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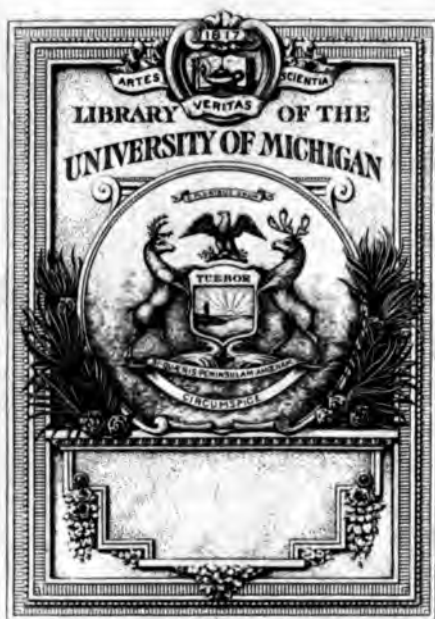
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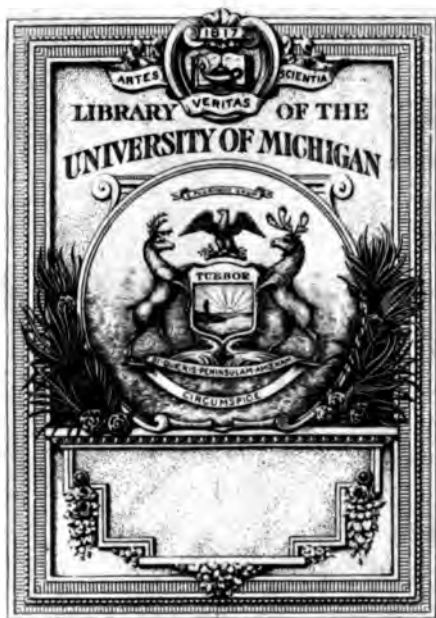




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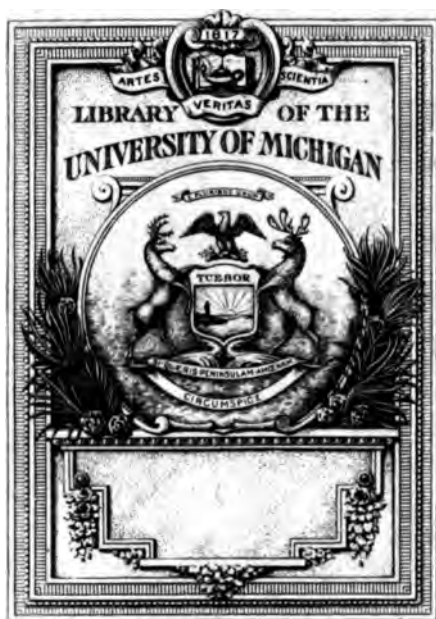
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the 1990s, the number of people in the UK who are employed in the public sector has increased from 10.5 million to 12.5 million (12% of the population).

There are a number of reasons for this increase. One of the main reasons is the growth of the public sector. The public sector has grown from 10.5 million in 1990 to 12.5 million in 2000, an increase of 20%.

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HANDBOOK  
OF THE  
ENGLISH LANGUAGE



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HANDBOOK  
OF THE  
ENGLISH LANGUAGE

FOR THE USE OF  
STUDENTS OF THE UNIVERSITIES AND THE HIGHER  
CLASSES OF SCHOOLS

BY

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## PREFACE.

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**MY** first work on the structure of the English Language, and the allied subjects, such as its history, dialects, and its place in the Indo-European family, was published in 1841. These were questions that, in the main, were held to be important because they were introductory to others of a higher kind ; i.e. the study of Comparative Philology, in general.

This, however, is an object which may be put forth too exclusively. Nor does it apply to the English Language in particular. It is the case with every other language in the world, provided only that it be the native language of the student. Every other language he has to learn ; and, when he has learned it, it is never so familiar to him as his own. If he learn it from books, many (perhaps most) of the rules are of artificial character. But, in the mother-tongue, the necessary materials present themselves spontaneously, and the study of principles can be pursued without any secondary object to distract the thought or divide the process between the memory and the reflective powers.

A doctrine of this kind, as a reason for the study

of one's mother-tongue, when pressed either too strongly or unseasonably, invests even such an important language as the English with the character of a mere disciplinary study; or, at least, that of a preparatory study in which the language itself plays but a secondary part. There are times, however, when recommendations of this kind are not without their use. Say what we may, every man in England knows a great deal about the English Language (perhaps more than he knows about anything else), and all this knowledge he has got without an effort. If he can read, he has had to be taught spelling; and with this he may, not unnaturally, think that he should be satisfied. At any rate, he knows that he can read English with pleasure to himself, and write it with average accuracy; and that others can carry the use of it to the highest degree of excellence, both in writing and in speaking, with little or no theoretical knowledge of its structure.

The time, however, for a reason being required for the study of English has gone by: and with it has gone by the necessity of a good deal of preliminary information which thirty or forty years ago was, by no means, generally diffused. At present, illustrations of the dialects of the Thames and Tweed may be taken from those of the Indus and Ganges, without any preliminary notice of the relations between the Sanskrit and the German, simply because the affinities of the German family are known. Writers of the Middle English may be studied in adequate Reading Books, or in well-edited texts which replace the limited supplies of the Roxburghe Club publications, and the similar *œuvres de luxe* of the

last generation. Instead of indistinct and perfunctory renderings of passages from the Old English, we parse and construe with as scrupulous a sense of responsibility as we have in Latin and Greek—and in all this there is progress and improvement.

The present work is one of three; the smaller one being a more elementary, the larger a more expanded form of it. I find it difficult to say whether, between the three, I have done most in the way of re-writing or most in that of retrenchment. It is certain that a great deal has been done in both ways. The general character, however, of the earlier editions has been preserved.

There has, of late, been progress and improvement. Yet, it is doubtful whether the progress has been uniform throughout. It by no means follows, that because one part of a field is cultivated with success, the other is not neglected. It is the opinion of the present writer that within the last ten or fifteen years, two tendencies have been prevalent. One is the somewhat overhasty promulgation of doctrines which, though certainly what we may call *advanced*, have either not been sufficiently verified or, else, not sufficiently limited and defined in their application. The other is the accumulation of particular details to the neglect of general principles. This is what is sure to happen whenever any department of investigation makes a sudden progress; and that the rule in English Philology has been one of progress no one can doubt. Still less can anyone doubt that it has been rapid. With this promulgation of general rules, and accumulation of instances, the present writer thinks that the processes

of verification and classification have not gone *pari passu*. Arrangement, however, or classification is the very essence of special Grammar; and the exact measurement and limitation of the extent of a rule or law, that of Comparative Philology.

The present work is called a 'Handbook of the Language.' Be it so. To say nothing about what a student may get for himself from the direct study of our older writers—and this is, in reality, the only knowledge that he can call his own—it is mere trifling to induce him to believe that he can get anything of much value from one book only—albeit it may call itself a *Handbook*. There are many *Handbooks*—though under different names—and of these no one is all-sufficient. There are four writers, at least, whose works are simply necessities to anyone who seeks an adequate notion of what the English language really is. There is something of course, in the present work which is found in none of them; otherwise it would not have been published. It is certain, however, that, whether we take the writings of Dr. Morris, Dr. Murray, Professor March, or Dr. Abbott, there is something to be found in one of them that is not to be found in the others; something, moreover, which no one can well do without. The English is in no sense whatever *lingua unius libri*.

The First Part, treating as it does of the introduction, diffusion, and Continental origin of our language, is purely historical. Nevertheless, there are whole chapters wherein the criticism is that of the grammarian rather than the historian. There are many reasons

why this should be the case. Most languages have more stages, and most languages have more dialects than one. In its earlier form the English had as many inflections as the present German : in its existing form it has fewer than the French. Again, there are in English three well-marked dialects ; and two of these may probably be traced to two distinct parts of Germany. The investigation, however, is by no means simple ; and, if properly pursued, requires not only the testimony of the historian and the geographer as to the time and place to which such or such a form of speech is to be assigned, but, also, the internal evidence that is supplied by the language itself. Where the external testimony is ample and adequate, this reference to the language may be neglected. But in English it is absolutely indispensable ; more so, perhaps, than in any other language : and the reason is manifest. The history of the centuries during which the English from the Continent displaced the original British of our island is lamentably obscure. Hence, the comparison of certain dialects of England and those of Germany, with which they are considered to correspond, becomes necessary ; and, what is wanting in proper historical testimony, must be sought for in the domain and by the methods of the philologist.

Of the passages relating to either the Angles, the Saxons, or any other German population with which the early history of the English Language can reasonably be connected, I have given all that either convey, or suggest, any definite information ; beginning with Tacitus and ending with Procopius. What they tell us explicitly is



very little. If anything of value can be got from them, it must be done by inference; and inference only. The inferences, however, from the Greek and Latin writers for the times under notice, whether rightly or wrongly drawn, rest on the unexceptionable evidence of writers either cotemporary or nearly so, and of writers with ample sources of information. But with the Sixth Century the assurance of a firm foundation ends.

The evidence of Beda I have treated in a reverential spirit. He writes in the middle of the Eighth Century, upon events which took place between the middle of the Fifth and Sixth. With the exception of Gildas, Constantius, and Orosius, whose texts are as accessible to us as they were to him, he quotes no authorities. I am willing, however, to believe that where he gives names, dates, and special events, he is following some account, or belief, which had a foundation in fact. I neither affirm nor deny the reality of his Ceawlins, his Cenrics, and his Hengists. Each stands or falls by the special narrative of his actions. But what I emphatically deny is the value of Beda's evidence on the negative doctrine, that there were not only intruders of German blood, who did on British soil what they are said to have done, but that they were the *first* of their countrymen who did it. The bearing of this distinction is evident. That the English language is German is beyond doubt; and it may be added that (so little is there any British admixture in it) it is just as German as if we had found it in Westphalia, or as if Britain, when Germanized, were an uninhabited island. If there is any exaggeration in this, it is of small account.

What it means is simply that, if our German, or our British blood, is to be measured by our language, we are Germans as purely and simply as any in Germany. There are those who believe this. There are those who believe just the contrary. There are those who are in no hurry to form an opinion on the question. But with all of them, one point is of great importance; viz. the *rate* at which the intrusive German element established itself. The longer the time allowed for it the more gradual will be its operation, and the greater the chances of admixture of German and British blood. The shorter the time so allotted the greater becomes the necessity of some sharp and short *coup de main*, either by the extermination of the original British, or the driving them up into the mountains of Wales, so as to create a *vacuum* in England for the displacement, rather than the amalgamation, of the superseded British. The shortening, then, of the time is little more than another name for the rapidity and violence of the change. This Beda's account favours; and Beda's account, no matter why, is very generally favoured by others. Now Beda makes the German intrusions in Britain begin within a year or two of A.D. 450; while the panegyrist, Eumenius, addressing the Imperial rival of Carausius, tells us of *Franks* in England so early as A.D. 297. This difference between the times allowed for the English language to extend itself is considerable. All that the present writer pretends to give is the evidence. The report upon it he leaves to the reader. The greater portion of it applies to the Saxons of Gaul; of whom,

although we know but little, we know more than we do of those of Britain. It is submitted, then, that such being the case, we have had no better basis for our inference than the analogy of the *Litus Saxonicum* \* of Gaul.

To the respective meanings of the terms *Angle* and *Saxon*, unusual space is devoted; the result being that the difference between the Saxon of the Southern, and the Angle of the Northern counties of England, whether great or little (for no opinion is given as to the absolute amount of it), was greater than that between the Saxon and the Frank.

Little good, however, in the investigation of this question comes from either comparisons or contrasts between the Saxons and the Franks unless we recognize distinctions between Franks themselves; i.e. between those of the Upper Rhine, those of the Alemannic frontier (or those of *Franche Compté*), and those on the very mouth of the Rhine, and on the frontier of the

\* There is no such name as *Litus Saxonicum* in Britain. The South and South-eastern coast of Britain was not a *Litus*, but a *Limes*, i.e. *Limes Saxonicus*—wholly or in part. The *Litus Saxonicum* was the coast of Gaul; and on this *Litus* there was a *Limes*, differing from the *Limes Saxonicus* in being called by the Latinized German term *Marca*. In this we have evidence of a German element on the *Litus Saxonicum* sufficient to effect the adoption of a German military term. But the *March* itself was not German, i.e. not held by *Marchmen* of the German denomination. The *Limes Saxonicus* of Britain is, in Gaul, the *Marca Dalmata in Litore Saxonicum*. Whatever may be said in favour of the *Limes Saxonicus* meaning a district that had to be defended against the Saxons, rather than one occupied by them, it is certain that the nearest illustration that applies to the interpretation of the term *Saxonicus* makes against it. The *Dalmata Marca* was, probably, a *March* on which the German element preponderated. It was certainly *not* a *March* for the purpose of repelling either buccaneers, or invaders, from Dalmatia.

Saxons and Chamavi, between which the difference may have been considerable. To this frontier belong the Franks described by Julian, the Franks of the Salian denomination, i.e. the Franks that have the best claim to be considered as the German allies of Carausius, and the likeliest of all the Germans to have been described under different names according to the country of the historian. Now we have seen that '*Saxon*' was not a term of the Western Empire; and that enemies who in Italy would be *Franks*, would be in Constantinople *Saxons*. The strangeness of this latter denomination to the Romans of the Western Empire has not, hitherto, been insisted on. In the present work it may possibly be pressed too strongly. At any rate, it makes the difference between a *Salian* Frank and a Saxon of the Lower Rhine little more than nominal. The Frank dialects of which we have specimens (for of the Salian we have none) in nowise contravene this view. On the other hand, however, the Westsaxon of Britain and the Old Saxon of Westphalia, for which we *have* specimens, have long been known to be nearly identical; and we must remember that it is between Westphalia and the Gallic Litus Saxonicum that both the Franks and the Saxons of Julian present themselves.

Now, whether we trace the Frank or the Saxon to what we may call his proper occupancy in Germany, we can never trace him beyond the Delta of the Rhine; or to soil exclusively German. The Saxon, during the Fourth and Fifth Centuries, may be found on both Gallic and British waters; and on reasonable

grounds, may be assumed to have settled in certain parts of Gaul and Britain; but it is always on the Roman frontier, and, always, in contact with Roman civilization.

The evidence, however, on the strength of which we connect their dialect with that of the German of Westphalia is unexceptionable. As early as the Ninth Century we have specimens of both the Saxon of the Saxon parts of England, or Wessex, and the Saxon of Westphalia, the typically Saxon part of Germany; and that they are little more than dialects of the same language has long been recognized. But it is only with the English of the Westsaxon parts of England that this close similarity on the part of the Westphalian dialect holds good.

The character of the Angle districts is more obscure; and the evidence of a widely different character. To set against the numerous notices of the Saxons between the first one by Julian, and the statement of Prosper Tiro that A.D. 441 the '*Britains were brought under the government of the Saxons,*' we have not so much as a single instance of the use of the word *Angle*. Nor have we one for the times anterior to the Saxons of Julian except that of Ptolemy, many years before. For those after the date of Prosper Tiro, we have none earlier than that of Procopius; in other words, we have only two for nearly 300 years; or none during the time when the Saxons are mentioned—i.e. no concurrent mention of the two denominations. Nor have we any specimens of any German dialect of the Angle part of Germany.

Hence, the first step to be taken in the investigation is to look to the geography of the two countries—England and Germany. Our two notices of the Angles are consentient on this point. The Angle division of England is, in the main, consentient also. The German geography gives us the parts between Magdeburg and Lauenburg, the Slavonic frontier of Mecklenburg, or the Altmark; and, after this, the Neck of the Cimbric Chersonese (Holstein). This we know, afterwards, as the Danish *March—Denmark*.

The next step is the direction of the Saxon of South-Western Germany in the way of dialect and ethnography. Reasons are given for believing that it ran—not East and West—but North and South; and that the two forms of speech were divided—not by the valley of the Weser—but by the old district of the Angrivarii, or Angraria, which lay between the head-waters of the Weser and its lower course. This view stands or falls by its evidence. It carries, however, the line of Angle affinities along the Elbe, and along the Slavonic frontier, from Lauenburg and Altmark to Thuringia; a result which is unfavourable to the importance of the Frisian influences on the English language. They are not wholly ignored. It is held, only, that though in certain characters the Frisian has a special agreement with the Norse, Scandinavian, or Danish element, it is, on the whole, more closely allied to the Westsaxon than it is to the Northumbrian.

The Angle of the Lower Elbe is thus made little more than the German of the Danish frontier, and is held to be, for the Fifth Century, not so much either

German or Danish, or Danish or English, as a language out of which both English and Danish are hereafter to be developed—Danish *in posse* or English *in posse* if we choose to call it so. This is a doctrine which, from its very nature, is incapable of being put in any precise or definite form. A potential language, uniform, with the exception of certain mere differences of dialects, out of which between (say) the Fifth and Ninth Centuries two forms of speech as different as the Northumbrian and the Icelandic of the thirteenth century, one in England, and one in Scandinavia, could develop themselves, cannot but run the risk of being branded as vague, hazy, and equivocal. It is possible, however, that the final difference may be due to certain characteristics developed during the interval. Reasons for believing this to have been the case, in, at least, three important instances, the Postpositive Article, the so-called Passive Voice, and the Pronoun of the Third Person, are given. But these are far from standing alone. That in most of the points wherein the Northern dialects of England differ from the Southern the former agree with those of Scandinavia is admitted, and insisted on: yet South of Caithness, there is not a square mile in Great Britain where the Danish, as a separate substantive language, can be shown to have been spoken. There are signs of Danish occupancy spread over more than a dozen counties; and these are of two kinds. There are first the so-called Danicisms in the language of common life, and secondly, there are certain characteristic local names—especially those ending in *-by*—

as *Spilsby, Whitby*, and hundreds of others. But they are not regularly distributed. Between the Tees and the Forth, where the Danicisms are the most plentiful, there are few, if any, characteristic local names; and in Lincolnshire, where the local names are the most abundant and characteristic, the Danicisms are exceptionally rare. Much has been written on both these points; and not a little of it by myself. But the explanation makes no part of the present work. The doctrine, however, of what is generally called 'Danish,' or 'Norse influences,' and which means contact with intruders of later date than the Angles, is the one which the present writer holds to be just as liable to the objection of vagueness and indefinitude as that of what he has called the potential Danish. Of any Scandinavian form of speech, as a separate, substantive, definite language, as foreign to the English as the oldest Icelandic is to the oldest Northumbrian, he sees no sign. Indeed, he goes farther; and ventures to say, that if we apply the same criticism to the notices of the *first* Danish settlers in Scandinavia, as we have applied to the similar statements of Beda as to the *first* settlements of the Saxons and Angles in Britain, we find no reason to believe that a German form of speech was spoken in Sleswick, Jutland, or the Danish Isles a day earlier than it was spoken in England and Scotland. If the reader choose to go farther, and hold that the Germanization of Britain and the Cimbric Peninsula were concurrent events, there is nothing to deter him from doing so.


This is what is meant by the differences between



Norse influences, and the results of the common origin of the Northumbrian English and the Scandinavian languages of the present time.

Such is the line of criticism which applies to two out of our three great dialects—the Saxon, the Angle, and Mercian—with a defined though incomplete history, for the first two. They have a separate history from the very beginning; having been different dialects on the Continent before they became different dialects of England. There is consistency combined with continuity and symmetry in this; giving the Rhine and the Gallic, or Roman, frontier for the Southern German, and the English of the Saxon parts of England; the Elbe and Slavonic frontier for the Northumbrian English, and the Norse of Scandinavia. I think it useless to try for the same correspondence for the intervening districts; i.e. to find in the parts between Hamburg and Leyden the same connection with the Midland, or Mercian, forms of speech. At any rate I have not made the attempt. Neither Friesland nor Holland will give us such correspondence of dialect as we find between Westphalia and Dorsetshire, nor such a name as *English* which we find in old *Angle* area.

Still the triple division is a sound one. The characters of the Mercian are negative. Its early history is no history at all. The dialect may be one of two others with its differential characteristics obliterated. It may be a mixed form of speech. It may be Northumbrian as far as the Orwell on one side of our island, and Westsaxon as far as the Ribble on the other. It is only as a negation that we know it.



It is the dialect, however, of the present literary English : just as the Westsaxon is the literary language of the times before the Conquest, and the Northumbrian that of the Scottish of the classical period of Scotland. Each is the medium of its own distinct literature, and by that literature each is represented—we may, almost, say elevated to the dignity of a distinct language.

The Second Part of this volume, '*Phonesis*,' is devoted to the elementary sounds of our language; their properties, and their relations to each other. It is, by no means, the longest division of the book; but it is the one which, unless he be already familiar with the subject, should detain the reader the longest. On the first view the details may appear insignificant, because their immediate application is not very perceptible; and those who know when and where they will be applied may think that it will be time enough to explain the nature of such or such interchanges when they occur. It is not, however, upon this principle that I have written: but rather upon the doctrine that, where we have a certain amount of order, regularity, symmetry, harmony and system, 'the Whole is easier than Part;' and that it is better given in its proper place, and in its integrity, than left to be collected by instalments, or picked up bit by bit, from such incidental rules as happen to present themselves when some notable letter-change requires explanation. A clear comprehension of the respective properties of the elementary sounds, can only be got through a knowledge of their mutual relations as parts of a system; and this, though it may require, at first, some time and attention,

saves much trouble and distraction in the long run. It enables us, when we come to special details of Derivation and Inflection, to deal with them without interruption, without continual suggestions of some so-called law of Euphony, and without the necessity of being cautioned against confusing the sound with the spelling—all these, and much more, being matters with which it is best to be familiar beforehand. And it may be added that unless we know them familiarly, they are scarcely worth knowing at all. Nor are they adequately taught by books. Still less need they be taught by a master. Every elementary sound corresponds with certain positions of the lips, cheek, soft palate, tongue, and other parts of the mouth as accurately as every note in Music corresponds with the length, thickness, or tension on a certain chord; and anyone with a fair ear and a regularly formed mouth can, as he practises himself in pronouncing them one by one, with a little attention ascertain the exact position of the speech-forming parts of the mouth as each sound is produced. In some he can see that it is the closing and opening of the lips; for others that it is the contact with the tip of the tongue with the teeth which is essential; and from this he may anticipate such terms as *Labial* and *Dental*; applied to such series as *p, b, f, v*; *t, d, th, dh*, in the first of which the lip, and the second the tongue and teeth play the chief part. And what he finds in such groups as those he may find elsewhere. But whatever is to be found he can find for himself; provided only that he will take the trouble to do so: and he can not only do it without a master, but, unless he practises

the investigation on himself, he cannot do it with one. It may not, indeed, be so elegant a practice to puff, and blow, and hiss, and buzz in forming such sounds as *s'* or *z'*, or *p'*, or *m'* or *r'* or the like, as it is to draw forth correct notes from a musical instrument; but it is, nevertheless, a practice full of usefulness.

The Third and Fourth Parts treat respectively of Etymology and Syntax; and it may be that, in the eyes of some, I have exaggerated the importance of drawing a hard and fast line between them. It seems, at first, a very simple matter to say that, while Etymology deals with *single* words and the various forms they may take, Syntax treats of the rules by which *two or more* separate words may be combined. But it is only in Greek that this distinction is acted on. In Greek the Perfect Passive (*τέτυμμαι*, &c.) is not only a Tense, but a Tense which is, beyond all doubt, a part of Etymology. In Latin, however, the single word is rendered by *verberatus sum*. Here, the *-atus* belongs to Etymology; and so does the *-m* in *sum*; and so does each of the two words singly. But *singly* they are not equivalent to *τέτυμμαι*. The equivalent to *τέτυμμαι* consists of two separate words, or a combination equivalent to a Tense; and, as such, is a point of Syntax. In English, combinations of this kind, i.e. combinations in Syntax used as substitutes for single words in Etymology, are far more numerous than either true Tenses and Persons in Verbs, or true Numbers and Cases in Nouns; indeed in English the resolution of the inflectional forms of Etymology into corresponding circumlocutions of Syntax is the rule rather than the

exception. When this is the case the language is said to be Analytic ; just as when inflectional forms prevail over combinations of different words, it is said to be Synthetic.

The English may safely be said to be the most Analytic language in the world. But it is not the one in which the change from Synthetic to Analytic has been the greatest. This is because it was not a highly Synthetic language to begin with. The Latin, the Greek, and the Sanskrit are all languages in which both the Declension of Nouns and the Conjugation of Verbs were far more rich in their number of distinctive signs for Gender, Number, Case, Voice, Mood, Tense, and Person, than was the oldest representative of the English ; viz. the Mæso-Gothic. So far as the Declension of Nouns went, the Slavonic and Lithuanic are not only richer than any German language was at any time, but richer at the present time than the richest of them. In respect to the Conjugation of the Verbs the difference is less. But the English is still more Analytic than any of them ; and if it is not the one which best shows the changes from Synthesis to Analysis, it is because it had, from the beginning, less of a Synthetic character to lose. But what it had it has lost to an extreme degree. Of the outward and visible signs by which a word in Latin or Greek shows that it belongs to a particular Part of Speech, of the signs of Case, &c., to show that it is a Noun, and of Voice and Mood, &c., to show that it is a Verb, the English has but eight. And (what is more to be noted) when we have got them, four of them are identical. The signs of

the Third Person Singular in Verbs, of the Nominative Plural, and of the Possessive Singular and Plural in Nouns, all end in the same sound, viz. that of the letter *-s*. These are, certainly, distinctive as inflections; but they are not distinctive between one inflection and another. Two other such signs are those of the Preterit Tense, and its corresponding Participle. But both are *-d*, *-t*, or *-ed*. Of the *-ng* in the Participle we can only say that, if it is a sign of the Present Participle, it is, also, the sign of the Verbal Abstract—as in words like *morning*, &c.; whilst the *-en* in the Perfect Participle appears in words as unlike in sense as the Verb *strengthen*, the Adjective *wooden*, and the Plural form *oxen*. Hence, we have few distinctive terminations at all; and those that we have are only distinctive up to a certain point. I make no secret of having kept this view of the extreme Analytic state of the English, as much as possible, before the reader. It is in its proper place when, after exhibiting the Declension of the Noun, and after doing the same with the Conjugation of the Verb, I draw attention to the small amount we have of either. It is, perhaps, out of place when, in the First Part, which is mainly ethnographical, I draw attention to the extent to which each of our dialects has either lost or retained its original Synthetic structure. However, whether in place or out of place, I have drawn special attention to it; for the difference between the two terms is in no language so important as it is in the English.

(1) The English Language has been more Synthetic than it is now; and the result of this is that numerous

words which now look like isolated uninflected forms, are in reality fragmentary remains of a fuller inflection. There are no better instances of this than the so-called Adverbs *then* and *there*, which, in form and origin, are simply cases of the Demonstrative Pronoun—the substantive meaning *time* or *place* being understood. But they are no longer Pronominal in sense. Hence the *historical* study of our Grammar is mainly that of the change from one of these forms to the other; and we know that to the historical method a great deal of deserved importance is attached. This is mainly because the change itself is one of a pre-eminently orderly, regular, and general character—at least for the class of languages to which the German Family belongs. Throughout all the Indo-European languages signs of the change present themselves; and, in all cases, their character is the same. The direction is, invariably, from Synthetic to Analytic, and never *vice versa*. The inflections that are dropped in one language are, generally, those that are dropped in another. The order in which they are dropped is generally regular; *e.g.* the sign of the Accusative is lost sooner than that of the Dative, and that of the Dative sooner than that of the Genitive. The character of the substituted circumlocutions is to a great degree uniform—*e.g.* if *have*, in English, is the Auxiliary Verb which helps us to such a combination as *I have written* = the Greek *ἔγραφα*, *habeo*, in some form or other, plays a similar part throughout the languages of Latin origin. In short, the historical method, and the study

of the change from Synthesis to Analysis, are, in most cases, one and the same.

(2) Another reason for the importance of the distinction (indeed the contrast) between these two terms, is found in its application to pure and simple Grammar—Grammar in which the historical is wholly subordinated to the formal element. The arrangement of the so-called '*Parts of Speech*' generally presents itself on the threshold; so that, as soon as we get through the spelling and pronunciation of a language, we come to the characteristics of Nouns and Pronouns, Substantives and Verbs, and the like. These have to be distinguished from one another; and it is clear that in highly Synthetic languages where the Noun, with perhaps half-a-dozen different cases and three Genders, has one Declension, while the Pronoun and Adjective have another, it is not a very difficult matter to lay our own hand on each as a separate Part of Speech. This is because each of them, in its inflections, carries with it a sign more or less characteristic; and one which, independent of the context, is generally sufficient to mark the place in Grammar of the word to which it belongs.

The Greek is a highly Synthetic language, and with most words in Greek, even when divested of any context, and standing alone, we can see, by mere inspection, whether they are Nouns or Verbs. In English, which is Analytic in the extreme, there is not one word in a hundred, upon which, from the evidence of its form only, and without reference to a context, we can

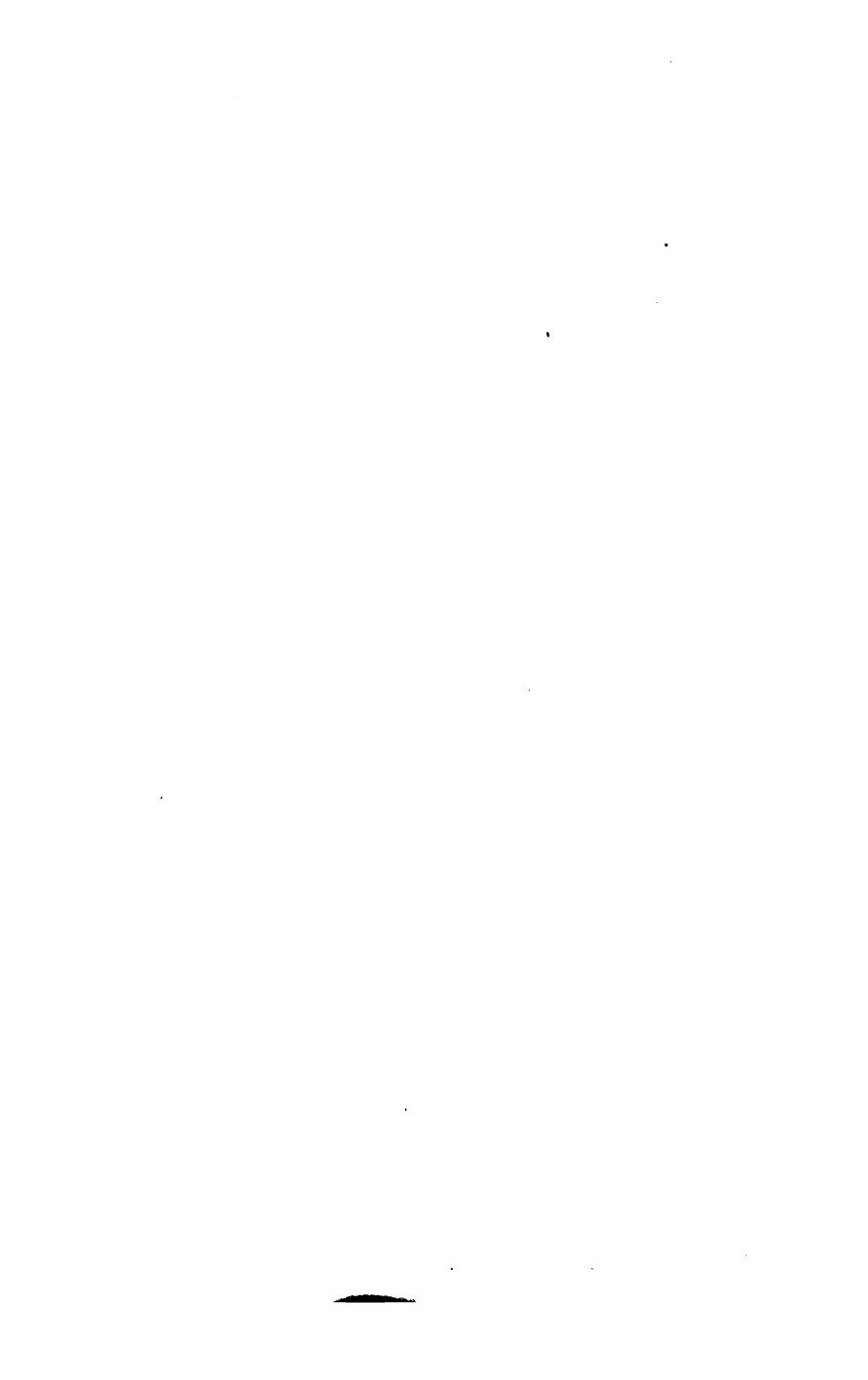


safely pronounce an opinion as to whether it is a Substantive, an Adjective, a Pronoun, or a Verb.

It is manifest that with such a difference between them as the one under notice, a different principle of arrangement must be recognised; and the principle of the present work is that the place a word takes in the structure of a Proposition determines its place as a Part of Speech.

It was the suggestion of the late Mr. Taylor, of the firm of Taylor and Walton, under whose auspices my first work on 'The English Language' was published, that the title should be '*An English Grammar on English Principles.*' It was thought, however, somewhat too pretentious. Be this as it may, *English Principles* are realities which English grammarians must recognise; and a nomenclature and classification founded upon tongues like the Latin and the Greek must be abandoned: though they need not be abandoned at once. A vast mass of detail in the history of individual words, a great number of useful notes both for writing and reading, may be got from almost any Grammar; and, in many cases, without any Grammar at all. But if Language, as such, is to be our study, we cannot be too careful to have our rules and our principles of arrangement as little artificial as possible. We cannot, however, always get this so in the study of foreign languages; because in these there is a great deal of detail which must be taught as quickly and easily as possible, and, for this, artificial, but compendious, rules may be advantageous, or, at least, excusable. But, in our mother-tongue, all this detail lies ready to our hand,

and has come to us as a birthright, and artificial compendiums are out of place. We have time to reflect; time to classify; time to understand what lies before us. We have time to realize the fact that it is not so much the English Language itself that we are learning, as principles of Language in general; and laying a foundation for the not ignoble study of Comparative Philology.



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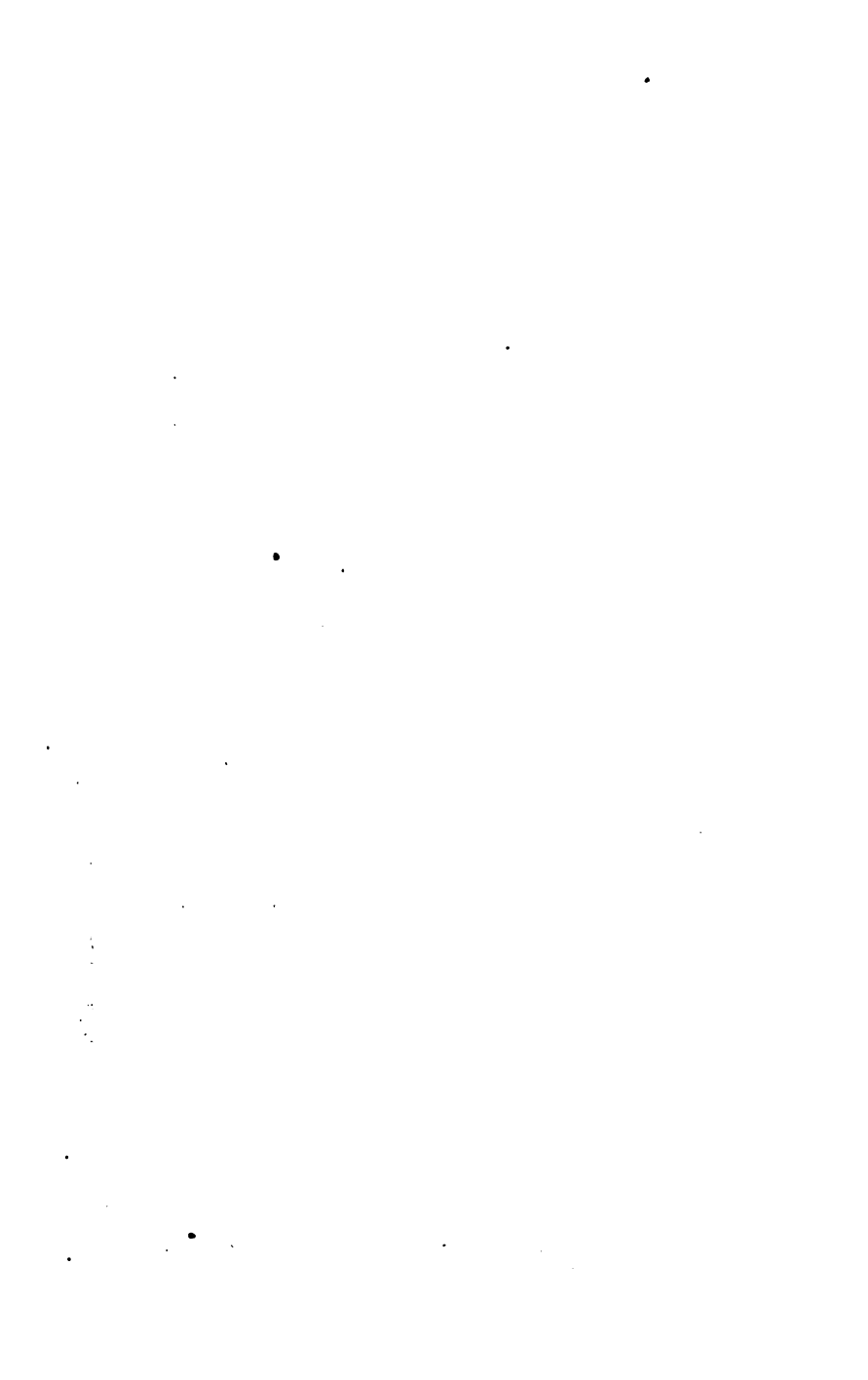
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AN INTRODUCTION  
TO THE STUDY OF THE  
ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

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PART I.  
ORIGINES.

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CHAPTER I.

THE ANGLES AND SAXONS TILL A.D. 441.

§ 1. *The English Language not British.*—The English language was not the native language of Britain. It was of foreign origin; the country to which it was indigenous being Germany. After its first introduction it spread itself westward, displacing the original forms of speech. From these it differed as the language of a different family; for the British, like the Gaelic of Scotland, Ireland, and the Isle of Man, was a Keltic language. At what rate the intrusive German extended itself is uncertain. Remains, however, of the original languages are still found in Wales, North Britain, and Ireland; and, as late as the last century, were found in Cornwall.

§ 2. *Languages with which it came in contact.*—It was the British branch of the Keltic family with

which this intrusive German first came into contact; for it is reasonably believed that the Gaelic of Scotland extended no further southward than the Forth; so that the Lothians and the Border Counties of North Britain were British rather than Gaelic. That the Picts may have spoken a language different from both is the opinion of several investigators; but there is little that can safely be said about the Picts.

Upon the whole we may conclude that, in the first instance at least, it was with only *one* of the *native* languages that the intrusive German came in contact, and that that language was the British; represented, at present, by the Welsh.

§ 3. *The Latin*.—Nevertheless, there was a *second* language in the island—a second language, though not a native one. This was the Latin of the Romans, for Britain was a Roman province; and in the provinces of Spain, Gaul, and Dacia, the Latin language displaced that of the natives, leaving the several languages of their descendants as decidedly Latin in their general character as the English is German. It has *not*, however, done so in other parts of the Empire, viz. Austria, Servia, and parts of Turkey, or the Provinces of Rhætia, Vindelicia, Pannonia, the Mœsias, and Thrace. Hence, one of the two series must be exceptional. Which, however, gives us the exception, and which the rule?

Reasons will be given as we proceed which show that there was *some* Latin in Britain; but they, also, suggest that it was not a true vernacular like the British, but a learned, or ecclesiastical, language. Still there was a second language of some kind, and that language was the Latin. More than this, in respect to the languages with which the German came in contact, we are unable to say.

§ 4. *Relations of the English to older languages of*

*Britain*.—What did the new language get, or take up, from the older ones? This is simply a matter of more or less; and, from this point of view, we may safely say, at the very least, thus much, viz.: that it was not enough, nor anything like enough, to impair or obscure the genuine and original German character of the English.

We *know* this; and it is not from any external evidence that it is known. The three great philological groups of the Keltic, Latin, and German languages are as well understood at the present moment as ever they were (indeed better); and we know that the English language belongs to the German family.

We know, therefore, from the mere inspection of a map the direction in which the German extended itself; and we know from the philological characters of the three groups to which of them it belonged. What it took up from the other two is, and can be, only known with certainty from what we find in it; and the amount of this, real or supposed, practically depends on the finder. Some find more than others; but no one of any authority makes the English language other than German. A *mixed* language it may be made; for it is, perhaps, impossible to find any language wholly *unmixed*. But mixture may be of any degree. No one, however, has discovered so much of any second element in English as to make it an ambiguous, an equivocal, or a transitional language; or, indeed, anything like it.

§ 5. For anything like certainty, for anything that can serve as a basis of either philological or ethnological criticism, this is all we have in the way of *knowledge*; viz. (1) the foreign origin of our language; (2) its German character; (3) its contact with one true native vernacular, viz. the British; (4) its contact with a second language—the *Latin*—which was certainly not native,



and, almost certainly, not vernacular; (5) the direction in which it spread; (6) its present distribution over the British Isles, and, indeed, the world at large; and (7) its present long recognized name—*English*.

§ 6. What we know imperfectly, or only profess to know by inconclusive inference, is (1) the rate at which it spread; (2) the date of its introduction; and (3) the names and blood of the men who introduced it. This requires a special investigation; and, though the first question as to the allied facts of rate and date will be short, the second will be of unexpected length.

§ 7. *Rate and date*.—The rate of extension manifestly depends upon the date of introduction. But, for this, the margin is a wide one. The earliest ostensible date, or that of the presence of Germans of *any kind* on British ground, is A.D. 290—the latest A.D. 600—each there or thereabouts.

§ 8. *The names 'Angle' and 'Saxon'*.—The names of the particular divisions of the German family that can be assigned to English ground, are numerous; and all except two will be noticed as they present themselves.

These are the two which stand forward with such familiar and conspicuous prominence, that they may be said to represent the whole German intrusion, invasion, migration, or whatever we call it. We find them, even without looking for them, at the present time, and we find them in Tacitus and Ptolemy in the first and second centuries. The name of the *Saxons* we preserve in that of the counties of *Essex*, *Middlesex*, and *Sussex*; and that of the *Angles* in every quarter of the world. What, however, was the import of these names in the fifth century? Each of them has a special history of its own; but on the important matter of chronology they agree. Each will have a history that

falls into three different stages; and each of these stages will begin and end about the same time. Yet the details in the way of geographical and historical importance will be different.

a. In the first period both names are mentioned; but neither of them is connected, or shows any likelihood of ever being connected, with either Gaul or Britain.

b. In the second the Saxons alone are mentioned: and that in connection with either Gaul or Britain exclusively. These are never assigned to the district to which they are assigned in the first period.

c. In the third both the Saxons and the Angles are mentioned; and with this begins the history of the Anglo-Saxons *in* England, and that of the Saxons *in* Germany.

It is clear that, of these three periods, the only one that can bear directly upon the present subject, or the introduction of the English language into Britain, is the second. The first, however, leads us towards it; and, so doing, is a necessary preliminary.

§ 9. *The Angles of Tacitus and Ptolemy.*—Tacitus mentions the Angles; and, as he does not mention the Saxons, the notice of the Angles takes precedence.

Tacitus, though he includes the Suevi in his ‘*Germania*,’ makes them a separate and peculiar division of it; and his Angli belong to the Suevic class or section. They, along with others, immediately follow the Langobardi, to whom he assigns no special locality, but writes that, though they were few in numbers, their nobility was to be valued by their bravery, their independence, and fighting power. The order, however, in which they come in his narrative makes them either on or near the Angle frontier, and on the western side of it. The parts between the Hartz and the Elbe are generally considered to have been the Langobard occupancy.

This brings the Langobards to the parts about the junction of the Saale with the Elbe. The Reudigni and Aviones succeed the Langobards, evidently on the north-east.

*Tacitus.*

Then come the Reudigni, and the Aviones, and the *Angli*, and the Varini, and the Eudoses, and the Suardones, and the Niuthones, protected by either rivers or forests. There is nothing remarkable here except their common worship of Herth, the Mother.

Reudigni deinde, et Aviones, et *Angli*, et Varini, et Eudoses, et Suardones, et Niuthones, fluminibus aut sylvis muniuntur; nec quidquam notabile in singulis, nisi in commune Herthum, id est Terram Matrem colunt, &c.—*Germania*, § xl.

Ptolemy, too, mentions the Angles, placing them, as Tacitus does, east *and north* of the Langobards; on the *Middle* Elbe; and, besides this, specially calling them *Suevi*, as he also calls the Langobards and the Suevi, with whom they are connected, implicitly, though not *totidem verbis* by Tacitus.

*Ptolemy.*

Of the nations of the interior, the greatest are those of the Suevi *Angli* (who lie east of the Langobardi, stretching northwards to the middle course of the river Elbe), and of the Suevi Semnonese, who reach from the aforesaid part of the Elbe, eastward to the river Suebus, and that of the Buguntæ in continuation as far as the Vistula.—*Lib.* ii. c. xi.

§ 10. *The Saxons of Ptolemy.*—Tacitus mentions the Angles, but not the Saxons. Ptolemy mentions both. He places the latter on the Cimbric Chersonese, or in Lauenburg. This is so nearly the locality that Tacitus assigns to the Cimbri that, although we cannot say that he describes the Saxons under the name Cimbri, we may say that he places them in the district which Ptolemy assigns to the Saxons.

The Frisians occupy the sea-coast beyond the Busacteri as far as the river Ems. After these the Lesser Chauci, as far as the river Weser; then the Greater Chauci, as far as the Elbe; then in order on

the Neck of the Cimbric Chersonese, the *Saxons*; then the Sabalingii, &c.; and, after the Saxons from the river Chalusus to the Suebus, the Pharodini.

In another part of the work there is a notice of '*Three Islands of the Saxons*,' but without comment or explanation.

Ptolemy's is the only notice of the Saxons for the first period in the history of the name. The interval between this and the first of the next series is probably 220 years, but certainly not less than 150; so that the division is manifestly natural.

§ 11. *Germans of any kind in Britain. The Franks of Eumenius.*—In reference, however, to the introduction into Britain of a language from which the present English may be derived, the mere names are of less importance than the nations or communities which they denote; and the earliest notice of Germans of any sort on the soil of Britain is one that it most behoves us to investigate. This is to the effect that a body of *Franks* was defeated by the Emperor Constantius A.D. 290.

By so thorough a consent of the immortal Gods, O unconquered Cæsar, has the extermination of all the enemies whom you attacked, and of the *Franks* more especially, been decreed, that even those of your soldiers who, having missed their way on a foggy sea, reached the town of London, destroyed promiscuously and throughout the city the whole remnant of that mercenary multitude of barbarians which, after escaping the battle, sacking the town and attempting flight, was still left—a deed whereby your provincials were not only saved, but delighted by the sight of the slaughter.

This extract gives a Frank army in the parts about London A.D. 290; and its value upon this point is unimpeachable. The evidence is that of a panegyrist, and, as such, cotemporary with the events alluded to. Moreover, it is addressed to hearers who had taken part in them. Whether the victory was as glorious as

the orator makes it, or whether the arch-pirate Carausius, on whose side the Franks were manifestly engaged, was much injured by it, are matters of minor importance.

§ 12. *The Alemanni of the Younger Victor*, A.D. 306.—When Constantius with his son Constantine (the Great) passed over from Gaul to Britain he was attended, not only by the Roman legions which sided with him against his rival Galerius, but by a body of Alemanni, under their king Eroc (?).

Cunctis qui aderant annitentibus, sed præcipue Croco (alii Eroco) Alemannorum Rege auxilii gratiâ Constantium comitat, imperium cepit.—*Victor Junior*, c. 41.

This is perhaps the first instance of a barbarian king who assisted the Roman arms with an independent body of his own subjects. The practice grew familiar, and, at last, became fatal.—*Gibbon, Decline and Fall*, &c., chap. xviii., *Note*.

The Alemanni, though not so decidedly a German population as the Franks, were, still, more German than aught else. We have traced them into Britain, but we never trace them out of it. On the other hand, their dialect, even so far as it was German, would not be the dialect of the literary English in its West Saxon form.

§ 13. *The Saxons of the army of Magnentius*, A.D. 348—351.—The great battle of Mursa, which decided the contest for the empire between Constantius and Magnentius, is now about to be fought. Gibbon writes as follows concerning the mixed army of the pretender:—

The approaching contest with Magnentius was of a more serious and bloody kind. The tyrant advanced by rapid marches to encounter Constantius at the head of a numerous army, composed of Gauls and Spaniards, of Franks and Saxons; of those provincials who supplied the strength of the legions, and of those barbarians who were dreaded as the most formidable enemies of the Republic.—*Decline and Fall*, &c., chap. xviii.

That there were barbarians of the same race and

character as the Saxons in this heterogeneous army is certain; nor is it improbable that the name *Saxon* may have been borne by, or applied to, them—indeed, it is very likely. Still the evidence of Zosimus, who is our authority, is not that of a cotemporary; but on the contrary one who, from his familiarity with the use of the name in his own times (the fifth century), was likely to antedate it.

§ 14. *The Franks*.—But these Saxons, whatever may have been their name, are associated with the *Franks*; and the association, for at least the next fifty years, will be so close as almost to form a part of the history of the word *Saxon* itself. This invests the earlier Frank movements with importance.

Though the name appears earlier than that of the *Saxons*, it is not quite so old as that of the *Alemanni*, the second quarter of the third century being the date assigned to its first appearance. Hence, the only Franks that have hitherto been mentioned are those of Eumenius, who are not the first of the name who show themselves in history; and, as here, it is only on the soil of Britain that we find them, it is clear that we have yet to trace them to their own proper country. This, though easily ascertained in a general way, is by no means very definite in its details. There were Franks on the Lower Rhine, or in Brabant and Flanders; and there were Franks on the Middle Rhine, for the parts about Cologne; and there were Franks on the Upper Rhine, on the parts about Maynz. The first of these represent the Franks who, under Clovis, conquered Gaul; the third, the Franks of the present district of Franconia. If any community is to be either associated or identified with the Franks, it is necessary to ask to which division of the name it is to be referred.

Now, the Franks of Carausius were the Franks of the Lower Rhine; the Franks of the country of the Toxandri (Brabant) more especially. There were some on the north bank of the river, and some on the islands. They had been troublesome to the Empire during the reign of Gallienus; they had overrun Spain; they had crossed over into Africa, and they had been chastised by the Emperor Probus before we hear of them from Mamertinus. The notices of them, all by cotemporary writers, fix them in a region of swamp and marsh, more specially in Batavia and the parts south of the Rhine (i.e. within the boundaries of the Empire). They fell into diverse nations (*diversæ gentes*). They were specially coerced by Constantius; some of them settled as colonists within the Empire, and some disarmed, and some civilized, more or less.

Quæ mundi pars est quem ille vincendo non dederit? Testes sunt Marmaridæ in Africæ solo victi; testes *Franci inuisi strati paludibus*.—*Vopiscus, Vit. Prob.* 12.

These *paludes* will appear in the sequel.

Multi illa *Francorum* millia qui, qui Bataviam aliasque cis Rhenum terras interfecit, depulit, cepit, abduxit.—*Pacatus*, chap. 4.

Dum ædificandis classibus Bononiæ recuperatio comparatur terram Bataviam sub ipso quondam alumno suo (*Carausio*) a *diversis Francorum* gentibus occupatam omni hoste purgavit, nec contentus vixisse ipsas in Romanas abstulit nationes, ut non solum arma, sed non solo etiam feritatem, deponerent.—*Ibid.* chap. 5.

§ 15. *The Saxons of the Emperor Julian*.—The earliest definite cotemporary notice of the name *Saxon* in connection with Gaul is that of the Emperor Julian, who not only speaks from personal knowledge, but tells us that he does so.—A.D. 358. He is on the Rhine; in the parts where three different denominations of Germans meet, viz.: (1) the Franks, (2) the Chamavi, and (3) the Saxons. The Franks are those of the

Salian division. Brabant seems to be more especially the Frank; Overijsel, the Chamavian; and parts of Zeeland and Flanders, the Saxon occupancy. Thus near does he bring them to Britain.

On the testimony of a cotemporary speaking to the name and place of a community called *Saxon*, the notice of Julian is, for the purposes of our present enquiry, the first in existence. It is the *second* if we count that of Ptolemy; but Ptolemy's is divided from it by an interval of more than a hundred and fifty years, is applied to a population as far from the Saxons of Julian as Hamburg is from Leyden, and is written on the principle of constructive geography from book-work, rather than on the special details of personal knowledge. But Julian's notice connects them with *Gaul*. Still we are not doing too much when we consider that with Julian begins the history of the Saxons in connection with Britain; at any rate, we are justified, when we find Saxons in Britain, in assigning to them Gaul, which is nearest to, rather than to the Cimbric Chersonese, which is the farthest point from, Britain. Of course by referring them to Germany, or the area between the two, we can reconcile the two localities; but, upon this point, it is better to say at once, that for any part of Germany between the Maas and the Elbe, the name *Saxon* will not be found until it has been established in Gaul and Britain for at least two centuries. With this preliminary we shall have no difficulty in seeing how far the history of the name of the Saxons connected with Britain not only begins with Julian, but is regularly continued from his time until we find them on British ground. It is continued with such regularity that until it ends in Britain no name of any of the so-called Barbarians will be more conspicuous. The Saxons will be as formidable and ever-present by sea as the



Franks have hitherto been by land. They will, as a rule, be associated with the Franks; but it will be with the Franks of the *Lower* Rhine. They will never, so far as they are traced to the land at all, be assignable to any district further from either Gaul or Britain than the parts between Leyden and Antwerp, or, roughly speaking, to the Dutch Province of Zeeland. They will, so far as Britain is concerned, be this and more for about sixty years; when their history as that of Germans who can first be definitely traced to Britain will have come to an end. The whole period of their history is no longer than this. No other Saxons but those of Gaul have any ostensible history during the time in question. The Saxons of Ptolemy, whom he assigns, about A.D. 139, to the Cimbric Chersonese, have never been heard of since. The Saxons of Beda, who assigns them to Germany, will not appear till the eighth century.

§ 16. *The Littus Saxonicum*.—This important notice from the *Notitia Dignitatum Utriusque Imperii* runs thus:—

SUB DISPOSITIONE VIRI SPECTABILIS COMITIS LIMITIS SAXONICI PER  
BRITANNIAM.

Præpositus Numeri Fortensium, Othonæ.  
 Præpositus Militum Tungricanorum, Dubris.  
 Præpositus Numeri Turnacensium, Lemanis.  
 Præpositus Equitum Dalmatarum, Branodunensis, Branoduno.  
 Præpositus Equitum Stablesianorum Gariannonensis, Gariannono.  
 Tribunus Cohortis Primæ Vetasiurum, Regulbio.  
 Præpositus Legionis II. Aug. Rutupis.  
 Præpositus Numeri Abulcorum, Anderidæ.  
 Præpositus Numeri Exploratorum, Portu Adurni. (Cap. lxxi.)

The Captain of the Company of the Turnacenses, at Lympne.  
 The Brandon Captain of the Dalmatian Cavalry, at Brandon.  
 The Burgh Castle Captain of the Stablesian Cavalry, at Burgh Castle.  
 The Tribune of the First Cohort of the Vetasians, at Reculvers.  
 The Captain of the Second Augustan Legion, at Richborough.  
 The Captain of the Company of the Abulci, at Anderida.  
 The Captain of the Company of Pioneers, at Port Adur.

The coast under his administration seems to have lain between the Wash and the Solent.

There was a similar and corresponding *Littus* in Gaul, in which we find the German word *March* (= *Limes*).

*Sub dispositione viri spectabilis Ducis Belgicæ Secundæ  
Equites Dalmatæ Marcis in Littore Saxonico.—C. xxxvii. 1.*

This must be taken with—

§ 17. *The Notice of Carausius by Eutropius.*—

This is not the evidence of a cotemporary; but it looks as if it were.

*Carausius apud Bononiam per tractum Belgicæ et Armoricæ pacandum mare accepit, quod Franci et Saxones infestabant.—Eutropius, ix. 15.*

It is well known that a very important use has been made of this passage. With few, if any, exceptions, the histories of England, when they treat of the German Conquest, give very little prominence to the *Littus Saxonicum*; and, when they notice it at all, they generally add that *Saxonicum* need not be supposed to mean ‘*inhabited by Saxons*,’ but simply ‘*harassed, or threatened by the Saxons*,’ or ‘*exposed to the ravages of the Saxons*.’ That this meaning is, to some degree, a forced one, few deny; but it is probably admitted, on all sides, that, from one point of view, it is not unnecessary. The authority of Bede, supported by that of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, makes the history of the German Conquest begin with Hengist and Horsa, Vortigern and Vortimer, and their contemporaries; and it is clear that if this be the case, the *Littus Saxonicum* must be explained away. This, to say the least, excuses a construction which, under other circumstances, might be condemned as non-natural.

This passage of Eutropius does more. It makes it

almost natural. It suggests that the *Littus Saxonicum* may date from the time of Carausius, and that it was because the Franks and Saxons had to be *kept away from it*, rather than because *they occupied it*, that it took its name.

But it is the value of Eutropius as an authority for the word *Saxon*, rather than the application of his evidence, that is now under notice; and it is the opinion of the present writer that he took the word *Saxones* as connected with the name of Carausius, not as it was in the time of Carausius himself, but according to the meaning it bore in his own time.

(1) This connection between the names *Carausius* and *Saxones* is here made for the first and last time. Julian, who is the earliest writer who connects the Saxons with either Gaul or Britain, wrote about seventy years after the death of that Usurper; but says nothing about him.

(2) The usurpation of Carausius was anterior to the division of the empire.

(3) The word *Saxon* has not yet appeared in any writer of the western division of the empire: not even in the *Germania* of Tacitus. Ptolemy, in whom alone we find it, writes in Greek.

(4) Julian seems to have introduced the name, which as a soldier, scholar, and emperor, he might easily do. He connects it with that of the Franks; and the connection was real: and henceforth the two words often occur in conjunction.

This must be borne in mind; because, if Eutropius connected the *Saxons* with Carausius on adequate evidence, but evidence that has not come down to us, the inferences that may be drawn from his text are important. If, however, he merely associated the names after the manner in which we associate words like '*Goths*

*and Vandals,*' it goes for very little. At present it is enough to say that Gibbon, for one, thinks that the word was used in the looser and less important sense. He wrote—

Aurelius Victor calls them Germans. Eutropius gives them the name of Saxons. But Eutropius lived in the ensuing century, and seems to have used the language of his own times.—*Decline and Fall*, chap. xxxvi. Note.

§ 18. These three notices of Julian, of the Notitia, and of Eutropius—for the reigns of Constantius, Valentinian I., and Theodosius—are all that need be given in detail. The period is a short one; and attention has been drawn to its shortness. They give us, in the way of material and relevant facts, all that we know concerning the *Saxons* in connection with either Gaul or Britain, until we find them *in* Britain. It is necessary to add that they do not stand alone. They are supported by the testimony of Ammianus Marcellinus and Pacatus as actual contemporaries; while notices of what they did are found in Orosius, and the chronicles of Marcellinus and Idatius, who wrote somewhat later, but with adequate materials. Though none of them name the *Littus*, the earlier point to the same Saxons—the men who, when driven back as pirates, were driven back to their islands and marshes; the men who lay on the Frank frontier; the men who were sufficiently formidable to be mentioned oftener than most other barbarians. They are certainly mentioned as being all this; but it is more important to remember that, except during this period, they are not mentioned at all—except as actual occupants of either Gaul or Britain. It may be that the Saxons of the Gallus Littus are hypothetical; but, for this century, the Saxons of any other district are still more so.

§ 19. After the death of Theodosius a slight change

takes place. The Saxons are associated with new enemies of The Empire—the Picts and the Scots; and some of the notices, chiefly from Claudian, carry the name so far north that it brings the Saxons connected with the history of Britain for this period even up to the latitude of Holstein, the Saxon locality of Ptolemy. Hence, in passages like the following, we have to consider whether the Saxons of the Pict alliance were Saxons of the Gallic frontier pursued northwards, or Saxons of the present Danish frontier who had formed an independent alliance with the Picts and Scots.

Quid rigor æternus cæli; quid sidera prosunt  
 Ignotumque fretum; maduerunt Saxone fuso  
 Orcades; incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule,  
 Scotorum tumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.

*Die Quart. Consulatu Honorii, ll. 30-34.*

This is a point upon which the reader must form his own judgment. There is evidence as to the Saxons having been in what we may call ‘British waters;’ and if they were as formidable as soldiers as they were as sailors, there could scarcely be a second opinion upon the question as to whether they had been on the soil of our island. Individually I think that they had; but I also think that whether they had or not, they were the Saxons of the Gallic frontier and the Littus. I do not, however, profess to have traced any Saxons to the soil of Britain so definitely as to satisfy one of a different opinion on this point. The next extract is conclusive; but there will be a break of thirty years before we come to it.

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## CHAPTER II.

## BRITAIN UNDER THE SAXONS.

§ 20. *Notice of Prosper Tiro.*—With Eutropius and Claudian we get the last two writers who supply us with evidence which conveys anything like a fact or a suggestion as to the Saxons of the fourth century. So far as it goes such evidence points to the *Littus Saxonicum*; perhaps exclusively.

Now the present enquiry is one concerning the introduction of a German language into Britain, and not one concerning the downfall of the Romans. If it were otherwise, the history might be made continuous, and each particular withdrawal of any portion of the Roman or British population would claim attention. And upon this point we are not without details. Transfers, of no inconsiderable amount, of soldiers in the Roman service from Britain to Gaul began as early as the time of Maximus; for, though the usurper was chosen by the legions of Britain, it was in Gaul that he fought his battles. The same was the case with Constantine twenty years afterwards. Here we have an undoubted reduction of the Roman and Romanising populations in Britain, but not an evacuation or abandonment.

Nor is either of these words found, or even implied, in the only known notice of the transfer in Britain of the Roman predominance to the Saxons. The notice is that of Prosper Tiro.

THEODOSII, xviii. (?). Britannis usque ad hoc tempus variis cladi-  
bus eventibusque late (laceratæ) in ditionem Saxonum rediguntur.

One of the Britains is, doubtless, Bretagne, or Armorica. The other may safely be supposed to be

Britain. The bare possibility of getting more than one *Britannia* in Gaul will be noticed § 23.

§ 21. *Sidonius Apollinaris*.—*His Saxons, and Heruli*.—The interval between this notice and the next for the Saxons of *Britain* is more than a century; but for those of *Gaul* only ten years. This difference in favour of Gaul is because Britain is the first of the two provinces which is lost to the Empire; whereas Gaul, even when other than Imperial, retains the Latin language, and to some extent continues the Latin literature. At first, this is transitional in character between the classical Latin and the proper Frank style. In Britain there is no such continuity or transition, and consequently a much greater break in the evidence.

Another element in the history of Gaul for this period is the Gothic. Like the Franks and Saxons the Goths were Germans, but they were Christian and lettered Germans. As much as this, however, may be said of the Ripuarian Franks and the Burgundians. Unlike the other Germans of the Empire, the Goths, so far as they were Romanised, were Romanised after the manner of the Greeks, or, at least, that of the Eastern Empire; and the writers of Latin who next to those of the Empire mention the Saxons at all are those of the Gothic kingdoms of Gaul, Spain, and Italy.

Aremoricus piratam Saxona tractus

Sperabat, cui pelle salum sulcare Britannum

Ludus, et assuto *glaucum* mare findere lembo.—*S. A. Carm.* vii. 369.

Again:—

Contra Saxonum pandos \**myoparones* quorum tot remiges videns,  
totidem te cernere puto archipiratas.—*Id. Epist.* viii. 6.

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\* *MYOPARO*.—Navigii piratici genus a *Paro* insula et *Myunte* urbe, ut placet Turnebo . . . nomen adepti. Melius Scaliger a forma *μυῶρες*, hoc est, angusta et oblonga, dictum tradit.—*Dufresne* (*Du Cange*), *Glossarium*, &c.

This tells us what kind of vessels these *lembi* were.

The next notice connects the Saxons with a new name—that of the Heruli.

Hic *glaucis* Herulis genis vagatur

Imos oceanii colens recessus,

Algo prope concolor profundo.—*Id. Ep. viii. 9, &c.*

In these extracts the Saxon is a marauder on the coast of Brittany, i.e. he is a marauder from either the *Littus Saxonicum* or the locality assigned to the Saxons by Julian, rather than a Saxon from the parts between the Gallic frontier and the Elbe; and, still more so, rather than one from the mouth of the Elbe, or Holstein. The *lemnus* of the metrical is the *myoparo* of the prose extracts—a coasting boat rather than a vessel for crossing the sea.

The word '*archipirata*' is not a mere rhetorical term. It means a second '*Carausius*,' for so that usurper is called in the Panegyric\* of Eumenius; and Panegyric literature was one in which Sidonius was well versed.

The epithet '*glaucus*' applies to the *water* which washed the Saxon Islands in one extract, and to the complexion of the Heruli in the other; and this, again, has its special meaning. The Heruli can be found as Legionaries in the Roman service in the *Notitia*; and not only this, but as part and parcel of the Roman *sea-service*, and here, as mariners, in the same class as the Saxons; and, still more, as mariners who can be traced to a district so far from the mouth of the Loire as the Sea of Azof (*Palus Mæotis*). We need not enquire too nicely whether, in their native country, they were, ethnologically, Fins, Mongols, or Turks, but they were certainly Scythians; and to the Scythian or Mongolian complexion the term

\* Delivered A.D. 297, § xii.



*glaucous* undeniably applies. The only question is whether the *weedy sea* (*algosum profundum*) applies to the Palus Mæotis, their original home, or to the *glaucum mare* of the Saxons, with whom, in the time of the writer, they are geographically associated. My own opinion is that the *glaucum mare* of the Saxons was also the *algosum profundum* of the Heruli. This, however, is a point for the reader to determine for himself.

These Heruli, though only mentioned directly in this passage in connection with Gaul, probably played a greater part than is assigned to them. They were certainly in the Roman service; and, as certainly, not German. They may have acted, however, as Germans, and have been at first partially, afterwards wholly, Germanized. If so, this is the only instance in which we get any single member of the Saxon denomination (for so we must call it) under his own proper name.

§ 22. *The Saxons of Adovacrius.*—A.D. 464-5. These we find on the Loire. They attack Angers (Andegavi), and take hostages from it. The name of their captain is *Adovacrius*, whom Gibbon is inclined to identify with the famous Odoacer, who (A.D. 476) dethroned the last of the Western \* emperors.

It is *against* the Empire that Adovacrius leads the Saxons. Eventually they are defeated, while their *islands* are taken and subverted. They then form an alliance with Childeric, the father of Clovis; and, under the name of *Saxons*, we hear no more about them.

The evidence for these Saxons of Adovacrius is Gregory of Tours; no cotemporary, but a writer with whom we can see our way clearly to his authorities. For another notice of them he is a cotemporary authority, viz., for the † *Saxones Bajocassini*, or Saxons of Bayeux.

\* I am almost inclined to believe that he (Odoacer) was the same who pillaged Angers and commanded a fleet of Saxon pirates on the ocean.—*Decline and Fall*, chap. xxxvi.

† *Historia Francorum*, x. 9: also *Fredegaricus; Epitomata*, 80.

Again, his cotemporary Venantius Fortunatus congratulates the Bishop of Nantes for having civilized, if not Christianised, the rough Saxon.

*Aspera gens Saxo, vivens quasi more ferino,  
Te medicante, sacer, bellua fecit ovem.*

These surely represent the Saxons of the *Littus*. Of Saxons from any other quarter there is, in Gaul, no notice whatever.

§ 23.—*Confusion between Britain and Brittany, &c.*

Some points now require notice, because they complicate the history of both Gaul and Britain in the fifth century, and perhaps earlier. Without going into the details, I will merely indicate them for the sake of showing that they have not been overlooked; and will add that I have taken pains to avoid the use of them where there is any doubt as to their application.

(a) There are certain names, each of which has two, or more, meanings.

1. There is the word *Britanni*, which may mean either the Britons of Britain proper, or the Bretons of Brittany, Bretagne, or Armorica.

2. There is the root *G-t*—which may mean either the *Goths* of France under the Visigoth Kings, or the *Jutes* of Jutland. *Euthio* and *Geta* are varieties of this name; the latter, probably, merely used as a rhetorical term.

The *Saxons, &c.*, of *Theodebert's Letter to Justinian*.—Theodebert, the grandson of Clovis, in the first half of the sixth century, enumerates to the Emperor Justinian the *gentes* over which he had, or claimed to have, dominion. The conquest of Thuringia was complete. The Saxons of Lower Saxony he threatened, if he had not to some extent reduced: but we know that the complete subjugation of them was not effected till the time of Charlemagne.

(b) *The Geta, Dani, Euthiones, Saxones, and Britanni of Venantius Fortunatus*.—Venantius Fortunatus writes the following perplexing couplet, addressed to the Frank King:—

*Quem Geta, Vasco, tremunt, Danus, Euthio, Saxo, Britannus;  
Cum patre quos acie te domitasse ferunt.*

We may safely say that the *Britannus* was a Breton. *Saxo* certainly means the Saxons of *Germany*; whose independence is now seriously impaired: indeed, some of them have paid tribute. This *Saxo* is separated from the *Euthio*; as we expect. *Euthio* and *Geta* are the same word; and, so far as this is the case, one seems to denote the Goth of Gaul, the other the Jute of Jutland. But the first notice of

*Jutes* on the soil of Jutland by a cotemporary writer will not appear till the time of Alfred, *i.e.*, three hundred years later: and the first by any writer at all will lie latent till the time of Beda, A.D. 750 (circiter). The same applies to the name *Danus*; though as early as A.D. 615 the famous 'Chochilaicus *Danus*' had been defeated within the Frank boundaries. Still this difference from an actual geographical conquest of Denmark is a wide one. These last need not be enlarged on; but the confusion between the two Britains will be noticed in the sequel.

(c) The well-known letter to the Roman general *Ætius*, in his third consulship, sometimes quoted as 'the Groans of the Britons,' in most works (and in none more than my own) finds its place, A.D. 449. It is now excluded from the text, and that purposely. This is to show that the omission is not accidental. It runs thus:—

*Ætio ter consuli gemitus Britannorum. Repellunt nos barbari ad mare; repellit nos mare ad barbaros. Inter hæc oriuntur duo genera funerum. Aut jugulamur, aut mergimur.*

It is doubtful whether the Britons of this epistle are not, instead of the Britons of Britannia, the Bretons of Armorica (Brittany). When *Ætius* was in Gaul, St. Germanus was in Britain. On his return he passed through Armorica. The Armoricans at that time had offended *Ætius*, and he sent his ally, the barbarous king of the Alani, to chastise them. The barbarians, then, are the Alani.

#### *Letter of Theodebert.*

*Id vero quod dignamini esse solliciti in quibus Provinciis habitemus, aut quæ gentes nostræ sint, Deo adjutore, ditioni subjectæ, Dei nostri misericordia feliciter subactis Thuringis, et eorum Provinciis acquisitis, extinctis ipsorum tunc temporis Regibus, Norsavorum gentis nobis placata majestas colla subdidit, Deoque propitio Wisigotis, qui incolebant Franciæ septemtrionalem plagam, Pannoniam [Aquitaniam?], cum Saxonibus Eucii, qui se nobis voluntate propria tradiderunt, per Danubium et limitem Pannoniæ usque in Oceani litoribus, custodiente Deo, dominatio nostra porrigitur.—Zeuss, 357.*

For *Saxones Eucii* and *Norsavi*, see Ch. VII.

For the Saxons of Gaul during the fifth century we have a small amount of testimony; for those of Britain none. In default of this the analogy of the Saxons of Gaul is our best and only guide.

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## CHAPTER III.

## ON THE NAME ANGLI, ANGLE, ETC.

§ 24. With the exception of the two notices of Tacitus and Ptolemy with which we began, and which preceded those of the Saxons, nothing has hitherto been said about the *Angli*. Much, no doubt, has been said about the Saxons; and even the Franks and Alemanni have been found in connection with Britain; but, in spite of their having given their name to the island, not a line has been written about the *Angli*. This has been the case simply because there was nothing to say. From the date of Ptolemy, about A.D. 139, to that of the forthcoming notice from Procopius, about A.D. 548, their name, in either Greek or Latin literature, never appears.

*The Angli of Procopius, A.D. 5.*—The strange character of his narrative, and the character, stranger still, of his geography, have made the text of Procopius familiar.

His geography calls the Britons *Βρίττωνες*, and Britain *Βρεττία*. He makes it an island. For its relations to the Rhine and Elbe see Chapters VII., VIII.

The *Βρίττωνες* were a prolific people, and they sent out annually a certain number of their population to establish themselves in fresh countries. But their area of conquest must be limited; for they always go on foot. They must do this, for such an animal as the horse has never been known in Britain. Should an embassy, or the like, from the riding part of the world enter Britain, there is no means of getting them either off, or on, horseback except by lifting them up or down. For rowing, however, they are unrivalled. Every man on board ship takes an oar, and, such being the case, sails

are wholly dispensed with. Still more extraordinary are the functions of these islanders as conveyers of the dead. They take turns with each other in the business of conveying the spirits of the departed to a mysterious island—Brittia—which seems, name for name, to be the island in which they themselves dwell. However, they have to cross a sea or strait. This being their general duty, each division, as its turn comes round, retires at nightfall to its own dwelling, and waits for the call of its conductor. The sudden shaking of the doors and the voice of one unseen announce his approach. An irresistible influence carries them to the seaside, where they find vessels in readiness—not their own, but strange and unknown ones. These they man, each taking his oar. Not a passenger, however, can they see. Yet they *feel* the presence of many, for the vessel sinks to within finger's breadth of the water. An hour brings them to Brittia—provided they have *rowed*. If they *sail*, the voyage takes a night and a day. There they discharge their unseen cargo, and return; the vessel sinking no deeper than the keel. From first to last they *see* no one; but a voice announces to them the names and dignities of their passengers; 'also if women happen to cross over with them, they call over the names of the husbands with whom they lived. These, then, are the things which the men of that district declare to take place.'

§ 25. The ethnology, however, of Procopius is more definite than his geography.

*From Procopius.*

Three nations extremely populous occupy the island of Britain. One king is at the head of each. The names for these nations are *Angli*, *Phrissones*, and (of the same name as the island) *Britons*. Such is the manifest populousness of these nations, that every year, in great numbers, they migrate from thence, and with their wives and children go over to the Franks.

Βριττίαν δὲ τὴν νῆσον ἔθνη τρία πολυανθρωπότεα ἔχουσι. Βασιλεὺς δὲ εἰς αὐτῶν ἐκάστω ἐφέστηκεν. Ὀνόματα δὲ κείται τοῖς ἔθνεσι τοῦτοις Ἀγγίλοι καὶ Φρισσόνες καὶ οἱ τῆ νήσῳ δμάνυμοι Βρίττωνες· τοσαύτη δὲ ἡ τῶνδε τῶν ἔθνων πολυανθρωπία φαίνεται ὅσα ὄσπερ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος κατὰ πολλοὺς ἐκθέδε μεταναστῆμενοι ξὺν γυναῖξί καὶ παισὶν ἐς Φράγγους χωροῦσιν.

*Bellum Gothicum*, iv. 20.

This is the first notice since that of Ptolemy, and it is the only one between Ptolemy and Beda. (See Chapters VII., VIII.)

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## CHAPTER IV.

### THE VENERABLE BEDA.—THE FRANK MISSIONARIES AND ST. AUGUSTIN.

§ 26. A.D. 597.—Ethelbert is king of Kent; his queen is a Frank princess. Gregory I., then Pope, enjoins a Frank mission to promulgate the Christianity of the Franks. The Frank king sends interpreters, and St. Augustin is at the head of the mission.

Hence in 597 there is no doubt as to the fact of the mother-tongue of the present English having become thoroughly established in Britain; in the southern parts at least. It was a language, too, intelligible to the Franks; at least to the Franks of the western division of the Frank kingdom.

The evidence of this lies in the Papal Letters, which, though they did not reach England until the latter part of the next century, are to be found in Beda.

§ 27. *The Angli of Pope Gregory I.*—The evidence of Beda himself as a cotemporary witness is about a century later. He died A.D. 737. For the mission of St. Augustin it is the Papal Letters that constitute the evidence. The story of the Pope's interview with

the English children in the slave-market, and his play on the words *Angli* and *Angeli*, rests on that of Beda. It is, of course, conclusive to the fact of certain occupants of Britain bearing the name *Angle* or *Engle*; and of what is of more importance, *Angle* or *Engle* being a name by which they spoke of themselves, not merely a name which was applied to them by others. The truth of the story has but little to do with the matter; and the date not much. But that the children from the kingdom of Deira, or the district of Northumberland, were English in the way that a German is a *Deutsche*, and *not* in the way that he is *German* or an *Allemand* (i.e. something that he is called by other people), is a fact of great importance, though one that we may easily undervalue. We best appreciate it by remembering how little, in this respect, we know about the concurrent name *Saxon*, concerning which we have no evidence whatever that any occupant of any one of the Saxon districts ever applied it to himself. Neither do we know what the *Saxons did* call themselves. They were called Saxons by the Romans, by the Britons, and by the Gauls; but what they called themselves is unknown. The name *may* have been *Angle*, but it is quite as likely that it was something else.

§ 28. *Authorities of Beda—for the Seventh and Sixth Centuries.*—If full justice is to be done both to Beda and the earlier authorities with whom he is at variance, his account may be divided into three parts.

1. *The Century in which he wrote, i.e. the Eighth.*—Here he writes of what was to be found in England during the time of his own life; and, doing this, writes with an authority which it would be vain to impugn.

2. *The Seventh Century.*—This gives us, within a few years, the introduction of Christianity and several

of its immediate results, one of which would be the use of the Latin language as that of the Church, and (unless it existed before) the use of the alphabet. Under these conditions we get the elements of a truly historical record ; and, although *we* have no remains of it, it is probable that Beda may have had the opportunity of availing himself of it. More than this, for the latter half of the century, there were the early cotemporaries of Beda, to whom he may have applied. This we know to have been the case. We know, too, that there was a fair amount of literary activity during the period. One of the Christian duties of the recent converts to Christianity in England was that of preaching the Gospel to their near kinsmen on the Continent, who, in the parts north of the Rhine and Ems, were still pagans. This they performed honourably. They called the Germans of these districts *Old Saxons*, an important name, because it shows that the descent of the English from them was recognised. It is also a convenient name, because it means the Saxons of the Continent as opposed to the Saxons of England. These latter, even in Beda's time, are called *Anglo-Saxons*.

Between Beda and his cotemporaries we get trustworthy evidence for at least the latter half of the seventh century, especially as the cotemporaries whom we appeal to are not imaginary or merely possible ones. Beda himself tells us, not only that there were some of them to whom he applies, but he tells us who they were and upon what points they instructed him. Thus he mentions by name Albinus and Nothelm for Kent ; Bishop Daniel for Sussex and the Isle of Wight ; the monks of Lestingham for Mercia and part of Essex ; with Cyneberct and others for Lincoln. For the province of Northumberland Beda was his own authority.



For the *first* half, however, of the century the value of Beda's statements decreases, though not to any great degree. There is still, without doubt, some learning in the country, and some records; and certain statements founded upon them, whether found in Beda himself, or the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, or in a British historian, deserve credit. Hence, the statement that Eadwin defeats Ethelfrith, and soon after invades Elmet, and that Elmet is, then, British, is one which we may safely adopt as a *datum* for calculating the *rate* at which our language extended itself.

§ 29. *Beda's Authorities for the Fifth Century—what where they?*—Of the authorities (possible or probable) of Beda for the interval between the evacuation of Britain by the Romans in the middle of the fifth century and the date that may reasonably be given to the earliest English writers upon England, about the middle of the sixth century, there are four divisions.

1. The traditions, or legends, or whatever we may call them, of the Germans themselves. Tacitus mentions their *carmina antiqua*. So do the historians of the time of Charlemagne. It is doubtful, however, whether they would supply what is very conspicuous in the account of Beda, a series of dates. The genealogies are not improbable; but each must be tried by its own merits.

2. The British records, notices, or allusions.—Of these the value, whatever it may be, is possibly undervalued rather than over-valued.

3. The Frank records, notices, allusions, or collateral illustrations.—These, as we have seen, fall into two divisions.

*a.* Those that bear the old classical type of the Empire; like the extracts from Sidonius Apollinarius and Venantius Fortunatus; and

b. Those that represent the proper Frank literature. Between the two we get a continuity of some kind, plain, visible, and self-asserting; and in this, as has been indicated, we get, imperfect as it is, our best basis for historical investigation.

4. The authorities he especially mentions. Of these the three that have come down to us, viz., Constantius, the author of a Life of St. Germanus, and written about forty years after his death; Gildas, and Orosius. The first two tell us little more than that there were Saxons on the island in the middle of the fifth century. The third tells us even less.

§ 30. As a cotemporary witness the facts to which Beda most especially speaks are—

1. The name Angles, which has already been noticed.
2. The presence, at the time he was writing, of Jutes in Hampshire and the Isle of Wight. This will be noticed in the sequel.
3. The existence of a language in Britain which was neither Latin nor German, neither Scotch nor British, viz., the Pict. This there is no need to discuss.

Between the different current accounts of this period the dates and details are as follow :—

A.D. 449. Hengist and Horsa, in Kent and Hampshire, and the Isle of Wight—*Jutes*.

A.D. 477. Ella, in Sussex—*Saxons*.

A.D. 496. Cerdic and Cynric, in Wessex—*Saxons*.

A.D. 527–530. Settlement in Essex—*Saxons*.

A.D. 547. Settlement in Northumberland, under Ida—*Angles*.

A.D. ?—But earlier than the last, and later than the last but one. In Norfolk and Suffolk (East Anglia)—*Eastern Angles*.

§ 31. *Beda's Geography*.—What Beda writes as a geographer, though written by a cotemporary, is by no means unexceptionable, partly because the history connected with the countries he mentions is retrospective, and, partly, because the positive geographical knowledge

of the time was imperfect. The knowledge that even the most special geographers had of the countries to which certain populations were to be referred bore no proportion to the knowledge they had of the populations themselves apart from the original occupancies. This means that they knew the Saxons as they appeared in Gaul or Britain without knowing what they were in their own country or where that country was. They knew the Dánes as invaders of the Netherlands before they knew anything about Denmark; and they knew almost every one of the so-called northern barbarians in the same imperfect way. What Beda writes is as follows :

‘Advenerant autem de tribus Germaniæ populis fortioribus, id est *Saxonibus, Anglis, Jutis*. De Jutarum origine sunt *Cantuarii* et *Vectuarii*; hoc est ea gens, quæ Vectam tenet insulam, et ea, quæ usque hodie in provincia Occidentalium Saxonum *Jutarum* natio nominatur, posita contra ipsam insulam Vectam. De *Saxonibus*, id est ea regione, quæ nunc *Antiquorum Saxonum* cognominatur, venere *Orientalis Saxones, Meridiani Saxones, Occidui Saxones*. Porro de *Anglis*, hoc est de illa patria, quæ *Angulus* dicitur, et ab eo tempore usque hodie manere desertus inter provincias Jutarum et Saxonum perhibetur, *Orientalis Angli, Mediterranei Angli, Mercii*, tota *Nordhumbrorum* progenies.’

The following, little more than a translation from the Latin, is from the ‘Saxon Chronicle’ (A.D. 449):—

‘Da comon þa men of þrim megðum Germaniæ, of Eald-Seaxum, of Anglum, of Jotum.

‘Of Jotum comon Cantware and Wihtware, þæt is seo mæiað, þe nú eardað on Wiht, and þæt cyn on West-Seaxum ðe man gyt hæst Iútnacyn. Of Eald-Seaxum comon Eást-Seaxan, and Suð-Seaxan, and West-Seaxan. Of Angle comon (se á siððan stóð westig betwix Iútum and Seaxum) Eást-Engle, Middel-Engle, Mearce, and ealle Norðymbra.’

‘They came from three powers of Germany, from Old Saxons, from Angles, from Jutes.

‘From the Jutes came the inhabitants of Kent and of Wight, that is, the race that now dwells in Wight, and that tribe amongst the West-Saxons which is yet called the Jute kin. From the Old-Saxons came the East-Saxons, and South-Saxons, and West-Saxons. From Angle (which has since always stood waste betwixt the Jutes and Saxons) came the East-Angles, Middle-Angles, Mercians, and all the Northumbrians.’

## Thirdly; Alfred writes—

'Comon of þrym folcum þa strangestan Germanise, þæt of Saxum, and of Angle, and of Geatum; of Geatum fruman sindon Cantwære and Wiht-sætan, þæt is seo þeod se Wiht þat ealond on ear-dað.'

'Came they of three folk the strongest of Germany; that of the Saxons, and of the Angles, and of the Geats. Of the Geats originally are the Kent people and the Wiht-settlers, that is the people which Wiht the Island live on.'

In the way of geography there is one of long standing, viz., the derivation of the Angles from so insignificant a district as the present Angeln: a district which Beda himself derives from *Angulus*. In some sense the statement may be true, inasmuch as there may have been Angli in parts between Flensburg and Sleswick (the present district of Anglen, rather less than the county of Rutland), just as they were in Britain. But that Beda's *Angulus* was, in any sense, the country of the Angles of Ptolemy and Tacitus, few believe.

The second is, I believe, one of my own making, and it is to the effect that the Jutes of Beda were not the Jutes of Jutland, but the Goths of Gaul. As little in the present enquiries depends upon it, and as I have gone into my reasons elsewhere, nothing more will be said about it.

§ 32. The fair, and, at the same time, the legitimate way of dealing with a great writer in a dark age like Beda is to value him according to the lights of his time, not only when they are against him, but when they are for him. Something he may have known about an age to which he was nearer by many centuries than his critics, from the mere fact of his proximity; though we of the nineteenth century fail to see our way to it. And when this is the case he may be followed in faith rather than on conviction. But that which he records must not only be in itself probable, but must

have nothing that can be set against it. From this point of view his details as to the several invasions of Britain must be taken each on its own particular merits. As a rule, we may assign some reality to the dates; because they are not the elements in a narrative that can easily, or without grounds of some kind, be invented. But, though real in themselves, they may readily be associated with wrong events. Hengist, as an important agent of some kind, is probably real; but not as the brother of Horsa, and the father of Æsc, and a race of Kentish kings.

The objections to Beda's evidence, so far as our language is concerned, are reducible to a single point. But it is an important one.

His Hengists, and even his Horsas and Ports, may have done all that he, along with the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, assigns to them. But they are not the first Germans who did work of the same kind; and these Germans must not be excluded. '*Angles*' the men of East Anglia and Northumberland may have called themselves; but that the *Saxons* did so is, in my mind, as unlikely as it is that a German called himself an Allemand; though that, in time, both may have adopted it I do not deny. This is as much as need be said at present. How Germans, under some designation or other, are likely to have found a footing in Britain, and how the name *Saxon* may have followed them, we have seen; but of evidence that either a real Angle population, or such a name as Saxon, existed in any part of Germany between the Rhine and the Elbe, we have not a fraction.

§ 33. The conclusions from the review of the evidence that has been laid before us, even when taken for everything connected with the names *Angle* and *Saxon*, are, at the best, but limited; and when we bring them to bear

upon the single point of the introduction of either the Saxon name or a Saxon population into Britain, we only get two authorities, Prosper and Beda.

Between these the contrast is decided. Prosper manifestly considers the Saxons as men who had, for some time before, been in relations with Britain, Gaul, and the Empire. He writes at the close of a period in which we know that such was really the case; and he writes from Gaul, where he had the opportunity of knowing who and what these Saxons actually were. Moreover, he evidently makes the reduction of Britain the final act of a contest of some previous duration. Beda, in this respect, is his exact opposite. With Beda, until the time of Hengist, South Britain has been exclusively Roman and British; harassed, indeed, by the Picts and Scots of the north, but still unvisited by any Germans whatever\*; for the first Germans that Beda mentions are the Jutes of Hengist that are called in by Vortigern as allies against the invaders from Scotland; Britain itself having been abandoned by its original and natural protectors, the Romans. That the Saxons were known for, very nearly, a century earlier, either as enemies or friends of the Romans, he does not tell us. He rather leaves us to infer the contrary. Least of all does he tell us that they had been the scourges of Roman Britain; and that in alliance with the Picts. In short, with Prosper Tiro the history of the Saxons as the conquerors of Britain ends; whilst with Beda it begins.

\* For these, as well as for the Jutes of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, see §§ 116-117.

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## CHAPTER V.

INTERNAL EVIDENCE.—THE OLD SAXON OF THE CONTINENT.

§ 34. *The Old Saxon*.—The political and geographical history of the Saxons of Britain must be read by the light we get from *Gaul*.

Their ethnological and philological history must be read by the light we get from *Germany*.

In respect to the language, there is no doubt as to the part of Germany with which it is the most convenient to begin; for there is one old dialect that almost forces itself upon us. It was for more than a century treated as the Saxon of Britain, or England, i.e. as *Anglo-Saxon*; the first manuscript (for a long time the only one) having been discovered in an English library, and treated as English accordingly. It is known by the title of *Heliand*, i.e. *Healer* or *Saviour of Mankind*. It was a metrical Gospel Harmony.

But though found in England its character was so peculiar as to require an hypothesis to account for it; and the doctrine that a certain amount of Danish influence was the cause of it so far took form as to establish the term *Dano-Saxon*. In the eyes, then, of Hickea, Lye, and the older Anglo-Saxon scholars, the *Heliand* was a *Dano-Saxon* composition, and so it continued until the present century; when not only was its Danish character denied, but its Westphalian origin was indicated. It is now called *Old Saxon*.

*Specimen.*

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

LUC. II. 8-13.

The uuard managun cud,  
Obar thesa uuidon uuerold.

Then it was to many known,  
Over this wide world.

Uuardos antfundun,  
 Thea thar, ehuscalcos,  
 Uta uuarun,  
 Uueros an uuahtu,  
 Uuiggeo gomean,  
 Fehas aftar felda.  
 Gisahun finistri an tuue  
 Telatan an lufte ;  
 Endi quam liocht Godes,  
 Uuanum thurh thui uolcan ;  
 Endi thea uuardos thar  
 Bifeng an them felda.  
 Sie uurdun an forhtun tho,  
 Thea man an ira moda.  
 Gisahun thar mahtigna  
 Godes Engil cuman ;  
 The im tegegnes sprac.  
 Het that im thea uuardos—  
 ‘ Uuiht ne antdredin  
 Ledes fon them liochta.  
 Ic scal eu quad he liobora thing,  
 Suido uuarlico  
 Uuilleon seggean.  
 Cudean craft mikil.  
 Nu is Krist geboran,  
 An thesero selbun naht,  
 Salig barn Godes,  
 An thera Davides burg,  
 Drohtin the godo.  
 That is mendislo  
 Manno cunneas,  
 Allaro friho fruma.  
 Thar gi ina fidan mugun,  
 An Bethlemaburg,  
 Barno rikiost.  
 Hebbiath that te tecna,  
 That ic eu gitellean mag,  
 Uuarun uurdun,  
 That he thar biuundun ligid,  
 That kind an enera cribbium,  
 Tho he si cuning obar al  
 Erdun endi himiles,  
 Endi obar eldeo barn,  
 Uueroldes uualdand.’  
 Reht so he tho that uord gesprac,

The words they discovered,  
 Those that there, as horse-grooms,  
 Without were,  
 Men at watch,  
 Horses to tend,  
 Cattle on the field.  
 They saw the darkness in twain  
 Dissipated in the atmosphere,  
 And came a light of God  
 —through the welkin ;  
 And the words there  
 Caught on the field.  
 They were in fright then  
 The men in their mood.  
 They saw there mighty  
 God’s angel come ;  
 That to them face-to-face spake.  
 It bade thus them these words  
 ‘ Dread not a whit  
 Of mischief from the light.  
 I shall to you glad things,  
 Very true,  
 Commands utter.  
 Show strength great.  
 Now is Christ born.  
 In this self-same night ;  
 The blessed child of God,  
 In the David’s city,  
 The Lord the good.  
 That is exultation  
 To the races of men,  
 Of all men the advancement.  
 There ye may find him  
 In the city of Bethlehem,  
 The noblest of children.  
 Ye have as a token  
 That I tell ye  
 True words,  
 That he there swathed lieth,  
 The child in a crib,  
 Though he be king over all  
 Earth and Heaven,  
 And over the sons of men,  
 Of the world the Ruler.’  
 Right as he that word spake,



So uuard thar engilo te them  
 Unrim cuman,  
 Helag heriskepi,  
 Fon hebanuuanga,  
 Fagar folc Godes,  
 Endi filu sprakun,  
 Lofuuord manag,  
 Liudeo herron ;  
 Afhobun tho helagna sang,  
 Tho sie eft te hebanuuanga

Uundun thurh thiu uolcan.  
 Thea uuardus hordun,  
 Huo thiu engilo craft  
 Alomahtigna God,  
 Suido uuerdlico,  
 Uuordun louodun.  
 ' Diurida si nu,' quadun sie,  
 ' Drohtine selbun,  
 An them hoboston  
 Himilo rikea ;  
 Endi fridu an erdu,  
 Firiho barnum,  
 Goduuilligun gumun,  
 Them the God antkennead,  
 Thurh hluttran hugi.'

So was there of Angels to them,  
 In a multitude, come  
 A holy host,  
 From the Heaven-plains,  
 The fair folk of God,  
 And much they spake  
 Praise-words many,  
 To the Lord of Hosts.  
 They raised the holy song,  
 As they back to the Heaven-  
 plains  
 Wound through the welkin.  
 The words they heard,  
 How the strength of the Angels  
 The Almighty God,  
 Very worthily,  
 With words praised.  
 ' Love be there now,' quoth they,  
 ' To the Lord himself  
 On the highest  
 Kingdom of Heaven,  
 And peace on earth  
 To the children of men,  
 Goodwilled men  
 Who know God,  
 Through a pure mind.'

To this add 'The Legend of St. Boniface, or  
 Fragmentum de Festo Omnium Sanctorum,' from an  
 Essen MS.

Vui lesed tho Sēs Bonifacius Pauos an Roma uuas, that he bedi  
 thena Kiesur aduocatum, that he imo an Romō en hus gefi, that thia luidi  
 uuilon Pantheon heton, wan thar uuorthōn alla afgoda inna begangana.  
 So he it imo tho iegiuun hadda, so wieda he it an uses Drohtines era,  
 ende usero Fruen See Marium, endi allero Cristes martiro ; te thiu, also  
 thar er inna begangan vuarth thiu menigi thero diuuiilo, that thar nu inna  
 begangan uuertha thiu gehugd allero godes heligono. He gibod the that  
 al that folk this dages also the kalend Nouember anstendit (?) te kerikōn  
 quami, endi, also that gödlika thianust thar al gedon was, so wither ge-  
 warf manno gewilik fra endi blithi te hus. Endi thanana so warth ge-  
 wonohed that man hōdigō, ahter allero thero waroldi, beged thia gehugd  
 allero Godes heligono, te thiu so vuat so vui an allemo themo gera uer-  
 gemelosen, that wi et al hōdigō gefullon ; endi that vui, thur thero heli-

gono gething, bekuman te themo ewigon liua, helpandemo usemo Drohtine.

*In English (literal).*

We read that when St. Boniface, Pope, was in Rome, he bade the Cæsar Advocatus to give him a house in Rome, that the people whilom called Pantheon, when there were all the heathen gods therein gone. When he had given it to him so hallowed he it to our Lord's honour, and our Lady's, the Holy Mary, and all the Christ's martyrs, to the end that, even as the multitude of devils had gone therein, now should go in the thought on all God's saints. He bade that all the folk this day, the kalends of November, (?) to church should come, and also that when godly service there all done was, every man should depart glad and blithe home. And thence was the custom that all men, at the present time, over all the world, take thought of all God's saints, so that what we in all the year have forgotten, we should to-day fulfil, and that we, through their holy intercession, should reach the everlasting life, our Lord helping.

See Dorow, *Denkmäler Alter Sprache und Kunst*. 1823. (I. 40.)

§ 35. *The Old Saxon Abrenunciation.*—This is a fragment, but one that, as far as it goes, is in the form of a catechism, or sacrament, for the Old Saxon converts from Paganism. It is Westphalian, but not so specially fixed in respect to its locality as the Essen Roll, or Rotulus Essensis, the Formula Essensis Confessionis, and the Frekkenhorst Roll, of which the locality is denoted by the names. The Rolls, or Muniments, consist of little more than lists of dues or payments to the Essen and Frekkenhorst monasteries.

The Abrenunciation is as follows:—

*Q.* Forsachis tu diabolæ?

*R.* Ec forsacho diabolæ, end allum diabolgelde; end ec forsacho allum diabolgeldæ, end allum dioboles uercum, and uordum, Thunar ende Woden, ende Saxnote ende allum them unholdum the hiro genotas sint.

*Q.* Gelobis tu in Got Alamehtigan Fadaer?

*R.* Ec gelobo in Got Alamehtigan Fadaer.

Q. Gelobis tu in Crist Godes Suno ?

R. Ec gelobo in Crist Godes Suno.

Q. Gelobis tu in Halogan Gast ?

R. Ec gelobo in Halogan Gast.

*In English.*

Q. Renoucest thou the Devil ?

R. I renounce the Devil, and all Devil-guilds ; and I renounce all Devil-guilds, and all the Devil's works, and words ; Thunar, and Woden, and Saxnot, and all the unholy (ones) who are their fellows.

Q. Believest thou in God the Almighty Father ?

R. I believe in God, the Almighty Father.

Q. Believest thou in Christ, God's Son ?

R. I believe in Christ, God's Son.

Q. Believest thou in the Holy Ghost ?

R. I believe in the Holy Ghost.

§ 36. The *Heliand* is referred to the parts about Munster. Hence we may take Munster as a starting point ; and, drawing a line due west until we reach the North Sea between the Maas and Scheldt, compare what we find in the German district of Westphalia, and the Dutch and Flemish districts of Overijsell, Brabant, and Flanders, with what we find about Essen and Frekkenhorst in Germany ; and also with the nearest cotemporary Anglo-Saxon of England. The presumptions are that when we reach the old localities of the Salian Franks and the Saxons of Julian we ought to find a form of speech more English than even the *Heliand*. But, then, it is not certain that we shall find anything at all.

The nearest approach to this, and it probably lies north of the line, is found under two names, the *Glossæ Lipsienses* and the *Carolinian Psalms*. Of these names, the first arose out of the fact of the learned Lipsius having drawn attention to them. He contented himself, however, with selecting certain words—*Glosses*. The first part of the text was published by Von de

Hagen, A.D. 1810, with the opinion that they belonged to the time of Charlemagne, an opinion adopted by Ypeij and Clarisse, from whom the following extract is taken. The version is treated by the editors as the Saxon of Holland.

*From the text of A. Ypeij, Taalkundig Magzijs, P. 1. No. 1. p. 74.*

PSALM LV.

1. Gehori Got gebet min, in ne furuur[p] bida mina; thenke te mi in gehori mi.
2. Gidrouvit bin ic an tilogon minro, in mistrot bin fan stimmon fuindes, in fan arbeide sundiges.
3. Uuanda geneigedon in mi unreht, in an abulge unsuote uuaron mi.
4. Herta min gidronit ist in mi forhta duodis fiel ouir mi.
5. Forhta in biuonga quamon ouir mi, in bethecoda mi thiuster-nussi.
6. In ic quad 'uue sal genan mi fetheron also duuon, in ic fluigon sal, in raston sal.'
7. Ecco! firroda ic fiende, ende bleif in an endi.

*In the present Dutch of Holland.*

1. Hoor, Got! mijn gebod, en verwerp niet mijne bede! denk tot (aan) mij, en hoor mig.
2. Ontroerd ben ik, en mijne bezigheden, en mistrootig ben ik van de stem des vijands en van het leed (mij) van den zondigen (aangedaan).
3. Want zij neigden op mij het onrecht, en in verbolgenheid waren zij mij onzoet.
4. Mijn hart is ontroerd in mij, en de vries des doods overviel mij.
5. Vries en beving kwamen over mij, en duisterniss bede.
6. En ik zeide, 'wie zal mij geven vederen als van eene duif; en ik zal vlieden en zal rusten?'
7. Zie ik veroerde vliedende end bleef in de woestijn.

§ 37. HILDEBRAND AND HATHUBRAND.

Ik gihorta dat seggen,	I heard that say,
Dat sie urheiten anou muotin,	That they challenged in single meeting,
Hildebraht end Hadubraht,	Hildebraht and Hathubraht,
Untar heriu tuem.	Between the two armies.
. . . . .	. . . . .
Garutun sie, iro, guthhamum,	They made ready their war-coats,

Gurtun sie iro suert ana,  
 Helidos ubar ringa,  
 Do sie to dero ittin ritun.  
 Hiltibraht gimahalta,  
 Heribrantes sune.  
 Her was heroro man,  
 Ferahes frotoro,  
 Her fragen gistuont (?)  
 Fohem wortum : ' wer sin fader  
 wan

' Fireo in folcke,  
 ' Eddo weliches onuosles du sis.  
 ' Ibu du mi aennan sages,  
 ' Ik mideo are-wet,  
 ' Chind in chuninchriche,  
 ' Chud ist min al Irmendeot.'  
 Hadubraht gimahalti,  
 Hillibrantes sune :  
 ' Dat sagetun me  
 ' Usere liuti alte anti frote,  
 ' Dea erhena waran,  
 ' Dat Hilbrant haette min fater,  
 ' (Ih heittu Hadubrant).  
 ' Forn her ostar gehueit,  
 ' Floh her Otachres nid.

.....  
 ' Tot ist Hiltibraht,  
 ' Heribrantes suno.'  
 Hildebrant gimahalta  
 Heribrantes suno :  
 ' Wela gisihu ih,  
 ' In dinem hrustim,  
 ' Dat du habes keine herron goten,  
 ' Dat du noh bi desemo riche,  
 ' Reccheo ni wurte.'  
 Do laettun se aerist  
 Asckim scritan,  
 Scarpen scurim,  
 Dat in dem sciltim stont.

.....  
 Hewun harmilicco  
 Huitte scilti  
 Unti im iro lintan  
 Luttilo wurtun.

They girt their swords on,  
 Heroes over the ring,  
 When they to the war rode.  
 Hildebrand spoke,  
 Heribrant's son.  
 He was a high man,  
 Of age the wiser,  
 He asked . . . .  
 With few words : ' who his father  
 was

' Of men in the folk,  
 ' Or of what kin thou beest.  
 ' If thou me only sayest,  
 ' I forbear strife  
 ' Child in kingdom,  
 ' Known to me is all mankind.'  
 Hathubrath answered,  
 Hildebrand's son :  
 ' That said they to me  
 ' Our people old and wise,  
 ' Who of yore were,  
 ' That my father hight Hildebrand,  
 ' (I hight Hadhubraht).  
 ' Formerly, hence, eastward, de-  
 parted,  
 ' Fled Odoacer's spite.

.....  
 ' Dead is Hildebrant,  
 ' Heribrant's son.'  
 Hildebrant answered  
 Heribrant's son :  
 ' Well see I,  
 ' In thy harness,  
 ' That thou no good master hast,  
 ' That thou still by this kingdom,  
 ' Hero art not.'  
 Then let they erst  
 With axes stride,  
 With sharp showers,  
 That on the shields dashed.

.....  
 They hewed harmfully  
 The white shields  
 And to them then linden  
 Little were (became).

§ 38. *Tatian's Gospel Harmony*.—The following is called Frank. The term, however, is geographical and political rather than philological.

THE GOSPEL HARMONY OF TATIAN, v. i. 3. (Edit. Graff.)

1. Uarun thó hirta in thero lantskeffi uuahhante, inti bihaltante nahtnahta ubar iro euuit.

Quam thara gotes engil, inti gistuont náh in, inti gotes berahtnessi bischein sie, inti giforhtun sie in thó in mihhilero forhta.

2. Inti quad in ther engil: ni curet iú forhten, ih sagen iú mihhilan gifehon, ther is allemo folke, bi thiu uuanta giboran ist iú hiutu Heilant, ther ist Christ truhtin in Dauides burgi;

Thaz sí iú zi zeichane, thaz ir findet kin mit tuochoon bivvuntanez inti gilegitaz in cripa.

3. Thó sluimo uuard thar mit themo engile menigi himilisches heres got lobontiu inti quendentiu:

Tiurida sí in then hobiston gote, inti in erdu sí sibba mannon guotes uuillen.

§ 39. *Otfrid*.—The next is from a part further south than the *Harmony*; probably south of the Mayne; in which case it is, geographically and ethnologically, *Alemannic*. The writer himself calls it *Frank*. The extract is, again, from a Gospel Harmony. *Krist* is the title: *Otfrid* the name of the composer. It is *High German*.

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

Tho unarun thar in lante hirta haltente;

thes fehes datun uuerta. uuidar fianta.

Zi in quam boto seoni. engil siinenti,

ioh uuurtun sie inliuhte. fon himilagen lichte.

Forahtun sie in tho gahun. so sinan anasahun;

ioh hintarquamun harto. thes gotes boten uuorto.

Sprah ther gotes boto sar. 'Ih scal iu sagen uuuntar.

fu scal sin fou gote heil. nales forahta nihein.

Ih scal iu sagen imbot. gibot ther himiligo got;

ouh nist ther er gihorti. so fronisg aranti.

Thes uuirdit uuorolt sinu. zi euuidon blidu.

ioh al giscaft thiu in uuorolti. thesa erdun ist ouh dretenti,

Niuuni boran habet thiz lant, then himiligon Heilant;

Theist druhtin krist guater. fon iungeru muater.

In bethelem thiu kuninga, thie unarun alle thanana,

fon in uuard ouh giboran. iu sin muater magad soon.  
 Sagen ih iu, guate man. uuió ir nan sculut findan,  
 zeichen ouh gizami. thuruh thaz seltsani.  
 Zi theru burgi faret hinana. ir findet, so ih iu sageta,  
 kind niuuii boranaz. in kripphun gilegitaz.  
 Tho quam unz er zin tho sprah. engilo heriscaf,  
 himilisgu menigi. sus alle singenti—  
 'In himilriches hohi. si gote guallichí ;  
 Si in erdu fridu ouh allen. thie fol sin guates uuillen.'

*The same, in English.*

Then there were in the land herdsmen feeding :  
 Of their cattle they made watch against foes.  
 To them came a messenger fair, an angel shining,  
 And they became lit with heavenly light.  
 They feared, suddenly as on him they looked ;  
 And followed much the words of God's messenger :  
 Spake there God's messenger strait, 'I shall to you say wonders.  
 To you shall there be from God health ; fear nothing at all.  
 I shall to you say a message, the bidding of the heavenly God :  
 Also there is none who has heard so glad an errand.  
 Therefore becomes this world for ever blithe,  
 And all creatures that in the world are treading this earth.  
 Newly borne has this land the heavenly Saviour,  
 Who is the Lord Christ, good, from a young mother.  
 In Bethlehem of the kings they were all thence—  
 From them was also born his mother, a maid fair,  
 I say to you, good men, how ye him shall find,  
 A sign and token, through this wonder.  
 To your burgh fare hence, ye find, so as I to you said,  
 A child, new born, in a crib lying.'  
 Then came, while he to them spake, of angels a host,  
 A heavenly retinue, thus all singing :  
 'In the heavenly kingdom's highth be to God glory ;  
 Be on earth peace also to all who are full of God's will.'

§ 40. *Muspilli*.—This is generally treated as *High* rather than *Low* German, the Saxon being *Low*, and Tatian intermediate or transitional. With Otfred the High German characteristics increase ; and the next extract will be more High German still.

MUSPILLI.

Daz hõrt ih rahhon  
 Dia werolt-rehtwison ;

They have heard I relate  
 The world-wise,

Das sculi der Antichristo  
Mit Eliase pägen.

Der warch ist kiwáfnit,  
Denne wirdit untar in  
Wik arhapan ;  
Khensun sind so kreftec ;  
Diu kosa ist so mihhil.  
Elias stritit

Pi den ewigon lfp ;  
Will den rehtkernon  
Daz rihhi kistarkan :  
Pidiu scal imo halfan  
Der himiles kiwaltit.  
Der Antichristo stét  
Pi dem altflante ;  
Stét pi demo Satanase ;  
Der inan farsenkan scal ;  
Pidiu scal er in der wicsteti  
Wunt pivallan ;  
Enti in demo sinde  
Sigalos werdan.

That should the Antichrist  
With Elias struggle.

The traitor is armed ;  
Then becomes between them  
War raised.

The champions are so strong,  
The case is so great.  
Elias strives

For the everlasting life,  
Will for the right-doing  
The kingdom strengthen ;  
Therein shall him help  
Who rules heaven,  
The Antichrist stands  
By the old Fiend ;  
Stands by Satanas ;  
Who shall sink (*to, or, before?*) him.  
Both shall in fight  
Wounded full,  
And on that occasion  
Be without victory.

§ 41. THE WISSENBRUN HYMN.

Dat chifregin ih mit fراهيم  
Firiuzizzo meista ;  
Dat ero ni uuas, noh ufhimil,

Noh paum noh pereg ni uuas,

Ni (sterro) noh heinig,

Noh sunna noh scein.

Noh mana ni liuhta ;

Noh der mareo seo,

Do dar ni wiht ni was,

Ente ni uuento,

Enti do uuas der ein ;

Almahtico cot

Manno miltisto.

Enti dar uuarun auh

Manahe mit inan,

Cootliha geista ;

Enti cot heilac,

Cot almahtico,

Du himil enti erda chïworahtos,

Enti tu mannun

That have I heard among men,

Of the fore-wise most,

That erst neither was, nor heaven  
above,

Nor tree, nor berg,

Nor [star] nor . . .

Nor sun shone,

Nor moon gave light,

Nor the great sea ;

For there no wiht was,

Being or monster.

And then was the only

Almighty God,

Of men the mildest.

And there were also

Many with him,

Godlike Spirits ;

[And] God Holy

God Almighty ;

Thou heaven and earth wroughtest,

And thou for men



So manac coot forchipi ;  
 Forcip mer, in dino ganada,  
 Rehta galaupa,  
 Enti cotan uuilleon,  
 Uuisdom enti spahida,  
 Enti craft tiufun  
 Za uuidarstantanne  
 Enti arc za piuisanne  
 Enti dinan inillain  
 Za chiuuarchanne.

So much good hast created.  
 Grant me in thy grace,  
 Right belief,  
 And good will,  
 Wisdom and speed,  
 [And] craft the devil  
 To withstand  
 And evil to conquer  
 And thy will  
 To work.

§ 42. *High and Low German*.—A difference between these important terms is here foreshadowed.

*B, V, D, TH* (as in *there*), and *G* are called the *Sonant Mutes*; *P, F, T, TH* (as in *then*), and *K* the *Surd*.

The former prevail in the Old Saxon.

In *Tatian* the *Surds* begin to take their place—compare *Truhtin* = Lord, with *Drohtin* in the *Heliand*.

In *Hildebrand and Hathubrath* there is a mixture.

In *Otfrid* the proportion of *Surds* increases.

In *Muspilli* and the *Weissenbrun Hymn*, they predominate—*pidiu* for *beide*, and *kiwâfinit* = *gewaffned*, in *Muspilli*; *chifregin* = *gefragen* in the *Hymn*.

The same applies to the *th* in *Heliand*, which becomes *d* in the *Hymn*; and to *t* in the *Heliand*, which becomes *z (ts)* in *Otfrid*, &c., and *ss* in modern German. Compare *water, better*, &c., in English with *wasser, besser*, &c., in German. For more upon this point, see Chapter XVI.

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## CHAPTER VI.

INTERNAL EVIDENCE, ETC.—THE FRISIAN—THE ‘SAXONIA’  
OF THE NINTH CENTURY.

§ 43. *The Frisian Dialects.*—We return to the parts about Munster and follow the line of dialects in a different direction, i.e. northwards; or, rather, north by west.

A line drawn from Munster to Leeuwarden takes us into a new district; one wherein the difference of dialect either simulates or amounts to a difference of language. This is the case with, what is at present, the Dutch province of Friesland, where the language, in equal contrast with the Dutch of Holland and the Platt Deutsch dialects of Germany, of the old Frisians is still spoken. The area, however, of the *old* Frisian was much wider than it is now. Upon this, more will be said in the sequel.

§ 44. Neither the northern nor the southern boundary of the Frisian area is of much consequence. We know the *philological* frontier in each case. And the exact geographical points at which the languages touch one another is a matter of minor importance. On the south the Frisian of Friesland originally extended beyond its present boundaries, and indented both the Saxon and the (Salian) Frank frontiers in Guelderland, Brabant, and Flanders. On the north it reached the Danish frontier. Whether the Elbe was the boundary we need not enquire. It is only necessary to know that the continuous contact was along the coast line.

The northern and southern boundaries of the Frisian are, as aforesaid, of minor importance. What we most require to know is the extent to which the Frisian forms

of speech ran *eastward*, i.e. inland, and in the direction of Hanover. The leading fact on this point is that the town of Meppen was *Saxon*.

Meppen is on the Ems; in Germany, and not in the Netherlands (Holland). Yet it is near the frontier. It is also near the frontier of the present Frisian language on the south-east—that being the direction in which it extends the farthest inland. Along the coast it has been superseded by the Platt Deutsch of Oldenburg and Hanover; though it is preserved in the islands from Texel to Sylt. Then it reappears on the coast of Sleswick, between the towns of Husum and Bredsted. That it was the language of East Friesland is implied by the name. A fragment for the district of Saterland carries its area a little more eastwards. The general character of the Frisian was that it followed the coast. Nowhere, however, except in the south-east, did it stretch far inland. For the parts about Cuxhaven, between the mouths of the Elbe and the Weser, it has not been traced at all.

§ 45. *The Saxonía of Poeta Saxo*.—This limitation of the Frisian area on the south and east makes the fourth district which we have to consider one of inordinate magnitude. But it is one of great importance in other respects, because it is in the parts between Westphalia and the Elbe that we must look for the *Angle* districts. And here a well-known notice of the ancient *Saxonía*, with its boundaries and divisions, helps us, if not to any new fact, at least to a convenient arrangement of its actual and possible dialects. The work, in Latin hexameters, is referred to the reign of Charlemagne, and (as the author is unknown) is quoted as '*Poeta Saxo*.' He does not include Friesland in his *Saxonía*, and he does not take his *Saxonía* further south than Westphalia. His two

great geographical landmarks are the Elbe and the parts about the present town of *Engern*, in which the older name *Angrarii* or *Angraria* is preserved; itself being an abbreviation of the *Angrivarii* of Tacitus. This *Angraria* is a district rather than a town, and a district of a peculiar line. Long and narrow, it reaches, on each side of the Weser, from the parts about Paderborn to the North Sea, dividing the two great blocks of land which constitute very nearly the western and eastern halves of Saxonia. The first of these is, as we expect, *Westphalia*, a name that has come down to us; the second is *Eastphalia*, a name which has become obsolete.

Then there is an outlying division beyond the Elbe, named, according to its situation, *Nordalbingian*. The boundary of Saxony on the east is also the boundary of Germany; for the country beyond the Elbe and Saale, whatever it may have been in the time of Tacitus, was, in the eighth century, Slavonic; and even so late as the last century there were (in Lüneburg) some Slavonians on the left or German side of the Elbe.

## POETA SAXO.

Generalis habet populos divisio ternos;  
 Insignita quibus *Saxonia* floruit olim.  
 Nomina nunc remanent; virtus antiqua recessit.  
 Denique *Westphalos* vocitant in parte manentes  
 Occidua: quorum non longe terminus amne  
 A Rheno distat; regionem solis ad ortum  
 Inhabitans *Osterleudi*, quos nomine quidam  
*Ostphalos* alii vocitant, confinia quorum  
 Infestant conjuncta suis gens perfida Sclavi.  
 Inter predictos media regione morantur  
*Angrarii*, populus *Saxonum* tertius: horum  
 Patria Francorum terris sociatur ab Austro,  
 Oceanoque eadem conjungitur ex Aquilone.

\* \* \* \* \*

*Saxonum* populus quidam quos claudit ab Austro  
*Albis*, sejunctim positos Aquilonis ad axem:  
 Hos *Nordalbingos* patrio sermone vocamus.

The political boundary of Saxony south of Westphalia we may carry in the direction of the Rhine as far as the Ruhr, and along the Weser as far as the northern frontier of Hesse; and with this the philological frontier seems to have been, at least, co-extensive.

§ 46. *The Frisian*.—Of this division much is known; for we have numerous specimens of almost every one of its present dialects and subdialects, from Sleswick to Holland; i.e. for almost every one of the little islands off the coasts of East and West Friesland, and Oldenburg; for Heligoland; for the more northern islands of Sylt, Amröm, &c.; for the North Frisian of the parts on the mainland of Sleswick; for the fragmentary Saterland dialect in *East Friesland*; and, along with all this, something like a provincial literature of the Frisian of the Dutch Province of Friesland.

Besides this we have Frisian compositions for three different stages: the Old Frisian, the Middle Frisian, and New Frisian; so that, if there be any error connected with the philology and ethnology of Friesland, it is not for want of materials.

Indeed, a slight amount of error may arise from the very abundance of them: and it is possible that such may be the case here. As compared with the Frisian division of Northern (or Low) Germany, the *Ostphalian* (with which the *Angrarian* may be connected) is, in the way of *data*, a blank. It has no compositions whatever like the Westphalian *Heliand*, or the *Essen* and *Frekkenhorst* muniments; compositions undoubtedly belonging to the district; and of the same age and stage as corresponding compositions in England.

The bearing of this upon the Frisian is evident. As a matter of fact there is, from the first, a difference between the northern and southern forms of the

German (Angle or Saxon as we may choose to call it) from which the English language is derived: and, as a matter of fact, it is the southern that is the most especially Old Saxon. We expect this *a priori*, and we find it; for the Saxon of Westphalia itself is, as compared with the Frisian, a southern form of speech: so that the actual affinity coincides with the geographical relations.

In the same way, the Frisian, as a language of North Germany, and, also, as a language of the parts of the Continent that lie opposite to the northern counties of England, is the one to which we naturally look when the difference between the Westsaxon and Northumbrian of England has to be explained by reference to the particular districts of Germany in which the latter originated. We know that the Westsaxon is more especially Old Saxon and *vice versâ*; and, this being the case, the doctrine that the Northumbrian is more especially Frisian presents itself: a doctrine which, in the main, is true. It is clear, however, that in this respect the Frisian forms of speech are invested with an importance not wholly their own, inasmuch as there is nothing that represents the German of *Ostphalia*.

Nevertheless, the structure and distribution of the Frisian forms of speech are almost as important as those of the Saxon. Its leading characteristics are: (1) the avoidance of the sound of *-n* at the end of words, as Frisian *tung-a*, A. S. *tung-an*; O. S. *tung-on*, *tongues*; Frisian *bærn-a*, Saxon *bærn-an*=(to) *burn*; (2) its preference of the sound of *-r* to that of *-s*.

§ 47. It is in their oldest stages, respectively, that the two forms of speech are best compared. For fuller details, see *Rask, Frisisk Sprog lære*, 1825.

## Transition of Letters.

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

*é* in Frisian corresponds to (1), the A. S. *á*; as *eth, téken, hél, bréd*, Fris.; *áp, tácen, hál, brád*, Saxon; *oath, token, hale, broad*, English;—(2), to A. S. *æ*; *hér, déde, bréda*, Frisian; Fris. *hær, dæd, brédan*, A. S.; *hair, deed, roast*, English.

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

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

*já = eo* A. S.; as *bjáda, bebðan, bid—thet fjárde, feorðe, the fourth—sják, seóc, sick*.

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

*dz = A. S. c g*; Fr. *sedza, lidzja*; A. S. *secgan, licgan*; Engl. *to say, to lie*.

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

*ch* Fr. = *h* A. S., as *thjach*, Fr. *þeoh*, A. S., *thigh*, Engl.; *berch, beorh, hill (berg)*; *dochter, dohtor, daughter, &c.*

## § 48.

## Declension of Substantives.

(a.)

## Substantives ending in a Vowel.

	Masculine.	Feminine.	Neuter.
<i>Sing. Nom.</i>	<i>Campa (a champion)</i>	<i>Tunge (a tongue)</i>	<i>'Are (an ear).</i>
	<i>Acc. Campa</i>	<i>Tunga</i>	<i>'Are.</i>
	<i>Dat. Campa</i>	<i>Tunga</i>	<i>'Ara.</i>
	<i>Gen. Campa</i>	<i>Tunga</i>	<i>'Ará.</i>
<i>Plur. Nom.</i>	<i>Campa</i>	<i>Tunga</i>	<i>'Ara.</i>
	<i>Acc. Campa</i>	<i>Tunga</i>	<i>'Ara.</i>
	<i>Dat. Campon</i>	<i>Tungon</i>	<i>'Aron.</i>
	<i>Gen. Campona</i>	<i>Tungona</i>	<i>'Arona.</i>

(b.)

*Substantives ending in a Consonant.*

<i>Feminine.</i>		<i>Neuter.</i>
<i>Sing. Nom.</i>	Hond ( <i>a hand</i> )	Skip ( <i>a ship</i> ).
<i>Acc.</i>	Hond	Skip.
<i>Dat.</i>	Hond	Skipe.
<i>Gen.</i>	Honde	Skipis.
<i>Plur. Nom.</i>	Honda	Skipu.
<i>Acc.</i>	Honda	Skipu.
<i>Dat.</i>	Hondum (-on)	Skipum.
<i>Gen.</i>	Honda	Skipa.

With respect to the masculine substantives terminating in a consonant, it must be observed that in Anglo-Saxon there are two modes of declension. In one, the plural ends in *-s*; in the other in *-a*. From the former the Frisian differs; with the second it has a close alliance; *e. g.*:—

<i>Saxon.</i>	<i>Frisian.</i>	
<i>Sing. Nom.</i>	Sunu ( <i>a son</i> )	Sunu.
<i>Acc.</i>	Sunu	Sunu.
<i>Dat.</i>	Suna	Suna.
<i>Gen.</i>	Suna	Suna.
<i>Plur. Nom.</i>	Suna	Suna.
<i>Acc.</i>	Suna	Suna.
<i>Dat.</i>	Sunum	Sunum.
<i>Gen.</i>	Sunena	(Sunena).

*Declension of Adjectives.*

(a.)

*Indefinite.*

	<i>Masculine.</i>	<i>Feminine.</i>	<i>Neuter.</i>
<i>Sing. Nom.</i>	Gód	Gód	Gód.
<i>Acc.</i>	Gódeno	Góde	Gód.
<i>Dat.</i>	Góda (-um)	Gódere	Góda (-um).
<i>Gen.</i>	Gódes	Gódere	Gódes.
<i>Plur. Nom.</i>	Góde	Góde	Góde.
<i>Acc.</i>	Góde	Góde	Góde.
<i>Dat.</i>	Gódum (-a)	Gódum (-a)	Gódum (-a).
<i>Gen.</i>	Gódcra	Gódera	Gódera.



(b.)

*Definite.*

	<i>Masculine.</i>	<i>Feminine.</i>	<i>Neuter.</i>
<i>Sing. Nom.</i>	Góda	Góde	Góde.
<i>Acc.</i>	Góda	Góda	Góde.
<i>Dat.</i>	Góda	Góda	Góda.
<i>Gen.</i>	Góda	Góda	Góda.
<i>Plur. Nom.</i>	Góda	Góda	Góda.
<i>Acc.</i>	Góda	Góda	Góda.
<i>Dat.</i>	Góda (-on)	Góda (-on)	Góda (-on).
<i>Gen.</i>	Góda (-ona)	Góda (-ona)	Góda (-ona).

In respect to the Pronouns, there is in the Old Frisian of *Dutch* Friesland no dual number (the *North* Frisian has one), as there is in Anglo-Saxon. On the other hand, however, the Frisians (whilst they have no such form as *his*) possess, like the Icelandic, the inflected adjectival pronoun *sin*, corresponding to the Latin *suus*: whilst, like the Anglo-Saxons, and unlike the Icelanders, they have nothing to correspond with the Latin *se*.

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

*Article.*

	<i>Masculine.</i>	<i>Feminine.</i>	<i>Neuter.</i>
<i>Sing. Nom.</i>	Thi	Thjú	Thet.
<i>Acc.</i>	Thene	Thá	Thet.
<i>Dat.</i>	Thá	There	Thá.
<i>Gen.</i>	Thes	There	Thes.
<i>Plur. Nom.</i>		Thá.	
<i>Acc.</i>		Thá.	
<i>Dat.</i>		Thá.	
<i>Gen.</i>		Théra.	

*The Demonstrative in the limited Sense of the Word.*

	<i>Masculine.</i>	<i>Feminine.</i>	<i>Neuter.</i>
<i>Sing. Nom.</i>	Thi	* <i>Se</i>	Thet.
<i>Acc.</i>	Thene	<i>Se</i>	Thet.
<i>Dat.</i>	Tham	There	Tham.
<i>Gen.</i>	Thes	There	Thes.

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

<i>Sing.</i>	1. Berne	<i>I burn.</i>
	2. Bernst	<i>Thou burnest.</i>
	3. Bernth	<i>He burns.</i>
<i>Plur.</i>	1. Bernath	<i>We burn.</i>
	2. Bernath	<i>Ye burn.</i>
	3. Bernath	<i>They burn.</i>

*The Auxiliary Verbs.*

	<i>Present.</i>	<i>Indicative.</i>	<i>Past.</i>
<i>Sing.</i>	1. Ik ben	1. Ik	} Was.
	2. ?	2. Thú	
	3. Hi is	3. Hi	
<i>Plur.</i>	1. Wi	} Send	} Weron.
	2. I		
	3. Hja		

	<i>Present.</i>	<i>Subjunctive.</i>	<i>Past.</i>
<i>Sing.</i>	1. 2. 3. Se		1. 2. 3. Wére.
<i>Plur.</i>	1. 2. 3. Se		1. 2. 3. Wére.
<i>Infjn.</i>	Wesa.	<i>Pr. Part.</i> Wesande.	<i>Past Part.</i> E-wesen.

§ 49. *Old Frisian Laws.*

*Aesga-bog*,† i. 3. pp. 13, 14. (*Ed. Wiarda*.)

Thet is thiú thredde liodkest and thes Kynig Kerles iest, theter allera monna ek ana sina eyna gode besitte umberavat. Hit ne se thet ma hine urwinne mith tele and mith rethe and mith riuchta thingate.

\* Also Plural. † *Date*, A.D. 1212-1250: Parts, about the Jahde.

Sa hebbere alsam sin Asega dema and dele to lioda londriuchte. Ther ne hach nen Asega nenne dom to delande hit ne se thet hi to fara tha Keysere fon Rume esweren hebbe and thet hi fon da liodon ekeren se. Sa hoch hi thenne to demande and to delande tha fiande alsare friounde, thruch des ethes willa, ther hi to fara tha Keysere fon Rume esweren heth, tho demande and to delande widuon and weson, waluberon and alle werlosa liodon, like to helpande and sine thred knilinge. Alsa thi Asega nimth tha unriuchta mida and tha urlouada panninga, and ma hini urtinga mi mith twam sine juenethon an thes Kyninges bonne, sa ne hoch hi nenne dom mar to delande, truch thet thi Asega thi biteknath there prestere, hwande hia send siande and hia skilun wesa agon there heliga Kerstenede, hia skilun helpa alle tham ther hiam seluon nauwet helpa ne muge.

*The same, in English.*

That is the third determination and concession of King Charles, that of all men each one possess his own goods (house?) unrobbed. It may not be that any man overcome him with charge (tales), and with summons (rede), and with legal action. So let him hold as his Asega (judge) dooms and deals according to the land-right of the people. There shall no Asega deal a doom unless it be that before the Cæsar of Rome he shall have sworn, and that he shall have been by the people chosen. He has then to doom and deal to foes as to friends, through the force (will) of the oath which he before the Cæsar of Rome has sworn, to doom and to deal to widows and orphans, to wayfarers and all defenceless people, to help them as his own kind in the third degree. If the Asega take an illegal reward, or pledged money, and a man convict him before two of his colleagues in the King's Court, he has no more to doom, since it is the Asega that betokens the priest, and they are seeing, and they should be the eyes of the Holy Christendom, they should help all those who may nought help themselves.

*Later Form.*

*Friesche Volks-Almanak*, pp. 84, 85. (*Bosworth*, p. lxvi.)

Dat oder landriucht is, hweerso dyo moder her kyndes eerwe foerkapet, jeftha foerwixled mit har fryonda reed eer dat kind jerig is; als hit jerich se, likje him di caep, so halde hitt, ende likje him naet, so fare hit oen syn ayn eerwe sonder stryd ende sonder schulde.

So hwaso dat kind bifucht jefte birawet op syn ayn eerwe, so breckt hy tyen lyoedmerck ende to jens dine frane (?) dat sint XXI schillingen: ende alle da lyoed agen him to helpen ende di frana, dat hij comme op syn ayn eerwe, deer hi eer bi riuchta æchte: hi ne se dat hio et seld hadde jef seth, jef wixled truch dera tria haudneda een,

deer hio dis kyndes des lives mede hulp. Dyo forme need is: hweerso een kynd jong is finsen ende fitered noerd oer hef, jefta suther wr birgh, soe moet dio moder her kyndes eerwe setta ende sella ende her kynd less ende des lives biheipa. Dyo oder need is: jef da jere diore wirdet ende di heta honger wr dat land faert, ende dat kynd honger stera wil, so moet dio moder her kyndes eerwe setta ende sella ende capia har bern ku ende ey ende coern, deerma da kynde des lives mode helpe. Dyo tredde need is: als dat kynd is al stocknaken jefta huusleas ende dan di tiuestere nevil ende calda winter oencomt, so faert aller manick oen syn hof ende oen syn huus ende an waranne gaten, ende da wylda dier saket dyn holla beam ende der birgha hly, aldeer hit syn lyf oen bihalda mey: sa weynet ende scryt dat onjeriga kynd ende wyst dan syn nakena lyae ende syn huusleas ende syn fader deer him reda schuld to jenst dyn honger ende winter nevil cald dat hi so diepe ende dimme mitta flower neylen is onder eke ende onder da eerda bisloten, ende bitacht; so moet dio moder her kyndes eerwe setta ende sella, om dat hio da bihieldd hadde ende biwaer also lang so hit onjerick is, dat hit oen forste ner oen hoenger naet forfare.

*In English.*

The other landright is: whenever the mother sells the inheritance of her child, or exchanges (it) with rede (counsel) of her friends before the child is of age; when he is of age, likes he the bargain, let him hold it, and does he not like it, let him fare (enter) on his own inheritance without strife and without debts.

Whoever fights or bereaves the child on his own ground, he forfeits ten ledemarks, and to the king's attorney the mulct is XXI schillings; and all the lede (people) ought to help him and the king's attorney that he may come to his own inheritance, which he owned before by right: unless she has sold, or set (pawned) or exchanged it through one of the three headneeds (necessities) by which is helped the life of the child. The first need is: whenever a child is made prisoner and fettered northward over the sea, or southward over the mountains, the mother must set (pawn) and sell her child's inheritance and release her child and save its life. The other need is: if the years become dear, and sharp hunger goes over the land, and the child will starve of hunger, then the mother must set and sell her child's inheritance, and buy her child's cows and ewes, and corn, wherewith the life of the child is helped. The third need is: when the child is stark-naked, or houseless, and then the dark fog and the cold winter come on, when every man fares (enters) his house and its appurtenances, and lurking-holes, and the wild deer (beasts) seek the hollow beam (tree) and the lee of the mountains, where it may save its life: then moans and weeps the minor child, and shows his naked limbs, and his being houseless, and (points at) his father, who should provide for him against hunger

and the wintry fog-cold, that he so deep and dim is locked up and covered under the earth with four nails: so the mother must set and sell her child's inheritance, since she has the keeping and guarding as long as (the child) is under age, that it dies not from frost or from hunger.

§ 50. Without determining too nicely at what exact time the Old Frisian stage ceases, we may take the middle of the seventeenth century (*say* A.D. 1650) as date for the fullest development of the Middle.

## 1.\*

Swiet, ja swiet is 't, oere miete  
't boaskien foar 'e jonge lie;  
Kreftich swiet is 't, sizz' ik jiette,  
As it giet mei âlders rie.  
Mar oars tiget 'et to'n pleach,  
As ik oan myn geafeynt seach.

## 1.\*

Sweet, yes sweet is over measure  
The marrying for the young people.  
Most sweet is it, I say yet,  
When it goes with the elders' rede.  
But otherwise it tends to a plague,  
As I on my village saw.

## 2.

'Goune Swobke, lit uws pearje,  
Bea hy har mei mylde stemm.  
'Ofke,' sei se, 'ho scoe 'ki t klearje!

## 2.

'Golden Swobke, let us pair,  
He bade her with a mild voice.  
'Ofke,' she said, 'How should I  
clear it!

Wist du! rie to heite in mem?  
'Ljeaf! dat nim ik to myn laest.'  
Dear mei wier de knôte faest.

Wist thou! rede father and mother?  
'Love! I take this to my last.'  
Therewith was the knot fast.

## 3.

Da dit pear togear scoe ite,  
In hja hiene nin gewin,  
Heite seach, as woe hy bite,  
Mem wier stjoersch in lef fen sin.

## 3.

When this pair together should eat,  
And they had no gain,  
Father saw as if he would bite,  
Mother was stern and cross of  
humour.

'Ofke,' sei se, 'elk jier in bern.  
Wier ik fâem! ik woe 't so jern.'

'Ofke,' she said, 'each year a child.  
Were I maid! I would I were.'

## 4.

Hoite in Hoatske Sneins to keamer  
Mekken it mei elkoarme klear.  
Tetke krigge Sjolle kreamer,

## 4.

Hoite and Hoatske every Sunday  
in the inn  
Made it clear with each other.  
Tetke got Sjolle the pedlar

---

\* From the Preface to Dr. Bosworth's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, where the whole subject is fully treated. Pp. xxxv.-lxxx.

To Sint Eal by wyn in bjear.  
Nu rint elk om as in slet,  
In bekleye 't; mar to let.

To St. Aloff's by wine and beer.  
Now each runs about as a slut,  
And complains; but too late.

5.

Oeds die better, nei ik achtje,  
Da hy Saets syn trou tosei:  
Hy liet de alders even plachtje,  
Hwet se oan elk ich joene mei.  
Nu besit hy huws in schuw'r,  
In syn bern fleane all' man uwr.

5.  
Oeds did better as I heed,  
When he said to Saets his troth:  
He let the elders even plight,  
What they on each (*edje*) side gave.  
Now he possesses house and barn,  
And his children outdo all men.

6.

Ork, myn Soan, wolt du bedye,  
Rin naet oan allyk ien moll'!  
Jeld in rie lit mei dy frye,  
Bern, so gean' dyn saken wol.  
Den scil de himel uwr dyn dwaen  
Lok in mylde seining' jaen.

6.  
Ork, my Son, wouldst thou thrive,  
Run not on, all like a mole;  
Let age and rede woo with thee,  
Child, then go thy affairs well;  
Then the heaven shall over thy  
doings  
Luck and mild blessings grant.

The chief classics of the Middle Frisian literature are Gysbert (Gilbert) Japicx, from whom the preceding specimen is taken, and Althuisen.

§ 51. Of the Frisian, as it is spoken at the present time in the Dutch province of West Friesland, the following is a specimen.

## AEE IN FETSE.\*

AEE.—Ho djoer binne de mieren, Fetse? Ik haw jister net nei sted west.

FETSE.—'k wit net; sa hwat by de daelder om, eak ien kromke er oer.

AEE.—Wierne er al rju?

FETSE.—Ja, dær stiene al hele keppels. It liket dat se rom binne, mar it wier myn soarte net.

AEE.—Heste den dyn faeste mieren jiers? Hawwe se hjar eigen kost, jimme mieren?

FETSE.—Hwet mienste? dat ik my de earen fen 'e kop frette litte wol? Ik haw simmers genoach oan twa uwthongere Waldlju, dy 't 'k by my yn de ongetiid ha'.

\* From the *Scheerwinkel fen Jouts-Bass*, pp. 1-3.—*Dimter* (i. e. *Deventer*), 1835.

ABE.—Jane jimme se den jouns eak neat?

FETSE.—Ja, den krye se sa hwat ein heal kroädfol suwpenbry, in dat behimmelje se eak suwkerswiet. Ik wit net wêr se it berchje yn hjar smelle pansen. Hja binne wis oars fen binnen as ien Fries.

ABE.—Ei, kom ju! It binne ommers eak minsken as wy.

*The same, in the Dutch of Holland.*

ABE.—Hoe duur zyn de mieren Fetse? ik ben gisteren niet naar de stad geweest.

FETSE.—Ik weet het niet; ongeveer een daalder en ook een kruimkje er over.

ABE.—Waren er veel.

FETSE.—Ja, er waren al heele hoopen. Het schynt dat ze ruim zyn; maar het waren geen van myn soort.

ABE.—Hebt gy dan uwe vaste mieren jaarlyks? Hebben uwe mieren hunne eigen kost?

FETSE.—Wat bedoelt gy? dat ik my de ooren van het hoofd zal laten eten? ik heb in den zomer genoeg aan twee uitgehongerde Woudlieden welke ik by my heb in de hoojing.

ABE.—Geeft gy ze dan 'savonds ook niets.

FETSE.—Ja, dan krygen ze ongeveer een geheele kruiwagen vol karnemelk, en dat eten ze ook zuikerzoet op. Ik weet niet waar ze het bergen in hunne kleine darmen. Ze zyn zeker inwendig verschillend van een Fries.

ABE.—Och kom reis! het zyn immers ook menschen als wy.

*In English.*

ABE.—How dear are (*what is the price of*) the mowers, Fetse? I was not in the town yesterday.

FETSE.—I wot not; about a dollar a man and a bit (*crumb*) over.

ABE.—Were there plenty of them?

FETSE.—Yes, there stood whole heaps. It seemed as if there were enough of them; but it is not my sort.

ABE.—Hast thou then your mowers regular (*fast*) by the year? Do they keep themselves (*have they their own cost*) your mowers?

FETSE.—What meanest thou? That I should let my ears be eaten off my head? I had enough in summer, with two starved woodland-men, that I had with me at the hay-time.

ABE.—Did you not then give them anything in the afternoon?

FETSE.—Yes! Then they must have (*crave*) about a whole bucketfull of porridge (*soup and barley*); and that must be as sweet as sugar. I wot not where they bury it in their small paunches. They must *wiass* (*certainly*) be of a different sort in their insides from a Fries.

ABE.—Come now! They are still men like ourselves (*as we*).

*It Ewangeelje fen Matthêwees.*

1. Do nou Jesus berne wier to Bethlehem yn Judea yn kening Herodes dagen, hen, binne dêr wizen fen éasteradelen to Jerusalem oankomd, sizzende.

2. 'Hwære is di kening fen di Jeuden, di berne is?' 'Wy hawwe ommers syn stearre yn it éasten sjoen ind binne komd om him to hildjen.'

3. Di kening Herodes nou, as hy dit heárde, waerd éang ind hiel Jerusalem mei him.

4. Ind di haedprêsters ind di scrufgeléarden by ienoár bringende fréagge hy hjar, hwær di Christus berne wirde moast?

6. Hja nou seinen tajin him. 'To Bethlehem yn Judea; want sa is scréaun throch di profheet.'

6. 'Ind dou, Bethlehem lân' fen Juda; dou biste lang di minste naet onder di prinsen fen Juda; want uwt dy scil di lieder foártkomme, dy myn folk weidje scil.'

7. Do hat Herodes di wizen stilkes roppen, ind hi fréagge hjar wakker nei di tiid, do di stearre opdéage wier.

8. Dêrop hjar nei Bethlehem stjoerende sei hy, 'Reisgje hinne ind fornim flitich nei dat bernke, ind as jimme it foun' hawwe stjoer my tyngje, dat ik eak kom ind it hildje.'

9. Hja den di kening heard hawwende binne foárttein; ind hen, di stearre dy 't hja yn it éasten sjoen hiene, gong hjar uwt, ont hja kaem ind stoé' boppe it plak, dêr it bernke wier.

10. Do hja nou di stearre séagen forhuwggen hja mei wakker gréate blydscip.

11. Ind yn it huws kommende séagen hja it boike mei Maria syn mem, ind knibbeljende hadde hja it hilde.

12. Ind hjar kastkes opdwaende brochten hja him jeften, goald ind wierk ind myrre. Ind yn di droage throch goadlike ynjouwinge formoánne, dat hja naet nei Herodes to bek géan moasten forsidden hja lâns ien oare wei wer nei hjar lân ta.

*The same in Dutch.*

1. Toen nu Jezus geboren was te Beth-lehem, *gelegen* in Judea, in de dagen van den Koning Herodes, ziet! *enige* Wijzen van het Oosten zijn te Jeruzalem aangekomen.

2. Zeggende: waer is de geboren Koning de Joden? want wij hebben zijne ster in het Oosten gezien en zijn gekomen, om hem te aanbidden.

3. De Konig Herodes nu, *dit* gehoord hebbende, werd ontroerd en geheel Jeruzalem met hem;

4. En bijeenvergaderd hebbende al de Overpriesters en Schriftgeleerden des volks, vraagde van hen, waar de Christus Zon geboren worden.



5. En zij zeiden tot hem te Beth-lehem, in Judea *gelegen*; want alzoo is geschreven door den Profheet:

6. 'En gij Beth-lehem, *gij* land van Juda! zijt geenozins de minste onder de borsten van Juda; want uit u zal de Leidsman voortkomen, die mijn volk Israël weiden zal.'

7. Toen heeft Herodes de Wijzen heimelijk geroepen, en vernam naarstiglijk van hen den tijd, wanneer de ster verschenen was;

8. En hen naar Beth-lehem zedende, zeide hij: 'reist heen en onderzoek naarstiglijk naar het kindeken, en hols gij het zult gevonden hebben, boodschaft het mij, opdat ik ook kome en hetzelfde aanbidde!'

9. En zij, den Koning gehoord hebbende, zijn heengereisd. En, ziet! de ster, die zij in het Oosten gezien hadden, ging hun voor, tot dat zij kwam en stond boven *de plaats*, waar het kindeken was.

10. Als zij nu de ster zagen, verhengden zij zich met zeer groote vreugde,

11. En in het huis gekomen zijnde, vonden zij het kindeken met Maria, zijne moeder; en nedervallende hebben zij hetzelfde aanbeden; en hunne schatten opengedaan hebbende, bragten zijhem geschenken, goud, en wierook en mirre.

12. En door Goddelijke openbaring vermaand zijnde in den droom, dat zij niet zouden wederkeeren tot Herodes, vertrokken zij door eenen anderen weg weder naar hun land.

§ 52. *North Frisian*.—The following is from Camerer, and, next to the short sample by which it is followed, and a few others, it is the oldest specimen of North Frisian.

*Song for a Wedding.*

1.  
We sen hjir to en brullep,  
Hjir mut we uk wat sjung;  
Up sok gurdt frengeddaogen,  
Da mut et lustig gung.  
Hoera! Hoera! Hoera!  
Da mut et lustig gung.

2.  
Bi 't sjungen hjerd to drinken,  
Ark heed biid' slunk en smaok,  
En hjir es wat djer keulked!  
Dit es en foarskel saok.  
*Hoera! enz.*

1.  
We are here to a wedding,  
Here must we eke somewhat sing;  
Upon such a made (*gart*) holiday,  
There must it merry go.  
Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah!  
There must it merry go.

2.  
By singing belongs drinking,  
Each head becomes sleek and smug,  
In here is what . . . . .  
This is a capital affair.  
Hurrah, &c.

3.

We nem da bi uus glæsen,  
 En leet us hol' gefaol  
 Rogt dugtig iens to drinken  
 Uus Brid en Bridmans akaol.  
 Hoera! enz.

3.

We nim (*take*) then by our glasses,  
 And let us heartily  
 Right well at once drink  
 Our bride and bridegroom's health.  
 Hurrah, &c.

In 1452, the following inscription was found on a font at Büsum.

*The Original.*

Disse hirren döpe de have wi thou ewigen onthonken mage lete, da schollen osse berrne in kressent warde.

*Translation by Clemens into the present Frisian of Amröm.*

Thas hirr dip di ha wi tun ewagen unthonken mage leat, thear skell üs biarner un krassent wurd.

*English.*

This here dip have we as an everlasting remembrance let make, there shall our bairns in christened be.

*The Wooer from Holstein.*

Diar Kam en skep bi Sudher Sjöe	There came a ship by the South Sea,
Me, tri jung fruere òn di flöt.	With three young wooers on the flood;
Hokken wiar di fördeorst?	Who was the first?
Dit wiar Peter Rothgrun.	That was Peter Rothgrun.
Hud säät hi sih spooren?	Where set he his tracks?
Fuar Hennerk Jerken's düür?	For Hennerk Jerken's door.
Hokken kam tō düür?	Who came to door?
Marrike sallef.	Mary-kin herself,
Me krük en bekker òn di jen hundh,	Crock and beaker in one hand,
En gulde ring aur di udher hundh.	A gold ring on the other hand.
Jü nödhight hóm en sin hingst in,	She pressed him and his horse in.
Död di hingst haaver und Peter wün.	Gave the horse oats and Peter wine.
Toonkh Gott fuar des gud dei.	Thank God for this good day!
Al di brid end bridmaaner of wei,	All brides and bridesmen out of way!
Butolter Marri en Peter allüning!	Except Mary and Peter alone.
Jü look hóm ün to kest	She locked him up in her box,
En wildh hóm nimmer muar mest.	And never would miss him more.

*The Wedding-Stones of Eidum.\***Frisian.*

En Faamel oon Eidum hœi her forlaavet, med en jungen Moan, en hem taasværet, dat's ier taa en Stiin vorde vil, es en vorde en oern Moans Vöf. Dii junge Moan forleet hem æv her Trauhæid, en ging taa Sæie. Man sin Faamel forgeit hem bal, en nom moit oere Freiere em Nagtem, en forlaavet her taaliast med en Stagter foan Keitum. De Brellupsdæi vord bestemt, en de Tog ordnet hem, med sen Formoan foræt, æve Væi foan Eidum taa Keitum. Der kommens onervegens en uil Vöf oontmoit, en det es en hün Fortiken for en Bræid. Man jü sæ: 'Eidumbonne, Keitumbonne, jernge Bræid es en Hex.' Æergerlik en forbittert svaart de Formoan: 'Es yys Bræid en Hex, denn vil ik, det vi her altaamoal dealsunken, en vydder epvaxten es græ Stiine.' Es hū even de Uurde sæid hœi, saank det hiile Selskab med Bræid en Bredgom deal oone Gryn, ex vaxet vydder hulv ep es græ Stiine. For ei menning Jir heves hjem nog vissset es grot Stiine, tveer en tveer æve Sid bei enoer med de Formoan oone Spesse. Je ston taa 'd Norden foan Tinnum, ei vid foant uil Thinghuged, en taa en Erinnerung em jo Beigevenhæid vorn æve sid bei det Huged tau lait trinn Huge epsmenn, der 's *Bræidfartshuge* namden.

*The same in the Danish of the district.*

En Pig' i Eidum hâj forlovvet sæ mæ en ong Kael aa svorren aa, te hun ferr skuld blyvv te Stein, end hun skuld, blyvv en A'ens Kuen. Den ongg Kael trøj no godt aa hind aa drovv tilsoes. Men de var int længg inden æ Pig' forglæmt ham aa tovv om Nat æmor ander Frieres Besæg aa forlovvet sæ tesist mæ en Slavter fra Keitum. Æ Davv, te æ Brollop skuld staae, vaar bestemt, aa æ Brujskar saat sæ i Gaang fra Eidum, te Keitum mæ æ Anforer i æ Spids. Saa kom de da undervej æmor en gammel Kuen aa de betyer int novver Godt for en Bruj. Men hun öjt aa so: 'Eidumbynder, Keitumbynder, Jer Bruj æ 'en Hex!' No blovv æ Anforer sægele aa gall i æ Hoj aa svår aa so: 'Ja hvinner vor Bruj vaar en Hex, saa vild æ onnsk, te vi Oll saank i æ Jord aa grøj Oll hall op sægjen som graae Steen.' Allersaasnar hâj han saaj di Ord, inden æ heel Selskob mæ samt æ Bruj aa æ Brögom saank neer i æ Jord aa gröp hall op sægjen som graae Steen. Enno for int manne Aar sin vidst di aa vis di fem stor Steen, to om to ve æ Si a senaen mæ æ Anförer i æ Spids. Di stod Noren for Tinnum, int laant fra den gammel Thingpold, aa for aa hova, hva de skê de Gaang, vaa der ve æ Si a æ Hy opsmedt to smaa Bjerre sum di kaaldt æ *Brujskarhy*.

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\* From Allen, *Det Danske Sprogs Historie i Hertugdømmet Slesvig, eller Synderjylland*.

*Literary Danish.*

En Pige i Eidum havde forlovet sig med en ung Karl og svoren paa, at hun for skulde blive til Steen, end hun skulde blive en Andens Kone. Den unge Karl troede nu godt paa hende og drog tilsøes. Men det varede ikke længe, inden Pigen forglemte ham og tog om Natten imod andre Frieres Besøg og forlovede sig tilsidst med en Slagter fra Keitum. Dagen, da Brylluppet skulde staae, var bestemt, og Brudeskaren satte sig i Gang fra Eidum til Keitum med Anføreren i Spidsen. Saa kom de da underveis imøde med en gammel Kone og det betyder ikke noget Godt for en Brud. Men hun vaabte og sagde: 'Eidumbönder, Keitumbönder, jer Brud er en Hex!' Nu blev Anføreren særgærlig og gal i Hovedet og svor og sagde: 'Ja hvis vor Brud var en Hex, saa vilde jeg ønske, at vi Alle sank i Jorden og groede halvt op igjen som graae Steen.' Aldrigsaasnaart havde han sagt de Ord, inden det hele Selskab med samt Bruden og Brudgommen sank ned i Jorden og groede halvt op igjen som graae Steen. Endnu for ikke mange Aar siden vidste de at vise de fem store Steen, to og to ved Siden af hinanden med Anføreren i Spidsen. De stode Norden for Tinum, ikke langt fra den gamle Thingpold, og for at huske, hvad der skeede den Gang, var der ved Siden af Höjen opkastet to smaa Bjerge, som de kaldte *Brudskarhöierne*.

*In English.*

A maiden in Eidum was engaged to a young man, and had sworn that she should be turned to stone before she should become anybody else's wife. The young man believed her, and went to sea. But it was not long before the maiden forgot him, and received by night another lover's visits, and engaged herself at last with a butcher from Keitum. The day on which the wedding should take place was fixed, and the bridal procession started from Eidum to Keitum, with its leader in front. They met on their way with an old woman—and that betokens no good for a bride. And she cried out, 'Eidum people! Keitum people!—your bride is a witch!' Then the leader grew angry, and mad in her head, and answered and said, 'Aye, if our bride is a witch, I wish we may sink in the earth, and all grow up again like grey stones!' As soon as she had said the words, the whole company, along with the bride and bridegroom, sank in the earth, and grew half up again as grey stones. And now, till within a few years ago, one could see five great stones, two and two on each side, and the leader in front. They stood north of Tinnum, not far from the old Thingfold; and, in remembrance of the event, there were thrown up, by the side of the mound, two small hills, which they called *Brudskarhöien*.

The following seems to belong to the well-known nursery tale of Rumpelstiltsken. There is, however, no prose context.

*Frisian.*

Ik mei di,  
 Wel di haa!  
 Meist dü mi?  
 Skedt me faa  
 Wedt dü ek?  
 Feist mi dagh!  
 Med ön Week  
 Haa wat Lagh.  
 Man kjenst sü  
 Wat ik jit?  
 Da best frii,  
 Best mi quit.

Delling skell ik bruu,  
 Miaren skel ik baak,  
 Aurmiaren wel ik Bröllep maak.

*Danish.*

Ieg elsker Dig,  
 Vil Dig have!  
 Elsker Du mig?  
 Skal Du mig faa  
 Vil du ikke?  
 Fæst mig dog!  
 Midt i Ugen  
 Have vort Lag.  
 Men can Du sige  
 Hvad jig hedder?  
 Da er Du fri,  
 Er mig qvit.

Idag skal jeg brygge.  
 Imorgen skal jeg bage,  
 Overmorgen vil jeg Bryllup holde.

*In English.*

I like you,  
 Will have thee!  
 Likest thou me?  
 Shalt me have.  
 Wilt thou not?  
 Fix me day!  
 Mid in week;  
 Have our law.  
 But kennest thou,  
 What I hight?  
 Then beest free  
 Beest me quit.

To-day shall I brew,  
 To-morrow shall bake,  
 Day-after-to-morrow will I bridal make.

§ 53. *Distribution of the Frisian.*—This is very irregular. From north to south the name may be traced from the Widaa, on the boundary of Jutland and Sleswick, to the Scheldt. But the line is very discontinuous; the name seldom spreads far inland.

In some cases the Frisian localities seem those of settlers or colonists rather than of natives or even old occupants.

In the Dutch Province of West Friesland the Frisian of the present time has its widest extension inland. In East Friesland it is extinct, except (perhaps) in the fenny district of Saterland, where it is largely Germanised. Along the coast it has long been obsolete. It is spoken, however, along the whole line of Islands, Terschelling, Wangeroog, &c. In the parts about Cuxhaven and Ritzbüttell, or the land between the Elbe and the Weser, it is not only not found, but has left no signs of its ever having been spoken there, which is the more remarkable from its being the language of Heligoland and the islands off the coast of Holstein and Sleswick. North of the Elbe it reappears. On reasonable grounds it may be claimed as the older language of Ditmarsh and Eyderstedt, which is now Low German; while in Sleswick it spreads along the coast from Husum to Bredsted; having once extended as far as the boundary of Jutland. At no point, however, does it extend across the peninsula, so as to touch the Baltic.

In respect to its characteristic peculiarities, the Frisian form of speech, in its eschewal of the sound of *-n* at the end of words, and other minor details, while it differs from the Saxon, agrees with the Norse. The bearings of this will become clearer when the dialects of our language come under notice.

Upon the position, too, of the Frisian in the classification of the languages of the German family, more will be said in its proper place. It is easy, however, to anticipate its general relations. They will be those of a transitional language (or dialect).

The more complex question as to the relations of the *Angle* form of speech, though one which promises

but few results, now presents itself, and it is with the third division of the Saxonia of the Saxon Versifier (Poeta Saxo) that it is connected.

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## CHAPTER VII.

THE ANGRARIAN AND OSTPHALIAN PARTS OF SAXONY—THE  
ANGLES OSTPHALIAN — THE SLAVONIC FRONTIER—  
THURINGIA AND HESSE.

§ 54. *Angraria*.—The Frisian, though it may have been spoken along the sea-coast from the present province of West Friesland to the frontier of Jutland, never runs far inland.

The Old Saxon of the Heliand and the Essen documents may, reasonably, be carried as far eastward as the Weser, possibly farther.

With the Weser began the *Angraria* of the Saxon Versifier, a long narrow tract from Bückeberg (Lippe Detmold) to Bremen, with the present town of *Engern*, preserving the old name, in the middle. In respect to its outline, it has all the characters of a march or boundary. There is no reason, however, to make any broad separation between the Angrarian dialect and the Westphalian. There are no specimens of it of the same age as those of the recognised Old Saxon.

§ 55. *Ostphalia*.—Ostphalia is, in all respects, a much more important district. It has no literature of the date of the Heliand, the Krist, and the English of the Anglo-Saxon period in England. Yet it is the district to which we must assign the *Angles*. Until, however, we find the Angles of Procopius and of Pope Gregory in England, we have nothing beyond the two notices of (1) Tacitus, and (2) Ptolemy.

This is little enough. Still, the fact that it is all that we have should be known; especially with the view that it is next to nothing.

But though the philological data for Ostphalia are sadly deficient, there is much to be collected from the geography. Whatever may have been the extent of the 'Germania' of Tacitus, there is no doubt whatever as to its limits on the east during the seventh, the eighth, the ninth, and the tenth centuries. In the beginning of the seventh,\* A.D. 625, not 100 years after the first recorded invasion of Britain by an enemy of the *Angle* denomination, our knowledge of the actual ethnology of the Elbe begins; and it begins in a way which severely tries either the accuracy of Tacitus himself, in making seven-tenths of the population of his 'Germania' Germans in our sense of the term, or else that of the commentators who have supposed that he meant to do so. This is because, when the parts beyond the Elbe first become known to the Frank historians—the first who describe them with anything like adequate accuracy—they are, in no single instance, German in any way; but, on the contrary, from first to last, Slavonic. No trace of any previous German occupancy is recorded—no tradition of any Slavonic intrusion is preserved. The whole country beyond the Elbe when it is first known by actual inspection, is not only Slavonic, but Slavonic without a particle of admixture, or a single fact which implies that it was other than Slavonic from the first.

This, then, gives us the explanation of the text of the Versifier.

regionem solis ad ortum  
Inhabitans *Osterleudi*, quos nomine quidam  
*Ostvalos* alii vocitant, confinia quorum  
Infestant conjuncta suis gens perfida *Solavi*.

A.D. 772 (*circiter*).

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\* *Zeuss*, pp. 637–639.



The Angrarians, as we have seen, lie like a narrow March between the *East-* and *West-*phalias.

§ 56. *The Slavonic frontier.*—The Slavonic frontier is, in the main, formed by the Elbe; but as there were both Slavonians and Saxons to the north of that river, and as, on the south, this same Slavonic line was prolonged beyond the boundaries of Ostphalia, it will be convenient to trace it from one end to the other: i.e. from the parts about Coburg on the south, to the parts about Kiel on the north.

§ 57. *Slavonians of Holstein.*—The most northern known occupancy of the Slavonians of the eastern frontier of Germany was the country between Kiel, the Trave, and the Siegebürger Heath, in Holstein; i.e. the parts about Eutin, Plön, Preetz, Altenburg, and Lübeck, all of which stood on ground originally Slavonic. On the south the river Bille divided the Slavonic from the Saxon parts of Holstein. The Slavonic district was named *Wagria*, or the country of the *Wagri*; the Saxon districts were Sturmar, Ditmarsh, and Holsatia, or Holstein proper. Hamburg lay on the frontier, but on the Saxon side of it. The three German districts that formed Nordalbingia seem to have been Saxon rather than Frisian. Whether they were Saxon after the manner of Westphalia or Eastphalia is another question.

§ 58. *The Slavonians of Lauenburg.*—The whole of Lauenburg was Slavonic, with a *Sachsenwald* on its western frontier. Ratzeburg was the capital; *Pola-bingia* (from *po=on* and *Laba=Elbe*), the name of the district—the final *-ing* being German, while the preposition *po* and the substantive *Laba* are Slavonic. Of this hybrid form there are other instances; one, well known to English ethnologists and archæologists, *Ken-tingas*=Men of *Kent*, where the *-ing* belongs as de-

cidedly to one language as the radical form *Cant-ium* belongs to another.

§ 59. *Mecklenburg and Lunenburg.*—Mecklenburg was notoriously Slavonic. But Mecklenburg lies wholly on the Slavonic side of the Elbe.

Lunenburg, however, is in a very different position. It lies wholly on the German side. But Lunenburg is the most Slavonic part of Cisalbian Germany. It is this whether we begin with the ninth century or the eighteenth. In 808 a Frank army crossed the Elbe by a bridge against the *Linones*, the *Smeldingi*, and the *Bethenici* of the opposite bank.\* Zeuss thinks that the name is still preserved in that of the present town, *Lentzen*. But, then, there is the more important town of *Lunenburg* on the other side, only a little lower down, or more to the north; and along with this there is the Duchy, which reaches to Verden and Bremen, on the western side of which we find, with its Slavonic name, the river *Bomlitz*. This is all we have in favour of the *whole* Duchy having ever been Slavonic. On the other hand, however, in the eastern third of Lunenburg, Slavonic was spoken in the villages of *Luchow* and *Wustrop* so late as A.D. 1751, of which we have a *Paternoster* in a strange mixture of Slavonic and German, but still Slavonic on the whole.

§ 60. *Altmark.*—The distinction between Altmark and Lunenburg is political rather than ethnological, for the Old Mark is a purely geographical term. Altmark denotes the great bend of the Elbe, between *Magdeburg* and *Lentzen*, on the Mecklenburg frontier. The men who lived here must have been, provided that they touched the Elbe at all, north and north-east of the men about *Magdeburg*. They may have extended

\* *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, p. 652.

beyond the Elbe; but whether they did so or not is irrelevant to the present question. They may or may not have gone lower down on the river, so as to occupy the parts about Magdeburg, but it is sufficient for the present purpose to place them on the great north-eastern bend.

About N. L. 52, a little to the south of Magdeburg, the Elbe of Tacitus and Ptolemy ceases to be the Elbe of the present time; for its origin in Bohemia is unknown, and the Saale is treated as the Elbe up to its source in the parts about Hof, near the Fichtelberg, N. L. 50, E. L. 12. Now the Saale, in the Frank geographers, divides the Thuringians from the Slavonians; whilst in the earlier Roman geographers the Elbe (i.e. the Saale) divides the Hermunduri (Thuringians) from the Semnones. The term Slave, or Slavonic, is unknown till the time of the Eastern Empire; and when, from a Frank historian, we get our first notice of the parts beyond the Elbe on the (Upper) Saxon and Bohemian frontier, the name Semnones is superseded by that of the Serbs, or Sorabians, who are a branch of the great Slavonic family, the name of which is now familiar and current. So is that of the Saale in place of the Elbe. That the Semnones, place for place, are the Saxons of (the Kingdom of) Saxony is universally admitted. That they were Germans rests on the fact of their being admitted into the '*Germania*' of Tacitus. But it is certain that, during the first half of the seventh century, when we know the district from inspection, they are Sorabian Slavonians, or Serb Slaves; and so they remain till Saxony is Germanised.

The reconciliation of this discrepancy does not now interest us. What really interests us is the text of Ptolemy, who calls the Semnones *Suevi* (Σούηβοι). We cannot exactly fix their northern boundary. They

are not, however, the only population that is called *Suevic*. A second population is so named—the Langobardi. That they lay on the Elbe is neither affirmed nor denied by either Ptolemy or Tacitus. The Semnones are mentioned as a *great nation* of the Suevi, and, as we have seen, assigned to the Elbe. So, as we have also seen, are the Langobardi, who are made Suevic. But they are not called *Langobardi Suevi* in the section which treats of the Suevi. Neither does their place in the other text (for they are *twice* mentioned elsewhere) correspond with the Suevic district on the Elbe. Finally, Ptolemy mentions the *Lakkobards* (Λακκόβαρδοι) as a third denomination in a different locality from the Langobardi *Suevi*; themselves, when associated with the Semnones and the other great Suevic nation (*ἔθνος*), not called *Suevi Langobardi*, but simply *Langobardi*. I believe that in a monograph on the minute ethnology of the early Langobards these complications might be explained; but what we want now is the geography and the ethnology of the division which Ptolemy calls *Suevic*. Tacitus helps here. He does not call the Langobards explicitly *Suevi*; but the position he gives them in his arrangement makes them so. He names them immediately after the Semnones, whom he makes the typical Suevi; and follows up his short notice of them with a long list of populations, until, having reached the eastern extremity of the Baltic, he writes—*hic Sueviæ finis*.

Now a Suevia of the vast indefinite magnitude of the Suevia of Tacitus is a very impracticable name. But a Suevia like that of Ptolemy, with only three names, and the Elbe as a landmark, is a very practicable one.

That the Langobardi lay north of the Semnones, and that they lay on the German side of the Elbe, is universally admitted. It is assumed (I believe reasonably)

that they touched the Elbe (or Saale) somewhere between Leipzig and Magdeburg. But this is immaterial. The Suevic line ran along the Elbe; and whether the Langobards reached it or not depends upon the northern boundary of the Semnones on the south and the southern boundary of the population which followed them on the north. This, again, was a *great nation of the Suevi*; and it lay east of the Langobards, stretching towards the north as far as the *middle* parts of the Elbe—the *Elbe* of Ptolemy, as we must remember, beginning at the source of the Saale. That the great bend of the Elbe about Magdeburg gives us a north-westerly extension from the Langobard, which we assume to be a middle district, is undoubted; and, though nearer the mouth than the source, Altmark meets better than any spot in Germany the conditions of the occupancy of this third and northernmost member of the Suevic denomination, and the second of its two *great nations*. At any rate, it identifies a vast and not very indefinite portion of Ostphalia with the whole of the *Suevia* of Ptolemy, and with all that part of the *Suevia* of Tacitus which in the Frank period was conterminous with Germany.

Hence Altmark, there or thereabouts, was the occupancy of Ptolemy's second *great nation* of the *Suevi*, and this was the nation of the Angles—*Σούηβοι Ἀγγελοὶ*. No one, indeed, would venture to say that the two districts accurately coincided, and that there were no Angles on the right bank of the Elbe; or would fix within a few miles, more or less, the Northern frontier. That it suits the text of Ptolemy we have seen. It suits also that of Tacitus, whose Varini lay in Mecklenburg, and whose immediate affinities were with the Angli. And Ptolemy and Tacitus are the only two authorities on the subject. That it suits the conditions

under which the subsequent connection with Britain and Denmark was established, may be seen from the simple inspection of the map; and it may be added that the presumptions thus suggested are confirmed rather than diminished by the little that we have of the later history of the district.

§ 61. *The Langobards.*—The geographical position of the Langobards in Germany is unfixed. More than this, they are found in three different places at once, and under not less than three different forms of the name. The one tangible notice concerning them is that of Ptolemy, which makes them *Suevi*; and this in conjunction with the Semnones and the Angli. They lay north and west of the former, south and west of the latter. When this is all we know of them, it is clear that though the Semnones and the Angli may help us in fixing the Langobardi, the Langobardi will not help us in fixing either the Semnones or the Angli. That the three populations were in contact is clear, and it is also clear that the Semnones and the Angli certainly touched the Elbe; whereas the Langobardi may or may not have done so. If they did, the Angle and Semnonian frontiers—one or both—are slightly altered.

The account of this district in Zeuss is instructive. He points to the valley of the Ohre, an affluent of the Elbe from the German side, and remarks that on the left bank there are Slavonic local names, which he enumerates. He tells us that the town of *Wolmirsted* was called in Slavonic *Ustuire*, i.e., the mouth of the river *Ara = Ohre*. He adds that the inhabitants of the surrounding villages were Slavonians. He concludes with the remark that the Slavonic Language has kept its ground on the German, better than on the Slavonic, side of the river; alluding to the Linonian Church Service of A.D. 1751. All this refers to the first half of the Tenth century. Then he tells us how about a century later the district was Germanized; when Albert of Saxony planted a series of German (chiefly from Holland) colonies from Saltz-wedel to the Bohemian Forest, and how the 'Slavonians were everywhere stamped down; and how a brave people from the boundaries of

the Ocean took their land.' The *Angles* are never named, whether as Germans or Slavonians. But this is the area which can best be assigned to them.

The Suevic character, however, of the German side of the Elbe from Bohemia to Lunenburg is the only point which is important. Whether it be made out by the Angli and the Semnones alone, or by the Angli and Semnones *plus* the Langobards, is a detail of minor importance.

A little to the south of Magdeburg, and not far from 52 N. L., we approach the southern frontier of Ostphalian, or, as we may call it, Eastern, Saxony; so that a new name meets us in that of *Thuringia*, or the *Thuringians*. The Hartz is usually treated as the boundary between Saxony and Thuringia. But the range of the Hartz is not sufficiently linear to make a definite boundary of any extent. Hence, we find the valley of the Unstrut and the parts about Merseburg' assigned to the Saxons; Merseburg itself being placed on the frontiers of the Saxons, Thuringians, and Slaves.

Again, about N. L. 52, the Saale from the south joins the Elbe; and from its mouth, N. L. 52, to its source, N. L. 50, takes the place of the Elbe as a boundary between the Germans, whether Saxons or Thuringians, and the Slavonians. The rule, however, seems to be as it has been, viz., that there are always more Slavonians on the German side of the two rivers than Germans on the Slavonian.

§ 62. *Thuringia and its relations to Ostphalia.*—The indefinite character of this boundary between the Thuringian and the Saxon districts on the Elbe is of no slight importance, though the direct and immediate bearing of it is, at first, indistinct. Ostphalia, as we have seen, is, in the *Poeta Saxo*, a division of Saxony. Thuringia, on the other hand, is generally, perhaps universally, separated from Saxony. Nor is the contrast

unintelligible. It is the South-eastern part of Germany that is most particularly Thuringian. It is the North-western parts that are most characteristically Saxon. These it was wherein the contrast between the Saxon, the Thuringian and (we may add) the Hessian, was clear and definite; but the Saxons were then the Saxons of Westphalia only; and the names Angraria and Ostphalia were unknown; in short they were unknown in the time of the immediate successors of Clovis.

The line of Frank conquests ran southwards rather than northwards. Hesse seems to have been a Frank dependency from the first. Thuringia was the next to become one. Bavaria was attacked, or under the process of reduction. The Saxons—those of the parts about Paderborn—were about to be permanently conquered; though on the south-eastern frontier only. This was the time of the true Merovingian dynasty; and before the assumption of the practical kingship was usurped by the Mayors of the Palace of the Pepin period. Friesland was reduced by these; but the great Saxon wars in the North and the North-east were reserved for Charlemagne. Then it was that the parts between Angraria and the Elbe became a division of Saxonia, under the name of Ostphalia. But this did not make it Saxon after the manner of Westphalia. It was Saxon as opposed to the Slavonic territory beyond the Elbe; for it was in the main German. But it was not Saxon in the same opposition to Thuringia as the parts between the Werra and Saale were. It was *Norsavian*, *Nordosquavian*, or *North Suevic* (*Nord-schwaben*), i.e. the Suevia of Ptolemy, with the prefix 'North.'

What this prefix stood in opposition to is uncertain, for it might imply the whole of the *Suevia* of Ptolemy in opposition to Suabia; or it might apply to the Angle part of the Ptolemaic Suevia in opposition to the



country of the Semnones (*Upper Saxony*). However, in either case it included the district which we have assigned to the Angles; and, in some degree, to the Langobards and Varini as well: for we have seen that though Ptolemy explicitly enumerates only three Suevic nations, Tacitus, by implication, adds the Varini and others of the Angle frontier.

§ 63. *The Norsavi of the Sixth Century.*—For the notice of these see the Epistle of Theodebert to Justinian. Theodebert reigned fourteen years, from A.D. 534 to A.D. 548. He was the grandson of Clovis; but, as his uncle Chlotair I. survived him, his reign belongs to the first generation from the founder. The Norsavi of the Letter are the Suevi of Ptolemy; the more northern the more Angle. The Saxons are named in the same Letter, but they are not the Saxons of what was afterwards Ostphalia.

§ 64. *The Suevi Transbadani.*—In the parts lying between the Saale, the Bode, and the Hartz lies a *Gau* or *Pagus* named *Suevongau*. This was occupied in the sixth century by a population which, according to Gregory of Tours (a cotemporary writer, though one who wrote from a distance), Chlotair and Sigibert had planted there as settlers at the time when Alboin invaded Italy. Paulus Diaconus, writing more than two hundred years later, makes the same kings transplant *Suavos aliasque gentes, in locis de quibus iidem Saxones exierant*, II. 6. Concerning these Witichind of Corvey writes:

Suevi vero Transbadani illam quam incolunt regionem eo tempore invaserunt, quo Saxones cum Langobardis Italiam adiere, et ideo aliis legibus quam Saxones utuntur.—I. p. 634—Zeuss, p. 364.

Again:

Pippinus adunato exercitu per Turingiam in Saxoniam veniens, fines *Saxonum* quos *Nordosquavi* vocant, cum valida manu intravit . . .

Saxones vero, qui *Nordosquavi* vocantur, sub ditionem subactos contritosque subegit.—*Annales Mettenses*, 748. *Pertz*, I. 330. *Zeuss*, p. 364.

§ 65. *The Anglii et Werini*.—The Laws which Witichind so decidedly separates from those of the Saxons are, doubtless, those of the Frank Code headed ‘*Lex Angliorum (sic) et Werinorum*.’\* In its general character and outer form it agrees with the ‘*Lex Salica*,’ the ‘*Lex Langobardorum*,’ and, in several specially characteristic clauses, with those of the Anglo-Saxons of England, which, in their turn, have special points of agreement with those of the Langobards. The date for the codes of the populations under the Merovingian Franks is generally assigned to the reign of Dagobert, A.D. 600 (*circiter*). But the Anglo-Werinian code is somewhat later; for it applies to the parts on the Slavonic frontier, i.e. on the drainage of the Elbe, or on the Thuringian, Slavonic, Suevic, or Thuringo-Slavonic frontier. Professor Stubbs assigns it to the time of Charlemagne. At any rate, it belongs to a time when the Saxon part of the Frank kingdom had reached the Elbe. A gloss on the only known copy of it runs: ‘*Lex Angliorum et Werinorum—hoc est, Thuringorum*.’\*

§ 66. *North Thuringia*.—The Saxon name has been carried as far south as the Unstrut, or the parts about Merseburg. The Thuringian name will now be found as far north † as the Ohre and Upper Aller, or the parts between Magdeburg, Celle, and Lunenburg, where we find in the tenth century a † *Nord-thuringergau* and a *Nord-thuringerland*. That this applies to settlements from the south rather than to a native occupancy, is likely. Still, they separate the Cisalbian districts, whether Thuringian or Norsavian (North Suabian), from

\* *Canciani, Barbarorum Leges Antiquæ*, iii. 31–36.

† *Zeuss*, p. 359.

Saxony in the ethnological and philological senses of the term; in other words, make Ostphalia, as a part of Saxony, a political and artificial division. That parts called *Saxon* are other than Saxon after the fashion of Westphalia is nothing surprising. No name on the whole continent of Europe has been more extended to populations which have little beyond the name to connect them with the Saxons of the Merovingian period. In the tenth century the whole of Upper Saxony, or the present Kingdom, was Slavonic; while, beyond the *present* frontiers of the German language, *Saxon* is the name by which the Germans both of Transylvania and the Danubian Provinces of Russia are designated.

§ 67. *Retrospect.*—Putting all this together, viz. the political rather than the ethnological, or philological, import of the term *Saxonia* as applied to Ostphalia—the recognized difference between the Saxon and the Thuringian denominations—the still stronger difference between the Ptolemaic Suevi and the rest of the Germans in general—the fact that their old name is preserved in the newer names, *Norsavi* and *Nordosquavi*, until the time of the great Slavonic wars, when Saxony means Germany as opposed to Slavonia—the fact that between the Thuringians and the Norsavians the whole of the western drainage of the Elbe is divided—and, finally, the fact that, though Thuringia is properly the term for the southern, and Norsavia that for the northern half of the district, the two names are found on both sides of the middle line—putting all this together, I submit that we have strong evidence that the old lines of philological and ethnological affinities ran from North to South rather than from East to West.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

## ON 'ANGLE' AND 'SAXON' AS NAMES.

§ 68. *The value of the words 'Angle' and 'Saxon' as names.*—What has hitherto been written has had more to do with the languages, dialects, or forms of speech of Germany, the country from which our language was deduced, than with the English, Saxon, or Anglo-Saxon of Britain. *Language*, however, has not been the special object of the enquiry. The special object of it has been the import of the names of the men who introduced it. It has, perhaps, been unduly lengthy. But it is a great deal more than a mere question of names. The words Angle and Saxon are by no means synonymous. The Saxon parts of England were long distinguished from the Angle; and, even at the present moment, though the latter term has wholly superseded the former, the traces of its original character are still retained in the names of the counties ending in *-sex*, not to mention the great kingdom of *Wessex*, since broken up into counties. How far this difference coincided with a similar difference in the mother-country is a matter worth investigation; and it is something to have shown that the difference between the two was certainly as decided in Germany as it will be in Britain. Nor is the enquiry, because its results are of a very one-sided, or negative, character, useless. It is certainly one-sided; for the import of neither name is known in its integrity. The term *Saxon* is so general, and Saxons are found in so many places at once, that those of England can scarcely be assigned to any definite original locality. *Angle*, on the other hand, is so very special, that though we can trace it to its original area, we know little beyond the fact of

its being between such and such degrees of latitude and longitude.

Of the Angles of Germany we only know enough to infer that they were the Angles of England; though, in England, they are known to all the world. Of Saxons, of some kind or another, we know a great deal; but of the special Saxon districts we have no knowledge—none, at least, of the Saxons of Sussex and Wessex. There is no spot on the face of the earth of which we may say, '*here the men called themselves Saxons, and from thence spread the name.*' We only know that there were a great many populations to whom the name *Saxon* was applied by some other population. On the other hand, one of the few known facts concerning the *Angle* was that it was a name which the bearers applied to themselves; and it is, by no means, the least valuable fact in their fragmentary and incomplete history. Again, with the Saxons, we find the language, but not the names of the populations which can be supposed to have applied it to themselves when Britain was first Germanized. With the Angles we find the place and the name; but the only known word in their language is the name *Angle* itself. We get our knowledge of the dominant name from one quarter, the chief details of its introduction from another.

Though those complications are absolutely inherent to the subject, it may be thought that they are unimportant; for it may be said that the English, as a language, speaks for itself, and proclaims itself to be German beyond all reasonable doubt. But whether *Angle* and *Saxon* are names which are little more than synonyms, or, on the other hand, names that point to two different centres, is a matter upon which little or much may depend. If the English language be one and indivisible, with no notable differences of dialect,

or none coinciding with the distribution of the two names, there is so little to be accounted for that investigation is well nigh superfluous. But, if our language contain differences within itself, the question whether they can be referred to different and corresponding sources is one that must not be overlooked. That such is actually the case is well known; for it is certain that at no previous period has more attention been given to the study of the different dialects of our language than at present, and that most successfully.

§ 69. *Saxon as a name.*—Nevertheless, something more has still to be said about these names, of which *Saxon* is the more important.

I believe that the best we can do with it is to read its interpretation under the light thrown upon it by the name '*German.*' Of this we know the present currency in England. We know, too, what a vast import it has in Tacitus, or, in other words, what it had in Rome in his time; and how it has, at present, one of similar generality in our own language and in others as well. Yet we know that it is *not* the name applied to Germany by either the French or the Italians; nor is the name in use among any of the Slavonic nations. Least of all is it one used by the Germans themselves. Tacitus indeed says that it was a name '*of their own invention;*' but he also says that, till it was so *invented* (we have no reason to believe that it was generally adopted), they had *no general* name. The Romans got it from the Gauls, the frontagers of the Germans on the west. Now, what was done on the western frontier of Germany may have been done on the eastern also; and a name of like general import with *German* may have been used by the frontagers of Germany on the east. This means that the word *Saxon* may have been on the Elbe what *German* was on the Rhine; viz. a general name

applied by a neighbouring nation to a population which had no general name for itself; though it had one in the language of its neighbours on each side.

The recognition of such names by the world at large depends wholly upon circumstances, for it is clear that each must be promulgated in different directions. A name given to a population between the Elbe and the Rhine must spread westwards from the west, and eastwards from the east. It scarcely ever circulates in the intervening country to which it applies. Hence the name by which the Germans are known to the Gauls and Britons may be wholly unknown to the Poles, Wallachians, and Lithuanians, while the name with which these last are familiar may be strange to a Gaul and Briton. No better instance of this can be found than in the three words *Hellenes*, *Greeks*, and *Ionians*. The first is the name the Greeks took to themselves; the second the Romans took, and spread over the whole western world; the third was taken on the side of Asia, and extends from Palestine to India. Sooner or later such concurrent names meet; but an inordinate circulation for each as a general name may have preceded the meeting.

This is the sketch of the question in its widest form, and the criticism which it indicates is one that, after a wide application of it, I have found to carry me farther than any other. It points, of course, to the Slavonians of Saxony and Brandenburg. These had a general name for the Germans; but we must not be too sure that it was *Saxon*. The general Slavonic name was *Niemce*, in the Byzantine Greek *Νέμεττοι*. It is not the word we want, but it illustrates the case. It has, probably, as wide a circulation as *German*; but it is in the wrong quarter for Gaul, and for the Romans who reduced Gaul to a province; from whom Western Europe adopted the name *German*. The name, how-

ever, need not have been used by *all* the Slavonians; nor need the name *Saxon*, as a matter of course, come from a nation other than German. The Franks were Germans; many of them in language as Saxon as the Saxons themselves. Yet, for some reason or other, they made a very broad distinction between themselves and their Saxon neighbours.

Any German of the Southern or Eastern frontier may have done the same; or any one of the Slavonians who did not use the word *Niemce*. If this were the case, *Saxon* may have been from the Elbe to the Dniester a word of the same application and currency as *German* was from the Rhine to the Danube. The Marcomanni may have used it; the Thuringians may have used it; the Goths may have used it; and any one of these populations may have been promulgators of the name *Saxon* in the Eastern Empire, even as the Gauls were the promulgators of *German* in the Western; and how numerous the populations between the Elbe and the Lower Danube were in the Eastern Empire we know. It appears for the first time in Julian. It is current from his time till the downfall of the Empire, and it is in the Gothic kingdoms of Gaul and Spain that it first appears in any western writer; and when Britain is reduced by the Saxons there is no notice of a single Saxon between the mouth of the Rhine and the mouth of the Elbe; not a single Saxon in the whole of that vast region which, a hundred years later, was called Saxony.

§ 70. *The Saxons of Rudolf*.—I think that in this matter an undeserved censure has been passed upon a writer of the *Translatio Sancti Alexandri*.<sup>\*</sup> That he has not said what he meant to say so clearly as he might have said it is true. But it is impossible to believe that even what he says will bear the construction that has been put upon it by both the editor and the commentators who have followed him; this being, that,

<sup>\*</sup> Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniæ Scriptorum*, ii. 673-681. *Translatio S. Alexandri, Auctoribus Rudolfo et Meginharto*.



in Rudolf's work, we get nothing less in the way of error and confusion than an entire reversal of the received relations between the Saxons of Britain and the Saxons of the Continent; so that instead of the English of England being originally introduced from Germany, it is the Saxon of Saxony that was brought over, and introduced into Saxony, from Britain. If this is what the writer meant, it is undoubtedly a blunder that should be stigmatised. Is it, however, one that a German writer of even ordinary common sense could make? Still less, could a reader of Tacitus make it? Yet Rudolf had read Tacitus, and is known to have done so; indeed the extent to which he mixes up the very words of the *Germania* with his own narrative has been recognised by his commentators as a drawback upon the value of his own evidence. Such a man could scarcely deduce the descendants of the Chauci and Chamavi of the great writer with whom he was so familiar from Britain.

What he was really considering was the application of the word *Saxon* as a name. Well might he do so. And easily may we, even now, see why he should do it. The problem is still before us. Up to the time of Clovis the name, or series of names, for the Germans beyond the Frank frontier on the north, is wholly different from what it will be in the next generation. Up to the time of Clovis, and especially to the reader of Tacitus, the North Germans are Chauci, and Frisii, and Chamavi, and Dulgubini, and Angrivarii, and Fosi, and Cherusci, and Bructeri, &c.; and no such name as *Saxon* has ever either been applied, or dreamed of as being applicable, to these definitely known divisions of Germany. But in less than fifty years all these names, with the exception of *Frisii*, either suddenly or gradually disappear, and a new name, not found in Tacitus, and, except to such as have read Ptolemy, wholly unknown except in Gaul and Britain, presents itself instead of them. The origin of this name, and not that of the people to which it applies, is the point that strikes Rudolf, and the point upon which Rudolf is thinking; while the facts that lie before him are of the simplest sort. There is no such name as *Saxon* in Germany at all. In Gaul it is limited to a few fragmentary communities, such as the *Saxones Bajocassini*. In Britain it is conspicuous, dominant, and, in the way of geography, near at hand; and in no other country does it present itself under similar conditions. That he had read Ptolemy is unlikely; and had he read the writers of the fourth and fifth centuries he would not have found the name as that of either a German population or of a population of any note. We measure his ignorance by our own knowledge.

§ 71. The history of the word *Angle* is the reverse of that of the word *Saxon*; the chief points in the contrast having been already noticed. The name gives us the locality without the language, and it is so special

in its application that, so far as we have hitherto considered it, it includes nothing but the men who applied it to themselves. This makes it of rare occurrence. But the very rarity has its advantages. A Frank or a Saxon may have been almost any one of German blood. An Angle was generally nothing but what the term denoted.

The converse, however, is by no means the case, for it is probable that many an action of some of the old conquering tribes of the Angle frontier may have been recorded under a different name from that which it would have had if the Angles had been what we may call a representative population.

But they were not on the frontier of the populations that invested the name with generality, and spread its renown over half a continent; not, at least, on the side where the area was the broadest, and the voice of fame the loudest; not on the West, the East, or the South. On the North I think it was different. I think that in Denmark they represented not only themselves but all the populations between their own frontier and the Danish which were neither Saxon nor Slavonic, and that, (before the Saxons represented Frank Germany as opposed to Denmark,) both the Saxons and the Frisians may have been in the eyes of a Dane Angles. This close affinity suggested by the phrase '*Dan and Angul were brothers*' is more likely to have been taken from a time when the Angle name extended further in the direction of the Eyder, than from the contact of the two denominations in Britain.

That the Angle district lost its name in Germany is not a matter that should surprise us. There were at least four names to supersede or overlay it; (1) the old generic name *Suevi* from historical influences; (2) the name *Marchmen*, as men of the *March*; and,

(3) though it is itself obsolete, the departmental name *Ostphalian*. For '*Chreinarii*,' see § 72.

§ 72. '*Rheine*' and '*Chreine*.'—The chief deduction from the double aspect of the name *Angle* as a very special one on the East and South, and as one of some generality on the side of Denmark and Britain, is to be got from the text of Procopius in its integrity; for it has hitherto been referred to merely as evidence to the fact that there were Angles in Britain when the extract of § 25 was first written. This is self-evidently manifest, whatever may be our way of dealing with the fabulous story about the passage of the dead, and the utter absence of horses. In the passage, as we find it in our extract, we have a *Brittia* as well as a *Britannia*; and it is at first as difficult to connect the two as to separate them. But, besides this, there is the story or romance of the Frank king Radiger, and a British queen of Amazonian character. The name of the king, however, is the only one which is here of much importance. The part of Germany from which he passes over to England is the *Rhine*, or the country of the *Warni*, opposite to Britain. But the *Warni* were on the Elbe; and the *Angles*, as we have seen, were their nearest frontagers. They are this whether we look to the text of Tacitus or to the *Lex Angliorum et Werinorum*.

Now we know that in the region of his Angli, Varini, and others, Tacitus places a mysterious island by no means unlike an outline of the *Brittia* of Procopius; and also that a little beyond it he places the country of the *Æstyii*, whose language was \* *lingua Britannicæ propria*. The ways of error are various, and one of these in my mind seems to have led to the *Brittia* of Procopius.

Its relations to the Rhine are capable of a different

\* Tacitus: *Germania*, § XLV.

explanation. Indifferent geographer as Procopius was for Western Europe, I doubt whether he bodily mistook the Elbe for the Rhine, or the Rhine for the Elbe—river for river. I think he had heard of the Elbe by something very like, though not exactly, a different and synonymous name. I think he may have heard of the Angles and Warni by a name equivalent to *Marcomanni*, or men of the *March* or *Ukraine*, for what is now the *Altmark* (Old *March*), and that the name of the Elbe as a boundary had been substituted for its name as a river. We shall see that this view brings us to something which, word for word, is sufficiently like *Rhine* (*Rhein*) to be confounded with it.

The Slavonians had their *Marks*, or *Frontiers*, as well as the Germans; and the name for them was some form of the root *kr-*. Sometimes it had a vowel prefix, sometimes the affix *-n*, sometimes *both*. The most undoubted and at the same time the most familiar form of it is (*The*) *Ukraine* on the Dnieper. *Wagria* in Holstein and *Wagram* in Austria are extreme forms of it. If a river were also a *March*, it might be called after its name as such; and this is, really, the case with the \**Ucker* in Brandenburg, now *Ucker-Mark*, wherein we have a bilingual compound. The same bilingual compound occurs in † *Creinamarcha* (*Carniola*); elsewhere '*in regione vulgare vocabulo Chreine et in marcha*' (*Krain d. i. Grenz land*). The occupants called themselves *Krajnci*. The Germans called them *Chreinarii*, i.e. *Chreinwære* = *Chreinicolæ* = occupants of the *Chreine* or *March*, just as *Cantuarii*, or *Cantwære*, were occupants of Kent.

\* An der *Ucker* sassen die *Ucri*, *Uncrani*, *Ucrani*, *Uncri* Bewohner der in späteren Urkunden genannten provincia *Ucra*, *Ukra*, *Ukers*, *Ucre*, *Ukermark*.—*Zeuss*, p. 653.

† *Zeuss*, p. 620.

The text of Procopius bears out this view. (a) It forbids us to think that he placed the Warmi on the *Gallic Rhine*, for he writes that they dwelt beyond the Danube, and reached up to the *Northern Ocean*; and I think that if we apply this to the Gallo-German Rhine we do violence to the text of even an indifferent geographer. (b) It justifies us in treating the Elbe as a *March*, or *Ukraine*; just as it is, according to the meaning of the word *Alt-mark*, at this moment; the only difference being that one name is German, the other Slavonic.

Οὐαρροι μὲν ὑπὲρ Ἰστρου ποταμὸν ἴδρυνται, δεξιῶσι δὲ ἔχρητε ἐς Ὀκεανὸν τὸν ἀρκτῶον καὶ ποταμὸν Ῥῆνον, ὑπερ αὐτοῦς τε διορίζει καὶ τέλλα ἔθνη ἃ ταύτη ἔρυνται . . . Οὐαρροι δὲ καὶ Φράγγοι τοῦτ' ἴσμεν τοῦ Ῥῆνου τὸ ὄσθρ μεταξὺ ἔχουσιν.  
—A. G. 4. 20. Ζεῦσα, p. 361.

That a Slavonic name for a German March, in the mouth of ambassadors at Constantinople in the time of Justinian, concerning the present district of Altmark, is possible need scarcely be argued, for it may have been taken up by any Slavonic population between the Lower Elbe and the Lower Danube; in other words, it need not have been current on the March or Ukraine itself. But it is well to ask how far it was probable on the *March* itself, for it must be remembered that in the time of Tacitus the Varini and Angles made part of his Germania, and what they were then they may possibly have been in the days of Procopius. Upon this point we can only give the probabilities. The Elbe, as has been already stated, was wholly unknown in detail and from personal inspection till the time of the Merovingian Franks, in the reign of Dagobert; and, then, from the frontier of Bohemia to Lauenburg and Holstein, every acre of the country of the right bank was Slavonic. We know this was the case with the present *Kingdom* of Saxony as early as A.D. 625—only about

70 years after the death of Procopius. What it was in Brandenburg we do not know by any special evidence till the time of Charlemagne, about a hundred and fifty years later. But we know then that it was, like Saxony, Slavonic; and we know that for more than two centuries later there were Slavonic occupancies on its German side, and, in Lunenburg, that Slavonic was spoken in the last century. Nearer than this, upon this point, we cannot go on positive testimony; and perhaps we have gone further in the way of approximate inference than was needful.

Such are the reasons for believing that a word so like *Rheinwære* (=occupants of the Rhine) as *Chreinwære* (=occupants of the March) may have led Procopius to call the Elbe the 'Rhine.' This termination *-wære* gives us the German form in full. In Latin it is replaced by *-uarii*, as *Cantuarii*, *Boructuarii*. The shortest form in which we find it is *-ēr*, as in *Tenctēri* (?), *Bructēri*, which, though the oldest forms we have, are at the same time the most disguised. For current use, or the form which when a compound of this kind had taken root and passed into ordinary language, was both the most common and the most permanent, was *-arii*, as in *Angarii*, from *Angrivarii*=*Engerwære*. Now this is the form which we have actually found elsewhere as *Chreinarii*, a form which, as it stands, is like *Rheinarii*, and which if written in Greek, as 'Ρεινάριοι, would be more so.

§ 73. *The Embassy, &c.*—The Embassy was real. More than this, it was not one that stood alone. It rather seems to have been one of a series, probably connected with the same subject—the jealousy of the Roman Emperors of the extension of the Franks. Theodoric the Ostrogoth, as King of Italy, had sent a kind of commission of three kings, those of the Thurin-

gians, the Heruli (afterwards associated with the Warni), and the *Warni* (*Guarni*), backed by the Burgundians, to check the persecution of the Visigoths of France by Clovis. These are (some of) the *Norsavi* of the letter of Theodebert his grandson: Theodebert, who was now King of the Franks. Achiulf, a captain of the Suevi in Spain, was one of the Warni, but branded by Jornandes as a degenerate or doubtful *Goth*. The Warni mixed themselves up with the affairs of Italy between Narses and the Langobards, playing fast and loose. It is difficult to believe that, with the Warni from their Eastern, and the Langobards from the Western frontier, the Angles of the central district had no share in the great conquest of Lombardy. The Heruli, after intriguing with Narses in Italy, made their way to the Warni and attacked the Danes, who here for the first time are mentioned in history. Still the Angles are never named, just as no individual tribe, section, or subsection of the Saxons is never named. Yet the Angles were, in the eyes of Ptolemy, a *great nation of the Suevi*; and when the Suevi are broken up (becoming first Norsavi, and then '*Anglii and Werini*') the name crops out.

The Angles formed the central part of the denomination *Suevi*; and the history of the Langobard and Varinian frontiers explains how their name failed to become general in the South—whether West or East. *Langobard* is the name that appears from the time of Tacitus to that of the conquest of Lombardy, and that as soldiers or auxiliaries in connection with the *Western* Empire. The *Warni* appear only after the conquest of Italy by Theodoric from the *East*. The central *Angles* are nowhere in either Empire. On the north, however, where they follow the course of the Elbe, they form the leading and representative population, as the descend-

ants of Angul, the brother of Dan; so that, however subordinate to the Warni they may have been in Spain, and to the Langobards in Italy, they are anything but underrated in Denmark and in Britain. Indeed, they have probably attained prominence at the expense of their associates, especially those Langobardi and Warni, who have similarly eclipsed them in Italy and in Spain. Their further relations to the Danes will be noticed in the sequel.

§ 74. In a larger and more general work than the present no excuse would be needed for these details. But when we remember that it is just in the reigns of Theodoric (Thierry) and Theodebert, son and grandson of Clovis, that the ordinary details for the Saxon invasions end, and the later and more indefinite notices of the Angles begin, the prolixity may be excused. The truth is, that when we have cleared the narrative of Procopius from its manifest improbabilities, such as that of the ignorance of the Britons of horses, the wonderful passage to the island of the dead, and the romantic elements of the story; when, too, we have seen our way to an explanation of the name *Rhine* as applied to the Elbe, there is a very notable, undeniable, and important residuum of historic truth in it. For whether we have accurately explained, or merely explained away, the palpable excrescences in the way of fiction, and the alleged error in the way of geography, the fact that there were Angles in Britain still remains; and so does the reality of the embassy. Neither is there a shadow of reason for believing that Radiger was other than the real name of the king of Warni. Procopius was a bad geographer; but he knew what was meant by the word *Britannia*, and he knew where the Gallic Rhine ran. That he was perplexed by the concurrent names *Brittia* and *Chreins* is evident. Moreover he was cotemporary



with the embassy, and, probably, in Constantinople when it arrived. Keeping, then, to these unexceptionable outlines, we shall not do wrong in comparing his evidence as to the Angles with that of Julian as to the Saxons. Both are the first of their kind; i.e. the first since the times of Tacitus and Ptolemy; Procopius after an interval of about four hundred years. Hence, it is with them that the notices of either Saxons or Angles in connection with Gaul and Britain begin. Both are supported by incidental allusions in writers who followed them; and deal with populations of which it is almost certain that we have previous notices under other names—of Julian's Saxons under that of *Franks*, of the Angli of Tacitus under that of *Norsavi*. Both writers belong to a time when there is notable change of the history of the times to which they belong. Under Julian's next successor but one (Jovian's reign lasted but five months), Valentinian I., we have the *Littus Saxonicum*; under Theodebert's father, Theodoric (Thierry), we not only hear of the *Norsavi*, but of the *Danes*, who are also named by Procopius; the difference in date between the two notices being within a few years of one another; while, under his successor, Chlotair, we first hear of the Saxons *in Germany*, the time at least of the mentioning them as occupants of Saxony being, again, within a few years assigned to their introduction from Britain by Rudolf. Their British origin, as a reason for the name, is manifestly wrong, but the dates coincide. That there is error of some kind in Rudolf is certain, and we have tried to bring it down to its proper dimensions. But that he points to intercourse between Northern Germany and Britain is certain. And so does Procopius. Finally, Beda and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle do the same; for the times of Chochilaicus (the first Dane named in history, A.D.

615) and of Radiger in Germany are the times of Offa in East Anglia, and of Ida in Northumberland, neither of them Saxons, but both Angles.

I should have mentioned that the notice by Procopius of the *Danes* is to the effect that the *Heruli* (ubiquitous during the whole of the downfall of the Western Empire, and whom we have seen in connection with the Saxons of Gaul) having fled from Italy, reached the country of the *Warni*, and with them expelled the Danes from their own proper\* occupancies. This, probably, Procopius learned from the Angle embassy.

The account of Jornandes makes the Danes expel the Heruli; but, between the two, the evidence that there was an active movement of the populations on the Lower Elbe going on during the important reign of Theodebert is evident.

§ 75. *English allusions to the Angles of Germany.*

—There are two poems in the Westsaxon of the tenth century, which have long commanded the attention of Anglo-Saxon philologists—‘*Beowulf*’ and the ‘*Traveller’s Song*.’ In both the Angles are named; but in *Beowulf* they seem to be the Angles of the Danish frontier rather than those of Britain, and in the *Traveller’s Song* they are certainly the Angles of the Elbe. At any rate, there is no allusion to any name in connection with Britain. Upon this negative evidence influential writers have committed themselves to the opinion that the two works (especially the *Traveller’s Song*) belong not only to Germany, but to a time anterior to the accredited date for the Angle conquest in Britain, (say) the fifth century. For such an inference as this, with other facts against it, the evidence is wholly inadequate; but, for the more

\* See B. G. 2, 15; and Zeuss, p. 508 (Ἑρουλοὶ ἐς τοὺς Οὐάρους καλουμένους ἐχώρησαν· μεθ’ οὗς δὴ καὶ Δανῶν τὰ ἔθνη παρέδραμον ἐθέλοντες τε ἐς Ὀκεανὸν ἀφικόμενος ἐναυτίλλοντο.

moderate view that the localities and incidents are continental, it is ample.

§ 76. *The Traveller's Song*.—The Traveller's Song manifestly points to the Angles on the Elbe.

<i>Hreð-cyninges</i>	Of the <i>Hreð</i> -king
<i>Hám gesohte</i>	He sought the home
<i>Eástan of Ongle.</i>	East of <i>Ongle</i> .—l. 13-15.

The country of the *Hreths*, possibly the *Reud-igni* of Tacitus, and certainly the *Reið-gothas* of the Anglo-Saxon and Icelandic writers, lay between the Oder and the Vistula, due east of the district here assigned to the Angles of the *Norsavian* region; and with the (Nor)-*savi* the *Engle* are twice mentioned in the poem under notice.

<i>Heólden forð sibban</i>	Continued thenceforth
<i>Engle and Swæfe.</i>	Engles and Swæfs. ll. 86-7.
<i>Mid Englum ic wæs</i>	With Engles I was
<i>And mid Swæfum.</i>	And with Swæfs. ll. 121-2.

The whole composition points to the same localities and the same association of Angles, and Langobards, and Suevi.

That notices of the Angleland in Britain are so conspicuous from their absence as to have engendered the doctrine of a continental origin for the poem has already been stated; and it has already been stated that, though this doctrine is incompatible with the present form of the Traveller's Song, it is quite compatible with the antiquity and continental origin of its incidents and localities.

What the poem omits is as remarkable as what it mentions. The bard, skald, gleeman, or minstrel, is supposed to be a traveller over the whole world; and the mere names of the nations which he visited constitute about half the poem, which looks more like a

narrative put into the mouth of the Wandering Jew than any real wanderer.

The traveller, or gleeman, gives the names of certain kings as well as those of certain countries. Of these, Eormanric (Hermanric), the great historical Goth of the fourth century, is the chief. Cæsar, Alexander, Wallia, and Attila he had heard of, but Eormanric he had visited in his own kingdom. Eormanric, too, like a true king, rewarded the gleeman for his narrative, and so did Guthere (Gunther) of Burgundy. Ealfwine and Eadwine of Italy (i.e. Alboin and Audoin of Lombardy) were pre-eminently liberal. All these were patrons, and are chiefly alluded to in that capacity. Offa alone appears in the character of king and conqueror exclusively. He rules the *Ongle*: *Alewih*, his rival and cotemporary, ruling the Danes. Alewih can prevail against most men, but not against Offa; Offa, who made his name as a warrior when young, and afterwards enlarged his boundaries as far as Fifeldor (? The Eyder). These are the only heroes of whom we get more than the bare name. Eormanric is the mythic hero of Germany at large. Offa, Ealfwine, and Eadwine are, as Angles and Langobards, heroes of the special Angle district. The Burgundian Guthere alone lies wide of this centre, a centre for which the special details of the text are sufficiently appropriate; whereas for any wider or more general area they are singularly deficient; so much so that we learn perhaps more from what they premit than from what they contain.

Next to Eormanric, or Hermanric, the greatest name both in German myth and in German history is Theodoric; and of Theodrics there are, at least, three of notoriety—Theodoric the Ostrogoth, king of Italy; Theodoric II., king of Gaul; and Theodoric the Frank, father of Theodebert, and a cotemporary of Procopius.

Of these it is the last and least that is named in the Traveller's Song. Clovis is not mentioned at all; neither is Euric; neither, with the exceptions of Guthere and Gifica of Burgundy, and of Wala (probably Wallia), is any one who has not some special connection with the district of the Middle and Lower Elbe. The only names that are assigned to Britain are those of the Scots and Picts, and the Welsh (Wala-ric). To Scandinavia, on the other hand, the allusions are numerous.

§ 77. *Beowulf*.—The poem of Beowulf, like the Traveller's Song, though not, in its present form, of continental origin, is continental in its geography and incidents, though not so decidedly as the other poem. Both are equally wanting in positive allusions to *England*; but the positive allusions to certain parts of *Germany* are less definite in Beowulf; which Thorpe makes so much more Scandinavian than German that he hints at the likelihood of the Westsaxon poem being a translation from the Danish. If so, it must be from an original, not less than a hundred and fifty years older than the oldest specimen of the Old Norse for which we have any accurate date. Be this, however, as it may, there is no doubt as to the English or Danish character of one of its heroes, viz. Higelac, who, though not the protagonist, is the second both in rank and action.

The main incidents of Beowulf; the romance, or myth, of the poem; the special exploits of Beowulf himself may be treated like the impossible parts of the geography and chronology of the Traveller's Song, and eliminated at once, just as, from the legends that have connected themselves with the names of Theodoric and Charlemagne, we may eliminate the fate of the Nibelungs, or the legends of Oliver and Roland; and just as

from the undoubted Frank Embassy of Procopius we may eliminate the account of Britain, with which the ambassadors, either knowingly or unconsciously, seem to have perplexed either Procopius or his authorities. In spite, however, of these we find (if nothing more) the names of \**Radiger* in Procopius, of *Offa* in the Traveller's Song, and of *Higelac* in Beowulf, as real individuals. That *Higelac* has been recognised as such is well known; and that, name for name, and man for man, the *Higelac* of Beowulf was the *Chochilaicus* of Gregory of Tours has been admitted for the last sixty years. These, then, at least are historical.

§ 78. *Retrospect.*—Thus much (and more might be added) has been written about two poems of which the language is the Westsaxon of England, and the date of the manuscripts the tenth century. They are far from constituting anything like cotemporary evidence. But it is not the present writer who has propounded the doctrine that they give us England as it was before the Anglo-saxon conquest of Britain. All the present writer does is to show how far they help us in a question where a little light goes a long way—the question as to the differentiation between the Angle and the Saxon elements in our history and in our language. Something is done if we can invest the dualism with anything like reality; and, so far as Germany is concerned, something *has* been done. But the complement to this is the consideration of the difference between the Angle and the Saxon elements in England (Britain). This, for the present purpose, is limited to a review of our own Provincial dialects.

\* Compare this, word for word, with 'Hroðgar' in Beowulf.

## CHAPTER IX.

ON THE DIALECTS OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE—GENERAL  
VIEW — THE WESTSAXON — CLASSICAL PERIOD —  
MIDDLE PERIOD—PRESENT DIALECTS.

§ 79. *General view of the three English dialects.*—  
The dialects, languages, or forms of speech of Germany  
as the mother-country of the English have hitherto been  
considered, and that with special reference to the im-  
port of the names *Saxon* and *Angle*. Those of England  
itself now come under consideration.

They fall into three well-marked and natural divi-  
sions, viz. (1) that of the South and East, (2) that of  
the North, and (3) that of the Midland, Middle, or  
intermediate districts.

The first is conveniently called *Westsaxon*, the  
second *Northumbrian*, the third either *Midland* or  
*Mercian*.

Each division is a natural one; the third, however,  
has fewer positive characteristics than the other two,  
and takes its place as a group rather on the score of its  
being neither *Westsaxon* nor *Northumbrian* than from  
any definite characteristics of its own.

Over and above the outward and visible differences  
of structure (which in the *Mercian* are the least con-  
spicuous) the *history* of each of them is different. Each  
in its time has been the leading literary language of  
Great Britain, almost, though not wholly, to the exclu-  
sion of the others; so that no two have ever flourished  
as representative languages of England at the same  
time. One has been the standard, typical, or represen-  
tative language of the *early*, one that of the *middle*, and  
one that of the *present* epochs of our literature.

For the *Anglosaxon* period, or from the eighth cen-

tury to the battle of Hastings, the literary language was the Westsaxon, wholly, as far as our knowledge goes, to the exclusion of the Mercian, though not wholly to the exclusion of the Northumbrian. It is also the chief language for the scanty literature of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, or the time between the Norman Conquest and the reign of Henry III.

For the fifteenth century the Northumbrian dialect was the classical form of speech; not, however, as the language of England in its present sense, but as that of the English part of Scotland. It had a literature in England proper as well; but the rise of the Scotch literature in the time of the three Henrys; the decline of the Westsaxon as the classical dialect (or language), and the incipient character of the development of the Mercian, make this what a South Briton may call the Northumbrian, a North Briton the Scotch period.

It is the Mercian or Midland division to which our present literary language belongs.

Such is the general view of the three leading forms of the English language. Of certain sectional and equivocal varieties notice will be taken in the sequel.

§ 80. *Area of the Westsaxon.*—Westsaxon is a name which requires a preliminary notice, without which it might possibly mislead. The county of Kent, for instance, belongs to the Westsaxon area, yet, so far as its name goes, it stands in contrast to such words as *Sussex*, *Essex*, and *Middlesex*, and in that respect is other than Saxon; while, in respect to its geography, it is the most eastern county of the southern part of England. *Essex*, on the other hand, which in name is Saxon, will be excluded from the Saxon division altogether. Then, on the other side of our island lies Cornwall. It lies far enough westward for anything; yet it is anything but Westsaxon, being scarcely a



dialect at all. This is because, like Wales and the Highlands of Scotland, it has exchanged its own proper language for the language of England at large rather than for that of its frontier; although on the side of Devonshire there are to be found, as is natural, a few Devonian elements.

Westsaxon, in short, is a political rather than a geographical term, meaning the Saxon of *Wessex*, the kingdom of Wessex being the one wherein the language most especially was cultivated, and most especially extended itself westwards. And not only westwards, but northwards; for although, on the east, the Thames forms its northern frontier, the Westsaxon dialects and sub-dialects are readily traced northward as far as Gloucestershire. Of Worcestershire and Herefordshire the Westsaxon character is less generally admitted; and of Shropshire the dialect is still more equivocal. Westsaxon characteristics, however, run further north than Shropshire; a point upon which more remains to be said.

The great characteristic of the Westsaxon is that it is so thoroughly the dialect of the classical and standard literature of the times anterior to the Norman Conquest, that, in the eyes of the grammarian and the lexicographer, it is practically synonymous, and more than coextensive with *Anglosaxon*. That it does not wholly and absolutely exclude the *Northumbrian* has just been stated. That it is the representative form of speech of the epoch is beyond doubt, ever if we make the largest allowance for the loss of compositions in the other two dialects.

With the ninth century begins the classical period for the Westsaxon literature, its two great names being Alfred and Ælfric. With the decline of this literature the prerogative of the Westsaxon declines; for the history of the *literary* English is not, as we have

seen, continuous; and it is *not* the Westsaxon from which, dialect for dialect, the literary English of the present time is lineally and consecutively derived. There is continuity in the history of the literary language in general; but between the particular dialect which culminated in the eleventh century and that which is now predominant, there is no continuity. Nor are breaks or faults of this kind rare; indeed they are so common that we expect them *a priori*. Neither in France nor Germany, neither in Spain nor Italy, are the classical dialects of the present time those in which the language was first written, cultivated, promulgated, and developed.

§ 81. The inflections of the Westsaxon are as follows:

## DECLENSION OF THE NOUN.

## Pronouns—Definite Article.

Sing.			Plur.
Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	All genders.
Nom. Se	seo	þæt	þa
Acc. þane	þa	þæt	þa
Dat. þam	þære	þam	þam
Abl.* by	þa	by	—
Gen. þæs	þære	þæs	þæra

## The Pronoun of the Third Person.

Sing.			Plur.
Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	All genders.
Nom. He	heo	hit	Hi, or hig
Acc. Hine	hi	hit	Hi, or hig
Dat. Him	hire	him	Heom
Gen. His	hire	his	Heora

## The Adjective in its Indefinite Declension.

Sing.			Plur.		
Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Nom. Blind	blind	blind	Nom. Blinde	blinde	blinde
Acc. Blindne	blinde	blínd	Acc. Blinde	blinde	blinde
Dat. Blindum	blindre	blindum	Dat. Blindum	blindum	blindum
Inf. Blinde	—	blinde	Abl. Blinde	blinde	blinde
Gen. Blindes	blindre	blindes	Gen. Blindra	blindra	blindra

\* This (*Ablative*) is Rask's name. *Instrumental* is another.

*The Adjective in its Definite Declension.*

	<i>Sing.</i>			<i>Plural.</i>
	<i>Masc.</i>	<i>Fem.</i>	<i>Neut.</i>	<i>All genders.</i>
<i>Nom.</i>	Blinda	blinde	blinde	Blindan
<i>Acc.</i>	Blindan	blindan	blinde	Blindan
<i>Dat.</i>	Blindan	blindan	blindan	Blindum
<i>Abl.</i>	Blindan	blindan	blindan	Blindum
<i>Gen.</i>	Blindan	blindan	blindan	Blindena

The difference between the indefinite and definite declension is not a difference between two classes of adjectives, but a difference between the forms of the same adjectives according to their place in the context. Hence, it is a matter of Syntax rather than of Etymology. In the present English we say, *a blind son, a blind daughter, a blind eye; blind sons, blind daughters, blind eyes; the blind son, the blind daughters, the blind eyes; the blind sons, the blind daughters, the blind eyes*, indifferently. But in Anglosaxon the difference between the indefinite and definite article involved a corresponding difference in the form of the adjective that followed it. Thus:—

<i>Indefinite.</i>	<i>Definite.</i>
An blind son	Se blindā son
An blind dohtor	Seo blinde dohtor
An blind eage	þæt blinde eage
Blinde sonu	þa blindan sonu
Blinde dohtra	þa blindan dohtra
Blinde eagan	þa blindan eagan

*Substantives.*

Here there is not only the distinction of gender as in Latin and Greek, with certain differences of detail in the way of declension to correspond with it, but there is a higher division of the declensions into 'strong' and 'weak.' Rask calls them *complex* and *simple*.

*Masculine Substantive—(Strong Declension).*

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
<i>Nom.</i> Dæg	<i>Nom.</i> Dagas
<i>Acc.</i> Dæg	<i>Acc.</i> Dagas
<i>Dat.</i> Dæge	<i>Dat.</i> Dagum
<i>Abl.</i> Dæge	<i>Abl.</i> Dage
<i>Gen.</i> Dæges	<i>Gen.</i> Daga

*Neuter Substantive—(Strong Declension).*

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
<i>Nom.</i> Word	<i>Nom.</i> Word
<i>Acc.</i> Word	<i>Acc.</i> Word
<i>Dat.</i> Worde	<i>Dat.</i> Wordum
<i>Abl.</i> Worde	<i>Abl.</i> Worde
<i>Gen.</i> Wordes	<i>Gen.</i> Worda

*Feminine Substantive—(Strong Declension).*

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
<i>Nom.</i> Dæd	<i>Nom.</i> Dæda
<i>Acc.</i> Dæde	<i>Acc.</i> Dæda
<i>Dat.</i> Dæde	<i>Dat.</i> Dæda
<i>Abl.</i> Dæde	<i>Abl.</i> Dædum
<i>Gen.</i> Dæde	<i>Gen.</i> Dædum

Here the nominative case ends in a consonant, and the genitive case for the masculine and neuter genders ends (generally) in *-s*.

In the *weak* declension the nominative ends in a vowel, and there is no case ending in *-s*; but, on the contrary, a strong *nunation* (or prevalence of the sound of *n*) throughout.

*Weak Declension.*

	<i>Singular.</i>	
<i>Masculine.</i>	<i>Feminine.</i>	<i>Neuter.</i>
<i>Nom.</i> Hana	tunge	eage
<i>Acc.</i> Hanan	tungan	eage
<i>Dat.</i> Hanan	tungan	eagan
<i>Abl.</i> Hanan	tungan	eagan
<i>Gen.</i> Hanan	tungan	eagan

	<i>Plural.</i>	
<i>Nom.</i> Hanan	tungan	eagan
<i>Acc.</i> Hanan	tungan	eagan
<i>Dat.</i> Hanum	tungum	eagum
<i>Abl.</i> Hanum	tungum	eagum
<i>Gen.</i> Hanena	tungena	eagena

That these two declensions, especially the latter, are closely allied to the indefinite and definite declension of the adjectives is clear; and it may be added that the terms *weak* and *strong*, as the names of the forms in which the words of the two declensions present themselves, apply to the adjective as well as the substantive. Thus *blindne* is a *strong* form, characteristic of the *indefinite*, whereas *blindan* is a *weak* one for the *definite* declension. In other words, *strong* and *weak* are terms in Etymology; *definite* and *indefinite*, terms in Syntax. Substantives, which are unaffected by the character of their article, or indeed by the context at all, have only one form, and are *either* strong or weak according to their own proper structure; and what they are in one case they are in others, i.e. they are equally strong or weak whether they are definite or indefinite. With adjectives the case is different; and the same word is weak or strong according as it is indefinite or definite.

This double declension of the adjective is the point in which the English of Anglosaxon is most specially contrasted with that of the present period. In the present English the adjective is preeminently destitute of inflections, being reduced to a single form for all the cases and genders; and both the numbers—*good man, good man's, &c.* With the exception of the articles *the* and *an (a)*, no part of speech is thus denuded of its old inflections. In Anglosaxon, no noun had more of them than the adjective; for it had all the ordinary

forms of the substantive and the double or concurrent declensions of definite and indefinite besides.

It is only, however, in the English that this extreme denudation of the adjective is found. In *all* the other languages of the German family the difference between the definite and indefinite adjective is retained, and so (though it does not always show itself so conspicuously) does the difference between the weak and strong declensions. Of the former the word *oxen* is a single existing fragment.

## CONJUGATION OF THE VERB.

*Infinitive*—nerian

*Gerund*—to nerianne

*Present, or Active, Participle*—neriende

*Preterit, or Passive Participle*—generated

*Imperative Singular*—nere

*Imperative Plural*—neriaþ

*Indicative Mood.**Present.*

1. Ic nerie
2. Ðu nerest
3. He nereð
1. We neriað
2. Ge neriað
3. Hi neriað

*Preterit.*

1. Ic nerode
2. Ðu neredest
3. He nerede
1. We neredon
2. Ge neredon
3. Hi neredon

*Conjunctive Mood.**Present.*

1. Ic nerie
2. Ðu nerie
3. He nerie
1. We nerien
2. Ge nerien
3. Hi nerien

*Preterit.*

1. Ic nerede
2. Ðu nerede
3. Hi neredes
1. We nereden
2. Ge nereden
3. Hi nereden

*Indicative Mood.**Present.*

1. Ic nime
2. Ðu nimest
3. He nimeð
1. We nimað
2. Ge nimað
3. Hi nimað

*Perfect.*

1. Ic nam
2. Ðu name
3. He nam
1. We namon
2. Ge namon
3. Hi namon

<i>Present.</i>	<i>Conjunctive Mood.</i>	<i>Perfect.</i>
1. Ic nime		1. Ic name
2. Ðu nime		2. Ðu name
3. He nime		3. He name
1. Wi nimen		1. Wi namen
2. Ge nimen		2. Ge namen
3. Hi nimen		3. Hi namen

This is about all that finds place in a work like the present. The details of the Westsaxon, a study by themselves, are to be found in the ordinary Grammars. For texts the reader is referred to Thorpe's *Analecta Anglo Saxonica*.

In the foregoing sections the Westsaxon is taken as the standard of the oldest literary English. The chief parts in which the other dialects, especially the Northumbrian, differ from it, will be seen in the next two chapters.

§ 82. *The Westsaxon—Middle Period.*—For some time subsequent to the Norman Conquest the Westsaxon maintains its prerogative. English literature of any kind has notably decreased; but it may safely be said that, until the middle of the thirteenth century, there is nothing that is distinctly other than Westsaxon. Some influence, too, it exerted as a standard, or classical form of English, even during its decline.

This, however, belongs to the history of the English language in general, rather than to the Westsaxon form of speech in particular. The forms *se, seo*, as definite articles, are among the first old characteristics that become obsolete. *Heo* (now *hoo*) = *she*, and the present plurals in *-th*, the termination *-inde* (as opposed to *and* and *ende*) and the participial prefix *y=ye*, are permanent. On the other hand the final *n* is often dropped — as in *y-broke=ge-brocen*. As compared with the other two dialects, the Westsaxon preserves

the inflections of the Anglosaxon period, though changed.

Two changes in the *external* history of this dialect present themselves, in the thirteenth century.

(1.) The area for which we find Westsaxon characteristics is increased. Dorsetshire (as a centre), Hampshire (?), Wilts, Somersetshire, and Devon, i.e. the western parts of the area, are the districts to which the mass of the known Westsaxon compositions are referred. During the Middle Period we get them from Gloucestershire and Worcestershire (?) on the north, and from Surrey and Kent on the east.

(2.) The use of the letters *v* and *z* becomes a recognized part of the orthography. This makes it probable that, though not found in the Anglosaxon spelling, they may have been common in its pronunciation, or at least commoner than we infer from the spelling.

The two great Westsaxon works of the thirteenth century are the *Brut* of Layamon from Gloucestershire, and the *Ancren Riwe* from Wiltshire. In the latter the letters *v* and *z* are used freely, where in Anglosaxon we should use *f* and *v*. Robert of Gloucester is the great representative of the Westsaxon of the reign of Edward I., the beginning of the fourteenth century. Here we find *heo*, *heora*, &c., for *she*, *their*, &c., the plural of present tense in *-th*, and most of the other recognized characteristics.

But Midland and Northumbrian compositions have already presented themselves, and the germs of two literary fresh languages have taken root.

The Westsaxon work which now interests us the most is the one from which the following extract\* is taken:—

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\* From *Bosworth—Dictionary of the Anglo-Saxon Language*, p. xxvi.



Nou ich wille þet ye ywrite hou hit is ywent;  
 þet þis boc is ywrite mid Engliss of Kent.  
 þis boc ymade uor lewede men,  
 Uor uader and uor moder and uor oþer ken,  
 Hem uor to berze uram alle manyere zen,  
 þet inne hare inwytte ne bleve no uoul wem.  
 Huo as God is his name yzed,  
 þet þis boc made, God him yeue þet bread  
 Of angles of huseuene; and þerto his red,  
 And onderuonge his zaule huanne þet he is dyad.

Amen.

Ymende þet þis boc is uolued ine in þe eue of þe holy apostles Symond and Judas of ane brother of þe cloystre of Sauynt Austin of Cantorberi, ine þe yeare ef oure Lhordes beringe 1340.—*Arundel MSS. No. 55, British Museum.*

The work to which this belongs is the *Ayenbite of Inwit*, or the *Againbite, Remorse, Sting, or Prick of Conscience* (*inner sense*). When and where it was written we have seen. Its special value in the present enquiry lies in the fact of its showing the Westsaxon character of so eastern a dialect as the Kentish, of which we have no known specimens for the times anterior to the Conquest, and which at present is scarcely a dialect at all. Besides this, the spelling, which is to some extent phonetic, represents the sounds of *v* and *z* as they are at present pronounced in the south-west of England, better than an orthography of a more classical and literary character. This, however, we have seen already in the *Ancren Riwe*.

For the latter half of the fourteenth century Trevisa is the representative Westsaxon writer. His work, printed by Caxton with adaptations, shows that the Westsaxon is now no longer the standard English.

§ 83. *Present State and Existing Dialects.*—Wiltshire, Dorset, Somerset, and Devonshire are the pre-eminently Westsaxon counties, the Devonshire dialect being an extreme one. In Hampshire the Westsaxon

characteristics are notably diminished, still more so in Sussex. In Kent and Surrey they are only found in fragments. Western Berkshire, and the southern parts of Worcestershire, are more Westsaxon than aught else. The boundaries, however, between the Westsaxon and the Mercian are uncertain; indeed it is probable that the divisions so graduate into one another as to leave no boundary at all.

§ 84. The *Phonesis* of the Westsaxon dialects, which is very uniform over a wide area, very decided in character, and in many cases characteristic, is best illustrated by the following examples selected, exclusively, from Mr. T. Spencer Baynes's '*Somersetshire Dialect; Its Pronunciation*':

*Vowels.*

Lengthened—

Bee-ast = beast

Clee-an = clean

Mee-olk = milk

Nee-ad = (need)

Shee-ape = (sheep)

Zee-ade = (seed)

Converted into Triphthongs—

a. By prefixing *y*:

Yee-ale = ale

Yee-arm = arm

Yee-abel = Abel

Yee-aels = ells

b. By prefixing *-w* or *-u*:

Buoy = boy

Buoile = boil

Guaine = going

Quoat = coat

Whoame = home

General, but not characteristic, being far from uncommon elsewhere. See Northumbrian specimens.

The Devonshire dialect has an approximation to the French *eu*, and, one closer still, to the Scotch *u* in *gude* or *guid*:

Mame

Spame

Guze

Shuze

Vuze = views

*Liquids.*

## R (a) omitted—

Hoäce = hoarse  
Pason = parson

Scace = scarce  
Veäce = fierce

## (b) transposed—

Birge = bridge  
Curmson = crimson  
Hurn = run  
Hird = red  
Hirddick = ruddock (Robin Redbreast)

Dird = thread  
Begurge = begrudge  
Hirch = rich  
Hirsh = rush

*Neuter.*

## T to D—

Bedder = better  
Budder = butter

Liddle = little  
Maddick = mattock

The *Th* in *Thin*, to the *Th* in *Thine*.

The *Th* in *Thine* to D :

Droo = through  
Dree = three

Dreaten = threaten  
Drow = throw

The change from F to V, and from S to Z, is notorious, and, at the same time, characteristic. It is the first change that an imitator of the West country dialect has resort to. At the end of words

Turve = turf  
Hosäve = hoof  
Locäve = loaf

Leäve = leaf  
Keeäve = calf  
Weäve = wife

At the beginning of words :

The softening of F into V at the beginning of a word is all but universal in the dialect. The following short dialogues may be taken in illustration :

(1)

'Guaine to vy-er?'

'Eze.'

'Oh, brave! vine days vor the volks at the vy-er. Guaine a-voote?'

'Aye, vocäsed too. Bill hurned a voorke into the old mare's vet-lock, and her's a-valled leeame.'

(2)

*Hannah.* Beänt there many *vyers* in Lunnun, Miss?*Visitor.* Yes, unfortunately, too many.*Wife.* What do a think, Miss, o' thic zilly lass, Hannah? \**her* and vather walked sixteen miles to zee a *vyer*.*Visitor.* Were there many houses burnt?*Hannah.* Houses burnt—noa, Miss! There beant nothing at all burnt at *vyers*.*Visitor.* Not anything burnt at fires?*Hannah.* Noa, Miss, it wasn't a *vier*, but a *vyer*.*Visitor.* Well, what do you call a fire?*Hannah.* Why, a *vyer* be where they zell gingerbread, and cloth, and ribbons, and show wild beastes: . . . I do like *vyers* zo much.*T. S. Baynes*, pp. 16-17.*Ng.*This becomes *-en*.*Transposition of S.*

Claps = clasp

Apsæ = aspen

Crips = crisp

Waps = wasp

That the changes between the consonants are all in one direction, so that the details can be given in a general rule, is clear. They are all changes from the *Surd* to the *Sonant* (*Hard* to *Soft*, or *Sharp* to *Flat*). The *d* for *th* Mr. Lower finds as far west as East Sussex.

1. *De* song of songs, *dat* is Solomon's.2. Let him kiss me *wud de* kisses of his mouth, for yer love is better *dax* wine.—*Ch.* i.

§ 85. *Inflections.*—The following are still preserved:

(1.) The true *accusative* of *he*, ending in *-n*, originally *hins*, and not *him*—which was *Dative*.

(2.) The *Infinitive* in *-y*, as *milky* = A.S. *meolcan* = (to) *milk*. Of this Mr. Barnes writes:

The *Dorset* has, like the *Magyar* tongue, a form of the *Infinitive Mood*, which may be called the *habitual* or *free infinitive*, for an action unapplied to any particular object: it ends in *y*:

\* So it stands in the text. It does not, however, mean that the word is in the *Accusative* case. It rather represents the older *heo*.

'*Can ye mow?*' (Can you mow? in general).

'Can ye *mow* this grass?'

Notes to the Song of Solomon, Dorset dialect  
(Buonapartean Collection), p. iv.

(3.) The Participial prefix *ge-*; now *a* or *i*.

(4.) The plural of the Present in *-th*. Nearly extinct.

§ 86. *Syntax*.—Mr. Barnes writes:

In Dorset things are taken as of two classes: (1.) the personal class of formed individual things, as, *a man, a tree, a tool*; and (2.) the impersonal class of unformed quantities of things, as, a quantity of *hair, or wood, or water*. *He* is the personal pronoun for the personal class, and *it* for the impersonal. A tree is *he*, and some water is *it*.—*Notes, &c.*, p. iv.

The demonstrative pronouns for the personal class are *thēase* and *thik*, and of the impersonal class, *this* and *that*. We say, '*Thēase* tree by *this* water;' *Thik* cheese and *that* curd.—*Ibid*.

#### § 87. EXAMPLES.

(1.) *The Accusative in -n*. In A.S. *hine*. (For *heo*, see p. 110 note.)

Let *en* kiss me wi' the kisses ov his mouth; vor your love is better than wine.—*The Zong o' Solomon*, i. 2. *Dorset*—*Barnes*.

Let *un* kiss me wi' the kisses o' hiz mouth, vor thoi love be better than woine.—*The Zong o' Zolomon*, i. 2. *Somerset*—*T. Spencer Baynes*.

Let *un* kiss m' wi' th' kisses o' huz mouth, vor yer love is better 'n wine.—*Th' Zong o' Zolomon*, i. 2. *North Wiltshire*—*Kite*.

Let 'n kiss ma way tha kisses uv es mowth; vur thy luv es better then wine.—*Tha Zong uv Zol-amen*, i. 2. *Devonshire*—*Baird*.

(2.) *The Infinitive in -y*. Found, also, in Somersetshire:

The most archaic inflections in the dialect are the infinitive in *-e*, or *-y*, as *to milky* . . . and the plural in *-ath*, as *they oryath*.—*T. Spencer Baynes*—*Notes*.

(3.) *The Participial Prefix*. In A.S. *gecumen* = *come*:

The flowers do show on the ground; the zong o' the birds is *a-come*, an' the coo o' the culvor 's *a-keärd* in our land.—*Song of Solomon*, ii. 12.—*Dorset*.

(4.) *The plural in -th.* In A.S. *we, ge, hi, lufiay = we, ye, they love.* *Obsolete, or obsolescent.*

The 'vlowers *sprout'th* vwoarth in th' grown; th' taim'e 's *a-kind* round ver th' whis'lin' o' birds, an' th' craw o' th' culver 's *a-yird* vur an neah.—ii. 12.

### § 88. SPECIMENS

(The more characteristic forms are underlined.)

#### *Wiltshire.*

Everybody kneows owld Barnzo, as wears his yead o' one zide. One night a was coming whoame vrom market, and vell off's hos into the road, a was *so* drunk. Some chaps coming by picked *us* up, and zeein' his yead was al o' one zide, they thought 'twas out o' jint, and began to pull 't into 'ts pleace agen, when the owld bwoy roa'd out, 'Barn zo (*born so*), I tell 'e!' Zo a' was allus called owld Barnzo ever a'terwards. —*Akerman—Wiltshire Tales.*

#### *Dorsetshire.*

*Poems by the Rev. W. Barnes in the Dorsetshire Dialect.*

#### *Somersetshire.*

Of this the following is a strong-marked, but scarcely an extreme specimen :—

#### *Mr. Guy and the Robbers.*

1.	3.
Mr. Guy war a gennelman O' Huntsfull, well knawn As a grazier, a <i>hirc</i> * one, Wi' lons o' hiz awn.	A war afeard o' naw one; A niver made hiz will; Like wither vawk, avaur a went Hiz cattle ver ta zill.
2.	4.
A oten went ta Lunnun Hiz cattle ver ta zill; All the hosses that a rawd Niver minded hadge or hill.	One time a'd bin to Lunnun, An zawld hiz cattle well; A brought awa a power o' gawld, As I've a hired tell.

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\* So, also, *urn = run*, a true *West-Saxon* form.

*Devonshire.*

RAB. Zo, Bet, how is't? How de try?—Where hast a'be *thicka way*? Where dost come from?

BET. Gracious, Rab! you gush'd me. I've a' be up to vicarige, to vet a book vor dame, and was looking to zee if there be any shows in *en*, when you wisk'd over the stile, and galled me.

RAB. And dost thee look so like a double-rose, when thee art a' galled, Bet? What dost thee gook thee head vor: look up, wo't?

BET. Be quiet: let 'lone my hat, wol ye?

RAB. What art tozing over the book vor?

BET. Turning out the dog's ears.

RAB. 'Ot is it—a story-book?

BET. I wish 'twas, I love story-books dearly; many nearts I've a' zit up when all the volks have a' be a-bed, and a' rede till es have had a cup in the niddick, or a' burn'd my cep.

RAB. And dost love to rede stories about spirits and witches?

BET. I'll tell thee. I was wan neart reding a story-book about spirits, that com'd and draw'd back the curtains at the bed's root (and there was the ghastly pictures o' em). The clock had beat wan, when an owl creech'd 'pon the top o' the chimley, and made my blood rin cold. I zim'd the cat zeed zum 'ot: the door creaked, and the wind hulder'd in the chimley like thunder. I prick'd up my ears, and presently, zum 'un, very hurrisome, went dump! dump! dump! I would a' geed my life vor a varden. Up I sprung, drow'd down my candle, and doutel *en*; and hadn't a blunk o' fire to teen *en* again. What could es do? I was afeard to budge. At last I took heart, and went up stears backward, that nort mert catch me by the heels. I didn't unray mysel vor the neart, nor teen'd my eyes, but healed up my head in the quilt, and my heart bump't zo, ye could hear *en*; and zo I lied panking till peep o' day.

RAB. Poor Bet! why if a vlea had hopp'd into thy ear thee wot a' swoon'd.

BET. You may well enew laugh at me, but I can't help et, nor vor-bear reding the books when I come athort 'em.

*Gloucestershire.**George Ridler's Oven.\**

1.

The stowns that built George Ridler's Oven,  
 And thauy qeum from the Bleakeney's quar;  
 And George he wur a jolly old mon,  
 And his yead it graw'd above his yare.

---

\* From Halliwell's Archaic and Provincial Dictionary.

## 2.

One thing of George Ridler I must commend,  
 And wur that not a notable theng?  
 He mead his brags avoore he died,  
 Wee any *dree* brothers his zons z'hou'd zeng.

## 3.

There's Dick the treble and John the mean,  
 Let every mon zing in his awun pleace,  
 And George he wur the elder brother,  
 And therevoore he would zing the beass.

## 4.

Mine hostess's moid (and her neaum 'twur Nell),  
 A pretty wench, and I lov'd her well;  
 I lov'd her well, good reazon why;  
 Because zhe lov'd my dog and I.

## 5.

My dog is good to catch a hen,  
 A duck or goose is vood for men;  
 And where good company I spy,  
 O thether gwoes my dog and I.

## 6.

My mwother told I when I wur young,  
 If I did vollow the strong beer pwoot,  
 That drenk would pruv my auverdrow,  
 And meauk me wear a thread-bare cwoat.

## 7.

My dog has gotten zitch a trick,  
 To visit moids when thauy be zick;  
 When thauy be zick and like to die,  
 O thether gwoes my dog and I.

## 8.

When I have *dree* zispences under my thumb,  
 O then I'm welcome wherever I come;  
 But when I have none, they pass me by;  
 'Tis poverty pearts good company.

## 9.

If I should die, as it may hap,  
 My greaue shall be under the good ycal tap;  
 In rouled earms there wool us lie,  
 Check by jowl, my dog and I.



§ 89. *The Two Colonies*.—To this list may be added two localities, clearly beyond the proper Westsaxon boundary—one in Wales, and one in Ireland.

(1.) The Peninsula of Gower, in Glamorgan, and (?) Pembrokeshire. According to Higden, certain Flemings, in the reign of Henry I., were removed from Mailros, in the eastern part of England, to Haverford, in West Wales. He adds that these Flemings of West Wales now (in his time) speak good Saxon.

Flandrenses vero qui in Occidua Wallia incolunt, dimissa jam barbarie, satis Saxonice loquuntur.—Higden, edit. *Gale*, p. 210.

The only vocabulary I know of the *Saxon* of West Wales is from the Peninsula of Gower, the *Little England beyond Wales*. It is by the Rev. J. Collins, published in the *Transactions of the Philological Society*, No. 93. It contains nothing Flemish; but, on the contrary, as much as we can expect in a vocabulary of Westsaxon, viz. the Infinitive in *y*—*seggy* = *to tease*; *firmy* = *to clean out*; *purty* = *to turn sulky*; *dreshel* = *a flail*. On the other hand, it shows no predilection for the sounds of *v* and *z* for those of *s* and *v*.

§ 90. (2.) The Irish specimens are both more decidedly Westsaxon, and more interesting in other respects. The district is the Baronies of Forth and Bargie, in the county of Wexford. The speakers are believed to be the descendants of a colony from Wales (? the West Welsh Saxonized Flemings of Higden), settled by the followers of the Earl of Pembroke (Strongbow) under Henry II.

The following short extract gives us, besides the consonantal initial *v* and *z*, the Westsaxon *dicke* = *thilk* = *thy-lik* = *this*, and the plural in *-th*; and, what is more instructive, the Gaelic pronunciation of the *wh* in *whose* (*fose*).

Yn ercha an olo whithe yt beeth wi' gleezom o' core th' oure eene dwitheth apan ye vigere o' dicke zovereigne, Wilyame ee Vourthe unnererose fathorlie zwae oure deis be ee spant.—*Address (in the Forth language) to The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, presented August 1836.*

This change from *hw* to *f* is, undoubtedly, due to the influence of the native Gaelic. The same occurs in the north-east of Scotland under the same conditions.

—Celtic influence has changed the *hwo, hwose, hwat, hwan, hware*, of Strongbow's English followers into *fo, fose, faad, fan, far*—has changed the *hwa, hwas, hwat, hwan, hwar*, of the Angles and Flemings of the north-east, and Norwegians of the north, into the *faa, faa's, fat, fan, faar* of Aberdeen, Caithness, Angus, and Moray.—Murray. *The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland*, p. 28.

The indication of this coincidence and the recognition of the foreign character of the soil to which a second language attaches itself, as an efficient influence upon the phonesis of the intruding form of speech, is valuable because it has often been denied, and oftener either ignored or overlooked.

§ 91. *Later stages Analytic as opposed to Synthetic.*—The reader is now referred to the Dative Case of the substantives, especially to those ending in *-um*, or those in which *-um* is the sign of the Dative Case. They are all single words, but single words in which there are two elements, viz. the theme or part belonging to the main word, and the affix which denotes its relations to another. But the two parts give us but one word. Yet these are separable both in respect to import and to form. When we get a combination of this kind it is called Synthetic, or *put together*, and the particular instance is an example of the *Synthetic* process, or *Synthesis*. But the *-um*, in the course of time, is dropped; and the *prefix to*, a preposition, is used in its stead. This gives us *two* words; and, when this is the case, the combination is *Analytic*=*taken to pieces*,

and the particular instance an example of the *Analytic* process, or *Analysis*.

The same processes may be got from a reference to the *Conjunctive Mood*, the so-called *Imperfect*, *Plu-perfect*, and *Future Tenses*; where in Greek and Latin, we have a single word, in most modern languages a combination of two.

In the *Substantives* the change is effected by the substitution of a *Preposition* for the inflection; and in *Verbs* that of an auxiliary verb. But the principle is the same.

These are examples of the important difference between *Synthesis* and *Analysis* on a small scale. As we proceed we shall find it on a larger one. The terms, however, are too important to be overlooked, whether their scale is great or small.

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## CHAPTER X.

THE NORTHUMBRIAN CLASS OF DIALECTS—THE GLOSSES, ETC.—THE PSALTER—MIDDLE PERIOD—ENGLISH OF SCOTLAND—MODERN DIALECTS—INFLECTION OF THE PLURAL OF THE VERB.

§ 92. *Northumbrian* means the parts north of the Humber, and south of the Forth, and, so doing, includes both Yorkshire on the south, and the Lowlands of Scotland on the north. In philology, then, the south-eastern parts of Scotland are English, whatever they may be, or may have been, politically. In its proper season the northern form of speech develops itself into a literary, or classical, language. This is during the fifteenth century, especially during the interval between the death of Chaucer and the invention

of printing, i.e. under the first Stuarts. English literature during this period has so fallen off that the Scotch may then be called the representative language of Britain. It is certainly the best-defined dialect.

It begins early; it declines early. But in the fourteenth century it revives, and in the fifteenth culminates. It is then called *English* by the Scotch themselves—a term which is not changed for *Scotch* till the time of the Reformation. Then it becomes Anglicized.

To some degree it is the first of our dialects which became a vehicle of literature. Two well-known fragments are Northumbrian: and, as these date from the eighth century, they are older than the earliest known Westsaxon compositions. They will be noticed in the Chapter on the Stages of the English Language in general. But they are too short, and stand too much alone to interfere with the early prerogative of the Westsaxon.

§ 93. By adequate specimens cotemporary with the Westsaxon of the times before the Conquest, the Northumbrian is only known by the following *Glosses*. They are sufficient, however, to give us a general view of its structure as compared with that of the Westsaxon, and this is all that is wanted; for of the Mercian for this period we know nothing.

The undoubtedly Northumbrian Glosses are the interlineations of—

- (1.) The Rushworth Gospels.
- (2.) The Durham, or Lindisfarn, Gospels.
- (3.) The Durham Ritual.
- (4.) The Bewcastle Runes. (See *Orthography—The Runic Alphabet*.)
- (5.) The Ruthwell Runes. (See *Prosody—Alliterative Metres*.)

§ 94. *The Rushworth Gospels.*—The glosses on the Rushworth Gospels are referred by Wanley, whose opinion is adopted by Mr. Garnett, to the end of the ninth, or to the beginning of the tenth, century. This, however, is by no means certain. The place at which, at least, a portion of them was written seems to have been Harwood, in Wharfedale. If so, they give us the most southern sample of the division to which they belong. The names of the writers are known. There were two, one of them being named Farmenn. He it is who describes himself as a priest at Harawuda. The first part of the interlineation is his, and it is remarkable that the Northumbrian character is less marked in Farmenn's part than it is in his coadjutor's, whose name was Owen—a British designation. The following specimen is from Mr. Garnett's paper on the Languages and Dialects of the British Islands, published in the 'Transactions of the Philological Society.'

The characteristic forms are in italics. For the sake of comparison, the corresponding part of the Hatton Gospels, in the ordinary Westsaxon, is added.

Both texts were collated by Dr. Bandinel with the original MS. in the Bodleian.

## RUSHWORTH GOSPELS.

JOHN, chap. iv.

þæt forþon [þe hælend] ongætt  
[þætte] giherdon þa *alde* wearas  
þætte *the* hæl[end] monige thegnas  
wyrceþ and *fulwath* þonne Ioh'  
[annes]: (*þe* þe, I' swa he, þe hæl'  
ne *fulwade* ah þegnas his:) forleort  
Judeam: *eorþo* and *foerde* efter sona  
in Galileam. wæs *gi* dæfendlic wu-  
tudl[ice] hine þætte of'[er] *fderde*  
*þerh* tha burig [Samaria]. com for-  
þon in tha cæstre Samar', þio is  
*gicweden* Sichar, neh þar *byrig*

## HATTON GOSPELS.

JOHN, chap. iv.

Da Se Hælend wiste þæt þa Pha-  
risei gehyrden þæt h̄ Hæfdema  
leorning cnihta Sonne Johannes  
þeah se Hælend ne fullode ac h̄s  
leorning onihtas. Ða forlet he  
Judea land and for eft on Galilea.  
h̄m ge byrode þæt he seolde  
faran Ðurh Samaria land. Wicelico  
he com on Samarian cæstre. þe ys  
ge nemneth Sichar ueah þam  
tune þe Jacob sealde Josepe hys  
sune. þær wæs Jacobes *wylle*.

þætte *salde* Jacob Josepes suno his. wæs wutudl' ther wælla Jacobes. The hæl' forþon *woerig* wæs of gonge, sitende wæs, and sæt, swa ofer þæm *wælla*: tid wæs swelce þio sexta. wif [com] of *thær byrig* to hladanne þæt wæter, cwæth him þe hæl'; *sel me drinca*. þegnas wutudl'. *foerdun* in cæstre þætte mete *dohtun* him. cwæth f'thon to him þæt wif þio Samaritanesca, hu thu Judesc mith thy *arþ* drincende from me *giowes* tu þa þe mith thy wif's [sie?] Samaritanesc? ne for þon *gibyrelie* biþ Judex to Samaritaniscum. *giondswarade the hæl'* and cwæþ him, gif þu *wistes* hus Godes and hwelc were se the cwæth the *sel me drinca* du wutudl'. and woenismara, gif thu *georwades* [giowades?] from him and [he] *gisalde* the wæter cwic welle. cwæth to him þæt wif, driht [en] ne m [in?] hwon tha hlado hæfest þu, and the pytt neh is: hwona, and hwer, forthon hæfest du wæter cwicwelle? ah ne *arþu* mara feder usum Jacobe seþe *salde* us *thiosne* pytt, and *wælla*, and he of him dranc and suno his and feorþfoto, and næno [netenu], his?

Se Hælend sæt æt þā welle. þa he wæs weri gegan and hýt wæs middayg. Ða com þær an wif of Samaria wolde water feccā. Ða cwæð se Hælend to hýre. 'gyf me drincan. Hys leorning enihtes ferdon þa to þære cæastre woldon heom mete beggen. Ða cwæð ðæt Samaritanisse wif to hým. Hu mete bydst þu at me drenken. þonne þu ert Judeisc. and ic em Samaritanise wýf. Ne brucað Judeas and Samaritanissee metes at gadere. Ða answerede se Hælend and cwæð to hýre. Gif þu wistes Godes gyfe and hwæt se ýs þe cwæð to þe sele me drinken. witodlice þu bede hýne þæt he sealde þe lyfes wæter. þa cwæð þæt wif to hým. Leof ne þu næfst nan þing mid to hladene, and þæt ýs deop. hwanen hafst þu lyfes wæter cwest ðu þæt þu mare sy ðonne ure fader Jacob. Se þe us þisne pyt sealde. and he hys bearn and hys cýtanu of þam druncan.

Here the text is given in full, i.e. both in Latin and Anglo-Saxon.

*Evangelium Marci (from Bouterwek, Screamunga).*

CAP. I.—1. { on fruma gosselles hælendes cristes sunu godes.  
Initium euangelii Iesu Christi filii Dei.

swa awriten is in esaia witga henu ic sende engel min  
2. Sicut scriptum est in Isaia propheta ecce ego mitto angelum meum  
beforan onseone þine seþe egearwað weg þinre stem cliopande  
ante faciem tuam qui præparabit viam tuam ante te. 3. Vox clamantis  
in westenne gearwigeað weig drihtnes rehte wyrcaþ *vel* doað  
in deserto parate viam domini rectas facite  
stige *vel* gongas his. 4. wæs iohannes in westenne gefulwade and  
*semitas* eþus. Fuit Joannes in deserto baptizans et

bodade frellwiht þreownisse in forge frusse synna and  
 prædicans baptismum penitentiae in remissionem peccatorum. 5 Et  
 ferende wæs *vel* foerde to him alle iudeas lande and  
 egrediebantur ad eum omnis Iudaeae regio et  
 ða hierosolymisca alle and gefullwado frō him in Jordanes  
 Ierosolymitæ universi et baptizabantur ab illo in Iordanis  
 streame ondetende synna heora. and wæs iohannes  
 flumine confitentes peccata sua. 6. Et erat Ioannes  
 gegerelad *vel* gewedad mid perum cameles and gyrdels fellenne  
 vestitus pilis cameli et zona pellicea  
 ymb lendenu his and waldstapan *vel* loppestra and wudu huniges  
 circa lumbos ejus et locustas et mel  
 wæxep on wude bandum and þæt brucendo wæs  
 siluestre edebat.

(1.)

### § 95. *The Durham (or Lindisfarn) Gospels.*

*Quatuor Evangelia Latina, ex translatione S. Hieronymi, cum glossâ interlineatâ Saxonica.*—Cotton MSS. Nero, D. 4.

#### MATTHEW, cap. 2.

miððy arod (?) gecenned were hælend in ðær byrig  
 Cum ergo natus esset Jesus in Bethleem Judææ  
 in dagum Herodes cyninges heonu ða tungulcraeftga of eustdæl  
 in diebus Herodis Regis, ecco magi ab oriente  
 cweoðondo  
 cwomun to hierusalem hin cwoedon huer is ðe acenned  
 venerunt Hierosolymam, dicentes, Ubi est qui natus  
 tungul  
 is cynig Judeunu gesegon wo forðon sterru his in  
 est rex Judæorum? vidimus enim stellam ejus in  
 eustdæl and we cwomun to worðanne hine geherde wiototlice  
 oriente et yenimus adorare eum. Audiens autem  
 ða burgwæras  
 herodes se cynig gedroefed wæs and allo ða hierosolemisca mið  
 Herodes turbatus est et omnis Hierosolyma cum  
 mesapreusti  
 him and gesomnedo allo ða aldormenn biscopa  
 illo. Et congregatis (*sic*) omnes principes sacerdotum  
 geascodo  
 and ða uðutta ðæs folces georne gefragndo fra him huer crist  
 et scribas populi, sciscitabatur ab iis ubi Christus  
 nasceretur.

(2.)

onginnas forueardmercunga æft iohanne\*  
 [fol. 203.] INCIPIUNT CAPITULA SECUNDUM IOHANNEM.

in fruma *vel* in fma word *vel* crist uæs god mið gode ðerh  
 I. In principio uerbum deus apud deum per  
 ðone ilca geworht weron alle and iohanne þæt woere gesended  
 quem facta sunt omnia et Iohannes missus  
 gesægd is ær *vel* befa him ða ðe eft onfoas ðæt hia se gewyrces suno  
 refertur ante eum qui recipient esse facit filios  
 goddes ðerh geafa his ðæm frasendum iudeum iohanne  
 dei per gratiam suam. II. Interrogantibus Iudaeis Iohannes  
 onsacces hine þæt he sie crist ah þæt gesendet wore heseolf befe  
 negat se esse Christum sed missum se ante  
 æc  
 ðæm and stefn þæto he wre clioppendes in uoestern æfter  
 illum uocemque esse clamantis in deserto secundum  
 isaïas ðæm uitga gesaeged ðe ilca uutetlice geondeta lemb  
 Esaiam enuntiat ipsum uero fatetur agnum  
 laedendo *vel* niomende synno middangeardes æc fuluande in halge  
 tollentē peccata mundi et baptizantem in spiritu  
 gaste forðon ðe ilca sie *vel* is on ufa allum *vel* of alle of  
 sancto eo quod ipse sit supra omnes III. Ix  
 tuæm iohanne ðegnum ða ðe fylgendo ueron ðæm drihten an  
 duobus Iohannis discipulis qui secuti fuerant dominum unus  
 tolaedde broder his se ðe petrus from ðæm  
 Andreas adduxit fratrem suum qui Petrus ab ipso  
 uæs genemned æc ðon uæs geceiged bearn godes gebecnas  
 nuncupatus Philippus quoque uocatus natana heli indicat  
 se ðe sona betuuh oðrum ðe ilca godes suni bið geondeta in  
 qui mox inter cetera eum domini filium confitetur. III. In  
 ðæm færnū þæt uætor ymberde *vel* geerde in win miððy  
 nubtis aquam conuertit in uinum quo  
 uæs auorden cuðlice gesēne þæte ðer heseolf uæs gehaten uin  
 facto cognoscitur quod ubi ipse fuerit inuitatus uinum  
 nedðærf sie þæte gescyrte ðæra farma  
 necesse sit deficere nubtiarum.

\* From Bouterwek's *Screadunga*, pp. 12-14.



§ 96. *The Glosses of the Durham Ritual.—Rituale Ecclesie Dunhelmensis.*

1145, c. 10. *Rituale Ecclesie Dunhelmensis. Hæ sunt capitula in Litania Majore, þæt is, on sfa dagas.\**

1. {
 

ðas	cvoeð	driht'	ymbhwurfað	woegas	hieru'	and
Hæc	dicit	Dominus,	circuite	vias	Hierusalem,	et

bihaldað and gisceawað and soecað in plaegi word and on plaecvm and aspiciate et considerate, et querite in plateis ejus an gimoeton gie woer doend dom and soeconde lfv and inveniatis virum facientem judicium et querentem fidem et milsend ic biom his propitius ero ejus.
2. {
 

stondað	of'	woegas	and	giseað	and	gifraignað	of	sedvm
State	super	vias	et	videto	et	interrogate	de	semitis

aldum hvoole sie woeg god and geongað on ðær and antiquis quæ sit via bona, et ambulate in ea, et gi gimoetað coelnisse sawlum iurum inveniatis rofrigerium animabus vestris
3. {
 

alles	hergies	god	Isr'l	godo	donð	woegas	iuero	and
Exercituum	Deus	Israel,	bonas	facito	vias	vestras	et	

rædo ivr' and ic bya ivih mið in stove ðissvm on corde þo stadia vestra, et habitabo vobiscum in loco isto in terra quam ic salde faedorum iurvm fro worvlde and w' worvlde dedi patribus vestris a seculo et usquo in seculum
1. {
 

god	ðv	ðe	[dæg]	gisceadas	from	naehte	dedo	vssa	from
Deus,	qui	diem	discernis	a	nocte	actus	nostros	a	

ðiostra giscead miste þatte sýmle ða ðo haelgo aron tenebrarum distingue caligine ut semper quæ sancta sunt ðencendo in ðinum sýmlinga leht ve lifa ð meditates, in tua jugiter luce vivamus per D'
2. {
 

gefeðon	gunco	gidoe	ve	driht'	haelga	faeder	allm'
Gratias	agimus,	Domine,	sancto	pater	omnipotens		

ece god ðv ðo vsig oferdoene nachtes rume to morgenlicum æterne Deus, qui nos, transacto noctis spatío, ad matutinas tidvm ðerhlaede gimoedvmad arð ve bid' þatte ðv gefe vs [dæg] horas perducere dignatus es, quesumus, ut dones nobis diem

\* *Rituale Ecclesie Dunhelmensis*, published by the Surtees Society, pp. 36, 37.

ðeosne bytan synne of' fara oð þat to efenne ƿe gode  
 hunc sine peccato transire quatenus ad vesperum tibi Deo  
 geafo eft ve brenga ƿ  
 gratias referamus, per Dominum.

§ 97. The Westsaxon being taken as the standard of the Anglosaxon in its oldest stage, and the details of its inflection being already given, it is only necessary to show where the Northumbrian differs from it.

(1.) Firstly, there is, on the part of the Northumbrian, the greater simplicity of the Demonstrative Pronoun. For this we have in Westsaxon three roots: (1) *se*; (2) *þe*; (3) *he*. The first is found in two forms only, *se* and *seo* = *der*, and *die* in German, *ὁ* and *ἡ* in Greek, serving for the masculine and feminine of the nominative singular of the definite article. The neuter is *þæt*, which is declined regularly throughout, i.e. in the *singular* number as the plural. The forms *þe* and *þeo*, though they exist, are, in writing, displaced by *se*, *seo*. *He*, like *þe*, is declined throughout, i.e. in the plural number as well as the singular; so that we have in *hi*, *heora*, *heom*, *him*, forms which are lost, being replaced by *they*, *their*, *them*. In like manner, *heo*, the true *feminine* of *he*, was used where we now use *she*.

(2.) The greater simplicity of the *auxiliary verb*. The Present Indicative of the Westsaxon ran:

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
Ic eom	We sind [sindon].
Du ƿart	Ge sind [sindon].
He is	He sind [sindon].

In both these cases it is the Northumbrian which comes nearest to the present English, where we say *the*, *they*, *their*, *them*, and *are*, acknowledging no such forms as *se*, *hi*, *heord*, *sind* or *sindon*.

*The termination in -an.*—This is eschewed in the Northumbrian, both in the oblique cases and in the infinitive mood, and, to a great extent, in the definite declension.

<i>North.</i>	<i>W. S.</i>	<i>English.</i>
Cuoetha	cweðan	speak.
Ingeonga	ingangan	enter.
Hearta	heartan	hearts.
Noma	naman	names.

*The Participial prefix -ge.*—The old Westsaxon form of the passive participle consisted of the prefix *ge-*, and the affix *-en*, sometimes with a change of the vowel of the root; as, *gesoght*, *gesungen*, *gedruncen*, &c. = *sought*, *sung*, *drunk*, &c. In the middle period the *ge* became weakened into *y* or *i*, as in *ycleped*, *iseen*, &c. Moreover, the affix *-en* was often dropped. In Northumbrian the prefix is absent, and the affix *-en* most steadily retained; and that in the southern dialect to this day, with one remarkable exception.

The Past Participle ends in *-en*, but this termination is dropped whenever a nasal (*m*, *n*, or *ng*) is found in the preceding syllable. Thus *beyte*, *bait*, *byttēn*, but *clym*, *clam*, *clum*, for *clumben*; *fynd*, *fand*, *fund* (for *funder*); *ryng*, *rang*, *rung* (for *rungen*), &c., &c. This rule is of course unwritten, but it is invariable. I have not observed the same regularity in the dialect of any other district or any other period.—*Murray. Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland*, p. 201, and *Note*.

The first person singular of the present indicative ends (1) in *-u*; as *ic getreow-u*, *ic cleopi-u*, *ic sell-u*, *ic ondred-u*, *ic ageld-u*, *ic getimbr-u* = *I believe*, *I call*, *I give*, *I dread*, *I pay*, *I build*—(2) in *-o*; as *ic drinc-o*, *ic fett-o*, *ic wuldri-g-o*, = *I sit*, *I drink*, *I fight*, *I glorify*.

The second person singular ends in *-s*, rather than *-st*.

The plural termination was *-s*. This form, however, was not universal. It is in the imperative mood where we find it most generally, and where it is retained the longest. Elsewhere the form in *þ* is found besides.

§ 98. That the Rushworth, the Durham (or Lindisfarn) Gospel, and the Durham Ritual Glosses are Northumbrian is universally admitted. The Northumbrian character, however, of another series is open to criticism. These are the Glosses of a Latin *Psalter* (Cotton MSS. *Vespasian*, A. 1), of which the Latin element is referred to the Seventh, the Angle to the Ninth, century. (1) The orthography is other than Westsaxon. (2) The plurals end in *-u*. (3) The second persons singular in *-s*. (4) There is no prefix *-ge* in the participles. (5) The personal pronouns are *mec*, *þec*, *usic*, *eowic*. All these are Northumbrian; but, in the *Psalter*, the infinitives end in *-an*—which is not Northumbrian.

## PSALMUS XLII.

1. { doem mec god and to-scad intingan minne of ðeode noht  
Judica me Deus et discerne causam meam de gente non  
haligre from men un-rehtun and factum ge-nero me for-ðon  
sancta ab homine iniquo et doloso eripe me Quia
2. { ðu earð god min and strengu min for-hwon me  
tu es Deus meus et fortitudo mea quare me  
on-weg a-ðrife ðu and for-hwon un-rot ic in-ga ðonne swenceð  
reppulisti et quare tristis incedo dum adfigit  
mec se feond  
me inimicus
3. { on-send leht ðin and soð-festnisse ðine hie mec  
Emitte lucem tuam et veritatem tuam ipsa me  
ge-laedon and to-ge-laeddon in munte ðaem halgan ðinum  
deduxerunt et adduxerunt in monte sancto tuo  
and in ge-telde ðinum  
et in tabernaculo tuo

4. { ic in-gaa to wi-bede godes to gode se ge-blisseað iuguþe  
Introibo ad altare Dei ad Deum qui laetificat iuventutem  
mine  
meam
5. { ic ondetto ðe in citran god god min for-hwon un-ro  
Confitebor tibi in cythara Deus Deus meus Quare tristis  
earþu sawul min and for-hwon ge-droefes me  
es anima mea et quare conturbas me
6. { ge-hyt in god for-ðon ic-ondettu him haelu ondwlæotan  
Spera in Deum quoniam confitebor illi salutem vultus  
mines and god min  
mei et Deus meus

## PSALMUS XLIII.

- { god mid earum urum we ge-herdun and fedras ure  
Deus auribus nostris audivimus et patres nostri annun-  
segdun us  
ciaverunt nobis  
werc ðest wircende þu earð in degum heara and in dægum  
Opus quod operatus es in diebus eorum et in diebus  
ðam alldum  
antiquis
- { honda ðine ðeode to-stenceð and þu ge-plantades hie þu swentes  
Manus tua gentes disperdet et plantasti eos adfixisti  
folc and on-weg a-drife hie  
populos et expulisti eos
- { na-les soð-lice in sweorde his ge-sittað eorðan and earm  
Nec enim in gladio suo possidebunt terram et brachium  
heara ne ge-hæleð hie  
eorum non salvabit eos  
ah sie swiðre din and earm ðin and in-lihtnis ondwlæotan  
Sed dextera tua et brachium tuum et inluminatio vultus  
ðines for-ðon ge-licade ðe in him  
tui quoniam complacuit tibi in illis
5. { þu earð se ilca cyning min and god min þu on-bude  
Tu es ipse rex meus et Deus meus qui mandas sa-  
haelu  
lutem Jacob
6. { in ðe fiond ure we windwiað and in noman ðinum  
In te inimicos nostros ventilavimus et in nomine tuo  
we for-hycgað a-risende in us  
spernemus insurgentes in nos

7. { na-les soð-lice in bogan minum ic ge-hyhto and sweord min ne  
 { Non enim arcu meo sperabo et gladius meus non  
 ge-haeleð me  
 salvabit me
8. { ðu ge-freades soð-lice usic of ðæm swencendum usic and ða ða  
 { Salvasti enim nos ex adfligentibus nos et eos qui  
 usic fiedon ðu ge-steaðelaðes  
 nos oderunt confudisti
9. { in gode we bioð here allne deg and in noman dinum we-  
 { In Deo laudabimur tota die et in nomine tuo confi-  
 ondettað in weorulde  
 tebimur in saecula.

§ 99. The bearing of the forms in *-an* and *-a* upon the history of the Northumbrian English is important. The Psalter has a claim to be considered as old as, and possibly older than, any one of the other three; whilst, philologically, *-an* is an older form than *-a*. If so, the *-n* may have been lost to the Northumbrian dialects on Northumbrian soil; in other words the forms in *-a* need not be assigned to the Angle in its older stages, but referred to the influence of the Danes of the eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries. The complications of opinion to which this view may give rise are numerous. Thus the notion that the Danish influence in Britain is later than the English is one that, though long current, is now gradually losing its supporters; the tendency of opinion being in favour of the earliest Danish invasions having been as old as those of the Angles; or (if this be not exactly the case) that the difference between the oldest English and the oldest Danish is not very great. Then comes the tendency to explain the use of the *-a* for *-an* through the Frisian, which is, practically, identified with the Angle. That in all this we have the elements of a very complex and doubtful question as to the actual relations of the three languages to each other is

manifest. Nor is the existence of considerable differences of opinion concerning it doubtful.

The most important peculiarity in which the Durham Evangeles and the Ritual differ from the Psalter is the form of the infinitive mood in verbs. This, in the Durham books, is, with the exception of one word, *beon*, *esse*, invariably formed in *-a*, not in *-an*, the usual form in all the other Anglosaxon dialects. Now this is a peculiarity of the Frisic, and of the Old Norse, and is found in no other Germanic tongue; it is then an interesting inquiry whether the one or the other of these tongues is the origin of this peculiarity; whether, in short, it belongs to the old, the original Frisic form, which prevailed in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, or whether it is owing to Norse influence, acting in the ninth and tenth through the establishment of Danish invaders and a Danish dynasty in the countries north of the Humber.—*Kemble, Philological Transactions, No. 35.*

§ 100. Though this is, to some extent, an anticipation of certain remarks which will be made hereafter, I take the earliest opportunity of stating that, unless we recognise the probability of certain forms of the Danish being sufficiently near to certain forms of the Frisian, or some dialect sufficiently like the English, to pass for members of the same class, the place of the Danes in the Germanization of Britain can never be adequately investigated. The ordinary accounts are that in certain years of the eighth century certain Danes invaded certain parts of England; and that, after a time, they wintered in the districts on which they made their attack. These inroads are notified in the Anglosaxon Chronicle under their several dates: the general tenor of the entries is that they were the earliest of their kind; just as the invasions of Hengist and Horsa were, *mutatis mutandis*, the first of *their* kind. If so, they exclude any previous ones—except, of course, that of the Jutes in Kent, who, whether real or not, have left no trace of Danish occupancy behind them. Putting these, however, out of

the question, we get the two specific dates of A.D. 787, and A.D. 789, as approximations for the beginning of the Danish invasions; and they are sufficiently precise.

ANGLOSAXON CHRONICLE.

A.D. 787. Cvomon ærist III scipu Northmanna of Heretha lande.  
 . . . That wæron þa ærestan scipu Deniscra monna the Angeloyennes  
 land gesohton.

ASSER (A.D. 789.)

Eo etiam tempore *primum* tres naves *Normannorum*, id est *Danorum*, applicuerunt in insula quæ dicitur Portland.

The question is whether these dates, though good for Wessex, are good for the north of England in being so decided as to exclude all other Danes from any part of our island.

§ 101. After these Glosses comes a great break; for, until the last quarter of the thirteenth century, there will scarcely be any Northumbrian compositions of even the dimensions of a Gloss.

Of these the earliest are referable to Durham and Yorkshire. During the first half of the fourteenth century the literature increases. Still it belongs to the country south of the Tweed; in other words is English, rather than Scottish, Northumbrian.

For the literature north of the Tweed, or of the Northumbrian of Scotland, A.D. 1375 is a convenient date. Barbour's Bruce, as the author himself tells us, was partly written at this time; and Barbour's Bruce is in some respects, though not altogether, the oldest specimen of the Scotch Northumbrian. Fragments of a song on the siege of Berwick under Edward I., 1296; on the battle of Bannockburn, 1314; and, earlier still, one on the troubles that followed the death of Alexander III., are older. But they are only known as preserved by later writers; and, with certain undoubted changes of text. The objection here involved applies



to Barbour himself. His text is later than that of the date of his work.

Hence the date of the earliest known specimen both of the language and the orthography of the Northumbrian of Scotland during the middle period is A.D. 1385, the composition being the 'record of an award made by Andrew Mercer, Lord of Mekylhour, in a dispute as to the ownership of certain lands, between Robert Stewart, Earl of Fife (afterwards Regent Albany), and Sir John of Logie.' The original is in the Charter chest of the Stewarts of Grandtully, and has been reproduced in facsimile in a volume privately printed by the late Sir William Stewart under the title of 'The Red Book of Grandtully.'

'Tyl al þat þire lettrys herys or seys Androw mercer lorde of Mekyl-houre gretyng in god ay lestand tyl yhure vniuersite be wyttyn þat my redouty lorde syr Robart stewart Eryl of ffyfe and Menteth and Ion of Logy squyere þe sune and þe ayre of syr Ion of Logy knyecht of þaire fre wyl nane beand present bot we thre before nemnyt put in myne ordenans al þe debate and þe questyoun þat wes be twene þaim for þe landys of logy and of Stragartnay and how evyr þat I ordaynyt and determynyt þaim to do þe forsayde syr Robart and Ion faythfully heht strekand þaire handys in myne bodely makand gude fayth þat þai sulde halde sekre ferme and stabyl and þis ilke forsayde Cunand made apon þis cause before wrytyn þe forsayde syr Robart and Iōn reuuleyt and afermyt in þe presens of myne excellent prynce Robart thrw þe grace of god kynge of Scotland and his Eldeste sune Ion Eryl of Carryke / Maystir Dunckane petyte Ersdene of Murrefe and thome of Rate and In þe tyme þat I þe forsayde Androw assentyt to resayve þis cause before wrytyn in myne ordenans and þare of to gyf Iugement be þe recorde of my twng I made bodely fayth it ryhtwysly to deme.' \*

From the date of this record to the present time the history of the English of Northumbria *north* of the Tweed is mainly that of a national literature; and, so far as it is this, it forms a separate subject. Moreover

\* From an 'Addition to Dr. Murray's Dialect of Southern Scotland.' P. 92 (A note (— 4 pp.) published a few weeks after the main work).

this, one which is better in the hands of Scotchmen than of Englishmen.

Of the Northumbrian *south* of the Tweed, as a literary language, there is not much more to be said. As far south as Hampole (near Doncaster) it was, during the fourteenth century, quite as Scotch in character as the difference of date and place would lead us to expect; perhaps more so. But it is only on the east that this uniformity is found. In Cumberland and Westmorland (?) the dialect, though undoubtedly Northumbrian, was far more unlike the Northumbrian of Edinburgh, Durham, and South Yorkshire than those dialects (if the difference amounts to one of dialects) are unlike each other.

Hence, if it were incumbent upon us to divide the great Northumbrian class of dialects into two divisions, they would not be those of north and south so much as those of east and west. And this is what we expect *a priori*. The British, both of South Britain and North Britain, maintained itself longer in Cumberland and in Galloway than the Lothians. Without bringing in the mysterious Picts we may safely assert this.

The more definite evidence for the closer philological connection between York and Edinburgh than between York and Carlisle must be sought in the dialects themselves. And these are, to say the least, fairly represented by the literature of the Middle period, as are the *West Mercian* dialects; for which see Chap. XI.

§ 102. Upon the relations of those dialects which lay north-west, rather due north of the Humber, those of Cumberland, and part of Lancashire most especially, more will be said in the notice of the Mercian, or Midland class. At present, however, the Northern forms of speech will be considered, as far as South Lancashire, as Northumbrian; and certain divisions

or subdivisions of them considered. In Cumberland, there is, doubtless, a sectional division of some kind; but it is, in my mind, formed too much on single characters to be one of any great breadth. I cannot forbear thinking that the Danish element for these parts is overvalued. The hard and sharp line which Mr. Dickinson draws for his *Central* Cumberland dialect is scarcely tenable. He carries it from the mouth of the Eden to Egremont; thence by an irregular line to Kirkland, Croglin, Sebergham, Warnell Fell, Brocklebank, and Aspatria, to Allonby, south of which line it gradually merges into the Lancashire, and, on the north, becomes intermixed with Scotch, and dashed with the Northumberland. This gives us the southern part of West Cumberland, and a small part of East Cumberland; the remainder (by far the greater part) being, more or less, Lancastrian. This range of the chief characteristic, the elliptic article (*t'* for *the*), goes far beyond these limits. As compared, however, with the North Cumbrian it differs; for North Cumbrian (*Raysoun*) gives the full form *the*. And so does the Scotch. So, also, the Northumbrian. There is every reason why the elliptic form should claim attention. On the other hand, it is easily overvalued.

Again, the extent to which this line separates the Danish from the non-Danish districts is not beyond objection. If we take the syllable *-by*, when it implies an occupancy (like *-ton* in English), as a presumption in favour of the town or village to which it applies having been a Danish occupancy, it is by no means good. That local names thus ending are rarer to the north of the line than to the south of it is true. But even in the north we have them; viz. *Willanby*, *Scaleby*, and others.

That these may represent the Danes of Eskdale and Annandale, while the more numerous *-bys* of Central

Cumberland may represent those of Yorkshire (crossing the watershed of the Ouse and Eden about Kirkby Lonsdale), is likely; but, still, they abate the value of the line as a Danish, or non-Danish, frontier. That in Durham and Northumberland there are no *-bys* is well known, and that the watershed of the Wear and Eden gives us a natural boundary of some value is true; but even this gives the elliptic *ɛ* to Durham, as, indeed, it does to other districts besides. As opposed, however, to Durham and Northumberland, Cumberland (so long as the affix *-by* is a test) is Danish.

For the Northumbrian dialects south of the Tweed, to which we limit ourselves, no specimens of what may be called the native provincial literature will be given. They were given in the notice of the West-saxon because they were needed to show how certain inflections were still retained. But the inflectional system of the Northumbrian was comparatively simple from the beginning; and here the only important one of which we find trace is the plural of the verb in *-s*, i.e. *they loves = they love*. The distribution of this, as determined by the Buonapartean versions of the Canticle, is as follows. They give us the same matter in different forms; and as the chief point in recent Northumbrian philology is the exhibition of the phonetic variations, they are, in a work like the present, sufficient.

### § 103.

#### *Northumberland* (J. P. Robson).

##### CHAP. II.

1. Aw's the rose o' Sharon, an' the lily o' the valleys.
2. Like a lily mang thorns is maw luve among the dowers.
3. Like a napple-tree mang the trees o' the wud, is maw luve among the sons. Aw sets me ways doon anunder his shador wiv a leet heart, an' his froot teastid verra nice.

4. He fetcht us intiv his feastin-hoose, an' his flag abeun us wis luve.

5. Haud us up wi' drinkin-cups, cumfort us wiv apples, for aw's bad o' luve.

6. His left han's anunder me heed, an' his reet hand cuddles us.

7. Noo aw chairge ye, O ye dowtors o' Jerus'lum, be the bucks an' the does o' the field, thit ye dinnet stor, to roose up maw luve till he hes a mind.

8. Wheest! it's the voice o' maw luve! Leuk! thondor he cums lowpin' upon the moontins, an' skurryin' ower the hills.

9. Maw troo-luve's like a buck or leish deer: assa! he's stannin' ahint wor wa': he's leukin' oot o' the windors, an' showin' hissel' thro' the panes.

### *Newcastle* (J. P. Robson).

#### CHAPTER II.

1. Aw's the rose o' Sharon, an' the lily o' the valleys.

2. Like the lily among thorns, se is maw luve among the dowtors.

3. Like the apple-tree among the trees o' the wud, se is maw belu'd among the sons. Aw sat doon anun'er his shador wi' greet plishur, an' his froot wis sweet te me teyst.

4. He browt us te the feastin'-hoose, an' his flag ower us wis luve.

5. Stop us wi' tankerts, cumfort us wiv apples: for aw's seek o' luve.

6. His left han's anun'er me heed, an' his reet han' diz cuddle me.

7. Aw chairge ye, O ye dowtors o' Jeruzalum, be the roes an' the stags o' the field, thit ye divent stor, nor weykin maw luve tive he likes.

8. The voice o' maw belu'd! lucka, he cums lowpin' on the moon-tins, skippin' ower the hills.

9. Maw belu'd's like a roe or a young buck: seest the', he stan's ahint wor wa', he luiks oot it the windis, an' shows hissel' throo the stainchils.

### *Durham* (as spoken at St. John's Chapel, Weardale.— T. Moore).

#### CHAPTER II.

1. A' as t' rose uv Sharon, an t' lilley ud valleys.

2. As t' lilley among thowrns, sees me luv among t' dowtors.

3. As t' apple-tree among t' trees ud wood, sees me beluved among t' sons. Ah sat doon unnonder his shaddow wih greet deleyght, an his frewt was sweet to me taaste.

4. He browght mah tud banqueting hoose, an his banner ower mah was luv.

5. Stay mah wih flaggons, cumfurt mah wih apples : fer a' as seek uv luv.

6. His left kneaf's unnonder me heed, an his reat kneaf duth cuddle mah.

7. Ah charge ye, O ye dowters uv Jerewsalem, be t' roes, an be t' heynds ud field, at ye stur nut up, ner waaken me luv, till he please.

8. T' voice uv me beluved! behowld, he cumeth lowpin atoppa t' moontens, skippin atoppa t' hills.

9. Me beluved's leyke a roe er a young hart: behowld, he stands ahint our wo, he lewks furth at t' windows, shoven hissell through t' lattice.

*North Riding of Yorkshire (parts about Whitby).—*

By the Author of 'A Glossary of Yorkshire Words and Phrases, collected in Whitby and the Neighbourhood.'

CHAPTER II.

1. Hah am the rose o' Sharon, and the lily of the valleys.

2. As the lily among the breers, sae is mah honey among the dowters.

3. As the apple-tree among the trees o' the wood, sae is mah beluved among the sons. Hah sat down under his shadow wi' greet deleet, an' his fruit was sweet to mah teeast.

4. He browt me to t' feasting-hoose, an' his banner ower me was luv.

5. Stay me wi' flagons, cumfurt me wi' apples, for hah's seek o' luv.

6. His left hand is under mah heead, and his reet hand laps round me.

7. Hah chaarge ye, O ye dowters o' Jerusalem, by the roes an' by the hinds o' the field, that ye stoor nut up nor wakken mah luv till he list.

8. The voice of mah beluved! seesthee, he comes lowpin upon the mountains, boundin ower the hills.

9. Mah beluved is like a roe or a young hart; lothee! he stands ahint oor wall, he looks out at the windows, showing his-sel at the keasment.

*Cumberland (J. Rayson).*

CHAPTER II.

1. I am the rrose o' Sharon, an' the lillie o' the vallies.

2. As the lillie among thworns, sae is my luive among the dowters.

3. As the apple-tree among the trees o' the wud, sae is my beluivet

among the sons. I sat down anunder his shaddow wi' muckle deleyght, an' his frute was sweet tui my teaste.

4. He brong me tui the banquetin' hwous, an' his bannir ower me was luive.

5. Stay me wi' flaggans, cumfert me wi' apples: for I am seek o' luive.

6. His left han' is anunder my heed, an' his reet han' infauls me.

7. I wearn you, O ye dowters o' Jerusalem, by the rwoes, an' heynees o' the fiel', that ye stur nit up, ner awaaken my luive till he please.

8. The voyce o' my beluivet! behauld, he cums loupin' upon the mwountans, skippin' apon the hills.

9. My beluivet is leyke a rwoe, or a young buck: behauld, he stans ahint our waw, he luiks owt at the wendaws, showin' hissel owtseyde the lettice.

### *Central Cumberland* (W. Dickinson).

#### CHAPTER II.

1. Ise t' rwoes o' Sharon, an' t' lily o' t' valleys.

2. My leuvv wad leukk amang t' rest as a lily wad leukk amang thorns.

3. An' he wad leukk amang other men as a apple-tree i' full bleumm wad leukk in a wood of other sworts o' trees.

4. He brought ma to t' feast, an' aa fand as if his leuvv was o' ower ma.

5. Stop ma wid flagona, comfort ma wid apples, for aa 's seek o' leuvv.

6. His left hand 's onder my heed, an' his reet hand coddles ma.

7. As forbid ye, O ye dowters o' Jerusalem, by t' roes an' t' hinds in t' fields 'at ye disturb nut, ner woken my leuvv, till he pleases.

8. My leuvv's voyce! see ya, he comes lowpan ower t' fells, an' skippan ower t' knowes.

9. My leuvv is like a roe, or a young buck: see ya, he stands ahint our wo', he leuks out o' t' windows, an' shows his-sel through t' lattice.

### *Westmorland* (Rev. John Richardson).

#### CHAPTER II.

1. I 's t' rooas' o' Sharon, an' t' lily o' t' valleys.

2. As t' lily amang t' thworns, sooa 's my luv amang t' dowght'rs.

3. As t' apple-tree amang t' trees o' t' wood, sooa 's my beluv'd amang t' sūns. I sat me doon ūnd'r his shaddo' wi' gert plizzir, an' his frewt was sweet to my teeast'.

4. He fetcht me to t' feeastin'-hoose, an' his banner ower me was lüv.
5. Prop me up wi' flagons, cūmf'rt me wi' apples: for I 's siek o' lüv.
6. His left hand is ünd'r my heead, an' his reeght hand coddles me.
7. I cawtion ye, O dowght'rs o' Jerewsalem, by t' roes, an' by t' hinds o' t' fields, 'at ye nowd'r stir üp, nor weeak'n my lüv, while he chewses.
8. T' voice o' my belüv'd! loo' the', he cū's lowpin' o' t' fells, skel-pin' o' t' hills.
9. My belüv'd is like a roe, or a yūng hart: loo' the', he stan's ahint oor wo', he glimes oot at t' windo's, shewin' hissels' through t' lat-wark.

*North Lancashire (James Phizackerley).*

CHAPTER II.

1. I 'm t' rose a Sharon, an t' lily a t' valleys.
2. As t' lily amang t' thorns, saäh iz me lov amang t' dowters.
3. As t' apple-tree amang t' trees a t' wood, saäh iz me belov'd amang t' sons. I saät down under hiz shada we graät delight, an hiz fruit was sweet ta me taäst.
4. He browt ma ta t' feästin house, an hiz banner ower ma was love.
5. Stop ma we flagons, pleäz ma we apples: for I 'm sick a love.
6. Hiz left hand iz under me heäd, an hiz reight hand embräces ma.
7. I charge ye, O ye dowters a Jerusalem, by t' raäs, an t' hinds a t' field, that ye stir nut up, nur awaäk me lov, wal he pleäz.
8. The voice a me belov'd! Luke ya, he comes loupin on t' mountains, skippin on t' hills.
9. Me belov'd iz like a raä or a young hart: luke ya, he stans behint owr woe, he lukes owt a t' windas, shewin hissels through t' lattice.

*South Lancashire, parts about Bolton (James Taylor Staton).*

CHAPTER II.

1. Awm th' rose o' Shayron, un th' lily oth' valleys.
2. As th' lily amung thurns, so is ma love amung th' dowters.
3. As th' appo-tree amung th' trees oth' wood, so is ma beloved amung th' sons. Aw keawrt deawn under hiz shadow wi' greight delect, un hiz fruit wur sweet to my taste.



4. He browt me to th' banquetin-heawse, un his banner o'er me wur love.

5. Stay me wi' flagons, comfort me wi' appos: for awm sick o' love.

6. His left hont is under my yed, un his reet hont clips me.

7. Aw charge yoa, O yoa dowters o' Jerusalem, by th' roes, un th' hoinds oth' felt, that yoa stur not up, nor wakken ma love, tell he pleoa.

8. Th' veighce o' ma beloved! lucko, he comes leopin uppo th' meawntins, skippin uppo th' hills.

9. Ma belov'd is loike a roe, or a yung hert: lucko, he stonds behaid eawr waw, he gloors at th' windows, showin hissel through th' lattis.

### *West Riding* (Charles Rogers).

#### CHAPTER II.

1. Ah'm t' roas a' Sharon an' t' lily a' t' valleys.

2. As t' lily amang thorns, soa is my luve amang t' dowters.

3. As t' apple-tree amang t' trees a' t' wood soa iz my belu'd amang t' sons. Ah sat dahn under his shada wi' greet deleet, an his frewt wor sweet ta ma taste.

4. He browt ma ta t' banquetin' hahce, an' hiz banner ower ma wor luve.

5. Stay ma wi' flagons, cumfat ma wi' apples; for ah'm sick a' luve.

6. His left hand's under my heäd, an' his reight hand embraces ma.

7. Ah charge ya, O yo dowters a' Jerusalem, by t' roes, an' by t' hinds a' t' field, 'at yo stur not up, nor wäken my luve, till he pleäze.

8. T' voice a' my belu'd! behowd he cumes laupin' upa' t' mahn-tans, skippin' upa' t' hills.

9. My belu'd's like a roe, or a young hart; behowd, he stands behint ahr wall, he looks fourth at t' windas, shewin' hizsen thro' t' lattice.

### *Craven* (Henry Anthony Littledale).

#### CHAPTER II.

1. I is t' rooas o' Sharun, an' t' lilly o' t' gills.

2. As t' lilly amang t' wicks, evven soaa is mah luv amang t' dowghters.

3. As t' apple-tree amang t' trees o' t' wud, evven sooa is mah luv amang t' sons. A sat mah daan unner as shadow wi' girt delaight, an as frewt wur sweet to mah teast.

4. A browght mah till t' banquetin'-heouse, an' as flag ower mah wur luv.

5. Stay mah wi' pots, comfort mah wi' apples; fur a is fair daan wi' luv.

6. As laeft han' is unner mah heead, an' as reet han' cuddles mah.

7. A charge yah, O yah dowghters o' Jerusalem, by 't roes, an' by 't hinds o' 't field, 'at yah rog nut, nother wakken mah luv till that a chews.

8. 'T voice o' mah luv! sithah, a cums lopeing upo' 't fells, skipping upo' 't hills.

9. Mah luv is laike until a roe, or a yung stag: sithah, a stanns ahint wir wa', a keeks foorth eouet o' 't winder, showin' hissels through 't casement.

### *Sheffield* (Abel Bywater).

#### CHAPTER II.

1. O'm t' rooaz a' Sharon, an t' lilli a' t' valliz.

2. As t' lilli amang thoarns, sooa is mo luv amang t' dowters.

3. As t' apple-tree amang a' trees a' t' wood, sooa is mo beluvved amang t' suns. O sat dahn under his shaddo we gret deloight, an his fruit wer sweet tummi tast.

4. He browt ma to t' banquittin hahse, an his banner ore ma wer luv.

5. Stay ma we flaggons, comfort ma we apples, for o' m sick a' luv.

6. His left hand 's under mo' heead, an his reit hand huddles ma.

7. O charge ya, O ye dowters a' Jeruslem, be t' roes an be t' hoinds i' t' field, that yo stur not up nor wakken mo luv till he pleeaz.

8. T' voice a' mo beluvved! behold, he cometh lopin uppa t' mahntins, skippin uppa t' hills.

9. Mo beluvved 's loik a roe or a young hart: behold, he stans beheent ahr wall, he looks foearth at t' winders, sho'in his-sen throo t' lattice.

The plural in *-s* of the Present Indicative, which Dr. Morris has chosen as the most convenient characteristic of the Northumbrian (where indeed the *s* is found, in the singular as well), is an exception to the comparative unimportance of the remaining inflections of the northern dialects. It is still retained in some of them. The mixture of the two numbers, and the compromise indicated by the use of the Auxiliary and Infinitive, are shown in the following extracts.

*Northumberland—Song of Solomon.*

## CHAPTER I.

3. It 's a' be the fine smell o' thaw oils, it thaw neam 's like oil teem'd oot, an' for this the lasses *luves* the'.—*Robson*.

## CHAPTER VIII.

13. Thoo thit leeves i' the gardins, thaw freens *lissens* te thaw talk; let me bud heer 't!

So it is in the Newcastle sub-dialect—*the maidins luves the'*—*the marrows lissens te thaw voice* (*Robson*).

Also, in Central Cumberland—*that 's what t' lasses likes tha for—t' cronies lissens to thy voice.*—(*Dickinson*).

In Westmorland we find—*t' virgins luv the'*—as in the present English; also, in the other passage—*hearken*.

In North Cumberland it is *do love* and *lissan*. In the North Riding, *do* and *lizzen*.

In all the others it is *do love* and *hearken*.

§ 104. *Dialects of the Northumbrian of Scotland.*  
—These are arranged by Dr. Murray as follows:—

1. *The Southern Group.*—Simple and small; falling into varieties rather than sub-dialects. Spoken in the counties of Berwick, Roxburgh, Selkirk, Peebles, and Dumfries; in Teviotdale, Tweeddale, Ettrickdale, Anandale, and Eskdale; but changing in Nithsdale. This means that, so long as there is a frontier between Scotland and England, they are spoken along, and indeed beyond, it; but that they cease where the division between the two kingdoms is the Solway Firth. Neither is it spoken on the *Lower Tweed*; where the English county of Northumberland runs northward and comes in contact with the dialects of the next group. The parts about Coldstream and

Kelso form the north-eastern boundary. On the west, however, where the Scotch runs southwards, it passes into the English of *North Cumberland*—changing in the central parts of the county. Here, in the eastern and middle districts, at least, the original language was British rather than Gaelic.

2. *The Central Group*.—Separated from the Northumbrian of Northumberland (or the Northumbrian of England) by the Lower Tweed. To this belongs the *Merse* (i.e. *March*) district.

a. Haddington, Linlithgow, and Edinburgh, i.e. the Lothians. The literary language of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Like the dialects of the southern counties, it is spoken on ground originally British rather than Gaelic. Fife, on or within the Gaelic boundary, is Lothian in dialect.

b. Galloway and Carrick. Spoken on ground originally British; upon which Gaelic was subsequently introduced. The ethnology is further complicated by this having been the district in which the Picts for the last time are assigned in trustworthy history—Kirkcudbright, Wigton, and part of Dumfriesshire.

c. Clydesdale = Ayr, Renfrew, and Lanarkshire, and part of Dumbartonshire, i.e. beyond the Clyde, and beyond the Northern Wall. Here, like the Lothian in Fife, it must be supposed to have encroached on the *Gaelic* frontier.

The last divisions of this group lie wholly within the Gaelic, as opposed to the British, area.

d. *The Highland Border*—western parts of Perth and Stirlingshire. For this see not only Dr. Murray's Map, but his Appendix on *The Present Limits of the Gaelic in Scotland*—pp. 231–239.

e. *The North-eastern Group*.—This falls into two divisions:—

(a.) *The Southern*.—Murray, Banff, Elgin, Aberdeenshire, Angus.

(b.) *The Northern*.—Caithness; the intervening districts between the Murray Firth, and the parts between Lybster and Uster (Scandinavian names) being classed with the purely Gaelic districts. Here there has been an intervening element, viz. the Scandinavian or Norse.

For Orkney and Shetland, in which there are no traces of the Gaelic, the speech is English on a substratum of Norse. The following is, I believe, the only specimen\* of the *Norns*, or Norse, of Orkney and Shetland.

Fa vor i ir i Chrimie, Helleur ir i nam thite, gilla cosdum thite cumma, vey a there mota vara gort o yurn sinna gort i chimrie, ga vus da on da dalight brow vora, Firgive vus sinna vora sin vee firgive sindara muttra vus, lyv vus ye i tumtation, min delivera vus fro olt ilt, Amen. Or on sa meteteth vera.

§ 105. *Effect of Contact with the Original Gaelic*.—Dr. Murray has shown that, in the Phonesis, at least, this must not be overlooked.

The prominent distinction of the north-eastern dialects is the use of *f* for *w*, and of *v* for *w*, as in '*fat 's vrang*' for '*what 's wrong?*' This peculiarity is current from Pentland Firth to the Firth of Tay, and the dialect is most typically represented in Aberdeenshire, and the district to the N.W. toward the Murray Firth (*Dialect of the Southern Counties*, p. 237). See also p. 118 of this work.

§ 106. *Analytic Character of the Northumbrian*.—The analytic character of the Northumbrian is less than that of the Westsaxon. We must remember, however, that its original Synthetic character was less also.

\* For the translation and interpretation, see Appendix.

## CHAPTER XI.

THE MERCIAN OR MIDLAND DIALECT.—THE WEST-MIDLAND DISTRICT.—‘HOO’ AND ‘SHE.’

§ 107. *The Mercian or Midland Dialect.*—The third of our main dialects is eminently deficient in positive characters; so much so, that the answer to any question about the limits of its area would be to the effect that they depended upon those of the Westsaxon and Northumbrian dialects; or that everything which could not be assigned to one of these two divisions was, on the principle of exclusion, Mercian or Midland—simply because there is no other place for it. However, with this indefinite character, much of the importance of the Mercian or Midland area is connected. It is the district wherein provincialism is at its minimum.

There is a rough way of forming an opinion upon this point. The literature of the dialects of the English language is considerable, and our provincial and local Glossaries are numerous; from which we may infer that where a county, or a group of counties, has no work upon its dialects, or only short ones, there is but little to be said about them. Now the counties for which we have this minimum of information are Middlesex, Herts, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire, and Rutland; and this is because, in these, the ordinary literary, written, or standard language of the island is spoken with comparative purity. Something abnormal is, of course, to be found in each; but it amounts to very little in all.

The same applies to Kent; but in Kent we know that the dialect which the current English has superseded was the Westsaxon; this being not only more than what we know about the dialects north of the

Thames, but also contrary to what we believe was the actual fact.

In the Midland districts it is reasonably held that the spoken language of even the most uneducated approaches the written language of the educated classes because it was originally the most like it; in other words, it was the dialect out of which the present literary English was developed. Nevertheless between the non-provincial English of a district, the mother dialect of the cultivated language of the present time, and the English of one wherein the cultivated tongue has displaced a dialect of a different class, it is hard to decide. We can do so in the case of Kent and Surrey; partly from their geographical position, and more fully by special evidence as to the earlier forms of speech. But where the boundary is indefinite, and there are no records of the earlier speech, we can only come to approximate conclusions; and it is needless to say that the Mercian or Midland district is both irregular in outline and wide in extent.

Northampton is the county which has the best claim to represent the Midland, or Mercian. It has long had the credit of giving us the best *average* English; and, for some parts of it, not undeservedly. But like Buckinghamshire and Nottinghamshire it is a long county, and the dialect varies with its frontier. It is probable that, taking into consideration both its size and its outline, we should place Bedford, Huntingdon, and Hertfordshire somewhat higher. In Warwickshire and Oxfordshire it is certain that anyone who looks closely and sharply for Westsaxon characteristics may find them; and that in respect to Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, a case may be made out for treating the dialects, as East Anglian, in a class by themselves.

This they may be. Their position, however, prevents them from being, like Warwickshire and Oxfordshire, transitional.

§ 108. *The West Mercian*.—The sub-division of the Midland dialects, called the *West Mercian*, has a better claim to an independent rank. But it is probably a transitional, ambiguous or equivalent group, with affinities on both sides—Northumbrian and Westsaxon—rather than truly Mercian. South Worcester is about as far as we can trace the Westsaxon; and North Lancashire about as far as we can trace the Northumbrian southwards and westwards. The division is recognised. Sometimes it is the Wyre, sometimes the Ribble; the difference being inconsiderable. On the Mercian side there is no boundary even so good as these. Mr. Garnett held that the parts about Sheffield were Mercian; and every Lancashire man knows that the famous work of Tim Bobbin (Collier) is only good for the parts about Bolton, Oldham, and Bury; certainly not for Furness and Ribblesdale. This makes Shropshire, Cheshire, South Lancashire (whatever may be its boundary), Staffordshire, and North Derby, East Mercian—South Derby, Nottinghamshire, and Leicester being grouped with Northamptonshire; which we have seen has a different aspect for each of its frontiers. What this most especially shows is the difficulty of determining classes by single characters, and with definite lines of demarcation. It must be by type rather than definition that classes must be framed; and ambiguous affinities, when two well-marked groups come into contact, must be the rule rather than the exception. Nevertheless, so long as the investigation is going on, single characters must be invested with an undue importance. There is no harm in this so long as each enquirer names the character he trusts to, and lets the



common-sense of those who come after him determine its value.

That the dialects of the districts just enumerated are equally difficult to divide into two classes, or to assign, as a single class, to either the Westsaxon or the Northumbrian, is certain. But they are not Mercian in the way that South Lincolnshire and Huntingdonshire, or even Norfolk and Suffolk are so. Certain, too, it is that, unlike the Westsaxon, the Northumbrian, and the Mercian proper, they are not represented by a literature of anything like national dimensions.

During the times before the Conquest we know nothing about them. But this is the case with Mercia in mass. About the middle of the fourteenth century they appear for the first time. Dr. Morris takes as his leading character the personal signs of the Singular number of the Present tense which give *hope*, opposed to the Northumbrian *hopes*; the other two persons being Northumbrian.

	<i>West Midland.</i>	<i>Northern.</i>
First Person . . .	<i>hope</i>	<i>hopes.</i>
Second „ . . .	<i>hopes</i>	<i>hopes.</i>
Third „ . . .	<i>hopes</i>	<i>hopes.</i>

More important, however, is the statement that when the second and third persons vary their form, they take the southern (Westsaxon) forms *-est*, and *-eth*; and that these forms in *-e*, *-est*, and *-eth*, are West Midland also. But this is not all. Like the Westsaxon, and unlike the Northumbrian, they use the plurals of *he* for *their* and *them*; and prefix the *ge* (or its equivalent) to the past participle. Again, unlike the Northumbrian, but like the Westsaxon, they add *-en* to the plural of the preterit, as *loved-en* = *we, ye, they, loved*. This is found in poems ascribed to both Shropshire and Lancashire, i.e. the two extreme

districts. On the other hand, the vowel of the present participle is *a* rather than *-e* or *-i*; though the other forms are found.

In comparing the East and West Mercian, the physical outlines of our island must be borne in mind. Norfolk and Suffolk project into the sea, and have nothing but Mercia on the frontier. West Mercia is on the Welsh frontier, and to the north of the Dee, in that part of England where Mercia runs furthest westward.

§ 109. '*Hoo*' and '*She*.'—The present leading characteristic of these dialects is the use of *hoo* for *she*. It is conspicuously present in the old and middle West-saxon. It is obsolete or obsolescent in the present provincial dialects which represent it; or those of Devon, Dorset, &c.

The following are; (1) the districts in which *hoo* certainly holds its ground at the present moment; and (2) the districts of the frontier where *she* prevails:—

## (1.)

## DERBYSHIRE.

*Farmer B.* What did Misses Boord za or do to Hester, then?

*Tummas L.* Why, Hester may be wor summut to blame to; for *hoo* wor on 'em, de ye zee, that jaw'd Skimmerton, the mak gam that frunted zum o' the gentlefolk.

*Dialogue between Farmer Bennett and Thomas Leds.*

*Owd Sammy Twitcher's Visit tu't Gret Exibishun e Darby.*

It'll ne'er dow ta stey at whom wen ivveryboddy els has bin tu't Exibishun. Or meens ta goo, sed ah ta mysen won neight, wen ah get whom aftur a hard deys wok i't feelds. Soo ah meyd hup me moind ta goo i't marnin, an tae aar owd wummun wey me, az *how* rimembus t'fust Exibishun ther wor e Darby a monny yere sin, and *how* thinks they conna bete that'n. \* \* \* *How* went on till wee'd gotten neer tu't plaise weer *how* thowt ta foind hit, but they'n pow'd it aw daan na, an's meyin a grond new streight, wi sich foine bildins az ah ne'er sey'd afoar. \* \* \* At last wee get inter Hiron Yate, weer theer wor a lot moor

grond bildins, an wee fun a heatin haase kep be a mon o't neym a Simons an theer wee get a gud tuck aat, t'owd wummun hevin a kup a tee, as *how* sed it wor moor refreshin tu't inner mon. \* \* \* \* \* Molly sed *how* thowt if t'young men an wimmin wor theer at t'saim toime theer wudna be much wok gooin on. So ah sed ah thowt t'men bilt it, an t'wimmin fun theer shair o't brass fort; but ony how it's a foine peece a wok an woth gooin a long wey ta sey. Aftur wee'd seyn this, ah sed, Nah, Molly, wee'l goo tu't Exhibishun, an follerin a craad a foaks we soun fun aarsens in frunt a't Bildin, wen ah sed, Naw, Molly, kom on—an went bowdly in an peyd me bob at t'whirlegig, an get had-mittered. Wen ah tunned raand fur Molly *how* cudna get throw, *how's* soo fat, an theer wor t'foaks loffin at her. At last t'mon as towk t'munny happened a side yate an let her in.

(2.)

## STAFFORDSHIRE.

A. Dun you know solden-mouth Summy?

B. Ees, an' a neation good feller he is tew.

A. A desput quiet mon! but he loves a sup o' drink. Dun you know his woif?

B. Know her, ay. *Hoo's* the very devil when her spirit's up.

A. *Hoo* is. *Hoo* uses that mon sheamful; *hoo* rags him every neet o' her loif.

B. *Hoo* does. Oive known her come into the public, and call him al' the names *hoo* could lay her tongue tew afore all the company. *Hoo* oughts to stay till *hoo's* got him i' the boat, and then *hoo* mit say wha *hoo'd* a moind. But *hoo* taks aiter her feyther.

(3.)

## CHESHIRE.

So tightly houdin on by th' yed, I hits th' owd mare a whop,  
*Hoo* plumps into the middle o' the wheatfield neck and crop;  
 An, when *hoo* floundered out on it, I caught another spin:  
 And, missus, that's the cagion of the blood upo' my chin.

*A Day with the Cheshire Fox Dogs.*

(4.)

## LANCASHIRE.

Eawr Marget declares had *hoo* cloas to put on,  
*Hoo'd* go up to Lunnon ar' talk to th' great mon;  
 An' if things were na awtered when there *hoo* had been,  
*Hoo'd* fully resolved t' sew up meawth an' eend;  
*Hoo's* newt to say again t' king,  
 But *hoo* loikes a fair thing,  
 And *hoo* says *hoo* can tell when *hoo's* hurt.

*The Oldham Weaver.*

(a.)

And as *hoo* was restin one day in her rowm,  
*Hoo* spyd't the mon ridin th' mare into the town;  
 Then bounce go's her hart, and *hoo* wur so gloppen,  
 That out o' th' winder *hoo'd* like for to loppen.

(b.)

*Hoo* stamp and *hoo* stardt, and down th' stairs *hoo* run,  
 Wi her hart in hur hondt, and hur wind welly gone;  
 Hur headgear flew off, and so did hur snowd,  
*Hoo* stamp and *hoo* stardt as if *hoo'd* been wod.

*Warrikin Fair.*

8. We'n a little sister, un *hoo's* beawt paps: wot mun we do for eawr  
 suster ith' day when *hoo* 'll be spoken for?

9. If *hoo* be a waw, we'll build on her a pallus o silver; un if *hoo*  
 be a dur, we'll close hur in wi' seedar boocarts.

*Tk' Sung o' Solomon*, ch. viii., 8-9.—*Lancashire (parts  
 about Bolton)*.—J. T. Staton.

In the South of Yorkshire and in the *North* of  
 Lancashire we find '*she*.'

When yo goa ta meet Miss May (the month), mind an be aware ov  
 hur at t' vary furst seet, for *shooaze* az full ov her joakes, ivvery bit, as  
 hur bruther April iz; an glories if *shoo* can nobbat mack a May geslin  
 ov onnyboddy. Still, *shoo* means no harm in it, it's a lively way *shoo*  
 hez, &c.

*T' Bairnsle Foaks' Annual*, &c., 1856, pp. 10-11.

8. Ween a little sister, an *shoo's* nooa breasts: wot shall we do for  
 ahr suster i' t' day when *shoo* shall be spokken for?

9. If *shoo* be a wall, weel bild on her a palace a' silver; and if *shoo*  
 be a door, weel inclose her we boocards a' cedar.

*T' Song A' Solomon*, viii., 8-9.—*Sheffield (A. Bywater)*.

8. Wee 've geet a laile sister, an' *shu* hesn't onny breeas: wativer  
 sall wee dew fur wir suster, i' t' day 'at *shu* 'll be sparred for?

9. An *shu* be a waw, wee 'll big ovov hir a pallis o' silver; an' an  
*shu* be a dooar, wee 'll clooas hir up wi' boocards o' cedar.

*'T Sang o' Solomon*, viii., 8-9.—*Craven (H. A. Littledale)*.

8. We have a lile sister, an *shoo* hez naä brusts: what shall we due  
 for our suster e t' day when *shoo* shall be spoken for?

9. If *shoo* be a woe, we'll build on her a palace a silver; an if *shoo* be a düer, we'll fence her we baärds a cedar.

*T' Sang A Solomon*, viii., 8-9.—North Lancashire, i.e. Lancashire North of the Wyre (T. Phizackerley).

But, besides this, the form in *h-* is a scarce one anywhere; in other words, the nominative feminine of *he* (as a *word*) is limited to two groups (and to two only) of the German class of languages—viz., the *Anglo-Saxon* and the *Frisian*. In the latter we find *heo* in the old *East Frisian* and in the present *North Frisian*; whilst in the *Middle Frisian* of the present *Dutch* province the word is *she*.

Ne se dat *hio* et seld hadde jef seth, jef wixled truch dera tria haudneda eer, deer *hio* dis kindes des leves mede hulp. See page 55, lines 1 and 29.

‘Ofke’ sei sei, ‘elk jier in bern.’  
‘Ofke,’ she said, ‘each year a bairn.’

Jü seed Min Seen, fortune wat.  
She said, ‘Mine son, earn somewhat.’

Jü nöodight höm en sin hingst in.  
She forced him and his horse in.

Meanwhile—

In Old Saxon the nom. fem. is *siu*; the plural *siâ*, *siû*.

In Old High German, *siu*; plural, *siê*, *siθ*, *siû*.

In the present German, fem., *sie*; plural, *sie*.

In *Moesogothic*, nom. fem., *si*.

It is found, however, in the *Northumbrian*; i.e. that of the *Glosses*.

But the form *hoo* or *heo* does not stand by itself. Its use, or disuse, involves that of the *Feminine Definite Article*, which is in *West-saxon* *se* = *ô*; *seo* (*she*) = *ĥ* = *þæt* (*that*) = *ro*: the demonstrative pronoun proper, and the pronoun of the third person (which is much the same), being *he*, *heo*, *hit* = *it*. There is, then, a mixture of

two fundamental words, when we look to the demonstrative and personal pronoun alone, and of *three* when we take in the article. For the article, however, masculine and feminine, the root *s-* is the oldest form, i.e. it is the form in Mœsogothic, Icelandic, and Anglo-saxon. If it does not exclude the masculine and feminine of *that* (i.e. the inflections of the root *th = þ*), it preponderates. The Mœsogothic we know in its oldest stage only; but in Anglosaxon and Norse it disappears early. In Frisian and in the Modern German it is superseded by the root *th-* (*thju, die*). In Westsaxon, however, it is displaced without taking a substitute; i.e. *þe* serves for all the three genders; as it does now. When *seo* is thus (so to say) liberated from its function as a definite article, it displaces *heo*, the feminine of the personal pronoun. Hence, *heo*, or *hoo*, seems to hold its ground only so long as either *seo* or *theo* (*thiu, theo*) are not feminine demonstratives (definite articles), or until the common form *þe* (*the*) has superseded them both. *Se* drops out altogether, at an early period. In the Northumbrian neither is found from first to last.

This applies to the value of *heo*, or *hoo*, as a characteristic form; showing that it stands for something more than itself. The application of the bearing of the correlation is general. Its exact history, however, in the present case cannot be given in detail. But this is for want of materials. All we can say is that if, in the dialects of the above-named districts, *hoo* wholly exclude *she* as the feminine of the third person, the latter word has fallen out of the language altogether; for it has not yet been found as a definite article. More than this, in the known specimens of the West Midland dialects in their older stages, *she* and *hoo* do not occur.

In the truly Mercian English *she* is, to say the

least, a commoner form than *heo*. It has wholly superseded *heo*, and survives *se*, which is wholly lost.

All that can be said about the use of the word *hoo* in Staffordshire, &c., is that it points in the direction of Wessex rather than in that of Northumbria.

§ 110. *Preponderating Affinities of the Mercian.*—This use of *hoo* for *she* points, as we have already said, to the Westsaxon; but it only does so in the first instance—only when we compare the Mercian with the Northumbrian of the Middle period. In the *oldest* Northumbrian we find *heo*; nor must we fail to remember that, in the present Westsaxon, it is obsolescent.

In respect to its characters in the way of name and geographical area, the external evidence, though of less value than that of language, deserves notice. *Mercia*, as a name, is an indifferent one; i.e. it points neither to Saxon Wessex nor to English Northumberland; for it is a geographical rather than an ethnological term, and, so far as it characterizes a population, means nothing. But it is not a continuous one. On the contrary, for the districts south of the Humber, and south even of the Ouse, the names *East-Engle* and *Middel-Engle* appear in the Anglosaxon Chronicle, and that as translations of the *Orientalis Angli*, and *Mediterranei Angli* of Beda; specially connected in origin with the Mercians, with the Northumbrians, and with the Angle denomination in general.

De Anglis \* \* Orientalis Angli, Mediterranei Angli, Mercii, et tota Northumbrorum progenies.—Beda, *Hist. Eccl.* i. xv. 36.

Of Angle comon \* \* East-Engle, Middel Engle, Mearce, and ealle Northymbra.—A. S. Chron., A.D. 499.

It is safe, then, to say that the evidence of Beda, who specially gives us the distribution of the conquering Germans, makes *Mercia* Angle rather than Saxon.

And it is equally safe to say that, in Germany, we find no district so definitely assigned to the men of Mercia, as Westphalia is to the Saxons, and the Lower Elbe to the Angles.

This is as much as can well be said at present. Nor is the question one that presses; for whether the Mercian be modified Angle or modified Saxon, an independent dialect or a mixed one, is, probably, incapable of being positively either affirmed or denied. Still, it belongs to a large district, and if we call it mixed, something more than the mere influence of a dialect on its frontier is required.

§ 111. Of the analytic character of the Mercian we can only repeat what was said about the Northumbrian. If few old inflections have been replaced by analytic forms, it is because they were, comparatively, but few to begin with. Still there has been change.

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## CHAPTER XII.

### EXISTING OLD SAXON OF GERMANY.—ITS CHARACTERISTICS AND AREA IN THE EXISTING DIALECTS OF GERMANY.

§ 112. Between the *Westsaxon* character of the Heliand, and the Essex and Frékkenhorst specimens from the parts about Münster in Westphalia, we got, from the evidence of the language, an approximate locality for the *Oldsaxon* of Germany as compared with the *Anglosaxon* of Wessex; but without any corresponding historical indications.

For the parts about Altmark we get an incomplete series of historical notices of the approximate locality

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in Germany of the mother-country of the *Angle* denomination in England; but without any corresponding specimens of the language. Nor are the later provincial dialects sufficiently characteristic to make up for the deficiency.

Still, for two definite and distant points in England we have got two definite and distant points in Germany; though the evidence of their correspondence is not of a uniform character.

And in Germany, as in England, we find a third district in which we find no correspondence with the midland parts of England sufficiently definite to enable us, either from internal or external evidence, to assign to it the third division of our dialects.

The distinction, then (or dualism, if we choose to call it so), between the Angle and Saxon element in England is real (and not nominal) in both countries.

But the evidence of it is different. On the Saxon side it is both more direct than on the Angle, and there is much more of it. On the Angle side it is wholly a matter of inference.

In the following extracts we get a language of which the very least that can be said is that it is as like the Oldsaxon of Westphalia as the dialects of Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, and Devon are like the Westsaxon; and it may be seen, if we note the localities, that some of them lie far beyond the boundaries of Westphalia. It is in the plural of substantives in *-s* and the plural of verbs in *-t* (= *th*) that they most decidedly disagree with the High German. They are italicized accordingly.

*Parts about Essen.*

Tuck, tuck, tuck, mien Hähneken,  
Wult deiste in mienen Hoff?  
Plücks mi alle Blaumkœs aff,  
Dat mäk te vol te groff.

Tuck, tuck, my chicken,  
 What dost thou in my yard?  
 Pluckest (for) me all flowers off,  
 That dost thou much too rough.

*Dual of the Personal Pronoun.*

Frau, frau wat spinn i so fietig?	Dame! dame! what spin you so busy?
For miene Mann 'n golden Rink.	For my husband a golden ring.
Wo ess u Mann?	Where is your husband?
Inne Schüür.	In the barn.
Wat dat hä do?	What does he there?
Eck segg et <i>ink</i> nich.	I won't tell you.
O segget het mi all.	O tell us all.
Hä is op dä Schüür un fourt dä Küüskes.	He is in the barn and fothers two cows.
<i>Git</i> mögget sä mi awer jou nich jagen.	You may now not hunt me.

*Parts about Frekkenhorst.—The Prefix of Past Participles dropped.*

Laiw Häär, laiw Häär, so blitz' doch äs!  
 Jans Schrökamp was ut 't Wäätshus *kyuemen*,  
 Wö he all nacht satt bäs te laaz,  
 He harre Djoarst fjöer fiif of säsz  
 Auk woll en Hälfken to vjiel *njuemen*.

'Dear Lord! Dear Lord! how it lightens!  
 Jack Schrokamp was come from the inn;  
 Where he all night sat till the last;  
 He had thirst for five or six.  
 But he would take a half-glass too much.

*Parts about Warendorf (near Frekkenhorst).*

Sié de tied hawwet älle nachtegallen twee augen, un blinnerslangen kiénne augen.

Since that time have all nightingales two eyes, and blindworms no eyes.

*Dialect of Osnaburgh.*

Dar ginten, dar kiket de Strauten henup,  
 Dar stahet wat aule Wywer in 'n Trupp;  
 De Annke, de Hildke, de Geske, de Siltke,  
 De Trintke, de Äultke, de Elsbeen, de Täultke;  
 Wann de sick entmötet, dat schnaatert sau sehr  
 Liefhaftig as wenn't in 'n Gausestall wör.

*In English.*

There yonder, there look up the street,  
 There stand the old women in a troop;  
 The Annke,\* the Hildke, the Geske, the Siltke,  
 The Trintke, the Aultke, the Elsbeen, the Taultke.  
 When they meet † each other, it cackles so sore,  
 Laughable (?) as if it were in a goose-stall.

*Parts about Münster.*

(1.)

Vat kiekt as de Stärnkes so fröndlich an?  
 O saih, wu se spielet un lachelt us an!

Why look the stars so friendly on?  
 O see, how they play and laugh on us.

(2.)

Aowens wen ick in min Bettken triäde  
 Triäd ick in Maria's Schaut.  
 Twiälf Engelkes gaecht met mi.  
 Twee Engelkes an den Kopp-End,  
 Twee Engelkes an den Föten-End,  
 Twee de mi mi decket,  
 Twee de mi wecket.

Evening's, when I in my bed step (tread),  
 Step I in Mary's bosom;  
 Twalf Angels go with me.  
 Two Angels on the head-end,  
 Two Angels on the foot-end,  
 Two that cover (deck) me,  
 Two that wake me.

*Town of Osnaburgh.*

Een'n Ossen willt wi vör. Di föhren,  
 Dat sülvst Du süst wo groot se sind:  
 Dock kann sick saken et geboren,  
 Dat man se noch väl gröter find.

An ox will we before thee bring,  
 That self thou seest how big they are;

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\* Annie, Hilda, Jessie, Sibyll, Catherine, — (?) Elizabeth, Adelaide.

† As in full *sore* = *muck*.

Still, it may, perhaps, happen  
That one may find them \*still bigger.

*Ammerland.*

Ic weet wol, ick weet wol, wo goot wahnē is ;  
To Hollwege, to Hollwege, wenn't sommer is.  
De Halstruppers, de hewwet de fetten Swien ;  
De Moorborgers, de driewt se henin ;  
De Halsbecker he wet de hogen Schoh ;  
De Eggeloger snōret se to, &c.

The poem runs on in similar couplets ; giving the characteristics of the different villages. This calls for a free use of the plural, so that within the remaining stanzas we find as many as seven of them—*et't, hewwt* (twice), *gaht, staht* (twice), *stickt, geiht, streiht*.

*Jever.*

Dat is te Banter Karkhof ;  
De liggt buten dieks up d'Groo ;  
De Tuten de roopt, un d'Seekobb kritt,  
De Dooden de hōört to.

That is the Banter churchyard ;  
That lies out up in the deep ;  
The sand-pipers cry, and the sea-mews shriek,  
They belong to the dead.

*Dialect of Butjohde.*

*In English.*

Hee schull by siens glyken blyven ;	He should remain with his equals ;
Wy kahmt also wyt as hee ;	We have come as far as he :
Ick kann lesen, rekenen, schrieven :	I can read, reckon, write,
Dat is nok woll gar vār dree.	That is enough for three.

*Parts about Vechta.*

Ik stah nech up, late di der nech in,  
Bett datt mine Oolen na'n Bedde sūnt.  
Gah du nu hen in den grōnen Wald,  
Denn mine Oolen schlāpet bolle ?

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\* For *viel* (? *well = wolt*).

*The same in the Frisian of Saterland.*

Ihk stoende nit ap, lets di dir nit in,  
 Bett dett min Oolden etter Bedde sünt.  
 Gounge du nu fout in den grenen Wold,  
 Denn mine Oolden schlepe bald.

I stand not up, let thee there not in,  
 Till that my parents after bed be ;  
 Go now forth in the green wood,  
 For my parents sleep soon.

*Saterland.**German.*

Ick un min Kamerad,  
 Wy beyde, wy sint Soldat ;  
 Wy gah't morgen weg.

*Frisian.*

Ihk un min Kamerad,  
 Wi be, wi sünt Soldat ;  
 Wi gounge meden fout.

I and my comrade,  
 We both, we be soldiers ;  
 We go, to-morrow, away.

*The Valley of the Diemel. (Here Saxonia is divided from Hesse.)*

*De Wüörpelthären.*

(1.)

Se had dre graute Stene utehägget, osse de Wüörpel siet, un had se se eliegt up, de üngerste Müre vannen Thären, un darup siet owiest to seëne achtein Augen. De allen Lüë, de nau liewet, had den Thären, un de Wüörpele, de darup wören nau eseen, un daavan heed de Thären eheiten : de Wüörpelthären.

They had three great stones cut out as if they were dice, and had them laid upon the topmost wall of the tower, and there are to be seen there eighteen eyes. De old people, who now are alive, had now seen the tower and the dice which were on it, and, thenco, had called the tower Wüörpelthären.

Da siet ree de Buffen, de Stangen, de Prangen ;  
 Se kommet und willt de Schandarmen uphangen.  
 Se staht inn 'em Gliedde, de Schoten im arm,  
 Dat jiet 'ne Geskichte, dat Goed siek erbarm.

There are ready the clubs, the poles, the forks ;  
 They come and will hang-up the Gendarmes.  
 They stand in a row, the guns in arm ;  
 There gives a story, God have mercy.

*Parts about Bielefeld.*

(1.)

Sunne Martin, hilges Mann  
 Dei us wat vertellen kann.  
 Van Appeln un van Biörn,  
 Dei Niöte fallt van der Miörn.  
 Siet sou gout un giëwet us wat?  
 Lät 't us nech to lange stan!  
 Wi miött ná 'n Husken födder gán  
 Van hier bätt ná Kaölen;  
 Dá miött wi auk krajolen,  
 Un Kaölen es ná faren.

Saint Martin, holy man;  
 Who us (some)what tell can;  
 Of apples and of pears—  
 The nuts fall from the walls.  
 Be so good and give us (some)what.  
 Let us not too long stand;  
 We must back to house a-foot go  
 From here to Cologne;  
 There must we also carol,  
 And Cologne is still far.

*Parts about Hildesheim.*

Wi Komet woll vor eines riken Manns Döör  
 Tau düssen Marten-Abend!  
 Wi wünschet dem Heeren einen goldenen Disch;  
 Wi wünschet der Fruen 'n goldenen Wagen.  
 Tau düssen Marten-Abend!

We come well before a rich man's door,  
 To (at) this (St.) Martin's eve.  
 We wish to the master a golden dish,  
 We wish to the mistress a golden carriage.  
 For this Martin's eve.

*Parts about Grubenhage.*

Diene Aagen sint brunn un kralle,  
 Und du weisst et wot nich, mien kind!  
 Dat se gluu Funke scheidet  
 Int harte bööse Kind.

Thine eyes are brown and lively,  
 And thou knowest it not well, my child!  
 That they glowing sparks shoot;  
 Thou hard, wicked child!

*Parts about Minden (Angrarian).*

Up den Bargen, up der Au,  
Blaihet Blaumen helle,  
Un de Häven, klor un blau,  
Farvt de Angerquelle.

Up the hill, up the meadow,  
Blow bright flowers,  
And the heaven, clear and blue,  
Colours the Anger springs.

*Parts about Rinteln (Angrarian).*

Wi köhnt et nich lieven;  
Wi hebbet schon Hären,  
Dei moht wi verehren.  
Wi köhnt nich verdragen  
Da du us wutt fegen.

We cannot bear it;  
We have already masters,  
That we must honour.  
We cannot tolerate  
That thou wilt sweep us.

Such are the dialects and sub-dialects which most especially give us the characteristic *-t* as the sign of the Plural Number. Any other Anglosaxon characteristic would have given like results; but the Plural *-t* is the best. After this, perhaps, the absence of the final *-r* in *we, he, &c.*, where the High German has *wir, er, &c.* The plural in *-s* is not so important, inasmuch as, though absent in the literary German, it is, along with *-en*, the ordinary Plural in Dutch.

All the extracts are taken from Firmenich (*Germaniens Völkerstimme*).

§ 113. *The Analytic or Synthetic Character of the Existing Representatives of the Old Saxon.*—That the dialects of the German in Britain changed more

rapidly than those in Germany is well known; and it is, also, known that the present German, so far as its inflections go, is, at least, on a level with the oldest Westsaxon. To this we may add that what applies to the literary languages of both Germany and the Netherlands applies to the provincial dialects as well. Even among the scanty specimens of the present chapter we find in the provincial Westphalian what we fail to find in the cultivated language—viz., the Dual of the Personal Pronoun.

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### CHAPTER XIII.

RETROSPECT.—AFFINITIES OF THE NORSE WITH THE MESO-GOTHIC.—AFFINITIES OF THE NORTHUMBRIAN WITH THE NORSE.

§ 114. *Indefinite and Negative Character of the Mercian.*—The indefinite and negative character of the Mercian, as compared with that of either the Westsaxon or the Northumbrian, has commanded our attention. To some extent, it is nothing more than what we expect from its place on the map of England. Two extreme dialects, as a matter of course, are more easily distinguished from one another than either of them is distinguished from an intermediate form of speech. Hence, we find nothing in Germany which corresponds with the Mercian as the Westphalian corresponds with the Westsaxon. The correspondence between the Northumbrian and the probable dialects of the Lower Elbe is less direct. But even for the Old Angle of the Continent, as the parent tongue of the Northumbrian, we can make out a much stronger case than we can for



any third form of speech in Germany having been the parent of the Mercian ; and, as the words *Mercian* and *Midland* are geographical rather than ethnological or national terms, this is nothing more than what we expect.

§ 115. *Frisians of Procopius*.—In Procopius the three nations of Britain are (1) the native Britons ; (2) the Frisians ; and (3) Angles.

What we have to notice on this point is not so much the *presence* of the name ‘*Frisian*’ as the absence of the name ‘*Saxon*.’ The preference of the one to the other is, probably, referable to the mixed character of the Embassy ; which, when we go into the details of its composition, is partly Frank, partly Angle. The ambassadors of the Frank king were, as their master, Franks ; but there were sent with them certain Angles (presumptively of the Elbe) in order that the Frank king might pass with the Emperor as a ruler over the *Angles* of Britain. What basis there may have been for the claim does not here interest us. What seems likely, however, is this—that it was *not* from the Angle part of the Embassy that the word *Frisian* reached Procopius ; for the Angles, if our view of the origin of the name be accurate, would have applied Saxons not only to the Saxons, but, probably, to the Frisians as well ; whereas, the Franks are likely not only to have called the Frisians by their old name, but to have extended it to the Saxons ; for we must remember that, though the time when the name ‘*Saxon*’ is first met with as applied to the occupants of Northern Germany is approaching, it has not actually arrived.

§ 116. *Goths of Procopius*.—The same unwillingness on the part of the ordinary historians to impugn the authority of Beda, which has shown itself so conspicuously in their neglect of the notice of Prosper

Tiro, shows itself a second time (as it shows itself over and over again) in their neglect of an important notice of Goths in connection with Britain, by Procopius. In his History of the Gothic War he gives us a conference between certain Gothic legates and Belisarius. The former make a merit of having made over to the Romans the valuable island of Sicily. To this Belisarius replies that the Romans, on their part, had made over to them the larger island of Britain. Nothing is more unlikely than that this answer should not have been given; though Procopius is a cotemporary witness for the conference only. The cession must have been made earlier: nor is the approximate date difficult to make out. It must have been when the Goths were at the height of their power in Gaul, and before the rise of the Franks: a date which comes very close to the times of Hengist, Vortigern, and Vortimer, i.e. the middle of the Fifth\* Century.

§ 117. *Danes of Procopius.*—Procopius is the first writer who mentions the Danes; and he mentions them in connection with the Heruli and the Warni. This, along with the account of Jornandes, has already been noticed. So have the kings of the Warni and the relations between the Warni and the Angles. So, too, has an association of the Heruli with the Saxons of Gaul.

Procopius's is the first notice of the Danes. The next is that of Gregory of Tours; but it is only

\* This alone is held to stand good against the authority of Bede; whose *Jutes* are deduced from *Jutland*. The influence of either the *Jutes* of Bede or the *Goths* of Procopius on our language is so insignificant that no more is here said about them. Other reasons, however, in favour of the present view, may be found in my larger work, '*The English Language*,' p. 151-155 (Edit. 1862). For another incidental remark upon the confusion of the names Goth and Jute (of Jutland) see note on next section.

because Gregory is the later writer that Procopius takes precedence of him as an authority. As such, he is earlier by about forty years. But the death of Chochilaicus, which is related by the Frank historian as having taken place after a defeat in the Netherlands, is assigned to the year 516; not too early, however, for the time of Theodebert, who, during the lifetime of his father Theodoric (Thierry), defeated the Danes. The *third* notice of the Danes is in the 'Anglosaxon Chronicle,' A.D. 787.

That these were the *first* Danes that invaded England is expressly stated in the notices referred to; far more so than it is in any part of Beda referring to the Saxons as being the first of *their* denomination. At present, however, it is not interpreted so strictly; indeed, it is probable that the most influential authorities admit the likelihood of there having been Danes in England as soon as there were Angles; and this without counting the Norwegians of Scotland.\*

§ 118. *Saxony, Hesse, and Thuringia.*—*Saxony*, as compared with the other two, is a new name; and, at first, it is an ethnological, rather than a geographical, one. When it becomes geographical it is so indefinite as to lose its import in ethnology. All that here need be done with it is to indicate the extent of the area within which the philological characters

\* This by no means militates against the doctrine that the Jutes of Beda were *Goths* rather than *Jutlanders*. In the Letter of Venantius we find the words *Geta* and *Euthio* in the same line; from which we may infer that they apply to different populations; and as *Geta* meant the *Goths*, *Euthio* meant the *Jute*. Moreover the name *Danus* is associated with them. All, however, that comes from this is the fact that the names *Dane* and *Jute* were known to the Franks of the sixth century, and that an indefinite claim of supremacy over them was asserted. Nothing is more likely than this; for we have seen Theodebert affected a similar authority in England. But there is nothing in the two terms that sanctions the notion of *Jutlanders* in Kent.

of the Saxon, as a form of speech, present themselves. And here we must introduce a new factor, viz., the letter *-r* as the sign of certain cases of the pronoun. It characterises the present Literary German; where *wir*=we. The older Mœsogothic gives us *-s—veis*, of which the German *wir* and the Icelandic *ver* are later forms. The importance of the change will soon show itself.

Between the verbs in *-th*, and the pronouns in *-e* or *-i* (i.e. without the *-r*), we trace, in the present provincial dialects of Germany, signs of Saxonism as far as Waldeck, and the parts about Weimar, Erfurt, Gotha, and Rudolstadt, in Thuringian Saxony; a name which indicates a borderland, and that on the side of both Thuringia and Hesse.

On the west we find them as far as the Angrarian frontier, and on the coast as far as the Jahde (Butjahde) and the parts beyond it, i.e. the narrow angle between the mouths of the Weser and the Elbe, where the Frisian ends; reappearing, however, on the north side of the Elbe, and being continuous on the islands.

For the northern frontier of Hesse we find one definite boundary, but (in my mind) only a political one, viz., the *Pagus Hessi Saxonicus*, and the *Pagus Hessi Francicus*. This, along with the present dialect, makes *Waldeck* Saxon. But in Northern, and to a less extent in Central Hesse, we find Saxon characteristics. Along the Rhine the Old Saxon changes character till, in the Alsatian of the Krist, we get a preponderance of *High* German characters—characters, however, which are nearly of one kind, i.e., the change from *d* to *t*, *b* to *p*, *g* to *k*, and *t* to *z*. The distinction in these districts between Saxon and Frank has been treated as political rather than ethnological (see § 42). That between Saxon and Alemannic is more decidedly ethnological.

Hesse is by no means a district with a special dialect of its own; but one which shows Saxon, Alemannic, and Thuringian characters according to the frontier.

Thuringia, on the other hand, has as definite a Thuringian form of speech (dialect or language, as the case may be) as any in Germany.

§ 119. *Dialect of the District of Anglen.*—The only two specimens I have seen of the district of Anglen, which Beda especially assigns to the Angles, have nothing that specially points to either the Saxon or the Angle of England. They are the ordinary Platt Deutsch of Northern Germany, with older *Danish* elements.

§ 120. *The Angle of the Continent—Where must we look for it?*—I submit that it must be looked for in Denmark; not, however, within the boundaries of the present kingdom so called, nor yet within the kingdoms of either Norway or Sweden, but rather in the district from which both the German that became the language of Central Britain, and the language that is known by the name of Norse, or Scandinavian, originated. The particular time at which the two languages were sufficiently alike one another to pass for the same, or for closely allied dialects of a common mother-tongue, is not determined; though it is believed that until after the eighth century the two forms of speech were mutually intelligible, if not over the whole of their respective areas, at least in Britain, and in the parts between the Elbe and the Eyder. Such a form of speech must have been sufficiently unlike the Saxon of Westphalia and the Westsaxon of Southern Britain to account for the acknowledged differences between the Westsaxon and the Northumbrian, and, at the same time, sufficiently like it to have left the Saxon and

Angle forms of speech in Britain as two different varieties of one and the same language rather than as two mutually unintelligible languages; in other words, to have left them as they are represented in the Northumbrian Glosses and the more regular compositions of the Westsaxon literature.

The geographical relations of the district that has been assigned to the Angles of Germany are the basis of this view. Of their language we have no specimens; but if it can be shown that the Danish of the parts north of the Angle area agrees in the necessary characters with the German on the south, the result is a presumption, at the very least, in favour of the Angle having belonged to the same class. This means that the character of the Angle, which cannot be determined by actual specimens from the soil of Germany, may be, in the first instance, presumed from that of the languages of its northern and southern frontiers—provided, of course, that there are no conflicting reasons in favour of connecting it with the languages, or dialects, of either the West or East. Concerning the West we may say that, though German, it is other than Saxon, for the Saxon characteristics extend but a short way into Ostphalia. On the east the frontier is not even German; for when we cross the Elbe the whole language is Slavonic.

That the direction of the Non-Saxon dialects ran from south to north rather than from west to east, that it ran in approximate parallelism with the Saale and Elbe rather than across the head-waters of the Weser, was stated in a previous chapter. But, within the area then under consideration, no specimens of the language were brought in. This was because, for the *middle* districts, there were none, of adequate antiquity, producible. And this, again, was because we limited our-

selves to the earlier periods of the Christian era in place, and to the date (or a moderate approximation to it) of the Old Saxon remains in time. The Danes were only named as a people; a people without any definitely assigned language or locality. When the Danish language, however, comes under consideration, the horizon enlarges itself; and to this change of condition we now advert; for the Danish (or Norse) *is* now brought in from the north, and two other forms of speech from the south; so that when we find the Danish language on the north (as far north as Iceland and as late in time as the present century) and the German of Western Thuringia and South-eastern Hesse agreeing with one another in certain points wherein they differ from the Saxon, the same difference (though to a less extent) being found in the Westsaxon and Northumbrian of Britain, the *primâ facie* evidence of the Norse and Thuringian affinities of the Middle district speaks for itself. Unless then, there are reasons for the contrary, the intervening district agrees in character with that of parts beyond it, and between which it lies.

§ 121. Such is the main reason for looking to Denmark, or the Danish language, in the first instance. What we find depends upon its relations to the languages of the Southern extremity. But there is a minor point which deserves notice. The *Frisian* is the language which is generally referred to in the first instance when the differences between the Westsaxon and the Northumbrian are investigated. This is because the Frisians are generally considered to have been the earlier settlers. It is not, however, so much a question of date as one of likeness and difference between the three forms of speech.

But there are reasons why the question is important. If, in addition to supposing that the Frisians were either Saxons under another name, or an allied population that took part in the invasions of the fifth century, we, also, hold that the Danes were strangers to Britain until the eighth, it is clear that the characters of the earliest Northumbrian specimens, when they are other than Westsaxon, must be Frisian rather than Norse; and that criticism of this character has been applied

to the 'Psalter' we have already stated (§ 98). The doctrine that the Norse is as old as the Saxon, of course, leads to nothing of the kind; but it is not the prevailing one. This, then, is one of the circumstances that invest the Frisian with somewhat more importance than is universally admitted; in other words, the Frisian owes its position to the accident of its date rather than to its own intrinsic claims; and to these its prerogative over the Norse, rather than to any abnormal oversight on the part of English investigators, has to be ascribed. The Frisian was sufficiently (and more than sufficiently) like the Westsaxon to pass for a mutually intelligible form of speech; and, as it bore a separate name, it was sufficiently unlike to pass for a second factor in the consideration of the differences between our dialects. Moreover, where it differed with the Westsaxon, it agreed, to a certain extent, with the Northumbrian. It does this, most especially, when it gives us the termination *-a* for *-an* in the infinitive mood, as *bærna* = *bærnan* = *burn*.

It must be remembered, however, that the Frisian and Westsaxon records that give us this difference are, by no means, contemporaneous; indeed they belong to different stages of the two languages. The Westsaxon that forms its infinitives in *-an* is the Westsaxon of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries. During the middle period of its history the *-n* disappears.

Now it is with the Westsaxon of the *middle* period that the oldest specimens of the Frisian coincide in date; so that, although, as compared with the later forms of speech, the Frisian of the Asega-bog, &c., is called *Old Frisian*, it is anything but *old* after the manner of the Old Westsaxon. On the contrary, so far as date goes, the *Old Frisian* is the parallel of the *Middle Westsaxon*; and with this it agrees rather than differs; for in the fourteenth century both languages (or dialects) are without the final *-n* of the infinitive. This greatly abates the supposed difference; indeed, when we take date for date, we have no evidence that, in the time of the Westsaxon literature and the Northumbrian Glosses, the *-n* was obsolete in the Frisian.

§ 122. *Mæsothetic and Old Norse*.—The Mæsothetic is the oldest of any of the German languages both in date and in situation; for the translation of the Gospels by which it is best represented is as old as the last quarter of the fourth century. In respect to its inflections, it has nearly all that are found in all the other German languages put together; and it has them in a fuller form, and in an older phonesis, especially in



the use of *-s* for *-r*. Indeed, the Mæso Gothic may be said to be characterised by its *Sigmatism*.

The Old Norse, in respect to the time of its oldest known compositions with assignable dates, is fully six hundred years later than the Mæso Gothic. In respect to the form of its inflections, and its phonesis, in some respects it is the newer, or more modern, of the two. But in the actual numbers and amount of their inflections there is not much difference between them; while the *general* phonesis of the two is the same.

About half way between the two, the first compositions of the *Old High German* present themselves. The import of the term *High*, and the points in which the High and Low divisions of the German family differ from one another, will command notice as we proceed. At present the reader is referred to the extracts and remarks in §§ 39–42.

§ 123. *Mæso Gothic, Old Norse, and Old High German Inflections*.—It is from these that the points of agreement as between the three forms of speech under notice, and of difference as between the Angle and the Saxon, will be selected.

The Article will be considered in the sequel.

The Noun in general means the Substantive, the Adjective, the Pronoun, and the Participle. Everything that is about to be noticed under these several heads will be found in the Old High German, the present Literary German (which is *High*), and the Old Norse, in some shape or other, and to some degree. It will always appear in the same shape, viz., that of *-r* instead of *-s*, except in a few instances referable to the transitional period. But it will not always appear to the same extent; i.e. in an equal number of individual words, belonging to the same divisions. In the Pronouns it will be most characteristic.

(1.) *The Nominative Case of the Noun.*—This is the *-s* in the Latin words like *lupus, bonus, dens, habens, mortuus, gradus, is (ea, id)*, &c., which in every similar case is wanting, except in fragments, in the Saxon dialects: as *wolf, good, tooth, having, dead, step, son*, &c.—and in the substantive is now wanting in the Literary German. But in this shape it will occur, more or less, throughout the three groups.

In both the Old High German and the Icelandic this *-s* becomes *r*.

In both the modern H. G. and the Swedish and Danish it is dropped altogether.

(2.) *The Nominative and Accusative Cases of Weak Substantives.*—In Anglosaxon and Old Saxon these end in *-n*; or, if not in the vowel, changed or unchanged, which preceded it—as *heortan = hearts*.

Except in the genitive plural, nothing in Saxon follows the *n*. The plural itself is *blindane*. In the Mæsogothic, however, the nominative is *ns*; i.e. *tungons = tongues = ling*. In Old Norse it is *tungur*; the *-n-* being, as usual, ejected, and the *r*, as usual, substituted for *-s*.

(3.) *The Neuter of the Adjective.*—The sign of the neuter in M. G. is *-t-*, followed by *-a*—M. *blinds*; N. *blindata*. In the O. H. G. it is *z (ts)*. In the present Literary German *-s*; as *blindes*. In the Swedish and Danish it is, at the present moment, *-t*, and, *à fortiori*, *-t* in the Old Norse.

(4.) *The -S and -R of the Pronouns.*—Between the true personal, the demonstrative, and the relative pronouns we find three forms in either *-s* or *-r*, in M. G. and O. N., which are wanting, or very rare, in the Saxon.

1. The Nominative *Singular* of the *Demonstra-*

*tive*, &c. This, in M. G., ends in *-s*, as *is* = Latin *is* = A. S. *he*; or *hvas* = Latin *quis* (*interrogative*), and High German *wer*.

2. The Nominative *Plural* of the True Personals, i.e. those of the first and second persons.—M. G. *weis* = *we* = Latin *nos*, *jus* = *ye* = Latin = *vos*; High German, *win*; Old Norse, *ver*; H. G. *ihr*; O. N. *þer*.

3. The Dative Singular of the True Personals and the Reflective.—M. G. *mis*, *þis*, *sis* = Latin *mihī*, *tibi*, *sibi*; Old Norse, *mer*, *þer*, *ser*; High German, *mir*, *dir*.

(5.) *The Duals and Plurals of the Personal Pronouns*.—Engl., *our two* = M. G. *ugkara*, *us two*; and *to us two*, *ugkis*. O. N. *okkar*, *okkr*.

Engl., *your, you* = M. G. *izvara*, *izvis*; O. N. *yðar*, *yðr*.

Engl., *your two, you two* = M. G. *igqara*, *igqis*. O. N. *ykkar*, *ykkar*. Here the *s* is retained as *-r*.

(6.) The M. G. present runs thus—

INDICATIVE.		CONJUNCTIVE.	
<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>nasja</i>	<i>nasjam.</i>	1. <i>nasjau</i>	<i>nasjaima.</i>
2. <i>nasjis</i>	<i>nasjip.</i>	2. <i>nasjais</i>	<i>nasjaiþ.</i>
3. <i>nasjip</i>	<i>nasjand.</i>	3. <i>nasjai</i>	<i>nasjaina.</i>

In O. N.—

INDICATIVE.		CONJUNCTIVE.	
<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>kallar.</i>	1. <i>köllum.</i>	1. <i>kalla</i>	<i>kallen.</i>
2. <i>kallar.</i>	2. <i>köllup.</i>	2. <i>kalla</i>	<i>kallen.</i>
3. <i>kallar.</i>	3. <i>köllu.</i>	3. <i>kalla</i>	<i>kallen.</i>

The *-n* of the Conjunctive is still presented in the Swedish *Imperative*. See § 139.

(7.) *The Numerals 3 and 4*.—There are in M. G.

*threis, fidvor*; in O. N. *thrir, fürir*; in A. S., O. S., and English *three*, without the *s* at all; and *fewer, four*, without any second *r*.

(8.) For the forms corresponding with *there, thither*, and *thence*, see § 159.

§ 124. *Phonesis of the High German*.—From one point of view the foregoing remarks are unnecessary; inasmuch as, in a classification based upon the *older* structure of the two languages, the closeness of the affinity between the Mæsothetic and Old Norse is partially recognised; and so is the affinity between both and the Old High German.

When we come, however, to a *tabular* view, and to a classification made for the purpose of showing the affinities as determined by the characteristics of the present time, some of which are certainly of comparatively recent origin, the classification by no means places the M. G. and O. N. so near one another as they appear in a genealogical *tree*, and in the present work. The Old *High German* it removes to a still greater distance from both.

In the conflict between these two classes of characteristics lies the justification of the previous details, which, from the first point of view, are, probably, superfluous. Practically, i.e. as a matter of opinion and teaching, the difference is an important one.

§ 125. *Distribution of the Surds and Sonants*.—It is on this distribution of the Surds and Sonants that the practical objection to the connection of the High German languages with either the Norse or the Mæsothetic is founded. Under different names, such as *flat* and *sharp, soft* or *hard, voice* sounds or *breath* sounds, *vocal* sounds or *whispers*, and, to some extent, as *media* and *tenues*, the difference of the two series, *p, t*, and *k* on one side, and *b, d*, and *g* (as in *gun*), has long been recognised and acted on in details of grammar. For reasons which will be given in the chapter on Phonesis, the first series is called *Surd*, the second *Sonant*, as they are in Sanskrit.

That the High German uses the former where all the other dialects use the latter is a simple fact, and it is one of no small importance. It does not use them to the exclusion of the others, but it uses them largely. It does not use them to the same extent with each of the letters of the series, but it uses them, to some extent, in all. When it does this, it also substitutes *s* for *t*, though not at the beginning of words. At the beginning of words there is a change; viz., into *z* (= *ts*). Thus—*water, wasser*; *hot, heiss*; *better, besser*; *sweeter, süsser*—*tongue, zunge*; *tear (lacrima), zahr*; *ten, zehn*; *two, zwei*; *tooth, zahn*; *tin, zinn*, &c.

But the fundamental change is between the six mutes of the

double series, surd and sonant, sharp and flat, hard and soft, according to the names we prefer. Thus—

From *b* to *p*.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Mæsothetic.</i>	<i>(Old) High German.</i>
<i>Break</i>	brikan	prëchan.
<i>(I) bear</i>	baira	piru.
<i>Berg</i>	baïrg-s	pereg ( <i>hill</i> ).
<i>Beam</i>	bagm-s	paum ( <i>tree</i> ).
<i>Blood</i>	blôds	pluot.
<i>Brother</i>	brôthar	pruoder, &c., &c. ;

some of which may be found in the extracts from Muspilli and the Weissenbrun Hymn, §§ 40, 41, as *pediu* = *both*, *beide*; *prinnit* = *burns*; *pi* = *by*. Hence, it is only for the *Old* High German that *p*, in the place of *b*, is characteristic.

From *d* to *t*.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Mæsothetic.</i>	<i>High German.</i>
<i>Day</i>	dags	tag, takh.
<i>Do (facio)</i>	don	thun.
<i>Do (valco)</i>	dugan	taugen.
<i>Deer</i>	djur-s	thier.
<i>Door</i>	duru-s	thur.
<i>Duck (cloth)</i>	—	tuch.

From *g* to *k*.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Mæsothetic.</i>	<i>(Old) High German.</i>
<i>Goose</i>	—	kans.
<i>Yard (gard-en)</i>	—	karto.

Throughout these three series, as a whole, we may remark the irregularity of the amount of the change; for though not one of the lists makes any approach to completeness, the three fairly represent the proportions of the change; and, in detail, each division has its peculiarities. The first gives us the most instances; but it is the one in which the present High German least coincides with the language of the older stage. In every one of the examples of the preceding list the present Literary German agrees not with the O. H. G., but with the Mæsothetic and the other members of the family—*brechen*, *berg*, *baum*, *blut*, *bruder*, &c. The fact is that *p* is an exceptional sound throughout the whole family, and few, if any words of German origin begin with it. In the Bavarian dialect, however, it almost excludes *b*; the Bavarian himself calling his country *Peyern*, *Paiern*. Nevertheless, we must not explain the change by reference to Bavaria alone. All we can say of *p* is that, though limited to the High German, it is not co-extensive with it.

From *th* (þ, or ð) to *d*.

The part that *d* plays in the phonesis of the High German is a notable one. So far, however, as it is superseded by *t* it plays no part at all. As a substitute for another sound it plays a great one.

The sound of the *th* in *thin* and *thine* (Greek Theta) is not a common one. Many languages (the Latin for instance) are without it. But it is found in their older stages in all the languages of the German family; with the exception of the *High* German. There we miss it. Now the High German substitute for this is *d*—the *d* which, in its own original function, has been displaced by *t*.

English.	German.	English.	German.
<i>Thou</i>	du.	<i>Through</i>	durch.
<i>This</i>	diese.	<i>Thatch</i>	dach.
<i>That</i>	das.	<i>Think</i>	denken.
<i>Thin</i>	dünn.	<i>Three</i>	drei.
<i>Thick</i>	dick.	<i>Thumb</i>	daum.

This, however, is not a letter-change after the manner of the other three; a change from sonant to surd or *vice versâ*. It is rather a change from one of the so-called *aspirates* to the so-called *lenes* of its class. Neither is it a change for which we can see no definite reason. It is a substitute for a lost, or non-existing sound, rather than a change made, without any ostensible reason, from one sound to another. There is a reason why a substitute should be resorted to when the sound of *th* (þ or ð) is lost. There is no reason why *p*, *t*, or *k* should have been preferred to *b*, *d*, or *g*, when all six are at hand.

From *g* to *k*.

This is, at one and the same time, the sound in which the change is the least in amount, and the one in which the present High German least agrees with the Old; for we have seen that where we say *goose* and *garden*, the present Germans say *gans* and *garden*. Moreover the words wherein *both* use the *k* are more numerous than their analogues in other two divisions; as *knee*, *knife*, *know*, *kiss*, *kettle*, &c.—*knie*, *knif*, *kennen*, *küssen*, *kessel*, &c. In the Old High German we find the change at its *maximum*, i.e. we find it just where we find that of *b* into *p*. See *Muspilli*, and *Weissenbrun Hymn*, §§ 40 and 41.

Again, what applies to the change between *tʰ* and *d* applies to that between *t* and *ss*. It is not a change between sounds of different degrees of sonancy. It is not even a change between two letters of the same division. It is rather a change of the sound of *t* itself; which, at the beginning of words, makes part of a compound sibilant (*ts*), and in the middle drops out—*tongue*, *zung* (*tsunge*), &c., *watr*, *wasser*, &c. The sound which is now simply that of *-s*, is often found in the older stages of both the High and Low divisions spelt with a *z* (*ts*)—as *gelegitaz* = *gelegt* = *laid*.

The other changes which are generally given in the tables which illustrate the preceding are of no importance in the classifications of the German languages and dialects *one with another*. Thus the change from *b* to *f* or *v* is found between dialects so nearly allied as the O. Saxon and the Anglosaxon; e.g. *obar*, O. S.; *over*, A. S. That the O. S. *aba* and the A. S. *of* belong to a system; and that that system gives the Latin *ab*, with which the O. S. agrees, while the Greek *ἀβ* differs from both, are facts that indicate regularity and system in a department where it was long either overlooked or undervalued.

So, also, does the identity of the English *h* in *heart* and *head* (in German *herz* and *haupt*) with the Latin *caput* and the Latin and Greek *cord-(is)* and *καρδία*; while the *k* in *know*, *knot*, *kin*, *knee* is in Latin and Greek *γνῶ*, (*g*)*modus*, *genus*, *γένος*, *genu*, *γόνυ*.

All these are instances of order and system. But they are not facts which touch the present enquiry. It is necessary, however, to notice them because, in the opinion of the present writer, they have invested the fact of regularity to a certain degree in letter-changes with an importance which is sometimes overrated—especially in matters of classification.

§ 126. *The History of the Mæso Gothic, or the German of the Goths of Mæsia*.—Though we have hitherto seen but little of the Mæso Gothic, we have seen enough to show that it is a language which speaks for itself. On the archaic character of its structure alone we may assert the prerogative of the Mæso Gothic in respect to antiquity. What it is we know. But it is by no means so easy to say whence it came. The men who spoke it were, so far as they did so, Germans; but it is not on the soil of Germany that we find them when it first occurs, nor to the soil of Germany has its origin ever been definitely and directly traced. That a German language originated, in some form or

other, in Germany is implied in the very name. But the Germany of the present time is not the Germany of the seventh and tenth centuries; nor is the Germany of the seventh and tenth centuries, with the Elbe and Saale (beyond which everything was Slavonic) for its boundary, the '*Germania*' of Tacitus. The language of the Goths, however, was not only German, but the representative of the German language in its oldest form; and that to such an extent that there is no language in the German family which can be explained in some of its important details in the way of inflection without a reference to it.

The Mæsothian is German; but in what part of Germany it originated no one knows; indeed, the historian, or ethnologist, who believes that, in the way of language, the parts of the '*Germania*' of Tacitus which lay beyond the Oder (and even beyond the Vistula) were German in its present sense, may hesitate to assign it to what is now called *Germany* at all. It is difficult to say how opinions are divided and distributed on this point. It is only certain that there is no unanimity.

What we know of its external history is as follows:—

At the beginning of the third century a German population was known on the northern side of the Lower Danube, in what was then called the Province of Dacia; now the Danubian Principalities, or Wallachia, Moldavia, and Bessarabia. The Goths became formidable to the Romans. They crossed the Danube, and invaded the north-eastern provinces of the empire. They defeated the Emperor Decius in a great battle. They ravaged the coasts of Greece and Asia Minor. They continued formidable; and the Province of Dacia, to the North of the Danube, was surrendered by the Emperor Aurelian to the so-called barbarians. Here



the Goths establish a kingdom; and we know, in respect to its geography, that the valley of the river Dniester belonged to it—that it was probably the central part of it. They break up into two divisions, each with three names. They were called Ostrogoths or Visigoths from their geographical positions; Amalungs or Baltungs from the name of the royal dynasty; and Grutungs or Thervings from the names by which they seem to have designated themselves. However, collectively, they are called by the Romans Goths.

In the last quarter of the fourth century they cross the Danube; nominally by permission of the Romans, but actually as a nation of warriors going forth to conquer. By A.D. 400 they have sacked Rome under Alaric; and thence form one kingdom in France, and another in Spain. This division is that of the *Visigoths*.

In the latter half of the century the Ostrogoths, under *Theodoric*, make themselves masters of Italy.

But, though conquerors in three countries, they lose their language in all. It is smothered (so to say) by the Latin of the three conquered countries.

They are never heard of, from first to last, in Germany.

By the end of the fourth century these Goths were converted to Christianity—the Christianity of the Greek Church and of the Arian heresy.

This conversion was accompanied by a translation of the Scriptures: the Alphabet being founded on the *Greek*.

Of the translation, dating from the last quarter of the fourth century, we have remains, viz., the greater part of the Four Gospels.

The particular division of these Goths who seem by their conversion to have been transformed from warriors into peaceful villagers, settled in a district

near Philippopolis, in the Roman Province of *Mœsia*. The translation of their Scriptures is attributed to their Bishop, Ulphilas.

Hence, *Mæsogothic*, or the language of the *Ulphiline Gospels*, is the ordinary name for the chief fragment (the most important, though not the only one) of the language of these great Gothic conquerors.

§ 127. *Its Uncertain Character*.—The result is that the first locality to which we can assign the Mæsogothic is the distant province of *Mœsia*; then, less definitely, to Italy; and then to Gaul and Spain; but never to the soil of Germany. Yet, unless we believe that it represents the language of that part of a '*Germania*' which lay beyond the Vistula, we can scarcely suppose that it was foreign from the very first to the historical Germany. All this, however, is a matter of inference rather than of testimony. The Ostrogoths called themselves *Thervingi*. This points to *Thuringia*. So early a writer as Michaelis (and I have no reason to suppose that he was the first who did so) suggests, on the evidence of the present dialect of that district, that *Thuringia* was the original home of the Mæsogoths when they were occupants of German soil; and those who investigate the relations of southern Thuringia to the line of the Danube, and the history of the Marcomanni, may easily believe that, under another name, they worked their way along the March till they reached the Dnieper, and in the country of the *Getae* became called *Goths*. But this is only inference; and, in the eyes of the upholder of the Germanism of the '*Germania*,' is (in the face of the text of Tacitus) inference of a wholly unnecessary character. That the Old German is, in some, at least, of its forms, Thuringian, few are likely to deny. But, then, it is *High* German, and the conflict of characters again comes in

to perplex us. I believe this is a fair statement of the difficulties of the question in general.

That they subtract from the value of the previous evidence as to the affinities between the northern and the southern extremities of the area to which the Angle district belongs is clear, inasmuch as the language which agrees with the Old Norse in its Low German character, is just the one which we cannot absolutely assign to the parts to which we assign the Old High German; whilst the German which we can so assign is not Low, but *High*.

To objections on this score I can only say that, for the present argument, I hold that the Mæso Gothic affinity is sufficient—amply sufficient. It is better, of course, if by subordinating the difference of High and Low to that of the evidence supplied by the inflections, we can correct the three forms of speech. But it is held to be sufficient if it is good for the connection between two of them. Upon the value of the two classes of characters, as determined by their intrinsic merits, more will be said in the sequel.

## § 128. SPECIMENS.

### *Mæso Gothic.*

#### MARK, chap. i.

1. ANASTODKINS aivaggeljons iesuis xristaus sunaus guþs.
2. Sve gameliþ ist in esai in praufetau. sai. ik insandja aggilu meinana faura þus. saei gamanveip vig þeinana faura þus.
3. Stibna vojandins in auþidai. manveip vig frauþins. raihtos vaurkeip staigos guþs unsaris.
4. Vas iohannes daupjands in auþidai jah merjands daupein idreigos du aflagainai fravaurhte.
5. Jah usiddjedun du imma all iudaialand jah iairusaulymeis jah daupidai vesun allai in iaurdane awai fram imma andhaitandans fravaurhtim seinaim.
6. Vasuþ þan iohannes gavasiþs taglam ulbandaus jah gairda filleina bi hup seinana jah matida þramsteins jah milip haipivisk jah merida qipands.

7. Qimiþ svinþoza mis sa afar mis. þizei ik ni im vairþs anahnei-  
vands andbindan skaudaraip skohe is. aþþan ik dauþja izvis in vatin.

8. Ip is dauþeiþ izvis in ahmin veihamma.

9. Jah varþ in jainaim dagam. qam iesus fram nazaraip galeilais  
jah dauþiþs vas fram iohanne in iaurdane.

10. Jah suns usgaggands us þamma vatin gasaw usluknans himinans  
jah haman sve ahak atgaggandan ana ina.

11. Jah stibna qam us himinam. þu is sunus meins sa liuba. in  
þuze vaila galeikaida.

12. Jah suns sai. ahma ina ustauh in auþida.

13. Jah vas in þizai auþidai ðage fidvortiguns fraisans fram satanin  
jah vas miþ diuzam jah aggileis andbahtidedun imma.

14. Ip afar þatei atgibans varþ iohannes. qam iesus in galeilais  
merjands aivaggeljon þiudangardjos guþs qiþands þatei usfullnoda þata  
mel.

15. Jah atnewida sik þiudangardi guþs.

16. Idreigoþ jah galaubeiþ in aivaggeljon. jah warbonds faur  
marein galeilais gasaw seimonu jah andraian broþar is. þis seimonis.  
vairpandans nati in marein. vesun auk fiskjans.

17. Jah qaþ im iesus. hirjats afar mis jah gatauþa igqis vairþan  
nutans manne.

18. Jah suns affetandans þo natja seina laistidedun afar imma.

19. Jah jainþro inngaggands framis leiril gasaw iakobu þana  
zaibaidaius jah iohanne broþar is jah þans in skipa manvjandans  
natja.

20. Jah suns haihait ins jah affetandans attan seinana zaibaidaiu  
in þamma skipa miþ asnjam galipon afar imma jah galipun in kafar-  
naum.

21. Jah suns sabbato daga galeiþands in synagogen laisida ins jah  
usfilmans vaurþun ana þizai laiseinai is.

22. Unte vas laisjands ins sve valdufni habands jah ni svasve þai  
bokarjos.

23. Jah vas in þizai synagogen iþe manna in unhrainjamma ahmin  
jah ufthropida qiþands. fralet.

24. Wa uns jah þus iesu nazorenai. qamt fraqistjan uns kann  
þuk was þu is. sa veiha guþs.

25. Jah andbait ina iesus qiþands. þahai jah usgagg ut us þamma  
ahma unhrainja.

26. Jah tahida ina ahma sa unhrainja jah broþjands stibnai mikilai  
usiddja us imma.

27. Jah afslauþnodedun allai sildaleikjandans. svæi sokidedun  
miþ sis misso qiþandans. wa sijai þata. wo so laiseino so niujo. ei  
miþ valdufja jah ahmam þaim unhrainjam anabiudiþ jah ufhausjand  
imma.

28. Usiddja þan meriþa is suns and allans bisitands galeilais.

29. Jah suns us þizai synagogen usgaggandans qemun in garda seimonis jah andraifins miþ iokobau jah iohannem.

30. Iþ svaihro seimonis log in brinnon. jah suns qeþun imma bi ija.

31. Jah duatgaggands urraisida þo undgreipands handu izos.

32. Jah affailot þo so brinno suns jah andbahtida im. andanahtja þan vaurþanamma. þan gasaggq sauil. berun du imma allansþans util habandans jah unhuþons habandans.

33. Jah so baurgs alla garunnana vas at daura.

34. Jah gahailida managans ubil habandans missaleikaim sahtim jah unhuþons manags usvarp jah ni fralailot rodjan þos unhuþons. unte kunþedun ina.

35. Jah air uhtvon usstandans usiddja jah galaitþ ana auþjana etap jah jainar baþ.

36. Jah galsistans vaurþun imma seimon jah þai miþ imma.

37. Jah bigitandans ina qeþun du imma þatei allai þuk sokjand.

38. Jah qaþ du im. guggam du þaim bisunjane haimon jah baurgim. ei jah jainar merjau. unte duþe qam.

39. Jah vas merjands in synagogim iþe and alla galeilaian jah unhuþons usvairpands.

40. Jah qam at imma þrutstill habands bidjands ina jah knivam knusejands jah qiþands imma þatei. jabai vileis. magt mik gahrainjam.

41. Iþ iesus infeinands ufrakjands handu seina attaitok imma jah daþ imma. viljau. vairþ hrains.

42. Jah biþe qaþ þata iesus. suns þata þrutstill affaiþ af imma jah hrains varþ.

43. Jah gawotjands imma suns ussandida ina jah qaþ du imma.

44. Saiw ei mannhun ni diþais vaiht ak gagg þuk silban ataugjan gudjin jah atbair fram gahraineinai þeinai. þatei anabaup mozes du veitvodipai im.

45. Iþ is usgaggands dugann merjan flu jah usqipþan þata vaurd. svasve is. jupan ni mahta andaugjo in baurg galeiþan ak uta ana subjaim stadim vas jah iddjedun du imma allapro.

## § 129.

*Icelandic.*—From Snorro's *Heimskringla*.

3.

*Ynglinga Saga.*—*Kap. 1.*

Sva er sagt, at kringla heimsins, sú er mannfólkit byggir, er mjök vagakorin: gánga hōf stór úr útajanum inn í jordina. Er þat kun-  
night, at haf gengr af Njorvasundum, ok allt út til Jórśala-lands. Af

hafnu gengr lángr hafsbótin til landnordrs, er heitir Svartahaf: sa skilir heims þridjúngana: heitir fyrir austan Asia, en fyrir vestan kalla sumir Evrópa, en sumir Enea. En nordan at Svartahafi gengr Sviþjóð in mikla eða in kalda. Sviþjóð ena miklu kalla sumir menn ecki minni enn Serkland hit mikla; sumir jafna henni við Bláland hit mikla. Hinn neydrri lutr Sviþjóðar liggir óbygðr af frosti ok kulða, swa sem hinn sydrri lutr Blálands er audr af sólarbruna. I Sviþjóð eru stór hérut mörg: þar eru ok margskonar þjóðir undarligar, ok margar túngur: þar eru risar, ok þar eru dvergjar: þar eru ok blámenn; þar eru dýr ok drekar furdulega stórin. Ur Nordri frá fjöllum þeim, er fyrir utan eru bygð alla, fellr á um Sviþjóð, sú er at rettu heitir Tanais; hún var forðum köllut Tanaqvísl edr Vanaqvísl; hún kémur til sjávar inu i Svarta-haf. I Vanaqvíslum var þa kallat Vanaland, edr Vanheimr; sú á skiir heimsþridjúngana; heitir fyrir austan Asia, en fyrir vestan Evrópa.

Fyrir austan Tanaqvísl i Asia, var kallat Asa-land edr Asaheimr; en höfútborgina, er i var landinu, kölludu þeir Asgard. En i borginni var höfðingi sá er Odinn var kalladr, þar var blótstadr mikill. Þar var þar sidr at 12 hafgodar voru ættir; skyldu þeir ráða fyrir blótum ok dómum manna i milli; þat eru Diar kalladir edr drottmar: þeim skyldi þjónustu veita allr folk ok lotning. Odinn var hermadr mikill ok mjök víðföllum, ok eignadiz mörg ríki: han var swa Sigrfæll, at i hvörri orustu feck hann gagu. Ok swa kom at hans menn trúðu því, at hann ætti heimilann sigr i hverri orustu. Þat var hátt hans ef ann sendi menn sína til orustu, edr adrar sendifrarar, at hann lagði adr hendur i höfud þeim, ok gaf þeim þjanak; trúðu þeir at þá mundi vel farasc. Swa var ok um hans mann, hvar sem þeir urdu i naudum staddir á sjá edr á landi, þa kölludu þeir á nafn hans, ok þóttuz jafnan fá af því fro; þar þóttuz þeir ega allt traust er hann var. Hann fór opt swa langt i brot, at hann dvaldiz i ferdinni mörg misseri.

*In English.*

So is it said that the earth's circle which the human race inhabits is torn across into many bights, so that great seas run into the land from the out-ocean. Thus it is known that a great sea goes in at Niörvasund, and up to the land of Jerusalem. From the same sea a long sea-bight stretches towards the north-east, and is called the Black Sea, and divides the three parts of the earth; of which the eastern part is called Asia, and the western is called by some Europa, by some Enea. Northward of the Black Sea lies Swithiod the Great, or the Cold. The Great Sweden is reckoned by some not less than the Saracens' land; others compare it to the Great Blue-land. The northern part of Swithiod lies uninhabited on account of frost and cold, as likewise the southern parts of Blue-land are waste from the burning of the sun. In Swithiod are many great domains, and many wonderful races of men, and many

kinds of languages. There are giants, and there are dwarfs, and there are also blue men. There are wild beasts, and dreadfully large dragons. On the north side of the mountains which lie outside of all inhabited lands runs a river through Swithiod, which is properly called by the name of Tanais, but was formerly called Tanaquisl, or Vanaquisl, and which falls into the ocean at the Black Sea. The country of the people on the Vanaquisl was called Vanaland, or Vanaheim; and the river separates the three parts of the world, of which the easternmost part is called Asia, and the westernmost Europe.

The country east of the Tanaquisl in Asia was called Asaland, or Asaheim, and the chief city in that land was called Asgaard. In that city was a chief called Odin, and it was a great place for sacrifice. It was the custom there that twelve temple godars should both direct the sacrifices, and also judge the people. They were called Diars, or Drotners, and all the people served and obeyed them. Odin was a great and very far-travelled warrior, who conquered many kingdoms, and so successful was he that in every battle the victory was on his side. It was the belief of his people that victory belonged to him in every battle. It was his custom when he sent his men into battle, or on any expedition, that he first laid his hand upon their heads, and called down a blessing upon them; and then they believed their undertaking would be successful. His people also were accustomed, whenever they fell into danger by land or sea, to call upon his name; and they thought that always they got comfort and aid by it, for where he was they thought help was near. Often he went away so long that he passed many seasons on his journeys.

§ 130. Those who are not above betaking themselves to mechanical contrivances may bring the Old Norse into something like its older form by substituting, in the preceding specimen, *-s* for *-r* wherever it is inflectional. In doing this he will not go wrong more than once or twice in a dozen instances; so regular is the change. If this help him in the appreciation of the influence of the single change from Sigmatismus to Rhotacismus, he may continue the illustration by attaching *-n* to the inflections in *-a*; the infinitive moods, and the definite (weak) inflections more especially. Between the two he may learn the extent to which the eschewal of Nunnation, though a single change, affects the general aspect of a language.

In both of them, though not to the same extent, the Frisian agrees with the Norse. And this is the main likeness upon which the recognized affinity between the two has been founded; and that legitimately—so far as it goes; but we have seen that, as a rule, the other details of the Frisian are Westsaxon. In the substitution of the *-r* for *-s* the High German, like the Frisian, is Norse. The old nominative case ends in *-r*; but the sign is soon abandoned. In the High German, however, the plurals of nouns end in *-r* rather than in *-s*. The nunnation the High German dialects retain; and, with the exception of the Frisian, the Low German do the same. The Northumbrian is the first to drop it. The Dutch of Holland still retains it.

Nevertheless, the tendency to change, in some degree or other, is found throughout the whole German family. The Saxon dialects have not only held (we may say pertinaciously) to the *-s*, but have extended its application to the genitive of feminines; and we know that at the present time it is nearly the only sign of inflection we have. But even, as such, so far as the distinction of one form from another is concerned, it is scarcely an inflection at all. It is only to the *eye* that the genitive singular is distinguished from the nominative plural; as *father's = patris*, *fathers = patres*; whilst it is only the nature of the main word or the context (one or both) that distinguishes the third person of the verb from the noun—as *he walks a long way*, *he takes long walks*. Yet in words like *our*, and *were*, with others of less importance, the older form was not only in *-s*, but has left traces of its having been so—*e.g.* in Old Anglosaxon *use* and *usse*; and *was* in the present English.

The mere change, then, is, by itself, no characteristic of much value; since it is found, more or less, in



different forms of speech. Its value is determined by (1) the *extent* of its operation, and (2) the period at which it sets in; which is nearly, though not quite, the same thing as its *rate*.

§ 131. *Rate of Change, &c.*—Upon the question of *extent* little need be said; inasmuch as it has already been illustrated, to some degree, explicitly and in detail; while more has been suggested by implication; since it was because they operated very decidedly on the languages under notice that certain changes were used as characteristics. That of *rate*, however, commands our best attention; especially under the particular aspect just indicated, viz., the period at which such or such a change began to operate. This, independent of the amount of its action, is of primary importance. Otherwise, we may in our comparison of languages which, at one period, were little more than dialects of a single form of speech, find them so altered by changes subsequent to their separation from the parent tongue as to be placed in different classes when compared (or rather contrasted) with one another, in their later stages. Reasons will be given in the sequel, for believing that, in two notable instances, this has been the case with the Northumbrian (or Angle) and the Norse.

§ 132. As the question thus presents itself we have three epochs.

1. The last quarter of the fourth century (say A.D. 375) when we first get the Mœsogothic; destined for more than three centuries to be the representative of the German family.

2. The eighth and ninth centuries, when we get in the Anglosaxon (both Westsaxon and Northumbrian), the Old Saxon, and the Old High German, the first of the remaining languages of the family that can be

compared with either the Mœsogothic or with one another.

3. The eleventh century is the time when we first get an adequate amount of *data* for the Old Norse. That, what with the Runic inscriptions, and what with the fragments assigned by the earliest Norse writers to the older poets (Scalds), we may get an inkling of something older is not denied. For an adequate literature, however, the eleventh century is as early a date as can be given.

The intervals implied by these dates are, by no means, inconsiderable; but this is not the only difficulty. Two others must be added. The two forms of speech which most especially interest us are the Mœsogothic and the Northumbrian; and of each the history is incomplete. The Mœsogothic, as we have seen, is mainly represented by a single composition; whilst, to the soil of Germany, either in its own proper form, or by any generally recognised *directly* descended dialect, it has never been traced. The Northumbrian, on the other hand, though known by something like a literature in the ninth and tenth centuries, has no continuity in its history; for we have already spoken about the great break, or blank, during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. Between the latest of the Glosses and the last quarter of the thirteenth century we have only a few lines to represent it.

§ 133. It is now necessary to state, or perhaps repeat, the exact points towards which the present investigation is directed. It has nothing to do with the differences of dialect between the northern and southern forms of speech in our island. These are not only already recognised, but have been admirably elucidated by enquirers who have done much and promise to do more. What is attempted is an historical

and geographical elucidation of their import. Nor does this mean the setting up of any wide lines of demarcation between them. It does not make them alien and opposing forms of speech. It goes no further than the assignment of definite and special parts of Germany from which the Angle on one side and the Westsaxon on the other originated. But it *does* mean that those are precise and natural; that each coincides with the origin of the name under consideration, and that each gives a difference of dialect coinciding with recognized differences of south and north in Great Britain; and that the two points are in Germany, and in Great Britain, north and south to one another.

Nor does it mean that a connection, on the one side with Denmark, and on the other with Gaul, implies much difference in respect to the descent of the Westsaxon and the Northumbrian from a common parent; or that Scandinavian elements exclude German. Any great difference made in this respect, on the strength of the division into High and Low German, is not one of my making, though it is, certainly, one which I am prepared to consider in the sequel.

§ 134. On the other hand, it is not to the effect that the Danish and Angle were one and the same dialect of the same language. They were rather dialects with subdialects; the *minimum* difference between them being found on the common frontier. There is no reason, however, to believe that, in the sixth century, they bore different names. It is in the sixth century when the name *Dane* appears for the first time; but only to the effect that in 516 a Dane named Chochilaicus was killed in the Netherlands. Denmark, as a country, is not heard of for more than two centuries afterwards.

There was likeness and there was difference; and

of each we may give the measure so far as it bears on the present doctrine. The Danish in the time of Beda may easily have been as like the Northumbrian as the Westsaxon was; i.e. a mutually intelligible language; so that just as Beda made no distinction between the Angle and the Saxon (preferring English as the common name), he may have made none between the Angle and the Danish. Likier than this the two languages need not have been. *Unlike* we suppose them to have been so far as it is necessary to account for the difference between the Northumbrian of the Glosses and the Norse when we first get an adequate representation of it in the eleventh century, or (even if we say the tenth) three hundred years after the death of Beda, and about two hundred after the last of the Glosses. In investigating this we must remember that it is not the Danish of England that is compared with the Northumbrian, but rather the Danish, or Norse, of the Continent; and that after it had reached a point so far from the Old Angle district as Iceland.

Nor does the connection of the Danish (Norse of the Angle frontier, as we may call it) imply any inordinate difference from the Westsaxon. Both go back to either the Mæsothic, or some closely allied form of speech; and both differ from it merely in a variation of the details of their change. The Frisian, however much we may hesitate to refer to it in preference to the Norse, is, to some extent, a transitional form of speech; though only one between the Saxon and the Angle; the Angle itself coming between the Norse and the Frisian.

This means that, in the sixth century, the distinctive characters of what is now the representative language of the Scandinavian division of the German class had not become sufficient to separate the

two classes; and with this I leave the exposition of the nature of the suggested affinities. The differences are considerable now; but they were inconsiderable twelve hundred years ago. The changes during this interval by which they were brought about, so far as they are capable of investigation, along with their approximate dates, will be noticed as we proceed.

§ 135. The two great breaks in the continuity of the three languages under notice—the Mæsoth, the Norse, and the Northumbrian—have already been indicated.

The little I can do towards filling them up consists in the following three notices; two of which bear on the change from the \*Sigmatismus of the Mæsoth to the \*Rhotacismus of the later forms of speech, and the third upon the remnants of the \*Nunnation.

The first applies to the Mæsoth itself: the other two to the Norse.

§ 136. ‘*Asting*’ and ‘*Garding*’ in the Gothic.—These are, word for word, the same; inasmuch as both forms are Gothic; the form in *-s* being the older one. The word in either form is a rare one. So far, however, as it goes it is an instructive one. The proper name Ἄστινγος, as applied to a population of Dacia, first occurs in Dio Cassius; Jornandes, who is an *Ostrogoth*, uses the same form; Cassiodorus does the same, he also being an *Ostrogoth*. Lydus, referring to an event during the reign of Justinian, tells us that the word was a title of honour; his form being *Astingi*, with the *-s*. But, in a Spanish, or *Visigoth*, record referring to the same period, it is *Gardingi*, and this

\* I find it convenient to use these somewhat scholastic terms for the difference between the languages under consideration in respect to their adoption or avoidance of the sounds of S, R, and N, in inflections. The *Sigmatismus* is characteristic of the Mæsoth.

it is wherever it is found (and it is found more than once) in the *Visigoth Code*; and that with the secondary meaning of *Noble* which it has under the form *Asting* in \*Lydus.

§ 137. 'Is' for 'Er,' the Old Norse Pronoun.—The older Runes give us the older form *is* for *er*; the former being the Mæso Gothic demonstrative. 'It is found,' writes Munch, 'oftenest in the old old (*æld-gamle*) forms *is* and *ias*, oftener compounded (contracted) into *sas*, *sar*.'—*Kortfallet Fremstilling*, &c., p. 32.

§ 138. 'Is' for 'er,' the Auxiliary Verb.—From the same writer—'The auxiliary verb *vera* gives generally, or, at least, a majority of forms in *-s*—viz., in the present indicative *ist* (*est*), *is* (*ias*, *es*); infinitive *visa* (*vesa*); participle *visandi* (*vesandi*); preterit indicative singular *vas*, *vast*, *vas*.'—*Ibid.*, p. 29.

§ 139. *Remains of the Nunnation in O. N.*—In the M. G. the third person plural for both the present and the past tenses of the subjunctive mood ended in *-na*; as *nasjaina* = *sanent*; *nasidêdeina* = *sanarent*. This *-n*, concurrently with newer forms in *-i*, is found in the Old Swedish of the Runic period. It is also found in the *imperative* of the present Swedish. See *Ibid.*, p. 29.

§ 140. *The Post-positive Article and the so-called Passive Voice.*—But the two points in the structure of the Scandinavian languages upon which the most stress has been laid are (1) the post-positive article, and (2) the so-called passive voice.

§ 141. *The Post-positive Article.*—In M. G. the definite article is as follows:—

\* This is from Zeuss, pp. 461, 462, and nota. The foregoing references tell us all that is known about the *Astings*. Their history seems to have been merged in that of the Goths in general.

## SINGULAR.

<i>Masculine.</i>	<i>Feminine.</i>	<i>Neuter.</i>
<i>Nom. sa.</i>	<i>sô.</i>	<i>thata.</i>
<i>Gen. this.</i>	<i>thisês.</i>	<i>this.</i>
<i>Dat. thamma.</i>	<i>thisai.</i>	<i>thamma.</i>
<i>Acc. thana.</i>	<i>thô.</i>	<i>thata.</i>
<i>Abl. thê.</i>	—	<i>thê.</i>

## PLURAL.

<i>Nom. thai.</i>	<i>thôs.</i>	<i>thô.</i>
<i>Gen. thizê.</i>	<i>thizo.</i>	<i>thizê.</i>
<i>Dat. thaim.</i>	<i>thaim.</i>	<i>thaim.</i>
<i>Acc. thans.</i>	<i>thôs.</i>	<i>thô.</i>

Except that this gives us the characteristic *s* of the old language, as opposed to forms like *there*, *thera*, and *their*, which take *-r*, this is little more than the definite article both in the Old Saxon and the Westsaxon; in neither of which is there anything remarkable. *Sa* and *so*, or *se* and *seo*, differ from *þæt*, just as in Greek *ô* and *η* differ from *τό*; and in the three languages they all precede their noun, and stand apart from it as separable words. And this is what articles do in general.

In Norse, however, the equivalents of *sa*, *so*, *thata*, and *ô*, *η*, *τό*, are *hin*, *hinn*, and *hit*; and these, instead of preceding their noun, follow it; and instead of standing apart from it as separate words, coalesce with it. In the present Danish the *i* has become *e*; and, as in the present Danish, the indefinite article is *en* for the masculine, and *-et* for the neuter genders. Then the *h* of the definite article is dropped, the two articles, form for form, become confluent, and it is only by their position that they are distinguished; e.g. *en mand* = a man, *et bord* = a table, while *manden* = the man, and *bordet* = the table.

Hence, in both Danish and Swedish, i.e. the modern descendants of the Old Norse, the forms from the

root *s* have disappeared, and the substitution of the derivatives of *hin* for those of *se* and *þæt* is complete. Both the Mœsogothic roots are excluded, and a *post*-position in the garb of inflection is substituted for the familiar separable and independent prefixes of the German and the Greek languages.

With all this difference, however, there is a great amount of likeness. The M. G. *sa* and *sô*, though lost to the *Danish* and the *Swedish*, are preserved in the *Icelandic* from the time of the earliest Runes to the present day; the only difference being that they are classed as demonstrative pronouns rather than as definite articles. Between the two, the difference is of the slightest; indeed, in most languages where both occur, either one may be used where we expect the other, or equivocal constructions may present themselves. Such a one is the combination that one Englishman would translate by *the* and another by *that*.

If we take this as a convenient test, and apply it to the *old* forms of the Norse, we shall find something very like *two* articles, one of old and one of recent origin; the two for a time destined to be used concurrently, but the older, at length, destined to be superseded.

*Hin* is the form that is most decidedly articular. In extreme cases like *Frederic the Second*, *George the First*, &c., where *that* is out of the question, it predominates—*Ari hin Froða* = *Ari the Wise*; *Froðe hin Frökne* = *Frode the Active*, &c.

On the other hand, in contexts like

*The man that has not music in his soul,*

where there is a relative to follow (so that the article belongs to the noun of the antecedent), and where *that*, though not incompatible with the text, is rarely used,



the Norse pronoun is not *hin*, but *sá*, or *sú*, according to the gender. And *er* follows.

Thus, from a single division of a single poem in the Metrical Edda we have—

*Vafthnidnir.*

Segðu þat, Gaguráðr,  
 hve *sá* völlr heitir ;  
 Er finnask vígi at  
 Surtr ok *in* svasu goð ?  
 Say-thou Gangrad,  
 how *the* plain is called ;  
 Where is found (the) war between  
 Surtur and *the* sweet god ?

*Vafthnidnir.*

Segðu þat Gangráðr,  
 hve *sú* á heitir ;  
 Er deilir með jötna sonum  
 grund ok með goðum ?  
 Say-thou Gangrad,  
 How *the* river is called ;  
 Which divides between the Jotun's sons  
 (the) land and between (the) gods ?

*Edda Sæmundi, Vafþrúdnismál, 17-15.*

Here *sá* and *su* are, at least, as good for articles, as they are for demonstratives ; while *in* precedes its noun ; is separated from it ; and has, moreover, dropped the initial *h*-.

This is, certainly, something like the present post-positive article in the process of formation, the date being the eleventh century. However, if it were carried back to the ninth it would still be three hundred years subsequent to the latest recognised date for the Angle invasions of Britain.

To this we may add that in one notable case, at least, the phenomenon of a post-positive definite article is manifestly of late origin. In the Italian, French, and Spanish derivatives from the Latin the

definite article is a simple and secondary form of the demonstrative *ille*, in its ordinary independent form, and in its usual place as a prefix to its noun. But in the Wallachian and Moldavian of the Danubian Principalities it is, as in Icelandic, a *post-position*, more like an inflectional case-ending than a separate word, and, as such, wholly in contrast to its congeners of Italy, France, and the Iberian Peninsula. In Wallachian and Moldavian *il uomo, el hombre, l'homme* is *ómul* = *homo ille*; *óameni-i* = *homines-illi*; *ómului* = *hominis illius*; *óameni-lor* = *hominum illorum*. Feminine—*kas-a* = *casa-illa*; *kase-le* = *casæ illæ*; *kase-lor* = *casarum-illarum*—*muer-ea* = *mulier illa*; *muer-ei* = *mulieris illius*; *muer-ile* = *mulieres illæ*; *muer-ilor* = *mulierum illarum*. To forms like these it is impossible to assign any considerable antiquity; for the Roman conquest of Dacia was little more than four hundred years earlier than the German conquest of England.

The actual absence of this Postpositive Article in the Danish of South Jutland will be noticed in the sequel. At present it is sufficient to draw attention to it.

§ 142. *The (so-called) Passive Voice.*—*Passive* is the term applied to the second voice in the Scandinavian languages; where, so far as the fact of its power being indicated by an inflection goes, it is a true voice; and, as such, a very prominent characteristic. But it is, to a great extent, *Deponent*; perhaps as largely so as in Latin. Again, it is certainly *Middle* rather than *Passive*; certainly, too, as far as its construction goes, *Reflective*; and, in respect to its meaning, to a great extent, *Reciprocal*. Historically, however, it is so evidently a compound that it is only in its latest forms that it differs from such an evident combination of different words as the French *se frap-*

or the German *sich schlagen* = *to beat his (one's)*

This means that it is no Inflection at all.

The present or latest form of this so-called Passive ; the penultimate form, *-st* ; the next oldest form, or *-sk* ; the original form, *sik* = (*him*)-*self* in Eng- ; *sich* in German ; and *se* in Latin and French ; simply the Reflective Pronoun. It is used, how- , for all the three persons, and for both numbers.

## DANISH.

*Active.*

## (1)

1. Jeg elsker	=	<i>I love.</i>
2. Du elsker	=	<i>Thou lovest.</i>
3. Han elsker	=	<i>He loves.</i>
1. Vi elske	=	<i>We love.</i>
2. I elske	=	<i>Ye love.</i>
3. De elske	=	<i>They love.</i>

## (2)

1. Jeg elskede	=	<i>I loved.</i>
2. Du elskede	=	<i>Thou lovedst.</i>
3. Han elskede	=	<i>He loved.</i>
1. Vi elskede	=	<i>We loved.</i>
2. I elskede	=	<i>Ye loved.</i>
3. De elskede	=	<i>They loved.</i>

*Passive.*

## (1)

1. Jeg elskes	=	<i>I am loved.</i>
2. Du elskes	=	<i>Thou art loved.</i>
3. Han elskes	=	<i>He is loved.</i>
1. Vi elskes	=	<i>We are loved.</i>
2. I elskes	=	<i>Ye are loved.</i>
3. De elskes	=	<i>They are loved.</i>

## (2)

1. Jeg elskedes	=	<i>I was loved.</i>
2. Du elskedes	=	<i>Thou wast loved.</i>
3. Han elskedes	=	<i>He was loved.</i>
1. Vi elskedes	=	<i>We were loved.</i>
2. I elskedes	=	<i>Ye were loved.</i>
3. De elskedes	=	<i>They were loved.</i>

Now the actual process of this contraction of *mik* = *me*, and *sik* = *se*, is found going on (we might almost say beginning) so late as the tenth century, i.e. in the very oldest Norse known to us. In other words, the combination of the Verb with the Reflective Pronoun is so loose that it scarcely justifies us in assigning a Reflective, Middle, or Reciprocal Voice to the Old Norse, unless we also assign one to the French, the Italian, and the German as well. As time, however, goes on, the case alters, for *sik* soon serves for all the three Persons, and no longer corresponds with the Nominative Case of its Verb, when it is either the speaker or the person spoken to—the result being combinations like *je se lave*, *nous s'aiment*, &c., in French, and *nos se lavamus*, *vos se amatis* in Latin. Then the *k* becomes *t*, and *-st* is the sign of the Passive Voice. Finally, as, in the present Danish and Swedish, the *-t* itself is dropped; so that words that began as *elska sik*, and proceeded as *elskask*, *elskast*, become, in Swedish, *elskas*, and in Danish, *elskes*, i.e. Passives after the manner of *amor* and *τύπτομαι*, rather than Reflective constructions like *je suis aimé*, and *ich bin geliebt*.

§ 143. Now it is clear that inflections like the two under notice are not, necessarily, of any great antiquity. As a general rule, indeed, it is true that inflections are oftener lost than developed; in other words, that combinations like *I have written* take the place of single words like *γέγραφα*, oftener than single words like *γέγραφα* take the place of combinations. That this is a rule of great generality and importance is beyond doubt. But its generality is easily exaggerated. The Futures in both the French and the \*Italian are

\* In the French *parlerai*, and the Italian *parlero* (where the *-ai* and *-o* have long been admitted to represent the verb *habeo*), the change is, manifestly, a late one.

undoubted instances to the contrary; and it is submitted that both the Post-positive Article and the Passive Voice in Norse are instances of the same kind. Indeed, it is only in a general way that the rule as to the change from Synthetic to Analytic, and not *vice versâ*, can be applied.

§ 144. It is not pretended that the evidence upon either of these points is conclusive; and it is not denied that they are weighty ones in the present argument. I don't think that, if it were certain that, in the time of Beda, these two inflections were as fully developed as they are in the Norse of the tenth century, the doctrine of the Angle and the Danish being sufficiently alike to pass for the same language would be tenable.

The uncertainty, too, as to the original geographical position of the Mœsogothic has much to do with this inconclusiveness; for, if the Mœsogothic, as a matter of certainty, could be shown to have been spoken on, or within, the Angle frontier in the fourth or fifth century, the descent of the Old Norse would be undoubted; and the later origin of forms like *bordet* and *elskes*, &c., would be recognised as a matter of course. The question, however, is not so simple as this; so that we can only take it as it presents itself, and press it only so far as it will go.

§ 145. The affinities between the Northumbrian and Norse which will now be brought under notice are, of course, those wherein both the Norse and the Northumbrian differ from the Westsaxon. It is not apprehended that any of the instances will either be objected to, or treated as accidental. The only point upon which there may be any question refers to their origin. Are they due to contact with Norse settlers during a time when the Norse and English languages were as distinct (or nearly so) as they were in the tenth

century; in other words, to what is usually called ‘*Norse influences*’; or are they due to an original affinity as close (there or thereabouts) as that between the Northumbrian and the Westsaxon, and anterior to the differentiation and divergence of the Angle and Danish languages? It is not likely that all the forthcoming instances will be of equal value in this respect. Those, however, that bear most especially on the question will be treated at length. A notice under each of the Frisian affinities will be added; and they will show clearly that they are Westsaxon rather than Northumbrian.

§ 146. The two important exceptions to the rule that the Frisian agrees with the Westsaxon rather than with the Northumbrian are the two connected with its Phonesis; in respect to (1) its Nunnation and (2) its Sigmatisms. It has less of both than the Westsaxon; though the absence of neither is quite so conspicuous as it is in the Norse.

§ 147. *Eschewal of the Nunnation; Change from -an to -a.*—This we find in three inflections:

a. In the Weak (or Simple) Substantive—A. S. ; *eágan* = *eye’s* and *eyes*, &c. ; *tungan* = *tongue’s* and *tongues*, &c. ; *naman* = *name’s* and *names*, &c.—in Frisian *ága*, *tunga*, *nama*, &c.

b. In the Definite Adjective—A. S. *góðan* = *boni*, *bonæ*, *bono*, in the Singular; and *boni*, *bonæ*, *bona*, *bonos*, &c., in the Plural. In Frisian the form is *góða*.

c. In the Infinitive Mood of Verbs—A. S. *deman* = *judicare*, *bærnan* = *urere*, &c. ; in Frisian, *dema*, *berna*, &c.

In all these the Northumbrian agrees with the Frisian, and both with the Norse.

§ 148. *Rhotacismus.*—The substitution of *-r* for *-s*

is found in Frisian only as the sign of the Plural of Substantives—A. S. *cyningas* = *kings*; in Frisian, *keningan*. In this it agrees with the Norse, and with the Non-Saxon dialects of Germany; whilst it differs from all the dialects of England.

§ 149. Between these two processes we get in Old Norse the forms *tungur* = *tongues*, where in A. S. we find *tungan*, and in Frisian *tunga*. This is because in Mæsothotic the *-n* was followed by an *-s*, and the full form *tuggóns* = *linguæ* and *linguas* was the result.

The Norse drops the *n*, but changes the *-s* into *-r*; herein following the Mæsothotic and standing alone in doing so; since all the other members of the German family drop the inflection altogether; none retaining either the *s* or any representative of it.

§ 150. *The Extension of -s to the Feminine Genitives.*—The *s* in the present English is common to both the Masculine and the Feminine Genders. In Westsaxon it was limited to the Masculine and the Neuter; and traces of the distinction are found in the fourteenth century. In the Northumbrian the change begins earlier. In the Modern Danish and Swedish this identification of the two inflections has led to another Scandinavian character, which is manifestly of recent origin. The Icelandic has the usual three Genders. The Danish and Swedish have only two. But these two are (in contrast with those of the languages of Latin origin) not the Masculine and Feminine, but the Common and the Neuter.

§ 151. *The Defective Inflection of 'He.'*—In the Glosses we find the Pronoun of the Third Person declined as in the Westsaxon; i.e. with all its present forms (*he, him, her*), and with four others now lost. These are the Singular Accusative *hine*, and the Plural forms *hi* = *they*; *heora* = *their*; and *heom* = *them*.

Now the total abandonment of the form in *-n*, or the *Accusative Singular*, is nothing more than what we have at the present time; where it is superseded by *him*, originally a *Dative*. And the same applies to the displacement of all the plural forms of *he* by *they*, &c. The peculiarity of the Northumbrian, however, is the early date at which these inflections of *he* disappear. Though found, as we have already stated, in the Glosses, they are not found in the Northumbrian of the thirteenth century; i.e. the earliest *Middle Northumbrian* known.

This displacement of the Plural of *he* by that of *the*, along with the loss of the true *Accusative* in *-n*, leads us to the notice of the relations of both *the* and *he* with *se*.

§ 152. 'He,' 'The,' and 'Se.'—For the Definite Article in *Moesogothic* see § 141. Except that it uses *s* or *z* where the other two dialects use *r*, it is the same as the Old Saxon and the Westsaxon; in other words, they all agree in giving it a full inflection, in which, with the exception of the Nominative Singular, of the Masculine and Feminine Genders, the radical form is *th-*, or the root of *that*, *they*, *their*, *then*, and *them*, all of which are, in the present English, Demonstrative, or (so-called) Personal Pronouns rather than Articles. As Personal Pronouns they have, in the Plural Number, displaced and superseded the old plurals of *he*, as shown in the preceding section.

Meanwhile, the Nominatives Singular, Masculine and Feminine, are *sa*, *sô* = *se*, *seo*; of which the first has entirely dropped out of our language; while the latter with a change of both forms and meaning has displaced the older *heo*, and is retained as *she*.

The same inflection, with the same retention of the forms *sa* and *su* (compare the Greek  $\acute{o}$ ,  $\acute{\eta}$ ,  $\tau\acute{o}$ ), charac-



terises the Old Norse; with the difference (as we have seen) of the power of the forms being those of the Demonstrative Pronoun rather than those of the Definite Article. In all this and much more, the Middle, and, to some extent, the older Northumbrian differs very widely.

It gives us *þ-* for *s-*, in the Glosses.

It has got rid of the Accusative Masculine Singular, and all the plural forms of *he* before the fourteenth century.

For these it has substituted the plurals of *th-*; the result being that in the Middle Northumbrian, the Definite Article is simply that of the present language—just as simple and just as destitute of inflection. *Se* has disappeared altogether; and *she* represents *heo*.

But the *maximum* of contrast is that between the Northumbrian and Norse; as may be seen by comparing such a simple form as *the* with the complex and exceptional Postpositives of the Scandinavian system.

It is possible, however, that through this very notable difference, and, to some extent, in spite of it, may not only the affinities between the Norse and the Northumbrian, of which we have already said so much, be maintained, but, from one point, may be strengthened: inasmuch as reasons will be given for treating the whole series of changes in respect to the roots *h-*, *th-*, and *s-*, whether as Definite Articles or Demonstrative Pronouns, as parts of a system; in which case the evidence in favour of the recognised points of likeness between the two languages being due to original affinity rather than to subsequent contact would be greatly strengthened.

§ 153. *The -n- in the Ordinal Numbers.*—In the Westsaxon the ordinals for 7, 8, 9, 10, 13—19 end in *-otha*; as *seofotha*, *eahtotha*, *nigotha*, *teotha*, *thretheo-*

*tha, feowerteotha—nigonteotha*, i.e. without any *n*, as in *seventh, tenth, &c.*

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries these were—

*scvethe, nethe, and tethe* (in the Southern dialects).

*sevende, neghende, tende* (in the Northern dialects).

*seventhe, ninthe, tenth* (in the Midland dialects).

The Midland forms are formed from the Northern ones, and made their appearance in the fourteenth century; and the latter are of Scandinavian origin. In the Northumbrian Gospels we find *seofunda*—Cp. O. N., 7, *siöundi*; 9, *niundi*; 10, *tiundi*; 13, *threttandi*; 15, *fim-tandi*, &c.—Morris, *Historical Outlines*, p. 114 and note.

§ 154. *The eschewal of the form sind, &c.*—These are conspicuous in the Westsaxon; *We are, Ye are, They are*, being specially Northumbrian. The Icelandic runs: 1. *em*; 2. *ert, er*; *erum, eruþ*; 3. *eru*. In this the Frisian agrees with the Westsaxon.

Old Frisian.—*Wi, I, hja send=we, &c., are.*

East Frisian.—*Wi be, we sünt Soldat = we two (both), we are soldiers.*

Frisian of Heligoland.—*Wann wi to freden sen=when we contented are.*

—————.—*Wi sen ja lick van stann=we are likes of condition.*

North Frisian.—*Wü sen jit di jest fuurtein Juar = we are yet (now) just fourteen years.*

§ 155. No form in *-inne*, a Gerundial or Dative Case of the Infinitive.—In Westsaxon *lufian=amare, to lufianne=ad amandum*.

This is not a pure case of Nunnation, or retention of the final *-n*—not, at least, in the first instance.

In not having the form at all, the M. G. agrees with the Norse. The Frisian, however, which agrees with the Norse in dropping the *-n* of the Infinitive, retains it, *without* the final *-e*, in the Gerundial, or Dative

form; though the exact origin is uncertain; inasmuch as in the Old Frisian we find such forms as *to demande*, *to delande*=*to judge, to doom*.

(1)

Man wat wejr jer to *dōn*?

But: what was here to do?

(2)

Help ūs! lūr ūs sa dat wū

Wellig sen, de wei tō *gungen*.

Help us, learn us, so that we

Willing be the way to go.

(3)

Skuld en Kemmer of en Lek

Ūs wat fuul tō *dreien* maake—

Should a trouble or a sport

Us (some)what foul to try make—

(4)

Din es Hoogheid, Din es maght!

Dū heest alles aur tō *reeden*!

Din es wisheid! Fol Bedaght,

Weest Du alles bääst to *reeden*.

Thine is Highness, thine is might!

Thou hast all to advise (*rede*)!

Thine is wisdom! full thought,

Thou knowest all best to advise.

§ 156. *No Participial Prefix*, as *ge-nered*, *ge-lufod* = *healed*, *loved*.—This prefix is preserved in the Frisian, and found in the Mercian of England. In the Westsaxon it is very common during the Middle period, universal in the older, and predominant in both the High and Low German of the Continent, throughout all, or almost all, of its latest dialects. In short, its absence is characteristic of the Norse and the Northumbrian.

‘The retention of the *Affix*, or the final *-en*, of the Perfect Participle, which in the Middle Westsaxon is often ejected (*y-broke*=*gebrocen*),

but which, *except when there is an -n- in the verb itself*, is universal at the present time, is also Norse. But it is not a point of any characteristic importance; inasmuch as it prevails in all the other German forms of speech. The real peculiarity, in this respect, lies with the Westsaxon and the modern English.

'The Strong Verbs form the Past Tense by strengthening or modifying the stem vowel. The Past Participle ends in *-en*, but this termination is dropped whenever a nasal (*m*, *n*, or *ng*) is found in the preceding syllable. Thus *beyte*, *bait*, *bytten*; but *clym*, *clam*, *clum* (for *clumben*); *fynd*, *fand*, *fund* (for *funden*); *ryng*, *rang*, *rung* (for *rungen*). In *drynk* we may thus drop the *-en* and make *drunk*, or we may expel the *n* of the stem, and retain the termination, *drukk-en* (compare the Norse *drukken*). In *cum-en*, after dropping the *-en*, *d* is added to distinguish the past participle from the present tense: "they're *cum'd*," Eng. *come*, Old Northern dialect *cum-en*. This rule is of course unwritten, but it is invariable; I have not observed the same regularity in the dialect of any other district or of any period. No rule can be given for the dropping or retention of *-en* in the Book-English.'—*Murray; The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland*, p. 201.

§ 157. *Absence of the Signs of Person in the Preterits.*—This is what we have in the present English; but the Southern forms were—

<i>A. S.</i>		<i>Middle English (A. S. and Mercian).</i>	
1. <i>lufode.</i>	1. <i>lufoden.</i>	1. <i>lovede.</i>	1. <i>loveden.</i>
2. <i>lufodest.</i>	2. <i>lufoden.</i>	2. <i>lovedest.</i>	2. <i>loveden.</i>
3. <i>lufode.</i>	3. <i>lufoden.</i>	3. <i>lovede.</i>	3. <i>loveden.</i>

The Old Northumbrian anticipates the present English; and has the simple form in *-d* throughout. The Old Norse retains the inflections nearly as they are in Mœsogothic—*talde*, *talde*, *talde*, *töldum*, *tölduþ*, *töldu*.

§ 158. *Persons in the Present Indicative in -s.*—This is so characteristic of the Northumbrian, and, indeed, of the other two dialects, that Dr. Morris has taken it as a test.

These dialects are distinguished from each other by the *uniform* employment of certain grammatical inflexions.

A convenient test is to be found in the inflexion of the *plural* number, *present* tense, *indicative* mood.

The Northern dialect employs *-es*, the Midland *-en*, and the Southern *-eth*, as the inflexion for all persons of the plural present indicative.

	<i>Northern.</i>	<i>Midland.</i>	<i>Southern.</i>	
1st pers.	hop- <i>es</i> ,	hop- <i>en</i> ,	hop- <i>eth</i> ,	we hope.
2nd „	hop- <i>es</i> ,	hop- <i>en</i> ,	hop- <i>eth</i> ,	ye hope.
3rd „	hop- <i>es</i> ,	hop- <i>en</i> ,	hop- <i>eth</i> ,	they hope.

The inflexions of the singular number, though no absolute test of dialect, are of value in enabling us to separate the West-Midland from the East-Midland.

The West-Midland conjugated its verb, in the singular number and present tense, almost like the Northern dialect.

	<i>West-Midland.</i>	<i>Northern.</i>
1st pers.	hope	hopes.
2nd „	hopes	hopes.
3rd „	hopes	hopes.

The West-Midland of Shropshire seems to have employed the Southern inflexion *-est*, and *-eth* as well as *-es* in the second and third persons singular indicative.

The East-Midland dialect, like the Southern, conjugated the verb in the sing. pres. indic. as follows.

1st pers.	hope.
2nd „	hopest.
3rd „	hopeth.

Some of the East-Midland dialects geographically connected with the Northern seem to have occasionally employed the inflexion *-es* in the 2nd and 3rd pers. as well as *-est* and *-eth*. It is mostly found in poetical writers, who used it for the sake of obtaining an extra syllable riming with some nouns plur. and adverbs in *-s*.

The West-Midland is further distinguished from the East-Midland dialect, in employing the inflexion *-es* for *-est* in the 2nd pers. sing. of regular verbs.—*Specimens of Early English*, § 7.

Those who are satisfied with treating *-s* as a mere softening of the Westsaxon *-th*, and then supposing that the sign of one person is extended to others, will see nothing in all this that bears upon any connection with the Norse. But, if we look to the Scandinavian

languages in general and to the Mœsogothic, the case takes a widely different form.

The Mœsogothic Present runs—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>nasja</i>	<i>nasjaima.</i>
2. <i>nasjis</i>	<i>nasjab.</i>
3. <i>nasjip</i>	<i>nasjand.</i>

and the same fulness and distinctness of inflection we find in the Old High German.

In Icelandic we find—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>kallar.</i>	1. <i>köllum.</i>
2. <i>kallar.</i>	2. <i>köllup.</i>
3. <i>kallar.</i>	3. <i>köllu.</i>

In Danish—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>kaller</i>	<i>kalle.</i>
2. <i>kaller</i>	<i>kalle.</i>
3. <i>kaller</i>	<i>kalle.</i>

In Swedish—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>kallar.</i>	1. <i>kalla.</i>
2. <i>kallar.</i>	2. <i>kalla.</i>
3. <i>kallar.</i>	3. <i>kalla.</i>

§ 159. Here the Old Icelandic has a near approximation to the Mœsogothic and the Old High German; and it retains it to the present day.

The Danish and Swedish, doing just a little more than we do in English, retain a distinction for the number, but make no distinction for the persons, of the Plural.

But as, with the exception of the Genitive Singular, every Mœsogothic inflection in *-s* becomes an *-r* in Scandinavian, the *-r* of the Singular may be held to represent the original *-s*. Hence, it has its proper place, like the Northumbrian *-s*, in the second Singular

only. But it is extended to the other two. It is just the same with the Northumbrian *-s*. Considering that this extension is common to the two languages, it is reasonable to suppose that the same process is in operation in both, and that the *-s* in Northumbrian agrees in its origin as well as in its application with the *-r* of the Danish and Swedish; the one preserving the original *-s*, the other changing it into *-r*.

§ 160. *The Absence of Genitives Plural in -ne.*—These are those of the Substantives of the *Weak Declension*:—Masc., *hanena*; Fem., *tungena*; Neut., *heortena* in A. S.—*hanané*; *tuggónó*; *hairtené*, in M. G. In English, *cocks*’; *tongues*’; *hearts*’. It is not difficult to see that the early loss of these Genitives in the Northumbrian is part of a system; the system which eliminates the *-n* from the Infinitive Mood of Verbs. The same avoidance of the Nunnation presents itself in the Old Norse; where, for Masculines which end in *-i* (i.e., not in *a*, the termination of the Feminine and Neuter Substantives), the Genitive Plural is simply *-a*; as *geisl-i* = *geisl-a*. Where the Nominative case, however, ends in *-a*, the *-n* is either retained or inserted—*ob differentiam*. Such, at least, is the suggestion of Rask.

§ 161. *Here, Hither, Hence, &c.*—The best evidence, however, of the affinities of the Norse and Northumbrian being due to a common influence is found in the following table:—

*Masogothic.*—*þar, þap, þapro*—*there, thither, thence.*  
*hêr, hîþ, hidró*—*here, hither, hence.*

*Old High German.*—*huâr, huara, huanana*—*where, whither, whence.*  
*dâr, dara, danana*—*there, thither, thence.*  
*hêr, hêra, hinana*—*here, hither, hence.*

*Old Saxon.*—*huar, huar, huanan*—*where, whither, whence.*  
*thar, thar, thanan*—*here, hither, hence.*  
*hér, hér, hénan*—*there, thither, thence.*

*Anglosaxon.*—þar, þider, þonan—*there, thither, thence.*  
 hvar, hvider, hvonan—*where, whither, whence.*  
 her, hider, honan—*here, hither, hence.*

*Middle High German.*—dâ, dan, dannen—*there, &c., &c.*  
 wâ, war, wannen—*there, &c., &c.*  
 hie, hër, hennen—*there, thither, thence.*

*Modern High German.*—da, dar, dannen—*there, &c., &c.*  
 wo, wohen, wannen—*there, &c., &c.*  
 hier, her, hinnen—*here, &c., &c.*

*Old Norse.*—þar, þaðra, þaðan—*there, thither, thence.*  
 hvar, hvert, hvaðan—*there, &c., &c.*  
 hér, hëðra, hëðan—*here, &c., &c.*

So far as this goes it is only in the M. G. and the O. N. that the þ appears in the *third* series: where it appears with a difference. It may be added, however, that it also appears in the Northumbrian, and that *without* a difference.

§ 162. The preceding table is from Grimm. The following extract is from Dr. Morris:—

NORTHERN.	SOUTHERN.
23. Absence of the pronouns <i>ha</i> or <i>a</i> = <i>he</i> ; <i>hine</i> = <i>him</i> (acc.); <i>wan</i> = whom, which (acc.); <i>his</i> <i>(hise, is)</i> = them; <i>his</i> ( <i>is</i> ) = <i>her</i> .	Use of the pronouns <i>ha</i> ( <i>a</i> ), <i>hine, wan, his</i> ( <i>hise, is</i> ), <i>his</i> ( <i>is</i> ).
24. Use of <i>hethen</i> = hence; <i>thethen</i> = thence; <i>whethen</i> = whence.	Unknown in Southern Dialects.

*Specimens of Early English, Part II. Introduction, xxii., § 8.*

The whole list of Dr. Morris's Grammatical Differences between the Northern and Southern dialects may be read with advantage; but the two under notice are selected and compared because, to some extent, they seem to stand to one another in the relation of cause and effect; and, if such be the case, it implies that the remarkable use of such forms as *hethen*, *thethen*, and *whethen* belongs to a system common to the Norse and



Northumbrian forms of speech rather than to the accident of mere geographical contact.

The Southern and modern forms in *-ce* are manifestly founded on an earlier form in *-es*; as is shown by the words *hennes*, *whennes*, *thennes*; the change of *-es* to *-ce* being a mere point of spelling. But these forms in *-n* are by no means of regular occurrence in the Northumbrian; whilst, in the Norse, the whole system to which they belong is deranged. This derangement, or *fault*, as we might call it in geological phraseology, has already been suggested; one of its results being the Definite Article *hin*. That the *h-* is the *h-* in *he* is certain. But what is the import of the *-n*? In the A. S. and O. S. *hine*, and in the German *ihn*, it is the sign of the *Accusative Case*; being as different from *he*, or *er*, as *eum*, in Latin, is from *is*. Then there is, for the Pronoun of the Third Person, a series of forms of a very peculiar kind.

The root is *h*, followed by a vowel; but not the vowel *i*, as in *hin*. In the Masculine Gender it is *a*; in the Feminine, *o* or *u*. Meanwhile, the *-n* is treated as a part of the fundamental word, and *hans* = *his* = *ejus* is the Genitive Case of *han*, while *hennar* = *her* = *ejus*, as applied to a female, is Genitive of *hun* = *eu*. The Objective is formed by adding *-m*; as *honom* = *-him*.

This treatment of *-n* as a part of the theme rather than as a sign of case, along with the process of distinguishing the Personal Pronoun from the Definite Article, and the Genders of the Personal Pronoun itself by changes of the vowel, is of far more importance as a characteristic of the Norse than either the Post-position of the Article or the so-called Passive Voice; and it certainly has had the effect of limiting the use of *-n* as a sign of the Accusative, in the other two roots of

the series under notice. The Norse equivalent (word for word) for *then* or *than* is *den*; but it stands, not for *illum*, but for *ille*; in other words, it is Nominative. Of the A. S. *hwæne*, Middle English *wan*, German *wen*, there is, in the present Danish, no equivalent at all—not even (as we expect from the analogies of *hen* and *den*) as a Nominative Case. The Danish for *who*, *qui*, or *quis*, is *hvem*—just as if we said *him* for *he*—whilst the Adverb of time (= *when* in English) is a wholly different word—*naar*.

§ 163. There is no disturbance to this extent in the Northumbrian. But, in a lesser degree, there is something of the same kind. *Hine*=*eum*, and *wan*=*quem* are excluded from the Northumbrian of the Middle Period by Dr. Morris. At the present time the use of *than* as an Adverb of Comparison is, comparatively, rare; and, perhaps, in Scotland, is an Anglicism. That *hethen*, *thethen*, and *whethen* are unknown in the Southern Dialects is the statement of Dr. Morris. The present notice shows us that they are known in Norse, and, what is more important, known nowhere else.

That the use of *-n* is a deviation from its original import is clear; and, being so, it may be called ‘*Abusive*’ or ‘*Catachrestic*,’ according to the language from which we choose to derive our term. As a characteristic of language in which it presents itself this ‘*Catachresis of -n*’ is of sufficient importance to claim a definite name; and so it will be called when, in conjunction with the Post-position of the Article and the (so-called) Passive Voice, it is alluded to as one of the three peculiarities of the Norse.

§ 164. This is the evidence afforded by grammatical forms. That which is derived from the similarity or identity of particular words is of less importance; though it is well known that words common to the

Danish and English are more conspicuous in the Northern dialects than the Southern. They are generally referred to geographical contact rather than to the original affinity of dialect. ‘*Danish*,’ ‘*Scandinavian*,’ or ‘*Norse*,’ however, in these cases means, of course, something more than the occurrence of the same word in Britain and Scandinavia. It means ‘*peculiar to Scandinavia*’ as opposed to Germany; inasmuch as words common to the *three* divisions of the family are no more Scandinavian than German, and *vice versa*. Words of this kind may be counted by the thousand. But unless they are shown to be non-existent in the German they are of no value: and what with the proverbial difficulty of proving a negative, what with the extent of the German literature, and what with the number of the German Dialects, it is dangerous for anyone to assign a word exclusively to Scandinavia; and those who, like the present writer, have done so at one period of their life generally retract their opinion as their experience increases.

The only words in Scandinavian that can safely be treated as other than German, are those derivatives from non-German languages, such as the Lap, the Fin, the Slavonic, the Lithuanic, or the Keltic. But these are, themselves, scarcely Scandinavian. Nor are they numerous. Moreover, whether numerous or not, none of them have hitherto presented themselves in English.

§ 165. Still, there are certain words which have a better claim to be considered Scandinavian than others; i.e. those that are current and conspicuous in the Danish, Swedish, and Icelandic; whereas, if they are found in German at all, they are found either in the provincial dialects or in writers of an earlier period.

Of these there are two divisions; the recognition of which is, in the philology and ethnology of the

Norse parts of Britain, of great and exceptional importance.

The distinction between *Proper* names and *Common* names is an instrument of criticism; and, of *Proper* names, those of geographical objects and localities have most especially commanded notice.

The particular word that has done the most service in this way is the word *by*=*town*, in compounds like *Grimsby*, *Spilsby*, and some hundred others. It is preeminently a Danish word. *Caster*, too, in the place of *Chester* is a Danish *form*, and *Skip-*, *Carl*, *Orm-*, and *Kirk*, imply Danish occupancy. Hence, where the English parts of Britain give us *Charlton*, *Dorchester*, *Shipton*, and *Wormshead*, the Danish forms are *Carlby*, *Ancaster*, *Skipton*, *Ormshead*, and *Ormskirk*. Any ordinary map supplies the list of these. They are the most numerous in Yorkshire, especially in the East and North Ridings; but Yorkshire is an inordinately large county. For its size, Lincolnshire gives us the most. Then, at a great distance, Leicester, Nottingham, Derby, and Northampton. We lose the word *by* in the south at *Rugby*, and on the north in Durham—*Raby*. It is to be found, in patches, in Norfolk and Suffolk. Elsewhere, on the eastern side of England, they are either undiscovered or undiscoverable. From Yorkshire, however, they follow the western feeders of the Ouse to its watershed, which they cross, and then reappear in Cumberland, Westmoreland, Lancashire, Cheshire, the Isle of Man, and North Wales; at least in such names as *Orm's Head*. In Ireland, we have a new instrument of criticism. In *Carlingford*, *Strangford*, and *Wexford*, the final syllable has not its ordinary import. It means an arm of the sea; in short, is the Norwegian *Fjord*. And so it is in the *Firth* of *Forth* in Scotland. In this country the distribution of

the *bys* is remarkable. We have it at Duncansby Head in the extreme north, and we have it in Eskdale and Annandale in the south-west. Otherwise the *bys* are exceptional. As *proper* names, these give us a long list. But they are not *common* names. They are all proper names, the names of geographical localities.

It may be expected that where we find these, we shall find *common* names also. But such is not the case. If true Danish *common* names exist in one part of Great Britain more than another, it is in Scotland; but that is just where the local names give us the fewest signs of Danish occupancy. This anomaly, however, has been, to some extent, explained. Mr. Worsaae, in his 'Danes and Northmen,' has shown that it is only the Danes of Denmark proper that exhibit this inordinate partiality for villages ending in *-by*, and that in Norway they are rare. In Iceland, pre-eminently a Norwegian colony, they are not to be found. The admitted inference is that it was Norwegians who assailed and circumnavigated *Scotland*, but Danes who assailed *England*; and, from the parts about Kirkby Lonsdale, &c., crossed the watershed, and gave us the numerous *-bys* of Cumberland and Selkirkshire.

§ 166. It is doubtful whether, though true in the main, this explanation is complete. The Norse of the Orcades, as represented by the Shetland Paternoster, is undoubtedly Norwegian as opposed to Danish, and the Norse of Lincolnshire, &c., as represented by numerous local names in *-by*, is as undoubtedly Danish as opposed to Norwegian. But, if the present view be right, there are for both Norway and Denmark two kinds of Danish and Norwegian. There is, for each, the Norse of the earlier period, when the difference between what afterwards became the Danish and the Northumbrian English, was little more than

that between two mutually intelligible dialects; and there is Norse which, at a later period, has become a distinct language from the English. The Norse of the north of Scotland was not only the Norse of Norway, or Norwegian, but it was the Norwegian of the period when the difference between the two languages was complete. The Norse of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire was the Norse of Denmark, and, probably, that of the later period. But the Norse of the parts between the Tees and Forth, of Durham, Northumberland, and the Lowlands of Scotland, is in a different category from both. It differs from the Orcadian in not constituting a separate language; and in this it agrees with the Norse of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire; and it leads the investigator to the perplexing fact that, contrary to expectation, the distribution of the *Common* names in Norse by no means coincides with that of the *Proper* ones. There are no local names in *-by* between *Raby* on the Tees and *Duncansby Head* on the northern extremity of Scotland; none in Northumberland, none in Berwickshire, none in the Lothians; the Norse elements being numerous. In Lincolnshire the local names are numerous, the other Norse elements being inconsiderable.

There are three forms, then, in which, according to the present treatise, we find the Norse language in Britain: (1) The Norwegian of the Orcades and Caithness; (2) The Danish of the districts where the termination of *-by* predominates; and (3) The Norse, which, by hypothesis, is as much Angle as Danish, or in other words, a form of the German, of no later date than the sixth century, out of which the present Danish, Swedish, and Icelandic were subsequently developed. This last is the only one upon which more need be said.

§ 167. *Retrospect.—Internal Evidence.*—The evidence as to the original connection between the North-

umbrian and Danish, rather than the mere contact of two dialects which afterwards diverged from one another so far as to constitute different languages, being the true cause of the acknowledged points of similarity between the two forms of speech, so far as it has been submitted to the reader, has hitherto consisted solely and wholly of their relations in the way of grammatical structure ; and so much so that no cognizance has been taken of individual words ; and it is believed that evidence of this kind is sufficient.

In respect to the details themselves there is little or nothing which has not been recognized. Neither is the notion that it is from a common origin rather than from Norse influences of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries a new one. I think it safe to say that thirty years ago the original affinity, or approximate identity of the Angle and Danish was considered the sounder doctrine of the two ; and that words quoted as *Danish* due to contact with historical Danes were looked upon suspiciously ; nor am I sure that such is not the prevalent doctrine at the present time. That there were Norsemen in Britain as early as ever there were Angles is certainly a view which has numerous supporters. Neither is the advent of the first Angles so definitely fixed for the sixth century as that of the first Saxons is fixed for the fifth ; for those who think themselves constrained to believe that Hengist was the earliest of the Saxon conquerors, are by no means tied down to think the same of Ida the Angle, who may have had predecessors. The little that runs contrary to doctrines more or less received is really a matter for the Scandinavian scholar rather than the English. It touches the history of the Norse language more than that of our own. And in respect to this the leading points are of the simplest. The great characters that at present

distinguish the Norse languages from the English and German are, as we have seen; (1) The Postpositive Article; (2) the Passive Voice; (3) the Catachresis of the *-n*, three in all. Whether these are characters that could be developed between the Angle invasion of England and the date of the earliest specimens of the Norse (say A.D. 550 and 950—there or thereabouts) is the leading question for consideration. Subtract these from the Norse as it is known to us in the earliest compositions; compare the language as we may suppose it to have been without them with the Northumbrian; deduce the latter from that part of Germany which the name *Angle*, or *English*, suggests; bear in mind its geographical relation to Denmark; and, finally, compare both with the Mœsogothic.

The result will be that the language from which we get the Durham Glosses and the Northumbrian of Scotland was, in the sixth and seventh centuries, little more than a variety of the German of the parts between the Weser and the Eyder, which, on the continent, developed itself into what are now the Icelandic, the Swedish, and the Danish.

§ 168. *Retrospect.—External Evidence.*—We may now safely say that if we can get this from the internal evidence of the structure of the two languages themselves, we shall not find much (if anything) in the way of external evidence to oppose to it. It is not as if in the sixth and seventh centuries the area of Denmark and the name *Danish* were what they are now, or even what they were in the ninth century. The only Danes that are mentioned during the fifth century (when the name appears for the first time) are those of Procopius, who seem to have been on the frontier of the Warni (the Warni themselves on the Angle frontier), and the ‘*Chochilaicus Danus*’ of Gregory of Tours. From



Gregory we know only that this great Dane made a descent upon the Netherlands, and was killed. But where he came from no one can say. There is nothing that connects him with what we afterwards know as Denmark. Where the *Danish March* was, or whether there was any at all in the sixth century, we have no means of knowing. If it was the March of the *Marcomanni* of the ninth century, it was south of the Eyder, and close upon the Angle area.

This *Chochilaicus* may or may not have been *Havelok the Dane*. If so, he is enough of an Angle to be connected, by tradition, with England. That he was the *Higelac* of '*Beowulf*' has been generally admitted since the time of Outzen (A.D. 1816), and *Higelac* is enough of an Angle to be associated with *Hengist*.

The Danes themselves of the Anglosaxon Chronicle are as little traceable to the soil of Denmark as the Danes of Procopius, and as *Chochilaicus*. They came according to the notice from *Heretha-land*, a name which itself requires explanation. Those who place it in Denmark only do so because certain Danes are assigned to it.

That this is an insufficient reason is evident, but the bearings of it require a special notice. It is clear that if we invest the Denmark of the times of *Ida* and his Angles with the dimensions of the Denmark of our own times, the difficulty of conceiving its language as little more than a variety of the Angle increases with the magnitude of the area. The larger the extension of a form of speech the greater is the likelihood of its being a separate substantive language rather than a mere dialect, subdialect, or variety, or *vice versâ*; and if it were certain that when Northumbria was Anglicized by certain Germans from one side of the Elbe, Jutland and

the Danish Isles had already been Danecized by certain Germans from the other side, the doctrine that the difference between the Norse and the English is of later date than the seventh and eighth centuries would require more evidence than has been found for it. But we have no certainty that such is the case. We have no evidence that the Germanization of Jutland and the Islands is a day older than that of Northern England. We fail, however, to realize this because when we hear of Danes we refer them to what we subsequently know as Denmark; the real fact being that it is only in our habit of doing so that the evidence, if so it may be called, of a geographical Denmark anterior to the time of Charlemagne has any existence. The habit of thinking of the early Danes as if, in their character of pirates, they are easily traced to a definite district as the Algerines, is, no doubt, natural; but it is fraught with error when, instead of thinking about Denmark as we do of Algiers, on the strength of our knowledge of it as a country, we argue from our knowledge of it as it was in the time of Charlemagne, or even of Alfred. What has been said about its language applies to its geography. As the language must be held to have become differentiated subsequent to the Angle invasion, the area must be held to have extended itself. The Danes are known on foreign shores long before they are known on their own. That they are, in the first instance, Germans; that they are Germans of the northern known extremity of Germany; that they are Germans of the Angle frontier; that they lay to the north of that frontier; that their history is of the same character as that of the Angles—are fair inferences from the little we know about them. But there is nothing in all this that carries them beyond the Eyder, nothing that carries them into Jutland, nothing which makes them

old occupants of the present kingdom, any more than there is anything which makes the Angles old occupants of Britain. The Danes, who are specially said to have been the first of the denomination in our island, land in a part which is pre-eminently *Non-Danish*. They are recorded in the composition essentially belonging to the area of the *Non-Danish* dialect. The notice is at least a hundred years later than the event. The name after the time of Alfred is sufficiently familiar, but even then there is no notice of the country from which they came; and of their language no notice from first to last.

§ 169. Bede, though he enumerates the languages of Britain, makes no mention of the Danish. This, according to the view of those who hold that the notice of the Anglosaxon Chronicle excludes all Danes anterior to A.D. 787, is accounted for by the fact of there being none in the island. The present writer holds that Bede made no difference between the Danish and the Angle.

Again, the Anglosaxon Chronicle, though it lands its Danes in the Westsaxon parts of Britain, says that the land they made their descent on was *English*. But this only tells us that the name *England*, when the entry was made, was extended from the Northern and Middle districts to the Southern.

More important is the notice by Jornandes of Scandinavia, i.e. Norway and Sweden. It cannot be denied that he gives us Germans in Norway. The names *Finnaithee*, *Raumariciae*, and *Ragnaricii*, are not only the present names *Finheide*, *Romerige*, and *Ringerige*, but are compounds of the German word *heide* = *heath*, and *-ric* = *kingdom*, *domain*. Moreover the king's name was Rodulf, who left his own kingdom to put himself under the protection of Theodoric the king of Goths. The blood of some of the German race (the general population was Fin) was the same as that of the Danes of Procopius. Now the most that can be got from the statement is that, a little earlier than the recorded invasion of the Angles under Ida, but not earlier than the earliest inferential invasions of the Saxons, there was a German invasion of Norway nearly simultaneous with one of England; the name of the invaders being '*Danes*' in one case, and '*Angles*' in the other.

Upon two of these three points, the only ones in which I see the elements of an objection in the way of history, as I do not care to explain

them away, I submit them to the judgment of the reader without comment. The text, however, of Jornandes requires a fuller notice.

After giving several names of less importance, that writer continues: 'Sunt et his exteriores *Ostrogothæ, Raumaricii, Ragnaricii*. Finni mitissimi, Scandziæ cultoribus omnibus mitiores, necnon et pares eorum Viniviloth. Suithidi, cogeni (al. cogniti) in hac gente reliquis corporibus eminentiores, *quamvis et Dani ex ipsorum stirpe progressi [qui] Herulos* propriis sedibus expulerunt. Qui inter omnes Scandziæ nationes nomen sibi ob nimiam proceritatem affectant præcipuum. Sunt quanquam et illorum positura Grannii, Agandziæ, Unixæ, Ethelrugi, Arochiranni, quibus non ante multos annos Rodulf rex fuit: qui contempto proprio regno ad Theoderici Gothorum regis gremium confugit, et, ut desiderabat, invenit. Hæ itaque gentes Romanis corpore et animo grandiores, infestæ sævitia pugæ.'—*De Rebus Geticis*, c. 3. (*Zeuss*, p. 502, p. 503.)

§ 170. Rodolf's retreat to the bosom of Theodoric is earlier than the time of Ida in Northumberland; but not much. The contact of the Heruli with the Danes is found in Procopius as well as Jornandes; and Procopius is the better authority. His account is that the Heruli fled to the Warni, and *skirted* (? the Greek is *πρόδρομον*) the nations of the Danes. Jornandes, somewhat differently, makes the Danes expel the Heruli. The conflict between the two texts is of less importance than the place it gives to the Danes. They are on the frontier of the Warni, in Mecklenburg; who are, themselves, on that of the Angle in Altmark. The Angle district is a *March*. The Danish the same. The Angle district abutted on the German Ocean rather than on the Baltic: the Danish on the Baltic rather than the German Ocean. One pointed more especially towards Britain; the other towards the Danish Isles: but, at the neck of the Cimbric Chersonese the two divisions would touch each other; and each might join in the expeditions of its neighbour. On the one side the one name, on the other the other, might predominate. And this seems to have been the case. Where, in the Twelfth Century, we get the early accounts of Denmark,

though much in them is mythic, one point seems real, viz., that the Danish kingdom began not in Holstein, Sleswick, or Jutland, but in the Islands, and extended itself to Skaane, the most Southern part of the Scandinavian Peninsula, at least as early as it did to Jutland. This means that it spread not Northwards, but North-east. *Dan*, the brother of *Angul*, is, of course, a mere Eponymus; but his brother is the Eponymus of England—and that in the eyes of the Danes. That Jutland was not Denmark, and that the kingdom of Dan consisted of the Islands before it embraced Jutland, is the unanimous statement of the earliest Danish logographers.

Again—as to the limitation of the original Denmark to a comparatively small district on the Angle frontier, we have the following evidence in favour of reducing its dimensions. When Holstein is first known in detail, the eastern half is Slavonic and the western is Frisian; in other words, there is no continuous extension of the Danish language in the central Peninsula. There is a Danish March, or boundary; but it was not so called because it was the frontier of a kingdom behind it, but a March which extended its name to a kingdom subsequently established.

Taking this and the dates, we find it difficult to believe that, in the fifth and sixth centuries, the difference between the Angle districts and the Danish was either that of two great national areas, or that of two languages which differed from one another as the Scandinavian class of languages now differ from the German.

§ 171. The exact details of the language we assign to this district are of minor importance, and, if they were not so, they would lie beyond our means of investigation. The name, too, or names, is unknown. The

speech itself may have been absolutely uniform ; may have fallen into two dialects ; or may have fallen into more than two. For the present inquiry, however, the following conditions are all that is needful :—

(1) That it should be common to the two denominations, *Angle* and *Dane*.

(2) That it should contain the elements out of which two languages as unlike as the Northumbrian and the Old Norse of the Twelfth Century (the time when they can, for the first time, be compared) could be developed, when separated from one another by the German Ocean, and with (say) five centuries allowed for the changes on each side to be effected.

(3) That, though more akin to the Angle than to the Westsaxon, it should be intelligible to both the Westsaxons and the Mercians. This is because, at no time in English history, is the Danish treated as a separate language, any more than, in spite of certain differences of dialect, the Westsaxon and Angle are so treated.

§ 172. *Corollary*.—From this last condition the corollary in respect to the dialects and sub-dialects of the German both of England and the Continent is that, though the differences between them were appreciable, they lay within a small compass ; for when forms of speech like those of the northern and southern frontiers of Germany are found to be mutually intelligible, and (as such) little more than dialects of a single language, the presumption is that the intermediate dialects are the same. It need not be so ; but such is the presumption. This applies to the districts on the western half of Germany rather than to those of the south-east, of which, in the way of language, less is known.

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## CHAPTER XIV.

STAGES OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.—OF LESS IMPORTANCE THAN FORMERLY.—THE DIVISIONS.—THE NAMES OF THEM—ANGLOSAXON, OLD ENGLISH, ETC.

§ 173. It is usual to divide the English language into what is called its several *stages*; and the word is a convenient one. The English of Henry VIII.'s time is older, or earlier, than that of the present day—not only in date, but in structure. And, in like manner, the English of the reign of King John is newer, more modern, or later, than that of the time of Alfred; and here we have, as we expect, a similar antiquity of structure. We have not only words which are now obsolete, but inflections which have now disappeared.

It is by these internal and structural characters rather than by the mere number of years that the age of a language must be measured; and it is a great gain if we can divide its history into clear and definite stages of growth or development. However, we cannot, from the very nature of the process of either growth or decay, expect that any very definite lines of demarcation can be drawn; though we know what terms are likely to present themselves. There will be an Older English, and a Newer, or Modern, English; perhaps a Middle, an Intermediate, or a Transitional English—perhaps much more of the same kind. But, whatever may be the name, the relations of the divisions to one another will be the same.

§ 174. The classification, and nomenclature, which satisfied the scholars of the last generation, are as follows:—

(1) The Period; extending from the first introduction of our language into Britain to the Battle of

Hastings. Practically, this begins with the times of Bede, A.D. 725 (ca.)

(2) From the Norman Conquest to the Middle of the Thirteenth Century—A.D. 1258. This is a very artificial division. However, a Proclamation to the people of Huntingdon of Henry III., for this year, has the credit of being the first example of what may be called the *English* to which the present language belongs rather than the English of the *Anglosaxon* period. This division is, we repeat, wholly artificial; but as it is generally known to be so, it has been allowed to keep its place; though with some limitations on its strict import.

(3) From the Middle of the Thirteenth Century to the time of Chaucer; which means the latter part of the reign of Henry III., that of Edward I., Edward II., and (partly) that of Edward III. This, again, is mainly determined by the importance of the name of Chaucer. Still it is, to a great extent, natural.

(4) From Chaucer to Sir Thomas More. With Thomas More the present literature of England is, somewhat loosely, said to begin. Nevertheless, the name is sufficiently conspicuous to make the division convenient.

(5) From the time of Henry III. to the present.

§ 175. Such are the *dimensions* of the five stages of the English language as generally understood. The *names* of them are as follows:—(1) *Anglosaxon*, (2) *Semisaxon*, (3) *Old English*, (4) *Middle English*, (5) *Newer, Recent, or Modern English*.

Partly on the strength of the divisions themselves, and partly on account of the names, there is, at present, a good deal of criticism afloat, which is by no means favourable to the preceding nomenclature.

§ 176. In respect to the names the chief objections



lie against the first two—the compounds of the word *Saxon*. The history of the English language is continuous ; and as the word *Saxon* seems to indicate a different language, rather than the same language in a different stage, it is charged with disguising the continuity. Perhaps with some persons it may do so. But then the substitute for it does something, perhaps, as bad. Old *English*, for that is the proposed name, disguises the continuity between the *Old Saxon* of the Continent and the insular *Saxon* of what is now England, but what was originally Britain.

§ 177. Those who object to ‘*Anglosaxon*’ object also to ‘*Semisaxon* ;’ as is natural. It is not likely, however, that the question of names will be determined on any *a priori* notions of propriety. The name that turns out to be the most convenient will be the one which eventually prevails, and of this common-sense test those who make the most use of it in their investigations are the best judges. A name that is good in one department of learning may be exceptional in another. ‘*Old English*’ may be a good term for the historian, though an inconvenient one in philology. Of this the historian and the philologue are the best judges, and each, as a workman in a different department, has a right to name his tools. This is as much as need be said upon a point which, just at present, is invested with more importance than it deserves.

§ 178. One of the reasons for the present objections to older classification and its corresponding nomenclature is the importance which within the last thirty years has been attached to the study of our *Dialects* ; and when it comes to be generally recognized that each of the leading ones is represented by a corresponding literature, limited to its own proper period, there is so

little continuity in their history that the impropriety of massing them together and treating them as one and indivisible is manifest.

Another reason is the extent to which the history of the Middle English has been cultivated. The more we know of it the more we see how one period graduates into another, and how difficult it is to draw definite lines of demarcation.

Nevertheless, there is something akin to the stages of a language in general, or certain epochs at which the language in mass of the whole island was, or might be, affected.

Such a one is the time from the reign of Diocletian, at the end of the third century, to the middle of the fifth, when we know that some Germans of some sort or other had set foot in our island.

Such a one is the time from the middle of the fifth century to the beginning of the seventh, when the history of our language was a blank. But we know that it was to a great extent German.

Such a one was the time from A.D. 600 to the death of Beda; for which we have a few lines in English, and these we know belong to the *northern* rather than to the *southern* form of speech.

Such a one is the time from the death of Beda to that of Alfred, where we know that the northern literature is declining. Under Alfred and his successors the classical *Westsaxon* literature was formed. But a fresh influence was introduced by the Norman Conquest.

From the Norman Conquest to the death of Richard II. there is a period out of which many subordinate stages may be made. There are the reigns of the two Williams, Stephen, Henry II., Richard, and John, in which the *Westsaxon* still is the predomina-

ting dialect; but there is very little of it. Then, under Henry III., there are compositions other than Westsaxon. Those that are Northumbrian are representatives of an old, though diminished literature, in a new shape after a long arrest. Hence we have the Northumbrian form of speech re-appearing, but with no continuity in its history.

There are, also, Midland dialects, which are represented in this century, but they have no anterior history.

Meanwhile the Westsaxon declines.

For this period there is no continuity for any one of the forms of speech of which the English language consists; nor can we expect one of the language in general.

§ 179. As early as 1852 a writer (Professor Stephens of Copenhagen) in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for April and May proposed the following change: viz. that—

1. From A.D. 550 to 1150 the Language should be called *Old English*.
2. From A.D. 1150 to 1350 the Language should be called *Early English*.
3. From A.D. 1350 to 1550 the Language should be called *Middle English*.

§ 180. Of this arrangement, with its corresponding system of terms, it is only certain that it is now on its trial; also that from the time of its first introduction to the present it has had good authorities in its favour. Nor can it be denied that to a looker-on it has much to recommend it. It is invested with a certain patriotic or national halo of what we may call *Anglehood*; and it favours, to a certain extent, the notion that if the history of language, or, indeed, of anything else is *continuous*, no term that has the slightest tendency to

disguise that great fact of continuity should be tolerated. I have no means of ascertaining how far the word *Anglosaxon* does this; but I can easily imagine that many a person who has heard of it as the name of one language, and of *English* as that of another, may get exaggerated views as to the nature of their difference. But unless he know that there is such a thing as a language with certain stages, periods, or consecutive divisions in its history, the words *Old*, *Middle*, and *New*, as qualifying additions to the word *English* in the newer vocabulary, teach him but little; and when he knows this a change is unimportant. Moreover, whatever may be said against the term *Semisaxon*, the word *Anglosaxon* is anything but a new one.

As for the continuity which it is supposed to conceal, it is one of a very partial, or sectional, character; for it extends no farther than the Angle conquest of Britain. The continuity of the Old *English* of England with the Old *Saxon* of Germany is as real as that of the English of Alfred's time with that of the Conqueror, and as well worth being made unmistakeable. But, in the opinion of the present writer, the extent to which either is misunderstood is over-rated. However, as has been already stated, one word may be the best for the historian, the other for the philologue; and each is the judge in his own department.

Meanwhile it is well to know that such evil as the use of the compound '*Anglosaxon*' is supposed to have done, is not involved in the term itself, and that the charge against it is not so much that it is a bad word in itself, but that *English* is a better.

§ 181. Still it is a word that needs explanation; for it is *not* a new one, and it *is* one which has several senses.

(1.) The sense in which it is not only unexception-

able, but almost necessary, is that with which we find it in the Lombard historian of the ninth century—Paulus Diaconus. He is not the author who gives us the earliest instance of its use; but the import he attaches to it is the most definite. With him it means the *English of Britain*, or the Island, as opposed to the *English of Germany*, or the mother-country of the Continent. For a Continental writer such a compound was excellent.

(2) With Beda, an earlier writer, it has the same want of precision as it has now. Few who use it at the present time are able to say at once whether they mean by it *Angle* and *Saxon*, or *Angle* or *Saxon*. With the exact sense of Paulus Diaconus, Beda would have no great occasion to use it; for with him, as an Anglosaxon, there would, in general, be nothing exceptional in the term. Whether it meant *Angle* rather than *Saxon*, or *Saxon* rather than *Angle*, it would, as a matter of course, be *English*. Beda used all three terms—*Angle*, *Saxon*, and *Anglosaxon*. He also uses *Old Saxon*=*Antiqui Saxones* translated *Eald-seaxan*.

§ 182. In neither of these senses can the compound be abandoned.

As opposed to the *Old Saxon* of the Continent, the *Anglosaxon* is the Anglosaxon of Paulus Diaconus.

This is the compound in its most precise and unexceptionable form. But it is wanted with a second sense. Though there was a unity between the *Angles*, *Saxons*, or *Anglosaxons* of Britain, there was also a difference, and not an unimportant one. At times we can analyse this, and show what was *Angle* and what was *Saxon*. But, at times, the separation is either beyond our means of analysis, or not requiring it. In this case, *Anglosaxon*, meaning neither *Angle* or

*Saxon* in particular, but both in general, is, to say the least, a convenient term. In the matter, however, of language or dialect, *Westsaxon* has become a recognized term.

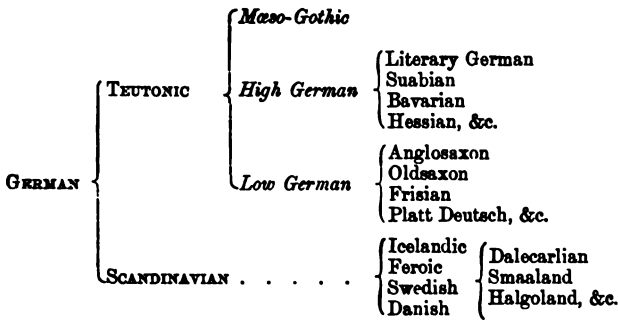
But it is only a geographical one ; and as such applies to a particular dialect of our language rather than to the stages of the language in general. For the period anterior to the Norman I have found *Anglosaxon* the most convenient name.

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## CHAPTER XV.

CLASSIFICATION.—PLACE OF THE ENGLISH AS A MEMBER OF THE GERMAN FAMILY.—PLACE OF THE GERMAN FAMILY AS A MEMBER OF THE INDO-GERMANIC, INDO-EUROPEAN, OR ARYAN CLASS.

§ 183. It is conspicuously clear from what has preceded that just as the *Westsaxon*, the *Northumbrian*, and the *Mercian* are divisions of the *English*, so is the *English* a division of some larger group ; a group which some call *Gothic*, some *German*. There is no doubt as to its contents. The languages or Dialects which are here stated to belong to it are universally admitted to do so. Upon their relations, however, to each other, or the divisions and subdivisions which they form within the class at large, there is no unanimity of opinion. The Table of Affinities which satisfied the generation of Grimm and Rask was as follows :—



*The English Language*, p. 213.

Here the Mæso-gothic stands by itself.

The classification of the last work of importance and authority, Dr. Morris's '*Historical Outlines of English Accidence*,' runs thus :—

The Teutonic languages may be arranged in three groups as subdivisions—

- (1) The Low German. (2) The Scandinavian. (3) The High German.

I. To the Low German belong the following languages—

- (1) Gothic, &c.
- (2) Frisian, &c.
- (3) Dutch, &c.
- (4) Flemish, &c.
- (5) Old Saxon, &c.
- (6) English. (a) Old English; (b) Modern English; (c) Provincial English; (d) Lowland Scotch.

II. To the Scandinavian division belong the following languages :

- (1) Icelandic; (2) Norwegian; (3) Swedish; (4) Danish.

III. To the HIGH GERMAN division belongs Modern German, the literary dialect of Germany, properly the speech of the south-east of Germany, Bavaria, Austria, and some adjacent districts.

It is divided into three stages—

- (a) Old High German, comprising a number of dialects (the Thuringian, Franconian, Swabian, Alsacian, Swiss, and Bavarian), spoken in Upper or South Germany, from the beginning of the eighth to the middle of the eleventh century.
- (b) Middle High German, spoken in Upper Germany from the

beginning of the twelfth to the end of the fifteenth century.

- (c) Modern High German, from the end of the fifteenth century to the present time.

Luther ennobled the dialect he used in his beautiful translation of the Bible, and made the High German the literary language of all German-speaking people. The Low German dialects of the Continent are yielding to its influence, and, in course of time, will be wholly displaced by it.

10. If we compare English and Modern German we find them very clearly distinguished from each other by regular phonetic changes: thus a *d* in English corresponds to a *t* in German, as *dance* and *tanz*; *day* and *tag*; *deep* and *tief*; *drink* and *trinken*. A *t* in English agrees with an *s* or *z* in German, as is shown by *foot* and *fuss*; *tin* and *zinn*; *to* and *zu*; *two* and *zwei*; *water* and *wasser*. A German *d* is equivalent to our *th*, as *die* and *the*; *dein* and *thine*; *bad* and *bath*, &c.

Not only English, but all the remaining members of the Low German family, as well as the Scandinavian dialects, are thus distinguished from High German.—Pp. 4–6, 1872.

Here the Mæsothotic is made *Low* German; thereby isolating the High German, and making it exceptional to the general character of the Family. The principle upon which this is done is explained in the last four sentences. It is founded on the letter-changes indicated, and, to some extent, illustrated, in §§ 124, 125, viz., the change of the Sonant Mutes to the Surd. That it is not general has been shown. Still it is a change of a regular and systematic character, and as such must be taken as we find it. But only so far as it goes; that is, so far as there are no signs of affinity elsewhere.

That there actually are such that connect the Mæsothotic with the *High* German is beyond doubt; so that the result is the paradox or see-saw, that though the changes under notice may associate a given form of speech with the Low German dialects, it may not separate them from the High ones; and this is only another way of saying that between the value of *High* and *Low* as divisions, and the value of the change of *Sonant* to *Surd* as a criterion, the value of the characteristic which makes a cross-division of the kind before us is



questionable. In fact, the change under consideration is a *single character*, and single characters are proverbially suspicious. To be of any value they must come under one of two conditions. They must either be of such importance of themselves as to outweigh a mass of minor differences, and no one has shown that the change from Sonant to Surd does this, or they must, so to say, carry with them, imply, or represent other differences with which they are connected in the way of cause and effect, or as parts of a systematic series of changes, in which case they are not single characters.

The difference between the change from Surd to Sonant was not a matter of such importance in the eyes of the older philologues as it is with us. With us it is important because in the particular case of the High and Low German forms of speech it admirably exemplifies what is called Grimm's Law. But it does not follow that because it did this, it should be a good measure of the nearness or distantness of the relationship between one language and another. The change may and does exist between closely allied forms of speech. But it drew attention to a change which the older scholars had either overlooked or undervalued.

When *High* and *Low*, however, became precise, technical, important, and generally current terms, the Low German character of the Mœsogothic Phonesis commanded attention; and more than thirty years ago Kemble drew attention to it. Still it was kept separate in the systems of classification. At present it is not only classed as *Low* German, but specially, sometimes ostentatiously, separated from the *High*.

The real question in all this is the merit of the terms *High* and *Low* as names of classes, and the value of the change from *Surd* to *Sonant* as a test.

As for the Mœsogothic, so far as its Phonesis goes,

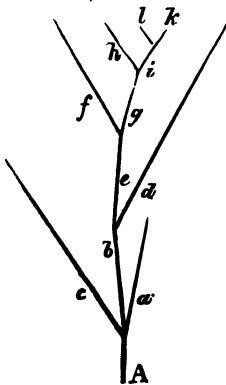
it is, *quoad hoc*, Low German. It may be so in other matters; but until it is not only shown to be so, but shown to be so in more points, or more important ones than those wherein it agrees with the High German, the unattached condition in which the older scholars left it should be upheld; and the proof that the Mæso-gothic and High German are in different and distant divisions proves too much.

§ 184. But the tabular arrangement is not the only one. In the only other English grammar of importance, that of Mr. March, we have a Genealogical Tree. After mentioning the Anglosaxon and the Danish the author writes:—

‘The other languages sprung from the languages of Low German tribes are Friesic, Old Saxon, and, later, Dutch (and Flemish), and Platt Deutsch . . . These Low German languages are akin to the High German on one side, and to Scandinavian on the other. These with the Mæso-gothic constitute the Teutonic class of languages.’

This leaves the Mæso-gothic by itself.

‘The following stem shows the manner in which the Teutonic languages branch after separating from the Teutonic. The Gothic (Mæso-gothic) died without issue. The Gothic (Mæso-gothic) is nearer akin to it than the High German is. The branches of the Scandinavian (Swedish, Danish, and Norwegian) are not represented.



- A Teutonic. Theoretic
  - a Gothic. 4th Century
  - b Germanic. Theoretic
  - c Scandinavian. 13th Century
  - d High German. 8th Century
  - e Low German. Theoretic
  - f Friesian. 14th Century
  - g Saxon. Theoretic
  - h Anglosaxon. 8th Century
  - i Old Saxon. 9th Century
  - k Platt Deutsch. 14th Century
  - l Dutch. 13th Century.
- A Comparative Grammar of the Anglo-saxon Language. 1871.*

Here the Mœsogothic, though not classed as either *High* or *Low*, is said to be more 'like' the latter than the former. But it branches off from the main stem at a nearer point than the Old Saxon does; while the continuation of the stem, though marked as '*Low German*,' is also marked as *Theoretic*.

This shows that an arrangement which classes languages, at a late period of their growth, may conflict with one that shows them in their earlier relations to a common stock. Both are incomplete. Provided, however, that we know this, and take each system for what it is intended, and for no more than it is worth, the evils are not very serious; for one checks the other, and classifications of such an absolute nature as to allow each of their characteristics to be driven to its extreme results are rarely attainable. It is one thing to make the Mœsogothic *Low* in respect to its Phonesis, another to make it, when its other characteristics are brought in on the other side, more Westsaxon than High German.

§ 185. *The Indo-Germanic, &c., Class of Language.*—But, as the English was only a single member in the German family, so was the German itself but a single member of a higher group, viz., Indo-Germanic, Indo-European, or Aryan. In a systematic work on Philology it would be necessary to discuss the relative merits of these three names; and to ascertain the dimensions of the class; but this is not necessary here. Such members of it as will be used for the illustration of the details of English Philology—these and these only—will be here mentioned.

I. Nearest in geography, but not so much used as the others in illustration, is the Slavonic. This contains:—

a. The Polish, with outlying fragments in other

parts of Germany dating from a time when Slavonia extended to and beyond the Elbe. These are:—

*b.* The Linonian of Luneburgh, in which the original Slavonic was preached during the last century. Known only by a Paternoster.

*c.* The Kassubic; still spoken by a fragmentary population in Pomerania.

*d.* The Sorabian, a remnant of the Slavonian of Lusatia and Brandenburg.

*e.* The Bohemian, called Czech (Tshekh) in Bohemia; Moravian in Moravia; and Slovack in Upper Hungary.

*f.* The Russian.

*g.* The Bulgarian.

*h.* The Servian: where this ends it is difficult to say. It is well separated from the Bulgarian in the East; but where it ceases in the direction of Croatia, Carniola, and Dalmatia, is indefinite.

II. The Lithuanic; comprising the Lithuanic of Lithuania, and parts of East Prussia; the Old Prussian; the Lett, or Lettish, of Courland, Livonia, and Estonia.

III. The Latin; with its old dialects Umbrian and Oscan, and its modern derivatives, the Italian, the Spanish and Portuguese; the French, both Northern and Southern (or Provençal); the Romain of the Danubian Principalities; Bukhovina; part of Transylvania; and Bessarabia; and, lastly, the Romance of the Swiss Grisons (Graubünden).

IV. The Greek, Ancient and Modern.

V. The Sanskrit, with its congeners and derivatives, whatever they may be; for upon this point there is no complete agreement of opinion.

That there are other languages assigned to the class under notice has been already indicated; more especially

the Celtic and the Albanian. In a work upon Comparative Philology it would be necessary to go into this question ; but, in the present, the main reason for saying about them the little that has been said is the fact that they are continually referred to as languages illustrative of the structure of our own. That the Celtic, Albanian, and others may do the same is true ; but they don't do it to the same extent. Hence they may be Indo-Germanic, Indo-European, or Aryan, but they are not so in respect to their application in English Philology.

§ 186. *Synthesis and Analysis*.—The general character of our dialects in respect to their change of structure from Synthetic to Analytic is a point of more importance. One and all, they are more Synthetic in their older stages than in the newer ones. There is always change of some kind, though it goes on in the different languages at different rates ; but whether the changes be quick and frequent, or few and far between, the general direction is the same throughout, viz., from Synthesis to Analysis, and not *vice versâ*.

PART II.  
*PHONESIS.*

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CHAPTER I.

SPEAKING AND SPELLING.—NUMBER, NATURE, AND CLASSIFICATION OF THE ELEMENTARY SOUNDS.—VOWELS—LIQUIDS — SEMIVOWELS — MUTES — *NG* — *H* — DIPHTHONGS.

§ 187. In most languages there is a difference between the actual pronunciation of words in *speaking* and the representation of them, by written signs or letters, in *spelling*; and in English this difference is inordinately great.

Hence, when we investigate the nature of the elementary articulate sounds of our language, the eye misleads the ear. Thus—

(a) The sounds of the *Ph*, as in *Philip*, and the *f* as in *fillip*, differ to the *eye*; while, to the ear they are the same. Here, then, a real likeness is concealed, and an artificial difference suggested.

(b) The sound of the *th*, as in *thin*, differs from that of the *th* in *thine*. Yet to the eye the two sounds are alike. Here a fictitious likeness is suggested, and a real difference is concealed.

Besides this, the Names of the Letters as we find them in the Alphabet, for the most part, mislead us; the only exceptions being *Bee* and *Pee*, *Dee* and *Tee*.

These, though they fail to give us the exact relations of *b* and *p*, or *d* and *t*, as sounds, do not altogether conceal it, as names like *ka* and *gee*, *eff* and *vee* do. If we wish, however, to thoroughly understand the matter, we must trust nothing to the *names* of the *letters*, but everything to the *sounds* themselves, and to nothing else. This means that even from names so simple as *Bee*, *Pee*, *Dee*, or *Tee*, we must cut off the vowel, and accustom ourselves to pronounce the simple uncombined sounds of the consonant. We must do this in spite of their consonantal character, and in spite of the statement that a consonant cannot be sounded without a vowel to support it. Without a vowel consonants will not readily combine into syllables; but, without a vowel they can be pronounced separately; and so every one who wishes to make a study of the mechanism of speech must bring himself to pronounce them. It is easy to see that *p* and *b* are allied sounds; easy, too, that *t* and *d* are allied; and not difficult to see that *t* is to *p* as *b* to *d*, and *vice versâ*. *K* and *b* when similarly examined are in the same condition. This is a point upon which any one who chooses to convince himself may do so; for the machinery is not only always at hand, but every ordinary Englishman has the full command of it. When, however, we take to the *names*, we find that though words like *pee* or *bee* may not do much towards concealing an affinity, words like *kay* and *gee* may do it most effectively.

§ 188. In counting the *number* of our elementary sounds it is necessary to have clear views as to the principle upon which we treat such varieties as the *a* in *father*, *fate*, *fat*, &c. Are they to be counted as three distinct elements or as so many modifications of a single sound; in other words, are there in English three *a*'s, or one *a* with three powers?

It is found convenient to count them as *three separate* sounds.

If so, the number of the elementary Articulate Sounds, of the literary, standard, or classical English, amounts to *thirty-four*; and if we add to these the Diphthongs and the sounds of *ch* and *j*, to *forty*.

### *Simple Sounds.*

§ 189. *The Vowels.*—1–12. These are the vowels in *father, fate, fat; bed, feet, tin; cool, fall; bawl, note, not; but*. Whoever isolates these, pronounces them slowly, and pays attention to the condition of his tongue, teeth, and cheeks, during the utterance of them, will find that the passage of air from the lungs to the outer atmosphere is permanently free or open, there being no point where either the tongue touches the palate, or where the lips close on one another. They are farthest apart in the *a* in *father*; and they are nearest to one another in the *oo* in *cool*; but the column of air which forms them, though narrowed, is never arrested, the sound being capable of prolongation, or *Continuous*.

The sounds thus formed constitute the class of *Vowels*—twelve in number.

§ 190. *The Liquids.*—13–16. The sounds of *l, m, n, and r*, as in *low, mow, no, row*.

Here the tongue and lips play a part. The tongue is either applied to the palate, or vibrates upon it, or else the lips are closed. In either case, however, there is contact between the upper and under parts of the mouth so that the sound is checked, arrested, or diverted. With *m* the lips are closed, and the column of air escapes, not through the mouth, but through the nostrils. The sound of *n* also escapes through the nostrils; but, instead of the passage through the mouth,



being closed by the *lips*, it is closed by the *tongue*, which is pressed against the fore part of the palate. With *r* the tongue vibrates on the palate; and with *l* it touches the palate on one side so as to divert the stream of air to the other. All these sounds, like the Vowels, can be prolonged; or, in other words, are Continuous. They constitute the class of *Liquids*—four in number.

§ 191. *The Semivowels*.—17–18. The sounds of the *y* in *yet*, and *w* in *well*. These are treated as single sounds; though they are more properly Diphthongs, since *yet* is little more than *e-et*; and *well* little more than *oo-el*, the prefixes *e* and *u* being pronounced so quickly as to coalesce with the vowel that follows. It is convenient, however, to treat them as single. They constitute the class of *Semivowels*—two in number.

§ 192. *The Sibilants*.—19–22. The sounds of the *s* in *seal*, and the *z* in *zeal*, the *sh* in *shin*, and the *zh* in *azure*. Here the passage of air is diverted by the contact of the tip of the tongue with the palate. All these sounds can be prolonged or continued, like the hissing of a serpent, with which the sound of *s* has been compared. They form the class of *Sibilants*—four in number.

These sounds are the easiest of all the Consonantal ones, to be isolated. In words like *hiss*, *hush*, *buzz*, *whizz*, &c., they constitute the characteristic part of the word, or that element through which the sound in certain words becomes a sort of ‘echo to the sense.’

This makes the difference between the sounds of *s* and *z* intelligible. The sound of *z* is that of a *whizz*, or *buzz*, rather than that of a *hiss*.

This last, however, is not the ordinary pitch or tone of the human voice in common conversation, but rather that of a conversation in *whispers*; the pitch of *z*, on the other hand, being that of conversation in general.

As all the sounds hitherto enumerated have been of this latter kind, the sounds of *s* and *sh* introduce a new term, or, rather, a new pair of terms; the distinction upon which they are founded being that between *hiss* and a *buzz*, or ordinary *voice* and *whispers*, or *sharpness* and *flatness*.

Now when *s* and *z* are thus contrasted it is clear that the sound of *sh* stands to that of *s* as that of *zh* (the *z* in *azure*, *glazier*, &c., and the French *j*) does to that of *z*, and *vice versâ*. Hence arises a pair of pairs, or a *quaternion*.

The *Liquids* are, also, four in number; but they neither fall into the divisions that have just been indicated, nor are they so, decidedly, varieties of a single fundamental form. For it is clear that we may if we like call *z* a vocalized *s*, or *s* a *z* reduced to a whisper.

§ 193. The Sibilants, as has been already stated, are Continuous; and, in being this, they agree with *all* the sounds that have preceded them.

The next group, however, will contain sounds other than continuous, viz., a *p*, *b*, *t*, *d*, and *k*.

All these, so to say, *explode*. With everyone of them, either by the closure of the lips, or by the close contact of the tongue with the palate, the passage of the air is completely barred. With the Vowels it has been merely narrowed. With the Liquids and Sibilants it has been only partially closed; for even when with *m* and *n* the closure of the front part of the mouth was complete, the vocalised column of air escaped by way of the nostrils, and the pair of *Nasal Liquids* was the result. The same diversion of the voice takes place with the Sibilants. But with *p*, *b*, *t*, &c., the posterior nares as well as the outlet through the mouth are closed; and the air is pent up, as it were, behind a barrier formed by either the lips or tongue; and as long as this lasts there is no sound at all. When, however, it is removed a sound escapes. But it escapes at once, and after the fashion of an explosion. Such is the case with the sounds of *p*, *b*, *t*, *d*, *k*, *g*, as contrasted with those of *f*, *v*, and *th*, which are as easily prolonged, or made continuous, as those of *s*, *sh*, *z*, *zh*, or even as the Vowels themselves.

§ 194. 23-32.—(a) The sounds of *p*, *b*, *f*, and *v*, in *pane*, *bane*, *fane*, and *vane*.—Four in number, and called *Labials* from the Latin *labium*=*lip*; the organ most engaged in the formation of them.

(b) The sounds of *t*, *d*, *th*, as in *thin*, and *th* (sounded *dh*), as in *thine* (pronounced *dhine*)—Four in number and called *Dentals*, from the Latin *dens*=*tooth*, the dental region, or front of the palate, being the part upon which the tongue is more especially pressed in the formation of the valve, behind which the air is first confined, and through which it afterwards escapes.

In each of these two quaternions there are the elements of a double arrangement, i.e.

<i>Explosive</i>		or	<i>Continuous.</i>	
<i>Surd.</i>	<i>Sonant.</i>		<i>Surd.</i>	<i>Sonant.</i>
<i>p.</i>	<i>b.</i>		<i>f.</i>	<i>v.</i>
<i>t.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>th.</i>	<i>dh.</i>
<i>Explosive.</i>		or	<i>Sonant.</i>	
<i>Surd.</i>	<i>Continuous.</i>		<i>Explosive.</i>	<i>Continuous.</i>
<i>p.</i>	<i>f.</i>		<i>b.</i>	<i>v.</i>
<i>t.</i>	<i>th.</i>		<i>d.</i>	<i>dh.</i>

The Sibilant series has no *double* arrangement.

(c) The sounds of the *k* in *kill* and the *g* in *gun*.—These are called *Palatals*, the arch, or back of the palate being the most characteristic part of it. Still, the Dentals are, in a degree, palatal.

(a) In the formation of the Dentals the tongue touches, or approaches the teeth, in the front of the palate, and this it does with its tip.

In the formation of the more special Palatals (*k* and *g*) the tip of the tongue is depressed, the *middle* part of it being curved upwards, so as to touch the *soft* or back palate, rather than the parts about the teeth and gums.

(b) The Palatal, or Palatal Mutes, are, here, only *two* in number. This is simple, because the sounds which stand in the relation to *k* and *g*, as *f* and *v*, *th* and *dh*, to *p* and *b*, *t* and *d* are wanting in our language, just as the sounds of *th* and *dh* are wanting in the French and German; and indeed in the majority of languages. Unless we remember this, the true character of the division under notice escapes us.

(c) The three groups of Labials, Dentals, and Palatals constitute the higher division of *Mutes*; from which the Liquids and Semivowels have always been separated, and with which it is time to leave off associating the Sibilants.

Of the Sibilants, however, as we have seen, *all* are Continuous. Of the Mutes *one half* only is Continuous, the other half being Explosive.

§ 195. The Semivowels are connected with the Vowels, through *i* (*ae*) and *u*, the Consonants, by *g* and *v*—*i*, *y*, *g*, and *u*, *w*, *v*. However, between *g* and *y* the series is broken in English, because the

Continuants of *k* and *g* are wanting. Still *g* is the nearest congener to *y*.

The Liquids are connected with the Sibilants and Mutes through—*r* to *z* and *s*; *l* to *g* and *k*; *n* to *d* and *t*; *m* to *b* and *p*. So far as the Liquids, like the Vowels, are Sonant, the closest to the Liquids of the several pairs are *z*, *g*, *d*, and *b*—i.e. the Sonant, Sibilant, and the Sonant Mutes.

§ 196. The mechanism of the system of the Mutes is the most complex part of Phœnesis; but it is easily learnt. Anyone, in any country, who has a well-formed mouth and an average ear can teach himself—if he will. If he will not, no one else can teach him. By so doing he anticipates the operation of the so-called Rules of Euphony which are casually and occasionally inserted, and repeated, in the parts which treat of Etymology. The details themselves are important: but the fact that there is not only a system at all, but one of remarkable symmetry, is more so.

It is, however, those details only which have an especial bearing upon our language that are noticed here. So far as a system is exhibited it is only exhibited as a means of giving unity to the details—on the principle that ‘The whole is easier than the part.’

§ 197. (33) *The sound of the letters -ng, as in king, song, &c.*—This is, by no means, the sound of *ng*, but an indecomposable elementary articulation.

*Ng* is a Nasal. *N* is a Nasal also; but it is a Nasal Liquid. So is *m*.

With *m* the exit of the vocalized air is closed by the lips; with *n* by the extremity of the tongue and the forepart of the palate; with *ng* by the middle part of the tongue and the *velum palate ng*. Hence, *ng* is, in a certain sense, a Liquid; and, in a certain sense, *ng*, *n*, and *m* are Vowels. The passage for all three is through the nostrils, and the closure of the mouth, or the passages within it, is merely subordinate to the diverting of the column of vocalized air towards the nostrils. Within the Nasal cavities its passage is as unbroken as is the passage of the true Vowel through the mouth. The *-en*, *-in*, *-on*, and *-un*, in French, is more of a Vowel than a Consonant; and so is the *ão* in Portuguese.

*Ng* in English never begins a syllable. We say *-ing* and *-ong*, but not *ngi* and *ngo*; though the latter form is, in some languages, initial as well as final. This shows that sounds are not so much pronounceable or the contrary by themselves, but are pronounceable or unpronounceable according to their relation to other sounds.

§ 198. (34) *The sound of the letter H.*—This is a Breathing, rather than an Articulated Element of Speech. It passes through the mouth simply as Breath; or without being acted upon by any of the organs of Speech. Neither is it Sonant, but Surd. But *p, f, t, &c.*, are Surd also: yet, still, articulations. This is because the tongue and lips act on them; which with *h* are perfectly passive.

§ 199.

*Compound Sounds.*

These are six in number—

- |     |                          |           |           |                                    |
|-----|--------------------------|-----------|-----------|------------------------------------|
| 35. | The sound of the letters | <i>ou</i> | in        | <i>house.</i>                      |
| 36. | ”                        | ”         | <i>ew</i> | ” <i>new.</i>                      |
| 37. | ”                        | letter    | <i>i</i>  | ” <i>pine.</i>                     |
| 38. | ”                        | letters   | <i>oi</i> | ” <i>voice.</i>                    |
| 39. | ”                        | ”         | <i>ch</i> | ” <i>chest</i> (i.e. <i>tsh</i> ). |
| 40. | ”                        | ”         | <i>j</i>  | ” <i>jest</i> (i.e. <i>dzh</i> ).  |

These are, one and all, *etymologically* Diphthongs; the only difference being that the first four are made up of Vowels, the last two out of Consonants. The latter, however, will be called ‘*Compound Sibilants,*’ and the former ‘*Diphthongs*’ as usual.

§ 200. *The Organ of Vocalization.*—This brings us to a point which has apparently been neglected.

All that has hitherto been indicated can be made out by the student himself from the mere observation of the condition of the different parts of the mouth and nostrils, during the formation of the elementary sounds; and though it is not quite so easy to know the relative position of the tongue, lips, and soft palate in ordinary speaking as it is to see the position of the fingers and thumb when we talk ‘on our fingers,’ it is not much harder. One point of the vocal organization, however, lies beyond, and below, the mouth, viz., the

mechanism by which we form the Sonants as opposed to the Surds.

This is done by the larynx (or Adam's apple), of which all that can be said in a work like the present is that it is an organ provided with elastic membranes, which can be made lax or tense by a system of small muscles by which they can be either tightened, relaxed, or left in a state of quiescence. When they are left quiescent the sound comes out as that of ordinary breath; when they are tightened their vibration gives us Vocal, or Sonant, articulations. Something even of the larynx can be seen by means of the Laryngoscope; but for the generality it is only the parts within the mouth that can be brought under direct observation.

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## CHAPTER II.

ELEMENTARY SOUNDS CONTINUED—THEIR CHIEF PECULIARITIES—THEIR INFLUENCE IN ETYMOLOGY—THE *A* IN *FATHER*, AND THE *-AR* IN *FARTHER*—BROAD AND SLENDER VOWELS—*R* AFTER A LIQUID—THE COMBINATION OF *SURD* AND *SONANT*—NO TRUE *ASPIRATES* OR DOUBLED CONSONANTS IN ENGLISH—UNSTABLE COMBINATIONS—ASSIBILATION—THE GENERATION OF THE COMPOUND SIBILANTS.

§ 201. *The -a in father and the -ar in farther.*—These are generally sounded alike; the process being generally, that the *-ar* is sounded like the *-a*, rather than the *-a* like the *-ar*. When the converse takes place, and when *Maria*, or *idea*, is sounded *Mariar*, or *idear* (a recognised inelegancy), the mispronunciation is either due to early contact with persons who what is called

'*thrill the -r,*' or to some early imperfection of speech which has been to a great extent, but not wholly, surmounted. In the first case they do it unconsciously; in the latter with a slightly misdirected effort. It has left its mark in our language. *Daughter* is found in Old English spelt *dortor*. The words *near* and *hoarse* are thus transformed; for the true roots are *hás*, or *hoase*. Cockney rhymes, like *morning* and *dawning*, are common; and, if the sounds are really identical, may be excused if not defended.

If we consider how prevalent the open sound of the *a* is in other languages, the comparative rarity of it in English may surprise. But it is only the true open *-a* that is rare. The abusive, or catachrestic, form is common. Not to mention the cases like *-a*, and *-aw*, as in *bawl*, how many of us, when beginning German, are perplexed with the difference between *meine* and *meiner*! The single *-e* in English is, as a rule, mute; but in German we have to sound it; and sometimes we do so. But in many cases we sound the two words alike, i.e. *meiner* as *meine*, and not *vice versa*.

The fact is that, when *r* follows a vowel, most of us never pronounce it at all. We may fancy we do, but we don't. We fancy we do because we find the *-r* appears in the written language.

I do not say that this *softening* or *slurring* of the *-r* is universal. It is certainly general. But it is South British, rather than Northumbrian.

In the way of evidence on this point I give the following *selected* statement from a writer who is not only a North Briton familiar with the language of the South, but one who, as a philologist, well knows what the sound of the *-r* really is, both in its attenuation and its exaggeration.

'R is in Scotch always a consonant, and in all positions trilled sharply with the point of the tongue, and never smoothly *buzzed* or *burred*, or converted into a mere glide as in English, nor *rolled* with the

whole length of the tongue as in Irish, nor roughly *burred* with the pharynx as in Northumberland, in France and Germany. Even the initial English *r*, in *road*, *rung*, is softer and more gliding than the Scotch, which is used with equal sharpness before or after a vowel, as in *rare*, *roar*, *rayther*, *roarer*. In the south of England its subsidence after a vowel into a more glide renders it impossible to distinguish, in the utterance of some speakers, between *law*, *lore*; *lord*, *laud*; *gutta*, *gutter*; *Emma*, *hemmer*. Hence, when these words are used with a following vowel, a hiatus is avoided by saying draw-*r*-ing, Sarah-*r*-Anne, Maid-*r*-ill, idea-*r* of things, law-*r* of England, phrases which even educated men are not ashamed, or not conscious, of uttering. No such liberties are allowable with the Scotch *r*, which is always truly consonantal.—*Murray: Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland*, p. 120.

§ 202. *The Slender vowels e and i as opposed to the Broad ones, a, o, and u.*—The bearing of this difference is twofold; (1) in respect to its influence on the double power of the letters *c* and *g*; and (2) upon its determination of the *Umlaut*.

(a) *A small vowel preceded by either C or G.*—*C* before *e* or *i* is sounded as *s*; before *a*, *o*, or *u* as *k*. We know this from our first lessons in spelling, and this alone is sufficient to show the importance of the distinction.

*G* before *e* or *i* is sounded as *J*. We know this also from the Spelling-book.

We may put this in a more general form and say that when  $c=s$ ,  $g=j$ .

We must add, however, that though the principle of the change is the same, the details of the result are different. In both cases the Palatal is changed into a Sibilant or Assibilated. But with *C* the Sibilant is Simple; with *G* Compound.

(b) *The Umlaut.*—When, in either a Compound or a Derivative word, a syllable containing a slender vowel is either prefixed or appended to one containing a broad one, the broad one may be modified, and may become, if not actually slender, slenderer.



Of this change, in some shape or other, most languages give us examples. There is less of it in English than elsewhere. The words *elder* and *eldest* as the Comparative and Superlative forms of *old*, are examples.

§ 203. *R after a Liquid*.—When any one of the other three Liquids is immediately followed by *-r*, or *vice versâ*, when *-r* is immediately preceded by a Liquid, the combination is *Unstable*. It is, beyond all doubt, pronounceable. But it rarely lasts long without something being interposed, and so that the immediate contact of the two liquids is avoided. This interposed sound varies with the liquid which it follows.

Between *l* and *r* it is *g*—*pilgrim* from *pelerin*.

„ *m* and *r* „ *b*—*number* „ *numerus*.

„ *n* and *r* „ *d*—*kindred* „ *kinred*.

In the word *lamb*, the *b*, which is no part of the original, has thus been introduced. The plural was in *-r*, as in *childer*, from *child*. The termination was dropped, the *l* retained, so that now it looks like a part of the fundamental word.

§ 204. *The combination of 'Surd' and 'Sonant.'*  
—Two Mutes of different degrees of Sonancy cannot immediately succeed one another in the same syllable; a fact which makes the thorough comprehension of the system of mutes indispensable.

It is not a matter of mere understanding. We may understand that 9 and 8 make 17; or we may know the Multiplication Table by heart; but if sums are to be done quickly, safely, and easily, we must be thoroughly familiar with the working of it. We must remember without an effort that *t* is to *d*, as *p* to *b*, and *k* to *g*, and *f* to *v*, &c.; and we can only do this when we have taught ourselves their relations. When we have done this, the Rules of Euphony are known beforehand; and deductions from them either anticipated or taken as a matter of course.

Moreover, for the English language we must take the English arrangement. The classical groups of *Tenuis*, *Media*, and *Aspirata*, if they don't perplex us, carry us but half way.

Unless we do this we must pick them up as we find them in their special applications, and, so doing, pick them up laboriously and incompletely. A little practice and a little conversation to ourselves give us the requisite familiarity with them.

This especially touches the formation of our Plural Numbers and Preterit Tenses. Words like *slabs*, *lives*, *plucked* (*plucked*), *stoppd* (*stopped*), may be *written*, but not *pronounced*. The *sounds* are *slabz*, *livz*, *pluckt*, *stopt*, &c. The rule, however, is simple. When such conjunctions occur, one accommodates itself to the other, i.e. takes its degree of Sonancy.

That the second adapts itself to the first, rather than the first to the second, or, changing the expression, that it is the first that determines the change, is due, in English, to the practice of the language. There is nothing to preclude the opposite process; and there are instances of it in English. The first *s* in *houses*, &c., is sounded as *s* (*housser*). This is because the final, or appended Sonant acts upon the Surd of the fundamental word; i.e. acts backwards. In Scotland the form is *housser*.

§ 205. *No true Aspirates in English.*—The Aspirate never follows a consonant in the same syllable: such combinations as *ph*, *th*, and *sh*, and *ch* being mere points of spelling; and, by no means, the sounds of *p+h*, *t+h*, &c.

The only words wherein we find a real sound of *h* preceded by a consonant are those *compounds* whereof the second element *begins* with *-h*—as *hap-hazard*, *nut-hook*, *ink-horn*.

This limitation is not connected with the structure of language in general. The true sound of a Consonant and an Aspirate is pronounceable; and, in some languages, is common. The English, however, is not one of them; though, from our spelling, it looks as if it were.

§ 206. *No true Doubled Consonants in the same Syllable.*—Identical consonants never follow one another immediately in the same syllable; in other

words, are never *doubled*; such combinations as *mass*, *buzz*, &c., being mere points of spelling. Generally, they show that the vowel which precedes is short. The only words wherein we find a real doubling of the consonant are (as with *h*) certain *compounds*—e.g. *un-natural*, *in-nate*, *soul-less*, *book-case*, &c.

This limitation is not connected with the structure of language in general. Two consecutive identical Consonants are, as we have seen, pronounceable. They are rare, however, in English; though, from our spelling, it looks as if they were common.

A mute is changed into its corresponding Surd or Sonant (as the case may be) of the same organ, i.e. Labial into the correspondent Labial, a Dental into the correspondent Dental, and a Palatal into the correspondent Palatal. Whether the first act upon the second or the second upon the first depends on the habit of the language. In English it is the *last* that is modified, and we say *slabs*, *lives*, *lads*, *bags*; though we might (only we do not) say *slaps*, *lifs*, *lats*, *baks*. That there must be an accommodation of some sort is a matter of necessity.

§ 207. *Unstable Combinations*.—The Diphthong *iw* or *ew* is one of the best instances in our language of an *Unstable* combination. We can pronounce it, and we can combine it with other sounds. But, with all this, it rarely keeps its place over the whole of a language. We find it at the beginning of a word in *ever*; and many pronounce it so. But it is certain that many sound it like *yöur*. *Hew*, as in 'Sir *Hew* Dalrymple,' is probably sounded according to the spelling; but *Hugh* is often *Yow*. How many *Humes* are called *Hewm*, and how many *Yume*, is unknown, but the pronunciation is certainly divided. So, likewise, with *ever* and *yöur*.

We may now take the question from another point of view; and attend only to the sounds of the vowel *u*. In most words, when long, it is sounded as a diphthong; for whether we pronounce the word *toon* as *tyoon* or as *teun*, we don't sound it as *toon*. Yet this last is the way in which we spell it when it is a long vowel. As for the short *u*, it is sounded, with few exceptions, such as *full*, *pull*, and others, like the *u* in *but*—an allied, but different, form. The name of the letter itself is *yoo*.

§ 208. *The Slender Vowel, &c.*—So much for the changes of the vowel, or diphthong. In many, perhaps in most, cases the series of further changes begins in a diphthong; or can, at least, be traced to one. Let us suppose that between a consonant and a broad vowel a slender one intervenes, and that instead of *sa*, *so*, or *su*, the word is *sea*, *seo*, or *seu* (or *sea*, *sia*, *ssi*). Or let it be *y* alone; giving *sya*, *sya*, *ssi*. Or let it be the vowel alone which changes into *y*—the semivowel. The details are of minor

importance. The general character of the change is all that is here indicated. It is a matter of general experience that such combinations as *sya*, &c., are Unstable. Their notorious tendency is to run into the sound of *sh*; in which case the semivowel disappears, and the consonant changes its character. Words, in our own language, like *sugar* and *sure* (*shuggar* and *shure*) teach us this.

§ 209. But what is the tendency when the consonant is *t*? Words like *nature*, *picture*, and others inform us. Here the sound of *u* has become that of *yoo*, and a semivowel stands between the vowel and the consonant that precedes it. We pronounce them *natskhūr* and *pictshūr* (sometimes *pikshūr*). In other words, the influence of the diphthongalised vowel has been the same in kind as that which changed *sia* into *sha*. The vowel element disappears. The consonant changes. But the change is a different one. *S* was a Sibilant (a simple one) already; and it changes into another simple one—one closely allied to it, or, rather, a mere variety of itself. *T* was no Sibilant at all, but a Dental. Yet it becomes a Sibilant. Not, however, a simple but a compound one. In other words, the combination *tya* is, like *sya*, Unstable, and has a tendency towards Assibilation. We can understand this by pronouncing the word rapidly, and seeing how naturally the sound of *sh* introduces itself.

*Mutatis mutandis*, the same occurs with *dy*, *di*, or *de*, followed by a vowel. It becomes *dzh*, or *j*—i.e. Compound Sibilant, which is to *tsk* as *zh* is to *sh*, and *d* to *t*—*ordure*, *verdure*; and, more exceptionally, *dew* pronounced as *jew*, and *duke* as *juke* (*dzhew* and *dzhook*).

Thirdly,—what is the tendency when *k* precedes a vowel, semivowel, or diphthong of the kind under notice? The comparison of words like *Chester* and *Castra* suggests a similar process. The Latin word *castra* in Anglosaxon is *ceaster*.

But this gives the sound of *ksk*; and no such Compound Sibilant exists in English. We may, however, suppose that, at some time or other in the history of the word *ceaster*, it existed; but, as it was Unstable, it was not long before the *k* became *t*. Nor is there anything gratuitous in this assumption.

Farther than this we cannot see very clearly; i.e. we cannot see why words spelt with a *c* are sounded as if they were spelt with *s* when followed by a small vowel; for all that has just been said touches only the change from *s* to *sh*, and from *t* and *k* to *tsk*. The simple *s*, with no second element to affect it, is in a different predicament. Can we say that small vowels, as such, exert an influence on a Palatal when it precedes them akin to that of the more complex combinations which have just been noticed? We can—we can say so; and, when we say anything at all, *do* say so, and must say so. But it is saying very little. Forms like *sya* and *tya* we can test. We can pronounce them, and see

that, as a matter of fact, the changes just indicated take place. Words like *sa* and *so*, *ka* and *ko*, show no such tendencies.

But that the syllable *ka* may change into *se* (sound for sound) we see in forms like *Bicester*, *Cirencester*, &c., which are as true derivatives from *castra* as *-caster* and *-chester*. The change, however, from *k* to *s* is far more obscure than that from *s* to *sh*, or from *k* to *tsh*, though of the magnitude and extent of it there is no doubt. The Latin is the language in which the question is best investigated; for, in the Latin, by comparing it with the Greek, we can see when *k* was certainly invested with its own proper sound, and, in the Italian, see how it has undergone the same processes, resulting in the same Compound Sibilant *tsh* as it has in English and other tongues.

Lastly.—The presumptions are that when *g* is to *k* as *t* to *d*, &c., and *s* to *g* as *d* to *t*, and *zh* to *z* as *sh* is to *s*, the history of the two Palatals will run parallel. They do this, and they do not.

So far as the Compound Sibilant goes they agree, and *ge* and *gi* come out as *dsh* and *dshi* (*j*), where *te* and *ti*, or *ty*, become *tsh* (*ch*). Yet they do not present themselves as *ze* and *zi*, but (on the contrary) as *je* and *ji*, whereas *k* in a similar situation is sounded as *-s*. This is because the words by which the Surd Palatal (*g*) is represented, are, as a class, exotics—of French or Latin rather than of English origin; and the English *dsh* (*j*) is the French *zh* (also spelt *j*) strengthened. But in other languages the parallel is incomplete; *g*, when changed, being changed into *y* rather than assibilated. And this is the rule for the German languages in general; and, in the English itself, where in English words, when *g* is changed at all, it is the sound of *y* which it assumes.

But *ga* and *ka* start even, so to say, on the same career of Instability. There are many who talk of *kyards* (*cards*) and of their *kyind* (*kind*) friends. And as many call a *garden* a *gyarden*, and a *girl* a *gyerl*. Still, the histories of *g* and *k* diverge. Two cases may help to determine the difference. *Z*\* is a rarer sound in languages than *-s*; and *y* is a sound with which *g* is pre-eminently interchangeable; though *g* becomes *y* oftener than *y* becomes *g*. Be this as it may, the Assibilation of the Palatals—*k* and *g*—is a fact of great generality in language; and almost, if not equally, general is the divergence between the two during the history of the long and complex series of changes which both undergo. Of its special importance in English there is no doubt. The very complications it has introduced in our spelling are sufficient evidence of this.

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\* *Z* in English is common sound; but not as a part of the original word: for no English word begins with it. Where it occurs is in the Plural of Substantives, and the Third Person of Verbs, where the last Consonant is a Scurt; as *stags*, *moves*, *drags*, &c., &c. But here it is only a modified *-s*—an *-s* modified by having accommodated itself to the preceding sound.

## CHAPTER III.

## ACCENT.

§ 210. Accent plays a great part in all languages ; and no inconsiderable one in the English.

It may fall on the last syllable of a word ; as in *brigáde*, *preténce*, *superádd*, *cavalier*. Most of these words are of foreign origin.

It may fall on the last but one ; as in *ánchor*, *hásten*, *fáther*, *fóces*, *bespátter*, *terrífic*.

Also on the last but two, or the third from the end of the word ; as in *régular*, *fórtify*, *dífferent*, *orthógraphy*.

Sometimes it falls on the last syllable but three ; as in *ábsolutely*, *lúminary*, *inévitabile*, *óρθodoxy*.

This is, perhaps, as far as it is ever carried *backwards* ; for in treating of Accent we count from the end, rather than the beginning, and talk of *penultimate* and *antepenultimate*, rather than of *first* or *second* syllables.

§ 211. *Place of the Accent in English*.—The syllable on which we expect to find an accent is, of course, the most important. But the test of importance is neither evident nor very regular. The second *-o-* in *orthógraphy* is accented ; but it is difficult to say in what respect it is the most important, leading, prominent, or characteristic syllable. In Composition it is the *first* of the elements of the compound which carries the accent : but of this more will be said in the sequel.

For the present it is safe to say that, in words of *English* origin, the *last* syllable is, as a rule, *unaccented* ; the exceptions being compounds like *mistake*, *before*, and others where the prefix is a word, or *part*

of one, which has no accent of its own. More, however, will be said on this point in the chapter on *Composition*.

§ 212. The exceptional character of final syllables with an accent is a part and parcel of the structure of the English language.

In the first instance it abounds with monosyllables: and in the second it forms its Derivatives by *affixes* rather than by *prefixes*: having dozens of words, whether compound or derivative, like *néedful*, *sínging*, *spóken*, *mánly*, &c., for one like *amíss* or *místáke*. All this tends to throw the accent backwards.

§ 213. With the French—and the French element in English is important—the case is different. The French is a language of Latin origin, but from a great number of Latin words it has dropped the last syllable. Hence, words which in Latin ended in *-is*, *-i*, *-em*, &c., as signs of the Genitive, Dative, and Accusative Cases, in words like *nátio*, *rátio*, &c., and ran *natió-n-is*, *natió-n-i*, &c., when divested, as they are in French, of their inflection, have their accent, which was originally on the penultimate syllable, on the last.

§ 214. Every superadded syllable, when it is final, has a tendency to throw the accent back; e.g. *mánly*, *mánliness*; *sickness*, *sicknesses*. To adjectives in *-ic* (and indeed to other words) *three* additions may be made—*cómic*, *cómical*, *cómically*; and when we get to such a word as *comícálicity*, the accent, which we can no longer throw back, has to be put forward.

§ 215. *Distinctive Accent*.—In each part of the following sentences the same word occurs twice, but with a difference. In the first use of the word the accent is on the first syllable, in the second on the last, the words with the first syllable accented being Nouns; those with the second so affected being Verbs.

1. The *éxports* and *ímports* are considerable. 2. They *impórt* cloth and *expórt* corn.

1. Honey is an *éxtract* from flowers. 2. You cannot *extráct* honey from all flowers.

1. I have *fréquent* opportunities of seeing him. 2. I *frequént* the theatre.

1. This is the *óbject*. 2. I *objéct* to this.

1. *Pérfumes* are agreeable. 2. The flowers *per-  
fúme* the air.

These Accents may be called distinctive.



PART III.  
ETYMOLOGY.

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CHAPTER I.

ETYMOLOGY AND SYNTAX.—COMPOSITION AND DERIVATION.

§ 216. *Etymology and Syntax.*—*Composition and Derivation.*—Etymology and Syntax are the two principal parts of Grammar.

Etymology deals with *single* words, and the various forms they may take; Syntax with *two* words, or more, in *Combination*.

Combinations, by which two words are combined into one, give *Compounds*. Such a compound is *father-like*. It can be divided into two separate independent words. The result, however, is a single one.

With *fathers* and *likeness*, and a whole host of words beside, this is not the case. Subtract the *-ness* from *likeness* and *no* separate independent word remains; and in the *-s* in *fathers* there is not even an approach to a second word at all. The numerous class of words which *likeness* and *fathers* represent is that of *Derivatives*.

§ 217. *Composition.*—*Derivation.*—*Inflection.*—*Declension.*—*Conjugation.*—*Composition* takes place when two separate words are joined together so as to form a single word, as—

day-light  
nut-brown

dog-star  
father-like

Englishman  
peacock.

§ 218. *Derivation* takes place when a word is either changed by the addition of some new elementary sound, or by the alteration of one previously existing.

hunt-*er*  
wood-*en*

drunk-*ard*  
spin-*ster*

be-*spoke*  
chick-*en*.

*Composition* implies the addition of *whole words*; *Derivation*, the addition of *parts of words*.

Certain Derivatives are called *Inflections*. These present themselves in nouns and verbs only. They are the forms by which we determine Gender, Number, Case, Voice, Mood, Tense, and Person, and will be considered in detail in the sequel.

The Inflection of a noun is called its *Declension*. Nouns are *declined*.

The Inflection of a verb is called its *Conjugation*. Verbs are *conjugated*.

The two classes, however, are not always so easily separated as the preceding examples may lead us to suppose. Indeed, the doctrine that many Derivational elements were once separate words, but that through wear and tear, through time and use, they have lost their independent character, either by having become obsolete, or by loss of their more characteristic parts, is both probable in itself and well supported by facts. Whether it will account for *all* Derivational changes is another question. It applies to syllables of appreciable length more readily than to single letters like the *-s* in *fathers*, or the *-i* in *patri*: and it applies to single letters better than to internal changes like *spoke* from *speak*. Nevertheless, whatever may be the extent to which the doctrine may be driven, the difference between a Derivative form like *fathers* and a Compound like *fatherlike* is manifest. Whether *fathers* was ever

as divisible into two separate words, as *fatherlike*, may be doubtful; but there is no doubt as to what it is at present. It is a *single word modified*; and not a *pair of words* joined together as one. And this is sufficient for the present enquiry.

§ 219. *Compounds that may be mistaken for Derivatives.*—Composition simulates Derivation, when, after the union of two distinctly separate words, one of them either changes its form or becomes obsolete. Thus *manly* looks more like a derivative than a compound. But it is only a shortened form of *manlike*. Again, the *ric* in *bishop-ric* is no longer current as an ordinary term in English. Yet, when it was first attached to the word *bishop*, it was as truly a separate word as *kingdom*, *domain*, or *jurisdiction*, or any other substantive.

When we look to the instances just given, the process of reducing derivation to composition is an easy matter. All that is required is a certain amount of knowledge of the language in its earlier stages. This is wanted for *bishopric*. But in the word *manly* less than this will be enough. We have only to *consider* a little, and its connection with *manlike* strikes us at once. The words *gentlemanly* and *gentlemanlike* are still more to the purpose. With a little knowledge and a little consideration we can do much—so long as the word is a *dissyllable*; for we can separate its component parts, even if we do no more.

So long, then, as a compound has two syllables, out of the second of which we can get a second word, combinations that, in the first instance, look like Derivatives, may, under many circumstances, be put in their proper place.

But *Monosyllables* may also, in respect to their origin, be Compound; and, when this is the case, the

analysis is more perplexing. Words like *not*, *such*, and *which* are not easily picked to pieces. Yet, common words as they are, and monosyllables as they are, they are *compounds*. *Not* is a compound of the negative element *n'*, and *whit* (as in *not a whit*). It is *n' aught*, which is again compounded of a prefix *i-* or *ye*. *Which* is, in Scotch, *whilk*; in German, *welch*; and *such* is, in Scotch, *swilk*; in which the *-l-* represents the *-l-* in *like*; which, as we have seen, has been already reduced to *-ly*; and which thus early has lost its character as an independent and entire word.

Manifest, unequivocal, and self-evident Compounds belong to Syntax; manifest Derivatives to Etymology.

That some, perhaps the most important portion of them, is separated from the rest, under the name of Inflection, has already been stated. For the remainder there is no definite name—which is inconvenient. The Derivatives of the more indefinite divisions will be considered first: but not exhaustively. Those only which form clear and important subdivisions will be noticed. Nor will any great sacrifice be made to systematic arrangement. On the contrary, some of these, in compliance with the ordinary form of our grammars, will be taken along with the inflections, and considered as they refer to the different '*Parts of Speech*;' i.e. under the heads of Noun, Pronoun, or Verb, as the case may be. What the names of these parts of speech mean is assumed to be known; and such refinements upon the definitions of them as are held to be necessary, will be found under '*Syntax*.' For '*Etymology*' they can be taken as we find them in the ordinary grammars.

§ 220. The division of Derivatives with which it is best to begin is that in which a word belonging to one part of speech, by a change of form (generally, though not always, an *addition* of some kind)

becomes connected with another; i.e. becomes an Adverb or a Substantive instead of an Adjective, or a Verb instead of a Noun.

Instances of the first kind are *wisely, bravely, slowly*, from *wise, brave, and slow*.

This, *historically*, is a case of Composition; but, practically, it is one of Derivation.

Instances of the second kind are *wooden, truthful, sheepish, &c.*

Instances of the third kind are *to grease, to use*, and some others; where the sense is that of a Verb, and the *s* is sounded as *z*. In *grease* and *use*, the Substantives, it is sounded as it is spelt, or rather as if it were spelt *greace, uce*. Here the change from Surd to the Sonant changes the word from a Substantive to a Verb. In *raise* from *rise*, and *fell* from *fall, &c.*, the Vowel is changed.

This is an instance where the transforming element consists of an internal change rather than of an addition *aliunde*.

A still better example of this internal change is found in words like *súrvey, éxport, &c.*, which are Substantives, as compared with *survéy* and *expórt*, which are Verbs. Here, nothing is changed but the accent.

But these are only selected instances from many of the same kind.

§ 221. *Hybridism*.—In *lambkin* and *lancet*, the final syllables (*-kin* and *-et*) have much the same power. They both express the idea of smallness or diminutiveness. These words are but two out of a multitude, the one (*lamb*) being of English, the other (*lance*) of Norman origin. The same is the case with the superadded syllables: *-kin* being English, *-et* Norman. Now, to add an English termination to a Norman word, or *vice versa*, is to corrupt the language; as may be seen by saying either *lance-kin*, or *lamb-et*.

Such words are *hybrid*: which means *mongrel*.

Words like *penetra-ble* and *penetra-bility* are not only possible, but actual Latin words; viz., *penetrabilis, penetrabilitas*. So are *possible*

and *possibility*. So are *legible* and *legibility*. But *readable* and *bearable*, with their opposites, *un-readable* and *un-bearable*, are *hybrid*, and (to say the least) *exceptionable*.

The terminations *-ize*, *-ist*, and *-ism* are *Greek*, and in words like *ostracize* and *ostracism* they find a fit and proper place. In words of *English* origin they are *exceptionable*.

Individually (to repeat what has been already stated), I consider that *hybridism* is a *malum per se*. It is often difficult, however, to avoid it. Many scientific terms err in this respect; sometimes exhibiting the heterogeneous juxta-position of *more than one language*. Nor is this, in all cases, an accident. Occasionally it occurs through inadvertency: yet, occasionally, it is defended. In a few cases it is the lesser of two evils. It is least blameworthy in words like the ones just quoted—words ending in *-ize*. It would be difficult to *dispense* with such words as *moralize*, *civilize*, and some others: however much the former part may be *Latin*, and however much the latter part may be *Greek*. Again—to words like *botanic*, where the *-ic* (like the *botan-*) is *Greek*, we may add the *Latin -al*. As such a word was possible in the Lower Empire, where such words as *πρωτονομοειδής* were common, we may call these (after the fashion of the architects) *Byzantine formations*. But this is only naming our tools.

§ 222. *Roots and Themes (Crude Forms)*.—If we take a word like *father*, and by adding *-s*, make it either a Genitive (Possessive) Case Singular, or a Nominative, or Genitive Plural, the sound of *-s*, which we add to it, is an *Inflection*. In this case *father* is what is sometimes called a *theme* (or *basis*), sometimes a *crude form*. It is the stem on which we engraft the Inflections. So far as we know, it is the *original form*; from which *fathers'* is a *Derivative*, and *fatherlike*, or *fatherly*, a *Compound*. But this alone will not make it so. When we compare it with *mother* and *brother* (and we may add *sis-ter*), the second syllable looks so like a *Derivational element*, that the notion that the true fundamental, basic, primitive (or whatever we may call it), word is *fath*, or *fat*, suggests itself. If it be, it is a *Root*; the root being that which remains when every super-added element has been taken away. Roots, however, go back to a period of language which belongs to *General*, or *Comparative*, rather than to *special Philology*. *Vocit-* is the *theme* of the Latin Frequentative Verb, *vocit-o*, *vocit-as*, *vocit-avi*, &c.; but, as *voc-*, the theme of *voc-o*, *voc-as*, *voc-avi*, exists also, we know that *-it-* is no part of the *Root*.

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## CHAPTER II.

DERIVATION.—FORMATIVE AFFIXES, ETC., OF THE FIRST CLASS.—FORMS IN *-LY*—IN *-NESS* AND *-TH*; ABSTRACT — IN *-ER* AND *-ING*; VERBAL — IN *-EN*; MISCELLANEOUS—CHANGE OF CONSONANT; *BREATH*, *BREATHE*.

§ 223. The first division of the derivational processes contains those by which a word is changed as a Part of Speech, and the form with which it is convenient to begin is the affix *-ly*. Whatever it may have been at one time, it is not now a separate word. So we take it as we find it, and treat it as derivational.

In *manly* it has undergone one change; and in the Scotch *whilk* and *swilk*, and the German *solch*, and *welch*, another; while in the English *which* and *such* (the Frisian *sok*) it has left its mark only so far as it has changed the form of the word in which we know that it once presented itself.

In the first instance, it gives us Adjectives like *manly* = *manlike*; and here it keeps its original import. A *manly person* is a person *like a man*.

But in words like *wisely*, *bravely*, *hotly*, &c., where it is added to an *Adjective*, it is the sign of an *Adverb*.

§ 224. *The Affixes -ness and -th*.—These convert Adjectives into Substantives; for (to begin with the first) by the addition of *-ness* every Adjective becomes a Substantive; the result being an *Abstract* name for the attribute implied, or suggested, by the Adjective itself. *Red-ness*, *weak-ness*, &c., are the attributes implied or suggested by *red* and *weak*, &c. This is only another way of saying that for every adjective

there is a corresponding Substantive, either actual or possible; and such is the case. Practically, however, there is a limit to their formation. When the Adjective, either by Composition or Derivation, exceeds two syllables, an additional one becomes cumbersome. Nevertheless trisyllabic Abstracts are common, and quadrisyllables not uncommon. Even such a word as *pusillanimousness* must be tolerated if necessary. From the mixed character, however, of the English vocabulary there is no want of substitutes; for the Latin terminations *-ty* and *-bility*, as in *piety* and *penetrability*, along with the French *-ment*, as in *contentment*, give us, if not actual, approximate equivalents.

But these are not all. Besides these there are the forms in *-th*. As *-th* is a single consonant, it creates no new syllable; but attaches itself directly to the main word. Doing so, it generally creates some slight euphonic modifications. Thus—in *strong*, *long*, and *broad*, the vowel changes, giving *strength*, *length*, *breadth* (*brēdth*). In *height* the *th* is often sounded as *t*. In *depth* the *p* has a tendency to become *f*. Compare *τυφθεῖς* for *τυπθεῖς*.

The Abstract names thus formed are limited in number, and constitute a peculiar class. When we talk of the *longness* or *shortness* of anything, we imply that the object to which the terms apply is either *long* or *short*. But with forms in *-th* we may talk of the *length* of a *very short walk*, the *height* of a *very low wall*, or the *depth* of a *very shallow stream*; in which cases we merely mean that the *walk*, the *wall*, and the *water* have a certain amount of extension in a certain direction. Whether it be much or little is another matter. We mention it generally, and the conception we connect with our abstraction is not so much that of any particular kind of dimension, but of the dimension



itself. If we suggest that the quality under notice is either below or above this indefinite kind of average, we have recourse to the affix *-ness*, and say *short-ness*, *low-ness*, and *shallow-ness* in the one case, *long-ness*, *high-ness*, or *deep-ness* in the other.

§ 225. *The Affixes -er and -ing*.—Every verb can be converted into a Substantive by the addition of either *-er* or *-ing*; the result being, in the first case, a name for the *agent*, in the second a name for the *action* implied in, or suggested by, the Verb. *Hunt-er*, the name of any one who *hunts*; *hunt-ing*, the simple act of any one that *hunts*. This is only another way of saying that every Verbal Substantive (for that is what these forms in *-er* and *-ing* are called) has its corresponding Verb; and every Verb its *two* corresponding Verbals. This is a repetition of what has been said about the Affix *-ness*; and it is made in order to say how absolute and extensive the three forms are, and how they multiply the *possible* words in our English; since, *possibly* and *potentially*, they double the number of our Adjectives, and treble that of our Verbs.

The older form of *-ing* was *-ung*. Out of the Objective Case of this form in *-ung* or *-ing* come the Adverbs in *-ing*—as *darkling*, &c. More on this point will be found as we proceed.

§ 226. *Affixes in -en*.—These are numerous. Two only belong to the present division—

(a) The *-en* in *whit-en*, *soft-en*, &c., where the main word is an Adjective; and the meaning is ‘*make white*’; and that in *length-en*, *strength-en*, &c., where the main word is an Abstract Substantive, and the meaning is ‘*invest with the character of length, or strength*’—

(b) The *-en* in *wood-en*.—This shows that the Substantives to which the termination applies are the names

of the *material* of which something is made—*golden* = *made of gold*.

§ 227. *Change of Consonant between Noun and Verb*.—In *breath* and *breathe*, *cloth* and *clothe*, the Surd changes to the Sonant, and the Noun becomes a Verb. *Use* and *grease* are of foreign origin. The sound of the Verb, in all three cases, is *brēadhē*, *clōdhē*, *uze*, *greaze*.

### CHAPTER III.

DERIVATION CONTINUED.—FORMATIVE AFFIXES, ETC., OF THE SECOND CLASS.—FORMS IN *-KIN*, *-OCK*, *-ING*, *-LING*, ETC.; DIMINUTIVES.—AUGMENTATIVES AND PATRONYMICS—IN *-ER*—IN *-MA* AND *-ST*; DEGREES OF COMPARISON—IN *-TH*; ORDINAL NUMERALS—IN *-IN*, *-STER*, ETC.; GENDER.—COLLECTIVES.—*RISE* AND *RAISE*, ETC.—AFFIXES IN *-ND*. IN *-ED*. IN *-EN*. MISCELLANEOUS AND UNCLASSED FORMATIVES.

§ 228. The second division of the derivational processes contains those by which two words belonging to the same group as Parts of Speech are changed from one section of it to another.

§ 229. The Affixes *-kin*, *-ock*, *-ing*, *-ling*, &c.—*Diminutives*.—The Diminutives are a convenient class to begin with.

Compared with *lamb*, *man*, and *hill*, the words *lambkin*, *manikin*, and *hillock*, convey the idea of smallness or diminution. In *hillock* there is the simple expression of comparative smallness in size. In *doggie* and *lassie* the addition of the *-ie* makes the word not so much a Diminutive as a term of tenderness. The idea of smallness, accompanied, perhaps, with that of

neatness, generally carries with it that of approbation. *Clean* in English, means, in German, *little*=*kleine*. The feeling of protection, which is extended to small objects, engenders the notion of endearment.\* Sometimes, a Diminutive is a term of disparagement; as *lordling* and *hireling*.

Next to knowing that in some Diminutive Nouns there is *something more*, it is useful to know that in others there is something *less*, than the simple notion of smallness. This means that, in many cases, the Diminutive displaces the original word, and takes its power; but without being accompanied by the idea of diminution. Thus *sol*, in Latin=*sun*. But the Slavonic for *sun* is *shunce*=*little sun*, originally; now simply *sun*. The only word for *star* in Latin is *stella* = *ster-ula* = *little star*. The French for *sun* is *sol-eil* = *sol-illus* = *little sun*. In Italian *frat-ello* and *sor-ella* = *brother* and *sister* = *frater*, *soror*, without any idea of size. In the Lithuanic, where the Diminutives attain their *maximum*, we may meet such expressions as *the big little sun*.

§ 230. *The Augmentatives*.—The opposite to Diminutive is *Augmentative*, from the Latin *augmentum*=*increase*; Augmentatives being words by which the notion of excessive size is suggested. They are, by no means, so widely diffused over the domain of language as Diminutives; and where they occur, they are less numerous. The Italian is, probably, the language which has the most of them. In the Italian, however, the Diminutives (as has already been stated) are numerous also: so that there is no reason for believing that the two classes are in any inverse ratio to each other. Like the Diminutives, the Augmentatives

\* As *klein* is to *clean* in German and English, so is *petitus* (*sought, desired*) to *petit* (*small*) in Latin and French.

have secondary meanings; and, as a general rule, the idea conveyed by them is anything but complimentary. Many of them are terms of disparagement, though some are quite indifferent.

§ 231. *Patronymics*.—In Anglosaxon the termination *-ing* was as patronymic as *-ids* is in Greek. In the Bible-translation the son of Elisha is called *Elising*. In the Anglosaxon Chronicle occur such genealogies as the following:—*Ida wæs Eopping, Eoppa Ésing, Ésa Inging, Inga Angenwiting, Angenwit Alocing, Aloc Beonocing, Beonoc Branding, Brand Bældæging, Bældæg Wódening, Wóden Friðowulfing, Friðowulf Finning, Finn Godwulfing, Godwulf Geating*=*Ida* was the son of *Eoppa*, *Eoppa* of *Esa*, *Esa* of *Inga*, *Inga* of *Angenwit*, *Angenwit* of *Aloc*, *Aloc* of *Beonoc*, *Beonoc* of *Brand*, *Brand* of *Bældæg*, *Bældæg* of *Wóden*, *Wóden* of *Friðowulf*, *Friðowulf* of *Finn*, *Finn* of *Godwulf*, *Godwulf* of *Geat*.—In Greek this would be Ἴδα ἦν Ἑοππεΐδης, Ἑοππα Ἡσειδης, Ἡσα Ἰγγεΐδης, Ἰγγα Ἀγγενφιτειδης, &c. In like manner, *Edgar Atheling* means *Edgar* of the family of the nobles.

§ 232. *Details*.—Diminutives are commoner in Scotch than in English.

Forms in *-ock*.—*Hillock* in English; *lassock, laddock, wifock*, and others in Scotch. In *laddick, lassick*, in the same language, the *-o-* is changed into *-i-*. In *emmet*=*little ant*, the *k* has become *-t*. So it has in *gobbet*=*piece, mouthful*; which is in Scotch *gap-pock; mammet* from *mammock; gimlet* from *gemlick*, from *gaffet*=*fork*. Key, from whom these and other details are taken, adds *cricket, hornet, limpet, locket, mallet, packet, pocket, sippit, smicket* (from *smock*), *tippet, wevet* (Somersetshire for *spider's web*), *ballot, spigot*. Here, however, the origin of the *-t* is uncertain. The local term *fitchet*=*polecat* has a better

claim, inasmuch as there is another form *fitchew*, in which the origin of the *w* out of a *k* is nearly certain. *Brisket* and *maggot* are transpositions from *bristek* (from *breast*), and the A. S. *maðu*, where a *k* or *g* precedes (as in *smock*).

*Form in -ing.*—*lord-ing*, *bird-ing*.

*Form in -l.*—*nozzle* (*nose*), *speckle* (*speck*), *spittle* (*spit*), *throstle* (*thrush*), *thimble* (*thumb*), *girdle*, *grid-dle* (*grid-iron*), *kernel* (*corn*), *gristle*, *knuckle*, *stubble*, *sparkle*.

*Kantle* = *small corner*, from *cant* = *corner*.

*Hurdle*; in Dutch *horde*; German *hurde*. *Hoarding*, without the *-l*, is used in an allied sense by builders in England.

*Form in -ie.*—Scotch—*wifie*, *daddie*, *lassie*, *lambie*, *boatie*. English—*daddy*, *baby*.

*Double Derivatives.*—Forms of which the basis is *k*—*K + ie.*—Scotch—*Lassockie*, *lassickie*, *wifockie*.

*K + in.*—This gives us the termination *-kin*, the commonest of our Diminutives, though by no means general. The following list is from a paper on English Diminutives in the Philological Museum (vol. i. pp. 679–686). *Manikin*, *lambkin*, *pipkin* (= *little pipe*). *Gerk-in* is from the root of *gourd* rather than from *gourd* itself; German, *gurke*; Norse, *gurka*.

*Jerkin* = *frock*. In Dutch, *jurk*.

*Pumpkin.*—Dutch, *pomp*. Obsolete in English.

*Griskin* = *Little pig*. *Gris* or *grice*. Obsolete.

*Bumpkin.*—Root *b-m*; Dutch, *boom* = *tree*, *beam*; in German *baum* = *tree*; in English *beam* (generally = the Latin *trabs*, but preserved in *horn-beam*, with the power of *arbor*). The notion of *woodiness*, connected with *stupidity*, or extreme simplicity, is shown in the word *blockhead*.

*Firkin* = *Little fourth* = Latin *quadrantulus*.

Lastly, we have in *lad-i-k-in*, *man-i-lo-in*, the combination  $-i+k+n$ .

The form with  $-l+ing$ .—*Bant-l-ing*, *dar-l-ing*, *chitter-l-ing*, *duck-l-ing*, *first-l-ing*, *fond-l-ing*, *found-l-ing*, *kit-l-ing*, *nest-l-ing*, *star-l-ing* (*stare*), *sap-l-ing*, *seed-l-ing*, *strip-l-ing*, *suck-l-ing*, *wit-l-ing*, *year-l-ing*, and a few others. In *change-l-ing* and *nurse-l-ing*, the root is other than English. In *hire-l-ing*, *lord-l-ing*, and *wit-l-ing* the idea of Diminution is accompanied by that of contempt.

The form in  $l+ock$ .—In Professor Key's list I find, from Jamieson, and (as such) Scotch—*hump-l-ock*=*a small heap*, *knub-l-ock*=*a little knob*.

The combination  $let=l+et$ .—Here the Affix  $-l$  is German—common in the Swiss and Bavarian forms of speech—whilst the  $-t$  is either English or French, as the case may be. When English, it is  $-t$  in *emmet*; i.e. a  $t=k$ ; when French, the  $-t$  in *lancet*. When the latter, it gives us an instance of hybridism. In *gim-let* the affix seems to be English. In *ham-let*, *stream-let*, and *ring-let*, it is, probably, French.

§ 233. Form in  $-art$ .—These are not so much simple Augmentatives as words conveying the sense of disparagement—*drunkard*, *stinkard*, *laggard*, *coward*, *braggart*.

§ 234. Except in the proper name *Edgar Atheling* = *Edgar of the noble blood*, the termination  $-ing$  as a Patronymic is rare. As a termination, however, of a long series of the names of towns and villages in England it has commanded attention as an instrument of historical and ethnological criticism. In—

Barlings	in	Lincolnshire.		Hastings	in	Sussex.
Bealings	—	Suffolk.		Lillings	—	Yorkshire.

of which the full forms, as found in the Anglosaxon

Charters, are in *-as*, it is held by Kemble and others that we have the names of the men and women who occupied certain districts rather than the names of the districts themselves.

Kent . . . . .	25	Hunts . . . . .	3
Norfolk . . . . .	24	Northumberland . . . . .	3
Sussex . . . . .	24	Notts . . . . .	3
Essex . . . . .	21	Cambridge . . . . .	2
Suffolk . . . . .	15	Derby . . . . .	2
York . . . . .	13	Dorset . . . . .	2
Lincoln . . . . .	7	Gloucester . . . . .	2
Southampton . . . . .	6	Oxon . . . . .	2
Berks . . . . .	5	Bucks . . . . .	1
Surrey . . . . .	5	Devon . . . . .	1
Beds . . . . .	4	Salop . . . . .	1
Norths . . . . .	4	Leicester . . . . .	1
Lancashire . . . . .	4	Somerset . . . . .	1
Middlesex . . . . .	4	Warwick . . . . .	1
Herts . . . . .	3	Wilts . . . . .	1

Word for word *Wales* is *Wealhas* = *strangers, foreigners, aliens*; but it is only one word out of many; the transfer of the name of the inhabitants to the land inhabited being common both in A. S. and Old English.

In *Cornwall*, the  $\surd$  *w-l* is singular; as it also is in the following passage:—

Dis tīping com him how *Wale* him betrayed  
 Perfor is Gascojn left and er at werre delayed.

*Rob. Br.* 263.

The older name for England is *Engle* = *Angles*, rather than *Anglia*.

The Denes adde the majstre, tho al was jdo:  
 And by *Est Angle* and Lyndeseje hii wende vorþ atte laste,  
 And so hamward al bý Kent and slow and barnde vaste.

*Rob. Glou.* 160.

Again, in Lithuanic—

Szvėdai, *Swedes* from Szvėdas, a *Swede* = *Sweden*.  
 Prūsai, *Prussians* — Prūsas, a *Prussian* = *Prussia*.  
 Lėnkai, *Poles* Lėnkas, a *Pole* = *Poland*.

§ 235. *The Affix -er, in under, wiser, &c.*—The Affix *-er* attached to an Adjective is the well-known sign of the Comparative Degree. But it is found in words which are neither Adjectival nor Comparative, such as (1) *whether, o-th-er*; (2) certain prepositions and adverbs, as *ov-er, und-er, af-t-er*; (3) Adjectives of the Comparative Degree, as *wis-er, strong-er, bett-er, &c.*; (4) Adjectives, with the form of the Comparative, but the power of the Positive Degree, as *upp-er, und-er, inn-er, out-er, hind-er*.

What is the idea common to all these words? Bopp, who has best generalized the view of the form, considers the fundamental idea to be that of *duality*. In the Comparative Degree we have a relation between one object and *some* other object like it, or a relation between two single elements of comparison: as *A is wiser than B*. In the Superlative Degree we have a relation between one object and *all* others like it, or a relation between one single and one complex element of comparison: *A is wiser than B, C, D, &c.* Over and above, however, the idea of simple comparison, there is that of (1) contrariety; as in *inner, outer, under, upper, over*; and (2) choice in the way of an alternative; as *either, neither, other, and whether*, a word which, as a pronoun, is nearly obsolete. No one at present says *whether of the two will you have?* or *whether of the two is this?* but, on the contrary, *which of the two, &c.* In Lithuanic, the converse takes place, and *whether* (at least its equivalent *katras*) applies to more than two, e.g.:

*Trys bernýczai szëno pióve;*  
*Katras búsit máno mēlas?*  
*Katras plauksit vainikēlio?*

i.e. *Three young men mow hay;*  
*Whether (which) will be my love?*  
*Whether (which) will swim for the wreath?*



The word *whether*, as is suggested by this quotation, is an old one; being the Latin *uter* (*c-uter*, whence *n-uter* = *n-either*) and the Greek *κότερος* (= *πότερος*).

That the *-er* in all these applications is invested, in its general sense, with the notion of Duality, is simply a matter of fact. Its exact import, however, in the Comparative Degree, is not so simple as it seems to be. This is because the oldest form, in the German languages, of the affix was not *-er*, but *-iz*.

§ 236. *The Affixes -ma and -st.*—The *-ma* here indicated is, in the present language, disguised; because it looks as if words like *upmost* were simply compounds formed by the addition of *-most*.

On the contrary, they are (some of them at least) remarkable instances of an accumulation of *derivational* elements taking the guise of a full and complete word; and, as such, passing for ordinary instances of *Composition*.

The Anglosaxon language presents us with the following forms; which show that the *m* has nothing to do with the word *most*.

<i>Anglosaxon.</i>	<i>English.</i>
innema (inn-ema)	inmost
útema (út-ema)	outmost
siðema (sið-ema)	latest
lætema (læt-ema)	latest
niðema (nið-ma)	nethermost
forma (for-ma)	foremost
æftema (aft-ema)	aftermost
yfema (uf-ema)	upmost
hindema (hind-ema)	hindmost
medema (mid-ema)	midmost.

From the words in question there was formed, in Anglosaxon, a regular superlative in the usual manner; viz., by the addition of *-st*; as *æfte-m-est*, *fyr-m-est*, *læte-m-est*, *sið-m-est*, *yfe-m-est*, *ute-m-est*, *inne-m-est*.

Hence the *m* is the *m* in the words *innema*, &c.; whilst the *-st* is the sign of the superlative. Hence, we should write—

mid-m-ost	not	mid-most	fore-m-ost	not	fore-most
ut-m-ost	„	ut-most	in-m-ost	„	in-most
up-m-ost	„	up-most	hind-m-ost	„	hind-most

In *neth-er-most*, &c., there is a superlative super-added to a comparative.

§ 237. *The Affix th, and the Reflected Ordinal.*—This is the affix by which all the ordinals from *three* to *twelve*, inclusive, are distinguished from their Cardinals. The Ordinals of *one* and *two* are formed on a different principle.

It is not without a reason that the formative of the Ordinals is noticed next in order to those of the Degrees of Comparison. Either rightly or wrongly the ideas of Ordinality and Superlativity have been held by so influential an authority as Bopp to be allied. The train of reasoning, which is not given in the words of the author, but which, I hope, does full justice to his argument, is as follows:—

The older form for *first* was *forma*; evidently one of the Superlatives in *-m*. This *m* is not only the *-m-* of the Lithuanic *permas* and the Latin *primus*, but of *intimus*, *extimus*, and other similar words in Latin. In the Greek *πρῶτος* this *m* is replaced by *-t-*; and in the *-tim-* of *septimus* and *extimus* we have *both* sounds. Hence, *form* for *forma*, the Latin *decimus* is the *-tim-* of *sep-tim-us*—the *t*, while the *t* is *πρῶτος* and in *sextus* is the same *minus* the *-m*. In *octavus* this *-m-* is represented, as it is also in *novimus*; of which *nonus* is a contraction.

The *-m-* that in *octavus* and *novimus* is reasonably held to have passed into a *-v-*, is, with equal reason, held to have become an *-n-*; especially the *-n* in *nine* and *ten*. But these, like the *m* in *novem* and *decem*, to which they answer, are not *Ordinals*, but *Cardinals*; though in the Greek *ἕννα* and *δέκα*, *ἕνναρος* and *δέκαρος*, there is neither *m* nor *n*. But, with *ἑβδόμος*, as compared with *septimus*, the Greek shows that it does not wholly ignore the *m* ( $\mu$ ). That there is much curious detail in all this, and much to think about, is certain; the result being that what we may call a Reflection of the Ordinal formatives upon the Cardinals must be recognised as an instrument of criticism; so that the Latin *decem* differs from the Greek *δέκα* because it has had the *-m* of the Ordinal thrown back upon, and incorporated with, it; and the English *ten* differs from the Latin *decem* because the radical *k* has been first softened into *h* and then ejected, and because, moreover, the *-m* has

become *-n*. In all this there is nothing open to objection; and what we may call the Reflection of the Formative of the Ordinal upon the Cardinal is not only a legitimate instrument of criticism, but a necessary one.

For *-t-* as a Reflected Ordinal Formative the evidence is not so good as that which applies to *-m-*; for in the Greek we find *ἕκτω* and *ἑβτα*, where we fail in finding *-m-* (or *-n-*). But we find in English *seven*, without the *t*, and in the Scandinavian languages we find the forms *sju*, and *syv*, Swedish and Danish, wherein we fail in finding *either*. If these last forms be those of the original Cardinal, there are *two* Reflected Ordinal Formatives. But the Greek Superlative, which, as we have seen, is connected with the Ordinal, is *-tat-*, as in *κακός, κακώτερος, κακώτατος*. If so, there are *two* sounds of *-t-* to be dealt with.

This leads us to a new series of facts. The Greek Comparative is *-τερ*. This is held to be the *tr-* in *trans* = *beyond*. The train of thought here—to take it from the logical point of view, or that which contemplates the connection and association of ideas—is that the Comparative Degree is something that *transcends* the Positive, the Superlative something that *transcends* the Comparative.

The result of all this is that, between the Latin *-tim-* and the Greek *-tat-*, we are brought to the doctrine that some such form as *-tam-* gives us the true and original Superlative. Whether right or wrong as a fact, the doctrine is one which is recognised, and should be known to be so; in other words it is a fact in the history of philological criticism, whatever it may as a fact in the real history of language.

Here, for the present, the exposition ends. It will be continued under the article on *Numerals*.

§ 238. *Forms in -in*.—The chief affix by which the name of a male is converted into that of a female, is in German *-in*; so that from *freund* = *friend* we get *freund-inn* = *female-friend*; in A. S. *munec* = *monk*, *municen* = *nun*.

It is a termination which is not only German, but Sarmatian also; the Lithuanic giving—

Bajóras	nobleman	bajor-ėnė.
Kūnigs	parson	kunig-ėnė.
Kūrpjus	shoemaker	kurpiuv-ėnė.
Avýnas	mother's brother	avýn-ėnė ( <i>his wife</i> ).
Ásilas	ass	asil-ėnė.
Gándras	stork	gandr-ėnė, &c., &c.

This being the case, its absence in English is remarkable. The only word in which it is believed to exist at the present moment is *vixen* = *female fox* = *füchsinn*, in German.

§ 239. *Forms in -ster*.—These were, originally, Female, or Feminine, forms. The old Glossaries give us—

(1.)				
Textor	webba		Citharedus	hearpere
Textrix	webbestre		Citharista	hearpestre
(2.)				
Cantor	sangere		Fidicen	fīdelere
Cantrix	sangestre		Fidicina	fīpel <i>stre</i>
Lector	rædere		Sartor	seamere
Lectrix	rædistre		Sartrix	seamestre
(3.)				
Hec pectrix,	a kempster		Hec siccatrix,	a dryster
— textrix,	a webster		— palmaria,	a brawdster
— pistrix,	a baxter		— salinaria,	a salster
— pandoxatrix,	a browster		— auxiatrix,	a hukster

On the other hand, such entries as

Hic pistor, a backstare | Hic textor, a webster

are very rare.

At present, however, *spinster* is the only representative of what was originally a large class.

§ 240. *Collective forms*.—The so-called Plurals which, like *oxen* and *feet*, are said to be formed from the Singular by either the addition of *-en*, or a change of Vowel, are Collectives rather than true Plurals.

*Forms in -ery*.—A *fishery* is not a collection of *fishers*, or fishermen, but one of *fishes*. A *rookery* is a collection of *rooks*; and there is no such word as *rooker*. The power, then, of the affix *-ry* is Collective. Besides *yeomanry* and *Jewry*, we have the rarer ones *Englishry*, *Danishry*, and *Welshery*, as the

names of political or ethnological districts. *Eyrie*, generally said to mean the nest of an eagle, is an *eggery* = *place for eggs*, or *collection of eggs*. In the following words the *-r* is a true sign of the Plural Number.

Hus-ir,	<i>houses.</i>		Lemp-ir,	<i>lamb.</i>
Chalp-ir,	<i>calfs.</i>		Plet-ir,	<i>blades.</i>
	Eigir,		eggs.	

Indeed, in one word it occurs in provincial and archaic English, viz., *childer* = *children*. All these are of the Neuter Gender.

In other words, such as *foolery*, *prudery*, *bravery*, *slavery*, *witchery*, *stitchery* (*needlework*), &c., however, this origin is inadmissible, and the idea of collection or assemblage is either obscure or non-existent, the *-ry* having originated out of a false analogy, suggested by the affinity of meaning of Collection and Abstraction.

<i>Frisian.</i>	<i>German.</i>	<i>Danish.</i>
Shriwwerai	Schreiberei	Skriverie.
Swennerai	Schweineerei	Svinerie.
Thiewerai	Dieberei	Tyverie.

meaning *writing*, *swinishness*, and *theft*, respectively.

§ 241. *Change of Vowel between Transitive and Intransitive Verbs.*—The following are Transitive Verbs derived from Intransitives by a change of the Vowel of the root:—

		(a)		
<i>Intrans.</i>				<i>Trans.</i>
Liegan	<i>lie.</i>		Lecgan	<i>lay.</i>
Sittan	<i>sit.</i>		Settan	<i>set.</i>
Drifan	<i>drift.</i>		Dræfan	<i>drive.</i>
Fëallan	<i>fall.</i>		Fyllan	<i>fell.</i>
Wëallan	<i>boil.</i>		Wyllan	<i>make to boil.</i>
Flëogan	<i>fly.</i>		A-fligan	<i>put to flight.</i>
Bëogan	<i>bow.</i>		Bigan	<i>bend.</i>
Faran	<i>go.</i>		Feran	<i>convey.</i>
Wacan	<i>wake.</i>		Weccan	<i>awaken.</i>

	(b)		
Rise	Raise.		Sit
Lie	Lay.		Fall
	Drink		Drench.
			Set.
			Fell.

In Anglosaxon these words were more numerous than they are at present.

<i>Intrans.</i>		<i>Trans.</i>
Yrnan		Ærnan
Byrnan		Bærnan
Drincan		Drencan
Sincan		Sencan
<i>run.</i>		<i>make to run.</i>
<i>burn.</i>		<i>make to burn.</i>
<i>drink.</i>		<i>drench.</i>
<i>sink.</i>		<i>make to sink.</i>

§ 242. *Affixes in -nd.*—This in the older stages of our language was the termination of the Active, or Present, Participle of Verbs; i.e. words like *living* from *live*, *speaking* from *speak*, &c., &c.; all of which now end in *-ing*. The vowel that preceded the *-n*, in the Middle English, varied with the dialect; the Westsaxon affix being *-ind*, the Mercian *-end*, the Northumbrian *-and*.

With this change of form we must compare that of the Verbal Substantive in *-ung*; wherein the *-u* has become *-i*, and the two forms become Confluent. *Hunting* from the A. S. *huntand*, with the meaning of the Latin Participle *venans*, and *hunting* from the A. S. *huntung*, with the meaning of the Latin *venatio*, are now, in respect to their form, one and the same word.

§ 243. *The Affix -ed.*—This, though one of the most important of the English Affixes, is one of the most obscure. It characterises both the Preterit Tense and the Past, or Passive, Participle, of words like *love*, which form them by the addition of *-d*, or *-t*, as opposed to those which form them by a change of Vowel, with (for the Participle) the addition of *-en*, or *-n*—*love*, *loved*, *loved*; *speak*, *spoke*, *spoken*; *know*, *knew*, *known*.

(a) *The -d in loved = amavi; i.e. as a Preterit Tense.* This is held to be an abbreviated form of the word *did*, the Perfect of *do*; in other words, the *did* in the combination *I did love*, modified in form, and transposed in place; or made to *follow* the verb (with which it coalesces) instead of *preceding* it.

(b) *The -d in loved = amatus; i.e. as a Past, or Passive, Participle.*—This is held to be the  $-\tau$  in the Greek verbals ending in  $-\tau\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ , and  $-\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ; as  $\pi\omicron\iota\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\pi\omicron\iota\eta\tau\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ .

More upon this point will be found in § 363, on the formation of the Preterit.

## CHAPTER IV.

### AFFIXES OF THE THIRD CLASS — SHADE, SHADOW; MAID, MAIDEN.

§ 244. The Affixes of the Third Class are those in which no definite, or notable difference in *meaning* can be assigned to the words which they distinguish in *form*. Those only will be given in which, when the affix is taken away, an actual word remains; as *maid*, *maiden*; *mead*, *meadow*; *shade*, *shadow*. That there is absolutely no change of sense is not asserted; for it is certain that the words in each pair are not used indifferently and with equal propriety in every case. Still it is the change that exists between words like *rise* and *raise*, *man* and *manikin*; and still less that between words like *hunt* and *hunter*, or *strong*, *strength*, and *strengthen*.

Subject to the preceding limitation this class is confined, or nearly confined, to the three words just

quoted. But it cannot be denied that there are many words like them where, although the fundamental element cannot be found, in English, as a separate word, the inference that it has existed as such is legitimate.

The following table well illustrates the forms in *-ow* :—

'The suffix *-ow* represents, in some few substantives, an older suffix,

(1) *u*, (2) *wa*.

(1) <i>shadow</i>	.	.	O. E.	<i>sceadu</i> ,	in Goth.	<i>skathu-s</i> .	
<i>meadow</i>	.	.	O. E.	<i>meodu</i> ,	<i>medu</i> .		
(2) <i>callow</i>	.	.	O. E.	<i>calu</i> .	Lat.	<i>calvus</i> .	
<i>fallow</i>	.	.	O. E.	<i>fealu</i> ,	<i>fealwe</i> .	Lat.	<i>fulvus</i> .
<i>mallow</i>	.	.	O. E.	<i>mal-u</i> .	Lat.	<i>malva</i> .	
<i>narrow</i>	.	.	O. E.	<i>nearu</i> .			
<i>sallow</i>	.	.	O. E.	<i>salu</i> .	O. H. G.	<i>salaw</i> .	
<i>yellow</i>	.	.	O. E.	<i>geolu</i> .	Lat.	<i>gilvus</i> .	
<i>swallow</i>	.	.	O. E.	<i>swalewe</i> .	O. H. G.	<i>swal-awa</i> .	
					Ger.	<i>schwalbe</i> .	
<i>sinew</i>	.	.	O. E.	<i>sinewe</i> ,	<i>seonu</i> .	O. H. G.	<i>senawa</i> .'

*Morris: Outlines, &c., p. 212.*

In the following examples the *w* seems to have grown out of a *-g-* :—

<i>English.</i>	<i>Frisian.</i>	<i>English.</i>	<i>Frisian.</i>
Barr-ow	bäir-ig	Swall-ow	swäll-ig
Gall-ow-s	gul-ig	Fall-ow	fall-ig
Furr-ow	furr-ig	Marr-ow	mar-ig
Sparr-ow	spärr-ig	Tall-ow	tul-ig

To a great extent this form in *w* (= *v*) is Danish; e.g. in Danish *marv* = *marrow*, though, in Swedish, the word is *merg*. In the Danish *furre* and *spurre* = *furrow* and *sparrow* the change is carried further.

The present list of Derivational Formatives is, by no means, exhaustive; and the reader is referred to *Morris's Outlines* (p. 212, &c.) for additions to it. The examples of the present and two preceding chapters have been mainly meant to indicate the principle of their arrangement.



## CHAPTER V.

INFLECTION.—DECLENSION—OF PRONOUNS.—THE NUMERALS.  
 — THE DECLENSION OF SUBSTANTIVES.—ADJECTIVES  
 (THEIR DEGREES OF COMPARISON).—ADVERBS.

§ 245. *Inflection* now comes under notice. It is a peculiar kind of Derivation; of Derivation rather than composition. But it is by no means certain that a definition could be framed so as to exclude all compounds without inconvenience. The word *father-s*, whether taken as a Possessive Case or as a Nominative plural, is a good sample of Inflection. The addition to the main word is the sound expressed by the single letter *-s*. That this is not a whole word is evident. By going back, however, to the Anglosaxon period we find that it was preceded by a vowel—*e* or *a*, as the case might be. Now, though this gives us a syllable, the affix is as far from being a separate and independent word as ever: and, hence, it belongs to derivation rather than composition. But what if it be both possible and probable that *all* derivation was once composition, just as all composition was, originally, the juxtaposition of separate words? The doctrine that such is the case has already been alluded to. Nevertheless, for most purposes Derivation may be separated from Composition, and Inflection treated as a peculiar and important part of Derivation.

Inflection falls into (1) Declension and (2) Conjugation. Declension applies to (1) Gender, (2) Number, (3) Case; Conjugation to (1) Voice, (2) Mood, (3) Tense, (4) Number, (5) Person.

Nouns are declined; Verbs conjugated. Nouns are (1) Pronouns, (2) Substantives, (3) Adjectives.

Participles are, in some respects, Adjectives, in others Verbs.

To give precedence to the Pronouns over the Substantives, and to put them first in order in the class of Nouns, is unusual. The prerogative, however, with which this invests them is justifiable.

§ 246. *The Personal Pronouns.*—*The Name of the person speaking.*—First come the Personal Pronouns, and the first of these is the name for the speaker. When N. or M., no matter what his *permanent* name may be, speaks of himself as either *I* or *me*, *I* or *me* is a name *for the time being*; the person to whom it applies, or the temporary bearer of it, being, at the same time, the person who applies it. When applied strictly, it is limited to the Singular Number. But as a speaker may consider that what he says or does is said or done by others, so that, to some extent, he represents more speakers than his single self, a Plural form of the First Personal Pronoun is rarely, if ever, wanting. No sign of Gender is required.

§ 247. *Name of the Person spoken to.*—Then comes the name of the person spoken to. Here, also, the sign of Gender is superfluous. But here the Plural Number is no longer exceptional, or, in some degree, non-natural; but, on the contrary, almost a matter of necessity, since a speaker may address either a single individual or a multitude. The import of the words *we* and *us* requires, when the speaker is a single individual, some explanation: that of *ye* and *you*, when more individuals than one are spoken to, is self-evident.

§ 248. To these two the *true* Personal Pronouns are limited. They are those of the First and the Second Person. They stand alone, and apart from the so-called Pronoun, or Pronouns, of the Third Per-

sons,—*he, she, it (hit), and they*—in which we have *Three* Genders, and which are, historically, or in origin, *Demonstratives*. The true Personals have no Gender; and they need none.

§ 249. *I and Me, Thou and Ye*.—In each of the true Personal Pronouns there are, at least, either two distinct roots, or two forms sufficiently unlike another to look like such. For the First Person there are the roots represented by *I* and *me*; for the second those represented by *you* and *thee*.

*I* is found only in the Nominative Case, and has no Oblique Cases to correspond with it; and, *vice versâ*, the Oblique Cases have no Nominative. *I* is no Nominative Case of *me*; nor *me* of *I*; no more (to use a well-worn illustration) than *Puss* is the Vocative Case of *cat*.

Of the Declension of *I*, then, there is nothing at present more to say; except that there is no Declension at all. The forms in *m-*, such as *me, my, and mine*, whether Cases or derived Adjectives, are *not* cases or derivatives of the words *Ego, Ich, I*, or any of the numerous forms in which the Pronoun of the First Person Singular appears; and, *vice versâ*, *I* is no Nominative of *me*.

§ 250. *Personal Pronouns in A. S.*—In A. S. the Declension of the true Personal Pronouns is as follows:—

(a)

*I*—found only in the Nominative Case.

(b)

<i>Singular.</i>			<i>Plural.</i>
<i>Nom.</i>	—	—	<i>we.</i>
<i>Acc.</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>mec</i>	<i>us (unic).</i>
<i>Dat.</i>	<i>me</i>	—	<i>us.</i>
(?) <i>Gen.</i>	<i>min</i>	—	<i>user (ure).</i>

	(o)			
<i>Singular.</i>				<i>Plural.</i>
<i>Nom.</i>	þu	—		ge.
<i>Acc.</i>	þe'	þec		eow (eowic).
<i>Dat.</i>	þe	—		eow.
(?) <i>Gen.</i>	þin	—		eower.

The so-called Genitives are *Adjectives*; and this is the reason for the Note of Interrogation (?).

Reasons for treating the *c* in *mec* and *þec* as anything but a true sign of case are found in the familiar declension of *hic, hæc, hoc* in Latin; wherein the *c* is a sign neither of case or gender; nor yet of number. It is this *-c* that is not only the *-c* in *mec* and *þec*, but the *y* in *my* and *thy*.

§ 251. *I and We; Thou and Ye.*—In both Persons the Plurals are sufficiently different from the Singular to look like derivatives from different stems. This is the case with *we, our, us*, whether we compare them with *I or me*; and with *ye and you*, as compared with *thou and thee*.

Neither are the Cases of the Plural itself cases which stand to *we* in the same definite and unequivocal way that *their* and *them* stand to *they*, *his* and *her* to *he*, or *fathers* to *father*.

This is specially the case in the *First Person*; for, whatever may be their relation to *thou, thy*, and *thee, you* and *yours* are evidently from the same root as *ye*.

§ 252. *We, Our, Us.*—These, as different cases of the plural number, though, certainly, not so closely connected with one another as *they, their*, and *them*, are universally admitted to be forms of the same word. A difference, however, of some kind is found throughout all the German languages. In the present High German *wir*=*we*, *unser*=*our*, *uns*=*us*. In Danish the difference is at its *minimum*. In Danish *vi*=*we*, *vor*=*our*, *os*=*us*.

§ 253. *We and Me, Ye and Thou.*—The difference between the forms of the Singular and Plural Numbers is more perplexing; in other words it is easier to connect *our* and *us* with *we*, than *we*, &c., with *me*, and *ye* with *thou*.

In spite, however, of their external differences, it is safe to say that the prevalent opinion is in favour of their being, one and all, derivatives from the same root; though, of course, greatly altered.

§ 254. And this leads us to ask why (supposing that they *are* all from one root) the difference should be so great; and that not only in English, but in other languages; for we shall see that, throughout the whole Indo-European class, these same Personal Pronouns are, at least, as abnormal and multiform as they are in English; and we shall, also, see that throughout the whole class the fundamental roots are the same.

This, however, is only another way of saying that, as a class, the Personal Pronouns are among the oldest words of the languages to which they belong; and, as such, have undergone more than usual wear and tear.

§ 255. But this is not all. Many of their alterations can be accounted for; indeed, are deducible from the nature of the class.

The Dual Number in this matter helps a little, but the Dual Number is not exclusively Pronominal. The more important characteristic is the difference between the Exclusive and the Inclusive Plurals.

§ 256. *The Dual Number.*—The Dual Number, as a rule, is found in the older stages of the language. As time goes on it is dropped. But, though dropped as a Dual, it may be retained as a Plural, or *vice versâ*. If so, certain Plurals may be Duals disguised.

This is no mere possibility. If it were, it would not have been brought forward. The Latin Plurals *Nos* and

*Vos* are, word for word, the Greek Duals Νῶϊ and Σφῶϊ. The Slavonian Plural agrees with the Latin. The Tshekh, for instance, has like the English *gá*=*I*, *mé* and *me*=*me* and *my*, and the Plural *my*=*we*.

The Plural, however, is Latin throughout—Latin or Greek according as we compare it with *Vos* or with Σφῶϊ.

1. <i>my</i>	=	<i>we</i> .
2. <i>nás</i>	=	<i>our</i> = <i>nostrum</i> in Latin.
3. <i>nám</i>	=	<i>to us</i> = <i>nobis</i> „
4. <i>nás</i>	=	<i>us</i> = <i>nos</i> „
5. <i>ó my</i>	=	<i>we!</i>
6. <i>w nás</i>	=	<i>in us</i> .
7. <i>s námi</i>	=	<i>with us</i> .

1. <i>wy</i>	=	<i>vos</i> or σφῶϊ.
2. <i>wás</i>	=	<i>vestrum</i> or σφῶϊν.
3. <i>wám</i>	=	<i>vobis</i> .
4. <i>wás</i>	=	<i>vos</i> .
5. <i>ó wy</i>	=	<i>vos!</i>
6. <i>w wás</i>	=	<i>in nobis</i> .
7. <i>s wámi</i>	=	<i>cum nobis</i> .

§ 257. There was a Dual in Anglosaxon *wit*=*we* two; and in the English of the present time there is the word *both* (closely akin to the Numerals)=*ba two*; German *beide zwei*; Danish *begge to*.

This gives a second element; for these last two words were Compounds. But Compounds may be so closely connected as to lose their compound character; and further changes may eject one or the other of the original elements. If this be the original one, the whole character of the resulting word is changed. The word, in short, is transformed. This process must, from its very nature, be less evident than the previous ones. But it has been recognised as a matter of inference. At any rate it accounts for the phenomena. At present, however, it is merely given as an instrument of criticism.

§ 258. *Exclusive and Inclusive Plurals*.—The compound character of the Plural is even more intelli-

gible than that of the Dual ; but it is one which is only partially illustrated by the languages with which we have much familiarity. The Greek and Latin, along with the Slavonic, have sufficed for the illustration of the Dual. For the Plural we must go to the Sanskrit. But the Sanskrit itself will need illustration. For this we must go to some of the rudest and most undeveloped languages in the world : for the compound Plural in its most visible forms, even the formation of the Plural itself, belongs to the very infancy of speech.

There are two sorts of Plurals ; the *Inclusive* and the *Exclusive*. A speaker may address his hearer on a matter in which both take a part ; which is much like saying *you* and *I*, or *I* and *you*. Or he may address him on a matter from which one of the two is specially excluded ; in which case the import of his speech is '*I* but not *you*,' or '*you* but not *I*.' The Exclusive and Inclusive elements are plain enough here. But which is which ? Upon which of the two does the speaker start with the notion of Inclusion or Exclusion ? Is it *I + you*, and *I + you*, or *I - you*, and *you - I* ? The primary unit is convertible according to the state of his mind. Still the difference between Inclusive and Exclusive Plurals is manifest. So is the likelihood of the term being a compound. So, too, the likelihood of its parts being dismembered, and the result being the absolute transformation of the original word.

It is the languages in the low stages of development that best illustrate this class of Plurals. They are, (1) compounds of the name of the speaker, or the person spoken to, *plus* the name of some one else, after the fashion of a sum in addition ; and (2) when the compound becomes cumbrously long, the processes of amalgamation and rejection may result in an absolute transformation of the word.

## Comparative Table.

§ 259. The mode of growth from the radicles in the Indo-European family may be studied in the following:—

SINGULAR—		Greek.	Latin.	Gothic.	O. Saxon.	O. H. G.	O. Norse.
<i>Nom.</i>	asmá	ἄσμά	egò	ik	ic	ih(ihha)	ek
<i>Gen.</i>	má-ma (mè)	ἄσμά	(mei)	(meina)	(mfn)	min	min
<i>Dat.</i>	má-hjam (mè)	ἄσμά (Loc.)	mihf	mi-s	mí	mir	mer
<i>Acc.</i>	má-m, má	ἄσμά	mè	mi-k	mic, mī	mih	mi-k
<i>Inst.</i>	má-já	(Loc.)	Abt. mē-d, mē	(Dat.)	(Dat.)	(Dat.)	(Dat.)
FLURAL—							
<i>Nom.</i>	asmé', vajám	ἄσμάσ	nòs	veis	wí, wé	wir	ver
<i>Gen.</i>	(asmá'kam), nas	ἄσμάων	nostrum (tri)	(unsara)	úser	unsar	vár (vór)
<i>Dat.</i>	asmá'-bhjam, nas	ἄσμάσιν	nò-bis	unsis, uns	ús	uns	úss
<i>Acc.</i>	asmá'n, nas	ἄσμάσ	nòs	unsis, uns	ús	unsih	úss
DUAL—							
<i>Nom.</i>	Ává'm	ἄσά, ἄσά	—	vi-t	wi-t	(wi-z)	vi-t
<i>Gen.</i>	Ává'-jòs, náu	ἄσάσιν	—	ugkara	uncerò	unchar	okkar
<i>D. &amp; I.</i>	Ává'-bhjam, náu	ἄσάσιν	—	ugkis	unc	(unch)	okkr
<i>Acc.</i>	Ává'm, náu	ἄσά, ἄσά	—	ugkis	unc	(unch)	okkr



(d)

SINGULAR—		Gothic.		Latin.		Greek.		Sanskrit.		O. Saxon.		O. H. G.		O. Norse.		
Nom.	tvā-m	tū	tu	tū	tu	τὴ, σὺ	juvā'm	tvā-m	tvā-m, tvā	thū	thū	dā	dā	pā	pā	
Gen.	tāva, (tē)	(tui)	(beina)	(tui)	(beina)	τεοῖα, σοῦ	juvā'jōs, vām	tāva, (tē)	tāva, (tē)	(thin)	(thin)	(din)	(din)	þin	þin	
Dat.	tū-bhjam, (tvē, tē)	tū-bi	þis	tū-bi	þis	σοί (Loc.)	juvā'-bhjām, vām	tū-bhjam, (tvē, tē)	tū-bhjam, (tvē, tē)	thi	thi	dir	dir	þer	þer	
Acc.	tvā-m, tvā	tē	þik	tē	þik	τέ, σέ	juvā'-bhjām, vām	tvā-m, tvā	tvā-m, tvā	thic, thif	thic, thif	dih	dih	þik	þik	
Voc.	(Nominative.)	(Nom.)	(Nom.)	(Nom.)	(Nom.)	(Nom.)	juvā'-bhjām, vām	(Nominative.)	(Nominative.)	(Nom.)	(Nom.)	(Nom.)	(Nom.)	(Nom.)	(Nom.)	(Nom.)
Inst.	tvū-jā	Abi. tē-d, tē	(Dat.)	Abi. tē-d, tē	(Dat.)	(Loc.)	juvā'm, vām	tvū-jā	tvū-jā	(Dat.)	(Dat.)	(Dat.)	(Dat.)	(Dat.)	(Dat.)	
PLURAL—																
Nom.	juvā'mē, jājam	vōs	jus	vōs	jus	ὑμεῖς	juvā'mē, jājam	juvā'mē, jājam	juvā'mē, jājam	gi, gē	gi, gē	ier, ir	ier, ir	er, þer	er, þer	
Gen.	(jus māk'am), vas	vōstrum (-tri)	izvara	vōstrum (-tri)	izvara	ὑμῶν	(jus māk'am), vas	(jus māk'am), vas	(jus māk'am), vas	iwar	iwar	iwar	iwar	yðar	yðar	
Dat.	juvā'-bhjām, vas	vō-bis	izvis	vō-bis	izvis	ὑμῖν	juvā'-bhjām, vas	juvā'-bhjām, vas	juvā'-bhjām, vas	iu	iu	iu	iu	yðr	yðr	
Acc.	juvā māk'n, vas	vōs	izvis	vōs	izvis	ὑμᾶς	juvā māk'n, vas	juvā māk'n, vas	juvā māk'n, vas	iu	iu	iu	iu	yðr	yðr	
DUAL—																
Nom.	juvā'm	—	(ju-ſ)	—	(ju-ſ)	σφέ, σφέι	juvā'm	juvā'm	juvā'm	gi	gi	(jis, is)	(jis, is)	it, þit	it, þit	
Gen.	juvā'jōs, vām	—	igqara	—	igqara	—	juvā'jōs, vām	juvā'jōs, vām	juvā'jōs, vām	iwar	iwar	(inchar)	(inchar)	ykkar	ykkar	
D. & I.	juvā'-bhjām, vām	—	igqis	—	igqis	σφέiv	juvā'-bhjām, vām	juvā'-bhjām, vām	juvā'-bhjām, vām	iu	iu	(inch)	(inch)	ykkar	ykkar	
Acc.	juvā'm, vām	—	igqis	—	igqis	σφέ, σφέι	juvā'm, vām	juvā'm, vām	juvā'm, vām	iu	iu	(inch)	(inch)	ykkar	ykkar	

§ 260. The preceding Comparative Table is from Professor March's '*Comparative Grammar of the Anglosaxon Language.*' I have not accompanied it with the author's explanation; because it is given, to a great extent, in symbols: which, though explained in the work, would take up too much room in this. The point, however, which it is intended to illustrate is the extent to which the compound character of the Plural forms disguises the simpler and more original ones: the adjuncts sometimes reducing the fundamental syllable to a *minimum*, and sometimes wholly eliminating it. He continues—

'*We.*—The present High German is *wir*. In Old Norse it was *ver*. In Mæsothianic *weis*. This *-s* represents the *-sm-* in the Sanskrit *-sma*, and the Greek *-meis* in *ἡμεῖς* and *ὕμεῖς* = *we* and *ye*. It was originally a Demonstrative Pronoun = *he, that, or this*. Here *we* = *wir* = *weis* = *asmé* = *I + he, that, or this*. The *w* is *v* in the Sanskrit *vayam*.'

'*Us.*—In High German *-uns*. This *-ns* also represents the Sanskrit *-sma*.'

'*Thee.*—Gothic *thas*. The *th-* has become *y*. The *-s* is, again, the Sanskrit *-sma*.'

It is only in illustration of the line of criticism applied to the Personal Pronouns that these notices have been given. For more on the subject the '*Comparative Grammar*' and Dr. Morris's '*Outlines*,' &c., are referred to.

§ 261. *The Declensions of Pronoun.*—There are three kinds of Declension for the Pronouns now coming under notice.

1. The first is that of the Demonstratives and Interrogatives; which is specially and typically *Pronominals*.

2. The second is *Substantival*.

3. The third is *Adjectival*; i.e. is wholly negative, or, in other words, is no Declension at all.

§ 262. *The Declension of the Demonstratives and*

*Interrogatives (Relatives).*—The key to both the Declension and the Conjugation of the present English is the clear appreciation of their remarkably small dimensions, and the knowledge that such inflections as occur are the fragments of a larger system. Ours is the study of what has been lost, of what has been kept, and of what has been changed. It applies to every part of the reduced system of Inflection that we still retain; and to no part is it so applicable as to the Demonstrative Pronouns.

This applies to not only *this* and *that*, but to the Definite Article *the*, and the so-called Third Personal Pronouns *he*, *she*, and *they*; every one of which has come from a different root; every one of which has had a complete Declension of its own at some time, in some language or another; and every one of which is now found in a changed condition. With this breaking-up, the import of one of the roots has been altered. Nor, when we consider how closely allied in import they all are, should this surprise us.

*He* was, originally, what it is now—a Pronoun of the Third Person rather than a Demonstrative.

*The* was a Demonstrative Pronoun rather than a Pronoun of the Third Person; but it was also the Definite Article, and that throughout its whole Declension.

*Se*, so far as it was anything, was the Definite Article; but in Anglosaxon it existed in only two forms—*se* and *seo*; corresponding to the Greek  $\acute{o}$  and  $\acute{\eta}$ . The Neuter Article was *þat*; and all the other cases, in both numbers, were forms of *þe*. But it was used, even in its two forms, regularly. It was Westsaxon, Old Saxon, Mœsogothic, and Old Norse. Elsewhere *the* and *theo* (*thju* in Frisian) were the equivalents to  $\acute{o}$  and  $\acute{\eta}$ . But whether the Masculine and Feminine of the Nominative Singular were *se* and *seo*, or *þe* and *þeo*, the

remainder of the Declension was always founded on the root *th-*: just as it is in Greek, where we begin with *ὁ* and *ἡ*, and continue with *τὸ*, *τοῦ*, *τῆς*, *τῶ*, *τῆ*, &c.

With this as a preliminary, the following tables lead us to the rest.

Saving that in the Westsaxon *se* and *seo* take the place of *þe* and *þeo* (as they do in the Old Saxon, Mæso-gothic, and Norse *si*, *siu*—*sa*, *su*—*sa*, *so*) the several declensions were as follows:—

	<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>	
	<i>Masc.</i>	<i>Fem.</i>	<i>Neut.</i>	<i>All Genders.</i>
<i>Nom.</i>	he	heo	hit	hi.
<i>Acc.</i>	hine	heo	hit	hi.
<i>Dat.</i>	him	hire	him	him.
<i>Gen.</i>	his	hire	his	heora.

	<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>	
	<i>Masc.</i>	<i>Fem.</i>	<i>Neut.</i>	<i>All Genders.</i>
<i>Nom.</i>	(þe)	(þeo)	þæt	þá.
<i>Acc.</i>	þane	þa	þæt	þá.
<i>Dat.</i>	þam	þam	þam	þám.
<i>Gen.</i>	þæs	þære	þæs	þara.
<i>Abl.</i>	þi	?	þi	

	<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>	
	<i>Masc.</i>	<i>Fem.</i>	<i>Neut.</i>	<i>All Genders.</i>
<i>Nom.</i>	þes	þeós	þis	þás.
<i>Acc.</i>	þisne	þás	þis	þás.
<i>Dat.</i>	þissum	þisse	þissum	þissum.
<i>Gen.</i>	þisses	þisse	þisses	þissa.

For *se*.

Nominative Singular Masculine *se*.  
 „ „ Feminine *seo*.

The Lithuanic is the only language which gives us the Declension of this word in full.

<i>Nom.</i>	szis	szl.
<i>Acc.</i>	szl	szlé.
<i>Loc.</i>	sziamé	sziojé.
<i>Dat.</i>	sziam	szél.
<i>Inst.</i>	szium	szé.
<i>Gen.</i>	szió	szíós.
<i>Nom.</i>	szíudu	szédoi.
<i>Acc.</i>	szíudu	szédoi.
<i>Dat.</i>	szémdvém	szíódvem.
<i>Inst.</i>	szémdvem	széódvem.
<i>Gen.</i>	szíudvájü	szíudvájü.
<i>Nom.</i>	szé	szíós.
<i>Acc.</i>	szíus	szíes.
<i>Loc.</i>	szíusé	szíosé.
<i>Dat.</i>	széms	szíóms.
<i>Inst.</i>	széis	szíomls.
<i>Gen.</i>	szíu	szíú.

The rest is read by what we know of the language in its present state.

§ 263. *He and Heo.*—The Feminine of *he* has become obsolete; and *seo* in the shape of *she* has replaced it. *Se* is wholly extinct. All the Plural forms of *he* have shared its fate, and been replaced by the Plural of *the*—*they, there, their.*

§ 264. *The, &c.*—The Masculine Nominative Singular is retained as the *uninflected* Definite Article. *Than* and *there* exist only as Adverbs: the first under the form *then* as an Adverb of Time, and under that of *than* as the adjunct to the Adjective in its Comparative Degree. *There* is an Adverb of Place. The Ablative *þi* is preserved in such combinations as *all the better, so much the more, &c.* = *eo melius, eo magis.* The Feminine Nominative *þeo*, and the Genitive *þæs*, are extinct. The Plural has replaced the extinct Plural forms of *he*; a Pronoun of the Third Person rather than either an Article or a true Demonstrative. *That* alone remains

as a Demonstrative ; and, except so far as we can call *those* its Plural, is (like the Definite Article) uninflected.

§ 265. *They—These—Those.*—But *those* is not the true Plural of *þe*. The true Plural of *þe* was *þá* : and, when *þá* was the Plural of *þe*, *þás* was the Plural of *þes* (*this*) ; or rather *þes* (*this*) was the true Singular of *þás* (*those*) ; and no such Plural as *these* then existed.

(a) *Thá and Thei, &c.*—So long as *þá* is the plural of *þat*, and *þat* itself is a Definite Article, we have no reason to treat *á* as anything but a pure vowel ; but when we find it spelt with a *-y*, as in *they*, or as anything out of which a *-y* could find its way into the spelling, a presumption against its pure vocalic character suggests itself. Now, in the Twelfth Century, we find the secondary forms *þei*, *þa*, *þe*, and later, in the Northumbrian, *thae* ; for during the long blank in the early Northumbrian period, the plural of *he* in that dialect has disappeared, though retained in the West-saxon.

This new element in the Ormulum is written *ȝ* (which, as the vowel that precedes it is short, is, according to the peculiar spelling of that work, doubled) ; and points either to the sound of *g* itself or to some of its varieties—*gh*, *h*, *kh*, or *y*. At any rate, in words like *þeȝ-ȝ* and *þeȝ-ȝre* = *they* and *their*, it gives us an element which, whether we call it consonantal, diphthongal, or semi-vocalic, is never found in the older *þá*.

(b) The power of the older form *þá* is, as it was before, that of either *the* or *those*. The power of the newer form *þeȝ-ȝ*, *thei*, or *they* is that of the obsolete *hi* ; which is the Plural of *he*, which is a Personal Pronoun rather than either a Demonstrative or a Definite Article.

§ 266. *pás, peos, pues, pes, pese, pise, these*.—These are later forms : generally recognised as transformations of the older *pás*.

We now know two forms of *pás*, of which the original in *-á-* (*pás*) and the present in *-e-* are the extremes—just as we had two extremes of *pá*—viz., *pá* itself and *pegg* (*thei, they*). They make *four* in all.

(1) The old *pás* has given us *these* ; the plural of *this*, the Demonstrative indicating comparative nearness. But the development of these secondary forms out of *pás*, by no means involves the abolition of the original form. It may, of course, be wholly supplanted by the later and smaller, or more slender forms ; i.e. be lost to the language. But it may, also, keep its ground ; either as a synonym, or with a modification of import.

It *does* keep its ground ; and hence out of the original pair, *pá* and *pás*, we have now *two* pairs—*they, pá*, and *these, pás*.

Out of these four words there are only three for which there is a use.

(1) *They* (*pegg, thei*) becomes the Plural of the Pronoun of the Third Person = Latin *illi* : and we know the reason for its becoming so. It replaces the lost plural of *he*.

(2) *These* serves as the Plural of *this*.

(3) The only two remaining relations that now stand over are those expressed by the Definite Article, and the Demonstrative which indicates comparative distance ; and these are sufficiently akin to one another to be expressed by the same word, and, at the same time, sufficiently distinct to be expressed by two—*those* and *these*.

But for the true and undoubted Definite Article *the*, since *se* became obsolete, has always been the ordinary form ; and that both in the Northern and the

Southern Dialects. Meanwhile for the Plural of the Demonstrative of distance (the Plural of *that*) there was the original Northumbrian *þá*, *þo*, or *thas*, according to the dialect.

There is no place, then, for *þás*.

But what if *þá*, *þó*, *thai*, or *thas* become obsolete? If such be the case, there *is* a place for *þás* (*those*).

Now in the Southern and Midland Dialects *þá* or *þo* *did* become obsolete, and a place was left for *þás*. What this is we know. It is that of the present *those*, the plural of *that*, and the opposite of *these*.

§ 267. Such is the exposition of the differences of form, and import, connected with the strange transfer of import on the part of the old *þás*, and the evolution of the newer form *these*, concerning which there is no reasonable doubt, and, I believe, no difference of opinion. That the change of vowel from *þás* to *these*, and the obsolescence of the true plural of *that* (*þá*, *þo*) are connected, to some extent, as cause and effect, is probable. But on which side the influence began, and upon other details equally obscure, it is unnecessary to speculate.

§ 268. The import, however, of the sound of *-s*, is more susceptible of investigation. The following explanation is got from two quarters: (1) the use of the French *-ci* in *-ce-ci*; and (2) the Norse of the Runic period.

(a) The French *ce*, when it stands alone, is neither an Article like *the*, nor a definite Demonstrative like *this* and *that*. But it can be made equivalent to either of the latter by the addition of *-ci* or *la* as a determinant; and such is, very nearly, the relation of *þá* to the affix *-s*—provided, of course, that sufficient reason can be given for considering *-s* to represent some separate word with the power of the *-ci* in *ce-ci* = *this*.



(b) Upon this point I adopt the opinion of that eminent Scandinavian scholar, the late Professor Munch. In his short but valuable work on the *Runes*, after stating that the Compound Pronoun *þessi* is (with certain exceptions which are not needed here) inflected in the ordinary manner, or as follows:—

The *i* in the majority of cases, except the Nominative and Genitive Singular (*i de fleste Casus uden for Nom. og Gen. Sing.*) of the Pronoun *sá* is declined, and the first part of the undeclined ending *si* or *sa* is added-on in the following manner:—

<i>Singular.</i>			
	<i>Masc.</i>	<i>Fem.</i>	<i>Neut.</i>
Dative	<i>þaimsi</i>	<i>þasi</i>	<i>þvsa.</i>
Accusative	<i>þansi</i>	<i>þinsa</i>	<i>þansi.</i>
	<i>þinasi</i>	<i>þinasa</i>	<i>þinsi.</i>
Neuter	<i>þatsi.</i>	—	—

<i>Plural.</i>			
	<i>Masc.</i>	<i>Fem.</i>	<i>Neut.</i>
Nominative	<i>þaisi</i> (o: <i>þairsi</i> )	<i>þasi</i> (o: <i>þársi</i> )	<i>þausi</i> ( <i>busi</i> ).
Dative	<i>þaimsi.</i>	—	—
Accusative	<i>þasi</i> (o: <i>þási</i> )	<i>þasi þasi</i> (o: <i>þarsi</i> ).	—
Neuter	<i>þausi</i> ( <i>busi</i> ).*	—	—

Here, after noticing *þessi* as a compound of the Demonstrative *sæ*, upon which the writer seems to have no doubt whatever, he gives us his examples. More than half of them are forms of *þat*, and *þa*, with the broad vowel, rather than of *þissi* with the slender one. About their import, however, there is not the slightest doubt. They both point equally to the same degree of nearness or distance; and that is, we may say, *thisness*.

The Accusatives *þansi* and *þinsi* mean exactly the same: and both mean *this*. There are some contexts

\* *Kortfatted Fremstilling af den ældste Nordiske Runeskrift. 1848.*

in which there might be a doubt on this point; but when we find on a gravestone such a sentence as—

RAGNHILDR SVSTIR VLFS SATI STAIN ÞANSI AVK GAR  
DI HAUG ÞANSI AVET GVNVLV VAR SIN.

Ragnild, sister of Ulf, set *this* stone, and made *this* barrow after Gunulf her man.

there is no doubt *thansi* means the gravestone on which it is engraven, and no other.

§ 269. It is not maintained that the comparison between *ce-ci* and *tho-s* holds good on all points. But identity of principle with difference in details is the rule rather than the exception in Philology.

The French *-ci* we can trace to its origin. It is the *-ci* in *ici*=*here*. In like manner, though the fact is not so conspicuously clear, the prevalent opinion is in favour of the root *-se*, being suggestive of nearness rather than of distance.

In French this *-ci* has its correlative *-la*; denoting comparative distance. The French used both forms; the English only one. But though two are not superfluous, *one* is sufficient. On the other hand, we expect, *à priori*, that when one only is used, it will be the one that indicates distance. But in English, where there is only one, the determinant falls on the pronoun expressive of nearness; or the one that might have best stood without. *Pro tanto* this is an objection to the present view—but only at first sight.

It is only in the Plural of the English forms that the *single* Determinant *-s* presents itself. And this is only natural, because precision is more needed for Plural and Collective than for Singular forms. The former are naturally more indefinite.

Moreover, it is only in the Nominative and Accusative that the form in *á* for *pis* is found. All the other

cases have an *-i-*; a small, or slender, vowel. In the declension of *that* the broad *a* runs throughout. Naturally, then, the form in *a* would seem to belong to the cases where the vowel was broad. If so, the determinant would be most wanted for those which, except in the Nominative and Accusative, had *-i-*.

§ 270. *Tha retained in the Northumbrian -þir.*—It has been stated above that after the four forms *they* (*thex z, thei*), *these* (*bues, &c.*), and *þás* (*those*), and *þá* (*tho, thae*) existed concurrently in the Middle English of the three dialects, there were three senses in which they could be used; that the chance lay between *þás* and *þá*; and the latter went to the wall. It is now necessary to add that this applied only to the Southern and Midland dialects. The Northumbrian preferred *thae* to *those*; and, moreover, used *thir* for *these*.

Of the two plurals for *that*, which now (13th & 14th centuries) existed in the Northern and Midland dialects, only one was eventually retained by each. In the Northern dialect the surviving form was *þa* (*tha, thae*), the other form *þas, thas*, being absent from the Scottish writers, and totally unknown to the living Scottish dialects (and I believe also to those parts of the North of England which still retain the true Northern speech). In the Midland dialect, on the other hand, *þos* (*those*) was triumphant, *þo, tho* being gradually eliminated, perhaps because the former was more distinctly plural, and more distinct from the third personal pronoun *thai* and article *the*.

The literary English being, in its main features, of Midland origin, acknowledges the Midland Demonstratives *þise and þos*, *these, those . . . These and those* have not, however, been cordially welcomed by the popular speech either in the North or South; the Dorsetshire peasant does not say 'I think those houses better than these,' but 'I think *them* housen better than *thæsem*,' from Ags. *þæm* and *þisum*, dat. plurals. In the Northern dialect the Scotch has retained *thir* and *tha, thae*, as its plural demonstratives. In the North of England, although the influence of the Standard English has been gradually driving the old dialect northward, so that *thir* and *tha* are not now, as in Richard the Hermit's time, heard in the neighbourhood of Doncaster, we meet with them as *thor* and *theea* in the dialect of Cleveland in the North Riding, and in Cumberland and Westmoreland, *thur* (sound of *u* in full), *thor*, are in regular use as the plural of *this*. But *tha, thae* is not now used in the two Western counties, which supply its place by *them*: 'I'll gie *tha thur* (in my hand) for *them* (in yours)'; 'Thur's mi aan, them's mi fadher's an' yon's laal Jacup's.' In South Lancashire we find these forms displaced by the Midland *these, thooas*; and in the Barnsley dialect of Yorkshire *thease* seems also to replace the Northern *thir*. In

Scotland *thir* and *thae* have, curiously enough, not penetrated beyond the Grampians, the North-eastern Scotch using *thys* and *that* in the plural as well as the singular: 'thys beuks an' that pens.'—*Dr. Murray: Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland*, p. 184.

§ 271. In the relations between *she*, *he*, *they*, *these*, and *those*, lie nine-tenths of the details of the Declension of the Demonstrative Pronouns. What remains may be treated briefly.

*She*, in A.S. *seo* or *sio*, as has already been noticed, as the last fragment of declension of which the Lithuanic alone gives us something like the original dimensions. Upon its connection with the Reflective more will be said hereafter.

In *it*, we have the old Neuter after the loss of its initial *h*.

In *its* we have greater change. The initial *h* is dropped, and the *-t* inserted. This makes *its* a transformation of *his*; the A.S. form for the Neuter as well as the Masculine. The *-t* is the *-t* in *hit*; which is, of course, out of place in the Genitive. It was not until the end of the sixteenth century that this exceptional form took root.

*Him* and *hine*.—The A.S. Accusative ended in *-n*—*hine*; the Dative ending in *-m*.

*Hi-m* (acc.) This was originally a dative form, which in the twelfth century (in Lagamon and Orm) began to replace the Accusative.

*Hi-ne*.—The old Accusative was sometimes shortened to *-in*, and still exists in the South of England under the form *en*.—*Morris's Outlines*, &c. p. 120.

*pisne* and *þessum*.—The first is a common provincial, as *thesn*. The second, as *theasem*, is still current in Dorsetshire.

*Em*, as in 'give it 'em.'—By some this is considered as a shortened form of *them*; by others, as the A.S. Accusative *heom*, or *hem*.

§ 272. *The Interrogative and Relative.*—These, in the essentials of their Declension, agree with the Demonstratives, and belong to the same, or the true Pronominal, system. Except, however, in the Dative Singular (*hwære, where*) they have no Feminine forms. Like the Demonstratives, they retain the true Neuter sign *-t*; the same as the *-d* in the Latin *quod, id, and illud*.

*What*, and not *which*, is the real Neuter.

*Which* is a compound—*hve-lik*, Scotch *whi-lik*, German *we-lch*=*what-like*.

*Whose*=in A.S. *hwæs*, is an ordinary Possessive in *-s*—*whoes* or *who's*. The spelling which makes it end in *-e*, disguises its true nature.

*Whom*.—Like *him* originally Dative.

*When*.—The Accusative Masculine, preserved as the Adverb *when*.

*Where*.—The Dative Feminine, preserved as the Adverb *where*.

To these add *then, there, and here*, which are in the same relation to *the* and *he* as *when* and *where* to *who*.

*Why*=*for what reason*. From *hwi*, the Ablative, or Instrumental, of *hwa* (*who*).

*How*, a variation from the same case.

§ 273. *Pronouns with a Substantival Declension.* These are (1) *self, selfs', selves, selves'*; (2) *one, one's, ones, ones'*, as in *one does not like to see one's property wasted—my wife and little ones are well*; (3) *other, other's, others, others'*.

*One* and *other* are declined like ordinary Substantives. *Self*, like *shelf*, forms its plural in *-v, selves, shelves*.

§ 274. *Pronouns with an Adjectival Declension.*—This means all those that have not been already enumerated. They are declined like Adjectives. But Adjectives are not declined at all. Though this is so like

saying nothing, that, without an explanation, it had better have been left unsaid, such is far from being the case. It is merely because the Adjectives have *lost* a very characteristic declension that they are, at present, wholly without one. What this declension was may be seen in § 81. It may, also, be seen that it was of two kinds, a Definite and Indefinite one. The former the Pronouns never had. The latter they had, and this, with the exception of the Demonstratives and the Interrogatives (also Relatives), like the Adjectives, they have lost. This is one point which connects the Pronoun with the Adjective in respect to their Inflections.

Another and a more important one is that the declension was the same for the two, i.e. the Pronominal Inflection, in its integrity, followed that of the Adjectives and not that of the Substantives. It is only in the German family that this is the case. In Latin, *bonus, bona, bonum*, are declined like *dominus, domina, regnum*; and so elsewhere. In the German languages they are declined like *he, she, or who*; or, *vice versa*, the Pronominal forms are adjectival.

§ 275. *The Numerals.*—The difference between the Ordinals and Cardinals is *not* a matter of Declension or Inflection. Still it is, generally, in conjunction with the Inflections that the Numerals are considered. For the practical purposes of tracing a language they are among the first words that command notice.

Moreover, in Comparative Philology they are words which characterize the whole Indo-European class. Indeed, in the Celtic they are the chief words which, as a class, are Indo-European. This means that they are among the oldest words in the group.

Being such, they have been more subjected to the wear and tear of time and place than any others; as may be seen by some of the extraordinary letter-changes they present.

The following list is intended to show this; but it should be read with special reference to the Reflected Ordinal.

	<i>Cardinal.</i>	<i>Cardinal.</i>	<i>Cardinal.</i>
<i>English</i>	one	two	three
<i>Mæso-gothic</i>	ain-s	tvai	þrei-s
<i>Icelandic</i>	ein-n	tvei-r	þri-r
<i>Swedish</i>	en	to	tre
<i>Danish</i>	en	to	tre
<i>Welsh</i>	un	do	tri
<i>Gaelic</i>	son	daoi	tri
<i>Latin</i>	unu-s	duo	tre-s
<i>Greek</i>	εἷς (ἕν σ)	δύο	τρῆς (τρί-α)
<i>Polish</i>	jeden	dwa	trzy
<i>Russian</i>	odin	dva	tri
<i>Lithuanic</i>	vėna-s	dū	try-s
<i>Sanskrit</i>	eka	dvi	tri

	<i>Cardinal.</i>	<i>Cardinal.</i>	<i>Cardinal.</i>
<i>English</i>	four	five	six
<i>Mæsothetic</i>	fidvor	fimf	sáihš
<i>Ioelandic</i>	fiór-ir	fimm	sex
<i>Swedish</i>	fire	fem	sex
<i>Danish</i>	fire	fem	sex
<i>Welsh</i>	pedwar	pump	chwech
<i>Gaelic</i>	ceathar	cúig	sé
<i>Latin</i>	quatuor	quinque	sex
<i>Greek</i>	τετράπρω-ες	πέντε	ἕξ
—	τεσσάρω-ες	πέντε	—
—	πέντε-ες	—	—
<i>Polish</i>	cztery	pięć	sześć
<i>Russian</i>	tshetäre	pat	shest
<i>Lithuanic</i>	kętiri	perki	szeszi
<i>Sanskrit</i>	chátur	pánchan	shásh

	<i>Cardinal.</i>	<i>Cardinal.</i>	<i>Cardinal.</i>
<i>English</i>	seven	eight	nine
<i>Mæsothetic</i>	sibun	ahtáu	niun
<i>Old Norse</i>	síau	átta	niú
<i>Swedish</i>	sju	otte	nio
<i>Danish</i>	sju	otte	ni
<i>Welsh</i>	saith	wyth	nau
<i>Gaelic</i>	seacht	ocht	naoi
<i>Latin</i>	septem	octo	novem
<i>Greek</i>	ἑπτὰ	ὀκτώ	ἐννέα
<i>Polish</i>	siedm	ośm	dziewięć
<i>Russian</i>	sem	vocem	dévat
<i>Lithuanic</i>	septyni	aestūni	devyni
<i>Sanskrit</i>	sáptan	cishtan	návan

	<i>Cardinal.</i>		<i>Cardinal.</i>
<i>English</i>	ten	<i>Latin</i>	decem
<i>Mæsothetic</i>	táihun	<i>Gaelic</i>	deich
<i>Old Norse</i>	tíu	<i>Greek</i>	δέκα
<i>Swedish</i>	tio	<i>Polish</i>	dziesięć
<i>Danish</i>	ty	<i>Russian</i>	désat
<i>Welsh</i>	deg	<i>Lithuanic</i>	dęsimpt
	<i>Sanskrit</i>		dácān

1. Here the Sanskrit *eka* is the most exceptional. It is supposed to represent the same root as *egō, ego, ich, and I*; or, as Donaldson (? Key) has put it, it means 'Number One.' It is also held to represent the Greek *ἕκα-στος = each or each one*—a Superlative form like *μέγιστος, &c.* The

-*d* in the Slavonic is more likely to represent an abnormal pronunciation of -*n* than a true radical sound of -*d*. We miss it in the other languages. The Ordinal is no modification of the Cardinal; but the Superlative form of a wholly different word. So it is generally—Latin *primus*; Greek *πρῶτος*; German *erste*; Lithuanic *pirmas*. The Aspirate *els* in Greek, and the *v* in *vėnas* in Lithuanic, suggest that the initial vowel was not wholly pure. In Greek it is remarkable for taking a wholly new word for the Feminine. Contrast *els*, *μῆα*, *ἔν*, with *unus*, *una*, *unum* in Latin.

2, 3.—These are very regular. The -*r* in the Mæso-gothic *þreir* and the Old Norse *þreir*, seems to have been a sign of the Plural Number; retained in the first Numeral that was Plural. Like *first* as compared to *one*, *second* as compared to *two*, gives us a wholly different word for the Ordinal. In Greek it is *δευτερος*, a Comparative form. The English *second* is the Latin *secundus*, from *sequor* = *I follow*. In Danish we have *anden* = *other*. The German, however, gives *zweite* from *zwei*. In respect, then, to its Ordinal, the second Numeral follows the same principle as the first, though not to the same extent.

4, 5. Here the -*v* in the English *five* represents an -*m*- or -*n*-, softened. The *cedilla* in the Polish *pięc* does the same. In the Lithuanic *penki* we have it in full; though in Lithuanic it is generally reduced to a nasalized vowel. The -*que*, -*re*, -*te*, -*ti*, -*ti*, -*ti*, and -*ti* (*tsh*) in the Latin, &c., is certainly non-radical; and, à fortiori, the -*n* in the Sanskrit *pañchan*.

That, in the English and Icelandic *four* (A.S. *feower*) and *fiour*, a Medial Dental, *t* or *d*, has been dropped is manifest; for the Mæso-gothic *fidvor*, and the Latin *quatuor*, with the exception of the initial consonants, are nearly identical in form. The double -*tt* and -*st* in *τέτταρα* and *τέσσαρες*, with the single *σ* and the long vowel in *πλάρες*, suggests that the Medial Dental has undergone much change.

But the perplexing element in this pair of words is the difference between the initial consonants, which are *k*, *t*, *cz*, *tsh*, *ch* (the *ch* in *chest*), *f*-, and *qu*-, which, in Latin, presents itself in *quinque* as well as in *quatuor*. It is mainly a Latin combination, and is the *qu*- in *quercus*, which is, word for word, *fir*, *furh*, and in Swedish *furu* or *furuh*. In the English *quick* the *q*- represents the Latin *v* in *vivus*, in the first letter, which in the second *v* becomes *k*. In like manner the *w* in *s-now* represents the *φ* of *νίφας* in Greek, and the *k* of *nix* (*ni-k-s*) in Latin. The history of the letter-changes suggested by the Latin *quatuor* and *quinque*, as contrasted with *four* and *five*, is very obscure.

6. The most remarkable part about the word *six* is that it ends with the same letter with which it begins; and, so doing, suggests the notion of a reduplication of its half. Nothing is more likely, à priori. But the *tr* in *tres*, *τρία*, and the *thr* in *three*, are not the names for 3 that the doctrine suggests. The doctrine, however, of Reduplication, in the



lower languages, is a very rational one; indeed it is, in many cases, without doubt, the true one.

7, 8, 9, 10.—The elimination of a consonant in the middle of a word we have seen in the history of *four*; and the presence, or absence, of an affix we have seen in the *-que*, *-re*, and *-t*, in the names for *five*. But for the last four Units we have a new factor, viz. the doctrine of the *Reflected Ordinal*. That *nine* and *ten* represent an earlier *nigun* and *taikun* we can not only believe, but prove; because the words *nigun* and *taikun* have been found within limits of the German family; but in the Greek *ἑννά, ἑννεα*, and *δέκα* there is neither an *-m* nor an *-n*, and in the Norse languages there is no *-t*. Hence has arisen the doctrine that where we have either one or both we have a sign of the *Reflected Ordinal*.

§ 276. *Ordinality and Superlativity*.—Upon the connexion, real or supposed, between the ideas of Ordinality and Superlativity we may now form an opinion. That *1st* and *2nd* are Superlative and Comparative in *sense*, and that, in Greek at least, *δευτερος* is Comparative in *form*, is beyond doubt. But it is equally indubitable that they are thus *in their relations to one another, and to the rest of the numerals*; and that they are *not* the Superlative and Comparative of *one* and *two*.

The great difference between these and the other dualisms with which the Comparative is associated is the direction of the comparison. In *bright, brighter, brightest* we compare *upwards*; in *first* and *second*, (the *following* or *next*) we compare *downwards*. After this *3rd* becomes the *following* or *next* to *2nd*; while *4th* bears the same relation to *3rd*; and so on throughout. This is the true Ordinality, in which there is manifestly the prerogative of Superlativity with *1st*, and a Comparative subordination of *2nd*. Then, when we remember that every number is what it is solely through its relation to its predecessor, there is a sense of comparison through the whole series of Ordinals. But this, we must remember, is founded on their relations to one another, and *not on their relations to their corresponding Cardinals*. What this relation may be forms no part of the present enquiry. At present we know that in some form or other there are certain elements, both logical and formal, common to our conceptions of Ordinality in Numerals, and Degree in Adjectives, and that some of the most complicated investigations in the history of the names for the first ten digits are involved in the connexion. In the case of *1st* and *2nd*, we see its nature at once. With the rest of the Numerals we have to be reminded of it; but when in the word *sep-tim-us* we believe that the *t* is the  $\tau$  in *ἑπτάς*, and the *m* the *m* in *primus, pirmas* (Lithuanic) and *forma* (A. S.), and that the *m* in *septem* and *dexam* is the same *m* transferred to, or reflected back upon, the Cardinal, the double character of the class must be thoroughly understood. The relation of *3rd* to *2nd* and *4th* is one thing; its relation to *3* another.

All that has hitherto been done in the way of criticism has been done on the recognition and the affinity with the Degrees of Comparison only. In this respect the doctrine of the Reflected Ordinal is a safe instrument of criticism, and here we leave it.

§ 277. *Eleven* and *Twelve*.—Until within the last twenty years the current opinion as to the import of the combinations *-leven* and *-lv* in these two numerals was that it was the *l + v* in *leave*, which in this case meant *over* or *in excess*. Hence, *e-leven* = *one*, and *twelve* = *two, over*, or *left*. This principle of numeration is at variance with that of the Latin, Greek, and many other languages—where the formula is *un + decem* =  $1 + 10$ , and *duo + decem* =  $2 + 10$ .

But, of late, it has been held that, by a legitimate series of letter-changes, this *l-f* may be deduced from the *d-k* in *δέκα*, *decem*, &c.; in which case there is, in the German names for 11 and 12, nothing exceptional.

This doctrine has, certainly, found favour. I have never, however, seen it fairly and fully exhibited, not even by Schleicher himself, who, as a Lithuanic scholar, well knew the elements of an objection to it. That the syllable *lik* has ever been found, clearly and positively, as a form of *dek* has never been pretended. All that can be said for it is (1) that, in giving us the sound of *k* where the English compounds give that of *v*, it brings the forms *lev* and *dek* closer together: (2) that it is used not only for 11 and 12, but for 13, 14, &c., to 19 inclusive—*e.g.* 11 *wienolika*, 12 *dwalika*, 13 *trylika*; 19 *devinyalika*. If there were nothing beyond this, the decision might be left to the judgment of the critic.

But there is a serious objection beyond it; and this I have never seen recognised. Whether *-lev* be reducible to *-lik*, and *-lik* to *-dek*, is a question of some depth and complexity as a matter of *form*. But that, in respect to its *meaning*, the Lithuanic *lik-* is simply the English word *leave* is a matter of certainty. In short, *lik-ti* (the *-ti* being the sign of the infinitive mood) is simply the Latin *ling-vere*.

Whether this wholly demolish the doctrine to which it is opposed is another question. This power of *lik-* is certainly an objection that should not be kept back in the promulgation of it.

§ 278. *The 'ty' in twenty, &c.*—In Mæso-Gothic we find the root *-tig* used as a true substantive, equivalent in form as well as power to the Greek *δεκ-δς*—*tvāim tīgum þusandjom* = *duobus decadibus myriadum* (Luke xiv. 31); *jêrê þrijê tīgivê* = *annorum duarum decadum* (Luke iii. 23); *þrins tīgus silubrinaize* = *tres decadas argenteorum* (Matthew xxvii. 3, 9).

In Icelandic, the numbers from 20 to 100 are formed by means of *tig-r*, declined like *vīð-r*, and naturally taking the word which it numerically determines in the genitive case.

<i>Nom.</i>	Fjórir tígir manna	=	four tens of men.
<i>Gen.</i>	Fjögurra tígá manna	=	of four tens of men.
<i>Dat.</i>	Fjórum tígum manna	=	to four tens of men.
<i>Acc.</i>	Fjóra tígá manna	=	four tens of men.

This is the form of the inflection in the best and oldest MSS. A little later was adopted the *indeclinable* form *tígi*, which was used adjectivally.\*

§ 279. The Declension of the *Substantives* consists of the signs of (1) Number; (2) Case.

There are two Numbers, the Singular and the Plural. In A. S. there was a Dual; but only for the Pronouns of the true Personals. This was *wit*=*we two*, *git*=*two*. But as this was only an abbreviation of *we-two* and *ye-two*, it was a Compound rather than a true Inflection. The Plural, however, has its proper sign.

The only Case that has a *sign* is the Possessive. It has this, to some extent, for both Numbers. All the other Cases are alike in form, and agree in the negative character of having no affix whatever. They are only known as Nominatives or Objectives by the context. In A. S., as we have seen, the Declension was less limited. There was, at least, a sign for the Dative; and, in some instances, for the Ablative (Instrumental). The Mæso-gothic, like the Latin and Greek, had a special sign for the Nominative; and so had the Norse; and so, to some extent, the High German.

The sign of the Plural is *-s*, or *-es*, as *father*, *fathers*, *horse*, *horses*.

The sign of the Possessive Singular is also *-s*, as *father's*, *horse's*.

The sign of the Possessive Plural is also *-s*, as *fathers'*, *horses'*.

The apostrophes by which these three forms are

\* *Det Oldnorske Sprog Grammatik*, af P. A. Munch, og C. B. Unger, Christiania, 1847.

distinguished are no part of the spoken, i.e. the actual language. They are mere expedients for making an artificial difference to the reader ; in other words, for creating for the *eye* a distinction which to the *ear* has no existence.

Such is the case. The three signs are identical, and so far as they separate one case from another can scarcely be called Inflections—certainly not if we make it the part of an inflection to be *distinctive* between case and case. But this is only an accident of the present state of our language. Originally, they *were* distinct. The Genitive Singular was *-es* ; the Nominative Plural *-as* ; the Possessive Plural *-a*—a totally different affix.

But in the first two the vowel was dropped ; and the two endings became identical, or Confluent.

To the Possessive Plural the *-s* of the Singular was extended.

Originally, then, the inflections in *-s* were *distinctive* between Case and Case, as well as between Number and Number. *Now* they require an artificial mark to distinguish them. But this is a point of spelling rather than of speech.

In the Possessive Plural there is *to the ear*, a sign only for those few words in our language that do not end in *-s*. These are *oxen, men, women, teeth, feet, children, brethren, and kyn*. We can, and do, say the *oxen's horns, the men's wives*, and the like ; but we do not say the *fox-es-es tails*, or the *fatherses children* ; though we might if we thought proper to do. But we do not. We eschew the accumulation of *-s<sup>es</sup>*. In Scotland there is no such strong objection to it.

In A. S. though *-es* was the sign of the Possessive Case, it was only this in Masculine and Neuter Nouns. The *Feminine* sign of the Possessive was *-e*. For this extension of the *-s* to the Feminine, see pp. 315, 316.

§ 280. The Substantive has, in way of Declension, *no signs of Gender*: nothing that corresponds to the Masculine sign *-s*, as in *his*; the Feminine *-r*, as in *her*; or the Neuter *-t*, as in *what*, among the Pronouns.

This, at first sight, seems a sweeping assertion: for, so far as Gender goes, we have abundant means of distinguishing it. We have pairs of wholly different words; as *horse* and *mare*, *boy* and *girl*, *brother* and *sister*, and the like.

We have pairs of Compounds; like *he-goat* and *she-goat*, *man-servant* and *maid-servant*, &c.

Of ordinary Derivatives the commonest is that in *-ess*; as *peer*, *peeress*, *duke*, *duchess*, and others. But as these words are of foreign rather than of English origin, they are only noticed to show that they have not been overlooked. In the *-en* of *vix-en* (German *füchsinn*), and in the *ster* of *spinster*, we have native forms. Still, these are not signs of Declension. Their Plural and Possessive forms are simply those of *peer*, *duke*, *fox*, and *spinner*. They are not distinctive terminations like *-s* in *his*, and *-r* in *her*.

The Declension in the way of Gender is so fragmentary in the present English that the difference is best illustrated by languages where the inflection is fuller. Thus—in the Latin pairs of words which express difference of sex not only by the same process, but by the same syllables that we find in *duch-ess* and *peer-ess*, and which we may illustrate by the examples *genitrix* = *a mother*, and *genitor* = *a father*, the Declension is as follows:—

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Nom.</i>	Genitor	Genitrix.
	<i>Gen.</i>	Genitor- <i>is</i>	Genitric- <i>is</i> .
	<i>Dat.</i>	Genitor- <i>i</i>	Genitric- <i>i</i> .
	<i>Acc.</i>	Genitor- <i>em</i>	Genitric- <i>em</i> .
	<i>Voc.</i>	Genitor	Genitrix.

<i>Plur.</i>	<i>Nom.</i>	Genitor- <i>es</i>	Genitric- <i>es</i> .
	<i>Gen.</i>	Genitor- <i>um</i>	Genitric- <i>um</i> .
	<i>Dat.</i>	Genitor- <i>ibus</i>	Genitric- <i>ibus</i> .
	<i>Acc.</i>	Genitor- <i>es</i>	Genitric- <i>es</i> .
	<i>Voc.</i>	Genitor- <i>es</i>	Genitric- <i>es</i> .

The syllables in italics are the signs of the cases and numbers; and these signs are the same in each word, the difference of sex not affecting them. Contrast them, however, with *domina* = a mistress, and *dominus* = a master.

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Nom.</i>	Domin- <i>a</i>	Domin- <i>us</i> .
	<i>Gen.</i>	Domin- <i>a</i>	Domin- <i>i</i> .
	<i>Dat.</i>	Domin- <i>æ</i>	Domin- <i>o</i> .
	<i>Acc.</i>	Domin- <i>am</i>	Domin- <i>um</i> .
	<i>Voc.</i>	Domin- <i>a</i>	Domin- <i>e</i> .
<i>Plur.</i>	<i>Nom.</i>	Domin- <i>æ</i>	Domin- <i>i</i> .
	<i>Gen.</i>	Domin- <i>arum</i>	Domin- <i>orum</i> .
	<i>Dat.</i>	Domin- <i>is</i>	Domin- <i>is</i> .
	<i>Acc.</i>	Domin- <i>as</i>	Domin- <i>os</i> .
	<i>Voc.</i>	Domin- <i>æ</i>	Domin- <i>os</i> .

Here the process of distinguishing the Gender, though not extended to every case, is widely different. In *Genitrix* and *Genitor* the sign of sex is found in the unchanging part of the theme (or crude form). In *Domina* and *Dominus* it is found on the affixes which indicate Case and Number.

The bearing of this difference for the history of languages, and the changes they undergo between one stage and another, is important. The *-ix* in *genitrix* is preserved up to the present time in the French *-esse*; while the inflections of words like *dame* (*domina*) are dropped throughout the whole Declension. There is a reason for this, of course; and one which readily suggests itself. But this is the very fact which makes the distinction important. If we are to talk of the difference between the Synthetic and Analytic stages of

anguages; of the *inflections* that are dropped during the passage from the one to the other; of the law, or something akin to one, which impresses these changes with the character of order and regularity; of the substitutions in the way of prepositions for the case-endings, and of auxiliary verbs for the signs of tense, mood, and voice; and of other similar concomitants— if we are to do this, the least we can do is to guard against confounding those parts of a word which are most specially involved in these changes with those which, comparatively speaking, have but little to do with them.

Such words as *vixen* and *spinster* are words like *genitrix*; and not words like *domina*. Nor are there, at the present time, among the English *Substantives*, any words whatever like *domina*. During the earlier stages, however, of our language there were a few; e.g. *maga* = *cognatus*, *socius*; *mage* = *cognata*, *socia*; *widuwa* = *widuus*; *widuwe* = *vidua*. Of the oblique cases the most characteristic was the Possessive, which ended in *-e*, and not in *-s*.

The suffix *-es* originally belonged to the genitive singular of some masculine and neuter substantives; it was not the genitive sign of the feminine until the thirteenth century, and then for the most part only in the Northern dialect (cp. *Lady-day* with *Lord's day*).—*Morris, Outlines, &c.*, § 98, p. 102.

Again, in respect to the Possessive Plural—

Late in the fourteenth century we find traces of the old plural ending in *-ene*, *-en* (*-ena*), as *king-en* = *of kings* (*Piers Plowman*).

Probably before the thirteenth century *-es* began to take its place:—*Alre louerdés louerd*; and *alre kingene king*.—*Old English Homilies*. Second Series—*Ibid*.

Again, in respect to the distinction of Gender in general—

'Traces of grammatical gender were preserved much longer in some dialects than in others. The Northern dialects were the first to discard the older distinctions, which, however, survived in the Southern dialect of Kent as late at least as 1340.

\* \* \*

Therthe schok, the sonne dym becom  
In *thare tyde*.—*Shoreham*.

Here the inflection of the demonstrative shows that *tyde* is feminine.

'Be there virtue the guode overcomth alle his vyendes *thare dyevel*, the wordle, and *thet vless*.—*Ayenbite*.

*Dyevel* is masculine; *wordle* feminine; and *vless* neuter.'

*Id.*: *Outlines*, &c.

§ 281. *The termination in -s*.—We have seen that, though the three existing signs of Declension were originally distinct, they have since become Confluent, and are now identical. All, or nearly all, that still remains for consideration are the principles and details that the sound and form of this affix in *-s* exhibit; for the question henceforth will be not so much the import of *-s* in its character of a sign of Case, as the changes it undergoes as a sound according to the conditions under which it is attached to its theme. For these we are, to a great extent, prepared by what we know concerning the incompatibility of Surds and Sonants in immediate contact with each other; and also concerning the difficulty of pronouncing two identical consonants consecutively. This enables us to anticipate certain changes. Some of these are absolutely necessary, as parts of a general law of Euphony or Phonesis. Some are not necessary; but deduced from the practice of the particular language. This we shall see as we proceed.

§ 282. *The -s of the Possessive Plural*.—This *-s*, in the present English of *England*, with the exception of a few words like *men*, *teeth*, &c., where there is not,



*already*, an -s in the Nominative, is a fiction rather than a reality; in other words, it is a sign of declension which addresses itself to the ear rather than to the eye, and, so doing, is no sign of declension at all; for though we use such forms as *mens'*, *brethrens'*, *childrens'*, we avoid such as *the fatherses children*, *the sisterses brethren*, *the masterses men*. The difference, however, we indicate in *writing*.

*The father's children* means the children of one father;

*The sister's brethren*, the brethren of one sister;

*The master's men*, the men of one master;

*The owner's oxen*, the oxen of one owner.

But—

*The fathers' children* means the children of different fathers;

*The sisters' brethren*, the brethren of different sisters;

*The masters' men*, the men of different masters;

*The owners' oxen*, the oxen of different owners.

This avoidance, however, of the accumulation of *esses* is English rather than Scotch. In Scotland the practice is as follows:—

The *Possessive Plural* in Ags. ended in -a, -ra, -na, but this termination has disappeared in the modern dialects, which have replaced it by a new form in 's, after the analogy of the singular. In the literary English this appears in full only where *s* is not already the plural ending, as in *men*, *sheep*, *mice*, poss. *men's*, *sheep's*, *mice's*; when the plural ends in *s*, euphony requires the second *s* to be omitted and its place indicated by the apostrophe alone: thus, *boys'* for *boys's*. But in our dialect this euphonic contraction does not take place, and thus the possessive plural, as well as the singular, is regularly formed by adding 's to the nominative. Thus, the *kye's huorns*, cow's horns, *the meyce's huoles*, mice's holes, *the bairns's clease*, the children's clothes, *the farmers's kye*, farmers' cows, *the doags's lugs*, dogs' ears. As in the singular the apostrophe must be pronounced as a connecting vowel after *s* sounds; men's, kye's = (mænz, kaiz), but bairns's, doags's, meyce's = (bernziz, doogziz, meisiz).—*Murray, Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland*, p. 164.

§ 283. *The sound of -s as Surd or Sonant.*—

General as is the use of the letter *-s* as a sign of the Possessive Singular and the Nominative Plural, it is a sign in the way of spelling rather than of speaking. We *spell* as if it were *s*; but, in the great majority of cases, we sound it as *z*.

In some cases we are obliged to do so—

1. Thus: *slabs, slaves, lads, blades, dogs, &c.*, are words which we can spell, but which we cannot pronounce. We pronounce them *slabz, slāvz, ladz, blādz, dogz, &c.*

2. Words like *hills, drums, hens, bars, days, fleas, bows, &c.* we can pronounce as they are spelt; but we do not. The *s*, in all these words, and in all words like them (i.e. all words ending a liquid or a vowel), is sounded as a *z*.

3. If the last sound of the singular be that of *s, z*, the *sh* in *shine*, or the *z* in *azure*, the addition is that of the sound of the syllable *-ez* (spelt *-es*); as *loss-ez, kiss-ez, blaz-ez, haz-ez, blush-ez, lash-ez*, spelt *loss-es, kiss-es, blaz-es, haz-es, blush-es, lash-es*.

The true rule, then, for the Inflections of the Substantive is that it consists of the addition of the *sound of s modified according to the termination of the root.*

Such is the rule as one of Phœnesis in general. The exceptions to it, or the words wherein the final sound of the fundamental word is accommodated to that of the affix, form a small, though somewhat obscure class. The change in this final consonant of the main word is, from Surd to Sonant, and the Surd thus changed is always one of the *Continuous* divisions; i.e. the change is either from *th* to *dh*, or from *f* to *v*.

(1) From *th* to *dh*.—This division contains the words *oath, youth, bath, path*, and others; but the evi-

dence as to the extent to which each individual word is changed is obscure; inasmuch as, whatever may be the sound, the spelling is the same. There are, certainly, some speakers who pronounce the plural forms *baths*, *mouths*, *oaths*, *paths*, *truths*, &c., as if they were spelt *bathce*, *mouthce*, *oathce*, *pathce*, *truthce*, &c.; i.e. with the *s* sounded as in *seal*. But it is equally certain that others pronounce it as if the words were spelt *badhz*, *moudhz*, *oadhz*, *pathz*, *trudhz*, i.e. with *-s* sounded as the *z* in *zeal*.

(2) *From f to v*.—Here we limit ourselves, in the first instance, to words of English, such as *loaf*, *knife*, &c., as compared with words like *chief* and *brief* of foreign origin.

(a) Final *-f* preceded by a long vowel—*leaf*, *sheaf*, *thief*, *loaf*; in the Plural *leaves*, *sheaves*, *thieves*, *loaves*. Exceptions: *reef*, *reefs*; *oaf*, *oafs*; *hoof*, *hoofs*; *roof*, *roofs*.

(b) Final *-f* preceded by *-l*—*calf*, *half—elf*, *self*, *shelf—wolf*; in the Plural *calves*, *halves—elves*, *selves*, *shelves—wolves*.

(c) Final *f* preceded by *-r*—*scarf*; in the Plural *scarves*. That this is thus spelt and sounded is certain. With *dwarves* and *wharves* from *dwarf* and *wharf* the spelling is exceptional, and, in all probability, the pronunciation more so.

(d) Final *f* preceded by *i* sounded as the *-igh* in *night—knife*, *life*; in the Plural *knives*, *lives*. Exceptions: *fiſe*, *fiſes*; *ſtrife*, *ſtrifes*.

In all these words the Possessive Singular keeps to the original *-f-*; and that both in speaking and spelling—*the loaf's weight*; *the knife's edge*; *the leaf's*

4. *Plural of words ending in a vowel or a w*.—Here we have the addition of *-s*, as usual:

and, as usual, it has the sound of *-z*, inasmuch as the vowels and diphthongs, in English, affect the sibilant which follows them just as it is affected by a Sonant Mute. In this there is nothing particular. The particular question which presents itself concerns the character of the vowel. It may be either *long* or *short*. It may be long like the *-ōēs* in *cargōēs*, and *embargōēs*, or like the *-ēē* in *-bēēs*, and the *-ēā* in *flēās*; or it may be short like the *-ie-* in *ladīēs*, *citīēs*, *vallēys*, &c., which are sounded *ladīz*, *citīz*, *vallīz*, rather than *ladeēz*, *citeēz*, *valleēz*, &c.

This depends upon two points: (1) the character of the vowel as Broad or Slender; and (2) the nature of the syllable as Accented and Unaccented: the rules being as follows:—

(a) When the syllable is accented, the Vowel, whether Broad or Slender, is *long*; as *days*, *ways*, *blows*, *snows*, *hoes*, *pews*, *flews*, *flies*, *sighs*, *boys*, *hoys*, *teas*, *seas*, *fleas*.

(b) When the Vowel is *unaccented*, the vowel, if broad, is *long*; if slender, *short*; as *caraways*, *runaways*, *holidays*, *cargoes*, *embargoes*, *heroes*, *echoes*, *grottoes*, *folios*, *cuckoos*; but words like *lady*, *baby*, *valley*, *money*, &c., give *ladies*, *babies*, *valleys*, *moneys*, &c., sounded *ladīz*, *babīz*, *vallīz*, *monīz*, &c.

This is the rule when we consider the language as it is *spoken*: the distinction between the Broad and Slender, and the Long and Short Vowels, being the basis of the distinction in *speech*. The exposition of details is generally founded on the *spelling*.

It cannot be said that there is much difference in the result. It matters very little, in practice, whether we say the slender vowels are long 'when the syllable is accented,' or 'when the word is a monosyllable;' inasmuch as it is only in monosyllables that the final syllable (which is also the first) is accented at all. And there are other cases where the practice is equally indifferent. Still, in language we must look to the speaking rather than to the writing. Moreover, if it were not so, the artificial character of our orthography would condemn it; and in this part of our

etymology it is more than usually artificial. Everything conceals the true nature of the words which, in *speaking*, end in vowels.

It is probable that at least four-fifths of the words connected with the spelling of them, end in either *-e*, as *made*, &c., or *-y*, as *quantity*, &c. But as the *-e* is mute, the true ending of the words in which it appears is consonantal. Then *-y*, when unaccented, is sounded as the *e* in *be*; when accented as *y* in *by*. Finally, come the words like *shadow*, *thorough*, *through*, &c., where the vowel was originally followed by a consonant; in other words was anything but final: the fact being that true vowel endings are very rare in the older English.

§ 285. *The -s in 'houses.'*—In *house* the *-s* is sounded as in *seal*; in *houses* as *-z* in *zeal* (*houziz*). The change may be due to the influence of the final *-s*; which, as following a vowel, is changed into its corresponding sonant.

Of the \* \* \* change of *s* and *th* into their voice sounds, *z* and *dā*, in the plural, recognised in the English pronunciation of *houses*, *mouths*, *truths*, etc. (*heuzyz*, *mouðhz*, *truðhz*), I do not find any traces in the Scottish dialects.—*Murray*, §c., p. 158.

To this class of exceptions belong the words *pence* and *dice*. In both the form is collective rather than plural. *Sixpence* means not six separate *pennies*, but a single coin equivalent to them, while *dice* means a pair of *dies* for the purpose of gaming rather than a number of *dies* for the purpose of stamping. This tells us why the *s* is sounded as in *seal* rather than as it is sounded in *zeal*.

Why the words are spelt with a *-ce* is a matter of Orthography. If spelt with *-s* they would run the risk of being sounded as *pens* and *dies* (*penz*, *diez*), and if there were no mute *e* to follow the *c*, the result would be the forms *penc* and *diec*, which would run the risk of being sounded *dyke* and *penk*.

§ 286. *Eaves—peas*, &c.—Up to this time the *-s* under consideration, whatever may have been its sound or its import, has always been the sign of either a

Possessive Case or a Plural Number. It is clear, however, that it may present itself under another character, and, what is more, may create ambiguities by doing so. It may be no sign of either Number or Case; no affix at all; but, on the contrary, a part of the fundamental word or theme. Should such a singular have a *collective* sense, the *-s* may make it take the guise of a Plural. Such words are—

(a) *Eaves*; in A. S. *yfes*, *efese*=*edge*; a purely German word.

*Pox*=*pock-s*.—The *-s* is no part of the original word—*pockmark*, *pockmarked*.

*Alms*; in A. S. *ælmesse*; and, as such, an old word in our language; though not a German one; but, on the contrary, from the Greek *ἐλεημοσύνη*.

*Summons*.—From the French *semonse*, *somons*. Plural *summons-es*.—*Morris*, § 91.

*Riches*.—Word for word the French *richesse*, but doubly disguised; (1) by the change of accent, and (2) by the change of the sound of *-ss* to that of *z*.

*Pains*, *means*, *amends*.—From the French *peine*, *moyen*, and *amende*. *Substantives*.

*News*.—From the French *nouvelles*, Anglicised in form, and, as an English word, an Adjective with a Substantival Plural.

(c) *Peas*.—Derived from the Latin *pisum*. Hence, the *-s* is, in origin, no sign of Number, but the *-s* of the theme, or fundamental word. *Pisa*, *peases*, and *peasen*, all found in the early stage of our language, are better forms. The most irregular form, however, is the singular itself, i.e. *pea* deprived of its final consonant. The principle of the confusion is clear. *Peas* passes for a Plural; and *pea* is deduced from it as its Singular.

(d) *Physics*, *Optics*, *Politics*, *Ethics*, *Pneuma-*

*tics, Hydraulics, Mechanics, Dynamics, Statics, &c.*  
 —All these are of Greek origin, and all derived from Adjectives of the Plural Number and the Neuter Gender. This for *φύσικος* = *connected with, or relating to φύσις* = *nature*, was *φύσικα*. The Feminine Singular of the same word was *φυσική*. From this feminine and singular form are derived the words like *Physic*, and the corresponding series of scientific terms in French, which end in *-ique*, and are all, in form, *singular*. From the neuter and plural are derived those like *Physics, &c.*, in English.

§ 287. *Signs of Number not ending in -s.*—Besides the usual plural forms in *s*, there are four other methods in English of expressing a *number* of objects.

(1) *Change of vowel.*—This class consists in the present English of the following words—

1, 2. *Man*, singular; *men*, plural. The vowel *a* changed into the vowel *e*. The plural of *woman* is, to the ear, *wimmen*, i.e. it has the vowel changed.

3. *Foot*, sing.; *feet*, pl. The vowel *oo* (sounded as the *u* in *could*) changed to the vowel *ee*. The *Old Saxon* has *fôti*. This suggests the notion that the present *-ee* (in A. S. *fét*) is the result of *Umlaut*; the change from *-o-* to *-ee-* being retained after the affix *-i*, which initiated it, has been lost. How far the process explains all the cases of a similar change is another question. The words in which this real, or apparent, *Umlaut* occurs are Collectives rather than true Plurals; indeed, *feet* is such to a certain extent, though not so decidedly as *mice, lice, and geese*, and still less so than *teeth*; which is as much Singular as Plural. Now, in Welsh, and other languages, we get the apparent paradox of a Singular formed from a Plural; which is not quite the case, the real fact being that the older form

is a *Collective*; from which is formed a Singular. This is a caution against referring too much to the sole action of Umlaut.

4. *Tooth*, sing.; *teeth*, pl.: *goose*, sing.; *geese*, pl. The vowel *oo* (as in *food*) changed to *ee* as in *feet*.

5, 6. *Mouse*, *louse*, sing.; *mice*, *lice*, pl. The diphthongal sound of *ou* is changed to that of *i* (as in *night*). The combination *ce* used instead of *se*, for the same reason as in *pence* and in *dice*, i.e. lest, if written *mise*, *lise*, the words should be pronounced *mize*, *lize*.

(2) *Addition of -en or -n*.—In the present English the word *oxen* is the only specimen of this form in current use. In the older stages of our language the number of words in *-en* was much greater than at present.

<i>hos-en</i>	=	<i>hose or stockings</i>	<i>schcr-en</i>	=	<i>shire-s</i>
<i>shoo-n</i>	=	<i>shoe-s</i>	<i>doghtcr-en</i>	=	<i>daughter-s</i>
<i>ey-ne</i>	=	<i>eye-s</i>	<i>sustr-en</i>	=	<i>sister-s</i>
<i>bischop-en</i>	=	<i>bishop-s</i>	<i>uncl-en</i>	=	<i>uncle-s</i>
<i>eldr-en</i>	=	<i>elder-s</i>	<i>tre-en</i>	=	<i>tree-s</i>
<i>arw-en</i>	=	<i>arrows</i>	<i>souldr-en</i>	=	<i>soldier-s</i>

The *-en* in *oxen* is the *-an* of the so-called *weak Declension*, for whatever may be the case with the other instances *ox* was certainly a weak substantive.

(3) *Children*.—Here the analysis is *child-er-en*, the *-en* being the *en* in *ox-en*, and the *er* or *-r* that of *child-er*, which is the ordinary Northumbrian form. In A. S. the *r* was followed by an *-u*, the sign of the nominative case in the original word: but when *lam-*, after becoming *lam-(er)-u*, undergoes contraction, the euphonic insertion of *b* between the *m* and the *r* takes place; and then, because the letter presents itself in the plural, it passes for a part of the simpler singular form.



(4) *Combination of two of the preceding methods.*

—Three words occur in this class.

1. *Kyne* = *cows*; a plural formed from a plural by the addition of *-n*; as *cow*, *kye*, *ky-ne*. *Kye* is found in provincial English, and *cý* in Anglosaxon.

2. *Children*; a plural formed from a plural by the addition of *-en*; as *child*, *child-er*, *child-er-en* = *children*.

3. *Brethren*; a plural formed from a plural by the addition of *-en*; as *brother*, *brether* (?) or *brethre*, *breth-eren*, *brethren*.

§ 288. *Operative and Obsolete processes.*—By adding the sound of the *-s* in *seal* to the word *father*, we change it into *fathers*. Hence the addition of the sound in question is the process by which the Singular form becomes Plural.

The process by which *ox* is changed into *ox-en* is by a similar addition of the syllable *-en*, with a power sufficiently allied to that of the *-s* in *fathers*, to make both forms pass for Plural.

Now whether the meanings of these two affixes are, or are not, equally Plural, is another question. The fact which we now notice is that of the addition of *-s* being a process now in operation, and activity, which the addition of *-en* is not. If a hundred new substantives were introduced into our language next year, not one of them would form its plural after the fashion of *oxen*—nor yet after that of *teeth*, or *mice*. Indeed, they would, one and all, form it in *-s*; and in nothing else. This is a single instance of the difference between a living, vital, effective, active, practical, current, or operative (it matters little what we call it) process, and a dead or obsolete one. It is a single instance, however, out of many. Most of our Inflections are obsolete. There are two signs of Tense in our Verbs; one ending in *-d* or *-ed*, or *-t* (*call*, *called*), and the other formed by changing the vowel (*speak*, *spoke*). But no new Verb will ever form its past tense on the latter model. As for the Declension of the Pronouns, for all that we have said as to its historic importance, and the amount of old cases and genders that it has preserved, it is, from first to last, as an Operative system, wholly obsolete. This is the difference between Operative and Obsolete process on a large scale.

§ 289. *The Adjective.*—Of true signs of Inflection the Adjective, in the present English, has not one.

In the Anglosaxon stage of our language (as may be seen in § 81) it had an excess rather than a deficiency.

But though they are not true Inflections, the degrees of Comparison must be noticed.

§ 290. *The Comparative Degree.*—This can be formed from the simple adjective by the addition of *-er*, as *cold-er*, *rich-er*, *dry-er*, &c. The process is a remarkably regular one; and the forms that require special notice are few.

*Near, nearer.*—The first of these forms was in A.S. *neah*; with *nearre*, *near*, and *nyr* for its comparative. Hence, the present *-r* in *near* is no true *r* at all, but the *arr* in *idearr* and *Mariarr* noticed p. 250.

*Farther.*—This is the comparative of *far*; and means *more far*, or *more distant*.

*Further.*—This is the comparative of *fore*; and means *more forward*, *more in front*. In A.S. *fyrðre*. The dental (*th*, *d*) occurs in the O.H.G.

*Former.*—In A.S. *forma* was the *Superlative* of *fore*; the *-m-* being the *-m-* in the Latin *primus*, and the Lithuanic *pirmas*.

§ 291. *The Superlative Degree.*—So far as its form goes, the *Superlative* is derived from the *Positive* by the addition of *-est*; as *cold-est*, *rich-est*, *low-est*, *dry-est*, from *cold*, *rich*, *low*, *dry*.

The only forms that require special notice are those that look the simplest; viz. those in *-most*, as *midmost*, *foremost*, &c. But these we have already explained. To forms like the following, themselves *Superlative*—

<i>Anglosaxon.</i>	<i>English.</i>	<i>Anglosaxon.</i>	<i>English.</i>
innema	inmost	forma	foremost.
ûtema	outmost	æftema	aftermost.
siðema	latest	ufema	utmost.
lætema	lat <sup>est</sup>	hindema	hindmost.
niðema	nethermost	midema	midmost.

was added a second sign of Superlativity, *-st*. This does not mean that no such compound has not been formed by the simple addition of *most* as a whole word. No absolute rule can be given in cases of this kind.

Hence, in the present English, the different parts of the syllable *most* come from different quarters. The *m* is the *m* in the Anglosaxon words *innema*, &c.; whilst the *-st* is the common sign of the superlative. In separating, then, such words as *midmost* into its component parts, we should write—

mid-m-ost	not	mid-most	fore-m-ost	not	fore-most
ut-m-ost	—	ut-most	in-m-ost	—	in-most
up-m-ost	—	up-most	hind-m-ost	—	hind-most

In certain words the syllable *m-ost* is added to a word already ending in *er*; that is, to a word already marked with the sign of the comparative degree.

neth-er-most	hind-er-most
utt-er-most	out-er-most
upp-er-most	inn-er-most

Here the addition is *most*, as a simple word; and the result is a *Compound*—not a *Derivative*.

Having accounted for the *m* in the words just mentioned, we can account for the *m* in the word *former*. The superlative was *forma*, and *former* was a comparative, catachrestically, derived from it.

§ 292. *Comparison of Adverbs*.—Adverbs, like adjectives, take degrees of comparison, though not to the same extent. In *the sun shines bright*, the word *bright* means *brightly*; and although the use of the latter word is better grammar, it is not better English.

*The sun shines to-day brighter than it did yesterday, and to-morrow it will shine brightest*.—Here the sense is adverbial.

In words like *oftener* and *seldomer* the adverbial comparison is beyond doubt.

Adverbs, then, take the degrees of comparison: and not only do they do this, but the history of their forms is important. In *Anglo-Saxon* there were *two* forms; one in *-re* and *-este*, the other in *-or* and *-ost*. Now the first of these was the form taken by adjectives; as *se scearpre sword = the sharper sword*, and *se scearpeste sword = the sharpest sword*: the second, the form taken by adverbs; as, *se sword scyrð scearpor = the sword cuts sharper*, and *se sword scyrð scearpost = the sword cuts sharpest*.

More than this—the adverbial form had a tendency to make the preceding vowel full: the adjectival, a tendency to make it small. Thus—

<i>Positive.</i>	<i>Comparative.</i>	<i>Superlative.</i>	
Lang,	Lengre,	Lengest,	<i>Long.</i>
Strang,	Strengre,	Strengest,	<i>Strong.</i>
Geong,	Gyngre,	Gyngest,	<i>Young.</i>
Sceort,	Scytre,	Scyrtest,	<i>Short.</i>
Heáh,	Hyrre,	Hyhst,	<i>High.</i>
Eald.	Yldre,	Yldest,	<i>Old.</i>

Of this change, the word last quoted is a still existing specimen, as

*old, elder, and older, eldest and oldest.* Between the two forms, however, there is a difference in meaning, *elder* being used as a substantive, and having a plural form, *elders*. A more important word is *rather*. Here, we pronounce the *a* like the *a* in *father*, or full. Nevertheless, the positive form is small, the *a* being pronounced as the *-a-* in *father*. *Räthe* (*räther, räthest*) are Adjectival forms; (*rathe*) (pronounced as the *fath-* in *father*); *rather*, and (*rathest*) are Adverbial.

§ 293. *The Mæsothetic Comparative and Superlative in -s, or -z.*  
—The formulas which give us the difference between the Degrees of Comparison have been given as they are found in the generality of grammars; and, it may be added, that they are of remarkable simplicity and regularity. The doctrine, too, of the connexion between the Comparatives in *-er* and words like *under, over, whether, either, &c.* (for which see § 235), wherein there is a notion of dualism, or duality, in a more general sense, has been recognised. Finally, no explanation has been given of the words *worse* and *worst*.

There is a reason for this. The *-s-* in the words *worse* and *worst* is involved in an explanation which introduces a new element into our criticism, and one which, to some extent, invests the ordinary process with an artificial, or non-natural, character.

The Comparative Degree is formed from the Positive by the addition of *-er*, the Superlative by that of *-est*. Nothing is much simpler than this.

But the Superlative may also be formed from the comparative by changing the *r* of the comparative into *s*, and adding *t*; as *dark-er, dark-es, dark-es-t, cold-er, cold-es, cold-es-t, &c.* This is anything but simple.

We can understand, however, why it must be recognised when we ask what was the comparative of the Mæsothetic. It was *not* formed by the sound of *-r*, but by the sound of the sibilant *-s, ts, or z*: and words like *ald-iza, bat-iza, sut-iza*, were the original forms of what became in old High-German *alt-iro, bet-iro, suats-iro*, and in English, *old-er, bett-er, sweet-er*.

*Vairsiza*, then, in Mæsothetic was the form of the O. H. G. *wirsiro*, the M. G. G. *wirser*, the O. S. *versa*, the A. S. *vyrsa*, and the O. N. *vërri*, the Danish *vërre*, the Swedish *värre*.

The Mæsothetic form in the sibilant introduces a serious complication in the doctrine of dualism; and I do not know that it has been successfully unravelled.

§ 294. *Defect and Complement.*—For *good*, as a positive form, there are now no such comparatives and superlatives as *gooder* and *goodest*. Hence, *good* may be called *defective*. For *better* and *best* there is, now, no such positive form as *bet*. This is *defect* again.

But what is wanting in the way of degrees of comparison between the two roots is made up by the other. And so it is in other cases.

This brings in the distinction *between a sequence in Logic and a sequence in Etymology.*

The ideas or notions of *thou, thy, thee*, are ideas between which there is a metaphysical or logical connection. The train of such ideas may be said to form a sequence, and such a sequence may be called a logical one. The forms *thou, thy, thee*, are forms or words between which there is a formal or an etymological connection. A train of such words may be called a sequence, and such a sequence may be called an etymological one. In the case of *thou, thy, thee*, the etymological sequence tallies with the logical one. In the case of *I, my, me*, the etymological sequence does *not* tally (or tallies imperfectly) with the logical one. Applying this to words like *good, better, &c.*, we see at once, that, whilst some are deficient in their Comparative and Superlative, others are deficient in their Positive forms. The *defective* character, however, of this class of words is not all. It must be remarked that the forms which one word wants are made good by those which another possesses. Hence, there is not only *Defect*, but what may be called *Complement* also. The word *good* fills up what was wanting to the forms *better* and *best*.

These relations between defect and complement will meet us again and again. Simple *Defect* is common in language. Defect combined with *Complement* is not uncommon. *Irregularity*, with which they are often confounded, is a very different phenomenon, and, comparatively, at least, a rare one.

§ 295. *Retrospect, Amount of Declension.*—We have now gone through that part of Grammar which is

ordinarily assigned to the Noun, whether Pronoun or Noun Proper ; and, in respect to Nouns Proper, we have considered both the Substantive and the Adjective (or the *Nouns* Substantive and the *Nouns* Adjective), as opposed to the *Pronoun* ; which wrongly (as will be argued hereafter) is held to be something less than the Noun.

We have notified the manifest and undoubted difference between forms like *genetrix* and forms like *domina* ; the latter only of which gives us *Declension* in the way of Gender, a true declension ; and we have seen that, in the present English, no such feminine substantives as *domina* are to be found, though there are plenty like *genetrix*.

Among the Pronouns, in the *-t* of *it*, *that*, and *what*, we have found a true instance of Gender expressed by Declension ; not, however, after the fashion of *domina*, but after that of *id*, *illud*, and *quod*. But the declension of the Pronouns is different from that of the Substantives.

That of the Adjective is also different from that of the Substantive, but identical with that of the Pronoun—different from what it is in the Latin and Greek.

Of this Pronominal Declension the Adjectives of the present time are wholly denuded.

Hence, if we wish to measure the extent of our Inflections in the way of Declension, or, in other words, the Inflection, of the Noun, we must take the Substantive and the Pronoun together, and ask what it amounts to. But before doing this we must recognise two limitations.

One of these has already been indicated. An Obsolete Inflection, though we cannot exactly say that it is not an inflection at all, is certainly one of an imper-

fect character. At any rate, there are degrees in what we call the efficiency of inflectional forms, as Operative or Obsolete.

There are, also, degrees in their efficiency in another respect. An affix, or any other characteristic, which is limited to a single function, and has only one import, is, certainly, more Distinctive than one which has several functions, and is common to a variety of words. Thus, while the Greek and Latin distinguish the Genitive Singular, the Nominative Plural, the Genitive Plural, and the Third Person Singular Indicative by inflections, as *-ου*, *-οι*, *-ων*, and *-ει* (*λόγου*, *λόγοι*, *λόγων*, *λέγουσι*), and as *-i*, *-a*, *-orum*, and *-at* (*regni*, *regna*, &c.), the single sign *-s*, in English, serves for all four.

The merest modicum of reflection tells us that this distinctive character is one of the most natural conditions of an inflection. But what is the case in English? In the *older* English it was much what it is in Latin and Greek. The old sign of the Genitive Singular was *-es*; that of the Nominative Plural, *-as*; that of the Third Person Present *-eth*. But the *e* has been lost in the first of these three forms, and the *a* in the second, whilst in the third there has been a double change; for not only has the *e* been dropped, but the *-þ* has become *-s*, and the signs of the three originally different parts of the Noun and Verb have become identical, so that the differences in function can only be inferred from the context.

In Greek and Latin, and in the *older* English, we might know by the mere inspection of an isolated word in *-ου*, *-οι*, or *-ει*—*i*, *a*, or *at*—*es*, *as*, or *-eth*, what the distinctive character of the last syllable was. In the *-s* of our Genitive Singulars, our Nominative Plurals, our Genitive Plurals (to a certain extent), and our Third Persons Singular of the Present Tense of the Indicative

Mood of the Verb, we have only one sign of Inflection; and when the fundamental word ends in *-s*, as in *alms*, &c., we do not know, except through information from another quarter, whether it is an Inflection or not. All this deprives our signs of Inflection—I had almost said our single sign—of the element of Distinctiveness. Not, indeed, wholly, but to a great extent; and the fact of its doing so deprives them of much of their import as Inflections. That this Indistinctiveness belongs rather to the present stage of our own particular language than to language in general, we have seen. But we must take our language as we find it, and value our Inflections accordingly. It is certain that they are not, now, such good inflections as they were at first, and this is just what we have seen to be the case with obsolete inflections like the *-t* in *that*, &c. So far, then, as Inflections, to fulfil their proper functions, are either Operative or Distinctive, we have but few of them.

What have we when we take in as many as we can? And what have we when we take them with what I hold to be their legitimate, and in certain cases, their necessary, limitations?

By going to the Pronouns we may get (1) the Neuter in *-t*; (2) the Feminine Genitive in *-r*; (3) the Masculine Accusative *when*, preserved as an Adverb of Time; (4) the Feminine Dative *where*, similarly preserved as an Adverb of Place; and (5) the instrumental *why*, and the *the* in *all the more*, &c.

All these are Distinctive. On the other hand, they are all Obsolete.

Whether we admit these drawbacks or not is a point upon which there may be differences of opinion. One thing, however, is certain, viz., that, if we do admit them, the whole Declension of the Noun consists in the



sound of the letter -s and its Sonant variety—in this and nothing more.

Nevertheless, this, with the limitations suggested, is the Declension of the Noun, and if more than usual has been said about it, there is a reason for saying it.

The same, *mutatis mutandis*, will be said when we have considered the Conjugation of the Verb.

The two will give us the amount of our *Inflection*, and when we have seen how small this is, we shall have a fair measure of the extent to which our language is Analytic rather than Synthetic. Indeed, it is the most Analytic language in the world; a fact of no slight importance.

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## CHAPTER VI.

VERBS OF TWO KINDS—THE INDETERMINATE—THEIR RELATION TO THE NOUN—THEIR DECLENSION—THE VERBALS—‘INDETERMINATE’ AND ‘FINITE,’ AS NAMES.

§ 296. *Verbs of two kinds. Indeterminate and Finite.*—The Verb which will be considered in the present chapter will be called the *Indeterminate* Verb. Its opposite, the subject of the next chapter, will be called the *Finite* Verb. The meaning of the two words, and the value of the difference of their import, will be explained, or will explain itself, as we proceed.

The leading distinction between the two is their relation to the Noun.

We have seen that, from the accidents of their respective names, the *Noun* Substantive and the *Noun* Adjective, as Parts of Speech, have obtained a kind of prerogative over the *Pronoun*, which passes for less of

a *name* than it really is. We shall now see that the Verb has established something of the same kind as against the *Noun*. The *Noun* is the *Name*. The *Verb*, however, is the *word—par excellence*. It may be this, and more than this; but in the sense that is required for ordinary Grammar it is something less.

Both Verbs and Nouns are inflected; and there are, as already stated, two kinds of Inflection, viz., Declension and Conjugation. Nouns are declined, Verbs conjugated. Nouns are generally declined; rarely \*conjugated. Verbs are both conjugated and declined. One term, therefore, does not exclude the other. Nouns have Gender, Verbs have not. But Verbs have both Case and Number; and, so far as they have this, are declined. On the other hand, they have Voice, Moods, and Tenses, which Nouns have not. Above all they have *Persons*. In this last inflection the distinction between the two Parts of Speech most especially lies.

§ 297. Nouns are Declined, Verbs are both Declined and Conjugated.

The declension of verbs is a fact which should never be overlooked; otherwise we run the risk of drawing a broader line between Verbs and Nouns than the structure of language warrants. Without doubt the difference is both important and striking, and the two classes are natural. This, however, is wholly insufficient to put them in anything like *contrast* to one another. Though the noun has no Moods and Tenses, it cannot be said that the verb has no Cases. More than this. If, on the strength of its decided verbal character, we connect the participle with the verb, the inflection of the verb gives us not only cases, but Genders as well; for, although, in the present stage of our language, the par-

\* For *Conjugated Substantives*, see § 308, and note.

tics are uninflected, in Anglo-Saxon their inflection was as full as it was in the Greek and Latin, and as it is in many modern languages. But without having recourse to the Participle, which is generally, though not consistently, treated as a separate part of speech, the Infinitive Mood, along with the Gerunds and Supines, where they exist, is, for most purposes, a Substantive. In Old High-German we have *blasennes* = *flandi* and others. We may call this a Gerund if we choose. We may also, if we choose, call to *blasenne* a Supine; nevertheless, the result is a Noun in a Case. This is because the name of an action is an Abstract Noun. When we connect it with the idea of an agent we get something concrete. But this gives us Persons, or, at any rate, Agents. A horse may *run*, a man may *run*, a stream may *run*, time may *run* (or *fly*). But if I wish to have the conception of *running* alone, I must separate, or *draw off*, from the agent an action which is something which I can imagine, but which I cannot perceive through any of my senses. I can see a *man* in a *state of happiness*, and I can see a *horse* in the *act of running*. *Happiness*, however, without some happy object, or *the act of running* without some object that runs, I cannot perceive; though I can imagine it. Nevertheless, both are Substantives; one being the name of a Quality, the other that of an Action.

In English we have such lines as

*To err* is human, *to forgive* divine—

*To be* or not to be, that is the question—

in which a substantive in the nominative case is represented by a verb with a preposition before it. *To err* means *error*, and *to forgive* means *forgiveness*.

In Greek we find

τὸ φθονεῖν = *invidia*

τοῦ φθονεῖν = *invidiæ*

ἐν τῷ φθονεῖν = *in invidiâ*.

This is because the name of any action may be used without any mention of the agent. Thus, we may speak of the simple fact of *walking* or *moving*, independently of any specification of the *walker* or *mover*. When actions are spoken of thus indefinitely, the idea of person has no place in the conception; from which it follows that the so-called infinitive mood must be at once Impersonal. But the ideas of relation in time and space *have* a place in it. We can think of a person *being in the act of striking a blow*, of his *having been in the act of striking one*, or of his *being about to strike one*; and in like manner, we can think of a person who *is sleeping*, *is about to sleep*, or who *has slept*. In other words, can think of the act, or condition, of a *striker*, or a *sleeper*, as a simple act of *striking*, *sleeping*, as one alone in present, past, or future time; and, when we think of it apart from the particular agent, we think of it simply as an act, state, or condition; and of this act, state, or condition, the words *strike* and *sleep* are *names*, much in the same way that *redness* or *strength* are *names* for the attribute suggested by *red* and *strong*.

And as *redness* or *strength* can be Declined, so can *strike*, and *sleep*. In respect, then, to their Inflection, Verbs are (1) related to the Noun; and (2) characterised by certain peculiarities of their own.

§ 298. *Special relations of the Indeterminate Verb to the Noun*.—So far as the Verb is related to the Noun it is Declined. So far as it is characterised by peculiarities of its own it is Conjugated.

The relation of the *Indeterminate Verb* to the Noun is twofold.

With the Adjective it is related through the Participle; concerning which no more need be said; since the Participles are generally connected with the Verb,

and treated as a part of it. Their Declension, however, is Adjectival. Both were fully declined in Anglosaxon.

§ 299. *The Verbals.*—Those Substantives which stand in the same relation to the Verb as the Participles stand on the side of the Adjectives are the *Verbals*. These are (1) the name of the act, or state, itself, and (2) the name of the agent. The former ends in *-ing*; and may be called the Verbal in *-ing*. The latter ends in *-er*; and may be called the Verbal in *-er*. They are correlative to one another. *Hunting* is the act of one who *hunts*. *Hunter* is one who performs the act of *hunting*. The same is the case where, instead of an act, we have a state or condition. *Sleeping* is the act of one who *sleeps*; i.e. of one who in this respect is a *sleeper*.

§ 300. *The old Declension of the Verb.*—In the older stages of our language there was a true Infinitive Mood which ended in *-an*, as *bærnan*=*burn*, *lufian*=*love*. When this was preceded by *to*, *-an* became *-enne*; as *to lufienne* = *to love*, *to bærenne* = *to burn*.

This A. S. form in *-enne* has been noticed already; but it will perplex no one who has gone through the elements of the Latin grammar, and knows what is meant by an Infinitive Mood or a Gerund. Such a reader will at once compare *lufian* = *love* with *amare*; and *bærnan*=*burn* with *urere*; whilst *to lufienne*=*to love* he will compare with *ad amandum*; and *to bærenne*=*to burn* with *ad urendum*.

Both the Gerunds and the Supines in Latin are declined as Nouns.

The Latin, in words like *amari* and *audiri*, *moneri* and *regi*, shows that the Indeterminate Verb may approach the character of a Noun in both *Voices*; and the

Greek, which uses such combinations as τοῦ τύπτεσθαι, τοῦ τύφθηναι, does the same.

Here, then, we meet with an approach on the side of the Verb to the Noun, just as, in the Verbals, we met with an approach to the Noun on the side of the Verb.

In the Infinitive Moods, the Gerunds, and the Supines we have the name of the action only—not the name of any agent. Hence, it is with the forms in *-ing* that these Infinitive forms are most especially compared: and the Noun is the Noun Substantive.

§ 301. ‘*Indeterminate*’ and ‘*Finite*’ as names.—In all these forms the name of an agent is conspicuous for its absence—conspicuous for its absence whether the Verb convey the notion of an act or a state. The Verbs, then, are essentially *Impersonal*. As such they are Abstractions; but, as every act or state has some person or thing which makes it such, it is wholly indefinite, or indeterminate in this respect.

Unfortunately, however, we have no recognised name for them, or the division to which they belong. ‘*Impersonal*’ is used in another sense, though, theoretically, it is by far the best name; inasmuch as the Verb of the other division, between which the whole class is divided, is characterised by having Persons. ‘*Infinitive*’ is used in too limited a sense. If it were not so, it would be the second-best name; inasmuch as the opposite class is called ‘*Finite*.’

In comparing, and sometimes contrasting, these two classes, I call the second by its ordinary name, and call the former ‘*Indeterminate*.’ This will include not only the *Infinitive* Mood, but the *Gerunds* and *Supines*; or their equivalents. The two great points of contrast are the absence or presence of the name of (or something suggestive of the name of) the agent;

nd, connected with this, their respective relations to the Noun.

§ 302. *The form in -ing and the Present Participle.*—The original Vowel of this Verbal Abstract was not *-i-* but *-u-*; as in *clænsung, hwistlung*. Its oblique case when governed by *-on* was in *-e—on clænsunge, on hwistlunge, &c.*; afterwards *a-cleansing, a-whistling, &c.*

These in the present English both change the *-u* and drop the final *-e*; and *cleansing* and *whistling* are the result.

When, besides this, the prefix *a-* drops off, the result is *I was whistling, I was cleansing, and the like.*

But this *-ing* is the sign of the Present Participle, which began with the termination *-nd*, and ends in *ing*; as A. S. *lufand*, now *loving, &c., &c.*

This is Confluence on a large scale, for the change is universal.

More on this point will be said hereafter in ‘*Syntax.*’

## CHAPTER VII.

VERBS OF TWO KINDS.—THE FINITE.—THE SIGNS OF PERSON.—GARNETT’S THEORY.

§ 303. Whoever, after duly noticing that nothing has been said about the Pronoun as one of those branches of the Noun with which the Intermediate Verb is connected in the way of affinity, and then, after considering such forms as *amare, amari, amandi, mando, amandum, amatum, amatu*, proceeds to the conjugation of *amo, amas, amat, &c., or amavi, amavisti, amavit*, will not be long in perceiving that the

*Finite* Verbs are as essentially and characteristically *Personal* as the Verbs of the preceding chapter are the contrary. He will see, too, that in these last there is something that implies, though it does not directly convey, the name of an agent; and he will see that, for the first two persons at least, that name must belong to the class of *Pronouns*. In *amo, amas, &c.*, it manifestly lies in the affixes *-o* and *-as, &c.*; which, whatever they may have been originally, are now part and parcel of the Latin Verb; and when he translates these into English, and says *I love, thou lovedst*, the Pronominal character of the combination becomes unmis-takeable.

From this point of view he may add symmetry and harmony to the relations of the Verb with the Noun. For in *-o* (or its equivalent *I*) and in *-as* (or its equivalent *thou*) he gets the name of the person who *loves*; and, as he can speak of the agent for the third person as *he, she, or it*, he gets a name like *hunt-er* (or the Verbal in *-er*), as that of the name of the Agent. Hence, as the Indeterminate Verb comes into connection with the Noun through one Verbal, the Personal comes into connection with it through the other; the Substantive through the Verbal in *-ing*; and the Pronoun through its equivalent to the Verbal in *-er*—each in their respective ways—connected with the Verb and Noun, or *vice versâ*.

§ 304. Still, the nature of the connection is by no means similar. The Substantive and Participle are, as Parts of Speech, akin to the Verb; and the Verb to them: and the act indicated by words like *hunting*, and the agency indicated by words like *hunter*, are correlative terms. But the Pronoun has no such elements of affinity. Such as it has it gets in its capacity of a substitute for a Substantive: and its connection with



the Verb is simply that of one word in combination with another. We infer this in compounds like *am-o*, *am-as*, &c. We see, and hear, it in combinations like *I love*, *you move*.

§ 305. How this can give us the three Persons of a Verb is not very difficult to see.

The logician, or metaphysician, divides the whole universe under two heads—himself, the sentient being, and everything else beside—the *ego* and the *non-ego*. The classes in the way of magnitude are incommensurable; but they exhaust the whole world of Thought.

The ordinary talker makes a third class. There is (1) the speaker, (2) the person spoken to, and (3) the person, or thing, spoken about. He calls one *I*; the other *thou*; the third *he*, *she*, or *it*. The first two explain themselves. The third is explained by the context. Every object that *hunts*, or *sleeps*, or does any action, or suffers from an action done by aught else, or is in any state whatever, comes under one of these three denominations. Countless, then, as is the multitude of known and conceivable actions, each one with its agents, the whole incalculable host of the latter can be reduced to *three* classes. Everything that has or will be done, or is capable of being imagined as a deed, is done by a doer belonging to one of them; and if each of them has a short and adaptable name, a coalition with the verb is a very natural result.

When such a coalition *has* taken place, the whole character of the verb is changed. It loses to a great extent its abstract and indefinite character. It becomes 'invested with circumstances;' for it is no longer the name of a bare action, but the name of an action *plus* that of the actor.

To this condition, however, Verbs arrive; and when

they have done so there is a great tendency to separate them from the noun ; for they have thus become *personal* ; and then the difference is a great one.

§ 306. The Finite Verbs, then, are Personal ; and, as such, play a more conspicuous part in language than the Indeterminate. They do not, however, do this as simple, single-handed Verbs, but as Verbs with a super-added element.

What this is has been suggested ; and it has long been admitted that it is a Personal Pronoun. Whether it is in the Nominative or in an Oblique case is a question of comparatively recent origin. It is chiefly with the name of the late Mr. Garnett, among whose numerous contributions to the higher departments of philology the present doctrine stands, perhaps, the first in value, that it is most especially connected. Mr. Garnett, however, with his usual justice towards his predecessors, has indicated a suggestion of the famous Keltic scholar E. Lhuyd.

The verb, according to Mr. Garnett (who henceforth will speak for himself), is not so much a finite verb as a verbal ; the pronoun which invests it with personality being not in the Nominative case, or in Concord with the verb, but in the Possessive case, while the verb itself is in a state of Regimen or Government.

\* Grammarians have not been able to divest themselves of the idea that the subject of the verb must necessarily be a *nominative* ; and when it was ascertained that the distinctive terminations of the verb are in fact personal pronouns, they persisted in regarding those pronouns as *nominatives*, abbreviated indeed from the fuller forms, but still performing the same functions.'

'The personal terminations in Welsh are pronouns ; but it is an important fact that they are evidently *in statu regiminis*, not in apposition or concord ; in other words, they are not nominatives, but oblique cases, precisely such as are affixed to various prepositions. For example, the second person plural does not end with the nominative *chwi*, but with *ech*, *wch*, *och*, *ych*, which last three forms are also found

coalescing with various prepositions, *iwch*, "to you," *ynoch*, "in you," *wrthych*, "through you."

'Now the roots of Welsh verbs are confessedly nouns, generally of abstract signification; as, for example, *dysg* is both *doctrina*, and the second person imperative *doce*. *Dysg-och*, or *-wch*, is not, therefore, *docetis* or *docebitis vos*; but *doctrina vestrum*, "teaching of or by you." This leads to the important conclusion that a verb is nothing but a noun combined with an oblique case of a personal pronoun, virtually including in it a connecting preposition. This is what constitutes the real *copula* between the subject and the attribute. *Doctrina ego* is a logical absurdity; but *doctrina mei*, "teaching of me," necessarily includes in it the proposition *ego doceo*, enunciated in a strictly logical and unequivocal form.'

The following table improves the evidence on this point.

<i>Prepositional Forms.</i>		<i>Verbal Forms.</i>	
<i>er-ov</i>	'for me.'	<i>car-ov</i>	'I will love.'
<i>er-ot</i>	'for thee.'	<i>car-ot</i>	'thou wilt love.'
<i>er-o</i>	'for him.'	<i>car-o</i>	'he will love.'
<i>er-om</i>	'for us.'	<i>car-om</i>	'we will love.'
<i>er-och</i>	'for you.'	<i>car-och</i>	'you will love.'
<i>er-ynt</i>	'for them.'	<i>car-ont</i> or <i>car-wynt</i> }	'they will love.'

'No one capable of divesting his mind of preconceived systems, who compares the Welsh prepositional forms with the verbal forms, will deny the absolute formal identity of the respective sets of endings, or refuse to admit that the exhibition of parallel phenomena of languages of all classes, and in all parts of the world, furnishes a strong *prima facie* ground for the belief of a general principle of analogy running through all.'—*Philological Essays*, pp. 289-342.

This is simply the truth. But the 'preconceived system' is a very potent influence. An Englishman, who every day and hour is using, or making, such derivative forms as *running* and *runner*, from any or every verb in the language, is slow to become familiar with the notion that the Verbal and Verb are very different parts of speech, and that the Verb is not the older one of the two. That the two forms may be identical he can understand from words like *a run*, *a swim*, *a*

*leap*, and others; but he is in the habit of looking upon so many others with the addition of *-ing*, or *-er*, as the better representatives of the class of Verbals; and these he knows to be derivative. In languages where the derivational affixes are less conspicuous, the difficulty may be more easily abated. Where they are as numerous as they are in English, the adherence to preconceived system is more than usually natural. Be this, however, as it may, we have in the reduction of all the names of actual or possible agents to the three Personal Pronouns one of the most beautiful, harmonious, and exhaustive contrivances that the instincts of Language have contrived.

§ 307. It was no part of Garnett's theory to ask how far the Verb *plus* a Possessive rather than a simply Personal Pronoun, *excluded* the forms to which he opposed them; in other words, how far *doc-es*, as *doctrina mei*=*my teaching* excluded forms like *I teach*=*ego doc-(eo)*. The two may have been concurrent, and he nowhere says that they were not. All he had to do was to consider the import of the Signs of Person, as Inflections.

Neither was it within his subject to ask whether *tu doces* was *doctrina mei* rather than *doctrina mea*. The aim of his well-directed criticism was to show that the Personal endings were other than abbreviated *Nominatives*.

§ 308. The preceding extract told what the writer meant with transparent lucidity. The induction, by which he fortifies his doctrine, is less capable of being given *in extenso*. It is enough to say that from the Fin class of languages he adduces the only missing link in the chain of his argument. Here, the pure and proper *Substantives* coalesce with the word that implies Possession; i.e. take abbreviated forms of *my*,

*thy*, &c., as affixes incorporated with the main word—just like the Post-positive Article in Scandinavian.

<i>pi</i> (for <i>pi-i</i> )	filius mei	<i>bera-i</i>	dixi
<i>pi-ed</i>	— tui	<i>bera-d</i>	dixisti
<i>pi-es</i>	— ejus	<i>bera-z</i>	dixit
<i>pi-my</i>	— nostri	<i>bera-my</i>	diximus
<i>pi-dy</i>	— vestri	<i>bera-dy</i>	dixistis
<i>pi-zy</i>	— eorum	<i>bera-zy</i>	*dixerunt

In the Iron or Ossete, a language of Caucasus, there is the same combination, except that the Pronoun *precedes* the Substantive.

<i>s-ab</i>	pater mei	<i>s-nehoit</i>	oro
<i>w-ab</i>	— tui	<i>u-nehoit</i>	oras
<i>i-ab</i>	— ejus	<i>i-nehoit</i>	orat
<i>h-ab</i>	— nostri	<i>pa-nehoit</i>	oramus
<i>sh-ab</i>	— vestri	<i>sh-nehoit</i>	oratis
<i>r-ab</i>	— eorum	<i>r-nehoit</i>	orant

§ 309. That the Finite Verb is Finite because it is Personal, and for no other reason, is hard to show in an uninflected language like the English; easy to show in an inflected language like the Greek.

(a) The Indeterminate Verb has Voice—*τυπτεῖν, τύπτεσθαι*.

(b) It has Tense—*τυπτεῖν, τετυφέναι, τυφθῆναι*.

(c, d) There is no reason why the Indeterminate Verb should not have both (c) Number, and (d) Gender. The combination *τὸ τυπτεῖν = verberare = act of beating*, so far as the article *τὸ* is singular implies a single act. But of such acts there may be more than one; and, if necessary, combinations like *τὰ τυπτεῖν* may express them. But they are not necessary, inasmuch as words like *beating*, from their abstract character, rarely require a plural form. There is, however, no known language in which the Indeterminate Verb has a sign of Number.

(e) There is no reason why the Indeterminate Verb should not have Genders. In Greek it is preceded by the article *τὸ*. This in words like *τὸ τυπτεῖν*, is a sign of the Substantival character of the verb rather

\* We may call this, if we choose, a *Conjugation of the Substantive*.

than a true sign of Gender. The Latin translation, however, of τὸ φθονεῖν is *invidia*, which is feminine, and there is no impossibility in conceiving a language in which the Infinitive Moods, when preceded by an article like δ, ἡ, τὸ, should take the gender of the corresponding substantive; as δ λέγειν. However, no language is known to do so.

(f) Whether the Indeterminate has *Mood* is chiefly a question of words. That it is called a Verb in the Infinitive Mood is notorious. But this conveys the notion that it *is* a Mood; rather than that it *has* Moods. It has, however, in the Gerunds and Supines a great deal beyond the purely Modal Infinitive; and these, if it were necessary to enlarge on the question, could be shown to be *mutatis mutandis*, in the same relation to the proper Infinitive, as the Imperative and Conjunctive to the Indicative.

§ 310. It is not for nothing these apparently irrelevant observations upon what the Indeterminate Verb *might* have, as opposed to what it really *has*, have been inserted. The object of the present criticism is to show that the limitation of the Finite Verb to the *Person* is the *only* characteristic which is not empirical. The reason for the class being natural is the fact of the distinguishing characteristic lying in the nature of Language itself rather than in the forms which mere observation supplies. Number and even Gender are *possible* forms of the Indeterminate Verb as a single word. But Persons are not. Persons imply a second element; i.e. the name of the Agent, and this involves a second name, from another Part of Speech, which the Indeterminate Verbs cannot supply when taken alone. In short, it takes us into questions of Combination and Composition.

But here mixture begins. As soon as Number and Mood are assigned to the Finite Verb, the forms by which they are represented become mixed-up, combined, and complicated with, or involved in, those of Person; and when this is the case the three must be considered together. Still, the other two are always subordinate to that of Person.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## THE FINITE VERB CONTINUED.—ITS MOODS, NUMBERS, AND PERSONS.

§ 311. *Mood and its signs.*—It is only to a very small amount that the Finite Verb, in the present English, has *Moods*.

There is a difference of Mood when we say ‘*if I were you,*’ in preference to saying ‘*if I was you.*’ We also say ‘*if I be the person you mean, I am ready to take the consequences.*’ But *be*, here, is a different Verb, and, as such, Conjunctival on the strength of its own proper import as a *word*, rather than from anything it is as a *Mood*.

When anyone says ‘*if he start soon he will be in time,*’ the chances are that he takes some pains to do so, that he is talking grammarian’s grammar, rather than the grammar of the world at large. Be this, however, as it may, the instance of *start*, instead of *starts*, merely tells us of the *omission* of the characteristics of the Indicative; and is simply a Negation.

This negative sign of the Conjunctive Mood is all that the present English can show. But (to repeat and re-repeat the old statement) the existing system of Inflections is only the fragment of an older one. In Anglosaxon the Plural of the Indicative ended in *-aþ*; that of the Conjunctive in *-en*—*we, ye, or hi lufiaþ = we love, &c.; we, ye, or he lufien = if—we love, &c.* Here the signs, on both sides, are positive as to Number and Mood, though not distinctive as to the Persons. In the Present English, however, as the affixes, on each side, are dropped, the result is that, for the Plural, the two forms (*we love, and if we love*) are confluent and identical. Between *love* and *loves* as the respective signs of the two moods the difference is retained or ignored according to the speaker. The least that can be said in favour of the distinction is that it is obsolescent.

§ 312. *Signs of Number.*—In the words *am,*

*speakest*, and *speaketh* or *speaks*, there are three different inflections, *-m*, *-est*, and *-eth* (or *s*). But they are signs of *Person*; and only signs of *Number*, so far as they are signs at all. For of *Number* the present English has no proper *positive* sign whatever, except in two verbs.

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>		<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
<i>I was</i>	<i>we were</i>		<i>I am</i>	<i>we are</i>
<i>Thou wast</i>	<i>ye were</i>		<i>Thou art</i>	<i>ye are</i>
<i>He was</i>	<i>they were</i>		<i>He is</i>	<i>they are</i>

§ 313. In the present English the signs of *Person* are reduced to the *-st* in *lovest*, &c.; and the *-s* in *loves*. Of these the former is obsolete or obsolescent; the latter a secondary form from *lov-eth*. But the present system of *Personal Inflection* is one thing; the history of the *Signs of Person* another. This is best collected from a series of examples. The following give the forms for the *Present Tense Indicative*; those for the *Singular* in the first, those for the *Plural* in the second column. The *Dual* which is found in the *Sanskrit*, *Greek*, and *Moesogothic* is omitted.

<b>Sanskrit.</b>	1. <i>ṣṛijami</i>	<i>ṣṛijamas</i> ( <i>create</i> )
	2. <i>ṣṛijasi</i>	<i>ṣṛijatha</i>
	3. <i>ṣṛijati</i>	<i>ṣṛijanti</i>
<b>Greek.</b>	1. λέγω	λέγομεν ( <i>say</i> )
	2. λέγεις	λέγετε
	3. λέγει	λέγουσι
<b>Latin.</b>	1. <i>lego</i>	<i>legimus</i> ( <i>read</i> )
	2. <i>legis</i>	<i>legitis</i>
	3. <i>legit</i>	<i>legunt</i>
<b>Lithuanic.</b>	1. <i>suikù</i>	<i>suikame</i> ( <i>turn</i> )
	2. <i>suiki</i>	<i>suikate</i>
	3. <i>suika</i>	<i>suika</i>



Bohemian.	1. <i>wolám</i>	<i>woláme</i> ( <i>call</i> )
	2. <i>wolās</i>	<i>woláte</i>
	3. <i>wolá</i>	<i>wolági</i>
Servian.	1. <i>tshitam</i>	<i>tshitame</i> ( <i>read</i> )
	2. <i>tshitash</i>	<i>tshitats</i>
	3. <i>tshita</i>	<i>tshitahu</i>
Illyrian.	1. <i>vidim</i>	<i>videme</i> ( <i>see</i> )
	2. <i>vidis</i>	<i>videte</i>
	3. <i>vide</i>	<i>vide</i>
Mæso-gothic.	1. <i>nasja</i>	<i>nasjaima</i> ( <i>heal</i> )
	2. <i>nasjis</i>	<i>nasjab</i>
	3. <i>nasjib</i>	<i>nasjand</i>
Old High German.	1. <i>prennu</i>	<i>prennames</i> ( <i>burn</i> )
	2. <i>prennis</i>	<i>prennat</i>
	3. <i>prennit</i>	<i>prennant</i>
Icelandic.	1. <i>kalla</i>	<i>köllum</i> ( <i>call</i> )
	2. <i>kallar</i>	<i>kalleð</i>
	3. <i>kallar</i>	<i>kalla</i>
Swedish.	1. <i>kallar</i>	<i>kalla</i> ( <i>do</i> )
	2. <i>kallar</i>	<i>kallen</i>
	3. <i>kallar</i>	<i>kallas</i>
Danish.	1. <i>kaller</i>	<i>kalles</i> ( <i>do</i> )
	2. <i>kaller</i>	<i>kalles</i>
	3. <i>kaller</i>	<i>kalles</i>
Old Saxon.	1. <i>sokju</i>	<i>sokjað</i> ( <i>seek</i> )
	2. <i>sokis</i>	<i>sokjað</i>
	3. <i>sokid</i>	<i>sokjað</i>
West-saxon.	1. <i>sece</i>	<i>secath</i> ( <i>seek</i> )
	2. <i>secest</i>	<i>secath</i>
	3. <i>seceth</i>	<i>secath</i>
resent High German.	1. <i>liäbe</i>	<i>liëöen</i> ( <i>love</i> )
	2. <i>liebes</i>	<i>liëbet</i>
	3. <i>liebt</i>	<i>liëben</i>
Dutch.	1. <i>denke</i>	<i>denker</i> ( <i>think</i> )
	2. <i>denkest</i>	<i>denket</i>
	3. <i>denkt</i>	<i>denken</i>

§ 314. To these we may add from the middle period of our own language the forms which we have already noticed for the three leading dialects.

Westsaxon.	1. <i>hope</i>	<i>hopeth</i>
	2. <i>hopest</i>	<i>hopeth</i>
	3. <i>hopeth</i>	<i>hopeth</i>
Mercian (East).	1. <i>hope</i>	<i>hopen</i>
	2. <i>hopes</i>	<i>hopen</i>
	3. <i>hopes</i>	<i>hopen</i>
Do. (West).	1. <i>hope</i>	<i>hopen</i>
	2. <i>hopest</i>	<i>hopen</i>
	3. <i>hopeth</i>	<i>hopen</i>
Northumbrian.	1. <i>hope (hopes)</i>	<i>hopes</i>
	2. <i>hopes</i>	<i>hopes</i>
	3. <i>hopes</i>	<i>hopes</i>

§ 315. This predominance of the single termination *-s* in the Northumbrian, must be compared not only with that of *-r* in the Scandinavian group, but also, for reasons which will be given in the sequel, with the forms of the so-called Passive.

Icelandic.	1. <i>kallast</i>	<i>köllunst</i>	Swedish.	1. <i>kallas</i>	<i>kallas</i>
	2. <i>kallast</i>	<i>kallist</i>		2. <i>kallas</i>	<i>kallera</i>
	3. <i>kallast</i>	<i>kalla</i>		3. <i>kallas</i>	<i>kallas</i>
Danish.	1. <i>kalles</i>	<i>kalles</i>			
	2. <i>kalles</i>	<i>kalles</i>			
	3. <i>kalles</i>	<i>kalles</i>			

§ 316. A mere inspection of this table shows the fragmentary character of the Inflection of the present literary English. It begins with the forms of the Greek Verbs in *-μι*, and ends with such negations as *I love (thou lovest), he loves, we, ye, they love*.

§ 317. In the *-s* of *love-s-t*, we still retain the old personal sign. But the *-t* is an extraneous addition; and the whole form is obsolescent. In all the other persons

there has been either loss or change—absolute loss throughout the whole Plural; and change (from *-th* to *-s*) in the Third Person Singular. But these are not the only processes. In the Old Saxon and the Anglo-saxon *all* the persons plural end like the second, i.e. in *-th*. Why? How? Has the second person extended its sign to the other two? Or has each of the other two undergone its own proper transformation? Has the *m* of the first person, along with the *-nt* of the third, *proprio motu*, and by an independent process, become *-th*? The German series *lieben, liebet, lieben* = *amamus, amatis, amant*, favour the view. But the Norse *-r*, which represents an older *-s*, can scarcely be thus explained. Thirdly, in the Middle Mercian (or Midland) English the termination is *-en*. But this *-en* in Westsaxon was the sign of the Conjunctive, rather than the Indicative, Mood. What is the nature of the change here? Have so many *-eths* become *-ens*? Or have the Conjunctive forms bodily and in mass, displaced or replaced the Indicative? These are the questions which the history of the Persons suggests. It happens, however, that the thoroughly negative character of our present Inflection makes minute criticism unnecessary—at least, in a work of moderate size. In the wider field of a more general philology the details are of great importance.

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## CHAPTER IX.

THE FINITE VERB CONTINUED—THE TENSES—THE PERFECT  
—THE PRETERIT—THE PARTICIPLES.

§ 318. *The Tenses—how many are there in English?*  
~~—If we look to their meanings, we have two Tenses.~~  
 If we look to their forms and history, we have three.  
 Thus—between the meaning of forms like *loved*, or *bent*, and forms like *spoke*, or *swum*, there is no difference in respect to the time to which the action is assigned. It is an action of *Past* time as opposed to *Present* (*love, bend, speak, swim*). But of *Past* time there are two sorts, e.g. *I loved, I bent, I spoke, I swum* as opposed to *I have loved, I have bent, I have spoken, I have swum*. Indeed, if we add combinations like *I had loved*, and *I shall have loved, I was loving*, we raise the varieties of past time to five. The last three, however, are not Tenses, in the proper sense of the word. They are not modifications of any single word. Neither do they belong to the domain of Etymology; but, on the contrary, to that of Syntax. This is because they are combinations of two, or more, separate words which convey the same import as that conveyed by a tense; and, so doing, are substitutes for a tense rather than the tense itself. In Greek and Latin, where we have single words like *ἔγραψα, γέγραφα, ἔγραφεῖν*, and *scripsi, scripsero, scribebam*, we have the exact converse; viz. single words as true Tenses, conveying the sense which, in English, is conveyed by a combination of separate ones. This means that for certain modifications of time there are two concurrent modes of expression; and the more clearly we understand the difference between them the more rational will be our grammar.

§ 319. The Tenses of the Present English as determined by their form and history are *Three*: (1) the Present; (2) the Perfect; and (3) the Preterit.

The Present has no special sign; the Perfect is formed by a change of Vowel; the Preterit by the addition of *-d*, *-t*, or *-ed*. Of the Present, as its characteristics are wholly negative, no further notice need be taken. In respect to its *Persons*, over and above the obsolete or obsolescent Second Singular in *-est*, it retains the Third (*loves* or *loveth*)—only, however, in the Singular Number and in the Indicative Mood. For the Plural and the Conjunctive we have only the negative form *love* throughout.

§ 320. The Mæsothetic, and the Mæsothetic alone, tells us, with unmistakeable clearness, the true nature of the forms like *spoke*, *swum*, and others—forms which are made by *changing* the vowel rather than by the *addition* of either a single sound or a syllable—forms which for this reason have, somewhat fancifully, been called *Strong*, or self-sufficing, as opposed to forms like *loved*, &c., where the super-added *-d* is a sign of *Weakness*, or dependence upon extraneous elements.

§ 321. These forms the Mæsothetic gives us in two divisions; one of which differs in detail only from the English, giving simply a change of vowel. The other (and in this lies its importance) gives us forms like *cucurri* or *momordi* in Latin, and *τέτυφα* or *τύτυφα* in Greek. In six out of the twelve classes over which the Mæsothetic Perfects are distributed, this reduplication of the initial consonant presents itself; and, in the last two, there is a change of vowel as well.

<i>Present.</i>	<i>Past.</i>
<i>Salta</i>	<i>sái-salt</i> ( <i>spring</i> )
<i>Háita</i>	<i>hái-hait</i> ( <i>call</i> )
<i>Hláupa</i>	<i>hlái-hláup</i> ( <i>leap</i> )
<i>Slépa</i>	<i>sái-zlép</i> ( <i>sleep</i> )
<i>Láia</i>	<i>lái-ló</i> ( <i>laugh</i> )
<i>Gréta</i>	<i>gái-grót</i> ( <i>weep</i> )

In *stái-staut*, from *stautan* = we have a reduplication of *both* the initial consonants; and we have the same when the verb begins with either *sk-* or *sp-*. In *hlái-láup*, too, so far as the *h* is consonantal there is a similar reduplication. Elsewhere, however, it is only the *first* consonant that is doubled, *e. g.* *sái-zlép*, *gái-grót*. Herein the M. G. is nearer the Latin than the Greek; for the Latin gives us such forms as *spo-spondi*.

§ 322. But the point of the most importance wherein the M. G. agrees with the Latin is the difference of the treatment at the hands of grammarians between the Tenses like *mo-mordi*, *cu-curri*, and *spo-spondi*, which are formed by reduplication, and the Tenses like *scrip-si*, and *ama-vi*, which are formed by a syllabic affix.

In Greek, words like *γράφω*, *ἔγραψα* have always been treated as Verbs alike in respect to their Conjugation; as Verbs equally normal, and equally reducible to rule; and above all, as Verbs which had *two* Tenses for the two varieties of Past time; each with its appropriate function, each with its characteristic formative, and each with its recognised name. The Tense formed by reduplication, and the Tense which implied a connection between the time of the action and the time of its being spoken about, was called the *Perfect*; the Tense in which no such connection was implied, and which was formed by the addition of *-s*, was called the *Aorist*; and each, so long as the two were formed in the manner just noticed, was kept separate and distinct

from the other, even as both were kept separate and distinct from the Present and Future of the same Mood, Voice, and Conjugation. This means that from the difference of form nothing beyond the simple single difference of Tense was inferred; one form being just as regular, and just as representative, as the other.

This is what we find in Greek. But it is not what we find in English; indeed, if it were not for the Mæso-gothic, the origin and history of the English Perfect would be a matter of very uncertain speculation. No wonder, then, that in England until the study of the Mæso-gothic became a recognized department of English Philology, the verbs like *spoke*, &c.—the verbs which represented the old Reduplicates—were simply treated as *Irregular*.

In Latin, however, there was, so far as the forms went, nothing to disguise the identity of words like *mo-mordi* with words like *τέτυφα*, and of words like *scrip-si* with words like *ἔγραψα*. Nevertheless, the Latin Grammar represents them as something very different. Of the Greek tenses, the Perfect and the Aorist, the Latin recognises only one; the result of this being that *mo-mordi* and *scripsi*, &c., &c., instead of being referred to two different Tenses of the same Conjugation, were referred to the same Tense, with a difference of a very vague character—the difference between this or that Conjugation; the difference between this or that kind of Verb; and, above all, the difference concerning which we have heard more than enough in England; viz. the difference between what is called Regularity and Irregularity.

§ 323. For a change in the language of grammarians of this kind there must be reasons. And they are not far to seek.

(1) The Latin had neither the word *Aorist* nor any adequate equivalent to it.

(2) The Latin, in a great number of instances, dropped the Reduplication where the Greek retained it. For one word in Greek which gives us such a form as *τυφα* or *γραφα*, from *τέ-τυφα* or *γέ-γραφα*, the Latin gives us scores like *feci*, *fugi*, and others, from *fe-fec-i*, *fu-fugi*, and the like.

(3) The Latin had, besides the forms like *feci* and *scrip-si*, a third; that of words like *ama-vi*, *audi-vi*, *mon-u-i*, terminations which give a third affix with only two kinds of Time to match. The result of this is that the precision and definitude which resulted from *two* well-marked forms in Greek, and *two* well-recognized differences of import, was greatly diminished; so that *momordi*, *scripsi*, and *amavi*, &c., might mean either *I have bitten*, or *I bit*; *I have written*, or *I wrote*; *I have loved*, or *I loved*, as the case might be.

(4) Concurrently with this (until we can determine which is which) in the way of Action and Reaction, the distinct character between the two kinds of Past Time became less and less; and all the three Latin forms had but one out of two meanings. Sometimes it was *I have loved*, and the like; sometimes it was *I loved*, and the like.

(5) But there was a fifth influence; whether in the way of a cause or an effect we need not here enquire. The form of Past Time which the Greek expressed by words like *τέτυφα*, changed; and combinations of the verb denoting possession with the Passive Participle came in to encroach upon the function of the Old Perfect, i.e. *I have beaten* = *τέτυφα*. With this we are thoroughly familiar in English; the result being that the Old Greek Perfect was merged, in respect to import, with the Aorist. Some, however, of the Perfect forms remained; but as they sunk their distinctive meaning, and dropped their reduplication, they are, at present, but few in any modern language. Still the forms like *spoke* and *swum*, &c., represent them.

(6) The result of this is that, in the end, one of the two forms excludes the other. In Latin there are a few verbs for which we find both tenses—*pango*—*pepigi*—*panxi*. But the number decreases, and the rule is that it is always the reduplicate form that gives way.

§ 324. If we put all this together, we not only see that the treatment as a Tense of the Reduplicate Perfect has varied with the language, but, also, that the class to which such Perfects belong—disguised as they are, and fragmentary as is the class itself—is a natural one.

(a) Few or none of the so-called Strong Verbs are of foreign origin. Hence new words introduced into



our language always have their past tense Preterit—never Perfect.

(b) This means that, as an Inflection, the change of vowel is *Obsolete*.

(c) The change is all one way, i.e. words like *spoke*, &c., may take the form of words like *loved*; but not *vice versa*.

(d) The words which are *Strong* in one of the German languages or dialects are generally so in the others.

Tota illa quancunque Anomalia, Verba exotica vix omnino attingit sed illa sola quæ Nativa sunt—exotica vero illa appello quæ a Latinis, Gallicis, Italicis, Hispanicis, aut etiam Cambro-Britannicis deduximus, quæ quidem multa sunt: Nativa vero illa voco quæ ab antiqua lingua Teutonica, seu Saxonica, originem ducunt, quæ quidem omnia sunt Monosyllaba (aut saltem a Monosyllabis deducta), et plerumque nobis cum Germanis, Danis, *etc.*, communia sunt (levi saltem immutatione facta): quoniam nempe sive Lingus sive Dialectus ejusdem cum nostra Anglicana sunt originis.—*Wallis*.

(e) Derived words are weak rather than strong. The intransitive forms *drink* and *lie* are strong; the transitives *drench* and *lay* are weak.

It is clear that the natural character of these so-called Irregular or anomalous words was, partially, seen by the older scholars; and not only by Wallis, but by Ben Jonson. So far as the latter allowed himself to speak irreverently of either of the two classes, it was the form in *-d* for which he shows the least respect; and, when he calls it 'a common inn to lodge every strange and foreign guest,' he uses a metaphor which shows that he clearly saw the extent to which one process was operative, the other obsolete. To this, however, he assigns 'none but natural and homeborn words, which, though in number they may not be many, a hundred and twenty or thereabouts, yet in variation are so divers and uncertain that they need much

the stamp of some good logic to beat them into proportion.'

Hickes, after giving a single conjugation for the Anglo-Saxon verbs, throws the rest into a single class, with the remark, however, that they follow a principle of their own, along with the additional suggestion *forsan magis proprie secundam conjugationem constituere videantur quam inter anomalia recenseri.*

§ 325. Of this doctrine of a second Conjugation it may be said, at once, that it is immeasurably better than the older doctrine of Anomaly or Irregularity. But there is a great deal in the doctrine of a second Conjugation which, without appearing on the surface, complicates the grammatical expression of the difference. If *spoke* and *loved* are verbs in different conjugations, they are verbs in the same Tense; for it is, manifestly, to escape the assignment of them to different Tenses, that the second Conjugation is resorted to. If, on the other hand, they are verbs of different Tenses, a second Conjugation is superfluous; and, perhaps, inadmissible.

They are, certainly, so when we look at the Greek language; treating vowels like *spoke* as words like *τέτυφα*, and words like *loved* as words like *ἔγραψα*—Tense for Tense. Here, there are no pretensions to a second Conjugation, whilst there is no doubt as to the reality of a second Tense. And it must be added that, in the opinion of the present writer, the Greek rather than the Latin is the language to which we must look. Between the Mæsothian and the Latin, we get the evidence of an original reduplication, and, with it, in many cases, a change of vowel. We get the loss of that reduplication, and the retention of the modified vowel. We get, too, the loss of the distinction of import which in Greek we find by mere inspection.

Lastly, we get the gradual exclusion of reduplicate forms with a Perfect sense, and the fusion of the two into a single Tense—provided, always, that we take the *sense* of the inflection rather than its *form* as the criterion of its nature, and the character by which we determine its name.

But the conflict between the claims of these two elements to constitute a Tense is a very serious question; and one which is far too complicated to be given here, in detail. If the meaning is to determine it, *loved* and *spoke*, *momordi* and *scripsi* are identical Tenses, and even such combinations as *I have written*, are as good Tenses as *ἔγραφα*, &c. I am not prepared to say that, in many cases, they are not. In another part of my work I shall show that the doctrine that a given form must not always be what it was in its origin, and that words, as an old grammarian expresses it, *migrate* from one Part of Speech to another, is a sound one. Nor do I ignore the vast amount of innovation that is involved in such a language as the Latin, by making a fresh Tense, for forms like *momordi*, &c., when separated from forms like *scripsi* and *amavi*, &c.—to which much more may be added. On the other hand, when we have to account for such changes as those of the *-ea-* in *speak*, into that of the *-o-* in *spoke*, we must use the lights that we get from the Mæso-gothic, the Latin, and the Greek; and if all these, form for form, lead up to the Greek *τέτυφα*, and *ἔγραφα*, the conclusion must be accepted—at least, in a work which professes to get at the import and origin of our Inflections *historically*.

This is as much as can be said upon this question at present. The little that can be added will be found in the '*Syntax*.'

§ 326. The last point to be considered is the extent

to which these disguised Reduplicate Perfects, even in a language like the English, where they are found only as the fragments of an older and fuller system, are still susceptible of order and arrangement. And this will be done briefly. The earlier classifications may be found in Grimm's great Comparative Grammar of the languages of the German family, and Rask's Anglo-saxon Grammar. In the recent works of Professor March and Dr. Morris, this is taken as a ground-work, but with the necessary modifications, and with special reference to the Anglosaxon. What follows here is written more to show that there *is* a method in the arrangement, than to exhaust the details of it.

§ 327. The Vowel may be changed once and once only; or it may be changed oftener than once. Sometimes it is changed in the Perfect only; sometimes in the Participle as well; sometimes in the Perfect itself according to the Number and the Person; and sometimes in the Present; e.g. in A.S. *bláwe*, *bleow*, *gebláwen*; *swimme*, *swam*, *swummon*, *swummen* = (I) *blow*, *blew*, (we) *blew*, *blown*; (I) *swim*, *swam*; (we) *swam* (*swum*), *swum*. Sometimes, as will soon be seen, it changes with the Person, in the Present Tense itself.

#### § 328. *Vowel Long.*

(1) Change from *o* or *a* to *e*. The Vowel of the Past Participle the same as that of the *Present*: *blow*, *crow*, *grow*, *know*, *throw*, *draw*, *fly*, *slay*—*blew*, *crew*, *grew*, *knew*, *threw*, *drew*, *flew*, *slew*—*blown*, *crown*, &c., *slain*.

(2) The long Vowel sound (spelt *ea*) followed by *l*, *r* (liquids), *k* (a palatal mute), or *v*. Change to *o*. The Vowel of the Past Participle the same as that of the Perfect *steal*, *bear*, *swear*, *tear*, *wear*, *break*,

*speak, weave—stole, bore, swore, &c.—stolen, born, sworn, &c.*

(3) The vowel *Long*; the consonant that follows a *Sibilant*—*freeze, choose—froze, chose—frozen, chosen.*

This is the division wherein the vowel of the *Present* changes; the A. S. conjugation being as follows:—

<i>Present</i> 1st Per.	<i>2nd Per.</i>	<i>3rd Per.</i>	<i>Perfect S.</i>	<i>Perfect P.</i>	<i>Participle.</i>
<i>Lesce</i>	<i>list</i>	<i>list</i>	<i>læs</i>	<i>læs-on</i>	<i>ge-læs-en</i>
<i>(Ge)-ness</i>	<i>genist</i>	<i>genist</i>	<i>genæs</i>	<i>genæson</i>	<i>ge-næs-en</i>
<i>Ceðæc</i>	<i>cjst</i>	<i>cjst</i>	<i>ceðs</i>	<i>cur-on</i>	<i>ge-coren</i>
<i>Dreðæc</i>	<i>drjst</i>	<i>drjst</i>	<i>dreðs</i>	<i>drur-on</i>	<i>ge-drur-en</i>
<i>Freðæc</i>	<i>frjst</i>	<i>frjst</i>	<i>freðs</i>	<i>frur-on</i>	<i>ge-froren</i>
<i>Be-greðæc</i>	<i>begrjst</i>	<i>begrjst</i>	<i>greðs</i>	<i>grur-on</i>	<i>ge-gror-en</i>
<i>Hreðæc</i>	<i>hrjst</i>	<i>hrjst</i>	<i>hreðs</i>	<i>hrur-on</i>	<i>ge-hror-en</i>
<i>Forleðæc</i>	<i>forljst</i>	<i>forljst</i>	<i>forleðs</i>	<i>forlur-on</i>	<i>for-loren</i>

*See March, §§ 199, 206.*

(4) Vowel *Long*—spelt with a single letter, and followed by a mute. Change from *a* to *u* (spelt *-oo-*). Vowel in the *Participle* the same as in the *Present*—*shake, take, wake, (for)sake—shook, took, woke, (for)sook)—shaken, taken, waken, (for)saken.*

(5) Vowel *Long*—spelt with the letter *i*; but, in sound, a diphthong. Changed into *o* in the *Perfect*, in the *Participle* into *ǐ* (the *i* in pit). The vowel of the *Participle* that of the *Present*, rather than the *Perfect*.

<i>Present.</i>	<i>Perfect.</i>	<i>Participle.</i>
<i>Bide</i>	<i>bode</i>	<i>bidden</i>
<i>Bite</i>	<i>bit</i>	<i>bitten</i>
<i>Drive</i>	<i>drove</i>	<i>driven</i>
<i>Ride</i>	<i>rode</i>	<i>ridden</i>
<i>Skrive</i>	<i>shrove</i>	<i>shriven</i>
<i>Smite</i>	<i>smote</i>	<i>smitten</i>
<i>Strike</i>	<i>stroke</i>	<i>stricken</i>
<i>Strive</i>	<i>strove</i>	<i>stridden</i>
<i>Thrive</i>	<i>throve</i>	<i>thriven</i>
<i>Write</i>	<i>wrote</i>	<i>written</i>

Here, in Anglosaxon, the vowel was changed in the Plural, with which the Participle agreed. In both cases, however, it seems to have been long; or, at any rate, the consonant is not doubled.

<i>Present.</i>	<i>Perfect.</i> 1st Pers.	<i>Perfect.</i> 2nd Pers.	<i>Participle.</i>
<i>Scine</i>	<i>scdn</i>	<i>scin-on</i>	<i>ge-scin-on</i>
<i>Bite</i>	<i>bdt</i>	<i>bit-on</i>	<i>ge-bit-on</i>
<i>Smite</i>	<i>smdt</i>	<i>smit-on</i>	<i>ge-smit-on</i>
<i>Ride</i>	<i>rdd</i>	<i>rid-on</i>	<i>ge-rid-on</i>
<i>Strice</i>	<i>strdc</i>	<i>stric-on</i>	<i>ge-stricen</i>

### § 329. *Vowel Short.*

Followed by *m*, *n*, *ng*, or *nk*. Change to *a* for the Perfect in the Singular, to *u* for it in the Plural number. The vowel of the Participle that of the *Plural* of the Perfect.

<i>Present.</i>	<i>Perfect Sing.</i>	<i>A. S. Plural.</i>	<i>Participle.</i>
<i>Swim</i>	<i>swam</i>	( <i>swumm-on</i> )	<i>swum</i>
<i>Begin</i>	<i>began</i>	( <i>begunn-on</i> )	<i>begun</i>
<i>Run</i>	<i>ran</i>	( <i>runn-on</i> )	<i>run</i>
<i>Spin</i>	<i>span</i>	( <i>spunn-on</i> )	<i>spun</i>
<i>Win</i>	<i>wan</i>	( <i>wunn-on</i> )	<i>won</i>
<i>Cling</i>	<i>clang</i>	( <i>clung-on</i> )	<i>clung</i>
<i>Fling</i>	<i>flung</i>	( <i>flung-on</i> )	<i>flung</i>
<i>Ring</i>	<i>rang</i>	( <i>rung-on</i> )	<i>rung</i>
<i>Sing</i>	<i>sang</i>	( <i>sung-on</i> )	<i>sung</i>
<i>Spring</i>	<i>sprang</i>	( <i>sprung-on</i> )	<i>sprung</i>
<i>Sting</i>	<i>stung</i>	( <i>stung-on</i> )	<i>stung</i>
<i>Wring</i>	<i>wrang</i>	( <i>wrung-on</i> )	<i>wrung</i>
<i>Drink</i>	<i>drank</i>	( <i>drunc-on</i> )	<i>drunk</i>
<i>Shrink</i>	<i>shrank</i>	( <i>scrunc-on</i> )	<i>shrunck</i>
<i>Sink</i>	<i>sank</i>	( <i>sunc-on</i> )	<i>sunk</i>
<i>Stink</i>	<i>stunk</i>	( <i>stunc-on</i> )	<i>stunk</i>

In the following words the *i* and *ou*, now diphthongs, represent the short sounds of *i* in *pin* and the *u* in *full*. Like *swim*, &c., they had *a* and *u* in the Plural. The Scotch retains both the short vowel and

the double form, the Perfect being regularly in *a*, the Participle in *u*—as *band*, *fand*, *grand*, *wand*; *bund*, *fund*, *grund*, *wund*.

<i>Present.</i>	<i>Perfect.</i>	<i>Participle.</i>
<i>Bind</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>bound</i>
<i>Find</i>	<i>found</i>	<i>found</i>
<i>Grind</i>	<i>ground</i>	<i>ground</i>
<i>Wind</i>	<i>wound</i>	<i>wound</i>

The loss of the syllabic inflections *-an*, and *-e*, &c., for the Infinitive Mood and the Present Tense, by shortening the word, would encourage the lengthening of the vowel; for in *find-an*, *grind-an*, &c., the *i* was doubtless sounded as in *swim*. So it would be in *climb-an*, of which the Perfect was *clomb* or *clamb* in the Singular, and *clumb-on* in the Plural; the Participle being *clumb-en*.

§ 330. *Reduplication retained.*—*Did.*—This word, in the current English of the present time, stands alone; the solitary instance of the old reduplication after the manner of *τέ-τυφα*. The Anglosaxon form was *di-de*, Old Saxon *dē-da*; in which case it is the *first* of the two *d*'s which gives us the sign of tense, and the last of them the one that belongs to the root.

§ 331. *Hight.*—There is another word in the same condition as *di-d*, i.e. another word wherein the reduplication is preserved. Here the *g* is out of place; the better spelling being *hiht*, in Anglosaxon *hēht*, Mœso-gothic *hái-háit*. *Hight*, however, scarcely belongs to the current language; being obsolete, or obsolescent.

An ancient fabric raised to inform the sight,  
There stood of yore, and Barbican it *hiht*.

Dryden, *Mac Flecknoe*.

§ 332. *Did* was the first word that was claimed as

reduplicate Perfect. *Hight* was the second. This was on the strength of the older forms *héht* in A. S., and *háiháit* in M. G. Still, *hight* is only a reduplicate tense to the *eye*; for if it were spelt as it is pronounced (*hite*), it would show no signs of doubling whatever.

*Held* has since been added to the list, the O. H. G. form being *heialt*, or *hialt*, the M. G. *háihald*.

§ 333. *Hight* and *held* begin with the sound of *h*, and as *h* is a breathing rather than a true articulate consonant, it is by no means a very stable element in any word; especially when it stands between two vowels. It has evidently done so in both *hight* and *held*.

Such being the case, it is manifest that, in the present forms, it is the consonant of the fundamental verb that is lost; and that of the reduplication which is retained.

Whether there are other words of this kind—words in which the radical consonant is lost, and nothing left behind but the prefix—is a point of some importance.

It by no means follows that, because an exceptional sound like that of *h*, in an exceptional position between two vowels, can be dropped, other consonants can be dropped also. On the other hand, there are facts which connect, or seem to connect, the change of vowel with the elimination of the middle consonant; in which case, when the vowel of the root and the vowel of the reduplication come together, a third sound is the result. The Greek gives us nothing that encourages this idea; for in words like *λέλοιπα*, *πέποιθα*, &c., we have the changed vowel and the reduplicate syllable together. But in Latin, with words like *fūgi*, *fēci*, &c., from *fūgio*, *fācio*, the lengthening of the vowel is reasonably referred to the elimination of the *second f* in *fū-fūg-i*, and *fē-fīo-i*,



&c. I find it difficult to ascertain how far in the opinion of the two writers who have paid most attention to the question—Professor March and Dr. Morris—this elimination of the radical consonant extends. Is it limited to words like *hight*, or extended to words like *sprang*?

§ 334. *The Preterit.*—The Preterit is formed from the theme (it matters little whether we call it Present Tense, Infinitive Mood, or Root), by the addition of *-ed*, *-d*, or *-t*.

When the theme itself ends in *-d* or *-t*, an *-e* is inserted, which prevents the contact of identical consonants—*mend*, *mend-ed*, &c.

When the theme ends in a Surd consonant, the affix is *-t*—*step*, *stept* (so sounded, though spelt *stepped*).

When the theme ends in anything but an identical letter, or a Surd, the affix is *-d*—*move*, *moved*.

(a) These are the real rules of the present language. They are the *real* rules, because when we spell *stept* as *stepped*, we have a matter of *spelling*—not one of *speaking*: and it is Speech, not Writing, which makes Language.

(b) They are the rules of the *present* language; because if we pronounce the final *-ed* in words like *blessed*, we pronounce them after an archaic, or obsolete, manner—a manner kept up, as in the reading of the Scriptures, for adequate reasons, but still not the manner of common conversation at the present time.

The general rules for the use of *-ed*, *-t*, or *-d*, are, *mutatis mutandis*, simply those of the *-es*, *-s*, and *-z* of the Possessive Case and Plural Number of the Substantives.

§ 335. There are three natural groups among which the exceptions to this general rule may be distributed.

(1) *Verbs wherein the final sound of the theme (-d or -t) is identical with the initial sound of the affix—as bend, cut, &c.* The principle of this is a

tendency to avoid the addition of the *extra* syllable, *-ed*.

(a) *The last sound of the theme -d—*

*a.* This is done by shortening the vowel when it is long; and it gives us *bled, bred, fed, led, reād, sped, met*, from *bleed, breed, feed, &c.*

*β.* By ejecting the *-e*, when the *-d* is preceded by *l, n, or r* (*liquids*), and changing the *-d* into *-t*. This gives us *bent, built, girt, lent, rent, sent, spent, &c.*, from *bend, build, gird, lend, &c.*

*γ.* By the negative process of making no change at all—as in *rid, shed, spread*, from *rid, shed, spread*.

(b) *The last sound of the theme -t.—*Here the negative process repeats itself.

*a.* Vowel short—*burst, cast, cost, cut, hit, hurt, let, put, sit, shut, slit, split, thrust*; all the same form as their respective Presents.

*β.* Vowel long—Preterit *beāt*, Present *bēat*.

§ 336. (2) *Verbs whereof the Vowel is changed.*—When preceded by a Liquid, *t* takes place of *d*. In this case the vowel of the Preterit is always short—not only in words like *smelt* and *burnt* from *smell* and *burn*, where it is short in the Present, but also in words like *meant* and *felt* from *mean* and *feel* where it is long.

In *berēft, clēft, kēpt, lēft, lōst, slēpt, swēpt, wēpt*, from *bereāve, cleāve, &c.*, the consonant is other than a Liquid: and the vowel is changed—only, however, in respect to its *Quantity*.

In *told* and *sold* from *tell* and *sell* the vowel is changed in respect to its *Quality*. Here the consonant that follows is a Liquid. The A. S. forms were *telle, tealde; selle, sealde*.

§ 337. (3) *Verbs whereof the Consonant is changed.*

—In all these the Consonant is either *k* or *g*, or one of the allied sounds. The liability of these to change has been shown in the chapter on Phonesis, and to the Phonetic rules there indicated all the changes that belong to this division are referable.

These Palatals may—

(a) Pass into the sound of *y*. The Anglosaxon forms of *lay* and *say* were—

<i>Present.</i>	<i>Preterit.</i>	<i>Participle.</i>
<i>Lecge</i>	<i>lægde</i>	<i>ge-lægð</i>
<i>Scege</i>	<i>sægde</i>	<i>ge-sægð</i>
<i>Lay</i>	<i>laid</i>	<i>laid</i> (pronounced <i>läde</i> )
<i>Say</i>	<i>said</i>	<i>said</i> (pronounced <i>säð</i> )

(b) Also into that of *h*, originally a guttural *g*.

<i>Present.</i>	<i>Preterit.</i>	<i>Participle.</i>
<i>Sece</i>	<i>sohte</i>	<i>ge-soht</i>
<i>Seek</i>	<i>sought</i>	<i>sought</i>

(c) Also into that of *ng*.

	<i>Present.</i>	<i>Preterit.</i>	<i>Participle.</i>
Anglosaxon	<i>Brings</i>	<i>brohte</i>	<i>ge-broht</i>
Modern English	<i>Bring</i>	<i>brought</i>	<i>brought</i>

(d) Also into that of *ngk*.

	<i>Infinitive</i>	<i>Preterit.</i>	<i>Participle.</i>
Anglosaxon	{ <i>þencan</i>	<i>þöhte</i>	<i>ge-þöht = think</i>
	{ <i>þincan</i>	<i>þuhte</i>	<i>ge-þuht = seem</i>

Compare the German *Ich denke = I think; mich dünkt = meseems.*

(e) Also into that of *tsh*.

	<i>Present.</i>	<i>Preterit.</i>	<i>Participle.</i>
Anglosaxon	<i>Tæce</i>	<i>tæhte</i>	<i>ge-tæht</i>
Modern English	<i>Teach</i>	<i>taught</i>	<i>taught</i>

Here the Preterit is like that of the preceding

instances. The *Present*, however, is changed: the *k* becoming *tsh*.

*Catch, caught, caught* does not occur in the oldest English. In Laymon we find *cacche, cahte, caht*. This verb has conformed to the Past Tense of *teach*, &c.—Morris, *Historical Outlines*, &c., p. 171.

*Buy*. In A. S. *bycge, bohte, ge-boht*.

*Work*. In Ac. *wyrce* = I work: *worh-te* = I worked; *ge-worht* = worked. In addition to the change in the consonant, *r* is transposed. *Beseech*.—The main Verb is *séc-e* = I seek. In English *be-seech, be-sought*. The simple Verb *seek* preserves the *k*. The compound changes it after the manner of *teach*, &c.

### *The Participles.*

§ 338. *The forms in -ing and -ed.*

In form, the Present Participle is the most regular Inflection in the language. Its sign is *-ing*, which may be added, without alteration, to every verb which has a Present Participle at all—which the words *is, was, shall*, and a few others have not.

This is very simple and regular. The question, however, whether the result of this addition of *-ing* be a Participle or a Verbal Abstract is a perplexing one. Something has been said about it in § 302, and more will be said in the *Syntax*.

§ 339. The Preterit form, or that in *-ed*, is nearly as regular as that in *-ing*. Not so that of—

§ 340. *The Perfect Participle*.—This is connected with the class of verbs like *spoke, swam, &c.*, where the past tense is formed by the change of vowel; and not by the addition of *-ed, -d, or -t*. As Perfect Tenses these were less simple and uniform than the Preterits: and their Participles are the same.

The chief points connected with the Participle that are *not* involved in the history of the Perfect are—

a. *Omission of the final -n or -en.*—Sometimes this is wholly obsolete; as in *swum, found, run, &c.* Sometimes it is obsolescent, or archaic; as *shapen, graven, gotten, bidden, trodden, &c.* Sometimes both forms are equally current, but with a difference of meaning; as *drunk* and *drunken, bound* and *bounden; he had drunk too much; a drunken man; we are bound to do it; it is our bounden duty.* The *e* in *borne* is a mere artificial expedient for indicating a difference of this kind—*born = natus, borne = latus* in Latin.

b. When the *-n, or -en,* is thus dropped, the difference between the Participle and the Perfect is reduced; and, when the vowel of the two forms is the same, it is entirely abolished; in other words the two forms become confluent.

c. When the Tense changes from Strong to Weak, the Participle changes also; though not necessarily at the same time. The Participle, as a rule, retains its strong form the longest.

<i>Present.</i>	<i>Preterit.</i>	<i>Participle.</i>
<i>Hew</i>	<i>hew-ed</i>	<i>hewn</i>
<i>Mow</i>	<i>mow-ed</i>	<i>mown</i>
<i>Show</i>	<i>show-ed</i>	<i>shown</i>
<i>Melt</i>	<i>melt-ed</i>	<i>molten</i>
<i>Swell</i>	<i>swell-ed</i>	<i>swollen</i>

d. In A. S. the syllable *-ge-* was prefixed to both the Perfect and Preterit Participles; as *ge-boren, ge-lufod = borne, loved.* The Northumbrian dialects were the first to drop it; the Westsaxon the most steady in retaining it. On the Continent it is dropped in the Scandinavian dialects; retained in the Dutch and

German. It is the *y-* in the archaic form *yclept* = *called* or *named*, from A. S. *clepian* = *call* or *name*.

*e. Sodden.* Two words ending in *th* in A. S. changed it, in the Participle, into *d*.

<i>Cwethe</i>	<i>cwæth</i>	<i>ge-cweden</i>
<i>Seothe</i>	<i>scith</i>	<i>ge-soden</i>

*f. Seothe* changed its vowel in the Plural of the Perfect, belonging to the same class as *choose*, *freeze*, and *lose*.

In *writhe* the *th* was retained.

<i>Present.</i>	<i>Perfect S.</i>	<i>Perfect Pl.</i>	<i>Participle.</i>
<i>Writhe</i>	<i>writh</i>	<i>writhon</i>	<i>writhen</i>

*See list in March; Grammar, &c., p. 104.*

*g. In scathe* the consonant was changed in the Tense but retained in the Participle. A. S. *sceathe*, *sceod*, *sceodon*, *sceathen*.

## CHAPTER X.

ANOMALOUS AND AUXILIARY VERBS—‘*SHALL*,’ ‘*DARE*,’ ‘*MUST*’—INCIDENCE OF CHANGE WHEN THE REDUPLICATION IS LOST—‘*AM*,’ ‘*BE*,’ ‘*WAS*.’

§ 341. Perfects may become invested with the power of Presents. In Greek we see this in words like *oida* = *I have experienced* or *learned* which = *I know*. In Latin *memini* = *I have called to mind* = *I remember*.

§ 342. *Can*, *shall*, and *may* are the most notable words of this class. So far as form and origin go, they are Perfects after the manner of *oida* and *memini*. But they are also the bases of such Preterits as *could*, *should*, and *might*.

§ 343. *Shall*.—Existing forms—*shalt, should* (the Preterit), (*shouldest, shouldst*). Older form *skall*. The M. G. sign of the Second Person was *skal-t*.

§ 344. *Can*.—The M. G. form of the Second Person was *kan-t*. Existing forms—*could* (the Preterit); (*couldest or couldst*)—*ken* = *know* (the actual, or approximate, radical of *con* = *learn, study*); as to *con a task*—*cunning* = *knowing, crafty* ('*knowledge is power*'). The *-l*, inserted in the spelling, after the false analogy of *should* and *could*, does its best to disguise its true origin; the result being one of the worst spelt words in the language. The A. S. Preterit was *cupe*—Participle *cup*; whence *un-couth* = *unknown*.

§ 345. *May*.—M. G. Second Person *mag-t*—Present forms (*mayest*)—*might* (the Preterit)—(*mightest, mightst*). In A. S. the Second Person was *meaht*; the Preterit *meahte*.

§ 346. *Ought*.—Present form (*oughtest*); Participle *own* = possessed; A. S. *agen*. The A. S. Perfect *ah*; in the Second Person *age*, with *ahte* as a regular Preterit. In M. G. *áih*; Second Person *aiht*; Preterit *áihta*.

§ 347. *Dare, Must, and Wot*.—These three words agree in having the sound of *-s* which is not found (in English at least) in the fundamental word.

(a) In *dare* we get a little help from the Greek forms *θαρσῖν* and *θαρσέιν*: supposing that, sound for sound, and letter for letter, we identify the Sigma with the *-s* in *durst*. This reappears in the—

## PRESENT.

*Masogothic.*

1. *dars*
2. *dart*
3. *dars*

*Anglosaxon.*

1. *dear*
2. *dearst*
3. *dear*

PRETERIT.	
1. daursta	dorste
2. daurstes	dorste
3. daursta	dorste

INFINITIVE.	
dauran	durran

Here the *-s-* of the first person in M. G. gives us the only *-s* that can be compared with that of the Greek *θαρσῖν*, the *-s-* of the A. S. Second Person, &c., an *-s* that is certainly extra-radical.

In the present English, *mutatis mutandis*, *dare* may be compared with *owe*; and *durst* with *ought*. *Dare*, like *owe*, as an independent Verb, has a full inflection—*dare, daring, dared*; and, as such, is both Transitive and Intransitive—I *dare (challenge) to do it*—*I dare not venture*. For the Intransitive *dare*, we may substitute *durst*; but not for the Transitive.

(b) *Must*, in the present English, has only one form.

PRESENT.	
<i>Mæsothetic.</i>	<i>Anglosaxon.</i>
1. môt	mot
2. môst	most
3. môt	mot
PRETERIT.	
<i>Mæsothetic.</i>	<i>Anglosaxon.</i>
<i>Sing.</i> môsta	moste
<i>Plur.</i> môtstedum	moston

(c) *Wo*

PRESENT	
<i>Mæsothetic.</i>	<i>Anglosaxon.</i>
<i>Sing.</i> 1. vait	wât
2. vaist	wâst
3. vait	wât
<i>Plur.</i> 1. vitum	witen



<i>Perfect</i>	<i>wisse</i> M. G.
<i>Preterit</i>	<i>wiste</i> A. S.
<i>Infinitive</i>	witan
<i>Pres. Part.</i>	witende
<i>Pass. Part.</i>	witen - wist

§ 348. The non-radical -s- in these three words has to be accounted for. The current doctrine is that, to the main verb ending in -t-, the weak inflection -t is added, and that, thus, when two t<sup>s</sup> are brought into contact, the first is changed into -s. What, and how many, are the forms that justify this view? There are English verbs which end in -t, like *put*, *hit*, *bite*, and others; and some of them take the affix -te. But none of them give such results as *lest*, *pust*, *spist*, or the like, from *let*, *put*, or *spit*. This is what we find in English; where the number is sufficiently limited to allow us to make a negative statement. What we may find elsewhere is another question. But the only two words I have found anywhere are the two under notice—these and no more.

§ 349. *Questions concerning the Perfect and Preterit.*—On the structure of the Perfect just as much has hitherto been written as serves to show how forms like *spoke* and *swam*, &c., originated in Tenses like *τέτυφα* and *γέγραφα*, &c., and how, when denuded of their reduplication, and otherwise disguised, they lost their character as separate, independent, and regular Perfects. The minor points connected with either their formation or decay were not investigated. There is something, however, to be said about them; and, as one of them is connected with the history of the *Preterit*, it is convenient to consider the two Tenses together.

§ 350. *Origin of the -d in loved*, &c.—For the origin of the sign of the *Preterit*—the affix -ed, -d, or

-t—as for the origin of the sign of the Perfect, the Mæsothetic, and the Mæsothetic alone, has given us *data* of any notable value.

a. *Past Tense of the Indicative Mood.*

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Dual.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. Nasi-d-a	—	nasi-d-êdum
2. Nasi-d-ês	nasi-d-êduts	nasi-d-êdub
3. Nasi-d-a	—	nasi-d-êdum

b. *Past Tense of the Conjunctive Mood.*

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Dual.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. Nasi-d-êdjau	—	nasi-d-êdeima
2. Nasi-d-êdeis	nasi-d-êduts	nasi-d-êdeip
3. Nasi-d-êdi	—	nasi-d-êdeina

This gives us not only one -d, but two; and if we take the second -d in *nasidedum*, and connect it with the explanation of the second -d in *did*, the elements of a hypothesis emerge; and the notion that the -d in *loved*, originally one of the -d<sup>s</sup> in *nasi-dêd-um*, is an abbreviated and postpositive *did*, the Perfect of *do*, presents itself: and when we bring into our criticism such combinations as *I did love* from our own language; and such Tenses as *parlerai* and *parlero* from the French and Italian (=I have to speak=*loqui habeo*), neither the incorporation of the two words, nor the change of their place by transposition, presents any notable difficulties.

This doctrine, suggested rather than positively laid down by Grimm, has gained ground. More, however, will be said about it hereafter.

§ 351. *Incidence of the change when the reduplication is lost.*—When words like *τέτυφα* and *γέγραφα* are reduced to dissyllables by the loss of one of their consonants, which of the two is the lost one?

When from the earlier reduplicate *pepigi* we get the later and *non*-reduplicate form *pēgi*, which of the *p*<sup>s</sup> is lost and which retained? Is the initial *-p-* cut-off, or the *p* of the middle part of the word elided?

When we get, from the earlier reduplicate, *fe-feal* (*fe-feol* or the like), *feoll* (*fell* from *fall*), is it the *-f-* of the main word which is rejected, and the *f* of the initial reduplication preserved, or *vice versâ*? This is not a point on which we can decide, off-hand, by any general rule. A careful investigation may give us one of the alternatives in one word, and the other in another?

§ 352. I believe this to be the case in English. The *-h-* which is lost in *hight* (*hiht*) and *held* is the one which stood in the middle of the older word, or the radical one. The *h-* which is preserved is the one which stood at the beginning of the older word, or the *h* of the reduplication. But *h*, a mere aspirate, between two vowels, is not only a sound which is easily elided, but one which scarcely ever keeps its place. It by no means follows that, because in words like *hight* (*hiht*) and *held* the radical consonant (if *h* can so be termed) is elided, *b*, *p*, *t*, *d*, &c., or combinations like *sw*, *st*, *sk*, *sc*, or a triad of consonants like the *spr-* in *spring* should be elided also. Each sound should be considered on its own merits; i.e. its likelihood to keep its place or to lose it; and we know that no consonants, in this respect, are exactly in the same condition. The Semivowels are not very stable. The Palatals *k* and *g* have an inordinate tendency to change, and when they become *y* or *w*, or *h*, may comport themselves as the *h-* in *hight* (*hiht*) and *held*. The Continuous consonants may run into the Semivowels, especially *v* into *w*, and then come under the conditions of the pre-eminently unstable *h*. When we get to pairs of consonants like

*st, sk, gr, &c.*, and *à fortiori*, to such combinations as *spr-*, *scr-*, and the like, the chances of elision are reduced to a *minimum*: for it is manifestly easier to drop the non-radical prefix.

§ 353. Individually, I believe that it is this *non-radical* prefix of the reduplication which, as a general rule, is dropped; and that in those few instances where the elision of the radical consonant occurs, it is due to special causes, and is wholly exceptional. That so unstable a sound as that of *-h* between two vowels should drop out is natural, and that, out of the two vowels thus brought into contact, a single one, with mixed characters, and more or less diphthongal in character, should be developed, I hold to be part of the change. But I consider that the change is a rare one. If the vowels that are thus formed, i.e. by a process of contraction, are of that character that nothing but contraction of the kind under notice will account for, I must admit that, where they occur, they are evidence not only of reduplication, but of a previous elision of the radical consonant from the middle of the word, rather than the dropping of the reduplicate syllable at the beginning of it. This last I hold to be the ordinary and natural process, and, except where the consonant is of that unstable character that it is pretty certain of being elided, or the resulting vowel of that peculiar character which nothing less than contact and contraction would produce, I hold that this initial consonant is the one which, when the word was reduplicate, stood in the middle of it; that it now stands at the beginning, because the reduplication has been dropped; and, above all, that it is the original consonant of the root.

§ 354. The forms with which we have to deal in English are those wherein the reduplication has been

lost, so that the only difference between the Perfect and the Present is a change of vowel.

Of these changes there are two kinds.

(1) The first and oldest is that which we find in the Greek, Latin, and Mæso-Gothic, in words like *λέλοιπα*, *σέσηπε*, *τέθεικα*, *γέγραφα*—*peperi*, *pererci*, *fefelli*—*sai-slep*, *gae-grot*, *lai-lo* (= *slept*, *wept*, *laughed*). Here the change is, for aught we know to the contrary, as old as the reduplication itself; but that it is concurrent with the reduplication, and wholly independent of any process connected with the loss of it, is evident.

(2) The second is that which we found in the form *hight* (*hiht*) = *called*. Here the change is not so much concurrent with the reduplication as consequent upon it.

§ 355. In § 330 we may see that the first word in English in which the retention up to the present time of a fragment of the old system of the reduplication of the Perfect was detected was *did*: and that the second was *hight* (*hiht*). To these we now add *held*; in A. S. *heold*; in O. H. G. *hialt* (= *hei-halt*), in the present German *hielt*, in the M. G. *hai-hald*.

Upon *did* there is no remark to be made.

In *hight* (*hiht*) we find the second *-h-* still preserved in the spelling: and, as we know that this second *-h-* is not the *h* that is sounded, and that if it were not for the spelling it would be non-existent, the inference that, in one word at least, it is the radical sound of the middle of the word which is lost, and the *non-radical* sound of the beginning that is preserved, is unmistakeable.

That the same is the case in *held* is, perhaps, equally certain; although it is not so easily seen: for the second *h* is not preserved in the spelling; and, moreover, the *-ē-* is short. The German forms, how-

ever, *hialt* and *hielt*, remove any doubt upon this point.\*

§ 356. That in both these words it is the radical *-h-* that has disappeared, and the reduplicated *-h* that is retained, is generally admitted. The fact, however, is one which suggests questions which are by no means so clear. Thus—

(1) What are the details, and nature, of the process?

(2) What is its effect on the vowel; and

(3) How many words are there like *hight* and *held*?

(1) There are three processes by which a consonant in the position of the second *-h-* in *haihait* can be either displaced or eliminated altogether.

(a) The second *-ái-* may be dropped out; in which case the *h-* is brought into immediate contact with the final *-t*.

(b) The second *-ai-* and the second *-h-* may change places; in which case the word becomes *haiiht*. Either of these processes will give such forms as *héht*: and, in either case, the *-h-* is retained.

(c) The *-h-* may drop out altogether; in which case the word becomes *haiit*, and the radical *-h* is wholly eliminated.

(2) Each of these processes has a different effect on the vowel or vowels.

(a) That of the first is very simple in one respect;

\* In the following extract from Uhland's ballad 'The Blind King' it is used, as *held* would not be used in English, with the sense of '*has held*,' i.e. the sense of a Perfect rather than a Preterit.

O Sohn, der Feind ist Riesenstark,  
Ihm *hielt* noch keiner Stand;  
Und, doch, in Dir ist edles Mark,  
Ich fühl's am Druck der Hand.

very complex in another. So far as it reduces the two vowels to one it is very simple. So far, however, as it brings the middle consonant in contact with the final one, it is very complex: the chief complication being the identity of its results with the second process; or the one now coming under notice.

(b) It is clear, as has already been indicated, that whether, in a word like *haihait*, we merely transpose the second *ai* or eject it altogether, contact of the *-h-* and the *-t* is the result. So far, then, the action of the two processes is the same. In respect, however, to the *-ai-* of the first syllable the difference is considerable. If the second *-ai* be simply ejected the result is *haiht*. If transposition take place it is *haiiht*. But this brings two vowels in contact with one another, and where such contact occurs changes of some sort are to be expected: and this means that, except where the middle consonant is retained *in situ* or the second vowel is ejected altogether, this contact of vowels takes place, and, with it, the results in the way of change. The vowels may, of course, touch one another, like marbles in a bag, without cohering. But of these cases we take no heed; for they leave their verb with just as many syllables as it had in the beginning.

§ 357. When two vowels have become one the process may safely be called one of *contraction*. The prior process, however, which brings them together is not so simple. It may be the transposition (*Metathesis*), or it may be the absolute elision and elimination of the vowel. In a word like *lailaik*, the M. G. of *laikan*, transposition gives us *laiaik*; elision, *laiaik*; in each of which the vowels come together.

In this the two processes agree. But, in a much more important matter they are in diametrical opposition. When the consonant of the root has been *ejected*

it is got rid-of once and for ever. When it is only *transposed* it keeps its place. It may be subsequently ejected: but this is unimportant. Provided that any older stage of the language has transmitted to us a true instance of Metathesis the reality of one of the processes by which vowels become contracted is assured. Now, in the history of the verb *laikan*, we have such an instance.

§ 358. This, however, leads us to the following table, which is taken from March's *Comparative Grammar*, p. 81; and may be found, in substance, in Morris, *Outlines*, &c., § 265:—

Gothic *haldan*, hold, perf. *hâihald*; O. H. G. *halten*, *heialt* > *hialt* > *hialt*.

Gothic *stâutan*, strike, perf. *stâistâtut*; O. H. G. *stôzan*, *stêrôz* (*r* < *st*) > *steoz*, *stioz*.

Gothic *hâitan*, call, perf. *hâihât*; A. Sax. *hâtan*, *hêht* < *hêhât*.

Gothic *rêdan*, rede, perf. *râirôth*; A. Sax. *rêdan*, *reôrd* < *rêrôd*.

Gothic *lêtan*, let, perf. *lâilôt*; A. Sax. *lêtan*, *leôrt* (*r* < *l*, \* \* \*) < *lêlôt*.

Gothic *lâikan*, leap, perf. *lâilâik*; A. Sax. *lâcan*, *leôlc* < *lêlâc*.

A. Sax. *on-drêdan*, *on-drêord*,  
dread.

This gives in *re-ôrd* from *rai-rôth*, and *le-ôlc* from *lailak*, as good instances of transposition as we can expect. By the change, in *lailot*, of the second *-l* into *r-*, the evidence is not quite so clear. In *lêtan*, however, as well as in *drædan* and *stautan*, the change is in the way of Metathesis or Transposition. With *hêht* and *hialt* there is doubt: because *h* is not a consonant that retains its character through a change of position so well as the ordinary mute and liquids. It is a much more distinct sound in *ha*, *he*, *ho*, and *hu* than in *ah*, *eh*, *oh*, and *uh*, where it may change into a tone, an accent, a guttural *gh*, and what not? In England such a sound as *haht*, if the *h* and *a* changed



places, would ere long be sounded as *āte* or *ait*; in Scotland as *aght* or *acht*. In England it would die out altogether. In Scotland it might become *aw* or *af*, or the like—indeed, this is a matter that a Scotchman is better able to investigate than an Englishman. But in no case would it stand between the vowel of the reduplication and the vowel of the main word, and, by being wholly ejected, bring the two into contact, coalescence, or anything out of which a *tertium quid* could be developed. On the other hand, if there were no transposition, but merely the dropping of the second vowel, there would be nothing vocalic with which the vowel of the reduplication could come in contact. We cannot deal with transpositions like *aht* from *hat*, as with transpositions like *ord* from *rod*. Be this as it may, the *h* in *hight* (*hiht*) is not the *h* in *haihait* ejected. If it were it would have no place in the word at all. All we know of it is its relation to the final *-t*. How it stood in respect to its vowel we know not. It would be in contact with *-t* if it were transposed; and it would also be in contact with *-t*, if the vowel by which it was followed were dropped.

And this tells us that the statement hitherto made concerning *hight* (*hiht*) as (next to *-did*) the second Perfect in our language which was found to have retained its reduplication, is perhaps, to some extent, inaccurate. We find it in writing: and on paper it may be said to survive. But we have no knowledge as to what it was in *language*, or how it was sounded, or whether it was sounded at all. Hence, it is not so much an actual reduplicate as a word in which the evidence of its original reduplication is preserved. In *hialt*, *heialt* we have no *h* at all: and the probability that the *-h* really was elided is somewhat better. But it is clear with all the other words, that though we have un-

doubted examples of transposition, the word *held* is the only instance hitherto found of what we may call the elision of the radical consonant *in situ*; i.e. its ejection from its proper place between the vowel of the main word and the vowel of the reduplicational prefix; and even this may be reduced to either the loss of the second vowel or to reduplication, followed by the elimination of the *-h*. But with so unstable a sound the determination of the exact process of its ejection is unnecessary. Any change—almost no change at all—is sufficient.

§ 359. This is a long dissertation. But the list is an important one. Until lately most of us considered the so-called Strong Verbs as forms like *ἄλοιπα* or *πῆποιθα* minus the reduplication; and this is, probably, the view which presents itself in the first instance. But Professor March's list, with which Dr. Morris agrees, to say the least, disturbs it. It draws attention to the fact that in *hight* the initial *h* is that of the prefix. It shows that in *reord* and *leolc* we have a new element, that of transposition; and that in *hialt* we have, probably, the elision of the *h in situ*. By this the number of verbs wherein the consonant of the root has given way to the consonant of the prefix is increased; for, though *stautan*, *rédan*, and *laikan* are either obsolete or obsolescent, whilst *dread* is only used as a Preterit, the *l* in *let* is more likely to be the second *-l* in *lâilôt* than the first: and what may have happened to *lâilôt* may have happened to other words under similar conditions; the only difference between the two groups being that for one of them a *modicum* of evidence has been discovered, which has not been discovered for the other, and which, probably, though the changes may have taken place, never will be.

I am not, then, inclined to limit the number of the

Perfect forms in English wherein the initial letter represents the reduplication rather than the root, to the few individual instances for which a record of the change has come down to us. *H*, with its natural instability, may drop out anywhere. The semivowels, too, may drop out readily; though not so readily as *-h-*. With *-l-* and *-r-*, two of the Liquids, transposition begins; and—so far as our present evidence goes—ends. Other words beginning with the same sounds may have changed even as *raíróth* and *láilót* changed—or they may not. The two liquids under notice are, probably, more liable to transposition than the other consonants; and among the consonants some are more liable than others. Upon all this, when, by a wide induction, which has yet to be made, we know what conditions favour certain changes, and the extent to which one of them differs from another, we may, in default of special evidence, consider the probabilities of this word having for its initial the consonant of the root, or that word having for its initial the consonant of the reduplication. But here, I submit, we must stop; taking the old view that the initial consonant is the consonant of the root until reasons be given for the contrary.

§ 360. I have written at length upon this point because the question is a new one; because the difference between transposition and elision has not been sufficiently recognized; and, specially, because I think, either rightly or wrongly, that there is a tendency to invest the exceptional cases *heht*, *held*, *let*, &c., with something like the value of a rule, and to put forward the doctrine that the initial consonant is, at least, as often *non-radical* as radical—perhaps oftener—perhaps so often as to constitute the rule rather than the exceptions.

Whether this be the right interpretation of the

following extracts—where it is the two chief expounders of this doctrine that are quoted—is one matter; the accuracy of the doctrine itself is another. Whether this be the right interpretation of the expressed opinions of such influential writers as Professor March and Dr. Morris is a point upon which the reader must be the judge.

*Professor March writes—*

‘Traces of the *process of contraction* are found in the O. H. G., &c., in the following Anglosaxon words.’ \* \* \*

These are found in the list as it appears in the present work, p. 380. He continues :—

‘*The repeated consonants weaken, and finally fall out and let the vowels together.* In the Anglosaxon the first root consonant is saved by *metathesis* with the root vowel. These contractions at first gave rise to several different vowels and diphthongs found in O. H. German. Conformation in analogy with ablaut has brought them to a uniform *eō* or *ī* in Anglosaxon.’—*Comparative Grammar*, p. 81.

This ‘*process of contraction,*’ and these ‘*repeated consonants,*’ which, standing as they do between two vowels, are, manifestly, the consonants of the main word, certainly suggest something which is much more like an ordinary process of the language, with some scope and generality in its operation, than anything of the limited character indicated by the list of examples.

*Dr. Morris writes—*

‘In the Latin, Gothic, and O. E. forms the *vowel change shows that the initial letter of the root has gone, and the first consonant is the initial of the reduplicated syllable.* Thus, Latin *fugi* = *fu* + *fug-i* = *fu* + *ug-i*.

Thus we see the perfect of *facio* was probably formed : (1) *fa-fac-i*; (2) *fe-fic-i*; (3) *fei-ci*; (4) *feci*.

In languages of the Teutonic group we have even clearer examples of reduplication and of the loss of \* \* \* In our verb *held* the first *h* is the reduplicated letter. *The vowel e is the result of the union of the vowel of the reduplicated syllable with that of the root.*

*Outlines, &c., § 264.*

The list follows; in no essential respect different from that of Professor March: so that, as far as this goes, the *data* are the same with both writers.

Here, the vowel change is indicated as an instrument of criticism; being treated as evidence to the disappearance of the vowel of the *root*—i.e. not only to the fact of the loss of a reduplicate syllable, but to the change of vowel as connected with it. Here, however, new *data* are brought in; viz., the lengthening of the vowels in *fūgi* and *fēci* from *fū-fūgi* and *fē-fī-ci* in Latin. *Valeat quantum.*

All this applies exclusively to the cases where the radical consonant has disappeared, and, if there were no cases where the change of vowel is *concurrent* with the reduplication, the reasoning would be sufficiently cogent. But, with a language like the Greek, where the change of vowel and the concurrent persistence of the reduplication have lasted from the time of Homer to the present time, there is, to say the least, a great deal to set against it.

§ 361. *Amount of the Reduplication.*—How much of the fundamental verb, or theme, was taken to form a Perfect of which the reduplication is the characteristic? Was it that of the *whole* word, or only that of the beginning of it? Did the Greek *γράφω* and the Latin *momordi* arise out of *γραφ- + γραφ-*, and *mord- + mord-*, or only out of the initial consonants *γ-* and *m +* a connecting vowel? The first view may be the true one; but the reasons for its being so are by no means generally known and recognised; nor do they lie so much on the surface as to speak for themselves. It is certain, however, that there are degrees in the process. The Latin *spo-spondi* and the M. G. *stai-staut* repeat more of the fundamental verb than the Greek *τέτυφα*

and γέγραφα. The judgment in favour of the whole word being doubled, is founded upon an *a priori* view as to the probability of one out of two processes; and, so far as it discards the more artificial one, is sound. But still it is a view *a priori*: and this is so much as need be said about it.

§ 362. *The -d- in did, as the real or supposed sign of the Preterit.*—To those who have gone with sufficient care through the details of the question as to whether, in such or such a Perfect, the initial consonant is that of the root or that of the reduplication, and who also hold that the *-d* in *loved* is one of the *d'* in *did*, it must be clear that the same question must be gone into again.

The *-d* in *loved* is one of the *d'* in *did*. Which of them? The present writer is not aware that the question has been raised: neither has he any inclination to raise it. He rather recommends a suspension of judgment as to the doctrine which underlies it. Seen from one side only, the suggestion of Grimm (and it was only a suggestion), it is plausible. But it suits the Preterit (*I loved*) much better than the Participle (*I am loved*): and very little, if anything, has been done towards explaining the connection, if real; or accounting for the Participial *-d*, if we separate it from that of the Tense. The doctrine that the two must be separated is the recognised one; in which case the *-d* in *I am loved* is the *-t* of the Greek and Latin *t'* and *θ'* in such Past Passive Participles as *amatus* and *ποιηθείς*.

§ 363. *Quoth.*—This word, though obsolete, like *hight* (*hiht*) and *ycleped*, claims notice. It is pre-eminently the *Defective* word in our language. It is only found in one form: that of the Past Tense, and generally (if not exclusively) in the Third Person Singular. Moreover, it is followed, rather than pre-

ceded, by its Pronoun—*quoth-he*; and this, again, is sometimes reduced to *-a*—*quoth-a*; in which case the two words may be treated as a single one.

It is purely *Defective*; for it has no Complement: or, if it has one, the Complement is all on one side. We may indeed say that the forms wanting to *quoth* are made good by *say*; as *I say* = *I (queath)*; *he says* = *he (queaths)*, &c. But *say* itself is complete in all its inflections: so that there is nothing on the part of *say* for *queath* to make good.

This is Defect on its smallest scale: or reduced to its lowest terms; i.e. to a single form with a single power, and no Complement. Of the other extremes or Defect on a great scale, we get the best sample in the relations of the Strong and Weak Tenses, i.e. the Perfects and Preterits.

As an element in a compound it has as full and regular an inflection as any verb in the language, though with a change of meaning—*I bequeath, he bequeaths, bequeathed* (Preterit), *bequeathing, bequeathed* (Participle). In compounds, however, the Past Tense is a Preterit, whereas in the simple word it was a Perfect. And so it is with the Past Participles. The A. S. inflection was—*cwethan, cwethe, cwæth, gecweden* (as opposed to *bequeathed*).

§ 364. 'Am'—'Be'—'Was.'—These are what are called Auxiliary Verbs—and that rightly. They are not, however, the only ones; for *have, shall*, and others are also Auxiliary. Still the three under notice form a natural class. They are often called Irregular: and, in some sense, they are so. Their truer and better characteristic is the very conspicuous combination of Defect and Complement.

They are (1) *Am*, &c.; (2) *Be*; and (3) *Was*. Of these the second, with its forms *be, being, been* (and

the archaic *beest* = the Latin *es* and *sis*), has nothing exceptional.

In the third there is a slight amount of irregularity in the two obsolescent forms in *-t*—*wast* and *wert*.

The first demands more notice. It is the only verb in English which represents the Greek verb in *-μι*; and it varies so much in the form of its persons that without referring to the other Indo-European languages for intermediate forms we can scarcely believe that such words as *am*, *is*, and the Westsaxon *sind*, are all deducible from one root.

This root is *s* preceded by a Vowel, and all the changes it undergoes may be reduced to the four following processes:—

1. The omission of the vowel—Latin *sum* for *e-sum*.

2. The changes of *s*- itself—

a. Before the sign of a Person—as *ahmi* in *Zend*, *εἰμι* in Greek = *asm-i* in Sanskrit.

b. Into *r*-; as in *art* and *are* in English, and *ert* and *er* in Scandinavian.

Forms of the Latin *sum* = *esum*.

Sanskrit.	Latin.	Lithuanic.	Bohemian.	Servian.
<i>Asmi</i>	<i>sum</i>	<i>esmi</i>	<i>gem</i>	<i>yesam</i>
<i>Asi</i>	<i>es</i>	<i>esu</i>	<i>goy</i>	<i>yesi</i>
<i>Asti</i>	<i>est</i>	<i>esi</i>	<i>gest</i>	<i>jest</i>
<i>Smas</i>	<i>sumus</i>	<i>esme</i>	<i>gme</i>	<i>yesme</i>
<i>Stha</i>	<i>estis</i>	<i>este</i>	<i>gste</i>	<i>jeste</i>
<i>Santi</i>	<i>sunt</i>	—	<i>gsau</i>	<i>jesy</i>

§ 365. *Did and Became*.—These give us a nearer approach to true Irregularity (*Catachresis*).

They look like Perfects of the verbs *do* and *become*, respectively. But each has two meanings. *Did* may mean either the Latin *fecit* or the Latin *valuit* = *was competent*, or *adequate*, to something.



The Infinitive of *do*=*facere* was *don*, the Perfect *dide*; in German *thun*, Perfect *that*, Participle *gethan*. The Infinitive of *do*=*valeo* was *dugan*, the Preterit *dugede*. Hence, *Tugend* = *virtue*, and *tüchtich* = *doughty*. In Danish the verb *do* = *facio* is expressed by *gjøre* (*gar*), and there is nothing that corresponds with the English *do* and the German *thun*. But for the English =*valeo*, and the German *taugen*, the word *duge*, Preterit *dugede*, is the ordinary verb. In the literary Danish the *-g-* is elided, and *dugede det noget?* = *was it worth anything?* is pronounced *duede*, &c. In Norway the *-g-* is sounded. In like manner the Middle English gives such forms as *dow*, *deah*, &c.

*Mutatis mutandis*, the same applies to *became*. *Became* may mean *factum est*, or it may mean *convenit* = *suited*, *fitted*, *did credit to*, &c. The Infinitive of *become*=*facere* was *becuman*, the Perfect *becam*, in German *becommen*, *becam*. The Infinitive of *become* = *convenire* was *becweman*, the Preterit *becwemedede*; in German *bequemen*, Preterit *bequemedede*.

This use of a common Past Tense for two different Verbs is now no longer a vulgarism: though it is vulgar to say *the land was overflowed with water*. The tendency, however, to connect identical Preterits with different, but similar, Presents, is the same in both cases.

§ 366. *Mind and Minded*.—In *I mind my own business* the Verb is in the Present Tense, and it ends in *-d*. In *I minded my own business* it is in the Preterit Tense and has two *d*'s. The second according to any view is other than radical. But there is a point of view from which the first may be non-radical also; in which case the theme is not *min-d*, but *min* (*mun*, &c.), and the single *-d* as extraneous as the second *-d* in *mind-ed*.

*Mind, Own, and (Dare).*—*Own*, in the sense of *concede*, or *grant* (German *gönnen*), is sometimes placed in the same group with *shall*, *can*, &c.: but like *mind* its inflection is perfectly regular—*I own, he owns. It owned, owning, he has owned.* It is placed, however, as it has been, on account of its connection with *owe* and *own*, in the sense of *obligation* and *possession*. Nevertheless, the words are radically different.

The same applies to *dare*, whether we use it in the sense of the Latin *audere*, or *provoco* (= *challenge*). It has, however, been already noticed. But this was not so much on its own account as on account of its close connection with *durst*. In itself it is perfectly regular—*I dare, he dares. It dared, daring.*

§ 367. *Exceptions and Irregularities.*—Exceptions to rules are not always irregular; though the etymology of the word suggests that they should be. But rules may be unduly stringent, or less comprehensive than they should be. When they are so it is sometimes the fault of the grammarian; but oftener his misfortune. Of Language itself regularity is the foundation. But for the general purposes of Grammar we cannot divide and sub-divide, explain and refine, until rules defeat the object for which they were meant. If it were not so, the great achievement of a rule of some notable generality without an exception might be practicable. It is known, however, that there are but few of them. And this is why the present distinction is made. Irregularities, so far as they contravene certain rules, will always exist. But Irregularities which are wholly inexplicable, irreducible, and limited to individual instances are rare—perhaps non-existent.

Of *had* and *made* the older forms are *hæfde* and *macode*; the irregularity being limited to the ejection of the *-c-* and *-d-*.

In *could* (A. S. *cuþe*) the *-l-* is the *-l-* of *should* and *would*, foisted in by a false analogy.

*Went* and *go* are the Tenses of different verbs; the

former of *wend*=*turned*; so *went his way*=*wended (turned) his way*.

How little the ordinary Perfects and the Preterits like *sought* and *wrought* deserve the name of irregular has been seen. Even *could* is a piece of bad spelling rather than an irregularity of language—for, except under the influence of the printer, few of us pronounce the *-l-*.

§ 368. *Retrospect*.—We now have gone through the Conjugation of the Verb, and may repeat the process which was suggested by the Declension of the Noun.

The most we can get is—

(1) For Mood, Number, and Persons, the sound of *-s*; with *-z* or *-es* according to its phonetic relations—and this is Indistinctive (or rather *Non-distinctive*) as against the *-s* of the Possessive Singular, the Nominative Plural and occasional Possessive Plural.

(2) For the Present Participle *-ing*; with which the Verbal in *-ing* is Confluent.

(3) For the Perfect Participle *-en*; which has long ceased to be Operative, and is Obsolescent as a form.

(4) For the Perfect Tense there is change of Vowel; wholly obsolete as applied to new words, and obsolescent as a form; though going out more slowly than the Participle.

(5) For the Preterit Tense and Participle *-d*, *-t*, or *-ed*. These are in full force, but *Non-distinctive* in respect to one another.

Hence of those that are in operation the three forms in *-s* constitute the half; and these are *Non-distinctive*: the only two that are distinctive (*spoke* and *spoken*) being obsolete.

.Yet with all this the English Language may be measured against any one on the face of the earth for

flexibility and comprehensiveness. This is because it is rich in combinations which do the work of Inflections, and which sometimes convey distinctions to which even languages so Synthetic or Inflectional as the Greek and Latin are inadequate. As such they belong to Syntax ; and to Syntax these concluding remarks in the Etymological portion of our work lead us.

## P A R T I V.

## CHAPTER I.

SYNTAX AS OPPOSED TO ETYMOLOGY.—NAMES.—PROPOSITIONS.—CONCORD.—GOVERNMENT.—COLLOCATION.

§ 369. The word *Syntax* is derived from the Greek words *syn* (*with* or *together*) and *taxis* (*arrangement*). It relates to the arrangement or putting together of words. Etymology deals with the forms of single words; Syntax, with the combination of more words than one.

§ 370. The notice of the Compounds of a language leads from Etymology to Syntax; for it is clear that in expressions like *hot-headed* and *horn-blower*, &c., we have something more than an individual word, and, consequently, something which, in some sense, belongs to syntax. We have *two* words at least. In some cases, as in *midshipman*, &c., we have *three*. We also have them in a state of combination. The combination, however, constitutes but a single word.

§ 371. It is not always an easy matter to distinguish between two separate words and a Compound; a fact which has already been suggested. A crow is a *black bird*. It is not, however, a *bláckbird*. The best criterion is the accent. When the two words are equally accented, the result is a pair of separate words, connected with one another, according to the rules of Syntax: *the crow is a bláck bírd (nigra avis)*. When

the two words are *unequally accented* the result is a Compound, as the *blackbird is akin to the thrush (merula)*.

§ 372. In etymology we *decline* and *conjugate*; in syntax we *parse*. Parsing is of two kinds; logical and etymological. Logical parsing gives the analysis of sentences according to their terms and copulas, telling us which is the subject and which the predicate, which the chief, and which the secondary, parts of each. Etymological parsing gives the analysis of sentences according to the parts of speech of which they are composed. It tells us which is the noun, and which the verb, &c. It separates adjectives from substantives, pronouns from adverbs, and the like. It deals with numbers, cases, persons, &c.

§ 373. *Names*.—There are more than a million of persons in London, and each of these has a name. There are more than ten thousand towns and villages in England, and each of these has one also. There are more than fifty racehorses at Newmarket, no one of which is without its name. Yet London and Newmarket are only parts of England, and England is only a part of the world in general. Persons too, and towns, villages, and racehorses are mere fractions of the whole collection of the innumerable somethings, real or imaginary, of the universe. Have all these names? They have and they have not. They have not names in the way that the persons of London, the towns and villages of England, and the racehorses of Newmarket have. They have not names like *Thomas, Hammersmith, or Eclipse*. Nevertheless they have all names. The thousands of *Johns, Thomases, Janes, and Marys*, that occupy London, are all *persons, men, women, boys, girls, children*, as the case may be. The numerous *Hammersmiths, Newmarkets, &c.*, are all *places, towns, villages, hamlets, &c.*, as the case may be. The fifty

*Eclipses*, &c., at Newmarket, are all *horses*, *mares*, &c., as the case may be. The *Hammersmiths*, &c., constitute part of an indefinite collection of individual places, towns, or villages; the words *place*, *town*, *village*, being names for the class or collection thus constituted. The *Eclipses*, &c., of Newmarket, constitute part of an indefinite collection of individual horses, the word *horse* being a name for the classes to which these *Eclipses*, &c., belong. This leads us to a great twofold division of all names whatsoever; names being either *Individual* or *Common*.

§ 374. An *Individual* name is one which denotes a single object and no more. A *Common* name is one which denotes a whole class of objects.

Thomas is a single and particular individual of the class called *man*: *Julius Cæsar*, a single or particular individual of the class called *conquerors*. Or it may be that we look upon him rather as a *hero*. In that case he is an individual of the class of *heroes*. But whether he be a *conqueror*, a *hero*, or a *man*, he is still *Julius Cæsar*; for this is what he is as an individual, irrespective of the particular class under which it may please the speaker to place him, and independent of any class at all.

Examples of this sort may be given *ad infinitum*. The main point, however, to be remarked, remembered, and reflected on, is the following: *Common* names apply to things of which there may be more than one. *Individual* names apply to things of which there is one and no more.

There are many *towns*, but there is only one *London*; many *men*, but only one *Thomas*; many *conquerors*, but only one *Julius Cæsar*.

Individual names may, also, be called *proper* names, and there are many good writers who habitually call

them so, preferring the term *proper* to either *singular* or *individual*. The reason for this lies in the fact of individual names being *appropriated* or made *proper* to certain single individual objects to which they are exclusively attached.

Common names may also be called *general*; and there is no objection to the term. It is possible, indeed, that it may be the better one of the two.

§ 375. Individual names are essentially *singular*, and it is a common as well as true statement, that no *individual name can be plural*. A grammarian would say that *no proper name can be plural*. How, then, can we use such expressions as *both the Bostons are important sea-ports*, or, *as long as Mæcænases abound, Maros will be plentiful*—*Sint Mæcænates non deerunt, Flacce, Marones?*

The *Boston* in Lincolnshire is a different town from the *Boston* in Massachusetts; so, though the same combination of sounds or letters applies to both, it cannot be said that the same *name* is so applied. The same name is one thing; the same word applied to different objects is another. A name is only so far individual as it applies to some individual object. The two *Bostons*, however, are different objects.

The case of *Mæcænas* and *Virgil* is different. Here there are but two individuals; one *Mæcænas*, and one *Virgil*. But the famous *Mæcænas* is something more than the particular patron of *Virgil*. He is the sample, type, or representative of *patrons in general*. *Virgil*, in like manner, is something more than the particular poet patronised by *Mæcænas*. He stands for *poets in general*. Hence, the meaning of the Latin line, and of the English sentence that preceded it, is this:—*As long as there are men like Mæcænas, there will also be*



*men like Virgil.* But a man like Mæcenas is a patron, and a man like Virgil a poet. Hence—*As long as there are patrons there will be poets also.*

§ 376. We now come to four new terms, that mutually illustrate each other. They run in pairs—(1 and 2), *Substance* and *Attribute*; (3 and 4), *Abstract* and *Concrete*.

Take (for instance) an orange. It strikes our senses. We see with our *eyes* that it is more or less *round*, i.e. that it is endowed with the *property or quality of roundness*. We see, too, that it is more or less *yellow*, i.e. that it is endowed with the *property or quality of yellowness*. We see that it is more or less *smooth*, i.e. endowed with the *property or quality of smoothness*. Our eyes tell us all this; the sight being the sense by which our belief as to the properties in question is conveyed to us. They tell a great deal more; but this it is unnecessary to enlarge on.

On the strength of all this we say that an orange is *round, yellow, smooth, capable of exciting sounds, fragrant, sapid, elastic, &c.*

When we say that an orange is this, we *attribute* to it certain properties, or qualities. What are they? The qualities, or properties, of *roundness, yellowness, smoothness, sonorousness, fragranciness, sapidity.*

And how do we speak when we say that we do so? It is convenient to begin with saying how we do *not* speak. We do *not* say that an *orange has the property of round, yellow, smooth, &c.* On the contrary, we say that it has the property of *round-ness, yellow-ness, smooth-ness, &c.*

So much for the attributes of an *orange*; at least, for some of them. The attributes of a *guinea, a loaf, a man, a fish*, or anything else, may be considered in the same way. They are, of course, when taken

altogether, different from those of an orange. The principle, however, of considering them is the same.

Let us now suppose that all these attributes are, one by one, taken away, *and replaced by others*; that instead of an orange striking our eyes and sense of touch as round, it strikes them as square, or rhomboid; that it loses its fragrance and becomes fetid; that it sounds like a bell, and tastes like a loaf of bread. Would the object still be an orange? Would it not be something else? This leads to the question of the *essential* attributes or *essences* of things. We need not mind them for the present; but may turn our thoughts in a somewhat different direction.

Divest the orange of all its attributes *without supplying it with new ones*. What will it be then? Take away its original colour without replacing it by any fresh one. Let it lose its softness without becoming hard, its roundness without becoming of any other form. Annihilate its weight, taste, and smell. Let it have no means of appealing to eye, ear, taste, smell, or touch, so that it become, at one and the same time, impalpable, invisible, imperceptible. What will it be then? Will it be anything at all?

What becomes of the attributes? We have seen that they were taken away. What was done with them? They were taken away *separately*, and it is separately that they are put aside. *Roundness and yellowness* no longer go together. Each is in its own place; and that is a place by itself. No link now unites them; the orange in which they met being no more.

But we may unite them afresh; say in the idea of a golden ball, a guinea, a full moon, &c. And we may, also, separate them, again and again. United, they give the idea of an object clear, palpable, sensible.

Separated, or abstracted from those objects, they do nothing of the kind. Yet the mind takes cognizance of them. The idea of the particular attribute of yellowness, abstracted from an orange, is not much more difficult than the idea of the orange *minus* the attribute of yellowness. It is merely a case of difference and remainder; the additions and subtractions being made unconsciously and instinctively.

What becomes of the orange? Is it annihilated by the abstraction of its attributes one and all? Few are prepared to say *yes* to that question. Few divest themselves of the notion that sensible, and material, objects are nothing more than the combination of certain properties, qualities, and attributes, each and all of which may be removed in such a way as to leave an absolute nothing. We rather imagine that, where there are certain attributes in union, there is a certain link which connects them; a basis, or foundation, which supports them; a basis, or foundation, different from the attributes themselves, but upon which they rest.

§ 377. This *something* supports them. This something stands *under* them. This something is the *substance*, or *understanding*, of objects opposed to, and contrasted with, their *attributes*. Now Concrete terms are the names of Substances; whilst Abstract terms are the names of Attributes; e.g. :—

ABSTRACT.		CONCRETE.
<p>Brightness, Heat, Light, &amp;c. Mortality, Vitality, Animality, Solidity, Resistance, &amp;c. Fluidity, &amp;c.</p>	<p>} are Attributes of the Substances</p>	<p>Sun. Fire. Spark. Animal. Man. Horse. Wood. Stone. Water.</p>

*Vice Versâ.*

CONCRETE.		ABSTRACT.
<i>The Sun, Moon, Stars, &amp;c. Man, Horse, &amp;c.</i>	} are Substances with the Attributes	{ <i>Brightness. Heat. Warmth. Mortality. Animality.</i>

§ 378. *Variable and Invariable, Relational and Notional, Names.*—Besides being either Proper or Common, and Abstract or Concrete, names are Invariable or Variable.

Words like *stone, tree, man, &c.*, denote certain objects which constitute a class including an indefinite number of individuals. To any of these the name may apply; but we cannot apply it to an object belonging to a different class. It is nonsense to call a *tree* a *stone*, or a *stone* a *tree*. Each name applies to the individuals of a certain group, and, as it cannot be applied otherwise, it is an *invariable* name.

All names, however, are not invariable. The word *I*, for instance, is *variable*. It changes its meaning with the person speaking. When William says *I*, it means William; when John says *I*, it means John. So, again, with *you*—it denotes the person to whom I happen to be speaking at the moment; but the next moment I may alter its meaning by speaking to someone else. The same applies to *that, this, these*, and several other words.

If a *mother* say *I*, it means a *mother* and a *female*; if a *father* say *I*, it means a *father* and a *male*. Even if an inanimate object be personified and be supposed to speak about itself and to say *I*, it means that inanimate object. It denotes the speaker, whoever he may be; but it is not the invariable name of any speaker whatever. Or, it denotes the object spoken of, what-

ever it may be; but it is not the invariable name of any object whatever. The word *this* means a *table*, when the speaker is talking of *tables*; a *dog*, when he is talking of *dogs*, &c.

Why are Pronouns *Variable*? The answer to this lies in the meaning of the word *Attribute*. An *Attribute*, as we have seen, is some property that we separate, or *abstract*, from a substance. It may be a permanent or inherent one, like the weight, colour, or form of a material object; or it may be a fundamental or characteristic one, like the power of growth in a vegetable or an animal. But it may also be one which has no fixed or permanent character whatever; and may apply to an object only so far as it is in a certain relation to the speaker, or to something spoken about. Thus the word *I*, by which Thomas calls himself when he is speaking to John, means Thomas only so long as Thomas speaks of himself. When he is addressed by John, he is addressed as *thou* or *you*; and, so long as John addresses him, that is his name. It is, of course, his name only so long as John uses it; but it is his name *for the time being*. When Thomas addresses John, the two names change their application, and *I* means Thomas, *thou* John. Again, when, with two oranges lying before me, at different distances, I call one *this* and the other *that*, the meaning, import, or application of the two words is reversed when I change their places. Still, they are names *for the time being*.

Now names of this kind depend on the *Relations* of the objects to which they apply; and as *Relations* change, the import of the name changes with them. Hence, they are *Variable* in respect to their application, and *Pronominal* as Parts of Speech.

The permanent *Attributes* of an object are called

its *Qualities*. As names they are called *Notional*, as Parts of Speech they are *Substantival*.

*Number* is a Relation rather than a Quality; and hence the Numerals are Pronouns.

§ 379. *Nouns*.—‘*Names*’ and ‘*Nouns*.’—The word for Noun is, in French, *nom*. It is the Latin *nomen*; which means *name*. Hence, the two words are the same in respect to their derivation. But the word *Name* is a current English word; used by every Englishman who has a name, which means by everybody. *Noun*, on the other hand, is a word used in a limited sense; or mainly, if not exclusively, in Grammar only. This suggests that the two forms may not, in all cases, bear the same meaning; and such is the case. As words of the same origin they are the same. As words of *similar* meaning they are also the same. But, whether they are words of the *same* meaning has now to be considered.

§ 380. *Adjectives as Names; and Abstracts as Substantives*.—For the purposes of Grammar it is best to consider an Adjective as a part of a name, an element of a name, a word which suggests a name, but which is not a name itself.

‘Adjectives are very improperly called Nouns; for they are not the names of things. The adjectives *good* and *white* are applied to the Nouns *man*, *snow* to express the qualities belonging to those subjects: but the names of those qualities in the abstract, considered in themselves, that is, without being attributed to any subject, are *goodness*, *whiteness*, and these are Nouns or Substantives.’

This is the opinion of Bishop Lowth, and I am not aware that, in respect to its assertion of what we call the *non-nominal* character of Adjectives, it has ever been denied. It has certainly never been refuted. It has *not* affected the ordinary vocabulary of the grammarian; nor is it necessary that it should do. All that

is necessary is that the word *Noun* should not be absolutely, and in every respect, identified with the word *Name*.

That words like *good* and *white* are not Names after the manner of *goodness* and *whiteness*, and that words like *goodness* and *whiteness* are Names, is true. But it does not follow, because *goodness* and *whiteness* are both Names and Nouns, that they are, also, *Substantives*. It is certain that if we take the word *Substantive* in its etymological sense they are *not* *Substantives*. A word like *stone*, *gold*, or *man*, &c., is one which implies *many* Qualities; or, at least, more than one. It is *heavy*, or *hard*, or *yellow*, or *mortal*, and what not? and *heavy*, and *hard*, and *yellow* are words which suggest the names *heaviness*, *hardness*, or *yellowness*, as the names of this or that Quality.

After saying that a *stone is heavy*, or that *gold is yellow* (which is merely saying that a *stone is a heavy thing*, or that *gold is a yellow thing*), the question repeats itself. What are words like *heavy* and *yellow*? They are *parts* of the name *heavy thing* or *yellow thing*. But a part of a name is not a name. That the missing part can always be supplied in thought is certain: and as this is the case, the words under notice are very good names for the purposes of Logic. But in Grammar the difference between *white* and *white thing* is a wide one.

The fact is that words like *stone* and *gold* are the names of objects that, besides the single quality of *heaviness* and *yellowness*, have others. When we call any object a *stone*, or *gold*, the name implies more qualities than one; and of these the most characteristic determines the name. *This* name is a *Substantive*; because something intangible, invisible, and, to our senses, wholly inappreciable, is supposed to lie at

the bottom of these several qualities (to *stand under them*) and to combine them into a unity. But each separate quality has no such substance about it.

So far as their Declension goes, Abstract Nouns are Substantival rather than either Pronominal or Adjectival; and, such being the case, they are Substantives for the purposes of ordinary grammar. There are cases, however, where the difference between the true Substantive with many Attributes combined, and the Abstract Noun, which is the name for a single Attribute isolated, is something more than a mere point of derivation.

§ 381. *Pronouns as Names and as Substantives.*—So far as their Declension goes, *Pronouns* are other than Substantival. In English they are (or were) Adjectival; or, *vice versâ*, the Adjectival Declension was Pronominal. But there are languages in which the Adjective, in its Declension, agrees with the Substantive. In respect to their import *Pronouns* may stand for either a true Substantive (as *this stone, that tree*) or for an Abstract (as *this bashfulness surprises me, that boldness daunted me*). They are Names in both cases. But they are not names like either *stone* and *tree*, or *bashfulness* and *boldness*. A *stone* always means a *stone* as opposed to a *tree*; and *bashfulness* can never be converted into *boldness* by merely shifting the places of the objects to which the two words apply; as we can do by calling them *this* and *that*.

This, of course, is founded on the fact of the *Pronoun* being a name determined by the *Relations* of an object which are changeable; whilst Substantival and Abstract Names are founded upon an Attribute of a more permanent kind—and *Quality*. Hence, the peculiarity of a *Pronoun*, as a name, lies in the fact of its being changeable, temporal, ephemeral, or whatever



we choose to call it. Still it is a name *for the time being*—and, as such, though it differs from the true Substantive and the Abstract in its Declension, it agrees with them in the part it takes in the structure of Propositions.

§ 382. *Many-worded Names*.—We have seen how, in cases of *Composition*, two names may be treated as one: e.g., *rose-tree*, *sun-dial*, &c. In *midshipman* we have three. How much farther we can go in this direction may be seen from the following manipulation of such a word as *fire*:—

*Fire burns.*

1. Prefix the definite article.—*The fire burns.*
2. Insert an adjective.—*The bright fire burns.*
3. Add an adverb.—*The very bright fire burns.*
4. Add a participle, and convert *bright* into its corresponding adverb.—*The very brightly-burning fire burns.*
5. Introduce a second substantive, showing its relations to the word *fire* by means of a preposition.—*The very brightly-burning fire of wood burns.*
6. Insert *which* after *fire*, followed by a secondary proposition.—*The very brightly-burning fire which was made this morning of wood burns.*
7. Add another secondary *proposition* relating to *wood*.—*The very brightly-burning fire which was made this morning out of the wood which was brought from the country burns.*
8. Add another secondary proposition by means of a conjunction.—*The very brightly-blazing fire which was made this morning out of the wood which was brought from the country, because there was a sale, &c., burns.*

It is clear that processes like this may be carried on *ad infinitum*, so that a sentence of any amount of complexity will be the result. Notwithstanding all this, the primary and fundamental portion of the term is manifestly the word *fire*.

These give us *many-worded names*.

§ 383. *Propositions*.—Names which belong as

much to '*Etymology*' as to '*Syntax*,' lead us to *Propositions* which belong wholly to '*Syntax*.'

The Proposition of the Grammarian is a much wider one than that of the Logician; and it is not the Grammarian that has extended it. The Grammarian simply takes it as he finds it in Language, and with no limitations except those that lie within the domain of Language itself. The Logician, on the other hand, takes but one sort of Proposition; and he thus limits himself, because it is for one, and for one particular purpose only, that he uses it—the purpose of ratiocination.

The one main argument which may be opposed to the views here put forward is the doctrine favoured by many grammarians that all sentences ought to be reduced to the logical form, consisting of a subject, predicate, and copula. That this view of language is all-important for the syllogism, and, consequently, for argument, is admitted; but it is not admitted that the first object in the formation of language was argument. Earlier and more pressing objects were to enunciate facts and to give commands.

In truth the process by which the logician forces (for it is often sheer force) every sentence into his favourite form, so as to exhibit the so-called substantive verb, is altogether artificial; and not a little harm has been done to grammar by regarding language too much from the logician's point of view. *Key: Language, its Origin and Development*, 187—p. 16.

The essential character of the Grammarian's Proposition is the fact of its having two elements; one of which tells us *what it is that we speak about*, and the other what it is that *we say about it*. If we say *I walk*, the name of the object spoken about is given in the word *I*; while *walk* tells us what the object expressed by *I* does. In *who walks?* we have exactly the same elements. The Proposition, however, instead of saying *who* does anything, asks *what* some one does? Nevertheless, *who* is as good an element in the proposition as *I*. It means *somebody I wish to learn something*

*about.* Of course, this is implied rather than directly conveyed. In a command like *walk!* there is the same amount of implied meaning. But we know who or what is spoken about; for it is the person addressed. He has no explicit, or separate, name; but he has a reality as the Subject of the Proposition; and from the word *walk* we know what is said about him. Now, of these three Propositions the logician excludes both the Question and the Command; for the only Proposition that he cares for is that in which something is either affirmed or denied. Upon this he can argue, but he cannot do so upon Commands or Questions, though in both there is something said about something or somebody, and also something, or somebody, about which something is said.

§ 384. *The Copula.* — Whether this ‘*something said*’ be said in the way of Affirmation or Denial is all that the Logician enquires; and, for this, he takes a third element into his proposition—the *Copula*. He might, perhaps, dispense with it, for he might assume that, unless there were anything to the contrary, two words in apposition would be in the Affirmative. Thus *weather hot* would = not *not-hot*. But he wants something more explicit than this. He wants a word; and language supplies him with ‘*is*.’ But before he can use it as a copula he has to limit its import in one direction, to enlarge it in another, and to recognize in it little more than its opposition to ‘*is not*.’

Now, whatever may be the Copular element in Language it is widely different from a word that merely says ‘*Yes*’ or ‘*No*’; respecting such or such a statement, for though it does this with certain modifications of its own natural import, it does it with superadded notions of Mood, Tense, and Person, of which the logician divests it.

On the other hand, however, the technical language of Grammar is founded on that of Logic; and that to such an extent that the logical proposition has assumed the character of the philological one. In the present work it will occasionally be necessary to use the word '*Copula*.' But in most cases it perplexes and misleads the grammarian more than it helps him.

§ 385. *Subjects and Predicates*.—On the other hand, the logical terms '*Subject*' and '*Predicate*' are indispensable.

The object concerning which we make an assertion is called the *Subject*. *Man, summer, winter, &c.*, are Subjects; and we can assert of them that they are *mortal*, or *warm*, or *cold*, &c.; or the contrary.

The assertion made concerning any object, or concerning the subject of our discourse, is called the *Predicate*. *Mortal, warm, cold, &c.*, are Predicates: and we can speak of certain things as *mortal, warm, cold*, or the contrary.

The following words, amongst many others, are capable of forming, *by themselves*, Subjects:—

man	bow	wealth	ox	pen	atmosphere
mother	fishing-rod	length	ass	ink	firmament
daughter	hunter	fire	bird	virtue	sky
horse	shooter	water	egg	vice	essence
dog	book	soul	winter	apple	truth, &c.

The following words, amongst many others, are capable of forming, *by themselves*, Predicates:—

good	deep	shooting	hot	fatherlike	moved
great	happy	laughing	cold	bodily	beaten
red	womanly	conquered	strong	essential	sifted
weak	atmospheric	drifted	weak	important	buried, &c.

There is no subject without its corresponding predi-

cate; no predicate without its corresponding subject; and without both a subject and predicate there is no such thing as a proposition. Without propositions there are no questions, commands, or declarations; and without these, there would scarcely be such a thing as language. The little which there would be would consist merely of exclamations like *oh! ah! pish, &c.*

(a) The words in Italics ('*by themselves*') claim special attention.

There are plenty of words which can form *parts* of a Subject or of a Predicate; but a *part* is one thing, a *whole* another.

Thus—the Articles *a* and *the* can form a part of a Subject like *the man*; *a man*; and so can *bravely*, as *he is fighting bravely*, part of a Predicate.

Words like *with* and *from* can do the same; but they must stand between two Nouns—as *he is with me*; *it is from heaven, &c.*

Also words like *and* and *or*; but they must connect two Subjects—as *this and that*; *John or Thomas, &c.*

There is, also, one class which can form not only a Predicate, but something more; as *I live*=*I am living, &c.*

(b) Again—nothing has been said whether words which can form a Subject can, or can *not*, form a Predicate as well; and *vice versâ*.

(c) Thirdly—concerning words that form a Predicate *and something more*, no notice has been taken at all. These two questions, like the first, belong to the examination of the '*Parts of Speech.*'

§ 386. *Declarations — Commands — Questions.*—These are the three leading classes of Propositions in philology.

(a) In the first—which is the chief one—the Subject (as a rule) *precedes* the Predicate, as *He is brave, &c.*

(b) In Imperative propositions the Subject when expressed (as in *walk thou!*), for the most part, follows it. But it is generally omitted; as *walk!*

(c) In Interrogative Propositions the Subject and Predicate are *transposed*; as *What is man? Who are you?*

§ 387. This must be understood to be written solely and wholly with the view of showing how thoroughly the Commands and Questions, in Language, must not only be recognised, but the extent to which, in the way of arrangement, order, or collocation, they have a Syntax of their own, as opposed to that of the Declaratory Propositions. Before we can make '*Walk!*' a Predicate, we must reduce it to '*Be thou walking;*' whilst in '*What is Man?*' the Substantive Verb, with its place between the Subject and the Predicate, is, except so far as it is used in a Question, exactly the same as the ordinary logical copula. In the answer '*Man is mortal*' the logical and philological forms are identical. This requires explanation; and it will be given as we proceed.

The Declaratory, the Imperative, and the Interrogative Propositions are the chief ones. But in sentences like *How well you look!* and *Would I could*, we have the two elements—here held to be both essential to a Proposition and necessary to its constitution. If they were more important, it might be necessary to say more about them. I do not, however, see how we can deny them the rank of Propositions; though Propositions of a maimed and incomplete character.

§ 388. *Parts of Speech.* — '*Noun,*' '*Pronoun,*' '*Verb,*' '*Participle (Declined),*' '*Adverb,*' '*Preposition,*' '*Conjunction,*' '*Interjection (Undeclined).*'—Such are the '*Parts of Speech*' in the older *Latin* Grammars, or, at least, in some of them. In Greek the *Article* is added. Sometimes the Participle (half Adjective, and half Verb) is omitted, and, sometimes, the *Noun* is divided into the *Substantive*, and *Adjective*. But this distinction between the *Declined* and the *Undeclined* is natural, and the sequence is unexceptionable;

while, in respect to the classes themselves, the *Nouns*, &c., are still what they were, and still, as they always were, the same in English as in Greek and Latin.

But the tests by means of which we distinguish a *Noun* or an *Interjection* from anything else have changed. The *Syntax* of every language depends on its *Etymology*, and we have seen what the character of the *Etymology* in English really is. It is that of a highly Analytic language—the most Analytic in the world—as contrasted with that of the Latin, the Greek, and the Sanskrit, the typical representatives of the Synthetic stage.

The French is nearly as Analytic as the English. But compare the Adjectives of the two languages. The English are wholly destitute of any true Inflection. The French has not only *le bon père* = *the good father*, but *la bonne mère* = *the good mother*; not to mention the distinction between the Articles. In Latin *bonus pater* = *good father*; *bona mater* = *good mother*; *bonum telum* = *good weapon*. Meanwhile the plural runs *boni patres*, *bonæ matres*, *bona tela*. The Frenchman who said *bon mère* or *bonne père* might be accused of making a false concord; inasmuch as he would join an adjective in one gender to a substantive in another. No Englishman can possibly commit an error of this kind; because in the word *good* there is no change at all, and because, in English, we say *good father*, *good mother*, *good thing*, *good fathers*, *good mothers*, and *good things* indifferently.

The same applies to the articles. In French there are the forms *un* and *une* = *a* (or *an*); along with *le*, *la*, *les*, meaning *the*. Meanwhile, the German says *der*, *die*, *das*, *einer*, *eine*, *eines*, where the Englishman says simply *the* and *a* (or *an*). Of course, then, the details

of the syntax of the article must be simpler in English than in German.

But the Greek gives us the extreme contrast. For every Inflection in English, the Greek has scores—each of which is an outward and visible mark of the place of the word in the language.

The equivalent to these in English is the place that each word takes in the structure of a Proposition.

Some parts of speech can form terms *by themselves*. Others can only form *parts* of terms. This distinction, which is here repeated, should be specially attended to.

§ 389. *Details*.—The pronoun and the substantive.

The pronoun and the substantive can, *by themselves*, form *either* the subject or the predicate. They are both *names*. But the pronoun is a *convertible*, the substantive an *inconvertible* one.

The adjective and the participle can, *by themselves*, form the predicate of a proposition. The participle differs from the adjective in implying a corresponding verb.

The *finite* verb can form *both* the predicate and the copula.

The adverb can form no term by itself, but can, when associated with a verb, a participle, or an adjective, form *part of one*.

The preposition can form no term by itself, neither can it without *two* terms capable of doing so. It connects the two by *government*.

The conjunction can form no term by itself, neither can it (with a few exceptions) enter *into* a proposition at all. Its presence implies two propositions *between* which it finds place, and which it either connects or disconnects.

The affirmative and negative words ‘*Yes*’ and ‘*No*’



can, *by themselves*, constitute a proposition. But they always imply, and depend upon, a previous one.

Have you done this? *Yes.*

Have you done this? *No.*

The interjection neither forms nor enters into a proposition.

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## CHAPTER II.

CONCORD—GOVERNMENT—PLEONASM—ELLIPSIS—PERSONIFICATION.

§ 390. *The Concords.*—Concord is derived from the Latin word *concordia*, and signifies *agreement*.

The word *man* is the name of a male, and, in respect to its gender, is masculine. The word *she* relates to a female, and in respect to its gender, is feminine. We do not, when speaking of the same person, say I saw the man and *she* saw me; or I saw *him* and *she* saw me. If we do, there is a *discordance* in the matter of *Gender*. On the other,

I saw him and he saw me,

I saw her and she saw me,

are concords; and, as there are more kinds of concords than one, this is called the concord of *gender*.

The other concords will be noticed in their details as we proceed. But a general view of their nature and numbers may be given now.

If I say *I saw these man*, or *I saw this men*, there is a discord. *This man* and *these men* are the true combinations. Here we have a concord of *Number*.



If I say *I sees John*, there is a discord in the way of *Person*.

If I say *he is him*, there is a discord of case. The true combination is *he is he*. This gives us a concord of *Case*.

If I say *I do this that I might gain by it*, or *I did this that I might gain by it*, this is a *discord*. The right expression is either *I did this that I might gain by it*, or *I do this that I may gain by it*. This gives us a concord of *Tense*. This is not generally recognized as a concord, but it evidently is one.

§ 391. *Apposition*.—In expressions like *George, King of England*, we must notice—

1. That the words *King* and *George* are in the same case.

2. That they denote the same object. The word *George* applied to that particular monarch means the same person as the *King* of England; and the words *King of England* applied to the same monarch mean the same person as *George*.

3. That they explain each other. If we say simply the *King of England*, we do not sufficiently explain ourselves; since we may mean a *Henry*, an *Edward*, or a *William*. And if we say simply *George*, we do not sufficiently explain ourselves; since we may mean any person in the world whose name is *George*. But if we say *George, King of England*, we explain what *king* and what *George* is meant.

Words that thus explain each other, mean the same thing, and are in the same case, may be said to be *placed alongside of each other*, or to be in *apposition*. The Latin word *appositio* means *putting by the side of*. The following are specimens of apposition:—*Solomon, the son of David*.—*Cræsus, King of Lydia*.—*Content, the source of happiness*.—*John's the farmer's wife*.—

*Oliver's the spy's evidence.—Cæsar, the Roman emperor, invades Britain.*—Here the words *Roman emperor* explain, or define, the word *Cæsar*; and the sentence, filled up, might stand, *Cæsar, that is, the Roman emperor, &c.* Again, the words *Roman emperor* might be wholly ejected; or, if not ejected, they might be thrown into a parenthesis. The practical bearing of this fact is exhibited by changing the form of the sentence, and inserting the conjunction *and*. In this case, instead of one person, two are spoken of, and the verb *invades* must be changed from the singular to the plural. Now the words *Roman emperor* are said to be in apposition to *Cæsar*. They constitute, not an additional idea, but an explanation of the original one. They are, as it were, *laid alongside (appositi) of the word Cæsar*. Cases of doubtful number, wherein two substantives precede a verb, and wherein it is uncertain whether the verb should be singular or plural, are decided by determining whether the substantives be in apposition or the contrary. No matter how many nouns there may be, so long as it can be shown that they are in apposition, the verb is in the singular number, provided that the main noun is also singular.

§ 392. Apposition is, manifestly, a Concord. Nor is it the last of them. The Concord between the *Subject and the Predicate*, though of less importance in English than in most other languages, requires notice.

The Predicate invariably agrees with the Subject in Case; and, as the Subject is always Nominative, the Predicate is Nominative also. There is no exception to this Concord: though there is no construction in which it is more disguised. It is only when the Subject and Predicate are connected by the Verb *is*, or some allied word, that it is seen at once—*he is brave, we are tired, they are soldiers, &c.*

Here, although the Nominative Case has no proper sign, we see that *brave, tired, and soldiers* are in the same case as *he, we, and they*: and if we translated the sentences into Latin we should write *ille est fortis; nos sumus fessi, illi sunt milites*. Nor could we see how any other Case would be tolerable. The truth is that this Concord, like all the others, is a natural one; indeed, it would not be a Concord if it were the contrary.

But between knowing that this is the construction, and calling the process by its right name, there is a difference. That the Noun which follows the Substantive Verb as a Predicate is in the Nominative Case, and that the Subject is the same, we know. But the ordinary way in which we teach it is that it is a process of *Government*. Sometimes the formula is special; i.e. to the effect that Verbs Substantive *govern* a Nominative Case. Sometimes it is invested with something like generality, and becomes '*Verbs Substantive are followed by the Case by which they are preceded.*' Of course, when it is the Subject that precedes, its case is the Nominative. The fact is true enough: but the notion that it is an instance of Government is a misconception.

The origin of this error lies in the great extent to which Verbs are what we may call a *governing* class. They are best represented by those of the Transitive division, and every one of these *governs* some case or other; and that an Oblique one. Other Verbs are supposed to do the same; and the result is that such a genuine *Concord* as that of the Subject and Predicate gets described as an instance of Government; which is the reverse of Concord rather than a form of it.

§ 393. *Government*.—Concord means what its name denotes; *agreement* in certain points between any two words of which number, gender, &c., have been the chief. The effect of all concords is to keep such words in the same grammatical place as they were.

*Government* or *Regimen* puts each word out of two in a *different* place. Thus in *I strike him*, while *I* is in the nominative case, and *strike* in the corresponding person, *him* is in the objective case, and, so being, agrees with neither of them.

The chief forms of government are :

1. Government of a noun by a noun, as the *father's son*.

2. Government of a noun by a verb, as *I strike him*.

3. Government of a noun by a preposition, as *the father of the son*; *speak to me*.

4. Government of a verb by a conjunction or a relative pronoun, e.g. :

*He strikes me* :—if *he strike me*, *I shall strike again*.

*The man who did this shall die*, whosoever *he* be— which is generally considered to be better grammar than *the man who did this shall die*, whosoever *he* is.

§ 394. *Collocation*.—The order or arrangement of the words of a sentence is in English a matter of more than ordinary importance; and it is easy to see why it should be so. In languages, like the Latin, where the inflections are numerous, words like *bonus dominus* or *pulchra filia* may be placed far apart from one another, and so may words like *milites pugnans*, or *pueri ludite*, and thousands of others in similar circumstances. This is because in the terminations *-us*, *-a*, we have certain outward and visible signs of gender, and these show that the words in which they occur agree with one another in that respect. And the same is the case with *-es*, *-i*, *-nt*, and *-ite*, except that the agreement here is in the way of number, and it is number of which these syllables are the signs. But

in English, where the adjectives have no signs of anything at all, or, in other words, no inflection, while the remaining parts of speech have but few, no such latitude is admissible. Hence, words which agree with one another must, as a general rule, be kept in one another's neighbourhood.

These are the three chief heads under which the great majority of the rules of syntax may be arranged. There are none of them of an abstruse character; indeed, the class of concords is so thoroughly a matter of common sense that, at the first view, it seems scarcely worth explanation; for it is clear enough that in the concords of number, gender, case, and person, the two words in agreement are really two names of the same object, and such being the case, *must*, in both cases, be of the same gender, number, and the like. This is so simple a matter, that, at the first view, it appears that we want no grammarian to enlarge upon it.

§ 395. Such would, doubtless, be the case if the concords, &c., stood alone, i.e., if there was nothing to disturb them. But this is not the case. The following is a notice, not of all, but only of some of these disturbing influences. They are well known and generally recognised. They have been, to some extent, classified, and some of them have names—old names dating back to the classical time of Greek language; and thus showing that they have belonged to grammar ever since it was first cultivated.

§ 396. *Ellipsis*.—Such a name is *Ellipsis*, signifying ‘omission,’ ‘deficiency,’ or ‘falling short,’ or ‘short coming.’

This was bought at *Rundell and Bridge's*, i.e. shop, warehouse, or place of business. I am going to *St. Paul's*, i.e. cathedral.

§ 397. *Pleonasm*.—Such a name is *Pleonasm*, signifying excess.

The king *he* is just.  
The men *they* were there.

I saw *her*, the queen.  
The king *his* crown.

In the comparative degree we occasionally find, even in good writers, besides the syllable *-er*, the word *more*; as, *the more serene spirit*. Expressions like these are pleonastic, since the word *more* is a superfluity.

In the superlative degree we occasionally find, even in good writers, besides the syllable *-est*, the word *most*; as *the most straitest sect*. Expressions like these are pleonastic, since the word *most* is a superfluity.

§ 398. *Personification*.—Such a name is *Personification*, of which the following are instances:

*Gold, whose touch seductive leads to crime.*  
*The cities who aspired to liberty.*

The unexceptionable forms for these two texts are: 1. gold, the touch of *which*, &c.; 2. the cities *which* aspired, &c.

Still the exceptionable texts can be explained, perhaps excused. We may say that *a city* is what it is on the strength of the human individuals that constitute it; and we say *Gold* is treated as a personal agent, like *Sin*, *Death*, *Virtue* and *Vice*, &c.

§ 399. *Violations (real or apparent) of the concord of number*.—*I have not travelled this twenty years*.—As *this* is singular and *twenty years* plural, there is an apparent violation of the concord of number. Still, it is only apparent. The words *twenty years* may be considered to mean, not *twenty separate years taken severally*, but *a number of years amounting to twenty*

*dealt with as a single period.* In this latter case the words *twenty years*, though plural in form, are singular in sense.

*These sort of people.*—Here *these* is plural, and *sort* is singular; so that there is a violation (real or apparent) of the concord of number. Still, as the word *sort* implies the existence of more persons than one, the expression is open to the same kind of explanation as the preceding one.

The reason of this confusion of number is clear. There are in all languages certain substantives called Collectives. Of these collectives the word *sixpence* is a good example. It involves two notions: (1) that of *six separate pennies*; (2) that of *six pennies dealt with as a single sum*. In the first case it is plural; since in talking of *six separate pennies* we contemplate a plurality of parts. In the second case it is singular, since in talking of *a single sum* we lose sight of the plurality of parts, and contemplate only the unity of sum that results from them. In all collective substantives there is a mixture of two notions. *Army, parliament, people, mob, gang, set, family, &c.*, are collectives.

By remembering that in all languages there is a tendency to *personify*, we can explain many apparent violations of the concord of gender.

By remembering that in all languages there is a certain number of *collective* substantives, we can explain many apparent violations of the concord of gender.

§ 400. *Attraction.*—This is a word with rather a wide sense; but, in the present work, it will be confined to a disturbing influence limited to Complex sentences, and, even in them, unless there is a notable amount of well marked Cases, of no great importance. Of the



few questions, however, connected with it some are found even in so uninflected a language as the English.

It is only in Complex sentences that they occur: and of these, only in those in which there is a Relative and an Antecedent.

Of the Antecedent the Relative is, of course, only another name; i.e. in phrases like *I saw the man whom you spoke of*, the word *whom* applies to the same person as *man*. Now the Antecedent and Relative, though they necessarily agree in both Number and Gender, may either agree or disagree in Case: for we may say—

1. John, *who* trusts me, comes here;
2. John, *whom* I trust, comes here;
3. John, *whose* trust is in me, comes here.

It is not uncommon that when there are two Verbs—one in the Antecedent clause and the other in the Relative—they may govern different cases; and if there were no disturbing cause, they would do so as a matter of course. But the Relative and the Antecedent refer to the same object; and this has a tendency to create disturbance. In *I use the books (which) I possess*, there is, in English, no danger; inasmuch as *use* and *possess* govern the same Case: and if they did not, it would not matter, for, except the Possessive, all the Oblique Cases are alike. But, in Greek, *use* ( $\chi\rho\omega\mu\alpha\iota$ ) governs a Dative, *possess* ( $\epsilon\chi\omega$ ) an Accusative. In fact, however, they both govern the same Case— $\chi\rho\omega\mu\alpha\iota$   $\beta\iota\beta\lambda\iota\omega\iota\varsigma$   $ο\iota\varsigma$   $\epsilon\chi\omega$ . Here  $ο\iota\varsigma$  = *which*, and is governed by  $\epsilon\chi\omega$ , is said to be attracted to the case governed by  $\chi\rho\omega\mu\alpha\iota$ . The fact that the Relative applies to the same object as the Antecedent is the natural explanation of this class of anomalies.

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## CHAPTER III.

SPECIAL SYNTAX.—SIMPLE PROPOSITIONS.—THE NOUN.—PRONOUNS.—SUBSTANTIVES.—ARTICLES.—ADJECTIVES.

§ 401. The special details of English Syntax now come under notice. They will be arranged according to the several '*Parts of Speech*;' these being determined by the place a word takes in a Proposition.

§ 402. *Syntax of the Pronoun.*—A Pronoun is a *Variable*, or *Convertible* name; and can, *by itself*, constitute either the Subject or the Predicate of a Proposition; as *I am he, this is John, what is that?* It agrees with the Substantive in this respect, but differs from it in being *Convertible* or *Variable*.

We have seen that as the Pronouns had the fuller inflection, they preceded both the substantive and the adjective in Etymology. For the same reason they will precede them in Syntax. Whether we say *feed the horse* or the *horse feeds* is indifferent; inasmuch as, in *substantives* like *horse*, there is no difference between the objective and nominative. Whether we say a *good book* or *good books* is indifferent; inasmuch as in *adjectives* like *good* there is no difference between the plural and the singular. Whether we say *feed he* or *feed him* is by no means indifferent; inasmuch as in *pronouns* like *he*, &c., the objective and the nominative cases differ in form.

A Pronoun can constitute either the Subject or the Predicate of a Proposition. But some do this more decidedly than others. With words like *who, what, this, these, that, those, I, thou, we*, and the like, their power is plain and clear; and they form Substantives, not in respect to the place they take in a proposition, but in respect to the principle upon which they do so. The Substantive, as a Name, is Invariable, the Pronoun Variable.

But the aforesaid words which so decidedly share the nature of substantives, are not the only Pronouns. There are, besides, such words as *some, any, many*, of which the character is adjectival rather than substantival. Still, they can form terms; and that by themselves. At the same time they are often accompanied by a substantive, and, in some cases, almost require one. In expressions like *some are here, any will do, many are called*, &c., the substantive, to which they are the equiva-

lent, can generally be inserted with advantage; so that we may say, *some men, any instrument, many individuals*. All the pronouns of this class are undeclined. The nearest approaches to an exception to the foregoing statement are supplied by the word *same*, and the Ordinal Numbers; which, instead of standing *quite* alone, are generally preceded by the definite article, so that we say *the same, the first, &c.* Here, however, the article is to be looked on as part of the pronoun. For a further elucidation of this, as well as for the nature of the article itself, see below.

§ 403. *Pleonasm*.—Pleonasm occurs with Pronouns in expressions like—

1. The king, *he* is just.
2. I saw *her*, the queen.
3. The men, *they* were there.
4. The king, *his* crown.

Mars *his* sword,  
Nor Neptune's trident, nor Apollo's bow.

*Ben Jonson: Cynthia's Revels, i. 1.*

Pallas *her* glass.

*Bacon: Advancement of Learning, 278.*

The Count *his* galleys.

*Twelfth Night, iii. 3. 26.*

Mars *his* true moving.

1 *Henry VI. i. 2. 1.*

Charles *his* gleeks.

1 *Henry VI. iii. 2. 123.*

*Abbott: Shakespearian Grammar, § 217.*

§ 404. *I and me as Predicates*.—*I* is so undoubtedly the Nominative Case of the Pronoun of the First Person, and the rule that the Predicate is in the same Case as the Subject is so absolute, that the correctness of such a sentence as '*It is I*' is absolutely unimpeachable.

We know, however, that a great deal has been written about it. And something will be written now. Not, however, with the view of impugning the general opinion as to its propriety, but with that of ascertaining how far it is the *only* proper form. Does it exclude the combi-

namely *It is me*? If it be, what follows? To the question *who is that?* the answer is *It is I*. But, as the Subject and Copula are implied in the question, it may be answered by the single word *I*. Can *me* be used instead?

It is certain, as a matter of fact, that it is so used; and it is equally certain that though *It is I* is very good English, *c'est je* is not such excellent French. On the contrary, *c'est moi*, which is the English *It is me*, is the only tolerated expression.

§ 495. *My and Mine—Thy and Thine*.—Of these the forms in *-y* are only used when the substantive to which they refer is expressed; as *this is my book*; while those in *-n* are only used when the substantive is understood; as *this book is mine*.

What applies to these two forms of the Possessive Pronoun of the First and Second Persons, Singular, ending in *-n*, applies, also, to those of the (so-called) Third Person, and the Plural forms in general—*her-s*, *our-s*, *your-s*, *their-s*.

*This is a discovery of Sir Isaac Newton's* is different in sense from *this is a discovery of Sir Isaac Newton*. The latter means *this is how Sir Isaac Newton was discovered*: the former means *of Sir Isaac Newton's discoveries this is one*.

In all such sentences there are two substantives: one with which the article agrees, and which is expressed; and one by which the possessive case *s* is governed, and which is omitted, as being understood.

The pronominal possessive cases, *my*, *thy*, &c., are not in all respects like the possessive cases of the substantives (*father's*, *mother's*, &c.)

We cannot say *an enemy of my* —, *a notion of thy* —, &c. Yet—

We can say *these are good books*, but we cannot, now, say *these are mine books*. Hence—

*Rule 1.*—The adjectival pronouns like *mine, thine, ours, &c.*, are only used when the substantive is *understood*; as *this book is mine, i.e. my book.*

*Rule 2.*—The possessive cases are only used when the substantive is *expressed*; as *this is my book* (not *this is mine book, nor yet this book is my*).

§ 406. *You and Ye.*—As far as the practice of the present speech goes, the word *you* is Nominative: since we say *you move, you were speaking, &c.* Why should it not be treated as such? There is—

As I have made *ye* one, lords, one remain;  
So I go stronger *you* more honour gain.

*Henry VIII.* iv. 2.

What gain *you* by forbidding it to teaze *ye*,  
It now can neither trouble *you* nor please *ye*.

*Dryden.*

§ 407. *Thou and You.*—When we say *you* instead of *thou*, it is doubtful whether, in strict language, this is a point of Grammar. I imagine that in addressing the person spoken to, the courtesy consists in treating him as something more than a single individual. This is the *Pronomen reverentiæ*. Akin to it is—

*The Dativus Ethicus*; as in *Rob me the Exchequer.* Here the *me*=*for me, for my sake, at my request.*

*Your* serpent of Egypt is lord now of your mud by the operation of *your* sun; so is your crocodile.

*Antony and Cleopatra,* ii. 7, 29.

I would teach these nineteen the special rules; as *your* punto, *your* reverso, *your* stoccata, *your* imbroccato, *your* passada, *your* montanto.

*Bobadil, in Every Man in his Humour,* iv. 5.

*Abbott: Shakespearian Grammar,* § 221.

See also §§ 231–236 for an elaborate exposition of Shakespear's use of *thou* and *you, &c.*

§ 408. *His and Her.*—These are Possessive, and correspond with the Latin *ejus*. They are not

Adjectives, and they by no means correspond with the Latin *suus, sua, suum*.

§ 409. *The Reflective construction*.—The true Reflective—the Latin *se* is wanting in the present English: the word *self* being used in its stead. Nevertheless, it does not wholly exclude the simple pronoun. We may say *I strike me* or *thou strikest thee*, and that without ambiguity. *He strikes him*, however, is ambiguous, as *him* may be either the speaker and striker or some one else.

§ 410. The reflective pronoun, in English, *follows* the governing verb: also—

In the *Imperative* Mood the simple Pronoun follows it.

Hence, when the word *self* is omitted the construction is ambiguous. *Mount ye* may mean either *be mounted* or *mount yourselves*.

§ 411. *This and that*.—When these two Demonstratives, which convey the notion of comparative nearness and distance, follow two nouns with which they coincide, the current rule is that *this* refers to the latter, and *that* to the former. The most familiar example is the following—in Latin and in *verse*—verse being by no means the best quarter for rules of Collocation:—

Quocunque aspicias nihil est nisi *pontus* et *aer* :  
Nubibus *hic* tumidus, fluctibus *ille* minax.

I hold this to be wholly artificial—in English at least. I thought, or felt, even when I was first taught it as a school-boy, that it was repugnant to such previous notions as either instinct or imitation had implanted in me; and I think so now. We can see which is which in the extract before us from what we know of the properties of the ocean and the atmosphere; and in such a passage as—

‘Alexander and Caesar were the great heroes of antiquity—*this* a Roman, *that* a Greek.’

We could arrive at the same conclusion from our information *aliunde*.

But if any one said to us—

‘He sent me the balance in ducats and doubloons. *These* I got changed by Mr. A, and those by Mr. B.’

I doubt whether any one would feel any assurance as to which of the two sorts of coin Messrs. *A* and *B*, respectively, changed.

If he were inclined to consider the matter, and tried to make out what the collocation *ought* to mean, he would, perhaps, take such a pair of words as *the one* and *the other*, or *the first* and *the second*; or he might call *this* the Pronoun of comparative *nearness* Number 1, and *that* the Pronoun of comparative distance Number 2. If so, the result would be in direct opposition to the rule.

The fact is that in cases of this kind there are two ways of measuring what we call logical distance: and it is possible that one person may think in one way and another in the other. One may measure distance from the end of the previous clause, and, conducting his discourse in a straight line, consider the last word he has heard as the nearest. Another may think of the two clauses as parallels; in which case the first word of the previous clause is the nearest. It is difficult, however, for one person to say how another thinks in matters of this kind, and not very easy to say how he thinks himself.

Still, one point I hold to be certain; viz., that the question is not one of Grammar. Grammar can never tell us how we ought to think in such a matter as this. It can only tell us how to express such thoughts as we have.

And it is for the sake of drawing this distinction that I have enlarged upon an apparently unimportant point. There are other questions besides this wherein, until we know how the speaker *thinks*, it is not in the province of the grammarian to say how he should either speak or write. The present is one of these *extra-grammatical* questions, and, in my mind, the more perplexing one as to use of '*will*' and '*shall*' is another of them.

§ 412. *The Indeterminate Pronoun*—'*one says*.'—Different languages have different modes of expressing indeterminate propositions. In Greek, Latin, and English the passive voice is used—*λέγεται*, *dicitur*, *it is said*. The Italian uses the reflective pronoun; as, *si dice*=*it says itself*. Sometimes the plural pronoun of the third person is used. Thus, in our language, *they say*=*the world at large says*. Finally, *man* has an indeterminate sense in the Modern German; as, *man sagt* = *man says* = *they say*. The same word was also used indeterminately in the Old, although it is not so used in the Modern, English. In the Old

English the *-n* was occasionally lost, and *man* or *men* became *me*. In the present English it is *one*, as in *one says*. The present writer, as others have done before him, believes that this is, word for word, the French *on* in *on dit*. But, as this was in Old French *homme*, and, in Latin, *homo*, meaning for meaning, the *import* of the three combinations is the same in the three languages. Whether what applies to the particular phrase *one says* applies to the forms in *-s*, as in *one's own*, or *my wife and little ones*, indeed, whether it applies to any second combination in our language is another question. Individually, I have given the doctrine that *on*=*man* a far wider application than I do at present. But that *one says*, even if it stand alone, is a Gallicism, and that the element *one* is *not* the Numeral, is, in my mind, the true explanation of the form.

There are few questions for which the nature of the appropriate evidence is clearer. Instances of any form of the word *one* (*ains*, *ein*, or *en*) being used with the power of the *on* in *on dit*, and in the place of *man* in *man sagt*, in any of the German languages not affected by French influences, would be to the purpose: and instances of the Numeral *one* used *anywhere* in the sense of *everyone*, would be to the purpose also. But evidence to its use as *some one*, or *some man*, or *vice versa*, is *not* to the purpose.

§ 413. 'It' and 'There.'—Two other pronouns, or, to speak more in accordance with the present habit of the English language, one pronoun, and one adverb of pronominal origin, are also used indeterminately, viz., *it* and *there*.

*It* can be either the Subject or the Predicate of a sentence,—*it is this*—*this is it*—*I am it*—*it is I*. When *it* is the Subject of a proposition, the verb neces-



sarily agrees with it, and can be of the singular number only; no matter what be the number of the Predicate—*it is this—it is these*. When *it* is the Predicate of a proposition, the number of the verb depends upon the number of the Subject.

'*There*' can only be the Predicate of a proposition; differing in this respect from *it*. Hence, it never affects the number of the verb; which is determined by the nature of the Subject—*there is a man, &c.—there are men, &c.*

But this applies only to the word *there* when it is indefinite, or indeterminate. Where it is definite, or determinate, it is still a Predicate; but it is in its proper place as such, i.e. at the *end* of the proposition. Even here it can be transposed.

## (1)

*Indefinite, or Indeterminate.*

*There is something in the way.*  
*There is no one here.*  
*There are thieves in the house.*

## (2)

*Definite, or Determinate.*

*Some one is concealed there.*  
*The thieves are there.*  
*You will find them there.*

*Or, transposed,*

*There you will find them.*

*Indefinite and Definite in the same proposition.*

*There is some one there.*

§ 414. In such phrases as *it rains, it freezes, &c.*, it is difficult to say in express terms what *it* stands for. Suppose we are asked *what rains?* or *what freezes*—the answer is difficult. We might say *the rain, the weather, the sky*, or what not? Yet, none of these

answers are satisfactory. To say the *rain rains, the sky rains, &c.*, sounds strange. Yet we all know the meaning of the expression—obscure as it may be in its details. We all know that the word *it* is essential to the sentence; and that if we omitted it and simply said *rains*, the grammar would be faulty. We also know that it is the subject of the proposition.

A curious way of giving precision to this indefinite power of the word *it* is seen in the following list:—

Pluit	raynes	Deus meus.
Gelat	freses	„ tuus.
Degelat	thowes	„ suus.
Ningit	snawes	„ ipsius.
Tonat	thoners	„ sanctus.
Grandinat	hayles	„ omnipotens.
Fulgurat	lownes	„ Creator.

§ 415. '*It*' may follow an *intransitive* verb. It does this in colloquial phrases, as *go it*: in which it, manifestly, is not in that definite state of regimen, or government, that it is when *it* follows a *transitive* verb; as in *take it, keep it, &c.*

*Go it* here is, undoubtedly, a verb. In the following instances it is not so much a verb as a substantive with the import of a verb.

It is often added to nouns or words that are not generally used as verbs, in order to give them the force of verbs.

*Foot it.*—*Tempest*, i. 2, 380.

*To queen it.*—*Henry VIII.* ii. 3, 37.

*To prince it.*—*Cymbeline*, iii. 4, 85.

Lord Angelo *dukes it* well.

Measure for Measure, iii. 2, 100.

and later—

Whether the charmer *sinner it* or *saint it*,

If folly grows romantic I must paint it.

Pope: *Moral Essays*, ii. 15.

Abbott: *Shakespearian Grammar*, § 226.

So far as this construction is explicable, it must be explained by supposing that *it* means something done in the way of *going*, i.e. of performing with *feet* (as dancing is performed)—of doing after the manner of a *queen*, a *prince*, a *sinner*, or a *saint*, and the like.

§ 416. In *I strike me*, the verb *strike* is transitive. In *I fear me*, the verb *fear* is intransitive or neuter; unless indeed *fear* mean *terrify*—which it does not. So also *we repent us* and others. Here, after a neuter or intransitive verb, the reflexive pronoun appears out of place, or as an expletive.

§ 417. We may now pause upon the fact of our having in the present English no true Reflective like the Latin *se*, the German *sich*, and the Scandinavian *sik* or *sig*—a remarkable deficiency; with which the absence of such an Adjective as *suus*, the German *sein*, or the Scandinavian *sin* is connected. This forces upon us such constructions as *his mother* and *her mother*: where the pronoun is the Possessive Case, and no concord of Gender is required. It gives prominence to the word *self* in *myself*, *thysself*. It makes such a reflexive verb as *se battre*, *sich schlagen*, *kalle sig*, in French, German, and the Scandinavian languages, to say the least, improbable. Indeed, in a larger work more could be said upon the effects of its absence, than upon those of its presence. In *Beowulf* we get in the adjective *sin* just a trace of it.

This is why I have said that the development of a Passive Voice, like that of the Scandinavian languages, is, in English, improbable rather than impossible. The words *busk* and *bask* have been treated as Reflective forms, after the Norse pattern; and, as such, due to 'Norse influences.' Their elements are held to *bua + sik = to make oneself ready*, and *bak + sik = to bake oneself*. This may, or may not, be the case. But, even if it be, there is no reason to refer them to contact with Norsemen, so long as the original reflexive is a probable element in the older *Anglosaxon*.

But there is more in the matter than this. The Reflective Pronoun may lend itself to two processes in two different stages of a language: and, before it has developed a Passive Voice, may have developed a series of forms of a Deponent, rather than a Passive, character. If so it is possible that the *r* (which represents an earlier *-s*) in the Scandinavian Singular for *all* the persons of the Present Tense may have been originally the *-s* of the Reflective Pronoun: and what *-r* is in Scandinavian, *-s* may have been in the Northumbrian. That there are notable objections to this on the surface I am well aware. But the Norse *-r*, and the Northumbrian *-s*, give us little more than a conflict of difficulties. I have, therefore, not assumed the suggested doctrine to the extent of building a single argument upon it; and I scarcely venture to call it an hypothesis. But that there is much that can be found in favour of it I am sure. The limitation of the *-r* to the singular number in the Norse is the chief objection; and I prefer to recognize the fact of its being so, rather than to explain it away.

### § 418.

#### *Substantives.*

A Substantive is an *Invariable*, or *Inconvertible*, name; and it can, *by itself*, constitute either the Subject or the Predicate of a Proposition—as *summer is coming, this is gold*. It is by this invariability, or inconvertibility, that it differs from the Pronoun.

§ 419. The real Syntax of the Substantive lies within its own division. One Substantive may govern another. This gives us the old rule that when two substantives come together the latter is put in the Genitive (Possessive) Case—as

The man's hat.

The father's son.

The Collocation here gives us one of the few absolutely unexceptionable rules of our language. The Genitive, or Possessive, never follows, but always precedes the case by which it is governed.

§ 420. *Ellipsis and Pleonasm.*—To Ellipsis belong such combinations as 'St. Paul's,' 'Rundell and Bridge's,' and others. They are common in other languages;

and, generally, the words understood are the same throughout. Those connected with the idea of *house*, or *family*, are the commonest. In Latin *ubi ad Dianæ veneris* = *ædem Dianæ*. In Greek Νηλεὺς Κόδρου = Κόδρου υἱός (*son*).

Of Pleonasm the most familiar instances are those where, besides the Substantive, there is a superadded and a superfluous Pronoun; as

*The king he is just.*

*My banks they are furnished, &c.*

The Possessive form *his*, where thus used, has a fictitious importance, because, out of the contraction of such pleonasms as *Mars his sword*, *the Count his galleys*, and the like, the doctrine that the *-s* in *his* is the *-s* of the Genitive case has originated; indeed it is possible that some may believe it at the present moment. See *Abbott, &c.*, § 217; and *Morris, &c.*, § 100, *with note*.

#### § 421.

#### *Adjectives.*

An Adjective is a word which, *by itself*, can form a Term.

But it can form only *one* of the two terms of a Proposition. It can form the *Predicate*; but it can *not* form the *Subject*.

This is because it is *not a name*; at least, not in the same way that Substantives and Pronouns are.

It is a word which suggests a *Name*; rather than the Name itself.

This name is the corresponding Abstract term—as *red*, *red-ness*, &c.

§ 422. The chief points in the Syntax of the Adjective are those connected with the Degrees of Comparison.

When two objects are compared, the Comparative, when more than two, the Superlative Degree, should be used—*this is the better of the two, but this is the best of all.*

The Positive preceded by the word *more* may stand instead of the Comparative. We may say *more wise*, instead of *wiser*.

The Positive preceded by the word *most* may stand instead of the Superlative. We may say *most wise* instead of *wisest*.

That they can be used is universally known. Neither is there anything remarkable in their syntax. Common sense tells us what they mean. When, however, do we use the one form, when the other? This depends upon the nature of the Adjective. In general terms, we may say that the object of the circumlocution is to keep the length of the word within certain limits. It is, *probably*, better to say *more fruitful* than *fruitfuller*. It is *certainly* better to say *more pusillanimous* than *pusillanimouser*. But it is doubtful whether this is the only rule to go by. A great many Adjectives (*fruitful* amongst the number) are Compounds, in which case the addition of an *extra* syllable presents an accumulation of subordinate parts, which, to some speakers, may be inconvenient or disagreeable. Thirdly, there is a large number of Adjectives which are of foreign origin. To some of these an English affix *-er* or *-est* would be exceptionable.

Thus much, however, may safely be said—

1. That when the word is, at one and the same time, monosyllabic in form and English in origin, the forms in *-er* and *-est* are the proper ones.

2. That when the word is trisyllabic, compound, and of foreign origin, the combinations in *more* and *most* are to be resorted to.

For intermediate cases the writer may consult his own taste. Of dissyllables, the words that end in *-y* are those that, next to our native monosyllables, have the best claim to be inflected—as *holy, holier, holiest*—*manly, manlier, manliest*; upon which we may remark, by the way, that they are all Anglosaxon.

§ 423. The adjective *like* governs a case, and it is, at present, the only adjective that does so. When we say this is *good for John*, the government proceeds not from the adjective *good*, but from the preposition *for*. The word *like*, however, really governs a case.

§ 424. *Pleonasm*.—This we find in expressions like *the more serene spirit; the most straitest sect*.

§ 425. The extent to which the Adjective of the present time stands in contrast to the Adjective of the earlier stages of our language has already been explained. It is now as uninflected as an Adverb. Hence, so far as the outer form of an Adjective in Concord with its Substantive is concerned, error or confusion is impossible: for in the Adjective there is no distinction of either Gender or Number. Still, such distinctions *have* existed; and of these one, at least, claims attention.

That Adjectives in the Neuter Gender may be used Adverbially is a familiar rule in Greek and Latin, as well as in English; and when we say *the sun shines bright, the time flies fast, the snail moves slow*, we use not only an Adjective, but an Adjective in the Neuter Gender. It has, at present, no outward or visible sign of its Neutrality. Virtually, however, it is as real a Neuter as if it had; for when the Genders of the Adjectives were distinguished from one another by inflections, the sign of the Neuter was the sign of the Adjective when used as an Adverb.

In the examples just given we may write for *bright*, *fast*, *slow*, and the like, *brightly*, *fastly*, *slowly*, &c., and in the eyes of some these are the better words. However, we have a choice between the two. When the Adjective itself ends in *-ly* we have no such choice. We cannot well derive such a word as *dailyly* from *daily*: but must use such phrases as *he labours daily*, *he sleeps nightly*, *he watches hourly*, and others; in all of which the simple Adjective is used as an adverb.

In the way of Collocation (which is independent of inflection) the Adjective *precedes* the Substantive; though not so regularly as the Possessive Case (*man's hat*, &c.) precedes it.

For rhetorical purposes the Adjective and the Substantive (or Pronoun), as the terms of a proposition, may change places—as *Great is Diana of the Ephesians*. Here the Adjective *great* is by no means the Subject; nor is *Diana* the Predicate. There is only a transposition of the terms.

#### § 426.

##### *The Article.*

The proper place of the Article is with the Adverb, Preposition, and Conjunction, or those Parts of Speech which can form only portions of a term, rather than with the Noun and Verb, which can, by themselves and single-handed, form *whole* terms. Its manifest connection, however, with the Pronoun, and the closeness of its relations to the Substantive, make it convenient to arrange it with the Nouns.

The recognised Articles in English are *the* and *an*; and it is, perhaps, not necessary to add to the Number. Nevertheless, it will soon be shown that there are other words which, if not actual Articles, are what we may



call *Subarticlar* in character. *No* is one of these; and *every* is another. Neither of these words has any independent existence, except when coupled with substantive or pronoun. We can say *every man* or *every one*; and we can say *no man* or *no one*; but we cannot say *every* for *every one*, and we cannot use *no* as we use *none*, or *not one*.

§ 427. When two or more substantives, following each other, denote the same object, the article precedes the first only. Thus we say, *the secretary and treasurer*, when the two offices are held by one person. When two or more substantives following each other denote different objects, the article is repeated, and precedes each. We say *the (or a) secretary and the (or a) treasurer*, when the two offices are held by different persons. This rule is much neglected.

§ 428. Before a consonant, *an* becomes *a*; as *an axe*, *a man*. In *adder*, which is properly *nadder*, and in *nag*, which is properly *ag*, there is a *misdivision* (*a nag* for *an ag*, *an adder* for *a nadder*). So, also, in the old glossaries.

<i>Hec auris</i>	a nere	i.e. an ear.
<i>hec aquila</i>	a neggle	— an eagle.
<i>hec anguilla</i>	a nele	— an eel.
<i>hec erinaceus</i>	a nurchon	— an urchin.
<i>hic comes</i>	a nerle	— an earl.
<i>hic senior</i>	a nald man	— an old man.
<i>hic exul</i>	a nowtlay	— an outlaw.
<i>hic lutricius</i>	a notyre	— an otter.
<i>hec alba</i>	a nawbe	— an aube.
<i>hec amictus</i>	a namyt	— an amice.
<i>hec securis</i>	a nax	— an axe.
<i>hec axis</i>	a naxyltre	— an axletree.
<i>hec ancora</i>	a nankyre	— an anchor.

§ 429. The construction of the pronouns *my*, *thy*, *her*, *our*, *your*, and *their* is, in respect to their

Syntax, in the same predicament with *no*, *every*, and the Articles. We cannot use them as ordinary Possessive Cases, or as Adjectives, except in combination with a Noun—we can say *these are good books*, *these are John's books*, *these are my books*, and, so far, *my* comports itself like a Possessive Case or an Adjective. But in phrases like *these books are good*, and *these books are John's*, we must use *mine* rather than *my*; i.e. we can say *these books are mine*, but not *these books are my*. Though we need not go so far as to call *my*, *thy*, and the like, Articles, we shall do well in attending to the Articular, or Subarticular, character of their Syntax.

Indeed, the Articular construction itself is that of Inflection rather than a separate word. Except when emphatic the Articles are wholly unaccented. In the Norse we have seen them absolutely incorporated with their Substantives; and in the Fin languages and in the Ossete we find a similar incorporation of the Possessive Pronoun. If these latter may be termed *subarticular*, the Articles themselves are *subinflectional*.

§ 430. From the Syntax of the words *my*, *thy*, *her*, *our*, *your*, and *their*, we pass to that of the words *mine*, *thine*, *hers*, *ours*, *yours*, and *theirs*. These are used just where *my*, &c., is *not* used; i.e. we say *this book is mine*, &c., but not *this is mine book*.

The history of this change is a long one. For the use of *mine* where we now use *my*, the reader is referred to *Abbott*, &c., § 237. The investigation, however, of the exact nature of the difference between the two combinations is important. The vowel, or diphthongal forms, *my*, *thy*, &c., are used when the Pronoun is *part* of a term—Subject or Predicate as the case may be. The form in *-n*, as *mine*, *thine*, &c., is used chiefly

in the Predicate; in which case it is separated from its Substantive by the copula.

In the first case the form is *Subarticular*, in the latter *Predicative*.

When the Pronoun under notice constitutes the *whole* term, the noun is supplied from the context; and *this book is mine* = *this book is my book*.

When constituting the *part* of a Predicate, and preceded by the preposition *of*, the noun is also supplied by the context. But, in this case, it is not *necessary* that the noun supplied by the context should be exactly the one that the context gives us by name. Thus in *this book is one of mine*, it is not necessary that *book* is the special name understood. *Book*, undoubtedly, is the special object under notice. But it is only one of a class. Hence *one of mine* may mean one of my *articles of property*. Whether, when a man who has only *one* book would say *this is a book of mine* is another question. But we can imagine cases where he would do so. He may be claiming other articles besides; and then *mine* means *one of my possessions*, *one of the missing articles*, or what not?

§ 431. '*Horse of Jackson's*.'—As compared with *Jackson's horse*, this, as the Possessive Case of a Substantive, is exactly in the relation of *a book of mine to my book*; i.e. its construction is Predicative and Elliptic, rather than Subarticular.

§ 432. This is, apparently, a refinement. But it is an excusable, and indeed a necessary, one. I have written about *Jackson's horse* from memory; because, in one of numerous discussions as to the import of the letter *-s*, I have heard it actually urged as an argument against the present interpretation that Jackson had, or might have had, only *one* horse.

The answer to this is easier shown in Latin than in

English. The *horse* was not so much *equus e Jacksoni equis*, but *equus e Jacksonianis*; i.e. Jackson's chattels in general.

This is the answer for those who may care to give one. The better answer, however, is that the actual number of Jackson's horses is an extra-grammatical question.

Again, this seems either over-refinement or useless wrangling; for the argument from Jackson's stable I did not find in high quarters. But the suggestion that though a '*Castle of the Duke of Northumberland's*' might be good grammar in speaking of ducal domains, whereon the castles might be numerous, it was not above suspicion when applied to the residence of the owner of a single domicile, may be found in a paper of no less a philologue than the late Archdeacon Hare; and I think that in the following extract there is something dangerously akin to the same doctrine:—

'*This of yours* is now, as in E. E. (Early English), generally applied to one out of a class, whether the class exist or be imaginary. We could say "this coat of yours," but not (except colloquially) "this head of yours." It is, however, commonly used in Shakespeare, where even the conception of a class is impossible.

Nor scar that whiter skin of *hers* than snow.

*Othello*, v. 2, 4.

Will not a calf-skin stop that mouth of *thine*?

*King John*, iii. 1, 299.

*Abbott: Shakespearian Grammar*, § 339.

Here I differ unwillingly from Mr. Abbott so far as he considers that in the combinations *this head of yours, that whiter skin of yours, that mouth of thine*, there is no notion of a *class*. On the contrary, I hold that the class is a real one; though it does not imply that the person addressed had more *heads, skins, or mouths* than one. The class to which the *heads, &c.*,

belong, are those of the world at large ; and *thine* and *yours*, &c., mean that the person addressed is the possessor of the particular one spoken about.

It seems to me that the preposition *of* always implies a class, or, if not a class in the ordinary sense of the term, a part of a whole of some kind. But this class, or whole, is equivocal in respect to its constitution. A *head*, a *skin*, or a *mouth* are parts of the attributes, qualities, possessions, or whatever we choose to call them, of the object spoken about ; i.e. they are *his*, *inter alia*, the other contents being heterogeneous. On the other hand, however, they belong to a homogeneous class of the same sort of objects found elsewhere ; one of which is specially noticed as being *mine*, *thine*, *his*, or *hers*, &c. Between these two, in the import of the word *of* (for this is the one upon which the notion of a class of any kind hinges) there is unsteadiness and ambiguity. That a *head of mine* would imply that I had a second head I admit. But this is a difference between the import of the Definite and Indefinite Article. Hence, in our criticism, the double character of the class, and different powers of the two Articles, must be remembered. The construction, at any rate, is clear. The Preposition *of* governs the name of the class ; one which is not apparent in the clause, but one which is understood or supplied ; whilst it is this understood, or supplied, Noun which governs the case in *-s*.

§ 433. The origin of these explanations lies in a fact which, from being practically unimportant in so uninflected a language as the English, has been either overlooked or ignored ; viz., the *Concord* between the Subject and the Predicate. That it is *not* a case of *Government* is stated in § 392. This is the real meaning of the rule that the Verb Substantive (with others akin to it) governs the Noun that follows them in the same

case as that of the Noun which precedes them. The Latin, from which language the rule seems to have been taken, best illustrates what the Concord really is.

It is a Concord of Case—*I am John*=*sum Johannes*.

It is *not* a Concord of Number—*vulnera totus erat*.

It is *not* a Concord of Gender—*triste lupus stabulis* = *a wolf is a bad (thing) for the folds*.

In this last instance the Predicate speaks of the Subject as a member of a class; and it is the Gender of the name of that class which determines the Gender of the Predicate—and this is naturally, in most cases, the Neuter.

§ 434. *The Case Absolute*.—Nouns standing absolutely are of two sorts: (1) Those originating in an Accusative; (2) those originating in a Dative, case.

In expressing *distance* or *duration*, either in *time* or *space*, we use the noun absolutely; as *he walked ten miles* (i.e. *the space of ten miles*); *he stood three hours* (i.e. *the space of three hours*). Here the words *stood* and *walk* are intransitive; so that it is not by them that the words *miles* and *hours* are governed. They are virtually Accusatives.

In sentences like *the door being open, the steed was stolen—the sun having arisen, the labourers proceeded to work*, the construction is different.

In the *Substantives*, where there is no distinction between the nominative and the objective cases, it is of no practical importance to inquire as to the particular case in which the words like *door* and *sun* stand. In the *Pronouns*, however, where *is* a distinction between the nominative and objective cases, this inquiry must be made.

1. *He made the best proverbs of any one, him only excepted*.

2. *He made the best proverbs of any one, he only excepted.*

Which of these two expressions is correct? This we can decide only by determining in what case nouns standing absolutely in the way that *door*, *sun*, and *him* (or *he*), now stand, were found in that stage of our language when the nominative and objective cases were distinguished by separate forms.

In Anglosaxon this case was the *Dative*; as *up-a-sprungenne sunman* = *the sun having arisen*.

In A. S., also, *him* was a dative case, so that the case out of which expressions like the ones in question originated, was dative. Hence of the two phrases, *him excepted*, and *he excepted*, the former is the one which is *historically* correct.

It is also the form which is *logically* correct. Almost all absolute expressions of this kind have reference, more or less direct, to the *cause* of the action denoted. In sentences like *the stable door being open*, *the horse was stolen*,—*the sun having arisen*, *the labourers got up to work*, this idea of either a cause, or a coincidence like a cause, is pretty clear.

Now the practice of language in general teaches us this, viz., that where there is no proper instrumental case expressive of cause or agency, the ablative is the case that generally supplies its place, and where there is no ablative, the dative. Hence the Latins had their ablative, the Anglosaxons their dative absolute. The genitive absolute in Greek is explicable upon other principles.

In spite, however, both of history and logic, the so-called authorities are in favour of the use of the nominative case in the absolute construction.

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## CHAPTER IV.

SYNTAX OF THE VERB AND PARTICIPLE.—GOVERNMENT.—  
 CONCORD.—TENSES.—IMPERSONAL VERBS.—AUXILIARY  
 VERBS.—PARTICIPLES.—*IN*, *-EN*, AND *-D*.—*IN*, *-ING*.

§ 435. The place that a verb takes in a Proposition varies with its character as *Indeterminate* or *Finite*.

(1) The Indeterminate Verb, like the Substantive and Pronoun, can, *by itself*, form *either* the Subject or the Predicate. So far as it does this it does neither more nor less than the Substantive and Pronoun; and it does it on the same principle. All three are *Names*—(1) the Substantive, a permanent and inconvertible one founded upon the *qualities* of the object to which it applies; (2) the Pronoun, a variable or convertible one, founded upon the *relations* of its object; (3) the Verb, a name which is both permanent and inconvertible, but differing from a Substantive in being founded upon a state or action rather than on an attribute of either Quality or Relation.

(2) The Finite Verb can form *both* the Subject and the Predicate—as *no = I swim*; *amo = I love*, &c.

It does this, however, not because, as a name, it has any prerogative over either the Pronoun or the Substantive; but because it is, in reality, *two* names packed-up into one; i.e. it is the name of the action *plus* that of the agent.

§ 436. *Government of Verbs*.—Verbs, whether Indeterminate or Finite, are, in respect to their government, (1) Transitive, (2) Intransitive.

Respecting the Government of these two sorts of verbs, there are the two following rules:—



1. Transitive verbs always govern the substantive in the objective case; as *I strike him, he strikes me, they teach us, the man leads the horse, &c.*

2. Intransitive verbs govern no case at all; as *I sleep, I walk, I think, &c.*

The same word has often two meanings, one of which is transitive, and the other intransitive; as, 1. *I move*,—where the verb is intransitive, and denotes the mere act of motion. 2. *I move my limbs*,—where the verb is transitive, and where the action affects a certain object (*my limbs*); or, 1. *I walk*,—where the verb is intransitive, and denotes the mere act of walking. 2. *I walk the horse*,—where the words *I walk* are equivalent to *I cause to walk*, and are also transitive, denoting an action affecting a certain object (*the horse*).

Unless this fact of the same verb having transitive and intransitive meanings be borne in mind, transitive verbs will appear to be without an objective case, and intransitive verbs to govern one.

No Verb in the present English governs a Possessive, or Genitive case.—In combinations like *eat of the fruit of the tree*, the government is that of the preposition *of*. Neither is *fruit* in the Possessive case. That in Greek and Latin there were Verbs that *did* govern a Possessive is well known. And so did certain Verbs in Anglosaxon—*weolde thises middangeardes* = (*he*) ruled (*wealded*) *this earth(s)*.

The Verb *give* governs a dative case. Phrases like *give it him, whom shall I give it?* are perfectly correct, and the prepositional construction in *give it to him, or to whom shall I give it?* is unnecessary.

The ordinary government of the Transitive Verb in English is that of *Accusative*.

The government of verbs, as illustrated by the preceding examples, is *objective*. But it may also be *modal*. It is modal when the noun which follows the verb is not the name of any object affected by the verb, but the name of something explaining the manner in which the action of the verb takes place, the instrument with which it is done, the end for which it is done, &c.

The government of transitive verbs is necessarily objective. It may also be modal,—*I strike the enemy with the sword*=*ferio hostem gladio*.

The government of intransitive verbs can only be modal. When we say *I walk the horse*, the word *walk* has changed its meaning, and signifies *make to walk*, and is, by the very fact of its being followed by the name of an object, converted from an intransitive into a transitive verb.

The modal construction may also be called the *adverbial construction*; because the effect of the noun is akin to that of an adverb,—*I fight with bravery*=*I fight bravely*; *he walks a king*=*he walks regally*.

The modal construction sometimes takes the appearance of the objective: inasmuch as intransitive verbs are frequently followed by a substantive; which substantive is in the objective case. *To break the sleep of the righteous* is to affect, by breaking, the sleep of the righteous: but, *to sleep the sleep of the righteous*, is not to affect, by sleeping, the sleep of the righteous; since the act of sleeping is an act that affects no object whatever. It is a *state*. We may, indeed, give it the appearance of a transitive verb, as we do when we say, *the opiate slept the patient*, meaning thereby *lulled to sleep*; but the transitive character is only apparent. *To sleep the sleep of the righteous* is to sleep in agreement with—or according to—or after the manner of—

*the sleep of the righteous*, and the construction is adverbial.

This is the construction of a Verb with a Substantive—*allied in meaning with itself*—*nomen sibi cognatum*. It partakes of the nature of a tautology.

§ 437. But, besides governing the Noun, one Verb may govern another; and, where this is the case, the verb governed is in the Infinitive Mood; i.e. is Indeterminate.

The syntax of the Indeterminate verb, when thus in a state of regimen, is twofold; though its double character is disguised by the confluence of the Gerundial form in *-nne* with the Infinitive form in *-an*.

When one verb is followed by another *without* the preposition *to*, the construction must be considered to have grown out of the A. S. form in *-an*.

I may go,	<i>not</i>	I may <i>to</i> go.
I might go,	—	I might <i>to</i> go.
I can move,	—	I can <i>to</i> move.
I could move,	—	I could <i>to</i> move.
I will speak,	—	I will <i>to</i> speak.
I would speak,	—	I would <i>to</i> speak.
I shall wait,	—	I shall <i>to</i> wait.
I should wait,	—	I should <i>to</i> wait.
Let me go,	—	Let me <i>to</i> go.
He let me go,	—	He let me <i>to</i> go.
I do speak,	—	I do <i>to</i> speak.
I did speak,	—	I did <i>to</i> speak.
I dare go,	—	I dare <i>to</i> go.
I durst go,	—	I durst <i>to</i> go.

Thou shalt not *see* thy brother's ox or his ass *fall* down by the way.

We *heard* him *say*, I will destroy the temple.

I *feel* the pain *abate*.

He *bid* her *alight*.

I would fain *have* any one *name* to me that tongue that any one can *speak* as he should do by the rules of grammar.

This, in the present English, is the rarer of the two constructions.

*Gerundial.*—When one verb is followed by another, preceded by the preposition *to*, i.e. *I begin to move*, the construction must be considered to have grown out of the A. S. form in *-nne*. This is the case with the great majority of English verbs.

§ 438. *I am to speak.*—Three facts explain this idiom.

1. The idea of *direction towards an object* conveyed by the dative case and by combinations equivalent to it.

2. The extent to which the ideas of necessity, obligation, or intention are connected with the idea of *something that has to be done, or something towards which some action has a tendency*.

3. The fact is that expressions like the one in question historically represent an original dative case or its equivalent; since *to speak* grows out of the Anglo-saxon form *to sprecanne*, which, although called a gerund, is really a dative case of the infinitive mood.

In *I am to blame* the usual sense is Passive, i.e. *I am to be blamed*. As early, however, as the Anglosaxon period, the gerunds were liable to be used in a passive sense: *he is to lufigenne* = not *he is to love*, but *he is to be loved*.

The principle of this confusion may be discovered by considering that *an object to be blamed* is *an object for some one to blame*, just as *an object to be loved* is *an object for some one to love*.

Johnson thought that in such phrases the word *blame* was a noun. If he meant a noun in the way that *culpa* is one, his view was wrong. But if he meant a noun in the way that *culpare* and *ad culpandum* are nouns, it was right.

§ 439. *Concord of the Verb.*—The verb agrees with

its Noun in *Number* and in *Person*; as *I walk*, not *I walks*—*we walk*, not *we walks*.

In the way of *Gender* there is no question of Concord with the Verb proper; though with the Participle it may, of course, present itself. In this respect, however, the Participle of the present English is like the Adjective—wholly uninflected.

The Concord—whether of Tense or Mood—will be noticed in the sequel. *This* is, of course, peculiar to the Verb; just as Gender is to the Noun.

In the way of *Mood* the construction of the Gerundial and Infinitive forms of the Indeterminate Verb has already been noticed.

The construction of the Conjunctive, Subjunctive, Potential, or Conditional Mood belongs to the Syntax of Complex Propositions.

The Imperative Mood has three characteristics.

It can only be used in the Second Person.

It can either use or omit its Pronoun.

When used, the Pronoun precedes, rather than follows, the Verb.

§ 440. *Tense and Time*.—*Time* is one thing, *Tense* another. To constitute a Tense there must be an Inflection. *Vocat* in Latin, and *calls* in English, are Tenses. *Vocatus sum* and *I am* (or *have*) *called* are combinations of separate words, and of different elements, by which we get a substitute for a true Tense rather than the Tense itself.

In *Syntax*, however, it is these substitutes, and combinations, which command our chief attention. The true inflectional Tenses belong to *Etymology*.

The foundation of our criticism is, of course, the different kinds of Time with which an action may be connected.

1. *Present*.—This is when an action is taking

place at the time of speaking, and incomplete.—*I am beating, I am being beaten.* It is *not expressed*, in English, by the simple Present Tense; since *I beat* means *I am in the habit of beating*.

2. *Aorist*.—This is when an action took place in past time, or previous to the time of speaking, and has no connection with the time of speaking.—*I struck, I was stricken.* It is expressed, in English, by the Preterit, in Greek by the Aorist. The term Aorist, from the Greek *ἀ-όριστος*=*undefined*, is a convenient name for this sort of time.

3. *Future*.—This is when an action has neither taken place, nor is taking place at the time of speaking, but which is stated as one which *will* take place.—It is expressed, in English, by the combination of *will* or *shall* with an infinitive mood; in Latin and Greek by an inflection. *I shall (or) will speak, λέκσω, dica-m.*

None of these expressions imply more than a single action; in other words, they have no relation to any second action occurring simultaneously with them, before them, or after them,—*I am speaking now, I spoke yesterday, I shall speak to-morrow.*

By considering past, present, or future actions not only by themselves, but as related to other past, present, or future actions, we get fresh varieties of expression. Thus, an act may have been going on, when some other act, itself one of past time, interrupted it. Here the action agrees with a present action in being incomplete; but it differs from it in having been rendered incomplete by an action that is past. This is exactly the case with the—

4. *Imperfect*.—*I was reading when he entered.* Here we have two acts; the act of *reading* and the act of *entering*. Both are past as regards the time of

speaking, but both are present as regards each other. This is expressed, in English, by the past tense of the verb substantive and the present participle, *I was speaking*; and in Latin and Greek by the imperfect tense, *dicebam*, ἔτυπτον.

5. *Perfect*.—Action past, but connected with the present by its effects or consequences.—*I have written, and here is the letter*. Expressed in English by the auxiliary verb *have* followed by the *participle passive in the Accusative Case and Neuter Gender*. The Greek expresses this by the reduplicate perfect: *τετυφα*=*I have beaten*.

6. *Pluperfect*.—Action past, but connected with a second action subsequent to it, *which is also past*—*I had written when he came in*.

7. *Future present*.—Action future as regards the time of speaking; present as regards some future time.—*I shall be speaking about this time to-morrow*.

8. *Future Preterit*.—Action future as regards the time of speaking, past as regards some future time.—*I shall have spoken by this time to-morrow*.

§ 441. These are the chief expressions which are simply determined by the relations of actions to each other and to the time of speaking, either in the English or any other language. But over and above the simple idea of *time*, there may be others superadded: thus, the phrase, *I do speak*, means, not only that *I am in the habit of speaking*, but that I also *insist* upon it being understood that I am so.

Again, an action that is mentioned as either taking place, or as having taken place at a given time, may take place again and again. Hence the idea of *habit* may arise out of the idea of either present time or aorist time.

*The emphatic Present and Preterit*.—Expressed

by *do* (or *did*), as stated above. A man says *I do* (or *did*) *speak, read, &c.*, when, either directly or by implication, it is asserted or implied that he does not. As a question implies doubt, *do* is used in interrogations.

*Do et did* indicant emphatice tempus præsens et præteritum imperfectum. *Uro, urebam; I burn, I burned: vel (emphatice) I do burn, I did burn.*—WALLIS, p. 106.

§ 442. *The Predictive Future.*—*I shall be there to-morrow.*—This means simply that the speaker will be present. It gives no clue to the circumstances that will determine his being so.

*The Promissive Future.*—*I will be there to-morrow.*—This means not only that the speaker will be present, but that he *intends* being so.

§ 443. *The representative expression of past and future time.*—An action may be past; yet, for the sake of bringing it more vividly before the hearers, we may make it present. *He walks* (for *walked*) *up to him, and knocks* (for *knocked*) *him down*, is, by no means, the natural habitual power of the English present. So, in respect to a future, *I beat you if you don't leave off*, for *I will beat you*. This is sometimes called the *historic* use of the present tense. I find it more convenient to call it the *representative* use: inasmuch as it is used more after the principles of painting than of history; the former of which, necessarily, *represents* things as present, the latter, more naturally, describes them as *past*.

§ 444. Notwithstanding its name, the present tense, in English, does not express a strictly *present* action. It rather expresses an *habitual* one. *He speaks well* = *he is a good speaker*. If a man means to say that he is in the act of speaking, he says *I am speaking*. It has also,



especially when combined with a subjunctive mood, a future power—*I beat you* (= *I will beat you*) *if you don't leave off*. Again—the English preterit is the equivalent, not to the Greek perfect, but to the Greek aorist. *I beat* = ἔτυψα, not τέτυφα. The true perfect is expressed, in English, by the auxiliary *have* + the past participle.

§ 445. *Meseems*.—Equivalent to *it seems to me*; *mihi videtur*; φαίνεται μοι. Here, *seems* is intransitive; and *me* has the power of a dative case.

*Methinks*.—In the Anglosaxon there are two forms; *pencan* = *to think*, and *þincan* = *to seem*. It is from the latter that the verb in *methinks* comes. The verb is intransitive; the pronoun dative.

*Methought* I saw my late espoused wife  
Brought to me, like Alcestis, from the grave.

MILTON.

*Me listeth* or *me lists*.—Equivalent to *it pleases me* = *me iuvat*. Anglosaxon *lystan* = *to wish*, *to choose*, also *to please*, *to delight*. Unlike the other two, this verb is transitive, so that *me* is accusative. These three are the only true impersonal verbs in the English language. They form a class by themselves, because no pronoun accompanies them, as is the case with the equivalent expressions *it appears*, *it pleases*, and with all the other verbs in the language.

§ 446. The Auxiliary Verbs, in English, play a most important part in the Syntax of the language. They may be classified upon a variety of principles. The following, however, are all that need here be applied.

*According to their inflectional or non-inflectional powers*.—Inflectional auxiliaries are those that may either replace or be replaced by an inflection. Thus—*I am struck* = the Latin *ferior* and the Greek τύπ-

τομαί. These auxiliaries are in the same relation to verbs that prepositions are to nouns. The chief inflectional auxiliaries are:—

1. *Have*; equivalent to an inflection in the way of tense—*I have bitten*=*mo-mordi*.

2. *Shall*; ditto. *I shall call*=*voc-abo*.

3. *Will*; ditto. *I will call*=*voc-abo*.

4. *May*; equivalent to an inflection in the way of mood. *I am come that I may see*=*venio ut vid-eam*.

5. *Be*; equivalent to an inflection in the way of voice. *To be beaten*=*verberari, τύπτεσθαι*.

6. *Am, art, is, are*; ditto. Also equivalent to an inflection in the way of tense. *I am moving*=*move-o*.

7. *Was, were*; ditto. *I was beaten*=*ε-τύφθην*: *I was moving*=*move-bam*.

§ 447. *According to their non-auxiliary significations*.—The power of the word *have* in the combination *I have a horse*, is clear enough. In *I have ridden a horse*, it is by no means so clear. The power of the same word in the combination *I have been*, is not at all clear; nevertheless it is a power which has grown out of the idea of possession. This shows that the power of a verb as an auxiliary may be a modification of its original power; *i.e.* of the power it has in non-auxiliary constructions. Sometimes the difference is very little: the word *let*, in *let us go*, has its natural sense of permission unimpaired. Sometimes it is all but lost. *Can* and *may* exist chiefly as auxiliaries.

1. Auxiliary derived from the idea of possession—*have*.

2. Auxiliaries derived from the idea of existence—*be, is, was*.

3. Auxiliary derived from the idea of future destination dependent upon circumstances external to the agent—*shall*.

4. Auxiliary derived from the idea of future destination dependent upon the volition of the agent—*will*. *Shall* is simply Predictive; *will* is Predictive and Promissive as well.

5. Auxiliary derived from the idea of power, dependent upon circumstances external to the agent—*may*.

6. Auxiliary derived from the idea of power, dependent upon circumstances internal to the agent—*can*. *May* is simply Permissive; *can* is Potential. In respect to the idea of power residing in the agent as the cause which determines a contingent action, *can* is in the same relation to *may* as *will* is to *shall*.

7. Auxiliary derived from the idea of sufferance—*let*.

8. Auxiliary derived from the idea of necessity—*must*.

9. Auxiliary derived from the idea of action—*do*.

§ 448. *In respect to their mode of construction.*—Auxiliary verbs combine with others in three ways.

1. *With Participles.*—a.) With the present, or active participle—*I am speaking*: b) With the past, or passive, participle—*I am beaten, I have beaten*.

2. *With infinitives.*—a) With the objective infinitive—*I can speak*: b) With the gerundial infinitive—*I have to speak*.

3. *With both infinitives and participles.*—*I shall have done, I mean to have done*.

§ 449. *Participles.*—A Participle, like an Adjective, can form the Predicate of a Proposition, but not the Subject.

So far as its Inflection goes, the Participle agrees with the Adjective. So far as it suggests a state or an action rather than a *quality* it is an adjective.

§ 450. *The Past Participle preceded by Have.*—Upon this it is advisable to make the following classifications:—

1. The combination with the participle of a *Transitive verb*,—*I have ridden the mare; thou hast broken the sword; he has smitten the enemy.*

2. The combination with the participle of an *Intransitive verb*,—*I have waited; thou hast hungered; he has slept.*

3. The combination with the participle of the Verb Substantive,—*I have been; thou hast been; he has been.*

It is by examples of the first of these three divisions that the true construction is to be shown.

For an object of any sort to be in the possession of a person, it must previously have existed. If I possess a mare, that mare must have had a previous existence. Hence, in all expressions like *I have ridden a mare*, there are two ideas, a past idea in the participle, and a present idea in the word denoting possession.

For an object of any sort, affected in a particular manner, to be in the possession of a person, it must previously have been affected in the manner required. If I possess a mare that has been ridden, the riding must have taken place before I mention the fact of the ridden mare being in my possession; inasmuch as I speak of it as a thing already done,—the participle, *ridden*, being in the past tense.

*I have ridden a mare = I have a mare ridden = I have a mare as a ridden mare.* In this case the syntax is of the usual sort. (1.) *Have = own = habeo = teneo*; (2.) *mare* is the accusative case = *equam*; (3.) *ridden* is a past participle, agreeing either with *mare*, or *with a word in apposition with it understood*. Mark the words in italics. The word *ridden* does not agree with *mare*, since it is, virtually, of the neuter gender.

The true construction is arrived at by supplying the

word *thing*. *I have a mare as a ridden thing* = *habeo equam equitatum* (neuter).

(2) The combination of *have* with an intransitive verb is irreducible to the idea of possession: indeed it is illogical. In *I have waited*, we cannot make the idea expressed by the word *waited* the object of the verb *have* or *possess*. The expression has become a part of language by means of the extension of a false analogy. It is an instance of an illegitimate imitation.

(3) The combination of *have* with *been* is more illogical still, and is a stronger instance of the influence of an illegitimate imitation. In German and Italian, where the ordinary Intransitive Participles are combined with *have*, the Participle of the *Substantive Verb* is combined with *am*.

Italian; *io sono stato* } = *I am been*.  
 German; *ich bin gewesen* }

The Scandinavian language and the French agree with the English.

Danish; *jeg har været*.  
 French; *j'ai été*.

§ 451. *The Past Participle preceded by Am; Be, Been, &c.*—The Participles *moved, beaten, struck, given*, are Participles of a *past* tense. Hence, *I am moved* should mean, not *I am in the act of being moved*, but *I am a person who has been moved*;—*he is beaten* should mean, not *he is a person who is in the act of suffering a beating*, but *one who has suffered a beating*: in other words the sense of the combination should be *past*, and not *present*. By a comparison between the English and Latin languages this anomaly becomes very apparent. The Latin word *motus* is exactly equivalent to the English word *moved*. Each

is a Participle of the passive voice, and of the past tense. Besides this, *sum* in Latin equals *I am* in English. Yet the Latin phrase *motus sum* is equivalent, not to the English combination *I am moved*, but to the combination *I have been moved*; *i.e.* it has a past and not a present sense. In Greek the difference is plainer still, because in Greek there are two Participles Passive, one for the present, and another for the past tense; *e.g.* τυπτόμενος εἰμι = *I am one in the act of undergoing a beating*; τετυμμένος εἰμι = *I am one who has undergone a beating*.

Nevertheless the sense, in English, of such combinations as *I am moved*, &c., is *Present*. The absence of any such Tense in English as *moveor* in Latin and *τύπτομαι* in Greek goes far towards explaining this difference.

§ 452. *The Participle in -ing*.—Taken themselves words of this class are of the simplest. These appear in three very natural constructions.

(1) *He is dying*.—Here *dying* is Predicative = *moritur* (*est moriens*).

(2) *The last rays of the dying day*.—Here it is purely Participial = *morientis diei*.

(3) *Day glimmers o'er the dying and the dead*.—Here it is Substantival after the manner of an Adjective whose Substantive is understood—*morientes et mortuos*.

All this is purely Participial; and, as the Participle is as destitute of Inflection as the Adjective, its Syntax is limited to the Collocation in the Predicative, and to the use of *the* in the Substantival forms.

It happens, however, that the form and construction are two of the most disputed points in English. It has already been shown that between the Verbal Noun and the Indeterminate Verb, there is a close

connection in import; that between the Participle in *-nd*, and the Verbal Noun in *-ng*, there was in Anglo-saxon and the older English, a well-marked difference of form; but that during the middle period of our language the two forms became identical (or *Confluent*). Ambiguous, or equivocal, forms and constructions were noticed by our earlier grammarians; such as Lowth and others. In such a sentence as *What is the meaning of the lady's holding up her fan?* it was not difficult to see that, so far as the Definite Article went, the construction was Substantival, but that so far as there was no preposition before *fan* it was Participial. The *lady holding up her fan* would have been wholly Participial, and *the lady's holding up of her fan* would have been wholly Substantival; but *the lady's holding up her fan* was partly Participial and partly Substantival. What, then, was the form in *-ing* when the sentence was taken as a whole? This was, evidently, more easily asked than answered. An edition of Horne Tooke's 'Diversions of Purley,' by the late Richard Taylor, put the general question as to the import of *-ing* in something like the form of a definite doctrine. It drew attention to words like *morning*, where there was no such verb as *to morn*; to constructions like *morning walk*; where the collocation was that of *running brook*, *moving crowd*, or *flying bird*; and above all to the so-called vulgarisms, pronunciations, or archaisms like *a-hunting*, *a-roaming*, and others, wherein the construction was that of a Substantive in the Oblique Case, preceded by a preposition (*on*, or *in*), which was first worn down into *a*, and then dropped altogether. This was not ill-timed. Even in Grimm's *Deutsche Grammatik*, the construction of *dying day*=*the day on which a person dies* is treated as if *dying* were a Participle.

There is a great deal in this that is clear enough to speak for itself; but there is a wide difference between the reducibility of the different constructions, and sometimes between different words in the same construction. There are differences, too, of meaning (slight ones, perhaps, but still real) between such combinations as *I was hunting* and *I was a-hunting*, which may make one expression the more correct in one case, and the other in another. And there is a great deal of miscellaneous detail beside. I cannot, however, find that this is the view with which the hypothesis has been taken up. It has certainly been adopted and promulgated. But, in my mind, more has been done in publishing, than in verifying, it: and that it has been prematurely extended to a doubtful, if not an illegitimate, degree. Unfortunately, in this, as in several other similar cases, it is not easy to find a writer who explicitly and unmistakably tells the reader how far he goes, where he stops, and whether he stops at all; i.e. whether he stops short of the absolute elimination of the Present Participle as a separate and independent Part of Speech, and the substitution of the Verbal Abstract in its place. That there are quarters in which something of this kind may be found is certain; and it is certain, that whether right or wrong, it wants a fuller exposition than it has hitherto found.

§ 453. The difficulty, then, respecting the forms in *-ing* lies in the equivocal character of the words to which it belongs. If one of them thus ending is clearly and admittedly a Substantive, we know how to deal with it; and we know how to deal with it if it is a Participle. In some cases, too, we can tell by mere inspection, either from the outward form of the word, or from its place in the proposition, to which of the two



classes a word belongs. Thus in *Seeing is believing* the word *seeing* constitutes a *Subject*, and that *by itself*: and as we can just as easily say *believing is seeing*, the word *believing* does the same. Again, in such words as *risings*, *watchings*, (*the risings in the North*; *the watchings of a sleepless man*), the inflection in *-s* is absolutely unknown in the Participle. Notwithstanding this, there is a wide margin for uncertainty and ambiguity.

Given, however, the Part of Speech, the construction is easy. When the word is Substantival, it governs the noun by which it is preceded in the Possessive Case, and the noun by which it is followed through the Preposition *of*—*what is the meaning of the lady's holding-up of her fan?*

It does this in the way of government when it governs anything at all. The Participle, on the other hand, when it governs anything (which it only does when its verb is Transitive) governs it directly, and as a *Verb*, rather than indirectly, through a *Preposition*. Another sign of the Substantive is the Definite Article *the*. Sometimes there is the omission of the Article, sometimes that of the Person.

*The seeing* these effects will be  
Both noisome and infectious.

*Cymb.* i. 5. 25.

Nothing in his life  
Became him like the *leaving* it.

*Macb.* i. 4. 8.

*Abbott, &c.*, § 93.

There is a slight overstatement in the following extract as to the generality at present of the use of the Definite Article. In combinations like '*Seeing is believing*,' where it would be out of place, it is omitted as regularly now as ever it was. The remarks, however,

will illustrate the kind of irregularity which has a tendency to occur.

The Verbal differs in Elizabethan English from its modern use (a). We do not employ the verbal as a noun followed by 'of,' unless the verbal be preceded by 'the' or some such defining adjective. But such phrases as the following are of constant occurrence in Elizabethan English:—

To dissuade the people from *making of* league.

*North's Plutarch*, 170.

By *winning* only of *Sicilia*.

*Id.* 171.

(b) On the other hand, when the verbal is constituted a noun by the dependence of 'the,' or any other adjective (except a possessive adjective) upon it, we cannot omit the *of*. The Elizabethans can.

'To plague thee for thy *foul misleading* me.'

3 *Hen. VI.* i. 97.

We should prefer now to omit the 'thy' as well as 'foul,' though we have rejected such phrases as—

'Upon *his leaving* our house.'

*Goldsmith.*

*Ibid.* § 373.

§ 454. '*Considering all things*' and '*all things considered.*'—Such a combination as '*all things considered*' may be continued and completed in *two* ways. We may say either '*it is evident that,*' &c., or *we can see that,* &c. Thus—

'All things *considered, it is evident* that the result will be ruinous.'

'All things *considered, we can see* that the result will be ruinous.'

Here the Participle is Passive, and the construction that of the Case Absolute.

In '*considering all things*' the Participle is Active and the conditions of the continuation are limited to a single construction. We can, with a clear understanding of the construction, say—

Considering all things, we can see *that* the result will be ruinous.

But we cannot, with an equally clear understanding of the construction, say—

Considering all things, *it is evident that* the result will be ruinous.

Nevertheless we *do* say so ; though, if we are asked who is the considerer, or how the considering is done, we are perplexed as to our answer.

In respect to its import the combination is that which we get from the Case Absolute ; and there is something like the notion of either cause or condition at the bottom of it. But it is *indefinite* ; inasmuch as the Participle, when it stands alone, is (like the Infinitive Mood) at least as much of a Substantive as a Verb. Dr. Abbott, implicitly, tells us this ; for (§ 357) he gives us examples of the Infinitive Mood, used in the same sense ; and he gives us Infinitive Moods which he compares with it, and explains it in the same language as he does equivalent combinations with the Verbal (or Participle).

*To do the deed,*  
Promotion follows. *W. T. i. 2. 356.*

*To know my deed, 'twere best not know myself.*  
*Macbeth, ii. 2. 73.*

Here the meaning is '*if the deed were done,*' or '*the deed being done.*' The two forms run easily into the Latin—*me actore*, or *me agente* ; though in the first the agent is less definite than the action.

In the following the meaning is '*in respect to,*' or '*as far as it concerns*' = *quod ad (me) attinet*. Still, like the Case Absolute, it lies without the pale of the ordinary construction :—

*To belie him I will not.*  
*A. W. iv. 3. 209.*

*To sue to live, I find I seek to die,*  
*And seeking death find life.*  
*Mirror for Magistrates, iii. 1. 43.*

In the following we have the form in *-ing* :—

Why, were thy education ne'er so mean,  
*Having* thy limbs, a thousand fairer courses  
 Offer themselves to thy election.

*Ben Jonson: Every Man in his Humour*, ii. 1. § 372.

Here Dr. Abbott (§ 373), after an explanation upon which I lay somewhat less stress than he does, and after referring to the previously-quoted passages, writes, in respect to *having*, that it = '*since thou hast thy limbs.*'

All this is the Case Absolute, but with the additional element of indefinitude in the name of the agent being kept back: and in this it agrees with '*all things considered.*'

The construction, then, is *Absolute*. It is, also, *Indefinite*: indeed, it is given by Dr. Abbott, as the '*Indefinite use of the Infinitive.*' But between *Indefinitude* and *Confusion* the barrier is but slight. Unless we make *considering* a Case Absolute, we have faulty Grammar, but average English. If we translate '*considering*' by '*consideratione,*' we have unexceptionable Grammar, but doubtful English. I believe, however, that few will do so. There are other ways of accounting for it. In *I am to blame* = *I am to be blamed* we have the transfer of an Active sense to a Passive. But I doubt whether this be the explanation. Any one who analyses the clauses with which this section began will see that, when he gets to the word '*that,*' the construction suits either form of the preliminary one. I submit, then, that when this is the case, the exact process that connects it with the preliminary one is neglected, overlooked, or ignored. Sometimes its character is determined by the matters considered, sometimes by the persons who consider, and that,

between these two, confusion may arise. We may call this *attraction* if we like; but I believe that between the Action and Reaction of the two clauses in a sentence, the solution to the difficulty is to be found.

## CHAPTER V.

## ADVERBS.

§ 455. An Adverb is a word incapable of forming, by itself, a *whole* term; but capable of forming *part* of one; in which case it is connected with the verb; e.g. *the sun shines brightly*.

The syntax of the adverb is simpler than that of any other part of speech, excepting, perhaps, that of the adjective.

Adverbs have no concord; neither have they any government.

When we say that Adverbs, &c., are words which, though they can form a *part* of a Proposition, cannot form a *whole* one, we imply that, in the Proposition in which they occur, some Noun or Verb (i.e. some word which *can* form a whole one) is necessary; and in the relations which the Adverb, the Preposition, and the Conjunction bear to these fundamental and essential words lie the characters by which, as Parts of Speech, they are distinguished from one another.

With the Adverb only *one* of these is required. This is either the Verb or the Participle—*he fights bravely; he is fighting bravely*. But as Adjectives differ from Participles in conveying the notion of a state rather than that of an action, Adverbs may combine with Adjectives as well—*he is very brave*.

Provided, then, that under the term Verb we include the Participles and the Adjectives, *Adverb* is a well-chosen name for the class.

§ 456. The Adverbs, like the Adjectives, have their Degrees of Comparison, and the few rules upon this point that are given in § 422 apply to both Parts of Speech alike.

(a) The Adjective in the Neuter Gender may be used Adverbially—*the sun shines bright = brightly*.

(b) When the Adjective itself ends in *-ly*, the addition of the Adverbial *-ly* is, to say the least, cumbrous. We can say *bravely*; but not *manlily*.

(c) The addition of *-er* and *-est* is not, perhaps, so freely used as it might be. *Oftener* is, perhaps, commoner than *more often*. But, then, there is no such Adjective as *often*. When, as in *bright*, *slow*, &c., there is an Adjective, the Neuter form for the Degrees of Comparison is generally preferred to the affixes *-er* and *-est* of the Adverb itself; i.e. *the sun shines brighter to-day than it did yesterday*, rather than *the sun shines brightlier*, &c. The combination *more*, as *more brightly*, has a similar preference. In short, the actual Comparison of the Adverb is rare, if not obsolescent; and what applies to the Comparative Degree applies to the Superlative also.

§ 457. *Adverbs apparently categorematic*.—A few Adverbs seem to form, *by themselves*, a Predicate; and, so doing, form either real or apparent exceptions to the definition of this Part of Speech.

Adverbs after 'is'.—We still say 'that is *well*;' but, perhaps, no other Adverb (except '*soon*') is now thus used. Shakespeare, however, has—

'That's *verily*.'—*Tempest*, ii. 1. 321.

'That's *worthily*.'—*Coriol.* iv. 1. 53.

'Lucius' banishment was *wrongfully*.'—*T. A.* iv. 4. 16.

Some verb, as 'said,' or 'done,' is easily understood. 'In harbour' has the force of a verb in—

'Safely in harbour  
Is the king's ship.'—*Tempest*, i. 2. 226.

Abbott: *Shakesperian Grammar, &c.*, § 78.

With *there* (as in *it is there*), and more rarely with *then* (*it was then*), the construction is rather that of a Pronoun in an Oblique Case, with the names for *place* (*direction*) and *time* understood.

§ 458. *Migration*.—Horne Tooke, in his '*Diversions of Purley*,' remarks upon a *dictum* of Servius, '*quodvis verbum, quum desinit esse quod est, migrat in Adverbium*,' that it means when a grammarian does not know what to do with a word he makes it an Adverb.

Professor Key, too, has devoted a whole chapter of his work upon Language to the question as to whether the Adverb be really a Part of Speech or not. Questions of this kind suggest that what we have seen on a small scale, in the case of the Definite and Indefinite Articles, will be seen on a large scale, in that of the Adverbs. As far as form and origin went, the words *the* and *an* were Pronominal. So far, however, as their import in the structure of sentences went, they were far removed from the Pronoun. With the Adverbs the principle of the question is the same: for there is a conflict between their origin as so many individual words, and their import as elements in a proposition. But, instead of constituting, like the Articles, a small class which could be referred at once to Pronouns, they constitute not only a large class, but a very heterogeneous one—indeed, much such a one as we expect from the *dictum* of Servius. The mere inspection of any ordinary list tells us this. Almost every

Adjective can be traced to some other Part of Speech—words like *need* (as *needs must go=of necessity*), *unawares*, *backwards*, and others in *-s* to the Genitive Singular of Substantives; words like *there* and *then* to the oblique cases of Pronouns; and above all the forms in *-ly* to the Adjectives; not to mention the Neuter Adjectives with Adverbial imports; and the long list of compounds like *perchance*, *perhaps*, *peradventure*, *alive*, *agog*, *above*, *agape*, *together*, *altogether*, *besides*, *moreover*, &c.

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## CHAPTER VI.

### PREPOSITIONS.

§ 459. The Preposition, like the Adverb, can only form a *part* of a Proposition.

Of those words which, *by themselves*, can form a term, the Preposition requires *two*, with which it must be connected. The Adverb required only *one*.

The Adverb required either a *Verb* or a *Participle*; or else an *Adjective*—all closely allied Parts of Speech. The Preposition requires either a *Noun* or a *Pronoun*. In this it will agree with the Conjunction, by which, as a Part of Speech, it will be followed, rather than with the Adverb by which it has been preceded. Indeed, it is the Conjunction with which the Preposition is more closely connected than with the Adverb. Hence the Syntax of the Pronoun is intermediate, or transitional, between that of the Simple and the Complex Propositions.

§ 460. A Preposition, then, is a word which can enter into a proposition only when combined with a



Substantive or a Pronoun ; and of these there must be *two* ; as

John is going *to* London.  
James is coming *from* London.

The following words, along with several others, are Prepositions—*in, on, of, at, up, by, to, for, from, till, with, through* ; and any one can find out for himself that wherever there is a Proposition in which any words of this kind enter there is always a word corresponding with *John* or *James* in the extract, and another that corresponds with *London*. The latter is *governed* by the Preposition. We may, of course, transpose the parts of the sentence, or clause, and say—

*To* London John is going.  
*From* London James is coming.

But it is only an exceptional transposition, like—

*Great is Diana of the Ephesians, &c.*

There may be more than two such Substantives or Pronouns in a sentence, or a clause ; as the *Sun from the sky, shines upon the Earth, through the air, with his bright beams, &c.* But still there are *two*. They need not be different ones ; for *the Sun* is the Subject throughout ; but *upon, through, &c.*, are the several Prepositions, each governing its special Substantive or Pronoun.

§ 461. All Prepositions govern a case. If a word fail to do this, it fails to be a preposition. In the first of the two following sentences the word *up* is a preposition, in the second an adverb.

1. *I climbed up the tree.*
2. *I climbed up.*

All prepositions in English *precede* the noun which

they govern. *I climbed up the tree, never I climbed the tree up.* This is a matter not of government, but of collocation. The same, however, is the case in most languages; and, from the frequency of its occurrence, the term *pre-position* (or *prefix*) has originated. Nevertheless, it is by no means a philological necessity. In more languages than one the prepositions are *post-positive*, i.e. they *follow* their noun.

Nevertheless, in English they always *precede* it. Still it is only the noun which they govern that is preceded by them. They *follow* the one upon which the sentence or the clause depends. As a class they are *Inter-positions* rather than either *Pre-positions* or *Post-positions*. Still, for English and many other languages, the name *Preposition* is an adequate one.

§ 462. Every Preposition in English governs a Case; and in the *present* English no Preposition governs a Possessive or Genitive. This remark is made, because expressions like the *part of the body = pars corporis, — a piece of the bread = portio panis,* make it appear as if the preposition *of* did so. The true expression is, that the preposition *of*, followed by an objective case, is equivalent, in many instances, to the Genitive Case of the classical languages.

It is not so safe to say in the present English that no preposition governs a dative. The expression *give it him* is good English; and it is also equivalent to the Latin *da ei*. But we may also say *give it to him*. Now the German *zu = to* governs a Dative case, and in Anglosaxon, the preposition *to*, when prefixed to the infinitive mood, required the case that followed it to be a Dative.

§ 463. In constructions like

*To err* is human, *to forgive* divine,

the combination *to err = erring = error*; whilst *to forgive = forgiving =*

*forgiveness*. Here the Preposition must be considered as incorporated with the Indeterminate Verb, which has the sense of a Substantive, just like an inseparable inflection—and a very rare and remarkable instance of amalgamation this is. In the following example, although a Grecism, the combination is governed like a Noun in the Objective Case by another Preposition.

Yet not to have been dipt in Lethe's lake  
Could save the son of Thetis *from to die*.

This is from Milton; but the so-called vulgarity *I am ready for to go* is genuine English.

§ 464. In compounds like *upstanding*, and approximate compounds like *standing-up*, the apparent Preposition is, in reality, an Adverb.

The present Objective Case includes, with *Substantives*, (though not with the typical) Pronouns, the Accusative and Dative. These in Anglosaxon were distinguished.

But even in Anglosaxon the Dative represented: (1) The Dative proper; (2) the Ablative; (3) the Instrumental; and (4) the Locative. Each of these had its special Pronoun, viz.:

The Dative = *to*.  
The Ablative = *from*.  
The Instrumental = *with*.  
The Locative = *in*.

And these are the Cases which, even at present, though the signs are lost, are the cases which *to*, *from*, *with*, and *in* virtually govern.

In A. S. the government was real; at least, more so than it is in the present English. When Datives, Instrumentals, and Accusatives had different signs there was room for false combinations in the way of Government.

At present where, with the exception of Possessive, all the Oblique cases are alike, error on this score is impossible.

§ 465. In the way of history, the following Prepositions have become obsolete:

*Mid* displaced by *with*.  
*Oð* „ „ *until, even to*.  
*Ymbe* „ „ *around, roundabout*.

On the other hand, *in* as compared with *on*, was rare in Anglo-saxon. Of the following words there has been a change rather than a loss—*eke, ær, fear, geond, neah*.

Now what cases did these prepositions chiefly govern? If we look to the Latin or the Greek we shall not be surprised if we find that, as a rule, they governed more cases than one. They do this most in the Greek. In the Greek, too, there are more cases governed. Still, in both languages, we find that, in some cases, the connexion with the Preposition and its Case is special and exclusive; e.g. *de* governs nothing but an Ablative, *εκ* nothing but a Genitive.

Putting the Instrumental and Locative out of the question, we shall find that the Case which is governed by the fewest Prepositions is the Genitive or Possessive; then the Accusative. This leaves us only the Dative, and this is governed by more Prepositions than both the others put together.

*Van* and *utan* = *from* and *out of* governed the Genitive.

*Through, with,* and *ymbe* were the words that most exclusively governed an *Accusative*.

All the other Prepositions were followed by the *Dative* rather than any other case; viz. *at* = *to*; *be* = *by*; *for*; *from*; *of*; *to*.

Of these *of* is the most important; because its chief use is in combinations like *of a father, of men* and the like, where it can generally be rendered by the Genitive (Possessive) form (or Case) in *-s*; as *father's son* = *son of father* and *vice versa*. This engenders a hopelessly lax way of speaking. Because *of* is part of a combination which has a Genitive or Possessive sense, it passes for 'the sign of the Genitive Case.' How far this error affects English Grammar is well known. The French it pervades from first to last. Yet the evidence that the Case governed by *de* is virtually Ablative is notorious. There is no practical remedy for this. All that the present writer can do is to draw attention to the fact that a preposition in a certain combination, forming a substitute for a case, is a very different thing from one governing that Case, when it has a true Inflectional sign as such.

In combinations like *all the more, all the better, &c.*, the word *the* is not the uninflected Definite Article, but the *by*, or the Instrumental Case of *that*.

§ 466. And this leads us to the part played by Prepositions in the passage of languages from a Synthetic to an Analytic condition. This *mutatis mutandis* is

that of the Auxiliary Verbs. As these last, in combinations like *I was speaking*=*loquebar*, or *I have beaten*=*τέτυφα*, give us substitutes for the old inflectional Tenses, &c., so do the Prepositions give us substitutes for the lost inflectional Cases. In English, where we have no true Case except the Possessive, the part played by the Pronouns is important; and in the French, where there is not even a true Pronoun or Genitive Case, it is more important still.

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## CHAPTER VII.

### THE SYNTAX OF COMPLEX PROPOSITIONS—THE CONJUNCTION.

§ 467. Syntax deals with (1) the connection of Words, and (2) the connection of Propositions. The Syntax that deals with that of words, or the Syntax of simple propositions, has already come under notice. The Syntax that deals with the connection of propositions now commands attention. Attention, too, must be given to the word *connection*. It, by no means, follows that because we find a long list of propositions following each other, there is a connection between them. Like marbles in a bag, to use an old illustration, they may touch without cohering; having as little relation to each other, as so many different essays or chapters. This is the case with proverbs, riddles, and the like, where each sentence constitutes a whole. In ordinary composition, however, this extreme isolation is rare. In ordinary composition the chances are, that out of three propositions, the middle one will have a double relation; one with its predecessor, one with its follower. This relation sometimes is, and sometimes is not, expressed by a special word.

*Laying, then, out of our account those propositions,*

which, though they may stand in *juxta-position* with one another, have no *grammatical* connection, we come to the consideration of those sentences in which there are not only two (or more) propositions, but also a connecting link between them: or, if not this, something in the nature of the one, which implies, or presupposes, the other. This is the case with Questions and Answers. But though Questions and Answers, along with a few other details of minor importance, come under this division of Syntax; they, by no means, constitute the most important part of it. The most important part of it is constituted by the Conjunctions and the Relative Pronouns.

§ 468. It is convenient to begin with the Conjunctions.

Notwithstanding their apparent unimportance, few Parts of Speech require closer consideration than the Conjunctions; and that most especially in reference to their Syntax. We do not see this very conspicuously in English, because in English the difference between the *Moods* of the Verb, is at a *minimum*. We have not much to do with the Subjunctive; and of Optative Moods we have none. But in Greek we know that, between the Optative and the Subjunctive, a very notable portion of the Syntax is devoted to several not very easy investigations.

§ 469. The principle, however, by which Conjunctions take their place as Parts of Speech, and exercise their influence in the Government and Concord of Verbs, is the same in all languages.

The Conjunctions, like the Prepositions and Adverbs, are Uninflected, and like the Prepositions and Adverbs, are incapable of forming, *by themselves*, either the Subject or the Predicate of a Proposition. But here the agreement ceases. Both the Adverb and the Pre-

position form parts of the term in which they appear; indeed, if they did not, we could not call them *parts*. But the Conjunction forms neither the part of a Term nor the whole of one.

It comes *between* two; but forms a part of neither.

*Generally*, though, perhaps, *not always*, these two terms belong to different Propositions. Hence, practically, Conjunctions may be said to connect\* *Propositions*.

§ 470. If so, in order to understand how many different kinds of Conjunctions can exist, we must know all the ways in which one proposition may be connected with another. Many propositions are wholly unconnected. Propositions delivered at long intervals, or by different persons, have, for the most part, no relation to each other. In consecutive conversation, however, one statement is connected with another. Thus—

I am pleased,  
*because*  
This has happened;  
*but*  
I should have been disappointed,  
*if*  
It had fallen out otherwise,  
*and*  
I think  
*that*  
My friends will be more surprised  
*than*  
Satisfied with the arrangement.

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\* That Conjunctions connect Terms is beyond all doubt; and, when the Terms thus connected belong to different Propositions, they connect (*through* such terms) different Propositions. Whether, however, they connect two or more terms *within the same Proposition* is a point which is disputed. This is a question far too wide and complex for investigation in such a work as the present. Contrary to his earlier opinion the writer thinks that, in some exceptional instances, it is *Terms* rather than *Propositions* which the Conjunction connects. Thus *All men are black or white* cannot be expanded into two propositions without over-refinement.

§ 471. *Copulatives and Disjunctives*.—Conjunctions which connect two or more Terms are called Copulative; as *and*.

Conjunctions which connect one of two Terms are called Disjunctive; as *or*. Disjunctives are either true Disjunctives or Subdisjunctives. A true Disjunctive separates *things*. When we say *the sun or the moon is shining*, we separate two different objects, one of which shines by day, the other by night. Subdisjunctives separate *names*. When we say *Victoria, or the Queen of England, is our sovereign*, we speak of the same object, under different names.

§ 472. The idea expressed by a Copulative may be strengthened and made clearer by the addition of the words *each, both, all*, or the like. Thus, we may say (*both*) *sun and moon are shining*, and *Venus, Jupiter, and the Dogstar are (all) visible*.

The idea expressed by a Disjunctive may be strengthened and made clearer by the addition of *either*. We may say (*either*) *the sun or the moon is shining*.

The idea expressed by a Subdisjunctive may be strengthened and made clearer by the phrase *in other words*. We may say *Queen Victoria, (in other words) the Queen of England, &c.*

In all these cases, the words *both, &c., either, &c.*, and *in other words, &c.*, are no true Conjunctions. They strengthen the Conjunction. The Conjunction, however, exists without them.

§ 473. *Or* and *either* have their corresponding Negatives—*nor* and *neither*. *I will either come or send* is right. So is *I will neither come nor send*. But *I will neither come or send* is wrong.

When a question is asked, *whether* takes the place of *either*.

Words like *either* are generally treated as Conjunctions.



tions. This, however, they are not. The most that can be said of them is that they form part of certain Conjunctional expressions. They never stand alone. Meanwhile the words with which they correspond, can, as a general rule, do without them. We say *this or that, mine or his*, quite as correctly as (*either*) *this or that, (neither) mine nor his*. If then, they are not conjunctions, what are they? *Both* is decidedly a Pronoun. *Either*, however, *neither* and *whether*, seem to be both Pronouns and Adverbs. When *either* means *one out of two*, it is a Pronoun. When it means *in the way of an alternative*, it is an Adverb.

§ 474. Other Conjunctions are Causal, Illative, and Conditional.

Causals give the cause of a given effect.

*The day is warm  
because  
The sun shines.*

Illatives give the effect of a given cause.

*The sun shines,  
therefore  
The day is warm.*

Conditional—

*The night will be fine  
if  
the stars shine.*

*Than* implies Comparison. *But* is Adversative.

§ 475. *Government of Conditional Conjunctions.*  
—Conditional Conjunctions govern the Subjunctive Mood. The chief Conditional is *if*. To say *if the sun shines the day will be clear* is not considered such good English as *if the sun shine, &c.*

Although the word *if* is the type and specimen of the conditional conjunction, there are several others

so closely related to it in meaning as to agree with it in requiring a subjunctive mood to follow them.

1. *Except* I be by Silvia in the night,  
There is no music in the nightingale.
2. Let us go and sacrifice to the Lord our God *lest* he fall upon us with pestilence.
3. Let him not go *lest* he die.
4. He shall not eat of the holy thing *unless* he wash his flesh with water.
5. *Although* my house be not so with God.
6. —Revenge back on Revenge itself recoils.  
Let it. I reckon not *so* it *light* well aimed.
7. Seek out his wickedness *till* thou find none.

And so on with *before, ere, as long as*.

On the other hand, the word *if* itself is not *always*, or, at least, not always *equally* conditional; conditional conjunctions being of two sorts:—

1. Those which express a condition as an actual fact, and one admitted as such by the speaker :

2. Those which express a condition as a possible fact, and one which the speaker either does not admit, or admits only in a qualified manner.

Since *the children are so badly brought up, &c.*—This is an instance of the first construction. The speaker admits, as an actual fact, the *bad bringing-up of the children*.

If *the children be so badly brought-up, &c.*—This is an instance of the second. The speaker admits as a possible (perhaps as a probable) fact the *bad bringing-up of the children*; but he does not adopt it as an indubitable one.

Now, if every conjunction had a fixed unvariable meaning, there would be no difficulty in determining whether a condition were absolute and beyond doubt, or possible and liable to doubt. But such is not the case.

*If* may precede propositions wherein there is so

little doubt implied that it may be treated as equivalent to *since*; in which case it is fitly followed by the Indicative Mood.

Hence we must look to the meaning of the sentence in general, rather than to the particular conjunction used.

As a point of practice, the following method of determining the amount of doubt expressed in a conditional proposition is useful:—Insert, immediately after the conjunction, one of the two following phrases—(1) *as is the case*; (2) *as may or may not be the case*. By ascertaining which of these two supplements expresses the meaning of the speaker, we ascertain the mood of the verb which follows.

When the first formula is the one required, there is no element of doubt, and the verb should be in the indicative mood. *If (as is the case) he is gone, I must follow him.* Here *if*=*since*.

When the second formula is the one required, there is an element of doubt, and the verb should be in the subjunctive mood. *If (as may or may not be the case) he be gone, I must follow him.*

§ 476. *Than* and *But*.—No conjunction governs a case. When a word governs a case, be it ever so like a conjunction, it is not one in reality. It is a preposition.

*Than* follows adjectives and adverbs of the comparative degree; as *this is better than that*.

*Than* is, in respect to its etymology, neither more nor less than *then*. It is not difficult to see the connection in sense between such sentences as *I like this better than I like that*, and *I like this—then (afterwards or next in order) I like that*.

*Than* is sometimes treated as a preposition when it governs a case.

Thou art a girl as much fairer than *her*  
 As he was a poet sublimer than *me*.—*Prior*.  
 You are a much greater loser than *me*.—*Swift*.

It is better, however, to make it a conjunction, in which case the noun which follows it depends upon the Verb of the antecedent clause. 1. *I like you better than he* = *I like you better than he likes you*. 2. *I like you better than him* = *I like you better than I like him*.

*But*, in respect to its etymology, is *be-utan* = *by out*. It is not difficult to see the connection in sense between such sentences as *all but one*, and *all without* (or *except*) one.

*But*, then, is a Preposition and an Adverb, as well as a Conjunction. Prepositional Construction.—*They all ran away but me*, i.e. *except me*. Conjunctional Construction.—*They all ran away but I*, i.e. *but I did not run away*.

Copulatives, Disjunctives, and Subdisjunctives must be considered in respect to the *Number* of the verb with which they come in contact. Copulatives *always* require a plural verb.

§ 477. *The Concord of Persons*.—A difficulty that occurs frequently in the Latin language is rare in English. In expressions like *ego et ille*, followed by a verb, there arises a question as to the person in which that verb shall be used. Is it to be in the first person in order to agree with *ego*, or in the *third* in order to agree with *ille*? For the sake of laying down a rule upon these and similar points, the classical grammarians arrange the Persons (as they do the Genders) according to their *dignity*, making the Verb agree with the most *worthy*. In respect to persons, the first is more worthy than the second, and the second more worthy than the third. Hence, they said—

*Ego et Balbus sustulimus manus.*  
~~*Tu et Balbus sustulistis manus.*~~

Now, in English, the plural form is the same for all three persons. Hence we say *I and you are friends, you and I are friends, I and he are friends, &c.*, so that for the practice of language, the question as to the relative dignity of the three persons is a matter of indifference. Nevertheless, it *may* occur, even in English. Whenever two or more pronouns of different persons, and of the *singular* number, follow each other *disjunctively*, the question of concord arises. *I or you—you or he—he or I*. I believe that, in these cases, the rules are as follows :

1. Whenever the word *either* or *neither* precedes the pronouns, the verb is in the third person. *Either you or I is in the wrong—neither you nor I is in the wrong*. In this case *either* is a pronoun, and means *one of us two*.

2. Whenever the disjunctive is simple, *i.e.* unaccompanied with the word *either* or *neither*, the verb agrees with the *first* of the two pronouns.

*I or he am in the wrong.*

*He or I is in the wrong.*

*Thou or he art in the wrong.*

*He or thou is in the wrong.*

§ 478. *The Concord of Tenses*.—When *that* signifies intention, the Verb which follows must be in the same Tense as the Verb which precedes it.

1. *I do this that I may succeed.*

2. *I did this that I might succeed.*

This is a Concord of *Tense*.

## CHAPTER VIII.

THE SYNTAX OF COMPLEX PROPOSITIONS — THE RELATIVE  
AND ANTECEDENT.

§ 479. *The Concords of the Relative and Antecedent.*—‘*Relative*’ and ‘*Antecedent*’ are words of which either one implies the other. There is no Relative without an Antecedent; and no Antecedent without a Relative.

As the Relative, in respect to its import, is simply the Antecedent under another name, the two words must be of the same Gender and the same Number; so that *Gender* and *Number* are the two Concords of the Relative and the Antecedent. In these they *must* agree.

In the matter of *Case*, however, there is no such necessary agreement; for the man or woman, the person or thing, or the men or women, &c., that are agents in one clause may be the objects of the action in the other. In ‘*I trust John*’—*John* is the object. In ‘*John trusts me*’—*John* is the agent.

§ 480. The Antecedent may appear in either the Subject or the Predicate, as *He steals trash who steals my purse—I punished him who stole my purse.*

§ 481. The arrangement of the clauses is not necessarily linear; *i.e.* they need not precede and follow one another; though in the preceding they have done so. They might, however, have run—*he, who steals my purse, steals trash—him, who stole my purse, I punished.*

§ 482. Neither is it necessary that *both* the Relative and the Antecedent should be used. In phrases like *the books I want are come* the Relative, in *Who steals my purse steals trash* the Antecedent, is omit-

ted. For a fuller notice of the *omission of the Relative*, see *Abbott, &c.* 244.

§ 483. *Attraction*.—This is a term of the same kind as *Ellipsis* and *Pleonasm*; for it is a name of one of those processes by which the ordinary rules for the Concords are disturbed. One of these Concords is, as we have seen, that between the Relative and the Antecedent; and the process that disturbs it is named *Attraction*. Though *Attraction* plays a part in the explanation of certain irregular constructions in English, the English is not the best language for explaining its nature and operation. A familiar example will best illustrate it. The Greek for *I use* is  $\chi\rho\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\iota$ ; for *book*  $\beta\iota\beta\lambda\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ ; for *which*,  $\omicron\iota\varsigma$  is the Dative, and  $\acute{\alpha}$  the Accusative Plural. For *I have* the Greek is  $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega$ . But  $\chi\rho\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\iota$  governs a Dative Case,  $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega$  an Accusative. In what case then will the Relative Pronoun *which* be when we translate *I use the books which I have*? The answer is plain. It will be in the case which is governed by the word corresponding with *have*, and *not* in that which is governed by the word corresponding with *use*. Hence the translation should be  $\chi\rho\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\iota \beta\iota\beta\lambda\acute{\iota}\omicron\iota\varsigma \acute{\alpha} \acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega$ . Instead of this, however, it is  $\chi\rho\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\iota \beta\iota\beta\lambda\acute{\iota}\omicron\iota\varsigma \omicron\iota\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega$ . But the disturbance is readily referred to its cause.

The regimen, or government, of the Antecedent extends itself to, or *attracts* the Relative. And that very naturally, inasmuch as the Relative and the Antecedent equally apply to the same object.

§ 484. *Attraction and Ellipsis*.—Along with this influence in the way of *Attraction* we should consider the fact noticed in § 482; viz. that of the omission of one of the two elements now under notice; and having done this, proceed to analyze such sentences as the following :

tions under which we expect Attraction lie on the surface and are conspicuously visible.

But when *It is I* either constitutes the whole sentence, or has no Relative to follow it, the conditions of Attraction are anything but conspicuous. However, it is only in appearance that they are wanting. There is always a second clause *implied*; and, in it, an unexpressed Relative. The bearing of this is, manifestly, upon the debateable question as to the propriety of the (so called) Accusative *me*, in the combination *It is me = It is I*. When this answers the question *What is that?* the answer may consist of a single word, viz. *I* or *me*, as the case may be. The arguments against the latter phrase lie on the surface, and there has never been a want of grammarians who have insisted upon them with all the zeal that conviction can engender. On the other hand the vulgarism, as it has been called, has found able defenders: one of the best arguments in its favour being the fact of vulgarity. It is, without doubt, a pure spontaneous growth of the English language when independent of the influence of the grammarian. It is something more even than this; for it is French as well as English—and that to a greater extent. In French *c'est moi* absolutely excludes *c'est je*. Yet *It is me* is not a Gallicism. It is the result, as has been suggested, of Attraction; though whether it is always so in English or whether it is ever so in French is another question.

§ 486. Another way by which the use of the (so-called) Accusative can be defended lies in the likelihood of its being no Accusative at all: for it does not follow that because *I* is the Nominative, *Me* may not be Nominative also. The one by no means excludes the other. Neither is a second form superfluous. The difference, in the matter of its inflection, between the Adjective when it constitutes a Predicate, and the Adjective when it is in the ordinary state of construction, has already been noticed; and it is not too much to say that the *Predicative*



*Construction* like the influence of Attraction is one of sufficient importance to be recognized as an element of criticism.

Hence, there may be two kinds of *me* in the place of *I*—one brought about by Attraction, and one the result of the Predicative construction question.

*Caution.*—It does not follow that because *It is me* may be justified, we can also say *It is him, It is her, It is them*, though the conditions of the Attraction are the same. In *him, her, and them* we have positive signs of an oblique case; and this naturally checks rather than favours the Attractional influence. On the other hand, *I* has no signs of anything, and consequently favours rather than checks it. It is not denied that *him, her, and them* may take the place of *he, she, and they*. It is only suggested that they do not do it so readily as *me* takes the place of *I*.

§ 487. *It is I your master who, &c.*—The Personal Pronouns, especially the First and Second, are, so to say, essentially Personal; and, when they stand by themselves before a Verb, there is no doubt as to the Person in which the Verb should be used. *I command* and *he commands* are as manifestly right as *I commands* and *he command* are wrong. But ordinary Substantives are, when they stand alone, of the *third Person*; so that just as we say *he commands you*, we also, say *your master commands you*. *Your master command you* is wrong; and *I commands* is no better.

What, then, is the construction when the Pronoun *I, or thou*, is put in *Apposition* with such a Substantive as *master*? With which should the verb which follows agree in respect to Person? Should we say *It is I, your master, who command you*, or *It is I, your master, who commands you*.

Here the Verb in the second clause is governed neither by the Personal Pronoun, *I*, nor the Substantive *master*, but by the Relative *Who*; and this means—with which, out of the two antecedents (*I* and *master*), does the Relative agree?

There are so many ways of looking upon this ques-

tion, which is by no means one of much practical importance, that it is more of a *crux grammatica* than aught else. The purely formal view of the matter I believe to depend upon the view we take of the Person of the ordinary Substantive. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred—perhaps in nine hundred and ninety-nine out of a thousand—it is in the *Third Person*; and, when this is the case, the notion that they are naturally more akin to *he, she, and it*, than to *I and Thou*, presents itself spontaneously. In reality, however, they are of no Person at all, until they are used either in the place of, or in apposition with, one of their determinant Pronouns; hence, when we say *I your master, thou my master, he our master, &c.*, there is, in reality, no conflict, in the way of Person, between the Pronoun and the Substantive. They are both names of the same objects, *i.e.* the speaker, the person (or object) spoken to, or the person (or object) spoken about. Hence, words like *master* are only of the third person when they stand alone, or with *he, she, or it* before them. They are, however, so often in this predicament that it not only seems as if they were so essentially; but it is somewhat difficult to conceive them otherwise. Yet, if the doctrine of this notice be true, *master*, so long as it is in apposition with *I*, is of the same person as *I*. If so, expressions like *it is I, your master, who commands you*, are only excusable—excusable on the ground of the apposition being, to some extent, concealed, or over-ruled.

The true Apposition is that of *master* and *I*—both names of the speaker; with which one is as good a First Person as the other. This is a *Concord*. But *Concords*, as we have seen, are pre-eminently liable to disturbing causes. Attraction, as we have seen, may, undoubtedly, disturb them.

Special affinities in the way of import may disturb them, e.g. in the verb *command* and the substantive *master* (i.e. *commander*), there is a connection in sense which may over-rule that of *I* as a Personal Pronoun. And, above all, there are differences which may disturb the formal connection in the way of stress, emphasis, or accent, between the two antecedents which are concealed in written, and only recognised in spoken language. In short it is scarcely possible to say when the one construction prevails over the other.

§ 488. In combinations like *Solomon, the son of David, who built the Temple*, the first four words must be treated as a single name, otherwise David is the builder; the Relative, as a rule, referring to the noun which it most immediately follows.

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## CHAPTER IX.

### INTERROGATIVE AND NEGATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS—THE RECIPROCAL CONSTRUCTION.

§ 489. Questions are either Direct or Oblique.

*Direct.*—Who is he?

*Oblique.*—Who do you say that he is?

Between the combined effects of Ellipsis and Attraction the Syntax of the oblique question is somewhat irregular. With the Substantive there is no practical difficulty, but with the Pronouns *who* and *whom*, the Accusative and Nominative Cases differ in form, and, so doing, claim special attention. Difficulties in constructions of this kind are best investigated by framing the answer to them, and noting the character

of the Verb. Where it is transitive the pronoun that follows it will be in the Accusative, when it is the Verb Substantive it will be in the Nominative Case.

*Whom* do you say that they seek?  
I say that they seek *him*.  
*Who* do you say that John is?  
I say that John is *he*, &c.

Less accurately—

And he axed hem and seide, *whom* seien the people that I am? Thei answeredn and seiden, Jon Baptist—and he seide to hem, But *whom* seien ye that I am?—WYCLIFFE, Luke ix.

Tell me in sadness *whom* she is you love.

*Romeo and Juliet*, i. 1.

And as John fulfilled his course, he said, *whom* think ye that I am?—Acts xiii. 25.

§ 490. *Yes* and *No* are, perhaps, words sufficiently peculiar to justify us in treating them as a separate Part of Speech; for it may be observed that, unlike any word hitherto noticed, they constitute a whole Proposition by themselves. *Yes*=*it is*, while *no*=*it is not*. At the same time, they depend upon what has preceded, for unless a question has been asked how is an answer to be given? There is nothing to reply to.

§ 491. When the Copula precedes the Predicate, the question is Categorical, and its answer is *Yes* or *No*. Question. *Is John at home?* Answer. *Yes* or *No*, as the case may be.

When the Predicate precedes the Copula the question is Indefinite, and the answer may be anything whatever. To *where is John?* we may answer *at home, abroad, in the garden, in London, I do not know, &c., &c.*

§ 492. In all questions there is a transposition of the terms. In *what is this?* the word *what* is the Predicate. Yet it begins the sentence. In *are you*

at home? the word *are*, though it begins the sentence, is a *Copula*.

§ 493. *Questions of Appeal*.—A question to which no answer can be given is much the same as a Negative. A person who, in extreme perplexity, says *what am I to do?* really means *I know not what to do*. These are called *Questions of Appeal*.

Or hear'st thou rather pure ætherial stream  
Whose fountain *who* can tell?

Here, *who* = *no one*, and is a secondary interrogation superadded to the main one expressed by *hear'st thou*. The English (for the construction as it stands is Greek) of the extract is *or art thou called a pure ætherial stream whose fountain no one knows?*

§ 494. What may be called the *distribution* of the negative is pretty regular in English. Thus, when the word *not* comes between an indicative, imperative, or subjunctive mood and an infinitive verb, it almost always is taken with the word which it follows—*I can not eat* may mean either *I can—not eat* (*i.e. I can abstain*), or *I can not—eat* (*i.e. I am unable to eat*); but, as stated above, it *almost* always has the latter signification.

But not *always*. In Byron's Deformed Transformed we find the following lines:—

Clay! not dead, but soulless,  
Though no mortal man would choose thee,  
An immortal no less  
Deigns *not to refuse* thee.

Here *not to refuse* = *to accept*; and is probably a Grecism. *To not refuse* would, perhaps, be better.

The next expression is still more foreign to the English idiom:—

Yet *not to have been dipped* in Lethe's lake  
*Could save* the son of Thetis from to die.

Here *not* is to be taken with *could*.

In the present English, two negatives make an affirmative. *I have not not seen him* = *I have seen him*. In Greek this was not the case. *Dux aut plures negativæ apud Græcos vehementius negant* is a well-known rule. The Anglo-saxon idiom differed from the English and coincided with the Greek. The French negative is only apparently double; words like *point*, *pas*, do not mean *not*, but *at all*. *Je ne parle pas* = *I not speak at all*, not *I not speak not*.

§ 495. When a *Finite* Verb is accompanied by a Negative, the Negative follows, and the Verb precedes: as *he spoke not*, *he moved not*, never *he not spoke*, or *he not moved*. This rule is absolute; though in many cases it looks as if it were otherwise. In expressions like *not to advance is to retreat* the negative stands first. But *to advance* is not a *Finite* Verb. It is rather a Noun. Again in *he does not advance*, &c., the case is the same. But the verb, again, is other than *Finite*. The true peculiarity of the Negative construction is that, except for the purposes of either metre or rhetoric, it prefers the circumlocution of *do* to the use of the simple Verb; as *I do not say so* rather than *I say not so*. Hence the Verb to which the negative belongs is *do*; and this, as the rule requires, it *follows*. The difference between *I cannot eat*, and *I can—not eat* has just been indicated.

Wallis's rule, which is quite as absolute as the present one, is to the same effect. It must be understood, however, to treat the Indeterminate Verb as other than Verbal.

Adverbium negandi non (*not*) verbo postponitur (nempe auxiliari primo si adsit; aut si non adsit auxiliare verbo principali): aliis tamen orationis partibus præfigi solet.

§ 496. *The Reciprocal Construction.*—In all sentences containing the statement of a reciprocal or mutual action there are in reality two assertions: one that A. *strikes* (or *loves*) B.; and another that B. *strikes* (or *loves*) A. Hence, if the expression exactly coincided with the fact signified, there would always be two full propositions. This, however, is not the habit of language. Hence arises a more compendious form of expression, giving origin to an ellipsis of a peculiar kind. Phrases like *Eteocles and Polynices killed each other* are elliptic, for *Eteocles and Polynices killed—each the other*. Here the second proposition expands and explains the first, whilst the first supplies the verb to the second; so that each clause is elliptic. The first is without the object, the second without the verb. That the verb must be in the plural number, that one of the nouns must be in the nominative case, and the other in the objective, is self-evident from the structure of the sentence.

This is the syntax. As to the power of the words *each* and *one*, I am not prepared to say that in the common practice of the English language there is any distinction between them. A distinction, however, if it existed, would give precision to our language. Where *two* persons performed a reciprocal action, the expression might be, *one another*; as, *Eteocles and Polynices killed one another*. Where *more than two* persons were engaged on each side of a reciprocal action, the expression might be, *each other*; as, *the ten champions praised each other*. This amount of perspicuity is attained, by different processes, in the French, Spanish, and Scandinavian languages.

(1.) French.—*Ils* (i. e. A. and B.) *se battaient—l'un l'autre*. *Ils* (A. B. C.) *se battaient—les uns les autres*.

(2.) In Spanish, *uno otro* = *l'un l'autre*, and *unos otros* = *les uns les autres*.

(3.) Danish.—*Hinander* = the French *l'un l'autre*; whilst *hverandre* = *les uns les autres*.

## CHAPTER X.

COMPOSITION DEFINED.—ACCENT.—ORDER OF ELEMENTS.—  
APPARENT EXCEPTIONS.—DETAILS.

§ 497. *Composition*.—*Composition is the joining together, in language, of two different words, treated as a single term.* Observe the following elements in this definition—

1. *In language*.—Words like *merry-making* are divided by the hyphen. Now, it is very plain that if all words *spelt* with a hyphen were to be considered as compounds, the formation of them would be not a matter of speech or *language*, but one of writing or spelling. This distinguishes compounds in language from mere printers' compounds.

2. *Different*.—In words like *tomtom*, *bonbon*, *sëlp-sëlpo* (*self-same*) we have the junction of two words, though not of two *different* ones. This gives us *gemination*, or *doubling*, rather than true composition.

3. *Words*.—In *father-s*, *clear-er*, *four-th*, &c., there is the addition of a letter or a syllable, and it may be even of the part of a word. There is no addition, however, of a whole one. This distinguishes composition from *derivation*.

4. *Treating the combination as a single term*.—In the eyes of one grammarian the term *mountain height* may be as truly a compound as *sunbeam*. In the eyes



of another it may be no compound, but two words like *Alpine height*.

It is in the determination of differences of this kind that the *Accent* plays an important part.

Compare such a word as *blúe bottle* in the combination *blúe-bottle fly*, or such a one as *blúe-stocking* = *learned female* with *blúe bóttle*, and *blúe stócking* as separate words. Compare, also, *bláck-bird*, meaning a *bird that is black*, with *bláckbird* the Latin *merula*; or *blúe béll*, meaning a *bell that is blue*, with *blúebell*, the flower. Expressions like a *shárp, éged instrument*, meaning an *instrument that is sharp and has edges*, as opposed to a *shárp-edged instrument*, meaning an *instrument with sharp edges*, further exemplify this difference. Subject to a few exceptions, it may be laid down, that, in the English language, *there is no composition unless there be either a change of form or a change of accent*.

§ 498. *Differences of meaning*.—In a *red house*, each word preserves its natural and original meaning, and the statement suggested by the term is *that a house is red*. By a parity of reasoning, a *mad house* should mean a *house that is mad*; and, provided that each word retain its natural meaning and its natural accent, such is the fact. Let a *house* mean, as it often does, a *family*. Then the phrase, a *mad house*, means that the house or *family is mad*, just as a *red house* means that the *house is red*. Such, however, is not the current meaning of the word. Every one knows that a *mad house* means a *house for mad men*; in which case it is treated as a compound word, and has a marked accent on the first syllable. Compared, then, with such words as *red house*, meaning a house of a *red colour*, and compared with such words as *mad house* meaning a *deranged family*, the word, in its

common sense, expresses a *compound* idea, as opposed to *two* ideas. Such is the commentary upon *treating the combination as a single term*; or, in other words, such is the difference between a *compound* word and *two* words.

§ 499. *Order of elements*.—In compound words it is the *first* term that defines or particularises the *second*. That the idea given by the word *apple-tree* is not referable to the words *apple* and *tree*, irrespective of the order in which they occur, may be seen by reversing the position of them. *Tree-apple*, although not existing in the language, is as correct a term as *thorn-apple*. In *tree-apple*, the particular sort of *apple* meant is denoted by the word *tree*, and if there were in our gardens various sorts of plants called *apples*, of which some grew along the ground and others upon trees, such a word would be required in order to be opposed to *earth-apple*, or *ground-apple*, or some word of the kind. However, as the word is *not* current in the language, the class of compounds indicated by it may seem to be merely imaginary. Yet nothing is further from being the case. A *tree-rose* is a *rose*, a *rose-tree* is a *tree*, of a particular sort. A *ground-nut* is a *nut* particularised by growing in the ground. A *nut-ground* is a *ground* particularised by producing nuts. A *finger-ring*, as distinguished from *ear-rings* and from *rings* in general, is a *ring* for the *finger*. A *ring-finger*, as distinguished from *fore-fingers* and from *fingers* in general, is a *finger* whereon *rings* are worn.

§ 500. *Third element in compounds*.—It is clear, that in every compound there are *two* parts, i.e. the whole or part of the original, and the whole or part of the superadded, word. Are there ever *more* than two? Yes. There is, sometimes, a third element, viz., a vowel, consonant, or syllable, that joins the first word with the

second. In the older forms of all the German languages the presence of this third element was the rule rather than the exception. In the present English it exists in but few words; and that doubtfully.

(a) The *-a-* in *black-a-moor* is possibly such a connecting element.

(b) The *-in-* in *night-in-gale* is, perhaps, one also. Compare the German form *nacht-i-gall*, and remember the tendency of vowels to take the sound of *-ng* before *g*.

(c) The *-s-* in words like *Thur-s-day*, *hunt-s-man*, may be the same; but it may also be the sign of the Possessive Case.

§ 501. *Compound radicals*.—Words like *midship-man*, *gentlemanlike*, &c., must be treated as formations from a compound radical: and analysed thus—*midship-man*, *gentleman-like*.

§ 502. The classification of Compounds in respect to their *form* begins with the two extremes.

At one end they pass into the ordinary combinations of the rules of Concord and Government between two separate words in Syntax—as *Thursday* = *Thoris dies* = *Thor's day*.

At the other they pass into Derivatives; as in the case of *manly*, as opposed to *manlike*. There is no such single word as *-ly*. But we know that it is only *like* in a newer form. This leads us to Etymology; or the Grammar of single words.

(1) *Substantives preceded by Substantives*; the first being *governed* by the second in the Genitive Case—*Thur-s-day*, as opposed to *Sun-day*; *land-s-man*, as opposed to *sea-man*; *headsman*; *sportsman*, *huntsman*, &c.

*Substantives preceded by Adjectives*—*blindworm*, *freeman*, *blackthorn*, *holyday*, *quicksilver*, &c. These

are, in Latin, *cæcus anguis, liber homo, nigra spina, sancta dies, vivum argentum (argentum vivum)*.

*Substantives preceded by Verbs*—*turnspit, spitfire, daredevil, &c.*

Here the first element is just what it would be if the two words were unconnected, or even separated by others intervening = *Thor's (sacred) day, the blind (and) slow worm; spit (flame and) fire*, and the like. No word has changed either its form, or its relations in the way of government, nor yet its import as a Part of Speech, on the strength of the closeness of the contact, or the change of accent, which indicates its subordination as a syllable.

The same is *nearly* the case with the Active Principles of Transitive Verbs, preceded by a Substantive. A *fruit-bearing tree* differs from a *tree bearing fruit* only in the transposition of its element and the Accent. The government is that of an ordinary Accusative Case.

When the first element in compounds of this kind is an Adjective, there is modification of the construction. *Soft-flowing* means *softly* rather than *soft*; and corresponds with the Latin *molliter* rather than *molle*. But a *Neuter Adjective* both in Latin and English, may stand for an Adverb: so that the difference between the Adverbial and the Adjectival construction is but nominal.

As an Adjective, without its Substantive, is not an object of Government; the verb in combinations like *soft-flowing* is Intransitive. With Pronouns, however, it may be Transitive; for a Pronoun, by itself, can be governed in a Case. This gives us compounds like *all-seeing, self-supporting*.

But the Pronoun partakes of the nature of both the Substantive and the Adjective; and, according to the extent that it inclines to one or the other, the sense and construction are equivocal. *All-seeing* may mean

either *seeing everything*, which is Substantival, or *seeing universally*, which is Adverbial and Adjectival.

§ 503. In the combinations which follow we have neither such clear cases of government as we have in *Thursday* and *fruit-bearing*, nor such clear cases of Concord as we have in *blindworm*. There is Government; but it is of indirect and indefinite character; and there is, so far as the outward form of the combination is concerned, Apposition in the way of Concord. The closer contact, however, which has reduced two words into one has modified the import of one of the elements as a Part of Speech—and this is *first* of the two; the one that particularizes, or circumscribes, the import of the second; and, thirdly, the one that carries the Accent—*dáystar*, *rósetree*, *séaman*, *collarbone*, *súnlight*, &c., &c. It is not easy to give the exact circumlocutions which correspond with the compounds. They, generally, involve a Preposition, and so far as they do this may be said to be in the case that such a Preposition would govern. In some instances the Preposition is, perhaps, sufficiently clear for two different persons to agree upon it. A *wine-cellar*, for instance, would probably be rendered *a cellar for wine*, by nine speakers out of ten; and *oak-tree* rendered *a tree that is an oak*. But such instances are exceptional; though where we get them, we get an instance of Government in the first case, and of Apposition in the second.

§ 504. The reduction of compounds into what would be their equivalents, if they were decomposed and exhibited with the full details of their construction, is not clear in respect to Government on the part of the Preposition. And it is no clearer in respect to that of the Verb. Indeed, it is the Verbal, rather than the Verb itself, that plays any not t i Syntax of Compounds.

In Composition the Verb pure and simple has a very limited function. As a *Prefix* before a Substantive, we find it in words like *báckbite*, *brówbeat*, *dáredevil*, *spítfire*, *túrncóat*, *túrnsplit*, and others; but they are by no means numerous. As *Affixes*, the Verbs are very rare; for we can easily believe that when such combinations as *báckbite* and *spítfire* are uncommon, transpositions of them, such as *bíteback* and *firesplit*, are rarer still. Indeed, it is safe to say that when they exist at all, they exist only as Verbals, in *-ing* or *-en* divested of their terminations. So far then as such words as *to stárgaze*, *to déerstalk*, *to shéepsteal*, &c., exist, they do not so much mean to *gaze at stars*, to *stalk deer*, or to *steal sheep*, as to play the part of a *stargazer*, a *deerstalker*, or a *sheepstealer*, or to have the habit of *sheepstealing*, *deerstalking*, or *stargazing*.

§ 505. *Substantival Participles*.—These are words like *mop-headed*, *hot-headed*, *cold-hearted*, &c., where the second element is a Substantive, and the first either a Substantive or an Adjective. Meanwhile the Affix is that of a Participle.

Every object in existence, however much its name may be a Substantive, can be made Participial in both form and import by connecting it with some other to which it belongs as an attribute. Thus, any object, whether person or thing, to which a *head* or *heart* belongs, is one which is endued with, or possessed of a *head*, a *heart*, or what not? In other words, it is *headed* or *hearted*. When these *heads* or *hearts* are of any exceptional or peculiar character, that character is indicated by a Prefix. The *head* is *moplíke*. The *head* is *as a mop*, or *moplíke* when the combination is Substantival, and it is simply *cold* or *hot* when it is Adjectival. The object to which it belongs, or appertains, is *mop-headed*, *cold-hearted*, or *hot-headed* as the

case may be; and it is the object thus characterized that is *mop-headed*, or *cold-hearted*. We rarely, however, use the second element by itself, inasmuch as it rarely occurs to us to say that such-or-such an object has a *head* or *heart* purely and simply. It is only when the *head* or *heart* is characterized by something different from *heads* and *hearts* in general that we use the Participial affix.

This is how pure Substantives take the form of Participles, and how they generally do so as compounds. A *cóld héarted man* is one who *is cold*, and also *has a heart*. A *cóld-hearted man* is one who *has a cóld héart*. The mere fact of his having a *heart* at all is rarely enough of a characteristic to develop a Substantival Participle.

Still, there are *some* words in English thus formed; and, perhaps, the best known example is the much abused word *talented*; which has the misfortune of having been condemned by *Coleridge*; who likened it to such words as *skillinged* or *guineaed*. This was good just so far as it went. *Talented* means endowed with mental accomplishments analogous to great possessions in money, and, for this, the best equivalent was the name of the highest denomination in the way of metallic wealth. It was the most general term because it was the largest.

Of simple Substantival Participles there is no better, because no more familiar example than *landed* in the phrase *landed interest*, which means the interest determined by *land*, or that of the *landowners*. The doctrine that Participial forms always imply corresponding Verbs is untenable.

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