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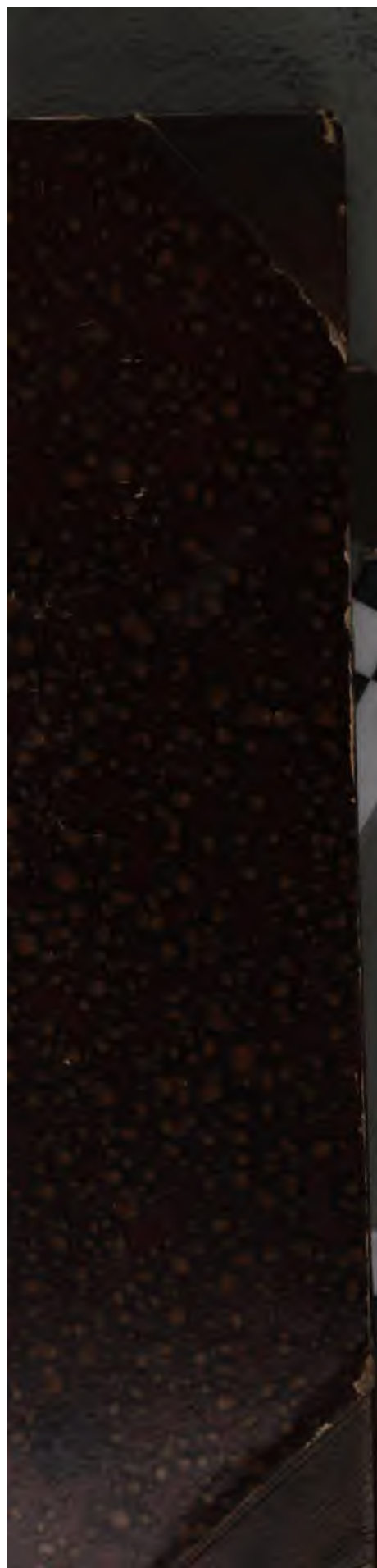
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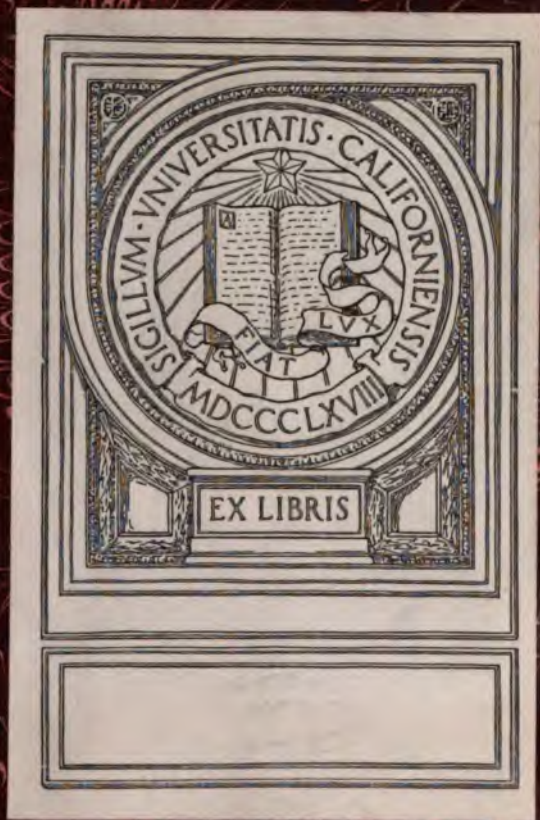
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TRANSACTIONS  
OF THE  
AMERICAN  
PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

1892.

VOLUME XXIII.

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PUBLISHED FOR THE ASSOCIATION BY  
GINN & COMPANY,  
9 TREMONT PLACE, BOSTON, MASS.

*EUROPEAN AGENTS.*

ENGLAND: EDWARD ARNOLD, 37 BEDFORD STREET, STRAND, LONDON, W.C.  
GERMANY: OTTO HARRASSOWITZ, LEIPZIG.  
FRANCE: H. WELTER, 59 RUE BONAPARTE, PARIS.

A 5-24

Northwood Press:  
J. S. Cushing & Co. — Berwick & Smith.  
Boston, Mass., U.S.A.

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TRANSACTIONS

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AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

1892.

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I. — *On the Narrative Use of Imperfect and Perfect in the  
Brāhmaṇas.*

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IN the classical Sanskrit, as is well known, imperfect and perfect and aorist are virtually equivalent tenses, freely coördinated in narration. In the Veda, on the other hand, while the imperfect has the same value as later, that of a simple past tense without further special implication of any kind, the aorist is restricted throughout to the proximate past, or answers very closely to our perfect with *have*; and the perfect is differently treated in the two grand divisions of Vedic text, the *mantra* or sacred song and formula (chiefly hymn-text), and the *brāhmaṇa* or later expository literature (represented especially by the treatises called Brāhmaṇas). In the former of these divisions, the perfect has a bewildering variety of values—that of a simple past or preterit, that of a proximate past (like the aorist of the same period), and that of a present; in the latter division, it has lost the second of these three values, and has nearly lost (save in certain residual and increasingly infrequent cases) the third; its general use is, as later, that of a narrative tense, equivalent to the imperfect. In all the Brāhmaṇas, imperfect and perfect are both used in narration, in part separately and in part together; and the usage of different

Brāhmaṇas, and even of different parts of the same Brāhmaṇa, is considerably different. The matter is one of some interest in the history of development of Sanskrit syntax. In the first edition of my Sanskrit grammar I was able to make (§ 822) only a very brief and general statement respecting it; in preparing to give this statement more precision in the second edition, I was led (particularly as being able during a part of the time to do no more serious work than this) to note in considerable detail the usage of the different Brāhmaṇa texts; and it seems worth while to report here the results with some fulness. Delbrück, to be sure, in his Vedic Syntax (1888), has treated the subject, at greater length than it comported with the plan of my grammar to do; yet he is very far from having exhausted it, nor can I in all points approve the way in which it has been handled by him.

I limit myself throughout, of course, to *brāhmaṇa*-material proper, or expository prose, to the exclusion of all *mantra*-material, whether metrical or non-metrical, and whether constituting part of a Brāhmaṇa or merely quoted in its text.

We may best begin our examination with the Sāma-Veda Brāhmaṇa known as the Pañcaviṅṣa or Tāṇḍya (or Tāṇḍya-Mahā) Brāhmaṇa, because that shows less mixture of the two tenses than any other work of its class. In it the imperfect is used almost exclusively in narration; out of near 1450 narrative tenses only 11 are perfects (about 1 to 130). Their distribution through the text is (omitting book i., which is made up entirely of *mantra*-material) as follows:

*Narrative Imperfects and Perfects in the Pañcaviṅṣa Brāhmaṇa.*

ii.	4	i.	o	p.	x.	53	i.	1	p.	xviii.	37	i.	o	p.
iii.	2		o		xi.	46		o		xix.	32		o	
iv.	47		o		xii.	103		1		xx.	77		o	
v.	18		o		xiii.	105		3		xxi.	67		o	
vi.	83		o		xiv.	118		1		xxii.	24		o	
vii.	138		o		xv.	61		o		xxiii.	26		o	
viii.	158		o		xvi.	47		o		xxiv.	38		2	
ix.	70		o		xvii.	32		o		xxv.	47		3	

1433 i. 11 p.



Of the eleven perfects, four (at x. 5. 7 : xii. 13. 11 : xiii. 4. 11 : xiv. 1. 12) are cases of *uvāca*, 'he said,' used in reporting the words of an ancient sage (we shall see hereafter that this is not uncommon): e.g. 'O Dṛta, son of Indrota (thus said [*uvāca*] Abhipratārin, son of Kakṣasena), those who go to the top of a great tree, what becomes of them then?' The remaining seven are mingled with imperfects in the same passage: thus, at xxv. 6. 4-5, we have an imperfect followed by two perfects, and at xxv. 10. 17-18, two imperfects followed by a perfect, in each case without any traceable difference of meaning; at xxiv. 18. 2 (1 i. followed by 2 p.), we might conjecture a distinction of continuous (i.) and momentary (p.) action, if this were not unsupported by the usage elsewhere of the treatise, and by that of the other Brāhmaṇas, and accordingly lacking all plausibility. At xiii. 6. 9, again, are two perfects among imperfects: 'that demon Dīrghajihvi (long-tongue), sacrifice-slayer, used (i.) to lick down the sacrifices; her Indra had (i.) no hope of slaying by any magic (*māyā*) whatever. Now there was (p.) a handsome man, Sumitra, a Kutsa; to him (Indra) said (i.): "call her to thee"; he called (i.) her to him. She said (i.) to him: "surely that have I not heard (p.), but it is somehow pleasing to my heart (?)." And then between them they mastered and slew her (i.). The first perfect here might be imagined to have a motive, the direct narrative being broken in upon by a statement of something that at the time was true; yet this has too little support anywhere to be accepted. The other, a perfect in personal statement, is against the prevailing analogy; and the sense is obscure and the reading doubtful; the printed text has *nā 'hāi 'va tan nu ṣuṣṛuba* (which might be meant for either *ṣuṣṛuve* or *ṣuṣṛava*); but the commentary quotes and explains of it only the one word *aha*. The same story is told, at much greater length and in less decent fashion, in the other great Sāma-Veda Brāhmaṇa, the Jāiminīya or Talavakāra (i. 161-3); but there is nothing there to cast any light whatever upon the point here in question.

I add the list of perfect forms with present sense for this Brāhmaṇa, in order to complete the tale of perfects, and lest

I may have erred in classifying one or another of them, as the distinction is not always altogether clear. They are: *dādāhāra*, vii. 4. 7: x. 3. 13; 5. 3: xi. 5. 12; 10. 11: xii. 9. 16: xiii. 4. 2: xxiii. 28. 6. — *ānaçe*, *çāte*, iv. 6. 7: vii. 6. 9, 10: x. 12. 10: xi. 1. 4: xvi. 6. 14. — *dīdāya*, x. 5. 2: xiii. 11. 23: xv. 2. 3. — *dadrçe*, *çīre*, xii. 2. 7: xxv. 12. 5. — *jāgāra*, x. 4. 4. — *pupuve*, vii. 3. 1. — *bheje*, xx. 16. 1: in all, twenty-two occurrences, from seven roots, or twice as many occurrences as of the narrative perfects. Such a relation between them is not found in any other text.

In the Tāittiriya-Samhitā, again, in the *brāhmaṇa*-parts of it (constituting about three-fifths of the text), we find a similar predominance of imperfects (about 70 to 1), and a similar lack of clear distinction in their use. The two tenses are distributed in the different books (omitting the fourth, which is *mantra* only) as follows:

*Narrative Imperfects and Perfects in the Tāittiriya-Samhitā.*

i.	99 i.	11 p.	iii.	120 i.	0 p.	vi.	472 i.	7 p.
ii.	560	1	v.	338	6	vii.	311	4
							1900 i.	29 p.

Here also, as above, the majority of perfects are cases of *uvāca*, used of the words of a quoted authority: thus, at ii. 6. 2<sup>3</sup>, 'Keçin Sātyakāmi said (*uvāca*) to Keçin Dārbhya, "tomorrow at the sacrifice I [thou?] shall use,"' etc.; other examples occur at v. 4. 2<sup>2</sup>; 6. 6<sup>3</sup> (*tad r̥ṣir abhyanūvāca*): vi. 4. 5<sup>2</sup>; and at vii. 4. 5<sup>4</sup> (repeated at 5. 4<sup>2</sup>) such an *uvāca* follows an imperfect in the same narration. At i. 7. 2, *uvāca*, 'said he,' is used eleven times, in a colloquy between two sages; and a single imperfect is associated with them: 'then they two proceeded to talk about (i. *pāry avadatām*) the cow.' Once more, at vi. 6. 2<sup>2-3</sup>, in a brief similar colloquy, we have *uvāca* twice, and *papracha*, 'he asked,' once. But also in the words of one of the collocutors in this story we find a perfect and an imperfect coördinated: "'in truth (? *satyād*) the Sṛñjayas perished (p. *pārā bahūvus*)," said (p.) he; "verily the sacrifice was (i. *āsīt*) to be established in the sacrifice, that the sacrificer might not perish.'" Here a distinction between

momentary and continuous action might again be conjectured ; but (as already pointed out) that distinction is in innumerable cases disregarded, and never attains to expression ; whence its recognition here is not to be admitted. Again, at v. 3. 8<sup>1</sup>, we have a perfect and an imperfect together in the same sentence : ‘this construction Yajñasena Cāitriyāyaṇa knew (i.e. ‘devised’ ; *vidāṁ cakāra*, p.) ; by it he acquired (i.) cattle’ : here might be possible a distinction between an act and its after consequences, such as we have glimpses of, but no more than that, elsewhere. The only remaining passage where the two tenses are in any way mixed is vi. 1. 6, where, in the midst of the legend of Kadrū and Suparṇī, narrated in (some 30) imperfects, comes in a single perfect, as follows : ‘the divines (*brahmavādīn*) say : “in virtue of what truth did gāyatrī, being the least of the meters, compass (*parī ’yāya*, p.) the face of the sacrifice ? Even because she formerly (*adās*) brought (i.) the soma, therefore did she compass (i.) the face of the sacrifice,”’ etc. (with imperfects only). Here is, to be sure, a break and parenthesis in the story, and we are tempted to render the perfect as if it were an aorist, ‘hath compassed’ ; but that also is a proceeding which finds too little support elsewhere, and the case is a problematical one. The same perfect, *parī ’yāya*, it may be added, is found alone with the same sense in three other passages, namely v. 1. 8<sup>2</sup> ; 2. 3<sup>1</sup> ; 3. 2<sup>4</sup>, where we should expect rather the imperfect (as we actually have it in vii. 5. 8<sup>8</sup>). In vii. 3. 1<sup>8</sup> we find the perfect *ānṛcūs* contrasted once with the present *ārcanti* and once with the future *ārcitāras*, and are again tempted to render ‘have sung,’ as a perfect used in aoristic sense (perhaps because no aorist from this verb occurs elsewhere) ; but I do not know why ‘sang’ would not be equally accordant with Sanskrit usage. Finally, at vi. 1. 11<sup>8</sup>, we have the perfect *tatāna*, but it is used in the exposition of a Rig-Veda verse in which the same form appears, and is doubtless only a transfer of this.

Of perfects used in present sense this text has twenty-six occurrences, from five roots : namely, *dādḥāra*, i. 7. 2<sup>1,2</sup> : ii. 5. 7<sup>6</sup> ; 6. 2<sup>2</sup> (2) : v. 1. 10<sup>5</sup> ; 2. 7<sup>8</sup>, 10<sup>4</sup> (5) ; 6. 5<sup>1-2</sup> (5) ; 7. 9<sup>2</sup> :



vi. 6. 7<sup>2,3</sup>: vii. 2. 4<sup>8</sup>. — *dodrāva*, i. 5. 1<sup>4</sup>. — *bibhāya*, ii. 3. 3<sup>4</sup>. — *ānaçe*, ii. 5. 4<sup>8</sup>. — *dadrçre*, vi. 4. 2<sup>4</sup> (2).

On the whole, the Tāittiriya-Samhitā shows no real example of the substitution of perfect for imperfect as narrative tense, nor any clearly marked distinction between the two tenses in the scattering instances where the perfect is used.

In the Tāittiriya-Brāhmaṇa (of which decidedly the larger part, about as 8 to 5, is *brāhmaṇa*-material), the case is somewhat different. In two of the last chapters the perfect is used instead of the imperfect in narrative, and its proportional frequency is accordingly raised much higher, up to about 1 to 20. The scheme of distribution is as follows :

*Narrative Imperfects and Perfects in the Tāittiriya-Brāhmaṇa.*

i. 1	159	i. o p.	i. 8	17	i. o p.	iii. 3	17	i. 2 p.
2	19	o	ii. 1	94	o	8	36	1
3	51	o	2	264	2	9	55	1
4	77	o	3	155	8	10	7	26
5	139	7	7	54	1	11	27	21
6	86	o	iii. 1	104	o	12	61	2
7	36	o	2	63	3			
							1521	i. 74 p.

In this statement are omitted ii. 4-6, 8 and iii. 4-6, which are *mantra* only; also iii. 7, which contains no example of either tense.

More than three-fifths of all the perfects, it is seen, occur in iii. 10 and 11. And the largest body of them is found together in iii. 11. 8, in the legend of Nachiketas, on which the Kaṭha-Up. is later grafted (see these Transactions for 1890, vol. xxi. p. 89-90); this is told in 16 perfects, among which, however, are intercalated 4 imperfects. The change of tense is not unmotived; a change of time underlies it. Twice it is Death's inquiry of the boy as to his personal experience: 'Arriving, [Death] asked (p.) him: boy, how many nights hast thou abode (aorist) here? Three, answered (p.) he. What didst thou eat (i.) the first night?' etc. The distinction here for the first time illustrated is an important and constant one; the tenses of personal narration are aorist and imperfect, the former corresponding to our perfect, or proxi-

mate past, the latter to our simple preterit, or indefinite past ; the perfect is not favored for either use. The other two imperfects express the after result, outside the story, of something told in the story : thus, 'Death told (p.) him the *nāciketa* fire, and thereafter his good works were not exhausted (i.) . . . and he overcame (i.) the second death.'

Of this latter ground of change from perfect to imperfect we suspected above an instance in TS. (v. 3. 8<sup>1</sup>) ; but it cannot be illustrated by examples from other texts sufficient to give it the character of an established rule. There are, indeed, in the treatise now under discussion, and in the next section (iii. 11. 9<sup>37</sup>) to the one quoted above, five similar cases ; some one performed (p.) a certain meritorious act, and after it followed (i.) such and such a recompense. Then, again, in the following chapter (iii. 12 ; its narrative tense is otherwise exclusively the imperfect) is one more similar instance (5<sup>34</sup>) : 'these Aruṇa Āupaveṇi knew (p.) ; by them he overcame (i.) reproach, also all evil' ; but then unfortunately it is added that 'he went (p.) to heaven,' which goes far toward destroying our confidence in the relation surmised to be intended between the two preceding tenses.

There is at iii. 10. 9<sup>5</sup> another plain case of a quoted imperfect in personal narration among perfects ; a student says, 'thus my teacher [formerly] told (i.) me' ; and the same alternation is made at iii. 2. 9<sup>15</sup>, though the statement quoted is not a personal one. In ii. 2. 7<sup>3</sup> (repeated at 11<sup>6</sup>), on the contrary, where a perfect appears in personal quotation among imperfects, we are doubtless to understand it as one of the common cases of perfect used as present : 'those [gods] in yonder world<sup>3</sup> thirsted (i.) ; they said (i.) : verily (*vāt* ; printed the first time as if *ke*) we subsist upon (*upa jījīvima*) a giving from yonder.'

In the two or three remaining instances of perfects and imperfects used together no difference of meaning seems recognizable : they are i. 5. 9 (6 p. interspersed among 26 i.) ; ii. 3. 10<sup>1-3</sup> (3 i. followed by 8 p.) ; 7. 18<sup>3</sup> (1 p. followed by 1 i.).

Elsewhere the perfect is used alone. In iii. 10. 9<sup>3-15</sup> we find three groups of them (twelve in all), and in 11<sup>3-5</sup> another

group (of eight) : all plain cases of the substitution of perfect for imperfect as narrative tense. Again, in iii. 2. 5<sup>4</sup> (repeated at 3. 6<sup>1</sup>) are two such perfects (two imperfects follow in 3. 6<sup>2</sup>, but they belong to a different story). The remaining examples are single perfects; they are found at i. 5. 2<sup>1</sup> : iii. 8. 6<sup>5</sup>; 9. 15<sup>3</sup>.

In this text I have noted of perfects having value as presents only two, with six occurrences: namely, *dādhāra*, i. 4. 5<sup>4</sup> (2) : iii. 2. 8<sup>3</sup>; 7. 2<sup>5</sup>. — *dadr̥ṣe*, ii. 1. 2<sup>9,10</sup>; besides *fij̄vima*, as quoted above.

Of the Tāittirīya-Āraṇyaka only a small part is *brāhmaṇa*-material: namely, i. 22-26, 31 (in part), 32 : ii. 1, 2, 7-18 : v. (all) : vi.-ix. (the Tāittirīya-Upanishad, all) : x. (the Yājñikī-Upanishad) 13-14, 63-64. In this the narrative tenses are not numerous, and the perfects are to the imperfects about as 1 to 9. They are thus distributed :

*Narrative Imperfects and Perfects in the Tāittirīya-Āraṇyaka.*

i. 23.	30 i.	o p.	v. 72 i.	1 p.	ix.	10 i.	11 p.
ii. 1-2	12	o	viii. 9	o	x.	o	2
7-18	23	3				156 i.	17 p.

At x. 63, two perfects are used together in narration; in all the other cases of the occurrence of perfects, they are mixed with imperfects. And everywhere there is no distinct difference of value between the two tenses, unless it be (as there is reason to conjecture elsewhere) a preference for beginning a bit of narrative with a perfect or two, and then continuing it with the other tense. Thus, we find one perfect followed by an imperfect at ii. 15 and v. 4<sup>12-13</sup>; and in ix. 1-6 we have five groups of two (once three) perfects followed by two imperfects. In ii. 7 is found a single introductory perfect followed by nine imperfects; but after the first two of these occurs a second perfect, if the *viçus* of the printed text is for *viviçus* (the commentary unfortunately gives no help in determining the point); its reason would be wholly obscure.

Of perfects used as presents I find no example.

In the Māitrāyaṇī-Saṃhitā a little more than half (about as 7 to 6) of the material is *brāhmaṇa*. In it the proportion of perfects to imperfects is not far from the same as in the Tāittiriya-Saṃhitā, or as 1 to 64. Their comparative distribution is shown in the following table (in which the purely *mantra*-chapters are omitted):

*Narrative Imperfects and Perfects in the Māitrāyaṇī-Saṃhitā.*

i. 4	19 i.	1 p.	ii. 4	100 i.	0 p.	iii. 10	69 i.	0 p.
5	32	1	5	144	3	iv. 1	63	0
6	180	1	iii. 1	45	1	2	138	5
7	24	2	2	53	5	3	50	0
8	94	0	3	53	5	4	39	0
9	99	0	4	60	0	5	87	1
10	131	2	5	0	0	6	67	7
11	61	0	6	83	1	7	75	0
ii. 1	71	0	7	70	0	8	52	0
2	75	0	8	150	0			
3	12	0	9	41	0			2237 i. 35 p.

From all this material very little that is of value for the relation of the two tenses is to be won, especially because there is very little mixture of them in the same narration. In a few cases there appears to be a simple substitution (always a brief one) of the perfect for the imperfect as tense of narration: such are i. 7. 3 (p. 112, l. 3: 2 p.; perhaps rather used as presents); 10. 12 (152. 1: 2 p.): ii. 5. 1 (47. 13: 3 p.): iii. 2. 7 (27. 7: 3 p.); 3. 2 (33. 7: 2 p.), 9 (42. 16: 2 p.): iv. 2. 10 (33. 14: 2 p.); 6. 6 (88. 8 ff.: 5 p.): and single perfects at i. 4. 12 (62. 4); 5. 8 (76. 16): iii. 1. 3 (3. 20); 2. 3 (18. 2); 3. 9 (42. 11); 6. 5 (65. 12): iv. 2. 2 (24. 5); 6. 2 (79. 18). In a number of these passages it is the actions of sages that are reported (oftenest with *vidām cakāra*); but the cases do not seem to form a class, such as was surmised in the Tāittiriya Saṃhitā. Once (i. 5. 8) the perfect is in quoted words; not, however, relating personal experience.

In the remaining cases, a single perfect is associated with one or more imperfects. Thus, in i. 6. 13 (107. 16), among ten imperfects, a perfect (*vidām cakāra*, 1 sing.) of personal assertion, which is so opposed to all analogies elsewhere that

it might seem to call for emendation; in ii. 5. 11 (63. 13), *ānaçe* after one imperfect (used as pres. ? cf. iii. 2. 3 [18. 2]); in iii. 2. 8 (28. 3), a perfect (*uvāca*) after four imperfects; in iv. 2. 2 (23. 6), a perfect (*vidāṁ cakāra*) followed by two imperfects; and 6 (27. 13), the same, by four; at 5. 4 (69. 1), the same, by one; and in 6. 3 (80. 16), a perfect among four imperfects, without any possible reason for the alternation.

Here again, as in the Pañcaviṅṣa-Brāhmaṇa, the perfects with present value are (if I have not misestimated any of them) more numerous than those with imperfect value, being thirty-six occurrences, from ten roots: *dādhāra*, i. 8. 1 (115. 7), 9 (128. 17) : ii. 5. 1 (48. 2) : iii. 2. 2 (16. 15), 6 (23. 13), 6 (25. 3), 9 (30. 10, twice); 7. 4 (80. 11), 5 (81. 10); 8. 9 (108. 2) : iv. 3. 7 (45. 19, 20); 5. 4 (69. 5, 6); 8. 8 (116. 4, 5, 7, 9, 12, 13). — *yoṃvāva*, ii. 1. 10 (12. 3) : iv. 4. 3 (53. 13), 4 (54. 12). — *lelāya*, i. 8. 6 (123. 12) : ii. 2. 3 (16. 21). — *dadr̥çe*, *-çre*, i. 10. 6 (146. 7) : iv. 4. 1 (50. 13). — *vivyāca*, i. 8. 8 (128. 7); 10. 12 (152. 5). — *ānaçe*, ii. 5. 5 (54. 6) : iii. 2. 9 (30. 6). — *duduhre*, iii. 3. 4 (36. 9) : iv. 7. 4 (98. 14). — *āçāte*, iii. 8. 2 (93. 15). — *āpa*, iii. 9. 1 (112. 7). — *jagrāha*, iii. 9. 2 (115. 16).

In the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa the perfects are decidedly more numerous, being to the imperfects about as 1 to 4, as is shown by the table that follows :

*Narrative Imperfects and Perfects in the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa.*

i. 116	i. 6 p.	iv. 186	i. 3 p.	vii. 30	i. 139 p.
ii. 183	5	v. 97	6	viii. 29	51
iii. 347	7	vi. 92	49	1080 i. 266 p.	

In the first five books the proportion of perfects (about 1 to 35) is not markedly different from what we have found hitherto; then the perfects increase rapidly, and in the last two books are even the great majority. The difference is owing to the substitution, on a large scale, of the perfect for the imperfect as preferred narrative tense. Thus, in the seventh book, where are found the majority of the whole number of perfects, it is especially the long story of

Çunaḥçepa (13-18) that gives them their predominance, being told throughout in (114) perfects. This narrative also includes (after emending in 14. 8 *prāpnot* to *prāpat*, as palpably required by the sense, and as ÇÇS. in its version of the legend correctly reads; ÇÇS. has also, just before, *prāpa* for the blundering *prāpat*) two imperfects, one of which is fully motivated, being of personal narrative in quotation: 'he, assenting, addressed (p.) his son: my dear, he (Varuṇa) verily [long ago] gave (i.) thee to me' (14. 8). The other imperfect also (16. 1) marks a change of time: '[now at this time] Viçvāmītra was (i.) his invoker'; but it is not one which causes otherwise than in rare and exceptional cases a change of tense (so at 15. 7 just above: 'he had [p.] three sons); and in iii. 49. 5 a perfect appears to be used in a similar way among imperfects ('[now] Bharadvāja was [p.] a lean long gray man; he said [i.]' etc.).

The imperfect of personal narration is further exemplified in vii. 27-34, where a story at second hand, in the words of one of the characters, is in (13) imperfects, distributed among the (21) perfects of the general narrative. Again, in iii. 48. 9 is a quoted imperfect (1st sing.) in a story told in perfects; and, at v. 29. 1, 2, two imperfects alternate with two perfects with a similar distinction. Also at vi. 14. 4 we have an imperfect in quotation, 'ye called to me,' between perfects; the imperfect, however ('when at that time *gāyatrī* brought [i.] the soma'), with which the little legend begins, is unusual and, for aught we can see, unmotivated. In ii. 19. 2, the solitary perfect in the midst of ten imperfects seems intended only to help the etymology (Parisāraka from *pari sasāra*). Then in a few passages a change to perfect (*abhyānūvāca*) occurs when after a narration in imperfects it is stated that a seer made a verse about the matter: so in ii. 25. 5; 33. 6: iii. 20. 1; but the second of these passages has also another perfect introducing the story; and the last has an unmotivated perfect at the end.

In one or two places the Brāhmaṇa text (which is often faulty, as compared with the other treatises of its class) plainly calls for emendation. Thus, at vi. 1. 1, 2, where



*-asarpat* apparently occurs twice in a crowd of perfects, it is to be changed once to a participle, *-āsarpan*, and once to a present, *-āsarpati*; and, in vi. 14. 10, *-avayus* must be *-aveyus* (*ava + īyus*): the imperfect *abravīt* a little earlier in the same story seems wholly unmotived.

In the remaining passages where the two tenses are mixed, either no reason or only a very doubtful one for the alternation can be alleged. Thus, in i. 18. 1-2 (2 i. followed by 5 p.); 21. 16 (2 i. and 1 p.; but the former probably a virtual quotation of RV. expressions): ii. 36. 2 (1 p. in the midst of 14 i.): iii. 22. 8 (*uvāca* and *abruvan* side by side; in the analogous passage a little above, in 21. 4, only the i. is used): iv. 8. 3 (1 p. *na dadhr̥ṣatus*, 'they had not the courage,' among many i.); 17. 5 (1 p. following 1 i.): vi. 15. 11 (1 i., *abravīt*, among several p.); 18. 1-2 (1 p. among 6 i.); 33. 1-4 (3 i. between 2 p.); 34-35 (a jumble of 12 i. and 8 p. in the same story): viii. 10. 1 (an alternation of 4 *ajayan* i. with 7 *yetire* p., and a *jigyus* p. at the end).

We may note finally the passages where the perfect alone is used, taking the place of the imperfect as narrative tense. Simple perfects are found in iii. 12. 5 (*abhyanūvāca*): iv. 27. 9 (*uvāca*): v. 33. 3 (do.); 34. 3 (*āsa*): vi. 20. 17 (do.): vii. 10. 3 (*ruroha*); groups of them in v. 30. 15 (2 p.): vi. 24. 16 (3 p.); 30. 7-15 (10 p.): vii. 1. 6-7 (3 p., emending *cakrāmat* before *tam* to *cakrāma*): viii. 21-23 (41 p.); 28. 18 (3 p.).

Of perfects with present value are found twenty-one, from four roots (*dādhāra*, which never has anywhere any other than the present sense, making the considerable majority of them): thus, *dādhāra*, iv. 12. 8: v. 4. 15; 5. 3; 6. 12; 8. 3; 12. 11; 13. 4; 16. 16; 17. 2; 18. 15; 19. 2; 20. 15; 21. 5. — *dīdāya*, i. 28. 9: ii. 40. 2; 41. 4: iii. 8. 2: iv. 11. 8. — *bībhāya*, v. 15. 9; *bībhāya*, v. 25. 17. — *vivyāca*, iv. 12. 8.

In the Kāuṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa the relation of the two tenses is different from anything thus far noticed, the perfects being to the imperfects nearly as 3 to 5. Their distribution in detail is as follows (omitting xi., which contains no example of either tense):

*Narrative Imperfects and Perfects in the Kāuṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa.*

i.	11 i.	6 p.	xii.	18 i.	10 p.	xxii.	9 i.	1 p.
ii.	12	4	xiii.	0	6	xxiii.	8	15
iii.	5	1	xiv.	9	0	xxiv.	13	3
iv.	7	2	xv.	20	3	xxv.	5	0
v.	8	1	xvi.	6	5	xxvi.	4	6
vi.	63	15	xvii.	1	0	xxvii.	0	2
vii.	25	10	xviii.	7	1	xxviii.	2	29
viii.	4	2	xix.	3	0	xxix.	2	9
ix.	7	0	xx.	3	0	xxx.	2	17
x.	1	0	xxi.	8	1			
							263 i.	149 p.

Among all these tenses, however, there are but two well-marked instances of the expression of a distinction of time : namely, in ii. 9 and vii. 4, where an imperfect is found in quotation among perfects. In a few instances may be conjectured to appear the tendency (recognized above, but especially below, in ÇB.) to introduce a story with perfects and finish it in imperfects : such are found in i. 1 ; vii. 6 ; xii. 1 ; but they are offset by contrary cases, of introductory imperfects, in vi. 13-14 ; xii. 3 ; xxiii. 2 ; xxx. 6. Passages in which the two tenses are mixed without any apprehensible reason for the alternation are i. 2 ; v. 3 (the solitary perfect here should perhaps be emended to *ajakṣus*, i.) ; vi. 10 (1 p. among 14 i.), 15 (3 p. and 4 i. alternately) ; vii. 8 ; xv. 2 (*uvāca* and *abravīt* alternating twice) ; xxi. 1 ; xxiv. 1 ; xxviii. 2, 4 ; xxix. 1. For the sake of uniformity, the remaining occurrences of perfects may also be noted : we find single ones in iii. 8 ; iv. 4 ; vi. 14 ; viii. 1 ; xv. 1 ; xviii. 9 ; xxii. 4 ; xxix. 2 ; xxx. 1, 3, 9, 9 ; and groups in xiii. 3 (6) ; xvi. 1 (2), 9 (3) ; xxiii. 5 (3) ; xxvi. 5 (6) ; xxvii. 7 (2) ; xxviii. 1 (12), 2 (3), 3 (2), 4 (4), 8 (2) ; xxx. 5 (6).

Of perfects used as present I have found no examples in this Brāhmaṇa.

Of the Çatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, the immense extent, and the number and discordance of the phenomena, make the exhibition of the latter a matter of no small difficulty ; it would be impossible without great expenditure of time and space to set them all forth, as in the case of the works already treated ;

nor would the result repay the labor. Taking the whole text together, the imperfects outnumber the perfects only in the proportion of 2 to 1; but the relation of the two tenses is very different in different books, as the subjoined table shows :

*Narrative Imperfects and Perfects in the Çatapatha-Brāhmaṇa.*

i. 291	i. 306 p.	vi. 547	i. 21 p.	xi. 198	i. 259 p.
ii. 180	192	vii. 281	13	xii. 123	65
iii. 308	196	viii. 462	30	xiii. 132	26
iv. 209	178	ix. 214	91	xiv. 250	337
v. 121	70	x. 319	106		
				3635 i.	1890 p.

The work begins (i., ii.) with the perfects even somewhat outnumbering the imperfects; and it ends (xi., xiv.) in the same way; while in some of the intermediate books (especially vi.–viii.) the preponderance of imperfects is so great (more than 20 to 1) as to remind us of the Brāhmaṇas first described here. While there are numerous passages in which either tense is used to the exclusion of the other, the two are also on a very large scale mixed together, and chiefly without discoverable reason; in the great majority of cases, no difference of tense-relation is to be apprehended. But the use of the imperfect in quotation, in personal narrative, shows itself (though the examples are fewer than were to be wished, and there are exceptions) to be a pretty well established rule. There seems also to exist an inclination to begin a narration with one or more perfects, as if to give it a proper setting, the details of it then following in imperfects; but this is far from being a rule—even the contrary sometimes occurs, and in the majority of instances the same tense holds throughout. The apparent indifference as to the use of the two tenses does not go to the extent of total disregard of consistency; where there is a recurrence of the same passage, or of one closely similar, there is sometimes a striking accordance in the sequence of tenses used, such as to raise the question whether there could not have been, after all, some sense of a difference in the mind of the authors, even though we have not been skilful enough to discover it.

Most of the examples of the imperfect of personal narration occur in book XIV. (also Brhad-Āraṇyaka Upanishad). The best is found in XIV. vi. 7. 1-4 (BAU. iii. 7. 1<sup>1</sup>). It is in the account of the noted contest between Yājñavalkya and the other leading Brahmins at the court of king Janaka as to who is superior in sacred knowledge, which is given consistently throughout in perfects (near a hundred of them, the majority being repetitions of *uvāca*). Uddālaka, in his part of the discussion, introduces a narrative of his own former experience as a student, and this is told in imperfects: 'Now Uddālaka Āruṇi questioned (p.) him: Yājñavalkya, said (p.) he, we [formerly] dwelt (i.) among the Madras in the house of Patañcala Kāpya, studying the sacrifice. He had (i.) a wife possessed by a Gandharva. This [Gandharva] we asked (i.): who art thou? He said (i.): Kabandha Ātharvaṇa. He [the Gandharva] said (i.) to Patañcala' . . . and so on, to the end of the story.

In an earlier section (3) occurs another legend so nearly akin with this that the two seem like two versions of the same tale: 'Now Bhujyu Lāhyāyani questioned (p.) him. Yājñavalkya, said (p.) he, we went about (i.) as wanderers (*caraka*) among the Madras. As such we came (i.) to the house of Patañcala Kāpya. He had (i.) a daughter possessed by a Gandharva. This [Gandharva] we asked (i.): who art thou? He said (i.): Sudhanvan Āngirasa. When we asked (i.) him about the ends of the worlds, then we said (i.) to him: what became (i.) of the Pārikshitas? what became (i.) of the Pārikshitas? This I ask of you, O Yājñavalkya: what became (i.) of the Pārikshitas? He (Yājñavalkya) said (p., as part of the general legend): he (the Gandharva) doubtless said this (p. again; we should have expected rather i.): they went (i.), of course, where the horse-sacrificers go.' What follows is rather problematical. Yājñavalkya seems himself to take up and continue the story of the Gandharva: 'Where, I pray, do the horse-sacrificers go? [you proceeded to ask him; and he answered as follows:] this world is . . . (the description may be omitted); then Indra, having become an eagle (*suparna*),

<sup>1</sup>The Kāṇva text of the Upanishad is the one meant in the parallel references.

handed over (i.) to Vāyu (the wind-god); Vāyu, putting them within himself, made them go (i.) to the place where the Pārikshitas were (i.). Somewhat in this way, verily, did he (the Gandharva) extol (p.; this accords with the p. used of the Gandharva above) Vāyu; therefore Vāyu is,' etc. Whether the fault be Yājñavalkya's or the Gandharva's, Bhujyu gets no real answer to his question as to where the horse-sacrificers go; but he is at any rate silenced, for the section ends with 'then Bhujyu Lāhyāyani held his peace' (p., as part of the general narration).

Further on in the same book, at XIV. vi. 10 (BAU. iv. 1), is a long passage showing distinctions of the same kind between alternating perfects and imperfects. It is a colloquy between Yājñavalkya and Janaka, told in perfects, as usual, but with change to imperfect whenever one of the collocutors himself has something past to narrate. 'Janaka the Videhan held a session (p.); then Yājñavalkya came up (p.). Said (p.) Janaka the Videhan: O Yājñavalkya, for what purpose hast thou set out (aor.)? seeking cattle, [or] things with subtle conclusions? Both, O great king, said (p.) he; what any one told (i.) you, that let us hear.' We might have expected here an aorist, 'what any one has told you,' but the tense is adapted to that of the king's reply, and, as imperfect, denies the uniqueness and recency of the communication. The king answers: 'Said (i.) to me Udanka Çāulvāyana: breath verily is the *brāhman*. — [Y. goes on.] As one having a mother, a father, a teacher might say, so Çāulvāyana said (i.) this: namely, breath is the *brāhman*; for what would there be of any one without breath? but did he tell (i.) you its support [and] firm standing? — He did not tell (i.) me. — One-footed verily is that, O great king.' Then, after some further exposition, we have, as conclusion of this part of the story: 'a thousand [cows] with an elephant for bull I give [thee], said (p.) Janaka the Videhan. Said (p.) Yājñavalkya: my father was of opinion (i.) [that] one should not take without having instructed (i.e. should not accept reward for a trifling service); who again told (i.) you what?' And then the same series of tenses is repeated five times more, in reporting and

answering what so many different Brahmans had said to Janaka.

Further on, at XIV. ix. 1. 8 (BAU. vi. 2. 5), we find again a motived change from perfect to imperfect in a quotation: 'he said (p.): Acknowledged of me is this boon; but what thou didst say (i.) in the presence of the boy, that tell to me.' The only admissible alternative here would have been the aorist of proximate action.

An example of mixed character is found in an extremely curious bit of legend at XIV. viii. 15. 11 (BAU. v. 14. 8). Janaka appears to have recognized in a working elephant a former sage, and is astonished to find him in such a condition — transmigrated instead of absorbed or happy in heaven: 'As concerns this, Janaka the Videhan said (p.) to Buḍila Aḥvatarāḥvi: Since now thou didst then call thyself (i.) a knower of the *gāyatrī*, how, having become an elephant, dost thou carry? — Because, O great king, I did not know (p.!) its mouth, said (p.) he.' Here the change from the perfect of the general narrative to the imperfect in the first quoted words is perfectly normal; but the perfect (*vidām cakāra*) in the transformed sage's reply is anomalous, and very difficult to explain.

In another passage further on (XIV. ix. 1. 11; BAU. vi. 2. 8), a perfect appears in quoted words: 'how that this wisdom hitherto abode (p.) not with any Brahman soever; it, however, I will communicate to you.' Here, too, according to the analogy of other similar passages, we should expect instead either an aorist or an imperfect, even though it is not a personal experience that is narrated.

This is all the material of the kind contained in the fourteenth book. But the same shift of tense for a similar reason is met with also in some of the other books.

Thus, in XI. iii. 1, we find Janaka and Yājñavalkya again in colloquy, with perfects as the tense of narration: 'Janaka the Videhan questioned (p.) Yājñavalkya: dost thou know, etc. . . . He (Yājñavalkya) said (p.): at that time, truly, nothing whatever existed (i.) here; so then this alone was offered (i.) — truth in faith. — Thou knowest the fire-offering, O Yājñavalkya; I give thee a hundred cows, said (p.) he.'

Again, at XI. v. 1, the story of Purūravas and Urvaçī is told throughout in perfects; but a pair of imperfects come in at the only point where one of the characters has something past to express: thus (paragraph 7), 'to him the other made reply (p.): . . . O Purūravas, go away home again; hard to be won, like the wind, am I; verily thou didst not do (i.) what I said (i.) . . .; thus she spoke (p.) to him.' This is as distinct an example as one would wish. But another equally clear is found in XI. vi. 1, in the legend of Bhṛṅgu's visit to the other world (translated by Weber, Z.D.M.G. ix. 240-241, and *Ind. Streifen*, i. 24-26). In this, again, the general narrative tense is the perfect; but an imperfect occurs four times, namely whenever the words of any of the characters introduced are quoted: thus, 'they said (p.): Thus, indeed, did these fasten (i.) upon us in yonder world; upon them we now here fasten in return'—and so on (the same phrase repeated three times more).

In the first paragraphs of XI. v. 5 occurs another series of four imperfects of personal narrative, when the gods give Prajāpati an account of what they have been doing to get rid of the darkness with which the Asuras had afflicted them: 'they said (p.): verily the Asuras, O reverend one, intercepted (i.) us with darkness as we were going upward to the heavenly world; we resorted (i.) to a session,' etc. The example is a less satisfactory one, inasmuch as the introductory part of the legend is in mixed perfects and imperfects (three of each); what follows, however, is in perfects only (nine). The aorist of proximate time is not used in the quotation because of the itemized and successive character of the narration (compare the similar case in TB. iii. 11. 8, above, p. 10; and in ÇB. xiv. 6. 10, p. 20, l. 23); in his answer, Prajāpati sums it all up in a single aorist: 'he said: ye have been going on (aor.) with sacrifices of incomplete ceremony,' etc.

At XII. ii. 2. 13, we are told of one who lived (p.) as Vedic student with a teacher, and 'his teacher asked (p.) him: Boy, how many did thy father think (i.) the days of the year to be?—Ten, said (p.) he,' and so on.

At XIII. iv. 2. 3 we have an imperfect in quotation between

two perfects: 'Thus said (p.) Bhāllabeya: verily, of two colors this horse may be, black and red; he originated (i.) from Prajāpati's eye. . . . Then said (p.) Sātyayajñi,' etc.

In the first books of the Brāhmaṇa are also to be found a few examples. Thus, at I. vi. 2. 3: 'either the gods intimated (p.) it to them or they of themselves conceived (p.) it: go forth (said they); we will go to the place from whence the gods attained (i.) the heavenly world.' Further, at I. vi. 3. 17, we have an imperfect in quotation among mixed narrative tenses; and at I. ix. 1. 26 and II. ii. 3. 7 the same where there is no including narration. Once more, at III. i. 1. 4: 'thus said (p.) Yājñavalkya: we went (i.) to approve for Vārṣṇya a place of sacrifice to the gods; then Sātyayajña said (i.): verily this whole divine earth is a place of sacrifice to the gods.'

But the early books, as well as the later (see the passages quoted above), offer occasional exceptions to the general rule. At I. vii. 3. 26 an imperfect and a perfect are found together in a passage introduced by 'here now these say,' but which perhaps need not be regarded as a proper quotation; and as of the same character may plausibly be reckoned two perfects at I. ix. 1. 25, in telling of something that was 'overheard by the ṛshis'; and one in a proverb (*nivacana*) at II. iv. 4. 4. Also, at II. v. 2. 25, *caṅṛma* is repeated, in an aoristic sense, from a *mantra*-passage which is undergoing explanation. But *ṣuṅṛma* at I. ii. 5. 26 and vi. 4. 11 seems like a remnant of aoristic value from the Vedic use of the tense; and so does *babhaktha* (emending to *kīm ma ā babhaktha?* cf. *kim mahyam abhākta* AB. v. 14. 2) at I. ix. 2. 35.

Finally, at XII. ix. 3. 7 are found a series of imperfects in quotation; but the case is an involved one. In the first place, there is also an imperfect among the preceding (10) perfects of the narrative in which the quotation occurs; and then the quotation runs off into a long preachment, in which its real character appears to be lost sight of, and mixed perfects and imperfects occur. Thus: 'He said (p.): how wilt thou manage? [The other] said (p.) this: with the Asuras in the beginning was (i.) this sacrifice, the *sāutrāmaṇī*; it went (i.) forth unto the gods; it came (i.) to the waters; the waters



welcomed (i.) it ; for that reason people [now-a-days] welcome a superior who has arrived.' This practical observation appears to mark the transition to general narrative style ; and the text proceeds : 'they (the waters) said (p.) to it : Come, reverend one. It said (p.) : I am afraid ; lead me forward. Of what art thou afraid, reverend one ? — Of the Asuras. — So be it. — The waters led (i.) it forward ; for that reason,' etc.

These are all the examples which have been noted in the text ; but they seem, especially when taken in connection with the analogous examples from other texts given above and below, quite sufficient to establish the usage as a rule. That the shift of tense is not merely a shift made for the purpose of marking a change of time is shown by the fact that, where the general narrative is in imperfects, a quotation shows the same tense. Thus, at VIII. vi. 3. 1 we find the quoted imperfect *apaçyāma*, 'we saw,' among narrative imperfects ; and similar cases are quotable from other books and from the other Brāhmaṇas : for example, ÇB. I. vi. 4. 4. MS. i. 10. 16 (156. 6) : iii. 8. 6 (102. 14) ; they are not rare.

But a kindred case is found at V. i. 4. 8 : 'the Gandharvas verily in the beginning yoked (p.) the horse ; so then he [virtually] says : let them who in the beginning yoked (i.) the horse yoke thee to-day.' In such passages as this there is no real quotation, but a quasi-one ; the cause of the shift of tense appears to be a change of the point of view : if, as seen in direct relation to the present, so and so happened formerly, the imperfect is preferred for its expression. Not seldom the change of point of view is effected by a 'because' : for example, at I. i. 1. 16 (the first example in the Brāhmaṇa of mixture of the two tenses) : 'the Asuras and Rakshases prevented (p., *rarakṣus*) them ; and because they [then] prevented (i.) them, they are [now] called Rakshases.' Cases of this kind are not infrequent : see, for example, further I. i. 3. 5 ; iv. 1. 34 ; 5. 12 ; viii. 1. 26–7 (in narration of the same facts at viii. 1. 7 the perfect was used) : II. i. 2. 15 ; iv. 4. 2 ; v. 2. 1 : III. v. 1. 23 ; viii. 2. 17 ; 3. 11. It is, however, rather a tendency than an established usage ; one is tempted to explain

by it many imperfects among prevalent perfects; but the perfect is also found instead. For example, in I. i. 3. 4: 'because he lay (p., *çiçye*) enveloping this all, therefore he [is] by name Vṛtra' (and similarly at IV. ii. 4. 19); we might here, to be sure, conjecture the sense to be 'therefore he *was* called Vṛtra,' but this would not apply at I. vi. 3. 9, where *āhus*, 'they call him,' is expressed; and at I. vi. 3. 10 an imperfect after 'because' is combined with a perfect in the main clause: 'so then, because he said (i.) "increase thou with Indra as enemy," for that reason Indra slew (p.) him.' Doubtless such counter-cases are not rare; no attempt has been made to collect them.

When perfects and imperfects are used in the same story, it often seems (as noted above) that perfects are preferred as introduction, they passing later into imperfects. This has still less the value of a rule (and there are examples of a contrary character, with imperfects first: thus, II. iv. 2. 1 ff.: III. vi. 2. 2 ff.: IV. i. 5. 1 ff.: VII. iii. 2. 14: XI. 2. 3. 7 ff.), and would not be worthy of any attention save that the cases are so frequent: thus, we find them in the first book at i. 1. 16-7: ii. 4. 1 ff., 8 ff., 17 ff.; 5. 18: iv. 1. 22-3; 4. 8: v. 2. 18, 20; 3. 2 ff., 21 ff., 23 ff.; 4. 6 ff.: vi. 1. 11; 4. 1 ff., 11: ix. 1. 24 ff.; 2. 34-5; and they are met with in similar numbers in the other books.

By way of illustration of the general mode of distribution of the two tenses in parts of the text where the perfects predominate, we may go on and review their remaining occurrences in the first book. Passages in which both occur without any recognized ground for their alternation are as follows: ii. 3. 1-5, 6-9; 5. 1-11: iii. 3. 13-6: iv. 1. 10-18 (1 i. among 19 p.), 34-5; 5. 8-13: v. 2. 6: vi. 1. 1-8; 2. 1-4; 3. 1-22, 35-7: vii. 1. 1; 2. 22-4; 3. 1-9, 26; 4. 1-8: viii. 1. 1-18 (in 1-9, 29 p. only). Then we find single perfects in i. 1. 7, 9; 2. 3, 7: ii. 1. 6: iii. 1. 5: v. 1. 7: vi. 3. 26: vii. 3. 28; and groups of them in i. 2. 13 (2); 3. 4-5 (6); 4. 1 (3), 14-17 (14): ii. 5. 24-6 (11): iv. 1. 40 (3): v. 1. 20 (3): vii. 3. 19 (5). Single imperfects occur in iv. 5. 3: v. 3. 5: vi. 4. 21 (in a quotation): and groups (oftenest 2 together) in i. 1. 17; 3. 8-9; 4. 18: ii.

4. 6: iv. 2. 1, 5-8: v. 3. 4, 9-13 (2 in each paragraph): vi. 1. 9-10; 2. 5, 7; 3. 28; 4. 8, 9, 12, 17: vii. 2. 25-6; 3. 20, 22; 4. 14: viii. 1. 24, 26-7; 2. 8, 10-13: ix. 3. 11: not a few of these last are capable of being brought under the principle of preference for an imperfect when the past is directly compared with the present.

Per contra, we may take the sixth book as an example of the predominance of imperfects (25 to 1, as in some of the Brāhmaṇas first examined). Here there occur 286 imperfects, or more than half the number in the whole book, before a single perfect makes its appearance; then are found, in ii. 1. 37, two perfects, no reason for the change being discoverable. The same is the case with a perfect in iii. 1. 15, and with five in v. 4. 4-8; but one in v. 1. 7 is the repetition of a *mantra*-perfect quoted from VS. xi. 54; and, of two in viii. 1. 14, one is a similar case (from VS. xii. 34), and the other doubtless adapted to it. The remaining cases are of the two tenses mixed, without perceptible ground: they occur in ii. 2. 17-20 (3 p. and 1 i.); 3. 2, 4, 6 (*uvāca* 3 times among many i.): iii. 1. 31 (1 p. among 4 i.): vi. 3. 2, 3 (3 p. with 4 i.).

A fair example of the unmotivated alternation of the two tenses is found in II. ii. 4, of which a part may be here translated by way of illustration:

1. 'In the beginning verily this [universe] was (p.) Prajāpati alone. He considered (i.): how now may I have progeny? He toiled (i.); he performed (i.) penance; he from his mouth generated (p.) Agni. So because he generated (i.) him from his mouth, therefore is Agni a food-eater. He who thus knoweth this Agni as food-eater, a food-eater verily he becometh. 2. So indeed him of the gods he thus generated (i.) in the beginning (*agre*); therefore is he Agni; Agri, namely, is, they say, the same as Agni. . . . 3. He, Prajāpati, considered (i.): verily I have generated (aor.) from myself this one, namely Agni, as food-eater; surely there is no other food here than myself — whom by all means may he not eat! Made bald indeed at that time was (p.) the earth; the herbs were (p.) not, nor the forest-trees; that was (p.) in his mind. 4. So then Agni turned (p.) about toward him with opened

mouth ; of **him**, frightened, the own greatness departed (p.) ; speech indeed [was] **his own** greatness ; the speech of him departed (p.). He sought (p.) in himself an oblation ; he rubbed (i.) himself up ; so, since he rubbed (i.) himself up, therefore both this is hairless and this (his **two palms**?). There he found (p.) either a ghee-oblation or a milk-oblation ; but either is nothing but milk. 5. That (oblation) did not conciliate (p.) him ; mixed with hair, indeed, was (p.) it ; he sprinkled (i.) it out, saying : suck quickly (*oṣam dhaya*) ; then the herbs (*oṣadhayas*) came (i.) into being ; therefore are they called herbs. He rubbed (i.) himself up a second time ; there he found (p.) another oblation, a ghee-oblation or a milk-oblation ; but either is nothing but milk. 6. This conciliated (p.) him ; he was in doubt (i.) : shall I make oblation ? or shall I not make oblation ? His own greatness addressed (p.) him : make oblation ! He, Prajāpati, knew (p.) : my own (*sva*) greatness speaks (*āha*) to me ; he made (i.) oblation, saying *svāhā* ('hail !') ; therefore oblation is made with saying *svāhā*. Thereupon went (p.) up he who burns there (the sun) ; thereupon came (p.) forth he who cleanses here (the wind) ; thereupon, again, Agni turned (p.) about [and] away. 7. He, Prajāpati, by making oblation, both had (i.) progeny and saved (i.) himself from death, from Agni who was going to eat him ; he who, knowing thus, maketh the *agnihotra* libation, hath progeny by that very progeniture by which Prajāpati had (i.) progeny, and just so saveth himself from death, from Agni who is going to eat him.'

Here are 19 perfects and 15 imperfects, quite miscellaneously shaken up together ; the cases in which we might say that the imperfect is used by preference when the past is directly viewed from a contrasted present are spoiled by their occurrence in company with others of which that explanation does not hold good. In the remainder of the chapter (*brāhmaṇa*), the two tenses (14 i., 17 p.) are found rather more distinctly in alternating batches.

An example of the repetition in more than one place of an apparently arbitrary alternation of tenses may be cited from III. i. 4. 3-4 : 'By the sacrifice [it was that] the gods con-

quered (p.) this conquest which is this conquest of theirs. They said (p.): How may this of ours be inaccessible to mortals? They, having sucked the savor of the sacrifice as bees might suck out honey, having milked dry the sacrifice, having blocked (?) [it] with the sacrificial post, disappeared (i.). So then, as they blocked (*yup*, i.) with it, therefore it is by name post (*yūpa*). This verily was (p.) heard of by the seers. They collected (i.) the sacrifice, just as this sacrifice is collected.' . . . While the last two of the imperfects here might be held to admit of explanation by the principle already stated, the other, 'disappeared,' seems wholly coordinate with the perfects that precede and follow. Yet the passage is repeated with the same tenses at III. ii. 2, 11, 28; iv. 3. 15; and in part at vii. 1. 27; while at I. vi. 2. 1-2 it is given more fully (with repetition of the story, down to 'disappeared,' in precisely the same words, as what the seers 'heard of'), but with a different ending: 'That [sacrifice] they began (p.) to seek after; they went on (p.) praising [and] toiling,' etc.: we might ascribe these last two perfects to the absence of direct antithesis with the present which was found at the close of the version first quoted.

Again, we have at I. vii. 1. 1 a brief sequence of tenses which is repeated at III. iii. 4. 10: 'When the *gāyatrī* flew (i.) toward Soma, then of her while taking it a footless archer, having taken aim at her, cut off (p.) a feather, either of the *gāyatrī* or of Soma; that, falling, became (i.) a *parṇa*-tree.' At VIII. ii. 4. 1-15, the alternation of *āpnot* (i.) and *uccakramus* (p.) is repeated fifteen times; and that of *akṣarat* (i.) and *jajñire* (p.) made in XIV. i. 2. 19 occurs again in 3. 11 and 3. 15. In I. ii. 3. 6-7, there is several times a regular change from what the gods did (i.) to what followed (p.) as consequence. At I. v. 2. 6; vi. 3. 35-7; IV. iv. 1. 16-7, the two tenses seem to be distributed respectively to the two parties concerned in the action.

To set off against such cases as these, on the other hand, we sometimes meet with manifest inconsistencies. Thus, in II. v. 1. 1-3, in a legend of the staple kind about Prajāpati, told in mixed tenses, we have 'he considered' twice in imper-

fect (*āikṣata*) and once in perfect (*īkṣām cakre*), and 'he created' twice in each tense (*asṛjata* and *sasṛje*); in II. v. 4. 6-7 are used three perfects in opposition to the analogy of preceding and following sections, and against the principle recognized by us above of employing an imperfect when something past is contrasted with something present as the ground of the latter or the like. But, though such examples are doubtless to be found here and there, they are certainly not frequent.

There is but a beggarly array in this Brāhmaṇa of perfects with present value, namely twenty-five occurrences, of three forms: *dadr̥ṣe*, I. iv. 1. 29: vi. 4. 5, 13, 15 (2), 19, 20. II. iii. 4. 22: iv. 2. 7 (2); 4. 20. VI. iv. 2. 8. XI. i. 5. 1, 4: ii. 4. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7; 5. 3. XIV. viii. 15. 4. — *dīdāya*, I. iv. 1. 32; 3. 7. — *dād̥hāra*, XIII. i. 4. 3.

Of the immense Jāiminīya- or Talavakāra-Brāhmaṇa (as yet existing only in manuscript) the text is in great part so corrupt and doubtful that the numbers for the two tenses can be given only approximately. Omitting the most doubtful cases (and reckoning the Upanishad-Brāhmaṇa, of which the familiar Kena-Upanishad is a fragment, as a last book; it is as well entitled to the place as the concluding book of the Çatapatha-Brāhmaṇa), the numbers are as follows:

*Narrative Imperfects and Perfects in the Jāiminīya-Brāhmaṇa.*

i. 1280 i.	335 p.	ii. 1294 i.	501 p.	iv. 544 i.	200 p.
		iii. 2324	309	5442 i.	1345 p.

The general proportion of imperfects to perfects, it will be seen, is very nearly as 4 to 1, and the differences between different parts of the text, though not altogether inconsiderable, are yet only of minor consequence, not comparing at all with those in some of the other texts (as ÇB., or AB., or even TB.). The mode of distribution of the two tenses is also quite other than that in the Çatapatha-Brāhmaṇa. In the vast majority of cases, each tense is used by itself, only the imperfect in one narration, only the perfect in another; the cases of their mixture are comparatively few, and, where they do occur, usually no reason whatever can be seen for the

alternation. Of a tendency to the introductory use of perfects (as doubtfully recognized especially in ÇB.) there is no distinct trace. But instances of the change from perfect to imperfect when some one's words come to be quoted are by no means rare.

A few examples may be given (one from each book), thus:

i. 19. 'If there were no water, with what wouldst thou make oblation? He said (p.): At that time verily there existed (i.) nothing at all; then this was offered (i.): [namely] truth, in faith. [The other] said (p.) to him,' etc. (we had the same passage above, p. 21, from ÇB.).

ii. 390. 'Then they flung (p.) him into the fire. Then came (p.) Vasiṣṭha. He said (p.): what said (i.) my son when flung in? They said (p.) to him: "O Indra, bring ability to us, as a father to his sons (SV.)"; just so much was (i.) uttered by him, then they flung (i.) him into the fire. He (Vasiṣṭha) said (p.),' etc.

iii. 64. 'They said (p.) to him: He ascended (i.) indeed to the heavenly world, reverend sir. He said (p.): Is there nothing whatever left of him here? They said (p.) to him: There was (i.) just this horse's head, with which he told (i.) this to the Açvins; but we do not know what became (i.) of it. Search for it [said he]. Then they searched (p.) for it,' etc.

Of examples like these there are as many as thirty in the whole text, and the cases are sufficiently well marked to show that the rule which we have already inferred from the other texts was at least becoming a prevailing one. We cannot call it established or absolute, for there are also a few instances (I have noted nine) of a perfect in quotation, usually among or with other narrative perfects, but in a couple of cases with shift from narrative imperfect to quoted perfect: e.g. in i. 283, where (not without considerable emendation) we read: 'Prajāpati created (i.) the gods; after them was created (i.) death, evil. Those gods, approaching Prajāpati, said (i.): Why hast thou created (aor.) us, if thou wast (p.) going to create (*anvavasraksyann āsitha*) after us death, evil? To them he said (i.),' etc.

I have not noted over half-a-dozen examples in this work of perfect-present, all of them forms found elsewhere in the same use, as *dādhāra*, *dīdāya*, *ānaṣe*.

The facts in the Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa also require to be noticed, notwithstanding the inferior character and textual inaccuracy of that work. Rejecting doubtful cases, the imperfects are to the perfects as somewhat less than 3 to 1.

*Narrative Imperfects and Perfects in the Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa.*

i. 1	176	i. 39 p.	i. 5	37	i. 22 p.	ii. 4	12	i. 9 p.
2	98	51	ii. 1	70	4	5	40	5
3	27	39		2	59	8	6	37
4	12	25		3	58	1		27
							626	i. 230 p.

I have noticed but two cases in which a reason for the variation of tense can be suggested: in i. 4. 24, an imperfect in quotation among many narrative perfects — a clear case; and in i. 3. 8 doubtless a similar one, but the passage is corrupt, and calls for much emendation.

A single example of perfect-present, *dīdāya*, has been noticed at ii. 3. 5.

The Chāndogya-Upanishad may also not less properly be included in an inquiry like this than some of the other Upanishads which form parts of Brāhmaṇas, and so have had their statistics given above. It is a well-marked and peculiar case, showing for the first time a great predominance of perfects, namely as more than 4 to 1: thus —

*Narrative Imperfects and Perfects in the Chāndogya-Upanishad.*

i. 6	i. 76 p.	iv. 10	i. 87 p.	vii. 3	i. 4 p.
ii. 6	0	v. 4	63	viii. 0	47
iii. 30	3	vi. 13	39	72	i. 319 p.

For the most part, the two tenses are held distinct, a narrative using either the one or the other throughout; the narratives in imperfects are found in i. 4; ii. 23; iii. 1-5, 19; iv. 17. Real mixture of the two tenses occurs only in one passage, v. 1. 12, where a single imperfect, *akhidat*, appears among twenty perfects (the perfect of *khid* is nowhere met with, but one sees no reason why it might not have been



formed here). Then there are a number of passages where imperfects are used in quotation in a narrative carried on in perfects: so in iv. 4. 2 (1 i.), 4 (3 i.); v. 3. 4 (1 i.), 6 (1 i.), 7 (1 i., where the tense indicates a considerable interval between the time of this and that of the preceding sentence); vi. 2-3 (13 i., with a single perfect of the general narration among them in 2. 2, omitted by Böhtlingk in his translation). The chapters vi. 2-7 contain one long preachment; and possibly it is on this account, and because their being a real quotation had been lost sight of, that *vidām cakrus* (p.) occurs 4 times in 4. 5-7; if not, the perfect here is anomalous. The perfect *anuṣṭāsa* is also used twice in quotation, in iv. 9. 2; 14. 2, where we should expect an aorist rather. Finally, in viii. 11. 3, a perfect, *uvāsa*, appears in quotation, but of a current popular saying, and therefore no real exception. No example of perfect in present sense is to be met with in this Upanishad.

On summing up now the results of the inquiry, we have to confess that they are of a more negative and doubtful character in many respects than we could wish. Still, certain points are brought to light with a fair degree of clearness. The use of the perfect with the value of a present must be viewed, so far as I can see, as a continuation of one of its earlier values as exhibited in *mantra*; and it stands well up to the use of the same tense for past narration in some of the earlier texts — being twice as frequent as the latter in the Pañcaviṅṣa-Brāhmaṇa, almost precisely as frequent in the Māitrāyaṇī-Saṃhitā, and nearly as frequent in the Tāittirīya-Saṃhitā; but it grows rarer, becomes attached especially to certain individual words, and finally disappears. As for the use of the tense with true perfect value (= the Vedic aorist), that makes no figure at all; it is nowhere distinctly recognizable; the cases are purely sporadic, and hence everywhere doubtful; for we also meet occasionally an imperfect where we should decidedly expect an aorist, and these may perhaps be of the same sort. Delbrück, in his *Vedic Syntax* (§ 170; pp. 298-300), treats of what he calls “the perfect as past tense in non-narrative use” — that is, in (Vedic) aoristic sense — translating his examples with ‘have,’ as true perfects; but

I cannot accept his interpretation and version; the cases seem to me those of mere narrative use, such as might exhibit imperfects instead of perfects — with the possible exception of the last, from TS. vii. 3. 1<sup>8</sup>, which has been quoted above (p. 9) as a doubtful instance, possibly but not necessarily (Vedic) aoristic.

The leading and most conspicuous fact is the increasing use, either by substitution or by association, of the perfect as equivalent to the imperfect in narration. There is no *brāhmaṇa*-work in which the two tenses are not found together in story, although in some the perfects are sprinkled in very scantily, and although the telling of a whole legend with perfects instead of imperfects occurs either not at all or hardly in the (presumably) earlier texts and parts of texts. Finally, all barriers are broken down, and, the other values disappearing, the perfect gets the use which it maintains through the classical period of the language as a purely narrative tense, exchangeable in almost all situations with the imperfect. We have thought to catch glimpses here and there of attempts made to differentiate the two tenses instead of confounding them with one another as simply equivalent. But we have been every time disappointed, with a single exception — that the perfect is on the whole excluded from personal use; that a quotation, even in a narrative carried on by perfects, is felt to call for imperfects. Even this is by no means an established rule; exceptions to it are found in almost every treatise, from the oldest to the youngest; but it is at least a distinctly prevalent usage. We have the more right to lay stress upon it, inasmuch as the native grammar sets up for the classical language a kindred distinction, forbidding the perfect to be used in narrating such facts as have been witnessed by the speaker: that is to say, in the narration of personal experience (compare Speijer's *Sanskrit Syntax*, p. 247 ff.). How much attention is paid to the rule in the classical literature is another question; so far as I have myself noticed, it is mainly disregarded, and perfect and imperfect and aorist and (most frequent of all) passive participle used predicatively are jumbled miscellaneously together. But the existence of such a rule is a voucher

for the recognition by highest authority for the later language of that distinction which is seen growing up in the Brāhmaṇas.

One thing more is to be added, in order to complete the history of the Brāhmaṇa perfect: the perfect participle, active and middle, which in *mantra* has the whole range of senses that belong to its tense, inherits that one of the three which in Brāhmaṇa is not shown by the tense, and becomes a truly perfect participle, to be rendered by 'having done' and the like. This is an extremely curious fact, and it has happened to escape the notice of Delbrück (*Vedic Syntax*, p. 375 ff.), who describes the participle as simply past (although he translates it throughout with the auxiliary 'have'), and who further recognizes certain exceptions, having value as present, all of which I think I have proved (*Am. Journ. Philol.*, Oct., 1892; vol. xiii., p. 293) to be misinterpreted by him.

Examples are far from infrequent in all the Brāhmaṇas; a few may be quoted here, to illustrate the usage. Thus, *bahur bhavaty āçvena tuṣṭuvānah*, 'he is multiplied who hath praised with the āçva[-sāman]' (PB. xi. 3. 5, and so in very numerous other passages in this work with *tuṣṭuvāna*); *indro 'surān hatvā 'kāryam cakṛvān amanyata*, 'Indra, having slain the Asuras, thought himself to have done a thing that should not be done' (ib. xxii. 14. 2); *yó vāt bahú dadivān bahv iñānō 'gnīm utsāddyate*, 'whoso, having given much and sacrificed much, lets his fire go out' (MS. i. 8. 6; p. 123. 18); *çṛṇvānti hāi 'nam agnīm cikyāndm*, 'they hear of him as having built his fire-altar' (ib. iii. 1. 3; p. 4. 17); *yáthā vāmām vāsu vividānō gṛhati tādṛg evā tát*, 'that is as if one, having found valuable treasure, hides it' (TS. i. 5. 2<sup>8</sup>); *çvāh-çvo 'smā iñānāya vdsīyo bhavati*, 'from one morrow to another it goes better with him who has sacrificed' (ib. ii. 5. 4<sup>1</sup>); *yāvān hí jakṣúṣīr vdrunō 'gṛhṇāt*, 'for Varuna seized on them when they had eaten the barley' (ÇB. II. v. 2. 16); *pitrām proṣúṣam āgatam*, 'a father who arrives after having been absent on a journey' (ib. XII. v. 2. 8). I know of no real exceptions, although the cases are not all so clear and marked as these. In the later language this participle is almost entirely lost.

II. — *On Semitic Words in Greek and Latin.*

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## INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

TIME was when even respectable scholars like GUICHARD (1606), THOMASSIN (1697), COURT DE GÉBELIN (1775), JO. A. ERNESTI and others, believed the Hebrew language to have been the mother tongue of all ancient and modern languages, the *lingua primaeva*.<sup>1</sup> Following the lead of earlier Jewish commentators,<sup>2</sup> they attempted to prove this assertion by such arguments as these: (1) That the nouns and proper names before the confusion of tongues were of a distinctly Hebrew origin, e.g. אָדָם (*ādām*), 'man,' or הֶבֶל (*hébel*), 'breath, transitoriness.' It did not occur to them that these names were formed by the Hebrew nation, and thus of no high antiquity. (2) That there are in almost all languages traces of Hebrew words, which they considered a convincing proof of the common origin of all. (3) By an historical exegesis of Gen. ii. 23. Thus they tried to derive every Greek, Latin, and German word from a Semitic prototype. Such hypotheses have been advanced even by men of the nineteenth century; e.g. MATHIAS NORBERG<sup>3</sup> derived ἔθνος from אָם (*am*), 'people,' with epenthesis of *θ*; λέγω by metathesis from קָוַל (*qōl*),

<sup>1</sup> Étienne Guichard 'Harmonie étymologique des langues, où se démontre que toutes les langues sont descendues de l'hébraïque' (Paris, 1606); Louis de Thomassin 'Méthode d'enseigner la grammaire ou les langues par rapport à l'Écriture sainte, en les réduisant toutes à l'hébreu' (2 vols. Paris, 1690-93) and 'Glossarium universale hebraicum' (Paris, 1697); Court de Gébelin 'Le monde primitif, analysé et comparé avec le monde moderne' (9 vols. Paris, 1775-1784); Johann August Ernesti 'De vestigiis linguae hebraicae in lingua graeca, Opuscula philologica critica' (L. B. 1762), 178 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Onkelos and Targum Hierosolymitanum *ad* Gen. xi. 1; also Josephus, *Antt.* 1, 4; 10, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Opuscula, II. Dissertationes 15 and 16 (Londini Gothorum, 1818).

voice, *μυθέω* as well as *βασιλεύω* from the same *משל* (*māšāl*), 'to liken and to rule'; again, J. BRAUN<sup>4</sup> derives *πνεῦμα* from Hebr. *פְּנוּם* (*ḥēnūm*),<sup>5</sup> *Λάμος* from Lamech, and *Καινεύς* from Kain.

Shortly after the discovery of the Sanskrit language scholars sought to find a genetic connection between this and the Semitic languages, e.g. ADELUNG (Mithridates I. 149-76), comparing Skt. *ādima*; 'first,' with Hebr. *אָדָם*; *rājā*, 'king' with Hebr. *רֹאשׁ* (*rōš*, *rēš*), 'head, prince.' There are, it is true, even to this day not a few philologists — and among them some authorities deserving the highest respect — who hold that correspondences enough have been found between Indo-European and Semitic roots to prove the ultimate connection of these two families of language.<sup>6</sup> Here we have to mention above all

I. RUDOLF VON RAUMER, 'Ueber die Urverwandschaft der semitischen und indoeuropäischen Sprachen.'<sup>7</sup> The main substance of von Raumer's arguments consists in a series of correspondences between weak or geminate Hebrew roots and Indo-European words; and he claims respecting them that, both in number and in degree, they are altogether beyond what could be explained as the result of chance or of anything but genetic connection. This claim is by no means to be admitted, says an authority such as WHITNEY (Proceedings of Phil. Assoc., 1876, 27). A few examples may suffice to illustrate his method of procedure: Hebr. *בֹּבֵב* (*būb*), 'be hollow' = puppis. Again, *בָּכָה* (*bākāh*), 'cry, shed tears, drip' = *πηγή*; *נָבַע* (*nābā'*), 'pour out, bubble forth,' with

<sup>4</sup> 'Naturgeschichte der Sage; Rückführung aller religiösen Ideen, Sagen, Systeme, auf ihren gemeinsamen Stammbaum und ihre letzte Wurzel' (München, 1862).

<sup>5</sup> No such Hebrew word is known to me; perhaps he meant *פְּנוּאֵל*, *ḥēnū-āl*.

<sup>6</sup> W. D. WHITNEY, 'Language and the Study of Language,' 394.

<sup>7</sup> In his 'Gesammelte Sprachwissenschaftliche Abhandlungen,' 1863, pp. 461-539, and its four 'Fortsetzungen,' pp. 24, 35, 18, and 22, published Frankfurt a. M. in 1867, 1868, 1871, 1873; also his answer to SCHLEICHER's critique in 'Herr Professor Schleicher in Jena und die Urverwandschaft der semitischen und indoeuropäischen Sprachen, ein kritisches Bedenken,' 1864, pp. 17; 'Sendschreiben an Herrn Professor Whitney über die Urverwandschaft,' etc., 1876, pp. 20; 'Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung (= KZ.), 22, 235-249.

νάπη; סגַר (*sāgar*), 'lock up,' with sacer. Had Raumer known Assyrian he would have found a great many more examples, e.g. βέλος and Assyrian *bēlu*, pl. *bēlē*, 'implements of war,' etc.

2. More scientific than Raumer's are FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH's studies.<sup>8</sup> But he has given up for many years the views proposed in his book, and no longer believes in the possibility of establishing proof for a connection between Semitic and Indo-European.

3. Also ERNST NÖLDECHEN's<sup>9</sup> attempt to prove that the two great families are descendants of the same parent speech, has not gained its point. His comparison of such words as כִּפִּיר (*kēfir*), 'young lion,' and 'caper (he-goat)'; נֶפֶל (*nefel*), 'untimely birth, abortion,' and Skt. *napan* (read *nafāt*), Lat. *nepos*, 'grandchild'; רָדָם (*rādām*), 'sleep soundly,' and Latin *dormio*; אַרְבַּע (*arbā*), 'four,' and the Skt. *arbha*, 'lowly, few'; יָצָא (*yācā*), 'go out,' and Skt. *vais*, 'become light' (rise, said of the sun), class him with Raumer and others.<sup>10</sup>

4. JAMES F. McCURDY published in 1881 his views on 'the Aryo-Semitic Speech' (Andover, pp. 176), in which he claimed to have made an advance upon any of his predecessors in the same inquiry. In the first place, the morphology of the Proto-Semitic as well as of Proto-Aryan roots is fully discussed; secondly, it is postulated that if the two families of speech were ever one, the only evidence of their identity is to be adduced from their expressions for primitive and simple ideas. The method employed in the book is to take such elementary notions, and see how they have been expressed in the two systems of speech. Some few instances

<sup>8</sup> 'Studien über indogermanisch-semitische Wurzelverwandschaft' (Leipzig, 1873, pp. 119; II. edition, 1884).

<sup>9</sup> 'Semitische Glossen zu Fick und Curtius,' Marburg, 1876 and 1877 (2 Programme, Q. pp. 94).

<sup>10</sup> "Ein indogermanisch-semitisches Urvolk mit ausgebildeter Rede oder gar Mythos ist überhaupt nicht zu erreichen; wir gelangen, höchstens, um mit Renan zu reden zu zwei nackten Kindern, welche nahe bei einander geboren wurden und schon bald nach ihrer Geburt sich völlig trennten. Nur die naturwissenschaftliche Ethnologie kann eine Urverwandschaft beider Rassen beweisen, wenn solche je existirte" (F. DELITZSCH in Zarncke's Lit. Centralblatt, 1877, col. 791, 792).

will show this method: I-E. *bhas*, 'shine,' is compared with Hebr. **בִּיצָה** (*bēṣāh*), 'egg,' primary notion being that of 'whiteness, shining;' also Arabic *bāšara*, 'be joyful' (literally 'have a smooth, unwrinkled face'), and Hebr. **בָּשָׂר** (*bāšār*), 'flesh,' belong to this same root; again, Hebr. **בָּשַׁל** (*bāšāl*), 'cook,' is connected with Lat. *frigo*, Greek *φρύγω*, 'roast' (p. 127). But Skt. *bhrj*, Lat. *frigo*, is = *bhrzgo* or *bhrzgo*. Skt. *marš* is connected with Assyrian *marṣu* (**מַרְסוּ**), 'be vexed, suffer, suffer patiently' (p. 139); or Skt. *sad*, 'go' (Greek *ὀδός*), with Arab. *ṣādḍa*, 'turn aside,' Hebr. **צָד** (*ṣād*), 'side' (p. 149);<sup>11</sup> with this goes also **צָעַד** (*ṣā'ād*), 'go up or down, proceed, march,' and perhaps **צָדַק** (*ṣādāq*),<sup>12</sup> originally 'go straight on, do right.' The best part of McCurdy's book are cc. I. and II. containing a good résumé of 'the past and present treatment of the subject,' and 'criteria of relationship' (pp. 1-52). Had he remembered the warning of Gesenius,<sup>13</sup> he would have seen that most of these so-called root-affinities are purely a matter of chance, and in many cases the result of false interpretation of Semitic or Indo-European words. These similarities of sound are utterly unavoidable on account of the comparatively small number of human sounds of articulation.

5. Here belongs also AUGUST UPPENKAMP's Programm 'Der Begriff der Scheidung nach seiner Entwicklung in den semitischen und indogermanischen Sprachen.'<sup>14</sup> As regards method, judgment, and sobriety, it is by far the best attempt to prove a genetic relationship between the two families. In many of his comparisons he follows his predecessors Raumer, Nöldechen, and, above all, McCurdy (pp. 129-136), of whose treatise he does not seem to be aware; but it will not do to connect Hebr. **כָּלָה** (*kālāh*), 'com-

<sup>11</sup> But the primitive meaning of **צָרַד** (*ṣādīd*) is to 'ensnare, trap,' as shown by the cognate Semitic languages (DELITZSCH, 'Hebrew and Assyrian,' p. 29).

<sup>12</sup> On **צָרַק** see E. KAUTZSCH, 'Ueber die Derivate des Stammes **צָרַק** im Alt-Testamentlichen Sprachgebrauch' (Tübingen, 1881).

<sup>13</sup> 'Geschichte der Hebräischen Sprache und Schrift' (2<sup>te</sup> Auflage, Leipzig, 1827), p. 67.

<sup>14</sup> Beilage zum Programm des königl. Gymnasiums zu Düsseldorf für das Schuljahr 1890-91 (Bonn, 1891, pp. 39, Q.).

plete, be complete,' כֹּל (*kōl*), 'whole,' with Greek *καλός*, 'beautiful' (p. 31 and *rem.* 2).

Many other attempts in this direction have been made in the past, some in a very superficial fashion, others with the use of scientific methods,<sup>15</sup> to establish the relationship between the Semitic and Indo-European languages. 'The often-asserted relationship between their beginnings does not at present offer any appreciable promise of valuable light to be thrown upon their joint and respective history. The whole fabric and style of these two families of language is so discordant that any theory which assumes their joint development out of the radical stage, the common growth of their grammatical systems, is wholly excluded' (WHITNEY, *Language and the Study of Language*, 307). It cannot be denied that even scholars, like G. I. ASCOLI, F. W. VIGNOLI (*Myths and Science*, 31), and others, believe that the Semitic language-group originally belonged to the Aryan family, or, at least, that there is an ultimate relationship of the two. But the number is yet greater of those who regard the asserted proof as altogether nugatory. It was very natural to suppose that the languages of the two races which, with the single exception of the Egyptians and the Chinese, have formed and moulded human civilization, who have been near neighbors from the earliest times, and who, moreover, seem to bear a great physical resemblance to one another, can be nothing else than two descendants of the same parent speech. But all these endeavors have wholly failed. It is, indeed, probable, says NÖLDEKE,<sup>16</sup> one of the best critics of this question, that not only the languages of the Semites and of the Indo-Europeans, but also those of other races, are derived from the same stock; but the separation must have taken place at

<sup>15</sup> A. RAABE, 'Gemeinschaftliche Grammatik der Arischen und der Semitischen Sprachen; voran eine Darlegung der Entstehung des Alfabet's' (Leipzig, 1874, pp. 132). — JULIUS FÜRST, 'Lehrgebäude der Aramäischen Idiome mit Bezug auf die Indogermanischen Sprachen' (Leipzig, 1835); 'Hebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch' (Leipzig, 1861). — JUL. GRILL, 'Ueber das Verhältniss der Indogermanischen und Semitischen Sprachwurzeln; ein Beitrag zur Physiologie der Sprache' (ZDMG. 27, 425-60). — PAUL BOETTICHER, 'Wurzelforschungen,' 1852.

<sup>16</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (9th edition), XXI. 642.



so remote a period that the changes which these languages underwent in prehistoric times have completely effaced what features they possessed in common, if such features have sometimes been perceived, they are no longer recognizable. It must be remembered that it is only in exceptionally favorable circumstances that cognate languages are so preserved during long periods as to render it possible for scientific analysis to prove their relationship with one another.<sup>17</sup>

The great Semitic scholar, W. GESENIUS, was almost the first<sup>18</sup> to see the error, into which his predecessors had fallen, of reconstructing an Aryo-Semitic parent speech. He showed that many of their conclusions were drawn from wrong premises, their results based on vague and unscientific combinations. He correctly maintained that the Semites had, at a very early period, come into contact with the Egyptians<sup>19</sup> as well as with the Greeks, whence it would naturally follow, that the Greeks had adopted many words

<sup>17</sup> The following is an instance of the manner in which we may be deceived by isolated cases. 'Six' is in Hebrew שש (šš), almost exactly like the Skt. and Modern Persian *šāš*, the Latin *sex*, etc.; but the I.-E. root is *sweks*, or perhaps even *ksweks*, whereas the Semitic root is *šid*, so that the resemblance is a purely accidental one, produced by phonetic change. Compare also the Egyptian *šš*, which goes back to *sids* (ZDMG. 46, 127, *rem.* 5). Many years ago Gesenius, p. 66 of his *Geschichte*, said: שש (šš), *sex*, *sechs*, and שבע (šebā'), *septem*, *sieben*, are the result of chance. Prof. A. WEBER, however, in a discussion of Joh. Schmidt's lecture, 'A testimony for the prehistoric migrations of the Indo-European tribes' (read before the Stockholm-Copenhagen Congress of Orientalists, 1890, and since published in the *Abhandlungen der königl. Preussischen Akademie der Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1890, under the title of 'Die Urheimath der Indo-Germanen und das europäische Zahlensystem,' pp. 56, Q.), draws attention to the fact, in proof that the Germanic tribes must in their original seats have been in close and neighborly relation with the Semites, (1) that the words for six and seven (and only these!) are common to both the Indo-European and Semitic languages, and (2) that the Indo-European tribes reckoned time originally by the moon ('the measurer'). See Trübner's *Oriental Record*, 3d series, I. 5, p. 153, *rem.* — LAGARDE believed šš, six, and the Avestan forms to have been borrowed from the Semitic (G.G.Nachr. 1891, 178), while, on the other hand, *šrrá* cannot be brought into relationship with שבע (šebā'), seven (J.üb. 38).

<sup>18</sup> The same views, expressed by Gesenius, are found two centuries earlier in S. BOCHART'S 'Opera Omnia,' *Hierozoicon*, I. and II., and *Phaleg* (Lugdun. Batav. 1692).

<sup>19</sup> See e.g. ZDMG. 46, 102-132.

and names of Semitic products and articles of trade, musical instruments, and precious stones, at the time when the Phoenician colonists and merchants imported these articles into Greece and its neighboring countries. It cannot be denied by students of ancient history and geography that the names of many of the oldest and most important seats of culture in ancient Greece can only be satisfactorily explained as derived from the Semitic; that, therefore, the Semitic nations, especially the Phoenicians, must have wielded great power and influenced to a large extent the early history of the forefathers of Homer and Herodotus.

The student who examines the Greek word-stock borrowed from the Semites must, however, beware lest he consider as borrowed the onomatopoeitic or mimetic words common to both families,<sup>20</sup> or those in which the sameness or similarity of meaning follows readily from the nature of the kindred sounds, according to the universal type of human speech. Neither sameness nor similarity establishes a genetic relationship, to the direct proof of which the agreement also in grammatical structure is essential.

The small list of Greek words borrowed from the Semitic as given by GESENIUS, *Gesch.* 66 ff., was accepted with a few changes by MOVERS,<sup>21</sup> RENAN,<sup>22</sup> and AUG. MÜLLER.<sup>23</sup>

Minor additions were also made by TH. BENFEY,<sup>24</sup> FRIED.

<sup>20</sup> Examples of such onomatopoeitic stems are given by GESENIUS, 'Geschichte,' 67; Hebr. Grammar (Engl. Transl., Andover, 1884), p. 5, to which many more could be added, e.g. Mandshu *shun* and Engl. sun; Mandshu *sengi* (blood) and Latin sanguis; North American *polômac* (river) and ποταμός (Sayce, *Introd. to Sc. of Lang.* I. 149); Egyptian *hmm* and Semitic *xāmdm* (חמם), 'be warm'; Egyptian *ʿp* and Sem. פֿיג (פֿיג) = to fly; Egyptian *ḥ'r-t* and Greek χήρα (both = widow); or Germ. Scheune and Coptic *seune* (= barn), ZDMG. 46, 106; Χαίρων, the Greek god of the dead, and χαίρων (Diodor. I. 92, 2), the Egyptian ferryman of the dead, from Egyptian *ḥdr*, 'the ferryman, coachman.'

<sup>21</sup> Article 'Phoenizien' in Ersch und Gruber's *Allgemeiner Encyclopaedie*, III. Section, Vol. 24, pp. 358 ff.; also his work 'Die Phoenizier,' especially Vol. II. no. 3 (Berlin, 1856).

<sup>22</sup> 'Histoire générale et système comparé des langues sémitiques,' quatrième édition, Paris, 1863 (= R.), pp. 204-211.

<sup>23</sup> 'Semitische Lehnworte im älteren Griechisch' (BB. I, 273-301).

<sup>24</sup> 'Griechisches Wurzellexikon,' 1839-42 (abbreviated B.).

MÜLLER,<sup>26</sup> H. L. FLEISCHER,<sup>26</sup> and above all by PAUL DE LAGARDE,<sup>27</sup> the Scaliger of the nineteenth century. In his 'Mittheilungen' (= *JBL*), 2, 356, Lagarde writes: "Die aus dem semitischen in das griechische eingedrungenen Wörter verfolge ich seit 40 Jahren. Ich hoffe was ich über sie weiss, noch vorlegen zu können." It is a great pity that his sudden death (Dec. 22, 1891) made this promise impossible; for no one was better fitted to do such a work than Lagarde, a perfect master of language and literature. It was—by the way—also Lagarde who first pointed out the connection between the Assyrian and the Cyprian (*J. arm.* 154 *rem.*), a fact entirely overlooked by recent writers on the Cyprian dialect. Mention must also be made of FRANÇOIS LENORMANT's treatment of Greek words from the Semitic in his article, 'The Kadmos legend and the Phoenician settlements in Greece.'<sup>28</sup> His statements, however, have to be carefully examined, and his results are sometimes faulty and not exact. It is therefore best for one not acquainted with both families of language not to rely too much on Lenormant's criticisms. PAUL SCHRÖDER in his book 'Die Phönizische Sprache' (Halle, 1869), and A. v. KREMER's paper on 'Culturge-schichtliche Beziehungen zwischen Europa und dem Oriente' (Wien, 1876), have some remarks on the subject under-discussion. E. RIÉS' dissertation 'Quae res et vocabula a gentibus semiticis in Graeciam pervenerint, quaestiones selectae' (Vratislaviae, 1890, pp. 59) is not very satisfactory, and shows a lack of acquaintance with the literature on loan-words.

<sup>26</sup> KZ. 10, 267, on *ἐλέφας*; 319, on *ὄλιος*. Kuhn's *Beiträge*, 2, 490, on *ἔλεφος*, *ταῦρος*, *βόδιον*.

<sup>26</sup> In his additions to LEVY's 'Wörterbuch über die Targumim und einen grossen Theil des rabbinischen Schrifthums,' 1881.

<sup>27</sup> A list of Lagarde's contributions to this branch of science will be found under the heading of 'abbreviations.'

<sup>28</sup> 'La légende de Cadmus et les établissements Phéniciens en Grèce,' *Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, 1867, pp. 1-24, 93-110, 178-203, 269-279, 325-335, and reprinted in his 'Les origines de la culture' (1876). He considers as very old loan-words, occurring already in Homer, *χρυσός*, *κυνάρισσος*, *φύκος*, *χιδών*, *μύρρα* (*cf.* *μύρομαι*), *τιθαιβώσσω*; *βοῦς* he explains as the I-E. word for ox, bull; while *ταῦρος*, Latin *taurus*, is borrowed from Aram. תורא (*tōrā*); משל (*māšāl*) = *βασιλεύς*.

VANIČEK'S 'Fremdwörter im Griechischen und Lateinischen' (Leipzig, 1878, pp. 81) is still valuable for the mass of literature it contains, although otherwise without much merit. O. KELLER'S remarks on Greek and Latin words from the Semitic in his two books: 'Thiere des klassischen Alterthums' (Innsbruck, 1877), and 'Lateinische Volksetymologie nebst einem Anhang über griechische Volksetymologie' (Leipzig, 1891) are to be used with caution and distrust.<sup>29</sup>

On Greek proper names and names of cities and countries JUSTUS OLSHAUSEN has written some excellent articles; other contributions have been made, of late, by A. SONNY in the *Philologus*, Vol. 48; and H. LEWY in Fleckeisen's *Neue Jahrbücher*, Vol. 145, 177-191.<sup>30</sup>

H. EWALD'S views on the connection between the Semitic and Indo-European families of language are found in his 'Abhandlung über den Zusammenhang des Nordischen (Türkischen), Mittelländischen, Semitischen und Koptischen Sprachstammes' (G. G. Abh. Vol. X, 1862, pp. 80, Q.). Shortly before this, in 1861, KAULEN had published his book 'Die Sprachverwirrung zu Babel.' Ewald and Kaulen were severely criticised by POTT in his 'Anti-Kaulen, oder mythische Vorstellungen vom Ursprunge der Völker und Sprachen; nebst Beurtheilung der zwei sprachwissenschaftlichen Abhandlungen Heinrich von Ewald's' (Lemgo und Detmold, 1863). R. F. GRAU'S 'Semiten und Indogermanen, in ihrer Beziehung zu Religion und Wissenschaft' (2<sup>te</sup> Auflage, Stuttgart, 1887, pp. 261), and J. RÖNTSCH'S 'Ueber Indogermanen und Semitentum, eine völkerpsychologische Studie' (Leipzig, 1872, pp. 274) do not enter into a discussion of the linguistic affinities, and do not therefore concern us.

<sup>29</sup> The former book contains a great deal of instructive and learned material, for which we must be thankful to Keller; but his etymologies from the Semitic are usually "an den Haaren herbeigezogen." A review of his 'Volksetymologie' is found in A.J.P. XIII. 228-235.

<sup>30</sup> *Rhein. Mus.*, Neue Folge, 8, 321-340; *Hermes*, 14, 145 ff.; Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wiss., 1879, 555 ff.; F. HITZIG, *Rhein. Mus.* 8, 601 ff., attempted in vain to overthrow some of Olshausen's results. Hitzig is followed by ALEX. ENMANN, 'Kritische Versuche zur ältesten griechischen Geschichte, I. Kypros und der Ursprung des Aphroditenkultus' (Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg), 1886, pp. 85, Q.

FRIEDRICH MÜLLER<sup>31</sup> believes that Semitic and Indo-European are two entirely different families of language, showing no connection whatever; all words, therefore, common to both, are either onomatopoeitic or borrowed by the one from the other. FR. HOMMEL,<sup>32</sup> on the other hand, following A. v. Kremer, proposed the theory that certain words common to both families have been borrowed in early pre-Semitic and pre-I.-E. times either by the Semites from the Indo-European nations or *vice versa*; that these prove the primitive neighborhood of the two great families; which, however, are not originally related to each other. The examples adduced are six:—

1. ταῦρος,	Pre-I.-E. <i>staura</i> ,	Pre-Sem. <i>tauru</i> (bull).
2. κίρας (cornu),	“ <i>karna</i> ,	“ <i>qarnu</i> (horn).
3. λῆς, λέων,	“ <i>laiwa</i> ,	“ <i>babi'atu</i> (lion).
4. χρυσός,	“ <i>gharata</i> ,	“ <i>xarūdu</i> (gold).
5. silber	“ <i>sirpara</i> ,	“ <i>šarpu</i> (silver).
6. οἶνος,	“ <i>waina</i> ,	“ <i>uainu</i> (wine). <sup>33</sup>

JOH. SCHMIDT, 'Die Urheimath der Indogermanen,' p. 9, rejects Hommel's statements, and denies a common origin of these six words as the result of close neighborhood in very early times; he believes, however, that Latin *raudus* = Sumerian *urud* (copper) and *πέλεκυς* = Assyrian *pilaqqu*, Sumerian *balag* show some connection between the Indo-European and Semitic races, and that there are, besides, certain affinities in their numerical systems. An original connection between Indo-European, Semitic, and Hamitic is assumed by MARTIN SCHULTZE<sup>34</sup> and CARL ABEL.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>31</sup> 'Indogermanisch und Semitisch,' Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie, Philos.-Histor. Classe, Bd. 65 (1870), 1-21; especially p. 6.

<sup>32</sup> 'Die ursprünglichen Wohnsitze der Semiten' (Beilage zur allgem. Zeitung, 1878, no. 263); 'Arier und Semiten' (1879). On the relation between the I.-E. and the Semitic, see also Pott in 'Techmer's Zeitschrift,' 3, 251 ff.

<sup>33</sup> See O. SCHRADER, 'Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte,' Jena, 1883, pp. 111, 146-149; also II. edition, 133 ff.; F. MAX MÜLLER, 'Biographies of Words' (1888), *passim*, says 'the so-called Semitic loan-words, bull, horn, lion, gold, silver, and wine, in Greek, lend themselves as well to an Aryan as to a Semitic etymology.'

<sup>34</sup> 'Indogermanisch, Semitisch, und Hamitisch' (Berlin, 1873, pp. 36).

<sup>35</sup> 'Einleitung in ein aegyptisch-semitisch-indo-europaeisches Wurzelwörterbuch' (1887), and 'Wechselbeziehungen der ägypt., indo-europ. und semit. Etymologie' (Leipzig, 1889).

The following chapters treat of about 400 Greek and Latin words, which have been considered by various writers as borrowed from the Semitic, Egyptian, and other Eastern languages. More than one-half of these must be rejected because they are either genuine Indo-European, or, at least, cannot be traced to an Eastern home. According to Wharton the percentage of borrowed words in Greek (proper names excluded) is only 2%, while in English 75, in Persian 62, in Latin 14, chiefly from the Greek. In classical Greek, down to 300 B.C., there are about 41,000 words, of which perhaps 1000 are foreign.

Of the GREEK ALPHABET I need say but little, it being admitted by all that its origin is to be sought among the Phoenicians, which also explains the names of the letters. Herodotus 5, 58, 2, indeed, says: the oldest alphabet used by the Greeks was, as the saying goes, brought from Phoenicia by a certain Oriental, Kadmos,<sup>86</sup> and thus called the Kadmean or Phoenician. It had only sixteen letters (*καδμήια γράμματα*). Whether the Phoenicians were the inventors of the alphabet, as they were its disseminators, is yet an open question, and does not concern us here.<sup>87</sup> I do not agree with Super (l.c. 509) that *'aleph* probably became first *alepha* and then *alpha*, under the influence of the recessive accent. The *-a* is rather based on the analogy of *γράμμα*,<sup>88</sup> and the letters need not have been adopted from an Aramean people. Like the Phoenicians, the Greeks saw that there were at least five vowels, and they had the courage to use *έέσει*, as vowel-signs, the consonant signs of the Semites,

<sup>86</sup> On Kadmos see J.H.U.C. no. 81, 76.

<sup>87</sup> See C. W. SUPER, 'On the early history of our Alphabet' (Bibl. Sacra, 1892, 496 ff.), and the literature cited, to which should be added such standard works as: F. Lenormant, 'Sur la propagation de l'alphabet phénicien dans l'ancien monde' (Paris, 1866, pp. 132); A. Kirchhoff, 'Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Alphabets' (Gütersloh, 1887); F. Hommel, 'Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens,' pp. 50-57; Pietschmann, 'Geschichte der Phoenizier,' pp. 242 and 285 ff.; C. Schlottmann's excellent article, 'Schrift und Schriftzeichen,' in E. Riehm's Handwörterbuch des biblischen Alterthums, II. 1416-1431; P. de Lagarde, 'Symmicta,' I. 113-116; Brugsch, 'Aegyptologie,' 41 ff.

<sup>88</sup> P. SCHRÖDER, Phönizische Sprache, 30-31; and GEO. HOFFMANN, 'Über einige phönizische Inschriften,' p. 6, rem. 1 (G.G.Abh. Vol. 36).

Ⲗ, ⲛ, ⲓ, and ⲙ, for which they had otherwise no use. What remains of the Phoenician alphabet corresponds from β-τ to the consonants of the Greeks.<sup>39</sup> Ἰῶτα originated from Hebr. י (iād), Greek ω for Semitic ā occurring quite often; <sup>40</sup> the τ instead of δ (by the side of λάμβδα) is due to 'Auslautstellung.'<sup>41</sup> — Zāzin became ξῆτα, after the analogy of the following ῆτα (= ΠΠ) and θῆτα (= ΠΘ), which latter may also have influenced partly the τ of ἰῶτα. — Greek υ and Σ were originally two distinct consonants, υ going back to çādē and Σ (σ) to šin. Çādē and šin served to represent the same s-sound in Greek, at first indifferently; later, some Greeks preferred υ, others Σ. The inscriptions of Abu Simbel belong to the first, those of Miletus and Naucratis to the second group (see *Rhein. Mus.*, 44, 467-77). The name σίγμα is = Hebr. שִׁמָּה (šikmāh, *Tag. B.* 4, 383). Doric σάν may be the nominative-dual of the genitive ἰσῆ (ἰσῆ, i.e. šāzin-šēn); ξ is derived from Semitic Sāmek, originally = kš, and was pronounced ξēi.<sup>42</sup>

In his explanation of ε, ϕ, φ, χ, ξ, and ψ, Super seems to have followed throughout CLERMONT-GANNEAU, who by his 'loi de la contiguïté' derives F from E, X from T, Ψ from Τ, and Φ from ϕ, after T had been relegated to the end of the alphabet after tau. Notice should have been taken of V. GARDTHAUSEN'S article, 'Zur Geschichte des griechischen Alphabets,' in *Rhein. Mus. für Philologie*, Vol. 40, 598-610, and that of G. HIRSCHFELDER, *ibid.* 42, 209-225, and 44, 467-77, an answer to E. A. GARDNER'S contribution toward our knowledge of 'The Early Ionic Alphabet' in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, VII. 220-239.

<sup>39</sup> *Tag. B.* IV. 370 ff.

<sup>40</sup> E.g. Οὐλώμος for מְלֹם (lōlām), Mattonus for מַטָּן (matlān), -αθων for מַתָּן (iātān), etc.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. also the second ט of מַטָּן ("Ασδωτος) becoming τ in "Αξωτος, the ζ instead of σδ being due either to a popular analogy after δξω(σ)τος, or because the Athenians pronounced Indo-European zd as ζ (cf. Lesb. ἕσδος = ἕζος, etc.).

<sup>42</sup> On this important question see Bochart, *Phaleg*, 451; Wallin, *ZDMG.* 9, 60; J. Olshausen, *Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1879, 566, 567; Lagarde, 'Symmicta,' I. 114; 'Armen. Studien,' §§ 1680 and 1687; *Tag. B.* 1, 69 and 152; 4, 370 ff.; Paul Haupt, *G.G.Nachr.* 1883, 99, *rem.* 4; A. Müller in *Stade's Zeitschrift*, 11, 267-8.

The system of transliteration of the Semitic sounds, adopted in this article, is that proposed by Prof. PAUL HAUPT in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und Semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, I. 247-67, viz.: א = ' ; ב = b ; ג = g (Arabic ج = j) ; ד = d ; ה = h ; ו = u ; ז = z ; ח (i.e. unpointed Arabic ح) = h̄ ; ח (i.e. pointed Arabic ח) = x ; ט = t ; י = i ; כ = k ; ל = l ; מ = m ; נ = n ; ס = s ; ע = ' ; פ = p ; צ = ç (Arabic ض, i.e. pointed ض = ḍ) ; ק = q ; ר = r ; ש = š ; ת = t.

*Raphé* (i.e. the spirant sound) of the פ ת כ נ ד ג has been, with the exception of פ, indicated by a stroke beneath the letters, viz.: *h̄*; *g* (also = Arabic ġ) ; *d̄*; *k̄* and *t̄*; פ with *raphé* is written *f*.

*Dagesh forte* is indicated by the doubling of the letter.

The long vowels are marked by a stroke above the vowel-letter; *Šēuā*, simple and compound, by ˘, while the commonly called short vowels receive no special mark at all.

The word-accent is indicated by the acute over the syllable which has the summit-tone.

Examining the list of loan-words, we find that in general Greek β = ב ; γ = ג, later sometimes = ע and כ ; δ = ד ; ι = ' ; κ = ק, ג, and כ ; λ = ל and occasionally = נ (cf. λέπρα) ; μ = מ ; ν = נ ; νν = ננ ; π = פ ; ρ = ר ; σ = ס, ש, ש, צ (also = σσ), and ΐ (ύσσωπος) ; σσ = שש and צצ ; and τ = ת, also = Arabic ; φ = פ and פ ; χ = [ח], כ. H. EWALD<sup>43</sup> and P. DE LAGARDE<sup>44</sup> have proved that, on the whole, in earlier Greek, Semitic ת was transcribed by τ, and ש by θ. Cf. Ἀστάρτη = עשתרת ('*aštōret*, a corruption for '*aštārt*) ; Βαίτυλος = בית אל ; Βίρυτος = בארת (*Bē'ērōt*, of which Latin Puteoli is simply the translation) ; Κίτιον = כתיים (*kittīm*) ; Παλαιστίνη = פלשתים (*Pēlištīm*, Lag. 'Symmicta,' I. 114 and *Z.üb.*). Ἀταργάτις = תרעתא (*Tar'ētā*), corrupted into Δερκετώ ; Ταίναρον, from Hebr. *Tannūr* (Zend. *tanūra*), a promontory of Laconia, containing iron ore ; λιβανωτός = לבנות (cf. Λιβανών = לבנון) ; κασύτας = כשותא (*kašūṭā*), etc. — On the other hand, for ש = θ we have μάλθα = מלטה (*mélet*, but ??), ὀθόνη = אטון ('*ētūn*) ; the Punic name Θορπάθ

<sup>43</sup> Hebr. Gramm.<sup>8</sup> § 47, *rem.*

<sup>44</sup> Ges. Abh. 255, 256; 'Agathangelus,' 141.



= טרפט; *Kathána* (Catina) on Sicily = קטנא. *Káthōn*, the name of the second harbor of Carthago, mentioned by Schröder (Phön. Sprache, 171, 28) and A. Müller (BB. I, 282) as = קטן (*qāṭōn*), is the same as the good Greek *κάθων*, 'bottle, flask,' which the shape of the harbor resembled.<sup>45</sup> — In later time the order was reversed, Semitic ט being transcribed by θ, and ט by τ. Thus we have *μόταξ, ἀβάθματα, θίβωνος*, etc.; LXX. Γοθολία = ה'תל"ט (*Αθαλία, Athalia*), i.e. 'whose Lord is Jehovah,' from a root *gatala*, 'be ruler, lord'; Γοθονήλ = ל'תנ"ה (*Θθονηλ*), with a variant ל' for נ' (cf. *λίτρον-νίτρον*); the original may have been ל'תל"ה, 'whose Lord is God,' a case of dissimilation.<sup>46</sup> — ט became τ, e.g. *Ταβιθά* = טבתא (*tabiṭā*) = *δορκάς*, Acts ix. 36; *Ταλιθά* (*κούμ*, var. *κούμι*) = Aram. טל"ט, fem. to טל"ט, youth (Mark v. 41), *τὸ κοράσιον* (J. J. 2229, J. J. I, 228); *σατανᾶς* (Matt. iv. 10) = טטנא (*satana*, stat. emph. to טט, *sātān* = *διάβολος*).

ק and כ in earlier Greek were usually transcribed by κ, e.g. *κάδος, κίδαρις, κίταρις, κλωβός, κύπρος, σίκερα, φύκος*; *Κύρνος* (Corsica) = Old Phoen. קרן (*qéren, qūru*, Kiepert, 256); *Μυκίνη*, from Hebr. מכנה (*mēkōnāh*, fem. to מכן, *mākōn*, 'settlement,' Kiepert, 158, *rem.* 1; Ries, 6, 7); but also by χ, especially in later Greek, e.g. *χάραξ, χαν(ν)ῶνες*; *Uruk* = 'Ορχόη; כשדים (*Kašdīm*, later *Kaldū*) = *Χαλδαῖοι*; *Χνᾶ* = כנע; כלב (*Kālēb*) = P.N. *Χαλέβ*; *Χόλοιβος* (Periplous of the Red Sea) = Arab. *Kulāib*; כלין = *Χελαιών* (Lagarde, 'Onom. Sacra,'<sup>2</sup> 62, 5 = consummatio); *Μάλχος* = מלכי (*Mālḫi* = *Μελχι-σέδεκ*), while in earlier Greek, *Μάλικα* (= מלך); *Μοσόχ*

<sup>45</sup> Geo. Hoffmann, 'Über einige phönikische Inschriften,' 6, *rem.* 1. — On Bochart's peculiar views on *κάθων*, see his *Phaleg*, 469.

<sup>46</sup> *Βεθφογορ* = ביתפטר (Josh. xiii. 20); *Νεεσθά* = נעשת (2 Kings xviii. 4); *Λευιαθά* = ליתן (J. üb. 188 and 205); *Εμάθ* (sometimes incorrectly *Αιμάθ*) = חמת (J. üb. 238). In the New Testament we have *Βηθεσδά* (John v. 2) = ביתחסדא (*bēt xesdā*), 'house of grace,' or according to Westcott and Hort = *βαθζαῖθα* = ביתחזא ('olive-house'); *Μάρθα* = מרתא (*mārṭā*), Lady (Luke x. 38), stat. emph. to מרת, fem. to מר, Lord, which we find in *μαρναθᾶ* (1 Cor. xvi. 22, the Lord cometh, J. a. 39), read *μαρνα-θᾶ*, i.e. *μαρανᾶ*, the Lord, + *θᾶ* = *ἀθᾶ*, with initial aphaeresis of מ (Nöldeke-Wellhausen). — In Joseph. *Antt.* 3, 10, 6, we have *ἀσαρθᾶ* = אסרתא, 'the assembly,' especially on the seventh day of the Passover and the eighth day of the Feast of Tabernacles. — *Ὀδαῖναθος* (Periplous), from Arabic *'udainatu* (J. üb. 87).

(= **משכ**, *méseke*), the *Μόσχοι* of classical authors and *Μέσχοι* of the church fathers, *Χοδολλογομορ* = **כדרלררמר** = Assy. *Kudur lagamara*. Sometimes they were rendered by *γ*, e.g. *γόης*, *γοσσύπιον*. — Semitic **Π** was represented in Greek by *κ*, e.g. *κέραμος* (= **קרמ**); *κόλλυβος* = **קלכ**; *Κάμειρον* = **קמר** (*Argillosa*, Bochart, Ph. 366; Ries, 44); *Malaca* = **מלכ**; *Calacene* = **כלכ**; *Κάρραι* = **קרר** (*Agg. III. 1, 228*); *Κιλικία* = **קלכ** (*Agg. III. 57, rem. 1*); also the Homeric *Κιμμέριοι*, from **קמר**, their huts being called *ἀργιλλαι* (*Neue Jahrbücher*, 1892, 180, no. 3); others = **נמר** (*Gömer*, Gen. x. 2 and Ez. xxvii. 11); — or by *γ*, e.g. **קרפ** (*xēfer*) = *Γεβερé*, Josh. xix. 13; — by *χ*, especially in later Greek: *Ἀμμόχωστος* = Assy. *Ammi-hadašti* (*Esarhaddon*) becoming *ἄμμο*, after the analogy of *ἄμμος*, *ψάμμος* (*ἀμμόχρυσος*), and *χέω*; it appears also in the Venetian *Famagusta*; *χαλβάνη*; *χαλκός* (?); *χείμαρρος*; *χρυσός*; — also by *spiritus asper* and *lenis*, e.g. *Ἄννων* = **ננן** (*Hannōn*); *βδέλλα* = **בדלל**; *Νεέλ*, from **נחל** (*nixil* for *naxal*), prototype of *Νεῖλος* (*Agg. III. 140, rem. 1*); *᾽Ωλήν* (the Lykian poet and prophet) > **הלם** (*hōlēm*), ‘a prophetic dreamer’; *᾽Ωπῖς* (in Ephesus), from **חופית** (*hōf-īē*), fem. to **חוק**, ‘coast, shore’; the goddess appears in Greek as *Ἀκτία*, just as *Apollon* as *Ἄκτιος* (*Lewy*); *ἄβρα*; *ἀμέθυστος*; *ἄμωμον*; *ἄριζος*, etc. — **נח** (*nx*) appears as *νν*, e.g. *μάννα*, from **מנחמ**, *ὅπερ θυσίαν οἱ Ἑβραῖοι καλοῦσι* (*Theodoret*, 2, 630). — **נ** was transcribed by *γ* or *κ*, e.g. *Γέρασα*, abbreviation of **גראסה** (*gār sahadūzā*, *Agg. III. 2, 147*); *Gadeira*, Phoen. *Gādēr*; *Κάμηλος* (**מל**); *Κιμμέριοι* (**נמר**), and, according to *Lewy*, also *Κρόνος* > Hebr. *gārōn* (**גרן**), constr. state *gārōn* (‘throat,’ from a verb meaning ‘to swallow’). — **פ** is represented by *π* (*ἰασπις*) or *φ*, e.g. *ἄλφα*; *Σάπφειρα* (**ספיר** = *sāppīr*, after the analogy of *Σαπφώ*), *κέλυφος*; *κεκρύφαλος* (?); *κόλαφος*, and *κολαπτήρ* (*Stowasser*, but ?). — **צ** was rendered either by *spiritus lenis*, *γ*, or *κ*; thus *ἄγορ*, *ἄρραβών*, *Agylla* (= *Caere*), from Semitic **עגל** (*āgōl*, fem. *āgūlla*, ‘round, rounded’); also *Ἀχόλλα*· *πόλις Λιβύης* (*Steph. Byz.*); *Abydos* > **בדר**; *Ἀταργάτις*, *Ἀταργατή* = **תרגת**; *Γομόρρα* = **עמרר**; *Γαράφ* = Arabic *ārafun* (*Dioscor. 2, 140*). — **צ** is very often represented by *στ*, e.g. *ἀλάβαστρος*; *οἰστός* (but ?); *σύραξ*; *Βόστρα*, *Μεστραῖμ* = Hebr. *Misraïm*;

thus Latin castrum became in Arabic *qaṣr*, and stratum = Arabic *ḡāṣim*; *ληστής* = Arabic *laṣṣim* or *liṣṣim* (Fränkel, 248; ZDMG. 29, 423; 32, 409; G.G.Anz. 1865, 735; Lagarde, 'Semitica,' I. 47). It was also rendered by *σ*, especially at the beginning of words, *Σιδών*, *Σαρέφθα* (Jos. Antt. 8, 13, 2) = *Σάρεπτα* (Luke iv. 26), and *Σάραπτα* (Steph. Byz.); *Σέριφος*, etc. — *י* was transcribed mostly by *ξ*; in the case of *ἵσσωπος* = *יוסופ*, Aug. Müller (BB. 1, 285) suggests that the brevity of the first vowel in Greek, having the accent, accounts for *σσ* = *י*.

To save space I have employed in this article the following

#### ABBREVIATIONS.

- A.-S. = *Anglo-Saxon*; Arm. = *Armenian*; Arab. = *Arabic*; Aram. = *Aramean*; Hebr. = *Hebrew*; I.-E. = *Indo-European*; Idg. = *Indogermanic (Indogermanisch)*; Lith. = *Lithuanian*; O.H.G., M.H.G., and N.H.G. = *Old, Middle, and New High German*; O.N. = *Old Norse*; Phoen. = *Phoenician*; Skt. = *Sanskrit*; Sem. = *Semitic*; Slav. = *Slavonic*.
- A.J.P. = *American Journal of Philology* (Baltimore, Md.); B. = Th. Benfey, *Griechisches Wurzellexikon* (2 vols. 1839-42); BB. = Bezenberger's *Beiträge zur Kunde der Idg. Sprachen* (Göttingen, 1877 ff.); G. = Gesenius, *Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache und Schrift*; G.G.Abh. = *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*; G.G.Anz. and G.G.Nachr. = *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* and IDEM: *Nachrichten*; Hdt. = *Herodotus*; I.F. = *Indogermanische Forschungen* (vols. I. and II., Strassburg); J.H.U.C. = *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*; KZ. = *Kuhn's Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* (Berlin, 1852 ff.); LXX. = *The Greek Translation of the Old Testament*; Mém. = *Mémoires de la société de linguistique de Paris* (Paris); R. = E. Renan, *Histoire générale et système comparé des langues sémitiques* (4<sup>e</sup> édition, Paris, 1863); ZDMG. = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Leipzig).
- ℒ. = Paul de Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (Leipzig, 1866); ℒ. arm. = IDEM: *Armenische Studien* (Göttingen, 1877); ℒ. p. = IDEM: *Anmerkungen zur griechischen Übersetzung der Proverben* (Leipzig, 1863); ℒ. r. = IDEM: *Reliquiae iuris ecclesiastici antiquissimae graece* (Leipzig, 1856); ℒ. üb. = IDEM: *Übersicht über die im Aramäischen, Arabischen und Hebräischen übliche Bildung der Nomina* (Göttingen, 1889); ℒ. g. ff. = Lagarde, *Mitteilungen* (4 vols., Göttingen, 1884-91); ℒ. r. = P. Boetticher (Lagarde), *Rudimenta Mythologiae Semiticae* (Berolini, 1848).
- Baudissin I. and II. = W. W. Graf Baudissin, *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1876 and 1878); Boch(art) H. I. and II. = S. Bochart, *Hierozoicon*, parts I. and II.; IDEM Ph. = *Phaleg* (Lugduni Batav. 1892, F.); Bradke = P. von Bradke, *Methode und Ergebnisse der arischen Alterthums-Wissenschaft* (Giessen, 1890); Curt(ius) = Georg Curtius, *Grundzüge der griechischen Etymologie*, 5<sup>te</sup> Auflage (Leipzig, 1879); (Curtius) Studien = *Studien zur griechischen und lateinischen Grammatik*, herausgegeben von Geo. Curtius, 10 Bände (Leipzig, 1868-78); Enmann = Alex. Enmann, *Kritische Versuche zur ältesten griechischen Geschichte, I. Kypros und der Ursprung des Aphroditekultus* (St. Pétersbourg, 1886); Fick<sup>4</sup> I. = August Fick, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen* I. (4<sup>te</sup> Auflage, Göttingen, 1890); Fränkel = S. Fränkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen* (Leiden, 1886); Gruppe = O. Gruppe, *Die griechischen Culte und Mythen in ihren Beziehungen zu den orientalischen Religionen*, I. Band (Leipzig, 1877); Hehn = Victor Hehn, *Cultivated plants and domestic animals in their migration from Asia to Europe* (English translation, London, 1891);

Helbig = W. Helbig, *Das homerische Epos aus den Denkmälern erklärt* (Leipzig, 1884); Jubainville = H. D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Les premiers habitants de l'Europe* (2<sup>e</sup> édition), I. Paris, 1883; Keller = O. Keller, *Lateinische Volksetymologie und Verwandtes* (Leipzig, 1837); Keller, *Thiere* = IDEM, *Thiere des klassischen Alterthums* (Innsbruck, 1887); Kiepert = H. Kiepert, *A Manual of Ancient Geography* (London, 1881); Lewy = H. Lewy's article in Fleckeisen's *Neue Jahrbücher*, 1832, vol. 145, 177-191; Löw = Im. Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen* (Leipzig, 1881); Meltzer = O. Meltzer, *Geschichte der Karthager*, I. Band (Berlin, 1879); Ed. Meyer I. = Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, Band I. (Stuttgart, 1884); G. Meyer<sup>2</sup> = Gustav Meyer, *Griechische Grammatik*, 2<sup>te</sup> Aufl. (Leipzig, 1886); the references to these two books are to the paragraphs. Movers = F. K. Movers, *Die Phoenizier* (Breslau, vol. I. 1841; II. 1849-56); Müllenhoff = K. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Alterthumskunde*, I. (Berlin, 1870); Pietschmann = Rich. Pietschmann, *Geschichte der Phoenizier* (Berlin, 1889); Pott<sup>2</sup> = A. F. Pott, *Etymologische Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen*, 2<sup>te</sup> Aufl. (Lemgo, 1859, 1861); Prellwitz = W. Prellwitz, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache* (Göttingen, 1892); Pusey, *Daniel* = E. B. Pusey, *Daniel the Prophet*, nine lectures delivered in the Divinity School of the University of Oxford (New York, 1885); Ries = E. Ries, *Quae res et vocabula a gentibus Semiticis in Graeciam pervenerint, quaestiones selectae* (Vratislaviae, 1890); Saalfeld = A. Saalfeld, *Tensaurus Italo-graecus* (Wien, 1884); O. Schrader<sup>2</sup> = O. Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, 2<sup>te</sup> Auflage (Jena, 1890); Schröder = P. Schröder, *Die Phönizische Sprache*, Entwurf einer Grammatik, nebst Sprach- und Schriftproben (Halle, 1869); Schumann = C. Schumann, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die Zimmelländer*; Ergänzungsheft 73 zu 'Petermann's Mittheilungen' (Gotha, 1883, pp. 53); Stade I. and II. = B. Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (2 vols., Berlin, 1887 and 1888); Stowasser I. and II. = J. M. Stowasser, *Dunkle Wörter*, Erste und zweite Reihe (Wien, 1890 and 1891); Uppenkamp = A. Uppenkamp, *Der Begriff der Scheidung nach seiner Entwicklung in den semitischen und indo-germanischen Sprachen* (Bonn, 1891); Vaniček = A. Vaniček, *Griechisch-lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (2 Bände, Leipzig, 1877); Weise, *Lehnwörter* = O. Weise, *Die griechischen Wörter im Latein* (Leipzig, 1882); Wiedemann = A. Wiedemann, *Sammlung altägyptischer Wörter*, welche von klassischen Autoren umschrieben oder übersetzt worden sind (Leipzig, 1883).

The other abbreviations can easily be understood without a special key.

## I. — RELIGION.

The great influence of the Oriental nations in shaping the religious belief, rites, and customs of the Greeks has been recognized by almost all writers on Greek history.<sup>1</sup> Consequently a great many Greek words belonging to this class have been derived from the Semitic, a few of which will be discussed in this chapter; while others, especially the names of divinities, will be reserved for another occasion.

Thus *βαίτυλος*, Lat. *betulus*, 'a meteoric stone, held sacred because it fell from heaven,' is connected with the

<sup>1</sup> See especially E. Curtius, 'Alterthum und Gegenwart, gesammelte Vorträge,' II. 55-72, and O. Gruppe, 'Die griechischen Culte und Mythen.'

Hebr. בית-אל (*bēt-'āl*, Phoen. *bēt-'ūl*).<sup>2</sup> The κάβειροι are Τιτᾶνες, θεοὶ μεγάλοι, χρηστοὶ, δυνατοὶ (Macrob. *Saturn.* III. 4) = Sem. כבירים (*kabbīrīm*), 'potentes.' Ships were regarded as their invention, and a sculptured image of one of the Cabires was placed on every Phoenician war-galley, either at the stern or the stem of the vessel (Hdt. 3, 37). These κάβειροι are the בני אלדים (*bēnē 'elohīm*) = Διόσκουροι = Διὸς κούροι, while the καβειρίδες are the βῆνοϊ 'elohīm. The youngest of the Cabeiri was *Esmūn* ('the eighth'), whose name Lenormant, after Bochart, has identified with that of the Greek hero Ἴσμηνός.<sup>3</sup> The images referred to are called πάταικοι (Hdt. 3, 37), a name derived by some from the Egyptian *Ptah*, the god of creation,<sup>4</sup> while the majority of scholars connect it with the Hebr.-Phoen. *pittuhīm* (√ פתח, 'carve') = 'sculptures.'<sup>5</sup> Bochart believed that the name could also be from Hebr. בטח (*bāṭāx*), 'confidere, securum esse.' — Ὀρτός· βωμός· Κύπριοι is compared by O. Hoffmann to Arabic *irtūn*, 'hearth' (BB. 15, 99, no. 298), while in his 'Griech. Dialekte,' I. 122, he derives it much better from ὄρ-νυμι, ὄρ-ος. — Σάπιθος· θυσία· Πάφιοι is perhaps = Hebr. זבח (*zēbah*, Assyrian *zebu*), 'sacrifice.' — If τὰ

<sup>2</sup> Gesen. 'Monum. ling. Phoen.,' 384; Ed. Meyer, I. § 205; Pietschmann, 206; Stade, I. 456; Keller, *Thiere*, 265-6. J. Halévy (Mélanges de critique, 425) derives the Greek from \*בְּתוּל (*bētūl*) = 'young man.' Βατρύλος is explained as = Phoen., 'abaddīr' (אבאדיר), which Boch. Ph. 708 changed to אבן דיר (= 'eben dīr) = 'lapis sphaericus.' See also *Rev. de l'hist. des religions*, 3, 31, and compare the 'saxum silex' and 'Jupiter lapis' of the Romans.

<sup>3</sup> Mém. 4, 89; Wiedemann, 'Hdt.'s zweites Buch,' 235-6; Ries, 4-5; on *Esmūn* and the Cabires, see also Tiele, in *Rev. de l'hist. des religions*, 3, 197; Brugsch, 'Aegyptologie,' p. 25, §. r. p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Kenrick, Phoenicia, p. 235, following Movers. Berger, Mém. 4, 354, believes also that Greek *Hephaistos* is from the same Egyptian word; but see BB. 2, 155; 18, 141; Fick.<sup>4</sup> I. 414.

<sup>5</sup> So Bochart, Rawlinson, Ed. Meyer, I. § 58. According to Tiele the Hebrew form is *paṭṭahīm*, 'formateurs.' Bochart also explains *Axieros*, the Phoen. *Ceres*, from אַחַז אַרְז (*'axazi-'ereṣ*), contracted into 'axi-'ereṣ = 'holding the earth,' while *Axiokersos* and *Axiokersa* (= *Pluto* and *Proserpina*) are = אַחַז קַרְז (*'axazi-'qereṣ*, whence 'axi-'qereṣ, *qereṣ*, meaning 'excidium, mors,' Jer. xlv. 20); the correct etymologies for these words are given by Sophus Bugge, 'Altital. Studien,' 45; Fick, BB. 3, 168; Darmesteter and Bréal in Mém. 4, 90 and 142. Planta, 'Gramm. der Oskisch-umbrischen Dialekte,' I. 489 ff.

μυστήρια, 'the mysteries, religious celebrations,' are really from סתַר (*sātár*), 'cover, veil, hide,' as Keller, 356, ingeniously teaches, they must in form correspond to a *Hof'ial* סתַרם (*müstár*). But how are we to account for μυστικός, μύστης, and μυσταγωγός, which cannot be separated from μυστήριον and yet belong evidently to μύω? There is still a mystery about the word, which even Keller cannot remove. Keller had long been forestalled by Levy in his 'Chaldäisches Wörterbuch,' II. 55, col. 2; but see the warning of Fleischer, *ibid.* p. 568, col. 2: "Bei der zweifellos ächt griechischen Herkunft der Wörter μύστης und μυστήριον von μύω (μύω), μύζω wäre selbst die blosser Hindeutung auf die 'zuweilen' versuchte Ableitung des letzteren Wortes von סתַר besser unterblieben." The Greek passed into Modern Hebr. as מִסְתִּירִין (*mistirín*). One might just as well accept in good faith Jacob Wackernagel's humorous translation of μυστήριον by "Mauseloch" (from a stem μυσ), proposed to offset Kretschmer's rendering of βαλάντιον by 'Wurfspiess' (from √βαλα-). Professor Gildersleeve calls my attention to the fact that this playful etymology of μυστήριον from μύς and τηρέω is found as early as Athen. 3, p. 98, D; cf. also Ar. *Vespac.* 140. — The human sacrifices σύβακχοι Keller derives (p. 191) from a Phoen. word corresponding to Hebr. שחַח (*šūxāh*), 'cleft, depth' (from the verb שָׁחַח, 'be deep'). Lewy, in a review of K's book,<sup>6</sup> refers the Greek to שָׁחַח (*šāxāx*), which in the *P'iel* and *Hif'il* means 'to calm, pacify,' e.g. the waves (Ps. lxxxix. 10; lxxv. 8); or the anger (Ps. xxix. 11). If the word has to be derived from a Semitic etymon, we might just as well connect it with מְשַׁבֵּחַ (*mēšubbāq*), *P'ual* of שָׁבַח, 'forsake, cast out,' thus = 'cast out, forsaken'; or with Hebr. זָבַח (*zēbah*), 'sacrifice.' But all these etymologies are *έτοιμολογίαι*. — I cannot agree with Keller, that διάβολος in the meaning 'Satan' is but a popular metamorphosis of zēhūl or zēhūb in Ba'alzēhūl or Be'elzēhūb.<sup>7</sup> — The song of the Sirens did not attract the attention of Curtius<sup>6</sup>, nor did Scylla and Charybdis disturb his mind.

<sup>6</sup> *Woch. f. Klass. Philol.* 8 June, 1892, col. 626.

<sup>7</sup> See A. J. P. XIII. 233-4, and Lewy, *l.c.*, col. 625.

The pit of Acheron, the shades of Hades, the terrible hell-hound and the Elysian fields, were equally unknown to him as far as they concerned his etymological studies. Vaniček has σκύλλα (for \*σκυλ-ζα, after Pott, KZ. 5, 255) = 'tearing asunder'; Postgate translates χάρ-υβ-δ-ι-ς by 'a yawning gulf,' √CHAR.<sup>8</sup> "Αιδ-ης<sup>9</sup> is derived from ἀ πριναί. + ριδ by Vaniček, 962; or considered = Αἰφίδης, KZ. 27, 276; and Ἥλύσιον πεδῖον (for φαλυ-σιον), is connected by Fröhde, BB. 3, 298, with O.N. *vallu* for \**valnu* in *völlr*, 'plain,' cf. *Iða völlr* (Grimm, 'Mythologie<sup>2</sup>, 783); while Vaniček, p. 60, makes Ἥλύσιον (√ελ-υθ) = "Aufstieg; Ort, wohin die Seelen aufsteigen," quoting Fick's statement in KZ. 19, 251. These etymologies are all wrong according to old and new authorities. Σειρήνες, the ensnaring damsels, are not to be connected any more with √*suar*, 'sound,' nor with σειρή, 'rope,' as Vaniček and others have made us believe; nor are they = \*Συέριενες, 'dont le nom est dérivé de Σείριος = \**sver-īo-s*, un des noms du soleil,' as D'Arbois de Jubainville thought,<sup>10</sup> but Σειρήν is = קן שיר (šir-hēn), 'song of favor,' i.e. 'bewitching song'; compare קן אבן ('eben-hēn, Prov. xvii. 8), 'a stone of favor, magic stone.'<sup>11</sup> If so, šir-hēn must be an abbreviation of bēnōt šir-hēn (cf. Eccles. xii. 4), 'the daughters of the enchanting song.' But the clever etymologist has overlooked the fact that, many years ago, Bochart derived σειρήνες from קן שיר, 'quod cantionem sonant, quia navigantes λιγυρῆ θέλγουσιν αοιδῆ· cur pro תנימ (tannim), i.e. draconibus et בנות יענה (bēnōt iai'ēnāh), i.e. struthionibus Græci sirenes habeant, minus pateat, nisi Sirenes crediderint esse θρηνηλικὰ ζῶα' (H. ii. 830, 6).<sup>12</sup> Scylla, Lewy (*ibid.* 184, 10) derives from Hebr. שכולה (šakkūlāh), 'a ferocious, tearing animal,' properly 'one bereft of young.' Scylla, according to Stesichorus, was the daughter of Lamia,<sup>13</sup> who was robbed by Hera of all her chil-

<sup>8</sup> A.J.P. III. 336.

<sup>9</sup> For the spiritus asper see Keller, 213.

<sup>10</sup> Mém. 3, 331.

<sup>11</sup> Lewy, 181, no. 4.

<sup>12</sup> Also Lewy's etymology of Leto (Λέτω) is found in Boch. H. I. 1073.

<sup>13</sup> Whose name some future etymologist may derive either from אלה (lāhām), 'to devour,' or from לא אמה (lā 'ammāh, older lā 'ammāh) = 'no (longer) a

dren, and then retired to a lonely cave, becoming a rapacious monster; Scylla may have been originally identical with Lamia, or rather an epithet of her. *Χάρυβδις* is also found in Syria, and is perhaps connected with Hebr. חַר אֲבָר (*xūr 'ōḥed*), 'hole of perdition, abyss.' Bochart, Ph. 523, explained

mother.' Lamia's loss of her children brings to our mind the similar fate of *Νύβη*, a name derived by Lewy (*l.c.*, 190) from the Semitic \**nī-'iīḡōbāh*, 'the lamentation of those hated (by the gods),' or from \**nē'zīābāh* (נִיאֲבָה), 'the hated one' (ptc. fem. of *Nisfal*). Both etymologies are very improbable, as is also F. Max Müller's derivation of the name from Skt. \**Nyava*, 'snow,' KZ. 19, 42 f. Crusius *Rhein. Mus.* 47, 61 (*rem.* 2) says: '*Νύβη* = *neo*, nomen epicum est; per hypocorismum (*cf.* Πόλυ-βος, 'Εκάβ-βη), a \**Nebḡaia* vel *Neoβούλη* derivandum est.' Keller, *Thiere*, 259, believes that the legend of Nisos and his daughter Scylla is only the Greek rendering of the Samson-Delilah story of the Old Testament. Samson was a Nazarite = *Ναζωραῖος* = Hebr. *Nēzīr-'elohim*. This *Nēzīr* passed into Greek as *Nīzos*. Again, he says, the legend of Nisos being changed into an eagle, is due to the confusion of the similar sound of the two words *Nēzīr* (Nisos) and Hebr. *nešer*, 'eagle.' But he does not say when and where this confusion was likely to have occurred; whether we have to put it to the account of the Greeks, or to credit the Semites with such a stupid mistake. Such etymologies carry us back to the days of Gerard Croese, the Dutch Quaker, who strove to prove, in a Latin work written about 1704, that the songs of Homer were nothing but adaptations into Greek verse of the narratives of the Bible (The *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. 5, 170-4). Homer is derived from Hebr. 'ōmēr (אֹמֵר), 'the speaker, the teller of narratives.' The names 'Iliad and Odyssey' were added later by Pisistratos. The τυφλὸς ἀνὴρ is not 'the blind man,' but connected with *ἰσῳζ* (יִסְוֹז), 'framing words.' Thus Hesiod is a compound name of Hebr. עֲצָה (*'ēzāh*), and *φῶς* = 'a counsellor in song.' Achilles is derived from אֲכַל (*'āḡdā*), 'eat, devour' (*cf.* Iliad, 1. 87), and his Myrmidons are from מִרְדָּה מִיִּטְרָה (*mōrēh mō'ēd*), 'rebelling and stumbling.' The whole Greek Pantheon is from the Semitic, *eg.* Apollo from עֶשֶׁל (*'ōšel*), 'tower'; Zeus from שֵׁן, הָיָה (*seh, 'ēz*), 'this one is the existing one'; Juno = יוֹנָה (*ḡōnāh*), 'dove' (which, however, according to *J. arm.* 7. 53, is probably from the Persian *yanā*). Διώνη would then be = דִּינָה רֵי (*dī ḡōnāh*) = 'mistress of the dove,' that bird being specially assigned to her. Mercury from מַשְׂרָכָה (*ma'irākāh*), 'battle-array'; Juno from יוֹנָה (*ḡōnāh*), 'a dove.' Pallas from פֶּלֶ' (*pelē*), 'wondrous,' which is not more wonderful than Keller's derivation from פָּלַדַּת (*pāldt*), 'to save'; nor is the etymology of 'Αθήνη from אֲדָנָה (*'ādān*), 'strong,' worse than Keller's comparison of the name with the Semitic *Ate*. — Prof. Hommel's well-known etymology of Greek *Aphrodite* from Hebr. אִסְתָּוֶרֶת appears to me very improbable, because the Hebrew presents a Massoretic vocalization after the analogy of the Greek. This is clearly shown by the plur. *ἰσθάρωτ*, presupposing an original singular *ἰσθάρτ*, and by the fact that the other Sem. dialects show forms corresponding to this original Hebr. singular. I shall take up this question more fully in a special paper on Proper names from the Semitic and Eastern languages. Maass, *Hermes*, 25, 405, mentions Σκυλάκη, a hypocoristic form of Σκυλάκη.



Scylla = Phoen. סְקִיל, 'exitium,' and Charybdis = חַרְיַבְדִּים (xôr-'ôbēd) = 'foramen perditionis.' The 'Ἠλύσιον πεδῖον of Homer, Lewy tells us, is the 'Elisāh (אֵלִישָׁה) of Gen. x. 4; but he is not willing to identify it with Ἄλαισα = Halaesa (Cicero) as *Tag. III.* 2, 261, does.<sup>14</sup> If Lewy's etymology of Ἠλύσιον πεδῖον were correct, what then is to become of the Ἀλήϊον πεδῖον, which is evidently a good Greek word, notwithstanding Ebers' etymology from the Egyptian (see Gutschmid, 'Kleine Schriften,' I. 383). Ἀχέρων, Pott (BB. 8, 49) interpreted as 'perhaps joyless.' H. Fox Talbot (*Trans. Soc. Bibl. Archaeol.*, London, II. 188) remarks: 'Acheron is evidently the Hebr. אַחְרוֹן (axārōn), the west, because since the sun ends there his career, the west was connected by the ancients with the abode of the departed spirits. Another meaning of the Hebr. אַחְרוֹן was ultimus, postremus. To these I would add the name of Atropos, one of the Fates, which I conjectured was originally a name for Hades, meaning, as Assyrian *erçit lā tārāt* = land without return.' Thus Lewy's § 11 (*l.c.* p. 184) contains nothing new, especially as he must have been acquainted with p. 169 of Gruppe's book, and Movers, I. 437. One cannot help thinking, in this connection, of Croese's etymology of Στύξ, the original form of which he says was undoubtedly *Syx* or *Tsyx* or *Tsys*, from Hebr. צִיַת, 'to kindle.' Talbot (*ibid.*) derived Ἀιδης from the Assyrian *bīt EDI*, or, as he read it, HADI (= בֵּית עַד), 'the house of eternity.' But there is no such word in Assyrian with the meaning of eternity.

<sup>14</sup> On אֵלִישָׁה see also Ed. Meyer, I. § 282, *rem.*, where, with Schulthess and Stade, he explains it as meaning Carthage, or the whole shore of North Africa. If so, the name of Elissa, the founder of Carthage, is coined after the name of the town (like Roma-Romulus). Meltzer's oversceptic views (I. 90 ff.) are to be modified according to Gutschmid, 'Kleine Schriften,' II. 64 and 89. M. H. Derenbourg (*Mélanges Graux*, 236) recognizes in 'Elisāh the Greek *Αλωίς*, and Oberhammer, 'Phoenizier in Akarnanien,' compares it with *fālus* (but *cf.* Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 543, Ἥλιος = *fālus* = Vallis). See also J. Halévy, *Rev. des études Juives*, XVII. (34) 161 ff.; and Bochart, *Ph.* 472, who believed still in Elissa as a real sister of Dido, explaining it as = אֵלִישָׁה, 'virgo dei,' an etymology about as good as that of Ἀσκληπίος (Aesculapius), from אֵשׁ כַּלְבִּי ('*is kalbi*), 'vir caninus' (Boch. H. I. 663, 70). On 'Elisāh see further Wilson in *Presbyt. and Ref. Review*, i. 258-9, and A. Dillmann, *ibid.* 3, 770.

The ideographic expression referred to by Talbot is KUR-NU-GI-A = *erçit lâ târat* (see above). Talbot continues: 'Again, we see, especially in line 7 of the inscription relating the descent of Ištār into Hades,<sup>16</sup> that this place is called in Assyrian *bīt 'eribūš*, which has passed into the Greek as *ἔρεβος*.' But this line 7 reads *ana bīt ša eribu-šu zummū*, '(she went) to the house whose entrance was bolted.' Talbot is by no means the only one who derived *ἔρεβος* from the Semitic עֶרֶב (*'éreb*), 'evening, darkness,' literally 'entrance or setting of the sun.' Others have done this before and after him. So Kiepert, 15, *rem.* 1; Müllenhoff, I. 119; Sonny (*Philologus*, 48, 561) and Jubainville, *Mém.* 3, 348. Gutschmid, 'Kleine Schriften,' II. 14, connects with this Hebrew noun even the name of the Homeric *Ἐρεμβοί*.<sup>16</sup> To these Kiepert, *l.c.*, adds *εὐρωπος*, 'darkness'; others also *Εὐρίπος*,<sup>17</sup> the narrow strait of Eubœa; and everybody, of course, *Εὐρώπη*,<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> In Vol. IV. pl. 31 of the 'Inscriptions of Western Asia, edited by Sir H. C. Rawlinson.' — It is astonishing that *Ὀρφεύς*, Doric *Ὀρφής*, usually compared with Skt. *Ribhu*, has not yet been explained as a Semitic word. It is well known that the singer's great anxiety for his wife made him turn around to ascertain whether the beloved was indeed coming. Now Hebr. עֶרֶב (*'örēf*) means 'neck,' and עָרַב is = 'to turn away, around,' which in some way or other may have become on Greek soil *Ὀρφεύς*, *Ὀρφής*. Of course this etymology is not yet 'allem Zweifel überhoben.' I can well imagine the surprise of F. Max Müller when he read in the American reprint of his book, 'India, what can it teach us,' added to his words 'some indirect relations have been established between Hermes and *Sárameya*, Dionysos and *Dyunisya*, Prometheus and *pramantha*, Orpheus and *Ribhu*,' the following note by the learned American editor: 'I am very strongly inclined to regard these names as Kushite or Semitic; Hermes from עָרַב, 'the sun'; Dionysos from *dyan*, 'the judge,' and *nisi*, 'mankind' (a statement appropriated from H. Fox Talbot, on which see A.J.P. XIII. 235); Orpheus from *Orfa*, the Arabic name of Edessa; Prometheus from *πρὸ* and *μανθάνω*.' These etymologies almost excel those of Paulus Cassel ('Paulus oder Phol.' 1890), making *Hödur* = Hades; *Hermodur* = Hermes; *Baldr* = Sardanapal, Pallas-sar (!); *Phol* = Apollo and also = *Vali*.

<sup>16</sup> But Ed. Meyer, I. § 176, says: 'The name of the *Arameans* seems to be found in the *Ἐρεμβοί* of Homer (*Od.* 4, 84; Strabo, 16, 4, 27; 1, 2, 34); perhaps also in the *Ἄριμοι* of *Il.* 13, 783.'

<sup>17</sup> Bezenberger in BB. 4, 329: "Εὐρίπος und Εὐρώπη gehören zusammen. Εὐρίπος = Meerenge oder Strasse von Europa."

<sup>18</sup> On *Εὐρώπη* see J. H. Voss, Uckert, J. Oppert, Kiepert, etc.; and, again, F. Hitzig, ZDMG. 9, 758, and KZ. 6, 408; also *Œ.arm.* 1779. Asia and Africa are likewise of Semitic origin; see Kiepert, § 15, and J.H.U.C. 81, p. 76.

'Europe,' i.e. *māt ša ereb šamši*, 'the land of the setting sun,' as the Assyrians called it. If ἔρεβος were really borrowed from the Semitic, "und das dürfte heute keinem Zweifel mehr unterliegen" (Lewy, 184), the Greeks must have done so at a very early date, for it gave rise to the adjective ἐρεμνός (for \*ἔρεβ-νός, as σεμνός for \*σεβ-νός, KZ. 23, 312), which cannot be separated from it. To me this Semitic etymology is very doubtful, in view of the fact that the Greek corresponds to Armenian *erek* (evening), Skt. *rajas*, Gothic *riquis* (darkness, O.N. *rōkkri*).<sup>19</sup>—The Hebrew *'ereḇ*, 'west,' corresponds to the Homeric expression πρὸς ζόφον and the later Greek of the country Ἑσπερία (cf. the modern 'Occident,' the Italian 'Ponente'). Πρὸς ζόφον, 'westward,' is derived by Savelsberg<sup>20</sup> from κνέφας, which gradually became γνόφος, δνόφος, and then ζόφος (with ν elided); but Joh. Schmidt<sup>21</sup> confesses that we know nothing positive concerning the biography of this obscure δνόφος. Bochart, H. I. 517, and Müllenhoff, I. 119, derived the Greek from the Semitic 𐤆𐤇𐤃 (zāfōn), literally 'a dark, obscure place.'<sup>22</sup> This 𐤆𐤇𐤃 seems to have given rise to several Greek names. Thus the western region of Armenia (= 'Arminia, an artificial contraction of the two names *Ar[rarat]* + *Min[ni]*), made by the Persian conquerors for the sake of convenience,' M. J. Darmesteter; see A. J. P. XII. 383) reaching to the Euphrates is called *Sophene* (Σωφηνί or Σωφα-

<sup>19</sup> J. arm. 717; Lag. 'Baktrische Lexikographie,' 8: "Zu *vra*, da ἔρεβος bekanntlich bei Homer nie Aufenthalts-, sondern stets Durchgangsort der Seelen ist (vergl. den *limbus patrum* der Kirche).' Hübschmann, 'Arm. Stud.' 30, 99 (KZ. 23, 22); also KZ. 21, 263; 22, 264; 23, 338; 25, 110, 161; G. Meyer<sup>2</sup>, §§ 6, 193; Curtius<sup>5</sup>, 480; Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 11, 117, 526.

<sup>20</sup> KZ. 16, 57, after Pott<sup>2</sup>, II. i, 807; also Curtius<sup>5</sup>, 705-6.

<sup>21</sup> KZ. 25, 150. Professor Bloomfield kindly calls my attention to Meringer's explanation of δνόφος as δ-νοφος ('Zur Geschichte der indogermanischen Declination,' in 'Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie,' Vol. 125, II. 40).

<sup>22</sup> From 𐤆𐤇𐤃 (zāfōn), 'cover, conceal.' To the Semites the dark district was the north; to the Greeks, the west. On ζόφος see also Gruppe, 101. Connected with it is ζέφυρος, according to Curtius<sup>5</sup>, 706; Buttman, 'Lexilogus,' I. 120; and F. Max Müller, 'Techmer's *Internationale Zeitschrift*,' I. 215 f., against whom, however, see Gruppe, *l.c.*, and KZ. 29, 576, *rem.* 1. G. Meyer<sup>2</sup> and Johansson consider it an obscure, difficult word. In Od. 5, 295, etc., ζέφυρος means 'stormy, violent'; it is of all winds the swiftest. Now, Arabic *zafara* means 'to blow, be swift.' Can there be no connection between the two words?

νηή, Armenian *Dzoph*, Syriac *Ḥōfān*, *Ṣ. a.* 69, 20; *Ṣ. arm.* 1070), and to be derived from this Semitic noun; so also the name of the island of Siphnos (Ries, 52; Keller, 200 and 239<sup>23</sup>) *Τυφῶν* 1) in the meaning of *θάλασσα* (Plutarch, *Isis*, 32) is connected with Arabic *ṭūfān*, and thus with Hebr. *ṭūf*. The Greeks could not write *Θυφῶν* (*cf.* *θριξ*, *τριχός*, *Ṣ. g.* 87); 2) as a proper name of the god *Τυφῶν* it is = Phoen. *zēfōn*.<sup>24</sup> This latter passed into Greek, and became the name of the dark enemy of the gods of the light (Lichtgötter), or the north wind. In later time *τυφῶν* (*τυφώς*) became the designation of a special wind. Hesiod, *Theog.* 871 ff., calls the winds the children of Typhoeus. On the relation between Typhoeus and Typhon see Gruppe, 534 and 577. The translations of this name by 'draco' or 'ophites' (Malala, *Chron.* 8, 197) are due to a popular confusion of *ṭūf* with *ṣafā*,

<sup>23</sup> Keller also derives *Persephone* from *ṭūf* (ḥēri-ṣāfōn), 'the hidden fruit,' i.e. "die Frucht des im Boden verborgen gewesenen Samenkornes"; and H. Lewy considers *Πλάπος*, used in Lampsakos (= *ṭūf*) = *Λαπσαχος* = *Λάψακος*) as a surname of Dionysos as = Hebr. *ṭūf* (*Pēri-ṣāfāh*) = 'the fruit is sweet' = *εἰκαρπος*, a well-known epithet of the god (Preller, I.<sup>3</sup>, 584). If so, why not go a step further and derive also Dionysos from the Semitic? *Διώνυσος* stands for *Διωνυσος*. *Διος*, of course, belongs to Zeus (*Mém.* 3, 299; *KZ.* 29, 123; 30, 88). Gruppe and others have maintained that *-νυσος* is of Semitic (Phoenician) origin, but they have not been able to prove it. It is agreed upon by all that Dionysos and his worship is of Asiatic, perhaps Semitic, origin. Now, in Ex. xvii. 15, we find Jehovah-*nissi* = the Lord my banner, as the name of an altar. This Hebr. *nīs* (*nīs*) was probably borrowed from the Assyrian *nīzu*, properly 'sign,' then also 'name,' from *našū*, 'to raise.' Could not this *-νυσος* be of like origin? We know that Dionysos is called *Idō* in several oracles (*cf.* Baudissin, I. 211 ff.). Thus Jehovah-*nissi*, perhaps a banner-cry of his followers, became on Greek soil *Διος* (= *ṭūf*) *νυσος* = Deus Nyssaeus, as he is called also. According to F. Max Müller, the Greek is = Skt. \**Dyunisya*.

<sup>24</sup> Gruppe, *Philologus*, 48, 487, following Fürst, 'Hebrew Lexicon,' s.v. *ṭūf*. He compares Cyprian *Σβρ* = *Tūros*, or, perhaps better, *Σῶρ*, Appian calling the founder of Carthage *Zūros* (J. Olshausen, 'Berliner Akademie, Monatsberichte,' 1879, 555-86). On *Ḥūr-Tūros* see also Pietschmann, 61, *rem.* 2. *Ταῦρος*, the mountain range in Asia Minor, is also from the Aramaic *ṭūr* = Hebr. *ṭūr* (*ṭūr*, *ṭūr*, 1, 60; Kiepert, 20), as well as the name of the island of Syros (Ries, 54). *Yea*, even *Sarpedon* (*Σαρπηδών*) contains this word, if we can believe Lewy that the proper name is = *ṭūr* (*Ḥar-ḥādōn*), rock of salvation (*l.c.* 186, no. 15). On this proper name Tiele has some interesting remarks in *Rev. de l'hist. des religions*, 2, 139. Hebr. *š* = *τ* also in *Tānis* = *ṭūf* (*Ḥōian*).

or rather צפֿוֹנִי (*ḥif'ōnī*), 'serpent.'<sup>26</sup>—Kiepert, § 246, speaking of Hispania, says: 'The name of West Country = Ἑσπερία, originally of wider application and including Italy, was still in use side by side with Iberia, at least in poetic parlance, and from *this* appears to have come the name *Hispania*, commonly used in Italy for the whole peninsula.' I do not agree with the eminent geographer, but believe Hispania to be of Semitic origin. We know that the Phoenicians traded largely with Italy and Spain, and that in this way the Greeks may have gained their first knowledge of the Western countries. Ἑσπερία was used for all the country west of Greece. Therefore I consider Ἑσπερία, 'west-country,' as the translation of a Hebr.-Phoen. צפֿן = שפֿן, from which is derived Σπανία, or with א prostheticum אשפֿן = Hispania. — Sonny, *Philologus*, 48, 561, connects κέρβερος, 'the hell-hound,' with Semitic ערב (*'éreb*) in the meaning of 'the dark one.'<sup>27</sup> That ערב should have been borrowed under both forms ἔρεβος and κέρβερος would not be so strange; many languages have borrowed a word twice in different form and meaning.<sup>27</sup> Nor is the development of a spiritus lenis into κ so very seldom; cf. e.g. Καμάρα, Καμαρία, and ἀμάρα (channel, trench, Lobeck, *Path.* I. 107); ὄροφή and κορυφή; Ὀρόπη and Κορόπη; καβεδ (LXX.) = עבר (*ʿ.üb.* 77). Σωρηκ = צרעה (*ibid.* 85). Ἀταργάτις = אטרעטא (*Tari'ātā*) = Δερκετώ (*ʿ.ann.* 846; *ʿag.* III. 1, 77); Slav. *arbŭz* = Mod. Greek *καρπουσια* (cucumber, watermelon); Greek ὄστεον = Slav. *kosti*; Hypanis-Kuban; Alanic name *Aspar* and German *Gaspar*, *Kasper*; the cultivated pear-tree is called ὄγγυη in Homer, κόγγυη in Hesych; Armenian *kapar* from Syriac *amārā*, 'lead.' ZDMG. 46, 239, no. 52; also Fränkel, 95, 150, 151, and Meringer, p. 41 of his article, cited in note 21. The combination of κέρβερος with Skt. *ḥabala* (*ḥarbara*) = 'dog of the night,' has been rejected

<sup>25</sup> Wiedemann, Hdt. 513. The controversy between Gruppe and Ed. Meyer on 'Ba'al-Zephôn, *Philologus*, 48, 488, 762; 49, 751-2, does not concern us here.

<sup>26</sup> Following Welcker, 'Trilogie,' 130, *rem.*, and 171, from \*Ἐρέβερος; Preller, 'Griech. Mythologie,' I.<sup>2</sup> 634; Jubainville, *Mém.* 3, 348; Gruppe, 113, *rem.* 17.

<sup>27</sup> Thus 'ward' and 'guard,' French 'cause' and 'chose,' and many other examples,<sup>2</sup> given in list vii. of the Appendix to Skeat's 'Dictionary.'

by O. Schrader<sup>2</sup>, 596 and 614; Gruppe, 113–115, and others; see, however, Pott<sup>2</sup>, III. 1028–9; Bartholomae, BB. 15, 211; Professor Maurice Bloomfield's article 'The two dogs of Yama in a new rôle';<sup>28</sup> and F. Max Müller's elaborate announcement of these contributions in the London *Academy*.<sup>29</sup> What the relation is between κέρβερος and κόβαλος (a form like κόναβος, KZ. 23, 267) on the one hand, and the Sanskrit word on the other hand, I cannot exactly define; nor is this necessary for the etymology of κέρβερος.

## II. — HUMAN BEINGS, PROFESSIONS, AND TRADES.

Λεώς, 'people,' is derived by Bochart, H. i. 507, 14, and *Œ. p.* VIII., from the Semitic **ל'ם** (*l'ôm*); this was changed in later time to λαός. Lenormant, p. 334 of his article in the *Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, 1867, combines it with Semitic **ל'ה** (*rā'āh*), 'lead, conduct'; also 'feed, govern, rule'; in the passive, 'to be led'; the people, he says, are properly the flock of the ποιμένες λαών. For the I.-E. etymology see Curtius<sup>6</sup>, 362; BB. 3, 319; 6, 111, 114 — Γειώρας, 'immigrant, stranger' (LXX. and later writers), is compared to Aram. **ג'ור'ר'א** (*gīōrā*) by Bochart, H. i. 577, 49; *Œ. ſ. ſ.* 97, 14; and others. Theodoret has γειώρας · προσήλυτος (II. 266). — 'Αβάθ (Hesych.) διδάσκαλος · Κύπριοι was long ago corrected by Gesenius into ἀβά = Syr. **אבא** ('ābbā); also *cf.* the New Test. 'Αββᾶ · ὁ πατήρ (Mark xiv. 36). Ries, 42, still reads ἀβάθ, and compares Hebr. **אבת, אבות**. — Late Greek ἀσκάνδης, 'messenger, courier' = Mandaean **אנד(א)ש(א)** = *ἀγγαρος*,<sup>1</sup> occurs also in Babylonian as (*amelu*) *ašgandu* for

<sup>28</sup> 'Contributions to the interpretation of the Veda' = *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* 15, 163. On κόβαλος see Havet, *Mém.* 6, 21.

<sup>29</sup> Aug. 13, 1892, p. 134. See also Ernst Windisch in *Lit. Centralblatt*, 1892, no. 51, col. 1835–6.

<sup>1</sup> *Αγγαρος* = *ἀγγελος*, *Œ. ſ. ſ.* 2203; Keller, 328, whence also, according to Ceci, 'Appunti Glottologici,' 1892, Latin 'ambulare' under the influence of ambire, through a reconstructed \*angulus; see, however, Stowasser, II. 25, III. 10, *rem.* On ἀσκάνδης compare also Fleischer in Levy's 'Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch,' I. 280, col. a. *Œ. ſ.* 32, no. 15; Jensen in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 7, p. 174.

(*amelu*) *aškandu*, an official, from *šakann* (שכנ); cf. Bochart, H. i. 537, 10; *ῥ. a.* 186, 26; *ῥ. arm.* 18, 208. *ἀστυάδης* is an entirely different word, according to Th. Nöldeke, G.G. Anz. 1871, 155. — Liddell and Scott<sup>7</sup> derive *γόης*, ‘enchanter, priest,’ from *γοάω*, thus properly ‘a wailer, howler,’ following Aufrecht and Curtius<sup>5</sup>, 477, no. 642, *rem.* Prellwitz, *s. v.*, connects it with *γός*, ‘lamentation,’ Skt. *hāvas*, ‘call,’ etc. *ῥ. üb.* 112, *rem.* 1, suggests that the Greek originated from the Semitic קוהן (*kohēn*). Hesychius has *κοίης (κοίην) · ἱερεὺς καβαίρων ὁ καθαίρων φονέα, οἱ δὲ κοίης*; see also Bochart, H. i. 517. — *Μάγος*, Lat. *magus*, ‘wizard, magician,’ from the Babylonian *emgu*, ‘wise’ (= Assyrian *emqu*, √מקג, ‘be deep’); Lenormant; Justi, ‘Geschichte Persiens,’ 68. Pott<sup>2</sup>, III. 990, considers the word as I.-E. from the √*mag* (Lat. *magnus*) = ‘great, venerable’; so also Bötticher (= Lagarde), ‘Arica,’ 22, 58, and *ῥ. arm.* 106, 1513, where nothing is said of a Semitic root. On Old-Persian *maguš*, whence Aramean מנשיא, which, in its turn, returned into Neo-Persian as مفسر, see Nöldeke’s excellent article, ‘Griechische und aramäische Fremdwörter im Persischen’ (Sitzungsber. Wien. Akad. Phil.-Hist. Classe, 1892, Abh. XII. 37). — *Μαγγανεία*,<sup>2</sup> ‘jugglery’ (properly ‘incantation’), Aristoph. and Plato, from מגנינה (*mangināh*, Lam. iii. 63), *ῥ. i.* XXXVIII.; whence also *μάγγανον*, Latin *mango*, *mangones* (Keller, 103–4), *μαγγανεύω*, ‘juggle’; Engl. ‘manganel, mangle.’ The Greek returned in later time again to the Syriac, and thence to the Arabic (Fränkel, 135).<sup>3</sup> — *Προύνικος*, ‘runner, messenger, porter,’ was derived by Bochart, H. i. 794, from פרוניקא (*prouneca*), Persian *parvānah*, ‘servant’; but *ῥ. a.* 77, 26, and A. Müller, BB. I. 300, reject

<sup>2</sup> Benfey derived the Greek from √*mag*, Skt. *manḡ*, ‘knead, mix’; Vaniček from √*mag*, ‘enlarge, be able,’ *trans.* ‘assist,’ whence *μάγγανον*, ‘jugglery’ (= *φάρμακα, γοητεύματα*). Pott<sup>2</sup>, I. 172 = Skt. *man’*, ‘purify’ = ‘medicine, philter’; see also Prellwitz, 188. — The *Galeotae, Γαλεῶται*, a sort of diviners in Sicily, are derived by some from the Semitic גלה (*galāh*), ‘to reveal, divine.’ *Γάλλος*, priest of Cybele, generally a eunuch, according to Liddell and Scott<sup>7</sup>, so called from the river Gallos, may perhaps be גלל; cf. Ethiop. גלל, ‘amputavit, excidit’ (*ῥ. i.* 14–5).

<sup>3</sup> M. Darmesteter, *Mém.* 3, 68, compares Avestan *maṅgala*; on the Armenian, see ZDMG. 46, 245, no. 78. Meillet, *Mém.* 7, 166, has ‘*μάγγανον δὲ μῆχανή*.’

this etymology. — Wharton (Lat. Loan-words, p. 185) derives *latro*, 'steward, hireling,' from the Greek \**λάτρων* (cf. *λάτρις*), and this again from the Hebr. \**nōzēr* (נזר), 'guardian, keeper.'<sup>4</sup> If so, then also *λάτρις* (Theogn.), *λατρεία* (Pindar), *λατρεύω* (Solon), *λάτριος*, and *λάτρον*, must be derived from the Semitic. Wharton, however, overlooks the fact, pointed out by Ewald and Lagarde, that in classic Greek a Semitic נ is represented by θ. This makes the combination impossible. An I.-E. etymology is given by Curtius<sup>5</sup>, 363, no. 536, *rem.*; Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 120, 532, 539. — *Κιξάλλης*, 'pirate, robber, footpad' (Democr. *apud* Stob. *Flor.*), from *ללש* (*šālāl*), 'rob, plunder'; R. 208, 'par un redoublement analogue à celui de *τιθαιβώσσω*; ou comprend que le nom des pirates et de la piraterie soit venu de Phéniciens.' But it is very difficult to see how a nominal form of *ללש* could yield *κιξάλλης*.<sup>5</sup> Savelsberg, KZ. 16, 70, *rem.* 3, quotes Koen, who posits the form \**κισσάλης*, which became *κιξάλης* or *κιξάλλης* (C.I.G. 3044, 19), just as *κισσός*, *κρισσός*, through Ionic change of *σσ* to *ξ*, became *κριξός*. I am very thankful to Professor Smyth for the following remarks: As for an Ionic change of *σσ* to *ξ*, this will scarcely hold. *-ξός* in *διξός* and *τριξός* is of course from *-κτιος*, and not directly equivalent to *-ττός*. In Ionic inscriptions recording Karian names the Karian *ξ* has been changed to *σσ*: so Halikarnassos, 238, 240 (Bechtel's collection). *Βρύασσις*, Iasos, 104, 2, 17, 20, has been corrected on the stone to restore the Karian spelling. Brugmann, 'Studien,' 7, 342, writes: '*Κιξάλης* stands for \*(σ)κι-σκάλης, and has the same root as Lat. *scelus*, crime.' I prefer by far this etymology to the one suggested by Renan. — *Μαστροπός*, 'pander, bawd (Lat. *leno*), *μαστροπέειν*, Lat. *masturbo*' (Keller, 76 and 197) 'vocabulary a Semitis petium, nam

<sup>4</sup> For change of *n* to *l*, cf. *λίτρον* = *νίτρον*, 'natrum' = Hebr. *nēzēr*; Assyrian *billu*, Hebr. *בלי* (*bēlō*), a corruption for *בלב*, J. Oppert *ad* Ezra iv. 13; = Ethiopic *ēndt* (Paul Haupt), whence *bandta*, 'pay tribute' (*Proc. Am. Or. Soc.*, 1887, LII. *rem.* 1); *δέλτα* (דלת), Eth. *dent*; Assyrian *kallatu*, 'bride,' Arab. *kanāt*; Labyrinthos for Nabynedos (*Nabuna'idu*); Greek *δάφνη*, 'laurel, bay-tree,' became Arab. *difla* and this Spanish *adelfa*.

<sup>5</sup> Raumer, II. 'Fortsetzung,' 20, no. 5, connected this Hebr. word with *σολάω*, 'rob, plunder'; *σύλον*, 'plunder.'



*ista'rab*, cuius participium est *musta'rib* obscoene locutus est, appetivit marem' (Z. r. XXVI.). Müller, BB. 1, 292, justly rejects Lagarde's etymology. I.-E. derivations are proposed in Wölflin's *Archiv*, I. 107; *Breslauer Studien*, 4, 80; Prellwitz, 192. — Εὐνοῦχος is derived from עֲנוּך in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, I. 20, rem. 2; the Greek, again, passed into Syriac as 'ewnūksa (Acts viii. 27), ZDMG. 32, 748. — Castrare, from castor (κάστωρ, properly 'scratcher,' 'Kratzer,' BB. 18, 281), is taught by Keller, 285, and Stowasser, II. 6-7; but W. Meyer-Lübke, I. F. I. *Anzeiger*, 121 f., warns against this etymology. Could the words be derived from the Hebr. קָצַר (*qāṣār*), 'cut,' the ז becoming as a rule -στ- in Greek and Latin? It is, however, better to connect it with Skt. *ḥastra*, 'knife.' — An interesting example for the difference of transliteration of dentals in early and late Greek is the following. Utica, Ἰτύκη (in Africa), is the Greek writing for עֲטִיק (*'ittūq*).<sup>6</sup> It denotes, like Arabic *'atīq*, the old town, in distinction from Carthage, the new town, the *qarta-hadasta*, and shows in its form a very old vocalization.<sup>7</sup> From this same verb, in the meaning 'to set free' (Lane, 'Arabic Dictionary,' s.v.), I derive μόθαξ, which is simply the partic. pass. *mūtaqun*, 'a man set free, a libertus.' It is usually said that μόθαξ is a secondary formation from μόθων. I do not believe that they are related to each other; μόθαξ belongs to the post-classic Greek, when Ϝ was rendered by θ, and Ϝ by τ. — Ἄβρα,

<sup>6</sup> Boch. Ph., 464-5; J. Olshausen, *Rhein. Mus.* 8, 329; Meltzer, 450; Z.üb. 48, rem.; Keller, 19-20. I cannot agree with K. Vollers (ZDMG. 45, 354) that Arabic *'atīq* in the meaning of 'high, noble' properly 'separated' is a genuine Semitic word, while in its meaning of 'old' only a loan-word from Lat. 'antiquus.'

<sup>7</sup> Meltzer, 90; Freeman, 'Essays,' 4, 1-24. It was the *Βόστρα* or *Bēṣūra* (בִּצְוֵרָה = *Bōstpa*) of Dido, changed by the Greeks into βύρσα (Z.üb. 56. 10; according to whose statement Keller, p. 200, must be corrected). Hitzig's strange derivation from בִּשְׁטָרָה is found in *Rhein. Mus.* 8, 600. — Pape and Benseler, 'Wörterbuch der Griech. Eigennamen,' translate both *Bύρσα* = 'Carthage,' and *Bύρσα* = 'the nickname for Athens' (Hesych. s.v.) by the classic German 'Fellin.' Aristophanes called Athens *βύρσα* (Kock, *fragm.* I. 467, no. 292), with reference to Cleon, its *βυρσοδέψης*, whose *βύρσα* the city was. — On Carthage and its three parts: Cothon, Byrsa, and Megalia or Megaria, see Bochart, Ph. 469-70. The same, *ibid.* 464, derives also Ἰθάκη from קַתַּע, although it belongs to *vidh* (KZ. 29, 200).

'female companion, bonne, slave' (Menander) = Aram. **כַּרְבָּה** (*karbā*), *ῥ. i.* XXVI., Hesych. *ἄβρα, δούλη, παλλακή· ἄβραι, νέαι δοῦλαι.* Fick, *KZ.* 22, 216, considers it a Macedonian word, and compares Latin *ebrius*, 'tender.' See, however, Müller, *BB.* I, 283; Keller, 196-7. *Ἀβαριστάν· γυναικιζομένην· Κύπριοι,* may belong to this *ἄβρα*, though Meister, 'Griech. Dialekte, II. 326, and O. Hoffmann, *BB.* 15, 47, following Schmidt, *KZ.* 9, 299, refer it to *ἄβρός*, 'delicate' (*cf. νεβρός*); see also *BB.* 7, 81. — The most difficult word in this class is *παλλακή, παλλακίς*, 'concubine,' Lat. *paelex* (*pellex*). The masculine *πάλλαξ* is a make-up of the Greek grammarians (Ammonius and Lexx.).<sup>8</sup> *Παλλακίς* occurs as early as Homer, *Il.* 9, 449 and 452; *Od.* 14, 202 (*ὠνητή παλλακίς*); *παλλακή* (Hdt.), and *παλλακίς*, are opposed to the *γυναῖκες γνήσιαι*, 'conjuges legitimae' (Pott<sup>2</sup>, II. 2, 863-4). Demosth. LIX. 122, tells us what the *παλλακή* was to the Greeks. Into Latin the word passed under the form *paelex*, which became *pellex* by a popular analogy after *pellicere*, 'to seduce.'<sup>9</sup> The relation between *παλλακή* (-ίς) and Hebr. **פִּלְגֶשׁ** (*pilegeš* and *pillegeš*, Aram. **פִּלְגֶשׁ**) has been a great puzzle to many students. There are those who do not admit any connection between the two nouns. Benfey compared *πάλλαξ* with Skt. *bāla, bālaka*, 'child, boy.' Vaniček, 527-8, does the same, adding also Engl. 'fellow.' Other etymologies are proposed by Bezzenberger in *BB.* 1, 295-6; Fick, *ibid.* 6, 237, and 18, 134; 'Wörterbuch'<sup>4</sup>, I. 481; Prellwitz, 237; Fröhde, *BB.* 17, 308; Curtius<sup>5</sup>, 'schweigt sich aus.' None of these writers believe in a connection with the Hebrew noun. Again, others have claimed that the Semitic was borrowed from the Greek. Thus Michaelis, 'Supplem. ad Lex. Hebr.' no. 2034; Ewald, 'Hebr. Gram.'<sup>8</sup> 279;<sup>10</sup> Movers, III. 1, 81; R. 209; Gutschmid, 'Kleine Schriften,' II. 5, and Stade, I. 380, *rem.* 3. On the other hand, Semitic origin of the Greek is maintained by G. 65; Lottner in *KZ.* 7, 165; Pott<sup>2</sup>, II. 3,

<sup>8</sup> In late inscriptions it is registered by Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 586, no. 396, 7, **παλλήκων** (gen. plur.) = **μελλέφηβοι** (Nauck, 'De Arist. Byz.' 88 ff.).

<sup>9</sup> A.J.P. III. 171; *BB.* 5, 84; *Rhein. Mus.* 38, 544; Keller, 77 and 167.

<sup>10</sup> In G.G.Anz. 1862, 371, Ewald suggested an Armenian origin of the noun.

403 f., and §.r. XXVI. A. Müller, BB. 1, 295, leaves the question undecided. I believe that the Hebrew form was borrowed from the Greek *παλλακίς* (*παλλακιδ-*). Lagarde says that Hebr. *pillegeš* stands for older *pallagiš*, which is exactly the Greek form. The biography appears to be the following: *παλλακή*, though occurring in written literature later than *παλλακίς*, seems to be in reality the earlier form, borrowed directly from the Phoenicians, who carried on a trade in female slaves, used as concubines. The Semitic form would be \*פלגה (*pallāgāh*), the feminine to an intensive form like *gannāb*, 'thief,' etc. This \**pallāgāh* is a derivative of the verb פלג (*pālag*), 'separate,' thereby indicating that the bearer of this name was separated from the real family, was a slave, a concubine. Thus we have the verb פלג giving the noun פלגה; this passed into Greek as *παλλακή*; the latter became on Greek soil *παλλακίς*, and returned again to the Semites as פלגה, whence Aram. פלקתא (*pēlaqtā*).<sup>11</sup>

### III. — COUNTRY, LAND, AND SEA.

According to Lewy, 178, *אֵילָא*, 'land,' and *אֵילָא*, the name of the island Colchis, are connected with Hebr. א (ʾi), from √א, 'dwell, live'; cf. Assyrian *E = bītu*, 'house, dwelling.'<sup>1</sup> In Hebrew the noun means 1) coast, coast land, 2) island. Compounds of this א are Ebusus, now *Iviza*, one of the Balearic islands = island of firs (Phoen. ʾi-būsīm), rendered by the Greeks *Πιτυούσσα* (Kiepert, p. 266; Meltzer, 482, *rem.* 2); Imaxra, on Sicily, between Centuripa and Herbita = א מלקרת (Schröder, 101, *rem.* 6); while *Mápara*, on the same island, is the Semitic א מלקרת = 'promontory of Melqart,' the later Heracleia. Speaking of Melqart (= *Melek-gart*) =

<sup>11</sup> As a curiosity I will mention that Elias Levita explained the Hebrew as a compound of פלג (half) and אשה (wife).

<sup>1</sup> Compare, on the other hand, Johansson, BB. 18. 4; and H. Weber, KZ. 10, 250, who derives the Greek from *l* = 'go' + suffix *-fa* and prefixed *a-*, separating it entirely from *γαῖα*, whose Epic form it is said to be *metri graíā* (Liddell & Scott).

*Mákap*,<sup>2</sup> Keller, 187, following Gutschmid and Olshausen, combines with it also Melikertes and Meleagros.<sup>3</sup> — Τὸ ἔλος (Cyprian) Lewy, I.F. I. 510, correctly combines with Hebr. *ʾāl*, √ל"א, in the meaning of 'highland,' as against Meister's, 'Griech. Dial.' II. 208, '*El-land*' (i.e. land of God *El*). — Πάγος, 'mountain-peak, rocky hill,' is derived by Pott<sup>2</sup>, II. 4, 556, Curtius<sup>5</sup>, and others, from √ΠΑΓ in *πήγνυμι*, etc., properly

<sup>2</sup> Weise, *Rhein. Mus.* 38, 540, derives *Mákap* from Hebr. מכר (māḵár), 'to sell.'

<sup>3</sup> Also Thebes is a νῆσος τῶν μακάρων, a city of Melqart. — On *Máiqar* see also Tiele in *Rev. de l'hist. des religions*, 1, 77 and 2, 137, *rem.* 1. — Μαλικά, τὸν Ἡρακλέα Ἀμαθούσιαι, stands, according to Schröder, p. 101, for Μαλικας = Μαλικαρ = מלכ"ר; but much better compare Syriac *Malkā* (Hebr. מל"כ, *mélék*). This was the name of Heracles in Sidon and Tyre, just as *Malk Ba'al* in Palmyra (Greek Μαλαχβηλος, Lat. Malagbelus, Pietschmann, 185, *rem.* 3). The objections raised by Enmann, p. 9, *rem.*, against the identification of *Mákap*, *Μακρ*, and *Melqart* are futile. Even Ζεὺς μελιχίος is but the Hellenic mask of the terrible Moloch (prop. *mélék*), greedy of human sacrifices (Weise, *Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsych.* 13, 243; Keller, 188; Gruppe, 348 and 402). Pott<sup>2</sup>, II. 3, 543, compared it with μελισσω, while Preller, 'Mythologie' 4, 129, says: Ζεὺς μελιχίος = 'the friendly Zeus,' as opposed to Ζεὺς μαιμάκτης = 'the hostile, angry Zeus.' The word, however, has nothing to do with Greek μελιχος (BB. 3, 298). Not only are Μαλικά, Μελικαρ-, etc., derived from the Semitic, but even Ἡρακλῆς, 'who is none but the Syrian Sun-god *Archal* or Ἀρχαλεὺς, another type of Melqart,' is to be derived from Semitic רכ"ל (*rāḵdl*), 'go around, wander' + article *ha(l)* (Keller, 218; 236-7). What satisfaction would K. have felt, had he known that also in the Assyrian inscriptions we meet with *irkallum*, √רכ"ל = *rāgd*l, 'march,' as the name of one of the *dei inferi*. But until better proof has been adduced, I prefer to say with Ed. Meyer, I. § 192, *rem.*: "Herakles ist zunächst ein echt hel-lenischer und von den Griechen eifrig verehrter Gott, den dieselben allerdings dem phoenizischen Melqart gleichsetzten." Ἡρακλῆς and Ἀρχαλεὺς are two entirely different words. The latter, no doubt, is derived from the Semitic verb, referred to by Keller, who might also have added ארקל (*arqāl*) of Ps. xix. 6, 7 (פ"י. 8-9). The etymology of Ἡρακλῆς is by no means established. P. Kretschmer, in 'Aus der Anomia,' believes still in the old etymology of Ἡρα + κλῆς = Hera-glory, although F. Weck (see A.J.P. VII. 265) long ago showed that -κλῆς has nothing to do with κλέος (κλέφος = *cravās*), but is a termination equal to Latin -culus (Paterculus); I will say, however, that Professor Bloomfield reminds me of Ἐρεοκλῆς = Skt. *satya-cravās*; also cf. Hesych. Ἡρύκαλος, and *Wochenschr. f. Klass. Philolog.*, 1890, 98; J. arm. 2084; Lag. 'Agathangelus,' 140. — Many years ago G. Croese derived Persephone from פ"ע, פ"רעס (*pérec pānīm*), 'rebellious in countenance.' Minos, he says, is probably the same as Abraham (from פ"י, מ"א = 'flourishing for a hundred years'); Deucalion is = פ"י, ר"ק ('small, yet exalted'), and Heracles, the strong (from פ"י, א"ר) = 'the one who scoffs for a long time.'

= 'that which is fixed or firmly set,' as opposed to the 'loose earth.' It occurs as the name of a mountain near Smyrna. This etymology is preferable to Lagarde's combination with Arab. *fajj*, *Ḥ.r.* XXXVII., after Freytag, 'Lexic. Arab.' IV. 39. Also see Boetticher, 'Wurzelforschungen,' p. 11. — 'Πίον, 'peak of a mountain, promontory' (Homer), is also connected by *Ḥ.p.* VIII. with Aram. *π'ḥ*, 'head, summit.' This was rejected by Müller, *BB.* 1, 296, but upheld anew by its author in his *Ḥ.* 1, 116, *rem.* 1. Sophus Bugge, *BB.* 3, 12; Fröhde, *ibid.* 17, 304; *KZ.* 22, 267; Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 132; Prellwitz, 274; and G. Meyer<sup>2</sup>, 29, derive it from the I.-E. *√frso*, found in Lith. *virszùs*, 'summit'; Old Slav. *vr̃chu*, *vr̃chŭ*, Lat. *verrūca*, Skt. *várṣman*, 'summit'; in addition to which Leo Meyer (*KZ.* 15, 18) quotes three passages from Homer, *Il.* 8, 25; 14, 154; and *Od.* 9, 191, where the word occurs with initial digamma, thus establishing the I.-E. etymology. — *Χηπᾶμός* = *χεῖδ*, 'hole, cleft, gap' (Homer), is combined by Freytag ('Lexicon Arab.' I. 480, b) with Arabic *ḥōram*, in which he is followed by *Ḥ.r.* XXXVII., 'petrae fissuras rupturasque habentes.' But this is rather doubtful, and I fully agree with A. Müller's remarks, *BB.* 1, 290. Also see Postgate's etymology in *A.J.P.* III. 336. — G. 66 mentioned Hebr. *כר* (*kar*), 'fat pasture-land,' whence Ionian *κάρ*, *κάρα*, *κάρνος*, and P.N. *Καρία* = Caria, in Asia Minor (Fürst, 'Lexicon,' 692). — *Ῥοασίς* (*Hdt.* 3, 26), 'region in the desert, plain,' is the Egyptian (Coptic) *Uah*, 'station, resting-place,' a name given to the oases from their situation in the midst of the desert. The form *Ῥοασίς*, Strabo, II. 130, is merely an attempt at a Greek etymology, as if from *Ῥω*, *Ῥαίνω*. The common word for *Ῥοασίς* in Egyptian is *ut*, which has nothing to do with the Greek (Wiedemann, 15); there is, on the other hand, in Egyptian the stem *āa*, 'isle, coast,' which could also mean 'oasis.' M. Renan, p. 205, derived the Greek from the Arabic *uadi*; but this, Professor de Lagarde informed me, was "sicher falsch." — Of late it has become the fashion to assume for many difficult Greek words Semitic origin. Thus Keller, 253, apparently following J. H. H. Schmidt, 'Griech. Synonymik,' I. 648, derives *πέλαγος*, *pelagus*, 'ocean, sea,'

from the Semitic  $\sqrt{\text{פלג}}$ , 'to flow' (?);  $\text{פלג}$  (*péleg*), 'canal'; but the Semitic verb never means 'to flow,' nor the noun 'ocean, sea'; while, on the other hand, there is no passage proving *πέλαγος* in the meaning of 'canal, river.' Uppenkamp, 21, too, has Hebr. *pélagāh*, 'river, brook' = Arab. *falaq*, 'cleft' = Greek *πέλαγος*, 'ocean.' The primitive meaning of  $\sqrt{\text{פלג}}$  is 'divide, separate,' whence  $\text{פלג}$  (*péleg*, Assyrian *palgu*), 'canal or river,' as a means of separating (like our English 'brook'). I prefer by far Bezzenberger's combination of *πέλαγος* for \**φέλαγος* with M.H.G. *bulge* = 'wave'; O.N. *bylgja*, etc. (BB. 4, 335; Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 493). To the Greeks *πέλαγος* was the expansion, the wide open sea (= Lat. *aequor*). — Keller also derives *χείμαρρος*, 'torrent, forest-stream,' from Semitic  $\sqrt{\text{חמ}}$  (*xāmār*), which, in Ps. xlv. 4, is used of water in the meaning of 'bubble, swell.' See, however, Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 151, 576. — *Καταράκτης*, Lat. *cataracta*, 'a cataract,' is usually combined with *καταρρήγνυμι*. But *Σαγ. III.* 1, 205–6, says: '*καταρράκτης* (Arrian) and *cataracta* (Ammianus) are from  $\sqrt{\text{כרע}}$  (*kārāx*), whence *karx*, Aram. plur. *karxāiā*, 'canals for irrigation.' Qāmūs *karāxat* = Aram. \**כרעא* (*kērāxā*), with article *כרעא* (*kērāxēlā*); this was changed to *kērāxītā*, 'water-gates.' A masculine form we find in *Σπασίνου χύραξ* (= *καραχς* = *karāx*). The whole region was called *Χαρρακήνη*, on account of its many water-gates. The form *καταρράκτης*, of course, would ultimately be the result of a popular analogy to *καταρρήγνυμι*. — There are in Greek two nouns *ῥα*: one = *μηλωτή*, 'sheepskin with the wool on,' or a garment made of it, and connected with *ῥίς*, 'sheep'; and another, which is the Greek transliteration of the Aram. *ῥā*, plur. *ῥāiā*, 'edges, pinnacles'<sup>4</sup> = Hebr. *רָאֵץ*, then also 'the edge, seam of a dress' (Moschus, 2, 123); ZDMG. 32, 753; G.G.Nachr. 1881, 405; *Σαγ. III.* 1, 80. Bezzenberger, on the other hand, combines *ῥα*, 'seam, border,' with Skt. *ās* (*ās-n-ās*), Lat. *ās, ora*; and Kluge (Paul and Braune's *Beiträge*, 8, 522) adds A.-S. *ōr, ora*, 'border, beginning'; also see Joh. Schmidt, 'Pluralbildungen der Indogerm. Neutra,' 117. — Fürst, 'Lexicon,' 374, derives *πυραμῖς*, 'pyramid,' from an

<sup>4</sup> Also Lat. *pinna* is from the Sem. *פִּנָּה* (*pinnāh*), G. 66.

Egyptian *p-iram*, and this from the Sem.-Arab. *haramun*, 'a pyramid,' from  $\text{הרם}$ , 'be high.'<sup>5</sup>

#### IV.—THE HOUSE, ITS PARTS AND SURROUNDINGS.

M. Renan, 206, says: 'τιθαιβώσω parait venir de  $\text{דבבס}$  (*dēbās*) + prefix *τι-*.' In Homer it means 'to build, make a nest'; of bees also, 'to make honey-combs' (*Od.* 13, 106). This, of course, must have been its primitive meaning, if the word is to be derived from the Semitic (*dēbās*, 'honey, honey-comb'). I do not agree with Renan, and consider A. Müller's objections (*BB.* 1, 298) as a convincing proof against it. — Materials used for building purposes are *ἀγουρος*, *γύψος*, and *πλίνθος*. 'Ἀγουρος, 'brick,' is mentioned by  $\text{אגור}$ , 4, 11 = *Arm. agoür* = Persian *āgur*; all from Assyrian *agurru*.<sup>1</sup> — *Γύψος*, gypsum (the Latin from the Greek accusative *γύψου*), 'plaster, mortar,' is derived by Blau (*ZDMG.* 25, 542) from Arabic *jibs*; Prellwitz quotes Persian *jabs*. The best gypsum was imported from Syria, a fact which points to an Eastern home. Fränkel (p. 9), however, believes that the Arabic was borrowed from the Greek. In Egyptian we have *ārqabasa*, which, according to Bondi, p. 29, is from the Semitic  $\text{אקבס}$  (*elgābīs*, Ezek. xiii. 11; Job xxviii. 18), LXX. *γαβίς* =  $\text{בש}$  = *κρύσταλλος*. — *Πλίνθος*, 'brick, tile,' is usually connected with O.H.G. *flins*, 'quartz, flint'; A.-S. *flint*, German *Flinte*, Swedish *flinta*, Slavonic *plinŭto*.<sup>2</sup> Georg Hoffmann, in *ZDMG.* 32, 748, and in Stade's *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 2, 72, § 19, explains the Greek word as a me-

<sup>5</sup> Weise (*BB.* 7, 171), too, considers the Greek an Egyptian loan-word; but Erman, *ibid.* 337; Wiedemann, *Hdt.* 468; L. Dickermann (*Proc. Am. Or. Soc.* 1890, XXV.); Brugsch *et al.* hold it to be a genuine Greek word. See also *BB.* 5, 85; Gruppe, I. 67; Gutschmid, 'Kleine Schriften,' I. 223; and on Latin *peramus*, Keller, 128.

<sup>1</sup> Literally = 'enclosure, encasement,' and collectively = 'backed clay, bricks' used for encasing the walls, kiln-brick. This Assyrian word passed also into Arabic through the medium of the Aramean.

<sup>2</sup> *KZ.* 22, 110, no. 3; 30, 450; Curtius<sup>5</sup>, 279; G. Meyer<sup>2</sup>, 203; Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 487; Prellwitz, 257. I.-E. etymol. for *τιθαιβώσω* proposed by Henry, *Mém.* 6, 43.

tathesis of λπιυθ = λβιυτ = Semitic *libnāt* (לִבְנָת, Assyrian *libittu*, construct. state *libnat*). Perhaps the Greeks learned brick-making from the Phoenicians. Latin plinthis, plinthidis, is borrowed from πλιυθίς, -ίδος, the *dimin.* of πλίνθος (Lat. plinthus). Quite ingenious is O. Schrader's remark on p. 315 of his 'Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte.'<sup>2</sup>: "Das lat. plumbum (*\*plomfo*) vergleicht sich genau dem griechischen πλίνθος 'Barren,' 'Ziegelstein,' wenn man sich entschliesst, dieses Wort auf eine Grundform *\*plenthō* zurückzuführen oder λι als Vertreter sonantischer Liquida anzusehen (vergleiche G. Meyer<sup>2</sup>, p. 66 f.); das sächliche Geschlecht des lat. plumbum erklärt sich durch die Analogie der übrigen Metallnamen im Lateinischen."—The Septuagint and late Greek βάρης, 'a large house, tower, palace' = πύργος, is from the Hebr. בִּירָה (*bīrāh*), 'the same,' G. 66.—Κασᾶς, or κασῆς, 'felt, carpet or skin to sit upon, a saddle' (τοὺς κασᾶς, 'housing'), is compared by Sophocles, 'Dictionary,' *s.v.*, with Sem. כַּסָּה = καλύπτω, σκεπάζω.—*Il.* 5, 387, we read χαλκῆφ δ' ἐν κέραμφ δέδετο τρισκαίδεκα μῆνας, 'thirteen months he lay bound in a strong prison.' The Scholiast on this passage says: οἱ γὰρ Κύπριοι τὸ δεσμωτήριον κέραμον καλοῦσι. Theon, in *Prologum.*, chapter 'concerning law,' has: εἴ τις λέγοι τὸν κέραμον ἀντὶ δεσμωτηρίου, καθάπερ Κύπριοι; see also 'Etyim. Magn.' 98, 31. O. Hoffmann (in Bezenberger's *Beiträge*, 15, 87, and 'Die Griechischen Dialekte, I. 119) does not know how to explain it. The noun, evidently assimilated to κέραμος,<sup>3</sup> 'potter's earth,' is borrowed from the Sem. כְּרַמִּי (*xērem*), 'prison,' I.F. I. 506.—The late Greek κουπήγιον, καμάρα ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμάξων γινομένη (Hesych. II. 525, *no.* 3834, Mor. Schmidt), Latin cupa, cupula = fornix rotundus, whence German Kuppel, is perhaps from the Hebr. קִבְבָּה (*qubbāh*), 'tent, chamber' (Num. xxv. 8); *cf.* Arabic *qúbbatun*, 'tent-roof, vault, tabernaculum,' and Cyprian *κύβηνα* = σκῆνωμα.

<sup>3</sup> Concerning κέραμος, 'potter's earth,' Hehn, 441, says very significantly: 'As Corinth was a chief seat of Phoenician culture, there may be in the statement that the potter's wheel was invented by the Phoenicians (Hyperbios, *Schol.* to Pind. *Ol.* XIII. 17), a hint as to the origin of the potter's art among the Greeks.' Could κέραμος, which admits of no good I.-E. etymology, be connected with Sem. כְּרַמִּי (Hebr. *kerem*, Assyrian *karmu*, earth, field)?



— A noun of the greatest interest is λέσχη, 'meeting-place.' Pott<sup>2</sup>, II. 1, 814, and KZ. 26, 188, derives it from λέγειν, or perhaps from a verbum desiderat. with σ = 'place intended for talking'; cf. λέσχης, ἀδολέσχης. He is followed by Curtius<sup>5</sup>, 364;<sup>4</sup> Savelsberg, KZ. 16, 364, λέσχη for \*λέγη; see also KZ. 26, 188; Schrader<sup>2</sup>, 497, rem. 2. Roscher, 'Curt. Studien,' 2, 132, 2, has: 'λέσχη for \*λέσκη, √λεγ or λακ (cf. λάσκω).' Thurneysen, KZ. 30, 353, compares Irish *lesc*, 'lazy,' and Ger. 'leer' (= empty). Wackernagel, *ibid.* 33, 39, explains λέσχη for λεχσ-κη (Brugmann, 'Gr. Gram.'<sup>2</sup> 162). On the other hand, Bochart, Ph. 437; Ewald, 'Hebr. Gram.'<sup>8</sup> § 51 *δ*, and Lagarde, 'Psalterium memphiticum,' p. 155,<sup>6</sup> derive the Greek from the Hebr. לשכה (*liškāh*), an etymology accepted by O. Schrader and many others. — Greek μάνδρα, 'fold, stable,' is explained by Brugmann, 'Grundriss,' 2, § 151, p. 433, from Skt. *mand-irā-m*, 'habitation, room'; see also Schrader<sup>2</sup>, 183, 501; Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 107, 509, who connects it with μάνδαλος; Bradke, 189, rem. 2. In late Greek the word means 'convent, monastery,' and in this meaning it was derived by §.r. XXXVII. from the Arab. *maxḍar* (Hebr. מצר, *xāḍēr*),<sup>6</sup> 'place of habitation.' A. Müller

<sup>4</sup> Curtius, *ibid.*, is inclined to derive from the √λεγ also the name of the Λέλεγες. Kiepert combines it with the Sem. לל (*lālīg*, to 'stammer'), "da die Leleger im Munde semitisch redender Völker einfach Barbaren, i.e. Nichtsemiten sind." See, however, *§.r.* 3, 29. Ries, 8, is undecided. Jubainville, 171, *et passim*: Les Lélèges sont des Égypto-Phéniciens.

<sup>5</sup> *Ḫānūzā* Syris idem est quod *halliskāh* = ἡ λέσχη (Reg. IV. 23, 11; Ezek. xl. 44), Hebraeis et ἡ ταβέρνα, Acts xxviii. 15 (unde nos *Zabern*, Engl. "tavern," effinximus), Graecis. See my 'Semitic Glosses to Kluge,' 43.

<sup>6</sup> מצר etiam in urbis Adramytti nomine (Lagarde) = מצרמון (*xāḍarmāyt*), later = מצרמון. J. Olshausen (*Rhein. Mus.* Vol. 8, 322-3) was the first to propose this etymology for *Ἀδράμυττις* (ἐν τῇ Λυκίᾳ) and Adramyttion, as well as for the African Hadrumetum (Addrumetum, *Ἀδρούμης*). Hitzig (*ibid.* 597 ff.) argued that the similarity between the Sem. and I.-E. was only accidental; but Olshausen strengthened his position in a second article (published in the 'Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie,' 1879, p. 571). Hitzig is followed by A. Enmann, p. 9; who connects *Ἀδραμύτιον* with *Ῥαδάμανθος*, Aeol. *Βραδάμανθος* (for *φαρδαμανθος*). See also Ries, 47, rem. 2. Another Sem. etymology is given by Bochart, Ph. 478. To the discomfiture of Enmann, it must be said that Lewy, p. 187, derives *Ῥαδάμανθος* from a Semitic *רדא אמר* (*rōḍē 'emēt*), the original form being *rāḍaj 'amint* = 'ruling in justice' (cf. Isa. xxxiii. 15). The name of his colleague *Mīnos* is also borrowed from the Hebr. מנה (*mōnēh*) = 'determining, al-

very appropriately considered this combination impossible; and yet the Greek may be derived from the Semitic. We have in Aramean *mēḏār* (corresponding to Arab. *dār*, 'house'); this was borrowed by the Arabians, where we have *mādaratun*, 'village habitation,' whence *μά(ν)δρα* could easily have been formed. *Madarsuma*, a place in Numidia = *מדרר צומא* (*mēḏār 'āçūmā*), 'fortified habitation,' is mentioned by Schröder, 89. — *Μέγαρον*, 'hall, room,' is usually connected with *μέγας*, because it commonly signifies a large room or house, which, however, is by no means always the case.<sup>7</sup> *Ἐ. r. XXXVII.* writes: '*μέγαρον* eodem quo *tugurium*<sup>8</sup> refero, ad *גור* (*gūr*), scilicet.' Phoen. *māgūr* and Latin *magalia* are also to be added (Bochart, Ph. 469–70). Stowasser, III. 5–6, believes that also Lat. *e-migrare*, *im-migrare*, and *migrare* are borrowed from the Greek, just as the latter was borrowed from a Semitic nation. Another word is *τὰ μέγαρα*, also *μάγαρα*, 'underground caves,' sacred to Demeter and Persephone, into which young pigs were let down on a particular day in the Thesmophoria. This is to be connected with *מעררה* (*mē'ārāh*), 'cave,' *√ררע*, Lag. 'Symmicta,' II. 91. From the same Semitic word Meltzer, 72 and 442, and J. Halévy, 'Mélanges de critique,' 144, derive the name *Μέγαρα*, while Geo. Hoffmann ('Über einige Phönikische Inschriften,' 6, *rem.* 1) compares

lotting' (for the vowels compare *Κιμμέριοι*, from *גומר*, *gōmer*). It would be a partic. *Qal* of *mānāh*. Or, this *mōnīh*, says Lewy, could also be a partic. *Hif'il* of *נר* (*īnāh*) = 'the oppressor,' which would explain why *Mīnos* is called *ὀλοφθρων*, *Od.* 11, 322. The form *Mīnos* might go back to a word sounding like Punic \**mūnē*. See also Ries, 57–8. But Ed. Meyer, I. § 192, *rem.*, justly warns against such etymologies: "Weit problematischer sind noch die mythologischen Combinationen, die in der Regel jeder soliden Begründung ermangeln. Minos für phönizisch zu halten liegt kein Grund vor." On the other hand be it said that the I.-E. etymologies for Minos proposed by Kuhn, *KZ.* 4, 91; Misteli, *ibid.* 17, 192; Benfey; Johansson, *BB.* 18, 44, and others from the Skt. *mānus* are equally unsatisfactory (*cf.* Gruppe, 104–5; Schrader<sup>2</sup>, 588, 596, 598, and 614; *KZ.* 29, 537). *BB.* 12, 140, explains Minos by the Lykian *minohā*. On Windischmann's and Eckstein-Kuhn's etymologies of Radamanthys, see Gruppe, 99.

<sup>7</sup> Curtius<sup>6</sup>, 328; Schrader<sup>2</sup>, 497; an I.-E. etymology of *μέγαρον* is proposed by Johansson, *BB.* 18, 36. Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 512, compares Lith. *mēga*, 'partition'; German, 'Gemach.'

<sup>8</sup> Curtius<sup>6</sup>, 186, *tug-urium* from *tego*.

the Carthaginian *Méγapa* with מַגְרָס (*migrās*), “wegen der sachlichen Uebereinstimmung; vergleiche die Verstümmelung *Carthada* from קַרְתַּדְדִּישׁ.”—Movers, I. 292, and Müllenhoff, I. 119, derive σῆκος, ‘hut, fold, tent’ (compared by Leo Meyer with German ‘Zwinger’) from Hebr. סִכָּה (*sukkāh*), ‘fold.’ Much better it is, however, to combine the noun with σάπτω (= zwingen, G.G.Nachr. 1892, 313), etc., from √*svāk*, ‘to secure, make firm’; G. Meyer<sup>2</sup>, 221; BB. 12, 240. Curtius<sup>5</sup>, 161, compares Lat. saepe. See also H. D. Müller, BB. 13, 314; and Sophus Bugge, *ibid.* 14, 66. — Σιρός (not σειρός), ‘pit, vessel for keeping corn in’ (Eurip. *frag.* 4, D), ‘pitfall,’ Lat. sirus, is connected with סִירָה (*sirāh*), ‘kettle, cistern,’ 2 Sam. iii. 26; cf. *J. a.* 210, 23; *J. arm.* 1702. Bochart, H. II. 595, 3, derived the Greek from Hebr. אָצַר (*‘āzār*), ‘hide, stow away.’ — Χάραξ, ‘a place paled in, palisaded place,’ is from כָּרַךְ (*kārāk*), ‘a city, fortified and walled round, a citadel’ (Gesenius, ‘Wörterbuch,’<sup>9</sup> 401); cf. כָּרְכַּא דְּמִוּאָב = Χαρακμῶβα (Ptol. and Steph. Byzant.); *J. a. g.* I, 205, derives it from כָּרַח; see also *Rev. des études juives*, 20, 297, and, on the other hand, Postgate in A.J.P. III. 336. — Ἐμβολος, means 1) a ‘peg, stopper,’ connected with ἐμβάλλω, and 2) ‘portico, porch’ (late Greek). In this latter meaning it is derived by Geo. Hoffmann (Über einige Phönikische Inschriften, 12, *rem.* 1) from Syriac אַבְּוּלָא (*abbūlā*). — Κίων, ‘pillar’ = Hebr. כִּיּוּן (*kīiūn*), ‘pedestal statue’ (Amos v. 26).<sup>9</sup> But Aug. Müller (BB. 1, 290) has already argued that the Hebrew, being a ἄπαξ εἰρημένον, can hardly be taken into consideration. The translation of *kīiūn* by ‘statue, pedestal’ is only a surmise, not to be accepted. It has been shown that the correct reading in Amos v. 26 is כִּיּוּן (*kēyān*, or rather *kaiiāyān*), a word borrowed from the Assyrian *kāmānu* (*kaimānu*, pronounced in later time *kēyānu*), which in II. Rawlinson, 32, 15, *col. e-f*, is mentioned as the name of the planet Saturn. The planet was called *kāmānu*, ‘true, durable,’ because of its

<sup>9</sup> Movers, I. 292; Müllenhoff, I. 69; *J. a.* 13, 31; see, however, *J. arm.* 2000; and again, *J. a. g.* 2, 356; O. Schrader<sup>2</sup>, 497; D’Arbois de Jubainville, *Mém.* 3, 349, considers *στυξ*, *ἄτλας*, and *στυλή* as translations of this Semitic *kīiūn*.

slow motion. *Kíων* is connected with Arm. *siun* (ጸ. arm. 2000; Hübschmann, 'Arm. Stud.' 49, 251; A.J.P. VI. 439), while G. Meyer<sup>2</sup>, 115, and Fick, BB. I, 333, consider it = \*σκειών, comparing M.H.G. *schiel*, 'stake, fence-post.'<sup>10</sup> — *Μάνδαλος*, 'bolt' = Hebr. מַנְעוּל (*man'ul*), the same ጸ. r. XXXVII. A. Müller, BB. I, 291, rejected this etymology of Lagarde. Since then, however, it has again been explained as borrowed from the Semitic, and, I believe, correctly. We have in Assyrian *medilu* = *ma'dalu* (√מַדַּל, bolt, lock) = 'bolt,' which could easily have been borrowed as *μάδαλος*, *μάνδαλος*, through Syriac ܡܢܨܘܠ,<sup>11</sup> although Fränkel, 19, *rem.* 1, maintains that the Syriac is undoubtedly borrowed from the Greek. Vaniček, 663, derives the noun from a √μανδ, 'hem, hinder'; *μάνδαλος*, = 'a hindrance, a bolt.' — \**Αριζος* (Hesych.) *τάφος* · *Κύπριοι*, = 'grove, ditch' = *חַרְרִיץ* (*hārīz*), Hamaker, 'Miscell. Phoen.' 301; Ries, 42; BB. 15, 70. — The most doubtful word is *γέφυρα*, 'path, way' (Homer), Lakonian *διφοῦρα*; later = 'bridge.' In Homer always in the plur.; later in sing. and plur.; = Hebr. *gēšūr* (גִּשׁוּר); Lenormant; Hitzig (ZDMG. 1854, 747); ጸ. üb. 65; through the Aramean *gēšūr*.<sup>12</sup> The Homeric *γέφυρα* was 'a dam, a path.' The Semitic denotes a beam, as well as the beam, thrown across the river, serving as a path, a bridge. An I.-E. etymology from √*gaf*, *gauf*, was proposed by Kuhn in KZ. I, 132 ff. G. Meyer<sup>2</sup>, 48; Johansson, KZ. 30, 414, *rem.* 2, and BB. 18, 28, refrain from discussing its origin.<sup>13</sup> — Bochart, H. II. 599, 25, also derived *λαβύρινθος* from Hebr. עַרְבֵלּוֹת (*'arbēlūt*), by metath-

<sup>10</sup> Also *σκηνή*, 'tent' (Dor. *σκάνα*), has been connected with Arab. *sakinum*, 'habitaclum, mansio' (Bochart, H. I. 465; Raumer, 'zweite Fortsetzung,' 14); it belongs, of course, to O.N. *skauinn* (a poetic name for 'shield'), BB. 4, 348; also 18, 65 and KZ. 30, 431.

<sup>11</sup> See Delitzsch and Haupt's *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, I. 5; A.J.P. VIII. 290. There could well have been a Hebrew noun \*מַנְעַדַּל (*ma'adāl*) like *ma'šār*, etc., from which the Greek could have been borrowed.

<sup>12</sup> For φ from Semitic ʃ is quoted 'Αφροδίτη from *Asšōret*, *Aššōret*; Russian Feodor for Theodor; Hebr. שׁוּם (*šūm*), 'garlic' = Arab. *šūm*, vulgar Arabic *šūm* (G.G.Nachr. 1883, 97, *rem.* 3).

<sup>13</sup> The Gephyraeans, one of the pre-hellenic tribes of Boeotia in the valley of the Asopos, were probably Phoenician invaders (Kiepert, 155); they are identified

esis of λ and ρ, for which he quotes the following examples: *calasiri* = 'toga talaris,' from Hebr. קָרְסֹל (*qarsöl*), Vulgate tali; κλήρος from גֹּרָל (*gōrāl*), and βήρυλλος from Aram. בִּלְלוֹר (*billōr*); but λαβύρινθος is evidently connected with Greek λαύρα, λαύριον. Κλήρος is not from the Hebr. *gōrāl*; and for βήρυλλος see below, c. XXII. As for *calasiri*, Greek καλάσιρις, 'soldier' (Hdt. 2, 164; 7, 89; 9, 32), and 'garment' (Hdt. 2, 81), it is mentioned by Pollux, *Onomast.* 7, 16, as an Egyptian noun; although thus far not met with in Egyptian literature.<sup>14</sup> As a synonym of λαβύρινθος Bochart quotes σήραγξ, 'hollow, cleft,' which he derives from the Hebr. שָׂרַג (*sārāg*), 'perplexum est.'—As a curiosity I will add that Lenormant derived χόρτος, hortus, from the Hebr. חָרָשׁ (*xārāš*, 'plough'); *xōreš*, 'forest, mountain-forest,' or from Hebr. חֶרֶת (*xéret*, proper name of a forest in Judah). But this is nonsense; cf. Stokes, BB. 11, 70, = Celtic *gort* ('field'); also Fröhde, *ibid.* 10, 301; O. Schrader<sup>2</sup>, 421.<sup>15</sup>—On ἐσχάρα, 'hearth, fireplace,' and Syriac כַּסְכְּרָא (*kaskēra*), see *J. arm.* 1116; ZDMG. 46, 240. Prellwitz compares Slav. *iskra*, 'spark' (from \**eskhrā*), N.H.G. 'schorn-stein'; see also O. Schrader<sup>2</sup>, 191 and 500; and Zubaty, KZ. 31, 15, *rem.* 2. The Syriac may have been borrowed from the Greek. On Latin *escharosus* compare Keller, 71.

with the Hebr. *gibbōrīm* (גִּבּוֹרִים), 'the strong ones'; by others with Hebr. *kaf-torīm* (כַּפְתּוֹרִים). The most natural would be to connect them with the *gēsūrī* (גִּזְרֵי) = 'the Gentiles.' See also Hitzig, ZDMG. 9, 747, and Bochart, Ph. 454; Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 34 and 401. Jubainville, 191, explains the word as = 'builders of bridges.'

<sup>14</sup> Kiepert, Manual, derives the Greek from Egyptian *lope-ro-hunt*, according to Keller, 215; but I am not able to find any such statement (see § 116 of his Manual); Wiedemann and Erman do not mention the word as borrowed from that language; on the other hand, see Brugsch, 'Aegyptologie,' 447: "Labyrinth-os gelegen in der Nähe der Mündungstelle *re-hn-t* eines Kanals *hn-t* im Nomos von 'im-phwu."

<sup>15</sup> Late-Latin *canaba* is discussed by *J. arm.* 966; *Tag. M.* 1, 228, and 2, 363-7; my 'Semitic glosses to Kluge,' 42, also *Mém.* 7, 56. — Stowasser's etymology of Lat. *macellum* and *macellotae* from Sem. מַכְלָא (*mīkēlā* or *mākēlā* = *δρυφακτος*), pl. *mākēlōt* seems to me very plausible ('Dunkle Wörter,' II. 3-6). Also cf. *J. arm.* 1457.

## V.—CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS.

Of the greatest interest in this class is *χιτών*, Ionic *κιθών*, borrowed from the Phoen.-Hebr. כַּתָּנָה (*kētōneî* or *kuttōneî*),<sup>1</sup> or rather כַּתָּנָה (*kētūnā*, Budge). I believe that the form *κιτών*, which is said to belong to a Sicilian dialect, is the earliest form adopted by the Greeks (J.H.U.C. no. 81, 76).<sup>2</sup> It also occurs in papyri (see K.Z. 31, 471). Wharton quotes Sicilian *λίτρα* for \**λίθρα*, whence Latin *libra*. According to Joseph. *Antt.* III. 7, 2, the *κῆτόνεϊ* was made of linen: *χεθὸν τὸ λίνον ἡμεῖς καλοῦμεν*, and Thucyd., I. 6, tells us that the oldest *χιτῶνες* were made of linen. From the same Aram. *kētūnā* we have (c)tuni(ca), sc. vestis = tunica.<sup>3</sup>—Two other nouns for clothing, *πέπλος* and *φᾶρος*, worn by women, are supposed by Helbig, p. 131, to have been borrowed from a non-I.-E., perhaps Semitic, nation, because the best *πέπλοι* were made by slaves in Sidon. Both are, however, I.-E. words.<sup>4</sup>—*Μανδύη* (*ῆ*) (and *μανδύας* (*ὀ*)) is a late Greek word for 'woolen cloak,' usually explained as of Persian origin. Boch. H. i. 237, 20, *ῒ.τ. XXXVII.*, *ῒ.α. 209, 8*, derived it from Hebr. מַד (mad), 'carpet, garment.'—According to Helbig, 131 and 195, *κεκρύφαλος*, 'a woman's head-dress' (Homer), is also borrowed from a non-I.-E. tribe; and Fränkel, p. 164, says: "Eine Ableitung von אַתְּפָלָה, Schädel, Schale (*qarqafṭā*), ist קַרְקַפֶּל (*qarqafēl*); damit ist wohl *κεκρύφαλος*

<sup>1</sup> Movers, II. 3, 97; Gutschmid, 'Kleine Schriften,' II. p. 6; Ewald, 'Hebr. Gram.'<sup>8</sup> 62; R. 207; *ῒ.α.* 256, 12; BB. I, 280, 284, and 299; Ries, 13; Schrader<sup>2</sup>, 485; *idem.* 'Waarenkunde,' 70, 87, and 118; Helbig, 115. On the other hand, see Pusey, *Daniel*, 515, below.

<sup>2</sup> On *χιτών*, *κιθών*, see KZ. 19, 22; Curtius, 'Studien,' 2, 50; G. Meyer<sup>2</sup>, § 206; G.G.Anz. 1884, 1016. On *λίτρα*: *libra* comp. M. Bréal, *Mém.* 6, 6, and *bel.* p. 84.

<sup>3</sup> Bradke, 253; Stowasser, I. 6; Schrader<sup>2</sup>, 486; Keller, 90.

<sup>4</sup> *Il.* 6, 289-295; also Helbig, 14 and 195; Ries, 14; Sonne, KZ. 10, 407; Fritzsche, 'Curtius Studien,' 6, 322. Schrader<sup>2</sup>, 472, compares Lat. *pallium* and connects both with *pellis*, O.H.G. *fel*.—On *φᾶρος*, see Fick, BB. I, 244, and Bezenberger's note, *ibidem*. Liddell and Scott, following Curt.<sup>5</sup> 300, connects it with *φέρω*, as German 'Tracht' from 'tragen.' Studniczka, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Altgriech. Tracht' (1886), combines the Greek with Egyptian *pār*, 'linen.' The Egyptian word, however, occurs only in late texts, and is borrowed from the Hebr. ראש (pē'er), 'head gear' (Brugsch, ZDMG. 46, 110); Schrader<sup>2</sup>, 485-6; Ries, 13-14.

identisch, wenn auch die Bedeutungen nicht ganz genau stimmen; das jüdische Wort wird als Schädelhaut erklärt." I consider this combination very improbable, and prefer to combine it with *κορυφή* (Lobeck, *El.* I. 165) or *κρύπτω* (Geo. Bühler, *Orient und Occident*, I. 337 ff.; and 'Curtius, Studien,' 6, 330). — Fürst, 'Glossarium graeco-hebraeum,' 129, derives Hebr. כְּתֹר (*kéter*) from Greek *κίδαρις*, *κίταρις*; but the Greek is from the Semitic, and this perhaps from the Persian.<sup>5</sup> — Σάβανον, 'linen, cloth, towel' (Lat. *sabanum*), Arm. *saiian*, is from the Arabic *sabaniyyat*, 'cloth, linen made in Saban,' near Bagdád (Dozy, 'Diction. des vêtements,' 200; *Œ. arm.* 1974). Uppenkamp referred the Greek to *√shap*. — Μανιάκης,<sup>6</sup> 'bracelet, collar, necklace' (Polyb. II. 31), and *μανιάκον*, 'border of a robe,' are connected by Sophocles, 'Dictionary,' *s.v.*, with Hebr. הַמְּנִיָּה (*hamniḥ*, Dan. v. 7: הַמְּנִיָּה). Gesenius, 'Wörterbuch'<sup>7</sup>, derives the Aram. from the Greek; so also Kautzsch, 'Aramäische Grammatik,' 119; while Benfey (*Œ. a.* 40, 11; *Œ. arm.* 1420) refers it to Skt. \**sumanika*.<sup>7</sup> — Ὀθόνη, 'fine white linen, undergarments' (Homer, always plur.), is a much disputed word as regards its etymology.<sup>8</sup> Benfey and Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 129, refer it, doubtfully, to the *√vadh*, 'wind, bind.'<sup>9</sup> Movers, II. 3, 319, was the first who derived it from the Sem. אֶטֶן (*'ētūn*, Prov. vii. 16, 'fine linen from Egypt'); he is followed by R. 207, Hehn, Vaniček, Studniczka, Ries, etc.; Helbig too, 128, combines the Greek with this Semitic noun, and adds: "Doch die genaue Kenntniss welche die homerischen Dichter hinsichtlich der Herstellungsweise bekunden, zeigt dass solche Stoffe bereits unter ihren Augen in den ionischen Städten gear-

<sup>5</sup> Bötticher, 'Arica,' 119 f.; *Œ. a.* 207, 21; *Œ. arm.* 1003; BB. I. 276, and 15, 97; Ries, 42; against a connection with Assyrian *kudūru*, see *Proc. Am. Or. Soc.*, Oct., 1888, p. xcvi.

<sup>6</sup> Τοῦτό ἐστιν χρυσοῦν ψέλλιον ὃ φοροῦσι περὶ τὸν τράχηλον αἱ Γαλάται.

<sup>7</sup> Pusey ('Daniel,' 459): *hamniḥ* is derived from the Skt. *mani*, 'jewel,' with a secondary derivative *-ka*; the Latin monile is a cognate word. See also Boch., Ph. 488; H. Derenbourg, 'Mélanges Graux,' 240; Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 110; Jubainville, 210, *rem.* 4. Prellwitz, 190, adds O.H.G. *mana* = N.H.G. 'Mähne.'

<sup>8</sup> *Il.* 3, 141, and 18, 595; *Od.* 7, 107; later = sails. Helbig, 126 ff.

<sup>9</sup> See W. Stokes in Kuhn's *Beiträge*, 8, 352; Meister, 'Curt. Stud.' 4, 374; and Leo Meyer, KZ. 23, 60, comparing O.H.G. *wāt*.

beitet wurden." Weise, in a review of Schrader's 'Waarenkunde,'<sup>10</sup> urges against the identification of מִשְׁנָה and ὀθόνη, 1) that yarn and thread (ὀθόνη) are not the same as linen, cloth (מִשְׁנָה), and 2) that the acknowledged Semitic loan-word ὄνος = מִשְׁנָה ('*ālōn* = \**āsonos*) gives us a hint what the Phoenician word would likely have been on Greek soil. But ὀθόνη in Homer may also mean linen, cloth, and ὄνος is not a Semitic word.<sup>11</sup> Schrader, 'Waarenkunde,' 192, and 'Urgeschichte'<sup>2</sup>, 485, speaks of Egypto-Semitic linen, mentioning Egyptian 'ēṭūn. M. Harkavy,<sup>12</sup> too, derives the Hebrew from Egyptian *aten*, *atennu*, explaining both as 'disc, globe.' Wiedemann does not mention ὀθόνη as from the Egyptian, nor does Erman (ZDMG. 46, 92-130). The form מִשְׁנָה ('*ēṭūn*) is a Syriasm for מִשְׁנָה ('*ēṭūn*); it is probably connected with the verb מִשְׁנָה, 'spin, twist' (= Assyrian *tamū*, *ṭauū*).<sup>13</sup>— Another word belonging to this class is μέταξα, μάταξα,<sup>14</sup> 1) 'thread,' 2) 'cocoon of the silk-worm, (raw-)silk' = Aram. מִשְׁנָה (*mēṭaksā*), which, according to Gesenius, 'Thesaurus,' 346, is a transposition of מִשְׁנָה (*dimašq*).<sup>15</sup> Fleischer, in his additions to Levy's 'Chaldäisches Wörterbuch,' II. 568, says: 'Hellenistic μέταξα, Aram. מִשְׁנָה, and Arab. *midaqsun*, are from *Dimašq*.'<sup>16</sup> Fränkel, 40, derives the Aram. from the Greek, whence it passed to the Arab. as *dimasq* for *midaqs*, perhaps with a popular leaning toward the name of the city Damascus; and on p. 288 he adds: "Since metaxa is Old-

<sup>10</sup> *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie*, 17, 225-6.

<sup>11</sup> See below, c. IX.

<sup>12</sup> *Journal Asiatique*, March-April, 1870, 166 f.; see also BB. I, 294.

<sup>13</sup> It is amusing to see the mistakes of the LXX. translators of Prov. vii. 16-17.

<sup>14</sup> Also μετάξιον, μέταξις, μέταξον, μέταξος.

<sup>15</sup> Gesenius, 'Wörterbuch' 9, 192 a.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Hitzig, ZDMG. 8, 213. Lagarde's etymology, 'Reliquiae,' XXXVII., is rejected by A. Müller, BB. I, 292. See also §.r. 45, 153. מִשְׁנָה in Amos iii. 12, according to Ewald (G.G.Nachr. 1862, 372), Gesenius, Keil (Minor Prophets, I. 264), does not mean the city of Damascus, but damask; on the other hand, compare Pusey (Minor Prophets, I. 277, *rem.* 2). The text seems to be imperfect or corrupt (Stade's *Zeitschrift*, 3, 102).—Prellwitz's last source is Persian *Māt-shin* = China (but ???), following Schrader, 'Waarenkunde'; this would be a case similar to that of σήπες (silk), from the Chinese (cf. Corean *sir*; Mandchu *sirghe*, etc.).



Latin (Waddington *ad* 'Edictum Diocletiani,' XVI. 86), there can be no connection with Damascus." Saalfeld, 687, however, states that metaxa occurs only in late Latin. G. Meyer (*Lit. Centralblatt*, 1893, no. 2, col. 49), reviewing Prellwitz's 'Etym. Wörterbuch,' says: "Die unter *μέταξα* angeführten orientalischen Wörter stammen gewiss aus dem Griechischen." On the whole it is best to remain satisfied with the cautious remarks of *Ῥ. arm.* 1481. — Equally doubtful are *βύσσοσ* and *σινδών*. *Βύσσοσ* (Theocr. and LXX.), 'fine yellowish flax, especially from India and Egypt, and linen made thereof.'<sup>17</sup> *Σινδών βυσσίνη*, 'fine linen bandage' used for mummy-cloths (Hdt. 2, 86), for dressing wounds (*ibid.* 7, 181). It was paid in Egypt as tribute (C.I.G. 4697, 18). In later Greek writers it means 'cotton' (Philostratus, 71; Pollux, 7, 76); it is different from *κάνναβις* and *λίνον* (Paus. 7, 76, 6); used of silk, which was supposed to be a kind of cotton. The adjective occurs in Aeschylus. According to Sayce it is the Egyptian *bus*, 'fine linen';<sup>18</sup> but Erman, BB. 7, 337, denies the existence of such a word in Egyptian; and Wiedemann ('Hdt.'s Zweites Buch,' 358), says: "*Βύσσοσ* ist weder das ägyptische Wort *vat* noch das hebr. *בִּזְ (bīz)*" ; while R. 205, Schröder, 134, and G. Meyer<sup>2</sup>, 185, have *βύσσοσ* = Hebr. *būz*.<sup>19</sup> The Egyptian word for byssus is *šs*, Coptic *šens*, whence Hebr. *šēš* (*שׁשׁ*, formed after *שׁשׁ = šēš*, 'white marble'), and perhaps Greek *σινδών*; *Ῥ. arm.* 80, 1193, too, derives the Greek from the Coptic, in which he is followed by Fränkel, 41. Movers,

<sup>17</sup> Latin byssus, byssoses; Ital. bisso; O.H.G. *bissin*, etc.

<sup>18</sup> So also O. Weise, BB. 7, 170, and Stein *ad* Hdt. 2, 86.

<sup>19</sup> According to Stade, I. 373, *būz* is an Aram. word; Northern Syria furnished the Phoenician merchants with *būz*, says Canon Rawlinson, and Schrader, 'Waarenkunde,' believes that the fact that this word is used first by Ezekiel, who lived in Babylon, may point to its original home. The word seems to be Persian (ZDMG. 46, 234, no. 17). Also cf. Gesen. 'Wörterbuch' 9; Stade and Siegfried, 'Hebr. Wörterbuch.' Fürst, 'Hebrew and Chaldaic Lexicon,' 189, says: 'It is a genuine Semitic word, occurring in all the dialects'; Lag. 'Semitica,' I. 52; 'Symmicta,' II. 110; 'Arm. Stud.,' 421, has some remarks on the subject. Pusey, 'Daniel,' 515: 'Its etymology is Semitic = white, i.e. bleached.' Prellwitz, 'Wörterbuch,' considers it an I.-E. noun, comparing N.H.G. *kaute*.

II. 3, 319, combined the Greek with Hebr. סָדִין (*sādīn*), a combination adopted by Sayce, 'Hibbert Lectures,' 138;<sup>20</sup> Stade, I. 374, and Wiedemann, 'Hdt.'s Zweites Buch.' The Hebrew, again, is derived from the Assyrian *sindhu* (*šintu*), and this ultimately from *Sind* = 'Ἰνδός (India); see also Weise, *Lehnwörter*, 183, *rem.* 1. — Κάριππος, 'fine flax, linen' (Lat. *carbasus*). Ḳ. arm. 1148; Arm. *kerpas*, from Arab. كَرْبَاء (kirb'ās) = Skt. *karpāsa*; whence also Hebr. כַּרְפָּס (*karpās*, Esth. i. 6), Pers. *karbās*.<sup>21</sup> Hehn derived the Greek from a reconstructed Phoenician word, while Schrader ('Waarenkunde,' 210) makes the Sanskrit equal to Arabic *korsofah*, *korsuf*, *korsof*; but this Arabic is, according to Ḳ.üb. 114, 1 = late Greek γοσσύπιον (*gossypium*), 'cotton'; so also O. Weise, *Lehnwörter*, 144; while Fränkel, 145, makes the Greek borrow it from the Arabic. — Νάκη, 'a wooly, hairy skin, goat skin' (*Od.* 14, 530); 'sheep's fleece'; later νάκος, τὸ (Latin *nacae*, whence *nacca* = *fullo*), is combined by Bochart, H. i. 419, with Syriac נִקִּי (*neqīḏ*), 'sheep,' while in reality it belongs to Gothic *snaga*, 'garment' (Bezzenger).<sup>22</sup> — Σισύρα (Aristoph. *Av.* 121), 'a shaggy goat-skin, thick, rough outer garment,' is derived by Ḳ. r. 43, 136, from Hebr. שַׁיִר (*sā'ir*), 'shaggy, rough skinned.'<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Sayce: "An ancient list of clothing mentions *šintu* or 'muslin,' the *sādīn* of the Old Testament, *σινδών* of the Greeks. That *σινδών* is merely 'the Indian cloth' has long been recognized; and the fact that it begins with a sibilant and not with a vowel, like our 'Indian,' proves that it must have come to the West by sea and not by land, where the original *s* would have become *h* in Persian mouths; supposing, of course, that Iranian tribes were already settled to the east of Babylon." Also cf. Pusey, 'Daniel,' 516, no. 2.

<sup>21</sup> KZ. 23. 9. Uppenkamp, 15, *rem.* 1, says: "Unbekannt ist die Heimat der Bezeichnung für Baumwolle, auch Leinwand" (κάριππος); Ḳ. r. 45, 153; R. 209; Saalfeld, 231; Weise, *Lehnwörter*, 183.

<sup>22</sup> Keller, 44, brings up again the long-rejected Arab. etymology of 'amuletum.' See my 'Semitic Glosses to Kluge's Wörterbuch,' 8-9; and A.J.P. XIII. 230. — Bochart, Ph. 484, derives Lat. *mappa* from Heb. מַפֶּסֶר (*mappar*, for *ma'āfār*, 'covering,' מַפֶּסֶר = מַפֶּסֶר). — The Late-Latin *camisia* (French-Engl. *chemise*, Ital. *camicia*) is from the Arab. *qamiḥ*, 'a shirt, a shift.'

<sup>23</sup> *Ain saepe in dentalem abiit* (sic שַׁיִר: *sā'ir* est Σάρυπος) atque etiam in sibilantem (*sā'ir* etiam *σούρα*, Aristoph. *Av.* 121).

## VI.—UTENSILS AND FURNITURE.

Κιβωτός, 'wooden box, chest' = Hebr. תבה (*tēbāh*).<sup>1</sup> Clemens Alex. 241, 4, says: κιβωτός ἐκ τοῦ ἑβραϊκοῦ ὀνόματος θηβωθά (תִּבְוֹתָא, *tēbōtā*) καλουμένη. Geo. Hoffmann, ZDMG. 32, 748, writes: Syriac *qēbōtā*, plur. *qēbōtā*, from Greek κιβωτός, and this again for \*τιβωτός, from תִּבְוֹתָא (*tēbōtā*).<sup>2</sup> The Hebrew may have been borrowed from the Egyptian, where we have *tēbt*, 'chest, coffin,' ZDMG. 46, 123. In the Cyprian dialect we have θιβωνος· κιβωτός.<sup>3</sup> B. ii. 324, connected κιβωτός with κίβισις, pouch, wallet (πήρα· Κύπριοι); but κίβισις (Hes. Sc. 224)<sup>4</sup> belongs to Hebr. קִבִּי, Ries, 42. The Aetolians use κίββα for πήρα. Whether this has any connection with Hebr. *qāb* (cf. Assyrian *gabū*, 'chest, box') I cannot say.—An important word is κάρταλος, 'basket' (LXX. and Philo). R. 206, derived it from Hebr. אַגְרִיטָל (*āgartāl*), Ezra i. 9. It is, however, more likely that the Hebrew ἀπαξ εἰρημένον is from the Greek or another Eastern language, than *vice versa*. The Hebrew has no etymology.<sup>5</sup> W. Stokes combines the Greek with Irish *certle* and Lat. *cartilago*<sup>6</sup> (BB. 9, 88, and 16, 245). G. Meyer<sup>2</sup>, § 173; Curtius<sup>5</sup>, 144, and Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 15 and 385, add κροτώνη, Skt. *kāṭa*, 'wicker-work'; *krnātti*, *crātanti*, *crūtā*, 'to bind, tie' (√*kart*, 'wind, twine'); so also Siegismund, 'Studien,' 5, 148, while P. Kretschmer (KZ. 31, 393) calls in Skt. *crātami*, Goth. *haurds*, Slav. *krętaja*, 'texture.' Fränkel, 77–8, de-

<sup>1</sup> Rödiger in Gesen. 'Thesaurus'; Ewald, 'Hebr. Gram.'<sup>8</sup> § 47 c, p. 123; §. 1. XXXVII. Fleischer in 'Berichte der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften,' 1866, p. 310.

<sup>2</sup> See, however, A. Müller, BB. 1, 289; Bochart, H., explaining κιβωτός, mentions as a parallel \*κάχλη, whence κάλχη (murex, purple limpet), from the Aram. תִּכְלָא (*tēklā* or *taḳlā*); but cf. Curtius<sup>5</sup>, 152; Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 437; and ZDMG. 46, 260.

<sup>3</sup> KZ. 9, 304, where Schmidt wrongly explains θιβωνος for θιβηνος = ἰβηνος = βήνος. Also θιβη (תִּבְוֹתָא) and θιβις occur in LXX. *ad* Ex. 2, 3, where Aquila has κιβωτός.

<sup>4</sup> Also κίβησις, κύβησις, and κυβύλα.

<sup>5</sup> Those proposed in Fürst's 'Hebrew Lexicon' are all too fanciful; the ת is an 'aleph prostheticum,' as shown by the corresponding forms in Arabic, Aram., and Syriac.

<sup>6</sup> Another etymology for *cartilago* was advanced by Hempl in A.J.P. XII. 354-

rives Arabic *qirṭalatum* from the Greek, and then continues: "Ob κάρταλλος selbst echt ist, ist allerdings noch eine andere Frage. Es würde wohl möglich sein, dass hier ein persisches (und dies würde zu אַנְרַטַל stimmen) oder gar semitisches Fremdwort im Griechischen vorläge." — Of Semitic origin are κλωβός, κλουβός, 'cage, bird-cage,' also 'chamber, room' = Hebr. כְּלוּב (*kēlūḇ*), Amos viii. 2; Jer. v. 27; Syriac, 'the same.' Boch. H. i. 662, 53; G. 66; R. 207. The etymologies of Curtius<sup>5</sup>, 585, and Vaniček, 1123, are not acceptable; nor do I agree with Prellwitz, 152. — The same is the case with σάκκος (*σακκίον*; Aristoph. also σάκτας) 'sack' = Hebr. שַׁק (*saq*), Lat. saccus, sacculus = 'Seckel.' G. J. Vossius, 'Etymologicum,' *s.v.*, says: 'Saccus non a sago, sed a Graeco σάκκος, quod ipsum est non a σάπτω, sed a Hebraeo שַׁק.'<sup>7</sup> According to Hehn it may be of Lydo-Phoenician origin. Schwally in Stade's *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, XI. 173, writes: 'שַׁק has no Semitic etymology. It is perhaps an Egyptian word.' But we also find it in Assyrian as *šaqqu ša še'im* = *alluxappu*, 'cornsack' (Delitzsch, 'Assyrisches Wörterbuch'), and Egyptian *sq*, 'mat made of rushes,' occurs only in late texts (ZDMG. 46, 119). — Ἰγδῖς, 'mortar' (Solon, 38); also ἰγδῖον (*Geop.* 12, 19, 5), and ἰγδη (*ibid.* 9, 26, 4), for \*μίγδη, is hardly else than a derivative of a verb לַה (דקק = דקה). The form λίγδος shows that a consonant has been dropped in the beginning. Λάρισσα also could be explained in the same manner and compared to Arabic *maxrūsatu* (מַחְרוּשָׁת, *Ṣ. p.* 76). On λίγδος see, on the other hand, Uppenkamp, p. 27, and Fröhde, BB. 3, 15, *rem.* 2. — Another noun of Semitic extraction, according to *Ṣ. p.* 76, is ὄλμος, 1) 'a round stone,' *Il.* 11, 147; 2) 'a mortar,' Hes. *Op.* 425, Hdt. 1, 200 = Hebr. הַלְמוֹת (*halmūt*, Jud. v. 26), 'hammer, crusher.' Curtius<sup>5</sup>, 358; G. Meyer<sup>2</sup>, 10, and KZ. 23, 74, refer it to I.-E. √*fel*. — Stowasser, I. 22, *rem.* 2, derives Lat. *alapa* and Greek κόλαφος, *κολαπτῆρ*, 'hammer,' from the Hebr. כִּילָפֹת (*kēlappōt*, Ps. lxxiv. 6). כִּילָפֹת he tells us means 'hammer'; *alap(a)* stands for *halap*, and this for

<sup>7</sup> See also R. 206, and Pauli in KZ. 18, 2.

*kalap*. The Vulgate 'in securi et *ascia*' shows that *κόλαφος* and *alapa* are the same. Thus also in this case are 'fist' (*alapa*) and 'hammer' (*κόλαφος*) conceived as identical, the fist being a 'Naturhammer' (Stowasser). *Alapa* and *κόλαφος* mean 'a box on the ear, a cuff'; *κολαπτήρ*, 'chisel.' Fick<sup>3</sup>, I. 811; Curtius<sup>6</sup>, 166, and Vaniček, 1102, compare the Greek with the Latin *scalpo*, to which Vaniček, 1105, also refers (*k*)*ālāpa*. Besides this, the Hebrew noun does not mean 'hammer,' but 'axe, broad-axe'; it is only the later Aramean *קולפא* (*qulpā*), which acquires the meaning 'cudgel.' The LXX. translators render the Hebrew by *λαξευτήριον*, 'a chisel'; and the Vulgate by *ascia*, 'the same.' It is therefore not probable that the Greek and Latin should have been borrowed from the Semitic,<sup>8</sup> especially as we have the corresponding forms in O.H.G. *klarhōn*; M.H.G. *klaffen*; A.-S. *clarrīan*, Eng. 'to clap' (Kluge<sup>4</sup>, *s.v.* *klabastern*). — Lagarde's derivation of *ράβδος*, 'rod, staff' (Homer), 'whip' (Xen.), from Hebr. *למד* (*lāmed*), 'ox-goad, whip,' would be quite acceptable, if the word had not a good I.-E. etymology.<sup>9</sup> As regards *m* and *b*, we know that the oldest Greek spelling of the letter L was *λάβδα*, whence also Coptic *labda*; and the change of *λ* to *ρ*<sup>10</sup> is not of rare occurrence: *ναύκλαρος* and *ναύκρῶρος*; Elean *χαλάδριοι* and *χαράδρα*; Arabic *riṭl*, from *λίτρα* (S. a. 33, 2);<sup>11</sup> *λίτρα*, again, is said to be a Sicelo-Greek form of Lat. *libra* (see, however, p. 77); *ἄγγελος* and *ἄγγαρος*. — Nor do I believe that *ἀξίνη*, 'axe' (Homer), together with Aram. *אצין*, Ethiop.-Syr. *xaççinā*, are borrowed from the Assyrian *xaçṣīnu*, 'axe' (from *√xaçṣū*, 'cut'), as

<sup>8</sup> With the same Hebrew noun *עלרפּוֹז*, Keller, 190 and 273, connects *Κύκλωψ* and Latin *Cocles*. But Curtius, Vaniček, Saalfeld, 550, and others refer *Cocles* to *√ska*, which appears in *caecus*, etc., and Möhl has lately given an I.-E. etymology for *Κύκλωψ* = Lith. *kauti*, O.H.G. *houwan*, from *√\*ku*, 'to forge,' Samoyedic *kues*, 'metal'; *Κύκλωπες* = *Hasava* (*\*Kues-lava*) = 'smiths' (Mém. 7, 412-14; see also M. D'Arbois de Jubainville, *ibid.* 3, 333; Havet, 6, 3; and KZ. 31, 355).

<sup>9</sup> See Curtius<sup>6</sup>, 351; Pott<sup>2</sup>, II. 2, 644; KZ. 14, 39; 15, 6; 22, 264; G. Meyer<sup>2</sup>, 162; and Schrader<sup>2</sup>, 405, *rem.* *√verb* = *verp*.

<sup>10</sup> E.g. *Τίγρις*, a Greek metathesis of *Δικριδ*, and this for *Δικλιτ* (*cf.* Assyrian *Diḡlat* and Hebr. *לדיגל* = *xiddēgel*).

<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, Keller, 105, says *libra* from Greek *λίτρα*.

Jensen, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, VI. 350, following Fränkel, 87, would make us believe. It is true, that nothing wanders from nation to nation so easily as weapons and names of weapons (V. Hehn), but in this very case there is a good I.-E. etymon.<sup>12</sup> There must have been a connection between the Semitic nouns and Arm. *kazin*, 'axe' (cf. *ᜌ.arm.* 1133). According to Hübschmann, ZDMG. 46, 241, no. 59, the Arm. is borrowed from the Semitic. Two other nouns, widely discussed, are *ἄρπη* and *πέλεκυς*. — *Ἄρπη*, 'sickle' = *δρέπανον*, is derived by Bochart, H. ii. 760, and *ᜌ.p.* VIII., from Hebr. *חרב* (*héreb*, sword, knife).<sup>13</sup> A. Müller's main objection, BB. 1, 287, against *כ* = *π*, could easily be overcome if, instead of *חרב*, we would take *חרף*, 'pluck, cut, harvest.' A sickle would be the instrument with which the corn is harvested.<sup>14</sup> The Greek, however, has a good I.-E. etymology, and I prefer to combine it with Old-Latin *sarpo*, 'to prune'; Slav. *srǫpŭ*, 'sickle,' and O.H.G. *sarf*, 'sharp.'<sup>15</sup> With *ἄρπη* is connected *ἄρπιξ*· *εἶδος ἀκάνθης*· *Κύπριοι* (KZ. 9, 301; BB. 15, 70). — *Πέλεκυς*, 'axe' (Homer; cf. Helbig, 76, 251-6), is usually connected with Skt. *paraçú*, *parçu*, 'axe, hatchet.'<sup>16</sup> Semitists have combined it with Assyrian *pilaqqu*, Aram. *פִּלְקָא* (*pilqā*), deriving either the Greek from the Semitic (*ᜌ.a.* 49, 10; Delitzsch, 'Assyr. Studien,' 102; *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, I. 171), or the Semitic from the Greek (Praetorius in '*Literaturblatt für Orientalische Philologie*,' 1, 195). I believe that the agreement in meaning and sound is purely accidental. To consider the Greek word borrowed from the Semitic is impossible on account of the

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Latin *ascia*; Goth. *aqizi* (axe), Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 349; G. Meyer<sup>2</sup>, 269, *rem.*; KZ. 24, 466; O.H.G. *ach-us*, f. (J. Schmidt, 'Indogermanischer Vocalismus,' II. 30, and 'Pluralbildungen,' 148).

<sup>13</sup> See also *ᜌ.arm.* 65, 975; *ᜌ.ag.ᜌ.* 1, 228; and on Arm. *harb*, ZDMG. 46, 237, no. 40.

<sup>14</sup> In this case *ἄρπη* would have been formed after the analogy of *ἄρπη*, 'bird of prey,' √APII, and *ἀρπάξω*. — *חרף* (*xārif* in Talmud = 'sharp, cutting').

<sup>15</sup> Curtius<sup>5</sup>, 163; 'Curt. Studien,' 2, 62; 5, 211 and 214; KZ. 2, 129; 4, 22; Fehrn, 438; O. Schrader<sup>2</sup>, 410; G. Meyer<sup>2</sup>, §§ 196 and 220; Kluge, 'Wörterbuch,'<sup>4</sup> s.v. 'scharf'; Jubainville, 219, *rem.* 2.

<sup>16</sup> KZ. 24, 243; 30, 199; G. Meyer<sup>2</sup>, §§ 95 and 183; O. Schrader<sup>2</sup>, 326; Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 83; Curtius<sup>5</sup>, 164, √πλακ, 'beat'; Jubainville, 210, *rem.* 7.

Skt.; and the Semitic noun has a good derivation from פִּלַק = בִּלַק, 'cut, cut down, destroy.'<sup>17</sup>—I do not believe that σμίλη, 'knife for cutting or carving,' has any connection with Sem. מַמֵּל, 'cut, carve,' nor that σμίλος (= μίλος), 'taxus-tree' (Hoffmann, 'Griech. Dialekte,' I. 53, *rem.* 1), is borrowed from the Semitic; σμίλη belongs to Gothic *gasmiron*, 'to do, cause, accomplish'; *aizasmira*, 'smith' (KZ. 29, 85; O. Schrader<sup>2</sup>, 287; G. Meyer<sup>2</sup>, 246). — Ἀβάθματα (Cyprian = στρέμματα), 'rope,' has been cleverly connected by Lewy (I.F. 1, 506, *rem.* 1) with Hebr. עֲבוֹת ('āḥōt, Phoen. perhaps 'ahāi) + ματα. — Of σπόγγος, 'sponge,' Franz Delitzsch (Horae Hebr. et Talmud. in Guericke's *Zeitschrift*, 1878, 9), said: 'It seems to be borrowed from the Semitic'; but see Pott in KZ. 26, 189; Savelsberg, *ibid.* 21, 143, and especially W. Meyer-Lübke in 'Philolog. Abhandlungen H. Schweizer-Sidler dargebracht, p. 16, against Keller, 305, and Stowasser, I. 6, below. — Pusey, 'Daniel,' 517, following Bochart, H. i. 851, 68, has the following note on λαμπάς: 'It seems to be connected with the Hebr. לַפִּיד (*lappid*), the *mp* replacing the *pp* of the Hebrew word.' Fürst, 'Hebrew Lexicon,' 751, quotes an imaginary Phoenician לַמְפַד (*lampad*), whence Greek λαμπάδες, λαμπάς, Latin lampas, and the verb λάμπω. So also H. Derenbourg, 'Mélanges Graux,' 241.<sup>18</sup> — Μάρσιπος, μάρσυπος, 'a bag, pouch' = Latin marsupium, from the *dim.* μαρσύπιον = βαλάντιον. *Ῥ.* 43, 136; *Ῥ.* VIII. and 85, considers it a *maf'il* formation = מַרְנִי, from רָנָו (*cf.* אַרְנָו, 'argās

<sup>17</sup> Joh. Schmidt ('Urheimath der Indogermanen und das europäische Zahlensystem'), pp. 8–9 and 53, considers Latin raudus = Sumerian *urud* (copper) and τέλεκος = Sumerian *balag*, Babylo-Assyrian *pilaggu*, 'axe,' as indications of an early contact between the two great families. The so-called Sumerian forms, I believe, only existed in the fertile brains of the scribes of Assurbanipal. Assyrian *erū*, 'bronze,' I derive with Delitzsch from Sem. עֲרָה; Lagarde, I confess, also believed in the existence of a Sumerian *urudu* (literally = 'good bronze') = raudus = Cymric *elydr* = Arm. աղօճր (*Ῥ.* arm. 272; *Ῥ.* ag. 1, 88–90). On the other hand, I call attention to Bradke's careful discussion on pp. 100, 105, 175, of his 'Methode,' etc. It was Lagarde who first combined Armen. *oski* with Sumerian *gwisēin* (gold); *Ῥ.* arm. 1735; *Ῥ.* ag. 1, 88; see I.F. 1, 444.

<sup>18</sup> See, however, Curtius<sup>6</sup>, 265; Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 532; and A. H. Sayce in London *Academy*, 22d Oct., 1892, 366, col. a. 'Lappid,' "torch," has no Semitic etymology, while the Greek λαμπάς is, of course, connected with the root of λάμπω.'

= *θυλάκιον*) = *μαργισος*; this became *μάρσικος*, and, being considered an Ionic noun, was changed to *μάρσιπος*.<sup>19</sup> — *Μέσαβον*, 'yoke, leathern strap,' by which the middle of the yoke was fastened to the pole, is connected by *Ἰ. r.* XXXVIII., with Arabic *'aṣaba*, 'ligare.' But see Müller, *BB.* 1, 273; Liddell and Scott, as well as Prellwitz, derive it from *μέσος* and *βοῦς*. — Of agricultural implements I mention here *ὄνις*, 'ploughshare,' from Semitic *ʾn*; cf. Arab. *ma'ānun* (on which see Nöldeke, 'Persische Studien,' II. 40), Hebr. *'ēṭ* (= *inṭ*), 'the same,' *Ἰ. ag. III.* 2, 254, *rem.* 1; but cf. Fick, *KZ.* 22, 156, and *BB.* 2, 249, and 12, 163; Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 554; Johansson, *BB.* 18, 38; G. Meyer<sup>2</sup>, 291; O. Schrader<sup>2</sup>, 417; and Solmsen, *KZ.* 29, 81. Sophus Bugge, *BB.* 3, 121, compared O.N. *vangsni*, Latin *vomis*. — *Μάραγνα* (= *σμάραγνα*), 'horse-whip,' Bochart connected with Syr. *maragnā*, 'the same,' Aram. *margēni*.<sup>20</sup>

#### VII. — VESSELS.

\**Άγανα* *σαγήνην*, *Κύπριοι*, 'net,' may have some connection with Semitic *ʾaggān*, denoting a vessel of any kind. Schmidt, *KZ.* 9, 300, and 'Curt. Studien,' 4, 372, explain it as = \**σαγάνα* with loss of initial *σ* (comparing *ἴγα* = *σιώπα* = *σίγα*). See also *BB.* 15, 54 and 73 = Hoffmann, 'Griech. Dialekte,' 1, 105; Meister, II. 247. On Arm. *angan* see *Ἰ. a.* 8, no. 8; *Ἰ. arm.* 112; *Ἰ. ag. III.* 1, 222; and Hübschmann (*ZDMG.* 46, 233, 9). Bochart, H. 1, 507, derived from this Semitic noun also Greek *ἄγγος*, 'cup, vessel.' — \**Αμβιξ*, *-ίκος*,

<sup>19</sup> From the same Semitic *'argāw* we have the Phrygian *riscus*, Bochart, H. i. 386, 66. Also the name of the town *Ἐράγιζα* (Ptolemy) is from this verb. In the LXX. it occurs as *ἐργάβ* and *ἀργόξ*.

<sup>20</sup> Amussis, 'rule, level,' Stowasser, II. 27, derives from the Hebr. *'ammāh*, constr. state *'ammāḥ*, 'ell, cubit,' quoting a by-form *emussitatus*; I do not quite believe this, and prefer Weise's much better etymology from *ἄμξις*, quietly appropriated by Wharton (*Trans. Philol. Soc.*, London, 1888-90, II. 181). Nor do I agree with Keller's derivation (pp. 100 and 200 of his 'Volksetymologie'). — *Matta*, 'a mat,' Keller compares with Hebr. *מִטָּה*, *miṭṭāh*, 'bolster, litter' (but never = mat). — The palangae of Pliny, *φάλαγγες* of Hdt., *φάλαγγια* of Pollux, Bochart derives from Hebr. *פָּלַק* (*pēlek*), 'a staff, crutch.'



ό, 'cup, beaker,' also ἄμβικος, -ου, ό = Lat. ambix, is considered by Fränkel, 65, *rem.* 3, as a loan-word, perhaps from the Arabic-Syriac קִנְבִּיָא, whence also alembic, lambicco, and alambique (Z. a. 12, 22; Z. a. m. 57, 823). Curtius<sup>5</sup>, 294, derives it from ἄμβη, Ionic for ἄμβων; see also Vaniček, 37.<sup>1</sup> — Βίκος, 'pitcher, beaker' (Hdt. I, 194), perhaps = Hebr. בְּקִיָּה (baqbūq), 'the same,' Z. a. 212, 4; Stein *ad* Hdt. I, 194; Rhedantz *ad* Xen. *An.* I, 9, 25. From this also pichier (French), bicchiere (Italian), 'beaker and Becher.'<sup>2</sup> — Γαβαθόν· πίναξ ἰχθυηρός· παρὰ Παφίους· τρυβλίον, 'a bowl.' Lewy, I. F. I, 510, reads γαβατόν<sup>3</sup> = Lat. gabata (Martial = cavus), from Sem. גָּבָה (gāḇā'), 'be curved.' — Γαμίριον (so read for γάμβριον, Lewy), a synonyme of γαβατόν, from Sem. נָמַן, 'to sip in,' thus 'a drinking-vessel' (on Cyprian ζ = Greek γ, see Meister, II. no. 60, 8). — Γαυλός, 'milk pitcher,' and γαῦλος, 'vessel, ship,' from Semitic גַּל (Movers, II. 3, 158).<sup>4</sup> Fränkel, 218, refers γαυλός to gullāh (גּוּלָה), and γαῦλος to gōlāh (גּוּלָה).<sup>5</sup> Sonny (*Philologus*, 48, 567) derives from

<sup>1</sup> Fleischer in Levy's 'Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch,' I. 277 ὄ, derives the Syr.-Arabic from the Greek. G. Meyer considers the Greek as borrowed (*Lit. Centralblatt*, 1893, no. 2, col. 49. — Helbig, 271-2, suspects ἀλεισον = κυπέλλον, 'an embossed cup,' to be of Semitic origin. But see Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 123 and 538; Schrader<sup>2</sup>, 466; and Prellwitz, s.v.

<sup>2</sup> The -i- in βίκος originated from the analogy to the -i- in πίνω, 'drink,' and the whole word was shaped after βίκος, βίκιον, Latin vicia.

<sup>3</sup> Also γαββαθᾶ, John xix. 13 = גַּבְבָּה, stat. emph. of גָּבָה, qabbā, 'hill,' γαβᾶ = βουός (Joseph. *Antt.* 6, 8, 1); γάβος, 'sewer, drain' (גַּב, גָּב); and γαβένα = δέμβαφία ἦτοι τρυβλία.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Hebr. גּוּל, gullāh, 'oil-cruet.'

<sup>5</sup> To this Semitic גַּל belong Γαυλωτίτις in Peraea, and Γαῦλος, island near Malta (= Melite = Semitic מְלִיטָה, 'salvation, safety'). Lewy, 179, believes that this Γαῦλος was the Phaeacian ship, turned into stone. Also Σχερτή, the island of the Phaeacians is derived from the Semitic שַׁרְתָּ (šāḡḡr = סַרְר), 'bolt, lock,' because here Odysseus found a place of refuge against the wrath of Poseidon. If so, why not also derive, with Bochart, the name of the Phaeacians from the Semitic = Arabic fāḡiq, plur. faḡāqat = 'eminent, noble'? They are called εὐδαιμόνας καὶ ἰσοθέους. The Ancients (*cf.* Strabo, 44) considered Gaulos to have been the isle of Calypso (καλύπτω, 'hide,' KZ. 27, 227). The real home of the nymph is Ogygia, Ὠγγυλή νῆσος, derived by Lewy from Hebr. גּוּגִי (hōgēg = forming a circle = Ὠγγύης, whence the adjective Ὠγγυλή). Lewy has been anticipated by Müllenhoff, I. 61 and 498, as well as by Bochart, who derived even ὠκεανός from Semitic גּוּגִ (hōg), while Kiepert, 19, says: 'The universal sea

γαυλός with aphaeresis of γ also αὐλός, αὐλών, whence Latin iula = olla. Sayce, Hdt. 3, 136, says: 'γαυλός was especially used of Phoenician merchant-ships (Hesych. *s.v.*; Scylax, *Peripl.* 54; Schol. on Ar. *Birds*, 572 and 598). The word may be Semitic, and only accidentally of the same form as γαυλός = Skt. *gōla*, a globe-shaped water-jug.' Brugmann, ('Curtius Studien,' 7, 305) refers both to I.-E. *√gar, gur*, 'curve, be round.' Fröhde, BB. 10, 298; Fick, *ibid.* 17, 32; Wörterbuch<sup>4</sup>, I. 36 and 406, has γαυλός = Skt. *gōla* (see also BB. 16, 246); while Bezzenberger, in BB. 4, 322, compares O.H.G. *kiol*, 'ship,' and not Skt. *gōla*, "denn das neben einander von *gula*, Kugel, und *guda*, idem, zeigt dass *gola* aus *goda* entstand." — A noun of undoubted Semitic origin is κάδος, 'pail, jar,' Latin *cadus* = Hebr. כַּד (káḏ); also καθίσκος and καθία. Σαλαμίνιοι ὑδρίαν, 'water-jug.'<sup>6</sup> The Greek was returned to the Arabic as *qādisun*. According to Pusey, *Daniel*, 517, Semitic and Greek may be derived from Skt. *ghada*. — Κακκάβη, ἡ,<sup>7</sup> and κάκκαβος, ὁ, 'a three-legged pot' = χύτρα, is, according to *J.a.* 50, *rem.* 2, from the Semitic,

is designated by a name not of Greek origin, viz. ὠκεανός.' Ἠλύγης is compared to Lycian *μχοχα* in BB. 11, 132 (see also KZ. 25, 164, and 27, 478-9, *√γυγ*, 'to hide'; Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 546). Speaking of Calypso, I will mention that Lewy believes this name to be the Greek rendering of Λατώ (Leto) from Sem. לַתָּו (lātāh), 'the hiding one.' Thus already Bochart, H. i. 1073, beg. Raumer even derived the name from לָבָא (lāḏāq, 'bear'). Λητώ (Aeolic Λάτων), Latin Latona (BB. 5, 86; KZ. 30, 211), is, of course, not from λάθω (λανθάνομαι, as Pott, KZ. 26, 163, has it), but is = *lada*, 'wife, mistress,' a word found on the Karian inscriptions (see A.J.P. XIII. 233, and add KZ. 27, 369, and 29, 211, *rem.*).

<sup>6</sup> *J.üb.* 104, *rem.* 2: 'καδος (καδος) came together with the red wine (ῥ) to the Greeks from Phoenicia. In later times they also imported white wine from Asia Minor'; *Jag. III.* 2, 366; Baudissin, II. 28; Fränkel, 219. Armenian *katsay* is from Syriac *qadsā*, and this from κάδος (ZDMG. 46, 239, *no.* 51).

<sup>7</sup> There are two other nouns κακκάβη, 1) partridge (= *πέρδιξ*) = Arm. *kaxai* = Syr. כַּכְבֵּי, *J.a.* 50, 9; *J.arm.* 1135; ZDMG. 46, 291, *no.* 60; G. Meyer, *Lit. Centralblatt*, 1893, *no.* 2, *col.* 49; an onomato-poetic formation, called so from the voice of the bird (Fritzsche in 'Curt. Studien,' 4, 283); 2) name for Carthage. Semitic etymologies have been proposed by Bochart; Schröder, 105; Meltzer, 470; 478, *rem.* 49; and Sonny, *Philologus*, 48, 559-62. Sonny suggests that from the form Ἀκκάβη, occurring by the side of κακκάβη, we might infer that the corresponding Phoenician word began with an *ʿāi*, כַּכְבֵּי (kākābē), 'be high or hilly'; κακκάβη = 'height, hill,' would be quite appropriate as a designation of the elevated ancient city.

perhaps a reduplicated form of כַּבֵּ=κάβος. The Greek passed again to the Syriac as ܩܒܐ (*qabā*). Curtius<sup>6</sup>, 465, and Vaniček, 454, refer it to I.-E. √*pek*. Latin caccabus is borrowed from the Greek. Against Keller's views on caccavum see G. Meyer, *Lit. Centralblatt*, 1892, 411-13, and Meyer-Lübke, in *Zeitschr. f. öster. Gymn.* 43, 325. — Κιβώριον (*καὶ κισούριον*), 'a cup,' so called either from the material or the shape, is compared by Movers with Sem. ܩܒܐ (*kēfōr*, Assyrian *karari*), 'cup, goblet.' Hesychius says: κισώριον· Αἰγύπτιον ὄνομα ἐπὶ ποτηρίου (Athen. 2, 72, a; Diodor. 1, 34, 6; Strabo, 17, 823); but the word is not found in Egyptian (Wiedemann, 25-6).<sup>8</sup> — Λαβρώνιος, 'wide, large bowl,' according to *Ῥ.π.* 215, 17, a contraction from Bactrian *ἱναραναντ*, "durch semitische Vermittelung den Griechen zugegangen, weshalb das *ι* fehlt. ܩܪܝܢܐ (*lavrēnān*) wurde wegen des doppelten Vorkommens von ܩ stärker zusammengezogen." But better connect the Greek with λαβή, λαμβάνω. — Λάγηνος, 'a flagon' (*λάγνηνα*), from Semitic-Egyptian ܠܓ (*lōg*, older *lāg*?), with the Syriac ending *-ēnā* (Nöldeke, 'Syr. Gramm.' § 132), Fränkel, 131. But the word is a good I.-E. noun. The Lat. lagoena, lagēna, is derived by Wharton, p. 180, from \**λαγύνη* ('which will be an Aeolic form of \**λαγώνη*, *lagōna*'); see also Weise, *Lehnwörter*, 36; Saalfeld, 605; Prellwitz, 173. Others consider the Greek *λάγηνος* from Lat. *lagna* for *lagoena*. From the same Hebr. word *Ῥ.π.* VIII. derives *λεύγη*, 'a milk-jar' (Hesych.); and Bochart, H. i. 549, 60, has *λεκάνη*, *λακάνη*, Lat. *lagna* from Aram. ܠܩܢܐ; see, however, Nöldeke, 'Persische Studien,' II. p. 381, and Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 535. — *Μαστός· ποτήριον* (Cyprian), 'drinking-cup, wine-cup' (Athen. 11, 487, δ), perhaps = Assyrian *maštu*, 'the same' (Hebr. *mištēh*), from *šatū*, 'to drink.' — *Φάκος* (Hippocr. and LXX.), 'a cruet, flask for oil' = Hebr. *פֶּאֶק* (*faḳ*, properly 'anything hollowed out'). — *Ἐρχη* (*ἔρχη*), 'an earthen vessel for pickled fish,' and Lat. *orca*, are derived by Keller, 99 and 248, from the Semitic

<sup>8</sup> *Κύμβη· ποτήριον· Πάφιοι; κύμβα, the same* (Hesych.) = Lat. *cumba*, may have been borrowed from the Sem. *qubdāh*, 'a goblet, a cup'; also cf. *κύβος· Πάφιοι τὸ τρυβλίον*.

אָרָק (*árák*, Jer. x. 11).<sup>9</sup> According to Lobeck, *Paral.* 34, the word is Aeolic. Lat. urceus is from Greek ὕρχη, and connected with urna > urcna, BB. 7, 64; see also W. Stokes, *ibid.* 11, 23; and on the relation between urceus and orca, especially Meyer-Lübke in 'Philol. Abh. Schweizer-Sidler dargebracht,' p. 22.<sup>10</sup>

## VIII. — FOOD.

ἄ. arm. 743, combines ὀπτᾶω, ὀπτέω, 'to cook,' with Sem. אָפַק (e.g. Assyrian *ērū*, 'cook'). Egyptian *áara*, 'cake,' is also borrowed from the Hebrew, according to Bondi, 27.<sup>1</sup> Both are very doubtful etymologies; see Hübschmann, 'Arm. Stud.' 30, 103. — Ἐλφος · βούτυρον · Κύπριοι = כֶּלֶף (*xéleḥ*), 'fat,' Phoenician *alfa*; Bochart, H. i. 328, 60; Gesenius; Schröder, 86; Meister, 'Griech. Dialekte,' II. 208; also KZ. 9, 303, and 365; 22, 316. But the Greek is an I.-E. noun = Skt. *sarpis*; O.H.G. *salbā*; Goth. *salbōn*; A.-S. *sealfian*, 'to anoint'; Albanian *gálp*.<sup>2</sup> — Μάννα, 1) = Hebr. מַן (*man*), G. 66; R. 206; and, 2) according to ἄ.üb. 97, *rem.* 1, 5 = Hebr. מַנְהֵלֶה (*manhāh* for *minhāh*), ὅπερ θυσίαν οἱ Ἑβραῖοι καλοῦσι (Theodoret, 2, 630); *vna* = מַנְ, just as *σσ* = מַנְ. — Παλάθη, 'a cake,' mostly of figs, but also of olives (*παλαθίς*, *παλαθώδης*), from Hebr. דְּבֵלֵלָה (*dēḥēlāh*, Aram. *dēḥēlītā*, 'fig-cake'), G. 66; the Greek was formed after the analogy of *παλάσσω* (Keller, 194, against BB. 1, 295). — According to Bochart, H. i. 506; *πίμελή*,

<sup>9</sup> Jer. x. 11 is a ἀπ. λεγ., and may be corrupt for אָרָק (*arā*) = Hebr. אָרָק (*arā*). See J. Halévy, *Rev. des études juives*, XI. (21), 69 ff. — Orca, from *oruga* (Keller, 249), was proposed more than 200 years ago by Bochart, H. ii. 588, who adds *forda* from *φορᾶδα*; *sporta* > *σπυρίδα*, on which see now Bréal, *Mém.* 7, 139; *taeda* > *δαῖδα*; *fera* > *θήρα* or *φήρα*; *spelunca* > *σπήλυγγα* (Keller, 305-6).

<sup>10</sup> Latin *culullus* (Hor. *Od.* 1, 32) is derived by Fränkel, 170, from Arab. *qullatun*, 'wine-jar.' — An Egyptian word, according to Hellanicus *ap.* Athen. 11, 470, is *ἠθάμιον*, perhaps = *ἠετί*, 'a vessel.'

<sup>1</sup> 'Dem Hebräisch-Phoenizischen Sprachzweige angehörige Lehnwörter in hieroglyphischen und hieratischen Texten' (Leipzig, 1886).

<sup>2</sup> KZ. 22, 316; BB. 5, 166; O. Schrader<sup>2</sup>, 461, and KZ. 30, 478; Joh. Schmidt, 'Pluralbildung der Idg. Neutra,' 378; Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 140.

'arvina,' is from Hebr. פִּמָּה (pīmāh), 'fat' (Job xv. 17, from פֶּמֶס); Curtius<sup>5</sup>, 276, refers it to πίων, 'fat, ripe.'—Of Semitic origin is χαννώνες (or, better, χαβώνες, χαύωνες, καυώνες), 'barley-cake' (LXX.) = Hebr. כַּמּוּאֵן (kammūān), R. 207, after G. 66; χαύωνων, the spelling of Hesychius, is a mistake.<sup>8</sup>

#### IX.—FOUR-FOOTED ANIMALS.

'Ἐλέφας, ὁ, in Homer only, 'ivory,' just as 'ebur' in Latin (Plaut. *Mostell.*); in Hdt. 3, 114 = 'elephant.' The word is derived by Sayce, 'Herodotus,' 3, 97, and Ries, p. 31–2, from the Assyrian *al-ap*, 'elephant' (?), probably from *alapu* (Hebr. אֶלֶפ, 'elef, 'ox'); compare 'bos Luca' in Latin. Ries refers to Eb. Schrader's 'Cuneiform inscriptions and the Old Testament,' I. 187 (Engl. transl.). The Salmaneser Obelisk Epigr. III., mentioned there, speaks, among other tributes, of *al-ap* (*nār*) *Sa-ki-c-ia* (*Hebraica*, Vol. 5, 294); but *alap* can only be the construct state of *alpu*, 'ox,' and refers to the jack-ox, represented on the corresponding relief.<sup>1</sup> It is now the accepted opinion that ἔλέφας is a compound of ελ + εφας, ελ = Arab. article *al* (*hal*), + εφας = Skt. *ibha*, elephant (or Egyptian *āb*, *ābu*);<sup>2</sup> but it has not yet been explained why

<sup>8</sup> Could σῆτος, pl. σῆτα (Homer, only singl.), which seems to have no I.-E. etymon, be connected with Assyrian *šē-u*, fem. *še-a-lu*, grain, corn? W. Stokes, KZ. 28, 65, quotes Old Irish *sēre*, 'food,' as cognate with σῆτος. Gustav Meyer, 'Albanesische Studien,' III. 51, *rem.* 2, prints: "σῆτος und 'Weizen' sind dasselbe Wort. σῆτος ist ein Lehnwort aus einer Sprache, welche *s-* für idg. *k-* hatte, steht für \**seitos* und ist ganz oder wesentlich gleich mit got. *hvaiteis* u.s.w., das zu got. *hveits* 'weiss,' ai. *svetas* gehört wie bret. *gwiniz*, 'Weizen' zu *gwenn*, 'weiss.' *s(v)itos* kann illyrisch sein," etc.—Κύλαστος (Ionic κύλληστος), an Egyptian bread (Hdt. 2, 77), is the Egyptian *kerestā*.—In Latin we have 'mamphula' panis Syriacae genus quoddam from Syriac *manpulā* (Jag. III. 2, 359–60).

<sup>1</sup> The Assyrian word for elephant is *pīru* (ideogr. = AM-SI), and ivory is *šinni pīri* (ideogr. = KA-AM-SI); the plur. fem. is *pīrāte*; *pīru* literally means 'the strong animal,' from √פיר, 'be strong, powerful.' A Sanskrit-Assyrian name, *pīlu*, 'elephant,' passed into the Persian as *pīl*, Armenian *փալ* (J. arm. 2294); Arab.-Syr. *fil*; see also J. r. 50, 190.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Pictet, *Journal-Asiatique*, 1843, Sept.-Oct., F. Böttcher, ZDMG. (1857), 339–40; also the literature quoted in Vaniček and Ries.

this word, above all others (Keller's etymology of ἀλέκτωρ being more than doubtful), should have preserved the Arabic article in all its purity. It is more than probable that the Phoenician traders would have assimilated the Arabic article, so as to make it like their own (*ha*, Schröder, p. 160), as they have done in many other cases. Schumann, p. 5, has shown that ivory was imported, not from Arabia, but from Punt in East Africa (= Greek Ὀπώνη, Ptol. 4, 7, 11, on the *Sinus Barbaricus* in Ethiopia, Brugsch, 'Aegyptologie,' 22-3). In Egyptian we have *āb*, *ābu* = 'ivory' and 'elephant'; in Skt. *ibha*, 'elephant.' It is possible that Hebr. *ṣen-habbīm*, literally 'the teeth of elephants' (LXX. ὀδόντες ἐλεφάντινοι) is connected with this Skt. *ibha*; Latin *ebur*, 'ivory,' seems to be derived from the Egyptian in its Coptic form *εβου*, *εβυ*, becoming *ebur* after the analogy of *femur*, *robur*, etc.<sup>3</sup> There is no proof whatever that Greek ἐλέφας, 'ivory,' is from the Arab.-Skt. *al-ibha*; and I agree with D. H. Müller (KZ. 10, 267) and F. de Saussure (Mém. 3, 208) in considering ἐλέφας (notwithstanding its so-called Semitic appearance) as a genuine Greek word, from the √αλφ (ελεφ), to which belong ἀλφούς·λευκούς (Hesychius); ἀλφός, ὄ, 'kind of leprosy in the face' (Hes. *frg.* 5),<sup>4</sup> later λεύκη (akin to *albus*). Ivory was called by the Greeks from its color, just as ἀλφίτου, 'farina,' etc. Thus ἐλέφας : ἀλφός = ἐρέφω : ὄρφνη = ἀλεγεινός : ἄλγος, etc.; ἐλέφα(ντ)ς being properly a partic. pres. of a verb \*ἐλέφω, 'be white.'<sup>5</sup> — Ἐριφος, 'young goat, kid,' is derived by Lagarde from the Syriac ܩܪܦܐ (G.G.Abh. 1880: 'Über den Hebraeer Ephraims von Edessa,' 57, 10, and III. 2, 356). But I cannot

<sup>3</sup> Bōs lūca is not a Lucanian cow, but, as Varro has it, *lucas ab luce* (Bücheler, *Rhein-Mus.* 40, 149); cf. Horace: *elephans albus*. The first elephants seen by the Romans must therefore have been of a whitish color. This early Latin word was soon ousted by the Greek *elephas* and *elephantus* (from the Gen. ἐλέφαντος). The Hebr. *ṣen-habbīm* occurs only in 1 Kings x. 22; 2 Chron. ix. 21. According to Rödigier, 'Thesaurus,' 1454, and J. Halévy, *Revue des études juives*, II. 5, we have here an old mistake of the scribe for *ṣen ḥ-ḥōbīm*, 'ivory and ebony' (cf. Ezek. xxvii. 15).

<sup>4</sup> Also ἀλφοπρόσωπος, 'white faced,' and ἀλφορρυγχος, 'with white snout.'

<sup>5</sup> The late Greek δελφίνος = Egyptian for ἐλέφας may be from the Arabic *al-fil* after the Greek δελφίνος, 'dolphin.'

agree with the eminent linguist; ἔριφος is to be connected with Old-Irish *heirpp* (for *eirb*, *erib*).<sup>6</sup> — Ζαγάριον (Byzantine = canis ferarum odorator) is the Arabic كَلْبُ زَغَارِي (kalbu zagārii) = Albanian ζαγάρι (KZ. 11, 137), Turkish *zagar* (Zag. 2, 252 f.). — Ίξαλος, 'bounding, darting' (Homer, an epithet of the wild goat or chamois), is combined by Gustav Meyer with Arab. 'aiiil, 'iiial = 'chamois, deer' (Hebr. חַיִל). If the word is from the Semitic, I would rather derive it from חַיִל (*hēgel*), Assyrian *agalu*, which, as Jensen has shown, means 'swift-footed,' 'swift-foot,' not 'calf.'<sup>8</sup> — Κάμηλος, camelus,<sup>9</sup> 'camel' (Aesch., Hdt.), is derived by all scholars from Semitic גַּמַל (*gāmāl*). According to Sayce, Hommel, and others, the animal came originally from Arabia, the Assyrian and other Semitic forms of the noun being borrowed from there. Boch. H. i. 50, l. 57 and 75, l. 48, and Alex. Pirie,<sup>10</sup> said long ago: גַּמַל (*gāmāl*), 'to retribute,' gave rise among the Hebrews (or rather Arabians) to the word camel on account of the revengeful disposition of that animal. Job. 20 and 49, says the same, and draws attention to the fact that the Greeks called it *μνησικακος*.<sup>11</sup> The only point

<sup>6</sup> Fick in BB. 2, 341, no. 3; Wörterbuch<sup>4</sup>, I. 364; see also *Kuhn und Schliecher's Beiträge*, 8, 437-8. Legerlotz, KZ. 8, 52, combined ἔριφος = ἔραφος with ἔραφος, but this is rather doubtful. Joh. Schmidt, 'Pluralbildungen der Indogerm. Neutra,' 173, quotes Umbrian *eri-etu*, Lat. *ari-etem*; Lith. *ėras* (lamb); Old Bulg. *jari-ci* (goat), from \**əri-ci*. Also see *idem* 'Vocalismus,' II. 297.

<sup>7</sup> See O. Keller, *Thiere*, 333 f.; 'Volksetymologie,' 194, 226. Prellwitz, *s.v.* compares Old-Bactrian *isaēna* = 'made of animal skin.'

<sup>8</sup> I.-E. etymologies are found in KZ. 12, 319-20; 13, 19; 22, 208, no. 67; H. D. Müller, in BB. 13, 311, explains it as a compound of prothetic *l* + *ξαλος* (φοσκαλος). Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 346, compares *αξ*, both from *vaig*, 'to jump.'

<sup>9</sup> On Lat. camelus, see O. Weise, *Lehnwörter*, 101; Saalfeld, 47, etc.

<sup>10</sup> A dissertation on the Hebrew roots intended to point out their extensive influence on all known languages. Edinburgh, 1807.

<sup>11</sup> The Skt. *kramēla*, more frequently *kramēlaka*, appears to be merely a popular transformation of the Semitic noun. I will add here, "um keinem Gerechten in die Hände zu fallen," that I am acquainted with J. M. Kaufmann's Programm: 'Semitische Bestandtheile und Anklänge in unsern indogermanischen Sprachen' (Dillingen, 1874-5), where is found on p. 13: "*gamal*, 'tragen' (!!) davon hebr. *gamal*, 'Kameel' (eigtl. der Träger), κάμηλος, etc.; damit hängt wohl zusammen καβάλλης, caballus, etc. Von der Form *gimel*=*gamal*, 'Kameel,' kommt der Name des Buchstabens *g*." This is one of the best specimens of Kaufmann's Programm. — On Egyptian *k'amy* see Brugsch, 'Aegyptologie,' 387. —

not yet cleared up is the  $\eta$  in the Greek instead of  $\alpha$  ( $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\Gamma\alpha\upsilon\text{-}\gamma\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta\lambda\alpha$  =  $\kappa\alpha\mu\acute{\eta}\lambda\omicron\upsilon\ \omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ , Strabo, 16, 737). At a comparatively much later time were borrowed  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\lambda\alpha$  and  $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\lambda$  (Hesych.).<sup>12</sup> On *ulbandus* = camel, see  $\mathfrak{Z}$ .arm. 1760;  $\mathfrak{Z}$ .üb. 221; O. Schrader<sup>2</sup>, 385-6, and others. —  $\text{Κ}\acute{\alpha}\rho$ , an Ionic name for sheep (Hesychius), is derived by Boch. H. i. 429, 22, and Pusey, *Daniel*, 516, from Semitic  $\text{כָּר}$  (*kar*), 'the same'; but cf. G. Meyer<sup>2</sup>, *s.v.* — From Punt, the Opone of the Greeks, caravans brought the monkey (*kūf* or *kiū*) to Egypt, where it was called *kafu*, *kāf*.<sup>13</sup> Phoenician merchants exchanged this living freight for other merchandise, and imported it into Greece ( $\kappa\acute{\eta}\pi\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\kappa\acute{\eta}\beta\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\iota\beta\omicron\varsigma$ ), whence it passed to the Romans as 'cepus.'<sup>14</sup> The Greek noun does not occur in literature before Aristotle. Hebr.  $\text{קָדֹף}$  (*qōf*) can no longer be taken into consideration, since T. K. Cheyne (*Expositor*, 1891, June, p. 469) has compared this Hebrew with Assyrian *kukuri* (Egyptian  $\kappa\upsilon\phi\iota$ ), 'perfumes.' Dümichen, Ed. Meyer,<sup>15</sup> and others, have derived the Egyptian from the Skt., but P. Kretschmer, KZ. 31, 287, says: it has no etymology in Sanskrit. Schumann's investigations, *l.c.* p. 5, would point to an East African language as the original source of this interesting word. I fully agree with Keller, *Thiere*, p. 325 f., that  $\kappa\acute{\eta}\pi\omicron\varsigma$  is anything but a genuine Greek word, but cannot assent to his ingenious etymology of *kari*,  $\kappa\acute{\eta}\pi\omicron\varsigma$ , from Hebr.

Hehn, 203, stated 'that the camel was first introduced into Africa and Egypt as late as the third century of the Christian era, although that animal seems expressly made for the Lybian desert, and has opened that impenetrable region to foreign nations, their trade and their religion.' Against this statement of Hehn's, Houghton has brought forward direct evidence of the camel having been used as a beast of burden by the Egyptians in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus (born B.C. 309), by calling attention to the statements of Strabo (*Geograph.* 17, 1, § 45, ed. Kramer), and to several extracts from Egyptian texts, in which the words *kamādir* and *ka-dri* ( $r = l$  cf. Hebr. *gāmāl*) occur. The camel was known to, and used by, the Egyptians from comparatively early times. See Gen. xii. 16, and Ex. ix. 3 (*Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* 12, 81-4).

<sup>12</sup> KZ. 31, 287.

<sup>13</sup> Erman, ZDMG. 46, no. 1, writes *g'if*.

<sup>14</sup> O. Weise, *Lehnwörter*, 102; Saalfeld, *s.v.*

<sup>15</sup> 'Gesch. des Alterthums,' I. § 187; O. Schrader, 'Thier und Pflanzen-geographie,' 14 ff.



כף (*kaf*), 'hand,' thus meaning 'Handthier' = animal having hands (like a human being).<sup>16</sup> — Of the two words for 'lion,' λέων and λῆς, the latter is, no doubt, connected with Hebr. לַיִשׁ (*laiš*), 'lion.' Λέων may perhaps be connected (with Lefmann, BB. 10, 301–3) with Skt. *ravant*, *ravana*, 'roarer.'<sup>17</sup> Compare the analogous Hebr. *šāhal* = 'roarer' and 'lion,' mentioned together with 'ariēh (Job iv. 10). See, however, *Paul und Braune, Beiträge*, 12, 209–10. Latin 'leo' is borrowed from the Greek, as *leaena* from λέαινα. There is no reason why the Greek should not have had two words for lion, one a foreign, and the other an I.-E. noun. Old-Slav. *lŭu* and O.H.G. *lŕwo*, *louwo*, cannot have been borrowed from Greek-Latin λέων-leo, while A.-S. *leo*, O.H.G. *lio*, *leono*, *leon*, are from the Latin. The forms point to a common I.-E. root for λέων, while λῆς does not appear to have any equivalent expressions in the other I.-E. languages. — ὄνος,<sup>18</sup> 'ass, donkey' = Hebr. אֵילָן (*ālōn*), 'she-ass' (Benfey-Hehn, 110, 460); so also Vaniček and Curtius. In Greek literature the animal is first mentioned in *frg.* 97 of Archilochus, and as a domestic animal in Tyrtæus, *frg.* 6 (Bergk<sup>8</sup>). J. arm. 817, has conclusively shown that neither ὄνος nor Lat. 'asinus' can be derived from the Sem. 'ālōn (also see BB. 1, 290). This is adopted by O. Schrader<sup>2</sup>, 205, 384–5; KZ. 30, 478, no. 30; G. Meyer, I.F. 1, 319 ff., who believe that ὄνος and asinus are both from the same source, not yet known. See also *Lit. Centralbl.* 1893, no. 2, col. 49. Sumero-Akkadian *anšu*, *anši*, I would not bring to the front until it has been

<sup>16</sup> Another Greek word for monkey, *πῆθος*, occurs first in Archilochus. According to Zehetmayr, 'Lexicon etymologicum,' p. 17, it is abbreviated from \**καπῆθος*.

<sup>17</sup> Bochart, H. i. 61, l. 55; ii. 15; Winer, 'Realwörterbuch, II. 33; Pott<sup>2</sup>, II. 3, 1261 f. Against Sem. origin of λῆς as well as λέων, see BB. 1, 290; Schrader<sup>2</sup>, 362 f.; Ries, 31; Savelsberg, KZ. 21, 123; F. Max Müller, 'Biographies of Words,' 113. I.-E. etymologies for λέων are found in all the books on Greek etymology and other works. Much literature is quoted in Vaniček, 843–4; KZ. 22, 353–5; J. Schmidt, 'Urheimath,' 10–11; Saalfeld, 620; and G. Meyer<sup>2</sup>, § 315. On O.H.G. *lŕwo*, *louwo*, see Kluge<sup>4</sup>, 216; Kauffmann in *Paul und Braune's* Beiträge, 12, 207–11.

<sup>18</sup> Perhaps the oldest etymology is found in Ar. *Birds*, 221, *δνος ὄν* = ὁ *ροσῶν*; also *ἀπ' ὄνου* = ἀπὸ *ροῦ*.

proved beyond doubt that there ever existed such a language. Greek *ὄνος* I would rather connect with Lat. *onus*, 'burden' (KZ. 10, 400); thus = 'beast of burden.'<sup>19</sup> F. Max Müller, 'Biographies of Words,' 112, refers both *ὄνος* and *asinus* to the same root, from which we have Skt. *asita*, etc., expressing a dark-grayish color; 'why should not the donkey have been called the gray animal?' O. Weise, *Rhein. Mus.* 38, 545, derives *asinus* directly from the Phoenician without the mediation of the Greek;<sup>20</sup> on the other hand, Wharton (*Trans. Phil. Soc.*, London, 1888-90, II. 189) combines *asinus* with a hypothetic \**ἄσινος* (cf. *ἄσιλλα*, 'yoke,' Simonides, 163), which presupposes a Doric \**ἄτινος* from Hebr. *'āṭōn*, while *ὄνος* must be a different word.<sup>21</sup> — *Μύκλος* (*μάχλος*, *μύχλος*) is derived by Ludwig (see Keller, 197, *rem.*) from a Semitic word 'whose Arabic form is *mukhlā*.' See, however, G. Meyer in I.F. I, 322 f., and Meyer-Lübke, *Zeitschr. f. öster. Gymn.* 43, 324; Prellwitz, 193, 207. Lagarde, *Agathangelus*, 142-3, believes that *Il.* 2, 851-2; 24, 277-8, and Anacreon, *frag.* 34, point to Mysia and Paphlagonia as the original home of the *ἡμίονοι*, rather than Armenia (also *Ἱ. Ann.* 865), while Bradke is in favor of Pontus. The original home of the donkey can naturally not be far from that of the *ἡμίονος*. — \**Ορυξ*<sup>22</sup> = *ορυξ*, 'gazelle' (perhaps Hdt. 4, 192), in Libya and Egypt. According to Liddell and Scott', it was so called from its pointed horns. Pliny, H.N. 2, 107, calls it an Egyptian word, but Wiedemann and others have shown that this is not so.<sup>23</sup> *Ἱ. üb.* 131, derives it from the Sem. *אֲרִי* (*'ārāx*),

<sup>19</sup> Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 15, 368, "Lat. *onus*, *δνος*, hat mit Lat. *asinus* nichts zu thun; wol der (Last) träger, cf. *φορτικός*"; but see Pott<sup>2</sup>, III. 1035 f. M. Bréal, *Mém.* 7, 137, considers Goth. *asilus* as borrowed from Lat. *asinus*. G. Meyer's arguments in I.F. I, 319, have not convinced me, nor will they convince any Semitist, who is fully aware of the extreme difficulties that beset the so-called Akkadian-Sumerian Question, notwithstanding C. F. Lehmann's elaborate c. IV. in his *Šamaš-sum-zakīn*, Part I. (Leipzig, 1892).

<sup>21</sup> See also *Lehnwörter*, 96; *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie*, 17, 226.

<sup>22</sup> On the early literature, see Vaniček, *l.c.* Solmsen, KZ. 29, 89, etc.

<sup>23</sup> There are two homonyms: 1. *ορυξ*, *ορυγγος*, 'pick-axe,' or any sharp iron tool for digging (from *ὀρέσσω*); 2. 'a great fish' = Lat. *orca*, on which see Keller, p. 249.

<sup>24</sup> Weise, *Lehnwörter*, 105, quotes Egyptian *ṯ-urik* from Geiger's 'Ursprung der Sprache,' I. 465.

'be quick, hasten, run,' whence also Assy. *turāxū*, 'steenbock' (Delitzsch, 'Assyrian Grammar'). \**Ορυξ* = *ορυγ-σ* = *ορυχ-σ*. Some grammarians have compared *δόρκας* from *τρέχω*, *ἔδρακον*, while it is commonly derived from *δορκ-* in *δέδορκα* (*δέρκομαι*), from its large bright eyes. G. Meyer (*Lit. Centralbl.* 1893, no. 2, col. 50) derives *ζορκάς* from the Celtic, but I would rather explain it as an Aeolic form. — I cannot endorse Keller's<sup>24</sup> derivation of *πάρδος*, pardus, 'pard, leopard,' from the Sem. *בָּרַד* (*bārōd*), 'sprinkled, grisled' (Gen. xxxi. 10; Zech. vi. 3, 6), of which 'varia'<sup>25</sup> (Pliny, 8, 17) is said to be the Latin translation. From this *πάρδος* Keller derives *πάρδαλις* (*πóρδαλις*), and by a popular etymology also *πάνθηρ*, whence Latin 'panthera.' The commonly accepted etymology from the Sanskrit was rejected by Keller; he overlooked, however, the great difficulty that there is no Semitic language in which this animal is called *bārōd*.<sup>26</sup> If the word be from the Semitic, I would rather derive it from *√פָּרַע*, 'be fierce, impetuous,' which would also explain the initial *π*. In his 'Volksetymologie,' 205-6, Keller appears to have again accepted the Skt. etymology of *πάνθηρ* (see my 'Semitic Glosses to Kluge's Wörterbuch,' 52-4).<sup>27</sup> — *Πόρις*, *πόρτις*, 'young heifer, calf,' is connected with Sem. *פָּר, פָּרָה* (*par, pārāh*), 'the same,' by Fürst, 'Lexikon,' and Paul Haupt in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie, etc.*, I, 114, *rem.*, 'because the Greek and German have no I.-E. etymon.' But they certainly have one; *cf.* Got. *frasts*, Arm. *orđi* (*ᜏ.arm.* 1745 f.; Hübschmann, 'Arm. Stud.' 46, 232), Skt. *prthuka-s*, 'young animal'; perhaps also Lat. *pullus* > *por-lus*, etc.<sup>28</sup> — *Ταῦρος*, Lat. 'taurus,' *ᜏ.arm.* 648, says: "kann

<sup>24</sup> *Thiere des klassischen Alterthums*, 387, 54. Long ago Fürst proposed the same derivation in his Hebrew Lexicon.

<sup>25</sup> But this does not prove anything; *varia* (*sc. avis*) being used by the same writer (10, 29) to denote a species of mag-pie.

<sup>26</sup> The common Semitic name, found in all dialects, is *נִמְרוֹ*; Assyrian *nimru* and *namru*, Hebr. *nāmēr*, Arab. *namīru*, etc., from the verb *namaru*, 'be savage, fierce,' the animal so-called because of its fierceness.

<sup>27</sup> From the Semitic *פָּרַד* (*péred*), 'mule,' Stowasser, II. 26, derives Latin 'veredus' and its vulgar by-form 'burdo,' through the Greek *βέραιδος*, *βέρηδος*.

<sup>28</sup> Fröhde in BB. 17, 304; O. Schrader<sup>2</sup>, 378; Curtius<sup>6</sup>, 282; Prellwitz, 260.

die im aramäischen erhaltene ältere Form von שׁוֹר (*šōr*) = *taur* nicht abschütteln." Pusey, *Daniel*, 516, has: ταῦρος is unquestionably = שׁוֹר (in Phoenician θώρ).<sup>29</sup> This is one of the six nouns adduced by Hommel to prove the primitive neighborhood of the two great families. That the similarity of form in the Semitic and I.-E. names for the bull is only superficial, perhaps the result of gradual decay, has been amply shown by Joh. Schmidt, 'Urheimath der Indogermanen,' p. 7, no. 1. See also BB. 11, 70; P. Kretschmer in KZ. 31, 448; and Jubainville, p. 205, *rem.* 8.

## X. — BIRDS.

Ἄβαρται· πτηναί· Κύπριοι; cf. Hebr. אָבֵר (*'ēbēr*), Aramean אַבְרָא (*'ābrā*), 'wing, pinion'; the τ of -ται is from the Aramean אַתָּ- (*tā*) of the stat. emphaticus; אָבֵר (*'ābār*) means literally 'be strong,' in the *Hif'il*, 'rise up, fly.' — Ἀγός· αἰετός· Κύπριοι = Hebr. עֲגוּר (*'āgūr*),<sup>1</sup> Bochart, H. i. 2 and 10; perhaps a bird of passage; cf. Arab. 'ājara = 'ākara (S.üb. 59 f.; *Tag.* 3, 31). Bochart, H. ii. 69, 68, derived from the same Semitic verb also γέρανός and 'grus.' — Αἰετός, αἰετός, 'eagle' (Hesych. αἰβετός), from Hebr. עֵיט (*'āiṭ*), 'bird of prey.' Bochart, H. i. 920, 40; ii. 165, 3; Gesenius; Pusey, *Daniel*, 516: 'The Greeks may have transferred the generic name, which they may have learnt in Cyprus, to the eagle.' The etymology from *āw* is declared utterly unsatisfactory by Lewy, 182. Schrader<sup>2</sup>, 366; Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 358, and others, consider the dialectic form αἰβετός, i.e. αἰφετός, as a proof that the root is I.-E. af, and Benfey has αἰετός > α-φι-γ-ετος = Skt. *vi*, bird; Greek οἰωνός. — Ἀλέκτωρ, the poetic form of ἀλεκτρυών, is derived by Keller from *al* (Semitic article) + *kéter* (כֵּתֶר) = κίδαρις, κίταρις = 'the

<sup>29</sup> Bochart, H. i. 604, l. 36; 277, l. 65; Ewald, 'Hebr. Gram.'<sup>8</sup> § 48, p. 123, *rem.* 1; F. Müller in *Kuhn und Schleicher's Beiträge*, 2, 491; Fleischer in Levy's 'Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch,' 4, 680.

<sup>1</sup> On Semitic *v* = Greek soft breathing compare Ὀδολλαμ = אֲדוּלָמ, the Adulamite, and others.

crowned bird.' Hehn, p. 241, says: 'In the religion of Zoroaster the dog and the cock were sacred animals.' We know that the bird was unknown to the early Egyptians; that the domestic fowl is aboriginal in India, and that it first migrated to the west with the Medo-Persian invaders. The civilized Semitic races cannot have been acquainted with the fowl, for it is nowhere mentioned in the Old Testament. This and other reasons speak very much against Keller's derivation.<sup>2</sup> No satisfactory etymology has yet been offered. — Γρύψ, γρυπός, 'griffin,' is from the Semitic כְּרוּב (*kērûb*); γρύψ stands for κρύβ-ς, ZDMG. 32, 748; Delitzsch, 'Indo-germanisch-Semitische Wurzelverwandtschaft,' 106; Ed. Meyer, I. § 200; Ries, 41; Pietschmann, 176, *rem.* 4.<sup>3</sup> — Κέπφος, a light sea-bird of the petrel-kind = Sem. קָפַפּ (*śáxaf*), 'sea-bird'; Bochart, H. ii. 264; R. 207. Fick, however, in BB. 1, 339, also 12, 161, connects the Greek with κόβαλος, "Gimpel," and κεμφός · ἔλαφος (Hesych.). Joh. Schmidt, 'Indogermanischer Vocalismus,' I. 115, says: κέπφος is a change of Salmasius and M. Schmidt for the MS. reading κεμφός (Hesych. *s.v.* ἀλάποδα). Κεμφός stands for older κεμπός · κοῦφος, ἐλαφρὸς ἄνθρωπος. — Ταῶς, 'peacock,' is usually derived from the Tamil *tōgai*, Skt. *çikhiṇ*, through the Hebr. *tūkkīiīm* (תְּכִיִּים). The latter, however, according to T. K. Cheyne (*Expositor*, June, 1891, 469 f.), does not mean peacocks, but 'perfumes.' If so, one important link in the loose chain has gone. Lagarde, 'Baktrische Lexikographie,' 65, writes: 'ταῶς is perhaps an old mistake for παῶς, pavo, and nothing else than the older form of the Armenian *haii* (ᜄ.arm. 1268), which means ὄρνις, ὀρνίθιον · ἀλέκτωρ'; but see again, Hübschmann, 'Armen. Studien,' 38, 162; and Paul Horn, I.F. 2, 141. On Greek ταῶς and Tataric *ta'uq* see Möhl, *Mém.* 7, 420, *rem.* 4.<sup>4</sup> —

<sup>2</sup> See also KZ. 29, 264.

<sup>3</sup> Such a metathesis of aspiration is not infrequent, e.g. Τίγριδ(ος) for Δικριδ, and this again for Δικλιτ; Θάψακος for Ταψαχ, etc. (J.H.U.C. 81, pp. 75 ff.). Prellwitz, *s.v.* "so genannt nach dem krummen Schnabel oder den Krallen."

<sup>4</sup> Bochart, H. i. 66, 63; R. 207; Lenormant; Raumer, and others derive Lat. *corvus*, 'raven,' from Hebr. כְּרוּב (*šreḇ*), and turtur from תֵּר (tōr), or דְּרֹר (dērōr); see, however, Weise, *Lehnwörter*, 107; O. Schrader<sup>2</sup>, 365-6. \*Iβus, Weise tells

Hübschmann, ZDMG. 46, 248, no. 99, suggests the etymology of ψίττακος from נַבְבָּא (cf. Arab. *babbagā*). "Ist der Name mit dem Thier auf dem Seeweg über Babylonien nach Syrien, etc. gekommen?" Another derivation is given by O. Keller, 206.

#### XI.—OTHER ANIMALS.

Βάτραχος, βόρταχος, 'frog,' Hebr. צַפְרָדִיָּא (*çəfardē'ia*), Ewald, 'Hebr. Gram.'<sup>8</sup> 280; *Tag. III.* 2, 356; βάρ-(βόρ-)ταχος, from the Aramean, which changes צ to פ or כ, and ד to γ. Hübschmann, 'Arm. Stud.' 25, 76, has: Armenian *gort* = Lith. *varlė* = Lett. *varde* (for *varle*?) = Greek βάτραχος = Βόρταχος; see, however, *J. arm.* 519. The forms occurring in Greek are discussed in 'Curt. Studien,' I. b. 203, no. 14; 4, 191, where W. Roscher refers to √βρα, βαρ, 'to cry'; see also KZ. 8, 45; 'Curt. Studien,' 5, 216; BB. 6, 211; 7, 82, and 326; G. Meyer<sup>2</sup>, 175; Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 410: 'βάτραχος originally an onomatopoetic word.' Meister, 'Griech. Dialekte,' II. 232, √βρῦχ, 'to roar,' Lat. *rugire*; *rana rugiens* = 'bullfrog.' F. de Saussure, *Mém.* 6, 78: βάτραχος is derived from β(ρ)άτραχος. Some have connected the Greek with Latin *vatrax*, *vaticosus*.—Regarding *κροκόδειλος*, *crocodilus*, *J. r. X. rem.* 2, writes: Hebr. כַּרְכַּד (karkod), Is. liv. 12; Ezek. xxvii. 16; Chald. כַּרְכַּדוּנָא (*kaḏkedūnā*); Syr. קַרְכַּדוּנָא (*qarkeduñā*) = Lat. *chalcedonius* (*J. r.* 53, 226), Greek *καρχηδόνιος* (cf. ZDMG. 46, 240, no. 56), quum *Lexicographi syriaci cornu bestiae cuiusdam esse dicant quo cultrorum copuli induci soleant, non dubito quin indicum khadgadhenu sit, i.e. cultellus, rhinoceros femina, persicum karkadan (κροκόττας, Photius, *Bibl. CCL.*, p. 456, A; καρτάζωνον, Aelian, N.A. XVI. 20), graecum κροκόδειλος vel κροκόδειλος; solent enim*

*us, is the Egyptian hib; so also is welekān, welekīnos, a water-bird of the pelican kind (Lehnwörter, 110) Egyptian, as the bird's home is Egypt; but Wiedemann, in his list of Egyptian words in Greek, does not mention them.—Xέννιον, 'a kind of quail, salted and eaten by the Egyptians' (Athen. IX. 393 c), is = chennu, 'fowl.'—Late Latin sacer (falcon), from Arabic *saqr* (*Tag. III.* II. 252), against Hehn, 486, whom Keller follows (p. 213); see also ZDMG. 46, 266, no. 64.*

eadem vocabula alii aliis regionibus animalia designare; also see Vaniček, 145 f. Saussure, *κροκόδειλος* = *κροκόδειρος* (?). The Egyptian name for the crocodile, mentioned by Hdt. 2, 69, *χάμψαι*, is the Egyptian *mesxu* (or *emsax*).<sup>1</sup>—Two centuries ago Bochart, H. i. 1081, 40, derived *χαμαιλέων* from the Semitic *גמל* (*gāmāl*), ‘camel,’ the chameleon having a hump like as a camel. This etymology has been revived by Keller, p. 196. But there is no Semitic language in which this animal is called *gāmāl*.—*Ἀράχνη* and Latin *aranea* are derived by Bochart, H. i. 70, 24, from the Hebrew *ארג* (*ārāg*), ‘spin, weave.’ *Ibid.* 51, 62, he compares *θύννος*, a tunny fish (Hdt. I. 62), a large, long fish, with the Hebrew *תנין* (*tannīn*), Arabic *tinnīn* (from *תנן*, ‘to stretch, be extended’). Wharton follows him<sup>2</sup> (‘*Etyma Graeca*,’ s.v.). The accepted etymology is from *θύνω*, *θύω*, because of its quick, darting motion. (See especially, P. Rhode: ‘*Thynnorum captura quanti fuerit apud veteres momenti*’ in Fleckeisen’s *Jahrbücher*, ‘Supplement Band,’ XVIII. pp. 1–79). Against a Semitic etymology speaks Lagarde’s law, that in early Greek Semitic *τ* = *τ*.—*Σκόρπιος*, says Bochart, H. ii. 634, is derived by some *ἀπὸ τοῦ σκαιῶς ἔρπειν*; others from *σκορπίζειν τὸν ἰόν*; he derives it from Semitic *עקרב* (*‘aqrāb*), with prothesis of sigma. So also Ewald, ‘*Hebr. Gram.*’<sup>3</sup> 280, who says: “*עקרב* hängt zusammen nicht blos mit dem Griechischen *σκόρπιος*, sondern auch mit dem deutschen Krabbe, Krebs, crab, Skt. *carcada*, Latin cancer.”<sup>3</sup>—*Τάριχος*, ‘dried or smoked fish,’ is from the Armenian *tarek*, *Մ.Ա.* 48, 3; *Մ.Առմ.* 2205. On the other hand, Sophus Bugge, BB. 3, 100, compares O.N. *dregg*, Icelandic *draugr*, N.H.G. ‘trocken,’ Engl. ‘dry,’ with Greek

<sup>1</sup> I. Rawlinson, 28, 29 a, mentions a *nam-su-xu* among the presents sent by the king of Egypt to the Assyrian king. J. Oppert compared it with Egyptian *emsax* (*emsux*). Hommel, ‘*Geschichte Babylonien und Assyriens*,’ 533, *rem.* 6, reads *tum-su-xa* (= Egypt. *emsax*, Arabic *timsax*). See also Gutschmid, ‘*Kleine Schriften*,’ I. 72, and Wiedemann, ‘*Hdt’s Zweites Buch*,’ 301.

<sup>2</sup> Wharton, ‘*Etyma Graeca*,’ believes that *γλάρις*, *shad*, and *γάδος*, *hake*, are from the Semitic, but see BB. 8, 108 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Some have identified with Semitic ‘*aqrāb*’ the Latin *carabus*, whence *κάραβος*, Wölfflin’s *Archiv*, 7, 287 (but see ‘*Curt. Studien*,’ 6, 296 and 341).

τάριχος.<sup>4</sup> — Βόμβυξ, 'silk worm,' from Βαμβύκη, city in Syria (Arabic *Manbug* = *Mabug*, Hitzig. ZDMG. 8, 211; Th. Nöldeke, GG.Nachr. 1876, no. 1), Latin vestis bombycina. Also cf. βάμβαξ, Turkish *rambuk*, 'cotton,' and *Æ.am.* 343.<sup>5</sup> — Καλαμίς · Κερυνῆται δὲ τοὺς μικροὺς τέττιγας καλαμίνδας καλοῦσι. Perhaps to be connected with Assyrian *kalmatu*, 'vermin.' — Σῆς = 'moth' = Hebr. סס (*sās*), Is. li. 8; Bochart, H. ii. 615, 51; G. 66; R. 207; *Æ.am.* 2262 (*σεός* for *σεσός*; *σητός* is a later formation). A. Müller, BB. i. 297, takes exception to this comparison, and Fröhde, KZ. 22, 263, has *σῆς* to 'tinea' (a form like *ara-nea*) = *σαργάνη* to *ταργάνη*. See also ZDMG. 46, 257, no. 117. — Σήψ, 'a poisonous serpent' (Aristotle) = Hebr. נצ (צֶבֶה), Arabic *dabb*; *Æ.p.* VIII., Latin seps, sépis. The nouns agree in form, but not in meaning, and I consider the comparison very precarious. An I.-E. etymology is offered by Vaniček, p. 991. — Of Egyptian words belonging to this chapter, I will mention ἄβραμις (Athen. VII. 312), 'a fish,' found in the sea and the Nile (cf. τὸ ἄβραμίδιον, Xenocr. 36), from Egyptian *rem*, 'fish' (Wiedemann).<sup>6</sup>

## XII.—VEGETABLE KINGDOM, HERBS, ETC.

\* Ἀγρωστis, 'a grass that mules feed on' (Homer, Theocr.), from Sem. גָּרָץ (*gārāṣ*) = σχίζω, *Æg.* 4, 373.<sup>1</sup> — Βαρακίνη

<sup>4</sup> The islands Ταριχίαι on the western coast of Carthage, known for the abundance of fish (Strabo, 17, 3; Pomp. Mela, 2, 7), are perhaps connected with τάρικος; cf. Brugsch, 'Aegyptologie,' 32-3.

<sup>5</sup> Prellwitz: βόμβυξ ad βομβέω (but ?).

<sup>6</sup> Ἄργολαι (Suidas) = 'aspides,' may be connected with Hebr. חַרְגוֹל (*charḡōl*), 'locust,' etc. On Armenian *xaragul*, see ZDMG. 46, 237, no. 39.

<sup>1</sup> On Σ = στ, see ἀλάστρος, δίστρος(?), στύραξ, Βοστρα = Βεζύρα; Μεστράμ = מצראים (*Misraim*). Σταδία, an old name for 'Ρόδος (Strabo) = מִצְרָא (desolata). Note also the Arabic transcription of Latin stratum by *ḥraṭun*, castrum by *qaṣr*. P. Kretschmer, KZ. 31, 377, considers Σταγείρος to be of foreign origin. If it was a Semitic settlement like many other towns in the neighborhood, I would suggest Σταγείρος = חֵרְצָא [חֵרְצָא] (*ḥr ḥirāh*) = 'small-town' (Σ = στ; ῑ = γ). The ἄγρωστis is the 'triticum repens,' according to the interpreters ad Theophr. H.P. I. 6, 7. I should like here to call attention to Lagarde's note on ἄγρω



(Hesych.) = ἄκανθα = Hebr. בַּרְקָן (*barqān*), 'a kind of thorn or nettle.' — Γάνος· ὑπὸ δὲ Κυπρίων παράδεισος<sup>2</sup> = Heb. גַּן (*gan*), 'garden.' — On ἔντυβος, from Latin *intibus*, *intubus*, and this from Arabic *hindab*, see my 'Semitic glosses to Kluge's Wörterbuch,' 22-4.<sup>3</sup> — Ζεραφοίς (Byzant.), 'seed of flax,' is the Syriac *zara-pišt* (= תַּשֵּׁב, flax). According to Dioscorides, 2, 125, it is ultimately an Egyptian word for Greek λίνον, *linum*, and Professor Erman, ZDMG. 46, p. 111, compares Egyptian *pš-t*, 'the same.' — Two other nouns belonging to a later period are ζιζάνιον and ζίζυφον. The former is a weed that grows in wheat (*Nov. Test.*), Lat. *zizanium* (= *lolium*). Pott<sup>2</sup>, II. 1, 810, compared it hesitatingly with Persian *zeuān*. Fritzsche, 'Curt. Studien,' 6, 319, *rem.* 14, considers the first syllable in both nouns as a reduplication; ζι-ζυφ-ον, 'arbor cuius fructus vocantur ju-jub-ae,' is referred to ζυγόν = *jugum* (*ibid.* 325)<sup>4</sup>. Ζιζάνιον, however, is the Syriac ܙܙܢܐ = *zinzān* (ܙܢܐ, 'it became dry'), thus = 'something which dries out' ("etwas austrocknendes"), Lag. 'Semitica,' I. 63; ܙܙܢܐ. 101, 15. Ζίζυφος is from the Syriac *zūz-fā* (Hoffmann, ZDMG. 32, 751). — Κασύρας,<sup>5</sup> 'dodder,' a parasitic plant. So Hesychius for the incorrect *καδύρας* of Pliny and Theophrastus. The Greek is from the Semitic כַּשׁוּיָא (*kašūyā*), with article כַּשׁוּיָא (*kašūyā*). Lag.

(Homer, *Od.* 12, 329-332); he explains it as ἀ + γράω = 'not fit to eat,' literally, 'not to be grabbed at.' Compounds of this \*γρᾶω are κρεδάγρα, ποδάγρα, χειράγρα, and especially ζωγραῖν ('Baktrische Lexikographie,' 23-4).

<sup>2</sup> The real etymology of *παράδεισος* is given by Geo. Hoffmann, ZDMG. 32, 761, *rem.* 1. Sonne, KZ. 14, 15, and Weise, BB. 5, 91, add nothing new. Lagarde's treatment is found in his 'Abhandlungen,' 76, 1; 210-11; 'Aus dem Gelehrtenleben,' 9; 'Armen. Studien,' 1878; 'Mittheil,' 1, 237; ܙܙ. 51, 201; see also Fränkel, 149. Παράδεισος goes back to the Persian plur. *faradis*, whose singl. is *farḍaus*. *Journ. Royal Asiat. Soc.* 'New Ser.' XVIII. 541, has nothing of importance. Russell Martineau (A.J.P. XIII. 325) does not seem to be aware of Hoffmann's article, referred to.

<sup>3</sup> The Greek word for *cichorium intybus* is *σέπυς*. From the Egyptian we have *dyon* (Diosc. 2, 159) = Egypt. *dku*.

<sup>4</sup> See also Fröhde, BB. 3, 25; Curt.<sup>5</sup> 626. Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 399, and Prellwitz refer *ζιζάνιον ad √gig*, 'to live,' comparing German 'Quecke,' Lat. *victus*, 'living.'

<sup>5</sup> The reading *καδύρας*, no doubt, arose through a confusion with *Κάδυστις* (Hdt.) = Egypt. *kasatu* = Hebr. *Ḳasāh*, 'the strong one; fortress' = Gaza. Schröder, 145, 2, takes *Κάδυστις* for *κἀδυστις* = תַּשֵּׁב (*qēdōst*) = 'sancta,' i.e. *urbs*.

'Agathangelus,' 142, *rem.*; *Źüb.* 97 and 148; *Źag.* III. 2, 358. — *Κάμων* is a kind of bind-weed (poetic). The form *σκαμμωνία* (Athen. I. 28, *c*) is the result of popular etymology, just as in the case of *σμάραγδος* and *σμύrna*. The Greek is derived by P. Kretschmer, *KZ.* 29, 440, from Hebr. כַּמְוֹן (*kammōn*), Aram. *kamōnā* (כַּמְוִנָא), Phoen. *χamān* (= cummin). 'The usual combination of the Semitic word with *κύμινον* is not permissible, owing to the difference in the vocalization; while on the other hand, the difference in the meaning of *σκαμμωνία* and Hebr. *kammōn* is not strange in the case of plants, both being used as purgatives' (Kretschmer). But see below *s.v.* *κύμινον*.<sup>6</sup> — *Κέγγρος*, Latin *cicer* = 'millet' (Hesiod), is derived by Lenormant from Hebr. כַּכַּר (*kikkār*), 'orbis, circulus,' but without foundation, except that Joseph. *Antt.* III. 6, 7, writes *κιγγάρ* for Hebr. כַּכַּר. O. Schrader<sup>2</sup>, 424, confesses "*κέγγρος* ist mir dunkel"; see, however, *KZ.* 29, 446, *rem.* — *Κέλυφος*, 'a sheath, case, pod, shell.' The *υ* renders connection with *καλύπτω* doubtful, and therefore *Źarm.* 1139, derives it from a Hebr. \*קְלוּפָה (*\*qelūfāh*). On Armenian *kelev* see now *ZDMG.* 46, 241, *no.* 61. Lagarde, also, rejects Walter's combination of the Greek with Latin *glūbo* (*KZ.* 12, 380; 'Curt. Stud.' 5, 138, 26). — *Πράσον*, 'leek' = Aram.-Hebr. כַּרְשׁ. *Ź.r.* XXXVII.; *Źarm.* 2380; Fleischer in Levy's 'Chaldäisches Wörterbuch,' I. 428, *b*. It was borrowed by the Ionians, brought to Athens, and there changed to *πράσος*, as *κότερος* to *πότερος*. P. Kretschmer, *KZ.* 31, 394, writes: 'The origin of the Greek word is thus far obscure; the name of the mountain *Παρράσιον* is perhaps connected with it.' I do not quite believe in the Semitic etymology of the Greek *πράσον* and Latin *porrum*, which, as A. Müller correctly observes, must have been borrowed from a form \**παρσον*. Besides, there is the Old-Slavic *prazŭ*.<sup>7</sup> The Greek *πράσιον* was later bor-

<sup>6</sup> *Σαπιλούμ*, mentioned by Diosc. 4. 168, as = Greek *σκαμμωνία* is the Egyptian *šepālu*.

<sup>7</sup> Fick, *BB.* 3. 162; G. Meyer<sup>2</sup>, 18; Saalfeld, 920; Schrader<sup>2</sup>, 428. Prellwitz, 262, compares also English 'furze.' On the Armenian form, borrowed from the Arab.-Syr., see Hübschmann, in *ZDMG.* 46, 267, *no.* 75. — An Egyptian word for *πράσιον* is *ἀστερόκη* mentioned by Diosc. 3, 109.

rowed by the Arabic as *afrāsīiūn* (Lag. 'Semitica,' I. 54). — O. Weise, *Rhein. Mus.* 38, 544, suggested that *σίλφιον* and Latin *sirpe*,<sup>8</sup> as well as *laser*, go back to Semitic words, and O. Keller, p. 353, believes that the true African (Punic) form is represented by the Hebr. סרפד (*sirpād*, Isa. lv. 13), 'a prickly plant' (*urtica*); Latin *laserpitium* for \**laser-sirpe* = *laserpe*. But we do not know the exact meaning of the Hebrew noun. There is an Egyptian *srpd* (or *srpti*), apparently a water-plant, compared with the Hebrew. The Egyptian, however, is found only in late texts (ZDMG. 46, 119), and its meaning is not yet settled (see also KZ. 16, 360, *rem.*). — Φύκος, Lat. *fūcus*, 1) 'sea-weed,' 2) 'paint, cosmetic' (Homer) = Hebr. פִּיֶּק (pūq), 'the same.' R. 205; Schröder, 134; *Ῥαγ. III.* 3, 281, compares Hebr. כוה (*puwāh*, Gen. xlv. 13); note also Pusey, *Daniel*, 516, 4.<sup>9</sup>

### XIII. — FRUITS AND TREES.

'Αμυγδάλη, 'almond'; ἀμυγδαλή, 'almond-tree' (ἐλαιον ἀμυγδάλινον, Xen. *Anab.* IV. 4, 13), Latin *amygdala* (Saalfeld, 59)<sup>1</sup> = אֵם גְּדֹלָה (*ēm gēdōlāh*), i.e. '[the tree of] the great mother'; so Hehn, 294, 487–8. Movers, I. 578, 586, remarks: "'Αμυγδάλη is the Semitic name of the Phrygian Cybele, and means 'great mother'; in fact the wakeful tree (Heb. שָׂדֵשׁ, *šāqēd*), that is, the early blooming, the first to wake from the winter's sleep, sprang from the blood of the mother of the gods."<sup>2</sup> Against this etymology of Movers and others,

<sup>8</sup> For \**sirpium* (\**σιρπιον*), after *turpe*, vile, etc.

<sup>9</sup> *Μνάσιον* (Theophr. H.P. 4, 9), a plant growing on the Nile, is probably the fruit *ment'a*, mentioned in the *Papyrus Ebers*.

<sup>1</sup> Later *amandola* and *amandula*, as if from *d* + *mandere*, 'to munch' (BB. 5, 94), or *amandus* (Keller, 59); also *amiddola* (*Appendix Probi*) occurs.

<sup>2</sup> On the etymology of Cybele, see Geo. Meyer in BB. 10, 195, where the name is connected with Skt. *śubh*, *śobhate*, 'to shine.' Bochart, H. i. 369, 23, derived Cybele from *שִׁבְעָל* (*šibbēl*) = 'parēre,' i.e. *mater deūm Phrygibus*. Sonne, *Philologus*, 48, combines Semitic *גְּבֹל* (*gēbāl*) and *Κύβηλα* · *δρη Φρυγίας* (Hesychius), whence the name of the Phrygian goddess *Κυβέλη*, whereof *Μήτηρ* 'Ορείη, shortened to *Πείη*, is the translation. On *Peia* see, however, *J. atm.* 1911; KZ. 30.

Baudissin, II. 298, *rem.* 2, raised grave objections, showing that according to Arnobius it 'was not from the blood of the great mother, but on the grave of Ja, that the tree had sprung up.' Baudissin produced no new etymology, which it was reserved for Lewy, 186, *no.* 14, to give: 'Α-μυγ-δάλ-η is a מַגְדִּי עֵל (*magdi 'el*), i.e. 'a precious gift of God,' an etymology by far better than has yet been proposed.<sup>3</sup> — Βαλαύστιον, 1) 'flower of a wild pomegranate,' 2) 'unripe pomegranate' (Diosc.) = Syriac ܒܠܒ, 'the same,' Loew, 364, and Hehn, 474, *note* 53. — Δάκτυλος, 'date, date-palm' = δάκλυτος, from the Phoenician *diqlat*, 'palm, palm-fruit' (Zag. III. 2, 356; KZ. 5, 188; 8, 398).<sup>4</sup> Hesychius has the following gloss: Σούκλαι · φοινικοβάλανοι · Σουκλυβάλανοι, τὸ αὐτὸ · Φοίνικες; to which Movers, II. 3, 234-5, adds 'perhaps from *dhoqél* = *soqel*.'<sup>5</sup> A careful study of H. L. Fleischer's remarks to Levy's 'Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch,' I. 443, *b*, and above all of Nöldeke's excellent review of Th. Fischer's essay 'Die Dattelpalme,'<sup>6</sup> in G.G.Anz. 1881, 1222-1231, has led me to adopt their view, rejecting a supposed Semitic etymology and considering the origin of the Greek as not quite certain. The specifically Arabic word for date-palm is *naxl*, an expression wanting in the other Semitic languages.

405, 409, and 416. Also Punic *abila* is connected with ܕܒܒܐ-Κύβηλα, 'namque Abilam vocant gens Punicorum mons quod altus barbaro (= Latino) est.' Avienus, 'Or. mar.' 345. Omphale seems to have been another 'mater ingens' = מַלְכַּת עַמּ, i.e. the 'magna mater,' which the Romans brought from Asia Minor, and whose son Sandan > *Camdan* (√ ç-m-d, ܟܡܨ, 'to serve') is also found as *Çimdan* in the Himyarite inscriptions and in those of Arabia.

<sup>3</sup> This so-called prothetic *d-* is found in many words, especially in proper names, from the Semitic, e.g. 'Αδράστεια, from ܕܘܪܥܬܐ (*dōrešet*, 'one who seeks satisfaction, revenge,' in its early form \**dōrast*), = Nemesis; also 'one who takes care of another'; 'Απόλλων, δ' Αμυκλαῖος > ܐܡܟܠܐ (*Enmann*, 37, and Gruppe, 152); 'Αταβύριον, the highest peak on the island of Rhodes, an ancient colony of the Phoenicians, from Tabōr, i.e. 'height' (modern *Atairo*); 'Ατυμνος and Τύμνος, from Hebr. ܛܘܡܢ (\**tōmen*, ground form *tūmn*, 'concealment'). *Agadir* in the Temashirht language = a fortified place = Γάδειρα, Phoenician *Gādēr*, Lat. Gades.

<sup>4</sup> Aram. ܕܩܠܐ (*diqlā*), Mishnic (*dīqel*); ܕܩܠܐ (*diqlāh*), as name of a district, occurs in Gen. x. 27, and I Chron. i. 22.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Κασμίλος for κάδμιλος, etc.

<sup>6</sup> 'Ihre geographische Verbreitung und culturhistorische Bedeutung.' *Ergänzungsheft*, no. 64, zu 'Petermann's *Mittheilungen*,' Gotha, 1881, pp. 85. Q.

Pliny's statement, 13, 9, § 46, favors a connection between *δάκτυλος*, 'date-palm,' or rather 'date,' and *δάκτυλος*, 'finger,' because the oblong, finger-shaped dates were the first imported into Greece by Eastern merchants. On the Latin *palma* see my note in A. J. P. XIII. 228-229.<sup>7</sup>—*Ἐβενοσ*,<sup>8</sup> 'ebony wood, ebony-tree' (Hdt. 5, 95) = Hebr. *הבנים* (*hōbniṁ*), Ezek. xxvii. 15; R. 205. The Latin *hebenus* still preserves the initial aspiration. The Hebrew *hōbniṁ* itself was borrowed from the Egyptian, where we have *hbnī* (*heben*).<sup>9</sup>—*Κάννα*, 'reed' (Aristoph.; *κανών*, Homer), with its many derivatives, is from the Sem. *קנה* (Hebr. *qāneh*), R. 206. See Vaniček, 'Fremdwörter,' 21 f.; also my 'Semitic Glosses to Kluge's Wörterbuch,' pp. 36 and 41; Hehn, 229.—*Κεράτιον*, the fruit of the *κερατέα*, from the Aram. *קראק* = Arab. *qarāṭun*, 'shell of the Acacia.' Fränkel, 200-201, remarks: "Dass die allgemeine Bedeutung Schote speciell die der Johannisbrotfrucht bezeichnet, ist nicht sehr auffallend, vergleiche Hebr. *qāneh* = Rohr, speciell Kanēl." But this is not so. *Κεράτιον* is originally the diminutive of *κέρας*, 'horn'; the fruit of the carob or locust tree (Arab. *xarrūb*, *χαρούβα*, *Ἰ.äb.* 111) was so called from its horn-like shape (*Zeitschrift f. Völkerpsychologie*, 13, 240). The name of the fruit, first known to the Greeks, was then transferred to the tree itself. From the Greek the name passed to the Aram.-Arab., and thence to other nations (Hehn, 340).<sup>10</sup>—*Κόττανον*, 'a small fig'

<sup>7</sup> A late name for palm-branch is *βατς*, *βατον* (John xii. 13), from the Egyptian *ḏā*, Coptic *βῆι*. Hesych. has *βατς*·*ράβδος*·*Φολιικος*, *καὶ βατον*.

<sup>8</sup> Later also *ἔβελος* (Suidas). For other changes of *ν* to *λ* see *s.v.* *νίτρον*, c. XXI.

<sup>9</sup> *Zeitschrift f. ägypt. Sprache*, 1886, 13; ZDMG. 46, 114. Brugsch, 'Aegyptologie,' 395 ("aus Aethiopiien bezogen"). Lieblein, 'Handel und Schiffahrt auf dem rothen Meere in alten Zeiten' (Kristiania, 1886), 69.—Ezek. xxvii. 15 shows that ebony is not a product of Phoenicia or Palestine.

<sup>10</sup> *Κόκκος* (Lat. *coccum*), 1) grain, seed, e.g. of pomegranates (Hom. *Hymn. Cer.* 373), and 2) the keremesberry, used to die scarlet, was imported into Greece from East-Africa, the land of Punt (espec. Zanzibar), Schumann, p. 6; *Ἰ.ä.* 48, no. 175. Its etymology must be sought in the East-African languages.—Fürst, 'Lexicon,' 1260, col. a, and others, have even gone so far as to combine *κέρας* with Hebr. *קרן* (*géren*), 'horn.' (See also Uppenkamp, p. 10.) Sayce, on the other hand, observes that: 'Words like *קרן*, compared with *κέρας*, are borrowed'

= Syr. קִזְיִן (*qazīnō*), also *κοδώνα, κυδώνα* (Athen. 9, 385, *a, εἶδος συκῶν μικρῶν*), Latin *cottāna* (also *coctana, cotona*, and *cottona*); *κοδώνα · σύκα χειμερινὰ καὶ καρύων εἶδος · Περσικόν*.<sup>11</sup> — *Κύπρος*, ‘cyprus-tree,’ ‘Cyprus flower,’ used to paint the nails, the *henna* of the Arabians (Diosc.) = Hebr. כֹּפֶר (*kōfer*), R. 205; *Ṭ.üb.* 231; Fleischer in Levy’s ‘Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch,’ II. 207. Assyrian *kuṣru* shows that the *u* is older than the *o*. The flower yielded the *ἔλαιον κύπρινον*. *Ṭag. III.* 2, 357, 8, writes: “Redet Theophrast (Estienne, 4, 2135) von *κύπρος*, so hat er von כֹּפֶר noch die Urgestalt *kuṣr* gekannt.” The existence of Assyrian *kuṣru* militates against R. Martineau’s derivation of the Semitic from the Greek, ‘called from Cyprus, where the flower grows’ (A.J.P. XIII. 325), unless we admit that Assyrian *kuṣru* is also borrowed from the same Greek word. — *Κύπειρον*, ‘sweet-smelling marsh plant’ (Homer), also *κύπειρος, κύπερος* (Ries, 29) go back to the same Hebr. כֹּפֶר. — *Κυπάρισσος*, Latin *cupressus*, ‘cypress’ (Hom.), has been a source of great discomfiture to etymologists. Renan, 206, compared it with Hebr. גֹּפֶר (*gōfer*), ‘a fir-tree’ (?); B. II. 148, with Hebr. כֹּפֶר (*kōfer*), ‘pitch.’ A. Müller, BB. I, 290, preferred to connect it with גֹּפֶר, but is extremely puzzled over the termination *-ισσος*, “pfllegt doch ein solches nie in dieser Weise an ein semitisches Wort gehängt zu werden.” Ries, p. 30, is very unsatisfactory. *Lag.* ‘Baktrische Lexikographie,’ 74; ‘Semitica,’ I. 54; ‘Symmicta,’ II. 92–4, has shown that גֹּפֶר in Gen. vi. 14, is shortened from נִפְרִית (Gen. xix. 24; Isa. xxx. 33; xxxiv. 9)<sup>12</sup> at a time when the latter was considered by the Semites as a feminine adjective, which, however, it is not. נִפְרִית is the same as the Bactrian *zohūkereti* (Vendidad) = ‘pine wood,’ and later = ‘sulphur.’ The wood was very light, and therefore used for the building

(Assyrian Grammar for comparative purposes, 14). See, however, G. Meyer<sup>2</sup>, 158; Joh. Schmidt, ‘Urheimath,’ 7, no. 2. One might, just as soon, follow Raumer, and identify *κεφαλή* and Sem. נָבֵל; or צִפְרָה (*ṣēfirāh*), Ezek. vii. 7, ‘globe,’ with *σφαῖρα* or *σφαῖρα* (Delitzsch, *ad* Isa. xxviii. 5).

<sup>11</sup> Bötticher, ‘Arica’; Vaniček, ‘Fremdwörter,’ 28; KZ. 18, 5; Weise, *Lehnwörter*, 25 and 139; Saalfeld, 350; Semitic Glosses to Kluge’s Wörterbuch, 57.

<sup>12</sup> Gen. vi. 14 should read נִפְרִית קִינִים; see also Baudissin, II. 198, *rem.* 7.

of the ark.<sup>13</sup> From this נפרית (*gōfrīt*) is derived the Greek *κυπάρισσος* (originally \**κυπρισσος*, whence Latin *cupressus*).<sup>14</sup> The word wandered from the Semitic countries into Greece. Crete may have served as the intermediate station; at least, the legend of the transformation of Cyparissos into a cypress-tree points to it. — The *βάρατον* of Diodor. 2, 49, 'a species of juniper,' is the Hebr. ברוש, Aram. ברות (*ḏēṛōt* = *κυπάρισσος*). — *Μύρτος*, 'myrtle,' is from the Semitic according to Hehn, 473; but see Fick, BB. 5, 168. An Armenian *moürt* is mentioned by *Ḥ. arm.* 1531. — *Πλάτανος*, ἡ, Lat. *platanus*, the 'Oriental plane-tree,' from the Semitic רלב (רלף), Arabic *dulb*, late Persian *dulb*, *dulbar*, *Ḥ. r.* 37, no. 66; Lag. 'Semitica,' I. 60. Pliny states that the tree was from the Orient. Hehn, 220, says: 'It is from a Phrygian, Lycian, or some other Iranian source, and not from the Semitic.' Pott<sup>2</sup>, IV. 267; BB. 18, 40, and others connect it with *πλατύς*, 'broad, giving shade,' which seems to me the most acceptable view. — *Ῥοιά* (*ῥοά*), 'pomegranate' (Hdt. Aristoph.), Lat. *rhoëas*, -ādis, and *rhoëa*, ae (Saalfeld, 974) = Hebr. רימון (*rimmōn*), 'the same'; B. II. 372, after Bochart, *Hierozoicon*. Hehn, 180, and note 53 (p. 474), writes: 'Ῥοιά is from the Semitic sphere of language and cultivation. The tree held so prominent a place in Syro-Phoenician worship, that the name of its fruit is the same as that of the sun-god: Hadad-Rimmon.<sup>15</sup> Cf. Hesych. ῥίμβαι, large pomegranates.' With this view agree Baudissin, II. 208; Keller, 192; Ries, 28-9. And yet *ῥοιά* is not Semitic. The Cyprian form *ῥοδιά*, KZ. 9, 364,

<sup>13</sup> For the same reason Alexander the Great used cypress-wood for ship-building (Arrian. VII. 19).

<sup>14</sup> See Weise, *Lehnwörter*, 134; Hehn, 212; BB. 1, 277; Schrader<sup>2</sup>, 288; Keller, 59.

<sup>15</sup> But Rimmon is not the sun-god, but the storm-god, his name meaning 'thunderer' = Assyrian *Ramānu* (for *ramimānu*, from *ramānu*, 'howl, thunder'). He is the *Addu* or *Daddu*: Hadād of the Syrians. The Old Testament Rimmon (2 Kings v. 18) is a wrong Massoretic vocalization after the analogy of *rimmōn*, 'pomegranate.' The LXX. *Ῥεμμάν* shows still the Old Hebrew pronunciation of Rammān; also compare Hesych. *Ῥαμάς* ὁ ὑψιστος θεός, and Steph. Byz. *Ῥαμάν*. Pott (Techmer's *Zeitschrift*, 3, 250) says: "*ῥοιά* schliesst sich doch gleichfalls wohl irgendwie als *rubea*, *roëa* den Wörtern für 'rot' mit Einbus des letzten Konsonanten an."

rbids all connection with the Hebrew (*J. arm.* p. 190, *ad* 1655; B. 1, 296; G. Meyer<sup>2</sup>, 163). A good I.-E. etymology is found in Pott<sup>2</sup>, II. 1, 964; III. 1022; Fick<sup>3</sup>, I. 225. — According to Bochart, the *ῥοιά* was called in Boeotia *σίδα*; this he derives from the Arabic *sidra*, ‘pomegranate,’ and connects with it also the name of the town *Σίδη*. — *Σήσαμον*, fruit of the ‘sesame-tree’ (plural in Arist. *Vespae*) = Arab. *sāsīm* or *msīm*, plur. *simāsīm*; Aram. *šumšēmā*, *šumā*, *J. arm.* 1713. Fleischer in Levy’s ‘Chald. Wörterbuch,’ 578, col. a. — *Σίκυς*, *κύνη*, ‘cucumber’ = Hebr. קישואה (*qisū’āh*), *J. arm.* 1975; *ag. M.* 1, 234; 2, 356 = “Die Umstellung des *κισύη* in *σικύη* wird zu der Zeit erfolgt sein als -σ- zwischen zwei Vocalen im Griechischen zu schwinden begann; *κύνη* wäre zu abscheulich gewesen. Da -σσ- nicht hätte zu schwinden brauchen, beweist *κύνη* dass קישואה nur masorethische Doppelung des *ש* hat; *šū’im* passte nicht in das System von Tiberias.”<sup>16</sup> Lenorant and Hitzig derived the Greek from פקיוא (*paqqū’ā*), ‘the me.’ Also see Hehn, p. 236. Joh. Schmidt, *KZ.* 25, 48; Hansson, *I. F.* 2, 14 (*cf. ibid.* 149, *rem.*); and Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 22 and 29, combine the Greek with the Old-Bulgarian *tyky*, which Kretschmer, *KZ.* 31, 335, declared impossible, favoring at the same time a Semitic etymology. — *Συκάμινος*, ‘figus comorus,’ the Egyptian mulberry-tree = Hebr. שקמה (*šiqmāh*), R. 206. The Greek is a hybrid of Hebr. *šiqmāh* and Greek *σῦκος*, and denotes originally the Arabic *gummeiza*, sycomorus, figus aegyptiaca.<sup>17</sup> When people began to apply this name also to the mulberry-tree, a distinction became necessary. A new word, *σुकόμορος*, was coined for *ummeiza*, and *σुकάμινος* was reserved for the mulberry-tree Koch, ‘Bäume und Sträucher’<sup>2</sup>, 74–6). Hehn’s suggestion

<sup>16</sup> See also ZDMG. 11, 522; H. L. Fleischer in Levy’s ‘Chald. Wörterbuch,’ 569. On *σῦκος* compare H. Graf zu Solms-Laubach, ‘Die Herkunft, Domestication und Verbreitung des gewöhnlichen Feigenbaumes’ (G.G.Abh. Vol. XXVIII., 81), and *Ag. M.* 1, 58 ff. Against *σῦκος* = figus see Weise, *Lehnwörter*, 128, m. 1.

<sup>17</sup> This ought to have been taken into consideration by Ries, 28, below. B., 442, suggested that *σῦκος* was borrowed from the East, and appealed in proof to *σुकάμινος*. Hehn, 85, says: ‘Its home is the Semitic Western Asia, Syria, and Palestine. In the Odyssey it occurs only in late interpolated passages.’



(p. 291) that 'μόρον originated from *σुकόμορος*' is rejected by Weise, '*Lehnwörter*,' 137, *rem.* 3, for the reason that μόρον = μῶρον occurs as early as Aesch. *frag.* 107, 224.<sup>18</sup> Hehn also believes that both *σुकάμιμος* and *σुकόμορος* were borrowed from Hebr. *šiqmīm* or *šiqmōt* (plurals to *šiqmāh*), or rather from the corresponding forms used in Syria and Lower Egypt. The word *σुकάμιμος*, though not found in early Greek, must have been, at Aristotle's time, sufficiently known in Greece, to furnish the proverb of *Rhet.* III. 11, 15. — *Νάρδος*, Lat. *nardus*, 'the nard' = Hebr. נָרְדָּ (nērd'), and this from Skt. *nalada*; Lassen (against Movers, II. 3, 102); *Orient und Occident*, III. 364; R. 209; BB. 1, 281: Löw, § 316; *Tag.* III. 2, 25 ff.; Pusey, *Daniel*, 514. — *Κίτριον, κιντρία*, 'the citron tree, citron,' and *κίτρον*, the fruit of the *κιντρία*, called also *μῆλον Μηδικόν*, is derived from the Latin *citrium*, and this is a derivative of citrus, *cidrus*. *Cidrus* is the Coptic *Ketri* or *Ghitre*, and the latter was borrowed from the Egyptian *Dhar-it*, the name of an acid fruit (Loret, 'Le cédratier dans l'antiquité,' Paris, 52 pp.).<sup>19</sup>

#### XIV. — FLOWERS.

'*Ανεμώνη*,<sup>1</sup> a plant, flower (Theophr.) = Hebr. נְאִמָּן (*na'imān*), literally 'pleasantness,' used of plants in Isa. xvii. 10, from a verb נָעַם (*nā'ēm*), 'be pleasant, sweet.' Liddell and Scott translate *ἀνεμώνη* by 'the wind flower,' evidently connecting it with *ἀνεμος*; so also Prellwitz, *s.v.* — *Αργεμώνη*, 'agri-

<sup>18</sup> On μόρον, μῶρον = *morum*, see Fick, BB. 5, 168. *Σुकόμορος* seems to be a hybrid formation from Hebr. *šiqmōt* and \*μόρος.

<sup>19</sup> Lat. *duracinus* (Greek *δοράκινον*) and *uva duracina* are from the Semitic *durāqīna*, collective *durāqīn*, a name given in Damascus to the best kind of peaches. (Koch, 'Bäume und Sträucher,' XVII.; Keller, 232 ff.) — Lenormant and Renan also derived Latin *taxus*, *taxo*, from שָׁחַח (*šaxax*, 'low, below'); but compare Slav. *tišu*, 'yew-tree,' and τόξον, 'bow.' — *Κίκι, κικινον* = Hebr. קִיקִיִּן (*qīqāiḥin*), 'castor-berry,' is of Egyptian origin (Brugsch, 'Aegyptologie,' 393).

<sup>1</sup> Prefix *a-* we find also in *ἀμμων*, *ἀγρωστις*, and see above (p. 106) *ἀμυγδάλη*. LXX. *ἀματταρί* = מַטְטָרִים = *σκοπός*, 'mark, object,' Regu. I. 20, 20. Against Lagarde, see Löw, 151, *rem.* 1.

mony' = Hebr. אַרְגָּמָן (*argāmān*), 'purple-colored' (Lag. 'Semitica,' I. 32; *Ź.üb.* 205, *rem.* 1).<sup>2</sup>—Μαλάχη, μολόχη, 'mallow,' Latin *malva* = Hebr. מַלְלֵאך (*mallūax*), a salt-plant, perhaps sea-purslain = Greek ἄλιμος; Benfey, O. Schrader and others. But see H. L. Fleischer's remarks in Levy's 'Wörterbuch,' II. 568, *a*, and Löw, §§ 190 and 308. Bochart, H. i. 870, 18, derives it from μαλάσσειν. Μολοκάς is a Corcyrean form (BB. 12, 3; KZ. 29, 410), which may perhaps explain μολόχη (G. Meyer<sup>2</sup> 55). On Latin *malva* see KZ. 7, 164, 28, 164; Wölfflin's *Archiv*, I, 591; O. Weise, *Lehnwörter*, 127, *rem.* 2, and *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie*, 17, 224. According to Koch, 'Bäume und Sträucher'<sup>2</sup>, 250, μαλάχη, *malva*, is connected with μαλακός, 'soft, tender'; also see Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 109.<sup>3</sup>—'Ρόδον, *rosa*, 'rose,' from Old-Persian *varda*, Armenian *vard*<sup>4</sup> (KZ. 10, 410; 23, 35). Hehn, 189, says: 'Greek ῥόδον (older βρόδον) is originally an Iranian word; both name and plant came to Greece from Media by way of Armenia and Phrygia. If ῥόδον were not a loan-word, its corresponding Armenian form should have a *t*.' Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 555–6, refers the Greek to the I.-E. root *vradīq*, 'stem, root'; *cf.* *radix*. Concerning Latin *rosa* Pott, KZ. 26, 140, writes: "Rosa ist den Griechen abgeborgtes ῥοδέα mit Assibilierung, wie Clausus statt Claudius, Italian orzo = orge (*hordeum*)"; also see Keller, 311–12, and Wharton, 'Latin Loan-words,' 181, where the latter remarks that: 'The rose-growing district of Paestum was in Lucania, whose inhabitants, the Samnites, were an off-shoot of the Sabines, who assibilated δι into ς.' In accordance with this Schrader's statements (p. 205) would have to be changed. Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 556, derives

<sup>2</sup> "Das ω in ἀρεμώνη entspricht der Voraussetzung, da Ἄζωτος (Symmicta, I. 121 = Ἀσθωδος = ʾṬṬḤ), Ἀσκαλών, Σιδών, ἀρραβών, κιννάμωμον, χιτών für alt-semitisches und arabisches ā allesamt die palästinensische Trübung ō zeigen, und mindestens ἀρραβών, Σιδών sehr alt sind, letzteres weil es sich bei Homer findet, ersteres weil es noch ββ und in der ersten Silbe ein α zeigt."

<sup>3</sup> Brugsch-Pasha compared Hebr. מַלְלֵאך with Egyptian *mnē*, a plant, mentioned together with papyrus and lotus (ZDMG. 46, 111).

<sup>4</sup> From the Armenian we have Modern Persian *gul*, Aramean *yardā* (Talmud ʾṬṬ, ZDMG. 43, 11), Coptic *vert, ourt* (Abel, 'Koptische Untersuchungen, I, 208). Fleischer in Levy's 'Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch,' II. 446, *col.* b.

rosa from *ροζᾶ*, a dialectic form of *φροδέα*, *ροδιῆ*, while Weise, *Lehnwörter*, 21, does not believe in a connection between the Latin and Greek, referring the former to an I.-E. root (= *vrodsa*), and considering the latter as borrowed.<sup>5</sup> — *Σούσον*, 'lily' (Diosc. *apud* Athen.) = Hebr. *שושן* (*šūšān* or rather *šōšān*), Bochart, H. i. 365, 25; R. 206; *J.r.* 54, 238; *J.arn.* 1712; *J.a.* 227, 11; *Jag.B.* 2, 15-17. The word originally meant 'lotus,' and is borrowed ultimately from the Egyptian *sššn*, at a time when this was pronounced in Coptic *šōšēn* (ZDMG. 46, 117). Also compare Fick in Kuhn und Schleicher's *Beiträge*, 7, 374-5. In Latin we have *susinus* (from *σούσινος*), Pliny, 13, 11.<sup>6</sup>

#### XV. — SPICES.

'*Ἀλόη* (Plutarch; Diosc. 3, 25), Lat. *aloë*, is the softening of the Hebr. *אֶהָלִים* (*'āhālīm*).<sup>1</sup> The Greeks may have learned the name on the spot. The Hebrew itself is adopted from the Skt. *agaru*, *aguru*, which, imported directly to Greece, gave rise to the doublet *ἀγάλλοχον* (Diosc. 1, 21), Lat. *agallochum*. — *Ἀμιθα*, 'a spice' (Bergk, 'Anacreon,' p. 249), is perhaps = Syriac *ܐܡܝܬܐ*, Arm. 'amič' (*J.a.* 12, 33; *J.arn.* 82), from Middle-Persian \**āmīč* (ZDMG. 46, 233, 5). According to Liddell and Scott it is the same as *ἄμης*, *-ητος*, 'a kind of milk-cake' (Ar. *Plut.* 499). — *Ἀμωμον* (Ar. *frg.* 105), 'a spice plant,' Lat. *amomum*, a species of *λιβανός*, from the Aram. *חַמְמָה* (*hāmām*); also *ἄμωμῖς*, *-ίδος*, *ῆ* (Diosc.). The Greek form arose perhaps after the analogy of *ἄμωμος*, 'without blame, blameless.'<sup>2</sup> — *Βάλσαμον*, Lat. *balsamum*,

<sup>5</sup> See also ZDMG. 7, 118, and 13, 390; *J.a.* 75, 6; *J.arn.* 2106; *Jag.B.* 2-23. Spiegel in 'Kuhn und Schleicher's *Beiträge*,' 1, 317, derives all from Skt-root *vriđh*, 'to grow'; Lōw, § 88; Koch, 'Bäume und Sträucher,'<sup>2</sup> 157; Baudis-sin, II. 220.

<sup>6</sup> Hübschmann, ZDMG. 46, 247, no. 91—

<sup>1</sup> The *g* passing into *h*; and the *r* into *l*. *J.a.* 11, no. 13; R. 209; Lōw, 295 = Keller, 192. The LXX. has also *ἀλώθ* = *אֶהָלִים* (*'ahālōt*, Ps. xlv. 9; Cant. iv. 14) — On the often-mentioned Skt. *aghil*, see F. Max Müller's note in Pusey, *Daniel*, 515 —

<sup>2</sup> Lagarde, 'Semitica,' I. 32; 'Agathangelus,' 154; *J.üb.* 205, *rem.* II — Theophr. H. P. IX. 7, 2: τὸ καρδάμωμον καὶ ἄμωμον οἱ μὲν ἐκ Μηδίας, οἱ δὲ ἐξ

1) 'balsam tree' (= *βάλσαμος*), and 2) the 'fragrant resin' of the tree, from Hebr. *בְּשֵׁם* (*bésem*), 'the same';<sup>8</sup> Movers, II. 3, 226; R. 205; *J. n.* 17, 8. The Greek returned later to the Semitic; cf. Arab. *balsān* and *balasān* (*J. arm.* 330). — *Βδέλλα* (Hesych.), *βδέλλιον* (Galen, Diosc.), a plant and a fragrant gum which exudes from it = Hebr. *בְּדֹלַח* (*bēdōlax*);<sup>4</sup> *βδολχόν*, and this from the Skt. *madālakā* (*μάδελακον*) or *udūkhala* (vel *ulūkhala*).<sup>6</sup> The form *βδέλλα* is, of course, based on the analogy of *βδέλλα*, 'leech.'<sup>7</sup> On Latin *bedella* see Weise, *Lehnwörter*, 40, and on *bidellium* Keller, 63. — *Γοίδ*, *γίδ* = Hebr. *גַּד* (*gād*) = *κόριον*, *κορίαννον*, 'coriander' (Lat. *coriandrum*, from a lost \**κορίανδρον*), Diosc. 3, 64.<sup>8</sup> In Latin we have *git*, *gith*, and *gicti*. — The Latin *cēra* is derived by Weise from Greek *κηρός* (Doric *kāρός*), which Brandt (*Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie*, 1878, p. 387) connects with Sem. *קָרַח* (*hāyār*), 'be white.'<sup>9</sup> — *Κασ(σ)ία*, Lat. *casia*, 'a spice of the nature of cinnamon,' but of inferior quality, brought from Arabia (Hdt. 2, 86; 3, 110) = Hebr. *קִצְיִי* (*qāṣi'āh*), R. 207. This spice was imported by Phoenician merchants from Egypt, where it is called *khisi-t*. The Egyptians, again, brought it from the land of Punt,<sup>10</sup> to which it was imported from Japan, where we have it under the form *kei-chi* (= 'branch of the cinnamon-tree'), or better

<sup>8</sup> *Γιδών*; Diosc. 1, 14, *δμωμον ἀρμένιον, μηδικόν, πορτικόν*. Greek *ω* for Semitic *ā* is quite frequent; see e.g. p. 113, note 2.

<sup>9</sup> From *bāsdm*, 'be fragrant' (cf. *Bisam*) = Assyrian *bašamu*. See also ZDMG. 46, 258, no. 7.

<sup>4</sup> *J. t. X. rem.* 2; *J. n.* 20, 2.

<sup>5</sup> R. 209, after Lassen.

<sup>6</sup> Roth-Boethlingk, I. 921.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *βδέλλα*. Uppenkamp, 29, derives all from the same root.

<sup>8</sup> *J. n.* 57, 10; *J. arm.* 485; Schröder, 128, *rem.* 7; Hehn, 163; Weise, *Rhein-Museum*, 38, 543.

<sup>9</sup> But this is very improbable. Compare Lith. *korj's* (m), honey-comb, and see *J. arm.* 1145; Weise, *Lehnwörter*, 180, *rem.* 4; Schrader<sup>2</sup>, 464. According to Wharton, 'Loan-words,' 173-4, 'Latin *cēra* is cognate with, but not borrowed from, the Greek *κηρός*. The Doric *kāρός* seems a figment.'

<sup>10</sup> Called 'the cinnamon country.' The Hebr. occurs only in Ps. xlv. 9, and Job xlii. 14 (as a proper name). The Egyptian is transcribed by Diosc. as *γίζηρ*; while Galen and Periplus (about 77 A.D.) mention *γίζη* and *γίζη*, *gizi*. Schumann, p. 6 ff.

*kei-shin* ('heart of the cinnamon'). The Japanese itself is again borrowed from the Chinese *kei-si*. The *-t* in the Egyptian represents the feminine suffix. A synonym of *qēṣī'āh* is the genuine Sem. קרה (*qiddāl*), Exod. xxx. 24; Ez. xxvii. 19; Phoen. קרא (*qiddō*), whence Greek κιντῶ (Diosc. I. 12).<sup>11</sup>—Hdt. 3, 111, speaking of the cinnamon (κιννάμωμον, *cinnamomum*), says that both the article and its name were imported into Greece from Phoenicia. The Phoenician was probably identical with the Hebrew, which is קנמון (*qinnāmōn*), Bochart, Ph.; G. 66; R. 206. Nicander has the form κίναμον and Pliny κίναμον = Latin *cinnamun*. Gesenius derives the Hebrew from a verb קנה = קנה. Schumann, too, considers it a good Semitic word, connecting it with קנה + suffix *-mōn*.<sup>12</sup> *J.üb.* 199, however, suggests that the Hebrew name was imported from Greece to Palestine, and that the word is probably of I.-E. origin (*cf.* also the Malayan *kājī mānīs*).<sup>13</sup>—Κρόκος and κρόκον, the 'crocus, saffron, safran,' is borrowed from Hebr. כרכום (*karkōm*, Cant. iv. 14),<sup>14</sup> and this perhaps from the Skt. *kunkuma* (*J.ä.* 45, 144; *J.ä.* 58, 10; *J.ä.* 2389; B. II. 177). The word passed from the Semitic to the Greeks during or even before the Epic period.<sup>15</sup> A more original form than *κροκωτός* is \**κορκωτός*, whence Latin *corcōta* (Wharton, 189). According to Brug—

<sup>11</sup> A species or variety of the *casia* is the *ἀχν* = אָחַו (*āxū*), Gen. xli. 2, 18; LXX. and Jesus Sirach, *ἀχει, ἀχι*. According to Jerome *ad Isa.* xix. 17, it is an Egyptian word, meaning 'omne quod in palude vireno nascitur'; *cf.* Egyptian *ἄχαχ*, 'sprout, flourish,' whence Demotic *ἄχḥ*, 'calamus.' Bochart, H. i. 403. The Hebr. קרה is derived from the verb קרר (*qāddā*), 'peel off, split off,' hence the 'rind' of a fragrant tree (Ex. xxx. 24).

<sup>12</sup> Found in the name of other products, imported from Southern Arabia, e.g. *ἀπόσσεμον* (a variety of the cinnamon); cassamon (= *casia*), cardamon, etc.

<sup>13</sup> *Κόμμ* (Hdt. 2, 86, 96), Lat. *cummis*, 'mucilage' (*gummi arabicum*), imported from the Egyptian *kemai* (Wiedemann, 26; Lieblein, 48, *rem.* 4).

<sup>14</sup> Arm. *չրչոյմ*; Pers. *karkam*; in Assyrian, *karkuma* (J. Oppert, *cf.* below c. XXI. *s.v.* ἤλεκτρον). See also ZDMG. 46, 254, no. 135.

<sup>15</sup> Hehn; Helbig, 149; Löw, 215-220; Ries, 29; Pusey, *Daniel*, 515, says *κρόκος* is not from the Hebr. *karkōm*, which itself has no Semitic etymology. The Greek came from the Skt. *kunkuma*, it must have come through another Semitic channel. The Sanskrit word has no etymology either (F. Max Müller). The Sanskrit passed into Arabic as *kamkām*, whence Lat. *cancamum* (Plin. 12, 9) and Late-Greek *κάγκαμων*.

mann, 'Curtius Studien,' 7, p. 292, *no.* 10, it is an I.-E. word. — *Κύμινον*, 'cummin' = Hebr. *קמח* (*kammōn*), R. 205; Schrader<sup>2</sup>, 431. In Assyrian we have *kamanu*.<sup>16</sup> — *Λήδανον* (Doric *λάδανον*), Hdt. 3, 107; Strabo, 16, 4, gum of the shrub *λήδον*, 'gum-mastich,' from Hebr. *לד* (*lōt*, older \**lāṭ*), R. 206; KZ. 31, 286. The form *λήδανον* was probably borrowed from Arabic *ladān* or *لادن* (*lādan*) (Hdt. 3, 112), Assyrian *ladunu*. The word may have belonged originally to the dialect of the Moabites and Ammonites, in whose regions the shrub is found in great abundance.<sup>17</sup> — Another gum, of like qualities, was the *στύραξ*, 'the Syrian resin storax,' Lat. *storax*, from the Sem. *ציר* (*zūrī* = *zūrī* or *zūrū*).<sup>18</sup> The Greeks assimilated the Semitic loan-word to *στύραξ*, 'spike'; the Latinized storax proves that this favorite incense for sacrifices came early to Italy. — *Ῥητινή*, 'gum, flowing gum,' Lat. *resina*, is usually derived from the I.-E. *√srē*, 'flow' (*ρέω*, *ραίνω*), Saalfeld, Prellwitz,<sup>19</sup> while others combine it with the Syriac *רזין* (*rēzīn*), a synonym of *ציר* = flowing gum, from a verb *רז* (*rēzēt*), 'flow.' Wharton (p. 189) derives Lat. *resina* from an Ionic \**ῤητινή*. Weise explains the *s* in the Latin noun as an analogical formation after 'residere.'<sup>20</sup> *Ῥητινή* passed into Arabic as *rātīnun*, and then returned again to Greek as *ράδινακή* (Fränkel, 41, against *ῤ.α.* 225, 26). — *Λιβανός* is the name of the tree from which the *λιβανωτός*, 'the frankincense,' is won. *Λιβανός* is from the Semitic \**liḥan* (*לחן*),

<sup>16</sup> Lat. *cuminum*, *cuminum*, and *cimum*; O.H.G. *chumin*; Old Russian, *Ажуминъ*; *ῤ.α.т.* 1780; *ῤ.äb.* 89; Löw, p. 206; M. Derenbourg (*Mélanges Graux*, 242, *rem.* 1) writes: 'Bien entendu קמח et κύμινον ne présente qu'une ressemblance accidentale'; see also above, c. XII. p. 105, *s.v.* *κάμων*. On Armenian *caman* compare Hübschmann (ZDMG. 46, 248, *no.* 97).

<sup>17</sup> Cf. the proper name *Lōt*, ancestor of the Ammonites and Moabites. On the Latin forms see Keller, 63.

<sup>18</sup> *ῤ.α.т.* 1, 234, 384; 4, 373; Hehn, 318 f.; Koch; 'Bäume und Sträucher,' 79 ff.; Hdt. 3, 107, says: *στύρακα, τὴν ἐς Ἑλλήνας Φοινίκας ἐξάγουσι*. J. Ols-Hausen (*Hermes*, 14, 145-8) derived *στύραξ* from *δοστύραξ* = *Ἄστυρα* = *Ἄστάρτε* (Astarte), but the form *Ἄστυρα* does not occur. On *צ* = *στ* compare e.g. *δίστρος* (but ?), *ἀγρωστis*, *ἀλάβαστρος*, etc. (p. 49 f., 103, *note* 1).

<sup>19</sup> Saalfeld, 969. On the Armenian form see ZDMG. 46, 265, *no.* 59.

<sup>20</sup> BB. 5, 89; *Lehnwörter*, 29, 173-4; see also Pott, in BB. 8, 49: "s für t wegen eines nachmals unterdrückten i." — KZ. 30, 567.

\**lēhān*), 'white,' plur. לבנות (*lēhānōt*) = λιβανωτός, a collective name for the single grains of the incense.<sup>21</sup> On the Egyptian forms see Brugsch, 'Aegyptologie,' 396. — Μάλθη, 'soft wax for covering writing tablets,' etc. (Latin malta, Italian malta, 'clay, loam'), is said to be borrowed from Hebr. מלט (*melet*), 'mortar' (LXX. μίλτος), G. 66; R. 207; J. a. 256, 11; Lagarde, 'Agathangelus,' 141, *rem.* 2. On the other hand, Pott<sup>2</sup>, II. 3, 543; Schröder, 30, *rem.*; Curt.<sup>5</sup> 326; and BB. I. 291, connect it with μαλάσσω, μαλακός.<sup>22</sup> — Μύρρα, 'myrrh' (Sappho) = מר (*mōr*), or rather מרר (*murrā*), R. 205.<sup>23</sup> It is the product of the 'Balsamodendron myrrha,' which grows in Arabia and the Somāli country, and was called מר from its bitter taste (מרר = 'to be bitter'). The plant

<sup>21</sup> The white incense was considered the best (Pliny, N.H. 12, 14; Movers, II. 3, 100; J. a. J. 2, 357; Wiedemann, 'Hdt.'s II. Buch,' 356. Also cf. לבן = Mount Lebanon (Λιβανών). "Wir haben in den beiden Vokabeln (λιβανωτός and Λιβανών) in dem kurzen *i* und *a* semitischen, nicht hebräischen, in -ωτ (Lagarde, 'Semitica,' I. 32), hebräischen Vocalismus, in dem *t* den Erweis dass die Affricierung der בנר כספת damals noch nicht vorhanden war" (Lagarde). Also compare Λοβονί and Λοβόν of the LXX. *ad* Deut. i. 1 (J. ü. b. 33); ἀβιβλαβόν (Diosc. 3, 116), 'king's lily' = אבב לבן. From this same stem לבן are derived the names Lebinthos (לבנתא) and Lemnos (for *libēnāh* = לבנה, 'white'), Bochart; Kiepert; Helbig, 8; Ries, 7.

<sup>22</sup> From מלט in the meaning 'to save oneself, be saved,' is derived the name of the island Μελτη (Malta) = 'place of safety, refuge' = מליטה (*mēlītāh*), καταφυγή (Bochart, Ph. 497); Kiepert, § 242, says: 'Melite, on account of its deep and sheltered harbour, was certainly one of the oldest Phoenician settlements in the West'; also cf. Lewy, *Neue Jahrbücher*, 1892, 180. But this would militate against Lagarde's law that in early Greek θ was represented by θ. Lewy, *l.c.* considers Σχερτη from סכר (= סנר, to lock up, to keep safe), as a synonym of Μελτη. Μελτη was also an older name for Samothrake (Strabo, 10, 472); but Samothrake (Σάμος Θρηάκη, II. 13, 13) must be a very old name, because Samo-, as well as Samos, the island, are connected with the Semitic שמה (*šamāh*), 'be high, elevated' (Helbig, 8; Ries, 49). The island consists entirely of the mighty crater of Saöke with a peak, 5500 feet in height. Gerard Croese (1704) had the idea that the family of Esau settled in Thrace, and thus the Greeks of that part had learned Hebrew. To prove this idea, he tells us that the name Thrace is from θριξ, 'the hair,' and was not Esau a 'hairy man'? — From מלט, Keller, 190 and 225 ff., also derives the Greek Ἀμάλθεια = Rhea, the mother of the gods; while Lewy, *l.c.* 183, explains this name as = Sem. חמלת (\**xomalt*), the ground-form of *xōmēlet*), in the meaning of 'compassionate, merciful,' from חמל, 'to have mercy upon,' ἀμάλθεια being originally an epithet of Rhea Cybele.

<sup>23</sup> Also cf. *μύρον* (Archilochus, 31).

exotic in Palestine as well as with us; the Phoenicians reported it from Egypt, and the Egyptians, again, brought the gum and the young trees from the land of Punt.<sup>24</sup> The word *smayce* (Hdt. 3, 107) combines *σμύρνη* with *מר*, and thinks the *σ* was prefixed from a false assimilation to the name of the city of Smyrna. Some scholars consider *μύρρα* (*μύρον*) as well as *σμύρνη* (*σμύρνα*) as I.-E. nouns.<sup>25</sup> It is safest to separate the two words: *μύρρα* (*μύρον*) = Hebr. *mōr*, Arabic *urra*, and *σμύρνη* (*σμύρον*) = 'schmiere,' O.H.G. *smero*, 'fat'; Goth. *smairpa*.<sup>26</sup> — *Νέτωπον*, 'oil of almonds' (Hippocr.), and *τώπιον* (Hesych.) are compared to Hebr. *נְטוֹפָה* (*nētōfāh*), 'resin-trickling, used of the dropping of an aromatic resin.' The Hebrew is the name of a town or region, 'balsam or ointment-place' (from a verb *נָטַף* = *nāṭāf*, 'to drop, drip, flow'). But the true Greek reading is *μετώπιον* (Diosc. 1, 71; Athen. 1, 688, an Egyptian designation of an ointment), perhaps Egyptian *met*, an ointment, mentioned in the *Papyrusbers*.<sup>27</sup> The Greek *μετώπιον* is shaped after the analogy *μετώπιον*, *μέτωπον*, 'forehead.' — *ῤσσωπος* (Theophr. and XX.) = Lat. *hyssopus*, 'an aromatic plant' = Hebr. *אֲזוֹב* (*izōb*), R. 205; *ῤ. arm.* 794. The Oriental hyssop, however, is a plant, different from ours, which is not found in Syria and Egypt; it was probably the caper plant.<sup>28</sup> — *Χαλβάνη*, Lat. *galbanum*<sup>29</sup> and *chalbane*, 'a gum' = Hebr. *חֶלְבָנָה* (*elbēnāh*, Ex. xxx. 34), R. 205; BB. 1, 279 and 299; Löw, 53-4. It is the resinous juice or gum of the Syrian

<sup>24</sup> Schumann, 5 a; *ῤ. arm.* 75, quotes Armenian *smōir* and *smōirs* = *ζμύρρα*; see also *ῤ. lib.* 40 and 179.

<sup>25</sup> Vaniček, KZ. 29, 85; 30, 85, and 440; G. Meyer<sup>2</sup>, 246: '*μύρρα* by the side *σμύρρα*, where the original *σμ* is preserved.'

<sup>26</sup> So Schrader, KZ. 30, 477, and p. 463 of 'Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte<sup>2</sup>.' — W. Smith, 'Latin Dictionary,' derives Latin *amarus*, 'bitter,' from the Hebr. *mārāh*, with *a* prefixed; but the Latin belongs to Greek *ὠμός* ('sick', I. 17); cf. also G. 67. — An Egyptian word for myrrh is *βάλ*, on which see Wiedemann, p. 16.

<sup>27</sup> Wiedemann, 30; *ῤ. ag. lib.* 2, 357. — Pusey, *Daniel*, 515: '*νέτωπον* seems to be accidentally connected with *נְטוֹפָה*.'

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Stanley, 'Sinai and Palestine,' 21. — On Armenian *soṗay*, Syriac *sōṗā*, see DMG. 46, 236, no. 28.

<sup>29</sup> After *galbus*, *galbanus*.



umbelliferous plant.<sup>80</sup>—Μόσχος, 'animal perfume,' musk (Aëtius), is connected according to Passow; Liddell and Scott, Curt.<sup>5</sup> 593; Meringer, *l.c.* p. 37, with ὄσχος, ὄσχη. Ὡ.απμ. 1527, connects it with Arab. *misk*, Pers. *mušk*, Skt. *muška*.

#### XVI.—COMMERCE.

'Ἀραβῶν, 'earnest-money, pledge' = Hebr. עֲרָבֹן (*'ērāḇōn* for 'arrabōn), from a verb עָרַב (*'ārāḇ*), 'to exchange, pledge.' In Latin we have the forms arrhabo, arrah, arra (whence French 'arrhe'), and rhabo, rabo. Hesychius quotes ἄρα·πρόδομα καὶ μνήστρον.<sup>1</sup>—Among the names of vessels we have γαῦλος (see chapter VII.) and κέρκουρος, 'a swift vessel, a boat,' Latin cercurus, from the Arabic *qūrquūr*, 'navis longa,' Bochart, Ph. 463. Fränkel, 217, compares also Hebr. כִּרְכָּרָה (*kirkārāh*, fem. to *kirkēr*), used of the swift-running female camel, hence a dromedary (just as Greek *δρομάς*), Is. lxvi. 20. If the κέρκουρος was really an invention of the Cyprians, as Pliny, 7, 57, says, its name must have been coined by the Semitic settlers living on that island. Κέρκουροι are mentioned among the Carthaginian fleet (Appian, *Pun.* 75, 121).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>80</sup> Koch, 'Bäume und Sträucher'<sup>2</sup>, 256 ff., derives Greek *λωτός*, 'the lotus,' from Hebr. לוֹט (*lōṭ*); Brugmann, 'Curtius Studien,' 4, 153, no. 33, argues in favor of an I.-E. origin, and connects it with the √*lad* = fruī (*cf.* ἀπολαύω); *λω-τό-ς*, 'proprie esculentus.' According to Athen. 3, 73, it is an Egyptian word. Wiedemann, p. 28, and 'Hdt. II. Buch,' 375, says it has not yet been found in Egyptian literature; see, however, Ὡ.απ. 2, 21 ff., on Hdt. 2, 92, in his article on *λείριον*, from Egyptian *liri*, which by dissimilation became *ληρι*.

<sup>1</sup> G. 66; B. I. 101; Ὡ.απμ. 2411; Ὡ. "b. 188, *rem.* 1; 203, 12–37; Ὡ.απ. 1, 212; Fränkel, 190; Keller, 104. — It may be that ἀπυλός·καὶ κάπηλος·παρὰ Κυπρίους, is connected with Assyrian *apalu*, 'to exchange, return,' though Hoffmann, 'Griechische Dialekte,' I. 106, *rem.*, derives it from \*αφι ('towards') + πέλομαι (*ἐμπολή, πολέω*), and O. Weise, *Lehnwörter*, 87, *rem.* 2, from √*pal*, 'to guard, watch,' connecting it with Lat. *opilio*. — Κάπηλος, *καπηλεύειν*, stands too isolated in Greek to admit of any certain etymology. Raumer (I. Fortsetzung, p. 9) and others consider it to be borrowed from Semitic קָבַל (*qāḇal*), *Pivél qibbél*, 'receive, compensate.'

<sup>2</sup> In Armenian we have *kurkuray*, 'vessel' (ZDMG. 46, 227 and 241). Brugmann, 'Curt. Studien,' 7, 291, no. 9, derives the Greek from the I.-E. √*kap*, 'to be pointed, sharp.' Κέρκουρος·είδος πλοίου καὶ ἰχθύος. — From the Semitic קָרַקַר

— From the Egyptian we have *βάρης* (Hdt. 2, 41 and 96; Diod. I, 96), ‘a flat-bottomed boat used in Egypt’ = Egyptian *barī-t*, found even on the monuments of the XVIII. dynasty (Sayce); Latin *baris*, *barca* (no doubt for *bari-ca*), whence Italian *barca*, French *barque*, etc. See the discussion between Weise and Ad. Erman in BB. 7, 96, and 170 f.; A. Wiedemann, ‘Hdt. II. Buch,’ 387–8, and pp. 194, 253, and 609. — On *ἀντλος*, *ἀντλείν*, *ἀντλίον* H. L. Fleischer has the following important remark in Levy’s ‘Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch,’ II. 569 f.: “Diese Begriffe kommen aus dem Morgenlande und sind, wie einige andere zunächst auf Schifffahrt und Seehandel bezügliche Wörter von den Phoeniziern zu den Griechen gekommen.” Compare *נַאֲלָה* (*naṯlā*), ‘vessel, pail,’ etc., from *נָאֲלָה* (*nāṯlāl*), ‘lift, draw.’

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#### XVII. — WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

*Ἄκαινα*<sup>1</sup> in the meaning of ‘a ten-foot rod’ used in land-surveying (Lat. *acna*, *acnua*, BB. 16, 187), may be connected

we have the name of the island *Κέρκυρα* (Attic), *Κόρκυρα* (Doric) = Lat. *Corcyra* (Bochart, Ph. 463: *Corcyraei* = *קִרְקִי*, olim *Phalakes*, i.e. eminentes = Arab. *قَرْنَة*, *eminens*). The modern ‘Corfu’ is from *oi κορυθοί*, the Peaks, names of the two citadels on the island. Johansson, KZ. 30, 414, *rem.*, calls *Κέρκυρα* “ein dunkles Wort.” — A ‘*navis longa*’ may also have been the Argo of the Argonauts, derived from the Semitic *אֶרְכָה* (*arkāh*), ‘long’; for *γ = כ*, cf. e.g. *אֶכְבַר* (*Akbar*) = *Ἀγβαρος*, and many others. Gerard Croese, of blessed memory, proved, as he thought, that all the heroes in the legend of the ‘Search for the Golden Fleece’ were Jews. Jason is a compound of *ἴσος* + *ἴσος* (*iā'idz + sūn*), ‘feed and to counsel’; Peleus, from *πέλος* (*pālds*), ‘weigh.’ Argonaut, from *ἄργεῖον* + *ἴσος* (*ārgēion + sūn*), ‘the purple ship,’ which goes to Europe (= *ἄρα* = ‘the light of the face,’ from *ἥλα* = *hāldl*, ‘shine’), carrying the Danaï (‘judges’ = *ἴσος*: *dīn*), and which, steered by the helmsman Tiphys (*τίφης*, ‘draw along’), on its journey passes the islands of Kume (*κῦμος*, ‘arise’) and Samos (= *σάμος*, ‘heaven’). Lauth (‘Troias Epoche,’ 1877) derived Danaos from Egypt. *dun*, ‘surgere, germinare’; but see Gutschmid, ‘Kleine Schriften,’ I. 551 f.; the same writer also combined *νήδυμος ὕπνος* (Homer) with Egypt. *net'em*, ‘dulus, suavis’ (but see Gutschmid, *l.c.* 552). It must be added, however, that Jubainville, the uncomfortably learned French *savant* (I. 178), connects Danaos with Egypt. *Tana*.

<sup>1</sup> Assimilated to the good Greek *ἀκαινα*, ‘thorn, prick, stimulus,’ Skt. *दशन*, *dśna* (KZ. 24, 449; 30, 350 and 413).

with the Hebr. קָנֶה (*qāneh*), 'a measuring stick, rod' (= *κάνη, κάννη, κάννα*), Assyrian *qanū*.<sup>2</sup> O. Weise, *Lehnwörter*, 218, *rem.* 3, derives the Greek from the Latin. — *βάδος* (*βάθος* and *βάτος*, also *βαιθ*, LXX.), a measure = Hebr. בַּיִת (*bāyit*); it was a measure of liquids, according to Joseph. *Antt.* 8, 2, 9 = 72 sextarii or 8½ gallons. — *κάβος* (LXX. and *Geopon.*) = Greek *χοϊνιξ*, from Hebr. קָבֵה (*qābē*), B. II. 157. The Hebrew may have been borrowed from the Egyptian *qbt* (\**qēbēt*), 'a pitcher, a measure.' The *κάβος* was ½ of a קָמַח (*sē'āh*), which, in its Aramean form קָמַח (*sāiā*), passed over to the Greeks as *σάτον*.<sup>3</sup> In Assyrian we have *sūtu*, and in Egyptian *s'a*, 'a measure of corn' (Brugsch, ZDMG. 46, 118). — *κόρος* (Josephus) for *κόρρος*, from Hebr. כֶּרֶךְ (*kōr*).<sup>4</sup> — *Πλάστιγξ*, 'the scale of a balance,' is usually connected with the I.-E. *√spal* (Uppenkamp, 38), or *√pela, pla* (Prellwitz). Lagarde, 'Orientalia,' II. 38, derives it from the Sem. פְּלֶסֶת + suffix *-יג*.<sup>5</sup> — *Σᾶρος, σῶσσος, and νῆρος* are, of course, from the corresponding Assyrian words *sar, šuššu, and nēru*.<sup>6</sup> — Another measure is *σάφιθα*, for which compare Aram. מִשָּׁפָה, *οἰνοπώλης*, from a verb מִשָּׁפָה (*ššfā*), 'he filtrated'; also cf. *σαπάτιον*, Lagarde, 'Symmicta,' II. 216. — From the Egyptian we have *ἴν, ἰνίον*, 'a measure' = Egyptian *hntw* (*hen*), whence also Hebr. לֵיִן (*līn*), R. 204; Brugsch (ZDMG. 46, 114). Against the identification of Greek *ἴν* and Hebr. לֵיִן see Wiedemann, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Hultzsch, 'Metrologie,' 385; A.J.P. IX. 421-2. — *Ἀχάνη*, a measure = 45 μέδοιμοι, is considered by Wharton as Persian, while Borchart derived it from the Talmudic קָנָה (*kānā*), with the article ה (*ha*) prefixed.

<sup>3</sup> *Œ. arm.* 536; *Œ. ag. III.* 2, 367.

<sup>4</sup> Lagarde, 'Orientalia,' II. 30-31, 'Symmicta,' II. 184; *Œ. üb.* 40.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. פְּלֶסֶת (*pēles*), 'a balance,' Isa. xl. 12; Prov. xvi. 4.

<sup>6</sup> F. Delitzsch in *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, 1878, 56-70; Joh. Schmidt, 'Urheimath der Indogermanen,' 43 ff.; on p. 46 he suggests that German 'Schock,' = 60, and Babylonian *šuššu* are connected etymologically.

## XVIII. — MONEY.

Γάζα, gaza, 'a treasure,' is borrowed from the Western Syriac. According to *℣. arm.* 453, it was originally a Median word, which was transferred to the Persian and then to the Sanskrit, since neither Persian *ganj*, nor Skt. *ganja*, admit of a satisfactory etymology.<sup>1</sup> — Δαρεικος, a Daric, a Persian gold coin of the value of an Attic χρυσούς, is also of Semitic origin. In 1 Chron. xxix. 7, etc., we find 'אֲדַרְכֹּן (*darkōn* with prothetic א), and another form *darkēmōn* appears in Ezra ii. 69. It was originally not a piece of money, but a measure (*cf.* דָּרָךְ), and afterwards applied to money. In the Assyrian inscriptions there occurs *da-ri-ku* in a contract-tablet of the twelfth year of King Nabonidus (published in the *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 5 Feb., 1884, p. 87). From the same Semitic noun, Fürst, Keller, 357, and others derive the Greek δραχμή, as a weight and a coin. J. Oppert (*Journal asiatique*, 1874, VII. series, vol. iv. p. 479) connects it with an Akkadian DARAG-MANA = 'le  $\frac{1}{60}$  de la mine.' (See, however, Delitzsch und Haupt, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, I. 496.) Δραχμή I take to be an I.-E. word.<sup>2</sup> Nöldeke, *Persische Studien*, II. p. 35, believes that Persian *diram* was perhaps borrowed directly from Greek δραχμή = *drachm* = *drahm* = *diram*. — Κόλλυβος (*collybus*), 'a small coin, small gold weight,' is borrowed, according to Lagarde, 'Orientalia,' II. 27, from Hebr. קָלוֹפִּי (*xälöf*); Julius Pollux, ζ, 170, mentions ὁ νῦν κόλλυβος ἀλλαγῆ. The Semitic noun belongs to a verb קָלַף, 'exchange, change.' The Greeks could not pronounce κόλλυφος, and changed it into κόλλυβος. — The most interesting word in this chapter is μαμ(μ)ῶν,

<sup>1</sup> See also *℣. a.* 27, 35, and 28, 3; Kautzsch, 'Aram. Gram.' 118 and 175; Pusey, *Daniel*, 515-16, contends for a Semitic etymology of γάζα. Keller's statements (p. 249 f.) have to be modified according to G. Meyer (*Lit. Centralblatt*, 1892, no. 12).

<sup>2</sup> *Cf.* *℣. arm.* 665; G. Meyer<sup>2</sup>, § 18; Hultsch, 'Metrologie', 131; Brugmann, 'Curt. Studien', 4, 104, ὄδρακ; Siegismund, *ibid.* 5, 154, no. 30 (δράσσομαι, δραχμή, δράγμα unde ducta sint, nondum satis constat). J. Oppert, *l.c.*, derived also ὀβολός, 'an obol,' used at Athens both as a weight and a coin =  $\frac{1}{6}$  part of a δραχμή, from the Assyrian *aplus* = 'weight'; see, however, Prellwitz, 217.

or rather *μα(μ)ωνᾶς*, 'mammon,' from the Aram. *מַמְוֹנָא* (*mā'mōn*) and *מַמְוֹנָא* (*mā'mōnā*), for *מַמְוֹנָא* (*ma'mōn*), from Aram. *מַמְ* = Hebr. *מָמַן* (*tāmān*), 'conceal, hide, bury'; thus = *matmōn* = 'a hidden, buried treasure.'<sup>3</sup> M. Duval in the *Revue des études juives*, 1884, p. 143, explains the Aramean as a compound of *מָא* (*mā*) + *מָנָן* (*mān* = *mōn*) or *מָוֵן* (*mūn*) in the sense of 'quidquid' (= Arabic *mahmā*). — The Hebrew *māneh* (מָנֵה) came to Greece through the medium of Phoenician traders in the form *mēnā*, *mēnā'ā* (מְנָא, מְנָאָא) = *μνᾶ*, *μνῆα*, *μνῆα* (= Latin *mina*). It also passed into Egyptian. — Another coin received by the Greeks from the Phoenicians is *σίγλος* (*σίκλος*) = *שִׁקְלָא* (*šiqḷā*), Hebr. *שֶׁקֶל* (*šēqel*), of which *στάτηρ* is the Greek translation (Hultzsch, *l.c.* 132). It is found in Lycian in the form *sexḷe* (BB. 12, 149). *Σίγλος* is better than *σίκλος*, because *γ* reproduces *ḫ* more exactly than *κ* does.<sup>4</sup>

#### XIX. — WRITING.

*Ἄβαξ*, -κος, *ὀ*<sup>1</sup> (Lat. *abax* and *abacus*, from the Greek genitive *ἄβακος*, Keller, 80), 'a board for reckoning on,' is derived from the Semitic *אַבָּק* (*'ābāq*), 'dust,' 'sand,' because the ancients, especially in the Orient, reckoned and figured in the dust. This explains also our Lord's custom of always writing in the dust (St. John viii. etc.).<sup>2</sup> — *Δέλτος*, 'a writing tablet,' from Hebr. *דֶּלֶת* (*dēlet*) = a page of a roll, column,

<sup>3</sup> *Tag. III.* 1, 229, against whom compare Geo. Hoffmann, 'Über einige Phönizische Inschriften,' p. 33. *Ź.üb.* 185; Kautzsch, 'Aram. Gramm.' 10 and 174; Nestle, 'Syriac Grammar'<sup>2</sup>, pref. xi. *ad p.* 27, *rem.* 1, says: 'Syriac *מַמְוֹנָא* = *μαμμων* seems to be a foreign word from Phoenician *מָנָא* = money.' — Pinches (London *Academy*, 9 June, 1888, p. 399) derived the word from the Assyrian *mimmu* or *memmu*, 'anything, everything,' 'property,' 'wealth'; but see C. Bezod, *ibid.* 16 June, p. 446; also Fürst, *Lexicon*, 831; and Sayce, 'Records of the Past,' *new series*, vol. 3, 77.

<sup>4</sup> *Tag. III.* 2, 357.

<sup>1</sup> Also *ἀβάκιον*, *ἀβακίσκος* = *tessera*, *tessella*.

<sup>2</sup> *Tag. III.* 1, 222; *Ź.üb.* 224, *rem.* 2, 2; and L. Geiger, 'Ursprung und Entwicklung der menschlichen Sprache und Vernunft' (1868), I. 295. Saalfeld, 'Tensaurus,' derives *ἄβαξ* from the letters A, B, Γ = "eine mit Chiffren versehene und in Felder abgetheilte Tafel oder Tischplatte."

because it is like the wing of a door (Jer. xxxvi. 23). Compare Hdt. 8, 135, ἐν δέλτου πτυχαῖς γράφειν (B. II. 199; BB. 1, 287-8). I.-E. etymologies have been proposed by many scholars, e.g. Vanicek; Meister, 'Griechische Dialekte,' 2, 213; Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 456; and Prellwitz, *s.v.* — Βύβλος, also βίβλος (BB. 12, 60; G. Meyer<sup>2</sup>, 91) was the Egyptian papyrus, the outer coat of which was used for writing on, hence in the plur. 'leaves of byblus'; then also 'a paper, book.' To explain βύβλος we must first explain πάπυρος (= paper), of which the former seems to be the Semitic designation. Πάπυρος is not a Greek word, but the Coptic *Pa-bour* (i.e. the writing material made in Būra).<sup>3</sup> Papyrus being thus called after the name of a city where it was manufactured, I join those who derive βύβλος from the בבל, mentioned in Ezek. xxvii. 9. The name of this famous Phoenician city is not = *Gabal* (found in Ps. lxxxiii. 8, the Gabala of Strabo and Gebalene of Josephus), but *Gōbel* (Phoenician *Gūbēl*, Assyrian *Gubla*), whence Greek Βύβλος.<sup>4</sup> Now, we know that Byblus was not only a centre of religious life and literature, but also a great emporium of the Phoenicians in their trade from Egypt to Greece and other countries; and I believe that from the name of this city is derived the Greek βύβλος-βίβλος.<sup>5</sup> — Latin littera for dittra is

<sup>3</sup> *Mag. III.* 2, 260-61: "Konnten gewisse Salzische und gewisse Turbanbinden Būrische heissen, weil sie aus Būra (bei Damiette in Egypten) stammten, so konnte auch das aus den Rohren des bei Būra gelegenen Menzale-sees gefertigte Schreibstoff als (Koptisch) Pa-bour (das Būrische) bezeichnet werden." Būra, near Damiette, was a well-known centre of paper-manufacturing. See also Löw, § 30. A similar case is that of the word βρονθήσιον, 'bronze,' from Brundisium, an important place for the manufacture of bronze-mirrors (Berthelot, *Archiv für Anthropologie*, XXI. 180); muslin from the city of Mosul.

<sup>4</sup> M. Jos. Halévy, in *Journal asiatique*, 1891, Vol. XVII. 241. — The LXX. translate the passage in Ezek. by οἱ πρεσβύτεροι βιβλιων. Change of β to β occurs frequently.

<sup>5</sup> See Hehn, 232-3; Ries, 30; Wiedemann, 'Hdt.'s II. Buch,' 376 ff. Enmann's remarks to the contrary (p. 9) are of very little importance. Prellwitz, p. 47, simply states: 'an Egyptian loanword,' without producing proof for such an assertion. Byblus could also have been the main place whence the precious material was shipped to the western nations by the Phoenicians. We know that many articles of commerce have not been called after the name of the place where they were manufactured or produced, but after the place from which they

said to be the Greek *διφθέρα* (Keller, 119), an etymology claimed by M. Bréal<sup>6</sup> as his property, and declared utterly impossible by Gustav Meyer.<sup>7</sup> Fürst ('Lexicon,' 308), Raumer, and others, went even a step further, deriving the Greek from an impossible Arabic *daf-* (*dif-*) *tarun*, which they combined with Hebr. דְּבִיר (*dēbīr*), and explained as קְרִית סֵפֶר (*qirīāt-sēfer*) = book-town.<sup>8</sup> — Πέσσοσ, 'stone for playing games, draughtsman' = Aram. פִּסְסָא (*pīsā*), 'stone, tablet,' Arab. *faṣṣun*.<sup>9</sup> But this is very improbable. The Greek seems to be connected with the numeral πέντε (BB. 1, 296), and the Arabic *faṣṣun* is borrowed from the Greek ψήφος (Lagarde-Fränkell, 59–60). On Latin pessus and pessum see Keller, 99. — Χαράσσω, 'engrave, write,' is said to have been borrowed from the Phoenician.<sup>10</sup> Concerning *χάρτης*, 'a leaf of paper,' R. 208, says, 'me parait sémitique (= טָרָח).' So also Uppenkamp, p. 23. The Latin charta, from Greek *χάρτης*, returned later as *χάρτα*. Fränkell, p. 245, however, believes that the Aramean and Arabic forms are from the Greek; so also *Ḥ. arm.* 2352. Prellwitz, 355, simply states, "ein ägyptisches Lehnwort"; but I have not yet heard of an Egyptologist making such a statement.<sup>11</sup>

were exported to other nations, e.g. caviar from Kafa (ΚΑΦΑ), the great emporium of Theodosia (Strabo), through the Italian caviale; also the German "russischer Thee" and "Englisches Gewürz," etc.

<sup>6</sup> *Revue critique*, 28 March, 1892, no. 13.

<sup>7</sup> *Lit. Centralblatt*, 1892, no. 12 (cols. 411–13).

<sup>8</sup> *Διφθέρα* is derived by Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 453, and others from *δέφω*, *δέψω*, Lat. *depsō*. Compare, further, *Mém.* 7, 91, *rem.* 2. *Littera* is connected by Wharton with Latin *litus*, 'shore,' from the idea of cutting, not with *διφθέρα*, 'skins.' M. Bréal (*Mém.* 6, 2) derives *littera* from *διφθέρα*, which became 'liptrae' = *literae*. M. Havet, *ibid.* p. 115, has further remarks on the subject. — *Qirīāt sēfer* does not mean 'book-town,' but 'frontier-city,' and *dēbīr* denotes 'a retreat, a remote town,' at the frontier of the country. On *διφθέρα*, see also Pott in *Techmer's Zeitschrift*, 2, 239 f.

<sup>9</sup> Fleischner in Levy's 'Chald-Wörterbuch,' II. 527 b; Weise, *Lehnwörter*, 299, *rem.* 3.

<sup>10</sup> Ewald. 'Hebr. Gramm.'<sup>8</sup> § 49 c, p. 130, *χαράττω*: *χαράσσω* = פָּרַח: שָׁרַח (Exod. xxxii. 16). — But see Bezzenberger in BB. 12, 239, no. 4; A.J.P. III. 335; Geo. Hoffmann, 'Über einige Phönikische Inschriften,' p. 11.

<sup>11</sup> *Χαράσσω* (√*χαρακ*) as well as *χάρτης* seem to be I.-E. words. — 'Αλάβη· σπὸ δὲ Κυπρίων μαρλή, 'coal-dust, soot, ink made therefrom,' might be connected with Semitic √*לש*, 'to cover something,' as coal-dust and ink serve to cover; F. de Saussure, however, derives the word from √*לפ*, 'white' (*Mém.* 3, 208).

## XX. — MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

Strabo, X. 3, 17, says: 'Some musical instruments have Barbarian names, nabras, sambuke, barbitos, magadis, and many others.' In accordance with this we find, e.g. *βάρβιτος*, from Arab. *barbat*, 'a musical instrument of many strings.'<sup>1</sup> — *Γίγγυρας*, -ου, ὁ, and *γίγγυρος*, 'a small Phoenician flute or fife,' of a shrill querulous tone (Pollux, *Onomast.* IV. 76), is probably the Phoenician אֵי־רָרָא (*ī'ārā*) or אֵרֵרָא ('dominus,' a name of the Phoenician Adonis = אֲדֹנַי), Lat. *gingrina*, *gingrire*. Fick, BB. 7, 94, refers the Greek to Pamphylian *ζεργαρά*, Lett. *dfindfindt*. *Γίγγυρας* and Ἀβωβάς<sup>2</sup> seem to have been originally epithets of Adonis in Phoenicia. His father was called *Κινύρας*, evidently from *κινύρα* (*κιννύρα*), borrowed from the Sem. כִּנּוֹר (*kinnōr*) = 'Cithara barbarica,'<sup>3</sup> an instrument of ten strings (Josephus) of the shape of a delta (Isidorus Hispalensis); R. 207; *℣*.arm. 1904 and 2371; Baudissin, II. 200, *rem.* 4; Ries, 40; ZDMG. 46, 153, *no.* 129. The Hebrew was also transferred to the Egyptian, where we have *kninīwru*. — According to Movers *κύμβαλον*, 'cymbal,' is from the Hebr. קָב (*qōb*), 'the same'; but it is much

<sup>1</sup> *℣*.arm. 365; Lane, 'Arabic Dictionary,' I, 179. Fränkel, 284, however, states: "barbat kennen schon die Araber als fremd; sie suchen es allerdings aus dem Persischen zu erklären; *βάρβυτον* fehlt übrigens in den aramäischen Dialekten." Prellwitz compares *βάρδυτος*, Aeol. *βάρμυτος* (Etym. Mag., 188, 21).

<sup>2</sup> Ἀβωβάς (Hesych., Etym. Magn.) is used especially in Perga, from the Syriac 'abūbo, 'reed pipe,' 'abbūb (= *ambūb* > *anbūb*, from a verb נָבַב, *nābāb*), Assyrian *ambūbu*; Zabian and Maltese *amboob*. Compare the collegia *ambubaiarum* of Hor. Sat. I. 2, 1; *℣*.ag. *℣*. 2, 360; Keller, 125.

<sup>3</sup> The *κινύρα* seems to have been the same as the Greek *λύρα*. *Κιθάρη* is a compound of Persian *ciar* (four) + *tar* (side). Weise, on the other hand, combines the Greek with Lat. *fides*, from an I.-E. root *ghidh* (*Lehnwörter*, 288, *rem.* 1, following Fick, BB. 5, 352). — Cf. John Akermark, 'Undersökningar angående בנין וכל' (Upsala, 1874). The Greek *κιθάρα*, *κitharis* passed into late-Hebrew as *qatrōs* or rather *qīṣārōs* (Dan. iii. 5). — *Αἴλιος*, 'dirge,' a noun formed from *Αἴλιε*, the beginning of the so-called *Αἴλιος* song; and this from Phoenician *ai-ṭenu* (אֵילֵינֵי) = 'alas for us,' with which the lamentations of the Phoenician worshippers over the death of the divine Adonis were wont to begin (Movers, I. 246; Sayce, 'Hibbert Lectures,' 228; Gruppe, 543, *rem.* 23; 'Hdt.'s II. Buch.' edited by Wiedemann, p. 333 f., etc.). According to others it stands for *hīlīl-nā* (הִילֵיל נָא), weep ye!



better to combine it with Greek κύμβος, 'hollow vessel, basin.' To the same category belongs τύπανον, which Bochart, H. i. 369, 23, and 548, 65; G. 66; Movers; Raumer (II. Fortsetzung, 13); Pusey, *Daniel*, 516, and others, derive from Hebr. תוף (*tōf*), Arab. *dūf*, whence Spanish *Adufe*. Professor Peter Jensen (of Marburg) thought that the prototype of all the Semitic and I.-E. forms was Assyrian *turru*, *turpanu*, the *m* replacing in Greek the second *p*, and omitted in the form τύπανον, in order to connect the word with τύπτω. Pott<sup>2</sup>, V. 129; Siegismund, 'Curt. Studien,' 5, 216; Gabler, KZ. 31, 280; Prellwitz, 330, connect it with τύπτω. — Another string instrument, μάγαδης, is derived by §.i. 14; §.i. XXXVIII. from Hebr. מַחֲלָלִי (*maxälälî*), 'the same'; while Hamaker suggested מַגְגָּלִי (*maggälî*), contracted from מַנְגֵּל (*manégetî*), from מָנַן (*niāgān*, 'touch, strike, play'). — Of undoubted Semitic origin is *νάβλας* (*ναύλας*), Lat. *nablium* and *naulium*, 'harp' = Hebr. נָבֵל (*nēbel*, i.e. *nābl*, Aram. *nablā*).<sup>4</sup> The Semitic was borrowed ultimately from the Egyptian, where we have *nfr* or *nfr*.<sup>5</sup> — Σαμβύκη, Lat. *sambūca* = Aram. סַבְבָּכָא (*sabbēkā*), 'a triangular instrument with four strings.' The Greeks themselves call it a 'Syriac invention' (Juba in Athen. IV. 175, d). — Σύριγξ, Lagarde, 'Orientalia,' 2, 38, explains as a participle of שָׂרַק (*sārāq*), 'he whistled,' in its Old-Phoenician form. From σύριγξ the Greeks formed *συρίττειν* and *συρίσδεν*. Pusey, *Daniel*, 91 and 489, believes that Aram. *mašrōqīšā* (flute) has probably a common Sanskrit root with σύριγξ, but is a genuine Aramaic word, and M. Derenbourg (*Mélanges Graux*, 238) considers the Aramean a compromise between the Sem. שָׂרַק and Greek σύριγξ, the

<sup>4</sup> R. 207; §.a. 265, 25; Schröder, 31. I fail to see why Wharton explains the Hebrew as 'flute.'

<sup>5</sup> Brugsch, 'Aegyptologie,' 433; *Lit. Centralblatt*, 1892 (no. 6), col. 171 ZDMG. 46, 112.

<sup>6</sup> Movers; H. Derenbourg, *Mélanges Graux*, 238; §.üb. 124, *rem.* 2; Pusey *Daniel*, 91; KZ. 22, 372. — BB. 1, 297; Ries, 33; Kautzsch, 'Aram. Gram.' 119 believe that the Aram. is from the Greek; but see Nöldeke in G.G.Anz., 188 p. 1022. The Latin *sambucina*, 'harpist,' i.e. \**sambuci-cina* is formed after *tibi-cina*.

prefix and suffix being Semitic, while *ἡρόγι* = *σύρυγξ*.<sup>7</sup> G. 15 declares קרפ and *συρίζειν* to be onomatopoeic formations. Brugmann ('Curt. Stud.' 4, 156, *rem.*) claims I.-E. origin for the Greek, = *σφάριγξ*, from *√svar* (*cf. svar-āmi*, 'sono, canto'). See also Joh. Schmidt, 'Indogerm. Vocalismus,' I. 24; Bezenberger in BB. 13, 299; and Prellwitz, p. 307<sup>8</sup>.

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 XXI. — MINERALS.

*Baūpaξ* (Lat. borax) is from the Sem.-Hebr. בר (bōr), ברית (bōrīt), literally 'a cleansing,' salt of lye or alkali for washing = Pers. *bōra*; the word occurs in Armenian as *borak* and in Arabic as *bauraq*.<sup>1</sup> The first occurrence of βῶραξ in Greek literature is in the LXX. translation of Prov. xxv. 20, *a*, where Lagarde corrects the textus receptus ΕΛΚΕΙ (= *ελκει*) into [ΒΩ]ΠΑΚΕΙ, the first syllable having been omitted by an early scribe. The LXX. *ad* Jer. ii. 22, translate the Hebrew בר by *νίτρον* (*natron*), which is also of Semitic origin = Hebr. נטר (néter for *nitr*), R. 206. It is a mineral alkali, a carbonate of soda. Our nitre is nitrate of potasia, salt-petre; the German natron is soda itself. The mineral was found chiefly near Memphis in Egypt, and the Hebrew may be borrowed from the Egyptian *ntr*, although the latter occurs only in late texts (Brugsch, ZDMG. 46, 113).<sup>2</sup> Its use is fully described by Wiedemann in 'Herodot's Zweites Buch,' 357 f.<sup>3</sup> In Greek we have two forms, *νίτρον* (Old Attic) and

<sup>7</sup> On the suffix -γξ see A.J.P. XII. 27.

<sup>8</sup> Pusey, *Daniel*, 516, derives *ἀδλός*, 'flute,' from the Sem. חליל (*hālīl*) = 'perforated,' 'pipe or flute.' — There is, of course, no connection between ἀλαλά (*alala*), 'loud cry, shout,' and Assyrian *alalu*, 'singing, shouting,' or *δολοῦζειν*, *ululare* and *יללו* (ללל), 'play, make noise.' Lat. *jubilare*, however, is from Hebr. יביל (*yōbēl*), 'a cry of joy, joyful noise.' R. 207.

<sup>1</sup> Ḥ.p. 83; Ḥ.n. 21, 6; Ḥ.arm. 410; Lag. 'Symmicta,' II. 34, 13. On the difference between ברית and נטר (*νίτρον*), see Winer, 'Biblisches Realwörterbuch,' s.v. 'Laugensalz.'

<sup>2</sup> Pott<sup>2</sup>, II. 1, 738; Ḥ.p. 83; BB. 1, 294.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also *νιτρούω*, 'to cleanse with *νίτρον*'; *νιτροῖτις* (γῆ), etc. On the change of ν to λ (and *vice versa*), see KZ. 8, 399; 20, 431; 21, 104; 29, 442-3; Cur-

λίτρον (Hdt. 2, 86, and Attic). Grassmann (KZ. 11, 44) derived *λίτρον* from *λίπτρον* = 'washwater,' by dropping of π = *λίτρον*. — Ἡλεκτρον and ἡλεκτρος, 1) amber, 2) a metallic substance compounded of four parts of gold and one part of silver. According to Lepsius *ὁ ἡλεκτρος* is = 'gold-silver' (cf. Soph. *Antig.* 1038); *ἡ ἡλεκτρος*, 'amber ornament' (*Odyss.* 15, 460), and τὸ ἡλεκτρον = 'amber,' Hdt. 3, 115 (from Arabic *anbar*). Ὁ ἡλεκτρος (i.e. Egyptian *asem*, 'ismu = Greek *ἄσημος*)<sup>4</sup> is combined by Pott<sup>2</sup>, II. 1, 384, with Skt. *ā-rakha*, 'reddish,' from *-rāḡ*, 'shine,' with ρ changed to λ for the sake of dissimilation (also *ibid.* III. 390; KZ. 21, 425). So also J. Schmidt ('Vocalismus,' II. 297), comparing in addition Arm. *arek*, 'ray, sunbeam,' and ἡλέκτωρ, 'sun.' O. Schrader, 'Waarenkunde,' 84, has ἡλεκτρον for ἡλ-σεκρον = ἐλλεκρον = (Semitic article) *al* + *σεκρον* (Scythian *sacrum*, Plin. 37, 2, 11, after the analogy of *sacrum*, the neuter of *sacer*) > Egypt *sacal*;<sup>5</sup> Lat. *sucus* (*sucinus*). O. Weise (*Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie*, XVII. 225), following Hehn, 482, connects the Greek with ἡλέκτωρ, ἀλέκτωρ, an epithet of the sun-god. Clemm, 'Curt. Studien,' 2, 58; G. Meyer<sup>2</sup>, § 95 = Curtius<sup>6</sup>, 137; Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 22, and Prellwitz follow Pott-Bochart, H. ii. 869, 48, was the first to propose a Semitic etymology; he says: 'עֲלוּקַת אֲוֵרְנָא (*'alūqat 'ōrnā*) = resinæ

tius<sup>4</sup>, 450; Pusey, *Daniel*, 92; G. Meyer<sup>2</sup>, 169; J.H.U.C. 81, p. 76. — Syriac *lumā* (for \**numa*, from. Lat. *nummus*), ZDMG. 46, 237, no. 37, and many other instances.

<sup>4</sup> *Ź.üb.* 221; Brugsch, 'Aegyptologie,' 400, but not identical with the *λευκός χρυσός* of the Greeks and Romans. On Egyptian *asem* = *ἄσημος*, see *Ź.ä.* 51, 15; Lag. 'Baktrische Lexikographie,' 13 f.; 'Symmicta,' II. 4; *Ź.üb.* 221; also G.G.Anz. 1879, 237; and again, Schrader<sup>2</sup>, 260; Hehn, 443, note 19, Bradke, 14 ff.; Ed. Meyer, I. § 188. Nöldeke, 'Persische Studien,' II. 45, writes: "Pehlevi 𐭪𐭥𐭫 from Greek *ἄσημος*, 'ungemünzt,' das in 𐭪𐭥𐭫, 'ungeprägtes Silber' der Mischna und Tosefta noch deutlich vorliegt."

<sup>5</sup> On *sacal*, *σαχολ*, cf. Bochart, H. ii. 869, 20. O. Weise, *Rhein. Mus.* 38, 543-4, compares *sucinus* with Sem. *sōhani* (𐤔𐤏𐤎); also cf. Keller, 66, and Uppenkamp, 29. On the so-called Scythian *sacrum*, see, however, Valeton in 'Ελλάς,' II. 43; and *ibid.* p. 44, against Hehn's combination of ἡλεκτρον and ἡλέκτωρ. Gutschmid, 'Kleine Schriften,' I. 55-6, says: 'Fraas discovered amberbeds on the Lebanon, and it is possible that the Phoenicians got the amber from mines in that region.' See further on this subject, Jubainville, 330 ff.

pini (Hebr. פִּינָא = pinus), unde fortasse ἤλεκτρον pro sucino, quod esse pini resinam crediderint multi veterum, ut ex Plinio et Isidoro constat.' J. Oppert, *Journal asiatique*, 1857, Vol. IX. 192, *rem.*, writes: "ἤλεκτρον = אֶרֶב־לֶשֶׁת, attirant la paille"; cf. the Persian *kahreban*, meaning the same.<sup>6</sup> A great deal has been written by ancient and modern authors on the amber. According to Hdt. 3, 115, the ἤλεκτρον came from the north, the mouth of the mythical river Ἠριδανός (Hes. *Theog.* 338). The Greeks generally believed that the mineral came from certain Ἠλεκτριδες νῆσοι in the Adriatic gulf (see Valetton, *Ἑλλάς*, II. 40). \*Therefore Weise believes that Ἠριδανός was the Sem. פִּינָא (*iardēn*), an old name for the river Po (*Rhein. Mus.* 38, 545); but see Kiepert, 219, *note* 1. Professor Jules Oppert (*L'ambre jaune chez les Assyriens*, Paris, 1880) considers Ἠριδανός to be the *Vistula* (Weichsel), and suggests the coast of the East Prussian sea as the locality whence amber was brought to the south by the Phoenicians and by the Assyrians. He is of the opinion that Assyrian caravans penetrated as far as the Baltic coasts, where they fished amber in the sea. He reaches this conclusion by a unique reading of I. Rawlinson, 28, *col.* 1, lines 13-15, containing the so-called hunting inscription of the Assyrian king Assur-naçir-pal (885-860 B.C.). Oppert reads these lines as follows: *ina tamāt kuççi xalpi-e-su dal-pi ina tamāt nipix kakkab sukunu kar-ku-ma eri içüdu* = 'In stormy seas (i.e. the Persian gulf) merchants fished for pearls, in the seas of the culmination of the star Cynosura they fished for yellow copper' (i.e. amber); this latter part referring to the Baltic. The now universally accepted reading of these lines: *ina umāt quççi xalpē suripi ina umāt nipix kakkab mešrī ša kima eri içüdu* = 'In the days of cold, snow, and hail, in the days of the rising of the *Mešrī*-star, which glows like as copper,' etc., proves Oppert's opinion to be a mere hypothesis. Müllenhoff, I. 473, changed the *Guttones* mentioned by Pytheas in his account, preserved in Plin. H. N. 37, 3, 44, into *Teutones*. He is followed by Lohmeyer in his essay:

<sup>6</sup> See also Helbig, 15: "Der Bernsteinhandel war in den Händen der Phoenizier," and Ries, 25. On the other hand compare Valetton, *Ἑλλάς*, II. 29 f.

'Ist Preussen das Bernsteinland der Alten gewesen?' Königsberg, 1872; while Oppert opposes this change, because the Teutones are mentioned only a few lines below. D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Revue celtique*, XII. 13 f., also reads Gutones in both passages, but changes the 'Germaniae gens' into 'Scythiae gens.' Kothe, *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 1890, Vol. 141, 184-6, explains *Guttones* as the Γαῦραι in Swedish Gothland. The locality, he says, where amber was discovered is not, as Müllenhoff believed, to be sought on the west coast of the peninsula of Jutland, but on the coast of the East Prussian sea (Samland, Tac. *Germ.* 45), whence amber was brought by ship by way of Abalus (Falster) of Pytheas, the Basileia of Timaeus (died about 256 B.C.), and Baunonia (Bornholm; so for Raunonia) to Holstein, and thence to Massilia, or by land to the mouth of the Po. This also explains why the *Padus-Po* was identified with the Eridanus (see Valeton, *l.c.* II. 27 ff.). Müllenhoff's change of *Guttones* to Teutones is supported by Olshausen in a paper, 'Der alte Bernsteinhandel der cimbrischen Halbinsel und seine Beziehungen zu den Goldfunden' (*Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie*, 19 April, 1890, pp. 270-297, and 21 Feb. 1891, pp. 286-319). He believes that in earlier times (Herodotus, etc.) amber was imported from West Balticum, the mouth of the *Albis* (Elbe) or the *Viadua* (Oder), Jutland and Sweden; and that in the days of Tacitus the trade had shifted over to East Balticum (West and East Prussia). Virchow and Olshausen believe that the Ἡριδανός is the *Albis*. The few specimens of ancient amber found in the East prove that the mineral did not play an important role in the Orient. — Another noun usually derived from the Assyro-Akkadian is *κασσίτερος* (*καρτίτερος*, Lat. *cassiteron*, *cassiterum*) = tin.<sup>7</sup> O. Schrader in his various books derives the Greek from an Assyrian *kasazatirra* = Akkadian *IK KASDURU*, and refers to Lenormant as his guide. Speaking of *anaku* (𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎴), Lenormant says in the *Transactions of the Soc. of Bibl. Archaeol.* VI. 337: "Une glosse de II. Rawlinson, 7, 17, g donne comme synonyme accadien de *an-na le*

<sup>7</sup> On the Homeric use see Helbig, 196-7; on the later use, *ibid.* 226, 282, 305-

nom IT-KAS (BI)-DU-RU dans la seconde partie du quel, comme dans le *kazazatirra*, relevé par M. Oppert dans un texte assyrien et dans l'arabe *qazdir* (קַזְדִּיר) nous retrouvons le *kastira* (sanskrit), le *κασσίτερος* (grec), qui ne sont probablement pas d'origine aryenne mais plutôt caucasienne."<sup>8</sup> Lenormant refers to the gloss of II. Rawlinson, 7, 17, *g-h*, but here the Akkadian clearly reads NA-AG-GA (*cf. Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, I. 14 = *anaku*),<sup>9</sup> and the parallel text in V. Rawlinson, 39, 19, *g-h*, has NI-IG-GI = *a-na-ku*. This shows that it is not always safe for non-assyriologists to rely on Lenormant's statements. The Skt. *kastira* has no clear etymology; it is a late word and foreign to that language.<sup>10</sup> Jubainville, *Mém.* 3, 343, derives the Greek and the Sanskrit from the Sem. *kastir* (Aram. קַסְטִירָא, *gasīrā*). Movers suggested that the Sanskrit was probably borrowed from the Greek, through the mediation of the Aramean. He believed that tin was imported by the Phoenicians not only to Assyria (as Rawlinson thinks), but also to India, where the mineral was very scarce.<sup>11</sup> R. 299; Schlegel, Benfey, and Lassen, 'Indische Alterthumskunde', I. 281, state that the mineral is also called in Sanskrit *yavaneshiti*, i.e. 'desired by the Western nations' (people of Javan, 'Iáoves). Sayce, on *Hdt.* 3, 115, writes: 'The word has been borrowed both by the Aryan and Semitic nations.' Some believe that the name, together with the metal, was imported from Farther India or the Indian Archipelago. The different names of this metal among the principal I.-E. nations seem to show that their ancestors did not yet know it. Slav. *kositerŭ* (masc.), 'tin,' is borrowed from the Greek-Latin. Windisch, in Curtius<sup>6</sup>, 665, *rem.*, combines the Greek with Skt. *kāmsās*, *kāmsya*, *kāmsyam*, "Messing, metallenes Gefäss, messingen,"<sup>12</sup> while Pott<sup>2</sup>, II. 4, 355, derives it from Skt. *kāçate*, pf. *çakāçe*,

<sup>8</sup> Ries, 22 ff., quotes Lenormant incorrectly.

<sup>9</sup> Also *J. arm.* 103.

<sup>10</sup> *Cf.* Germain Bapst, 'Études sur l'étain dans l'antiquité.' H. Kern ('*Ελλάς*, II. 85) believes the Sanskrit to be borrowed from the Greek.

<sup>11</sup> See also Gutschmid, 'Kleine Schriften,' II. 5; and Ascoli, 'Kritische Studien,' 373-4. *note.*

<sup>12</sup> *Cf.* also KZ. 29, 336.

'be visible, shine.' Roth and Böhtlingk believed the Skt. *kastīra* to be borrowed, but whence they do not say, and the Greek they consider a corruption from *κατα σίδηρος* =  $\sqrt{k\acute{a}s} + \sigma\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\rho\omicron\varsigma$ . The Latin word *stagnum* (*stannum*) is from the root *stak* (?) = *τακ* (*τήκω*), 'to melt,' because tin was the metal which could easiest be melted.<sup>13</sup> Schrader<sup>2</sup>, 315, compares  $\sqrt{stagh}$ , whence Greek *σταφύλη*, 'the plummet of a level.' — *Μέταλλον*, 'metal,' is derived by many scholars from the Greek *μεταλλάω*, 'to seek, dig for, look for,'<sup>14</sup> while others combine it with Sem.-Arab.  $\text{מטל}$  (*mátala*, 'to forge').<sup>15</sup> But there are two grave objections against the Semitic etymology of the Greek, viz.: 1) the stem  $\text{מטל}$  occurs only in Arabic, and 2)  $\text{מ}$  in early Greek is transcribed by  $\theta$  and not by  $\tau$ . Of course, *μέταλλον* for *μέθαλλον* might be the result of popular analogy; but I do not believe it. I rather think that the Arabic is borrowed from the Greek, if one language must be the borrower. On the relation between *μέταλλον* and *μεταλλάω* see especially Kvičala, 'Berichte der phil.-histor. Klasse der Wiener Academie,' 1870, p. 89, *rem.* 3. — *Μόλυβδος* (*plumbum*) = Hebr.  $\text{בדיל}$  (*bēdīl*, lead-alloy, *plumbum nigrum*, i.e. *stannum*), which is separated by smelting; R. 206; J. Oppert, *Journal asiatique*,

<sup>13</sup> O. Keller, Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, XLI. 370, and *Berliner Philol. Wochenschrift*, 1885, 31 Jan., no. 5, 146-9. On *κασσίτερος* see also Meltzer, I. 422. On the *Κασσιτερίδες* compare especially Gütschmid, 'Kleine Schriften,' II. 55, note 2 = 'Scilly islands'; and Unger, *Rhein Mus.* 38, 157-96, who holds that *Κασσιτερίδες* and *Ἀββίλων* have properly nothing to do with the British Islands or any islands in British waters, but rather belong to islands much nearer Spain; so also Götz, 'Die Verkehrswege im Dienste des Welthandels' (1888), p. 108; cf., however, Kiepert, 281. S. Reinach (*L'étain celtique in L'Anthropologie*, 3, 274, and *Bab. and Or. Record*, VI. 132 ff.), says: 'Les îles Cassitérides sont les îles britanniques et désignent les îles lointaines *insulae extimae*; *κασσίτερος* est un mot d'origine celtique' (so also Hdt. 3, 115). Reinach derives *κασσίτερος* from *Κασσιτερίδες*.

<sup>14</sup> Pott<sup>2</sup>, I. 754, *rem.*; H. L. Fleischer in Levy's 'Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch,' III. 309 b; Fick, BB. 1, 335; Weise, BB. 5, 191, and *Lehnwörter*, 165, *rem.* 1; also Müller, BB. 1, 203; Büchschütz in 'Zeitschrift für das Gymnasialwesen,' 1876, 248; Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 512; Prellwitz = "Suchstelle" (Mine, Bergwerk); cf. *Letimklet* (*kl* for *tl*) = 'seek, examine' (BB. 9, 134).

<sup>15</sup> Gesenius, 'Thesaurus,' followed by Lenormant-Renan; J. Oppert, *Journal asiatique*, 1857, IX. 191; Hehn, 443; Keller, 191 f.

1857, IX. 191-2, "un participe de la racine לבד = coaguler, être adhérent"; and Geo. Hoffmann (Stade's *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1883, p. 118) writes "לבד, μόλυβδος, μόλιβος, *plumb-*, haben denselben (iberischen) Ursprung."<sup>16</sup> Renan, also, suggests a connection between μόλυβδος and plumbum, in which he is followed by Weise, *Lehnwörter*, 153, *rem.* 1; while G. Meyer<sup>2</sup>, 61, cautiously remarks, "μόλιβος ist sowohl in seiner Herkunft wie in seinem Verhältnis zu lat. plumbum vollständig dunkel." O. Schrader's view is given above (chapter IV. *s.v.* πλίνθος). Pott, KZ. 26, 141, adds to plumbum M.H.G. *blî*, gen. *blîwes*, and Möhl<sup>17</sup> connects the Greek with Prussian *alwis* (lead); Lith. *alwas* (tin) from Ostyakian *lolpa*. — Johansson, KZ. 30, 424, believes that *νάφθα* is a loan-word in Greek, without being able to say whence. Compare Persian *naft*, Arab. *naft* (Z. arm. 1602),<sup>18</sup> which, according to Spiegel, are derived from the Zend  $\sqrt{nap}$ , 'be moist.' — Keller, 192 and 252, derives Lat. *massa*, Gr. *μάζα*, 'mass, lump,' from the Hebr. *māsās* (מַסַּס), 'smelt, dissolve.'<sup>19</sup> — The same writer combines ὀρύγη, ὀρυχή, Lat. *arrugia*, 'a digging, shaft,' with Hebr. עֲרֻגָה ('*arūgāh*), 'a garden-bed, border-bed,' so called from the earth being raised.<sup>20</sup> I fail to see how a noun, meaning garden-bed in one language, can be borrowed by another nation to designate 'a shaft.' — Σμύρις (*σμίρις*, Lat. *smyris*), 'emery-powder,' used by lapidaries for polishing (Diosc.) = Hebr. שַׁמִּיר (*šāmīr*, *šēmīr*), diamond (literally 'thorn, point, diamond-point'), Bochart; G. 66; Lenormant, 327.<sup>21</sup> — Χαλκός, 'copper,' is derived by J. Oppert from Hebr. חָלָק (*xāldāq*), 'be smooth,' and *χάλυψ*, 'steel,' from

<sup>16</sup> See also Ries, 25.

<sup>17</sup> *Mém.* 7, 410-11; 434, *rem.* 1; also cf. M. Bréal, *ibid.* 6, 132 and 266.

<sup>18</sup> Also Lagarde, 'Aus dem deutschen Gelehrtenleben,' 9; E. Wilhelm, BB. 2, 104-6.

<sup>19</sup> The words evidently belong to the I.-E.  $\sqrt{mag}$ : *μάζα* for *μάγζα*. Cf. Church-Slav. *maka*, flour (G. Meyer<sup>2</sup>, 47 and 197), and Old-Slav. *masati*, 'smear,' KZ. 30, 407 and 417; also *ibid.* 29, 332, *rem.*

<sup>20</sup> From a verb עָרַג (II.) *intr.* 'rise, ascend' (of steps, garden beds).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Assy. *šemīru*. It is better, however, to combine the Greek with Goth. *smair* (n.), 'fat,' etc.



כָּלָב (*hālāb*), 'be shining.'<sup>22</sup> Both nouns, however, appear to be of I.-E. origin. — *Χρῦσός*, 'gold' = Hebr. *חָרָץ* (*xārūz*, Assyr. *xurāzu*), 'the same'; also Phoen. *חָרָץ* (ZDMG. 30, 137); R. 206. Some of the best scholars have contended for an I.-E. etymology of *χρῦσός*. Thus Curtius<sup>6</sup>, 204, derives it from  $\sqrt{\text{ghri}}$ , comparing Skt. *chari*, 'green, yellow'; Vaniček from  $\sqrt{\text{ghar}}$ , 'glow, desire'; also see Delbrück, 'Curtius Studien,' 1, b, 136; Siegismund, *ibid.* 5, 180; Weise, *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie*, 17, 226. Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 418, refers the Greek to an I.-E.  $\sqrt{\text{ghrendo}}$  = 'to pound, crush'; *χρῦσός* = *χρῦδ-σός* = Lat. *rūdus*, *pl.* *rūdera*; *rudis*; A.-S. *griot*, O.H.G. *crioz*, N.H.G. *griess*. Möhl, *Mém.* 7, 408: *χρῦσός* for \**χρῦτος* = Goth. *gulps*. J. Schmidt,<sup>23</sup> too, speaks against the identification of *χρῦσός* and *חָרָץ*; and last, but not least, F. Max Müller throws the great weight of his authority in favor of an I.-E. etymon in his 'Biographies of Words': 'Against *χρῦσός* from *xārūz* is this to be said, that *xārūz* in Hebrew is only a poetic name for gold, the ordinary name being *zahāb*. As to *xurāzu*, I cannot tell whether it is a common name;<sup>24</sup> but whatever it be, why should the Greeks have rendered the sound of *xārūz* or *xurāzu* by *χρῦσός*? we might as well identify Semitic *xarūdu* with *gāruda*, a name for gold in Sanskrit. *Χρῦσός* is an Aryan word, and meant the yellow metal, and I do not think the similarity in sound, such as it is, between the Aryan word *χρῦσός* and the Semitic *xārūz* at all surprising.' On the other hand, there can be cited many authorities who

<sup>22</sup> *Journal asiatique*, 1857, Vol. IX. 192. — For *χαλκός* compare Lith. *geležis* (iron); Old-Slav. *železo* (iron). — Brugmann, 'Curt. Stud.' 3, 311, refers the word to the I.-E.  $\sqrt{\text{ghar}}$ , 'shine, glow'; Prellwitz, BB. 15, 148, to  $\sqrt{\text{ghel-gh}}$  = Greek *θελχ-τελχ*, whence *Τελχίτες*, 'workers in metal.' See also A.J.P. III. 336; Bradke, 82; Schrader<sup>2</sup>, 280-7; Ries, 18 f.; Prellwitz, 354. — *Χάλυψ* is usually derived from the name of the *Chalybes*, famous for forging; Kiepert, 62; Bradke, 38; G. Meyer in I.F. I. 323.

<sup>23</sup> 'Urheimat der Indogermanen,' p. 8, in his criticism of Hommel's peculiar view, stated above in the introductory remarks (p. 44). In his 'Vocalismus,' II. 340 (1874), Schmidt wrote: "*χρῦσός* kann aus \**χρῦτος* entstanden sein und gehört dann zu got. *gulþ*, russ. *zoloto*, lett. *že' lts*, skt. *hātaka*; kann aber auch semitischen Ursprungs sein, Hebr. *חָרָץ*."

<sup>24</sup> It is the main word for gold in Assyrian.

rive the Greek from the Semitic. Beginning with Bochart, . i. 9, 61, we mention Renan, J. Oppert, Lagarde, Hehn 43), Benfey, Pott<sup>2</sup> (I. 1, 141), Nöldeke (ZDMG. 33, 327, m. 1); A. Müller (BB. 1, 280, 299); Schrader<sup>1</sup>, 280, 299, and cond edition, 250-1, 263; Bradke, 3, 28, 72-7; Ries, 15 ff. am inclined to believe that χρυσός is borrowed from the emitic.<sup>26</sup> The Greek stands almost alone among the I.-E. nguages, showing this word in the meaning of 'gold.' This ould prove that the metal was not common in the Proto- ryan period. We know that gold is not often mentioned early Greek as a metal (mineral), but rather as the aterial of which cups, vessels, ornaments, etc., were made, icht, to a great extent, were imported to Greece by e Phoenicians. Again, the fact that Mycenae is called λύχρυσος, points to a Semitic source of the metal's name, r Mycenae was undoubtedly a Semitic (Phoenician) settle- ent. The Greek form may have originated in Cyprus e ZDMG. 30, 137), where the Assyrians had early settle- ents, bringing with them their usual word for the precious etal.<sup>26</sup> Speaking of metals, I call attention here to P. adke's derivation of σίδηρος from the name of the city 'δη (Σιδήνη) in the Pontus in the northern part of Asia inor. There was iron-ore in the immediate neighborhood. at the Greeks must have borrowed the word at a very rly period. This etymology is much better than the usual

<sup>26</sup> On γλουρός see Schmidt, 'Orient und Occident,' III. 383; *J. arm.* 497; adke, 73.

<sup>26</sup> Concerning χρυσός άπυρος, E. Glaser, in his interesting sketch of the history d geography of Arabia (Berlin, 1890), remarks on p. 377, 'that the name Ophir i 'gold from Ophir') has nothing to do with the Maxritic *a'fur* (red, aurum tilum), because the latter was pronounced with 'Ain (ʔ); Sprenger's identifica- on of Ophir = άπυρος, denoting properly the color, not the place where the ost valued gold was found, has to be given up.' Sprenger maintains his view at χρυσός άπυρος (aurum apyron) is red gold (*cf.* Pliny's statement on 'dyed old'). It was a very costly species of reddish hue. The Hebrews misunder- ood the word and took it for a proper name (ZDMG. 44, 501-20); *ibid.* 721-6. aser contends for Ophir as a geographical name. On Ophir compare also . Ewald's remarks in G.G.Nachr. 1874, 421-37. On K. von Baer's Ophir = alacca, see Gutschmid, 'Kleine Schriften,' II. 63, *rem.* 5, and *ibid.* p. 5, on assen's explanation of the word as = *Abhira* on the lower Indus.

derivation, repeated also by Ries, 21 f.; it must have escaped S. Reinach, who in *Bab. and Or. Record*, VI. 132, writes: 'It seems probable that some day or other we shall add the Greek name for iron *σίδηρος*, by connecting it with some Anatolian town such as *Σιδαρούς* in Lycia, which possessed a temple of Hephaistos. — The Latin 'ferrum' (from \*fer-sum) is connected by F. Hommel<sup>27</sup> with Hebr. *barzel* (ברזל, Assyrian *barzillu*), from Sumerian *bargal*, through Neo-Sumerian *barjal*. Hommel's view is accepted by Weise, *Lehnwörter*, 153, *rem.* 2, and O. Schrader<sup>2</sup>, 300; but Hebr. *barzel* is rather from the Egyptian *pirḏl* (*Lit. Centralblatt*, 1892, no. 6, col. 171). Jubainville, 196, also derives 'ferrum' from the Phoenician, while Möhl, *Mém.* 7, 408-9, connects it with the Samoyedic word for iron; ferrum for \*fesrom. — Greek-Latin *ἄργυρος*-argentum is derived by all scholars from the I.-E. *√raj*, 'shine'; cf. Skt. *rajata* (Prellwitz, 30), etc. In Assyrian we have *zarpu* (silver),<sup>28</sup> from which Hommel and Bradke (p. 16) derive the word 'silver-silber'; see, however, Joh. Schmidt, 'Urheimath,' p. 9. Hehn, 443, connects the word with the Homeric Ἀλύβη in the Pontus (for *Halybē*, and this for *Salybē*?) ὄθεν ἄργύρου ἐστὶ γενέθλη *Il.* 2, 357). So also S. Reinach, in *Bab. and Or. Record*, VI. 132.<sup>29</sup>

## XXII. — PRECIOUS STONES.

Ἀλάβαστρος (ἀλάβαστρον, Lat. alabaster and alabastrum) — 'alabaster,' is properly an adjective derived from ἀλάβαστρα —

<sup>27</sup> *Augsburger allgemeine Zeitung*, 1881, no. 231 (Wissenschaftliche Beilage) = ZDMG. 44, 341, *rem.*

<sup>28</sup> From *zarāpu*, 'shine, be brilliant'; properly the shining (metal).

<sup>29</sup> Στίμμυς ἢ εἰς τὰ ὄμματα χρήσιμος Ἀγυπτίων μὲν ἐστὶ φωνή (Eustath. *ad Od.* ξ 92, p. 1761) = 'Antimony'; also στίμμι and στίμι, Lat. *stimmi*, *stibium* = 'sesqui-sulphurat of antimony,' whence a dark pigment was made with which women especially in the East stained their eyelids (Diosc. 5, 99). The Greek is from the Coptic *στημ*, and this from the Egypt. *ms-dm-t*; Brugsch, 'Aegyptologie,' 405; Lieblein, p. 70; Blau, ZDMG. 25, 332, *rem.* 2; BB. 8, 62. According to Schumann, p. 5, δ, it was imported from the land of Punt. — Ἀρσενικόν, 'a yellow orpiment,' is derived by *J. f.* 41, no. 106; *J. s.* 47, 20; *J. am.* 757, from Arabic *sarniq*, Syriac ܫܪܢܝܩ; this from Persian *sarni* = Arm. *sarik* = orpiment.

which stands for Arabic *al-baḡrat* (= stone of Baḡra), a soft stone of whitish color (Hdt. 3, 20); furthermore a casket, a salve-box made of alabaster, especially for unguents.<sup>1</sup> The form *ἀλάβαστος* (quoted as Attic) is evidently assimilated to the Greek *ἀλφός*.<sup>2</sup> — *Ἀμέθυστος* (ὁ) and *ἀμέθυσσον* (τὸ) is derived by Saalfeld, Prellwitz, and others from *ἀ* (*priv.*) + *μεθύω* = 'preventing drunkenness,' a power which the stone is supposed to have had. But *Æg. III.* 1, 236, gives the correct etymology from Arabic *جَمْسِيْتَان* (*jamsitun*). — *Ἰασπίς* is admitted by all to be from the Sem. *יָאֲשֶׁפֶת* (*iāšēfēh*), G. 66; R. 206. — *ὄνυξ* in the meaning of 'a gem, onyx-stone,' may be connected with the Assyrian *unqu* (קִנְקִ), 'ring,' the *ὄνυξ* being the gem used for such rings. O. Weise, *Lenkwörter*, 159, connects it with Egypt. *anak*. The Greek would be formed analogous to *ὄνυξ* = unguis, 'claw, nail.' See, further, *אֲנֻךְ* = Eth. *ʿunq* Praetorius in Delitzsch and Haupt's *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, I., and also Hommel, ZDMG. 47, 20. 3, p. 567. — *Σάπφειρος* is from Hebr. *sappīr* (סַפִּיר), and this from the Skt. *śanipriya*, 'amatus a Saturno planeta,'<sup>3</sup> R. 206; *Æ. i.* 48, 176; *Æ. i.* X. *rem.* 2. The Skt. *marakata* was borrowed independently by the Greeks as *μάραγδος*, which, influenced by *σμάω*, begot the by-form *σμάραγδος* (*ζμάραγδος*), Lat. *smaragdus*, and by the Semites (Hebrews), who wrote *בָּרֶקַת* for *mārēkāt*, from analogy to Sem. *בָּרַק* (*bārāq*), 'shine, glitter.'<sup>4</sup> J. Oppert, *Journal asiatique*, 1851, Vol. I.

<sup>1</sup> *Æ. arm.* 1699; *Æ. b.* 56, *rem.* 2; Lag. 'Symmicta,' II. 216; Blau, ZDMG. 25, 528. *Ἀλάβαστρος* is the same stone as Hebr. *יָזֵף* (*šš*), Persian *šīša*, Arm. *šiš*, *Æ. a.* 83, 21.

<sup>2</sup> According to Prellwitz, the Greek is a compound of *ἀ* (*priv.*) + *λαβή* ('handle'); de Saussure, *Mém.* 3, 208, says: 'perhaps from *ἄλφ*, if indeed it is a Greek word at all.' According to Juba (*apud* Pliny, H. N. 37, 73), alabastrites is the Egyptian name of the stone, but this word is from the Greek.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Aram. *samsīr*, Syr. *sappilā*. On the Armenian see ZDMG. 46, 246, *no.* 87; *Æ. a.* 3, 27; 44, 5; 72; *Æ. arm.* 786 and 1690; *Æg. III.* I. 231; *Æ. üb.* 90, *rem.* 1. On Greek *πφ* for double *φ* (with dagesh forte), see e.g. ZDMG. 32, 746.

<sup>4</sup> *Æ. i.* X. *rem.* 2; Curtius<sup>6</sup>, 526; BB. 1, 280-1; 7, 171; KZ. 30, 85 and 440. Against Keller, 192, and KZ. 29, 440, see my remarks in A.J.P. XIII. 234.— There are scholars who have explained *σμάραγδος* as from Skt. *sa* (= *ś*) + *marakata*. The interchange between *μ* and *σ* is very common in Greek; *σμάραγδος* returned to the Aramean as *אֲמַרְתָּן*, and passed thence also into Arabic (Fränkel, 61, and especially Nöldeke, 'Persische Studien,' II. 44).

292, *rem.* 1, derived ζμάραγδος from the Old-Persian *zmarakhta* or *zmaragda*, 'having a greenish color.' — From the Sanskrit is also borrowed βήρυλλος, 'Beryll' = Skt. *vāidūrya* = vidura oriundus, 'the Vidurian stone.' The Aram. *billōr* (בלור) is borrowed from the Greek.<sup>5</sup> — On 'nympharena' = a precious stone, gem (Pliny, 37, 10), Bochart, H. ii. 762, 22, says: 'Nympharena (lapis) urbis et gentis Persicae nomen habet, similis hippopotami dentibus. נִיב (*nīb*) vel נִיף (*nīf*) Chaldaeis erat dens exertus hippopotami, et Ariene vel Ariana gens Persica, a qua lapis ille niph-ariene dici potuit.' — Late-Greek *θαρσις*, 'a precious stone,' is from the Hebr. תרשיש (*taršiš*), Armen. *t'aršiš* (ZDMG. 46, 237, no. 34).

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 XXIII. — MILITARY.

The most important words belonging to this class are λόγχη, μάχαιρα, ξίφος, and οἰστός. Λόγχη has been identified with Hebr. רִמַח (*rōmah*, Pre-Semitic \**rumux*, Assy. *ri-im-xu*, V. Rawlinson, 22, 75), by Bochart, Ph. 670; *Œ. p.* VIII.; *Œ. ub.* 144; *Œ. ag. III.* 1, 384. Schrader<sup>2</sup>, 329, is inclined to follow Lagarde, but thinks that the Greek could also be of I.-E.-origin, λόγχη ('longa'), 'the long one,' i.e. μελίη (spear) — Weise, *Lehnwörter*, 82, says: 'Lancea, whence λόγχη, is from the northern nations (Gauls and Britons).' But the Latin lancea, whence Slav. *lačta*, 'spear,' is not an old word and can hardly be connected with λόγχη (Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 532). The Old-Irish *laigen* (spear) mentioned by Windisch, 'Curtius Studien,' 7, 379, forbids, once for all, a combination of λόγχη with רִמַח. — Μάχαιρα, 'sword' = Hebr. מַכְרֶה (*māḫērāh*), *Œ. r.* XXXVII.; R. 207. The Hebrew occurs only in Gen. 49, 5. The translation by Talmud and Jerome of מַכְרֶה as 'sword' rests on a wrong statement in the Midrash. According to others the Hebrew means 'machination, plan, cunning device.' At any rate, it is not safe to derive Greek μάχαιρα from a

<sup>5</sup> *Œ. r.* X. *rem.* 2; *Œ. r.* 22, 5, no. 48; *Œ. arm.* 396; Pott in ZDMG. 4, 274; A. Müller, BB. 1, 280.

ἀπαξ λεγόμενον of disputed meaning (cf. ZDMG. 40, 731, *rem.* 1). M. Harkavay<sup>1</sup> considers the Hebrew as borrowed from the Egyptian μαχερ, μαχερα = magazine.<sup>2</sup> — Ξίφος, 'sword' = Aram. 𐤍𐤁𐤃 (saisan = saipan), 'the same.' So H. L. Fleischer in Levy's 'Chald. Wörterbuch,' II. 570, *b*; Schrader<sup>3</sup>, 329–30; Pott<sup>2</sup>, II. 369; F. Müller in Kuhn's *Beiträge*, II. 491; Savelsberg, KZ. 16, 7. The Semitic noun, again, is borrowed from the Egyptian sēfēt, 'sword,' from a verb sft, 'to slaughter,' ZDMG. 46, 119 ("Das sem. Wort ist entlehnt und zwar nicht vor dem neuen Reich, da es das auslautende *t* schon nicht mehr hat"). The majority of scholars, however, derive the word from an I.-E. root. So Pauli, KZ. 18, 11, from √skip, 'to split'; Brugmann, 'Curtius Studien,' 5, 231, √σκα, 'to hurt' (whence σνομαι, 'to harm'). Also compare Weise, *Lehnwörter*, 322, *rem.* 6; G. Meyer<sup>2</sup>, 249; Uppenkamp, 9. Wharton combines ξίφος with σκάπτω, and P. Kretschmer, KZ. 31, 414 and 438, with Skt. *ças-t*, *ças-a-ti*, 'he cuts, slaughters,' *ças-tram*, 'knife.' Prellwitz compares κεάζω. — Ὀϊστός, 'arrow' = 𐤓𐤍 (hēç), Assy. *uçu*, *Bag. III.* 1, 384; 2, 356. This etymology, like the preceding, is rather hazardous, and the usual I.-E. derivation is to be preferred.<sup>3</sup> — Some nouns of minor importance are κυρβασία, 'helmet,' Hdt. 7, 64 = 𐤏𐤁𐤋𐤁 (karbēlā), from Assyrian *karbaltu* for *karbaštu*.<sup>4</sup> — Μαγγλάβιον (μαγκλάβιον), 'an instrument for punishment, rod, whip,' from Aramean 𐤍𐤁𐤋𐤁 (maglēbā), 'the same.'<sup>5</sup> — Σαμφήρα, 'a kind of sword of state,' is the Syr. ܣܡܦܝܪܐ

<sup>1</sup> *Journal asiatique*, 1870, March-April, 175.

<sup>2</sup> On μάχαιρα see Pott<sup>2</sup>, III. 1003; Ascoli, KZ. 17, 333; Kluge, *ibid.* 26, 91; Müller, BB. 1, 292, and W. Stokes, *ibid.* 18, 64, who quotes Irish *machtaim*, 'I slaughter,' as cognate with Greek μάχαιρα. Prellwitz, 193; Prof. Sayce says: 'Possibly *mēhēnōz* in the Blessing of Jacob is another loan-word from the Greek, the Greek original being μάχαιρα' (London, *Academy*, 22 October, 1892, p. 366).

<sup>3</sup> See Pott<sup>2</sup>, II. 1, 417 f.; *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie*, 1888, 512; Schrader<sup>2</sup>, 328; Fröhde, BB. 17, 305, connects it with √sidh.

<sup>4</sup> Oppert, 'Mélanges Perses,' 17; Bötticher, 'Arca,' 20. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, IV. 127, *rem.* 2, prints: 'The Assyrian is from the Aramean'; in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und vergleichenden Semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, I. 535, the Assyrian is translated by 'warrior's coat' ('Kriegsmantel').

<sup>5</sup> From 𐤍𐤁𐤋𐤁, Levy, 'Chald. Wörterbuch,' II. 567.

(*safsīrā*) = Persian *šimsīr*.<sup>6</sup> — *Νίγλα*· *τρόπαια* *παρὰ Πέρσαις* (Hesych.) is perhaps a mistake for *δίγλα*, and to be connected with Assyrian *diglu*, 'banner, trophy,' from *dagālu*. — *Parma* (*πάριμη*), 'a small, round shield,' is derived by Bochart, Ph. 741-2, from Sem. פָּרַמ (pārām); i.e. 'ab incidendo dictum est; Romanorum ancile.' — 'Ακινάκης (Lat. acinacis) and κινάκη (Soph. *frg.* 899, D; Hdt. 7, 54, Περσικὸν ξίφος τὸν ἀκινάκην καλέουσι), may be connected with Assyrian *kaḫku*, 'weapon,' which P. Jensen derives from a verb *kanaku*. — Metellus, 'a mercenary, hired soldier,' is combined by Keller, 114-5, with טָלַל (*tālāl*), 'to protect' (?); cf. Neh. iii. 15 (= Heb. צָלַל). Levy derives the Latin from Hebr. צָעִיל (*maḥḥīl*), participle of the *Hif'il* of נָצַל (*nāḥāl*) = 'protecting, protectors.'<sup>7</sup>

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 XXIV. — WINE, ETC.

'Αμπελος, 'vine, vineyard,'<sup>1</sup> is derived by *J.üb.* 153, *Tag. B.* 2, 356, from Hebr. עֵנַב (*'ēnāḥ*), Arab. *'inabun*, Assyri. *inbu*, 'grape.' Aram. עֵנְבֹול (*'inbul* = *'ibbul*), a diminutive formation, whence Arab. *'unbūl*, is discussed by Fränkel, 96. — Βότρυς (*βύστρυχος*, *βότρυχος*), 'a bunch of grapes' = Sem.

<sup>6</sup> *S.ε.* 48, 177; *J.ε.* 72-3; *J.ε.π.* 1677, 1697, and 2030. According to ZDMG. 46, 250, no. 111, the Syriac is from the Greek, and the Greek from the Persian. On Σάμψιρα see F. Hitzig, *Rhein. Mus.* 8, 599.

<sup>7</sup> The following words from the Egyptian may be mentioned: *ἄσμάχ* (Hdt. 2, 30), 'standing on the left side of the king' (soldier). Wiedemann reads *ἄσμάμ*; meaning unknown; see, however, Brugsch, 'Aegyptologie,' 221. — Two other words for Egyptian soldiers are said to be *Ἐρμωτόβιες* (Hdt. 2, 164; 9, 32); but no such word has yet been found in Egyptian; and *καλάσιρις*, for which compare above chapter IV. p. 76.

<sup>1</sup> According to Koch, 'Bäume und Sträucher', 246, *ἀμπελος* is a primitive ('uraltet') Greek word. Many I.-E. etymologies have been proposed, e.g. by Pott<sup>2</sup>, I. 579, and KZ. 6, 276 = *ἀμφί* (or *ἀνά*) + *πέλομαι*; Sonne, *ibid.* 12, 365, *rem.* 1 = *ἀνά* + *πέλω*; Liddell & Scott = *ἀμφί* (Aeol. for *ἀμφί*) + *ἔλ* (*ἐλίσσω*, etc.). Angermann, *Philologus*, 48, 428, connects it with *ἄπτω*, *ἄρα*, 'to reach.' Bradke, 274 = *ἀγκυλος*, Germ. 'Anger'; cf. also Johansson, KZ. 30, 433 f., and Fröhde, BB. 14, 97; while Bugge, KZ. 20, 80, says '*ἀμπελος*, vine, is connected with Lat. *pampinus*, for *πᾶμπελος*. The initial *π* was dropped for the sake of dissimilation, as in *ἔπτταιμαι* for *πῖπτταιμαι*, *ἐψω* for *πέψω*.'

*bōsēr* (בוסר), properly *δμφακες*, 'unripe grapes'; *Ἱ.π.* VIII.; *Ἰαγ.ῒ.* 2, 356. But *β* is never = *τ* (BB. I, 287).<sup>2</sup>—*Γίγαρτον* (*oīvos*), 'grape-stone,' in the plur. also grapes, is connected with Aram. *gargar* (or *gīgarṭā* = גִּיגַרְתָּא), 'kernel, stone.' Compare also *Γίγαρτον*, name of a Phoenician town, at the foot of Mount Libanus. Wine was brought to Greece by the Phoenicians.<sup>3</sup>—*Κάρουινον* (also *καρύινον* and *κάρυνον*), 'sweet wine,' Lat. *carenum* and *caroenum*, is from the Assy. *karanu*, Aram. *qērēnā* (קִרְיָנָא).<sup>4</sup>—*Νέκταρ*, 'nectar,' is correctly explained by Movers, II. 3, 104, *rem.* 2, as *ἰαίν νιγῑῑάρ* (יִין נִקְטָר), 'smoked wine or spiced wine' (murrhinum). Wine was smoked in the Orient (Arist. *Meteorolog.* 4, 10, 5; Ps. cxix. 83), and Galenus describes a smoke-room in which wine stood bottled in jars. I.-E. etymologies have been suggested by Fick, BB. I, 62 (*cf.*, however, Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 575); *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie*, 'Suppl. Band,' 8, 295; Bugge, 'Curtius Studien,' 4, 337; G. Meyer<sup>2</sup>, 246 (p. 325). Prellwitz proposes \**nec* ('death,' *cf.* Lat. *necem*, Greek *νέκυς*) + *tar* (overcoming), thus = 'wine which overcometh death'! The Semitic etymology seems to be beyond doubt the correct one.<sup>5</sup>—*Σίκερα* (for *σίκαρα*, which was considered a dialect-word),<sup>6</sup> 'intoxicating drink' = שִׁכָּר (šēkār, Assy. *šikaru* and *šikru*), *Ἰαγ.ῒ.* 2, 357, and 3, 47. J. Olshausen,

<sup>2</sup> I.-E. etymologies are given in KZ. I, 191, and BB. 7, 79; Bezenberger, *ibid.* 2, 190, against whom see Fröhde, *ibid.* 10, 295-6. Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 100, connects *βότρπος* with the *vēt*, 'to bind'; comparing Lat. *botulus*, 'sausage.' On Latin *botronatum* see Weise, *Lehnwörter*, p. 36. Bezenberger's combination of *βότρπος*, 'hair-lock, curls,' with *βότρπος* seems to me very plausible. See below, *s.v.* χαίτη, p. 148 f.

<sup>3</sup> Fleischer in Levy's 'Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch,' I, 436, *col.* b; J. Halévy, 'Mélanges de critique et d'histoire,' 428. Prellwitz compares Lat. *granum*, Goth. *kaurn*; N.H.G. Korn and Kern.

<sup>4</sup> *Ἐρωίς*, Sappho, *apud* Athen., II. 39, *a*; Lycophron, 5, 79, wine = Egyptian *arp*, Coptic *epw*, whence the Greek (Wiedemann, 'Hdt.'s II. Buch,' 175). *Zythos* (*zythus*), according to Diod. I, 34, 10; Pliny, N.H. 22, 164, is the Egyptian name for 'beer,' but the word has not yet been found in Egyptian, where beer is called *hekt*.

<sup>5</sup> *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie*, 1886, no. 37; Keller, 47 and 226; Herzog and Plitt, 'Realencyclopaedie für protestantische Theologie,' XIV. 714.

<sup>6</sup> Change of *a* and *e* is also found in *Ἰαρος-Ἰερος*, "Ἀρεῖμυς and "Ἀραμυς, etc. (*Ἱ.arm.* 722; Gruppe, 129, *rem.* 15).



KZ. 26, 547, derives the Greek from the Aram. שכרָא (*šikrā*); see also Keller, 227. — One of the most difficult words is *oivos*, vinum, 'wine.' Many scholars have connected the Greek and Latin with the Skt. *vēnas*, 'dear,' an adjective of the soma-juice.<sup>7</sup> R. 207, says: 'Quant à la ressemblance de יָיִן (*yain*) et de *oivos*, que les anciens philologues expliquaient par un passage des Sémites aux Grecs, elle doit, au contraire, s'expliquer par un passage des Ariens aux Sémites; l'origine sanscrite du nom du vin n'est pas douteuse.' Nor does F. Max Müller, 'Biographies of Words,' 114, believe in the derivation of *oivos* from the Semitic,<sup>8</sup> nor in vinum from the Greek,<sup>9</sup> though the German is borrowed from the Latin vinum, which he connects with *vitis*, *vīmen*, meaning originally a creeping or twining plant. M. Bréal, *Mém.* 7. 136, too, derives Goth. *vein* from Latin vinum. 'From the same root,' Max Müller continues, 'can *oivos* be derived without the slightest difficulty. Wine was known to the Aryas in its natural home, the neighborhood of Pontus and the Caspian Sea.'<sup>10</sup> G., 67, believed that there was no connection between the Greek and Semitic. *Ĝ.a.* 27; 72-77, and *Ĝ.arm.* 484, *rem.*, discussing Arm. *gini*, wine, said: "Ich ver-

<sup>7</sup> Kuhn in KZ. 1, 191-2; Pictet. Pott<sup>2</sup>, II. 2, 618, calls it the fruit of the vine = *vitis*, 'with which it is etymologically connected'; also Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 548. Against the derivation of vinum and *vitis* from the same stem, see Bradke, 231 f.

<sup>8</sup> Nor A. Müller, BB. 1, 294, and Maurenbrecher, *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie*, Vol. 145, p. 198.

<sup>9</sup> So also Curtius<sup>6</sup>, 391 and 551; Saalfeld, *Philol. Rundschau*, 1, 710; Weise, *Lehnwörter*, 32 and 127, *rem.* 9: 'vinum connected with *vitis*'; O. Schrader<sup>2</sup>, 466 ff.; Maurenbrecher, *l.c.* 197 f. In favor of vinum from *oivos* (the Greek merchants sold *oivos* not *oivos*), see Helbig, 'Italiker in der Poebene,' 109 ff.; O. Keller, *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie*, 1886, p. 264, and 'Volksetymologie,' 259-61, and the authors quoted *ibid.* on p. 260. Stolz, 'Lat. Gramm.' 163; Bradke, 232 and 274, *rem.* 1; G. Meyer<sup>2</sup>, 240, and KZ. 24, 233; also *ibid.* 22, 27, on the compounds of *oivos*; Leo Meyer, *ibid.* 23, 82, and J. Schmidt, 26, 352; A.J.P. X. 455, *rem.* 1. — Wharton, 'Latin Loan-words,' p. 177, believes that vinum and *oivos* were borrowed independently from foreign sources.

<sup>10</sup> So Schrader<sup>2</sup>, 466-9; and *idem*, 'Thier und Pflanzengeographie,' 24 ff.; Bradke, 41 and 257 ff.; Hübschmann, 'Arm. Studien,' I. 1, 25; "Arm. *gini*, Griech. *oivos*, Lat. vinum zeigt dass der Wein über Thrakien nach dem Westen gedrungen"; but Bartholomae doubts Armen. *gini* > *oivos*, on account of Lat. vinum. On γάρος = *oivos* see *Ĝ.r.* 15.

mute *vaina*, das Original zu *oivo*, sei von Indocelten, und zwar nicht éranischen Indocelten vermutlich den Cypriern, zu den Hebräern und so zu den Arabern gekommen. Gemeint wird damit der rote Wein sein während der weisse vermutlich mit einem ursprünglich lydischen Worte  $\mu\acute{\omega}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  hiess. Ich denke mir den Zusammenhang so, das der Opfertrank in Indien aus der *asclepias acida* etc. gewonnen wurde." This view of Lagarde's is quoted in Stade und Siegfried's 'Hebräisches Wörterbuch,' as late as 1892. The editors are apparently not aware of the fact that the great Orientalist had changed his views, and joined ranks with those who believe in the Semitic origin of the Greek *oivos*.<sup>11</sup> One of the first scholars who suggested the derivation of *oivos-vinum* from the Semitic was Friedr. Müller, KZ. 70, 319. Hehn, 72, says: 'That wine reached the Greeks through the Semites we learn from the identity of name.'<sup>12</sup> The course taken by civilization makes it extremely improbable that the Semites should have borrowed the word from the Aryans, that is from the Graeco-Italians, for the Iranians do not have it; the true home of the vine was the luxuriant country south of the Caspian Sea.' Professor Sayce (London, *Academy*, 22 Oct., 1892, p. 366) goes so far as to believe that the Semitic is from the Greek. He says: "The discovery of the name of a *Yivana* or 'Ionian' in the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, coupled with the fact that he was serving in 'the country of Tyre,' opens up the possibility of the introduction of Greek words into the language of Canaan at an early period. The Hebr. *iaïin* or *iaïn*, 'wine,' therefore, no longer presents the same difficulties as heretofore. A. Müller has pointed out that, like the Ethiopic *uein*, it must have been borrowed from the Greek *oivos*, *oïvon*, and not the Greek word from it. It is not found elsewhere in the Semitic languages; it has no Semitic etymology, and the vine is not a native of the countries to which the Semitic

<sup>11</sup> *Zug. B.* 2, 356 and 366; *Z.üb.* 104, *rem.* 2; F. Hommel, 'Die Namen der Säugethiere bei den Südsemiten,' 439, *no.* 79; J. Halévy, 'Mélanges de critique et d'histoire,' 428-9; Ries, 26-28; Keller, 259 f.

<sup>12</sup> Hebr. *iaïn*, Eth. and Arab. *yain* = Gr. *oivos* = vinum.

populations belonged. According to the naturalists, it is a native rather of Armenia and the Balkans (*cf.* Thracian *γάνος* and Armenian *gini*). The Hebrew word, however, can hardly have been borrowed from the Armenians, as the Vannic inscriptions have shown that the wine was called *udulis* in the old language of the country."<sup>13</sup> Sayce's opinion that the Semitic word for wine is only found in Hebrew and Ethiopic is contradicted by P. Jensen, who shows that the Assyro-Babylonian, too, had the common word for wine, *inu*, comparing V. Rawlinson, 52, 64-65, *a*; II. Rawlinson, 25, 38, *b* and Delitzsch, 'Assyrische Lesestücke', p. 84, *col.* iv. 15 (ZDMG. 44, 705). Nor do I see how Sayce can write 'A. Müller has pointed out that the Semitic must have been borrowed from the Greek.'<sup>14</sup>

## XXV.—VARIA.

*Βάσανος*, 'touchstone' (Theogn.), test, trial (Pindar), ~~ἡ~~ later Greek also used metaphorically = ~~בָּסָן~~ (*bāsan*), 'the country of Basan,' or rather = Skt. *pāshāna*, B. II. 65 ;

<sup>13</sup> A Semitic etymology for ~~ἡ~~ is proposed by Leyrer in Herzog and Plitt's 'Realencyclopaedie', XIV. 708, from a verb ~~יָגַן~~ (*iāḡān*) = ~~יָגַן~~ (*iāḡān*), 'tread, mash': "Der Wein scheint vom Keltern benannt zu sein; auch ~~יָסַס~~ (*iāsīs*) ~~γλευκος~~, Joel i. 5, etc., der ungegorene Most hat den Namen vom Zertreten, Auspressen (*iāsds*)."—Pusey, *Daniel*, 517, even derives ~~μίσγω~~ from Sem. ~~מִסְגָּה~~ (*māsḡā*) (*māsḡā*, 'mix wine'); 'such an operation might often occur in commerce'; but compare Lat. *misceo*, Skt. *miṣr*, etc. (KZ. 26, 187); Greek ~~μίσγω~~, O.H.G. *miskan* (KZ. 21, 426), and Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 510. Martineau (A.J.P. XIII. 325), on the other hand, derives Hebr. ~~מִסְגָּה~~ (*mīsēg*) of Song of Songs vii. 3 [2] = 'mixed wine,' from the Greek *μίσγειν* (see also Löw, 90).

<sup>14</sup> Müller (BB. I, 294) simply says: "*Olros*, Wein, wird mit gleicher bestimmtheit im Griechischen und im Semitischen als Lehnwort bezeichnet; aus letzterem satze zieht Hehn die schönsten culturhistorischen folgerungen. Aber sprachlich ist die sache unmöglich, denn eine hebräischem ~~יָגַן~~ (*iāin*) arab. *yain*, ethiop. *yain* entsprechende ~~יָגַן~~ wäre die einzige begriffswurzel in sämtlichen Semitischen sprachen, die mit ~~י~~ anlautete, könnte also nur angesetzt werden, wenn gar keine andere Möglichkeit der erklärang vorläge. Es ist also jedenfalls an einer indogermanischen festzuhalten, an welcher, habe ich hier nicht zu beurtheilen." This shows that Müller simply rejects the Semitic etymology of the Greek; without however, advocating just the reverse, as Sayce believes.

according to *J.r.* XLVII. =  $\sqrt{\text{קב}}$ <sup>1</sup> (Egyptian *bechen*, Wiedemann, 17). A. Müller, BB. I, 287, rejects the Semitic derivation, but says nothing about a Sanskrit etymology (cf. Curtius<sup>6</sup>, 479, *rem.*; Vaniček, 'Fremwörter,' p. 5, *bel.*). — *Δεκανός* (late Greek), an astronomical term from Skt. *drēshkāna*, and this from Assyrian *tariçānu* (𐎲𐎠𐎺), 'l'enterprête' (J. Oppert, *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung*, I, 62, and *Z. für Assyriologie*, 6, 447-54; also *Trans. Intern. Congr. Orient.* at Florence, 1878, Vol. I. 233). According to Sophocles, 'Dictionary,' the Greek is from the Lat. *decanus* = 'constable, beadle,' and H. Kern (*Ελλάς*, I, 186), says: 'The Skt. *Drēkāna* (!) is borrowed from the Greek *δεκανός* (about 500 A.D.).' — *Ἐλαψα* = *διέφθειρα* · *Κύπριοι*, is perhaps from the Sem.-Assyrian *elēpu* (𐎠𐎺𐎡), 'collapse, be exhausted, go to ruin.' — *Ζαλμάτιον* (Cyprian) = Hebr. *צלם* (*zēlem*), 'picture,' I.F. I, 508-9. — *Κάδαμος* · *τυφλός* · *Σαλαμίνοι*, perhaps connected with *קתם* (*kātām*), 'be dense, dark.' — *Κίβδηλος*, 'spurious' = Aram. *כרב*, *J.r.* VIII. The adjective seems, however, to be a good I.-E. word. Cf. Clemm, 'Curtius Studien,' 3, 325; Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 46 and 421, and Prellwitz, 147; also A. Müller, in BB. I, 288. — *Κολοβός*, 'docked, clipped, stunted,' is compared with the Semitic by Lagarde, 'Praetermissa,' 20, 36; Lagarde, 'Orientalia,' II. (1880, p. 59), *ad colobium* from *κολόβιον*, while Pott<sup>2</sup>, II. 3, 156; G. Meyer<sup>2</sup>, 248 (Skt. *kharbā-*, *karvā-*, 'stunted, clipped'); Fick, BB. 6, 214 (Goth. *halks*, 'lowly, needy'), and Prellwitz, 156, maintain its I.-E. character. — *Κύβος*, from the Sem. *כעב*, *Jag. III.* 2, 356. The *υ* of the Greek was the representative of the Semitic *ʿ*.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, see Fränkel, 21, *rem.*

<sup>1</sup> ' *Βάσαρος* a Lydis ad Graecos pervenisse credo; nam lapidem lydium a Lydis nomen accepisse rationi consentaneum est. Radicem habemus *קב*; plerumque de metallis examinandi adhibitam Jer. ix. 16; Zach. xiii. 9, unde *βάσαρον* quasi examinatorem, et Indos et rem et vocabulum ex occidente accepisse censeo'; see also *J.r.* 274, 35; *Ϸ* and *Π* interchange not seldom (*J.r.* 38 f.). From the same stem perhaps also *basalt*. Pliny, H.N. 36, 7, derives the latter from the Hebrew word for iron (*δάριελ*, *בדל*); see, however, Wiedemann, 17. On the Egyptian *bechen* compare F. C. H. Wendel, 'Ueber die in altägyptischen Texten erwähnten Bau- & Edelsteine,' Leipzig, 1888, 17 ff.

<sup>2</sup> "Die *כעב* zeigt, dass der *κύβος* für die Religion eine Bedeutung hatte."

1 and 60; Prellwitz, 167. — Λέπρα, Lat. lepra, 'leprosy,' is perhaps the Sem. נִרְבָּ (Assyr. *garābu*; cf. *gārēb*, 'leper'). The Semitic was assimilated to λείψις; *Ῥ.üb.* 42, *rem.* 2.<sup>3</sup> Uppenkamp, 31, combines the Greek with Lat. lupus, from  $\sqrt{slap}$ ; and Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 536, from  $\sqrt{lepo}$ , 'peel off the skin.' — Μασχάλη, 'loud, riotous laughter' (Cratinus), may be connected with Hebr. לָחַשׁ (*šāhāl*), 'cry, make a noise, roar,' with the nominal prefix ל (Löw, 292). It would then have been assimilated to μασχάλη, 'armpit.' — Σῆμα, 'sign, name' = Hebr. שֵׁם (*šēm*), 'sign, name'; Movers, I. 292; Raumer, II. Fortsetzung, 28, and others. But compare Leo Meyer, in G.G.Nachr. 1890, 76 (and again G. Meyer, Alban. Studien, III. 52); KZ. 30, 481, *no.* 34; Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 32 (= Lat. in-quam, in-quis); Prellwitz, 283. — Σκελετόν is derived by Uppenkamp, 32, from σκέλλω, 'make thin, dry.' P. Kretschmer, KZ. 31, 399, combines it with σκληρό-ς. But Nöldeke, Mandaean Grammar, 75, and Geo. Hoffmann, ZDMG. 32, 788, *rem.* 1, connect it with Syriac *šlāddā* = Assyr. *šalamdu* (for *šalamtu*, 'corpse,' from *šalāmu*, 'be complete, finished').<sup>4</sup> — A hotly disputed word is ὕβρις, 'pride, wantonness.' Lagarde has always contended for a Semitic etymology, deriving it from עֲבָרָה (*'ēbrāh* 'transgression, wantonness');<sup>5</sup> while most scholars combine it with Skt. *ugrā*, 'powerful, mighty, violent,' and Zend. *ughra*, 'strong' (BB. 2, 155; but see KZ. 25, 307, *rem.*; BB. 2, 188; 8, 163; G. Meyer<sup>2</sup>, 193). Pott<sup>2</sup>, I. 653; II. 2, 414, connects the Greek with ὑπερ, 'super,' thus = 'transgression,' with β for π; S. Bugge, BB. 14, 62 f., with βρῖθω, for \*ὑ-μρῖ(θ). See also *ibid.* 16, 254; Johansson, KZ. 30, 451; and Zubaty, *ibid.* 31, 55, *rem.* — Χαίτη, 'hair-

<sup>3</sup> "Es wäre nur in der Ordnung, wenn eine vorzugsweise den Semiten eignende Krankheit von den Griechen mit dem semitischen Namen benannt worden wäre."

<sup>4</sup> Latin *gabbariae*, 'mummies,' Weise suspects to be of Oriental origin (*Lehnwörter*, 62). Augustinus, *De diversis serm.*, 130, c. 12, assigns it to the Egyptian; but see Wiedemann, 18. If the word is of foreign origin, it could well be connected with Sem. קָבַר (*qābdr*), the terminus technicus for 'to bury.'

<sup>5</sup> *Ῥ. p.* VIII.; *Ῥ. q. Ῥ.* 1, 81, and 2, 289: "Die ὕβρις ist ziemlich sicher ein Semitischer Begriff, den die Griechen durch das Erleben der עֲבָרָה kennen lernten." (But see BB. 1, 298-9.) \*Ῥβρις, in this case, would have been assimilated to ὕβρις, 'a night bird' (Stowasser, I, 22, *rem.* 1).

lock' (whence Lat. *saeta*, see Havet, *Mém.* 6, 236), is combined by *Ἰ. arm.* 1347, with Aram. *zēt* (𐤆) and Coptic *ḡoit*. The ultimate source he finds in Arm. *zeθ*. According to Brugsch (ZDMG. 46, 123) Sem. 𐤆, 'olive,' is from the Egypt. *doit*; but Lagarde, *G.G.Nachr.* 1889, p. 311 f.; *Ἰ. äb.* 220, *rem.* 2, maintains that the Egyptian is likewise from the Armenian.<sup>6</sup> Prellwitz, 353, compares Skt. *hā*, *jihāte*, 'jump up, fly'; also *χαῖος*, Lat. *haedus*, and N.H.G. *Geiss.* — *Χίμαιρα*, originally the designation of a volcano, is from the Sem. 𐤍𐤌𐤍 (*xāmdr*), 'bubble, swell,' assimilated, of course, to *χίμαρος*, *χίμαιρα*, 'goat.'<sup>7</sup> — *Χημεία* (*χημεία*) is not an I.-E. word, as is usually taught in the dictionaries, but borrowed from the Egyptian (Coptic) *kam* (*chame*), 'black';<sup>8</sup> and also 'the art of the dark skinned Egyptians.' — Keller, 292, derives Lat. *idus*, *edus*, 'the ides,' from Greek *εἶδος*. But the Greek never has a meaning that would suggest a connection with the Latin. Bücheler, *Rhein. Mus.* 44, 327–8, says: *Idus* = 'Oscan *eidus* cannot be connected with Greek *αἶθειν*, Lat. *aedes*; its etymology is obscure. The ending *-us* has a temporal signification.' *Idus*, the ides on the middle of the month, is = Etruscan *itus* (their alphabet having no *d*). It has been shown by Helbig, 21, etc., that the Phoenicians had intercourse and traded with the Etruscans much earlier than the Greeks; that they were the first nation that brought foreign customs to southern Etruria. The Semitic month begins toward the middle of the later Roman month; it was initiated by a festival called *īd*, *īd* (*Assyr. idu*) = 'the beginning of the month, the month.' It has occurred to me that the Etruscan *itu-s* (*idus*) is from the Phoenician *īd*, with the *-us* as a temporal suffix. There is at least more ground for such an etymology than for combining it with *εἶδος*.<sup>9</sup> — K. Macke, *Neue Jahrbücher*, 137,

<sup>6</sup> See, however, ZDMG. 46, 243, no. 68.

<sup>7</sup> Ed. Meyer, I. §§ 200 and 240; Keller, 190 and 219.

<sup>8</sup> Whence 'al-chemy'; Bochart, H. i. 476, 11; Wiedemann, 'Hdt. II. Buch.' 76; Brugsch, 'Aegyptologie,' 20–21; 406–7.

<sup>9</sup> Hommel, 'Geschichte Babylonien,' 323, *rem.* 1, derived *χδος* (Hesiod) from Babyl. *xaḫmu* (= *xammu*), 'vast, grand, and totality'; but see Jensen, *Kosmologie der Babylonier*, p. 322. — There is, of course, no genetic connection

701 ff., believes that Dossennus, in Hor. *Epist.* II. 1, 173, 'quantus sit Dossennus edacibus in parasitis,' is borrowed from the Sem. דֹּשֵׁן (*dōšēn*, partic. of *dāšān*, 'be fat, luxuriant'). In this passage of Horace its meaning would be = 'gourmand' or 'bon-vivant.' But Dossennus is mentioned as a proper name in Seneca, etc., and occurs also in the Latin inscriptions. Besides, some of the oldest MSS. of Horace read Dorsenus. Nor do I believe in Lat. omasum, 'the fat intestines of oxen, tripe,' from Hebr. שֶׁמֶן (*hōmeš*), 'fat,' as Macke teaches, *ibid.* p. 708.

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ADDITIONS.

P. 40, *rem.* 17. On the I.-E. forms of 'six,' see also F. de Saussure, *Mém.* 7, 73 ff.

P. 45, *rem.* 37. Add: Philippe Berger, 'Histoire de l'écriture dans l'antiquité,' II<sup>e</sup> édition, Paris, 1892, pp. 128-43.

P. 59, *rem.* 23. Professor Gildersleeve (in a letter of Feb. 27, 1893) calls my attention to P. Kretschmer's etymology of Dionysus in 'Aus der Anomia,' p. 27, viz.: 'Διο-νυσ-; νύσῦ (Thracian) = νύμφη, κόρη, παρθένος, thus νύσος = κόπος; Διόνυσος = Διὸς παῖς.

P. 104, *rem.* 2. Παράδεισος goes ultimately back to Zend *pairidaēza*, from *pairi* = περί and *dēz*, 'heap,' 'a heaping around, circumvallation' (Spiegel).

between such words as γάργαρα, 'heaps,' and Sem. *gargar* (גָּרְגַר), 'heap,' Assy. *agargaru*, 'swarm' (BB. 9, 87, and 16, 258); nor between γαργαρέων, 'uvula, throat,' and Syr. גָּרְגַר, Heb. *gargéret* (גָּרְגַרֶת), Ḳ. arm. 1171; Brugmann, 'Curtius Studien,' 7, 293; Pott, BB. 8, 48; Bücheler, *Rhein. Mus.* 39, 408; Fick<sup>4</sup>, I. 35; nor between σάρξ (*sárx*), 'flesh,' and Sem. קָרָד (šardq), 'be red, reddish' (Zech. i. 8; Ḳ. üb. 31); flesh being called thus from its reddish color. *Mém.* 3, 74, Uppenkamp, 33, and G. Meyer, *Alban. Studien*, III. 52 (*√twer*, prop. "Fleischstück"), give I.-E. etymologies. The relation between τάρης and Aram. ܛܪܝܫܐ, etc., is discussed by Th. Nöldeke (*Persische Studien*, II. 40).

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III. — *On the Equivalence of Rhythmical Bars and Metrical Feet.*

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THE object of this paper is not to establish any positive results, but to contribute something towards clearing the way of needless obstacles to investigation.

To avoid numerous digressions, I shall make some preliminary observations regarding points that will arise during the discussion. Some of these remarks I shall have to make in dogmatic form, as the presentation of the evidence would require much space.

The word 'rhythm' is used in various ways by writers, ancient and modern. Some recent writers have created confusion by overlooking this fact, and assuming that the thing itself varied with the varying use of the word. Many have concluded that ancient rhythm is essentially different from modern. One author, Maximilien Kawczynski, even declares (*Essai comparatif sur l'origine et l'histoire des rythmes*, p. 33) that "rhythm is a discovery or rather an invention" ("le rythme a été une découverte ou plutôt une invention"). Conscious *ῥυθμοποιία* was no doubt an invention, — a very primitive one, however, — but that the rhythmical sense is innate, and that this sense was often aroused and satisfied without conscious *ῥυθμοποιία* on the part of men, I must claim, does not need proof. But what is the rhythmical sense? How is the feeling for rhythm satisfied? What is rhythm objectively considered? (I shall omit all theorizing about nerve-waves from the ear to the brain, and confine myself to well-known facts.) Strange as it seems, there is much variety of opinion, much confusion, on this subject. One would think that at least some common basis

could be found for all the notions of rhythm; that, for instance, all would agree that *time* has something to do with it; but no. We are told again and again that ancient rhythm was quantitative and modern rhythm accentual. This might be, and sometimes is, said in a correct sense; but close examination will often reveal the meaning to be that rhythm in the ancient languages resulted from some sort of a succession of long and short syllables, while in most modern languages, as in German and English, rhythm results from an analogous succession of accented and unaccented syllables, the perception of quantity or the time-element not entering even as a subordinate factor. Some deny absolutely that quantity has anything to do with modern rhythm as felt in poetry. Even those that admit the existence of quantity in modern languages differ widely from each other. Some are confident that all syllables are of the same length, while others maintain that only accented syllables are ever long. (I hope I may be permitted to ignore those who still persist in confounding quantity with quality.) Even Bulwer, in the Introduction to his Translation of Horace, p. xxxii, says: "In fact, as Dr. Kennedy has truly observed, the spondee is not attainable in our language, except by a very forced effort of pronunciation. That which passes current as an English spondee is really a trochee." But surely there is a sense of quantity in the modern ear; and, in my opinion, there are spondees in English. Let us consider Bulwer's remark. Apart from the fact that spondees may be made up by combining two words, it seems to me we have them also in the form of some compounds, such as 'breastplate,' 'firefly,' 'fireplace,' and some less conscious compounds, such as 'compounds,' 'household,' 'outside,' 'breastworks.' Simple spondaic words are, indeed, rare; but to say "There is no spondee in English" is like saying "There is no noun that rhymes with 'town'." 'Spondee' itself is a spondee; so is 'furlough,' 'gyrate,' etc. Compare 'furlough' with 'furrow.' I do not deny that many words in English admit of wider modifications of quantity than were allowed in Latin or Greek; but a man must have an extreme view of the elasticity and com—

pressibility of English words, who would undertake to reduce "Augur Apollo" and "Thou our chief — Caesar" to the same metrical form. The latter verse is one of the fruits of Bulwer's theory. (See Bulwer, Trans. Hor., pp. 48, 50.)

There are different kinds of rhythm, such, for instance, as the rhythm of acceleration heard in the drumming of a pheasant or the rocking of a somewhat unstable stack of saucers or plates; but the rhythm of music and poetry, both ancient and modern, not only depends on *quantity*, that is, *time*, but requires the recurrence of approximately equal units. The further we depart from absolute equality, the more defective is the rhythm. At what point the rhythmic effect ceases, I shall not undertake to say. It may be different with different persons. If the inequality ever steps beyond this limit, the rhythm is interrupted. If the new foot is one of a different structure and is repeated several times, we have a change of the *time*; if it is the same foot uttered more slowly or rapidly several times, it is a change of the *tempo*, or *ἀγωγή*. In the latter case the rhythm may be rendered continuous by a gradual acceleration or retardation in passing from one period to another; that is, the tempo may be changed gradually. But in the case of music or recitation accompanied by dance or march or any rhythmical movement, any appreciable inequality of feet or bars within the same colon is out of the question. Moreover, there can be no reasonable objection to using the scheme of this more exact rhythm in indicating the recitation toward which we are to approximate the *ψιλλὴ λέξις*. Westphal says that Aristoxenus would have denied the propriety of indicating the metre of recited poetry by means of musical notes. Of course so, if Westphal means the notes of *Greek* music, for these always indicate pitch, which we do not want, and never indicate quantity, which is the thing we do want; but let us hope that Aristoxenus would not have objected to the use of modern notes without any staff.

The rhythm, then, of ancient and modern verse, as well as of music, is the same. The units, however, are marked in a seemingly different way. The *ῥυθμοποιία* of English



poetry differs from that of Greek for two reasons: *first*, quantity in Greek, though by no means so mathematically exact as is sometimes supposed, was more constant and uniform than in English; and, *secondly*, in Greek the loudness of a long syllable was more conspicuous than the musical elevation of an accented syllable and so was used to mark feet, whereas in English the *accent* is chiefly loudness and is usually combined with more or less prolongation, so that the *accent* marks the feet. I spoke of the loudness of long syllables in Greek, rather than the ictus. An artificial ictus could be needed only when a spondee replaced a dactyl, or a tribrach replaced a trochee, or some such substitution took place. The question whether any ictus, or artificial stress of voice, was employed otherwise need not here be discussed. There is no mention of it in the works of Greek metricians or rhythmists. Some ancient writers, not without reason, excluded the spondee, as they excluded the pyrrhic, from the list of feet suited to continuous rhythm. Continuous spondaic rhythm may just as properly be regarded as a series of monosyllabic feet, which is a very monotonous sort of rhythm. Just as in Greek, then, a systematic succession of long and short syllables, so in English a systematic succession of accented and unaccented syllables constitutes a rhythmical series; *but it is just as essential that the complex units marked by accents in English should be equal as that the corresponding units marked by stress or loudness should be equal in Greek.*

When we sing, inasmuch as we proceed more slowly and dwell on the vowels, reducing the consonants to an inappreciable space of time, we are more conscious of the time occupied by the separate syllables or notes making up a bar than in ordinary recitation we are conscious of the time occupied by the individual syllables that compose a foot. This is true both of Greek (as attested by Aristoxenus) and of English. But it does not follow that we cannot *feel* the effect of the relative time of the syllables, nor that we cannot so utter a given group as to fill a given space of time. Even in singing and, as more frequently happens, in playing an instru—

ment, when we have a run of rapid notes, we can feel that we are giving each its correct time, although we cannot perceive distinctly the length of each, just as our auditory nerves can feel the effect of a more rapid or less rapid vibration of a sound-producing object, and we can with our voice make the number of vibrations per second required to produce a sound of a given pitch, although we have no conscious perception at all of the vibrations. (This, of course, is only an analogy, and it must not be urged too far.) But, granted that in the case of *ψιλῆ λέξις* we cannot consciously produce the exact theoretical ratio between the times of syllables, we must remember that the recitation of the ancients was in many cases in exact rhythm, the units being marked by instruments or movements of the body, and we are surely justifiable in trying in our *ψιλῆ λέξις* to approximate this exact rhythm, as when we read the trimeters of tragedy or the tetrameters of comedy, and in using analogous theoretical schemes even for the *ψιλῆ λέξις* of the Greeks, as when we read the trimeters of comedy.

The views I have just expressed will, I am aware, be utterly rejected by some. After almost a lifetime of study, Westphal (Aristoxenus, p. 220) says: "Unser rhythmisches Gefühl ist schon befriedigt, wenn das Kolon oder die Periode eine gewisse Anzahl von Hebungen hören lässt: wie lange oder wie kurz die Stimme beim Aussprechen derselben verweilt, das irritirt uns nicht; wir gestatten gern und sehen gerade darin den Vorzug eines ausdrucksvollen Deklamirens, dass bei solchen Silben, welche für den logischen Zusammenhang besonders bedeutungsvoll sind, länger verweilt wird, einerlei ob durch längeres Aussprechen oder durch Pause. Und an welchen Stellen diese Pausen vorkommen, ob am Ende des Kolons oder innerhalb des Kolons und des Versfusses, ist uns einerlei." Then he shows that it is otherwise in singing. Now this variation of quantity of syllables and this introduction of pauses do undoubtedly render the declamation expressive, as he says; but is not the rhythm thereby rendered more defective? In the case of pauses indeed,

I believe we can, as it were, suspend the rhythmical sense and then resume it again; but on the whole all such devices of emphasis as those named seem to me to interfere with the rhythm. Consequently, in reciting poetry we depend chiefly upon the cadence in emphasizing the thought. Suppose there were no cola nor periods: could there not be any rhythm? It is a notorious fact that we can have rhythmical prose in both English and German, which would be impossible if the rhythm depended solely upon the *number* of the rhythmical accents. I have heard little girls reciting the multiplication table in perfect concert, making pauses to fill the place of the units when these were wanting; and I found that four uniform beats filled each bar or measure. These children had not been trained to recite in this way. Illustrations without end might be cited. In fact it seems to me that the rhythmical sense or sensation is the same in reciting as it is in singing. It should be remarked, however, that Westphal holds the rhythm of recited poetry in Greek to have differed from that of music in exactly the same way that he holds it does in German. This he attempts to show from Aristoxenus. For his arguments and the words of Aristoxenus, I must refer to the work just cited (especially pp. 220-225) and to Rossbach und Westphal, *Theorie der Musischen Künste*, Vol. I, pp. 42 ff., and III, *init.*

No one who has studied the fragments of Aristoxenus, or otherwise become acquainted with the nature and method of his investigations, will deny that everything he can be shown to have said regarding rhythm in Greek poetry and music must be accepted as final, unless it is positively self-contradictory or otherwise impossible. But, as every one knows, his work on rhythm is in a very fragmentary state. Under these circumstances the temptation is great to make the most of these fragments and draw from them as many even problematical inferences as possible; but the very opposite course is the only safe one to pursue. We must not assume that he teaches anything that is not plainly asserted or necessarily implied by his words. The chief object of this paper is to show that some of the doctrines ascribed to Aristoxenus are

not taught by him, and thereby to remove some obstacles that lie in the way of free and intelligent research.

We are now prepared to take up the practical part of our subject.

1. The use of *τονή* or *παρέκτασις*, that is, the prolongation of a single note or syllable into the time of a whole bar or foot, is rightly accepted by the interpreters of Aristoxenus, and calls for no discussion. Of course *ἐπέκτασις*, or the prolongation beyond the limits of a bar, no one would think of imitating in reading; and even in the case of *παρέκτασις* the rhythm of recitation may have sometimes departed from that of the same words as sung. Soph. Ant. 954, *κελαιναὶ νᾶες ἐκφύγοιεν*, was probably sung  $\cup \_ \_ \_ \cup \_ \_ \_ \cup \_ \_ \_$ , but would naturally be read  $\cup \_ > \_ \_ \cup \_ \_ \_ \cup$ . The Greeks composed their lyric poetry to be sung; still they sometimes read it, so that a double problem confronts us: *First*, what was the rhythm of the *music*? and, *secondly*, how did the ancients *read*? Except in the case of *ἐπέκτασις* (see Schol. Ar. Ran. 1348) we should probably approach as near to what we conceive to have been the musical rhythm as the ear will tolerate. The effect of *παρέκτασις* of monosyllables or ultimæ, especially *ἐν καταλήξει*, was not offensive, and was employed in recitation, for instance, in the elegiac hexameter. Of course part of the time, if the sense allows, can be filled with a pause, as is attested for the verse just named.

2. When a dactylic form occurs among trochaic forms, the following means may be employed to equalize the feet: *First*, the dactyl may be left pure and the trochee prolonged either by change of *ἀγωγή* or by *ἔκτασις* of the short ( $\_ >$ ), with change of *ἀγωγή* or (in music) without it, or by making the long triseme ( $\_ \cup$ ). *Secondly*, the trochee may be left pure, and the dactyl shortened by *ἀγωγή* (either the whole foot, or

the first two syllables,  $\overset{3}{\text{P}} \text{P} \text{P}$ ), or placed under the form  $\text{P} \cdot \text{P} \text{P}$ ,  $\_ \cup$ , or the form  $\text{P} \text{P} \text{P}$ ,  $\_ \cup$ . The prolongation of the trochee, advocated by some (Lehrs, Brill, etc.)

even in trochaic (and iambic) rhythm, does not come within the scope of this paper except in connection with the dactylo-epitrites, which will presently receive brief attention. Of the different methods of shortening the dactyl into a triseme foot, the first named, the change of tempo, is the only one that Westphal *now* considers admissible in view of the teachings of Aristoxenus; and it is not my purpose to try to show that this was not the ancient method: I desire only to show that in the other two methods, especially the former ( $\sim \cup$ ), there is nothing positively conflicting with anything Aristoxenus teaches.

Let us first consider the so-called cyclic dactyl,  $\sim \cup$ . Two questions present themselves: *First*, does it belong, as Westphal maintains, only to *recited* poetry, or was it used also in singing? *Secondly*, what is its exact metrical form, or in other words, what time relation existed between its syllables?

The origin of the name and the authority for the existence of 'cyclic' feet, though familiar to all, must be stated here for reasons that will be apparent. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Comp. Verb.* 17, while explaining the various feet, after describing the anapaest, says:  $\acute{\omicron} \delta' \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron \tau\eta\varsigma \mu\alpha\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma, \lambda\eta\gamma\omega\nu \delta' \acute{\epsilon}\varsigma \tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \beta\rho\alpha\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma, \delta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\alpha\iota, \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omicron\delta' \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{\iota} \sigma\epsilon\mu\nu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma, \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma \kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\omicron\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\omega}\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma, \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \tau\acute{\omicron} \gamma\epsilon \eta\rho\omega\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\nu \mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\nu \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon \kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\alpha\iota \acute{\omega}\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota} \tau\acute{\omicron} \pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}. \pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\mu\alpha \delta' \acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon \tau\acute{\omicron}\delta\epsilon.$

$\acute{\iota}$ λιόθεν με φέρων ἄνεμος Κικόνεσσι πέλασσεν.

οἱ μέντοι ῥυθμικοὶ τούτου τοῦ ποδὸς τὴν μακρὰν βραχυτέραν εἶναί φασι πῆς τελείας, οὐκ ἔχοντες δὲ εἰπεῖν πόσῳ, καλοῦσιν αὐτὴν ἄλογον. ἕτερον δὲ ἀντίστροφόν τινα τούτῳ ῥυθμόν, ὃς ἀπὸ τῶν βραχειῶν ἀρξάμενος ἐπὶ τὴν ἄλογον τελευτᾷ, τούτον χωρίσαντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναπαίστων κύκλον καλοῦσι, παράδειγμα αὐτοῦ φέροντες τοιόνδε·

κέχῃται πόλις ὑψίπολις κατὰ γᾶν.

This is awkwardly expressed. Hermann understands it as referring to the dactyls of the heroic verse in general; but we must either refer it to *all* dactyls, or else limit it to the

holodactylic hexameters (not, however, denying its applicability to other verses). That Dionysius really had in mind the latter will presently appear. It will be observed that the two feet he describes would have been the forms > ∪ ∪ and ∪ ∪ >, and in the case of the latter the ἄρσις would be ∪ ∪, and the θέσις >. But in the same work, chap. 20, is an enumeration of the beauties of the holodactylic verse,

αὐθις ἔπειτα πέδονδε κυλίνδετο λᾶας ἀνωδής,

where, among other things, we read: ἔπειθ' ἑπτακαίδεκα συλλαβῶν οὐσῶν ἐν τῷ στίχῳ, δέκα μὲν εἰσι βραχεΐαι συλλαβαί, ἑπτὰ δὲ μόναι μακραὶ καὶ οὐδ' αὐταὶ (αὐταὶ?) τέλειοι. . . ὃ δὲ μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων θαυμάζειν ἄξιον, ῥυθμὸς οὐδεὶς τῶν μακρῶν οἱ φύσιν ἔχουσι πίπτειν εἰς μέτρον ἠρῶν, οὔτε σπονδεῖος οὔτε βακχεῖος, ἐγκαταμέμικται τῷ στίχῳ πλὴν ἐπὶ τῆς πελευτῆς, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες δάκτυλοι, καὶ οὗτοί γε παραδειωγμένας ἔχοντες τὰς ἀλόγους, ὥστε μὴ διαφέρειν ἐνίους τῶν τροχαίων. οὐδὲν δὲ τὸ ἀντιπράττον ἐστὶν εὐτροχον καὶ περιφερῆ καὶ καταρρέουσιν εἶναι τὴν φράσιν ἐκ τοιούτων συγκεκροτημένην ῥυθμῶν. This, too, is obscure. In Dionysius ποῦς and ῥυθμὸς are synonymous. Here his remarks seem to imply that the shortening occurs only in the holodactylic verses. Moreover, though ἐνίους is not clear, we are certainly told either that *some* of the feet do not differ much from trochees, or that *according to some* the feet do not differ much from trochees.

In chapter 17 Hermann changed κύκλον into κύκλιον and transferred the name to the dactyls. Apel, who first discovered the significance of the passage, assumed a modification of the quantity of the first short, so that the irrational long and this short should form the θέσις, "so that the foot should not differ much from a trochee."

Now Westphal holds that this foot, whatever was its exact form, was used only in recitation, whereas Apel had assumed that it was a musical bar. The former thinks there can be no reasonable doubt that the ultimate authority of Dionysius was Aristoxenus himself, and I believe he is right; but how can Westphal reconcile this view with what he claims were

the teachings of Aristoxenus concerning the unconsciousness of quantity in recitation? He says (R. W., I. p. 53) expressly: "Den Rythmus eines declamirten Hexameters durch Notenzeichen auszudrücken, dem würde sich Aristoxenus widersetzen. Hat doch nach ihm die continuirliche Bewegung der Stimme, das Sprechen, keine ἡρεμίαι, keine κατὰ τὸ πῶσον γνώριμοι χρόνοι! Man vernimmt die sechs Hebungen des Hexameters, aber kann nicht mit den Fingern die Versfüsse als sechs gleich lange Hebungen und sechs gleich lange Senkungen taktiren." Then what could Aristoxenus mean by the τέλειαι when he says the μακραί differ from them in the holodactylic verse? How does he know they differ? Cf. also R. W., III, pp. 1-13, esp. p. 11.

Again, the cyclic anapaest mentioned must have been recited in the same way as the dactyl; if the one was merely declaimed, so was the other, and if the one was sung, so was the other. Now the example cited, κέχυται πόδις ὑψίπολις κατὰ γᾶν, does not belong to declaimed anapaests. The feet, indeed, form a dimeter, but the invariable caesura (masculine or feminine) is wanting.

Nothing can be safely inferred from the name κύκλιος. In the first place the MSS. have κύκλον, not κύκλιον. Since the foot is 'maimed' in a sense, χωλόν has been proposed. Less violent would be κυλλόν, and one might suspect a reference to this foot in Ar. Av. 1364, τί δεῦρο πόδα σὺ κυλλὸν ἀνὰ κύκλον κυκλεῖς; the words ἀνὰ κύκλον (cf. ἀνακυκλικός) could then refer to the anacyclic arrangement of vv. 1360, 1362,

υ υ \_ υ υ \_ υ υ \_ | \_ υ υ \_ , υ υ \_ υ υ \_ υ υ | υ υ \_ υ υ \_

At any rate, Cinesias was not lame (see the Scholia), and it is evident that reference is made to some peculiarity of his song and its rhythm and some dancing movement which he executed as he came up. But of course no conclusion can be drawn from such conjectures. In the second place, if we accept the adj. κύκλιος, it might, indeed, refer to the employment of the light anapaest by the song-twisting dithyrambic or cyclian poets; in which case it would be a musical foot, just as Cinesias was singing on the occasion referred to above (cf. 1367, παῦσαι μελωδῶν); but it would more proba-

bly refer to the fact that the foot was *εὐτροχος καὶ περιφερῆς*, just as we hear of *ῥυθμοὶ στρογγύλοι* (Aristides, pp. 33, 98 M.), which move with undue rapidity. Christ (Griech. Met. p. 74) says that in Schol. Hephaest., p. 135 W., the choriambus *formed from a light dactyl*,  $\sim \cup \cup$ , receives the name *πόδα κύκλιον*; but the Schol. here says nothing about a light dactyl, and the name may refer to the fact that the compound foot  $\_ \cup | \cup \_$  reads *ἀνὰ κύκλον*, the same way forward and backward.

But even discarding all inferences drawn from the name, there seems to be no good reason for limiting the cyclic dactyl to spoken poetry. The assumption of some that in the classic period the hexameter was never sung is certainly erroneous. It is sufficient to refer to the exquisite scene in *Ar. Pax*. 1265–1304, where one boy persists in singing passages of Homer, and another sings an elegy of Archilochus.

The second question relates to the metrical form of the cyclic dactyl. Apel, who first called attention to the authority

For it, assumed that it varied between  $\text{♩} \cdot \text{♩} \text{♩}$  and  $\text{♩} \overset{3}{\text{♩}} \text{♩}$ .

The latter, adopted by Westphal, is not so easily produced as the former, and need not be given preference unless there is some serious objection to the former, adopted by J. H. H. Schmidt and many others. For purposes of reading, the question, it must be admitted, is rather theoretical than practical. It would require a very delicate ear to discover any difference between the extremes proposed by Apel. Still it may be worth while to show that the objections that have been made to the theoretical form,  $\text{♩} \cdot \text{♩} \text{♩}$ , are not well founded.

An objection, which I have somewhere met, is that this form of foot conflicts with the doctrine of Aristoxenus, that the triple ratio is unrhythmical. But Aristoxenus, when he makes this statement, is speaking solely of the ratio between *arsis* and *thesis*, as any one may see by examining the passage. He is speaking of the *λόγος ποδικός* of the *ποὺς τετράσημος*. The *ποικιλίαι* of the *χρόνοι ῥυθμοποιίας ἴδιοι*,




of which he speaks, might very well include the cyclic dactyl under the form in question.

Another objection, raised by Westphal, is that the ratio of a long to a short in poetry that is sung is always as 2 to 1, according to Aristoxenus, — a rule which Westphal himself has been compelled to arbitrarily modify so as to make it applicable only to a long and a short immediately following it. The statement that the ratio is 2 : 1 is made by Quintilian, *Inst.* ix. 4. 45, and it occurs also in the *Paralambanomena* of Psellus, § 1, under peculiar circumstances. He speaks of the syllable as having been considered the measure (smallest unit) of rhythm by the παλαιοὶ ῥυθμικοί, and adds: ὁ δὲ γε Ἀριστοξένος οὐκ ἔστι, φησί, μέτρον ἢ συλλαβή. πᾶν γὰρ μέτρον αὐτό τε ὠρισμένον ἐστὶ κατὰ τὸ ποσὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸ μετρούμενον ὠρισμένως ἔχει. ἡ δὲ συλλαβὴ οὐκ ἔστι κατὰ τοῦτο ὠρισμένη πρὸς τὸν ῥυθμὸν ὡς τὸ μέτρον πρὸς τὸ μετρούμενον, ἡ γὰρ συλλαβὴ οὐκ ἀεὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον κατέχει, τὸ δὲ μέτρον ἡρεμῆν δεῖ κατὰ τὸ ποσὸν καθὼς μέτρον ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ χρόνου μέτρον ὡσαύτως κατὰ τὸ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ποσόν, ἡ δὲ συλλαβὴ χρόνου τινὸς μέτρον οὔσα οὐκ ἡρεμῆ κατὰ τὸν χρόνον, μεγέθη μὲν γὰρ χρόνων οὐκ ἀεὶ τὰ αὐτὰ κατέχουσιν αἱ συλλαβαί, λόγον μέντοι τὸν αὐτὸν ἀεὶ τῶν μεγεθῶν. ἡμισυ μὲν γὰρ κατέχειν τὴν βραχείαν χρόνον, διπλασίαν δὲ τὴν μακράν — here the sentence breaks off. Westphal suspects that we have the substance of the incomplete sentence in Quintilian, l.c., “Longam esse duorum temporum, brevem unius, etiam pueri sciunt.” This conjecture I shall not discuss. In the passage of Psellus, it is not certain that the author is quoting literally, and from λόγον μέντοι onward sounds very much like an addition of his own. I do not believe that Aristoxenus is the author of those words, and no matter who is the author, the remark seems to me meaningless, unless it refers to change of ἀγωγή. But that it cannot refer to ἀγωγή, if it is a remark of Aristoxenus, follows from the fact that, according to that author, the χρόνος πρῶτος, the true unit of rhythm, may vary with the ἀγωγή, so that after all the χρόνος πρῶτος and the short syllable would cover the same space of time under all circumstances, and it would be

a quibble to say that the one is the μέτρον, but the other is not. Westphal, who fully recognizes that the remark cannot refer to change of ἀγωγή, draws this conclusion: "Der von den Metrikern oft wiederholte Satz der rhythmici und musici, dass die Kürze nicht immer einzeitig, die Länge nicht immer zweizeitig sei, ist also auch ein Satz des musicus Aristoxenus." But he does not show how the quantity, apart from ἀγωγή, can vary and the ratio remain constant. Is it true that when a word contains one long that is longer than those of another word, then any other long it may contain must also be longer by the same amount, and also its shorts must be longer in the same proportion? That surely cannot be meant. If the remark referred to the spoken words of prose or loose verse, the remark about ratio would be erroneous; if it refers to sung poetry or παρακαταλογία, it can apply with sense only to change of ἀγωγή, which would convict Aristoxenus of inconsistency if he were the author. The truth of the matter is, that if the remark has reference to singing alone, as is assumed, it is hard to see under any assumption what could be meant but change of ἀγωγή, since it is notorious that the music regulates the varying quantity of prose or recited poetry.

Be all this as it may, and let it be granted that the remark was made by Aristoxenus and that it does not refer to ἀγωγή, it still leaves some other ratio than 2 : 1 possible in special cases; for Aristoxenus himself mentions other exceptions in their places, and might, even in the lost part of this passage, have mentioned this exception.

Another objection is the fact that the foot in question contains a syllable that is shorter than the χρόνος πρῶτος. Now Aristoxenus defines the χρόνος πρῶτος thus (§ 10): Καλείσθω δὲ πρῶτος μὲν τῶν χρόνων ὁ ὑπὸ μηδενὸς τῶν ῥυθμιζομένων δυνατὸς ὦν διαιρεθῆναι, δίσημος δὲ ὁ δις τούτῳ καταμετρούμενος, κτέ. Then again (§ 12): Ἐν φ᾽ δὲ χρόνῳ μήτε δύο φθόγγοι δύνανται τεθῆναι κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον, μήτε δύο ξυλλαβαί, μήτε δύο σημεῖα, τούτον πρῶτον ἐρούμεν χρόνον. The former passage admits of being interpreted in the light of the latter: the χρόνος πρῶτος cannot be divided into two parts. Another

remark is more difficult to reconcile (§ 11): *δήλον ὅτι ἀναγκαιὸν ἐστὶν εἶναι τινὰς ἐλαχίστους χρόνους, ἐν οἷς ὁ μελωδῶν θήσει τῶν φθόγγων ἕκαστον. ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ λόγος καὶ περὶ τῶν ξυλλαβῶν δῆλον ὅτι καὶ περὶ τῶν σημείων.* To get a satisfactory sense Westphal reads *τῶν χρόνων* for *χρόνους*. Even if we accept this, when we consider the explicit nature of the passage I cited just now (§ 12), and the fact that it immediately *follows* the one last named, and consider the further fact that we find mention of "syllabae breviores brevibus," and that, in any case, the cyclic dactyl is an irrational, hence an exceptional foot, we are justified in assuming that this may be a case in which a syllable occupies less time than the *χρόνος πρῶτος*. An irrational and fractional short is distinctly mentioned by Bacchius (p. 24 M.), probably on the authority of Aristoxenus: *τὸν δὲ ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς ἄρσεως καὶ τῆς θέσεως χρόνον οὐκ ἄξιον ἐπιζητεῖν, ὡς ὄντα τινὰ τῶν κατὰ μέρος· διὰ γὰρ τὴν βραχύτητα λαυθάνει καὶ τὴν ὄψιν καὶ τὴν ἀκοήν, κτῆ.* In practice this is what we really do with the middle syllable and Christ (p. 77) thinks it unwise to attempt anything definite. But when Brambach, who holds that the acceleration is due solely to *ἀγωγή* (Rhyth. und met. Untersuchungen, p. 170), says: "Die Uebersetzung in unsere Tactschrift ist daher streng genommen unmöglich," and, again, "Ganz falsch ist die allerdings bequemste Uebersetzung des Daktylus ; denn sie hebt das Verhältniss der ersten Kürze zur Länge auf, und es entsteht die ungrichische Tactfügung  $\frac{3}{16} \frac{1}{16} \frac{2}{16}$  mit dem unmöglichen Verhältnisse 3 : 1 : 2," he seems in the first passage to speak, perhaps, rather positively, and in the second to beg the question. *Why* is the relation 3 : 1 : 2 "impossible" or "ungriechisch"?

Next let us glance at the choreic dactyl,  $\_ \cup$ . For this there is no ancient testimony; but the structure of some verses renders its existence probable. The only objections to it are the disturbed relation of long to short (which has already been discussed) and Aristoxenus' definition of the *χρόνος πρῶτος*. But here the two shorts exceed a *χρόνος πρῶτος*, as they are equivalent to an irrational long; for the musical notes do not express the exact value.

Sometimes it is difficult which form of light dactyl is to be selected for theoretical representation. I am inclined to believe that in recited trochaic verses the tendency would be to employ the choreic dactyl, always, however, bearing the sense in mind. There is little doubt that any of the methods named, including the accelerated *ἀγωγή*, could be employed according to exigency. I wish, however, to direct attention to the fact that the corresponding *πόδες ἀντίστροφοι*, the light anapaests, of iambic rhythm, would not admit of the process known as "treating with anacrusis" if we in so doing introduce the cyclic dactyl; for in a verse like Soph. Ant. 11, *ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδεὶς μῦθος, Ἀντιγόνη, φίλων*, would, with the ascending rhythm (alone recognized by the ancients) become  $\cup \_ | \cup \_ | > \_ | \cup \sim | \cup \_ | \cup \_ ||$ . This, to my ear, is the more agreeable way; but the ancients, without sign of varying, pronounce such forms as *-τιγόνη* here, anapaests. Christ objects to  $\_ \sim$  on the ground that it often leads to two irrational shorts where one irrational long is not allowed. This objection is not insurmountable. While the essence of rhythm is time, as indicated by marked units, still loudness adds something to the rhythmic effect. A spondee in dactyls makes the movement appear slow, although it takes the same time as a dactyl. This is because the voice reaches a fuller compass on a long syllable than on a short, so that two shorts, though equal in length to one long, represent less sound. They are, so to speak, as long but not as broad. Hence it is clear that a choreic dactyl resembles a trochee more than does the irrational choree. So, *mutatis mutandis*, in the ascending rhythm. This fact was overlooked by Hephaestion when he pronounced the anapaests in even places *ἄλογοι*, i.e. 'unreasonable,' not 'irrational.'

Just where the cyclic anapaests mentioned by Dionysius were used we do not know. If by *ἀντίστροφος* he means *exactly* reversed, the anapaest becomes  $\cup \cup \_$ , which some use in iambs. This implies a different scansion from that which we obtain by "treating with anacrusis" and introducing  $\sim \cup$ . (It may be remarked, however, that Aristides (p. 39) mentions  $\_ \cup \cup$  and speaks of  $\cup \cup \_$  as being *κατ' ἀντίστρο-*

φῆν τοῦ προτέρου, where the one is not exactly the reverse of the other ; but the ancients always disregard the ictus in such matters.) I cannot say that  $\cup \cup -$  is wrong. We must always remember that ‘anacrusis’ means ‘Aufschlag’ or ‘Auf-tact’ (that is, *ἄρσις*), invented by Hermann to express an idea of Bentley’s apparently unknown to the ancients.

It would be interesting to know where the ancients would have drawn the line between *ἄρσις* and *θέσις* in  $\cup \cup -$ . The ictus clearly could not fall on the middle syllable. But the question is not resolved even for the cyclic *dactyl*; for as it is attested as occurring in the dactylic hexameter, some think that the irrational long was still the *θέσις*, and the short syllables the *ἄρσις*. As a matter of fact this is a purely theoretical question, and its answer does not affect the recitation.

3. We now take up the case where *spondaic* forms occur among triseme feet, and consider the irrational choree. Here Aristoxenus is very explicit. One would think, at first sight, that there was no possibility of misunderstanding him ; but it seems to me, nevertheless, that he has been misunderstood. But let us first consider the various views. J. H. H. Schmidt, if I understand him, makes the irrational choree exactly equal *in time* to the pure trochee, the only difference being the more vigorous utterance of the irrational syllable than of the short. In this he virtually follows Apel. Boeckh, too, made the irrational choree exactly equal to the trochee, but maintained the ratio  $2:1\frac{1}{2}$  instead of  $2:1$ . He attempted to express such time values by numerals ( $1\frac{1}{2}^2 + \frac{1}{2} = 3$ ), at which Hermann exclaimed “cui rite exsequendae ipse Apollo impar sit,” as if it were anything but  $2 + 1\frac{1}{2}$  accelerated by *ἀγωγή*.

Now let us examine Aristoxenus. His words are (§ 20):  
 “Ὀρισται δὲ τῶν ποδῶν ἕκαστος ἤτοι λόγῳ τινὶ ἢ ἀλογίᾳ τοιαύτη, ἣτις δύο λόγων γνωρίμων τῇ αἰσθήσει ἀνὰ μέσον ἔσται. γένοιτο δ’ ἂν τὸ εἰρημένον ὦδε καταφανές· εἰ λειφθείσαν δύο πόδες, ὁ μὲν ἴσον τὸ ἄνω τῷ κάτω ἔχων καὶ δίσημον ἑκάτερον, ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν κάτω δίσημον, τὸ δὲ ἄνω ἡμισυ, τρίτος δὲ τις ληφθείη πούς παρὰ τούτους, τὴν μὲν βάσιν ἴσην αὐ τοῖς ἀμφοτέροις ἔχων, τὴν δὲ ἄρσιν μέσον μέγεθος ἔχουσαν τῶν

ἄρσεων. ὁ γὰρ τοιοῦτος ποὺς ἄλογον μὲν ἔξει τὸ ἄνω πρὸς τὸ κάτω· ἔσται δ' ἡ ἀλογία μεταξὺ δύο λόγων γνωρίμων τῇ αἰσθήσει, τοῦ τε ἴσου καὶ τοῦ διπλασίου. καλεῖται δ' οὗτος χορείος ἄλογος.

It appears to me hopeless to try to reconcile this with Schmidt's practice. The question may well be raised whether by μέσος, μέσον, μεταξύ, Aristoxenus really means 'exactly in the middle,' as Westphal understands. An illustration which A. draws from melody seems to indicate that such is really his meaning; but a close examination will show rather that he chose, for the sake of clearness, to describe a particular case, both as to the ἀλογία and its analogue. Accordingly we read in Bacchius (p. 23): "Ἄλογος δὲ ποῖος;—'Ὁ τοῦ μὲν βραχέος μακρότερος, τοῦ δὲ μακροῦ ἐλάσσων ὑπάρχων· ὁπόσῳ δὲ ἔστιν ἐλάσσων ἢ μείζων διὰ τὸ λόγῳ εἶναι δυσασπόδοτον, ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ἄλογος ἐκλήθη." (See also Dionysius on the cyclic dactyl.) Still we can never make it appear that the χρόνος ἄλογος can actually become equal to one of the limits between which it falls. But Westphal goes further, and says that these remarks of A. clearly disprove Boeckh's view, because the θέσις or βάσις of the irrational choree, according to A., is "equal to the diseme θέσις of the rational spondee." This objection to Boeckh's method of equalizing bars has been accepted by able metricians, among them Brambach, and deserves a careful examination. If the Greeks actually allowed feet bearing the relation of 6:7 to stand side by side in the same colon, what right have we ever to insist upon a greater approximation than this to equality? In fact, why may we not admit the relation of 3:4 and mix true dactyls with true trochees? Let us see. Aristoxenus is here speaking of λόγος, 'ratio,' and that only. He says that each foot is determined either by some λόγος or such an ἀλογία as shall lie between (ἀνὰ μέσον) two λόγοι that can be perceived (that is, whose value can be definitely fixed by the senses). (We should have a right to ask him how he knows it lies in the middle (ἀνὰ μέσον) unless it is itself τῶν γνωρίμων; but of this I have already spoken.) To a Greek the notion of a ratio lying

between two *ratios*, or being an average between two ratios, was likely to be obscure. A ratio is not a quantity, nor a fraction, nor a number: it is a relation. So Aristoxenus undertakes to make the matter clear. *For the purpose of illustration* (observe his words) he makes the purely ideal assumption, "if two *were* taken," etc., then adds that such a foot will have its *ἄρσις* irrational with respect to its *θέσις*, i.e. the *λόγος* is *ἄλογος*, but does not say it will have an irrational *ἄρσις* as compared with the *ἄρσεις* of other feet. It is, therefore, evident that the true spondee and the true trochee, placed on each side of the irrational choree, are purely auxiliary and intended solely to make clear the meaning of *ἄλογία*. They do not and cannot both actually occur in the same series or colon with the irrational foot. If we could have a rational spondee, then an irrational choree, then a rational trochee, all in a series, we might as well despair. In my opinion, after the *ἄλογία* has been made clear, we are to remove the other two feet, just as we remove the wooden framework on which we have erected a stone arch.

It is very strange that Rossbach (Griech. Met., p. 430) should totally misconceive this matter. I have read and re-read his remark; but no eye-rubbing elicits any but an erroneous meaning. He says: "Von dieser Boeckhschen Messung widerspricht zunächst die auf  $\frac{1}{7}^2 + \frac{3}{7}$  angegebene Grösse des Spondeus (irrationalen Trochäus) der Ueberlieferung des Aristoxenus; denn ihr zufolge sind die beiden Silben des irrationalen Trochäus genau einander gleich"; that is, according to the tradition of Aristoxenus "the two syllables of the irrational choree are exactly equal to each other." Westphal's 2 : 2½ (Aristox. p. 152) is a misprint.

4. Some remarks on the nature of *ἄλογία* are called for, both in reference to the irrational choree and the cyclic dactyl. It may seem strange that there could be any question as to an exact definable ratio when two quantities are 'irrational'; and Westphal, who believes in the definite ratio 2 : 1½, that is, 4 : 3, strangely says that 'irrational' in Aristoxenus means 'incommensurable.' The word does, indeed, sometimes have that meaning, but Aristoxenus ex-

tly warns us against misunderstanding, and gives an analogy that seems to show that he was guarding us against the mathematical interpretation. The Elements ofclid had not yet appeared; but an Aristoxenus could not have been ignorant of the nature of incommensurability. *ἄλογον* and the *ῥητὸν χρόνου μέγεθος*, he says, have no *οὐ κοινὸν ἔνρυθμον*. This shows, by the way, that the *ἔνρυθμος* is short, which is a *κοινὸν μέτρον*, cannot be *ἔνρυθμος*; the analogy which he draws from the intervals of melody is to imply that this short, like an *ἀμελῶδητον*, has no rate existence. This seems to militate against the cyclic dactyl,  $\sim \cup$ . But, in the first place, the short is not *ἔνρυθμος* as it is inseparable from another element with which it forms a *χρόνος ποδικός*; that is, it is a *χρόνος ῥυθμοποιίας*. In the second place, the analogy mentioned is in a doubtful passage, and besides, like all analogies, must not be pressed. This and most of the other seeming objections to

the cyclic dactyl cannot be made against  $\overset{3}{\sim} \cup \cup$ . The latter seems to be less natural; but it cannot be shown to be incorrect. My object has been to show that  $\sim \cup$  does not conflict with any unmistakable declaration of Aristoxenus, and that the definition of irrationality does not force us to make  $\sim >$  rather than  $\sim \cup$ . Other irrational feet, such as  $\cup \cup >$ , do not call for special discussion; only we must remember that the forms assigned by Dionysius to the cyclic dactyl and anapaest themselves are  $> \cup \cup$  and  $\cup \cup >$ , and that there is no other explicit testimony for triseme dactyls and anapaests. It would require much time to discuss the dactylo-epitrite. Aristoxenus pronounces the ratio 3 : 4 (the *λόγος ἐπίτριτος*) unrhythmical. Hence the compound foot,  $\sim \cup \sim$ , is inadmissible. The theory of Boeckh, which makes a dactyl equal to an epitrite, it is now needless to discuss. His theory possesses the merit of making the seeming trochee equal to the seeming spondee. Schmidt's scheme,  $\sim \cup |$ , introduces the *λόγος τριπλάσιος*, and so has been emphatically rejected. But Aristoxenus must be once more consulted. He tells us distinctly that he is speaking of



ῥυθμὸς συνεχής, 'continuous rhythm.' This term, according to Westphal, is applicable to a series of *two* or more units, and I see no reason to deny the correctness of his interpretation, though it is hardly demonstrated to be correct. Assuming it to be correct, we find  $\_ \cup \_ \_$  wrong, because the λόγος ἐπίτριτος is ἄρρυθμος in ῥυθμὸς συνεχής, and  $\_ \cup \_ \_$  is sometimes repeated in a series; but  $\_ \cup \_ \_$  is *not* forbidden, because  $\_ \cup$  is *not* repeated in a series. When the spondee is represented by a trochaic form, we cannot write  $\_ \cup$ . Whether Schmidt in this case wrote his  $\_ >$  (here an irrational *spondee*) out of respect for the law laid down by Aristoxenus, or because he saw an incongruity between  $\_ \_$  and  $\_ \cup$  as representatives of the same bar in the same situation, I am unable to say; but I think he proceeded entirely independently of Aristoxenus. Here, then, we *seem* to have the λόγος ἐπίτριτος alternating with the λόγος ἴσος, which is analogous to  $\_ \cup \_ >$ , in which the λόγος διπλάσιος alternates with ἀλογία, approximating the λόγος ἐπίτριτος (arrhythmic). It is true, we find no mention of a tetraseme trochee; but would not Aristoxenus have called  $\_ \cup$  a dactyl, in which the χρόνοι ῥυθμοποιίας ἴδιου do not coincide with the χρόνοι ποδικοί, but one of them παραλλάσσει ἐπὶ τὸ μέγα ( $\_$  greater than  $\_$ ), and the other ἐπὶ τὸ μικρόν,  $\cup$  less than  $\cup \cup$ ? See Psellus, § 8. In modern music the ratio of 3 : 1 in the ῥυθμοποιία frequently occurs in the ῥυθμὸς ἴσος, as in "Auld Lar Syne," and the familiar tune "Perez." In singing such a bar as  $\overset{\cdot}{\underset{|}{\text{p}}} \cdot \overset{\cdot}{\underset{|}{\text{p}}}$  you will often hear the singer give his voice impulse when it reaches the end of one quarter. He feels that the second χρόνος ποδικός begins, although the first χρόνος ῥυθμοποιίας ἴδιος is not exhausted. In my opinion the best way to practically *read* the dactylo-epitrites is to reduce the feet all to three χρόνοι πρώτοι,  $\_ \cup \_ > \sim \cup \cup \cup$

6. It has been asserted and insisted upon that the ancients knew nothing about equality of bars. Their silence is assumed as conclusive that bars in the same series were *not* necessarily equal. I have heard the demand made of those that use the ancient pronunciation of Latin, that they should produce an explicit statement that *c* never has the sound of *s*.

But who expects to find in an English grammar a statement that *q* never has the sound of *s*? The ancient Romans had never dreamed of anything but a hard *c* (kay). Now, how, if the Greeks never dreamed of rhythm with other than equal bars? Of course, in case of *μεταβολή*, which is fully provided for by the ancients, there is no real exception, as the rhythm is not continuous, but a change at every foot or two would not be change of rhythm; it would be no rhythm at all. If we continue the alternation of the same pair of unequal feet, there is, indeed, rhythm; but the rhythm is due to the fact that the two feet then become one compound foot.

Everything said about rhythm implies at least an approximation to equality. The *χορείος ἄλογος*, even if we admitted its inequality, would be an exception that proves a rule; for what is its *raison d'être*?

There are other cases than those I have enumerated, in which the question of equalizing the feet or bars arises; but it has not been my purpose to treat the whole subject, but to show that some objections to particular cases are not well founded, and I would not make the impression that I consider as correct all the theories that I have defended as being possible.



IV. — *English Words which hav Gaind or Lost an Initial Consonant by Attraction.*

By CHARLES P. G. SCOTT.

IT was the original purpose of this paper, first, to define the phenomenon here calld, in the lack of a more exact name, Attraction; secondly, to enumerate and classify the words affected by Attraction, partly to illustrate the phenomenon, but chiefly to exhibit and explain thereby the history of many words hitherto imperfectly exhibitèd, or of wholly unknown etymology; and, thirdly, to explain why Attraction has ultimately prevaild in some of the cases mentiond, and not in other cases apparently under like conditions. This last, indeed, was my primary motiv.

But the systematic treatment of the subject has reveald so many words and classes of words affected by Attraction, many of them hitherto not known to be so affected, that I am constraind to confine this paper to the most familiar classes, and to defer the exhibition of the other classes, the ultimate explanation of the phenomena, and the philological inferences involvd, to a second paper.

By Attraction, as here used, is ment an apparently accidental or unintentional transfer of a final consonant of a word, most commonly the article *an* or some definitiv, to the beginning of the following word, or of an initial consonant to the end of the preceding word, usually the article *a*. A typical example of the first kind is *an awl*, taken as *a nawl*; of the second kind, *a nauger*, taken as *an auger*. The examples, duly classified, ar enumerated in this and the succeeding paper.

Of course there is no real "attraction" here, any more than in other instances of etymological or syntactical change conventionally so described; but the term wil serv, as suggesting a blind motion of the phonetic elements involvd. There is no exact name for the thing; but what it is, is clear. Considerd as a blind motion of the sounds, it is Attraction

or Coalescence. Considered as an act of the mind of the speaker, it is a misdivision of the elements of a phrase; an erroneous analysis of the constituent parts of a separable phrase; a missyllabification, or rather a misverbification, of a phrase, due, in nearly all cases, to variability in the article or definitiv. It is a blunder, but it is almost a creditable blunder; for it usually arises out of a desire to conform to analogy. The blunder lies in the choice of a wrong analogy. It arises and flourishes chiefly in provincial and colloquial speech, but in many cases it has become the rule in literary use, ousting the correct form of the word affected.

This paper is confined to cases in which words have gained or lost, temporarily or permanently, an initial *n*. There are six classes:

I. Cases involving the indefinite article *an* or *a*. There are two divisions, A and B.

A. The first division comprises the cases in which a noun, or an adjective with its noun, beginning with a vowel or *h*, has gained an initial *n* from the preceding article *an*. The final *n* of *an* coalesces with the following vowel, leaving the clitic article *a*, with the noun adorned, like Bottom, with an adscititious head.

I give the words, literary and provincial, current and obsolete, in one alphabetic order, giving first the normal form, in its present spelling, and then showing the alteration it has suffered; with proof quotations systematically added, in chronological order. The quotations for the normal form are marked (*a*); those for the altered form (*b*). I have been at great pains to ascertain and annex the dates. No quotation is complete without a date. But some of the seventeenth and eighteenth century ballads, and some of the nineteenth century poems, have been left undated, owing to the difficulty of fixing the year without taking another year to fix it. Ballads shun dating, and few editors or publishers of second or later editions of nineteenth century works have any notion of dates except that changing the date on the title-page is one way of making a "new edition." Nearly all the examples have been taken directly from the original (printed) texts.

Words cited as examples, with definitions, have been taken directly from the glossaries or dictionaries of the dates mentioned. When examples have been taken at second hand, the source is indicated.<sup>1</sup> I give only a small part of the quotations I have collected. The quotations are given, as all quotations should be given, in the spelling of the original. My own spelling is improved according to the principles and rules recommended by the Philological Association.

1. **Abbey**, ME. *abbay, abbaye, abbeye*, etc., from OF. *abaie*, LL. *abbatia*. ME. *an abbay* appears as *a nabbay*.

(a) Þo bad he him *an abbei*.

c 1305 *St. Dunstan (Early Eng. Poems (1862), p. 39)*.

(b) Hec cenobium, *a nabbay*. c 1450 *Nominale (Wright, Vocab.<sup>2</sup> 719, l. 14)*.

2. **Abece, absey**, ME. *abece, abyce, abicee, abcy, abse*, also *abc*, OF. *abece, abc*, L. *a be ce, abc*. We find *an abse* as *a nabse*.

(a) A bok . . . That men callyt *an abece*. a 1450 (?) *Rel. Antiq. I. 63*.  
*Abcy, hoc alphabetum i, hoc abcedarium ij.* 1483 *Cath. Angl. p. 1*.  
And then comes answer like *an absey booke*.

1623 SHAKESPEARE, *King John*, i. 1. 196 (F<sup>1</sup>. p. 2).

(b) Hoc alphabetum, *a nabse*. c 1450 *Nominale (Wright, Vocab.<sup>2</sup> 719, l. 40)*.

3. **Abscess**. *An abscess* is turned into *a nabscess*. In provincial use the word is also taken as a plural, whence an assumed singular *\*absy*; and *an \*absy* is taken as *a nabsy, a napsy*. This *\*absy* seems to have been considered also as a diminutive; Middlesex folk have made a new original *\*abs*, or, with the aspirate, *habs* or *haps*.

(a) At different times I have heard the sentences, "My daughter has *a habs* in her jaw"; "My husband has a bad *habs* under his arm."

1882 PALMER, *Folk-Etym.* p. 592.

(b) *Nabsy*. An abscess. 1854 BAKER, *Northampt. Gloss.* ii. 44. 1857 WRIGHT.

*Napsy*. An abscess. 1888 LOWSLEY, *Berkshire Words (E.D.S.)*, p. 116.

*Nabscess, abscess*. 1890 ROBERTSON, *Gloss. Glouc. Dial. (E.D.S.)*, p. 101.

<sup>1</sup> The principal sources thus used are: Jamieson (Jam.), *Etym. Dict. of the Scottish Language*, 2 vols., 1808; *Supplement*, 2 vols., 1825; ed. Longmuir, 1 vol., 1866; ed. Longmuir and Donaldson, 4 vols., 1879-1882; Nares (N.), *Glossary*, 1822; ed. Halliwell and Wright, 1857; Halliwell (H.), *Dict. of Archaic and Provincial Words*, 1847 (ed. 1878); Wright (Wr.), *Dict. of Obsolete and Provincial English*, 1857 (ed. 1886); Davies (D.), *Supplementary Eng. Glossary*, 1881; Palmer (P.), *Folk-Etymology, a Dict. of Corrupted Words*, 1882; *The Century Dictionary (C.D.)*, 1889-1891; *The New English Dictionary (N.E.D.)*, so far as issued (A-Con, E-Eve), 1884-1891. The last two works have been used but little, the purpose, in giving quotations, being to add to the information given by the standard dictionaries and to correct errors therein.

4. **Acorn**, ME. *acorn*, *acoron*, and a score of other forms; AS. *acern*. ME. *an acorn* is found as *a nacoron*.

- (a) *An acorne*, hec glans. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 3.  
 (b) Hec glans, -dis, *a nacoron*. c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 716, l. 8).

5. **Acre**, formerly *aker*, ME. *aker*, AS. *acer*; ME. also *acre*, after OF. *acre*, ML. *acra*, from Eng. ME. *an aker* appears as *a nakyre*.

- (a) *Acra*, . . . an<sup>co</sup> *an aker* of lond.  
 c 1450 *Lat.-Eng. Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 561, l. 7).  
 I have *an aker* of good ley land,  
 Which lyeth low by yon sea strand.  
 a 1800 *The Elfin Knight* (Child, *Ballads*, i. 129).  
 (b) Hec *acra*, *a nakyre*. c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 737, l. 18).

6. **Adze**, *ads*, formerly *ads*, *addice*, *addis*, etc., dial. *adge*, *edge*, *catch*, *eitch*, *etch*; ME. *adys*, *adese*, AS. *adese*. We find *an ads*, *an adge*, taken as *a nads*, *a nadge*. So *a nax* for *an ax* (see Ax).

- (a) A carpenter stretchede forthe a reule, he fourmyde it with an *adese*.  
 1388 WICLIF, Is. xlv. 13  
*Azuéla*, f., a little axe, or hatchet, a coopers *ads*, an axe.  
 1623 MINSHEU, *Dict. in Span. and Eng.*  
*Adge*, *Addice*. 1828 [CARR], *Craven Gloss.* i. 3  
 (b) An ax and *a nads*, to make troffe for thy hogs.  
 1580 TUSSER, *Five Hundred Pointes* (E.D.S.), p. 36  
*Nadge*, An *addice*. 1828 [CARR], *Craven Gloss.* ii. 2

7. **Aghendole**, *aighendale*, also *ackendole*, *haughendole*, *haughendo*, corrupt provincial forms for what would be regularly *\*eightendole* or *\*eightendole*, ME. *ey3tynde*, an eighth part, namely of a coom, or other mesure. The application varies. *An aghendole*, *an ackendole* has become in local use *a nackendole*.

- (a) *Ey3tynde*, mesure (*eyhtyndyl*, K. *eyhtydell*, J.W.), Satum.  
 1440 *Prompt. Parv.* p. 137—  
 She should yearely have one *aghen-dole* of meale . . .  
 1613 POTT, *Discoverie of Witches*, p. 23 (in *Lanc. Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 154)—  
*Aighendale* (*s. a local word*). A mesure in Lancashire containing sever  
 quarts. 1775 ASH. (Whence in 1847 HALLIWELL—)  
 (b) *Nackendole*. Eight pounds of meal. *Lanc.* It is supposed to be a kneading  
 dole, the quantity usually taken for kneading at one time. Often pro  
 nounced *aghendole*. 1847 HALLIWELL—

*Nackendole*, or rather *\*neightendole*, appears to hav been further contracted, in the hurry of business, to *nail*, *nale*.

- Nail of Beef*, *Sf.* [Suffolk] eight pounds. 1692 COLES, *Eng. Dict.*  
*Nail*. Eight pounds, generally applied to articles of food. 1847 HALLIWELL—  
*Nail*. A weight of eight pounds.  
 1887 PARISH and SHAW, *Dict. Kentish Dial.* (E.D.S.), p. 106.  
*Nail, nale, nal, nall, s.* A weight of 7 lbs., used for wool.  
 1887 DONALDSON, *Suppl. to Jamieson's Scottish Dict.*, p. 171.

8. **Aglet**, ME. *aglet*, *aglott*, *agglot*, etc., from OF. *aiguilette*, etc. *An aglet* appears as a *naglet*.

- (a) *Agglot*, or *an aglet*, to lace wyth alle. Acus, aculus (acula P.).  
1440 *Prompt. Parv.* p. 8.  
(b) Hoc mominum, a *naglott*. c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 734, l. 37).  
Thou mayest buy as much love for a *naglet* in the middle of Scotland as  
thou shalt winne by thy complaints.  
1633 *Dux Grammaticus*. (P. p. 581.)

9. **Ail**<sup>1</sup>, a pain, sickness, disease; compare early ME. *eil*, *eile*, *eyle*, injury, harm; ME. *eil*, *eile*, *eyle*, AS. *egle*, painful. *An ail* is probably the original form of a *nail* (*nail*<sup>2</sup>), given as a Scotch term for "a particular pain in the forehead." I suppose a "nail" may be felt in other parts. It appears from the second quotation that a Scotch damsel named Mawkin had an "ail" in her "hairt," and "sum pairte" of it at length crept into Robin's. Mawkin's previous discourse indicates that there was no weakness in her forehead. *Illi robur et aes triplex*.

- (a) The blake cloð deð lesse *eile* to þen eien. c 1230 *Ancren Riwele*, p. 50.  
Be that sum pairte of Mawkynis *ail*  
Outthrow his hairt cowl creip;  
He fallowit hir fast thair till assaill,  
And till hir tuke gude keep.  
c 1475 HENRYSON, *Robene and Makyne*, l. 77. (Donaldson, *Suppl.*)  
*Ails*, s. pl. Evils. 1875 ROBINSON, *Whitby Gloss*. (E.D.S.), p. 2.  
(b) *Nail*, s. A particular pain in the forehead. 1866 (and 1880) JAMIESON.

10. **Ail**<sup>2</sup>, a beard of grain; ME. *eile*, *eyle*, *eiȝle*, AS. *egl*. *An ail*, Dial. *an oil*, has become a *nail*, a *noil*.

- (a) (1) *Arista*, an<sup>o</sup> *an eyle*.  
c 1450 *Lat.-Eng. Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 565, l. 34).  
Swift as the swallow, or that Greekish nymph  
That seem'd to overfly the *eyles* of corn.  
1590 PEELE, *Polyhymnia* (Wks. ed. Dyce), p. 571.  
*Ails*, s. pl., beards of barley.  
1876 GOWER, *Surrey Provincialisms* (E.D.S.), p. 80.

Also in various dialectal forms, *hail*, *oil*, *hoil*, *ile*, *avel*, *havel*; all usually in the plural.

- (2) *Barley-hailes*. The spears of barley. *South*. 1847 HALLIWELL, p. 143.  
(3) *Oils*. 1875 PARISH, *Dict. Sussex Dialect*; 1880 BRITTEN, *Old Country and Farming Words* (E.D.S.), p. 65. (P. p. 263.)  
(4) *Hoils*. The beards of barley. *Dorset*. 1847 HALLIWELL, p. 454.  
*Hoile*. The beard or stalk of barley or other corn.  
1887 PARISH and SHAW, *Dict. Kentish Dial.* (E.D.S.), p. 76.  
(5) *Iles*. Ails or beards of barley.  
1736 PEGGE, *Alphabet of Kenticisms* (repr. E.D.S.), p. 34;  
1887 PARISH and SHAW, *Dict. Kentish Dial.* (E.D.S.), p. 83.  
(6) *Avel*. The awn or beard of barley. *East*. 1847 HALLIWELL, p. 115.  
(7) *Havel*. As *Avel*. 1847 HALLIWELL, p. 438.



In *an ail*, dial. *an oil*, taken as *a nail*, *a noil*, I find the origin of the hitherto unsolv'd *noil*, now chiefly in the plural *noils*, as a technical term for 'short pieces or knots of wool broken off in the process of combing'; also 'pieces of waste silk,' the term for 'short refuse pieces from grain' being easily transfer'd to 'short refuse pieces from wool or silk.' This etymology is supported by comparing the other form *nail*, and the earliest forms, which hav hitherto been overlookt, with the forms of *ail*:

- (a) *ail, aile, ayle, eile, eyle, ile, yle, oil, hoil.*  
 (b) *nail, nayle, nyle, nyl, noil, noyle.*

The following examples include the earliest I hav found.

- (b) *Nyle* of wulle (*nyl* or *wyl*, S. *nyle* or wulle, H.). Nullipensa, plur.  
 1440 *Prompt. Parv.* p. 356.  
 [The variations show uncertainty on the part of the scribes, proving, as we should expect from the etymology here proposed, that the form was unfamiliar at that time.]  
*Nayle* of wolle [no French equivalent given]. 1530 PALSGRAVE, p. 247.  
 No person shall put any *noyles*, thrums, &c., or other deceivable thing into any broad woollen cloth. 1621 *Stat. Jac. I* (cit. *N. & Q.* 6th Ser. x. 86).  
 New camnas of course *nowells*.  
*Trelawny Papers* (cit. *N. & Q.* 6th Ser. x. 86).  
 The waft was chiefly spun by old women, and that only from backings or *nails*, as they were not able to card the wool.  
 1791-1799 *Statist. Acc.* (Aberdeen) xix. 207. (Jam. 1808.)  
*Backings*, s. pl. Refuse of wool or flax, or what is left after dressing it.  
 1808 JAMIESON.  
*Nails*, s. pl. The refuse of wool. 1808 JAMIESON.  
*Noils*, coarse refuse locks of wool, fit for making mops.  
 1830 FORBY. (Way, p. 356.)  
*Noils*. Coarse locks of wool. *East*. 1847 HALLIWELL.  
*Noils*. . . . the term is never applied to any kind of wool, in its natural state; but, in the process of combing, the short wool that will not pull out to any length, and is consequently left on the comb, after the slither is drawn, is called *Noils*. 1854 BAKER, *Northampt. Gloss.* i. 61.  
*Noils*, coarse locks of wool; 'dag-locks.'  
 1881 EVANS, *Leic. Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 201.

II. *Ailbourn*, *ailburn*, formerly *eylebourn*, an intermittent brook or spring; originally supposed, as the quotations from Warkworth (1473) and the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1777) indicate, to betoken sickness or pestilence; from *ail*<sup>1</sup> + *bourn*, *burn*. See especially the quotation from Warkworth. As *an ail* has become *a nail*, so *an ailbourn* has become *a nailbourn*.

- (a) There is a famous *Eylebourn* which rises in this parish [Petham], and sometimes runs but a little way before it falls into the ground.  
 1719 HARRIS, *Hist. of Kent*, p. 240. (Pegge.)  
 Kilburn [1659] saith that A.D. 1472 here (at Lewisham) newly broke out of the earth a great spring; by which I suppose he means an *Eylebourn*, or *Nailbourn*, as the vulgar call it. 1719 *Id.* p. 179.  
 (b) Also in the same yere Womere watere ranne hugely, withe suche abundance of watere, that nevr manne sawe it renne so moche afore this tyme. Womere is callede the woo watere: for Englyschmen, whonne

thei dyd fyrst inhabyde this lond, also sone as thei see this watere renne, thei knewe wele it was a tokene of derthe, or of pestylence, or of grete batayle; wherfor thei callede it Womere; (for *we* as [is] in Englysche tonge woo, and *mere* is called watere, whiche signyfieth woo-watere;) for alle that tyme thei sawe it renne, thei knewe welle that woo was comynge to Englonde. And this Wemere is vij. myle frome Sent Albons, at a place callede Markayate; and this Wemere ranne at every felde afore specifyede, and nevere so hugely as it dyd this yere, and ranne styll to the xij. day of June next yere folowyng. Also ther has ronne dyverse suche other wateres, that betokenethe lykewyse; one at Lavesham [Lewisham] in Kent, and another byside Canturbury called *Naylborne*, and another at Croydone in Suthsex [Surrey], and another vij. myle a thys syde the castelle of Dodley, in the place called Hungerevale; that whenne it betokenethe batayle it rennys foule and trouble watere; and whenne betokenythe derthe or pestylence it rennyth as clere as any watere.

1473 WARKWORTH, *Chronicle* (Camden Soc.), p. 23.

*Nailbourn.*

1719 HARRIS, *Hist. of Kent*, p. 179. [See above.]

*A Nailbourn* . . . a torrent which flows only now and then, or once in a few years. Now, when these torrents broke out, they were supposed to betoken famines, sicknesses, and deaths, chiefly I presume sicknesses; whence I conjecture there is a Crasis in the case, a *Nailbourn* being in fact an *Ailbourn*, as the forerunner of *Ails* or diseases. It is written, however, *Eylebourn* by Dr. Harris, p. 240, 23, 411, and so Philipot gives it, p. 42, which perhaps may be a corruption of *Ailbourn*; but as these desultory torrents often abound with small eels, it is possible they might take their names from thence, quasi *Eelbournes*. But there will still be a Crasis in *Nailbourn*.

1777 *Gent. Mag.*, July, p. 321.

*Nailburn.* A kind of temporary brook or intermittent land-spring, very irregular in its visitation and duration. There are several nailburns in Kent. One may be mentioned below Barham Downs, which sometimes ceases to flow for two or three years, and then breaks out very copiously, and runs into the lesser Stour at Bridge. Warkworth, *Chronicle*, p. 24, gives a very curious account of these singular streams, and mentions one "byside Canturbury called *Naylborne*," which seems to be that above alluded to.

1847 HALLIWELL.

*Nailbourn.* An intermittent stream. . . . "Why! the nailbourn 's begun to run a'ready."

1887 PARISH and SHAW, *Dict. of Kentish Dial.* (E.D.S.), p. 106.

**12.** Alb, ME. *albe*, *aube*, *awbe*, from OF. *aube*, from L. *alba*.

An *awbe* is found as a *nawbe*, a *nobe*.

(a) *Alba*, an<sup>ce</sup> *an awbe*. c 1450 *Lat.-Eng. Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 562, l. 34).

(b) *Hec alba*, a *nawbe*. c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 721, l. 18).

And evere on that bare them had a *nobe* or elles a surples.

1554 MACHYN, *Diary* (Camden Soc.), p. 62.

**13.** Alder-tree, dial. *aller-tree*, *ellertree*, ME. *ellyrtre*; from *alder*, dial. *eller* (ME. *aller*, *elhyr*, AS. *alor*, *aler*, *alr*), + *tree*. I find ME.

an *ellyrtre* as a *nellyrtre*.

(a) *An Ellyrtre*, alnus; alnicetum est locus vbi crescunt. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 113.

*Aune*, *Aune*. An *Aller*, or *Alder tree*.

1611 COTGRAVE.

(b) *Hec ulnus* [read *alnus*], a *nellyrtre*.

c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 716, l. 21).

**14.** Alp, a bullfinch; a provincial word found also in the forms *awp* (*aupe*, *awpe*), \**aub* (*awbe*), *olp*, *olf* (*olph*), \**oup* (*owpe*), *ope*,

and with the aspirate \**hope*, *hoop*. An *ope* (an \**oup*) has long been taken as a *noupe* (a *noup*, a *noupe*).

(a) In many places were nyghtyngales alpes, fynches, and wodewales.

*Alpe*, a bryde. Ficedula.

c 1400 *Rom. of the Rose*, l. 659.

Ficedula, a wodewale or an *alpe*.

1440 *Prompt. Parv.* p. 10.

Fecedula, an *alpe*. c 1460 *Medulla Gram.* (Way, *Prompt. Parv.* p. 10.)

a 1500 (?) *MS. Bodl.* 604, f. 31 (Wr. p. 59).

Be als just to *awppis* and owlis,

As unto *pacokkis*, *papingais*, or *crennis*.

1503 DUNBAR, *The Thrissil and the Rois*, 18. (P. p. 176.)

The tatling *Awbe* doth please some fancie wel,

And some like best the Byrde as black as cole.

1576 GASCOIGNE, *The Complaint of Philomene* (ed. Arber, 1869), p. 88

Fraylezfloo, a bird with blacke feathers on the head, like linget, called o some, an *Owpe*. Also a little frier.

1623 MINSHEU, *Dict. in Span. and Eng.* p. 129

*Alp*, or *Nope*, s., a bullfinch. I first took notice of this word in Suffolk, but

find since that it is used in other counties, almost generally all over

England. 1691 RAY, *Collection of Eng. Words* (repr. E.D.S.), p. 77

An *Alpe* or Bullfinch. Rubicilla.

1693 *Lingua Romana Dict. Luculentum Novum*

*Alp* or *Olp*. The bull-finch. Also *Blood-alp*, and *Black-cap*. Cock

says *Alp* is a north country name for this bird.

1823 MOOR, *Suffolk Words*, p. 1

*Olp*. The bull-finch, pronounced sometimes *Ope*. This interesting bird

also called *Nope*, which see; and *Alp*. 1823 MOOR, *Suffolk Words*, p. 25

*Nope*. I am told that this is a Suffolk name of the bull-finch, but I never

heard it. We call it *Alp* or *Olp*, and by other names. See *Alp*.

1823 MOOR, *Suffolk Words*, p. 25

[Moor notes the change from an *olp* ("if pronounced *ope*, as it sometimes is") to a *noupe*; p. 255.]

*Alp*, a bullfinch. 1875 NODAL and MILNER, *Lanc. Gloss.* p. 9

Also with an aspiration, *hoop*; a different word and bird from the *hoop*, the hoopoe.

Rubicilla, a bull-finch, a *hoop*, and bull spink, a *noupe*.

1667 MERRETT, *Pinax*, p. 176. (N.)

*Hoop*, s. A Bullfinch.

1825 JENNINGS, *Somerset Gloss.* p. 47.

*Hoop*. The bullfinch: So called from the white mark on his neck.

1868 HUNTLEY, *Gloss. of the Cotswold Dialect*, p. 44

*Hoop*. The bullfinch. [Common.]

1890 ROBERTSON, *Gloss. Glouc. Dial.* (E.D.S.), p. 71.

Also in composition :

(1) *Blood-alp*. 1823 MOOR, *Suffolk Words*, p. 7.

*Blood-olph*. A bullfinch.

1830 FORBY; 1847 HALLIWELL.

(2) *Green-olf*. A green grosbeak.

1830 FORBY; 1847 HALLIWELL, p. 416 (s.v. *greeney*).

(3) *Cockhoop*. A bull finch.

1847 HALLIWELL; 1857 WRIGHT.

(b) The red sparrow [reed-sparrow?], the *noupe*, the red-breast and the wren.

1613 DRAYTON, *Polyolbion*, xiii. p. 915. (N.)

ChochePierre. A kind of *Noupe*, or Bull-finch, that feeds most on the kernels of Cherristones.

1611 (and 1673) COTGRAVE.

Bull-finch, *Alpe*, *Nope*.

1668 WILKINS, *Real Character*, p. 150.

*Alp*, *Nope*, Bullfinch, *Sf* [Suffolk].

1692 COLES, *Eng. Dict.*

*A Nope*, a bird. Rubicilla. 1693 *Lingua Romana Dict. Luculentum Novum*.

Also in composition :

*Tom-noup.* The titmouse. *Salop.* 1847 HALLIWELL.

15. **Altar**, ME. *alter, auter, awter*, etc., from OF. *auter, alter*, L. *altare*. ME. *an awtyr* appears as a *nawtyr*.

(a) *An Awtyr, ara . . . altare* [etc.]. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 16.

(b) *Ara, nawter.*  
c 1400 *Metr. Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 626; printed "(a) nawter").  
*Hoc altare, a nawtyr.* *Hoc superaltare, a hye awtyr.*  
c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 720, l. 14 and 15).

16. **Altar-cloth**, ME. *auter-cloth, awtyr-cloth*, etc. ME. *an awtyr-cloth* is found written a *nawtyr-cloth*.

(a) *An Awtyr cloth, linthium.* 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 16.

(b) *Hoc lurthium [read linthium], a nawtyrcloth.*  
c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 721, l. 14).  
*A nauter cloth.* 1558 *Cornwall Church Acc.* (Stratton). (Peacock, *Manley and Corringham Gloss.*, E.D.S. 1889, p. 369.)

17. **Ambry**, dial. *aumbry, aumry*, ME. multiformly *almry, aumbry, amerie, almary*, etc., from OF. *almarie, armarie*, etc., from L. *armarium*. ME. *an almry* appears as a *nalmry*.

(a) *Almery of mete keypyng, or a saue for mete.* *Cibutum.*  
1440 *Prompt. Parv.* p. 10.

(b) *Hoc armoriolum, a nalmry.* c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 726, l. 41).

18. **Amite**, ME. *amyt, amyte*, etc., from OF. *amit*, from L. *amicus*. ME. *an amyt* appears as a *namyt*.

(a) *Thou schalt change hem as an amyte.* c 1382 WICLIF, *Heb.* i. 12.

*Hic amictus, A<sup>o</sup> a amyte.* c 1475 *Pict. Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 755, l. 24).

(b) *Hic amictus, a namyt.* c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 721, l. 19).

19. **Anbury**, also *anberry* and *ambury*, also *angleberry, angleberry, anleberry*, etc., a spongy wart on horses or oxen; also a disease of turnips. We find *an anberry* as a *nanberry*. So *an anleberry* is taken as a *nannleberry*.

(a) *Moro . . . Also a Mulberie-tree. Also a wart [1659 wartle] in a horse called an Auburie [read Anburie].* 1598 (1611 and 1659) FLORIO.  
*Selfo, a warte in a horse called an Auburie [read Anburie].*

1598 (and 1611) FLORIO.  
*Selfo, a wart in horses which our Farriers call an Arburie [read Anburie].*  
1659 FLORIO, ed. Torriano.

*Hanbury.* The disease to which growing turnips are subject, caused by insects; it shews itself in small globular excrescences on their skin. They in this state are said to have got the *han-bury* or *anberry*. It is, I believe, the same that in the north is termed five-fingers—so that *hand-berry*, may be the term; though one does not see exactly why.

1823 MOOR, *Suffolk Words*, p. 162.

*Anberry.* A disease in turnips; described under *Hanbury*, which see—but this is, I believe, the more correct name for it. (etc.)

1823 MOOR, *Suffolk Words*, App. p. 504.

*Anberry.*

1847 HALLIWELL; 1854 BAKER.

*Angleberry*. A sore or kind of hang-nail under the claw or hoof of an animal. *North*. 1847 HALLIWELL.

- (b) *Nanberry*, a N. W. Lincolnshire word for *an anberry*. 1882 PALMER, p. 581.  
*Nannleberries*. See *anberry*. 1847 HALLIWELL.

20. **Anchor**<sup>1</sup>, formerly, and properly, *anker*, ME. *anker*, AS. *ancor*, from L. *ancora*. ME. *an anker* appears as a *nankyre*.

- (a) Abouten his hals *an anker* god. c 1300 *Havelok*, l. 670.  
*An Ankyr* of a schyppe, *ancora*. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 10.  
 (b) Hec *ancora*, a *nankyre*. c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 737, l. 33).

21. **Andiron**, ME. *awndyren*, *awndyrn*, *aundyre*, and a mob of other forms; from OF. *andier*. ME. *an awndyrn* appears as a *nawndyrn*.

- (a) *Awnderne* (*awndyrn* K. *awndyrn* P.). *Andena*, ipoporgium. 1440 *Prompt. Parv.* p. 19.  
 (b) Hoc ipopirgium, a *nawndyrn*. c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 728, l. 8).

22. **Angnail**, now commonly *agnail*, formerly also *agnel*; ME. *agnayle*, *agnaille*, AS. *angnægl*. *An angnail*, *an agnail*, is taken in provincial use as a *nagnail*, a *nagnail*.

- (a) With the shell of a pomegarned, they purge away *agnaylles* and such hard swellings. 1568 TURNER, *Herbal*. (Wr. p. 39).  
*Agnail*, a point of detached skin on the back of the fingers and thumbs near the nail. 1881 EVANS, *Leic. Words* (E.D.S.), p. 89.  
*Angnail*, Northamptoniensibus est Clavus pedum, gemursa, pterugium. 1744 LYE, ed. Junius.  
 (b) *Nagnail*. A hangnail. *Var. dial.* 1847 HALLIWELL.  
*Nagnail*. 1882 NODAL and MILNER, *Lanc. Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 196.  
*Nagnail*, *Nagnail*, s. An ingrown nail on the toe; West of S. 1887 DONALDSON, *Suppl. to Jamieson's Scottish Dict.*, p. 312.

Popular sophistication has turnd *agnail* also into *angernail*, and *hangnail*. Another form is *thangnail* (*the angnail?*) (Wr.). I find even *wagnail*:

Adriânes, cornes in the feet or toes, called of some *wagnailles*. 1623 MINSHEU, *Dict. in Span. and Eng.*

23. **Ankle**, ME. *acle*, *ankyl*, *anclowe*, AS. *anclēow*, *onclēow*. ME. *an ankyl* becomes a *nankyl*.

- (a) Hec cauilla, A<sup>e</sup> *ankylle*. c 1425 *Lat.-Eng. Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 637, l. 10).  
 Hec cavilla, A<sup>ce</sup> a *hankyl*. c 1475 *Pictorial Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 751, l. 4).  
 (b) Hec cavilla, a *nankyle*. c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 678, l. 38).

24. **Anlace**, ME. *anlace*, *anlas*, *anelace*, *anelas*, ML. *anelacius*. We find *an anlas* taken as a *nanlas*, *an nanlas*.

- (a) *An anlas* [var. *anlaas*, *anelas*], and a gipser al of silk, Heng at his gerdul, whit as morne mylk. c 1386 CHAUCER, *C. T. Prolog.* l. 357.

Bot Arthur with *ane anlace* egerly smyttez,  
And hittez euer in the hulke up to be hiltetz.

c 1440 *Morte Arthure* (E.E.T.S. 1865), l. 1148.

(b)

Als scharpe as a thorn

*An nanlas* of stele.

c 1420 *Anturs of Arther* (Camden Soc. 1842), xxx. 13.

25. **Antony grice**, the same as *Anthony pig*, *Tantony pig*. We find *an Antony grice* taken in ME. as a *nantyny gryce*.

(b)

And rene þou not fro hous to hous

lyke a *nantyny gryce*.

c 1450 *The Good Wyf World a Pylgremage*, l. 15 (E.E.T.S. 1869, p. 39).

26. **Ape**, ME. *ape*, AS. *apa*. In ME. *an ape* appears, early and often, as a *nape*.

(a) Som tyme lyk a man or lyk an Ape [ver. *an hape* 1 ms.].

c 1386 CHAUCER, *Friar's Tale*, l. 163. (Six-text, D. 1464.)

Make them to lye and mowe like *an ape*.

c 1485 *Killing of the Children*, l. 296 (*Digby Myst.*, N.S.S. p. 12).

Hec simia, A<sup>oe</sup> a *hape*. c 1475 *Pictorial Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 759, l. 24).

*Caparrone*, a pugge, *an ape*, a munkie, a babuine, a gull, a ninnie, a mome,

a sot.

1598 FLORIO.

*Scimia*, a munkie or *an ape*.

1598 FLORIO.

(b) Fra þan i tell him for a *nape*.

c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton MS.) (E.E.T.S.), l. 9017.

Hec simea, A<sup>e</sup> *nape*. c 1425 *Lat.-Eng. Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 639, l. 21).

He lokis lurkand like *an nape*. c 1430 *York Plays*, xxix. l. 107 (p. 258).

*A naps* mow men sayne he makes. c 1440 *Boke of Curtasye*. (Way, p. 346.)

Hec simia, A<sup>oe</sup> a *nappe*. c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 699, l. 40).

The form *nape* may seem to confirm a notion which is current in all the dictionaries. The word *jackanapes*, formerly often written *jack-an-apes*, is always referd, for the second element, to *ape*. Johnson (1755) explains it as "*jack and ape*," and so the rest until Skeat (1882), who endeavors to giv a rational explanation of the second syllable. *Jackanapes*, he says, is "put for *Jack o' apes*, with the insertion of *n* in imitation of the ME. *an* (really equivalent to *on*), and for the avoiding of hiatus see (Morris, *Hist. Outlines of Eng. Accidence*, p. 195); so that the word meant 'a man who exhibited performing apes.' But this alleged sense is not to be found; and, singular as it may seem, the word has no etymological connection at all with *ape*, with which it has always been associated in sense.

In its proper use the word was applied to an ape itself; meaning a performing ape, or an ape on exhibition. In this use it must have existed before the year 1450, when it first emerges, in a satirical use, applied to a person (see below). The quotations for the meaning 'ape' which I have found are later. It is in keeping with the unlucky career of the word that in only two of these quotations (1611 Florio, and 1668 Wilkins) is the meaning 'ape' clear on the surface. In all

the others it would be plausible, tho erroneous, to explain the word as referring to a person — 'a fantastic fellow,' 'a buffoon or harlequin.'

He grins and he gapes,  
As it were *Jack Napes*.

a 1529 SKELTON, *Poems*, p. 160. (Todd.)

He played *Jacke-a-napes*, swearynge by his tenne bones.

1543 BALE, *Yet a Course at the Romish Foxe*, fol. 92. (Todd.)

The priest whē he goeth to masse . . . playeth out the rest vnder silence, with signes and profers, with noddying, bekyng, and mowying, as it were *Jack-an-apes*.

a 1536 TYNDALE, *Works*, p. 132. (Richardson.)

For every priest maketh them of a sundry maner & many more madly then the gestures of *jackanapes*.

a 1536 TYNDALE, *Works*, p. 283. (Richardson.)

Then steppeth forth Sir Laurence Loiterer, and he plays *Jack monkey* at the altar, with his turns and half turns, and a hundred toys more.

a 1563 BALE (in Strype, *Memorials*, an. 1553). (Richardson.)

If there be a bear or a bull to be baited in the afternoon, or a *jackanape*: to ride on horseback, the minister hurries the service over in a shameful manner, in order to be present at the show.

1572 CARTWRIGHT, *Admonition to Parliament*. (Strutt.)

*Jacke-Napes*, forsooth, did chafe because I eate my slave the bat.

1592 WARNER, *Albion's England*. (Wr. p. 598.)

I believe he hath robb'd a *jackanapes* of his gesture; marke but his countenance; see how he mops, and how he mowes, and how he strains his lookes!

1606 RICHE, *Faultes, &c.*, p. 7. (Latham.)

Monina, a pretty pug or *iakeanapes*.

1611 FLORIO [not in ed. 1598; or *iakeanapes* omitted in ed. 1659].

Like a come-a-loft *jacanapes*.

1616 SHELDON, *Miracles of Antichrist*, p. 24. (Todd.)

If I might buffet for my Loue, or bound my Horse for her fauours, I could lay on like a Butcher, and sit like a *Jack an Apes*, neuer off.

1623 SHAKESPEARE, *Hen. V. v. 2. 145* (F<sup>1</sup> p. 93).

I will be like a *Jacke-an-Apes* also, to burne the Knight with my Taber.

1623 SHAKESPEARE, *M. W. W. iv. 4. 67* (F<sup>1</sup> p. 56).

He that gallops his horse on Blackstone-edge

By chance may catch a fall;

My lord Mount Eagles bears be dead,

His *jackanapes* and all.

1661 *Lancashire Song*, l. 20, in *Wit and Drollery* (Ritson, *Anc. Songs*, p. 189).

Clawed Beasts not rapacious . . . Man-like . . . bigger kind; either that which hath a short tail: or that which hath no tail.

1 { Baboon, Drill.

1 { Ape, *Jackanapes*.

Lesser kind; having a long tail.

2 { Monkey, Marmosit.

2 { Sloth, Haut, Ay.

1668 WILKINS, *Real Character*, p. 158.

The word came to be applied in contempt, like *monkey*, to a man or boy impertinent in speech, offensiv in manner, or ridiculous for finical or gaudy apparel; or in mere blind vituperation. It is so used in the earliest instance I hav found, in a satirical ballad of the middle of the fifteenth century.

*Jac Napes* wolde one the see a maryner to ben,

With his cloge and his cheyn, to seke more tresour.

c 1450 *On the Death of the Duke of Suffolk* (Wright, *Polit. Poems*, 1861, ii. 232; Ritson, *Ancient Songs*, p. 56).

For *Jac Napes* soule Placebo and Dirige. *Id.* l. 8.  
 For *Jac Nape* soule Placebo and Dirige.. *Id.* l. 16, 32, and 56.  
 For *Jac Nape* soule, De profundis clamavi. *Id.* l. 24.  
 And in especial for *Jac Napes*, that euer was wyly,  
 For his soule Placebo and Dirige. *Id.* l. 47.

Ritson says, "We must be content to remain in the dark with respect to the origin or application of the nickname of *Jac Nape* (*Jackanapes*)," but the reference to the clog and chain — compare :

Pou art lyke an ape teyzed with a clogge.

c 1440 *Boke of Curtasye* (Babees Book, p. 302),

and **the** use of *Nape* alone in another line of the same poem —

That brought forthe *confitebor*, for alle this *Napes* reson (l. 26) —

make it clear that *Jac Napes*, *Jac Nape* is a mere term of vituperation, meaning in the author's mind, 'Jack Ape,' 'Jack Monkey.'

Down, *Jack-an-apes*, from thy feign'd royalty.

1599 MARSTON, *Scourge of Villany*, bk. iii. sat. 9. (Todd.)

Next cometh fashions *Jack-an-apes*,

A gull compos'd of pride,

That hath his goodness in good clothes,

And nothing good beside.

1611 ROWLANDS, *Knave of Clubs*. (Wr. p. 598.)

*Cai*. By-gar, me vill kill de Priest, for he speake for a *Jack-an-ape* to Anne Page.

1623 SHAKESPEARE, *M. W. W.* ii. 3. 87 (F<sup>1</sup> p. 48).

*Caius*. You *Jack 'Nape* : giue-a this Letter to Sir Hugh, by gar it is a shalenge : I will cut his troat in the Parke and I will teach a scuruy *Jack-an-ape* Priest to meddle, or make : — you may be gon.

1623 SHAKESPEARE, *M. W. W.* i. 4. 113 (F<sup>1</sup> p. 43).

That *Jacke-an-apes* with scarfes [Parolles].

1623 SHAKESPEARE, *All's Well*, iii. 5. 88 (F<sup>1</sup> p. 243).

*Jacke-an-Apes*.

1623 SHAKESPEARE, *Cymb.* ii. 1. 4 (F<sup>1</sup> p. 375).

*Jackanips*. An affected puppyish young man. What is now called a *Dandy*. In my younger days we used to call these puppies *macaronys*.

1823 MOOR, *Suffolk Words*, p. 182.

*Jack-a-napes*. A conceited coxcomb. 1854 BAKER, *Northampt. Gloss.* i. 353.

Hence the attributiv use :

And then he showed how I suld have done, — and that I suld have held up my hand to my brow, as if the grandeur of the King and his horse-graith thegither had casten the glaiks in my een, and mair *jackanape* tricks I suld hae played.

1822 SCOTT, *Fortunes of Nigel*, iii.

The term became so familiar as to giv use to a variant *Fohnnanapes*, and even to a feminin *Fane of apes*, the last showing clearly the belief that *Jackanapes* stood for \**Fack-of-apes*.

*Rol.* If I were at leisure, I would make you shew tricks now.

*Dund.* Do I look like a *Fohnnanapes*?

1633 SHIRLEY, *Bird in a Cage*, ii. 1. (C.D.)

*Poliph.* But we shall want a woman.

*Grac.* No, here's *Fane of apes* shall serve.

1624 MASSINGER, *Bondman*, iii. 3. (C.D.)



Shakespeare makes Dr. Caius make it *John Ape* :

*Cai.* By-gar, you are de Coward : de Iack dog : *John Ape*.

1623 SHAKESPEARE, *M. W. W.* iii. i. 85 (F<sup>1</sup> p. 48).

I think the true form of the word is *Fack-a-Napes* or *Fack a Napes*; that is, *Fack o' Napes*. It means 'Jack of Naples,' or more generally 'Jack of Italy,' or 'Italian Jack.' *Fack* alone was a common term for an ape or monkey (we still call almost any monkey *Focko*); and *Fack a Napes*, 'Jack of Naples' or 'Italy,' seems to have arisen as a popular humorous term for the fantastic anthropoid (*ἄνθρωπος* = "every *man-jack* of them"), familiar to the gaping crowd, who saw in his gaudy dress and lively manners a similarity to the mountebanks, cantabanks, apewards, bearwards, and other 'Italian Jacks' of the day, and especially the very 'Italian Jack' who led the ape about — the apeward himself.

The proof of this etymology will appear on considering the elements separately — *Fack* and *anapes*.

The word *Fack* was often used with reference to Italians. It is a curious coincidence that the American word *Dago*, etymologically the same as *Fack*, though originally applied to Portugese (Pg. *Diego*, Lat. *Facobus*), is now more commonly applied to the more numerous Italians.

Their Secretary, called, as I remember, *Jacques Geffray, an Italian*.

c 1596 SPENSER, *Ireland*, Globe ed., p. 656.

*Mer.* Come, come, thou art as hot a *Iacke* in thy mood, as any in *Italie*.

1623 SHAKESPEARE, *R. & J.* iii. i. 11 (F<sup>1</sup> p. 64).

Zane, the name of John [1611 in some parts of Lombardy, but commonly used for] a sillie Iohn, a gull, a noddie. Used also for a simple vice, clowne, foole or simple fellowe in a plaie or comedie. 1598 FLORIO.

Zannuolo, a sillie Iohn, a poore Iohn, a *iacke*. 1598 FLORIO.

The precise phrase *anapes* for a *Napes*, here supposed to exist in *jackanapes*, is recognized in another term *fustian-anapes*, properly written *fustian a Napes*.

His dooblet sleevez of black woosted; upon them a payr of poynets of tawny chamblet, laced along the wreast wyth blu threeden points; a wealt toward the hand of *fustian anapes*.

1575 LANEHAM, *Account of the Queen's Entertainment at Killingworth Castle*. (Wr. p. 68.)

Vestis heteromalla lanea, *ἑτερομᾶλλος ἐσθῆς*. De tripe, de chamois velouté. A garment of *fustian anapes*, of vellure, of tuft mockado.

1585 *Nomenclator*. (Wr. p. 68.)

[Wright explains *Anapes* as "cloth."]

Tripe: f. A Tripe; (In which sence it is most used plurally;) also, the bellie, or paunch; also, Valure, Irish Tuftaffata, *Fustian an apes* [1650 and 1673 *Fustian an apes*]. 1611 COTGRAVE.

Trip de velours. Valure, Mocke-veluet, *Fustian an Apes*. 1611 COTGRAVE.

One of my neighbors . . .

Set a-fire my *fustian and apes* breeches.

a 1627 MIDDLETON, *Works*, iv. 425. (H.)

[. . . "Which the editor proposes to correct to *Naples* breeches. To mend the matter, we actually find *apes' breeches* set down in the index to the notes!" H. p. 59.]

*Fustian an apes*, tripe de velours. 1632 SHERWOOD (ed. 1650 and 1673).  
*Fustian anapes*. 1662 *Strange Man telling Fortunes to Englishmen*. (H.)

That *fustian anapes* or *an apes* should be *fustian a Naples*, that is,

o \* *Napes*, 'of Naples,' is proved by the following quotations :

Que null homme . . . use ne were en araic pur son corps . . . ascun fustian,  
bustian, ne *fustian de Napuls*.

1463 *Act 3 Edw. IV. v.* (N.E.D. s.v. *A-napes*).  
*Fuschan in appules*. 1519 *Inventory*, quoted in Peacock, *Church Furniture*, p. 200. (P. p. 571.)

Trippa, a kinde of tripe veluet that they make womes saddles with called  
*fustian of Naples*. 1598 FLORIO.

Trippa, any kind of tripe. Also a kind of tripe veluet as our *fustion of Naples*. 1611 FLORIO.

Trippa di veláto, tripe velvet, mock-beggars velvet, *Fustian of Naples*.  
1659 FLORIO, ed. Torriano.

*Naples fustians* tript, or velure plaine. 1660 *Act 12 Chas. II. iv.* (N.E.D.)

I suspect that the provincial word *nailnapes*, a gimlet (1847 Halliwell, 1854 Baker), was originally \**nail a Naples*, 'nail o' Naples,' that is, a tool, like a twisted nail, imported from Naples or Italy, as swords were imported from Milan ("Milan steel"). A gimlet is also cald a *nail-passer*, where *nail* is used in a different way.

Italy was noted for its horses, and Lombardy, Apulia, and *Naples* are mentiond especially :

For it [this hors] so hy was, and so brood and long,  
So well proporcioned for to ben strong,  
Ryght as it were a *stede of Lumbardye*,  
Ther-with so horsly and so quik of ye,  
As it a *gentil Poileys courser* were.

c 1386 CHAUCER, *Squire's Tale*, l. 191.

Cheval du Regne. *A courser of Naples*. 1611 COTGRAVE.

There is a recipe for *Naples-bisket*, quoted from an unnamed source, probably c 1675, in Wright, p. 693. These examples indicate that *Naples* was, like *Rome*, used with a general implication of 'Italy'; as *Paris* often implies 'France.' I find the following late ME. forms of the name: *Naples*, *Napels*, *Napells*, *Napuls*, *Napele*, beside *Napes* as above.

Apes wer introduced into England from Italy, and wer often exhibited by Italians. An old political poem, mentioning "the commodites and nycetees of Venicyans and Florentynes, with there galees," says :

The grete galees of Venees and Fflorence  
Be wel ladene wyth thynges of complacence,  
Alle spicerye and of grocers ware,  
Wyth swete wynes, alle manere of chaffare,  
*Apes*, and japes, and *marmusettes taylede*,  
Nifes, trifles, that litelle have avayled.

1436 *The Libel of English Policy*, l. 348 (Wright, *Polit. Poems*, ii. 172).

The exhibitors or keepers, cald *apewards*, ar noticed in the fourteenth century.

'No,' quath an *ape ward*, 'for nout that I knowe.'

1362 LANGLAND, *Piers Plowman*, (A), vi. 119.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries apes wer kept in the wel-known Paris Garden and in other places, and allusions to their tricks, dress, and manners ar numerous.

In this lande I did see *an ape* plaie at ticke-tacke; and after at Irishe on the tables, with one of that lande. 1573 BULLEIN, *Dialogue*. (H. p. 873.)

When Fencers fees are like to *apes* rewards,  
A piece of breade, and therewithal a bobbe . . .

1576 GASCOIGNE, *The Steele Glas* (ed. Arber), p. 80.

The apes, monkeys, baboons, bavians, wer exhibited in fantastic dress :

*An ape* vvilbe an *ape*, by kinde as they say,  
Though that ye clad him all in purple array.

1589 [PUTTENHAM], *Arte of Eng. Poesie* (ed. Arber), p. 211 -

A mockmask of *baboons attired like fantastical travellers, in Neapolitan suits and great ruffs*, all horsed with asses.

1614 CHAPMAN, *Maske of the Middle Temple and Lyncolnes Inn* (p. 342, ed. Shepherd). (*Littledale, in Two Noble Kinsmen*, Notes, p. 144.)

Here we hav the very 'Jack of Naples,' in fantastic dress, sitting on an ass. Henry the Fifth says he could sit on his horse "like a Iack an Apes, neuer off" (see quot. above).

A *jackanapes* coat with silver buttons. a 1669 PEPPYS, *Diary*. (Wr. p. 598.)

It is the gaudy or fantastic dress, indeed, that led to the use of *jackanapes* for a fop or pert dandy. Compare *macaroni*, also of Italian origin, in the quotation from Moor, above.

"Italian sports" of all kinds wer popular in the sixteenth century :

All eyes behold, with eagre deepe desire,  
The Faulcon flye, the grehounde runne his course,  
The Bayted Bul, and Beare at stately stake,  
These Enterluds, these *newe Italian sportes*.

1576 GASCOIGNE, *The Steele Glas* (ed. Arber), p. 59.

It is to be noted that *Punchinello* (with its short form *Punch*), *pantaloon*, *harlequin*, ar from the Italian ; and *Merry-Andrew* is an Italian character.

Th' *Italian Merry Andrews* took their place,  
And quite debauch'd the Stage with lewd grimace.

1673 DRYDEN, *Epil. to Univ. of Oxford*, l. 11. (C.D.)

*Monkey*, which has supplanted *ape* as the popular generic term in English, is usually referd to an Italian origin, and monkeys ar to this day familiar accompaniments to the music which Italian genius accumulates by the "storage system" and turns on at pleasure— if that be the word to use.

For the local reference in the phrase-name 'Jack of Naples' compare *Fack of Dover*, *Fack of Paris*, both applied to some kind of pie.

Many a *Fakke of Dovere* hastow sold,  
That hath ben twies hot and twies cold.

c 1386 CHAUCER, *Cook's Tale*, ProL. l. 23.

Jack-of-Paris, s. An indifferent pie twice baked. *Sir T. More*.

1857 WRIGHT, p. 599.

27. **Apple**, ME. *appel*, *appul*, etc., AS. *æppel*. ME. *an appel*, etc., appears as *a nappelle*, *a napyll*, *a napylle*, *a napulle*, etc.

(a) *An Appylle*, pomum [etc.]. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 11.

(b) Hoc pomum, *a nappylle*. c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 715, l. 14).  
Hec pertica, the sterte of *a napulle*.

c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 719, l. 7).

Hoc pomum, An<sup>o</sup> *a nappelle*.

c 1475 *Pictorial Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 790, l. 1).

Befoir his face *ane naple* hang also.

c 1475 HENRYSON, *Orph. and Eur.* l. 282. (Donaldson, *Suppl.*)

And in that towne of Napells he made a tower with iiij corners, and in the toppe he set *a napyll* upon a yron yarde, and no man culde pull away that *apell* without he brake it. . . . When he had made an ende he lette call it Napels.

1510 *Virgilius*, p. 31. (Thoms, *Early Prose Rom.*, 1838, vol. ii.)

28. **Apple-tree**. ME. *an appyltre* grows into *a nappyltre*.

(a) *An Appylle tre*, pomus, malus, pomulus, pomellus. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 11.

(b) Hec pomus, *a nappyltre*. c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 715, l. 13).

29. **Ar**, *arr*, a scar; ME. *arre*, *erre*, from Icel. *örr*, *ör* = Sw.

*ær* = Dan. *ar*, a scar. ME. *an erre* appears as *a nerre*.

(a) If it hath a scar [*var. wounde* or *an arre*]. c 1388 WICLIF, *Levit.* xxii. 22.  
*Ar*. A scar; a pockmark. This word is extremely common in the North of England. 1847 HALLIWELL.

*Arr*, a scar left by a wound. "I'll gie thee *an arr* to carry to thy grave."  
1855 [ROBINSON], *Whitby Gloss.* p. 5.

(b) Hoc carecter, hoc cicatrix, *a nerre*.

c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 680, l. 1).

30. **Arain**, also *aran*, *arran*, *arrian*, a spider; ME. *arayne*, *eranye*, *erane*, *erany*, *ireyne*, *eranye*, *irain*, *yreyn*, etc., from OF. *aragne*, *araigne*, *iragne*, L. *aranea*. We find ME. *an erane* written *nerane*.

(a) Thou madest to flowen awei as *an ireyne* his soule.

c 1382 WICLIF, *Ps.* xxxviii. 12.

*Eranye*, orspyde(r) [*read* or spyder], or spynnare. *Aranea*.

1440 *Prompt. Parv.* p. 140.

*An Erane* (a spyder or an attercopp), *Aranea*, *Araniola*, *Araneus*.

1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 116.

*Arain*, a spider. 1691 RAY, *North Country Words* (E.D.S.), p. 30.

Sweep th' *arrans* down, till all be clean, neer lin,

Els he'l leauk all agye when he comes in.

1697 *Yorkshire Dialogue*, p. 59. (H. p. 77.)

*Aran-web* is a cobweb in Northumberland.

1847 HALLIWELL, p. 77.

- (b) *Aranea, nerane.*  
*c 1425 Lat.-Eng. Vocab.* (Way, *Prompt. Parv.* p. 140, note 2) —  
 Hec arena, hec aranea, a nerane.  
*c 1450 Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 706, l. 5) —
- 31. Archdeacon, ME.** *archdekyn, arsdekyn, ersdeken*, etc., ML *archidiaconus*. ME. *an arsdekyn* is found as a *narsdekyn*.
- (a) Hic archidiaconus, A<sup>ce</sup> a *arsdekyn*.  
*c 1475 Pictorial Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 780, l. 1) —  
*An archdekyn, archidiaconus.* 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 1 —
- (b) Hic archidiaconus, a *narsdekyn*.  
*c 1450 Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 680, l. 17) —
- 32. Archer, ME.** *archer, archere*, OF. *archer, archier*, ML. a *arcarius, arcuaris*. We find ME. *an archer* as a *narcher*.
- (a) An archer uor bet he hedde y-lore ate geme, nom his bo3e, and ssat  
 he3 a-ye god. 1340 MICHEL (tr.), *Ayenbite of Inwyrt.* (E.E.T.S.), p. 5.  
*An archer, Architenens, arquites* [etc.]. 1483 *Cath. Angl.*, p. 2.  
 Somtyme I was an *archere* good,  
 A styffe and eke a stronge.  
*c 1500 A Lytell Geste of Robyn Hode* (Child, *Ballads*, v. 12) —
- (b) Hic architenens, a *narcher*. *c 1450 Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 687, l. 3) —  
*A narchar.* a 1500 *Ashmole MS.* 48 (P. p. 56) —
- 33. Arm, ME.** *arm*, AS. *carm*. ME. *an arme* appears as a *narme*.
- (a) *Brachium, an<sup>ce</sup> an arme.*  
*c 1450 Lat.-Eng. Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 568, l. 3) —
- (b) Hoc brachium, a *narme*. *c 1450 Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 676, l. 2) —
- 34. Arm-hole. ME.** *an armhole* appears as a *narmhole*.
- (a) As Aries hath thin heued, & Taurus thy nekke & thy throte, Gemyni th  
*armholes* & thin armes. *c 1391 CHAUCER, Astrolabe* (E.E.T.S.), p. 3.  
*Armehoole.* Acella, subyrus. 1440 *Prompt. Parv.* p. 4.
- (b) Hec acella, a *narmhole*. *c 1450 Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 676, l. 2) —
- 35. Arrow, ME.** *arow, arewe, arwe*, etc., AS. *earh*. *An arr* often became a *narrow*.
- (a) With an *arowe* on him slouh.  
*c 1330 MANNING, Hist. of Eng. (Langtoft's Chron.)*, p. 3.  
*An Arrowe, pilum, hasta, hastula*, [etc.]. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 3.
- (b) With that ther cam a *narrowe* [printed an *arowe*].  
*a 1548 The Hunting of the Cheviot* (Child, *Ballads*, vii. 3) —  
*A narrow* [printed an *arow*], that a cloth yarde was lang.  
*a 1548 Id.* (Child, *Ballads*, vii. 3) —  
*A narrowe.* a 1500 *Ashmole MS.* 48. (P. p. 56) —
- 36. Arrow-case, ME.** *arrowcase, arowecaas, arewecaas*, a quiv ME. *an arrowcase* appears as a *narrowcase*; a clear case of a *narrow* case.
- (a) Take . . . *arewecaas* [1382 quyuer] and a bow.  
*c 1388 WICLIF, Gen.* xxvii. 3.

- (b) Pharatra [read *pharetra*] a narrowcase.

c 1400 *Metr. Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 624, l. 20).

[A glossator adds: "Hic carichus i. est techa facta de corio, anglice *bowcase*."] ]

37. **Arrow-shot.** A sixteenth-century undertaker makes it a *narrow shott*.

- (b) A woman . . . was slain . . . with a *narrow shott* in the neke.

1557 MACHYN, *Diary* (Camden Soc. 1848), p. 136.

38. **Ash**<sup>1</sup>, dial. *esh*, ME. *asche*, *esche*, AS. *æsc*, a tree, *Fraxinus excelsior*. ME. an *esche* appears as a *nesche*. Compare *Nash* from *atten ashe* (see ASH, II. A. 8).

- (a) An *Esche*, *fraxinus*.

1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 117.

*Esch* key, frute. Clava.

1440 *Prompt. Parv.* p. 143.

- (b) Hoc *fraccinum*, a kay of a *nesche*.

c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 716, l. 13).

39. **Ash-tree.** ME. an *eschetre* appears as a *neschetre*.

- (a) *Esche*, *tre*. *Fractinus* (*fraxinus*, P.).

1440 *Prompt. Parv.* p. 143.

- (b) Hec *fraccinus*, a *neschtre*. c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 716, l. 12).

40. **Ash-cloth**, a cloth for carrying ashes. I find an *ash-cloth* taken as a *nash-cloth*.

- (a) (b) Charevastre: m. An *Ash-cloth*, *Nash-cloth*, or Buck-cloth. Terny comme vn charevastre. As pale as an *Ash-cloth*.

1611 COTGRAVE [ed. 1673 same, except *cloath* for *cloth* in every instance].

Neither *ash-cloth* nor *nash-cloth* is in the dictionaries. The *New English Dictionary* gives *ashes-cloth*, based on a late ME. example:

They shalle have *aysshes clothes* . . . to fetch aysshes in from every mannes chambres. 1461-83 *Ord. R. Househ.* 85. (N.E.D.)

41. **Ask-flæe**, *askefise*, also *ask-fist*, *askefyste*, one who blows the ashes; a ME. term applied to a servant who made and kept the fire, and also as a term of reproach for a lazy fellow who sits all day by the fire. Compare Sw. "*Askefis*, qui cineribus oppedit" (1769 *Ihre*, i. 115); Dutch "*Assche-vijster*, One that sits alwayes on the hearth, hanging his head over the ashes" (1658 *Hexham*); "*asch-vijster*, *Ciniflo*, *cinerarius*" (1598 *Kilian*). We find an *askfist* taken as a *naskfyste*.

- (a) *Askysye* (*askefise* K. P. *askefysye* H.). *Ciniflo*. 1440 *Prompt. Parv.* p. 15. *Ciniflo*, an *askfist* or *iren heter*. a 1500 *Add. MS.* 24640 (Way, *P.P.* p. xxii).

[Many other examples are cited by Way, ll. cc.]

- (b) Hic *cimiflo*, a *naskkyste* [read *naskfyste*].

c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 684, l. 39).

42. **Asp**<sup>1</sup>, dial. *esp*, ME. *asp*, *aspe*, *espe*, AS. \**æsp*, *æspe*, *espe*, also *æps*, a tree, *Populus tremula*. We find ME. an *espe* taken as a *nespe*.

- (a) *An Espe*, tremulus. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 117.  
 (b) *Hec tremulus, a nespe.* c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 716, l. 20).

43. **Ass**, ME. *ass*, *as*, *has*, *asse*, AS. *assa*. We find *an ass* (with *haspiration has*) burdend as *a nas*, *a nasse*.

- (a) Loo! bi lorde comys rydand on *an asse*.  
 c 1430 *York Plays*, xxv. l. 27 (p. 202).  
*Hic asinus, hec asina, a has.*  
 c 1475 *Pictorial Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 757, l. 36).  
*Hic onager, Acco a wyld has.* c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 700, l. 33).  
 (b) þe child he kest a-pon *a nass* [var. *an asse*, 3 mss.].  
 c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton MS.) (E.E.T.S.), l. 3152.  
*Hic asinus, A<sup>coo</sup> a nas.* c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 699, l. 1).  
 To here of Wisdome thi neres be halfe defe,  
 Like *a Nasse* that lysteth upon an Harpe,  
 a 1500 *Hermes Bird* (Ashmole, *Theatr. Chem.* p. 222). (P. p. 569.)  
 He can romy as *a nasse* in his cracche.  
 a 1500 *Hart. MS.* 1002 (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>1</sup> l. 151).

44. **Assherd**, ME. *asseherd*, *ashard*, a keeper of asses; from *ass* + *herd*, a keeper. I find ME. *an ashard* taken as *a nashard*; and the same word, *assherd*, *ashard*, reduced to *azzard* (compare *gozzard* for *gooseherd*, ME. *gosherd*; *sheppard*, *shepard* for *shepherd*; ME. *swynard* for *swineherd*, etc., see quot. *b*), has come, both as *an azzard* and as *a nazzard*, to be used as a term of contempt for an insignificant person, like *gozzard*, just cited, as used for 'a fool' (H.).

- (a) *An ashard.* c 1450 *Nominale*. [See below, under *b*.]  
*An Asse-heard*, or keeper of Asses. 1659 RIDER, *Dict.* ed. Holyoke.  
*Azzard*. A sneaking person; an insignificant fellow. *North*.  
 1847 HALLIWELL.

Hence *azzardly*, 'poor, ill-thriven' (H.). Compare *nazzardly* below.

- (b) *Hic vaccarius*, a cowherd. *Hic equinarius*, a horsharde. *Hic mulundinarius*, a mulharde. *Hic asinarius*, *a nashard*. *Hic bubulcus*, a swynherde. *Hic aucarius*, a gosherd.  
 c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 687, l. 19-24).

The form *nazzard*, derived as above, being used in a deflected sense, lost connection with its original, and underwent many changes, *nazard*, *nazart*, with variant termination *nazzald*, *nazold*, *nazzle*. For the form compare *a nazznowl* for *an assnoll* (No. 45). The changes *-ard* (*-art*) > *-ald* > *-old* > *-le* occur in other instances.

Some self-conceited *nazold*, and some jaundice-faced ideot.

1639 *Optick Glasse of Humors*, p. 160. (H. p. 572; Wr. p. 597.)  
*Nazzle*, or rather *nassel*, is only a miserable, vulgar contraction of *an-assel*, ab *asellus*; ab *asinus*; a young ass: — consequently Gr.

1783 LEMON, *Eng. Etymology*.  
 [The Rev. George William Lemon allowed no petty obstacles to stand in the way of his demonstration that nearly all English words are derived from the Greek.]

- Nazzald*, an insignificant lad. 1830 SCATCHERD. (H. p. 572.)  
*Nazart*. A mean person; an ass. *Derb.* Sometimes *nazale*.  
 1847 HALLIWELL.  
*Nazzele*. A low, mean, insignificant, vulgar fellow.  
 1889 PEACOCK, *Manley and Corringham Gloss.* (E.D.S.), ii. 365.

Hence the adjectiv *nazzardly*, *nazardly*.

- What! such a *nazardly* Pigwiggen  
 A little Hang-strings in a Biggin.  
 1734 COTTON, *Burlesque upon Burlesque*, p. 201. (D. p. 431; and H. p. 623.)

45. *Ass-noll*, used, like the synonymous *ass-head* (in Latimer, Shakespeare, etc.), for 'a fool.' I find *an ass-noll* only in the dialectical form of *a nazznoll* or *a nazznowl*. Compare *azzard*, *nazzard* (No. 44). Our English ancestors wer much given to vituperation; and persons who, to speak vituperatively, wer wel qualified to play the part of the translated Bottom without being translated themselves, wer fond of casting reflections, if not harder missils, at the 'nolls,' 'polls,' 'sconces,' 'skulls,' or 'head-pieces' of their neighbors. And the sober ass, who has never spoken except to rebuke impatience, was often brought in, to aid odious comparisons. All this has, of course, happily disappeard — except where it stil prevails.

- (b) *Nazznowl* or *Nazzknoll*, a stupid fellow. "You aud *nazznowl*!"  
 1855 [ROBINSON], *Whitby Gloss.* p. 116.  
*Nazznowl*, an imbecile. 1876 ROBINSON, *Whitby Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 130.

46. *Attercop*, in provincial use also *attercob*, *attercap*, *ettercap*, a spider, fig. a peevish, il-natured person; ME. *attercoppe*, *atturcoppe*, *atyrkoppe*, etc., AS. *attorcoppa*, a spider, from *attor*, *ātor* (E. dial. *atter*, *etter*), poison, + *coppa*, probably also used alone as 'spider,' as in ME. *copwebbe* (now *cobweb*), *spincoppe*, a spiderweb (*spyncoppe*, Caxton, *Game of the Chesse*, p. 29), = Dutch *spinnelkop*, a spider. I find *an attercop*, Sc. *attercap*, *ettercap*, in the form of *a nattercap*, *a nettercap*.

- (a) *An atturcoppe* com out of the wow3, and bote hem by the nekkus alle thre.  
 c 1330 (?) *Lyf of St. Wenefride*, in *Pref. to Rob. de Brunne*, p. cc. (Wr. p. 125).  
*Ettercap*, *addercap*, *attercope*, — a virulent, atrabillious person: Gl. Antiq.  
 1880 JAMIESON, ii. 164.  
 (b) *Ather*, or *Natter-cap*, s. The dragon-fly, Fife. 1866 JAMIESON.  
*Nettercap*, s. A peevish, cross-tempered person, Clydes.  
 1880 JAMIESON, iii. 357.

The ME. *attercoppe*, probably by confusion with *addre* for *naddre*, an adder (see NADDER, I. B. 2), is also found as *addurcop*, *adercop*, *edircop*, whence modern dial. *eddercop* (H.), *eddercop*; and *an edyrcop*, *an eddercap*, appears as *a nedyrcop*, *a neddercap*.



- (a) *Aranea, addurcop.* c 1400 *Metr. Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 625, l. 14).  
*Araneus, an adercop,* or a spynner.  
 c 1500 STANBRIDGE, *Vocabula*, sign. d ii. (Heritage, *C.A.* p. 116).
- (b) *Hec aranea, a nedycropp.*  
 c 1475 *Pictorial Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 766, l. 26).  
*Neddarcap, neddercap,* s. An ill-natured, cross-tempered person; generally applied to children.  
 1880 JAMIESON, iii. 347.

47. **Atterjack**, a toad, from *atter*, poison (as in *attercop*), + *jack*, as used vaguely for 'creature.' Toads being void of venom and of jewels, wer therefore popularly believed to possess both. *Atterjack* is unrecorded, but it must hav existed, *an atterjack* being the original of a *natterjack*, a toad, a British name, especially of the walking toad or rush-toad. See C.D.

- (b) *Natterjack* [read *natterjack*]. A toad. *Suffolk.*  
 1847 HALLIWELL, p. 570 [misplaced].  
*Natterjack.* A toad. *Suffolk.* 1857 WRIGHT.

48. **Attered**, ME. *atrid*, AS. *ge-ættred, ge-ætréd*, poisond, envenomd, from *attor, ātor*, poison (see ATTERCOP, No. 46). Hence, in a personal use *attered*, 'venomous, acrid, ill-natured'; *an attered person*, taken as a *nattered person*, and so *nattered* in other connections. Compare *nattery* in the next entry.

- (a) Archars with arows with *atrid* barbis.  
 a 1500 *MS. Ashmole 44*, f. 42. (H. p. 108.)  
*Atter'd*, pp. 'Our cream's all atter'd,' i.e. curdled. Also, as the flesh is scabbed or mattered. See *atter*.  
 1876 ROBINSON, *Whitby Gloss.* (E.D.S.) p. 7.
- (b) *Nattered.* Ill tempered. *North.* 1847 HALLIWELL.  
 As she said of herself, she believed she grew more "nattered" as she grew older; but that she was conscious of her "natteredness" was a new thing.  
 1853 MRS. GASKELL, *Ruth* xxix. (D. p. 430.)

49. **Attery**, ME. *atry, attri*, AS. *ættrig, ætrig*, poisonous, from *attor, ātor*, poison (see 46, 47, 48). *Attery*, still extant in provincial use (Sc. *atry, eterie, etrie*, etc.), appears to have been applied, like *attered*, to persons, with reference to temper, 'venomous, acrid, bitter, ill-temperd,' and *an attery person*, taken as a *nattery person*, gave rise to *nattery* (Sc. *nyatterie, netterie*, etc.) in other connections.

- (a) Þerof him brinneth siðen  
 Of ðat *attrie* ðing [an adder swallowd].  
 c 1230 *Bestiary*, l. 316. (*Old Eng. Misc.*, E.E.T.S., p. 10.)  
 Liun of prude, neddre of *attri* onde, unicorne of wreððe.  
 c 1230 *Ancren Riwele.* (H. p. 957).  
 Thanne cometh of ire *atry* anger. c 1386 CHAUCER, *Parson's Tale*  
 On face and hondis thei had gret nayles  
 And grette hornes and *atterying* [read *attry*?] taylys.  
 c 1400 *Tundale*, p. 6. (H.

The kinde of the disease, as ye may gather out of that verse, was a pestilentious byle, — *ane attrie* [Eng. ed. *matterie*] kind of byle, stryking out in many heades or in many plukes; for so the nature of the word signifieth. 1591 BRUCE, *Eleven Serm.* fol. 1 b. (Jam. 1808.)

*An attery*, or thwartover wench, i. An angry or crosse natur'd wench. 1639 JOHN SMYTH, *Descr. Hund. of Berkeley* (Robertson, *Gloss. Glouc. Dial.*, E.D.S., p. 198).

*Atry*, *attrie*, adj. 1. Purulent. . . 2. Stern, grim. 1808 JAMIESON.

*Eterie*, *etrie*, adj. 1. Keen; bitter; applied to weather. 2. Ill-humoured; ill-tempered. Roxb. 3. Hot-headed; fiery; having an angry look. Dumfr. Roxb. 1866 JAMIESON.

*Attery*. *Mattery* or purulent. 1876 ROBINSON, *Whitby Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 7.

(d) *Nattery*, fretful. [See *nattering*, below.] 1855 [ROBINSON], *Whitby Gloss.* p. 115.

*Netterie*, adj. Ill-tempered. Tweedd. 1866 JAMIESON.

*Natrie*, *nyatrie*, adj. Ill-tempered; crabbed. Aberd. Mearns. 1866 JAMIESON.

*Nyatterie*, *nyatrie*, adj. Ill-tempered; peevish. Aberd. 1866 JAMIESON.

From *nattered* and *nattery*, developt as above, has been formd a verb *natter*, to chatter peevishly; and from this a participial adjective *nattering*. These forms ar parallel to *norate*, *norating*, from *oration* (see ORATION, below). Quotations ar abundant.

*Natter*, v. n. To chatter peevishly. Roxb. *Nyatter*, Dumfr. *Gall. Encycl.* 1866 JAMIESON.

*Nyatter*, v. n. To chatter, Gall. 2. To speak in a grumbling and querulous manner, *ibid.* Aberd. 1866 JAMIESON.

*Natterin*, *part. adj.* Chattering in a fretful way. 1866 JAMIESON.

"Ha' a drop o' warm broth?" said Lisbeth, whose motherly feeling now got the better of her *nattering habit*.

1859 MARY ANN EVANS ("GEORGE ELIOT"), *Adam Bede*, iv. (D.)

*Nattering* or *Nattery*, fretful; as one "always fishing in troubled waters."

"Genning and *Nattering* the day tiv an end." grumblin the day through.

1855 ROBINSON, *Whitby Gloss.* p. 115.

He's a *natterin* soart of a chap — they'll nobody ha' mich rest as is near him. 1882 NODAL and MILNER, *Lanc. Gloss.* (E.D.S.) p. 197.

The forms *nattered*, *nattering*, *nattery*, hav apparently affected *nettled*, irritated, so that it appears as *nattled* and in Lancashire as *nattle*. Palmer (p. 639), with the "no doubt" which is so often the cause of error, says that *nettled* is "a more polite form of *nattled*, corresponding to Lancashire *nattle*."

50. Aunt, ME. *aunte*, *awnte*, from OF. *ante*, L. *amita*. *An aunt* appears as *naunt*. Compare *my naunt* (III. A. 11).

(a) *An Awnte*, *amita*, *matertera*. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 16.

(b) *Hec ameta*, *hec matertera*, *a nawntt*.

c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 690, l. 29).

*Hec Amita*, A<sup>oe</sup> *a naunte* of y<sup>e</sup> fader syde. *Hec matertera*, *a nawnntt* of y<sup>e</sup> moder syde. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 428.

51. Aunter, ME. *aunter*, *awntere*, *auntour*, *aventure*, etc., from OF. *aventure*. I find *an awntere* as a *nawntere*.

- (a) *An aunter* in erde I attle to schawe.  
*c* 1360 *Syr Gawayne and the Green Knight* (E.E.T.S.), l. 27 -  
*Aunters*, adventures. Flowtersome *aunters*, high-flown deeds or notions -  
 1875 ROBINSON, *Whitby Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 7 -
- (b) Sir Utere and syr Ewaynydre, theis honourable knyghttez,  
 Be a *nawntere* [so ms., but printed *an awntere*] of armes Joneke ha-  
 nommene. *c* 1440 *Morte Arthure* (E.E.T.S. 1865), l. 1904 -

52. **Aup<sup>2</sup>**, a wayward child; a provincial word, probably a variant of *elf*, through the forms *auf*, *ouph* (compare *alp*, a bullfinch, with variants *aup<sup>1</sup>*, *olp*, *olph*, *olf*, *oup*, *ope*, *nope*, etc.: see No. 14). I think *an aup* may be the source of *a nup*, a fool (H.). Compare *nauphead*, a stupid person; also *nupson*, a fool, which may be compared with *aups* and *hawps*, other forms of *aup<sup>2</sup>*. For the change of the sound *au* to *u*, compare provincial English *aup<sup>3</sup>* (H.) for *up*.

- (a) *Aup*. A wayward child. *North*. It is pronounced *aups* in Craven, but the word is not in general use in Yorkshire. 1847 HALLIWELL.  
*Hawps*. An awkward clown. *North*. 1847 HALLIWELL.
- (b) *Nup*. A fool. 1847 HALLIWELL.  
*O*, that I were so happy as to light on a *nupson* now.  
 1616 B. JONSON, *Every man in his Humour*, iv. 4.  
*Nupson*. A cully, a fool. 1796 GROSE, *Dict. Vulg. Tongue*.  
*Nauphead*. A stupid person.  
 1889 PEACOCK, *Manley and Corringham Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 365.

53. **Awl**, formerly also *aul*, *all*; ME. *aule*, *eaule* (AS. *awel*, *awul*), *oule*, *owel*, *owul* (AS. *āwel*, *āwul*), *el*, *ele* (AS. *ǣl*), *alle*, *al* (AS. *al*, *eal*). We find *an awl* (*an all*, *an al*) early taken as a *nawl* (*naul*, *nall*, *nal*).

- (a) *pi bile* is stif and scharp and hoked,  
 Riȝt so *an owel* þat is croked.  
*a* 1250 *Owl and Nightingale*, l. 79.  
 Sibula [read *subula*], an<sup>o</sup> *an ale*.  
*c* 1450 *Lat. and Eng. Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 611, l. 38).
- (b) He shal thril his eer with a *nal* [1382 *an alle*]. 1388 WICLIF, *Ex.* xxi. 6.  
 Sibula, *nalle*. *c* 1400 *Metr. Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 628, l. 34).  
*Nall* for a souter, alesne. *Nall* maker, faisevr dalesnes.  
 1530 PALSgrave, p. 247.  
*A Aule*, *Subula* . . . *A naule*, idem, quod *Aule*.  
 1570 LEVINS, *Manip.* 13, l. 38, 43.  
 Hole bridle and saddle,  
 whit leather and *nall*,  
 with collers and harneis,  
 for thiller and all.  
 1580 TUSSEr, *Fiue Hundred Pointes* (E.D.S.), 17, 4 -  
*Lance de S. Crespin*. A Shoormakers *nawle*. 1611 COTGRAVE -  
 His lingel and his *naule*.  
 1647 BEAUMONT AND FLETCHER, *Woman pleased*, iv. 1 -  
*Nawl*, s. An awl. 1825 JENNINGS, *Somerset Gloss.* p. 56 -  
*Nawl*, an awl. 1881 Mrs. PARKER, *Oxfordshire Words* (E.D.S.), p. 9 -  
*Nale*. An awl. 1891 CHOPE, *Dial. of Hartland* (E.D.S.), p. 6 -

54. **Awn**, ME. *awn*, *awne*, *awene*, earlier *agun*, Icel. *ögn*, etc. ME. *an awn* occurs as a *nawn*.

- (a) *An Awn of corne, arista, aristella diminutivum.* 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 16.  
 (b) *Hec arista, a nawn.* c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 725, l. 33).

55. **Ax**, also in antiquated spelling *axe*; ME. *ax, axe, ex*, AS. *æx, eax*, Old North. *acas*. We find *an ax* taken as *a nax*.

- (a) & *an ax* in his oþer, a hoge & vn-mete.  
 c 1360 *Syr Gawayne and the Green Knight* (E.E.T.S.), l. 208.  
*Hec securis, a hax.* c 1475 *Pictorial Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 807, l. 17).  
*An Axe, ascia, asciola, ascis* [etc.]. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 16.  
 (b) *Hec securis, a nax.* c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 726, l. 35).

56. **Axletree**, ME. *axeltre, axyltre*, etc. ME. *an axyltre* is found as *a naxyltre*.

- (a) *Hec axis, An<sup>o</sup> a axyltre.*  
 c 1475 *Pictorial Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 811, l. 30).  
*An Axyltre, Axis.* 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 16.  
 (b) *Hec axis, a naxyltre.* c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 727, l. 26).

57. **Ay**, an egg, the original English term; ME. *ay, ai, aye, aie, ey, eye, 3ey*, also aspirated *hay, hey, hei*; plural *ayren, ayrenn, airen, ayryn, ayrene, eiren, eirun, eyren, eyrenn, eyrene, cyron, cyrone, eyroun*, also aspirated *heiren*; AS. *æg*, pl. *ægru*, egg. (For the modern form compare *clay*, AS. *clæg*; *gray*, AS. *græg*; also *day*, AS. *dæg*; *lay*, AS. *læg*; *may*, AS. *mæg*, etc.) This is a different word from the related *egg*, ME. *egge*, which is of Scandinavian origin (Icel. *egg* = Sw. *ägg* = Dan. *æg*), and which is confused with it in the dictionaries. The Scandinavian word has entirely prevailed over the AS. word, which for that reason, and for others, calls for special notice. ME. *an aye* (*an aye, an eye*, etc.) occurs as *a nay* (*a naye, a neye*), and this *nay* survives, for centuries unrecognized, in a word which has lost all connection with its original meaning. I first illustrate the regular form:

- (a) *Quan the dowe [dove] was an ey, than hadde it non bon.*  
 a 1300 (?) *Gifts from Over Sea* (Wright, *Songs and Carols*;  
 Child, *Ballads*, viii. 271).

Afterward a flok of bryddis,  
 And a faucon heom amyddes.  
 An ay he laide, so he flegh,  
 That feol the kyng Phelip nygh.

c 1300 *King Alisaunder*, l. 556 (Weber, *Metr. Rom.* i. 28).

For the erthe y-likned may be  
 to an appel upon a tree,  
 The whiche in myddes hath a colke,  
 As hath an eye in myddes a yolke.

c 1340 (?) HAMPOLE, *MS. Addit.* 11305, b. 93. (H. p. 263.)

[In another version we find *an egge*; H. p. 290, s.v. *dalk*.]

Unslékked lym, chalk, and gleyre of an ey [var. *an aye*, 1 ms.].

c 1386 CHAUCER, *Canon's Yeoman's Preamble*, l. 87. (Six-text, G. 806.)

For the tithing of a ducke  
Or of an apple, or an aie.

*Complaint of the Plowman*, l. 809 (*Polit. Poems*, 1859, i. 330).

This brid [partriche] be a bank bildith his nest,  
And heipeth his heires, and hetith hem after.

1399 LANGLAND, *Richard the Redeless*, iii. 41.

[Read *hepeth his heiren* — plural *eiren* aspirated. Skeat alters to *eires*.]  
*Ey* (or *egge*, P.). Ovum. 1440 *Prompt. Parv.* p. 136.

*Hame*, thyn skyn of an *eye* or oper lyke (skynne of an *hay*, S.). Mem-  
branula. 1440 *Prompt. Parv.* p. 224.

Hoc ovum, An<sup>oe</sup> a *hey*. Hoc albumen, An<sup>oe</sup> the whyte of the *hey*.  
c 1475 *Pictorial Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 789, l. 36).

[Neither *ay* nor *ey* in *Cath. Angl.* 1483.]  
Astur take the *zey* of an henne that is fayled when sche hath sete, and  
take a lytyl flaxe, and dip it in the glayre of that *eye*, and lay to the  
kancur. a 1500 *MS.* (H. p. 952.)

Plural *ayren*, *eyren*, etc. :

þe uozel him uerreb blepeliche uram þannes huer me brekþ his nest,  
and uram þannes huer me him benimþ his *eyren*.

1340 MICHEL (tr.), *Ayenbite of Inwyrt* (E.E.T.S.), p. 178.

Take swongene *eyrene* in bassyne clene,

And kreme of mylke, that is so schene.

c 1400 (?), *MS. Sloane*, 1986, p. 85. (H. p. 841.)

The Cok [peacock] his *eyron* and his briddes hateth.

c 1420 *Palladius on Husbandrie* (E.E.T.S.), i. 618.

[*Eyron* occurs in l. 582, 632, 636, 672, 680, 708, 710, etc.]

The following well-known passage from Caxton, quoted here for  
its present pertinency, is of wider interest than eggs :

And certaynly our langage now used varyeth ferre from that whiche was  
used and spoken whan I was borne, for we Englysshemen ben borne  
under the domynacyon of the mone, which is never stedfaste, but ever  
wavyng, wexyng one season, and waneth and dyscreaseth another  
season; and that comyn Englysshe that is spoken in one shyre varyeth  
from another, insomoch that in my dayes happened that certayn mar-  
chaunts were in a shippe in Tamyse for to have sayled over the see into  
Zelande, and for lacke of wynde, thei taryed atte Forland, and wente to  
lande for to refreshe them. And one of theym, named Sheffielde, a  
mercier, cam into an hows and axed for mete, and specyally he axyd  
after *eggys*; and the goode wyf answerde that she coude speke no  
Frenshe, and the marchaunt was angry, for he also coude speke no  
Frenshe, but wolde have hadde *eggys* and she understode hym not; and  
then at laste another sayd that he would have *eyren*. Then the good  
wyf said that she understod hym wel. Loo, what shold a man in thise  
dayes now wryte, *eggys* or *eyren*? Certaynly it is harde to playse every  
man, bycause of dyversité and change of langage.

1490 CAXTON, *Eneydos*. (H. p. xxi.)

The latest appearance of the word I find is in Palsgrave :

*Eye* or *egge*, œvf.

1530 PALSgrave, p. 216.

The word *ay* also occurs in several compounds which hav never  
been collected :

(1) **Ay-cake**, an 'egg-cake'; ME. *cykake*. Cf. Icel. *eggjakaka*,  
omelet.

Isylkake, or chesekake, or *eykake* bakayne vnder askys. Flamicia.  
1440 *Prompt. Parv.* p. 266.

- (2) **Ay-shell**, an eggshell; ME. *ayschelle*.

He fondith to creope, as Y ow telle,  
Ageyn in to the *ay-schelle*.  
c 1300 *Kyng Alisaunder*, l. 577 (Weber, *Metr. Rom.* i. 29).

- (3) **Ay-white**, the white of an egg; ME. *eyquyt* (AS. *æges þæt hwite*, Saxon Leechdoms, iii. 74, etc.). Cf. Icel. *eggja-hvita*.

*Eyquyt*. a 1500 (?). (H. p. 343; no reference.)

There is one compound involving the plural form of *ay*—the early ME. *eire*, AS. *ægru*; namely—

- (4) **Eir-monger**, a dealer in eggs.

Mizte *eirmonger* nou fare so. c 1305 *St. Swithin*, 69.

In the other compounds *ay* is the second element :

- (5) **Ant-ay**, the egg of an ant.

*Annt cyron* yeve hem [fesanntes] eke.  
c 1420 *Palladius on Husbandrie* (E.E.T.S.), i. 680.

- (6) **Goose-ay**, the egg of a goose.

As greet as a *gos eye* [*gosey*, Wright; *gose egg*, B.].  
c 1394 *Pierce the Ploughman's Creed* (ed. Skeat, E.E.T.S. 1867), l. 225.

- (7) **Gripe-ay**, the egg of a 'gripe': a rarity much valued, and used as a drinking-cup. Probably it was really the egg of an ostrich.

Ciphus, vocatus a *gryp ey*, ligatus cum argento, et deaurato.  
1419 *Will of William Gascoigne, Lord Ch. Justice*, in *Testam. Ebor.* i. 303. (Way, *Prompt. Parv.* p. 213, note.)

The term was more common as two words, with the first element in the possessiv form, *gripes ay* :

And sigh the cuppe stonde aside  
Which made was of Gurmundes hed . . .  
And was policed eke so clene  
That no signe of the sculle was sene,  
But as it were a *gripes eye*. c 1393 GOWER, *Conf. Am.* i. 127.

Item, un coupe fait d'un *gripesey* garnisez d'argent endorrez, steant sur un pee de iij. kenettes [etc.].

1399 *List of Crown Jewels delivered* (Way, *Prompt. Parv.* p. 213, note).  
In the same inventory are named six hanaps or drinking cups called *gryppeshey*. Kalend. of Exch. iii. 319, 330. WAY, *Prompt. Parv.* l.c.

The gripe was properly a vulture; but in the liberal ornithology of the middle ages it could also be a griffin, and lay eggs in that capacity, like a "cokadrille."

*Ayren* they [sc. the cokadrilles] leggith as a *griffon*.  
c 1300 *Kyng Alisaunder*, l. 6602 (Weber, *Metr. Rom.* i. 272).

## (8) Hen-ay, a hen's egg.

Men gaff . . .

For a *hen-ay* penes unlevene.c 1325 *Richard Coer de Lion*, l. 2839 (Weber, *Mettr. Rom.* ii. 110).*An ay* (*an aye, ey, eye*) is found as a *nay* (*naye, neye*).(b) Sayned bakon & somtyme a *neye* [var. *an eye* 2 mss., *an ey* 3 mss.] or tweye.  
For sche was as it were a manere deye.c 1386 CHAUCER, *Nun's Priest's Tale* (Lansd. ms.), l. 25. (Six-text, B. 4035) —

pe two eyne of the byeryne was brighttere þane silver,

The toþer was 3alowere thene the 3olke of a *naye*.c 1440 *Morte Arthure* (E.E.T.S. 1865), l. 3281.

Compare the like form *nay* in *no nay* for *non ay*. I giv two examples (see AY, IV. 1).

The form *nay*, thus develope, has been noticed heretofore only slightly, as a passing accident of hand-writing. But it was more than a slip of the pen. It was establisht as an independent word, and was used as such in composition. And it survives to-day, unrecognized, in the word *cockney*, a word which has baffled all the etymologists from Minsheu to Murray.

*Cockney*, in the sixteenth century spelt usually *cockney* (1540 and later), but also *cocknie* (1594), *cockneie* (1573), *cocknaie* (1562), earlier *coknie* (1532), *coknaye* (1531), *cocknaye* (1530), *cokenay* (1530), *cokney* (1521), was in the fifteenth century spelt *cokenay* (c 1500), *coknay* (1483), *kokenay* (c 1470), *cokenay* (c 1450, 1440), *kokeney* (1440), *coknay* (1440), and in the fourteenth century, when it arose, *cockeneye* (c 1400), *cokeney* (c 1393), *cokenay* (c 1386), *cockeneye* (c 1386), *kokeney* (c 1377), *cokeney* (c 1362).

In the fourteenth century it is found only in verse, and verse of a colloquial character. In the earliest passage (see below) it is a dissyllable, and should be, as it appears later, *cokney* or *coknay*, being formd from *cok*, *cock*, and *nay*, *ney*, *egg*. It means 'cock-egg.' It corresponds exactly (in Chaucer's three-syllable use even to the unoriginal connecting vowel) to the later *cockaneg* in Florio (see EGG, No. 74). It corresponds also to the term *cock's egg*, still in provincial use in England for the same thing; and to the term *rooster-egg*, not enterd in the dictionaries, but in familiar use in parts of the United States. A *cock-nay*, *cock-ney*, *cockaneg*, *cock's egg*, *rooster-egg*, is a small imperfect egg, differing in size and usually in color and shape, from a normal egg of a hen. The popular notion about rooster-eggs is, or was in my school-days, that they produce roosters. (The matin bird is always cald a rooster in the United States.) Boys just from the nursery sometimes thought, from

the name, that rooster-eggs wer laid by roosters. I find this oval eccentricity roundly asserted, and squarely denied, in solemn print :

'A Florida man owns a rooster that has laid an egg. This is not humorous,' says an exchange. No; it is simply untruthful.  
1892 *Puck's Library*, Oct., p. 7.

I remember that boys used to extend the name *rooster-egg* to any small pointed egg; they wer favorits in the game of chance called "picking eggs," wherein two eggs in the hands of two boys, wer knockt together, end to end. The boy whose egg proved the hardest, was then entitled to the broken egg.

*Cockney* then, ME. *coknay* or *cokney*, was a trivial term of rustic or pueril origin, applied to a small imperfect egg, and probably, like *rooster-egg*, to any small egg. This wil enable us to understand the earliest quotations, which follow.

'I haue no peny,' quod Pers, 'poletes to bugge,  
Nouther gees ne grys, bote twey grene cheeses.  
And a fewe cruddes and craym, and a therf cake,  
And a lof of benes and bren i-bake for my children.  
And I sigge, bi my soule, I haue no salt bacon,  
Ne no *cokeneyes* [*kokeney* B, *cokeney* C], bi Crist, colopus  
[*coloppes* B, *colhoppes* C] to maken.'

1362 LANGLEND, *Piers Plowman* (A), vii. 267.

The next quotation is from a burlesque poem, describing a tournament of clowns and scullions, and the feast which followd :

At that fest were thei seruyd in a rich aray  
[with a ryche aray, Harl. ms.];  
Euery fyve and fyve had a *cokeney* [*cokenay*, Percy];  
And so they sate in iolite al the long daye.  
a 1500 *Tournament of Totenham*, st. xxvi. (ed. Wright, 1836—Pickering;  
also Percy, *Reliques*, II. i. 4; Child, *Ballads*, viii. 115, etc. N.E.D.  
dates it a 1600: correct, but obviously too cautious).

The humor is in giving a "cokeney," or small egg, to every five, whereas in the knightly feasts there was a more liberal provision of more appetizing fare :

Ay two had disches twelue,  
Good ber & bry3t wyn bope.  
c 1360 *Syr Gawayne and the Green Knight* (E.E.T.S.), l. 128.

As 1 cockney + 5 (=  $\frac{1}{3}$  of a small egg) is to 12 dishes + beer + wine + 2 (= 6 dishes with beer and wine galore); so was the tournament feast of Tottenham to the feast of Sir Gawain and his peers.

By hooke or crooke nought could I wyn there, men say  
He that comth euery daie, shall haue a *cocknaie*.  
He that comth now and then, shall haue a fat hen.  
But I gat not so muche in comyng seelde when,  
As a good hens fether, or a poore eg-shel.  
1562 HEYWOOD, *Proverbs and Epigrams* (Spenser Soc., 1867), 36. (Also  
Wright, *Turn. Totenham*, l.c., note; *Piers Pl.*, Gloss. p. 580; etc.).



Wright got nearly at the meat of the matter when he inferred from the three passages cited that "a *cockney* was some kind of lean or common meat of which the peasantry made collops" (*Turnament of Totenham*, note). But the meat was in the eggs which went with the collops. What were collops?

*Collope*. Frixatura, carbonacium, carbinella. 1440 *Prompt. Parv.* p. 88.  
Carbonella, an<sup>o</sup> a *colhoppe*.  
c 1450 *Lat.-Eng. Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 570, l. 37).  
Frixa, an<sup>o</sup> a *colhoppe*, or a smache-cok. c 1450 *Id.* (Wright, 584, l. 44).

[*Smache-cok*, in modern form properly \**smatch-cock*, a cock or bird that serves to give a smatch or smack or taste — that is, a delicate morsel — is, I think, the true source of the perverted *spatchcock*.]

Frixa. A *colop*, or a pece off flesch.

c 1470 *Medulla Gram.* (Herrtage, *C. A. p.* 72.)  
A *Collop*, carbonella, frixa. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 72.  
*Colloppe* meate, œuf au larde. 1530 PALSGRAVE, p. 707.  
The *coloppes* cleaved faste to the fryenge pannes bottom for lacke of oyle, droppynge or butter. 1519 HORMAN, *Vulgaria*. (Herrtage, *C. A. p.* 72.)  
Riblette: f. A *collop* or slice of bacon. Des œufs à la riblette. Egges and *collops*; or, an Omelet or Pancake of egges, and slices of bacon mingled, and fried together. 1611 COTGRAVE.  
Estrelládos huévos, eggs fried (without beating together) as when they are fried with *collops* or bacon. 1623 MINSHEU, *Dict. in Span. and Eng.*  
*Eggs and collops*. Fried eggs and bacon. *Var. dial.* 1847 HALLIWELL.

The existence of the term *cock's egg* since 1626, and probably from a much earlier date, is established by the entries in the *New English Dictionary*. It is parallel to the form *cockaneg*, which is a true compound, *cock* + *negg*, and the proper substitute for *cock-nay*, as *negg* is the substitute for *nay*, and *egg* for *ay*. See under *Egg*, below. *Cocknay* in strict use would have been \**cock-ay*, ME. \**cok-ay*, \**cok-ey*; and indeed I suspect this very word, extended to mean any small egg, or any egg, has come down obscurely to modern times, emerging in the provincial (Craven) form *goggy*, an egg (H.). For the change of \**cockay*, \**cockey*, to \**goggey*, *goggy*, compare *cockle* with *coggle* (Jam. 1808, etc.), *cockly* with *coggly* (Jam. 1808, etc.), *cock-bohes* with *gogsbones*, *gogsnouns* (tho here another cause has operated), *cucking-stool* with *goging-stool* (H.), etc. The use of the trivial form *nay* in composition at so early a period is in keeping with the use of the similar trivial form *nye* for *eye*, in *pigsnye*, ME. *piggesnye*, in the same period, and in *wall-nyed* a few years later (see under *Egg*, below, No. 87).

From the sense of 'cock-egg,' or 'small egg,' the word passed over to the sense of a 'small, weak child,' 'a child treated with foolishness'

indulgence,' and so 'a weak, spiritless fellow.' It is in this slang use that it appears in Chaucer :

And when this Iape is tald another day  
 I sal been halde a daf, a *cokenay* [var. *cokeneye*, Lansd. ms.]  
 I wil arise, and auntre it, by my fayth;  
 Vnhardy is vnseely, thus men sayth.  
 c 1386 CHAUCER, *Reeve's Tale*, l. 288. (Six-Text, A. 4209.)

The transfer may not seem obvious to many, but it is in keeping with the atmosphere of trivial humor in which the word *cockney* originated and in which it has always existed. It has never attained dignity. I hav collected numerous examples for the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries; but they ar all for the deflected senses, and throw no additional light on the word. For the later development of the word, I refer to Dr. Murray's article in the *New English Dictionary*.

Dr. Murray was the first etymologist to recognize the egg in this celebrated mare's nest, but he has faild to discern the true form of the egg, and has mistaken the part the cock plays in the matter. He explains Langland's *cokeney* as *coken ey*, which, he thinks, means 'cocks' egg,' and which he supports by a fallacious German analogy. But even if his supposed genitiv plural existed and was used in the way he imagins ('cocks' egg, *gallorum ovum*'), it would not be \**coken*, but \**cokken*, AS. as if \**coccena*. Dr. Murray is too good a phonetician not to see this, if the notion wer propounded by an other etymologist, or by an American. But no such form as even \**cokken* can be found; the plural of ME. *cok*, genitiv and nominativ, is *okkes*. Dr. Murray is also in error in saying that "*ay, ey (ai)* are regular ME. forms of *egg*," and that "*ay(e)*" is an "obsolete form of *egg*." *Ay, ey*, ar no more forms of *egg* than *draw* is a form of *drag*. To use Dr. Murray's own language, "nothing can be more certain in phonetics than that" *ey* or *ay* "could not be" a "form" of *egg*.

Dr. Murray's mistakes ar rather unfortunate, as he prepared himself for his work by attacking an other eminent etymologist for making an other mistake about the same word. Few great philologists escape the frequent pain of seeing clearly the errors of other scholars. That they do not shrink from the added pain of correcting such errors, is greatly to their credit; but it is a risky benevolence. Professor Skeat, who in the "Glossarial Index" to the *Specimen of Early English*, Part II. 1879, edited by himself and Dr. Morris, came near to the truth by admitting, as "another interpretation" of the word as used by Langland, the definition "small cocks, lean fowls," preferd the inter-

pretation "cooks, scullions." This view is explained at length in the "Errata and Addenda" Professor Skeat's *Etymological Dictionary*:

M.E. *cokeney* answers precisely to a F. *coquiné*, Low L. *coquinatus*, and I suspect that Mr. Wedgwood has practically solved this word by suggesting to me that it is founded on L. *coquina*, a kitchen. We might imagine *coquinatus* to have meant, as a term of reproach, a vagabond who hung about a kitchen of a large mansion for the sake of what he could get to eat, or a child brought up in the kitchen among servants. We may particularly note F. *coquineau*, 'a scoundrell, base varlett,' Cot.; *coquiner*, 'to begge, to play the rogue'; *coquinerie*, 'beggery'; *coquin*, 'a beggar, poor sneak.' This suggests that the F. *coquin* is connected with L. *coquus*, as to which Littré and Scheler seem agreed. I think we are now certainly on the right track, and may mark the word as (F., — L.). I would also suggest that the F. *coquin*, sb., was really due to the verb *coquiner*, which answers to Low L. *coquinare*, to cook, i.e. to serve in a kitchen. The transition in sense from 'serve in a kitchen' to 'beg in a kitchen' is very slight, and answers only too well to what we know of human nature, and the filching habits of the lowest class of scullions, &c. *Coquinatus* might mean 'attached to a kitchen without any great violence being done to the word.

1882 SKEAT, *Etym. Dict.*, Errata and Addenda, p. 785

This view was emphatically repeated a few years later:

*Cokeney*, cook's assistant, scullion, inferior cook, 9. 309; *Cokeneyes*, pl. scullions, a. 7. 272. I have now no doubt at all that this difficult word (whence mod. E. *cockney*) answers to an O.F. *coquine* [sic], = Low Lat. *coquinatus*, from *coquinare*, to cook, serve as a scullion, a derivative of Lat. *coquina*. It is easily seen how *coquinatus* might mean either (1) a person connected with the kitchen, as in M.E. *cokeney*, a scullion; (2) a child brought up in the kitchen, or pampered by servants, as in E. *cockney*, often used in this sense; and (3) a hanger-on to the kitchen, or pilfering rogue, whence F. *coquin*, as in Cotgrave.

1886 SKEAT, *Piers the Plowman*, ii. 332, col. 2, ll. 40-56.

The view expressed in this opinion of an eminent British etymologist, thus emphatically repeated, was mentioned, without approval, in an American work a few years later. Professor Skeat's name was not mentioned, for the reason that the etymology in question was not original with him. So far as L. *coquina* is concerned, he himself ascribes to Wedgwood; but it had been suggested earlier:

*Cockney*. The root of this word is doubtless the Latin *coquina*, a kitchen. 1860 ROBERT SULLIVAN, *Dict. of Derivations*, 9th ed. p. 71.

It is indeed involved in the notion that *cockney* originated from the French \**coquiné*, or *accoquiné*, or *coquin*; and this etymology was suggested more than two hundred years ago by Dr. Thomas Henshaw, in Skinner's *Etymologicon* (1671). Dr. Henshaw thought it was a good etymology; for he himself says (he edited Skinner's work after Skinner's death), "Doct. Th. H. *sagaciter, ut solet, deflectit a Fr. G. Accoquiné, Ignaviæ deditus.*"

But Dr. Murray, making himself ignorant of these things, was able to treat this ancient British error (surely a natural and excusable error),

thus rehabilitated by Professor Skeat, as a new American invention, and under this convenient cover he opened his batteries on his fellow-Briton :

From the time of Minsheu, with his merry folk-etymology [of *cockney*] . . . , to the present year, etymologists and etymological quacks (the latter especially) have given forth their conjectures upon its derivation. The most recent of these is the assertion that the word represents an (imaginary) O.F. *coquiné*, corresponding to an (imaginary) Med. Lat. *coquinātus*, taken in some such sense as 'a vagabond who hangs around the kitchen'; or 'a child brought up in the kitchen.' . . . Not to speak of the Latin or Old French absurdities involved. . . . Nothing can be more certain in phonetics than that *cokenay*, whatever it might be, *could not be an O.F. \*coquiné*.

1890 J. A. H. MURRAY, in *London Academy*, May 10, 1890.

He then proceeded to show how wrong and American all such notions are.

Dr. Murray, with a solicitude for which Americans should be grateful, manifests in the same correctiv epistle a desire that no one shall even mention such opinions (I mean those of other etymologists) in dictionaries, without his previous sanction. "Especially important is this," he explains, "in America, where, in the absence of living English usage, the dictionary occupies a place of authority never conceded to it by educated Englishmen." But I am afraid the case is hopeless. If there were any educated Americans, perhaps we might get along tolerably well, even "in the absence of living English usage"; but "in the absence of" both, we are in a parlous state indeed. Such Americans as have been able to snatch a few hours from their pioneer tasks of fighting the wild Indian and hunting the wild buffalo, in order to read, by the dim flickering light of a pine-knot, a little about the rudiments of language, have hitherto supposed that they speak English, and "living English" at that—crude, of course, and incorrect, and with an "American accent," but still a kind of "living English," however different from the clear, delicate, sonorous, *r*-less, *h*-less English set forth by Dr. Murray, Dr. Sweet, and other eminent British phoneticians as "living English usage." Americans will be much disappointed to learn from Dr. Murray that "English" means the speech of London, and "living English" the speech of certain persons, "educated Englishmen," now living in or near London; in other words, of educated Cockneys. I suppose there may be a reservation in favor of educated Scotchmen, who, "if caught young" and careful to avoid pronouncing *r* and *h*, may be allowed admittance into the outer sanctum of "living English usage." But on this point Dr. Murray maintains the traditional reserve of a true-born Englishman.

58. **Ayword**, a proverb, a by-word, supposed to be formed from *ay*, always, + *word*; meaning a word always or constantly used. An *ayword* appears also as a *nayword*. The earliest examples are in Shakespeare.

- (a) *An ayword*, a byword, an object of common ridicule:  
For Monsieur Maluolio, let me alone with him: If I do not gull him into  
*an ayword*, and make him a common recreation, do not thinke I haue  
witte enough to lye straight in my bed: I know I can do it.  
1623 SHAKESPEARE, *Twelfth Night*, ii. 3. 144 (F<sup>1</sup> p. 261)
- (b) *A nayword*, a countersign or watchword:  
*Qu.* You must send her your Page, no remedie.  
*Fal.* Why, I will.  
*Qu.* Nay, but doe so then; and looke you, hee may come and goe between  
you both: and in any case haue a *nay-word*, that you may know on  
another's minde, and the Boy neuer neede to understand any thing.  
1623 SHAKESPEARE, *M. W.* ii. 2. 129 (F<sup>1</sup> p. 46)

The only other notices I find of the word are the following, all but one apparently based on Shakespeare's use, and not really provincial:

*A Nayword.* This is a common expression for a by-word or proverb, and is probably a Crasis of *an Aye-word*; that is, a word, or saying, always and perpetually used, agreeable to the ancient use of *Aye*. If this be not the meaning and original of it, it will be difficult to account for it.

1777 *Gent. Mag.*, July, p. 321  
*Nayword*, a byword, a laughing stock. 1830 FORBY, *Vocab. of East Anglia*  
*Nayword.* A watchword. Also, a proverb, a bye-word. *Shak.*

1847 HALLIWELL  
*Nayword.* (1) A watch-word. (2) A proverb; a bye-word. (3) A negative.  
1857 WRIGHT

For the last, as for the others, Wright gives no authority. I find genuine, *nayword*, "a negative," is of course from *nay*, no, + *word*. It may rest on *nayward* in Shakespeare (*W. T.* ii. 1. 64).

59. **Eager**, early mod. E. *eagre*, *aigre*, *aygre*, ME. *eger*, *egre*, from OF. *egre*, *aigre*, F. *aigre*, from L. *acer* (*acr-*), sharp, bitter. In former E. use the word was often applied to persons in the sense of 'sharp, bitter,' as well as 'severe, cruel, fierce.' In provincial use it seems to have included the sense of 'mean, miserly'; hence an *eager* or *aigre* person, elliptically *an eager*, *an aigre*, now a *neager*, a *neeager*, a *neeagur*, a *neigre*, a *nagre*, a mean fellow, a miser: a local term of reproach. The noun use is parallel to that of *an eddy* (see below), *a silly*, *an ancient*, etc.

- (a) And sklendre wyves, fieble as in bataille,  
Beth *egre* as is a tygre yond in Ynde.  
c 1386 CHAUCER, *Clerks Tale*, l. 1142.  
*Egar*, fiers or mody as a wild beest is, fel. *Egernesse*, bytternesse, *aigrure*.  
1530 PALSGRAVE, pp. 311, 216.  
*Acerbo*, sowre, sharpe, tarte, vnripe. Also cruell, seuere, *eager*, bitter.  
1611 FLORIO.  
*Aigre*, Sour. 1828 [CARR], *Craven Gloss.* i. 5-

- (b) *Nagre*, A niggardly person. 2. A negro, from Fr. *negre*, a negro.  
 1828 [CARR], *Craven Gloss.* ii. 2.  
*Neager*. A term of reproach. *North.* 1847 HALLIWELL; 1857 WRIGHT.  
*Nagre*. A miserly person [a miser, Wright]. *North.*  
 1847 HALLIWELL; 1857 WRIGHT.  
*Neigre*, [*Neeger*, 1880,] s. A term of reproach, S.—Borrowed from F.  
*negre*, a negro. 1866 JAMIESON.  
*Neeagur*, a negro; also, a contemptible fellow; a stingy niggard.  
 1877 ROSS, STEAD, and HOLDERNESS, *Holderness Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 99.

The etymology suggested in the last two quotations is, I think, erroneous. *Neager*, *neeagur*, a negro, is to be separated from *neager*, a miser, a stingy fellow. Negroes have never been so familiar to provincial thought in Northern England or Scotland as to make the name a common term of reproach; and miserliness is the last fault of which they can be justly accused. Moreover, the modern form *nagre* is not one which the sixteenth century *neger* would naturally attain. The dialectal *neager*, *neeagur*, are forms parallel to *nigger*, being formerly *neger*, *negar*, *negre*, from sixteenth century F. *negre*, now *nègre*. *Nigger* is not, as is commonly supposed, a "corruption" of *negro*, but is a legitimate variant of *neager*, representing the older form *neger*, *negre*, from the French as given; while the English *negro*, like the French *negre*, was taken directly from the Spanish and Portuguese *negro*, a black man. Neither *nigger* nor *negro* is in itself "a term of reproach," any more than *white man* or *red man*.

The development in *eager* of the sense 'stingy' from the sense 'sharp, bitter,' is paralleled by the development of *stingy* itself from 'stinging, sharp, bitter,' to 'miserly.'

An East Anglian says the 'air is *stingy*,' that is, nipping, biting, bitter. . . .  
*Stingy* is ill-tempered.  
 1876 R. MORRIS, *On the Survival of Early Eng. Words* (E.D.S.), p. 11.

60. **Eagle**, ME. *egle*, from OF. *egle*. ME. *an egle* takes one flight as a *negle* (*neggle*).

- (a) As doth *an egle* whan him list to sore.  
 c 1386 CHAUCER, *Squire's Tale*, l. 123.  
*An Egylle*, aquila, aquilinus. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 112.  
 (b) Hec aquila, A° *neggle*. c 1425 *Lat.-Eng. Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 640, l. 12).

61. **Eam**, ME. *eme*, *em*, AS. *ēam*, uncle. ME. *an eme* is often *neme*. See also *mine eam* (III. 14).

- (a) *An Eme*, Avunculus, patruus. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 114.  
 (b) Hic avunculus, hic patruus, a *neme*.  
 c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 690, l. 27).  
 Hic patruus, A *neme* of y° fader syde. Hic auunculus, An° a *neme* of y°  
 moder syde. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 428.

62. **Ear**<sup>1</sup>, the organ of hearing; ME. *ere*, *eere*, AS. *ēare* = L. *auris*. ME. *an ere* is often a *nere*. Compare EARWIG, below.

- (a) For whanne the schipmen lay *an ere*  
 Unto the voyce in here avis  
 They wene it be a paradis. c 1393 GOWER, *C. A.* (H  
*An Ere*, Auris hominum est. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 116 (under *E*)
- (b) Hec auris, A<sup>o</sup> *nerre*. c 1425 *Lat.-Eng. Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 633, l. 11  
*A Nerre*, Auris, auricula. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 252 (under *N*)

63. **Ear<sup>2</sup>**, a spike of grain; ME. *eer*, *er*, AS. *ēar* = L. *acus* (*acer*-ME. *an er* grows into a *ner*).

- (a) Four-ten *ers* [var. *eris*, *eres*] stand o quete [var. *wehele*].  
 c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton MS.) (E.E.T.S.), l. 45  
 The erthe by his owne worchyng maketh fruyt, first an erbe, afterward  
*an cere*, afterward ful fruyt in the *ere*. c 1382 WICLIF, *Mark* iv.  
 (b) Hec spica, a *ner*. c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 725, l. 3)

64. **Earl**, ME. *erl*, *erle*, AS. *eorl*. ME. *an erle* appears as a *ner*

- (a) And *ane erle* þane in angerd answeres hym sone.  
 c 1440 *Morte Arthure* (E.E.T.S. 1865), l. 164  
*An Erle*, comes, comicellus. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 1
- (b) Hic comes, A<sup>o</sup> *nerle*. c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 683, l. 11)

65. **Earthdin**, ME. *erthedyn*, *erthdin*, *erddyn*, AS. *eorðdyne*, earthquake. In early ME. *an erthdin* becomes a *nerthdin*.

- (a) *An erthe dyn*, or an erthe qvake, terremotus. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 11  
*Erddyn* gret in Ytaly  
 And hugsum fell all suddanly.  
 c 1425 *Wyntown*, vii. 5. 175. (1808 Jam  
*Yirden* . . . thunder. In Fife there is a proverbial phrase denoting  
 expedition, although the meaning of the allusion seems to be k  
 among those who use it: "The wark gaes on like *yirdin*."  
 1880 JAMIESON
- (b) Thoru a *nerth-din* þat þer was. c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (E.E.T.S.), l. 209

66. **Earthshrew**, a shrew, shrew-mouse, *Sorex vulgaris*; also field-mouse, *Mus silvaticus*. The name of this little beast has undergone so many transformations that I cannot find any example of the original form *earth-shrew*. There is *erdshrew*, which leads to *hardshrew* (as if *hard* + *shrew*), and this to *hardyshrew*, *hardishrew* (as if *hardy* + *shrew*), which in turn has been varied to *hardmouse* (is it not a field-mouse?), and in other ways to *hardistric* (because it doth inhabit the straw or stubble of the field), and *harvest-row* (for that the hay or straw of harvest lieth in rows). The shrew in all phases has been an interesting creature, and has an interesting philological history. See SHREW<sup>1</sup>, C.D.

(1) *Earthshrew*, dial. *erdshrew*. *An erdshrew* (\**erdshre* \**er'srow*) turns into a *nursrow*.

- (a) *Erd-shrew*. 1607 TOPSELL. (H. p. 33)  
 (b) *Nursrow*, s. a field-mouse. *Staff.* 1857 WRIGHT

(2) *Hardshrew.**Hardshrew*, a kind of wild mouse.

1733 BAILEY.

(3) *Hardishrew, hardy-shrew*; also *artishrew*.

It resisteth the poison inflicted by the sting of the *hardishrew*, the sea dragon and scorpions. 1601 HOLLAND, tr. Pliny, vol. ii. p. 277. (P.)  
 In Italy the *hardy shrews* are venomous in their biting. 1601 *Id.* viii. 58.  
 Toporagno, a night-bat. Also the *hardie-shrew* [1598 a kinde of rat or mouse]. 1611 FLORIO.

*Hardishrew*. A field mouse. *Staff.* Also called the *hardistraw*.

1847 HALLIWELL.

*Artishrew* or *Artistraw*, sb. The harvest mouse.1890 ROBERTSON, *Gloss. Glouc. Dial.* (E.D.S.), p. 4.(4) *Hardistraw*; also *hartistraw, artistraw*.*Hardistraw*.

1847 HALLIWELL.

*Artistraw* . . . *Hartistraw*.1890 ROBERTSON, *Gloss. Glouc. Dial.* (E.D.S.), p. 4, p. 65.(5) *Harvest-row.**Harvest-row*. The shrew mouse. *Wills.*

1847 HALLIWELL.

67. **Earwig**, ME. *erwygge, erewygge*, etc., AS. *ĕarwīga*. This word has undergone many changes due to popular etymology. They are shown below. And it has yielded also to Attraction, an *earwig* becoming a \**nearwig*, which I take to be the source of the transposed *wignear*. *Wignear* has been expanded by way of explanation into *wigginear* (*wig-in-ear*).

(1) *Earwig.*(a) Aurealis, an<sup>o</sup> an *erewygge*.c 1450 *Lat.-Eng. Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 567, l. 3).Auriolus, Anglice a *zerwigge*.a 1500 (?) *Vocab.*, Harl. MS. 1002 (Way, p. 143, note; H. p. 952).(b) *Wigginear*, var. of *earwig* . . . *Wignear*, i.q. *Wigginear*.1881 EVANS, *Leic. Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 290.(2) *Earwike.**Earwike*. An ear-wig. *Somerset.*

1847 HALLIWELL.

(3) *Earwig.**Ear-wig*, s. *Earwig*. This word ought to be spelled *ear-wrig*, as it is derived, doubtless, from *wriggle*. 1825 JENNINGS, *Somerset Gloss.* p. 36.*Earwig*. An ear-wig. *Somerset.*

1847 HALLIWELL.

(4) *Erriwig, arrawig, yerriwig.**Arrawig* or *Arrawiggle*. Often aspirated [*Hairy-wig!*]. The *Earwig*. 1854 BAKER, *Northampt. Gloss.* i. 17.*Arrawig*, s. an earwig. *Northampt.*

1857 WRIGHT.

*Yerriwig*. An earwig. *West.*

1847 HALLIWELL.

*Errewig* (*er* as in *errand*), an ear-wig.1881 Mrs. PARKER, *Oxfordshire Words*, Suppl. (E.D.S.), p. 81.*Erriwig*. An earwig. 1888 LOWSLEY, *Berkshire Words* (E.D.S.), p. 78.



- (5) *Earwiggle*, a diminutiv form, associated with *wiggle*.

*Arwygyll*, worme. Aurealle (aurialis, P.). 1440 *Prompt. Parv.* p. 143.  
*Erwyggle* (*erewygyll*, P.). Aurealis. 1440 *Prompt. Parv.* p. 143.

(6) *Erriwiggle*. An *erriwiggle*, or *arrawiggle*, easily lends itself to the rustic etymology of a *narrow-wriggle*; as if in allusion to the difficulty the insect encounters in striving to enter the strait gate of the ear, or to its supposed wanderings in the "wriggles" or winding passages of the ear:

- (a) *Arrawiggle*. The earwig. 1823 MOOR, *Suffolk Words*, p. 30;  
 1854 BAKER, *Northampt. Gloss.* i. 17; 1881 EVANS,  
*Letic. Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 93.

- Erriwiggle*. An ear-wig. *East.* 1847 HALLIWELL.  
 (b) *Narrow-wriggle*. An ear-wig. *East.* 1847 HALLIWELL.  
*Wriggle*, s. Any narrow sinuous hole. 1825 JENNINGS, *Somerset Gloss.* p. 84.  
*Wriggle*. Any narrow winding hole. 1847 HALLIWELL.  
*Wont* [-*wriggle*], or 'Oont-*wriggle*, the succession of small tumuli thrown up by the mole. 1868 HUNTLEY, *Gloss. of the Cotswold Dial.* p. 70.

But an earwig, *Forficula auricularis*, cannot really "wiggle," any more than Aaron's rod before it became a serpent. The earwig rather scuttles, struggles, "scriggles."

*Skriggle*. To struggle, to wriggle. "A ketched an *arrawiggle* an skriggled an got awah." "A skrigglen eel." To me it seems a very expressive word—it differs from both *struggle* and *wriggle*, being indeed a participant in both. 1823 MOOR, *Suffolk Words*, p. 35.

Eels and such slender vertebrates wriggle:

*Wriggles*, s. Sand eels. *Norf.* 1857 WRIGHT.

68. *Ebb*, ME. *ebbe*, AS. *ebba*. An *ebb* appears as a *neb*.

- (a) After an *ebbe* of be flode.  
 1330 MANNING, *Hist. of Eng. (Langtoft's Chron.)*, 106.  
 (b) The [blank] day of March ther was never so lay a *nebe*, that men myght stand in the mydes of Tames, and myght a gone from the brygys to Belynggatt, for the tyd kept not ys course; the whyche was never sen afore that tyme. 1557 MACHYN, *Diary* (Camden Soc. 1848), p. 168.

69. *Ebb-tide*. An *ebb-tide* is taken as a *neb-tide*; possibly confused with *neap-tide*.

- (b) Bold ocean foames with spight, his *neb-tides* roare,  
 His billows top and topmost high doe soare.  
 1638 *Historie of Albino and Bellama*. (N. p. 598.)

70. *Eddy*, an idiot; a provincial word, literally 'a silly,' from ME. *edy*, *edi*, once *eddi*, earlier *eadi*, AS. *eadig*, happy, blessed, silly (in its original sense), primarily rich. The more regular modern form from AS. *eadig* would be \**eady* ('i'di), which indeed is indicated by the form \**iddy* involved in *niddy*, below, and also by the Cornish adjectiv *easy*, idiotic, if that is \**eady* altered to *easy* by association of *eath*, *easy*, with the different words *ease*, *easy*.

*Eadi* art tu meiden bimong alle wummen.

c 1200 *St. Marherete* (E.E.T.S.), p. 20.

Touward ted *eadie* londe of Jerusalem, þet he ham hefde bihoten.

c 1230 *Ancren Riwele*.

Heyl, levedy, se-stoerre bryht

Godes moder, *edy* wyht,

Mayden ever vurst and late.

*Reliq. Antiq.* ii. 228 (H. p. 723).

This adjectiv early died out, being displaced by *seely* (now *silly*) and *happy*. But as a noun it appears to survive in *eddy*, an idiot, — that is, originally, a happy, blessed, innocent person; the development being parallel to that of *seely* (AS. *sālig*), happy, blessed, hence innocent, simple, foolish, silly — *silly* being just another form of *seely*.<sup>1</sup> That the form *eddy* is from AS. *eadig* is confirmed by the parallel Scotch form *audie*, from the Icel. *auðigr* (= Goth. *audags*), cognate with AS. *eadig*.

*Eddy*, n., a simpleton or an idiot, does not appear in the earlier dictionaries, tho the quotations presently to be cited indicate that the use is old.

(a) *An Eddy*, or a *Neddy*, an idiot.

1826 WILBRAHAM, *Cheshire Gloss.* (Baker, *Northampt. Gloss.* 1854).

*Eddy*. An idiot. *Chesh.*

1847 HALLIWELL.

*Audie*. A careless or stupid fellow. *Gl. Surv. Nairn.* 1866 JAMIESON.

This *eddy* is certainly not directly connected with *Edwin*, tho the notion is an old one:

Non immerito secundum vestratum usurpationem, qui stultum vocant *Edwinum*, reputarer *Eadwinus*. Cited by J. C. ROBERTSON, *Materials for Hist. of Thomas Becket* (1876), vol. i. (P. p. 582.)

The word may exist in the surnames *Eddy*, *Eddie*, and *Eadie*, and perhaps, in part, in the Scotch given name *Edie*, tho that is usually treated as a diminutive of *Adam*.

*An eddy* has become in some places a *neddy*, also a *niddy*, a simpleton, fool, idiot. I find an early instance:

(b) *Noe*. . . . Bot as have I blys,

[I] shall chastyse this.

*Uxor*. Yit may ye mys,

Nicholle *Nedy*!

*Noe*. I shalle make ye stille as stone, begynnar of blunder!

c 1450 *Towneley Myst.* p. 30.

The editor takes *Nedy* to mean 'needy,' but this does not suit the case. Noah was just about to enter the ark. It was full of meat.

A recent reviewer in the *Nation* criticizes Mr. Bradley, the editor of the second edition of Stratmann's *Middle English Dictionary*, for not identifying *silly* with *selly*, AS. *sellic*, rare; but *silly* has nothing to do with *selly*. The common etymology from AS. *sālig* is quite correct. The proof is abundant.

He had no lack of goods, and was, besides, the proprietor of "the greatest show on earth." Noah, in fact, had a good deal laid up against a rainy day; and his wife, represented in the old plays as a sharp-tongued shrew, could not with any point call her venerable spouse *Nicol Nedy*, 'poverty-stricken Nicholas.' There would be no point, no tartness, in that. She cald him *Nicol Nedy*, 'Nick Silly,' 'Dick Simple,' 'Tom Fool.'

How comes it (Youth) to pass, that you  
Who all the Deities subdue  
And at thy Pleasure canst make *Neddies*  
Of every God and every Goddess,  
Nay, even me dost so inflame. . .

1675 COTTON, *Burlesque upon Burlesque*, p. 245. (P. p. 58.)  
[But I should read *Noddies* here. See NODDY, under HODDY, No. 100.]  
*An Eddy*, or a *Nedy*, an idiot.

1826 WILBRAHAM, *Cheshire Gloss*. (1854 Baker.)  
*Nedy*, a simpleton; generally used reproachfully. "What a *nedy* you must be, to do that!"  
1854 BAKER, *Northampt. Gloss*. ii. 4.  
*Nedy* . . . (2) A simpleton. *Nedyish*, silly. 1857 WRIGHT.

The name *nedy* came to be transferd to a donkey, in which use *nedy* is now probably regarded as a familiar use of the diminutive personal name *Neddy*.

*Nedy*, a donkey. 1814 PEGGE, *Anecdotes of the Eng. Lang.*  
*Nedy*. A jackass. *Var. dial.* 1847 HALLIWELL. (Also 1857 Wright.)  
*Nedy*. A nickname for a donkey. 1854 BAKER, *Northampt. Gloss*. p. 49.  
*Nedy*, a donkey. L. [Latham], who gives no example, thinks it a corruption of *an heady* (animal); but more than one Christian name is bestowed on this animal; e.g., *Cuddy*, *Dicky*, *Jack*.

1881 DAVIES, *Suppl. Gloss.*  
*Neddy*, *Ned*, s. A name for a donkey. "A tinker's *nedy*." W. Watson's Poems, p. 100. The term is common in London, and in various parts of England as well.

1887 DONALDSON, *Suppl. to Jamieson's Scottish Dict.* p. 173.

So an *\*iddy*, variant of *eddy*, has become a *niddy*.

*Niddy*, a fool. *Devon.* 1847 HALLIWELL. (Also 1857 Wright.)

Hence the compounds *niddicock* (*niddy* + *cock* as in *hiccoc*), *nickycox* (No. 93), *nodcock* (No. 98), *nodgecock* (No. 99), etc., and *niddypoll* (compare *noddypoll*, No. 102).

They were neuer such fond *niddicocks* as to offer anie man a rod to beat their own tails. 1587 HOLINSHED, *Chron. of Irel.* p. 44. (C.I.)  
Oh Chrysostome, thou . . . deservest to be stak'd, as well as buried in the open fields, for being such a goose, widgeon and *niddecock*, to dye for love. 1654 GAYTON, *Festivous Notes*, p. 61. (N.)  
She was just such another *niddecock* [misprint?] as Joan Gutierrez. *Id.* p. 7.  
What *niddipol* hare brayne would scorne this couenant?  
1583 STANYHURST, *Æn.* iv. 110. (I.)

71. Edge, ME. *egge*, rarely *eg*, AS. *ecg*. We find ME. *an eg ent* as a *neg*.

- (a) *An Ege* (*Egge*, A.), Acies, acumen. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 112  
 (b) Hoc acumen, hec acies, a neg. c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 735, l. 14).

**72. Edget**, also *idget*, *idjit*, a kind of harrow or horse-hoe; a provincial word, probably representing AS. *egeþe*, *egiþe*, *egþe* (= MD. *egede* = OHG. *egida*, G. *egge*), a harrow, a rake. The regular Mod. Eng. form from AS. *egeþe*, as indicated by the once-occurring ME. *eythe*, would be \**aithe*; the form *edget* indicates an early conformation with *edge* (which is, indeed, remotely related) and the termination *-et*. An *edget*, an *idget*, also appears as a *nidget*. (Compare a *nidget*<sup>2</sup> for an *idget*<sup>2</sup>, an *idiot*, No. 115.)

- (a) *Erpica*, *egeþe*. *Erpicarius*, *egeþere*.  
 c 1000 *Lat.-AS. Glosses* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 392, ll. 21, 22).  
 And harowede in an hand-whyle al holy scripture,  
 With to *eythes* [var. *harwes*, B] that thei hadden, an olde and a newe.  
 c 1393 LANGLAND, *Piers Plowman* (C), xxii. 272.  
*Edget*, *Idget*. 1875 PARISH, *Dict. Sussex Dial.* (P.)  
*Edget*, a term of husbandry. An implement used in the cultivation of hops. It is drawn by one horse, and passes between the rows to clean the ground. Called also *idget* and *nidget*.  
 1876 GOWER, *Surrey Provincialisms* (E.D.S.), p. 88.  
*Idjit*. A particular form of cultivator. It consists of a square frame, which carries 16 short *tines* (tines) having small triangular feet. It has no wheels, and is drawn from one corner. It is a modern implement, but I think it is only made by local smiths.  
 1891 CHOPE, *Dial. of Hartland* (E.D.S.), p. 52.  
 (b) *Nidget*. Part of a plough. *Kent*. 1857 WRIGHT.  
*Nidget*. A horse hoe. 1875 PARISH, *Dict. Sussex Dial.* (P.)  
*Nidget*, alias *Edget* or *Idget*, a horse-hoe used among the hops.  
 1876 GOWER, *Surrey Provincialisms* (E.D.S.), p. 97.

**73. Eel**, ME. *ele*, AS. *æl*. ME. *an ele* wriggles along as a *nele*.

- (a) *An ele* (*Eyle* A), *Anguilla*, *Anguillaris*. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 113.  
 A tod but and an *eel*. *The Young Tamlane* (Child, *Ballads*, ii. 122).  
 (b) *Hec Anguilla*, A° *nele*. c 1425 *Lat.-Eng. Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 641, l. 32).  
*Hic anguilla*, a *nele*. c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 704, l. 28).

**74. Egg**, early Mod. Eng. also *eg* and *egge*, ME. *egge*, from Icel. *egg*, etc., see under *ay*, No. 57. *An egg* hatches a *negg*.

- (a) It is far to byd hyte  
 To an *eg* or it go. c 1450 *Towneley Myst.* p. 87.  
*An eg* (*Egge* A), ouum, oriculum, ouulum. 1843 *Cath. Angl.* p. 112.  
 Vitello . . . the yolke of an *eg*. 1598 FLORIO.  
 (b) A child informed that he might have an *egg* for breakfast begs that he may have "two *neggs*."  
 1882 PALMER, *Folk Etym.* p. 568.

Compare a *nay* for an *ay* (No. 57).

That *negg* or *neg* existed in the sixteenth century is proved by the occurrence of the compound \**cock-negg*, found in the form *cockaneg*.

Caccherelli, cacklings of hens. Also eggs, as we say *cockanegs*.

1598 FLORIO.

Cacherelli, hens-cackling. Also egges, as we say *cockanegs*. 1611 FLORIO.

Caccherelli, hens cacklings, by Met. new-laid eggs, *Cockanegs*.

1659 FLORIO, ed. Torriano.

As *cockaneg* is of special importance in proving the etymology of *cockney* (see No. 57), and as it occurs nowhere else than in this passage, the word and the passage call for special remark. Florio, in defining *caccherelli* as "cacklings of hens" or "hens-cackling," evidently derives it from the verb entered just before :

*Caccherare*, to cackle as a hen.

1598 (and 1611) FLORIO.

But this is a mistake. Florio's entry must refer to the following quotation from Boccaccio :

*Al piè del pesco trouerai cento cacherelli della gallina mia.*

1353 BOCCACCIO, *Decamerone*, Nov. 61.

[ 'At the foot of the peach-tree you wil find a hundred droppings of my hen,' i.e. a hundred eggs. Compare Duez, *Dittionario Ital. & Francese*, 1660, s.v. *cacarello*; Alberti, *Dizionario Ital.-Francese*, 1793, s.v. *cacherello*.]

*Cacherelli* as here used is simply a poor instance of the kind of taste which has given Boccaccio his popularity. The word is properly defined by Florio himself under another form :

*Cacarelle*, the trickles or dung of sheepe, goates, rats or conies.

1598 FLORIO.

By the phrase "as we say" Florio merely implies, according to his manner, that the expression is popular or trivial; and, in fact, *cockaneg* is a popular or childish form of \**cockneg*, or, as it would now be spelt, \**cocknegg*. The *a* is like the *a* in the analogous compound *pinkanye* (No. 87, 3), and in *blackamoor*. It is the unstable final *e* of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries; sometimes real (radical or inflexiv), as in *blacke moore* (Florio), later *blackamoor*; sometimes spurious, as in *cokenay*; and now, when made medial by composition, either lost, and omitted in spelling, as in *cockney*, or, happening to be spelt in some instances *a*, retained, because *a* is not regarded as "silent" — *blackamoor*, *pinkanye*, *cockaneg*, all obsolete or archaic forms. In some instances this *-e* becomes *-i* or *-y*; as in *molde-warp*, *mouldiwarp* (1578 Gascoigne), *mouldywarp* (1854 Baker, *Northampt. Gloss.*), *moodiewarp*, *moudiwarp* (1855 *Yorkshire Gloss.*), as against the regular modern form *molde-warpe* (1623 Shakespeare, 1 *Hen. IV.* iii. 1, F<sup>1</sup> p. 61; Spenser, *Astrophel*), *mouldwarp*.

75. **Eke**, also *eek, eak, eake*, Sc. *eik*, ME. *eke, eche*, AS. *ēaca*, an addition, increase; = Icel. *auki*, etc. I find *a neak, a neik*, in use for *an eke (an eak, an eik)*. This is important, as being involvd in the better known change of *an ekename* to *a nekename, a nickname* (see next). The ME. noun is most common in the adverbial phrases *to eke, to eken* (AS. *tō ēacan*), in addition, besides, generally contracted to *teke, teken*; and *on eke*, in addition, besides.

- (a) The words scholle be ised  
 Witheoute wane and *eche*. 1315 SHOREHAM, *Poems*, p. 10.  
 Here chyn is chosen, and eyther cheke,  
 Whit ynoh, ant rode *on eke*.  
*a 1450 (?) Spec. Lyric Poetry (1842)*, p. 34. (M.)  
 Foure flowers here may scholers finde, that smelleth very sweete,  
 Which Baret like a busie Bee (in tiring corps) thoughte meete  
 To gather here into his Hyue, lo English, Latin, Greeke,  
 Lo French, with diuers kindes of phrase, and sundrie sorts of *eke*.  
 1573 ED. G., *To the Reader*, in Baret's *Alvearie*, Pref. p. [viii].  
 Likely from them a great *eke* will be put to Traquair's process, which  
 before was long and odious enough.  
*a 1662 BAILLIE, Letters (1775)*, i. 323. (1808 Jam.)  
*Eik*, [*eek* 1880,] *eke*, s. An addition. 1808 (and 1880) JAMIESON.  
*Ekes*, helps. 'They had all maks o' shifts and *ekes*,' all kinds of excuses  
 and contrivances. 1876 ROBINSON, *Whitby Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 60.  
 (b) *Neik, Neak*, s. and v. A form of *eik*, q.v.  
 1887 DONALDSON, *Suppl. to Jamieson's Scottish Dict.* p. 312.

The verb *neak, neik*, is not, of course, varied from *eke*, v., but the form is due to the noun *eke*. The verb *nick*, to nickname, is evolvd from *nickname*.

76. **Ekename**, a surname, added name, literally 'a name of addition.'

They clepe us drunkards, and with swinish phrase  
 Soil our *addition*. SHAKESPEARE, *Hamlet*, i. 4.

ME. *ekename, ekname*, is not found in AS. (where \**tōnama*, the source of the common ME. *toname*, probably existed), but was formed ME. from *eke, ecke* (AS. *ēaca*), an addition, + *name* (AS. *nama*), name. Compare Icel. *auka-nafn*, 'name of addition' (*auka*, gen. 'auki = AS. *ēaca*), also *auknefn* and *auk-nefni*, Sw. *öknamn*, an. *ögenavn*.

*Ekename* in the middle of the fifteenth century began to giv way the alterd form, *an ekename, an ekname*, becoming a *nekename, nekname, a necname*, and ultimately a *nickname*; but *ekename, ame*, stil exists in provincial use.

- † *зeueþ a man a vyle ekename.* c 1303 MANNING, *Handlyng Synne*, 1531.  
*Neke name, or eke name.* Agnomen. 1440 *Prompt. Parv.* p. 352.  
*Agnomen, an ekename* or a surname.  
*c 1470 Medulla Gram.* (Way, p. 352, n.).

*An Ekname*, Agnomen, dicitur a specie vel accione, agnominacio.

1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 112.

*Uikname*, s. Nickname; local pron. of *ekename*. Ork.

1887 DONALDSON, *Suppl. to Jamieson's Scottish Dict.* p. 249-

*Ekname*, sb. a nickname. People in North-East Derbyshire speak of '*an ekname*.'

1891 ADDY, *Suppl. to Sheffield Gloss.* p. 20-

(b) *Neke name*, or eke name. Agnomen. 1440 *Prompt. Parv.* p. 352-

Agnomino, To calle *nekename*. c 1470 *Medulla Gram.* (Heritage, p. 112)-

*Nyckename*, brocquart. 1530 PALSgrave, p. 248-

A proclamation, in the whyche was commandement geven thatt we shuld give no *necname* wntoo the sacrament, as rownd Robin, or Jack in the box -  
a 1563 THOMAS HANCOCK, *Autobiography*, in *Narratives of the*  
*Reformation* (Camden Soc. 1861), p. 73.

Cognome, a surname, a *nickname*.

1598 FLORIO - -

Hence the verb *nickname*, and the simple verb *nick*.

In English Wad and not Ode, as some corrupters of the englishe tonge do *nikename* it.

1548 TURNER, *Names of Herbes.* (Britten and Holland, p. 358.)

Titulare, to entitle, title, to surname, to *nickname* [1611 *nikename*].

1598 FLORIO - -

77. *Eldfather*, dial. *elfather*, ME. *eldfader*, grandfather, father-in-law, AS. *całdfader*, grandfather. We find ME. *an eldfader* as a *neldfader*.

(a)

Ane knaiff child . . .

That eftir his gude *eldfadir* was

Callit Robert.

1375 BARBOUR, *Bruce* (ed. Skeat) xiii. 694. (Also in Jam. 1808.)

Myn *eldefather* Jhesus.

c 1382 WICLIF, *Prolog. to Eccles.* p. 123 (Heritage, p. 113)-

*Eldfadyre*.

1423 WYNTOWN, vii. 8, 230 (Jam. 1808) -

*Auld-father*, s. A grandfather; a term used by some in the west of S.

1866 JAMIESON -

*El(d)fadyr*. Socer.

1440 *Prompt. Parv.* p. 137-

*An Eldfader*, socer (socrus uxor eius).

1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 113-

Cesar the *eldfader* -

Hys maick Pompey.

1553 DOUGLAS, *Virgil*, 195, 26 (1808 Jam.)-

*Elfather*, father-in-law.

1873 HARLAND, *Gloss. of Words used in*

*Swaledale, Yorkshire* (E.D.S.), p. 12-

(b) Hic avus, *A<sup>cc</sup>e a neld fadyre*. c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 689, l. 42)-

Hic Abauus, *a<sup>cc</sup>e A neld fadyr*.

1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 428-

Hic socer, *a neldfadyre*. c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 691, l. 15)-

78. *Eldmother*, dial. *elmother*, ME. *eldmoder*, grandmother, mother-in-law, AS. *całdmōdor*, grandmother. We find also ME. *an elmoder* as a *neldmoder*, a *noldmodyre*.

(a)

His *eldmoder*.

c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (E.E.T.S. 1874), l. 1189-

*Eld modyr* (*elmoder* K.P.). Socrus.

1440 *Prompt. Parv.* p. 137-

Avia. *An eld modere*.

c 1470 *Medulla Gram.* (Heritage, p. 113)-

Socrus. *An e(l)de modere*. c 1470 *Medulla Gram.* (Heritage, p. 113)-

*An Eldmoder*, socrus.

1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 113-

*Eldmoder* to ane hunder thar saw I Heccuba.

1553 DOUGLAS, *Virgil*, 55, 43. (1808 Jam.)

*El-mother*, Cu., a Step-mother.

1692 COLES, *Eng. Dict.*

*Elmother*, a stepmother. 1876 ROBINSON, *Whitby Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 60-

- (b) Hec ava, a *nold modyre*. c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>3</sup> 689, l. 43).  
 Hec Abaua, a<sup>ce</sup> *A neld moder*. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 428.  
 Hec socrus, a *noldmodyre*. c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 691, l. 16).

79. **Elf-bore**, "a hole in a piece of wood, out of which a knot has dropped, or been driven; viewed by the superstitious as the operation of the fairies" (1866 Jam.). *Elf*, ME. *elf*, *alf*, has variants *aulf*, *awf*, *oaf*, *ouph*, etc. (see OAF, No. 129). Hence *elf-bore* was probably also once existent as *\*auf-bore*, and in the possessive form *\*auwes-bore*, the last evidenced by the Scottish form *auwis-bore* (Jam. 1866). An *auwis-bore* appears as a *navus-*, *navous-*, *nawvus-bore* (Jam. 1866). Compare *angus-bore*, "a circular hole in a panel" (Jam. 1866); for *auger's-bore*? see under NAUGER, B. 6.

80. **Ell**, ME. *eln*, *ellen*, *elne*, AS. *eln*. We find an *ell* as a *nell*, E. an *ellen* as a *nellen*.

- (a) It wanted large an *eln* [var. *elne*, *ellen*] lenth.  
 c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Trin. ms.) (E.E.T.S.), l. 8812.  
 (b) Son [var. *sonne*] of a *nellen* [var. an *ellen*, Trin. ms.; an *elne*, other mss.]  
 heght þai ware,  
 þai stod þan still and wax na mare.  
 c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton ms.) (E.E.T.S.), l. 1419.  
 A *nell* of fuschian. a 1600 in *Archæologia*, xxv. 507. (Peacock.)

81. **Elsin**, also *elsen*, *elson*, *elsyn*, *elshin*, *elshon*, *alison*, *elishant*, ME. *elsyn* (from Old Dutch *elsene*, *aelsene*, Dutch *els*), an awl. An *elsin* is sometimes taken as a *nelsin*, and *nelsin*, assimilated to *nail*, is, I suppose, the source of *nailsin*, a gimlet. Compare *nail-passer* and *nail-napes* (see No. 26), provincial names for 'gimlet' (H.).

- (a) Subula, an *elsyn*. c 1470 *Medulla Gram.* (Hertridge, p. 114).  
 An *Elsyn*, Acus, subula (fibula A). 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 114.  
 Subula, a cordoners *elsine*.  
 1595 DUNCAN, *Appendix Etymologiae* (E.D.S. 1874).  
 Hoo! Hoo! gar raise the Reid Souter and Ringan's Wat,  
 Wi' a broad *elshin* and a wicker.  
*The Fray of Suport* (Child, *Ballads*, vi. 119).  
 Nor hinds wi' *elson* and hemp lingle,  
 Sit soleing shoon out o'er the lingle.  
 a 1758 RAMSAY, *Poems*, II. 203. (C.D.)  
 (b) *Elsin*. A shoemaker's awl. I have heard this word called *nelsin*, which is of course a corruption of an *elsin*.  
 1892 M. C. F. MORRIS, *Yorkshire Folk-talk*, Gloss., p. 301.  
*Nailsin*, a gimlet. Kennett. 1847 HALLIWELL.

82. **Emperor**, ME. *emperour*, *emperower*, etc., from OF. *emperour*. We find an *emperour* turnd into a *nemperour*.

- (a) An *Emp[er]our*, cesar . . . imperator. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 114.  
 Ewen as an *emperower* I am onored ay.  
 c 1485 *Mary Magdalene*, l. 933. (*Digby Myst.* (N.S.S.), p. 90.)  
 (b) Hic imperator, a *nemperour*.  
 c 1475 *Pictorial Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 781, l. 28).



83. **End**, ME. *ende*, AS. *ende*. *An end* is often *a nend*, ME. *a nende*.

(a) That dethe may make *an ende* of al my were.

c 1374 CHAUCER, *Tr. & Cr.* v. 1393.

If the justice mai you take,

Your life were at *an ende*.

a 1550 *Adam Bel* (Child, *Ballads*, v. 130).

(b) Bliþe sche was þat bataile was brougt to *a nende*.

c 1360 *William of Palerne* (E.E.T.S.), l. 3946.

Whenne thys werre ys at *A Nende*.

a 1450 *Sege of Rome*, Egerton ms. (*Percy Folio MS.* iii. p. xlviv.).

A fyre of sponys and lowe of gromis

Full soun will be att *a nende*.

c 1460-70 *The Good Wyf Wold a Pylgremage*, l. 83 (E.E.T.S. 1869, p. 41).

Off this proses J make *a nend*.

a 1500 *Lytell Thanke*, l. 77. (Ritson, *Anc. Songs*, p. 81.)

We [supposed] that the world where at *a nend*.

1561 MACHYN, *Diary* (Camden Soc.), p. 265.

Compare *at þen ende*, *attan ende*, *atten ende*, *atte nende*, etc. (II. A. 3).

84. **Errand**, ME. *errand*, *erand*, AS. *ǣrende*. ME. *an errand* is sometimes *a nerrand*.

(b) To send *a nerrand* [var. *a message*] for to ber.

c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton ms.) (E.E.T.S.), l. 3334 —

85. **Eventide**, ME. *eventide*, *evyntyde*. We find ME. *an eventide* falling into *a neventide*.

(a) On ark on *an evyntyde* houez þe dowue.

c 1360 *Cleanness*, l. 485 (*Early Eng. Allit. Poems*, E.E.T.S. p. 52) —

(b) And dernlik [var. priuili] he did þam bide,

Till again *a neuentide* [var. *an euentide*, þe *euentide* (2 mss.)].

c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton ms.) (E.E.T.S.), l. 2518 —

86. **Evet**, *effet*, *eft*, *ewt*, a lizard, ME. *evete*, AS. *efete*. The word appears in modern English in more than ten different forms, belonging to four types, *evet*, *effet*, *eft*, *ewt*, of which *evet*, *effet*, and *ewt* appear also with the attracted *n*, *evet* and *ewt* also with an aspirate, and *ewt* also with an inserted *l* (*yolt*).

(1) *Evet*, the regular form, speld also *evvet*, *evat*, with variants *eavet*, *aivet*, *ebet*; aspirated *hevet*. *An evet* appears also as *a nevet*.

(a) *Lacerta*, *evete*.

a 1200 *Lat.-Eng.* ("Semi-Saxon") *Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 544, l. 8).

*Evetis*, and snakes, and paddokes brode,

That heom thoughte mete gode.

c 1300 *Kyng Alisaunder*, l. 6126 (Weber, *Metr. Rom.* i. 253).

*Henete*, a lizard. a 1500 *Nominale MS.* (H. p. 445.) [Read *henete*.]

*Evet* or lizarde, which is a grene beast or worme.

1552 HULOET, *Abecedarium*.

*An Euet*, or lisard [1580 lizard]. *Lacertus*, vel *lacerta*.

1573 BARET, *Alvearie*, E. 321.

- Lampiro, a kind of lizard or *euets*. 1598 (and 1611) FLORIO.  
 Tarantello . . . a little *est* or *euet*. 1598 FLORIO.  
 Lizard, a little Beast like the *Evet*, but without poison.  
 1623 COCKERAM, *Eng. Dict.* (1658), Part III.  
*Eft* . . . also [as] *Evet* [which is omitted].  
 1692 (and 1717) COLES, *Eng. Dict.*  
*Evet*, s. A lizard. 1825 JENNINGS, *Somerset Gloss.* p. 37.  
*Evet*. A newt. *West*. 1847 HALLIWELL.  
*Evet*. A newt. *Somerset*. 1847 HALLIWELL.  
*Newt*. The water-lizard; a small amphibious reptile, generally found in stagnant waters, and sometimes in old walls. In Hertfordshire and many other places it has the name of *Eft* or *Evvet*.  
 1854 BAKER, *Northampton Gloss.* ii. 52.  
 The spittle or spawn of toads, *evets*, water-snakes and adders.  
 LANDOR, *Works*, III. 332.  
*Evvet*, the eft. 1881 SMITH, *Isle of Wight Words* (E.D.S.), p. 10.  
*Evet*. A newt. 1890 ROBERTSON, *Glouc. Dial.* (E.D.S.), p. 45.  
 (b) Lacerta, vel lacertus, a liseard: a *neuet*. 1584 COOPER, *Thesaurus*.

(2) *Effet* (with surd for sonant); also, with varied termination, (1890 Robertson). *An effet*, taken as a *neffet*, and used in a figurative sense, appears to be the source of the Scotch *neffit*, *nyeffit*, *affit*, a puny creature.

- (a) *Effet*, an eft, a newt. 1736 PEGGE, *Alph. of Kenticisms* (E.D.S.), p. 27.  
*Effet*, a newt. *Var. dial.* 1847 HALLIWELL.  
 (b) *Effut*. — An eft or newt. 1888 LOWSLEY, *Berkshire Words* (E.D.S.), p. 77.  
*Neffit*, s. A puny creature, a pigmy, S. pron. *nyeffit*. 1808 JAMIESON.  
 [With a false etymology (from *neif*; fist).]  
*Nyaffet*, s. A diminutive, conceited chattering; Laird of Logan, p. 591.  
 1887 DONALDSON, *Suppl. to Jamieson*, p. 312.

(3) *Eft*, contracted from *effet*. I do not find an *est* taken as *neft*.

- (a) Ther ben attercoppes, bladesoukers and *cestes* that doon none harme.  
 1387 TREVISA (tr.), *Polychronicon* (Caxton), p. 48. (Heritage, p. 116.)  
 Lucertone, a great *est* or lizard. 1598 (and 1611) FLORIO.  
 Racogno, a Serpent called a Lizard or an *Eft*. 1598 FLORIO.  
 Ragagno, Ragano, an *este*, a lizard, a nute, an aspe [read *aske*].  
 1598 FLORIO.  
 Ramarro, an *est*, a nute, an aske. 1598 FLORIO.  
 Magrásio, an *Eft*, an Nute, an Aske. 1611 FLORIO [not in ed. 1598].  
 When you have remained as long as I have in this darkness your eyes will distinguish the smallest *est* that crawls on the floor.  
 1819 SCOTT, *Legend of Montrose*, xiii.

(4) *Ewt* (*ewte*, *eute*), contracted from *evet*; also aspirated \**hewt*, dial. *hoit* (H.); also with inserted *l*, dial. *yolt* (H.). For the contraction of *evet* to *ewt* compare that of *eaves* (ME. *evese*, AS. *efese*) to *ewes*:

- Spaldo, the *ewes* [1611 *ewes*] or pentaise of a house, an out-butting baie windowe. 1598 FLORIO.  
 Stillecidio, the dropping of the *ewes* [1611 *earwes*] of the house, a little sinke or gutter. 1598 FLORIO.

*An ewt* (an *ewte*, an *eute*), early in the fifteenth century, began to take the form of a *newt* (a *newte*, a *neute*, a *neut*, a *nute*); and *newt* is now the prevalent form.

- (a) *Ewte*. c 1400 *Maundeville*. (H. p. 342.)  
*Newte*, or *ewte*, wyrme. Lacertus. 1440 *Prompt. Parv.* p. 355.  
 Ligúro, an *Eft*, *au* [read *an*] *Eute*, an *Aske*, a *Lizard* [ed. 1598: Liguro, an *eft*, a *lizard*, a *nute* or *aske*]. 1611 FLORIO.  
*Yolt. Newt.* 1890 ROBERTSON, *Gloss. Glouc. Dial.* (E.D.S.), p. 184.
- (b) For rotynq of the croppe [of apples] the galle is boote  
 To touch hem with of *newtes* grene.  
 c 1420 *Palladius on Husbandrie* (E.E.T.S.), iii. 864.  
*Hec lacerta*, A° *newte*. c 1425 *Lat.-Eng. Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 642, l. 27).  
*Newte* or *eute*, wyrme. Lacertus. 1440 *Prompt. Parv.* p. 355.  
*Hec lacerta*, a *newtt*. c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 706, l. 9).  
*Hec lacerta*, A°° a *newte*.  
 c 1475 *Pictorial Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 766, l. 22).  
*A Newt*, lacerta. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 254 [under *N*; not entered under *E*.]  
*Newte*, a worme, lissarde. 1530 FALSGRAVE, p. 248.  
 Gezo, a lizard or a *newte*. 1598 FLORIO.  
 Liguro, an *eft*, a lizard, a *nute* or *aske* [ed. 1611: Ligúro, an *Eft*, *au* [read *an*] *Eute*, an *Aske*, a *Lizard*]. 1598 FLORIO.  
 Lucertola, a lizard or *newte*, or *eft* [ed. 1611: a *Lizard*, an *Eft*, a *Newt*]. 1598 FLORIO.  
 Marasandola, a water-lizard or *newte*. 1598 (and 1611) FLORIO.  
 Ragagno, Ragano, an *este*, a lizard, a *nute*, an *aspe* [read *aske*]. 1598 FLORIO. [Cited also under *eft*.]  
 Ramarro, an *eft*, a *nute*, an *aske*. 1598 FLORIO.  
 Magrásio, an *Eft*, an *Nute*, an *Aske*. 1611 FLORIO [not in ed. 1598].  
 Legart: m. *A newte* or lizard. 1611 COTGRAVE.  
 Tassot: m. *A newt* or *Aske*. 1611 COTGRAVE.  
 Eye of *Newt*, and Toe of Frogge,  
 Wooll of Bat, and Tongue of Dogge.  
 1623 SHAKESPEARE, *Macbeth* iv. 1. (F<sup>1</sup> p. 143.)  
*Newts* and blinde wormes do no wrong.  
 1623 SHAKESPEARE, *M. N. D.* ii. 2. (F<sup>1</sup> p. 150.)  
 The blacke Toad, and Adder blew,  
 The gilded *Newt*, and eyesse venom'd Worme.  
 1623 SHAKESPEARE, *Timon of Athens*, iv. 3. (F<sup>1</sup> p. 92.)  
 Poore Tom, that eats the swimming Frog, the Toad, the Tod-pole, the wall-  
*Newt* and the water. 1623 SHAKESPEARE, *King Lear*, iii. 4. (F<sup>1</sup> p. 298.)

87. Eye<sup>1</sup>, the organ of sight; dialectal *ee*, early mod. Eng. also *eie*, *iey*, ME. *eye*, *eie*, *ei*, *ye*, *yve*, *yee*, *ie*, *iey*, *iee*, *ee*, *i*, *eigh*, *e3e*, *ey3e*, *ehe*, *eghe*, *eyh*, *igh*, *y3e*, etc., with aspiration *hye*, *hie*, *hee*, *hy3e*; pl. (a) *eyne*, *eine*, *een*, *ene*, ME. *eyen*, *eyin*, *eyon*, *eien*, *ien*, *yen*, *ine*, *eyne*, *een*, *enc*, *yene*, *ain*, *ayn*, *eighen*, *eghne*, *eyhen*, *eizyen*, *ey3en* (printed *eyzen*, H. 68), *eghene*, *e3enc*, *e3en*, *3e3en*, *iz3en*, *y3en*, *yghen*, *yhen*, with aspiration *heyen*, *heyn*, *hegehen*; (b) with double plural termination *-(e)n-en*, ME. *enyn*, *ehnen*, *e3enen*, *ynon*; (c) with triple plural termination, ME. *hynone*, *hinene* (*y-n-on-e*, *i-n-en-e*); (c) also without the plural *-n*, ME. *e3e*, *he3e*, etc.; (d) also with later plural termination *-es*, *-s*, ME. *eyes*, *ees*, *yes*, *yees*, *yys*, *oes* (Wr.), *eiz3es*. See also the plural forms *nine*, *nines*, under *EYE*, II. A. 16.

We find ME. *an eye* taken as *a nye*, *a ne*.

- (a) God may do, withowten lye,  
Hys wylle in the twynkelyng of *an ye*.  
a 1500 *MS. Cantab. Ff. ii. 38, f. 240.* (H. p. 944.)

So war we both, in twynkling of *ane Ee* . . .  
1552 LYNDESAY, *The Dreame* (E.E.T.S.), l. 161.

- b) Hic oculus, hic talmus, A<sup>oe</sup> *ne*.  
c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 675, l. 15).  
Hic oculus, An<sup>oe</sup> *a nye*. c 1475 *Pictorial Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 747, l. 1).

Compare the other *nye* (*my nye*, *thy nye*, etc.), pl. *nyne*, *nine*, as  
elopt from *myn* (*mine*) *eye*, etc. (see EYE, III. A. 6); also *nine*,  
*s* in *up to the nine-s* (see EYE, II. A. 16).

This *nye* from *an eye* exists in several compounds, *birdsnye*, *pigsnye*,  
*nye*<sup>1</sup>, *pinknye*<sup>2</sup>, *pinknyed*, *wallynyed*.

- c) **Birdsnye**, pl. *birdnies* as singular, a delicate substitute for  
*eye* (see next). The taste for pigs in sentiment began to decline,  
ems, in the last quarter of the seventeenth century.

Dont talk to a body so: I cannot hold out if thou dost, my eyes will run  
over, poor fool, poor *birdsnies*, poor lambkin.  
1681 OTWAY, *Soldier's Fortune* (Wr. p. 212).

- d) **Pigansye**, *pigsny*, *pigsnie*, *pigs nie*, *pigsneye*, *pigsney*, *pigs-ney*,  
- *pigges nye*, *piggesnye*, *pigges-neyghe*, lit. 'pig's eye,' a humorous  
a of endearment.

She was a prymerole, a *piggesnye* [var. *pigges nye*, *pygges nye*, *piggis nye*;  
also *piggesneyghe*].

c 1386 CHAUCER, *Miller's Tale*, l. 82 (Six-Text, A, 3268).

What & ye shalbe my *pigges nye*.

a 1529 SKELTON, *Mannerly Margery*, l. 17. (Ritson, *Anc. Songs*, p. 101.)

Miso, mine own *pigsnie*, thou shalt hear news of Dametas.

1590 SIR P. SIDNEY, *Arcadia*.

Cucco, the bird called a cuckoo, and idle loytring gasing gull. . . . Also  
taken for a minion, a fauorite or *pigsneye*. 1598 FLORIO.

Vago, beautifull, faire, trim . . . comely, blithe, bonnie vnto the eie . . .

also ones fauorite, minion, louer, seruant, *pigs-ney* [1611 omitted],  
wanton, darling, paramour or harts delight. 1598 FLORIO.

[*Pigsneye* occurs also under *Pincia*, *Pupo*, *Tata*.]

Thou art,

As I believe, the *pigsney* of his heart.

1630 MASSINGER, *Picture*, ii. 1. (C.D.)

And here you may see I have

Even such an other,

Squeaking, gibbering, of everie degree

The player foolles deare darling *pigsnie*

He calles himself his brother,

Come of the verie same familie.

1630 *Tarleton's Horse-loade of Foolles.* (H. p. 623.)

As soon as she close to him came,

She spake and call'd him by his name,

Stroking him on the head, *Pigsny*,

Quoth she, tell me who made it cry.

1665 *Homer a la Mode.* (N<sup>2</sup>.)

The word is sometimes used for 'eye' simply, and is applied ~~also~~ to the carnation pink (C.D.).

Shine upon me but benignly,  
With that one, and that other *pigsney*.

1664 S. BUTLER, *Hudibras*, II. i. 56.

(3) *Pink-nye*<sup>1</sup>, also *pinkany*, pl. *pink-nyes*, *pinkanies*, *pinkie-ne* ~~ene~~, etc., a small or narrow eye. Compare *pink-nyed*, below. For the middle vowel in *pinkany*, *pinkie-nine*, etc., see remark as to *cock* ~~ene~~ under EGG, No. 74.

*Pink nyes*. 1575 LANEHAM, *Letter from Kenilworth* (Ballad Soc. p. 17).

*Pinkie nine*. 1594 LODGE, *Wounds of Civil War* (Dodsley, *Old P.*, viii. 63).

*Pinkany*. 1599 *Two Angrie Women of Abingdon*, p. 68. (C.H.)

The normal form *pink-eye* is found also in use. See C.D.

(4) *Pink-nye*<sup>2</sup>, *pinkney*, *pinkeney*, that which has eyes of a pink or reddish color; applied to a pansy, and to a potato.

*Pinkneys*. Pink-eyes, a particular species of potatoe with red eyes or ~~ed~~ ds. 1828 [CARR], *Craven Gloss*. ii. 46.

*Pinkeney-John*. The heart's-ease, or small original garden pansy. According to Evans [1848], in Leicestershire it is *Pink o' my Johns*. Ac.

1854 BAKER, *Northampt. Gloss*. ii. 16.

(5) *Pink-nyed*, *pinkanyed*, small-eyed.

*Pink-an-ey'd*. 1599 *Soliman and Perseda*, p. 274. (E.I.)

The normal form *pink-eyed* is also found:

Gauzo, bleere-eied, *pinck-eied*, squint-eied, goggle-eyed, *whal-eied* [1611 whale-eyed]. 1598 FLORIO 10.

Lucinio, *pink-eide* [1611 *pinck-eyde*], or that hath little eyes. 1598 FLORIO 10.

*Pink-eyed*. Small eyed. 1847 HALLIWE 11.

(6) *Wall-nyed* = *wall-eyed*, but applied to the horse's color.

Colours [sc. of horses] nowe to knowe attendeth ye:

The baye is goode coloure, and broune purpure,

The lyarde, and the white and browne is sure.

The *walnyed* is goode, also the blake

Is fyne colour, the falowe, and hert hued,

The pomly gray for him I undertake,

The gray, the goldenhered and the skued,

And next hem in merite is dyvers hued

Blacke, bay, and permyxt gray, mousdon also,

The fomy, spotty hue, and many moo.

c 1420 *Palladius on Husbandrie* (E.E.T.S.), iv. 804. 813

The editor in his marginal sketch-paraphrase illuminates *walnyed* here by "walnied." It is to be taken, I think, as 'pie-bald.' FLORIO defines *gazzo* as "a *whal-eied* horse" and "also a pie coloured horse," "a pide horse."

Gauzo, bleere-eied, *pinck-eied*, squint-eied, goggled-eied, *whal-eied* [1611 whale-eyed]. . . Gazzo, Gazo, a *whal-eied* horse, a squint or goggle-eie. Also a pie coloured horse. 1598 FLORIO 10.

Gázzo, as Gáuzo. Also a pide horse. 1611 FLORIO.

It might at first sight be supposed that *goldney*, *goldny*, the name of a fish, contains this particular *ney*, *nye*; and some doubt has been felt as to the etymology. I find, however, the full form *golden-eye* applied to the fish (it is well established as the name of a duck).

Scaro, a fish that devours all the small fishes he can come unto, and cheweth like a beast: some take it to be the guilthead or *goldenie*.

Sargon: m. The Gilthead or *Goldeney*.

1598 FLORIO.

1611 COTGRAVE.

*Goldney*, *goldny*. . . . The goldenmaid, golden wrasse, gilthead, or conner, *Crenilabrus melops*, or *C. tinca*.

1889 C.D.

The *nye* in *birdsnye*, *pigsnye*, *pinknye*<sup>1</sup>, *pinknye*<sup>2</sup>, *pinknyed*, *wallnyed*, is to be pronounced long, or with a diphthong.

This early use (in Chaucer) of the rustical form *nye* in composition helps to confirm the explanation before given of *cockney*, which arose about the same time. See AV, No. 57.

**38. Eyelid**, ME. *eghelyd*, *y3elyd*, etc. I find ME. *an yeled* taken as a *nyeled*.

(a) & hit lyfte vp þe *y3e-lydtez*.

c 1360 *Syr Gawayne and the Green Knight* (E.E.T.S.), l. 446.

*An Eghelyd*, cilium, palpebra, palpando [read a *palpando*].

1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 112.

(b) Hec palpebra, An<sup>ca</sup> a *nyeled*.

c 1475 *Pictorial Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 747, l. 2).

**39. Haggler**, formerly *hagler*, a huckster, etc. It is possible that an *eggler*, "one who goes about the country collecting eggs for sale" (H.), was originally an *'aggler*, an *haggler*, or an *'iggler*, an *higgler*, a general huckster whose business was reduced by popular etymology to dealing in eggs (dial. *aggs*, and *iggs*). Otherwise we must explain *eggler* as *egg* + *-ler*, after the supposed analogy of *pedler*, *haggler*, *higgler*, etc.

An *'aggler*, an itinerant huckster, also a bungler, is probably the source of a *noggl* (for a *\*naggler*), as defined.

(a) Dorsers are peds, or panniers, carried on the backs of horses on which *haglers* use to ride and carry their commodities.

1662 FULLER, *Worthies*, Dorsetshire. (C.D.)

*Haggler*. The upper servant of a farm. *I. Wight*.

1847 HALLIWELL.

*Haggler*. A bungler. (Prov. Eng.)

1890 C.D.

*Higgler*, a huxter or petty dealer owning a cart. The term is recognized in local directories.

1891 C. WORDSWORTH, *Rutland Words* (E.D.S.), p. 17.

(b) A *Nogler*. This is the name formerly given to those people who travelled the country with Sheffield wares; a practice now generally left off there, inasmuch that the name itself is falling into oblivion, as the original of the word has long since done.

1777 *Gent. Mag.* July, p. 321.

*Noggl*, a bungling person.

1847 HALLIWELL.

[Halliwell derives this from "noggle, to walk awkwardly," but the derivation is probably the other way, like *peddle* from *peddler*, *pedler*, *pedlar*, "burgle" from *burglar*, etc.]

90. **Haterel**, the nape of the neck; ME. *haterel*, *haterelle*, from OF. *haterel*, *hasterel*.

*Hasterel*: m. as Hastereau. *Hastereau*: m. The throat-peece or forepart of the neck, of a hog (belike frō the Wallons, by whom a mans throat- or necke is thus tearmed;) also [etc.]. 1611 COTGRAVE.

We find ME. *an haterelle* as a *naterelle*.

(a) *An Haterelle*, ceruix, ceruicula, diminutium, vertex.

1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 178.

Also fro the *haterel* of the croun  
To the soul of the foot ther doun.

c 1500 (?) *Ashmole MS.* 41, f. 17. (H.)

(b) Nape of an hedde (or *naterelle*, infra). Occiput, cervix, vertex.

1440 *Prompt. Parv.* p. 351.

*Naterelle*, idem quod *nape*, supra.

1440 *Prompt. Parv.* p. 351.

Hic vertex, An<sup>o</sup> a *naterelle*.

c 1475 *Pictorial Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 745, l. 14).

91. **Heaving**, raising; applied, like *raising* itself, to yeast. I do not find any example of *heaving* in this sense, but *an heaving*, dial. *an hewing*, appears to be the source of *a neaving*, which I also find in the form *newing*. Compare *eves* for *eaves*, under EVET, No. 86 (4).

(b) *Neaving*, yeast or barm. 1681 WORLIDGE, *Dict. Rusticnm.* (P. p. 582.)  
*Newing*. Yeast, or barm. *Essex.* 1790 GROSE; also 1847 HALLIWELL.

92. **Heel-to**, from *heel*, originally *heeld*, *heald*, *hield*, ME. *heldan*, AS. *heldan*, *hyldan*, incline, lean, + *to*. Compare *lean-to*, a small building supported on one side by a larger building or by an already existing wall, a shed, a pentice; *heeling*, "ealin", a shed set against another building; a lean-to" (1875 Nodal and Milner, *Lancashire Gloss.* p. 114). I do not find *heel-to*, but *an heel-to* must be the original of *a neel-to*, *a neal-too* in Coles.

(b) *Neal-too* [1717 *neel to*], a deep bank or shore without showing.

1692 COLES, *Eng. Dict.*

93. **Heir**, ME. *heir*, *hair*, *hayre*, *eir*, *eyr*, *eire*, *eyre*, *air*, *ayre*, OF. *heir*, *eir*, L. *heres*. ME. *an ayre* appears as a *nayre*.

(a) And Adames *eyres* beoþ parted on þre.

c 1250 *On Serving Christ*, l. 27 (*Old Eng. Misc.*, E.E.T.S., p. 91).

& sothely sende to Sare a soun & an *hayre*.

c 1360 *Cleanness*, l. 666 (*Early Eng. Allit. Poems*, E.E.T.S., p. 57).

Hic *heres*, an *are*. c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 683, l. 31).

An *ayre*, *heres* [etc.]. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 12.

*Haeres*, ane *aire* of land or geare.

1595 DUNCAN, *Appendix Etymologiae* (E.D.S. 1874).

(b) Eue for Abel thoght ful fair

þat god had sent hir suilk an *air* [var. an *nayre*, an *eir*].

c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cott. ms., E.E.T.S.), l. 1211.

This is a *nayre*, and a knyzt. c 1420 *Anturs of Arther*, xvii. l. 11

(Robson, *Three Metr. Rom.*, Camden Soc., p. 13).

**Herring.** An 'erring becomes a nerring.

What 'ave you got there?" asked Mac. "A nerring!" said Benny.  
a 1882 *Froggy's Little Brother*, p. 62. (P. p. 569.)

**Hickon, Hickin.** From *Hick*, ME. *Hicke, Hikke, Hykke, ick*, a familiar form of *Richard*, was formed the diminutive, *Hickin*, evidenced by the existing surnames *Hickin, Hicken, Hicens, Higgin, Higgins, Hickinson, Higginson*, and by the old form *Hichin* existing in the surnames *Hitchen, Hitchens, Hichins* (formerly *Hychyns*), *Hitchinson*.

*on, Hickin*, was probably applied, like the related *Hichcock* (o. 96), to any simple fellow; hence, from *an hickin* we have, a simple fellow. Compare *nickycox*, below.

*Vickin, Nikey*, or *Nizey*, a soft simple fellow; also a diminutive of *Isaac*.  
1796 GROSE, *Dict. Vulg. Tongue* (also ed. Egan, 1823).

The last statement is not etymologically true as to *Nickin*.]

*Vickin*. A soft simple fellow. 1847 HALLIWELL.

**Hichcock, Hitchcock, Hickcock**, from *Hich, Hitch* (still exist- a surname), *Hick*, + *cock*, familiarly used as a diminutive (so *ick, Wilcock, Hancock*, and many other names). *Hichcock* is the *Dicky*, a diminutive of *Richard*. It survives as a surname, *ick, Hickcock, Hickok, Hlckcox, Hickox*.

"Some ca's me Jock, some ca's me John,

Some disna ken my name;

But whan I'm in the king's court,

*Mitchcock* is my name."

"*Mitchcock!* hey!" the lady did say,

And spelt it oure again;

"If that is your name in the Latin tongue,

Earl *Richard* is your name!"

*Richard (B)* (Kinloch, *Anc. Scottish Ballads*, p. 15; Child, *Ballads*, iii. 395).

"In some places they call me Jack,

In other some they call me John;

But when into the Queen's Court,

Oh then *Lithcock* is my name."

"*Lithcock! Lithcock!*" the lady said,

And oft she spelt it over again;

"*Lithcock!* it's Latin," the lady said,

"*Richard's* the English of that name."

*Richard (A)* (Motherwell, *Minstrelsy*, p. 377; Child, *Ballads*, iii. 269).

*hcock* and *Lithcock* in these two ballads are plainly from one

That source must have been *Hitchcock, Hichcock*. *Mitch-* d *Lithcock* are in fact "Latin," that is, unintelligible in English; in the original version the name was *Hitchcock, Hichcock*; *Richard's* the English of that name."

being a common diminutive name, with a touch of contempt,



*noddy-poll* and *noddy-pate*, as presently mentiond, to designate "a weak foolish fellow" (H.).

The original *Hoddy*, though retaind in these compounds (where, however, some confusion with other words must, perhaps, be allowd), and in the surnames *Hoddy*, *Oddy*, *Oddie*, seems to hav early disappear'd from independent use, *an hoddy* being taken as *a noddy*, and *noddy*, by reason of its popular association with *nod*, becoming everywhere prevalent. It was a favorit vituperation in the century from Edward the Sixth to Cromwell the First.

- (b) Few aftercrop much,  
But *nodies* [1580 *noddies*] and such. 1573 TUSSEK. (1854 Baker.)  
Irus the begger, and Thersites the glorious *noddie*, whom Homer maketh  
mention of. 1589 [PUTTENHAM], *Arte of Eng. Poesie* (ed. Arber), p. 58.  
Balordo, a foole, a *noddie*, a dizzard, an idiot, a giddie-head. 1598 FLORIO.  
Caillette: m. A foole, ninnie, *noddie*, naturall. 1611 COTGRAVE.

The word is very frequent in Florio and Cotgrave.

*Noddy*, Niny, Sot. 1668 WILKINS, *Real Character*, p. 205.

Hence *noddy* as an adjectiv, and as a verb, and the burlesque Latin-seeming forms *supernodical*, *supernoditie*.

You present us with an *inane nihil*, a new directory of a *noddy* synod.  
1648 *British Bellman* (Harl. Misc. vii. 627). (D.)

If such an asse be *noddied* for the nonce,  
I say but this to helpe his idle fit,  
Let him but thanke himselfe for lacke of wit.

1600 BRETON, *Pasquil's Fooles-cappe*, p. 24. (D.)

O *supernodical* foole! 1594 *Taming of a Shrew*, p. 828.  
The subjects of his *Supernoditie*. 1622 BRETON, *Strange Newes*, p. 3. (D.)

The notion that *noddy* has something to do with *nod* is an old one, but it must be rejected in favor of the etymology here proposed.

A *Noddie*, qui animi incertus est, & quouis suasu, impulsuq; huc illuc mutatur, & inclinatur, because he noddeth when he should speake. Vñ.  
*Foole, Disard*. 1617 MINSHEU.

But a fool, reverend lexicographer, is one who speakes when he should nodde.

*Pro.* But what said she?

*Sp.* I.

*Pro.* *Nod-I*, why that's *noddy*.

*Sp.* You mistooke Sir: I say she did nod;

And you aske me if she did nod, and I say I.

*Pro.* And that set together is *noddy*.

1623 SHAKESPEARE, *T. G. V.*, i. I (F<sup>1</sup>. p. 21).

[And more stuff of the same sort, which the author is pleased to attribute to "a quicke wit."]

There is more to be said about *noddy*, and indeed about all the words in this region, but I must not enlarge.

104. **Hoddy-peak**, in 16th century *hoddypeke*, *huddypeke*; apparently from *Hoddy* + *peak*, taken in the sense of 'hed' or 'poll.' Compare *hoddy-poll* (No. 105). To an *hoddypeak* is due a *noddy-peak*, which was commonly associated with *nod*. See above.

(a) Can he play well at the *hoddypeke*? a 1529 SKELTON, *Magnificence*, l. 1176.

He sayth, "thou *huddypeke*,  
Thy lernynge is to lewde."

a 1529 SKELTON, *Why come ye nat to courte*? l. 326.

What, ye brainsicke fooles, ye *hoddy-pekes*, ye doddy-poules!

1562 (?) LATIMER, *Sermons*, fol. 44 b. (C.D.)

It is not clear whether the Scotch *hudpik*, *hudpyke*, "a miser" (Jam.), has any relation to the above:

Catyvis, wrechis, and ockeraris,  
*Hud-pykis*, hurdars and garderaris.

a 1530 DUNBAR, *Bannatyne Poems*, p. 28. (Jam. 1808.)

("Hud-pykis are here conjoined with penurious wretches, hoarders, and usurers." Jam., note.)

Mayhew and Skeat explain *hoddypeke*, *huddypeke*, and *hudpik*, together under *huddy-peke*:

*Huddy-peke*, sb., a hood-pick, one who thieves out of a man's hood, simpleton.

1888 MAYHEW AND SKEAT, *Concise Dict. of Middle Eng.*, p. 118.

Of course there is no such word as "hood-pick" except as *hudpik*

(*hudpyk*) may represent it.

(b) Gocciolone . . . a filthy *nodie peake* [1611 a *noddy-peake*], a sneaker, one dropt downe by chance. 1598 FLORIO.

Benet: m. A simple, plaine, doltish fellow; a *noddipeake*, a ninny-hammer, a pea-goose, a coxe, a sillie companion. 1611 COTGRAVE.

Woodcock slangams, ninnie-hammer, fly-catchers, *noddie-peak* simpletons. 1663 URQUHART, tr. *Rabelais*, I. xxv. (D.)

105. **Hoddy-poll**, a simpleton; from *Hoddy*, as above, + *poll*, hed. An *hoddy-poll* produces a *noddy-poll*, in early spelling *noddipol*, *nodipol*, *nodypol*.

(a) Wherat much I wonder  
How such a *hoddy poule*  
So boldly dare controule  
And so malapertly withstand  
The kynges owne hand.

a 1529 SKELTON, *Why come ye nat to courte*? (R.)

(b) *A noddy polle*. a 1529 SKELTON, *Works*, ed. Dyce, p. 142.  
Or els so foolyshe, that a verye *nodypoll* nydyote myght be ashamed to say it. 1557 SIR T. MORE, *Works*, p. 709. (C.D.)

[Note the adjectiv use, and the association with *nidiol*, which owes its initial *n* to the same cause. See No. 120.]

Vix tandem sensi stolidus. I now at length hardly understand with much ado, whorson *nodipol* that I am. 1641 Terence in *English*. (Wr.)

Very likely *noddy-poll* was thought to be 'noddy poll,' as if literally 'sleepy hed'; but this was too popular to be correct. With *noddy-poll* compare *noddy-poop*, a word hitherto overlooked. It ends like *nincompoop*, but begins earlier :

Tattaméle, a kind of sweete fruite. Also a *noddiepoope*, a gull, or a sot, a blab, a prattler [last sentence omitted in ed. 1611]. 1598 FLORIO.

106. **Homily**, ME. *homilie*, from OF. *homilie*. An *homily* becomes in provincial use a *nominy*, meaning 'a set speech' or 'piece,' with variations, as the collected quotations show.

- (a) *An Homilie*. Homilie. 1632 SHERWOOD, *Eng.-French Dict.* (1650).  
 (b) *Nominy*, A speech, an oration. 2. Complimentary verses, addressed to a bride, immediately after the marriage ceremony, by the first boy in the school, who expects from the bride a present in return.  
 1828 [CARR], *Craven Gloss.* ii. 12.  
*Nomine*. A long speech. *North*. 1847 HALLIWELL.  
*Nominy*, a set speech or form of words; a prepared oration. 'He gets weel thruff his *nominy*' is said of a town-crier. 'He knaws his *nominy* as well as a chotch clerk.'  
 1877 ROSS, STEAD, and HOLDERNESS, *Holderness Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 101.  
*Nominy*, a long, wordy, and tiresome speech.  
 1882 NODAL AND MILNER, *Lanc. Gloss.* p. 200.

How a homily, which is a sermon, came to mean "a long, wordy, and tiresome speech," I will not stop to discover.

*Nominy*, a tale, story. It is generally joined with the word 'long,' as 'a long *nominy*.' It may originally have been a jocular name for a sermon, as the clergy of the Old Church used to begin their sermons with the invocation: "In *nomine* Patris," &c. — in a language the people would not understand. . . . I am told that in the early part of the present century the bounds of the parish of Sheffield were beaten, and that every time the ceremony took place a *nominy* was repeated to children, who were asked to remember the occasion. Nuts and sweet-meats were also given to the children in particular places, in order that they might remember what they had seen in their childhood, and could give testimony hereafter if required. In some parts of Derbyshire, the children, instead of receiving sweet-meats, were flogged.

1888 ADDY, *Sheffield Gloss.* p. 159.  
*Nominy*. A doggerel rhyme, a jingle. I connect this word with Lat. *Nomine*, and group it with other ecclesiastical words that have been handed down from mediæval times; it is an example among many which shows how a word may degenerate. Ex. — *A'e ya t'nomminy off?* i.e. do you know the rhyme by heart?

1892 M. C. F. MORRIS, *Yorkshire Folk-talk, Gloss.* p. 347.  
*Nominies* or Formulas. The word *nominy* is still used to signify formula in Yorkshire and several northern counties.  
 1892 G. F. NORTHALL, *Eng. Folk-Rhymes*, p. 319.  
 [The author givs 22 pages of "Nominies."]

The word has no doubt degenerated; but not from Latin *nomine*. For the change of \**nomily* to *nominy*, compare the opposit change, in provincial speech, of *chimney* to *chimly*, *chimbly*.

107. **Horologue**, ME. *horologe*, *horlege*, but commonly *h-less*, *orloge*, *orlege*, etc. We find *an orloge* keeping time as *a norloge* or *a norlyge*.

- (a) Hoc orologium, A<sup>oe</sup> *a horologe*.  
*c 1475 Pictorial Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 756, l. 11).  
*An horlege*, horologium [etc.]. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 188.
- (b) Hoc orilegium, *a norlyge*. Hic oronoscopus, *a orlegge*.  
*c 1450 Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 721, l. 33).  
*a 1500 Nominale MS.* (H.)  
*A norloge*.

108. **Horrible**, ME. *horrible*, *orrible*, from OF. *horrible*, *orrible*. We are told "*a norrible* tale."

- (b) The song of "*a norrible* tale" popular some twenty-years ago.  
 1882 PALMER, *Folk Etym.* p. 570.

109. **Horrid**. We hear of "*a norrid* bull-fight."

Mrs. Merton . . . now exclaimed, with all the vehemence of which her excitable nature was capable, "Where is that abominable wretch as dared to take my own darling boy out to *a norrid* bull-fight?" For though Mr. and Mrs. Merton were excessively wealthy people, yet long residence in the Island of Jamaica had done much for their letter "H," which, as it were, grew wild and luxuriantly among the flowers of speech which both Mr. and Mrs. Merton were in the habit of cultivating.

1882 F. C. BURNAND, *New Hist. of Sandford and Merton*, xiii.

110. **Hospital**, ME. *hospitalle*, from OF. *hospitalle*. We find ME. *ospitalle* as *a nospitalle*.

- (a) *An Hospitalle*, cenodochium [etc.]. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 190.  
*Ospitale*, *an hospitall* or a spittle. 1598 FLORIO.
- (b) Hoc hospitalle, *a nospitalle*. *c 1450 Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 719, l. 16).

111. **Hosteler**, *hostler*, *ostler*, ME. *hosteler*, *osteler*, OF. *hostelier*. ME. *an hostyller* appears as *a nostyller*.

- (a) An Hosteler, vbi *A osteler*. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 190.  
 In good fayth I wenyd yow had bene *an hosteler* verely.  
*c 1485 Conversion of St. Paul*, l. 96. (*Digby Myst.*, N.S.S. 1882, p. 30.)
- (b) Hic hostiarius, *a nostyller*. *c 1450 Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 687, l. 37).

112. **Hour**, ME. *hour*, *howr*, *houre*, earlier and properly without *h*, *owr*, *oure*, *owre*, *ure*. *An hour* (ME. *an our*, *an owre*, etc.) still appears as *a nour*.

- (a) Pos laste *on ure* habbeþ i-travailed.  
*a 1250 Old Kentish Sermons*, in *Old Eng. Misc.* (E.E.T.S.), p. 34.  
*An ure* [var. *an our*, *on our*, *an hour*].  
*c 1300 Cursor Mundi*, Cott. ms. (E.E.T.S.), l. 488.  
 It was noht half *an our* of dai.  
*c 1325 Poem* quoted in *Eng. Metr. Hom.* (ed. Small), p. xv.  
 Withinne *an oure* of þe ny3t an entre þay hade.  
*c 1360 Cleanness*, l. 1779. (*Early Eng. Allit. Poems*, E.E.T.S., p. 90.)  
 In þe wyche þer is a brenyng wel [wheel]  
 A þosand tyrnys *an our* about doþ run.  
*c 1426 (?) AUDELAY*, *The xi Pains of Hell.* (*Old Eng. Misc.*, E.E.T.S., p. 212.)

- (b) *A nowar* before the none.  
*c* 1500 *Hunting of the Cheviot*. (Child, *Ballads*, vii. 39: see note, p. 36.)  
 Three quarters of a *nour*. 1699 (Sept. 13), *Register of St. Andrew's*,  
*Newcastle*; in Burns, *Parish Registers*, p. 192. (P. p. 570.)  
 More [than] alff a *nore*. 1552 MACHYN, *Diary* (Camden Soc.), p. 29.  
 [It was the boast of an Oxford guide that he could] do the alls, collidges  
 and principal hedifices in a *nour* and a *naff*.  
 1853 BRADLEY, *Verdant Green*, pt. i., ch. v. (P. p. 569.)  
 In des 'bout half *n'our*, honey, bofe un um wuz back in de new groun'  
 des like dey never heer'd er no well.  
 1881 J. C. HARRIS, *Uncle Remus*, p. 75.

113. **Hub**, a slang term for *husband*, more familiar in the diminutiv form *hubby* (C.D.). From an '*ub* we get a *nub*.

- (a) Hbw to die rich? — (Don't tell your wife,  
 Mayhap she loves her *hub*) —  
 Just pile assurance on your life,  
 Then — join a football club!  
 1892 Quoted from "an insurance organ," in *London Daily News*.  
 (b) *Nub*. A husband. A cant term. 1847 HALLIWELL.

114. **Humble**, also pronounced and formerly written *umble*, ME. *humble*, *umble*, OF. *humble*, *umble*. We find "an *umble* person" living in "a *numble* abode."

- (a) *Umble*. a 1250 *Old Kentish Sermons*, in *Old Eng. Misc.* (E.E.T.S.), p. 30—  
 Ther ben loveris of suche a sorte  
 That faynen an *umble* porte.  
 1393 GOWER, *C. A.* (H. p. 638.)

Den Brer Rabbit talk mighty '*umble*.

- (b) "I am well aware that I am the *umble* person going," said Uriah Heep, modestly; "let the other be where he may. My mother is likewise a very *umble* person. We live in a *numble* abode, Master Copperfield, but have much to be thankful for. My father's former calling was *umble*. He was a sexton." 1850 DICKENS, *David Copperfield*, xvi.

115. **Hunch**, a hump, a lump; an assibilated form of *hunk*, which is probably a free variant of *hump* (compare *lunch* with *lump*). *Hunch* and *hunk* ar homely words; literary examples ar comparatively few and recent. The primary sense appears to be 'a hump or protuberance'; but the commoner sense is 'a lump or thick piece,' especially of bred or cheese. An *hunch* grows into a *nunch*. Compare a *nunk* for an *hunk* (116).

- (a) *Hunch*. A great hunch; a piece of bread. *South*.  
 1790 GROSE, *Prov. Gloss*.  
 His wife brought out the cut loaf, and a piece of Wiltshire cheese, and I took them in hand, gave Richard a good *hunch* and took another for myself. a 1835 COBBETT. (C.D.)  
*Hunch*. A good big slice, or lump, of bread or meat.  
 1823 MOOR, *Suffolk Words*, p. 180.  
*Hunch*. A lump of anything. *Var. dial*. 1847 HALLIWELL.  
 (b) Bever — Lunch — *Nunsh* — Nunshun. 1823 MOOR, *Suffolk Words*, p. 28.  
 'Levener — Noonins — *Nunsh* — Lunsh — Nunshen — Bever — (*whet*, and *bait*, and *snap*, and *snack*, and *snatch*, altogether extra interpolations, need not be regularly reckoned) — and Foorzes.  
 1823 MOOR, *Suffolk Words*, p. 29.

*Nunch.* The same, perhaps, as *Lunch*. *Nuncheon* and *Luncheon* are old words. 1823 MOOR, *Suffolk Words*, p. 257.

A harnet zet in a hollur tree,  
A proper spiteful twoad was he; . . .  
A bittle up thuck tree did clim,  
And scarnvully did look at him.

They quarrel'd ; and a woodpecker settled the question for them in good lawyerly fashion, not forgetting his bil :

Just then a yuckel, passin' by,  
Was axed by them the cause to try :  
"Ha! ha! I zee how 'tis," zays he,  
"They'll make a vamous *nunch* vor me."  
His bill was shearp, his stomach lear,  
Zo up a snapped the caddlin pair!

1847 *The Harnet and the Bittle.* (H. p. xxxi.)

*Nunch, Nuncheon.* The intermediate refreshment between breakfast and dinner; corresponding with *lunch* and *luncheon*, and contradistinguished to the afternoon repast, called *Four o'clock*.

1854 BAKER, *Northampt. Gloss.* ii. 67.

There is no room here to discuss the relation of *nunch* to *nuncheon*. They are different in origin.

¶ 16. *Hunk.* An *hunk* becomes a *nunk*, speld *nunc* in Halliwell. See the preceding case.

(a) *Hunk.* Same as *Hunch* [viz. "a lump of anything. Var. dial."].

1847 HALLIWELL.

*Hunk*, sometimes *Hunch*. — A thick piece of bread, bacon, &c.

1888 LOWSLEY, *Berkshire Words* (E.D.S.).

*Hunk, Hunch.* — The same as *Chunk*.

1889 PEACOCK, *Manley and Corringham Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 283.

(b) *Nunc.* A large lump or thick piece of anything. *South*.

1847 HALLIWELL.

*Nunc, s.* A thick lump. *South*.

1857 WRIGHT.

¶ 17. *Huss, ME.* *husse*, a dogfish.

*Husse*, a fysshe, *rousette*.

1530 PALSGRAVE, p. 233.

*Rousette*: f. A russetin apple; also, a little Dog-fish, whose ruddie skinne is powdered all ouer with black spots. — *Rouset*: m. A little ruddie Dog-fish.

1611 COTGRAVE.

An *husse* appears to be the same as the word meagerly enterd as "*russe, fische*," in one edition (Pynson's, 1499) of the *Promptorium Parvulorum* (which see, p. 361). Apparently there is a third form, *huske* or *husk*; but this is uncertain:

*Huske*, fyshe (*husk*, *fish*, K.H. *husk* of *fyshe*, S. P.). Squamus, C.F., squalus, Cath.

1440 *Prompt. Parv.* p. 254.

¶ 18. I, the letter *i*. ME. an *i* (*an y*) is found written a *ny*.

(a) Witt an O and an *I* [var. a *I*, st. 2, 6, 7, 8, etc.].

c 1460 *The Good Wyf wold a Pylgremage* (E.E.T.S.), st. 5.

(b) Witt an O & a *ny*.

c 1460 *Id.* st. 1.

The same refrain occurs in a manuscript cited by Halliwell under *Saint John*, p. 702; and in *Political Poems*, ed. Wright, i. 253, 268, etc.

119. *Ickle*, also *iccle*, dial. *eccle*, *eecl*, etc., an icicle, the second element of *icicle*, formerly *ise-ickle*, from *ice* + *ickle*. We find ME. *an ykle* written *a nykle*. The word has undergone many other transformations; as may be shown later.

- (a) *Ickle*. An icicle. 1888 ADDY, *Sheffield Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 116.  
 (b) *A nykle*. a 1500 (?) *Med. Ms. Cant.* (Way, p. 259.)

120. *Idiot*, formerly also *ideot*, *idiote*, etc. This has produced three distinct forms with the adherent *n*, each with several variations.

(1) *Idiot*, formerly *ideot*, ME. *idiot*, *ydiot*, *idiote*, *idyote*, *ydyote*, etc., from OF. *idiote*. *An idiot* appears as *a nidiot*.

- (a) pou sais to me as til a sott,  
 Haldes þou me for *ani* [read *ane*] *idiot* [*var. wenyst þou I be a fole*]?  
 c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cott. ms.) (E.E.T.S.), l. 10456.

And wostow why? for thow were wont to chace  
 At Love in scorne, and for despite him calle,  
 'Seinte Ydiot,' 'Lorde of thise foolles alle.'

c 1374 CHAUCER, *Tr. & Cr.* i. 908.

*Idyote*, neither fowle ne ryght wyce (*idyote*, halfe innocent, H.P., *idyothe*, nodyr fool, noþer wyse, S.). *Idiota*. 1440 *Prompt. Parv.* p. 258.  
 I have knowne . . . many other learned men that haue bene very *Idiots* in maner of any worldly pollicy that they had.

1581 STAFFORD, *A Compendious or Brief Examination* (N.S.S.), p. 21.

*Ane Ideot* preist Esay compaireth, plaine,  
 Til ane dum dogge that can nocht byte nor bark.

1602 LYNDSEY, *Thrie Estais* (E.E.T.S.), l. 3887.

- (b) A verye nodypoll *nydyote* myght be ashamed to say it.  
 1557 SIR THOMAS MORE, *Works*, p. 709.  
 He's such a *nidiot* as I nivver seed afore.  
 1877 PEACOCK, *Lincolnshire Gloss.* (P.)

*Nidiot*. — An idiot.

1889 PEACOCK, *Manley and Corringham Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 369.

(2) With a little expansion *idiot* appears as *idiwit*, in Scottish brogue *idiwut*, and *an idiwit* takes on the candid appearance of a *niddywit*, a simpleton, in popular exegesis one who has only the 'wit' of a 'niddy,' *niddy* being one of the guises of our simple-minded young friend *eddy* (see No. 70).

- (a) *An idiwut*. a 1835 WILSON, *Noctes Ambrosianæ*. (P.)  
 (b) *Niddywit*, s. A simpleton. *Durh.* 1857 WRIGHT.

(3) *Idiot* is often reduced to two syllables, *id'yot*; it is then assibilated \**idjot*, *idget*, \**ijjet*, *ijjit*, dial. *udgit*, *eejit*. *An idiot*, pronounced thus *an idyot*, \**ijjet*, *ijjit*, emerged in the seventeenth century as a *nidget*, speld also *nigget*, *nigit*, *nigeot*, the last apparently showing a consciousness of its relation to *idiot*, as then commonly speld *ideot*.

- (a) Thou *udgit*, quo hoo, but wher dus hee dwel?

1847 *A Lancashire Ballad*, l. 11. (H. p. xxiii.)

[*Medicus Hibernicus loq.*] *Ijjits!* 1873 CHARLES READE, *A Simpleton*.

I note *ejit* in a "dialect" story in the *Century Magazine*, July, 1892. I am sensible that "dialect" stories are often disappointing as sources of dialect forms, but they can always be relied upon to supply examples of idioms.

- (b) It [that is, the old word *niding*] signifieth, as it seemeth, no more than abject, base-minded, false-hearted, coward, or *nidget*.

1605 (?) CAMDEN, *Remaines*, p. 31. (N.)

[The etymology here suggested is of course erroneous.]

This clean *nigit* was a foole,  
Shapt in meane of all.

1608 ARMIN, *Nest of Ninnies*. (H.)

Fear him not, mistress, 'tis a gentle *niget*, you may play with him.

1653 MIDDLETON, *The Changeling* (*Anc. Dr.* iv. 267). (N.)

*Nigon*, *Nigeon*, *Nigeot*, an idiot, or fool. 1692 COLES, *Eng. Dict.*

[*Nigon* is a different word (C.D. s.v.); *nigeon* seems to be manufactured to serve as the "missing link."]

*Nidget*. A fool. A corruption of *an idiot*. [With quot. from *The Changeling*.]  
1854 BAKER, *Northampton Gloss.* ii. 54

The word *nidget* was easily associated with the French verb *niger*, to trifle, and the nouns *nigaud*, *nigreur*, which Cotgrave translates by *nidget*.

*Nigaud*: m. A fop, *nidget*, ideot; a dolt, lobcock, vaine, trifling, or loytering fellow. 1611 COTGRAVE.

*Niger*. To trifle; to play the fop, or *nidget*. 1611 COTGRAVE.

*Nigeries*: f. *Nidgeries*, fopperies, fooleries, trifles, niffes, friulous bables. 1611 COTGRAVE.

*Nigreur*: m. *A nidget*, fop, trifler. 1611 COTGRAVE.

121. **Imper**, one who imps or grafts; ME. *imper*, *ymper*, *impare*, etc. *An ymper* became a *nymper*.

- (a) *Impare*, or *graffere* (gryffiar, K.P.). Insertor, surculator.

1440 *Prompt. Parv.* p. 259.

- (b) *Hic plantator*, a *nymper*. c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.* 2 687, l. 5).

122. **Imposteme**, later *imposthume*, properly *aposteme*, later *apostume*. *Imposteme* seems to have suffered reduction to \**impost*, an \**impost* then emerging provincially as a *numpost*.

- (a) *An Apostem*, *Apostema*.

1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 11.

*An Imposteme*, *Apostema*.

1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 195.

- (b) *Numpost*. A deafness or disorder in the ear or head. "*Numpost* i' the hid." *An impostume* probably. 1823 MOOR, *Suffolk Words*, p. 257.

*Numpost*, an *imposthume*. This dreadful malady in the head must of course produce stupor. We should say, it makes a man "as *num* as a post." V. *Num*. 1830 FORBY, *Vocab. East Anglia*, p. 236.

*Numpost*. An *imposthume*. *East*. 1847 HALLIWELL. Also 1857 WRIGHT.

123. **Inch**, ME. *inche*, *ynche*, AS. *ynce*, *ince*. We find an *inch* as a *ninch*, ME. a *nynche*.

- (a) *Ane inche* fro þe elbowe he ochede it in sondyre.

c 1440 *Morte Arthure* (E.E.T.S. 1865), l. 4247.

*Pollisium*, an<sup>ce</sup> *an ynche*.

c 1450 *Lat.-Eng. Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.* 2 604, l. 1).



- (b) Hoc pollicium, a *nynche*. c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 680, l. 5).  
*Ninch*. — An inch. "She wo'd n't sell mē so much as a *ninch* of tappe."  
 1889 PEACOCK, *Manley and Corringham Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 370.

124. *Irked*, formerly also *yrked*, *erked*, perfect participle of *irk*, ME. *irken*, *yrken*, *erken*, vex, weary. An *irked* (*erked*, \**arked*) man would probably appear sometimes as a \**nirked* (\**nerked*, *narked*) man. Hence the dial. *narked*, vext.

- (a) Some in the flame their *irked* bodies cast.  
 1557 SURREY, tr. *Virgile, Æneis*, bk. ii. (Richardson.)  
 With his bald head he was so much *yrked*, that hee tooke it as a reproach  
 unto himself if anyman els were either in bord or good earnest twitted  
 therewith. 1606 HOLLAND, tr. *Suetonius*, p. 270. (Richardson.)  
 (b) *Narked*, p. pa. vexed, angry. He wor *narked* about it.  
 1888 ADDY, *Sheffield Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 155.

The other form \**nerked* is probably the source, through \**nerky*, of the dialectal *nerly*. Compare *pesky* for \**pesty*, *nasty* for *nasky*; also *flirk* and *flirt*, *jerk* and *jert*, *perk* and *pert*.

*Nerly*, adj. irascible, short-tempered. See *narked*. "A *nerly* sort of fellow."  
 1888 ADDY, *Sheffield Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 156.

125. *Irker*, that which irks or troubles; applied to a thing hard to do or to 'beat,' or to a person hard to 'beat.' This word, which is not recognized in the standard dictionaries, appears also in the disguised form, an *irker* as a *nirker*, speld also *nurker*. Compare IRKED above and IRKING below.

- (a) *Irker*, i.q. *Nirker*, q.v. 1881 EVANS, *Leic. Words* (E.D.S.), p. 176.  
 (b) *Nirker*. The finishing stroke, the last blow. "That's a *nirker*."  
 1854 BAKER, *Northampt. Gloss.* ii. 58.  
*Nurker*, a person who displays great skill or dexterity; anything of a superior quality.  
 1877 ROSS, STEAD, and HOLDERNESS, *Holderness Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 102.  
*Nirker*, a 'clencher'; a finishing stroke; a crowning effort. The word, I imagine, should be written, not 'a *nirker*' but 'an *irker*,' i.e. something that will irk or trouble any opponent to beat, a 'botherer.' 'That's a *nirker*!' is a phrase equally applicable when the ace of trumps is laid down at whist, when a hunter clears a 'rattling bull-finch,' when a prize-fighter plants a straight blow between the eyes, or when Major Longbow relates his Eastern experiences.  
 1881 EVANS, *Leic. Words* (E.D.S.), p. 200.

126. *Irking*. This participial adjectiv, literally 'vexing,' parallel to the other participial adjectiv *irked*, is used, like *irker*, with reference to something which it would be 'hard to beat.' An *irking* thing appears as a *nirking* (*nurking*, *nurkin*) thing.

- (b) *Nurkin*, surpassing; superlative. 'Mine's a *nurkin* watch; it beats chotch clock bi hauf-an-hoor a day.'  
 1877 ROSS, STEAD, and HOLDERNESS, *Holderness Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 102.

127. **Island**, properly *iland*, ME. *iland*, *yland*, *eiland*, etc., AS. *igland*. ME. *an eilond* appears as *a neilond*.

- (a) Biloken hem and sen this fis,  
*An eilond*, he wenen it is.  
 c 1230 *A Bestiary*, l. 529. (*Old Eng. Misc.* E.E.T.S., 1872, p. 17.)  
*An Eland*, Mediampnis, mediampna (A.). 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 112.  
*Isola, an ilande* . . . *Isolano, Isolare*, an ilander of *an iland*. 1598 FLORIO.

- (b) Cethegrande [whale] is a fis  
 ðe moste ðat in water is,  
 ðat tu wuldes seien get,  
 Gef ðu it soge wan it flet  
 ðat it were *a neilond*  
 ðat sete one ðe se sond.  
 c 1230 *A Bestiary*, l. 499. (*Old Eng. Misc.*, E.E.T.S. 1872, p. 16.)

128. **Isle**, properly *ile*, ME. *ile*, *yle*, from OF. *ile*, later *isle*. ME. *an yle* is viewd as *a nyle* (misspeld *nylle*).

- (a) & he let him lede in to *an yle*, vor to hele is wounde.  
 1297 ROBERT OF GLOUC. f. 67 b.  
 An in *an yle* [var. *ile*] amydde the wilde see . . .  
 c 1385 CHAUCER, *L. G. W. l.* 2161.  
*An Ile*, jnsula. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 194.  
*An yle* that earst no ylande was.

- (b) Hec insula, *a nylle*. 1556 ROBINSON, tr. More's *Utopia* (ed. Arber), p. 166.  
 c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 737, l. 11.)

129. **Oaf**, dial. *awf*, *auf*, formerly *ause*, *auph*, *oph*, *ouph*, *olf*, *aulf*, etc. ; a variant of *elf*, *alf*, ME. *elf*, *alf*, AS. *elf*. I find *an oaf* taken as *a noaf*. Compare *a nauwus-bore* for an *\*auwes-bore*. See *elf-bore* (No. 79).

- (a) Though he be *an ause*, a ninny, a monster, a goos-cap.  
 1621 BURTON, *Anat. Mel.* 1, 2, 4, 6. (Evans, *Leic. Gloss.* p. 203.)  
 And art thou such *an oph* to be vex'd at this?  
 1671 DRYDEN, *Mock-Astrologer*, ii. (Richardson.)  
*Oaf*. A fool ; still in use. 1847 HALLIWELL.  
*Oaf*, a blockhead, an idiot. 1859 DICKINSON, *Cumberland Gloss.* p. 79.  
*Auf*, an elf, an idiot, a changeling.  
 1875 NODAL and MILNER, *Lanc. Gloss.* p. 18.  
*Oaf*, a half-wit. *Oafing*, playing the fool. *Oafish*, ridiculous.  
 1876 ROBINSON, *Whitby Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 134.  
*Oaf*, an awkward blundering lout.  
 1877 ROSS, STEAD, and HOLDERNESS, *Holderness Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 102.  
*Oaf*, vb. To play the fool . . . *Olf*, vb. Used of horseplay.  
 1890 ROBERTSON, *Gloss. of Glouc. Dial.* (E.D.S.), pp. 106, 107.  
 (b) *Noaf*, sb. An oaf, fool.  
 1890 ROBERTSON, *Gloss. of Glouc. Dial.* (E.D.S.), p. 104.

130. **Oak**, ME. *oke*, *ooke*, *ake*, *ak*, AS. *āc*. ME. *an oke* (*ooke*, *ok*, *ak*) grows into *a noke* (*an noke*, *a nok*, *a nak*).

- (a) But so nyl noht *an ooke* when it is caste.  
 c 1374 CHAUCER, *Tr. & Cr.* ii. 1389.  
 Ruyd armes as *an ake* with rusclede sydes.  
 c 1440 *Morte Arthure* (E.E.S.S. 1865), l. 1096.

Betwixt *an oke* and a greene hollen.

a 1650 *Marriage of Sir Gawaine*, l. 55, and 102 (*Percy Folio MS.* i. 109)

And as he neghet bi a *noke*,  
The king sturenly him stroke.

c 1420 *Avowynge of King Arther* (Robson, *Three Metr. Rom.*), p. 64

(b) Bothe the 3onge and lees

He hongus on a *noke*.

c 1420 *Id.* p. 65

Hec quercus, -ci vel -cus, a *nak*.

c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 716, l. 7)

My neb is netherit as a *nok*, I am bot ane Owle.

c 1453 HOLLAND, *Houlate*, l. 57. (Donaldson, *Supp.*  
to *Jamieson's Sc. Dict.* p. 175.)

Ther may no man stonde hys stroke,  
Thogh he were as stronge as *an noke*.

a 1500 *MS. Cantab. Ff. ii. 38, f. 166.* (H. p. 580.)

For another species of *noke*, see II. A. 11.

131. **Oak-apple.** ME. *an oke-appell, ake-apple*, takes the form c  
*a nake-appylle*.

(a) *Oke-appell.* a 1475 *Gl. Harl.* 3388 (*Sax. Leechdoms*, iii. p. 340.  
*An Ake apylle*, galla. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 1  
*Oke apple*, pomme de chesne. 1530 PALSGRAVE, p. 245  
Gala, . . . *an oke apple* or galnut, which serueth to make inke with.

1598 FLORIC

(b) Hec galla, a *nake-appylle*. c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 716, l. 9.)

132. **Oar,** ME. *ore, are, ar*, AS. *ār*. ME. *an ore* becomes a *nore*.

(a) And sone dede he leyn in *an ore*. c 1300 *Havelok*, l. 718  
Some hente *an oore* and some a sprytt.

a 1500 *MS. Cantab. Ff. ii. 38, f. 55.* (H. p. 788.)

(b) Hic remus, a *nore*. c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 737, l. 30)

133. **Oath,** ME. *othe, athe, ath*, AS. *āþ*. The early ME. *an at*  
appears also as a *nath*.

(a) (b) Bot þou sal suere me a *nath* [var. *an aþe, an ath, an oop*] . . .

þan suer a *nath* [var. *bat aþe*; 2 mss. different] him Esau.

c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton ms.) (E.E.T.S.), l. 3542, 3548

134. **Obly,** a wafer, ME. *obly, obley, oble*, from OF. *oublee* (cf  
AS. *oflāte*), from ML. *oblāta*. ME. *an obly, an oble*, becomes c  
*nobely, a noble*.

(a) *Obly* or *vibly* (brede to sey wythe masse, infra). Nebula (adoria, infra).

1440 *Prompt. Parv.* p. 361

Here xall to angylls desend In-to wyldyrnesse; and other to xall bryn  
*an oble*, opynly aperyng a-loft In be clowddes.

c 1485 *Mary Magdalene*, after l. 2019. (*Digby Myst.* N.S.S. p. 131.)

Oblema, *an obley*. Nebula, a wafron.

1500 *Ortus Vocab.* (Way, *Pr. P.* p. 361, note 2.)

(b) Hec osta, hic panis, a *nobely*.

c 1475 *Pictorial Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 754, l. 6.)

Nebula, *noble*: vafra, wayfere.

a 1500 (?) *Roy. MS.* 17 C. XVII. f. 26 (Way, *Pr. P.* p. 361, note 2)

135. Oinement, the word now displaced by *ointment*; ME. *oinement*, *oynement*, from OF. *oignement*. ME. *an oynement* becomes *a noynement*.

- (a) Make theroff *an oynement*. a 1400 MS. (Wr. p. 667).  
*Oynement*, or *oyment*, infra. Unguentum. 1440 *Prompt. Parv.* p. 363.  
 (b) *A noynement* anon sche made of so grete strengþe. c 1360 *William of Palerne* (E.E.T.S.), l. 136.  
 For to make *a noynement* called *nervalle*. a 1500 MS. (H. p. 574).

136. Ointment, ME. *ointement*, *oyntement*. *An ointment* becomes *a nointment*, ME. *a noyntement*.

- (a) And *an oyntment* she broght. c 1450 *Townley Myst.* p. 178.  
 I noynt with *an oyntment*, Je oynges, conjugat in "I anoynt."  
1530 PALSGRAVE, p. 644.  
 (b) Hec extremaunccio, *a nentment*.  
c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 720, l. 20).  
 Noynt your hand with my *noyntement*, and it wyll be hole by and by :  
 oygnez vostre main de cest oygnement, et elle sera guerye tantost.  
1530 PALSGRAVE, p. 644.  
*Nointment*, ointment. 1876 ROBINSON, *Whitby Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 133.  
*Een nointment*, eye-salve. 1876 *Id.* p. 59.

But *noint*, dial. *nint*, *nient*, to anoint, hence, humorously, to beat, is an aphetic form of *anoint*.

137. Old, dial. *auld*, *aud*, *awd*, *ould*, *owd*, etc., ME. *old*, *ould*, *ald*, AS. *ald*. *An old* man is often *a nold* man; and so with other nouns.

- (a) *An ould* man sitteth at her knee. c 1430 (ms. 1592) *Chester Plays*, i. 167.  
*An alde* man, gerion; vbi *alde*; geronta, silicernus. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 6.  
*An alde* wyfe, Anus, Anicula, vetula. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 6.  
 He hired *an ould* horse, and fee'd *an ould* man,  
 To carry her back to Northumberland.  
a 1800 *Provost's Tochter*, l. 42 (Child, *Ballads*, iv. 293).  
 (b) John Gildenmoth sais wit wisdom  
 That he fand in *a nald* bok.  
c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton ms.), fol. 63. (Wright, *Chester Plays*, i. 255.)  
 Hic senior, hic decrepitu, *a nald* man.  
c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 683, l. 37).  
 Hec anus, *a nold* wyff. c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 692, l. 5).  
 [See other examples under *eldfather* (No. 77), *eldmother* (No. 78).]  
 The xiiij. day of Desember in the mornynge was by myse-fortune in sant  
 Dunstones in est *a nold* man on [one] master Cottelle a talow-chandler,  
 he fell downe in a trape dore and pechyd hys hed a-ponne a pesse of  
 tymbur, and brust owtt hys braynes, for he was beldyng, so the trape  
 dore was left open.  
1559 HENRY MACHYN, *Diary* (Camden Soc., 1848), p. 219.  
 [Other examples on pp. 137, 164, 277.]  
*A nold* mylne. a 1600 *Monasticon Anglic.* vol. iv. p. 520, i. (Peacock,  
*Manley and Corringham Gloss.* p. 369.)  
 So that we have 'a *nawd* man,' an old man, and even occasionally 'two  
*nawd* men.'  
1877 ROSS, STEAD, and HOLDERNESS, *Holderness Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 5.

138. **Onion**, dial. *inion*, *inyon*, *ingon*, ME. *on3on*, *on3one*, *oynon*, *hunyn*, *oingnun*, etc., from OF. *oignon*. ME. *an on3one* is found as a *non3one*.

- (a) Cepa, an<sup>ca</sup> *an oynon*. c 1450 *Lat.-Eng. Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 572, l. 5).  
 Hoc sepe, indeclinabile, † *hunyn*.  
 c 1475 *Fictorial Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 785, l. 40).  
*Onson*, bilbus, cepa, cepe. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 260.  
*Onyon*. 1668 WILKINS, *Real Character*, p. 74.  
 Different people have different opinions,  
 Some like apples, some like *inions*.  
 1887 Quoted in DONALDSON, *Suppl. to Jamieson's Sc. Dict.* p. 142.
- (b) Hoc sepe, a *non3one*. c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 710, l. 26).

139. **Oosel** or **oozel**, less properly speld (for the regular pronunciation) *ousel*, *ouzel*; ME. *osel*, etc., AS. *ōsle*. ME. *an osul* (a *nosylle*), appears also as a *nosul*, a *nosylle*.

- (a) Merula, *an osill*; auis. 1595 DUNCAN, *Appendix Etymologiæ* (E.D.S. 1874).  
 (b) Nodosa, a *nosul*, avis est.  
 c 1450 *Lat.-Eng. Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 597, l. 48).  
*A Nosylle*, quedam Auis, merulus, merula.  
 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 256 (under N).

140. **Oration**, a speech; in provincial use also public talk, rumor, noise, fuss, confusion, pother. *An oration* has become in provincial use a *noration*. Compare the change of *an homily* to a *nominy*, in like extended uses (see No. 106).

- (a) *Oration*. A public talk, a noisy rumour. One lately arraigned for theft, said he intended to restore the goods that he pretended to have found — as he “expected there would be *an oration* about them, sune.”  
 1823 MOOR, *Suffolk Words*, p. 260.  
*Oration*, A confused noise, an uproar. Thus a mother would say to her turbulent children, “for seur, barns, what *an oration* ye mak.” It also frequently means a public report or rumour, as “this robbery hes maad a feaful *oration* i'th country.” 1828 [CARR], *Craven Gloss.* i. 20.  
*Oration*. Noise; uproar. *Var. dial.* 1847 HALLIWELL.  
*Oration*. A public talk, a noisy rumour. “The rogues would have been taken, if there had not been such *an oration* about it.”  
 1854 BAKER, *Northampt. Gloss.* ii. 80.  
*Oration*. A fuss, not necessarily expressed by words. “He makes such *an oration* about everything.” 1875 PARISH, *Dict. Sussex Dial.* p. 82.
- (b) *Noration*, s. Rumour; clamour. 1825 JENNINGS, *Somerset Gloss.* p. 57.  
 A great *nordtion*,  
 A nâtion naise tha nawtice made,  
 About the cost ta be defray'd  
 Vor the church's repairâtion.  
 1825 JENNINGS, *The Churchwarden (Somerset Gloss.* p. 137).  
*Noration*, a loud rumour, or, as it were, a roaring general publication of what was meant to be kept secret.  
 1830 FORBY, *Vocab. East Anglia*, p. 235.  
*Noration*. Rumour, speech. *Var. dial.* 1847 HALLIWELL.  
*Noration*, a noise, rout, uproar. 1868 ATKINSON, *Cleveland Gloss.*  
*Noration*. An unnecessary publication of any piece of news or a secret.  
 1875 PARISH, *Dict. Sussex Dial.* p. 80.

*Noration.* 'There seemed a great *noration* about it,' said a rustic to me, meaning an unnecessary discussion or piece of work. And of a certain rose, a gardener said to me, 'It made quite a *noration* when it first came out.'

1876 GOWER, *Surrey Provincialisms* (E.D.S.), p. 97.

*Noration.* A fuss; a row; a set out or disturbance by word or deed. "What a *noration* there is over this here start, sureye!"

1887 PARISH and SHAW, *Dict. Kentish Dial.* (E.D.S.), p. 108.

*Noraaytion.*—A long rambling account, as when a poor old woman, greatly interested in her troubles, relates them very fully.

1888 LOWSLEY, *Berkshire Words* (E.D.S.), p. 118.

*Noration.* Gossip. 1890 ROBERTSON, *Gloss. of Glouc. Dial.* (E.D.S.), p. 104.

Hence the verb *norate* parallel to *orate* as related to *oration*.

*Norate* . . . To talk officiously and fussily about other people's business.

1875 PARISH, *Dict. Sussex Dial.*, p. 80.

*Norating.* Chattering, talking over the news of the town. "Don't stand there *norating*." Probably a corruption of *narrating*.

1854 BAKER, *Northampt. Gloss.* ii. 62.

To *norate*, 'to rumor,' 'to spread by report,' is a vulgarism not uncommon in the South. . . . "Purty soon it was *norated* around that Ike was going to banter me for a rassel and shure enuff he did." Bill Arp. . . . The word is probably a corruption of *narrate*, or possibly of *orate*.

1886 C. F. SMITH, *On Southernisms*, in *Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc.*, vol. xvii. p. 40.

141. Orchard, ME. *orchard*, *orcherd*, *orchezard*, AS. *orcerd*, *orcyrd*, *ortgeard*. An orchard spreads into a *norchard*.

(a) An *Orcherd*, *pomerium*, *pomerium*. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 260.  
To pley hyre in an *orcherd* syde. a 1500 *MS. Ashmole*, 61. (Wr. p. 990.)

(b) Hoc *pomerium*, a *norchard*.  
c 1475 *Pictorial Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 810, l. 5).

142. Ostrich, formerly also *estridge*; ME. *ostrich*, *ostriche*, *ostrige*, etc., from OF. *ostruce*, *ostrusce*, etc. In ME. an *ostryche* hides its hed, and appears as a *nostryche*.

(a) Fungus boletus et fungus dicitur ales. ¶ Hic docet autor quod fungus habet duas significationes. Nam fungus id est boletus: anglice paddokstole. Vel est quedam avis, anglice an *ostrich*: quia ut aliqui dicunt est illa qui comedit ferrum, i. ferreos claves: anglice hosenayles.

a 1275 JOANNES DE GARLANDIA, *Liber Æquivocorum Vocabularum.* (Herrtage, *C.A.*, p. 262.)

An *Ostriche*, fungus, strucio. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 262.

(b) Hic struccio, a *nostryche*. c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 701, l. 36).

143. Other, ME. *other*, *oðer*, AS. *oðer*, etc. An *other* appears in three visible forms, an *other*, a *nother*, another.

(a) An *other*, the original and proper form.

An *other* kinde he haueth.

c 1230 *A Bestiary*, l. 15. (*Old Eng. Misc.* E.E.T.S., 1872, p. 1.)

Or we, he said, an *other* Crist sal bide. c 1325 *Eng. Metr. Hom.* p. 34.

An *oþer* noyse.

c 1360 *Syr Gawayne and the Green Knight* (E.E.T.S.), l. 132.

And thens to an *other* part procede.

c 1420 *Palladius on Husbandrie* (E.E.T.S.), i. 818.

Ye haue *an other* sorte of repetition.

1589 [PUTTENHAM], *Arte of Eng. Poesie* (ed. Arber), p. 210.  
Harry's children of Leigh, never *an one* like *an other*.

1678 RAY, *Proverbs*, p. 85.

(b) *An other* is also written *a nother*, a form very frequent from the 14th century down. Compare *my nother* for *mine other* (III. A. 10), and *no nother* for *none other* (IV. 2).

And *a noiper* [var. *a-nober*, *anober*] hight Madan.

c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton ms.) (E.E.T.S.), l. 3389.  
As hit had be *a-nother* wyghte. c 1369, CHAUCER, *Dethe of Blaunche*, l. 530.

Hym liketh best a daubed wough, and he  
Wol have a wall of clay and stone, and stones  
Withouten clay *an other* wol it be.

*A nother* with a diche aboute ygone is.

c 1420 *Palladius on Husbondrie* (E.E.T.S.), i. 785—

A whylle sche blewe, *a nother* scho sange.

c 1425 *Thomas of Ersseldoune* (Child, *Ballads*, i. 99)—

*A nodyr* foule full free

Owre messenger salle be.

c 1430 *York Plays*, ix. l. 235 (p. 52) -

Here shall come *a-nother* devyll callyd mercury, with a fyeryng, commyng  
in hast, cryeng and roryng, and shal say as folowyth.

c 1485 *The Conversion of St. Paul*, after l. 432.

(*Digby Myst.*, N.S.S., 1882, p. 44.)

And by thende of the yere all is forgotten, whiche is *a nother* occasyon of  
murder. 1489 *Stat. Hen. VII.* (Caxton), p. 19.

One said to *an nother* takyng his arme.

1562 HEYWOOD, *Proverbs and Epigrams* (Spenser Soc.), p. 95.

When they be created by *a Nother* name in the right of there wif or  
mother. c 1580 (?) *A Book of Precedence* (E.E.T.S., 1869), p. 19.

[Other examples on pp. 14, 16, 17, 19.]

*Nother, A.*—An other.

1889 PEACOCK, *Manley and Corringham Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 376.

W'en dey done howdyin' en axin' atter one *nudder* fambly kunnexshun,  
Brer Wolf, he 'low, he did, dat der wuz sump'n wrong wid Brer Fox,  
and Brer Fox, he low'd der wern't.

1881, J. C. HARRIS, *Uncle Remus*, p. 57.

He know Brer Rabbit wuz atter some projick er *nudder*, en he tuck'n  
crope off, he did, en watch 'im.

1881 J. C. HARRIS, *Uncle Remus*, p. 73. [And similarly, *passim*.]

(c) *Another*, as if one word.

pou has *anober* [var. *a-nober*] man[ne]s wijf.

c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton ms.) (E.E.T.S.), l. 2976.

*Anohtyr* ermyte. c 1325 *Eng. Metr. Homilies* (ed. Small), p. 71.

In *anobre* manere. 1340 MICHEL (tr.), *Ayenbite of Inwyrt* (E.E.T.S.), p. 257.

*Another*.

1589 [PUTTENHAM], *Arte of Eng. Poesie* (ed. Arber), p. 60 (l. 11), 225

(l. 5), etc. [*an other*, p. 60 (l. 6, l. 34), 61 (l. 1, 2, 3), 225 (l. 10), etc.].

One while, this little boy he yode,

*Another* while he ran.

*Childe Maurice* (Child, *Ballads*, iii. 314).

And so commonly written and printed *another* since the 17th century; without any real reason. *Another* ar the only two words,

of which *an* is one, so written together. It would be better to write them separately, as we write *the other, each other, an eighth, an eleventh*, etc.

**144. Otter**, ME. *oter*, *otyr*, AS. *oter*. ME. *an oter* (*otyre*) appears as a *notyre*.

(a) Lucterinus, an<sup>ee</sup> *an Otyr*.

c 1450 *Lat.-Eng. Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 593, l. 40).

Lutericius, *an Oter*. c 1450 *Lat.-Eng. Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 594, l. 10).

(b) Hic lutricius, a *notyre*. c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 700, l. 16).

**145. Ounce**, ME. *ounce*, from OF. *unce, once*, Lat. *uncia*. *An ounce* appears as a *nounce*, ME. a *nouns, a nouns*.

(a) Which that ne was nat but an *ounce* of weighte.

c 1386 CHAUCER, *Canon's Yeoman's Tale*, l. 355.

(b) Hec uncia, a *nouns*. Hec semiuncia, half a *nouns*.

c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 714, l. 22).

*Nounce*. — An ounce. "A quarten o' teā fer my missis, an' a *nounce* o' bacca' fer my sen."

1889 PEACOCK, *Manley and Corringham Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 376.

**146. Outlaw**, ME. *outlawe, outelawe, outlay*, etc., AS. *ūllaga*. In accordance with his irregular character, *an outlaw* appears in ME. as a *nowllay* — regardless of expense.

(a) Men clepen hym an *Outlawe* [var. *an outlay*] or a thief.

c 1386 CHAUCER, *Manciple's Tale*, l. 130. (Six-Text, H. 234.)

(b) Hic, hec exul, a *nowllay*. c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 694, l. 26).

**147. Oven**, dial. *oon, oom, hoom, yoon, yewn, yown*, ME. *oven, ofen*. For the contraction of *oven* to *oon*, compare that of *aboven* to *aboon*. I find *an oven* as a *noven*, and *an oon* as a *noon*.

(a) Hic furnus. A° *oven*. c 1425 *Lat.-Eng. Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 663, l. 30).

*An Owen*, fornax, fornacula, furnus [etc.]. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 262.

*Oom*. An oven. *North*. 1790 GROSE, *Prov. Gloss., Suppl.*

*Oon*. An oven. *North*. 1847 HALLIWELL.

*Hoom*. An oven. *Yorksh.* 1847 HALLIWELL.

*Yoon*. An oven. *Var. dial.* 1847 HALLIWELL.

*Yown, Yewn*. An oven. "T' yewn isn't yat yit."

1892 M. C. F. MORRIS, *Yorkshire Folk Talk, Gloss.*, p. 401.

(b) Bake hem in a *novyn*. a 1500 *MS.* (Way, *Prompt. Parv.*; P. p. 569).

*Noon*, an oven. 1822 J. COLLIER ("TIM BOBBIN"), *Lanc. Dialect, Gloss.*, p. 35.

It begun t' be dark, un I'r beawt sconce [but sconce, *i.e.* without a lantern] in a strawnge country, five or suce mile fro whoam: so that I maundert ith' fields oboon two eawers, un cou'd na gawm where eh wur; for I moot os weel o bin in o *noon*. . . . It wur so fearfoo dark.

1822 *Id.* p. 12.

**148. Over<sup>2</sup>**, ME. *over*, AS. *ofer*, G. *ufer*, etc., shore, bank. A rare word existing in modern English as *an over* (*overs*) and a *nover*. The regular modern form would be \**oover*. The form *over* is probably due to association with the preposition *over*.



- (a) *pat standeþ on þe seis ovre.* a 1300 *Havelok*. (H. p. 776.)  
*Overs*, s. pl. The perpendicular edge, usually covered with grass, on the  
 sides of salt-water rivers, is called *overs*.  
 1825 JENNINGS, *Somerset Gloss*. p. 58. (Also WRIGHT, p. 717).  
 (b) *Nover*. High land above a precipitous bank.  
 1875 PARISH, *Dict. Sussex Dialect*, p. 80.

149. **Overword**, contracted *o'erword*, Scotch *overword*, *ourword* (Jam.), a word said over again, a refrain. An *o'erword* appears in the form of a *norword*.

- (a) Ay is the *ourword* of the gest,  
 Giff thame the pelf to part amang thame.  
 a 1530 DUNBAR, *Maitland Poems*, p. 104. (Jam. 1808.)  
 The Scotts they rade, the Scotts they ran,  
 Sae starkly and sae steadilie,  
 And aye the *over-word* o' the thrang  
 Was — "Rise for branksome readilie!"  
 a 1700 *Jamie Telfer of the Fair Dodhead* (Child, *Ballads*, vi. 111).  
 The starling flew to his mother's window stane,  
 It whistled and it sang,  
 And aye the *over word* o' the tune  
 Was — "Johnie tarries lang!"  
*Johnie of Breadislee* (Child, *Ballads*, vi. 15; see also iv. 279, viii. 95).  
 And aye the *o'erword* of the spring  
 Was Irvine's bairns are bonie a'.  
 a 1796 BURNS, *Lines written at Loudon Manse*.  
*Ower teunn*, *Ower word*, words repeated at the end of a verse; a habitual  
 saying. 1879 DICKINSON, *Cumb. Gloss., Suppl.* (E.D.S.), p. 130.  
 With this for an *overword* —  
 But where are the snows of yester-year?  
 a 1882 D. G. ROSSETTI, tr. Francis Villon.  
 (b) *Norwood* [*Norword*?], s. A nickname; a byword. *Leic.* 1857 WRIGHT.  
*Nor-word*, by-word or nick-name. 1881 EVANS, *Leic. Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 202.

150. **Owl**, ME. *owle*, *oule*, *ule*, AS. *ūle*. An owl sometimes seeks further obscurity as a *nowl*, ME. a *nowle*, a *nowele*.

- (a) An *ule* and one ni3tingale. a 1250 *The Owl and the Nightingale*.  
 And al day after hidde hym as an *Owle* [var. *houle*, Camb. ms.].  
 c 1386 CHAUCER, *Wife of Bath's Tale* (Six-Text, D, 1081).  
 An *Oule*, bubo, lucifuga, vlula. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 263.  
 (b) Wayte nowe, he lokis like a brokke,  
 Were he in a bande for to bayte;  
 Or ellis like a *nowele* in a stok,  
 Full preualy his pray for to wayte.  
 c 1430 *York Plays*, xxix. l. 117 (p. 258).  
*Hec bubo*, -is, A<sup>c</sup> *nowle*. c 1425 *Lat. Eng. Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 640, l. 28).  
*Hic bubo*, A<sup>ccc</sup> a *nowlle*. c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 701, l. 37).

151. **Ox**, ME. *ox*, *oxe*, AS. *oxa*. ME. an *ox*, an *oxe* is found as a *nox*, a *noxe*.

- (a) His hert heldet vnhole he [Nebuchadnezzar] hoped non oþer  
 Bot a best þat he be, a bol oþer an *oxe*.  
 c 1360 *Cleanness*, l. 1681 (*Early Eng. Allit. Poems*, E.E.T.S. p. 88).  
 An *oxe* I will take with me. c 1430 (ms. 1592) *Chester Plays*, i. 107.  
 (b) Hic, hec bos, -vis, a *nox*. c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 698, l. 9).  
 He can lowe as a *noxe*. a 1500 *Harl. ms.* 1002 (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>1</sup> p. 151).

152. **Oxbow**, ME. *oxbowe*, *oxebowe*. I find ME. *an oxbowe* as *a noxbowe*.

- (a) *An Oxe bowe*, Arquillus, columbar. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 265.  
*Oxe*, a beest, *beuf*. *Oxebowe* that gothe about his necke, *collier de beuf*.  
 1530 PALSgrave, p. 250.  
 (b) *Hic arquelus, a noxbowe*. c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 728, l. 11).

153. **Oxgang**, ME. *oxgang*. *An oxgang* becomes a *noxcgang*.

- (a) My wyll ys that Jonett, my wyfe, have my chefe maner place and iiiij<sup>er</sup>  
*oxgange* of lande langing therto.  
 1443 *Will of Walter Gower*, in *Test. Ebor.* ii. 89. (Herrtage, *C.A.* p. lii.)  
*An Oxgange* of lande, bovata. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 265.  
*Mas de terre*. On (*read An*) *Oxgang*, plow-land, or hide of land, con-  
 taining about 20 acres; (and hauing a house belonging to it).  
 1611 COTGRAVE.  
 (b) *Hec bovaga, a noxcgang*. c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 737, l. 19).

154. **Oxhouse**. ME. *an oxhous* appears once as a *noxcnows*.

- (b) *Hoc bostare, a noxcnows*. c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 727, l. 2).

155. **Oyster**, ME. *oyster*, *oystur*, *oystre*, *cyster*, *oestre*, from OF. *oistre*, *ouistre*, etc.; M.E. also *oster*, *ostyr*, *ostyre*, *ostre*, from AS. *ostre*.  
 A ME. scribe has opened an *oyster* (*an ostyre*) at one side: a *noxytre*.

- (a) Quod he for many a muscle and many an *oystre* [var. *oyster*, *oystere*].  
 c 1386 CHAUCER, *Sumner's Tale*, l. 392. (Six-Text, D. 2100.)  
*An Ostyr*, *ostreum*, *peloris*; *ostreum* quidam *piscis* qui in *ostris* latitat.  
 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 262.  
 (b) *Hoc ostrium, hec ostria, a noxytre*.  
 c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 705, l. 10).

156. **Ugly**, formerly *ougly*, ME. *ugly*, *ogli*, *uggely*, from Icel. *uggligr*. I find an early ME. instance of *an ugly deed* (*an ogli dede*)  
 taken as a *nogli dede*.

- (a) *An ougly* Fiend of hell.  
 1577 KENDALL, *Flowers of Epigrammes* (Spenser Soc.), p. 271.  
 (b) *þai* [Adam and Eve] thought *þat kynd* him [Cain] *mond for-bede*  
 To haf don suilk a *nogli* [var. *an vncumly*, *a curced*, *a cursed*] *dede*.  
 c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton ms.) (E.E.T.S.), l. 1105.

157. **Umbank**, a bank formed around a breach; from *um-*, ME. *um-*, *umbe-*, AS. *ymbe*, around, + *bank*. Compare Sc. *umbesege*, *zembeset* (Jamieson). I assume an *\*umbank* to be the original of *a numbank*, a rare provincial word. Compare the Swaledale *down-bank* and *in-bank*, downwards (1873 Harland).

- (b) *Num bank*. — When a breach happens in a bank, it is often impossible to make another bank on the exact spot where the old one stood; in that case, a circle of earth is made round the breach, which is called a *num bank*. The act of doing this has acquired the name of *numming*, or *nomming*. "For making *num bank* 20 roods at 1<sup>o</sup> 3<sup>d</sup>." — *Bottesford Moors Acc.*, 1812. "You know wheäre that gyne is at Mo'ton; well, when th' Trent bank brust, it wesh'd a grut hoäle, an' thaay'd it to *nom* roond afore thaay could stop it." — *East Butterwick*, 1876.  
 1889 PEACOCK, *Manley and Corringham Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 377.

**158. Umbersorrow**, a curious Scottish word, of uncertain origin. *An umbersorrow bairn* appears sometimes as *a numbersorrow bairn*.

- (a)(b) *Umbersorrow*, adj. 1. Hardy, resisting disease, or the effects of severe weather. *An umbersorrow bairn*, a child that feels no bad effects from any kind of exposure, Border. It is sometimes corr. pron. *numbersorrow*. 2. Rugged, of a surly disposition, Loth.; an oblique sense. [*Ed.* 1882 *adds*: 3. As signifying "weakly, delicate," Roxb.]  
1808 JAMIESON.

**159. Urchin**, in Burns *hurchin*, *hurcheon*, early mod. Eng. *urchon*, *urchen*, *irchen*, etc., ME. *urchin*, *urchon*, *urchion*, *urchoun*, *irchon*, *irchoun*, *irchen*, *yrchyn*, *erchon*, also *hurchon*, *hyrchon*, from OF. *ireçon*, *ereçon*, *heriçon*, etc. I find ME. *an urchon* taken as *a nurchon* or *a norchon*.

- (a) *An Vrchon* (*Vrchion* A.), ericius, erinacius. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 404.  
*Irchen*, a lyttel beast full of prickes, *herisson*. 1530 PALSgrave, p. 235.  
A tealier i' Crummil's time wur thrung pooin' turmits in his pingot, an' fund *an urchon* i' th' hadloont-reean.  
1750 J. COLLIER, *Works*, p. 37. (Nodal and Milner, *Lanc. Gloss.*)  
(b) *Hic erinacius*, A° *nurchon*.  
c 1425 *Lat. Eng. Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 643, l. 15).  
*A norchon* by the fyre rosting a greyhownde.  
a 1500 *Reliq. Antiq.* i. 81. (Herrtage, *C.A.* p. 404.)

**160. Yew-tree**, formerly *ewe-tree*, *eugh-tree*, etc., ME. *ewtre*, *ewetre*. ME. *an ewtre* undergoes transformation into *a newtre*.

- (a) *An Ev tre* (*Ewetre* A.), taxus; taxinus. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 118.  
If: m. *An Yew*, or *Yew tree*. 1611 COTGRAVE.  
(b) *Hec taxus*, A° *hawtre* [read *newtre*?], *newtre*.  
c 1425 *Lat. Eng. Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 646, l. 13).

**161 (89a). Halfling**, dial. *halfstin*, *haffin*, *haftin*, a half-grown person, also a half-witted person; from *half* + *-ling*. For the first sense, see Jamieson and the *Century Dictionary*. In the second sense *an halfling*, *an haffin*, has given rise to *a naffin*, and *a naffin* has been reduced to *a naffin*. *Naffin* being obscure, popular etymology has turned it into *maffling*, *maffin*, as if meaning a 'maffling' or stammering person.

- (a) *Halfling*. A person who is half-witted. Suth. 1866 and 1880 JAMIESON.  
*Haffin*, a half wit. 1875 ROBINSON, *Whitby Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 86.  
(b) *Naffin*, the same as *Maffin*.  
1781 HUDSON, *Tour to the Caves*, etc., *Gloss.* (repr. E.D.S. 1873), p. 9, col. 2.  
*Maffin*, one almost an idiot. See *Naffin*. 1781 *Id.* p. 9, col. 1.  
'Tis a burning sham to see him like a *maffin* bezzling dawn strang liquors.  
1785 HUTTON, *A Bran New Wark*, l. 455 (repr. E.D.S., p. 203).  
*Naffin*. A simple person, one almost an idiot. *North*.  
1790 GROSE, *Prov. Gloss.*  
*Maffing*. A simpleton. *North*. 1847 HALLIWELL; 1857 WRIGHT.  
*Maff*, *Maffin* [1878 *Maffin*], a simple person.  
1859 DICKINSON, *Cumberland Gloss.* p. 69.

Other cases of Attraction of this kind occur in imitations of the Cockney dialect. For example, "Jemmy Green, or the Cockney Beau," in *The Universal Songster*, 1825-27, i. 160, sings not only of "a nould ooman," "a norrid hould ooman," and "a norrible crowd" (locutions already illustrated, along with "a nour and a naff" — see 137, 108, 109, 112), but of "a norse" which he thought to be "a nunter"; and he tels how he, "a Ninglishman" in France, got into "a nell of a nobble." In the same learned work, which was illustrated by George and Robert Cruikshank and issued by Jones & Co. from the "Temple of the Muses" in Finsbury Square, we read of "the norse" (i. 364), "your norses" (i. 112, four times), "fine fat norses" (i. 112).

Some ME. cases of Attractions of this kind, and others of modern date, have been omitted for lack of proof or for other reasons. Some cases of apparent Attraction, really due to conformation or other causes, have also been ignored. I may mention as an example the provincial "nauls, belongings" (*Oxfordshire Words*, Suppl., E.D.S., p. 91), which stands for *nalls*, and this for *alls* (one's *alls*, all one's belongings); being vaguely conformd to *nawl*, *nall* for *an awl* (No. 53), or else arising from *an' all* for *and all*.

B. The second division comprises the cases in which a noun has *lost* its initial consonant owing to the influence of the article, namely: Cases involving the article *a*, originally *an*, before consonants as well as before vowels, with a noun beginning with *n*. The initial *n* coalesces with the preceding *a* (or in Middle English was merged with the *n* of the original article *an*), forming what is then regarded as the article *an*, and leaving the noun decapitated.

1. *Nache-bone*, *natch-bone*, rump-bone, from *nache*, *natch*, ME. *nache*, *nage* (from OF. *nache*, *nage*, from LL. *natica*), buttock, rump, + *bone*. *Nache* was rarely used in literary English, and soon disappeared except as in the compound, and in the dialectal form *natch*. The compound then underwent an extraordinary series of transformations, *a nache-bone* being taken as *an ache-bone*, and *ache-bone* being variously twisted in desperate efforts to give meaning to what had become meaningless, namely, (1) *ache-bone* (*ach-bone*, late ME. *hach-boon*), also spelt *aitch-bone*; (2) *H-bone*, (3) *each-bone*, (4) *edge-bone*, and further (5) *ash-bone*, (6) *isch-bone*, *ische-bone*,

*ich-bone*, (7) *ice-bone*, *ise-bone*, (8) *isel-bone*, and other shapes, ev  
(9) *haunch-bone*, (10) *hook-bone*, and (11) *ridge-bone*.

The word is cleared up by Mr. Nicol (1878), and Dr. Murr  
(N.E.D. 1884, s.v. *aitch-bone*). I classify the forms, and ad so  
evidence. In his list of forms Dr. Murray omits *natch-bone*, and g  
*nage-bone* and *nache-bone* without a quotation for either. I sup  
a quotation for *nache-bone*. *Nage-bone* is probably theoretical.

- (a) *Nache-bone*, Rump bone. 1828 [CARR], *Craven Gloss.* ii.  
*Natch*. See *nache-bone*. 1828 *Id.* ii  
*Natch-bone*. 1822 KITCHINER, *Cook's Oracle*, 151. (N.E.)  
*Natch-bone*. 1835 BOOTH. (1860 Worcester)
- (b) (1) Kerue vp the flesh ther vp to the *hach-boon*.  
1886 *Book of St. Alban's*, f. 3 b. (N.E.)  
*Ach-bone*, the same as 'an Ice-bone, i.e. a rump of beef, Norf.' Ray.  
1736 PEGGE, *Alphabet of Kenticisms* (repr. E.D.S.), p.  
*Aitch-bone*. 1810 *Domest. Management*. (N.E.)  
*Ach-bone*. a 1822 *Prudent Housewife*. (Kitchiner, in N.E.)  
*Aitch-bone*. Pronounced *H bone*. The edge bone, so named perhaps fr  
its hatchet shape. "The *H bone* of beef."  
1823 MOOR, *Suffolk Words*, p  
*Aitch-bone*. The edge bone. *Var. dial.*  
1847 HALLIWELL. Also 1857 WRIG  
*Aitch-bone*. The extreme end of a rump of beef, cut obliquely; probabl  
corruption of *edgebone*. 1854 BAKER, *Northampt. Gloss.* i.  
*Aitchbone*, of beef; the extreme end of the rump, cut obliquely.  
1881 EVANS, *Leic. Words* (E.D.S.), p.  
(2) *H-bone*. 1822 KITCHINER, *Cook's Oracle*, 151. (N.E.)  
*H-bone*. 1823 MOOR, *Suffolk Words*, p  
(3) *Each-bone*. c 1818 *Young Woman's Companion*. (N.E.)  
*Each-bone*. 1822 KITCHINER, *Cook's Oracle*. (N.E.)  
(4) *Edge-bone*. a 1822 HENDERSON, *Cookery*. (Kitchiner, in N.E.)  
The *edge bone*. 1823 MOOR, *Suffolk Words*, p. 6; 1847 HALLIWELL,  
(5) *Ash-bone*. c 1818 *Young Woman's Companion*. (N.E.)  
(6) *Isch-bone*. c 1818 *Young Woman's Companion*. (N.E.)  
*Ische-bone*. a 1822 REYNOLDS, *Cookery*. (Kitchiner, in N.E.)  
(7) *Ise-bone*. 1576 *Exp. Queen's Table*. (N.E.)  
*Ice-bone*, a rump of beef. *Norf.*  
1691 RAY, *South and East-Country Words* (E.D.S.), p.  
*Ice-bone*, *Nf.* a rump of beef. 1692 COLES, *Eng. D*  
*Ice-bone*, *Ich-bone*, *Membrum bovis posticum*.  
1743 LYE, *Additions to JUNIUS, Etym. An*  
*Ice-bone*. A rump of beef. *Norf.* 1790 GROSE, *Prov. Gl*  
*Ice-bone*, a part of the rump of beef. Although it be provin:ial now, i  
nearer to the truth than either *edge-bone* or *aitch-bone*, which have b  
offered instead of it. The Greek *ἰσχίον* had passed into the gothic, s  
thence in due progression to us. 1830 FORBY, *Vocab. East Anglia*, p. 1  
*Ice-bone*. The edge bone of beef. 1847 HALLIWE  
(8) *Iselbon*. An edge-bone of beef. See Arch. xiii. 371. Still in use.  
1847 HALLIWE  
(9) *Haunch-bone*. 1773 MRS. MASON, *Ladies Assistant*. (N.E.)  
(10) *Hook-bone*. a 1822 MRS. M'IVER, *Cookery*. (N.E.)  
(11) *Ridge-bone*. 1822 KITCHINER, *Cook's Oracle*. (N.E.)

But the forms *ice-bone*, *ise-bone*, *isch-bone*, *isel-bone* properly rep  
sent a different word, *ice-bone*, *ise-bone*, *ize-bone*, *izle-bone*, the hi

bone ; D. "is-been, isch-been, ijs-been, ischia, coxendix, os inferius circa nates ; & os pubis, os pectinis" (1598 Kilian), "is-been ofte isch-been, the haunch" (1658 Hexham), LG. *isben*, whence G. *eis-bein*, Sw. and Dan. *isben*, hip-bone.

*Ize-bone*, the huckle-bone, the coxa.

1703 THORESBY, *Letter to Ray* (Yorkshire Words) (E.D.S.), p. 102.

*Iule*, an axle. *Iule-bone*, the axial-bone, where the hip-joints meet the pelvis. 1876 ROBINSON, *Whitby Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 102.

2. **Nadder**, dialectal *nedder* and *nether*, stil in provincial use, a serpent, adder. ME. *nadder*, *nedder*, *neddir*, *neddire*, *neddyr*, *neddyre*, *nadere*, *neder*, *nedyr*, *nedere*, *nedyre*, earlier *naddre*, *neddre*, AS. *naddre*. A *nadder*, a *nedder*, very early became an *adder*, an *edder* (*addre*, *eddre*, etc.), which has mightily prevaild over the original serpent. The dial. *edder* is also found as *ether*, *etherd*, *het-herd*. A *nadder* was one of the first words that yielded to Attraction

An wirm is o werlde . . .

*neddre* is te name.

c 1230 *A Bestiary*, l. 120 (*Old Eng. Misc.*, E.E.T.S., p. 5).

A *nedder* stert vte of þe sand,  
And stanged Iam in þe hand.

c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton ms.) (E.E.T.S.), l. 12527

The wonde swelth an aketh

So doth the *naddre* stinge.

c 1315 SHOREHAM, *Poems*, p. 104.

Dragauncia, addyrworthe ys an erbe þæt som manne calliþ dragans oþer serpenty þis erbe is like to þe colour of an *nadder* all sparklyd.

c 1400 (?) *Gl. Sloane* 5, fol. 13 b. (*Saxon Leechdoms*, iii. 339.)

*Eddy*, or *Neddyr*, wyrme. Serpens. 1440 *Prompt. Parv.* p. 135.

Hec apaphsibena, a *nedyr* with ij. hedes.

c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 707, l. 13).

[Two heds, we ar told, ar better than one; but see to what a pass "ij. hedes" brought the simple *Amphisbæna*!]

Hic serpens, a *nedyre* . . . Hic idrus, a watyr*nedyre*.

c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 705, l. 35, 37).

Hic serpens, alle maner *naderes*. Hic agguis, A<sup>ce</sup> a water*adder*. Hic coluber, A<sup>ce</sup> a snake . . . Hic biceps, hic jaculus, a flyyn *nedere*.

c 1475 *Pictorial Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 766, l. 5-14).

A *Neddyr*, *Aspis*, *lacerta* (serpens A.), *stellio*, *basilliscus*, *cicadrillus* (serpens, *jdrus* A.). 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 250.

["This is probably the latest instance of this, the true form of the word"; Herrtage, note, l.c. But see below.]

*Nedder*. An adder. *North.* 1847 HALLIWELL. Also 1857 WRIGHT.

*Nether*, s. An adder. This in some counties is the invariable pron. 1866 JAMIESON.

(b) The smale *addren* of which we spaake.

c 1300 *Kyng Alisaunder*, l. 5310. (Weber, *Metr. Rom.* i. 220.)

And [the devele] dede hym in an *addre* wede.

c 1315 SHOREHAM, *Poems*, p. 158.

þer is an *eddre* þet is y-hote ine latin *aspis*.

1340 MICHEL (tr.), *Ayenbite of Inwyrt* (E.E.T.S.), p. 257.

For *eddes*, spirites, monstres, thyng of drede.

c 1420 *Palladius on Husbandrie* (E.E.T.S.), i. 935.

An manner of an *edder* is in thir place.

c 1430 [ms. 1592] *Chester Plays*, i. 26.

Ralus, an<sup>ee</sup> a fleying *addur*.

c 1450 *Lat.-Eng. Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 606, l. 43).

For that he begyled was

Through the *edder* and his wyfe.

c 1450 *Towneley Myst.* p. 72.

An *addere* crept forth of a bushe.

a 1600 *King Arthur's Death* (Child, *Ballads*, i. 43).

And so an *adder* ever after, in literary use, tho in speech it is stil  
a *nadder*.

3. **Nadder-stone.** ME. a *nederstone*, a *nedyrstonne*, is now an  
*adderstone*.

(a) *Hec pumes*, A<sup>ee</sup> a *nedyrstonne*.

c 1475 *Pictorial Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 768, l. 35).

(b) And the potent *adder-stone*. 1759 MASON, *Caractacus*. (C.D.)

*Hetherd-stone*.—That is, an *adderstone*; an ancient spindle-whorl.

1889 PEACOCK, *Manley and Corringham Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 269.

4. **Napron**, obsolete or dialectal *napern*, *nappern*; ME. *naperon*,  
*naprun*, from OF. *naperon*. The word goes with *napery*, *napet*, *napkin*,  
the simplex being the obsolete *nape*, from OF. *nape*, *nappe*, a cloth,  
napkin. A *napron*, a *napern*, remains in provincial speech, but in  
general use has become an *apron*, dial. an *apern*, *appern*, *appurn*,  
*apperon*, *yappern*, *yeppurn*, *heppern*.

(a) *Napet*, or *napekyñ*. *Napella*, manupiarium (mapella, P.). . . *Naprun*  
(or barmclothe, supra). *Limas*. 1440 *Prompt. Parv.* p. 351.

A *Napron* (*Napperone*, A.), *limas*, & cetera; vbi A barme clathe.

1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 249.

Tablier a femme, a womans *naperne*.

1530 PALSgrave, p. 179.

A *napron* of worsted.

1569 *Wills & Inventories* (Surtees Soc.), ii. p. 305. (Herrtage, p. 249).

And put before his lap a *napron* white. 1596 SPENSER, *F. Q.* V. v. 20.

*Nappern*, an apron. 1825 BROCKETT; 1847 HALLIWELL; 1857 WRIGHT.

*Nappern*. An apron. An archaism. 1854 BAKER, *Northampt. Gloss.* i. 44.

*Napron*, *Naprin*, *Naperon*. An apron. These forms represent the  
common pron. in West and South of S.

1887 DONALDSON, *Suppl. to Jamieson*, p. 172.

(b) Item all nappery ware, as kercherys, *appurnys*, blankytts, coverlets, and  
sych other.

1542 *Richmondshire Wills* (Surtees Soc. vol. xxvi.), p. 27. (Herrtage.)

*Aperen* strings. 1542 UDALL, tr. Erasmus, *Apophthegms*.

To thomas hynde yt was my prentice an *apron*.

1570 *Wills & Inventories*, iii. 327. (Herrtage, p. li.)

Otherwise it may be sayd to me that Adam and Eues *apernes* were the  
gayest garmentes, because they were the first.

1589 [PUTTENHAM], *Arte of Eng. Poesie* (ed. Arber), p. 39.

*Apern*. An apron. 1890 ROBERTSON, *Gloss. Glouc. Dial.* (E.D.S.), p. 4.

5. **Nasturtium.** In rustic use a *nasturtium*, following the luxuri-  
ant habit of the plant, has spread into an *asturtium*, and *asturtium*,  
seeming to begin with the indefinit article, appears as a *sturtium*.

m told that *a sturskon* is common in Chester County, Pennsylvania; *a storshon* is found in provincial English use.

ð) *Storshon*, the garden nasturtium.

1858 SPURDENS, *Suppl. to Vocab. East Anglia* (repr. E.D.S.), p. 80.

i. **Nauger**, formerly speld also *nawger*, dial. *noger*, *noager*, ME. *nger*, *nagere*, contracted from earlier *navegor*, AS. *navegār* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 106, l. 16; 333, l. 36), earlier *nafugār*, *nafogār*, *nabogār*, *nogaar*, literally 'nave-spear,' from *nafu*, nave, hub (see NAVE, . 7), + *gār*, spear (piercer). The tool was so cald because of its in boring the hole in the nave or hub, to receiv the axle. It was cald a *wimble* (ME. *wymble*), and a *piercer* (ME. *persour*). *nauger* early became an *auger*, tho the form *nauger* stil remains provincial use.

(a) *Navegor*. 1301 *Inventory*. (H. p. 572.)  
*Navegor*. a 1400 (?) *Nominale MS.* (H. p. 572.)

Terere, *wymble* (*nauger*).

c 1400 (?) *Gloss. to Walter de Bibleworth* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>1</sup> p. 170, l. 17).

With this axe that I beare,  
This perscer and this *nagere*,  
A hamer all in feare,  
I have wonnan my meate . . .  
. . . As a symple carpentere.

c 1430 [ms. 1592] *Chester Plays*, i. 107.  
One axe, a bill, iiij *nagares*, ij hatchettes, an ades.

a 1600 Quoted in *Shaksperiana Genealogica* (1869), p. 472. (Herrtage.)

They bore the trunk with a *nawger*, and then issueth out sweet potable liquor. 1650 HOWELL, *Familiar Letters*, ii. 54. (N.)

*Noger*, or *Jumper*. See *Jumper* or *Borer*.

1802 JOHN MAWE, *Mineralogy of Derbyshire*, *Gloss.* (E.D.S. 1874).

*Nodgur*, an auger. 1882 NODAL and MILNER, *Lanc. Gloss.* p. 201.

We stil bore with a *nauger*, and call it a *nauger*, but we always cite it an *auger*.

(b) Terebrum, an<sup>ce</sup> an *augur* or a *Persour*.

c 1450 *Lat.-Eng. Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 616, l. 7).

*Agore*. c 1500 *Letters*, ed. Ellis, Ser. iii. vol. i. p. 148. (Oliphant.)

Tariere : f. *An Augar*. Tariere à boiste. A *Wimble*. . . Teriere : f.

*An Augur*. 1611 COTGRAVE.

Herein is to be found, I think, the explanation of certain forms herto obscure or unnoticed. A *nauger's-bore* is probably the original of (a) *nangers bore*, and this of (an) *angus-bore*, in the citations below. The *n* for *u* is apparently an original misreading : *u*.

(a) Within and without,  
This house round about . . .

Euerie *nangers bore* [*naugers bore* ?]

An Angell before.

a 1550 (?) *A Spell*, quoted from *Suffolk Garland* (1818), in Northall, *Eng. Folk-Rhymes*, p. 148.



- (b) *An augurs bore.* 1523 FITZHERBERT, *Husbandry*, § 3, 12. (N.E.D.)  
 Into an *Augors boare.* 1607 SHAKESPEARE, *Cor.* iv. 6. F<sup>1</sup> p. 24.)  
*Angus-bore.* A circular hole in a panel. V. *Auwis-bore.* 1866 JAMIESON.

7. **Naught**, also *nought*, a cipher or zero in arithmetic. *A naught*, misdivided, has produced *an aught* or *ought*, a form used even by many persons of education, partly, I think, because *naught* in other senses is passing out of spoken English.

- (a) *Zéro*, a figure of *nought* [1611 *naught*, 1659 *nough*] in Arithmetike. 1598 FLORIO.  
*Zéro*, sound dséro, the figure *nought* in Arithmetick. 1659 TORRIANO, *Brief Introd. to the Ital. Tongue.*  
*Nought*, or *Non*, a cypher. 1876 ROBINSON, *Whitby Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 133.

*Aught*, speld also *ought*, is in common use in England and the United States. It is used in character by Dickens and Lowell. In the first instance Mr. Squeers, that eminent instructor in "bottinney" and "single-stick (if required)" is the speaker :

- (b) "At Midsummer," muttered Mr. Squeers, resuming his complaint, "I took down ten boys; ten twentys—two hundred pound. I go back at eight o'clock to-morrow morning, and have got only three—three *oughts an ought*, three twos six—sixty pound. What's come of all the boys? What's parents got into their heads?" 1839 DICKENS, *Nicholas Nickleby.*  
 "Three score and ten," said Chuffey, "*ought* and carry seven. Some men are so strong that they live to four score—four times *ought's an ought*, four times two's an eight—eighty." 1843 DICKENS, *Martin Chuzzlewit*, xlx.  
 Wy, into Bellers's we notched the votes down on three sticks;  
 'T wuz Birdofredum one, Cass *ought* and Taylor twenty-six. 1848 LOWELL, *Biglow Papers*, No. IX. l. 62.  
*Aught*. The figure or sign 0. (Always.) The game "*Naughts* and crosses" is always called "*Aughts* and crosses." 1891 R. P. CHOPE, *Dial. of Hartland* (E.D.S.), p. 25.

8. **Nave**, ME. *nave*, *nafe* (late ME. also *nathe*, mod. dial. *nathe*, *nath*), AS. *nafu*. *A nave* appears in Scotch local use as *an eave*, and perhaps in *a naveboard* as *an ave* (see next).

- (a) *Timpana*, cart*nave*. c 1400 *Metrical Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 628, l. 11).  
*Nave* of a qwele (qwyl, S. whele, P.). Modius, et modiolus, timpanum, cantus, meditullium. 1440 *Prompt. Parv.* p. 351.  
 Hoc meditollium, a nar [read a *nafe*]. c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 727, l. 28).  
 Hoc meditulium, An<sup>es</sup> a *nafe*. c 1475 *Pictorial Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 811, l. 31).  
 (b) *Eave*, s. corr. of the nave of a cart or carriage wheel. Roxb. 1866 JAMIESON.

9. **Nave-board**, one of the boards or floats around the nave or central part of a mil-wheel; from *nave* + *board*. This is probably the original of the hitherto unexplained *ave-boords* in Cotgrave; a

*nave-board* (-*boord*) being taken as an *ave-board*. Compare other compounds of *nave*, namely, *nave-box* and *nave-hole*.

- (b) *Aubes*: f. The short boordes which are set into th'outside of a water-mills wheele; we call them, ladles, or *ave-boords* [1650 and 1673 *ave-boords*]. 1611 COTGRAVE. [Whence in Halliwell and Wright.]

I suppose the form *aveboords* in ed. 1611 is to be red, as in ed. 1650 and 1673 it is printed, *aveboords*. But if the *u* in *aveboords* is a vowel, then it is to be red as if \**aweboords*, which brings it into direct relation with the Scotch *aw*, *awe*, applied to such projections:

The water falls upon the *awes*, or feathers of the tirl, at an inclination of between 40 and 45 degrees.

1791-99 UNST, *Shetland*, in Sinclair, *Statist. Account of Scotland*, v. 191. (1808 Jamieson.)

*Aws*, *awes* of a mill-wheel, s. pl. The buckets or projections on the rim which receive the shock of the water as it falls. S.

1808 (and 1866) JAMIESON.

*Aws* of a windmill. The sails or shafts on which the wind acts. Aberd. 1866 JAMIESON.

It seems probable that *awes*, *aws*, is short for \**awe-boards*, *awe-or ave-* standing for original *ave-* from a *nave*, as *au-* in *auger* for *rauger*, *nawger* stands for the same original (see NAUGER above). Otherwise we should hav to explain *aveboords* in Cotgrave as originally \**aube-boords*, from \**aube* (from F. *aubes* as defined) + *boord*, now *board*.

10. **Navy**, ME. *navy*, *navie*, from OF. *navie*. We find ME. *navy* lookt upon as *ane avy*.

- (a) *A Navy* of schyppis, classis, navigium. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 249.  
The kyng sent a navy of shyppys to the see.

1502 *Arnold's Chron.* (1811), p. xlviiii.

- (b) *Ane avy* of shippes tha spyed thame before.  
a 1500 (?) *MS. Lansd.* 208, f. 8. (H. p. 120.)

11. **Neap**, a turnip; spelt also *neep*, Scotch *neip* (Jam.), and with shortened vowel *nep*; ME. *nepe*, also *nape*, AS. *nāp*, from L. *nāpus*, whence also ultimately Eng. *navew*, and the second element of *turnip*, formerly *turnep*, *turnepe* (Turner, 1548), dial. *tonnup*, *tonup*, *zurmet*, *turmit*, *turmot*, *turmut*, *tormit*, *tarmit*. *Turnip* is recorded in 1548 by Turner as an unfamiliar name: "I haue heard sume cal it in englishe a *turnepe*" (*Names of Herbes*, repr. E.D.S., p. 55). It was probably originally *terræ napus*, 'neap of the ground,' or 'navew of the field.' Compare Cotgrave's entry "*Naveau*, the *Navew* gentle, French *Navew*, long *Rape* (a saourie root) . . . *Naveau blanc de jardin*, th' ordinarie *Rape*, or *Turnep*" (1611). The same first element *tur-*, representing L. *terræ*, occurs in a word

hitherto unsolv'd. I mean *turmeric*, formerly *turmerick*, sometimes *turn-merick* (Markham, 1676, in Nares), now meaning the rhizome of *Cucuma longa* or the plant itself, but formerly applied to *Potentilla Tormentilla*, "in englishe Tormentil or *Tormerik*" (Turner, as above, p. 87). Tormentile and turmeric hav enough in common, in the characteristic root or rootstock, in its use in medicin, and as a dye, to make the name easily pass from one to the other. The original English form of the name I suppose to hav been \**termerite*, \**terre-merite*, from F. *terre-merite*, now *terre-mérite*, or as N.L., *terra merita* (1671), corruptly *talmental* (1669 — Littré), *turmeric*. This must be from M.L. *terra meritum* (an. 1251, 1319, 1336), *terremeritum* (an. 1263, 1311), *terameritum* (an. 1206), plural *terra meritum*, *terre-merita*, given by Du Cange as 'fruits of the earth,' 'produce of the ground.' The application of the term to a plant conspicuous for its root would be easy.

A *neap* taken as an \**eap* is probably the source of the aspirated *heap*, a turnip. Perhaps Halliwell's "*anape*, apparently the name of an herb . . . mentioned in an old receipt in a MS. of the 15th century" (H. p. 58), is a *nape*, a turnip; or is it, like *Jackanapes*, a plant of Italian growth — a *Napes*, of Naples? See A. No. 26.

A wonder thing a man may often see  
two yere if *neep* in some lande sowen be,  
It wol be rape, and rape in sum land sowe  
Wol ther ayenne uppe into *neepes* growe.

c 1420 *Palladius on Husbondrie* (E.E.T.S.), viii. 25. (See also viii. 20-23.)

Hec rapa, a *neppe*. c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 711, l. 4).

Tame *nepis* and parcely. 1502 *Arnold's Chronicle* (1811), p. 111.

*Nepe*, Heref., a navew or turnip. 1692 COLES, *Eng. Dict.*

(b) *Heaps*, turnips.

1881 DICKINSON, *Second Suppl. to Cumberland Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 109.

12. *Near*<sup>2</sup>, a kidney, speld also *neer*, Sc. *neir*, *neire*, Eng. dial. also *nire*, *nyre* (spelt by Moor *nia*, *niyah*); ME. *nere*, *neere*; from an unrecorded AS. form, or from the cognate Scandinavian form, Icel. *nýra*, Sw. *njure*, Dan. *nyre*, D. *nier*, G. *niere*, Gr. *νεφρός*, etc. The hitherto unnoticed form *nire* is probably from the Scandinavian, and *near* from the AS. The word has disappeard from current use, being displaced by the word *kidney*, which is in fact a compound of *near*<sup>2</sup>; *kidney* (ME. *kidney*, *kydney*, *kedney*, *kidenei*), being an alterd form of ME. *kidnere*, *kydnere*, *kydneere*, *kidenere*, *kideneire*, *kydenere*, from \**kid*, supposed to represent *quith*, Eng. dial. *kite*, belly (AS. *cwið*, Icel. *kviðr*, etc.) + *nere*, kidney. But *near* is in provincial use in various forms: (a) *near*, *nire* (*nia*, *niyah*); also, a *near* being taken

as *an ear*, (*b*) *ear*, *eer*, *eir* (speld by Moor *ayah*, *aiyah*); also, (*c*) *incar*, *innear*, and *inniards*, forms apparently resting, in popular etymology, on *in*, or *innard* for *inward*; also, (*d*) in the plural, by a duplication of the plural suffix, *nurses* (for *\*nerses*, *\*near-s-es*), a new plural of *nears* taken as a collectiv noun designating a pair, and hence open to a new plural. Compare *bodices*, plural of *bodice*, original *bodies*, plural of *body*.

- (a) For in-lowed es my hert,  
And mi *neres* [*reenys*, Wiclif] are torned for un-uert.  
c 1315 *Early Eng. Psalter*, Ps. lxxii. 21. (Heritage.)
- Ren, a *ner*. c 1450 (?) *Nominale MS.* (H.)  
*Near*e of a beest, roignon. 1530 *PALSGRAVE*, p. 247.  
Ren, the *neire*. 1595 *DUNCAN*, *Appendix Etymologiae* (E.D.S. 1874).  
*Near* or *neah* . . . *Niyah* or *Near*. [See below.]  
1823 *MOOR*, *Suffolk Words*.  
*Near*, the fat of the kidneys. . . . In Suffolk it is pronounced *nyre*.  
1830 *FORBY*, *Vocab. East Angl.* p. 229.  
*Near*, the kidney. 1847 *HALLIWELL*.  
*Near*, the kidney. 1888 *ADDY*, *Sheffield Gloss.* p. 150.
- (b) *Near* or *Neah*. The same, I believe, as *Aiyah*, *Ear*, and *Niyah*, which see.  
1823 *MOOR*, *Suffolk Words*, p. 245.  
*Niyah* or *Near*. Rhyming to *fire* and *ear*, the fat surrounding the kidney of a roast loin of veal, or mutton. Also the kidney itself. There are various ways of pronouncing these words, *Ayah*, *Ear*, and *Nia*.  
1823 *MOOR*, *Suffolk Words*, p. 249.  
*Ear*. The kidney, or its neighbouring fat; particularly of roast veal. It is also called *Near*, or *Neah*—*Aiyah*, and *Niyah*.  
1823 *MOOR*, *Suffolk Words*, p. 117.  
*Aiyah*. The fat about the kidney of veal or mutton. It is also called *Niyah*, and sometimes *Ear* and *Near*. 1823 *MOOR*, *Suffolk Words*, p. 6.  
*Ear*. An animal's kidney. *East*. 1847 *HALLIWELL*. Also 1857 *WRIGHT*.  
*Ear fat*, *Near fat*, the fat surrounding the kidneys.  
1859 *DICKINSON*, *Cumb. Gloss.* p. 34.
- (c) *Inear*, or *Near*. The kidney. *North*. 1790 *GROSE*, *Prov. Gloss*.  
*Inear*. The kidney. *North*. 1847 *HALLIWELL*.  
*Inear*, the kidneys: perhaps from their supposed resemblance to the shape of the ear. 1855 [*ROBINSON*], *Whitby Gloss.* p. 90.  
*Innear*, a kidney. 1876 *ROBINSON*, *Mid-Yorksh. Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 65.
- (d) *Nurses*, the kidneys. *Lonsdale Gloss.* (Peacock.) (P. p. 639.)

13. *Neeld*, ME. *neld*, *nelde*, a transposed form of *needle*, ME. *neeld*, *nedyl*, AS. *nēdl*. Compare dial. *wordle*, ME. *wordle*, a transposed form of *world*. I find ME. *a neld* as *an eld*.

- (a) Alle þeos þinges . . . ne beoþ nout wurð a *nelde*.  
c 1230 *Ancren Riwe*, p. 400.  
Soche willers witte is not worth a *nelde*. c 1400 *Plowman's Tale*, l. 728.  
*Neeld*, a needle. 1881 *EVANS*, *Leic. Words* (E.D.S.), p. 199.
- (b) When alle mens corne was fayre in feld  
Then was myne not worth an *eld*  
[corrected to *a neld* in the "Addenda et Corrigenda," p. xix.]  
c 1450 *Townley Myst.* p. 11.

14. *Nest*, ME. *nest*, AS. *nest*. In modern provincial use *a nest* is sometimes taken as *an est*. The very same word exists also as *eye*<sup>3</sup>

(see below, No. 17) ; for *nīdus*, the Latin original of *eye*<sup>2</sup>, is cognate with *nest*.

- (a) *A Neste*, *nīdus*, *nīdulus*, diminutivum. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 253.  
 (b) *Est*, s. A corruption of *Nest*. Roxb. Hence, a *bird-est*, a bird's nest. 1866 JAMIESON.

Hogg.

By leke or tarne, scho douchtna reste,  
 Nor bygge on the klofte hirre dowye este.

1820 HOGG, *Winter Evening Tales*, ii. 71. (1880 Jam.)

*Est*. Nest.

1859 DICKINSON, *Cumberland Gloss.* p. 35-

15. **Nettle**, ME. *nettle*, *nettylle*, *nettle*, AS. *netele*. *A nettle loses its hed*, but not its sting, as *an ettle*.

- (a) *A nettylle*, *vertica*. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 253-

*Nettle* out, dock in,  
 Dock remove the *nettle* sting.

1879 HENDERSON, *Folklore of the Northern Counties*, p. 26.

- (b)

Out *ettle*, in Dock,  
 Dock zhall ha' a new smock,  
*Ettle* zhant ha' narrun.

1842 AKERMAN, *Wiltshire Gloss.* p. 16. (Northall.)

*Ettle*. A nettle. West.

1847 HALLIWELL

*Ettles*. Nettles.

1868 HUNTLEY, *Gloss. of Cotswold Dialect*, p. 38.

16. **Nias**, also *nyas*, *niess*, *nyesse*, *niaise*, from OF. *niais* ; compare Pr. *nizaic*, *niaic*, It. *nidiace*, also *nidaso*, *niaso*, a young hawk taken in its nest ; originally adjectiv, variously formd from L. *nīdus*, = E. *nest*. See NIE following, No. 17. *A nias* (*nyas*, *niess*, *nyesse*, *niaise*) came to be regarded and used as *an ias* (spelt *yas*, *eyas*, *eyase*, *eyesse*). The term was used alone and also as a part of several phrase-names.

(1) *A nias*, a young hawk. Examples of *a nias* in the literal sense and not joint to *hawk*, or an other noun, ar rare. Compare the quotation from Cotgrave :

*Niais* : m. A neastling ; a young bird taken out of a neast ; hence, a youngling, nouice, cunnie, ninnie, fop, noddie, cockney, dotterell, peagoose ; a simple, witlesse, and vnexperienced gull ; also, as *Niez* [see quotation below]. 1611 COTGRAVE.

*Niess*, (Hawk).

1668 WILKINS, *Real Char.*, Alph. Dict.

Hence, figurativly, a youngling, a foolish young fellow, a simpleton.

- (a) Laugh'd at, sweet bird ! Is that the scruple ? Come, come, Thou art *a niaise*. 1616 B. JONSON, *Devil is an ass* (1641), i. 3.

- (b) *Eyas*. c 1450 *Reliq. Antiq.* i. 294. (Oliphant, i. 281.)-

Couata, a couie of partridges, a beuie of phesants, a broode of chickens—  
 an ayrie of haukes : or any birdes hatching or sitting, a nestfull, a layre  
*an eyas*. 1598 FLORIO.

Couáta, a couie of Partridges, a beuie of Fesants, a brood of Chickins, a  
 ayrie of Hawkes, a nest-full, a lairie, *an eyase*, or any birdes hatching  
 and sitting. 1611 FLORIO.

[Torriano, 1659, alters wording and omits "a lairie, *an eyase*."]

The first year of her trade she is *an eyesse*, scratches and cryes to draw on  
 more affection. a 1613 SIR THOMAS OVERBURY, *Works*, p. 82

But there is Sir an ayrie of Children, little *Yases*, that crie out on the top of question; and are most tyrannically clap't for 't.

1623 SHAKESPEARE, *Hamlet*, ii. 2. (F<sup>1</sup> p. 262.)

*Eyas*. A young hawk; a falconer's term, not yet lost, derived from Eye.

1868 HUNTLEY, *Cotswold Dialect*, p. 38.

Nathaniel Field (first one of the little *eyasses* who competed with regular actors, and then himself an actor and playwright).

1887 G. SAINTSBURY, *Eliz. Lit.* p. 426.

From the noun *eyas*, or from the compounds below, arises the attributiv use in "*eyas wings*":

Ere fitting time could wag his *eyas wings*.  
About that mightie bound which doth embrace  
The willing spheres.

1596 SPENSER, *Hymn of Heavenly Love*, l. 24.

The word also appears, probably it appeared first, as an adjective or as a noun in loose composition, in (2) *a nias falcon*, (3) *a nias hawk*, a transfer or translation of the French or Italian terms *faucon niard*, *faucon niais* (?), *nidiace*, or *nidaso falcone* (see the quotations from Cotgrave and Florio). We also find (4) *a nias musket*, and (5) *a nias dragon*. The first two appear also and usually, the third (No. 4) appears only, with the *n* attracted to the article: *an ias falcon*, *hawk*, *musket*, misspelt *an eyas falcon*, etc.

(2) *A nias falcon*, *an eyas falcon*.

(a) Niard, faulcon niard. *A Nias Faulcon*. 1611 [and 1673] COTGRAVE.  
(b) Nidiáce falcóne, a Hawke taken young out of his nest, *a Eyase-faulcon*.  
1611 FLORIO [not in 1598; see quot. 1659 under *eyas hawk*].

(3) *A nias hawk*, *an eyas hawk*; also *a nias goshawk*.

(a) That no man, from the feast of Pasche nexte ensuinge, shoulde beare any hauke of the breede of Englande, called *an nyesse goshake*, tasselle, laner, laneret, or faucon, upon peyne of forfeiture of such his hawkke to the kyng. 95 Stat. 11 Hen. VII. (Strutt, *Manners and Customs*, 1775, vol. iii. p. 126).  
Niez, as *niais* [see quot. above]; Also *a nias harwke* [1673 *hawk*]; also, an airie of hawkes. 1611 [and 1673] COTGRAVE.

*A Nias Hawke*. G. Niáis. I. *Nidaso*, for a *niase Hawke*, or for a *Nouice*, a simple young one come late out of the nest. 1617 MINSHEU.  
*Nias Hawke* (Fr. *Niais*) a Nestling or young Hawk; or any Hawk taken out of the Nest, before she prey'd for her self.

1674 BLOUNT, *Glossographia*, p. 433.

*A nias Hawk*. *Accipiter apotrophus*, rudis, recens a nido.

1693 *Linguae Romanae Dict.*

(b)

Like *Eyas hauke* up mounts unto the skies,  
His newly budded pineons to assay.

1590 SPENSER, *F. Q. I.* xi. 34.

*Niaso*, *an eyase hauke* [1611 *an eyase harwke*]. 1598 FLORIO.

*Nidaso*, *an eyase hauke* taken out of the nest [1611 *an Eyase-hawke*].

1598 FLORIO.

*Nidiace*, *Nidaso*, *Falcone*, *an Eyase hawkke* taken out of her nest or airey.  
1659 FLORIO, ed. Torriano [see quot. under *eyas falcon*].

- (4) *A nias musket*; found only once, as (*an*) *eyas musket*.  
 (b) *M. Page*. Here comes little Robin.  
*Mist. Ford*. How now my *Eyas-Musket*, what newes with you?  
 1623 SHAKESPEARE, *M. W. W.* iii. 3. (F<sup>1</sup> p. 50.)
- (5) The sense of merely 'young,' 'a young one,' not confined to birds ("nyas, a cub," Wright), appears in *a nias dragon*.  
 (a) Then like *a nyas dragon* on them fly,  
 And in a trice devour them greedily.  
 1636 *Fasciculus Florum*. (Wr. p. 707.)

17. *Nie*, *nye*, *ni*, a nest, hence a brood; ME. \**nic*, \**ny*, from OF. *ni* (AF. *nye*, Kelham, 1779, p. 166); E. also *nide*, from F. *nid*; = Sp. It. *nido*, from L. *nidus* (cf. It. *nidio*, from L. *nidulus*, and Pg. *ninho*, from *nidinho* (Diez), or a deviant form also from *nidulus*), a nest, = E. *nest* (see NEST above). It is especially applied to a nest or brood of pheasants:

Primez: où cervez sont assemblé  
 Un herde donque est appele,  
 Des grues ensy un herde,  
 Et des griuez sans h erde,  
*Nye des fesauntes*, coueye des perdriz,  
 Dame des alowez, eipe des berbyz,  
 Soundre des porks et estaruyz,  
 Deueye [read *Beueye* ?] des héronez et pipe des oseaux.  
 Quoted by Leo, *Rectitudines*, p. 40, n. 71, from Reiffenberg, *Einleitung zur Chronique rimée de Philippe Mouskes*, I. p. xc. sq.

Examples of *nie* in ME. or later are rare; *a nie* came to be taken as *an ie*, and *ie* was generally misspelled *eye*.

- (a) *Nye* (f. *Nid*), a nest. 1692 COLES, *Eng. Dict.*  
 A catalogue of the most usual words, whose sound is the same, but their sense and orthography very different. *Altar*, for sacrifice. *Alter*, change . . . *Nigh*, near. *Nid* [read "*Nie*" ? or "*Nye*, F. *nid*" ?], a nest. *Nye*, a mans name. 1692 COLES, *Eng. Dict.*, *Pref.*  
*Nide*, Broedsel. *A nide* of pheasants, Een broedsel faisanten. 1766 SEWEL, *Eng. Dutch Dict.*  
*Nide*, s. (A. N.) A brood of pheasants. 1857 WRIGHT, p. 699.  
*Ni*. A brood of pheasants. 1875 PARISH, *Dict. Sussex Dial.* p. 79.  
*Ni*. — A brood of pheasants. See also EYE. 1888 LOWSLEY, *Berkshire Words* (E.D.S.), p. 117.  
*Eye* or *Ni*. — A brood of pheasants. 1888 *Id.* p. 78.
- (b) They say a *Bevie* of Larkes, even as a covey of Partridge, or *an eye* of Pheasaunts. 1579 SPENSER, *Shep. Cal.*, April, Glosse.  
 Or, if you chance where *an eye* of tame pheasants  
 Or partridges are kept, see they be mine.  
 1647 FLETCHER, *Beggar's Bush*, ii. 1. (C.D.)
- Eye*. A brood of pheasants. *Var. dial.*  
 1847 HALLIWELL. (Also 1857 Wright.)  
*Eye*, a brood of pheasants: *Ey*, an egg, German.  
 1868 HUNTLEY, *Gloss. of Cotswold Dial.* p. 38—  
*Eye*. A brood of pheasants.  
 1889 PEACOCK, *Manley and Corringham Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 193—

The word was not confined to a brood of pheasants, as the Fletcher quotation shows. The *Century Dictionary* speaks of "an eye or shoal of fish."

18. *Nisi prius*. This detachd scrap of a Latin conditional sentence, whose history in English illustrates the great possibilities of law and language when allied to perplex the populace, took the first downward step when it gave way to rime — \**Nise-prise, nizey-prizey, niz-priz*.

- (a) *Nizey-Prizey*. *Nisi Prius*. Various. 1790 GROSE, *Prov. Gloss. Suppl.*  
*Nizey prizey*. 1839 HOLLOWAY, *Gen. Dict. of Provincialisms*.  
*Niz-priz*, a writ of nisi-prius. 1864 HOTTEN, *Slang Dict.*

A \**nise-prise*, a *nizey-prizey*, became an *ise-prise*, an *izey-prizey*, or, with a touch of aspiration, *hizey-prizey*.

- (b) In the yeere 1509 the first of Henry the 8, Darby, Smith and Simson, ring-leaders of false inquests in London rode about the Citie with their faces to the horse tailes, and papers on their heads, and were set on the Pillorie in Cornehill, and after brought againe to Newgate, where they dyed for very shame, said Robert Fabian. A ring-leader of inquests, as I take it, is he, that making a gainfull occupation thereof, will appeare on *Iseprises* ere he be warned, or procure himself to be warned to come on by a tallis.

1618 STOW, *Survay of London*, ed. A[nthony] M[unday], p. 260.  
*Hizey prizey*. A corruption of *Nisi Prius*, the name of a well known law assize. 1825 JENNINGS, *Somerset Gloss.* p. xvi. (Also 1828 [CARR], *Craven Gloss.* i. 228.)  
*Hizey Prizey*, the court of *Nisi Prius*.

1825 BROCKETT, *North Country Words*, p. 97.

It underwent another transformation :

*Izey-tizey*. Uncertainty. *Devon*. 1847 HALLIWELL. (Also 1857 Wright.)

This is, of course, an allusion to the glorious uncertainty of the law. To the rural mind the law is "all a muddle." The writ of *pre-nunire*, itself an etymological muddle (I. *praemunire*, fortify, muddled with *praemonere*, forewarn), has led to a similar perplexity. We find it early used in the sense of "a serious or awkward position ; a predicament" (C.D.) :

If the law finds you with two wives at once,  
 There's a shrewd *premunire*.

1656 MIDDLETON, MASSINGER, & ROWLEY, *Old Law*, v.

There is nothing left to prevent the rest ; *priminary*, *primminerry*.

I, seeing what a *priminary* I had by my ludness brought myself in, I saw that it could not be avoided.

1680 *Letter of Robert Young*, in Harl. Misc. VI. 334. (D.)  
*Primminerry*. Perplexity — confusion — distress — derived, no doubt, somehow from *premunire*. 1823 MOOR, *Suffolk Words*, p. 293.



So the writ of *certiorari*, a piece of knock-down Latin, has past into *sasarara*, *sassarara*, *sasserary*, *siserarara*, *sisserara*, *siserari*, *siserary* (see C.D. s.v. *siserary*), an overwhelming assault.

*Siserara*. A hard cruel blow. "'A gon em sich a siserara 'a the hidd."  
I have fancied that this may be traced to the cruel act of the scriptural  
Jael on the unhappy Sisera, as related in Judges, iv. 21.

1823 MOOR, *Suffolk Words*, p. 351.

19. **Noggerhead**, a dialectal variant of *loggerhead* (perhaps simulating *nog*, a wooden pin). A *noggerhead*, with a slight variation, becomes an *aggerhead*; and a *noggerheaded* fellow, originally a *loggerheaded* fellow, becomes an *aggerheaded* fellow.

- (a) *Noggerhead*. A blockhead [fool, Wr.]. Dorset.  
1847 HALLIWELL; 1857 WRIGHT.  
You *logger-headed* and unpollisht groomes.  
1623 SHAKESPEARE, *T. S.* iv. 1. 128 (F<sup>1</sup> p. 221).
- (b) *Aggerheads*, loggerheads.  
1876 ROBINSON, *Mid-Yorkshire Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 1.  
*Aggerheads*, loggerheads. "He's an *aggerheaded* fellow," means he is a  
dull stupid fellow. 1888 ADDY, *Sheffield Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 2.

20. **Noonmeat**, the normal modern form of the ME. *nonmete*, *nunmete*, AS. *nōnmete*, meat or food taken at noon, a midday lunch, generally taken, with true British freedom, early in the morning, or late in the afternoon. The ME. *nonmete*, *nunmete*, assimilated, exists provincially as *nummet*, with variants *nimmet*, *neemit*, *nammet*, *nammut*, and a *nammet* is more evenly divided as an *ammēt*. True to picnic experiences, we also find a *nammet*, a country lunch, jumbled together, as *anamet* (H. p. 58), *enamet* (H. p. 333). Compare *inear* for *near*<sup>2</sup> (No. 12 (c)).

- (a) *Nunmete*. Merenda, antecenum. 1440 *Prompt. Parv.* p. 360.  
*Merenda, a none meete.*  
c 1470 *Medulla Gram.* (Way, *Pr. P.* p. 360, note 3).  
*A Nvne mete*, antecena, antecenum, merenda. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 257.  
*Merenda*, breakfast, or *noone meate.*  
1548 THOMAS, *Ital. Gram.* (Way, *Pr. P.* p. 360, note 3).  
*Merendar*, to take the *noonemeate*, meridiari. *Merienda, a noonemeate*,  
*merenda*, prandium. 1591 PERCIVAL, *Span. Dict.* (Heritage.)  
*Nummet*, nunch, luncheon.  
1814 *Somerset Vocab.* in *Monthly Mag.*, Sept., p. 126  
(*Spec. Eng. Dial.*, E.D.S., p. 73).  
*Nummet, s.* A short meal between breakfast and dinner; nunchion.  
1825 JENNINGS, *Somerset Gloss.* p. 57.  
*Nummet.* 1849 SOUTHEY, *Common Place Book*, i. 477. (Davies.)  
*Nammet.* A luncheon. *South.* 1847 HALLIWELL. (Also 1857 Wright.)  
*Nammut*, a luncheon eaten in the field about nine o'clock in the morning,  
excepting during harvest, and then at four in the afternoon.  
1881 SMITH, *Isle of Wight Words* (E.D.S.), p. 22.  
*Nammet.* Lunch. 1890 CHOPE, *Dial. of Hartland* (E.D.S.), p. 60.

Hence in composition, a *nammet-bag* :

*Jan*. What's got there you?

*Will*. A blastnashun straddlebob craalun about in the *nammut bag*.  
1847 *Spec. of Isle of Wight Dial.* (H. p. xxi.).

Picknickers being told that a *nammut bag* answers to a lunch-basket, will be able to giv a shrewd guess as to what a blastnashun straddlebob is ; others may need to be informd that a blastnashun straddlebob is a dumbledore, that is to say, a polyonymous lamellicorn coleopter, cald also a dorbeetle, a dorbug, a maybeetle, a maybug, a cockchafer, a *Melolontha vulgaris*. The dumbledore proper is Emerson's "burly dozing humblebee," in American prose always a bumblebee.

When tha *dumbledores* hummin, craup out o' tha cob-wäll,  
An, shakin ther whings, thå vloed vooäth an awä.

1825 JENNINGS, *Good Bwye to thee, Cot* (Somerset poem) in  
*Dialects of West of England*, p. 91.

In the Isle of Wight dialog, from which I hav quoted above, it appears that *straddlebob* is a term of extreme antiquity. Jan doubted about straddlebob :

*Straddlebob!* Where ded'st leyarn to caal'n by that neyam?

The question was referd to the master ; and he said —

Why a zed one neyam ez jest so vittun vorn as tother, and he louz a ben caald *Straddlebob* ever zunce the island was vust meyard.

1847 HALLIWELL, l.c.

Which is a reasonable ancienty.

- (b) *Ammat*. A luncheon before dinner. 1790 GROSE *Prov. Gloss.*  
*Ammat*. A luncheon. West. 1847 HALLIWELL. (Also 1857 Wright.)

21. **Nouch**, ME. *nouche*, *nowche*, a brooch, a pendant, from OF. *nouche*, *nosche*, *nusche* (ML. reflex *nouchium*), ML. *nusca*, *nuxa*. A *nouch* early became an *ouch*, Sc. *uche*, *uch*. It is now known, in its clipt form, only as an archaic word in the English Bible.

- (a) *Nowche*. Monile, scutula. 1440 *Prompt. Parv.* p. 359.  
A shete shalle be youre palle, siche lodys shalle be youre *nowche*.  
c 1450 *Towneley Myst.* p. 325.  
An *nowche* of gold with a gret poynted diamaunt set upon a rose enamellid white, and a *nowche* of gold in facion of a ragged staff.  
a 1483 *Grant from Edward IV.*, in *Paston Letters*, ii. 33.  
(Herrtage, *C. A.*, p. 263.)
- (b) An *ouch* [var. an *ouch*, a *nouche*] of gold.  
c 1386 CHAUCER, *Wife of Bath's Preamble*, l. 743 (Six-Text, D. 743).  
An *owche* of sylver walewede therinne.  
a 1500 (?) *MS. Cott. Calig. A.* ii. f. 113. (H. p. 914.)  
Nor *Ouche*, Brooch or Agglet, but of Venice making or Millen.  
1581 STAFFORD, *Compendious or Brief Exam.* (N.S.S.), p. 51.  
Fermaglio, an *ouch*, or iewell, a pendant, namely a brooch. 1598 FLORIO.

And they wrought Onix stones inclosed in *ouches* of gold grauen, as signets are grauen, with the names of the children of Israel.

1611 BIBLE, *Exodus*, xxxix. 6.  
Bránche d'óro, *ouches* of gold. 1611 FLORIO [not in ed. 1598].  
Bránca d'óro . . . *an ouch* or brooch of gold. 1659 FLORIO, ed. Torriano.

Nought, see 7, NAUGHT.

22. **Nouthorn**, the horn of a nout, that is, of an ox or a cow; a Northern Eng. term, also *nouthorn*, *nolthorn*, ME. *nouthorne* (as shown below), from *nout* (*nowt*, *nolt*), cattle, also an ox or a cow (from Icel. *naut*, cattle, parallel with Southern Eng. *neat*, ME. *neet*, *net*, AS. *neat*, cattle), + *horn*. *Nout* has been in Northern Eng. use for more than seven hundred years. I find it also in six compounds beside *nouthorn*; namely, *nout-beast*, *nout-byre*, *nout-foot*, *nout-geld*, *nout-herd*, *nout-tath*. See *Catholicon Anglicum*, 1483; Duncan, *Appendix Etymologiae*, 1595; Jamieson, *Scottish Dict.*, 1808 and 1880; Robinson, *Whitby Gloss.*, 1876; etc.

*Nouthorn* has heretofore received scant recognition, being in all but two recorded instances, and these obscure, turned into an *outhorn*, and this being explained as an original formation from *out* + *horn*.

The word appears undisguised in the following instances:

- (a) A lang kail-gully hang down by his side,  
And a meikle *nout-horn* to rout on had he.  
*a 1776 Humble Beggar* (Herd, *Collection of Anc. and Mod. Scottish Songs* (1776), ii. 29. (1880 Jam. iii. 371.)).

*Nolt-horn, Nout-horn*, s. The horn of an ox or cow, used for collecting cattle, &c. . . . Of a very cold day, it is proverbially said, "It's enough to pierce a *nouthorn*," S. 1880 JAMIESON, iii. 371.

In all the other instances a *nouthorn* is disguised as an *outhorn*, or as *outhorn*, *outhorne*, without the indefinit article. The cases require individual notice.

- (b) There was many an *outhorne* in Caerlel blowen [*var.* in Carlile was blowne, P.],  
And the belles backward did they ryng [*var.* bells backward did ringe, P.].  
*a 1550 Adam Bel, Clym of the Cloughe, and Wyllyam of Cloudeste*, l. 345. (Child, *Ballads*, v. 144, from Ritson, *Pieces of Anc. Pop. Poetry*, p. 1; also in Percy, *Reliques*, i. 158; *Percy Folio MS.*, iii. 89, l. 345, with variations as above noted.)

Prof. Child, in his glossary to the *Ballads* (iv. 319, ed. 1880), explains *outhorne* in this passage as "a horn blown to summon people to assist in capturing a fugitive." Percy explains it as "an old term signifying the calling forth of subjects to arms by the sound of a horn"; and refers to Coles and Bailey. I append the entries in Coles and Bailey:

*Out-hest, Out-horn*, *evocatio subditorum ad militiam per edictum regis or per sonum cornu.*  
1708 COLES, *Eng.-Lat. Dict.*

*Out-hest, Out-horn*, the Summoning of Subjects to Arms by the Sound of a Horn.  
1733 BAILEY.

These entries are based on earlier statements in Spelman and Skinner :

*Outhest*, idem quod *Outhorn*, ab AS. Hæse, Mandatum, & *Out*, q. d. Evocatio ad Militiam per Mandatum seu Edictum Regis.

1671 SKINNER, *Etym. Angl.*

*Outhorn*, Spelman citat ex Fœdere Ælfredi & Guthruni RR. quod in impresso codice dicitur Edwardi & Guthruni. Videtur autem Convocatio Subditorum, seu Civium ad arma per sonum Cornu, ab *Out* & *Horn*.

1671 SKINNER, *Etym. Angl.*

But I do not find *outhorn*, or any AS. word like it, in the laws of Edward and Guthrum as printed (Lambard, Ἀρχαιονομία, ed. Whelock, 1644, p. 41-44; Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, 1840, i. 166-177; Schmid, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, 1858, p. 118-126). Spelman's reference seems to be intended for *outlaw*, AS. *ūtlah*, which occurs in the laws mentioned. A murderer is to be 'outlaw' — "beo he þonne utlah, and his hente mid hearne [*read* hream] ælc para þe riht wille" — "et capiat eum cum clamore," with hue and cry. (Whelock, p. 43; Thorpe, i. 170; Schmid, p. 122.) This brings in the notion of *outhest*, given by Skinner, Coles, and Bailey, as synonymous with *outhorn*, but a different word, representing ME. *outhees*, later *outis*, *outas*, etc., outcry, hue and cry; in Anglo-Latin *uthesium* (*Laws of William the Conqueror*, I. iv. title: Thorpe, i. 469). See *outas*<sup>2</sup>, in the *Century Dictionary*. The formation of this word is apparently from AS. *ūt*, ME. *out*, out, + AS. *hǣs*, ME. *hes*, *hees*, E. *hest*, call, command. The latter element seems to have been later confused with *hue* (AL. *huesium*, *hutesium*), in *hue and cry*.

These erroneous statements of Spelman, Skinner, Coles, and Bailey no doubt rest on the medieval Scottish use of *outhorne* in legal documents :

Gif it happinnis the Schiref to persew fugitouris with the Kingis Horne as is foirsaid, and the countrie ryse not in his supporte, thay all or parte herand the Kingis Horne, or beand warnit be the Mairis, and followis not the *outhorne*, — ilk gentilman sall pay to the King vnforgeuin xl. s. and ilk yeman xx. s.

1426 *Acts Ja. I.* c. 109. Edit. 1566, c. 98. Edit. Murray. (1808 Jam.)

That all maner of men, that has land or gudis, be reddi horsit and geirit, and efter the faculte of his landis and gudis, for the defence of the realme, at the commandement of the Kingis letters be bailis or *outhornis*.

1456 *Acts Ja. II.* c. 62. Edit. 1566, c. 98. Murray. (1808 Jam.)

Fra I be semblit on my feit,

The *outhorne* is cryde;

Thay rais me all with ane rout,

And chasis me the toun about,

And cryis all with ane schout,

'O traytor full tryde!'

a 1586 *Maitland Poems* (1786), p. 198. (1808 Jam.)

Jamieson (1808) defines the word in the second quotation as "1. The horn blown for summoning the lieges to attend the king in *feir of were*;" in the first quotation as "2. The horn blown by the king's mair or messenger, to summon the lieges to assist in pursuing a fugitive;" in the third, as "3. The 'horn of a sentinel or watchman to sound alarm,' Gl. Sibb.;" that is, he adopts the definition given in the glossary appended to Sibbald's *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry* (1802), with a qualification, "unless there be an allusion to the practice of proclaiming a man to be a rebel, and making him an outlaw, by putting him to the horn." (See Jamieson, s.v. *horn*; *Century Dictionary*, phrases *at the horn*, and *to put to the horn*, s.v. *horn*, n.)

I find two more quotations :

This is a great skorne and a false trane,  
Now wolf-hede and *out-horne* on the be tane!  
Vile fature!

c 1450 *Towneley Myst.* (Surtees Soc. 1836), p. 193.

*Tutivillus*. Of these cursid forsworne and alle that here leyndes,  
Blaw, wolves-hede and *oute-horne*, now namely my freyndes.

c 1450 *Id.* p. 321.

The editor defines *outhorne* in these passages as "an outlaw"; a definition repeated, without a reference to any passage, by Halliwell, and by Wright. But the "outhorne" was not an outlaw; and certainly the *outhorne* that was "blown in Carlisle" was not an outlaw. Of course an outlaw, when hard prest by his pursuers, might in one sense be "blown in Carlisle," or become "blown" before he had run very far from Carlisle; but this manner of speech was not in use at that time, even among the most desperate outlaws.

The "outlaw" in these cases was the *wolf's-head* (*wolfes-hede*, *wolf-hede*). I giv a clearer example :

Tho were his bondemen sory and nothing glad,  
When Gamelyn her lord *wolves-heed* was cryed and maad.

c 1400 *Gamelyn*, l. 700.

*Wolf's-head*, ME. *wolfes-hede*, *wolves-heed*, *wolf-hede*, in quotations above, earlier \**wolvesheved*, *wolfeshofod* (in Skinner as *wolferhefod*), *wluesheued*, AS. \**wulfes hēafod*, was a figurativ term for the hed or person of an outlaw, who was to be pursued as if he wer a mere wolf or wild beast.

In the laws attributed to Edward the Confessor, if one breaks the peace of holy church, and does not submit to disciplin —

Ore suo utlagabit eum rex. Et si postea repertus fuerit, et teneri possit, vivus, regi reddatur, vel caput ipsius si se defenderit; *lupinum* enim *caput* geret a die utlagacionis sue, quod ab Anglis *wolvesheued* nominatur. Et hec sententia communis est de omnibus utlagis.

a 1300 *Leges Regis Edwardi Confessoris*, vi. (Thorpe, *Anc. Laws*, i. 444.)

To "crye wolves-hede," to "blaw wolves-hede and outhorne," to "take wolf-hede and outhorne on" a person, mean practically the same thing, namely, to raise the hue and cry on a person, to pursue him, crying "wolf's-head!" in one breth, and blowing a horn in the next. It is a medieval version of 'stop thief' — "thief! police!" — an excitedly brief assertion, followed by an excitedly brief call for help.

We thus see that *outhorne* need not be understood as having any reference to *out*, either 'being out,' or 'calling out,' or 'crying out.' It means a horn of some kind, but does not tell why it is blown. It is the context which enables us to infer that it is a horn blown to raise an alarm.

On etymological grounds the apparent formation, *out* + *horn*, is untenable. The word, if so formed, could mean only 'a horn that is out,' that is, 'an outer horn,' as opposed to a possible inner horn. It would then be parallel with the Icel. *ūthorn*, an outer corner (from *ūt*, out, + *horn*, a horn, point, angle, corner).

I conclude that *outhorne* in all the passages cited, represents the original *nouthorn*; a *nouthorn* being taken as an *outhorn*, and then popularly associated, in accordance with the apparent form, but in defiance of the real analogies of the language, with 'calling out.' Such is often the case with popular etymologies — they are easy to believe, but hard to explain.

I have not found any other instances of *nouthorn*. The words of more familiar sound are *cowhorn* = G. *kuhhorn* = Norw. *kuhorn* (Aasen, *Norsk Ordbog*, 1873, p. 395) = Dan. *kohorn* (Molbech, *Dansk Ordbog*, 1833, i. 591); and *oxhorn* = Dan. *oxehorn* (Molbech, ii. 161).

But when his steede saw the cows taile wagge,  
And eke the blacke *cowe-horne*.

1596 *King Edward IV. and the Tanner of Tamworth*  
(Child, *Ballads*, viii. 29).

Be ready, when I give a signal, to strike naker, and blow trumpets, if we have any; if not, some *cow-horns* — anything for a noise.

1825 SCOTT, *The Betrothed*, v.

That is why "many a nouthorn was blown in Carlisle" and elsewhere, — "anything for a noise." The people, hearing the sound of a horn, would of course rush out to see what was in the wind.

23. Number, ME. *nombre*, from OF. *nombre*, *nombre*, L. *numerus*. A *number* appears as an *umber* — a case of attraction six hundred years old.



*Gnar*, or *Knur*. . . . 2. Another name for the game of hockey, which it obviously receives from the stick, with which the game is played, having a gnar or knot at the end of it. 1854 BAKER, *Northampt. Gloss.* i. 279.  
*Knor* or *Gnar*, a small ball of lignum vitæ for playing at cricket with, or a similar game which is called "Spell and Knor," the spell being the trap or tilt on the ground, from which the ball is struck by the "tribbit stick," or long-handled bat. See *Tribbit Stick*.

1855 [ROBINSON], *Whitby Gloss.* p. 98.

*Norr* or *Narr*. See *Knor* or *Gnar*. 1855 *Id.* p. 120.

*Nurspell*. A boy's game in Lincolnshire, somewhat similar to trap-ball. It is played with a kibble, a *nur*, and a spell. By striking the end of the spell with the kibble, the *nur* of course rises into the air, and the art of the game is to strike it with the kibble before it reaches the ground. He who drives it to the greatest distance wins the game.

1847 HALLIWELL.

*Spell and Knor*, a game so called. See *Knor*. It is known further South as *Dab and Shell*. 1855 *Yorkshire Gloss.* p. 164.

*Drab-and-norr*. A game very similar to trippit and coit. 1847 HALLIWELL.

*Drab-and-norr*, s. A game in the North, something like tip-cat.

1857 WRIGHT.

*Nurr*, the ball beaten to and fro in the game of bandy.

1882 NODAL and MILNER, *Lanc. Gloss.* p. 203.

*Knur*. (1) A hard wooden ball with which children play. (2) The head.

1889 PEACOCK, *Manley and Corringham Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 307.

*Nur-spell and Dandy*. The game of hockey. 1889 *Id.* p. 377.

What sports and games could be comprised in the Olympic programme at Chicago? . . . Scottish experts may be expected to make manifest to transatlantic eyes the national sports of curling, putting the stone and tossing the caber, to say nothing of the more occult diversion, popular in Lancashire and Yorkshire, of *knurr-and-spell*.

1892 *London Telegraph*, Oct.

(b) *Orr*, s. A ball of wood used in the game of doddart. 1857 WRIGHT.

26. **Nurled**, also speld *nerled*, reduced *nooled*, stunted, dwarfish; an adjectiv associated with *nurling*, a dwarf (see next), both from *nurl*, *knurl*, a knot, a stunted person, a dwarf (H.); a word of many paths into which I can not now enter. *A nurled* person is sometimes treated as *an urled* person.

(a) *Nerled*. Ill-treated, as by a step-mother. North. 1790 GROSE, *Prov. Gloss.*  
*Nerled*, ill-treated: often applied to the conduct of a step-mother.

1825 BROCKETT, *North Country Words*, p. 148.

*Nooled*, checked, curbed, broken-spirited. 1825 *Id.* p. 151.

(b) *Urled* . . . 'to be *urled*' is spoken of such as do not grow.

1691 RAY, *North Country Words* (E.D.S.), p. 71.

*Urled*. To be stunted in their growth. Said of such as do not grow.

1790 GROSE, *Prov. Gloss.* (Also 1828 *Craven Gloss.*)

*Url't*, ill-thriven; stunted in growth.

1878 DICKINSON, *Cumb. Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 108.

*Urled* (N. Lanc.), stunted. 1882 NODAL and MILNER, *Lanc. Gloss.* p. 275.

27. **Nurling**, a simplified spelling of *knurling*, dial. *knurlin*, *nurlin*, a stunted person, a dwarf; from *knurl*, *nurl*, a knot, a stunted person, a dwarf, as above, + *-ing*. *A nurling*, a *nurlin*, turns up as *an urling*, *an urlin*, sometimes *an crling*. Compare *urled*, above.



In Homer's craft Jock Milton thrives;  
 Eschylus' pen Will Shakespeare drives;  
 Wee Pope, the *knurlin*, till him rives  
 Horatian fame.

a 1796 BURNS, *Poem on Pastoral Poetry*.

- (b) *An urling*, a little dwarfish person. In the South they call such *knurles*.  
 1691 RAY, *North Country Words* (E.D.S.), p. 71. (Also  
 in 1790 GROSE, and 1828 *Craven Gloss*.)

*Orling*. A stunted child, or any ill-thriving young stock. *North*.

1790 GROSE, *Prov. Gloss*.

*Urling* or *underling*, a dwarf, a sickly child.

1855 [ROBINSON], *Whitby Gloss*. p. 185.

The implication that *urling* is a contraction of *underling* is, of course, only another instance in which the arrow of conjecture has flown wide on the wind.

*Urlin*, a dwarf or dwarfish thing.

1859 DICKINSON, *Cumberland Gloss*. p. 127.

Words not heard from 1851 to 1891. . . . *Orling*, a stunted child.

1892 MORRIS, *Yorkshire Folk-Talk*, p. 76.

It may be noted here, with regard to *nur* for *knur*, *nar* for *knar*, *nurling* for *knurling*, that some other words with original *kn-* have come to be spelt with simple *n-*, either always or often; as *nab*, *nap* in some senses, *nag*, v., *nick*, *nicknack*, *nob*, *nurl*, etc. Of course it would be terrible to extend the principle, and spel *knife*, *knock*, *knuckle*, etc., in like manner, *nife*, *nock*, *nuckle*, etc.; for how in the world should we then discover their etymology, which, when the words are spelt with a *k*, is perfectly obvious to every schoolboy, and even to some learned men? Every one who has studied etymology by the method of rapid intuition knows that when you drop or change a single letter in a word, the whole etymology instantly vanishes, and can not be found again.

28. **Nuthatch**, also *nuthack*, a bird, *Sitta Europæa*: ME. *nuthak*, *nuttehake*, *nothak*, *nothache*, *notehach*, *nuthage*, *nothage*, etc. *A nuthack* has become an *\*uthack*, reduced to *utic*, *yewtick*, aspirated *hutig*. *A nuthage* has become an *uthage*. The application of these names varies. Names of birds, especially of small birds which are identified, easily shift from one bird to another.

- (a) *Nothak*, byrde. Picus. 1440 *Prompt. Parv.* p. 3. 59.  
 Hic ficedula, a *nuthage*. c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 702, l. 5. 59).  
 Nucifragus, an<sup>ce</sup> a *notehach*.  
 c 1450 *Lat.-Eng. Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 598, l. 7).  
 The *nuthake* with her notes newe.  
 c 1475 *The Squyr of Lowe Degre*, l. 57. (Ritson, *Metr. Rom.* iii. 47-)  
 Hic onux, A<sup>ce</sup> a *nothak*. c 1475 *Pictorial Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 762, l. 5. 59).  
 A *Nutte hake*, picus, corciscus. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 257.

- Picus, a *nuthawke*. 1500 *Ortus Vocab.* (Way, p. 359.)  
*Nothage*, a byrde, jaye. 1530 PALSGRAVE, p. 248.  
 (b) *Hutic*. The whinchat. *Salop.* 1847 HALLIWELL.  
*Utic*, s. The whinchat. *Leic.* 1857 WRIGHT.  
*Uthage*. The chaffinch. The whinchat is so called in Shropshire.  
 1847 HALLIWELL.  
*Uthage*, s. (1) The chaffinch. (2) The whinchat. *Shropsh.*  
 1857 WRIGHT.  
*Utic*, the whinchat . . . *Yewtick*, i.q. *Utic*.  
 1881 EVANS, *Leic. Words* (E.D.S.), p. 283, 295.

**Nyas.** See 16, NIAS.

**Nye.** See 17, NIE.

Similar to the words above explained are two cases in which words from the Greek, with initial *an-*, are in popular use regarded as involving the article *an* or *a*, which is therefore separated from the rest of the word.

29. **Anatomy**, a skeleton; the human frame after it has suffered anatomy — and wiring. Hence ‘a living skeleton,’ a lean hunger-stricken wretch. *Anatomy* is popularly taken as *an atomy* (also *otomy*, *ottamy*, etc.), or as *a natomy* (also *notomy*, *nottomy*, *nottamy*, etc.).

(a) *Anatomy* (*anatomie*, *anatomye*) :

Out of every corner of the woods and Glinnes they [the inhabitants of Munster] came creeping foorth upon their handes, for they legges could not beare them; they looked like *anatomyes* of death, they spake like ghostes crying out of theyr graves.

c 1596 SPENSER, *View of the Present State of Ireland*. (Globe ed. p. 654.)

A meere *Anatomie*, a Mountebanke,

A thred-bare Iugler, and a Fortune-teller.

1623 SHAKESPEARE, *C. E.* v. 238 (F<sup>1</sup> p. 98).

And rowze from sleepe that fell *Anatomy* [Death].

1623 SHAKESPEARE, *King John*, iii. 4, 40 (F<sup>1</sup> p. 12).

*Dol.* Goodman death, goodman Bones.

*Host.* Thou *Anatomy*, thou.

*Dol.* Come you thinne Thing;

Come you Rascal. 1623 SHAKESPEARE, *2 Hen. IV.* v. 4, 33 (F<sup>1</sup> p. 99).

[The Globe ed. has *atomy*.]

The female who sat behind this spectre exhibited also some symptoms of extenuation; but being a brave jolly dame naturally, famine had not been able to render her a spectacle so rueful as the *anatomy* behind which she rode. 1825 SCOTT, *The Betrothed*, xxx.

The transition to *an atomy*, *a natomy*, is well shown in the following, where the real article *an* has been left out.

The Egyptians had a custome . . . in the midst of their feasts to have brought before them *Anatomie* of a dead body dried.

1631 SIR R. BARCKLEY, *Felicitee of Man*, p. 30. (P.)

(b) *An atomy* (*atomy*, *atomy*, *ottamy*, etc.) :

Thou *atomy*, thou.

SHAKESPEARE, *2 Hen. IV.* v. 4, 33. [Globe and Leopold edd.; see above.]

I hear she's grown a mere *otomy*. 1738 SWIFT, *Polite Conversation*, i. (D.)  
*Ottamy*, a skeleton.

1828 [CARR], *Craven Gloss.* ii. 20; 1854 BAKER, *Northampt. Gloss.* ii. 81.

(c) *A natomy* (*notomy*, *nottomy*, *notamie*, *nattamy*, *notomise*, *notomize*, etc.). The first example seems to show the literal sense 'cutting up,' 'dissection':

[Certain persons whose names ar left blank] were hanged at [Tyb]orne, and on off them the sur[geons took] for a *notyme* in-to ther halle.

1561 MACHYN, *Diary* (Camden Soc.), p. 273. (So a *notheme*, p. 252.)

*Nottomy*, s. Corrupted from *anatomy*; but it means, very often, that state of the living body implied by the terms, *mere skin and bone*.

1825 JENNINGS, *Somerset Gloss.* p. xviii.

*Nottomy*. A skeleton. Wasted to a *nottomy*, i.e. mere skin and bone.

Corrupted from *Anatomy*. 1854 BAKER, *Northampt. Gloss.* ii. 65.

*A Notomize*, a skeleton or atomy. "As thin as a *notomize*."

1855 [ROBINSON], *Whitby Gloss.* p. 120.

*Natomy*, *Notomy*, a very thin person.

1881 MRS. PARKER, *Oxfordshire Words*, Suppl. (E.D.S.), p. 91.

30. *Anemone*, also speld *anemony*, the windflower, the beuty of the woods in May, is often taken as *an emone* or *an emony* (which is also transformd into *an enemy*), and as *a nemony*, *nemmony*, *neminy*.

(a) *Anemony*. 1668 WILKINS, *Real Character*, p. 95.

*Anemone*. 1678 PHILLIPS.

(b) The common people call them *emones*. 1657 COLES, *Adam in Eden*. (P.)

Our gardeners call them *emones*. R. TURNER, *Botany*, p. 18. (P.)

Down i' the wild *enemies*. TENNYSON, *Northern Farmer*, O.S., st. ix.

But this delicate little flower is not a very 'wild enemy.'

*Neminies*, the windflower. 1882 NODAL and MILNER, *Lanc. Gloss.* p. 199.

*Nemony*. 1889 PEACOCK, *Manley and Corringham Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 367.

31. Here might be mentiond the artificial blunder of one of Shakespeare's clowns, his profest "funny men"; (*an*) *egma* for *enigma*.

*Ar*. Some *enigma*, some riddle, come, thy Lenuoy begin.

*Clo*. No *egma*, no riddle, no lenuoy, no salue, in thee male sir.

1623 SHAKESPEARE, *Love's Labour's Lost*, iii. 1 (F<sup>1</sup> p. 128).

It should be observd that while the *n* of the article *an* is very persistent before a word beginning with a vowel, whether it stand in its own place or moves over next to its noun, it does sometime actually drop out. Examples ar numerous in Middle English, and some modern dialects use *a* in all positions.

And also a *ermyte* swylke lyue he lede.

c 1325 *Eng. Metr. Hom.*, ed. Small, p. 7

Our Lady tuk this chyld all warme,

And layd it in a *aungell* arm,

And bad hym ber this chyld right tye

Upon his halfe to a *ermyte*.

c 1325 *Id.* p. 168.

I have *a errande* to saye to thee. c 1430 (ms. 1592) *Chester Plays*, ii. 4.  
*A abatyse* (692, l. 13), *a ancoryse* (681, l. 25), *a ankrys* (692, l. 20),  
*a e[m]prys* (691, l. 31), *a endyter* (681, l. 36), *a ermyte* (681, l. 24),  
*a uscher* (681, l. 11), etc. c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup>).

My father's lord o' three castles,  
 My mother she's lady ower three,  
 And there is nane to heir them all,  
 No never *a ane* but me.

*The Courteous Knight* (Child, *Ballads*, vii. 275).

It ought also to be noted in connection with the attraction or adhesion of the *n* of the article *an*, that in ME. the whole article, *an* or *a*, is often found adhering. For *an* adherent, see *another* under *other* (A. 143). The following examples show *a* adherent:

Allas þ *atendre* maide me hab þus ouercome!  
 If hit were *aman* of mi strenþe iwis me nere no3t,  
 Ac ischend i<sup>e</sup> am þ<sup>t</sup> *amaide* me hab to grounde ibro3t.  
 c 1300 *Seinte Margarete*, l. 186 (E.E.T.S.), p. 29.  
*Amanqueller*. c 1300 *Id.* l. 261.  
 Such *afol* dede. c 1300 *Id.* l. 304.

C. The following word occurs with and without initial *n*, and probably belongs to one or the other of the preceding classes; but the etymology is obscure, and the class has not been determined.

1. **Nuggin** and **Uggin**, a lunch.

*Nuggin*, a slight repast, a luncheon. S[helland].  
 1866 EDMONSTON, *Gloss. of Shetland and Orkney Words*, p. 78.  
*Uggin*, a lunch, a light repast. S[helland]. 1866 *Id.* p. 135.  
*Ugg*, to take a slight repast. S[helland]. 1866 *Id.* p. 135.

Edmonston derives *nuggin* from "Da. *knogen*, a little piece of meat, a morsel"; which I can not verify.

D. I notice here certain cases in which a transfer of *n* has been supposed, erroneously, to have taken place.

1. **Nag**, a small horse.

*N* has intruded in a few words, as—  
 Newt = an ewt.  
 Nag = Dan. *ög*; O.-Sax. *ehu* (cf. Lat. *equa*).  
 1880 MORRIS, *Outlines of Eng. Accidence*, p. 72.

But no instance of the required Eng. original \**ag* has been found. The word in ME. is *nagge* (c 1360 *Destruction of Troy*, E.E.T.S., l. 7727; 1440 *Prompt. Parv.* p. 350; etc.); MD. *negghe* (Junius,

Kilian), D. *negge*. Moreover, Dan. *ög* is not a nag, but a work-horse, and is cognate with Sw. *ök*, Icel. *eykr*, a beast of labor, applied in Icel. to either horses or oxen. These forms can have no connection with either Eng. *nag*, or OS. *ehu*, AS. *coh*, Lat. *equus*, *equa*.

## 2. Orange.

*Orange*. Etymologically we should say, instead of "an orange," a *norange* or *narange*. See above, p. 264. 1882 PALMER, *Folk-Etym.* p. 585.  
An original *n* is lost in *auger* for *nauger* . . . *adder* for *nadder*, *orange* for *norange*, *apron* for *napron*, *ouch* for *nouch*.  
1882 SKEAT, *Etym. Dict.* p. 386.

But this statement is not true of *orange* as an English word. As Skeat shows (p. 405) the original *n* (Pers. *nāranj*, etc.) was lost outside of English. The earliest Eng. forms are *orenge*, *oronge* (1440 *Prompt. Parv.* p. 370, where see Way's note), from OF. *orange*, *oronge*. There is no Eng. *\*norange* on record. If found, it would be a *\*norange* for an *orange* (division A), not the original of an *orange* (division B).

## E. The following cases are uncertain.

### 1. Nexile.

Here vndernethē me now a *nexile* I neuē,  
Whilke Ile sall be erthe now, all be at ones  
Erthe haly and helle, bis hegheste be heuen.  
c 1430 *York Plays*, Creation, l. 25, p. 2.

Explained in the glossary as follows :

*Nexile* (an exile), s. *aisle*, from Lat. *axilla*, a detached part of the structure of the world; here seems to be confounded with *isle* . . .  
*Gloss.* p. 546.

But no such form of the word now misspeld *aisle*, as *exile*, and no other form of it involving *x* or *s*, exists in ME., and the Latin *axilla* itself is found only as the supposed link between *axis* and *āla*, the true original of the E. *aisle*, which is merely a piece of ecclesiastical cacography. The original form of the above passage was perhaps this :

Here vndernethē me now a *newe ile* I neuē,  
Whilke *Ile* sall be erthe now [etc.].

The phrase a *newe ile* as here used, involving a somewhat forced use of *ile*, would, if badly written, open the way for emendation, and the copyist might readily light upon a *nexile*, an *exile*, which would seem to express the remoteness and solitariness of the new-made world. The thought of the inhabited world as an exile was familiar :

Huanne he yede in-to be *exil* of þise wordle.

1340 MICHEL (tr.), *Ayenbite of Inuyt* (E.E.T.S.), p. 215.

## 2. Nugget.

*Nugget*. . . . Formerly spelt *niggot*. . . . *Niggot* is supposed to be a corruption of *ningot*, which stands for *ingot*.

1882 SKEAT, *Etym. Dict.* p. 396.

Other examples [of prefix *n*] occur in *nickname* for *ekename*, and *nugget*, formerly *niggot* = *ningot* for *ingot*.

1882 *Id.* p. 386. (Similarly in 1887 *Prin. Eng. Etym.* 1st ser. p. 216.)

*Nugget*, a lump of metal, is the modern form of *niggot* (North's Plutarch), which is probably a corruption of a *ningot*, standing for an *ingot*.

1882 PALMER, *Folk Etym.* p. 584.

But the form *niggot* is not well established, the supposed form \**ningot* has not been found, and the change from \**ningot* to *niggot* (*ng > gg*) has no parallel in English, except that of *angnail*, *agnail*, where other causes are concerned. And *ingot* has been in regular use from its first appearance.

I have found a few possible cases of Attraction of this class which remain obscure, and must therefore remain unmentioned. Some apparent cases of this kind really belong to other categories.

## II. Cases involving the old dative form *then* of the article *the*.

A. Cases in which the final *n* of the Middle English *then*, earlier *than*, Anglo-Saxon *þam*, *ðam*, *ðon*, dative singular or plural of the definite article or demonstrative, has become attached to the following word, leaving the article in the usual form *the*; namely, in the phrases *at then* . . . , *to then* . . . , *for then* . . . .

*At then* is assimilated to *at ten*, which is commonly written *atten*, and may be reduced to *atte*, then to *at*, and ultimately to *a*, or may be misdivided *atte n*, the *n* becoming the victim of a misplaced attachment. See the cases cited below. Compare the like assimilations in early ME. *ðat te*, *ðet te*, *ðatte*, for *ðat ðe*, *ðet ðe*; *ðet tu* for *ðet ðu*; *ðet tin* for *ðet ðin*; *art tu*, *artu*, later *artow*, for *art ðu*, etc. See, e.g., c 1200 *St. Marherete* (E.E.T.S.), p. 20, 21. It is to be noted, however, that *atte* in later ME. is often simply *at* misspelled; e.g. in "*atte ðe laste, tandem*." (1440 *Prompt. Parv.* p. 17.)

1. **Ale**, an alehouse. ME. *at then ale*, assimilated *atten ale*; taken as *at the nale*, *atte nale*. So to *then ale*, taken as *the nale*.

- (a) Robin wule Gilot leden to *ðen* [var. *ðan*] *ale*,  
 And sitten per to-gederes and tellen heore tale.  
*a* 1250 *A Lutel Soth Sermun*, l. 73. (*Old Eng. Misc.*, E.E.T.S., p. 190.)  
 Bidders and beggers faste a-boute eoden,  
 Til heor bagges and heore balies weren bratful I-crommet;  
 Feyneden hem for heore foode, fou3ten *atte alle* [*atte ale* B, *atten ale* C].  
*c* 1362 LANGLAND, *Piers Plowman* (A), prol. 40.
- (b) Thenne seten summe and songen *atte ale* [*atte nale* B, *atten ale* C].  
*c* 1362 LANGLAND, *Piers Plowman* (A), vii. 108.  
 I am occupied eche day, haliday and other,  
 With ydel tales *atte ale* [*atte nale* C] and otherwhile in cherches.  
*c* 1377 LANGLAND, *Piers Plowman* (B), v. 410.  
 And they were glade to file for his purs,  
 And maken hym gret festes *at the nale* [var. *atte nale*].  
*c* 1386 CHAUCER, *Friar's Tale*, l. 50.  
 Chief chantours *at the nale*.  
*c* 1400 *Plowman's Tale*, pt. 3, st. 22, v. 2. (Ritson, *A. S.* p. xxxiii.)  
 And thou goo *to the nale*,  
 As mery as a nyghtyngale.  
*c* 1470 (?) *MS. Harl. 4294*. (Ritson, *l.c.*)

And so at length *nale* appears in other positions :

- And rather then they wyll not be as fine,  
 As who is finest, yea, as smoothe and slicke,  
 And after sit uppermost *at the wine*  
*Or nale*, to make hard shift they wyll not sticke.  
*c* 1568 THYNNE, *Debate between Pride and Lowliness* (Shak. Soc.), p. 53.  
*Nale*. An ale-house. "Where's Bill? He's gone *to nale*."  
 1890 ROBERTSON, *Gloss. Glouc. Dial.* (E.D.S.), p. 101.

But *ale* also appears in its proper form, with the *n* of *then* dropt. See the examples from Langland above, and the following :

- When thei have wrought an oure ore two,  
 Anone *to the ale* thei wyll go.  
*a* 1500 (?) *MS. Ashmole*, 61, f. 25. (H. p. 40, and 317.)  
 "What, when lords goe with ther feires," shee said,  
 "Both *to the ale* and wine."  
*Marriage of Sir Gawaine* (Child, *Ballads*, i. 37).  
*Lau*. . . . If thou wilt goe with me to the Ale-house: if not, thou art an  
 Hebrew, a Iew, and not worth the name of a Christian.  
*Spee*. Why?  
*Lau*. Because thou hast not so much charity in thee as to goe *to the Ale*  
 with a Christian: Wilt thou goe?  
 1623 SHAKESPEARE, *T. G. V.* ii. 5. 61 (F<sup>1</sup> p. 27).

To this cause we owe the modern form of several English surnames beginning with *n*. If John, or Richard, or William, or Walter livd at or near an ale-house, or at a stile or a gate or the end of a street, or at, or in a holt or wood or orchard, or at, or under a conspicuous tree, an ash, elm, oak, or other, or a group of oaks, these permanent

landmarks served to identify to the rural mind, the otherwise uncertain or transitory John, or Richard, or William, or Walter, and *Fohn at then Ashe*, *Fohn atten Ashe*, *Fohn atte Nash*, *Fohn at Nash*, *Fohn a' Nash*, or *Fohn at then Okes*, *Fohn atten Okes*, *Fohn atte Nokes*, *Fohn a Nokes*, became at last *Fohn Nash*, or *Fohn Nokes*, and their descendants thus *Fohn*, *William*, *George*, *Henry*, *Tribulation*, and *Preserved Nash* or *Nokes*, unto endless generations; while the original locative ash-tree or oak-tree has fallen under the ax, or perhaps lingers on, in venerable age, in some English village, the unconscious eponym of a numerous race which, wandering from its ancient home, literally knows not its family tree.

I mention the surnames of this class group, and then in the alphabetic order of the original noun. First, surnames referring to conspicuous localities in the village; and here first, of course, the drinking-place.

2. **Ale**, an alehouse. The case is identical with that mentioned before, in a more general connection. *Fohn at then ale*, *Fohn atten ale*, *Fohn atte nale*, *Fohn a' Nale*. I find mention of *Fohn Nail* and *Thomas Naile* (Bardsley, p. 578), *Robert Naile* (Lowndes). Both forms, *Nail* and *Naile*, appear in various directories.

3. **End**. The end of a street, especially of the one street of a village, is a conspicuous place, and very convenient in directing strangers. A man living there, named *Fohn*, would be known by his neighbors as *Fohn at then Ende*, *Fohn atten Ende*, and so we hear of *Fohn atte Nende*, and later of *Christopher Nend*. A more definite location of John appears in *Fohn attousand*, now *Fohn Townsend*. We find also *Henry ate Tunesende*, *Adam ate Tunesende*, *Alice ate Tunishende*, *Walter atte Towneshende* (Bardsley). Hence our modern *Townshends* with an *h*. So *William atte Stretesend*, *Fohn ate Bruge-ende*, and other "end" men (Bardsley).

4. **Oven**. The village bakery was a place of much resort, and the baker's oven, sometimes called an *ovenhouse* (c. 1425 *Lat.-Eng. Vocab.*, Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 670, l. 22), a landmark. We find *Thomas atte oven* (Bardsley). Compare *a noven*, *a noon*, for *an oven*, *an oon* (A. 147).

A wood, grove, or orchard near a man's dwelling-place, makes it conspicuous to the eye and memory of the country round. Hence the surname *Atwood* (*Richard ate-wode*, *Adam Atte-wood*, etc.),



which does not involv our adherent *n*, and the surnames *Nolt* and *Norchard*, which do involv it.

5. **Holt**, a wood. *Fohn at then holte*, *Fohn atten Holt*, *Fohn atte nolt*, *Fohn a Nolt*, and so *Nolt*. The preposition and article hav also fallen out entirely, leaving the simple form *Holt*.

6. **Orchard**. We find *Robert atte Norchard*, *Richard Atenorchard*. We also find *Richard atte Orcheverd*, and so the simple *Orchard*.

A single conspicuous tree, or a clump of trees of the same kind, was a very common means of locating and surnaming the medieval Englishman. Besides the surnames *Alder*, *Ash* or *Ashe*, *Elm*, *Elms*, or *Elmes*, *Oak*, *Oaks*, or *Oakes*, from which the original preposition and article hav entirely disappear'd, we find parallel forms with the initial *n*, the last relic of the lost article.

7. **Alder**, dial. *aller*, *eller* (see I. A. 11). We find *Alice Attenalre* and later the surnames *Nalder* and *Nelder*.

8. **Ash**. The records mention *William atte Nasche*, *Pagan atte Nash*, *Sarra atten Eshe*. Hence the modern *Nash*. In some cases *atten ash* was reduced to *atte ash*, and finally emerged as the surname *Tash*.

9. **Asp**, dialectal *aps*, *esp*, *eps*, the asp-tree or poplar; now commonly in the originally adjectiv form *aspen*. There is or was a farm in the Isle of Wight called *Apse* (H.). It seems probable that ME. *atten apse* has given rise to this name of a farm, and to the surname *Nabbs*, *Nabbes*, and perhaps also *Nabb*. For the form \**abs* for *aps*, involvd in the surnames, compare the dialectal *haps* for *habs* as develop't from *abscess* (see I. A. 3). To the form *eps* is to be refer'd the surname *Epps*.

10. **Elm**. Some one living *at then elmes*, 'at the Elms,' was the ancestor of Mr. *Nelmes*, and Mr. *Nelms*, of whom I find various mention.

11. **Oak**. This sturdy Briton has a numerous posterity. There ar *Oak*, *Oake*, and *Holyoake*, speld also *Holyoke*; *Oaks*, also speld *Oakes*. There ar also *Snook* and *Snooks*, in whose unlovely-seeming names we behold the just fate of those who cut down *Seven Oaks*. Mr. *Sevenoaks*, who has spared the shades of his ancestors, stil livs unvisited by Nemesis; but his place in Kent, *Sevenoaks*, pronounced *Sunnuck* by the natives (Halliwell, p. xxi.), slopes toward the humble

house of *Snooks*. In all these the original preposition and article hav disappeared. *Fohn atten oke*, *Richard attenok*, *Richard atte Noke*, *William atte Noke*, living near one oak, and *Fohn atten okes*, *Fohn atte Nokes*, *Fohn a Nokes*, living near several oaks, ar the fathers of such as answer to the name of *Noke* or *Noak*, *Nokes* or *Noakes*. *Fohn a Nokes* was once so numerous that his name became generic for a simple rustic :

*Fohn a Nokes* was driving his cart toward Croydon, and by the way fell asleepe therein. Meane time a good fellow came by and stole away his two horses, and went faire away with them. In the end he awaking and missing them, said, Either I am *Fohn a Nokes*, or I am not *Fohn a Nokes*. If I am *Fohn a Nokes*, then I have lost two good horses, and if I be not *Fohn a Nokes*, then I have found a cart.

1614 COPLEY, *Wits, Fits, and Fancies*. (N.)

The Lords should undoubtedly have considered themselves as bound by this opinion. That they knew Oates to be the worst of men was nothing to the purpose. To them, sitting as a court of justice, he ought to have been merely a John of Styles, or a *Fohn of Nokes*.

1859 MACAULAY, *Hist. Eng.* vol. v. ch. xiv.

But there never was a *Fohn of Nokes* nor yet a *Fohn of Styles* in the locativ sense. The preposition is *a* for *at*; easily confused, of course, with *a* for *o* or *o'* for *of*. Both of these surnames ar illustrated in the following line and its variations :

For sum tyme I seruede *Simme atte noke* [var. *Symme atte stile*, B, *Symme at the style*, C]. c 1362 LANGLAND, *Piers Plowman* (A), v. 115.

I notice on an English map a place cald *The Noke* near *The Holt*, in Hertfordshire, a few miles southwest of St. Albans.

12. **Hole.** There is another word of natural location to be noticed. A farm *at then Hole*, that is, in a little vale, or den, or dene, came to be cald *thun Hole* and finally *the Knoll*—a remarkable case of elevation. *Notes and Queries*, 5th Series, ii. 197. (P. p. 570.)

There is an other class of locativ surnames, derived from tavern signs and similar directiv emblems. Ins wer often named from the signs set up before them; and thus cocks, crows, cranes, swans, eagles, rams, goats, and other fearful wild fowl, depicted with a broad brush or chiseld with a free hand, servd to locate and surname "Hugh atte Cokke," "Thomas atte Ram," "John atte Gote," and other worthies otherwise mononymous. And not only birds and beasts, but hats, pots, hammers, axes, and other forms of applied art, did supernominal service.

A few cases, involving words with an initial vowel, come within the range of Attraction.

13. **Ax.** We find an ax, the Sign of the Ax, used to mark the location of a church opposit thereto, and becoming a part of its name—the church of St. Mary *at then Axe, atten Axe, at Naxe*, or in the normal modern form, St. Mary *at the Axe*.

- (a) Mary on the Hil, diocis London, patrón Page of Dortford in Kent, gentilman . . . Mary *at Ax*, diocis London, patrón priores of Seynt Helyns. 1502 *Arnold's Chron.* (1811), p. 251.

In Saint Mary streete had ye (of old time) a Parish Church of Saint Mary the Virgine, Saint Visula, and the 11000. Virgins, which Church was commonly called *S. Mary at the Axe*, of the signe of an Axe ouer-against the East end thereof, or Saint Marie Pellipara, of a plot of ground lying on the North side thereof pertayning to the Skinners in London. This Parish about the yeere 1565, was vnited to the Parish Church of S. Andrew Vndershaft, and so was *S. Mary at the Axe* suppressed, and letten out to bee a warehouse for a Marchant.

- 1618 STOW, *Sürvay of London*, ed. A[nthony] M[unday], p. 310.  
 (b) The names and nombre of the perishe chirches in London. Seint Mary at the Bowe . . . Mary at the Hil, Mary *at Naxe*.  
 c 1502 *Arnold's Chronicle* (1811), p. 76.

And the same sign of the ax, variously located, has given name to the family of *Nax*.

14. **Eagle.** To some ancient host *atten Egle* ar due the modern surnames *Neagle, Naigle*, and, in part, *Nagle*. *Eagle* also exists as a surname. We read of "Gilbert de la Hegle" (Bardsley, *Eng. Surnames*).

15. **Ox.** Some "John *atten Oxe*," of whom I find no record, was probably the ancestor of Mr. *Nox*, whom I find mentiond in Bowditch's *Suffolk Surnames*.

16. **Eye.** In the same phrase *to then*, involvd in *to then ale*, etc., above, I find the explanation of the idiomatic expression, *to the nines*, in such phrases as 'drest up to the nines,' 'to paint, hit off, touch off, something, to the nines.' *To the nines* stands for earlier *to the nine*, *nine* being a disguised plural made obvious to the popular perception by adding the familiar plural sign *-s*. *To the nine* stands for *to then ine*, where *ine* (ME. *ine, ien, yen, eyne, eyen*, etc.) is the old plural of *eye* (see EYE, I. A. 87), and then the old dativ plural of *the* (ME. *then*, earlier *than, tham*, AS. *þam*). The phrase means 'to the eyes.' The proofs I hav found of the early use ar scant, but sufficient. The phrase *to þe eyghne* is found in ME. in the literal sense :

Huke nebbhyde as a hawke, and a hore berde,  
 And herede *to þe hole eyghne* with hyngande browes.

c 1440 *Morte Arthure* (E.E.T.S., 1865), l. 1082.

[*Hole* is 'hollow'; compare :  
 Hyr *enyn* wer holket and *holle*.

c 1420 *Anturs of Arthur*, ix. (Robson, *Three Metr. Rom.*, Camden Soc. p. 5).]

I find the very phrase *up to the ine (eine)*, in the literal sense, but having the emphatic tone of the usual phrase *up to the nines*, in the sixteenth century. The wife of Auchtermuchty left her goodman at home to tend house and take care of the children. He found it no fun :

- (a) The first [bairn] that he gat in his armis,  
It was all dirt *up to the eine*.  
"The devill cut of thair handes," quoth he,  
"That tild you all so fow this strene" [*thestreen* for *yestreen*].  
a 1600 *The Wyf of Auchtermuchty* (Child, *Ballads*, viii. 120).

Instances of the attracted form emerge much later.

- (b) Thou paints auld Nature *to the nines*,  
In thy sweet Caledonian lines. a 1796 BURNS, *Poem on Pastoral Poetry*.  
He's such a funny man, and touches off the Londoners *to the nines*.  
1821 GALT, *Ayrshire Legatee*, viii. (D.)  
Gibbs hits aff a simple scene o' nature *to the nines*.  
a 1843 WILSON, *Noctes Ambrosiana*, i. 315. (P. p. 257.)  
A blacked up 'is butes, an' a sheaved an' a drest  
Proper up *to the noines* in his new Soonday-best.  
1856 *Leicester Journal*, Aug. 1, quoted in Evans, *Leic. Words* (E.D.S., 1881), p. 35.  
*Nine, nines*, s. Perfection; *to the nines, up to the nines*, to perfection, to the uttermost, in the grandest style; West of S.  
1887 DONALDSON, *Suppl. to Jamieson*.  
*Nines*. A man or woman extravagantly dressed is said to be "dressed up *to't nines*."  
1888 ADDY, *Sheffield Gloss.* p. 158.

Charles Reade uses the true form *to the nine*, but I suppose by misprint, or in accordance with one of his theories. He may have thought of *nine* as next to the perfection of *ten*.

He then put his hand in his pockets, and produced four beautiful sets of handcuffs, bran new, polished *to the nine*.  
1858 CHARLES READE, *Never Too Late to Mend*, lxxv. (D.)

The modern form of the phrase, *up to the eyes*, is familiar enough. It is parallel with *up to the ears*. A person may be "up to the eyes" or "up to the ears" in work, in det, in love, or some other unlucky plight.

He can, without hurting his conscience, praise the Spanish poor women *up to their eyes*.  
1877 H. J. ROSE, *Among the Spanish People*, i. 13. (P. p. 257.)

Palmer says that the West Cornwall folk have the phrase "dressed up for the nones," that they use *nines* for *nones* or *nonce*, and that "this is no doubt the real origin." But this is no doubt an error. Of course *nines* in this phrase does not mean "perfection," as Donaldson defines it. It means just "eyes."

The final *-n* of the ME. dative *then* appears in another instance, where the original construction was different from that involved in cases before treated.

17. **Once.** ME. *ones, anes, anes*, AS. *ānes, ānes*, of one, gen. of *ān*, one; used in ME. as an adverb, 'once,' and with a preposition as if a noun: *at ones*, at once; *for ones*, for once. So, *for than, for-ihan, for thon*, AS. *for þam, for þon*, for that, for this, therefor, therefore; *for than anes*, later *for then anes, for then ones*, literally 'for that, once,' 'for that (occasion or purpose) in particular,' hence 'designedly.' It thus comes to mean 'for this one occasion,' but the *once* is not used exactly as in the modern colloquial phrase *for this once*, meaning 'for this one time.' With misdivision the phrase became *for the nones*, and with excrement -*t* (as in *against, amongst, anenst*, etc.), *for the nonest*; and hence the modern phrase *for the nonce*, where *nonce* is commonly regarded as a noun, and so defined.

For the original form, compare the similar ME. phrase *for than one*, where *one* is the adverb (AS. *āne, āne*), with the adverbial suffix -*e* instead of the other adverbial (genitiv) suffix -*es*.

Anon so hi se3e the monekes came, hi gonne to singe ymone  
A3en hem with gret melodie as hit were *for than one*.

c 1300 *St. Brandan*, p. 17.

This holi man makede loudere song as hit *for than one* were.

c 1300 *St. Brandan*, p. 21.

Compare also the ME. phrase *at this ones*:

Wyl 3e halde þis hes [erroneously corrected "hes[t]"] here *at bys ones?*  
c 1360 *Syr Gawayne and the Green Knight* (E.E.T.S.), l. 1090.

The origin and meaning of *for the nonce* have been so little understood that a considerable number of quotations is necessary to illustrate the phrase fully. I have collected a considerable number, but space permits only a few.

(a) A wlech beað iwlaht *for þen anes* in forte beaðien.

c 1200 *St. Juliana* (E.E.T.S.), p. 71

(b) *Forr þe naness.*

c 1205 ORM, *Ormulum*, l. 7160

I kan a noble tale *for the nones* [var. *nonyis*].

c 1386 CHAUCER, *Miller's Prolog*, l. 18

Who now most may bere on his bak at ons  
Off cloth and furrou, hath a fressh renoun;  
He is 'A lusty man' clepyd *for the nones*.

c 1400 OCCLEVE, *Of Priddy & of Waste Clothyng*, etc. (E.E.T.S., 1869, p. 107).

*Uxor.* I swelt.

Outt, thefys, fro my wonys!

Ye com to rob us *for the nonys*. c 1450 *Towneley Myst.* p. 112.

Take and put a welowe stoke in a forowe y-made in the erthe *for the nonys*, and lett hym growe then above.

a 1450 (?) *Porkington MS.* (Wr. p. 474.)

He fayned or made himselfe sicke *for the nonis*, deditā operā. He delayeth the matter *for the nonys*, de industriā. It is false mater deused *for the nonys*, deditā operā conficta.

1519 HORMAN, *Vulgaria*. (Way, *Pr. P.* p. 174.)

He is a popete fole, or a starke fole, *for the nonys*, homo fatuitate monstrabilis.

1519 *Id.*

- For the nonest*, de mesmes. 1530 PALSGRAVE, p. 835.  
*For the nones*, a propos. A escient. 1530 *Id.* p. 865.  
 You are a cooke *for the nones*, wyll you sethe these roches or haue you  
 scaled them: vous estez vng cuisinier de mesmes, voulez vous cuire  
 ces guerdons auant que les escalier. 1530 *Id.* p. 699.  
 This dagger is sharpenned *for the nones*: ce poignart est affillé teut a  
 esciant. 1530 *Id.* p. 701.  
 Though we have not expresse mention in Scripture, against such laying  
 out of the haire in thussokes and tufts, yet we have in Scripture  
 expresse mention *de tortis crinibus*, of writhen haire that is *for the nonce*  
 forced to curl. 1552 LATIMER, *Sermons.* (N.)  
*For the nonest*, I forbare to allege the learneder sort, lest the unlearned  
 should say, they could no skill on such books. 1563 PILKINGTON, *Works* (Parker Soc.), p. 644.  
 There be also other like Epigrammes that were sent vsually for new yeares  
 giftes or to be Printed or put vpon their banketting dishes of suger  
 plate . . . and were made *for the nonce*. 1589 [PUTTENHAM], *Arte of Eng. Poesie* (ed. Arber), p. 72.  
 As when we make our speach or writings of sundry languages vsing some  
 Italian word, or French, or Spanish, or Dutch, or Scottish, not *for the*  
*nonce*, or for any purpose (which were in part excusable) but ignorantly  
 and affectedly. 1589 *Id.* p. 259. [Similarly on p. 267, twice.]  
 Apruoua, *for the nonce*, contending, striuing, vpon prooffe. Also to the  
 vtmost. 1598 FLORIO.  
 Our vizards wee will change after wee leaue them; and sirrah, I haue  
 Cases of Buckram *for the nonce*, to immaske our noted outward garments.  
 1623 SHAKESPEARE, *1 Henry IV.* I. 2 (F<sup>1</sup> p. 50).  
 Oud women, loitering *for the nonce*, [Note: "For the Purpose."] 1823 MOOR, *Suffolk Words*, p. 253.  
 Stood praising the fine weather. 1806 BLOOMFIELD, *The Horkey (Wild Flowers)*, p. 46).  
*Noonce*. Purposely, — designedly, — for the purpose; generally in a bad  
 sense. "A did it *for the noonce*" or maliciously. It is archaic, but not  
 used exclusively in a bad sense, as in Suffolk. . . . 1823 MOOR, *Suffolk Words*, p. 253.  
 We giv the oo a full open sound — and variously pronounce the word  
*noonce*, *noones*, and *noomst*. 1823 *Id.* p. 254.  
*Nonce*. Purpose, occasion. "It'll serve for the nonce." Moor and Forby  
 both state that it is always used offensively; not so with us. 1854 BAKER, *Northampt. Gloss.* ii. 61.

But *nonce* does not mean "purpose, occasion."

B. Case in which an initial *n* of a word following *the* has been transferrd to *the*; by confusion with the cases above.

1. **Numbles**, ME. *numbles*, *nombles*, *nomblis*, *nomblyls*, *noumbles*, *noumbelys*, *nounbils*, *nowmelys*, *nowmyllis*, from OF. *nombles*, the entrails of a deer or other animal. The ME. *numbles*, *nombles*, denoting a passiv object, occurd chiefly in the objectiv, and especially in the dativ (*for the numbles*, *to the numbles*, etc.) ; and being preceded by *the*, which was in the dativ plural earlier *then*, it became entangled in the confusion which permitted *to then ale* to be taken as *to the nale* (II. A. 1), *to then ine* as *to the nine* (II. A. 16), etc.,

and so for the *numbles*, to the *numbles*, etc., came to be understood as for then *umbles*, to then *umbles*, etc., and so later the *umbles*, and finally *umbles* or *humbles* in any position. It might be supposed, and it has been said, that the loss of *n* in *umbles* was due to the influence of the indefinit article *a*; but the word was never actually used in the singular. The only instances of a singular which I find (*nowmel*, a variant reading in the *Prompt. Parv.*, 1440, and *a umblye*, c 1475 — see below) are evidently artificial, the latter due to conformity with the glosses *a long* (lung) before and *flank* following.

- (a) & þat þay neme for þe *nowmbles* bi nome as I trow.  
 c 1360 *Syr Gawayne and the Green Knight* (E.E.T.S.), l. 1347.  
 Take the *nowmbles* of calf, swyne, or of shepe.  
 c 1390 *Forme of Cury*, p. 6. (P. p. 183.)  
*Nowmelys* of a beest (*nowmbelys*, K. *nowmel*, H.). *Burbalia*, plur. vel  
 burbia. 1440 *Prompt. Parv.* p. 360.  
 þe *nowmbils* (*Nowmyllis*, A) of a dere; *burbilia*, pepinum.  
 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 256  
 Then dress the *numbles* first. 1486 *Book of St. Albans*  
 Then he fette to Lytell Johan  
 The *numbles* of a doo.  
 c 1500 *A Lytell Geste of Robyn Hode* (Child, *Ballads*, v. 74.)  
*Nowmbles* of a dere or beest, entrailles. 1530 PALSGRAVE, p. 24E  
 Nombles d' vn cerf. The *numbles* of a Stag. 1611 COTGRAVE  
*Numbles*. 1692 COLES; 1733 BAILEY; etc.  
 (b) *Tispatum*, an<sup>oe</sup> *umbles*. c 1450 *Lat.-Eng. Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 616, l. 33)  
 Hoc burburium, *owmlys*. c 1450 *Nominale* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 678, l. 15)  
 Hic pulmo, A<sup>oe</sup> a long. Hoc burbulum, A<sup>oe</sup> a *umblye*. Hec elia, A<sup>oe</sup>  
 flank. c 1475 *Pictorial Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.*<sup>2</sup> 751, l. 19-21)  
 The *hombuls* of the dow.  
 a 1500 (?) *Brynging in the Bores Hede*. (P. p. 18E)  
*Lacy*. What have you fit for breakfast? . . .  
*Mar*. Butter and cheese, and *umbles* of a deer.  
 1594 GREENE, *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, sub fin. (P. p. 18E)  
 Ventresca, an ox-midrif, a calues pluck, a sheepes gather, a hogs hastl  
 the *ombels* [1611 *umbles*] of a deare. 1598 FLOR —  
*Humbles*. 1671 SKINNER; 1733 BAILL —  
*Umbles*. 1733 BAILEY; 1847 HALLIWE

Hence *umble-pie*, a pie made of the *umbles* of a deer; for wh<sup>ic</sup>  
 “the old books of cookery give receipts” (Nares).

Mrs. Turner . . . did bring us an *umble-pie* hot.  
 16— PEPYS, *Diary*, ii. 266. <

This *umble-pie* was also offered in the form of *humble-pie*; assist<sup>ed</sup> i  
 the mild wit which feignd that to “eat *humble-pie*” was to beco<sup>m</sup>e  
 “humble” and to “eat one’s words.” And indeed there be p<sup>er</sup> i  
 the eating of which, it is said, doth soon induce humility of spirit.

III. Cases involving *mine* or *thine*.

A. Cases in which the final *-n* of *mine* (ME. *min*, *myn*) or *thine* (ME. *thin*, *thyn*) has become attached to the following noun.

1. *Agate*, formerly *agot*, *aggot*, *agget*, etc., ME. *agate*, also *achate*. In an isolated case *mine agate cup* is written *my nagget cupp*.

(b) *My nagget cupp.* a 1592 (?) *Unton Inventories*, p. 32. (P. p. 581.)

2. *Ancestor*, ME. *ancestre*, *aunsestre*, beside *ancessour*, *auncessour*, etc., *ancetre*, *auncetre*, etc. (mod. dial. *anceter*, *anster*). ME. *myn* or *thyn* *auncestres*, *auncetres*, etc., appear sometimes as *my* or *thy* *naze* *ancestres*, etc.

(a) Al were it that *myne auncestres* [var. *myn ancestres*] were rude.  
c 1386 CHAUCER, *Wife of Bath's Tale*, l. 316. (Six-Text, D, 1172.)  
*Myne ancestres* ware emperours.

c 1440 *Morte Arthure* (E.E.T.S., 1865), l. 276.  
*Myne aunsetters knyghtes* have be.

c 1500 (?) *Robin Hood*, i. 10. (H. p. 112.)  
As han al *thin aunceteres* or thow were bi-geeten.

c 1360 *William of Palerne* (E.E.T.S.), l. 5133.  
Of *thyne auncestres* [var. *bin* or *pine ancestres*] for here heigh bountee.

c 1386 CHAUCER, *Wife of Bath's Tale*, l. 304. (Six-Text, D, 1160.)

(b) [*My* or *thy*] *nawynsetres*.  
*Monastic Letters*, p. 51. (Wright, p. 694.) (See H. p. 112.)

3. *Arm*, ME. *arme*, AS. *earm*. ME. *myn* (*thyn*) *armes* is sometimes *my* (*thy*) *narmes*.

(a) *Myn armes*, *my lymmes*, ar stark for eld. c 1450 *Towneley Myst.* p. 154.  
And yf þou will ought ese *thyn arme*.

c 1430 *York Plays*, xviii. l. 197, p. 144.  
(b) *Leue lord*, mi lemman, lacche me in þi *narmes*.  
c 1360 *William of Palerne* (E.E.T.S.), l. 666.

4. *Ear*<sup>1</sup>, ME. *ere*, AS. *ĕare*; see I. 58. In ME. *myn* or *thyn* *ere* (*eres*) is often written *my* or *thy* *nere* (*neres*).

(a) *Myn eres*.  
c 1360 *Cleanness*, l. 689 (*Early Eng. Allit. Poems*, E.E.T.S., p. 58).

The stevyn of angelle voce it smote  
And rang now in *myn ere*. c 1450 *Towneley Myst.* p. 82.  
What speke ye here in *myn eres*? c 1450 *Towneley Myst.* p. 94.  
The name of her sounded so sweete in *mine eare*.

(b) *Willow, Willow, Willow* (Child, *Ballads*, iv. 239).  
Sone als þe voyce of þine haylsing  
Moght *myn neres* entre and be.

c 1430 *York Plays*, xii. l. 213, p. 100.  
(a) *Ayther* has thou no wytt,  
Or els ar *thyne eres* dytt. c 1450 *Towneley Myst.* p. 194.  
To opyn þeyn *erys* to þi son In humanyte.

c 1485 *Mary Magdalene*, l. 905. (*Digby Myst.*, N.S.S., p. 89.)  
(b) *Helde þi nere* to me and lipe.  
c 1315 *Early Eng. Psalter*, Ps. xxx. 3. (Herrtage, p. 252.)



5. **Errand**, ME. *errand*, etc. (see I. A. No. 77). In ME. *myn* or *thyn errand* may appear as *my* or *thy nerrand*.

- (a) To wone any quhyle in þis won, hit watz not *myn ernde*.  
*c* 1360 *Syr Gawayne and the Green Knight* (E.E.T.S.), l. 257.  
 (b) For be þis well sal i ha bide  
 Quat o *mi nerrand* [var. *myne errande, mine erand, myn eronde*] mai  
 be tide. *c* 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton ms.) (E.E.T.S.), l. 3274.

6. **Eye**, ME. *eye, eze, ee, ye*, etc., pl. *eyen, ezen, een, yen*, etc. (see I. A. 80). *Mine* (*myn, myne*) or *thine* (*thyn, thyne*) *eye* (*eyes, eyne, een*, etc.), often appears *my* or *thy nye* (*nyes, nyne, neen*, etc.), a use extending to recent times.

- (a) Thou schalt na moore, thurgh thy flaterye,  
 Do me to syngre and wynke with *myn eye* [var. *myn ye, myne eyze*].  
*c* 1386 CHAUCER, *Nun's Priest's Tale*, l. 609. (Six-Text, B, l. 4620.)  
 Was never so sorowfulle a syghte seyne with *myne eghene*!  
*c* 1440 *Morte Arthure* (E.E.T.S., 1865), l. 3986.  
*Myn ies* are woren bothe marke and blynde. *c* 1450 *Towneley Myst.* p. 154.  
*Myn vnstabil delinge* is euer in *myn ee*.  
*c* 1485 *Burial of Christ* (Resurr.), l. 1228. (*Digby Myst.*, N.S.S., p. 212.)  
 And salt teris distellyng frome *myne Fine*.  
 1552 LYNDESAY, *Testament of the Papyngo* (E.E.T.S.), l. 180.  
 I regarded not my comelynes in the May-moone of my youth, and yet no-  
 I stand prinking me in the glasse, when the crowes foote is growe  
 vnder *mine eye*.  
 1576 GASCOIGNE, *The Steele Glas*, Epis. Dedicatorie (ed. Arber), p. 4.  
 (b) Þi frut i se be for *mi nei* [var. *my ney, myn eye, myn eze*],  
 Nou rek i neuer quen i dei.  
*c* 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton ms.) (E.E.T.S.), l. 54.  
 All that we declare I sye yt with *my nye*.  
*c* 1485 *Conversion of St. Paul*, l. 396. (*Digby Myst.* N.S.S., p. 4.)  
 As y lift vppe *my nyes* that were sore of weping . . . I felte some dro-  
 fallyng don to me.  
 1486 *The Revelation of the Monk of Evesham* (ed. Arb.),  
 1196, p. 31. (P. p. 257.)  
 Ah, Nan, steek th' winderboard and mack it dark;  
*My neen* are varra sair, they stoun and wark.  
 1697 *A Yorkshire Dialogue*, p. 49. (H. p. 8.)  
 (a) *þin ezen* beoþ col-blake and brode. *a* 1250 *Owl and Nightingale*, l. 75.  
 Fleand turn þou noght *þin ei* [var. *þine eye, þin eze, þi ey*].  
*c* 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton ms.) (E.E.T.S.), l. 311.  
 Heve up *thyn eyen*, man, maystow not se?  
*c* 1374 CHAUCER, *Tr. & Cr.*, v. 59.  
*c* 1450 *Towneley Myst.* p. 24.  
 Alas *thyn een* as cristalle clere.  
 Thou hangmon, quo hoo, Ile poo out *thin een*.  
 1847 *A Lancashire Ballad*, l. 36. (H. p. 311.)  
 (b) Turn *thi nye*, that thou not se  
 This wyccud worldis vanyte.  
*c* 1400 (?) *MS. Cantab.* Ff. 48, f. i. (H. p. 584.)  
 And wash thou *thi nynon* with that water.  
*c* 1420 *Chron. Vilodun.* p. 77. (H. p. 584.)

7. **Heir**, early mod. Eng. also *air, aire*, etc. See I. A. 86. ME. *myn* or *thyn ayr* (*ayre, aire*, etc.) appears as *my* or *thy nere*.

- (a) (b) "*Min air* [var. *myne ayre, mi ayr, myn eire*] þan wald i þat he war  
 Sin þou me gauē na noþer barn."  
 "Nay," said vr lauerd, "i sal him warn  
 þat he þi nere [var. *þine ayre, þin ayr, þin eire*] sal nocht be."  
 c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton ms.) (E.E.T.S.), l. 2562.

8. Ingle, a favorit. *Mine ingle* gave rise to *my ningle*; common in the seventeenth century plays. Sometimes *mingle* (H.). Probably *an ingle* occurs as *a ningle*, putting *ningle* also in the class involving the indefinit article (I. A.); but I have not found *a ningle*.

Well, Tom, giue me thy fist, we are friends, you shall be *mine ingle*—  
 I love you. 1608 ROWLEY (and FORD), *Witch of Edmonton*, iii. 2.

9. Ore, ME. *ore, are*, AS. *ār*, grace, favor. ME. *thyn ore, thin are*, as used in deprecation, occurs also as *thi nare*.

- (a) Lemman, thy grace, and, sweete bryd, *thyn oore* [var. *byn, þin, þine ore*].  
 a 1386 CHAUCER, *Miller's Tale*, l. 540. (Six-Text, A, 3726.)  
 They schall cry & syke sore,  
 And say "lord, mercy, *thyn ore!*"  
 a 1400 (?) *Hymns to the Virgin*, etc. (E.E.T.S.), p. 119. (C.D.)  
 (b) "Lauerd," said Abraham, "*þi nare* [var. *þin are*, 2 mss.],  
 Sal þou þine auin sua-gat for-fare?"  
 c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton ms.) (E.E.T.S.), l. 2749.

Swete Ysonde *thi nare*,  
 Thou preye tha king for me.  
 c 1320 *Sir Tristram* (Sc. Text Soc.), l. 2135. (Donaldson, *Suppl.*, p. 312.)  
 [Jamieson, 1808, prints *thinare*, and gives the quotation under "*thinare*, s.," defined in a note as "probably an intercessor, A.S. *thingere*." This error is repeated in the edition of 1880, with the addition of a formal definition, "Prob., advocate, intercessor."]

The knightes that in Calais were  
 Come to Sir Edward sare wepeand,  
 In kirtell one and swerd in hand,  
 And cried, "Sir Edward, thine are;  
 Do now, lord, bi law of land,  
 Thy will with us for evermare."  
 1352 MINOT, *Songs on Edward's Wars*. (Wright, *Polit. Poems*, 1859, I. 82.)  
 [Wright mistakes this, and prints it "Sir Edward, thine [we] are."]

10. Other. See I. A. 130. ME. *myn other* is sometimes written *my nother*.

- (b) For sebbe i knowe þat mi sigt is seruaunt to mi hert,  
 & alle *my nother* wolnk wittes to wirchen his hest.  
 c 1350 *William of Palerne* (E.E.T.S.), l. 467.  
 On him spild I my spere  
 And mvculle of *my nothir* gere.  
 c 1420 *Avouynge of King Arthur*, iii. 10. (Robson, *Three Metr. Rom.*,  
 Camden Soc., p. 58.)

11. Own, dialectal *awn, ain*, etc., ME. *owen, awen, auen, a3en*, AS. *āgen*. *Mine own*, ME. *myn owen, myn awen*, Scotch *myne ain*, etc., appears as *my nown, my none, my nawn, my nain*, etc. So *þine own, thy nown*. And so *noun* before *his* and other words.

(1) *Mine own, my noun.*

- (a) Al sal be at myn awen [var. *myne awen, mine aun, myn owne*] weild.  
*c 1300 Cursor Mundi* (Cotton ms.) (E.E.T.S.), l. 462.  
 Of my hous, & my home, & myn owen nome.  
*c 1360 Syr Gawayne and the Green Knight*, (E.E.T.S.), l. 408.  
 Forgeve it me, myn owene swete herte.  
*c 1374 CHAUCER, Tr. & Cr. iii. 1183.*  
 Elyzabeth, myn awne cosyne. *c 1430 York Plays, xii. 197 (p. 100).*  
 Myne aughen cosyne so dere. *c 1430 York Plays, xii. 202 (p. 100).*  
 I am uttirly vndone in myne awene landes.  
*c 1440 Morte Arthure* (E.E.T.S., 1865), l. 3967.  
 It is myn own dere son. *c 1450 Towneley Myst. p. 148.*  
 Myn owne dere love, I see the proue that ye be kynde and trewe.  
*c 1502 Notte-browne Mayde, l. 157. (Arnold's Chronicle, repr. 1811, p. 203; Child, Ballads, iv. 156.)*  
 My tongue is mine ain, true Thomas said.  
*Thomas the Rhymer* (Child, *Ballads*, i. 112).  
 Well, then—I am not free to say that maybe I might not just slip into the  
 King's hand a wee bit siffication of mine ain.  
 1822 SCOTT, *Fortunes of Nigel*, iii.  
 (b) "Is he comun," he sayd, "my noun true fere?"  
*c 1420 Sir Amadace, lviii. 1. (Robson, Three Metr. Rom., Camden Soc., p. 50.)*  
 This is to me a perles pyne  
 To see myn nawe dere childe þus boune.  
*c 1430 York Plays, x. 239 (p. 63)*  
 Than shall ye have my love, my nawen hony swett.  
*a 1500 The Pryorys and her Thre Wooyrs, l. 67. (R. Jamieson Pop. Ballads, 1806, i. 256.)*  
 My none gentyl Volontyn,  
 Good Tomas the frere.  
*a 1500 (?) MS. Harl. 1735, f. 48. (H. p. 907)*  
 Cō hom' agayn', cō hom' agayne,  
 Mi nowne swet hart, com home agayne.  
*a 1500 (?) MS. Roy. Libr. 17 B. XLIII. (Ritson, Anc. Songs, p. lvi.)*  
 I conna thwole hur t' meh noun broother under o ginny, sed I.  
 1750 J. COLLIER ("TIM BOBBIN"), *Lanc. Dial.* (1822), p. 111  
 Aft, whan I sang o' Peggy's jet-black een,  
 Or play'd the charms o' my nain bonny Jean.  
 1788 PICKEN, *Poems*, p. 19. (1880 Jam. iii. 334)

(2) *Thine own, thy noun.*

- (a) pou art god, & alle gowdez ar graybely þyn owen.  
*c 1360 Patience, l. 286. (E. E. Allit. Poems, E.E.T.S., p. 100)*  
 It es thyn awene skathe. *c 1440 Morte Arthure* (E.E.T.S., 1865), l. 118.  
 And he schalle be thyn own fere.  
*MS. Cantab. Ff. ii. 38, f. 241. (H. p. 95.)*  
 Thyn awn pepill, þi awn flokke.  
*c 1485 Burial of Christ, l. 401. (Digby Myst., N.S.S., p. 18.)*  
 (b) As alle thi none hit ware.  
*c 1420 Sir Amadace, lx. 9. (Robson, Three Metr. Rom. Camden Soc. p. 51.)*  
 Thowe wenes for thi wightenez the werlde es thy nowene,  
 I salle wayte at thyne honnde, wy, be my trowthe.  
*c 1440 Morte Arthure* (E.E.T.S., 1865), l. 1806.

(3) *His noun, her noun, etc.*

- Be his nowne white sonne.  
 1566 UDALL, *Ralph Roister Doister* (Arber), p. 12

- An effeminate foole is the figure of a baby . . . his fathers loue, and his mother's *noune*-child. 1616 BRETON, *Good and Bad*, l. 13. (D.)  
 His Naunt Margary o Grinfil, ot pleck where his *noune* moother coom fro.  
 1750 J. COLLIER ("TIM BOBBIN"), *Lanc. Dial.* (1822), p. 13.  
 There into th' hands of her *noune* daddy  
 Having deliver'd her, thus sayd he.  
 1665 *Homer a la Mode*. (N<sup>2</sup>.)  
*His nyawn*, his own. Angus. 1866 JAMIESON.  
 "Troth, and ye hae guessed it," said Francie; "Jeest a cusin o' *his nain*,  
 Miss Eveline Neville, as they suld hae ca'd her."  
 1816 SCOTT, *Antiquary*, xxix.

Here belongs the Highlanders' *her nainsell*, a circumlocution for *I*.  
 It is used in burlesque with reference to a Highlander.

- Hur skipt about, hur leapt about,  
 And flang amang them a', man . . .  
 But *hur-nane-sell*, wi many a knock  
 Cry'd "Furich-Whigs awa'," man . . .  
*Hur-nane-sell*'s won the day, man.  
 c 1689 *The Battle of Killcrankie* (July 27, 1689). (Child, *Ballads*, vii. 154, 155.)  
 Fu' bald can tell how *hernainsell*  
 Was ne'er sae pra before, man.  
 1745 ADAM SKRIVING, *The Battle of Trancent-Muir, or of Preston Pans*.  
 (Child, *Ballads*, vii. 173.)  
*Her nainsel*.  
 p 1745 *Author's Address to All in General*. (Quoted by Scott, *Pref.*  
*to Waverly*, 3rd ed., 1814, p. xxxix.)  
*Her nainsell* has eaten the town pread at the Cross o' Glasgow.  
 1818 SCOTT, *Kob Roy*, xxviii.  
 "If *her nainsell* be hammer-man hersell, *her nainsell* may make *her nain*  
 harness," replied Henry. "And so *her nainsell* would, and never fash  
 you for the matter, but" . . . [etc.]  
 1828 SCOTT, *Fair Maid of Perth*, xxxiii.

This divisible *mine* or *thine* has affected the form of several household words which I group together.

12. *Aunt*, formerly also *awnt*, dial. *ont*, *oant*, ME. *aunt*, *awnt*, *aunte*, *awnte*, OF. *ante*. *Mine aunt* was often *my naunt*, *thine aunt*, *thy naunt*, and so *naunt*, dial. *nont*, *noant*, came to be used in other positions.

(1) *Mine aunt*, *my naunt*.

(a) Elezabethe, *myn awnt* dere,  
 My lefe I take at you here.

c 1450 *Towneley Myst.* p. 82.

(b) *My nawnte*. a 1500 MARG. PASTON, in *Paston Letters*, iii. 78.  
 A will, dated 1553, among other bequests mentions: "Also to *my nawnt*  
 Bygott an old angell of golde." The old angel, I need not say, refers to  
 the coin, not the aunt.

1875 BARDSLEY, *Eng. Surnames*, 2d ed., p. 112.

Mr. Bardsley, by the way, is not only jocular himself, but givs  
 cause for jocularity in others. In the same volume (p. 448) he says:

Queen Elizabeth had more obsequious adulation uttered to her face, and  
 possessed more stomach for it, than any other royal person who ever  
*sat upon* or laid claim to a crown.

"Vneasia lyes the Head that weares a Crowne." Shakespeare says so, and no one who has tried to sleep with a crown on his hed wil deny his assertion. We now hav another fact added to our store of knowledge. Uneasy sits the "royal person" who "sits upon a crown."

Eigh, so seys *meh noant* Margit, un o meeny o folk.

1750 J. COLLIER ("TIM BOBBIN"), *Lanc. Dial.* (1882), p. 12.

Well, *my naunt* speaks truth in her old saw.

1823 SCOTT, *Pevevil of the Peak*, xxvii.

(2) *Thine aunt, thy naunt.*

(a) (b) Ho is euen *byn aunt*

Arburez half suster . . .

perfore I ebe þe, habel, to com to *þy naunt*.

c 1360 *Syr Gawayne and the Green Knight* (E.E.T.S.), l. 2464 and 2467.

(3) Hence *our naunt, his naunt, her naunt*, and *naunt* without any possessiv.

*Our old Naunt* Ellesmere will else give me but cold comfort when I come home.

1823 SCOTT, *Pevevil of the Peak*, xxv.

*Proo naunt*, your mare puts, i.e. pushes. 1678 RAY, *Proverbs*, p. 79.

"*Naunt*," he said in dismay, "I doubt it is true what she says." . . .

"Nay, *naunt*, I shall not be slack."

1823 SCOTT, *Pevevil of the Peak*, xxv. [So elsewhere.]

*Ndnt*, s. Aunt.

1825 JENNINGS, *Somerset Gloss.* p. 56.

Coom, fy, fy, *naunt* Grace, coom, fy, an a doon.

1847 *A Lancashire Ballad*, l. 41 (also 45). (H. p. xxiii.)

*Nont* or *Noant*, sb. Aunt. 1888 ADDY, *Sheffield Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 160.

*Naunt*, sb. Aunt. Phelp gives *Naint*.

1890 ROBERTSON, *Gloss. of Glouc. Dial.* (E.D.S.), p. 102.

13. **Uncle.** With *mine aunt, thine aunt*, goes *mine uncle, thine uncle*; with *my naunt, thy naunt, my nuncle, thy nuncle*. So *nuncle* (formerly also *nunkle, nunckle*), in other positions, common in Shakespeare, and stil existent in rural use. The urban use of *my uncle* is familiar to us all—in the newspapers of course. As *uncle* is in negro use abbreviated in address to *unk*, so we find *nuncle, nunkle*, familiarly abbreviated in address to *nunc, nunk* (H. p. xxvii.).

(1) *Mine uncle, my nuncle.*

I wol, quod she, *myn uncle* lief and dere.

c 1374 CHAUCER, *Tr. & Cr.* iii. 645.

"Why, *uncle myn*," quod she, "who tolde hym this?"

c 1374 CHAUCER, *Tr. & Cr.* iii. 842.

Nowe, as you are *mine unkle* deare.

a 1700 *King Arthur's Death* (Child, *Ballads*, i. 41).

(2) *Thine uncle, thy nuncle.*

For all the Treasure that *thine Vnckle* owes.

1623 SHAKESPEARE, *King John*, iv. 1 (F<sup>1</sup> p. 14)–

(3) Hence *nuncle* without a possessiv.

- How now *Nunckle*? . . . Marke it *Nuncle* . . . *Nunckle*, giue me an egge . . . I haue vsed it, *Nunckle* . . . Pry'thy *nunckle* keepe a Schoolemaster . . . I would not be thee *nunckle* . . . For you know, *Nunckle* . . . 1623 SHAKESPEARE, *King Lear*, i. 4 (F<sup>1</sup> p. 288).  
 Kinred, *nuncles* and couzins. 1630 JOHN TAYLOR, *Workes*.  
*Nuncle*, s. An uncle. To *nuncle*, to cheat. 1825 JENNINGS, *Somerset Gloss.* p. 57.  
*Nuncle*, uncle. "Nuncle an naunt." 1876 ROBINSON, *Whitby Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 134.  
*Nuncle*. 1888 ADDY, *Sheffield Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 161; 1890 ROBERTSON, *Gloss. of Glouc. Dial.* (E.D.S.), p. 105; etc.

14. *Eam*, the original English term for 'uncle,' stil existent in provincial use, undergoes the same change. *Mine eam* (ME. *myn eme*) becomes *my neam* (ME. *my neme*); *thine eam* (ME. *thyn eme*) becomes *thy neam* (ME. *thy neme*). In provincial use *eam* also means a friend, gossip, crony.

(1) *Mine eam*, *my neam*.

- (a) Bot for as much as 3e ar *myn em*, I am only to prayse.  
 c 1360 *Syr Gawayne and the Green Knight* (E.E.T.S.), l. 356.  
*Eam*, an unkle, *Bor*. This term in the North is familiarly applied to a gossip, and indeed to any friend or neighbor; so is the word *unkle* in Worcestershire and adjoining parts, where *mine unkle*, or *my nunkle* is a common appellation as *mine eam* in the North.  
 a 1728 KENNETT, *M.S. Lansd.* 1033. (Way, p. 139.)  
*Eam*, or *eam*, "mine eam," my uncle, friend, gossip. 1855 [ROBINSON], *Whitby Gloss.* p. 51.  
 (b) He ys *my neme*, y schalle the hongre.  
 a 1500 (?) *M.S. Cantab.* Ff. ii. 38, f. 151. (H.)

(2) *Thine eam*, *thy neam*.

- (a) ðou dest ase [þe] techet satanas þin *em*.  
 c 1258 *Seinte Maregrete*, l. 127 (E.E.T.S.), p. 38).  
 þe dyvll of hell was þi *emme*.  
 c 1485 *Mary Magdalene*, l. 1172. (*Digby Myst.*, N.S.S., p. 100.)  
 [*Rebecca loq.* :] To my brother, and *thyn eme*,  
 That dwellys besyde Jordan streme.  
 c 1450 *Towneley Myst.* p. 44.  
 Foreshowe the treasons of *thy wretched eame*.  
 1600 FAIRFAX, tr. *Tasso*, iv. 49.  
 (b) Tua doghters o Laban þi *nem* [var. *fine eme*, *þin eme*, *þin eme*].  
 c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton ms.) (E.E.T.S.), l. 3789.  
 Lo! Childe, he seid, this is *thy neme*.  
 a 1500 (?) *M.S. Cantab.* Ff. v. 48, f. 69. (H.)

The same change has produced a series of familiar forms of children's names beginning originally with a vowel.

15. *Ann* or *Anne*, formerly also *An*, ME. *Anne*, from OF. *Anne*, Latin *Anna*. *Ann*, cald by her father or mother *mine Ann*, and by their gossips *thine Ann*, came to be *my Nan*, *thy Nan*, and so *our Nan*, *her Nan*, and *Nan* without a possessiv. So the diminutivs

*Annie, Nannie. Nan, Nannie;* ar distinct from *Nancy*, with which they have been confused. See ANNIS, the next word. The name *Ann, Anne* (OF. *Anne*, Lat. *Anna*) is derived from the name of *Saint Anne*, that is, Anna, the supposed mother of the virgin Mary, and Anna the prophetess. Douglas, in his translation of the *Æneid*, uses *An* with reference to Dido's sister *Anna*. All represent the Hebrew or Phenician *Hannah*.

There is a notion current among some persons that *Anne* should be pronounced in two syllables, *An'ne*. This is of course an error. *Anne* is merely an archaic spelling of *Ann*, which is itself an archaic spelling of *An*, which is common in the sixteenth century and later, and is the right modern form of the ME. *Anne*. *Ann* (*An*) is the shortest *full* form of an English name, in present use. But it is not much in use. The prettier *Annie*, the fair *Anna*, is preferd. Who could sing "Ann Laurie"?

(a) And the womman was cald dam *Anne*.

*Dame Anne.* c 1325 *Eng. Metr. Homilies*, ed. Small, p. 156.  
 Her sister *An*, sprettes almaist for drede . . . c 1430 [ms. 1592] *Chester Plays*, i. 191.

1513 DOUGLAS, *Eneados*, iv. 123, l. 45. (Herrtage.)  
*Anne Page* [ii. 1, p. 39, etc.] . . . *Anne* [iii. 4, p. 51, etc.] . . . Mistris  
*Anne* [iii. 4, p. 51] . . . It is not *An Page* [v. 5, p. 60].

(b) Lytill *Nanne*. 1623 SHAKESPEARE, *M. W. W.* (F<sup>1</sup> p. 39, etc.).  
 1451-58 *York Wills*. (Oliphant, i. 288.)  
*Nanna*, a word that women vse to still their children with, as we say  
 lullabie. Also the name *Nanne*. 1598 FLORIO.  
 [But the Italian *Nanna* has nothing to do with the English name *Nanne*.]  
 Farewell gentle Mistris: farewell *Nan*.

1623 SHAKESPEARE, *M. W. W.* iii. 4 (F<sup>1</sup> p. 52).  
*Nan Page.* 1623 *Id.* iv. 4 (F<sup>1</sup> p. 56).

*Mist. Page.* My *Nan* shall be the Queene of all the Fairies, finely attired  
 in a robe of white.

*Page.* That silke will I go buy, and in that time  
 Shall M. Slender steale my *Nan* away. 1623 *Id.* iv. 4 (F<sup>1</sup> p. 56).

My sweet *Nan*. 1623 *Id.* iii. 4 (F<sup>1</sup> p. 52), and iv. 6 (F<sup>1</sup> p. 57).  
 Deare sister *Anne*, what dreames me thus molest?

I'll tell thee (*Nan*) . . . 1632 VICARS, tr. *Virgil*, bk. iv. (p. 87).  
 But he call'd for the Lady *Nan*.

1660 *O Anthony*, l. 12. (Ritson, *Anc. Songs*, p. 270).  
 And to the Lady *Nan* of Bullin. 1660 *Id.* l. 31, p. 271.

16. **Annis**, speld also *Annice, Annes*, the older form of the name *Agnes*; ME. *Annis, Annys, Annyce, Anneys*, from OF. *Anis* (Cotgrave), F. *Agnès*, Sp. *Ines*, Pg. *Inez*, It. *Agnese*, G. *Agnes*, from LL. *Agnes*, the name of a favorit saint. The name *Annis, Annes*, reverted to the Latin spelling *Agnes*, and is now pronounced with the *g* sounded. There is a mediate provincial form *Angnes*. The dictionaries say that *Agnes* is pronounced *Ag'nēz* (*ag'nts*), implying that it is a Latin word pronounced according to the so-cald "English

method" of pronouncing Latin; but *Agnes*, as an English name, is, like *Moses*, Latin only in seeming, and is pronounced in English fashion, *Ag'nes* (*ag'ness*), in termination like *Mó'ses* (*mō'zess*). All the girls I ever knew named *Agnes* wer cald *Ag'ness*. The pronunciation *Ag'nēz* is one of the pernicious results of book-learning.

*Annis*, *Annice*, has also in part taken the form *Annie*, as if a diminutiv of *Ann*. So *Nannie* (see above).

(a) *Annys*, proper name (*Anneys*, P., *Annyce*, P.). *Agnes*.

1440 *Prompt. Parv.* p. 11.

*Annes*, the wyff of John Heth.

1556 HENRY MACHYN, *Diary* (Camden Soc.), p. 105.

The iiij day of January at nyght was serten feyres [seen] in Fynsbere feyld . . . and in gardens by mony men, and yt was sene at *Damanes Cler* and mo places. [Note: *Dame Agnes Clare*.] 1557 *Id.* p. 123.

*Annis* Foster . . . An Albright . . . *Annis* Snod.

1559 BRYCE, *Register* (Farr, *Select Poetry*, Parker Soc., i. 165).

Somewhat North from Holy-well is one other Well, curbed square with stone, and is called *Dame Annis the cleare*, and not far from it, but somewhat west, is also one other cleare water, called Perilous Pond.

1618 STOW, *Survey of London*, ed. A.M., p. 18.

*Anis*: f. *Annis*, or *Nanne* (a proper name for a woman).

1611 (and 1673) COTGRAVE.

*Angnes*. — *Agnes*, a form often found in 17th century parish registers, and sometimes, though rarely, heard in conversation.

1889 PEACOCK, *Manley and Corringham Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 12.

As the quotation from Cotgrave indicates, and the following quotations confirm, the name of *Annis* or *Agnes* was often confused with *Anne* or *Annie*.

The unfortunate maiden's name, according to Buchan (*Gleanings*, p. 197), "was *Annie*, or *Agnes* (which are synonymous in some parts of Scotland) Smith. . . ." CHILD, *Ballads*, ii. 190.

[This is a note to *Andrew Lammie*, where the heroin is "bonny *Annie*." See also quotation from Jamieson, below.]

*Mine Annis*, *thine Annis*, became *my Nannis*, *my Nanse* (*Nance*), *thy Nannis*, *thy Nanse* (*Nance*); and *Nanse*, *Nance*, *Nanze*, with the usual diminutiv, became *Nansie*, also speld *Nancie*, and now usually *Nancy*. With the disappearance of the form *Annis*, the connection of *Nancy* with *Agnes* was forgotten, and it came to be regarded as a diminutiv of *Ann* or *Anna*; and so all the dictionaries giv it. (So *Fack* is regarded, and given, as a familiar form of *Fohn*, whereas it is really another form of *Fake*, *Fack* being an old French, and *Fake* a modern English, abbreviation of *Jacob*.)

(b) Lady *Nancie* [var. *Nanciebel*, p. 162, 163] died on Tuesday's nicht.

*Lord Lovel* (Child, *Ballads*, ii. 164).

An' drink his health in auld *Nanse* Tinnock's.

1786 BURNS, *Author's Earnest Cry and Prayer*.

Naething could resist *my Nancy*. a 1796 BURNS, *Farewell to Nancy*.



And it will be your best way, for thers sure news come frae Londoun that him they ca' Bang, or Byng, or what is't, has bang'd the French ships and the new king aff the coast however; sae ye had best bide content wi' auld *Nanse* [Queen Anne] for want of a better Queen.

1816 SCOTT, *Black Dwarf*, xvii.

*Nancy*, s. A name for *Agnes*, S.; although some view it as belonging to *Anne*. *Nannic* and *Nanze* are undoubtedly for *Agnes*, S.

1866 JAMIESON.

*Nan*, *Nannic*, *Nance*, *Nancy*, *Nanze*. Names substituted for *Agnes*, S.; although some view the first two as belonging to *Anne*. *Nannic* and *Nanze* are undoubtedly for *Agnes*, S.

1880 JAMIESON, iii. 341.

*Nannic*, *Nanny*. A familiar name for *Agnes*. V. *Nan*.

1880 JAMIESON, iii. 341.

*Nance*, or *Nan*, Ann; gen. If the person is old, *Naani* [*Nanny*] is employed.

1876 ROBINSON, *Mid-Yorkshire Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 88.

For the development of *Nancy*, diminutiv of *Nance*, *Nanse*, a contracted form of *Nannis*, *Annis*, compare the similar development of *Aley*, *Ailsey*, *Ailsie*, *Ailcy*, *Elsie*, *Elsey*, *Elcy*, diminutiv of *Alse*, *Alce*, *Ailse*, *Else*, contracted forms of *Alice*, ME. *Alice*, *Alyce*, *Alys*, *Alis*, *Ales*. In *Betsy* (and *Tetsy*) the termination *-sy* is due to conformation, the regular diminutiv of *Bet*, *Beth*, for *Elizabeth*, being *Betty*.

17. Ed. In the same way *Ed*, the abbreviated form of *Edward*, *Edwin*, *Edmund*, was cald *mine Ed*, *thine Ed*, then *my Ned*, *thy Ned*, and so became *Ned* to everybody.

(b) *Ned*.

1567 HARMAN, *Caveat*, p. 79.

No abuse (*Ned*) in the world: honest *Ned* none. . . . No abuse (*Hal*?) none (*Ned*) none.

1623 SHAKESPEARE, 2 *Henry IV.* ii. 4 (F<sup>1</sup> p. 84).

In the vernacular we "raise *Ned*" as wel as Cain and Ebenezer.

It'll break up the Union, this talk about freedom,  
An' your fact'ry gals (soon ez we split) 'll make head,  
An' gittin' some Miss chief or other to lead 'em,  
'll go to work raisin' promiscuous *Ned*.

1848 LOWELL, *Biglow Papers*, No. V. p. 186.

Hence the diminutiv *Neddy*, which has nothing to do with *neddy*, a fool, a donkey. See I. A. 70.

*Neddy*, that was wont to make  
Such great feasting at the wake.

1772 BROWNE, *Shepherd's Pipe* (Wr. p. 223).

18. \**Ell*. So \**Ell*, \**Elle*, the unrecorded abbreviation of *Ellen*, *Ellin*, dial. *Illin*, *Eelin*, also *Helen*, *Hellen*, *Elinor*, *Ellinor*, *Elenor*, *Eleanor*, *Elnor*, *Elnor*, came as *mine \*Ell*, *thine \*Ell*, then *my Nell*, *thy Nell*, to be *Nell* without a possessiv. And so *Nellie*, *Nelly*.

(a) *Alienora*, proprium nomen mulieris (*helena* A). 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 7.

*Alianore*, his wyff. a 1500 *Paston Letters*, i. 144. (Herrtage.)  
Queen *Hellen* shee did excell.

*Robin Hood and Maid Marian* (Child, *Ballads*, v. 372).

[*Helen* McGregor, also cald] *Ellen*. 1818 SCOTT, *Rob Roy*, xxxiv.  
*Illin, Eelin, Eleanor*. 1859 DICKINSON, *Cumberland Gloss*, p. 56.  
*Elnor*. — Eleanor. 1888 LOWSLEY, *Berkshire Words* (E.D.S.), p. 78.

- (b) And *Nelle* with hir nyfys of crisp and of sylke,  
 Tent welle youre twyfys your nek abowte as mylke.  
 c 1450 *Towneley Myst*, p. 313.

And we vse the like termes by way of pleasant familiaritie, and as it were for a Courtly maner of speach with our egalls or inferiours, as to call a young Gentlewoman *Mall* for *Mary*, *Nell* for *Elner*: *Jack* for *John*, *Robin* for *Robert*: or any other like affected termes spoken of pleasure.  
 1589 PUTTENHAM, *Arte of English Poesy* (ed. Arber), p. 228.

And freckeled *Nel*, that never faild her master.  
 1634 FLETCHER (and SHAKESPEARE), *Two Noble Kinsmen*, iii. 5. 27.

O say you sae to me, *Nelly*?  
 And does my *Nelly* say sae?

*Lizie Lindsay* (Child, *Ballads*, iv. 65).

*Nell, Nelly*, s. Abbrev. of *Helen*, S. 1866 JAMIESON.

19. *Eps*. So the Scotch *Eps*, *Epps*, diminutiv *Eppie*, the shortend form of *Elspeth*, *Elspet*, *Elspat*, which is itself a shortend form of *Elizabeth*, has become *Neps*.

- (a) How brent's your brow, my Lady *Elspat*?  
 a 1806 *Lady Elspat* (Child, *Ballads*, iv. 308).  
*Elspat* McTavish [the name of the "Highland widow"].  
 1827 SCOTT, *Highland Widow*.

To steal awa' *Eppie Morrie*.  
 a 1824 *Eppie Morrie* (Child, *Ballads*, vi. 260).

*Eppie*. 1814 SCOTT, *Waverly*, lxvii.  
 Heaven Almighty forbid that *Epps* Ainslie should gie ony sick gentleman cauld well-water, and him in a fever. 1824 SCOTT, *Redgauntlet*, iv.

- (b) *Neps*, s. The abbrev. of *Elspeth* or *Elizabeth*. Ramsay. 1866 JAMIESON.

20. \**Oll*. In like manner \**Oll*, the unrecorded abbreviation of *Oliver* (I hav herd the diminutiv *Ollie*), has come to be *Noll* (nomen regibus timendum).

- (a) *Oliver*, oliuerus, nomen proprium. 1483 *Cath. Angl.* p. 259.

- (b) Old *Noll* shall from the Shades descend,  
 And teach the Wiggs obedience,  
 E'er I for George's race contend,  
 Or forfeit my allegiance.

c 1748 *The Loyal Resolution*, in *Eng. Jacobite Songs*, ed. Grosart, 1877, p. 21.

21. *Ursula*, contracted *Ursley*, and then probably reduced in baby speech to \**Ursey*, \**Ussey*, \**Uity*, hence *Nutty*, either by the process above described (the name was once quite common), or by mere conformity (see next).

- (a) Dame *Ursula* . . . Dame *Ursley* as they called her.  
 1822 SCOTT, *Fortunes of Nigel*, viii.

- (b) *Nutty*, a term of endearment; also a nickname for *Ursula*. 1857 WRIGHT.

By conformity with the preceding names thus initiald with *N*, rather than by the original process (for the names to be cited do not

appear to have been in familiar household use in the ME. period), the names of *Abraham* and *Isaac*, *Ambrose* and *Antony*, *Esther* or *Hester*, have been similarly altered.

22. **Abe**, short for *Abraham* or *Abram*, appears also as *Nab*.

(b) *Nab*, a by-name for *Abraham*.

1822 "TIM BOBBIN," *Lanc. Dial. Gloss.* p. 35.

Hal o' *Nabs*, q. Henry of Abraham's.

1822 *Id.* p. 34.

23. **Ambrose**, diminutiv *Amby*. Hence *Namby*. Ambrose Phillips wrote some pretty things which Henry Carey and Mr. Pope did not like. They therefore cald him out of his name, *Namby*, and, using the contemptuous reduplication seen in *niminy-piminy*, *nipperty-tipperty*, etc., *Namby-Pamby*, which name came to be applied adjectivly to poems childishly pretty.

(a) When William Timmes, *Ambrose*, and Drake . . .

1559 BRYCE, *Register* (Farr, *Select Poetry*, Parker Soc., i. 166).

(b) *Namby-Pamby*, or a Panegyric on the New Versification [title].

1729 HENRY CAREY, *Poems on Several Occasions* (3d ed.), p. 55

[This poem is mentioned by Halliwell (*Popular Rhymes and Nursery Tales*, 5th ed., p. 144) as "a very curious ballad written about the year 1720."]

*Namby Pamby's* double mild,  
Once a man, and twice a child . . .  
Now my *Namby Pamby's* found  
Sitting on the Friar's ground.

1729 *Id.* (Quoted by Halliwell, *l.c.*)

And *Namby-Pamby* be preferr'd for wit.

1729 POPE, *Dunciad*, iii. 322 [surreptitious edition].

Lo! *Ambrose Phillips* is preferr'd for wit.

1729 *Id.* iii. 326 [acknowledged editions].

The pieces that please best are those for which Pope and Pope's adherents procured him the name of *Namby-Pamby*, the poems of short lines, by which he paid his court to all ages and characters—from Walpole, 'the steerer of the realm,' to Miss Pulteney in the nursery. The numbers are smooth and sprightly, and the diction is seldom faulty. They are not loaded up with much thought; yet if they had been written by Addison, they would have had admirers. Little things are not valued but when they are done by those who can do greater.

1781 JOHNSON, *Lives of the Poets*: Ambrose Phillips.

24. **Antony**, contracted *Ant'ny*, *Anty*. Hence *Nanty*.

(a) Nettlebed *Anty*, Peter Tom Willy, Peed Jack.

1876 ROBINSON, *Mid-Yorkshire Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. ix.

(b) *Nanty* Panty, Jack-a-Dandy,  
Stole a piece of sugar-candy.

1729 HENRY CAREY, *Poems on Several Occasions*. [Quoted by Halliwell: see under No. 23.]

[The above is associated with various nursery rimes, but *Nanty* finds its source in *Antony*.]

"And now," said Trumbull, again, "I pray you to tell me by what name I am to name you to *Nanty* (which is *Antony*) Ewart?"

1824 SCOTT, *Redgauntlet*, xiv.

At the same time he introduced Mr. *Antony*, or *Nanty* Ewart, whose person, though he was a good deal flustered with liquor, was different from what Fairford expected. 1824 *Id.* xiv.

25. *Etty*, *Ettie*, a familiar form of *Esther*, and *Hetty*, *Hettie*, also used as a familiar form of *Esther* (tho properly belonging to *Hester*, the aspirated form of *Esther*), appear also as *Netty*, *Nettie*. All the forms *Etty*, *Ettie*, *Hetty*, *Hettie*, with *Etta* and *Hetta*, are also used as diminutives of *Henrietta*. *Hettie* is also used, I am told, as a diminutive of *Mehetabel*, *Mehitable*—which do seem to call for diminution. *Nettie* has also been used as a diminutive of *Annette*, and, in one instance within my knowledge, of *Fanet*.

- (a) The judge spoke: "*Hester* Sorrel." . . . The blood rushed to *Hetty's* face. 1859 MARY ANN EVANS ("George Eliot"), *Adam Bede*, xlv.  
 (b) *Netty*. *Esther*. 1876 ROBINSON, *Whitby Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 131.

26. *Ike*, *Ikey*, diminutive of *Isaac*, appears also as *Nikey*.

- (a) *Ike*. *Isaac*. 1859 DICKINSON, *Cumberland Gloss.* p. 56.  
 (b) *Nikey*, a diminutive of *Isaac*. 1796 GROSE, *Dict. Vulgar Tongue*. [See under HICKON, No. 95.]

This explanation of the names *Nan*, *Nancy*, *Ned*, *Nell*, *Noll*, etc., is, I believe, new. The *n* is usually explained as merely "prosthetic," or as if "prefixt" by a conscious act. Mr. Oliphant, for example, says:

It is curious that an *n* is often prefixed to shortened names in English, as *Ned*, *Nan*, *Noll*, for *Edward*, *Anne*, and *Oliver*. 1886 OLIPHANT, *The New English*, i. 199.

B. I find two instances in which initial *n* after *mine* or *thine* is lost.

1. **Nation.** *My nation*, pronounced dialectally *my netion* (compare *nurrection* for *narration*, *obseruetion* for *observation*, etc., *Gloss. of Glouc. Dial.*, E.D.S., p. 206, 208), appears to have been taken as *mine \*ation*, dialectally pronounced *etion*:

- (a) [Captain Fluellen and Captain Mackmorris loq.:]  
*Welch.* Captaine Mackmorrice, I thinke, looke you, vnder your correction, there is not many of your Nation.  
*Irish.* Of *my Nation*? What ish *my Nation*? Ish a Villaine, and a Basterd, and a Knauc, and a Rascall. What ish *my Nation*? Who talks of *my Nation*? 1623 SHAKESPEARE, *1 Hen. V.* ii. (*Sic* in F<sup>1</sup> p. 78).  
*Nashun* or *Nation* . . . one's own town or neighborhood. A lad was lately hired out of the parish of Alderton near the sea; and for the first time crossed the intervening heath, of several miles in extent, to enter his service at Woodbridge. The boy, under a strong feeling of nostalgia, was wretched: and to the enquiries of his fellow servants could only say, "I fare to be out of *my nashun*,"—the first syllable long and modulated. 1823 MOOR, *Suffolk Words*, p. 244.

Moor notes that *native*, pronounced *na-tive'*, is also "used pretty much as *Nashun*." The "long and modulated" pronunciation of the first syllable opens the way to \**netion*.

- (b) Bat thus in counting *my etion*  
 I need na mak sic din,  
 For it's well kent Achilles was  
 My father's brither sin.

1785 *Poems in the Buchan Dialect*, p. 4 (1808 Jamieson).

Jamieson enters "*Etion*, s. Kindred, lineage, S.B.," and suggests a connection with "Isl. Su. G. *aett, ett*, family," etc. Like many others before and since, Jamieson was not strong in etymology, but he was violent.

2. **Nevening**, ME. *nevening*, also *nemning*, *nemnunge*, *nemmunge*, AS. *nemnung*, naming. ME. *thin nevening* appears as *thin evening*.

- (b) Wel bruc þu þin *evening*.                    a 1300 *King Horn* (E.E.T.S.), l. 206.

The following examples show how *my* and *thy*, *myn* and *thyn*, would alternate in the same line :

Alas! *my* covetyse, *my* ylle wille, and *myn* ire.

c 1450 *Towneley Myst.* p. 306.

Ferre fro *thi* garth, *thyne* orchard, and *thi* vynes.

c 1420 *Palladius on Husbandrie* (E.E.T.S.), i. 1003.

IV. Cases in which the final *-n* of *none* (ME. *non*) has become attacht to the following noun.

1. **Ay**, an egg. ME. *ay*, *ey*, *ei3*, etc. See I. A. 54. In ME. *non ay* (*eye*, *ei3*) appears as *no* (*naie*, *nay nei3*).

- (a)(b) þan fond he nest and *no nei3*, for nou3t was þer leued.

c 1360 *William of Palerne* (E.E.T.S.), l. 83.

And after token her cours and wenten her way,

Tho fond þe scherrene nyst, but *none eye* [var. *non ay*, *noon eye*, *noon ay*,

*non aye*, *no naie*].                    c 1400 *Gamelyn*, l. 609. (Six-Text.)

The form here is obviously influenced by the alliteration, which is especially suited to the proverb. 'The bird had flown.'

2. **Other**. *None other* (ME. *non other*) is often found divided as *no nother*, from early ME. to modern times. Compare *a nother* for *an other* (I. A. 143), and *my nother* for *myn other* (III. A. 10).

- (a) Ne canne [read *can he*] ðan *non oðer*.

c 1230 *A Bestiary*, l. 658. (*Old Eng. Misc.* (E.E.T.S.), p. 21.)

þam likes now *nan ober* [var. *non ober*, *noon ober*, *na ober*] gle.

c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton ms.) (E.E.T.S.), l. 54.

- And þat mai be *nanoper* [var. *nan eoper*, *nan oper*, *noon opere*] wis. . . .  
 c 1300 *Id.* l. 2887.
- And now is here *none other* gate  
 Bot Godes howse and hevens yate.  
 c 1450 *Towneley Myst.* p. 46.
- That noo cordewener nor *none other* to his use sholde occupye the mysterie  
 of a tanner while he occupied the mysterie of a cordewener. . . .  
 1489 *Stat. Hen. VII.* (Caxton), p. 5.
- I have *none other*, sayd the knyght,  
 The sothe for to say.  
 c 1500 *A Lytell Geste of Robyn Hode* (Child, *Ballads*, v. 56).
- VVhen baylifis strain *none other* things but strays.  
 1576 GASCOIGNE, *The Steele Glas* (ed. Arber.), p. 80.
- (b) Min air þan wald i þat he war,  
 Sin þou me gauē *no noþer* [var. *nane oper*, *non oper*, *noon oper*] barn.  
 c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton ms.) (E.E.T.S.), l. 2562.
- "And, fader, es þar *nanoper* [var. *non oper*, *nan oper*, *noon opere*]?"  
 c 1300 *Id.* l. 3755.
- "Her es *na noþer* þing," said he,  
 "Bot godds hus and heuen entre." c 1300 *Id.* l. 3801.
- Seþþe *no noþer* nel be but nedes to wende.  
 c 1350 *William of Palerne* (E.E.T.S.), l. 1679.
- Sir, I tolde you trouth, trist yee *no noother*.  
 c 1375 *Alisaunder* (E.E.T.S.), l. 489.
- No mai ther go *no nother* gile  
 To bring that traitour doun?  
 c 1420 *Amis and Amiloun*, l. 950 (Weber, *Metr. Rom.* ii. 409).
- Josua also, though he were *no nother* than a civil magistrate. . . .  
 1564 JEWEL, *Apology* (Parker Soc.), p. 98.

V. Case involving the conditional conjunction *an*, if. *An*  
*ȝf* is reduced to *nif*; very common in provincial use.

- (a) No, no, my heart will burst, *and if* [mod. edd. *an if*] I speake.  
 1623 SHAKESPEARE, *3 Hen. VI.* v. 5 (F<sup>1</sup> p. 171).
- (b) *Nif* tha beest a Zend to Vield wi tha Drenking or ort, to tha Voaken.  
 1746 *Exmoor Scolding*, l. 196 (E.D.S.), p. 46.
- Nif* he'd a pumple voot bezide,  
 An a brumstick vor'n to zit ascride.  
 1825 JENNINGS, *Somerset Gloss.* p. 118.
- An *nif* zaw be thâ'll please to hear  
 A'll gee zum moor another year. 1825 *Id.* p. 178.
- Nif*. If. *Somerset*.  
 1847 HALLIWELL. (For examples see p. xxvii, xxviii, etc.)

But there is another *nif* or *nyf*, a ME. contraction of *ne if*, if not,  
 unless, except.

- Ofte hit roled on-rounde & rered on ende,  
*Nyf*oure Lorde had ben her lodez-mon, hem had lumpen harde.  
 c 1360 *Early Eng. Allit. Poems* (E.E.T.S.), l. 423.

Gret perile bi-twene herf stod,  
*Nif* mare of hir knyght mynne.  
*c* 1360 *Syr Gawayne and the Green Knight* (E.E.T.S.), l. 1768.

## VI. Case involving the preposition *in* (*an*, *on*, *en*).

In *auter*, *an auter*, *on auter*, also *in auters*; also written as one word, *inaunter*, *inanter*, *enaunter*, *enanter*, *anaunter*, *ananter*, *anawnters*, *anantres*, *ananthers*, *enanthers*, *anauntrins*; also with the preposition dropt, *aventure*, *awnter*, *auters*, *anters*, *anthers*, *auterens*; all meaning 'peradventure,' 'in case that,' 'for fear that,' being parallel to *perauter*, *paraunter*, a brief form of *peraventure*, now *peradventure*. We find in provincial use *nanterscase*, 'in case that,' a beautiful combination of *in anters* and *in case*.

- (a) Ac *aventure* for the fyght,  
 This victorie is the y-dyght.  
*c* 1300 *Kyng Alisaunder*, l. 3922. (Weber, *Metr. Rom.* i. 162.)  
 So I seid, *anaunter* whanne my enemys be to glade over me.  
*Psalms and Prayers*: Ms. Hunt. f. 38, v<sup>o</sup>. (Wr. p. 130.)  
 For longe durst he not abyde,  
*Inaunter* if men woll seyne.  
*c* 1393 GOWER, *C.A.* f. 48. (Wr.)

Anger nould let him speake to the tree,  
*Enaunter* his rage mought cooled bee.

1579 SPENSER, *Shep. Cal.*, Feb.

- Anauntrins*. Peradventure, if so be. *Northumb.* 1790 GROSE, *Prov. Gloss.*  
*Ananters*, *Anauntrins*. If so be. 1828 [CARR], *Craven Gloss.* i. 8.  
*Ananters* he does lick us, and naabody knaws how an arrow may glent,  
 he'll tuck up aw our Volunteers be ther gallowses, i' iv'ry tree he comes  
 at, thou'll see 'em flackerin' about like flay-craws. 1828 *Id.* ii. 299.  
*Ananthers*, *Anthers*, or *Enanthers*, lest, or for fear. "I'll take my cloak,  
*ananthers* it should rain." 1855 [ROBINSON], *Whitby Gloss.* p. 4.  
 (b) *Nanterscase*. In case that. *North.* 1847 HALLIWELL

VII. Besides the preceding classes, involving a transfer of a radical *n*, there is a number of words in which final *n*, formativ or inflexiv, casually goes over to the following word.

I sai a selkouþe siȝt mi-self *zister neue* [printed *zifer neue*],  
 Wel wipinne niȝt as i went in þe gardyn.

*c* 1360 *William of Palerne* (E.E.T.S.), l. 2160.

[Read *zistern eue*, 'yestern eve.']  
 Prestis *seien nyze* masse.

*a* 1384 WICLIF, *Unprinted Works* (E.E.T.S.), p. 336.

[Read *seien hyze masse*, 'say high mass.' The initial *n* may be a mere scribal error, a repetition of the preceding *n*.]

It will be noticed that in some cases the final *n* spreads, or undergoes gemination, retaining its place as final, and also taking a place as initial. Examples are *an nape* (I. A. 24), *an nute* (I. A. 86), *myn neres* (III. A. 4), *myn nawe* (III. A. 11). This occurs also with other continuants. The opposite change, the reduction of two like consonants adjacent, final and initial, appears in *an nadder*, *a nadder*, *an adder*; *an numpire*, *a numpire*, *an umpire*, etc. These facts have a bearing on other, more occult, cases of Attraction, which I must adjourn unto another day.





## APPENDIX.



- I. PROCEEDINGS OF TWENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL SESSION, CHAR-  
LOTTESVILLE, VA., 1892.
- II. TREASURER'S REPORT (p. v).
- III. LIST OF OFFICERS AND MEMBERS (p. lxiv).
- IV. CONSTITUTION OF THE ASSOCIATION (p. lxxvi).
- V. PUBLICATIONS OF THE ASSOCIATION (p. lxxviii).



MEMBERS IN ATTENDANCE AT THE TWENTY-FOURTH  
ANNUAL SESSION (CHARLOTTESVILLE).

William R. Abbot, Bellvue, Virginia.  
Sidney G. Ashmore, Union University, Schenectady, N. Y.  
W. M. Black, Western Maryland College, Westminster, Md.  
A. L. Bondurant, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.  
Edward Capps, University of Chicago.  
Edward B. Clapp, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.  
Hermann Collitz, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.  
Mortimer Lamson Earle, Barnard College, New York City.  
Herman L. Ebeling, Miami University, Oxford, O.  
Herbert C. Elmer, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.  
Edwin W. Fay, University of Texas, Austin.  
James M. Garnett, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.  
Basil L. Gildersleeve, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.  
Wilber J. Greer, Miami University, Oxford, O.  
William Gardner Hale, University of Chicago.  
J. Leslie Hall, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va.  
Samuel Hart, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.  
Addison Hogue, University of Mississippi, University, Miss.  
D. C. Holmes, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.  
M. W. Humphreys, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.  
John B. Kieffer, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa.  
G. Lodge, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.  
Francis A. March, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.  
C. W. E. Miller, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.  
Frank G. Moore, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.  
John Pollard, Richmond College, Richmond, Va.  
W. S. Scarborough, Wilberforce University, University, O.  
C. P. G. Scott, New York City.  
M. S. Slaughter, Iowa College, Grinnell, Ia.  
C. F. Smith, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.  
Richard M. Smith, Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va.  
W. O. Sproull, University of Cincinnati, O.  
J. R. S. Sterrett, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.  
Guy V. Thomson, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.  
J. H. Wright, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

[Total, 35.]



# AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

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CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA., Tuesday, July 12, 1892.

The Twenty-Fourth Annual Session was called to order at 4 P.M., in the University Library, by Professor Samuel Hart, of Trinity College, Hartford, President of the Association.

In the absence from the country of the Secretary, Professor Herbert Weir Smyth, Professor Edward B. Clapp, of Yale University, who had been appointed temporary Secretary, presented the following report :—

1. The Executive Committee had elected as members of the Association :—

- William R. Abbot, Principal of Bellevue School, Bellvue, Bedford Co., Va.  
Charles D. Adams, Professor of Greek, Drury College, Springfield, Mo.  
Eben Alexander, Professor of Greek, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.  
Thomas L. Angell, Professor of Modern Languages, Bates College, Lewiston, Me.  
H. B. Arbuckle, Instructor in Latin and Greek, Hampden-Sidney College, Hampden-Sidney, Va.  
George E. Barber, Professor of Latin, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb.  
E. C. Benson, Professor of Latin, Kenyon College, Gambier, O.  
Hiram H. Bice, Professor of Greek, Blackburn University, Carlinville, Ill.  
W. M. Black, Assistant Professor of Latin, Western Maryland College, Westminster, Md.  
Robert Emory Blackwell, Professor of English and French, Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va.  
Daniel Bonbright, Professor of Latin, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.  
A. L. Bondurant, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.  
Mariana Brown, Professor of Latin, Earlham College, Richmond, Ind.  
Carleton L. Brownson, Instructor in Latin and Greek, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.  
John L. Buchanan, Professor of Latin, Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va.  
George Woodbury Bunnell, Professor of Greek, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.  
Isaac B. Burgess, The Morgan Park Academy, Morgan Park, Ill.  
James Chalmers, Associate Professor of English, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.  
Henry Leland Chapman, Professor of English Literature, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me.  
Milton E. Churchill, Professor of Greek, Illinois College, Jacksonville, Ill.

- Willard K. Clement, Instructor in Latin and Greek, Lake Forest University, Lake Forest, Ill.
- Francis A. Cobb, Boston University, Boston, Mass.
- E. W. Coy, Principal Hughes High School, Cincinnati, O.
- J. Bascom Crenshaw, Assistant Professor in Latin and Modern Languages, Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va.
- Robert Warner Crowell, Professor of Greek and Latin, Lincoln University, Lincoln, Ill.
- C. N. Curtis, Professor of Greek, Iowa Wesleyan University, Mount Pleasant, Ia.
- M. Grant Daniell, Principal of Chauncy-Hall School, Boston, Mass.
- Heman A. Dearborn, Professor of Latin, Tufts College, College Hill, Mass.
- Robert Walker Deering, Ph.D., Professor of Germanic Languages and Literature, Western Reserve University (College for Women), Cleveland, O.
- Herman L. Ebeling, Professor of Greek, Miami University, Oxford, O.
- A. F. Fleet, Professor of Greek and Comparative Philology, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
- Felix Flügel, Professor of English, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Palo Alto, Cal.
- William G. Frost, Professor of Greek, Oberlin College, Oberlin, O.
- William S. Graves, Professor of Latin and French Languages, Davidson College, N. C.
- Wijber J. Greer, Miami University, Oxford, O.
- Karl P. Harrington, Professor of Latin, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
- Carter Johns Harris, Professor of Latin, The Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va.
- James A. Harrison, Professor of Modern Languages and English, The Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va.
- Charles S. Hebermann, Professor of Latin, University of the City of New York.
- George L. Hendricksen, Professor of Latin, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
- David H. Holmes, Fellow in Greek and Sanskrit, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
- James K. Hosmer, Professor of English and German Literature, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
- William A. Houghton, Professor of Latin, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me.
- A. A. Howard, Professor of Latin, University of California, Cal.
- Ray Greene Huling, New Bedford, Mass.
- Rev. A. J. Huntington, Professor of Greek, Columbian University, Washington, D.C.
- Charles R. Jacob, Professor of Modern Languages, Drury College, Springfield, Mo.
- J. Haywode Jennings, Professor of Latin, Princeton Academy, Princeton, West Va.
- Charles W. Kent, Professor of English and German, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.
- Charles Knapp, Ph.D., Instructor in Latin, Barnard College, New York City.
- Walter Lefevre, Assistant Professor of Philosophy, University of Texas, Austin, Tex.
- Alonzo Linn, Professor of Greek, Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pa.
- Lee Davis Lodge, Professor of French and Latin, Columbian University, Washington, D. C.
- W. G. Manly, Professor of Latin, Denison University, Granville, O.

- Edward Dudley Marsh, 165 Huntington Avenue, Boston, Mass.  
Frank Stuart McGowan, Instructor in German, Adelbert College, Cleveland, O.  
J. C. Metcalf, Professor of Greek, Soule College, Murfreesboro, Tenn.  
C. W. E. Miller, Ph.D., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.  
Walter Miller, Professor of Latin, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.  
Charles M. Moss, Professor of Greek, Wesleyan University, Bloomington, Ill.  
J. S. Murray, Jr., Professor of Latin, University of South Carolina, Columbia, S. C.  
Wilfred P. Mustard, Professor of Latin, Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Col.  
Dr. Hanns Oertel, Instructor in German, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.  
John Pollard, Professor of English, Richmond College, Richmond, Va.  
Rev. E. L. Paton, Professor of Greek, University of South Carolina, Columbia, N. C.  
Judson C. Pattengill, Principal of the High School, Ann Arbor, Mich.  
Emma Maud Perkins, Associate Professor of Latin, Western Reserve University (College for Women), Cleveland, O.  
William E. Peters, Professor of Latin, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.  
Dr. R. S. Radford, Instructor in Latin and Greek, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.  
H. W. Rolfe, Lecturer in Latin, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Charles John Rose, Professor of German and French, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y.  
Mary A. Shute, Assistant in Greek, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.  
Frank Smalley, Professor of Latin, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y.  
Kirby Smith, Associate in Latin, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.  
Lewis Stuart, Professor of Latin, Lake Forest University, Lake Forest, Ill.  
Marguerite Sweet, Instructor in English, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.  
Guy Van G. Thompson, Instructor in Latin, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.  
A. H. Tolman, Professor of English Literature, Ripon College, Ripon, Wis.  
George W. Waite, Superintendent of Schools, Oberlin, O.  
Edward L. Walter, Professor of Romance Language and Literature, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.  
Andrew McCorrie Warren, Instructor in Modern Languages, Brown University, Providence, R. I.  
George H. White, Oberlin College, Oberlin, O.  
James Jones White, Professor of Greek, The Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va.  
Henry C. Whiting, Professor of Latin, Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa.  
B. L. Wiggins, Professor of Latin, University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn.  
Henry D. Wild, Professor of Latin, Olivet College, Olivet, Mich.  
W. H. Williams, Professor of Sanskrit and Shemitic Languages, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

2. The TRANSACTIONS and PROCEEDINGS for 1891 (Vol. XXII) were issued together in March of the present year. Separate copies of the PROCEEDINGS may be obtained of the Secretary.

The report of the Treasurer of the Association, Professor Herbert Weir Smyth, for the fiscal year ending June 25, 1892, was then pre-



sent by the temporary Secretary. The summary of accounts for 1891-92 is as follows:—

RECEIPTS.	
Balance from 1890-91 . . . . .	\$1126.00
Fees and Arrears . . . . .	\$939.00
Sales of Transactions . . . . .	169.35
Sale of old plates . . . . .	28.72
Dividends Central New England & Western R. R. . . . .	6.00
Interest on Deposits . . . . .	20.00
Total receipts for the year . . . . .	1163.07
	<del>\$2289.06</del>
EXPENDITURES.	
Transactions and Proceedings (Vol. XXII) . . . . .	\$572.01
Postage . . . . .	31.63
Expressage . . . . .	2.90
Clerk Hire . . . . .	15.00
Job Printing . . . . .	7.50
Stationery . . . . .	1.55
Binding . . . . .	4.50
Incidental . . . . .	1.85
Total expenditures for the year . . . . .	\$635.94
Balance June 25, 1892 . . . . .	165.22
	<del>\$2289.16</del>

The Chair appointed as a Committee to audit the Treasurer's report, Professors J. H. Wright and Addison Hogue.

At 5 P.M., the reading of papers was begun. At this time there were about thirty persons present. At subsequent meetings the number averaged nearly forty.

1. Chronological Order of Plato's Dialogues, by Professor W. S. Scarborough, of Wilberforce University.

An attempt at a logical and chronological classification of the writings of Plato is by no means new. Diogenes quotes from Aristophanes of Byzantium, the first possibly to make this attempt, and gives us his divisions into trilogies as follows:—

1. *The Republic, Timaeus, Critias*; 2. *The Laws, Minos, Epinomis*; 3. *The Theaetetus, Euthyphron, Apology*; 4. *The Sophist, Politicus, Cratylus*; 5. *The Criton, Phaedon, Letters*.

The remainder of the dialogues is left unclassified. Aristophanes failed in many important particulars. He ignored the internal evidence, drawn from the dialogues themselves, and utterly disregarded any scientific arrangement whatever, as a careful study of the Platonic writings will show. The genuine and the spurious were alike classified by him.

Thrasylus, two centuries later, made little or no improvement over his predecessor, though Grote regards his catalogue of thirty-five dialogues as reasonably "trustworthy."

The fact that the genuineness of many of the Platonic writings has long been a matter of dispute puts out of the question, in a measure at least, tangible evidence as to a definite order of these dialogues. If, however, an attempt must be made, the only reliable evidence attainable must come from Plato himself. It must be internal rather than external. In the absence of dates there will have to be a close study of style, structure, syntax, grammatical relations, and usage, and the results compared with the language of the times in which the dialogues were issued.

Socher questioned the genuineness of the Sophist and the Politicus on the ground that they lacked the general characteristics of Plato's style. Schaar-schmidt took substantially the same position. Similar objections were raised against the authenticity of the Laws.

In a paper in the Bibliotheca Platonica, Professor Campbell of St. Andrews University makes the statement that he has established the genuineness of the Sophist and the Politicus, and has assigned them their place in the order of Platonic composition. He adopted the group system. He collected the traits and characteristics common to a group—say, for example, the Philebus, Sophist, and Politicus, and arranged them according to their homogeneity. In this way the entire list could have been gone over and the chronological order established, approximately at least.

I find that many of the formulae and particles said to be exclusively confined to Platonic usage are employed by Euripides, Aeschylus, Aristophanes, and other tragic and comic writers.

The formulae and idiomatic expressions referred to by Dittenberger and other German critics, may be taken as simply marking the contrast between the Republic, the Phaedrus, the Theatetus, and the earlier dialogues.

The occurrence of *τι μήν* in some and its omission in other Platonic dialogues prove nothing as to their scientific order. Even the Platonic mannerisms in themselves are of little value. As an example, we take *πέρ* as a suffix to such adverbial forms as *μέχρι, ὅπη, ὄσαχῆ, ὅπου, ὅποσοι* = *μέχριπερ, ὅπηπερ, ὄσαχῆπερ, ὅπουπερ ὀπόσοιπερ*, common in Plato, yet *ὅπηπερ* is found in Sophocles:

'Αλλ' ἡ μὲν ἡμῶν μοῖρ' ὅπηπερ εἶσ', ἔτω, O. T. 1458.

*ὅπηπερ* = *ὅπουπερ*, sometimes with little or no change of meaning:

'Αλλ' εἶμι κἀγὼ κείσ' ὅπουπερ ἀν σθένω, Aj. 810.

*τῷ ὄντι* seems to have been supplanted in several instances by *ὄντως*, which is a Platonism, pure and simple. Dr. Schanz pointed out this fact a few years ago. *σχεδόν* without *τι* is regarded by Campbell and others as a Euripidean idiom, and yet similar examples are to be found in Homer, Pindar, Herodotus, Demosthenes, and with verbs of knowing in Sophocles and others.

According to Professor Campbell, whom I regard as high Platonic authority, *τῷ ὄντι* occurs but once in the Sophist, and not at all in the Politicus, Philebus, Timaeus, and Crito. *ὄντως* is found in the Sophist 21 times; Politicus, 11 times; Philebus, 15; Timaeus, 8; Laws, 50; etc.

With a knowledge of what the earlier and later style of Plato actually was, it would not be difficult, it seems to me, to establish in part, if not fully, the chronological order of these works, provided we adopt Professor Campbell's suggestion and study the dialogues themselves.

2. Aristotle's Criticism of the Spartan Constitution, by Professor E. G. Sihler, of the University of the City of New York.

One of the chief benefactions to be expected from the discovery of Aristotle's *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* should be the renewed study of Aristotle's *Politics*, although the direct parallels between the two works have been exhaustively traced even now by Mr. Kenyon and his collaborators. For indeed all the factors of political life are so tersely stated, all the principles of the science so firmly grasped, that the progress of human history since has chiefly furnished new proof of A.'s penetration and new stores of material to illustrate his propositions. Cf. Zeller III,<sup>8</sup> p. 104 sq. Grote's essay on the *Politics* (Aristotle,<sup>8</sup> 1883) is unsatisfactory in many ways.

Passing on to the probable date of the work, the author considered Christ's argumentation (which largely is based on the argumentum a silentio) (Gesch. d. Gr. Lit.<sup>2</sup> p. 416), defective. A definite element, at least of computation, is offered by the allusion to one of the herald-ships of Athens, the *Ammonias* (Kenyon,<sup>8</sup> p. 158); although Boeckh set the giving of that name not earlier than 322 (cf. *Rich. Shute* "on the History of the Process by which the Aristotelian writings arrived at their present form," Oxf. 1888, p. 22). It seems rather difficult to assume that Aristotle had formally completed the 158 "Constitutions" (or "foundations") of the canon of Diogenes Laertius before he began to compose the abstraction of these concrete elements, but that, perhaps, he used the latter as a "continually open note-book," as Shute not inaptly calls the *πολιτεία* (p. 72).

One of the striking features of the *Politics*, in a historical sense, is the slender rôle played by Athens, in the references, compared with Sparta. The searching and condemnatory sketch of the final or extreme type of Democracy (*ἰσοχάρος δῆμος*) is unmistakably directed at Athens VI, vulgo (IV), 4, p. 1292 a, 1 sqq., although the philosopher refrains from naming it. But he deals quite differently with Sparta, whose distinctive institutional peculiarities (II, 9) are submitted to detailed and systematic criticism, severe and unfavorable throughout the chapter. The philosopher betrays here and there the conscious attitude of the iconoclast, and of a critic who challenges and defies the current of previous appreciation.

And still (II, 11 s.f.) he designates Sparta, Crete, and Carthage as the three states which justly enjoy a high reputation. In his own *best state* IX (vulgo VII) 10, some features of Spartan and Cretan institutions are incorporated, but he takes pains to advocate priority for Egypt and Italy respectively. The author of the paper sifted all references to Sparta, but no matter what pinch of eulogy or approbation might here and there crop out, the deep and strong undercurrent of condemnation was unmistakable. For Aristotle applied the verdict of what was to him contemporary history; the other decadence of Sparta after Leuctra was sufficient proof of the fundamental unsoundness of her institutions, while the

Chauvinism inbred by her onesided militarism was utterly unsympathetic to his philosophical ideals.

Evidently then Aristotle combats traditional appreciation and canonizing of Sparta as an ideal political organism, a view set forth, e.g., in Xenophon's essay, although the latter comes out strongly against Lysander and as a champion of Agesilaus and the royal prerogative. Plato's estimate of Sparta (Rep. III, 414, IV, 420, 422, 423, 425, 461 e, 467 ed) is familiar enough, as well as his conscious or unconscious incorporation or adaptation of many features of her institutions. But at the same time he does not forego (VII, 548) a moral estimate of the present decadence of Sparta from her former high estate.

Indeed, Aristotle and his teacher are not so far apart after all in this matter, although in the case of Aristotle the history of Greek politics had advanced farther, and his faculty of political judgment is unmistakably superior.

### 3. Alliteration in Lucretius, by Professor W. A. Merrill, Miami University.

Students of Lucretius have not failed to notice the great occurrence of alliterative vowels and consonants in the poem, and the editors have made many vague remarks on the subject. Munro, for instance (Lucr. II, p. 15), says, "they are to be counted by hundreds, nay thousands," but no one seems to have counted them, and to have found out exactly the number of occurrences and the several varieties. Zeuner's method of treating alliteration, having met with the approval of students of English, seemed to the writer to be more worthy of imitation than the methods of classical scholars. The treatment naturally was divided into two parts: Part I, formal alliteration; and Part II, the logical effect as adding to the sense; and the general question of accidental or intentional occurrence. Part II is not now offered.

#### PART I.

The inquiry into alliterative usages must be limited by arbitrary bounds, and the following principles were so adopted: —

1. Each verse is taken separately.
2. Three or more initial letters are noticed (e.g. *adventumque tuum tibi suavis Caedala tellus*, 1. 71); and word-initials only, not syllable-initials within the word.
3. Count two initial letters only when two or more other initial letters occur in the same verse; e.g. *at nunc nimirum frangendi — finis*, 1. 561.
4. Count h when another initial h occurs in the line, having the force of a consonant; otherwise h is disregarded and the following vowel may be paired with a similar vowel initial in the same line. Example of 1. *hunc vexare — hunc vincula*, 3. 83; of 2. *in — intervallis haec aera*, 2. 107.
5. Diphthongs are arranged according to their first vowel.
6. Initial vowels following elided m-syllables are disregarded. Example: *cum immortalis*, 3. 869.
7. Initial vowels standing after elided vowels are disregarded; e.g. *ille quoque ipse*, 3. 1029.

There are in Lucretius 7415 lines in Munro's edition of 1886; subtracting 56

which are spurious, there remain 7359. 1783 of these are alliterative,  $24\frac{2}{3}\%$ . Nearly all the letters in the alphabet occur: a 245 times, b 2, c 395, d 87, e 185, f 102, g 9, h 13, i vowel 192, i consonant 2, l 47, m 193, n 230, o 29, p 373, q 211, r 93, s 375, t 124, u vowel 37, u consonant 144. P, s, and c lead, probably on account of the large number of Latin words beginning with these letters.

Threefold alliteration — scheme aaa occurs 508 times. Example: corpora constituunt — cetera, 2. 104.

4, scheme aaaa, occurs 49 times, of which the letter a is found 6 times, c 3, d 1, e 3, i 3, l 1, m 11, n 5, p 8, s 6, v 2. Example: multa modis multis — moveri, 1. 341.

5, scheme aaaaa, occurs 3 times (with p, e, and t each once). Example: non potuit pedibus qui pontum per vada possent, 1. 200.

6, scheme aaaaaa, occurs once: saepe solet scintilla suos se spargere in ignis, 4. 606.

2-2 admits of three schemes: aabb, abab, abba. Example of aabb: corpora se iungunt sed terras ac mare totum, 2. 728. This occurs 333 times. Abab: ut mare cum magni commorunt aequora venti, 2. 766, 319 times. Abba 310 times: cum quibus et quali positura contineantur, 2. 761. Total for 2-2, 962 times, more than any other form.

3-2 has 10 schemes; abaab occurs 24 times. Example: milibus e multis — munitur eburno, 2. 538. Aabba is found 13 times, abbab 12, abbaa 11, aabab 23, aaabb 29, aabbb 10, abba 12, ababb 15, ababa 15. Total occurrence of 3-2 164 times.

4-2 is used by Lucretius in five schemes: abaaba 2, ababaa 1, abbbab 1, abbaaa 1, aaabab 1; total 6 times. An example of abbaaa is 4. 394 cum permensa suo sunt caelum corpore claro.

5-2 occurs but once, with scheme abbbbab; idque sibi solum per se sapit id sibi gaudet, 3. 145.

2-2-2 occurs 68 times with 15 schemes: abcbac occurs 7 times, abcabc 8, abaccb 6, abbcac 5, aabccb 4, abbacc 8, aabbcc 3, aabcbc 1, abcba 6, ababcc 5, ababc 2, abcba 3, abbca 3, abcab 2, abccab 5. An example of abcba, a very pleasing variety, is 4. 905 multaque per trocleas et tympana pondere magno.

3-2-2 occurs 10 times with 9 schemes, one only abcacbb being found twice. The others are ababcca, abbcabc, abcbca, abaaccb, aabcbbc, aabcacb, abbacc, abcbacc. Abbacc is found in 6. 879 frigidus est etiam fons supra quem sita saepe.

4-3, scheme aabaabb occurs but once, 3. 852; et nunc nil ad nos de nobis attinet ante.

3-3 occurs 6 times: aaabbb and abaabb twice, the others once each, viz. ababba, abbaab. An example of aaabbb is 3. 794 quod quoniam nostro quoque constat corpore certum.

In two places in the poem there is a correspondence between the two closing words of two verses: in 2. 269 corde creari corresponds to procedere primum in 270; and in 6. 741 contraria cunctis corresponds to venere volantes, 742.

Au and o seem to correspond in 3. 12 omnia nos itidem depascimur aurea dicta; and also in 6. 408.

(In the complete paper every alliterative line is arranged under its proper scheme.)

At this point the following overture from the American Oriental Society was presented to the Association : —

PHILADELPHIA, PA., U.S.A., March, 1892.

DEAR SIR :

The undersigned were appointed a Committee, by the Directors of the American Oriental Society, to learn if it were practicable to open negotiations with other philological, archaeological, and ethnological societies, with a view to adopting a common time and place for meeting every other year. This biennial meeting would bring all these societies together, while still retaining their independent action, their present individuality, and their existing independence. A joint committee, representing them, say of one from each, could arrange the details of the meetings so that there would be no conflict between the time at which analogous papers were read and discussed by societies which cover similar ground. So that, for instance, the Sanskrit members of the American Oriental Society could hear both in that society and in the American Philological Society the papers on Sanskrit. If it seemed desirable, one joint meeting could be held of all the societies, at which an address could be read by a President elected by them — an arrangement which might have incidental value.

In the intervening years the societies would continue, as now, to hold their meetings in different places and at varying times, and would thus stimulate local interest in the studies they pursue and promote.

The societies which it is proposed to approach on this subject are in the order of establishment : —

- The American Oriental Society, 1842.
- The American Philological Association, 1869.
- The Archaeological Institute of America, 1879.
- The Anthropological Society, Washington, 1879.
- The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, 1880.
- The Modern Language Association of America, 1883.
- The American Folklore Society, 1888.
- The American Dialect Society, 1889.

TALCOTT WILLIAMS.  
PAUL HAUPT.  
C. R. LANMAN.

After remarks by Professors Hale, March, Wright, Sproull, and Ashmore, the following resolution was offered by Professor Gildersleeve, and unanimously adopted : —

*Resolved* : That the American Philological Association cordially accept the overture of the American Oriental Society, and that the Executive Committee be authorized to make arrangements in concert with the other societies for a joint meeting.

Shortly after six o'clock the Association adjourned.

## EVENING SESSION.

The Association, with several residents of Charlottesville, assembled in the Public Hall at 8.15 P.M., to listen to the address of the President of the Association. The Association was welcomed to Charlottesville, and the speaker of the evening introduced, in a few felicitous remarks by Professor William M. Thornton, LL.D., chairman of the Faculty of the University.

4. The Debt of the Classical Scholar to the Community, by Professor Samuel Hart, of Trinity College, Hartford.

The greatness of great men — at any rate the greatness of men who have been both great and useful — has consisted largely in their acting the part of mediators between the past and the future, holding to all that has proved itself of value, and commending it to the active and earnest workers in whose hands lie the destinies of institutions and of nations. Nowhere is this more true than in the history of sound learning; there have been no more true mediators between the past and the future than the universities of the civilized world. And perhaps there is no one of them all the foundation of which was professedly laid on principles so carefully studied and so wisely chosen as the University within the hospitable walls of which we are assembled. We look to it as, both in intention and in fact, a home of sound learning, conservative of the good which has come to its hand, and at the same time not afraid of any honest and healthy growth. It is an appropriate place for the consideration of the debt which the classical scholar of the present day and in our land owes to the community of which he is a member.

For a while after the revival of the letters in Europe, all learning was classical learning. The classic authors were read as if, with all their differences, they had been written but yesterday. The time called forth wonderful prodigies of grace and skill; and it was a prophetic time, a time of forthseeing and of foreseeing; it taught the men of that day, and it laid up treasures for us. The duty of the scholars of that day was plain, and they were faithful to it; with unwearied labor they toiled at their tasks, and they kept all their work up to the very highest standard.

To that spring-time succeeded a time when the study of the classic authors held by universal consent a necessary and an exalted place in all liberal studies and in all real education. Many changes took place in the way in which men looked at the requirements of scholarship and at the position of the literary man; but he was brave indeed who dared to doubt that part of the necessary foundation of all learning was a knowledge, and that a somewhat minute knowledge, of the classic writings of the Greeks and the Romans. The duty of the scholar then was to open the minds of others to great or noble or beautiful thoughts, couched in forms of gracefulness and strength, made attractive by the skill of men of extraordinary genius, and enforced upon the mind by the fact that they could not be appreciated unless they were carefully studied. And take it for all in all, the duty was well performed.

To-day classical studies are put on their defence and called upon to prove that they have a reason for claiming any time or attention at all. The reason for this change of position is found in the fact that the learning of our time has been in one way wonderfully widened, and in another way as wonderfully specialized and narrowed. There must be scholars to know each several thing well; but no scholar can know all things well. As in other matters, so also it is in the study of language: the horizon of the philological scholar has widened and is still widening; and the widening of the horizon has narrowed each man's special field of work. The world of learning is becoming more and more a republic; and the old aristocracy of classical studies are put on their defence and asked to give an apology for themselves. The duty of the classical scholar is, without complaint at the changed order of things, to maintain that the importance of the classics in the sphere of letters and of thought has not been materially diminished. He should do everything in his power for the advance of philological learning, and thus in the great realm of knowledge find something which he can make especially his own. And he ought to exert himself to help those for whom the line of labor and (to some extent) of interest is outside of what we strictly call philology. There is little danger that the school and the university will be neglected in our day, but it may be that the college will find before long that scanty provision has been made for it. We must not forget that we owe a training in classical culture to men whose lives must be spent in the liberal professions or in influential positions in the world of business or of politics — a training which is suitable for that which they need and which does not load them with what they will never be able to use. If the advance of learning along other paths, if even the progress of our own studies in other than literary directions, leads us to neglect this, the community will certainly be the sufferer.

Classical scholars, and in general students and teachers of language are recognizing and paying in different ways the debt which they owe to the community; and the age in which we live is not lacking in esteem for anything which is serviceable or attractive or in any way real.

At the close of the address the Association adjourned, to meet at 9.30 A.M. on Wednesday.

CHARLOTTESVILLE, PA., July 13, 1892.

The Association was called to order at 9.30 A.M. by the Chair. Professor James M. Garnett, on behalf of the Local Committee, invited the Association to join in an excursion to Monticello at 5 P.M. The invitation was accepted. The following Committees were then appointed by the President: —

On time and place of meeting in 1893, Professors Hale, Ashmore, and Sterrett.

On officers for 1892-93, Professors Humphreys, C. F. Smith, and Kieffer.

The reading of papers was then resumed.



5. Dyer's Interpretation of Vitruvius on the Greek Stage, by Professor Edward Capps, of the University of Chicago.

The purpose of this paper is to show the weakness of the position of Mr. Louis Dyer in his attempt (*Four. Hell. Stud.* Vol. XII) to reconcile the vexatious passage of Vitruvius (V. 8) on the Greek theatre with the results of the labors of Dr. Dörpfeld and his supporters. If such a reconciliation could be effected, the scholars who now refuse to accept Dörpfeld's theory of the Greek stage would find their main support shattered, and it would be regarded as an established fact that the plays of the great dramatists were presented in a theatre in which there was practically no stage. The importance of Dyer's attempt is therefore evident; and it is no less important that his attempt should be subjected to a thorough examination.

Beginning with the assumption that the earliest Italian scholars might be expected to understand Vitruvius better than the moderns, Dyer selects the work of the earliest scholar who offers an explanation of the passage — Jocundus, the eminent Florentine scholar and architect, who gives in his editions of 1511 and 1513 two figures accompanied by a key, from which we may derive his interpretation of the text. Where Jocundus is obscure, Dyer appeals to his pupil, J. C. Scaliger, who is assumed to have accepted his master's views regarding the theatre and the meaning of Vitruvius. Interpreting Vitruvius in the light of these helps, Dyer finds that the term *proscenium* in the phrase *finitio proscenii* was applied to the unused space lying between the scena-wall or green-room building and the decoration wall or *finitio proscenii*. The two accessory arcs are drawn to mark on the *finitio proscenii* the extremities of the *pulpitum minore latitudine*, or *λογγεῖον* — a temporary wooden platform which projected from the *finitio proscenii* and formed the platform for actors. When this type of theatre was modified to meet the requirements of the drama after the disappearance of the chorus, this pulpitum became larger and received the name *proscenium*, the unused space behind it now being called the *scena*. It is to this modified type of theatre to which Vitruvius refers in his chapter on the Roman theatre. The *proscenii pulpitum* which he mentions there is not the same as the *proscenium*, but "a small temporary stage built on the centre of the larger and permanent proscenium-stage. This is the invention of Vitruvius, who was inclined to suggest Greek improvements — "one of those refinements in practice not observed by his predecessors nor followed by his successors." It was not with this *proscenii pulpitum* that Vitruvius compared the Greek *λογγεῖον*, and not the Greek proscenium with the Roman proscenium, as Dörpfeld supposed, but the Greek pulpitum = *λογγεῖον* with the Roman pulpitum = stage, which were in use so much alike as to suggest comparison, and Vitruvius makes only one mistake — he gives to the Greek *λογγεῖον* the impossible height of from ten to twelve feet, possibly confounding it with the *θεολογγεῖον*.

Such in outline is Dyer's explanation of the passage in Vitruvius as derived through the medium of Jocundus. If well grounded, it affords relief to the difficulties in two respects. It acquits Vitruvius of the stupid blunder with which Dörpfeld has charged him, viz. of so far misunderstanding the use of the stage buildings of the Greek theatres extant in his day as to confound the proscenium of the Greek theatre — the long narrow structure from ten to twelve feet in height

which served as the masked front or decoration wall — with the proscenium-stage of the Roman theatre, and to describe the former structure as the stage for actors. It also provides for a stage in the Greek theatre, for which we have the direct testimony of ancient antiquarians and scholars. Dyer, however, holds that the stage was a temporary wooden platform, thus accounting for the absence of remains of stage structures from which Dörpfeld argues so strongly against the existence of a stage, and so low as to be easily accessible, thus meeting the internal evidence of the plays themselves, which is strongly against a stage of any considerable height. On the other hand, it still attributes to Vitruvius the serious error, only less serious than that with which Dörpfeld charges him, of making the projecting *λογεῖον* as high as the proscenium to which it was attached, and no very satisfactory explanation of this error is offered.

But the subtle and cleverly constructed theory of Dyer is built on weak foundations. In the first place, the presumption in favor of the scholars of the early Renaissance on the ground of their agreement on the meaning of this passage falls away when we learn that they were as much at variance as modern scholars. Jocundus (1511) differs essentially from Caesarianus (1521) and from Barbaro (1567). In view of this fact we must refuse to any ancient scholar a greater influence in this question than is warranted by the intrinsic merit of his views.

Furthermore, Dyer's interpretation does violence to the diagrams by means of which Jocundus aims to make clear his understanding of Vitruvius. In order to make out that Jocundus believed the purpose of the two accessory arcs to be to fix the position of the *λογεῖον* on the *finitio proscenii*, he is compelled to extend the arcs in the diagram until they touch the *finitio proscenii* at the desired place. Even if we should accept Dyer's explanation of the fact that Jocundus would thus be drawing the arcs from the *right* and *left* respectively when Vitruvius directs to draw first "from the *left*" and then "from the *right*" ("ab intervallo sinistro" and "ab intervallo dextro"), viz. that it was a teacher's device for the sake of making the directions of Vitruvius clearer to his pupils, by having them draw, taking the *right* centre, from the *right*, to the *right* side of the proscenium, instead of *right*, *left*, *right*, etc., we could not accept an explanation which requires that certain lines which, as he supposes, Jocundus intended should fulfil a certain object should be arbitrarily extended until they do fulfil that object. If that object were in the Florentine architect's mind, he certainly would have made it clear in his figure. Besides, a measurement of the *λογεῖον* in the second figure of Jocundus shows that it is more than 60 per cent longer than it would be if determined by the arcs as drawn by Dyer. This in itself is enough to overthrow Dyer's interpretation of the figures of Jocundus.

Dyer quotes Scaliger De Comoedia ac Tragoedia as an exponent of the views of Jocundus as to the meaning of proscenium as applied to the Greek theatre. "That space on either side of the pulpitum reaching to the forward wall of the scena which was left vacant was called by the Greeks proscenium. Let no one opine that here were the sides of the scena." We need not puzzle ourselves as to the meaning of this strange definition, for the original passage runs as follows: "Id spatium quod utrinque a pulpito ad extremam scenam vacuum relinquabatur Graeci vocabant proscenium, ne quis existimet fuisse scenae latera." Though it is clear that Dyer does not translate this sentence correctly, it is not in point to discuss here its real meaning, for it is not found in the essay of Scaliger's cited,

nor in any work of Scaliger's, but in another essay in the same volume of Gronovius's Thesaurus (Vol. VIII, not III, as printed), assigned to no author but "ex optimis auctoribus collectus." We do, however, find in Scaliger's essay two definitions of proscenium: "Locus ante scenam, proscenium; in quo erant agentium discursiones" and "ante quos [porticus] proscenium apertum vidibatur in quo agebant (ut diximus) e scena egressi." According to Scaliger, therefore, the proscenium was not "a narrow, unused space in front of the scena," but an open space used by the actors. If we may transfer the pupil's views to the master, we have an explanation of the figures of Jocundus, though the purpose of the two arcs does not appear very clear. Jocundus himself was apparently not very well satisfied, for in one figure he marks two different parts as proscenium, and in his second edition omits altogether what Dyer understands to have been in his view the Greek proscenium. Dyer's explanation of the double proscenium in the first edition is weak in view of the fact of the change in the second edition; of this he offers no explanation, but refers to the fact that the key in the first edition, with its double proscenium, is restored in the third edition of 1523. But Jocundus died in 1515, and no change in the edition of 1523 can be cited on his authority.

We get no light from Jocundus, therefore, on the difficulties in Vitruvius. We must test Dyer's explanation by the words of Vitruvius himself. We are at once confronted by the meaning of *latitudo* in the phrase in the chapter on the Greek theatre, "minore latitudine pulpiti." Dyer does not discuss the word, but assumes, apparently, that it means "length," as Schönborn and Müller had done before him. But Wecklein has shown beyond possibility of doubt that *latitudo* can mean only width. Vitruvius means the same thing when he says that the Greek pulpiti is *minore latitudine* than the Roman as when he says that the Roman pulpiti is *latius* than the Greek. That in the latter statement he refers to width is shown not only by the context, but also by the fact that in the same chapter he proceeds to give directions for the length, *longitudo*, of the scena.

The distinction which Dyer sees between the meaning of the term *proscenium* in the chapter on the Roman theatre and in the chapter on the Greek theatre, and, consequently, the difference between the pulpiti or proscenium in the Roman theatre and the pulpiti or *λογεῖον* in the Greek, finds as little support in Vitruvius as we have found in Scaliger. The whole argument, so far as Vitruvius is concerned, is based on the phrase *proscenii pulpiti* in the description of the Roman theatre. This he believes to mean "the platform belonging to, or attached to, the proscenium," and not "the platform of the proscenium," i.e. "the proscenium" (cf. *urbs Romae*), as all scholars heretofore have taken it. Though we nowhere else hear of such a projecting platform in the Roman theatre, yet Dyer accounts for it here as an innovation of Vitruvius, who desired to import such an improvement from the Greek theatre. If a theory which requires such an explanation needs refutation, a glance at the text will suffice to show that in these two chapters on the theatre the terms *proscenium*, *pulpiti*, *proscenii pulpiti*, and *λογεῖον* are interchangeable, excepting that the last is used only of the Greek pulpiti. I shall quote only two passages to illustrate. Per centrum parallelus linea ducatur, quae disiungat *proscenii pulpiti* et orchestrae regionem. Ita latius factum fuerit *pulpiti* quam Graecorum (ch. 6). Ea regione designatur *fnitio proscenii*. . . . Ita . . . habent . . . Graeci . . . *minore latitudine pulpiti*, quod *λογεῖον* appellant (ch. 8). There is here an exact parallel

*fnitio proscenii* in the second passage being substituted for *linea quae disiungat proscenii pulpitem* in the former. This line which separates the *proscenii pulpitem* from the orchestra, and which thus forms the forward boundary line of the *proscenium*, being farther from the rear boundary line in the Roman than in the Greek theatre, makes the pulpitem in the Roman theatre wider than the pulpitem or *λογεῖον* of the Greek.

Having shown that the essential part of Dyer's theory cannot be defended, it only remains to state that the purpose of the two accessory arcs is to widen the orchestra as it approaches the proscenium, giving it a horse-shoe shape for the benefit of the spectators who had their seats in the wings of the auditorium. The main argument against this is strongly maintained by A. Müller — that since Vitruvius does not specify what radius is to be used in drawing these arcs, we are obliged to use the radius of the original circle. But the evidence of the ruins is decisive, so that we need not adduce the weighty arguments of Wecklein to prove that the most reasonable interpretation of the text of Vitruvius leads us to this construction. Most of the ancient Greek theatres exhibit an orchestra of horse-shoe shape, the curvature of the two limbs varying according to the centres chosen for drawing them. In Epidaurus, as Dörpfeld has shown, these centres lie below the diameter and inside the circumference of the fundamental circle; the limbs begin to diverge from the original circle above the diameter. At Athens the limbs approach the proscenium in straight lines; Fabricius points out that the principle is the same as at Epidaurus, the centres lying at infinity. Now Vitruvius wished a more graceful orchestra than that at Athens, and it was difficult to give directions for fixing the centres for such an orchestra as at Epidaurus. He therefore gives the simplest practical working rule, viz. that the two centres should be at the ends of the diameter of the original circle. It was not necessary to specify the radius. Given the centres, any architect familiar with the shape of the best Greek theatres would draw the arcs correctly. Unless we deliberately ignore the knowledge which we possess concerning the ruins of Greek theatres, which Jocundus did not possess, we must thus explain what Perrault, from want of this knowledge, called "le mystère de ces trois cercles."

The writer believes with Dyer that there may have been in the classical Greek theatre a low wooden stage for actors in front of the proscenium or decoration wall. But there is certainly no evidence for such a stage in Vitruvius, and I see none in Jocundus. If Dörpfeld is right in denying the existence of a high stage, Vitruvius is wrong, and we are compelled to believe him guilty of the greater error of misunderstanding the purpose and use of the Greek proscenium than of the two lesser errors of attaching to the Roman proscenium a small projecting platform such as never existed (an invention, Dyer would call it), and of giving to the Greek *λογεῖον* a height of ten feet when it could not possibly have been much more than two or three feet above the level of the orchestra.

## 6. Notes on the Subjunctive of Purpose in Relative Clauses in Attic Greek, by Dr. Mortimer Lamson Earle, of Barnard College.

The paper contained an examination of the idiom *ὅτε ἔστωι* (*μοι*), or *ὅτε ἔχω*, *ἔστωι* (*ἔστωι* or rel. adv.) and subj. (or opt. aft. secondary tense). The prototype of the Attic idiom was sought in Homeric Greek: cf. *Il.* 21, 111 sqq., *Il.* 19, 355-7,

Il. 6, 450 sqq., Il. 4, 164, Il. 21, 103 sq., Od. 6, 201 sqq., Il. 3, 459 sq., Od. 15, 310 sq., with Soph. Ai. 514 sq., Eur. H. F. 1245, Xen. Anab. 1. 7, 7, Eur. Or. 722 sq. (For other examples from Attic Greek, see Class. Rev. Vol. VI, pp. 93-5.) It was suggested that "the gradual obsolescence of the subjunctive which can be traced in Ionic and Attic Greek, in what Weber calls 'unvollständige Finalsätze' with  $\delta\pi\omega\varsigma$ , seems to have gone hand in hand with a similar obsolescence in the kindred relative final-clauses" (i.e. relative in the more restricted sense). In this process the finite construction of the rel. clause may have been influenced by the use of the fut. particip. to express purpose after verbs of motion, a usage so extensive in Ionic Greek that in Hdt. viii-ix, which, according to my examination, contain *not a single fut. rel. clause of purpose*, and no certain instance of the  $\omicron\nu\kappa \xi\chi\omega \delta, \tau\iota$  constr. with (so-called) final subjunct., we find the fut. part. in all 17 times."—"In such a sweeping away of the subjunctive constr. we must seek an explanation of a survival as certain as the  $\omicron\nu\kappa \xi\chi\omega \delta, \tau\iota$  ( $\delta$ ) constr. appears to be, examined from the point of view of historical syntax. It is here that Goodwin's remark is suggestive. If, instead of saying that the construction in question 'may be explained by the analogy of' the indirect deliberative, we say that it is to be explained from the essential nature of the subjunct., traced in its development in Homer, and found again, in perhaps still further development, in Attic Greek, as a survival, sometimes obscured and confused by the indirect deliberative, the similar form of which served to prevent it from sharing the fate of its companion relative clauses of purpose. If we put the case in this form (pointing out in our support the triple ambiguity of  $\xi\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$  and the ambiguity of  $\delta\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$ ), we shall, it seems to me, be as near the truth as we are likely to get in so subtle a matter."

[The writer did not make himself responsible for any particular theory of the original meaning of the Greek subjunctive. He does not, however, wish himself to be considered as favoring the putting on the same footing, though they may both for convenience' sake be classed as "final," such subjunctives as those which are discussed above, and the final subjunctive developed from the independent hortatory subjunctive. Cf. Eur. Suppl. 1232, with Soph. Antig. 1332 sq., 1184 sq.]

Remarks were made by Professors Ashmore and Hale, and in reply by Dr. Earle.

7. An Attempt to solve the Difficulties of Horace, Sat. I, 10, 21, with Notes on Related Questions, by Professor H. C. Elmer, of Cornell University.

*O seri studiorum! quine putetis difficile et mirum, Rhodio quod Pitholeonti contigit?*

This passage will be recognized as belonging to the satire in which Horace is discussing the merits of Lucilius. He has just suggested that perhaps the admirers of that author count it among his merits that he mingled Greek words with Latin. Horace then addresses himself to such critics with the words before us. The difficulty of the passage lies, of course, in the *quine*. It has been customary among grammarians and commentators to look upon this *qui* as the relative pronoun introducing a causal clause. But if *qui* is a relative, what is the meaning of the interrogative *ne*? This *ne* began to trouble grammarians at least as far back as

Priscian, who, manifestly in despair, calls it *coniunctio nec interrogatiua nec dubitativa sed confirmatiua* (Keil, p. 102, 1032 P). Of course no one would now accept such a theory. Another explanation, adopted by Orelli, Kiessling, and others, holds that *qui* and *ne* in some way make the clause at one and the same time both causal and interrogative, and that the passage means: "O you blockheads, who (i.e. since you) think — and can it be that you do think, etc.?" Wickham thinks *ne* merely adds a rhetorical emphasis — "what? when you think, etc.," but how he makes anything like sense out of such a rendering is itself a conundrum. Professor Greenough calls the passage "the despair of grammarians," but he suggests that *qui* may be indefinite, in which case it would mean "O you blockheads! can you have *any* idea, etc.?" But he has to admit that the expression would be a popular one, not appearing elsewhere in literature. Schütz seems to be about the only editor who has a view that he has given himself much trouble to defend. He thinks that *ne* really has nothing to do with the *qui*-clause, but that it is felt with the "*seri studiorum*," and that "*O seri studiorum, quine puetis*" really means "Are you blockheads, since you think, etc.?" Schütz adduces a long list of passages to support this view. Unfortunately, several of these presuppose as the true reading, one that is extremely doubtful. But let us admit them all and see how much testimony they give in his support. In the first place there is nothing in any of the passages to correspond with the interjection "O," which Schütz's explanation leaves without meaning. A few examples will give a perfectly fair idea of the character of these passages. Take, for instance, Plaut. Mil. 13. Artotrogus has just spoken of himself as a brave man. "Mars," he says, "would not dare to call himself so warlike as I." Pyrgopolinices, surprised at such a boast from such a man, replies: *Quemne ego seruavi in campis Gorgonidoniis*, etc. ("what, the man whom I saved, i.e. who could not save himself, etc. — is it about such a man that you use such extravagant language?"). Similar to this is Mil. 973 *Cupio hercle equidem, si illa uult*. Palaestrio thinks the word *uult* is not appropriate to the occasion, and he replies: *Quaene cupiatis* (Reading?) "one who longs for it — about her do you use such a feeble expression as *uult*?" Again take Most. 724: TRANIO. *Sed, Simo, ita nunc uentus nauem deseruit*. SIMO. *Quid est? quo modo?* TRANIO. *Pessumo*. SIMO. *Quaene subducta erat tuto in terra?* Simo has not understood the drift of Tranio's words, and he asks this question in hope of getting more light: "What, one that had been hauled ashore in safety?" All the passages cited by Schütz are similar to these, so far as the bearing of *ne* is concerned. The clause introduced by *ne* is, in each case, called forth by some remark that has just preceded, and the drift of which has not been fully understood; and the feeling is "the one who (thing which) is, or does, so and so — is that the one you mean?" The only circumstances under which our passage would be at all parallel with those cited by Schütz would be produced by supposing *O seri studiorum!* said by one person, and the *quine puetis* by another ("because you think, etc., — is that why he calls you *seri studiorum*?").

The only passage cited by any commentator that really favors the view that *qui* is a relative is one to be found in some editions of the Adelphoe of Terence (vs. 262), which Wickham, among others, calls to his support. Ctesipho asks Syrus where Aeschinus is. Syrus replies: "He's waiting for you at home. Why — what's the matter?" Ctesipho rejoins: "What's the matter? Why, it is by his

pains that I now live—the dear fellow! *quin omnia sibi post putavit esse prae meo commodo.*”

But the reading *quin* in this passage is more than doubtful. The only manuscript authority for the *quin* is C and P, in which the *n* has been crossed out. The Bembinus (A) has *n* added by a later hand, but it was originally wanting, and the weighty authority of this manuscript is therefore against the reading. None of the other manuscripts have any trace of the *n*. Bentley adopted this reading, but, with the exception of Spengel, none of the more recent editors of importance have followed him. Dziatzko, for instance, writes *qui quom omnia*. Fleckeisen, Umpfenbach, and Wagner write *qui ignominias sibi*, which has the authority of the Bembinus. This reading, too, offers an easy explanation of the *quin*, as, in hurried pronunciation, *qui ignominias sibi* might well have been understood as *quin omnia sibi*. It is probable that neither Bentley nor Spengel would have had the courage to write *quin* in this passage, if it had not been supposed that this use of *ne* was supported by our *quine puletis* of Horace. At any rate it will be seen that the probabilities are decidedly against the reading *quin* and, without that support, our passage, if the *qui* is to be explained as a relative, will stand quite unparalleled by any passage in any author.

It seems to me that this passage admits of a perfectly clear explanation. *Ne* is clearly interrogative; *qui* cannot be explained in connection with it as a relative, without forming anomalies for which there are no parallels. It must, therefore, be the interrogative adverb here used in the sense of “why?” Maclean and Ritter, and one or two others, have suggested taking it in the sense of “how?” but this creates a difficulty in the use of the mode of *puletis* (i.e. makes it equal to *putare potes*); and no one has pressed this view. I wish to urge an explanation akin to this which seems to me to solve all the difficulties. Horace and writers after him not infrequently append *ne* to words already interrogative in meaning, e.g. *uterne* (Sat. 2. 2. 107); *quone malo* (Sat. 2. 3. 295); *quantane* (Sat. 2. 3. 317). The question is, why, and under what circumstances do these writers append *ne* to interrogative words? The answer to this question will have an important bearing upon our passage, and I therefore wish to consider the question somewhat in detail. The motive for this is commonly supposed to lie in a wish to intensify the interrogative idea by a heaping up of interrogative signs. But there is no such thing as an intensified interrogation. One question cannot be more interrogative than another. One question may be more emotional than another, but that does not concern us here, as *ne* asks a question in a perfectly simple and colorless manner, and furthermore the phenomenon of which we are speaking happens to occur chiefly in questions asked by those not under the influence of any excitement, or other strong feeling. Why, then, is *ne* thus appended to words already interrogative? It should be noticed, as I think it has not been, that *ne* is appended to interrogative words only when those words are such as frequently have also *non*-interrogative meanings.<sup>1</sup> Of the words above

<sup>1</sup> Schmalz (Lat. Synt. § 158) seems to recognize *numne* in *de n. deor.* 1, 31, 88 and in *Lael.* 11, 36. But in the first of these passages *numne* may well be an error for *minime* (which some MSS. actually have), though it is true that *minime* would more easily come from *numne* than *numne* from *minime*. *Numne* in *Lael.* 11, 36 is still more doubtful. Hand (Tursellinus IV, 79) and Ritschl (Opusc. 2, 248) were probably right in denying the Latinity of this form. Ritschl's opinion is especially significant when we notice that, some fifteen years before this part of his *Opuscula* was published, he himself had written *numne* in several passages of Plautus, e.g. *Poen.* 5, 2, 119; *Trin.* 922.

cited, for instance, *uter* is often an indefinite relative = "whichever," and is sometimes used in the sense of "either of two"; *quo* = not only "which?" "what?," but also "any"; *quanta* is not only an interrogative = "how great?," but is also used as a correlative of *tantus*. It is never appended to words, for instance, like *cur*, that are always understood as soon as uttered. It seems clear then that *ne* is appended merely to avoid ambiguity — to show that in the particular instance in hand, the interrogative use is intended. On the supposition that this theory is correct, *quine* becomes perfectly intelligible: *qui puletis* would have been in danger of being mistaken for a causal relative clause. The *ne* is accordingly appended to indicate at the outset that we have the interrogative adverb.

It only remains now to examine the theory more closely and see how far the facts of the language will support it. It may be objected that this will then be the only instance of *ne* appended to the interrogative adverb *qui*. But so are *quone* and *quantane* the only instances (except one or two in Lucan, e.g. 7. 301) of *ne* appended to these interrogatives, and no one questions, or indeed can question, either of these instances. The only interrogative word to which *ne* is appended frequently enough to warrant any deduction from an examination of the instances is *uter*. It is to be regretted that our investigation is thus chiefly limited to a single word, but, even as it is, we shall be led to some pretty clear and, I think, satisfactory conclusions. We are at once struck by the fact that there is no certain instance of *ne* appended to *uter* (*utrum*<sup>1</sup>) before about the time of Horace. This fact throws a flood of light when we find that it was not till about the time of Horace that *uter* came to be freely used in a sense other than interrogative. Before that time its *non*-interrogative use was confined almost exclusively to its combination with *uolo* and *lubet* (*utrumuis*, *utrumlubet*, etc.). Excepting such combinations, there are, throughout the entire ante-Ciceronian period, — and I include here the inscriptions and the fragments of authors, — only five instances<sup>2</sup> of *uter* used in a *non*-interrogative sense. Outside of Plautus, the use does not occur at all in that period. It was still so rare that it was never felt to be necessary to distinguish the interrogative by the use of *ne*, and it seems never to have been done in that period. As soon, however, as we reach Cicero, and especially the later productions of Cicero, we find a very different state of things. *Uter* is now very common in a *non*-interrogative sense. It does not occur in this sense in any of his productions prior to 69 B.C., and there are only five instances earlier than 55 B.C. (still excepting, as I do throughout the paper, its combination with *uolo*). But after that date it becomes very common. With the help of one of my students, I have collected the following instances from Cicero: Sest. 42, 92; Pis. 12, 27; Phil. 13, 19, 40 (twice); Inv. 1, 29, 45; 1, 45, 83; Att. 1, 11, 1; Div. in Caec. 14, 45; Verr. 2, 2, 61, 150; 2, 3, 45, 106; 2, 3, 14, 35 (three times); N. D. 1, 25, 70; Div. 2, 68, 141; 2, 56, 116; 2, 29, 62; Part. Or. 36, 123. These eighteen instances have been obtained by an examination of only eleven of Cicero's productions. It did not seem necessary for my present purpose to carry the search further. These examples suffice to establish my point that, when Horace began to write, *uter*, in addition to its interrogative use, had come to be freely used as a relative = "whichever of the two." Horace himself has it

<sup>1</sup> Throughout this paper, I include the interrogative particle *utrum* in my statements regarding *uter*.

<sup>2</sup> Plautus: Stichus 723; Amphitruo 225; Menaechmi 189; Persa 341; Aulularia 319.



in a *non*-interrogative sense at least three times (Sat. 2, 3, 180; 2, 5, 28; Epist. 2, 2, 199), or nearly as many times as in the whole ante-Ciceronian period. After Horace, it is very common in such a sense, e.g. Livy 21, 18, 13; 2, 27, 5; 31, 32, 5; 36, 1, 9; 8, 10, 8, etc. Now, beginning with Horace (and his example was followed by later writers), we find *ne* frequently appended to *uter* and *utrum*. The inference seems clear — it was appended merely to label the word as interrogative. An examination of the several instances confirms our inference. Of the seven cases in Horace,<sup>1</sup> in which *ne* is appended to interrogative words, all but two of them are direct independent questions, where nothing has preceded that would necessarily suggest the interrogative character of the introductory word. In the other two cases, it would be most natural, though perhaps not absolutely necessary, to understand the word at once as an interrogative. In any case, the exceptions may be explained as an extension of the use. After the custom of appending *ne* had once been introduced, one should not be surprised to find the use overstepping its original bounds. Furthermore, in a good proportion of the cases in Horace where *ne* is not appended to *uter* (*utrum*), the *uter* (*utrum*) would naturally be felt at once as an interrogative, e.g. Sat. 1, 4, 16 *Uideamus uter plus scribere possit*; Epist. 2, 1, 55 *Ambigitur uter sit prior*; A. P. 470 *Nec satis adparet, cur uersus factilet, utrum minxerit in patrios cineres, an*, etc. The fact that this is not true in every case does not make against our theory, as it is always a matter of choice with an author whether he uses all possible means to make a word clear as soon as it is uttered or written, or whether he trusts the rest of the sentence to make it so.<sup>2</sup>

I would then explain *qui* as the interrogative adverb and translate: "O, you blockheads! Why should you think that, etc.," and would briefly summarize my positions as follows: (1) I can conceive of no other reason than the one I have indicated why an author should append *ne* to a word already interrogative. If the word would in any case be understood as interrogative, what possible motive could the writer have had in appending a colorless *ne*? (2) If *ne* is appended to avoid ambiguity, no more fitting place could be imagined than the present passage. As *cur* would not meet the metrical requirements, *quine* is used in its stead, the *ne* showing that *qui* is not the relative. (3) No other passage can be cited that favors taking *qui* with the *ne* appended as the relative. (4) I should translate "why should you think," instead of "how can you think," because the mode will then be strictly in accordance with Horace's usage elsewhere. Exact parallels will be found in Od. 3, 1, 46; 1, 47; Sat. 1, 1, 53; 4, 70; 2, 1, 41; A. P. 450, etc. On the other hand no clear parallels will be found in Horace, if indeed in any author, for *putetis* in the sense of *putare potes* in independent clauses. Such a use should be clearly distinguished from those in Od. 1, 6, 14 (for a key to this subjunctive, see Sat. 1, 9, 24 *quis possit* [instead of *potest*], "who would be able," surely not "who can be able,"); 13, 14; 24, 15; 29, 10; 4, 5, 25; Epod. 1, 15 (See Kiesling's note); 16, 17; and elsewhere. The *nescias an* of Od. 2, 4, 13, seems a nearer approach to this use, but even this might be taken as hortatory. "Feel sure that" (*nescio an* = "I feel pretty sure that"). This would be more in har-

<sup>1</sup> Sat. 2, 2, 107; 2, 3, 251; 2, 3, 295; 2, 3, 317; 2, 6, 73; Epod. 1, 7; Sat. 1, 10, 21.

<sup>2</sup> There is reason to think that even Cicero sometimes used *ne* to avoid ambiguity, though the use is commonly said to occur first in Horace. See manuscript evidence for *utrumne*, Cic. Inv. 1, 31, and for *utrine*, Verr. 2, 3, 83, 191.

mony with the following, *crede non illam tibi de scelestâ plebe dilectam*, than is the common interpretation (see Wickham's note). Horace, like other writers, expresses the *can* idea by the use of *posse*; e.g. Od. 3, 11, 13; 27, 58; Epod. 9, 14; Sat. 1, 3, 113; 4, 84; 4, 119; 8, 20; 10, 40; 10, 84; 2, 1, 79; 5, 34; 7, 80; 7, 104; Epist. 1, 1, 81. (5) No difficulty whatever is left by my interpretation. This will, to be sure, be the only instance known of *ne* appended to this particular interrogative; but so are *quone* and *quantane* the only instances (until Lucan) of *ne* appended to these words. No one questions either of these instances. Why should one question the *quine* of the present passage?

Remarks were made by Professors Hale, Ashmore, C. F. Smith, J. H. Wright, and Dr. F. G. Moore, and in reply by the author.

### 8. Etymological Notes, by Prof. Edwin W. Fay, of the University of Texas.

#### 1. The Treatment of Europ.-Armen. tr,°.

στέλλω, 'brail up,' 'tuck up': τελέθω, 'arise,' πέλομαι, 'revolve' (of years), ἔλλω, 'rise': τλάω, 'lift,' 'bear.'

su-stul-it, ab-stulit: tollo, 'lift up,' tulit, su(b)latus.

táratí, 'cross the sky': tulayāmi, 'weigh.'

tírás, 'through,' 'past,' 'past by,' 'leaving out' ('except?'), 'aside from,' 'in secret from,' 'cross-wise': trans, 'over,' 'beyond,' clam, 'in secret from.'

πλάω, \*beyond > \*more than > except.

πλάγιος (?), 'cross-wise.'

tírás + √ dhā = 'conquer,' 'overthrow,' 'conceal.'

clādes < \*clandsi-, 'overthrow,' clandestinus < clam + des + to + ino-, 'secret.'

πέλαγος, 'wave': taraṅga, 'wave,' πλάζομαι, 'cause to waver' > 'deceive,'

'wander about' (a concrete 'waver').

strbhís, táras: ἀστῆρ: stella: Armen. a-stl, 'star.'

πλειάδες: °triones, groups of 'stars.'

celer: taras-, 'swift.'

cel'us, 'elevated': Lith. kélti, 'raise,' kéltas, 'elevated.'

First the semasiological question was discussed. Sk. √ car and its congeners < I.-E. √ qel are seen to have no sense of 'rise,' and to connote only a leisurely, wandering motion. On the contrary, √ tr is shown to mean 'rise,' 'move rapidly.' The fundamental sense was that of motion in a vertical, or any but a horizontal plane,—motion, not along the flat earth, but over mountains, then over rivers, diagonal motion through the air, cross-wise motion in general.

After the semasiological question, the phonetic was discussed. The intrinsic difficulty of the initial group tl° was asserted with a reference to Meyer's Organs of Speech, p. 326.<sup>1</sup> The Latin and Lith. conversion of °tl° into °cl° was proof of it; so was the West-Germanic fl° < pl° < I.-E. tl°. Can we find evidence for a labial treatment in Greek? Aeolic βλήρ, 'bait,' was again connected with δέλεαρ, 'bait,' and with δόλος, not with the √ of βάλλω, I.-E. √ gel, according to Brugmann, nor with O. H. G. quērdar, 'bait,' according to Joh. Schmidt.

<sup>1</sup> In Appleton's Science Series.

Greek  $\tau\lambda\acute{\omega}$  is held not to prove the permanence of  $t^{\circ}$  in Greek, because  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\tau\tau\omicron\nu$ ,  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\varsigma < t^{\circ}l^{\circ}$  held  $\tau\lambda^{\circ}$  in place, and besides,  $\epsilon\tau\lambda\eta$ ,  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau\lambda\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu$  were capable of pronunciation as  $\epsilon\tau\text{-}\lambda\eta$ ,  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau\text{-}\lambda\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu$ .

The ptc.  $\circ\pi\lambda\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  shows the Grk. treatment of  $\pi\lambda^{\circ}$ . Out of a stage  $\pi\lambda^{\circ}$  was generated a series  $\pi\epsilon\lambda^{\circ}$ ,  $\pi\omicron\lambda^{\circ}$ .

$\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu$ , 'beyond,' 'except,'  $\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ , 'aslant,' 'crosswise,' and  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\gamma\omicron\varsigma$  ( $\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ ) are members of this series; so is  $\pi\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\delta\epsilon\varsigma$ , to be later described.

For Latin and Lithuanian we have a stage  $t^{\circ} > cl^{\circ}$ , whence  $cel^{\circ}$ ,  $col^{\circ}$ . Latin *clam*, 'secretly,' 'beyond' (Anglice 'it is beyond me'), shows this stage; *clādes*, 'overthrow' < *clans* + *di* = Sk.  $\circ dhi < \sqrt{dha}$ , of which examples are given. Sk. *tiras* +  $\sqrt{dhā}$ , 'to overthrow,' 'defeat.' *clandestinus* < *clam* +  $\circ des$  = Sk.  $\circ dhas < \sqrt{dhā}$  + *to* + *ino*. Of the *cel*-grade *celer*, 'swift,' = Sk. *taras*, 'swift' is a probable example; *celsus* can also be derived in this way, and so Lith. *kēlti*, *kēltas*.

Sk. *turāti* and the other forms in  $tur^{\circ}$  show the Sk. treatment of  $r_2$ ; i.e.  $tur^{\circ}$  is out of  $t\tau r_2$ .

Lat. *trans* calls for explanation. It was an isolated form, and not affected by a  $tel^{\circ}$ ,  $tol^{\circ}$  series; so the  $r_2$ , an  $r$  verging into Europ.-Armen.  $l$  was held in place by the  $t$ , not becoming *cl*. Lat.  $\circ triones$ , to be presently discussed, is another instance of such isolation.

The words for *star* meant originally 'riser,' and belonged to this root. They were held in place, because felt to be agent formations in  $\circ ter$ -. The derivative *stella* may show an  $l$  or derive from  $\circ ster$ - $la$ . Armen. *a-stλ* shows in  $\lambda$  a *tertium quid* neither  $r$  nor  $l$ . With the explanation of *a-stλ* here proposed, all the cases of  $\lambda$  in Armenian known to me are made to represent Europ.  $l$ , save in the combination  $\lambda b$  = Europ.  $\circ bhr$ , where labial influence of  $bh$  is to be suspected.

$\pi\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\delta\epsilon\varsigma$  shows the phonetic change of  $tr_2^{\circ}$  to  $\pi\lambda$ .  $\circ triones$  is its congener,  $tr_2$  being held in place for the reason given for *trans*.

The text contains further a treatment of the semasiology of various Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit prepositions belonging to the  $\sqrt{per}$ -, to 'pass,' and touches upon the relations of the Aryan and Europ.-Armen. branches in regard of  $r$  and  $l$ .

## 2. Splendidus and its congeners, with an explanation of $\sqrt{ddhi}$ in Sanskrit.

Sk. *prathitā*, 'broadened,' 'glorious,' 'famous': *splendidus*, 'glorious,' 'shining': O. Ir. *less*, 'light.'

*prāthas*, 'breadth':  $\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , 'width': *splendor*.

$\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\theta\omicron\varsigma$ , 'breadth': *plānus*, 'flat,' *lātus*, 'broad': Lith. *plēsti*, 'make broad,'

Sk. *pr̥thu*, 'broad':  $\pi\lambda\alpha\tau\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ , 'broad': Lith. *platūs*, 'broad.'

$\acute{\omega}\mu\omicron\text{-}\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\iota$ , 'shoulder-blades,' *lātus* 'side': O. Ir. *less*, 'hip,' 'haunch': O. Blg. *plašti*, 'mantle,' *plešte*, 'shoulder.'

In Lat. *splendidus* the transferred meaning of *prathita*, 'glorious,' 'famous,' appears not only in abstract but concrete signification = 'shining'; so in O. Ir. *less* = 'light.'

The  $\sqrt{\frac{p}{r}}\frac{p}{r}$  path belonged to the  $\frac{3}{4}\frac{1}{4}$  series.  $\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\theta\omicron\varsigma$  is not a hyperdorism, hyperaeolism (Cauer *Del*<sup>2</sup>. 437. 18), but Doric  $\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\theta\omicron\varsigma$  is a popular etymology from  $\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\rho\eta\varsigma$ . Lith. *plēsti* has suffered the same contamination. The notions of multitude and extent lie very near in language.

Lat. *splendidus* comes from  $\circ splenditus$  by progressive assimilation. The vowel color derives from  $\circ ré$ -*splendidus*. Sk. *prathita* was freely used in compo-

sition with prepositions. The large class of Lat. adjs. in *idus*, e.g. *candidus*, etc., show probably the same progressive assimilation.

Lat. *lātus*, 'broad,' is out of \**splātus*, cf. *liēn*: *σπλην*; *stlāta*, a 'ship of burden,' reported from Festus, is a derivative of  $\sqrt{\frac{1}{2}}erā$ ; so is Umbrian *Tlatie*, = *Latii*, 'of the productive, fertile land.'

O. Blg. *plešte*, 'shoulder,' is explained by a confusion of gradation. I.-E.  $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{4}$  > O. Blg.  $\frac{1}{4}$ ; I. E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  > O. Blg.  $\frac{1}{2}$ . The interchange was made over *o*.

An explanation of Sk. *vr̥ddhi* is to be found in the same way. I.-E. *an*, *ān*,  $\eta$  > Aryan *an*, *ān*,  $\eta$ ; I. E. *en*, *on*,  $\eta$  > Aryan *an*, *an*,  $\eta$ ; the differing terms *an*, *ān* in the two series were confused, mainly to the benefit of *ān*.

The examples of *vr̥ddhi* claimed for Latin have a simple explanation,  $\circ$ lēxi:  $\circ$ lego may have been patterned on *trāxi*: *traho*, or better still  $\circ$ lēxi is a contamination of a pf. *lēgi* and an aorist \**lēxi*. In the Lat. perfect the 'pure perfect' sense was contributed, say, by the aorist *lēxi*, which is the true perfect, so far as one exists, in Sanskrit, and the 'aorist' sense was contributed by the perf. *lēgi*. The motive for contamination was the use of aorist and perfect side by side in narration.

O. Blg. aor. *rēxū*: *reka*, 'speak,' may have been an analogy from proto-Baltic \**bada* > *boda*: \**bāsū* > *basū*. The opt. to *reka* is *rici* < \* $\sqrt{\frac{1}{2}}rois$ ; an opt. *žiri* <  $\sqrt{\frac{1}{2}}rois$  beside an aor. *žpēxū* would have led to an aor. *rēxū*, and the couplet *reka*, *rēxū* would lead to *nesa*: *nēsū*.

This discussion concludes with some remarks on the accent of the I.-E. perf. 1st and 3d sg. Out of *babhāja* 1st sg.: *babhāja* 3d sg. of the  $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{4}$  series, Sk. *rirēca* 1st sg. is interpreted as \**rirēica*, *rirēca* 3d sg. as \**riroica*. Primeval accent conditions were doubtless \*(*r*)*refoṣṣ* 1st sg., \**rfoice* 3d sg. In Grk. and Sk. the reduplicating syllable was felt to make the temporal distinction and was generalized, and so was the deflected grade extended from the 3d person throughout the singular. But in *vēda*: *foṭṭa* which had reached a present signification in the primeval speech the 1st pers. affected the 3d in regard of reduplication.

3. *πέρθω*, 'sack,' 'destroy,' 'kill': *perdo*, 'destroy': Sk.  $\sqrt{\frac{1}{2}}spr̥dh$ , 'strive in rivalry,' 'contend,' 'fight.'

The phonetic agreement in these words is perfect, once we recognize the group  $\frac{p^o}{sp^o}$ .

Sk. loc. plur. *pr̥tsu* < *pr̥dh*+*su*, 'in battles,' *spr̥dhi*, 'in battle,' *spr̥dhās*, 'enemies,' etc. Out of *pr̥tsū* an Aryan  $\sqrt{\frac{1}{2}}prt$  was won, seen in Sk. *pr̥tanā*, 'battle,' Zend,  $\sqrt{\frac{1}{2}}parəṭ$ , 1) 'fight,' 2) 'hasten on,' which senses both derive from a fundamental 'contend in rivalry' (— battle or racing).

4. Sk. *vi* +  $\sqrt{\frac{1}{2}}bh̥$ , 'move to and fro,' 'brandish,' *vi-bro*, 1) 'shake,' 'brandish,' 2) intrans. 'quiver,' 'tremble.'

The phonetics of the old connection of *vibro* with Sk.  $\sqrt{\frac{1}{2}}vip$ , 'tremble,' is faulty.  $\circ$ *brā-* (in *vibrare*): *fero*:  $\tau\lambda\acute{\alpha}$ :  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega$ . Lat. frequentatives all follow the 1st cong.; all others to be sure on supine stems.

5. *vi-nc-io*: *necto*, 'bind'; perf. *nexi*, in composition *vinxi*, cf. *reppuli* < \**reppuli*, *surpui* < \**sábrapui*. The force of *vi* in composition is comparable to Eng. 'up' in 'tie up.' Sk. *vi* in *vi-sanj*, 'hang up,' 'suspend': *sanj*, 'hang,' is not very different. *vincio*, *vincit* are formed from *vinxi* as *specio*: *spexi*.

6. vivo : vic-si, victus. Eng. 'quick' shows the guttural also; Sk. jagát, 'living creature;' Grk. γίγας, 'giant' (cf. Hom. μακρὰ βίβας) are redupl. pres. ptcs.: I.-E. √gem., i.e. ge(?)gnt. In Lat. a similar pr. ptc. would have given vivent. On the basis of the ptc. \*ge(?)gnt in early Latin a verb system was worked out with aor. \*ge(?)g+si > vig+si > vicsi. vivēnt-, 'moving,' 'living,' was contaminated with vivent, 'living' < I.-E. \*gīv-nt.

O. E. cwicu is a contaminated form out of \*cwīwu = Goth. qius, Lat. vivus, and \*cwicunð < I.-E. ge(?)gnt.

7. milia, 'one thousand': χίλια, 'a thousand': sa-hásr-am, 'one thousand;' milia < smilia < sm(h)flia < smghzr̥iio.

The two last etymologies have been printed in full in *Am. Jr. Phil.*, xiii, p. 226 fg.; cf. also xiii, no. 52.

Remarks were made by Dr. Hermann Collitz.

9. The Origin and Later History of the Clause of Purpose in Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit, by Professor William Gardner Hale, of the University of Chicago.

Weber, dealing (*Entwicklungsgeschichte der Absichtsaetse*) with the purpose-clauses with *ws*, thinks that he sufficiently accounts for the frequent presence of *dv* or *ke* by reminding us that *ws* is the near relative of *ds*, and that the *ds*-clause of purpose takes *dv* or *ke*. The explanation would suffice, if the phenomenon referred to were itself explained.

Delbrueck (*Synt. Forsch. I.*) regards the future force of the subjunctive as having been developed out of an earlier force in which it expressed the will of the speaker, the change being brought about through a fading away of the sharpness of the volitive feeling. The presence of *dv* or *ke* marks a given example as being future, not volitive. This canon he applies rigorously in the independent sentence; but when he comes to the relative clause of purpose, expressed regularly by *dv* or *ke* with the subjunctive, he treats it as a volitive construction, and accounts for the apparent anomaly on the ground that the force of the will is weakened in the dependent clause. But this is precisely the reason given before, in the independent sentence, for the passage of the volitive subjunctive into the subjunctive of futurity. His own doctrine, then, if fully carried out, should lead him to regard the mode in the Homeric relative clause of purpose as the subjunctive of futurity. Explained in this way, too, the clause would be brought into close relation to the Attic clause of purpose, which would then simply represent a slight step forward in the same direction of development; whereas on Delbrueck's theory a gulf is left between the two.

The mechanism of this anticipatory clause of purpose (as the clause with the subjunctive of futurity may be called) is a simple one. The main act is so chosen as to set in motion the subordinate act, which, under these circumstances, is counted upon (predicted). The result is a clear expression of adaptation of means to ends, as in the English sentence, "I will send you a plumber who will mend your pipes."

We pass now to our main question: What, so far as the evidence of Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin indicates, are the probabilities in regard to the original purpose-clause in the parent language?

The mode was presumably subjunctive, not indicative, for only Greek shows the future indicative as a regular construction in true purpose-clauses, — not Sanskrit or Latin, — and that, too, only in clauses with the relative pronoun.

Which subjunctive was this, the volitive or the anticipatory?

In Greek, the facts for the simple clause of purpose are as follows: The relative pronoun takes in Homer, with possibly one exception, the anticipatory subjunctive. Of the conjunctions, *ὅπου* takes the pure subjunctive (the subjunctive without *ἄν* or *κε*) that is, presumably, the volitive, in 171 out of 183 cases; *ἵνα*, the pure subjunctive, in 93 cases out of 94; on the other hand, *ὡς* has *ἄν* or *κε* in 29 cases, the pure subjunctive in 12; *ὅπως* occurs but once, and there pure (Weber, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses*, App. III.).

It will be seen that the great majority of these purpose-clauses with conjunctions in Homer are introduced by *ὅπου* and *ἵνα*. This makes it appear probable that the clauses with *ὡς* and *ὅπως* were of later origin. Further, in the presumably earlier type, 264 cases out of 277 are without *ἄν* or *κε*. The original mode of the clause of purpose with conjunctions in Greek would seem, then, to have been the volitive subjunctive, not the anticipatory.

What was the case with the clause of purpose introduced by the relative pronoun? It is unlikely that clauses of purpose with the relative pronoun and clauses of purpose with the relative conjunction took from the beginning different constructions. It is more probable that they began at the same point, and that the one afterwards experienced a development which the other shared but slightly. Did they begin together as volitive constructions, or did they begin together as anticipatory constructions?

We have already inferred that the clause with conjunctions was originally volitive. The same is therefore to be inferred for the relative. Further than this, looking at the general drift of things in Greek once more, one sees clearly enough that it is a current moving from the anticipatory constructions toward the future indicative constructions (cf. the Homeric subjunctive with *ἄν* in relative purpose-clauses with the Attic future indicative; the Homeric subjunctive with *ἄν* in *ὅπως*-clauses after verbs of planning with the Attic future indicative). The only place left in which to place the volitive construction in an historical scheme is therefore back of the anticipatory construction. We come again, then, to the probability that the volitive was the original construction in Greek. These considerations would make it likely also that the subjunctive clause in Sanskrit, which rarely gives any hint of an anticipatory force by passing over into the future indicative, is likewise volitive, and not anticipatory.

In Latin, the so-called subjunctive is a conglomerate form, now subjunctive, now optative. Is the mode in the construction of purpose a true subjunctive or an optative?

The potential optative would yield a clause of purpose corresponding closely to the English purpose-clause "which . . . may," "in order that . . . may." Such a potential clause of purpose does, to be sure, occur in Homer; but it is very rare (*ὡς* *κε* three times after primary tenses, *ἄν* *ἄν* twice). The simple relative —

the relative pronoun—likewise rarely (as in A 64) has the potential optative after a primary tense. Apparently, then, the optative construction is not an original one, but a variation on Greek soil. It is significant, too, that it occurs only with the particles which we regarded above as belonging to the later set of purpose-clauses, and with the relative clause, which likewise has already reached in Homer an unoriginal stage.

The potential being thus so very rare in Greek, it is probable that the Latin clause is either wholly, or at least almost wholly, of volitive origin and feeling. The sum total of the evidence, then, is that the mode of the clause of purpose in the parent speech, so far as we may generalize from Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin, was the volitive subjunctive.

This paper, which was discussed by Professor Gildersleeve, and in reply by Professor Hale, will appear in full in the *Classical Studies* of the University of Chicago.

10. The Equivalence of Metrical Feet, by Professor M. W. Humphreys, of the University of Virginia.

This paper is printed in full in the Transactions. Remarks were made by Professors Sproull, C. F. Smith, Hale, and R. E. Blackwell, and Drs. Scott, C. W. E. Miller, and Fay.

11. Note on the date of British Museum Papyrus, No. CXXXI (*Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία*), by Prof. J. H. Wright, of Harvard University.

Hitherto the date at which the MS. of the recently discovered Constitution of Athens was probably transcribed has been placed "at the end of the first century of our era or, at latest, the beginning of the second" (Kenyon). The writer aimed to give a reason for a date near 79 A.D., when the bailiff's accounts, which cover the *recto*, were written. He urged that these accounts had not lost their value at the time the transcript was made, and adduced two arguments in support of this supposition. (1) At the end of the first roll (*verso*), as originally written, stands a column and half of foreign matter (part of a commentary on Demosthenes's *Midiana*); the beginning of the accounts, with dates, etc., stands on the *recto* at this point. If the accounts had lost their value, this part of the papyrus, the writing upon which breaks the continuity of the *Πολιτεία*, would undoubtedly have been cut off. (2) When the transcript of the *Πολιτεία* reached this part of the roll, a wide strip of papyrus was thereupon attached to the roll at this point; on it the broad Col. 12 was written. Now the under side of this affixed strip is blank, and is so placed that when the part of the *Πολιτεία* containing the first twelve columns is rolled up (i.e. the first roll) with the *Πολιτεία* inside, it completely protects the outside, on which the accounts stand, from rubbing or other injury. This precaution would hardly have been taken if the accounts had lost their value. These considerations make a presumption in favor of a date near 79 A.D., rather than one in the second century, though they by no means establish the fact.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Association was called to order at 3.30 P.M.

Professor J. H. Wright, on behalf of the Auditing Committee, reported that the Committee had examined the accounts of the Treasurer, compared them with the vouchers, and found them correct. The Treasurer's report was accordingly accepted, and placed on file.

The reading of papers was then resumed.

12. The Limitation of the Imperative in the Attic Orators,<sup>1</sup> by Dr. C. W. E. Miller, of Johns Hopkins University.

An examination of the use of the imperative in the Attic orators, that was undertaken to ascertain the Greek feeling of the imperative, showed that the harsh tone attributed to the imperative by Hermogenes<sup>2</sup> gave rise to certain limitations as to the use of this mood. In the discussion of these limitations, the following order has been found convenient:—

I. Limitations as to *number* and *kind*.

- a. No. of imperatives in entire body of orators. Substitutes. Omission of imperative. Imperatives addressed to jury. Kinds of imperative. Mollifiers. Recurrence of same verb. Cumulation of imperative.
- b. Variations in the different departments of Greek oratory.
- c. Variations in authors.
- d. Variations in individual speeches.

II. As to *form*. Voice. Person, Positive and Negative. Tense.

III. As to *position*.

- a. Prooemium.
- b. Body of speech and epilogue.

I.

There are 2445 imperatives on the 2284 solid Teubner prose pages that remain of the Attic orators after deducting the fragments, the letters, all of Hyperides, and the Demosthenean collection of prooemia.<sup>3</sup> Now while 2445 is a large num-

<sup>1</sup> This paper has been printed in full in the American Journal of Philology, XIII, p. 399 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Spengel, Rh. Gr. II, p. 300, or Walz, III, p. 237: *σχήματα δὲ τραχέα μάλιστα μὲν τὰ προσηγορικά· οἷον τῆς Ἀριστογείτονος κρίσεως ἀναμνησθέντες ἐγκαλύψασθε . . . κῶλα δὲ τραχέα τὰ βραχύτερα* (hence also imperative forms) *καὶ ἃ μὴδὲ κῶλα, κόμματα δὲ καλεῖν ἄμεινον.*

<sup>3</sup> Of course *μή* with the aor. subj. is included in this count, and interjectional *φέρε* is excluded from it. It may also be well to state that all doubtful imperatives as well as all such as are found in quotations, in laws, and in bracketed portions of the text, have been excluded from the count, and in ascertaining the number of the pages, one-half line or over has been counted as one full line, and less than one-half line, and all laws, and all bracketed portions of the text, have been rejected.



ber, the bulk of the orators is likewise large, and about *one* imperative per page<sup>1</sup> does not after all seem an inordinately large proportion.

But to appreciate more thoroughly the limitation as to number, it must be borne in mind that the imperative might have been used much more frequently. For we find in the orators scores of instances of substitutes for the imperative, each instance representing the avoidance of an imperative and bringing about a diminution in the number of occurrences. It is true, the object sought to be attained by the use of the substitute is the same as in the case of the imperative, but the appearance of wishing to lord it over one (*ἐπιτάττειν*) is removed and an appeal is made to the person, either directly or indirectly, from the point of view of mercy, kindness, justice, fairness, propriety, utility, moral obligation, absolute necessity, etc. The following are some of the actually occurring substitutes: *δέομαι ὑμῶν, δεῖ, χρεή, ἄξιος* and *δίκαιος* used personally, *οφείλω, προσήκει, εἰκός, αἰτοῦμαι, ἀξιῶ, ἄξιον, δίκαιον, συμφέρεi, ἀσχερόν* w. inf.: *εἰκότως, δίκαιως ἄν* w. opt.; *ἔάν* with subjunctive or *εἰ* with optative; the verbal in *-τέον* and *ἔργον* with the genitive or the possessive pronoun followed by the infinitive.

To an entirely different sphere belong the use of the so-called imperative question and the imperative use of *ὅπως* with the future indicative. These are not mollifying substitutes for the imperative. *ὅπως* with the future indicative is undoubtedly colloquial, as the statistics given by Weber, *Entwicklungsgeschichte der Absichtssätze*, II, p. 123, plainly show, and it has no extended use in oratory. The imperative question, on the other hand, is used with some degree of freedom, but only by the later Attic orators, especially Dinarchus. Its tone varies all the way from mild astonishment to utter impatience and intense disgust, though Hermogenes, Walz, III, p. 237, who is probably not thinking of any but the harshest uses of this question, considers it second only to the imperative in degree of harshness. For the statistics of its use in the orators, see A. J. P. XIII, p. 404.

It was shown above that the number of the imperatives in the orators was considerably reduced by the use of mollifying substitutes, and from this fact alone it would appear highly probable that in many cases the imperative was simply omitted without being replaced by a substitute. But that such was the case is proved conclusively by the limitations as to the use of the actually occurring imperatives, as described in the following pages.

Before, however, passing on to the consideration of these limitations, it will be necessary, first of all, to distinguish between the imperatives addressed to the clerk of the court, the witnesses, the adversary, etc., and the imperatives addressed to the jury, etc. It is perfectly evident that the imperatives addressed to the clerk of the court, etc., do not enter prominently into the discussion. The clerk is the servant of the court, and there can be no harshness in addressing him in the imperative. So, likewise, an *ἀνάβηθι* or *ἀνάβητε* addressed to the witness or witnesses is unobjectionable, and the same may be said of the imperatives directed to the adversary, for the adversary seems to have been a perfectly legitimate object upon which to vent one's wrath. Not so with the person or persons to whom the oration is addressed. It is they, above all, whose feelings must be consulted, and so it is only the imperatives addressed to them that are of primary

<sup>1</sup> A comparison with Homer shows that in the first six books of the Iliad the number of imperatives is relatively about twice as great as in the orators.

importance in this discussion. Now of these imperatives, which, for the sake of convenience, have here been styled *effective imperatives*, there are only 1311.

In judging of the significance of this number, we must first of all bear in mind that not all imperatives are of the same degree of harshness. It may be read in every grammar that the imperative may be used to express a command, an exhortation, or an entreaty. Examples of the harshest of these classes are not found among the effective imperatives. Of the hortative, symbouleutic, and paraenetic imperatives, which constitute the second of the above-mentioned classes, we shall speak below. Suffice it for the present to say that the greater number of the effective imperatives in the orators belong to this class and that they vary in harshness according to the circumstances of the case. But a large number of the imperatives belong to the class of entreaty. When the imperative is used in an entreaty, it has, of course, lost almost all harshness of tone. Moreover, two or more of such imperatives are frequently used together, and even these are generally accompanied by some mollifying expression, so that the short, harsh colon that is characteristic of the imperative is avoided.

Though the tone of the delivery would as a general rule be sufficient to indicate the tone of the imperative, yet for fear that a mistake might be made as to the true tone of the imperative, such strong mollifying expressions as *δέομαι*, *ικετεύω*, *ἀντιβολῶ*, or a combination of these words, are sometimes used, not to say anything of the frequent use of the phrase *ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι (δικασταί)*, which in connection with the imperative, has a certain mollifying effect upon the tone of the imperative. These mollifying expressions are not restricted to any of the common forms of the imperative, but they occur with the aorist and present, positive and negative. For examples, see A. J. P., l.c., p. 406.

Another point that is to be noted in this connection is the frequency with which many of the imperative forms are repeated. Constant recurrence would have a tendency to blunt the feeling of harshness on the part of the hearer. Especially noteworthy in this respect is the group of imperatives of the verbs *σκοπεῖν*, *σκέψασθαι*, *ἐνθυμείσθαι*, and *λογίζεσθαι*. If we add to these weakest of hortative imperatives such closely related words as the imperatives of *θεωρεῖν*, *θεᾶσθαι*, *δρᾶν*, *νομίσειν*, *οἰεσθαι*, *ἡγεῖσθαι*, and a few others, we have disposed of about one-half of all the effective imperatives.

Before going on to the discussion of the variations in the use of the imperative in the different departments of Greek oratory, let us notice briefly two of its uses that seem to be a deliberate seeking after the imperative rather than an avoidance of it. The first use is the repetition of the same imperative by anadiplosis. The use of the imperative by anadiplosis would be governed by the general laws of anadiplosis. The tone is that of great excitement, extreme passion, or deep pathos. Hence there is little occasion for this use of the imperative in the orators. For the examples, see A. J. P., l.c., p. 407.

Essentially different is the repetition of *λέγε* in such passages as Dem. 18, 37 *δτι δ' οὔτω ταῦτ' ἔχει, λέγε μοι τό τε τοῦ Καλλισθέου ψήφισμα καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου ἐξ ὧν ἀμφοτέρων ἀπαντ' ἔσται φανερά. λέγε*. In this and similar cases the order to state the decree, law, etc., is issued to the clerk, but instead of allowing him to act in obedience to the order at once, the speaker goes on talking at greater or less length. Meanwhile the clerk is naturally waiting for the signal to start, which is eventually given by the *λέγε*. Examples of this anaphoric

use of *λέγε* are common enough in Demosthenes, but none have been noted in the other orators, excepting Aeschines 2, 61, where *λέγε* resumes a preceding *παραγγῶθι*, and Din. 1, 52, where *λέγε* resumes *λαβέ*. It must, however, be borne in mind that in the earliest five Attic orators, there is only a trace of the imperative form *λέγε*. There is a similar, but less common, anaphoric use of *ἀπάγγωθι* and of *ἀναγίγνωσκε*, and this is not confined to Demosthenes. But here a future more commonly precedes, as in Isae. 3, 53 *ἀναγνώσεται* — *ἀναγίγνωσκε*; less commonly the imperative, as in Isae. 3, 15 *ἀπάγγωθι* — *ἀναγίγνωσκε*. For further examples of the uses treated of in this section, see A. J. P., l.c., p. 408.

#### δ. VARIATIONS IN THE DEPARTMENTS.

Of the three great departments of Greek oratory, the epideictic is represented chiefly by Isocrates. On purely epideictic soil there is but little room for the imperative. The Greek eulogy, or its counterpart, the invective, usually remains true to its name. While there was every temptation for exhortation or for administering a bit of friendly advice, yet the narration of glorious deeds, the recounting of excellent qualities, formed the principal object of the encomium, and the paraenetic part, if not entirely wanting, receives but little space, the advice being given in an indirect way.

But the epideictic speech may be paraenetic or symbouleutic, and in such cases we may be at a loss as to how to classify. So the first eight speeches of Isocrates have all of them an epideictic stamp, and yet they are plainly paraenetic and symbouleutic. So the *ἐρωτικός* of Ps.-Dem. is largely paraenetic. We of course expect to find imperatives in a speech the main object of which is to give advice — a small number if the advice is given on one or two points only, a large number if a line of conduct is to be laid down. Accordingly, we find a very large number of imperatives in the first three speeches of Isocrates. But Isocrates even here betrays his gentlemanly spirit, his good judgment, and his refined taste for elegant expression by many a skilful evasion of an otherwise legitimate imperative.

For a study of the imperative in the purely symbouleutic speeches, Demosthenes is about the only orator to whom we can turn. The imperative, as we have seen in the previous section, has a perfectly legitimate place in the symbouleutic speech. The very name points to the imperative. But it must be remembered that public orators are really self-constituted advisers, and their own personal interest, as well as the public welfare, would make them desirous of having their advice meet with favor. So a certain amount of caution must be exercised as to the way in which the advice is offered, and, as a matter of fact, there are only 44 imperatives addressed to the jury, in every 100 pages of this kind of Demosthenean speech.

The third great class, that of the *λόγοι δικανικοί*, remains. Here we must again divide into two classes, the public and the private. In the private orations the number of imperatives is very much below the average for all the orators, whereas in the public speeches the number is almost as much above. In the latter class the avowed interest of the speaker in the public welfare made the imperative excusable, and frequently the length of the speech gave ample time for gradually working upon the feelings of the audience, and when their passion was fully aroused, the orator might give vent to his. Cf. Cic. Orat. § 26 on Dem. 18. For a table showing in detail the variations in the use of the imperative in the different departments, see A. J. P., l.c., p. 409.

## c. VARIATIONS IN THE AUTHORS.

It is only after the above study of the relative frequency of the imperative in the different departments that we can thoroughly understand the figures for the different authors. Of course, other things, as for instance the average length of the orations, must also be taken into consideration, notably in the case of Lysias, but the department always remains a matter of paramount importance. To select two or three striking examples, Lysias is surpassed by only Aeschines and Dinarchus in the percentage of effective imperatives, but the vast bulk of Lysias consists of public judicial speeches, and in this department Lysias' figures are as low as those of Demosthenes. Isaeus' percentage, on the other hand, is lower than that of any other orator, and this is accounted for chiefly by the fact that all his speeches are private and of the class called *κληρικολ*. Lastly, nothing else than the large number of imperatives in the paraenetic speeches will explain Isocrates' 53 imperatives per 100 pages — a percentage that is the same as that of Lycurgus, and Lycurgus surely was not afraid of the imperative. The number of the imperatives in the epideictic and in the symbouleutic speeches of Isocrates is a minimum, and in the case of the private judicial speeches Isocrates uses fewer imperatives than any of the other orators. A table showing the variations for all the orators is given A. J. P., l.c., p. 413.

## d. VARIATIONS IN INDIVIDUAL SPEECHES.

The variations in the number of the imperatives of the individual speeches of the same author, or of the same department, depend on a variety of circumstances, and no definite rules can be laid down. In general it may be said that timidity is unfavorable to the use of the imperative, and so we might expect to find more imperatives used by the accuser than by the defendant. Furthermore, calmness is hardly compatible with the extensive use of the imperative, but a passionate or a pathetic speech would naturally abound in imperatives. Moreover, an awkward and inexperienced speaker might in his *naïveté* use imperatives where a more experienced and clever speaker would avoid them; and, lastly, a short speech would in proportion contain more imperatives than a long one of the same kind. A table giving the lengths and the number of imperatives per 100 pages of all the orations of the Attic orators, excluding Hyperides, may be found A. J. P., l.c., p. 415.

## II.

In the treatment of the limitation of the imperative in regard to form, very little need be said about voice and person. The imperative passive occurs but rarely, and then chiefly in the third person. There are only two or three instances of real passives of the second plural addressed to the judges.

As far as person is concerned, it is to be remarked that there are only 237 instances of the third person, and of these only a small number refer to the jury. In regard to the tone of imperatives of the third person, it would probably be safe to say that while, as a rule, such imperatives, because less direct, are less harsh than those of the second person, yet they were not used as mollifying substitutes.

Of very much greater importance is the question of the tone of the negative. The whole number of imperatives in the orators, as pointed out above, is 2445.

Of these the number of negatives is about 384, or a little less than 16 per cent. Of the effective imperatives, the number of negatives is 21 per cent. That this small proportion of prohibitions is not due to any greater inherent harshness of the negative command as compared with the positive, but simply to the fact that there was no occasion to use the negative more frequently, would appear from the use of the negative imperative in other authors (see A. J. P., l.c., p. 416 f.) and from the following considerations.<sup>1</sup> To the Greek mind there seems to have been no difference between command and prohibition. "τὸ γὰρ κελεύσαι," says Protagoras, according to Aristotle, Poet., § 19, "ποιεῖν τι ἢ μὴ ἐπιταξίς ἐστίν." In the same way, there is no difference to our mind. Whatever distinction is made is a logical one, and not one of tone. A positive imperative may, according to circumstances, be more harsh or less harsh than a negative imperative. To measure the effect of an imperative, three things must be taken into consideration, — the person who issues the command, the person to whom the command is directed, and the thing commanded. In the case of the person commanding, the most important item is the spirit that prompted the use of the imperative. If the tone was an imperious one, the imperative, whether positive or negative, meant that the command was to be executed simply because the master (would-be or real) so ordered it, and, as far as the person using it is concerned, is a harsh imperative. If the tone is simply hortative, the imperative is less harsh, and if suppliant entreaty characterizes the imperative, all harshness must be lost, so far as the speaker is concerned. In the case of the person to whom the command is issued, the most important point is again the spirit with which he receives the command. If his be a mind that will endure no imposition, if he be self-willed or of a rebellious spirit, or if he be a brute annoyed by even the most pitiful entreaty, every form of the imperative will be harsh. Lastly, other things being equal, a thing that is easy to do will be less disagreeable, if commanded, than a thing that is hard to do. The above remarks may be summed up as follows: *Other things being equal, the negative is not harsher than the positive, and other things being unequal, the negative may be harsher than the positive, or the positive harsher than the negative.* As far as the harshness of the form, apart from its meaning, is concerned, it seems that the negative, because less short, would be less harsh than the positive.

Intimately connected with the consideration of the negative is that of the use of the tenses. The rule for prohibitions in Attic Greek is to use *μὴ* with the present imperative, or *μὴ* with the aorist subjunctive, though, exceptionally, *μὴ* with the third person of the aorist imperative is found. This at once leads to the question as to why this curious distinction is made in the construction of positive and negative. Various answers have been given, but Delbrück seems to be about the only one that has attacked the problem from the historical side, and his results have been generally adopted. Now the writer agrees with Delbrück, Syntakt. Forsch. IV, p. 120, in thinking that the origin of *μὴ* with the aorist subjunctive is historical and not psychological, but he differs with him as to the manner of accounting for it on this basis. For a fuller discussion of this question, see A. J. P., l.c., p. 418 ff. Only the barest outlines can be given here. In the first place, it is there shown that the aorist imperative is certainly as old as the present imperative and probably anterior to it, so that the explanation that *μὴ* had early found its way

<sup>1</sup> See, however, Professor Humphreys' article on Negative Commands in Greek, Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc., 1876, p. 46 ff.

into the present imperative and that in the absence of the aorist *imperative*, it had to be combined with the aorist *subjunctive* to satisfy the demand for an aorist form of prohibition, cannot stand. Secondly, it is shown that the Greek  $\mu\eta$  with the aorist subjunctive must be traced back to the use of  $m\acute{a}$  with the aorist injunctive; for in spite of the loss of all the other uses of the injunctive and the virtually complete disappearance of the subjunctive, classical Sanskrit retained its  $m\acute{a}$  with the aorist injunctive, whereas the Greek merged the injunctive and the subjunctive, and  $m\acute{a}$  with the aorist injunctive became  $\mu\eta$  with the aorist subjunctive. In the third place, the rareness of  $\mu\eta$  with the aorist imperative is explained by the fact that originally the imperative was confined to the expression of positive commands, — a point that is also used by Delbrück, l.c., to explain the matter under consideration, — while  $m\acute{a}$  was confined to the injunctive. But the use of  $m\acute{a}$  ( $\mu\eta$ ) was gradually extended, and so this negation is found in conjunction with the imperative and in some other constructions. As for Greek,  $\mu\eta$  acquired full sway over the present and the perfect imperative, but so tenacious of life was  $m\acute{a}$  with the aorist injunctive and so vigorous was its growth on Greek soil in the form of  $\mu\eta$  with the aorist subjunctive, that by the side of it,  $\mu\eta$  with the aorist imperative could lead but a miserable existence.

Though the above theory of the development of  $\mu\eta$  with the aorist subjunctive accounts for this construction on a historical basis, yet it does not in the least militate against the greater mildness of  $\mu\eta$  with the aorist *subjunctive* as compared with other forms of the imperative. The fact that  $\mu\eta$  with the aorist subjunctive is a subjunctive construction, and the fact that it is generally a longer form than the present or the aorist imperative, would make it by nature a milder form than those imperative forms. But how far this natural mildness asserted itself in the practical needs the construction had to meet, is another question.  $\mu\eta$  with the second person of the aorist imperative does not exist in the orators, and the few instances of  $\mu\eta$  with the third person of the aorist imperative may, perhaps, most of them, be regarded as attempts at a more forcible mode of expression; but as for the relative harshness of  $\mu\eta$  with the present imperative and  $\mu\eta$  with the aorist subjunctive, the views of good authorities are so divergent that there is ample excuse for not attempting to give the exact degree of difference of tone between these two forms.

The difference of tone between the present imperative positive and the aorist positive is likewise not subject to any general rule, but is rather a matter of special conditions. It is true, there can be no doubt that some aorist forms are more disagreeable in sound than some presents, and the aoristic notion might make the aorist in some cases a more vigorous imperative than the present. But, on the other hand, there are some presents of a more disagreeable sound than the corresponding aorists; the present may by its weight constitute a more vigorous imperative than the aorist; and the aorist seems to have been the favorite form in prayers.<sup>1</sup> Attention has already been called to the fact that all the four imperative forms — to wit, the present imperative, positive and negative, the aorist imperative positive, and  $\mu\eta$  with the aorist subjunctive — are found as imperatives of entreaty, and are found so marked by the use of  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  or some similar expression. The relations of the tenses in mass also do not seem to indicate any greater harshness of one form as compared with the other. For, in the orators, *the rela-*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gildersleeve, Justin Martyr, p. 137.

*tive proportion of present and aorist is the same for positive and negative commands* (the word command being used to include exhortations and entreaties), and this proportion holds good not only for the whole number of imperative forms, but also for the effective imperatives. For the statistics in detail, see A. J. P., l.c., p. 425 ff.

## III.

In the discussion of the limitation of the position of the imperative in the speech, the prooemium is the part of the oration that first comes up for consideration. The three great objects of the prooemium are summed up in the short sentence *ἔργον προοιμιῶν εὖνοια πρόσεξις εὐμάθεια*,<sup>1</sup> and of these the securing of the good-will is justly put first. There may be cases in which the good-will of the auditors may be a matter of no serious moment to the speaker, but in the vast majority of the orations that have come down to us from classical antiquity, it formed a matter of considerable importance, and sometimes of vital importance, and it is needless to say that to the rhetorical artist it must ever be an object of concern to make a good impression at the outset. Hence, while *τραχυτήs* may sometimes be a convenient means of producing *πρόσεξις*, and while it may occasionally be a short road to *εὐμάθεια*, yet in general everything harsh must be avoided at the beginning of the speech. That this was the feeling of the ancient speech-writers themselves and not simply a speculation of the rhetoricians is clearly proved by Demosthenes. In the celebrated prooemium of the *de corona*, the orator distinctly states that he wishes to say nothing harsh at the beginning of the speech — *οὐ βούλομαι δυσχερὲς εἰπεῖν οὐδὲν ἀρχόμενος τοῦ λόγου* are his words. If it be true, then, that, as a rule, a good prooemium should be characterized by the absence of harshness, it would follow that theoretically, at least, the imperative ought, as a rule, to be excluded from the prooemium. An investigation of the extant prooemia of the Attic orators shows that the theory is borne out by the facts. For of the 209 prooemia<sup>2</sup> examined, only 35,<sup>3</sup> or about 17 per cent., contain imperatives. The 174 prooemia that contain no imperatives abound in mollifying substitutes, thus showing that the absence of the imperative is not due to the fact that there was no occasion for its use, but to the fact that it was avoided on account of its harshness of tone and form. One of the more common substitutes is the expression *δέομαι* or *αἰτροῦμαι* with the infinitive. As this is a substitute for the imperative of entreaty, the question at once arises as to why even the imperative of entreaty, the mildest kind of the imperative, should as a rule be excluded from the prooemium.

The whole matter becomes clear by considering it from a psychological point of view. The imperative, as has been pointed out above, may be used to express all manner of desire from the most suppliant entreaty to the most tyrannical command, but it is evident that the imperative, as such, when not attended by a mollifying expression, or when the mental attitude of the person using it is not known, must be harsh. Hence the orator would display very little tact if he were to use even what was intended as a *mild* imperative, at the beginning of the speech, for the audience knows nothing as yet of the mental attitude of the speaker, and the speaker does not know how his hearers feel toward him. They

<sup>1</sup> Anon. in Sp., Rh. Gr. I, p. 321.

<sup>2</sup> See A. J. P., l.c., p. 427, for the details.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 429 ff.

may be perfectly disinterested or positively prejudiced against him, and it would be but an act of prudence on his part to assume that they would be unprepared for a form that was capable of such harsh interpretation. The case is of course different when the orator and the audience are well acquainted and a matter affecting the welfare of the hearers is to be discussed. A well-known patriot might on such an occasion indulge in an imperative in the prooemium without giving offence, but even here, if the urgency of the case did not demand it as in the military harangues of Demosthenes at Pylos (Thuc. 4, 10) and Brasidas at Amphipolis (Thuc. 5, 9), he would hardly be guilty of using it at the very beginning, and as a matter of fact, if the 35 exceptional prooemia referred to above be examined in this respect, it will be found that only three speeches, viz. Isoc. 5, Dem. 23, and Ps.-Dem. 49, begin with an imperative or rather with a prohibitive. Of these three speeches, Isoc. 5 is in reality a long letter, and the prohibitive is not an uncommon beginning for letters.<sup>1</sup> In Dem. 23 *μηδεις υμων νομιση* reflects the inexperience of the speaker Euthycles, and in Ps.-Dem. 49, as well as in the other two speeches, the first object is to remove the strong prejudice existing in the minds of the audience.

With reference to the theory of the imperative in the body of the speech and in the epilogue, a few remarks will suffice. By the exercise of good judgment at the beginning of the speech, the orator will have secured the attention and the goodwill of the audience. At this stage, an *ακουσατε*, or an *εθθυμεισθε*, or a similar imperative may be used without offence. A skilful narrative may win for the speaker the full sympathy of the hearers, and he may multiply his *σκεψασθε*'s etc., and when in the course of his arguments he has shown the justice of his cause and has kindled the wrath of the jury, he may indulge in one or more vigorous hortative imperatives, urging the jury to mete out the deserved punishment, or his imperatives may assume the milder form of a pathetic appeal for either mercy or revenge.

It follows from what has been said in the previous section, that the imperatives of such verbs as *εθθυμεισθαι*, *σκοπειν*, *σκεψασθαι*, *θεωρειν*, etc., are used principally in the argumentative parts of the speech, and the more effective imperatives are used in exhortations and appeals. Appeals and exhortations may be scattered throughout a long speech, but the place for which they are specially adapted is the epilogue. Hence the epilogue is the proper home of the imperative. Of course, there is a great deal of variation even here, for examples of which see I. c., p. 433.

With reference to the point from which this whole discussion started — the Greek feeling of the imperative — it may not be amiss, at the close of the investigation, to consider briefly the Protagorean criticism of Homer, referred to by Aristotle, Poet. § 19. Unfortunately, a full account of the reasons that called forth this criticism is not given. All we know is that, according to Aristotle, I. c., Protagoras found fault with the *μηγιν δειδε* of the first verse of the Iliad, on the ground that while Homer was laboring under the impression that he was praying to the Muse, he was in reality issuing a command. Now two ways of accounting for this criticism have been suggested. According to such men as F. A. Wolf, Susemihl, Bernhardt, and Lersch, Protagoras had just discovered the fact that the form that is grammatically termed the imperative is the proper form to use when a command

<sup>1</sup> See A. J. P., I. c., p. 428.



is to be expressed, and that the optative of the grammars is the proper form to use for the expression of a wish, but had overlooked the fact that the imperative might also express an entreaty. According to the other view, which credits the distinguished sophist with a little more sense — for it is to be supposed that Protagoras knew enough Greek to be aware of the fact that the imperative may be used in entreaties — Protagoras' division of all speech into *εὐχωλή*, *ἐρώτησις*, *ἀπόκρισις*, and *ἐπιτολή*, is not a grammatical division, and Homer is blamed simply for *beginning* with an imperative. This seems to be the view of Düntzer and Spengel. Now it may perhaps never be possible to ascertain the real facts of the case, but the second explanation, when viewed in the light of the rule of Greek oratory to exclude the imperative from the beginning of the speech, certainly comes nearer the truth. Protagoras was more or less of a rhetorician. Why not then, according to the view suggested by Professor Gildersleeve, A. J. P. XIII, p. 399 f., foot-note, give Protagoras the benefit of the doubt, and look upon his criticism as proceeding from an oratorical or a rhetorical point of view? This certainly is the most satisfactory solution of the problem, and until valid proofs to the contrary are offered, it may be safe to maintain that to the mind of Protagoras, the terms *εὐχωλή* and *ἐπιτολή* are not synonymous with the later technical terms *εὐκτική* and *προστακτική*. The *εὐχωλή*, and the *ἐπιτολή* are determined by the sense, and not by the form. It is Homer's rhetoric that is criticised, not his grammar.

In conclusion, the results of our study of the limitation of the imperative in the Attic orators may be summed up as follows: It may be roughly said that there are three kinds of imperatives, — imperatives expressing a command, hortative imperatives, and imperatives of entreaty. Of these three classes, the first, owing to its unmitigated harshness, is not represented among the number of the effective imperatives, whilst the use of the imperatives of the second class and even of the third, which is almost free from harshness, is permitted only under certain restrictions.

So far as the use of the positive and the negative, and so far as the use of the tenses is concerned, the greater harshness, whether real or imaginary, of one form as compared with another, seems to have given rise to no rhetorical limitations. For, on the one hand, the small number of prohibitions is due to the lack of occasion to use these forms more frequently, and on the other hand, not only is the proportion of aorist and present the same for commands and prohibitions, but *μή* with the aorist subjunctive, which is by nature adapted for the expression of a mild imperative, occurs less frequently than *μή* with the present imperative. As for the origin of *μή* with the aorist subjunctive, the writer agrees with Delbrück in thinking that it is not psychological but historical, though he differs with him as to the manner of accounting for it on this basis. According to the writer's view, this peculiar prohibitive expression must be traced back to the use of *μά* with the aorist injunctive.

Though there are no limitations as to the form of the imperative, the other limitations as to its use are all the more strongly marked. In the first place, the numbers of the imperative are considerably reduced by the use of mollifying substitutes, even the imperative of entreaty being frequently replaced by *δέομαι* with the infinitive or some similar expression. In the second place, the constant recurrence of imperative forms of the same verb, and the varying usage of the departments, and of the authors, and of the individual speeches, show that the

imperative, when used, is used largely under stress of circumstances, and even then it is frequently attended by some unmistakable mollifying expression. Lastly, the distribution of the imperative in the speech was made in strict accordance with the views of the ancients as to the functions of the different parts of the oration. For the humble tone of the prooemium is marked by the complete absence of the imperative, the calm reflection of the argumentative parts is pictured by the mild hortative forms *ἐνθυμείσθε, σκοπέετε*, and the like, and the passion or the pathos of the epilogue is marked by the presence of one or more vigorous hortative imperatives or by the use of one or more imperatives of entreaty.<sup>1</sup> In fine, the whole investigation would appear to be a complete vindication of the views of the ancient rhetoricians. It justifies the doctrine of Hermogenes as to the harsh tone of the imperative and makes Protagoras' well-known criticism of Homer at least comprehensible.

Remarks were made by Professors March, Hale, and Fay and Mr. Holmes, and by Dr. Miller in reply.

13. Semitic Words in Greek and Latin, by Dr. W. Muss-Arnolt, of Johns Hopkins University.

In the absence of the author this paper was read by title only. It is printed in full in the Transactions.

14. Modal and Temporal Significance in the Latin *Oratio Obliqua*, by Dr. R. S. Radford, of the University of Virginia.

The paper, of which no abstract has been furnished by its author, was discussed with considerable interest by Professors Hale, Humphreys, Ashmore, and Gildersleeve, and by the author in reply. Before the discussion was concluded, it was found that the hour for the excursion to Monticello had arrived. The Association thereupon adjourned, after receiving from the Local Committee an invitation to visit the University Observatory at 8.10 P.M.

#### EVENING SESSION.

The Association was called to order at 8.30 P.M., and the discussion of Dr. Radford's paper was concluded.

15. The Limits of Asseverative Effect, by Dr. R. S. Radford, of the University of Virginia.

No abstract of this paper has been received.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Walz, Rh. Gr. VII, 1, p. 33 ἔργον ῥήτορος, ὡς φησι Θεοδίκτης, προοιμιάσασθαι πρὸς εὐνοίαν, διηγῆσασθαι πρὸς πιθανότητα, πιστώσασθαι πρὸς πειθῶ, ἐπιλογίσασθαι πρὸς ὀργὴν ἢ ἔλεον.

## 16. The Recent Emergence of a Preterit-Present in English, by Charles P. G. Scott, Esq., of New York.

A preterit present is a verb in the preterit form, with a present meaning: a verb of which the past form, preterit or perfect, originally expressing a past act or state, has cum to express merely the present result, the developed consequence, of the past act or state. Such verbs have a considerable range in Anglo-Saxon and the other old Teutonic tongues, a range much restricted in modern speech.

The Anglo-Saxon preterits present, called by Professor March "praeteritive presents" (*A. S. Gram.* p. 212), with their modern forms, if surviving, are—1 *mæg*, MAY, 2 *be-neah*, 3 *an*, *on*, OWN, 4 *can*, CAN, 5 *geman*, 6 *seal*, SHALL, 7 *dear*, DARE, 8 *þearf*, 9 *āh* (*āhte*), OWE (OUGHT), 10 *wāt*, WOT, 11 *dēak* (*dugan*), DOW, DO<sup>2</sup>, 12 *mōt* (*mōste*), MOTE (MUST). Typical examples showing the development of a present meaning out of a preterit meaning, are *ic mæg*, 'I have grown,' hence 'I am strong,' 'I have power,' 'I can,' now with a permissive or contingent implication, 'I MAY'; and *ic wāt*, 'I have seen,' hence 'I know,' I WOT; cognate with the Greek perfect *oīda*, *foīda*, 'I have seen,' 'I know.'

The preterit present which has recently emerged in English is *have got* (in modern spelling *hav got*), or in certain connections simply *got*, a perfect or preterit form with the present sense 'hav.'

The genesis is as follows: *Get*, meaning originally 'seize,' 'grasp,' passes into the meaning 'strive to procure,' and hence 'procure,' 'acquire,' and finally cum to express any act of which the result is 'having'—an act which quiesces into the result possession: *I hav gotten* or *I hav got*, that is, 'I have striven to procure, and have procured, and therefore have in my present possession.'

As the words are used in critical English the assertion or implication of effort is obvious:

"The wantynge somtyme of a worde is nat of so great importance, for it may soone be gotten."—1530 PALSGRAVE, p. 868.

"Quhow I his Sone had gottin in to plege."—1552 LYNDESAY, *Tragedie* (E. E. T. S.), l. 210.

"The Frenche souldiours . . . do not cracke nor aduance themselves to have very often gotte the vpper hand and maistry of your new made and vnpractised souldiours."—1556, ROBINSON, tr. More's *Utopia* (ed. Arber), p. 40.

"To till it is a toyle, to grase some honest gaine,

But such as gotten is with great hazard and paine."

1589 [PUTTENHAM], *Arte of Eng. Poesie* (ed. Arber), p. 215.

"Of all the ornaments of knightly name,

With which whylome he gotten had great fame."

1596 SPENSER, *F. Q.* v. 5. st. xx.

"The fourth part of the lands that were gotten."—1598 FLORIO, s.v. *Falcidia*.

"That 3e haue gotten my groat full sair I rew."—1602 LYNDESAY, *Thrie Estaits* (E. E. T. S.), l. 2254.

"But where shall wisdom be found? and where is the place of vnderstanding? . . . It cannot be gotten for gold, neither shall silver be weighed for the price thereof."—1611 BIBLE, *Job* xxviii, 12, 15.

"Wealth *gotten* [ital. in A. V.] by vanitie [Sept. and Vulg. *in haste*] shalbe diminished : but he that gathereth by labour, shall increase." — 1611 BIBLE, *Prov.* xiii, 11.

[Cruden givs 20 examples of *gotten* in the Bible.]

"Iacke Cade *hath gotten* London-bridge." — 1623 SHAKESPEARE, *2 Hen. VI.* iv. 4. (F<sup>1</sup>, p. 140.)

"I . . . . .

With much adoo at length *hawe gotten* leaue

To looke vpon my (sometimes Royall) masters face."

1623 SHAKESPEARE, *Rich. II.* v. 5. (F<sup>1</sup>, p. 54.)

[*Gotten* occurs three other times in Shakespeare.]

And so innumerably unto the present day.

But in many instances the implication of effort recedes, and the notion of action without definit aim at the result attaind, becums prominent. Sir Gawaine, for example, 'gets' a wife, much against his wil; but she 'chances' to be satisfactory :

"Well, cozen Gawaine, sayes Sir Kay,  
Thy chance is fallen arright;  
For thou *hast gotten* one of the fairest maids  
I euer saw with my sight."

*The Marriage of Sir Gawaine.* (CHILD, *Ballads*, i. 38.)

"She that has borrow'd young Tamlane  
*Has gotten* a stately groom."

*The Young Tamlane.* (CHILD, *Ballads*, i. 124.)

"Quhair *hawe* we *gottin* this gudly companjeoun?" — 1602 LYNDSEAY, *Thrie Estais* (E. E. T. S.), l. 1930.

"'Come, come,' exclaimed Oldbuck, 'what is the meaning of all this? *Hawe* we *got* Hiren here?'" — 1816 SCOTT, *Antiquary*, xix.

[This rests on a version of Shakespeare (*2 Hen. IV.* ii. 4) where the accepted reading is *not*, as in the first folio (p. 83).]

"'I *hae* just *getten* t'wit on't,' [I have just been] let into the secret or sense of the affair; informed." — 1855 *Yorkshire Gloss.*, p. 197.

At length the implication of effort in *I hav got, I've got*, disappears entirely. It vanishes; not with the violence of Catiline (*abiit, excessit, evasit, erupit*, he made off, he lit out, he sloped, he made a break), but gently, like a snowflake in the river; and the phrase is then entirely present. Examples ar abundant in current speech: 'I've got a cold' — I did n't strive to get it. 'I've got a letter from Bluing asking me to look over the manuscript of his new poem' — I hav n't been yerning for this privilege. 'I've got a bil from my tailor' — I used no urgency to get him to send it.

So a man "in politics" might say, "I've got the collectorship," meaning simply that the office, according to the good old rule, has sought the man — and found him accidentally in the vicinity, surprised but receptiv. So, too, a statesman who has been "prominently mentiond" (by others, of course) as a candidate for the presidency, might say (this is purely a supposition), "I've got the delegates," meaning simply 'I *hav* the delegates — they ar all, to my surprise, spontaneously

in my favor—their gentle and unforced accord sits smiling to my heart.' No striving, no effort, no uncommon anxiety, in all this. And then after several things hav happend, he might say, or at least perceiv, in the neuter sense of the verb, 'I've got left,' meaning 'I *am* left.'

Examples of this use ar common in the productions of the pedestrian muse :

"The browne girl she *has got* houses and lands,  
And fair Elinor she *has got* none."

a 1723 *Lord Thomas and Fair Ellinor*. (CHILD, *Ballads*, ii. 121.)

The same sad case recurs in another ballad, where *has* and *has got* ar used as identical in meaning :

"The nut-browne bride *haes* gowd and gear,  
Fair Annet she *has gat* nane."

a 1765 *Lord Thomas and Fair Annet*. (CHILD, *Ballads*, ii. 126.)

Here ar some contributions from the provincial muse :

"Owld Molly Sannell axed Molly Dafter to gie her a drap o' barm one day. 'I *ha'n't a got* narn!' says she; 'bezides, I do want un mezelf to bake wi'.'"—1847, *The Genuine Remains of William Little, a Wiltshire Man*. (HALLIWELL, p. xxxii.)

It is obvious, after this, why William should exist only in the form of "genuine remains."

North and South meet in the next two quotations :

"Wenever an Amerikin distinguished politishin  
Begins to try et wut they call definin' his posishin,  
Wal, I, fer one, feel sure he *aint gut* nothin' to define;  
It's so nine cases out o' ten, but jest that tenth is mine."

1848 LOWELL, *Biglow Papers*, No. IX, l. 37.

"I *aint got* time, Brer Fox, sez Brer Rabbit, sezee, sorter mendin' his licks."—1881 J. C. HARRIS, *Uncle Remus*, p. 20.

I suspect, however, that Brer Rabbit really said, "I *aint got no* time." He was not troubled with small scruples.

The absence of intention is obvious when we talk of 'getting' an illness :

"This is some Monster of the Isle, with foure legs; who *hath got* (as I take it) *an Ague*."—1623 SHAKESPEARE, *Tempest*, ii. 2. 168. (F<sup>1</sup> p. 9.)

"Fie, th'art a churle, ye haue *got* a humour there,  
Does not become a man, 'tis much too blame."

1623 SHAKESPEARE, *Timon*, i. 2. 26. (F<sup>1</sup> p. 81.)

I find a bad case of this sort reported in a letter sent by a veterinary surgeon to a young Oxonian who had commissiوند him to look at a horse for sale :

"SIR: I have examined the horse. The interesting family of quadrupeds to which he belongs is liable to a great number of diseases and injuries, hereditary, climatic, accidental, and I have no hesitation in stating that he *has got* most of them. He would be a very precious acquisition, as an object-lesson, in our veterinary college, but I do not feel justified in commending him to you with a view to use or recreation."

1892 DEAN HOLE, *Memories*.

*-aiugotō bed kould.* nauz ðæt \ ? : hauidiyu getit \ ? -ouai gotitfrōmmai sistō; sijkōtit sitiŋonðō dæmp graas. -ai wifaikædget ridəvit.—1885 SWEET, *Elementarbuch des gesprochenen Englisch*, p. 13.

This is the way Dr. Sweet elementarily instructs the Germans in the pronunciation of English. 'I've got a bad cold. How's that? How did you get it? Oh, I got it from my sister; she caught it sitting on the damp grass. I wish I could get rid of it.' Of course a cold that sits on the damp grass can easily be caught, even by a girl, if it be approacht quietly in the rear.

A very clear example of this effortless *hav got* appears in the famous British song which has given the name of "the Jingo party" to the advocates of a "spirited foreign policy."

"We don't want to fight, but, by Jingo! if we do,

We've got the ships, we've got the men, we've got the money, too!"

Surely the singers of this lyric did not take the precaution to procure and equip the ships, enlist the men, and raise the money, before they thus burst into song. No; they sang in the preterit present.

The guardian of the public peace at the Hudson River Railroad station in New York, in the evening of June 29, 1892, address the gentleman in charge of the Bureau of Information and Packages as follows: "Say, Bill, you *aint got* none of them books?" This interrogativ assertion is somewhat defectiv in grammar, but we can clearly discern in it a preterit present in good working order. *Aint* is practically a mere negativ, and *got* a simple present of possession.

*Hav*, when followed not by an object-noun, but by an infinitiv with *to*, and expressing obligation or necessity, 'I *hav to go*,' is often turnd in colloquial English into *hav got*, and is then open to the same preterit present construction: 'I *hav got to go*,' 'I *hav got to return to-night*.'

"An' you 've gut to git up airy

Ef you want to take in God."

1846 LOWELL, *Biglow Papers*, No. I, l. 39.

"In dis worril, lots er fokes is *gotter* [*has* (i.e. *have*) *got to*] suffer for udder fokes sins."—1881 J. C. HARRIS, *Uncle Remus*, p. 80.

"Wait! Gimme room! . . . You *gotter* gimme room, and you *gotter* gimme time."

1881 *Id.* p. 143.

So with neuter uses of *get*. 'I've got tired,' 'I hav becum tired,' 'I am tired.' A man may say, 'I've got wel,' and *be wel*, without referring to, and indeed in spite of, his trying to 'get wel' by pouring bottle-stuff into his "system."

But this form *hav got*, with the auxiliary *hav*, tho that be reduced to its last consonant 'v (*I've got*), is not strictly a preterit present in form. It is a perfect present. There is a stil lower form, *I got*, reduced from *I've got*, and, mixt with the true preterit, *I got*, used in colloquial speech as a preterit present.

A man, a colloquial man, wil say to his children on his return in the evening, "I stopt at Guyler's, and *got* you sum candy." "Where is it?" cry the children. "I *got* it here," he says, taking the package from his overcoat pocket. This may not be good grammar, or good hygiene, either; but I take the facts as I find them, grammar, candy, and all. The second *got* may be considered a fusion of the reduced *I've got*, *I' got*, with the simple preterit *I got*.

So in questions. A boy wil say, "Billy, you *got* my ball?" This is reduced from "Billy, *hav* you *got* my ball?" the correct interrogation being of course "William, hav you my ball?"

A man on a train wil ask a newsboy, "*Got* a *Herald*?" Of course any man capable of buying the *Herald* to read wil also be liberal in his notions of grammar.

"But Brer Wolf, he *got* mighty long head, and he sorter broach 'bout Brer Rabbit's kyar'ns on, kaze de way dat Brer Rabbit 'ceive Brer Fox done got to be de talk er de naberhood."—1881, J. C. HARRIS, *Uncle Remus*, p. 58.

Here *got*, originally preterit or perfect, is present, and *broach* is preterit; *done got* is pluperfect.

The case here presented is slight in itself, and to sum may seem hardly worth the serious treatment I hav given it. But to the philologist every manifestation of human speech is of interest. No speech is utterd, even on a political platform, in a free silver convention, or in a Browning Club, without *sum* action of the human mind; and the human mind is the most interesting thing in the world.

The phenomenon I hav treated is a genuin growth of nature, and has a special interest as serving, with many other proofs that could be adduced, to show that the English language has not yet past, as many seem to think, out of its "formative period." It is not merely in the mechanical putting together of new terms from the plunder of the Latin and Greek lexicons, in the boa-like bolting of foreign terms, that the English language manifests life. In spite of the enormous load of its vocabulary, largely accretion without growth; in spite of the merciless leveling and harrowing it has undergon for thirty generations of men; in spite of the strong bonds of correctness and conventionality which grammatical and literary censors hav forged around it, the English language stil contains within itself a spirit of invincible growth.

And this leads to an important etymological conclusion. No one who has ranged wide in the domain of English etymology can fail to hav noticed the great number of isolated words, which taken singly, refuse to yield any intelligible account of their origin. They cannot be laid at the door of Anglo-Saxon, or of Dutch, or of Scandinavian, or of Latin, or of Greek, or even at that last resort of desperate etymologists, the door of the Celtic tungs. The best that can be said, by conservativ etymologists, is "origin unknown," or "origin obscure"; and for many of them, I fear, that wil remain the sum of human knowledge til the very horn of doom. But take these words together, consider them as a class, see beneath their diversity of form and meaning the evidences of their growth in the same luxuriant soil of English colloquial and provincial speech, and I think it is a just conclusion that these unancient but unexplained terms, with these marks of the soil, ar spontaneous English growths, twining among older growths indeed, but having their own roots; being in fact true nineteenth century, eighteenth century, seventeenth century, sixteenth century "roots." "Roots" hav no age, speech has no real decay; and the all-receiving English language, the "universal Pan" of speech, stil, "knit with the Graces and the Hours in dance, leads on the eternal Spring."

The paper and its conclusions, and the general use of *got*, *gotten*, wer discust by Professors March, Gildersleeve, Humphreys, Hale, Garnett, Ashmore, and Sproull, Dr. Hall, Dr. Earle, and others.

17. Heracleides of Clazomenae and Aristophanes, Ran. 140-142, by Professor J. H. Wright, of Harvard University.

After reviewing the literary tradition concerning both Heracleides of Clazomenae and the *διωβελία* (*μισθὸς ἐκκλησιαστικὸς*) the writer endeavored to trace a connexion between Heracleides's political activity (Aristot. Ἄθ. Πολ. c. 41) and the scene in the Frogs of Aristophanes where Dionysus exclaims *ὡς μέγα δύνασθον πανταχοῦ τὰ δὲ ὀβολῶ*.

The Association then adjourned, to meet at 9.15 A.M. on Thursday.

CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA., July 14, 1892.

The meeting was called to order at 9.15 A.M. by the President.

The Committee on Time and Place of next Meeting reported, through Professor Ashmore, in favor of meeting at the University of Chicago on July 4 or July 11, 1893. The Association voted to adopt this report, but to authorize the Executive Committee to call the meeting at a different time and place, if necessary, in order to meet the other societies mentioned in the overture from the American Oriental Society (see Proceedings for Tuesday, July 12).

The Committee on Officers for 1892-93 reported through Professor Humphreys:—

*President*, Professor William Gardner Hale, of the University of Chicago.

*Vice-Presidents*, Professor James M. Garnett, of the University of Virginia, and Professor J. H. Wright, of Harvard University.

*Secretary*, Professor Herbert Weir Smyth, of Bryn Mawr College.

*Treasurer*, Professor Herbert Weir Smyth, of Bryn Mawr College.

Additional members of the *Executive Committee*.

Professor B. L. Gildersleeve, of Johns Hopkins University.

Professor W. W. Goodwin, of Harvard University.

Professor Abby Leach, of Vassar College.

Professor F. A. March, of Lafayette College.

Professor W. D. Whitney, of Yale University.

The report was unanimously adopted. On motion of Professor J. H. Wright, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—

The American Philological Association offers most cordial thanks—

To the Authorities of the University of Virginia for the use of the Public Hall and Library for the meetings of the Association;

To the Local Committee on Entertainment, and particularly to its efficient chairman, Professor Garnett, for their successful efforts to make at once agreeable and comfortable the sojourn of the members of the Association at the University;

To Mr. Jefferson Levy and the other gentlemen to whose courtesy and generosity the Association is indebted for the delightful excursion to Monticello on the



afternoon of July 13, and to the Director of the Astronomical Observatory for his kind invitation extended to the members of the Association to visit the Observatory on the evening of the same day.

The reading of papers was then resumed.

18. *Unciales Litterae*, a Contribution to Latin Palaeography, by Professor W. O. Sproull, of the University of Cincinnati.

The object of this paper is to explain the words *unciales litterae*, which are found first in Jerome's preface to his translation of the book of Job from the Hebrew. He says *Habeant qui volunt veteres libros vel in membranis purpureis auro argenteoque descriptos vel uncialibus, ut vulgo aiunt, literis onera magis exarata quam codices, dummodo mihi meisque permittant pauperes habere schedulas et non tam pulchros codices quam emendatos.*<sup>1</sup> By *veteres libros* in this passage are meant not Hebrew or Greek manuscripts, but manuscripts of former biblical translations into Latin. Jerome had to contend with a strong conservatism of that day, which clung to the many old and very faulty Latin versions.<sup>2</sup> In the preface to his translation of Job from the Greek he says: *Tanta est enim vetustatis consuetudo ut etiam confessa plerisque vitia placeant dum magis pulchros habere malunt codices quam emendatos.*<sup>3</sup>

In a foot-note to the first quotation, it is stated on the authority of Martianaeus that two or three MSS. have *initialibus* instead of *uncialibus*. This reading *initialibus* has found favor with some who explain the words as referring to MSS. adorned with large and very ornate initials. The two words *uncialibus* and *initialibus* could easily have been mistaken for each other by the copyists. However, the custom of decorating MSS. with elaborate initials did not prevail as early as Jerome's day. In the earliest MSS. no prominence was given to initial letters, later they were separated a little from the rest of the word, and afterwards they were enlarged sometimes in colors. At first only the initials of paragraphs were made prominent, then the first letter also of each page. The Vatican *Vergil*, No. 3256, of the fourth century, has large initials in red, blue, and green, but these would not increase scarcely at all either the cost or bulk of a MS., two things that Jerome condemns in these old books. Accordingly the reading *initialibus* cannot be adopted, concerning which Vallarsi says: *Illud vero aperte mendosum est quod praeferunt quidam MSS. initialibus.*

The explanation given to *uncialibus litteris* by nearly all palaeographers or writers on the subject, is that the words mean large letters referring only to the size and not at all to the shape of the letters, not necessarily designating in the least the script that is now called uncial. They derive the word from *uncia*, a twelfth, which is a division of measure.<sup>4</sup> Vallarsi's comment is: *Unciales quas*

<sup>1</sup> Migne's ed. *Patr. Lat.*, vol. 28, p. 1142. The inconsistencies in Latin orthography are unaltered.

<sup>2</sup> Jerome *Pref. in Evang.*, vol. 29, p. 558.

<sup>3</sup> *Patr. Lat.*, vol. 29, p. 63.

<sup>4</sup> Mabillon, the Benedictines. Of later date among the Germans, Gardthausen, Wattenbach, Blass; among the French, De Vainés, De Wailly, Delisle, Prou; among the Italians, Paoli, Carini. Thompson in *Brit. Ency.* under Palaeography says: "the etymology of the word is doubtful." Zangemeister (*Ex. Cod. lat. lit.*, etc., *pref. viii.*) says the origin of the word is due to *hieronymi verbis male intellectis*. Fabretti does not discuss the word.

vocat Hieronymus, Glossa in cod. Vaticano 135 exponit longas. Budaeus de asse lib. I illas vult pollicis crassitudine exaratas. Multo autem est verisimilius sic dictas certae magnitudinis literas quae ad unciae granditudinem proportione quadam accederent quarum specimen in antiquioribus nonnullis codicibus videre est. Eo pacto cubitales eas vulgo dicimus quae in lapidibus superne locandis et longius ab oculorum acie grandiores quasi ad cubiti speciem exaratas.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, in the time of Charles the Great, Lupus of Ferrières wrote to Einhart (ep. 5): *Scriptor regius Berticaudus dicitur antiquarum litterarum dumtaxat earum quae maximae sunt et unciales a quibusdam existimantur habere mensuram descriptam.*

In Jerome's day there were in vogue three kinds of script now called the capital, both square and rustic, the cursive, and the uncial. The cursive was the writing of business documents, the capital and the uncial were used for literary purposes. Jerome, in the passage quoted from his preface to Job, censures the extravagance and luxury of those who prefer old books written in gold and silver on purple parchment, or in a kind of script commonly called *uncialibus litteris*, which made them not only bulky but also very expensive, on account of the great amount of parchment used. Jerome elsewhere says: *Inficiuntur membranae colore purpureo aurum liquescit in litteras gemmis codices vestiuntur et nudus ante foras eorum Christus emoritur.*<sup>2</sup> There are extant two MSS. that come under Jerome's description; both are in uncial script and contain fragments of biblical translations into Latin before Jerome's. The one, Codex Vercellensis, was written by Eusebius, and belongs to the fourth century, the other, Codex Veronensis, also belongs to the fourth, or early part of the fifth, century.

A comparison of MSS. written in uncial with those written in capital script will show that the former were written with a lavish use of parchment not characterizing other MSS., thus greatly increasing the cost. The Vatican palimpsest of Cicero's *De Republica* is probably the oldest Latin MSS. on parchment, and belongs to the third, or early part of the fourth, century. Biblical MSS. of the same date would be designated as *veteres libros* by Jerome. This MS. is in uncial script of large characters, but not larger than those of the Vatican *Vergil*, No. 3256. On three sides there are wide margins and a broad space between the two columns. Each page has only thirty lines, or an average of about fifty-four words. The book of Job written in such a manner would make not only an unwieldy but also a most expensive work. The two MSS. of the Pre-Hieronymian Latin translation of the Bible (sometimes called the Itala), namely, the Vercellensis and the Veronensis Codex already referred to, are of a similar nature. The script, which is uncial, is in very narrow columns, sometimes a line contains but a single word, thus leaving a very wide margin. An examination of other early MSS. in uncial script will show the same manner of writing, with wide margins, narrow columns, and comparatively little text on a page; e.g. Verona palimpsest of Livy of the fourth century.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, MSS. in capital script, both square and rustic, are found to contain, as a rule, far more text to a page, relatively, than the MSS. in uncial script. The Medicean *Vergil* has twenty-nine lines, or an average of about one hundred and eighty-five words to a page; the Vatican *Vergil*, No. 3225,

<sup>1</sup> Patr. Lat., vol. 28, p. 1142.

<sup>2</sup> Ad. Eustoc. de Cust. Virg., vol. 28, p. 418.

<sup>3</sup> Mommsen, Abh. d. Berl. Ak., 1868.

has twenty-one lines, or one hundred and forty words to a page. Comparisons may be made with the Turin palimpsest A. II<sup>2</sup> of *Cicero in Verrem*, of the Vatican *Vergil*, No. 3256, also of the St. Gall Vergilian MSS., as well as with others.<sup>1</sup> Gathering together the facts, we find that among the earliest classical Latin MSS. there is one kind in which there is an extravagant use of parchment. Moreover, the earliest codices (Vercellensis and Veronensis) containing biblical translations made before Jerome's, one of which certainly belongs to the fourth century, — and the same is probably true of the other, — are also written with an extravagant use of parchment. Remembering that these are written in uncial script, and that the early MSS. in capital script do not show such an extravagant use of parchment, we come to the conclusion that Jerome meant by *uncialibus litteris*, not large letters in general, but a distinct kind of writing; namely, that which is now called uncial. The fact that the size of the letters of the early MSS. in capital script is in some cases larger and in other cases smaller than the size of the letters of MSS. in uncial script, confirms the conclusion that Jerome did not primarily refer to the dimensions of the letters.

There remain two objections to be answered. The first is the letter of Lupus of Ferrières in which he mentions letters *quae maximae sunt et unciales a quibusdam existimantur*. This need not mean majuscules in general (i.e. capitals and uncials), but may mean specifically uncial script, as one of several majuscule scripts, for the Carolinian reform included both minuscules as well as capital and uncial scripts.

The second objection is the etymology of the word *unciales*. In the palimpsest of Cicero, *De Republica*, we find seven letters (a, d, e, h, m, q, u,) peculiar to uncial script. No designation would describe them better than *hook-shaped*. This is so marked that it probably led, in or before the time of Jerome, to an incorrect association of the word *unciales* with *uncus*, a hook. Jerome's language would not be contrary to such an inference, for he says: *uncialibus ut vulgo aiunt literis*. Jerome would not hesitate to use a word that expressed his meaning, even if that meaning was contrary to its etymology; and he would no doubt justify himself as did Augustine in his *Enarr.*, in Ps. 138, 20, *Melius est reprehendant nos grammatici quam non intelligent populi*.

#### 19. Poetic Words in Thucydides, by Professor Charles Forster Smith, of Vanderbilt University.

This paper is a continuation of the one read at the meeting in 1891 on "Traces of Tragic Usage in Thucydides," which treated the poetic words found in Thucydides iii. Further investigation in all the books of Thucydides confirms the view then expressed, that the chief influence on Thucydides in the matter of elevated style was the language of Tragedy. Of the whole list of probably poetic words made out as the result of the investigation thus far there are found in Tragedy 173; in Homer, or Hesiod, or both, 67; in the Lyric poets, chiefly Pindar, 46; in Herodotus, or Hippocrates, or both, 75. It is possible, of course, that, as Thucydides and Tragedy have so much in common, we have here not so much really poetic words, as old Attic terms. This latter view is favored by the

<sup>1</sup> In the paper as read, detailed comparisons of the dimensions of these different MSS. were given. They are omitted here for want of space.

large number of these words which are found in Plato and Xenophon, but opposed by the exceedingly small number (not half a dozen) found in Antiphon.

In considering the matter of style, and specially the question whether the presence of so many poetic words in Thucydides is due to the undeveloped state of Greek prose and the consequent absence of any well-defined line of separation between prose and poetic usage, it is instructive to note the parts of the work where most of the poetic terms occur. These are, of course, the speeches. Now the speeches in Thucydides cover only 114 of the 565 pages of Bekker's text, i.e. about one-fifth of the whole; but in this one-fifth occur two-fifths of all the poetic words found thus far. Indeed, of the words which seem to be most certainly poetic, one-half occur in the speeches and a few elevated passages, such as iii. 81, 82, 104; vii. 75, etc. In book v., where there is only one short speech of a single chapter and the Melian dialogue, and in book viii., which has no speeches, there are hardly any poetic words—in each book only seven or eight that seem to be certainly poetic. These facts would seem to indicate that Thucydides's poetic vocabulary was largely a matter of choice, and not owing mainly to the undeveloped state of Greek prose.

Still there seems to be evidence of a clear development of prose style and a more clearly marked departure from poetic usage during the long period occupied in the composition of the work. This is inferred on the following grounds. More than two-thirds of the poetic words of Thucydides are found in the first four books, and most of the remainder, as might have been expected, in the tragic recital of the failure of the Sicilian expedition as described in the wonderful prose of book vii. It is especially to be noted that book vi., which gives more space to speeches than any other except book i., has comparatively few poetic terms. Of the words which seem to be most certainly poetic 56 occur only in books i.-iv.; 19 are common to both i.-iv. and v.-viii.; 26 are confined to v.-viii. Counting every occurrence of each word, these terms are found in i.-iv. 130 times, in v.-viii. 77 times.

One other general remark may be made. Of the poetic terms thus far investigated 27 occur in Xenophon, 42 (mainly the same as the 27) in Plato; and 11 of the 27 or 42 occur in late writers. Besides these 11, other poetic terms to the number of 35 are found after Thucydides only in Dio Cassius, Dionysius Halicarnassus, Josephus, Plutarch, Lucian, and other late writers; i.e. 46 (11 + 35) survive in late Greek, mainly the result it would seem of imitation of Thucydides by late writers.

The following is an alphabetical list of the words discussed in this paper which seem to be most certainly poetic. For those discussed in the former paper see PROCEEDINGS for 1891.

**ἄβροδίατον**, *the* (spread of) *delicate habits*, i. 6. 9 (Aesch., late writers).

**ἄγγελμα**, *message*, vii. 74. 1 (Eur.).

**ἄδοκτος**, *unexpected*, vi. 34. 42; 47. 11; vii. 29. 30; 43. 29 (*ἀδοκῆως*, iii. 45. 25; iv. 17. 15). (Trag., Hes., late writers.)

**αἰκία**, *suffering, misery*, vii. 75. 34 (Trag.—as law phrase = *assault, outrage*).

**αἰών**, *life, lifetime*, i. 70. 28 (Hom., Pind., Trag., Hdt., Xen.).

**ἀνηλοῦντο**, *dispatched themselves*, iii. 81. 16; iv. 48. 17. Cf. *ἀναλοῦντες σφᾶς*, viii. 65. 11 (Trag.).

- ἔνθος**, *flower* (of youth, of troops, etc.), iv. 133. 4 (Hom., Hes., Lyr., Trag., Plat., Xen., Dio C.).
- ἐπαράσσειν**, *to sweep off*, vii. 63. 4. Cf. *καταράσσειν*, vii. 6. 15 (Hom., Trag., Hdt., late writers).
- ἐπονοστεῖν**, *to return*, vii. 87. 26. Cf. *ὑπονοστεῖν*, iii. 89. 9 (Hom., Hes., Pind., Eur., Hdt., Xen., late writers).
- ἐποφυχεῖν**, *to expire*, i. 134. 14 (Hom., Aesch., Soph., late writers).
- ἐρωγὰ**, *serviceable*, vii. 62. 1 (Hom., Pind., Trag., Plat. (1), late writers).
- ἐτίκμαρτον**, *without proof*, iv. 63. 1 (Pind., Aesch., Hdt., Plat. (1), late writers).
- εὐχεῖν**, *to boast*, ii. 39. 18 (Aesch., Eur., Hdt., Com. (rare), late writers).
- εὐχημα**, *a boast*, ii. 62. 23; vii. 66. 15; 75. 37 (Pind., Soph., Eur., late writers).
- ἐχθηδών**, *a burden, grief*, ii. 37. 13; iv. 40. 7 (Aesch., Plat. (2), late writers).
- βίβηλος**, *allowable to be trodden, profanus*, iv. 97. 14 (Trag., late writers).
- βόσκω**, *to feed* (men), vii. 48. 33 (Trag., Ar., Hdt., Luc.).
- γεγωνίσκειν**, *to cry aloud, proclaim*, vii. 76. 5 (Aesch., Eur., Dio C.).
- διαβάλλειν**, *to cross*, vi. 30. 6; 44. 8 (Aesch., Eur., Hdt., late writers).
- διαμάω**, *to clear away, cut through*, iv. 26. 6 (Eur., late writers).
- δρᾶν**, *to do*. Thuc. uses it 85 times. Aesch., Soph., Eur., Hom. (1). In Ar. and Plat. only of other early Attic authors.
- δραστήριος**, *efficacious*, ii. 63. 12 (Aesch., Eur., late writers).
- δύσπερος**, *love-sick*, vi. 13. 6 (Eur., Theocr., Xen. (1), late writers).
- ἐκάς**, *far, far off*, i. 69. 23; 80. 9; viii. 94. 14; 104. 17 (Hom., Pind., Trag., Theocr., Hdt.).
- ἐξαπίνης**, *on a sudden*, i. 50. 21; iii. 89. 20; iv. 36. 10; 111. 12; 115. 13; v. 10. 33 (Hom., Alcae., Pind., Ar., Plat., Xen.).
- ἐπάρχομαι**, *offer, begin with* (the cups) *again*, iv. 120. 1 (Hom.).
- ἐπιετήσιος**, *yearly*, ii. 80. 26 (Hom., Callim.).
- ἐπικρατέστεροι**, *superior*, vi. 88. 10. (The adj. is Thucydidean and late. Hom. and Hesiod have adv.).
- ἐπισπέρχειν**, *to urge on*, iv. 12. 2. Cf. *κατασπέρχειν*, iv. 126. 33 (Hom., Aesch., Ap. Rhod.).
- ἐποτρύνειν**, *to stir up, to urge on*, vi. 69. 17; vii. 25. 5 (Hom., Pind., Trag., Hdt., late writers).
- εὐλογία**, *panegyric*, ii. 42. 3 (Lyr., Eur., Plat.).
- ἥπιος**, *mild, kind*, ii. 59. 13; vii. 77. 18; viii. 93. 66 (Hom., Hes., Trag., Ar.).
- θάμβος**, *amazement*, vi. 31. 44 (Hom., Pind., Trag., Ar., Plat.).
- ἰέναι**, *to send forth, utter* (sounds), iii. 112. 14 (Hom., Trag., Hdt., Plat.).
- καθῦπερθε**, *from above*, v. 59. 12 (Hom., Lyr., Trag., Hdt.).
- καταινεῖν**, *to approve of*, iv. 122. 8 (Pind., Trag., Hdt.).
- κατ' ἄκρας**, *from top to bottom, utterly*, iv. 112. 9 (Hom., Trag., Plat.).
- κατεργάζεσθαι**, *to finish, kill*, iv. 85. 9; vi. 11. 1; 33. 21; 86. 9 (Soph., Eur., Hdt., Xen. (1)).
- κατήφεια**, *dejection*, vii. 75. 25 (Hom., late writers).
- κῆδος**, *connexion by marriage*, ii. 29. 3 (Trag., Hdt.).
- κλέος**, *good report, glory*, i. 10. 8; 25. 22; ii. 45. 10 (Hom., Pind., Trag., Hdt., Plat., Xen.).
- κλυδώνιον**, *a wave, a surging sea*, ii. 84. 19 (Aesch., Eur.).
- κόμπος**, *a boast*, ii. 40. 3; 41. 5 (Trag., Hdt., Aeschin.).

- κομπεῖν, *to boast*, vi. 17. 19. Cf. ἐπικομπεῖν, iv. 126. 37; viii. 81. 19 (Pind., Trag., Hdt.).
- κτύπος, *din*, vii. 75. 25 (Hom., Trag., Plat., Xen.).
- λογάδες, *picked*, i. 62. 23, etc. (12 times in all) (Eur., Hdt., late writers).
- μοχθεῖν, *to toil, to be weary*, i. 70. 28; ii. 39. 23 (Hom., Trag., Ar., Xen.).
- μυχός, *inmost recess*, vii. 4. 21; 52. 11 (Hom., Hes., Pind., Trag., Hdt., Xen.).
- ναυβάτης, *a marine*, i. 121. 10; vii. 75. 44; viii. 44. 3 (Trag., Hdt.).
- ξυμφορά, *an event, a hap*, i. 140. 4, 9 (Trag., Ar., Hdt., Plat. (1)).
- ξυνίσταω, *conscious*, ii. 74. 10 (Trag., Anthol., Xen. (1), Plat. (1), late writers).
- ὄμμα, *eye*, ii. 11. 29 (Hom., Hes., Pind., Trag., Plat. (1), Xen. (1)).
- ὄπως, *nohow*, v. 15. 7 (Hom.).
- ὄργη, *disposition*, i. 130. 11; 140. 3; iii. 82. 19; viii. 83. 16 (Hes., Lyr., Trag., Ar., Plat. (1)).
- ὄρρωδία, *dread*, ii. 83. 3; 89. 3. Cf. ὄρρωδεῖν, v. 32. 13; vi. 9. 8; 14. 4 (Eur., Hdt.).
- ὄτι τάχος, *as quickly as possible*, vii. 42. 27 (Soph. (2). Cf. Hdt. ὡς τάχος).
- πανωλεθρία, *utter destruction*, vii. 87. 24. (The noun is Thucydidean, but the adj. is Tragic.)
- παρίσχειν and παρασχῆσαι (impers.), i. 120. 18; iv. 85. 8; v. 14. 11; vi. 86. 22 (Pind., Eur., Hdt.).
- παιστανδόν, *standing round about*, vii. 81. 24 (Hom., Eur., Hdt.).
- πιστοῦν, *to bind by oath, make trustworthy*, iv. 88. 5 (Hom., Trag.).
- πίστυος, *trusting in*, ii. 89. 21; v. 14. 19; vi. 2. 38 (Hom., Hes., Pind., Trag., Hdt.).
- ῥαχλα, *the beach*, iv. 10. 7 (Aesch., Plut.).
- ῥάθειον, *the surge*, iv. 10. 24 (Trag., Ap. Rhod., late writers).
- ῥαῖθρον, *a stream*, vii. 74. 10 (Hom., Pind., Trag., Hdt.).
- ῥισισθαί, *compensate for, wipe out*, v. 63. 11. Cf. Soph. O. R. 313. (The word in sense of *save, rescue*, esp. common in Hom., Hes., Trag., Hdt.)
- σβείν, *venerari*, ii. 53. 14 (Post-hom. and mostly Trag., also in Archil., Pind., Plat.).
- σμικρός, iv. 13. 19; vii. 75. 26; viii. 81. 11 (Acc. to Steph. the Trag. and Com. poets drop σ only metri vel euphoniae causa).
- σπέρμα, *seed, offspring*, v. 16. 25 (an oracle) (Pind., Trag., Plat.).
- στορέσαι, *bring down, tame*, vi. 18. 22 (Aesch., Eur., Simon., late writers).
- τροχόμενοι, *worn out*, i. 126. 24. Cf. τροχόω, iii. 93. 9; iv. 60. 13; viii. 28. 23; 48. 11 (Hom., Hes., Lyr., Trag., Ar., Hippocr., Xen., late writers).
- τάφος, *burial*, ii. 35. 6; 47. 1 (Hom., Hes., Soph., Eur., Plat.).
- ὑμνεῖν, *to sing, laud*, ii. 42. 5 (Hes., Hom. Hymns, Pind., Trag., Plat., Xen., Lys.).
- ὑπέρφρων, *arrogant*, ii. 62. 32 (Trag., Dio C.).
- φειδῶ, *a sparing*, vii. 81. 28 (Hom., Eur., late writers).
- φειγγυότατος, *best warrant for*, viii. 68. 22 (Aesch., Soph., Hdt.).
- χέρνυψ, *water for hand-washing*, iv. 97. 15 (Hom., Trag., Ar., Dem. (2)).
- ὦς (= οὐτως), iii. 37. 26. Cf. καὶ ὦς, i. 44. 11; οὐδ' ὦς, i. 132. 24 (Hom., Trag., Hdt., Plat.).

Remarks upon the paper were made by Professor Wright and Dr. Earle.

20. On English Nouns which have Gained or Lost an Initial Consonant by Attraction, by C. P. G. Scott, Esq., of New York City.

This paper, which elicited a large amount of discussion, is printed in full in the Transactions.

21. The Third Class of Weak Verbs in Primitive Teutonic, with Special Reference to its Development in Anglo-Saxon, by Miss Marguerite Sweet, of Bryn Mawr College.

In the absence of the author this paper was read by title only.

From the time of Grimm to the present day, scholars have been seeking for an explanation of the origin and structure of the Teutonic third weak conjugation. To account for the diphthong *ai* forms one of the most perplexing problems of Teutonic grammar. The Latin conjugation in *ē* is so closely allied to the Teutonic *ai*-conjugation as to suggest at once identity of origin; still the Teutonic diphthong cannot be the direct equivalent of the Latin vowel. It seems, moreover, doubtful whether *ai* held in the Primitive Teutonic third class the position of *-ō-* in the second, of *-j-* in the first weak conjugation. In Anglo-Saxon, in Old Saxon, and in Old Norse, *ai* does not appear in the preterit, while in Gothic, Anglo-Saxon, and Old Saxon, *ai* is confined to the second and third persons singular and the second person plural. The condition of the inflexion, too, is no less perplexing than that of the stem-vowel. Gothic shows in the present an interchange of strong forms with forms in *ai*: the Saxon dialects have a corresponding interchange of *-j-* with *-ai-*forms. What is the significance for Primitive Teutonic of this mixture of forms, and which, Gothic or Anglo-Saxon, is nearer the primitive condition?

An historical review of the subject shows that the discussion from Bopp to Bartholomae has been guided by two assumptions; viz. (1) that the Latin *ē*-verb is the same as the Teutonic *ai*-verb; (2) that the *-j-* of Anglo- and Old Saxon is to be ascribed to primitive Teutonic. Professor Collitz alone, in his recent paper on the auslaut *ai* in Gothic, Old High German, and Old Saxon, denies the validity of these two assumptions. He proposes a solution of the problem which is based upon Gothic as representing the original inflexion.

The present paper will in no way touch upon the question of the origin of the *ai*-conjugation, but will admit the second important question; — what was the original form of the conjugation? For my purpose is to confine my attention to the third weak class as it exists in Teutonic, to give an historical treatment of the class and its development, hoping thereby to reconstruct the primitive *ai*-class and the primitive *ai*-inflexion.

#### I. — A. The Primitive Teutonic *ai*-verbs.

The following verbs may be ascribed without hesitation to Primitive Teutonic: —

	Goth.	OHG.	OSax.	AgS.	ON.
1.	<i>aistan</i> ;	—	—	—	<i>asta</i> .
2.	<i>arman</i> ;	<i>armēn</i> ;	<i>armon</i> ;	<i>earmian</i> ;	—
3.	—	<i>bibēn</i> ;	<i>bibon</i> ;	<i>bifian</i> .	<i>bifask</i> .

	Goth.	OHG.	OSax.	AgS.	ON.
4.	<i>fi(j)an</i> ;	<i>flên</i> ;	—	<i>fôn</i> ;	<i>ffd.</i>
5.	—	<i>folgên</i> ;	<i>folgon</i> ;	<i>folgian.</i>	—
6.	—	<i>frágên</i> ;	<i>fragon.</i>	—	—
7.	—	<i>fullên</i> ;	<i>fullon</i> ;	<i>fullian</i> ;	<i>fulla.</i>
8.	—	<i>ginên</i> ;	—	<i>ginian</i> ;	<i>gina.</i>
9.	<i>haban</i> ;	<i>habên</i> ;	<i>hebbian</i> ;	<i>hæbban</i> ;	<i>hafa.</i>
10.	<i>háhan</i> ;	<i>hangên</i> ;	<i>hangon</i> ;	<i>hangian</i> ;	<i>hanga.</i>
11.	<i>hatan</i> ;	<i>harsên</i> ;	<i>haton</i> ;	<i>hatian</i> ;	<i>hata.</i>
12.	—	<i>hlinên</i> ;	<i>hlinon</i> ;	<i>hlinian.</i>	—
13.	—	<i>hogên</i> ;	<i>huggian</i> ;	<i>hyg(e)an.</i>	—
14.	—	<i>klebên</i> ;	<i>clibon</i> ;	<i>clifian</i> ;	<i>klifa.</i>
15.	<i>kunnan</i> ;	<i>kunnên</i> ;	<i>kunnon</i> ;	<i>kunnian.</i>	—
16.	<i>liban</i> ;	<i>libên</i> ;	<i>libbian</i> ;	<i>libban</i> ;	<i>lifa.</i>
17.	<i>leikan</i> ;	<i>lêcchên</i> ;	<i>likon</i> ;	<i>lîcian</i> ;	<i>lika.</i>
18.	<i>luban</i> (lubains).	—	—	—	—
19.	<i>maurnan</i> ;	<i>mornên</i> ;	<i>mornon</i> ;	<i>murnde.</i>	—
20.	<i>reiran.</i>	—	—	—	—
21.	<i>rúnan</i> ;	—	—	—	<i>rýna.</i>
22.	—	<i>sagên</i> ;	<i>seggian</i> ;	<i>secg(e)an</i> ;	<i>segja.</i>
23.	<i>sifan.</i>	—	—	—	—
24.	<i>silan.</i>	—	—	—	—
25.	<i>slavan.</i>	—	—	—	—
26.	<i>skaman</i> ;	<i>scamên</i> ;	—	<i>scamian</i> ;	<i>skanma.</i>
27.	<i>saurgan</i> ;	<i>sorgên</i> ;	<i>sorgon</i> ;	<i>sorgian.</i>	—
28.	—	<i>swtégên</i> ;	<i>swtgon</i> ;	<i>swigian.</i>	—
29.	<i>staurran</i> ;	<i>storrên</i> ;	—	—	<i>styrra.</i>
30.	—	<i>zaln</i> ;	<i>talon</i> ;	<i>talian</i> ;	<i>tala.</i>
31.	<i>trauan</i> ;	<i>trúên</i> ;	<i>tráon</i> ;	<i>tráwian</i> ;	<i>trúa.</i>
32.	<i>þahan</i> ;	<i>dagên</i> ;	<i>thagon</i> ;	—	<i>þegja.</i>
33.	<i>þivan</i> ;	—	—	<i>þéowian.</i>	—
34.	<i>þarþan</i> ;	<i>darbên</i> ;	<i>tharþon</i> ;	<i>þearþian</i> ;	<i>þarfa.</i>
35.	<i>þulan</i> ;	<i>dolên</i> ;	<i>tholon</i> ;	<i>þolian</i> ;	<i>þola.</i>
36.	—	<i>wachên</i> ;	<i>wakon</i> ;	<i>wacian</i> ;	<i>vaka.</i>
37.	<i>witan</i> ;	—	—	<i>witian.</i>	—
38.	<i>wunan</i> ;	<i>wonên</i> ;	<i>wonon</i> ;	<i>wonian.</i>	—

To this list may be added certain other verbs which may have belonged originally to the ai-class, but whose present condition casts but little light upon their primitive form. These are: Goth. *bauan*; OHG. *borgên*; OHG. *garahrên*; OHG. *hlosên*; Goth. *hveilan*; Goth. *vanan*; Goth. *veiþan*.

A consideration of this list of original ai-verbs brings out certain facts which are of importance for the light they throw upon the original character and function of the class.

(1) Of the thirty-eight verbs to be ascribed certainly to Primitive Teutonic, eight only are denominatives; viz., *arman*, *fullên*, *leikan*, *rúnan*, *skaman*, *zaln*, *þivan*, *vunan*.



(2) The following may be called Primitive Teutonic deverbatives; *i.e.* verbs co-existing with and derived from a strong verb:—

- ginên*: from \**gīnan*. (Cf. OHG. *geinōn*; AgS. *gēnan*.)  
*klebên*: from \**klīban*. (Cf. OHG. *klīban*; ON. *clifa*.)  
*hlinên*: from \**hlinan*. (Cf. OHG. *hleinjan*; ON. *hleina*.)  
*liban*: from \**llban*. (Cf. Goth. *ga-leiban*.)  
*hðhan*: from \**hanhan*. (Cf. Goth. *hðhan*, st. red. v'b.)  
*wachên*: from \**wacan wôc*. (Cf. AgS. *wacan*; ON. p't part. *vakinna*.)  
*frågên*: from \**frihnan* \**frah*. (Cf. Goth. *fraihnan*, etc.)

To this list should be added the verbs *vitan*, *þarban*, *kunnan*, developed in Primitive Teutonic from the corresponding preterit present verbs.

(3) There remain twenty non-derivatives; *viz.*, *aistan*, *biðên*, *fi(j)an*, *folgên*, *haban*, *hatan*, *hogên*, *luban*, *maurnan*, *reiran*, *sagên*, *sifan*, *silan*, *slavan*, *saurgan*, *swigên*, *staurran*, *trauan*, *þahan*, *þulan*.

It is important to notice that where these non-derivative ai-verbs exist in the cognate languages, they are non-derivatives. *aistan* is in Greek *αἰδομαι* (= \**als-δομαι*); *biðên*<sup>1</sup> = \**bhi-bhai-mi*; *reiran* is original \**rt-rai-mi*.<sup>1</sup> Sanskr. *pi-yati* is Teut. *fi-j-an*; Sanskr. *çdhati*, Teut. *hatan*; Sanskr. *lubhati*, Teut. *luban*. Teut. *þulan* is Greek *ἐπιλην*; Teut. *sagên*, Greek *ἐννεπε*, *ἐν-σπε* (= Lat. *in-sece*).

Reconsider, now, the relation of the Teutonic ai-verbs with Latin verbs in *ē*. The number of Latin and Teutonic equivalents is in reality very small. There are only *haban*, *habere*; *luban*, *lubere*; *silan*, *silere*; *þahan*, *tacere*; *witan*, *videre*. Of these, *videre* is of little importance in evidence of the original identity of the two classes, inasmuch as *witan* is apparently a Teutonic derivative. A like development is seen in Teut. *wacan*, *wachên*, Lat. *vegere*. The relation, too, of \**luban* to *lubhati* is quite as significant as that of *luban* to *lubere*. Furthermore, Primitive Teutonic ai-verbs are represented in Latin by other conjugations. E.g., *gî-ên*, *hiäre*; *hlinên*, *in-clinäre*; *hatan*, *cadere*; *sagên*, *sequor*.

The likeness of vocabulary noticeable in the Latin *ē*-class and the Teutonic ai-class admits of ready explanation as the result of likeness in function. Identity of function and likeness in vocabulary are not sufficient to prove identity of origin.

#### B. The treatment of the original ai-class in the different dialects.

(a) With regard to the relative extent of the third weak class in the dialects, the state of the case is briefly this. Gothic and Norse are upon practically the same footing in their treatment of the class; in both dialects the verbs are few in number, and nearly all of them are neuters. Anglo-Saxon and Old Saxon have practically lost the inflexion, the primitive ai-verbs that have been retained, passing regularly into the *ð*-class. In Old High German alone has this class assumed any importance in the general process of verb development. There it appears as a large class, capable of indefinite growth.

The condition of the ai-verb in Anglo-Saxon is of particular interest. There the sole remnants of the class are *habban*, *libban*, *scæg(e)an*, *hycg(e)an*. The other verbs classed by Sievers with these to form the third weak conjugation—*viz.*, *ðriæg(o)an*, *smiæg(e)an*, *fæg(e)an*, *frïog(e)an*—do not, with the exception of *fæg(e)an*, belong to the original ai-class. They may, moreover, be accounted

<sup>1</sup> See Kluge KZ. XXVI.; also PBB. VIII. 343.

for regularly as contract verbs of the second class. Take, for example, *fríog(e)an*, which by the regular laws of contraction is thus derived. Goth. *fríþn* = AgS. *fríon*. In accordance with regular Anglo-Saxon development *fríon* becomes *fríog(e)an*. Now, if this verb has in Anglo-Saxon the inflexion of *habban*, *secg(e)an*, etc., there should be umlaut in the infinitive, the first person singular present indicative, etc. "The orig. inflex.," says Sievers, "is more clearly perceptible in Ps. than in WS." But the *i* of Ps. *frigan* is not necessarily the *i*-umlaut of WS. *éo*. It is found not infrequently where umlaut is impossible, and can only be considered a dialectic treatment of *éo* before *g*. For example, *wrlga* is quoted for WS. *wríon*; *tih* for *tíoh*; *figu* and *ligende* for *flíogu* and *flíogende*.

(b) Anglo- and Old Saxon, then, yielded the *ai*-inflexion in favor of the *-ð*. Old High German, on the contrary, seized upon the central characteristic of the original conjugation as the basis of development for an important class. By emphasizing the passive nature of the class, Old High German pushed to its extreme the power of double formation, which may be seen already active in Primitive Teutonic. The *-e*- and *-j*-formations became active and passive counterparts, any adjective being capable of taking either form. E.g., *blinden* (from \**blindjan*), to blind, *blintên*, to become blind; *truoben*, to disturb, *truobên*, to be disturbed; *heftan*, to bind, *hafstên*, to be in bonds; etc.

In Anglo-Saxon and Old Saxon it is noticeable that the  $\delta$ -conjugation exercises, to a certain extent, the passive function belonging in Primitive Teutonic to the *ai*-class. The explanation of this fact can only be that, with the passage of the *ai*-verbs into the  $\delta$ -conjugation, the power of passive formation was transferred to the latter. E.g., *earmian*, *yrman*; *bealdian*, *byldan*; *cólian*, *célan*; etc.

There is a marked contrast between the East and West Germanic in their treatment of the *ai*-inflexion. While in West Germanic the *ai*-inflexion was developed as the class of passive formation, in East Germanic a parallel development took place with the *n-an* inflexion. E.g., Goth. *ga-hatjan*, to make use of, *ga-batnan*, to be of use; *ga-blindnan*, to be blind, *ga-blindjan*, to make blind; etc. In Norse the *n-an* class, as the *ai*-class in Anglo-Saxon, passed into the  $\delta$ -inflexion, and thus the Norse  $\delta$ -inflexion gained the power of passive formation.

(c) The main points with regard to the inflexional condition of the *ai*-class in Teutonic may be thus summed up. Gothic and Old High German are upon practically the same footing; but at the same time Old High German has, instead of the strong forms of Gothic, regular forms in *ē*: Old Norse agrees in the present system with Old High German, but has a preterit without connecting vowel. Anglo-Saxon and Old Saxon agree in the present system with Gothic, Old High German, and Old Norse in the form of the second and third singular present indicative: everywhere else in the present, *j*-forms occur. The Saxon preterit is the same as that of the Norse.

## II. Concerning the Primitive Teutonic inflexion of verbs of the third weak class.

The problem for discussion is represented in —

- |                         |                     |                       |
|-------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| (a) Goth. <i>haba</i> ; | AgS. <i>habbe</i> ; | OSax. <i>hebbiu</i> . |
| <i>habais</i> ;         | <i>hafast</i> ;     | <i>habas, -es</i> .   |
| <i>habaiþ</i> ;         | <i>hafað</i> ;      | <i>habad, -ed</i> .   |

- (b) Goth. *habaida*; OHG. *habéta*; OSax. *habda*; ON. *hafði*; AgS. *hafde*.

The general opinion of scholars to-day is that we must infer for the Primitive Teutonic ai-inflexion a present having an interchange of j- and ai-forms, and a preterit without connecting vowel. But, it seems to me, that the view has been accepted upon evidence too slight, without giving due attention to the possibility of another explanation. The general condition of Gothic is so much older than that of the other dialects that, in case of variance in form among the dialects, the supposition must always be in favor of the antiquity of the Gothic, until the varying form has been proved the older.

What are the arguments adduced in proof of an original -j- in the conjugation?

The condition of the corresponding class in Slavonic and Lithuanian furnishes the main support for the generally accepted opinion. In OSlav. *sědą* (= \**sédja*), *sěditi*, beside *sědčichŭ*, *sěděti*, *sědětŭ*; Lith. *sėdu* (= \**sėdjū*), *sėdi*, beside *sėdėjau*, *sėdėsiu*, *sėdėti* may be seen, it is argued, the original thematic and athematic conjugations which combined to form the inflexion of Goth. *haban*, *liban*, etc. But, whatever should be concluded from these data about the verb \**sədjō* in Letto-Slavic, it is difficult to see what bearing the result would have upon the question of the original ai-inflexion. Teut. \**siljan* is a strong verb like \**bidjan*, without trace of relation with the Teutonic ai-class. Furthermore, Lithuanian is exceedingly untrustworthy with respect to the use of -j- in the verbs. Says Bremer: "The j-formations are so numerous in comparison with the other languages, that we may hardly avoid the conclusion that the j-inflexion has overstepped its original limits, and thus includes many verbs not originally belonging there. Not only numberless derived verbs have a-j- in the present; it is found also in the present of primary verbs." In short, Lithuanian in its verb system is as far from original as are the Saxon dialects.

Mahlow sees in *habēe* (late *habēie*) of the Alemannian (Weinhold, Alem. Gr. 368 sq.), a trace of the old j-inflexion. These optative forms, however, may be readily explained as an effort to differentiate the optative from the present indicative, — perhaps as an effort toward the equalization of endings. The present optative endings -e, -es, -e belong, not only to weak j-verbs, but to all strong verbs as well. The Alemannian dialect has simply chosen to consider -e, -ēs, -e the general optative endings, irrespective of class stem.

Of far more importance in the discussion are the j-forms in Old Norse inflexion of *hafa* (pres. *hef*, *hefe*, *hefr*), *segja*, and *þegja*. Sievers (PBB. VIII. 93), by an ingenious method of comparison, arrives at an ideal inflexion for Norse, showing the ancient interchange of forms.

Infinitive.	*hefja	hafa	segja	þegja
Pres. Ind. 1.	hef	hefi	seg	segi
2.	*hafir	hefr	*sagir	segr
3.	*hafir	hefr	*sagir	segr
pl. 1.	*hefjom	hefom	segjom	þegjom
2.	hafð		*sagið	segið
3.	*hefja	hafa	segja	þegja

The weakness in Sievers' method is that, although it is possible by careful arrangement to form a model inflexion out of the material at hand, there is no evidence that such an inflexion ever existed. If it did, why have we not *hefja*? If there was originally \**hef* \**hafir* in the present, how shall we explain the consistent j-inflexion in the present of the three verbs? Assuming the original Norse

inflexion to have been \**hefja* \**hef* \**haftr*, is there any explanation for the fully developed regular inflexion of Norse, which is in every respect the same as that of Gothic, except in the first singular present indicative? It is not possible to consider, *hafa* a development from \**hefja*, *waka* from *wekja*, etc. To avoid this difficulty, Johansson resorts to the supposition of two original conjugations. This supposition makes the problem assume a form apparently simple. But there still remains to explain how two independent Primitive Teutonic conjugations should have developed as we find them in the dialects. Why does only the one appear in Gothic and in Old High German, while in the Saxon dialects the two are preserved in a curious mixed conjugation, and finally in Old Norse alone the two are kept independent?

It seems much simpler and more natural to consider the Norse j-forms a late development after the analogy of the j-class.

An important fact to be noticed in the Saxon and Anglo-Saxon ai-inflexion is the instability of umlaut. In Old Saxon inflexion *hebbian* and *habbian* occur; also second plural *hebbiad* and *habbiad*. No dialect of Anglo-Saxon gives *habban* with umlaut regularly. The form *hebbe* is found in the Durham Book, but in that Ms. the common form is *hæbbe*. The same irregularity is noticeable in *sęcg(e)an*, *sęcg(e)an*.

This irregularity in use of umlaut is very strong evidence that the Anglo-Saxon j-forms are of comparatively late development. And, adding this to the evidence furnished by the other dialects, I am unable, for myself, to avoid the conclusion that the original ai-conjugation at least did not contain an interchange of -j- and -ai- forms.

If we reject Anglo-Saxon as the original inflexion, the choice then lies between Gothic and Old High German. The regular inflexion of the latter are readily explained as the natural adoption of *ai* as the characteristic stem. On the other hand, the strong forms of the Gothic are inexplicable, save as remnants of an older condition. Anglo-Saxon, through *hafu*, *sęgo*, would seem to bear direct evidence to the antiquity of the Gothic inflexion.

The question arises, is there anything in the condition of the inflexion itself to account for the j-formation in Anglo-Saxon, and is there any connection between the Anglo-Saxon j-forms and those of Old Norse and Old High German? For Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse the explanation is simple: the point of agreement between the first and third classes is plainly in the preterit, which has the same form as that of the short-stemmed verbs of the j-class. Do not facts justify our assigning the same explanation to the OHG. *hebis*, *hebit*; *segis*, *segit*; *libis*, *libit*; *libita*, *hebita*? The pret. *segita* bears apparently the same relation to \**sagta*, and *libita* to *lipta*, that *hebita* bears to *hapta*. Abundant evidence for such treatment of the preterit is found in verbs of the first class. E.g., *zalta*, *zelita*; *ratta*, *retita*; *scutta*, *scutita*; etc.

Such a view of the common development of j-forms in the ai-inflexion is conditioned by the antiquity of the Norse and Anglo-Saxon short preterit. Here Norse and West Germanic seem undoubtedly older than Gothic. ON. *sęđi*, *hafđi*, *lifđi*, *hugđi*; OHG. \**sagta* (*segita*), *hapta*, *hōcta*, *frōgta*; AgS. *sęgde*, *hęfde*, *lifde*, *hogde* cannot be explained as new formations, nor could they have been developed by contraction from *libaida*, \**sazaida*, \**huzaida*, *hēbaida*. Goth. *gahugds* gives testimony to an original short preterit. Also OHG. *duft* (OSax. *githili*; AgS. *gęđylid*) supplies the old short preterit of Goth. *þulan*, \**þulda* = ON. *folda*.

## 22. Differences in Versification between the Satires and Epistles of Horace, by Guy V. Thompson, of Yale University.

The statement is often made that the Epistles of Horace are written in more polished hexameters than are the Satires. The object of the following paper is to determine what grounds, if any, exist for this statement, so far as it may be done by an examination of the mechanism of the verse without regard to the question whether Horace purposely wrote his Satires in rougher rhythm. The Georgics of Vergil, considered the most finished of Latin hexameters, have been taken as a model. Of course this method of comparison is not to be applied too rigidly, but in cases where there is a marked difference between the Georgics and Horace's hexameters, and also a reasonable explanation of that difference, the figures for the Satires and Epistles will be significant.

As regards quantity, instances of variation from the normal usage are few, and will not be discussed here. The remaining points of comparison, then, may be divided into the following classes:—

- I. Proportion and position of dactyls and spondees.
- II. The caesura.
- III. The close of the verse.
- IV. Miscellaneous points.

### I. DACTYLS AND SPONDEES.<sup>1</sup>

	Satires.	Epistles.	Georgics.
Dactyls . . . . .	42 %	44 %	43.9 %
Spondees . . . . .	58 %	56 %	56.1 %
Dactylic lines . . . . .	48 cases	36 cases	49 cases
Spondaic " . . . . .		1 case	4 cases
First foot a dactyl . . . . .	55 %	54.8 %	63 %
Second foot a spondee . . . . .	55.8	54.1	54.5
Third " " " . . . . .	62.1	60.7	61.1
Fourth " " " . . . . .	69.9	64	71.5

No striking differences occur in this class, the spondaic lines being so few as to furnish no basis for comparison. It is interesting here, however, to note the corresponding figures for Homer,—Dactyls 68.1 %, spondees 31.9 %, dactylic lines 17.6 % (Horace about 2 %), spondaic lines 4 %, first foot a dactyl 60.3 %, second a dactyl 59.6 %, third a dactyl 84.8 %, fourth a dactyl 61.8 %.

### II. CAESURA.

The determination of the caesura being so largely a matter of individual opinion, absolute accuracy is not claimed for the following table in all respects, but consistency has been aimed at throughout the three bodies of text.

For convenience, the figures given in this class stand for so many in one thousand lines, the actual number of occurrences being, therefore, about twice as many, since the Satires number 2113 lines, the Epistles 1958, the Georgics 2189.

<sup>1</sup> The figures in this class mostly from Drobisch, *Formen des lat. Hex.; Berichte der kön. sächs. Ges.*, 1868, p. 16 ff.

	Satires.	Epistles.	Georgics.
Prin. caesura other than m 3 . . . . .	241	254	266
m 3 wanting . . . . .	113	131	121
No word ending in 3d foot . . . . .	28	26	27
Prin. caesura m 3 with B. D. . . . .	68	45	22
“ “ m 4 . . . . .	113	104	144
“ “ m 2 and m 4 . . . . .	61	79	95
“ “ m 2 and B. D. . . . .	17	16	4
“ “ f 3 . . . . .	48	53	23
f 4 subordinate caesura . . . . .	2	6	2
Caesura before elision . . . . .	8	12	24
( “ “ “ minus <i>-que</i> . . . . .	7	7	3.2-)

The lines in which m 3 is wanting are of course those which have f 3 either as principal or as subordinate caesura, and those in which no word ends in the third foot.

The differences in use of caesura are not striking excepting in the case of the tripartite line formed by masculine caesura of the second foot (m 2) with bucolic diaeresis (B. D.), and in the case of caesura before the enclitic *-que*.

The combination m 2 B. D., making a weak line, is hardly found in the Georgics at all, i.e. only ten times, while it is found thirty-one times in the Epistles, and thirty-seven times in the Satires.

The occurrence of caesura before elision, as in the line (Sat. I, 1, 35) : —

quem struit haud ignara ac non incauta futuri,

eight, twelve, and twenty-four times in 1000 lines respectively in the Satires, Epistles, and Georgics would seem to show the Georgics faulty in this respect. But upon examination it is found that in many cases in the Satires and Epistles, and in the great majority of cases in the Georgics, the syllable following the caesura is *-que*, combined by elision with the following word. Removing these cases, we have remaining not quite half as many in the Georgics as in the Satires or Epistles. That it is right to remove them, that such a case was not regarded as a blemish, that a distinct pause was sometimes allowed between *-que* and the preceding word, is shown not only by the large number of such occurrences as compared with the remaining instances of caesura before elision, which number is much larger in the more carefully written verse, but also by the fact that most of the cases of hypermeter (five out of the seven) in the three bodies of verse under consideration have *-que* as the final and extra syllable. If, as is supposed, the elision of *-que* was total, the admission of such caesurae as the above is sufficiently accounted for.

Waltz (*Variations*, etc., p. 223) notices only one case of feminine caesura of the fourth foot, viz. Sat. I, 8, 1. They are rare, but Sat. I, 3, 110; II, 3, 295; 8, 17; Epistles I, 2, 3; 5, 6; 18, 2, 32, 40; II, 1, 34, 59; 2, 7; 3, 87; should be added to this.

Kiessling in his preface to the Satires, p. xviii, notices several cases of a preposition cut off from the verb with which it is compounded by a caesura. There are twelve lines in the Satires and sixteen in the Epistles, the thesis of whose third foot consists of such a preposition. But in all these lines the principal

caesura may be regarded as m 4 or m 2 and 4, excepting in the line (Sat. II, 3, 134): —

an tu reris eum occisa insanisse parente,

and Ep. II, 3, 87 and 377: —

cur ego si neque ignoroque poeta salutor?  
sic animis natum inventumque poema juvendis.

In the last two lines, in view of the occasional separation of *-que* from the preceding word, m 4 is no harder than m 3.

Two instances occur of a negative prefix (*in*) cut off from its adjective by a caesura. Sat. I, 3, 181, and Ep. II, 3, 263: —

vestrum praetor, is instabilis et sacer esto;  
non quivis videt immodulata poemata judex.

Or perhaps it is better, especially in the latter, to regard these lines as without caesura.

### III. CLOSE OF VERSE.

	Satires.	Epistles.	Georgics.
Monosyllabic endings . . . . .	249	152	21
“ “ preceded by polysyllables . . .	111	69	8
“ “ beginning new sentences . . .	24	27	0
Dissyllabic endings “ “ “ . . .	117	68	9
Quadrisyllabic endings . . . . .	30	6	5
Pentesyllabic “ . . . . .	21	10	3
Rhyme . . . . .	2	1	3
Echoing lines . . . . .	2	1	1
Hypermeter . . . . .	2	0	5
Words broken by end of line . . . . .	4	4	1
Elision in sixth foot . . . . .	31	19	7
Word and verse accent conflicting in fifth and sixth feet	142	90	12

In the above table the actual number of occurrences is given, without reduction to the basis of 1000 verses.

It will be seen at once that the most marked differences between the Satires, Epistles, and Georgics are found in the close of the verse. A monosyllabic word at the end of the line is not objectionable unless preceded by a word of more than one syllable. So few cases of rhyme, echoing lines, hypermeter, and broken words occur as to afford no basis of comparison. In the remaining points the Epistles are seen to be superior to the Satires, excepting in the case of monosyllabic finals beginning a new sentence, in which the Satires and Epistles are nearly equal, while the Georgics contain no instance of such final. The most striking point of difference is that of conflict between word- and verse-accent in the last two feet of the verse. Harmony in the last two, conflict in the first four, feet of the verse is the rule in Latin hexameter, less in the earlier poets, who perhaps followed the rule unconsciously; more in the later, who evidently aimed at such effect.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS POINTS.

In frequency of elision the Satires and Epistles differ greatly, the former having 922 cases, the latter 386. But Vergil does not avoid elision, the Georgics presenting 1068 cases, the Aeneid even a greater proportion. In the sixth foot, however, elision is avoided, as seen above.

The Satires furnish 56 cases in which the word- and verse-accent coincide throughout the line, as:—

Sat. I, 1, 57, plenior ut si quos delectet copia iusto.

The Epistles present 39 cases, the Georgics 11.

Remarks upon the paper were made by Professors Humphreys, Ashmore, and J. L. Hall.

23: On the Narrative Use of Imperfect and Perfect in the Brāhmanas, by Professor W. D. Whitney, of Yale University.

In the absence of the author this paper was read by title only. It is printed in full in the Transactions.

24. The Pronunciation of Scientific Terms in English, by Professor F. A. March, of Lafayette College.

There are reasons for regarding the technical terms of science and art in English as constituting a department of language so different from the common and literary speech as to be entitled to separate treatment in linguistic discussions.

It is plain that laws of unconscious action are not supreme in this department. There is deliberate study and adoption not only of particular words, but of general principles on which classes of words shall be formed. It was suggested—(1) That the written words should be recognized as the primary words in this department. The words are made for the most part from Greek words which are known to the makers only as book words, the pronunciation not being thought of, and it being expected and recognized that each scientist will pronounce for himself, but must write correctly.

(2) It would be well to give up the attempt to have the vowel sounds conform to the analogy of literary English, and accept the common sounds of the continental vowels as given in our schools.

(3) It may be well to give up the attempt to accent compound words according to the quantity of penultimate syllables, and accept the Germanic rule of accenting significant syllables, dividing compounds so as to make their parts plain to the ear.

The paper was very generally discussed by the members of the Association.

25. Notes on Greek Grammar, by Professor M. W. Humphreys, of the University of Virginia.

I. A peculiar use of *ὅτι*.

P. Schmidt, in Schanz's Beiträge, cites examples from Homer, in which *ὅτι* or *ὅ* has the force of "that" in "What ails you *that* you do not eat?" He remarks that in Attic a participle is employed in such cases (*τί παθὼν οὐκ ἐσθίεις*). O.



Riemann, reviewing Schmidt's work in the *Revue de Philologie*, xiv, p. 184, cites Soph. Ant. 161, and a similar use of  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  in Ar. Vesp. 266 f., and adds that he cannot say whether the usage occurs in Attic prose or not. His remark that these two Attic examples occur in *lyric* passages is calculated to mislead those who do not call an anapaestic system "lyric." An example of  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  not in lyric poetry can be obtained by correcting the punctuation in Ar. Nub. 325 f., and, possibly, in Soph. Phil. 914. But there is at least one example in Attic prose, in the very first sentence of Plato (Euthyphr. 2 A),  $\tau\acute{\iota}$  νεώτερον . . . γέγονεν,  $\delta\tau\iota$  σὺ . . . διατρίβεις περὶ τὴν βασιλέως στοάν;

2. The dative of measure or difference with  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ , "after."

The examples cited in grammars are unsatisfactory. The dat. is in reality construed with  $\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$  which, in the historians, seems to be invariably added. The only exception the writer has observed in Attic prose is Dem. xxxiii. 9,  $\acute{\omicron}\nu$  πολλῶ δὲ χρόνῳ μετὰ ταῦτα (without  $\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$ ).

3. Negatives in a negative sentence.

a. Some of the grammars assume erroneously that  $\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon$ ,  $\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\pi\omega$ ,  $\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\pi\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon$ ,  $\mu\acute{\eta}\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon$ , etc., belong to the list of compound negatives that may be induced by a preceding  $\acute{\omicron}\nu$  or  $\mu\acute{\eta}$ ; while in fact they are, and perhaps should be, written,  $\acute{\omicron}\nu$   $\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon$ ,  $\acute{\omicron}\nu$   $\pi\omega$ ,  $\acute{\omicron}\nu$   $\pi\acute{\omega}$   $\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon$ , etc. Of course  $\acute{\omicron}\delta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon$  (i.e.  $\acute{\omicron}\delta\delta\acute{\epsilon}$   $\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon$ ) and other combinations of  $\acute{\omicron}\delta\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  belong to the list, because  $\acute{\omicron}\delta\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  in these cases emphasizes just as it does with any part of speech. It is often erroneously inferred by students that  $\acute{\omicron}\delta\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota$  and  $\mu\eta\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota$  belong to the list.

b. Attention should be called to the fact that  $\mu\acute{\eta}$  after verbs of fearing,  $\epsilon\iota$   $\mu\acute{\eta}$  =  $nisi$ , and ( $\tau\upsilon\alpha$ ,  $\theta\pi\omega\varsigma$ )  $\mu\acute{\eta}$ , "lest," do not induce compound negatives after them.

c. An investigation is needed of the question when the compound negative is used, and when not, in those cases where the sentence is plainly negative, and the subsequent pronoun or conjunction ( $\tau\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\iota$ , etc.) unquestionably has a negative compound representative. For instances where the simple conjunction and the negative compound give different meanings, cf. Thuc. v. 18. The negative would be wrong in Xen. Cyrop. i. 6. 17; Isae. ii. 15; Luc. Dial. Mort. 25, 3; Aeschin. F. L. 42, 19. In Plat. Lys. 217 e, the compound negative has independent force.

4. Ingressive second aorist.

In the *Classical Review*, v. 6, p. 249, Mr. Frank Carter speaks of a certain interpretation as violating "Prof. Gildersleeve's canon *arud* C. D. Morris on Thuc. i. 12. 3, that  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\chi\omicron\nu$  is the only strong aorist used ingressively." Ib. p. 252 he defends this "canon" against seeming exceptions, and is inclined to deny ingressive force to  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\chi\omicron\nu$  itself. Whatever be the force in the passage under discussion,  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\chi\omicron\nu$  elsewhere is certainly sometimes ingressive, as Thuc. v. 17. 2.

But Professor Gildersleeve's so-called canon was only an incidental remark. His words are: "This is the only *second* aor. which appears to be used ingressively, the pres. which is 'process' of holding, connoting 'state.'" He certainly did not intend this to be a regulative canon. Each second aorist must be considered separately; and so we find another,  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\mu\omicron\nu$ , used ingressively, as in Xen. Hell. iii. 3. 1, Ἅγις ἀφικόμενος εἰς Δελφούς καὶ τὴν δεκάτην ἀποθύσας, πάλιν ἀπὼν ἔκαμεν ἐν Ἡραίῃ, γέρων ἦδη ὦν, καὶ ἀπηνέχθη εἰς Λακεδαιμόνα ἐτι ζῶν, ἐκεῖ δὲ ταχὺ ἐτελεύτησεν. v. 3. 19, ἑβδομαῖος ἀφ' οὗ ἔκαμεν ἔξω τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐτελεύτησεν. In these sentences  $\nu\omicron\sigma\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$  might have been used.

The paper was discussed by Professor Gildersleeve.

Professor J. H. Wright here referred to the improved financial condition of the Association, and moved that the Executive Committee be requested to consider and act upon the question of restoring the *honorarium* of the Secretary. The motion was carried without a dissenting voice. The Executive Committee voted that the salary of the Secretary should be \$250 for the year 1892-93.

Professor F. A. March, of Lafayette College, reported as Chairman of the Committee on Spelling Reform.

The Committee has not taken any official action during the year. The Century Dictionary has published in the last volume the list of amended spellings according to the rules jointly recommended by the Philological Society, of England, and the American Philological Association, with introductory remarks by Professor W. D. Whitney. This is the list published in the Transactions of this Association in 1886. There is a movement among the scientists connected with the United States departments at Washington to secure the organization of a government Board on the orthography of scientific terms, similar to the Board on Geographic Names appointed in 1890 by President Harrison. The chemists in the American Association for the advancement of science have taken action toward a reform of their technical terms. Many petitions have been presented to Congress for the adoption of some amended spellings, and hearings have been had before the Committee on Education of the House of Representatives.

The report was accepted, and the Committee continued. It now consists of Messrs. March (Chairman), Child, Lounsbury, Price, Trumbull, and Whitney.

The following papers, which were announced in the circular issued before the meeting, were withdrawn by their authors:—

The Rhesus ascribed to Euripides, by Professor John C. Rolfe, of the University of Michigan.

The Time and Place of Greek Plays, by Professor Thomas D. Seymour, of Yale University.

Scythes and Cos, by Professor J. H. Wright, of Harvard University.

After receiving an invitation to visit the Chapel and Museum of the University, the Association adjourned at 1 P.M.

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<sup>1</sup> This list has been corrected up to January, 1893: permanent addresses are given, as far as may be. Names where the residence is left blank are either of members who are in Europe, or of those whose addresses are not known to the Secretary. The Secretary and the Publishers beg to be kept informed of all changes of address.

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 Randall C. Hall, General Theological Seminary, New York, N. Y. (245 West Forty-eighth St.).  
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Clarence H. Young, 308 West Fifty-eighth St., New York City.  
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[Number of Members, 379.]

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Baltimore, Md. : Peabody Institute.  
Berea, Madison Co., Ky. : Berea College Library.  
Berkeley, Cal. : University of California Library.  
Boston, Mass. : Boston Athenæum.  
Boston, Mass. : Boston Public Library.  
Brooklyn, N. Y. : The Brooklyn Library.  
Brunswick, Me. : Bowdoin College Library.  
Bryn Mawr, Pa. : Bryn Mawr College Library.  
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Chicago, Ill. : Public Library.  
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Cleveland, O. : Library of Adelbert College of Western Reserve University.  
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 New York, N. Y. : Union Theological Seminary Library (1200 Park Ave.).  
 Olivet, Eaton Co., Mich. : Olivet College Library.  
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 Philadelphia, Pa. : The Library Company of Philadelphia.  
 Philadelphia, Pa. : The Mercantile Library.  
 Poughkeepsie, N. Y. : Vassar College Library.  
 Providence, R. I. : Brown University Library.  
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 Washington, D. C. : United States Bureau of Education.  
 Waterbury, Conn. : Silas Bronson Library.  
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 Wellesley, Mass. : Wellesley College Library.  
 Worcester, Mass. : Free Public Library.

[Number of subscribing institutions, 61.]

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British Museum, London, England.  
Royal Asiatic Society, London.  
Philological Society, London.  
Society of Biblical Archæology, London.  
Indian Office Library, London.  
Bodleian Library, Oxford.  
University Library, Cambridge, England.  
Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, Scotland.  
Trinity College Library, Dublin, Ireland.  
Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.  
Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.  
North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Shanghai.  
Japan Asiatic Society, Yokohama.  
Public Library of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia.  
Sir George Grey's Library, Cape Town, Africa.  
Reykjavik College Library, Iceland.  
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University of Upsala, Sweden.  
Russian Imperial Academy, St. Petersburg.  
Austrian Imperial Academy, Vienna.  
Anthropologische Gesellschaft, Vienna.  
Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, Italy.  
Reale Accademia delle Scienze, Turin.  
Société Asiatique, Paris, France.  
Athénée Oriental, Louvain, Belgium.  
Curatorium of the University, Leyden, Holland.  
Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Batavia, Java.  
Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences, Berlin, Germany.  
Royal Saxon Academy of Sciences, Leipsic.  
Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences, Munich.  
Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, Halle.  
Library of the University of Bonn.  
Library of the University of Jena.  
Library of the University of Königsberg.  
Library of the University of Leipsic.  
Library of the University of Tübingen.  
Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.

[Number of foreign institutions, 37.]

[Total (379 + 61 + 37 + 1 =), 478.]

**CONSTITUTION**  
OF THE  
**AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.**

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**ARTICLE I.—NAME AND OBJECT.**

1. This Society shall be known as "The American Philological Association."
2. Its object shall be the advancement and diffusion of philological knowledge.

**ARTICLE II.—OFFICERS.**

1. The officers shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and Curator, and a Treasurer.
2. There shall be an Executive Committee of ten, composed of the above officers and five other members of the Association.
3. All the above officers shall be elected at the last session of each annual meeting.

**ARTICLE III.—MEETINGS.**

1. There shall be an annual meeting of the Association in the city of New York, or at such other place as at a preceding annual meeting shall be determined upon.
2. At the annual meeting, the Executive Committee shall present an annual report of the progress of the Association.
3. The general arrangements of the proceedings of the annual meeting shall be directed by the Executive Committee.
4. Special meetings may be held at the call of the Executive Committee, when and where they may decide.

ARTICLE IV. — MEMBERS.

1. Any lover of philological studies may become a member of the Association by a vote of the Executive Committee and the payment of five dollars as initiation fee, which initiation fee shall be considered the first regular annual fee.
2. There shall be an annual fee of three dollars from each member, failure in payment of which for two years shall *ipso facto* cause the membership to cease.
3. Any person may become a life member of the Association by the payment of fifty dollars to its treasury, and by vote of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE V. — SUNDRIES.

1. All papers intended to be read before the Association must be submitted to the Executive Committee before reading, and their decision regarding such papers shall be final.
2. Publications of the Association, of whatever kind, shall be made only under the authorization of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VI. — AMENDMENTS.

Amendments to this Constitution may be made by a vote of two-thirds of those present at any regular meeting subsequent to that in which they have been proposed.



## PUBLICATIONS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

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THE annually published "Proceedings" of the American Philological Association contain an account of the doings at the annual meeting, brief abstracts of the papers read, reports upon the progress of the Association, and lists of its officers and members.

The annually published "Transactions" give the full text of such articles as the Executive Committee decides to publish. The Proceedings are bound with them as an Appendix.

The following tables show the authors and contents of the volumes of Transactions thus far published:—

### 1869-1870. — Volume I.

- Hadley, J.: On the nature and theory of the Greek accent.  
Whitney, W. D.: On the nature and designation of the accent in Sanskrit.  
Goodwin, W. W.: On the aorist subjunctive and future indicative with *ἔως* and *ὀυ μή*.  
Trumbull, J. Hammond: On the best method of studying the North American languages.  
Haldeman, S. S.: On the German vernacular of Pennsylvania.  
Whitney, W. D.: On the present condition of the question as to the origin of language.  
Lounsbury, T. R.: On certain forms of the English verb which were used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.  
Trumbull, J. Hammond: On some mistaken notions of Algonkin grammar, and on mistranslations of words from Eliot's Bible, etc.  
Van Name, A.: Contributions to Creole Grammar.  
Proceedings of the preliminary meeting (New York, 1868), of the first annual session (Poughkeepsie, 1869), and of the second annual session (Rochester, 1870).

### 1871. — Volume II.

- Evans, E. W.: Studies in Cymric philology.  
Allen, F. D.: On the so-called Attic second declension.  
Whitney, W. D.: Strictures on the views of August Schleicher respecting the nature of language and kindred subjects.  
Hadley, J.: On English vowel quantity in the thirteenth century and in the nineteenth.  
March, F. A.: Anglo-Saxon and Early English pronunciation.  
Bristed, C. A.: Some notes on Ellis's Early English Pronunciation.

Trumbull, J. Hammond: On Algonkin names for man.

Greenough, J. B.: On some forms of conditional sentences in Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit.

Proceedings of the third annual session, New Haven, 1871.

**1872. — Volume III.**

Evans, E. W.: Studies in Cymric philology.

Trumbull, J. Hammond: Words derived from Indian languages of North America.

Hadley, J.: On the Byzantine Greek pronunciation of the tenth century, as illustrated by a manuscript in the Bodleian Library.

Stevens, W. A.: On the substantive use of the Greek participle.

Bristed, C. A.: Erroneous and doubtful uses of the word *sach*.

Hartt, C. F.: Notes on the Lingoa Geral, or Modern Tupi of the Amazonas.

Whitney, W. D.: On material and form in language.

March, F. A.: Is there an Anglo-Saxon language?

March, F. A.: On some irregular verbs in Anglo-Saxon.

Trumbull, J. Hammond: Notes on forty versions of the Lord's Prayer in Algonkin languages.

Proceedings of the fourth annual session, Providence, 1872.

**1873. — Volume IV.**

Allen, F. D.: The Epic forms of verbs in *dō*.

Evans, E. W.: Studies in Cymric philology.

Hadley, J.: On Koch's treatment of the Celtic element in English.

Haldeman, S. S.: On the pronunciation of Latin, as presented in several recent grammars.

Packard, L. R.: On some points in the life of Thucydides.

Goodwin, W. W.: On the classification of conditional sentences in Greek syntax.

March, F. A.: Recent discussions of Grimm's law.

Lull, E. P.: Vocabulary of the language of the Indians of San Blas and Caledonia Bay, Darien.

Proceedings of the fifth annual session, Easton, 1873.

**1874. — Volume V.**

Tyler, W. S.: On the prepositions in the Homeric poems.

Harkness, A.: On the formation of the tenses for completed action in the Latin finite verb.

Haldeman, S. S.: On an English vowel-mutation, present in *cag*, *keg*.

Packard, L. R.: On a passage in Homer's *Odyssey* (λ 81-86).

Trumbull, J. Hammond: On numerals in American Indian languages, and the Indian mode of counting.

Sewall, J. B.: On the distinction between the subjunctive and optatives modes in Greek conditional sentences.

Morris, C. D.: On the age of Xenophon at the time of the *Anabasis*.

Whitney, W. D.: *φύσει* or *θέσει* — natural or conventional?

Proceedings of the sixth annual session, Hartford, 1874.

**1875. — Volume VI.**

Harkness, A.: On the formation of the tenses for completed action in the Latin finite verb.

Haldeman, S. S.: On an English consonant-mutation, present in *proof*, *prove*.

Carter, F.: On Begemann's views as to the weak preterit of the Germanic verbs.

Morris, C. D.: On some forms of Greek conditional sentences.

Williams, A.: On verb-reduplication as a means of expressing completed action.

Sherman, L. A.: A grammatical analysis of the Old English poem "The Owl and the Nightingale."

Proceedings of the seventh annual session, Newport, 1875.

**1876. — Volume VII.**

Gildersleeve, B. L.: On *ei* with the future indicative and *edv* with the subjunctive in the tragic poets.

Packard, L. R.: On Grote's theory of the structure of the Iliad.

Humphreys, M. W.: On negative commands in Greek.

Toy, C. H.: On Hebrew verb-etymology.

Whitney, W. D.: A botanico-philological problem.

Goodwin, W. W.: On *shall* and *should* in protasis, and their Greek equivalents.

Humphreys, M. W.: On certain influences of accent in Latin iambic trimeters.

Trumbull, J. Hammond: On the Algonkin verb.

Haldeman, S. S.: On a supposed mutation between *l* and *u*.

Proceedings of the eighth annual session, New York, 1876.

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