regarded by the originator of the word as a simple suffix, though in truth a double one. Thus it might be permitted even now to form new diminutives in *ling* and *let*, but scarcely so in *ing* and *et*.

* See my Paper on *inkling*, in Philolog. Soc. Trans. 1857.

† This collection is almost wholly from Mr. Lewis's paper above referred to.

‡ Mr. Herbert Coleridge's Paper on *-let* is in the Society's Trans. for 1857.

But it is not merely a double expression that satisfies the love of diminutives. In Aberdeenshire, where by the way the power of inventing new diminutives at pleasure is so thoroughly a living principle, that you may hear talk of a *caterpillarie*, the love of accumulating diminutive upon diminutive leads to such combinations as ‘sic a bonnie little wee bit lassickie.’ Here, if our fingers are not guilty of miscounting, the idea of smallness is expressed seven times; and it is not for a Scotchman to laugh at *sacc-l-in-ch-in** (Grimm, D. G. iii. p. 682), ‘a wee wee wee sack’; or at

es-el-in-ch-il-in (*ibid.* p. 681), a donkey whose smallness needs the fifth power to express it.

A correct estimate of the syllables employed to express diminution must be of material value to the etymologist. In the first place it will guard him in many cases from being misled by erroneous derivations and even erroneous spelling. Had Johnson compared *shallow* with the many adjectives of like suffix, *callow*, *hollow*, *yellow*, &c., he would not have committed the error of explaining it as a compound of *shoal* and *low*; *rullocks* or *rowlocks* would not have been divided, as it often is, so as to make the second element *locks*; and a false, though tempting etymology would not have corrupted *wacht-el* into *wagtail*.

The word *mammet*, defined in Todd’s Johnson as ‘a puppet, a figure dressed up,’ has been amusingly dealt with in the way of etymology. Dr. Johnson’s own derivation, from *mamma*, is sufficiently unsatisfactory, but not so glaringly absurd as the doctrine that it is abbreviated from *Mahomet*, for no form of religion was ever more free than Mohammedanism from any trace of idol-worship. The right course would have been to connect the word with *mammock*, as *gobbet* with *gabbock*, *emmet* with *emmock*, *gimlet* with *gemlich*. Indeed Jennings gives us ‘*mommet* or *mommick*,’ a Somersetshire term for ‘a scarecrow, something dressed up in clothes to personate a human figure.’ Again, in one of the

* It should be observed that Grimm treats the *n* whenever it enters into those words, as something intrusive. But this is a point which has already been considered.

passages quoted in the above-mentioned lexicon, the word *mommets* has the qualifying words, 'consisting of raggs and clowts compact together.' This brings us very near to the ordinary meaning of the noun *mammoth*, which in the same work is defined 'a shapeless piece,' while the vb. *mammoth* is 'to tear, to break, to pull to pieces.' *Mommacks* in Jennings, and *mammoth*s in Cocker are explained as 'pieces, fragments,' while Milton speaks of 'scraps and mammoth's.' With these facts before us, may we not start from the verb *maim**, from which the Scotch have deduced a diminutival verb *mank* 'to maim, to wound,' as well as an adjective *mank* 'deficient' (identical no doubt with the Latin *manco*-)? Thence by the addition of a second diminutival suffix comes *mangle* 'to tear.' Again, starting from the primitive *maim* we have a legitimately formed noun in *mammoth*, *mommack*, &c.; and a scarecrow is little more than a bundle of rags arranged to imitate a human being. The main objection to this explanation is that a scarecrow ought then to be represented by a plural. But in fact the bundle of rags so collected forms a new unit, and when such is the case, the symbol of plurality is soon discarded. Thus, for example, *bigae* (properly *bijugae* sc. *equae*) soon gave way to a singular *biga* 'a chariot'; and while Terence, Varro, Virgil and Columella wrote *rastra* or *rastri* 'a rake,' in allusion to its many teeth, the later writers, as Seneca and Pliny, employed the singular.

Again, the fact that in different provinces different suffixes of diminution are attached to the same root-syllable, may be turned to account in etymology. Thus, what we call *sorrel* is to a Scotchman *sourock*; and a comparison of the two forms leads us undoubtedly to regard *sor* or *sour* as the root-syllable, in which we readily detect the familiar adjective 'sour,' so well adapted to characterize the plant; and if the belief needed confirmation, it would be found in the Somersetshire *sour-dock* (A.S. *scearp-docce*), a literal translation of the botanical name 'Rumex acetosus.'

It is especially instructive to place beside each other those

* Even *maim* is probably a diminutive of *mow* (A.S. *maw-an*); at any rate its fuller form was *mayhem*.

diminutives which to a common root attach sometimes the suffix *ock*, sometimes *en*, as *tarrock* and *tern**, *brook* and *burn*, *brake* and *fern*, *morrow* and *morn*, *glach* (Gael.) and *glen*. As regards the last of these we find the simple root in *gill*, a word to be found not merely, as some have said, in the northern parts of England, but equally in our southern counties, as, for example, in the 'Devil's Gill' on the borders of Surrey and Sussex.

And here it may be useful to say a few words on the general principle which was assumed in treating those monosyllabic words which begin or end with two consonants, I mean the doctrine that such words are generally compressed from disyllabic forms. Independently of the evidence found in individual cases, it seems a fair inference from the fact that most nations find it impossible to pronounce such words otherwise than as of two syllables, though written as one; and indeed, even an Englishman, if he carefully examine his own utterance, will find some slight vowel-sound intervening between the two consonants. Thus *Villikins* (setting aside the initial consonant) is a more legitimate form than the favoured *Wilkins*. Again, it is a well-known fact that missionaries, who have to deal with untutored barbarians, often find it essential to treat the proper names of the New Testament in this way, so, for example, as to write *Ecarisito*, *i. e.* five syllables in lieu of one. But it may be objected to what is now said, that the suggestion of disyllabic forms was carried even beyond these limits, for example, in the instances of *lock†*, *rack*, *nook*. The principle which led me to include these words with the rest was the belief that in a large number of cases an initial liquid has lost a preceding consonant. This is almost demonstrably the case as regards an initial *r* in the Latin language. So again the Latin words *natus*, *nosco*, *nitor* are known historically to have been originally written in the forms

* The words may still be identical though applied to birds somewhat different. Thus *wachtel* is 'a quail' to a German, a 'water-wagtail' to an Englishman. Names in the early stages of society are applied with a latitude which is shocking to modern science.

† Of course *ck* is to the ear but one consonant.

gnatus, gnosco, gnitor; and we may make a similar assumption for *nodus* when we see the English *knot*. For the *l*, although here also the Latin language would lend me support, I will confine my remarks to the very word *lock* as applied to wool or hair. This is but the word *floccus* of Latin, and is identical with the English *flock* (a *flock-bed*), *fluff*, *flue*, and *flake* (of snow). The word *flake* as used in the phrase 'it came off in flakes,' is of course a very different word from the *flake* (of snow). The idea is now something flat, as it is also in *fluke* or *flue* (of an anchor), *fluke* (the worm), *flook* (any flat fish in Scotland), *floe* (ice-field).

My next example shall start from a root-syllable, and proceed thence to various developments, in which my matter is chiefly collected from Jamieson. The Scotch *gab*, Gael. *gob*, as signifying 'the beak of a bird,' became a contemptuous term for the human mouth in talking, as in our phrase 'the gift of the *gab*,' 'hold your *gab*,' and the derived terms *gabble*, *jabber*, *gibberish*. But the mouth has a still more important office. Thus the dim. *gabbie* or *gebbie* is a Scotch name for the crop of a fowl, where the change of meaning is paralleled by that of *stomach*, which, as its Greek form tells us, must originally have meant 'the mouth'; and indeed the Latin use of the word *stomachus* for 'the oesophagus,' exhibits the meaning in its transitional state. *Gabcock* or *gobbet* is 'a mouthful or morsel.' Here again we have a change of meaning from that which contains to that which is contained; but this is only what is seen in the phrase 'a glass of wine,' meaning a glassful. Further, we find *gab-stick* or *gob-stick* for 'a wooden spoon,' where the notion of wooden is little out of place, seeing that the very word *spoon* in its Icelandic form *spann* means 'a sliver of wood.' The diminutive *gebbie* might well be reduced to *gib*, as *Jemie* to *Jem* or *Jim*. Now *gib* (*g* hard), says Jamieson, is the name for 'the beak' of a male salmon; and *gib* (with the sibilant *g*) is by ourselves applied apparently to the mouth in the expression 'the cut of his *gib*'; or if this be really a simile from the form of a ship's head, we have still the same idea, as witness the Latin *rostrum*, at once 'the beak of a

bird' and 'the beak of a ship.' But the beak of a bird, considered in the habit of pecking, suggests in many languages a word to denote any of the pecking or picking instruments. Thus the Latin *upupa* signified first the bird hoopoe and then a pickaxe, so that Tindarus, in the 'Captivi' of Plautus, consoles himself under his troubles with a play on the two senses, and for once we are enabled to preserve the joke in the English translation by the twofold meaning of our term *crow*. Similarly the Scotch appear to have obtained from this root *gibble*, 'a tool,' *giblet*, 'any small iron tool,' *gemlick* or *gemblet*, 'a gimblet.' But one prong being for most purposes insufficient, two were commonly adopted, and thus we get what an Englishman now calls 'a fork,' but formerly called 'a gable' (still preserved in the expression *gable-end* of a house). Here the Gaelic goes with us in the form *gobhal*, 'a fork.' Add yet another diminutival suffix and we have the Scotch *gavelock*, 'an iron crow or lever,' while the Gaelic has, what is virtually identical, *gobhlag*, 'a small fork' (but also a hay- or dung-fork). This trisyllabic *gavelock* slips, by an easy process, into *gellock* or *gulock*, 'an iron crow-bar.' Such a crow-bar, as Jamieson observes, often ends in two teeth, useful perhaps for prising the lid of a box where a nail presents itself. Be this as it may, the idea of a fork is clearly seen when *gellock* denotes 'an earwig,' a word which must not be confounded with *golach*, 'a beetle.' The Gaelic still adds a third suffix of smallness, so that we have *goblach-an*, 'an earwig,' or 'a person sitting astride on horseback,' which reminds me that the first diminutive *gobhal*, like our own term 'fork,' is used to signify the 'regio perinæi.' The same triple diminutive is also used in Gaelic in the phrase *goblachan-gaoithe*, 'the swallow' (with its forked tail). Jamieson has also noticed the connexion between the Scotch *gavelock* and the A.S. *gafeloc*, 'a spear,' as well as the French *javelot* and Eng. *javelin*. If the idea of 'a fork' enters into these words, it must be in the inverted form, the spear ending of course in one spike, but having two barbs turned the other way, by which a wound becomes much more serious. But probably the more correct view is to connect these with the original meaning, so that one spike will be enough.

I will conclude this part of the subject with the remark, that in the examination of English diminutives, as in other inquiries connected with this language, there is abundant evidence that our Saxon, or to use a more correct, because a more general term, our Teutonic ancestors, brought with them, not one, but many dialects, so that the English language, whether it be a misfortune, or perhaps the reverse, can put forward but a poor claim to homogeneity.

P.S. Where so many words have been considered or suggested for consideration, no doubt there are errors ; but these, unless they be numerous, will not affect the general conclusions. Moreover, what strikes a reader at first sight as erroneous, may perhaps be regarded in a different view, when due allowance is made for the following considerations. A diminutival word may have been well constructed in reference to its original use, and yet subsequently applied where the suffix is no longer appropriate. Thus the Greek name for 'a sparrow' was eventually made to include 'the ostrich,' and that for 'a lizard' was afterwards employed for 'the crocodile.' Thus too the words *circle* and *orbit* possess, each of them, one if not two suffixes of diminution, yet we are allowed to talk of 'great-circle sailing,' and 'the earth's orbit round the sun.' Again, the terms *great* and *small* are after all but relative, so that the one or other term may be appropriate according to the point of view, or, to express the idea more suitably, according to the scale by which we measure. Thus Gulliver was a giant among Lilliputians, a dwarf at Brobdignag. What can be more startling than to find among the alleged diminutives in *ock*, the word *pellock*, 'a porpoise'; for the porpoise, both in our own and other languages, is a favourite simile for a corpulent person. Yet when we look at the great bulk of the words which share the termination, we have irresistible evidence as to the power of the syllable *ock*. But the difficulty, first raised, disappears, as soon as we are told that Scotch fishermen look upon porpoises as young whales. Here we happen to have an historical explanation of the difficulty. We cannot always hope to be so fortunate.

XXI.—ON THE AFFINITIES BETWEEN THE LANGUAGES OF THE NORTHERN TRIBES OF THE OLD AND NEW CONTINENTS. BY LEWIS KR. DAA, Esq., of Christiania, Norway.

[*Read December the 20th.*]

That the Straits of Behring and the Aleutian Islands connect the continental masses of the Old and the New World by two natural bridges, easily crossed even by the rudest of savages, is a geographical probability, the historical importance of which does not depend merely on conclusions derived from an inspection of the map of the globe. It is an authenticated fact, that the Russians, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, were told, by the native Siberians, of the great continent lying to the east of Kamschatka, long before any European voyage of discovery had demonstrated, that America, by its configuration, approached so closely to Asia, that the passage from one continent to the other was nothing more than a drive in a sledge over the ice, or a coasting voyage from island to island, performable by even the rudest canoe. Further to the south, the crossing of the Pacific is so well assisted by regular oceanic currents from W. to E., as to have been performed in several instances by Japanese fishermen, who have been carried safely over in small boats, almost without provisions, from their own country to California.

There is then an extreme probability that, in the course of ages, the Pacific ocean has been repeatedly crossed by individuals from the opposite shore of Asia. But it is also probable, from the habits of the Asiatics, averse to commercial navigation, that all these voyages were performed by only a few persons in each instance; more often, perhaps, against their own will. It is as well-settled a fact that no Asiatic immigration into America has ever been strong enough to found, either by settlement or by conquest, an Asiatic community, or a state with properly Asiatic manners and polity, in the New World. The social state of the American Indians at the time of Columbus was so far original, that the more recent settlers from Asia, if such there have been, can only

have mixed as absorbable and subordinate elements with the population already established in the New World. If these aborigines also be derived from Asia, there is an increased probability that their settlement, occurring during a period of still more imperfect navigation, and composed of the hunting or fishing tribes on the eastern coasts of Siberia, must have consisted merely in the drifting over of single families, just fit to form the nucleus of roaming bands of hunters or fishermen, such as indeed occupied the whole northern portion of America at the time of the discovery.

In the defect of credible traditions of these facts, the only available clue to the elucidation of the past, is the comparison of those languages of America and Asia that are found in the closest geographical contact. From the very beginning of ethnological research, this way of investigation has indeed been pursued, and it very soon led to the recognition of the identity of one American nation with one Asiatic—the Eskimo with the Tshuktshi. The further development of this discovery was however arrested, not merely by the endless variety of American tribes and their dialects—which rather proved too much, viz. that the American Indians are as diversified mutually as they are when compared with the inhabitants of Asia—but by the want of complete and scientific data about any of the languages, either of America or of Siberia, that might be used as starting-points for the comparison.

This defect has, however, in our days of sudden accumulation of facts, been in a great measure remedied. The labours of Mr. Castrèn on the languages of the widely-spread Samoyed nation, have connected it with all the well-known and most important branches of the Finnic and Altaic stock in the Old World—a conclusion that may be considered indisputable, after having been advanced by this profound scholar, himself belonging to one of the principal Finnic nations. The Samoyed language, as now made known, will further be found to offer striking resemblances with all the other dialects of Siberia that were considered unconnected by the author of the *Asia Polyglotta*, viz. the Yeniseyan, the Koriak, the Yukagir, and the Kamtshadal. Thus we are able

to recognize one continuous chain of kindred tribes along the whole length of the Arctic coasts in the Old World, from the North Cape on the Atlantic to the East Cape on Behring's Straits.

In the mean time the indefatigable exertions of American linguists have multiplied the stores of information about the aborigines of their own continent. Among these labours the work of Mr. Riggs on the Dakota Language stands pre-eminent for fulness of information and general literary merit. It may be presumed that such excellent productions will encourage other individuals in as favourable circumstances for observation as Castrèn and Riggs, to publish similar expositions of languages likely to serve as closer links between Asia and America, although philology can never expect to engage in her service more profound thinkers and more ardent votaries than those men. When I became acquainted with these latest advances of linguistic knowledge, I felt convinced that they contained facts sufficient to admit of a close comparison being made between the languages of Northern Asia and America; and I thought that such an attempt might not be without utility, as a practical proof of the amount of evidence that might be gathered from the present stores, for forming conclusions on very important points of the history of our species. The result of this comparison between the rude languages of these tribes of savages shows a series of resemblances analogous to, but yet different from, those that have been found to obtain among the celebrated languages of the great civilized nations. This similitude and discrepancy seems to stand in an exact proportion to the wide gulph that separates the few families or individuals forming a tribe of hunters, from the millions of men that are comprehended in any of the civilized communities or populations of Asia or Europe.

When language is confined to the daily use of a family or a small knot of acquaintance, it stands in a quite contrary relation to the linguistic usages of men, to what it does when it is the common medium that combines millions of human beings. In the latter case, the individual license in changing

the adopted sounds and significations of words, by which novelties of speech are introduced, is continually checked by the impossibility of making all such unnecessary changes comprehensible to the mass of those who speak. Thus we see that in the present English and French languages, this license of adding to what is the common property of millions in both hemispheres, is a privilege for only a few distinguished inventors of new things, or authors of widely-read books. The power of changing language is so much repressed, that it can only be observed by comparing two remote periods of the history of the language; just as you observe geological changes by considering generations as merely a single day. The habit of speaking distinctly is then kept up and cultivated as a necessary means of being comprehended by the many unknown persons you continually meet with.

In a small island in the South Sea, or among an insignificant tribe in the wilds of America or Siberia, the facility of changing language may easily be conceived to be next to unbounded. Everybody who speaks must be understood, because his hearers almost know beforehand what he is to say. The most arbitrary changes of language are thus introduced continually, as may be proved historically.

Almost all those languages that are spoken by nations living either in a natural (geographical) isolation, or in an arbitrary and artificial one, want a great number of letters. For one letter in one dialect, is substituted another letter in the next; because every word is as well understood whether you pronounce it with the letter *r*, or *l*, or *v*. Accidental and individual defects of utterance are thus changed into national peculiarities, and a general indistinctness of pronunciation is introduced. The sounds that are hardly perceptible to a stranger, will, among close relatives, appear sufficiently intelligible. A few examples will suffice to show the immense extent to which this practice is carried, and its vast influence upon the languages of all petty tribes.

In the dialects of Oregon, according to Hale (U. S. Expl. Exp.), the way of speaking is so indistinct, that those who wrote down the words he was to arrange, could hardly hear

any difference between the letters *v*, *b*, and *m*; likewise none between *n* and *d*.

Fabricius states that the females in Greenland pronounce *k* at the end of words as *ng*, and *t* as *n*.

The Polynesian languages in the South Sea (U. S. Expl. Exp.) admit only thirteen consonants:—*f*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *ng*, *p*, *s*, *t* (*h*, *r*, *w*). Yet, imperfect as is this alphabet, scarcely one single dialect admits the first ten of these.

The Samoan wants *k*.

The Tongan changes *s* to *h*.

The New Zealand changes *s* to *h*; *l* to *r*; *f* to *w*.

In Hawaiian *f* and *s* are changed to *h*; *ng* becomes *n*; *k* is dropped.

“The Mohawk and the Huron (Iroquois) are in a sad state of privation, having none of the labials—neither *b*, *p*, *f*, *v*, nor *m*. When conversing, their teeth are always visible. The auxiliary office usually performed by the lips, is transferred or superadded to that of the tongue and throat. So violent a change in the mode of articulation has naturally produced as violent a change in their language, and given it at least the appearance of a mother tongue.” Howse, Cree Gr. p. 317.

In the dialects spoken on the coast of the Pacific ocean, extending from the British possessions, through the Mexican, down to the Peruvian, languages, several letters seem to have been changed into that uncouth clicking or clashing sound expressed by *tl* or *txl*, and described by Håle as incredibly harsh and indistinct. This sound is moreover added to any noun as the most fit termination.

The strange practices of mutilating the nose and the lips must have contributed a great deal to disfigure the enunciation of language itself. The insertion of one or more large pieces of wood into incisions in the lips or the nose, still practised on the Pacific coast (Tr. Geogr. Soc. vol. ii. p. 218), and from which custom a tribe is called *Nez Percé*, was no doubt more frequent formerly, as we see that all such cruel absurdities as tattooing, flattening the heads of children, &c., are the first prejudices a Savage abandons when he comes in contact with the Whites (Hooper, Tents of the Tuski, p. 270).

These mutilations would evidently make it next to impossible to pronounce any labial consonant, and they would in return introduce a nasal articulation. Now, a paucity of labial, and a superfluity of nasal, sounds, is just what we observe in many American languages.

Similar permutations of letters of course happen among all languages of the world, and in fact form the basis and the principal means by which the differences in language are produced. But only among those nations who lead an isolated life are these changes so violent, as to appear to separate tribes, that evidently, from their general habits and manners, must be very closely related. Thus the Dakotas, forming only a nation of 25,000 individuals, are split into tribes divided by such considerable differences of dialect as these:— one tribe changes *d* into *t*, and *h* into *r*; another changes *h* into *k*; a third changes *h* into *g*; with a fourth *d* is altogether rejected, and *l* substituted in its place; another band only uses *g* at the end of syllables, and *l* does not occur; thus the word *hda*, 'to go home,' becomes *kda* and *gla* in different dialects. This same tendency will of course introduce as violent euphonic changes within the same language or dialect in the way of declension, conjugation, and the formation or composition of words.

Such regular or irregular transmutations from one system of letters to another are common enough in all languages and their dialects, forming in fact those connecting and distinguishing features between allied forms of speech that can be made out. But in the dialects of the ruder Mongolians these transitions occur in a degree that must be considered higher. The European languages present ample instances of the permutation of consonants pronounced by the same organs of speech, but with a different degree of aspiration, for instance, *p*, *b*, *f*, *v*, *w*; or *t*, *d*, *th*, and *dh*. Among the Mongolians, where we observe some of these systems completely wanting, we must be prepared for permutations between the classes themselves. The most indubitable instances of such cases occur even within the same language in its dialectic or grammatical forms. The liquid *m* is changed into the mute *b*

in the Lapponic 1st pers. sing. of verbs ; in Samoyed also *m* becomes *b, w, u, n, p* ; *t* changes to *d, r, l, n* ; *k* to *t* ; *s* to *h* ; and *l* to *n* : for instance, *num, nom, lom, nop* (dialectical forms for *God*). In Greenland the women change *k* into *ng*, and *t* into *n*. In the Greenland language no word begins with *L* or *R* (nor do many, if any, commence with *B, D, F, G, H, V*). Hence it follows that the word *lenni*, which, among the several members of the Algonkin nation (Delaware, Illinois, Shawnee) occurs in the signification *man*, or *to live*, and which is easily traceable to Asiatic forms (see hereafter the instances *sub voce* MAN), must, according to the rules of the Greenland tongue, be mutilated into the forms *innuit, innuvok*, which we observe in its vocabulary. That the *l* radically belonged to the Greenland word also, is seen from two isolated words in the dictionary : viz. *kalalek* or *karalek**, 'a native of Greenland' ; and *kablunak*, 'a European' ; of which there can be no doubt that the last syllable must express the idea *man*, although the exact mode of composition or observation has not yet been pointed out.

The Dakota language is one of the richest in independent consonants, yet it wants *f* and *r*. *L* is merely found in one dialect as a substitute for *d* or *n*. When we further consider that in a great many American languages all syllables end in vowels, or, like the Chinese, in the nasal sound of *n*, it is evident that the number of possible syllables in such Indian tongues will, of necessity, be exceedingly circumscribed. As, further, the roots of words, or the simple and original ideas in most of these languages are monosyllabic or dissyllabic, it follows that these original words also must be very few.

In the syllabic alphabet invented for the Cherokee tongue by a native, the whole number of possible syllables is merely seventy besides the vowels (Trans. Amer. Ethn. Soc. v. ii. 119). In the excellent Dakota dictionary of Mr. Riggs, we see how a scarcity of radical words and simple ideas is made to expand into a language of endless compounds. But from the variety of objects to be expressed, these compound

* That Algonkin tribe, among whom the Swedes settled, pronounced *Renni* instead of *Lenni*.

words must, to a great extent, contain the most arbitrary descriptions of things: a continual make-shift of substitutes for the thing that is thus obscurely brought before the mind. For instance, the word *maza* means 'metal of any kind, goods, merchandize'; hence are derived, by addition of other substantives, adjectives, or particles, compounds expressing an *anchor, iron-pot, bracelet, bell, trap, chair, gun* and all its parts, *pistol, cannon, lock, ramrod, &c., nail, steelyard, blacksmith, spade, finger-ring, stove, skates, sword, iron, silver, money, dollar, shilling, bank-note, medal, gold, lead, bullet, moulds, copper, pewter, button, spoon, pan, brass, file, hammer, pincers, tongs*. In like manner the syllable *ta* comprehends all ruminating animals and their parts.

As another instance of arbitrary contrivances, may be quoted the Dakota word *ʃungka*, that originally comprehended the ideas *dog, fox, and wolf*. But then the *dog*, being the animal first employed for carrying or drawing burdens, its name was, after the settlement of the Europeans, also used of the horse when it came to be known to the Indians (*ʃungka-wakang* = *spirit dog, sacred dog* = *horse*). Thus it became the only radical word fit for forming the further compounds denoting *horse, mare, colt, ass, saddle, whip, lasso, bridle, &c.*

This system is also shown in the Greenland language, the elementary sounds whereof differ but little from those of Europe; and so doing, form a tolerably complete alphabet. Nevertheless the number of radical words is limited by the arbitrary rule already noticed, so that only certain consonants can be initial. The great prevalence of the sound of *k* gives to the whole language a remarkable palatal character.

This system of forming language out of a few original ideas and sounds, instead of borrowing the name from the neighbour who invented or first introduced the object requiring a name, easily accounts for the extent of difference observed in all the names for more complicated ideas. It is a very improbable chance that two persons should hit upon the same combination.

The similarity between this system of composition and the Chinese ideographic writing is very great, as both are based upon a natural or arbitrary classification of ideas under certain

heads. No doubt the peculiarity of the Chinese language has given occasion for their way of expressing it to the eye. Thus it also points to the identity of the Mongol nations in Asia and America, and to the antiquity of their distinguishing features.

In the Journal of the Asiatic Society (vol. xvi.) it has been remarked by Laidley, that the monosyllabic languages form out of a word having a great number of different meanings, other more distinct expressions for each of these ideas, by adding to the original monosyllabic another synonymous word. He calls this system tautologism, and is inclined to think that many words in the polysyllabic languages are thence derived. The Mongolian languages in the Old and the New World offer a great variety of illustrations and instances of this practice. Thus for *head*, is found in the Samoyed, as in the Sanskrit, Greek, &c., *ngaewa*, *kapala*, *κεφαλή*; but in Finnic and many other languages merely the last syllable is employed, *pa*, &c. In Massachusetts both are found, but in inverted order, *puhkuk*. In Greenland, delighting in palatal sounds, only *kok*. In the Ehnik, Khwakhlamayu, Kulanapo, Caddo, and Witchita, merely the palatal letters are employed, to the exclusion of the labial. For *pigeon* Laidley gives two Chinese words, *ko* and *pa*. He recognizes these both united in the Latin *columba* and *palumbus*, but their combination is still more evidently traceable in the Samoyed *kafe*, 'ptarmigan,' that occurs in the widest extent of the American continent in the Chinese signification *pigeon*.

Nja in Samoyed has, besides a great many other meanings, that of *brother*; but to make this last signification unmistakable, you may add *teb*, 'man,' *teb enja*. *Little* is in most Mongolian languages expressed by a word like *ushi*, &c., or another like *tani*; but as these words also signify the *young* ones of animals, and *boy*, *girl*, &c., it is very common to see them both combined, as in Chocta *iskitini* (= *little*), and Dakota *hoksidang* (= *boy*), *askatudang* (= *young*), and *ćikadang* (= *little*). (See Vocabulary hereafter.)

As a source for the formation of new words, with the object of greater intelligibility, simple reduplication will still more

frequently be observed in American languages; the instances of Indian words, consisting of the reduplication of the same syllable, being too frequent to require quotation.

The state of small isolated tribes or clans in which the half-savage nations live, will as easily introduce an endless change of significations. In a family, or amongst the inmates of the same house, it is quite as easy to make arbitrary expressions, or slang words, understood and ultimately accepted, as an indistinct utterance of the common words. Instead of *father*, you may say *master*, *governor*, *husband*, *the old one*, and the original word *father* you may restrict to *God* only; instead of *child* you may use any word signifying *little* or *dear*, &c. We have special accounts of two remarkable instances of the action of this principle among the rude tribes. One is, the superstitious custom of the South Sea Islanders, on the death of a king whose name is composed of a couple of common words, to abstain altogether from the use of those words that form his name, and to substitute others. The practice is either ascribed to reverence for him, or to some religious sentiment connected with omens. Such a custom will, of course, in many instances, lead to a permanent, instead of a temporary, change of language. The other fact upon this head is, the sacred languages employed by the conjurors or priests. As far as this has been accurately found out,—for instance, in the Greenlandic,—it seems to be chiefly an arbitrary perversion of the significations of old and known words. It is then the same principle as in Europe has formed any slang, for instance, among vagrants and thieves. Yet these words of the conjurors have been so far altered that any double meaning is sufficiently avoided*.

From the effect of these causes it appears probable that, as one savage tribe may, from trifling occasions, suddenly split into two that separate widely from each other, so also may their language, in a comparatively short time, deviate into two very different dialects. If there were means of investigating

* Thus in Greenlandic, *tak* means *darkness*, but in the language of conjurors the *north*; thence are derived two other words of their secret speech, *tarsoak* (*earth*), and *tarsoarmis* (*roots*).

the state of a given language of savages at different periods, it would perhaps be demonstrable that its formation as a peculiar dialect, or a variety of speech, did not require such periods of thousands of years which might be supposed necessary by one who starts from the fact that a great many Greek and Hebrew words have been preserved uncorrupted for thousands of years, through the influence of literature and civilization.

If it be more difficult to point out the radical similarities between the words of the semi-savage nations of Asia and America, than those between the vocabularies of the more cultivated tongues, it must be confessed that the next question, viz. whether a recognizable word be a recent importation or a proof of original affinity of languages in general, is much easier to solve in regard to the rude than the more advanced nations, because everything that we know of the habits of these petty isolated clans in their solitudes and frequent hostility, goes to prove how unlikely they are to adopt the words of their neighbours.

In the first place, it is clear that limitations are imposed upon the introduction of foreign terms by the scantiness of the sound-systems just noticed. In the next, we may remark that, where similarity exists, it exists between words expressive of the primary ideas. It seems, in fact, that natural and frequent as it is among literary men and cultivated nations to adopt foreign words instead of coining new national expressions, such a proceeding is rare and unnatural to the Savage, and even to the unlettered European.

The discovery of America affords a singular but very complete proof of this fact. It introduced at once into both hemispheres a great many things completely new, and of course wanting names both in the languages of Europe and America. Did this discovery then overwhelm the Old World with Indian names of things, and introduce among the savages of the New the refined denominations of the old civilization? In the first instance, at least, nothing of the kind happened. The common vocabularies of American languages do not show the slightest mixture of either pure or corrupted English or Spanish; and yet many of them give the

appellations of things quite new to the Indian, for instance, the horse and the gun. The names are always un-European, and of course invented by the Indians according to the rules of their speech. The same seems to have occurred with those American productions that were first introduced by the illiterate discoverers. Take the words *turkey*, and *potato*. Their names are in most European languages, partly circumscriptioins (as Fr. *pomme de terre*), partly arbitrary comparisons (as Germ. *kartoffeln*=*trüffel*, *truffles*), and partly ignorant mistakes (as Eng. *turkey*), expressions that even point in a totally wrong direction for the origin of the discovery.

It is quite another thing that, lately, a considerable quantity of Indian words has been introduced by men of science into the terminology of botanists and druggists. This very circumstance shows the tendency of literary men; as does their borrowing words from the classical languages. It seems that a plain European sailor or soldier very rarely adopts the same system, and that his linguistical taste is quite different.

Another authenticated historical fact is, the Norwegian or Icelandic colony having existed for half a thousand years in Greenland, and having left numerous remains in ruins of houses and other material objects. When these Scandinavians settled there, they found the Eskimos on the coast. The two nationalities must then have coexisted in a sort of contact. When Greenland was rediscovered and again settled by the Danes in the 18th century, the first missionaries thought that they observed sufficient traits in the physiognomy of some individuals among the Eskimos to warrant the conclusion that a mixture of races had taken place, and that there still remained traces of the Teutonic blood among the natives. Yet the most complete dictionaries that were collected of the Greenland tongue hardly show more than a single indubitable Norwegian word having crept into the language, viz. the word *kona*, forming a synonym for *woman*. This word, curiously enough, points to the circumstance that was most likely to attend the extermination of the colonists, viz. the fact of merely a few women being spared, perhaps as slaves. Of the existence of

the former colonists, the Greenlanders had plenty of traditions, but under a name of their own invention, *Kablunet*.

An important fact in the opposite direction has been often quoted from the narrative of Hale, viz. that in Oregon there has been invented a 'trade language,' or '*lingua franca*,' consisting of a rude mixture of different Indian and European words. But before we calculate the importance of this circumstance in our own days, it would be safe to ask for the influence and the real signification of the original *lingua franca*, that has existed in the Mohammedan towns near the Mediterranean since the time of the Crusades. Has this *lingua franca* ever been adopted by either Arabs or Turks, or Italians and English among themselves? Has it exerted any perceptible influence upon the real and vernacular language of those individuals that transact their shopping in a gibberish that is barely intelligible, but at the same time despised and ridiculed by all of them? The trade-language on the Columbia river will likewise, in all probability, never become the sole and only means of expressing the thought of one single individual. It is absurd to imagine two Englishmen conversing together in this childish jargon, nor is it credible that two Chinooks would prefer it to their own. It must then be looked upon as a mere make-shift, a substitute for a language employed only occasionally, by two men, of whom each has, besides, a language of his own, which he makes use of in the common intercourse of life, and with those whom he considers as his countrymen. Whether words from the trade language may ultimately creep into the common every-day Indian, is a circumstance of which proof and experience are yet wanting. But from the difficult and strange system of sounds, and the peculiar grammatical forms that regulate every one of the Indian tongues, it is evident that it is as difficult for one nation to pronounce the words of another, as for an Englishman to pronounce Russian. The transferring of words from one language to the other finds then as powerful an obstacle in the form of the language as in the manner and prejudices of those who speak it. We also see, in the reports of travellers, that even a nation weakened next to extermination, does not

corrupt its own language, but that it, in some instances, will adopt altogether that of a tribe with which this nation becomes incorporated, or by whom it is enslaved.—(Reports of Expl. and Surv. 1853–4, vol. i. pp. 411, 425.)

In the *Chocta Definer* there certainly occur, under the head of *Religion* (p. 176), many English words; but these also are owing to the instrumentality of the literate teachers and missionaries of the Indians.

The observation, that men in the ruder states of social manners will seldom adopt foreign words, gives a high value to the results of comparative philology. Whenever a similarity of language is proved, it cannot be derived from later importations and changes; the similarity must be original. For those who deny the common origin of the nations in question, nothing remains but to declare all these similarities accidental.

With these preliminaries we may now consider the import of the following tables. That the comparison has also been extended to the Japetic languages will not startle any reader aware of the affinities pointed out by Prof. H. Key and Mr. H. Wedgwood, between the Finnic and the Indo-European tongues. For some additions to the information about the Lapp, I am indebted to Mr. Friis, Professor of this language at the University of Christiania.

Words denoting the ideas of Life, Man, &c.

1*. <i>English</i>	I live, alive	Man, Indian, native.
Samoyed	.. <i>iljiro, jirido, jileadm,</i> <i>jelinje.</i>	} <i>nienec, ennete</i> (compare <i>nia,</i> friend).
Jukagir	.. <i>liak, endsit</i>	—
Koriak	.. <i>jolgat</i>	—
Lapland	.. <i>ulam, jülab, ülleme</i> ..	<i>olmaj (vir), olmus (homo).</i>
Finnic, &c.	<i>elämä</i>	<i>śulahane, ihminen (vir).</i>
Estonian,	.. <i>öllo</i>	<i>innimene (homo).</i>
Mordwin	.. <i>walmes</i>	<i>loman (homo).</i>
Tsheremiss	.. <i>ilimas'</i>	<i>ulmo (vir).</i>
Permian	.. <i>olom.</i>	—

* In all these lists the figure 1 denotes the Asiatic; 2, the American languages.

Wogul	<i>elmalna</i>	<i>ellem cholles.</i>
Hungarian	<i>elet</i>	—
Ostjakian . .	<i>wulta</i>	—
Tungusian	<i>inen, insem</i>	<i>tungus, donki.</i>
Kamčadal .	<i>kakolin, sont-lönem.</i> .	<i>el ku.</i>
2. Shawno .	<i>lennamawe</i>	<i>illeni.</i>
Chippeway		<i>innini, man; neeje, friend.</i>
Knisteneaux		<i>ethin.</i>
Potawotomi		<i>neeah.</i>
Satsikaa		<i>ninaw (homo); napi, husband.</i>
Menomeni		<i>enaineew.</i>
Dakota	<i>ni, ti</i>	<i>hihna.</i>
Nottoway		<i>eniha.</i>
Tuscarora		<i>aineehau.</i>
Iroquois		<i>nenekin, ecinak.</i>
Athabasca		<i>dinni.</i>
Beaver		<i>tine.</i>
Kutchin		<i>tenghi.</i>
Kinai		<i>teena.</i>
Sikanni		<i>sikkane.</i>
Greenland, <i>innuvok</i>		<i>innuk, uvek, angut.</i>
Kolosh		<i>tlinket.</i>
Tsiahaili		<i>kolmukh.</i>
—		<i>ölaus, öläa, father.</i>
Tahkali, <i>anna, ninastsa</i>		<i>önlä, mother.</i>
Kalapuya		<i>ialei.</i>
Wailatpu		<i>inaiu.</i>
Aztek, <i>nemi</i>		—
Huasteca, <i>eläl, birth</i>		<i>inic.</i>
Maya		<i>uinic.</i>
Poconchi		<i>uinoc.</i>
Quiche		<i>uinac.</i>
Pima		<i>intui mother.</i>
Shoshoni		<i>inea friend.</i>

In the Aztek language no word begins with *l*.

Compare with these forms the English *live*, the Sanscrit *gîv*, the Latin *vivo (vigeo)*, the Slavonic *živ* (living), *man* (?) *homo* (?).

For the allied ideas of *great*, and *old*, and for many others growing out of them, we have—

1. Samoyed, <i>agga</i> , great ; <i>wesako</i> , <i>buziza</i> , husband ; <i>baikua</i> , old.	Satsikaa, <i>akuea</i>	}	woman.
Lapland, <i>akka</i> , wife.	— <i>ahke</i>		
— <i>akko</i> , old woman.	Algonkin, <i>squaw</i>	}	woman.
Ostjak, <i>anaga</i> , stepmother.	— <i>gah</i> , mother		
— <i>ika</i> , husband.	Iroquois, <i>yongwe</i>	}	wife.
Finnic, <i>ukko</i> , 1, old man ; 2, God.	— <i>ekhro</i>		
Lesghian (Akush), <i>ukna</i> , <i>okna</i> , old.	Adahi, <i>quaechuke</i>	}	wife.
Mizdžeghi, <i>kani</i> , <i>tkene</i> , old.	Umqua, <i>ekhe</i>		
Turkish (Uigur), <i>acha</i> , elder brother.	Tahkali, <i>śak</i>	}	mother.
(Kirgiz) <i>aga</i> , elder brother.	Tsehaili, <i>naxonaxo</i>		
(Osmanli) <i>agha</i> , master.	Tshinuk, <i>kakilak</i> .	}	mother.
Tshūktshi, <i>aganagak</i> , girl.	Tahkali, <i>śkaka</i>		
— <i>apakaka</i> , grandfather.	Tsehaili, <i>soqo</i> , <i>śkui</i>	}	mother.
— <i>aganak</i> , woman.	Wailapto, <i>quks</i>		
— <i>aghat</i> , God.	Tshinuk, <i>akxo</i>	}	mother.
2. Dakota, <i>tangka</i> , great.	Kizh, <i>aok</i>		
— <i>wiċa</i> , male.	Kadjak, <i>aghajun</i> , God.	}	woman.
Assiniboin, <i>wincha</i> , man.	— <i>aganak</i> , woman, girl.		
Greenland, <i>aka</i> , uncle ; <i>angut</i> , man.	— <i>abaga</i> , grandfather.	}	woman.
— <i>okok</i> , mother ; <i>angajuk</i> , elder brother.	— <i>angaga</i> , elder brother.		
Dakota, <i>tawicu</i> , <i>wingy</i> , <i>wakaangka</i> , woman.	— <i>agugux</i> (Aleutian), God.	}	woman.
Assiniboin, <i>weah</i> .	Huasteca, <i>uzum*</i>		
Shawno, (<i>n</i>) <i>ewa</i> ,	Maya, <i>ixal</i>	}	woman.
Chippeway, (<i>w</i>) <i>ewan</i> ,	Poconchi, <i>ixoc</i>		
— <i>gah</i> , mother.	Chorti, <i>ishoc</i>	}	man.
Otawa, <i>aque</i> , woman.	Otomi, <i>oqha</i> , God.		
— <i>gachi</i> , mother.	Maya, <i>ku</i> , God.	}	man.
	Seneca, <i>ungouh</i>		
	Wyandot, <i>aingahon</i>	}	man.
	Mohawk, <i>oonguich</i> .		
	Tunghaasa, <i>uncan</i> , chief.	}	man.
	Okanagan, <i>uncus</i> , warrior †.		

Add to these, as more distantly allied—

In Arrapaho, *enanitah*, man ; *enenitah*, Indian ; Costano, *imhen* ; Navaho, *tenmay* ; Jecorilla, *tinlay* ; Tesuque, *sayen* ; Jemez, *tahhaninah*.

* *x* in Spanish = *kh*.

† Compare Sanskr. *vakś*, *vah*, to heap, to grow ; Lat. *augeo* ; Isl. *auka*, grow ; Germ. *auch*, also ; *wucher*, usury ; English *to wax*.

Man, native, hunter, warrior.—

1. Samoyed, *hasawa, kasa, nganang, nganasang*; Aino of Kamcatka and Tarakai, *ainu, okajuh, ozukai*. 2. Seneca, *hawjenauh; hawneauh*, white man; Cayuga, *hajina*; Mohawk, *wakeniakon*, I have a husband; Muskoghe, *honunwau*; Chocta, *hatak*; Adahi, *haasing; hasekino*, husband; Wailaptu, *inaiu*; Talatui, *sawie*; California, S. L. Obispo, *sapi*, father; Ehnik, *ahwunsh*; Lutuami, *hishu atsus*, man; Arrapaho, *nash*, husband; Tahlewah, *astowah*, Indian; Chinuk, *uchu shaash*, warrior; Kawitchen, *nooz sho wawa*, hunter; Tlaouquatch, *haioha*, 10? Haeeltzuk, *hailthloscun*, 10? Klikitat, *aswan*, boy; Sahaptin, *hawahush*, warrior. In the Jurakian dialect of the Samoyed *husuwaei* is a pronoun (*everybody*).

Compare the Polynesian *tangata, kanata*; vulgarly called *kanaka*.

English, old man—1. Samoyed, *üra, ira*; *jieru, jierwu*, chief; *juru, njirung*, friend; Hungarian, *ferj*, man; Turkish, *er, ir*, man (compare Latin *vir*). 2. Californian, *ehnek*, woman; *ijei, ngoroite, eheje*, man; Greenland, *arnak*, woman.

1. Samoyed, *teb, teppa*, old man. (In the Ostjak Sam. dialect *tep, tap*, is the pronoun of the third person, *he* or *this*.) Yeniseyan, *btet, hadkip*, man —. 2. Blackfoot, *muttuppe*, man; Chimesyan, *tzib*; Billechula, *tlindash*, man.

English, woman. 1. Samoyed, *nelgum, naigum; nieleu*, I take a wife; Greenland, *nulliak*, wife; *nulliarau*, copulate; *nallegak*, master. 2. Algonkin, *nihillalquenk*, our Lord, God; (*nihillapewi*, translated by Zeisbeger, *I am free*: it probably means *I am (my own) master*; Chocta, *nahullo*, master.

Another fertile root comprehends the ideas *little, young, child, boy, son, girl, daughter*, in almost all the Mongol languages.

Samoyed, <i>ngaceky</i>	} young.....	<i>ngaceke</i> , boy; <i>esi</i> , child.
— <i>ucil, utcei</i>		
Lapland, <i>ucca</i> , little.....	————	
Tsheremis, <i>isi</i> , little.....	————	
Permian, <i>icet, ucet, izot</i> , little....	————	
Hungarian, <i>kistin</i> , little.....	————	
Turkish, <i>jas</i> , young; <i>kicik, kizik,</i> <i>kici</i> , little.....	} <i>kis, gys</i> , girl, daughter.	
Tungusian, —.....		<i>asatkan, asatkan, acatkan</i> , girl;

Lesghian, <i>mići</i> , little	<i>yaso, yase, yoši</i> , girl. <i>uasa, bići, moći, wažu, uši</i> , boy.
Kamtshadal, <i>uícinan, ućinolo</i> , little	<i>ući-peć</i> , daughter.
Yeniseyan, <i>kišigena</i> , little	—
Chinese, <i>see</i> , little	<i>dzü</i> , child.

In America this root exhibits a numerous offspring in almost every language with which we are sufficiently acquainted.

Greenland, <i>mike</i> , little	—
Tshuktshi, <i>acík</i> , young	—
Athabaskan, <i>tsoota</i> , little	<i>azay</i> , son.
Tlatskani, <i>astekvö</i> , little	<i>yaase</i> , son; <i>tsukais la</i> , daughter.
Tahkali, <i>ensoole</i> , little	<i>astoque, ete, śie</i> , child; <i>eyoze</i> , son, <i>ćekus, tsikesle</i> , girl, &c.
Delaware, <i>wuski</i> }	<i>oowasis</i> (Knist.)
Ojibbewa, <i>oskenege</i> } young.	<i>anese, muckiese</i> (Narrag.)
Massachusetts, <i>wusketo</i> }	<i>my washish</i> (Micmac)
Abenaki, <i>nemetessan</i> , he is the } youngest.	<i>awansis</i> (Abenaki)
Blackfeet, <i>pistakwiu</i>	<i>equssis</i> (Knist.), son, etc.
<i>enaksti-pokas</i> , child (Blackfeet);	<i>tsia</i> , girl.
Tahkali, <i>cekui, tsikesle</i> , girl.	
Nottoway, <i>osae</i> , young	<i>yaweetseutho</i> (Wyandot), girl. <i>quätsiageyung</i> , my daughter. <i>aquätsiaskaya</i> , my son.
Cherokee	<i>atsatsa</i> , boy. <i>ayayutsa</i> , girl. <i>oost ekuh</i> , child.
Chocta, <i>iskitini</i> , little	<i>ushe, ussi</i> , child.
Muskhoghe, —	<i>oshetik</i> , his daughter; <i>schañ-chostie</i> , my daughter.
Uche, —	<i>tesunung</i> , son.
Blackfeet, <i>pistakwin</i>	<i>enakssti-pokas</i> , child.
Natchez, <i>tsikistiktenu</i> }	<i>achwal-nesuta</i> , son.
Chetimaca, <i>aksekamche</i> } young ..	
Dakota, <i>askatudang</i> , young; <i>ćis-ting, ćikadang</i> , little	<i>hoksidang</i> , boy.
Upsaroka	<i>skakkatte</i> .
Aleutian, <i>kućakh</i> (the diminutive termination)	Kulish. <i>si</i> , daughter*. Chimmesyan . <i>tzoushk</i> , small. Kinai <i>sija</i> , son.

* *Achsi* is the form found in the vocabulary; but with the same *ach, ik*,

Chemnaesyan	<i>tzoushk</i> , small.
Kinai	<i>sija</i> , son.
Lutuami, <i>kitskan</i>	<i>kitskenishnawats</i> , girl.
Pailaik, <i>tsoktsa</i>	<i>kistka</i> , child.
Tsihaili, <i>pustsintl</i> , <i>ćeliś</i>	<i>isa</i> , daughter ; <i>waxtetl</i> , child.
Chinuk, —	{ <i>etsokha</i> , son.
	{ <i>asa</i> , daughter.
	{ <i>tlkaskus</i> , boy.
	{ <i>osko kus</i> , girl.
Selish .. —	<i>tasika</i> , <i>skokosea</i> , <i>kokwasso</i> , boy.
Wailatpu —	<i>skutxla</i> , child.
Arrapaho —	<i>issaha</i> , girl.
Shyenne —	<i>xsa</i> , girl.
Sasti .. —	<i>atokwiakh</i> , boy.
Jakon .. —	<i>tlomkhato</i> , boy.
Talatui, <i>wesö</i> , new.....	—
San Rafael, —	<i>yokeko</i> , child.
San Antonio	<i>skitano</i> .
Otomi	<i>hy</i> , <i>iso</i> , son.
Palaik, —	<i>yauitsa</i> , son.

Another series of synonyms for the same ideas is—

1. Samoyed, <i>tanio</i> , <i>tanu</i> , <i>tenne</i> , little	<i>pirib-tjea</i> , girl.
—, or <i>kanak</i> , <i>kanang</i> , <i>takanang</i> , little	{ <i>tati</i> , <i>dati</i> , a younger wife.
—, or <i>ngoliu</i> , <i>ngoloko</i> , <i>njoloko</i> ..	—
Lapponic, <i>unna</i>	<i>njejda</i> , girl.
Jukagir, <i>andelgoin</i> , <i>lukun</i> , young..	<i>baitaga</i> , girl.
Korjak, <i>liuchin</i>	—
Jeniseyan, <i>khennenam</i>	—
Kamčadal, <i>linetlen</i> , young	—
— <i>učinolo</i> , little	—
Finlandic, <i>tyttö</i> , <i>tytär</i>	<i>tyttö</i> , <i>tytär</i> , girl, daughter*.
2. Delaware, <i>tangtitti</i>	(Knist.) <i>tanis</i> , girl ; (Chippeway) <i>janis</i> , son.
Chippeway	<i>danis</i> , daughter.
Blackfeet	<i>ntani</i> .
Chickasah.....	<i>take</i> , girl.

also commence all (nearly twenty) words having respect to *man* or *parts of the human body*. It is most probably *then* = the Dakota *wića*, 'human,' added, for instance, to *išta*, 'eye,' *wićista*, 'human eye.'

* The Japetian Gr. *θυγάτηρ*, Sanskr. *duhitr*, Russ. *dočj*, Eng. daughter.

Arrapaho	<i>nahtahnah</i> , my daughter.
Chocta, <i>iskitine</i>	—
Natchez, <i>tsiki stiktenu</i>	—
Dakota, <i>tonana</i>	—
Athabasca	<i>tenaiu</i> , boy.
Tlatskanai, <i>teneuai</i> , young	—
Tahkali	<i>dinias</i> , boy.
Tsihaili, <i>kiki ana, tauma</i>	—
Nsetshaw	<i>tunuwon</i> , son.
Talatui (California)	<i>tune</i> , child.
Palaik	<i>tatii</i> , mother.
Shoshoni	<i>natsi</i> , boy ; <i>nanai</i> , daughter.
Attacapa	<i>tigu</i> , daughter.
Skittagets	<i>tinekti</i> , child.
Tlaouatch	<i>tannais</i> , child.
Sahaptin	<i>tata</i> , son.
Wakash (Nootka)	<i>tanassis</i> , child.
San Antonio (California)	<i>sketana</i> , child.

Another word of the same signification is English *boy*, Swedish *pojke*, Danish *pige*, girl, Gr. *παῖς*, Lat. *puer* (*por*, a slave), *pupillus*, Germ. *bube*. It is found in Finnic as *son*: for instance—

Finland, <i>pojka</i>	} <i>Samoyede</i> {	{	<i>papa</i> , younger brother or son.	
Zyrian and Votjak, <i>pi</i>				<i>bi</i> , brother-in-law.
Wogul, <i>pum, pu, py</i>				<i>bing ing</i> , son-in-law.
Yeniseian, <i>pijwo</i>				
Hungarian, <i>fu</i>				

Ostjak, *pox, pax*; *pada, paga*, brother-in-law;

Kamcadal, *peć, paća*; *ući-peć*, daughter; Tshuktshi, *pannika*, daughter.

In America there is likewise in Eskimo Greenl. *pannik*, daughter; in Algonkin (Penobscott, Powhattan, Mohican, and Abenaki), *pchanum, phainem, panum, po*. In other Algonkin dialects (Mohican, Nanticoke) the word for *girl* is formed from *pekh* or *pinsh*, and the word *squaw*, woman; Massach. *penumpun*, girl; Narragansett, *papoos*, child; Chippeway, *bo-beloshin*, children; Blackfoot, *pokah*, child; Upsaroka, *bakatta*, child. In the Eslen (California), Tr. Am. Ethn. Soc. vol. ii. p. 127, *panna* is son, and *tapanna*, daughter.

In San Miguel (California), son and daughter are *paser, pasel*.

In Wailatpu daughter *puena*.
 In Kalapuya (Willamet) .. daughter *tshitapinna*.
 In Muskoghe son *chahpozhe, my*.

For daughter-in-law, occurs in Samoyede, *mejeü*; in Ostjak, *menj, minjing*; Finnic, *miniü*; Zyrjan, *monj*; Hungarian, *meny*.

By the current change from *m* to *n*, this is probably Lapon. *njeida*, girl; Samoyed, *nädek, nitteng*, girl; *mijda*, younger brother; *muanga*, brother-in-law. The Sioux family in America offer for *woman*—

Mandan, *meha, submihe*, girl; Minetari, *meeyai*; Iowa, *mega*; Upsaroka (Blackfoot), *meyakatte, meekatay*, and *moah*, wife.

The Japetian languages offer for *girl*—

Sanskrit, *mahild*, woman; Germ. *magd, mädchen*; Eng. *maid, maiden*; O.N. (Icel.) *megða, mey*.

For brother-in-law or son-in-law, O.N. (Icel.) *mágr*; Goth. *megs*; Anglo-Sax. *mæg*, relation; Gaelic, *mac*, son.

FATHER.—Sam. *as, ese, es, atja*; Lap. *acée*; Turk. *ata*; Juk. *etéea*; Jen. *es*, God; Ostj. *essig*, old man; Hungar. *ösz*; Greek *arra*; Russ. *otjets*; Dakota, *ate*; Ojibbeway, *os*; Delaware, *och*; Pottawatomi, (*n*)*osah*; Cherokee, *tawta*; Greenland, *attatak*; Tshuktsi, *atta*; *istla*, God; Aleutian, *adax*.

In ten Athabascan dialects *tah*, &c.—

Loucheux. *tsay*; Tsihaili, *katsa, katsha*; Talatui, *tata*; Nusalum, *outzet*.

Another Samoyede word for father is *aba* = Tahkali, *apa*.

But this last root also appears in Samoyed as *elder sister*. Sam. *ngaba, oba, apa, ada*, and in the Jurakian dialect *njabako* (being a composition of *nje*, woman, *aba*, and *agga*, great, old),—

1. Lap. *obba, oabba*; Ostj. *opa, aba*; Juk. *awuá*. 2. Dakota, *tawinohting*; Abenaki, *nabaenemun; nadangus*, cousin; Knist. *nimis*; Delaware, *tawima*; Shawno, *newa*, my wife; Ojibbeway, *wewan*, his wife; Chocta, *ipo*, sister-in-law; Greenl. *nejak, nukak*; *alleka*, elder sister; Lutuami, *tobaksip*; Shoshoni, *patsi*; Yamkalle, *yet apai*, brother; Kalapuya, *opomeik*, daughter; Pima, *uba*, woman.

The same root further occurs in Samoyed, as—

aunt, mother's sister, *njaba*; and *aunt*, father's sister, *abijo, awijo*.

From the first word for *father*, is derived for *uncle*—

Sam. *isi, ise, aća* ; Lap. *ükke, ćükke* ; Dakota, *ate* ; Abenaki, *nesis*, my uncle ; Knist. *nesim*, my elder sister or brother ; Potawatomi, *sesah* ; Satsikaa, *nisa*, brother ; Chocta, *imoshi* ; *iki*, father.

A singularly fertile root in Samoyede is *nje, ne*, which is given for—

Woman	Sam. <i>ne, nie, njaru, inia</i> .
Wife	— <i>njejeru, neü, nei-kum</i> ; <i>nieljeu</i> , to marry.
Mother	— <i>njebea</i> .
Aunt	— <i>njaba, njejea</i> .
Girl	— <i>nitting</i> .
Daughter	— <i>nje, njenju</i> .
Sister, elder	— <i>njabaka, njanja</i> .
Sister, younger . .	— <i>njenja</i> .
Friend, comrade . .	— <i>nja, nje</i> .
Brother, elder . .	— <i>nja, nienne</i> .
Brother-in-law . .	— <i>njinjiadea</i> .

This word, then, cannot possibly be more than a word of endearment, whose general use in so many cases shows the amount of indistinctness in expressing ideas, or the ease with which such a small knot of acquaintance as forms the given tribe, can make itself understood. There is a possibility, by compositions, of making some of these words more distinct or expressive. Thus, the addition of this root to *teb*, man, *tabenja*, makes it indubitable that you mean *brother*. In other cases there are synonyms for the same purposes, as for 'friend' *kai, ilju, juru, njirung*. For *brother*, the American languages offer—

Delaware, *nimat, minut* ;
Satsikna, *nausah* ;
Chocta, *imunni*, elder brother.

In Greenland *ningauk* is brother-in-law, *ningiok*, old woman. For *mother*—

Dakota, <i>ina</i>.	|| Pottawatomi, <i>nanna</i> ; <i>niowah</i> , wife. Tuscarora, <i>ianu</i> . Adahi, <i>amanie</i> .
Shawno, <i>niwa, niga</i> .	
Menomini, <i>nihia</i> .	
Delaware, <i>anna</i> .	

Greenland, *ananak*.
 Athabasca, *enne*.
 Tlatskanai, *nana* (and similar in
 five other Athabaskan dialects).
 Koltshani, *niji*.

Willamet, *sinni*.
 Kalapuya, *innim*.
 Kawitchen, Noosdalum, *intan*.
 Californian, *nene*; *niook*, father.
 Seneca, *hanec*, father.

Friend is in Delaware *nitis*, in Ojibbeway *neeje*. Corresponding to the other Samoyed root *kai*, there is for friend—

Dakota, *koda*.
 Shawno, *necana*.
 Seneca, *gache*.
 Chocta, *ingkana*.
 Chetimaca, Natches, *keta*.
 Kolosh, *ekawu*.

Tahkali, *kanane*.
 Tsehaili, *noquai*.
 Atnah, *tasskanaan*.
 Ugalenz, *sekoanak*.
 Takahli, *chutaissi*.

The following words relate to the chief primary ideas:—

English, beard.

1. Samoy., *munać*, *mudute*.
 Jukagir, *manallae*, hair.
2. Delaware, *wuttoney*.
 Knist., *michetoune*.
 Satsikaa, *mongatsi*.
 Chocta, *nutakhish*.
 Greenland, *umik*.
 Bodega, *ummu*.
 Kalapuya, *mundi*.
 Shoshoni, *muntsu*.
 California, *numus*.
 Kulanapo (Cal.), *musuh*.
 Talatui (Cal.), *mono*, hair.
 Shyenne, *meatsa*.
 Arrapaho, *wasesanon*.
 Shasti, *makh*, hair; *mak*, head.
 Kulanapo, *musuh*, hair.
 Pimo, *mouk*, head; *ptmuk*, hair.
 Caddo, *beunno*, hair.

English, hair, wool.

1. Sam., *tar*, *opte*.
 Finnic, *tukka*.
 Lapp, *vuofta*.
 Jenis, *tenge*.

- Korjak, *kitigir*, *kaćugui*.
2. Satsikaa, *otokan*.
 Greenl., *tinge*.
 Shoshoni, *tupia*.
 Apach, *seesga*.
 Athabasca, *thiegah*.
 Tahkali, *thiga*; *tamagaie*, beard.
 Dogrib, *theoga*; *tarra*, beard.
 Umqua, Kinai, Atnah, Koltshani,
zuga, *zygo*, *zega*, *ćiga*; *ktatahi*,
 beard.
 Kolosh, *śachagu*.
 Umqua, *etaga*, beard.
 Kwakhlamayu, *shuka*.
 Weitspek, *tegueh*, head.
 Calif., *tiih*, *tomi*, *tomoi*.

English, belly.

1. Sam., *munedi*, *wand*, *my*, *nand*.
 Lapp, *ćoavgye*.
 Ost., *xon*.
 Korj., *nam*, *kam*.
 Jen., *wui*.
2. Dakota, *ćowohe*.
 Etchimin, *nut*.
 Narraganset, *wunnaks*.

Iroquois, *atquonta*.
Greenl., *akoak, nak*.
Athabasca, *beeth*.

English, blood.

1. Sam., *ki, kam, kap, hem*.
Jukagir, *liopkul*.
Lapp, *vara*.
2. Dakota, *we*.
Delaware, *mokum*.

This same word *blood* is also largely employed to denote several colours. Thus in Chocta, *homma* is further given for *bay* and *red*, and enters into the compound words for *copper*, and *purple*, and *swarthy*. In some Algonkin dialects *mokum* is *black* (Delaware, *mokum*, blood). In others it forms a part of the words, as—

English, black.

1. Sam., *saga, seak, hag*.
—, *smankua*.
—, *newai*.
Lapp, *ćap*.
Korj., *nowukain*.
2. Dakota, *sapa*.
Ioway, *sewi*.
Delaware, *suck gek*.
Narrag., *sukesu*.
Long Isl., *shikayo*.
—, *squayo*, red.
Natchez, *tsokokop*.
Muskoghe, *echatau*.
Tsihaili, *ćmaka*.
Sahaptin, *ćmuk*.
Wailatpu, *ćkupćkupu*.

English, breast, bosom, teat.

1. Sam., *sudo, suso*.
Ost., *tju, tji*.
Lapp, *ćidže*.
2. Ojibbewa, *totosh*.
Chocta, *huship, ipishik*, teat.

Cree, *mithkoo*.
Tuscarora, *cotnuh*.
Greenl., *auk*.
Tahkali, *sko*.
Sahaptin, *kiket*.
Calif., *kiio*.
Chocta, *homma*.
Weitspek, *happl*.
Kulanapo, *bahlaik*.
Copeh, *sahk*.

Greenl., *sikkik, sokkiek*.
Tahkali, *tsoo*.

English, body.

1. Sam., *ngaja, aja*.
2. Ottawa, *eeio*.
Ojibbewa, *yoa, yohi, yas*.
Abenaki, *haghe*.
Satsikaa, *iniwia*.
Onondago, *ojatah*.

English, ear, hear.

1. Sam., *ku, ho, ha*.
Jak., *golendzi*; Lap., *gullat*, hear.
Ostjak, *xudem*, hear.
Georgian, *quri*; Lazian, *gur*, hear.
Zend, *gaosa*; Sanskr. *śru*, hear.
Osset., *gos*.
Persian, *guś*.
Lithuanian, *ausis*; *girdeti*, hear.
Latin, *auris*.
2. Dakota, *noge, nakpa*.
Mandan, *nakoha*.
Yankton, *noughopa*.

Osage, *naughta*.
 Long Isl., *catawoe*.
 Shawno, *towakah*.
 Iroquois, *ohuchta*.
 Pawnee, *atkaroo*.
 Cherokee, *gule*.
 Adahi, *calat*.
 Muskoghe, *kutseo*.
 Chocta, *haklo*.
 Tahkali, *ocho*.
 Kolosh, *kuk*.
 Tlaskanai, *xonade*.
 Tsihaili, *goalan*.

English, eye, see.

1. Sam., *hai, saeu, sai, saime* ;
 thence *sea, sja*, face.
 Lapp, *éalbme*.
 Finn, *silma*.
 Ostj., *sem*.
 Hung., *szem*.
 2. Dakota, *ista ; ite*, face.
 Mandan, *istume, estah*.
 Upsaroka, *meishta, esa*.

Algonkin, (*w*)*iskinki* ; (*ne*)*sisseguk* ; Abenaki, (*my*) face.
 Menomeni, *maishkaishaik*.
 Miami, *nesique*.
 Arrapaho, *mishishi*.
 Seneca, *kaka*.
 Chocta, *nishkin ; nashuka*, face ;
issokuh (Chickasaw), face.
 Greenl., *irse*.
 Eskimo, *eiega*.
 Athabasca (Dogrib), *nae*.
 Tahkali, *navai*.
 Umqua, Kinai, Atnah, Inkilik,
 Koltshan, *nage, naga, nega,*
noga, ntagi.
 Tshinuk, *iaxot*.
 Shasti, *oi*.
 Tsihaili, *qalom*.
 Sahaptin, *éilu ; atás*, face ; *śua*,
 forehead.
 Waitatpu, *takai*, forehead.
 Copeh, *sah*.
 Tesuque, *chay*.
 Jemez, *saech*.

The words for *finger, fist, hand, foot, nail*, are explained in conjunction with the numerals ; the subject of a paper elsewhere.

English, head (1.).

1. Sam, *ngaewa, eba*.
 Lapp, *oajve*.
 Finn, *pä, pöja*.
 Chinese, *he, hep*.
 Lat. *caput* ; Gr. κεφάλη ; Sanskr.
kapála, skull ; Germ. *kopf,*
haupt.
 2. Dakota, *pa*.
 Yankton, Omaha, *pah*.
 Mandan, *pan*.
 Minetare, *apee*, neck.

Arrapaho, *pahkih*.
 Massachusetts, *puhkuk*.
 Algonkin, *uppa*.
 Chocta, *nishkubo*.
 Muskog., *ecau*.
 Tahkali, *pitsa*.
 Athabasca (Dogrib), *betthie*.
 Uchee, *pseotan*.
 Pawnee, *pakshu*.
 Riccaree, *pahgh*.
 Chickasah, *skoboch*.
 Natchez, *tomme apoo*.

Caddo, *cundo*.
 Wichita, *etskase*.
 Shoshoni, *pampi*.
 California, *pakon, buhk, pok*.
 Shasti, *uiak*.
 Tesuque, *pto*; *po*, hair.

Among the Japetians these two significations are also blended thus—

English, .. neck .. throat.
 Latin, *collum*.. *gula*.
 French, .. *cou, col*.
 Sanskr. *gala*.
 German .. *hals*.

English, head.

1. Icel., *kollr*.
 French, *col* (the Alps), top of a mountain.
 English, *skull, scalp*.
 Hindostan, *kallah*.
 Russian, *golowa*.
 2. Delaware, *wil*, head.
 Shawno, *wilan*, head.
 Palaik, *ul*, forehead.
 Sekunme, *tsol*, forehead.
 Cushna, *chole*.
 Costano, *ulc*.
 Tshokoyem, *moloh*.
 Pujuni, *écúul*, head.
 Greenl., *auvak*, neck.
 —, *niakok*, head.

English, heart.

1. Sam., *sa, seai*.
 Jenis., *ítabu*.
 Ostjak, *sem*.
 Finnic, *sydün*.
 2. Dakota, *ćangte*.
 Massachus., *tah*.
 Ojibbeway, *da*.

English, neck (2.).

1. Sam., *ol*; *aolj, awoi, awai*, neck.
 Jukagir, *monoli*, head.
 Jeniseian, *kolka*, head.
 Lapp, *oalge*, shoulder.
 Finn, *kaula*; *kallo*, scalp.

Ottawa, (*nin*)*de*, my head.
 Tlatskanai, *stsaié*.
 Dogrib, *e-dzai*.
 Umqua, *ści*.
 Kenai, *see xtee*.

English, mouth, tongue.

1. Sam., *nia, ngang*; *njami*, tongue.
 Lapp, *njalbme*; *njuové, njuok-ćam*, tongue.
 Juk., *anga*.
 Jen., *khan, hokuj*.
 Ostiak, *nadam*, tongue.
 Hungar., *nych*, tongue.
 Chinese, *kheo*.
 2. Massach., *minan*, tongue.
 Ottawa, *tenanian*, tongue.
 Mohican, *ninanuh*, my tongue.
 Echemin, *nyllal*, tongue.
 Attacapa, *nedle*, tongue.
 Dogrib, *eththeadu*, tongue.
 Ugalenz, *ka-nat*, tongue.
 Adahi, *tenanat*.
 Willamet, *mandi*.
 Greenl., *kanek*.
 Tsihaili, *kanuk*.
 Jakon, *gai*.
 Shasti, *au*.

English, tongue, mouth.

1. Sam., *se, sie, sioro, siolo*.

Chinese, *shi*.
 2. Dakota, *cezi*.
 Arrapaho, *dehzeh*.
 Algonkin, *uton, don*, also mouth.
 Chocta, *iti*, mouth.
 Pawnee, *hato*.
 Tahkali, *tsoola*.
 Kenai, *zylio*.
 Inkulit, *tljulja*.
 Arrapaho, *nathun*; *netlee*, mouth.
 Shyenne, *vetunno*; *marthe*, mouth.
 Navaho, *hu-zzay*, mouth.
 Jecorilla, *hu-zzy*.
 Tesuque, *sho*.
 Caddo, (*ocko*)*tunna*.

English, tooth.

1. Sam., *tibea, tim, tiu, tiw*.
 Lapp, *badne*.
 Ostjak, *penk*.
 2. Delaware, *wipit*, his tooth.
 Algonkin, *tibit*; *nepit*, my tooth.
 Tuscarora, *otoatseh*.
 Sahaptin, *tit*.
 Wailatpu, *tenif*.
 Lutuami, *tut*.
 Caddo, (*ocko*)*deta*.
 Nootka, *ci'ice*.
 Kalapuya, *puti, tenti*.
 Cora, *tenita*.
 Mexican, *tentli*, lip.

English, day, light.

1. Sam., *jale, cel*; *jalina*, white.
 Lapp, *culgas, jalakas*, light;
vielgad, white.
 Korjak, *hallo*.
 Jukagir, *jelonsa*, sun.
 2. Yankton, *ohjajo*, light.
 Dakota, *éang*.
 Onondago, *jolacharota*, light.

Attacapa, *igl*, day.
 Dogrib, *zeunai*.
 Athabaskan, *dzine*.
 Tahkali, *janes*.
 Kutchin, *tzin*.
 Kenai, *éan*.
 Atnah, *éajane*.
 Koltshani, *tiljkan*.
 Tshihali, *swaltxalt*; *xal*, light.
 Wailatpu, *tlaxa*.
 Kulanapo, *la*, sun; *luelah*, moon;
dahmul, day.
 Tshoyem, *hiahnah*, day.
 Caconoons, *hial*, day.

English, sun, moon, star.

1. Sam., *cel, hajer, hajar, kou,*
kujá; khi, moon; *keska*, star.
 Zyrj. and Perm., *tölys*, moon.
 Ostj., *xat*; *xus*, star.
 Finn and Mordwin, *kou, ku,*
 moon.
 2. Winnebago, *weehah*, sun.
 Micmac, *koushet*, moon.
 Cree, *kesekow*, it is day; *kijik*,
 day and light.
 Ojibbeway, Illinois, *kisis*, sun and
 moon; *gezbig*, sky.
 Echimin, Abenaki, *kisos*, moon;
watawesu, star.
 Kickapoo, *kishek*, heaven.
 Shawno, *gilswa*, sun.
 Arrapaho, *ishi*, day; *nishi-ish*,
 sun.
 Mohawk, *kelauquaw*, sun and
 moon.
 Seneka, *kachqua*, moon.
 Chocta, *hushi*, sun and moon.
 Natchez, *kevasip*, moon.
 Adahi, *nachaoat*, moon.
 Chicasa, *husha*, sun.

Muskoghe, <i>hahsce</i> , sun.	Kulanapo, <i>ucyahho</i> , star.
Greenl., <i>kaua</i> , south; <i>kau</i> , day; <i>kaumat</i> , moon; <i>kauma</i> , light; <i>kaulor</i> , white.	Costano, <i>kolina</i> , moon; <i>agweh</i> , star.
Athabasca, <i>saw</i> , sun and moon.	Tshokoyem, <i>hitlish</i> , star.
Navajo, <i>chay</i> , <i>haei</i> , sun and moon; <i>delgayhe</i> , star.	Haidah, <i>kosugh</i> , moon.
Ugalenz, <i>kacha</i> , moon; <i>kaketlj</i> , sun.	Kliketat, <i>uchych</i> .
Sahaptin, <i>alkhaikh</i> , moon.	Cathlascon, <i>kaium</i> .
S. Barb. Californ., <i>aguai</i> , moon.	Kutshin, <i>shethie</i> , sun; <i>shetsill</i> , moon; <i>keemshaet</i> , stars.
Weitspek, <i>kamoi</i> , star.	Wailatpu, <i>kaki</i> , star.
	Noosdalum, <i>kokweh</i> , sun.

<i>English</i>	spring	summer	autumn.
1. Samoy.	<i>tagai</i> *	<i>tanga</i> , <i>taga</i>	<i>gnutu</i> .
Lapp	<i>gidhag</i> , adv.	<i>güsig</i>	<i>čafčag</i> , <i>čakčag</i> .
Juk. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	<i>nada</i> .
Ostj.	<i>taven</i> . . . . .	. . . . .	<i>kahatsaan</i> .
Hung.	<i>tavasz</i> .		
2. Algonkin	<i>thequan</i> , <i>sequan</i> . . . . .	. . . . .	<i>tagwage</i> , <i>tahgagi</i> .
	(in eight dialects.)		
Satsikaa . . . . .	. . . . .	<i>atahi</i> .	
Arrapaho . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	<i>tahuni</i> .
Dakota . . . . .	. . . . .	<i>mdoketu</i> .	
Osage . . . . .	. . . . .	<i>tondah</i> .	
Seneca	<i>unguitikne</i>	<i>kahayneh</i>	<i>gankneh</i> .
Onondaga	<i>teoganhowiti</i> .		
Chocta	<i>tofahpi</i>	<i>tofah</i>	<i>onafahpi</i> . ^m
Muskh.	<i>tazachuy</i> .		
Chicasaw . . . . .	. . . . .	<i>tomepulleh</i> .	
Attacapa . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	<i>tsampska</i> .
Eskimo . . . . .	. . . . .	<i>kuiga</i> , <i>kegmi</i> .	
Greenland	<i>tseykerek</i> . . . . .	. . . . .	<i>okiak</i> .
Tshuktshi	<i>anchtoka</i> .		
Kolosh	<i>takity</i> . . . . .	. . . . .	<i>takoonehate</i> .
Athabaskan . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	<i>tacata</i> .
Tlatskanai . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	<i>čitaxat</i> .
Umqua . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	<i>ghainsghaltsi</i> .
Tahkali	<i>čago</i>	<i>tsinta</i> .	
Sahaptin . . . . .	. . . . .	<i>taivöm</i> .	

* Castrèn's Ostjak Grammar; omitted in the Samoyed Dictionary.

Chinook	<i>tsagwair.</i>
Shasti	<i>atahi.</i>
Shoshoni	<i>taza, tatsu.</i>
Wailatpu	<i>töng.</i>
Palaik	<i>kaitui.</i>
Tsihaili	<i>tlakam.</i>
Chimmesyan	<i>sughone.</i>
Comanche	<i>taneharro. taareh.</i>

English, hot, warm.

1. Sam., *jipi, efi, jefi.*
2. Dakota, *petiskang.*

Micmac, *epekit.*

Etchemin, *kesipetaé (kisi, see sun).*

In most Algonkin dialects *nipin* is summer; in Micmac *nepinowe*, spring; Greenland, *aupak*. In the Pueblo languages, *pah*, &c. is sun and moon.

English, hot, warm.

1. Sam., *lahum*.*
- Korjak, *nomling.*
2. Sahaptin, *laxoex.*
- Wailatpu, *lokaia.*
- Tsihaili, *xwala.*
- Tahkali, *wöla.*
- Lutuami, *soalkas.*
- Chocta, *lushpa.*

English, cold.

1. Sam., *tiu, tjasiti, tjasaga.*
kail, kai, kanie, hanie.
kandak, I freeze.
- Lapp, *coashes, galmas.*
- Korj., *khuelgin; tintan, ice.*
- Jen., *tajim, kuéidin.*
2. Dakota, *tasaka, sni, éaga.*
- Mandan, *copcaze, snow.*
- Knist., *kisina, kikatsh.*
- Delaware, *teu.*
- Abenaki, *teki.*
- Satsikaa, *cane, snow.*
- Chocta, *kupussa.*
- Muskhog, *kussupe.*

Chetimacha, *kasteke.*

Caddo, *hehno.*

Natchez, *kowa, snow.*

Greenland, *keja, kajorpok.*

Tshuktshi, *anu; anighu, snow.*

Korjak, *éigu, ice.*

Tshugatsh, *éaguk, ice.*

Ugalents, *tets, ice.*

Atna, Kenaij, *ten, ice.*

Kolosh, *tyk; kakak, ice, kusjat.*

Loucheux, *kabeitlec.*

Tahkali, *hungkox; ton, ice.*

Tsihaili, *tatsuwaii.*

Sahaptin, *tsuaia.*

Chinuk, *cúś.*

Lutuami, *kataks.*

Billechoola, *kai, snow.*

Haeeltzuk, *naie, snow.*

Yamkallie, *kano, khan.*

San Diego, Calif., *xetchur.*

English, snow.

1. Sam., *hawa, hada, juomze,*
kodung (comna, it snows).
2. Dakota, *icamna.*

* Samoyed Grammar, p. 87, omitted in the Dictionary.

Algonkin, *gun*; *kwam*, ice.
 Knisten., *koona*.
 Satsikaa, *konis*.
 Greenland, *kannik*.
 Severnow, *komua*, winter.
 Tshuktshi, *ukiumi*, winter.
 California, *yamim*.
 Athabasca, *thun*, ice.

English, ice.

1. Sam., *ser*, *song*, *sok*; *sirü*, snow.
2. Dakota, *éaga*.
 Satsikaa, *sakoo cootah*.
 Greenland, *sermek*, *sikko*.
 Tshuktshi, *éikuta*.
 Sahaptin, *tok*.

English, God, thunder, heaven.

1. Sam., *num*, thunder, heaven;
num, *nom*, *nop*, *lom*, God.
 Lapponic, *jubma*, thunder, heaven;
jubmel, God.
 Finnic, *jomala*, God.
 Jukagir, *jendu*.
 Lat. *nubes*, *nebula*, cloud; *numen*,
 god.
 Russian, *niebo*, heaven.
2. Algonkin, *manitu*; but according
 to Schoolcraft, *mon*, only.
 Onondago, *moh*.
 Oneida, *neeyoh*.
 Chocta, *shilombish*, spirit.
 Umkwa, *yaamee*, heaven.
 Athabasca, *yaha*, heaven.
 Kenai, *jugan*, heaven.

English, God, idol.

1. Sam., *nga*, *kudai*, *hahe*, *koika*,
 idol; *kolmu*, spirit.
 Lapp, *gavva*, image; *vuoynnga*,
 spirit.

Korjak, *anggan*.

Juk., *koil*.

German, *god*. Persian, *koda*.

2. Dakota, *wakaghapi*.

Powhattan, *kiwassa*, idol.

Utchee, *kavhwu hoo*.

Eskimo, *aghat*.

Chocta, (*chito*)*kaka*, God (*chito*
 =great).

1. Sam., *itarma*, spirit.

Lapp, *ittet*, to appear.

2. Greenland, *tornak*, ghost;
tarnek, soul.

English, fire, sun.

1. Sam., *tu*, *śu*; *tamta 'am*, I
 make fire.

Jenis., *ku*.

Ostj., *tugit*, *tut*.

Lapp, *dolla*.

2. Dakota, *peta*.

Delaware, *tendey*.

Nanticoke, *tent*.

Etchimin, *skut*.

Cree, *scoutay*.

Long Island, *sut*.

Iroquois, *iotecka*.

Muskoghe, *totkah*.

Kulanapo, *khoh*.

Hichitee, *edih*.

Weitspek, *okho*.

Attacapa, *cam*.

Greenland, *ikkuma*; *tarkikpok*,
 to make fire.

Athabasca, *kon*, *ku* (in eleven
 dialects).

Tesuque, *tah*.

Jemez, *twaah*.

Navaho, *konh*.

Apach, *kou*.

Tshaili, *teekwu*.

Wailatpu, *teé*.

California, *toina*.

Kulanapo, *khoh*.

Tuolumne, *wuhah*.

Talatui, *wike*.

Pimo, *tahi*.

English, water.

1. Sam., *bi, wit*; *bigai*, river; *bitlöm, birebo, bedeam*, drink.

Lapp, *fielmaa*, river.

Finn, *wesi*.

Juk., *úse*.

Jenis., *weék*, river.

Korj., *mimel*; *wejim*, river.

Sansk. *pí*; Gr. *πίω*; Lat. *bibo*;

Germ. *wasser*; Slav. *pitj, woda*.

2. Dakota, *mini*.

Minetari, *beedechee*, drink.

Quappa, *nih*.

Osage, *nebnatah*, drink.

Delaware, *bi*; *minatey*, island.

Miami, *nape*.

Ojibbeway, *šipi, abo**; *minnis*, island; *šipi*, river; *minikway*, drink.

Mississippi and many other local names.

Muskhoghe, *weway*.

Ahnenin, *nitsa*.

Chemmesyan, *use*.

Okanagan, *utz la hap*, river.

Shoshoni, *pah*; *iwipi*, drink.

Arrapaho, *banna*, drink.

Greenland, *sarbak*, river; *imiek-mok*, drink.

Lutuami, *ampo*.

Costano, *sii*.

Ruslen, *ziy*.

Pimo, *suutik*.

1. Sam., *üt*, water; *jaha, djaga*, river.

Lapp, *jokka*, river; *jugham*, I drink.

Ostj., *jeaga*, river.

Jen., *jat, chuge*, river.

Nottoway, *joke*, river.

Seneca, *uttanote*, drink.

Bodega, *duka*, water.

Severnow, *aka*, water.

Navaho, *tonh*.

Apach, *toah*.

English, river.

1 Sam., *ky, kuelj, kold* †.

Jenis., *dugalno, ul*.

Germ. *Qvelle*; O.N. (Icel.), *kelda*;

Eng. *well*.

2. Satsikaa, *ohkeah*, water.

Pima, *vo*, lake.

Natchez, *wol*.

Chocta, *hucha, kuli, bok*.

Ugalents, *kaja*, water.

Greenland, *kok*.

Tshuktshi, *kiuk*.

Tahkali, *akox*.

Tsihaili, *éuax*.

Lutuami, *kohai*.

Tuolumne, *kikah*, water.

Talatui, *wakaí*; *kik*, water.

Kawitchen, Noosdalum, Squallyamish, *kah*, water.

Tlaoquatch, *aook*.

Dieguno, *kha*.

* According to Gallatin (Synopsis, p. 228), is found in the Ojibbeway compositions, *shominabo*, wine (*shomin*, grape), and *totoshabo*, milk: *totosh*, female breast. The similarity of this word, which Gallatin declares himself unable to explain, with *bi, pi*, water, is sufficiently near.

† Samoyed Grammar, p. 64, omitted in the Dictionary.

In all the seven Californian dialects, of which vocabularies are given in the Journ. Geograph. Soc., vol. ii., the syllable *xa* occurs in the words for water, river, sea, lake. The Pujuni and Copeh, however, use *meny*, *moni*, belonging to the root *bi*; Dakota, *mini*.

English, lake.

1. Sam., *tu*, *turku*, *tudjo*, *tuse*.
Jenis., *dee*, sea; *kurtju*.
Ostjak, *teu*.
Hungar., *to*.
Germ. *see*; Sanskr. *sava*, water;
Pehlvi *zera*, sea.

2. Dakota, *mde*.
Winnebago, *tehha*.
Huron, *utaw rawya*.
Mohawk, *kanyatarle*.
Greenland, *tarajok*, sea; *tessek*,
lake.
In nine Athabaskan dialects, *to*,
water.

Chinuk, *tzalil*.
Tsihaili, *taugit*.
Billechula, *tzalh*.
Chemmesyan, *tzumdah*.
Haidah, *shoo*; *tungha*, sea.

English, sea.

1. Sam., *jam*.
Korjak, *jamüm*, salt.
Chinese, *yang*.
2. Winnebago, *tehchuna*.
Knist., *gaming*.
Ojibbeway (Schoolcraft), *guma*,
water.
Cherokee, *ahmaquaohe*.
Greenland, *imak*.
Tshuktshi, *imah*.
Wailatpu, *jamuc*.
Ugalents, *jaa*.

English, tree, wood.

1. Sam., *paaidu*, *mati*, *man*.

Lapp, *miestag*, tree; *vuovde*, fo-
rest.

Korjak, *utut*, *nguft*.

English, wood; Germ. *wald*,
baum; Fr. *bois*; Gr. *φύρον*.

2. Dakota (sacred language),
paza.

Knist., *mistick*.
Satsikaa, *mistis*.
Abenaki, *abassi*.
Etchemin, *apas*.
Chocta, *upi*.
Ahnenin, *biss*.

Greenland, *orpiik*, *nappo*; *masik*,
the cross-beam in a canoe.

Wailatpu, *mos*.
Kalapuya, *awatiki*.
Sahaptin, *paps*.

English, pine-tree.

1. Sam., *kue*, *kut*, *tede*, *tju*.

Lapp, *guossa*.

Ostj., *xut*.

Jen., *tin*; *chon*, cedar.

O.N. (Icel.), *kvöða*, pitch. Com-
pare Germ. *fichte* and *pech*,
πίρυσ and *πίσσα*.

2. Dakota, *wazi*.

Delaware, *cuwe*.

Narraganset, *cowan*.

Satsikaa, *toitsha*.

Nottoway, *ohotee*.

Chocta, *tiak*.

Tahkali, *tösse*.

Tsihaili, *qama*.

English, stone, mountain.

1. Sam., *pi, fala, fudar, bagir, mor, bor.*

Lapp, *varre.*

Jukagir, *pea*; *pudan*, high.

Korjak, *bukkon, pinugi.*

2. Dakota, *paha.*

Chippeway, *wudju.*

Wailatpu, *apit.*

Shoshoni, *tipi.*

1. Sam., *hoi, kawa, ki, sa, ta.*

Jen., *kar, kai.*

Juk., *küll.*

Korj. *guwön.*

Chinese, *shi.*

O.N. (Icel.), *haugr*, hill; Germ. *hoch*; Eng. *high*; Pers. *koh*, mountain.

2. Dakota, *he.*

Otto, *ohai.*

Minetare, *avocavee.*

Algonkin, *hockunk*, height.

Cayuga, *kaura.*

Attacapa, *kat.*

Chocta, *chaha*, high.

Caddo, *hio*, high.

Greenland, *kakak, karsok.*

Haeeltzuk, *koquish.*

Tsihaili, *ékom.*

Jakon, *kwots.*

Shoshoni, *kaiba.*

Several Califor. dialects, *haix*, &c.

Straits of Fuca, *govachás.*

English, earth.

1. Sam., *mou*; *njanga*, clay.

Lapp, *nane*, mainland.

Korj., *nutenut.*

Teuton. *land.* Compare the word *God* for the transition from *n* to *l*.

2. Dakota, *maka.*

Yankton, *mongca.*

Seneca, *uenjah.*

Chocta, *nunne*, hill.

Greenland, *Kodjak, Tshugats,*

Tshuktshi, nuna; *marak*, (Gr.) clay.

Athabascan, *ninne.*

Umqua, *nanee, nöc.*

Navajo, *ne.*

Jecorilla, *nay.*

Tesuque, *nah.*

Kenai, *altnen, alslin, alshnan.*

Atnah, *nann.*

Koltshani, *nynkaket.*

Kolosh, *llen-ketaanny.*

English, bird.

1. Sam., *kuś.*

Lapp, *éicas.*

2. Dakota, *zetkadang.*

Massachus., *psukses.*

Iroquois, *tshigasko.*

Chocta, *hushi.*

Adahi, *washang.*

Tahkali, *ogaze*, eggs.

Tlatsk., *tshiasi*; *wö-shaiake*, egg.

Kenai, *kakashi*; *kgasja*, egg.

Atnah, *tshetsha.*

Ugalents, *kan-ny*; *kota-ut*, egg.

Koltshani, *tshoje.*

Haeeltzuk, *Billechola, tzeco.*

Chemmesyan, *tzotz.*

Aleutian, *éissu.*

Nootka, *akutap.*

Kolosh, *kot*, egg.

Shoshoni, *kasa*, wing.

Jakon, *kököaia.*

Straits of Fuca, *ucutap.*

Salish, *tlasqoqa.*

Sahaptin, *kakia*; *kotkot*, feathers.

English, egg.

1. Sam., *eng, eang*.
- Jen., *eegh, eng*.
2. Dakota, *witka*.
- Delaware, *wahh*.
- Oneida, *onhoncons*.
- Umqua, *exa*.

English, dog.

1. Sam., *kanak, wueniuk, baggeo, bu*.
- Lapp, *büna, büdnag*.
- Chinese, *kün*.
- Sansk. *baśa*; Eng. *bitch*; Russ. *pes*.
2. Delaware, *mekanne*.
- Huron, *gaguenon*.
- Greenland, *kemmek, kemmo*.
- Kawitshin, Squalyamysh, *skomai*.
- Chinook, *kamokus*.
- Atnah, Noosdalum, *scacah*.
- Haidah, *watts*.
- Lutuami, *watsak*.
- Palaik, *watsaga*.
- California, *wasi*.

English, duck.

1. Sam., *njaby, sipa* (related to *bi*, water, and *jabidm*, drink).
2. Dakota, *skiska*.
- Knist., *sisip*.
- Ojibbeway, *shisip*.
- Tuski, *ékuta*.
- Tsihaili, *sistxlom*.
- Chocta, *shilaklak*, goose.

English, fish.

1. Sam., *kole, hale, kuel*.
- Lapp, *guolle*.
- Juk., *olloga*.
- Korj., *kokajalgating*.
- Jen., *ilti*.

Ostj., xutj.

2. Dakota, *hoghang*.
- Knist., *kenose*.
- Ojibbeway, *kikon*.
- Mohawk, *keyunk*.
- Oneidah, *kunjoon*.
- Chocta, *kullo*, garfish.
- Muskoghe, *tlaklo*.
- Cherokee, *agaula*, perch.
- Greenland, *aulisegak*.
- Eskimo, *khallu*.
- Athabasca, Dogrib, *cloua*.
- Tahkali, *coolay*; *tallo*, salmon.
- Kutchin, *tleukhko*.
- Tlatskanai, *selokwa*, salmon.
- Umqua, *txlee*, salmon.
- Kinai, *tluka*; Atnah, Ugalenz, Inkilik, Inkalit and Koltshan, similar.
- Tsihaili, *kaixaliś*.
- Palaik, *aliś*.
- Wailatpu, *waibalf*.
- Noosdalum, *chaaloh*.
- Cathlascon, *calla*.

English, flesh, meat.

1. Sam., *wati*.
- Lapp, *oadže*.
2. Ojibbeway, *wiyas*.
- Arrapaho, *wonunyah*.
- Miami, *weensama*.
- Iroquois, *owachra*.
- Natchez, *wintse*.
- Greenland, *winek, nikke*.
- Loucheux, *beh*.
- Athabasca, *bid, bet*.

English, ptarmigan.

1. Sam., *kafe, hondie, aba*.
- Chinese, *ko, pa*, pigeon; Latin, *columba*.
2. Dakota, *wakiyedang*, pigeon.

Narragansett, *wskowan*, pigeon.
 Nanticoke, *pakquun*, turkey.
 Satsikaa, *katokin*, partridge.
 Oneida, *oquas*, partridge.
 Chocta, *kofi*, hen, quail; *fakit*, turkey.
 Muskoghe, *kowyguy*, partridge.
 Adaize, *owachuk*, turkey.
 Greenland, *kauio*, ptarmigan.
 Sahaptin, *kuinu*, pigeon.
 Chinook, *kaxaman*, pigeon.
 Shoshoni, *ihövc*.

English, reindeer.

1. Sam., *tho*, *ta*, *ty*.
 Jen., *dól*.
 Greek, $\theta\eta\rho$; Eng. *deer*.
 2. Dakota, *ta* (the moose and any ruminating animal).
 Winnebago, *ca*, deer.
 Cree, *attik*, deer.
 Massachus., *attuk*, deer.
 Illinois, *mousssoah*, deer.
 Menomini, *upahissaah*, deer.
 Satsikaa, *hipasto*.
 Seneca, *chinnoundoh*, elk; *nindunhe*, moose.
 Muskoghe, *itzo*, deer; *ponatta*, wild beast.
 Chocta, *issi*, deer.
 Natchez, *tza*, deer.
 Caddo, *dah*, deer.
 Hichithe, *echu*, deer.
 Riccaree, *watash*, buffalo.
 Greenland, *tukto*, reindeer.
 Athabasca, Dogrib, *edthun*, *etthin*, reindeer.

Kutchin, *bitzey*, reindeer.
 Tahkali, *yestshi*, reindeer.
 Tlatskanai, *tshesle*, deer.
 Umqua, *intshi*, deer.
 Kenai, *notchish*, deer.
 Koltshani, *batshich*, deer.
 Kolosh, *tave*, *watzich*, deer.
 Kawitchin, *tla*, deer.
 Tlaoquatch, *tlog*, deer.
 Salish, *atsulia*, deer.
 Tsihaili, *toixa*, buffalo.
 Kitunaha, *tsopokai*, deer.
 Sahaptin, *tatapai*, deer.
 Kalapuya, *atalim*, deer.
 Palaik, *tasi*, &c.
 Haidah, *csik*.
 Klikitat, *cato*.

English, night, evening, dark.

1. Sam., *pi*, *fi*, *fng*.
 — *paebi*, *faemei*.
 — *ud*, *nödi*.
 Ostj., *idai*.
 Korjak, *tyngfouty*.
 2. Dakota, *tpaza*, dark; *htayetu*, evening.
 Ojibbeway, *tepiikat*.
 Ottawa, *tepiik*.
 Abenaki, *pesede*, evening.
 Delaware, *nepawi*, in the night.
 Menomini, *pekotek*, in the night.
 Utche, *pato*.
 Chocta, *opia*.
 Lutuami, *pśin*.
 Athabaskan dialects, *tata*, *taé*, &c.

If, by a more intimate and accurate knowledge of the languages and social manners prevailing among the aborigines of Siberia and North America, it shall be ultimately proved,—as

has been here merely shadowed forth from a comparison of those few languages that have as yet been scientifically described,—that the American Indians are certainly settlers from Asia, it is evident that this emigration, rather than colonization, must have happened in an age of the remotest antiquity.

The manners of the Americans at the time of the discovery of the continent by Columbus prove this beyond contradiction. They had no cultivated vegetable, they had no domesticated animal (except perhaps the dog), which belonged to the Old World, or which was in use among the nations of Asia and Europe. The Americans were either hunters without agriculture and without cattle, or if they had either, it was evidently (as the llama, the maize, the potato, the tobacco, &c.) of American origin. The adaptation of these natural productions of the western world to the uses of a more improved civilization, must then have been a native invention.

But it is altogether improbable that the emigrants from Asia should have neglected or forgotten to carry along with them their most valuable property. And even if it had been impossible for them to transport across Behring's Straits, corn, the ox, the sheep, and the hog, they would have preserved the idea of the importance of these primary and principal inventions of humanity. In the new country they would have tried to domesticate the buffalo and the Californian sheep, or the peccari; a thing that appears to be by no means difficult, according to the experiments that have been made with some of the animals proper to America.

But nothing of this kind happened. The inhabitants of the whole northern continent down to Panama, at the discovery in 1492, were without any domestic animals at all, except the dog. Agriculture only existed in the most southern and fertile regions, consisting evidently in productions originally tropical, which had spread from thence to some of the more northern tribes.

The American civilization, then, as far as it went, evidently was a production of the native mind, developed in America by the innate resources of the human intellect, the discoveries to

which they led being a proof that the mental powers of the Americans are similar to those of the nations in the Old World. Both showed a capability to adapt the resources of their peculiar climate and soil to the particular uses of man.

The immigration from Asia, then, happened before the domestication of cattle and the cultivation of corn. It was anterior to both the nomadic and the agricultural state of society.

Yet even then arts existed; and mankind was widely advanced from mere animal existence. Even in these arts there is a marked similarity. The rude implements and arms, wrought principally of stone, that are dug out of the tumuli in the north of Europe, closely resemble the instruments made use of by the Eskimos and other American tribes when first they became acquainted with Europeans. 'This likeness, however, may be considered accidental, or as a proof of the identity of the human intellect; the same inventions being made by different men under the same circumstances.

But here comparative philology assists in solving the problem. If it is found that there also exists a similarity in the name, then this combination of accidents or coincidences becomes an improbability amounting to an absurdity.

The existing vocabularies offer but a few words belonging to the arts, but the arts of savages also were few; yet some of the most important are noted down.

The *boat* is called by the Samoyeds *ngano*, *ngandui*, *angi*, *anže*; Lap. *vanas*, *vantsa*; Jukagirs, *aćel*; Korjaks, *agwat*.

In America there is Dakota, *wata*; Algonkin, *amochol*, *aguiden*; Iroquois, *kauuwau*; Eskimo (Greenland), *kajak*, *umiak*; Chinook, *ikanewe*; Shasti, *ikhui*; Chimmesyan, *nohwio*; Klikitat, *wassas*; Cathlascou, *cunaim*; California, *waxat*. The word *canoe*, adopted by the early navigators from an American tongue, corresponds closely with the Samoyed *ngano*.

The *house* is called by the Samoyeds *ed*, *ede*, *iede*, but the fuller and more original form is probably the Lapponic *viesso*, *goatte*, that also occurs in the Samoyedic *koać*, *kuać* (village); the Ostiak *xat*; the Jeniseyan *khus*, *hukut*, corresponding to

the English *cot*, *cottage*, *hut*; Sanskrit *kūta*, *kota*. The same word is found in the Dakota *wizi*. The common American expression *wigwam* is from the Algonkin, but includes probably the possessive *his*. The proper form is *igwam*, Cree *igi*, Massachusetts *ik*, Chippeway *ainda* (home); in Eskimo (Greenl.) *iglo*. Another Greenland form for the same idea, *inne*, resembles also the German *in*; Icel. *inni*; Kolush, *it*; Loucheux, *jetz*; Oregon (Paliaik), *tsitzu*; Nootka, *mukati*; Tsihaili, *xax*; Haeeltzuk, *gook-qua* (house), *gookquilla* (village); Klikitat, *coosie*; Kalapuya, *keowtan*; California, *ketcha*, *kivit*; Athabasca (Tahkali), *kux*, *yah*, *yok*, *cooin*; Shoshoni, *kuo*.

Another Samoyed word for the tent or house is *mat*, *mea*, *ma*, *mèaja*; Jukagir, *memü*, Tskuktshi, *mautaak*. This appears in the Algonkin (Blackfoot or Satsikaa), *muyai*; Athabasca (Tahkali), *ma*; Oregon, Shasti, *öma*; Nootka, *mukati*; Haidah, *natee*; Tlaquatch, *maas*; Umqua, *ma*.

A Samoyede word for *village*, *town*, is *kerä*, *kereme*, and *talo*, related to *tura*, chamber; Lapp, *dallo*, garden; Finn, *kartano*; Jeniseyan, *kelet*; and *khus*, *hukut*, house; Turkish and Jen. *tura*; Hungarian, *kert*, garden. In the European languages, Scand. *gård*; Fr. *court*; Ital. *corte*; Lat. *hortus*; Rus. *gorod**

In the Sioux family there is Quappa *tou*, Osage, *towah*; in Algonkin, Narragansetts, *otan*; Muskoghe, *talofah*; Sahaptin, *tlaknit*; Billechola, Haidah, *shoolh*; Chimmesyan, *wul*; Yamkallie, *kulha*, house; Kawitchen, *kueh*, *tala*, *lims*; Athabasca (Tahkali), *tlane*.

The word for *door* is connected with this Sam. *ngoa*, *mada*, *muada*; Iroquois (Seneca), *kawhoah*; Caddo, *duswatcha*; Eskimo, *matto*; Oregon, Billechoola, *mum ood ota*; Tlaquatch, *mushussum*.

From the earliest discoverers and navigators, it is sufficiently known that the more southern, and also more improved, tribes of North America, worked metals for implements and ornaments,—the quantity of gold in use among the natives being in fact the principal source of admiration to the Spaniards among the wonders of the New World. But it is

* See Wedgwood on the Finn and Lapp, Philol. Soc. Trans. 1855, p. 6.

equally certain that this knowledge was extended up to the very northernmost tribes, whose manufacturing industry was, however, from natural causes, chiefly confined to the copper found among them in an almost pure state. It thus becomes quite as reasonable a course to derive the employment of metals among the Athabascans, Eskimos, and other northern tribes, from Asia as from Mexico. The word *tagai* was employed by the Samoyedes to denote a *metal*. But which? Iron was not the oldest. In several languages a word of the same root denotes both iron and copper:—

	Kolčan.	Atna.
Iron. . . .	<i>čácej</i>	. . . . <i>ketiĆ.</i>
Copper. . .	<i>čičan</i>	. . . . <i>čety.</i>

In Dakota all metals are called *maza*, and merely distinguished with adjectives: *maza-sapa* (black *m*=iron); *m-ska* (white *m*=silver); *m-ša* (red *m*=copper), &c.

In Collinson's Account of the Proceedings of H.M.S. *Enterprise* (Journ. Roy. Geog. Soc. 1855, p. 201), it is stated of an Eskimo tribe, "this being their first communication with white men," "very few iron implements were found among them, the most warlike being a spear-shaped knife made of native copper." Holmberg states (p. 27) that the Kolosh (Thlinkithi), before they were acquainted with Europeans or the use of iron, knew how to manufacture the native copper which is thrown out by the Athna or Copper River, and even now is highly valued by the Indians.

Iron is called by the Samoyeds, *basa*. In Finn. *säppi* =smith; in Dacota, *maza*=metal; in Upsaroka, *mitsce*; in Minetari, *matsi*=knife; Narraganset, *mowashuk* (knife); Sussee, *marsh* (knife); Athabaskan, *bes* (knife); Lutuami, *wate* (iron and knife); Fall Indians, *warth*, knife; Ahnenin, *wahata*, knife.

In Eskimo, *savek*=iron and knife, *sabbiortok*=smith; Tshuktshi, *čepiak*=knife; Choctah, *bushpo*.

But the knife was originally made of *stone*. Hence in Samoyed it is *tagai*, *har*, *falli*, *laku*, *kaleś*; Yenisean, *ton*; Korjak, *waiia*; Ostjak, *kedje*; Madjlar, *kes*.

Among the Dakotas the sword is called *maza-sagye* (*maza* = metal); the knife by the Algonkins (Miamac), *wagan*; Athabascans (Tahkali), *texe*; Kinay, *kissaki*; Loucheux, *tlay*; Oregon (Sahaptin), *wals*, *tekék*, and *tsaise* (arrows); Haeltzuk, *taio*; Okanagan, *tzuk*, (arrows), *tuchte*; Muskhoghe, *islelafka*; Klikitat, *techye* (spear), *tooks* (iron).

The very interesting question, what nations in America were acquainted with the working of metals when they left the shores of Asia, might thus be brought nearer to a conclusion, if we knew in their languages all the synonyms for the words *smith*, *metal*, *iron*, *knife*, *sword*.

The *axe*, *hatchet*, is an implement formed of stone by the rudest savages and the oldest nations, as is sufficiently proved by comparing the arms from the South Sea with those that are dug out of tumuli. Its name among a great many nations is evidently related to this word for *knife*.

Among the Samoyedes the axe is called *sumba*, *tubka*; Jukagirs, *numundzhi*; Yeniseyans, *tok*, *ćok*; Ostjakians, *tajem*; Algonkins, *togkunk*, *tamahican* (thence the word *tomahawk*); Iroquois, *atauhoiu*; Woccons, *tauunta*; the Eskimos (Cukći), *kalkapak*; the Tahkali, *senötl*; Neatku, *tawish*; Tsihaili, *tlömen*.

To make a sort of thread out of the sinews of animals is an art as old as the bowstring and the attempts to form a dress out of the skin of an animal.

To *spin*, is in Samoyede *panau*; Lapponic, *banam*; Ostjak, *puntem*; Finnic, *punon*; Hungarian, *fon*. In Dakota it is *pahmung*; Eskimo (Greenl.), *perdluk*, *nugit*. The word shows great similarity with the English *spin*, and seems to be derived from *pa*, finger (the thread being made by fingering)*.

The *awl*, also used as a *needle* or a *gimlet*, must be as old. In Samoyede, *parte*; Ostjak, *por*, *par*; Finnic, *pura*; Hung. *furá*; Lapon, *bogham*† (to make holes); in Eskimo (Greenl.), *putlout*.

* In 'Det Norske Sprogs væsentligste Ordforraad' of C. A. Holmboe, Wien, 1852, *sub voce spana*, it is shown that this word is connected with a great many having the signification *to stretch*, *to dilate*. The common origin may be as before stated; the finger being the plainest of all these ideas.

† Compare the German *bohre*, *bohr*; Lat. *forare*; Gr. *πέρω* (*περόνη*, *πώρος*), hindust. *phornâ*.

If the Dakota word *ta-hing-špa* had been found only in a common trades vocabulary (and there, perhaps, mis-spelt), it would have been considered as a most convincing proof of the radical dissimilarity of the Siberian and the American languages. Now, as we fortunately have an excellent dictionary of the Dakota, we see that the word *ta-hing-špa* is a composition of *ta-hing*, buffalo or deer's hair. *Ta-hing-špa* then is an *awl* for making holes for the thread of *deers' hair*; *špa* alone is then the proper word for the awl, and sufficiently like the Asiatic appellations. The first part of this composition *ta*, *deer*, is also pure Siberian, being the Samoyed name for the *rein-deer*. By a further composition, the Dakotas, of this word, form *ta-hing-špa-ćikaday* (*little awl=needle*).

A *bag* is, in Samoyed, *ngaese, koža, pad, foadac*; Dakota, *unkšu, wožuha*; Cree, *wut*; Greenl. *pok*; compare Old Norse (Icel.) *poki, posi, pungr*; Swed. *ficka*; Chocta, *bahta*; English, *bag, pouch (poke)*; French, *poche (pouque)*.

That the religious ideas of the North American Indians show a very close similarity to the system of conjuring or witchcraft (Shamanism) known to prevail among the Siberians and all the other Finnic tribes, will be conceded on a comparison of the best accounts we have got of them. The conjuror (Shaman) is called, by the Samoyedes, *abes, tadibea*; in Dakota, *wapiye sa*; in Koltshani, *tizenne*. Among the Greenlanders, the most common name was *angedkok*, derived evidently from the root *ang*, signifying *old*, in a great many of their words. But another name for their priests was *tarajok* (derived from *tak=darkness*, and *tarak=shade*). If the Samoyed *tadibea* is derived from Sam. *tasi, below*, the ideas are as similar as the words.

Although the life of savages in general, and most particularly that of the Indians of America, is commonly considered as the very ideal of liberty, yet it is sufficiently certain that domestic servitude, in its worst form, exists in full development among many of even the rudest tribes, and seems to be known to all; although the number of bondsmen may be comparatively small, both because there is little use for them, and because most of the prisoners of war are killed from brutal revenge. In the Finnic Kalevala, *slaves* are mentioned as

anterior to the conversion of the Finns to Christianity. *Slaves* are found among the Siberians. In North America this system has been developed to a considerable extent among the Kolosh and Konjagis on the Pacific coast. That it is common to all the nations in question is sufficiently apparent from their languages. The *slave* is called, by the Samoyeds, *kadsh*, *kotie*, *tidio*, *tandiaa*, *habi*; the Lapps, *goócostak* (a servant); Dakotas, (*wiáca*) *toka*, *htani* (work); Eskimo, *kevgal*; Greenland, *kiggak*; Konjav, *kajur*; Kolush, *kux*; Haeeltzuk, *kaghkah*; Chimmesyan, *uchack*; Tunghaase, *kooch*; Iroquois, *wawun teotaut* (labour).

The words that have thus been found to present similarities between Asiatic and North American languages (*fire, metal, copper, knife, axe, boat, house, tent, village, door, spin, awl, bag, dog, slave, God, priest*), relate to arts, institutions, and superstitions, of which no Asiatic or North American tribe is ignorant. To this series of similar manners may be added some others, which, if not so generally prevalent, yet offer a still more singular coincidence, as being more arbitrary and being far from necessary to the well-being of man, rather prejudices hurtful to national improvement and individual happiness. To this class of similitudes belong the clanish institution and its concomitant badges and signs; the tattooing, the eradication of the beard, the shaving of the head leaving a single lock of hair, and the prejudice against using milk for food*. From the contemporaneous prevalence of such absurd customs among hundreds of nations and millions of men on both sides of the Pacific, it may be still safer to argue to a common descent, than from natural workings of the human mind. If direct evidence fails for a historical fact, and recourse is to be had to circumstances that can only be explained by assuming the fact, then the mass of circumstances is no more important than those vestiges that are so arbitrary that they exclude the hypothesis of simultaneous hitting upon the same idea. To this class belong both similar sounds and arbitrary fashions.

The circumstances we know of the civilization or the barbarism of the American aborigines point then irrefragably to

* 'On the Liberal Government of the Ruder Nations,' by Lewis K. Daa. New Edinb. Philos. Journ. v., 1857.

its author and to the place whence it is derived. As for the time when the immigration took place, the low grade of all the Indian tribes—putting aside the Peruvians and Mexicans—proves that the settlement must have happened in the very remotest ages. Yet from this very reason it cannot be viewed as a premeditated and combined national effort, but as a succession of wanderings across the ocean bridges—the Aleutian Islands and Behring's Straits—by single individuals or families, partly the effect of accident on hunting or fishing expeditions, and partly of expulsion in wars. The infinite multiplicity of nations in America and their mutual hostility, as well as the surprising paucity of their numbers, equally correspond with this view of the subject.

It is then sufficiently probable that the grouping of the Indians in well-defined ethnological families, an examination of their manners at the commencement of their contact with Europeans, and of their language, will lead to important historical conclusions. It may be allowed me here merely to hint at two obvious facts;—that the lowest savages—unacquainted with houses and garments—are found in South America only, in Brazil and Guyana, farthest off from Asia; and that the fishing tribes that border the Arctic and Pacific oceans from Labrador to Oregon—the Eskimos, the Athabascans, and their kindred—being in the closest contact with Asia, are also the most improved, if we take into account their hard climate. The Kolush, for instance, do not appear to be inferior in any way to the Asiatics of Kamschatka and its adjacent islands. Does not this observation point out the beginning and the end of the immigration?

Yet even the latest of these settlers has not arrived at the pastoral development of the Samoyedes, but stops short on a still more primæval grade. Why then did not the immigration of Asiatics into America continue after the acquisition of a higher culture?

The answer to this question is twofold. First, there never was founded on the eastern coast of Asia any trading or conquering state, that was inclined to make the discovery of, and to form regular settlements in, a foreign land of which a vague report only might be heard. As for the accidental drift-

ings over of fishermen and hunters, as well as the pushing forward of the nearest Aleutian islanders, these additions to the population of America were met with a great obstacle when the coast and even the interior wildernesses were in a manner occupied by a set of cruel possessors or claimants of the soil. The more the older nations of America multiplied by their own increase, the greater became the chance that any new-comer would be exterminated on landing, or perhaps adopted into an existing tribe, and thus leave no trace of a peculiar nationality after him.

That the tribes of New England ultimately repulsed the attempts of the Norwegian discoverers of Finland to settle on their territory, is a well-known proof of their ability to resist a small band of colonists, or in fact any that did not either adopt the roving habits of the natives,—that offer some chances of escaping, but also of becoming a savage tribe;—or on the other hand, who did not establish themselves in fortifications impossible to take by assault or surprise.

The chief languages collated are the Samoyed and Dakota. To the comparison of these two, the other languages, less fully illustrated, and less sufficiently known, are subsidiary. In a paper published elsewhere, the Asiatic affinities of the Athabaskan tongues, interjacent to the Dakota area and Behring's Straits, are indicated. They are as decided as the preceding. If the *data* were equal, they would probably be more so. The evidence, too, of the numerals is omitted, forming a separate notice, involving certain points of criticism, the exposition of which would be extraneous here.

CHERTE: *have in cherte*=hold dear:—

Thou comyst to late, for gadryd up be
 The most fresh flourys by personys thre
 Of which tweyne han fynsshed here fate,
 But þe brydde *hath datropos yet in cherte*
 As Gower, Chauncer, and Joon Lytgate.

Bokenam, *Lyvys of Seyntys* (A.D. 1447), p. 117.

Fr. *avoir quelqu'un en cherte, cierte, avoir cher* (Burguy Gloss. and Gram. de la Langue d'Oil, i. 278):—

Je ne t'ain [*aime*] tant ne tant n' *ai en cierte*
 Que je te die mon cuer ne mon pense.

La Chanson Ogier de Danemarche, par Raimbaut de Paris (Paris, 1842), vv. 8786, 8787.

XXII.—ON THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE KELTIC SUFFIX *AGH* OR *ACH* 'LITTLE,' IN THE LATIN VOCABULARY. BY T. HEWITT KEY, Esq., M.A.

[Read February the 22nd*.]

§ I. INTRODUCTION.

In my paper on English Diminutives, which in its first sketch was intended solely as an introduction to the Diminutives of the Latin language, some advantage was found in starting from the Gaelic suffix *ach* or *ag*, or, to combine both in one earlier form, *agh*. The very nature of this medial aspirate, scarcely belonging to articulate sound, accounted in some measure for the great variety of forms by which it was found to be represented among ourselves. Passing through *och*, *ock*, *ow*; *ick* and *ie* or *y* (*lass-ock*, *lass-ow*, *lass-ick*, *lass-ie*, *lass-y*), it subsequently appeared in almost every variety that our alphabet can denote. This of course was startling, but the strangeness of the fact might perhaps have been in part accounted for by the subordinate character of the syllable both in position and in power. The latter part of a word is naturally liable to a less careful pronunciation; and even if the suffix had always preserved its definite meaning, that meaning would have been of less moment than the leading idea to which it was attached. But in truth the diminutival character of the suffix was often lost sight of, especially in the numerous cases where the primitive had disappeared.

Now the law of language,—for it seems to be a law—by which the simple substantives are supplanted by derivatives originally coined for the purpose of denoting diminutives, obtains on Italian ground to an extent not surpassed by any other nation. The ideas, to take a familiar example, of brother and sister, can be expressed solely by what are clearly diminutives, *fratello* and *sorella*.

But can we reasonably adopt for Latin the same course of argument which served our purpose in the treatment of lowland

* After this date the paper was recast, and read at three of the Society's Meetings in 1857. Several alterations and additions have since been made.

Scotch and English? The Gael is the immediate neighbour of the Scot, but has always been too far distant to have had any direct influence upon the language of the Italian peninsula. This is true: but on the other hand, in the early ages of Roman history, a Gallic nation held undisputed possession of a large portion of that country, and has left to this day a record of the fact in the name of Senegaglia. Moreover it is now an admitted truth, that there existed a strong affinity between the Keltic and the classical languages; and this affinity, it is believed, must not be limited to the vocabulary or roots of the language, but will be found in the details of structure, by which, from common roots, the longer words were built up.

No doubt there are broad distinctions between the Keltic languages and the soft dialects of Southern Italy. This very syllable *agh* for instance, is one which a Roman of old would have found it as impossible to pronounce, as a Southron in England of the present day. The Roman indeed dealt little in aspirates. His *h* was but a symbol, devoid of all living power, and his *f*,—something different from a Greek ϕ ,—was all but limited in use to the initial place in a syllable*; while the sounds for which the Sanskrit alphabet possessed simple definite characters, but which we can only denote most awkwardly by *gh* and *bh*, were alike strangers to the eye and to the ear of both Greeks and Romans. Had fate handed down to us specimens of Latin, as spoken in ancient Etruria, we should probably have had a much rougher specimen of the language, than we find in Cicero and Virgil; and the contents of this paper might have been matter so patent to every scholar, as not to need discussion. As it is, I must request a patient hearing of the whole paper before an opinion on its truth is finally adopted.

But if the Keltic languages are so loaded with gutturals and aspirates† as to have in sound little that is common to the soft and harmonious Italian, is it not perverse to commence

* *Ruf-us* is an exception, but here also we have *rub-er*.

† It were much to be wished that the orthography *asperate* could be reestablished in its rights, as against the usurper *aspirate*.

the inquiry on that side; and above all to take as the starting-point a syllable which was confessedly unpronounceable by a Roman? The answer is, that this is the very reason why I select a Keltic form of the suffix. It is in the rougher varieties that the earlier forms of language are found, but though the asperities are smoothed down in the later and more corrupt dialects, traces are often left, which are only intelligible when compared with the more rugged specimens. The soft sounds heard in *Clovis*, and still more in the modern *Louis*, give us a very different and a less exact idea of the genuine word than *Chlodovicus*, *Ludovicus*, and *Ludwig*. Similarly *Mérovée*, as the French write it, was the founder of the *Merovingian* dynasty, and called (says Sismondi) by his Teutonic countrymen *Meer-wig*, 'the warrior of the sea.' An Englishman, like a Roman, is apt to dispense with many guttural sounds. He deals in such words as the substantives *way*, *day*, *honey*; the adjectives *any*, *manly*; and the verbs *may*, *slay*, *lie*, *see*. He writes, but only writes, the aspirated guttural of *Armagh*, *Youghal*, *Brougham*, *Strachan*, *might*, *slaughter*, *though*. At other times, while writing *gh*, he substitutes the sound of a labial aspirate, in lieu of what is too rough for his throat, as in *laugh*, *cough*, *rough*. Meanwhile there are kindred languages which retain in the representatives of our soft words all the original asperity, as *weg*, *tag*, *honig*; *einig*, *mannlich*; *mögen*, *schlagen*, *legen*, *sehen*; *schlacht*, *doch*, *lacheln*, &c. Nay, at times our own language in a derived form, restores in some degree the consonant which the simpler word has discarded, as *Norway*, but *Norweg-ian*.

Precisely in this way I hope to show, by the evidence of kindred languages, and by the fuller forms of Latin derivatives, that the suffix *agh*, or something near it, must have belonged at one time to a very large number of Latin substantives, adjectives, and verbs. The exact form indeed, the very letters *agh*, one can have no hope of presenting; and we must also recollect that the Latin, like our own language, has a strong tendency to suppress a guttural at the end of a syllable. As we say *may*, for a verb whose stem is really *mag-*, so the Romans, who possessed the very same root in the adj. *magnus*

and *maximus*, had no trace of the *g* in *maior* (pronounced *mayor*), or in *mavolo* and *malo*. Still we shall not unfrequently find some guttural in the words which contain our suffix; and even when it is no longer visible, I hope in many cases to trace it by the evidence of derivatives.

§ II. AGH, as seen in Latin Substantives.

A first search for *agh** in the Latin vocabulary has no great appearance of success, for we can lay our hands on but two examples, *limac*-† a slug, and *fornac*- a furnace, or perhaps at first rather a melting-pot. But this deficiency will be fully compensated before long; and in the interval we may point to the abundant supply of examples which are found in the sister tongue; examples too in which the diminutival power of the suffix is self-evident. (See Pott, *Etym. Forsch.* ii. 506, 507.)

αβᾶκ-‡, *m.* a slab.

πιῖᾶκ-, *f.* a spring.

θριῖᾶκ-, *f.* a lettuce.

σχιῖᾶκ-, *m.* (σχιῖδη, *f.*), a splinter.

πυρῖᾶκ-, *m.* bottom.

ῥοῖᾶκ-, *f.* dwarf-rose: cf. ῥοδο-, *n* §.

λιθᾶκ-, *f.* a small stone: cf. λιθο-.

μοθᾶκ-, *m.* child of a Helot.

ῥοῖᾶκ-? *f.* pomegranate: = ῥοῖά.

σπαλᾶκ-, *m.* mole.

σαλᾶκ-, *m.* miner's sieve.

σμιλᾶκ-, *f.* yew-tree.

παλλᾶκ-, *m. f.* youth, maiden, Eust.

μελλᾶκ-, *m.* a youth: cf. μεῖρᾶκ-.

στρατυλλᾶκ-, *m.* a general *en petit*.

κολᾶκ-, *m.* flatterer.

πλᾶκ-, *f.* a flat; (for παλ-ᾶκ-?)

ἰλᾶκ-, *m.* a barker = *whelp*?

αυλᾶκ-, or αλοκ-, *f.* a furrow.

θυλᾶκ-, *f.* bag, pouch (*Hesyeh.*).

σκυλᾶκ-, *m. f.* young dog.

μυλᾶκ-, *m.* mill-stone: cf. μυλη.

φυλᾶκ-, *m.* guard.

βωλᾶκ-, *f.* clod: dim. of βωλο-, *m* §.

καμᾶκ-, *m. f.* a pole.

σαμᾶκ-, *m.* a mat.

λειμᾶκ-, *f.* meadow.

κλιμᾶκ-, *f.* ladder.

* *Ach*, *ag*, *an*, and *ag-an*, are diminutival suffixes of Gaelic substantives; *ach* of Gaelic adjectives; *ach* and *ig* of Welsh substantives; *agh* of Manx consuetudinal verbs; *ek* of Breton adjectives,—*ik*, *ig*, of substantives.

† This word in its first syllable no doubt containing the same element as *lim-o-* mud, *leim*, German, glue, *lime* Eng., employed in making the sticking material mortar, and *slime*.

‡ These words are arranged alphabetically, according to the *final* letters, an order which is always to be preferred where suffixes are under examination. The list is derived chiefly from Hoogeveen and Liddell and Scott. But see also Lobeck's 'Paralipomena,' p. 275.

§ See below, § XI.

ἐρμάκ-, *f. pl.* heap of stones.
 βωμάκ-, *f.* a small raised place :
 dim. of βωμο-*.
 κλωμάκ- } *m.* a rocky place.
 κρωμάκ- }
 πινακ-, *m.* a plank, board.
 θρινάκ-, *f.* or τρινάκ-, *f.* a three-
 pronged fork.
 θυννάκ-, *m.* small thunny-fish :
 dim. of θυννο-*.
 δοάκ-, *m.* a reed.
 λαρνάκ-, *f. m.* a coffer, a box.
 κλωνάκ-, a young shoot (*Hesych.*):
 dim. of κλων-.
 βοάκ-, *m.* a kind of fish.
 σκολοπάκ-, *m.* a woodcock.
 ῥωπάκ-, *f.* a shrub : ῥωπ-, a shrub.
 δρωπάκ-, *m.* a pitch-plaster.
 χαράκ-, *m. f.* a pointed stake.
 νεβράκ-, *m.* a young animal :
 dim. of νεβρό-, a fawn*.
 δράκ-, *m.* a clenched hand.
 ψυδρακ-, *m.* a blister, a pimple.
 κεράκ-!, *m.* a horn (*Hesych.*).

ανθράκ-, *m.* charcoal (piece of?).
 σκυθρακ- or } *m.* a youngster.
 σκυρθακ- }
 μειράκ-, *m.?* *f.* boy?, girl.
 κοράκ-, *m.* a raven, crow.
 τετράκ-, *m.* a kind of grouse.
 ύράκ-, *m.* a shrew-mouse.
 στυράκ-, *m.* lower spike of a spear.
 στυράκ-, *f.* the storax-shrub.
 διφράκ-, *f.* a seat : dim of διφρο-,
 *m. f**.
 νοσσακ-, *m.* a chick.
 πτάκ-, *f.* a hare, &c. : = πτωκ-.
 πορτάκ-, *f.* a calf : cf. πορτι-, *f.* a
 heifer.
 μαστάκ-, *f.* mouth, &c. Compare
 μυστάκ-, *m.* upper lip, &c.
 ῥωστάκ-, *m.* a stand.
 μυάκ-, *m.* a sea-muscle.
 ῥυάκ-, *m.* a stream.
 συάκ-, *m.* a kind of pulse.
 δελφάκ-, *m. f.* a young pig.
 ομφάκ-, *f.* an unripe grape, olive,
 girl.

The list just given is confined to words in which the suffix *ακ* is known or believed to have a short vowel. It might be largely increased by words equally available for our purpose, which have a suffix *ᾱκ* as *οιᾱκ-* *m.* a tiller ; or *ᾱγ* as *λαταᾱγ-* *f.* the splash made by drops of wine ; or *ᾱγ*, as *ῥᾱγ-†* a berry. And over and above these, there are derivatives from nouns in *ακ*, &c. which have been superseded by tertiary forms derived from them, as *μαννακ-ιο-* *n.* a little necklace, *καψακιο-*, *n.* and *καψακα-* (nom. *καψακης*) *m.*, beside a simpler *καψα-* a box or chest ; *σωρακο-* *m.* a basket ; *βατιακη-* a sort of cup ; *πιθακνα-* or *φιδακνα-* *f.* a wine-jar ; beside *πιθο-* *m.* the same : in fact, all these words seem to guarantee the previous

* See below, § XI,

† A word beginning with *ρ* has always lost one or two preceding letters, so that even in this apparent monosyllable *ᾱγ* is but a suffix.

existence of the simpler *μαννακ-*, *καψακ-*, *σωρακ-*, *βατιακ-*, *πιθακ-*.

But are there any Latin substantives which exhibit the suffix *agh*, shorn of all trace of both aspirate and guttural? After much reflection on the subject, I venture to affirm that nearly all the words which constitute the first declension come under this head; but the assertion is one which can only hope to obtain the conviction of readers, when it has been well supported by argument*.

I have already pointed to our own words *way* and *day*, as having lost a final guttural. But these very words are represented in Latin by *via-* and *die-*; or we may even say *dia-*, considering the form of *Dia-na-* 'the goddess of light,' and the adjective *quotidia-no*.

These form, no doubt, but a slender basis for my argument. Let it next be asked whether a consideration of the adjectival forms *lig-neo-*, made of wood, *pic-eo-*, made of pitch, does not justify the belief that a final guttural once attached itself to the four-and-twenty nouns of the *a* or first declension, whence are formed the following adjectives:—

fab-ac-eo-.	viol-ac-eo-.	lapp-ac-eo-.
herb-ac-eo-.	ferul-ac-eo-.	heder-ac-eo-.
canic-ac-eo-.	form-ac-eo-.	ros-ac-eo-.

* The origin of the final *a* in this declension, as well as of the final *o* in the second declension, two classes which include a decided majority of all the Latin substantives, has long been a desideratum; nor does there seem good ground for assenting to the doctrine, which I have heard propounded in conversation, that the little suffixes in question may be the feminine and masculine definite articles attached to the end of the noun, as is the habit of the Scandinavian languages. At any rate, the idea expressed in the definite article forms no essential part of the words so ending. If it be thought that the vowels *o* and *a*, though not connected with the article, were yet added for the sake of distinguishing genders, the answer is, that the old Latin had no aversion to masculines in *a*, witness *Cinna*, *Sulla*, *P. Cornelius Scipio Asina*, *Nasica*, *scriba*, *advena*, &c., nor to feminines in *o*, as seen in *humo-*, *piro-* a pear-tree. &c., to say nothing of the Greek *οδο-*, *νησο-*, *κερασο-*, and the numerous Greek adjectives, such as *ὁ καὶ ἡ ἀπειρος*. Indeed, that it was not the office of the vowel *o* to denote masculines, nor of the vowel *a* to denote feminines, is shown by the fact, that in Gothic, *a* by preference is attached to masculines, and *o* to feminines.

ole-ac-eo-.	membran-ac-eo-.	bet-ac-eo-.
tili-ac-eo-.	aren-ac-eo-.	cret-ac-eo-.
argill-ac-eo-.	aven-ac-eo-.	chart-ac-eo-.
favill-ac-eo-.	gallin-ac-eo-.	test-ac-eo-.
ampull-ac-eo-.	resin-ac-eo-.	malv-ac-eo-*

Of these, be it observed, a large half belong to the botanical world.

Two of the nouns which appear in the list just given, have other derivatives which confirm the suspicion of a lost final guttural, viz. *ferul-ag-on- f.* 'a sort of fennel,' and *lapp-ag-on-* 'a plant of the bur kind;' alongside of which we may place *cunila-* and *cunilag-on- f.*, *simila-* and *similag-on- f.*, the plants so called, *serra-* and *serrag-on-*, 'saw-dust.' That the Latin language possessed a simple suffix *on* is clearly seen in *turb-on-*, *scaturig-on-*, (beside *scatureg-* nom. *scaturex*), *asperg-on-*, and *harpag-on-*. Furthermore, before the paper is closed, other reasons will be given for disbelieving the received doctrine that *gon* is a simple suffix of the Latin language. Moreover, a question virtually the same, was considered in the paper on English and Scotch Diminutives, where such a form as *lass-ick-in* was analysed and divided as here marked, in accordance with Grimm's views and with the formation which prevails in Gaelic, as *cor-ag-an*. I therefore claim to write *ferul-ag-on-*, &c., the first two syllables of which correspond to our own *fennel*, rather than *ferula-gon-*. But if the division suggested for *ferul-ag-on-* be adopted, I must put in a similar claim in behalf of *citre-ag-on-*, *ostri-ag-on-*, *sel-ag-on-*, *tus-sil-ag-on-*, *lactil-ag-on-*, *ustil-ag-on-*, *mutil-ag-on-*, *mustell-ag-on-*, *sol-ag-on-*, *capr-ag-on-*, *lustr-ag-on-*, *laur-ag-on-*, *trix-ag-on-*; and this the more, because, like *ferul-ag-on-*, they are all names of plants. *Ole-ag-on-* too and *tili-ag-on-* are implied in the adjectives *oleagin-eo-*, *tiliagin-eo-*.

Nor let it be objected that nearly all of these are little known to ordinary scholars. In an inquiry of the present kind, words that belong to the lower currents of society and to the rustic, deserve even more attention than the words of polite society, for the latter are often of foreign origin, and

* So *verna-* has *vern-ac-ulo-* beside it.

even when really home-grown, are still subject to those corrupting abbreviations which mark the fast life of a city; whereas the countryman, setting a less value on time, is contented with those drawls which belong to the fuller forms of language*.

I have already pointed out that the double suffix *ag-on-* corresponds with great precision to the double suffix *ag-an-* of the Gaelic, which was discussed in the preceding paper (p. 240); let me here add that the simpler forms *ferulag-*, *similag-*, *cunilag-*, &c., of which I have quoted eighteen denoting plants, stand well beside our own plant-names which end in *ock*, as *charlock*, *shamrock*, *sourock* (sorrel), the more so as *g* Latin should correspond to *k* English.

But I must leave the argument at present incomplete, because I do not wish to anticipate what will have to be said of forms which in adopting the suffix *agh* have modified the vowel. Indeed the truth of the doctrine will not appear in its full force, until the paper be before the mind as a whole; for if my views are right, every separate portion of the argument throws light on every other portion.

§ III. AGH, as seen in Latin Verbs.

I next proceed to consider the formation of secondary verbs by the addition of the same suffix. And two points here require previous notice. In the paper on English Diminutives, it was contended that the addition of a diminutival suffix to verbs often introduced the idea expressed in the Latin *paulatim*, and so produced verbs of a repetitive, inceptive, imperfect, or continued character. In confirmation of this view, it may be as well to quote the authority of Dr. Johnson, who had certainly no preconceived theory to bias him. In the grammar prefixed to his dictionary, speaking of the formation of verbs by the addition of an element containing the liquid *l*, that is, the very suffix which plays so leading a part in our own diminutival substantives, he says:—“If there be an *l*, as in *jingle*, *tingle*, *mingle*, *sprinkle*, *twinkle*,

* For example, in cities we pronounce *meat* just as we do the adj. *meet*; but a clown says *më-at*.

there is implied a frequency or iteration of small acts, &c.” In confirmation of this view, reference was made to the regular habit which prevails in the Finn language, of employing the diminutival suffix *el* with verbs, to express this very idea, as *lask-en* ‘dimittere,’ *lask-el-en* ‘paulatim dimittere.’ On a former occasion (Proceedings, iv. 93), a similar argument was drawn from the Manx variety of the Keltic family, where the suffix *agh* added to the stem of any verb whatever, produces what, by one of the grammarians of that language (Leo), is called the ‘modus consuetudinalis.’

That verbs expressive of certain ideas should be prone to assume a suffix of a power equivalent to the word *paulatim*, will, on a little reflexion, appear to be very intelligible. Take for example, the ideas expressed by our own verbs walking, following, writing, drawing, digging, rubbing, growing, breathing, all of which express aggregates of many petty acts.

This premised, I proceed to deal with the Latin verbs which appear to have taken the suffix *agh*, or rather its representative *ag* and *ah*.

Plag- of *plango*, seen also in the sb. *plāga*. A monosyllabic verb is not always a root; and scarcely ever so when it begins or ends with two consonants. In the word under discussion, I contend that a fuller form of the verb is *pal-ag-*, and that the syllable *pal-* alone is radical, with the notion of flatness, as in *palma-* the flat-hand, opposed to the clenched fist, *pal-ud-* a marsh, *pal-am* openly, as in a plain; and as *d* and *l* are readily interchangeable in Latin, we have *pad-* (*pando*) with the same idea of flatness, or an expanse. *Plaudo*, beginning with the same consonants as *plango*, also denotes the striking with a flat surface. Thus the idea expressed by our own verb clapping, belongs to both. The clapping of a bird’s wings is expressed by *plango*, of a man’s hands by *plaudo*.

Strag-.—The anomaly of a perfect and supine *stravi*, *stratum*, beside an imperfect *sternere*, is also seen in the derivatives *stramen* and *stramentum*, but the sb. *strag-e-* and adj. *strag-ulo-* present us with the desired consonant. That *e-* and *ulo-* constitute the suffixes of these two words, is clearly seen from the parallel cases of *fid-e-*, *faci-e-*, *speci-e-* on the one hand,

and *cred-ulo-*, *bib-ulo-*, on the other. Another argument in favour of the form *strag* is to be found in our own verb *strew*, or, as older writers had it, *straw*; for the final *w* of English words is generally accompanied by forms with a corresponding *g* in kindred languages. Thus *stern-* of *sternere* must be regarded as a compression of something like *ster-en-* and *strag-* as one of *star-ag-*. Similarly I should deal with *sparg-scatter*, as reduced from *spar-ag-*, the first syllable of which is identical with the Greek *σπερ* of *σπειρω*; and perhaps we have the same root in *σπαρ-αγ-* of *σπαρᾶτω*. Nay, if we unite in one family *sternere* to *strew*, *spargere* to *scatter*, and *σπαρᾶττειν* to *tear to pieces*, we shall be doing no great violence either to meanings or to forms*.

Frag- of *frango*, also tempts one to ask whether a vowel did not once divide the *f* and *r*, so as to leave *ag* for a possible suffix. Now *ῥηγγυμι* in Homer and the earlier Greek writers is rather 'break or burst through,' than 'break in pieces'; and the same idea prevails in our own *day-break*, as well as the German *der Tag bricht an*, phrases which exactly correspond to the French 'point de jour' and 'poindre' from the Latin 'pungere.' Hence it is suggested that *frag-* may well be a compression of *for-ag-*, and so a secondary verb from the base *for-* or *fod-* pierce (see §§ xxix. xxxi.). An English irregular verb usually has its original form best preserved in the perfect participle, and thus *brok-en* invites our attention to *bor-ock*, *i. e.* a derivative from *bore*.

Trah-, with *traxi* and *tractum*, seem by form to claim kindred with our own *drag* and *draw*, and the German *trag-en*. But a difficulty occurs in the different senses of the words, for the German *tragen* has, for its own sense, 'to carry or bear.' A closer examination however of the Latin *trahere* will supply instances where the notion of bearing is indisputable, as the *indocili jugum collo trahentes* of Horace, compared with the *ferre jugum dolosi* of the same author. The substantives *trah-a* and *trah-ea*, 'a sledge,' unite the two senses. I will not rely on our own word *dray*, as now used, seeing that the

* Compare for the initial consonants *sp* and *st*, the parallel case of two words all but identical in power, *sprain* and *strain*.

brewers still use at times a sort of carriage without wheels. But in *tractare* we find evidence which seems to show that 'to bear' was the earlier meaning of the root. This at least is the power of the word in such phrases as *tractare arma*, Hor., *tractare personam* and *tractare partes secundas*, Cic. But if this view be correct, then *trah-* (*trag*) may well be a compression of *tol-ag-*, where *tol* is the radical part of *tollo*, *tuli* (*tetuli*), *tolera-*.

But here again the fragmentary evidence I have put forward would be wholly insufficient, if unsupported, to sustain my argument. I therefore proceed to call evidence of a very different nature, which will certainly not be liable to the charge of narrowness. As I contended that many, if not all, the nouns of the first declension had lost a final guttural, so I now make a similar assertion about the first conjugation.

One thing at any rate will be readily admitted, namely, that not a few verbs of this conjugation co-exist, or at least co-existed, with shorter forms of the third conjugation. For example, this may be affirmed of all those verbs which are said to be irregular in having perfects in *ui*, supines in *itum*. The term irregular is indeed misapplied, for the perfects and supines belong to that third-conjugation verb, and not unfrequently this simpler form appears in older writers, even in the imperfect tenses, as *sonit*, *sonunt* in Ennius; *sonere* in Lucretius; *tonimus* in Varro, &c.; and *lavere* is of frequent use in the poets. But if these roots were originally trilateral, for what purpose was the *a* added? Such additions are never made without a purpose, yet no writer has ever suggested an answer to this question. I am the more entitled then to request the attention of scholars to the doctrine here propounded, so far as the thirteen* disyllabic verbs in question are concerned. In some of them the repetitive idea is well marked, as in *micare*, *fricare*, *crepare*, *lavare*. Again, *cubare*, when contrasted with *cumbere*, as seen in the compounds *pro-*, *ad-*, *re-*, *in-cumbere*, &c., tells its own tale, and that tale is in my favour, for *procumbere* denotes the single act of falling down, whereas *cubare* is always 'to keep your bed.' So

* See any Latin Grammar.

vetare also denotes a persistent idea, the prohibition continuing long after the order is given. The substantives *spir-itus* and *hal-itus*, by their short penults, bear witness that there were once shorter verbs in existence, from which, by the addition of our suffix, were deduced *spir-a-re* and *hal-a-re*; and certainly the idea of breathing involves the idea of iteration.

This argument, however, is rather of a negative character. If it be not enough to establish my doctrine, and I readily admit that it is not, still I may put forward the assertion, that the doctrine, if true, would account for the appearance of the *a* in the fifteen verbs before us, whereas it is at present wholly without explanation.

Let us next ask whether the process employed with the substantives in *a-* is applicable to the verbs in *a-*. The derived forms *ferulac-eo-* and *ferulag-on-* were brought forward to prove that *ferulag* must have been an older form than *ferula*. Do the derivatives from the verbs of the first conjugation in a similar manner exhibit traces of a lost guttural? I answer confidently, they do.

In the first place, calling to mind the frequent formation from verbs of substantives in *ulus*, *ula*, and *ulum*, as *cap-ulus*, *teg-ula*, *spec-ulum*, I claim the right of making a similar division in the nouns:—

subligac-ulo-,	spirac-ulo-,	hospitac-ulo-,
piac-ulo-,	orac-ulo-,	sustentac-ulo-,
cenac-ulo-,	augurac-ulo-,	receptac-ulo-,
propugnac-ulo-,	objectac-ulo-,	ambulac-ro-,
gubernac-ulo-,	spectac-ulo-,	simulac-ro-,
mirac-ulo-,	crepita-ulo-,	lavac-ro-;

in the last three of which an *r** has supplanted the *l*, simply because the words already possess an *l*, precisely as *puellaris* and *familiaris* stand beside *juvenilis* and *rivalis*, and *laquear* beside *puteal*.

The adjective *grac-ilis* seems by termination to classify itself with such forms as *ut-ilis*, *fac-ilis*, &c. But if this be

* Hence the Spanish *milagro* for *miraculo-*, the change of *r* to *l* in the first syllable leading to the converse change in the last.

the case, *grac-* should be a verb. If so, it seems to be identical with our own verb *grow*, and the meaning suits, as growing-fast is generally the cause of a person being slim and slender. Moreover, the same root is apparently found in *gramen*, if we may look to the form of the word; nor is the meaning repugnant to the idea. *Grass*, being a collection of multifarious plants, may well have received a name common to them all; 'growth' being, in this respect, not unlike our own word 'vegetables,' and the Latin *olera**. But our own *grow* would seem to be a secondary formation like *know* from *ken*, already noticed. This also has its analogy in Latin, where we find *ger-men*, which implies a simpler verb *ger-* (whether identical with *gen* of *gigno* I will not say). Thus the supposed Latin verb *grac-* would be a compression of *ger-ac-*, and here again the idea of *paulatim* is self-evident, —as Horace says, *Crescit occulto velut arbor aevo*.

Beside *gracilis* I place *alacer*, which stands for *alac-ilis*, the *r* having supplanted the *l*, as in *ambulacro-*, &c. Thus *al-ac-* will be a secondary verb from *al-* raise, and the idea expressed in *alacer*, excited, roused, in opposition to downcast, depressed, is satisfactorily explained. So we have verbs in *a*, and adjectives in *ac*, often running beside each other, as *proca-re* and *procac-*, *vigila-re* and *vigilac-*, *fuga-re* and *fugac-*, *nuga-ri* and *nugac-*, (*retinac-ulo-* and *tenac-*), *sona-re* and *sonac-*, *consterna-re* and *sternac-*, *crepa-re* and *crepac-*, *fura-ri* and *furac-*, *incursa-re* and *incursac-*†.

§ IV. *AGH* supplanted by *ABH* or *AB* in Verbs.

So far we have searched for a guttural as the non-aspirated complement of the *a* suffix. Let me next draw attention to a change which the peculiar sound *gh* not unfrequently undergoes. In our own words *laugh*, *cough*, and *rough*, we see a guttural aspirate, but hear a labial aspirate. In the same way, as has been often noticed, a Greek initial χ sometimes

* The root is seen in *al-ere* to raise, *ol-esc-*, *co-al-esc-*, *sub-ol-e-*, &c.

† See below (§ vi.) the adjectives in *ac* and the statement there made, that Manx adjectives and the consuetudinal mood of Manx verbs, alike end in *agh*.

gives place to an *f* in Latin, as *σχοινο- funi-*; *χαλινο- freno-*; *χυ-* of *χεω*, *fud-* of *fundo*; *χολη* and *fel*. But as the Romans limited the use of *f* to the first place in a syllable, they seem to have been tempted to take a *b** as the substitute for this labialized *gh*, and indeed *bh* would have been a more reasonable substitute than *ph* or *f*. In this way I would account for such forms as *medicab-ili-*, *revocab-ili-*, *laudab-ili-*, &c., a class of words which in the pages of Forcellini exceeds four hundred.

Secondly, the neuter nouns, such as *vocab-ulo-*, *conciliab-ulo-*, *venab-ulo-*, *tintinnab-ulo-*, &c., admit of explanation on the same principle. Thus it is a mere accident that the Romans said *mirac-ulum* rather than *mirab-ulum*; and indeed convertibility of the two sounds accounts for the form of the Italian *maraviglia*, French *merveille*, and our own *marvel*.

In favour of *calab-* (*cala-re*) and *dolab-* (*dola-re*), I may point to *Curia Calab-ra*, and the sb. *dolab-ra*. So also *cadav-er* seems to imply a secondary verb, like *cad-agh*, from *cad-* fall.

The same argument may be applied to such forms as *contionab-undo-*, *volutab-undo-*, *plorab-undo-*, where the consuetudinal character is not to be disputed; and the number of instances exceeds sixty. The existence of the suffix *undo*, as well as *endo*, for participles, is seen in *faciundo-*, *regundo-*, &c., as also in the so-called adjective *sec-undo-* from *sequi*.

But if in *contionab-undus* &c. the suffix *ab* be adapted to express continuity of action, it must be equally well fitted to enter into the formation of imperfect tenses. May not then the middle syllable of *am-ab-a-m* be the same element? This at least is certain, that the following *a*, which immediately precedes the personal endings, is employed both in Greek and Latin as the symbol of past time, as is seen in *ε-τι-θε-α*, *ε-τε-τυφε-α*, *εσα-*, whence by contraction *ην* of the singular, and without contraction *εσαν* of the plural, while *er-a-m* throughout exhibits the *a*, and by the length of this *a* so

* *B* in Latin is the ordinary equivalent for a Greek *φ* at the end of a syllable, as the datival suffix *bi* for *φι*, *nebula* for *νεφελη*, *umbilicus* for *ομφαλος*, i. e. *ουμφαλος* navel, *sorbeo* beside *ροφειω*.

far justifies the theory that a following consonant has been lost.

But the so-called future *am-ab-o* has an equal claim to consideration, and I admit the claim, even though there be here no additional suffix to denote futurity. On theory alone it may be maintained that an action declared to be imperfect at the present moment, can only be completed, if completed it is to be, in the future. Moreover in practice we often find presents used with future power. To say nothing of the Greek *εἶμι*, 'I shall go,' and such cases as *duco uxorem*, 'I am going to be married,' and *scribendum* est mihi*, which, without any element to denote futurity, is still practically used of the future alone, I may point both to *er-o*, 'I shall be,' in the one language, and *εσ-ομαι* in the other, as forms essentially present, just as much so as *scrib-o* and *ἔπ-ομαι*.

But the habit of using simple forms as futures is more marked in the Slavic family. Thus Dobrowsky, in his 'Institutiones,' p. 374, says: *Futurum simplex a forma præsentis non differt*, and he soon after gives as examples, *dam*, 'dabo,' in opposition to *daio*, 'do;'
bud-u, 'ero' to *yesmi*, 'sum.' In fact, the Old Slavic, from which these examples are taken, has frequently two forms of the present, one for ideas of momentary action, called by Dobrowsky 'verba singularia,' the other for a continued state of things, 'præsentia imperfecta.' Yet even with this advantage, the habit of the language does not always confine the use as futures to the one or the other form. Thus the same writer, p. 376, says: *Utuntur vero Slavi subinde præsentis verbi singularis pro futuro, eadem nimirum forma exprimendo præsens et futurum. . . . as gryadu, 'venio et veniam.'*

If my theory, which explains the middle vowel of *am-a-re* as a corruption of *abh* or *agh*, be correct, we must not be surprised to find all trace of the consonant lost in the future *reg-a-m*. Two difficulties however present themselves in this part of my argument; in the other conjugations the past imperfect

* I have elsewhere shown that this form in itself denotes, not futurity, but the imperfect state of an action, like our verbal substantives in *ing*, as *writing*.

presents the termination *ebam**, not *abam*; and again in the future of the second or *e* conjugation, *ebo* not *abo*; while in the other conjugation the *a* of the first person gives place in the other persons to an *e*. Still this substitution of an *ē* for *ā* is no violent change, seeing that *ā* and *η* in the Greek tongue are often but dialectic varieties, while the Latin also constantly mixes together the first and fifth declensions, as *materies* or *materia*; and again, in the subjunctive mood, writes both *fuam* and *siem*.

But the case of *regam*, followed by *reges*, *reget*, &c., may be explained on another, and it is thought more satisfactory principle. As the second and third persons have for their simplest suffixes *is* and *it*, in opposition to the *o* of the first person, the *a* of the fuller suffix *abh* would be subject to the so-called *umlaut*, and thus give place to that sound which a German represents by *ä*. This influence of the *umlaut* is well known to have caused in the very same persons of many German verbs the same result: as, *ich fange*, but *du fängst*, *er fängt*. The appearance of the changed vowel in the Latin plural indeed, is not to be defended in this way, but a modification once established is apt to overreach the proper limits.

§ V. *AGH* supplanted by *AB* in Substantives.

Lastly, among substantives we have *arrhab-on-* beside *arrha* earnest-money, and Varro's *apex-ab-on-* a sausage, where the double suffix *ab-on* seems to correspond to the double suffix *ag-on*, which was considered above. To which must be added *cacabus*, *cannabis* or *cannabum*, *carabus* a sort of crab, and *carabus* a coracle,—in the last words it seems highly probable that *ab* of the one represents *ac* of the other. It should be noticed too, that in all these examples a preceding guttural *x* or *c* furnishes a fair excuse for the substitution of *ab*. Yet in *trab-* tree (see § xii.), we have *ab* without this excuse.

* The change of vowel in the various forms of our suffix, will be discussed more fully below (§ xxix.).

§ VI. *AGH as seen in Adjectives.*

But the Manx language, to which I but now referred, not only forms the *modus consuetudinalis* of the verb by the addition of the suffix *agh*, but employs the same suffix for a large majority* of its adjectives; and with reason, as the office of the adjective is to denote a permanent state of things. So the Gaelic swarms with adjectives in *ach*; and according to Leo, the German adjectives in *ig* represent the class. This suffix is our *y*, *steinig* stony; and if the German *isch* is but a variety of *ig*, then our own *ish* must also be one of the family. The Welsh too has adjectives in *og*, *ig*, and *ac*, but forming a minority of their class; while the Breton has a respectable number in *ek*.

Does this formation exist in the classical languages? I answer, yes. The Greek has not a few words which have much of the adjectival character, but are commonly limited to human beings, yet so as to denote an habitual condition:—

λαῶγ-, prattler.	φυῶκ-, watcher.	στυπᾶκ-, rope-seller.
ἄρπᾶγ-, robbing.	μαιμᾶκ-, boisterous.	φορτᾶκ-, porter.
νεᾶκ-, youngster.	θαλαμᾶκ- = θαλαμιτα-.	πλουτᾶκ-, rich churl.
λιθᾶκ-, stony.	κωμᾶκ-, debauchee.	λωτᾶκ-, flute-player.
χασκᾶκ-, gaper.	φενᾶκ-, cheat.	χλενᾶκ-, mocker.
βλᾶκ-, dull †.	σκινᾶκ-, nimble.	φλυᾶκ-, jester.
κολᾶκ-, flatterer.	χαννᾶκ-, gaper.	στομφᾶκ-, big-talker.

In the Latin language they form a familiar class, but one which has been subject to some misunderstanding, in that a faulty or vicious character is often attributed to the suffix. We shall perhaps be more correct, if, following the suggestion of the Manx, we call them adjectives of habit. At any rate, *ferax ager* is in no sense ‘bad land’, although *edax*, ‘habitually eating’, does not imply a praiseworthy habit.

For the sake of brevity, the part to which the suffix is added, is alone given in the following list, while to a few of the examples a word or two of comment is attached:—

* Bei weitem die mehrzahl aller adjectiva ist so gebildet. Leo, *Ferrienschriften*, erstes heft, S. 181.

† For *μαλακ-* = Latin *molli-*.

bib-.	vend-.	sal-.	contum-.	stern- ⁴ .	fur-.
dic-.	mord-.	vigil-.	ten-.	cap-.	incurs- ⁶ .
effic-.	aud-.	fall-.	pugn-.	rap-.	cat- ⁷ .
perspic-.	sag-.	bell-.	min-.	crep-.	pet-.
pervic-.	tag-.	pell- ² .	pertin-.	fer-.	lingu- ⁸ .
proc- ¹ .	fug-.	ol- ³ .	abstin-.	vēr-.	sequ-.
ed-.	nug-.	em-.	son-.	vor-.	loqu-.
mend-.	trah-.	vom-.	spern-.	vatr- ⁵ .	viv-.

¹ With an old verb *proca-re* to demand. ² Not from *pellicere*, which could only have led to a form *pellex*, as from *illicere*, *illex*. Perhaps a variety of *fallax*. ³ *Olaæ*, Mart. Cap. ⁴ No way connected with *sternere*; rather from *sternare*, the simple form of *consternare* to start or startle, as a horse. ⁵ *Vatrax* 'pedibus vitiosis.' Lucil. ap. Non. ⁶ *Incurax*, Sidon. ⁷ *Catax* (= *cadax*?) limping. Lucil. ⁸ *Linguaæ*, Gell.

§ VII. AGH (AC) supplanted by EC (EG, IC) in Substantives.

A comparison of the Doric *μυρμαξ* and the Ionic or Attic *μυρμηξ* affords something like a suitable stepping-stone to the next matter for consideration. Our examples of substantives with the diminutival *ac-* for the Latin language, made but a poor show beside the sixty and more Greek substantives in *ᾱκ-*. The reason was simply that the Latin language preferred for the most part a variety of vowel. Thus the Greek *παλλαξ*, *ύραξ*, and *πυνδαξ* have, for their Latin equivalents, *pellex*, *sorex*, and *podex*, while to *αυλαξ* corresponds the rare yet truly Latin word *aulix*. With this clue we are led to a list of words sufficiently numerous:—

ibex, m. the wild goat.
vibex, f. a weal.
codex, or } m. a trunk.
caudex, }
podex, m. = *πυνδαξ**.
forfex, f. scissors, pinchers.
alex, m. f. herring.
ilex, f. evergreen oak.
silex, m. f. a flint.
ulex, m. some shrub.
culex, m. f. a gnat.

pulex, m. a flea.
famex, m. blood of a bruise.
ramex, m. a bronchial vessel, &c.
cimex, m. f. a bug.
pumex, m. f. a pumice-stone.
rumex, m. f. sorrel.
senex, m. an old man.
apex, m. a summit.
hirpex, or } m. a harrow.
urpex, }
forpex, f. curling-tongs.

* That is, they denote the same general idea, though differently applied.

rupex, m. a boor.
carex, f. a rush.
imbrex, f. m. a gutter-tile.
grex, m. f. crew.
sorex, m. a shrew-mouse.
murex, m. the purple-fish.
scaturex, m. a gushing spring.
latex, m. f. a shooting streamlet.

vites, f. the agnus castus.
pantex, m. a sausage.
dentex, m. some sea-fish.
vertex, or } m. an eddy, &c.
vortex, }
cortex, m. f. bark.
frutex, m. f. a shrub.
vervex, m. a wether-sheep.

And with the vowel again slightly modified* :—

radix, f. a root.
scandix, f. chervil.
pendix, f. a tumour?
appendix, f. a make-weight.
coændix, f. hip-bone.
lodix, f. a blanket?
perdix, m. f. a partridge.
calix, m. a cup.
salix, f. willow or sallow.
turdelix, ap. *Varr.*
helix, f. ivy.
*fili*x or *felix*, f. fern.
aulix, m. a furrow.

culix, m. some plant.
fulix, f. a coot.
tomix, f. a cord.
pternix, f. a sort of thistle?
cornix, f. a crow.
fornix, m. a vault.
spinturnix, f. some bird.
coturnix, f. a quail.
larix, m. f. a larch.
tamarix, f. tamarisk.
varix, m. f. a twisted vein.
sorix, some bird.
struix, a pile †.

In these two lists the notion of smallness is often exhibited in the most decided manner; for instance, in the names for a bug, a flea, a gnat. A comparison too with the series of English diminutives may be useful. In speaking of the latter, attention was drawn to the frequent occurrence of names of plants, of birds, of fishes. Now our two above-given series of names in *ex* or *ix* contain, of plants twelve, of birds six, of fish three. Again, five of the class are the analogues of English nouns already claimed as diminutives. Thus *sorex*

* In many instances the nominative is made to end in *ex* or *ix*, by the sole authority of dictionary makers, no Latin author supplying any nominative; in other cases there is authority for both.

† There are some other words which at first sight seem to claim admission to our lists, but are really derived from verbs, as *obices* and *subices* which contain *jac-ere*, *elices* and *pollex*, from compounds of the obsolete *lac-ere*, *index* and *jude*x from the root *dęc-* show, whence the Greek *δεικ-νν-* and Latin *dic-* say.

is 'shrew'; *grex*, 'crew'; *flixx*, 'brake'; *pulex*, 'flea', Germ. *floh*; *aulix* = *αυλαξ*, i. e. *α-Φαλαξ*, 'furrow'. Even *culex* seems to be identical with 'gnat,' if the latter, as is probable, be a corruption of *gnack*, and this again identical with *κων-ωπ- Apex* may perhaps be regarded as a corruption, and a very reasonable corruption of *ac-ex* (pronounced *ak-ex*), and if so, it is connected with the numerous words which begin with *ac-*, and denote sharpness. The change of the *k*-sound and *p* is well seen in another word or words of the list. *Forfex*, *forpex*, and *forceps* are treated in some dictionaries and etymological works as of independent origin. Thus we are told that *forfex* is from *foris* and *facio*, *forceps* from *foris* and *capio*, *forpex* from *foris* and *pecto*. A more reasonable derivation makes them all varieties of one and the same word,—and that a diminutive of the noun that we write *fork* (*furca*), formed by our suffix *ec*. But as *forc-ex*, like the theoretic *ac-ex*, is intolerable to the ear, we get a lip-letter substituted, at one time for the first of the two gutturals, at another for the second. Then, as to meaning, the idea of a fork is well marked in all the various uses of these words, whether tongs, scissors, curling-irons, claws of a beetle or a crab; nor was it without reason that *forficula* was adopted by modern writers as the name of the ear-wig, seeing that our own *gabel*, a fork, supplied a derivative for the same creature. Of the claim of *senex* and *ilex* to be regarded as diminutives, something will be said below.

§ VIII. *AGH reduced to UG (UC) in Substantives.*

But a suffix *agh* should, in the nature of things, be quite as liable to interchange with *ug* or *uc*, as with *ec*, *eg* or *ic*; and our English derivatives *pluck* and *brook* (both as verbs and substantives) support the claim. Accordingly we find *crux* and *fruges* demanding our attention. The first is only a compression of some such form as *colux*, corresponding to the Greek *σκολ-οψ** stake, a word so often used of punishment. The root-syllable of this Greek word, *κολ*, probably denoted wood. We say this, looking to the Greek *κᾶλον* wood, to the

* As *σκολοψ* : *crux* :: *σκελος* : *crus* :: *σκαλευ-* : *scru-* of *scrutari*.

Latin *calo* (see Festus), to the secondary forms *clavus* a tree-nail or wooden nail, for the addition of *ferreus* was required to denote a nail such as we use. Moreover, the theoretic *κολ-*wood, stands in the required relation to the German *hol-z*. And now returning to *cruæ*, we see how justly it may be considered as equivalent to the *infelix arbor*. *Fruges* will be more conveniently discussed under the verb *fruor*.

§ IX. *AGH reduced to C in Substantives.*

We found our English diminutive *ock* or *ick* frequently cut down to a simple guttural, as in *park*, abbreviated from *parrock* or *paddock*. Here too the Latin seems to agree with our own tongue, as in *aræ*, *calæ* the heel, *calæ* a stone, *falæ*, *lanæ*, *meræ*; and these words stand in our dictionaries, for the most part without etymological explanation. Perhaps the consideration that the guttural is no true part of the words may render the problem easier. Now the essence of *aræ* is height; and the root *αρ-* of *αιρ-* raise, supplies what we need, but with the disadvantage that it is a Greek verb. This difficulty however disappears if *al-ere* to raise, be the same word, and *ard-uus* a derivative from it, for as *r* and *d* are both interchangeable with *l*, *rd* may well be also. We have what is precisely parallel in *sord-es* dirt, beside the verb *ob-sol-escere* to become dirty, and *solum* soil. (See our Trans. 1854.) Of *calæ* heel, the essential part *cal* is the fitting correlative of our own word *heel*. Freund indeed would regard *calæ* as little more than a metathesis of the Greek adverb *λαξ*. The more correct view would be to treat *λαξ* as a corruption of *κλαξ*, or rather *καλαξ*. *Calæ* (*calculus*) a stone, receives satisfactory explanation from what is found in the Keltic languages. In Gaelic we have *clach* a stone, also a testicle; in Welsh *calch* lime, and *careg* a stone or testicle. In these three nouns our diminutival suffix forms an element. But the Welsh has also *caill*, and the Breton *kall* or *kell*, a testicle*, originally no doubt a stone of any kind. The Greek too has *χαλιξ* small stone, gravel. *Falæ*, if regarded as a

* Perhaps it was owing to this peculiar use of the word, that for decency's sake it ceased to be employed for the more general idea.

contraction of *fal-ax*, has probably in *fal* the same root as *fol* of *folium*, with the notion of a flat surface or blade. *Lanax*, while it has taken to itself a foreign guttural at one end, has probably lost a labial aspirate at the other, in this latter respect corresponding to *lana*, *lorum*, *lamina*, &c. So too the Spanish *llano* and the Welsh *Llan* have something more than a liquid *l* for the commencing consonant, if we trust the ear. But the Spanish word is known to be the representative of the Latin adjective *plano-*. Thus to *lan* of *lanax* we may venture to affix either an *f* or a *p*, so as to establish an affinity between it and our own *flat* or *plate*, or, if a diminutive be preferred, *platter*. *Mer-x* in the last place, is brought to a form identical with that of *mer-eo*, the original meaning of which is, to earn, that is, to labour. We have the same root in our own language in the words *work* and *ware*, the first of which like *merc-* possesses our diminutival suffix in a compressed form, while the Greeks, first pronouncing *ἔργον*, eventually cast off the initial *w*; and the Romans copying them in this respect, formed a compound verb *ex-erc-e-* work out.

§ X. *EC as a suffix of Substantives, followed by other suffixes.*

We will now go back to the suffix in the form of *ec*, in order to trace it in cases where it has been for the most part disguised by the loss of the consonant, viz.—

aesculetum.	citretum.	funetum*.	opobalsame-	(saxetum.)
arboretum.	cornetum.	ilicetum.	tum.	senticetum.
arundinetum.	coruletum.	juncetum.	palmetum.	(sepulcretum.)
(aspretum.)	cupressetum.	lauretum.	pinetum.	spinetum.
(bucetum.)	dumetum.	lilietum.	pometum.	vepretum.
buxetum.	ficetum.	moretum.	populetum.	viminetum.
cannetum.	(fimetum.)	murtetum.	quercetum.	vinetum.
carduetum.	fructetum.	nucetum.	rosetum.	viretum.
castanetum.	fruticetum.	olivetum.	rubetum.	virgetum †.

It will be seen that all but five of these, included in brackets, connect themselves with the names of plants or trees,

* *Funis* properly denoted a reed, being the same word as *σχοινος*.

† *Equisetum* is purposely omitted from the list, inasmuch as it is formed from *equi seta*.

so that they may be considered to represent the type upon which the others have been modelled. That something like *ec-tum* was the original termination of these words is established by the existing forms *car-ec-tum*, *dum-ec-tum*, *fil-ic-tum*, *frut-ec-tum*, *lum-ec-tum*, *sal-ic-tum*, *vir-ec-tum*. Of these, four stand in immediate relation to the nouns *carex* rush, *filix* fern, *frutex* shrub, *salix* willow. For *dumectum* we have the express authority of Festus: "dumecta antiqui appellabant quae nos dumeta"; *lumectum*, used by Varro, is in fact only a dialectic variety of the same word; and lastly *virecta* is the form supported by the best MSS. in Virgil and other writers, as shown by Wagner.

But it is utterly erroneous to regard *ec-tum* as a contraction from *icetum*, though the error has the sanction of Festus among the ancients (v. *dumetum*), and Wagner, &c. among moderns (v. *virecta*); for it is a somewhat ludicrous anachronism to explain the old formations from those of later date. Indeed we fall into one of those never-ending etymologies which are self-convicted. If *viretum* stand for *virectum*, and *virectum* for *viricetum*; this again will be for *viricetum*, and this for *viricicetum*, and so on *ad infinitum*. The fact is, that as *carectum* is formed immediately from *carec-* (nom. *carex*) by the addition of a neuter suffix *-to-* (nom. *-tum*), so *salic-*, *arbos-* lead at once to *salic-tum*, *arbus-tum*. And yet it is quite true that eventually *etum* came to be regarded as a whole; and so arose some few instances of superfluous growth, as *fruticetum*, *ilicetum*, *senticetum*, which really contain a duplication of the suffix.

So much for external form. The fitness of a diminutival suffix for these forms seems explained by the several considerations, 1, that many deal with vegetation in its smaller varieties; 2, that the larger trees are often first trained as a mass of nurslings to be subsequently transplanted; and 3, that trees growing thickly together rarely attain a full development.

§ XI. *OCK* and *OW* of English, how represented in Latin Substantives.

So far we have dealt with *ac*, *ec*, *ic* and *uc*, as diminutival

suffixes of substantives, but have passed over *oc*. Of this we have but one example in *esox* a fish, and that a foreign word. What then has become of the class of words which should correspond to our English diminutives in *ock*, as *hillock*, *haddock*? In the first place, it is scarcely to be expected that any one allied language should possess analogues of all the four varieties of a suffix which appear in the different dialects of Scotch-Saxon; and we have already seen a rich supply of substantives in *ec* (*ic*) corresponding to *haddick*, *lassick*. Still, if we fail to find representatives of the suffix *ock*, we may be more successful with the corrupted form of *ock*, viz. *ow*, in which only *o* is heard. Add to this that an examination of the first declension has led to the belief that a final guttural has been there lost. Is it not then *a priori* probable that the suffix *o*, which constitutes the second declension, has its origin in *ogh* or *ow*? and this the more, as no explanation of the *o* has yet been proposed, save indeed the suggestion that it is the masculine article; but this suggestion loses all its probability, if the *a* of the first declension be not the feminine article. In truth, the *o* and the *a* final which distinguish the first two declensions are but dialectic varieties of the same word, just as we say *one*, *two*, *stone*; a Scotchman, *ane*, *twa*, *stane*. But languages often avail themselves of such dialectic varieties, so as to attach to each some slight peculiarity of meaning. For example, *bag*, *bay* and *bow*; *canal*, *kennel*, *channel*; *θρασος* and *θαρσος*,—are severally one in origin, yet practically distinguished in use when allowed to coexist.

I venture then to claim the great bulk of the second declension as representing the Scotch and English substantives in *ow*, and corrupted from *och* or *ock*. That this declension, like the first, has suffered the loss of a guttural seems shown by the derived adjective *aprug-no**, beside the substantive *apero*—a boar.

* It may be useful to compare *callo*-, sb. n. hardened skin, with the Greek *κολλοπ*-, the thick skin on the neck of an ox or hog; and the more so as *κολλ-οκ*-, having too strong a supply of gutturals, would naturally pass into *κολλοπ*-. And here by the way I would suggest, that the notion of callous

Nor is this a solitary instance. A more numerous series is seen in the adjectives in *ac-eo-*, formed from masculine and neuter nouns of this declension, as from *cacabus*, *sebum*, *bulbus*, *intubus*, *hordeum*, *tofus*, *lilium*, *milium*, *folium*, *lolium*, *minium*, *amygdalum*, *capillus*, *surculus*, *pampinus*, *furnus*, *porrum*, *papyrus*, *argentum*, *frumentum*, *murtus*. To which add a sprinkling of adjectives in *ic-io-* from substantives in *o*, as *rapic-io-*, *tribun-ic-io-*.

It is no contradiction to what is here said, that *ροδακ-*, *βωλακ-*, *θυννακ-*, *νεβρακ-*, *διφρακ-*, are regarded as diminutives of *ροδο-*, *βωλο-*, *θυννο-*, *νεβρο-*, *διφρο-*. The words are in strictness duplicates of each other, mere dialectic varieties; yet as the fuller form is preserved in *βωλακ-*, &c., so the sense of the diminutival power is more deeply impressed.

§ XII. *IC, EC, UC of substantives reduced to I, E, U.*

But if *agh* reduced to *a*, and *ock* reduced to *o*, supply the nouns which constitute the first and second declensions, why should the suffixes *ic* (*struic-*), *ec* (*vertec-*) and *uc* (*cruc-*) be exempt from a similar loss of the guttural? We shall on inquiry find good evidence that they also are liable to the same curtailment. As the Scotch *lassick* is reduced to *lassie* or *lassy*, so there is ground for suspecting that *ensi**, *cani-*, *reti-*, to take these as single examples of large classes, must have been at one time pronounced *ensic-*, *canic-*, *retic-*, when we find derivatives from them in the form *ensic-ulum*, *canic-ula*, and *retic-ulum*.

Similarly, *diac-ula*, *rec-ula*, *anic-ula* and *cornic-ulum* seem to imply that the simple words *die-*, *re-*, *anu-* and *cornu-* have lost a final guttural. And especially note *trabec-ula*, corresponding to the noun *trabe-*, nom. *trabes*, with regard to which the assumption of a form *trabec-* is confirmed by the Greek *τραπηκ-* or *τραφηκ-* a small beam, a spearshaft, stake, post, which can scarcely have any relation to the verb *τρεπω*.

skin may be the cause why *cal-c-* came to signify the heel; and if so, the notion of hardness may unite what are commonly considered independent words, *calc-* heel and *calc-* stone, the latter being compared to other earths.

* Compare *πολι-*, i. e. *πολιχ-*, beside *πολιχ-η* and *πολιχ-μιον*.

But to return to *corniculum*: this noun ought more regularly to have appeared as *cornuc-ulum*, but we must remember that in the same declension *cornibus* has superseded *cornubus*, to say nothing of the habitual degradation of *ū* into *ī* in so many Latin words. Thus the old language gave *īmus* as the first person plural of verbs, as seen in *sumus*, *volumus*, *quaesumus*, but *īmus* in *scribimus*, &c. So *decumus*, *optumus* and *recuperare* gave place to *decimus*, *optimus*, *reciperare*. In these cases, the *u* occupies commonly the penult place, where the want of an accent leaves the syllable specially liable to a careless pronunciation. But a *ū* in all parts of a word seems apt to slide into the weak pronunciation of a short *i*. Thus the modern Greeks always pronounce *u* as *i* (continental sound). The French *u* is not far removed from it, and our nouns *tree* and *knee* (in Anglo-Saxon *treow* and *cneow*) have attained to the same vowel sound, although they represent *δορυ* and *γονυ*. Moreover, we may safely assert that as *genu* is the Latin representative of *knee*, so *gen-uc-ulum* must once have corresponded to our *kn-uck-le*. But over and above this, there is in the forms with which we are dealing a special reason why the *u* should lose its power. The diminutival suffix seen in *ulus*, *ula*, *ulum*, has for its truer form *el*, as is seen in *ocellus* beside *oculus*, in the German *tafel* beside *tabula*, in *Σικελος* beside *Siculus*. Now the weak vowel of *el* would tend to effect an *umlaut* in the preceding syllable, precisely as in the German *knöchel*. But there yet remains one instance of the *u* being preserved in a diminutive from the fourth declension, and that because the *u* was long. While our dictionaries ascribe to Plautus the use of an adjective which they are pleased to write *mētīcūlōsus*, Ritschl justly contends that the second syllable of this word is long, but he is wrong in writing it *metīculosus*. He would have done better to follow his excellent MSS. C and D (Most. V. 1. 52), and write,—

“Néscis quam *metúculosa* rés sit ire ad iúdicem.”

So again when he publishes the *Amphitruo*, I would suggest that he should substitute for *nullus est*, in the line I. 1. 137, what is more in accordance with the Plautian habit,

nullust; and then we should have:—

“M. Nullust hoc metúculosus aéque. S. Quem? in mentém venit.”

That in some nouns of this declension the *u* should be long, in others short, is parallel to what happens with the nouns of the *i* or third declension, where we find *nāvīcula* and *cānīcula*.

But it may be well to take a cursory glance at those nouns in the fourth declension which stand apart from the so-called supines or nouns in *tu*, as *auditu* :—

Ac-u- (cf. *ac-esc-*, *ac-ido-*), *an-u-** (cf. *sen-ec-* and *γπα-υ-*), *arc-u-*, *cib-u-* (cf. *cib-o-*), *col-u-*, *corn-u-* (cf. horn), *dom-u-* (cf. *dom-o-* and the Greek vb. *δεμ-*), *fic-u-* (cf. *fic-o-* and our *fig*), *gel-u-* (cf. *gl-ac-ie-*), *gen-u-*, *gr-u-*, *lac-u-* (cf. *lav-ere*), *laur-u-* (cf. *laur-o-*), *man-u-* (cf. A.S. *mand* ‘hand’), *met-u-*, *nur-u-*, *pec-u-* (cf. *πω-υ-*), *pen-u-* food, *portic-u-*, *querc-u-*, *spec-u-* (cf. *σπε-εσ-*), *trib-u-*, *ver-u-* (cf. *ver* of *ver-t-*, our own *veer*, *wear* ship, Fr. *vir-er*, Germ. *wirr-en*).

In some of these an undoubted etymology tells us that the *u* is an element foreign to the root-syllable; in many, the fitness of a diminutival suffix is evident, as *ac-u-* a needle; *trib-u-* a third, or rather ‘thricing’; and for affection’s sake, *nur-u-*. *Quercu-* is the one word which opposes this view, and in this respect agrees with *ilex* and the Greek *δρυς*, Welsh *derw*. In these words our doctrine finds its chief obstacle; but so far as the last word is concerned, the solution is not difficult. *Δρυ-* properly means a tree†, and is at bottom the same word with *δορυ-* spear, and with the Norse *dör* a spear, which by its *umlaut* tells us that some final vowel, such as *u*, has fallen from it. The Sanskrit again has *taru*, with *tarav-as* as the nom. pl., a form the more interesting, as it assures us that the Latin *trāb-* is the same word. The habit of translating this Latin word by ‘beam,’ has tended to conceal from us its true meaning. But when Ennius, Virgil and

* The appearance of a diminutival suffix in these three words is justified by the fact that the long-liver is commonly spare, and the more spare the older he is.

† Compare the Greek derivative *ἀμαδρυαδ-*. Indeed Eustathius expressly asserts that the first meaning of *δρυς* was ‘tree.’

Ovid all use the word of 'trees,' there ought to be no hesitation in restoring this as the original meaning of the word, as indeed it is of our own word *beam* (cf. *hornbeam* and Germ. *baum*). As regards *quercu-*, it is very possible on the one hand, that the final *u* is not diminutival, and on the other hand, that the word originally denoted a dwarf oak. Indeed the word *querc-uk* may have in its first part a representative of the Welsh *cor-ach* or *cor-ig*, both existing words for a 'dwarf,' while *uk* may be an analogue of our own term *oak*. In our own *acorn*, that is *oak-corn*, Germ. *eich-horn*, the first element has been sadly reduced. All this is put forward solely as a possibility, nor indeed would it be reasonable to reject a theory in consequence of a difficulty growing out of a single word.

As the nouns in *ex* and *ix* in the oblique cases give to our suffix an identity of form, it is not strange that on the loss of the guttural we should have a class of words whose nominative ends indifferently in *is* or *es*, as *plebi-* or *plebe-*, *nubi-* or *nube-*, *aedi-* or *aede-*, *cani-* or *cane-*; whence the derived forms *plebec-ula*, *nubec-ula*, *aedic-ula*, *canic-ula*. That the *i* or *e* in this class of words is the remnant of a distinct suffix, seems to follow from the fact, that we also find such nominatives as *plebs*, *nubs*, *trabs*, and the Greek *κῠων*, *κῠν-ος*, corresponding to our own *hound*; and we can now account for such forms as the gen. pl. *can-um*, *ap-um*, *juven-um*, which, as deduced from the primitive nouns, were not entitled to an *i*. Again the Greek *ναῦς* speaks in favour of a simple *nav-* in *naufragus*, of which I hold *nav-i-* to be in origin a diminutive, just as *lass-ie* is of *lass*. So again *au-* in *au-ceps*, *au-spex*, *au-gur*, may be regarded as the word from which *av-i-* was deduced.

In order to show the general fitness of the nouns in *i*, so far as regards meaning, to possess a diminutival suffix, and also to show by etymology that the *i* in many cases is no genuine portion of the root, I give the following list:—

Amn-i- (cf. our *Avon*), *angu-i-*, *ass-i-* a unit (Fr. *as*, our *ace*), *ass-i-* or *ax-i-* axle (cf. A.S. *eax*), *caul-i-* or *col-i-* a stalk (only a variety of *cod-ec-*), *clav-i-* (cf. *κλῆF-ιδ-*), *clun-i-* buttock;

coll-i-, hill; *corb-i-*, basket (cf. German *korb*); *crin-i-*, band of hair; *cut-i-* (cf. our *hide*, and Germ. *haut*); *ens-i-*, *fasc-i-* bundle; *fauc-i-* gullet; *febr-i-* (compare *febric-it-a-re*), *fin-i-*, *folli-* pl. bellows (the Greek has $\phi\omicron\lambda\lambda\iota\kappa-$, nom. $\phi\omicron\lambda\lambda\iota\xi$ in the sense of a follicle), *for-i-*, *fun-i-*, *ign-i-* (cf. our *oven*), *imber-i-*, *juven-i-*, *lact-i-* pl., *lintr-i-*, *mun-i-* part; *nar-i-*, *nav-i-*, *orb-i-*, *oss-i-* (gen. pl. *ossium*), *ov-i-*, *pan-i-*, *pelv-i-*, *pisc-i-* (cf. A.S. *fisk*, our *fish*), *rat-i-*, *rav-i-*, *rud-i-* staff, and what seems only a variety of the same word, *sud-i-* stake; *scob-i-*, *scrob-i-*, *secur-i-* hatchet; *sem-i-*, *sent-i-*, *sit-i-*, *torr-i-*, *trud-i-* a pike (cf. vb. *trud-*); *turr-i-* (cf. Fr. *tour*), *tuss-i-*, *venter-i-*, *vepr-i-*, *verm-i-*, *vit-i-*, *ungu-i-* nail; *uter-i-* skin; to which add the neuters *il-i-a*, *mar-i-* originally water rather than sea, *ret-i-sal-i-*, nom. *sale* salt (Ennius).

Nouns which interchange *i* and *e* are:—

Aed-i-, *ap-i-* (cf. gen. pl. *ap-um*), *caed-i-*, *call-i-* a little path; *can-i-* (cf. *can-um*) *crat-i-* hurdle, *clad-i-*, *fam-i-*, *fel-i-*, *fid-i-*, *lab-i-*, *lu-i-*, *mel-i-*, *nub-i-*, *pleb-i-*, *pub-i-*, *sed-i-* (cf. *sed-um*), *sord-i-*, *stru-i-* (cf. *stru-ic-*), *torqu-i-*, *vall-i-*, *verr-i-*, *volp-i-*.

This list would probably have been more extensive if the writings of the Romans had come down to us in greater abundance. Thus we might probably have found *naves* for a nominative as well as *navis*, *trabis* as well as *trabes*. Indeed, in the case of many nouns of this class, the particular form assigned by our dictionaries to the nominative is simply an unauthorised assumption, no instances of any nominative occurring. With regard to *moles* and *saepes* we are the more entitled to assume nominatives *molis* and *saepis*, when we look to the verbs *moli-ri* and *saepi-re*.

§ XIII. The suffix *AGH* in Substantives virtually repeated.

We must pass hastily over a class of words which to the suffix in the form *āc*, *īc* or *īc*, *oc*, *uc* or *c* alone, add a second suffix *a* or *o*. Nor let it be objected that upon this theory a word will be taking the very same suffix twice over; for after all, this is exceeded in the case of *ocellulus*, which repeats the other diminutival suffix *el* three times, *oc-el-el-el-us*.

<i>portul-ac-a</i> *,	<i>pertica</i> ,	<i>lactuca</i> *,
<i>verben-ac-a</i> *,	<i>urtica</i> *,	<i>festuca</i> *,
<i>pastin-ac-a</i> *,	<i>scutica</i> ,	<i>fistuca</i> ;
<i>lingul-ac-a</i> *,	<i>juvenca</i> ,	
<i>medica</i> *,	<i>tinca</i> ,	to which add
<i>pedica</i> ,	<i>arca</i> ,	<i>focco-</i> ,
<i>ridica</i> (cf. <i>rudi-astake</i>),	<i>perca</i> ,	<i>sulco-</i> ,
<i>alica</i> ,	<i>porca</i> , a furrow.	<i>junco</i> *,
<i>vomica</i> ,	<i>porca</i> , a farrow.	<i>trunco-</i> ,
<i>formica</i> (cf. <i>μυρμηκ-</i>).	<i>furca</i> ,	<i>circo-</i> ,
<i>manica</i> ,	<i>amurca</i> ,	<i>hirco-</i> ,
<i>tunica</i> ,	<i>esca</i> ,	<i>fisco-</i> ,
<i>forica</i> ,	<i>posca</i> ,	<i>sambuco</i> *,
<i>lorica</i> (cf. <i>θωρακ-</i>),	<i>musca</i> ,	<i>panico</i> *,
<i>urica</i> = <i>eruca</i> .	<i>eruca</i> ,	<i>tritico</i> .*;
<i>Nasica</i> ,	<i>carruca</i> ,	
<i>vesica</i> ,	<i>verruca</i> (cf. <i>ware</i> a	Add again to these
<i>brassica</i> *,	callosity, Scotch),	<i>malva</i> *, = <i>μαλαχη</i> or
<i>lectica</i> ,		<i>μολοχη</i> = <i>mallow</i> .

§ XIV. AGH or AC in Latin Adjectives, how corrupted.

Having thus considered at some length the form which our diminutival suffix has taken over and above the original form, where *a* is followed by a guttural, in substantives, the question arises whether, besides the more regular formation seen in *ed-ac-* or *ed-aci-*, the Latin adjectives present any corrupted forms of the suffix corresponding to the varieties which have shown themselves among the substantives†; or, another shape may be given to the same inquiry: we may begin with asking whether the Latin has any adjectives to represent our English adjectives in *ow*, as *shallow*, *yellow*.

A claim to this position is put forward in favour of the following among others:—*aceri-*, *brevi-*, *comi-*, *dulci-*, *forti-*, *grandi-*, *gravi-*, *jugi-*, *laevi-*, *leni-*, *levi-*, *limi-*, *mani-* (*Di Manes*), *molli-*, *oci-* (of *ocior*, *ociter*), *pingui-*, *rudi-*, *suavi-*, *tenui-*, *tristi-*, *turpi-*, *vili-*. In the first place, the final *i* of these words can scarcely be a radical letter. If then it be a suffix,

* All plants, and fourteen of them.

† A slight change of the vowel is seen in *feroc-*, nom. *ferox*.

we may reasonably ask once more, why it was added, if devoid of significance; and if significant, will not the power of a diminutive give at least an intelligible and not inappropriate sense; one also that might easily be lost sight of, just as has been the case with the *ow* of our own adjectives? Secondly, for many of these words we find a trace of a final guttural in the derivatives *acric-ulo-*, *brevic-ulo-*, *dulcic-ulo-*, *fortic-ulo-*, *grandic-ulo-*, *levic-ulo-*, *mollic-ulo-*, *tenuic-ulo-*, *tristic-ulo-*, *turpic-ulo-*. Thirdly, we know that some Latin adjectives in *i* have lost a final guttural, as *quali-* and *tali-*, corrupted from such forms as *qua-lik-** like what; *ta-lik-* like this, corresponding to our own old form *whilk* and *thilk*; as also to the German *welcher* (i. e. *we-lich-er*) which; and *solcher* (i. e. *so-lich-er*) such. So our *silly* is the German *selig*.

But we have light thrown on these words by their Greek analogues, such as to bring their suffix into all but identity with what we see in our words, *shallow*, &c., for *brevi-* = *βραχυ-*, *levi-* = *ελαχυ-*, *dulci-* = *γλυκυ-*, *forti-* = *θρασυ-*, *gravi-* = *βαρυ-*, *pingui-* = *παχυ-*, *oci-* = *ωκυ-*, *suavi-* = *φασυ-*, and *densi-*, implied in the verb *dense-* make thick, = *δασυ-*.

Of course what has been said of substantives of the second declension is applicable to adjectives of the same form; *longo-* for example, has in its last letter the very sound of the final syllable of our *shallow*; and with *longo-* must be included the large stock of disyllabic adjectives in *o*. This word 'disyllabic' brings before the mind the strange fact that Latin is utterly devoid of monosyllabic adjectives; in this respect differing so widely from English and even French. Yet this distinction has rarely, if ever, been the subject of comment, though it might well have been so. The theory here propounded accounts for it. It also gives a satisfactory solution of the fact, that in the formation of comparatives and superlatives, the final vowel of the positive *longo-*, *tristi-*, is disregarded. If *longo-* strictly means 'long-ish,' it is clear that

* These are examples of a large class, including all those which have the suffix *li*, signifying 'like,' as *puerili-* boy-like; *puellari-* girl-like; *aequa-li-* (from *aevo-*, sb. n.) of like age.

such a suffix would be superfluous, if not entirely out of place, in *longior-* and *longissimo-*.

In asserting that the Latin language had not a single instance of a monosyllabic adjective, I did not forget the adjective *truc-*, for this word has suffered compression from a fuller form *tor-uc-*, which may be usefully placed beside *tor-v-o-*. The two words, it is well known, have in practice a special relation to the eye, expressing that rolling of the organ which marks a cruel purpose, and so at last they came to signify savage-looking. Thus Desdemona says: "For you are fatal then when your eyes roll so." If this definition of *truc-* and *torvo-* be correct, the root-syllable is the verb *ter-*, in the sense of turning (Freund, B. 2), whence *tor-no-* the lathe, *τερ-ματ-* the turning-point or limit, &c., and eventually our own ordinary verb *turn*. Or again, if the idea of piercing be expressed by the *trux oculus*, we have still the same root; for one of the forms of piercing is by boring, as is seen indeed in the related word *τορ-ευ-ειν*. On the other hand, the final syllable of *tor-uc-* represents our suffix in a less corrupted form than was seen in the recently cited adjectives in *i*.

§ XV. *The Suffix AGH virtually repeated in Adjectives.*

But if *tor-uc-* possesses our diminutival suffix, *tor-v-o-* has it in duplicate; first in the *v*, secondly in the *o*. The same may be said of other numerous adjectives in *uo* or *vo*, as *ard-u-o-*, *curvo-*, and especially of the five allied words, *gil-v-o-* (also *gil-b-o-*) pale yellow, *fl-av-o-* golden yellow, *ful-v-o-* reddish yellow, tawny, *fur-v-o-* swarthy, *hel-v-o-*, defined by Festus as *inter rufum et album*. These words are probably but dialectic varieties of each other; and also represent (setting aside the final *o*) our own 'yellow.' Probably *gul*, or something like it, is to be regarded as the root-syllable, and this identical word in Swedish (Danish *guul*) signifies 'yellow.' Even the Greek possesses it in *γυλ-ιππος*, as was long ago pointed out (Philol. Museum, iii. 687) by one to whom linguistic studies owe much, and would owe more but for his present regretted silence. So again the Scotch have *gool* the corn-marigold, *gule-fittit* yel-

low-footed*. We are here dealing with the root-syllable, and so I do not refer to such derived forms as the German *gelb*, our own *gold* and *yolk* (of an egg).

But before we leave the Latin adjectives which possess the suffix in duplicate, I may point to other instances of this repetition, as in the Greek *μαλ-ακ-ο-*, and what is probably the very same word, the Latin *fl-acc-o-*. Further, we must include a number of adjectives which, in the first syllable representing our suffix, drop the vowel, but retain the guttural, as *planco-* flat, *manco-*, *pauco-*, *fusco-*. When writing *planco-* in this list, I do not so much refer to the cognomen of that form, as to what Festus says (p. 231, ed. Müller), "*plancae, tabulae planae*†," from which we clearly learn that our own sb. *plank*, Fr. *planche*, is but a secondary form of the adjective *plane*. In *cor-usc-o-*, and perhaps *l-usc-o-*, the three letters *usc* probably correspond to the *uc* of *tor-uc-* just considered‡.

§ XVI. Some Adjectives in O not deduced from AGH.

But I do not claim all adjectives or substantives in *o*. In former papers I have called attention to the formation of adjectives from the genitive case, or, to express the matter more correctly, the habit of treating a genitive as an adjective so as to force it into the process called declension. *Cujus cuja* *cujum* is a familiar instance of this. It was contended too (Proceedings, vol. iii. p. 56) that such surnames as *Tullius*, *Sextius*, were in origin only genitives like *nullius*, used first as patronymics, son of Tullus, Sextus, &c., and finally as permanent surnames, precisely like our Welsh surnames, Roberts, Williams, &c. In the same way I would deal with *lign-eus*, *ign-eus*, *violac-eus*, *rosac-eus*, and perhaps with *civic-us*, *hostic-us*, *bellic-us*, *apiac-us* of parsley; and still more certainly *patr-ius*, of a father, and words similarly formed. So again, our own *mine*, *thine*, *wooden*, *flaxen*, are in origin but genitives, yet now classed with adjectives. But the form

* It is amusing to see modern philologists rushing off to Sanskrit where they would find in Europe more distinctly what they want. Thus, is not the Scandinavian *gul* and Scotch *gool* of more avail here than the Sanskrit *gaur*?

† See Andrews' translation of Freund's lexicon, *sub voce*.

‡ For *sc=c* or *g*, see below, § xxviii. *note*.

uullius beside *nullius* suggests a question which bears upon our problem. It is the ordinary habit of language with the progress of time to pass from long to shorter sounds; and again, where poets differ in the forms of words from ordinary life, the difference usually consists in the adoption of old or obsolete varieties. Now *unñus* is found in the poets alone, thus traversing what we have just said. Is the explanation this,—that *unñus* is the genitive of the more primitive *un-*one, while *unñus*, i. e. *unoius*, is the genitive from the secondary form *uno*-? That *ius* rather than *is* or *us* (*os*) is the more correct form of the genitival suffix, seems to follow from the old relational form *quo-ius*.

But over and above this, it seems highly probable that when the diminutival power of the suffix, lost, as the Germans say, its consciousness, it was still retained, or even assumed in new cases, solely with a view to the advantages it offered both for distinction of gender and convenience of declension. What has been said on the *o* growing out of *ogh* or *ock* and *a* from *agh*, &c. with the power of a diminutive, applies in all its strictness only to the earlier stages of the language. We have a parallel case in another allied family of languages. While the Old Slavic has, what I venture to write with ordinary Greek type, *οριεχ* nut, *πραχ* dust, *στραχ* fright, *γραχ* french-bean; *μιεχ* leathern-bag, *γριεχ* sin; *κοζυχ* skin, *ρεπυχ* a plant, *δυχ* spirit,—the modern Servian has in their several places *ορα*, *πρα*, *στρα*, *γρα*; *μιε*, *γριε*; *κοζυ*, *ρεπυ*, *δυ*. (See Wuk's Servian Grammar, translated by Grimm, pp. 24, 25.) Nay even the Gaelic has begun to drop the final guttural. Thus the words *bara* barrow, *cadha* narrow-pass, *dula* noose, betray the lost consonant in the plurals *barach-an*, *cadhach-an*, *dulach-an*.

§ XVII. AGH in Verbs corrupted to UG, UC or U.

So far as we have hitherto considered the verbs and traces of verbs in which our original suffix *agh* appeared, the consonant indeed has been variously modified or even absorbed, but the vowel has been retained without disguise. After what we have seen of the change of vowel in both substantives and adjectives, we must not expect the verbs to be free

from variety in the same respect. Let us proceed then to examine the verbs which exhibit the suffix as *ug*, *uc* or *u*.

Flu-ere, *fluxi*, with a participle *fluxus* used as an adjective, and a substantive *fluctus*.—Here a crude form *fluc-* or *flug-* is not to be disputed; and our own language has kindred words in *flow* and *billow*, for the *b* in the latter is a more regular representative of a Latin *f* than *f* itself. But *flow* possesses our suffix in its usual English form, so that we may assume *fl*, in both Latin and English, to have lost a central vowel. Thus the crude form of *flu-* must have been *fol-uc-* or *ful-uc-*, or else *fud-uc-* (according to the propensity of the Latin language to interchange *l* and *d*). But *fud-* is the essential syllable of *fundere*, *fudi*, *fusum*, to pour; and what meaning could be more suitable to our purpose, seeing that *circumfluere* and *circumfundi*, *profluere* and *profundi*, are words of identical import? We have the same root in $\chi\upsilon\lambda\text{-}\epsilon\sigma\text{-}$ juice, $\chi\upsilon\tau\text{-}$ (also $\chi\upsilon\sigma\text{-}\tau\text{-}$), $\chi\upsilon\tau\text{-}\lambda\text{-}$ n., and in a more corrupted form in $\chi\epsilon\omega$.

Fruī, with the substantives *frug-es* and *fruc-tu-s*.—*Frug-* or *fruc-* being assumed as the base, we may set down for the English and German analogues, *brauchen* and *brook*. 'To eat' was probably the original meaning of the Latin verb; and we see this sense metaphorically retained in our own phrase 'to brook an insult,' *i. e.* to swallow and digest it. The ordinary sense of the German, 'to use,' is not far remote from 'enjoying,' which is commonly denoted by the Latin verb. But *frug-*, to follow the analogy of the preceding verb, must have been compressed, and we have to search for the radical portion. I would propose as the original form *vor-ug*. This might be only a variety of *vorag-*, which appears with more or less distinctness in *vora-re* and *vorag-on-*, sb. f. But as the idea of bolting or gulping scarcely fits itself to the uses of *frui*, it may be that the word is of different origin. As *es-* of *esse*, the first meaning of which is rather 'to eat' than 'to be,' had originally a digamma (which is seen in the German *wes-en*, our past tense *was*, the Norse *ver-a* to be, &c., and also in the Latin *vesc-or*, beside *esca* food), our *frug-*, = *vor-ug-*, may have for its first syllable what is a reasonable variety of *ves-* eat.

Fug-, to fly, seems to claim connexion with the German *flieh-en*, *fluch-t*, and our own *flee* or *fly*, *fligh-t*. But if this be true, *fug-* has lost an *l*, and must be a corruption of *flug-*,—a change of no great violence for Italy, where an *l* after *f* habitually vanishes, as in *Florentia*, *Fiorenze*, *Firenze*. But the supposed *flug-* might well arise out of *vol-ug-*, in other words, out of *vol-ag-*, whence *vol-a-re* to fly, the first syllable alone of which can be radical. All this is strongly confirmed by *voluc-ri-* a bird, literally a verbal adjective, 'flying,' *ri* representing the familiar suffix *ili*.

Loqu-i, *locu-to-*, is no doubt immediately akin to $\lambda\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\epsilon\iota\nu$, but must not be considered as deduced from the Greek. *E-log-ium* is thoroughly a Latin word, and sufficiently establishes the native rights of a lost verb *leg-ere* to speak,—if indeed it be a lost verb, for it is very possibly identical with that well-known verb which we translate 'to read,' considering that this very verb 'to read' originally meant 'to speak' (Germ. *reden*). As the reflective form of *loqui* is well adapted to denote the mutuality of the act, 'talk to each other,' so its diminutival suffix marks at once its unpretending and its iterative character, and so agrees with our own word *tal-k*.

Lu-ere ($\lambda\nu\text{-}\epsilon\iota\nu$) to loosen.—The Germ. adj. *lock-er*, loose, seems to contain in the syllable *ock* a fuller expression of our suffix. But if *ock* be a suffix, we do not leave enough to constitute the base of the word, unless we assume that some letters have been lost before the *l*. This is often the case with an initial *l*, and in the present case we see a way to a recovery of the lost letters. As *rĕp-* of *reperere*, *repsi*, is identical with $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\pi\text{-}$ and *serp-*, i. e. $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\text{-}\epsilon\pi\text{-}$ and *ser-ep-*; so *lu-* may be abridged from *solu-* (*solvere*) loosen. The Latin adjective *liber* has an older orthography *loeber*, and as this diphthong *oe* always in Latin coexists with *ū*, we may safely assume a variety *lūber*, which stands to $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\nu\theta\epsilon\rho\varsigma$, much as *rūber* to $\epsilon\rho\nu\theta\rho\varsigma$. The initial vowel of $\epsilon\lambda\text{-}\epsilon\nu\theta\text{-}\epsilon\rho\varsigma$ is a remnant therefore of the root. The connexion of meaning between *liber* and *solutus* needs no discussion.

The verb *minuere* seems by its power well entitled to our suffix, but in spite of *tl* is it must be rejected from our list,

as having in all probability been formed immediately from the comparative *minus*, with the loss of the sibilant. Compare our verbs to 'lessen' and to 'better.'

Nu-ere (*νευ-ειν*) to nod.—I have elsewhere given reasons for believing that the initial letter of *ενεροι ενερθε* is radical, as well as that of the Greek preposition *ενι*, and that the original sense is 'lowering down.' In the same paper it was urged that *inferi* and its related words were compressed from *en-ef-eri*, &c. To this same stock *nuere*, i. e. *en-u-ere* belongs.

Plu-ere, to rain, is only a variety of *fluere*, and meant simply to pour; just as we say 'it is pouring.'

Ru-ere, to rush, or cause to rush, like every Latin and Greek verb that presents an initial *r*, is subject to a strong suspicion that the liquid was originally the final letter of the root-syllable, which had a *w* or *s* or *c* or *h* for the first consonant. The Greek *ερυ-ω* already contains a prefixed vowel; and we may not only readily accept the assertion of a lexicon that *ερυ-ω* is in general synonymous with *ελκ-ω*, but even extend the assertion so far as to say that they are but varieties of the same secondary verb *φολ-υκ-* or *φελ-εκ-*, the primitive of which is best seen in *vel* of the Latin *vellere*; of the occasional violence of the act expressed in this verb, evidence will be found in the next section, where *ulvissor* is treated. The connexion of the Latin *ru-ere* with the Greek *ερυ-ειν* (to draw) is confirmed by the familiar phrase *trahere ruinam**.

Scrutari to poke and poke again, has its original power best exhibited in the material phrase *scrutari ignem*, to poke or stir the fire. The simpler verb is not to be found in Latin, but appears in the Greek *σκαλευ-ειν ανθρακας*. *Σκαλλειν*, to dig, gives us a yet simpler form, the stem of which is again seen in *σκαλ-μη* dagger, *σκαλ-ιδ-* a hoe, as also in the Latin *scal-p-ere*.

Sol-u-ere has already been noticed under *lu-ere*. It remains to ask what is the primitive. The following suggestion as to this point is offered for consideration. To let loose implies a previous restraint, and is commonly followed by rapid action. Now the root *sal-* (*salio*) is commonly translated 'to leap,'

* See also § xviii. on the verb *rup-*.

but probably meant, as did the English verb itself*, to 'run,' quite as much as to leap (compare, for example, *prosilire*). The Greek equivalent is *θορ*, seen in *εθορον*. The noun *sors*, that which 'leaps' out of the urn, and the current use of the French vb. *sortir* to go out, include the same idea. It is asked then, whether the original sense of *solvere* may not have been 'to let run'? The English representative of *solv-ere* is to 'slack': Note also *sol-ub-ilis*.

Spu-ere as well as *πτυ-ειν*, to spit, and the perhaps kindred English vb. *spew*, as well as *spit* itself, seem both by meaning and form to belong to the list.

Stru-ere, *struxi*, *struc-tum*, to pile up, is the aggregate of many small raisings. As the *s* may be thrown out of view, it seems that *tru-* may well be a contraction of *tol-u-*, where *tol* is the essential element of *tollere* to raise. That *tol-u-ere* must once have existed is proved by the adverb *tolu-tim*, as used in the phrase *ire tolutim*, of a rough-trotting horse.

Viv-ere, *vixit*, and sb. *vic-tus*.—This verb was considered in a former paper (Proceed. Phil. Soc. vol. iv. p. 93), and compared with the Manx verb *be-agh* 'to eat habitually.' If what I have there said be true, *viv-* is but a variety of *vesc-*. The loss of an *s*, which constitutes the sole important difference between them, is seen in the comparison of *pascor* and *pastor* with *pavi* and *pabulum*. Our own *be* too, which belongs to the same family with *viv-*, is proved by the Old German to have been once *bis*. Observe also that the French *vécu* has recovered, or rather preserved, the guttural.

Volv-ere, *volu-tus*, Greek *ειλυ-ειν*, is the exact representative of our *wallow*, which, though now used only in connexion with the idea of dirt, denotes in itself merely repeated rollings. The root *vel-* (*Feλ-*?) or *ver-* turn, and its numerous progeny, are too well known to need discussion here. But I may point attention to the forms *volub-ilis* and *in-voluc-rum*, as also to the French *en-velop-er*, the Italian *volg-ere*, and our *wrap*.

Ferv-ère, *de-ferb-ui*, &c.—This verb corresponds in form with much accuracy to our own *br-ew*, the first meaning

* Compare the German *laufen* and our own compound *elope*, Germ. *ent-laufen*, Dutch *ontlopen*.

of which was probably to 'boil or heat,' without any special reference to the making of beer. Indeed the Welsh *berw-i*, to boil, is never used of brewing.

§ XVIII. *AGH in Verbs has its vowel corrupted to E or I.*

As *ec* and *ic* were the commonest forms of the suffix with Latin substantives, we might expect them with some frequency in the list of verbs. But the instances are few : as—

Spec-, whence *species*, *specta-re*, *spectrum*, and so many compounds, *inspicere*, &c. But both this verb and its Greek analogue *σκεπ-* of *σκεπτομαι* appear to have undergone a certain change. If, as seems probable, *sec-* be the ultimate stem corresponding to the German *seh-en*, and our own *see* and *sigh-t*, the disyllabic verb should have been *sec-ec-*; but as two successive gutturals were intolerable (see *forceps*, *forfex*, &c., and *apex* above), the Greeks soften the one guttural, the Romans the other, so that instead of *scec-* we have *σκεπ-* and *spec-*.

Plec- of *plectere*, *plexus*, plait, braid, and of *plecti*, get flogged,—for the two words are of one origin,—may be regarded as a compression of *pel-ec-*, and so substantially identical with *pal-ag-* of *plango*. The meaning in both is, to place one flat surface on another, with quietness in plaiting, with violence in *plecti* and *plangere*.

Flec- of *flectere*, *flexus*, is probably also compressed from a disyllabic form. I cannot assent to those who would make it a variety of *plecto*.

Nec- of *necto* claims kindred with our own *knit* and *net*; and so lays claim to our suffix.

Nic- of *nitor*, *nixus*, or rather *gnitor*, *gnixus*.—There can be no doubt that this verb is a derivative, as Festus assures us, from *genu* (*genuc-*) or *genic-* (*genic-ulum*), and really means first to kneel, and then by kneeling to obtain a purchase. In this case however the *ic* is to be regarded as a substantival suffix.

§ XIX. *AGH in Verbs reduced to a guttural G, C, or Q.*

We next take the cases where the vowel wholly disappears, but a guttural, *g*, *c*, or *q*, is retained.

Merg-, *sparg-*, *ter-g-*, *verg-* incline, *verg-* pour. For these see our 'Proceedings,' vol. iii. p. 131.

Fulg-ere, *fulsi*.—Of course I connect with this φλεγ-, *flag-rare*, which, severally expanded, give us such forms as *fol-ug-*, *fel-eg-*, *fal-ag-*; and in the *ful-si* we seem to have the simplest form of the verb. It is not unlikely that *fel-* may be the root of this verb and identical with *fer-* of *fervere*.

Parc- save, is so evidently akin to our *spare*, that the *c* must be a foreign addition; and the meaning fits most aptly, as the verb distinctly denotes a series of petty acts.

Posc- might be a derivative from *pet-ere*. But does the meaning suit? If 'to demand' were the first sense of this verb and its derivative *postulare*, we should be compelled to admit that the idea is sadly at variance with all notion of pettiness. But I would start from what is seen in such a phrase as *posce deos veniam*, where all is humble, though iterative. And the violence of the idea so often expressed by these two words, may have accrued to them in this way. An address to a court of justice is of course worded with all humility, and indeed our own phrase is, to 'petition the Court.' But what is humility in reference to the judge, is often an act of extreme violence towards the other party in the suit; and hence as regards him, *postulare* is translated to 'arraign, impeach, prosecute, demand one's rights.' How words of one origin may attain a great difference of meaning is seen in our own verbs *require* and *request*.

Ves-c-i, to feed oneself, is a repetition of petty acts, and for the form of the word see 'Proceedings,' vol. iv. p. 92.

Ulc-iscor, *ul-tus*.—That *ul-* rather than *ulc-* is the ultimate root-syllable, seems implied in the participle. But the first meaning of the word is doubtful. If we take this to be some severe punishment, we may connect the verb with the neut. sb. *ulcus* or *hulcus*, Greek ἔλκος 'a wound or sore,' which, though sometimes treated as a root, is evidently deduced from the verb ἔλκ- in the sense of 'tear.' But this is a secondary form of *vel-* (*vellere*) pull or tear, a root as well known in Greek as in Latin, and indeed the parent of *vol-n-us* a wound. Thus *vel-* tear, may be regarded as the parent of *ulciscor*.

Tor-qu-e-re has in the first five letters a compression of

tor-ogh, and is represented in English by *th(o)row*, a word of identical import, first in the sense of twisting, as we say 'throw silk,' secondly, 'to whirl, by means of an attached thong, and so throw' a spear, *torquere hastam*. The ultimate root is seen in the simple *ter-* turn, whence *tor-no-* a lathe; and also in *tor-si*, *tor-to-*, *tor-tor-*, *tor-men-to-*, &c. On the other hand, the secondary, or rather tertiary verb *torqu-e-re* is formed immediately from the sb. *torqu-e-*.

§ XX. *AGH* in Verbs changes its guttural for a tenuis lip-letter, besides changing or dropping its vowel.

On several occasions in this paper I have drawn attention to the substitution of a labial tenuis for a guttural tenuis, to soften off the roughness of articulation. Thus *forc-ex* gave place to *forceps* or *forpex* (also *forfex*), *ac-ex* to *apex*. So again in Greek, from the root *σκαλ-* dig, might have been deduced a fitting name for the mole in *σκαλ-αξ*, but the ear insisted on *σπαλ-αξ*; and a labial once established as a variety of our suffix, at times extended its dominion beyond the limits so justified by euphony. I proceed to consider such cases.

Car-p-ere.—The power of this verb, so far as it is at once diminutival and frequentative, is clear beyond all controversy. Yet the original meaning and the source of the word are not so evident. The simple verb is no longer to be found in Latin, but we probably have it in the Greek *κερ-* (*κειρω*), the meaning of which, before sharp tools were invented, must have been rather 'tear' than 'cut'; and, of course, in the comparison of *κερ-* and *car-p-*, we must not expect to find in the diminutival verb the violent action of the simple verb. In Liddell and Scott's Lexicon the eye catches the successive meanings, for *κερ-*, of 'cut, devour, eat up, detract from.' Now *car-p-* also is used of shearing, or rather plucking, sheep; of eating; of detraction. But there are uses of the Latin family which seem not to have had all the notice they deserve. With the Homeric *γυπε ἦπαρ εκειρον* before us, we cannot be surprised to find the noun *car-on-* (*caro, carnis*) signifying flesh. On the other hand, *carpere*, as applied to eating, pre-

pares us for the noun *corp-os-* flesh, for such, rather than 'body,' is its correct translation in many phrases. If our own verb *carve*, as seems probable, be connected with *carpere*, we come again to the idea of cutting, and that not unfrequently in immediate relation to eating.

Rup-, of *rumpere*, is but a fuller form of *ru-*, or in other words an equivalent for *ruc-*. The connexion of *rumpere* and *ruere* is well seen in the compounds. Thus *prorumpit se* and *proruit* are not to be distinguished in power; and if *prorumpere* be a causative verb, so also at times is *proruere* as well as other compounds of *ru-*. We derived *ru-* (§ xvii.) ultimately from the verb *vel-* pull; but to pull a flexible surface is to force it into rucks. Thus we recover the guttural in the English words *ruck* and *wrinkle*, as well as in the Latin *rug-a*; while the guttural, instead of being destroyed, is replaced by another tenuis in our *rumple* and *rut*, and in the Greek *ρυτ-ιδ-*. Note also the phrase *trahere rugam*.

Scalp-ere, already noticed, and its compounds *exsculpo*, &c., have the simple verb represented in the Greek *σκαλ-* (of *σκαλλω*) dig.

Serp-ere, *έρπειν*, and *rěp-* of *rěpere*, *repsi*, &c., compared together, inform us, as I have already said, that *sěr-ěp-* is the non-compressed verb. Though the simple verb *ser-* refuses itself to our inquiries, we distinctly feel in the idea of creeping the repetition of petty doings.

Trep- (*τρεπ-*) must at one time have been a Latin as well as Greek verb, as proved by the existence of *trepido-* and *tre-pidare* 'to be confused,' more literally 'to turn first one way and then another.' The full form *ter-ep-* at once claims connexion with the root *ter-ere* to turn. See *tor-quere* above.

§ XXI. *AGH in Verbs exchanges its guttural for a medial lip-letter, besides modifying the vowel.*

I have dwelt at some length on the substitution of *b** (*bh*)

* The appearance of a *b* in substantives; but these probably derived from verbs, is seen in *tur-b-a* (*ταραχη*), *tur-b-on-*, both ultimately from the verb *ter-* or *tor-* turn; *ver-b-o-* (n.) (comp. *ερε-ω*); *ver-b-er* (n.), compare

for the aspirated guttural of *agh*, as in *am-ab-ilis*, *am-ab-a-m*, *am-ab-o*, and might likewise quote *ten-eb-rae* and *lug-ub-ris*, *vol-ub-ilis*, *sol-ub-ilis*, *fl-eb-ilis*, &c., with the same object. It may be useful to point to a few verbs, where the *b* is admitted by all to be secondary, and, as I hold, is still referable to the same origin. *Scribo*, essentially the same with *γραφω*, *scalpo*, *γλυφω*, has nothing radical in what follows the *r*. Whether we should regard *scal-* (*σκαλ-* dig) or *scar-* as the root-syllable, or perhaps rather without an *s*, *cal* or *car*, is for our present purpose of no moment. In any case *ib* is but a suffix, and my interpretation of it agrees well with the notion of the verb. The word *γραφω* indeed lends strong support to my theory, for as the syllable *αφ* must by all be admitted to be represented by *ib* of *scrib-*, whence *scribere* (cf. for quantity *con-scribillo*), so on the other hand this same *αφ* is a most fitting substitute for *agh*, considering our own *laugh*.

Trib- rub, so familiar to the Greek, virtually exists in the Latin, where we find *tri-vi*, *tri-tus*, and the sb. *trib-ulum*. It is also clearly a compression of *ter-ib-* from *ter-o*. Nay, the original *g* appears in two derivatives from a compound of our verb, *in-tr-ig-on-*, *inter-tr-ig-on-*. The sb. *ter-eb-ra* is of the same origin.

Gl-ub-ere to skin, as has been elsewhere noted in the Society's Transactions, is probably a compression of *col-ub-*, and so identical in root with *col-or* skin, *cul-eus* a skin, and the Greek *σκυλ-* (*σκυλλω*) to skin, *σκυλ-εσ-* a skin, as well as our own *hull* 'to shell,' &c. *Liber*, the thin bark of a tree, is probably but a corruption of an obsolete *glüb-er*, from this very verb.

Illeceb-ra tends to establish *illicib-*, as an old form of *illici-*, the compound of the obsolete *laci-*. A similar argument may be founded on the forms *elec-eb-ra*, *perlec-eb-ra*.

Sal-eb-ra may be quoted in favour of *sal-ib-* = *sali-*; and indeed may we not here have the origin of our own *leap* and the German *laufen*? Compare what is said of *luere* above.

Glob-o-, sb. m. (comp. *lud-o-*), *gleb-a* clod (comp. *fug-a*), Greek *αρασ-*; *bar-b-a*,—the last three of which with us take the forms *word*, *rod*, *beard*.

and the adj. *celeb-eri-* (its suffix *eri=ili*), all point to a verb as the source from which they are derived, though that verb may be now lost past recovery. Moreover, *glob-o-* is commonly admitted to be of the same kin with *glom-es-*, sb. n., 'a clue,' which by its suffix again points to a verb. This secondary verb I hope to have an early opportunity of discussing.

Morb-o-, sb. m. may well come from that secondary verb *morub-* or *morib-*, which we have assumed as the parent of *morib-undo-*. As to the difference of meaning, I will merely note, that in Appleyard's 'Kafir Language,' the fourth example (p. 70) of their 'free use of tropes and figures,' is: *fa*, literal meaning 'to be dying,' figurative meaning 'to be sick.,

§ XXII. *AGH in Verbs changes its guttural aspirate for an M, besides modifying the vowel.*

The pair of words *glob-o-* and *glom-es-* may serve as an introduction to our suffix when it has for its consonant *m*.

But we might have arrived at this liquid by another route. Strange as it may appear, the Greek χ is often represented by an *m* as well as an *f* in Latin, nay, often gives way to a μ in Greek. The case of *mili-a*, &c. by the side of $\chi\lambda\iota\omicron\iota$ has been often noticed; and other cases have been the subject of comment in our own Proceedings (vol. iii. p. 116). See also Buttman's Lexilogus, ii. 265. § 7. But we have also within the limits of the Greek vocabulary—

$\beta\rho-\epsilon\mu-$, $\beta\rho-\alpha\chi-$, and $\beta\rho-\nu\chi-$, all signifying 'roar,' corresponding on the one hand to the Latin *frem-*, and on the other to our *bell-ow*, and probably *bar-k*.

A more interesting example is seen in $\tau\rho\epsilon\chi-$ beside $\epsilon-\delta\rho\alpha\mu-\omicron\nu$, where the true root of the verb is concealed in the consonants $\tau\rho$ and $\delta\rho$. Perhaps $\tau\rho\epsilon\chi-$ is only a euphonic substitute for $\kappa\rho-\epsilon\chi-$, the dental tenuis being adopted, to avoid the repetition of two gutturals. If so, $\kappa\rho$ may be identical with the Latin *cur-* run, and $\kappa\rho-\epsilon\chi-$, itself identical with what I deem a secondary verb in the first two syllables of *curric-ulum*.

Pr-em- of *premere* seems to have nothing very substantial in its *m*, seeing that it utterly disappears in the perfect

and participle. Add to this, that *frequens*, thronging, is a solitary participle without a verb to which we may refer it, unless it belong to *premere*. A search for the analogues of *premere* in kindred languages is attended with much difficulty; and indeed such difficulty occurs in nearly all the cases where a mute and liquid commence a Latin verb. We have just had the case of *τραεχω*. And although there can be no doubt that *trah-* is represented by our *drag* and *draw*, and by the German *trag-en*, yet the assumption involves a violation of Grimm's law which says that *t* Latin = *th* English. Indeed it seems not unlikely that a Latin *tenuis* before an *r* may have had something of an aspirate or rough breathing. Of this we have perhaps an example in the Greek *θρασσω* for *ταρασσω*; for if the *θ* had been merely a transference of the aspirate seen in *ταρ-αχ-η*, there seems to be no satisfactory reason why *θαρασσω* too was not preferred to *ταρασσω*. If so, *frequens* represents the sound more correctly; and then we have a guide in the fact that a Latin *f* often supplied the place of a *θ*, and to a *θ* should correspond a German *d*. I would suggest therefore, as the correlative of *freq-*, *frequens*, the German *druck-en*, *drück-en*, and *dring-en*, all denoting 'to press,' and represented in English by *throng*.

Tr-em- is a verb belonging alike to Greek and Latin. If *tr* contain the root, it may be a substitute for *cr-em-*, and deduced from the root *quer-*, which meant 'to shake,' as is shown in *querquera febris*, the ague. (See Bell's 'Journal of Education,' vol. xiii. p. 315, &c.) Cf. *καρκαυρω* and *cor-uscus*.

Cr-em-or thick juice, as a sb. in *or*, implies a verb *crem-* (comp. *amor*, *timor*, *pallor*, &c.); and *creb-ero-* thick, supports the claim. But *creb-er* is but a variety of *celeber-*, that is *cel-eb-ili-*.

Crem-a-re-, to burn, in its first four letters may well be akin to *πρηθ-*, *πιμ-πρη-μι*, the *c* corresponding, as it should do, to a Greek *π*, while *θ* may well be represented by the lip-letter *m*, much as *πληθ-* of *πληθ-εσ-* by *pleb-* of *plebs* or *plebes*. But of *πρηθ-* &c., *πρ* alone in my opinion can belong to the root-syllable; and though our lexicographers call *πρη-* the root, they identify it with our own *burn*, in which as-

suredly the non-radical character of the *n* is established by the Latin *com-bur-o* and *bustum*.

Let us next bestow a few thoughts on the neuter nouns of the Latin in *men* and *en*, or in Greek *ματ* and *ατ*. Of the shorter forms we have examples in *unguen-*, *sanguen-*, *inguen-*, and in Greek *ἦπ-ατ-*, *φρε-ατ-*, *στε-ατ-*. The instances in *men* and *ματ* are too familiar to need quotation. Now the coexistence of two suffixes, in which the sole difference is the possession of an initial consonant, should perhaps always lead to an inquiry whether this consonant does not in truth belong to the preceding syllable. In the present instance I have something like a conviction that *gestam-en-*, *crim-en-**, *ποιημ-ατ-*, *ον-ομ-ατ-*, &c., are more correctly divided than *gesta-men-*, *cri-men-*, *ποιη-ματ-*, *ον-ο-ματ-†*; and of course in saying this, I say also, that the more correct division of *ornam-entum*, *monum-entum*, is such as implies the existence of obsolete verbs *ornam-*, *monum-*, equivalent to *orn-ab-* and *mon-ub-*, or *orn-agh-*, *mon-ugh-*; precisely as *ungu-entum* implies a verb *ungu-*.

The same question should also be considered in relation to nouns in *μ-η* and *η*, *ακμ-η* and *φυγ-η*, to nouns in *μος* and *ος*, *θαλαμ-ο-* and *λογ-ο-*, to adjectives in *ιμ-ος*, &c. and *ος*, *μαχιμ-ο-* and *κεν-ο-*; as also to the Latin nouns and adjectives of like form.

But perhaps the Greek infinitive is most deserving of consideration under this head. Starting from the Doric infinitive in *εν*, as *λαμβάν-εν*, *λεγ-εν* (Buttmann, § 81. Anm. 10. p. 358), and from the infinitives of the verbs in *μι*, *τιθεν-αι*, *διδον-αι*, &c., and then passing to the longer infinitives *τυπτεμ-εν* and *τυπτεμ-εν-αι*, I am strongly tempted to regard the syllable *εμ* as of independent origin and power, so that from *τυπτ-εμ-εν* through the loss of the *μ* we pass to *τυπτεεν*, *τυπτειν*. In other words, is not *τυπτ-εμ-* a secondary verb, from which is deduced an infinitive *τυπτ-εμ-εν*?

* Compare *crib-rum*.

† The old word must have been *γον-ομ-ατ-*, which would agree with the Latin *gnosco* (*gnom-en*), so that *γον* would represent our *con* learn, = *ken*. The Aeolic *ον-υμ-ατ-* by its vowel *υ* obeys the prevailing vowel-law seen in *ορ-υσσ-*, *οδ-υρ-*, *ον-υχ-*, *mōn-ŷm-entum*.

Lastly, in the theory now before us, applied to neuter nouns of the second declension, we may find an explanation of the anomaly which presents us with the nominatives *aevom*, *bellum*, for the suffix *agh* may pass not merely into *ogh*, but also into *om* (*um*) (see *glom-es*, § xix. *ad fin.*); and *om* in Greek, where a final μ is inadmissible, would of course become *ov*, precisely as the theoretic *ετυπτομ* (cf. *ετυπτομ-εν*) takes the form *ετυπτον*.

This form of the suffix for our own language was not duly noticed in the paper on English Diminutives. It is seen in our words *bottom*, *fathom*, *bosom*, *besom* (or *broom*), *blossom*, *bloom*, *gloom*, *room*, and abridged in *arm*, *harm*, *swarm*, *worm*, *helm*, *halm*, *qualm*, *film* (suggested, except the last, by Grimm's D. G. ii. p. 145). Of this list the first example has its Latin counterpart, not merely in *fundo-*, but also in the fourth example of words in *ec* (§ vi.). I had previously thought that our suffix *om* was but a corruption of the German *en*, now seen in the representatives of these words; but it is clear that the stream runs the other way. Thus the Old German *var-am* corresponds with all fitness to our *brake* (*bar-agh*); and it is only in the later German, that we find *farren-kraut*, or in shorter form *farn*; while with us the influence of the umlaut has produced *fer(e)n*. So again *pod-um* or *pot-am* and *vad-um* in Old German preceded the existing forms *boden* and *faden* (p. 150).

§ XXIII. AGH in Verbs passes through EC to E.

But we have passed over those cases where *ec* or *ic* would degenerate into *e* or *i*. We will commence with the former, and I first present

Ver-e-or I fear me,—to use a somewhat archaic phrase, but one which most literally represents the Latin—exhibits the guttural in *ver-ec-undus*. Moreover, the simple verb is seen in the very word by which we translate it, and our language possesses also the secondary verb in the perf. part. *a-fr-ai-d*, and virtually in the derivative *fr-igh-t* and German *fur-ch-t*. As to *afraid*, we need not hesitate to regard the *a* as the prefix of perfect participles corresponding

to the German *ge*, and our own obsolete *y* (*y-clept*), when we find it in *agone*, now reduced to *ago*, and in the vulgar, but not less to be respected, *afear'd*. There seems no necessity to go to the French *effrayé* to explain our *afraid*.

Suad-e-re, being derived from *suavic-* (*suavi-*), must be regarded as having lost a guttural.

Dens-e-re, as I have said, implies an adjective *densi-*, corresponding to the Greek *δασυ-*, and so also is claimed as containing our suffix.

Re- in *reor*, *ratus*, calculate, is proved by its English representative *reck*, *reckon*, *reckless*, to have lost a final guttural; and every word beginning with an *r* may be assumed to have also lost some previous letters, so that *ec* would be a suffix*.

Rub-e-, compared with *robig-on-*. But if we analysed this word with strictness, we should write *ër-ub-e-* as an older form, in which *er* alone is radical: cf. *ερ-υθ-ρο-*.

Ten-e- has in its first syllable the idea of *tendo*, *τενω*, *i. e.* straining, and the static character of the verb, 'to hold with a strain, to grasp tight,' is due solely to the suffix. Moreover *ten-eb-rae* exhibits something like that which I have already claimed in *am-ab-ilis*.

Lat-e-. Another verb of static power, with *lat-eb-ra* to support its claim.

Scat-e-, stands beside a simpler *scat-* (*scatit*, *Lucr.*, *scatère*, *Enn.*(?)), and again is supported by *scat-eb-ra*.

But the two grounds for claiming *tene-*, *late-*, &c., apply one or other to a large number of the verbs of the second conjugation, for the *e* in this conjugation is very generally considered to be something added, and that something the representative of a permanent state, as in *hab-e-*, *jac-e-*, *plac-e-*, *tac-e-*, *luc-e-*, *pend-e-*, *lug-e-*, *fl-e-*. Secondly, we have the support of the forms *fl-eb-ilis*, *lug-ub-ris*, *expl-eb-ilis*, as also the derived sb. *pl-eb-e-*, which merely means 'the many,' like the kindred noun *πλ-ηθ-ες-*. But we shall have to return to the verbs in *e*.

I will here only notice, that as *stravi* beside *sterno* owed its

* I am half inclined to connect it with the very family of *calc*-ulation, when I find the word *calc-* taking the form *careg* in Welsh.

peculiar form to a secondary verb *ster-ag-*, so *crevi*, *cretus* (*secretus*), beside *cerno*, imply some forms such as *cer-ec-* or *cer-eb-*, which, losing the final consonant, left the vowel long. From this secondary verb *cer-eb-* or *cer-ib-* is deduced *cr-ib-rum*. On the other hand, *cer-tus* used as an adj. is in reality the participle of the verb in its simplest form *cer-*. Similarly *sprevi* and *spretus* imply a secondary verb *sper-ec-* or *sper-eb-*.

§ XXIV. *AGH in Verbs passes through IG or IC to I.*

In the fourth conjugation I may first urge, that if the adjectives *leni-*, *molli-*, and the substantives *tussi-*, *fini-*, *partipart*, *sorti-* lot, *auri-*, *rudi-*, *moli-* (or *mole-*) heap, *mun-*, *saepi-* (or *saepe*) fence, *reti-*, *siti-*, *senti-*, *vesti-*, are justly claimed as having lost a final guttural, a similar loss would not be strange in the derived verbs *lenire*, *mollire*, *tussire*, *finire*, *partiri*, *sortiri*, *audire*, *erudire*, *moliri*, *munire*, *saepire*, *irretire*, *sitire*, *sentire*, *vestire*. At the same time I admit that this argument is itself but weak; but not so, when confirmed by the derived nouns *prur-ig-on-*, *or-ig-on-*, *esur-ig-on-*, which go far to establish the verb *prurig-* rather than *pruri-*, *orig-* rather than *ori-* (*orior*), *esurig-* rather than *esuri-*. Those who think they have got only root-syllables in our *rise* and the Latin *reg-o*, cannot have observed sufficiently the tendency of consonants and vowels to fall off from before the letter *r*. Otherwise they would feel that *o* in *orior* and *ορεγω* is no euphonic addition, but an important element of the root-syllable. But I shall return to these verbs in *i*, to produce still stronger evidence.

§ XXV. *AGH in Verbs exchanges its guttural for a sibilant.*

But we have yet another kind of consonant presenting itself, the examination of which will be more fruitful on Greek soil. The verb *ελαυν-* push, as pronounced by a modern Greek, presents the sound *αφ* (*ελαφνω*), while some of its tenses *ελ-ασ-σα*, *ηλ-ασ-θην*, and many derived words exhibit the syllable *ασ*. These, though apparently so discordant, appear to

be both deducible from a common form *agh*, while $\epsilon\lambda$ of the Homeric $\epsilon\lambda$ - press, supplies a root fitting alike in form and sense. More than once in this paper attention has been directed to the truncated character of words which appear with an initial *l*. I do not hesitate therefore to connect the German *l-ach-el-n*, our own *l-ough*, with its labialized guttural, and the several Greek forms $\gamma\epsilon\lambda$ -*a-w*, $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\lambda$ -*ασ-σα*, $\gamma\epsilon\lambda$ -*υσ-μα*, $\gamma\epsilon\lambda$ -*ασ-της*, and the Doric $\gamma\epsilon\lambda$ -*αξω*. All these varieties receive their explanation in an assumed *gel-agh*. I have said assumed, but have we not the very word in the Scotch *yelloch*, as used for example in Jamieson's quotation from Blackwood: "Who was merrier . . . ? They laughed, they leaped, and shouted, and *yelloched*." But this brings us to the primitive *yell*, so familiar with ourselves. The connected family of words $\beta\rho\alpha\sigma$ - ($\beta\rho\alpha\sigma\omega$), our own *brew*, Lat. *feru-*, and French. *brass-er*, furnish evidence of like import. Thus although the verbs $\gamma\epsilon\lambda$ -, $\epsilon\lambda$ -, $\delta\alpha\mu\alpha$ -, $\epsilon\rho\alpha$ -, have *a* apparently for their characteristic, yet by the varieties $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\alpha\sigma$ -, $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\sigma$ -, $\delta\alpha\mu\alpha\sigma$ -, $\epsilon\rho\alpha\sigma$ -, exhibited in tenses and other derivatives, they all tend to confirm the suspicion that something has been lost after the *a* of the Latin first conjugation, especially when the languages have a common verb, as $\delta\alpha\mu\alpha$ - and *doma-*, tame.

As to the interchange of γ with σ or $\sigma\sigma$, the examples are past enumeration, as $\mu\alpha\lambda\alpha\sigma\omega$, $\beta\rho\alpha\sigma\omega$ ($\beta\rho\alpha\sigma$ -), $\chi\alpha\rho\alpha\sigma\omega$, $\pi\rho\alpha\sigma\omega$, $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\sigma\omega$ ($\epsilon\rho\epsilon\tau$ -), $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\sigma\omega$, $\pi\lambda\iota\sigma\omega$, $\alpha\iota\theta\upsilon\sigma\omega$, $\omicron\rho\upsilon\sigma\omega$, $\kappa\omega\sigma\sigma\omega$. The connexion of some of these sibilants with the guttural, so that $\mu\alpha\lambda\alpha\gamma$ - for example may be regarded as the crude form of $\mu\alpha\lambda\alpha\sigma\omega$, is of course generally admitted, and perhaps we should not be very wrong in assigning to $\sigma\sigma$ the sound of our own *sh*, just as is the case with the name Kossuth. This form $\mu\alpha\lambda$ - $\alpha\gamma$ - brings us almost to the very form of the suffix from which we started. And now I may point to the Latin verbs *capesso*, *incipisso*, *petesso*, &c.

What is here seen in the Latin, is also traceable in one of the daughters of the Latin language, namely in that class of French verbs which is conjugated like *finir*, producing such forms as *finissons*, *finissez*, *finissais*, *finissant*; the suffix of which has passed into the Norman part of our own tongue in

*finish**, &c. It was to these forms that I was looking when I said that more would be said of such verbs as *finire*.

But the Italian in this very verb writes *finisco* †, *finiscono*, so as to bring us back to what are called inceptives in Latin, *lucisco*, *repuerasco*, *refrigesco* ‡.

Even this inceptive idea is not ill-suited to our suffix. But the usage of the forms in *εσκ-ov* among the old Ionic writers is still more favourable to my argument, as they always express a repeated action: "indem sie immer eine wiederholte handlung bezeichnen," to use the words of Buttmann (§ 94. 4, p. 381). Thus he employs the very term *Iterativa* as descriptive of the power expressed by the syllable *εσκ* in these forms.

§ XXVI. *EC* or *IC*, &c. exchange the guttural for a *T*.

Let us now turn to another class of consonants which supersede the gutturals of *agh*, *ac*, *ec*, *ic*, &c. In the paper on English Diminutives (Transactions of the Society, 1856, p. 229), under the § *kk*, instances were quoted: 1. where both forms coexisted beside each other, as *emmet* § (Scotch *emmock* or *immick*), *gimlet* (Sc. *gemlick*), *gobbet* (Sc. *gabcock*), *mammet* (or *mammock*), *apricock* or *apricot*; 2. where without such historical evidence, a preceding guttural served as a cause and excuse for making the second guttural give place to a dental, as *cricket*, *locket*, *packet*, *pocket*, *smicket*, *clot*, *grot*, *spigot*; and 3. cases without such excuse, which tend to show that suffixes once admitted under the pressure of peculiar circumstances, are then carried beyond the original limits, as *mallet*, *tippet*, *silt*, *wart*, *blot*, *eyot*.

* This strengthens the claim already put in for our English adjectives in *ish* in the paper on English Diminutives.

† Thus we come to a form *isc*, already familiar in Greek as a suffix of diminutives, as *νεαν-ισκ-ο-*, *Συρ-ισκ-ο-*.

‡ The interchange of *ks*, *sk*, and *g* (as in *goose*) is common, as in *misc-e-re*, *mix-tus*, our own *mix*, and *μγ-νυμι*; *aug-e-re* and *αυξ-αυ-ω*; our own *frog* compared with the A.S. *frosc* and *frox*. So *ag* might well change with *asc*.

§ Our *ant* is but an abbreviation of *emmet*, precisely as our other word *aunt* is of the Latin *amita*.

That the Latin *abiet-* is a corruption of *abiec-* seems established by the form *abieg-no-*. Again, *vellica-*, *fodica-*, *morsica-*, by their meaning show their title to be considered frequentative verbs, and in their form exhibit our suffix,—so well suited to the purpose,—and indeed exhibit it in duplicate, in the *ic* and in the final *a*. On the other hand, the presence of a preceding guttural justifies the substitution of a dental in place of the legitimate *c* in such verbs as *locita-*, *clamita-*, *dicta-*, *quaerita-*, *agita-*, *rogita-*. Of frequentatives ending in *ita*, which may so defend themselves on the ground of having a guttural in the preceding syllables, there exist over three hundred examples. I say this after a careful enumeration; and thus the Latin language might well be tempted to carry the formation beyond the limits originally justified.

Again, I have supported the doctrine, that *aedili-* and *brevi-* had at one time a final *c*, by the derived forms *aedilic-io-*, *brevic-ulo-*. But *aedilicio-* was eventually changed to *aedilitio-*. Arguing from these facts, I venture to suggest that *puerilit-er*, *brevit-er*, and such adverbs, have in the *t* a substitute for the *c*, so that *er* alone is the adverbial suffix.

§ XXVII. *Adjectives in I and O: further proof of their having lost a final guttural.*

When claiming for adjectives, whether of the form *bono-* or *tristi-*, an original guttural (*bonogh*, *tristigh*), I refrained from using an argument of which I avail myself now. Such comparatives as *laetic-ior*, *tristic-ior*, if established, would assuredly give a strong support to my theory, but the evidence of such forms is somewhat remarkable. A reading *amicitior*, in place of *amicior*, is supported by the three Palatine MSS. and seven others in Liv. ii. 15. 6, *amicitior* and *inimicitior* by the same Palatine and three others in xxvii. 4. 6; *amicitior* has also some MS. authority in Cic. ad Fam. iii. 2 and 3, to say nothing of later writers. Again, the MS. Harl. i. has *laeticior* in Liv. ii. 1. 2; *tristicior* in iv. 52. 5 and ix. 6. 3; *justicior*, in iv. 53. 4. Nay, in Sallust, Jug. x. 5, *amicitior* has the support of not less than twelve MSS., and is rejected by Cortius as being ‘contra analogiam et meliores codices.’

Whether the latter argument be true for Sallust, I doubt, and certainly deny that the word is against analogy*. Moreover, it should be observed, that beside the four adjectives just enumerated, we have the abstract substantives *amicit-ia*, *laetit-ia*, *tristit-ia*, *justit-ia*, in which the appearance of the *it*, hitherto unexplained, is now justified, supposing my theory to be correct.

But an unexplained *it* occurs in not a few Latin forms. Thus we have verbs in *t-ula* and *ula* as *us-t-u-la-*, *pos-t-ula-*, and *amb-ula-*; masculine nouns in *t-a* and *a*, as *nav-it-a* and *scrib-a*; neuter nouns in *it-io* and *io*, as *serv-it-io-* and *im-per-io-*; feminines in *t-i* and *i*, as *mor-t-i-* and *for-i-*; in *it-ion* and *ion*, as *mon-it-ion-* and *opin-ion-†*; in *it-ut* and *ut*, as *serv-it-ut* and *sal-ut-§*; in *it-ud-on-*, as well as in *idon*, *edon*, *ugon*, &c., as *mult-it-udon-*, *cup-idon-*, *grav-edon-*, *alb-ugon-*; in *t-ela* and *ela*, as *tut-ela-* and *quer-ela-*; adjectives in *t-ili* and *ili*, as *fer-t-ili-*, *aquat-ili-*, *ut-ili-*; adjectives in *it-io* and *io*, as *patr-it-io-* and *patr-io-||*. In the last case, although *patritio-* is said to have the authority of the Monumentum Ancyranum, it is admitted that *patricio-* is the more genuine

* It is not meant to exclude *amicior*, *laetior*, &c. Nay, for Livy, they have the best authority in the support of the Putean and Medicean MSS. Yet the appearance of the other forms in so many MSS. of Livy, receives perhaps its best explanation in the supposition that some of the transcribers came to their task with a preference, it may be a provincial preference, for the longer forms.

† Here *pos-t-* is probably the same as *pos-c-* of *posc-ere*.

‡ *Coercio*, in Liv. iv. 53. 7, though rejected by editors, has the support of the two best MSS., the Putean and Medicean.

§ Probably we should also divide *civit-at-*, *densit-at-*, &c. so as to make *āt* alone the suffix.

|| The opprobrium of Grammarians is the assumption of disyllabic suffixes. These, as knowledge improves, will always fall apart into two. *Sculp-tura* should be divided as *sculp-tur-a* (from *sculptor*), *vic-tric* as *vic-t(o)r-ic-* (comp. *doct(o)r-ina*), *regina* as *reg-in-a* (*in*=the German suffix *inn*), while *fac-in-os-*, *it-in-er-*, imply obsolete secondary verbs *fac-in-*, *it-in-*, just as $\tau\epsilon\mu\text{-}\epsilon\nu\text{-}\epsilon\sigma\text{-}$ is from the secondary verb $\tau\epsilon\mu(\epsilon)\nu\text{-}\omega$, root $\tau\epsilon\mu\text{-}$ cut. Again, *diurno-* and *hiberno-* are no doubt deduced from obsolete nouns (probably neuter), *di-ur* and *hib-er*, still surviving in the French *jour* and *hiver*. Should we divide the Greek comparative $\sigma\phi\omega\tau\text{-}\epsilon\rho$ so as to make the suffix $\epsilon\rho$ as in our own *wis-er*, &c. ?

form, as also that *condic-ion-* is older than *condit-ion-*; and indeed we have a similar degradation in such words as *sub-diticio-*, altered in later writers to *subdititio-*. We have here then distinct evidence of *ic* passing into *it*.

Let us give a little special thought to the forms of which *subditicio-* is an example. There is this difference between a participle and an adjective, that the former refers to some individual act, while an adjective denotes a general condition. But this latter idea is very fitly expressed by our suffix, which is so often used to denote a habit or state. Thus *edens* means 'while eating,' but *ed-ax* 'habitually eating.' If then we accept *ic* of *subdit-ic-io-* as representing *agh*, there remains the suffix *io*, which we may well interpret as 'of or belonging to,' just as in *patr-io-*, and what has virtually the same suffix, *ign-eo-*. Thus wine imported on a given day at a given place by a given person is *vinum ab eo importatum*; but if we wish to express generally the idea of foreign wine, without reference to the particular circumstances of its importation, we must say *vinum importaticium*, belonging to the class of imported wines. Thus *novic-io-* (where *novic-* represents *novo-*) denotes merely 'belonging to the class *novi*,' a novice. But there still remains a little problem. If *posit-o-*, *alit-o-*, taking these as examples of a perfect participle, owe their final *o* to the same source as our theory assigns to the other nouns of this declension, it follows that *posit-*, *alit-*, alone represent the true participle. Shall we hesitate to accept this result, when we have the identical suffix *it*, so familiar in Old Scotch, as in *abasit*, *heapit*, *strakit*, *gule-fittit* (yellow-footed), *howebackit* (hollow-backed); also in Norse, as *hald-it** (held), *brunn-it* (burnt); in Manx, as *moyll-it* (praised); while in Breton the sole difference is, that *et* is preferred to *it*, as *kar-et* loved. I have passed over the Welsh, not however because it fails to support my view, but because it gives so decided a support to it, that I wished to look at it separately. The Welsh

* Let it not be objected that *haldit* is the neuter; for a neuter, though it may have less, has never more than the crude form, unless indeed it be a nominative *s*, as in *praesens*, *felix*, and *potis* used as a neuter in the comic writers.

participle *gared-ig-*, loved, represents the form *posito-*, so soon as the *o* is regarded as having lost a guttural, for *posit-o(gh)* might well pass on the one side to *posito-*, on the other to *positic-*.

§ XXVIII. *AGH, &c. change the guttural to a D.*

But if the tenuis guttural of *ac, ec, ic*, pass into a *t*, the medial gutturals *agh* and *ogh*, &c. might well give place to a *d*. The Greek language abounds in examples, both among verbs and substantives. Thus we have *παιζω, παιξομαι, επαιξα, επαιχθην*, and *παιγνιον*, but *παις, παιδος*.

But let us rather look to the Latin. While Forcellini has forty-one nouns in *agon*, thirty-one in *igon*, and nine in *ugon*, and some four in *gon* without any prefixed vowel, there are twenty-eight in *edon*, five in *idon*, and nine in *don* without a preceding vowel. That *on* is a suffix of the Latin language is proved by *offend-on-*, a word as old as Afranius, and confirmed, it would seem, by the *asperg-on-* of Virgil. Now, setting aside for a moment the 112 nouns in *tudon*, and looking to the other nouns which present a *d* rather than *g*, a large half of them have the better excuse for preferring a *d*, in that the words in the first part already possess a guttural, *g, c, or h*. And if I am right in claiming *multic-ud-on* as the older form of *multit-ud-on*, in this class of words the same excuse is found. Moreover, we can at times assign a precedence in time to those with a *g* over those with a *d*. For example, *robigon-* or *rubigon-*, has the authority of nearly all the best writers from Plautus downwards, and *albugon-* that of Pliny, while *rubedon-* and *albedon-* can appeal only to such writers as Firmicius and Cassiodorus.

§ XXIX. *The many variations of AGH, &c. in respect of Vowels considered.*

Here I pause to consider the vast amount of ground I have traversed in the treatment of our suffix, especially in the department of verbs. The very fact that I have assigned to it all the vowels in succession, and most of the consonants, is, to say the least, startling, and if left without further discussion, may be a bar to the assent of my hearers. As

regards the vowels, there is however a consideration which removes much of the difficulty; I mean the fact that the change of vowel in the suffix is an adaptation to the vowel of the root, in obedience to that general law which more or less affects all languages. Thus *ραθασσω* (from *ραινω*), *μαλασσω*, *παλασσω*, *σταλασσω*, *ψαλασσω*, *λαιμασσω*, *κανασσω* (*καναχη*), *λαπασσω*, *αρασσω*, *ταρασσω*, *χαρασσω*, *πατασσω*, *αφασσω*, are sufficient to establish the case of *ασσω*; *ερεσσω* stands almost alone; *δειδισσω*, *ελισσω* or *ειλισσω*, *μειλισσω*, may suffice for *ισσω*; and *οδυσσομαι*, *μορμυσσω* and *μορμολυττομαι*, *ορυσσω*, *κορυσσω*, *μορυσσω*, *φορυσσω* for *υσσω*.

It was a feeling of this truth which has guided me for some time past in my attempts to expand those words, where, by the loss of the root-vowel, the initial and final consonants have been brought into juxtaposition. Thus the neuter noun *θρασος* might at once be suspected to be a compression of *θαρασος*, and this is confirmed both by the other form *θαρσος*, and by the root which has its simplest form in our own *dare*. Again, in *θρασσω* we might have presumed the loss of an *a* between the *θ* and *ρ*, even without the knowledge of the fuller form *ταρασσω*.

But evidence to the same effect is visible in Latin, as in—
 1. *amabam*, *alacer*, *arare*, *amare*, *aratrum*:—2. *gemebundus*, *fremebundus*, *tremebundus*, *vereor*, *verecundus*, *teneo*, *tenebam*, *tenebra*, *terebra*, *celeber*, *expetesso*, *necesse*, *c(e)revi*, *sp(e)revi*, *veretrum*, *feretrum*, *f(e)rētus*;—3. *nitibundus*, *ridibundus*, *ridiculus*, *incipisso*, *vicissim*;—4. *οροφος* (beside *ερεφω*), *θ(ο)ρωσκω* (cf. *εθορον*), *κωνωψ*; 5. *lugubris*, *lucubrare*;—and with kindred, though not identical, vowels; 6. *algeo*, *ardeo*, *pateo*, *maneo*, *lateo*, *latebra*, *scatebra*, *salebra*, *facesso*, *capesso*, *lacesso*;—7. *queribundus*, *c(e)ribrum*, *t(e)rivi*, *t(e)ribulum*, *vertigo*;—8. *volv-ere*, *volum-en*, *volub-ilis*, *involut-um*, *volup-e*, *voluc-ris*, *solu-tus*, *solub-ilis*, *tolu-tim*, *docum-entum*, *monum-entum*, *incolum-is*, *mollugo*, *molluscus*, *coruscus*, *columba*, *columna*.

A comparison of allied words in Greek and Latin will confirm what is here said: *ροφω* and *sorbeo* point to a fuller form *σοροφ-*; *ε̄ρπ-*, *serp-*, and *rep-*, to a disyllabic *serep-*; *αρπαζ-* and *rap-* to a trisyllabic *αραπαγ-*; *ραπτω* (*ραφ-*), and *sarcio*, *sartum*, to *σαραφ-* or *sarac-*.

No doubt the Latin language and even the Greek contain many violations of the principle, but of these some might easily be explained. Thus *veta-re* ceases to be anomalous in the older form *votare*; *moribundus* may have been preceded by *morub-undus*, *ludibundus* by *ludub-undus*, as *genibus* was by *genubus*. It seems indeed to have been an idiosyncrasy of the Latin language to change broad to narrow vowels, as seen in *sine*, *lingua*, *ignis*, *in* (the preposition), and *in* (not), *mihi*, *tibi*, *sibi*, *vester*, *verto*, *veto*.

But for evidence to show how readily adjoining vowels assimilate with each other, nothing perhaps can be more convincing within the same compass, than the following little series of words, in themselves substantially identical, though they run through the whole gamut of vowels:—*a*. *παλλαξ*, *e*. Lat. *pellex*, *i*. Eng. *filly* or *fillie**, *o*. Scotch *pollock*, Gr. *πωλος*, *u*. Lat. *pullus*. Here etymology justifies no more than the translation ‘little young one.’ It belongs to external causes alone that the uses of the several words have become variously limited as to sex and species; so that *παλλαξ* is perhaps always masculine, *pellex* and *filly* always feminine, and so on. Again, a Roman is thinking of a ‘concubine’ when he says *pellex*, and means by *pullus* a ‘colt,’ or may be a ‘chicken,’ while to a Scotchman the word *pollock* at once raises the idea of ‘a young fish,’ &c.

What I have said, if true, may lead to the correction of what I regard as serious errors. The first of these is a matter on which I wrote but recently, the undue extension of the doctrine of metathesis, as, for example, in the case of *θαρσος* and *θρασος*. The presence of the vowel *a* in both forms was some excuse for the doctrine that *ρ* and *a* had changed places; but such cases are more truly explained by the theory that the vowel originally belonged to both syllables. An instance there quoted in proof of this position was the word *through* beside the German *durch*, while *thorough* contained two vowels. It is only by taking these fuller, though sometimes theoretic forms, that we have any hope of analysing such words, for on the other theory we should have elements devoid of vowels,—that is, impossibility.

* For *p* Lat. = *f* English.

Secondly, the knowledge that *ασσ*, *υσσ*, &c. in these verbs are suffixes, would prevent such errors as deriving *οδυσσομαι*, I am grieved, I hate, from the adverb *δυσ* and the Sanskrit verb *duish*, when the radical part, denoting pain, is probably only *οδ*, as in the Latin *odi*.

Thirdly, I wish that some philologer would reconsider the doctrine of prefixed euphonic vowels, for the purpose of confining it within narrower limits. Thus the *ο* of *ορυσσω* is often treated as euphonic, but we have here in all probability the stem *Fop-*, seen in the Latin *forare*, *foris*, and our own *bore*. Nay, the Latin *fod-* of *fodere* is but a dialectic variety of it, just as the verb *audi-* stands in immediate relation to the sb. *auri-*. And to confirm this view, we have *bod-* as well as *bore* in our own language. Thus the piercing instrument of a lady's workbox, and, in Shakspeare, a dagger, bear the name *bod-kin**. Even *fora(gh)re* has one of its many representatives among us in the secondary form to *broach* (a cask), *i. e. bor-och*. So again, without any initial digamma or *f*, the Latin has in *ōs*, *ōris*, a compression of a fuller form, a neuter *ōr-ōs-* or *ōs-ōs-*, *i. e.* the base of the verb with such a neuter suffix as enters into *frig-os-*. But *ορ-υσσω* is only one example. It is a somewhat suspicious fact that the words for which the euphonic initial vowels are claimed, begin for the most part with one of the liquids *r*, *l*, *n*, that is, the very letters before which a loss of prefixed letters is so common. Such cases as *ασπαλαξ*, *αστηρ*, stand on different ground.

§ XXX. *The many variations of AGH in respect of Consonants considered.*

But the consonants assigned to the several varieties of our suffix are also most numerous; and indeed, if the matter were more thoroughly investigated, perhaps there is no form of consonant except the liquids *r*, *l*, and perhaps *n*, which does not enter into it. This also is startling; but it should be re-

* A young gentleman, L. E. A., aged three, was recently heard, after asking what this instrument was, and being told a *bodkin*, to make the truly philological inquiry: 'Do you *bod* with it?' Then again, to quote similar authority, a young lady, C. W., of the same age, was heard a few days ago to say: 'Mama will teach us to *dite*,' *i. e. (w)rite*. The talk of young children is philological evidence of the most genuine nature.

membered, that among the consonants none are more liable to extensive change than the aspirates, and we may perhaps specially affirm this of the medial aspirates. This has been long noticed by Sanskrit grammarians. Thus *bhri* and *dhri*—let us rather write them *bhir* and *dhir*—are but varieties of one stem signifying ‘to bear,’ the former of which is represented by *φερ-*, *fer-*, and our own *bear*; while the latter, following that very common law which substitutes *l* for *r*, has for its Greek, Latin, and English analogues, *τολ* or *ταλ*, seen in *τολ-μα-* and *ταλ-αν-*, *tol* of *tollo tetuli (tuli)*, and our obsolete verb *thole* ‘suffer,’ German *duld-en*; while the addition of our verbal suffix *agh*, or its equivalents, leads on the one hand to the Homeric *φερ-εσκ-ον*, to the Latin *fr-ē-tus (fer-egh-tus)*, to our own *br-ing*, *br-ough-t*, to the German *br-ing-en*, *br-ach-te*, and on the other, to the Greek *ε-τλ-η-ν*, *τε-τλ-η-κα*, *τλ-η-τος (tal-agh-)*, and to the Latin *(t)l-a-tus*, i. e. *tal-agh-tus*. In this it is seen that the common doctrine which finds two or more independent roots in the combination *fero*, *tuli*, *latum*, is without foundation. Nay, even in *ηνεγκον*, *συνενεικομαι*, it is probable that a form *Feν-εγκ-* may be a substitute for *φερ-egh* or *fer-agh*=our *br-ing*. The substitution of *ν* for *ρ* in *Feν-εγκ-* has its exact parallel in our own *fennel*, beside the Latin *ferul-a*, *ferul-ag-on*. If the Latin *ger-* and our *wear*, be, as is probable, only another variety of the root, we have gutturals, labials, and dentals, all intermingled.

A few familiar examples of the interchange of aspirates within the limits of Greek and Latin may still be useful; as of *φ* with *θ*, *πλα-*, *θλα-*; *φλιβ-*, *θλιβ-*; *φηρ*, *θηρ*; *φοινη*, *θoinη*; *φι* suffix and *θι*; *θαλ-* of *θαλλω*, *fl* of *fl-os*; *ερυθ-ρο-*, *rufo-*; *θυρα-*, *fori-*, and *fora-* of *foras*; *θρασν-*, *forti-*; *θυμο-*, *fumo-*; *θ* with *χ*, *ορνιχ-ος*, *ορνιθ-ος*; *ερ(ν)χ-ομαι*, *ηλυθ-ον*; *Καλχηδον-*, *Cārthagon-*; *χ* with *φ*, *εχισ*, *οφισ*; *χαλινο-*, *freno-*; *χεF-* (*χεω*) *fud-* (*fundo*); *σχοινο-*, *funi-*; *χολο-*, *fel-*; *χρα-* (r.), *fru-* (r.); *σχιδ-* (*σχιζω*), *fid-* (*findo*); *hordeo-*, *fordeo-*, &c.

§ XXXI. Conclusion.

The present paper might receive much light from a fuller examination of the Greek vocabulary; but this task must be left to others, as also the consideration of the evidence which

the Sanskrit would furnish. Unhappily, Sanskrit scholars are for the most part so wedded to the theories of the native grammarians, that they hesitate too often to form an independent opinion. With my own knowledge of that language, I should be utterly without justification, were I to undertake the desired inquiry, yet I have seen enough to satisfy me that my theory would obtain valuable support from this quarter. Even the nouns in *u*, taken by themselves, afford evidence which to me seems irresistible.

If my views be right, the various representatives of the earlier suffix *agh*, which is not unfrequently repeated in the same word, supply no small per-centage to the elements of the Latin and other vocabularies. Often indeed the spirit of the diminutival power has evaporated; but the result has been to supply the language with a variety of words, in themselves possessing little or no distinction of sense, yet available for very different purposes, as the occasions of life may suggest. Thus in our own language the verbs, *burrow*, *bury*, *broach*, *break*, as well as the substantives *furrow*, *breach*, *broach*, *prong*, *fork*, *row*, *rank**, &c. are probably formed by the juxtaposition of a common root, of which an English representative is *bore*, with a common suffix denoting 'little'; yet how divergent are the applications of these words.

Lastly, are we not entitled to set a higher philological value on our own language when we find that it possesses simpler forms than most of its sisters? While we have the primitive verbs *fear*, *tame*, *dare*, *veer*, *bell*, *con*, *ken*, *hear*, *see*, *wake*, the primitive substantives *ware*, *heel*, *mill*, *hill*, *hide*, *hand*, *nose*, and monosyllabic adjectives without number, the classical languages in all these cases exhibit but secondary formations; and the superiority would be still greater, if we treated with less neglect our Scotch and provincial dialects.

* The last two words in this series may prove their connexion with *furrow* through the evidence of the Greek *ορχος*, *i. e.* *οροχος* or *ορυχος*. The grammarians seem to connect this word with *ορυσσω* (see Liddell and Scott); and if we translate it 'a trench or furrow,' especially for planting vines, we have a meaning which well accords with its use. The Latin *or-d-on-* too is of the same stock, and so the word is used with its proper power in such sentences as 'quae arbores in ordinem satae sunt,' Var. R. R. i. 714, and Horace's 'Est ut viro vir latius ordinet arbusta sulcis.'

INDEX.

A final, in Latin nouns, did not originally mark gender, 300 n.
a, as a suffix of Latin verbs, 302 &c.
ab, as a suffix of Latin substantives, 310.

ag, as a suffix of Latin verbs, 302 &c.
agh or *ach* (Keltic) 'little,' its representatives in Latin, 295-354.

Algonquin group of languages, additions to; the Bethuck 58, Shyenne 61, Blackfoot 61, Arrapaho 62, Fitzhugh-Sound 64.

America; Dr. Latham on the languages of Northern, Western, and Central, 57-115.

Assimilation of vowels in Latin, 349 &c.

Athabaskan group of languages, 65-70.
 Atna group of languages, 71.

AUFRECHT, THEODOR; on the derivation of *sons*, 115-118; of *otium*, 143, 144; on the terminations *tia*, *tio*-, 144-146.

California, languages of, 74-87.

———, Old, languages of, 87-91.
canum (Lat.), the form explained, 322.
 Costa-Rica, the Talamenca language of, 112.

Derivations of words:—

ENGLISH.

afraid, 341.
ant, 345 n.
auger, 181.

bite, *bit*, 180.
bodkin, 352.
booty, 150.
bore, 174, 180.
break, 304.
brew, 344.
bring, 353.
broach, 352.

bur (flock of wool), 181.
burin, 180.

cherte, 294.
cran-, *crow-ber-*
ry, 173.

-*en* (adject.), 237.
ev-il, 234.

fanatics, 218.

Derivations, English, *continued*.

father, 216.
fillie, 351.
flock, 248.

gable-end, 249.
gib, 248.
glen, 247.
gore, 182.
gules, 226.

holy, 226.

javelin, 249.

kill, *quell*, 175.
king, 174, 217.
know-ledge, 177.

lack, 185.
laugh, 344.
leisure, 184.
lie (falsehood), 185.

like, 177.
-lock, *-lok*, *-ly*, 177.
-ly (adverbial), 176, (adjectival), 177.

mammet, 245.
mangle, 246.
meed, 174.
must, 184.

and see Key on English Diminutives, 219-250; Index, p. 356, col. 2.

FRENCH.

bourre, 181.
burin, 181.
fnissant, 344.

nasty, 174, 217.
nave, 182.
nickname, 183.

oil, 173.
ordure, 189.
orts, 188.
rest, 143.
row, 354 n.

-*some*, 178, 179.
sorcerer, 186.
sorrel, 246.
s-par-r-ow, 221.
such = so-like, 175.

tarry, 226.
turnip, 182.

violet, 221.

winnow, 226.
wed-lock, 177.
wh-ich, 175.
wise, *guise*, 176, 178, 217.
work, 316.
worthe (wel, wo), 160.

year, 175.

and see Key on English Diminutives, 219-250; Index, p. 356, col. 2.

FRENCH.

javelot, 249.
loisir, 184.
navet, 183.

Derivations *continued*.

GREEK.

- αρα*, 174.
αστυ, 128.
βορα, *βρωσκα*,
 181.
βρασσω, 344.
γελω, 344.
δρυς, 321.
εαρ, 136.
εδραμον, 338.
εικοσι, 134.
εκων, 138.
ελαντω, 343.
εννυμι, 138.
επος, *ειπον*, 129.
εργον, 131.
εσομαι, 309.
εχω, *ισχω*, 139 n.
ηγεγον, 353.
ιδειν, 137.
ιστημι, 138 n.
κταν-, 118.
λιαν, 183.
μηκων, 186.
μυια, *μυς*, 115 n.
οικος, 135.
ορυσσω, 352.
ορχος, 354 n.
ος, 142.
οψ, *οσσα*, 130.
παλλαξ, 351.
πολις, 319 n.
σινις, 118.
σπαλαξ, 335.

GERMAN.

lind-wurm, 186.

LATIN.

- abies*, 346.
alacer, 307.
amicitia, 347.
amicitior, 346.
aper, 318.
arbiter, 186.
arx, 316.
cal-c-, 319 n.
callum, 318.
calx, 315.
capesso, 344.
carpo, 335.
caro, 335.
convitium, 145.
corpus, 336.
coruscus, 339.
cras, 314.
cremo, 339.
cremor, 339.
cribrum, 343.
curriculum, 338.
domo, 344.
ero, 309.
facesso, 344.
falx, 315.
fero, 353.
fervo, 332.
flaccus, 327.
flavus, 326.
flu, 329.
forfex &c., 314.
foro, 352.
frango, 304.
fremo, 338.
frequens, 339.
fruor, 329.
fugio, 330.
gaudeo, 174.
gilvus, 326.
glubo, 337.
gracilis, 306.
gramen, 307.
illecebra, 337.
im-muni-s, 219.
in-col-umis, 180.
latus, 353.
liber, 337.
liber, 330.
licet, 184.
libum, 173.
loqu, 176.
liquor, 330.
lugubris, 342.
luo, 330.

Derivations, Latin, *continued*.

- merx*, 316.
metaculus, 320.
morbis, 338.
municipes, 219.
mu-to, 180.
napis, 182.
necto, 333.
nitor, 333.
nvo, 331.
nurus, 186.
opera, 185.
ordo, 354 n.
otium, 143, 144.
parco, 334.
pellex, 351.
plango, 303.
plebes, 339, 342.
plecto, 333.
podex, 312.
porcus, 173.
posco, 334.
premo, 338.
quercus, 322.
quisquilia, 187.
reor, 342.
rumpo, 336.
runcare, 189.
ruo, 331.
salictum, 317.
salio, 337.
sarcio, 350.
scalpo, 336.
scrutor, 331.
serpo, 330, 336,
 350.
similis, 177.
socer, 140 n.
solvo, 330, 331.
sors, 115-118.
sonticus, 117.
sorbeo, 350.
sorex, 312.
sors, 332.
spargo, 304.
specio, 333.
sternax, 312.
sterno, 303.
struo, 332.
ta-li-s, 175.
tenebrae, 342.
torqueo, 334.
torvus, 326.
trabes, 319.
traho, 304.
tremo, 339.
trepidus, 336.
tribo, 337.
tristitior, 346.
trux, 326.
tuli, 353.
turba, 336 n.
ulciscor, 334.
verber, 336 n.
verbum, 336 n.
vereor, 341.
verecundus, 341.
volucris, 330.
volvo, 332.
vorare, *forare*,
 181.
Digamma, in Homer's verse, 125;
 words requiring it: *αστυ*, 127; *επος*,
ειπον, *οψ*, *οσσα*, 129; *εργον*, 131;
ετης, 132; *ετος*, 133; *εικοσι*, 133;
Ηλις, 134; *οικος*, 134; *απves*, 135;
αγνυμι, 135; *απαιος*, 136; *εαρ*, 136;
εδνον, 137; *ιδειν*, 137; *εννυμι*, 137.
 Diminutives, English; Key on, 219-
 250.
-ock, 223-225.
-ow, 225-227.
-ick, 227.
-ie, 227.
-el (*al*, *il*, *ul*),
 231.
-er, 232.
-en, 232.
-em (*om*), 232.
-ing, 234, 239.
-kin = *ock* + *in*,
 240-244.
-chen, Ger. = *ich*
 + *en*, 240-244.
-ach, *-ag*, *-an*,
 Gael. 240.
-ling = *el* + *ing*,
 244.
-let = *el* + *et*, 244.
-rel = *er* + *el*, 244.

Diminutives connected with iteration, 234.

————, English, proposed for examination, 227-239.

————, Latin; Key on, 295-354. ————— supersede their primitives, 295.

Distributed; Dr. Latham on the word as used in logic, 190-195.

English Idioms; Perowne on some, 146-172.

able *to*, 171.

accord *to* = *with*. 170.

anoy *to*, 170.

be *to*, 171.

beseech *of*, 162.

bid *to*, 169.

bilovid *with* = *by*, 165.

blame, *to* fall in, set in, 149.

boot, *to* do, make, 150.

cast, chere, 150;

loke, wittes,

loue, lesinge,

151; cast off

the herte, 151.

cease *of* = *from*, 163.

change *with* = *for*, 148.

chosen *of* = *by*, 166.

clene *of* = *in*, 167.

comaunde *to*, 169.

counselled *of* = *by*, 166.

do, boot, 150;

-wo, 154; do

to go, maken,

154; do =

make, 155, =

put, 155; used

with nouns, ab-

solutely, pas-

sive, as an aux-

iliary, 156.

enjoin *to*, 169.

espy *of*, 162.

flatter *with*, 148.

forgive *to*, 170.

give *of* = *for*, 163; *of*, 164.

glade of her, 168.

hand, have upon, 151; take up-

on, bere on,

bring *to*, 152.

have *to* son, daughter, &c., 171.

helpen *of* = cure *of*, 162.

herken *of* = *to*, 162.

hope *of* = *for*, 163.

inure *with* = *to*, 148.

make, amendis *of* = *for*, 153;

— it strange,

wys, 153; him

chere, daunger,

153; wo, 153;

of = *for*, 164.

most of synne, 168.

nede *to* = *for*, 171.

obeye, unto, *to*, 169.

of, after verbs, 161-165; after

adjectives, 166

-169.

pass *of* = *in*, 163.

payd *of*, *on*, = *with*, 165.

pray *of* = *for*, 161; *to*, 162.

English Idioms, *continued*.

prise or price, hold at, be in, &c., 157.

prove *of* = *by*, 166.

rebelnesse *to* = *against*, 172.

remember *of*, *upon*, *on*, 163.

repreve *of*, 162.

rich *of* = *in*, 167.

serve *to*, 169.

served *of* = *with*, 166.

set, of, in, be-hinde, &c., 158.

snow *of*, 164.

snybbe (snub) *of* = *for*, 162.

spare *to*, 171.

spede *to*, 170.

surmounted *of*, 163.

take of, 158;

take kepe = heed, 159; upon, tent, 159.

teach *of*, 164.

tell, by, 159; store of, deynthe

of, 160.

thank *of* = *for*, 161.

to, after verbs, &c., 169-172.

touch *to*, 170.

trespass *to*, unto, 170.

upbreyde *of*, 162. upon, 172.

well, the be, worthe, 160.

wite *of*, 162.

wo, be, worthe, 161.

worthy of honde, 167.

write *of* = *with*, 164.

English substantives in *om*, 341.

———— verbs in *ish*, 344.

————, antiquity of, 354.

fanatics, introduction and derivation of the word, 218.

Finnish languages, their connexion with the Indo-Germanic, 172-179.

————, miscellaneous etymologies illustrated from, 179-189.

———— affinities with Basque, 216-218.

Friesic, the Old-Friesic the *fons et origo* of Old-English, 196-215.

Future of Latin verbs, how formed, 309, &c.

Gallatin's Essays on American Philology, a supplement to, 57-115.

Greek adjectives in *ακ-* and *αγ-*, 311.

———— diminutives in *ακ*, 298.

———— infinitives, 340.

———— iterative verbs in *εσκον*, 345.

———— substantives in *ματ-*, 340.

Gutturals, final, disappear, 297, 328.

HETTEMA, M. DE HAAN; Hints on the Thesis "the Old-Friesic above all others the *fons et origo* of the Old-English," 196-215.

- Homer; Yates on the irregularities of his versification, 119.
- Honduras and San Salvador, languages of, 109.
- KENNEDY, JAMES; on some affinities in the Basque language with words referred to the Finnish and Indo-Germanic languages, 216-218.
- KEY, T. HEWITT; on English Diminutives, 219-250.
- , on the representatives of the Keltic suffix *agh* or *ach* 'little,' in the Latin vocabulary, 295-354.
- knuckle*, its representative in Latin, 320.
- kt*, its transmutations in Greek and Latin, 116.
- Kutani language, 70.
- LATHAM, Dr. R. G.; on the languages of Northern, Western, and Central America, 57-115.
- ; on the word *distributed* as used in logic, 190-195.
- Latin representatives of the Keltic suffix *agh* or *ach* 'little,' 295-354.
- adjectives in *-ac-eo-*, 300-319; in *aci-* or *ac-*, 307, 311, 312; in *ab-ili-*, 308; in *ab-undo-*, 308; in *icio*, 346; in *tili-*, 347; in *ib-undo-*, 351.
- adjectives in *i-*, origin of, 324, &c.
- substantives in *a* have lost a final guttural, 300, &c.; as also those in *e*, 319; in *i*, 319; and in *u*, 319; and those in *i* and *u* are diminutival, 322, 321.
- substantives in *ag-on-*, 301; in *ac-ulo* and *ac-ro*, 306; in *ec-* and *ic-*, 312, 313; in *ec-to-* or *eto-*, 316; in *men-*, 340; in *ig-on*, 343; in *tura*, 347n.; in *tion-*, 347; in *gon-* and *don-*, 349.
- substantives in *o*, origin of, 318.
- ——— *i-* and *e-*, as *nubis* or *nubes*, 323.
- verbs in *a* have lost a final guttural, 306; as also those in *i*, 343.
- frequentative verbs, 346.
- metūculus*, a Latin word, 320.
- Mexico, languages of Northern provinces of, 91.
- , New, languages of, 96.
- , Guatemala, &c., 107.
- Moskito country, languages of, 111.
- Norse neuter participles in *it*, 348.
- nullius*,—origin of this genitive, 327.
- otium*,—Aufrecht on the derivation of, 143-144.
- Past-imperfect of Latin verbs, how formed, 309.
- Perfect-passive participles of Latin, 348.
- PEROWNE, J. J. S.; on some English idioms, 146-172.
- $\phi = \chi = \theta$, 353.
- quercus*, its possible origin, 322.
- σ or $\sigma\mathcal{F}$, words requiring this prefix, in Homer, *έκρυπος*, 139; *ήδυσ*, 140n.; *έθος*, 140 n.; *έκας*, *έκαστος*, 140; *οδ*, *οι*, *έ*, *ός*, 141, 140 n.; *Ηρα*, 142.
- Sanskrit *ksh*, equivalents in Greek and Latin, 115.
- sons*; Aufrecht on the derivation of, 115.
- terminations, E. *-ch*, *-lk*, *-ly*, *-lok*, L. *-li-*, G. *-λικ-*; Wedgwood on, 175-178.
- , English; Key on, 229-250.
- , Latin, represented by the Keltic *agh* or *ach*; Key on, 295-354.
- , *-tia*, *-tio-*; Aufrecht on, 144-146.
- Texas, languages of, 100.
- tree*, its representative in Greek and Latin, 320, 321.
- Utah, languages of, 96.
- Veragua, languages of, 115.
- WEDGWOOD, HENSLEIGH; further observations on the connexion of the Finnish and Indo-Germanic classes of languages, 172-179.
- ; miscellaneous etymologies illustrated from the Finnish languages, 179-189; (*bore*, *burin*, *bur*, 180; *auger*, 181; *turnip*, 182; *λιαν*, 183; *nickname*, 183; *leisure*, 184; *lie*, 185; *lack*, 185; G. *lind-wurm*, 186; *μηκων*, 186; L. *nurus*, 186; *arbiter*, 186; *quisquiliæ*, 187; *runcare*, 189; *orts*, 188; *ordure*, 189.)
- YATES, JAMES; on the irregularities in the versification of Homer, 119-142.

NOTICES OF MEETINGS.

Friday, January 11, 1856 (at the London Library, St. James's Square).

Professor KEY in the Chair.

Theodore Aufrecht, Esq. and M. Lothar Bucher were duly elected Members of the Society.

The Paper read was—"On the Connexion of the Lapp and Finn with the other Indo-European Languages;" by Hensleigh Wedgwood, Esq.

January 25, 1856.

JAMES KENNEDY, Esq. in the Chair.

The Paper read was—"On the Liquids, especially in relation to certain Mutes;" by R. F. Weymouth, Esq.

February 8, 1856.

HENSLEIGH WEDGWOOD, Esq. in the Chair.

The Paper read was—"On English Idioms—their change since Chaucer and Gower," Part I.; by the Rev. J. J. S. Perowne.

February 22, 1856.

JAMES KENNEDY, Esq. in the Chair.

The Rev. J. R. Peake was duly elected a Member of the Society.

Mr. Burckhardt Barker's Practical Grammar of the Turkish Language, 1854, was presented by Mr. Quaritch the publisher; and the thanks of the Members were returned for the same.

The Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society for the years 1852 and 1853 (exchanged for the Philological Society's Transactions) were laid on the table.

The Paper read was—"On Latin Diminutives," Part I.; by Professor Key.

March 14, 1856.

Professor KEY in the Chair.

Signor Bernardino Biondelli's "Poésie Lombarde Inédite" was presented by him, and the thanks of the Members returned for the same.

The Paper read was—Extracts from "Remarks upon certain Words fallen out of good usage and preserved in the speech of the common people living on the southern border of the county of York;" by Joseph Hunter, Esq.*

March 28, 1856.

THOMAS WATTS, Esq. in the Chair.

George Metivier, Esq. of Guernsey, was duly elected a Member of the Society.

The Papers read were—I. "On the Etymology of $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$;" by Professor Key.—II. Further Extracts from "Mr. Hunter's Provincialisms of the southern border of the county of York*."

April 11, 1856.

Professor KEY in the Chair.

W. J. Brodribb, Esq., M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, was duly elected a Member of the Society.

A Pamphlet by Professor Lassen, "On Lycian Inscriptions," was presented, and the thanks of the Meeting returned to the donor.

The Paper read was—"Miscellaneous English Etymologies;" by Hensleigh Wedgwood, Esq.

* Not intended for printing in the Society's Transactions.

April 25, 1856.

Sir J. F. DAVIS, Bart. in the Chair.

The Rev. J. Dundas Watherston was duly elected a Member of the Society.

The following Works were presented, and the thanks of the Society returned for the same:—

Sanskrit Derivations of English Words, 1856; by *Thomas Bellott, Esq.*

The Journal of the Ethnological Society, vol. iv.; by the *Ethnological Society.*

Report of the Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting of University College, London, Feb. 27, 1856; by the *College.*

The Papers read were—I. "On the cause of some of the Irregularities in the Versification of Homer;" by James Yates, Esq.—II. "On the Provincialisms of Hallamshire;" by Joseph Hunter, Esq.*

May 9, 1856.

Professor GOLDSTÜCKER in the Chair.

The Papers read were—I. "On the Languages of Northern, Western, and Central America;" by Dr. Latham.—II. "On the Derivation and Meaning of *ἴπιος*," and "On the Welsh Affix of Equality;" by Dr. Aufrecht.

May 23, 1856. (*Anniversary Meeting.*)

JAMES KENNEDY, Esq. in the Chair.

The Treasurer's Cash Account, as approved by the Auditors, was read and adopted. [See last page.]

The following Members of the Society were elected its Officers for the ensuing year:—

President.—The Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of St. David's.

Vice-Presidents.

The Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of London. (Bloomfield.)

The Right Hon. Lord Lyttelton.

Edwin Guest, Esq., LL.D., Master of Caius College, Cambridge.

H. H. Wilson, Esq., Professor of Sanskrit, Oxford.

Ordinary Members of Council.

Theodore Aufrecht, Esq.

Rev. J. W. Blakesley, B.D.

E. H. Bunbury, Esq.

Campbell Clarke, Esq.

P. J. Chabot, Esq.

Rev. T. O. Cockayne.

Sir John F. Davis, Bart.

E. B. Eastwick, Esq.

Theodore Goldstücker, Esq.

Joseph Hunter, Esq.

J. M. Kemble, Esq.

James Kennedy, Esq.

R. G. Latham, Esq., M.D.

Rt. Hon. Sir G. C. Lewis, Bart.

E. L. Lushington, Esq.

Henry Malden, Esq.

Rev. J. J. S. Perowne.

Rev. R. Scott, D.D.

Rev. A. P. Stanley.

Thomas Watts, Esq.

Treasurer.—Hensleigh Wedgwood, Esq.

Hon. Secretaries.—T. Hewitt Key, Esq.; Frederick J. Furnivall, Esq.

The Chairman read the following letter from the Secretary of the Royal Astronomical Society:—

To the President and Council of the Philological Society.

Royal Astronomical Society, May 1856.

GENTLEMEN,—I am instructed by the Council of the Royal Astronomical Society to offer you the use of their apartments for the Meetings of the Philological Society, so long as such arrangements shall be found to suit the convenience of both Societies, and subject to your defraying the expenses of your Society for

* Not intended for printing in the Society's Transactions.

gas, coals, &c. Of course this offer implies that your days of meeting are not to be those of the Royal Astronomical Society, which are on the second Friday of each month from November to July, both inclusive, and on the Wednesday previous when the second Friday of April happens to be Good Friday.

The possibility of urgent necessity requiring a Special Meeting of the Royal Astronomical Society on one of your days of meeting, of course exists, but the contingency, judging from experience, is extremely remote.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

WARREN DE LA RUE, *Secretary.*

The Society resolved—I. That the Philological Society gratefully accept the offer of the Council of the Royal Astronomical Society; and that the Honorary Secretaries signify such acceptance to them, and express the great gratification with which the Philological Society has received this offer of help from so long established and so numerous a Society as the Royal Astronomical.

II. That the Council be empowered to make such arrangements for quitting the London Library, holding the Society's Meetings at the Rooms of the Royal Astronomical Society in Somerset House, altering the Society's days of meeting, and otherwise in the matter, as they shall think fit.

The Papers read were—I. "On a Zaza Vocabulary," by Dr. Sandwith; communicated by Dr. Latham.—II. "On the Nasalization of Initial Mutes in Welsh;" by Theodore Aufrecht, Esq.—III. "On Latin Diminutives," Part II.; by Professor Key.

June 13, 1856.

Professor KEY in the Chair.

The following book was presented: "Studii Linguistici," Milano, 1856, by Signor Bernardino Biondelli, and the thanks of the Society returned to the donor.

The Papers read were—I. "On the Etymology of the Adverb *actutum*;"—II. "On the Etymology of the Noun *otium*;" by Theodore Aufrecht, Esq.—III. "On Latin Diminutives," Part III., by Professor Key.

June 27, 1856.

E. B. EASTWICK, Esq. in the Chair.

Mr. Furnivall stated that the Council, in pursuance of the Society's Resolution in that behalf on the 23rd of May last, had arranged—(1), with the Committee of the London Library that the Society should quit the Library on paying rent up to Michaelmas next; (2), that the Society's days of meeting should be the first and third Thursdays (instead of the second and fourth Fridays) in every month from November to June, both inclusive; (3), that on and after Thursday, Nov. 6, 1856, the Society's Meetings would be held at the rooms of the Royal Astronomical Society in Somerset House.

The Papers read were—I. "On the Etymology of the Latin *sons*;" by Theodore Aufrecht, Esq.—II. "On the Interchange of *n* and *d*;" by Professor Key.—III. A Theory on the origin and principles of the Sanskrit declension, &c. (being an enlargement and revision of the Paper read before the Society on the 24th of November, 1854, and not yet printed*), by Professor Goldstücker.

Thursday, Nov. 6, 1856.

First Meeting of the Society in the Rooms of the Royal Astronomical Society, Somerset House.

* This Paper, recast, will probably be printed in Two Parts in the Society's Transactions for 1858 and 1859.

Professor KEY in the Chair.

The following presents were announced, and the thanks of the Society voted to the donors for the same :—

Oude Friesche Wetten, 3 vols. 8vo ; 2 vols. 4to.

Jurisprudentia Frisica, 3 vols. in one.

Het fivelingoër en oldampster landregt. Het Emsiger Landregt van 1312.

Oude en nieuw Friesland of aardrijkskundige Beschrijving van die provincie.

Dait oajlaon wangeroog. Het Eiland Ameland.

Thiu Føeroiske spreke. Het Meer Flevum en het Eiland Flevo.

Friesche spraakleer van Rask. All from and by *M. de Haan Hetteema*.

Prienweeke fen Friesche Rijmmelerije.

Vergleijk van oud-noordsche met oud-Freische Eigennamen.

As. Siemme it Lyemen in Blyspul mit it ingelo fen Wm. Shakspeare.

De Keapman fen Venetien in Julius Cæsar, twa toneelstikken fen Willem Shakspeare. All from the *Rev. R. Postumus*.

Vergleichende Grammatik, Part I. From *Prof. Franz Bopp*.

The one Language before the Flood, Five Nos. *Rev. J. Smisby*.

Report of the Literary Institution of the Friends of Poland. *The Institution*.

Chinese Numismatics. *John Williams, Esq.*

Several parts of the Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society and of the Notices of the Meetings of the Royal Institution, with their Annual Report, given in exchange for the Society's publications, were laid on the table.

The Papers read were—I. "Further Observations on the Connexion of the Finnish and Indo-Germanic Classes of Languages;" by Hensleigh Wedgwood, Esq.—II. "On the Latin abstract Nouns in *tia, tio-*;" by Theodore Aufrecht, Esq.

Nov. 20, 1856.

THOMAS WATTS, Esq. in the Chair.

J. P. Bidlake, Esq. was duly elected a Member of the Society.

The Assistant-Secretary exhibited a Cingalese Book written on the leaves of the Palmetto.

The Paper read was—"On the Affinities between the Northern Languages of the Old and New Continents;" by Lewis Kr. Daa, Esq. of Christiania.

Dec. 4, 1856.

JAMES KENNEDY, Esq. in the Chair.

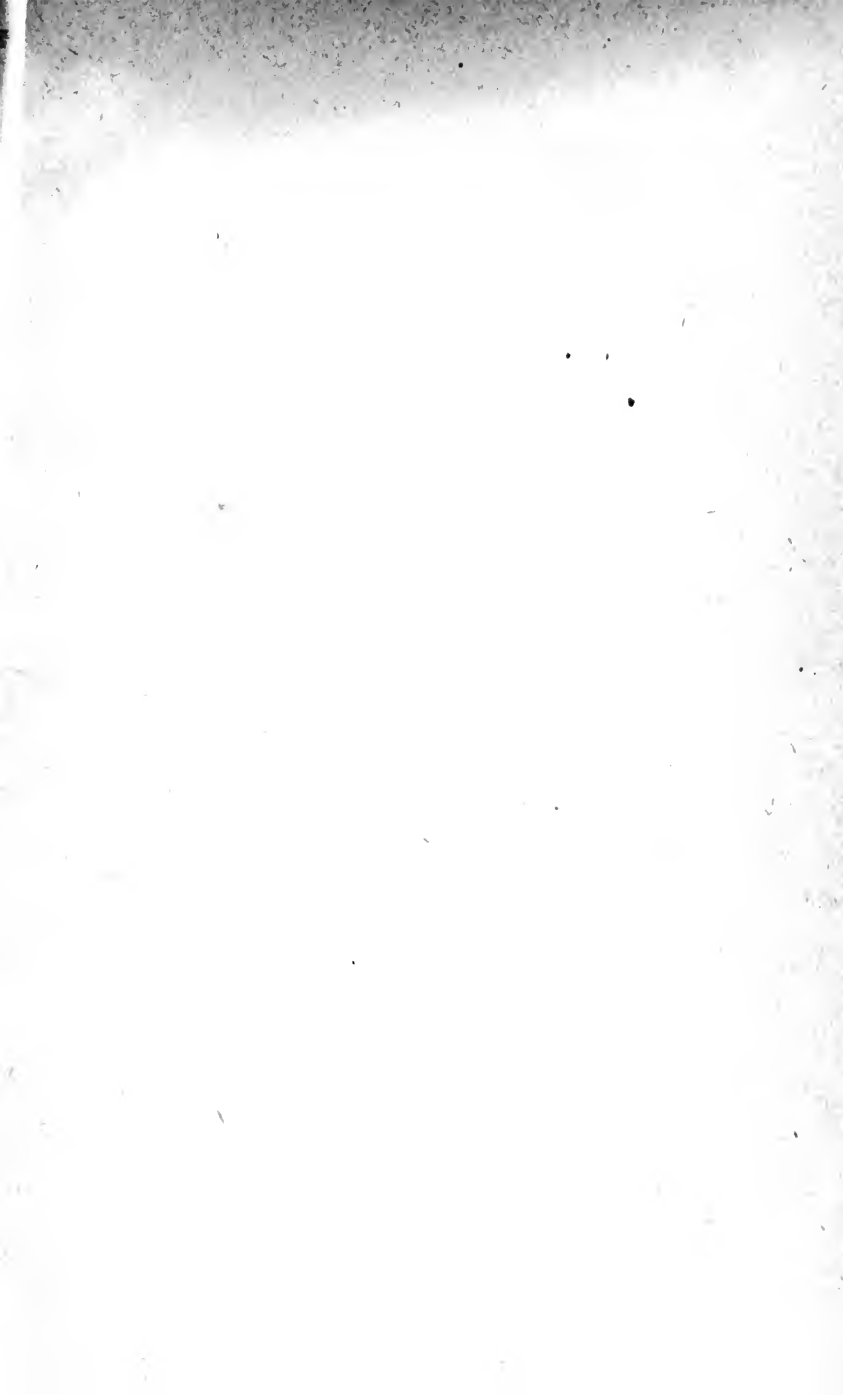
The following Present was announced, and the thanks of the Society voted to the donor :—Redhouse's English and Turkish Dictionary (large paper copy). From *Mr. B. Quaritch*.

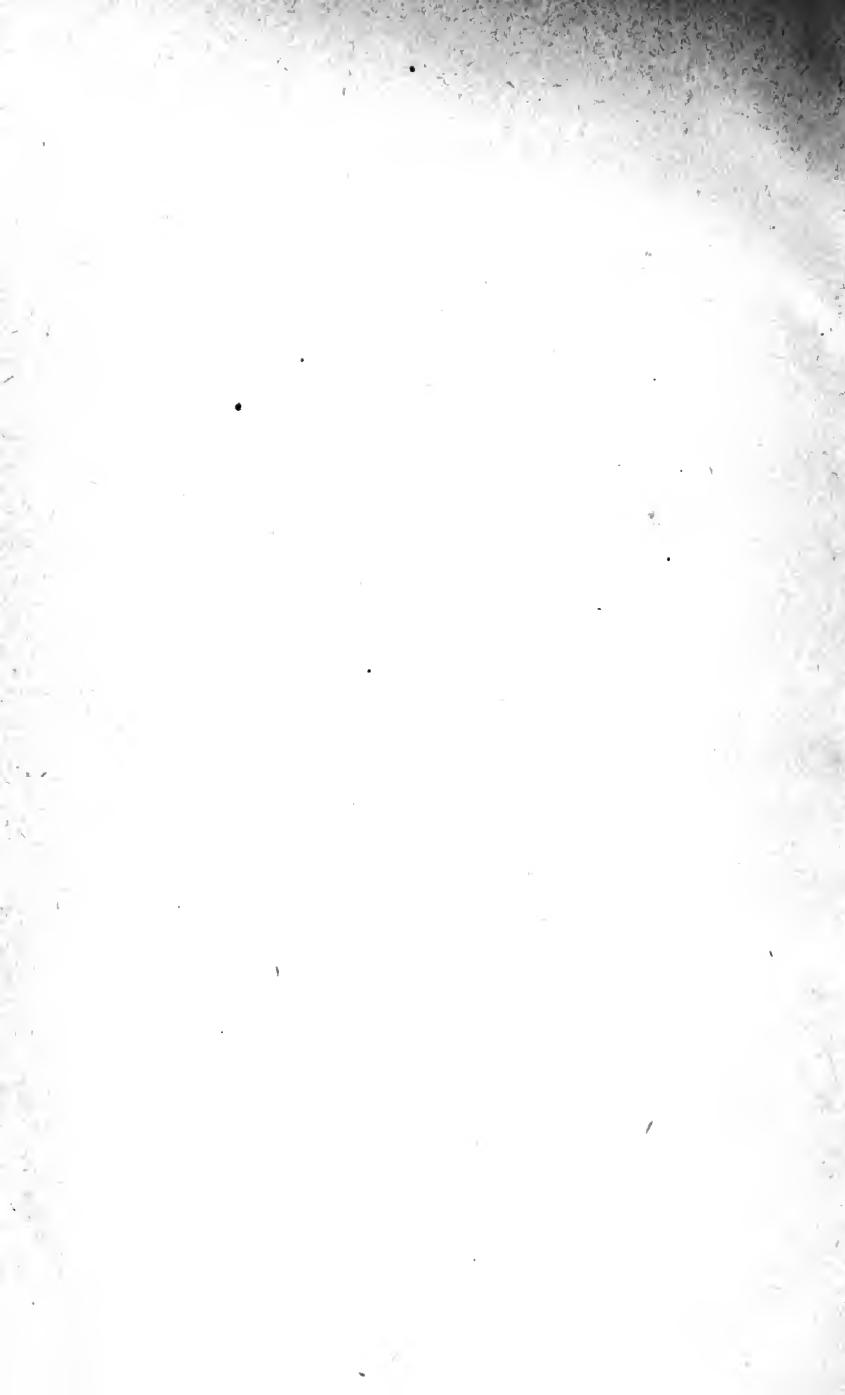
The Papers read were—I. "Hints on the Thesis 'The Old-Friesic above all others the *fons et origo* of the Old-English';" by *M. de Haan Hetteema*.—II. A Memorandum by Capt. Chapman, R.E.,—accompanying his present of Ten Copies of a plate of the Modifications of the Sanskrit Alphabet from B.C. 543 to A.D. 1200, by the late James Prinsep, Esq.—III. "Miscellaneous Etymologies illustrated from the Finnish Languages;" by Hensleigh Wedgwood, Esq.

Dec. 18, 1856.

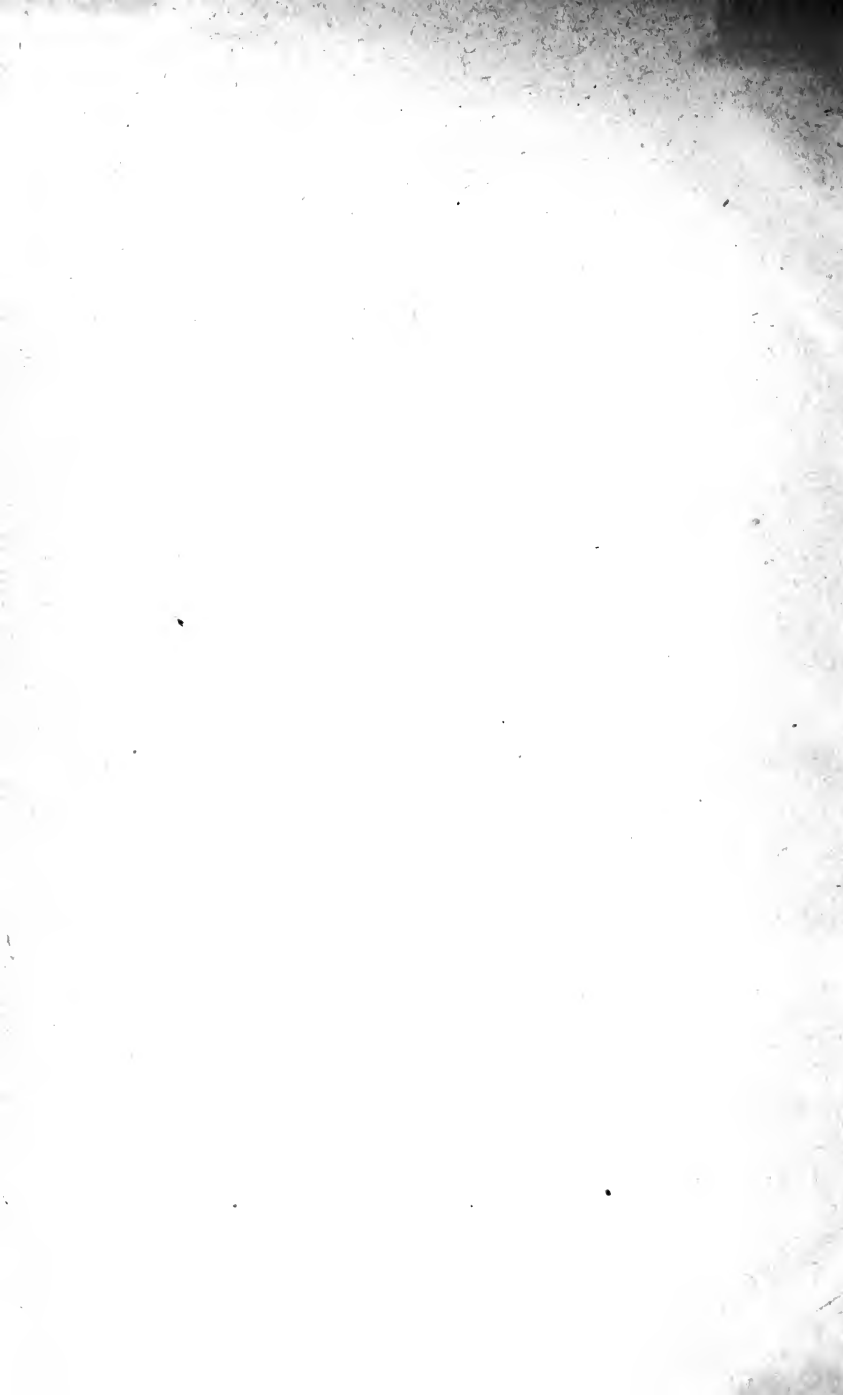
The Rev. T. OSWALD COCKAYNE in the Chair.

The Papers read were—I. "On some Words common to the Basque and Finnish;" by James Kennedy, Esq.—II. "On English Idioms," Part II.; by the Rev. J. J. S. Perowne.—III. "The Etymological and Logical Meanings of the term '*Distributed*' reconciled;" by Dr. R. G. Latham.









P
11
P6
1856

Philological Society, London
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