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TRANSACTIONS

PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

1880-1.

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PUBLISHED FOR THE SOCIETY BY

TRÜBNER & CO.,

57 & 59, LUDGATE HILL, LONDON,

KARL J. TRÜBNER, STRASSBURG

1880.

TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY
1880.

I.—REMARKS ON SOME PHONETIC LAWS IN PERSIAN. By Prof. Charles Rieu, Ph.D.

[illegible] JAN.

The name which Persians give to their language is [illegible]m at least, Arabic, and borrowed from their Muslim conquerors. Fārsī comes from Fārs, the Arabic name of the original seat of the Persian empire, the Parsa of the inscriptions of Darius.

It may be incidentally noticed that, while adopting a foreign designation for their language, the Persians gave to their Eastern neighbours a name of their own making. Hind, the Oriental name of India, is derived, by phonetic changes peculiar to Persian, from Sindhu, the Sanskrit name of the river Indus, from which it was subsequently extended to the country lying beyond it.

Fārs is never used for what we call Persia. It applies only to the province which once had Persepolis, and now has Shīrāz, for its capital. Persia in its wider sense is now called Īrān, from the old Airyana, or land of the Aryas. This last name belongs to the Sanskrit-speaking race of India as well as to the tribes of Īrān, and points to their common origin. The western branch, which spreads over the vast extent of the Persian empire, and includes, besides Persian proper, Afghan, Kurdish, Armenian, and other cognate dialects, may be called Iranian.

Of the earliest forms of that western branch we possess but scanty knowledge. The oldest written documents extant belong to two distinct sub-divisions, which may be called the Eastern and Western dialects of old Iranian. The first of

these is represented by the earliest portions of the sacred writings of the Zoroastrians. Its seat was Bactria, the modern Balkh. As the name of Zend, by which it first became known in Europe, properly belongs to the sacred texts, it is now generally termed Old-Bactrian.

The second or western dialect is the ancient language of Persia proper, and is preserved in the inscriptions of the Achemenides, who, following the example of their Assyrian and Babylonian predecessors, were fond of engraving records of their conquests on palace walls and rock slabs in various parts of their empire.

Both these dialects exhibit the language of Īrān in a stage of development parallel to Sanskrit. In their complex grammatical forms, their full terminations, and their vocabulary, they bear a close resemblance to that language, from which they are, however, differentiated by peculiar phonetic changes.

From these earliest forms of Iranian speech modern Persian is separated by an interval of upwards of a thousand years. The intermediate stage, which is still more imperfectly known than the first, is chiefly represented by Pehlevi, which flourished under the Sassanides. In it were handed down the ancient myths and national legends from which Firdūsī subsequently drew his great epos. We hear also of various works of Indian origin translated into Pehlevi, especially under Nushirvan, the Book of Sindbad, the prototype of the Arabian Nights, Kalīlah and Dimnah, and others.

But all that rich literature was overwhelmed, together with the Sassanide empire, by the mighty wave of Muslim conquest, and irretrievably lost.

Before long, however, the hardy roots of native speech sprouted forth from under the ruins, and soon came to bloom again under the Samanides, who found in the revival of the national spirit a powerful element of political independence. The new form of Iranian speech which now appears in a foreign garb, the Arabic character, is modern Persian. From its very beginning it is in all essential respects identical with the present language of Īrān. Rūdagī, who is called the father of Persian poetry, lived

a thousand years ago. Firdūsī, who came a little later, in the latter half of the tenth century, found a language already elaborated by several generations of poets, and cast it into an imperishable mould, the great national epos. From that time to our own we see Persian poetry flowing on in an unbroken and ever-swelling stream.

Nor did prose lag behind. From the chronicle of Tabari, translated from Arabic into Persian A.D. 965, the first prose work of any extent which has been preserved, it gave rise to a vast literature, chiefly historical, which for extent and continuity will hardly find its equal in any country.

Persian presents, therefore, a remarkable, probably unique, instance of longevity in language. In spite of some archaic phrases, and of a few obsolete words, the early writings just mentioned are easily understood by the Persians of the present day. After a lapse of nearly a thousand years Firdūsī is no less intelligible, nay more popular, in Persia, than Dante in Italy. In England we must come down to the time of Spenser or Shakspere to find a parallel case.

Persian has in the highest degree the analytical character common to most modern languages. In fact it may be said to have reached the last stage of grammatical bankruptcy, and those philologists whose regard for language is proportionate to the complexity of their grammatical forms, will be quite consistent if they look upon Persian with unmitigated contempt. It has no vestige of cases, no distinction of gender, not even in the pronouns, and only one bona fide simple tense, all the rest being formed by means of auxiliaries. An exception must be made, however, in favour of the personal terminations of that tense, the fullness of which contrasts advantageously with their more or less complete obliteration in most European languages. They are for the singular 1. *am*, 2. *i*, 3. *ad*; for the plural 1. *im*, 2. *id*, 3. *and*.

Although Persian has, like English, largely thrown its grammatical lumber over-board, it has nevertheless some claims to our attention. It has played no small part in the world's history, and has overflown far and wide its original boundaries, partly by conquest, as was the case in India, but more generally in consequence of the high degree of elegance

and refinement to which it has been brought by long culture and by the innate taste of the race. Turks and Hindoos have modelled their poetry on that of Iran, and Persian has been for centuries the language of polite correspondence throughout Western Asia.

Persian is also the living expression of the obstinate resistance which the Arian spirit opposed to the invading Semitic element. Although it had to submit to a considerable foreign admixture, it has succeeded in maintaining the native type unaltered in its essential features. In this respect it can be compared to English. What the Roman element, Latin or French, has been to English, Arabic has been to Persian. Arabic was the language of religion, of law, of the school, and, for a long period, the language of the ruling class. It filtered through a thousand channels into the vernacular. The great philosophers of the East, Avicenna, Al-Ghazāli, Nasīr ud-Dīn Tūsi, and others, all men of Persian birth, wrote their serious works in Arabic, and resorted to the vulgar tongue only for popular treatises.

But there is this distinction. While in English the foreign element was engrafted, as it were, on the native stem, so as to sprout forth again into something very like home-growth, in Persian the Arabic words are simply inlaid like the pieces of a mosaic, and never truly amalgamate with the organism of the language. This difference is apparently due to the greater dissimilarity of the invading language, Arabic belonging to an entirely distinct stock, the Semitic.

I now propose to examine some of the most characteristic sound changes which gave to Persian its peculiar physiognomy, selecting such examples as will show a few of its points of contact with other branches of the Indo-Germanic family. I shall deal only with consonants as being the more solid and the most easily grasped element of language, very much as a comparative anatomist would attach himself in the first place to the skeleton, leaving the softer parts to future consideration.

For this purpose it will be convenient to follow the order of the Sanskrit alphabet, as the only one which is rationally arranged. Sanskrit, moreover, will be our main point of

comparison, both as being closely related to Persian, and as representing, on the whole, the forms of the parent speech more faithfully than any other.

Persian can no more be derived from Sanskrit than a man can be said to descend from his uncle. But in either case comparison with an earlier example of the family type may be found instructive. When a Persian word is traced, for brevity's sake, to Sanskrit, what is meant is that it comes from the parent form represented by the Sanskrit word.

Gutturals.

The tenuis of this class follows a law which applies still more generally to the corresponding letters of the dental and labial classes. When initial it remains unchanged, as in *ki* 'who?' Sanskrit *ka*; *kar* 'to do,' Sanskrit *kar*; *kām* 'desire,' Sanskrit *kāma*. When medial or final (a final consonant, having been at an earlier stage followed by a vowel, comes under the same rule as the medial), the tenuis has a tendency to pass into the media, *k* into *g*. Thus the root *kar* 'to do,' when forming the second member of a compound, appears as *gar* or *gār*; thus *dād-gar* 'justice-maker'; *paigār* (from *prati-kāra*) 'contest,' 'battle.' Thus again *sūg* 'grief,' from Sanskrit *çoka*; *marg* 'death,' from Zend *mahrka*.

There are, however, many words in which medial *k* remains unchanged, as *paikar* (from *prati-kara*) 'counterfeit,' 'image;' *pāk* 'pure,' Sanskrit *pāvaka*; *yak* 'one,' Sanskrit *eka*.

There is a large class of words in which final *k* is altogether dropped. It consists of those which in the early stage of Iranian ended in *aka*. From the root *band* 'to bind' for instance, we have the old form *bandaka* 'slave,' and the modern *banda*; from *murtaka* 'dead' (Sanskrit *mṛta*+*ka*), the modern *murda*. The final, however, is not completely lost; for it re-appears in the plural, which is formed by the termination *ān* (from the old genitive *ānām*), and we have *bandag-ān* 'slaves,' *murdag-ān* 'the dead.' It re-appears also in the abstract formed by the suffix *ī*, as *bandag-ī* 'servitude.'

In Pehlevi, words of that class still ended in *ag*, and that termination has been preserved in those which have passed

from that language into Arabic, as, for instance, انموذج 'a sample,' a word corresponding to the modern *numūda* 'something shown.' From this it would appear that ج, now pronounced *j*, was at that early period still sounded *g* by the Arabs. The same final *k* has also been preserved in Armenian, where we find *hreshtak*, dialectically *hreshdag*, 'angel,' corresponding to Persian *firishta*.

Before speaking of some other changes of *k*, we must make a remark on aspirates. The true aspirates of Sanskrit, *k'h*, *g'h*, *d'h*, etc., are entirely wanting in Persian. But that language has developed on its own ground a new class of aspirates, unknown to Sanskrit, which may perhaps be more properly described as breathed letters, namely خ *kh*, pronounced like χ or the German *ch* in *noch*; غ *gh*=Greek γ or the German *g* in *sagen*; ذ a lisped *d*, like the Greek δ or *th* in *there* (in the modern pronunciation of Persian it is not distinguished from ز); lastly ف, our *f*.

There are a few cases in which the Persian breathed letters are the direct representatives of the Sanskrit aspirates, as, for instance, in *nākhun* 'nail,' from Sanskrit *nak'ha* (ὄνυχος, unguis, Nagel); *shākh* 'branch,' from Sanskrit *çāk'hā*. But in most cases they develope out of inaspirate letters, and in obedience to phonetic laws peculiar to Persian.

One of these new factors is the aspirating power of *r*, evidence of which is found in Greek also. A *k* followed by *r* necessarily changes into the corresponding breathed letter *kh*. Thus from Sanskrit *kram* 'to walk,' we have *kharām* in the same sense; from Sanskrit *krī* 'to buy,' *khar* with the same meaning; from the Sanskrit *kruç* 'to crow,' Pers. *khuros* 'a cock.' Sometimes, after affecting that change, *r* leaps over the guttural and places itself before it. Thus Sanskrit *çukra* 'bright or glowing,' would give in Persian, by the preceding rule, *sukhr*, instead of which we have *surkh* 'red.' Similarly, from Sanskrit *chakra* 'circle,' 'wheel,' comes Persian *charkh* 'wheel,' for *chakhr*. A curious instance of transposition in the inverse sense is presented by *khirs* 'bear.' The Sanskrit *ṛiksha* leads to a primitive form *arksa* (ἄρκτος,

ursus). The Persian word can only be explained by transposition from an older form *riks*.

A sibilant has on a preceding *k* an effect similar to that of the *r*, but which leads, in modern Persian, to a different result. Many words in Sanskrit begin with the group *ksh*. In old Persian the corresponding forms show the aspirate or breathed guttural with *s*, i.e. *khs*. In modern Persian the guttural, undermined by the aspiration, has ultimately vanished altogether, and the corresponding words begin with *sh* pure and simple. Instances are found in Sanskrit *kshap*, old Persian *khsapa*, 'night,' modern Persian *shab*. From a root corresponding to the Sanskrit *kshi* 'to rule,' we have a word of constant occurrence in the Achemenide inscriptions, *khsāyatiya* 'king,' which in modern Persian has dwindled down to *Shāh*, or, in the emphatic form, *Shāhan-shāh*, Regum Rex. A kindred word is the Sanskrit *kshatra*, from which is derived the name of the ruling caste, *kshatriya*. The corresponding form in old Persian is *khsathra* 'empire,' which has very much come down both in sound and in meaning in the modern Persian *shahr* 'city.' This word retains, however, its ancient significance in the compound *Īrān-shahr*, the 'Persian empire.'

It would seem that in the combination under notice the initial *kh* was but slightly sounded, even in olden times. The Greeks dropped it entirely in another compound including the same word, viz. *khsathrapāvā* 'guardian of the empire,' from which they made their σατράπης.

A third case in which *k* must change to *kh* is when it comes into contact with the suffix *t*, which forms the past of verbs and some verbal nouns. To Sanskrit *bhakti* 'division,' corresponds *bakht* 'lot,' 'fortune.' This is only a special application of a law which in Persian suffers no exception. It may be formulated as follows: *When two stops meet, the first changes into the nearest breath.* In other words, the combinations *kt*, *pt*, and the like, are, in Persian, impossible; they are necessarily replaced by *kht*, *ft*, etc. The same rule obtains in German, where we have *Frucht* from *fruct*, *Schrift* from *script*, *Macht* from *mag*+*t*, *haft* from *hab*+*t*, etc.

Initial *g* remains unaltered, as in *gām* 'step,' from *gā* 'to go,' *gāo* 'cow'=Sanskrit *gau*. As medial, *g* is found occasionally changed into *h*. Thus *nihuft* 'he hid,' from Sanskrit *ni-gupta; Behistūn*, a place famous for its rock inscriptions, from *Baga-stāna* the 'place of the Gods.'

The primitive aspirate *g* has in Sanskrit been very generally replaced by a simple *h*, and the corresponding Persian forms will be noticed under this last letter. As initial, it loses its aspiration in *garm* 'warm,' from Sanskrit *g'harma*. As medial or final, it is not unfrequently represented in Persian by the breathed letter ḫ or γ, as in *meγ* 'cloud,' corresponding to Sanskrit *meg'ha*, from the root *mih*, originally *mig'h* (Latin *mingo*), in *dāγ* 'a burn,' from *dah* (for *dag'h*) 'to burn,' and in *durūγ* 'lie, deceit,' from *druh* (for *drug'h*), which in Sanskrit means 'to hurt,' and in Zend 'to deceive.' Compare German *Trug*.

Palatals.

This class is only a weakened form of the preceding. This is made very evident in Sanskrit by the fact that verbs beginning with a guttural change it into a palatal in the first syllable of the reduplicated forms, as in *chakāra*, the past of *kar*, from a primitive *karkāra*. The palatalization of gutturals is a change of common occurrence. We find it in Arabic, where the old *g* is now universally replaced by *j*, except in the Egyptian dialect, and where *k* is dialectically sounded *ch*, as in *chelb* for *kelb* 'dog.' We find it in the Italian, and probably late Latin, pronunciation of *c* before *e* and *i*, and in English before all vowels, as in *chin, chafer, choose*, etc. But in the western branches of Indo-Germanic it is a late and independent development. In Persian, on the contrary, the palatalization occurs in the same words as in Sanskrit, and thus affords a proof, among many others, of the long connexion of the Iranian and Indian families.

As initial, we find *ch* unchanged in *chahār* 'four'=Sanskrit *chatvāras*; *charm* 'leather'=Sanskrit *charma*; *chashm* 'eye,' Sanskrit *chakshu*, etc.; while the corresponding Latin words *quatuor, corium*, show the guttural. Here we may notice,

en passant, that of all European branches Slavonic alone has also the palatal in *chetyre* 'four,' a significant, and not isolated, point of contact with Iranian.

Medial *ch* must, according to a law already noticed, become voiced in Persian, as in *panj* 'five'=Sanskrit *pancha*. But in most cases it undergoes a further change, and becomes *z*. This is owing to a peculiar, and in Persian very decided, tendency of letters to slip forward from back to front. Nor does it stop there; for we shall see presently *j* changing into *d*, a further step in the same direction, the last stage in a journey from the uvula to the teeth.

As an instance of that normal change of medial *ch* into *z* we shall take a word which the Cuneiform inscriptions have preserved to us in its primitive form, *raucha* 'day,' from *ruch* 'to shine.' This root is widely spread throughout the Indo-Germanic area, but in the western branch it appears with *l*, as in λευκός, *lux*, our own *light*, *liucht*, etc. From *raucha* comes in modern Persian *roz*, and, in the present pronunciation, *rūz*.

This change is of some importance; it affects a large class of so-called irregular verbs, the apparent anomalies of which are simply the result of the normal operation of phonetic laws.

There are many roots in Sanskrit, the final of which appears sometimes as a guttural, and sometimes as a palatal. As a general rule, the guttural is found before consonants, and the palatal before vowels or semi-vowels. Thus we have from the same root *çuk-ta* and *çuch-yati*. Native grammarians look upon the palatal form as the real root, and give rules to show in what cases it changes into the guttural.

This is obviously reversing the natural process. We might as well say that the root of *facere* was *fach* or *fatch*, as pronounced in *facio*, and that it changed into *fac* in *factum*. The guttural is evidently the original sound, which has kept its ground wherever it was protected from change by consonantal contact.

In Persian we find also a double form corresponding to that original split into *k* and *ch*. But the two sounds, which in Sanskrit were still near to each other, are now wide apart.

Both have been travelling on, each on its own line, in diverging directions. As *kt* must necessarily change to *kht*, from *çukta* we get *sūkht*, the ground form of the past. On the other hand, medial or final *ch* passing into *z*, *çuch* gives *sūz* as theme of the present.

The same double form is found in the verb corresponding to Sanskrit *pach* 'to cook.' The palatal form gives in Persian *paz*, the base of the present, while from the guttural form *pak*, combined with the suffix of the past *t*, we get *pukht* 'he cooked,' the vowel being coloured, in a closed syllable, by the initial labial. In the same way, from Sanskrit *abhiruch* 'to illumine,' we have the present *afrūz* and the past *afrūkht;* from the Zend verb *tach* 'to run,' the present *tāz* and the past *tākht*, and so on.

The Sanskrit aspirated palatal *ch'h* appears to derive from an older *sk*. Compare *ch'hid* 'to split' with *scindo; ch'hāyā* 'shadow,' with *σκιά*; and *prach'h* 'to ask,' with *posco*. The corresponding Persian forms have a simple sibilant, as *sāyah* 'shadow,' *purs* 'to ask.'

The palatalization of the voiced guttural occurs likewise in Persian in the same words as in Sanskrit. It is, however, as we saw just now, no longer represented by *j*, but by *z*, and, in some cases, even by *d*. (Here we call attention to another point of resemblance with Slavonic, in which Sanskrit *jnā* 'to know,' for instance, becomes *zna, znaty*, while in other European languages it appears with the primitive guttural, *gno, know*.)

Thus the root *jan* 'gigno,' which in the western branch has the guttural, as in *γίγνομαι, γένος, gens*, our own *kin*, appears in Persian with *z*. We find it in *zan* 'woman,' Sanskrit *janā* (*γυνή*); *zāda* 'born,' Sanskrit *jāta; farzand* 'son,' progenitus. Sanskrit *jānu* 'knee' (genu) becomes in Persian *zānū;* Sanskrit *jīv* 'to live' (*vivo* for *guivo, quick*) becomes *zī*; Sanskrit *jmā* 'earth,' is represented in Zend by *zem*, in Persian by the secondary form *zemīn* (compare Russian *zemlya*).

A further step brings us, as we said above, to *d*, which in

some words takes the place of initial *j*. The Sanskrit root *jnā* 'to know' (γνῶναι, *gnovi*, *gnarus*) takes in the present the affix of conjugation *nā*, and, losing at the same time its original nasal, becomes *jānā*, to which corresponds in Persian *dān* 'to know.' Sanskrit *jāmātar* 'son-in-law,' γαμβρός, becomes *dāmād*. From Sanskrit *jush* 'to like,' comes *daustar* 'friend,' modern Persian *dūst*.

The Sanskrit cerebrals being a class of Indian growth, and quite unknown to Iranian, we pass on to the

Dentals.

Initial *t* is preserved in *tu* 'thou,' *tan*=Sanskrit *tanu* 'body,' *tars*=Sanskrit *tras* 'to fear' (terror), etc.; but as medial or final it exhibits the change into the media, *d*, more thoroughly than is the case in any other class. Equal thoroughness in that substitution is only found in Spanish, which has *mudado* from *mutatum*, *verdad* from *veritatem*, etc.

The well-known Sanskrit or Aryan words, *mātar* 'mother,' *pitar* 'father,' appear in Persian as *mādar*, *pidar*. The terminations of the third person, *ati* in the singular, *anti* in the plural, become *ad* and *and*, as *mānad* 'remanet,' *mānand* 'remanent.' As this last example shows, the change is not prevented by combination with a liquid; thus we have *andar* 'in' (usually shortened to *dar*) from *antar* 'inter,' *dandān* 'tooth,' from *danta* (dentem), *mard* 'man,' from *martya* (βροτός), *murd* 'he died'=Sanskrit *mṛita*, from the same root *mar*, with the *t* of the past changed into *d*.

This change is only prevented by contact with a voiceless letter, as *s* in *ast* 'is'=*asti*, *est*, the only third person in Persian which has preserved the *t*, and in *istādan* 'to stand,' Sanskrit *sthā*. This protection of the *t* by *s* extends even to those cases in which it has been subsequently separated from it by that auxiliary vowel which modern Persians invariably insert in words beginning with two consonants, as in *sutūdan* 'to praise,' Sanskrit *stu*, and in *sitāra* 'a star,' from *stāra*, Sanskrit *tārā* for *stārā*.

T is affected, no less than *k*, by a following *r*, but in various ways. A very violent change occurs in *sé* 'three,'

from *tri*, and *sī* 'thirty,' from *triṇçat*. This is probably to be explained by an intermediate stage in which the *t* became lisped, very much as in our *three*. The *th* must have gradually flattened into *s*, choking the *r* at the same time. This conjecture finds some support in the analogy of the medial, and therefore voiced, dental, which under the influence of a following *r* becomes lisped, a sound rendered by ذ (the Greek δ or *th* in *there*) as in *gu-ðar* 'to pass,' corresponding to Sanskrit *vi-tar*, and in *āðar* or *āður* 'fire,' from *āthar* (compare Sanskrit *atharvan* 'priest'), the first part of the name of *Āðarbāijān*, the ancient seat of fire-worship. The more usual word for fire, *ātash*, is apparently derived from a nominative from *ātars*, and, if so, would be the only Persian word which retains a trace of that case-ending.

In some words *t* followed by *r* took in the earlier period the form of an aspirated dental which the Greeks rendered by *θ* in *Μίθρας* (Sanskrit *Mitra*), *Μιθριδάτης* (*Mitra-datta*), but which in modern Persian is only represented by an *h*, as in *mihr* 'sun,' which has also the meaning of 'love,' connected with Sanskrit *mitra* 'friend.' *Shahr* 'city,' from Sanskrit *kshatra*, old Persian *khsathra*, is a similar instance. Sometimes, even that last remnant of the aspirated dental disappears. As we find dialectically *shār* for the last-mentioned *shahr*, so we have *pūr* 'son' from Sanskrit *putra*, and old Persian *puthra*, occurring in that altered form as early as Shāhpūr, the Greek Sapor, and again in *par* 'wing' from Sanskrit *patra*.

Persian throwing off the Sanskrit aspirates, *d* and *dh* are not distinguishable. Sanskrit *dhar* 'to hold,' becomes *dār* with the same meaning. *Dham* 'to blow' becomes *dam* 'breath.' The roots *dā* 'to give,' and *dhā* 'to put,' are thrown together. The verb *dādan* is used in the former sense (although its present *dih* (for *didh*) seems to point to *dhā*), but some derivatives come under the meaning of the latter, as *dād* 'justice,' 'law,' conceived as something 'laid down,' *dādār* 'the Creator,' Sanskrit *dhātar*.

As the final letter of a root, *d* changes to *s* before the *t*,

which forms the past. *Band* 'to bind,' which then loses its nasal, as in Sanskrit *baddha* from *bandh*, has in the past *bast*, from *bad*+*t*. *Sad* 'to sit,' *sedeo*, which in Persian is always combined with the preposition *ni* 'down,' and thus assumes, as in Sanskrit, the form *nishad*, makes likewise in the past *nishast*. This *s* of the past constitutes the only remnant of the original *d*; for in the present it is altogether lost. The present is derived, as in Sanskrit, from a secondary form *sīd* (probably a contraction of a reduplicated *sisad*), which with the same prefix becomes *nishīd*; but the *d* disappears before the affix of conjugation *n*, so that the actual present form, *nishīn*, has lost every trace of it.

Other verbs with final *d* are in the same predicament. To Sanskrit *çudh* 'to wash' corresponds in Persian what we may call the theoretical root *shud*, with the same meaning; but the final *d* is never seen; for in the past *shust* it is only represented by *s*, and in the present *shūy* it vanishes altogether, a *y* being inserted in its place, as we find it in *pāy* 'foot' from *pāda*. In the same way for the verb which has in the past *rust*, and in the present *rūy*, we may assume a root *rud* 'to grow,' akin to the Sanskrit *vṛidh*.

The above change of *d*+*t* to *st* has its exact parallel in the Latin *comedo*, *comestum*, and, with the further assimilation of *t*, in *findo*, *fissum*, while the complete absorption of the *d* may remind us of French *roir*, *seoir*, etc.

Labials.

P, which as initial remains unaltered, as in *pidar* 'father,' Sanskrit *pitar*; *pur*, Sanskrit *pūrna*, English *full*; *pas* 'after,' Sanskrit *paçchāt*, Latin *post*, etc., is otherwise liable to changes parallel to those of *k*. As medial or final, it changes into *b*, as in *bar* 'upon,' from Sanskrit *upari*, with apocope of the initial vowel, *āb* 'water,' Sanskrit *āp*; *tāb* 'to heat' from Sanskrit *tap* (Latin *tepidus*, Slavonic *teply*); sometimes also *v* as in *navāda* 'grandchild' from Sanskrit *napāt*, exactly as in *neveu* from *nepos*, and *ni-vīs* from prefix *ni* and the old Persian *pis* 'to write.'

The aspirating power of *r* shows itself here by changing a

preceding *p* into the nearest breathed letter, namely, *f*. The Sanskrit preposition *pra*, 'pro,' becomes in Persian *far*. *Farmān* 'an order,' corresponds to Sanskrit *pramāna* 'authority,' *firishtah* 'angel,' to Sanskrit *preshita* 'sent,' from *pra-ish*, old Persian *fraiš* 'to send,' *āfrīn* 'to bless,' to Sanskrit *prī* 'to cherish,' with prefix *ā* and the affix of conjugation *n*.

That change is carried a step further in Armenian, where in the corresponding words, *hraman* 'order,' *hreshtak* 'angel,' the aspirated labial has dwindled down to a mere aspiration

A similar change is effected by the *t* of the past Before it any labial ending of a root, whether it be originally *p*, *b*, *bh* or *v*, must take the sound of *f*. Thus we have *tāft* from *tab* 'to heat,' originally *tap*; *guft* from old Persian *gaub* 'to say,' *giraft* from Sanskrit *grabh* 'to seize,' *raft* from *rav* 'to go.'

Persian dropping systematically the *h* of the Sanskrit aspirates, *bh*, which corresponds to φ in Greek and *f* in Latin, appears here as simple *b*. *Bhar*, 'fero,' becomes *bar*, *bhū* 'to be,' Latin *fuit* becomes *būd*; *bhrātar*, frater, becomes *birādar*. To Sanskrit *bhima* 'terrible,' corresponds *bim* 'terror,' to *bhūmi* 'earth,' *būm*, to *bhrū* (ὀφρύς) 'brow' *abrū*, etc.

The same change prevails in the Teutonic family; but, as there it is part and parcel of that general shifting round of consonants which is known as Grimm's law, and which is utterly unknown to Iranian, the agreement must be considered as accidental. The coincidence, in this special point, of the Slavonic languages with Persian is more significant. Compare Russian *buity* 'to be,' *braty* 'brother,' etc.

Final *bh*, however, is replaced in a few cases by *f*. *Nābhi* 'navel' becomes *nāf*; *ṛabh*, a conjectural root corresponding to ὑφαίνω, *weben*, 'weave,' becomes *baf*, and the preposition *abhi* assumes in compound verbs the form of *af* as *afrūz* 'to light up,' *afraz* 'to raise.'

When, as a consequence of composition, an initial *b* becomes medial, it changes to *v*; *ā-bar* becomes *āvar* 'to bring,' and *pai-band*=Sanskrit *pratibandh*, becomes *paivand* 'to connect.'

Semi-vowels.

Initial *y* fares in Persian as Latin *j* in the Roman languages; it takes the more solid form of the soft palatal. Sanskrit *yuvan* 'young' becomes Persian *juvān*, exactly as *juvenis* passes into *giovine*. The Indian God *Yama* becomes in Zend *Yima Khshaeta* 'Yima the King,' and in Persian *Jamshīd*. To *yakṛt* 'liver,' *jecur*, corresponds *jigar*; to *yudh* 'to strive,' Persian *just*, from *jud*+*t*, 'he sought.' In this point, the modern languages of India agree with Persian; Hindustani has *jā* for Sanskrit *yā*, *joban* for *yauvana*, etc.

R and *l* are substantially one and the same letter. In the early stage of Iranian the former form prevails to the entire exclusion of the latter, which gradually developed out of *r*, and, in modern Persian, has become common enough. In some cases the change has been effected, or favoured, by a following dental, which stopped the vibration of the *r*, but which itself perished in the act. Thus the old Persian *pardanku* 'leopard,' appears in the modern form *palang*; *parthava* 'Parthian,' becomes *palhava*, whence by transposition *pehlevi*. In the same manner *sāl* 'year,' appears to come from *sard*, Sanskrit *çarad*, 'autumn, year,' and *sālār* 'a general,' from *sardār*. Independently, however, from that combination, the change of *r* to *l* is frequent, and is evidently due to more general causes. It occurs dialectically in words which in Persian have retained the *r*; for instance, in *rav* 'to go,' which in the Goorian dialect becomes *lav*.

It is well known that Sanskrit possesses a vocalized *r*, generally transcribed *ṛ*, which results from the contraction of *r* with its preceding or following vowel, in unaccented syllables, as in *kṛta* from *karta*, *mṛta* from *marta*, *çṛṇu* from *çruṇu*. This vocalization of *r* is only a transitional stage leading more or less speedily to its complete extinction, as the corresponding forms in Prākrit and the modern tongues of India will show. Hindustani, for instance, has *ki'ā* from *kṛta*, *mu'ā* from *mṛta*, *sun* from *çṛṇu*. It is an interesting fact, and one significant of long and intimate connexion,

that the same elimination of *r* has taken place in many of the corresponding words in Persian. Thus from *kṛ*, the contracted form of *kar* 'to do,' combined with the affix of conjugation *nu*, we have *kun*, the base of the present tense, while the past *kard* preserves the unaltered root. Again, from *çṛ*, the contraction of *çru* (κλύω) 'to hear,' with the same affix *nu*, which here has crystallized in the gunated form *nau*, we have *shinau* 'to hear.' Sanskrit *tṛshṇā* 'thirst,' which points to a primitive root *tars* 'dry' (terra for tersa, torrens, durr, Durst), appears in Persian as *tishna* 'thirsty,' and *pṛshtha* 'the back,' as *pusht*, with the same meaning.

A peculiarity of *r* in Persian is that it appears in some cases to change to *sh*. This occurs in some verbs ending in *r* before the affix *t*, which forms the past. *Dār* 'to hold' becomes *dāsht*, *gumār* 'to depute,' *gumāsht*; and even *gard* 'to turn,' dropping at the same time its final *d*, becomes *gasht*. It is probable that the sibilant was at first inserted between *r* and *t* to facilitate the passage from one to the other, and that it ended by supplanting the former.

Sanskrit *v*, which seems to have been originally sounded *w*, as shown by its standing for *u* in Sandhi, is but seldom rendered by Persian *v*. This occurs in *vaz* 'to blow,' Sanskrit *vā* 'wehen,' and in *varz* 'to practise,' from a conjectural root *varj*, *varǧ*, corresponding to ἔργον and our own *work*.

Generally initial *v*, when followed, in Persian, by a long vowel, takes the shape of *b*, as in *bād* 'wind' from Sanskrit *vāta*; *bīst* 'twenty,' from Sanskrit *vinçati*; *bīva* 'widow,' from Sanskrit *vidhavā*; *bāzār* corresponding to Sanskrit *vyavahār* 'traffic;' *bār* 'to rain,' from Sanskrit *varsh*; occasionally also before a short vowel, as in *bih* 'good,' from Sanskrit *vasu*, and *bihisht* 'paradise' (the best place), from Sanskrit *vasishṭha*.

In most cases, however, *v*,[8] followed by a short vowel, changes into *gu* or simple *g*. It is not a little startling to see so exactly reproduced in the far East a change familiar indeed, but associated, in most minds, only with those

Germanic words which have become naturalized in the Roman languages. However, the so-called inorganic prefixing of a *g* before *w*, which leads to that transformation, is not confined to any single domain. It is applied in French to Latin words, as in *goupil* from *vulpilla*, *galant* from *valent*, and in Spanish to Arabic words, as in *Guadalquivir*, from *wādi al-kebīr*, *alguazil* from *al-wāṣil*, etc.

In the form that change takes in Persian, the only trace left of the original *w* is the *u*, which in most cases clings to the *g*, superseding the original vowel of the word. This is seen, for instance, in *gu*, which corresponds to the Sanskrit particle *vi*, and stands to it in the same relation as Guglielmo to Wilhelm. We find it in *gustar* 'to spread out'=Sanskrit *vi-star*, *gu-mān* 'misconception'=Sanskrit *vi-maṅa*, and many similar compounds. In the same manner from Sanskrit *vṛka*, Zend *vereka* 'wolf,' comes Persian *gurg* 'wolf,' the plural of which *gurgān* designates a wooded region south-east of the Caspian, the Hyrcania of the ancients, a name which the Arabs transcribed جرجان, probably at a time when they still kept to the primitive sound of *gimel*. Vistāspa, the father of Darius, whose name has come down to us in the cuneiform inscriptions, re-appears in Persian as Gushtāsp, and *vard*, the early name of the rose (*ῥόδον*), still preserved in Armenian, would hardly be recognized in its modern disguise *gul*, where *l* stands for *rd*.

Sometimes, however, even the *u*, that last vestige of the original *w*, disappears, exactly as in French *garde* from *warte*. Thus, from Sanskrit *vṛt* or *vart* (*verto*) we have *gard* in the twofold meaning of 'turning' and 'becoming' (German *werden*), and its derivatives, *gardan* 'the turning part,' 'the nock,' *gardūn* 'the revolving firmament,' *gird* 'round,' 'an inclosed city,' etc. The same verb, however, appears in its original form *vard*, when it takes a prefix, and *v* consequently becomes medial, as in *na-vard* 'to roll.'

A last and curious change of *v* consists in its hardening into *p*. This occurs only when it is preceded in Sanskrit by the palatal sibilant *ç*, as in *açva*, *equus*, Persian *asp*, *çveta*, our

own *white*, Persian *sepīd*. Thus again *çvan*, *κύων*, *canis*, which is lost in Persian, survives in the Afghan *span*.

Sibilants.

To the sibilant just noticed श, *ç*, corresponds as a rule in the Italic branch *k*, *c*, and in the Germanic family the regular substitute of the hard guttural, viz. *h*. It must therefore be considered as a specific Sanskrit modification of a primitive *k*. Its original pronunciation is not accurately known. This much is certain, that in Prakrit, and in the modern languages of India, it has sunk into a simple sibilant, as in Hindustani *das* from *daça* (δέκα), *sau* from *çata* (ἑκατόν), *sir* from *çiras* (cranium).

This is exactly the course which was taken, apparently at a much earlier period, by Persian also. It represents Sanskrit *ç* uniformly by a sibilant, mostly by *s*, occasionally by *sh*. The first is seen in *sad* 'hundred,' Sanskrit *çata*; *bist* 'twenty,' Sanskrit *vinçati*; *sar* 'head,' Sanskrit *çiras*, *sag* 'dog,' Sanskrit *çaka*, etc. The second in *shākh* 'branch,' Sanskrit *çāk'hā*; *shinau* 'to hear,' Sanskrit *çṛnu*.

Here, again, a striking coincidence is to be noticed with Slavonic, which stands alone among European languages in replacing Sanskrit *ç* by a sibilant. Compare Russian *sto*, *sotnya* 'hundred,' Sanskrit *çata*; *desaty* 'ten,' Sanskrit *daça*.

When final, the Persian *s* from *ç* shares the fate of primitive *s*, that is to say, it changes to *h*. Thus Sanskrit *daça* 'ten,' becomes *dah*, Sanskrit *daçama* 'tenth,' *dahum*, Sanskrit *panchāçat* 'fifty,' *panjah*. Sanskrit *vināça* 'perdition,' re-appears in Persian *gunāh* 'sin,' and Sanskrit *deça* 'land' in Persian *deh* 'village.'

The second Sanskrit sibilant *sh* is a modification of *s*, generally due to the influence of a preceding front-vowel, *i* and *u*, or to *r*. We have already seen in the compound verb *ni-shad* from *sad*, and in *tishna* from *tars*, that it developes in Persian in precisely the same conditions. Other instances are Sanskrit *dus* (δυς) 'evil,' becoming *dush* in Persian *dushman* 'enemy' = Sanskrit *duṣ-manas* 'evil-

minded,' Sanskrit *mūsha* 'mouse' (mus), Persian *mūsh*, Sanskrit *mushṭi* 'fist,' Persian *musht*.

The third Sanskrit sibilant, our own *s*, is in Persian uniformly represented by *h*. This striking substitution is perhaps the most important of those early changes by which the Iranian branch differentiated from the common stock, the more outlying branch, the Indian, being, in that case, the more conservative of the two. Although the change of *s* to *h* has been rendered familiar to us through Greek, and it is also found in the Semitic domain, where the pronoun *hu* is traced to an earlier form *su*, its cause is still a mystery. In Persian it is carried out with remarkable thoroughness; it applies to *s* whether initial or medial, in every case, except those in which it is protected from change by contact with a voiceless letter, as in *ast* 'est,' *istadan* 'stare.'

From Sanskrit *sapta* 'septem,' we have *haft*, as in Greek ἑπτά, from Sanskrit *sarva* 'all' (ὅλος, salvus), Persian *har*, from Sanskrit *sam* 'cum,' Persian *ham*, as in *hangāma* 'gathering,' corresponding to Sanskrit *sangama*. Again, Persian *māh* 'moon' and 'month,' corresponds to Sanskrit *mās* and *māsa*, Persian *māhī* 'fish,' to Sanskrit *matsya*.

The group *swa*, which is found in Sanskrit at the beginning of a large number of words, gives rise to a change which is the most characteristic in the whole Iranian phonology. In that case *s* is not, as usual, represented by simple *h*, but by the harsher sound of *kh*; the corresponding words begin in Persian with *khw* خ.

The reflexive pronoun, Sanskrit *swa*, Latin *se*, *sui*, assumes the form of *khw*. It is found in Persian in the secondary forms *khwad* 'self,' *khwesh* 'own,' and in the compound *khudā* 'God,' in Zend *hvadāta*, or 'self-created,' the most abstract name of the Deity that ever came into common use.

In the same manner Sanskrit *swap* 'to sleep' (sopor, ὕπνος) becomes in Persian *khwāb*; *swasar* (soror, Schwester) becomes *khwāhar*; Sanskrit *çwaçura* (for *swaçura*) 'father-in-law' (ἑκυρος, socer, Schwager) appears in Persian as *khusar*; *sweda* 'sweat,' sudor, as *khway*. Thus, again, Persian *khwur* or *khwur-shīd* 'the sun,' corresponds to Sanskrit *swar*, Latin

sol, *khwān* 'to call' to Sanskrit *svan* 'sonare'; and *khwar* 'to eat,' points to a theoretical root *svar*, offshoots of which are found in Latin *sorbere*, and our own *swallow*, *schwelgen*.

In the above and similar words the *v* is entirely dropped in modern pronunciation, which has *khud*, *khīsh*, *khāb*, *khāhar*, etc., but it is still provincially heard, and must have been generally sounded when Arabic writing was first applied to Persian.

While the guttural substitute of *s* in initial *sva* appears as early as Zend, which has *khafna*=Sanskrit *svapna*, *khanhar* =Sanskrit *svasar*, it has entirely disappeared in the very earliest form of the western branch, as represented by the inscriptions of the Achemenides. Here words of the class under notice are found to begin with *uva*, as *uvar* 'sun,' *uvahar* 'sister,' *uvan* 'to call,' *uvāida* 'sweat,' so that out of the original group Old Persian had already lost precisely that element, the initial aspirate, which alone subsists in modern Persian. This is an important fact; it is a proof, among others, that modern Persian cannot be considered as the lineal descendant of the ancient language of Persia proper, but rather as the outcome of a fusion of dialects, in which those of the eastern part of Iran probably preponderated.

The same loss of the initial aspirate may be noticed in the Goorian dialect, spoken in Persian Kurdistan, which appears, in that particular at least, as the modern representative of Old Persian. Here we find such forms as *ūish* for Persian *khuīsh* 'self,' *wān* for *khwān* 'to call,' and *wār* for *khwar* 'to eat.'

H.

While replacing Sanskrit *s* by *h*, Persian substitutes for Sanskrit *h* the voiced sibilant *z*. A striking instance of that cross-change is found in the Sanskrit word for 'thousand,' *sahasra*, which becomes in Persian *hazār* for *hazahr*. This last change, that of *z* for *h*, will be more easily understood, if we recollect that in Sanskrit *h* has in most, if not in all, cases developed out of a primitive *g'h*. Verbs in *h* generally have some forms in which the original sound has been preserved, and in reduplication they exhibit the same

in its palatalized form *j*. Thus *han* 'to strike,' makes in the perfect *jag'hāna*. Now if we only assume that the primitive *g'h*, while evaporating in Sanskrit to *h*, was in Persian palatalized, everything becomes clear; for its further changes are precisely those which we have already noticed for *j*, namely, as a rule *z*, and occasionally *d*. Thus we have, corresponding to the verb *han* just noticed, in Persian *zan* 'to strike'; again, Persian *bāzū* 'the arm,' from Sanskrit *bāhu*, *rāz* 'secret,' from *rahas*, *zemistān* 'winter,' from *hima* 'snow,' (*hiems*, *χειμών*); *zar* 'gold,' from Sanskrit *hiraṇya*; *zard* 'yellow,' from Sanskrit *harit*; *gu-dāz* 'to melt,' from Sanskrit *ri-dah* 'to dissolve by heat.' In the past of the last verb *gudākht*, the original guttural reappears, as it does also in the past participle of Sanskrit *dah*, *dagdha*, from *dagh+ta*.

The substitution of *d* for Sanskrit *h* is of rarer occurrence, and appears to be peculiar to the western branch of Iranian. In the cuneiform inscriptions Sanskrit *aham* 'ego' becomes *adam*, while Zend has *azem* with the normal change. In modern Persian we have *dast* 'hand,' corresponding to Sanskrit *hasta*, which in Zend appears also normally as *zasta*; further *dī* 'yesterday' = Sanskrit *hyas*, and *dil* (for *dird*) 'heart' = Sanskrit *hṛd*. Demāvend, the Mont-Blanc of Persia, is probably a namesake of the Indian Himávant 'the snowy one,' the Himālaya.

Here again we cannot help noticing a striking agreement of Slavonic, which also renders Sanskrit *h* by *z*, as in *yaz* 'I' = *aham*, *zima* 'winter' = *hima*, *zoloto* 'gold' = Persian *zar*, *zhelti* 'yellow' = Persian *zard*, or also by *s*, as in *serd-tse* 'heart' (*tse* is diminutive) = Sanskrit *hṛd*.

In summing up the principal phonetic changes which have been pointed out in the preceding pages, it will be of some use to establish a distinction between those which appear in the earliest forms of Iranian, and are more or less common to all its branches, and those which are peculiar to the later stages of Iranian and especially to modern Persian. The first category, which is by far the most important, comprises the following changes. Loss of the Sanskrit aspirates, and

substitution of the simple media, viz. *b* for *b'h*, and *d* for *d'h*. Creation of a new class of breathed letters, *kh*, *f*, etc., originating mostly by consonantal contact. Change of *s* to *h*, and of the group *swa* to *khwa*. Substitution of *z*, and occasionally *d*, for Sanskrit *h*. The second class consists mainly of the softening of the tenuis, when medial, and of the changes of initial *w* to *gu* or *g*, of medial *ch* to *z*, of initial *y* to *j*, and of *rd* to *l*.

The intimate connexion existing between Iranian and Sanskrit phonology, as shown for instance by their concurrent palatalization of the gutturals in some words, and their common substitution of a sibilant, *ç* or *s*, for *k* in others, would lead us, independently of their close resemblance in grammar and vocabulary, to infer a continued co-existence of the two races, long after the main part of the European stock had swarmed away from the common hive. It will have been noticed, on the other hand, that Slavonic, alone of the European group, participates in several of the most characteristic sound changes of Iranian, as, for instance, *s* for Sanskrit *ç*, *z* for Sanskrit *j* and *h*. It has a fair claim to be considered as an intermediate link between Iranian and the more remote branches of the Indo-Germanic family, a result which the geographical position of the race would naturally lead us to anticipate.

In concluding this rapid sketch I have only to remind the reader that it does not aim at an exhaustive treatment of the subject. This would require a thorough knowledge, which I do not possess, of the earlier stages of the language, a province which is, moreover, as yet but imperfectly explored. If it succeeds in conveying to those linguists who are unacquainted with Persian some notion of the most striking phonetical laws which prevail in that language, and of some of its affinities with other branches of the Aryan family, my object will have been attained.

II.—ON PORTUGUESE SIMPLE SOUNDS, COMPARED WITH THOSE OF SPANISH, ITALIAN. FRENCH, ENGLISH, Etc. By H.I.H. Prince L. L. Bonaparte.

Of the four modern literary languages of the Neo-Latin branch: Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and French, the two first make use, if not of an almost phonetic orthography, at least of such a one that not much more is required to make it perfectly so. The two last, on the contrary, but particularly the French, are quite antiphonetic, so much so, that it is no exaggeration to say that Spanish and Portuguese differ almost as much, in this respect, as Spanish and English. Besides, the Portuguese pronunciation, whatever may be the great resemblance between these two languages of Spain, differs from that of the Spanish nearly as much as the latter does from the English. My object is not to treat of the history of the Portuguese sounds, but only to enumerate, describe, and classify them. These sounds are given as I hear them used amongst cultivated society in Lisbon, and as they are generally admitted by João de Deus in his highly approved "Diccionario Prosodico," Lisbon, 1878.

The Table at the end of this paper gives the list of the Portuguese simple sounds, and is divided into five columns. The first shows my own phonetic notation; the second, A. J. Ellis's; the third, the usual modern Portuguese orthography; the fourth, the exemplifying Portuguese words; the fifth, the English translation of the same. It is to be remarked that the place of the accent is indicated by the acute accent; that the signs included in parenthesis of the third column are not generally or necessarily in use when the tonic vowel is not the last letter of a word; and that Ellis's notation is always included in parenthesis through all this paper, while the usual Portuguese notation is simply in italics.

I shall now proceed to examine each of the thirty-four

simple sounds, beginning with the vowels. These, as far as I can deduce from the appreciation of the majority of the cultivated and genuine Portuguese of Lisbon, are fifteen in number; and, if any further varieties of them do really exist, they are certainly not generally perceived (at least in such a distinct manner as to leave no doubt about their existence) by the same, according to my opinion, very competent judges, whose appreciation ought to be followed, I think, by all sober-minded, although minute phonetists. This will account for all differences that may be remarked between the sounds admitted in this paper and those of my "List of Vowels and Consonants."

Three of the fifteen vowels may be called guttural (a, aʌ, æ) 1, 2, 3; seven may be qualified as palatal (ɛ, e, ɐ, ɐʌ, 'h, i, iʌ) 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10; and five are labial (o_1, o, oʌ, u, uʌ) 11, 12, 13, 14, 15.

1. The first of the guttural vowels is nothing but the pure Italian, Spanish and French *a* (a), as it is heard in the words *matto* 'mad,' *muchacho* 'boy,' and *lira* 'he will read.' The English *a* (a) in *father*, or perhaps the *a* (ah) in *ass* of the fine modern London pronunciation, is the nearest approximation to it. This sound, in the usual Portuguese orthography, may be represented by *a, ha, a a,* as in *alto*[1] 'high,' *habil* 'able,' *rega as flores* 'he waters the flowers.' It is to be observed, in the last instance, that each of the two *a*'s sounds (æ) when the two words are pronounced separately, and that two (æ)'s give rise to one single (a).

2. The second guttural vowel is the nasal (aʌ), represented by *ã, am, an, han, a, ha,* as in *irmã* 'sister,' *campo* 'field,' *canto* 'song,' *hanseatico* 'Hanseatic,' *ramo* 'branch,' *hama* 'pail to put out a fire.' This sound does not exist in Italian, Spanish, and English; and, it is sufficient to say, once for all, that no nasal vowels are to be found in these three languages. They differ from English vowels followed by

[1] The Portuguese word *alto* does not differ, in the pronunciation of the two first letters, from the same word in Italian or Spanish. This I have ascertained from several Portuguese gentlemen either of Lisbon or not. Therefore I consider the broader pronunciation of the Portuguese *a* and the Polish of the Portuguese *l* as mere individualisms.

the guttural nasal *ng* (q) as in *pang, sing, song.* A near approximation to the Portuguese (aa) is presented by the French nasal *am* in *champ* 'field.' These two nasal vowels, either the French or the Portuguese, are not the exact nasalization of the pure (a), but only an approximation to it.

3. The third guttural vowel is (æ), not to be found in Italian, Spanish, or French (except dialectally), but existing in English, as in the words *fat, man,* etc. It is represented by *a, ha,* as in *mas* 'but,' *habilidade* 'ability.'

4. The first of the palatal vowels (ɛ) is a decidedly open *e,* not easily found in good London English, and never in Spanish, but very common in Italian and French, as in the words *successo, succès* 'success.' It is represented by *e, he,* as in *mel* 'honey,' *herva* 'herb.' This sound was admitted for the first time, in Portuguese, by João de Deus, and its existence has been denied. I have, however, taken the greatest care to ascertain what I consider to be the truth, and I have found that every Portuguese of Lisbon pronounces, to my ears, with (ɛ) such words as *mel, herva,* etc.

5. The second palatal vowel (e) is the intermediate *e,* the only one existing in Spanish, as in *bien* 'well.' It is very common in English, as in *bed.* It abounds in French, as in the first *e* of *musette* 'bagpipe,' and I have already recognized its existence in Italian, in my "List of Vowels and Consonants," but only when it bears no tonic accent, as in *sellaio* 'sadler,' derived from *sella* 'saddle,' which is pronounced with (ɛ) 4. The Portuguese (e) is represented by *e, he,* as in *sebo* 'tallow,' *hernia* 'hernia.'

6. The third palatal vowel (*e*), represented by *e, he,* as in *sexto* 'sixth,' *hervilha* 'pea,' exists also in Italian and French, but not in Spanish, as in *vena* 'vein,' *dé* 'die.' Its existence in English is doubtful, and, for my own part, I can perceive no other difference between the *e* in *get* and the *a* in *gate,* but a quantitative one, and the presence of an aftersound following the long vowel of the last word. This aftersound, being very rapidly pronounced after the (e) in *gate,* constitutes a peculiar kind of diphthong, resembling the simple sound of the French *e fermé,* without being identical with it.

7. The fourth palatal vowel (*e*ᴀ) is, only by approximation, the nasalization of the preceding, but the French nasal *e* is rather a nasalized (e) than a nasal (*e*). A kind of nasalized (e) may be heard in some localities of Portugal. The Portuguese (*e*ᴀ) is represented by *em, en, e, he,* as in *tempo* 'time,' *vento* 'wind,' *gema* 'yolk,' *hemos* 'we have.'

8. The fifth palatal vowel ('h), represented by *e, he,* as in *se* 'if,' *Hespanhol* 'Spaniard,' is very common in French, as in *cheval* 'horse,' but is unknown to Italian and Spanish. It resembles the English *e* in *open*.[1]

9. The sixth palatal, or rather alveolar vowel (i), is represented by *i, hi, y, hy, e,* as in *ilha* 'island,' *hispido* 'hispid,' *lyra* 'lyre,' *hydra* 'hydra,' *e* 'and.' It corresponds to the Italian, Spanish, and French *i* in *dito* 'finger,' *hijo* 'son,' *île* 'island,' and to the English *ee* in *bee*.

10. The seventh palatal, or rather alveolar vowel (iᴀ), represented by *im, him, in, i, ym, yn, y, hy, e,* as in *sim* 'yes,' *himpar* 'to sob,' *findo* 'finished,' *vinho* 'wine,' *lympha* 'lymph,' *syndico* 'syndic,' *cynico* 'cynic,' *hymno* 'hymn,' *mãe* 'mother,' is, by approximation, a nasal (i), and does not exist in French, but it does in some of its dialects, in Breton, and in the Basque dialects of Soule and Roncal.

11. The first labial vowel (o_1), represented by *o, ho, ob, o o,* as in *sol* 'sun,' *horta* 'kitchen-garden,' *Jacob* 'Jacob,' *rego o prado* 'I water the meadow,' does not exist in Spanish and English, but it is very common in Italian and French, as in *cosa* 'thing,' *bonne* 'good.' The English *o* of *not,* and that of *nor,* are different labial sounds. It is to be observed that each of the two *o*'s in *rego o prado* sounds (u) when the two words are pronounced separately, and that two (u)'s give rise to one single (o_1).

[1] Whatever may be said to the contrary, my ears find a difference between the so-called 'e muet' of the French when it occurs at the end of a word, and the Portuguese 'e surdo' expressed by e ('h), as in the second *e* of *sede* 'thirst.' This last sound is not mute, but only indistinct, and constitutes, with the preceding *d*, the second syllable of this word. In the French *rade* 'roadstead,' on the contrary, the ear perceives a monosyllable. Portuguese grammars written by Frenchmen are careful in stating that the final Portuguese *e* is not so imperceptible as the French, and Portuguese, generally, admit the same. The nearest approach to the 'e surdo' is, I think, the sound of the French *e* in *cheval* 'horse,' which is represented by Feline by (e), while the real *e* mute is not represented at all by the same phonetist.

12. The second labial vowel is (*o*), and is represented by *o, ho, ou,* as in *corte* 'court,' *horto* 'garden,' *amou* 'he loved.' It does not exist in Spanish, but it does in Italian and French, as in *coda* 'tail,' *mot* 'word.' In English its existence is doubtful. At least, I perceive no difference in quality between the *o* in *more,* which is (o), and the *o* in *home,* except in the presence of the aftersound which follows the long vowel of the last word. This aftersound, being very rapidly pronounced after the (o), constitutes a peculiar kind of diphthong, resembling the simple sound of the French *o grave,* without being identical with it. The English (o) of *more* has the intermediate sound as in Spanish, the only *o* of this language, not to be found in Portuguese and French, but only in Italian when the tonic accent does not fall on it, as in *boschetti* 'groves,' derived from *boschi* 'woods' or 'forests,' and pronounced with (o_1) (Art. 11).

13. The third labial vowel (o_A), represented by *õ, om, hom, on, hon, o,* as in *acções* 'actions,' *bom* 'good,' *hombro* 'shoulder,' *ponte* 'bridge,' *hontem* 'yesterday,' *dona* 'mistress,' is rather a nasal (*o*) than a nasal (o), which is the reverse of the French. A kind of nasal (o) however is to be heard, dialectally, in Portuguese, resembling French *on* in *mon* 'my.'

14. The fourth labial vowel (u), represented by *u, hu, o,* as in *lua* 'moon,' *humilde* 'humble,' *o* 'the,' is the same as the Italian and Spanish *u* in *muto* 'dumb,' the French *ou* in *cou* 'neck,' and the English *oo* in *pool.*

15. The fifth labial vowel (u_A) is, by approximation, the nasalized (u). It is represented by *um, hum, un, hun, u, hu, o,* as in *um* 'one,' *hum* (a kind of interjection), *fundo,* 'bottom,' *Hungaro* 'Hungarian,' *lume* 'fire,' *humo* 'soil,' *cão* 'dog.' This sound does not exist in French, nor in Breton, but it is to be found in some French dialects, and in the Basque dialects of Soule and Roncal.

Consonants.

Of the nineteen consonants presented by my table, nine are explosive; six, continuous; and four, liquid. The explosive

may be either guttural (k, g) 16, 17; or palatal (nj) 21; or alveolar (t̠, d̠, n̠) 18, 19, 20; or labial (p, b, m) 22, 23, 24. The continuous are either whishes (sh, zh) 29, 30; or alveolar (s, z) 27, 28; or labio-dental (f, v) 25, 26. The liquid are either palatal (lj, r) 32, 34; or alveolar (l̠, r̠) 31, 33.

16. The first guttural explosive sound is voiceless (k), and may be represented by *c, cc, qu, q, ch, k,* as in *casa* 'house,' *acclamação* 'acclamation,' *queimar* 'to burn,' *equestre* 'equestrian,' *chimica* 'chemistry,' *kilometro* 'kilometer.' It exists in Italian, Spanish, and French, as in *oca* 'goose,' *corazon* 'heart,' *carré* 'square,' and in the English word *cat.*

17. The second guttural explosive sound is voiced (g), and represented by *g, gg, gu,* as in *lagarto* 'lizard,' *aggravar* 'to aggravate,' *azougue* 'quick-silver.' It exists in Italian, Spanish, and French, as in *sega* 'saw,' *gasto* 'expense,' *gant* 'glove,' and in the English word *go.*

The guttural nasal sound (q), represented in Italian and Spanish by *n,* as in *vengo* 'I come,' and in English either by *ng* or *n,* as in *song* and *finger,* never occurs in French, nor in Portuguese, in which languages it is replaced by the nasal vowels.

18. The first alveolar explosive sound is voiceless (t̠), and represented by *t, tt, th, ct, pt, bt,* as in *terra* 'earth,' *attenção* 'attention,' *atheo* 'atheist,' *acto* 'act,' *exceptuar* 'to except,' *subtil* 'thin.' It exists in Italian, Spanish, and French, as in *rota* 'wheel,' *todo* 'all,' *tas* 'heap.' This sound is replaced in English by the palatal *t* (t), which never occurs in the four other languages.

19. The second alveolar explosive sound is voiced (d̠), and represented by *d, dd, gd,* as in *Deus* 'God,' *addição* 'addition,' *Emigdio* (a proper name). It exists in Italian, Spanish, and French, as in *ode* 'ode,' *doy* 'I give,' *dé* 'die.' It is replaced in English by the palatal *d* (d), which is not to be found in the four other languages.

20. The third alveolar explosive sound is nasal (n̠), and represented by *n, nn, mn, nh, gn,* as in *neve* 'snow,' *anno* 'year,' *damno* 'damage,' *inhumano* 'inhuman,' *assignar* 'to appoint.' It exists in Italian, Spanish, and French, as in

cane 'dog,' *nombre* 'name,' *nez* 'nose.' It is replaced in English by the palatal *n* (n), which does not exist in the four other languages.

21. The only really palatal explosive consonant in Portuguese is (nj), which is not the palatalization of the alveolar (n), but that of the palatal (n). This sound is represented by *nh*, as in *sonho* 'dream,' and corresponds to the Italian and French *gn* in *degno, digne* 'worthy,' and to the Spanish *ñ* in *engañar* 'to deceive.' It does not exist in English.

22. The first labial explosive sound is voiceless (p), and represented by *p, pp*, as in *pae* 'father,' *oppressão* 'oppression.' It exists in Italian, Spanish, and French, as in *capo* 'head,' *polvo* 'dust,' *porte* 'door,' and in the English word *pea*.

23. The second labial explosive sound is voiced (b), and represented by *b, bb*, as in *lobo* 'wolf,' *abbade* 'abbot.' It exists in Italian and French, as in *cibo* 'food,' *bœuf* 'ox,' and in the English word *bee*. This sound is replaced in Spanish by the labial, continuous *b* (bh), as in *rabo* 'tail.'

24. The third labial explosive sound is nasal (m), and represented by *m, mm, gm*, as in *maçã* 'apple,' *immediato* 'immediate,' *augmentar* 'to increase.' This sound exists in Italian, Spanish, and French, as in *remo* 'oar,' *mucho* 'much,' *mettre* 'to put,' and in the English word *me*.

25. The first labio-dental continuous sound is voiceless (f), and represented by *f, ff, ph*, as in *filho* 'son,' *effeito* 'effect,' *phrase* 'phrase.' It exists in Italian, Spanish, and French, as in *scrofa* 'sow,' *fijo* 'fixed,' *faire* 'to do,' and in the English word *fat*.

26. The second labio-dental continuous sound is voiced (v), and represented by *v*, as in *vinho* 'wine.' It does not exist in Spanish, where it is replaced by the labial continuous *b* (bh); but it is common in Italian and French, as in *uva* 'grape,' *vendre* 'to sell,' and so it is in English, as in *vine*.

27. The first alveolar continuous sound is voiceless (s), and represented by *s, ss, c, cc, ç, cç, sc, sch, ps, pc, bs, x, xc*, as in *sol* 'sun,' *osso* 'bone,' *ceo* 'sky,' *accento* 'accent,' *graça* 'grace,' *acção* 'action,' *sciencia* 'science,' *schisma* 'schism,' *psalmo* 'psalm,' *accepção* 'acceptation,' *substancia* 'substance,' *maxima*

'maxim,' *excepto* 'except.' In Spanish this sound is generally more palatal than in Portuguese, as in *sangre* 'blood.' The alveolar sound exists in Italian and French, as in *casa* 'house,' *savoir* 'to know,' and in the English word *so*.

28. The second alveolar continuous sound is voiced (z), and represented by *z*, *s*, *x*, *xh*, as in *zelo* 'zeal,' *rosa* 'rose,' *exacto* 'exact,' *exhalar* 'to exhale.' It exists in Italian and French, as in *rosa* 'rose,' *chose* 'thing,' and in the English word *loose*. There is no such a sound in Spanish.

29. The first whish is a continuous voiceless sound (sh), and represented by *x*, *ch*, *sch*, *s*,[1] *z*, as in *xadrez* 'chess,' *chapeo* 'hat,' *schisto* 'schist,' *vos tomo* 'I take you,' *voz forte* 'strong voice.' It does not exist in Italian, except dialectally, as in the vulgar Florentine and Roman pronunciation of the *c* in *voce*, pronounced (sh). The regular sound of the Italian *sc*, as in *pesce* 'fish,' is, however, near to it, but not the same, being stronger, and as if it were a double (sh), or (shsh). Spanish does not know these whishes, but French knows the simple (sh), and represents it by *ch*, as in *cocher* 'coachman,' and so does English, and expresses it by *sh*, as in *she*. . The exact sound of the Italian *sc* (shsh) is unknown to the four other languages. When (sh) is expressed in Portuguese by *s* or *z*, these letters are followed by a syllable or a word beginning with (f, k, p, t), or they are the final consonant of a period either long or short.

30. The second whish is a continuous voiced sound (zh), and represented by *j*, *g*, *z*,[1] *s*, as in *justo* 'just,' *gema* 'yolk,' *voz grosseira* 'coarse voice,' *vos digo* 'I say to you.' The Italian, except dialectally, as in the vulgar Florentine, where the *g* in *Parigi* 'Paris,' is pronounced as (zh), instead of being pronounced as (zh) or English *j*, ignores this

[1] According to João de Deus, the sounds (sh, zh) may be both represented by *s* and *z*, and I have followed him in this appreciation. I fully admit, however, that I have met with Portuguese, even of Lisbon, who are not satisfied with this. Some, as Barboza Leão and the Oporto Commission, make the final *s* and *z* always similar to (z), or to a sound hardly distinct from it. All the Portuguese I have consulted are not able to hear such a (z) sound, except when the final *s* and *z* are followed by a word or a syllable beginning with a vowel. I have met, on the contrary, with several admitting an intermediate sound between (sh) and (s), and (zh) and (z), and this is certainly the pronunciation of many, although not of João de Deus.

Portuguese whish, as it is ignored by Spanish. The French, on the contrary, admits it, as in *jour* 'day,' and so does English, as in the *s* in *pleasure*. When (zh) is expressed in Portuguese by *z* or *s*, these letters are followed by a syllable or word beginning with a sound not being (f, k, p, t), or a vowel. If they be followed by a vowel, *z* and *s* are both pronounced as (z).

31. The first alveolar liquid sound is (l), represented by *l*, *ll*, as in *lua* 'moon,' *bello* 'beautiful.' It exists in Italian, Spanish, and French, as in *mela* 'apple,' *lumbre* 'fire,' *loup* 'wolf,' and in English it is replaced by the palatal *l* (l).

32. The (lj) is not an alveolar, but a palatal sound, as it is not a palatalized alveolar (l), but a palatalized English (l). It is represented in Portuguese by *lh*, as in *filho* 'son;' in Italian, by *gli*, or *gl*, as in *piglio* 'I take,' *pigli* 'thou takest;' and in Spanish, by *ll*, as in *bello* 'beautiful.' Its existence in modern, neither provincial nor pedantic French, is very doubtful; and, in my opinion at least, those who refuse it a place amongst the modern standard French sounds are quite correct. According to this opinion, the words *bataillon*, *fille*, etc., ought to be pronounced as if they were written *batayon*, *fiye*; and so Rachel, amongst many other authorities, pronounced them, even in the most tragic and solemn declamation. Things were different in Talma's day, according to my parents' recollection. The English has not this sound.

33. The first liquid sound, which is the alveolar (r), represented by *rr*, *r*, *rh*, *rrh*, as in *terra*[1] 'earth,' *rei* 'king,' *rhetorica* 'rhetoric,' *pyrrhonismo* 'pyrrhonism,' exists in Spanish, but not in Italian, French, and English, where it is replaced either by the palatal *r* (r), or by other varieties of this sound.

34. This last liquid sound, as in *nora* 'daughter-in-law,' is to be found in Italian, Spanish, and French, as in *cuore* 'heart,' *muere* 'he dies,' *or* 'gold,' and in the English word *marine*.

[1] There is no difference whatever between the *rr* of *terra*, Portuguese, and *tierra*, Spanish, as I have lately ascertained by oral comparison; and I cannot admit any similarity between the Polish barred *l* and the Portuguese *rr*.

Inconsistent Usual Orthography.

The following instances will suffice to show the great inconsistency of the modern Portuguese orthography, only inferior, in this respect, to the English and French amongst European literary languages.

1. *Mãe* 'mother,' is pronounced (máʌiʌ), both vowels being undoubtedly nasal, as I ascertained several years ago, contrary to the general opinion. Therefore the sign of nasality ought to extend to the whole diphthong.

2. *Cão* 'dog,' is pronounced (káʌuʌ) with two nasal vowels, but the usual spelling shows only one.

3. *Cantam* 'they sing,' is pronounced (káʌ·ˌtáuʌ), but the spelling wrongly teaches (kaʌ·ˌtaʌ) without the second nasal element of the final diphthong.

4. *Trachea* 'trachea,' is pronounced (ˌtrækéi·æ), but the second element of the diphthong (éi) is not expressed.

5. *Tem* 'he has,' is pronounced (ˌtéʌiʌ), but *tem* expresses (ˌteʌ).

6. *Tem* 'they have,' is pronounced (ˌteʌ·éʌiʌ), but *tem* only indicates (teʌ).

7. *Area* 'sand,' is pronounced (æréi·æ), but the second element of the diphthong (éi) is not expressed.

8. *Axe* 'axis,' is pronounced (ak·s'h), but the sounds (k) and (s) are not expressed by two distinct letters.

9. *Acções* 'actions,' is pronounced (æsóiʌsh·), but both vowels being nasal, the sign of nasality ought to extend to the whole diphthong.

10. *Muito* 'much,' is pronounced (múʌiʌ·ˌtu), but *muito* wrongly indicates (múi·ˌtu) without the least nasality.

Quantity.

No obligatory quantity exists in Portuguese, Spanish, and Italian, but the case is not the same with French, and particularly with English. Compare *tête* 'head,' with *tète* 'he sucks,' or the English *not* with *nought*. In Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese, on the contrary, the words *ramo* 'branch,' and *alto* 'high,' show no appreciable difference in the quantity of their vowels, which may be pronounced more

or less long, or more or less short, according to the habit or the wish even of the most correct speakers.

Tonic Accent.

The Portuguese tonic accent may fall either on the last syllable, as in *amará* 'he will love;' or on the last syllable but one, as in *amáva* 'he loved;' or on the last syllable but two, as in *amáramos* 'we loved;' or on the last syllable but three, as in *approximávamonos* 'we drew near.'

The Spanish, besides these four, presents a fifth instance, in which the tonic accent falls on the last syllable but four: 1. *amará;* 2. *amába;* 3. *amábamos;* 4. *acercábamonos;* 5. *tráigasemele* 'let they bring it to me.'

The Italian, in addition to these five, offers a sixth instance, in which the tonic accent falls on the last syllable but five; 1. *amerà;* 2. *amáva;* 3. *amávano* 'they loved;' 4. *dédicano* 'they dedicate;' 5. *dédicangliene* 'they dedicate some to him;' 6. *dédicanvegliene* 'there they dedicate some to him.' A seventh, and even an eighth instance of the Italian tonic accent occupying the last syllable but six, or even seven, is not absolutely inadmissible, although very forced. Such certainly would be, without however being incorrect, the following: *dédicanvesegliene* or *dédicanovesegliene* 'usually they dedicate there some to him,' or, to be much better expressed in French: 'On lui en dédie là;' on account of the meaning of the Italian *se*, corresponding in this word to the French *on*, and which cannot be rendered by the English *they* in the two last instances, as this pronoun has been already used to translate the word given in the sixth instance.

The French tonic accent, according to the appreciation of the immense majority of Frenchmen (I am one of the number), falls always on the last syllable, except in words finished in ('h), which have it on the penultimate; but the final sound of ('h) being always suppressed, except in construction with other words or in singing, this exception is more apparent than real. In fact the masculine *exact* and the feminine *exacte* 'exact,' have both the accent on the *a*, and do not differ in pronunciation.

The English tonic accent presents five instances, as the Spanish: 1. *defér;* 2. *díffer;* 3. *difficult;* 4. *nécessary;* 5. *nécessarily.* Of words having more than one tonic accent I am not speaking, nor do I consider an agglomeration of words pronounced under one principal accent.

I am not aware that any non-agglutinative European language, except the Italian, is capable of presenting a primary tonic accent on the last syllable but five. In several agglutinative languages, on the contrary, either of the Iberian or of the Altaic stem, as, for instance, in the Guipuscoan Basque, I observe: 1 *eraman* 'carried;' 2. *dégu* 'we have it;' 3. *darama* 'he carries it;' 4. *daramazki* 'he carries them;' 5. *daramazkigu* 'we carry them;' 6. *daramazkidatzu* 'thou carriest them to me,' 7. *daramazkidatzute* 'you carry them to me.'

Prosodic Accent.

For what relates to the prosodic accent, as in Swedish, I have not been able to discover it in Portuguese, Spanish, French, and English, but I have observed it in some Basque localities, as at Irun, and also in some Italian. In fact, the two villages of Badia San Salvatore and Pian Castagnaio, both in the actual Province of Grosseto, and using the same Tuscan variety, differ only in this, that the *Pianesi* possess the prosodic accent, distinguished into grave and acute, while the *Batinghi*, like the generality of the Italian dialects, are without this distinction. The acute prosodic accent of the *Pianesi* is very common in their final atonic vowels, while the tonic are commonly provided with the grave. A celebrated hollow and immense chestnut-tree existed in 1835, commonly called "Il Castagnu bucu,"[1] both by the *Batinghi* and the *Pianesi*, and I recollect very well immediately recognizing the last from the first on simply hearing the pronunciation of these two words, which was *Castàgnú bùcu*, instead of being *Castàgnu bùcu*, meaning "Hollow Chestnut-

[1] These words, in standard Italian, are "Il Castagno bugio" or "bucato," *bucu* being the dialectal participle of *bucare*, in the same way that *compro* is the contraction of *comprato* 'bought.' The permutation of the final *o* in *u* is common in several Italian dialects, in Asturian, in Galician, as it is in Portuguese.

Tree." The prosodic and the tonic accents are quite independent of each other, and both exist in Swedish as well as in *Pianese* and in the Basque of Irun, and probably in many other varieties of different languages; so that the existence of this accent cannot be received as a primary distinctive character either in linguistic or in ethnology. Nothing indeed resembles more the prosodic and tonic accentuation of such Swedish words as *sjùngá* 'to sing,' *flìckâ* 'girl,' than that of the *Pianese* words *Castàgnú bùcú*. The tonic accent, quite independent, I repeat, of the prosodic, occurs in both languages on the last syllable but one of these words, and nowhere else, while their final syllables are atonic, and pronounced with a kind of interrogative inflection of the voice, which seems to me to be what distinguishes the acute prosodic accent, either tonic at the same time or not.

In this table, after having enumerated the thirty-four Portuguese sounds, I give them physiologically arranged in my ordinary triangle, and according to the different organs of speech; and I conclude with a specimen of the "Lusiadas," firstly, in the usual modern orthography; secondly, according to my own phonetic notation; thirdly, rendered word for word; and, lastly, according to Mr. J. J. Aubertin's poetical translation.

TABLE OF PORTUGUESE SIMPLE SOUNDS, Etc.

N.B.—1°. The first column shows my phonetic notation; the second, A. J. Ellis's palaeotype; the third, the usual modern Portuguese; the fourth, the exemplifying Portuguese words; the fifth, the English translation of the same.

2°. The tonic accent is indicated by ˊ.

3°. The signs in a parenthesis of the third column are not generally or necessarily in use when the tonic vowel is not the last letter of a word.

4°. These sounds are admitted by João de Deus in his "Diccionario Prosodico," Lisbon, 1878, a work representing the pronunciation of the Capital.

Vowels.

1. a	a	a (á)	alto	*high*
		ha (há)	habil	*able* [*flowers*
		a a (á á)	rega as flores	*he waters the*
2. ã	aʌ	ã	irmã	*sister*
		am	campo	*field*
		an	canto	*song*
		han	hanseatico	*Hanseatic*
		a	ramo	*branch*
		ha	hama	*pail to put out a fire*
3. *a*	æ	a (â)	mas	*but*
		ha (hâ)	habilidade	*ability*
4. æ	ɛ	e (é)	mel	*honey*
		he (hé)	herva	*herb*
5. e	e	e (é)	sebo	*tallow*
		he (hé)	hernia	*hernia*
6. *e*	*e*	e (ê)	sexto	*sixth*
		he (hê)	hervilha	*pea*
7. ẽ	eʌ	em	tempo	*time*
		en	vento	*wind*
		e	gema	*yolk*
		he	hemos	*we have*
8. ə	'h	e	se	*if*
		he	Hespanhol	*Spaniard*
9. i	i	i	ilha	*island*
		hi	hispido	*hispid*
		y	lyra	*lyre*
		hy	hydra	*hydra*
		e	e	*and*
10. ĩ	iʌ	im	sim	*yes*
		him	himpar	*to sob*
		in	findo	*finished*
		i	vinho	*wine*
		ym	lympha	*lymph*
		yn	syndico	*syndic*
		y	cynico	*cynic*
		hy	hymno	*hymn*
		e	mãe	*mother*
11. o	o_1	o (ó)	sol	*sun*
		ho (hó)	horta	*kitchen-garden*
		ob	Jacob	*Jacob* [*dow*
		o o (ô ó)	rego o prado	*I water the mea-*

12. *o*	*o*	o (ô)	corte	*court*
		ho (hô)	horto	*garden*
		ou	amou	*he loved*
13. õ	*o*ʌ	õ	acções	*actions*
		om	bom	*good*
		hom	hombro	*shoulder*
		on	ponte	*bridge*
		hon	hontem	*yesterday*
		o	dona	*mistress*
14. u	u	u	lua	*moon*
		hu	humilde	*humble*
		o	o	*the*
15. ũ	uʌ	um	um	*one*
		hum	hum	(*interj.*)
		un	fundo	*bottom*
		hun	Hungaro	*Hungarian*
		u	lume	*fire*
		hu	humo	*soil*
		o	cão	*dog*

Consonants.

16. k	k	c	casa	*house*
		cc	acclamação	*acclamation*
		qu	queimar	*to burn*
		q	equestre	*equestrian*
		ch	chimica	*chemistry*
		k	kilometro	*kilometer*
17. g	g	g	lagarto	*lizard*
		gg	aggravar	*to aggravate*
		gu	azougue	*quick-silver*
18. t	ṭ	t	terra	*earth*
		tt	attenção	*attention*
		th	atheo	*atheist*
		ct	acto	*act*
		pt	exceptuar	*to except*
		bt	subtil	*thin*
19. d	ḍ	d	Deus	*God*
		dd	addição	*addition*
		gd	Emigdio	(*a proper name*)

20. n	n	n	neve	*snow*
		nn	anno	*year*
		mn	damno	*damage*
		nh	inhumano	*inhuman*
		gn	assignar	*to appoint*
21. ñ	nj	nh	sonho	*dream*
22. p	p	p	pae	*father*
		pp	oppressão	*oppression*
23. b	b	b	lobo	*wolf*
		bb	abbade	*abbot*
24. m	m	m	maçã	*apple*
		mm	immediato	*immediate*
		gm	augmentar	*to increase*
25. f	f	f	filho	*son*
		ff	effeito	*effect*
		ph	phrase	*phrase*
26. v	v	v	vinho	*wine*
27. s	s	s	sol	*sun*
		ss	osso	*bone*
		c	ceo	*sky*
		cc	accento	*accent*
		ç	graça	*grace*
		cç	acção	*action*
		sc	sciencia	*science*
		sch	schisma	*schism*
		ps	psalmo	*psalm*
		pç	accepção	*acceptation*
		bs	substancia	*substance*
		x	maxima	*maxim*
		xc	excepto	*except*
28. z	z	z	zelo	*zeal*
		s	rosa	*rose*
		x	exacto	*exact*
		xh	exhalar	*to exhale*
29. š	sh	x	xadrez	*chess*
		ch	chapeo	*hat*
		sch	schisto	*schist*
		s	vos tomo	*I take you*
		z	voz forte	*strong voice*
30. ž	zh	j	justo	*just*
		g	gema	*yolk*
		z	voz grosseira	*coarse voice*
		s	vos digo	*I say to you*
31. l	l	l	lua	*moon*
		ll	bello	*beautiful*

32. l̃	lj	lh	filho	*son*
33. ṙ	ṛ	rr	terra	*earth*
		r	rei	*king*
		rh	rhetorica	*rhetoric*
		rrh	pyrrhonismo	*pyrrhonism*
34. r	r	r	nora	*daughter-in-law*

Inconsistent usual Spelling.

ãĩ	ᴀᴀiᴀ	ãe	mãe	*mother*
ãũ	ᴀᴀuᴀ	ão	cão	*dog*
		am	cantam	*they sing*
éi	éi	e (é)	trachea	*trachea*
ẽĩ	éᴀiᴀ	em	tem	*he has*
ẽẽĩ	eᴀ·éᴀiᴀ	em	tem	*they have*
éi	éi	e (ê)	arca	*sand*
ks	ks	x	axe	*axis*
õĩ	óᴀiᴀ	õe	acções	*actions*
úĩ	úᴀiᴀ	ui	muito	*much*

Classified Portuguese Sounds.

a
a ã –
æ –
e ɔ o
e, ẽ *o*, õ
i, ĩ – u, ũ

	Explosive.			*Continuous.*		*Liquid.*
	hard.	*soft.*	*nasal.*	*hard.*	*soft.*	
Gutturals . .	k	g	—	—	—	—
Palatals . .	—	—	–, ñ	—	—	–, l̃ ; r
Whishes . .	—	—	—	s	ž	—
Alveolars . .	t	d	n, –	s	z	l, –; ṙ
Labio-dentals	—	—	—	f	v	—
Labials . .	p	p	m	—	—	—

Specimen from "The Lusiads," Canto. III. 135.

As filhas do Mondego a morte escura
Longe tempo chorando memoraram;
E, por memoria eterna, em fonte pura
As lagrimas choradas transformaram:
O nome lhe puzeram, qui inda dura,
Dos amores de Ignez, que alli passaram.
Vede que fresca fonte rega as flores,
Que lagrimas são a agua, e o nome amores.

Phonetic, according to my notation.

Aš fil*až* du Mũdégu *a* mórt' əškúr*a*
Lõgu tẽpu šurádu məmurárãũ;
I, pur məmóri*a* et*á*rn*a*, ẽĩ·fõtə púr*a*
Aỹ lágrim*až* šurád*a*š trãšfurmárãũ:
U nõmə lə puzárãũ, kə íd*a* dúr*a*,
Duz *a*mórəž d' Inéš, kə *a*lí p*a*sárãũ.
Védə kə fréšk*a* fõtə rég' aš flóroš,
Kə lágrim*až* sãũ *a* águ*a*, i u nõmə *a*móroš.

Word for word translation.

The daughters of the Mondego the obscure death
Long time weeping commemorated;
And, for eternal memory, into a pure fountain
The wept tears transformed:
The name they gave to it, that still endures
Of the loves of Agnes, that there occurred.
See what a·fresh fountain waters the flowers,
(*see*) That tears are the water, and the name loves.

J. J. Aubertin's poetical translation.

Mondego's daughters this sad death obscure
Long time with weeping did commemorate,
And the wept tears[1] into a fountain pure
For everlasting record did translate;

[1] I have been advised by the translator to substitute "the wept tears" for "all the tears."

They gave the name; that name doth still endure,
The loves of Ignez, which there met their fate;
See through the flowers what freshening fountains move,
Tears are the water and the name is love.

Read 21 *November* 1879.

III.—THE MIDDLE VOICE IN VIRGIL'S *AENEID*, BOOK 6.—By Benjamin Dawson, B.A.

The similarity of form existing between the Middle and Passive voices in the Greek verb plainly indicates the existence of an intimate relationship between these voices. But what relation it is that one bears to the other has not been always stated in the same way. Philip Buttmann, who was one of the greatest authorities at the beginning of this century, considered the Middle voice to be the Passive used reflectively, and found it easy to deduce the Middle meaning from the Passive: "The idea of Passive includes in it the case, in which the action that I suffer is performed by myself" (*Greek Grammar*, p. 103, English translation, 1824). That this view of the subordinate rank of the Middle as compared with the Passive voice was no new view, at least as far as Latin verbs are concerned, appears pretty plainly from the name "Deponent" verbs, if, as asserted by the *Public School Latin Grammar*, § 36, they were so named "because they lay aside (deponunt) *Passive meaning*;" an explanation which, to say the least of it, is quite as probable as Madvig's (*Lateinische Sprachlehre*, § 110) "weil sie die active Form ablegen" —because they lay aside *the Active form*. The opposite view of the matter—that the Passive was an application of the Middle, not the Middle of the Passive—was propounded by one of the earliest members of this Society, the late Prof. Key, in his excellent *Latin Grammar*, published in 1846. I am not aware that this view of the matter had been advanced by others in this country before Prof. Key; it has been adopted by Prof. Sayce—(*Introduction to the Science of Language*, vol. i. p. 178), "The Latin *amamini* is the plural mas. of the old Middle participle,"

and p. 341, "The Passive has been evolved from the Middle—τυπτομαι, 'I beat myself,' passing gradually into 'I am beaten,'"—and I presume is generally held now, at least by members of this Society, notwithstanding Dr. Kennedy's guarded statement (*Public School Latin Grammar*, § 36*f.*), "The Passive, like the Greek Middle voice, is often used reflexively; as vertor, 'I turn myself;' lavor, 'I wash myself.' Some consider this the primary sense of the Passive."

That the Passive voice of Latin verbs grew out of a Middle is beyond dispute, if we admit the explanation given by Key of the origin of the suffix *r* of Passive verbs (*Latin Grammar*, § 375), "In Latin a reflective suffix is added to a Transitive verb, so as to give it the reflective sense," and § 376, "This suffix is no doubt the Pronoun *se* self, which, as it is not limited in number and gender, was probably at first not limited in person." The same explanation is guardedly given by Mr. Roby (*Grammar of the Latin Language*, § 183), "The *r* of the Passive voice is generally held to be for *s*, i.e. for *se*, the Passive having been originally reflexive," again in § 563, "The *r* is generally considered to be a substitute for *s*, the proper Passive inflexion being, as is supposed, the reflexive Pronoun *se*." And in §§ 569 and 615, where in the Passive terminations *eris* of the 2nd pers. sing., and *ier* of the old Infinitive, the finals *s* and *r* are explained as survivals of the Pronoun *se*. The 2nd pers. pl. clearly stands on a different footing, and must have arisen in a different way.

But my object in this paper is practical rather than theoretical, and I refer to these matters rather to give some sort of completeness to my subject than to support any particular theory. I am contented to believe what Sanskrit scholars tell us, that Sanskrit shows the Middle voice to have been older than the Passive, and further to assume—at least till more rebutting evidence is forthcoming—that the Latin Passive termination *r* is a survival of *se*. Now it appears to me that clearness of view would be gained by the distinct enunciation of this explanation;

and clearness of view is always worth gaining. What can be more perplexing to a student than such statements as—"Some Deponents grow out of Passive verbs; as gravor, *I grudge, am loth* (lit. *am grieved*)" (*Public School Latin Grammar*, § 36*f.*); and "Some Active Verbs have a Deponent or Middle use in the Passive voice" (§ 60, *Obs.* 1)? Even Mr. Roby's statement is by no means so definite as might be desired (§ 548): "There are two voices, the Active and the Passive (sometimes called Reflexive or Middle). Some verbs have both voices, some have only the active, except in the third person; others, called deponents, have only the passive, but with the signification (apparently) of the active." This is certainly less clear and definite than Prof. Key's way of stating the case (§ 405): "The verb, then, has two forms or *voices*; the *simple voice* (commonly called the *active*), which does not take the reflective suffix; the *reflective voice* (commonly called the *passive*), which does take it." As to any abstract theoretical improbability felt by the incredulous respecting this explanation, it is disposed of by the fact that such a mode of forming Reflexives is seen in the Scandinavian dialects. Cf. Dr. R. Morris's *English Accidence*, § 11.

It appears to me, therefore, that clearness of view would be gained if Latin Grammars were to make some such statement as this: There are three voices in Latin, as in Greek—the Active, Middle, and Passive; the Middle and Passive being alike in form. The Middle was formed from the Active by the addition of the Reflective pronoun *se;* but, as Latin prefers *r* to *s* between two vowels, *amose* became *amore,* and finally *amor,* by dropping the final vowel. The Middle voice was, therefore, originally reflective in form as well as in meaning; it would have been better named the Reflective voice; *Middle* is a meaningless if not a misleading name. The Reflective meaning appears to have often given way to a Passive meaning, so that the Middle form got to be frequently used in a Passive sense. A somewhat analogous transition has taken place in English (though in the opposite direction), where such Reflective verbs as

repent me, retire myself, have become Intransitives, the Pronominal Objects being now suppressed; English preserves the Middle *meaning* but not the Middle *form*, whereas Latin preserves the Middle *form* but not generally the Middle *meaning*. The Passive, being only a modified use of the Middle voice, is not distinguishable from it by the form of the word, and is often confounded with it. Intermediate between the Active and the Passive voices are the so-called "Deponent" verbs, Transitives and Intransitives. These would be better named Intermediate or Transition verbs. These "Deponents" or quasi-Passive verbs look like Passives, but are not so; they are petrified Middle or Reflective verbs, the Reflective force being retained by many.

Now it may be objected that there is no trace in Latin authors of the admission of the existence of a Middle voice, or of such an origin of the Passive voice as indicated above. But, though I admit the truth of this as a proposition, I should join issue if this fact were used as an argument against this explanation of the Middle and Passive voices. Neither Virgil, nor Cæsar, nor Cicero with all his learning, could have given a reasonable explanation of his own constant omission of an unemphatic Pronoun when the Subject of a verb. They had not the remotest idea that the personal terminations of the verb contained the Pronoun which was the Subject. Their ears and eyes had taught them what good Latin was, but not why the insertion of a Pronoun as a Subject indicated great emphasis. Many a man besides Molière's M. Jourdain in *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* has talked prose all his life without knowing it! And just in the same way, a good Latin author would use what is usually called a Passive form, with its proper Reflective meaning, without knowing that the *r* stood for *se;* and would not hesitate to use the Infinitive, or the contracted 2nd pers. sing. (*re* for *ris*), with this Reflective meaning, although the Object *se* had totally disappeared from the form he used. Nor can we suppose that Virgil had any other motive than his metre

for popping in here and leaving out there the old final *er* of the Infinitive. But besides gaining, as I think, in clearness by such a way of stating the case, thereby helping the learner, we should find another practical advantage, in lessening the number of anomalies which have to be tabulated. That many verbs wearing the dress of Passives have a Reflective meaning cannot be denied; and this must be stated somehow or other by Grammars or editors. Madvig says (§ 222), "Den Gebrauch des Passivs betreffend, ist zu merken, dass oft, wo im Deutschen ein reflexiver Ausdruck gebraucht wird, im Lateinischen das Passiv steht"—a Latin Passive often stands for a German Reflexive. The same remark holds good of the Romance languages. In Dr. Kennedy's edition of Virgil we have a long list of the "peculiarities of Virgilian Syntax," amongst these we find (p. 649), "Verbs used in the Middle or Reflexive sense are frequent," again (p. 653), "The Medial Object is likewise frequent . . . with Passive verbs of reflexive meaning." Smith's Dictionary gives examples of the Reflective use of different verbs. And so in one way or another the difficulty created by ignoring the existence of a Middle voice is met, with more or less success.

But however great or little might be the advantage of a different way of stating the case, I am convinced, and hope to show, that the Middle sense may often be traced where the Passive is generally taken for granted, and that in giving the Reflective signification instead of the Passive, the beauty and force of many passages are greatly increased. Omitting for the present Participles, I have noted five passages in 6th Book of Virgil's *Aeneid* where the Middle meaning of the verb is clearly traceable.

(*a*) l. 40, *nec sacra morantur Jussa viri.* The verb *moror* is a so-called "Deponent," sometimes Transitive and sometimes Intransitive,—in this passage it governs *sacra jussa;* "The men do not dilly-dally over the ordered rites," "they do not delay themselves in beginning them." When Horace says (*Epis.* Bk. 1, Ep. 15, l. 6), *nam vina nihil moror illius orae*—the meaning is plainly reflective, "I do

not linger over," "I delay myself not a jot over the wines of that shore." In *Aen.* vii. 253—*in connubio natae thalamoque moratur*—the verb is Intrans. but again clearly reflective; "Latinus thinks over," "he delays himself over the marriage of his daughter."

(*b*) l. 423, *totoque ingens extenditur antro.* Here surely the Reflective meaning is clear; for if Cerberus *is stretched* (in a Passive sense), by whom is he stretched? Having swallowed the meal thrown to him by Sibylla, he stretches *himself*, after the manner of dogs, at full length across his cave. It may be objected that after he has stretched *himself*, *he is stretched.* I admit the truth of this as a general proposition, but deny that the two phrases can be considered synonymous or co-instantaneous. Nor do I see why a distinction should not be drawn between *extenditur* when used in a Reflective sense and *extenditur* when used in a Passive sense, precisely in the same way as a good translator would sometimes render *scribo* "I write," and at other times "I am writing." If Aeneas and the Sibyl had arrived after the sop had been thrown to Cerberus, and had been witnesses of the result only, *extenditur* would be rightly rendered by a Passive even though no agent is mentioned; but as they were present before, during, and after the gulp, and saw the whole performance, the Reflective sense gives more force and life to the narrative. Conington's translation is: "And o'er the cave *extended sprawls.*" Livy's *longius cupiditas gloriae extenditur* I claim as an example of the Middle voice, for it may be quite as well, if not better, rendered by "the desire of glory *stretches itself* too far," as by "the desire of glory *is stretched* too far."

(*c*) l. 652, *passimque soluti Per campum pascuntur equi.* Under *pasco* Forcellini remarks "usurpatur tum activa positione, praesertim in participio praesentis (et subintelligitur accusativus *se*, etc.), tum passiva." In Quicherat's Latin Dictionary we find both *pasco* and *pascor*; the latter he calls the Passive of the former, translating the Active *faire paître*, the Passive *paître.* Smith's Dictionary gives *pasco* Active and *pascor* Deponent, represented by

our "to feed" in its Transitive and Intransitive senses. Ainsworth's Dictionary gives *pasco* Active, *pascor* Passive, and *pascor* Deponent. But though lexicographers are not agreed as to the best way of entering this verb, there can, I submit, be little difference of opinion as to its Reflective sense in Virgil's line: "The horses, freed from labour, feed themselves upon the plain," or with Prof. Conington: "Free o'er the plain the horses feed." The same phrase *pascuntur per* occurs in *Georgic* iii. 162: *Cetera pascuntur virides armenta per herbas.* Here too the sense is plainly Reflective. The poet has described how, early in their lives, some calves are marked and set aside for breeding, some for sacrifice, some for the plough, whilst the remaining herd are turned loose on to the grass, and they "feed themselves along the green herbage." With this passage we may compare *Georgic* iii. 528, where *pascuntur* is joined with an Ablative of the food eaten.

(*d*) l. 659, *unde superne Plurimus Eridani per silvam volvitur amnis.* The Dictionaries do not claim *volvor* as a Deponent verb; we must therefore look upon *volvitur* as a simple Passive and translate accordingly, or else we must explain it as some kind of exceptional reflective use of the Passive voice. This is the editors' usual way of disposing of such passages if they condescend to notice them at all. Dr. Kennedy takes it as a Passive, giving in his Notes the following translation,—

> "Whence from the upper world, the forest through,
> The river of Eridanus is *rolled*
> In copious flood."

But surely we should act in unison with a poet's love of personifying inanimate objects if we were to make Eridanus *roll himself*, instead of *being rolled*, through the wood. The same verb is applied (*Aen.* vii. 349) to a snake which rolls or curls itself amongst the folds of Queen Amata's night-dress. Dr. Kennedy gives no note on this passage, so that it is uncertain whether he takes *volvitur* as a Passive when applied to the snake, or with Smith's Dictionary considers it an example of the Reflective use of *volvor*.

(*e*) l. 707, *ubi apes aestate serena Floribus insidunt variis et candida circum Lilia funduntur.* Here again, as the Dictionaries make no sign, a student would naturally render *funduntur* "are poured," or "are spread"; but as we have no causing agent except the instinct of the bees, we shall do well to let the bees spread or pour *themselves* around the white lilies.

These are the five passages I have noted in 6th Book of the *Aeneid* in which a Reflective meaning appears to me preferable to a Passive. They might be supported by other passages in Virgil, e.g. *Aen.* vii. 163, *exercentur;* 217, *afferimur;* 640, *induitur* and *accingitur;* 673, *feruntur;* 784, *vertitur;* 794, *densantur;* and 802, *conditur.* But examples may be found in other authors. Quicherat, for instance, in his Dictionary, quotes from Lucretius *foras erumpitur* as applied to the Wind, and translates *il s'échappe avec violence;* from Ovid *labuntur tempora,* translating by *le temps s'enfuit.* But there is no need to confine my examples to the poets with their love of personification and preference for archaisms of Accidence and Syntax. I will support my position by passages from the ordinary prose writers.

Cicero, *de Amicitia,* c. 21, "Cavendum vero ne etiam in graves inimicitias convertant se amicitiae, ex quibus jurgia, maledicta, contumeliae *gignuntur.*" Here the Reflective meaning will be at least as good as the Passive, "from which strifes, evil speaking, and insults *beget* or *propagate themselves,*" instead of "*are begotten.*" Again, in c. 22, "multis in rebus negligentia *plectimur,*" "in many things we *punish ourselves* by our negligence," is not inferior to "we *are punished* by our negligence in many things." Again, in c. 24, "peccasse enim se non *anguntur,*"—I should be disposed to translate "they vex or *worry themselves* not that they have done wrong," rather than "they *are vexed* or *worried.*" Again in the same chapter, "melius de quibusdam acerbos inimicos *mereri* quam eos amicos qui dulces videantur; illos verum saepe dicere, hos nunquam." Cato's statement is "that bitter enemies often *deserve for themselves* more from some men than those friends do who

seem so pleasant, because the former often tell them the truth, the latter never." The verbs *mereo* and *mereor* I may remark are classed together as having the same meaning whether Active or Deponent, though I am not prepared to say that this argues much either for or against my position. And once again in Cicero, *de Senectute*, c. 3, if I were not afraid of being supposed to have Middle Voice on the brain, I should be much disposed to give a Reflective force to *congregantur*, though not a Deponent verb, and to translate the proverb *pares cum paribus facillime congregantur*, "equals *associate themselves* with greatest ease with equals," rather than "*are associated*." And though I have only a strong preference for a Reflective sense for *exercentur* in *Aen.* vii. 163, albeit the verb is not a Deponent, I have a positive conviction that this must have been Cicero's meaning in *de Senectute* c. 14, "quanto studio *exercerl* in dicendo videbamus etiam senem!"

So also in *Aen.* vii. 506, *hic torre armatus obusto*, a Reflective meaning appears to me more natural, more forcible, and more poetic than a Passive one. But be this as it may, there is a passage in Caesar (B. G. iv. 32) where an important question of army discipline and camp arrangements seems to be involved. Caesar orders *reliquas cohortes armari*. Now *armor* is not given in the Dictionaries as a Deponent verb. Is it therefore Passive in this passage? If so, by whom were the cohorts to be armed? We know that arms were stored in public armouries in time of peace, but who had charge of the arms of soldiers when in camp and off duty? If, then, the cohorts were *to be armed*, it must have been somebody's duty to arm them, and, poor man, no sinecure must his duty have been; if, on the other hand, *armari* has a Reflective sense, and the cohorts were ordered *to arm themselves*, each man would take his armour and weapons from the place where he had deposited them. In our times, at least, there is a great distinction between soldiers *being armed* with (say) the Martini-Henry rifle, and *arming themselves* when the bugle sounds the alarm.

In conclusion, it is only fair to my subject to remark, that the passages I have brought forward as containing examples of the Middle Voice have not been hunted up for the purpose, but are merely such as I noted in reading the subjects required by the Cambridge authorities from boys presenting themselves at their last Local Examination. More examples might easily have been found, and some perhaps better ones; but if the most familiar authors will prove my point, there was no need to swell my paper unduly by multiplying examples unnecessarily. My contention is simply this: that inasmuch as a Reflective meaning is admitted on all hands to be sometimes observable in verbs of Passive form, this Reflective meaning ought not to be looked upon as an irregularity or an anomaly, if it can (and I have endeavoured to show it can) be otherwise explained; and secondly, that when we have ceased to *look upon the Reflective sense as an anomaly, we shall be* in a position to discover examples of its use in many passages where we had not previously observed it, and in so doing shall approach nearer to the thought of the author we are reading.

Subjoined is an alphabetical list of the verbs to which a "Middle" Voice has been assigned in the foregoing pages:—

accingo	erumpo	labor
affero	exerceo	mereo
ango	extendo	morior
armo	fero	paseo
condo	fundo	plecto
congrego	gigno	verto
denso	induo	volvo

IV.—ON A DIFFICULTY IN RUSSIAN GRAMMAR.

By C. B. Cayley, Esq.

The subject of this paper is not any complete section of Russian grammar, but a somewhat minute point, which has appeared to me paradoxical and embarrassing in studying the most approved practical treatise thereon. I refer to a class of verbs, in their form compound and derivative (or beginning with a certain preposition and ending like derivative verbs), which admit of a double accentuation, and so of a double usage, not with a casual or nondescript change of meaning, like our *indicative, indicative*, but so as to fall into two distinct categories or aspects, which Gretsch designates the incomplete-definite and the complete-indefinite. But as these terms and others seem to require preliminary explanations, and as grammatical explanations are apt to be most embarrassing things when not carefully expressed, I will begin by attempting a general survey of the 'aspects' of the verb, especially as they have been at times mentioned in this Society as an isolated phenomenon in the Slavonic languages, and without any regard to their relations in comparative philology.

The word 'aspect' I only use as the conventional translation of the Russ *vidŭ* (pronounced *vit*), which, however, means no more than 'kind' or 'variety.' It is certainly connected with *vidĕti* 'to see,' and this lends a colour to the translation 'aspect;' but this affinity is no more significant than that of Greek εἶδος, Latin *species*, which have nearly the same meaning as 'kind.' So there is in Russ a frequentative aspect, as in Latin there are frequentative verbs; and *rocito* might be considered a variety or say aspect of *roco*. But the circumstance which gives prominence to the Russian aspects, or at least two of them, is that they seem required to make a convenient system of tenses, such as *je fais, faisais, fis, ferai*.

At least, the most obvious translations of *je fis, je faisais*, are the preterites of two aspects, the incomplete and complete; and each aspect has its own infinitive. This, however, is really very like what happens in Latin; for *faciebam, feci*, have separate bases, *faci, fec*, connected with the root in a very uncertain way (compare *regebam, rexi*), and having separate infinitives. Only we do not treat *facere, fecisse* as the infinitives of two verbs, or even of two aspects; we make them tenses of the infinitive, while Russian grammar allows it no tenses, which I think is a more correct view. For either *facere* or *fecisse* may relate to the past or future, according to the context; in fact, we never venture to speak of a past or preterite infinitive, and the term present infinitive is equally inapplicable. We shall rather find that *facere* mostly relates to the incomplete action, *fecisse* to the complete; I mean the incomplete or complete at the time referred to by the governing verb; but if this is not always clear, it is for want of another distinction which we find in Greek. Here τύπτειν relates to the incomplete action, τετυφέναι to the complete, τύψαι or τυπεῖν to the indeterminate or aorist. And this word 'aorist' imports no uncertainty as to present, past, or future (for ἔτυψα is decidedly a preterite with trifling exceptions in hypothetical phrases), but as to the imperfect or perfect action specialized in ἔτυπτον, τέτυφα, ἐτετύφειν. To the above infinitives correspond as many imperative forms, and twice as many indicative forms, of which last one in each pair is present or perhaps future, and one preterite. So that, from a Russian point of view, there is an incomplete aspect, inf. τύπτειν, pres. τύπτω, pret. ἔτυπτον; a complete, inf. τετυφέναι, pres. τέτυφα, pret. ἐτετύφειν; and an indeterminate, inf. τύψαι or τυπεῖν, fut. τύψω, pret. ἔτυψα or ἔτυπον; and with this plan we may readily connect the subjunctive and optative moods and the participles. You will not be surprised at my counting τέτυφα, ἐτετύφειν as present and preterite; the one is εἰμὶ τετυφὼς 'I am having beaten,' or what Bishop Wilkins calls the present of the copula with the past of the predicate; the other is ἦν τετυφὼς, the past of both copula and predicate. On the other hand, there is some difficulty

about co unting τύψω in the aorist aspect; it has a separate infinitive τύψειν, though this makes not so much a real tense of the infinitive, as a kind of inchoative form. Then τύψω is a future, when analogy requires a present, which is what happens in the modern Russian complete aspect, perhaps not in the older language. Again, τύψω goes with the Doric τυψῶ, a contracted form, of which the base is not simple τυψ, but τυψε or the like. I am, however, not inclined to believe that τύψω is a mere corruption of τυψῶ; rather there have been two forms confounded, τύψω a present indeterminate, and τυψῶ a future indeterminate.

In Latin there is evidently an incomplete aspect, but the indeterminate and complete aspects are mixed together, so that *feci* is 'I did,' a preterite aorist, or 'I have done,' a present complete; still *feceram* is always of the complete aspect, *fecisse* usually so. In Russ we have 1). An incomplete aspect, *dêlatĭ* 'to be doing,' ποιεῖν; *dêlalŭ* 'I was doing,' *dêlaĭu* 'I am doing,' or 'I do' (unless where 'I do' implies the frequentative). 2). An aspect called the complete, but partly including the indeterminate, thus *sdêlatĭ* 'to do' (ποιῆσαι, not πεποιηκέναι), *sdêlalŭ* 'I did,' but with a particle *že* 'I have done' or 'had done;' *sdêlaĭu* 'I will do' (used of immediate futurity, for generally we can express futurity by the auxiliary *budu* 'I shall be,' and the infinitive of the incomplete form). As to formation, the complete aspect is sometimes simpler than the incomplete, and thus resembles the second aorist rather than the first in Greek. I shall speak presently of verbs like *sdêlatĭ* in which the complete aspect is more complex. Note that all preterites are declined like verbal adjectives, having gender and number, but no personal affixes; in the modern meaning, however, they need not approach participles.

The frequentative verb is conjugated like a defective verb of the incomplete aspect; or it has a preterite incomplete like *faciebam*, and a periphrastic future, but commonly no present or simple future; but *bŭivatĭ* from *bŭitĭ* 'to be,' may be considered of incomplete or of frequentative aspect; and it is probable that all the frequentative class of verbs, of

which *ŭivatĭ*, *vatĭ*, *atĭ* are common terminations, arose from a combination of other verbs with this verb as an auxiliary.

These Russian frequentatives seem rather to refer to a broken action than a multiplied one, and hence their use in negative phrases, as *nikogda ne tolkovalŭ* 'he never used to talk,' not 'he never often talked.'

The semelfactive verb is essentially the opposite to the frequentative, and signifies what we get done at once; it is declined like the complete verb, with a simple future, and a preterite analogous to *feci*, *jam feci*. The usual infix *nu* reminds us of Gr. *νυ* in *ζεύγνυμι*; unluckily the Gr. infix seems limited to the present and præterimperfect tenses, or what I have classified as forms of the incomplete aspect, while the Russian forms exclude the incomplete aspect. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that many of the Gk. verbs, as *ζεύγνυμι*, *δείκνυμι*, refer to an act which may be suddenly completed.

Now, let us consider again that the infinitive of the complete aspect is more like a second aorist than a first (*i.e.* it is the form nearest the root); and that in Greek many verbs have no second aorist, as especially the circumflexed verbs, which are regarded as nominals or verbs formed from the nouns of other verbs. In Russ there are similar verbs, though from the absence of accents and long vowels it is harder to trace them. But they seem mostly recognisable by an exuberance of vowel or diphthong in the desinence of the bases, whence they are referred to the last conjugations in theoretical grammars, whereas in practical grammars these conjugations take a prior place by reason of their frequent occurrence. Now there are many cases where these secondary verbs furnish the incomplete aspect, as in compounds *imatĭ* or *nimatĭ* 'to take,' while the primitive verbs (as *ĭatĭ* or *nĭatĭ* for *nemtĭ*) furnish the complete aspect. Compare Latin *video*, *videbam*, *videre* from a nominal base; *vidi*, *vidisse* from a primitive. Sometimes the primitive and secondary forms have another application, as I will soon exemplify. But there are many nominal verbs which have no available primitives; and hence there are verbs of incomplete aspect

which have no complete aspect *naturally*. But as it is practically necessary to use them for what *was* done, as well as for what *was being done*, it is agreed that their compounds with certain prepositions shall be used for their complete aspects. Thus *dêlatĭ* 'to do,' is of incomplete aspect, but its compound *sdêlatĭ* of complete; *dêlalŭ* is 'he was doing,' but *sdêlalŭ* 'he did.' Of course the preposition has, or has had, a more special meaning, but it may be an unimportant one; and the use of the two verbs in question is not altogether unlike that of *facio, conficio* in Latin, if I may assume that *confecit* would be more easily found than *conficiebat*. It is to be noted, however, that the compound of the frequentative does not assume the complete aspect, but is reckoned of the incomplete, while losing its frequentative character. This rule holds of many verbs which are no more used in the simple form, and which are considered as very contracted frequentatives, so that their infinitives do not end in *vatĭ*, but in *ĭatĭ*, etc. Other aspects are occasionally distinguished. The term indefinite verb is sometimes used in a broader, and sometimes a narrower sense; but there are some twenty-eight pairs of simple verbs which are called duplicate (*sugubŭi*), and are said to have a *definite* and an *indefinite* aspect. Between these aspects the formal relation is various. Sometimes the definite verb is primitive, and what is called irregular, while the indefinite is secondary or regular, so that it may be called nominal, at least by analogy; thus *nesti* 'to carry,' is definite, *nositĭ* 'to carry,' indefinite. Sometimes the definite verb is secondary, while the indefinite is like a contracted frequentative, as is the case with *lomitĭ* and *lomatĭ*, 'to break.' But let us come to their use, which is a more interesting point.

The use of the definite aspect seems to be almost confined to affirmations, while the indefinite is required for negations and interrogations. This is the less remarkable, because in Russ these phrases, the negative and interrogative, require often a peculiar construction even of the noun, so that the genitive case, which seems to have a partitive import, is used instead of the accusative or sometimes of the nominative.

For 'I saw not the woman; she is not at home,' we seem to have 'I saw not of the woman; there is not of her at home.' The intention is, I suppose, to deny more vaguely and comprehensively and show that there is not a particle of truth in the assertion that appears to be combated. There is the same intention in the French negative forms *ne . . pas, ne . . point,* and even in the English *not* for *ne ought;* though these strong negations need not have been carried into dry phrases like 'A is not equal to B,' or 'A n'est pas égal à B;' where we do not mean that A is assuredly very far from being equal to B. But I come now to the grammatical complexity which forms my proper subject.

According to Gretsch the simple definite and indefinite verbs, as *nesti, nositi,* 'to carry,' may be both of the incomplete aspect. The compound of the definite verb, *vnesti* 'to carry in,' is, as you might expect, definite and complete in aspect. The compound of the frequentative, as *vnašcati*, is indefinite and incomplete. But the compound of the indefinite may be complete-indefinite or incomplete-definite, or both. Under *bégati* 'to flee,' Gretsch gives ten compounds of one character, indefinite-complete, and the same (all but one), with six new ones, as of the opposite character, so that nine are equivocal; under *nositi* 'to carry,' he refers to the same analogies. But so far as regards the one preposition *vui* 'out,' he lays down this rule. When the preposition in the infinitive and some other places draws the accent to itself, as in *vúinositi,* the compound is complete-indefinite. When the accent in these places remains on the verb, as *vúinositi,* the compound is, on the contrary, incomplete-definite. In the former case you can express 'I did not do,' in the latter 'I was doing;' that is, the fleeing or the carrying or the like. Here is what has struck me and others whom I formerly knew, as in theory an interesting paradox, and in practice a most troublesome perplexity in the Russian grammar.

One consideration has since occurred to me. The form *vúi-nositi,* omitting at present the accent, may be two things, 1) the verb *nositi* with the preposition prefixed, or 2) the verb

formed from the compound noun, whether used or implied (I believe it is used in this instance), *vŭinos* 'an outcarrying,' which has the accent on the first syllable and comes from *vŭinesti*, the compound of the primitive and definite verb. When the verb has the complete-indefinite character, the preposition is accented; it is then really attached to the verb and has the usual power of turning the incomplete act to a complete. When the verb has the incomplete definite character, the preposition belongs to a noun, and has no power of expressing the complete action. But a definite action is expressed, because the noun had a definite character. The possibility of this double character of a compound and secondary verb may be illustrated by the Greek *προλογιζω* and *προλογίζομαι*. Of course they are not related as *τύπτω*, *τύπτομαι*, because *προλογίζω* means 'I play prologue,' *προλογίζομαι* 'I calculate beforehand.' The pedigree of one is *λέγω*, *προλέγω* 'I speak before others,' *πρόλογος* 'a prologue,' *προλογίζω*; the pedigree of the other is *λέγω*, *λόγος* 'an account,' etc., *λογίζομαι*, *προλογίζομαι*. They are not sister-forms, but *second cousins*, each having a special character according to the generation, earlier or later, in which the preposition intermarried with the verbal family. And a difference of accent, as if we had *πρόλογιζομαι*, might easily have arisen, but for the peculiar laws of the classic languages, which limit the accent to the last three syllables.

N.B.—In transcriptions of Russian words *ŭ* represents the mute final character ъ, but *ui* the vowel ы expressed by *y* in Polish; *ĭ* ь modifies the preceding consonant; but initial *ĭa*, *ĭu*, etc., are equivalent to (я ю) *ya*, *yu*, etc.; *e*, *ê* are used, however, for *ĭe*, *ĭê* (е ѣ); *š*, *ž* represent the letters ш ж equivalent to *sh* and French *j*.

V.—NOTES ON THE MAKUA LANGUAGE. By the Rev. Chauncy Maples, M.A., of the Universities Mission to Central Africa.

The Makúa language is classed by Dr. Bleek in his "Comparative Grammar of South African Languages" as belonging to what he terms the Middle Branch of the Bantu family, and in that Branch to the Southern Genus of its Eastern portion, under which he includes the dialects of Tete, Sena, Lorenzo Marques, Inhambane, Sofála, Quilimane, Makua, Cape Delgado, and Maravi. In this list, which only represents the collections of Dr. Peters, we shall probably have to include the Makonde language, and possibly those of the Mavia, the Mwera, the Matambwe, the Donde, and many other tribes in that locality of whose tongues we know as yet little or nothing. Of these dialects, which are spoken for the most part in the country adjacent to the River Rovuma, the Makonde idiom is alone known to us through a small vocabulary and grammar printed in Zanzibar in 1876. Its pronominal prefixes very closely resemble those of the various genders in Yao, to which language it is closely allied.

If we follow the somewhat simpler classification of Bantu tongues given by Friederich Müller, we find Makua noted as belonging to the Zambesi group of the Eastern Branch.

A question has sometimes arisen, From what language of the interior did the Swahíli of the coast take its rise? and in answer to this Kipokómo; Kishambála, Kiyao, and Kimakua have alternately been fixed upon. To call any one of these dialects the mother-tongue of Swahili is as foolish as to call Sanskrit the mother of Greek or Latin or German. Just

as in the case of the Aryan family we must go much further back than Sanskrit, if we are ever to recover the original mother-tongue, so also in the Bantu family it would be foolish to look at any two of the multitudinous dialects, and upon a little specious evidence declare one to have produced the other. It is possible that one may stand to the other in the relation of an elder sister, but here the evidence adduced is for the most part of too slight a character to enable us to come to any definite conclusion. In Swahili the ordinary word now in use for 'to climb' is *kupanda*, but there is another word almost obsolete, and at the present time for the most part confined to poetry,—*kukwea*. In Yao, however, the only word used for 'to climb' is *kukwera*. From this and like instances it has been argued, that Swahili is a kind of recent development from Yao. It is said that the accretion of Arabic elements into Yao practically brought about a new language, namely, Swahili. But according to the principle almost universally agreed upon in philology, that a language cannot have a mixed grammar, we find the grammatical structure of Swahili purely Bantu, and wholly unaffected by Arabic, which language is only responsible for increasing its vocabulary. Moreover, in the very instance cited, the new (?) word which has taken the place of the obsolete one is not of Arabic origin, and, so far as we can tell, may be as old as the word which has fallen into disuse. The argument, therefore, by which some superficial observers would derive Swahili from Yao, breaks down at every point. As little can be said for Dr. Krapf's theory that Swahili originated from Kipokomo.

Before speaking in detail of the peculiarities in the phonology and morphology of the Makua tongue, a few words are necessary on the subject of its geographical distribution.

The great centre of the Makua tribe lies at the back of Mozambique. Probably the largest towns this people possesses are to be found much in the same latitude as the island of Mozambique, and perhaps from one to two hundred miles in the interior. The country of the Makua is as

little known and explored as any part of East Africa, and therefore it is impossible to attempt an estimate of the numbers of the tribe. Roughly speaking, the Makua extend over five degrees of latitude and four of longitude. There are many subdivisions of the tribe, all known by their distinctive tattoo marks; but, as far as has been ascertained, the dialectical variations of their language are remarkably few and insignificant. At Masási, which is 300 miles from Mozambique, the people make use of a vocabulary, which is almost identical with the Makua spoken thirty years ago at Mozambique, and which Dr. Peters has preserved in his vocabularies of Mozambique languages. Now at the very lowest computation the present Makua inhabitants of Masási must have been settled there forty years; and if they were not there before that time, there is no reason to believe, that they were either located in the neighbourhood of Mozambique, or indeed much nearer it than they are at present. Similarly the Makua of the Upper Rovuma, further from Mozambique than Masási, speak the language as it is spoken at the latter place; nor do we know that they emigrated from Mozambique in very recent times. We have therefore the fact of a savage tongue spoken in two places 300 miles apart, between which there has been no direct communication for at least forty years, and perhaps for four times that number, with as little variation as in the English of the dialect of Devonshire and Middlesex. It would seem, however, that Makua is peculiar in this respect, other Bantu tongues often showing very rapid changes in the course of a few years, and varying very considerably in different places. Thus, to cite Yao as an instance, the dialects of this language at Masási, Blantyre (L. Shirwa), and Matáka's Town, exhibit some very distinct characteristics, and differ materially throughout their vocabulary. The strange custom known as *ukuhlonipa*, prevalent among the Kafirs, is unknown in the Mozambique and more northern groups of the Bantu family, so that verbal decay and change arising from that source is excluded, while some marked peculiarities in the phonology of Makua doubtless contribute to preserve the

language in a comparatively stationary condition. It is common now to talk of the Bantu family, under which, speaking roughly, all African dialects south of the Equator (always excepting those of the Hottentots and Bushmen) are classed. No doubt the morphology of all these dialects is sufficiently homogeneous to allow of such a classification, but it must be remembered that the question of a primitive Bantu mother-tongue, from which these dialects separated off, is an undecided one. The parent-tongue theory, however convenient for the purpose of explaining analogies, and reducing discordant elements into their proper harmonies, is at best hypothetical. It will account no doubt for resemblances up to a certain point, but it can never be the ultimate explanation of all the problems suggested by the varying dialects of a family. It is undoubtedly true that in language the tendency is from diversity to unity, and that the reverse process is an unscientific fiction. Isolated communities started with isolated languages. Various causes combined to break down their primitive isolation, and the need arose for a *lingua franca*. Hence new dialects were evolved as the result of joint contributions from the older and earlier ones. The Bantu family at the present time exhibits this process actually going on. Every dozen years or so probably sees the absorption of one at least of these languages in two or more of those closely allied to it; they in turn are about to give way, as the advance of civilization contributes to the spread of a third, which happens to be the spoken tongue of the civilizing community. Thus it is pretty evident, that the days of the Zaramo, Gindo, Shambála, and Kinika idioms are numbered, when we consider the proximity of the people who speak these dialects to the Swahili-speaking race, which represents all that there is of advancement and progress in that part of East Africa. The Makua language alone is sufficient evidence, that the theory of a Bantu mother-tongue will not answer all the questions suggested by a comparison of the various dialects making up the family, for it possesses a large number of words entirely non-existent in any other of the known languages in Bantu.

No known law of verbal change or transliteration can account for these words by showing them to be phonologically connected with others in other dialects of the same group. This fact of Makua, which, we doubt not, could also be shown to be a fact of many, if not most, other dialects in the family, refuses to yield to the theory of a "mother-tongue"; rather it militates strongly against it.

The only authorities on the Makua tongue are, I believe, Dr. Bleek, and a grammar of my own recently published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. In dealing with the concord of the noun, I have adopted a different classification from that of Dr. Bleek, as being more suited to the purpose I had in view in compiling the grammar. But the excellent scheme of the author of the Comparative Grammar of South African Languages, by which all the nouns in all these dialects fall naturally into one or another of sixteen or eighteen genders, must not be disregarded. Few theories are more important in the present condition of the science of comparative philology than that of Dr. Bleek with regard to gender as applied to Bantu tongues. In classing Makua nouns I shall therefore follow his genders rather than my own classes, and shall endeavour to fill in the *lacunæ*, which, by reason of the scanty materials upon which he worked, necessarily exist in his table of Makua prefixes. It will be convenient to arrange the few notes I am in a position to offer on this interesting tongue under the three heads of phonology, morphology, and sematology.

I. *Phonology.*

Perhaps the most noticeable feature of the Makua alphabet is the certain and definite character of the letter *r*. As is well known, this letter is for the most part scarcely to be distinguished from *l* in Bantu idioms. Bleek says, "One is justified to consider *r* in these dialects as a sort of floating letter, and rather intermediate between *l* and *r* than a decided *r* sound." Bishop Steere, writing on the same subject in his introduction to a grammar of the Shambala dialects, says, "I have written throughout *l* for that pecu-

liarly African sound, which seems to European ears at one time distinctly an *l*, and at another an *r* just as distinctly. I have found an *l* sound always understood, but not so a strong *r*." The word for 'pepper' in Swahili might be written *pilipili* or *piripiri*, or that in Yao for 'tongue' might with equal correctness be written *rurimi* or *lulimi*. Makua alone seems to be the exception in discriminating very carefully between the two letters. Indeed, *r* by the Makua is usually strongly trilled, and reminds one forcibly of the French *r* in *rue*, *roi*, etc. Where it occurs after a nasalized consonant, so strong is the emphasis upon it, that at first it was supposed a dental *d* intervened, and but for the fact that this letter occurs nowhere else in the language, would certainly have been inserted in words like *nrata*, *nroe*, etc. The *d* however is clearly not an integral part of the word; and if we assert that it exists in *nrata* and *nroe*, its occurrence must be explained by the parallel cases in the Greek *ἀνδρὸς* and the English *thunder* and *tender*, the insertion of the dental in these words being due to emphasis, since their etymology will in no wise account for it.

The following list of substantives exhibits some of the more important and well-ascertained variations in the phonology of a leading language of the Zangian branch and the dialect under discussion.—

Makua	Swahili.	English
mhuko	*mfuko*	bag.
mairupo	*matumbo*	stomach
kalawa	*galawa*	canoe.
makura	*mafuta*	oil.
ikuo	*nguo*	cloth.
mirima	*mtima*	heart.
makano	*magano*	covenant.
ikoma	*ngoma*	drum.
itepo	*tembo*	elephant
mashinano	*mashindano*	contest.
uhiyu.	*usiku*	night.
mashi	*maji*	water.
moro	*moto*	fire.
ipuri	*mbuzi*	goat.

From this list it will appear that the *mb* of Swahili becomes *p* in Makua, the *t* becomes *r*, the *ng* becomes *k*, the *f* becomes either *h* or *k*, the *s* becomes *h* or *sh*. There is no instance of *s* used alone throughout the language, although *sh* is one of the commonest combinations. Not only does it represent both the *ch* and *j* of languages bordering on it, but it seems altogether the sound of which the Makua are most fond. The softness of the *sh* and *th* of Makua, these combinations in each case taking the place of harsher sounds in the neighbouring dialects, contributes largely to the general sweetness of the language when spoken, while these two sounds, together with the frequent occurrence of the explosive *p* and the aspirated *h*, form some of the chief characteristics of its phonetics. It is impossible to mistake Makua for any other tongue when it has been once heard, so striking and forcible are its phonological peculiarities. The frequent use of *th* by the Makua may be attributed with a high degree of probability to their custom of filing their front teeth to a point, while it is not unlikely that the *pelele*, or lip-ring, may have a great deal to do with similar modifications in the phonology of the language as spoken by the female members of the tribe.

While *l* and *r* are used indifferently by so many of the Bantu tribes, the Makua seem to confuse *l* and *n*. The one letter is often made to do duty for the other, and thus the common verbal terminations *ele* and *ene* are treated as identical by them. The Makua speaking Yao invariably fall into this error.

It is perhaps doubtful whether *w* in Makua should not more properly be written *u*. Certainly it is no more than a semi-vowel wherever it occurs, the more decided *w* of Yao being represented in Makua by *v*. Thus, *malove* in Makua represents the *malowe* of Yao. The letter *v* also stands for *p* of other dialects. Thus, the prefix of locality, which in so many of the Eastern Branch languages is *pa*, in Makua becomes *va*. Dr. Bleek has an important remark (*op. cit.* p. 37) on the nasalization of consonants in the Bantu languages. He considers that "the employment of an initial

labial nasal *m* before all consonants is a recent feature, and has evidently arisen from the suppression of some vowel (generally *u*) which is still visible in most cognate dialects. In fact, a sort of indistinct vowel sound may still be said to be heard with this initial *m* separating it to such an extent, from the following consonant, as to prevent its influencing or being influenced by the latter." This theory is certainly borne out by the facts that meet us in the languages of the Eastern Branch. To take as an instance of what Bleek says, the word for 'God' in Makua and Yao, which is *Muluku* and *Mulungu*, it would be impossible to say from a mere hearing of these words pronounced by the people themselves whether they should rather be written *Muluku*, *Mulungu*, or *Mluku*, *Mlungu*. They are pronounced at one time one way, and at another the other, so that as one hears the words one is alternately catching and losing the *u* sound after the nasal. Similarly with such common words as *mtu*, *mti* ('man,' 'tree'), which are as often pronounced *mutu* and *muti*.

The only diphthongs, properly so called, in Makua, are *ai* and *au*, pronounced like the English *i* in 'mine' and *ou* in 'hour.'

It is perhaps almost unnecessary to remark that the English *o* (as in 'go') is unknown in Makua and in South African languages generally, the *o* of the vocabularies usually standing for the English *ou* in such a word as 'soar,' or the *a* in 'water,' 'call,' etc.

All syllables, and consequently all words, end with a vowel in Bantu. Even the nasal *m*, which sometimes seems to complete the word, is never unaccompanied by a vowel drop after it, even if that be only the faintest possible *u*, which as a terminal is generally the lightest sound of all.

Instances of coalescence of vowels are common to most of these languages; *a* with *i* often contracts into *e*, as in the Makua *mitho* (eye), pl. *metho* (*maitho*). Sometimes however the *a* before *i* simply disappears, as though subdued altogether by the stronger sound, as in the Makua word for 'tooth,' *nino*, pl. *mino*. The theory that *ch* (as in English

'church' or Italian 'cielo') is really a dental sound, being nothing else than *t* followed by *sh*, has an important bearing on Bantu tongues, and especially on Makua. It has been already stated that *sh* is the Makua variety of the Yao *ch*. Probably the peculiar fondness that the Makua have for bringing the tongue to the front of the mouth, and rather protruding it beyond the teeth than checking it behind them when speaking, causes the *tsh* to lose the initial dental, and so to emerge from the mouth as plain *sh*. In this manner we can see how, with them, the so-written *ch* is commuted into *sh*.

II. *Morphology.*

Under this heading it is necessary first to attempt to fill in the *lacunæ* in Bleek's Table of the concord of the Makua noun in its various genders. Having only Dr. Peters' vocabulary to guide him, he was not able to find the Makua equivalent for the 6th, 8th, 10th, 11th, 12th, and 16th genders. Following the admirable classification adopted in the work already cited, I have supplied the missing links in his Table, and am now able to exhibit the whole of the sixteen genders, with their proper Makua prefixes.

Makua Prefixes.

Singular.	*Personal*	Plural.
1. mu- m-		2. a-
3. mu- m-		4. mi-
5. ni- n-		6. ma- m-
7. iki- ik- i-		8. iki- ik- i-
9. n-		6. ma-
11. mwa-		10. ashi-
13. ka- na-		12. aka- ana-
14. u-		6. ma-
	Infinitive.	
	15. u-	
	Local.	
	16. va-	

As a rule the change in the plural of a noun only affects the first part, or pronominal prefix of the word. Makua is probably unique in changing the termination of the plural equivalent to the 14th gender. The 14th and 6th (?) genders of Dr. Bleek correspond to the 5th class of Makua nouns in my own arrangement ("Collections for a Handbook of the Makua Language," p. 3), and here it is that we find the singular of such words as *uthakala* making their plural *mathakalo*, the terminal *a* being changed into *o*. As is well known, the terminal vowels in Bantu have nothing to do with the prefix or concord of the noun, although they play an important part in the modification of the meaning of the word (Bleek, *op. cit.* p. 138, note), and are thus no doubt instances of the principle of flection at work in languages which strictly belong to the agglutinating order.

There are more nouns beginning with the vowel *i* than with any other prefix. Dr. Bleek sees in this *i* a trace of the old article, and compares it with the *u* and *i* of Zulu and Kafir nouns, and with the *o* in Otyiherero, Bunda, Kongo, etc. He thinks that in the Kafir species this article had originally the full form of the prefix. It is significant that where the singular of any noun begins with the vowel *i*, the plural knows no change. It would seem as though there were some intrinsic force in this letter, whether it be explained as an article or not, which obviates the necessity of any change to express a distinction of number. Perhaps it would be right to suppose that where the *i* occurs as the initial letter of a Makua noun, the true gender prefix is omitted both in the singular and the plural, and the noun is allowed to stand alone. This supposition harmonizes well with the fact that the concord of these nouns throughout all the parts of speech has no other prefix than this same initial *i*, except indeed in the plural, where *ch* is found, though this may very likely have crept in by a false analogy, and thus would not be the true formative prefix corresponding with the noun with which it is coupled. The Makua themselves laugh at the idea of a change in form being thought necessary for the plural of words having the prefix *i*.

As would be expected, there are but few adjectives in Makua, their places being supplied by a qualifying noun or verb preceded by the preposition *o*, with its prefix in agreement with that of the noun qualified. The comparative degree is expressed by coupling the two things to be compared with the particle *ni* (='and,' 'with')—*mtu ula mulupale ni ule*='this man is big with that one,' *i.e.* 'this man is bigger than that one.' A more common way of expressing comparison is by the use of a word denoting 'to exceed,' together with the substantive indicating the special quality in respect of which the comparison is made. The superlative degree is expressed by the use of the adjective or qualifying noun in an absolute sense.

In the relative sentence in Makua, a special tense-form alone marks the relation, and this too only when the time of the relative action is past or future. If present time be implied, there is no distinction in the form of the relative sentence, and thus the relation can only be determined by the context. Where, however, the relative is the object of the verb, a very strange usage of the pronoun obtains. Thus, the sentence 'the man whom I saw' would be expressed, 'the man, he saw, my'; or possibly, 'the man was seen, my' (*mtu amonile aka*), since the active form of the verb is in very general use for the passive.

The pronouns 'this' and 'that' are throughout the concord distinguished by a change in the terminal vowel; 'this' being represented in the various genders by *ula, ala, chila*, etc.; and 'that' by *ule, ale, chile*, etc. A more directly specific pronoun is represented by *yole* in the sense of 'this one here,' which may be made more emphatic still by placing it before, and repeating its last syllable after, the noun. Thus, 'this very man here' would be expressed in Makua *yole mtule.*

The Makua verb, unlike the Yao, possesses no separate prefixes or suffixes for expressing the direct future tense. Most of the tense relations are expressed by formative prefixes. A kind of second future is formed with the auxiliary verb 'to be,' in the sense of '*I shall be* doing, loving, etc.'

Makua, like a few other languages in the eastern Bantu group, possesses a past imperfect tense, which is expressed by a suffix *ka*. The other suffixes are the *e* of the subjunctive mood, and the *ele* in the relative past tense, both of which have caused the suppression of the final vowel of the stem (Bleek, *op. cit.* p. 50). The negative conjugation has in Makua no suffixes, all its tense relations being expressed by prefixes only. In the variety of the verbal forms, and the usage of the auxiliary 'to be' in combination with them to express niceties and delicate distinctions of meaning, the Makua verb may compare not unfavourably with that of the Turkish language. The use of the verb in Bantu reminds one forcibly of the Mexican habit of incorporation, which has its analogy also in Hungarian and Basque. The subjective and objective pronouns entering closely into the substance of the verb is at least so far an instance of incorporation, however little the general type of Bantu tongues conforms to that of the American family. It is remarkable that in Makua there seems to be a process going on by which the objective pronoun in the verbal compound is gradually losing its place there, as though it were being discovered that the meaning is sufficiently clear without this insertion. Thus, whereas in the kindred dialects such a sentence as 'I love my house' would be expressed 'I—it—love my house,' in Makua the sentence may be expressed precisely as in English, 'I love my house.' Objective pronominal infixes are still incorporated with the verb when the noun referred to belongs to the first or second gender, but in all the others, as far as I have been able to ascertain, they are omitted ("Collections for a Handbook of the Makua Language," p. 51).

A future relative is expressed by the prefix *noloha*, which is doubtless the equivalent of the "*taka*" tense in Swahili (*vide* Steere, "Handbook of the Swahili Language," p. 119). The etymology of the word is uncertain, but it is probably the relic of an otherwise unused verb meaning 'to will.' Since *taka* in Swahili is expressed by *saka* in Yao, and since therefore these words, as used in the future relative, un-

doubtedly represent the same idea, which is that of 'willing,' it is almost certain that *noloha* in a similar connexion has a similar meaning.

The passive voice, which would appear to be of rare use, differs from the active in having an *i* before the final *a*. Thus, *utuma* 'to love' becomes *utumia* 'to be loved.'

Derivative verbs are formed from simple ones by the addition of suffixes. Thus, the suffixes *ela* and *era* have the same effect upon the meaning of the verb that the addition of the prepositions 'to' and 'for' has in English; *e.g.* *upangela* 'to make for.'

Causatives are expressed by the suffix *iha*, or (when the simple verbs end in *ua*) by *ula* and *usha*.

Reciprocals are formed by the suffix *ana*. A quasi-gerundive form of the verb has the suffix *ea*. In all these derivatives the final *a* of the simple form is suppressed, each suffix immediately following the last consonant of the root.

Locality in Makua is expressed by three different prefixes, *m-* or *mu-*, *u-*, and *va-*, denoting severally 'within,' 'to,' or 'at' (of a distant place), and 'at' or 'near.' The suffix *ni* is also used in combination with these prefixes; thus, 'in the water' would be expressed by *m-mashi-ni*.

III. *Sematology.*

The investigation of the Makua language adds little to the explanation of the etymology and meaning of the various pronominal prefixes of the noun given by Bleek. The fifteenth (verbal) prefix or gender is in Makua *u*, in place of the almost universal *ku* of Eastern Branch languages. Bleek says that this verbal prefix *ku* was originally identical with the preposition *ku*. Now, as we know *u* to be in Makua the preposition denoting 'to' as well as the verbal prefix, we have here a good corroboration of Bleek's identification. It is remarkable that the English use of 'to' with infinitives should exactly correspond with the employment of the same preposition in Bantu as a directive. In the 16th gender we have nouns with the prefix *va*, all undoubtedly denoting

place. This prefix was therefore in all probability originally identical with the preposition denoting locality, which in Makua is always *ra*.

The numerals in Makua reach as far as five, and are then counted on as 'five and one,' 'five and two,' etc., up to nine. For ten there is a distinct word. From ten to fifteen the reckoning is 'ten and one,' 'ten and two,' etc. From sixteen to nineteen it is 'ten, add five and one,' 'ten, add five and two,' etc. Twenty is expressed by 'two tens,' thirty by 'three tens,' sixty is 'five and one tens,' one hundred is 'ten tens.'

Words expressive of colour in Makua, Yao, and Swahili, and probably in most languages of the same branch, are three only. The first denotes all that is dark (black), the second all that is light (white), and the third all that is of a reddish hue. Yellow would be expressed by the phrase 'the colour of turmeric,' green by 'the colour of grass,' blue by 'the colour of the sky.' Other shades would be similarly expressed by their likeness in colour to well-known objects.

The auxiliary 'to be' is in Makua *ukala*, the primary meaning of which is 'to dwell,' equivalent to *kukaa* in Swahili. The abstract meaning attaching to the word is therefore, as in so many other languages, savage and cultured, reached through a sensible idea. Indeed, its transition of meaning from 'to dwell' to 'to be' (of simple existence) is exactly paralleled by our own English 'was,' connected as it is with the Gothic *visan*, and more remotely with the Aryan *as* (Max Muller, "Lect. on the Science of Lang.," p. 383). The verb 'to have' is expressed by *ukala*, followed by the preposition *na* 'with.' The word by which sin as something more than error or mistake (*uwonya*) is expressed in Makua is *ushawi*. Now this word means primarily 'witchcraft.' But it appears to be used also for adultery, cursing, theft, murder, and other crimes, when it is intended to speak of any one of these as sin. The Makua seem to have a very strong idea of the grievous wrong attaching to the practice of witchcraft. In a lesser degree they feel the evil

of adultery, cursing, etc. Witchcraft therefore becomes to them as it were the incarnation of evil, and so comes at length to mean sin in an abstract sense, and thus the word is actually applied and used.

Makua has a distinct word for each of the four days after to-day; and for past time it has words expressing 'yesterday,' 'the day before yesterday,' and 'the other day.'

As might be expected, the number of abstract words is comparatively few, but the language shows abundant signs of words formerly used for visible and sensuous objects only, now beginning to connote abstract ideas. The want of abstract words seems to be widely felt amongst the Makua, and they readily employ metaphor for the purpose of expressing the ideas and thoughts now stirring in their minds as they come into contact with a higher civilization and a new learning.

The use of gesture is not excessive, but some very striking peculiarities of intonation characterize their language, while that of the neighbouring Yao is even more pronounced in this respect. All the languages of the Eastern group which have come under our cognizance express distance by the raised pitch of the voice. Thus, the word for 'there' with the meaning 'close by' would be pronounced on an ordinary speaking note; to express 'there' in the sense of 'at some distance off,' the voice would be considerably raised; while for 'there' intending 'in the far distance,' the word would be sung on the highest note possible, and lengthened out on its final vowel.

There are few words in Makua which in their present form can be referred to onomatopœia for their origin. Fancy is a fruitful source of error on this subject, and until we can speak more positively as to the etymology and original roots of Makua words as we now find them, it would be extravagant to see onomatopœia at work in a few not very obvious resemblances of sound to sense.

Reduplication is frequent in Makua, as in the cognate tongues. It is most commonly employed to express frequentative action in verbs. It expresses the idea which we

describe by adding the word 'about' in such verbal notions as 'to play about,' 'to walk about,' etc. Closely allied to this use of reduplication is that by which the idea is conveyed of the verbal action as continuous. Diminutives and plurals are frequently expressed by a reduplication of the word which denotes the ordinary and singular notion. Plurals of large objects are rarely expressed by reduplication, but when the idea is of small things, which, though many, are yet more often thought of collectively as one, then reduplication is almost invariably employed. Thus, a very small fruit or vegetable gathered and eaten in handfuls generally has for its name a reduplicated word. Red pepper is thus expressed; and such a fruit as currants, if known to Bantu-speaking people, would no doubt convey some idea of its way of growth by reduplication in the name given it by them. Large fruits growing singly never have, so far as we are aware, reduplicated names.

My comparatively small acquaintance with this most interesting tongue, on which the above notes are offered, must be my excuse for their meagreness. A further knowledge of the Makua people and their language will afford me opportunity at some future time of making some additional remarks in elucidation of theories broached in these notes. It remains only to explain the reason why I have almost invariably departed from the rule of alluding to the languages mentioned above with the prefix *ki*. I have spoken of the Makua language as *Makua*, and not as *Kimakua*; of the Yao language as *Yao*, and not as *Kiyao*. The fact is that the prefix *ki* by no means denotes the language only. *Kiyao* may mean 'the Yao language,' or it may mean 'Yao sort, fashion, habit, dress, manner,' equally well. Undoubtedly the fundamental idea at the root of the *ki* prefix is what we should express by 'sort' or 'kind.' Thus, a Swahili person would understand by the expression *nasema Kiswahili* what we mean by 'I speak the Swahili sort,' which of course in such a phrase would refer to the language. The verb must decide the *particular* meaning with which the prefix *ki* is used in the sentence, its general meaning being

always 'sort' or 'kind.' If we wish to express correctly 'the Makua language' in Makua, we must say *malove ga Kimakua*. The latter word *by itself* cannot mean anything else than 'the Makua sort.' The Swahili people themselves observe this rule, and are very clear in their use of the *ki* prefix. Since *Kimakua* is misleading as conveying other ideas besides that of 'the Makua language,' and since the full phrase for that expression is too long for constant repetition, I have thought it well to drop all prefixes, and allude to these languages as Makua, Yao, Shambala, Swahili, etc., using the unvarying ground-form about which there can be no mistake.

In conclusion, I must acknowledge the help I have gained in putting these notes together from the perusal of Professor Sayce's recent philological work, and the interesting remarks therein contained on the Bantu family.

VI.—THE POLABES. By W. R. Morfill, Esq.

A very full account of the North-Western Slavs, their settlements, and relations to the other Slavonic races, has been given by Schafarik in his *Slawische Alterthumer*. He divides them into three great families.

1. The Lutitzer or Welcten, who inhabited the country between the Oder, the Baltic, and the Elbe, called in Slavonic Labe, whence the name Polabe, or people living on the Elbe; these were again divided into many subordinate tribes, which need not be recapitulated here, as my paper aims at being philological rather than ethnological. The traces of some of these peoples may be found in the local nomenclature, all the north part of Germany being studded with towns and villages which carry with them unmistakable proofs of their Slavonic origin.

2. The Bodrizer, also subdivided into many tribes, dwelling westwards of the Lutitzer, in the present Mecklenburg and Holstein.

3. The Sorbs or Serbs, in the present Lusatia and Saxony, east of the Saale: these are now divided into the Upper and Lower Sorbs, part of whom are under the rule of Prussia—the Niederlausitzer—their chief town being Kottbus, and partly under the rule of Saxony—the Oberlausitzer—their chief town being Bautzen (in Wendish Budyšin), which is a centre of Slavonic culture, and many books are published there in the Lusatian, Wendish, or Sorbish language. In 1845 a Literary Society was established, which publishes its proceedings twice a year. It is in the Journal of this Society that we get something like a full reprint of the interesting Polabish vocabularies preserved in MSS., or scattered over rare books. And without wishing to undervalue in the slightest the great labours of Schleicher, it seems preferable to have the words in such orthography as suggested itself to the person who heard them and took them down. These vocabularies, etc., are, as in the case of Cornish, the only memorials which have come down to us. In another respect, also, the parallel with Cornish holds good,—both these languages died out at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The vocabularies have been edited and annotated by Dr. Pfuhl, to whom we are indebted for a very complete Dictionary, published in 1866. Besides his collections, we have two other works on the same subject:—

1. The Polabish Grammar of the great philologist Schleicher, a posthumous work published at St. Petersburg in 1871, under the care of Leskien.

2. Hilferding's "Memorials of the Polabish Dialect" (St. Petersburg, 1856), written in Russian.

During the first five-and-twenty years of last century this Slavonic language gave its last expiring gasp in the eastern corner of the former kingdom of Hanover, and especially in the circuit of Luchow, which even up to the present time is called Wendland—Wends being the name by which the Slavs were of old time called by the Germans, and the term is still applied to the Sorbs and the Slovenes. The language of the latter being sometimes styled Wendish causes an unnecessary confusion with the Lusatians, whereas the Slovenes belong to

the Eastern and the Lusatians to the Western branch of the great Slavonic family.

Perhaps it may be as well to say here a few words on the classification of the Slavonic languages. This was begun by Dobrovsky, and has been adopted (with certain modifications) by Schleicher.

SOUTH-EASTERN BRANCH.

1. Russian { Little or Red Russian. / White Russian.
2. Bulgarian { closely connected with which is the Old Bulgarian or Palæoslavonic.
3. { Servian. / Slovenish.

WESTERN BRANCH.

1. Polish—with the Kashubish dialect.
2. Čech—Slovakish.
3. Upper and Lower Lusatian.
4. Polabish.

The characteristics as given by Dobrovsky are as follows:—

S E.	WESTERN
raz, razum	roz, rozum (cf. rozprawy)
iz—izdati	wy—wydati

[This, however, does not universally hold good. Thus, it is true that for 'edition' the Russian would say *izdanie* and the Čech *vydanie*, so also *sbornik*, *izbor*, and Cech *rybor;* but cf. the Russian *vyborni* (lit. 'the selected man')='the village deputy.'[1]]

peč, moč, noč	pec, moc, noc

[This rule is far from being universally true: in Servian we have *tsrn* 'black,' as against Bohemian *černy*, Russian *cherni*. Cf. also Servian *tsesta* 'a road' (also Slovenish) with Čech *cesta*.]

zwiezda	hwiezda, gwiazda

[1] It would have also been better to give two forms of words with the same prefix, than words with different prefixes.

[The Cech and Lusatian alone employ the *h*.]

gen. ago	ego, eho
dat. omu	emu
pal	padl

Between the years 1691 and 1786 certain vocabularies and dialogues in this language were taken down, and it is upon these that Schleicher has based his Grammar. The memorials are all included in the following books, which it may be well to particularize:—

1. A German-Wendish Dictionary, compiled at the end of the seventeenth century by Christopher Henning, by birth a Lusatian, who spent the last forty years of his life as a clergyman in the little town of Wustrow (Slavonic, Ostrov), near Luchow. The pastor was inducted in 1679, and died in the year 1719, aged seventy. His first collection was accidentally burnt in the year 1691; but he went to work again with a brave heart, and finished a second in 1705. Most of his words were taken down from the lips of a peasant, named John Janisch. In the time of Henning the young people were already ignorant of the language, and the old people gave their information about it reluctantly, from fear of being laughed at. Divine Service is said to have been held in Wendish at Wustrow even so late as the year 1751. Of the materials compiled by Henning, two MSS. remain, the first of which is preserved in the Library of the Upper Lusatian Learned Society (*Oberlausitziche Gesellschaft der Wisenschaften*) at Gorlitz, and the other at Hanover. Of one of these a copy was made, which was long preserved in the family of the von Platows, and printed by Count Potocki in his *Voyage dans quelque parties de la Basse-Saxe pour la recherche des antiquités Slaves ou Vendes, fait en* 1794 *par le Comte Jean Potocki*, published at Hamburg in the following year. This work teems with mistakes, and is now valueless; it belongs to the category of such publications as Masch's "Idols of the Obotrites" (*Die Gottesdienstlichen Alterthumer der Obotriten*), and others of the kind.

2. The Lord's Prayer. Of this two versions have been preserved: one is appended by Henning to his Dictionary,

and there is another version preserved in the year 1691 by the Pastor Mithof, who was a friend of Leibnitz.

3. A Comic Song, being a kind of Catch, sung by three persons, preserved by Henning, and printed in the Collection of Lusatian Songs published by Haupt and Schmaler at Bautzen. It is also to be found in Pfuhl's papers in the Journal of the Maćica Serbska.

4. A little French-Slavonic Vocabulary, compiled in the year 1698 by Johann Friedrich Pfeffinger, and included by Eccard in his *Historia Studii Etymologici linguæ Germanicæ*, Hanover, 1721. Said by Hilferding to be full of errors.

5. The next *Urkunde* to which we come is a very interesting one—Slavonic Words and Dialogues collected by a certain farmer named Johann Parum-Schultz, at Süthen, in the country formerly occupied by the Slavonic tribe of the Drevianians. This indefatigable man appears to have occupied himself many years with a kind of chronicle of the chief events of his parish. Amidst a great deal of miscellaneous and trivial information, he has recorded much that is valuable, especially when he treats of ancient customs prevalent in his neighbourhood or once existing, of which an account had been given him by elderly persons. On page 131 of his manuscript the compiler remarks that in this year (1724 or 1725) he wishes to say something about the Wendish language: it was very difficult to speak and write. His grandfather used to talk Wendish a great deal, and his father was well acquainted with the language. Some of the old people spoke half Wendish, half German. His sister, about five years younger, understood something of the Wendish language, but his brother, eight years younger, nothing at all. He (the compiler) was a man of forty-seven years of age. When he and about three other persons in his village were gone, no one would know properly how a dog was called in Wendish. But the most valuable part of the work is his Collection of Slavonic Words. This precious manuscript is still in the possession of his descendants in Süthen, his native village. Unfortunately eleven leaves have been torn out by an unscrupulous person to whom it was lent.

6. A Collection of Three Hundred Words, printed in 1744 in the *Hamburgische Vermischte Bibliothek;* of no particular value.

7. The Lord's Prayer and a Protestant *Beichtformel*, or Form of Confession, taken down about the middle of last century by the Burgomaster Muller, at Lüchow, from the dictation of his grandmother, Emmerentia Weling. In the same way, the late Edwin Norris tells us that he could repeat the Lord's Prayer and Creed which he had learned from the dictation of an aged Cornishman, who had retained it in his memory. This *Beichtformel* has been printed in a very careless manner in Potocki's work previously alluded to.

8. One Hundred and One Slavonic or Wendish Words, with German translation, taken down by a certain Hintz, at Lüchow; these are the last remaining fragments of the Polabish Slavs, who, with the exception of the Lusatians, have been extirpated by the Germans, or mixed up with them, leaving only memorials in the bullet-shaped Slavonic skull, the provincialisms of here and there an obscure village, and some names of places. We may compare these *débris* with the *reliques* of Cornish printed by Price, which Prince Lucien Bonaparte has shown were collected by Gwavas and Tonkin, and the gleanings published by Messrs. Jenner and Lach-Szyrma among the Transactions of this Society.

I have thought myself warranted in giving at some length the sources of our information about Polabish, because the works in which these vocabularies have been reprinted are in languages which it is not very much the fashion to study in this country, and therefore the information may be new to some of my readers. As many of these vocabularies were taken down by men but ill-acquainted with any Slavonic language, from the mouths of people who in their turn were imperfectly acquainted with German, we can easily imagine that many mistakes have arisen. Sometimes matters were even more complicated, because the only German which the Polabish peasant understood, besides his native Slavonic, was Platt-Deutsch. Some amusing examples are given by Schleicher in his Grammar (pp. 12, 13),

of which the two following may suffice. Thus, Pfeffinger in his little French-Slavonic Vocabulary, which I have marked No. 4 in my list of documents, has the following: "De l'Acier Stohl on Eyeratina"; here the peasant has misunderstood him, and has given him the past participle of the verb 'to steal,' *oukradenii, gestohlener* (cf. Russian *oukradtvat*, Pol. *ukrywać się*, Čech *ukradnouti*). Henning has entered among his words *greuevai, Bar, ursus*, but the word = 'pears,' and the mistake must have arisen in the following way: the Platt-Deutsch equivalent of the German *birne* is *bere*, and this word the Slav must have imagined to be the one meant. The word *grousha* in Russian corresponds to the Polish *grusza*, Čech *hruszka*, following the law which substitutes *h* for *g* in the Bohemian language, which, however, did not commence, according to Jiriček, till the beginning of the thirteenth century. What then is the philological connexion of this Slavonic language, once widely extended, but of which only these poor fragments exist? In assigning its position I shall make use of the labours of Schleicher and Hilferding. Leaving out entirely the Eastern branch of the Slavonic languages, with which on the present occasion we have nothing to do, we may arrange the Western branch as follows:—

1. Lechish, a northern family, the great characteristic of which is the presence of nasals. These nasals existed in the Old Slavonic, as was first pointed out by Vostokov. They are still found in Polish, and in a dialect of Bulgarian, as shown by Professor Drinov in an article contributed to Jagić's *Archiv fur Slavische Philologie*. Some traces of them are to be discovered in modern Slovenish, but that they existed in the Old Slovenish we are nearly sure, from the forms which the Hungarian words exhibit when derived from the Slavonic. The same may be said of Roumanian, which gives another proof of the existence of nasals in the Old Slavonic; thus, the word *scumpŭ* 'dear,' according to Cihac, *Dictionnaire d'Etymologie Daco-romaine*, is the same as the Russian *skoupoi* 'avaricious.' But to return to our division of the West Lechian. This may be subdivided into East Lechian (Polish) and West Lechian (Polabish), between

which Kashoubish is the connecting link. This interesting dialect is still spoken by about 111,416 people near Danzig (I give the number from the recent tables published at St. Petersburg by Budilovich). A grammar of Kashoubish has just been published by Dr. Cejnova, which was reviewed somewhat favourably in the last number but one of Jagić's *Archiv*, with regrets, however, that the arrangement was not more scientific. The Čechish is divided into two branches: Čechish proper in the restricted sense of the term, of which Slovakish is an earlier form, and West Čechish, *viz.* Sorbish, which is again divided into Upper and Lower Sorbish or Lusatian.

Three main characteristics justify us in connecting Polabish with Polish:—

1. The original combination *dj* becomes *dz*, as in Polish, and not *z* as in Čech: thus, the Old Slavonic *chouzhdi* becomes *ceudzi*, cf. Polish *cudzy*, Čech *cizi*, where the *dz* seems to be an older form than the metathesis which the Old Slavonic has undergone in *zhd* (жд).

2. *g* before *a* and *i* becomes *dz*: thus, *rug* 'horn,' nom. pl. *rudzai*; *nuga* 'foot,' nom. pl. *nudze*, Pol. *nodze*.

3. The nasals are preserved, and here we get many highly interesting instances: *desangt*=*desat*='ten;' *dumb*=Russ. *doub*='oak;' *mangsi*=Old Prussian *mensa*, lit. *mesa*, O. Slav. *meso*, Sanskrit *mansa*='meat;' *gums*=Rus. *gous*='goose;' *rouka*=Rus. *rouka*, Pol. *ręka*='a hand;' *janzik*=Pol. *język*='tongue;' *glombok*=Rus. *gloubok*='deep;' *sumb*=Rus. *zoub*, Pol. *ząb*='tooth.'

The accent is free, as in Kashoubish, and not on any special syllable, as in Polish on the penultimate, and Čech on the antepenult. These uniform accents are rightly regarded by Schleicher as artificial.

In a short paper like the present it would be impossible for me to aim at anything like a complete classification of the sounds. I shall only notice a few of the more interesting ones, which appeared striking to me as I looked through the vocabularies. The corresponding word to the Slavonic *knaz*,

knagina 'prince,' 'princess,' is *tgenangs, tgenangtgeeina* in the original garbled orthography, where we see (1) the nasal, (2) the softening of the *k* before *n*. The Polish *książ* is a further form.

In *teelka, tjelka*, the word for 'owl,' there appears to be some confusion. The Russian, Polish, and Čech are *sova:* perhaps the word intended was *kalka* 'a jackdaw.'

'Horse' *tjun, tjon;* Polish, Russian, and Čech *kon.*

'Man' *tjarl:* this appears to be only the German *kerl;* and I might add that the number of words introduced from German is, as might be expected, very great. Here again Cornish in its decay furnishes a parallel, as in the number of English words introduced into the Miracle Plays. In the Lord's Prayer, preserved by Henning, we get such a line as—

Tia rîk komma='thy kingdom come,'

which is almost pure Low German; but in its Slavonic form, to take the Western languages most akin—

Polish: Przyjdź królestwo twoje.
Čech: Přijd království tvé.
Upper Lusatian: Přińdź k nam twoje kralestwo.

The tendency to put a *re* (*r* sound) before many vowels is shown strikingly in Polabish, and I here give a few instances. In this respect it exhibits more affinities with the Lusatian, Wendish, and the Čech, than with Polish. In the former language it is a constant characteristic; thus, cf. *worjal*, Rus. *orel* 'eagle;' *wosoba*, Rus. *osóba* 'person.' We have got traces of this, as is well known, in our own dialects—*woak* for 'oak'—Wokingham, Oakingham, etc.

In many Čech words it is thrust in by the common people where it ought not to be found, as any one may easily notice at Prague. I might add that in Russian also it is heard ungrammatically among the lower orders.

The following I have noted in the vocabularies:—

wackenow=wakno[1]=Rus. okno—'window'

[1] I might add that I give the spelling of the MSS., the (supposed) correct one being added from Dr. Pfuhl and Schleicher.

wubbjes=wuwjes=Rus. ovës, Pol. owies='oats'
woista=Rus. oust='mouth' (cf. Lat. ostium)
woischi=woiši=oukho, Rus. pl. oushi='ear'
woutrik=otrok='son'
witzia=owca='sheep'

As on the one hand we get the *v* sound gratuitously inserted at the beginning of words, so at the end of some it disappears, as in the word *salu*='nightingale,' of which the original form, according to Schleicher, was *s'lova*, with which we may compare the Russian *solovei*.

In one of the vocabularies given by Pfuhl I see *pradiin* glossed as 'garden.' This is probably for some form like *pogradin*. The root of the word is a very familiar one in Slavonic. Cf. Russian *gorod* (by *svarabhakti* as Johannes Schmidt calls it, or *polnoglasie*), in Bohemian *hrad*, as in the well-known *hradschin* and *zahrad*. The word has got into Roumanian, where it has become *pogradu* in the sense of 'churchyard,' probably as an inclosed place.

Wedri='sun.' This is curious, the ordinary word being *solntze* (with slight modifications according to the different dialects). We may perhaps compare the Russian *vedro* 'fine weather.'

Launa 'moon.' Here Polabish inclines to the Eastern branch: if we pronounce the *au* as in German, we get a very un-Slavonic sound. The corresponding words in Čech are *měsic*, and in Polish *księżyć*. The word *louna* is very ancient, occurring in the Old Slavonic version of some of the sermons of St. Chrysostom, called the *Glagolita Clozianus*, considered by Kopitar to be as old as the tenth century.

Poywi=poiwi='beer.' Ordinary Slavonic word, of course connected with *bibo*, *πίνω*, etc. This is however quite an unusual form, and argues a diphthong. The Lithuanian family gives us *alus*, same as the A.S. *eal*. The word *ol*, however, occurs in the Ecclesiastical Slavonic, and also in the Modern Slovenish, which gives us so many interesting forms; and, in keeping with the tendency of the Slavonic languages to prefix *v*, we get *vol*.

Byola='white.' Rus. *bielii*, and in all Slavonic languages.

Lithuanian *baltas* (Nesselmann, *Worterbuch*, p. 319), *balti žmones* 'honourable men.' The Welsh *gwyn* is used in the same way, as Professor Rhys has reminded me. It is also probably the same as our 'bald.' Cf. the expression 'a bald-faced stag,' *i.e.* with a white mark on its face.

Jaapke=jabka='apple.' Compare Russian *yabloko*, Lett. *oholas*, Lit. *obolys*, in Old Prussian (according to Nesselmann) *woble*, where we have another instance of the insertion of the *w*. If *jaapke* is accurately taken down, it would be the only Indo-European form which has been preserved without the *l*.

Joji='egg.' Cf. German *ei*, Russian *yaitzo*, the last syllable being a diminutive, as in *otetz* 'father,' Gothic *atta*.

Jazmin 'barleycorn,' *jaçmin*. Russian *yachmen*. We must be prepared for an alternation between *ts* and *ch* in the Slavonic languages, as previously shown. Cf. the Russian *chernii* and the Servian *tzrn*.

Dubere dan=dobere dân='good-day.' The root *dobr* is very common in Slavonic, and is identical with the German *tapfer* and our 'dapper.'

Flasser='hair'=vlas. In Russian by Svarabhakti *volos*, plural founded on German analogy. Cf. *grab, graber*.

Pias, pjas='a dog.' Russian *pes*, which Miklosich connects with *pecus*.

Tausa='soul.' Russian *dousha*.

Slwi='word.' Russian *sloro*. A very interesting form, because it has been surmised that the *o* in *sloro* is only by assimilation with *v* following it.

Swapa='sleep.' Russian *son*, root *sopn*. Cf. *spate* 'to sleep,' Greek ὕπνος.

Lyeibi='love'=Rus. lioubov. Lat. *libet*. The word lost in some of the languages of the Western branch. Cf. Polish *miłość*.

The syntax at the time when the vocabularies were collected already began to exhibit signs of breaking up, and was becoming moulded upon the German. We find the same thing occurring with the Welsh language, the syntax of which is now greatly formed upon English, and expressions condemned by Goronwy Owen in his letters as the

grossest barbarisms are in daily use. We see similar influences brought to bear upon Upper and Lower Lusatian, which make use of an article contrary to the analogies of the Slavonic languages (with the exception of Bulgarian, where it has also probably been superinduced by the influence of the surrounding languages). Thus, in Polabish *werden* was borrowed to express the passive. So also to express the preterite of the active, 'to have' and 'to be' are used as auxiliaries with the past participle, as *mos purdon* 'thou hast sold'=*imashi prodan, ja eumarty=yest oumr'ti*='he is dead.' The Pastor Mithof, of whom mention has been made in a preceding part of this paper, tells us the following peculiarity of the Wends of his day: whenever they spoke German, they were in the habit of putting an *h* before words in which it did not exist, as *haller, haugen, hamman*, etc., for *aller, augen, Ambtmann*, and of leaving it out in words in which it did, like our perverse Cockneyisms. We see signs of this in the modern Lusatian-Wendish, where Andrew becomes *Handry*, Adam *Hadam*, Annchen *Hanka*. The odd thing is that the same confusion is found in Lithuanian, according to Kurschat (see his Grammar, p. 22).

With these remarks I conclude my paper. I have already spoken of the Upper and Lower Lusatians, the last remnants of the Slavs on the Elbe. The Wendish population, according to Dr. Pfuhl in the preface to his *Wendisches Worterbuch*, amounts to 200,000; Budilovich, however, makes only 96,000 Upper Lusatians and 40,000 Lower. A good work on their history, with an ethnological map, has been written in Polish by Bogusławski, published at St. Petersburg in 1861. There is also a full account in the second volume of the *Slavianski Sbornik* (Slavonic Miscellany). In order to make the list of the Western Slavs complete, I will add the following statistics:—

Poles	9,492,162
Čechs	4,783,213
Slovaks	2,223,820

VII.—ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF ENGLISH PLACE NAMES. By Walter R. Browne, Esq.

A good deal has been written of late years on the signification of English Place Names, and on their value as indicating the distribution of the various races which have colonized the country. It appeared to me however that, for the thorough investigation of the subject, it was very desirable to know how these place-names themselves were, as a matter of fact, distributed in the various districts. With this view I resolved to go through the place-names in each county, dividing them, not according to their first letter, as in an index, but according to their terminations.

As the chief distinction in England is between East and West, I have begun the counties from the North, and thence gone Southward along the East coast, and back by the West coast; Wales and Monmouthshire as almost entirely Celtic were omitted.

The accompanying Table gives a summary of the results obtained. The maps used were those in Dugdale's England and Wales. The number of names shown in these is sufficient to form a fair average classification, but not too great to keep the labour within moderate compass; the whole number classified being about 10,500. They have also the advantage that the small counties are on a larger scale, and contain more names, than the larger ones; so that, in most cases, something like an equality in the number of names for each county is obtained. With the same object, a few of the larger counties have been sub-divided—Yorkshire into four districts, and Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Somerset, and Devon into two.

The total number of terminations given separately in the Table is about sixty. In addition there are of course in each county a considerable number of miscellaneous names, having other terminations. Of those specified, about forty are

believed to be of Anglo-Saxon or Old English, five of British, and about eleven of Norse origin; the remainder are placed at the end, as being more or less doubtful, or possibly derived in some cases from one language, and in some from another. I propose in the case of some of these terminations, to make a few remarks on points apparently brought out by the Table;—only however with the view of drawing to them the attention of others, and with a full acknowledgment of my own incompetence to decide them.

TON.—The first place on the Table is given to the three well-known Anglo-Saxon endings, *ton*, *ham*, and *ing*. Of these the first is incomparably the most common ending in English place-names; the number of instances given (including those in *ington*) being 2545, or very nearly one-fourth of the whole number investigated. I was certainly unprepared for this enormous preponderance. The word no doubt signifies "the single croft, homestead, or farm, inclosed by a rude fortification," and forming the settlement of the Anglo-Saxon franklin.

It is generally considered a distinctly Anglo-Saxon suffix. But, as the Table shows, it is almost equally common in counties such as Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and Leicestershire, which are crowded with Norse names. It may, therefore, be questioned whether the term was not used by the Norsemen also, as it appears it is to this day in Iceland; while the termination *tun* or *tune* is not unknown in Norway and Sweden.

HAM.—It has been held that two words are combined under this suffix: (1) *hăm*=an inclosure, that which hems in, and (2) *hām*=home, exactly as *hame* is still used in the Lowlands. The first sense appears to be very doubtful,[1] although, if accepted, it might explain such cases as the Ham at Gloucester, which is a flat island between two branches of the Severn. It is rather hard, with either meaning, to see how the 'hampton,' and 'hampstead,' so common in the South, is to be accounted for; it appears to be almost a tautology.

[1] Prof. Skeat denies this sense altogether, and considers 'ham' as cognate with κῶμος.

ING.—This characteristic Anglo-Saxon suffix has received great attention, especially from Mr. Kemble, who compiled a list of 1329 names into which the syllable entered. He held it to have generally the signification of descent, or clanship, corresponding to Mac in Scotland, or O' in Ireland. Further, that the place-names where it forms the ending (as Basing, Brading) mark the original seat of the clan; and that the far more numerous cases where it is followed by *ton* or *ham* (Teddington, Billingham, etc.), mark the filial colonies sent out from this parent settlement. In a subsequent paper (Philol. Proc. vol. iv. p. 1), Mr. Kemble gives strong evidence for believing that the *ing* in such cases is used as an equivalent to the genitive case; so that *e.g.* Æthelwaldington is the *ton* of Æthelwold. If so, the place-name ending in '*ing*' would surely imply a man's possession, without specifying its nature; "Basing" would be an exactly similar formation to "John-o-Groat's." It has been stated that words ending in *ing* are most common in the districts first settled by the Anglo-Saxons, and where the original settlements would therefore be placed most thickly; but the Table does not seem to me to support this statement. It will be seen that while names ending in *ing* are common in Essex, and in North Norfolk, they are comparatively rare in South Suffolk and in South Norfolk, and in North Suffolk are almost if not entirely absent. I confess I fail to see how this fact can be accounted for on Mr. Kemble's theory, especially as Suffolk is almost exclusively an Anglo-Saxon county. On the other hand, all names ending in *ingham* or *ington* should on this theory correspond somewhere to an original seat, having the same name without the last syllable, which certainly is not the case. In fact, an examination of the Table seems to show that the common use of *ing* as a termination must belong to some particular branch of the Anglo-Saxon colonists. For it is frequent only in the districts of North Norfolk, Essex, Kent, and Sussex; and in all these we have a marked frequency of the following terminations also:—*ham* (nearly as frequent as *ton*), *field* and *stead*. The

concurrence of these peculiarities seems to point to some difference of dialect, or at least to some difference in the fashion of forming place-names.[1]

To test the matter further, the terminations in *ington* and *ingham* have been separated from those in *ton* and *ham* simply. The results are striking. The ratio of the endings in *ington* to those in *ton* varies between 4 to 7 in Sussex, and 2 to 49 in South Suffolk; and it varies widely, and to all appearance capriciously, throughout the country. On the other hand, very nearly half of the *inghams* are comprised within two counties, Lincolnshire and Yorkshire; and in the South and West of England the termination is extremely rare. These facts may perhaps help to elucidate the question.

LEY.—With the exception of *ton* and *ham*, this is the commonest of suffixes. Dr. Murray considers the word to have been Nominative *leáh*, *léa*, Genitive *leáge*, *leáhe*, and to mean 'ground left lying uncultivated.' It is still so used in Scotland, 'let it lie *lea* for a year or two.' On the other hand, Prof. Skeat derives *leáh* from *leohan* 'to shine,' meaning 'a clearing, into which light is admitted.' *Lucus*, in Latin, he holds to be exactly the same word, the *eá* corresponding to *u*, and the *h* to *c*: while the Low German equivalent is *loo*, as in Waterloo.

FORD.—This still retains its meaning of a passage across a river, under which it is a frequent suffix; more than eight times as frequent, it will be seen, as *bridge* or *brigg*. This is a striking proof of the scarcity of bridges at the time when place-names were fixed. I may venture to point out, in this connexion, how many of our older cities owe their consequence to having been the site of the lowest bridge on some important river. London itself is the most conspicuous example; but Bristol, Bridgwater, Exeter, Chester, Lancaster, Glasgow, Newcastle, Dublin, Cork, Stirling, Berwick, and Perth, are others which occur, or have been suggested to me.

[1] Thus, to follow up the suggestion made above, it might easily be the fashion to call Alfred's possession Alfredington (it would now be Alfredstown) in one district, and simply Alfreding (it would now be Alfred's) in another.

I have included with the other *fords*, a few cases in which the word may=the Norse *fiord;* also the suffix *forth* (which may come from the British *ffordd*, 'a road'), as in the case of Gosforth, etc., in the North of England.

BOROUGH and *BURY.*—I have separated *bury*, *borough* or *burgh*, and *barrow* from each other, as their respective meanings appear to be doubtful. A distinction has been drawn between *beorh* (whence *bury*) 'a hill,' and *burh* (whence *borough*) 'a town.' Prof. Skeat, however, derives *bury* simply from *byrig*, the dative of *burh;* and observes that it was not uncommon to use the dative, the preposition *æt* preceding. The use of *borough* for a hill simply, without a fortification, appears to exist in Ingleborough, and in several cases known to me on Exmoor. Mr. Samuel Shaw, of Andover, has sent me a list of place-names in his neighbourhood, containing fifteen ending in *bury*, every one of which is an old earthwork or camp; and informs me that this is universal in that district. It seems possible that when the names were separated, this became the signification of *bury*, while *borough* meant a more regularly fortified town. It will be seen that *bury*, as shown by the Table, is rare in the North-east of England, with the one exception of North-west Yorkshire; but that in the rest of the country it is a good deal more common than *borough*. So far as I am aware, earthen camps are comparatively rare in the north-east, while they are certainly common in the south and west.

HAY.—This apparently means a place surrounded by a hedge (*hage*). I have combined with it a few words ending in *gay*, as Gamlingay. Mr. Isaac Taylor however has suggested to me that this may be from *go* or *gau*.

LOW.—This is derived from Anglo-Saxon *hlaew* 'a hill.' Its distribution is peculiar. It is found in Northumberland and Durham, and is also common in the Scottish Lowlands, *e.g.* North Berwick Law. It is also frequent in Derbyshire and Shropshire in the West; and is found in Buckinghamshire, Essex, and Cambridgeshire in the East; but elsewhere it is very rare.

BOURNE.—This word, meaning a stream, is specially

common along the South coast, *i.e.* in Kent, Sussex, Hampshire, Dorsetshire, and Wiltshire. In the latter a winterbourne is still the name given to a stream which is dry in summer. Under the form *burn*, this ending is equally common in the Scottish Lowlands.

LAND.—Edmunds ("Traces of History in the Names of Places," 2nd ed. p. 246) considers this to be a corruption of *len* or *loen* (compare German *lehn*), land held in fee or farmed out; he gives as example Kingsland, formerly Kingslen, in Middlesex and Herefordshire. It is remarkable how many times it has the same prefix, *buck*. There are no less than nineteen Bucklands in Dugdale, of which twelve are in Devon or Somerset. These apparently represent the well-known Old English Bóckland, *i.e.* Bookland, or land held by written deed.

COT.—A similar instance to that of Buckland is the frequency of Caldicote. According to Mr. Isaac Taylor, *cote*='mud cottage'; and Caldicote was the shelter by the wayside used by travellers, and equivalent to Cold Harbour, which is also common.

FIELD.—This is a tolerably common termination, but specially so in Suffolk, Essex, Sussex, Hampshire, and Berkshire. In the West country it is now used solely for arable land, a pasture-field being called 'a ground.'

CHESTER or *CESTER.*—This, with its Anglian form *Castor*, is far less common than I should have expected. So many of the old Roman camps have become important towns, that the word has become familiar to us. But there are only fifty instances in all in the Table.

SIDE.—This ending is not uncommon in the extreme North, but is unknown elsewhere. I am uncertain as to its meaning. *Sid*='spacious' in Anglo-Saxon; but the word seems to be a substantive, not an adjective. The list of names is as follows: Simonside, Corsenside, Hartside, Haseleyside, Whiteside, Gibside, Great and Little Side, Ormside, Mosside, Ambleside, Gateside, Arnside, Gunnerside, Stonegarthside, Hartside. In some of these (Ambleside and Ormside), Dr. Murray informs me that *side* is a corruption

of *sett*. The old street leading straight down from the castle to the river, at Newcastle-on-Tyne, is called the Side, so that possibly it may have the ordinary meaning of the slope of a hill, like Slade in Wessex.

GRAVE.—This has been considered to mean a ditch or moat (German Graben), though the Anglo-Saxon *Graef* appears only to=grave or cave. It is most common, as might be expected, in the Eastern counties, where water-courses abound.

HURST.—It is curious that this word for wood should be completely wanting throughout the North-east, and also in Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire, Derbyshire, and Staffordshire. It has been suggested that *Shaw* was used in the North as its equivalent; but this does not seem borne out by examination. The places ending in 'shaw' are very few, even in the North.

STOKE, *STOCK*, and *STOW*. — These words, all meaning a stockaded place, may be compared with Hurst, as being rare in the North-east. They are curiously common in Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall.

STEAD or *STED*. — This, the Old English *stede* = 'station' (as in 'homestead,' 'farmstead'), has also a curious distribution. It is almost unknown north of South Lincolnshire, where there are ten examples in the Table. There are eight in South Suffolk, eighteen in Essex, ten in Kent, and seven in Berkshire. Elsewhere it is comparatively rare. There are eighty-eight examples in all, of which more than half are in the above four counties.

EY, *EA*.—I originally included these in the Norse group, believing them to come mainly from the Norse *oe* 'an island.' The distribution, however, shows plainly that they are almost entirely Old English, from *ea*='water,' or more probably from *ig*='island.' In the one case it would mean the marsh round an island, in the other, the island in a marsh. It is commonest in fen districts, such as the Eastern Counties and Somersetshire; also curiously common in Middlesex, where there are ten examples. It is nowhere specially common in counties which have a large Norse element.

HITHE and *WITH* or *WATH*.—Although I have separated these, there are a number of names ending in *ith* or *eth* which may be referred to either one or other. *Hithe* is Old English='shore,' or 'haven.' *Wath* is said to='ford' or 'crossing.' This seems to be corrupted into *with* in the Eastern Counties; certainly Stockwith and Walkerith are adjacent ferries on the Trent above Gainsborough.

I come now to the second group of endings, namely, those which are British in their origin. The distribution of these is interesting; but they cannot be taken to indicate names which were originally given by the Britons, and have survived from that time; rather it is the words themselves forming the endings which were taken up into the Old English speech, and were afterwards used in forming place-names. This is shown by the following facts:—1. It is usually the endings which are generic, *e.g. combe*='valley,' *pol*='pool'; but the genius of Keltic languages is to place such words at the beginning, not the end, of a place-name, as is seen by the many words beginning with *Cwm* in Wales, or *Pol* in Cornwall. 2. In many cases they are combined with distinctively English prefixes, *e.g.* Timberscombe, Nettlecombe, Ashdown. 3. The endings themselves have in a few cases actually descended in English dialects to our own times, *e.g.* in Devon or Somerset a 'combe' still means a hollow or cleft in the hillside, while about Newcastle a deep narrow valley is a 'dene,' and all over England a 'down' would be understood in the sense of a grassy hill.

DON or *DOWN* is common everywhere, except in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and Cornwall. In Keltic it means properly 'a hill-fort' (=*dun* in Ireland and Scotland), but in English it seems to have been used, as it is still, simply for a hill, without reference to its being fortified.

DENE is supposed to have passed into Old English from the Keltic *den*='a small valley.' It is fairly common in Northumberland, Durham, and Yorkshire, where, as we have said, the word is still used; and also in Gloucestershire, where the Forest of Dean still retains the title. It is also

very frequent in Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Kent, and Sussex; there, however, it is generally written *den*, and according to Kemble comes from *denn* = *cubile*, and means the glades and hollows of the wood where the swine were pastured.

COMBE is very frequent in Dorset, Somerset, and Devon, but not elsewhere. It is rarely found in Cornwall, at least as an ending; but I have been unable to detect any word which takes its place.

I now come to the very interesting class of Norse names. Mr. Isaac Taylor ("Words and Places") has a suggestive chapter on these, pointing out how they enable us, not only to fix the districts (some of them small and isolated) which were colonized by Norsemen, but also to determine whether the colonists were Danes or Norwegians. On the whole, the distribution shown in the Table confirms his results, though with some anomalies.

BY.—This is by far the most common of the Norse endings. By its prevalence the limits of the Danelagh are easily traced down to its S.E. extremity, near Rugby in Warwickshire. It attains its greatest frequency in Lincolnshire and Leicestershire. It does not seem to occur in some of the small isolated settlements round the coast, where other Norse names are found.

FLEET.—Some authorities derive this word from the Anglo-Saxon, others from the Norse. In any case it is akin with our verb 'to float,' and means an area covered with water. Thus we have Fleet Pond near Woking, and Byfleet near Weybridge, the latter looking unquestionably Norse, and pointing to a Norse colony high up the Thames Valley. It does not appear on the W. side of England at all.

HOLM.—This ending is fairly common in the north-east, but rare in the Norwegian districts of Cumberland and Lancashire. It is found in the Cheshire settlement, and also in the Severn estuary (Steep Holm and Flat Holm).

HOW or *HOE*.—Whether this is Norse at all seems doubtful, since it occurs in the following counties where other Norse endings are absent:—Bedfordshire, Hertford-

shire, Kent, Sussex, Oxfordshire, and Devonshire. It is only found once in Cumberland and once in Yorkshire.

DALE.—This, the regular Norse word for 'valley,' is common in North Yorkshire, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire. It is rare in South Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and the rest of the Danelagh; perhaps on account of the flatness of the country.

GATE.—It would seem natural that this should come from the Norse *gata* 'a road,' as still used in towns in the North. It occurs however rather frequently in Middlesex, Kent, Essex, and Surrey. As the meaning in these cases is somewhat doubtful, I give the list, as follows: Southgate, Highgate, Withygate, Margate, Kingsgate, Ramsgate, Shargate, Selgate, Rogate, Eastergate, Reigate, Newdigate.

THORPE.—This is by far the most common Norse ending, next to *by*. It is at least doubtful whether it is not Anglo-Saxon, at least as much as Norse. It does not appear in Cumberland and Lancashire, but is found in the following counties, where *by* is absent:—Buckinghamshire, Surrey, Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, and Staffordshire. In Gloucestershire there are several instances, partly in the Vale of Severn, and partly on the north-eastern border; there it is sometimes pronounced, and even spelt, *throp*.

The following endings, which still remain, are such as appear to me to be doubtful, or on which further investigation is needed.

HOPE.—The distribution of this ending is perplexing. It is tolerably common in Northumberland and Durham, and again in Herefordshire, Derbyshire, and Shropshire. Dr. Murray informs me it is still used on the Borders for a corrie or combe, and derives it from Icelandic *hóp*, a small bay or inlet. I know a Hope in South Devon, which is a small bay at the lower end of a wide valley, and answers well to this derivation. But the *hopes* of the North-east and of Herefordshire cannot well be thus accounted for, as they occur in districts where Norse words are very rare. Further investigation seems desirable.

BERE.—This has been called a variation of *by;* and has also been derived from British *ber* (hedge), or Old English *bere* (barley). I give the list of names with this ending, which may perhaps decide the point: Westbere (Kent); Todber, Beer Haskett, and Bere Regis (Devon); Thirlbear and Bear-Crowcombe (Somerset); Loxbeare, Shebbeare, Kentisbeare, Backbeare, Aylesbeare, Beer, Bere Tercis, Bere Alston (Devon). It will be observed how often it occurs as a complete word; and this seems to make it very unlikely that it should mean merely a dwelling, as would be the case if it were equivalent to *by.*

AGE.—This ending occurs in the following names: Stevenage (Herts), Radnage (Bucks), Wantage (Berks), Guisage and Swanage (Dorset), Burbage (Wilts), Haversage and Heage (Derbyshire), Cressage (Salop), Cranage (Cheshire). In some cases, as Swanage, it is a corruption of *wick;* in others it may be derived from *edge.*

AR, ER, OR.—This termination, which probably embraces several endings, is not infrequent throughout England, except in the counties from Leicestershire to Northamptonshire. There are 121 instances altogether, from which I select the following: Wooler, Lucker, and Craster (Northumberland); Pensher and Walker (Durham); Lowther, Harber (Westmoreland); Ruster, Fimber, Ribler, Header (Yorkshire); Cottor, Caistor, Polter (Lincolnshire); Cromer (Norfolk); Longor, Clumber (Nottinghamshire); Layer, Ongar (Essex); Porter (Herts); Pinner (Middlesex); Heaver, Walmer, Bidmor (Kent); Rusper, Bigner, Bognor, Cumnor (Berks); Chinnor, Stour (Oxon); Windsor, Obower, Maypowder (Dorset); Dinder, Bicknoller, Coker (Somerset); Bicknor (Gloucestershire); Yazor, Holmer, Eastnor (Herefordshire); Hazeler (Warwickshire); Mellor, Kinder, Cadnor, Belper (Derbyshire); Wicknor (Staffordshire); Dicker, Longnor, Wentnor (Salop); Holker (Lancashire); Souter, Calder (Cumberland). Possibly in some cases it may represent a plural, as *poller*='pools.'

WICK.—Mr. Isaac Taylor seems to consider this mainly a Norse ending, meaning a station for ships, and thence a

small creek or bay. The ending, however, is more common in Anglo-Saxon than in Norse counties, and seems to be almost always English. In Beowulf *vic* is used simply for an abode or lodging, and as a place-name it seems to indicate an outlying habitation detached from the main *tun*. This is shown by the very frequent occurrence of the same prefix, as in Hardwick = Herdswick, Berwick = Bere-wick, *i.e.* 'the corn-wick.' Mr. Jeffries, in "Wild Life in a Southern County," states that in his district there is a *Wick* Farm near almost every village. Similarly Taylor mentions that thirty farmhouses in the salt marshes of Essex end in *wick;* and Mr. Shaw gives me four places so ending, all within the parish of Bourn. The ending *wich* is probably a southern variation, bearing the same relation to *wick* as *ditch* does to *dyke*, *ridge* to *rigg*, and *batch* to *beck*. It probably retains the meaning of 'bay' in places where salt is made, as Nantwich, Northwich; but there the *i* is pronounced long, as it is also in the wykes or creeks of the Lake District.

WELL.—It has been suggested that this ending is sometimes a corruption of the Norse *ville*=the Old German *weiler* 'abode.' The ending however is to me clearly an Anglo-Saxon one. It is common in Oxfordshire, Dorsetshire, Essex, etc.; and is not found in Westmoreland and Cumberland. It should rather be ascribed to the obvious meaning of 'a spring,' as is certainly the case with the City of Wells, and in such names as Holywell, Broadwell, Brightwell, Clearwell, etc. The termination *ville* is extremely rare, not reckoning of course such cases as that of Acton Turville, where the name of the Norman family has simply been attached to the Saxon fief. All that I have been able to find, not distinctly Norman, are the following: Gunville (Dorset), Yeovil (Somerset), Enville (Staffordshire), Longville and Morville (Salop). As to these even I am doubtful, since *e.g.* Enville appears as Enfield in an old map of the county.

ETT.—I do not know the meaning of this ending, except in the form *sett*, which is considered as equivalent to 'seat.' Other cases are Hamett and Cossett (Suffolk); Brockett and Brickett (Herts); Thanet, Chislet, Bromyett (Kent); Flashet

and Hampnet (Sussex); Burnet, Hempnett, Pawlett, Watchet (Somersetshire); Mymett and Luppitt (Devon); Hadnet and Kinlet (Salop); Arthuret (Cumberland).

OCK.—This ending is not uncommon in Wessex. I presume that it is simply equal to 'oak,' which is also found as an ending. Some names, as Martock=Market Oak, seem to support this theory. I may mention as instances:—Quantock and Chinock (Somerset); Hemyock, Dunchediock (Devon); Breock, Quithiock, Broadoak, Bocarrock, Ladock, Cheviock, and Budock (Cornwall); Dymock (Gloucestershire); Chidock and Sellock (Herefordshire); Rushock and Pendock (Worcestershire). The large number in Cornwall possibly points, however, to a British origin.

The endings in the Miscellaneous column are of course very numerous; a large number of the names are those of saints, as St. Neots, St. Ives, etc., and others seem altogether irregular. I give the chief endings which appear to possess some regular meaning, adding for the commoner ones the total number of instances in which they appear: House, Thorne (16), Stang, Slack, Bank, Garth (8), Fell (7), Ell, Gill, Castle, End (13), Haugh (6), Horne, Bottle, Drum, Croft (5), Wold (13), Brook (46), Holt (12), Shaw (14), Minster (22), Cross, Heath, Dish or Ditch (7), Bach (7), Marsh (10), Beach, Way (8), Hanger (9), Fold (6), Stable (7), Mead (5), Grove (6), Linch or Lish (7), Church (38), Shot (7), Mond or Mont, Whistle, Win, Acre, Yard, Foss, Water, Lake, Clough, Bold, Market, Colne, Less, Sand, Lade, En, Soken, Bush, Lip, Font, Ware, Mill, Hatch, Haven, Huish, Ore, Ash, Son, Wall, Scale.

In concluding my paper, I have only to repeat that these observations are not to be taken as more than suggestions, to elicit inquiry on this interesting subject, and to draw attention to some of the facts which are brought out by the Table I have compiled.

VIII.—*DARE* 'TO GIVE,' AND †-*DERE* 'TO PUT.'

By J. P. Postgate, Esq.

There has been a general agreement amongst philologers[1] since Pott that in certain words previously considered to be compounds of *dare* the verb should be referred to root DHA 'to set,' which is seen in Skt. *dhâ*, Gr. *θεῖναι*; this is a result of the opinion that the meaning of these compounds made it impossible to connect them with *dare* 'to give.' This opinion I hope to show is not so well grounded as it has been supposed.

Pott[2] allows the following words to be derived from DA 'give': *dedo, trado, prodo, vendo.*

He classes as doubtful: *addo, dido, perdo, indo, circumdo, edo, reddo.*

He assigns to DHA 'put': *abdo, credo, condo* (*abs- re-condo*), *subdo.*

He does not mention *obdo, pessumdo,* the rare *interduo,* and the quasi-compound *satisdo.*

Corssen,[3] who is the only philologer since Bopp that I know of who has given an arrangement of all the compounds, takes *addo* and *edo* to be from root DA.

So that we see that those who maintain a derivation from DHA do not apply their theory to all these compounds of a similar form, nor do they agree perfectly about those to which they do apply it.

I shall endeavour to show that there are very serious objections to connecting *any* of these words with root DHA, and then to answer the arguments which have been adduced in favour of the connexion.

The theory involves a fatal dilemma, of which the two horns are the two invariable rules, (1) that an *initial* DH in

[1] See ll. cc. in *Corssen Aussprache*, ii. 410.
[2] Etymol. Forsch. ii. 2. p. 105 et seqq.
[3] *loc. cit.*

Indo-European must be represented by *h* or *f*, but *not* by *d* in Latin; (2) that verbs in composition keep their initial consonant *unchanged.*

So far from rule (1) not holding in the case of DH, it is *never* transgressed in the case of the aspirates at all; *g* and *b* are the regular substitutes for *medial* GH and BH, but never for the same sounds when initial. The exceptions to rule (2) are only apparent; they are such as *concutio* (*kongkutio*) from q*uatio* (k*watio*).

Now if we assert—a quite ungrounded assertion—that *perdo*, *condo*, etc., were regarded by the Romans as simple verbs, and that so DH, being medial, could become *d*, and our first rule would not be transgressed, we are met by the fact that, of all compounded verbs in the Latin language, these give the clearest and most striking proof of their composition, since the reduplication, so far from appearing at the beginning of the word, is not, as in most compounds, lost altogether, but is prefixed *after* the preposition to the simple verb. Thus, the assumption of a change in the initial consonant, which is very improbable for any compounded verb, is doubly improbable for these. A Roman who formed the perfect of *condo* by con-*di-di* (not 'cocondi' or 'condi') could hardly forget that he was dealing with a compound.

Again, if to escape this difficulty we assume that there was a simple verb *dare* 'to put,' we have only Scylla for Charybdis. Rule (1) will not allow the *d* in *dare* to stand for *dh*, and we have brought our compounds no nearer whatever to the Greek θε and the Sanskrit *dhâ*.

Further, the root DHA does actually appear in Latin with an initial *f* in *facio*,[1] so that the improbability of there being another simple verb with initial *d* from the same root with the same meaning is increased tenfold. To these objections may be added others to which Curtius[2] has alluded. He remarks "that it can hardly be doubted that the Romans

[1] See Curtius, No. 309. Corssen seeks to avoid the difficulty by connecting *facio* with root BHA 'shine' (I. 423 seqq., &c.), a connexion justly termed harsh by Curtius. The original sense of *facio* is very clear in *infício* 'put in the vat to dye,' to 'soak' in opposition to *perfundere* to 'sprinkle over'; Seneca, Ep. 110. 8.

[2] *l.c.*

thought all compounds of *-do* to be of one origin;" and besides, he notices the fact that the root *du*, which is a bye-form of *da* 'give,' in *du-int*, etc., appears not only in *inter*-du-*am* which is admitted to be compounded with *da* 'give,' and *addues* which is classed as doubtful, but *also* in *creduas*, *perduint* which are supposed to be compounds of *dha*. So Zend *du* is both 'to give' and 'to make.'

We must now see if the difference in meaning is such as to be at all commensurate with the difficulty of separating words that other considerations require imperatively should be taken together.

The words in question may be fairly classed thus for the advocates of a connexion with DHA.

Derivatives from DA; main meaning 'to give': *dedo*, *prodo*, *trado*, *vendo*, *venumdo*, *satisdo*, *interduo*.

Derivatives from DHA or DA; meanings mixed: *addo*, *dido*, *edo*, *indo*, *perdo*, *reddo*, *circumdo*, *pessumdo*.

Derivatives from DHA; main meaning 'to place': *abdo*, *condo* (*abs-condo*, *re-condo*), *credo*, *obdo*, *subdo*.

The last words require discussion first. *Credo* is a great stronghold of the DHA theory. It is compared with the Sk. *çratdadhâmi* = *fidem* (*çrat*), *pono* (*dadhâmi*), and the Old Ir. *cret-im* (*cret-tes qui credit*). But it is to be observed that the Sanskrit may just as well mean '*do fidem*'[1] as '*pono fidem*;' for *da-dhâmi* means, *inter alia*, 'to bestow anything on a person, grant, confer, present, give.'[2] The appearance of this meaning in a root which is generally one of 'placing,' is an indication of how closely the meanings are allied. The Old Irish forms *cretim*, etc., prove nothing. The *t* in *cret-* has assimilated to itself the initial consonant of the verb with which it is compounded; and this consonant would appear in Irish as *d*, whether the original root was DA or DHA. *Credo* then may as well mean 'I *give* trust' as 'I *place* trust,' and at least is no evidence for a form *-dere* = *θεῖναι*.

[1] Cf. Portug. *dar fé*.

[2] Bohtlingk and Roth, Sanskr. Dict. s.v. It is used with the *dat.* as well as the *loc.*; e.g Rigv. i. 116, 8, *pitumatîm ûrjam asmâ* (for *asmai*) *adhattam*.

In *abdo, condo, obdo, subdo* place is certainly the predominant, if not the exclusive, notion. But unless we have evidence to show that the notion 'place' could not be derived from the notion 'give,' or that both could not have been developed from an idea that included both, we are not justified in separating these words from the rest of the compounds. A comparison with the corresponding compounds of δίδωμι in Greek will be instructive.

Abdere. Greek ἀποδιδόναι means mainly (1) 'to give *away*,' (2) 'to give *back*.' For (1) Latin uses *tradere* or *dedere*; for (2) it uses *reddere*.

Condere.[1] Greek συνδιδόναι means (1) 'to give *along with*'; (2) '*put together*, collect'; (3) (neut.) '*give in*,' 'slacken.' In (1) σύν is used in a sense which is very rare in the Latin *cum*. That preposition is hardly ever used in compounds of joint action, except in the case of official partnership. Out of about 1200 compounds of *cum* I only noticed *thirty* where this idea appeared, and many of them were very late. The neuter idea in (3) is foreign to the Latin *dare*. The only parallel then that we could expect to find between *condere* and συνδιδόναι is in (2); and this we find. For συνδιδόναι in this sense see Stephan. Thesaur. *s. v.*, from whose list I select the following examples. Plut. Moral. 660 C: λόγος αὐτῷ (*sc.* οἰνῷ) τὸ φιλάνθρωπον καὶ ἠθοποιὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐν τοῦ σώματος ἐποχετεύει καὶ συνδίδωσιν. Then to 'collect' generally, *e. g.* Aretæus, pp. 51, 52 in *passive*; and in *active*, *id.* p. 3. 25: συνδιδοῖ τὸ κακὸν εἰς τὸ πᾶν.

Subdere. Greek ὑποδιδόναι is only used in a neuter sense, and so can afford no parallel to the Latin word. The *only* meaning which could be got out of *sub dare* 'give under' in an active sense, *i.e.* 'give *secretly*,' would involve using *sub-* in a sense which is decidedly rare in its compounds.

Obdere. Ob in composition corresponds partly to ἐπί and partly to πρός. But ἐπιδίδωμι and προσδίδωμι have either meanings which are foreign to Latin *dare*, or meanings expressed by others of its compounds.

[1] *Condere*, in its first meaning, is 'to put together,' 'arrange,' then 'to put away in order,' and so 'to put away' generally.

Thus, if both the senses *give* and *place* were found in the Latin *dare*, there is some reason to suppose that for these four verbs the meaning of *placing* would predominate over that of *giving*.

Having examined the cases in which the assumption of DHA 'to put' is supposed to be necessary for the explanation of the compound verb, I now consider whether generally there is or is not a connexion between the meanings to '*give*' and '*put*'; and without asserting that either idea is the older—a question which we have not sufficient data to determine as yet—I venture to think that there is throughout language generally a very widespread correspondence in their variously differentiated meanings. Yet, though I think that it has not been shown that the meaning of 'place' in the root *da* came from that of 'give,' I should be very sorry to assert that it could not have done so. What the idea 'give' is capable of may be seen from an examination of the French *donner*, especially in its reflexive and neuter senses. One or two instances will suffice. *Donner*[1] means 'to be *caught in*,' '*fall into*,' *donner* dans la piège; 'to *rise*,' le vin *donne* à la tête; 'to *open on*,' *donner* sur la rue; act. 'to *make, cause*,' *donner* le feu trop chaud.

The following are some of the correspondences in the development of the two ideas 'giving' and 'placing' in various languages. It will be seen that it is in the region of '*doing*, making,' that they are most numerous.

In Old High German *geben* and *thun* show similarities of use.[2] 'Sich in die Flucht *geben*' may be replaced by 'sich in die Flucht *thun*.' So 'emam die Hand *tuon*'=*give* the hand. I have already said that in Sanskṛit the same root *dhâ* means both to *place* and to *give*. The same is the case with the Zend *dâ*. Burnouf[3] notices this inextricable confusion of the root in Zend, and he attributes it to the copyists, who had ceased to distinguish between the two roots in their two meanings. In Ch. Sl. *dě̆ja* is Lat. *facio* (*pono ?*), *dam*ĭ Lat.

[1] See Littré, Dict. Franç. s.v. *donner*.
[2] See Grimm, Deutsch. Worterb s. v. *thun*.
[3] Quoted by Pott, Et. Forsch. *l.c.*

do; in Lithuanian *démi* is *pono, dúmi do;* in Old Ir. *dénim* is *facio* (*pono?*), *dán* is *donum* ars.[1]

I have referred to all these languages—Zend, Slavonic, Lithuanian, and Irish—not so much to use them as evidence for an original DA meaning both to *put* and to *give*, since their representation of both original D and DH by *d* would make them useless for that purpose, as to enter a protest against their being used to prove *two* separate roots, one DA 'to give,' and another DHA 'to put,' when they may just as well prove that there was *one* root with both the two meanings.

Greek then is the only language in which the two roots are widely separated, though they are in Sanskrit to a considerable extent. And it does not seem rash to suppose that in Indo-European there were two forms DA and DHA used indiscriminately to express the two allied ideas which were treated by the several nations according to their particular requirements. This would explain the total loss of the root DA 'to give,' in Teutonic, which is very remarkable, the Teutons selecting out of the two forms the form *dha*, and dropping the meaning 'give' to prevent confusion.[2] It would also explain why the Greek δύω stands by the side of τίθημι 'to *put*,' with several striking similarities in its general meaning, *e.g.* δῦναι = 'set' (of a star); εἰς-ἐκ-δυσάσθαι = '*put* on,' '*put* off.'

To resume tracing the parallelisms between the employment of the two ideas.

Sansk. *dhâ*, Zd. *du*, Greek τιθέναι, Germ. *geben*, Fr. *donner*, Sp. *dar*, Portug. *dar*, are all used in the sense of *making* or *causing* a *state* or *result*.[3]

τιθέναι ἀγῶνας is *dare* ludos, τιθέναι νόμους = *dare* leges jura; ὄνομα θεῖναι θέσθαι = nomen *dare indere;* θεῖναι εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον (or ἐν τῷ δ.) = in vincula *dare;* ἔλεγχος τίθεσθαι,

[1] In Hebrew also *nāthan* means (1) to give, (2) to put.

[2] The fear of confusing words of the same sound, but with different meanings, operates most strongly when a language is in a state of change: see Diez, Romance Grammar, Trans. p. 51.

[3] Sp. *dar* calle, 'make a path'; *dar* zapatetas 'leap with joy' (=noise of sole of boot); *dar* guerra, 'wage war'; *hacer* 'give, grant,' Neum. It. *dar, far* carico.

cf. vitio *dare*; τιθέναι ἀθάνατον, cf. exornatum *dare*; τιθέναι σκέδασιν, sternere = *dare* stragem. So in compounds tra*dere* literis = *put* on paper = Germ. etwas zur Papier *geben*; pro*dere* is προδιδόναι 'betray,' '*give* up'; but also προτιθέναι *expose*; also προτιθέναι 'publish,' '*put* forth'; also προτιθέναι 'show,' '*set* forth,' and even = Eng. '*put* off.'

venum*do*, ven*do*, is Greek ἀποδίδοσθαι, but also Eng. '*set* to sale,' *e.g.* "both God and state They easily would set to sale," Milton, *Samson Ag.* 1466; so Greek ἐκθεῖναι.

satis*do* = satis*facio*.

ad*do* is προστίθημι ad*ponere*, Eng. '*put* to' (as opposed to 'take *from*,') Eccles. iii. 14, but also προσδίδωμι.

di*do* is διαδίδωμι, Lucr. vi. 42, "primae frugiparos fetus mortalibus aegris *dididerunt* . . . Athenae;" but also διατίθημι dispono.

edo has several meanings which can be paralleled:

(1) 'exhibit' = Eng. '*set* out' = Greek ἐκθεῖναι.

(2) 'publish' = Eng. '*put* forth,' '*set* out' = Greek ἐκδοῦναι, ἐκθεῖναι = Germ. aus*geben*.

(3) 'explain' = Eng. '*set* forth' = ex*ponere*.

(4) 'turn out' = Eng. '*put* out = εκθεῖναι.

(5) 'utter' = Eng. '*give* forth,' '*set* up,' Dryden.

(6) 'raise' = Eng. '*set* up' (esp. in adj. *editus*). in*do* is ἐντίθημι; but also ἐνδίδωμι, in sense '*put* into:' Eur. ἐνδοῦναι ἄρμασι κέντρον. circum*do* = Germ. um*geben*, but Greek περιθεῖναι.

red*do* is used as

(1) 'restore'—Eng. '*replace*,' '*put back*,' but Greek ἀποδιδόναι ἀναδιδόναι.

(2) 'yield produce' = Greek ἀποδιδόναι ἀναδιδόναι.

(3) 'make cause' = Greek ἀποδιδόναι.

(4) 'translate' = Eng. '*put* back,' '*put* into' a language = Germ. wieder*geben*.

We may add ἐκδοῦναι = Lat. '*ponere*' = Eng. '*put* out at interest,' or in Old Eng. '*put* off.'

IX.—ON SOM DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE SPEECH OV EDINBORO AND LONDON.

By T. B. Sprague, M.A., Camb.[1]

(Read on Friday, 4 June, 1880.)

[These notes ar ritn by an Englishman, who was born in London and resided there as boy and man for, rufly speaking, 40 years, but has resided in Edinboro for the last 6 years. They ar not intended as a set treatis upon the differences between Edinboro and London language, but simply embrace a few remarks which hav ocurd to the riter and which he thinks may perhaps interest the Members ov the Filological Society.]

Many litl things combine to indicate that the speech ov Edinboro is an older form than that ov London, both as regards the words uzed and the pronunciation. Ther ar several words or forms ov speech commonly uzed in Edinboro, but rarely or never in London, which ar found in precisely the same meaning in the English Bible. Thus, "*to kindl a fire*" is a common fraze in Edinboro, and the word "*kindling*" is uzed to denote the paper, wood, and coals, uzed in lihting a fire. Compare Luke xxii. 55, "When they had kindled a fire in the midst of the hall;" Acts xxviii. 2, "The barbarous people shewed us no little kindness: for they kindled a fire." "*Wrought*" is commonly uzed in Edinboro as the past tense of *work*.[2] Compare Matthew xx. 12: "These last have wrought but one hour." "*People*" is commonly uzed by the uneducated in the sens of *Relations*.[3]

[1] Mr Sprague was Senior Wrangler of his year, 1853.—F.J.F.

[2] Dr. Murray, at the Meeting, said he had never heard the word *workt* till some years after he came to London. When he helpt in the Matriculation Examination in the University of London, most of the students answered that wrought was the perfect of *wring* they only knew bring, *brought*.—F.J.F

[3] This sense is known in our Universities and London: compare "What did that man look like? . . . Of what fashion were his wife and daughters—'his *people*,' in the slang phrase of the day?"—1880, F. Metcalfe, M.A., Oxford, *The Englishman and the Scandinavian*, p. 172.—F.J.S.

This is perhaps the meaning ov the word in Ruth i. 10: "Surely we will go back with thee unto thy people":—15: "Behold, thy sister-in-law is gone back unto her people": —16: "Thy people shall be my people."

I wil now, without further preface, note down the points which hav struk me, classifying them as far as practicabl under different heds.

PART I.—WORDS.

Trades.

Flesher. This is the word stil commonly uzed, altho being gradualy displaced by *butcher*, to denote the man who sels meat. The *butcher* is the person who kils the animals, and the word in this restricted sens is clearly analogos to the use ov the word 'butcher' to denote a military comander who puts to deth a large number ov persons remorslesly.

Joiner. This word is commonly uzed in Edinboro where *carpenter* woud be uzed in London; but over shops we somtimes see the notis '*house carpenter*' in the same way as in seaports we may see the notis '*ship carpenter*'.

Undertaker. In Edinboro this tradesman is cald a *funeral undertaker*, a name which seems to indicate the origin ov the southern term.

Cab-hirer is a person who lets out cabs on hire.

Greengrocer and *fishmonger* ar commonly seen ritn over shops, each as two distinct words, green grocer and fish monger, and not as singl words, as is the case in London.

Tradesman. This word in Edinboro dos not denote a shopkeeper, but a journeyman or a mechanic. Compare the word '*trades-union*'.

Articls ov Food.

Gigot of mutton (pronounst *jigut*), clearly derived from the French, is much the same, but not exactly, as a leg ov mutton.

Sparling=smelt, the fish.

Grozart (spelling doutful, pronounst *groset* or *groazart*) =gooseberry.

Blacksugar=Spanish liquorice.

Cake (or more commonly *cakes*)=oat-cake.

Cookie=plain bun.

Porridge is not an exclusivly Scoch word, but it is peculiarly Scoch to speak ov it as plural:—*they ar good, they ar burnt.* The same is the case with *broth.* The verb uzed in conection with these words is not to eat porrige or to drink broth, but to *sup* porrige or broth or soup. (Is *soup* that which is *supped*?)

Articls ov Domestic Use.

Ashet=a dish.

Goblet=a saucepan.

Clasp=a rivet.

Corner dish=a vegetabl dish.

Crystal. This word is uzed to include al glas articls, tumblers, wine glasses, decanters, etc.

Napery (pronounst either *naperi* or *naiperi*) includes tabl linen and bed linen.

Divider=a soup-ladle.

Press=a cupboard.

Binder=under-blanket.

Other Nouns.

Lime. In the same way as peepl in the south speak ov *briks and mortar,* so in Edinboro peepl say *stone and lime, lime* being here and on other ocasions uzed to denote *mortar.* Compare *bird-lime,* also the German *leim,* which means *glue.* It seems that the Scoch use ov the word *lime* in the sense ov *mortar,* may hav been the original one, and the English use ov it to denote the principal ingredient in mortar, a later one.

Warning is commonly uzed for *notice.* Servants and employers giv *warning* where in London they giv *notis. Warning* is also uzed in the same way as the German *Warnung,* in the sense ov *caution.* Thus in the tram-cars is posted a 'warning' not to aliht before the car stops.

House. When a large bilding is erected, generaly with a singl entrance and a singl staircase, and is divided into a number ov flats, each containing two or more rooms, the whole bilding is cald in Edinboro a *tenement,* and each flat, consisting ov two or three or more rooms, is cald a *hous.*[1] Thus, ther may be a *tenement* containing 12 or 16 *houses,* each let to a different person; and one ov these 'houses' can be bo't or sold like a set ov chambers in the Inns ov Court. The plural is pronounst by som Scoch persons housez, but by others in the English manner houzez.

Gable. In England the fraze 'gable-end' ov a hous is not uncommon, but perhaps few peepl atach a perfectly definit meaning to it. In Edinboro the word '*gable*' is in constant use, to denote the *lateral wal* ov a house.

Dyke is the common word for the boundary wal ov a field. It may be either a *stone dyke* or a *turf dyke.* (I am told that it commonly implies that the stones ar put together without mortar, but I cannot say this from my oen observation.) I believ I hav herd it aplied also to the *wire fences* which ar now very common in the Hihlands. Etymologicaly it is, ov cours, the same word as '*ditch*', and I believ that in the north ov Ireland I hav herd the word '*ditch*' uzed with much the same meaning as '*dyke*' in Scotland.

Stinking Willie is the popular name for *ragwort*: probably in opposition to this the wel-knoen garden flowr is cald *Sweet William.*

Gowan is the common word for daisy, *horse gowan* for dog-daisy.

Beast is commonly uzed ov any kind ov animal, large or smal, such as a hors, a dog,[2] a cat, or a mous: this being consistent with the old use ov the word in the classification —beasts, birds, and fishes.

Good-brother=brother-in-law; and in like way ar uzed 'good-sister, father, mother'.

[1] This use was and is known in English Convents, a Benedictine Nun tells me, correcting a misunderstanding of mine in *Essays on Chaucer* (Chaucer Soc.) —F J F

[2] I hav herd in Scotland the fraze, a "bonny wee beast," where an Englishman woud hav said, pretty litl dog.

Blakberry is a blak currant; the English 'blakberry' is in Scotland a 'brambl' or a 'brambl-berry'. A Scoch boy reading ov blakberrys groing in the hedges in England, believs that blak currants gro there. (J. A. H. Murray.) The plant on which the blakberry gros is cald in Scotland either a brambl or a brambl-bush. Compare Luke vi. 44: "Nor of a bramble bush gather they grapes." I believ that Londoners more commonly speak ov a 'blakberry-bush' than ov a 'brambl', and they woud certainly not speak ov a 'brambl-bush'.

Infirmary. The establishment which in London is cald a *hospital*, is in Edinboro (as in the north ov England) called an 'infirmary'. In conection with this, I may remark that I do not profes that the words or uzages here mentiond ar exclusivly Scoch. Al I hav undertaken to do in putting together these notes, is to set down som points which hav struk me, and I leav it to others to say what novelty or what value ataches to them.

Hospital. Thor ar in Edinboro a number ov charitabl institutions for the maintenance and education ov poor children, such as *Stewart's Hospital, Donaldson's Hospital*, and *Heriot's Hospital.* Compare *Christ's Hospital* in London.

Poorhouse. This is the name commonly givn, as in Ireland, to what is cald *workhouse* in London.

Legal Terms.

Life-renter (compare French *rentier*) is the person who has the life-rent ov an estate or a fund; that is to say, who draws the incom for his or her life, or in English legal fraze, has a life-interest in the estate or fund.

Wrongous. The Scoch speak ov a *rongous dismissal* or *rongous imprisonment* where the English woud say *rongful dismissal* or *fals imprisonment.* The latter fraze is, ov cours, absurd; becaus, if a man has been imprisond, his imprisonment is real enuf and shoud not be cald fals. The word *rongful* is more corectly oposed to *rihtful*, and *rongous* is oposed to *rihteous.* (A. Sax. *wrangwis, rihtwis.*—F.J.F.).

Timeous. This is equivalent to the English word 'timely', as a 'timely notice'.

To *sist.* To *sist proceedings* means to suspend procedings. Compare Latin *sisto.* In conection with this word, I may mention that I was greatly puzld by receiving a request from a bisnes correspondent in the north ov Germany, I think Memel, to the efect that we woud '*sistiren*' payment ov a claim. I coud not find the word in my German dictionary, and it was not until I receivd a second letter from my correspondent that I coud conjecture that he ment us to delay paying until we herd further from him.

To *feu.* Without going into technicalitys as to the feudal system, it may sufice to say that to *feu* a piece ov land is to let it upon a perpetual leas. The word, therefore, has a distinctly different meaning from the English word to *let on leas.* Nevertheles, popularly it may be uzed in the same sens. Thus, when I visited a frend at his villa, he told me he had 'feud his gras park to a flesher', meaning that he had let the field ajoining his garden on a short leas to a butcher.

Verbs.

Need. This is a word the disuse ov which in England is really a matter ov regret. It is in frequent use among al classes in Edinboro: 'I shal not need an overcoat to-day', etc.

To *mind*=remember: 'I can't *mind* where I saw you."

To *feel* a smel is the fraze that woud be uzed in Edinboro when a Londoner woud hav no alternativ but to say, 'I smel a smel', or 'ther is a smel'. Similarly as regards the sens ov siht: a Scochman wil say, 'I feel that the spectacls ar tinted'.

To *stay* is commonly uzed where a Londoner woud say '*liv*', as 'he stays at Morningside'='he livs at Morningside'.

To *sort.* This is a word ov very wide aplication uzed much as the word *fix* apears to be uzed in America. 'I will sort it' means 'I will put it to rihts'. '*Sort* the children before they 're put to bed.'

To *weary*; for instance, 'I weary to see you', means 'I greatly long to see you'.

To be married on=to be marryd *to*. Thus: 'Who was he marryd on?'

To *be colded* means to hav a cold. Thus I hav herd it givn out in one ov the principal churches ov Edinboro that the minister was *severely colded*, and coud not take the service as he had intended.

Shal and *wil*. The use ov these is different from the English. Thus a Scochman says, 'I shal rite to you tomorro', when an Englishman says 'I wil rite to you tomorro'. This is one point upon which I am conscios that I hav been influenst by my new asociations; in fact, I am getting unsetld as to the proper use ov these words.

Adjectives.

Nicely or *nice-like*. *This is a word coloquially uzed*: 'he is a nice-like lad': 'she is a very nicely girl'.

Soft weather, means showery or drizly.

Coarse weather, is wet and stormy. In Edinboro it is said to 'rain *hard*', but in London to 'rain *fast*'.

Other. A Londoner woud say, 'I sent you two other books', but in Edinboro it is usual to say 'other two books'.

Adverbs.

Amissing, awanting. These ar expressiv words in common use: 'the paper has gon amissing', 'a chest ov drawers with one handl awanting'.

Away. 'He is away' means he has started, or he has gon. *Com away*=com along.

Presently is uzed by som persons in the strict sense ov *at the present time*,[1] but others uze it in the English sense ov by-and-by. I was a good deal surprized soon after my removal

[1] Compare: "University, St. Andrews, N.B., 5th February 1880. I have much pleasure in testifying to the character and attainments of Mr. Thomas Bayne, *presently* a teacher at Helensburgh. . . . . John Tulloch, D.D., LL.D., Principal."—F.J.F.

to Edinboro, when I told a clerk to do somthing presently, to find that he went away and did it imediatly.

Likely=probably: "I shal likely be there.' But Englishmen say *very likely*.

To-day, to-morro. Insted ov 'to-day', the uneducated offen say 'the day'. In the same way, they offen say 'the week', for 'this week'; 'the month', for 'this month'; and 'the year', for 'this year': 'I havn't seen you the year'. May not *to* in these words be a coruption ov *the*? Somtimes also we hear the fraze '*the now*'; thus, 'I shal do it the now', expresses determination to do it imediatly.

Oo new. This fraze is uzed where in England 'anew' woud probably be employd: 'the work was comenced ov new', *de novo*.

A litl ago. A Scochman uzes this fraze where an Englishman woud say *a litl while ago*.

Conjunctions.

Whenever. Ther is a peculiar Scoch use ov this word: '*whenever* I saw it'=as soon as I saw it. 'I recognized you *whenever* I herd your voice', that is, as soon as I herd your voice.

PART II.

Pronunciation.

As a general rule, it may be stated that ther is a greater difference in pronunciation between educated residents in Edinboro than ther is between Englishmen ov a similar clas. This, I think, arises partly from the heds ov familys having com from different parts ov Scotland and retaining the pronunciation ov their nativ districts.

Ther ar two elementary sounds in Edinboro speech which ar not uzed by Englishmen, but ar stil uzed by the Germans, namely, the German *ch* and *u*. The German *ch* is habitualy uzed by the educated only in proper names, such as *Torphichen, Auchtermuchty, MacLauchlan,* etc., and in the special

Scoch words *loch*, *heugh*, *sough*, *haugh*, etc. (pronounce *loȝ*, *heuȝ*, *sueȝ*, *hauȝ*, where ȝ is uzed to denote German *ch*); but it is habitualy uzed by the uneducated in the words spelt with *gh*. When an Edinboro artisan speaks ov his *daughter*, an Englishman woud think that he ment his *doctor*, the sound being very similar to the German *tochter*, when *d* is substituted at the beginning for *t*. If you enquire your way in the streets ov Edinboro, you wil very likely be told to go *streȝt* on for a certain distance and then turn to the *reȝt;* in fact, the sound ov German *ch* is herd more or les distinctly in most, if not al, English words which ar spelt with *gh*. Ther can be no dout, I think, that this sound must hav been generaly uzed by Englishmen at the time when the present spelling ov the English language was estabIisht. As the sound died out in English use, the spelling unhappily remaind unalterd. I conjecture that the combination ov letters, *ough*, formerly represented nearly or exactly the same sound in al words in which they ocur, but as the *ch* sound gradualy died out in English use, it was replaced in the *ough* words by varios sounds determind by causes which can only be conjectured; frequently by *f*, as in enough (*enuf*), rough (*ruf*); but in other words by one or other ov the vowel sounds; and thus arose the present embarrasing discrepancy between the pronunciation and the spelling ov the *ough* words.

I believ it may be laid down as an al-but-invariabl rule that the combination *gh* in English words is never pronounst as *g*; but this is a fact that Englishmen generaly ar not aware ov; at al events, as regards proper names. Londoners frequently speak ov *Edinberg*; Scochmen always ov *Eainburu*. Ther ar many Scoch names ov towns which hav the same termination, Roxburgh, Jedburgh, Helensburgh, etc., and in al these cases the termination is pronounst as in Edinburgh—precisely, as far as I can juj, the same as the English word 'borough' in Peterborough (*Peaterburu*). The word burgh (*buru*) by itself is offen seen in newspaper articls in such conections as the *burgh surveyor*, the *burgh magistrates*.

The *ü* is not so commonly herd. I hav generaly recognized it in Scoch songs. It is the sound intended to be indicated by the spelling *guid* or *gude* for *good*. It is distinctly recognizable in the singing in church when the congregation pronounce the word *to* as *tu*.

Ther ar many words comencing with *con-* or *com-* in which English peepl always pronounce the *o* as if it were *u*, such as *comfort*, (*kumfurt*), *constable* (*kunstabl*), *compass* (*kumpus*), but ther ar many more words in which old-fashiond Scochmen adopt this pronunciation, such as *compromise (kumprumeiz)*, *comparable (kumpurubl)*, *concert (kunsert)*.

Ocasionaly, I hav herd pronunciations which thro an unexpected liht upon som spellings aparently anomalos. Thus, the newspaper boys at the railway stations cal out *Daily Review*, pronouncing Review distinctly as three syllabls Re-vi-ew. I hav herd the word 'two' pronounst nearly as if it wer two syllabls *(tu-u)*, also broad *(bro-ad)*, and buoy *(boo-oy)*.

Ther ar very many cases in which Scoch peopl place the accent in a different position from that usual in London. Where Londoners say magazine' (*magazeen'*), Scoch peepl wil say mag'azine (*mag'azin*). So we hav London, commit'tee (*kumi'ti*), Edinboro, commitee' (*kumitee'*); London, manure' (*maneu'r*), Edinboro, man'ure (*ma'neur*) the noun, but manu're, the verb; London, arith'metic, Edinboro, a'rithme'tic I hav herd in Scotland the words brewery, tannery, pronounst with the accent on the last sylabl, *brooerea'*, *tanerea'*; also suggest, as *sugje'st'*, the London pronunciation being *suje'st*.

The pronunciation *ashoom* (assume) is not uncommon. This is strictly analogos to the common English pronunciation *ashoor* (assure). It seems that the pure pronunciation ov *eu* is suficiently trublsom to lead to its being commonly got rid ov and som other pronunciation substituted for it. Thus Cokneys wil say *Choozdi* (Tuesday) instead of *Teuzdi;* and among wel-educated Englishmen *naicher* (nature) and *pikcher* (picture), etc., ar, I believ, more frequently herd than *naiteur* and *pikteur*. The latter ar certainly more

common, but ar not universal, in Scotland. In som ov Mr. A. J. Ellis's publications, I think I hav notist the spelling *euzheual* (for *usual*), but I do not think I hav ever herd the pronunciation; and, in fact, it seems to me an almost impossibl one. The common pronunciation, I believ to be *euzhooal*. So, I think Mr. Ellis spels *judicious, jeudishus*, but I can scarcely believ that this truly represents his pronunciation. The common pronunciation woud certainly be represented by substituting *joo* insted ov *jeu*.

Som Scoch peepl say *prizhoom* (presume).

The termination *is* in proper names is pronounst simply as *z*: thus, Foulis, *foulz*; Inglis, *inggl'z*; Lewis (the iland, sometimes spelt Lews), *looz*; Charteris, *charterz*; consistently with this I shoud hav expected Scottish to be pronounst *Scoch*, but this is not the case. On the other hand the termination *es* is pronounst as *is*; Romanes, *Roma'nis*; Geddes, *gedis*; Innes, *inis*; in the same way as the Sussex town Lewes is pronounst *loois* contrary to al modern English analogys.

Wh. This is distinctly aspirated by most Scoch peepl, whereas in London it is quite the exception to hear the aspirate.

The *r* in such words as *Burns* is offen emfatically trild, but this is not so common as the *wh* aspirat.

In the case ov the last two pronunciations, the Scoch form requires distinctly more time and effort than the English; and this I believ to be the case with other peculiarities which I hav not mentiond, the general efect being that Scochmen, as a rule, speak more sloly than Englishmen.

In indicating the pronunciation ov words I hav thro'out this paper intended to adopt Mr. Ellis's "glossic" spelling, which is probably familiar to al my readers. At the same time, I may mention that ther ar one or two points in that system which I hav never been abl to understand,—principaly as regards the use ov the letter *r*.

X.—NINTH ANNUAL ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY, DELIVERED AT THE ANNIVERSARY MEETING, FRIDAY, 21ST OF MAY, 1880. BY DR. J. A. H. MURRAY.

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LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

MEMBERS OF THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY,—

WHEN the proposal was first made that an Address should be delivered by the President at our Anniversary Meeting, the intention was that this address should consist of a review of the Philological work of the year in our own and other countries. To quote the opening remarks of Mr. Ellis, in 1872, it was "considered that it would greatly contribute to the vitality of our Society, and especially increase the interest which the new members who have joined us take in our proceedings, if the President, on his retiring, either altogether or for re-election, were to deliver an address, which should contain a report of what had been effected in each part of Philology during the preceding year." It was "conceived that no President would be able, from his own resources, to furnish such a report, but that different members of the Society should contribute an account of their own particular branches, and that from these quota the President should endeavour to construct an interesting general review." In more or less of conformity with the plan, the Annual

Addresses of the past eight years have, as you are aware, been enriched by special reports, not only by members, but by distinguished scholars outside our circle, upon the philological position of various languages, or groups of languages; though we have never reached the ideal of a general review of the year's work at Philology as a whole. On the present occasion I have to regret that what I have to offer you will depart even more widely than usual from the ideal, for with few, though signal exceptions, the help both of members and foreign scholars has this year failed us; and if it was never anticipated that any President would be able, from his own resources, to give a general view of the Philology of the year, much less could this be expected from one engaged in a special department, to which every hour is consecrated, and who is bound by every tie of duty to restrict his attention to the immediate work of that department, and to subjects directly bearing upon it. In these circumstances I have to ask the forbearance of the members, while I offer them at once a shorter address, and one necessarily more of a special character, than has on other occasions been heard from this chair. Several contributions long promised for the present occasion, the failure of which has been a disappointment to me, will, I hope, be ready by next year, and enable my successor to make up for my shortcomings.

Work of the Society.

Of the twenty papers read before us during the past year, eight have been concerned with English Philology, viz. two by Mr. H. Sweet, on the Laws of Quantity, and the Laws of Stress in Compounds, and of Sentence-stress in modern English; two, also by Mr. Sweet, on Old English Dialects and their phonology, along with one on the oldest English Texts, which resulted in a proposal to print a fac-simile of the Epinal Gloss, in the opinion of Mr. Sweet, one of the oldest documents preserving English words. In addition to a Dictionary Evening, at which we had an interesting and animated discussion on the proper limits of inclusion in

regard to slang, foreign and scientific words, the treatment of adopted words in which the historical appearance of the varieties of meaning in English does not correspond to their logical development and affiliation, and on other points connected with the Dictionary, I also brought before the Society a few chips from my Dictionary workshop, in the form of the history of the forms and applications of the words *Adamant* and *Diamond*, of *Avow*, *Admiral*, *Adjust* and *Adjute*, *Asphodel*, *Affodil*, and *Daffodil*, *Honour*, *Anour*, *Anourn*, *Adore*, and *Adorn;* which, with a short paper by Prof. Skeat, on the derivation of *Bracket*, completed our contributions to English. Mr. H. Nicol's correction of the etymologies of the words *Affray*, *Attire*, *Badger*, *Breeze*, *Costive*, and *Craven*, dealt both with English and French, showing how much still remains to be done before the history of the French words in English can be correctly written, and what mistakes pass current in connexion with these words. All members of the Society will join me in expressing regret, for more reasons than one, that the state of Mr. Nicol's health does not permit him to be here this evening; and in hoping that he may soon be able to finish his long-expected work on the history of French sounds in English, the importance of which for the Society's Dictionary is very great. In the Romance domain we had also an important paper on living Portuguese, by H.I.H. Prince L. Lucien Bonaparte; and a continuation of his Account of the Rhaeto-Romansch dialects, by Mr. R. Martineau, dealing with the Morphology of that interesting branch of the Romance family. In Latin philology, which, since the removal of Prof. Wagner, had disappeared from our Transactions, we had an interesting paper by Mr. J. P. Postgate on the compound verbs in *-dăre* and *-dĕre*, maintaining the view that these all belong to the root DA give, and none of them to DHA, θε, place; and a suggestive one by our Treasurer, Mr. Dawson, on the Middle Voice in Latin, with special reference to Virgil's Eneid, book vi.; also one on the Latin pronunciation of J consonant, by Mr. E. S. Pearson. Mr. Cayley broke fresh ground by a paper grappling with the mysterious "Aspects" of the Russian Verb, of which he

furnished perhaps the most intelligible account accessible in English; and Mr. Brandreth discussed the comparative accidence of the Gaurian languages of India, and their analogies to that of Romance. These, with a *précis* by Mr. Sweet, of the theories recently propounded by Professor Bugge and Dr. Bang, on the origin of the Eddaic Mythology, completed our studies within the Aryan horizon; beyond it we had Mr. Cust's instructive paper on the classification of the languages of Africa, illustrated by tables and a map; Archdeacon Kirkby's account of the syllabic writing of Cree; Dr. Hyde Clarke's paper "on Etruscan," jocularly characterized as maintaining "the general diffusion of Etruscan in minute quantities throughout the universe." An outline of these papers as read has been presented to the members, through our new plan of Monthly Abstracts of the Proceedings, the popularity of which has been shown by the many inquiries made after them, during a temporary delay in their publication. I am exceedingly glad that my proposal in regard to them a year ago was acceded to, and I have no doubt that, with the year's experience of their utility, the Society will be glad to make them permanent.

I have to express our deep regret at the news of the death of our colleague, Professor Wilhelm Wagner, of the Johanneum, Hamburg, who endeared himself to us during the years of his residence in London, and whose labours in Latin and Modern Greek Philology enrich our Transactions. Prof. Wagner was on a visit to Italy; he caught a fever at Herculaneum, which proved fatal, and he died at Naples a few weeks ago. With scarcely less sorrow do I refer to the death of the great Caucasian scholar, Prof. Schiefner, of St. Petersburg, who contributed the report upon these languages to my last year's address. Cut down in the midst of his labours and plans, he leaves a gap not to be soon filled.

Progress of the Dictionary.

In the eloquent address delivered from this chair in 1872, Mr. Ellis said, "One of our works, for which great collections have been already made, remains, and may for some time

remain, merely one of the things we have tried to do—of course I allude to our projected dictionary." The prospects of this work, to which Mr. Ellis was content to look forward thirty years to come, generously adding, "I speak for posterity, though I may be allowed like Balaam to 'see it but not nigh,'" are somewhat clearer now than they were seven years ago; and it was my privilege last year to call attention to the renewal of the dictionary scheme, and to inform you of the measures which had been taken, and the anticipations formed in connexion with the work. You remember that the arrangements had been finally concluded on the 1st of March preceding, that three years from that day were to be devoted to completing and arranging the materials, after which the delivery of copy to the printer should begin, to be continued at such a rate as to aim at the completion of the whole in the ensuing ten years. You were informed of the steps which had been taken to invite the assistance of the general public in the reading of the desired books, in response to which 165 readers had offered themselves, 128 had been supplied with slips for special books, and 234 books had been taken up. I was able also to say that most of the old materials had either reached me or been heard of, that assistants were fully at work with the arrangement of what had come to hand, and that permanent work had advanced so far as the end of *Ab.* By the time the address was printed, I was able to add to it a specimen of this permanent work in the proposed treatment of the word *Address.*

It is pleasant to have to say that the anticipations then formed have in most respects been more than realized. In regard to the *Reading* for completion of the materials, they have been so in an eminent degree. During the year our readers have risen to the number of 754, some of whom of course, after reading the one or two volumes offered by them as their contribution to the work, have dropped off, while others have read 6, 8, 10 or 12, and still continue at work. Altogether 1568 books have been undertaken, of which 924 have been finished; of the rest many are, we are informed, nearly done, as we hope a great proportion of the whole

will be by the close of the year. The total number of printed slips supplied to readers now amounts to 625,035, while the quotations returned are 361,670 or about 60 per cent. As a whole the books have been satisfactorily read; and when, as has occasionally happened, the work of a reader at an important book has appeared to us inadequate, we have not hesitated to ask another reader to go through it again. This plan we have found it desirable to take with many of the books undertaken in former years, as to the completion of which we had no satisfactory evidence.

In referring to the help of readers it is perhaps invidious to mention the names of those who have done most for us, as to a certain extent this depends upon opportunity as well as upon zeal and good will. Yet I cannot help recording the names of Mr. Thomas Austin, junr., now of Oxford, who has supplied 11,000 slips, and many of these from books specially read for us in the Bodleian; of Dr. Brushfield, of Brookwood Mount, Woking, who has supplied 10,350 slips, many from rare and curious books; of Miss Jennett Humphreys, of Westbourne Park, from whom we have received 9,200 18th c. words; of Mr. and Mrs. C. Gray, who have sent from Upper Egypt and elsewhere 7,000; Lieut.-Col. Ardagh, 6,100; R. Lloyd, Esq., Liverpool, 5,350; the Rev. S. J. Bowles, Rector of Beaconsfield, one of the old sub-editors, 5,250; Mr. G. L. Apperson, of H.M. Education Department, 5,150; and Miss Foxall, of Edgbaston, Birmingham, about 4,500; the Rev. C. B. Mount, M.A., of Oxford, who has done special service by the reading of several works of the early printers in the Bodleian Library; and Mr. G. A. Schrumpf, of Tettenhall, one of our members, who, in addition to much reading at home, gave up a portion of his holiday to working for the Dictionary in the British Museum Library.

And in connexion with the Reading, I cannot sufficiently express my appreciation of the kindness of our friends in the United States, where the interest taken in our scheme, springing from a genuine love of our common language, its history, and a warm desire to make the Dictionary worthy of

that language, has impressed me very deeply. I do not hesitate to say that I find in Americans an ideal love for the English language as a glorious heritage, and a pride in being intimate with its grand memories, such as one does find sometimes in a classical scholar in regard to Greek, but which is rare indeed in Englishmen towards their own tongue; and from this I draw the most certain inferences as to the lead which Americans must at no distant date take in English scholarship. When we were considering, a year ago, how to re-enlist our friends in the States in the work of which they had undertaken an important share at the beginning of the Dictionary movement, it was suggested in a happy moment by one of our Council that Prof. Francis A. March, of Lafayette College, Easton, Pa., well known as an Old English scholar and philologist, might be willing, in the interest of the work, to recommend it to the attention of his countrymen, and to act as a centre for readers in America, so as to arrange the books to be read by each without the loss of time involved in a correspondence across the Atlantic. Prof. March most kindly acceded to our request, and has taken, in order to carry it out, an amount of trouble and labour, which, if we had had any prevision of it, we should have shrunk from asking of him. I wish thus publicly to express our indebtedness to him, and I am glad that the Council have thought it only fitting that work done for us should be recognized by our electing Prof. March an Honorary Member of the Society, a position which, independently of these services to ourselves, his Old English scholarship fits him eminently to adorn. There is another feature of American help to which I must allude, because it contrasts with that we have obtained in England—I refer to that offered to the Dictionary by men of Academic standing in the States. The numbers of Professors in American Universities and Colleges included among our readers is very large; and in several instances a professor has put himself down for a dozen works, which he has undertaken to read personally, and with the help of his students. We have had no such help from any college or university in Great Britain; only one or two Professors of English in this

country have thought the matter of sufficient importance to talk to their students about it, and advise them to help us. Among American Readers I have to name three to whom we are pre-eminently obliged—the Rev. J. Pierson, of Ionia, Michigan, our first helper in the States, who has also sent in 7650 quotations from important sixteenth and seventeenth century works; Prof. G. M. Philips, of the University, Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, who has communicated to us 4,000 slips, including important rare words collected by him, as not found in existing Dictionaries; and Dr. Henry Phillips, Secretary to the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, whose 5,000 slips from fifteen important science books are of special value.

Besides the quotations supplied by reading, several gentlemen who had in their possession stores of original material, the treasured collection of years, have, since seeing our prospectus, magnanimously handed them over to the Dictionary. Thus the Rev. Addison Crofton, of Stockport, has sent us a large collection of quotations for words not in any existing Dictionary made by his late father-in-law; a most valuable collection made by himself, with the intention of being one day published, has been sent to us by the veteran Runic scholar, Prof. Geo. Stephens of Copenhagen; and an interesting set of quotations for words connected with English history, old English customs and institutions, by Miss Edith Thomson, whose school history in Messrs. Macmillan's series has won so high esteem.[1] Nor in mentioning how many friends have lent or given us volumes to be read, must I forget the name of John Wycliffe Wilson, Esq., of Sheffield, who sent us a box of some hundred volumes of 18th c. literature, or that of Dr. Yeats of Chepstow, to whom I am similarly indebted for a series of works on Commerce and Economics, including all the Economic works of Miss Harriet Martineau.

[1] And since this was written Mr. Fitzedward Hall, who was perhaps the most extensive Reader for the Dictionary in former times, and who is one of the first authorities upon all points of English usage—witness his "Modern English," with its array of citations from writers of all ages—has offered for the Dictionary the use of his immense series of quotations, so far as time and labour will allow of their being made available.

So much for the progress made in completing our materials. The net result is that, whereas, a year ago, I had to say that the literature of the present and especially of last century was very imperfectly represented in our slips, and that good quotations for common words were painfully deficient, I have now to state that both deficiencies have been to a great extent supplied; and in using the materials, the conviction is forced upon one, that by the time we receive the results of the work now in readers' hands, we shall not need to ask our friends for further help with the words of general literature, but shall be glad if they will devote themselves to the examination of scientific and technical books, and special treatises of any description, not forgetting of course the general examination of such earlier works hitherto unread as may yield early instances of modern words and late examples of obsolete, and so help to perfect the biography of one or other. To serve as some guide in the latter department, I printed at the end of the year a first sheet of special wants, extending as far as Ad-, and containing, first, a list of all words (or alleged words entered in existing dictionaries) for which we had either no quotation at all, or not more than one; secondly, of obsolete words of which we think there ought to be later instances than our last; and thirdly, of modern words of which we think there may be found earlier instances than the first yet in our hands. Seven hundred and fifty of these sheets were circulated; and though a number of valuable corrections and enlargements were received in reply, the net result was rather disappointing, showing either that the number of people who would take a pleasure in hunting up such special points was very small, or that not much additional information about these words is to be easily obtained, which in regard to many of them is certainly true. For the first of these lists, as I have stated in the page of explanations, contains a large number of words—or alleged words—for which we have no hope of receiving quotations,—for which, as a matter of fact, our most zealous correspondents have not been able to supply any, and for which the industry of Johnson, Richardson, Todd, and Latham, not to mention

many lesser lights, was equally unavailing. We know the history of these entries, having traced them from Dictionary to Dictionary down to the present day, and this in default of further information will, of course, be given in the Philological Society's Dictionary.

We shall issue a second sheet before long, and I ask the members of the Society to make it a duty to help in this department, and let us have as few entries as possible, of which the ill-natured critic may hereafter say: "The Philological Society's Dictionary makes this word begin with Milton, but 'everybody knows' that it occurs once in a poem attributed to Occleve, two centuries earlier."

With regard to the quotations worth sending for these *desiderata*, authorities may be divided into five classes:

I. The only first-class quotations are those which show the word actually used in connected narrative to express thought, without being referred to *as a word* at all.

II. The second are where the word also occurs in connected narrative, but is given as the *name* of a process or substance, or as the synonym for a word actually used by the writer, as where a writer says, *e.g.* "this process is termed *acetimetry*." Along with these may be placed the English words used in explaining Foreign words, in French, Spanish, Italian, or other Dictionaries; they are not first-class witnesses, but often the best we can get, and in such cases as Palsgrave, and Cotgrave, we are glad to get them.

III. Thirdly come the technical glossaries added to special treatises: when a man writes a treatise on Botany, and adds a Glossary at the end, it ought to mean that he uses or *would* use the word himself, if he needed it; but it does not always.

IV. Fourthly come special Dictionaries, as of Medicine, Architecture, or Mineralogy. The authors of these, being specialists, give some sort of sanction to the terms which they think fit to include; though too many of them, aiming at omnivorousness or affecting omniscience, include terms which are long obsolete, or were never really used, for fear their collection should, without them, seem deficient in some things included by their predecessors.

V. And lastly, General Dictionaries, especially those which profess to give all the terms used in the Arts and Sciences. The authority of these is to us almost *nil*. It is of no use for a correspondent to refer me to Weale's 'Dictionary of Scientific Terms,' or to any similar compilation. My answer would be, "Thank you: will you search diligently for the word, where Weale saw it, and when you have found it, send me a slip for it; I want proof of the word's use, not of its occurrence in a list, where every thing that any body has ever said existed, is professedly to be found."

It is marvellous, and to the inexperienced incredible, how Dictionaries and Encyclopædias simply copy each other, without an attempt either to verify quotations or facts. Having beside us the chief works of this kind in the language, we are enabled to trace the whole career of such entries from their appearance in Cockeram, Blount, Phillips, Bailey, or Chambers, to their *rechaufées* in the publications of the current year. This gives to many terms long obsolete the fictitious appearance of being still current: by no other process, for instance, is *Abalienation* entered as a word in modern Dictionaries, as if it were a current legal or medical term, which it seems never to have been in English at all. So entries which are mere blunders are ignorantly handed down from Dictionary to Dictionary, each writer entering them as boldly and authoritatively as if he really knew of their existence. Thus, Bacon is very fond of the word *Aduentiue* (*adventive*), in the sense of *adventitious* 'coming in from without.' In one instance, in the edition consulted by Dr. Johnson, either through a misprint, or a mere turned letter, making the *u* into an *n*, we have *aduentine*. Johnson —who, if he had known Bacon's *Natural History*, in which *Adventive* with the ordinary spelling occurs dozens of times, instead of merely diving into it for words, would have at once seen what *Adventine* was—inserts it as a word, and quotes Bacon for it, and from Johnson it has been taken without acknowledgment or verification by all succeeding compilers, down to the very latest. It is manifestly mis-

leading to take Johnson's or Richardson's quotations, and offer them to the public as if they were independent citations, without a J. or an R. to warn the reader that they are only second-hand, and mean nothing but that the compiler had a pair of scissors to help his appropriations. Still, the scissors being, like Shakespeare's Roman plebeians, merely 'mechanical,' are not so capable of errors as compilers who affect to improve upon their originals. Every one knows the brilliant achievement of Dr. Ash under the word *Curmudgeon*, an etymology of which, from Fr. *cœur méchant*, having been anonymously sent to Dr. Johnson, he inserted it in his Dictionary as "from Fr. *cœur méchant.—Unknown Correspondent*," the latter being of course his authority; but which *Ash*, to show that he had independent sources of knowledge, and did not need to copy Johnson, quoted as from Fr. *cœur* 'unknown,' and *méchant* 'a correspondent'! An equally amusing feat has been accomplished by a more recent Dictionary-maker, who, finding in the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, an English-Latin Vocabulary of the 15th c., the entry

A-ZEN WYLLE (ayen wyll P.); *Invite.*, [*i.e.* unwillingly]

forgetful of his Latin, and not at home in Middle English, reproduces it as

A-yĕn'-wȳlle *v. t.* To invite. (*Prompt. Parv.*) [!]

The Philological Society's Dictionary will tacitly insert no word merely because it is in another Dictionary, without stating distinctly that the word has been found there and nowhere else, and may therefore be a mere *essay* of the maker. It will take no quotation from Richardson, Johnson, or Todd, unless the quotation cannot be found in the authority cited, or, what is more common, the authority cannot be identified, and then it will be distinctly stated that this is Johnson's, Richardson's, or Todd's quotation, and therefore offered on his authority. We shall introduce errors of our own, no doubt; in hundreds of thousands of references there *must* be some incorrect, but they will be our own errors, and not a perpetuation of those of others; and in regard to words, we may fairly hope, if every one will do his duty in

helping, that the Dictionary will at least be a standard of appeal on the question whether such and such an alleged word has ever been used or not; which of course is quite a different matter from the further question whether anybody should use it now. There is nothing in law or ethics to prevent any one from using all the words in our lists of desiderata if he chooses, and can.

I may also remind you that some of our most valuable contributions consist of odd slips for rare words noticed by watchful observers in the course of their daily reading; this is a form of help which we count largely upon members of the Society supplying, and which, in point of fact, Mr. Furnivall largely does supply. But I hope that no one will encourage the slovenly habit of fancying that if he neglects a word when it strikes him, somebody else will be sure to pick it up. I never read the leaders of the daily papers without finding some word worth extracting; and I do not remember a single instance in which anybody else has taken the trouble to send the same word to me. The perfection of the Dictionary in its *data* is the concern of the Society, that is to say, the concern of every one of its members, and it would be exceedingly satisfactory if a score of our members would undertake severally to register the words that strike them in the leading Daily and Weekly Papers, the magazines and scientific periodicals.

The work of arranging the old material has gone on *pari passu*, with that of organizing and superintending the reading and arranging its results. In that work we have now advanced as far as the letter S, the largest in the alphabet, one of those, unfortunately, which came to us in chaotic state. We have discovered an unfortunate hiatus in the absence of the original slips and sub-editor's work for Pa-, extending to more than ninety-six pages of the Dictionary, which are reported as "done" in the statement for 1868; the sub-editor of this section died in Ireland about 12 years ago, and we can find no trace of what became of his work.[1] I

[1] Thanks to the zeal and perseverance of Mr. E. S Jackson, M A., one of our members, it has now been traced, but alas! only to discover that, with the exception of two mere fragments, the whole has apparently perished For Pa-, therefore, all the Early and Middle English books must be read over again.

refer to it publicly, on the faint chance of its being still in existence, and being returned to us; but more by way of asking the members to undertake to make good the loss by sending us extracts for Pa- words from all the Early English Text publications, and other middle and early modern English works. It is fortunate that the gap is so late in the alphabet; had it consisted of Ba- instead of Pa-, the consequences would have been serious.

Having proceeded so far with our mechanical arrangement, we are able to accept offers from those competent to sub-edit portions of the materials, *i.e.* to arrange them verbally, and chronologically, to sub-divide words into their meanings, and determine the order and affiliation of these, and to write trial definitions, to expedite the editor's work. The following old sub-editors have retained the materials which they had, and are carrying on their work in conformity with our new plans:—C. Y. Pott, Esq., Ledbury, letter L; J. Brown, Esq., M.A., Kendal, letter M; Mr. W. J. Crane, one of our Members, letter O to On; Mr. W. J. Anderson, Markinch, parts of P; Rev. T. H. Sheppard, B D., Exeter College, Oxon, letters U and V; Rev. J. Smallpeice, St. Bees, letters Y and Z. And the following gentlemen have responded to our request for additional sub-editors:—The Rev. G. B. R. Bousfield, Nottingham, G to Gl-; P. W. Jacob, Esq., Guildford, letters E (of which he has already finished and returned Ep to Ey), and Q; the Rev. W. J. Lowenberg, Bury, Oo to Out.

We could well entertain offers from a dozen of our members, to undertake each a portion of a *letter*, the arrangement of which they would find to be deeply interesting work, while it would also be of important service. Many hands lighten work. With their characteristic zeal, several Americans have offered to undertake sub-editing; but considering the perils of two voyages across the Atlantic, and the calamity of a loss which no insurance could cover, I have not felt at liberty to accept their help in this department.

[Since this address was delivered, E. C. Hulme, Esq., Guildford, has undertaken Cr- to Cz-; the Rev. Walter

Gregor, M.A., Pitsligo, J; the Rev. A. Fayers, Armley, Leeds, beginning of B; T. Henderson, Esq., Surrey County School, Cranleigh, end of B; Alfred Erlebach, Esq., B.A., Chard, end of A; Mr. G. A. Schrumpf, Tettenhall, beginning of H.]

In the time that I have been able to give to the permanent work of the Dictionary, I have, with Mr. Herrtage's preparatory assistance, been able to advance as far as AL- or to about 160 pp. of the first part; with the diminishing demands on our time in attending to Readers, it may, perhaps, be possible to reach the end of A during the year.

The paramount consideration that the Dictionary forces upon one's attention is the vague and indefinite extension of that body of sounds, with their associated ideas, which we call the *English Language*. The English language is not a square with definite sides containing its area; it is a circle, but a circle such as Euclid never contemplated, having as its centre a point which hath many parts, and nowhere bounded by any line called a circumference. It is a spot of colour on a damp surface, which shades away imperceptibly into the surrounding colourlessness; it is an illuminated area in a midnight landscape, whose beams practically end somewhere, though no eye hath beheld the vanishing line; it is a nebulous cluster in the field of Lord Rosse's Reflector—clear and definite and unmistakable at the centre, but whose circumference melts marginless into the surrounding nothingness, and seems to have a margin, only till we try to trace it.

This is a phenomenon which is peculiar to a living language, as distinct from a dead one, of which, or rather, of *part* of which, the symbols alone remain to us—which is peculiar to a great, cultivated, civilized language, as distinct from the scanty idiom of a barbarous tribe, isolated by mutual hostility from the other barbarous tribes around it. The written remains of a dead language must be definite in quantity, and it is merely a matter of time and diligence to include them all in the pages of a lexicon; the sounds expressing ideas used by an isolated tribe are limited in number, and may all be collected and recorded. But the language of a civilized

nation, the individuals of which are constantly growing in their knowledge of the objects, actions, and customs of other climes and other times, which objects, actions, and customs are constantly becoming the subject-matter of new *ideas*, and the theme of new discourse, is constantly adding to the sound-combinations, or *words*, by which it expresses these new ideas, and which are, indeed, the *only* means in existence for expressing them. And it is not nations as aggregates, but individuals as units, which are constantly receiving these ideas of new things, and new names for them; it is man by man that Englishmen get the idea of a *boomerang*, a *reredos*, a *caucus*, or a *tomato*, and find a use for the name of it. Thus the English language is surrounded by a vanishing penumbra of French, Italian, Spanish, Turkish, Arabic, Hindustani, Malay, Zulu, words, some of which are "English" to some Englishmen, and undreamt of to others. At which Englishman's speech does English terminate?

And the language of a civilized nation, the members of which are prosecuting philosophy, science, art, trade, or sport, in all directions, and constantly in these pursuits discovering or creating new objects, and new properties of the old, must be constantly increasing its words for these new proceeds of discovery. Some of the words of one special pursuit will remain for a longer or shorter time unknown to the votaries of another pursuit; none of us know everything, the names of the things we do not know are not parts of *our* English, but we should be bold men to make the limit of our general knowledge, the limit of the English language. The English language is surrounded by a vanishing border of special terms, scientific, technical, slang, dialectal, some of which are English to some Englishmen, and undreamt of by others. At which Englishman's speech does English terminate?

And a language like English which has well-nigh discarded all the aids or trammels of inflection, but expresses its relations between words by position, and accentual subordination, possesses a power of creating accentual-group-words or compounds, no-matter-what-you-call-thems, utterly unknown to such a language as Latin. To some Englishmen some of

these "combinations" seem to have more in them than the mere sum of their elements, they are compound *words*; to other Englishmen they are only words in grammatical collocations, unknown to the grammarian espoused to Latin accidence, who can grasp the relationship of "case" between *mare* and *sal maris*, but not that between *sea* and *sea salt*. [See note on last page.] The English language is surrounded by a vanishing border of loose and quasi compounds. Who shall say where groups begin and words terminate?

There are then three distinct directions—foreign words—special words—compounds, in which the limits of the English language are unfixed. I correct my metaphor: it is a sphere situated in space of three dimensions, with a definite, tangible centre, and a surface at *no particular* distance from it.

But our difficulty is, how is this indefinitely-extended English language to be comprehended by the definite entries of a dictionary? Clearly, *never with mathematical accuracy*. In every one of these three directions the dictionary must stop *somewhere*; the exact limits will always be matters of feeling. There will always be some things excluded which some people will think had as good a right to be in as many things that are; always some things included, which others think might have been left out with as much propriety as many that are omitted. Do we take a series of animals: *Horse*, *Camel*, *Hippopotamus*, *Ichneumon*, *Cicada*, *Salpa*, *Amœba*, *Agama*; or a series of plants: *Rose*, *Anemone*, *Camellia*, *Geranium*, *Pelargonium*, *Mesembryanthemum*, *Gymnogramma*, *Polytrichum*, *Dicranum*; where do the general words end, and the technical begin? Are *Hippopotamus* and *Geranium* English because known to every town-arab? and are *Hippopotamus* and *Geranium* in themselves more English than *Salpa* and *Dicranum*. Shall we insert *Gold*, and omit *Aluminium*, or insert *Aluminium* and omit *Magnesium*, or insert *Magnesium* but omit *Tellurium* and *Rubidium*? The answers to such questions will be different according to the view with which the answerer starts: if he leans to the theoretical, and thinks he is responsible for what he gives as

English, he will draw his line very close: he will include *Camel*, but look doubtful at *Agama*: if he leans to the practical, he will probably say, "For one person that will turn to the dictionary to learn the meaning of *Camel*, ten will turn to learn what an *Agama* is," he will incline to be as comprehensive as his limits allow. He will say, "*Agama* and *Camel* differ in two particulars: the one animal is less conspicuous and less useful than the other, therefore less widely talked about: the *Agama* has been known to Englishmen only since they settled in the West Indies, while the *Camel* has been heard of ever since Christian missionaries told heathen Teutons of Oriental scenes." Both words were once meaningless to Englishmen; both express a meaning now to those Englishmen who need to use them.

I have dwelt upon these points, because I fancy that the idea which I have brought before you is very imperfectly grasped by most people. The 'English language' is constantly spoken of, and written of, as if it were a definite number of words and constructions; and the question, whether a particular word or construction is 'English,' is constantly settled by each man according to his own feeling and usage, as if *his* English were all of English. Then we find absurd statements in books, such as that the English Language is calculated to contain 100,000 words (when 50,000 or 200,000 would be just as true), followed sometimes by a calculation as to how many of these are of native English origin, and this without definition of what is included either under "word" or "English word," so that, mathematically put, the question assumes the highly useful form of 'What is the numerical ratio between nx^8 and y^3, when x and y are both indefinite quantities?'

The historical character of the Dictionary, which aims at tracing the *formal* as well as the *ideal* development of every word from its first appearance in the language onwards, often brings up the question, what is a *word*, and what is merely a *form*? *Logically*, a *word* is a combination of sounds expressing a notion (*man*, *white*, *this*, *you*, *run*, *then*), a relation between notions (*with*, *and*), or an emotion (*pooh!*).

Distinct combinations of sounds expressing the same notion, and identical combinations of sounds expressing distinct notions, are logically distinct words. But *historically*, this combination of sounds is in a state of continuous transformation as it is echoed by generation after generation: *alimosin, ælmyssen, ælmesse, almesse, almes, alms; locally* it shows another transformation as it passes from dialect to dialect: *abicge, abeyge, abugge, abedge, abye*, were once, at a time when literary English still existed only in dialects, contemporary descendants of the O.E. *abycgan*. These are *forms* of the same word, not *different words*. Moreover, historically, the *notion, relation*, or *emotion* expressed by this changing combination of sounds is, except in the case of the names of unchanging objects (as *sun, water, foot*), and not always in the case of these (*man, wood, meat*), liable to continuous change, by the widening, narrowing, or transference of its literal application, or by figurative application to something else, till it becomes a different notion altogether (see *town, board, bulk, box, draw, turn, quick, than*). *Board* a flat piece of wood, *board* a table, *board* daily meals, *board* a managing committee, are historically not distinct words, but *senses* of the same word. *Historically*, therefore, a word is often a long series of historically and phonetically connected forms, with a long series of logically and historically related senses. Each word, thus defined, will be treated once in the Dictionary under its current, or, if obsolete, its most recent current, form, which is for our purpose its 'typical' or recognized form. All other forms (which, whenever necessary, will be inserted in the alphabetical place with a cross reference to their 'typical' form) will here be exhibited in historical order; and the various senses will be arranged in the order in which they seemed to have flowed from the primary sense, now often obsolete. This order will often be different from that of existing dictionaries, in which usually the most important modern sense is placed first, followed by the others in order of presumed importance, or in no order at all. But in numerous cases two or more of the forms assumed by the same original word become differentiated in signifi-

cation, dividing between them its original sphere of meaning or the senses to which it has since been extended. Such are *also* and *as;* in Old and Early Middle English one word, *alswa;* long afterwards in the northern dialect one word, *alse, als,* but now completely severed in *form* and *significance.* Notwithstanding earlier identity, *also* and *as* must now be treated as distinct words, though with necessary reference from the one to the other, in their *history.* The early quotations showing *alswa, alsa, also, alse, als,* must be apportioned, according to sense, between the two. Later instances of differentiation are found in *sergeant* and *serjeant, ordinance, ordnance, ordonnance.* There are also interesting instances in which such a process of differentiation began, but was arrested. Such is the verb *crack,* O. E. *cracian,* to make a noise in breaking, to break or burst with a noise, of which the regular modern form would be *crake* (comp. *macian, make, wacian, wake,* etc.). This form actually exists in the dialects, in Essex for instance, and was still in literary use two centuries ago. But in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as in the modern dialects, the tendency was to restrict *crake* to a special sense of the word, viz. 'to talk big, brag, boast,' while using *crack* (the irregular short vowel of which is due either to the conservative influence of onomatopœia, which I prefer to call *echoism,*[1] or to that of the noun *crack,* or of the Fr. *craquer, cracquer,* or of a combination of these) for the breaking sound. But although this distinction was made by Occleve, Barclay, Parker, Sackville, Udall, Lily and Bishop Hall, other writers, as Coverdale, Latimer, Becon, Burton, and Shakspere, used the single form *crack* in all the senses:

Occleve, *De Reg Princ.* l. 3092.—
"He holt his pees, and not a word dare he *crake.*"

Abp. Parker, Met vers. of Psalm xxx.—
"Thou wouldest not make my foes to *crake*
Against me iofully."

[1] *Onomatopoeia,* in addition to its awkwardness, has neither associative nor etymological application to words imitating sounds. It means *word-making* or *word-coining* and is strictly as applicable to Comte's *altruisme* as to *cuckoo. Echoism* suggests the *echoing* of a sound heard, and has the useful derivatives *echoist, echoize,* and *echoic* instead of *onomatopoetic,* which is not only unmanageable, but when applied to words like *cuckoo, crack,* erroneous, it is the voice of the cuckoo, the sharp sound of breaking, which are onomatopoetic or *word-creating,* not the echoic words which they create.

UDALL, *Ralph Royst* Doyst I 1 2 —
"All the day long in his facing and *craking*
Of his greate actes in fighting and fray-making"
LATIMER, Sermons, p 342 (1845) —
"Let us not *crack* that we profess Christ's name"

To the latter literary English adheres; though *crack*, in the sense of 'boast,' 'brag,' is now rather more at home on the race-course or at Wimbledon (a *crack* shot) than in the pulpit or the psalter.

There are also instances in which two original words, having, or in process of phonetic change receiving, the same form, and overlapping or coming into collision in their meanings, appear in modern English as merely senses of the same word. Such are *affect*=Fr *affecter*=Lat *affectari* (as, 'he *affects* ignorance of the scheme'), and *affect*, formed on Lat. *affectus*, past participle of *afficĕre* (as, 'how does that *affect* his character?'), which are treated in existing dictionaries as one word Notwithstanding modern confusion, these are historically *two* words, and in the Dictionary must be kept apart, as much as their respective nouns *affectation* and *affection*.

Mere difference of construction, however, does not make one original word into two, as when a verb is sometimes used *generally* (as, 'does your friend ride?'), sometimes restricted to a special object ('yes, he rides a donkey'), or restricted to its object by a preposition ('he rides on a hobby-horse'). The specimen appended to my last year's Address shows, I think, conclusively, that the division of *transitive* and *intransitive*, instead of being a leading one running through the class Verb, is historically subordinate even to the special senses. Ellipsis of a reflexive pronoun makes a transitive construction intransitive, ellipsis of a preposition makes this intransitive again transitive, and ellipsis of an object may make this transitive intransitive once more, without any change in the sense accompanying the change of construction. Note the series: to address a remark to the king, address yourself to the king, address to the king, address the king; to harangue the crowd, to harangue for an hour. To pick out the transitive constructions, and

put them by themselves as "ADDRESS *v. active*," with the intransitive constructions by themselves, as ADDRESS *v. neuter*, is something like commencing a scientific classification of the races of mankind, by dividing humanity first into *men in action* and *men at rest*.

When the development of the signification of a word has taken place in the language itself, the historical order (if our history is complete) is also a logical one; and in such a case there is no question as to the proper order in which the senses should follow in the Dictionary. But in some words the development has taken place in Latin or French, and instead of the primary meaning being first adopted in English, it was with one of the most abstract, dependent, or figurative that the word was first taken, for the obvious reason that this was the only sense in which English needed it. At a much later period familiarity with Latin literature and Latin thought led, perhaps, to the scholarly, or pedantic, and in time to the popular, employment of the word in its primary sense. Thus, *Ambitio* in Latin is, 1, going round; 2, *specially*, going round to electors to ask their votes, canvassing; 3, pursuit of honour or advancement generally; 4, in a bad sense, a seeking for honour by vain display; 5, in a good sense, earnest endeavour for any object. Senses 2, 3, 4, 5, all occur in English, but the early ones are 3 and 4 in which it was adopted from French; then followed 2, as a Latinism, quite independently of the early popular usage, and finally 5, as a natural extension of 3, assisted perhaps by the fact that it was similarly extended in Latin and French. Again, *Adventus* in Latin means a coming to, an arrival; in late Christian usage it was an elliptical expression for *Adventus Christi*, the coming of Christ into the world, and finally in the Ecclesiastical Calendar for the conventional *season* of this *Adventus*. In all these senses *Advent* was taken into English, but not in this order. Our language needed no foreign term for the every-day notion of *coming (to-cyme)*; but heathen Teutons had naturally no term for the period of Christ's nativity. So already in O.E. *advent* was adopted as the name of this ecclesiastical season; some centuries later it became

the appropriate title of the great arrival which the season commemorates, and by later extension of the Second Advent and the Advent of the Spirit at Pentecost; only in modern times has it been extended to the advent of any 'saviour of society' bringing 'peace with honour,' or the advent of November with its fogs and mire. Yet the last is the etymological, and in Latin the primary meaning. I might similarly show how *Agony* was at first in English a purely special term for the "sorrow unto death" in the Garden of Gethsemane, how it became extended to the *articulus mortis* or death-throw of any one, and to writhing pain or mental anguish generally, besides being used in recent centuries for a public contest, and in society slang for the painful attempt at being unnatural. In all these cases, the original or etymological development of the word is not a fact of the English language; it belongs to the history of the word before it became English; the history of the word *in* English, whether it consists of native developments or of the fresh adoption of new senses from a foreign source, must determine the order in a Dictionary which deals with the *facts* of the language. To give ADVENT first with the general sense of 'Arrival,' whence in a special sense 'the coming of the Saviour,' and by transference, 'the season of the nativity,' would be for English purely fictitious, and while ostensibly logical, really illogical. While, therefore, we must give the main place to the logical order of the senses, and never lose sight of it, there are adopted words in which it will be necessary to arrange the meanings in historical order; and even to treat what seem to be, or are vulgarly taken as, meanings of the same word, as distinct words, by virtue of their independent origin.

THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY AND SPELLING REFORM.

Apart from some important new theories as to the vowel system and morphology of the Aryan Mother-speech, on which a report will be made by Mr. Sweet, the past year has not been marked by any very notable event in the annals

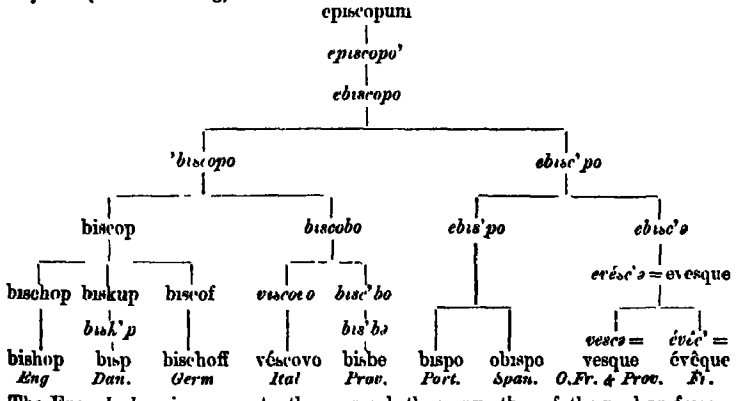
of Philology. Its most noticeable feature, perhaps, which it shares with the year preceding, has been the steady growth of scholarly opinion in favour of *Spelling Reform*, that is, in strict sense, a *re-form-ation* of the current mode of symbolizing words in writing, with a view to make this representation more truthful, and hence more effective for all its purposes. The concurrence of scholarship in favour of such reform is a necessary consequence of the more strictly scientific character of modern Philology, and the striving after exact and positive knowledge in this as in other sciences, which is indeed the striking characteristic of all modern science. Astronomers have long ceased to occupy themselves with the mere appearances of the visible firmament, and the imaginary ways in which these visible phenomena are combined into mythological figures, which delighted the star-gazers of earlier ages. The Botanist aims at something far deeper than the mere enumeration of the stamens and pistils, the petals and sepals of a flower, and its reference thereby to one or other genus or order: these sepals and petals, these 'nectaries,' and 'bracts,' and 'tendrils,' and 'scales,' which were *ultimate facts* to earlier naturalists—what are they really and in essence? what are the facts of which they are the superficial phenomena? And so the philologist with letter changes, letter droppings, letter insertions, letter transpositions: *amassem* for *amaverim*; *lotum* for *lavatum*; τυφθείς for τυφθέντς; θεοῦ for θεόσιο; *biscop, obispo, vescovo, bisbe, evesque*, for *episcopum*:[1] if these are of any moment to him, it is because they represent facts in the formal history of language; facts in the history of those physical actions by which men produce and reproduce sounds, words, and phrases. The relations of cognate languages to one another, or of a modern one to its ancient progenitor, do not consist in the replacement of letter by letter, or the enlargement or abbreviation of words by *letters*, which in the curious zoomorphic dialect of many books, *creep*

[1] The phonetic development of *Episcopum* is a good lesson in word-genealogy, such as might be roughly summarized in the following stemma, in which the words in Roman are actual spellings, and those in italics the unrecorded connecting links, to the best of my information. But of course only phonetic spelling

in, or *drop out*, or *fall away*, or develop as *parasites* on other letters; they consist in the gradual alteration of mechanical processes, or the abrupt substitution of one process by another in some respect like it, causing similar gradual or sudden changes in the sounds produced, and the words which these sounds compose. These changes, wherein the formal history of language consists, can be only very roughly represented by the best alphabetic symbols; by the worst they are concealed or totally misrepresented; we must have the very best possible, if we are to have anything like a Science of Language.

Nothing could afford a stronger proof of the general failure of what are in England called "classical" studies, to train men's minds, either to observe facts, weigh evidence, or draw deductions, than the impotent manner in which the Head Masters of the Public Schools of England have treated the appeal made to them to read the Latin language as the Romans read it, or as nearly so as scientific investigation should enable them, were not even this outdone by the undisturbed complacency with which Greek is read in the same schools, not only as no Greek ever read it, but in a way in which no language used as a vehicle of human thought ever

could show the actual details of development. I use ə for *u* in *but*, i.e. *o* on its way to *ɛ* (and to nothing).



The Eng. *bishop* is nearer to the original than any other of the modern forms, and the O.E. *biscop* only dropped the initial and final vowels of what must have been the contemporary popular Latin *ebiscopo'*. How few steps between *bishop* and *aveh'c'* (*évêque*)!

could have been read or uttered. To refer to a single point, Greek abounds in contractions: the rules for contracting its adjacent vowels, determining their accent when contracted, and the paradigms of its contracted nouns and verbs, occupy considerable space in the accidence. To *contract* means to *draw together;* yet a boy is gravely taught that *no-e* may be contracted into *noiw* (*νόε*, *νοῦ*), *crew-se-os* into *crew-sous* (*χρύσεος*, *χρυσοῦς*), and *carry-ent-si* into *carry-icy* (*χαρίεντ-σι*, *χαρίεισι*), though 'draw together' the one as tightly as he may, it will never turn into the other. This contemptuous elimination of human experience, and treatment as facts of fictions which the slightest trial shows to be false and impossible, is a part of mental training! What wonder if many men so trained never come to consider common sense and human experience as necessary ingredients in politics, law, or theology, but obsequiously accept as axioms the veriest fallacies of tradition? That shutting out foreign-grown corn should ameliorate hard times, is no less in accordance with human experience than that *meli-to-ice* should contract into *meli-touse* (*μελιτόεις*, *μελιτοῦς*), that St. Paul's Roman auditors, hearing him utter the name of *Eye-ee-sow* (save the mark!), should make no better 'shot' at imitating it than *Jee'-zew* (*Ιησοῦ'*, *Iēsū*), or that the first syllable of *ka-do* should by reduplication, *i.e.* by being said twice over, be transformed into *sesai-dye* (*ca-do*, *ce-cī-dī*).

But while traditional scholarship clings to traditional absurdity, science says if we would understand the structure and history of any language, we must first find out what that language ('tongue-action') actually was, what were the living utterances of which the symbols *cado*, *cecidi*, *'Ιησοῦ*, *Iesu* were merely the pictures? And satisfied with nothing short of this, science has a favourable regard for every improvement by which the symbols can be made with greater clearness and certainty to convey the living facts.

Moreover, the discovery of the value of popular and unwritten dialects—specimens of language in its natural living form—in revealing the processes of speech-formation and growth, in operation around us, and the impossibility of

recording or conveying to any one these dialect facts and phenomena without a minute analysis of sounds, and an accurate notation as its instrument, have made *phonetic*, that is to say *truthful*, notation absolutely necessary to every student of language. And so philologists who once, according to their lights,[1] looked askance at proposals to alter the spellings of words which in their "picturesque irregularities" spoke to them of the dilapidations of centuries, have come to see that it is only *truthful* representation which can hand down true history, and to sympathize with all attempts, the difficulties of which they certainly know better than any one else, to extend this truthful representation to existing languages.

How this has been already done in Dutch and Spanish is well known. Within the last year also some practical steps have been taken with regard to German. As every one knows, German is exceedingly well represented in writing, almost every symbol or combination of symbols having a fixed value, so that there is hardly any difficulty in *reading* the written language. But there are several cases in which the same sound has several signs, so that *spelling* is by no means so certain; and this is the imperfection for the removal of which German scholars are now exerting themselves. The following notice of this movement has been contributed by our esteemed member, Professor John Hall Gladstone, F.R.S. :—

"Owing to considerable divergence in German spelling, meetings were held in 1854, both at Hanover and Leipzig, which resulted in certain modifications of the spelling being rendered obligatory in the Hanoverian higher schools. This was followed in 1860 by Wurtemberg, which adopted a reformed orthography for its elementary as well as its upper schools; and by Austria in 1861, and Bavaria in 1866. But the changes adopted by these several States are not the

[1] See the 'light' of five-and-twenty years ago, in the tone in which phonetic spelling is deprecated by our own colleague, Archbishop Trench, in his "English Past and Present," Lecture VIII, a chapter which, in the interests of science as well as of education, we hope to see cancelled, if not reversed, by the author in a new edition.

same; and so imminent did the danger appear of having a different mode of writing and printing in different parts of Germany, that a conference of delegates from the several Governments was held at Dresden in October, 1872. This led to the Prussian Minister, Dr. Falk, proposing that a competent scholar, Professor von Raumer, should draw up a scheme; and this met with the approval of all the Governments. The scheme thus prepared was privately printed and sent to the respective Governments, and then submitted to a Ministerial Commission consisting of von Raumer and eleven other educationists, together with a printer and a publisher. The Commission met in January, 1876, and approved of the scheme, with certain modifications; and a report of the whole proceedings has been drawn up and printed. The proposals of the Commissioners are now before the German nation for criticism, and have further unfolded themselves in various schemes, of which may be noted Dr. Fricke's advocacy of a radical reform on purely phonetic principles.

"Nothing decisive had however been done, until recently the great publishing firm, Breitkopff and Hartel, asked a well-known philologist, Dr. Daniel Sanders, to construct a spelling which might be used by publishers in general from the material in hand. This roused the Prussian Minister of Education, von Puttkamer; a correspondence ensued; the Governments of Austria and Bavaria meanwhile took the matter up, issued certain decrees; and the final outcome has been a decree of von Puttkamer, dated 21st of January last, and the introduction of the 'New Prussian Orthography,' 'Rules and Vocabulary for German Spelling for the Use of Prussian Schools,' by Dr. Willmanns, and made obligatory in all elementary schools from the commencement of April. The main feature of this improved spelling is the omission of all superfluous signs indicating the lengthening of a syllable; the substitution of *f* for *ph*, the determination of the sound of *s* hard and soft, the use of *ss*, the doubling of consonants, etc.

As Hitherto.	New Spelling.
Abstract	Abstrakt
Act	Akt
Armuth	Armut
Elephant	Elefant
Irrthum	Irrtum
todt, tödten	tot, töten
Werth	Wert.

"The use of *h* as indicative of vowel-lengthening is only retained in *root-syllables;* for example: Hohle, Kehle, Mehl, Stahl, etc.

"Specific rules concerning foreign words; thus, the sound *oa* by the French *oi:* Memoiren, Toilette, etc. The sound *a* by the French *e:* Appartement, Emballage, Pension, etc.

"These slight reforms in the spelling of the German language are, however, considered by some of the foremost linguists, Dr. Duden, Dr. Lattmann, Dr. Fricke, and others, as very inadequate, and pamphlets by various authorities, notably 'Protest gegen die neue Reichs-Orthographie,' by One of the People (Bremen, 1880), have already appeared, advocating thorough reform, the exclusive use of the Roman letters, certain modifications in the use of capital letters. A petition has been presented to the German Reichstag very recently, of which a copy was laid on the table of the House, and also forwarded to each member of the Reichstag, on behalf of the 'Algemeinen ferein für fereinfachte deutsche rechtschreibung,' calling attention to the incomplete and imperfect nature of the recent Government spelling reform, and demanding further action in the matter, especially the periodical adjustment of any discrepancy between pronunciation and spelling, whenever such occur and are noticed.

"There is little doubt that ere long further steps will be taken by the Government in order to bring about perfect unity of spelling among the German people, on the now recognised phonetic principle.

"Notwithstanding the action taken by the Prussian Minister of Education in advancing on the path of spelling

reform, Prince Bismarck has taken an opposite course, disapproving of the matter, and has even gone as far as inflicting fines on subordinates who corresponded in the improved style of spelling.

"The improved spelling has already, we believe, been adopted by the *Kolnische Zeitung* in every part of the paper, by the *Nord-Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, and will no doubt obtain gradual adoption in other newspapers and periodicals."

In the United States the question has been practically raised in connexion with the large number of illiterate persons revealed by the Census, and the realization of the exorbitant proportion of the learning-time of youth that is spent in the mere mastery of the clumsy tool of the current spelling. Our American cousins are above all practical; moreover, they wish to have their whole people educated as highly as possible: they have no dread of "over-educating the masses," and making them "unfit for their position"; and the question of how to do this with the greatest economy of time has become an intensely practical one; on all hands the cry is that the radical evil is in the writing itself, which ought to be made regular and phonetic. The philologists have concurred in this feeling, and an Association has been formed to devise a satisfactory spelling with an extended alphabet, as well as to suggest such partial changes in the right direction as may be immediately put in practice. Several of the State Legislatures have taken the matter up, and it does not require much prescience to see that, whether England does so or not, the Americans will ere long adopt an amended spelling. And as the United States will possess before the end of this century a population of one hundred millions, and be the centre of gravity of the English-speaking world, it is clear that their action in this matter is big with issues for the English of the future.

But England is stirring, in a slow, lumberly, and timorous fashion. Here also the matter has become a practical one in

connexion with education, and the waste of national resources incurred in the attempt to make child after child commit to memory the 20,000 contradictory facts of our present spelling. You are aware of the memorial presented to the Education Department by 130 School Boards praying for a Royal Commission in the matter, of the action of the Social Science Association in passing resolutions in favour of reformation, and in especial of the use of an alternative spelling for the purposes of instruction, of the formation of a Spelling Reform Association to advance the movement. The Association has recently made a collection of proposed schemes of Spelling Reform, as a first step, it may be presumed, towards uniting suffrages, if possible, in favour of that which seems most practicable.

My own opinion is that, at present and for a long time to come, until indeed the general principles of phonology are understood by men of education, no complete or systematic scheme of Spelling Reform has the least chance of being adopted in this country, and I do not think that the promulgation or advocacy of such bears any practical fruit. I wish it were otherwise, but we must look at facts and existing conditions, and at the lessons of experience. And the latter seem to me to afford abundant proof that partial and progressive reforms in accordance with well-established existing analogies can be introduced and carried through. The whole history of written language is the record of such gradual and partial reformation. We know for instance what was done about 1500 by the systematic application of *ea* and *ee* to distinguish two sounds formerly both expressed by long *e*, and the analogous adoption of *oa* and *oo* for the two sounds of long *o*. And the slightest glance at the orthography of Shakspere, Bunyan, or a Bible of the seventeenth century, will show even the most ignorant[1] what an immense amount of

[1] Even the leader-writers in the daily papers, some of whom have lately been playing the blind leader of the blind to perfection on this point. Witness the reckless plunges of a writer in the *Daily News* of 10th September, 1880, and his horror of "being cut adrift from Shakespeare, and Milton, and Dryden, and Swift, and Burke, under penalty of seeing the words of these authors transmuted into jargon." As a regular reader of the *Daily News*, who was ashamed of the

spelling reform has been done since then. Thus to take at random a single instance, Psalm cvi. (48 v.) as printed in 1611 differs in 116 spellings from that printed in 1879, and the first chapter of Genesis as now printed differs in 135 spellings from the *same version* as printed in 1611. One hundred and thirty-five differences in thirty-one verses! though the same version word for word. Yet there are people—some certainly *fools only, but some I fear knaves*—who, when spelling reform is mentioned, shriek, "You are going to alter our language! Keep your uncircumcised hands off the language of Milton, and Shakspere, and our English Bible!" the fools not knowing, and the knaves pretending not to know, that the spelling in which they read these works is already a greatly re-formed spelling, though in more points than one "improved very much the wrong way." Indeed, one of the most important spelling-reforms accomplished in English, which practically resulted in the addition of another letter to the alphabet,[1] was made about 1630; I refer to the reform in the use of *u* and *v*, whereby, in opposition to the usage of all past ages, *u* was made a vowel, and *v* a consonant, so that "*Reuiue vs, saue vs from euil, leaue vs not vnto our selues*" was changed to "Revive us, save us from evil, leave us not unto ourselves." It is to be regretted that in thus making *v* a consonant, the silent and thenceforth useless[2] *e* which followed the old *u* in *leaue*, *haue*, *liue*, etc., was not dropped; and still more that in the subsequent simplification of the *form of ſ, s, one of the forms should have been entirely* rejected, instead of being economized, as in *u*, *v*, for one of the sounds of *s*, or used as a character for *sh*. But all these instances show that partial reform, even such as

paper that day, I should contribute to a fund to present the editorial staff with a facsimile of the *first folio*, or even of Mr. Furnivall's *quartos*, so as to keep them within hailing distance of Shakspere's own "jargon" (it that be the penny-a-linish for "*different spelling*") from which they are already so far adrift without knowing it.

[1] For *v* and *u* were up to that date only forms of the same letter having a position-rank, like long *ſ* and short *s*.

[2] Up to that time it had a meaning, giving the spelling-rule, '*u* final is a vowel, but *u* before a vowel is a consonant', when the consonant was written *v*, the following *e* was no longer needed to distinguish it.

largely alters the familiar appearance of a word, as '*salver*' for '*faluer*,' has been, and may again be, accomplished; and I am convinced that if a well-considered series of such partial reforms were prepared and recommended in successive stages to the public, a great deal might be done, not merely to remove the most glaring anomalies in the spelling at present current, but to prepare the public mind ultimately for the consistent application of phonetic principles.

It seems to me, therefore, that the Philological Society, representing the English scholarship of the country, might very properly respond to the numerous appeals made to it from Britain and America, to make some declaration on the subject, by preparing and issuing a list of amended spellings recommended for use instead of those at present employed. Mr. Sweet is now engaged on a work which gives him special facilities of comparing whole classes of symphonic words with each other and their earlier forms; and I think the Society might usefully ask him to prepare and submit to us a list of the words, the spelling of which might, with advantage, be altered In any such first list I would confine the alterations almost entirely to the omission of such letters as are both unphonetic and unhistoric, and for which no so-called etymological plea can be submitted; including also a few words of which an older form, familiar to all students of English literature, might well be substituted for the baser one at present current.

For example, let us recommend the uniform dropping of final or inflexional silent *e*, where it does not serve the now recognized function of lengthening a vowel, writing, *hear*, *hears*, *heard*, *hat*, *sels* (cf. the pair *self sels*, with *wife wives*, and the consequent simplification of grammar rules), *hir*, *his*, *hod* (thus distinguished from *hue*, *hues*), *heros*, *potatos* (like *zeros*, *tomatos*), *cleard* (like *clears*), *eatn* (like *torn*), *fastn* (so distinct from *hāsten*), *showd* pairing with *shown*, *praid*, *plaid*, as already in *laid*, *lain*. Along with these let us recommend the restoration of the historical *-t* after breath consonants, which printers during the past century have industriously perverted to *-ed*, writing *fetcht*, *blusht*, *pickt*, *drest*, *winkt*, like

points which I have mentioned, and thus preserve unity among the ranks of those who aim at a perfectly written English of the future.

I need hardly add that my Dictionary experience has already shown me that the ordinary appeals to Etymology against spelling reform utterly break down upon examination. The etymological information supposed to be enshrined in the current spelling is sapped at its very foundation by the fact that it is, in sober fact, oftener wrong than right, that it is oftener the fancies of pedants or sciolists of the Renascence, or monkish etymologers of still earlier times, that are thus preserved, than the truth which alone is ἐτυμολογία. From the fourteenth century onwards, a fashion swept over French and English of refashioning the spelling of words after the Latin ones, with which rightly or wrongly they were supposed to be connected; and to such an extent has this gone that it is, in nine cases out of ten, now impossible, without actual investigation, to form any correct opinion upon the history of these words—the very thing which the current spelling is supposed to tell us. The real history is recovered only by marshalling the phonetic spellings of earlier days, as the Philological Society's Dictionary will enable every one to do, piercing through the mendacious spellings of later times to the phonetic facts which they conceal or falsify, and thus reaching a genuine ἐτυμολογία. The traditional and pseudo-etymological spellings of the last few centuries are the direst foes with which genuine etymology has to contend; they are the very curse of the etymologist's labour, the thorns and thistles which everywhere choke the golden grain of truth, and afford satisfaction only to the braying asses which think them as good as wheat. Who could tell from *Almoner*, that the word was an adoption of the O.Fr. *aumonier*, that on English soil it developed as *aumoner*, *aumener*, *aumner*, *amner*; that this regular form of the sixteenth century was laid hold of by the pedants, and refurbished as *almner*, *almener*, to its present form, and that during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it was "etymologically spelled" as *almosner*, *aulmosiner*, *aumosner*, *almoiner*,

almoigner, almoygnor, and in ten other wonderful ways? What true history is contained in a series like *armarium, armarie, almarie* (by differentiation from following *r*, like *peregrinum, pelegrino, pilgrim*), *almerie, aulmerie, aumerie* (like *falta, faulte, faute*), *aumry, aumbry,* (like *slumere, slumber*), *ambry* (like *chaunt, chant*), and how much would be lost had it been constantly written *armary* or *almery*, as we actually sometimes see it! If any one would see how "etymological" spelling has attacked a devoted word, let him look at the spellings of the word *Ambassador*, introduced in the fifteenth century as *Embassadour*, and becoming with retraction of accent in sixteenth century *embassador, embassader*, but which appears also with the artificial spellings after Fr., It., Sp., and med. Lat., as *ambassiatour, ambassatour, ambassadour, ambassador, ambassiadour, ambaxatour, embassatour, embassitour, embasitour, embassetour, enbassitour, enbassytour, enbasetore, enbassatour, inbassetour, embaxiatour, embasseatoure, embassytor, embassitour(e), imbassitor, imbassotor, imbassator, imbasodor;* of which *ambaxatour* is the most etymological (coming nearest to mid. Lat. *ambactiator, ambaxiator*), and *embassader* the most truly English. The inconsistency of the current *ambassador* side by side with *embassy*, and *embassage*, is obvious.

Ever since men began to copy and to translate, there has been a tendency to imitation of the spelling of earlier times or of earlier languages; the principle that "the spelling shows the word" cannot, since 1400 at least, be practically affirmed of any *one* spelling: rather is it true that the *word* can be deduced from the *many* spellings which since that period have been used at the same time for almost every word. Spelling has regularly lagged behind pronunciation, for the obvious reason that as the latter changed, it took time for each change to be recognized as legitimate and respectable, and men went on writing the old form of the word, while they heard around them, and perhaps themselves used, even while repudiating, the new.[1] With the very best spelling it seems

[1] The great variety of spelling which one finds in every century has somewhat altered my opinions on some of the minutiæ of English phonology. I should not talk so certainly as once I might have done, on what was the *real* M.E. form of

to me that this would happen still; and a consideration of it as one of the practical conditions of all writing helps us to define in some measure the extent to which phonetics ought to be practically applied. Spelling will always lag a certain way behind actual speech, especially the careless, lawless, speech of familiar conversation. In my opinion, therefore, it is futile to aim at representing this in practical spelling; let us aim at providing a means of spelling what men *mean* to say, *aim* at saying, and in measured or formal speech or song *do* say, not at the shortcomings which, though inseparable from speech, are none the less unintentional, and to be discouraged. Every system of writing, except one on a purely physiological basis, like Mr. Melville Bell's Visible Speech, must be not merely conventional, but even to some extent inconsistently conventional; we shall do well if we can arrive at the stage of writing English in a way that shall practically represent the ideal of speech to which all educated Englishmen approximate, though none may reach it, and which is as far removed from the slurred or imperfect utterance of the average Londoner (which seems to be the cynosure that attracts some authors of proposed systems), as it is from the archaic or even semi-foreign pronunciation of distant provinces. This bears I think upon such matters as the representation of the obscure and unaccented vowels; in this especially I would refer with approbation to the early phonetic work of Mr. Ellis, and to the principle still maintained by Mr. Pitman (though I differ from him in several of its applications) of writing the sounds which educated men aim at producing, not at those which men in a hurry actually succeed in producing. If the reader aim at the former, he may be trusted always to reach the latter; if he aim only at the latter, he will soon fall short even of them, and want a still newer spelling for his still more defective

any word; nor would I place so much weight as my friend Mr Sweet for instance might do on the dialectal value of æ instead of e in a word, or on the importance of any isolated spelling Of course men tried to write phonetically, but we need not suppose that their efforts were very much more successful than those of ordinary men trying to do the same now, and at all times it is apparent that men thought of the sense first and the sound after, and that they had no scruple to sacrifice exact phonetism, if they could thereby express their sense more distinctly.

utterances. But I have said enough to commend the question of spelling reform to the careful consideration of the Society, as well as to indicate my own opinion of its useful extent, and of the best means of introducing it, and I have now to call your attention to two branches of Philology far removed from these questions of to-day, on which reports have been contributed by two of my predecessors in this chair, Mr. Henry Sweet and Rev. Dr. Morris, to whom my best thanks, as well as the thanks of the Society, are due for thus diversifying the bill of fare.

RECENT INVESTIGATIONS OF THE INDOGERMANIC VOWEL-SYSTEM.

"The complete revolution which has been made during the last few years in our views on the vowel-system of the parent Indogermanic language is, perhaps, the most important event that has happened in the history of comparative philology since its foundation. A strong presumption in favour of the new views is afforded by the fact that they have suggested themselves spontaneously and independently to a number of investigators, whose results have mutually confirmed and supplemented one another. These scattered investigations have now been summed up in a thoroughly critical spirit by a young Swiss philologist, Ferdinand de *Saussure*, in his *Mémoire sur le Système Primitif des Voyelles dans les langues Indo-européennes* (Leipsic, 1879), where he himself makes further original contributions of the highest value. Simultaneously with Saussure's book there appeared Friedrich *Kluge's Beitraege zur geschichte der germanischen conjugation* (Strassburg, 1879), in which several of Saussure's results are arrived at independently, Kluge's book containing a general sketch of the Indogermanic vowel-system as an introduction to its special subject. For general purposes the work is superseded by Saussure's. The earlier essays of Brugman, Osthoff and others, which opened up the investigation, were noticed by me in my Address for 1878.

"When Sanskrit was found to oppose a uniform *a* to the

gradation *e*, *o* in Greek (less perfectly preserved in Latin) in such words as *phérō*, *phóros*, *hippos*, *hippe*=Sanskrit *b'árāmi*, *b'ára*, *áçvah*, *açva*,[1] it seemed most in keeping with the superior antiquity of Sanskrit to assume that its uniformity represented the primitive state of things, and that the variety in the other languages was the result of later independent development in each of them. Then came the important discovery of *Curtius* (1864) that the *e*=Sanskrit *a* appears in the same words in all the European languages, and consequently cannot have developed independently in each, but must be referred to a common European parent-language. *Amelung* (1871) was the first to carry back the distinction between European *e* and the other *a*-sounds to parent Indogermanic, but the real foundations of the present views were first laid by *Brugman* (1878), who carried back both *e* and *o* into the primitive Indogermanic vowel-system, hinting also at the necessity of admitting several other varieties of *a* as well. The primitive vowels answering to *e* and *o* were written a_1 and a_2 respectively by Brugman, a notation still generally followed. As it is tolerably certain that their real sounds were those in the English *man* and *not*, I shall write them (æ) and (o) respectively.

(æ)-series.

"Every syllable containing (æ) is capable both of *weakening* and *gradation*, unmodified (æ) itself representing the *strong* or normal stage.

"The strong (æ) appears only in originally accented syllables, as in Greek *phérō*, *génos*, *spérma*, *méthu*, Latin *fero*, *genus*, *tegmen*, *pecus*, Sanskrit *b'árāmi*, *jánah*, *d'árman*, *páçu*. That Sanskrit *a*=European *e* must within a comparatively late period have been a palatal vowel is proved by the regular change of *k* before it into the palatal *c*, as in *páñca*=Greek *pénte*, *k* remaining unchanged before Sanskrit *a*=European *o*.

[1] In my transcription of Sanskrit I denote the 'sonant *h*' both alone and as part of the 'sonant aspirates' by (') , keeping *h* for the visarga, which I always write where required by the phonetic laws of the language.

"The *weak* stage is confined to unaccented syllables, and consists in the expulsion of the (æ) wherever practicable. Thus Sanskrit *kárōmi*, root (kær), appears in the past passive participle as *krtá*, with syllabic *r*. So also *kalp*=(kælp) has the participle *klptá*. These syllabic liquids are now referred to the parent Indogermanic language, instead of being regarded as a weakening peculiar to Sanskrit. In the European languages syllabic *r* has been resolved into a consonantal (non-syllabic) *r* accompanied by a distinct vowel. The following are the combinations which correspond to syllabic *r* in the chief European languages (Saussure, p. 7):

Greek: *ar, al; ra, la.*
Latin: *or, ul* (*ol*).
Germanic: *or, ol.*

"The following are examples: Greek *édrakon*=Sanskrit *ádrçam*, from *dérkomai*, *tarpṓmetha* from *térpō*, *blastós*=*wrdd'á;* Latin *fors*=*b'rti*, *cord-*='*rd*, *pulsus* from *pello;* Germanic *boranás* Old English *boren*, from *beran* (cp. Sanskrit *b'rtá*); *wólfa*, O.E. *wulf*=Sanskrit *wṛka* (originally *wṛká*).

"The original syllabic nasals have been lost everywhere. The following are the sounds which correspond to original syllabic *n* and *m* respectively in the different languages:

Sanskrit: *a a.*
Greek: *a a.*
Latin: *en em.*
Germanic: *un um.*

"Examples are: Sanskrit *tatá*, Greek *tatós*, Latin *tentus*= original *tntá* from the root *tæn;* Sanskrit *mati*, Latin *men(ti)s*, Germanic *gamundiz* (O.E. *gemynd*) from *mæn;* Sanskrit *daça*, Greek *déka*, Latin *decem*, Germanic *tehun*=*dékm.*

"There remain, lastly, the words with a diphthong in the strong form, such as Greek *eimi*, Sanskrit *émi*, whose weak form shows the simple vowel, as in the plural *imen* (with shifting of the original accent), Sanskrit *imáh*, the original forms being (æimi) and (imás). It is evident that the treatment of the diphthongic vowel is perfectly parallel to

that of the liquids, (æi) being equivalent to (æj), so that the older view of (æi) being the result of the diphthongic strengthening of *i* must be reversed: *i* is a weakening of (æi), which consists in dropping the (æ). Other examples of weakened (æi) are the Latin *dictus* from the strong *deicō*, Latin *fidimus*, Teutonic *bitum*, Sanskrit *bib'idimá*, the strong form being (b'æid), preserved in the Germanic *bītan*. Examples of weakened (æu) are Sanskrit *budd'á*, Greek *pustós*, Germanic *bodaná* (O.E. *boden*), from the strong (b'æud'), preserved in Sanskrit *bódhāmi*, Germanic *beudan* (O.E. *béodan*).

"Although there can be no doubt of the loss of the (æ) in the weak *i* of *imas*, the exact nature of the process is by no means self-evident. The general hypothesis seems to be that the (æ) was dropped bodily. But this will not bear examination. It is quite impossible that the full stress-vowel should be dropped and the subordinate element of the diphthong retained, and the most probable explanation seems to be that unaccented (æi) underwent a gradual approximation of its elements, ending in monophthongization and shortening, thus—(æi), (ei), (ī), (i). So also with (æu), which would naturally pass through (ou) and (ū) into (u). The same reasoning applies also, though in a less degree, to the liquid-combinations. Unaccented (ær) would pass through (ər) with the neutral vowel into (r̄), whence simple (r). (æn) would first weaken its *n* into a nasalization of the vowel, and the resulting (æ*n*), or rather (ǣ*n*), would, in accordance with well-known tendencies, be deepened into (ā*n*), whence (a*n*) and the Greek and Sanskrit (a), although the Latin *en* points rather to (æ*n*).

"These considerations had suggested themselves to me some time before I found the same view expressed in H. Moeller's review of Kluge's book in *Englische Studien* (iii, 1, p. 151 note). Moeller remarks: 'The weak stage before consonants resulted probably not from 'dropping of the a_1', but from shortening after previous contraction, so that *i* and *u* would be shortenings of *ē* and *ō*, themselves contractions of a_1i and a_1u in unaccented syllables.'

"Where æ is flanked with stopped consonants, the (æ) is retained in the weak stage, thus in Greek the weak *skeptós* has the same vowel as the strong *sképtomai*, and the Germanic participle *gebaná* (O.E. *giſen*) retains the strong vowel of the infinitive *géban*. But if the (æ) can be dropped, it disappears without leaving any trace, as in the conjugation of the verb substantive: *ásmi, smási, stá, sjắm*, Greek *skhein* from *ékhō*=*sékhō*, *ptésthai* from the root (pæt). I am inclined to believe that it was originally dropped everywhere, and only introduced again by the analogy of the strong forms.

"We now come to (ɔ), the *gradation* of (æ). Wherever we find *e* and *o* alternating in the same root in Greek (and Latin), the latter must be assumed to be the gradation (steigerung) of the former. This vague term is preferable to 'strengthening' or any more precise one, as it does not commit us to any theory of the origin of (ɔ), which is still uncertain. (ɔ) occurs in perfects, such as Greek *gégona, dédorka, ɛoika*, whose presents have the forms *gen, derk*, (*ϝ*)*eik* with the normal (æ); in Latin we still find such perfects as *tetondi, memordi*, the hypothetical older presents *tendo, merdo* being lost. (ɔ) occurs in a large number of nouns, such as Greek *gónu, nóstos, tonos*, Latin *forma*. In Sanskrit (ɔ) appears in the form of *ā* in open, *a* in close syllables, as in *jagắna*= Greek *géyona, jắnu*=*gonu, dadárça*=*dédorka*.

"There is also the important alternation of (æ) and (ɔ) in endings, as in Sanskrit and Greek *wá'āmah, ékhomeɴ, wá'anti, ékhonti, wá'atha, ékhete, áçwah, hippos, áçwam, hippon, áçɯa, hippe*.

"These inflectional alternations of (æ) and (o) are evidently dependent (partly, at least) on the character of the following consonants, (ɔ) appearing before a nasal.

"There are no traces of such consonantal influences on the development of (ɔ) in root-syllables. (ɔ), unlike the strong and the weak stage, appears also to be independent of the accent, occurring, at least as far as our present evidence goes, in accented and unaccented syllables equally.

weakenings which in most cases practically amounted to its entire disappearance.

"The most important fact about (ɔ) is its *length* in Sanskrit, which has suggested to me the following theory: originally the parent Indogermanic language had only one vowel, *a*, which under certain circumstances (when unaccented (?)—of course after the development of syllabic *r*, etc.) was afterwards lengthened into *ā*, and then rounded into (ɔɔ), as in English *fall*, all the short *a*s being at the same time palatalized into (æ), as in the English *man*; the difference between original *a* and *ā* being now qualitative as well as quantitative, the (ɔɔ) into which the latter had developed was shortened into (ɔ), first in close syllables, as in Sanskrit, and then everywhere, as in the European languages; we have a direct proof that Sanskrit *a*=(æ) was a direct development from the latter, and for *ā*=(ɔɔ) we have only to assume that unrounding of which there are many examples in living languages."

Pâli.

"In the Anniversary Address for 1875, Mr. Rhys Davids gave us a very interesting and almost complete summary of the work done by Pâli philologists up to that date, leaving very little for any one else to contribute.

"To add completeness to Mr. Rhys Davids's report, I notice the following omissions:—

"1. *Textes tirés du Kandjour*, by M. L. Feer. These are of more value to Thibetan than to Pâli students; but part viii. (1869) contains the conversion of *Nandopananda* in Pâli (Siamese characters); part ix. contains the *Daharasutta* (*Le soûtra de l'enfant*) from the *Sanyutta Nikâya* (in Burmese characters); part x. gives us the *Dhamma-cakka-pavattana*; and the last part (1871) contains the *Mahâmangalasutta* (*Stances de Bénédiction*).

"2. *Extraits du Paritta, textes et commentaires en Pâli*, par M. Grimblot, *avec introduction, traduction, notes et notices* par M. L. Feer. Paris, 1872. There is a reprint of Gogerly's

papers on *Pirit* in the April, May, and September numbers of the *Ceylon Friend* for 1879.

"3. *Declension and Conjugation of Pâli Words, with Âkhyâta Vyâkhyâ, or Explanations of Conjugation*, by H. Sumangala. Edited by M. Gunaratana, priest. Ceylon, 1873.

"4. *Rûpamâlâ, or Vibhaktyartha Prakasini*, edited by M. Sumanda Terunnanse, of Madiarawe. Colombo, 1873. In the short preface to this work, the editor quaintly observes that Pâli is 'the language of Magadha, the original language of the world, in which all the Gods, Brahmas, and Buddhas converse.'

"The best work however on Pâli grammar published in Ceylon is *Nâmamâlâ*, in Sinhalese, by Waskaduwe Subhuti (1876). It is accompanied by a most valuable preface, in which the reader will find almost everything he wants to know about Pâli grammarians.

"But during the last five years Pâli scholarship has not been at a standstill. The few labourers in this field of study have not been idle, and they have contributed much to our knowledge both of the Pâli language and of Buddhist literature. Students have now a very good and serviceable working dictionary by the late Professor Childers, whose valuable work was finished some few months before his death (July, 1876).

"But though only five years have elapsed since the completion of this great and important contribution to Pâli lexicography, a new dictionary, or at least an extensive supplement to the one we already possess, is very desirable for several reasons:—

"1. Childers's dictionary is wanting in the historical treatment of words. A number of meanings are heaped together, followed by few or many references, as the case may be, but no attempt is made either to connect these with the root-meaning, or to establish the various shades of meanings by exact quotations.

"2. Not only is a more scientific method required as regards the treatment of each individual word, but also a more philosophical arrangement in the alphabetic distribution

of the vocables. A new dictionary will no doubt follow the plan adopted by Sanskrit lexicographists.

"3. Childers's dictionary contains numerous references to works that cannot be considered as Pâli texts, such as Alwis's *Introduction to Kaccâyana's Grammar*, Burnouf's *Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, Gogerly's *Evidences and Doctrines of the Christian Religion*, Hardy's *Eastern Monachism*, etc., and some other works that are now becoming rare.

"4. New texts have been published since Childers completed his labours, and they contain numerous and important additions to lexicography. Childers has *âpadâ*, but omits *âpâ*. Cf. *âpâsu* in *Jâtaka*, vol. ii. p. 317.

"5. Scholars have now more easy access to Pâli MSS. of the sacred and non-canonical books of the Buddhists; and it would not be a very difficult task for such ripe scholars as the editors of the *Jâtaka Book*, the *Vinaya Pitaka*, the *Milinda-pañha*, or the author of *Buddhism*, to furnish us with a very complete and scientific Pâli lexicon. Their stores—the accumulation of years—must be immense, and we hope that we shall not have to wait very long for such a desirable production.

"I have no desire, however, of attempting the ungrateful task of magnifying the defects of Childers's great work. We owe to it a debt of gratitude, for by it a royal road has been provided for Pâli. There are many students of the Buddhist scriptures who have commenced the study of Pâli with no preliminary knowledge of Sanskrit, and they could not get on at all without the aid of the dictionary.

"There is plenty of room for philological discussions in Pâli. Childers shows us that the Pâli *sammâ* is equivalent to the Sanskrit *samyak* ('fully,' 'truly'), and that before a vowel it becomes *sammad* instead of *sammag*. He has omitted however to notice an analagous form *anvâ* contained in *anvad eva* (cf. *sammad eva*), which must be compared with Sanskrit *anvak* (acc. of *anu-añch*). The word seems to be of rare occurrence; it appears in the first chapter of the *Magga-saṁyuttaṁ* (the first section of the fifth part of the *Saṁyutta Nikâya*, Phayre MS. fol. *tha. a*, l. 5, India Office Library):

'*Avijjâ, bhikkave, pubbaṅgamâ akusalânam dhammânam samâpattiyâ anvad-eva ahirikam anottappam;*' which may be thus freely rendered, 'Ignorance, brethren, is the principal thing that leads to the acquisition of sinful habits, along with shamelessness (which manifests itself in outward deportment) and hardness of heart (that renders its possessor reckless and fearless in committing wrongful deeds).'

"Pâli *is a sister of* Sanskrit, *and though a* Prâkrit dialect, has forms that may be compared to Vedic Sanskrit. Thus, the Vedic *tiro-ahnya* 'more than one day old' may be compared to the Pâli *tero-vassiko* 'more than a year old.' Childers has not registered this word, but it occurs in the *Sattipaṭṭhâna-sutta*, of which I shall have more to say hereafter.

"Baṭuwân Tuḍâwa's valuable text of this Sutta, printed in Sinhalese characters, wrongly reads *therovassikâni*[1] (see the *Navasîvathika* section), but the learned Buddhist editor correctly explains it in his glossary, and his explanation is borne out by the Commentary, which renders *therovassikâni* by *atikkantasaṁvaccharâni*.

"Pâli sometimes gives us valuable cognates. Thus, the causative of the Sanskrit *paribhû*, is matched by the Pâli form *paribhâvetum*,[2] 'to round off,' 'to complete.' It is not registered by Childers, but there is a good instance of its use in the *Mahâparinibbâna-sutta*, p. 8.

"Pâli has many independent formations that are not to be met with in later Sanskrit, as *upalâpeti* 'to cajole' 'talk over' (cf. Sansk. *upa-vad*), *upalâpanam* 'diplomacy'[3] (cf. *Mahâparinibbâna-sutta*, p. 4; *Milindapañha*, p. 117; *Mahâvagga*, p. 119; *Jât.* ii. 266), *apilâpeti*, 'to repeat;' *apilâpanaṁ*, 'repetition' (*Milindapañha*, p. 37); *samsîdati* = *osîdati* = *nimujjati* (*Jâtaka*, ii. p. 293, l. 14).

"But other works have been completed besides the Pâli dictionary we have already noticed. The pandits of Ceylon

[1] This faulty reading is in more than one Sinhalese MS., but the Burmese MSS. have *terovassikâni*.

[2] Sanskrit *paribhâv* signifies 'to make known.'

[3] See "The duties of a King" in *Yâjñavalkya Smṛiti*, vv. 345-347.

have edited the second part of the *Mahâvaṁsa*, with Sinhalese translation. It is of much value as a historical production, but being written in very modern Pâli, is not of such interest as the Piṭaka texts.

"The *Dîpavaṁsa*, the oldest history of Ceylon, written in the fourth century of our era, was edited last year in a most scholarly manner by Dr. Oldenberg, who has enhanced the value of his text by a very excellent translation.

"The *Dîpavaṁsa* (iv. 14, 15) gives us the ninefold or *anga* division of the Buddhistic Scriptures, which is exactly the same as that given a century later by *Buddhaghosa* in his commentary on the *Dîgha-Nikâya*, called the *Sumangala Vilâsinî*. The Northern Buddhists at one time recognized, according to Burnouf, a similar arrangement of their sacred books.

"It has hitherto been unnoticed that this same *anga* classification occurs in the Piṭaka texts. I have met with it several times in the *Anguttura-Nikâya*. It occupies a prominent place in the *Puggala-vagga* (Section 4 of the *Anguttura*), and in the *Saññâ-vagga* (Section 5). The *Anguttura-Nikâya* is evidently a late collection or recension, and the suttas containing this ninefold division must have been written *after* the sacred books had been finally settled. The mention of the Dhutangas in the *Araññaka* sutta seems to point to a time when Buddhism was deteriorating.

"I have since found a reference to the *anga* division in the *Cattâro puggalâ* section of the *Puggalapaññatti*, one of the Abhidhamma books.[1]

"It is alluded to also in the *Buddhavaṁsa* (l. 967), in the passage that treats of the history of Kassapa, the 24th Buddha.

"'Na kvaci parihâyâmi pûresim Jinasâsanaṁ
Yâvatâ Buddhabhaṇitaṁ *navaṅgaṁ* satthu-sâsanaṁ
Sabbaṁ pariyâpunitvâ sobhayiṁ Jinasâsanaṁ.'
(Phayre MS. fol. jî. a. 2).

"Under the title of *Pâli Studies*, Major G. E. Fryer,

[1] See my letter to the "Academy" of August 21st, 1880, and that of Prof. Max Muller for August 28th, 1880.

Deputy Commissioner, British Burmah, has published two useful and carefully edited little works. The first, published at Calcutta in 1875, is entitled 'Analysis and Pâli Text of the Subodhâlañkâra, or Easy Rhetoric, by Sangharakkhita Thera.'

"The author, Moggallâna who is here called the 'protected of the congregation,' was a Pâli grammarian and lexicographer who flourished in Ceylon towards the close of the twelfth century.[1] His work, consisting of five chapters, is based upon the well-known Sanskrit work on rhetorical composition, entitled the Sâhitya-Darpana, or Mirror of Composition, by Viśwanathâ Kavirâja.

"Moggallâna is the author of Major Fryer's second Pâli text, the Vuttodaya (Exposition of Metre), published at Calcutta in 1877. This edition contains translation and useful explanatory notes.

"The Pâtimokkha, the Buddhist office of the Confession of Priests, has been edited with translation and notes by J. F. Dickson, M.A. It first appeared in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. There is also a Sinhalese text published in Ceylon in 1875, entitled *Bhikkhu Pâti-mokkham.*

"In vol. xi. of this Journal will be found some interesting fragments of the late Professor Childers on Sandhi in Pâli.

"Dr. Richard Pischel has given us this year the Assalâyana-sutta,[2] the third discourse in the fifth part (Brâhmana vagga) of the second division (Majjhimapaññâsaka) of the *Majjhima-Nikâya.* It is accompanied by a short Pâli commentary, and an English translation.

"Dr. Pischel thinks that the Sutta, in its present form, is not earlier than the third century B.C. The object of the discourse is 'to show the indifference of caste.' It may fairly be called a variation on the theme proposed in Dhammapadaṁ, v. 393:—'A man does not become a brahman by his matted hair, by his family, or by birth; in whom there is truth and virtue, he is blessed, he is a Brahman.'

[1] See Mr. Davids's Article on "Pillar Inscriptions" in the J.R.A.S. 1874.
[2] The Assalâyana-suttaṁ, by Richard Pischel. Chemnitz, 1880.

"Professor Pischel's text is based upon three MSS., and is intended to be a critical edition, but there is a slight blunder on p. 7, where *kenaci deva karaṇîyena* occurs instead of *kenacid eva karaṇîyena*; the word 'religious' in the translation is of course an unnecessary addition, there being no word in the Pâli text to represent it.

"The veteran Pâli scholar Professor Fausböll is still hard at work upon the Jâtakas, and last year he gave us a second instalment of 451 pages of these interesting Buddhist stories. I may just mention that Mr. Davids's translation of the first part of the first volume of the Jâtakas is in the Press, and will shortly be in the hands of all lovers of 'folk-lore.'

"There is one story in the second volume of the Jâtaka book (p. 58) that occurs almost in its entirety in the Satipaṭṭhâna section (5th part) of the *Sanyutta-Nikâya*.[1]

"I here take the opportunity to call attention to the introduction to the *Komâyaputtajâtaka* (Jâtaka, vol. ii. p. 447), which appears to be taken from the *Iddhipâda* section of the *Sanyutta-Nikâya*. Buddha is rarely credited with the performance of miracles in the *Suttapiṭaka* texts. Moggallâna seems to be the great wonder-worker among the followers of Gotama (see the *Mâratajjanîya-sutta* in the Majjhima Nikâya). Buddha, when questioned about the exercise of *iddhi*, does not deny the existence of such a power, but says that the only way to it lies through the eightfold noble path, etc. In fact, Buddha's reply is not unlike that of Jesus to his disciples when on one occasion they failed to cast out an unclean spirit, 'This kind can come forth by nothing but by prayer and fasting' (Mark ix. 29; Matt. xvii. 31).

"A very useful book for students, published in 1876, is 'Seven Pâli Suttas,' with French and English translations, by M. P. Grimblot. It contains: (1) the *Brahma-jâla-sutta*, with Gogerly's translation; (2) the *Sâmaññaphala-sutta*, with Burnouf's and a portion of Gogerly's translation; (3) the *Mahâ-Nidâna-sutta*, with French translation; (4) the *Mahâsamaya-sutta*, with Gogerly's translation; (5) the *Sigâlo-*

[1] Cf. "Sakuṇagghiyā ekaṁ aṅgaṁ gahetabbaṁ." *Milindapañha*, p. 365, l. 6.

vâda-sutta, with translation by Gogerly; (6) the *Âṭânâṭiya sutta*, with translation by Gogerly; (7) extracts from the *Subha-sutta*.

"The *Dîgha* collection of suttas will, I hope, be one day critically edited by Mr. Rhys Davids, whose thorough knowledge of Pâli and of Buddhistic literature is a sure guarantee of the work being well done.

"We can only learn what Buddhism really was from the sacred books themselves, and the late Professor Childers supplied a very useful text for Buddhistic study in his critical edition of the *Mahâparinibbâna-sutta*, one of the suttas of the *Dîgha Nikâya*. It was originally printed in the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, and reprinted without preface or notes in 1878.[1] The editor intended to publish a commentary to and translation of the text. Mr. Davids's translation will appear shortly in one of the volumes of the 'Sacred Books of the East.'

"I think this great sutta must be regarded for the most part as a compilation, the only original matter perhaps being that which relates to the period just before the death of Buddha, namely, that portion of the sutta that comes after the chapter named *Âlâravedalla-bhâṇavâra*.

"The very name of this chapter is suggestive, for we know that the term *vedalla* was applied to the longer treatises; and the theory of compilation is borne out by the fact that several sections of the *Mahâparinibbâna-sutta* are found in other parts of the *Sutta-piṭaka*. I have met with the opening parts of the first chapter in the *Vajjî-vagga* of the *Anguttura-Nikâya*. A portion of the second chapter I have discovered in the *Satipaṭṭhâna* section of the *Sanyutta-Nikâya*. In this section (p. 22 of Childers's text) there is a very difficult reading, *vegha-missakena*, concerning which the commentary is silent, and, as it stands, cannot be accurately translated. The *Sanyutta-Nikâya* reading *rekha-missena* renders us no assistance. It may be a blunder for *vega-missakena*. I have come across a part of the third

[1] The *Mahâparinibbâna Sutta* of the *Sutta-piṭaka*. The Pâli text. Edited by the late Prof. R. C. Childers. London, Trubner, 1878.

chapter (Childers's text, pp. 23-26) in the *Iddhipâda* section of the *Sanyutta Nikâya*. Mr. Davids informs me that he had already come to the conclusion, before he had heard of my discovery, that this part, to which allusion has just been made, formed no portion of the original sutta—in fact was, quite out of place there.

"Allusion has been already made to Dr. Oldenberg's valuable contributions to Pâli literature. He has rendered still greater service to Pâli by undertaking to edit the whole of the *Vinâya Piṭaka*, 'a collection of rules regulating the outward condition of the saṁgha and bhikkhus.'

"Last year Dr. Oldenberg brought out the *Mahâvagga*, which deals with numerous particulars relating to the ordinations, ceremonies, confidential meetings, dress, food, and daily life of the priests. This year this indefatigable editor has given us the *Cullavagga*, which relates to disciplinary proceedings, office of the monks, details of the daily life of the fraternity, and some account of the sisterhood, etc. The volume closes with an account of the Councils of Râjagaha and Vesâlî.

"The eleventh chapter is highly interesting, dealing as it does with Buddhistic Scriptures. Of course this chapter must have been written after the text of the sacred books had been finally settled.

"According to the learned editor, the germ of the whole of the *Vinayapiṭaka*[1] is contained in the *Pâtimokkha*, which with its ancient commentary was admitted at an early period into the *Vinayapiṭaka*.

"There are some amusing stories in these works which are evidently related with a view to account for certain injunctions made by Gotama. From these little incidents we learn that men liable to military service gained admittance to the order, malefactors too saved their lives by seeking a refuge in the priesthood, and even parents allowed their children to join the brotherhood, probably with a view of getting rid of the irksome duty of supporting them.

[1] Mr. Davids and Dr. Oldenberg are preparing an English translation of the *Vinayapiṭaka* for the "Sacred Books of the East."

"Some of these children were anything but useful additions to the order, for they disturbed the brethren, and roared out lustily for food at the wrong time, and behaved altogether like the nasty little things their actions proved them to be. Others went about begging, and offended almsgivers by their importunities, forcing them to declare that these little brats must be the children of the *bhikkhunís*, or nuns.

"The naughty people who made these remarks were even more uncharitable than the author of the Chinese proverb respecting priests and nuns: 'The monastery faces the nunnery—there's nothing in that—yet there may be.'

男 僧 寺 對 着 女 僧 寺
nang sêng ssŭ tui cho nu seng ssŭ

沒 事 也 有 事
mu shih yeh yu shih.

"Upâli's parents thought that it would be a very nice thing for their little boy to be ordained, because if he tried to learn writing it would pain his tender fingers, while on the other hand counting, painting, etc, would be too laborious for him, but as a brother of the Buddhistic order he could live a very pleasant and enjoyable life.

"Dr. Oldenberg's researches with respect to the gradual growth of the *Vinayapiṭaka* are of the very highest importance to Pâli scholars. He is of opinion that a careful investigation of the *Suttapiṭaka* would lead to results similar to those that he has arrived at. In this he is strongly supported by what I have already said of the composite character of the *Mahâparinibbâna-sutta*. It receives further support by a careful examination of another large treatise, the *Mahâsaṭipaṭṭhâna-sutta*, a useful edition of which, in Sinhalese characters, was published at Colombo in 1874, by Batuwân Tuḍâwa, the learned editor of the *Bâlâvatâra*. There is also a very good edition in Burmese characters, published at Rangoon in 1873, with commentary in Burmese.

"I have paid considerable attention to this sutta, and have examined about thirteen MSS. of it. I have discovered that

the *Mahâsatipaṭṭhâna-sutta* of the *Dîgha Nikâya* is identical with the *Satipaṭṭhâna-sutta* in the *Majjhima Nikâya*. I have also found in the *Vibhaṅgappakaraṇam*, one of the *Abhidhamma* books, a shorter discourse, which shows us what the original sutta was like before it received these numerous additions that make up the larger treatise.

"Among the later additions to the original sutta I may here mention (1) the *Assâsapabbam*, which may be found treated more fully in the *Anuruddha* and *Ânâpânasati vaggas*,[1] in the fifth part of the *Saṃyutta Nikâya*; (2) the *Iriyâpathapabbam*[2]; (3) the *Sampajaññapabbam*[3]; (4) the *Dhâtupabbam*; (5) the *Navasivathikapabbam*.[4] Even the preface to the *Satipaṭṭhâna-sutta* is not a part of the original text.

"But this is not the place for a discussion of this kind, and I must reserve what I have to say with respect to this matter until I have leisure to publish a new text of the *Mahâsatipaṭṭhâna-sutta* from the best MSS., together with the suttas from the *Saṃyutta Nikâya* and *Vibhaṅga*, that throw light on the gradual development of the *Satipaṭṭhâna* treatise. The results of my examination bear out very fully the opinion put forth in the preface to the *Mahâvagga*, namely, that 'the earliest form in which these doctrines [of Buddha] have been laid down was in all probability not that of the sutta as we now have it. These suttas, as regards style, show the very greatest resemblance to the narrative portions of the *Vinaya*; the dogmatic doctrines are not stated directly, but are put into the mouth of Buddha, and we are told of the occasion upon which he proclaimed them. . . . It will not appear too bold a supposition to assume that the literature of the Dhamma developed in a similar manner. The Buddhist community began with the fixing of the most

[1] The simile introduced into the *Assâsapabbam* of the *Mahâsatipaṭṭhâna-sutta* is wanting in the *Ânâpânasati-vagga*.

[2] The four *iriyâpathas* are thus formulated in the *Bojjhaṅga* section (2nd vagga) of the *Saṃyutta-Nikâya*; "kâlena gamanaṁ, kâlena thânaṁ, kâlena nisajjaṁ, kâlena seyyaṁ."

[3] This section seems to have been an old comment on the meaning of *sampajâno* or *sato*.

[4] Sections 2, 4, and 5, are fully treated of in the *Kâyagatâ-sati-suttanta* (pt. iii. ch. 2, § 8) of the *Majjhima Nikâya*.

important doctrines such as the four *ariyasaccas*, the twelve *nidânas*, etc., without employing any narrative form. If the Bhikkhus, at the time of their assemblies, propounded the Dhamma to one another, their discourses probably consisted of the recital of such dogmatic paragraphs.'

"While this report was passing through the press two valuable additions to Pâli literature were contributed by the well-known Danish scholar Dr. Trenckner:—

"1. *Pâli Miscellany*, Part I. (Williams and Norgate), consists of the introduction to the *Milinda-pañha*, with literal translation and a series of most valuable philological notes.

"2. The *Milinda-pañha*, being dialogues between King Milinda and the Buddhist sage Nâgasena (Williams and Norgate).

"The learned editor fixes its date 'between 100 and 200 of our era,' and thinks it most likely that the original work was in Sanskrit. The language of the *Milinda-pañha* is of course much later than that of the piṭakas, but it contains many passages that throw much light on the older texts. In the second volume of the *Jâtakas*, p. 9, there is the following difficult passage:

"'Âvuso Sâriputta, mayaṁ pi taṁ ekaṁ pañhaṁ pucchâma amhâkaṁ pi akâsaṁ karohi, dehi me vinicchayaṁ *âvedhikâye* [*âveṭhikâye*] vâ *nibbedhikâye* [*nibbeṭhikâye*] vâ niggahe vâ paṭiggahe vâ visese vâ paṭivisese va, etc.'

"If we compare the above with the *Milinda-pañha*, p. 28, we see that the variant readings in brackets are those that should have been taken into the text. (See the Editor's note, p. 421.)

"'Katham bhante Nâgasena paṇḍitâ sallapantîti. Paṇḍitânaṁ kho mahârâja sallâpe *âveṭhanaṁ* pi kayirati, *nibbeṭhanaṁ* pi kayirati, niggaho pi kayirati, paṭikammaṁ pi kayirati,' etc.

"*Áveṭhanaṁ* is from the root *veṭh*, with preposition *á*, 'to twist,' 'wind,' cf. Sansk. वेष्ट् 'to twist.' The gloss to the old Siñhalese version explains *âveṭhanaṁ* by *velima*. Dr. Trenckner suggests 'involution' and 'evolution' as approximate renderings of the technical vague terms *âveṭhanaṁ*

and *nibbeṭhanaṁ*. Compare, too, 'Sâ pana brâhmaṇî thokaṁ *chinnikâ dhuttikadhâtukâ*' (Jâtaka, ii. p. 114) with 'Kin-te samca-balaṁ atthi coriyâ *dhuttiyâ* asatiyâ *chinnikâya*,' etc. (Milinda-pañha, p. 122). Dr. Trenckner has omitted to mention that the curious punishments for theft mentioned on pp. 290, 358, of the *Milinda-pañha* are taken from the *Aṅguttara Nikâya* (*Dukanipâta;* vagga i.) and are satisfactorily explained in the Manorattha-pûrâṇî."

Conclusion.

There now only remains to me the pleasant duty of thanking the members for the honour which they have done me, and the help and consideration which they have extended to me during the past two years, and especially of recording my obligations to our Honorary Secretary, Mr. Furnivall, in regard to whom I speak as Editor of the Dictionary no less warmly than as President of the Society. It would have been a great pleasure to us all if the health of Mr. Henry Nicol, than whom our Society possesses no more thorough or original scholar, and to the publication of whose work at Old French, with its bearing on Early Middle English, we look forward so eagerly, had been able, in accordance with the desire of the Council, to accept the honours and responsibilities of the office which I am now to vacate. But I regret to say that it will be months, perhaps years, before Mr. Nicol is again able to be with us; and while our wishes flow forth to him in his convalescent retreat, for his speedy recovery, and that he may soon be able to resume his philological labours, the chair of the Society must meanwhile be filled, and will, we know, be filled with dignity and ability, by him whom for the second time you call to occupy it, and to whom with satisfaction I resign it.

NOTE.

[*Note to* p. 17, l. 5. "Who can grasp the relationship of case between *mare* and *sal maris*, but not that between *sea* and *sea salt*." How early this position-genitive appeared in English, how precisely it rendered the Latin inflexional genitive, may be well seen on p. 159 of Dr. Morris's *Early English Homilies*, 1st series, where *aqua maris* becomes "see water," *aqua nivis* "snow water," *aqua fontis* "welle water," *aqua roris* "deu water." School Inspectors and others who know so little of English as to take these position-genitives for adjectives, may here see, that in the 12th c., when adjectives were still inflected and thus formally distinguished from nouns, it was no adjective but the simple nouns *salt*, *sea*, *snow*, *well* and *dew*, that stood in their simple uninflected forms, in a genitive relation before another noun: "þe tere þet mon wepð for his agen sunne [sin] is also salt water, and þer fore hit is nemned see water .... þe ter þet mon wepð for laðe of þisse liue, is i-nemned welle water, for he welleð of þe herte swa doð water of welle."]

DICTIONARY WANTS.

TERMS WANTED.

One of the commonest phenomena in the history of English words is the dropping of an initial toneless vowel usually *a-* *e-* or *i-*. Thus *a-down* has become *down*, *a-mend* *mend*, *a-round* *round*, *attire* *tire*, *alarum* *larum*, *alembic* *limbeck*, *alone* *lone*, *estate* *state*, *esquire* *squire*, *estop* *stop*, *escape* *scape*, *clumine* *limn*, *imong* *mong(er)*, *iwork* *work*, *iclept* *clept*, and thus poets still make *above* *'bove*, *against* *'gainst*, *among* *'mong*. We want a name for this phonetic phenomenon, and especially a descriptive adjective for these shortened forms, indicating the way in which the initial toneless vowel is as it were "let go." The Editor can think of nothing better than to call the phenomenon *Aphesis* (from Gr. ἀφιημι), and the resulting forms *Aphetic* forms. He will be glad if any one can suggest anything better, as the terms are required on almost every page of the Dictionary.

He also wants a good English word for the French *mot d'occasion*, indicating a word invented for the nonce. Many such words have become famous in themselves; many

others thus invented "for the occasion" have won general acceptance and passed into common use. An *appropriate* English name is greatly wanted for them.

Works to be Read.

The reading for the Dictionary having now nearly reached the end of its second year, it is desirable that during the year which remains for its completion all important works should be finished. Our wants now lie, not so much among the words of general literature, as among the special terms of art, science, commerce, games, manufactures, and the like.

In particular we shall be glad of all and every assistance in reading Early books or articles on Astronomy, Chemistry and Alchemy, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Mechanics, Machinery, Civil Engineering, Geology, Manufactures, Commerce, Insurance, Maritime Law, Farming, Electricity, Telegraphy, Engineering, Military Tactics, Grammar, Music, Dress, Games and Sports (esp. 18th c.). Such books may not be interesting reading, but all who try find it interesting to extract them for the Dictionary.

The early Transactions of the Learned Societies should be read to catch the first appearance of terms which have since become familiar, and especially the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society. The works of Robert Recorde, 16th cent. are still to be read; so, to name a modern book, is Todd and Bowman's Physiological Anatomy. Among early Grammars not read are Bullokar's and Lilly's. The Statutes of the Realm ought to afford many words.

Friends having books on any of these subjects, which they cannot themselves undertake to read, will greatly oblige by lending them to the Editor, who feels that he has not yet received in this respect the assistance which might easily be given to him, and which was so liberally given to his predecessors twenty years ago.

XI.—SOUND-NOTATION. By Henry Sweet, M.A.

The problem of sound-notation is as old as civilization itself, but it is only of late years that that of *scientific* sound-notation has become urgent. There is now a general conviction among philologists of the necessity of a general alphabet, but with utter discord of opinion as to the means of attaining it. Most hold with some modification of the Roman alphabet, each phonetician employing a modification of his own. Of *organic* alphabets, which are based on a physiological analysis of the actions of the speech-organs, Brücke's and Merkel's may be said to have come still-born into the world, while Bell's *Visible Speech* attracted great attention at the time, although still little known, except by name, outside a small circle of his own pupils.

My objects here are 1) to consider what is the best possible modification of the Roman alphabet, 2) to show that such an alphabet is inferior to Bell's, and 3) to describe an improved and extended form of both.

Modifications of the Roman Alphabet.

Of the two fundamental defects of the Roman alphabet, namely the arbitrariness of its symbols, and their limited number, it is the latter which most imperatively calls for reform. The former, indeed, being inherent in the alphabet itself, can only be remedied by abandoning that alphabet altogether—a contingency which, till comparatively lately, has hardly been taken into account at all, and is still ignored by most phoneticians.

The Roman alphabet can be supplemented in five distinct ways:

1) by adding new letters—ȝ, ɬ, þ.
2) by diacritics—ā, ä, ñ.
3) by turned letters—ə, ɐ, ɔ.
4) by italics and capitals—*a*, ᴀ, ᵊ.
5) by digraphs—th, dh, n*j*.

Of all these expedients, the first is the one which has always been the most obvious and popular. Pitman's Phonotypy even goes so far as to provide simple signs for diphthongs, such as the English 'long *i*,' and consonant-groups, such as (tʃ). As a general rule it may be said that the more inexperienced and ignorant the reformer is, the more reckless he will be in adding new types. The main objection to new types is, of course, the trouble and expense, except in those cases where the new letters are already provided in the printing-office. There is also the difficulty of applying uniform modifications to a variety of letters, some of which, such as g, are already cumbrous enough.

The same objections apply also, though in a less degree, to *diacritics*, which, as Mr. Ellis says, "act as new letters." The best known of the diacritic alphabets is Lepsius's *Standard Alphabet*, thus criticised by Bell (*Visible Speech*, p. 99): "(It) consists of Roman and Greek letters, varied by the addition of diacritic marks. Seventeen diacritics are used above, and fourteen are used below the body of the letters; so many as three diacritics being in some cases applied to a single body. The number of lower-case letters thus employed exceeds 280, and of these above 200 require to be cut for every fount used." A special objection to diacritics is their want of compactness, and they are always troublesome to write (though not more so than many of the new letters that have been proposed), as we see in our ordinary dotted *i*s. They have, however, the great advantage over new letters of giving uniform modifications of a variety of letters, and also of being more accessible in an ordinary printing-office.

The third way, that of *turning* the letters, which has been largely developed in Ellis's *Palæotype*, gives new letters without trouble or expense. Such forms as ɘ and ɔ are, indeed, infinitely superior to many of the monstrosities that have from time to time been proposed as new types. But it is limited in its application.

The use of *italics* and *capitals* has many of the advantages of turning, but makes writing troublesome, and small capitals are not always accessible.

Digraphs, lastly, have nothing but convenience to recommend them. They are sprawly, especially when in minutely accurate writing of sounds they develope into *trigraphs*, and are sometimes ambiguous. A diagraph is, however, generally written easier and quicker than a new type, and is often read as easily.

It is evident that all these expedients fall under two main heads:

1) those which require new types to be cut;

2) those which require only the old types;

and that if the question of reform is to be mainly guided by considerations of typographical convenience, only those modifications can be adopted which fall under the second head, namely the last three of those first enumerated, together with a few out of the first two classes of letters. That it is possible to frame a minutely accurate alphabet without exceeding the resources of an ordinary printing-office has been conclusively shown by Ellis's *Palæotype*, on which my own *Narrow Romic* is mainly founded. We may in short say that the main result of the manifold experiments made in England up to the publication of my "Handbook of Phonetics" was the rejection of the new-type and diacritic systems, or, in other words, the subordination of compactness to general accessibility. Whatever may be said against the English systems, they at least provided every writer and printer with the means of representing the minutest shades of sound with the least possible delay, trouble, or expense. The importance of this becomes evident when we consider that it was mainly the typographical difficulties of the "Standard Alphabet" which caused its disuse by missionaries and travellers, for whom it was specially intended. Palæotype and Narrow Romic still continue to be the only approach to a universal alphabet with Roman letters.

However, these principles have met with no favour out of England, and the latest Continental alphabet—the Swedish, noticed in my last Address (*Trans.* 1877–9, p. 396 foll.)—follows directly opposite ones, being supplemented entirely by new types, diacritics being employed only for quantity,

tone, etc., and consisting entirely of italics. Although this alphabet is intended only for the Swedish dialects, it employs no less than eighty-eight elementary letters, and as a large number of diacritics are required, the number of types runs up to several hundred. If this alphabet were extended to all languages, and its principles were carried out rigorously and minutely, the number of letters would rise to as many thousands.

In my Handbook the old-type principle was more severely tested than in Mr. Ellis's works (Address, p. 396 foll.), the result of which was "the break down of digraphs in any minutely accurate system." But, as I have also said, we must not rush into the opposite extreme of banishing them entirely. It is quite visionary to attempt to have a new letter for every minute shade of sound, which is not attempted even in Visible Speech. The radical defects of the Roman alphabet are so incurable that any extension of it must necessarily be a very unsatisfactory compromise, although all beginners think they can turn out a perfect scheme by rigorously applying some one principle. It seems to me that, putting all our experience together, the following is the only practical compromise:

1) abolish the present use of capitals, as is done in Bell's and the Swedish alphabet;
2) after determining the values to be assigned to the existing letters, supplement them,
3) by turned letters,
4) by new types, beginning with those already provided, and always reserving the right of employing digraphs occasionally;
5) denote general modifications, such as nasality, by italic letters;
6) mark quantity, stress etc., by separate signs on a line with the other letters.

Thus, I would denote mixed vowels by two dots instead of the (h) employed by Mr. Ellis and myself, using (ë) for (eh), (ü) for the Swedish (u). Even if we adopted only those

dotted letters which are in common use, retaining the digraphs (ɔh) and some others, the Narrow Romic vowel-notation would become practically almost as manageable and compact as can be expected from any modification of the Roman alphabet. In the consonants ȝ and ȣ would be substituted for (gh) and (dh), etc. Nasalization and palatalization would be indicated by (*n*) and (*j*), quantity by a simple upright stroke (provisionally by ı), stress by a point. This method is in every way preferable to the ordinary one of placing these marks as diacritics above and below the letter modified, which it is besides impossible to carry out consistently and minutely in practice. Even if we allow only two degrees of quantity and stress, and four tones, which is utterly inadequate, we get eight diacritics, with a large number of special combinations. The attempt to form new letters for every variety of nasalized, etc., sounds, is equally visionary, and if italics were limited to the function of general modifiers, such digraphs as (a*n*, s*j*), etc., would not cause the slightest inconvenience, and (s*j*), at least, is less clumsy and scarcely less compact than any of the attempts I have seen to combine *s* and *j* into one letter.

There is, however, a fatal obstacle to the general adoption of such an alphabet for international scientific purposes, namely, the impossibility of agreement as to its details. It is a natural consequence of the fundamental arbitrariness of the Roman alphabet, whose elementary symbols have no definite relations either to one another or the sounds they represent, that the values of these symbols vary almost indefinitely in different languages, and consequently that any general system stands in a very different relation to each national orthography, which approaches it with special associations of its own. Hence such irreconcileable contrasts as the "Roman" and "English" values of the vowels, and the impossibility of agreeing on a basis even for the rough practical system required for spelling reform purposes. The ridicule which phonetic spelling invariably excites in uneducated minds, and the dislike with which every phonetician regards all phonetic notations except the one evolved by himself, are simply the

result of an instinctive and rational protest against cross-associations, or, in other words, against the Roman alphabet itself.

Even if we limit ourselves to a single book, we find no less than four different systems enshrined in Mr. Ellis's Early English Pronunciation, to which he has since added a fifth,[1] while I myself in my Handbook employ two, one of which has to be varied to suit each language. Prof. Storm, again, in his *Engelsk Filologi*, seems in some respects to ignore the results of English experience, and has special types made for an alphabet whose limited range and want of elasticity makes it useless to any one but himself, even if it were generally accessible. In short, every new book brings a new alphabet. As phonetics is studied more and more, so will the number of books increase, each with its own notation, these notations becoming more and more complex, till at last comparative phonology will become a sheer impossibility, as, indeed, it nearly is already.

Even if the impossible were to happen, and such a general alphabet were accepted, its essential complexity and arbitrariness would make it very difficult to learn, and it would be impossible to secure it against misinterpretation. The temptation to avoid inconvenient symbols in writing each language would also infallibly lead to inaccurate compromises and substitutions.

It is, in short, clear that the question of introducing an entirely new organic alphabet is not a mere theoretical consideration, but is of vital practical importance. Such an alphabet, formed by the systematic combination of a few fundamental signs denoting the elementary actions by which all sounds are formed, would be free from the defects of any possible modification of the Roman alphabet. As its letters would all stand in a definite relation to one another and to the sounds they represent, they would be learnt with ease, and as every stroke in them would have a meaning, their number might be extended almost indefinitely without taxing the

[1] To which now add his "Dimidian."

memory, just as the nine digits of arithmetic may be combined indefinitely. These qualities would also secure it against arbitrary misapplication. There would be no cross-associations with the ordinary Roman orthographies. It would also be perfectly impartial, every simple sound having a simple sign, so that the English *th* and the German *ch* would be put on a perfect level with *k*, *s*, etc. The value for scientific purposes of an alphabet in which every letter would be practically a diagram of the actions by which the sound is produced would be incalculable, and the different varieties of such a vowel as (a), for instance, would appear in their true light, namely, as perfectly distinct sounds, hitherto confounded simply by an accident of defective notation. The rationale of sound-change would then become self-evident in most cases by the mere juxtaposition of the symbols.

The objection oftenest urged against the adoption of such an alphabet is, that being based on a physiological analysis of the actions of the organs of speech, each advance in our analysis, and each correction of earlier errors, will involve a modification or enlargement of the alphabet. The natural answer to this is that perfection in all practical matters can never be reached without repeated trial, and that long experience is required to determine what are the best shapes of the letters—the simplest and most distinct, how the words are to be divided, and many other similar questions. Also that an alphabet in which the facts already established were embodied on a systematic and consistent plan would itself be a most powerful instrument of progress. The question is not whether we have arrived at an absolutely perfect and final analysis of speech-sounds, but simply whether we have a sufficient number of firmly-established results to form the basis of an organic alphabet which for scientific purposes is an improvement on any possible modification of the Roman alphabet. I answer confidently, Yes. An alphabet which could stand such tests as *Visible Speech* was subjected to by Mr. Ellis and other eminent phoneticians (*V. S.* p. 23 foll.), an alphabet too whose very structure makes it capable of indefinite expansion and elaboration, must yield at least a

solid foundation. Mr. Bell's system was, unfortunately, announced too confidently, he himself saying (*V. S.* p. 19): "The invention . . . is now, it is believed, perfect for its purposes, and will probably be found to require no additions or alterations, however extended its uses may become." When it was found to contain several errors of analysis, especially in the consonants, even the inventor's son having afterwards modified some of its details, and also to be incomplete, there was a natural reaction, shared also by Mr. Ellis, who, though still giving Visible Speech the first rank among alphabets, does not advocate any longer its practical use for phonetic purposes, urging that our knowledge is not advanced enough to base a general alphabet on. I think, however, he much exaggerates the uncertainty of the results of our analysis of speech-sounds. If we impartially survey the whole field of phonetic knowledge, we shall see that the great majority of the facts are really as firmly established as anything can well be. It is, for instance, absolutely certain that *p*, *b* and *m* are all formed by the lips, and that *k*, *g* and *ng* are all formed by the back of the tongue, also that *p*, *b*, *k*, *g* are formed by complete stoppage, that *m* and *ng* are nasal, and so on. These are certain results which no amount of physiological, acoustic, or any other kind of scientific investigation can possibly modify, at least as far as their symbolization is concerned. Again, it is by no means certain that our present views on the formation of voice are final, but there is no doubt that there *is* such a thing as voice, that it is inherent in *b*, *m*, *g*, etc., and that *b* stands in the same relation to *p* as *g* does to *k*, as regards the presence and absence of this element. Even if we knew nothing more than this parallelism, without having any idea of the real nature of voice, and denoted *b* and *g* by an arbitrary but consistent modification of the signs for *p* and *k*, we should attain a practically permanent result. The vowels have always offered greater difficulties, but many of the main divisions of palatal, labial, high and low, etc., have been agreed on long ago. As a matter of fact, Bell's analysis of the vowels is so perfect that after ten years incessant testing and

application to a variety of languages, I see no reason for modifying its general framework.

The fact of Bell's vowel-system having hitherto been found adequate does not, of course, involve that such will be the case twenty, or even ten years hence. Nor is there any reason why Visible Speech may not hereafter be rejected entirely in favour of some fundamentally different alphabet. But this further step towards ideal perfection will not come of itself, or be reached by a leap: it must be toiled up to slowly and painfully, and as long as we are hampered with makeshift adaptations of the Roman alphabet, our advance will continue to be a mere crawl.

The first condition of progress is that practical phonetics should be made a study accessible to every philologist—that it should be *popularized* (from a scientific point of view). This can only be effected by means of an organic alphabet, which keeps the mechanism of the sounds continually before the learner's eyes, and makes those comparative studies easy which are almost impossible with the Roman alphabet. The popular idea that the Roman alphabet is easier in itself than an organic one, is simply due to the fact that a word spelt phonetically in Roman letters is generally recognizable with more or less difficulty even by unphonetic readers, while the organic symbols are, of course, utterly unintelligible. But the recognition by eye of such a phonetically spelt word as (faðə) does not bring with it the slightest knowledge of its phonetic structure. If the reader is told that this same word is pronounced (faðer) in Scotch, he recognizes it with still greater ease as "father," but if asked to explain the difference between the (a) of the one spelling and the (ə) of the other, and to pronounce them, is totally at a loss. When, however, he has learnt these facts, and has associated them, not with the arbitrary symbols (a) and (ə), but with the organic ɾ and ɹ, he has not only acquired phonetic knowledge, but also the means of incessantly recalling it to his mind, the height of the symbol being associated with the height of the tongue. Even if obliged afterwards to employ Roman letters, such a student will be able to do so only by mentally

transliterating them into the organic symbols—in short, whatever the character he reads, he will always *think* in the organic letters. Of course, such an alphabet as Visible Speech has to be learnt, but this really involves only learning the meaning of a few fundamental marks and the principles of their application, which can be acquired by any one in a few hours. To read such an alphabet fluently requires, of course, considerable practice, but the student will acquire a perfect command of it long before he has mastered the actual facts of phonetics embodied in it. The real difficulty is *the thing itself*, namely, the facts of phonetics, whose difficulties are largely increased by a bad notation like the various make-shift Roman-letter ones, and are simply reduced to their natural proportions by a rational notation. If non-Sanskritists will take the trouble of learning the enormously complex Sanskrit alphabet, which gives the key to only one language, merely for comparative purposes, the comparative phonetician cannot grudge the trouble of attaining the phonetic key to all languages, which is besides in itself the easiest of all possible alphabets.

These views are not the result of desultory theorizing, but of the practical experience of myself and my fellow-worker, Mr. H. Nicol. We both studied practically under Mr. Bell himself, and have worked with his alphabet ever since, employing it exclusively in our private memoranda and correspondence with one another. We had, however, till lately no intention of advocating its general use among philologists, thinking that a general Romic system would excite less prejudice and do well enough for a time. However, the considerations set forth have made us change our minds during the last two years, and we have been driven by sheer necessity to have types cut for a reformed organic alphabet for our own use. The expense of the undertaking has been shared equally between us, but the use of the new types will be free to any member of the Society who wishes to employ them in any paper printed in our Transactions.

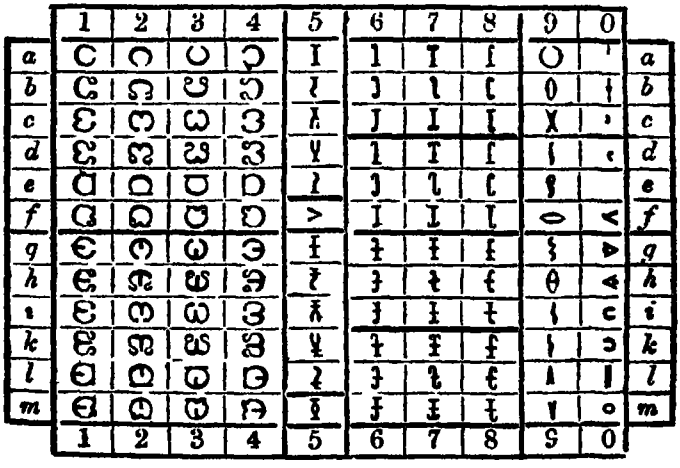
As I have had more leisure and opportunity for phonetic work than Mr. Nicol, most of the modifications of Bell's

original alphabet have been devised by myself, but they have all been subjected to Mr. Nicol's criticisms and approval before final adoption, as also to the criticisms of Mr. Ellis and Dr Murray.

Bell's Visible Speech.

As Bell's book (*Visible Speech*, by Alex. Melville Bell Inaugural Edition, 1867)[1] is now practically inaccessible to ordinary students, and as the want of key-words makes it difficult of comprehension to the untrained reader, I have tried to make the following abstract of it full and clear enough to supersede reference to it for ordinary purposes, and at the same time as brief as possible, by omitting detailed explanations of universally-accepted facts of phonology. Wherever Bell's views are obscure, or diverge from my own or those of others, I have quoted his own definitions.

Bell's complete alphabet is shown in the annexed table, reproduced by Mr Ellis's permission, from the one in his *Early English Pronunciation*, Part I



[1] An account of the system, as applied to English appeared in a smaller work *Visible Speech for the Million* (London 1868), which is also out of print All Bell's works, including these two, may be obtained from Mr J P Burbank, bookseller, Salem, Mass, U S A

For the sake of convenience, I shall in my exposition employ the new letters whenever they agree with Bell's. For many of the symbols peculiar to Bell I have been able by Dr. Murray's kindness to make use of his set of types. Where these failed I have been obliged to refer to the table.

Symbols marked * are those which have been modified or discarded in the revised alphabet.

General Principles.

All the consonants and vowel-letters are formed by the combination of the following elements, some of which are also used as independent letters. They are all, as far as possible, pictorial of the actions or positions of the organs.

O. Open glottis, or *breath*. A segment of this, c, is the foundation of *primary* (my *open*) *consonants*, the same indented, ɛ, of *divided* consonants.

ɵ. "Contracted superglottal passage," or *whisper*.

ɪ. "Glottis contracted to a narrow chink," or *voice*. Foundation of all vowels, such as ɾ (ɪ). Incorporated in voiced consonants, as in ɛ (ʒ).

ɹ. *Nasality*; pictorial of the pendulous soft-palate.

Dot. *Narrowness*-definer, as in ɾ (i).

Hook. *Wideness*-definer, as in ɾ (*i*).

Cross-stroke. *Rounding*, as in ɟ (y).

Upright-stroke. *Stopping*, as in ɑ (k).

There are other elementary signs which are employed only as modifiers.

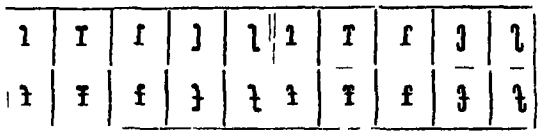
The *place* where each sound is formed is shown by the *direction* in which the symbol is turned. Thus ɑ = (k), ɒ = (p), ɔ = (t).

The following is the complete alphabet of types.

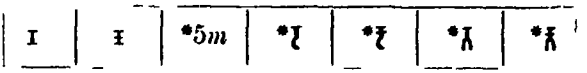
16 *Consonants.*

O	ɵ	c	ɑ	ɛ	*ꞔ	ɑ	*ꞓ
x	ɵ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	*ꞕ	ɑ	*ꞑ

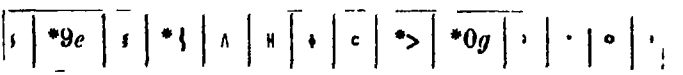
20 *Vowels.*



7 *Glides.*



14 *Modifiers.*



4 *Tones*



The types are reversible, and the consonant ones, being square, can be turned in any direction, so that, for instance, C, Ↄ, Ɔ, Ↄ are all printed from one type. The complete alphabet of 129 single letters is, therefore, printed from the above 61 types.

Certain typographical modifications proposed by Mr. Bell himself, and adopted in our revised alphabet, will be described hereafter.

We can now proceed to the detailed descriptions of the separate symbols.

Rudimentary Symbols (*V. S.* 46–49).

These are defined by Bell as "those which represent the elements of interjectional or inarticulate utterance."

1. O. When the glottis and the super-glottal passage are perfectly open, the breath creates no sound in its emission. A moderate degree of expulsiveness to render the "aspiration" audible is implied. [Bell uses this letter

throughout as the symbol of the various (h)-sounds in language, not knowing that they are (apparently) always accompanied by glottal narrrowing (*Hb.* § 195). He was, on the other hand, aware of the glide-nature (*Hb.* § 197, note *d*) of (h),[1] and it would have been more consistent to denote it by > (No. 12), as was afterwards done by Mr. Nicol and myself.]

2. ɪ. When the glottis is contracted to a narrow chink, the breath in passing sets the edges of the orifice—the "vocal ligaments"—in vibration, and creates sonorous "voice." [The description is not absolutely correct: see *Hb.* § 11.]

3. o. When the glottis is open, and the super-glottal passage is contracted, the breath creates in the latter the non-sonorous rustling or friction which is called "whisper." [This is a description, not of ordinary whisper, but of the wheeze (ɹ) (*Hb.* § 20). Bell was not aware that the former is produced by simple narrowing of the *lower* glottis.]

4. ø. Compound of o and ɪ, and denotes whisper and voice heard simultaneously. [Here, of course, the o can only denote superglottal action.]

5. x. Glottal "catch."

6 ŝ. Nasality.

7. *9e. Compound of ŝ and o, and denotes guttural contraction with nasality, as heard in the French sounds *in*, *on*, etc. In these elements there is a gliding semi-consonant effect in the throat as well as nasal modification. [See *Hb.* p. 211, note to § 22. French nasality seems to be only a stronger development of the preceding one, due to further lowering of the uvula.]

8. ŝ. Trill.

9, 10. ʌ, v by themselves, refer to the aperture of the mouth as affected by the close (ʌ) or open (v) position of the jaws. Following other symbols, ʌ denotes configurative compression, with consequent percussion on leaving the configuration; and v denotes configurative openness or organic laxity. Thus:

[1] Written (ʜ) in the *Hb.*

0ʌ. An exhaustive aspiration from upward pressure of the diaphragm;—a wheeze. [Hardly correct: a wheeze seems to require super-glottal contraction.]

0v. A gentle inaudible aspiration.

xʌ. Glottal closure with distention of the larynx from pressure on the confined breath, and percussive emission on opening the passage;—a cough.

11, 12. <, >. Whisper or voice may be produced by air going inwards (<) or by breath coming out (>). All symbols except < and · imply emission. Symbol > is used to denote a transitional emission from the symbolized configuration in passing from one position to another. The effect is different from the throat-aspiration, O. Thus from the shut position of the glottis (x) we may either open sharply upon an utterance of voice (xI) or we may *ease off the pressure* of the "catch" by interpolating a "breath-glide" (x>I). [This makes > practically identical with my (h), both before and after vowels (*Hb.* § 195-9) and in aspirated stops (*Hb.* § 222).]

13. *·. Signifies that the organic separation or recoil from any symbolized position—which is always implied in final elements when the "stop" is not written—does not take place. Thus x· is an unfinished "catch," in forming which, the impulse ceases with the *closure* of the glottis. The effect of organic "stop" is implied between elements in verbal combinations, such as *tl* in *outlaw*, *td* in *outdo*, etc.; where, necessarily, the *t* is not followed by organic recoil, as it would be at the end of a word. In these cases, of course, the "stop" does not require to be written. [These two cases are distinct. The latter is simply one of absence of glide (*breath*-glide in the two words cited). The former means cessation of out-breathing before the recoil, not *absence* of recoil. A stop maintained indefinitely without recoil would cause suffocation.]

14. *›. In verbal combinations of elementary sounds, each element is inseparably joined to the succeeding one. When any element, except the last in a combination, is finished independently of what follows, the sign of "hiatus" (›) is

used. The effect of › will be understood by pronouncing the word "bedtime," in which the *d* and *t* are not disjoined, in contrast with the separate pronunciation of the two words "*bed, time.*" Symbol > is an *aspirated* hiatus; symbol › is non-aspirated—a mere *interval.* [This symbol is practically a breath-glide (*Hb.* § 215), and is superseded when we have proper signs for the various glides. For glideless combinations see *Hb.* § 239.]

15. *'. Denotes a very "abrupt" utterance, shorter than ordinary "short quantity." The latter is implied in all symbols where no sign of quantity is written.

16. ˑ. Sign of long quantity, or 'holder.' Extra prolongation may be denoted by ˑˑ.

17. *ˈ. The sign of "accent" or *stress* distinguishes the syllable in a word, or the element in a combination, which receives the principal impulse. The mark is placed *before* the accented syllable. [No sign provided for secondary stress.] This sign inverted is used to mark *emphasis* or sentence-stress. [This is superfluous, as the distinction between stress and emphasis is only logical, not phonetic.]

Consonants (51–69).

The separate symbols are c (primary), ɛ (divided), ɑ (shut), ɑ̃ [=ɑn] (nasal), together with the corresponding voiced ɛ, ɛ, ɑ, ɑ̃. The place of the sound is indicated by the direction of the curve, thus: c back (x), ɔ front (ç), ʊ point (r), ɔ lip (ɸ). Curves of different direction are united in one symbol to show simultaneous action, as in ɔ (ʍ) = ɔ+c, ɑ (xr)=c+ɔ, the large curve showing the preponderating element. Voiced consonants are distinguished by the insertion of the voice-symbol: ɷ (j), ɑ (g).

Other positions are expressed by the modifiers *ˈ (inner), *ˌ (outer), ɔ (inverted), ɔ (protruded): ʊˈ (t‿), ʊˌ (t‿), ʊɔ (t↓), ʊɔ (t↑).

Other modifiers are: ʌ (closeness) and ʏ (openness), as in ɔʌ (blowing to cool) and ɔʏ (expressive of faintness, or want of air); ˜ (nasality), as in ɷ˜ (j*n*); ˜ (trill), as in ɷ˜ (r*r*).

The following are applied to stops:

*0*g*. Emission stopper (62).[1] Organic separation without emission. The "stop" (·) shows that the action is conjunctive only; and the "emission-stopper" signifies that the organs are separated after contact, but that the breath is retained [There is no reason why this modifier should not be applied to other sounds as well as stops. In fact, Bell himself says, after treating of Consonant Suctions, under the head *Consonant Actions without Breath* (62): "All the consonant configurations of every kind—primary and divided as well as shut—may be formed without either emission or suction. If the breath within the mouth be compressed behind the articulating organs while an inner closure is held, a distinct, and in some cases, a powerfully percussive effect will be produced on the abrupt separation of the organs. The signs 0*g* and 0*h* represent the two modes of this mere motion of the organs of speech." Bell apparently means to include both the action just described (0*g*) and the clicks (0*h*) under the designation "mere motion of the organs of speech."]

*0*h*. Suction Stopper (62). Suction and organic separation without inhalation. The formation of the shut consonants by suction (<) gives rise to a peculiar class of elements. The lip-shut symbol followed by the sign of suction (p<) represents a sound interjectionally expressive of sudden pain; but there may be suction during the organic contact and separation of the organs without ingoing air. For this effect the special sign "suction stopper" is provided. The lip-, point-, and front-shut actions performed in this way, and the point-shut with side termination (t‖), produce a series of sounds or "clicks" which are very common in interjectional or inarticulate utterance, and which are elements of ordinary speech in some African languages. Compare also note on the Zulu clicks (125). [This method of symbolizing the clicks is very ingenious. The air is sucked from between the tongue and palate from behind, so that its movement is necessarily inwards, which is expressed by the <, the (·) showing that this inward movement is not obtained by ordinary inhalation.]

[1] Note that the last line of p. 59 should be transferred to the top of p. 62.

ᵏ Side opener (61). Lateral or "divided" termination instead of organic recoil.

ˡ Unilateral. Opening of a single lateral passage. [This modification can be applied also to unstopped consonants and vowels. *Hb.* § 134.]

Bell remarks (61): "When a shut consonant precedes a nasal one of the same organic formation, the oral organs are not disjoined, but the nasal valve is simply opened, as in *pm* (ɒϑ) in *chapman*, etc. The independent completion of the shut consonant in such cases would be inconsistent with the law of coalescence, which requires all the elements of a word to be joined together without *hiatus*." He then proceeds to symbolize the "nasal termination of a final shut consonant by ɒᵢ: it would be more consistent with the foregoing to write ɒϑ, as also ɒω, ɒωᵘ instead of his ɒᴎ and ɒᵘ. There is no reason why these combinations should be only final.

A few of the consonant-symbols require special discussion.

O, ɵ and ɵ have been noticed above (pp. 13, 14).

xʃ (60). There can be no inner variety of the catch, but an outer formation, or closure of the superglottal passage, yields a distinct percussion, which is very common in Chinese and many other languages. The closure is effected by depression of the epiglottis, as in the act of swallowing. [I never succeeded in acquiring a definite idea of this sound.]

*ʂ (s). Front-mixed (52). The front and the point of the tongue both raised, so as to bring the convex surface of the tongue close to the front of the palatal arch, and the point of the tongue, at the same time, close to the upper gum.

*ʃ (ʃ). Point-mixed. The point and the front of the tongue both raised—the latter to a less degree than for ʂ—bringing the front surface of the tongue near the rim of the palatal arch. [See *Hb.* §§ 112, 114. This can only represent a voiceless palatalized ω, (rʃ), which is quite distinct from (ʃ).]

*ʂ (þ) (58). Front-mixed-divided has its centre check at the *tip* of the tongue, and its apertures between the edges of the flattened point and the teeth or the upper gum, the front of the tongue having considerable convexity within the arch of the palate. [See *Hb.* § 110, where (þ) is described as simply

breath directed on to the teeth by (the flattened, or even concave) tongue. The convexity of the tongue described by Bell would convert the English (ȣ) into the Danish (ȣj), *Hb.* § 128. Lastly, division could only produce some variety of (l̩). If we take the symbol literally as ʊ+ʊ, it can only mean a voiceless Italian *gl* modified by (r̩). ω, the point-divided, is described by Bell as "(having) its apertures over the sides of the middle of the tongue, the point being in contact with the upper gum; the front surface of the tongue is flattened or slightly concave, so that the apertures are large and productive of but little friction or sibilation."]

*ƧƧ (*59*). Point-mixed-divided has the apertures of ω (l̩) narrowed by convexity of the tongue, and the breath is in consequence strongly sibilant. [This is, according to Bell (93), the Welsh *ll*, usually identified with ωˢ, and the Zulu *hl*. The voiced sound he identifies as the Zulu *dhl*. It is not clear in what way the sound is supposed to differ from the preceding one. The Welsh *ll* certainly has a strong sibilant effect, but this can be effected by spreading out the lateral edges of the tongue, as well as by convexity of its front, and I conjecture that the Zulu *dhl* is simply such a (buzzed) ω. Taken literally ƧƧ ought to represent (l̩ʲ)—the ordinary French *l* in *belle* (*Hb.* § 132).]

3 (f). Lip-divided is formed by placing the centre of the lower lip on the edges of the upper teeth, while the breath hisses through the interstices between the teeth or between the teeth and the lip. A similar effect of divided formation results from placing the lower on the upper lip, instead of the teeth, and directing the breath over the corners of the lips. This peculiarity would be represented by the modifier (ɔ) "to lip" after the lip-divided symbol (sɔ). [*Hb.* 118, 133, and note, p. 213. Bell's own analysis contradicts his symbolization of (f) as a divided: the true lip-divided is the sound he writes sɔ.]

These errors of symbolization are evidently due to the attempt to uphold the symmetry of the system, even where its ground-plan is defective. It certainly is a defect that there is no sign for the teeth-position, which would enable

(þ) and (f) to fall into their natural places 'point-teeth' and 'lip-teeth' respectively. (s) and (ʃ) are more difficult to deal with. It may be noted that Bell's providing a sign (1*k*) for the very rare (ʰt), while leaving the frequently occurring (s*j*), (ʃ*j*), (ʃr), (j*r*), unsymbolized, is also due to the exigencies of symmetry, which allows only *opposite* curves to be united in one symbol, and hence excludes ɔ+ɔ, ɑ +ɔ, etc. The way in which the revised alphabet meets these difficulties will be seen hereafter.

The following is Bell's "General Scheme of Consonants" (66).

Voiceless.

Throat	*O	ɸ	–	–	x	–
Back	c	ɕ	ɛ	*ɛ	ɑ	*ɑ
Front	ɔ	*ɑ	ɔ	*ɔ	ɑ	*ɑ
Point	ʊ	*ʊ	ɷ	*3*d*	ʊ	*3*f*
Lip	ɔ	ɔ	*3	*4*d*	ɒ	*ɒ

Voiced.

Throat	–	ɸ	–	–	–	–
Back	ɕ	ɕ	ɛ	*ɛ	ɑ	*ɑ
Front	ɷ	*ɑ	ɷ	*2*k*	ɷ	*ɑ
Point	ɷ	*ʊ	ɷ	*3*k*	ɷ	*ɑ
Lip	ɔ	ɔ	*3	*4*k*	ɒ	*4*m*

In Bell's nomenclature the *place* is named first and *voice* last: ɒ lip-shut-voice. Consonants of two curves he calls 'mixed,' thus ɔ is 'lip-mixed,' ɕ 'back-mixed.' It seems simpler to name both organs: lip-back, back-lip. Bell calls ɑ, etc., 'shut' consonants, instead of the more usual 'stop.' I have also substituted 'open' for his 'primary.'

Glides (69–70).

Bell's symbolization of the non-syllabic vowels with which diphthongs are formed is the one general feature of his alphabet which has met with least approval among phoneticians.

"The primary consonants are formed by the breath or voice issuing with a degree of friction, sibilation or buzzing, through a narrow passage over the back, front, etc., of the tongue, or between the lips. When the configurative channel is so far expanded as to remove compression or buzzing from the voice, a series of semi-consonant, semi-vowel sounds results, which we call 'glides.' These elements are only *transitional* sounds. If they had a fixed configuration, they would be vowels, and would form *syllables*; as even the closer consonants do when their configuration is held.

"The glides being thus intermediate to consonants and vowels, are appropriately represented by the organic consonant curves joined subordinately to vowel-stems; thus ɹ [from ɔ]. The glides unite with vowels to form diphthongs, or double sounds with a single syllabic impulse. The vowel-stems (ɪ, ɛ) are now specifically employed by themselves to denote *non-syllabic* vowel murmurs."

He thus describes a vowel (71):

"A vowel is a syllabic sound moulded by a definite and momentarily *fixed*, or tense, configuration of the free channel of the mouth, and creating no oral sibilation or friction in its emission. A vowel without a fixed configuration loses its syllabic effect and becomes a glide; and a glide with sibilation or friction in the oral channel becomes a consonant. Consonants, like glides, are merely transitional sounds;

but their configurations may be held so as to receive syllabic impulse, in which case a consonant without a vowel has the effect of a syllable. All vowels make syllables."

This view of 'glides' being intermediate to consonants and vowels is the result of confusion between two distinct divisions of sounds, namely, that of syllabic and non-syllabic, and that of consonant and vowel. The latter is entirely the result of the *position* of the organs, while the former is purely relative, dependent mainly on stress, secondarily on quantity (*Hb.* § 189, 250). Any sound, whether consonant or vowel, may be either *syllabic*, that is, a syllable-former, or the contrary. *Any consonant whatever*, not merely (l), (n), etc., may constitute a syllable, and any vowel may be made non-syllabic without the slightest modification of the position with which it is formed. Bell's intermediate symbols would be defensible only if glides were formed with a degree of friction or closeness intermediate to that of consonants and vowels, which is not the case. It is also clear that there must be as many glide- as there are vowel-symbols, but Bell provides only eight glides to represent the thirty-six vowels. Thus, the six vowels ɪ, ɨ, ʏ, ʊ, ɤ, ɯ are all represented by the single glide ɧ. Some vowels, such as ɪ, have not even an approximate glide to correspond.

The remaining glide-symbols are really weakened consonants, such as *ɔd*, which is a weak ɷ (r).

The following is a complete list of the glide-symbols. Bell's key-words are given by him on p. 94 of his book.

ʽ>. Breath-glide. A transitional aspiration of organic quality corresponding to that of the adjoining elements, =a soft effect of c, o, etc. [See p. 192, above. Bell's key-word is the Irish *p'aper.*]

ɪ. Voice-glide. Vocal murmur,=a non-syllabic effect of ɭ. [Non-syllabic ɭ (ë) implies a definite position—the mid-mixed-narrow, but it is also possible to make a voice-murmur in passing from one position to another, of so transient a character that it cannot be said to have any definite configuration. ɪ ought to be used to denote this sound only. Key-word, the English *va'ry.*]

ɤ. Round-glide. Rounded murmur, =a non-syllabic effect of ɬ (o). [Compare the remarks on ɪ. Key-word, American and Cockney *now*. This is rather the ordinary English pronunciation.]

*5*m* Throat-glide. A semi-vowelized sound of ɵ (ɪ), resembling the vowel ɻ (*v*). [This comparison is misleading, as there is no throat action in ɻ. The key-word given is a 'peculiar' pronunciation of *are*. Bell told me that my own pronunciation of the vowel *r* in *hear*, etc., was this throat-glide, but I believe it is simply a glide-ɪ̯ (*a*).]

*ɾ Back-glide. A semi-vowelized sound of ɛ (ʒ), resembling the vowel] (ʊ) or ɯ (ɯ). [Key-word, *are*=smooth burr.]

*ɾ̫ Back-round-glide. A semi-vowelized sound of ɛ̫ (ʒʷ), resembling the vowel ɧ (o). [Key-word, *our*=smooth burr labialized.]

*ɪ̯ Front-glide. A semi-vowelized sound of ɯ (j), resembling the vowel ɪ (i). [Key-words English *die*, *day*. The sound here is, of course, a glide-ɪ, not ɪ.]

*ɪ̯̫ Front-round-glide. A semi-vowelized sound of ɯ with lip-modification, resembling the vowel ɟ (y). [Key-word, North Irish *new*.]

*5*d* Point-glide. A semi-vowelized sound of ɷ (r), resembling the vowel ɪ̯ (a). [Key-word English, *are*. This seems to be a compromise between Bell's half-Scotch, half-elocutionary pronunciation of the English vowel-*r* as ɷɾ (without trill), and the ordinary glide-ɪ̯ or ɪ̯ pronunciation.]

*ɪ̯̫ Point-round-glide. A semi-vowelized sound of ɷ, with lip-modification, resembling the vowel ɪ̫ (ö). [Key-word, English *our*.]

*5*e* Lip-glide. A semi-vowelized sound of ɜ (β), resembling the vowel ɬ (u). [Key-word, French *lu*.]

*ɬ Lip-round-glide. A semi-vowelized sound of ɜ (w), resembling the vowel ɬ (u). [The combination of 'lip' and 'round' is, strictly speaking, a tautology; by 'rounding' Bell here implies *inner* rounding (*Hb.* § 37, 9). Key-word, English *now*, which seems to be generally pronounced with glide-ɬ or ɪ̫, Bell's ɤ.]

In Bell's nomenclature *glide* comes last: 5*l*, lip-round-glide.

Vowels (71–80).

Bell's definition of a vowel has been quoted already (p. 197).

Primary [my *narrow*] vowels are those which are most allied to consonants, the voice-channel being expanded only so far as to remove all fricative quality. The same organic adjustments form *wide* vowels when the resonance-cavity is enlarged behind the configurative aperture—the physical cause of wide quality being retraction of the soft palate, and expansion of the pharynx. [See *Hb.* §§ 24, 25, where the distinction of narrow and wide is shown to depend on the shape of the *tongue*, and to apply to consonants also. The narrowing of *back* sounds appears, however, to be due to tension and consequent advancing of the uvula, often with a simultaneous sympathetic retraction of the tongue. The flexible soft palate has, therefore, the same function in the back of the mouth as the flexible front of the tongue has in the front of the mouth.]

The vowels are divided into three classes of palato-lingual formations, according as the oral cavity is moulded mainly by the *back*, the *front*, or the *mixed* (back and front) attitudes of the tongue.

The symbol of voice (ɪ) is the basis or 'stem' of all the vowel letters. To this stem a *primary* or *wide* definer (p. 188, above) is joined, to the *inner* side for back, to the *outer* for front, and to *both sides* for mixed vowels.

Three degrees of elevation of the tongue in its back, front, or mixed attitudes are discriminated by the position of the definers on the vowel-stem. Thus:

	Primary.			Wide.		
	back	*mixed*	*front*	*back*	*mixed*	*front*
high.	ɭ ɯ	ɪ ï	ſ i.	ɭ *ɯ*	ɪ *ɨ*	ſ *i*
mid.	] ʏ	⌊ ë	[e.	] a	⌊ *ë*	[*e*
low.	] *ɒ*	ɪ ä	⌊ œ	] *a*	ɪ *a*	⌊ *æ*

(These) lingual positions yield another series of vowels when the voice-channel is 'rounded' and the apertures of the lips contracted. The mechanical cause of round quality commences in the super-glottal passage, and extends through the whole mouth-tube, by lateral compression of the buccal cavities and reduction of the labial aperture. The last—

lip-modification—being the visible cause of round quality, is assumed as representative of the effect. The amount of lip-modification corresponds to the degree of elevation of the tongue: high vowels have the narrowest, low the broadest, and mid an intermediate aperture.

The lips are drawn *across the aperture* of a lingual vowel in order to round its quality; and the resulting effect is symbolized by a short line drawn *across the vowel stem*.

	Primary.			**Wide.**		
	back	*mixed*	*front*	*back*	*mixed*	*front.*
high.	ɨ u	ɨ̈ ü	ɨ y	ɨ *u*	ɨ̈ *u*	ɨ *y*
mid.	ɘ o	ɵ o	ɛ ɵ	ɘ *o*	ɵ *o*	ɛ *ɵ*
low.	ɜ ɔ	ɜ̈ ɔ	ɜ œ	ɜ *ɔ*	ɜ̈ *ɔ*	ɜ *œ*

The effects of rounding, not being dependent on the lips alone, is producible—with some peculiarity—without contraction of the labial aperture. The sign of 'inner' formation may be used to denote this mode of pronunciation. Thus ɨ˕=*oo* rounded without the lips.

Other faintly different shades of vowel-sound are possible; as, for instance, from giving a greater or less than the ordinary or *symmetrical* degree of lip-modification. Even these delicate varieties may be perfectly expressed by the modifiers 'close' (ʌ), 'open' (v), 'inner' (˕), 'outer' (˖), or by 'linked' symbols.

In naming the vowels height comes first, rounding last: ɵ mid-mixed-wide-round.

Linked Symbols (80).

Peculiar oral combinations may be indicated at pleasure by writing two organic symbols with a 'link' (∘) between them, to show that they are to be pronounced simultaneously, not in succession. Thus, ɯ∘ɔ, labialized *r*, ɯ∘c gutturalized *r*, etc. Any two elements may be thus linked, where a single symbol does not express the whole mechanism of a peculiar sound. Thus the low-back vowel linked to the lip-consonant (ɲ∘ɔ) would show close labial modification of a sound which, when normally rounded, is associated with a broad aperture of the lips.

Governing Signs (80).

A pair of linked symbols within parenthesis may be used as governing signs to denote *habitual* peculiarities of any kind, and thus save the writing of the latter at every instance of their occurrence. Thus the nasal sign or back consonant linked to any element will show a general nasalizing or gutturalizing of that particular sound, as (ω∘ᵑ:) *l* nasal, (ω∘c:) *l* guttural.

A more general indication of such peculiarities, without reference to any specific element, will be furnished by writing the link before the nasal, etc., sign by itself, within parenthesis, as (∘ɔʌ:) close lips, (∘ᵑ:) general nasal quality.

Tones (82).

- Level tone.

' Simple rising inflexion.

` Simple fall.

ˇ Compound rise—falling and rising with a single impulse of voice.

ˆ Compound fall—rising and falling with a single impulse of voice.

In the notation of tones no more is aimed at than the discrimination of the radical varieties. The types for tones, being, however, reversible, may be used to indicate relative *pitch* as well as inflexion. Thus:

ʃ' high-pitched rise.

ʃ, low-pitched rise.

Modulation, or change of key, is symbolized by

ˌ Key elevated.

ˏ Key depressed.

Other signs.

•. (88). Whistle.

(82). Other alphabetic forms may be introduced to show the combinations c∘o, c∘u, etc., with excess of either element. The sign of trill, inner or outer formation, etc., may be similarly combined, by superposition, or otherwise, with the letter to which they refer.

Revised Organic Alphabet.

General Principles.

In the above exposition I have abstained as far as possible from criticism, only pointing out the more obvious errors of Bell's analysis for the reader's guidance. It will now be necessary to carry out our criticism in detail, in order to justify the alterations proposed. These alterations are of two kinds, 1) those which deal with the *shapes* of the letters, 2) those which are the result of difference of *analysis*.

Before entering on the details of the former class of alterations, it will be as well to make a few remarks on the principles of sound-symbolization from a purely graphic point of view. It is evident that the two main requisites are *distinctiveness* and *simplicity*, which are, to a certain extent, opposed to one another, this opposition becoming more and more marked as the number of letters increases. The co-existence of such letters as I l i in the Roman alphabet, and, to a less extent, of o c e, is a sin against distinctiveness, while such letters as g, Sanskrit ओ=*o*, or almost any one of the German capitals, are equally objectionable from the second point of view. The complexity of the Roman alphabet is enormously increased by its often having perfectly distinct forms for the same letter according as it is lower case, capital or italic—a A *a*, g G *g*. It is evident that no forms can be more distinctive and, at the same time, simpler than those on which Visible Speech is mainly based—| O. The distinctiveness of Visible Speech is, however, limited by its principle of indicating the relations of the sounds by a corresponding resemblance between their symbols, so that, of course, the more closely allied two sounds are, the slighter will be the difference between their symbols. It has, for instance, been urged as an objection to Visible Speech that its distinction between narrow and wide is too minute. I do not believe that it is, but if it were—if the distinction between ſ and ſ were one which might easily escape a cursory reader—it is of little importance, the distinction not being meant for cursory readers, and the objectors for-

› lip, ⁾ lip-back, (‹ back-lip), as in ɯ› (*rj*), ɱ› (*jɾ*). The principle of providing modifiers for all the fundamental actions has been carried out consistently, the following being the remaining consonant-modifiers: ˢ blade, ˙ stop, ‖ open, ˀ glottal stop. The first is formed from s, the last from x, while ‖ is formed on the analogy of the existing ‖ (divided). ˀ after a consonant denotes simultaneous closure of the glottis ('implosion,' *Hb.* § 224).

Bell's signs for inner and outer being liable to confusion with the nasal sign ˢ, ˂ and ˃ have been substituted, which are also turned upwards and downwards ˄ and ˅ to indicate raising and lowering, for which Bell has no sign, thus f˂ inner (i), f˄ raised (i).

Bell's symbolization of breath, whisper and voice is in some respects rather arbitrary, and requires extension. This has been effected by various modifications of the o. o itself has been taken to signify breath without any oral modification, the breath-glide being symbolized by a smaller circle, thus ɑ°= Danish (kh). When the breath-glide is simply a gliding devocalization of a following vowel, the same smaller circle is placed on a glide-vowel stem, thus ɐ̯=ordinary (ha) (*Hb.* § 195 foll., § 210 foll.) ° is a *stress*-glide (or aspiration), and to denote the ordinary stressless glide in English *ka*, etc., which only requires to be written in very minute notation, a still smaller circle is used, as in ɑ·̯ (*Hb.* § 212, 1). The corresponding stressless voice-glide is symbolized by ˙, a shortened voice-symbol, as in ɑ˙̯ (*Hb.* § 212, 2), ɑ˙̯. These last two doubled, ˸ ˙, are employed as modifiers, thus f˸ voiceless (i). From ◦ is formed the whisper-glide ◦ on the analogy of °, and the modifier ◗, thus f◗=whispered (i).

The signs for in- and out-going breath, ‹ and ›, have been retained, but only as modifiers, Bell's breath-glide being expressed by °. Instead of Bell's dot it has been thought simpler to extend the ˙ to breath-stoppage also: ˃ emission-stopper, ˂ inhalation-stopper ('click').

The signs for closeness and openness, ʌ and ʋ, have also been retained, but only in their strict applications. From them, the marks of syllabic stress have been formed, ˈ and ˌ,

the latter signifying weak stress, the former strong. ˋ is, for convenience, shortened into a simple point, as employed by Mr. Ellis, (·) being used for strong, (··) for extra strong, (:) for half stress. To indicate non-syllabic force on an isolated element, these signs are lowered, ɑ.ʃ, the (.) being employed in order to prevent confusion with the ordinary full stop. Lastly from ˋ and ˊ are formed the modifiers ˸ and ˺ to symbolize narrowness and wideness respectively, ɔ˸, for instance, being narrow (w).

The holder ʽ is shortened (ʽ) to denote half-length, and this latter inverted (ˌ) is the sign of shortness, instead of Bell's arbitrary (ˈ).

‿ between two symbols denotes absence of glide, and) shows that the preceding symbol is a glide. At first the plan of inclosing the symbol in ( ) was tried, but this was found cumbrous, and only the second half was retained.

As Bell's link is appropriated for breath, the sign + has been introduced to denote simultaneousness. * is used as a general modifier to indicate that the preceding symbol is not to be read literally, but with some implied modification.

The following are the main principles that have been followed in the above alterations and extensions: 1) to avoid isolated symbols, as in the abandonment of Bell's breath-glide and mark of shortness; 2) to provide separate modifying-symbols for all the organic actions; 3) to make the modifiers thinner than the corresponding full symbols; 4) glides, etc., being made into modifiers by doubling.

Other symbols (especially those whose adoption requires further consideration) will be described hereafter.

In the present imperfect state of our knowledge of intonation, Bell's symbols will suffice for general purposes.

Detailed List of Symbols.

General Symbols.

Modifiers naturally *follow* the letter they refer to. An exception may often be made in the case of *tones*, which generally apply to groups of sounds, not merely to single

ones. See the specimens in my *Spoken Swedish*. When several are applied to one letter, that one which is associated most intimately with it comes first. Thus the symbols of quantity and stress come after the more special ones of rounding, closeness, elevation, etc., as in ɷ˕, ɷ', ɷ˔', stress-marks following those of quantity. When modifiers are applied to *groups* of sounds, such as a sentence or paragraph, they must be written before them, either in the way indicated above, p. 202, or else simply by prefixing the symbol, which must then be separated a little from the first letter of the group it modifies. Thus the sentence *come up!* might be written ˈ ɑ]ꜰ]ɒ, ˌ ɑ]ꜰ]ɒ, according as it is uttered with nasality, slowly, quickly, energetically, etc. If the prefixed modifier is meant to apply only to a *portion* of the group, the point where its application ceases can be marked by repeating it with the stop-symbol after it, thus ˈn would indicate cessation of nasality.

* *general modifier*. See p. 207. Used wherever a special modifier is not provided or is inconvenient, or else to indicate doubtful or imperfectly analysed modifications. Thus ᴗ*= any variety of English (*þ*), such as the Danish ᴗ, ɟ* (*a*) with some peculiar form of nasality. Retained in Romic.

\+ *link* denotes simultaneity. Thus ɷ+ɷ palatalized (r). Not much required in the revised alphabet, which provides special modifiers, the above sound, for instance, being written ɷ˕. The final consonant in English *open* (*Hb.* p. 213) is ꜰ+ŋ, which with the modifiers would be written ʒ˖ɒ˖ɒ˖ŋ. Retained in Romic.

ˑ ˌ ˈ *quantity*. ˑ=full, ˌ half length, and ˈ ordinary shortness, usually left unmarked. Extra length or drawl is indicated by ˑˑ, extra shortness or abruptness by ˈˈ, intermediate quantities by ˑˌ between full and half, ˌˈ between half and short, etc. In Romic ı may be used, but as this is liable to confusion with *i*, a simple stroke is better, which may be cut in two, and inverted, just like ˈ: it may be regarded as the stroke of *d*, etc., written separate.[1]

[1] In this paper I have temporarily used the Organic stop-symbol ı.

˙ ˙ ˙ ˙ *force.* Only a few of these are required in ordinary writing: (˙) strong stress, (:) half-strong or medium, and (¨) extra-strong. Intermediate degrees can be indicated by (˙:) between strong and medium, (:˙) between medium and weak, etc. Very weak (evanescent) would be indicated by (˜), (˙), weak being hardly ever required. All these denote *syllabic* stress, the mark being placed immediately after that member of the syllable on which the stress begins, as in ɹɔ˙ʃɾ 'a name,' ɹɔʃ˙ɾ 'an aim' (*Hb.* § 257). Of the corresponding marks of absolute, or non-syllabic force, (.), weak, is hardly ever required, and (.) not very often. The latter might be employed in monosyllables, and also in polysyllables, to show that one member of a syllable is uttered with exceptional force, but without altering the general force of the whole syllable as compared with that of the other syllables in the group. In Romic (.) must be used for (.), the negative degrees (˙ .) being left unmarked.

‿]) *glides* (retained in Romic). ‿, denoting glideless combination, is required in such words as the E. ʇɑ‿ʊ (act), as distinguished from the normal ʇɑʊ=ʇɑ˙ʊ, which is the French pronunciation. In such combinations as ɔɒ (nd), ɷɒ (ld), the glidelessness is implied in the juxtaposition of the elements. In the vowels it has been found necessary to distinguish syllabic (such as ɪ) from non-syllabic or glide-vowels (such as ɾ). The term 'glide,' as applied to the second element of such a diphthong as ɜɾ (ai), is not absolutely correct, for the ɾ can be lengthened indefinitely, if only the continuity of stress is observed (IIb. § 201), and it is not till we begin a new stress on the second element that monosyllabic ɜɾ becomes dissyllabic ɜɪ. The rigorously correct definition of ɾ is, therefore, *non-syllabic* vowel, implying weak stress, and generally also shortness and transitional configuration, on which latter the term 'glide-vowel' is founded. A consonant is generally non-syllabic, hence ɷ˗ is practically identical with ɾ. Many of the combinations in which consonants appear as 'syllabics' do not require any special marking, as in ɑʇɷɷ (cattle), which can be pronounced only in one way. Sometimes, however, a 'syllabic-former' is

required. For this purpose] may be used, to be regarded as a special modification of the vowel stem ɪ, a syllabic consonant being an approximation to a vowel. Thus in ɾɷɷɑ (milk) either of the two liquids might take the syllabic stress and become syllabic, but the actual pronunciation is ɾɷɷ]ɑ. [I used to analyse this word as ɾɷɪɷɑ (mj*u*lk), misled by the frequent rounding of the liquid, which is often ɷ (l*w*).] Practically, however, this word is unambiguous, because ɾɷ]ɷɑ would naturally be written ɾlɷɑ, or, at most, ɾlɷɑ, if the consonantal narrowing were very marked. When it is necessary to emphasize the gliding, non-syllabic character of a consonant, the 'glide-former' or non-syllabic modifier) is used. Thus the E. *try* is strictly ʊʊ)ɷ]ɹ. This sign may be usefully employed to distinguish between the length of a diphthongic vowel and the length of the transition between the preceding full vowel and it. Thus]ɹ denotes actual lengthening of the second element, while]ɹ) implies that the transition or glide between the two positions is made slowly. It will be observed that these symbols do not distinguish with absolute strictness between non-syllabicness and gliding, which it is, indeed, often very difficult to do. The distinction could be made, if necessary, by retaining) in the former value, and indicating glides in the strict sense by smaller sizes of the non-syllabic vowels and of the ordinary consonants. At present it is safer to err on the side of vagueness.

› (!), ‹ (¡), ▸ (ʔ), ◂ (ʔ), *breath-directors*. Of these the out-breather or expiration-sign › is hardly ever required, being implied in ordinary writing. The in-breather or inhalation-sign ‹ must, of course, be written when required. ▸ ◂ imply respectively outwards and inwards motion of the air in the mouth without out- or in-breathing. The latter is the click-sign, as in ʊ◂, the ordinary *tut!* ▸ denotes what Mr. A. G. Bell (*V. S.* p. 126) calls an 'expulsive' click. Thus ɑ▸ would imply (k)-position with shut glottis and throat-contraction, and consequent percussive escape of the squeezed air when the ɑ is relaxed. All these signs are modifiers.

Cessation of breath is indicated by the breath-glide followed

by the stop symbol, ˙ı, which, if necessary, may be combined in one symbol. Thus ʃɑ˙ı (ak) without 'recoil.'

ʌv ($^{1}{}_{1}$), *close, open.* These signs must be carefully distinguished from those of force. A (j) formed with the front of the tongue as near the palate as possible, ɷʌ, may be uttered with any degree of force, as also the relaxed ɷv, which is practically equivalent to ɾ (i) or ɾ (*i*). Closeness and openness are, on the other hand, closely related to raising and lowering respectively, ɷʌ being practically equivalent to ɷ˗. In the case of the back sounds they are generally more nearly related to retraction.

ː ˑ ($^{11}{}_{11}$), *narrow, wide.* Occasionally required for consonants. Thus ɔːˑ=the consonantized ɨ or ʉ, in French *oui*, ɔːˑ=E. *w.* Also occasionally required for the glides ɪ (ʌ) and ɤ (ʌ*w*), whose narrowness is generally left undecided.

˗ ˖ ($^{1}{}_{1}$) *raised, lowered* ˂ ˃ (˳ ˳) *inner, outer.* [˗ raised Danish (e), ʃ˃ advanced Danish (a). The normal positions may be emphasized by employing both signs of either pair, thus [˗˖ the normal French (e). The vertical and horizontal modifiers can be combined, thus [˗˂ (e) raised and retracted at the same time. These combinations could be effected by making the horizontal stems of ˂ and ˃ point obliquely upwards or downwards to indicate simultaneous raising or lowering.

c ɔ (ɟ†) *inversion, protrusion.* ʊc inverted (cerebral) (t), ʊɔ (t) formed on the lips. With a lip-sound ɔ may be used to indicate lip-pouting, thus ɨɔ Scotch or German (u). Different degrees may be distinguished by doubling the symbols or combining them with ˂ and ˃.

ʲ ˞ ˠ ʱ (*x, j, ɻ, v, w*) *back, front, point, lip, lip-back modifiers.* The last is exactly parallel to ɔ, implying inner rounding. ɷʲ gutturalized (l), ɷ˞ palatalized (r), ʃʱ muffled (a), distinct from ʃ=ʃʱ. A special application of ʱ is to denote abnormal degrees of vowel-rounding. Thus the Swedish (o) may be written ʃʱ, implying one degree more of rounding. Further distinctions may be made by doubling the ʱ or adding ʌ or v. Observe that ʱ is written, not ʊ, because the inner rounding is implied in the vowel symbol itself. Defective rounding is

symbolized by adding ɒ to the symbol of the unrounded vowel, thus 1ɒ=1 with low-rounding=Swedish short *u* (Spoken Swedish, p. 8). Absence of inner rounding may be emphasized by writing ɔ̟, and varieties of inner rounding by ɔ̹, ɔ̜, ɔ̠. The point-modifier is required in writing vowels into which an inverted (r) is incorporated (*Hb.* § 170), as in the Kentish *sparrow*=sɒ̗ɹ̩c.

ˢ (*s*) *blade-modifier.* A (t) formed by stopping an (s) would be written tˢ, a position intermediate to (s) and (ʃ), would be written sˢ. In Romic it could be expressed by (ʃs).

ˈ ˌ ʰ ʷ (*γ*, *ʔ*, §§, §), *stopped, open, divided, unilateral modifiers.* ʷ is applied to vowels as well as consonants, as in Fʷ, where it implies unilateral rounding. The other modifiers are not much required, being incorporated in the ordinary symbols. tˢ might also be written sˈ. ˈ is also used without ambiguity in a wider sense to denote cessation of breath, etc. (pp. 208, 210). ˌ may be applied to vowels to denote the converse of rounding, iˌ for instance=(i) with spread lips, the neutral English vowel being emphasized by writing iˌə.

ⁿ ʳ (*n*, *r*) *nasal, trill modifiers.* The strong French nasality can be distinguished as ⁿv. According to Storm (Englische Philologie, p. 36) the nasal vowels in Polish assume before dentals a dental, before labials a labial character, as in *pęnta Dąbrowski*, which can be indicated by writing ⁿt, ᵐp.

o ° • ᵍ ˑ (hʰ, h, h), h, *h*) *breath-consonant, strong breath-glide,* or *aspirate, weak breath-glide, vowel breath-glide, breath-modifier.* See p. 206.

ɪ ɨ ˈ ː [ᴀ, ᴀ̬, ', *a*] *voice-glide, voice-glide round, weak voice-glide, voice-modifier.* See p. 206. ː may be used to express various degrees of vocality, as in cː, cːː, as opposed to the normal c or cːˑ.

ˀ ˌ (ˀ ;) *throat-stop, throat-stop modifier.* See p. 206.

ɸ θ ʰ ˌ (ɹ̥, ɹ, ̊, ʿ) *throat-open cons., throat-open voice, whisper-glide, whisper-modifier.* See p. 206. ʿ is added to the voiced symbol, thus (nʿ)=ŋ. It does not seem possible to reproduce the distinction between ° and • in the voice and whisper series, on account of the obstruction of the breath and consequent difficulty of differentiating the force of its

outgoing. The voiced whisper-glide (ɦ), if pronounced strongly enough to be distinguishable from simple ', becomes practically equivalent to the full consonantal ɦ, and hence no special symbol has been provided for it.

It will be observed that ɦ and its modifications are ambiguous, being, in fact, general signs for all throat-actions except those which produce voice. The difficulties of practical discrimination make it safest to retain Bell's comparatively vague symbols for the present.

Vowels.

ɭ (ɯ) high-back-narrow. Armenian ɭs 'the.'

ɭ (*u*) high-back-wide.

ɾ (ʊ) mid-back-narrow. E. *up*.

ɾ (a) mid-back-narrow. E. and Italian *a*. The E. sound is nearly ɾɯ : the evanescence of the glide-vowel may be expressed by writing ɾɯ).

ɾ (*ɒ*) low-back-narrow. Vulg. London *park*, Dutch *land*.

ɾ (*a*) low-back-wide. Sc. *man*, Fr. *â*, ɾ Fr. *an*.

I (i) high-mixed-narrow. Russian *y*, Welsh *u*, Sw. dialectal *i* in *Viby*, all fall under this vowel, the first two being apparently identical. The last is apparently retracted I˕, the *y* in *Viby* being I◦, with outer rounding only, distinct from ɪ. But I cannot speak with certainty about these Swedish sounds, for which see Lundell, *Landsmålsalfabetet*.

ɪ (ɪ) high-mixed-wide.

ɭ (ë) mid-mixed-narrow. American ɭɾ (earth). Bell writes this American diphthong with I, but repeated hearing has convinced me that he is wrong. German, etc., unacc. *e* in *gabe* is, perhaps, sometimes ɭ, its shortness making recognition difficult.

ɭ (*e*) mid-mixed-wide. E. ɭɾ˕ (eye).

I (ä) low-mixed-narrow. E. Iɾ (earth).

I (*ȧ*) low-mixed-wide. E. ɐIɜ (how). South German *käse*, etc., seems to have this vowel (ɑ'Iɜs) rather than ɭ.

ɾ (i) high-front-narrow. Fr. *fini*, Sc. *sick*. ɾ Portug. *sim*.

ɾ (*i*) high-front-wide. E. >ɾɔɾ- (finny).

ɾ (e) mid-front-narrow. Fr. *été*. ɾ- Danish *se*.

ɾ (*e*) mid-front-wide. E. *pen*. Fr. *père*.

ɾ (æ) low-front-narrow. Sc. *men*. ɾ Fr. *vin*.

ɾ (*æ*) low-front-wide. E. *man*.

ɨ (u) high-back-narrow. Fr. *sou*. Sc. *book*. ɨ Sw. *kung*. ɨ Port. *um*.

ɨ (*u*) high-back-wide. E. *book*.

ɟ (o) mid-back-narrow. Fr. *beau*. ɟ Sw. Dan. *sol*. ɟ- Norw. *sol*. (Storm, p 70, note 1.)

ɟ (*o*) mid-back-wide. E. *owe*, *boy*. Fr. *or*. North G. *gott*. ɟ Fr. *on*.

ɟ (ɔ) low-back-narrow. E. *law*, almost ɯɟɨɨ. ɟ Norw. *så*. ɟɴ Dan., ɟɴ Sw. *så* (see p. 233).

ɟ (*ɔ*) low-back-wide. E. *not*. ɟ Sw. *hopp* (?).

ɨ (u) high-mixed-narrow. Norw. *hus*. ɨ- Sw. *hus*.

ɨ (*u*) high-mixed-wide. Vulg. E. ɒɾɨɛ (two).

ɨ (o) mid-mixed-narrow.

ɨ (*o*) mid-mixed-wide. Fr. *dot*.

ɨ (ɔ) low-mixed-narrow.

ɨ (*ɔ*) low-mixed-wide. Sw. dialectal *son*.

ɾ (y) high-front-narrow. Fr. *lune*. ɾ Sw. *y*.

ɾ (*y*) high-front-wide. Germ. *hutte*.

ɾ (ə) mid-front-narrow. Fr. *peu*.

ɾ (*ə*) mid-front-wide. Fr. *peur*.

ɾ (œ) low-front-narrow. Sw. *hora*. ɾ Fr. *un*.

ɾ (*œ*) low-front-wide.

Glide-Vowels.

ɪ (ʌ) voice-glide. E. ɐɾɨɪ (here).

ɨ (ʌʊ) voice-glide-round. E. ɐɟɨɛ (how).

These symbols imply a traditional murmur without fixed configuration. In deliberate utterance the above words

might be written ɐfʜɪ, ɐɪʜɛ. ɪ might be written in the slurred pronunciation of *against*—ɪɐʃɔɔ.

The other glide-vowels being simply the full vowel symbols shortened, do not require to be enumerated.

Consonants.

ɸ (ɻ) throat(-open-breath). ɸʌ=Arabic *kha* (ʔ).

ɸ (ʁ) throat-voice. ɸɒ=Dan. *r*. ɸʌ=Arabic *ain* (ʔ).

x (ˌ) throat-stop (glottal catch). Danish 'stödtone.'

c (x) back. Sc. and Germ. *loch*.

ɕ (ɣ) back-voice. Middle Germ. *tage*. ɕ›(ɤ)=Germ. *r*.

ɔ (ç) front. Sc. *hue*. Germ. *ich*. ɔ› Germ. *zuchtig*. ɔ›ɒ South Sw. *skepp*.

ɒ (j) front-voice. E. *yes*.

ʊ (ɾ) point. ʊɤ=Icel. *hr*.

ɯ (r) point-voice. E. *red*. ɯɤ=Sc. *red*. ɯ› Russ. *rï*. The Sw. 'thick' *l* (Hb. p. 214, Storm, p. 24) may be symbolized by ɯʜ, implying an attempt to combine ɯɕ and ɯ. The Japanese *r* (Hb. § 244) is ɯ)ɯ.

s (s) blade. E. *hiss*. sɤ is apparently the German *s* in *stein*. s› Russ. *sï*. sɕ Sw. *kors*.

s (z) blade-voice. E. *is*.

ƨ (ʃ). blade-point. E. *fish*. ƨ› Germ. *sch*. ƨ› Polish *ś*, Norw. *sjæl* (Storm, p. 43).

ƨ (ʒ) blade-point-voice. E. *measure*.

ʊ (þ) point-teeth. E. *thin*.

ʊ (ð) point-teeth-voice. E. *then*. ʊ› Dan. *gud*.

ɔ (ɸ) lip. Romaic ɸ (ʔ).

ɜ (β) lip-voice. Middle and South Germ. *w*.

> (f) lip-teeth. >› Russ. *krotï*.

ɜ (v) lip-teeth-voice.

ɛ (ɻ) back-divided.

ɛ (ɾ) back-divided-voice. Russian and Polish guttural *l*.

ɷ (l̥) front-divided.

ɷ (l) front-divided-voice. Italian *gl*.

ꞷ (l̥) point-divided. Icel. *hl.* ꞷʰ Welsh *ll.*

ꞷ (l) point-divided-voice. English *l.* ꞷ‹ Dutch *l.* ꞷ› French *l.*

ɜ (ɸ*) lip-divided.

ɞ (β*) lip-divided-voice.

ɑ (k) back-stop. ɑ› older E. *kind.* ɑʱ Russ. *komnata.*

ɡ (g) back-stop-voice.

ɑ (c) front-stop. ɑʲ = Russian *t'.*

ɱ (ɟ) front-stop-voice. ɱʲ = Russian *d'.*

ɔ (t) point-stop. ɔʲ Fr. *tête.* ɔ› Sw. *kort.*

ɖ (d) point-stop-voice.

ɒ (p) lip-stop. ›ı Germ. *p* in *pfund.*

ɒ (b) lip-stop-voice.

ɹ (q) back-nasal.

ɻ (q) back-nasal-voice. E. *sing.*

ɭ (u̯) front-nasal.

ɭ (ñ) front-nasal-voice. Ital. *gn.*

ɔ (n̥) point-nasal. Icel. *hn.*

ɔ (n) point-nasal-voice.

ɾ (m̥) lip-nasal.

ɾ (m) lip-nasal-voice.

ɕ (x*w*) back-lip. Germ. *auch.*

ɕ (ɣ*w*) back-lip-voice. Germ. *auge.*

ɔ (ʍ) lip-back. E. *wh.*

ɔ (w) lip-back-voice. E. *w.*

Revised Romic.

The general principles of the Revised Romic notation here employed have been already indicated in outline.

The main distinction between this notation and the older one used in my *Handbook* is the introduction of diacritical letters and new types whenever they are already in existence, italics being restricted as much as possible to the function of

modifiers, which are made as complete as possible, so as to facilitate the symbolization of new sounds. Capitals have been eliminated entirely, because they are often not provided for several founts, and because they do not readily admit of diacritical modification; but they may, when convenient, still be employed to denote special sounds. When italics fail as modifiers, punctuation and other marks are employed, as by Mr. Ellis, though necessarily with frequent deviations from his usage.

The main improvement in the vowels has been the consistent symbolizing of the mixed vowels by two dots above the corresponding front open, and back round vowels, (ä) and (*a*) being for the sake of convenience used instead of dotted (æ) and (*æ*). A single dot may be used to denote intermediate positions, thus (ȧ)=ɐ̈. (ᴠ) and (ᴀ) have been superseded by (ɯ) and (*ɯ*), which at once suggest relationship with (u) and (*u*).

In the consonants the use of β, ç, ð, ʒ, ŧ, ñ, φ, ʃ, ƀ, ȝ, taken from the Anglo-Saxon, Greek, and various European alphabets, and from Pitman's Phonotypy, is self-evident. (x) is used in preference to χ, as its italic (*x*) gives the necessary back-modifier. For the fronts the (c) and ç of Sanskrit transliteration recommend themselves, while the turned ɟ is convenient for ɱ, being readily associated with (j). The voiceless and front liquids and nasals offer great difficulties, which have been more or less successfully overcome by a combination of turning and dotting, the latter being familiar in Sanskrit transliteration. It was impossible to carry out either of these methods exclusively, because some liquids, such as (w), are not provided with dots, while (n) cannot be inverted. ɔ and ɷ offer the greatest difficulty, and the only resource has been to fall back on italics.

Details will be best seen in the following (as near as possible) alphabetical list, in which turned follow unturned, italic unitalic, modified unmodified, and foreign the nearest native letters. When a turned letter, however, suggests associations with some other letter, it follows that letter; thus (ɔ) follows (o). The organic equivalents are not

repeated where the symbols are identical in both systems The forms in brackets are optional ones.

a = ɜ
ɐ = ɹ
a = ɾ
ɐ = ɾ
æ = ɻ
æ = ɻ
a = ɪ
a = ɪ
b = ɒ
β = ɔ
c = ɑ
ç = ɔ
d = ɷ
ð = ʊ [δ]
e = ⟨
ɵ = ⟨
e = ⟨
ɵ = ⟨
ë = ⟩
e = ⟩
f = >
g = ɑ
ɣ = ɛ [γ]
h = °, ʕ
h = :
h*h* = ɔ [ʜ]
ɦ = ‖
i = ſ
i = ſ
ï = ɪ
ɪ = ɪ
j = ɯ
j = ˎ
ɟ = ɯ
k = ɑ
ɳ = ı
l = ɯ
l = ɯ
ļ = ɯ
ļ = ɯ
ŧ = ɛ
ŧ = ɛ
m = ꟻ
m̥ = ɾ
n = ɔ
n = ſ
n̥ = ɔ
ñ = ɾ
n̥ = ɾ
o = ⟩
ɔ = ⟩
o = ⟩
ɔ = ⟩
œ = ɻ
œ = ɻ
o = ⟩
ö = ɪ [ɔ]
o = ⟩
ɔ = ɪ [ʃ]
p = ɒ
ɸ = ɔ
q = ꟻ
q = ɹ
r = ɯ
r = ſ
ɾ = ɔ
ɹ = ɸ
ɹ = ɸ
s = ꞩ
s = ſ
ʃ = ƨ [f]
t = ɔ

ʔ = ˋ
þ = ∪ [θ]
u = ɬ
u = ɬ
ü = ɬ
u = ɬ
ɯ = ɭ
ɯ = ɭ
v = ⩾
ʌ = I
v = ⟩
ɑ = ⁝
w = ⟃
ʌ = ⟄
w = ⟅
x = c
x = (
y = f
y = f
z = s
ʒ = ε
(a)ː = ˖ [aa, aɪ]
aˑ
a. = ⨕
a: = ⨕
a, = ⨕

a, = ⨕
(') = ˈ
z' = ⩾
; = x
; = ɪ[:]
! = ›
¡ = ‹
ʔ = ▸
ʔ = ◂
)
]
ᵕ
*
ɬ = c
† = ɔ
§ = ᵘ
§§ = ᵸ
a¹ = ⨕
j¹¹ = ϖ
a₁ = ⨕
j₁₁ = ϖ
r+*j* = ω+ϖ
= (*Hb.* § 182)
≺
≻

General List of Symbols.

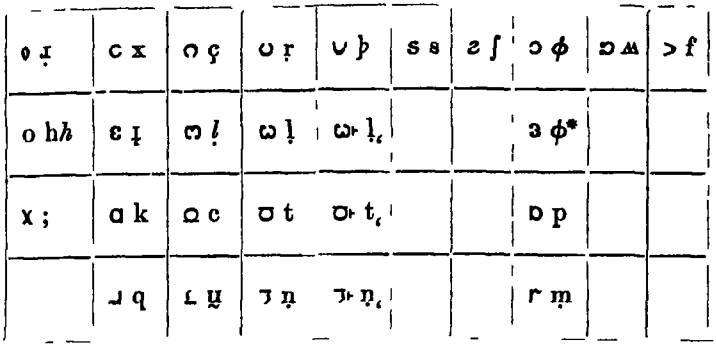
Vowels and Glide-Vowels.

ɪ ɯ	ɪ ï	ɾ i	ɪ *ɯ*	ɪ *ɨ*	ɾ *i*
ɔ ʊ	ɪ ë	ɾ e	ɔ a	ɪ *ė*	ɾ *e*
ɔ *ɒ*	ɪ ä	ɪ æ	ɔ *a*	ɪ *a*	ɪ *æ*
ɪ u	ɪ ü	ɾ y	ɪ *u*	ɪ *u*	ɾ *y*
ɔ o	ɪ o	ɾ ɵ	ɔ *o*	ɪ *o*	ɾ *ə*
ɔ ɔ	ɪ ɔ	ɪ œ	ɔ *ɔ*	ɪ *ɔ*	ɪ *œ*

General Symbols.

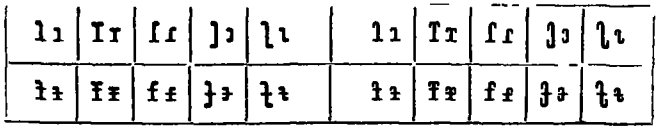
*	+	ˈ	ˌ	ˑ	·	:	ˑ
ˌ (.)	ˑ	=	<	>	‿	]	)
˃ !	˂ ¡	˃ ʔ	˂ ʡ	ʌ (1)	v (1)	ː (11)	ˑ (11)
ˌ (1)	ˑ (1)	˂ (ˌ)	˃ (ˌ)	c ǂ	ɔ †	(*x*	) *j*
) *ɻ*	) *v*	ɔ *w*	ɔ *s*	ı *ɣ*	ıı *ɦ*	ʜ §§	ʜ §
ɔ *n*	ɔ *r*	∘ h	ɔ h	ˑ h)	ː *ħ*	ɪ ʌ	
ɪ ʌ*v*	ˈ (')	ː *a*	ɪ ;	ˈ (")	ˈ (")		

Consonants.

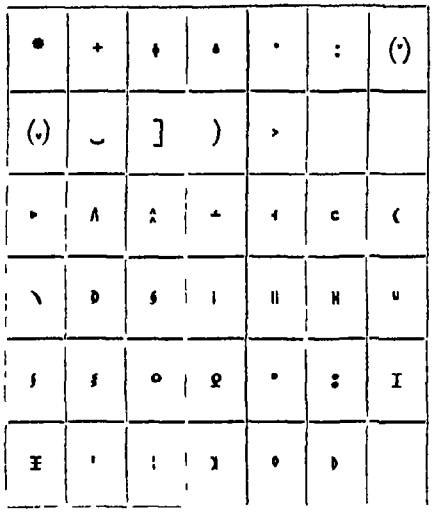


All the organic symbols are printed from the following types.

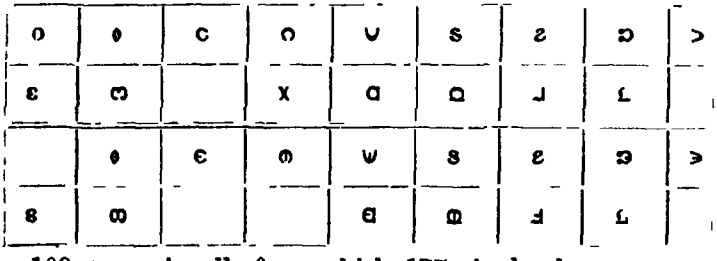
40 Vowels and Glide-vowels.



39 General Symbols.



30 Consonants.



109 types in all, from which 177 single characters are printed.

Specimens.

The following specimens will give the means of judging of the practical working of the revised Organic and Romic notations, and, at the same time, will sum up the latest results of the analysis of the sounds of these languages, which, it need hardly be said, is far from being final. The improvements in the French specimen are almost entirely due to the criticisms of Professor Storm.

English.

The following key-words will show the English vowels as I now analyse them :

] (ɐ)	come	ɑ]ꜰ	(kɐm)
]ɬ (aɪ)	far	>]ɬ	(faɪ)
]ꜰ (ei$_1$)	eye	]ꜰ	(ei$_1$)
]ɬ (ȧɪ)	burn	ɞ]ɬɔ	(baɪn)
]ɪ (aʊ)	how	ɋ]ɪ	(haʊ)
] (a)	together	ɔ]ɑ [ʊ]	(tagɛðə)
ſ,ſ- (i,i$_1$)	finny	>ſɔſ-	(fɪni$_1$)
ſꜰ (ii^1)	see	sſꜰ	(sii^1)
ſɬ (iɪa)	hear	ɋſɬ	(hiɪa)
[(e)	men	ꜰ[ɔ	(men)
[ꜰ (ei$_1$)	mane	ꜰ[ꜰɔ	(mei$_1$n)
[ɬ (ɛɪa)	air	[ɬ	(ɛɪa)
[(æ)	man	ꜰ[ɔ	(mæn)
ł (u)	full	>łɷ	(fʊl)
łɜ (uu^1)	fool	>łɜɷ	(fuu^{1}l)
łɬ (uɪa)	poor	ɒłɬ	(puɪa)
ʒꜰ (oi$_1$)	boy	ɞʒꜰ	(boi$_1$)
ʒɜ (oo^1)	no	ɔʒɜ	(noo^1)
ʒɬ (ɔɪ)	naught	ɔʒɬɒ	(nɔɪt)
ʒ (ɔ)	not	ɔʒɒ	(nɔt)
ɪ (ɔ̈)	follow	>ʒɷɪ	(fɔlɔ̈)

The consonants are : ɋ(h), ɯ(j), ɷ(r), ʋ(þ), ɯ(ð), s(ʂ), ʂ(z), ƨ(ʃ), ɐ(ʒ), ɔ(ʍ), ɜ(w), >(f), ɜ(v) ; ɷ(l) ; ɑ(k), ɞ(g), ɒ(t), ɯ(d), ɒ(p), ɞ(b) ; ɹ(q), ɔ(n), ꜰ(m).

Sentences.

1) kʉmu·pat ·wʉns. 2) :ðisizða ·þaid *t*e*i*me*i*v haidavizri tain. 3) -hij dʉznt sijmt*a* fijlit*a* təl. 4) hʉaran ðæʉarand *evri*ʍæ*a*. 5) -ðei keim bækð*a* sɛim d*ei*. 6) -ð*a* mænuwh·æðða ·hætaniz hed. 7) -*ei*d raiðau·ʊt *goo*ˡ*e*·n*ɪ* faiða. 8) ha*ʊ* heiizð·æt ta*ʊa*ˋ. 9) -ab·aʊt fɔitiɔ fifti ·fijte*i*fadþ·ɪqk. 10) -wɪl *juw* kɛm t*uw*'. 11) -*ei*m *ʃuʉarei* do*o*ˡnt no*o*ˡ. 12) -*ei* sɔimfar*a* mo*o*ˡmintatð*a* dɔ*ɪa*. 13) ɔil waikan no*o*ˡ plei mɛiks dʒærka dɛl bo*i*. 14) ʍitʃwʉn wɔzit. 15) -*ei* þɔit ðætwaz ɔil dɛnwɪð. 16) -*ei* didnt sij dʒɔidʒat tʃaitʃtad·*ei*.

1) *Come up at once.* 2) *This is the third time* I *have* heard of his return. 3) He does not seem to feel it at all. 4) Here and there and everywhere. 5) They came back the same day. 6) The man who had the hat on his head. 7) I would rather not go any farther. 8) How high is that tower? 9) About forty or fifty feet I should think. 10) Will you come too? 11) I am sure I do not know. 12) I saw him for a moment at the door. 13) All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy. 14) Which one was it? 15) I thought that was all done with. 16) I did not see George at church to-day.

Prose.

(For key see p. 177.)

.

mɪ.ɑɾɹɯ↓ c ɾɪ- e sɪsɑ↓ɾc zoɛs 'sɛɭɔs ɒɹmɛɒɛ[ɯɔ ɔɛɭ.ɯɛ-
sɪoʃɯ ɬɯɒ sɐʏɒ ,ɑɹʃoʊɛɯɪɑ sɹsɹɯʃ ɾɹɔoɪɯʃɐ ɾɑɯɔɑɯʃɯ
ɾɹɟɐsɾɔoɾc- ,sɪoʃɯ ɪʌɟɹɾɪ.ɪo. ɔoɪɯ- ,ɹɟɐ ɑɪʌ. ɪʌ-

'sɾc↓ɟɒɾɔɹɯɔ ɹɯ-
ɾɹɑf ɾɪɾɾɹɯɐɪsɭs bɪʌɬɐ ɹɹɹ.ɐɛɬ↓sʍf ɑɛɾ- ,sɪoʃɯ ɛɟoɹɾɹɯ
ɪɛɟɹɒɯɐɪbɹɯɑɪ ɹɯɑɭɯ ɹɹɹ.ɐɛɾ- ,sɪoʃɯ ɬɯɒ ɪɛ↓ɬɐɯɔɾɾɛ
ɑɪoɾɹɯɒ ɪʌɛ-ɹɟɬɔ↓ɬɐ ɹʌɯ- 'sɹɭ ɑɹɔɬɐ ɹɯɪɾɯɑɟ ɑɪɬɛɾɹɹs
ɹɟɛɾ- ,(ɯ↓ɬɐɒ ɪɯɑɛɾɹ.ɐɛɟɔɪʌsɪoʃɯ ɬɯɒ ɪɛ↓ɟɹɾɭ ɾʌɯɬs:
ɹɬɐ ɔɟɛ ɬɬ↓-) ,ɑɹɭɯ ɒɹʌʃsɯɛ[ɯɔ ɹɟɛɯ↓ɑɪɭɯɯɛɾ- ,ɹɟɾɔɒɪɑ
ɹɒɛ[ɔɒɾɛ: ɪʌɯ.ɹɒɒɹɑɹɒɯ ɬɹ.ɑɪɔɾɪʒɒɹɯɑ ɛɪʌɪʃɑs ɪ-

.'ɯ↓ɬɐɯ ɔɛɾɾɛ ɹɯ[ɯ[ɔɑ[ɒ ɹɛ[ɔɹɾɹɛɒ ɹɯɑɪʌɪ[ɛ.ɬɬɹɯ ʃɹɯ[
ɬɹɟ ɛ[ɛɪʃɹɹɯ ɛɑɛɾ- ,ɹɒɾɹ] ɾɑɪʌɪɯɑɾ[.ɬɬɹɯ sɑɹʏ ɒɹɑɬɯɑ
ɹʃs[ɯ sɪoʃɯ sɹ].ɒ↓ɬɯ ɛɪʌɪɒʌɬ[ɛ ɪɯ- .ɹɑɬɐ ɯɒɛʏs ɬɹɹɯ[ɯɑ
ɪsɹsɹ]ɒ ɹʃs ɹɹɹɹ.ɑsɒɹoɹɯɒ ɬɹ.ɑɹɹɯ. sɪɹɹ]ɹ ɛɟs: ;sɪoʃɯ
ɪɯ[ɹɟɑɬɐ ɪɯɬɯ ɹɑɯɬɹɯ ɪɹɹ.ɒ↓ɬ ɾɪ- ,ɛ[ɐ ɪɑɯɬɹɯ ɪsɒɹoɹɯɒ
ɪɹ.ɑɾɹɹ.ɒɾ[s .sɒ↓ʃɹ ɒɹoɹɯɒ ɬɹ.ɒɛ[ɪɾʒɑ ɪɯɹ]ɑɯɹɯɛ ,sɪoʃɯ
ɒɹɯɒ ɾɪ[ɪɬɹɬɛɯ ɛɪʌsɹs ɾ]ɒ- (ɒɹ-) ,, :(ɹɹ]ɛ ɹoɹɹɛ ɑɯ]ɒ
ɑɹɯɾɐs ɯɛɪsɹɛ) ɯ]ɐ ɹ]ɑɯsɹ]ɹoɯɒ s[ɯ ,ɒɹɐ[ɯ ɑɪɑɾ]os
ɹʃsɪʃsoɯ sɹsoɹɐ[<ɯ] ɒɹoɯɒ ɬɹ].ɑɪɑ[ɛɬ.ɾɒs]ɐ ɪɯ- .,'sɪoʃɯ
ɹɯɛ sɪɔɒɪ ,, ',s]ɹssɹɯ] ɑɪɔsɹ.ɹsɪʒoɹɔ: ,sɒɹoɯɒ ɪɹ]ɑɪɔ-
,ɹɯɒ ɹɑs]ɯ ɪɹɟɬɯ- ,ɟsɯ.ɾɹ]ɑɒ ɪɛɹɪʒɒ]ɑɯ ɑɪɹ]s ɪɯ-

.<ɛ ɹsɪɯɑɪ[ɒ ɹɑ]ɯ ɑɪɬɯ[- ,ɹɹɑɯ sɪʒɑ[s: ,ʒɑɒ<ɬ]s
,s]oʃɯ <ɪɹoɹɾ]ɯ ɪ<ɬɹɒsɛɪʒɹɒ ɹ<ɯɬ.ɹɬ<ɑɛɾɛɹɹɒ ɾɹɾ]ɯɑ
ɪ<ɬɹɔɯɒɾ]<ɹɑ ɪɯɬʃsɯɬ sɪʌ- .sɾ<↓ɬɾoɛɹɔɯɑ ɪʌɛ]ɯɹɯɾ]€ ɪɑɹɹɯɑ
ɑɪɬɒsɛ]ɾɯɹɹɒs ɒɹɛ.ɹɯɬʌ ɪɑo]ɯ- ,ɑ]s ɹɐɹ]ɑɹɹɯɬɯ ɑɪɯ]ɑɯ
ɪsɬ- .ɔɑ s]ɔɑ[.ssɑɬɹɯ.ɒɑɛ]ɛ]sɛɾɒ ɛ]. ,,'ɹ] ɬɬɯ, ʒɹɯɒɬʃ
ɹɯs]ɔɑ[s: ,sɬʌɑɹɯ. ɪ<ɛɹ]s ɯɑɹʒs ɑɹ]€ ɪɑɑ]ɔsɪɯ]ɒ ɬɬ↓ ɛɹɟ
ɹɟɯɯ s]ɔɑ[.ɑɛ[ɛ ɪɑsɑs↓<ɪ ɪʌ- ,soɛ]ɒɯɹɹɑs ɒɹsɹɹɯɑɯ €ɬ-

(ɔæʃlɑ ʃʌɪɐɛɑɹɒæʃʃʌɔ ɜɪɑɯɹʃɹ ɟʌɹɒʞɬ ɒʃ<-)
—ɹɐɓɑ ɾʃɑɯɾɑ ɹ‹ʏ- —ɔɜɾɾʏɜ ɤʃʌɯɬɐɓɑ ɯɐ-
ɾʃɐ ɬɐɟɯ ɑɾʃ-. ɯɐʃ ɾ‹ ɤʃʟ ɑɪɐ-.
ɯɐɓɑ ‹ɑɾʃ< ʃʌɔɜʃ.ɐʃʞɹɾʃɔɑ ɑɯɐɓɑ ɾʃɑɯʌɬɐ
ɾʃ.ɐɟɯ‹ʃ ɜɪʌ\ ɑɬɐʃʌ ɯɐɓɑ ʃɐɯɓɑ ʃ‹-
ɾʃ ʞɬɐɯɓɑ ɯʃɹɔ‹ɾʃɯ ɑɬɐ‹ɯʃs ʃʌʍɬɐ ʃ‹-
:ɯʃɓɑ. Ʌʃɯʍɓɑ ʞɜɜɐɓɑ ʃʌ‹ɯʃs ʃʌɯɬ‹ʌɜɓɑ
ɾɯɑ ‹ʃɜɯʃʃɑ ɑɟʃɯ‹ɔɾɯ Ʌʃɯɓɑ ɾʃɐɬɐ ɔɾ-
ɾʃ ʞɬɐɯɓɑ ɯʃɹɔ‹ɾʃɯ ɑɬɐ‹ɯʃs ʃʌʍɬɐ ʃ‹-
,ɹʃɯ ɑɬɐʃʌ ɯɐɓɑ ɬɜɟɯ ʃʌɯɬ‹ʌɜɓɑ ɑɯ-
ɹɟɯ ɑɬɐʃʌ ɯɐɓɑ ɬɜɟɯ ʃʌɯɬ‹ʌɜɓɑ ɑɯ-
.ɯɐɓɑ ɾʃɑɯɾɑ ɯʃɹɔ‹ɾʃɯ ɑɬɐ‹ɯʃs ʃʌʍɬɐ ʃ‹-
ʃɾɐɬɐ ɬɑɹʃɔ ɾʃɑɯʌɬɐ ɾʃ ʃɔɟɔ ʃʌɯɬ‹ʌɜɓɑ
ɹɟɯ ɑɬɐʃʌ ɯɐɓɑ ɬɜɟɯ ʃʌɯɬ‹ʌɜɓɑ ɑɯ-
ɹɟɯ ɑɬɐʃʌ ɯɐɓɑ ɬɜɟɯ ʃʌɯɬ‹ʌɜɓɑ ɑɯ-
ɾʃɑɯɾɑ ɯʃɹɔ‹ɾʃɯ ɑɬɐ‹ɯʃs ʃʌʍɬɐ ʃ‹

French.

The following are the vowels:

ɑ (a)	patte	pɑt	(pat)
ɑ (*a*)	pâte	pɑt	(p*a*t)
ɑ̃ (*an*)	sang	sɑ̃	(s*an*)
i (i)	fini	fini	(fini)
e (e)	été	ete	(ete)
ɛ (*e*)	père [1]	pɛr	(p*e*r)
ɛ̃ (æn)	vin	væn	(væn)
y (u)	sou	su	(su)
o (o)	beau	bo	(bo)
ɔ (*o*)	or	ɔr	(*o*r)
ɔ̃ (*on*)	son	sɔ̃	(s*on*)
ɔ̃ (*o*)	homme	ɔ̃m	(*o*m)
y (y)	lune	lyn	(lyn)
ø (ə)	peu	pø	(pə)
œ (*ə*)	peur [2]	pœr	(p*ə*r)
œ̃ (œn)	un	œ̃	(œn)

[1] Also in *dette, tête.*
[2] Also in *que.*

It is doubtful whether the following are to be considered as glide-vowels or consonants, but they are here written as glide-vowels:

ɾ (i)	rien [1]	ɛɾɪˌ	(ʒiæn)
ɜˌ (oˈ)	oui	ɜˌɾ	(oˈi)
ɾ (y)	lui	ɯˌɾɾ	(lyi)

The consonants are: cˌ(xr, as in *théatre*), ɛˌ(ʒr), sˌ(s), sˌ(z), zˌ(ʃ), zˌ(ʒ), >(f), >(v); ɯˌ(l, as in *table*), ɯˌ(l); ɑ(k), ɑ(g), ɔˌ(t), ɯˌ(d), ɒ(p), ɐ(b); ʟˌ(ñ, as in *vigne*), ɳˌ(n), ꟻ(m).

ɯɾ ꟻʃɛɑɾ ɳ [ɔɾ ɒɪɛɔɪˌ ɒɪs ɻɳ ɻꟻ ɯɾ ɛ[ɳɾ. ɾɯ [ɔɾ sɻɜɪˌ, ꟻɾ sɻɜɪˌ sɪˌ sɒ[sɾ]ɯɾɔ[',] ꟻɜˌɪˌ ɑ ʃˌ ɳ >ɾɾ]ɒɯ[ɛ ɪˌsɾ' fɳ ɐɛɪˌɯ]ɐɾɯɾɔ[ɒɪɛ sɾɛɔɪˌs ƀɛɪˌɐ sɪˌs fɔɾɯɾɔ[ɻɑfɳ', ɯɾˌ ɳɪs ɻɛɾˌs ɪsˌ[sɪ>ɪˌ ɯɾɾ ɯ ɒ]ɛɯ[ɒɯɾ ɔ]ɐ', [ɑɾ]>[ɔ]ɒsɻɛɐ[ɛfsɑ] ɯ] ɒɪˌsɾɻ', ɛfsɑ] ɯ] ꟻɻɳɻꟻ]ɳɾ' ɯ[ɯɾ ɯ[ɛɳɾ[ɛs]ɳ[ɯ sɻɳ [ɐsɾsɔɪˌs.

lə maʒki n ete puʒtan paz œn om də ʒeni. il ete savan', me savan san spesialitè, a moˈæn k on n vəi apleʒ ænsi' yn gʒanid abilite puʒ seʒtænz uvʒaˈɜ sanz ytilite okyn', don nuz oʒonz ase suvan liə d paʒle ply taˈɪʒ', e ki avet apsoʒbe ʒyska la paɪsion', ʒyska la monomani' le di deʒnieʒz ane d son egzistans.

Le marquis n'était pourtant pas un homme de génie. Il était savant, mais savant sans spécialité, à moins qu'on ne veuille appeler ainsi une grande habilité pour certains ouvrages sans utilité aucune, dont nous aurons assez souvent lieu de parler plus tard, et qui avaient absorbé jusqu'à la passion, jusqu'à la monomanie, les dix dernières années de son existence.

[1] Also in *habiller, deuil.*

German.

The North-German vowels are:

ɜ (a)	mann	fɜn	(man)
ɭ (e)	gerettet	gɭc·tɔɭɔ	(gëg·etët)
iˈ (iˈ)	biene	biˈnɭ	(biˈnë)
ɪ (*i*)	bin	bɪn	(*bi*n)
eˈ (eˈ)	see	seˈ	(s'eˈ)
ɛ (*e*)	fest	ɔfsɔ	(*fe*st)
uˈ (uˈ)	gut	guˈt	(guˈt)
ʊ (*u*)	und	ʊnd	(*u*nt)
oˈ (oˈ)	sohn	soˈn	(s'oˈn)
ɔ (*o*)	sonne	sɔnɭ	(s'*o*në)
yˈ (yˈ)	grün	gcyˈn	(gɣyˈn)
y (*y*)	schützen	ɔʃtsn	(ʃ*y*tsn)
øˈ (əəˈ)[1]	schon	ɔʃøˈn	(ʃəəˈn)
ə (*ə*)	gotter	gɔtɔɭc	(gɔtɔɣ)

The diphthongs are: ɜɪ(a*i*), ɜʊ(a*u*), ɔɪ(*oi*).

The consonants are: ɦ(h), c(x), ɕ(ɣ), ɲ(ç), ɯ(j), s(s), s(z), ɔ(ʃ*v*), ɔ(f), ɔ(v); ɯ(l); ɑ(k), ɡ(g), ɒ(t), ɒ(d), ɒ(p), ɒ(b); ɜ(q), ɲ(n), ɾ(m).

:ɜˈ sˈɜsɒɯˈ ɔɜɯɭc ɾɜˈɯɲɔɔʃɲ
-ɒsˈɜɾ ·ɯʃɒsɒɲ ɾɜˈɯɜɔɔ·ɜʃɲɭ ɒʃɲ'
:ɯɜɲʃ·ɲs··ɜˈ ɾʃɲɲɭ ɾʃɒɭɛɲ·ɜcɒ
-ɜɔɯ·ʃˈɜɾ ɒˈɯɒɛɜɭc ɜɛɜɭɔ·ɜcɒ'
ɯɜɲɜˈ·ɒɭc ɒɜˈɲɭɛɲˈɲɒɒɜ ɒʃˈɜ'
:ɒɛˈɜɒ sˈɜɯɯ·ɭc ɔɛɜɾɒɜc ɔʃˈɲɔsɒɯ·ˈˈɜɾ·ʃˈɜɛ.
ʃc, ɑɜɔɒʃɲɑɯ·ɜcɜɔ ·ɒʃɛɑɭsɛ·ʃˈɲ
-ʃɔɯ·ɜɾɔɜɾ ɯʃˈɜɾ ɯʃɲɒɒ ɑʃˈɲ',
-ˈɜɾ ɒʃɛɑɭsɛ·ʃˈɜɯɭɾʃɒ ɑʃɾsɒʃɛɲ ɔɔɔɜˈɜɾ'
->ɜʃɲ ʃɯɭɾ ɔʃɔɲsɑ·ɔʃɯɾʃɜɒ ɯʃˈɜɯɲ
-ʃɲ ɯʃɾɲɭɾ ɒʃɜɑɭ sˈɜɲɒɾʃɲɲ ɒʃˈɜɯɲ.

[1] Wide in Hanover.

:oɪ s'eɪstdu fölëɣ moɪndnʃvain
-tsum ·letstn maɪlaufm·ainë pain`
:deɪni·çs'·oɪ mançë mitëɣn·axt
-and·iɪzm pulthɛɣ aqgëv·axt`
danɪyɪ·bëɣ byɪçëɣnuntpa piɪɣ'
:tɣyɪp s'eɪljëɣ fɣointɛɣ ʃvɪɪnstd·uum·iɪɣ.
ax, kəntiçd·oxauf ·bɛɣgësh·əɪn
-ind·ainëm lɪɪbm liçtė geɪn`,
-um bɛɣgësh·əɪlëmit gaistëɣn ʃvɛɪbm`
-fon alėm visnsk·valment laɪdn
-in dainëm tauge s'untmiç baɪdn.

O sähst du, voller mondenschein!
zum letztenmal auf meine pein,
den ich so manche mitternacht
an diesem pult herangewacht!
dann über büchern und papier,
trubsel'ger freund! erschienst du mir.
Ach! konnt' ich doch auf bergeshoh'n
in deinem lieben lichte gehn,
um bergeshohle mit geistern schweben,
auf wiesen in deinem dämmer weben,
von allem wissensqualm entladen,
in deinem thau gesund mich baden!

Corrections to Handbook of Phonetics.

Several of the many errors in my *Handbook* have been tacitly corrected in the course of this paper: I here give all the corrections I am able to make in the order of their occurrence in my book.

p. 3, note *, *read*: The usual diacritic (ʿ) *before* the letter to be modified is occasionally employed to denote breath; before a voice-symbol it denotes whisper, thus (ʿg)=whispered (g).

4, § 12, *for* ʿʌ *read* ʿʌ.

7, § 19. I was told by Mr. Bell that in the Glasgow

'water,' etc., the oral stop is really formed simultaneously with the glottal stop, not suppressed, =ɔʔɔɪʔɷs.

25, § 64. It is very doubtful whether 1 really occurs in the E. 'eye'; the real sound is ɐɪ.

§ 66. The distribution of the various *a*-sounds has been very carefully determined by Storm (*E. Ph.* p. 67 foll.), especially in the Romance languages. His observations may be summed up thus: ɑ=English, short Danish, Italian (ɑˑ). Swedish short *a* almost=ɑ. ɑ=French short, Spanish. ɑˑ long Danish. ɒ French *â*, Norwegian short and long, Swedish long inclining to ɒ.

26, § 68. Add French *pâte*, and cut out the reference to Italian.

§ 69. The American earth has ɐ, not ɪ. See p. 213 of this paper. The Russian ɪ is nasal only after nasal consonants; see my paper on Russian pronunciation.

§ 71. French *que* has ɟ.

§ 72. The neutral position in E. seems to be always the low-mixed. The Swedish *ej* is pure ɐɪ. See my 'Spoken Swedish.'

27, § 73. It is only since my study of Swedish that I have learnt to distinguish accurately between ɪ and fully lowered ɻ. I have not found the former in any language but E., and wherever it is attributed to foreign languages the reader must substitute ɻ (p. 124 Fr. *un*, 140 Dutch *lui*, *huis*, and Icelandic *skomm* in the present passage).

§ 75. I take this opportunity of retracting my statement in the *History of English Sounds* (p. 29, 45, etc.) that the South German short *i* and *u* are narrow. I have always heard ɪ and ʊ all over Germany, but was misled by the very positive statements of Rapp, who expressly contrasts North and South German *i* and *u* (Physiologie der Sprache, iv. 85). himself a born Swabian. The wides must be old in South German, for in some of the Swiss dialects their lengthenings are still wide (Winteler, Kerenzer Mundart).

§ 77. According to Storm and Dr. Wulff (p. 64, note [1]), the French *é* is, like the Swedish and Danish, normal, the Danish sound being really ɛˑ.

28, § 78, 79. Southern E. always has ɾ in *end*, nor does ɾ seem to occur in French, except when nasal. I was misled by the very positive distinctions made by French phoneticians between 'ouvert' and 'très-ouvert.'

§ 80. South G. *a* is rather ɑ˖ than ɑ˗.

§§ 85, 86. According to Storm and Dr. Wulff (*E. Ph.* 70, note [1]), the Danish long and short open *o* are opener than the Norse and Swedish ones, the Sw. long sound being closer than the Norse, thus giving the following scale for the long sound: Dan. ɔɔ, Norse ɔ, Sw. ɔʌ. Storm thinks that the Norse short sound is identical with the North Germ. short *o* (ɔ̝), the Dan. being decidedly nearer the English sound. To my ears Sw. *gott* is opener than Germ. *gott*, and I would write the series: English ɔ, Dan. ɔɔ, Sw. ɔʌ.

§ 87. Sw. long *u*=ʉ˖. Vulgar English *two* is often tʉ˖ʊ.

§ 88. The short E. vowel in *room* does not appear to be ever advanced so far as ʊ.

§ 90. E. *ow* in *follow* is rather ɤ̞ than ɤ.

30, § 93. Germ. short *u* always wide.

§§ 96, 97. French does not seem to have ɪ, except when nasal.

39, §§ 112, 113. Storm (p. 86) says of the Spanish *d* that between vowels, as in *nada*, it is usually ɒ˖, but can be pronounced ʊ with loose approximation, like the Dan. *d*, which is the popular Castilian form. The *z* is quite parallel (=ʊw or ʊʏ?), Storm, p. 22.

42, § 126. Fr. *oui*=ɔɪ according to Storm.

43, § 128. The (oi)-sound of the Danish *brod* is really due to transition from the deep ɵɵ to the palatal ɸ˖.

47, § 139. French ɷɪ=*gn* very dubious.

74, § 212. I believe E. initial *g* may be ɢ˙ as well as ɑ˙.

77, § 222. In the aspirated ɑ°ʒ, the full stress of the consonant is maintained without diminution through the glide; the expression 'separate impulse' is inaccurate.

122. The corrections in the French sounds are mainly due to Storm: *rien*, p. 33; *oui*, *Hb.* p. 213; *que*, p. 66. He is inclined to identify the *u* of *lui* (p. 69) with the Swedish ʉ˖: I believe it may be simply f with full rounding, which to a

Swedish ear would seem nearer ɪ than ɪ̯. See also p. 229 above. In his *E. Ph.*, p. 77 foll., will be found a lengthy controversy between him and myself as to whether French stress is normally on the first or the last syllable. I confess that the mere fact of such an authority as Storm taking the latter view seems to me far more important than the arguments by which he supports it. He quotes the views of Frenchmen, and yet admits that, without special training, they are incapable of distinguishing the place of the stress, and summarily rejects the testimony of the only Frenchman who has ever shown that he is capable of making the distinction. He quotes the mispronunciations of unphonetic English speakers, such as *Parry=Paris*, as a proof that the English hear the accent on the first syllable, which is quite an error: every untrained Englishman *hears* the ordinary French *Paris*, *monsieur*, when pronounced with equal stress on both syllables, distinctly as (par·ii, mos·jəə), whence the vulgar *mossoo* (*mas·uw*), just as all the English pronouncing dictionaries mark all equal stress dissyllables as oxytone. In *speaking* French he simply follows the analogy of his own language and the associations of the written word. The true solution of the difficulty probably is that the French accentuation is in a period of transition: the tradition of the older end-stress still exists, but a general levelling of stress has taken place, so that the normal pronunciation of such a word as *Paris* is probably (p·ar·i), which is heard as (p:ar·i). This is a natural tendency of the ear, nothing being more difficult to identify than perfectly level stress. Thus no German ever pronounces English *plumpudding* (p·lʉmp·*udiq*) correctly: always either (p·lʉmp:*udiq*) or (p:lʉmp·*udiq*), the latter being what he hears (and what is marked in the pronouncing-dictionaries), the former what the written word and the associations of his own language suggest to him. Out of this level monotony of French stress is slowly emerging the principle of fore-stress. Storm allows such a stress, but calls it 'rhetorical,' which does not get rid of the fact of its existence. The French themselves, of course, generally deny it absolutely, just as they deny their frequent (h).

132. The North Germ. *eu* is often ɜ̈ɛ, but I seemed to hear ɜ̈ɾ in Hanover.

134. I doubt this glottal *r*, which is probably only an individual modification of the regular ɛ or ɛɾ.

135. *bilden*, etc., is ɒlʊɷɔɹ with omission of the ɭ.

141. Dutch *g*, especially when initial, seems to be often more or less devocalized. *l* is ɷɬ.

153. For Swedish see my *Spoken Swedish*. In second line of sentences read (deɪ) for (de).

160. Lines 8, 9, omit the accent before (læqrə) and (træqrə).

163. Dan. *gg* in *ligge* has the same pronunciation as in *ikke* (Storm, p. 40, note [3]).

Works Quoted.

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XII.—ON GENDER. By E. L. Brandreth, Esq.

My object in this paper is to consider what is the proper meaning and use of the term "gender," and with reference thereto to consider languages as consisting of two divisions, namely, gender languages and genderless languages; to give some account of the languages falling under these two heads, taking my information from such grammars as I could meet with; and then to refer to the erroneous notions which are

entertained in regard to the meaning of the term by many writers of grammars. Genders, it appears to me, are purely grammatical classes which are formed of the substantives by concord of the adjectives or verbs with which they may be accompanied in a sentence, these determining words taking a different form either of suffix, prefix, or in the body of the word according to the gender to which the substantive belongs. This does not mean that every determining word is capable of a change of form, but only that there should be a sufficient number of such words to express the genders of the substantives. These determining words are said for convenience of description to have the gender of the substantives which they express by their change of form, but when they do not change their form, they are not said to be of any gender. The gender of substantives may also frequently be known from their form, but there are very few languages in which a complete classification could be made of the substantives without reference to other parts of speech. Gender cannot even certainly be inferred when the substantives have the same forms as those which are the marks of gender in the adjectives; as, for instance, in Latin, *bonus poeta, bona colus.* Gender has no necessary connexion with the meaning of the substantive, nor with any of its qualities or attributes; as, in Greek, *γυνη* and *γυναιον* are of the same sex, but of different genders.

But though this is not necessarily the case, yet it is so no doubt to a considerable extent, and languages which have what I hold to be gender, and which I call gender languages, may, in this respect, be divided into two classes, (1) where males and females belong usually, but not always, to different genders; (2) where animates and inanimates, or rationals and irrationals, belong usually to different genders. The gender of inanimate objects in languages of the first class may also sometimes be known from their meanings; thus, in Latin, mountains and rivers are generally classed with male beings, countries and cities with female; thus, in Arabic, towns and countries, winds, most parts of the body are classed usually with the female sex. All such correspondence of gender

with meaning is subject, however, to many exceptions. In languages of the second class greater or more striking natural objects, as sun and moon, for instance, are sometimes classed with animate beings. When I speak hereafter of gender being expressed by adjectives or other determining words, what I mean is that there is a change of form in such words. It will not be necessary for me to go into details, though, in referring to some of the less well-known languages, I may occasionally give an example or two. Most of the languages of the world have not, however, what I understand by gender, that is, there is no concord of the other parts of speech in a sentence with the substantive, and these I call genderless languages.

To the first class of gender languages belong the Aryan languages with some exceptions, the Semitic and the Hamitic languages, the Khasi of Assam, some of the Central African languages, and some of the South American languages. To the second class belong the Danish, the Dravidian and Kolarian languages of India, the Dhimal also an Indian language, the languages of the Eastern Caucasus, the Bantu languages of South Africa, some of the languages of Central Africa and some of the North American languages. The remaining languages of the world, as far as we know them, are what I call genderless, notably the Chinese, Tibetan, generally all the languages of Further India, the Ural-Altaic languages, the Papuan, Australian and Malayo-Polynesian languages, most of the languages of Central Africa, the Basque, most of the American languages, and some of the Aryan languages.

In the gender languages of the first class most male beings and many inanimate objects and abstract words belong to one gender, most female beings and many inanimate objects to another gender, and these genders are consequently called, and not inappropriately, masculine and feminine. There is also a third gender, called the neuter, in most of the Aryan languages, to which many inanimate objects belong, though some animate beings are also included in it.

In the original Aryan language there must have been all three genders, and these are all found in the oldest languages that are known to us, as Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Gothic. Most of the Teutonic languages have preserved all the three genders, masculine, feminine, and neuter, expressed by the different kinds of adjectives, and signified to a great extent by the forms of the substantive. In the Slavonic languages, not including the Lithuanian, the three original genders are all preserved and are expressed by the adjectives, and by the perfect tense of the verb, which, however, as in the modern Aryan languages of India, is nothing but the past participle. The substantives also in these languages to a considerable extent signify the gender by their terminations and declensional forms. The Lithuanian has the masculine and feminine only, the neuter having been assimilated to the feminine. Modern Greek has all three genders, masculine, feminine, and neuter, expressed as in the ancient language. Among the Romance languages Spanish alone has preserved all three genders of the Latin; but it has the neuter only to a limited extent, that is, the article has a neuter form which is used with an adjective raised to the quality of a substantive; *el* masc., *la* fem., *lo* neut., as *lo bueno*. The accusative relation of a substantive in Spanish is expressed by the particle *á* when a person or an animate being in general is referred to, as: *el padre ama al hijo*. The other languages have only the masculine and feminine genders; the Latin neuters having generally become masculine. The Latin neuter forms have been preserved in the plurals of many substantives in Italian, as *legno* pl. *legna*, *braccio* pl. *braccia*; but Italian is not considered to have the neuter gender on that account, as such plural forms require a feminine adjective and the adjective has no neuter form. In some of the Romance languages there is some difference of use as regards words employed for the pronouns of the third person, according as they refer to persons or things; thus in Italian *egli* and *ella*, in French *il* and *elle*, when used with a preposition, as *a lui*, *a elle*, refer to persons only. Of the demonstrative and interrogative pronouns some

refer to persons, others to things. Gender in Romance is expressed by the different kinds of adjectives, as in the preceding languages. Also in the periphrastic tenses the participle has often gender, which is not the case in the Teutonic group. There are no longer any cases in the Romance languages, though the gender may sometimes be inferred from the terminations of the substantives, but neither in this group could any complete gender classification be made without the aid of the adjectives.

The languages of the Keltic group have the two genders masc. and fem., the neut., which is proved to have once existed, having been lost. As in other Aryan languages, not only animate, but inanimate objects also, are of the masc. or fem. gender. Gender is expressed by the adjectives. It is also signified to a considerable extent by the form and meaning of the substantive. The change in the body of the word (of initial consonant or medial vowel) by which gender is expressed by the adjective in Keltic, and by which Keltic is especially distinguished from the other Aryan groups, is attributed in regard to Welsh by Mr. Rhys (Lectures on Welsh Philology, p. 155) to the feminine vowel-endings which first wrought the change and then disappeared.

Among the modern Aryan languages of India Marathi and Gujarati have the three genders masc., fem., and neut., while Hindi, Sindhi, and Panjabi have masc. and fem. only. Inanimate objects and abstractions of the mind are distributed in the usual indiscriminate way among these genders. Gender is expressed by the different kinds of adjectives, and also by the substantive in the genitive relation, which takes a postposition inflected in the same way as an ordinary adjectival termination. The participles in the periphrastic tenses are also inflected for gender, and to a much greater extent than in the Romance languages; and it would appear at first sight as if there were some simple tenses inflected in the same way, as, for instance, Hindi *calegā* 'he will go,' *calegī* 'she will go.' It has been proved, however, that *gā*, *gī*, are contracted participles. Gender may be known to some extent also by

the inflexions and terminations of the substantives, but no complete classification of genders could be made from the substantives alone. There is only one form for the third personal pronoun in most of these Indian languages, whatever be the gender of the substantives it represents. All the languages have two sets of interrogative pronouns, one of which refers to animate, the other to inanimate objects. There is a kind of classification in some of the languages made by using the dative particle to express the accusative relation of substantives which denote human beings, something like the way in which the dative particle is used in Spanish. The *Pashtu*, or language of the Afghans, which according to Trumpp is more nearly connected with the Indian Prakrit tongues than with the Iranian, distinguishes its substantives as masc. and fem., these genders being expressed by the various terminations of the adjective, and also by the participle in a periphrastic tense. Gender is also recognizable to a great extent from the terminations of the substantives. The Sinhalese is considered to be an Aryan language allied to Pali by Childers. It has three genders, masc., fem., and neut., the first two of which are restricted to natural distinctions of sex, while the neut. includes everything that is inanimate. These genders are expressed by the demonstrative pronouns, as *mú* masc. 'this,' *mé* fem., *méka* neut. The ordinary adjective and verb do not express the gender. The genders may also be inferred to a great extent from the terminations of the substantives. There are two declensions, to one of which belong all animate, to the other all inanimate objects.

In the Semitic languages all objects are either masc. or fem. There is no neut. gender in any Semitic language. The gender of substantives is expressed not only by the adjective, but also by the verb, which expresses the gender in the second and third persons by pronominal suffixes or prefixes, a thing unknown in the Aryan group, as Ar. *katala* 'he killed,' *katalat* 'she killed.' The gender of the substantive is also frequently indicated by its form or its

signification. Pronouns have not always forms corresponding to the gender of the substantives; thus, in Arabic *man* 'who?' is used for rational beings, *mā* 'what?' for all irrational objects.

The Hamitic languages, including the Coptic, Ethiopian, Libyan or Berber, also the Hottentot and the Haussa, have two genders, masc. and fem., like the Semitic, which are expressed by the article, and by the pronominal suffixes or prefixes which may be added both to the adjective and the verb; as in Coptic, *nanou-f* masc. 'good,' *nanou-s* fem. 'good,' *f-tako* 'he is destroying,' *s-tako* 'she is destroying.' The adjective also in Coptic has some other changes for gender, as by lengthening a final vowel for the fem. The gender of substantives is also frequently signified by their form. There are also four languages in Central Africa, namely, Silluk, Bongo, Bari, and Oigob, which have their genders masc. and fem., which are expressed by the adjective pronouns, and, at least in the two last-mentioned languages, by pronominal forms which come after the determined substantive, and before another substantive in the genitive relation or an adjective, or which are used as an article before the substantive, as in Oigob, *el soid* m. 'a rock,' *en soid* f. 'a stone,' *el Oigob* 'an Oigob man,' *en Oigob* 'an Oigob woman.'

There is one language in Southern India which belongs to this class, the *Khasi*. This language, which has five dialects, is spoken in the hills between the valley of Assam and Sylhet. It has two genders, masc. and fem.; and all inanimate objects are classed, some of them with male beings, others with female. This classification is made by means of the prefixes *u* for the masc. gender, *ka* for the fem., which prefixes are used with every substantive, adjective and verb, as, for instance, *u-bynai* 'the moon' is masc., *ka-sngi* 'the sun' is fem. In a sentence we may say *u-bynai u-babha u-phyrnai* 'the good moon shines'; and *ka-sngi ka-babha ka-phyrnai* 'the good sun shines.'

Some of the languages of South America also belong to

this class. Thus, in the Abiponian language there are two genders, masc. and fem. Many adjectives end in *ik* for masc., *ye* for fem.; as, *ariaik* m. 'good,' *ariaye* f. 'good.' The sun is fem., the moon masc., but the genders, it is said, can only be learnt by use. In Betoi there are three genders, masc., fem. and neut., which are expressed by the adjective ending in *oi* masc., *o* fem., *oje* neut. In Arawak there are two genders expressed by adjectives ending in *ti* masc., *tu* fem., and by pronominal prefixes to the verb, *lu* masc., *tu* fem. In this language only names of the male sex are of the masc. gender; the names of females and all other objects are of the fem. gender.

In the gender languages of the second class substantives are classed or divided into genders on exactly the same grammatical principle as in those of the first class; the main difference between the two classes being, as before stated, that in the first class males and females, in the second animates and inanimates generally, belong to different genders. To the second class the Danish language must preferentially be referred. Though it was formerly of the first class, in its present state male and female beings are usually of the same gender. It has now only two genders, in one of which most male and female beings and also several inanimate objects are comprised, in the other principally inanimate objects. The former of these is generally called the common gender, the latter the neuter gender. *Han* 'he,' and *hun* 'she,' are used for persons in Danish, but both pronouns belong to the same gender.

In the Dravidian languages there are two genders, which have been called the rational and irrational, and by native grammarians high-caste and casteless. To the former belong all words signifying gods and human beings; to the latter generally all other objects. The sun and moon, however, in some of the languages, are of the rational gender. These genders are never expressed by the adjective, which has no gender forms, but by the verb; as in Tamil, from *sey* 'do,' *seyd-ār* 'they (the rationals) did,' *seyd-a* 'they (the

irrationals) did.' In the singular the rational gender is further divided into masc. and fem. In some of the languages, however, female human beings are of the irrational gender in the singular, though they are still classed with the male rationals in the plural; while in one of the languages, the Oraon, the female human being belongs to the irrational gender both in the singular and the plural. The plural, however, of the third personal pronoun *ār* refers to female as well as to male human beings; while another form *abrā* stands for irrational objects only. These forms therefore do not correspond to the genders of the language; *ār*, when it refers to men, is of the rational gender, when to women, it belongs to the irrational gender. Gender in the Dravidian languages is also denoted, to some extent, by the terminations of the substantives. In the Kolarian, another Indian group, there are two genders, animate objects belonging to one, inanimate to the other gender, which may therefore be called the animate and inanimate genders. These languages are expressed, not by the regular adjective, but by the substantive in the genitive relation, which takes a different suffix according as the substantive, on which it depends, is animate or inanimate, as in the Santali language, *koṛa-ren gngā* 'the boy's father,' *koṛa-reaḱ orak* 'the boy's house'; and by the verb which takes a pronominal suffix, if the subject is animate, but not otherwise, as, *nuroḱa-e* 'he or she will fall,' *nuroka* 'it will fall.' An active verb has a second pronominal form incorporated with it if the object is animate; as, *dal-e-a-e* 'he will strike him,' but *dala-e* 'he will strike (it).' The pronouns have also different forms which correspond to these genders. The substantive has no sign by which its own gender may be known. Among the numerous Tibeto-Burman languages there is only one which has any claim to be considered a gender language, namely, the Dhimal, which is spoken by a small number of people of that name in the neighbourhood of Darjeeling. In this language there is a distinction of substantives, as animate and inanimate, made by the demonstrative pronouns *idong* 'this' and *udong* 'that,' referring to animate, *iti* and

uti to inanimate objects. These genders are not expressed by any of the other parts of speech.

In the languages generally of the Eastern Caucasus, the genders are primarily rational and irrational; the rational being further divided in the singular only into masc. and fem. Thus, in Hurkanian, *w* serves in the singular for the expression of the masc. rational gender, *d* for the fem. rational, *b* for the irrational; as in the adjective *watil, datil, batil* 'free'; as in the verb *hit* (*he, she, it*) *wais, dais, bais* 'attains.' The substantive is sometimes varied in the same way; as, *waḷi* 'face (of a man),' *daḷi* 'face (of a woman),' *baḥ* 'face (of a beast).' The genders are expressed on a similar principle in the other Eastern Caucasian languages. These genders, however, do not always strictly correspond to natural distinctions. Thus, in the Chech language, *gaur* 'a horse,' and most words for time, as night, morning, time, etc., belong to the fem. rational gender.

In the South African Bantu languages there are about eight genders in most of the languages, and though the distinctions principally made are between persons and beasts and different kinds of things, yet the genders are by no means all of them strictly in accordance with any natural arrangement. The genders are expressed by all the determining words in a sentence, adjectives, verbs, etc., taking the same prefix as the determined substantive; as, for instance, in Zulu *u-mu-ntu o-mu-xle si-m-tanda* 'man (or woman) handsome we-him-love,' *u-lu-ti o-lu-xle si-l-tanda* 'stick handsome we-it-love.' Here *u* and *o*, the first syllables of the first two words, are a kind of article; the gender prefixes are *mu* and *lu*. Some of the prefixes are often not used with the substantive, but in such cases the gender is still expressed by the use of the prefix with the adjective, etc. There are also four or five languages in the middle region of Africa which have the same kind of gender as the Bantu languages. In one of these languages, the Pul, gender is expressed, not by prefixes, but by suffixes added to

the different parts of speech in a sentence; one of these suffixes being restricted to human beings, another to plants, another to fluids.

In the Algonkin languages of North America, the genders are animate and inanimate; but the classification is by no means strictly maintained on this basis. Thus, not only human beings and animals in general will be found in the animate gender, but also the sun and moon, thunder and lightning, trees, "the various species of fruits, seeds, and esculents," the talons of the eagle, the claws of the bear, etc. The genders are most obviously expressed by the verb taking the same plural suffixes as the substantive when the latter is in the objective relation. Thus, in the Chippewa language, the animate plural suffixes end in *k* or *g*, the inanimate in *m*; as *ninsagiug ninejanisuk* 'I-love my-children,' *ninsagitonum ninuziniugunum* 'I-love my-books.' Adjectives also take the plural suffixes of gender in the same way; as, *kwonaudjewewug eekwa-wug* 'handsome women,' *kwonaudjewun-on tohemaun-un* 'handsome canoes.' This distinction, which pervades the whole language, of all objects as animate or inanimate, is constantly brought to light also in many other ways.

I now come to what I have called the genderless languages, in which are included some of the modern Aryan languages which have lost their gender, as English, Bangali, Uriya, Brahui, and all the modern Iranian languages, such as the Persian, Armenian, Ossetic, etc. Some of the ideas that are connected with gender are to some extent expressed in the genderless languages; but they are not in these languages expressed by any concord of the other parts of speech in a sentence with a substantive. Sex is distinguished in them no less than in the gender languages. This is sometimes done by the use of separate words, but often also by determining words, signifying male or female, being added, and generally these words are different for human beings and for animals in general. Sometimes sex is expressed by suffixes,

as in the Tibeto-Burman languages, where *pa* is extensively used for denoting the male sex, *ma* the female sex. It is seldom that any distinction of sex is made in the pronouns. The Tibetan *khopa* 'he,' *khoma* 'she,' the Chinook in North America *iakhe* 'he,' *wakhe* 'she,' the Macquarie, an Australian language, *niuwoa* 'he,' *bountoa* 'she,' are instances. English also distinguishes sex in *he* and *she*. There are generally different interrogative pronouns for persons and for things. In some of the languages there is a classification of the substantives by means of plural affixes. Thus in the Lepcha language the plural affix *sang* refers to human beings, *pang* to inferior animals and inanimate objects. In the modern Persian the plural affix for animate beings is *ân*, for inanimate objects *hâ*. Similarly in some of the American languages, as in the Tarasco, a Mexican language, *echa* is added for the animate plural, *uan* or *harandeti* for the inanimate. In other languages again, while there is a plural sign for animate, there is none for inanimate objects.

In many languages, such as most of the languages of Further India, the Malayan, etc., a complete classification of all substantives is made by means of a specific word or particle, which accompanies the numeral, and which in some instances is derived from some obvious quality of the thing, as in English we say so many head of cattle, and in other instances has no independent meaning. Thus, in Garo, the particle *shāk* is used for human beings, *māng* for brutes, *ge* for inanimate objects. In other languages inanimate objects are divided into many classes. Hungarian has a different form for the third personal pronoun, according as it is applied to rational beings or to irrationals. Most of the languages have derivative and other prefixes or suffixes which are the materials from a selection of which, by the establishment of concords, genders might have been made. Occasionally they have class meanings, as in the Mru language of Further India, where *ta* is a prefix for animals, as *ta-wa* 'bird,' *ta-kwi* 'dog.'

In the foregoing languages, which I have called genderless, such classifications as those I have referred to by means of pluralizing particles are never spoken of as genders; but, notwithstanding, all these languages are generally said to have gender. Names of males are said to be of the masc. gender, names of females of the fem., and other names of the neut. gender. Such is especially the case in all the grammars of the English language that I have seen. I contend that this is a wholly erroneous use of the term gender. All languages distinguish sex by the use more or less of different words or compounds; but gender proper is not necessarily connected with any distinction of sex, and is solely dependent for its complete expression on the concord of the adjective or verb with the substantive. No such concord exists in the languages I am now considering; and there is not only no analogy otherwise to justify the term gender being applied to these languages, but the facts of the case are the direct opposite of any such analogy. In those languages to which the term gender properly applies, the names of living beings of the same sex are often of different genders. Moreover, sex words bear but a small proportion to all the words of a language, and the great mass of the words in a gender language, which have nothing whatever to do with sex, belong nevertheless to different genders. In some English grammars, again, the term gender is restricted to the masc. and fem., words other than sex words not being considered to have gender. Besides the want of analogy to justify the extension of the word to what I have called the genderless languages, to speak of these languages as having the masc. and fem. genders is a very abstruse and useless way of saying that these languages distinguish sex. In one school grammar, which is held in great estimation, I find it laid down as follows: "Sex is a distinction between things, not between names. Gender is a distinction between names, not between things." Dr. Morris once told us of a boy who, in his examination in English grammar, being asked to give some instances of gender, gave 'church' as masculine, 'chapel' feminine. It seems to me

this boy was not much to blame for supposing that gender, from the description he must have read of it in his grammar, meant something else than that there were different names for male and female beings.

The cause of this confusion of ideas appears to be that the rules of the Latin language are usually applied to all other languages. Facts are distorted in order to adapt them to these rules, and where no amount of distortion will suffice for the purpose, the facts are ignored altogether as being no part of the grammar of the language. Thus, in regard to gender, there is really nothing that can properly be called gender in these languages, and therefore something quite different has had to be called by that name.

In German the same word *geschlecht* signifies both sex and gender; and this defect in the language is lamented by Grimm. In his Deutsche Grammatik, however, he treats of the distinction of sex *naturliches geschlecht* under a separate heading from that under which he treats gender *grammatisches geschlecht*. It is only in regard to the former that English has anything in common with German; and if it is considered desirable that we should have a separate section in our English grammars on the subject, then I would urge, and I would especially urge it in the interest of the thousands of children who are being educated in our elementary schools, and for whom the rules of the language ought to be explained in the simplest possible manner, that the section should be called one on the distinction of sex, and that the term gender should no longer be used with reference to anything in Modern English, or other languages of the same kind. On the other hand, it may be a question whether any such separate section is required. So far as sex is distinguished by entirely different words, it is the part of a dictionary, not of a grammar, to distinguish words where the meaning only has to be considered. Where sex is distinguished by certain prefixes or suffixes, as in *countess*, *lioness*, etc., these might be treated of in the section or chapter on the derivation of words which usually comes at the end of the grammar. Words so derived need not be classed with such words as

horse and *mare*, *cock* and *hen*, which are not formed in accordance with any rules of grammar. In a gender language it is useful to inquire how far gender can be inferred from the signification or form of the substantive, but in those languages which never had gender, or from which gender has really disappeared, as from Modern English, to speak of words being of the masc. or fem. gender merely because they denote male or female beings is, I maintain, a great mistake, and must be a stumbling-block in the way of any boy or girl going on from the study of English to that of French or any other gender language. The history of a genderless language would of course show its previous condition in regard to gender, if it had gender formerly; but such history would be much more striking if, when the old gender had been lost, we ceased to speak of words which merely imply sex as having gender.

A special claim to gender is sometimes set up on behalf of English on the ground that sex is distinguished in the pronoun of the third person; but *he* and *she* are only like the other substantives in a language; if these have gender, then so have *he* and *she*, but not otherwise. Moreover in languages which have the true gender the pronouns of the third person often do not represent other substantives in accordance with their gender, but have their own special meanings as other substantives have. Thus, as before shown, in most of the modern Aryan languages of India, there is only one form for the pronoun of the third person, though the language may have two or three genders. If the pronoun, therefore, is the test, we ought to hold that these languages are without gender. In Italian and French some distinction is made between persons and things in the pronouns of the third person. In Danish, again, *han* 'he,' and *hun* 'she,' are both of the same gender. In parts of Scotland many inanimate things are spoken of as 'she' by the people, without any idea of being poetical. According to the pronoun theory, these things, I suppose, would be classed as of the feminine gender; but properly speaking it is merely that the pronoun is in this respect used in a different sense from what it is in

standard English. In the poetical style there is of course much conscious personification; but neither is this gender. Further, if English is to be made a gender language on this account, so must also the Chinook, Tibetan, etc., which distinguish sex in their pronouns, be made gender languages. *Who* and *which*, again, in English, have just as good a claim as *he* and *she*, and in accordance with these claims English ought to be considered as having a rational and irrational gender. English of course formerly had gender, like French and German, but there is nothing gained except confusion by calling in modern English the distinction of sex by the pronouns or by separate words gender, which has nothing in common with the gender of old English.

The erroneous notions entertained regarding gender in English even react, as it seems to me, somewhat on our notions of gender in Latin, at least the term is not always used as consistently as it might be in Latin grammars. Thus, in the Public School Latin Grammar, we are told that one of the ways in which "the gender of words that imply sex is expressed" is that "distinct words are used"; which is very much the account we should meet with of gender in an English grammar. Nothing is said about anything further being required to constitute gender; but the word *pater* is not of the masc. gender because it means 'father,' and *mater* is not of the fem. gender because it means 'mother'; nor is *mons* masc. because it signifies 'a mountain,' nor *urbs* fem. because it signifies 'a city'; but *pater* and *mons* are of one gender because they are accompanied by adjectives which have one set of inflexions, as *bonus, boni*, etc., and *mater* and *urbs* are of another gender because the adjectives which accompany them have another set of inflexions, as *bona, bonæ*, etc. These genders or classes require names, and one has been called masc. and the other fem., but these names have been unfortunate because, in consequence of their etymology, it has been supposed that they mean much more than they really do mean. As gender cannot be without classification, it is not correct either to speak of substantives being of common gender in such

instances as in Latin *parens* and *dies*, which have different meanings according as they are of the masc. or fem. gender. By the Sanskrit grammarians it would be considered that there were two different words in such cases.

The foregoing remarks refer only to the facts observable in languages as we know them; what was the origin of gender is another matter, and not easily accounted for; but of one thing we may be quite certain, that the explanation of the origin of gender in the Aryan and Semitic languages, which we usually meet with, that it was owing to a personification of all inanimate objects as male or female, is very far from the truth. It is quite incredible that our savage ancestors, if such they were, should have had such a feeling for poetry. This account of the matter seems to be as great a myth as anything hitherto produced by a misunderstanding of language. When new words are adopted by French or other gender languages, their place is assigned them without much thought of attributing sex to them; nor when former neuters became masculine or feminine in the Romance languages, in Lithuanian, in the modern languages of India, is it usually supposed that this was owing to the working of a powerful imagination. A far better explanation is that of Dr. Bleek, that gender suffixes or prefixes were originally derivative suffixes or prefixes of the substantives by which also the adjectives and other parts of speech in a sentence were connected with the substantives. Substantives thus often belonged to the same classes without any necessary connexion in their meaning. Only two of these classes have survived in Aryan and Semitic, one including, besides many other substantives, most names of male beings, the other including, besides other substantives, most names of female beings. The Aryan neuter is generally admitted to be of later origin, and merely a variation of the masculine.

XIII.—TENTH ANNUAL ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY, DELIVERED AT THE ANNIVERSARY MEETING, FRIDAY, 20TH MAY, 1881. BY ALEXANDER J. ELLIS, B.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.

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LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

MEMBERS OF THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY,—

LADY MEMBERS.

THERE are, I am glad to think, still two ladies who are members of our Society, so that the terms in which I commenced this series of Annual Presidential Addresses nine years ago are still applicable. I would that we had more lady members, and that those we have would more frequently attend our meetings. When we remember how very apt women are in the use of language, both with tongue and pen, how easily they acquire foreign tongues, and how peculiarly adapted for feminine occupation is all the work of the philologist, we cannot but feel sorry that more women do not enter the philological ranks, and become real students of the nature and affinities of language. The present impetus given to the university education of women, by their admission to degrees at London, and to position in the degree examination at Cambridge, may increase the number of linguistic students. And I trust that my successor a hundred years hence—incorporated societies never die—will address

himself personally, instead of merely on paper as I am forced to do, to many distinguished lady philologers at the usual anniversary meeting.

Obituary, Dr. Guest and Mr. Nicol.

Two serious losses to our Society during the past twelve months demand our first consideration. In Dr. Edwin Guest, late Master of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and for many years one of our Vice-Presidents, we have lost an honoured member, who was, owing to his continued absence from London, only a name to most of our existing members; but in the early days of our Society, when he was our original Honorary Secretary, and a most active member, he was one of our main-stays. No less than fifteen papers in our Transactions from 1844 to 1852 are from his pen, mainly bearing upon English subjects, which was remarkable then, because, although English researches have been very familiar to us of late years, our Philological Society was originally classical in its tendencies.[1] These studies of Dr. Guest developed into his well-known work on *English Rhythms*. The theories of English metre there advanced have been much disputed, especially by our colleague Prof. Mayor (Philol. Trans. 1873–4, p. 624), but the book is a work of great research upon English metres of early times, and it contains other views of the history of English, which, although mainly superseded by more recent research, are important in

[1] I am indebted to Mr. Herrtage for the following list of Dr. Guest's papers contributed to our Transactions:

On the Ellipsis of the Verb in English, 1844.
On the Use of the Collective Noun in English Syntax, 1845.
On the Anomalous Verbs of the English Language, 1845.
On the Anomalies of the English Verb, from Letter-changes, 1846.
On the English Verbs, 1846.
On the Inflexions of English Verbs, 1846.
On the Elements of Language, 1846.
On Orthographical Expedients, 1846.
On the Elements of Language, etc., 1847.
On the Transformation of the Labials, 1847.
On the Origin of certain A.S. Idioms, 1850.
On Curious Tmesis in A.S. and Early English Syntax, 1850.
Certain Foreign Terms adopted by our Ancestors, 1851.
On the Roots of Language, 1851.
On the Etymology of Stonehenge, 1852.

the history of our acquaintance with the development of our language. Dr. Guest was one of the first who insisted on an accurate rendering of ancient texts, and his remarks on the Layamon, Havelok, the Orrmulum, etc., are noteworthy from their date, for they were written long before these works were rendered familiar by careful modern editions. He was also one of the first to consider the distribution of English dialects—by no means the first, of course—and his criticism of his predecessor, Garnet, gives rise (vol. ii. pp. 187–209) to a remarkable classification of the English dialects, in which the Midland and the Northern are each divided into six varieties. It is of course hurried, and founded upon documents which are neither entirely trustworthy, nor sufficiently extensive, but it shews the firm grasp which Dr. Guest had obtained on the subject more than forty years ago—a very long time ago indeed for such researches. One cannot but regret that Dr. Guest did not in the later years of his long life attack this part of the subject in particular, and give us the results of the action of his vigorous mind on the more recently accumulated materials. But we must place him at any rate in the enviable position of a pioneer who had an excellent conception of the country he reconnoitred.

In Dr. Guest we have lost a very aged member, who had long since won his laurels and sought repose from his labours. In Mr. Henry Nicol we have lost a comparatively young man, who joined us only eleven years ago, and who had scarcely more than prepared the ground to bear his future harvest. We all know the singular acuteness and accuracy of his work, and in the short time he had been among us he had so favourably impressed the Society, that we had all hoped to install him as our President last year, when increasing weakness obliged him first to leave London, and then to leave England, till on the last of January this year he succumbed to a disease of which he had not suspected the existence, and died of consumption in Algiers. Mr. Nicol had from the first associated himself in phonetic work with his cousin, our former President, Mr. Sweet, and especially

in the modification and re-arrangement of Bell's Visible Speech in that profound paper on "Sound Notation" which, read to us in 1878, has, through difficulties of printing, only just now been completed in type. Almost all Mr. Nicol's work related to the phonetic and orthographic part of philology,[1] and his principal work on Old French Pronunciation is unfortunately left incomplete. All his papers are in the hands of his cousin, Mr. Sweet, and we may feel assured that as much of his work as can be made available for publication will appear in due time. One great characteristic of Mr. Nicol's work was minute accuracy. To myself personally this was often extremely valuable, and the correctness of my transcription of the Prologue to the Canterbury Tales, both in a systematisation of the Harleian MS. orthography and in palaeotype, in the third part of my Early English Pronunciation, is greatly due to the time and labour which he bestowed upon it. My remarks on the Welsh-letter transcript of the Hymn of the Virgin, in the Appendix II. to our Transactions for 1880–1, were carefully criticised by him in one of his last studies sent from Algiers, which I hope to make available at a future date. Altogether we have to lament in the early death of our colleague a great loss to the study of language which we cannot sufficiently appreciate, as he only lived long enough to shew what excellent work he might have accomplished had he lived longer.

The Work of the Philological Society.

Including to-night, we have had eighteen meetings of our Society since our last anniversary, an unusually large number, as we had no less than four extra meetings. One

[1] The following list of Mr. H. Nicol's papers has been furnished to me by Mr. Herrtage They have not all been printed in our Transactions. But this list gives very little idea of the constant work of Mr. Nicol in the Society, and his valuable remarks upon other papers when discussed.

On M. Gaston Paris's Method of Editing, 1873.
On Old French Labial Vowels, 1873.
On some points in Early English Pronunciation, 1877.
On the Diphthong *au*, 1878.
On some English Derivations, 1878.
On Middle English Orthography, 1878.

third of this time has been devoted to Spelling Reform, which I shall consider at length presently. In referring slightly to the papers read, I wish to draw particular attention to the new institution of our "Proceedings," now so ably edited by Mr. H. Sweet, due, however, to the initiation of Dr. Murray, who not only edited them for the first year, but also generously bore the whole expense of printing them. Many of our papers are, for various reasons, never printed, and the volumes of our "Transactions" necessarily come out at long intervals. It was therefore difficult for such of our members as were not resident in London to understand what those who could attend our meetings were doing. The accounts which are now given of our work in the "Proceedings" will shew that our Society is full of life, and bestows its attention upon almost every part of the Science of Language. The very full abstracts there given permit me to pass lightly over this part of my address. I should also add that a very full index to the past volumes of our Transactions, drawn up by Mr. Herrtage, is now in the press, and cannot fail to be of great use and interest to every member of the Philological Society.

In general philology we had Prince L. L. Bonaparte's valuable paper on the Neuters of Neo-Latin Substantives (printed at length in Appendix III.), the fruit of a long and exhaustive examination of a subject which had hitherto practically escaped attention.

Prof. Postgate entered into a consideration of the probable or possible origin of a number of Latin words, the discussion on which was continued at a subsequent meeting.

Mr. Morfill gave us an account of the Polabish language, a Sclavonic dialect formerly spoken on the banks of the Elbe, but now, he thought, extinct, although Prince L. L. Bonaparte considered that it was really represented by its congener Cassubian.

Prof. Russell Martineau gave us the third part of his researches on the Rhæto-Romanic Dialects.

Mr. Sweet gave us one of his remarkable series of papers on colloquial as distinguished from literary languages. This time his subject was Welsh, and he shewed us, in a paper

extending over two evenings, how far Welsh in a particular district of Caernarvon, which of course was only a sample of what occurred in other districts, differed from its very phonetically written literary form, both in pronunciation and in grammar; thus bringing another proof forward that if we really wish to penetrate into the meaning and growth of languages, we must look behind the conventional written form into the penetralia of living speech.

The Rev. Chauncy Maples gave us a very interesting account of the Makua language, one of the Bantu family in Eastern Africa. All such accounts are of great interest to philologists, as they lead the mind to entirely unexpected developments of the connection of thought and speech.

Major van Someren sent in a note on the French hunting cry *hallali*, of uncertain origin.

The subject of grammatical forms was taken up by two members. Mr. Brandreth read an elaborate paper on Grammatical Gender, which he sharply distinguished from the indication of sex, and made to consist entirely in certain inflectional forms, not necessarily or chiefly connected with the sex or absence of sex from which they are usually named. His views gave rise to a lively discussion, as there was by no means unanimity of opinion. Mr. Sweet's paper on the Parts of Speech gave rise to a still more lively and prolonged discussion. The great difference of opinion expressed on these occasions shews how much our rudimentary notions on grammar require reconsideration. We have till very recently been content to be guided by habits acquired at classical schools, as when Dr. Johnson said that Shakspere "had Latin enough to *grammaticise* his English" (Boswell's Life of Johnson, year 1780, from Langton's reminiscences, vol. iv. p. 16, ed. 1826). All this is now changed, and we know that we must inquire, not what men *should* say, on fancied classical analogies, but what they really do say, and to discriminate the native development from the foreign modification. In applying logical rules even to grammar we have learned that there is no absolute logic in language, but that each nation has an inherited logic, which has a

history of its own; and especially that each great linguistic stem, as the Aryan and the Semitic, has entirely different modes of thought, which cannot be judged of by the same rules. The old logical analysis into subject, copula, and predicate, fails us completely in many languages. It is no longer easy to write a *Grammaire des Grammaires*, as in the times of the Port Royal des Champs. There must probably always remain something thought of, and something referred to it, but these become so modified by the subjective element, that is, by the way in which they are regarded by the thinker, that we run great risks of entirely perverting the sense intended by bending it down to the mode of thought of any individual or any nation. This obliges us to abandon much of the old nomenclature, for all such terminology implies a theory, and we run great risk, first of sending the reader on a false scent by the terms retained, and secondly of simply bewildering him by the introduction of novel terms. Mr. Sweet implies that he is devoting much attention to the subject, and I can but hope that it will fructify in additional papers.

Professor Graham Bell's account of the mode in which he applied Visible Speech to teaching the born deaf to produce intelligible sounds which they can never hear was extremely interesting, and shewed the power of physiological symbols in directing energy, first by making the speaker feel (he could not hear, remember) and realise the pictorial expression of the physiological effort he used in uttering any chance sound, and afterwards making him feel the modification of organs and the consequent modification of the picture, which would lead him to produce recognised speech sounds. This practical application is not only of great importance in a humanitarian point of view, but shews us, who are all of us born deaf to sounds we never could have heard, as those of extinct peoples or remote existing speakers, how we can be led to realise and reproduce them, and this is a prime requisite for the study of philology.

Reverting to English, Mr. W. R. Browne gave us two papers on names of English Places and Persons, of which

the first has been already printed. Mr. Sprague read a paper on some peculiarities of Edinburgh speech, and I gave an account of the results of my examination of the Dialects of the Southern Counties of England, which will form the first part of my Phonology and Classification of Existing English Dialects. I regret very much that family events, perfectly beyond my controul, which rendered it difficult for me even to give the indications furnished in that paper, have since that time almost entirely suspended my work. I have not, as I had hoped to do, been able to write out that part of my work of which I then gave an account, and, although I have obtained some additional special indications respecting Mid-Lincolnshire, through the kindness of the Poet Laureate, who was good enough, at the request of our Hon. Sec. Mr. Furnivall, to go over his "Northern Farmer Old and New Style" with me, and refer me to a lady now in London who was one of his chief authorities, I have not properly speaking begun my revision of the Eastern and Midland Counties on which I had hoped to read a paper at the end of this session. It is one comfort to me to know that my collections are complete, with the exception of details as to the lines where certain dialects break into others, or materially overlap. Mr. Thomas Hallam, who has already helped me so much, has been during the Easter holidays helping me again, on the line of division of Southern and Border Eastern to the east of Oxfordshire, and will help me further on all Midland dialects and their borders, so that if I only live to finish my work, the delay will but add to its completeness. No one can more fervently than myself wish to go on and complete a book which has been so long in hand, but, as is often the case, work of enduring interest has to give way to ephemeral duties from which the individual cannot escape, and therefore I can only say, that though I shall never neglect my work, it must not be expected until it appears.

Dr. Murray gave us a paper on the words *Aisle* and *Illumine*, and interested us by an account of his work on the Dictionary. This Dictionary will probably be the work by which our Society will be best known to future ages. It

was planned in the early days of the Society's existence. Scattered over the country, readers noted passages to exemplify words. Their written slips were counted by the ton weight. Yet we seemed as far from the result as ever, and, as Dr. Murray reminded you in his last address, I had but a few years ago been content to hope that my posterity might witness its advent. Now, thanks to the Oxford Press, and to the indefatigable exertions of Dr. Murray, whose name will, I trust, to future generations be a much more potent expression of authority on the history, extent, and meaning of our language, than Johnson's or Webster's or Richardson's were to our fathers and ourselves,—*now* I have hopes of seeing the first parts of this gigantic work flutter into life before I have myself fluttered out of it; and I sincerely hope that Dr. Murray will himself be able to exhibit from this chair the first printed fascicule of the work to the longing eyes of our members. In the mean time, before proceeding to the main part of my address, I will call upon him to read a short report upon the present state of his work on the English Dictionary of the Philological Society.

REPORT ON THE DICTIONARY OF THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY, BY DR. J. A. H. MURRAY.

"The Annual Addresses for the past two years have noticed at considerable length the resumption of the Dictionary scheme, the proposed extent and features of the work, and the many practical problems which arise in connexion with an undertaking of such extent. It will be sufficient on the present occasion if I briefly report the progress which has been made during the year that has now elapsed, leaving it to this time twelvemonths, when the three years allotted to the completion of the supplementary reading will have expired, and a portion of the Dictionary will probably be in type, to enter into the subject in greater detail.

"The *Reading* for completion of the materials has gone on steadily during the year. Twelve months ago, I reported the number of our readers as 754, the books undertaken 1568, those finished 924; the number of printed slips issued

625,035, and the quotations returned as 361,670. The number of readers has now risen to upwards of 800, of whom several have finished the help promised by them, or have ceased to read, from inability to obtain access to the books now wanted, while 510 are still at work. The slips issued now number 817,625, and the quotations returned 656,900, or about 80 per cent. The total number of authors now represented in our Reference Index is 2,700, the number of separate *works*, on account of the indefiniteness of what constitutes a *work* (which may be a tenth of a volume, or may extend to ten volumes), is not so easy to give, but at least the titles in our Reference Index amount to some 4,500. Members of a statistical turn of mind may calculate that the weight of 817,625 slips, thin paper as they are, is close upon 15 cwt., and the cost of their postage to Readers and back again, £54 10*s.*; that, laid end to end, they extend a distance of 87 miles, and that, supposing them each to take up only half a minute of the Editor's time in reading and dealing with them, their inspection would occupy 850 days of 8 hours each, or about 3 working years. But as these are really only about a third of our materials, and as many of the older ones are so badly written, and so incomplete in their references, as to demand much longer time than half a minute each for their consideration, it is clear that the mere cursory inspection of the slips is the labour of many years.

"The actual amount of help rendered by Readers has varied very widely; the average all round is 1,000 quotations each, but while the list is headed by two readers, one in America and one in England, with 25,000 each, it is wound up by a number whose contributions have not exceeded a couple of hundred. It will be my privilege on a future occasion to place on record with some minuteness our obligations to our various readers; at present I desire specially to mention the following as our most extensive helpers: the Rev. J. Pierson, Ionia, Michigan, 25,830; Thomas Austin, Jun. (now of Crouch End), 24,545; Mr. Wm. Douglas, 3, St. George's Square, about 20,000; three gentlemen who among them have done a ninth of all the reading; Dr. Brushfield, of

Brookwood Mount, Woking, 14,240; Miss Jennett Humphreys, of Brondesbury, 13,400; Rev. G. B. R. Bousfield and his daughters, 11,350; Mr. and Mrs. C. Gray, Wimbledon, 8,600; Mr. G. L. Apperson, of the Education Office, 8,400; Col. Ardagh, Lansdowne Crescent, 8,000; Rev. W. Lees, of Sidlow Rectory, Reigate, 7,725; Henry Phillips, Jun., Ph.D., etc., Philadelphia, 7,650; F. T. Elworthy, Esq., and family, 7,250; Miss Foxall, Edgbaston, Birmingham, 7,080; Prof. G. M. Philips, Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, 6,500; Rev. S. J. Bowles, Rector of Beaconsfield, 5,800; Misses J. E. A. and E. A. Brown, Farther Barton, Cirencester, 4,695; Rev. C. B. Mount, M.A., Oxford, 4,550; A. Lyall, Esq., Greenheys, Manchester, 3,500.

"The quality of the work done for us has varied as greatly as its amount, both in respect of the value, for Dictionary purposes, of the books read, and of the thoroughness with which these have been worked. Some of our largest contributors have also been among our best in quality; thus both Mr. Pierson and Mr. Austin have read many rare books, supplying quotations of the greatest importance for out-of-the-way words. The former has specially sent me slips for many hundred words not recorded in the last edition of Webster, as well as a complete vocabulary of American lumber terms, and other special contributions. The same character belongs to the important contributions of Prof. Philips, of Lewisburg, while those also of Henry Phillips, Esq., of Philadelphia, of Col. Ardagh, and Rev. W. Lees, and Mr. Fitzedward Hall, have consisted mainly of instances of less common words, and of early instances, and those of Rev. C. B. Mount of quotations from rare seventeenth century books in the Bodleian Library. The special contributions of Mr. Frederick Pollock, Mr. E. B. Peacock, Miss Edith Thompson, the Rev. Kirby Trimmer, of Norwich, Miss Haig, of Rumbling Bridge, consisting entirely of rare words, also merit particular acknowledgment.

"At the request of the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, the Council of the Royal Society were good enough, in January last, to grant me the use of one of their 3 complete

sets of the Philosophical Transactions, 5 volumes at a time, to read, or at least rapidly peruse for early appearances of scientific words. I have specially to record the kindness of Col. Ardagh, Mr. G. L. Apperson, Mr. C. Gray, and Mr. Bousfield, in undertaking the special work of examining these volumes, and of Mr. Thomas Austin, Jun., for managing the distribution and collection of the volumes, besides himself reading one volume. Our gratitude is due to the Royal Society, for the accommodation thus given; and no less to the Councils of several of the Scientific Societies who have called the attention and bespoken the assistance of their members to the Dictionary; notably to the Council of the Linnaean Society, who gave two pages of the covers of both their Journals to an abstract of our Appeal, Directions to readers, and model for quotations. In regard to the history of scientific words, much still remains to be done: often even in quite modern words, no one seems to know how they were formed, or what, as words, they mean. Quite recently I applied to several eminent professors of chemistry, for the truth as to the etymological formation of the word *methyl*, as to which I found quite contradictory statements in books claiming authority, and I applied in vain. I am at present in a similar difficulty as to *amyl;* if any one can supply me with facts (not intuitions) as to what this word means etymologically, and wherein this meaning suits the radical in question, I shall be obliged.

"In the alphabetical arrangement of the old slips, we are now in sight of the end, only W remaining to be put in order. The alphabetical arrangement of the new slips has followed their receipt as closely as practicable, but only in a few cases have they yet been added to the earlier series; the labour of adding them in successive batches being so enormous, that we shall in most cases delay doing so till the general reading is finished, and the new slips can be incorporated with the old once for all, except in preparing portions for volunteer subeditors, for whom we put everything together up to date.

"Thanks to the good help of my numerous volunteer *sub-editors*, considerable portions of the materials have been

provisionally put into Dictionary order and form, and in some cases carefully and ably subedited, so as materially to lighten the task of editing, when I reach them. Mr. Herrtage himself, to whose valued assistance at Mill Hill I owe so much, has finished the subediting of A, with the exception of the section from AU- to the end, undertaken by Mr. Alfred Erlebach, B.A., who has also returned to me the part from AU- to AWAITING admirably executed. The Rev. Arthur Fayers, of Armley, Leeds, who is working at a portion of B, reports that he has finished from BATH to BEADWORK; Mr. T. Henderson, M.A., that he has nearly done the portion from BUSH to the end of the letter, which would have been quite finished but for his appointment to the head mastership of the Bedford County School. Of C the sections from CA- to CE- and CI- to COM- were subedited by Mr. Henry Hucks Gibbs many years ago; the work which he then so admirably did has now to be extended by the addition of the earlier, later, or better quotations, and the new words, supplied by our three years' reading. The same is the case with CON-, formerly subedited by Rev. A. L. Mayhew, of Oxford. Of the other portions of C, Mr. E. C. Hulme, of Guildford, has finished CR- to CZ-, and is now at work on a second portion from CONTI to COZ. Mr. P. W. Jacob, of Guildford, our earliest volunteer helper in this work, has finished the letter E (as far as materials went at the date of his work, and has since done Q, and commenced upon S, of which he has sent me two instalments extending to SHANK. F was finished on the original lines, partly for the main Dictionary, partly for the proposed 'Concise Dictionary' by the late Rev. G. Wheelwright, who devoted immense labour to that letter; his death before the resumption of our plans has deprived us of the benefit of his own services in recasting his work so as to adapt it to our present arrangements, which any one else will find a much more difficult task to do. The Rev. G. B. R. Bousfield, who is subediting G, has completed and returned from GA to GIZZARD, and is at present occupied with GLA to GOO. Mr. G. A. Schrumpf, of Tettenhall College, who has HA, reports his portion finished as far as *Hand*, and has actually

returned it up to the end of HAL. The quotations for letter J, in the hands of the Rev. Walter Gregor, M.A., Pitsligo, are reported as arranged alphabetically and chronologically throughout, and divided into the senses of words as far as JADE. K, which was completed in earlier times by Mr. H. H. Gibbs, is in the same stage as the parts of C executed by him: that is, the recent materials remain to be incorporated, and their results to be applied to modify the treatment of the words where necessary. The letter L had been finished by its subeditor, Rev. C. Y. Potts, of Ledbury, on the earlier plan; he is now busy adding to it recent materials, and re-writing his articles in accordance with present directions. Mr. J. Brown, of the Grammar School, Kendal, is similarly engaged with the portion of MA which he had prepared on the earlier basis, and of which he reports MA to MACU, and MANNA to MANSWORN, as finished. From the gentleman who had the earlier slips for O—ON, and desired to continue his subeditorial work, I have received no report of progress; the materials for Oo to Oz, in the hands of Rev. W. J. Loewenberg, of Bury, have been arranged alphabetically and chronologically, and the subeditor is now busy with the subdivision of the words. Of P, Mr. W. J. Anderson, of Markinch, has arranged and returned to me the greater part of the portion from PERS to PIN. S I have already mentioned as in the hands of Mr. Jacob, to whom I have just sent the part from *Shape* to *Skill*. In returning me his last batch, Mr. Jacob mentioned to me that the division of the meanings of the verb *Set*, and the attempt to put them in satisfactory order, had occupied him over 40 hours. In examining his results, with 51 senses of the simple verb, and 83 of phrases, like *set out*, *set off*, *set down*—134 divisions in all—I do not wonder at the time: I suspect that the Editor will have to give 40 more hours to it; for the language seems not to contain a more perlexing word than SET, which occupies more than two columns of Webster, and will probably fill three of our large quarto pages. To it we may add *bear*, *let*, *take*, *cast*, *put*, *do*, *come*, *go*, *get*, as the heaviest words, lexicographically, in the language, to which light and

easy terms like *abiogenetically* and *chondropterygian* come as pleasant relaxation. The first part of T has been taken up by the Rev. W. B. R. Wilson, of Dollar, who has now in hand the portion from TA to TEI. The Rev. T. Sheppard, B.D., of Exeter College, Oxford, has finished and returned me the whole of V, and is now occupied with the first half of U, which he had before worked at with a view to the 'Concise Dictionary.' Finally, the Rev. J. Smallpeice, of St. Bee's, another of our early and continuous workers, has returned me his work on YA and ZA to ZEO. I desire here most fully to acknowledge, and thankfully to own, the generous help of all these gentlemen, who are thus giving noble assistance to the completion of the work; not only I, but the Society, and the English-speaking world, for whom we are working, owe them our deep gratitude. The actual helpfulness of what they have done and are doing varies with different men, in some cases it is very great; and even if the subeditor goes no farther than intelligently arranging the slips in alphabetical order, combining them into word-groups, and arranging those for each word chronologically, without proceeding to break up the word into its senses, to write trial definitions for these, or to determine the order of their genesis and mutual relationship, he does us a material service, and largely expedites our labour. I cannot but think that if many, who are frightened at the word 'subediting,' as implying some puzzling brainwork, knew what a considerable part of it consists in intelligent arrangement, and how useful this mere arrangement, without anything more, is to me, they would more liberally offer their services in this department. I shall have, by the close of the year, to make an appeal to the members of the Society, to render their individual help here, for the experience of the two years now past has shown that our estimate of the time within which the work can be done is utterly fallacious, without much help in this direction. I shall be glad, therefore, to supply each of our members, towards the close of the present year, with half a hundredweight of slips, already mechanically arranged in the alphabetical order of their catchwords, that they may separate

these into word-groups, and put the slips belonging to each word-group into chronological order, so that subeditors, who are prepared to give further aid, may start at once upon the subdivision of the word into its subordinate senses and uses, with the knowledge that they have all the materials in order before them.

"In my last statement, I expressed the hope, that with decreasing claims upon my attention, it might be possible for me to report the whole of A as now finished. It is a great disappointment to me to confess that this is far from being the case, and that the close of the second year finds me not yet beyond AN-; and that the utmost I can hope is to reach the end of A this year. The claims upon me in other departments of the work have increased rather than diminished during the year; as in the case of each subeditor it has been requisite that I should devote a day or two to finishing off a portion of the letter assigned him, as a guide to his own work, as well as examine and make suggestions upon specimens of the latter, and give a general examination to such portions as he returns. All this is a saving of time and of work eventually, and therefore a proper employment of these three preliminary years, but it interferes seriously with the direct progress of letter A.

"Much time is also required for the preparation of our Lists of Special Wants, of which I issued the Second in January last; few have any conception of the many days' work involved in the preparation of one of these, while the reading is going on and slips continually coming in, so that our series of quotations is growing and changing under our very hands, while we are trying to define its limits.

"I am at the present moment preparing for the press materials for more extensive specimens than those yet printed, in order to settle the details of typography and arrangement within the general limits of the specimen already accepted as a basis by the Society and the Delegates of the Clarendon Press. As I want also to take advantage of the same opportunity to settle several outstanding questions of editing and literary arrangement, including especially the treatment of

compounds fast and loose, I propose to print the words ALL and ALMS, of the former of which the combinations are practically endless, in order that I may elicit the judgment of critics as to where an end is forcibly to be put to them, which it does not seem possible to do, without laying them in some form open to view. I should be very glad also to be helped to a solution of the best mode of marking the pronunciation; the prospect of doing this by any mode of practical reformed spelling seems to recede before me, and to leave me to have recourse to some scientific key spelling, where again the rival claims of a Modern English or an Old English (sometimes called a Roman) base confront me. An Old English base would suit best with the scientific character of the Dictionary, while, on the other hand, it would be perhaps less popular as a practical guide to the pronunciation. Yet a Modern English basis, with its many digraphs for simple vowels, is for words of Romance origin often cumbrous and awkward in the extreme, and fails entirely when we want to refer, as we often must, to the pronunciation of an earlier period. Who will save me the time of thinking this matter out, by giving a broad and practical consideration to the question as it will affect the permanent value and good name of the Dictionary?

"In conclusion, I have to remind the members of what I have already said to our Readers generally, that we are now in the last year of the collection of materials, and that all help of this kind promised or intended must be rendered speedily. While special contributions, alike for the portions of the work not in type, and in the way of supplementing or correcting the portions actually published, will be welcome up to the day when the last sheet goes to press, the general amassing of quotations must cease with the present year, after which the selection, preparation, and using of those we have, the providing of the daily amount for the press, and the correcting and revising of the daily production of the press, will occupy all our time and attention—would occupy twice the time and attention, if we only had them to bestow. If any one then can still render help in completing the

materials, I beg him to do so at once. Of the ordinary literary words of the present century, I believe we need no more instances, and the same may be said of the literature of the seventeenth century; but for the eighteenth century we still want literary words, and for all centuries instances of the words of science, technology, and special subjects. Several of the later publications of the Early English Text and New Shakspere Societies are also still to read, and will doubtless yield many new facts in word-biography. Let us make a united effort to exhaust these and every other available source of information, in order that the Dictionary may in its completeness realize the dreams of its projectors, the hopes of its workers, the expectations which have gathered round it, not only wherever the English tongue is spoken, but even in those foreign lands where our language and literature are the subject of ever-widening study and ever-deepening investigation."

Improvement of English Spelling.

Six meetings, four of them extraordinary, have been occupied since our last anniversary with discussions upon the improvement of English Spelling, on the initiation of our last President, Dr. Murray (Trans. 1880–1, pp. 139–155), and the introduction of Mr. H. Sweet. As so much time was given to this subject, and as it is one at which I have worked for more than half my life, I propose considering the action of the Society at some length, making it the principal subject of this address. The addresses of the Presidents of the British Association have usually assumed one of two forms, a brief account of the scientific work done during the preceding twelve months, or the elaboration of some special subject on which the President has mainly laboured. I hope I shall not be considered out of order, therefore, in following the latter course on the present occasion. I have another reason for doing so. The special family business to which I have already alluded has rendered it practically impossible for me to find time for the long

correspondence generally necessary in endeavouring to obtain interesting reports from foreign correspondents on their own particular philological domain. I am, therefore, reduced to my own resources. But the same circumstances, and the very extensive inquiry into dialectal phonology which I am conducting for this and two other societies, would have entirely prevented me, had I made the attempt, from arriving at a satisfactory account of the present condition of philology from my own reading.

We must go back some years for the first attempts of the Philological Society to improve English orthography. On 5 Nov. 1869, Mr. Danby P. Fry submitted certain resolutions to our Council, which, in lieu of adopting them, passed another resolution as follows: "The Council of the Philological Society, thinking it desirable and practicable to amend the orthography of the English language, appoint the following members—Mr. A. J. Ellis, Mr. R. Morris, Mr. J. Payne, Mr. R. Martineau, Mr. D. P. Fry—to be a committee, with power to add to their number, to consider the direction, extent, and nature of such amendments, and to report thereon to the Society." To the five here mentioned were afterwards added Mr. H. B. Wheatley and Dr. Murray. This committee met four times, at one another's houses, on 12, 17, and 24, Nov. and 2 Dec. 1869. Each sitting lasted three or four hours, and the work was hard and earnest. At the last meeting, at Mr. Martineau's, Prof. Payne being absent, the remaining six were equally divided on the question whether an improved orthography should be wholly phonetic or partially phonetic, and we then agreed that it was hopeless to work on, but drew up a report to the Council, which was presented on 21 Jan. 1870, and then dissolved. Mr. Fry had led the partially phonetic, and I had led the wholly phonetic side. The Council therefore appointed Mr. Fry and myself to read papers explanatory of our views, and set apart two evenings for discussing them at the beginning of the following session. Mr. Fry's paper, entitled "On the Improvement of English Orthography," was read on 6 May, 1870, and is printed in his own spelling, or rather spellings,

in our Transactions for that year, with an introduction containing a full account of the circumstances which induced him to bring the subject forward. The great point of this paper is the attempted separation of English words into two classes, those which have entered it by speaking, and those which have entered it by writing. Mr. Fry thought that the first should be written phonetically, and that they always had been so written in intention; but that the second (at least so far as "Latin and Latin-spelt Greek words" were concerned) "are not and were never intended to be spelt phonetically" (p. 41), and that in them, to use Mr. Fry's own words, "the spelling is governed, and rightly governed, by historical etymology" (p. 47).

On 20 May, 1870, I read my paper "On Glossic, a new system of English spelling, proposed for concurrent use, in order to remedy the defects without detracting from the value of our present orthography." I had previously lectured on the same subject at the College of Preceptors on 6 March, and the Society of Arts on 20 April. The point on which I insisted was that no attempt should be made to alter our present spelling, which to be useful should be preserved in its present practical uniformity, and that a new spelling should be run beside it, to fulfil those purposes which the customary spelling cannot effect, a proposal which I understand Mr. Fry's paper to state in advance (p. 21) could "hardly be seriously maintained." This Glossic system I *especially explained would be useful for Dialectal* Writing. I am glad to think that its value in that respect has been appreciated by those writers in the English Dialect Society, subsequently established, who have taken the trouble of learning how to use it. I may particularly mention Mr. Elworthy's books on the West Somersetshire Dialect, originally read as papers before this Society, in which every dialectal phrase is spelled in Glossic, and his careful edition of the Exmoor Scolding and Courtship, which is interleaved with the pronunciation thus expressed. Mr. C. Clough Robinson's Mid-Yorkshire Glossary has the sound of every word and phrase thus interpreted, and several other con-

tributors have used it to some extent, but generally their knowledge of the relations of speech sounds has been too slight for them to manipulate any systematic representation of spoken dialects. I have also made Glossic the basis of my *Pronunciation for Singers* (Curwen, 1877), and *Speech in Song* (Novello, 1878), and shall use it in the abridged account of my dialectal investigations which I have to prepare for the English Dialect Society. In all these cases its use is strictly part of my original intention—succursal to ordinary spelling.

To these two papers by Mr. Fry and myself I must refer such members of the Society as desire to see what were the different views which we then entertained, and I believe still entertain. The proposed discussion upon them took place on 4 and 18 November. I was unfortunately prevented by indisposition from attending the first meeting, but I sent a paper to be read, proposing four resolutions, which provoked a lively debate, adjourned to the second evening, when I was present, and the first two of the resolutions proposed by myself were passed, viz. first, "The Philological Society abstains from recommending the adoption of any Spelling reform for the English Language," and second, "The Philological Society recommends a complete investigation to be made of the history of English spelling." After this there was an attempt to get up a Committee for the investigation of English spelling, but as only two members present were willing to serve on it, it was agreed that individual members should be urged to prepare papers on the subject. And it so happens that the subject has been investigated, or rather is still under investigation, by one of the most competent persons we could have desired, furnished with most exceptionally complete sources of information, the Editor of our Dictionary, who in his farewell address as our President brought forward numerous striking facts, which will be fresh in your memory.

After this discussion the whole question quietly slumbered for ten years, till it was revived in the Address just referred to on 21 May, 1880. The investigation of English Spelling,

forced upon Dr. Murray as editor of the Society's Dictionary, has led him to a feeling proverbially resulting from familiarity. He has no reverence for our spelling. He sees all its shortcomings. He sees its changeableness. He sees how it has gradually ceased to be based on a representation of sound. He sees how absolutely contemptible are its claims for historical etymology. "Let us improve it!" he exclaims in effect; "let us do as our ancestors did, and alter a bit here and there. It's the only chance we have of doing anything. The ignorance of the public is so great as to the meaning of orthography, that no system is possible. The evil is crying. Let us do our best to remedy it, even if we can but go a little way." This is, I believe, a fair abstract of what he has said eloquently and forcibly, and illustrated clearly and strikingly. It was his eloquent appeal which induced the Society to ask Mr. Henry Sweet, whom he himself designated as most capable of undertaking the troublesome business, to draw up some basis for action. Mr. Sweet most kindly consented to undertake the lengthy and tedious inquiries thus necessitated, and he laid his first proposals before the Society so that they could be discussed on two extra meetings on 9 and 16 July, 1880, each of more than three hours in duration, although totally inadequate to a full consideration of the very complicated subject, when it was agreed to request Mr. Sweet to recast the whole of the proposals, and bring them forward with additional corrections, lists, and examples, at the commencement of the next session. This he kindly consented to do, and the discussion took place at two regular meetings on 5 and 19 Nov. and one extra meeting on 26 Nov. 1880, when the Society "approved" of the changes, and asked that they should be embodied in a complete statement, with full lists of the words affected. This was done, and at a special meeting on 28 Jan. 1881, the complete statement was considered, and after some changes, principally omissions, had been made in it, the pamphlet of "Partial Corrections of English Spellings," printed in the orthography suggested, was formally "approved," and ordered to be printed and circulated. Copies of this pamphlet have been put in circu-

lation this month, and are in the hands of all members of our Society.

In regard to these six evening meetings, it may be observed that the subject was not only extensive but complicated, being full of details so related that it was difficult to decide on any one without reference to several others, and consequently demanding a great familiarity with the subject, a special study, and a constant attendance. As it happened, the time was constantly too short for the matter to be discussed, and divisions had to be hurried on without full consideration of the scope of each proposal; the greater number of those present were new to the subject, and their attendance fluctuated. The largest number of votes recorded in any division was seventeen; and, counting those who did not vote, including myself as chairman, there were rarely if ever twenty members present. It seems to me that this was not a satisfactory means of settling such a question. Better results would probably have followed if the discussions had not terminated in votes, but had been only taken as general expressions of opinion to guide Mr. Sweet in drawing out a complete scheme, where the relation of each part to the whole would have been duly considered and treated in reference and also in deference to the opinions expressed, without his feeling bound to adopt any one absolutely, and if finally Mr. Sweet's proposals had been accepted or rejected in block, and that not merely by the members who happened to be present from time to time, but, through voting papers, by the Society at large recording their votes. The subject is not one which bears well the treatment it received. No two abler men than Mr. Sweet and Dr. Murray could well have been selected for the purpose, and it was perhaps unfortunate that more was not left to their judgment. The subject is also one upon which individuals are very sensitive. By far the greater part of our members are not able to attend the evening meetings, and especially not able to attend many of them in succession, and it would perhaps have been better on such a peculiar subject, if the general rule of taking only

the votes of those present had been dispensed with, and the whole Society had been consulted.

In the Memorandum of the Association of this Society, 2 Jan. 1879, following the laws of the unincorporated Society, it is stated that "The objects for which the Association is established are: To investigate and to promote the study and knowledge of the structure, the affinities, and the history of languages. . . . The doing all such other lawful things as are incidental or conducive to the attainment of the above objects." Now it seems to me that an attempt to alter national orthography is not so much a literary and philological question as a great *social* act. It cannot be done in England, for example, without the direct co-operation of Government. But surely ours is a scientific Society, the object of which is very correctly described in the Memorandum of Association as already cited. And to make it into a political organisation for the purpose of carrying a social reform, however urgent and desirable it may seem to many or even a majority of its members, as it does to me, would, I cannot but think, be a real withdrawal of the Society from its proper object, and therefore to be deprecated and avoided. The resolution to which we came in November, 1870, to "abstain from recommending any Spelling Reform," seems to have been more consonant with the aims and objects of our Society.

It happens in the present as in many other cases that social action depends upon scientific knowledge, and the elaboration of this scientific knowledge is naturally a proper subject for the investigation of a scientific society. For instance, it is of the very essence of philology to examine the nature of speech sounds in different countries as well as our own, to discover a means of recalling them with tolerable ease and accuracy, to study the alphabetic modes of expression now in use, point out their defects and suggest a remedy. Acting on the knowledge thus furnished, Spelling Reformers (who are really political agitators for a very great political change, far more extensive in its scope than such questions as the Irish Land Law or British Free-Trade and Protection)

may build up their theories and arguments, and individual men of science may be among these agitators, not, however, in their character as members of the scientific society which furnished the data, but as members of society in general. Now, at the risk of tautology, I wish to point out that these opinions of mine have not been engendered by the recent discussions in the Society on the improvement of English Spelling, but that they existed strongly enough in 1870 for me to induce the Society to pass the resolution just quoted, while the idea which I then held, and have continued to hold from my first connection with Spelling Reform in 1843 to the present day, has been to leave our present spelling absolutely untouched, although by no means unused (as it would be indispensable for many purposes), and to run beside it another system which should do what it fails to accomplish.

What are the actual relations of philologists to the social problem? Thought came first. Then followed speech. Writing lagged long after. Writing appeared in two forms, as the direct record of thought, and as the direct record of speech. In the latter case, of course, it was only the indirect record of thought. Through the medium of the word suggested by the thought-symbol, that symbol became in some countries a symbol (ultimately) of the first part of the sound of that word, and thought-symbols gave place to sound-symbols, writing becoming at first syllabic and then alphabetic. In other countries writing remained ideographic. It is remarkable that the extreme absurdities resulting from changing spoken words and retaining written words in such advanced countries as England and France have led to the confusion of ideographic and alphabetic writing. We write, for example, *air, heir, eyre, ere, e'er*, as five symbols, to each of which we give the same sound, and the various significations of that sound cannot be distinguished in living speech, except by a judicious context. But the five symbols, when seen, instantaneously suggest to the practised reader who is acquainted with our language five different conceptions, independent of the sound. There are some persons who

are so delighted with this means of distinction that they would extend its use everywhere. Let such persons endeavour to differentiate the first symbol *air* for some of its different meanings, as the *air* of the atmosphere, oxygen is an *air*, a gentle *air* is blowing, that's an old *air*, this is the *air* and that the accompaniment, a haughty *air*, "with an *air* and grace," *air* the bed, and so on, all of which are easily distinguished by context and that alone, either in speaking or writing. And so on for perhaps the majority of words in common use, for which the various senses are at present left undistinguished both in sound and symbol. But this is not all. The same symbol often stands for different thoughts, which have different signs in speech. Thus, in "I will *present* you with a *present* if you will *lead* me to the *lead* mine," the symbols *present* and *lead* have each two sounds, one for each of the separate thoughts expressed, but the context alone decides which sound has to be used. This Chinese character of our orthography has been often referred to as an illustration, but I wish now to insist upon it as an important practical fact to be duly regarded in all attempts "to improve our spelling," which, as I conceive them, must ultimately consist in replacing thought-symbols by sound-symbols, and not in replacing one set of thought-symbols by another. The latter is in effect, however much it may be disguised, the result of any "partial corrections" of our orthography, such as those of which the Society has "approved," and in so far there is a scientific objection to such corrections. The ideographic character of our present orthography is concealed by the fact that it was unintentional, and has arisen from a change of sound having gone on without a sufficient change of sign. But the reality of the change may be made clear by observing that Queen Victoria might, without much difficulty, be taught how to read out a page of King Alfred's alphabetically written translation of *Gregory's Pastoral Care* in a way he would probably have understood, while it would be hopeless to instruct the shade of King Alfred how to read out intelligibly a page of Queen Victoria's ideographically written *Highland Tour*.

The invention of an alphabet has always been, and still remains, a difficulty, at least in Europe. The Asiatic alphabets are numerous, the European seem to have been more or less misappropriated loans, or loans of loans, from Asia. Greece and Rome both seem to have been indebted to Phenicia, but in borrowing they partly altered, not only the shape and arrangement, but the significance of the symbols, just as Persia and Turkey have with the Arabic faith imported Arabic characters, and partially changed their meaning. The first attempts at writing, both in Athens and Rome, were abandoned at an early period. It is remarkable that the ancient Attic inscriptions use a different alphabet from the modern, and this change was effected by a government decree under the archonship of Euclid, B.C. 403, when the Ionic alphabet was introduced. This new alphabet not only introduced several new letters, but also altered the values of others. Among the most remarkable of the changes was the entire disuse of any symbol for the aspirate, and the appropriation of the old symbol of the aspirate to the representation of a long vowel which had not been formerly distinguished in writing from the corresponding short vowel. That this was justified by Athenian habits at that time, as at the present day, is not only *à priori* likely, but is rendered more probable by an ancient inscription, still preserved, but cut slightly before the date of change, in which the utmost confusion prevails as to the use of the sign of the aspirate. But we are most interested in the Latin alphabet, which the Roman empire introduced into the countries it conquered, and the Latin Church subsequently made a part of the religious faith of the people, the Greek and Cyrillic or Glagolitic (mixtures, like the old Gothic, of Greek and Latin) becoming, and remaining to this day, symbols of heresy from Rome. Now of the older Latin forms we know very little. The twenty-seven inscriptions in Appendix B to Roby's grammar, reaching from the earliest existing to the end of the Republic, and taken from the most trustworthy sources, are very conveniently arranged for study, and the contrast between the earliest and the latest is very marked, though

even the latest differs much from the medieval Latin forms with which we are acquainted in most of our editions of the classics. I am not aware that Government intervened in Rome as it did in Athens, but I am inclined to take the so-called Bacchanal Inscription, B.C. 186 (No. X. in Roby, Corp. I. R. 196. Ritschl tab. XVIII.), which seems to have the stamp of Government authority, to mark an accepted change in Latin writing, especially as regards the insertion of final *m*, which was certainly not pronounced in the pause or before vowels, though it became effective before consonants, as I have endeavoured to establish elsewhere, and to illustrate by the modern Italian treatment of final *d*, a letter which also disappeared from the termination of Latin ablatives (*Quantitative Pronunciation of Latin*, 1874). The point, however, to which I wish to direct attention with regard to these Greek and Roman changes, is that the system of writing in each case was intentionally phonetic, and hence, that the changes from one phonetic system to another were intelligible at once, as recalling known sounds, and marking the history of the change of sounds, that is, were made in the sense of the original institution. In the Greek the change was made evidently to improve the instrument itself, which was felt to be inadequate to its task. But such a change, even at that early period, required the action of Government. The circumstances under which the change was made in one small state, when even ordinary writing was not a common accomplishment, and the nation was almost confined to a single city, having no penny post or printing press, are totally different from those under which a change would or could be made in the English Alphabet at the present day, with the millions who are used to read, write and print it, scattered over England, America, Australia, South Africa and India. And again the change, if confined to altering the shape of certain thought-symbols, while it left them after all thought-symbols, would in no wise be self-interpreting, as in the phonetic changes of sound-symbols, nor in any respect record the history of the language.

What is a language? Of course there is no more difficulty

in giving a rough and ready answer to this question than to the question, what is an animal or a vegetable? It is only when we descend into minutiae that difficulties begin. In the first place a language is not a collection of written or printed symbols. It could not be said for a moment that Chinese books form the Chinese language. They give us symbols of thought and the mode of combining thought, but do not in the slightest degree shew us how people in China communicate thought by speech. In fact we know that they recall mutually unintelligible sounds to inhabitants in different parts of China, just as the so-called Arabic figures 1881, if placed before different inhabitants of Europe would recall to them mutually unintelligible sounds; such as those written "eighteen hundred and eighty-one" in English, "achtzehn hundert ein und achtzig" in High German, "mil huit cent quatre-vingt un" in French, or "mille otto cento ottanta uno" in Italian. A language consists wholly of sounds, to which the same significance is attributed by the speaker and the hearer. These sounds, therefore, are the thought-symbols, and to these sounds alone has philology to pay any attention. Thought-symbols which are not sounds are beyond the domain of philology, except in so far as they are marks on to which we can hang sounds, and then they become of great use in philology. Let any one look at the Chinese proverb cited by Dr. Morris in his report on Pâli at our last anniversary (Trans. 1880–1, p. 171), with alphabetic symbols annexed, and he will feel the meaning of this observation. I can't read the annexed alphabetic symbols myself, for I have no key, and alphabets being founded on conventionalities do not tell their own tale, especially when individual writers make their own conventionalities with themselves as they go on, without taking the reader into their confidence—a detestable habit, extremely common, from which I have suffered greatly in collecting materials for my dialectal investigations. Other persons, thinking they could indicate the sounds better, might make several new series of signs, all of which they would attach to the same thought-symbols, and thus the thought-symbols would

become rallying points, connecting the various series of sound-symbols. Thus I use a written English word, say *daughter*, as a mere thought-symbol, to connect a vast variety of sound-symbols which express such sounds as at different times and in different counties were used to express the thought thus represented. And in the same way the thought-symbol *fille* is connected with *daughter* in English-French dictionaries. The reader may be absolutely deaf-mute, but he will connect the thought-symbols, and perfectly understand the relation. I know a living instance. Similarly the numerous spellings of *alms, almonry, almond, ambassador*, brought before us by Dr. Murray, are groupable around these thought-symbols, and in the indices to the pronunciation of the words of Chaucer, and of the XVIth, XVIIth, and XVIIIth centuries, given in my *Early English Pronunciation*, I have referred them all to our modern and well-known thought-symbols. Pronouncing dictionaries in which sound-symbols are connected with thought-symbols are another instance. In this respect then, as a means of colligating many sound-symbols which express the same thought, thought-symbols have a philological value.

A language, then, is a series of significant speech sounds, in the sense just laid down. But what are those sounds? Are they the same throughout a district where the same language is currently said to be spoken? It is notorious that this is very far from being the case, and it is one of the difficulties to be encountered by any proposed phonetic spelling. To mark the earnestness and the pertinacity with which this objection is urged, would make one despair of the possibility of phonetically writing any language whatever. No two persons reproduce exactly the same speech-sounds. No two auditors exactly hear the same set of sounds at the same time from the same speaker. Neither the speaker nor any one of his audience will attach precisely the same conceptions to the sounds which the first thinks he utters and the others think they hear. Hence of course it is all nonsense to talk of language at all. There is only one set of confused sounds exciting another set of confused thoughts,

nobody speaks like anybody else, and nobody understands anybody. Nothing can be clearer. Only, unfortunately, you most probably have understood what I have said, with quite sufficient accuracy, and any of you could probably read out my address for me with the same general amount of intelligibility. Herein lies the explanation. We attend to the genus of sounds and the genus of thoughts only. The little specific or variational differences do not affect intelligibility in the least. And it would seem that all we have to aim at, for the purposes of life, is such a record of these genera as would enable any one to reproduce them. But this is not all. There are differences in the speech of people residing in different parts of a country, or generally exposed to different influences, which are really generic differences. This has been felt at all times, and when general instruction and communication was in olden times so much less than at present, it was felt still more. Are we then to select one of these? and if so, on what principle? and what are we to do with the rest? This has always been a difficult problem, and has given rise to the special professions of the rhetorician and the orthographist. The selection was always social. There is no acoustical or philological reason that I know of why one variety of sounds should be selected rather than another to express thoughts. The sounds that prevail are those used by the conqueror, the ruler, the noble, the wealthy, the social superiors, the learned, the scholars, and especially as the embodiment of all these, the orators. The pronunciation of any language is always that of the seat of government —other pronunciations are "provincial." "Pronunciation," in modern times, is a word signifying a mode of vocalising thought-symbols, because the thought-symbols now exist in all Europe and its colonies. But it is an inversion of the real process, because the thought-symbol has been generated by an insufficient mobility in the sound-symbol, which, remaining fixed while the sound changed, has fossilised and changed its character.

For general intelligibility, however, I shall use "pronun-

ciation" to represent the custom of speech so far as sound is concerned. Now in this sense we find that the pronunciation even of the seat of government is never quite uniform. In London, for example, we have extreme varieties, some of which may be heard in the legislature itself, embracing as it does many provincials, and many, who, to their own great credit, have risen from the ranks. The same is true now in Paris, in Berlin, in Vienna, in Rome, in Naples, and no doubt was equally the case in Athens and ancient Rome. In Athens, common discourse or διάλεκτος was distinguished from the rhetorical, ῥητορικὴ, used by the ῥήτορες as, first, public speakers themselves, and then those who by observing the habits of men most esteemed instructed others how to imitate them, and created an artificial pronunciation. We have the difference now among us in London, known as *colloquial* and *oratorical* pronunciation. But we have very few men indeed who set themselves up as guides to speakers. There is such an institution in the French Conservatoire, but in England it has fallen to the lot of private individuals, not at all recognised by the government. Thus at different times Thomas Sheridan, John Walker, Sheridan Knowles, Benjamin Smart, Melville Bell, Alexander D'Orsey, have undertaken this office, and several actors, as Jones, Ryder, and others. But how did they know how to teach? They were first merely observers, then they became theorisers, and their theories were often false, because founded on the presumed phonetic character of the orthography of their day. This principally determined their pronunciation of the weak or unaccented syllables, and clings like a millstone round the necks of orators and their teachers and phonetic writers in general. The pronouncing dictionary writer most free from this perversion is Smart, but the symbols he uses inevitably mislead the reader who does not very carefully study his preceding lengthy and somewhat involved explanations. Mr. Sweet in his *Handbook of Phonetics* has quite emancipated himself from all such considerations, but our late President, Dr. Murray, in his last address, in speaking on "the representa-

tion of the obscure and unaccented vowels," says, "I would refer with approbation to the early phonetic work of Mr. Ellis, and to the principle still maintained by Mr. Pitman (though I differ from him in several of its applications), of writing the sounds which educated men aim at producing, not those which men in a hurry actually succeed in producing. If," continues Dr. Murray, "the reader aim at the former, he may be trusted always to reach the latter; if he aim only at the latter, he will soon fall short even of them, and want a still newer spelling for his still more defective utterances" (Philol. Trans. 1880–1, p. 154). I may be permitted to say a word for myself. I think Dr. Murray alludes to only what I did after the year 1847. Up to the end of 1847 I not only entertained the opinion, but adopted the practice of marking the vowel as indistinct where I so spoke it. But in 1848 I adopted the other practice of putting the mark of a distinct vowel sign in unaccented syllables "in deference to orthoepists," as I stated, and against my own better judgment, not only then but now (see Phonetic Journal, 1848, p. 17; see also Phonotypic Journal, 1843, pp. 142–144, 1844, pp. 255–279, and generally 1845, 1846, and 1847, pp. 181–207, 277–280, and also my *Alphabet of Nature*, 1844, p. 55), and moreover I now find that orthoepists generally recognise these obscure utterances. Smart and Worcester are very particular in indicating them. Even Melville Bell allows of a marked difference of sound, although his unaccented vowel system is quite theoretical. The whole subject is discussed with special reference to Melville Bell's theories in my *Early English Pronunciation*, part iv. pp. 1158–1171.

This question of orthoepy is, and will probably remain, one of great difficulty. There is a natural pronunciation, the colloquial, in which we speak with each other. There is a slightly different one occasioned by the necessity of being audible by a large number of listeners, best heard in so-called "genteel comedy." There is a much more artificial one—more correctly there are several artificial pronunciations heard in oratorical delivery. There is another one, often more

artificial still, and swayed by many traditions, in the pulpit. Again in so-called "recitals" there is a species of poetical utterance. In tragedy, artificiality, mixed with stage tradition, is often carried to excess. All these but the first are literary, and the errors, when not traditional, arise from forcing pronunciation to agree with what is ignorantly supposed to be the phonetic indications of our ideographic writing. True, such writing is the remains of a phonetic system, but when those letters were used phonetically they seldom, if ever, represented the sounds thus attributed to them at the present day, as I have sufficiently demonstrated in my *Early English Pronunciation*. Of the above modes of utterance, I think that the pronunciation of "genteel comedy" is most worthy of respect. But there is also unlettered speech which has grown up naturally in different parts of the country, and that, I apprehend, is the only one worthy of philological investigation. Being illiterate, it has, however, naturally nothing to do with an improvement of spelling, which is essentially literate. It has, however, a great deal to do with scientific spelling, for it affords us the very field we desire,—unwritten languages which we are anxious to compare.

But all the other kinds of English pronunciations just enumerated are also absolutely unwritten, and it is at least an excellent exercise to reduce them to writing, and contend with all those difficulties in synthetically and analytically representing the exact sounds used in strong and weak syllables, and strong and weak words, with the length, pitch, stress, of elements, syllables and words, the variations of pronunciation and intonation due to haste, passion, or other expression, or logical construction of sentences, which Mr. Sweet and myself have at times brought before you. The construction of a really scientific system of writing speech in reference to such points is of the utmost value to philology. Mr. Sweet, following Mr. Melville Bell, has designed an alphabet to satisfy most of these, which was explained in 1878, and makes part of our present Transactions (pp. 177–235). He forms his alphabet, of course, on the

principle of indicating the physiological actions by which each sound is produced. This plan seems the best as yet at our command, and has been pursued with great acuteness, but clearly cannot be either investigated or represented in sufficient exactness to represent the whole means used to produce the acoustical phenomena.

The phenomenon which really occurs is the production of an original form of a wave of air, and its subsequent modification by resonance, and is of the greatest complexity. The only really scientific representation of sounds would be a curve, indicating the vibration of a particle of air in contact with the drumskin of the ear when sound is perceived by the listener. A straight line being drawn from left to right, shewing the position of the particle at rest, and also divided into a series of lengths corresponding to seconds of time, points above and below this line would represent the position of the particle in respect to its position of rest at the time indicated by the portion of the line over or under which it stands. The curve connecting these points represents the sound. The number of vibrations in a second gives the pitch, the extent of the vibrations gives the loudness, and the form of the vibration gives the quality of tone. The representation is then absolutely complete, and is quite independent of the vocality by which it is produced. These curves have been drawn, more or less imperfectly, by the phonautograph of Léon Scott and Koenig, and also much enlarged, and hence better seen in the photographic apparatus of Prof. E. W. Blake, jun., of the Brown University, U.S. (American Journal of Science and Arts, vol. xvi. July, 1878, p. 54, also given in *Nature*); and the logograph of Prof. Barlow (Philol. Trans., 1873, p. 389 note, and Scientific Proceedings of the Royal Dublin Society, 18 March, 1878); while Messrs. Preece and Stroh have succeeded in constructing these curves theoretically, and producing the vowels from them audibly (Proceedings of the Royal Society, 27 February, 1879, vol. xxviii. p. 358). But the familiar instrument by which they are impressed upon a piece of tin foil which is then made to reproduce the sounds, is the phonograph of Mr.

Edison. From this tin foil Prof. Fleeming Jenkin and Mr. J. A. Ewing have succeeded in obtaining magnified curves which they have resolved into their components according to Ohm's law, and thus found at least some of the constituents of the sounds.[1]

All this is, however, very imperfect, and it would seem valueless for recording and reproducing speech-sounds with accuracy. I went with great expectations, in company with Prof. Graham Bell, to examine Mr. Stroh's phonograph, and was wofully disappointed. But in *Nature* for 10 March last, I read: "A phonograph of a new construction will be tried in the New Polyglot Institute of Paris, for the purpose of teaching pupils the art of pronouncing correctly the difficult words of foreign languages." It will be a wonderful phonograph if it records them with sufficient accuracy to make it worth while to listen to it, and if it also teach pupils the art of pronouncing these sounds correctly, it will be simply miraculous! But however much this mode of writing and reading sounds may be brought to perfection, it will never supersede the physiological studies of phonetists and their application to alphabetic writing, and even those will not supersede for many purposes the old judgment of the ear, for I have heard many sounds which I have not been able to refer distinctly to any physiological group, and can only vaguely indicate as "lying between" two known sounds—whatever that may mean. In connection with this part of my subject I should like to draw attention to Prof. Sievers's excellent work just published (*Grundzuge der Phonetik zur Einfuhrung in das Studium der Lautlehre der indogermanischen Sprachen*, Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1881, pp. 220), in which he gives an account of all the principal recent phonetic investigations, and I must congratulate Germans on having such a conveniently arranged treatise to consult.

[1] Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, vol. xxviii. part 3, for Session 1877-78, pp. 745-777, plates 34-40, "On the Harmonic Analysis of certain Vocal Sounds," in every respect a most valuable contribution towards our knowledge of this very complicated subject.

Now it is clear that however useful such investigations may ultimately prove to philology, they are far too difficult and lengthy to be of any value to those who merely want to record and reproduce speech for every-day use. These persons ought to be able to speak and combine the sounds before they see the sound-symbols. I am speaking of course of those who can hear, the deaf-mute must be helped by sight, and can be so helped in a wonderfully effective manner by Mr. Melville Bell's Visible Speech signs, as explained to us so clearly by Prof. Graham Bell on 3 Dec. 1880. The teacher who knows the physiological actions can always help materially, and when there are defects of utterance such a teacher is a necessity. There is no occasion for ordinary purposes to represent the physiological action by the symbol, which may be chosen to subserve other purposes, but the writing must be phonetic, that is, must recall sounds and those only.

Now here arises a difficulty, not only in English, but in other languages, in which originally phonetic writing has become more or less ideographic. The ideographs contain parts which apparently indicate an original pronunciation or a pronunciation in another language whence the word was taken. Hence these parts are cherished as giving a clue to the etymology or history of a word. Dr. Murray's experience, as he has told you, is that these apparent traces have often been ignorant insertions of a late date, and are much more frequently misleading than valuable, and must in all cases be preliminarily disregarded (*suprà*, p. 152). If we wish to look up the history of a word it must be through MSS., during a period when, anterior to the invention of printing, phonetic writing had not yet begun to fossilise into ideographic. And how much of the history of a word could in any case be shewn by unphonetic insertions, or be made clear by any spelling to any one who did not know it beforehand, may be readily appreciated by those who will take the trouble to turn over a few pages of Prof. Skeat's Etymological Dictionary. Such notions are mere dreams, and are generally recognised as such. Yet they leave an impression,

like other bad dreams, on the awakening sense, and their influence was very marked on the partial corrections lately "approved" by our Society. It cannot be too often repeated or too earnestly insisted on, that no spelling can be etymologic, which does not in the first place tell us what the word *is* of which we seek the history, that is, does not represent the sounds of which the word consists. And in tracing the written forms of its ancestors in print or MS. we only then have a real history of the word, when we can clothe those written forms in a phonetic garment. Here, however, comes in a very important use of the ordinary more or less unphonetic orthography. We require to trace and identify each document on the way. For that purpose it must appear either in its absolute form, or, where that is inconvenient, as is very frequently the case for Asiatic and older European, or even Slavonic languages, in a transliteration, from which we can unambiguously reproduce the original when desired. If we follow Moritz Rapp and use only a phonetic form, we have no means of reverting to the original without an amount of labour which no reader would undertake, so that our own labour would be thrown away. Besides this, the old form is that on which we have worked. The phonetic form (in all but living speech, and often then) is a deduction, an inference from conflicting materials, which others may interpret differently. We ought therefore to give them the means of checking what we say. I have felt both of these defects acutely in using Rapp's books (*Physiologie der Sprache*, 1836, and *Vergleichende Grammatik*, 1852). As long as we deal with familiar languages in familiar stages, it is enough, usually, to employ the ordinary written form, but even this is never quite safe, we cannot be sure that what is familiar to ourselves is so to others, and the only real security will be found in giving a word twice over, once in its historical and once in its presumed phonetic form, just as several Sanscrit grammars give each word in its Indian form and in a transliteration.

It is, I consider, altogether a mistake to treat the improvement of our orthography as simply a scientific or philologic

problem. Any alteration whatever of our present thought-symbols defaces them, and destroys their identity. We have passed through a quagmire of change. During the last hundred years we have acquired a certain solidity of ground to walk on. Let us keep it. I have not the slightest veneration for our spelling. I do not think it sacred in the least degree. But I recognise in it a practical uniformity wherever the English language is now written and printed, and the quantity of matter that is at present printed monthly in English-speaking countries far exceeds what was printed yearly a century ago. People can and do acquire the use of our spelling during childhood, with pain and grief no doubt, and with great waste of time, and the recollection of this very pain and grief and waste of time makes them shudder at the idea of a new spelling book such as has lately been issued in Germany, and such as logically follows from our "partial corrections," nay, which is absolutely contained in the pamphlet we have issued, that I should dread committing to memory. By these changes we also do harm to science by injuring the fixedness of our point of reference, for which our ideography serves, as already explained. And at the same time we do not advance the solution of the social problem perceptibly. Our spelling is fixed to this extent, that School Inspectors and Civil Service Examiners are able to "pluck" for "bad spelling." They would certainly not allow *ay*, *aw*, *ey*, *ow*, *qeu* for *aye*, *awe*, *eye*, *owe*, *queue*, in the midst of other unchanged words. Slight as the change is, the words are unrecognisable, because the sound of an English written word cannot be analysed into the sounds of its parts, but is essentially that belonging to the whole symbol as such. There is no harm in such spellings as part of a complete system. The harm is in their fortuitous unsystematic use, which could not even be appreciated by those unacquainted with our present spelling, and even such persons would be very loth to make them part of their daily habit of writing. Indeed, I cannot conceive who would be benefited by such changes. But I quite well know who would be injured—myself among the number. The old

familiar look of words seems to be gratuitously changed. I find no compensation for it whatever. And I find real injuries to the history of words by a mixture of the phonetic contrivances of different centuries, which, I learn by referring to the minute book of the Society, I illustrated in our discussion of Nov. 1870, by supposing a man to walk about with a wig of James II., covered by Chaucer's cowl, and topped by a modern chimney pot. A century hence, such changes would seem contrived to make the phonetic usages of the past look like those of the present. Result, confusion worse confounded.

It is not my purpose to undertake the ungrateful, and to me particularly unpleasant task of criticising conclusions which it was at the time my duty to register, and not discuss. I hasten to the social problem, and the part which philologers as such, are called upon to take in its solution.

In our pamphlet discussed on 28th January, and just issued, the following are put forward as the "Objects of Spelling Reform," — (I restore the usual orthography of course):

"1) To facilitate the acquisition of English Spelling; thereby
2) enabling children and adults to learn reading who are at present unable to do so;
3) shortening the time spent in learning to read;
4) facilitating the acquisition of the ordinary spelling;
5) effecting a saving of national expenditure, and
6) spreading the knowledge of English among foreign nations;
7) To remove etymologically misleading spellings."

("Partial Corrections," etc., p. 4.)

Here Nos. 1 to 5 are purely social, No. 6 is merely incidental, and the last, No. 7, seems to me to be in no respect an object of spelling reform at all, except in so far as it would be necessarily effected by the method pursued in working out No. 1.

"Etymologically misleading" letters could only be such as led those who already knew Latin and Greek and other

languages, to think that an English word came from them, when this was not the case; as *hy* in *rhyme*, *s* in *island*, and so on. Their omission has no interest whatever to the mere English reader. The right clue and the full statement can be given only in dictionaries, and are beyond the power of mere orthography.

Let us then look the social problem in the face and consider how far we, as philologists, are especially called upon to contribute to its solution. The evil to be remedied is this:

> *It is now necessary for an Englishman to commit to memory the spelling of every spoken word, and the pronunciation of every written word in his language which he is called upon to write or read aloud or utter publicly, when learned only from books.*

There is no guide but mere memory. Sound, writing, analogy, etymology all fail. Rules for spelling and pronunciation abound in exceptions. Foreigners have frequently declared that they are *all* exceptions. The hard fact remains, after all the fun made of it, that *those among us who have had most practice and experience are continually at a loss*. This seems a stupendous assertion, and I determined to put it to the test before venturing upon it to-night. I have myself been a great reader and writer for more than fifty years. In addition to this, I have thought much about pronunciation, and have endeavoured to master, not only the history, but the practice of pronunciation. I opened Worcester's Pronouncing Dictionary at hazard on p. 434, Bohn's octavo edition, 1847, and took the left-hand column extending from *Magot-pie* to *Mailed*. Exclusive of mere Indian and Turkish words, which Worcester clearly did not know how to utter, I find the following five which I did not know how to spell or pronounce at all; I add Worcester's pronunciation in Glossic: MAGYDARE, the plant *magydaris* L., which Worcester calls *maj'idair* and Smart *mag'idair;* MAHALEB, a shrub, the fruit of which yields a violet dye, left unpronounced by Worcester; MAIAN, a crustacean, W. *mai'yun;* MAIEUTICAL, obstetric, W. *maiyeu'tikul;* MAILE, a silver halfpenny, temp.

Henry V., W. *mail.* This was pretty well, considering that the column contained a large number of familiar compounds of *Maid* and *Maiden.* The last four words are not given by Smart, who, as it is seen, pronounces the first word differently from Worcester. None of them are in Ogilvie's Smaller English Dictionary, where Cull furnishes the sounds. I then tried the whole of p. 512 of Worcester, from Palmer to Panegyris, with the following result, *Indian words again excepted.* The † marks those words which I pronounced differently from Worcester, and which, therefore, in his estimation, I did not know how to pronounce at all. Those unmarked I know nothing of: † PALMISTER, W. *pal·mister,* Ellis *paa·mister;* †PALMISTRY, W. *pal·mistri,* E. *paa·mistri;* †PALUDAL, relating to marshes or fens, W. *puleu·dul,* E. *pal·eudul;* PAMPERO, a violent wind that sweeps the pampas, W. *pampeer·roa,* no doubt a wrongly pronounced Spanish word; PAMPRE, an architectural ornament consisting of vine leaves and grapes, W. *pam·per,* evidently an erroneously pronounced French word; PANADA, PANADO, food made by boiling bread in water, W. *punai·du, punai·doa,* clearly anglicised Spanish words; PANCARTE, a royal charter confirming all his possessions to a subject, W. *punkaa·rt;* PANCY, a kind of violet, W. *pan·si,* but said to be the same word as PANSY, a kind of violet, which, however, W. calls *pan·zi;* PANDORE, an old sort of lute, W. *pundoa·r;* PANDOUR, a kind of light infantry, formerly organised as a separate corps in the Austrian service, W. *pandoo·r,* observe the unaccented syllable is here marked distinct, but was indistinct in the preceding word; PANDOWDY, food made of bread and apples baked together, W. *pandou·di;* † PANEGYRIC, W. *panijir·ik,* E. *panijer·ik;* PANEGYRIS, a festival, W. *punej·iris.* Of these Smart has only Palmister, Palmistry, Panado, Pandore, in which he agrees with Worcester, and Panegyric-al, in which he disagrees with Worcester and agrees with me; Cull (in Ogilvie) has only Paludal and Panegyric-al, in which he disagrees with Worcester in the unaccented syllables, but this may be apparent only, for he never marks the indistinct sounds of unaccented syllables, although Worcester and

Smart habitually do so (Worcester by underdotting, Smart by Italicising). It will be said that these are very uncommon words. But, of course, for so practised a reader as myself, very uncommon words indeed must be found. Let any one try himself with the names in the Births, Marriages and Deaths columns in the *Times*, or a technical lecture in the Journal of the Society of Arts on any subject he has not studied, or the words in any technical dictionary, and he will soon find out how insufficient a guide to pronunciation is the orthography. Judging by the curious pronunciations of really educated men and practised speakers, which I hear from the platform and the pulpit, not only from political but literary and scientific lecturers and readers of papers, I should say that the number of those who know how to pronounce that part of their own vocabulary, which has been principally acquired from books, is very small indeed.

If this were the whole evil, it would after all not be so great, but the number of those who can always and with accuracy reproduce the sign from the sound is much smaller. There is no point on which our Civil Service Examiners insist so much as correct spelling. There is no subject for which so many are plucked. The spelling of school children is a yearly grievance in the School Inspectors' reports. The consequence is enormous waste of time over acquiring the tools of knowledge, when the whole time available for school teaching is very short indeed for the great majority of Englishmen. It was the horror with which this evil inspired me, and the conviction that only a change of spelling, that is, the use of another spelling in schools, and thence in life,—for it never once entered my head to amend the unmendable cento we possess,—that drove me to bestow so much time in helping to invent, and to spend so much health and wealth in helping to produce the means for using this new arm of precision in schools. It was no paltry ambition to amend, no vain thought that I could help out etymology and sense by teaching the world how to write in a scholarlike manner. The literate could fend for themselves and did not want me. I

began the first column of the first number of my *Phonetic News*, 6 January, 1849, with a list of eight facts, which, abridged, were: 1. that no one can tell the sound of a word from its spelling, 2. or the spelling from the sound, 3. that memorising each written word and its sound, which must be separately told the learner, is indispensable, 4. that few can read aloud from any book given them at hazard, or spell any passage read to them at hazard, 5. that few poor children leave school able to read with ease, 6. that in 1846 one woman in two and one man in three signed the marriage register with their marks, 7. that a very large number of the people of England can neither read nor write, 8. that by means of phonetic spelling reading could be taught in from one day to three months. And then I concluded by saying: "For these reasons, Reader, we call upon you, and every enlightened Englishman, to further the SPELLING REFORM." Allow me one other quotation, for I wish to shew you that the distinction I drew at the beginning of this address between a scientific and social action in relation to this subject, has been held by me from the first. I entered into the movement as a social work, as a social work I still hold to it. This is the second paragraph of my opening article in the *Phonetic News*:

"The very origin of our existence as a newspaper is a firm unflinching purpose of warring an exterminating warfare against popular ignorance, directed mainly at its most formidable outwork, raised by the ponderous exertions of barbaric ages—English Pseud-Orthography. As long as we use the types with which this paper is printed [I may now add, and much longer], we are sworn soldiers of Phon-Orthography. It is impossible to think of educating in these days without the help of reading. Lecturers may talk and produce a momentary excitement, they may rouse the mind to action, but the mind must have wherewithal to act upon, or it will relapse into its former listlessness. The written word is the true pabulum for the hungry mind. The heart must be reached through the eye. While the eye is blind to the letter of instruction, ignorance must prevail. Pseud-Ortho-

graphy is a screen which stands between the mind of the people and the light of knowledge. Till reading can be made almost as easy and as ready as hearing, there is no hope that the whole people will be instructed. *They have not time.*"

These were the words of a young man in earnest over a social movement. I am happy to repeat them as an old man thirty-two years afterwards. I am still in earnest. True, that in the mean time I have applied my instrument to the scientific use for which I also felt it to be fitted, in a way which has led me to the honour which I now enjoy of being your President, but I have never ceased to separate the social from the scientific work, and I should not have ventured to address you on the social question at all, if it had not been forced on me by our six nights' discussion of Spelling Reform, treating the subject as if it were a question of leaving out a letter here and there, of trimming a few words, like French poodles, in a few places, and leaving the rugged tufts to jut out in others. No, I am as thoroughly in earnest as ever. My quarry is not the literate, but the illiterate. The literate may amuse themselves, by patching up and spoiling a garment that can only serve its proper purpose by being let alone. The illiterate, born daily into the world, thronging our board-schools and our streets, these are those for whom I worked, and for whom I now ask your work also in that portion of the labour which befits a Philological Society.

Let me explain. I began badly. We often learn more by our failures than our successes. I have learned that I spent an immense amount of energy, of life, and of life's support, in a wrong direction. Instead of confining my work wholly to schools and leaving them to act in time upon adults, I was led to work for schools through adults. The *Phonetic News* was a great mistake, the preparation of books fitted only for adults was another, but the greatest mistake of all was using an alphabet with seventeen new letters in it, which therefore required a large preliminary expenditure of capital, and enormously increased the expense and difficulty of printing in many ways, and after all produced results which could not

be reproduced elsewhere. In Aug. 1843, when the subject had not yet burned itself into my heart, I commenced with an alphabet requiring no new types, but employing Italic and Greek characters. Then having worked with Mr. I. Pitman throughout the incubation of our 1847 alphabet, and having worked that thoroughly, in such numerous publications in 1847 to 1849 that my mind required a three years' rest from almost all labour, I began in 1856 to see that much could be done without either new types or a mixture of founts, and in 1866 I invented my palaeotype, which at first dispensed with any mixture of founts, and was intended for English only, but was afterwards enlarged and formed into the scientific instrument for which I have used it in my *Early English Pronunciation*. In 1870 I found that it was possible to print English, not only easily, but to a great extent, suggestively to one who could already read, by means of ordinary letters only, without turning, accenting, or mutilating any, as shewn in my Glossic. I have since invented other schemes, as my Dimidian, Europic, and Suggestive, all with the idea of Spelling Reform. It is in the formation and criticism of such alphabets, that men engaged in the study of language could, if they only would, give great assistance. The task is a very difficult and delicate one, requiring a practical knowledge of printing, as well as a knowledge of speech-sounds and their combinations, and an acquaintance with orthoepy, but on its successful accomplishment rests, as I now judge, the fate of Spelling Reform.

Let us for the moment cast aside the notion which possesses too many literary men, of making the best possible alphabet for the English language, independently of the social problem. I by no means ask literary men to desist from such inventions, which may at some unknown future date become highly advantageous. But I wish for the moment not to regard what might be abstractly the best, if English were an unwritten language, but to concentrate attention upon what is practically the best to remedy the social misfortune of our present spelling. It is in reference to this

social misfortune that everything must for the present be judged as good or bad.

For brevity I shall call the present customary spelling *Nomic*, a term I introduced in my paper on Glossic, from *νόμος*, custom.

Now I recognise as absolutely beyond the power of any man, any society, any legislature of the numerous English-speaking governments which now exist, to alter nomic in such a manner as would effectively remedy the evils it now engenders. The utmost that could be done are petty changes that are barely recognised as changes, such as omitting *u* in *favour*, changing *z* to *s* in *recognize* or *s* to *z* in *surprise*, omitting *ue* in *prologue*, or *me* in *programme*, or *ch* in *drachm*; leaving out one *p* in *worshipping*, one *l* in *farewell*, and so on. These creep in unnoticed, and gradually wriggle along into many printing houses or books, especially if they have become a fad of some meritorious lexicographer such as Webster. But even after a hundred years, we find Webster's spellings very partially and sporadically employed in England. Such changes, in addition to those made in the XVIth and XVIIth centuries, when English literature was but the "shadow cast before" of its present huge bulk, must have stirred the mind of our late President when he wrote (Ph. Tr. 1880–1, p. 149), "In any such first list I would confine the alterations almost entirely to the omission of such letters as are both unphonetic and unhistoric, and for which no so-called etymological plea can be submitted; including also a few words of which an older form, familiar to all students of English literature, might well be substituted for the baser one at present current." Such changes do not so much as *touch* the question of spelling reform, and even when carried out to the extent of the "partial corrections" of which we "approved" on 28 January, can scarcely be said to *graze* its surface. They tend to deprive nomic of its only advantage, practical uniformity, and they do not advance spelling reform by one rung of the ladder. This is easily seen to be correct. What would a school-inspector, a school-board, or a school-master say if you proposed to

introduce this new partially corrected spelling into schools? Would they not at once say that it was impossible, that it would not help children to read present books faster and better, and would utterly ruin their orthography? Carry out the principle even to the "ultimate" form exhibited in the specimens on pp. *84–*89 of Appendix IV. to our Ph. Tr. 1880–1, and it remains merely literary. It could not act on school-teaching except by descending from the literary classes, and then it would leave the social misfortune almost as great as ever. I mean that if, after some centuries, our nomic were replaced by this partially corrected spelling, and children had to be taught to read and write it, without any regard to another spelling beyond,—the difference in the time and difficulty between learning then and learning now would be practically inappreciable. A great strain would have been laid on the world of letters, the habits of spellers would have been harassed and unsettled for years, and no social advantage whatever would accrue. No! the battle of spelling reform must not be fought in literature, it must be fought in education. We must begin with the school-child who is ignorant of literature. We must lighten his task by an instrument he can use afterwards, and the gradual use of this instrument afterwards will, in somewhat more or less than three generations after its general school use, lead to its superseding nomic. It is to the construction of such an instrument that I invite your attention, by describing the conditions by which it will have to be determined.

Our present spelling, which may be regarded as that by custom, and, through our government inspectors and examiners, by law established, may, as I have suggested, be aptly termed *nomic* in both senses of the word *νόμος*. The orthography by which Spelling Reform is to be effected, and which is to be *concurrent* with nomic till it supersedes it, I propose to write *syndrom*, and call *sin·drum*, from the classical word *σύνδρομος* "concurring." The settlement of a syndrom I regard as the first real and effective step towards a spelling reform. As there is no central authority to determine the use of one particular syndrom, it will probably be necessary to use

several different syndroms in the preliminary experiments, till natural selection points out the one which best fulfils the requisite conditions, and these seem to me to be as follows:—

1. *Syndrom must use our present letters only.* This is the necessary condition for syndrom to be immediately reproducible everywhere. There must be no monopoly as would practically exist for some time if a single new type were introduced. There must be no extra trouble in producing syndromic books in the remotest English settlement or missionary establishment. My own long experience of the cost and trouble of new types, and of the practical impossibility of having them introduced into all printing establishments, leads me to make this a condition absolute. In the view of a subsequently increasing use of syndrom for general purposes, this is very urgent. But also for the merely school purposes of teaching to write, it is of advantage that pupils, already sufficiently weighted down with the present written forms of letters, should not be troubled with new and, necessarily, more complex forms. It excludes my own old attempts, and those of many others. But I regard it as essential. By the old letters I mean: A a, B b, C c, D d, E e, F f (ff, fi, ffi, fl, ffl), G g, H h, I i, J j, K k, L l, M m, N n, O o, P p, Q q, R r, S s, T t, U u, V v, W w, X x, Y y, Z z, Æ æ, Œ œ, with no turned or mutilated letter, no accented letter, except á, é, í, ó, ú to indicate stress or emphasis, not difference of sound, and hence always omissible, and, like Greek accents, not used for capitals. But digraphs, or two adjunct letters used to represent one sound, and natural positional modifications, as the various values of *r* and preceding vowel, in he*ar*, *r*ing, he*ar*ing, her*r*ing, *far*, *for*, *fur*, etc., must be included, and hence a means of indicating diaeresis or the resolution of a digraph, or of a positional modification, into its components. This, and other purposes, may be effected by the usual points and other symbols, direct or occasionally turned, as is already usual.

2. *Syndrom must be phonetic in principle.* The only

principle on which an alphabet can be consistently constructed is the phonetic. But syndrom must not touch the delicate analysis and synthesis of complete phonetics. So few know or care anything about them, and they are so difficult to manipulate, that they would completely engulph a syndrom which was built upon them. Only such an amount must be employed as children can understand and teachers impart. The teachers form the main difficulty, children are easily taught—I speak from experience. But it would be advisable, after some really phonetic syndrom has been accepted, to make the teaching of sounds precede the teaching of their symbols. Very young children, in the nursery and infant school, may be put through a series of exercises, simple, easy and short, but constantly repeated, which should make the sounds familiar to the ear, separately and in combination, before characters are introduced. Then there is no difficulty in fitting one to the other, and syndromic reading would be commenced in the earliest time. I have given an indication of this plan in the Exercises with artificial words attached to my *Pronunciation for Singers*, pp. 113-128, but other exercises would have to be specially constructed for this purpose, when a syndrom had been selected, as I explained some years ago to the Frobel or Kindergarten Society. All the common foreign sounds contained in incorporated but not fully anglicised words should be included in such exercises. But of course teachers would have to be taught. This is an inevitable difficulty in all useful innovations. It is my own belief that if this plan of teaching sounds, and then fixing them by symbols of sound, were generally adopted, children of all classes at five and six would be able to enter school already able to read and write syndrom and read nomic, so that in fact the whole of the enormous time now spent over learning to read and write would be practically saved.

3. *Syndrom must be easy for a young child to learn to read.* There would otherwise be no call for a syndrom at all. This condition implies the phonetic constitution of the alphabet,

and the preliminary training just explained. Experience shews that any approximately phonetic alphabet, as the Spanish, Dutch and Welsh, is easy for a child to learn to read. But the letters should be clear and distinct, and this is secured by having none but old letters, as in the first condition.

4. *Syndrom must be easy to spell by a child that has learned to read it.* This is also secured by strict phonetic spelling and that only. The spelling must be solely from dictation for a long period, and that dictation must be slow and distinct, and must preserve the sounds which a child has learned. To write original matter in phonetic spelling requires more thought than a child can exercise at first. He has to recollect the sound of the words, to pronounce them mentally, and to write down these subjective sounds correctly. This is a difficult process, which may be smoothed by making the child dictate aloud to himself instead of merely mentally. The difference between reading and writing phonetically is like the difference between reading and speaking a foreign language. But if writing be taught with reading the process is easy. There is another difficulty which is made much of by opponents. A child, especially of the class which frequents primary schools, is surrounded by a non-received pronunciation, and it is supposed that he will at once write it phonetically instead of the received sound. This is avoided at first by his writing the sounds dictated. The subsequent process will be dealt with presently (see condition 7).

5. *Syndrom must be introductory to nomic.* This is the condition by which the whole syndromic system of Spelling Reform must sink or swim. For the plan here advocated to be successful, it must be not only easier, but very much easier indeed, to learn to read syndrom first and nomic afterwards, than it is now to learn to read nomic alone, without learning any syndrom at all. The alphabet settled by Mr. I. Pitman and myself in 1847 was much used for

teaching to read. It was not a true syndrom, as it contained seventeen new letters (for the sounds represented by the Italic letters in nomic, *feel*, *fail*, *art*, *ought*, *oat*, *hoot*, *put*, *high*, *hoy*, *how*, *hue*, *chest*, *thin*, *then*, *vicious*, *vision*, *sing*), but these were all formed on an English basis, that is, they were suggested by combinations of letters occurring in English words which had those sounds, as distinguished from a Latin basis, that is, forms suggested by letters which in Latin, Italian and Spanish, and approximately French and German, had sounds generally, but by no means always, closely approaching to our English sounds, although never actually identical with them. Extensive experiments were made, especially at Dumfries, Haddington, Aberdeen and Edinburgh, in Scotland, and at Waltham, Massachusetts, in the United States. These shewed that the learning to read in that phonetic alphabet materially assisted the pupils of the poorest orders in primary schools, in learning to read nomic; and that in fact that system acted much as what I have termed a syndrom ought to act. The result was that in 1853 a Reading Reform Association was started, in which several active members of the present Spelling Reform Association took part, of whom I may especially mention the Chairman of its Executive Committee, our colleague and member of the school-board, Dr. J. H. Gladstone, and the Honorary Secretary, Mr. C. B. Arding. The present Spelling Reform Association, I may be allowed to add, was got up entirely independently of myself. In 1853, then, it was proposed to use the 1847 alphabet of Mr. I. Pitman and myself entirely as a school appliance, forming an introduction to nomic, and not at all regarded as the instrument of a future spelling reform, gradually superseding the use of nomic. Nor was that alphabet fitted for such a purpose, on account of its new letters, which materially restricted its use. In the course of these experiments it was also discovered that phonetic reading formed no hindrance to the acquisition of nomic spelling, but that, on the contrary, the best phonetic readers became the best nomic spellers. Nomic spelling must always be a matter of memory. It can only be acquired

mechanically by frequent reading and writing, as it has to be used mechanically, without the least consciousness of the individual letters written. But it seems that this memory is assisted by having a rational phonetic standard of reference. To the ordinary speller the spoken word is a fleeting sound which is never clearly comprehended. This is my experience, even in the case of highly educated men and women. To the phonetic speller the spoken word has a clear objective existence, with which he can compare the nomic word letter by letter, and observe its points of difference, which thus fix themselves in his memory for subsequent use. This at least is the theory which occurs to me to explain the undoubted fact that the different school appliances which have been used for teaching nomic reading by a new alphabet, such as Pitman and Ellis's, Robinson's and Leigh's alphabets, have facilitated also the acquisition of nomic spelling. This I can up to this time affirm only of alphabets on an English vowel basis—all syndromic alphabets must be on an English consonant basis, on account of the extreme deficiency of the Latin and continental alphabets in respect of English consonantal sounds. Hence I am at present ignorant whether a syndrom on a Latin vowel basis, as many propose, entirely on literary grounds, would be successful. I shall shortly give you specimens of both kinds of true syndrom without any new letters. At present it is sufficient to note that this condition *can* be amply fulfilled.

6. *Nomic must be introductory to Syndrom.* This is the converse of the last condition. The necessity of it on the syndromic theory of spelling reform arises in two ways. First, teachers in schools must feel that five minutes' work will give them a teaching power over syndrom. In reality, of course, considerable practice and familiarity would be necessary to use a system of instruction founded on new principles. But I refer to the tool which they have to use. It must tell its own tale to them at sight. Secondly, it is part of the syndromic scheme, that the syndrom should gradually displace nomic, that is, that there should be an

increasing number of persons who had never been troubled with the absolutely unnecessary toil of learning to spell nomic. Most of us are accustomed to read the spelling in Shakspere's or Chaucer's time, and, where the words are not altogether obsolete, we don't find much difficulty in reading it at sight. But suppose you were required to produce a piece of writing in one of those spellings, would you not find it extremely difficult? I only know that most books of pretended old spelling contain numerous errors, betraying their modern origin to experts, and that when I endeavoured in my *Early English Pronunciation* (Part III. pp. 680–724) to write the Prologue to the Canterbury Tales in a systematisation of the orthography of the Harleian MS., I found the task very difficult indeed. There is plenty of reason, for at least a century to come, why school children who have learned to read and write syndrom should learn to read nomic, and they will have no more difficulty than you have in reading Chaucer where his words are not obsolete, and there will be no need at all for such children (unless Government insists on their doing so) to write nomic, when every reader of nomic can read the children's syndrom with perfect ease. This then is a condition of success, and it is easily fulfilled. People read my *Phonetic News*, with seventeen new letters on an English basis, at sight. Old ladies—a capital test—read my Glossic at sight and without difficulty. Probably those acquainted with foreign languages can read English in an alphabet on a Latin basis, with the same ease. But judging from the difficulties felt by educated children in acquiring the Italian and French and German use of the vowels, I doubt whether purely English nomic readers innocent of any foreign languages—and they may be counted by millions—would do so. At any rate I have no experience to offer.

7. *Syndrom must be used to inculcate a received English pronunciation.* One of the great advantages of syndrom is that when teachers have been taught a received pronunciation themselves, they will be able to impart it to children in

all parts of the country, and thus sweep away that dialectal pronunciation which I have been working so hard for some years to discover and embalm. The country folk are only too ready to adopt such a plan. They understand the difference between "speaking fine," that is, like the gentry, and "speaking broad," that is, like one of themselves. They habitually use two languages, and one of the great difficulties in dialectal investigations is to find a native who *will* treat an educated "foreigner," as they esteem the interviewer, to a piece of genuine dialect. Hence, with a properly constructed syndrom, properly taught by introductory exercises on speech-sounds, we have good ground for hoping that a received pronunciation may be imparted to the country at large. Children will then find in every word in their syndrom-books a key to the method in which they are expected to sound it. Hence, the master can insist on their syndromic spelling not representing any country or vulgar form of speech which is excluded from their books. And in this way we shall avoid that possible diversity of orthography alluded to in discussing condition 4. We shall also approximate more closely to a standard pronunciation, to be represented by syndrom, on which point I must refer you to the investigations and illustrations in my *Early English Pronunciation*, part iv. pp. 1085-1217. This fixation of our language by settling a standard pronunciation, as well as a standard means of expressing it, is well within the limits of the work of a philological society, and I hope both subjects may be taken up at an early period. It is essential for the compositor that he should have a fixed standard to refer to, and hence a fixed spelling. Fixing the alphabet determines only the types; fixing the orthoepy determines the spelling, and hence the proportion of the types, or their relative frequency, and the arrangement of the compositor's boxes. All these matters are of the greatest practical importance in the production of books. The idea of a spelling changing from writer to writer, as in "partial corrections" adopted to an ad libitum extent by each writer, or in a phonetic spelling exhibiting ad libitum varieties of

pronunciation, although admissible for letter-writers, is impracticable for printers. And when authors found that "following copy" in a matter of spelling increased the expense of printing materially, they would also discover that such an idea would be impracticable for all writers who meant their words to be printed.

8. *Syndrom must be extended to give the pronunciation of incorporated but not fully anglicised foreign words.* Of course those foreign words which are thoroughly anglicised in pronunciation, if not in spelling, that is, those that have come to us by speech or by literature, could both be spelled phonetically with ease. The literary words, including Latin or Latinised Greek words in their unanglicised orthography, all of which Mr. Fry excluded from his plan, are precisely those in which the greatest blunders are committed. Such words cannot be said to have any received pronunciation. Hence a careful phonetic revision of their forms on the principles already used in similar words that are fully incorporated and well known, is highly desirable. But there remains a large number of words which, although admitted into most of our dictionaries, are not yet fully incorporated, and are hence not yet pronounced with what are assumed to be English sounds. Should not the sounds they contain be now considered a part of English, and be incorporated in syndrom? I think it is highly desirable, for example, that the four French nasal vowels in *vent, vin, vont, un*, and the French sounds *u* and *eu*, and corresponding German *u, o*, and the German *ch*, should be provided with symbols, and the sounds taught to children from the first. It would not sensibly add to their difficulties, and it would be a very sensible assistance to them in after-life. This is, however, not an indispensable condition.

In these conditions I have said nothing of etymology and history. They belong to an advanced stage. They must be treated separately, and, as already stated, cannot in any way be practically indicated by orthography. But when we have a syndrom, that is, a phonetic alphabet of some kind fulfil-

ling at least the one condition of representing sounds, it will not be difficult to write old and new forms of words, and original Latin and Greek and other foreign forms, so as to shew their original sounds, and thus trace, for those who care or have time to follow them, the gradual changes in sound as well as meaning from the primitive to the modern word. I am inclined to think, however, that although numerous persons are very interested in being *told* a few cases, which they learn without much trouble and forget with less, the number of those who would really *study* the whole subject, or any large portion of it, would at present be very small indeed. Such studies are the luxuries of high literary education, and may be disregarded from the social point of view.

Such, then, are the essential conditions of a Spelling Reform, as they present themselves to me after a great amount of experience. They provide for rapidly teaching to read and write in syndrom, rapidly teaching to read in nomic, and somewhat less rapidly teaching to spell in nomic, without the use of any new symbols. I do not enter on the question of new books; which would of course be necessary, and might be conveniently reprints, page for page, of reading books now in use, in order that pupils in the same class, but in different spellings, might read together, and for other purposes. This scheme also provides for a gradual introduction of a phonetic system of spelling by means of the schools. This gradual introduction would be effected, not by an atrocious mixture of two very distinct plans, which, like oil and water, would never mingle, nor by any partial corrections, whereby some words are spelled motley fashion, half black and half white, and other words in wholly phonetic and wholly traditional spellings are shovelled together in what to my eyes and feelings is a hideous muddle, but by the voluntary continuance of school use after school, and its voluntary adoption by those who had not learned it first at school, the only practical gradual process I can conceive. Above all, it leaves nomic absolutely untouched and unaltered, with the one real advantage of its practically

uniform acceptation, and its fancied helps to history and etymology. To carry out this scheme would require large funds, years of patient work, and a vast practical co-operation of devoted educational pioneers. Who can suppose that a great social change affecting many countries and many governments can possibly be effected by a few strokes of the pen, or a few debates of a learned society? We might as well think of talking the Ethiop out of his skin or the leopard out of his spots. If this long exposition serves no other purpose, it will, I hope, shew how thoroughly social, and how slightly philological is a real Spelling Reform. The only points in which a Philological Society, as such, can be of any real use to it are, first the invention of a syndrom to fulfil the conditions laid down, and secondly the settlement of a received pronunciation to be expressed by the syndrom. You will also, I think, sufficiently see why such partial corrections as have been proposed are, to my mind, entirely beside the point at issue,—the education of the people,—and can have no good social effect whatever. No one can look through the pamphlet that has been issued by our Society without feeling that the matter has there been viewed in an almost purely literary manner, with only an occasional excursus into the social field. Such proposals are very interesting to those who make them. For myself I do not see of what public advantage they can be. To my mind the one practical result of the labours of our Society, on the "partial corrections of English spelling," and of the two very able men who have been entrusted with preparing the work, is unhappily to prove that such partial corrections are impossible; that our spelling to be of use must remain exactly what it is, without any change whatever; that it is past literary tinkering, and that our only hope is in such a subsidiary orthography as I have just attempted to describe.

Specimens of Proposed Improvements in English Spelling upon different Principles.

To shew the printed appearance of partial corrections, of syndroms more or less fulfilling the above conditions, upon

both an English and a Latin basis, of varieties of orthoepy expressible by the same syndrom, and of scientific phonetic spelling, all using ordinary accessible types, I have composed a short paragraph which contains every English sound and difficulty of phonetic representation, and exhibit it as it would appear on all these plans. For the phonotypy of the *Phonetic News* in 1849 with new letters on an English basis, and Mr. I. Pitman's Phonotypy of 1873 (it is slightly different now) on a Latin Vowel basis, see my *Early English Pronunciation*, part iv. p. 1184. For a comparison of Barker's Bible, Glossic (with some misprints), Mr. Fry's and Mr. E. Jones's spellings (of that date) see the same work, pp. 1178–1181. For a comparison of the scientific writing of individual pronunciation of English, by myself, the late Prof. Haldeman, Mr. H. Sweet, and Smart, see *ibid.* pp. 1206–7. For a comparison of Mr. Melville Bell's and my own orthoepy, see *ibid.* pp. 1168–1173. For an examination of Smart's orthoepy, followed in No. 3 below, see *ibid.* pp. 1197–1205. Mr. Cull's orthoepy in Nos. 4 and 5 below, is taken from Ogilvie's English Dictionary. For both Smart's and Cull's pronunciation, every word was turned up in their dictionaries. No alphabetic key is given, for it is the essence of syndrom that it should be spontaneously legible, and any momentary difficulty will be immediately explained by the first example. For the two last specimens, which are not syndroms at all, but require long explanations, reference must be made to my *Early English Pronunciation*, and Mr. Sweet's *Handbook of Phonetics* as corrected at the end of his paper on *Sound Notation* in this part of our *Transactions*.

I. Traditional Basis.

1. Partial Corrections *of the* Philological Society, *made by* Mr. H. Sweet.

Ah, father, I am sure that that new branch of our George's favorit wood-bine, which is growing near the post not far from the north wall of the garden, must be safe to mezure

about two feet or more in length to-day, unless sum mishap is ocurring, or it has suddenly lost its vital energy, for I hav carefuly obzervd its rate of increase every week this month, and noted it down accurately on your slate, and I know that it has experienced no variation, barring onse, during a desperately anoying interval of cold pouring rain.

II. Syndroms on an English Vowel Basis.

2. Glossic, *by* A. J. Ellis, *Orthoepy of "Pronunciation for Singers." Accent the first syllable when no accent is marked.*

Aa, faadher, ei am shoor dhat ·dhat neu braanch ov our Jaurjez faiverit wuod-bein, which iz groaing neer dhi poast not faar from dhi naurth waul ov dhi gaardn, must bee saif too mezheur abou·t ·too feet aur moar in lengkth toodai·, unles· sum mis-hap· iz oker·ring aur it haz sudenli lost its veitel enerji, faur ei hav kairfuoli obzer·vd its rait ov inkrees everi week dhis munth, and noated it doun akeuretli on yoor slait, and ei ·noa dhat it haz ecspéerrienst noa vairriaishen, baaring wuns, deurring a desperetli anoi·ing intervel ov koald poarring rain.

3. Suggestive Spelling *by* A. J. Ellis, *suggesting* Smart's *Orthoepy to an ordinary reader, taking account of his "principles," especially for unaccented and unemphatic syllables, such as paragraphs* 4, 12, 18, 24, 36 *and note. Accent as in No.* 2.

Ah, fahdhur, ey um shoor dhut dhat nyoo branch uv our Jorjez faivurit wuud-bein, hwich iz grohing neer dhu pohst not far frum dhu north waul uv dhu gyardn, must bee saif tu mezhyoor ubóut too feet or mohr in length tudáy, unlés sum mis·háp iz ocúrring or it haz sudenly lost its veitul enurjy, fur ey hav cairfuuly obzúrvd its rait uv increes evury week dhis munth, und nohted it doun acyuuraitly on yoor slait, und ey noh dhut it haz ecspéerienst noh vairiaishun, bahring wuns, dyooring u despuraitly anóying inturvul uv cohld pohring rain.

4. SUGGESTIVE SPELLING *by* A. J. ELLIS, *suggesting* Mr. H SWEET'S *Orthoepy in No.* 8 *to an ordinary reader, but not exactly rendering it. Several peculiarities are not given at all, as any but Mr. Sweet's own writing would probably suggest some unusual and hence uncontemplated sounds. Accent as in No.* 2.

Ah, fahdhur, ey-m shoor dhut dhat nyoo brahnsh uv our Jaujez faivurit wuud-bein, hwich iz grohing neer dhu pohst not fah frum dhu nauth waul uv dhu gahdn, mus bi saif tu mezhur ubóut too feet or maur in length tudái, unlés sum mis'háp-s ucúhring, or it-s sudnly laust its veitl enujy, fr-ey-v cairfuly ubzúhvd its rait uv increes evry week dhis munth, n-nohtid it doun acyurutly on yohr slait, und ey noh dhut it-s ikspéeriunst noh vairiaishun, bahring wuns, dyooring u despurutly anóying intuvul uv cohld pauring rain.

5. SUGGESTIVE SPELLING *by* A. J. ELLIS, *suggesting* Mr. CULL'S *Orthoepy, to compare with No.* 9 *on a Latin Vowel Basis. Accent as in No.* 2.

Ah, fahdhur, ey am shyoor dhat dhat nyoo bransh ov our Jorjez faivurit wuud-bein, hwich iz grohing neer dhee pohst not fahr from dhee north waul ov dhee gahrdn, must bee saif too mezhyoor abóut too feet in length toodáy, unlés sum mis'háp iz ocúrring or it haz sudenly lost its veital enurjy, for ey hav cairfuuly obzúrvd its rait ov increes evury week dhis munth, and nohted it doun acyooraitly on yoor slait, and ey noh dhat it haz ecspéerienst noh vairiaishon, bahring wuns, dyooring a despuraitly anóying inturval ov cohld pohring rain.

6. POPULAR ENGLISH SPELLING BY Mr. E. JONES, 1881.

Aa, fadher! I am shoor dhat dhat nue branch ov our Jorj'z faivorit wwdbien, which iz groeing neer dhe poest not far from dhe north waul ov dhe garden, must be saif too mezhur about too feet or moer in length too day, unles sum mis-hap iz ocuring, or it haz sudenly lost its vietal enerjy, for I hav cairfuly obzervd its rait ov increes every week dhis munth,

and noeted it doun acueraitly on yoor slait, and I no dhat it haz ecspeeryenst no vairiaishon, baring wuns, duering a desperetly anoying interval ov coeld poering rain.

7. VICTORIAN, *by* Mr. F. G. FLEAY.

Ah, faadher, I am shure dhat dhat new branch ov our Jorjiz fa'vorit woodbine, which iz growing near dhe poste not far from dhe north waul ov dhe garden, must be safe to mezhur about too feet or more in length today, unles sum mis-hap iz ocur'ing, or it haz sudenly lost its vi'tal enerjy, for I hav ca'rfuly observd its rate ov increas every weec dhis munth, and no'ted it doun acu,ratly on yoor slate, and I now dhat it haz expe'rienst no va'ria'shon, baring wuns, du'ring a desperatly anoying interval ov colde powring rain.

III. SYNDROMS ON A LATIN VOWEL BASIS.

8. BROAD ROMIC *by* Mr. H. SWEET. *Compare No.* 4.

aa, fadhœ, ai m shuœ dhœt dhæt nyuw bransh œv auœ jaojiz feivœrit wud-bain, whic iz grouiq niœ dhœ poust not fa frœm dhœ naoth waol œv dhœ gadn, mœs bi seif tœ mezhœr œbaut tuw fiyt oœ moœr in leqth tœdei, œnles sœm mis-hæp s œkoeriq, or it s sœdnli laost its vaitl enœji, fr ai v keœfœli œbzoevd its reit œv inkriys evri wiyk dhis mœnth, n noutid it daun ækyœrœtli on yoœ sleit, œnd ai nou dhœt its ikspiœriœnst nou veœrieishœn, bariq wœus, dyuœriq œ despœrœtli œnoiiq intœvœl œv kould poœriq rein.

9. EUROPIC, *by* A. J. ELLIS. Mr. CULL'S *Orthoepy, to compare with No.* 5. *Accent as in No.* 2.

Aa, faadhœr, ai am shuur dhat dhát niu bransh ov aur Jorjez feevœrit wud-bain, which iz grohing niir dhii pohst not faar from dhii noorth wool ov dhii gaardn, mœst bii seef tu mezhiur abáut tuu fiit in leqth tudéc, œnlés sum mis'háp iz okœ'rriq, or it haz sœdnli lost its vaital enœrji, for ai hav keerfuli obzœ'rvd its reet ov inkriis evœry wiik dhis mœnth, and nohted it daun akiureetli on iur sleet, and ai noh dhat it haz ekspíirienst noh veeriéeshon, baariq wuns, diuring a despœreetly anóiiq intœrval ov kohld pohriq reen.

10. Proximate, *by* Mr. W. R. Evans.

Ah, faadher, ei am shuur dhat dhát niu branch ov our Jorjez fævorit wúdbein, hwich iz gro·ing niir dhe pohst, not far from dhe north waol ov dhe gardn, mœst bi sæf tu mezhur about túu fiit or mohr in length tu-dæ, œnlés sœm mis·háp iz occœrring, or it haz sœdnly lost its veital enerjy, for ei hav cœrfuly obzérvd its ræt ov íncriis every wiik dhis mœnth, and nohted it doun ákiuretly on yuur slæt, and ei noh dhat it haz expurienst no væriæshon, barring wœns, diuring a désperetly anoying interval ov cohld pohring ræn.

IV. Scientific Phonetic Spelling.

11. Palæotype, *by* A. J. Ellis. *An attempt at accurately representing his own pronunciation when reading aloud. Stress is marked by a turned period. The separate grave accent shews medial length. The acute accent marks the element of a diphthong which receives stress, unless the other element is the indistinct vowel written (ə), which is always without stress. The mark (ˌ) dissolves diphthongs.*

Aa'-fa`dhə, áhi-m-shuu'· dh't-dhæt· nɪúu·-brahntʃ əv-áhu' Jaa·ɹz feev·rɪt wud·báhɪn, whɪtʃ-ɪz groo·ɪq ni'-dh'-poost not-faa·-fr'm-dh' naath waal-əv-dh' gaa·d'n, məst-bɪ-seef-tə mezh·ər əbáhut tuu·-fiit a-mo`'r-in-leqkth tədeə'j, ənlés səm misHhæ p-ɪz əkəə rɪq ar ɪt-oz lo`st-ɪts váhɪt'l en ədju, fər-áhɪ·-v ke`'·fulɪ əbzəə·vd-ɪts reet-əv ɪn kriis ev·ərɪ-wiik dhɪs mənth, 'n noo·tɪd-ɪt-dáhun æk·ɹuretlɪ on-yu' sleet', 'n-áhɪ- noo'w ɪt-əz ecspu'·rɪ)'nst noo-vee'rɪee·sh'n, baa·rɪq wœns, dɪu'·rɪq-ə des·pər'tlɪ ənó·ɪ·ɹq ɪn təv'l 'v-koold· po rɪq reen.

12. Narrow Romic, *by* Mr. H. Sweet. *Where* (ɔ ɔ) *are not found, use* (ç ɟ) *turned, thus* (ɔ ɔ).

aɪ faɪðaˋ, -eiˌm ·shuɪaðat ðætɪ njuɪuˈ braɪnshavaˑɔa dzhɔɪdzhiˌz feiˌvarˌiˌt wudɪbeiˌnˈ, ʍɪtshiˌz grooˈiˌqnˑɪaða pooˈst nɔtɪ faɪframða nɔɪþ woɪlavða gaɪdnˈ, -masbiˌ ·seiˌfta mezharˑabˑɑɔt tuɪuˈ fɪuˈtɔ mɔɪarˌiˌn leqþtadˑeiˌˋ, -anlˑesɪ sɛmɪ mɪshˑæpsa

*käɪri*ɪq', -*oɪri*ɪts *sʉdnli*ɪ *loɪsti*ɪts *vei*ɪtl *enädzhi*ɪ`, -*frei*ɪv *keɪäfali*ɪab *zäɪvdi*ɪts *rei*ɪ*tav* *inkrii*ˈ*s* *evɪri*ɪ *wii*ˈ*k* *ðisɪ* *mʉnþ*`, -n *noo*ˈ*ti*ɪ*di*ɪt *daɔn* *ækjari*ɪ*tli*ɪɔn *joɪa* *slei*ɪt`, -n*dei*ɪ *ˈnoɪoˈðati*ɪ*tsi*ɪk *spiari*ɪ*anst* *noɪoˈv·eari*ɪ *ei*ɪ*shan*`, :*baɪri*ɪq *wʉns*`, :*djuari*ɪ*qa* *ˈdespratli*ɪ*a* *noi* *i*ɪq *intavlav* *kooˈlɪd* *poɪari*ɪq *rei*ɪn`.

Remarks.

On these Specimens I wish to make a few remarks, excluding Nos. 1, 11, 12, which are not suited for use in schools to facilitate learning to read, and therefore do not belong to Spelling Reform proper.

The difference between an English and Latin Vowel Basis will be most readily seen by comparing the spelling of the following words in Nos. 2, 3, 6 for an English, and Nos. 8, 9, and 10 for a Latin Basis.

No	*feet*	*safe*	*father*	*wall*	*post*	*two*	*month*	*wood-bine*	*about*	*new*
2	feet	saif	faadher	waul	poast	too	munth	wuod-bein	about	neu
3	feet	saif	fahdhur	waul	pohst	too	munth	wuud-bein	ubout	nyoo
6	feet	saif	fadher	waul	poest	too	munth	wwd-bien	about	nue
8	fɨt	seif	fadhœ	waol	poust	tuw	mœnth	wud-bain	œbaut	nyuw
9	flit	seef	faadhœr	wool	pohst	tuu	mœnth	wud-bain	abaut	niu
10	fɨt	seef	faadher	waol	pohst	tuu	mœnth	wud-bein	about	niu.

The difficulties of notation by means of Roman letters arise from the fact that there are only five Latin vowel-forms (when *y* is excluded), while there are six short and six long vowel-sounds in English at the lowest computation. The Welsh have used *y* and *w* as vowels, but English habits do not admit of this except as alternative signs, as *pity*, *now*, where they stand for *i*, *u*.

Both Latin and English bases use *i*, *e*, *a*, *o* for the short vowels in *pit*, *pet*, *pat*, *pot*, except that in No. 8 Mr. Sweet employs 'æ' in 'hæp,' which, however, though more correct, is too nice a distinction for a practical system of writing, as the English *a* in *pat* replaces the Latin short vowel.

The difficulties begin with the vowels in *month*, *wood*. The English basis gives 'munth,' the Latin 'wud,' but it is absolutely necessary to distinguish these two sounds. In Nomic we find *would*, *wood*, *woman*, *full*, but all these forms *ou*, *oo*, *o*, *u*, to which alone the sound is attributed, are more necessary for other commoner sounds on an English vowel basis. Hence a new form is essential, and 'wuod, wuud, wwd,' have been proposed, and even 'wœd,' the Dutch use of 'u, oe' being analogous to 'buk, bœk,' *buck*, *book*. For the Latin basis, the new form 'œ' for 'mœnth' has been adopted with unanimity, because the German *œ* or *oe* or *o*, when short, closely approximates to this sound

Short *o* presents another difficulty which has generally been inadequately met. The English vowels in *own*, *on*,

and in *caught*, *cot*, are so nearly the long and short of the same sound that they form a practical pair in each case But those in *own*, *on*, are far from being a pair. Now the short of *own* does not occur in closed syllables in English, but is frequently found in open syllables Thus in *zoological* the three *o*'s have different sounds Now No. 2 used *oa* for the two first, thus 'zoaoulojikel,' leaving secondary accent alone to decide But No 3 would distinguish 'zoho'lojikul,' the *oh* being long, and *o'* short and the apostrophe indicating the omission of *h* In the same way No 9 writes 'zoho'lójikul' Thus all three vowels are distinguished But in Nos 6 and 10 *o'* and *o* would not be distinguished The want of such a distinction, however is constantly felt, compare in No 3 orthography "filósofy filo'sófikul, co'épurait oho'leit o'olo'jy, co'épt cohoptaishun, holo'ming holóhing, opóhz o'pohz opo zishun po zes po'zeshun pozes pozeshun O'héio', So'hoh, dinóht deno'táishun, pro'pohz propo zishun," where it will be seen that by change of accent sometimes *oh* and sometimes *o* become *o'*, which colloquially often sinks into *u*, as "windu, ucur," for "windo', ocur" or o'cur" A similar device would serve to distinguish *a* as short *ah*, from *a*, as dialectal *ma'n*, received *man*

The long vowels are a great difficulty and bring out the distinctions of Latin and English basis prominently There are only five long vowels in Latin, which, in a very ancient notation, may be written *ii*, *ee*, *aa*, *oo*, *uu*, generally contracted into *ī*, *ē*, *ā*, *ō*, *ū*, but as these forms have diacritical marks, not existing for capitals, they must be avoided in syndromis The Latin sounds of *ee*, *oo*, were probably the Italian open *e*, *o*, most near to English *fair*, *four*, of which the latter approaches to *aw*. If then *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u* are the vowels in *pit*, *pet*, *pat*, *pot*, *put*, on the Latin basis, *ii*, *ee*, *aa*, *oo*, *uu*, must be the vowels in *peat*, *pate*, *part*, *bought*, *boot* This leaves *pout* unprovided for. But as *oh* is universally understood in this sense, we obtain the Latin series 'u, ee, aa, oo, oh, uu,' complete, unless the long sound in *her* is thought to require a separate sign, for which 'œr' would be instinctively used, but 'œh' might be introduced These vowel signs, as will be seen by the above table, are very far from suggesting the correct sounds to an ordinary nomic reader

Hence arises the necessity for an English basis in which unanimity practically prevails for 'feet, sail, waul, too,' and the difference of use in 'faadher, fahdhur,' is quite insignificant, but in 'poast, pohst, poest,' the diversity of opinion is greater Certainly *oh* as in 'pohst' could not be mistaken in any position, but *oa* in 'poast' (notwithstanding *boast*) is strange when final and 'poest' (with which only *goest* and *doest* could be compared) is strange, except when final or before inflectional *s* or *d*, and is even then sometimes ambiguous, as *does* = dohz or duz, and *shoes* = shooz

Among the diphthongs in *pine* offers the chief difficulty On the Latin basis 'pain' would be used, 'pain' being reserved for *pane* when the diphthongal character had to be expressed But on an English basis 'pain' seems best suited for *pine*, although both 'pain' and 'pain' have been proposed There are objections to all plans, but 'pain' would probably be read correctly in the majority of cases (except possibly by Scotchmen), since all modern words from the Greek having this sound are spelled *ei*, while 'pain pen,' might occasion difficulty

The diphthong in *out* would be 'aut' on a Latin basis, which would reserve 'ou' for the diphthongal pronunciation of long *oh* in 'poust' = pohst On an English basis, however, 'out' is adopted with unanimity

The diphthong in *new* is diversely written On a Latin basis 'niu' is generally preferred, though No 8 has 'nyuw' On an English basis, opinion is divided, and 'eu' (final 'ew'), 'ue,' and 'yoo' have been employed

For the consonants there is not much difficulty As 'h' must be used for both an aspirate and a diacritic, it is easy to lay down a rule that should make 'h' an aspirate at the beginning of words and after (' '-), and a diacritic otherwise Thus in hee ad héerz ad-héerz mis'hap mis hap, O'héio' h is an aspirate, and in dhee bishup ohing, h is a diacritic, in So'hoh, the first h is an aspirate, the second a diacritic This is the plan followed in

Nos 3 and 9. In early school books it would probably be best to use '*h* for the aspirate everywhere, as 'hee ad'dée*r*z mis'hap O' 'héio'. The notation '*h* is very familiar as the mark of *l'H aspiré* in French dictionaries.

There is little or no trouble with "y, w, wh" (or "hw" if preferred), or "p b, t d, ch j, c (k final and before e, i certainly), g, f v, th -, *s z*, sh -, -l, m n -"

The form for *th* in *the* is 'dh' in all the cases Nos 2 to 12. There seems to be no other sign for it. The sign for *s* in *measure*, is with equal unanimity 'zh'. These two signs must be considered as adopted.

The great difficulty of *r* is generally evaded. In best London speech (1) *r* is trilled before a vowel as in *rate grouing from*, (2) *r* is entirely mute, but alters the value of the preceding vowel, and, after having done so, may be slightly trilled in *far garden north*, (3) *r* is a simple vowel and forms a diphthong with the preceding vowel, *of which it modifies the sound*, but may, after having done so, be slightly trilled in *near carefully sure your our*, (4) *r* is first pronounced as in (3) or (2), and then has an obligatory trill after it, when followed by a vowel even in a different word, in *experienced variation pouring during burning — more in*, (5) *r* or rather *a e i o or ou u* final or unaccented, and *e i o u* accented is a simple vowel, which may or may not be followed by a trill in *observed father energy interval* (6) *r* or rather *a e i o or ou u* unaccented, and *e i o u* accented if a simple vowel, which must be followed by a trill when a vowel follows even in a different word *favourite every measure about*, or if where it is unaccented and also in *occurring* where it is long and accented. These cases are all discriminated in No 8, thus (1) reit grouiq freem, (2) fa gudn naoth, (3) nia kœrtch shuœ moœr (*before a vowel*) yoœ auœ, (4) ikspiœriœnst veœriushœn, poœriq, dyuœriq, bariq moœr in, (5) o bzoevd fadhœ enœn intœrval, (6) feiwœrit evri mezhœr œbaut, or it, okoeriq intœvœl, If simple phonetic reasons guided the writer the value of r might have been as easily discriminated in No. 3, thus (1) rait grohing from, (2) tah gahdn nauth, (3) neeu kaiufuuly shoou yoou owu (u changed to w before a following u), (4) ecspéeuriensi vauriúishun pohuring dyoouring bahring, mohur in, (5) obzúhvd fahdhu enujy intuvul, (6) faivurit evury, mezhur ubóut, or it (wun au too, ten or ileven). But such spellings are very unsuggestive to a nomic reader, and in view of the use of a syndrom as an introduction to nomic, it is best to use *r* in all these six senses, sufficiently discriminated by its position with respect to preceding or following vowels or consonants. The nomic reader makes the changes so unconsciously that it is generally very difficult to bring him to recognise them. Phonetically educated readers will however learn to discriminate them easily. The permissive trill where an *r* is now written (which becomes obligatory in Scotland, makes the notation without an *r* unsatisfactory, more especially as the insertion of a non-permissive trill as (in No 3 spelling) "dhu law-r uv dhu land, pup th-r un mumáh-r ur in dhu drau-r ing room," is the very height of vulgarity. *In fact the absolute omission of r* is dialectal, belonging to the East side of England according to my researches. Hence the use of *r* in six senses as (in No 3 spelling) (1) rait grohing from, (2) far gvardn north (3) neer (airfuuly shoor yoor our, (4), ecspeeriensi vauriúshun pohring dvooring bahring mohr in, (5) obzurd fahdhur enujy inturvul, (6) faivurit, evury, mezhyoor ubout, or it, is on the whole practically better for a national spelling. It does not, however, strictly represent the received educated English, or the aberrant educated Scotch, Welsh, Irish, or American use of *r* in speech, and requires interpretation by local habits. Complete accuracy would require too much study and phonetic knowledge in both reader and writer to be generally feasible. Compare Nos. 11 and 12.

For *ng*, and sometimes *n*, on the English basis only *ng* or *n'*, (by contraction to shew the omission of *g* when another *g* or a *c* or *k* follows), can be used. Thus after No. 3 *swag* *swagu* *finggur* or *fin'gur*, *singk* or *sin'k* or *sink*, but *incress*, *incum in-grohs un-gratiful*. These difficulties we overcome by the use of *q*, which I introduced first in No. 11, and which has been generally followed on a Latin basis, as (in No. 9 spelling) *siq sigœr fiqqer*, *siqk*, *inkriis inkœm ingróhs œngreetful*.

The position of the stress accent is very important in English, and Englishmen constantly make mistakes themselves in unfamiliar words. After many years of trial I believe that it would be simplest to mark the stress by an acute accent, when not initial, as in Nos. 3, 4, 5, 9, and to read the stress on the first syllable when none is marked. This mark would be omitted in capitals; but even in capitals, and especially when acute accents ran short, it might be replaced by a turned period after long vowels, and after the consonant following short vowels as in No. 2, where also an initial turned period marks emphasis. Most attempts at phonetic writing omit marking stress, but it should certainly be marked in all elementary books and technical or unusual words. The acute accent in monosyllables often helps to distinguish emphatic from unemphatic words. Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5 and 8, 10, display the difference of opinion as to the writing of unaccented vowels.

These observations will serve to shew the kind of problem to be solved by a syndrom, and its difficulties.

As a pure literary change of spelling, quite independently of school use, and of the guidance of one who has learned it to the power of reading books in nomic, I myself prefer No. 9, EUROPIC. It is in many respects most consistent and easiest to use. But I cannot help thinking that it would continually mislead a child in learning to read and especially to spell nomic, and that it would be very troublesome to acquire by a nomic reader unacquainted with any language but English, and that it is consequently unfitted for a syndrom. The same observation applies to all systems on a Latin basis, with, however, different degrees of force. To my mind Nos. 3 and 5 (the difference being merely one of orthoepy, which requires special consideration, but is here merely illustrated and not discussed,) are far better adapted for the two purposes of, first, teaching school children to read who have subsequently to read nomic, and, secondly, of suggesting the sounds at sight to a nomic reader, while they are quite as well suited for subsequent use in life, as our present nomic itself. Hence No. 3, or 5, SUGGESTIVE, is the syndrom which I myself at present prefer.

Conclusion.

It is with great regret that I differ in this particular point from the majority of members present at different times during our six evenings' discussion, and especially from my two friends whose other work I esteem so highly. But I was called upon by my duty of reviewing the subjects brought before us during last session to pass an opinion upon the result of their labours. That opinion was unfortunately adverse, and hence I felt it incumbent upon me to assign reasons at considerable length. I hope that all the members of the Society will take my remarks as an earnest contribution towards the settlement of a question which they have evidently so much at heart, and which, in its various ramifications, both theoretical and practical, has been one of the chief occupations of my life.

At the concluzion [1] of the Adress, Mr. Furnivall said:

"I rize, as usual, to propoze a vote of thanks to our Prezident for his Adress to us to-niht. I am sure that the sound scolding he has givn us Partial Spelling-Reformers has not alterd one jot the feeling of afection and esteem which we hav for him and his work. We ar striving for the same end for which he has so long and so generously strivn, but we differ in opinion from him as to how that end is to be reacht; and he has to-niht told us how mistaken our opinion is, just as our previous action told him how wrong we thoht his opinion. Sum, if not many of us, who wer with him in 1870, ar against him now, and that all the mor strongly after what he has said this evening. Experience has tauht *us* that in English Spelling, as in the English Constitution, reforms must be gradual, just as coruptions hav been; but Experience has only confirmd Mr. Ellis in his opinion that either Reform must be, at

[1] The following report of the speeches made after the delivery of the above address, has been furnished by the speakers in what is intended to be the partially corrected orthography "approved" ot at the sitting of the Philological Society, on 28 Jan. 1881, of which it therefore gives a more extended example.—A.J.E.

sum day, imediate and total, or our hole corupt system must be left untoucht. We see Americans gradualy and successfuly introducing a few reforms into their spelling; Germans doing the same with theirs; we wish to follow in their path. Mr. Ellis calls on us to stand stil: "All or Nothing" is his cry. We think half a slice better than no bred. He doesn't. We think every *ed* that can be turnd into *t* when it's so pronounst, every *s* = z turnd into z, a gain, a step towards a complete spelling-reform; he ridicules such paltrinesses. We are willing to help the positiv part of his plans; he poohpoohs ours. So be it. He has wun the riht to hav his opinions and to express them. We only dout whether he has formd the riht estimate of the English peple's method of efecting reforms. Time wil show whether Spelling-Reform is to be, like most, if not all other reforms we know here, gradual, or efected by one great leap. Meantime, Mr. Ellis's revew of the subject and his thohts on it must be of hih interest to all of us. We all know how deeply he feels in this cauze, and what sacrifices he has generously made for it. I ask you to thank him for his Adress as warmly as if he had praizd us all as strongly as he has denounst us; and I call on my brother- or rather cheeftain-ofender, Dr. Murray, to second my propozal."

Dr. MURRAY said: "I most hartily second the vote of thanks propozed by Mr. Furnivall, thoh I also differ entirely from Mr. Ellis as to the practical means of advancing the reform of English spelling, and regret his opposition to the tentativ steps taken by the Society in that direction. Mr. Ellis has repeated to us to-niht in stil more eloquent language the arguments which he adrest to us eleven years ago, in favor of his propozal of a 'concurrent' spelling. In 1870, I was charmd by the picture which he presented; I beleevd in the possibility of Mr. Ellis's *Glossic* being introduced into scools and flourishing side by side with the existing spelling til its superior merits should oust the efete system from use. It was a plezant vizion, but to me its insubstantial fabric has long been aparent: eleven years hav sinse past, and

Mr. Ellis's propozal has made not a step towards realization; it has done nothing—except quietly shelv the question of Spelling Reform in our Society, in which alredy in 1870, the subject had begun to be practicaly considerd. The very system which Mr. Ellis then offerd as the colleag and eventual successor of the prezent spelling has itself, at the wave of his creativ wand, been succeeded by I know not how many successors, till sum of us who started with Mr. Ellis in the race, feeling ourselvs wel weihted with *Palæotype* and *Glossic*, hav fallen so many 'laps' behind him, that we hav no longer any distinct notion where he is, save that we see him stil bravely running, at onse *concurrentem*, *concourant*, and 'concurrent.' And long may he be spared to run! Meanwhile the practical question has becum mor and mor urgent; our Society has been cald upon to giv some deliverance upon it, and has done so by expressing the opinion, founded on our reserches into the history of English spelling, that, as we find all changes in the past to hav been gradual, so gradual changes ar most likely to succeed now, and by indicating what in the opinion of a majority of those who ar interested in the matter ar the points with which these gradual changes may most usefuly begin. And whatever the fate of the special improovments suggested by us, I am perfectly satisfied that whenever a reform of English spelling takes place, this must be the direction and the mode of it. Nevertheless, my sympathies go forth to every practical effort which aims at the common end, and the moment Mr. Ellis shows us how his 'syndrom' is to pass from the relm of theory into that of practice, to be an advancement of the moovment rather than a mere shelving of the question for another decade, he can count upon my willing co-operation, not as against, but 'concurrent' with, every effort to improov the existing spelling."

The motion was then put and carried unanimously, and was breefly and feelingly acnolegd by Mr. Ellis.

XIV.—DISTRIBUTION OF PLACE-NAMES IN THE SCOTTISH LOWLANDS. By Walter R. Browne, M.A.

In 1880 I presented to the Society a paper on the distribution of English place-names, since published in the *Transactions*. In the discussion on that paper it was suggested by Mr. Ellis that it was desirable to complete the work by a similar examination into the place-names of the Scottish Lowlands. The present paper is the result of this suggestion.

The table appended gives the distribution for the counties between the Forth and the Border, arranged on the same principles and in the same order as in the former paper. The whole of the endings given in that paper are included. Thirteen more are added, which are either peculiar to Scotland or appear much more common there than in England. The map used in distributing the names was Black's well-known map of 4 inches to the mile.

The first point which will strike a reader of the table is the very large number of names classed as miscellaneous—1300 out of 3000. It will further appear that the proportion in the different counties is very various. Thus, while the ratio of the miscellaneous to the total number of names is 37 per cent. in Edinburgh, 33 in Haddington, and 31 in Berwick, it rises to 64 per cent. in Kirkcudbright, 67 in Wigtown, and 56 in Ayr. At the same time even the lowest of these proportions is much above those in England, in which the average for the whole country is only 16 per cent.

The explanation of both these circumstances is, of course, the very large number of names of Keltic origin. In these the "place-word," or the generic word as opposed to the special part of the name, is generally at the commencement and not at the end, and hence they do not appear in this distribution. This accounts at once for the large proportion of

miscellaneous names. The much larger proportion in the Western than in the Eastern Counties is, of course, due to the fact that the latter formed part of the Saxon kingdom of Bernicia, whilst the former for many centuries belonged to the British kingdom of Strathclyde. The boundary-line between these kingdoms, as shown in Freeman's map of Britain in the ninth century, divides the county of Stirling into two nearly equal parts, passes through Lanarkshire between the sources of the Clyde and Tweed, then turns more easterly to Hawick, and strikes the Cheviots about Carter Fell, midway in Roxburghshire. In accordance with this the counties of Linlithgow, Edinburgh, Haddington and Berwick show a decided Saxon element, somewhat resembling that of England. Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, Wigtown, Ayr and Renfrew are distinctly Keltic, while the intermediate counties of Lanark, Selkirk, Peebles and Roxburgh have a peculiar nomenclature of their own, which is no doubt characteristic of what must have been a debateable land.

At the same time, even in the more Saxon counties, the endings fall very short of the variety found in England. Thus, the following 13 endings, chiefly Saxon, have not appeared at all in my search :—Barrow, Hay, Worth, Grave, Mere, Cliff, Over, Hythe, Port, Toft, Thorp, Bere, Age. Again, Mouth is not found west of Roxburgh, Chester the same, Hurst only once, in Roxburgh; Stow but once in Edinburgh, and once in Lanark; Stead and Ey not west of Roxburgh; Bock once in Selkirk, 4 times in Dumfries; Wick 13 times, of which only 4 are west of Roxburgh.

A few special remarks may be made on some of the terminations.

Ton.—This ending bears a very much smaller proportion to the total, even omitting the miscellaneous names, than it does in England. In Peebles there are only 9 examples, in Selkirk not one—a fact which certainly seems to demand explanation. They are tolerably common in Haddington, and again in Lanark and Ayr; but in the latter counties many of the names bear unmistakable signs of being

comparatively modern in their origin. Such names as Stewarton, Stevenston, Adamton, Benston, Blairston, Douglaston, Thomaston, Glenton, Maxwellton, Lochton, in Ayrshire; and Millerston, Bogton, Stephenston, Jerviston, Allanton, Chapelton, Wilsontown, Charlestown, Glenthoiston and Robberton, in Lanark, are only to be compared to such examples as Parsonstown or Kingstown, in Ireland, and clearly have no part in the original nomenclature of the country.

Ham or Hame.—This ending is not so common as might be expected, even in the Saxon districts, not being found in Edinburgh or Linlithgow at all. This is, however, in accordance with its comparative rarity in the North of England, as shown in my former paper. Ington and Ingham, as will be seen, are also rare.

Ing.—The examples of this ending are very few, and as some even of them are doubtful, I will give them. They are: Skirling in Peebles, Hainning in Selkirk, Crailing in Roxburgh, Farding and Dinning in Dumfries, Knocknalling in Kirkcudbright, and Airehemming in Wigtown. It seems doubtful whether nearly all of these are not corruptions of Gaelic names, as is known to be the case with Stirling. If so, this characteristic Saxon ending would appear to be almost, or wholly, absent from the Lowlands.

Ley.—This ending, generally spelt *Lie*, is found in the Saxon counties, but is commonest in the counties of Roxburgh, Selkirk and Lanark, that is, on the borders between Northumbria and Strathclyde. In Strathclyde itself it is rare, but there are ten examples in Renfrew. Similar remarks apply to *Ford*, except that it is not found in Renfrew.

The three terminations, Burgh, Barrow, and Bury, are comparatively rare, their place being probably supplied by Keltic equivalents. Wood, on the other hand, is more common comparatively than in England; the number of Scotch examples being 48 as against 70 for all England. This is somewhat remarkable, as Wood is not common in the North of England, while the word Shaw, which also means

a wood, is more common in Scotland than England; the tables giving 26 examples in the former as against 14 in the latter.

Law.—This name is very characteristic of the border counties, especially Berwick and Roxburgh. It is also frequent in Northumberland as used for a hill, but is rare further south in England.

Hill.—This word is relatively far more common in Scotland than in England, there being 81 examples in the former, as against 85 in the latter. The hilly character of the Lowlands of Scotland probably explains this fact.

Land.—This ending is fairly common, and chiefly so in Strathclyde. In my former paper I mentioned the suggestion that in some cases at least it was a corruption of Anglo-Saxon "Laen." Thus, at least two authors quote Kingsland in Herefordshire as having been originally Kings Laen. There are some of the Scottish names which seem to lend themselves to this derivation, such as Kirkland, Priestland, Monkland, Ladyland, Newlands and Boreland. Of the last there are several examples, and here the first syllable would, I presume, come from Borh, a pledge or security. Of Fingland there are also two or three examples, but the derivation I am not able to trace. I do not give these as conclusive; and of course it is easy to ask by what law of etymology Land is derived from Laen; but the answer is that it is by no such law, but from the well-known tendency to corrupt a word not understood into one which is understood. Of this a very recent example may be found in the Laureate's last volume, "Fur he ca'd 'is 'erse Billy-rough-un, thow niver a hair wur awry."

Side.—This is fairly common in Roxburgh, Dumfries, Lanark, and Ayr, but rare elsewhere. This seems to point rather to a Keltic origin, and the possibility may be suggested of its being connected in some cases with the Gaelic Siodha=fairy hill. The hill Simonside in Northumberland might be thus explained, and one or two of the Scottish names seem to point to the meaning of hill. In others, such as Woodside, Dunside, and Rigside, the word

seems to have its ordinary acceptation; and in others again it may be Norse, and=settlement.

Head.—This ending, like the last, is peculiar, being common in Dumfries, Lanark and Ayr, but elsewhere rare. It seems generally to mean the upper end of a valley or inclosure, *e.g.* Parkhead, Fieldhead, Waterhead, Boghead, Cloughhead, Townhead, Loanhead, names which appear to have been given in comparatively modern times.

Tree.—The examples of this, with one exception, are in Strathclyde, and seem Gaelic in origin, as Ochiltree, Ballantree, Kerrouchtree, Trostree. On a former occasion I raised the question whether some of the 'trees' in England might not come from the Keltic 'tre,' *e.g.* Daventry (Dwy-afon-tre); but, as the word 'tre' does not occur in Gaelic, these Scottish examples cannot perhaps be said to confirm that theory.

Over.—This ending does not appear in Scotland, but, on the other hand, *er* is not very uncommon. Some of these, as well as *Over*, may no doubt be referred to the Anglo-Saxon Ofer=shore, which we still use in speaking of the 'hovers' or hollow banks of a stream.

I now come to the endings derived from the British, but adopted into Saxon, which, as will be seen, are rare. The only exception is Dene, which is common in Berwick and Roxburgh, but not elsewhere. This is in accordance with its frequent use even to the present day in Northumberland, but I am still at a loss to account for its being frequent only at the two extremities of England, viz. the Scottish borders on the one hand, and Hertfordshire, Kent and Sussex on the other. The word is traced by Leo to the Keltic Dion=shelter, but the names in which it occurs seem all of them to have been given by the Saxons. Of other British words Port is not found as an ending; Combe only in two doubtful examples [Combe[1] Hill in Peebles, and Toftcombes in Lanark], while Poole only occurs once as Bellspoole in Peebles.

[1] In Combe Hill, as in Black Comb, Cumberland, I may suggest that the word is really Comb, answering to the well-known Kamms of Switzerland.

We now come to the names derived from the Norse. The main fact to which these seem to bear witness is the existence of a single Norse colony in Dumfriesshire. In this county we find 16 examples of Holm, out of a total of 42; 4 of Dale, out of 13; 12 of By, out of 19; 4 of Beck, out of 5, and the only two Thwaites that I have discovered. This is the more remarkable because some Norse forms, notably Dale, Kirk, Gate, and Holm, have certainly passed into the general speech of Southern Scotland. The reason of this appears to me to require further investigation. Some light may thus be thrown upon one ending which presents to me considerable mystery. This ending is *Hope*. In England, Hope is tolerably common in S. Northumberland and Durham on the one side, in Herefordshire, Shropshire and Radnorshire on the other, but rare elsewhere. In Scotland, again, it is curiously common in Peebles (14 cases), Selkirk (18) and Roxburgh (20); but in the other counties there are only 10 examples altogether. In the hope of tracing its origin in the Shropshire district, I instituted a correspondence in the "Hereford Times." This did not lead to much result, if we except an ingenious suggestion that Hope is a British corruption of the Latin Oppidum! Its meaning, however, whether on the borders of Wales or Scotland, is undoubtedly an opening or hollow amongst hills. That this use of the word lasted through the middle ages would appear from a quotation from Gabriel Archer's relation of Captain Goswell's voyage to the north of Virginia (1602), which has been furnished to me as follows: "The fifteenth day we got sight of land, which made ahead, being, as we thought, an island, by reason of a large sound that appeared westward between it and the main, for coming to the west end thereof, we did perceive a large opening. We called it 'Shoal Hope.'" This meaning precludes a derivation which has been suggested to me by Professor Skeat, who connects it with Heap, and gives it the meaning of Hill. A Keltic derivation has been suggested from 'Heop,' but the only meaning of this word appears to be 'push,' from which no definite sense seems obtainable. The Norse Hóp=a bay or

inlet, as suggested in my former paper, seems the best; but we have then the anomaly that in Dumfries, which is specially the Norse county, we have only two examples, viz. Wauchope and Mosshope; whilst in the counties where it is so frequent other Norse endings are very rare. It has also to be explained how the word comes to be common in Shropshire and Herefordshire, which are not otherwise Norse districts.

I now come to endings which were left in my former paper to the end as doubtful.

It will be seen that Wick, though not common, is scattered through the Saxon district, which confirms the Saxon, as against the Norse origin of that word.

With regard to Well, it appears that Maxwell in Roxburgh and Kirkcudbright is a corruption from Maccus-vill, Maccus having had the grant from King David I. The ending Ville itself occurs twice in Edinburgh, in Melville and Aimville. It might thus appear probable that in some cases Well may be a corruption from Ville, on the same principle as Land from Laen; whereas in others, such as Ladywell in Berwick, it has obviously its common meaning.

Er.—In addition to the Saxon Ofer, as an origin for this ending, the Norse Ayre, a promontory, may perhaps be suggested. Some of the examples in Scotland, as Calder, Wester, Brocker, Biggar, seem to favour a Norse origin. Others are probably a corruption from the Keltic.

Ock or *Och.*—It will be seen that there are a considerable number of names with this ending, but that they are all in the Strathclyde district. This fact in itself negatives the meaning suggested in my former paper of Oak. In Scotland, in fact, it is purely a Gaelic ending, and is the same as the Och found frequently in the Highlands. It appears to come in most cases from Oich, an obsolete word for water, of course akin to the Welsh Ysc. Hence, it becomes a question whether some of the cases in England may not have the same derivation: thus the difficult name Quantock may possibly have a Keltic origin, which is favoured by its bearing the common Keltic initial Qu.

I now come to a group of endings which were so rare in England as not to be classified, but appear more decidedly in Scotland. The first is House, which probably owes its frequency to having come into use in the Lowlands as a name for the laird's residence, corresponding to hall or court in England. Next is Bank, of which there are 36 instances, scattered pretty evenly through the district. It would appear that this word has nothing to do with the French Banc, but comes from the Norse Back, the side of a hill. It thus becomes another instance where a Norse word appears to have passed into common use, at least as far as concerns the formation of place-names. It is not improbable that 'House' may really be another case of this, as it is, of course, a Norse word as much as a Saxon one. The next word in the list is 'Brae,' which, like Scar and Crag, is Keltic, but has become part of north country speech. This, however, seems to have taken place after the place-name period, since all three are very rare as endings to place-names.

The next word, 'Shiels,' is not uncommon, but chiefly in the east and middle of the country, which points to a Saxon origin. On the other hand, it is very rare, if not entirely absent, in England. It might, perhaps, be derived from the Anglo-Saxon 'Scyld,' a shield or refuge, but it is difficult to see why it should have come into use for a shelter or hovel in Scotland alone. It is therefore better to derive it from the Norse 'Scale,' a hut, as found in Scaleby, Scale Force, Scales, and other words in the North of England; and it will thus form another example of a Norse word which has come into general use throughout the Lowlands. Cases such as Glen Shiel or Shieldag, in the Highlands, have probably a different derivation.

The next two words Shaw, and Cleugh, bear a very close comparison with Shiels. All three are found chiefly in the following counties:—Berwick, Peebles, Selkirk, Roxburgh, Dumfries, and Lanark. All three are wanting in Kirkcudbright and Wigtown. All may be derived from the Anglo-Saxon (Shaw from Sceacga, and Cleugh from Cleofa), but,

at the same time, they are all very rare in England, while they are tolerably common in Scotland. Lastly all may, with greater probability, be derived from the Norse (Shaw from Skog, and Cleugh from Klyfta).

Ness and Gill are supposed to be of Norse origin, and the latter accordingly is chiefly found in Dumfries. Ness, meaning a promontory, is naturally confined to counties on the coast. Another word to be mentioned is Haugh, which, as will be seen, is confined to the counties of Peebles, Selkirk, Roxburgh, Dumfries and Lanark, those namely in which the Norse element is predominant. This points to its connexion with the Scandinavian Haaf=the sea, the leading idea being that of a level plain. The proper meaning of Haugh, on the borders, is a flat meadow at the bottom of a valley. Lastly, we may mention the ending Knock, of which there are 16 instances, all in Strathclyde. There are others north of the Lowlands, as Rednock in Stirlingshire. It can hardly be anything but the Keltic Cnoc, which may once have been used as an ordinary term for a hill in Lowland speech. In the Highlands we have still traces of this, as the Knock of Crieff.

I here conclude my survey of the endings of Scottish place-names. The points specially brought out by it appear to be the following:—

(1) The broad distinction between the Saxon region on the East, and the Keltic on the West.

(2) The border region of Lanark, Peebles, Selkirk, and Roxburgh, with a set of place-names peculiar to itself.

(3) The evidences of Norse colonization in a single limited district about Eskdale and Annandale, combined with the fact that a considerable number of Norse words appear to have passed into the general language of the country.

(4) The frequency of several endings which are rare or absent in England, such as Shiels, Bank, Cleugh.

(5) The absence of many other endings, which are found, and sometimes are common, in England, such as Ing, Worth, Mere, etc.

(6) The large number of names which cannot be classed

according to their endings, and of which the greater part are undoubtedly Keltic.

Leaving these points to the consideration of others, I will pass on to consider the details of the last, viz. the Keltic element. I am, of course, aware that I stand here on the brink of a very dangerous controversy, that namely as to the presence of a Cymric element amongst the Gaelic place-names of Scotland. Into this I cannot enter, but the accompanying Table II., which gives the distribution of the commoner Keltic prefixes in the Scottish Lowlands, may possibly throw some additional light on the question.[1] It contains about 35 undoubtedly Gaelic prefixes, forming nearly the whole of those which are discussed in Robertson's Gaelic Topography of Scotland. Among these, there are only two which can be regarded as exclusively Welsh, inasmuch as they do not appear in the Gaelic language of the present day. These are, Aber=the confluence or mouth of a river, and Pen=head. The entire absence of such distinctive Welsh place-words as Cwm, Cefn, Nant, Tre, Ty, Bettws, Bron, Bryn, Pant, etc., is very remarkable on the hypothesis of a Cymric element. Thus, the only representatives of the Cymric element, as far as my investigation goes, appear to be the following: Aberlady, Aberlosk, Pennycuick, Pengrave, Penkiln, Penbrick, Pencloe, Pintrannet, Pinbain, and Pindonnan, to which may be added the doubtful case of Llan in Lanark,[2] and of Lyn in Linlithgow. In these circumstances it may, perhaps, be worth while to hazard the following suggestion:—The old Keltic language was clearly very rich in synonymous words, as is shown, for instance, by the fact that the table here given contains no less than 10 words signifying a hill. This being so, it is at least probable that, in following the fortunes of any one of the Keltic languages, we should find that one or more of these synonyms might occasionally drop out of use and

[1] Since this was compiled I have found that Mr. Skene has given a similar one (Trans. R. S. Edin. vol. xxiv.), but his is divided into wider districts.

[2] Mr. Skene derives Lan from the Latin Planum, in which case it would not be a pure Keltic word at all.

disappear. To take the case of Aber and Inver, why should not both words have existed with a similar meaning in the original Keltic language? and why should not Aber have early become extinct in Scotland, being superseded by Inver? In early documents there seem some traces of this process, and it would account for the fact of the two place-words, Aber and Inver, occurring, not only in the same district, but *even within a few miles of each other on the same river.* Similarly, the words Kin and Pen may both have existed with the meaning of head, although the latter has disappeared from the Gaelic language.[1]

I am indebted to Mr. Henry Bradley, of Sheffield, for the following comments on this suggestion:—(1) The words Kin and Pen are not really different words, but the same original word, the letters *k* and *p* being dialectic variations in Gaelic and Cymric respectively; (2) the existence of a Cymric kingdom in Strathclyde is proved by historical facts, and by such names as Dumbarton=Dun Breatan, or the Briton's fort. But, even admitting both these points, my suggestion is not, I believe, altogether negatived. With regard to (1), the tendency to vary the initials *K* and *P* must have developed in the original Keltic stock at some unknown period. It may have been still in course of development when the Scotch place-names were given, so that in some districts Kin, and in others Pen, was the prevailing form; although later, when intercourse became more general, the former became the established word throughout the country. With regard to (2), the word Dumbarton is itself strong evidence that, if Britons did rule over Strathclyde, it was in the character of conquerors over a subject race, and not as indigenous inhabitants: for while such a name as 'Englishman's Castle' might very well be expected to occur in Wales or Ireland, it would look exceedingly strange in England itself. If this view be correct, the place-names of

[1] Dr Murray has since informed me that there are several hills on the Border whose names begin with Pen, and that it is even yet recognized as a common term for Hill. If so, may it not be merely a corruption of the Highland Ben? The Welsh Pen does not mean a hill, and hills whose names begin with Pen are very rare.

the district may very well be found to reflect the language of the subjects, and not of the conquerors.

In leaving this question, I have only to observe that Table II. brings out very clearly the following points: (1) That Gaelic names are exceedingly common in the Western or Strathclyde district; (2) that, though less common, they are by no means rare in the Eastern or Saxon district; (3) that they are least common in the central or border district, especially in Selkirk and Roxburgh, the former giving only 3 examples out of 92, and the latter only 3 out of 317. This is an additional evidence of the exceptional character of the place nomenclature in this border district.

It thus appears that, although the eastern part, at any rate, of the Lowlands was early taken into the Saxon kingdom of Bernicia, this has not prevented a considerable number of Keltic place-names from holding their ground in the country. Hence, it becomes an interesting inquiry (though more connected with my first paper than with this) why the same is not true further south, since it appears that throughout the Saxon period, when place-names were forming, the country from the Tweed to the Forth was practically part of England. It is thus a problem worth investigating, not why there are any Keltic place-names in England, but why they are so few, when the analogy of Scotland would lead us to expect the opposite. Therefore if we do find a name which may be more simply and naturally derived from the Keltic than from any other language, we are justified, I think, in accepting its Keltic origin. Taking the Scottish place-names as my guide, I have compiled a list of such names; but this I will not attempt to bring under the criticism of the Society. I will confine my attention to two special instances.

One of these is formed by a group of names occurring, in close proximity, at the extreme S.W. of Gloucestershire, within the angle formed by the Avon and the Severn. These are Brintry (Bryntre), Penpole (Penpwll), Pen Park (Pen Parc), Hallen (Halen, salt), Trim (Trym, vigorous). These are all

identical in sound, and almost in spelling, with well-known Keltic words; the first three are places on the limestone ridge running northwards from the Avon, while Hallen is at its foot, just where the salt marshes of the Severn would formerly have ended. The Trym is a small stream which, passing by the hamlet of Combe, falls into the Avon. It appears to me that we are fully entitled to regard this as a case of survival of a group of British names in a country otherwise Saxon.

The other case is the town of Kinfare (often, but wrongly, written Kinver) in Staffordshire. The vicar, the Rev. John Hodgson, informs me that the spelling of this name in 1087 (Domesday) is Chenevare, in 1140 Kenfare, in 1189 Kynefare, in 1199 Kenefaire, and in 1315 Kinfare. This list, while it completely negatives the popular derivation from King's Fare (supposed to mean King's road), shows that the old pronunciation is precisely that of the modern Gaelic Kin-fair=head of ridge. Now the old church of Kinfare (founded at least as early as 1100) stands at the upper end of a long scarped ridge, forming a prominent landmark of the district, and now known as Kinfare Edge. Where the words and the locality are in such striking agreement, I conceive we are fully justified in accepting them as the genuine origin of the name, and this, for the reasons stated above, is not negatived by the form being Gaelic rather than Cymric.

These two cases may at least serve to draw attention to the questions with which I wish to conclude these papers, viz. what Keltic place-names really survive in England, and why they are so rare in comparison with the Lowlands of Scotland.

I have, finally, to express my thanks to Professor and Miss Blackie, to Mr. William Skene, and to Mr. Henry Bradley, for valuable information and assistance given towards the preparation of this paper.

Table I.—Distribution of Place Names, Scottish Lowlands.

Bere														0
Age									1					1
Erne														
Er	1	1	3	1	1		4			11	2		1	25
Wick	1	3	2	1	1	1		2			2			13
Well	2	1	1	1		2	3	1	2	4	2		2	21
Ett						1	1			2	4		1	9
Ock, Och							11	19	31	4	20		4	89
Ville	2								1					3
House	3			2	2	7	2	1		6	4	3	1	31
Bank	3		2	3	3	3	6	1		9	2		4	36
Brae	1						1			2			1	5
Shiels, Shields	2	3	3	1	2	2	4			3		1	1	22
Shaw	2		1	2	2	4	5			5	3		2	26
Cleugh		1	3	1	7	5	4			6	2			29
Ness		3						4	4	1		1		13
Gill				1			6	1	1	3				12
Haugh				2	3	5	2			1				13
Heugh						2					1			3
Scar							2			1				3
Knock, Nock							3	5	2		6			16
Craig								1			3			4
Total Distributed	114	101	123	85	76	241	227	101	86	244	207	51	74	1731
Miscellaneous	67	49	56	51	16	76	174	187	173	128	263	28	44	1311
Total	181	150	179	136	92	317	401	288	259	372	470	79	118	3042

XV.—SOME LATIN AND GREEK ETYMOLOGIES AND THE CHANGE OF *L* TO *D* IN LATIN.

By J. P. Postgate, M.A.

Adeps and the change of L to D.

With regard to this word two theories have been held (Curt.[5] No. 340, Corss. Ausspr. I.[2] 224). It has been supposed to be either (*a*) from the same root as ἄλειφα ἄλειφαρ or (*b*) ἄλειφαρ itself borrowed. Now as (*a*) involves amongst other things the assumption of the prosthetic vowel for Latin, *i.e.* in *a*-dep-s, it may be neglected until that assumption is supported by some trace of positive evidence.

The second proposed derivation must be considered in greater detail. For the connexion with ἄλειφαρ are adduced (1) two glosses from Hesychius ἀλέφεσσι· στέατι, ἀλεφάτισσον· ἄλειψον, which only prove that the meaning of words kindred to ἄλειφαρ might be 'fat': and (2) a Latin form *alipes*, which is in all probability a *later* form of *adipes* (v. inf.) and consequently proves nothing. Not only does the evidence for the etymology thus disappear, but there are weighty considerations against it. In the first place it can hardly be reasonable to suppose that the Latins had no word of their own for so common an object as *fat*, more especially as their rustic life and frequent sacrifices brought it every day under their notice. Again the Greek and Latin words do not correspond perfectly in meaning and very imperfectly in sound. To omit the representation of λ by *d* we have *i* for *ει*, *-ps* or *-pem* (acc.) for *-φα* or *-φαρ*; and the genders are different. This, though not a fatal objection, affords some presumption against the proposed etymology. With regard to the replacement of λ by *d* two theories are possible. It may be regarded as due to a mistake on the part of the hearer, to whom the λ sounded as a *d*; or else as a Latin change from *l* to *d*, in which case *alips* would be the original form in which the word was borrowed. The first hypothesis, which, so far as

I know, is maintained by no philologist, may be dismissed for the present.

The probability of the *second* hypothesis depends upon the evidence for the change of *l* to *d* in Latin. This evidence it will be necessary to examine. The following supposed examples are quoted by Corssen (I. 224):

ca*d*amitas for ca*l*amitas.

Capito*d*ium for Capito*l*ium.

vo*d*eba for vo*l*ebam (doubtful Pompeian inscription).

Gudu*d*ia by the side of Gudu*l*ius (late African inscription).

To this list may at most be added:

*d*autia for *l*autia.

ca*d*aver for *ca*laver (Sk. *kalevara* corpus).

To take these words *seriatim*. Of the first two it must be observed that other explanations have been offered. *Calamitas*,[1] according to Froehde, Zeitschr. XIII. 456, is weakened from ca*d*amitas, which comes from a root SKAD, Sk. khad, skhad, 'destroy;' cf. skhadh-ana, 'destruction,' and Lat. (s)cado. If ca*d*amitas is the older form, the form ca*l*amitas is probably to be explained as due to popular etymology. The storm sweeping through the air 'culmumque levem stipulasque volantes,' Virg. G. I. 321, appeals strongly to the countryman's imagination to whom there can be no greater *calamity* than this whirling of the reeds and stalks.[2] Compare the English *hurricane*, from Spanish *huracano*, which, of course, is *not* derived, as its form suggests, from *hurrying canes*. *Capitodium* also has been supposed to be the original form: for its formation *custodia* has been compared. The possibility of these derivations depends of course on the age of the forms *cadamitas* and *Capitodium*; but whether they are older or younger than the forms with *l*

[1] *Calamitas* is probably not to be connected with *incolumis*, as *Klotz* thinks, Wörterb. *s.v.* *incolumis* is not a negative compound, as we might conjecture from the comparative *incolumiores* in Quadrigarius; a shorter form is *columis* preserved in glosses. *incolumis* is to *columis* as *inclutus* is to Gr. κλυτός.

[2] It is hardly necessary to point out that *calamus* is a borrowed word (κάλαμος), the native Latin word corresponding to which being *culmus*. It is, however, probably an old borrowing.

the advocates of a connexion between *adeps* and *ἄλειφα* are involved in an equal dilemma. For if, as Vaniček supposes,[1] *cadamitas* and *Capitodium* are late Latin changes for the forms in *l*, this will prove indeed that at one time a *d* replaced an earlier *l*, but it will do it at the expense of relegating the change to the latest periods in the history of Latin and leaving it for an early word like *adeps* still unsubstantiated. On the two other words adduced by Corssen, *vodeba* and *Gududia*, there is but little to say, except that they are hardly sufficiently supported. The correctness of the transcription *vodeba* is doubtful; and we find Go*lu*lius and Go*du*lius by the side of Go*du*dia. The two other instances may be shortly disposed of. *Dautia* is expressly mentioned by Festus, p. 68 ('dautia quae *lautia* dicimus et *dantur* legatis hospitii gratia'), as the oldest form; and there is everything in favour of Fick's derivation of it from root DU give (bye-form of DA), in Latin *du*-int, ad-*du*-es, cre-*du*-as, Zend *du*, give, Lith. *dav*-iau, Ch. Sl. *dav*-ati, give. *Cadaver* for *calaver* is a fancy of Bopp's, which no one else has adopted. There is every reason for connecting *cadaver* with *cado* as *πτῶμα* is connected with *πίπτω*.

This, then, is the evidence for the change of *l* to *d* in Latin. *Six* instances of it have been adduced. Of these *two* are either late or capable of other explanations, *two* are late and doubtful, and *two* are not in point. The evidence may, perhaps, on the whole, justify us in admitting the change when Latin was being broken up into dialects; but it is altogether inadequate to prove it for the Classical, still less for the ancient speech to which we have seen *adeps* belongs.[2]

Further, there are several weighty considerations against the assumption of this change of sound for Classical Latin. *D* is a very unstable sound in Latin; one, in fact, that

[1] "Ca*d*amitas, late Latin, first in Mar. Vict. in the second half of the fourth century A.D., p. 2546, Isid. Orig. 20. 3."—Worterb. p. 1085. "Capitolium: neighbouring form of the later popular speech after the time of Marius Capito*d*ium."—p. 113.

[2] In the *Romance* languages the change is rare: *vide* Diez Gr. 1.[4] 204.

was avoided as much as possible. This is shown by several circumstances.

(i) it never precedes a consonant in the same syllable when it begins a word (see Roby Lat. Grammar vol. I. § 160; Corssen vol. I. 210); hence

(ii) *dv* (du) is weakened most exceptionally except in Latin to *b*; cf. *b*onus for *du*onus, etc.

(iii) *d* changes to *r* frequently (Corss vol. I. 238 seqq.), *r never* changes to *d*.[1]

(iv) *d* changes to *l* in the following words —

lacrima, Enn. *d*acrima.

lingua (for *d*ingua), cf Goth *t*uggo.

leiv, Gk. *δαήρ*, Sk. *d*evār-

lautia for *d*autia.

licare for *d*icare, Ball. Gloss.

delicata, ded*i*cata, Fest.

delicare, make plain. cf. Gr. *δεικνυμι*.

baliolus, from ba*d*ius 'chestnut-coloured,' Plaut. Poen. 5. 5. 22.

cassila for cassi*d*a, Fest

impelimenta for impe*d*imenta, id.

uligo by the side of u*d*us.

Norensiles for *Norensides*.

oleo by side of o*d*or.

solium, but se*d*eo.

[*alipes* for a*d*ipes (vide supra)].

Corssen also quotes (vol. I p. 224) from two late inscriptions

Silicino for Osc. *Sidilinud*.

Golulius for Go*d*u*d*ius (cf. supr.).

Lastly we have the change in two words borrowed from the Greek which are especially in point,

Ulixes by *Ὀδυσσεύς*,

Melicus = *Μηδικός*.

Finally we must not forget that in this assumed change the normal order of phonetic change is *reversed*. A fricative

[1] With the exception of the borrowed word *caduceus* for *καρύκιον* where too popular etymology has been at work.

changes to an explosive, a sound requiring less exertion to one requiring more. Now this is possible when a language is being disintegrated and breaking up in confusion. Not so when it is treading undisturbed its path of phonetic decay.

We may now replace this untenable connexion by something more satisfactory. Adeps (ad-ip-is) then may be regarded as a compound, formed, like *con-iux*[1] (con-iug-is), from a preposition and a root. The latter part of the word is to be connected with the words which Fick (Wörterb. I.[3] 16) adduces under *apa* with the meanings 'sap abundance,' ὀπός[2] sap, O.N. *afa* sap abundance, the Latin *op*-es, *op*-imus, to which we may add *ep*-ulae a *rich* banquet. So *adeps*, for ad-ips, will mean '*increased*' or perhaps '*adhering* fat,' and will show an *a* weakened to *i* as in *adipiscor*.

Asper.

Corssen (II. 593) compares this word with *pro-sper*-(us) and makes it a compound of *a* and *spes* (O.L. sper-es) with the meaning "hoffnungslos." This etymology disregards the fundamental signification of the word, which is '*rough*,' not '*hopeless*,' and needlessly contravenes the law that abstract expressions are derived from concrete, not vice versa. It is much better to take asper for *a(c)s-per* and to refer the first part of it to the root AK expanded *aks* 'to be sharp,' which we get in ὀξύς, etc. (v. Curt. no. 2), more especially as we have the *c* lost in *a(c)s-tu* from the same root.[3] With regard to the *-per* (for *-per-us*), either (1) it is from √ PAR, give, bring (Curt. no. 366), so that *a(c)s-per-us* (for acsi-per-us?) will be the '*prick-causing*' (compare Eng. 'give a person a prick') a compound like opi-*paru*-s, *e* being for *a* as in *puer-per-a*. Or else (2) more probably it is a corruption of *-ter* (in which case *asper*=Lith. *asz-trù-s*, (also *asz-tra-s*) Ch. Sl. *ostrŭ*, sharp; and the Zend *astra*,

[1] The illustration is Mr. Fennell's.

[2] Curtius' connexion of ὀπός with Lat. *sucus*, Gr. Etym. II. 63, Eng. tr., (abandoned in the last edition) has always seemed to me exceedingly harsh. Curtius takes opimus for o(b)-pi-mu-s to be connected with πίων πιμέλη (No. 363) (also abandoned in last edition).

[3] Compare Corssen, I. 35.

dagger, point, Skt. *ash-tra*, may also be compared). For the change of *sp* to *st*, see Corssen I. 178. In any case *asper* will=Eng. '*prickly*,' Gr. *ὀκρι-ό-εις*, full of *ὄκρεις* or pricks; cf. too the Aeschylean *ὀκ-ρίς rugged* (lit. prickly).[1]

Baca [—*βηκώνιον*—*βήχιον*—*βάρυες*—*βδάροι*].

Pauli (Zeitschr. XVIII. 14 sqq.) has shown that this word should be spelt with a single *c*. He derives it from a root BAK 'to be hard,' which he finds in *bac*-ulum, *βάκ-τρο-ν*. But these words are referred by Curtius with much more probability to the root GA 'to go' (in *βαίνω*, etc.), in the sense of '*walking*' *stick*. Corssen[2] connects *baca* with root PAK 'be soft, ripe,' to which Pauli justly objects that this meaning is quite unsuitable to the *hard* berry. Fick,[3] comparing the Lith. *bapkas* laurel berry, and some other words, very distantly related if related at all, deduces a root *bab* to be round; from this he forms *bab-ca* and then *bacca*. Against this may be objected, first that it is not proved that B was an Indo-European sound; secondly that, supposing it was, a root like *bab*, consisting of a vowel between two flat unaspirated consonants, is an inadmissible combination;[4] and lastly that *babca* is a most extraordinary formation for Latin, when an easy word like *babica* could have been formed (cf. *alica* from alo).[5]

Baca is most naturally divided *bā-ca*. The first part suggests the root PA eat, feed, in *pa-sco*, *pa-bulu-m*, *βό-σκω*, etc. *b* for *P* is according to Latin sound laws (see Corss. I. 128 seqq.). Some glosses in Hesychius support this connexion. I transcribe them.

βηκώνιον· εἶδος βοτάνης.
βήχιον· βοτάνης εἶδος.
βῆκα· ἀναδενδράς.[6]

[1] Aesch. Prom. 1016 *ὀκρὶς φάραγξ*.
[2] Nachtrage, 63.
[3] I.[3] 683. Another derivation is that of Benfey (Greek Wurzel-lexikon, p. 522) from root BHAKS, Skt. bhaksh *eat*, which satisfies the meaning but not the sound; for initial BH before a vowel never becomes *b* in Latin.
[4] Grassmann, Zeitschr. XII. 81 ff. Curtius, I. 63.
[5] The Lithuanian *bapkas* is perhaps *reduplicated* and for *ba-p(a)-kas*.
[6] *βῆκα*, the tree as *giving food*, stands in the same relation to the berry or food *baca*, as *μῆλα· πάντα τὰ δένδρα* (Hesych.), to *μῆλα· παντὸς δένδρου καρπός* (*ib.*).

The berry then is 'the eatable,' being one of the primitive foods of man.

In favour of this connexion we have

(1) The use of the word in passages like Cicero Senect. 2. 5 in arborum *bacis* terraeque frugibus, where it means 'eatable produce, fruit.'

(2) The evidence of tradition, which has preserved the memory of a pre-Cereal epoch, when man fed on the wild fruits of the wood. We can trace this in stories like those of *Ceres* and *Celeus*. See for example Ov. Fast. IV. 509, where Celeus before meeting with Ceres is described as collecting acorns and mulberries, ille domum *glandes excussaque mora rubetis* portat.

(3) There is abundant analogy for the passage of meaning. Thus φηγός Lat. fāgus comes from √BHAG 'eat' (in φαγ-εῖν, etc.); *gl*ans βάλ-ανος from √GAR, GRA 'eat' (Curt. no. 643), with which βάρ-υες· δένδρα, βδάρ-ου· δένδρα, δρύες (Hesychius), should be also connected.[1]

Basium.

Basium, which comes from the same root PA, may be conveniently put here. In form it exactly coincides with βήσιον· ποτήριον Hesych., which comes from PA in the special sense of 'drinking.' A kiss is appropriately named from the *mouth* (as in Lat. *osculum* (dim. of *os*), Bohem. *hubička* 'kiss,' from *huba* 'mouth,' Provençal *ac-caissar* kiss, *cais* mouth): or from actions connected with the mouth, *e.g. kiss* itself, O.H.G. *kuss-jn*, is from √GUS taste, Gr. γεύ-ω, Lat. gus-to (Fick I.[3] 573), cf. Virg. Aen. I. 256 *oscula libavit* natae. For the *s* in *basium* between two vowels compare amasius.

Caballus [—καπαλεύτας—καπαλίζει—κάπος—καπυκτός—κάβηλος—κάβαισος—κάπτω—cabus—cabo].

For this word I have seen two derivations offered.

The first assumes it to have been borrowed from the Greek,

[1] For the βδ, which = β + parasitic y, see Curt. II. 105, and no. 255: βδέω from root GAS is a precisely parallel case.

καβάλλης being explained by Hesychius as ἐργάτης ἵππος. καβάλλης is taken to be a mutilation of καταβάλλης and to have meant originally "limper," or, more literally, "one who is apt to throw his rider." This proposal must be decisively rejected. For, if there be any borrowing in the matter, καβάλλης is as likely to have been borrowed from the Latin as *caballus* from the Greek. Again, κατα-βάλλ-ης is an unheard-of formation, and the meaning is altogether unsuitable: 'apt to throw' is certainly not the way to indicate a 'limping hack.'

In the second derivation the word is compared with the Slavonic *kobyla* mare, but the root is not explained. It is very possible that the words are connected, though the word *kobyla* does not show the derogatory sense of *caballus*; but supposing they are, we are no nearer the meaning of the root. Besides the already-quoted gloss in Hesychius, we have the following:

καπαλεύτας· ὀνηλάτας.

καπαλίζει· ζευγηλατεῖ.

κάπος· ψυχή, πνεῦμα· καὶ ὁ τοῦ φοίνικος φλοιὸς ἐν ᾧ κέκρυπται ὁ καρπὸς καὶ ἡ πρώτη ἔκφυσις.

καπυκτά· πνέοντα.[1]

Further we have the apparently corrupt gloss

καββιόρνους· κατεσθίων.

and an alternative explanation

κάβηλος· ὄνος.

and finally one containing an unfortunate attempt at etymology[2]

κάβαισος· ἄπληστος. κάβος γὰρ μέτρον σιτικόν.

Here we have traces of a root καπ meaning to '*breathe*' or '*pant*' and of a weakened form of it καβ with the additional

[1] καπυκτός is an adjective formed from a verbal stem καπυκ- seen in κατόσσω (v. infra) and used in an *active* sense (cf. ὑποπτός μεμπτός Soph. etc.).

[2] It is absurd to derive a word for a '*glutton*' in *Cratinus* (Malth. 7) from the name of a *foreign* measure (κάβος = Hebr. kab) first found in the *LXX* and *Geoponica*. κάβ-αισο-ς probably means *gulping down* one's *share* (αἶσα) and so 'greedy.'

meaning of to '*swallow*.' This root is also found elsewhere. The verb *κάπτω* is well known; it means (1) '*swallow*' (cf. *καββιόρνους* and *κάβαισος*), especially '*swallow greedily*,' (2) '*breathe hard*,' '*gasp*;' compare the Homeric phrases *κεκάφηότα θυμόν* Il. v. 698, etc. and *ἀπὸ δὲ ψυχὴν ἐκάπυσσεν* and the gloss in Hesych. *κέκηφε· τέθνηκε*, *i.e.* he has breathed his last, he has 'gasped his soul away.'

From this root was derived an adjective stem *καπαλο-* or *καβηλο-* in the sense of 'panting, gasping,' used also as a substantive (compare *καπαλεύτας* and *κάβηλος*) from which were formed verbs originally meaning to "drive panting animals," whether asses (*καπαλεύω*), or oxen (*καπαλίζω*), or horses.

In Latin the following clues towards the formation of the word are important,

crabrones dicti a *cabo* id est caballo Isid. Or. XII. 8. 4.

caballus cabo equus gloss. Isid.—*cabo caballus* grandis *id.*—*cabo* sonipes caballus equus *id.*

In Latin then there was a form *cabus* or *cabo* (for the latter form compare *trio* 'an ox') meaning a "large hack."

From this word or from a form *cabalus*, like the Greek one, *caballus* (compare the first quoted gloss of Isidore) is diminutive.[1] If the word is pure Latin, the second *a* is probably due to the influence of the first. If, on the other hand, the word was borrowed from some Italian dialect, which is perfectly possible, and at variance with none of the facts as they have been set forth above, the mere circumstance of its being borrowed is sufficient to explain the appearance of the *a*; compare *Catamitus* for Gr. *Γανυμήδης*, and especially *andabata* (from *ἀντιβατής*?), and *alapa* = *κόλαφος*. As already seen, it is from the root KVAP, KAP, *καπ*, weakened in Greek and Latin to *καφ* or *καβ* and *cab*,[2] and meaning inter alia to '*pant*' or '*gasp*.' Besides the

[1] The diminutive has displaced the original word, as frequently happens in popular speech. So in Romance *avis* has given way to *avicella* (oiseau), and *apis* to *apicella*.

[2] For the weakenings of *p* to *β* and *b* see Curt. II. 153, Corss. I. 128, and compare *bâca*.

instances already given, KAP occurs in the Skt. *kapi*, *kapila* 'incense'=Lith. *kvepalai* 'perfume,' *καπύω*, *καπνός*. KVAP in Lithuanian *kvápas*, etc., the Lat. *vapor*, *vappa*, etc. For the loss of this parasitic *v* in Lat. compare *c(v)anis*, Sk. *çvan*; and *c(v)aper*, *κάπρος*, Ch. Sl. *veprĭ*, from this very root. For more instances of loss of *v* see Corss. I. 313.

The hack then, *cabo caballus*, is the '*panting, gasping* horse'; just as the German *schnauber* is from *schnauben* 'to puff.' So the French name for a broken-winded horse is '*corneur*,' and ours is '*roarer*.'

The original meaning of the word is traceable in the proverb caballus *in* clivo Petron. Sat. 134. 2, a phrase for a labouring walk. A hill would try a broken-winded horse severely. Compare Ov. Rem. Am. 394 principio *clivi* noster *anhelat* equus, *i.e.* my Pegasus is proving himself a very *caballus*.

Cernuus [*—cernuare—cernulare—cernualia*].

There is a tendency among philologers to draft too much of a word into mere formative suffixes. It is true that the suffix often does not mean much; for example, it would be hard to distinguish between *παῖς* and *παιδνός* in Homer, or between *er*, *ericius*, and *erinaceus*, all Latin names for a 'hedgehog.' Yet originally every suffix must have added something to the meaning of the word. In fact, a stem or word formed of a root and suffixes is nothing but a compound melted down, the final elements of which have suffered more or less, according to circumstances; and it is therefore unscientific to treat cases in which the separate force of the suffix remains either to a great or considerable extent in the same way as those in which it has wholly vanished. One example of this error will suffice. *Cussiliris*, whose meaning '*ignavus*' Festus *s.v.* satisfactorily explains from *cossim lirare*. Corssen[1] divides thus: cu-s-sili-ri-s, and assumes to explain it the noun-stem *cus-* and the adjectival stems *custo-* and *custili-* (cussili-).

[1] Ausspr. I. 355.

Cernuus too has suffered from this tendency. Curt. (no. 38) divides it *cern-uu-s*, and compares *κράν-ιον*. Some considerations seem to militate against this view. First among these may be mentioned the meaning. We can say *prae-cep-s* 'head-foremost,' or *pro-nu-s* (for pro-ana-s) and *πρη-νή-ς* (for *προ-ηνή-ς*) 'face-forward, from *ana* mouth, Sk. ânа,[1] and in Eng. '*head-long*' or '*head-foremost.*' But can we say '*cern-uu-s*'='*head-y*' in the same sense?[2] Then, again, though this is a somewhat minor point, the form *cern-* for *cere-* head is not established for Latin.

The following glosses are interesting:

cernuare praecipitare, gloss. Isid.[3]
cernulus in capite ruens, gloss. Isid.
cernuli *πεταυρισταί*, gloss. Philox.
cernulus *κυβιστήϛ*, gloss. Philox.
cernulat *κυβιστᾷ*,[4] gloss. Philox.
cernuit *πεπεταύρισται*, gloss. Philox.

Perhaps we may add *cernualia*, the Roman *ἀσκώλια*, Var. ap. Non. 21. 6. sqq.

It seems safer then to take *cernuus* as a true compound for *cere-nu-us*, just as *cervix* is for *cere-vix*, and to make it mean 'with the *head bent*' (nu-o, *νεύ-ω*) whether in falling forward or in going head over heels.

Cirrus [—*κρωβυλοϛ*—*κρόβυλον*].

This word—to be divided *cir-ru-s*—comes from the root KAR (KRA, KVAR), to *bend* or *round*, which we see in Sanskṛit *k'a-kra-s*, wheel, disk, circle; Latin *cur-vu-s*, *cir-cu-s*, *circum*; Greek *κίρ-κο-ϛ*, *κυλ-ίνδ-ω*; Old High German *hring*, ring. For the weakening of *a* to *i* compare circus, etc.; for the suffix *-ro* Roby Latin Grammar vol. I. § 883; and for the derivation of the meaning '*curl*' from that of '*ring*,'

[1] In spite of Curt. no. 419.
[2] Bugge, Curt. Stud IV. 342, who is the latest defender of the *cern-uu-s* theory, thinks we can, and compares *κυβιστάω* from *κύβη*, the head. For the form he compares *ann-uu-s*.
[3] So Varr. ap. Non. 21. 8, etc.
[4] Active in *Seneca*, e.g. Ep. 8. 4.

the English *ring*let, the German *ringel*, the French *boucle*, which means (1) a metal *ring* (2) a curl, and the Greek κρώβυλος.

κρώβυλος (stem κρωβ-υλο-) is from a shorter stem κρω-*Fo*[1] with the *diminutive suffix* -υλο (compare ring-*let*, ring-*el*). The *F* is replaced by β,[2] as in κρό-βο-ν· δρέπανον Hesychius from the same root and other words in Greek. κρω-*Fo* shows the same suffix *va* as κρό-βο-ν and Latin *cur*-vu-*s* and Slavonic *kri*-vŭ;[3] but in contrast with those words the vowel of the root is long.

[1] [Brugmann (Stud. VII. 279), while agreeing about the meaning, takes *cirrus* for *cu-nu-s* which is much less probable.]

[2] See Curt II. 211 sqq.

[3] Compare for these two words and the derivatives of KAR in general Curt. no. 81.

Note.—The articles composing this paper were written in 1877–8 and a few of the suggestions have been since made by others. I have noted these where they occur.—*J. P. P.*

APPENDIX I.

THE GAURIAN

COMPARED WITH

THE ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

PART II.

THE MORPHOLOGY.

BY MR. E. L. BRANDRETH.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

H. = Hindī.
P. = Panjābī.
S. = Sindhī.
G. = Gujarātī.
M. = Marāṭhi.
O. = Orīya.
B. = Bangālī.

It. = Italian.
Sp. = Spanish.
Port. = Portuguese.
Prov. = Provençal.
Fr. = French.

APPENDIX I.

THE

GAURIAN COMPARED WITH THE ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

PART II.

THE MORPHOLOGY.[1]

By Mr. E. L. Brandreth.

On this subject the latest authorities are the third volume of Mr. Beames's Grammar, which gives a very complete account of the Gaurian verb, and Dr. Hoernle's Grammar of the Eastern Hindi, of which, by his kindness, the proof-sheets of a great part have been sent me. This work is also a comparative grammar of the Gaurian languages in general. It is, it seems to me, a most valuable work, and throws a great deal of new light on the origin of many of the grammatical forms. Dr. Hoernle now calls the languages treated of 'Gaudian' instead of 'Gaurian,' as we have 'Dravidian' instead of 'Dravirian.'

With regard to the gender of nouns, the Skr. and Lat. had three genders, the masc. fem. and neut. In S. P. and G. among the Gaurian languages there are only two genders, the masc. and fem. G. and M. retain all three genders of the Skr., while the two Eastern languages B. and O. have lost all distinction of gender. In Romance also there only are two genders, masc. and fem., except in Sp., where an adjective expressing an abstract idea and used substantivally has the neut. gender.

As a rule, the subst. in all the gender languages retain

[1] I treated the Phonology of the two groups in a Paper (like the present one) read before the Philological and Royal Asiatic Societies, and printed in the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, vol. xi. p. 287. The present Paper is also printed in the J.R.A.S. vol. xii. p. 335.

the gender which they had in Skr. or Lat.; and the neut. becomes masc. in S. P. and H., and in Romance. To some extent the gender may be gathered from the termination of subst. Thus, generally, *u* in S., and *o* in S. and G., together with the corresponding *ā* of the other Gaurians, denote masc. subst.; *a* in S., and also *ī* in S. and in Gaurian, generally are fem. in words which do not imply sex. *Ĕ* is generally the sign of the neuter in M., *ũ* in G. So also in Romance subst. which terminate in *o* are usually masc. and those which terminate in *a* (French mute *e*) fem.

There are, however, several exceptions to the rule that the subst. in both modern groups retain the ancient gender. The most remarkable of the exceptions in Gaurian is that of several subst. in *ī*. *Ī* has become typical of the fem. gender in Gaurian, and marks the fem. of adj., as it also did of several adj. in Skr., though *ā* was the usual fem. ending in Skr. *Ī*, derived from the Skr. fem. suffix *ikā*, the use of which was greatly extended in Prakrit, where it became *iā* or Māgadhi *ie*, is the termination of many subst. in Gaurian. A preponderating number of fem. subst. in *ī* being thus created, several subst. ending in *ī* in Gaurian, of a different origin, which were masc. or neut. in Skr., have become, by the attraction of the larger mass, fem. in Gaurian; as Skr. *vikrayas* m. 'sale,' S. *vikirī* f. H. *bikrī* f.; Skr. *śauryam* n. 'theft,' S. and H. *ćorī* f. A part similar to that played by *ī* in making fem. subst. in Gaurian has been played by *o* in regard to masc. subst. in Romance. Fem. of the 2nd Lat. declension, and of the 4th which is merged in the 2nd, have become masc. in Romance; as Lat. *porticus*, It. *portico*, Fr. *porche*, etc.; the only exception being *manus*, It. *mano*, Fr. *main*, which has preserved its original gender. Many subst., again, have been adopted into both groups from other languages, and had to be fitted with genders as best they could. A great number of words from the Persian, which is genderless, have been adopted into Gaurian. The gender of such words has been settled to some extent by their terminations. In Romance most words received from the German have retained their gender, neut. becoming masc.

In Skr. there are often two forms of the same word, the second having a diminutive or pleonastic suffix, from which last the modern word is derived; as has been proved by Hoernle; thus Skr. *śyālas* and *śyālakas* 'wife's brother,' S. *sālo*, H. *sālā*; Skr. *kīṭas* and *kīṭakas* 'a worm,' S. *kīṛo*, H. *kīṛā*; Skr. *kshurī* and *kshurikā* 'a knife,' S. and H. *ćhurī*. This *ka* suffix is extended also to subst. which did not have it in Skr.; as, Skr. *bheḍi* 'a ewe,' H. *bheṛī*; Skr. *skandhas* 'the shoulder,' S *kandho*, H. *kāḍhā*; and still more frequently to adj, as Skr. *gauras, i*, 'pale,' S. *goro, ī*, H. *gorā, ī*; Skr. *kāṇas, ā*, 'one-eyed,' S. *kaṇo, ī*, H. *kānā, ī*. If these words had been derived from Skr. primary forms, they would have ended either in a consonant or in a short vowel. B. and O, as the rule, do not add the suffix to the adj. The diminutive suffixes are great favourites in the same way in the other group; as Lat. *frater* and *fraterculus*, It. *fratello*; Lat. *apis* and *apicula*, Fr. *abeille*; Lat. *anulus* and *anellus* or *annellus*, It. *anello*, Fr. *anneau*; and new formations, as It. *aiolo, seggiola*, Fr. *soleil, sommeil*, and adj, as It. *parecchio*, Fr. *pareil*.

In the Indian group it is to the nom. of the Skr. that the form of the modern subst. is, in most instances, to be referred. Subst. however, belonging to the class of Skr. consonant subst. are sometimes derived from the same stem as that of the acc., and not from the nom., where there is a difference. Thus, subst. of this class admit to some extent of a special comparison with the acc. formations of the Romance. There are, also, subst. in both groups, and especially in Fr. among the Romance languages, in which the whole final syllable has been lost, an entirely new form being thus given to the subst. Of the five Lat. declensions, the traces of three, namely, the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd, are more or less preserved in the derived languages, and it is, as the rule, from the Lat. acc. that the modern subst. is said to be derived; but in It the nom. has had more influence than in the other languages In both groups the final *s* or *m* of the nom. or acc. sing. form disappears; except that in Old Fr. and Prov., where there is both a nom. and an oblique form, the *s* is retained in the

nom. form. The stem vowels are always retained in S., dropped, generally, in the other Gaurian languages, though *i* and *u* are occasionally retained. *U* = Skr. *a*, however, is preserved in old H. and in some of the dialects. In Romance the stem vowel is, generally, dropped in Fr. and Prov., retained in the other languages. The *a*, however, of the 1st Lat. decl. is preserved in Prov., while in Fr. it becomes mute *e*. The dual of the Skr. has disappeared in Gaurian, as it had previously done in Prakrit.

The plural of subst. in both groups is still formed to a considerable extent by flexion. Thus, in S. masc. subst. in *u* have *a* in the pl. form; fem. in *a*, *ā* or *ă*; masc. in *o*, *ā*; fem. in *i*, *u* and *ī*, *iẵ*, *ũ* and *īyẵ*. In H. masc. in *ā* have *e*; fem. ending in a cons. *ẽ*; fem. in *ī* and *ū*, *iyā* and *uẵ*. In P. masc. in *ā* have *e*; fem. ending in a cons. *iẵ*; fem. in *ī* and *ū*, *īẵ* and *ūẵ*. In G. masc. in *o* have *āo*; neut. in *ū*, *ẵo*; all other subst. add *o* to the sing. In M. subst. ending in a cons., if fem., have *ā* or *ī*, according as they are derived from Skr. stems in *ā* or *i*, if neut., *ẽ*; masc. in *ā*, *e*; neut. in *ẽ*, *ĩ*; fem. in *ī*, *yā*; neut. in *ĩ*, *yẽ*; fem. in *ū*, *vā*; neut. in *ũ*, *vẽ*. In B. the pl. form is in *arā* or *erā*, restricted to rational beings. The *rā* is a modern affix, and not derived from any pl. form of the Skr. In O. the pl. is formed with *māne* for animate, and *mān* for inanimate objects. This is a compound form, and the pl. sign is thought by Hoernle to be probably from Skr. *mānava* 'man.' There are also compound forms in the other languages in addition to the flexion forms. Thus *log* 'people,' is often added colloquially in H. to form the pl. of rational beings. The flexion forms are generally considered to be derived from Pr. and Skr. pl.; as, S. masc. *u*, pl. *a* from Pr. *o*, pl. *ā* and Skr. *as*, pl. *ās*; S. fem. *i*, pl. *iũ*, from Pr. *i*, pl. *io*, and Skr. *is*, pl. *ayas*. Hoernle, on the other hand, finding that, with the exception of the M. fem. and neut. nouns, the nom. pl. forms of each language are identical with the oblique forms either in the same or some other Gaurian language, says there can be no doubt that these so-called nom. pl. forms are elliptic phrases which must be filled up by supplying some collective noun, as *log*

'people,' *gan* 'troup,' etc. No doubt all the Gaurian pl. cannot clearly be traced to Skr. or Prakrit pl. forms, but I question whether Hoernle's theory will be accepted as a satisfactory solution of the difficulty.

In It., in the first two declensions, the pl. is derived from the Lat. nom. pl. Subst. of the 1st decl. in *a*, which are usually fem., have *e* in the pl.; but if the subst. is masc., it has *i*. Subst. of the 2nd. decl. in *o* have *i*, if the subst. was masc. in Lat., but often *a* if it was neut. Here, also, as in the case of the fem. and neut. subst. in M. mentioned above, the different flexions, by which these subst. were distinguished in the ancient languages, which are no longer shown in the sing., have been preserved in the pl. In Fr. Sp. and Port. the pl. ends in *s* derived from the Lat. acc. pl. The accompanying table [1] gives a few examples of the foregoing remarks relating to both groups, showing the subst. both in their sing. and pl. forms, though, as above stated, there is a difference of opinion as to whether or not the pl. flexions in Gaurian are to be referred to the Skr. pl. These examples may be thus classed:— 1. Subst. derived from Skr. and Lat. subst. with vowel stems. 2. Subst. derived from Skr. and Lat. subst. with consonant stems. 3. Subst. which have suffered apocope of their original stem suffixes or final syllables.

Besides the nom. forms, the Gaurians have also an oblique form. In S. masc. in *u* have *a* in the obl. sing.; masc. in *o*, *e*; all subst. in *ī* and *ū*, *ia* and *ua*; in the pl. the forms are more numerous, viz. *ā̃*, *ĕ̃*, *ani*, *uni*, *iani*, *uani*, which are to some extent indiscriminately used with any subst. In H. masc. in *ā* have *e* in the obl. sing., *õ* in the obl. pl.; all other subst. have *õ* in the obl. pl. added to the nom. sing. In P. masc. in *ā* have *e* in the obl. sing., *iā̃* in the obl. pl.; all other subst. have *ā̃* in the obl. pl. added to the nom. sing. In G. masc. in *o* and neut. in *ū* have *ā* in the obl. sing., and there is no obl. form at all in the pl. distinct from the nom. form. In M. masc. and neut. ending in a cons. have *ā* obl. sing., *ā̃* pl., fem., *e* or *ī* sing., *ā̃* or *ī̃* pl.; masc. in *ā*, neut. *ĕ̃*, *yā* sing., *ā̃* or *yā̃* pl.; masc. in *ī*, neut. *ī̃*, *yā* sing., *ī̃* or *yā̃* pl.; fem. in *ī*, *ye* sing., *yā̃* pl.; masc. in *ū*, neut. *ū̃*, *vā* sing.,

[1] See next page.

Stems.	Nom sing.	Nom pl	Nom sing.	Nom pl
a = *o*	Skr. *nar-as* 'man'	*nar-ās*	Lat. *ann-us*	*ann-ī* (*ann-os*)
	S *nar-u*	*nar-a*	It *ann-o*	*ann-i*
	O H *nar-u*	*nar-a*	W [1] *an-ŭ*	*an-i*
	H *nar*	*nar*	Fr *an*	*an-s*
	Skr *gṛih-am* n 'house'	*gṛih-āṁ*	I at *lign-um*	*lign-a*
	M *ghar*	*ghar-ẽ* [2]	It *legn-o*	*legn-a* [2]
ā = *a*	Skr *jihv-ā* f. 'tongue'	*jihv-ās*	Lat *ros-a*	*ros-ae* (*ros-as*)
	S *jibh-a*	*jibh-ā̃*	It *ros-a*	*ros-e*
	H *jibh*	*jibh-ẽ*	Fr *ros-e*	*ros-es*
	M *jibh*	*jibh-ā* [2]		
i	Skr *bhitt-is* f 'wall'	*bhitt-ayas*	Lat *turr-is*	*turr-is*
	S *bhitt-i*	*bhitt-iũ*	It *torr-e*	*torr-i*
	H. *bhīt* [3]	*bhīt-ẽ*	Fr *tour*	*tour-s*
	M *bhint*	*bhint-i* [2]		
Consonant	Skr *vāk* 'voice' (acc *vāc'-am*)	*vāc-as*	Lat *voc-s* (*voc-em*)	*voc-es*
	B. *bāc*	*bāc'*	It *voc-e*	*voc-i*
	Skr *pūs* 'town' (acc *pur-am*)	*pur-as*	Lat *flos* (*flor-em*)	*flor-es*
	H *pur*	*pur*	Fr *fleur*	*fleur-s*
	Skr *rudan* (p) 'weeping' (acc *rudant-am*)	*rudant-as*	I at *rident-s* (acc *ridĕnt-em*)	*ridĕnt-es*
	S *ruand-o*	*ruand-ā*	It *ridĕnt-e*	*ridĕnt-i*
	O H *roant*	*roant*	Fr *riant*	*riant-s*
	H *rot-ā*	*rot-e*		
	Skr *bhartā* 'husband' (acc *bhartār-am*)	*bhartār-as*	Lat *cantor* (acc *cantor-em*)	*cantor-es*
	S *bhattār-u*	*bhattār-a*	It *cantor-e*	*cantor-i*
	H *bhatār*	*bhatār*	Fr *chanteur*	*chanteur-s*
	Skr *pitā* 'father' (acc *pitar-am*)	*pitar-as*	Lat *pater* (acc *patr-em*)	*patr-es*
	S *piu*	*piur-a* [4]	Fr *père*	*père-s*
Truncated	Skr *rāja* 'king'	*rājan-as*	Lat *rex*	*reg-es*
	S *rāu*	*rā-a*	It *re*	*re*
	H *rāe*	*rae*	Fr *roi*	*roi-s*
	Skr. *ghrit-am* 'butter'		Lat *sevt-um*	
	H *ghī*		Fr *suif*	
	Skr *jagat* 'world'	*jagant-i*	Lat *serpens*	*serpentes*
	S *jagu*	*jaga*	It *serpe*	*serpi*
	H *jag*	*jag*	Prov *serp*	*serp*
	Skr *kantakam* 'thorn'	*kantakān*	I at *classicum*	*classica*
	S *kando*	*kandā*	It *chiavso*	*chiavsi*
	H *kāṭā*	*kāṭe*	Fr *glas*	
	Skr *makshikā* 'fly'	*makshikās*	Lat *formica*	*formicae*
	H. *makkhī*	*makkhiyā̃*	Fr *fourmi*	*fourmis*

[1] Walachian

[2] Compare these forms, It *anni* and *legna*, M *jibhā̃*, *bhint-i*, and *gharẽ*, in which the original distinction of termination is preserved in the pl, but not in the sing

[3] The *t* is occasionally retained, as, H *munī* 'a sage' from Skr *munis*, *u* is treated like *i* generally dropped, as, H *sās* 'a mother-in-law' from Skr *s'vasrus*, but occasionally retained, as, H *tarū* 'a tree' from Skr *tarus* In Romance the *u* subst pass into the 2nd decl, as, Lat *fructus* It *frutto*, pl *frutti*.

[4] The stem, as preserved in the pl, alone admits of comparison, thus also S. *bhaur-a*, Fr. *frere-s*.

ũ or *vã* pl.; fem. in *ũ*, *ve* sing., *vã* pl.; all subst. in *i* and *u*, *ĩ* and *ũ* sing., *ĩ* and *ũ* pl. In all other cases in the languages above referred to the obl. form is the same as the nom. It is generally considered that B. and O. have no obl. forms, all the additions which indicate the relations of subst. being classed as postpositions. Hoernle, however, is of opinion that the *e* in *e-r* gen. sing. and in *e-te* loc. sing. of *subst.* in B. is of similar origin to the obl. forms of the other languages above referred to. It is clear, also, that the compound pl. in O. has an obl. form in *an;* as, for instance, *ghar-mān* nom. pl. 'houses'; *ghar-mānan* obl. pl.

The different forms of the obl. in Gaurian are considered by Hoernle to be all derived ultimately from the Skr. genitive suffix *sya* m. *yās* f., pl. *nām* m.f., or from the strong form *kasya* m. *kāyās* f., pl. *kānām* m.f., with elision of *k* in the moderns. To see this we must study all the intermediate forms preserved in the different kinds of Prakrit. It will not be necessary, however, to go into these details for my purpose, as beyond the fact of there being a nom. and obl. form in most of the Gaurian languages and in two of the Romance, and the use to which they are put, there is not much else to compare, in regard to these forms, between the two groups, the obl. in one group being derived from the gen., in the other from the acc. of the parent language. One or two examples of comparison with the Skr. will be sufficient for the Gaurian group; as, Skr. *naras* 'a man,' gen. sing. *narasya*, gen. pl. *narānām;* S. *naru*, obl. sing. *nara*, obl. pl. *narã;* H. *nar*, obl. pl. *narõ;* M. *nar*, obl. sing. *narā*, obl. pl. *narã*. Skr. *jihvā* 'the tongue,' gen. sing. *jihvāyās*, gen. pl. *jihvānām;* S. *jibha*, obl. pl. *jibhã;* H. *jībh*, obl. pl. *jībhõ;* M. *jībh*, obl. sing. *jībhe*, obl. pl. *jībhã*. Skr. *tamrakas* 'copper,' gen. sing. *tamrakasya*, gen. pl. *tamrakānām;* S. *ṭāmo*, obl. sing. *ṭāme*, obl. pl. *ṭāmã;* H. *tãbā*, obl. sing. *tãbe*, obl. pl. *tãbõ*. There is, however, in some of the Gaurians, a second form of the obl. which usually takes no postposition, and is restricted generally to the expression of one relation of the subst., which is derived by Hoernle from a different form in Prakrit of the

Skr. gen. Thus in M. there is the general obl. sing. in *ā* = Mg. Pr. *āha*, as *narā* given above, and there is a special obl. in *ās* = Pr. *assa*, which has become the dative, as *narās* 'to a man.' There are also relics of the old inflected inst· and abl. case in M. and S., and some relics of the old loc. in most of the Gaurians.

In the Romance languages it is only the Old Fr. and Prov. that have an obl. form distinct from the nom. form. The obl. form is derived from the Lat. acc., and this is the form which the subst. has taken in modern Fr. The two cases are preserved in subst. belonging to the 2nd and 3rd declensions; as Lat. *annus*, acc. *annum*, pl. *anni*, acc. *annos;* Old Fr. and Prov. *ans*, acc. *an*, pl. *an*, acc. *ans;* Lat. *pastor*, acc. *pastorem*, pl. *pastores;* Old Fr. *pastre*, acc. *pasteur*, pl. *pasteurs;* Prov. *pastre*, acc. *pastor*, pl. *pastors*. In Old Fr. and Prov., as in Old H., the case particles were not so rigorously employed as in later times; but were often omitted where the relation of the subst. could be gathered from the context.

In both groups, in their present state, the old relations of case are, generally, expressed by particles, which are directly connected with the subst. governed by them, and in Gaurian with the obl. form of the subst., and which usually follow the subst. in one group, precede it in the other. Several other relations of the subst. are expressed in the same way. These particles are prepositions or postpositions *proper*. Other relations of the subst., again, are expressed by particles which are connected with the subst. by means of a case particle, usually the gen. particle. These are prepositions or postpositions *improper*, being of the nature of adverbs, and many of them can be used as such, that is, attached to the verb without affecting the case relation of any subst. The following are instances from H. and Fr., as *deo* 'dieu,' *deo ko* 'a dieu,' *deo par* 'sur dieu,' *deo ke pas* 'pres de dieu.' The reason of the particles preceding the subst. in one group and following it in the other is that in Lat. there were prepositions, which by a slight change and extension of their meaning, though they have also preserved their ancient

prepositional force, were ready to take the place of the case flexions. In the late Lat. of the inscriptions, where the cases were in a state of confusion, they are found exercising this function. The prepositions principally used for this purpose in the modern languages are *de* and *ad*, and in It. a compound preposition *da* composed of *de* and *ad*. *In*, *cum*, *per* and *pro* are also occasionally employed to express some of the old relations of case. On the other hand, in Skr. the prepositions do not appear to have been so well fitted by previous use and meaning to the required purpose. It was necessary therefore to have recourse elsewhere for case particles to take the place of the lost cases, and accordingly subst. in the Skr. locative case were often made use of to this end. The usual position of subst. in an Aryan language is after the subst. dependent on them; hence they became postpositions. Prepositions in Skr., however, frequently follow the subst. which is governed by them.

Of the case particles employed in Gaurian, the dat. particles, S. *khe*, H. *kho*, are probably derived from the Skr. loc. *kakshe* 'at the side.' The loc. particle S. and H. *mẽ* is unquestionably derived from the Skr. loc. *madhye* 'in the midst.' About the origin of the abl. and instr. particles in S. *khã*, H. *se*, there appears to be much doubt. The particle which marks the gen. relation is distinguished from the others in that, in the gender languages, it is inflected like an adj., in fact by it the subst. in the gen. relation is made into an adj. which agrees in number, gender, and case with the subst. on which it depends; as S. *piu jo puṭṭu*, H. *bāp kā beṭā* 'father's son'; S. *piu jī dhia*, H. *bāp kī beṭī* 'father's daughter.' The H. *kā*, *kī*, *ke*, is in all probability derived from the Skr. past part. *krita* 'made,' Pr. *kera*, while the S. *jo*, *jī*, *je*, and the P. *da*, *dī*, *de*, are considered by Hoernle to be identical with the H. past part. *diyā* 'given.' The case particles differ to a considerable extent in the different languages, and are not all of a common origin, but each language sometimes provided for them, independently of the others, out of its own resources.

Besides the case particles, to the class of prepositions or

postpositions *proper* belong in the Romance group most of the old prepositions and compounds of prepositions, and also some particles formed from subst. and adj. In the Gaurian group this class is not so numerous as in the Romance, and consists principally of particles formed from subst. and adj., sometimes of the old prepositions. A few instances of this class in both groups are as follows: S. *lai* 'for' (Skr. *labdha* 'obtained'), Fr. *pour;* S. *sārū* 'according to' (Skr. *sadṛśa* 'like'), Fr. *selon;* S. *pari*, H. *par* 'upon' (Skr. *upari*), It. *sopra*, Fr. *sur;* S. *re* 'without' (Skr. *ṛite*), It. *senza;* S. *sā̃* Skr. *sam*), H. *samet* 'with,' Fr. *avec*, It. *con;* S. *ḍā̃* 'towards,' Fr. *vers;* H. *pār*, Skr. *pāre* loc. 'at the further side'), Fr. *outre;* S. *bhari* 'against' (Skr. *bhara* 'supporting'), Fr. *contre*.

The other class, that of the prepositions or postpositions *improper*, is very numerous in Gaurian. The particles of this class are mostly derived from subst., in both groups. Some, however, that were prepositions in the ancient languages also require a case particle to connect them with the subst. The following are a few instances of this class of particles in Gaurian with their equivalents in Romance: S. *khā̃ agᵉ*, H. *ke āge* (Skr. loc. *agre* 'in front'), It. *davanti a*, Fr. *au devant de;* S. *je pāse*, It. *ke pās* (Skr. *pārśve* loc. 'at the side'), It. *presso di*, Fr. *près de;* S. *je ricʰe*, H. *ke bīć* (Skr. *vrit* 'be,' 'dwell'), It. *in mezzo di*, Fr. *au milieu de;* Skr. *khā̃ poe*, H. *ke pāćʰe* (Skr. adj. loc. *paśce*), It. *dietro a;* S. *je hᵉṭʰe*, H. *ke nīće* (Skr. adj. loc. *nīće*), It. *sotto a*, Fr. *au dessous de;* S. *je bāhari*, H. *ke bāhir* (Skr. *vahis*), It. *fuore di*, Fr. *hors de*.

Several prepositions and postpositions do not absolutely belong to either of the above classes, but may be used in both classes, sometimes in the same, sometimes in different languages. The postpositions so called in Gaurian do not, however, always follow the subst. S. *re* 'without,' H. *bin* 'without,' for instance, may either precede or follow the subst., and in poetry many of the postpositions are used either before or after the subst. governed by them.

Next, I proceed to give some account of adjectives in the

two groups. Adj., when inflected, are generally declined like subst. In Gaurian the termination *o* or *ā* is masc.; and *o* and *ā* are changed to *ī* in the fem. In S. adj. in *u* have also gender, and change it to *a* or *i* in the fem. In M. and G. the adj. has, of course, besides masc. and fem., the neut. termination. In S. and P. the adj. agrees with the subst. in number, gender, and case, and in the other languages also, but with some exceptions. Thus, in H. and G. the adj. does not take the obl. form of the subst. in the pl., but that of the obl. sing., and also in H. the nom. fem. *ī* is unchanged in the nom. pl. Further in M. the usual obl. ending is *yā* sing., *yā̃* pl. for all genders. In B. and O the adj. is unchanged. In Romance, gender is distinguished as in Lat. in adj. derived from Lat. adj. in *us, a;* as It. *buono, buona;* Fr. *bon, bonne.* With these terminations *er* and *era* are confounded; as, It. *nero, nera.* Many adj., however, which did not distinguish between the masc. and fem. in Lat., make the distinction in Fr.; as, *fort, forte,* etc. In the Asturian Sp. dialect, I am informed by Prince L Bonaparte, the adj. has a neut. form, when used substantively, and also when used as a predicate of a neut. pronoun; as, *bonu* m., *bona* f., but *bono* n.; as, *lo bono* 'the good,' and *lo que ye bono* 'that which is good.' In Sp. also the neut. form of the article is used with the adj. raised to the quality of a subst.; as, *lo bueno.* In Old Fr. and Prov., again, according to Diez, the adj. has a neut. form, when it is the predicate of a pronoun used in a neut. sense, or of an entire sentence. Old Fr. *bons* m., *bone* f., *bon* n. The following is a specimen of an adj. in each group:—

	Singular.			Plural.		
Skr.	*śushkas*	*śushkā*	*śushkam*	*śushkās*	*śushkās*	*śushkāni*
Lat.	*siccus*	*sicca*	*siccum*	*sicci*	*siccae*	*sicca*
M.	*sukā*	*sukī*	*sukē*	*suke*	*sukyā*	*sukī*
S.	*sukko*	*sukkī*		*sukkī*	*sukkũ*	
H.	*sūkhā*	*sukhī*		*sukhe*	*sūkhī*	
It.	*secco*	*secca*		*secchi*	*secche*	
Fr.	*sec*	*seche*		*secs*	*seches*	

With reference to the remarks made above about the obl. form of the adj. in Gaurian, we have, for instance, obl. sing. S. and P. *vaṛe ghoṛe,* H. *baṛe ghoṛe* 'magni equi;' obl. pl. S.

varẽ ghorẽ, P. *varĩă ghoṛĩă* 'magnorum equorum,' but H. *baṛe ghoṛõ*. Both the Skr. and Lat. adj. are compared by flexion: for the comparative degree Skr. *iyaṃs* and *taras*, Lat. *ior;* for the superlative, Skr. *tamas* and *ishṭhas*, Lat. *imus* and *issimus*. The modern languages have, in principle, in both groups renounced such flexion. In Gaurian the comparative degree is expressed by simply adding the ablative particle to the subst. with which the comparison is made, the superlative by the employment of the pronoun signifying 'all' followed by the ablative particle. The Romance for the comparative makes use of what was already occasionally employed in Lat., a periphrastic formation by means of adverbs. The signification of superlative is given by placing before the comparative the definite article.

As regards the numerals, in S. and M. alone in Gaurian is there any distinction of gender, and that only in the first numeral in S., viz. *hikku* m., *hikka* f., and in M. in the special forms for two, three, and four; as *doghe* m., *doghī* f., *doghẽ* n. 'two.' In the Romance languages *unus* alone is subject to flexion in all the languages; as, It. *uno, una*; Fr. *un, une*; *duo* in Port. only; *tres* only in Old Fr. and Prov., *ducente, trecenti*, etc., exclusively in Sp. and Port. *Mille* has a pl., viz. *mila*, in It. only. The following is a comparison of the first decade in each group:

	Skr.	S.	H.	Lat.	It	Fr.
1	*ekas, ā*	*hikku, a*	*ek*	*unus, a*	*uno, a*	*un, e*
2	*dvau*	*ba*[1]	*do*	*duo*	*due*	*deux*
3	*trayas* sing. (*trīṇi* pl.)	*tre*	*tīn*	*tres*	*tre*	*trois*
4	*catvāri* pl. (stem *catur*)	*c'āri*	*c'ār*	*quatluor*	*quattro*	*quatre*
5	*panca*	*panja*	*pāć'*	*quinque*	*cinque*	*cinq*
6	*shat* (stem *shash*)	*c'ha*	*c'ha*	*sex*	*sei*	*six*
7	*sapta* (stem *saptan*)	*satta*	*sāt*	*septem*	*sette*	*sept*
8	*ashṭa*	*attha*	*āṭh*	*octo*	*otto*	*huit*
9	*nava* (stem *navan*)	*nāiā*	*nau*	*novem*	*nove*	*neuf*
10	*daśa* (stem *daśan*)	*ḍaha*	*das*	*decem*	*dieci*	*dix*
20	*vimśati*	*vīha*	*bīs*	*viginti*	*venti*	*vingt*

[1] Compare Lat. *bis* for *dvis*.

In Gaurian each numeral is subject to phonetic change, as if it was an independent word. There is no help given to the memory by using the numerals, up to nine, of the first decade unchanged in the other decades, as is the case generally in the European languages; so that it is a considerable tax on the memory to learn the numerals in the Gaurian languages. Thus in H., for instance, for 'vingt un,' instead of *bīs ek*, we have *ekīs*, from Skr. *ekaviṁśati*; for 'vingt deux,' instead of *bīs do*, we have *bāīs*, from Skr. *dvāviṁśati*; for 'vingt sept,' *satāis*, where the long *ā* is supposed to be owing to the Skr. oxytone *saptá* as compared with *éka*; for the same reason *aṭhāīs* 28, but *paṁīs* 25. For 19 the Skr. has *ekonaviṁśati* 'twenty less one,' Lat. *undeviginti*, which is preserved in M. *ekūnavīsā*, Old H. *agunīs*; but the more common abbreviated form Skr. *ūnaviṁśati* appears in H. *unīs*, S. *uṇīha*.

The ordinal numbers are declined exactly like adj. in both groups. The following are examples. The first ordinal has undergone great change in Gaurian.

	Masc.	Fem.		Masc.	Fem.
Skr.	*prathamas*	*prathamā*	Lat.	*primus*	*prima*
S	*pahariyō*	*pahariī*	It.	*primo*	*prima*
H.	*pahilā*	*pahilī*	Old Fr.	*prime*	
Skr.	*tṛtīyas*	*tṛtīyā*	Lat	*tertius*	*tertia*
S	*triyo*	*triyī*	It	*terzo*	*terza*
Old H	*tiyo*	*tiyī*	Old Fr.	*tiers*	*tierce*
H	*tisrā*	*tīsrī*	Fr.	*troisième*	
Skr	*caturthas*	*caturthī*	Lat.	*quartus*	*quarta*
S	*cothō*	*cothī*	It.	*quarto*	*quarta*
H	*cauthā*	*cauthī*	Old Fr.	*quart*	*quarte*
Skr.	*saptamas*	*saptamī*	Lat.	*septimus*	*septima*
P	*satmā*	*satmī*	It.	*settimo*	*settima*
Old H	*sātmo*	*sātmī*	Old Fr.	*setme*	
H	*sātvā*	*sātvī*	Fr.	*septième*	

The modern H. *tī-srā* 'third,' and also *dū-srā* 'second,' are formed by the addition of the suffix *srā*, as the modern Fr. *deux-ième, trois-ième*, by the addition of *ième* = *esimus*.

The article, which plays such an important part in the Romance languages, was unknown both to Skr. and Lat. The first numeral is used as the indefinite article in both the modern groups, though not to the same extent in Gaurian as

in Romance. Gaurian, however, has no definite article, though the demonstrative pronoun is occasionally used, as *ille* was in late Lat.

The pronouns in both groups have a nom. and an obl. form, the latter being apparently from the Skr. and Lat. gen. though in Romance also, in some instances, from the Lat. acc. and dat. The first and second personal pronoun in each group may be thus compared:

1st Personal Pronoun.

	Sing.		Pl.		Sing.		Pl.
Skr.	nom.	*aham*	*asma*[1] (stem) (Pr. *amha*)	Lat.	nom.	*ego*	*nos*
S.	,,	*āũ, ã*	*asẽ*	It.	,,	*io*	*noi*
H.	,,	*hõ*	*ham*	Fr.	,,	*je*	*nous*
Skr.	gen.	*mama, me*	*asmākam* (Pr. *amhāṇam*)	Lat.	acc. dat.	*me, mi*	
S.	obl.	*mẽũ, mẽã*	*asẽã*	It.	obl.	*me*	
H.	,,	*mo*	*ham, hamõ*	Fr.	,,	*moi*	

2nd Personal Pronoun.

	Sing.		Pl.		Sing.		Pl.
Skr.	nom.	*tvam*	*yushma* (stem) (Pr. *tumha*)	Lat.	nom.	*tu*	*vos*
	,,	*tũ*	*tavhẽ*	It.	,,	*tu*	*voi*
H.	,,	*tũ*	*tum*	Fr.	,,	*tu*	*vous*
Skr.	gen.	*tava*	*yushmākam* Pr. (*tumhaṇam*)	Lat.	acc. dat.	*te, tibi*	
S.	obl.	*to*	*tavhẽã*	It.	obl.	*te*	
H.	,,	*to*	*tum, tumõ*	Fr.	,,	*toi*	

The forms given above as H. are Braj forms. In High H. the obl. forms are *mujh*, *tujh*, and are from Pr. *majjha*, *tujjha*, from which a dat. is formed in High H. *mujhe*, *tujhe*, and from the pl. *ham*, *tum*, a dat. *hamẽ*, *tumẽ*. High H. also has *mãi* for nom. sing. 1st pers. pron., though *hõ* occurs in most of the dialects; M. in the same way has *mī* for the nom., O. *mu*, and B. *mui;* all originally obl. forms. The obl. form is also sometimes used in Fr. for the nom., as in *moi qui lis.*

The reflexive pronoun in Gaurian, as S. *pāna*, H. *āp*, etc., is derived by a remarkable phonetic change from the Skr. reflexive pronoun *ātmā* 'self,' acc. *ātmānam*. The reflexive pronoun in Romance, as It. *se*, Fr. *soi*, is from Lat. *se, sibi.*

[1] The Skr. nom. pl. *vayam*, Pr. *vaam*, has not survived in Gaurian.

The Skr. possessive pronouns *madīya* and *tvadīya* are not found in Gaurian. The possessive pronouns in most of the Gaurian languages, as H. *merā*, G. *māro* 'my,' H. *terā*, G. *tāro* 'thy,' are probably formed by incorporating the Pr. *kera* (Skr. past part. *kṛita* 'made'), before referred to, with elision of *k*, with the obl. form of the pronoun. The possessive of the reflexive pronoun, as H. *apnā*, M. *āplā*, is referred to the Skr. possessive *ātmīyas* 'own.' These possessive forms are used as the gen. of the subst. pronouns In S. the gen. relation of the subst. pronouns, as of the subst., is expressed by the postposition *jo*, and the genitive is used as the possessive pronoun. In Old Fr. also, as in most of the Gaurian languages, possessive pronouns are formed by attaching a suffix to an obl. form of the subst. pronoun; as, *mien, tien;* otherwise the old Lat. possessive survives in the modern languages. The possessive pronouns are declined like adj. in both groups; as, H. *me-rā, me-rī*, Old Fr. *mi-en, mi-enne;* H. *te-rā, te-ri*, Old Fr. *ti-en, ti-enne;* H. *apnā, apnī*, It. *suo, sua.*

The demonstrative pronouns are used for the pronoun of the 3rd person in Gaurian. S. M. and some dialects of H. distinguish gender in the demonstrative. The other languages do not make the distinction. Thus we have Skr. *ayam* m. 'this,' S. *hī* m. and f., *hiu* m. *hia* f., H. *yah* (dial. *ī*); Skr. gen. sing. *asya;* obl. sing. P. *ih*, H. *is* (S. *hina* or *ina*); Skr. nom. pl. *ime*, S. *hī*, *he*, H. *ye;* Skr. gen. pl. *ānām* for *eshām*, S. *hini* or *ini*, H. *in*. Hoernle, however, derives the modern near demonstrative from the Skr. *iyat* (or Ved. *īvat*), Pr. *e* 'so much,' and also with regard to all the simple pronouns, except the personal, he thinks that in most cases "the forms which are now used as simple pron. were originally those of pron. adj. of quality or quantity." In Romance *hic* and *is* have not been able to maintain themselves, but *ille* has been preserved, and is now used exclusively as the pron. of the 3rd person. We have thus from Lat. *ille, illa*, It. *egli, ella*, Fr. *il, elle;* Lat. *illius*, It. and Fr. *lui* m.; but It. *lei* f., Fr. *elle* f.; Lat. *illi, illae* and *illos, illas*, It. *egli-no, elle-no*, Fr. *ils, elles;* Lat. *illorum*, It. *loro* (Fr. *leur* conj. form). Sp. has also a neut. form, viz. *él* m., *ella* f., *ello* n.

Besides the above forms there are also in Romance conjunctive forms of the pronouns attached to the verb, which express the acc. and dat. relations. It is only the S. among the Gaurians that has such forms; they are always suffixed. They cannot be used either before or after the verb, as is generally the case in It. Sp. and Port. Both in S. and in Romance these conjunctive forms are for the most part abridgments of the absolute forms. Compared with It. the forms are in the sing. S. *me*, It. *mi*; S. *i* (with elision of *t*), It. *ti*; S. *si*, It. dat. *gli*, *li*, acc. *lo*, *il*; in pl. S. *ũ*, It. *ci*; S. *vâ*, It. *vi*; S. *ni*, It. dat. *loro*, acc. *gli*, *li*. In S. there is only one form, whether to express the dat. or acc. relation, whereas in Romance, as shown above, there is for the 3rd pers. pron. one form for the dat., another for the acc. relation. Also in S., except with the past part., only one conj. pron. can be suffixed to the verb. The following are a few instances of the way in which the pronominal suffixes are used in S. as compared with It.; as S. *ḍin-mi* 'give me,' It. *da-mmi*; S. *ḍīn-ī*, It. *diano-ti*; S. *ḍīni-va*, It. *diano-vi*. In S. the pronominal suffixes are also used with nouns and particles, but not nearly to the same extent as with verbs. The fusion of the particle and pronoun might be compared with that of the preposition and article in Romance, but the conjunctive pronouns cannot be used with prepositions in Romance.

The relative pron. in Gaurian has both a sing. and pl. form in all the languages; gender is distinguished in S. and M. only. The simple interrogative pron. Skr. *kaṡ*, *kā*, *kad* (the original neuter form), has in Gaurian a pl. form either in the nom. or obl.; gender is distinguished in G. only. In the Romance descendants of *qui*, *quae*, *quod*, no distinction of either gender or number has been preserved. Thus we have rel. pron. sing. Skr. *yaṡ* m. *yā* f., S. *jo* m. *jā* f., H. *jo*; pl. Skr. *ye*, S. *je*, H. *je*. Inter. pron. Skr. *kaṡ*, Old H. *ko*, B. *ke*. High H. *kaun* comes from a derivative form of the original interrogative. Lat. *qui*, It. *che*, Fr. *que*; Lat. *quis*, It. *chi*, Fr. *qui*; both forms without flexion for gender or number in Romance. The Gaurians have also an obl. form for the rel.

and inter. pronouns generally derived from the Skr. gen.; as H. *jis* from *yasya*, *kis* from *kasya*; pl. *jin* from *yānām* for *yeshām*, *kin* from *kānām* for *kēshām*. These pronouns, however, Hoernle would derive from Skr. *yāvat*, Ap. Pr. *jeva*, and Skr. *kiyat* (Ved. *kīvat*), Ap. Pr. *keva*. It. Prov. and Old Fr. have the Lat. dat. *cui* for their obl. sing. and pl. The Gaurians have also an interrogative used in a neuter sense; as S. *chā*, H. *kyā*, from Skr. *kim* (Vedic *kad*), which corresponds to the Fr. *quoi* from *quid*.

Skr. *kīdṛiśas* m., *kīdṛiśī* f. 'of what kind?' supplies the common interrogative in S. and P., as S. *keho*, *kehī* 'which?.' Lat. *qualis*, which is connected with *kīdṛiśas* by change of *d* to *l*, is interrogative in Romance; as, It. *quale*, Fr. *quel*, *quelle*. With the article it is relative; as, It. *il quale*, Fr. *lequel*. Again, *kīdriśas* 'qualis' becomes S. *kiharo* 'of what kind?', H. *kaisā*; and Skr. *tādṛiśas* 'such like' becomes S. *teho*, H. *taisā*; and Lat. *talis*, It. *tale*, Fr. *tel*. Skr. *kiyān* m. *kiyatī* f., with stem *kiyant* (Ved. *kivant*) 'how much,' becomes S. *ketaro* m. *ketarī* f. (*ro*, *rī* pleonastic), H. *kittā* m. *kittī* f.; and Lat. *quantus*, *quanta*, It. *quanto*, *quanta*, Old Fr. *quant*, *quante*.

I now come to the verb. The Skr. and Lat. verbs appear in the modern groups, subject of course to the usual phonetic modifications; as, Skr. *paṭhāmi* 'I read,' S. *paṛhā*, H. *paṛhō*; Lat. *lego*, It. *leggo*, Fr. *li(s)*; Skr. *pari-veshyāmi* 'I offer (food),' S. *par-osiā*, H. *par-osō*; Lat. *pro-video*, It. *pro-vedo*, Fr. *pour-voi(s)*. There are not, however, nearly so many prepositions joined with verbs in Gaurian as in Romance, nor are they used for new formations in Gaurian as in Romance. Other verbs again are of a secondary kind, derived from nouns or participles or otherwise not directly representative of the ancient verb; as, Skr. *paricayanam* 'cognizance,' H. *pahchān-nā* 'to recognize;' Skr. *pravishṭa* 'entered,' H. *paiṭh-nā* 'to enter;' Lat. *festum*, Fr. *fêter*; Lat. *tractus*, Fr. *tracer*.

As regards derivative forms, in Gaurian a causal may be formed from a simple verb by an addition to the stem. This formative is generally *ā* in S. H. B. and O., *āv* in G., *āu* in

P., *avi* in M.; as, S. *kar-aṇu*, H. *kar-nā* 'to do'; S. *karā-iṇu*, H. *karā-nā* 'to cause to do.' The modern formative is derived from the Skr. causal formative *āpi*, which, however, is much less used in Skr. than the *i* formative. The desiderative and intensive forms of the Skr. verb are not found in the modern languages. These meanings are expressed in the moderns by adding an auxil. to the principal verb; as, H. *phēknā* 'to throw,' *phēkā ćāhnā* 'to desire to throw,' *phēk denā* 'to throw away.' The Lat. derivative forms have generally been preserved in Romance, but with less precision as to their meaning, and they often take the place altogether of the simple forms; also new formations are very numerous; as, It. *usare*, Fr. *user* (frequentative form); It. *mansuescere*, Fr. *obscurcir* (inchoative forms).

The verbs have been remodelled to a great extent in both groups. In Skr. the verbs are divided into certain classes according to the nature of the stem with which the present and three other tenses or moods and a participle are formed, the remaining tenses taking the terminations on a different system. In one of the classes the root alone is the stem, but in the others the stem is formed with certain additions to the root. In Gaurian, as the rule, all parts of the verb are derived from the same stem which is sometimes formed by incorporating a class suffix of the Skr. Thus we have Skr. *ćinomi* (stem *ćinu*, *ći* being the root and *nu* the suffix of the 5th class) 'I gather,' S. *ćhinŭ*, H. *ćinŭ*; Skr. past part. *ćitas* 'gathered,' but S. *ćhinio*, H. *ćinā*. All the modern verbs, however, are held to be derived from a stem with *a* for its final vowel. Thus with reference to the above instance we shall have to assume a form *ćināmi* instead of *ćinomi* as the origin of the modern forms. The forms of the modern verb will be given in detail further on. In derivation, however, other stems are frequently changed to what appears to be that of the 6th class; as, Skr. *pishāmi* for *piṇashmi* 'I grind,' S. *pīhŭ*, H. *pīsŭ*. What are called the irregular verbs in Gaurian are the least so in regard to their origin. In these verbs the past participle, instead of being formed from the present stem as in the regular verb, is derived from

the Skr. past part. pass.; as, Skr. *karomi* 'I do,' S. *karā*, H. *karū*; Skr. *kṛitas* 'done,' S. *kito*, also *kio* and *kayo*, H. *kiyā*; Skr. *pravisāmi* 'I enter,' S. *pihā*; Skr. *pravishtas* 'entered,' S. *peṭho*. These irregular verbs are numerous in S., while there are very few of them in H.

The distinctions which characterize the Lat. conjugations are more or less preserved in Romance, but many verbs change their conjugation in passing from Lat. to Romance; as, Lat. *tussire*, Fr. *tousser*, etc. What are usually called the irregular verbs in Romance, to which Diez has given the name of strong, while the regulars he terms weak, are mainly distinguished by having the accent on the radical syllable of the 1st and 3rd pers. sing. of the perfect, and to a considerable extent also on the radical syllable of the past part., while in the weak verbs the accent is on the flexion. The former, as regards their origin, are not less regular than the latter. The so-called regular and irregular verbs, therefore, are alike in both groups so far as the regular verb has one kind of participle and the irregular another; but the Gaurian verbs cannot be classed as strong and weak, for the participle is always accented on the root syllable. Weak verbs in Romance are such as, Lat. *canto*, It. *canto*, Fr. *chant(e)*; Lat. *cantatus*, It. *cantato*, Fr. *chanté*; strong, as Lat. *dico*, It. *dico*, Fr. *dis*; Lat. *dictus*, It. *detto*, Fr. *dit*. Many of the Lat. strong verbs, however, have become weak in Romance.

The original tenses preserved in Gaurian are the pres. indic. and the imperative, in all the languages, the fut. in Old H. and G. It should be noted, however, that the pres. indic. has become the pres. subj. in S. H. and P., though colloquially, it is frequently used in its original sense. In the literary form of these languages a new pres. formed with the pres. part. has taken the place of the old pres. In Romance more old tenses have been preserved. The pres., imperf., and perf. indic. have been preserved in all the languages, the pluperf. in Sp. Port. and Prov. Of the subj., the pres. and pluperf. have been maintained in all the languages, and the fut. anterior in Sp. and Port. The first

tense of the imperative has also been saved in all the languages. The following is a comparison of the pres. indic. in both groups, taking *likh* 'write' for the Gaurian, and *canto* for the Romance, as examples:

PRESENT INDICATIVE.

		SANSKRIT.	SINDHI.	HINDI.	LATIN.	ITALIAN.	FRENCH.
Sing.	1	*likh-āmi*	*likh-ā̃*	*likh-ũ*	*cant-o*	*cant-o*	*chant(e)*
	2	*likh-asi*	*likh-ẽ*	*likh-e*	*cant-as*	*cant-i*	*chant-es*
	3	*likh-ati*	*likh-e*	*likh-e*	*cant-at*	*cant-a*	*chant-e*
Pl.	1	*likh-āmas*	*likh-ũ*	*likh-ẽ*	*cant-amus*	*cant-iamo*	*chant-ons*
	2	*likh-atha*	*likh-o*	*likh-o*	*cant-atis*	*cant-ate*	*chant-ez*
	3	*likh-anti*	*likh-ani*	*likh-ẽ*	*cant-ant*	*cant-ano*	*chant-ent*

The Skr. 1st sing. *-āmi* is best represented by the O. *-aẽ*. The H. *ũ* is referred by Hoernle to an Ap. Pr. form *aum* The Skr. 2nd sing. is unchanged in the Old H. *likhasi*. The 3rd sing. in Old H. is *likhai*. The Skr. 3rd pl. remains in O. *-anti*. Regarding the *e* of the 1st sing. of such verbs as Fr. *chante*, it is hardly necessary to remark that this is a modern addition and does not belong to Old Fr. The same remark applies to the *s* of the 1st sing. of the other conjugations previously instanced. The 2nd sing. of the Skr. imperative is alone preserved in S. H. and P., and the sing. only of the Lat. pres. imperative in most of the Romance languages, the pres. indic. in both groups taking the place of the old pl. In Sp. and Port., however, the old pl. is preserved, and in the rest of the Gaurian languages both the 2nd and 3rd pl. of the old imperative are preserved—thus:

IMPERATIVE.

	Sg									
2	Skr.	*likh-a*	S	*likh-u*	H.	*likh*	Lat.	*cant-a*	It.	*cant-a*	Fr.	*chante*
3	,,	*likh-atu*	O.	*likh-u*	M.	*lih-o*						
	Pl.											
2	,,	*likh-ata*	,,	*likh-a*	,,	*lih-ā*	,,	*cant-ate*	Sp.	*cant-ad*	Port.	*cant-ai*
3	,,	*likh-antu*	,,	*likh-antu*	,,	*lih-ot*						

There is also a precative or respectful form of the imperative in some Gaurians which is generally referred to the Skr. precative; as, 2 sing. Skr. *likh-yās*, S. *likh-iji*, H. *likh-iye*. Hoernle, however, thinks that these are really passive forms, but used actively.

In Old H. and G. the simple fut. derived from the Skr.

fut. is, for instance, Skr. *likh-ishyāmi*, Old H. *likh-ihāu*, G. *lakh-īs*. Instances of the other simple tenses retained in Romance are, the imperf.; as, Lat. *cantabam*, It. *cantava*, Fr. *chantai(s)*; perf., Lat. *cantavi*, It. *cantai*, Fr. *chantai;* pres. subj., Lat. *cantem*, It. *cante*, Fr. *chant(e);* the pluperf. subj., Lat. *cantassem*, It. *cantassi*, Fr. *chantasse;* the pluperf. indic., in Sp. Port. and Prov. only, as, Lat. *cantaram*, Sp. *cantara;* and the fut. anterior in Sp. and Port. only, as, Lat. *cantaro*, Sp. *cantare*. The Skr. infinitive in *tum*, which is identical with the Lat. supine in *tum*, has disappeared in Gaurian, as have also the Lat. supines in Romance. In place of the Skr. infinitive, the modern infinitive, which is declined like a subst., is formed by two different suffixes, the characteristic letter of one being *v* (*b*), of the other *n*. The former is found in B. O. G. and in Braj; the latter in High H. and in S. P. and M. These forms are derived by Hoernle from the two forms of the Skr. fut. part. pass., the *v* (*b*) form from the part. in *tavya*, the *n* form from the part. in *anīya;* as, Skr. *likhitavya*, Braj *likhibau*, Skr. *likhanīya*, S. *likhaṇu*. The functions of the Lat. supines, which, as has been stated, are wanting in Romance, are, generally, discharged by the infinitive. The pres. of the inf. has been preserved; as, Lat. *cantare*, It. *cantare*, Fr. *chanter*. The pres. part. has been preserved in both groups, as Skr. stem *likhant*, S. *likhando*, H. *likhatā;* but generally with the value of an adj. in Romance, Lat. *cantantem*, It. *cantante*, Fr. *chantant*. The rule of the pres. part. in Romance generally devolves on the gerundive, which is preserved in its abl. form; as, Lat. *cantando*, It. *cantando*, Fr. *chantant*. The past part. has also been preserved in both groups; as, Skr. *likhitas*, S. *likhio*, H. *likhā;* Lat. *cantatus*, It. *cantato*, Fr. *chanté*.

The part. of the Skr. fut. pass. in *tavya*, from which, as has been observed, the inf. in some of the languages is derived, has been preserved also in its part. sense in S. G. and P.; as, S. *likhibo*, meaning 'being written.' The conjunctive part., as it is called, which is common to all the Gaurians, is believed, in most instances, to be derived from the Skr. indecl. past part. in *ya;* as, S. *likhī*, Old H. *likhi*, in

formed on the same principle by adding the past part. *el* 'come,' contracted to *l*, to the pres. indic.; as, *lihe-l* 'he shall write.' In all the Romance languages the fut. is formed from the inf. and the pres. tense of *habeo* contracted into one word; as, It. *canter-ò*, Fr. *chanter-ai*. The other tenses of the contracted kind in Romance are the conditional in all the languages, as Lat. *cantare habebam*, It. *canteria*, Fr. *chanterais*, and a second conditional tense belonging to It. only; as, Lat. *cantare habui*, It. *canterei*.

Other tenses in both groups are formed with a part. and an auxil. verb, not contracted together in the manner of the last-mentioned class. The participial member of the compound tense, in most of the Gaurian languages, agrees with the subject, whereas in Romance such agreement only takes place where *esse* is used as the auxil. The order of the words is also generally different in the two groups, for whereas the part. comes first in Gaurian, in Romance the auxil. is the first member of the compound.

The perf. in Gaurian may thus be compared with the periphrastic perf. in Romance, which has almost superseded the old perf., the tenses being formed in both groups with the perf. part. and an auxil. verb—I give first an example of an intransitive verb; as, S. *halio āhiyā* m., *halī āhiyā* f., H. *calā hū* m., *calī hū* f., 'I have gone,' from Skr. *calitas, ā*, 'gone,' and *asmi* 'I am'; It. *sono andato, sono andata*, Fr. Fr. *suis allé, suis allée;* also with *habeo;* as, It. *ho dormito*, Fr. *ai dormi*. Again, the pluperf. may be compared; as, S. *halio hosi*, H. *calā thā* 'I had gone' (here the S. *hosi* is the aorist of *huaṇu* 'to be' from Skr. *bhū*, while H. *thā* is from Skr. *sthitas* past part. of *sthā* 'stand,' Lat. *status*, It. *stato*, Fr. *été*); It. *era andato*, Fr. *etais allé*, and with *habebam;* as, It. *aveva dormito*, Fr. *avais dormi*. Also a past future; as, S. *halio hundusi*, H. *calā hūgā;* It. *sarò andato*, Fr. *serai allé*, and with *habeo;* as, It. *avrò dormito*, Fr. *aurai dormi*. The auxil. verbs are in the modern fut. tense in both groups.

In the compound tenses of the transitive verb formed with the past part. there are important differences of construction not only between Romance and Gaurian, but also between

Eastern and Western Gaurian. Thus in It. we may say *ho scritta la lettera*, where the auxil. *ho* is a transitive verb, and *la lettera* is in the acc. relation with which the part. *scritta* agrees in number and gender. In Fr. it is only when the object precedes that this construction is used; as, *la lettre que j'ai écrite.* In other cases the origin of this construction is forgotten, and the compound tense used as if it was a simple perf.; as in It. we may also say *ho scritto la lettera*, and in Fr. always when the object follows, *j'ai écrit la lettre.* In B. we say *mui ćiṭhī likhiy-āćhi* 'I have written the letter.' Here *likhiy-āćhi* is the 1st sing. perf. tense agreeing with the nom. *mui* 'I.' It is compounded of *āćhi* 'I am' and the part. *likhia*, which though by origin the past part. passive, is used in an active sense, and *ćiṭhī* 'the letter' is in the acc. relation towards it. An example of Western Gaurian is S. *ćiṭṭhī mũ likhī āhe* 'I have written the letter,' more literally, 'the letter by me has been written.' Here *ćiṭṭhī* f. 'the letter,' is in the nom. and the part. *likhī* is fem. to agree with *ciṭṭhī*, *mũ* 'by me,' is in the oblique form, and the auxil. *āhe* 'is' from the Skr. *asti*. Thus the construction is passive in its nature. The passive part. in Skr. was frequently used in the same way. In High H. the postposition *ne* is added to the oblique form; as, *māi ne ciṭṭhi likhī hai.* This is the rule also in the literary forms of the other Western languages except S. In Old H., however, the postposition is very rarely found. There is another kind of construction in Western Gaurian. We may also say as in S. *ćiṭṭhī khe mũ likhio āhe* 'as to the letter by me it has been written,' where *ćiṭṭhī* has the dat. particle *khe*, and the verb is used impersonally in the 3rd masc. sing.

There are also other tenses in both groups formed in the same way with the past part. and an auxil.; though they may not all so exactly correspond in meaning as those instanced above. In Gaurian several tenses are formed from the pres. part. and an auxil. verb; as, H. *kahte hāi* 'they are saying' (Old Fr. *sont disanz*); and those languages that have the fut. part. turn it to account in the same way. In some of the Gaurian languages, again, a pres. indic. is formed by

using the old pres. indic. with some auxil. verb; as S. *likhắ tho*, Braj *likhũ hũ* 'I write.' The S. *tho* = H. *thā* is contracted from *thio*, past part. of *thīaṇu* 'to be,' Lat. *stare*. Further, there is a periphrastic part. in each group; as S. *likhī kare*, H. *likh-kar* 'having written,' It. *avendo cantato*, Fr. *ayant chanté*.

In all the Gaurian languages, except S., and occasionally P., the passive signification is rendered by the past part. and an auxil., derived from the Skr. *yā* 'to go,' which is conjugated like any other verb in the active voice. In Romance the passive is formed also from the past part. and the auxil. *esse*, Skr. *as*. Besides *esse*, *stare*, *ire* and *venire* are also employed in Romance for the periphrasis of the passive. In both groups the auxil. verb expresses by its form the person, number, tense, etc., while the part., besides giving the meaning, retains its rights as an adj., that is, it has gender, number, and case (nom.); as, H. *likhā jāe* m., *likhī jāe* f. 'it is written;' pl. *likhe jāẽ* m., *likhī jāẽ* f. 'they are written;' P. *likhiā jāre* m., *likhī jāre* f., pl. *likhe jān* m., *likhīā jān* f.; It. *è cantato, è cantata; sono cantati, sono cantate;* Fr. *est chanté, est chantée; sont chantés, sont chantées*. In B. and O. the part., any more than the adj., is not inflected. When the part. of the auxil. verb is used, it is inflected also in Gaurian and in It.; but not in the other Romance languages; as, H. *likhī gayī hai* f. 'it has been written,' It. *è stata cantata*, but not Fr. *étée*.

In Gaurian many verbs are intransitive or transitive, according as the vowel of the root is short or long. Such intransitive verbs, if translated into English, would often take the passive form; as, H. *kaṭnā* 'to be cut,' *kāṭnā* 'to cut,' *piṭnā* 'to be beaten,' *pīṭnā* 'to beat,' *lipnā* 'to be smeared,' *lepnā* 'to smear.' These transitive forms appear to be derived from the ordinary Skr. causal, which is formed by intensifying the vowel of the root, and by the addition of final *i*. This *i* often enters into the conjugation of transitive verbs in S., as, S. *maru* 'die,' *māri* 'kill,' *marā* 'I die,' *mārā* 'I kill.' But there is, properly speaking, no such thing as a transitive distinguished from an intransitive conjugation in

this or any other Aryan language, and accordingly Trumpp gives a long list of transitive verbs in S. which do not take *i*, that is, which are not causal forms. The suffix *i* is met with in M. also. In Romance the reflexive voice after the loss of the organic passive has become of great importance, and often takes the place of the passive; as, It. *il libro non si trova.*

As regards adverbs, many of the old adverbs have been preserved in both groups, and many have been formed from the oblique cases of subst. In Gaurian there are many adverbs derived from the oblique cases of pronouns. In Romance there are many formed of subst. combined with prepositions. The most remarkable phenomenon, however, of the Romance languages was the adoption of the ablative *mente*, It. *mente*, Fr. *ment*, as a general grammatical mark of the adverb. Nothing of this sort was effected in Gaurian.

In Skr. and Lat. a word could generally be placed in any part of the sentence, but the loss of case flexions in the modern languages of both groups requires greater order in the arrangement of the words. In this order the two groups are sometimes in accord, but more frequently this is not the case. Thus, in both groups, nouns of number precede the governing subst., and so do adj. pronouns, and also the subject precedes the object. On the other hand, the adj. precedes the subst. in Gaurian, follows it, as the rule, in Romance. In the periphrastic tenses the auxil. comes before the part. in Gaurian, after it, usually, in Romance. The infinitive precedes the verb on which it depends in Gaurian, follows it, usually, in Romance. The adverb precedes the verb in Gaurian, follows it in Romance. The verb, again, which is the central point of the sentence in Romance, is placed at the end in Gaurian. The relation between two subst. is frequently signified by position in Gaurian, the dependent subst. coming first, where in Romance it would be necessary to use a prep.; as, H. *janam bhūm*, Fr. *lieu de naissance*; H. *nāć ghar*, Fr. *salle de danse.*

A comparison in any detail of the syntax would take up too much space. I may, however, give a few points of

agreement between the two groups, where they can be briefly stated, and with these I will conclude my paper. The pronoun of the 2nd person, *tu*, is restricted in both groups to the language of love and extreme familiarity, or of contempt, and is used also in addressing an inferior. The pl., as H. *tum*, Fr. *vous*, has taken the place of the sing. to a great extent, and Fr. does not go beyond *vous*, but the other languages push their obsequiousness still further; as M. *āpaṇ*, H. *āp;* It. *vo signoria* and *ella*, Sp. *usted*. In some of the Gaurian languages, especially in the Eastern languages, the pl. of the 1st personal pronoun is often used for the sing., a use which in Romance rather belongs to the language of Princes. The reflexive pronoun in Gaurian, the S. *pāṇa*, H. *āp*, etc., is the reflexive for all three persons, whereas the Romance *se* refers only to the 3rd person. The distinction between the possessive of the reflexive pronoun and the genitive of the personal pronoun—the Lat. *suus* and *ejus*—is carefully preserved in Gaurian, and among the Romance languages the literary It. is said to be the most scrupulous in this respect; as, H. *vah apne bāp ko dekhe*, It. *egli vede suo padre*; H *vah uske bāp ko dekhe*, It. *egli vede il padre di lui*; but the Fr. *il voie son père* is equivocal. The rest of the languages also are often negligent in this respect. On the other hand, when the reference is to the possession of several, *suus* gives way to the demonstrative *illorum* in all the Romance languages, except Sp. and Port.; as, Fr. *ils voient leur père*.

The acc. relation in Gaurian is sometimes expressed by the dat. particle. In H., as the rule, this is the case when the object is a rational being. The acc. in Sp. is also expressed by the dat. particle *á*, when the subst. denotes a person, then an animate being in general. Thus we say in H. *bāp beṭe ko dekhe*, Sp. *el padre ve al hijo*. The government of nouns by prep. and postp. has already been referred to. Adverbs are also placed under their dependence; as, H. *yahā talak*, Fr. *jusqu'ici*. The infinitive in both the modern groups has many more functions to perform than in the ancient languages. Among these functions, in its quality of

subst., it can be used in all the relations of case, and is even inflected like a noun. Its use, however, in Fr. in these respects is more restricted. The following are a few examples of the application of the inf. in both groups; as, H. *marnā sab kā bhāg hai*, Fr. *mourir est le sort de tous*; H. *pāp ćhoṛnā bhalā hai*, Fr. *quitter le péché est bon*; H. *māi ek ćij māgne āyā hũ*, Fr. *je suis venu demander une chose*; and as a substitute for the part. fut. pass.; as, H. *sab mānasõ ko marnā hai*, Fr. *tous les hommes ont à mourir*; or with a prep. or postp. in both groups; as, H. *khone ka ḍar*, Fr. *crainte de perdre*; H. *pīne ko denā*, Fr. *donner à boire*; H. *kaṭhī bēćne ko*, Fr. *maison à vendre*; H. *paṛhne ko kaṭhin*, Fr. *difficile à lire*; H. *binā dekhne kisiko*, Fr. *sans voir personne*; and, again, where it is used completely as a noun; as, H. *is peṛ ka girnā*, It. *il cadere di quest' albero*; H. *ghoṛā dekhne par*, It. *al vedere il cavallo*. In these two last-mentioned uses of the inf. Fr. is unable to follow the other languages.

As before remarked, the present part. in Romance only retains its adjectival value. The gerundive in its ablative form has encroached on the former domain of the present part., while in Gaurian the present part. retains its verbal value; as, S. *ćinghandā aćani*, but It. *gemendo vengono*; H. *māi rājā ko ghoṛe par ćaṛhtā dekhõ*, but Fr. *je vois le roi montant à cheval*. The past part. is used in the same way in both groups; as, *ghoṛe par ćaṛhī rah āī hai*, Fr. *montée sur un cheval elle est venue*. Besides the present and past part. there is also the conjunctive part. in Gaurian; as, H. *sab log bagh dekhi bhāgne lagẽ*, in Fr. *tous les hommes voyant le tigre commencent à fuir*. The present and past part. in Gaurian and the gerundive and past part. in Romance are also used in an absolute sense, a construction which is favourable to brevity of expression and avoids the creation of separate clauses with relative pronouns or conjunctions. This construction in Romance corresponds to the ablative absolute in Lat. Thus we have S. *mũ ruande rāti vihā-i*, Fr. *moi pleurant passe la nuit (toi)*; H. *deo sāth rahte māi kyā ḍarõ*, Fr. *Dieu étant avec (moi) que crains-je*; S. *vejani veṭhei dosu pehi dari āiyo*, It. *seduti i dottori*

l'amico entrando alla (mia) porta venne; H. *bahūt din bīte rājā phir gaye,* It. *passati molti dì il re andò nuovamente.* This use of the past part., however, is not found in Fr. It is remarked by Diez that of all the modern languages of Europe the English is most in accord with the Romance usage in the foregoing respects. The personal pronouns are not generally required in either group to express the person of the verb, but they are often added for emphasis or for no apparent reason. Modern Fr. is an exception, as in this language it is only in the 2nd sing. and 1st and 2nd pl. of the imperative that the pronouns can be dispensed with.

APPENDIX II.

An

Early English Hymn to the Virgin

(15TH CENTURY)

AND A

Welshman's phonetic copy of it soon after:

PRINTED FROM

TWO MSS OF THE HENGWRT COLLECTION

(BY LEAVE OF WM. W. E. WYNNE, ESQ., OF PENIARTH)

BY

F. J. FURNIVALL,

(MARCH, 1880)

TOGETHER WITH

Notes on the Welsh Phonetic Copy

BY

ALEX. J. ELLIS, F.R.S.,

PRESIDENT OF THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY

An Early English Hymn to the Virgin.

[*Hengwrt MS.* 479, *leaf* 38.]

(1)

O mightie Ladie, our leading / to haue
at heaven, our abiding,
vnto the feaste euerlasting
is sette a branche vs to bring.

(2)

You wanne this with blisse, the blessing / of God
for your good abearing
where you bent for your winning;
since queene, & your sonne is king.

(3)

Our forefaders fader, our feeding / our pope,
on your pappes had sucking:
in heaven blisse I had this thing,
attendaunce without ending.

(4)

We seene the bright queene with cunning / & blisse
the blossome fruite bearing:
I would, as ould as I sing,
winne your loue, on your lavinge.

(5)

Queene odde of our God, our guiding / moder,
mayden notwithstandinge.
who wed such with a rich ring,
as God woud this good wedding.

(6)

Helpe vs pray for vs preferring / our soules;
assoile vs at ending!
make all that we fall to fling
your sonnes live, our sinnes leaving.

A Welshman's Copy of the Hymn.

[*Hengwrt MS.* 294, *page* 287.]

(1)

O michdi[1] ladi: our leding // to haf
at hefn owr abeuding
yntw ddei ffest everlasting [p 288]
i set a braynts ws tw bring./ 4

(2)

Yw wann ddys wyth blyss dde blessing // of God
ffor ywr gwd abering
hwier yw bynn ffor ywr wynning
syns kwin and ywr synn ys king / 8

(3)

Owr fforffaddyrs ffaddyr, owr ffiding / owr pop
on ywr paps had swking
Yn hefn blyss i had ddys thing
atendans wythowt ending / 12

(4)

Wi sin dde bricht kwin wyth kwning and blys
the blosswm flywt bering
ei wowld as owld as ei sing
wynn ywr lyf on ywr laving 16

(5)

Kwin od off owr god owr geuding /, mwddyr
maedyn notwythstanding
hw wed syts wyth a ryts ring
as god wad ddys gwd weding 20

(6)

Help ws prac for ws prefferring /, owr sowls
asoel ws at ending
mak awl ddat wi ffawl tw fling
ywr synns lyf owr syns leving./ 24

[1] The Rubricator has corrected the copyist's *t* of *michti* to *d*.

(7)

As we may the day of dying / receiue [leaf 38, back]
our in-housling;
as he may take vs, waking,
to him in his mightie wing.

(8)

Might hit tooke / me ought to tell,
out soules of hell / to soiles of sight.
wee aske with booke / wee wishe with bell,
to heaven full well / to haue our flight,
all deedes well done,
t'abide *deo* boone,
a god made trone,
a good meete wright,
and say so soone,
and north and noone,
and sunne & moone,
& so none might

(9)

as soone as pride / is nowe suppiest,
his seale is best / his soule is pight
I tell to you,
as some doe showe,
as nowe I trowe,
we vse not right
a boy with his bowe,
his lookes is slowe
howe may [you] knowe
him from a knight?

(10)

The trueth is kitte / that earth is cast,
the endes be last / the handes be light
O god sette it / good as it was, [leaf 39]
the rule doth passe / the worlde hath pight.[1]

[1] I suppose the 8-line stanza l. 59—66, should follow here

(7)

As wi mae dde dae off owr deing // resef [p 289]
owr saviowr yn howsling
as hi mae tak ws waking
tw hym yn hys michti wing

(8)

Micht hyt twk // mi ocht tw tel ///
owt sols off hel / / tw soels off hicht
wi aish wyth bwk /, wi wish wyth bel
tw hefn ffwl wel /,/ tw haf on flicht /
Al[1] dids wel dywn '/
tabyd deo bwn //
a god mad trwn ,/
a gwd met wricht
and se so swn ,
and north and nwn ,,
and synn an mwn //
and so non micht /

(9)

As swn as preid // ys now syprest
hys sel ys best /, his sol ys picht
E I tel tw yo //
as synn dwth shio ,/
as now ei tio //
wi vws not richt
a boy withs bo /
hys lokes is s[l]o[2] //
how mae yw kno //
hym ffiom a knicht

(10)

Dde trvwth ys kyt // ddat yerth ys kast /, [p 290]
dde ends bi last / dde hands bi licht./
o God set yt // gwd as yt was /
dde rvwl dwth pass '' dde woild hath picht.

[1] MS Awl, with *w* underdotted [2] a later *l* is overlined.

(11)

A prettie thing / we pray to thest,
that good behest / that god behight
& he was ffing / into his feaste
that euer shall lest / with diuerse light
The world away /
is done as day,
it is no nay /
it is righe right
as ould, I say,
I was in fay ,
yelde a good may,
would God I might
Aware we would,
the sinnes we sould,
& be not hould
in a bant lighte.
And young & ould,
with him they hould,
the Iewes has sould,
that Jesus lighte

(12)

O trusti Criste / that wirst y crowne,
ere wee die downe / a readie dight,
to thanke to thee
at te roode tree,
then went all wee,
they nowe to light
to graunt agree,
amen with mee,
that I may see
thee to my sight.

(11)

A preti thing // wi prae to thest //
ddat gwd bi-hest // ddat God bihicht //
and hi was ffing // yntw hys ffest //
ddat ever shal lest // wyth deivers licht /
dde world away //
ys dynn as day //
yt ys no nay //
yt is nei nicht /
as owld ei say //
ei was yn ffay //
eild a gwd may //
wld God ei micht /
Awar wi wowld /
dde syns ddey sowld //
an[1] bi not howld //
in a bant hicht
and ywng and owld //
wyth hym ddei howld
dde Dsiyws[2] has sowld //
ddat Dsiesws hicht /

(12)

O trysti Kreist // ddat werst a krown /
ei wi dei down // a redi dicht
Tw thank tw ddi //
at dde rwd tri //
dden went all wi /
ddey now tw licht.
tw grawnt agri //
amen wyth mi //
ddat ei mae si //
ddi two mei sicht. /

[1] *and*, with *d* underdotted. [2] first *Dsiews* in MS.

(13)

Our lucke, our king / our locke, our key,
my God I pray / my guide vpright
I seeke, I sing I shrike, I say, [leaf 30 back]
I weare away / a werie wight. 90
against I goe /
my frendes me fro,
I found a foe
with fonde I fight 94
I sing allso /
in welth & woe,
I can no moe /
to queene of might 98

Jeuan ap Ryddeich ap Jeuan lloyd a kant
medd cr ull Jeuan ap howcH Swrdwal [1]

[1] That is, "Ieuan ap Ryddeich ap Ieuan Lloyd sang it according to another Ieuan ap Howel Swrdwal Meaning, that Ieuan ap Ryddeich &c, or Ieuan ap Howel, &c was author of the poem

These were well known Bards of the 15th century The former was a member of the greatest family in Cardiganshire, now represented by Sir Pryse Pryse, Bart — *Wm H L Wynne*

(13)

Owr lwk owr king // owr lok owr kae ///
mei God ei prae // mi geid [1]vpricht./
ei sik ei sing // ei siak[2] ei sae ///
ei wer awae /// a wiri wicht./ 90
agaynst ei go //
mei ffrynds mi ffro //
ei ffownd a ffo //
wyth ffynd ei ffricht 94
ei sing also //
yn welth and wo //
ei kan no mo //
tw kwin off micht / 98

[1] *y* alterd to *v*. [2] shak, *with* h *underdotted*

NOTES ON THE WELSH PHONETIC COPY.

BY ALEX. J. ELLIS, F.R.S.

THE Welsh phonetic transcription of this hymn must have been made either very late in the xv th or early in the xvi th century. • It must be compared with Salesbury's accounts of English (1547) & Welsh pronunciation (1567), the essential parts of which are reprinted and where need is, translated in my Early English Pronunciation, Part III., pp. 743—794. It appears from those books that the sounds of the Welsh letters in the early-xvith century was the same as at present, except that *y* which has now two sounds, approaching to *u*, *i* in our *but*, *bit*, had at that time only the latter sound, both long and short, and this differs in practice imperceptibly from the sound of the Welsh *u*. The following are therefore the sounds to be attributed to the letters in this transcription. The vowels are to be read either long or short.

A, *father*, *past*, rather fine. AI, AY, *aye*. AE rather broader than *ay*, all three AI, AY, AE, are nearly German AI. B, *b*. C is not used in the poem, in modern Welsh it is *k*. CH, the guttural, as in Scotch and German. D, *d*. DD, as *th* in *they*, *breathe*. E, *there*, *then*. EI, *height*. F, *v*. FF, *f*. G, *g*. H, *h*. I, *heed*, but often confused with *hid*, which has generally y. IE occurs only in *hwier*, and may be an error for *hwer*; it should sound like *wheer*, and *weer* is now found in Shropshire. K, *k*, used generally, as also in Salesbury. KW, *qu*, as in Salesbury. L, *l*. M, *m*. N, *n*. NG, *sing*. O, *open*, *on*. or nearly so. OU, a diphthong resembling *how*, but having a more decided sound of *o* in it. OE, *joy*. P, *p*. R, *r*, but always trilled. S, *s*, always sharp, never *z*, which does not occur in Welsh, hence of course *s* is used for both *s* and *z*. SI before a vowel is used to indicate the sound of *sh*, and TSI = *tsh* is used for *ch*est, and DSI = *dsh* for *j*est; Salesbury uses only TSI, and says it is as like the true sounds as pewter to silver, the sounds *ch j* do not occur in Welsh; at the end of a word *ts* is used for bran*ch*, where Salesbury uses *tss* TH, *th*in bre*ath* as distinct from DD. U, the Welsh sound is not used in the transcription except in the diphthong *uw*, written *vw*. Salesbury identifies U with French *u*, and seems to use *ur* for the same sound, whether or not

with a sound *of oo* after it, it may be difficult to say, I think not V, *v*, is sometimes used, as in Salesbury, but is always replaced by *f* in modern Welsh W, *too*, *hood* always a vowel, but forming a diphthong with the following vowel, and then very like English *u* and used for it. WY, *with*, Y, always a vowel, but used both for consonant and vowel in rich written *ryts* YW in modern Welsh is ambiguous, but is here always used for *yoo*.

The pronunciation thus given agrees as a rule with Salesbury's, which it confirms But there are clearly some errors, though it is difficult to say who is to blame for them. In the following I give the number of the line, the present reading in Roman, and the probable in Italics

1 michdi, *michti* 2 oui, *owi*, see *2* byntw, *untw*, 37 yntw is properly used for *into* 4 i, *y* 7 hwier, *hwi?* bynn, *bent?* 8 synn, *snn* 11 i, *y* 14 the, *dde* 16 lyf, *lnf.* 17 kwinod, *Inunnd* = queenhood? 19 syts, *swts*, meaning *sŏŏch* as Gill marks it, but *such* may be right, as there may have been two sounds 20 wud, *would* see v 15? 24 synns, *snns*, see v 8 25 doing *doing* 30 sols, *sonls*, licht, *sicht* 31 aish, *aish* *sh* must be an error for *sk* because *sh* is not found in Welsh *ask* occurs in Gill, but *aish* may have been intended, as Salesbury writes *ai* for *a* in several words 32 on, *on* 33 dywn, *dwn* 34 tabyd, *tabeyd* = t'abide 39 synn, *snnn* 41 syprest, *snprest.* 42 sol, *soul* 43 El, *EI* 44 synn, *snm*, shio, *sio*, in 89 *siakh* was once wrongly written 51 yerth, *erth*, the sound *yerth* is possible but highly dialectal, we find now in Shropshire *yar* = hair, *yarb* = herb, *yerth* = earth, *yed* = head, *yep* = heap, and this county may have been the model for a Welshman's English at that time 60 dynn, *dnn* 65 eild, *ield* 66 wld, *nonld*, see v 15 and 67, but it may be used for wwld = wŏŏld, as *n* disappears before a following w in Welsh, see 66 wld 84 two, *tn*, 86 vpricht, *npricht* 94 ffricht, *ficht*

As to the pronunciation marked there is nothing out of the way, if we suppose those *y*'s just noted to be errors for *u*

75 Kreist, giving the modern pronunciation of Christ, is curious, I have no other xvi th century authority for this word Observe the guttural CH in 1, 28 michti, 30, 84 sicht, 29 ocht, 36 wricht, 40, 66 micht, 42, 54 picht, 50 knicht, 52, 58 licht, 56 behicht, 62 nicht, 76 dicht, 88 wpricht, 90 wicht. The KN in 49 kno, 50 knicht, and WR in 36 wricht TH in 12 wythowt, 13 wyth, 47 withs, but DD in 3, 72 ddei, 5, 11, 20 ddys, 9 ffor ffaddyrs ffaddyr, 18, 25, 51, 52, 54, 59, &c, dde, 17 mwddyi, 23 51, 56, 58 ddat, 68, 80 ddey, 77 ddi, 79 dden For the vowels, observe E in 1 leding, 36 met = *meet* proper, 42 sel = *seal* The Y in 92 ffrynds and 94 ffynd = fiend, Salesbury and Gill have *frinds*, but Salesbury has apparently *fend*, as he cites that as example of *e* having the Welsh sound The Y in 75 trysti = *trusty* agrees with Salesbury who identifies it with Welsh *u* The W in 4 ws, 10 swking, 17 mwddyi, is regular, as also in 20 gwd, 23, 28 tw, 29 twk, 54 dwth (whence 33 dywn should be dwn), and long in 34 bwn, 37 swn, 38 nwn, 39 mwn, 78 rwd, and in 35 trwn = *thrown*, we have Salesbury's sound. VW in 14 ffrvwt = *fruit*, 46 vws = *use*, 51 trvwth, 54 rwl, 73 Dervws represents, I believe,

French *u*; see above and Early English Pronunciation, Part I., pp. 164—8. The present Welsh sound of *Duw* is scarcely distinguishable by an Englishman from English *dew*, but Welshmen profess to hear and make a difference. Among the diphthongs, AI or AY in 4 braynts = branch, 31 aisk = ask, is borne out by Salesbury's domaige, heritaige, languaige, aishe, waitche, and orcintsys = oranges. AE, AI, AY, EI. EY, are identified, and had the sound of *aye*; compare 18 maedyn; 25, 27 mae; 65 may; 25 dae = day; 85 kae = key; 89 sae, and 63 say; 90 awae; 21, 88 prae; 64 flay; 91 agaynst; 68, 80 ddey, and 72 ddei; 75 Kreist. This illustrates the identification of EI, AI in Chaucer. The OW in 15 owld; 68 sowld; 69 howld = hold, is quite regular; it is curious in 15, 67 wswld, which Gill and Sir T. Smith give as wōōld; compare 66 wld; and quite unexpected in 26 saviowr, which may be an error for *saviwr*, the older form, or *saviur*, as Gill would probably have had it; or it may be some artificial solemn utterance; the word is not found in the original English version.

Altogether this phonetic writing is a very interesting document, and the errors in it are not more than are commonly met with in the phonetic writing of persons who are not used to it. The general character that it gives to the pronunciation is no doubt quite correct.

ALEXANDER J. ELLIS.

27 July 1880.

APPENDIX. III.

ON NEUTER NEO-LATIN SUBSTANTIVES.

BY

H.I.H. PRINCE LOUIS-LUCIEN BONAPARTE.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
FRIDAY, 3 DECEMBER, 1880.

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APPENDIX III.

ON NEUTER NEO-LATIN SUBSTANTIVES.

By H.I.H. Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte.

Although it is perfectly true that the Latin neuter gender, at least as a distinct grammatical form, has almost disappeared from the greater number of the Neo-Latin dialects, it is not the less undoubtedly true that this gender still keeps a strong hold on several of them. I admit that this happens exceptionally in some of these dialects, but in others it occurs regularly. This is the case, for instance, with the Spanish Asturian adjectives, in reference to which see my Note in the "Academy" of the 27th of March, 1880, p 236, and also my "Observaciones comparativas sobre la pronunciacion gallega, asturiana, castellana y portuguesa," preceding my edition of the Gospel of St. Matthew, in the Galician dialect, by J. S. de Santa María. London, 1861.

The languages in which I have observed substantives possessing a neuter plural termination, distinct from both the masculine and feminine, are: I. Italian, and, in a greater or less degree, all or nearly all its true[1] dialects; II. Sardinian; III. Genoese; IV. Gallo-Italic; V. Romanese.

[1] I look upon the dialects of the greater portion of the island of Sardinia (all but the extreme north), the Genoese, the Gallo-Italic dialects occupying the greater portion of Northern Italy, and the Friulano, as Non-Italian.

I. *Italian.*

1°. STANDARD TUSCAN.

This language, as well as the Latin, possesses the plural neuter termination to such an extent, that it would be inconsistent to recognise neuter substantives in Latin without at the same time acknowledging them in Italian. There are more than one hundred such in the latter, and more than half of these belong to the modern language.

According to the majority of Italian Grammarians, the following substantives occur only with the termination *a*:[2] *centinaio-a*, *centinaro-a* (**centenarium-a* "weight of one hundred pounds") hundred; *ditola* pl., a species of edible mushroom; *migliaio-a*, *migliaro-a* (*milliarium-a* "mile") thousand; *miglio-a* (*mille-millia* "thousand") mile; *mille-mila* (*mille-millia*) thousand; *moggio-a* (*modium-a*) a measure of corn nearly equal to a bushel, *paio-a*, *paro-a* (*par-paria*) pair, couple; *staio-a*, *staro-a* (**sextarium-a*) bushel; *ubero-a*, antiquated, (*uber-a*) woman's breast; *uovo-a* (*ovum-a*) egg.

A much greater number have a masculine as well as a neuter termination, but those preceded by an asterisk in the following list, are either more commonly used with the termination *i*, or else have antiquated neuters in *a*. An exceedingly small number have also the feminine termination *e*: *anello-i-a* (*anellus-i*) ring; **bisogno-i-a* (**bisonium-a*) want; *braccio-ci-cia* (*brachium-a*) arm; *budello-i-a* (**budellus-i*) gut; *calcagno-i-a* (*calcaneus-i*; *-um-a*) heel; *carro-i-a* (*carrus-i*; *-um-a*) cart; *castello-i-a* (*castellum-a*) castle; *cervello-i-a* (*cerebellum-a*) brain; *ciglio-gli-glia* (*cilium-a*) eye-lash; **cogno-i-a* (*congius-i*; **-um-a*) Florentine measure of ten barrels; *coltello-i-a* (*cultellus-i*; **-um-a*) knife; **comandamento-i-a* (**commendamentum-a*) command; **confino-i-a* (*confinis-es* "borderer"; *confinium-a*) border; *corno-i-a* (*cornus-i*; *-u-a*) horn; *cuoio-oi-oia* (*corius-i*; *-um-a*) leather; **demonio-nj-nia* (*dæmonium-a*) devil; *ditello-a-e* (**digitellus-i* "the little finger") arm-pit; *dito-i-a* (*digitus-i*; **-um-a* "toe"?) finger; toe; **divisamento-i-a* (**devisamentum-a*)

[2] Low Latin words are preceded by an asterisk.

device; **fastello-i-a* (**fastellum-a*) fagot; *fato-i-a* (*fatus-i*; *-um-a*) fate, *filo-i-a* (*filus-i*; *-um-a*) thread; *fondamento-i-a* (*fundamentum-a*) foundation, in a proper sense, **foro-i-a* (**forus-i*) hole; *fosso-i-a* (*fossus-i* "digged", **fossum a*) ditch, *fuso i-a* (*fusus i*, **-um-a*) spindle; *gesto-i-a*, the last is a modernism, (*gestus-i*, *-um-a*) exploit, *ginocchio-chi-chia* (**genuculus-i*; **-um-a*) knee, **gomito-i-a* (*cubitus-i*, *um a*) elbow, *granello-i-a* (**granellus-i*, **-um-a*) grain, *grido-i-a* (**guritus us* "worms' noise") cry, *guscio sci scia* "husk", *labbro-i-a* or, rather poetically, *labbia* (*labrum-a*, *labium-a*) lip, *legno-i-a*, the last means "fire wood", (*lignum-a*) wood, timber, *lenzuolo i-a* (*linteolum-a* "little piece of linen cloth") sheet, bed sheet, **letto-i a* (*lectus-i*, *-um-a*) bed, **mantello-i a* (**mantellus-i*, *-um-a*) cloak; **martello-i-a* (**martellus-i*) hammer; *membro-i a-*e* (**membrus-i*, *-um-a*) member, limb, in a proper sense, **momento-i-a* (*momentum a* "moment") a measure; **mulino-i-a* (**molinus-i*, **-um-a*) mill, **munistero-i-a*, (**monasterum-a*) monastery, *muro i*, of a house; *a*, especially of a town (*murus-i*, **-um-a*) wall, *osso-i-a-*e* (**ossus i*, *-um-a*) bone, *peccato-i a* (*peccatus-us*, *-um -a*) sin, **peto i-a* (*peditum-a*, *-us us*) wind emitted from behind; **piacimento-i-a* (**placimentum a* "action at law") pleasure; *pomo i-a-e*, the last is poetical, (*pomus i*, *um a*) fruit of any tree good to eat, *quadrello-i-a* (**quadrellus i*) dart, *riso i-a* (*risus-us*) laughter, *sacco chi-ca* (*sacrus i*) sack, **sacramento i-a* (*sacramentum-a*) sacrament, **sasso i a* (*saxum a*) stone, **sentimento i-a* (**sentimentum-a*) sense, **solco-chi-ca* (*sulcus i*) furrow, **straccio ci-cia* (**straria-æ*) rag; *stridoi-a* "shriek", **suolo-i-a* (**solus i*, *-um a*) ground; **talento i-a* (**talentum a* "wish") talent, **telaio-ai aia* (**telarius-i* "weaver", **-um-a*) loom, **tuorlo*, **torlo-i-a* "yolk", *urlo-i-a* "howl," **uscio-sci-scia* (*ostium-a*) door, **vaso i a* (**vasus i*; *-um-a*) vessel, pot, **vasello-i a* (*vascellus-i* "sepulchral urn," **vasellum a* "vessel, ship") small vessel, pot, **verbo-i-a* (*verbum-a*) word; *vestigio-gi-gia* (*vestigium-a*) trace, *vestimento i-a* (*vestimentum-a*) vestment; **vizio zi zia* (*vitium-a*, **-us-i*) vice, etc.

Several antiquated neuters end in *ora* and are imparisyllabic in the plural, as in Latin is "pectus ora": *ago-ghi-gora* (*acus-us*) needle; *arco-chi-cora* (*arcus-us-*ora*) bow, for an arrow, *borgo-ghi -gora* (**burgus-i*) borough, *campo-i-ora* (*campus-i*) field, *canto-i-ora* (**cantus us*) side; *corpo-i-ora* (*corpus-ora*) body, *dono-i-ora*, the last is still in use in the sense of "paraphernalia", (*donum-a*) gift; *elmo-i*

-ora (**elmus-i*) helmet; *forno-i-ora* (*fornus-i*; **-um-a* "the part of the house where the oven is") oven; *fuoco-chi-cora* (**focus-i*; **-um-a*) fire; *gradu-i-ora* (*gradus-us-*ora*) step; *lago-ghi-gora* (*lacus-us*) lake; *lato-i-ora* (*latus-era*) side; *lito-i-ora* (*litus-ora*) shore; *luogo-ghi-gora* (*locus-i-a*) place; *nerbo-i-ora* (*nervus-i*; **nervum-a-ora*) nerve; *nodo-i-ora* (*nodus-i*) knot; *nome-i-ora* (*nomen-ina*) name; noun; *orto-i-ora* (*hortus-i*) kitchen-garden; *palco-chi-cora* (**palcum-a*) stage, scaffold; *piano-i-ora* (**planum-a*; *-us-i* "plain," adjective) plain; *ramo-i-ora* (*ramus-i*) branch; *senso-i-ora* (*sensus-us*; *-um-a* "thought") sense; *suono-i-ora* (*sonus-i*) sound; *tempo-i-ora*, (the last is still in use in the sense of "days" in "ember-days"), time; etc.

The following substantives have in addition to the masculine two neuter plural terminations: *frutto-i-a-ora*, the last was and the last but one is still used only in the sense of "product of a tree or of certain plants", (*fructus-i*; **-um-a*) fruit; *grano-i-a-ora*, the last was used only in the sense of "corn", and the last but one is still used only in the sense of "grain", a weight, (**granus-i*; *granum-a*) corn; grain, a weight; *prato-i-a-ora* (**pratus-i*; *-um-a-*ora*) meadow; *pugno-i-a-ora* (*pugnus-i*) fist; *tetto-i-a-ora* (**tectus-i*; *-um-a*) roof; **tino-i-a-ora* (**tinum-a*) vat.

These instances show that neuter plural terminations may exist in Italian but not in Latin, and that the Italian neuters in *ora* seldom possess this termination in Latin. Has this been always the case? There is at least room for doubt. In fact, do not **bundora*, *corpora*, **fundora*, *latera*, **nervora*, **poiora*, **pratora*, **rivora*, **roncora*, *tempora*, point to such Latin plurals as *burgora*, *campora*, *locora*, etc. singulars of which were not the masculine, but the hypothetical neuters *burgus*, *campus*, *locus*, etc. belonging to the imparisyllabic third declension? Of the Low-Latin *lacora*, *tectora*, *waldora*, I do not speak, because instances occur of the use of the accusatives *tectoras*, etc., which compel me to look upon *tectora*, etc. as feminine singulars. These words *nervora*, *pratora*, *poiora*, etc. Du Cange calls "Longobardica". May not all these strange neuters in *ora*, belonging to the Italian, be relics of some ancient Italic tongue, or, is it not possible that High-German has had something to do with them, neuter plurals in *er* being so common in this language? [3]

[3] German influence in Neo-Latin plural inflections might be suspected in

2°. ITALIAN DIALECTS.

These are not generally so rich in neuters as the standard Tuscan. Some varieties however belonging to the Tuscan family, and particularly the language commonly spoken among the peasants of some districts of the territory of Pistoia, as well as the Sicilian, the two Calabrian dialects, and the Neapolitan, still present some terminations in *ora* (*ura*, *ira*) and make a common use of other plurals in *a*. Nerucci (see his "Saggio sopra i parlari vernacoli della Toscana". Milano, 1865., p. 19.) quotes the following instances as still in use in the variety which he calls "Montalese", belonging to his sub-dialect of Pistoia: *prata*, *dita*, *frutta*, etc. and tells us that of the two plural terminations *i* and *a*, the second is constantly preferred. He quotes also *prátora*, *árcora* or *árcola*, *rámora*, *púgnora*, etc. as still employed. In this variety I have myself heard, without going in search of them, the words *prata*, *prátora*, and *púgnora*.

In the Roman dialect neuters in *a* exist, but they are certainly not numerous. I find, for instance, *centinaro-a*, *deto-a*, corresponding to the Tuscan (Italian) *dito-a*; *detella* pl. (it. *ditola*); *intestino-a-i*; *mijjaro-a*, for *migliaio-a*; *mijjo-a*; *mille-mila*; *paro-a*, always replacing the Tuscan *paio-a*; *ovo-a-i*; *osso-a-i-e*, and *ora* (lat. *hora-æ*) hour; *orecchia* (lat. *auricula-æ*) ear, *mela* (lat. *malum-a*) apple, and some others used sometimes in the plural as well as

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certain cases. In the Italian pronouns *eglino*, *elleno*, 'illi, illæ,' for 'they', having the singulars *egli*, *ella*, 'ille, illa,' for 'he, she,' where does the *n* come from? This sound is also very common in ancient and modern Germanic languages as a plural termination; and as a regular plural termination it is still met with in the dialects of 'Valle Mesolcina' and Val Pregaglia (Grisons of Switzerland), which, according to my own views, decidedly belong to the western branch of the Lombard family of the Gallo-Italic language. Ascoli (see "Archivio Glottologico Italiano," vol. I. p. 269 and 274) gives several instances, as *tütten len stànzien l'èren tütten cïenen* (Valle Mesolcina), and *lan rösa; in lan cattïvan cumpagnïa* (Val Pregaglia), corresponding to the Italian: *tutte le stanze erano tutte piene; le rose; nelle cattive compagnie;* word for word: "all the rooms were all full; the roses; in the bad companies."

in the singular. These three instances never occur in pure Italian, whose plurals are *ore*, *orecchie*, *mele*. The real plural feminine termination *e* often replaces the Tuscan neuter *a* in Roman, as in *braccio-ce*; *budello-e*; *ginocchio-e*; *labro-e*; etc., but, although derived from Latin neuters in *a*, these plurals in *e* are really feminines belonging to irregular substantives having a masculine singular and a feminine plural. The plural termination *a* is the real character of the Neo-Latin neuter.

The Northern Corsican, belonging like the Roman to the Tuscan branch of the Tuscan family, does not in general seem to possess neuters in *a*, but, as in Roman, replaces them by feminines in *e* : *anello-e*; *corno-e*; *dinocchio-e*; *dito-e*; *labro-e*; *lamento-e* (lat. *lamentum-a*, but *lamento-i* in Italian, and not *lamente* corresponding directly to the Latin *lamenta*); *membro-e*; *miglio-e*; *osso-e*; *staghio* (it. *staio*) *-e*; *stridio-e*; etc.

The Southern Corsican, according to my opinion, belongs to the Sardo-Corsican branch of the Tuscan family, whose dialects are not to be confounded with those of the Sardinian language. In this dialect, on account of the constant permutation of final *e* into *i* obtaining in Southern Corsican, I find no substitution of *e* for *a*; and, although no neuters seem to exist in it, still I have met with two exceptions which are perhaps mere localisms. They consist in the plurals *pécura* and *preta*, and correspond to the Latin *pecora* and *presbyteri*, and to the Italian *pecore* and *preti* whose singulars are *pecus* and *presbyter*, and *pecora* and *prete* "ewe, priest".—"Piansinu par doglia amara Li *pecura* cu l'agnelli"; *ital.* "Piansero per doglia amara Le *pecore* con gli agnelli"; *The ewes and the lambs wept from bitter sorrow.*—"Cantaja cu l'altri *preta* Li cosi di li missali"; *ital.* "Cantava con gli altri *preti* Le cose de' messali"; *He was singing with the other priests The things of the missals.* (See "Novelle Storiche Corse di Giovan Vito Grimaldi. Bastia. 1855., p. 250.)

The Northern Sardinian dialects of Tempio and Sassari, particularly the first, are nearly related to the Southern Corsican and belong to the Sardo-Corsican branch of the Tuscan family. They observe the permutation of final *e* into *i*, and the only plural neuter I have been able to discover in them is *middi-milia*, Tempiese, and *milli-mila*, Sassarese.

The Sicilian dialect is fond of its neuters: *arcu-chi-cura*; *cannarozzu-a* (it. *gargarozzo-i*) throat; *cintinaru-a*; *citrolu-a* (it. *cetriuolo-i*, lat. **citrolus-i*) cucumber; *coccin-a* (it. *cocco-chi* "scarlet grain"; lat. *coccum-a* "id."; *-us-i* "shrub producing the scarlet grain") berry; *cornu-a*; *corpu-i-a* or *colpu-i-a* (it. *colpo-i*; lat. **colpus-i*) blow, *cugnu-a* (it. *conio-j*, lat. *cuneus-i*) wedge; *curnicchiu-a* (lat. *corniculum-a*) little horn; *curniolu-a* (it. *corniolo-i*; lat. **cornolium-a*) dogwood tree; *cutugnu-a* (it. *cotogno-i*; lat. *cotoneum-a*; *-eus-i* "belonging to a quince") quince, quince-tree, *dinorchiu-a*; *filu-a*; *fusu-a*; *grighiu a* (it. *ciglio-gli-glia*); *granu-a*, a weight, *granuzzu-a*, dim. of *granu*; *quintu-a*, *jiditu-a* (it. *dito-i-a*); *jornu-a* (it. *giorno-i*; lat. *diurnum-a* "a day's provision", **jornus-i*) day; *labbru-a*, *lettu-i-ura*; *lignu-a*, *linzolu-a*; *locu-chi-cura* or *-chira*, *migghiaru-a*, *migghiu-a*, *milli-mila* or *milia*, *mulinu-a*, *mumentu-a* "moment", *muru-a*; *nnomu-i-ura*, *ortu-i-ura*, *ossu-a*, *ovu-a*, *paru-a*, *pirtusu-a* (it. *pertugio-gi*, lat. **pertusus-i*) hole; *pidiu-a*, *piritu-a* (it. **peto-i-a*); *piru-a* (it. *pero-i*; lat *pirum-a* "pear", *-us-i*) pear, pear-tree; *prunu-a* (it. *pruno* "prickly shrub", lat. *prunum-a* "plum", *-us-i*) plum, plum-tree, *pugnu-a*, *pumu-a* "apple, apple tree"; *ramu-i-ura*; *risu-a*; *saccu-a*, *sirvizzu-a* (it. *servizio-zj*; lat. *servitium-a* "service") business; *sonu-i-ura*; *strunzu a* (it. *stronzo-i*, lat **strundius* or **struntus-i*) piece of round hard excrement; *tizzuni-a* (it. *tizzone-i*; lat. *titio-ones*) firebrand; *vaseddu-i-a* (it. *vascello-i*; lat **vascellus-i* "sepulchral urn", **-um-a* "hive") vessel, ship; *vistitu-i-a* (it. *vestito-i*; lat. **vestitus-i*) garment, *vrazzu-a*, *vudeddu-a*; etc These instances show that although the Sicilian is less abundant in substantives with neuter plurals in *a* than the standard Tuscan (*alias* the Italian language), yet it presents, more frequently than the Tuscan, exclusively neuter terminations, some of which are not even to be found in the standard language itself.

The two branches of Calabrian dialects, one of which, in my judgment, belongs to the Sicilian, and the other to the Neapolitan family, are generally used, the first in "Calabria Ulteriore I.," and the second, in two distinct groups, in "Calabria Citeriore" and "Calabria Ulteriore II." Neither of them is in lack of neuters, and among those not to be found in Tuscan or in Sicilian generally, I have been able to collect several, of which the following are examples: 1°. Southern Calabrian: *cucuddu-a* (sicil.

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cucuddu-i "cocoon") hail-stone; *ferru-a* (sicil. *ferru-i*; it. *ferro-i* lat. *ferrum-a*; **-us-i*) iron instrument; *filettu-a* (sicil. *filettu-i*; it. *filetto-i* "fine thread"; lat. **filettum-a* "net") loin; *fúrgulu-a* (sicil. *fúrgaru-i*; it. *folgore-i* "lightning"; lat. *fulgur-a* "id.") a kind of fire-works; *magammettu-a* (sicil. *maúmma-i*; it. *Maometto-i* "Mahomet"; lat. *Mahometus-i* "id.") devil; *muntuni-a* (sicil. *muntuni-i*; it. *montone-i*; lat. **muto-ones*) ram; *mustazzolu-a* (sicil. *mustazzolu-i*, it. *mostacciuolo-i*) a kind of cake; *túmanu-a* (sicil. *túmminu-i*; lat. **tuminus-i* or **tumminus-i*) a measure for grain, etc.; *verzu-i-a* (sicil. *versu-i*; it. *verso-i*; lat. *versus-i*) verse; etc.

2°. Northern Calabrian: *appartamientu-appartamenta* (sicil. *appartamentu-i*; it. *appartamento-i*) apartments; *capu-i-ura* (sicil. *capu-i*; it. *capo-i*; lat. *caput-ita*) head; *ficatu-a* (sicil. *ficatu-i*; it. *fegato-i*; lat. *ficatum-a* [4]) liver; *granaru-a* (sicil. *granaru-i*; it.

[4] *Ficātum* properly means "liver of a pig fattened with figs," but, as Brachet observes in his "Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française." Paris, p. 240, this word has been used by Marcellus Empiricus for "liver" generally. If it be impossible to deny that some Neo-Latin names expressing this general idea are derived directly from *ficātum*, it is equally impossible to deny that the great majority of them are not derived directly from it, but, as Diez and Littré remark, from *ficātum*, itself an old corruption of *ficātum*. The last author thinks that *fígido*, which occurs in the Cassel Glosses, had probably the first *i* short, and was derived directly from the hypothetic *ficatum*, this opinion being confirmed by the place occupied by the accent of the Milanese *fidegh*. The Low Latin *dolitus*, *provitus*, *vocitus*, *rogitus*, were probably proparoxytona according to the same philologist, but he does not quote any living language confirming the view that these words derived from *dolatus*, *provatus*, *vocatus*, *rogatus*, had really the accent on the first syllable, as Diez quotes *figà*, Venetian; *figàu*, Sardinian; *ficát*,-Wallachian, in support of the opinion that these words are derived directly from *ficātum*. I am happy however to be able to give an instance showing by a living language that *rogitus* is no less a proparoxyton than *figà*, *figàu*, and *ficát* are oxytona. This is the Italian word *rógito*, derived from *rogáto*, participle past of *rogáre*, "to legalize a document," and meaning "legalization of it by a notary." If *rogátus* be the origin of *rógito*, *ficátum* must be that of *fícatu*, Northern Calabrese. It seems then that the numerous names for the liver belonging to Neo-Latin dialects, and with which the root *ficus* has something to do, may be divided into two classes: the first comprising words derived directly from *ficātum* (*ficátum*); the second, much more numerous than the first, composed of words directly derived from *ficātum* (*fícatum*) and only in an indirect manner from *ficátum*: I. FICÁTUM: Venetian, *figà*, *figào*; Southern Sardinian, *figàu*; Friulano, *fijàd*; Gardena Romanese, *fujà*; Upper Engadine Romanese, *fió*; Wallachian, *fcát*; Kutzo Wallachian, *χcát*. The Genoese

granaio-i; lat. *granarium-a*) granary; *grupu-ura* (sicil. *gruppu-i*; it. *gruppo-i*; lat. **gruppus-i*) knot; *mustazzu-i-a* (sicil. *mustazzu-i*; it. *mustaccio-ci*) mustache; *peramientu-peramenta* (sicil. *pidamentu-i*) foundation; *stentinu-a* (sicil. *intistinu-i*; it. *intestino-i-e*, the last is antiquated; lat. *intestinum-a*; *intestinus-i* "inward") gut; *stuozzu-a* (sicil. *tozzu-i*; it. *tozzo-i*) bit of bread; *uortu-i-orta* (sicil. *ortu-i-ura*, it. *orto-i-ora*; lat. *hortus-i*); *vestitu-a* (sicil. *vistitu-i-a*; it. *vestito-i*; lat. **vestitus-i*); etc.

The Neapolitan dialect is not without its neuters: *aco-ora-ache*; *aniello-anelle-annella*; *carcagno-a-e*; *carro-a*; *cerviello-cervella-cervielle*, *cellevriello-cellevrella-cellevrielle*, *cereviello-cerevella-cerevielle*; *cetrulo -cetrola-e-cetrule*; *ciglio-a-ceglie*; *corneriello-cornecella-e* (sicil. *curniceddu-i*; it. *cornicello-i*; lat. *cornicellum-a*) little horn; *cotugno -cotogna-e*; *cresúmmolo-cresómmola-e* (sicil. *crisómmula-i*; lat. *chrysomelum-a*, a kind of quince) apricot, apricot-tree; *cújero* or *cuório-cójera-cóire-újere*; *cuorno-corna-e-cuorne*; *denucchio-denocchia -e-denucchie*; *detillo-detella-e* (sicil. *jiditeddu-i*) little finger; *dito* or *jídeto*, pl. *deta-e* or *jédeta*, *ghiédeta*; *furno-forna* (lat. *furnus-i*); *fusu-a-fosa-fuse*; *grano-a-e*; *gúveto* or *vuto*, pl. *goveta-e*; *lenzulo-lenzola*; *ligno-legna-e*; *migliaro-a*; *miglio-a*; *mille-milia*; *milo-mela-e* (it. *melo-i*; *-a-e* "apple"; lat. *malum-a* "id."; *us-i*) apple, apple-tree; *muojo-moja* (lat. *modium-a*); *muro-a*; *niérevo-néreva*, *niévero -névera*, *nierro-nerva*; *niéspolo-néspola-e* (sicil. *néspula-i*; it. *nespolo -i*; *-a-e* "medlar"; lat. *mespilum-a* "id."; *-us-i*) medlar, medlar-tree; *núdeco-nódeca* (sicil. *nodu-i*; it. *nodo-i-ora*); *pagliaro-a* (sicil. *pag-*

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figaττou and the Monagasque *figarétou* are diminutives of *figà*, unused. II. FICATUM: *figido*, Cassel Glosses, and the following: Italian, *fégato*; Aretino, *féghelo*; Roman, *fédico*; Northern Sardinian, *figgatu*; Sicilian, *ficatu*; Northern Calabrese, id., and *ficata* in the plural; Tarantino, *fèteche*, Abruzzese, *féteche*, *fétteche*, *féchete*; Neapolitan, *fécato*; Central Sardinian, *fidigu*; Spanish, *higado*; Asturian, *fégadu*; Galician, *fégado*; Portuguese, *figado*; Mentonese, *figatu*; Piemontese, *fidich*; Milanese, *fidegh*, Bergamasco, *fidech*; Bresciano, *figat*; Pavese, *fidæch*; Piacentino, *fidagh*; Modenese, *fédegh*; Bolognese, *féghet*; Romagnuolo, *fégat*; Catalonian, *fétge*; Provencial, *fédze*, *fútgi*; Languedocien, *fétche*; id. Central, *féche*; id. Western, *fége*; Gascon, *hítge*; Upper Bearnese, *hige*; Bearnese, *hiye*; Vaudois, *fétjo*, *fédzo*; Ancient French, *feie*, *foie*, *fée*, *foye*, *fie* (this last, although of the xiiith century, is not given by Littré); French, *foie*; Lorrain, *foué*; Walloon, *feûte*; Namurois, *féte*; Rouchi, *fi*.

ghiaru-i, it. *pagliaio-i* "rick of straw"; lat. **palearium-a*; **us-i* "fan" for winnowing) hut covered with straw; *paro-a*; *pedamento -pedamenta*; *percuoco-percoca-che* (sicil. *varcocu-chi* "apricot, apricot-tree", it. *albicocco-chi* "apricot-tree", *-a-e* "apricot"; lat. *præcoquum-a* "early ripe," *-us-i* "id.") a kind of apricot and apricot-tree; *pertuso -pertosa-e*, *pídeto*, *píreto*, *pírto-pédeta*, *piro-pera-e*; *pruno-a-e*, *punio-a*, *pome-a*, *riso-a*; *stentino-a-e*, *strunzo-stronza*; *suorvo-sorva-e* (sicil. *zorba-i*, id., Catania, *sorva-i*, it. *sorbo-i*, *-a-e* "sorb", lat. *sorbum-a* "id"; *-us-i*) sorb, service-tree, *telaro-a*; *tilleco-télleca*, *tetélleca* (it *ditello-a-e*); *túmmolo-tómmola*, *uorto-órtora-órtola*; *uosso-ossa*, *uovo -ova*, *vodiello-vodelle-a*, *vraccio-a-ce* or *raccio-a-ce*, *vruóccolo-vróccola*, *veruóccolo-veróccola*, *veluócelo-velóccela* (? lat *vitellum-a*, *-us-i*) yolk, etc It is to be noted · 1° That both the feminine and masculine terminations in *e*, or only one of them, may accompany the neuter in *a*, as in *denucchio*, *cresuómmolo*, *cuorno*, 2°. That terminations in *a* are sometimes replaced by the feminine in *e* exclusively, as it happens in Roman and Northern Corsican *castiello-castelle*, *lavro e*, *tiempo-témpore*, in the sense of "days" in "ember-days", *tuozzo -tozze*, *vruogno-vrogne* "shell" (of the Tritons, Venus, etc); 3°. That in Neapolitan, as well as in Northern Calabrian, the rule of diphthongal permutation frequently occurs [5]

The Venetian dialect is exceedingly poor in neuters · *centenèr-a*, *déo-i-a*; (it *dito*). *Déa* is only used in the sense of measure, *mier-a* or

[5] The permutation of *e* and *o* tonic into *ie* and *uo* takes place both in Neapolitan and Northern Calabrian according to rules quite independent of Latin quantity. In fact, although these two diphthongs are generally derived from short Latin *e* and *o*, these vowels very often produce no diphthong at all, but remain unchanged With regard to the Northern Calabrian, I have already given these rules in my "Osservazioni sul permutamento delle vocali e de' dittonghi del dialetto calabrese," prefixed to my edition of the Gospel of St Matthew in this dialect by R Lucente London, 1862. Suffice it to recall. 1°. That *věnio*, *věnis*, *prophētæ* *bŏnus*, *bŏni*, *sacerdōtem*, *sacer dōtes*, give rise to the diphthongs *ie* and *uo* in *viégnu*, *viéni*, *pruféti* *buónu*, *buóni*, *sacerduótu*, *sacerduóti*, because the first vowel of the syllable following the accent is either *i* or *u*, 2° That *vĕnit*, *prophēta*, *camēlus* *bŏna*, *bŏnæ*, produce no diphthongs in *véne* or *véna*, *pruféta*, *camēle* · *bónu*, *bóne*, because the first vowel of the syllable following the accent is neither *i* nor *u*. The rules for the Neapolitan are not exactly the same as for the Northern Calabrian, on account of three other permutations peculiar to the first dialect In fact, atonic *i* is generally replaced in Neapolitan by atonic *e*, while atonic

miara; *mio-a* (it. *miglio*); *pèr-a* (it. *paio*); *stèr-a* (it. *staio*). In *vôvo* or *vuóvo* or *óvo*—*vôvi* or *vuóvi* or *óvi*, *vòve* or *vuòve*, the termination in *e* is feminine, and replaces the neuter in *a*. *Vòve* or *vuòve*, with the open *o*, now means only "roe, fish-roe", among fishermen, but in the year 1521, according to Boerio, it was used for *vôvi* or *vuóvi*, with the shut *o*, in the general sense of "eggs". *Témpori* "ember-days" (it. *quattro témpora*), although corresponding to an Italian neuter, is only a plural masculine in Venetian, on account of its termination in *i*. (Compare it with Wallachian pl. feminines in *uri*, as *piépturi*, *tímpuri*, derived from sing. masculines: *piept*, *timp*, "breast, time"; with the Abruzzese *dètere*, *tèttere*, plurals of *dete*, "finger" or "toe"; *tetta*, "roof"; and with the Tarantino *acèddiri*, *pirtòsiri*, *scinòcchiri*, plurals of *acijddo*, *pirtuso*, *scinucchio*, "bird, hole, knee".)

II. *Sardinian.*

This language, which forms the transition from Italian to Spanish, offers hardly any instances of neuters. I am only able to find the following in the Central or Logudorese dialect: *milli -mizi*; *paju-pajas*; *tempus-tempus*, but *témporas* occurs in the sense of "ember-days".

The Southern or Cagliaritano offers only: *milli-milla*; *tempus-tempus-témporas.*

III. *Genoese.*

This language, according to my views, is intermediate between Italian and Gallo-Italic. It differs from almost all the true Italian

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o, at least in writing, is substituted for atonic *u*. I say "in writing", because, for my own part, I think the difference between Neapolitan atonic *o* and Northern Calabrian atonic *u* to be orthographical rather than anything else, both these symbols being pronounced as *u*; and this in spite of the contrary assertion of a distinguished Neapolitan writer who, avowedly, laboured under the rather curious influence of Calabrian antipathy. Besides these two permutations there is a third, but not so regular, consisting in a subsequent change of *ie* and *uo* into tonic *i* and *u*, sometimes taking place, and sometimes not in the masculine, while the neuter and feminine remain unaltered, as is shown in *aniello* sing. masc., *annella* pl. neut., *anelle*, pl. fem.; *cre-suómmolo-creammola-e*; *milo* (for *mielo*) *-mela-e*; *denúcchio* (for *denuocchio*) *denocchia-e* and *denúcchie* (for *denuocchie*) pl. masc.; *cuorno-corna-cuorne*; etc. These instances also show that Neapolitan *e* produces the diphthongal changes only when it corresponds to Northern Calabrian *i*.

dialects in possessing the sounds *œ*, *y* (French *u*), and *ng* or guttural *n* in "finger" which may occur between two vowels, as well as in having the "umlaut" in the plural, e.g. *spa-spæ* "sword", *farbalà -farbalè* "furbelow", *villan-villen* "peasant". These permutations are not to be confounded with the diphthongal, proper to the Neapolitan, Abruzzese, Tarantino, Northern Calabrian, and other Southern dialects, or derived from it. It differs, on the other hand, from Gallo-Italic, in never allowing any of its words, except in Mentonese, to end in the sounds, *p*, *b*, *f*, *v*, *t*, *d*, *s*, *z*, *sh*, *zh*, *ts*, *dz*, *tsh*, *dzh*, *k*, *g*, as happens so often in all the other Non-Italian dialects of Northern Italy (as I consider them) with the exception of the Venetian. But this, neither being in possession of the sounds, *œ*, *y*, and medial *ng*, nor presenting the "umlaut", is evidently a real Italian dialect.

Genoese neuters are very scarce: *miggiâ-miggiæa*; *miggiu-a*, *mille mia* or *milla*; *pâ-puæa* (it *paio*), *sentanâ-sentanæa*, but the plural feminine termination *e* replaces in several words the neuter plural *a*, *brassu-i*, when it means a certain measure, and *brasse* otherwise; *carcagnu-e*, *servellu-i*, in the figurative sense, and *servelle* otherwise, *cornu-i*, when it means a certain instrument or a part of the anvil, and *corne* otherwise; *diu-e* (it. *dito*), *euvu-e* (it. *uovo*), *figu-ghe*, *lærfu-e* (it. *labbro*), *ossu-e*, *pèrsegu ghe* (it. *pesca*) peach, *zenogru-ge*.

IV. *Gallo-Italic.*

The Gallo-Italic language is very poor in neuters, and the Piedmontese as well as the Lombard family has none or hardly any. The Emilian family is somewhat richer.

I only find in Piedmontese proper *mia*, *mila*; *miraja*, *paira*, in both numbers; in Milanese, *brazz-a*, when it means a certain measure, and *brazzi* or better *brasci*, plur. of *brasc*, if it have the sense of "arm"; *mia* or *my*, *miara* or *miéra* or *miée*, *para*, in both numbers, in Bergamasco, *méa*, *mela* or *mele* or *mile* (it. *mille*), in both numbers, *miér-a*, *pér-a*.

The Bolognese presents: *brazz-a*, *câr-cara* (it. *carro*); *did-a*, *mei-meja*; *mell-a*; *miar-a*; *par-a*; *zintunar-a*, and the Romagnuolo: *brazz-a*; *carr-a*; *di-dida*; *mêy-a*; *mêl-mêlla*; *miêr-a*; *pér-a*, *zintnêr-a*; *znòcc-znòccia*.

V. *Romanese.*

Plural neuters in *a* such as we find them in Italian, exist in Romanese, as a rule, only in appearance. In fact they occur very seldom and only by way of exception.[6] That substantives ending in *a*, corresponding in meaning to plural Italian neuters of the same termination, and even derived as these last from Latin neuters, exist in Romanese, no one can doubt; but this correspondence is of course unable to render plural and neuter what in Romanese grammar can only be a feminine collective of the singular number; just in the same way that it is unable to transform into a plural neuter the Italian word *legna*, a feminine collective singular in this phrase: *la legna è umida*, "the wood is damp." This very Italian word *legna*, however, may also be a real plural neuter in this second phrase: *le legna sono umide*, having the same meaning as the first; and the Italian word *legne* may also be a plural feminine in this third phrase: *le legne sono umide*, having the same meaning as the first and second. In the first instance, *legna* agreeing in gender and number with *la, è, umida*, can only be a feminine collective substantive of the singular number. In the third instance, *legne* agreeing in gender and number with *le, sono, umide*, can only be a regular plural feminine, whose singular is the collective *legna*; but in the second phrase, *legna* agreeing in number with a plural article, a plural verb, and a plural adjective, and having the termination in *a* which never belongs to feminine or masculine plurals, can only be a plural neuter, notwithstanding the feminine forms *le, sono, umide*. In fact, the neuter gender, in Italian, only exists "morphologically" in substantives, the neuter form for article and adjectives being always the same as the feminine. In Romanese, on the contrary, substantives in *a*, without excepting the collective, agree generally with singular articles, adjectives, and verbs; and, having no other form than the feminine, can only be considered as belonging to the feminine gender in the singular number, in the same manner as the Italian

[6] As in Dan. v. 5. Italian: *Uscirono delle dita di man d'uomo*; Oberland Romanese: *Vanginen nou navont detta d'un maun da carstaun*; Lower Engadine: *Vennen oura dainta d'man da crastian.* "Came forth fingers of a man's hand."

legna is also singular in the collective sense of the first phrase, although not in that of the second.

A few biblical quotations from the three usually written Romanese dialects, compared with the Italian, will show the difference between the real plural neuters of the latter and the collective singular feminines of the former: Gen. IL. 24. *Le sue braccia si son* (plur.) *rinforzate*; Oberland Romanese: *Sia bratscha ei* (sing.) *fachia ferma.* "The arms of his hands were made strong."—Ps. XXXVII. 17. *Le braccia degli empj saranno* (plur.) *rotte*; Lower Engadine: *La bratscha dals scelerats vain* (sing.) *a gnir ruotta.* "The arms of the wicked shall be broken."—Is. LI. 5. *Le mie braccia giudicheranno* (plur.); L. E. *Mia bratscha vgin* (sing.) *a judichar.* "Mine arms shall judge."—Ez. XXX. 25. *Le braccia di Faraone caderanno* (plur.); Oberland: *La bratscha da Farao ven* (sing.) *a curdar*; L. E. *La bratscha da Farao crudarà* (sing.). "The arms of Pharaoh shall fall down."—Is. ii. 8. *Ciò che le lor dita hanno* (plur.) *fatto*; L. E. *Quai chia lur dainta ha* (sing.) *fat.* "That which their own fingers have made."—Rom. xii. 4. *Perciocchè, siccome in un istesso corpo abbiam molte membra, e tutte le membra non hanno* (plur.) *una medesima operazione*; Oberland: *Parchei sco nus vein enten in chierp beara nembra, mo tutta la nembra ha* (sing.) *bucca la mademma lavur*; Upper Engadine: *Perche sco nus avains in in corp byera membra, mo no tuotta la membra ho* (sing.) *la medema funcziun*; L. E. *Perche, sco nus in un istess corp havain blêra membra, è tuot la membra nun ha* (sing.) *üna medemma operatiun.* "For as we have many members in one body, and all members have not the same office".—1 Cor. xii. 22. *Anzi, molto più necessarie che l'altre son* (plur.) *le membra del corpo, che paiono* (plur.) *essere le più deboli*; Oberland: *Mo bearont ei* (sing.) *quella nembra dilg chierp, ca para* (sing.) *pli feivla, er necessaria*; U. E. *Anzi quella membra del corp, chi pera* (sing.) *la pü debla, ais* (sing.) *la pü necessaria*; L. E. *Anzi, bler plü necessaria co l'autra ais* (sing.) *la membra dal corp, chi para* (sing.) *esser la plü debla.* "Nay, much more those members of the body, which seem to be more feeble, are necessary".—1 Cor. xii. 25. *Acciocchè non vi sia dissension nel corpo, anzi le membra abbiano* (plur.) *una medesima cura l'une per l'altre*; Oberland: *Par ca ei seigi bucca dissensiun enten ilg chierp, mo ca la nembra hagi* (sing.) *parinnameng*

quitau l' in par l' auter; U. E. *Acciò nun saja üngüna discordia nel corp, mo che la membra pissereseha* (sing.) *in concordia l' üin per l' oter*; L. E. *Aciò chi nun saja dabat in il corp, anzi haja* (sing.) *la membra tuotta üna medemma chura l' üin per l' auter.* "That there should be no schism in the body; but that the members should have the same care one for another".—1 Cor. xii. 26. *E, se pure un membro patisce, tutte le membra compatiscono* (plur.); *e, se un membro è onorato, tutte le membra ne gioiscono* (plur.) *insieme*; Oberland: *A scha in nember andira, andira* (sing.) *tutta la nembra ansembel cun el; a cur in nember ven hundraus, sa legra* (sing.) *tutta la nembra cun quel*; U. E. *E scha un member pateseha, schi compateseha* (sing.) *tuotta la membra; e scha un member vain onuro, schi s' allegra* (sing.) *tuotta la membra cun quel*; L. E. *E scha pur ün member pateseha, schì compateseha* (sing.) *tuot la membra; è sch' un member ais honurâ, schì s'alleigra* (sing.) *tuot la membra insemmel.* "And whether one member suffer, all members suffer with it; or one member be honoured, all members rejoice with it". This last biblical passage demonstrates with the greatest lucidity that, while *membro* and *membra* are in Italian respectively a singular and a plural, *nember* and *nembra*, or *member* and *membra*, are both singular in Romanese.

Carisch (see his Romanese grammar printed at Coire in 1852, p. 136) calls these Romanese substantives "Kollektiva oder Neutra in Plural mit der Endung in *a*," and he says some lines lower and in the same page: "These nouns have naturally no plural." The real fact however is that *meila*, the collective singular form for "apples", has its proper grammatical plural in *s*, *meilas*. The case is the same with *corn*, and *corna* its collective form, each having its true plural, *corns* and *cornas*; the same occurs with *schanugl*, *schanuglia*, *schanuglias*, etc. In Italian, on the contrary, *ginocchia*, *corna*, etc., are themselves plurals.

As instances of "Collectiva" in *a*, in which the Romanese dialects of the Grison family abound, I give the following, preceded by the ordinary non-collective singulars, and analogous to the Italian plurals of the same termination.[7]

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[7] The Romanese language, without reckoning as such the Friulano, which, for certain reasons, I prefer to regard as an independent Neo-Latin language,

Oberland Romanese: *arvegl-arveglia*, "pea"; *atsch-a*, "thread of a skein"; *begl-beglia*, "gut"; *biesc, biesch-ch*, "animal, beast"

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very much in the same way as I consider Catalonian independent of Modern French Occitanian, may be divided into two families: The first A. comprises the Grisons Romanese, which subdivides into two branches: α. The Oberland branch, to which belong as two distinct dialects: 1. The Upper Silvan, commonly called Oberland Romanese, and 2. The Lower Silvan or Oberhalbstein dialect, with their primary and secondary groups of subdialects and varieties; β. The Engadine branch, presenting only one dialect: The Engadine Romanese 3., divided into the Upper and Lower subdialects with their varieties (that of Munster belongs to the last). The second or Tyrolese family B. of the Romanese comprises but one branch γ., and two dialects: 4. and 5. The Eastern Tyrolese 4., comprises two subdialects: the Ladin, variously spoken at Gardena, Marubio, Abbadia, Fassa, Upper Val di Fiemme, and Livinal-lungo; and the Upper Bellunese, comprising the varieties of Ampezzo, Oltrechiusa, Comelico, and also, in my opinion, those of Cadore, Vajont, and Sacile. The Western Tyrolese 5., is spoken, in different varieties, at Val di Rumo, Val di Sole, Val di Non, and also, as I hold, at Lower Val di Fiemme, and Val Cembra. According to this classification, the Romanese language includes two families, three branches, and five dialects. Although I am aware that in a few particulars I differ from the great Italian philologist and first authority on Romanese, Ascoli, I consider these small divergences of very little importance in themselves. In fact, suffice it to say that in zoology likewise there are slight differences of classification even among the most celebrated naturalists. Primary or secondary importance given to certain characters is the main cause of such difference of views, to which is also to be added the greater or less power of disregarding national feeling, a power with which even scientific men are not always sufficiently provided. I am aware that it will sound strange to Northern and Non-Venetian Italian ears to assert that what is neither Tuscan, nor Roman, nor Corsican, nor Sicilian, nor Neapolitan, nor Northern Sardinian, nor Venetian, is not, linguistically speaking, Italian; but, if such be the case, the only duty of real science is to respect what is true.

With regard to Romanese orthography, it must be noted that there is in it a want of uniformity. I have therefore given the preference to that orthography which, while uniformly representing the sounds, does not at the same time generally admit whatever is not in use in one at least of the Grisons dialects. The consonants, digrams, trigrams, etc., of the following syllables are to be pronounced so: 1°. *ca, ke, ki, co, cu*; *ac, ek, ik, oc, uc*, as *k*; 2°. *ga, ghe, ghi, go, gu*; *ag, egh, igh, og, ug*, as hard *g*; 3°. *chia, chie, chi, chio, chiu*; *aich, eich, ich, oich, uich*, as a sound between *k* and *ch*; 4°. *cia, ce, ci, cio, ciu*; *atsch, etsch, itsch, otsch, utsch*, as *ch*; 5°. *gia, ge, gi, gio, giu*; *aig, eg, ig*; *erg, irg*; *esg, isg*; *eschg, ischg*; *oig, uig*, as *j*; 6°. *za, ze, zi, zo, zu*, as *ts*; 7°. *scha, sche, schi, scho, schu*; *asch, esch, usch, osch, usch*, as *sh*; 8°. *sca, sce, sci, sco, scu*, as *ska, s-che, s-chi, sko, sku*; 9°. *glia, gle, gli, glio, gliu*; *agl, egl, igl, ogl, ugl*, as the Italian *gli*; 10°, *gla, ghle, ghli,*

—biesca;—*biesch-chia*, "cattle"; *blieck-blocca*, "block, log"; *bratsch-a*, "arm"; *butatsch-a*, "stomach from black cattle"; *canvitsch-a*, "hemp-stalk"; *ciurvì-cerviala*, "brain"; *cochiel-coichla*, "coal;" *corn*, *chiern*, *chiuern-corna*, "horn"; *crapp-a*, "stone"; *cros*, *cries-crosa*, "peel, paring"; *dett-a*, "finger; toe"; *farcagl -farcaglia*, "slit hemp-stalk"; *fegl-feglia*, "leaf"; *fistaig-fistagia*, "wood-path over a steep declivity"; *frich-frichia*, "fruit"; *frust-a*, "piece"; *garnitsch-a*, "little grain"; *gianeiver-gianeivra*, "juniper"; *gripp-a*, "rock"; *iess*, *oss-ossa*, "bone"; *isch-a*, "door"; *lenn-a*, "wood, timber"; *malèr-a*, "apple-tree"; *meil-a*, "apple"; *migliader*, *magliader*, "eater";—*migliadira*, "devouring insects"; *nember-nembra*, "member, limb;" *nerv*, *nierv*, *gnerv -niarva*, *gnerva*, *nerva*, "nerve, sinew"; *ogn-a*, "alder"; *pèr-a*, "pair, couple"; *pêr-a*, "pear"; *prau-prada*, "meadow"; *primm-a*, "plum"; *pumèr-a*, "fruit-tree"; *pumma*, "fruit"; *pugn-a*, "fist"; *romm-a*, "branch"; *rugn-a*, "itch"; *schanugl-schanuglia*, "knee"; *schierp-a*, "implements of agriculture"; *sdratsch-a*, "rags"; *spinatsch-a*, "thorn"; *stèr-a*, "bushel"; *schuldau -schuldada*, "soldier"; *ov*, *iev-ova*, "egg"; *vaschì*, *vischì-vischalla*, "implements for kitchen, cellar, etc."

Oberhalbstein Romanese[8]: *armaint-a*, "neat"; *blocc-a*; *cervì-cervela*; *figl-figlia*, "leaf"; *pomm-a*; *prò-prada*; *premm-a* "plum"; *suldò-suldada*; *vaschi-vaschela*.

Upper Engadine Romanese (see note 8): *agn-a*, "alder"; *arvagl-arvaglia*; *bogl-bòglia*; *bos'ch-bos'chia*, "tree"; *chüern-corna*; *daint-a*, "finger; toe"; *fogl-foglia*; *frutt-a*, *frua*; *ginaiver-ginaivra*; *lain-a*, "wood, timber"; *magledar-magliadüra*; *member-membra*; *oss-ossa*; *pair-a*, "pear"; *pomèr-a*, "apple-tree"; *pomm-a*, "apple"; *ruogn-a*; *schnuogl-schnuoglia*; *sudò-sudada*.

Lower Engadine Romanese (see note 8): *arbagl-arbaglia*; *mail-a*, "apple"; *mailèr-a* *sudà-sudada*.

The Romanese dialects of the Tyrolese family have no "Col-

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glo, *glu*, as *gl*; 11°. *gna*, *gne*, *gni*, *gno*, *gnu*; *agn*, *egn*, *ign*, *ogn*, *ugn*, as the Italian *gn*; 12°. *ang*, *eng*, *ing*, *ong*, *ung*, as *ng* in *mangle*, *finger*, *stronger*, *bungle*; 13°. *gg*, as a strong *j*; 14°, 15°. *sch'ch* and *s'ch*, as *sh-ch*, *s-ch*, giving to *ch* the Romanese sound.

[8] Instances already given are not repeated when they are exactly the same in this dialect.

lectiva" in *a*, but the variety of Livinallungo, belonging to the Ladin subdialect of the Eastern Tyrolese, presents two real plural neuters in *a* : *pichè-pichà*, "sin"; *pré-prà*, "meadow".

VI. *Other Neo-Latin languages.*

Spanish, Portuguese, Friulano, Occitanian, Catalonian, Modern Occitanian of France, Franco-Occitanian (Ascoli's "Franco-Provenzale"), French, and Wallachian have no neuter plurals in *a*; and, from all that has been said upon this subject, it appears clearly that Italian is the only Neo-Latin language which has preserved plural neuters directly derived from the Latin, (not to be confounded with Romanese "Collectiva"), in sufficient number to justify its claim to the possession of three regular plural termitions : *i*, *e*, and *a*.

APPENDIX IV.

PARTIAL CORRECTION

OF

ENGLISH SPELLINGS.

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OF
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NOTES TO SERVE AS A BASIS FOR DISCUSSION AT THE SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY, ON FRIDAY, JULY 9TH, 1880, AT 8 P.M.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES.

1.

IT is necessary to begin with those reforms which are most likely to be generally accepted by those who are not opposed to reform generally. Hence all changes involving further disputed changes should be avoided. Thus, by dropping the *g*, *reign* becomes phonetic without further change, but the dropping of the *g* of *sign* opens up the general question of the representation of diphthongic *i*—*sine*, *sein*, *sien*, *sain*, etc.

2.

The prejudice against phonetic spelling is mainly the result of a dislike to unfamiliar forms. Traditional associations are disturbed less by omissions than by additions or substitutions of letters. But even universally accepted principles will excite prejudice if they involve changes in more than a limited number of words.

3.

English spelling generally obscures (as in the *g* of *right*), and often directly falsifies etymology, as in *island*. A purely etymological reform of our spelling would be at the same time a partial phonetic reform. Such an etymological reform

cannot, however, be carried out consistently and completely. It is, besides, generally agreed among philologists that etymological spelling really defeats its own aim by obliterating the development of the language, and that the only true *historical* spelling is a purely phonetic one. An appeal to etymology has, however, two practical uses: 1) it affords a basis for agreement which may be either wanting or require confirmation, as in the restoration of the Tudor *feeld* for *field;* and 2) it gives the principle of limitation sought above (§ 2).

4.

The etymological character of phonetically omitted or changed letters is of three kinds, *correct*, *incorrect*, and *neutral*. The *k* of initial *kn-* is always etymologically correct, the *s* of *island* is etymologically misleading, while final *e* is altogether neutral, having no etymological value whatever: it is mere chance whether the *e* of such a word as *name* corresponds to an older vowel (O.E. *nama*) or is merely a sign of lengthening as in *life*. We should, even from a purely etymological point of view, be as justified in rejecting the unpronounced *e* in *live* as the *s* of *island*.

5.

The omission of the *b* in *debt*, etc., is etymologically necessary, in spite of Latin *debitum*, because *debt* is derived from the Old French *dete*, not from *debitum*.

6.

Phonetic changes sometimes give different words the same form, when they are distinguished for the eye in the present spelling. In most cases they are fully distinguished by the context, as in *scent* and *sent*, *inn* and *in*. When like-sounding words do not cause any ambiguity in speech, they do so still less in writing, and if they do cause ambiguity in speech the ambiguity is equally a fault in writing, which may have to be read aloud, and is in all cases but a

reflection of the spoken language. The distinctions between like-sounding words in the existing spelling are mostly useless, and some words distinct in speech, such as *row* (verb and 'series') and *row* (noise) are confounded in writing. It would be impossible to carry out distinctions consistently in such cases as *fell*=1) pret. of *fall*, 2) 'make to fall,' 3) 'hide,' 4) 'mountain,' 5) 'cruel,' and hundreds of others. These are defects not of *spelling*, but of *the language itself*.

7.

It has often been suggested that instead of reforming spelling, we should reform pronunciation. But it is impossible to control pronunciation without phonetic spelling. If, for instance, we had written *skedule* from the first, there would have been no dispute about the pronunciation possible.

8.

There are some practical considerations unconnected with pronunciation: 1) the elimination of irregularities of spelling; 2) the saving of time and space. Thus the *ie* of *field*, etc., is not phonetically misleading, but its change into *ee* would get rid of the greatest difficulty of English spelling, the distinction between *ie* and *ei*. Again, such a change as *f* for *ph* is not of much phonetic importance, but it would considerably shorten such a word as *philosophy*.

The basis of an immediate partial reform will therefore be:

1) *The omission of silent etymologically useless letters, whenever it does not involve further disputed change.* This would apply to such reforms as *iland* for *island* and *sorren* for *sovereign*.

The next two changes can be applied only partially:

2) *Restore older phonetic spellings*, as *feeld* for *field*, *ake* for *ache*.

3) *Eliminate irregularities and unphonetic spellings by consistently extending forms already in use*, as in *ov* for *of*, *in* for *inn*, *traveler* for *traveller*.

Details.

Vowels.

e.

Final and inflectional or derivative *e* has no etymological value, and should be omitted wherever practicable, and restricted to its actual function of lengthening a preceding vowel. It is not required in the following monosyllables: *are* (pron. as in *far*, not as in *fare*), *bade*, *have* (but kept in *behave*); *were*; *give*, *live* (kept in *alive*), *vineyard*; *gone*. Also in the inflections *lives*, *lived*, etc.

In the following words the original *u* is restored at the same time: *above*, *come*, *dove*, *love*, *some*, *-some* (*handsome*, etc.). In *done*, *glove*, *none*, *one* the *o* is historical.

e after *s* lengthens the preceding vowel, but the *s* itself is sometimes voiced, as in *to close*, sometimes breathed, as in *close* aj. When *s* has a consonant before it or a double vowel or diphthong, the *e* makes the *s* breathed, as in *tense*, *goose*, contrasted with *pens*. After *th* it lengthens and voices, as in *breathe* contrasted with *breath*. It cannot therefore be used to lengthen a vowel before breathed *th*, whence the anomalous spellings *both*, *loth*, *(be)troth*, *truth*. The only escape from these difficulties is to carry out consistently the present inconsistent use of *z*, and to introduce *dh*, writing *close*, *close*; *tens*, *goos*, *penz*; *breadh*, *breth*, *bothe*, etc.

e final is not required after vowels and diphthongs, as in *due*, *virtue*, *hoe*, *shoe*, *eye*, *owe*. It is, however, often required in inflected forms of words with a simple vowel before the *e*, as in *dues*.

Inflectional *e* has already been dropped in the noun-inflection *es* when not pronounced. The unmeaning *James'* or *James's* should be written in full *Jameses*, and the useless (') dropped everywhere.

The omission of the *e* of *looked* involves a return to the older *lookt*. The shortening of doubled consonants may be carried out consistently: *ebd*, *chaft*, *tugd*, *culd* (but *palld*, see

below), *raind, stopt, erd, crost, busd.* Length-marking and hiss-marking *e* must be retained, as in *chafed, chanced. pickt* may be shortened either into *pict* or *pikt.*

e may be omitted after *l* in *cattle, treble, feeble,* etc., but must be retained in *able, bible,* etc. *-re* should be written *-er,* as is already done in *(gas)meter,* except after *c* and *g,* as in *acre, ogre. centred* will thus be distinguished from *hatred.*

It may be omitted in a variety of liquid endings, as in *driven, drivel,* contrasted with *enliven, libel.* Also after consonants in *promise, purpose, active, brimstone,* etc. But not in *purchase* and other *a*-words, where the final *e* gives an *i*-character to the *a.* It cannot, of course, be omitted after *c* or *g,* as in *crevice, image.*

Derivative *ei,* as in *foreign, forfeit,* might drop either the *e* or the *i.* It seems simplest to drop the second vowel both in *ei* and the *ou* of *labour,* as has already been done in many words, such as *error. height* should be written *hight. e* is not required in *yeoman :* in *jeopardy* and *people* the *eo* is partly historical.

ea

has the etymological value of simple *e,* which preceded it in Middle English, and the *a* can be omitted in: *bread, breadth, breakfast, breast, breath, cleanly, cleanse, dead, deaf, dearth, death, dread, dreamed, earl, earn, earnest, earth, endeavour, feather, head, health, heard, hearse, heaven, heavy, jealous, lead* sb., *leaned, learn, leaped, leaven, leather, meadow, meant, measure, pearl, peasant, pheasant, pleasant, -ure, read* prt., *ready, realm, rehearse, search, spread, stead(y), stealth, sweat, thread, threat, treachery, tread, -le, treasure, wealth, weapon, weather, yearn, zealous.*

The analogy of *hark* justifies us in omitting the *e* of *hearken, heart, hearth,* thereby restoring frequent Tudor spellings.

ie

for *ee* is more or less unhistorical, and the older *ee* should be restored in : *believe, bier, field, fiend, lief, priest, shield, thief, yield, wield;* also in French and other words, such as : *brief,*

fierce, frieze, grief, grieve, liege, mien, piece, pierce, relief, siege, shriek, tierce.

In *friend* nothing is required but the omission of the *i*. The anomalous *sieve* is reduced to *siv*.

The useless inflectional *e* may be omitted in such forms as *cities, carried*, thus distinguished from *carrier, happiest*.

o

The Tudor *oo* should be restored in *behove, lose, move, prove, whose*, the final *e* being also dropped. *gamboge* keeps its *e* on account of the *g*, but the older *oo* should be restored.

above, etc., have been discussed under *e*. The following words also demand restitution of the Old English and Old Norman *u*: *affront, colour, comfit, comfrey, comfort, companion, -y, compass, constable, covenant, cover, covet, covey, discomfit, dozen, front, govern, honey, London* (historically *Lunden*), *money, mongrel, monk, monkey, onion, plover, pommel, son, sponge, stomach, thorough, ton, tongue* (hist. *tung*), *won* (from *win*), *wonder, worm, worry, worse, worship, worst, worth*. In *among(st)*, *monger* we have dialectal *u*, in *women* original *i*. In *combat* and *conduit* the false spelling has corrupted the pronunciation. In the following words the *o* is more or less historical: *brother, does* (with superfluous *e*), *done, dost, doth, Monday, month, mother, nothing, other, twopence, word, world*. *once* goes with *one*.

The termination *-or* is much confused with *-er*, which might be substituted for it where there is a verbal base, as in *inspector, director, contractor*, also perhaps in *actor*.

ou

drops the unhistoric *o* in *through* and *young*, and restores the Old Norman *u* in *adjourn, bourgeon, country, couple, -et, courage, courteous, -esy, cousin, double, flourish, journal, -ey, joust* (also written *just*), *nourish, scourge, touch, trouble*. *ou* is more or less historical in: *chough* (?), *enough, tough*. In *rough, southerly, southern, Southwark*, it answers to O.E. long *u*. Where *ou* answers to O.E. long *u*, and is sounded as in *thou*, or as in

uncouth, *could* (which, however, loses its *l*), it must be preserved. For *labour*, etc., see under *ei*.

u

after *g* in English words is unetymological, and is not more required in *guess*, *guest*, *guild*, *guilt*, than in *get*, *give*, etc. In foreign words the *u* of *guinea*, *guitar*, etc., is required to keep the *g* hard. The *u* of *guarantee* and *guard* is Old-French, but the parallel *gage* has lost its *u*.

The *ue* in *tongue* is useless, and the historical *tung* should be restored. *ue* is equally useless in *catalogue*, *decalogue*, *demagogue*, *dialogue*, *eclogue*, *epilogue*, *harangue*, *monologue*, *mystagogue*, *pedagogue*, *synagogue*. It is already omitted in derivatives, such as *demagogism*. *ague* and *argue* may be distinguished from *plague*, etc., by dropping the *e*. *ue* in *Cinque-Ports* is no more required than in *cinque* (in cards) or the French *cinq*, and there is no reason why *q* should not be final also in *burlesque*, *grotesque*, and *mosque*. If silent *u* were dropped everywhere after *q*, *conquer* could be distinguished from *conquest*. The *u* of *antique*, etc., would then be dropped also.

y

is etymologically wrong in *thyme* and *rhyme*, whose *h*es are also wrong. *y* final in *city* is an isolated archaism, and the general use of *i* should be carried out here also. We thus get the regular *citi*, *citis*, *carri*, *carrid*, *sli*, *slili*. *ey* in *money* should also be simplified to *i*. *y* would thus be restricted to its etymological value of Greek *u*.

y, w

in diphthongs are unhistorical, and *they* ought to be made uniform with *their*. In the case of *ow* a useful distinction might be made between the regular *now* and the exceptional *know* by writing the former *nou*, as in *thou*, and keeping the other unchanged. So also medially in *mould*, etc., as already in *noun*, *known*.

Final double vowels.

Historical final *oo* should be extended to *canoe, do, shoe,* thus distinguishing them from *doe,* etc. The *ee* of *be, he, me, she, the, we, ye,* might also be restored on the analogy of *thee,* when these words are emphatic.

Consonants.

double

ebb, add, odd, inn, butt, should follow the general analogy, and drop their last consonant. *doll* should follow the analogy of *Hal, pal,* and the other consonants, but *hall, roll,* etc., may keep the doubling for the sake of distinction, which must be restored in *appal,* etc. So also *full* may keep, while *dull* loses, its second *l*. *-ss* must be kept till *s* and *z* are regulated.

ll in unaccented syllables should follow the analogy of the other letters, *traveling* being thus distinguished from *rebelling.*

Medial consonants may be doubled where necessary, as in *women, coming, loving.*

In *pick,* etc., either the *c* or the *k* may be dropped. The analogy of *public,* etc., and of *tic* speaks for the former. In *mimicking* the *k* cannot be dropped.

b

should be dropped in the un-French spellings *debt, doubt, subtle.* In *debtor* the *t* must be doubled (*detter*), which is an older spelling. In final *mb* the *b* has no historical value: *bomb, crumb, dumb, lamb, limb, numb, plumb, succumb, thumb.* Doubling in *plumber.*

c

The misleading *c* of *mice, hence* is no more required than in *mouse, dense.* The difficulty with the medial *c* of *icy* can only be met by regulating the use of *s* and *z*.

ch

For *ache* the verb-form *ake* should be written; of course,

where the old noun *ache* (with dissyllabic plural) occurs in poetry, it should be so written. The spelling *anchor* is entirely wrong: the word should be written *anker*. The *h* in *chamomile, choler, cholera, school, stomach* (write *stumac*) is a late, pedantic insertion. For *choir* the alternative phonetic spelling *quire* should be revived.

The late and useless *t* in *crutch* might be dropped as in *much*.

f

of should follow the universal analogy and be written *ov*; it was only the insignificance of the word which prevented it from being written *ove*. *off* might at first retain its second to prevent confusion with the old *of*.

g

The *g* is a late insertion in *feign, foreign* (write *foren*), *sovereign* (*sovren*), which has not been made in *feint*.

gh

h should be omitted in *ghost, aghast*.

The erroneous *gh* in *high, night*, etc., can be restored to its historically correct form by simply omitting the *g* wherever the combination is silent. Where it has the sound of *f*, full *gh* may be provisionally retained, and by omitting at the same time historically and phonetically useless vowels the spelling of these very difficult *gh*-words may be made approximately phonetic. The following are examples of the main classes of alterations thus obtained: *straight* (*straiht*); *laugh* (*lagh*), *draught* (*draght*), *daughter* (*dauhter*); *eight* (*eiht*); *high* (*hih*), *night* (*niht*); *trough* (*trogh*), *rough* (*rugh*), *plough* (*plouh*), *though* (*thowh*), *through* (*thruh*). The two pronunciations of *slough* would be distinguished as *slouh* and *slugh*. For unhistorical *delight* the older *delite* should be restored.

h

Initial *h* in *heir* is often dropped in Middle E. and Old French. The *h* of *rhyme* is as erroneous as the *y*: the word should be written *rime*.

l

should be dropped in *could*.

p

in *receipt* is a modern insertion.

ph

for *v* in *nephew* is utterly wrong. In *Stephen* for *Steven* it is late and pedantic, and in *phial* for *vial* it has corrupted the pronunciation. If *f* were substituted for *ph* everywhere, as in Italian, Spanish, Danish, and Swedish, a letter would be saved, and the etymology would not be obscured.

q

See under *u*.

For *quay* the older phonetic *key* might be restored.

s

The necessity of carrying out consistently the distinction between *s* and *z* has often been noticed above: there is no more or less reason for *z* in *frozen* than in *chosen*. *z* would also be written in *pleasure*, etc., where the *u* changes it to *zh*.

s is etymologically wrong in *search*, which should be written *cearch*, and wrongly inserted in *aisle* (*ile*), *demesne*, *island*.

sc

The *c* is erroneously inserted in *scythe* (*sithe*), *scent*, while the *s* is equally erroneous in *scimitar* and *scissors*. When *sceptic* is pronounced with hard *c*, it should be written *skeptic*, as this pronunciation is a purely Greek one.

th

Consistency demands *dh* for the voiced sound.

The *h* is not more required in *Thomas, Thom(p)son*, than in *Tom*. The pedantic *Thames* and *thyme* should be brought back to *Tems* and *time*.

The shortened *eighth* should be written *eightth*.

w

must be dropped in *whole* and *whore*.

FURTHER NOTES

ON

ENGLISH SPELLINGS.

To serve as a basis for Discussion at the General Meetings of the Philological Society, on Friday, Nov. 5th and 19th, 1880.

Corrections and Additions to the Former Notes.

p. 68* (§ 6). The following is a nearly complete list of the distinctive spellings of words enumerated in the F. N. which would be lost by the changes discussed:—*bade* (bad), *bread* (bred), *heard* (herd), *lead* (led), *read* (red), *weather* (wether), *heart* (hart), *bier* (beer), *frieze* (freez), *son* (sun), *done* (dun), *guild* (gild), *inn* (in), *butt* (but), *plumb* (plum), *thyme* (time), *rhyme* (rime), *quay* (key), *scent* (sent), *whole* (hole). *onion* (union) would cause confusion of pronunciation.

The number of undistinctive spellings in the existing spelling is large: in Mätzner's grammar they take up nineteen pages. The following are examples of three words confused under one spelling:—*ear*, *mew*, *mean*, *march*, *last*, and many others. Sometimes, as in *lay*, *port*, *punch*, *sound*, four originally distinct words are confounded. It need scarcely be observed that these levellings cause far less difficulty than the various meanings of one and the same word, of which almost every verb and particle in the language affords an instance.

70*. e. The instances given are those in which the *e*

follows a short vowel, but there are many words in which it is superfluously added after *r*, *z*, *s* preceded by a long vowel or a consonant:

v. *achieve, believe, deceive, grieve, heave, leave, thieve, weave; carve, curve, halve, nerve, revolve, serve, solve, starve, swerve, twelve, valve.*

z. *baize, breeze, browze, freeze, gauze, ooze, seize, sneeze, squeeze, wheeze; bronze, furze.*

s. *cease, geese, goose, house, increase, release; coarse, curse, dense, else, horse, immense, remorse, sense, worse; because, bruise, cheese, ease, noise, pause, please, rouse; cleanse, parse.*

Also in *axe.*

Consistency demands the restoration of *e* in such words as *ghost, most,* distinguished from *lost,* as in *haste, paste,* distinguished from *hast, past.*

*71. Add *leopard,* where the *eo* is historical.

ie. The **ie** is historical in French, but it was not introduced into the English spelling of French words before the time of Caxton. Add the following words:—*achieve, chief, mischief, niece, pier, reprieve, retrieve.*

72*. **o.** Add *work.*

y, w. The following examples will show the arbitrariness of the present use of *ou* and *ow*:—*bounce, doubt, flour, foul, house, loud, lout, mouse, ounce, our, pounce, round, sour, thou, wound; dough, mould, moulder, moult, poultice, poultry, shoulder, smoulder, though. brow, browze, cow, crowd, flower, fowl, gown, howl, now, shower, vow; blow, bowl, flow, grow, growth, knows, low, own, slow, thrown.* Sometimes two words of different sound are confounded, such as *bow, row, sow.*

The abandonment of final *y* would get rid of many spelling anomalies, and simplify the rules of grammar, as in *city, cities; carry, carries; Percy, Percy's; valley, valleys; money, monies; boy, boys; soliloquy, soliloquies; shy, shyly; dry, drily, dryness.*

74*. **double conss.** There are many words beginning with unaccented prefixes in which the analogy of Latin words like *accuse, commit, immure* has led to an unhistorical

doubling of the following consonant. Such words as *account, accustom, allow, ally, arrange, arrest, arrive, attack,* and many others were taken straight from O. French, where they had single consonants, the doubling being a later etymological fancy. In such words as *affront* and *affair* (from *a faire*) it is based on etymological ignorance, as also in the native English words *accursed, afford, affright.* Equally erroneous is the *d* in *adjourn, adjust,* which in *advice* has corrupted the pronunciation.

c. The number of words with *c* for etymological *s* is considerable. Examples are:—*ace, advice, bodice, dace, deuce, expence, fleece, hence, invoice, ice, mice, once, peace, pence, race* (running), *rice, since, scarce, source, thence, thrice, twice, voice, whence.* Initial *c* is generally historical, but it is not so in *cinder* and *cesspool.*

g, gh. The *h* in *burgh*(*er*) is useless. In *draft* unhistorical *f* is already in use. In *through* silent *gh* is often dropped. *gh* is unhistorical in *haughty* and *sprightly.*

76*. **s.** The retention of *s*=*z* is the main obstacle to the regulation of silent *e.* It also confuses a number of words, such as the nouns and verbs *abuse, excuse, grease, house, mouse, refuse,* and the adjectives and verbs *close, diffuse.*

General Results of the Former Discussions.

It was understood that the results of the discussion were to be only provisional.

The general principles were accepted, but with occasional modifications. No. 6 (distinctive spellings) provoked most discussion, but was passed by a large majority. However, in the subsequent discussion a strong feeling was shown in favour of distinctive spellings.

Of the changes themselves, the following more important ones were passed unanimously, or nearly so:—

1) dropping of silent *e*, and of *i* and *u* of *forfeit, labour,* etc., and of the *o* in *people,* etc. The question of *e* after *s* and *th* was reserved, together with some minor details.

2) dropping of *a* in *breadth*, etc.
3) change of *ie* into *ee* in *field*, etc.
4) *oo* for *o* in *lose*, etc.
5) dropping of *ue* in *tongue*, etc.
6) dropping of one of the two consonants of *ebb*, etc.
7) dropping of various unetymological consonants.

Those cases in which the change of *o* and *ou* into *u* would be unhistorical, as in *brother*, *enough*, were felt to be obstacles to restoring the older historical *u* in *come*, *trouble*, etc. In other cases the historical difficulty was ignored. Thus the *o* of *people* and the *b* of *lamb* were condemned.

The omission of the *g* of silent *gh* was passed, while the retention of *gh*=*f* caused much discussion, the majority being in favour of abandoning the historical limitation in this case, and introducing *f*.

A majority was in favour of introducing *f* for *ph*.

— —

Work for the Ensuing Meetings.

It is evident that two of the general principles demand re-discussion, namely, those dealing with *etymology* and with *distinctive* spellings.

It seems desirable that the Society, before proceeding to the question of immediate reform, should discuss the general question of the *direction of change* in its bearing on an *ultimate* reform. There are many sounds whose representation is still a matter of dispute, while there is perfect unanimity about that of others. A definite statement that the Society considers that certain changes must be carried out in an ultimate and final reform, and that they can be carried out in one way only, will give greater definiteness to the aims of future reformers.

In order to define the discussions as much as possible, and secure the main questions their due share of attention, the following resolutions have been framed:—

A. *Ultimate Reforms.*

That it is the opinion of the Society that an ultimate phonetic reform of English spelling which excludes new letters involves at least the following undisputed changes:—

1) the rejection of all etymological and distinctive limitations.

2) the rejection of all phonetically useless letters.

3) the representation of each sound associated with the italic letter in each of the following words by that letter and by no other :—*b*e, *d*ay, *e*nd, *f*ell, *g*et, *h*ill (except where *h* is a diacritic), *i*t, *k*ill, *l*et, *m*en,* *n*o, *o*n, *p*en, *r*ed, *s*o, *t*en, *v*ine, *w*ell, *z*eal.

4) the exclusive representation of the consonants in *then* and *azure* by *dh* and *zh* respectively, as long as those of *thin* and *shin* are retained.

B. *Immediate Reforms.*

1) that an immediate partial phonetic reform of English spelling is both desirable and practicable.

2) that the object of such a reform is to facilitate the acquisition of English spelling.

3) that the Society, while retaining the principle of etymological limitation, does not pledge itself not to go beyond it in special cases.

4) that the retention of distinctive spellings must be left to individual experience.

5) that the Society authorizes the adoption of the following reforms in its printed transactions :—

(only the more important are given. Those not postulated by the ultimate reforms are marked,* those partially or wholly unetymological being marked †.)

a) the dropping of silent *e* in certain words, and of *ue* in *tongue*, etc.

b) general extension of *z*.

c) use of *dh*.

d) restriction of *y* and *w* to their functions as consonants, except where *y* is etymological in Greek words.

**e*) substitution of *ee* for *ie*.

*†*f*) and of *u* for *o* and *ou* in certain words.

†*g*) of *f* for *ph*.

†*h*) of *f* for *gh* in *laugh*, etc.

†*i*) omission of the *b* in *limb*, etc.

j) omission of unetymological and unphonetic consonants in the following words: de*b*t, do*ub*t, su*b*tle; fei*g*n, forei*g*n, sove*r*ei*g*n; g*h*ost, ag*h*ast, burg*h*(er); r*h*yme; cou*l*d; receipt; demesne, island; scythe, scent; *th*yme; *wh*ole.

SPECIMENS.

The following specimens are intended to show roughly the working of the changes under discussion, and to allow their comparison with earlier spellings. The italics indicate divergent forms which are independent of the spelling. In I. all the changes, both ultimate and immediate, are carried out, in the other two only the latter—of course, in both cases within the limits prescribed by the general principles, no change being made which would involve further disputed changes. Of the original texts the first two are from Arber's reprints, the third from the First Folio:—

I.—Caxton.

Chauntecler cam forth and smote pyteously his handes and his fetheris, and on eche side of the byer wenten tweyne sorouful hennes; that one was called Cantart and that other goode henne Crayant; they were two the fayrest hennes that were bytwene Holland and Arderne. Thise hennes bare eche of them a brennyng tapre whiche was longe and strayte. Thise two hennes were Coppens susters. And they cryed so pitously alas! and weleaway! for the deth of *her* dere suster Coppen. Two yonge hennes bare the byere, which kakled so heuyly, and wepte so lowde for the deth of Coppen their moder that it was ferre herde. Thus cam they togydre tofore the kynge. And Chantecleer *tho* seyde: "Mercyful lord! my lord the kynge! plese it yow to here our complaynte, and abhorren the grete scathe that Reynart hath don to me and my children that hiere stonden. It was so that in the begynnyng of Appryl, whan the weder is fayr, as that I as hardy and prowde, bycause of the grete lynage that I am comen of, and also hadde, ffor I had viiij fayr sones and seuen fayr doughters whiche my wyf had hatched, and they were alle stronge and fatte, and wente in a yerde whiche was walled round aboute, in whiche was a shadde, wherein were six grete dogges whiche had totore and plucked many a beestis skyn in suche wyse as my chyldren were not aferd; on whom Reynart the theef had grete enuye bycause they were so sure that he cowde none gete of them. How wel oftymes hath this fel theef goon rounde aboute this wal, and hath leyde for vs in suche wyse that the dogges haue be sette on hym, and haue hunted hym away! And ones they *leep* on hym vpon the banke, and that cost hym somwhat for his thefte: I saw that his skyn smoked; neuertheles he wente his waye, God amende it!

Chantikleer kame forth and smote piteusli hiz handz and hiz fedherz, and on each side ov dhe beer went twain sorrowful henz; dhat one woz kalld Kantart and dhat odher good hen Krayant; dhei wer to dhe fairest henz dhat wer between Holland and Ardern. Theze henz bare each ov dhem a burning taper which woz long and strait. Theze to henz wer Koppenz sisterz. And dhei kried so piteusli alas! and welawai! for dhe deth ov dheir dear sister Koppen. To yung henz bare dhe beer, which kakld so hevili and wept so loud for dhe deth ov Koppen dheir modher dhat it woz far herd. Dhus kame dhei togedher before dhe king. And Chantikleer dhen said: "Mersiful lord! mi lord dhe king! pleaz it you to hear our komplaint, and abhor dhe great skathe dhat Reinard hath don to me and mi children dhat here stand. It woz so dhat in dhe beginning ov April, when dhe wedher iz fair, az dhat I az hardi and proud, bekauz ov dhe great lineage dhat I am kum ov, and also had, for I had viiii fair sunz and seven fair dauterz which mi wife had hacht, and dhei wer all strong and fat, and went in a yard which woz walld round about, in which woz a shed, wherein wer six great dogz which had totorn and plukt meni a beasts skin in such wize az mi children wer not afeard; on whom Reinard dhe thcef had great envi bekauz dhei wer so sure dhat he kud non get ov dhem. Hou wel ofttimez hath dhis fel thcef gon round about dhis wall, and hath laid for us in such wize dhat dhe dogz hav been set on him, and hav hunted him awai! and ones thei lept on him upon dhe bank, and dhat kost him sumwhot for hiz theft: I sau dhat his skin smoked; neverdheles he went hiz wai, God amend it!

II.—Sir Thomas Moore.

I am almoste ashamed, righte wel beloued Peter Giles, to send vnto you this boke of ye Utopian commenwealth, welniegh after a yeres space, whiche I am sure you looked for within a moneth and a halfe. And no marueil. For you knewe well ynough that I was alreadye disbourdened of all the labourc and studye belongynge to the inuention in this worke, and that I had no nede at al to trouble my braines about the disposition or conueiaunce of the matter: and therfore had herein nothing els to do, but only to rehearse those thinges whiche you and I togethers hard maister Raphael tel and declare. Wherefore there was no cause why I shuld study to set forth the matter with eloquence: forasmuch as his talke could not be fine and eloquent, beynge firste not studied for, but suddein and vnpremeditate, and then, as you know, of a man better sene in the Greke language then in the Latin tonge. And my writynge, the niegher it should approche to his homely, plaine, and simple speche, so muche the niegher shuld it go to the trueth: which is the onelye marke wherunto I do and ought to directe all my trauail and study herin. I graunte and confesse, frende Peter, myselfe discharged of so muche labourc, hauinge all these thinges ready done to my hande, that almooste there was nothinge left for me to do. Elles either the inuention or the disposition of this matter myghte haue required of a witte neither base neither at all vnlearned, both some time and leasure and also some studie. But if it were requisite and necessarie that the matter shoulde also haue bene wrytten eloquentlie, and not alone truelye: of a sueretie that thynge coulde I haue perfourmed by no tyme nor studye. But now scynge all these cares, stayes, and lettes were taken awaye, wherin elles so muche labourc and studye shoulde haue bene employed, and that there remayned no other thynge for me to do, but onelye to write playnelie the matter as I hard it spoken: that indeede was a thynge lighte and easye to be donc.

I am allmost ashamed, right well beluved Peter Giles, to send unto you dhis book ov dhe Utopian commonwelth wellnih after a yearz space, which I am sure you lookt for widhin a month and a half. And no marvel. For you kneu well enough dhat I waz allredi disburdend ov all dhe labor and studi belonging to dhe invention in dhis wurk, and dhat I had no need at all to trubl mi brainz about dhe dispozition or conveiance ov dhe matter: and therefor had herein nothing els to do, but onli to rehers dhoze thingz which you and I togedher herd Master Rafael tel and declare. Wherefor there waz no cauz whi I should studi to set forth dhe matter widh eloquence: forazmuch az hiz talk coud not be fine and eloquent, being first not studid for, but sudden and unpremeditate, and dhen, az you knou, ov a man better seen in dhe Greek language dhan in dhe Latin tung. and mi writing, dhe niher it should approach to hiz homeli, plain, and simpl speech, so much dhe niher should it go to dhe truthe: which iz dhe onli mark whereunto I do and ouht to direct all mi travail and studi herein. I grant and confes, frend Peter, miself discharged ov so much labor, having all dheze thingz redi don to mi hand, dhat allmost dhere waz nothing left for me to do. Els eidher dhe invention or dhe dispozition ov dhis matter miht hav required ov a wit neidher base neidher at all unlerned both sum time and leisure, and also sum studi. but if it wer requisit and necessari dhat dhe matter should also hav been writn eloquentli and not alone truli: ov a sureti dhat thing coud I hav performd bi no time or studi. but nou seeing all dheze cares, staiz, and lets wer taken awai, wherein els so much labor and studi should hav been emploid, and dhat there remaind no odher thing for me to do but onli to write plainli dhe matter az I herd it spoken: dhat indeed waz a thing liht and eazi to be don.

III.—Shakespear.

Not a soule
but felt a feauer of the madde, and plaid
some tricks of desperation; all but the mariners
plung'd in the foaming bryne and quit the vessell,
then all afire with me. The kings sonne Ferdinand
with haire vpstaring (then like reeds, not haire)
was the first man that leapt; cride, "hell is empty,
and all the diuels are heere."

I heard thee speak me a speech once, but it was neuer acted, or if it was, not aboue once. For the play I remember pleas'd not the million: 't was cauiarie to the generall, but it was (as I receiu'd it, and others, whose iudgement in such matters cried in the top of mine) an excellent play, well digested in the scœnes, set downe with as much modestie as cunning. I remember one said there was no sallets in the lines to make the matter sauoury, nor no matter in the phrase that might endite the author of affectation, but cal'd it an honest method. One speech in it I cheefely lou'd: 'twas Æneas tale to Dido, and thereabout of it especially, where he speaks of Priams slaughter.

Not a soul
but felt a fever ov dhe mad, and plaid
sum triks ov desperation; all but dhe mariners
plunged in dhe foaming brine and quit dhe vessel,
dhen all afire widh me. Dhe kingz sun Ferdinand
widh hair upstaring (dhen like reedz, not hair)
waz dhe first man dhat lept; cried, "hel iz empti,
and all dhe devilz ar here."

I herd dhee speak me a speech onse, but it waz never acted, or if it waz, never abuv onse. For dhe plai I remember pleazd not dhe million: twaz caviare to dhe general, but it waz (az I receivd it, and odherz, whose judgment in such matterz cried in dhe top ov mine) an excellent plai, wel digested in dhe scenes, set doun widh az much modesti az cunning. I remember one said there waz no sallets in dhe linez to make dhe matter savori, nor no matter in dhe fraze dhat might endite dhe author of affectation, but calld it an honest method. One speech in it I cheefli luvd: twaz Æneas tale to Dido, and dhereabout ov it especialli, where he speaks ov Priamz slauhter.

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List of Papers for the Thirty-Ninth Session, 1881-1882.

1881.

Nov. 4.—I. "The Simpl Sounds of all the Living Slavonic Languages compard with thoze of the principal Neo-Latin and Germanic Tungs, Part I," by Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte. II. "Observatiuns on dhe Partial Corectiuns of English Spellings approovd by dhe Filolojical Society," by H. J. Vogin, of Amsterdam.

Nov. 18.—I. "The Simpl Sounds of all the Living Slavonic Languages compard with thoze of the principal Neo-Latin and Germanic Tungs, Part II.," by Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte. II. "Notes on the *n* of *an*, &c., in the Authorized and Revized Versions of the Bible," by Benjamin Dawson, B.A.

Dec. 2.—"On the Morfology of the Indo-Germanic Root," by John Marshall the yunger.

Dec. 16.—"On the treatment of borrowd English Words in colloquial Welsh," by Thomas Powell, M.A.

1882.

Jan. 20.—A Dictionary Evening. J. A. H. Murray, LL.D., *Vice-President*.

Feb. 3.—"On the Midl Verb in Latin," by the Rev. Hy. Belcher, M.A.

Feb. 17.—I. "On Greek Pronunciation," by C. B. Cayley, B.A. II.

March 3.—A Paper by Henry Sweet, M.A., *Vice-President*.

March 17.—

April 21.—"On the Dialects of the Midland and Eastern Counties," by the Prezident, A. J. Ellis, B.A., F.R.S.

May 5.—"Sum Notes on Grammar," by E. L. Brandreth.

May 19 (*Anniversary*).—Prezident's Annual Adress, by A. J. Ellis, B.A., F.R.S.

June 2.—

June 16.—"Sum Latin and Greek Etymologies," by Prof. Postgate, M.A.

The Treasurer of the Society is Mr. Benjamin Dawson, *The Mount, Hampstead, N.W. To him all Subscriptions in arear shoud be paid at onse.*

Offers of Papers or Scraps shoud be sent to the Hon. Sec., Mr. Furnivall, 3, St. George's Square, Primrose Hill, N.W.

Candidates for admission into the Society must be propozed by a Member from personal knowledg, or by the Hon. Sec., by leav of the Council. They pay One Guinea as entrance fee, and One Guinea a year, or Ten Guineas for life, as subscription.

The Society is now incorporated under the Companies Acts of 1862

Corrections in Mr. Sweet's Paper on Sound Notation.

p. 225, l.	6 (of specimen)	*for*	·ωʃ‡ꜰʟɔ	*read*	·ωʃ‡ꜰʟɔ.
,,	8	,,	,, -Tɔwʃ	,,	-Tɔwʃ.
,,	20	,,	,, sʃωɔ	,,	sʃωɔ.
,,	22	,,	,, ωʃrɔωʃ	,,	ωʃrɔωʃ.
,,	25	,,	,, >ʃɹɔɔʃ	,,	>ʃɹɔɯʃ.
,,	29	,,	,, ωʃɔʃs	,,	ωʃɔʃs.
226	3	,,	,, -ʌʃɟs	,,	-ʌʃɟs.
,,	13	,,	,, ʃωʃs-	,,	ʃωʃs-.
,,	17	,,	,, -ɔ·ʃɹʃ	,,	-ɯ·ʃɹʃ.
,,	20	,,	,, ωʃ‡ɑ·ʃɹs	,,	ωʃ‡ɒʃ·ʃɹs.
,,	22	,,	,, >ʃʟɹɔ	,,	>ʃꜰʟɔ.
,,	28	,,	,, ʇωʃɔ	,,	ʇ‡ωʃɔ.
227	4	,,	,, -ʃs ʃɔ	,,	-ʃsʃɔ.
,,	12	,,	,, ʇɑʇ	,,	ʇ‡ɑʇ.
,,	16	,,	,, ʌʃɔ-	,,	ʍʃɔ-.
,,	17	,,	,, ɐʃɹ-	,,	ɐʃɹ-.
,,	20	,,	,, ʌʃs	,,	ʍʃs.
,,	22	,,	,, ꜰʃɔ	,,	ꜰʃɔ.
228	11	,,	,, sɔʇ‡ωʃ	,,	sɔʇ‡ʌʃ.
,,	,,	,,	,, ->ʃɪ	,,	->ʃɪ.
229	4	,,	,, ɒωʃ	,,	ɒωf.
230	1	,,	,, :ʃ‡	,,	:ʃ‡.
,,	after l. 9, insert: -ʃ‡ɔ ɔʃ‡sɔʃɹɯ·ʃɹɔʃꜰ ωʃꜰʃɐ ɔʃ‡ɒꜰ.				

ADDITIONS

To Prince L. L. Bonaparte's Paper on Neuter Neo-Latin Substantives: Transactions of the Philological Society for 1880-1, Appendix III., P. 64.

In the work bearing the title "Vita di Cola di Rienzo", printed at Bracciano in 1631 and written in old Northern Calabrian of the fourteenth century, these plural neuters occur: *adulteria* (it. *adulterio-rj*; lat. *adulterium-a*) adultery; *capora* (it. *capo-i*; lat. *caput -ita*) head; *casamenta* (it. *casamento-i*; lat. **casamentum-a*) large house; *edificia* (it. *edificio-cj*; lat. *ædificium-a*; *ædificius-i* "concerning the edile") edifice; *ficora* (it. *fico-chi*; lat. *ficus-i-us*) fig; *lenora?* (it. *elmo-i-ora*; lat. **elmus-i*) helmet; *mulinora* (it. **mulino -i-a*; lat. **molinus-i*; **-um-a*) mill; *oliveta* (it. *oliveto-i*; lat. *olivetum-a*) grove of olive-trees; *palazza* (it. *palazzo-i*; lat. *palatium-a*) palace; *pecora* (it. *pecora-e*; lat. *pecus-ora* "cattle") ewe; *pecorella* (it. *pecorella-e*) ewe; *sonnora* (it. *sonno-i* "sleep"; lat. *somnus-i* "id."; **sompnum-a*) dream; *steccata* (it. *steccato-i*) enclosure made with palisades; *tavolata* (it. *tavolato-i*; lat. *tabulatum-a*; *-us-i* "boarded") floor.

The following may also be added in their places: 1°. Standard Tuscan: **beneficio-cj-cia* (*beneficium-a*) benefit; **castelletto-i-a* (**castelletum-a*) small castle; **cerchio-chj-chia* (*circulus-i*; **um-a* "ornament of the head") circle; **munimento-i-a* (*monumentum-a*) monument; **omicidio-dj-dia* (*homicidium-a*; -**us-i* "fine for murder or manslaughter") murder, manslaughter; **ornamento-i-a* (*ornamentum-a*) ornament; *mondo-i-ora* (*mundus-i* "world"; *-um-a* "women's ornaments") land, country, region; *pegno-i-ora* (*pignus -ora-era*; **pignum-a* "honorary right") pawn; *sesto-i-ora* (*sextus-i* "sixth"; *-um-a* "id.") one of the wards in which Florence is divided; *sogno-i-ora* (*somnium-a*) dream; *vento-i-ora* (*ventus-i*) wind. —2°. Sicilian: *sonnu-i-ura-ira* (it. *sonno-i* "sleep"; lat. *somnus-i* "id."; **sompnum-a* "dream") sleep; dream.—3°. Neapolitan: *chirchio-chierchia-e* (sicil. *circulu-i* "circle"; it. *cerchio-chj-chia* "id."; lat. *circulus-i* "id."; **um-a* "ornament of the head") hoop for tubs.

ERRATA.

Trans. 1880-1, p. 40, l. 3—*for* longe *read* longo.

Proceedings, No. 11, p. 41, lines 17 and 18 from bottom—*transpose the words* formerly *and* still.

SUPPLEMENT.

PARTIAL CORECTIONS

OF

ENGLISH SPELLINGS

APROOVD OF BY THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

1881.

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PARTIAL CORECTIONS

OF

ENGLISH SPELLINGS

APROOVD OF BY THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

THIS statement is printed in the spelling recomended by the Society, as a specimen.

For ful details, arguments, and statistics, the following works, among others, may be consulted.

Henry Sweet: *History of English Sounds*, Philological Soc. Trans. 1873–4, also publisht separately by Trübner, 1874 (out of print).

George Withers: *The English Language Spelled as Pronounced*, Trubner, 1874. (Givs statistics and rezults of experiments in teaching to read with fonetic spelling.)

Max Müller: *On Spelling Reform*, Fortnightly Review, April, 1876. Reprinted in 'graduated fonotypy,' by Isaac Pitman, Bath.

Spelling Reform, Report of the Conference and Public Meeting held at the Adelphi, on May 29, 1877. F. Pitman, London. (Givs a convenient summary of the hole question.)

Henry Sweet: *Handbook of Phonetics*, including a popular expozition of the principls of Spelling Reform. Oxford (C. P. S.), 1877.

J. H. Gladstone: *Spelling Reform*, from an educational point of view; second edition, 1879. (Givs statistics.)

The Spelling Reformer and Journal of the English Spelling Reform Association. (Issued monthly sinse July, 1880; publisht by F. Pitman, London.)

The *English Spelling Reform Association* was founded in 1879, in order to colect, arange, and distribute information on the subject of Spelling Reform, by colecting works on the subject, instituting and waching experiments, and promoting lectures and public meetings in conection with it. (Secretary, John Fenton; Offices, 20, John Street, Adelphi, W.C. Annual subscription, five shillings.)

GENERAL PRINCIPLS.

Objects of Spelling Reform.

Theze can be stated only breefly here. For details and statistics see the works enumerated abuv.

1) To facilitate the acquizition of English spelling; thereby
2) enabling children and adults to lern reading who ar at prezent unable to do so;
3) shortening the time spent in lerning to read;
4) facilitating the acquizition of the ordinary spelling;
5) efecting a saving of national expenditure; and
6) spreding the knowledg of English among forein nations.
7) To remoov etymologicaly misleading spellings.

History of Spelling Reform within the Philological Society.

Spelling Reform was at first a purely filanthropic moovment, opozed by nearly all filologists, both within the Society and outside of it, on etymological grounds. But a change of opinion gradualy came about, so that in 1869 the Society apointed a comittee to report on the possibl improovment of English spelling (Trans. 1870, p. 19 foll.), and authorized Messrs. Ellis and Fry to print specimens of their propozed reforms in the Transactions (1870, Part I.). The question was further discust at two meetings in Novemb̃r, 1870. Neither the comittee nor the meeting was able

to cum to an agreement. The general opinion was that it would be better to wait til a complete scheme of reform had been agreed on by foneticians than to atempt to introduce a partial one.

After the successful introduction of partial reforms in America, many apeals wer made to the Society to take sum practical steps to forward the moovment. So the then Prezident, Dr. Murray (editor of the Society's great English dictionary), took up the subject in his retiring adress on the 21st May, 1880, and laid down the general principls on which an imediate partial reform miht be based, and gave exampls of the changes he would sugest. Theze propozals wer favorably receevd, and a motion was past unanimously, asking Mr. Sweet to draw up notes to serv as a basis for discussion. Mr. Sweet acordingly drew up a statement of the general principls indicated by Dr. Murray, and the changes sugested by them, which wer discust at two meetings on July 9th and 16th, 1880, the votes being taken only as a provizional expression of opinion. Mr. Sweet then drew up sum further notes, which wer discust at three meetings, on November 5th, 19th, and 26th, the rezults of the meetings in July being at the same time revized and confirmd. Mr. Sweet was then authorized to prepare a statement of theze rezults, which was finaly adopted at the special general meeting on January 28th (Mr. Sweet's notes form Apendix IV. to the Trans. for 1880-1).

History of English Spelling.

The Anglo-Saxons lernt the use of the Roman alfabet from the Celts, in whoze orthografy the letters stil retaind the pronunciation they had at the time of the Roman colonization of Britain, and improovd it by substituting the Runic *w* for *u*(*u*), and þ and ð for *th*. The A.S. spelling was, of course, holely fonetic, there being no tradition to fall back on. It retaind *y* in its original fonetic value,=French *u*, and distinguisht the close *e* from the open *æ*.

After the Conquest the Old English orthografical system

was superseded by the Norman French one, which, again, was afterwards modified by that of Parizian French. The different Old French orthografies wer all fonetic aplications of an unfonetic basis, the original Roman pronunciation of many of the letters having been much changed. Thus, the sound of Latin *y* was reprezented by *u*, which was besides stil uzed to denote the sound of Latin *u*, which, again, was also reprezented by *o*, when long also by *ou*, whense the change of erly Midl English *cume*, *hus* into the later *come*, *hous(e)*, and the prezent confuzion in *now*, *know* = erly Midl E. *nu*, *knou*. By the loss of the digraf *æ*, French (and consequently English) orthografy coud not distinguish open from close *e*, so that O. E. *hér* and *þér* wer confuzed under *her*, *ther*, tho the sounds stil continued distinct.

Towards the end of the Old French period etymological spellings began to show themselvs, becuming common in the latter half of the fourteenth century, such a word as *dete* having a silent *b* inserted into it, to show its origin from the Latin *debita*. Theze etymological spellings of French became common in English spelling about the time of Caxton, whense such spellings as *debt* in the prezent English.

Nevertheless, English spelling continued to be, in principl, mainly fonetic up to the seventeenth century. We find in the contemporary text of Shakspere such spellings as *askt*, *cride*, *bin*, *Ile*, for *asked*, *cried*, *been*, *I will*, and even *I* for *aye*. The introduction of *ea* and *oa* to distinguish the open from the close vowels in such pairs as *sea*, *see*, *moan*, *moon*, was also a purely fonetic Tudor innovation.

Meanwhile great changes in pronunciation wer going on, while the spelling was becuming more and more fixt. During the Tudor period close *e* and *o*, as in *see*, *moon*, had changed to their prezent sounds; in the course of the seventeenth century many other changes wer made, and a number of consonants were dropt, rezulting in the prezent divergence between sound and symbol.

But in spite of the traditional character of the orthografy, important reforms wer made. One was the introduction of *ea* and *oa*, alredy mentiond; another was the differentia-

tion of *u* and *v*, by which such spellings as "reuiue vs, saue vs from euil, leaue vs not vnto ourselues," wer reformd to "revive us, save us from evil, leave us not unto ourselves;" also the gradual restriction of *y* to its function of consonant (except in Greek words), by which *myght* became *might*, the reform being stil left incomplete in such words as *mighty*= O.E. *mihtig, mihti;* and lastly the dropping of useless *e* and simplification of dubld consonants in *farre, soule*=*far, soul*, etc.

Even sinse the seventeenth century changes hav been made: *lyon, tyger* hav becum *lion, tiger; cloathes* has been shortend into *clothes, publick* into *public.* Stil later we hav had the American (and partly English) changes of *honour, governour,* into *honor, governor.*

Many changes hav also been made which ar not improovments, but etymological blunders, sumtimes of pedants, but oftenest of ignorant printers' readers. The details of the propozed reforms wil aford numerous examples.

The two most important facts in the history of English spelling ar:

1) that it has always been in intention fonetic, except where corupted by French spellings or their analogies.

2) that the main cauz of the prezent divergence between pronunciation and spelling is the retention of the spelling, while the pronunciation has changed.

Cauzes of the Difficulty of English Spelling.

English spelling is difficult becauz it is unfonetic—becauz the correspondence between sound and symbol is imperfect. It is unfonetic becauz it is traditional—becauz it reprezents the sounds not of the nineteenth but of the sixteenth century. Thus *knight* was a fonetic spelling in the sixteenth century, becauz it reprezented a pronunciation which in German spelling would be reprezented by *knicht;* it is now unfonetic, becauz three out of the five consonants of the word ar not pronounced at all, while the *i* has lost its original sound. English spelling is unfonetic: 1) in keeping

silent letters, 2) in keeping the same symbol for sounds that hav diverged, as in *had, hard, was, hate, water;* 3) in keeping different symbols for sounds that hav converged, as in *name, fail, weight, great.* In the last category we must notice especialy the retention of purely arbitrary distinctions, as in *now, thou, city, cities, dry, dryness, drily.*

Remedies.

English spelling can be made eazy only by being made fonetic. The ideal of a fonetic alfabet is: 1) one sound for each symbol, and 2) one symbol for each sound. The nearer an orthografy aproaches to this ideal, the eazier it is to read. The practical test of a fonetic orthografy is that it is lernt without spelling lessons beyond the mere acquizition of the sounds of the elementary symbols. Theze requirements may be fulfild more or less perfectly by a variety of systems. Thus, whether we write uniformly *name, fale, wate, grate* or *neem, feel, weet, greet,* we get rid of the difficulty cauzd by the prezent divergence in theze words. This leads us to the problem of the

Direction of Reform.

Sum words can be spelt foneticaly only in one way. Thus all who advocate a complete reform would write *woz* for *was.* But with other words, such as thoze mentiond in the last section, the case is different. The main divergence is between thoze who adopt the original (Roman) fonetic values of the vowel-letters and thoze who retain their prezent English ones; the former writing *neem,* or, more corectly, *neim,* the latter *name* or *naim.*

It is theze (and other) divergences that make any but a partial reform impossibl at prezent. It also follows that a partial reform must, as far as possibl, avoid comitting itself to changes of disputed direction: it must especialy refrain from altering most of the long vowels and difthongs.

Thus, any alteration of the vowels of *see* or *time* would at onse alienate thoze who advocate the English values, while such a change as that of *machine* into *macheen* would alienate thoze who advocate the Roman values.

Sum of the changes adopted may be objected to on theze grounds. Thus, the change of *grief* into *greef* has been reprezented as comitting us to the advocacy of the English values. But the number of words alredy spelt with *ee* is so large that they wil not be apreciably increast by the adition of *greef*, etc., while a great spelling difficulty wil be got rid of.

The only undisputed associations ar thoze between the italic letters in the following words and the sounds they hav in thoze words:

*b*e, *d*ay, *e*nd, *f*ell, *g*et, *h*ill (except where *h* is a diacritic, as in *th*), *i*t, *k*ill, *l*et, *m*en, *n*o, *o*n, *oi*l, *p*en, *r*ed, *s*o, *t*en, *v*ine, *w*ell, *z*eal.

Obstacls to Reform.

The material obstacl is the difficulty and inconvenience of change, especialy against our prezent code of education. The objection that change is impossibl, is met by the fact that large changes hav been made over and over again, and that changes ar going on now (p. 7).

The assertion that the introduction of a fonetic system would make existing books unintelligibl is contradicted by experience, which shows that a fonetic spelling employd merely as an introduction to ordinary spelling considerably shortens the process of lerning the latter—so much so that both spellings ar aquired in considerably less time than is now taken up in aquiring ordinary spelling alone. (For a record of experiments, see Withers, p. 62 foll., and the other books mentiond abuv.) There ar few fonetic spellings based on the Roman alfabet which cannot be red at siht by any fluent reader of ordinary spelling—and the reverse would hold good.

The prejudice against spelling reform is mainly the rezult of a dislike to unfamiliar forms, for which the etymological

argument is generaly a mere excuse. But this prejudice cannot be ignord in an initiatory reform, and is an aditional argument for a *partial* reform. Hense changes of spellings which ocur very often, such as inflectional *s* (p. 31), and of very common words, such as *of* (p. 30), should be avoided at first. Less prejudice is excited by omissions of letters than by alterations, and omissions further comend themselvs on economical grounds, insertions or dubling of letters being objectionabl on the same grounds.

Etymology and History.

All spellings (except artificial coruptions)—whether fonetic or unfonetic—ar etymological—even such a word as *age* stil bears traces of its origin from *aetaticum*, and bears them stil even if we write foneticaly *eij* or *eidzh*, and would continue to bear them even if the word wer reduced to a singl letter (or rather sound). Etymological spelling in its conventional sense consists simply in retaining the fonetic spellings of an erlier period after they hav becum unfonetic — such a spelling as *knight* tels us that a certain word existed in a certain form in Midl English, but it givs us no information about the word into which it has developt in nineteenth century English. Consistent etymological spelling involvs writing the same word twice over; thus, if we write the nineteenth century word *nite* or *nait*, we should hav to write it etymologicaly ' $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{knight}\\\text{nite}\end{matrix}\right\}$. So also $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{aetaticum}\\\text{age}\end{matrix}\right\}$. But *age* does not carry us any further than *knight:* the real word whoze etymology we ar seeking is not *age* but *eij*. There was also at least one form between *aetaticum* and *age*, namely *edage*. Nor can theze changes be verified, or, indeed, comprehended at all, without a knowledge of the laws of sound-change which guvern them.

If the spelling *aetaticum* had been kept thruout, we should hav lost all historical records of the successiv stages registerd in the contemporary spellings *edage*, *eage*, *age*, etc., as we

hav in the case of *knight*. Etymological spelling, in short, destroys the materials on which etymological investigations ar based, namely, a continuous series of fonetic spellings. The older spellings ar accessibl to all who wish to consult them, in text-editions and grammars, nor wil the introduction of fonetic spelling involv the destruction of the older documents of our own or any other language. The term 'etymological' or 'historical' spelling, in its conventional application to non-fonetic spellings, is realy unmeaning—such spellings can only be calld *traditional*.

Altho theze views ar now accepted by all filologists, an apeal to traditional spellings in introducing a partial reform has two uses: 1) it afords a basis of agreement which may be otherwize wanting, as in the expulsion of the *s* of *island*, and the restoration of the Tudor *ee* in *field*; and 2) afords a convenient principl of limitation (p. 10). It also servs as a test of the sincerity of thoze who opoze reform solely on 'etymological' grounds.

We must distinguish three classes of 'etymological' spellings, *corect*, *incorect*, and *neutral*. The *s* of *island* is 'etymologicaly' incorect, becauz it never was fonetic—the *s* never was pronounced at any period. The *h* of *author* is equaly incorect 'etymologicaly,' becauz, when the *h* was first introduced, it was not pronounced by any one, and never had been pronounced sinse the beginning of the Latin language. But the *th* of *author* is now foneticaly corect, becauz it reprezents the universal pronunciation—the originaly unfonetic spelling having corupted the pronunciation—and must therefor be retaind, while the *s* of *island* is rejected on the ground of its being as unfonetic now as when it was first introduced. The *k* of *knee* is 'etymologicaly' corect, becauz it was onse fonetic: the word was pronounced in Tudor English like the German *knie*. Silent *e* is an exampl of an 'etymologicaly' neutral letter. Thus, in *I give* it corresponds to an older *gife*, while the imperativ *give* corresponds to an older *gif*. It is a mere chance whether silent *e* corresponds to an older vowel, or is merely an orthografical sign. So also with the *b* of *limb* (p. 28). Of

course, when an unfonetic letter or letter-group, such as *gh* (p. 30), is 'unetymological' only in an isolated word or two, it must, as a hole, be considerd as 'etymological.' Sumtimes a letter has different etymological values under different circumstances. Thus *c* is generaly etymological initialy, but medialy and finaly it often stands for etymological *s* (p. 28).

Theze remarks wil show the difficulty of drawing a definit line.

Distinctiv Spellings.

Fonetic changes sumtimes giv different words the same form, when they ar distinguisht for the ey in the prezent spelling. In most cases they ar fully distinguisht by the context, as in *scent* and *sent*, *inn* and *in*. When like-sounding words do not cauz any ambiguity in speech, they do so stil less in writing, and if they do cauz ambiguity in speech, the ambiguity is equaly a fault in writing, which may hav to be red aloud, and is in all cases but a reflection of the spoken language. The distinctions between like-sounding words in the existing spelling are mostly useless, and sum words distinct in speech, such as *sow* (verb) and *sow* (noun), ar confounded in writing. It would be impossibl to carry out distinctions consistently in such cases as *fell*=1) pret. of *fall*, 2) 'make to fall,' 3) 'hide,' 4) 'mountain,' 5) 'cruel,' and hundreds of others. Theze ar defects not of *spelling*, but of *the language itself*.

It is, of course, open to any one to retain a distinctiv spelling in any case where he may think it advizabl.

Proper Names.

Theze stand on a different footing from ordinary words in many ways, especialy names of persons, and ar left unalterd for the prezent. Such names as 'Philological Society' may also be considerd as proper names.

Varieties of Pronunciation.

A fonetic spelling which does not adapt itself to varieties of pronunciation ceases to be fonetic. There is no more reazon for A, who pronounces a givn word in a certain way, being obliged to spel it differently becauz B pronounces it differently, than for the hole of England being obliged to write *knight* or *edage* (for *age*) becauz peple pronounced so sum hundred years ago.

The evident advantage of a strictly fonetic spelling is that it enables us to symbolize variations of pronunciation, and so ultimately to control them. Thus, if we write foneticaly *ake*, the older spelling *aches* can be uzed to denote the dissyllabic pronunciation in 'fil thy bones with aches.' So also we can distinguish between *curst* and *cursed*, just as between *lernt* and *lerned*.

Reform of Pronunciation.

It has often been sugested that insted of reforming spelling we should reform pronunciation. But it is impossibl to control pronunciation without a fonetic spelling. That such a control can be exercized is proovd by the changes in the pronunciation of such words as *author* (p. 11), consequent on a change in their spelling. This is a change the wrong way, but there is no reazon why conversely the re-introduction of such a spelling as *behoov* (p. 21) may not restore the corect pronunciation, which is now rapidly becuming extinct by the influence of the false spelling *behove*.

DETAILS.

Vowels.

e

Silent *e* has no etymological value (p. 11), and should be omitted wherever foneticaly useless, that is, wherever it does not lengthen a preceding vowel, and in sum other cases noticed below.

In the following words it is foneticaly misleading, being added to a short vowel followd by a singl consonant, and should therefor be dropt:

above	abuv	*live*	liv
are	ar	*lived*	livd
bade	bad	*love*	luv
come	cum	*shove*	shuv
comes	cums	*some*	sum
dove	duv	*somewhat*	sumwhat
give	giv	*vineyard*	vinyard
given	givn	*welcome*	welcum
gone	gon	*were*	wer
have	hav		

Retaind in *done*, *none*, *one* (p. 22).

hav thus distinguisht from *behave*, and *liv* from *alive*.

In the following cases it is foneticaly useless.

It should be dropt after *v* and *z* preceded by a writn long vowel or a consonant, as in:

aggrieve	agreev	*improve*	improov
aggrieves	agreevs	*interleave*	interleav
aggrieved	agreevd	*involve*	involv
achieve	acheev	*leave*	leav
achievement	acheevment	*move*	moov
approve	aproov	*nerve*	nerv
believe	beleev	*perceive*	perceiv
bereave	bereav	*preserve*	prezerv
calve	calv	*receive*	receiv
carve	carv	*relieve*	releev
cleave	cleav	*remove*	remoov
conceive	conceiv	*reprieve*	repreev
curve	curv	*reprove*	reproov
deceive	deceiv	*reserve*	rezerv
dissolve	dizolv	*resolve*	rezolv
grieve	greev	*retrieve*	retreev
groove	groov	*revolve*	revolv
halve	halv	*salve*	salv
heave	heav	*selves*	selvs

serve	serv	*thieve*	theev
shelve	shelv	*twelve*	twelv
sleeve	sleev	*valve*	valv
solve	solv	*waive*	waiv
starve	starv	*weave*	weav
swerve	swerv		

adze	adz	*gauze*	gauz
baize	baiz	*maize*	maiz
breeze	breez	*ooze*	ooz
bronze	bronz	*seize*	seiz
browze	browz	*sneeze*	sneez
freeze	freez	*squeeze*	squeez
frieze	freez	*wheeze*	wheez
furze	furz		

The general retention of *e* after *v* is a tradition of the Tudor period, when *u* was writn for *v* as wel as *u;* if the *e* had been dropt *valu=valve* would hav been confuzed with *value.*

e should be dropt after writn difthongs:

awe	aw	*eye*	ey
aye	ay	*owe*	ow

e coud also be dropt after a singl vowel, as in *due, hoe,* but not in inflections such as *dus* (cp. *thus*), *hod*; it had therefor better be retaind thruout for the prezent.

e always prezervs the breth sound of preceding *s* with a consonant before the *s* (except in *cleanse,* and sumtimes in *parse*), and often also when a vowel goes before; hense the *e* of such words as *dense, lease,* coud not be dropt without confuzion with *dens, leas,* where *s=z,* but

e should be dropt after *s* = *z* preceded by a consonant or writn long vowel, whether *z* is writn insted of the *s* or not:

appease	apeaz	*cheese*	cheez
applause	aplauz	*clause*	clauz
because	becauz	*cleanse*	clenz
bruise	bruiz	*counterpoise*	counterpoiz
carouse	carouz	*disease*	dizeaz
cause	cauz	*ease*	eaz
chaise	chaiz	*grease* vb.	greaz

house vb.	houz	*praise*	praiz
mouse vb.	mouz	*raise*	raiz
noise	noiz	*rouse*	rouz
pause	pauz	*spouse*	spouz
please	pleaz	*tease*	teaz
poise	poiz		

Also in *-dge*, as in:

edge	edg	*edges*	edges
edged	edgd	*knowledge*	knowledg

Compare *Edgware, acknowledgment.*

and in

apse	aps	*collapsed*	colapst
axe	ax	*glimpse*	glimps
collapse	colaps	*lapse*	laps

Mute *e* may, of course, be added or restord wherever advizabl, as in *holely* for *holly=wholly.*

Inflectional and Derivative e.

For *-re* write *-er:*

accoutre	acouter	*nitre*	niter
amphitheatre	amfitheater	*ochre*	ocher
centre	center	*ogre*	oger
centres	centers	*saltpetre*	saltpeter
centred	centerd	*sceptre*	scepter
lustre	luster	*sepulchre*	sepulcher
metre	meter	*spectre*	specter
mitre	miter	*theatre*	theater

-re must be retaind after *c*, as in *acre, lucre, massacre.*

The change has alredy been made in *(gas)meter, barometer, tiger,* etc.

The *e* of *-le* can be dropt

a) where the *l* is preceded by two consonants, as in:

apostle	apostl	*pebble*	pebl
assemble	assembl	*puzzle*	puzl
assembles	assembls	*settle*	setl
assembled	assembld	*single*	singl
axle (x=ks)	axl	*thimble*	thimbl
bubble	bubl	*tremble*	trembl
circle	circl	*twinkle*	twinkl
dazzle	dazl	*uncle*	uncl
humble	humbl	*whistle*	whistl
little	litl	*wrinkle*	wrinkl
muscle	muscl		

b) where *l* is preceded by a singl consonant with a short vowel before it:

couple	cupl	*double*	dubl
couples	cupls	*treble*	trebl
coupled	cupld	*trouble*	trubl

c) where a writn long vowel precedes, as in:

beadle	beadl	*foible*	foibl
beetle	beetl	*needle*	needl
eagle	eagl	*steeple*	steepl
feeble	feebl	*treacle*	treacl
enfeebled	enfeebld		

d) in the terminations *-able*, *-ible* and *-icle*, as in:

agreeable	agreeabl	*moveable*	moovabl
article	articl	*peaceable*	peaceabl
articles	articls	*possible*	possibl
articled	articld	*probable*	probabl
credible	credibl	*sensible*	sensibl
forcible	forcibl	*serviceable*	serviceabl
formidable	formidabl	*terrible*	terribl
icicle	icicl	*vehicle*	vehicl
intelligible	intelligibl		

e can be dropt in *-ine*, wherever the *i* is short, as in:

discipline	disciplin	*examined*	examind
doctrine	doctrin	*feminine*	feminin
engine	engin	*masculine*	masculin
examine	examin	*medicine*	medicin
examines	examins		

In *-ise*:

practise	practis	*treatise*	treatis
promise	promis	*premise*	premis

In *-ite*, as in:

definite	definit	*infinite*	infinit
favourite	favorit	*opposite*	opposit
favourites	favorits	*perquisite*	perquizit
granite	granit	*requisite*	requizit
hypocrite	hypocrit		

In *-ive*, as in:

active	activ	*narrative*	narrativ
decisive	decisiv	*native*	nativ
expensive	expensiv	*olive*	oliv
lucrative	lucrativ	*passive*	passiv
massive	massiv	*relative*	relativ
motive	motiv	*repulsive*	repulsiv
motives	motivs	*talkative*	talkativ
motived	motivd	*vindictive*	vindictiv

In *-some*, as in:

handsome	handsum	*tiresome*	tiresum
quarrelsome	quarrelsum	*wholesome*	holesum

In other words:

brimstone	brimston	*therefore*	therefor
purpose	purpos	*wherefore*	wherefor

Where the *e* modifies the preceding vowel (not necessarily by lengthening) in any way, it cannot be omitted: this is specialy the case after *u*, as in *volume, soluble, nature, measure.* The *e* coud be omitted after *u* in sum words, such as *figure* and *injure*, but it is simplest to leav it everywhere. *e* modifies *a* in such words as *inviolate, purchase, obstacle.* It cannot be dropt after *c* or *g*, as in *crevice, image.*

e before a consonant is often dropt in *-es* and *-ed* (p. 29), of which many exampls ar givn abuv.

-en often drops its *e*; especialy in participls, as in:

driven	drivn	*risen*	rizn
eaten	eatn	*striven*	strivn
ridden	ridn	*written*	writn

ea

has the etymological value of simpl *e*, which preceded it in Midl English (p. 6), and the *a* can be omitted in:

bread	bred	*endeavour*	endevor
breadth	bredth	*feather*	fether
breakfast	brekfast	*head*	hed
breast	brest	*health*	helth
breath	breth	*heard*	herd
cleanly	clenly	*hearse*	herse
cleanse	clenz	*heaven*	heven
dead	ded	*heavy*	hevy
deaf	def	*jealous*	jelous
dearth	derth	*lead* sb.	led
death	deth	*leaned*	lent
dread	dred	*learn*	lern
dreamed	dremt	*leaped*	lept
earl	erl	*leather*	lether
early	erly	*leaven*	leven
earn	ern	*meadow*	medow
earnest	ernest	*meant*	ment
earth	erth	*measure*	mezure

pearl	perl	*sweat*	swet
peasant	pezant	*thread*	thred
pheasant	fezant	*threat*	thret
pleasant	plezant	*threaten*	threten
pleasure	plezure	*treachery*	trechery
read prt.	red	*tread*	tred
ready	redy	*treadle*	tredl
realm	relm	*treasure*	trezure
rehearse	reherse	*wealth*	welth
search	serch	*weapon*	wepon
spread	spred	*weather*	wether
stead	sted	*yearn*	yern
steady	stedy	*zealous*	zelous
stealth	stelth		

Where *ea* has the sound of *a*, the analogy of *hark* justifies us in omitting the *e*, thereby restoring frequent Tudor spellings:

hearken	harken
heart	hart
hearth	harth

eau

The older spelling of *beauty* should be restord:

beauty	beuty

ei

The *e* of *height* is useless:

height	hiht

eo

Where *eo* has the sound of *e(e)*, the older spellings should be restord:

jeopardy	jepardy
leopard	lepard
people	peple

In *yeoman* the *e* is useless:

yeoman	yoman

i

The unhistorical *i* of *parliament* should be dropt:

parliament	parlament

The commonest Midl E. spelling is *parlement*.

ie

for *ee* in English words is unhistorical, and the older spelling should be restord. The *ie* in French words is historical in French itself, but all theze words wer originaly writn with *ee* in Midl English, which *ee* ocurs frequently in Tudor English also. *sieve* had originaly *i* (Old E. *sife;* cp. *sift*) which should be restord.

achieve	acheev	*pier*	peer
believe	beleev	*pierce*	peerce
bier	beer	*priest*	preest
brief	breef	*relief*	releef
chief	cheef	*relieve*	releev
field	feeld	*reprieve*	repreev
fiend	feend	*retrieve*	retreev
fierce	feerse	*shield*	sheeld
friend	frend	*shriek*	shreek
frieze	freez	*siege*	seege
grief	greef	*sieve*	siv
grieve	greev	*thief*	theef
lief	leef	*thieve*	theev
liege	leege	*tier*	teer
mien	meen	*tierce*	teerse
niece	neece	*wield*	weeld
piece	peece	*yield*	yeeld

mischief, mischievous, cannot take *ee*.

o

The Tudor *oo* should be restord in:

approve	aproov	*lose*	looz
behove	behoov	*move*	moov
disprove	disproov	*prove*	proov
gamboge	gambooge	*reprove*	reproov
improve	improov		

who, whose had better retain their singl *o* for the prezent.

In the following the Old E. and Old French *u* should be restord:

above	abuv	*love*	luv
affront	afrunt	*money*	muney
attorney	aturney	*mongrel*	mungrel
borough	buroh	*monk*	munk
colour	culor	*monkey*	munkey
come	cum	*plover*	pluver
comfit	cumfit	*pommel*	pummel
comfrey	cumfrey	*shove*	shuv
comfort	cumfort	*shovel*	shuvel
companion	cumpanion	*some*	sum
company	cumpany	*son*	sun
compass	cumpass	*sponge*	spunge
conjuror	cunjuror	*stomach*	stumac
constable	cunstabl	*thorough*	thuroh
covenant	cuvenant	*ton*	tun
cover	cuver	*tongue*	tung
covet	cuvet	*won* ptc.	wun
covey	cuvey	*wonder*	wunder
discomfit	discumfit	*worm*	wurm
dove	duv	*worry*	wurry
dozen	duzen	*worse*	wurse
front	frunt	*worship*	wurship
govern	guvern	*worst*	wurst
honey	huney	*worth*	wurth

onion may be left unchanged, to avoid confuzion of pronunciation with *union*.

In many words, such as *combat, conduit*, the spelling has corupted the pronunciation; and the pronunciation of several of the abuv words varies.

In the following words *o* is historical: *among(st), brother, does, done, dost, doth, glove, monday, monger, month, mother, none, nothing, once, one, other, smother, twopence, word, work, world.*

In *women* (O.E. *wifmenn*) original *i* should be restord:

women wimen

oe

The older *oo* should be restord in *canoe* and *shoe*, thus distinguisht from *doe*, *toe*, etc.:

canoe	canoo
shoe	shoo

canoe is quite a late spelling on the analogy of *shoe*; Walker stil writes *canoa*.

ou

The Old E. and Old French *u* should be restord in:

adjourn	ajurn	*joust*	just
bourgeon	burgeon	*nourish*	nurish
country	cuntry	*rough*	ruf
couple	cupl	*scourge*	scurge
couplet	cuplet	*southerly*	sutherly
courage	curage	*southern*	suthern
cousin	cuzin	*through*	thru
double	dubl	*touch*	tuch
enough	enuf	*touching*	tuching
flourish	flurish	*tough*	tuf
journal	jurnal	*trouble*	trubl
journey	jurney		

The *ou* in *enough* and *tough* has no historical value, and may therefor be made fonetic; the historical spelling would be *enoogh* and *toogh* (O.E. *genôh*, *tôh*).

In *-ough* the *u* is useless (O.E. *bohte*, *âhte*, etc.):

bought	boht	*sought*	soht
brought	broht	*though*	tho
fought	foht	*thought*	thoht
ought	oht	*wrought*	wroht

In *-our* the dropping of the *u* should be carried out everywhere:

behaviour	behavior	*honour*	honor
harbour	harbor	*humour*	humor

Consonants.

dubl

b, d, g, n, r, t, ar generaly not dubld finaly after short vowels, and the following exceptions should follow the general analogy:

add	ad	*err*	er
adds	ads	*inn*	in
butt	but	*odd*	od
ebb	eb	*purr*	pur
egg	eg	*whirr*	whir

The following ar examplz of the regular spellings: *cub, rob, web; bad, lid, mud; in, man, son; cur, defer, sir; bit, hat, wit.* *m* and *p* ar never dubld finaly.

f is generaly dubld, but not in *clef* and *if; l* is dubld in monosyllabls, and kept singl in polysyllabls, as in *bell, rebel, full, fulfil, toll, extol; s* is dubld in the few words where it ocurs final; all three should be writn singl (except in *-all*), as in:

bailiff	bailif	*staff*	staf
buzz	buz	*stiff*	stif
dull	dul	*stuff*	stuf
dulls	duls	*stuffs*	stufs
dulled	duld	*stuffed*	stuft
full	ful	*whizz*	whiz

ll after *a* is required to keep up the distinction between *Hal* and *hall*, etc.

Final *ck* and *ss* must be left as they ar til the use of *k* and *s* is regulated.

off must be left til *of* is alterd to *ov*.

Wherever a dubl consonant cums before another consonant it may often be simplified:

battle	batl	*wriggle*	wrigl
kettle	ketl	*written*	writn
ripple	ripl		

ck and *ss* retained, as in *picks, pickt, tassl.*

Dubl consonants ar generaly simplified in unaccented syllabls, and this rule should be carried out with *ll* and *tt* also.

curvetting	curveting	*traveller*	traveler
fidgetting	fidgeting	*travelling*	traveling

travling is thus distinguisht from *rebelling*. The distinction between *gravelly* and *gravely* may be kept up by omitting the useless *e* in the former: *gravly, gravely*.

ck, as in *mimicking*, must be left.

There ar many words beginning with unaccented prefixes in which the analogy of Latin words like *accuse, commit, immure*, has led to an unhistorical dubling. Such words as *account, allow, arrive, attack*, and many others wer taken straiht from Old French, where they had singl consonants, the dubling being a later etymological fancy. In such words as *affront* and *affair* from *a front* and *a faire* it is based on sheer ignorance, as also in the nativ English words *accursed, afford, affright*, from Old E. *acursod, aforðian, afyrht*. In short, this dubling has litl or no etymological value, and had better be simplified everywhere, as in:

abbreviate	abreviate	*arrange*	arange
accuse	acuze	*assist*	asist
acquit	aquit	*attack*	atack
address	adress	*command*	comand
adjust	ajust	*commit*	comit
affair	afair	*connect*	conect

correct	corect	*irregular*	iregular
effect	efect	*occasion*	ocazion
illegal	ilegal	*possess*	pozess
immense	imense	*suppose*	supoze

acquit, *adjust*, etc., ar, of course, equivalent to *accwit*, *addzhust*. The dubl consonants must be kept in accented syllabls, as in *aggravate*.

Consonants may, of course, be dubld or kept dubl where necessary or convenient, as in *detter* for *debtor*, *added*, *whizzing*.

b

is etymologicaly wrong in *debt*, *doubt*, *subtle*, which cum from the Old French *dete*, *doute*, *sutil*, theze being also the older English spellings. The *b* in *-mb* is etymologicaly useless, having often been added without reazon, as in *limb* = Old E. *lim*.

bomb	bom	*numb*	num
crumb	crum	*plumb*	plum
debt	det	*plumber*	plummer
debtor	detter	*redoubt*	redout
doubt	dout	*subtle*	sutl
dumb	dum	*succumb*	sucum
lamb	lam	*thumb*	thum
limb	lim		

detter is a frequent Tudor spelling.

b is unhistorical in *crumb* (O.E. *cruma*), *limb* (O.E. *lim*), *numb*, *plumb* (O. French *plum*, cp. *plummet*), *thumb* (O.E. *þúma*).

c

Initial *c* in *cinder* from Old E. *sinder*, is due to a mistaken etymology from French *cendre*.

Medial *c* is writn unetymologicaly for *s* in a large number of words, but at prezent it is not advizabl to restore the *s*, except where a consonant precedes :

cinder	sinder	*scarce*	scarse
expence	expense	*since*	sinse
fierce	feerse	*source*	sourse
hence	hense	*thence*	thense
once	onse	*tierce*	teerse
pence	pense	*whence*	whense

Midl E. *hennes, ones, pens, etc.*

ch

For *ache* the older *ake* should be restord. *anchor* was spelt *anker* in erlier English: it has been refashiond after the Latin *anchora*, itself a corupt spelling of Greek *ágkūra*. The *h* in *chamomile, choler, cholera* (cp. *colic*), *melancholy, school, stomach*, is a late insertion paralel to that of *b* in *debt:* in Midl E. theze words wer writn *camomille, coler(ik), melancolie, scole, stomak*. For *choir* the older *quire* may be revived.

ache	ake	*cholera*	colera
anchor	anker	*melancholy*	melancoly
chamomile	camomile	*school*	scool
choir	quire	*stomach*	stumac
choler	coler		

ch may be retaind in *stomachic*, etc.

d

The dropping of the *e* of *-ed* involvs the change of *d* into *t* after a voiceless consonant, together with the simplification of dubl consonants.

barred	bard	*rained*	raind
crossed	crost	*restored*	restord
erred	erd	*slipped*	slipt
looked	lookt	*tugged*	tugd
pulled	puld	*whizzed*	whizd

Length-marking *e* must be retaind, as in *chafed*, also after *c* and *g*, as in *chanced, singed*. *ck* had better be retaind for the prezent, as in *pickt*.

f

for *v* in *of* is an izolated iregularity, which had better be retaind at prezent on acount of the excessiv frequency of the word (p. 10).

g

is a late insertion in *feign* (cp. *feint*), *foreign*, *sovereign* (onthe analogy of *reign*, with which it is totaly unconected).

feign	fein
foreign	forein
sovereign	soverein

It has been propozed to restore Milton's *sovran*, but this is a hybrid Italian spelling.

gh

The *h* is etymologicaly useless in *aghast*, *burgh*, *ghost* (O.E. *gást*).

gh in *night*, etc., is a late and clumzy substitute for Old E. *h* (*niht*, *dohtor*, etc.). The *g* should be omitted wherever *gh* is silent. Where *gh*=*f*, it may either be provizionaly retaind or else changed to *f* (see Apendix), as has alredy been done in *draft*=*draught*, and, at an erlier period, in *dwarf* from Old E. *dweorh*.

In *delight*, *haughty*, *sprightly*, *gh* is etymologicaly wrong, and the erlier spellings should be restord.

aghast	agast	*night*	niht
daughter	dauhter	*plough*	plouh
delight	delite	*sprightly*	spritely
eight	eiht	*straight*	straiht
ghost	gost	*thorough*	thuroh
haughty	hauty	*though*	tho
high	hih	*through*	thru
higher	hiher	*weight*	weiht
height	hiht		

h is alredy often dropt in the spellings *tho'* *thr-'*

h

dropt in *rhyme* and *thyme* (p. 25).

l

dropt in *could* (Old E. *cúðe*), which ows it to the false analogy of *would* and *should*, where it is historical:

could	coud

p

in *receipt* is a modern insertion, which has not been made in the paralel *conceit*, *decet*, etc.

receipt	receit

ph

for *v* in *nephew* is unmeaning, and the French spelling should be restord:

nephew	neveu

For the change of *ph* into *f* see Apendix.

q

For *quay* the older fonetic *key* may be restord:

quay	key

s

is wrongly inserted in *aisle* (O.F. *ele*), *demesne*, *island* (O.E. *igland*), *isle*:

aisle	aile
demesne	demene
island	iland
isle	ile

In *isle* the *s* is historical in the oldest Fr., but not in E., which writes *ile*, *yle* from the beginning.

The *e* of *aile* is retaind to distinguish it from *ail*.

The retention of *s*=*z* is the cheef obstacl to the regulation of silent *e* (p. 15). As the change of inflectional *s* in such words as *dens*, *gives*, would involv a disproportionately large number of alterations, it is advizabl to leav it unchanged at first, as also in very common words, such as *as*, *is*, *was*.

The change is especialy recomended 1) in distinctiv words, such as *use* (verb), and 2) in the termination *-ise*:

abuse vb.	abuze	*grease* vb.	greaz
advertise	advertize	*house* vb.	houz
choose	chooz	*mouse* vb.	mouz
chosen	chozen	*pleasure*	plezure
close vb.	cloze	*raise*	raiz
diffuse vb.	difuze	*refuse* vb.	refuze
dissolve	dizolv	*result*	rezult
excuse vb.	excuze	*rise*	rize

s is alredy in use in *freeze, frozen*, tho not in *choose, chosen*, in *size, furze, civilize*, etc. Besides its purely fonetic use in nativ English words, it is always writn both foneticaly and etymologicaly in Greek words. Hense sum object to the spelling *analyze* (Gk. *análysis*) as unetymological, but the question is simply whether we ar to carry out the English fonetic or the Greek etymological use of s; if the latter we must write *freese, sise*, etc., if the former, *analyze*.

sc

The *c* is eroneously inserted in *scent* (Fr. *sentir*) and *scythe* (Old E. *sīðe*). The *s* is equaly wrong in *scimitar* (Fr. *cimeterre*) and *scissors*. When *sceptic* is pronounced with *k*, it should be considerd as a Greek word, and writn acordingly.

scent	sent	*scissors*	cissors
sceptic	skeptic	*scythe*	sithe
scimitar	cimitar		

With *skeptic* compare *skeleton*. *scissors* has no conection with *scindere*.

tch

The *t* is unetymological, and is not more required in *witch* than in *which*. It should be dropt everywhere, which can be done without cauzing ambiguity:

catch	cach	*notch*	noch
catches	caches	*pitch*	pich
fetch	fech	*witch*	wich
fetching	feching		

w

is unetymological in *whole* (O.E. *hál*; cp. *heal*).

whole	hole

APENDIX.

The following changes wer advocated by so large a majority that it was thoht advizabl to include them among the imediate reforms, but to relegate them to an apendix, as being inconsistent with the principl of etymological limitation.

gh

Substitute *f* for *gh* where so pronounced, as has alredy been done in *draft* (in one of its meanings) and *dwarf*:

chough	chuf	*laughter*	lafter
cough	cof	*rough*	ruf
draught	draft	*slough*	sluf
enough	enuf	*tough*	tuf
laugh	laf	*trough*	trof

The vowels in theze words hav but litl historical value. The *u* in most of them, such as *cough, laugh, trough*, is not original; cp. O.E. *cohhettan, hlúhhan, trog*. *enough, tough*=O.E. *genóh, tóh*. *rough*=*rúh*.

ph

If *f* wer substituted for *ph* everywhere, as in Italian, Spanish, and the Scandinavian languages, a letter would be saved, and etymology would not be apreciably obscured:

blaspheme	blasfeme	*philosophy*	filosofy
camphor	camfor	*photograph*	fotograf
phantasm	fantasm	*sphere*	sfere

With *phantasm* cp. *fancy*.

INDEX.

1) General Changes.

b *dropt*, 28.
-**bb** : b, 26.
c : s, 28.
ch : c, 29.
: k, 29.
dd : d, 26.
-**e** *dropt*, 13.
ea : e, 19.
: a, 20.
eau : eu, 20.
ei : i, 20.
-**en** : n, 19.
eo : e, 20.
: o, 20.
-**ff** : f, 26.
g *dropt*, 30.
-**gg** : g, 26.
gh- : g, 30.
-**gh** *dropt*, 30.
-**gh** : h, 30.
-**gh** : f, 33.
h *dropt*, 25.
i *dropt*, 21.
ie : ee, 21.
: i, 21.
-**ine** : in, 18.
-**ise** : is, 18.
-**ite** : it, 18.
-**ive** : iv, 18.
l *dropt*, 31.
-**ll** : l, 26.
-**le** : l, 16.
-**nn** : n, 26.
o : oo, 21.
: u, 22.
: i, 22.
oe : oo, 23.
ou : u, 23.
: o, 23.
-**our** : or, 23.
p *dropt*, 31.
ph : f, 33.
: v, 31.
-**rr** : r, 26.
-**re** : er, 16.
s *dropt*, 31.
: z, 31.
sc- : s, 32.
: c, 32.
: sk, 32.
-**se** : s, 15.
-**some** : sum, 18.
-**tt** : t, 26.
tch : ch, 32.
u *dropt*, 24.
ue *dropt*, 25.
: u, 25.
-**ve** : v, 14.
w *dropt*, 32.
y : i, 25.
-**zz** : z, 26.
ze : z, 14.

2) Special Words.

(*Words given merely as examples ar not included in this list.*)

Above : abuv, 14, 22.
abuse *vb.* : abuze, 32.
accoutre : acouter, 16.
ache : ake, 29.
achieve : acheev, 21.
add : ad, 26.
adjourn : ajurn, 23.
affront : afrunt, 22.
aghast : agast, 30.
ague : agu, 25.
aisle : aile, 31.
amphitheatre : amfitheater, 16.
anchor : anker, 29.
approve : aproov, 21.
apologue : apolog, 25.
apse : aps, 16.
are : ar, 14.
argue : argu, 25.
attorney : aturney, 22.
awe : aw, 15.
axe : ax, 16.
aye : ay, 15.

Bade : bad, 14.
beauty : beuty, 20.
behove : behoov, 21.
believe : beleev, 21.
bier : beer, 21.
bomb : bom, 28.
borough : buroh, 22.
bought : boht, 23.
bourgeon : burgeon, 23.
bread : bred, 19.
breadth : bredth, 19.
breakfast : brekfast, 19.
breast : brest, 19.
breath : breth, 19.
brief : breef, 21.
brought : broht, 23.
burgh : burg, 30.
butt : but, 26.

Canoe : canoo, 23.
catalogue : catalog, 25.
centre : center, 16.
chamomile : camomile, 29.
chief : cheef, 21.
choir : quire, 29.
choler : coler, 29.
cholera : colera, 29.
cinder : sinder, 28.
cleanly : clenly, 19.
cleanse : clenz, 19.
close *vb.* : cloze, 32.
collapse : colaps, 16.
colleague : collcag, 25.
colour : culor, 22.
come : cum, 14, 22.
comfit : cumfit, 22.
comfrey : cumfrey, 22.
comfort : cumfort, 22.
companion : cumpanion, 22.
company : cumpany, 22.
compass : cumpass, 22.
conjuror : cunjuror, 22.
constable : cunstabl, 22.
could : coud, 31.
country : cuntry, 23.
couple : cupl, 23.
couplet : cuplet, 23.
courage : curage, 23.
cousin : cuzin, 23.
covenant : cuvenant, 22.
cover : cuver, 22.
covet : cuvet, 22.
covey : cuvey, 22.
crumb : crum, 28.

Dead : ded, 19.
deaf : def, 19.
dearth : derth, 19.
death : deth, 19.
debt : det, 28.
debtor : detter, 28.
decalogue : decalog, 25.
delight : delite, 30.
demesne : demene, 31.
demagogue : demagog, 25.

dialogue : dialog, 25.
diffuse : difuze, 32.
discomfit : discumfit, 22.
disprove : disproov, 21.
double : dubl, 23.
doubt : dout, 28.
dove : duv, 14, 22.
dozen : duzen, 22.
dread : dred, 19.
dreamed : dremt, 19.
dumb : dum, 28.

Earl : erl, 19.
early : erly, 19.
earn : ern, 19.
earnest : ernest, 19.
earth : erth, 19.
ebb : eb, 26.
eclogue : eclog, 25.
egg : eg, 26.
endeavour : endevor, 19.
enough : enuf, 23.
epilogue : epilog, 25.
err : er, 26.
excuse *vb.* : excuze, 32.
expence : expense, 29.
eye : ey, 15.

Feather : fether, 19.
feign : fein, 30.
field : feeld, 21.
fiend : feend, 21.
fierce : feerse, 21, 29.
flourish : flurish, 23.
foreign : forein, 30.
fought : foht, 23.
friend : frend, 21.
frieze : freez, 21.
front : frunt 22.

Gamboge : gambooge, 21.
ghost : gost, 30.
give : giv, 14.
glimpse : glimps, 16.
gone : gon, 14.
govern : guvern, 22.
grease *vb.* : greaz, 32.
grief : greef, 21.
grieve : greev, 21.
guarantee : garantee, 24.
guard : gard, 24.
guardian : gardian, 24.
guess : gess, 24.
guest : gest, 24.
guild : gild, 24.
guilt : gilt, 24.

Harangue : harang, 25.
have : hav, 14.
haughty : hauty, 30.
head : hed, 19.
health : helth, 19.
heard : herd, 19.
hearken : harken, 20.
hearse : herse, 19.
heart : hart, 20.
hearth : harth, 20.
heaven : hoven, 19.
heavy : hevy, 19.
height : hiht, 20.
hence : hense, 29.
honey : huney, 22.
house *vb.* : houze, 32.

Improve : improov, 21.
inn : in, 26.
island : iland, 31.
isle : ile, 31.

Jealous : jelous, 19.
jeopardy : jepardy, 20.
journal : jurnal, 23.
journey : jurney, 23.
joust : just, 23.

Lamb : lam, 28.
lapse : laps, 16.
lead : led, 19.
league : leag, 25.
leant : lent, 19.
learn : lern, 19.
leaped : lept, 19.
leather : lether, 19.
leaven : leven, 19.
leopard : lepard, 20.
lief : leef, 21.
liege : leege, 21.
limb : lim, 28.

live : liv, 14.
lose : looz, 21.
love : luv, 14, 22.
lustre : luster, 16.

Meadow : medow, 19.
meant : ment, 19.
measure : mezure, 19.
melancholy : melancoly, 29.
metre : meter, 16.
mien : meen, 21.
mitre : miter, 16.
money : muney, 22.
mongrel : mungrel, 22.
monk : munk, 22.
monkey : munkey, 22.
monologue : monolog, 25.
mouse, *vb.* : mouze, 32.
move : moov, 21.
mystagogue : mystagog, 25.

Nephew : nevew, 31.
niece : neece, 21.
nitre : niter, 16.
nourish : nurish, 23.
numb : num, 28.

Ochre : ocher, 16.
odd : od, 26.
ogre : oger, 16.
once : onse, 29.
ought : oht, 23.
owe : ow, 15.

Parliament : parlament, 21.
pearl : perl, 20.
peasant : pezant, 20.
pedagogue : pedagog, 25.
pence : pense, 29.
people : peple, 20.
pheasant : fezant, 20.
piece : peece, 21.
pier : peer, 21.
pierce : peerce, 21.
pleasant : plezant, 20.
pleasure : plezure, 20.
plover : pluver, 22.
plumb : plum, 28.
plumber : plummer, 28.
pommel : pummel, 22.
priest : preest, 21.
prologue : prolog, 25.
prove : proov, 21.
purr : pur, 26.

Quay : key, 31.
queue : cue, 24.

Read : red, 20.
ready : redy, 20.
realm : relm, 20.
redoubt : redout, 28.
receipt : receit, 31.
refuse, *vb.* : refuze, 32.
rehearse : reherse, 20.
relief : releef, 21.
relieve : releev, 21.
reprieve : repreev, 21.
reprove : reproov, 21.
retrieve : retreev, 21.
rhyme : rime, 25.
rough : ruf, 23.

Saltpetre : saltpeter, 16.
scarce : scarse, 29.
scent : sent, 32.
sceptic : skeptic, 32.
sceptre : scepter, 16.
school : scool, 29.
scimitar : cimitar, 32.
scissors : cissors, 32.
scourge : scurge, 23.
scythe : sithe, 32.
search : serch, 20.
sepulchre : sepulcher, 16.
shield : sheeld, 21.
shoe : shoo, 23.
shove : shuv, 14, 22.
shovel : shuvel, 22.
shriek : shreek, 21.
siege : seege, 21.
sieve : siv, 21.
since : sinse, 29.
some : sum, 14, 22.
son : sun, 22.
sought : soht, 23.
source : sourse, 29.
southerly : sutherly, 23.

southern : suthern, 23.
sovereign : soverein, 30.
spectre : specter, 16.
sponge : spunge, 22.
spread : spred, 20.
sprightly : spritely, 30.
stead : sted, 20.
steady : stedy, 20.
stealth : stelth, 20.
stomach : stumac, 22, 29.
stomachic : stumachic, 29.
subtle : sutl, 28.
succumb : sucum, 28.
sweat : swet, 20.
synagogue : synagog, 25.

Theatre : theater, 16.
thence : thense, 29.
thief : theef, 21.
thieve : theev, 21.
thorough : thuroh, 22.
though : tho, 23, 30.
thought : thoht, 23.
thread : thred, 20.
threat : thret, 20.
threaten : threten, 20.
through : thru, 23, 30.
thumb : thum, 28.
thyme : time, 25.
tier : teer, 21.
tierce : teerse, 21, 29.
ton : tun, 22.
tongue : tung, 22, 25.
touch : tuch, 23.
tough : tuf, 23.
treachery : trechery, 20.
tread : tred, 20.
treadle : tredl, 20.
treasure : trezure, 20.
trouble : trubl, 23.

Vineyard : vinyard, 14.

Wealth : welth, 20.
weapon : wepon, 20.
weather : wether, 20.
were : wer, 14.
whence : whense, 29.
whirr : whir, 26.
whole : hole, 32.
wholly : holely, 16.
wield : weeld, 21.
women : wimen, 22.
won : wun, 22.
wonder : wunder, 22.
worm : wurm, 22.
worry : wurry, 22.
worse : wurse, 22.
worship : wurship, 22.
worst : wurst, 22.
worth : wurth, 22.
wrought : wroht, 23.

Yearn : yern, 20.
yeoman : yoman, 20.
yield : yeeld, 21.

Zealous : zelous, 20.

PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

MONTHLY ABSTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS.

Friday, May 16, 1879.—(Anniversary Meeting.)

Dr. J. A. H. MURRAY, *President*, in the Chair. Mr. Gustavus Adolphus Schrumpf was proposed for admission into the Society.

The President then read his Annual Address. He first reviewed the Papers as yet read before the Society in the Session 1878-79; then noticed Mr. Cust's book on the Languages of India, his own article on the English Language in the last volume of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Mr. Henry Nicol's on the French Language in the forthcoming volume of the same *Encyclopædia*, and Prof. Skeat's *Dictionary of English Etymology*; and then gave a short account of the Society's Dictionary work, what had been done by subeditors, and what he, his assistant and sorters had done and were doing at the work: 2000 copies of the *Appeal to Readers* had been circulated, and 168 readers had taken books, some 250 volumes among them. Dr. Murray then noted how few Members of the Society had worked for the Dictionary, and justified his having issued no fresh Basis of Comparison to guide workers in their reading. He also stated that he had finished the first Draft of the articles *A* to *Aby*. Then he discussed the difficulty of marking satisfactorily the Pronunciation, and gave an account of that of *caviare*, which in the last century was always *ca-veer*. He then stated the historic changes in *abism* and *abyss*, *abnormous* and *abnormal*, and illustrated the difficulties arising from the confusion of words, like *carrousel* and *carousal*, *aby* and *abide*, *aboard* and *abroad*; from words having two origins, as *castle*, *aboard*, etc.; from the doubt whether non-popular classical words came through France, or were made here, as the *-ate* words were, the verbs in *-ate* being formed from the participles. He then dealt with compounds, which he divided into three classes, and discussed the questions of Case and Relation (which was generally expressed by position in English, and rarely by inflection), of Grammar and Dictionary; and gave some amusing instances of Etymologies formerly sent-in to the Dictionary Committee by a contributor with Hebrew on the brain. Dr. Murray then read extracts from the following Reports:—

(1) Prof. Rajna, of Milan, on the Dialects of the Italian Language.

(2) Prof. Schiefner, of St. Petersburg, on the Languages of the Caucasus.

(3) Prof. O. Donnor, of Helsingfors, Finland, on the Finnish and Lappish Languages, and their Mutual Relationship.

(4) Mr. R. N. Cust (from Mr. W. G. Aston) on the Korean Language.

Dr. Murray wound-up with an expression of sympathy with the complaints of country Members who heard so little of the Society's work, and he offered to pay for a 4-page Monthly Abstract of Proceedings for one year, if the writers of Papers would make abstracts of them for the purpose.

The thanks of the Meeting were voted to the President for his Address, and to the Contributors for their Reports, and to the translators of the foreign Reports. The President and Mr. Cust returned thanks.

The Society's Cash Account, as audited by Messrs. D. P. Fry and H. B. Wheatley, was read and adopted, and the thanks of the Meeting voted to the Auditors.

The thanks of the Meeting were voted to the Council of University College for granting the use of the College-rooms rent-free for the Society's Meetings.

The following Members of the Society were elected its Officers for the ensuing year :—*President:* Jas. A. H. Murray, Esq., LL.D., B.A.—*Vice-Presidents*: The Archbishop of Dublin; Edwin Guest, Esq., LL.D., M.A.; Whitley Stokes, Esq., LL.D., M.A.; Alexander John Ellis, Esq., B.A., F.R.S.; The Rev. Richard Morris, LL.D., M.A.; Henry Sweet, Esq., M.A.—*Ordinary Members of Council*: E. L. Brandreth, Esq.; C. B. Cayley, Esq., B.A.; R. N. Cust, Esq.; F. T. Elworthy, Esq.; H. H. Gibbs, Esq., M.A.; E. R. Horton, Esq., M.A.; H. Jenner, Esq.; E. L. Lushington, Esq., LL.D.; Prof. R. Martineau, M.A.; J. Muir, Esq., LL.D.; the Rev. J. B. Mayor, M.A.; W. R. Morfill, Esq., M.A.; H. Nicol, Esq.; J. Peile, Esq., M.A.; Prof. C. Rieu, Ph.D.; the Rev. A. H. Sayce, M.A.; the Rev. Prof. W. W. Skeat, M.A.; the Rev. W. Thompson, D.D.; H. Wedgwood, Esq., M.A.; R. F. Weymouth, Esq., D.Lit.—*Treasurer:* Benjamin Dawson, Esq., B.A., The Mount, Hampstead, London, N.W.—*Hon. Secretary:* F. J. Furnivall, Esq., M.A., 3, St. George's Square, Primrose Hill, N.W.

☞ The cost of the registration of the Society as a Limited Company has been over £30. To meet this expense, which the Society's small funds can ill bear, a subscription has been opened, and the following sums have been received: A. J. Ellis, £2 2*s.*; F. J. Furnivall, £1 1*s.*; E. L. Brandreth, £1 1*s.*; F. T. Elworthy, £1 1*s.*; Dr. J. A. H. Murray, £3 3*s.* The Treasurer (B. Dawson, Esq., The Mount, Hampstead, N.W.) will be glad to receive further amounts.

Friday, May 23, 1879.

Dr. James A. H. Murray, *President*, in the Chair. Mr. Gustavus A. Schrumpf was elected a Member of the Society, and Mr. Hyde Clarke was proposed for admission into it. The Paper read was: "The Etruscan Language," by Mr. Hyde Clarke.—This paper was mainly a re-statement of the author's older views on the classification of the languages of the world, but with special reference to Etruscan. He assumed the existence of a very widely distributed family of languages, to which he provisionally gave the name of Turano-African. In this he included the following dead languages: (*a*) in Asia—the Accad of Babylonia, Lydian, Carian, Phrygian, Canaanite; (*b*) in Europe—Thracian, Præhellenic, Latin, Etruscan; (*c*) in Africa—Egyptian. Also a large number of living languages. (*a*) in Asia—Japanese, the Kolarian and other languages of India, Georgian, Ugro-Altaic; (*b*) in Europe—Basque and the Ugro-Altaic languages; (*c*) in Africa—Bornu, Mandingo, Houssa, and many others; (*d*) in America—the Pomo languages, the Maya of Central America, and Peruvian. In answer to questions he stated that he did not include *all* the languages of America in this family, and expressly excluded Eskimo. Although many of these languages differ

considerably from one another, their affinity is clearly established when they are compared with the whole class, and the affinity between some of the most distant ones, as, for instance, between the Houssa of Africa and the Kolarian of India, is so close, that speakers of the two languages would be able to understand one another. This last statement was received with some surprise. The paper was illustrated by full comparative vocabularies of the different languages, special stress being laid on the wide distribution of the pronoun of the first person, *mi*. The author stated his belief that many of the nations now speaking Aryan languages are ethnologically Turanians, and explained the supposed coincidences between Etruscan and Norse mythology by the assumption of a prehistoric stage of Turanian culture among the Germanic nations, finally identifying Thor and Odin in Africa. He also identified Cadmus, etc., with prominent Old Testament personages, and found Adam and Eve, Isaac and Ishmael, in Classical mythology, which he referred back to the fetichism of Africa. The most remarkable of his ethnological views was the assumption of original white centres in High Africa, from which the Etruscan and other early civilizations were derived, this white race being afterwards supplanted, in Africa by blacks, in Asia (partially) by yellow men, in America by red men, who, however, often still preserve the older languages of their more civilized predecessors.

Discussion.—This paper called forth a very animated discussion. Prof. RIEU doubted whether Mr. Clarke's views threw any light on the interpretation of the Etruscan inscriptions. Mr. FURNIVALL asked whether Mr. Clarke had not been building up a large edifice on the smallest possible basis of fact. The PRESIDENT regretted that Mr. Clarke had not supplemented his generalizations with detailed proofs of statements which he called upon his hearers to take on trust; asked what proof there was of a certain word in an extinct language having the sense attached to it by Mr. Clarke, and subjected several of his statements, and the arguments on which they were based, to a searching criticism; the President characterized most of the coincidences between the different languages as fortuitous, and remarked that the wide distribution of the sound *m* to indicate the first person pronoun was no proof of affinity, this sound being the one first pronounced by children in all parts of the world, whence also the general occurrence of *pa* and *ma* to denote 'father' and 'mother.' Prince L. L. BONAPARTE was then asked by Mr. Furnivall to state his opinion as to the relation between Etruscan and Basque. The Prince stated that he considered the relation unproved, and that he was very sceptical about the actual existence of an Etruscan language, there being no proof that the so-called Etruscan inscriptions are really in the Etruscan language. This led to a rambling discussion on the methods of decipherment generally, not only in Etruscan, but also in the Cuneiform inscriptions, in which several members took part. Mr. SWEET called the attention of the meeting back to the subject of the paper, and said that while no one could help being struck by the imposing breadth, boldness, and originality of Mr. Clarke's views, one could not but regret the absence of any exposition of the principles on which these comparisons were based, and, especially, of any definite laws of sound-change to justify such identifications as that of *Tarquin* with *darkuan*='king' in some African language. If we are to be guided purely by external resemblance, why not identify *Tarquin* with the English *dark one*, and assume that the Tarquins were negroes? A MEMBER humorously remarked that this view might be confirmed

by the historical fact that the Tarquins were 'shady customers.' Mr. NICOL, in answer to Mr. Clarke's having spoken of the Meeting rejecting his evidence, although incompetent to judge of it, through not having studied his materials, said that every scientific philologist has studied some known group of languages or other, and has thence deduced laws of general applicability. To the objection that the laws of highly developed languages do not necessarily apply to primitive ones, such as the assumed Turano-African, he replied that we do not expect the *same* laws, but *some* laws, and until laws have been found, Mr. Clarke's identifications will remain baseless hypotheses.

Friday, June 6, 1879.

A. J. Ellis, Esq., B.A., *Vice-President*, in the Chair. Mr. Hyde Clarke was elected a Member of the Society; and Prof. Gladstone was proposed as one. The Paper read was: "On the Laws of Stress in Compounds, in English," by Henry Sweet, Esq., *Vice-President*.

If we distinguish strong (a'), medium (a:), and weak (a) stress, we have five accentuations of dissyllabic compounds:—1) st'eel p'en, 2) en'owb:all, 3) E'ngland, 4) m:ank'ind, 5) Saint John (snd'zhon). From the tendency to regard the second of two equally stressed syllables as stronger, 1) has hitherto been generally confounded under 4). Logically, equal stress *isolates*, as in *black bird*, while unequal stress *combines*, as in *b'lackbird*, which expresses a simple idea not necessarily *implied in the juxtaposition of the two elements*.

In the combination noun + noun we find, accordingly, that equal stress (1) characterizes those compounds in which the first element is equivalent to an adjective, while the more intimate relations of cause, purpose, etc., are denoted by (2). The following are the most important of these relations.

A) a'a' : 1) *likeness* — sponge cake, bow window; 2) *made of*—steel pen, plum pudding; 3) *place, part of*—town clock, sea side, garden wall; 4) *time*—evening star, May flowers; 5) *gender, age*—tom cat, she goat, boy bishop; and many purely adjectival combinations, such as *turkey carpet, head clerk, edge tool*. The most important class of exceptions are the names of natural objects, which take (a'a) to show that the compound has a special meaning; thus *dragonfly* goes against 1), *seaweed, eyelid, oystershell* against 3), *Mayfly* against 4). Other exceptions are due simply to longer use, as in *Oxfordstreet*, against *Oxford road* and all similar compounds with *square, lane, circus*, etc.; the more traditional a compound is, the more the independence of its elements is forgotten.

B) a'a: : 1) *cause, source*, etc.—rainbow, tobaccosmoke, gravelpit, steamboat; 2) *purpose, fitness*—flowerpot, flowerpotstand, dancing-master; 3) *action*—walkingtour, ref'rigeratormanuf:acturer, churchgoer, earthquake.

The distinction between the two classes is well shown in *stone jug* (A, 2) and *claretjug* (B, 2). Note also *peacock* and *pea hen* (A 5).

Adjective + noun is often (a'a:) on the same general principles, as in names of natural objects, such as *quicksilver, hummingbird*, but with many exceptions, such as *sweet briar, Indian ink*. Compare also *Highstreet*, with *Oxfordstreet*. *Public house* and others are also against the general principle. Genitive + noun is treated like an adjective, as in *crowfoot, St. James's street* (snd'zheimzist:riit) against *St. James Sq'uare*.

In noun + adjective the noun generally has a causative sense, as in *sunbirnt*, or denotes some intimate relation, as in *watertight*, whence the same stress is extended even to the adjectival *harebrained*, etc.; *pea green*, *blood red*, are regular. Adjective (adverb) + adjective generally has equal stress: good looking, hard boiled, twenty five. Other compounds must be passed over.

In all these cases the modifying (attributive) word precedes the other, and if there is any preponderance of stress, it falls on that modifier. When two nouns are joined by *of*, the second is the modifier and on it the stress falls: bill-of-f'are, man of the world (m:ænedhew·eeld). If the second has an adjective, the stress falls on that: Jack-of-a'll-trades. Two nouns joined by *and* are also summed up in the same way: cup and saucer (k:ɐpms·aose), knife and f'ork.

All these compounds may themselves be used as attributes of other nouns, and the accentuation of these longer compounds follows very definite laws. When a compound of the (a·a·)-type is employed as an attribute, it throws the stress back, becoming (a·a:), following the general analogy of the shorter compounds. Compare *he is very good natured* with *a goodnatured man*, *I like my eggs hard boiled* with *hardboiled eggs*. So also *we dine at six o'clock* and *a six-o'-clock dinner*, *he's good for nothing* and *a goodfornothing fellow*. In all these cases the chief stress of the attribute is even with that of the noun modified (g'udn:eitshed m'ɐn).

But there is another class of attributive groups which throws the stress forwards instead of back, as in *c:at-and-d'og-l:ife* (kætnd'oglaif), the modified noun being at the same time subordinated to the last member of the modifying group; the strong stress on *dog* combines it and the two preceding words into one attribute, and the subordinate stress on *life* shows that this is the object of the attribute. Other examples are: r:ag b:one and b'ottle m:erchant, d:ead l'etter o:ffice, a M:ichael A'ngelo st:yle, a good-all-r'ound m:an, the e:mployers' l:iability for i'njury b:ill, the c'ommons enc:losure consolid'ation a:ct. The distinction between this and the preceding class (g'oodnatured m'an, etc.) seems to be that while there ready-made compounds are employed as attributes, here independent words are summed up for a special purpose: in *cat-and-d'og life*, etc., the two elements of the attribute-group are entirely independent, and are associated only as common elements of one group. In *ticket-of-l'eave m:an*, etc., there is no shifting of stress, that of *ticket-of-l'eave* being simply retained.

This accentuation is only employed as a substitute for grammatical distinctions, and when the relation of subject and attribute is already marked, the even stress of *black bird* is retained, as in *her s:ix m:onths d'ead h'usband*, *the man I saw yesterday at the th'eatre's f'ather*. In the former *dead* is recognized as the attribute of *husband* simply by being an adjective, while in the latter the relation is indicated by the inflectional *s*.

The use of even stress is very characteristic of English, and seems to be of late origin. Even inseparable prefixes are thus isolated, when their meaning is clear, such as *un-* in *un couth*, *un do* = Old English *u'ncúð*, *und'ón*, the original stress being preserved in the Scotch *u'nco* = *uncúð*. So also in *gain say*, *mis judge*, etc. (but *mist'ake*), although some of these words also seem to admit (a:a·).

These compounds, in which the stress is still handled with full consciousness, must be distinguished from purely traditional ones, such as *forgive*, *Christmas* (fog'iv, krismes). Wherever there is obscuration of the unaccented vowel, the compound is a traditional one, and has no

interest for the student of living English: thus *tradesman* (treidzmen) is a dead compound, as opposed to the living *ladies' man* (leidizmæn), the identity of (men) and (mæn) admitting of historical proof only.

The *grammatical* stress we have been concerned with must also be carefully distinguished from *emphasis*, which belongs more to sentence-stress. Thus, in *cat-and-d'og life* the strong stress on *dog* is not intended to make it more logically-prominent than the preceding word, but rather the contrary, to level itself and *cat* as much as possible under one conception, and to show how the resulting group is related to the following word.

The chief instances of stress being advanced are among the more or less traditional pronoun- and particle-groups, such as *alr'eady, hims'elf*, and in verbs. Among nouns and adjectives, titles generally throw the stress forward: m:ister S'mith, L:ord J'ohn. Also the anomalous *mank'ind*. The tendency is very marked in exclamations, such as *g:ood e'vening!* Railway porters make *Hampstead heath!* into (æmsd'iith) and the *City, Bank!* of omnibus-drivers becomes (stib'æqk.)

There also seems to be a mechanical principle by which a number of unaccented syllables tend to strengthen a preceding stress: compare *arch bishop* with *archb'ishopric*. So also *pocketh'andkerchief*. The rhythmic tendency often weakens (a'a'a') into (a'a:a'), as in *St. Paul's church-yard* (snp'aolzt:sheətshj'aad), against the simple *church yard* (or even *churchyard*).

Discussion.—Mr. ELLIS dwelt on the great difficulty of observing English stress, and the importance of distinguishing between polite English, and American, colonial and provincial usage. It is also a question how far the stress-laws of ordinary English are artificial, and due to elocutionary habits. Readers are often very careless in connecting words by accent. Mr. BRANDRETH remarked that no definition of compounds had been given, and a discussion arose as to whether *steel* in *steel pen* was an adjective. Mr. FURNIVALL supported this view, which was opposed by Mr. Sweet, who said that the distinction between the parts of speech was purely formal, and that *steel* in *steel pen* could only be called an attributive noun; also that a formal and a logical definition of compounds would not coincide. Mr. CAYLEY quoted Latham's view that a compound could not have equal stress, which was discussed and condemned; and thought that written compounds (such as *another*) were often due solely to a regard for convenience. Mr. SWEET then condemned the want of system in writing compounds; and suggested that words should be written as one only where there was subordination of accent.

Friday, June 20, 1879.

Dr. J. A. H. Murray, *President*, in the Chair. Dr. J. Hall Gladstone was elected a Member of the Society. It was agreed to have a Dictionary-evening early next Session.

Mr. R. N. Cust gave the Society an oral description of the Languages of Africa: he exhibited Stanford's latest Map of Africa, and indicated upon it the distribution of Languages; referring his hearers to a printed *Provisional* Classification of Languages, with copies of which he had furnished them, and which will be found attached to this summary. Mr. Cust followed Dr. Friederich Müller, of Vienna, the author of "Die Allgemeine Ethnographie," in his grouping, but he supplemented details from the stores of Grammars and Dictionaries which his (Mr. Cust's) connexion with the Church Missionary Society placed at his

disposal, and from the valuable despatch of books made lately from the Cape of Good Hope to the Royal Asiatic Society by Miss Lloyd, sister-in-law of the late Dr. Bleek.

There are three Ethnical divisions in Africa: a woolly-haired race, divided into the two varieties of *fleecy*-haired, and *tufted:* and a *Lank-Curly*-haired race. The Linguistic Division is sixfold. I. Semitic. II. Hamitic, both clearly with Western-Asiatic-affinities. III. Fulah-Nuba. IV. Negro. V. Bantu. VI. Hottentot-Bushman; all of whom might be treated as indigenous races.

Of the SEMITIC languages besides the extinct Punic, which is represented only by a few Inscriptions, and the venerable Old Ethiopian or Geez, there are the Arabic, a living, and mighty power, and the Amharic, and Tigré, only of local importance; also the Harári, the remnant of a Semitic Settlement of historic date in the centre of the Hamites in Galla-land.

Of the HAMITIC languages the Old Egyptian has long been extinct, all tradition having died out; the Coptic is also dead as a vehicle of speech. The Guanche of the Canary Islands has been trodden out: but the Berber and Kabyle are living languages in Morocco and Algeria: the Tumasheq is spoken by the Tuarek Nomads of the great Sahára. These languages represent the ancient Numidian, and Mauritanian of Roman times: they had an indigenous form of written character then, which survives in Inscriptions: they have an independent form of writing to this day known as the Tamáseq. Along the Red Sea is another group of Hamite Nomads, of whom nothing is known in history: the Galla, Somáli, Bishári, Dánkali and others; their languages are without culture and literature, but spoken by millions enjoying a rude independence, whose country is very imperfectly known.

The FULAH-NUBA Family consists of two branches, which possess slight, if any, mutual affinity, and might be divided into two. The Fulah is spoken by conquering Mohammedans who inhabit the Northern fringe of Negro-land, whence they have intruded themselves, as the dominant political race, or as merchants, and soldiers, down to the banks of the Binwe branch of the R. Niger: in fact Fulahs are found everywhere, distinguished from the pure Negro by their colour. We have a grammar of their language by Dr. Reichardt of the C.M.S.; it has a great extension as the language of the dominant race. The hypothesis is hazarded, that the Fulahs are a hybrid from the Hamite and pure Negro. The Nubahs occupy, and give name to, the basin of the Middle Nile, and must have come there in historic times, not being alluded to by Herodotus in his otherwise full and accurate Narrative.

The NEGRO Races speak a variety of separate and apparently isolated languages along the centre of the Continent from the Atlantic on the W. to Galla-land on the E.; from the R. Senegal on the N. to the Bight of Biafra on the S. Our knowledge of the languages spoken by these countless tribes is very imperfect: it is a mere conventional form to group them as one family. There are no doubt many separate linguistic families, into which a more accurate knowledge of details will resolve them. The purest Negro used to be found on the Western Seaboard, but the return of so many freed Negroes from America, who had been collected by Slave traders from every part of Central Africa, must have now greatly affected this purity. Dr. Kölle, a Missionary of the C.M.S., published a volume, which has gained the Volney prize, called *Polyglotta Africana*, being the Vocabulary of one hundred languages picked up from the mouths of slaves at Sierra Leone. Grammars and

Dictionaries have been published of the Yoruba, the Timne, the Vei, and notably the Haussa; this is a magnificent language, destined to be the great commercial *lingua franca* of Western Africa, and even now of unrivalled importance. Dr. Schön, who compiled the Grammar of this Language, received the Volney prize. There is but one written character in this Family, the syllabary of the Vei, invented not many years ago by a Negro, who knew both the Arabic and Roman characters; it is therefore of no more interest palæographically than any other modern form of cryptograph. The Roman character, as adapted by Lepsius in his Standard alphabet, and the Arabic, will struggle for possession of the nascent literature of these great languages, according as the tendency of their culture is to Mohammedan or Christian originals.

The Peninsula of Africa, South of the Equator (with a reserved space for the Hottentot-Bushman Family), is occupied by the great BANTU Family, of which the Zulu and Kafir are familiar examples: the languages of this family are well known, fully studied by able linguistic scholars, such as Bleek, Appleyard, Colenso, and many others, chiefly Missionaries, and the work is going on. It is an accepted fact that all can be traced back to one no longer existing Mother-speech. They are of the Agglutinative order, and their characteristic feature is Alliteration, according to which the consonants of one word in syntactic connexion with another undergo change. The theory is put forth, that the Bantus are a mixed race of Negro and Hamite elements, but, if so, the admixture took place at a prehistoric period, and the Negro element is dominant; in the Fulah-Nuba mixed races the Hamite element is dominant. The Bantu Family must have swept down the Eastern Coast from Galla-land, driving their precursors before them; one wave flowed to the South, and is represented by the purest type in the Amazulu, and Amakhosa (or Kafirs); another wave flowed across to the Western Coast at a later date, and thus has come about the singular affinity betwixt the languages of races separated by a now impassable country. The Ki Swahili of the Eastern Coast promises to be the Urdu or *lingua franca* of the country.

The HOTTENTOT-BUSHMAN Family ought to be divided into two: there is no affinity in the race and speech of the two component elements, but both languages develope the clicks, which have to a more restricted extent been caught up by the Bantus. The Hottentot language is agglutinative and has genders. The Bushman language is monosyllabic, and has no genders. Affinities are hinted at betwixt the languages of this family and those spoken by broken tribes in the Upper Nile basin; doubtless they were the original settlers in Southern Africa. No written characters ever existed, but the Bushmen have exhibited remarkable powers of depicting Animals and Men on rocks, reminding us of the Egyptian Art.

Mr. Cust's communication lasted an hour and a half, and he presented 200 copies of the Tabular Statement to the Members of the Society.

Friday, November 7, 1879.

Dr. J. A. H. MURRAY, *President*, in the Chair. The Paper read was on "The Oldest English Texts," by Mr. H. Sweet. It consisted chiefly of an analysis of the structure and origin of the oldest glossaries now being printed by Mr. Sweet, in his edition of the oldest English (Anglo-Saxon) texts, for the Early English Text Society.

These glossaries consist of Latin words glossed by other (commoner) Latin words, and sometimes by English ones. Greek words also occur, such as *palingenesean*, *basileon*, together with Hebrew proper names. The Latin words are extremely corrupted in spelling, the same error being often repeated in all the MSS *b*, *f*, and *v* interchange; thus under *b* we find *berres* (= *verres*), under *f* *fitilium* (*vitellus*). Also *coliferte* = *colliberte*. *h* is dropped and added, as in *arpa* (*harpe*), *napta* (*naphtha*). The words are often truncated Thus under *p* we find *phitecus* = *cercopithecus*, *petigo* = *impetigo*. We also find such errors as *adlitus* for *halitus*, *cocta* for *cochlea*, *enebatu* for *enervata*, *arrius* for *varius*(?) Many of the words are in oblique cases. Sometimes groups of words are glossed, some of which are from classical sources, such as *verbere torto*, *vi superum*—both from Virgil. These glossaries are evidently compiled from books with interlinear glosses.

The earliest stage is represented by the Leiden glossary, in which there is no attempt at alphabetical order, the glosses being simply entered under the name of the book they were taken from—de Orosio, de prophetis minoribus, de Clemente, etc. Sometimes under such a heading as *Verba de multis*, *Item alia*, etc., where we often find evidence of class-glossaries having been copied from, in which names of animals, implements, etc., were collected together under their respective headings. In the Epinal-Erfurt glossary the arrangement is so far alphabetical, that all words beginning with the same letter are thrown together, but the alphabetical arrangement is not carried any further, so that *ab-*, for instance, may come in the middle or at the end of *a*. In the Corpus glossary, which also contains twice as many words as Ep-Erf., there is the evident intention of making the order strictly alphabetical though the attempt often fails with the more copious letters.

Some of the glosses show a curiously vague conception of the meanings of the Latin words Thus *alga* is glossed *sondhyllas* (sandhills), *napta* (*naphtha*) is glossed *tyndr* (tinder), on account of its ready inflammability, in other places being glossed more accurately by *blaeteru* (blacktar). Among other curious glosses may be noted *orcus· dyrs*, *helldiobul*; *cunabula . cilda trog* (child-trough). *Tempe* is picturesquely glossed *sceadugeardas* (shadow-garths). *Thermopylæ* appears as *fæstin* (fortress) or *anstigan* = solitary-path, or path which can only be marched over one-by-one, reminding us of the *enge anpaðas* in Beowulf, of which the word may be a reminiscence.

Two out of the four MSS, the Leiden and Erfurt, are copies of English MSS. made by High German scribes, as shown by the occasional introduction of High-German words, and the errors made in copying the English ones. The originals were evidently of the oldest type The Erfurt MS. shows the same text as the Epinal, but is not a direct copy of it, as it preserves several English glosses not in the latter, while, on the other hand, omitting many more. Of the two written by English scribes, the Epinal and Corpus, the second is the later, as is proved by the evidence, not only of structure (as stated

above), but also of language. In Corpus the endings *-as* and *-i* of Epinal are often levelled under *e*, and the fractures before back vowels in a following syllable are fully developed, but are quite absent from Epinal, which has such a form as *helustras* against the *heolstras* of the later MS. But the dialect is unquestionably the same in both, and as Corpus came originally from Christ Church, Canterbury, it is probably Kentish.

The handwriting of Corpus is half-uncial, but occasionally running into pure cursive, and cannot well be later than the beginning of the eighth century. That of Epinal is more free and cursive, often becoming pure cursive, and offers many remarkable, hitherto unknown features Thus the thorn is formed almost the same way as the wen, both being very rare, and generally represented by *th*, *d* (medially) and *uu*. ð occurs, but very rarely. This, and the two runic letters predominate in Corpus, whose orthography is much more advanced and less cumbersome Epinal cannot well be later than 700, and may be any date between that and the introduction of Christianity—about a hundred years earlier It is, therefore, the earliest piece of English in existence, except perhaps some Runic inscriptions—certainly the earliest of any extent

The glossaries have all been printed, but mostly very inaccurately, especially Epinal and Corpus, whose editors did not seem to have mastered the handwriting, besides having but a slight knowledge of the language. Thus Mone, the editor of Epinal, prints *interpollat chindit*, the latter as an English word The MS has simply *dindit* (the former word = interpellat) In the gloss *sardinas heringas* he explains the latter word as 'praises' it is simply 'herrings' T. Wright, the editor of Corpus, prints a gloss *ineptias resuanas*, assuming the latter to be an English word it is the Latin *res vanas*' Both editors also omit a large number of English words

In order to secure accuracy, Mr Sweet has obtained the loan of the Epinal and Erfurt MSS from the Continent, together with three others. the Leiden riddle (one of the few remains of the oldest Northumbrian), the Leiden glosses, and the Namur MS of Bede's Ecclesiastical History, the English words and proper names in which will be given from four different MSS, two of them of the eighth century.

Mr. Sweet exhibited an autotype facsimile of one page of the Epinal MS., and as a strong desire was expressed by the President, and others, that the whole (only 14 leaves) should be facsimiled before the return of the MS. to France, a subscription list was started for the purpose, to which several of the members promised a guinea.

Friday, November 21, 1879.

Dr. J. A. H. MURRAY, *President*, in the chair. Major-General Moberly, Messrs. J. P. Postgate, H. Belcher, T. R. Gill, and T. C. Button, were elected Members of the Society.

Mr H. Sweet gave a summary of the views of Professor Bugge and Dr. Bang, both of Christiania, on the origin of Scandinavian mythology, based on reports of their papers before the Christiania Academy of Sciences in the *Aftenblad* of November 3 and 8.

Dr. Bang has found the source of the *Voluspá* in the pseudo-Sibylline oracles, the oldest of which is of the second century before Christ, and was composed with a view to pave the way for Jewish theology

and philosophy among educated heathens. The later ones were employed similarly in the service of Christianity. These poems take their outward form from classical literature; a sibyl is introduced in an extatic condition, who utters wise sayings about the past, and prophesies the future. The matter is taken partly from the heathen mythology, partly from biblical writings and Jewish apocrypha.

Prof. Bugge stated that he had arrived independently at similar results. He had come to the conclusion that the Scandinavian mythology had preserved only a small substratum of the original common-Germanic myths, and that the greater part of it is of foreign origin, being based mainly on tales and poems learned by the western vikings from Irishmen and Englishmen, and carried by them to Norway and Iceland. These Celtic myths are themselves distortions of Greek-Roman mythology and Jewish-Christian legends. Even when the names of the original gods and heroes are preserved, the stories told of them are mostly foreign. Thus Thor is a common-Germanic god, but the stories of his adventures are mainly taken from the Greek legends of Hercules and Zeus. Thus *Geirröðr* is *Geryon*, *Hymir* is *Oineus*, his mother *Loðyn* is *Latona*, etc. The story of his fishing betrays a Christian element—the Leviathan. The hero *Örvarodd* is a blending together of Hercules and Philoctetes, the sons of *Arngrim* are the *Argonautæ*, through the form *Argo-nati* (*nati* = 'sons'). The name of *Angantyr*, one of these sons, is *Centaur* with the Celtic article *in* prefixed. Dr. Bang not only considers *Voluspá* to be a literal translation of *Oraculum Sibyllæ*, but also *vala* to be nothing else than *sibylla* itself, through **svolla*. Prof. Bugge explains the dropping of the *si-* by its being confounded with the Old English article *se, seo*.

Prof. Bugge gives a detailed analysis of the myth of Baldur. The original form of it is preserved in Saxo, and is a blending of Achilles and Patrocles. Both Achilles and Patrocles are partially invulnerable. Höð, the slayer of Baldur, is Paris, who in later traditions shoots Achilles. Paris in Celtic dropped the *p* by law, and was then confused with *Ares*, and translated by *cath* (war), whence *höð*, which is, both in etymology and meaning, the same word. Afterwards Baldur was gradually identified with Christ, and his slayer with the blind Longinus, who pierced Christ's side with his spear. In Saxo, Höð is not represented as blind, but as a handsome young son of a king, just as Paris is described by Homer.

Mr. Sweet declared his adherence to these new views, and said that they were supported by the fact of the scaldic metres being of Celtic origin. He suggested that the Greek myths may have been partly learnt much earlier, by the German mercenaries in the Roman armies; also that Apollo being made into an evil spirit might be the result of confusion with the Christian Apollyon.

The President, in conveying to Mr. Sweet the thanks of the Meeting for his interesting communication, expressed some scepticism as to the identification of the proper names, which he thought more ingenious than satisfactory; he doubted also as to the channel through which the Norwegian Professors supposed their ancestors to have learned the myths. If the classic mythology so filled the very air of England and Ireland that its nomenclature, with English and Irish articles attached, could be picked up by marauding vikings, it ought surely to have left its traces in Old English and Irish Literature. As the subject was of popular interest, he would like to see it introduced in detail to the English public in one of the magazines.

Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte read a Paper "On Portuguese Simple Sounds, compared with those of Spanish, Italian, French, English, etc."

The particular pronunciation considered was that of Lisbon, as recognized by João de Deus in his *Diccionario Prosodico*, Lisbon, 1878. The intention of the paper was not to give the history of the sounds, but simply their present state, and to classify them. The Prince materially assisted the comprehension of his remarks by distributing a printed table of all the sounds in his own characters, and in Mr. A. J. Ellis's palæotype, completely illustrated by translated examples, and a stanza of the *Lusiad* (III. 135). This table contains 15 vowels (including the nasals) and 20 consonants, from which the following is an extract, giving merely the number, the palæotype (in parenthesis), and one example. There are 3 "guttural vowels," 1 (a) *ha* in *habil* able, 2. (aa) *ā* in *irmã* sister, 3. (ɯ) *a* in *mas* but. There are 7 "palatal vowels," 4. (ɐ) *e* in *mel* honey, 5 (ɛ) *e* in *sebo* tallow, 6. (*e*) first *e* in *sede* thirst, 7 (eʌ) *em* in *tempo* time, 8 ('h) *e* in *se* if, 9 (i) *i* in *ilha* island, 10. (iʌ) *im* in *sim* yes. There are 5 "labial vowels," 11 (ɔ) *o* in *sol* sun, 12 (*o*) first *o* in *povo* people, 13. (oʌ) *õ* in *ações* actions, 14. (u) *u* in *lua* moon, 15. (uʌ) in *um* one. There are 10 "explosive consonants," of these 3 are "guttural," 16. (k) *c* in *casa* house, 17 (g) *g* in *lagarto* lizard, 18 (q) second *n* in *canon conciso* concise rule, 3 are "alveolar," 19 (t) *t* in *terra* earth, 20. (d) *d* in *deus* god, 21 (n) *n* in *neve* snow, one is "palatal," 22. (ɲ) *nh* in *sonho* dream, and 3 are "labial," 23 (p) *p* in *pae* father, 24 (*b*) in *lobo* wolf, 25. (m) *m* in *maçã* apple. Six consonants are "continuous," of which 2 are "labio dental," 26. (f) *f* in *filho* son, 27 (v) *v* in *vinho* wine, 2 are "alveolar," 28 (s) *s* in *sol* sun, 29. (z) *z* in *velo* veal, 2 are "whishes," 30 (sh) *c* in *xadrez* chess, 31. (zh) *j* in *justo* just. Four consonants are "liquid," of which 2 are "alveolar," 32 (l) *l* in *lua* moon, 34 (ɹ) *rr* in *carro* cart, and 2 are "palatal," 33 (lj) *lh* in *filho* son, 35 (r) *r* in *nora* daughter-in-law. For each of these sounds the Prince drew attention to the various orthographical forms in Portuguese, and to the phonetic differences in the other languages. He then drew attention to 10 inconsistencies of pronunciation with usual spelling in the words *mãe, cão, cantam, trachea, tem, area, are, ações, muito*, where *ãe* is called (ãʌiʌ), *ão* or *am* are (ãʌuʌ), *e* is (ɛi), *x* is (ks), *oe* is (ɔʌiʌ), *ui* is (ũʌiʌ). There is no obligatory quantity, vowels may be lengthened or shortened at pleasure. The tonic accent may fall on any one of the four last syllables, and the Prince pointed out that in Italian it falls sometimes as far back as the 5th, 6th or even 7th syllable from the end, as *dedicangliene, dedicanvegliene, dedicaveseglene*. There is no "prosodic accent" as in Swedish and in some Italian dialects, as in the village of Pian Castagnaio, as *castàgnâ bucâ*, the grave *à*, *ù*, having the tonic accent and low pitch, the acute *â* in each case no stress but high pitch, whereas there is nothing of the sort in the neighbouring village of Badia San Salvatore (both in the present province of Grosseto, S. S. W. of Siena).

A Portuguese gentleman from Oporto, Senhor G. de Azevedo, obligingly read over the Prince's key-words and examples, with a few differences, which the Prince attributed to Oporto customs, and it was noticeable that Senhor de A. pronounced *al* in *alto* with a broader *a*, more like (*a*) and a peculiar *l*, perhaps (*l*) the Polish barred *l*, and in *terra* he seemed to produce a similar *r* sound, he also denied that *e* final was really (sh), it seemed something like (shj) or *s* in middle German *stellen*; he also practically made final *e* "mute" in *ponte, amore*, etc., reducing it at most to a "recoil" of the final consonant.

Friday, December 5, 1879.

Dr. J. A. H. MURRAY, *President*, in the Chair. J. B. Andrews, Esq., of Mentone, was elected a Member of the Society. Prof. J. M. Hart, of Cincinnati, U.S.A., and Walter R. Browne, M.A., Camb., were proposed for election.

The Paper read was: "History of English Sounds and Dialects. Part I." By H. SWEET, Esq, M.A. The subject of this paper was the general history of the dialects in the Middle period.

As was first pointed out by Garnett, Modern English is not directly descended from West-Saxon, but from Mercian. But English is not pure Mercian: it contains many pure Saxon, and some Kentish and Northumbrian forms. The history of the English dialects may be described as a series of partial levellings over different areas at different periods. Even in the tenth century W.S. influenced Kentish and Mercian. After the Conquest, W.S. was swallowed up by Mercian, although it strongly influenced the latter even on its own ground. The language both of the Ormulum and the Ancren Riwle is Mercian modified by W.S., though in different degrees. The following are the chief cases in which the phonology of one dialect influenced that of another.

ea. W S *heard, eald* (earliest W S. *æld*), non-W S (including Kentish): *hard, ald* Eleventh century K. *eald* by influence of W S In the thirteenth century, the Mercian *ald* (=*aald*), afterwards *old* (=*aold*), had spread over the whole of the South, except K., which retained *eald* (*ald, yald, yeald*).

æ Common O E. *hælan, clæne, lædan.* W.S *wáron, séd, déd, drédan, wépen*, non-W S · *weron, sed, ded, dredan, wepen.* This latter class from original *d*. Tenth century Mercian *þær, wære* sbj. (but *wæron* pret. ind. pl.), *hwar* (but *ferlic, ber*) Thirteenth century M. (Orm) *wærenn, þær, fær*, (*rað* Norse), *wæpenn, drædenn* and *dredenn*, but always *efenn, sed, dede*, etc. Thirteenth century Saxon (oldest text of Ancren Riwle, etc) *offearet, breað, read*, but always *þer, hwer, were(n), sulh, speche, deda.* In M even common O E *é* became *e* in some words, Orm writing regularly *elene, ledenn*, against *flæsh, æfre, tæchenn*, etc

i, y. In Late W S *i* became *y* before *r*-combinations as in *cyrce, wyrst*, whence the standard E *church, worse* *i* also becomes *y* in the L W S *mycel*, which can only be explained by the influence of *lytel*. The form *mycel* spread over the whole of the South in the spelling *muche(l)* (*u*=*y*), and the later *moche* (*o*=*u*), which occurs also in the Kentish Ayenbite, the older Kentish Sermons preserving the original *michel*. Afterwards these L W S. forms spread northward, *muckle* being now even used in some parts of Scotland.

y, e In Late Old Kentish (after the middle of the tenth century) *e* for *y* became general, there being no trace of such a change in the earliest O K, afterwards spreading to W.S. Hence the Mod. English *kernel, bellow, evil, left* (adj.), *fledged, knell.*

The loss of *r* in *sprecan*, etc., *sprecol* (*speckle*), seems to be due to L W.S. influence.

The restoration of the distinction between *on* and *in*, entirely confounded under *on*, even in Early W.S., must be due to Mercian influence. The verbal form *am* shows a similar suppression of the W.S. form over the whole of the South.

In many cases we can only assume a general tendency to a certain change, which was carried out independently by the different dialects

at different times. This is the case with the unrounding of *oe* to *é*, which was carried out in W.S. many centuries earlier than in the other dialects. There is no reason, however, for ascribing the general change to *é* which had taken place before the thirteenth century to W.S. influence. There seems also to have been a general tendency to get rid of the combination *rht* by transposition, giving *wrohte*, *wryhte*, *briht*, as the common M.E. forms of O.E. *worhte*, *wyrhta*, *be(o)rht*. Here, again, the change began in the W.S. unaccented *-bryht* in *Æðelbryht*, etc.

Mr. Sweet also discussed the general principles of dialectal investigation, and insisted on the necessity of applying rigorous criteria to each text in order to determine the credibility of its evidence. Texts preserved in a single unmixed dialect are generally almost entirely free from double forms. Again, when we find in the same MS. an archaic form and one which could have developed out of it only in the course of several generations side by side, we have reason to believe that the mixture is purely scribal, and does not represent the facts of the actual language. Hence, the mixture of pure O E. and Transition forms which we find in the Hatton Gospels, the Homilies edited by Dr. Morris, etc., does not really represent an earlier stage of the language, or, indeed, any possible language at all.

Mr. Sweet also stated that the first edition of his *History of English Sounds* was exhausted, and that he was preparing a second edition, much enlarged, in which each word in the lists would be given in the different forms it assumes in the O.E. and M.E. dialects, together with its vulgar form in Mod.E.

The paper was followed by a vigorous discussion, in which several of the positions laid down by Mr. Sweet were assailed. The expression that "after the Conquest, W.S was swallowed up by Mercian," was objected to by the President and Mr. Ellis, as meaning merely that one vowel distinction which Mr. Sweet made a criterion of W S, viz *á* for *é* in *dēd* (O. Sax. *dād*), disappeared after A.D. 1100. Dr. Murray considered that this showed nothing more than that a regular vowel narrowing which had taken place in the other dialects, at an earlier, took place in W.S. at a later period. He would view this W.S. change of *á* to *é* precisely as Mr. Sweet himself viewed the change of *oe* to *é*, which was early in W S and late elsewhere, but not on that account due to W S. influence, so a change of *á* to *é* was early in Mercian and late in W S, but certainly not due to Mercian influence. As to the fact that only one of the two W.S *á* became *é*, namely, that which was *é* in the other dialects, he contended that the logical inference from this was that *æ* in W.S. represented two sounds, (1) *á* for Gothic *ai*, (2) *á* for Gothic *é* and O.S. *á*. In Chaucer, where the long *e* stood for two sounds, distinct in O.E. and again distinct in Mod E., the inference was drawn that there must have been two sounds in Chaucer, in Anglo-Saxon itself Mr. Sweet had split up the short *e* into two sounds, and even provided a distinctive letter, because these were distinct in origin, and distinct in subsequent history. Logically, he must do the same with W.S. *á*; then one of these (the umlaut of *á*) passed on to *é* in regular course, as the umlaut of *o* (*oe*) did before it. He rejected Mr. Sweet's entire theory of one dialect influencing another (except under special conditions, such as modern board-schools), and would like to know in what actual way the speech of peasants at Peterborough was supposed to have influenced that of peasants at Exmoor. Mr. Ellis concurred, and thought that instead of W.S. having been swallowed up, it had retained its special features to the present day, as shown in Mr. Elworthy's

Grammar, and notably in his edition of the *Exmoor Scolding* just published. In the course of the discussion Dr. Murray also stated his entire dissent from the theory that *f*, þ, and *s*, were *v*, *dh*, *z*, in O.E. generally. He doubted whether even in W.S. the development from the original (as he believed) breath sounds took place, *initially*, much earlier than its appearance in writing in the twelfth century. He intended to read a paper on this subject, on many points of which his conclusions were diametrically opposed to those of Mr. Sweet in his "History of *Th* in English."

Friday, December 19, 1879.

Dr J A. H. MURRAY, *President*, in the Chair. Prof J. M. Hart, and Walter R. Browne, Esq., M A., were elected Members of the Society, and Dr. Karl J. R. Hoerning, British Museum, was proposed as a Member

The Papers read were 1. "On *dare* 'to give' and *-dere* 'to put' in Latin" By Mr. J. P. POSTGATE.

Of a large number of verbs apparently compounded with *do* it is now usual to assign several to the root *dha* (place) Pott assigns the following to *da* (give) *dedo*, *prodo*, *trado*, *vendo*, the following to *dha* *abdo*, *credo*, *condo* (*abs-*, *re-condo*), *subdo*, classing *perdo*, *reddo* and some others as doubtful.

This *dha*- theory is opposed by two invariable rules. (1) that initial *dh* becomes *h* or *f* in Latin, never *d*, and (2) that verbs in composition keep their initial consonant unchanged. The assertion that *credo*, etc., were regarded as simple verbs, and that their supposed *dh* could, therefore, like other medial aspirates, become *d*, is met by the clear proof of their being felt as compounds which is afforded by the reduplication appearing not at the beginning, but in the middle of the word—*credidi*, *condidi*, not **cocondi* or **condi*. Further, the root *dha* actually appears in Latin with regular initial *f* in *facio*, etc. Again, as Curtius has noticed, *du*, the secondary form of *da*, appears not only in *interduam*, which is generally admitted to be a compound of *da*, but also in *creduas* and other verbs generally assumed to be compounded with *dha*.

Nor does difference of meaning make the separation at all necessary. One of the words which seems to plead most strongly in favour of the *dha*- theory is *credo*, which is compared with the Sanskrit *çraddadhāmi* =*fidem* (*çrat*) *pono* (*dadhāmi*). But the Sanskrit compound may just as well mean "do fidem" as "pono fidem," for *dha* has, among other meanings, that of "bestow, grant, give." *Credo* may, then, as well mean "I give trust" as "I place trust." The two ideas are, in fact, closely connected in language generally, and in Zend and the Slavonic and Celtic languages, through levelling of *dh* under *d*, they are often inextricably confounded, not only in form, but also in meaning The only language in which the two roots are widely separated is Greek, and it is not improbable that there were in the parent Indogermanic language two roots *da* and *dha* used at first indiscriminately, and differentiated variously by the separate languages according to their particular requirements. This would explain the total loss of the root *da* in the Teutonic languages, the Teutons selecting out of the two forms the form *dha*, and dropping the meaning "give" to prevent confusion.

Mr. Postgate gave a large number of instances to show the parallelism between the employment of the two ideas, "give" and "place" in a variety of languages. Thus Sanskrit *dhā*, Zend *du*, Greek *tithēnai*, German *geben*, French *donner*, Spanish and Portuguese *dar*, are all used in the sense of *making* or *causing* a *state* or *result* · *tithēnai nómous* is *dare leges*, *tradere literis* = Germ. *etwas zur papier geben*, etc.

In the discussion Mr CAYLEY remarked that the non-use of the future *dabo* in the words vindicated by Mr. Postgate as compounds of *da* was an argument against the latter's view. Mr. POSTGATE replied that this objection cut both ways, as it applied equally to those verbs which were universally admitted to be compounds of *da*. Mr SWEET said that Mr. Postgate's view must be fully accepted within the limits of Latin itself, but questioned the inference of *da* and *dha* being undiscriminated in the parent speech The agreement between Greek and Sanskrit shows that these roots must have been sharply separated in form, although liable to be confused in meaning, and it seems most probable that in the prehistoric period of Latin, before *dh* had become *f*, the compounds of *dha* had simply changed this root into *da*, the change beginning of course in those words which did not bring out clearly the distinction of meaning between "give" and "place" At the same time, there can be little doubt that *da* and *dha* were connected from the very beginning of Indogermanic speech, *dha* being originally, to judge from its aspirate, an emphasized form of *da* Dr. MURRAY said that it was possible for a word to be formally a descendant or modern representative of one word, while in meaning the descendant or representative of another This only happened when the two original words were near each other in form, and coincided or came in contact in a part of their sphere of meaning. It could well be that certain parallel compounds of *da* and *dha* (far back in the *ur-Italian* period when the consonants were still near) were so used in some of their applications that they became practically synonymous, with the usual result that one (in this case the *dha*) form became dropped, leaving the *da* form alone in use. If this happened in a few instances, the influence of analogy was quite sufficient to substitute *da* for *dha* in the other compounds, even although there were no parallel *da* forms for them to be confused with. Suppose *condo* to have such a history, it would be the lineal representative *as a word*, and in its meaning of *san dha*, though the substitution of *da* for *dha*—not an act done at once, but a gradual process taking perhaps a generation to complete, during which *san-dha* and *san-da* would both be used—would make it now *formally* a compound of *da*, even though there were no original *san-da* which it could represent.

2. A paper by Mr. H. NICOL, correcting some of the English Etymologies adopted by the Rev. Prof Skeat in the first part of his *Dictionary*, and for the most part generally received, was read, in the unavoidable absence of the author, by Mr. H Sweet.—Under AFFRAY, the writer brought forward Prof G. Paris's discovery that Fr *effrayer*, *effroi*, do not correspond to a Lat form *exfrigidāre*, as hitherto accepted, after Diez, but (as shown by O. Fr. and Prov. having *esfreer*, *esfredar*, not *esfreidier*, *esfreidar*) to a Late Lat *exfridāre*, from Teut. *friðu*, "peace." This derivation explains the use of *effrayer* in O F. in the sense of "to disturb," of *effroi* in that of "tumult," and also accounts for the meaning of the Engl. subst. *affray*, "quarrel," "fight," which is still, as at its origin, "a breach of the peace."

Under ATTIRE, Mr. Nicol, while approving Mr. Skeat's separation of O.F. *atirer* (or rather *atirier*), "to adorn," from *tirer*, "to draw," showed that the facts were incompatible with almost all the other assertions in his *Dictionary* under this head. O.Fr. *atirier* is not derived from a hypothetical verb *tirier*, but direct from the phrase *a tire*, prep. and subst.; Fr. *tire* is not derived from Low Germ. *tīr*, but from an Old Teut. *teurja*, preserved in Old Engl. *tiēr*, Old High Germ. *ziarī* (now *zier*); all traces of *atirier* have not died out in Fr, *attirail* being probably one of its derivatives, and Mod. Fr. *tire*, in the heraldic meaning "row," and in the phrase *tout d'une tire* ("at a stretch"), being its O.F. primitive; *atirier* was not formed in England after the Conquest, the East. Fr. verb *ateirier*, Prov. *ateirar*, the Prov. subst. *teira*, Ital. *tiera*, all showing special forms, and proving not only that they were not borrowed from Norm. Fr, but must have passed through a long series of phonetic changes from a common original; a change of meaning from "splendour" to "ornament" did not take place, the original meaning of *tire* (preserved in Mod. Fr. *tire*, "row," Mod. Prov. *teiro*, "series," Ital. *correre a tiera*, "to run in file") being "row," "order," while that of *atirier* (preserved in Late O.F. and in Mid. E.) was "to arrange," whence (as in O.H.G. *ziarī*, "adornment," compared with O E *tiēr*, "row") those of "dress," "adorn," were developed; O E, O.Sax., and O. Norse *tīr*, "glory," is not the cognate of O.H.G. *ziarī*, the words having different root-vowels, different terminations, and different genders; the Mid. E subst. *atir* is not a Norm. Fr. adaptation of O.E. *tīr*, but comes from the O.Fr. verb *atirier* (or possibly from a non-recorded O.Fr. subst.); E. *tire*, "headdress," is not O.E. *tīr*, but a shortening of *attire*, the Promptorium giving "*atyre* or *tyre* of women, *redimiculum*" (chaplet, fillet).

Under BADGER, Mr Nicol pointed out that the accepted derivation of this word, which in Mid. Engl meant "corndealer," from Fr. *bladier* with the latter meaning, was historically and phonetically impossible, *bladier* being a Provençal form (to which corresponds O.Fr. *blaier*, "corndealer," preserved in the diminutive *blaireau*, "badger"), and the *i* of the Fr. diphthong *ié* never becoming *dzh* in Engl. Admitting a loss of *l* (which is doubtful), he proposed a Mid. E. or O.Fr. derivative (probably the latter, though an O Fr. *blaagier* is not recorded) from O.Fr. *blaage*, "store of corn," from the same root as *blaier* (Prov. *bladier*); *badger* would thus (in accordance with Diez's etymology of Fr. *blé* from Lat. *ablātum*) correspond to a Lat. form *ablātāticārium*, instead of to *ablātārium*.

Under BREEZE, "cinders," he remarked that the usual identification with Devonshire *brize*, "dust," "rubbish," from Fr. *bris*, "fragments," was unsatisfactory as to meaning, and more so as to form; but that the word corresponded in both respects to O.Fr. *brese* (now *braise*), "live coals," "cinders," from Teut *brasa*, "flame," the Mod. Fr. word being still the correct translation of E. *breeze*, "cinders."

Under COSTIVE, he pointed out that the origin was not the learned Mod. Fr. *constipé*, but the native O.Fr. *costevé*, from Lat. *cōnstipātum*, the final *é* being rejected in Mid. E. (as in *square* from O.Fr. *esquarré*, [*treasure*] *trové* from *trové*,) and the syllable *-ev* assimilated to the common Mid. E. termination *-if*, now *-ive*.

Under CRAVEN, Mr. Skeat's identification of the word with *cravand*, the North. Mid. E. participle of *crave*, was shown to be untenable, the Mid. E. forms being *cravant* and *cravaunde*, not *cravand*, and the original E. meaning being "conquered," not "begging for mercy." The

derivation from Mid. E. *creaunt* for *recreaunt*, O.Fr. *recreant* (Lat. *recrēd-antem*), was also rejected, the O.Fr. word showing no such form as *recreaunt*; and the E. word was identified with O.Fr. *cravanté* (or its compound *acravanté*), participle of *cravanter* (corresponding to a Lat. form *crepantāre* from *crepāre*), from which it differs only by the frequent Mid. E. loss of final *é*, and which had in O.Fr., besides its original meaning of "broken," that of "overcome," "conquered."

Friday, January 16, 1880.

This evening was devoted to a discussion of points connected with the Dictionary. The Rev. R. MORRIS in the Chair. Dr. Karl J. R. Hoerning was elected a Member of the Society, and Messrs. W. J. E. Crane, Rev. G. B. R. Bousfield, M.A., Rev. H. F. Woolrych, M.A., H. Irwin Jenkinson, J. P. Wright, Dr. H. R. Helwich, were proposed for election.

The PRESIDENT reported progress as to the Dictionary. The readers were now 580, including 53 in the U.S.; by these 1278 books had been undertaken, and 525 finished; 540,000 slips had been issued, and 215,485 received. One reader, a busy man, had extracted 8,500 slips; a lady, who supports herself by her pen, had sent 7,400; two followed with 6,500 each, one with 5,300, others with 4,050, 3,750, etc., etc.; twenty-one readers had passed 2,000. One-fourth of all the reading had been done by eight persons, and more than a third by twenty. Special honour was due to the eight and the twenty. Much of the time of Editor and assistants was absorbed in directing the reading and receiving its results, but the materials had been arranged to G. The Rev. G. B. R. Bousfield, Nottingham, and P. W. Jacob, Esq., Guildford, had undertaken to sub-edit portions. The members of several scientific societies had been asked to assist, in collecting their special words. There was much need for more help from the members in looking up special words and in sub-editing. He then classified quotations in order of merit, as first those where a word is used as an ordinary exponent of thought; second, where a word is given as the *name* of a thing or process, or as the synonym of another word actually used; third, words in the glossaries of technical books; fourth, those in special Dictionaries; lastly, those in general Dictionaries, only useful as suggesting that a word exists, and ought to be found somewhere else.

He then referred to the specimen of ADDRESS in last part of the *Transactions*, as an example; and read through the EXPLANATIONS AND INSTRUCTIONS TO SUB-EDITORS, as showing the proposed plan of the work, giving time for discussion on each point in turn. The points discussed were the limits of date as to words to be included, wherein the Editor vindicated the plan of not inserting any word which did not survive 1100, though the full history before that would be given of all words that did survive; the limits of inclusion as to slang, obscene, and erotic words, and the names of Natural History, as to which it was considered desirable to use italics for words not English in form. As to adjectives from geographical and personal names, as English, Lutheran, nothing was settled. The Editor also gave reasons for inserting separately verbal adjectives, and nouns, so as to throw light

on the history of their construction, and for inserting all the written forms of each word in chronological order, rather than selecting "typical" ones for each period; it was better to give materials than commit the Dictionary to theories. In certain words a difficulty arose in applying the rule that the meanings of a word were to be arranged logically and not historically; for the logical development might be not a matter of English at all, but have taken place in Latin or French, and in adopting the word as English, a (logically) very late meaning might be taken first. Indeed, Latin words were generally adopted in a figurative sense first, because it was only the figurative meaning we needed; if we long afterwards adopted the radical meaning, it was awkward to place it first. Thus ADVENT was at first adopted in English as the name of the period before Christmas; afterwards for the Incarnation, or coming of Christ, then of his expected "second advent," and only in modern times for the advent of any saviour of society, or of the postman; yet this was the radical meaning of *adventus*, and the appearance of the senses in English was just the opposite of the logical development in Latin. It was precisely the same with *Agony*, first a purely ecclesiastical term in our language.

On these and many other points animated discussions took place, and the meeting (which was a very large one) was of great interest; although the only conclusion on almost every point was summed up by Mr. H. WEDGWOOD in the remark that "the Society must leave to the Editor an enormous discretionary power, and trust to his doing his best with each point of difficulty as it arose."

Friday, February 6, 1880.

Dr. R. F. WEYMOUTH in the Chair. Messrs. W. J. E. Crane, Henry Irwin Jenkinson, J. P. Wright, Dr. H. R. Helwich, Rev. G. B. R Bousfield, and Rev. H. F. Woolrych were elected, and Mr. E. S. Pearson proposed as a Member of the Society.

The papers announced for this evening not having been received, the *President*, Dr. MURRAY, presented some "Contributions to English Philology made in connexion with the Dictionary."

1. HONOUR, ANOUR, ANOURN, ADORE, ADORN. The O.F. *onurer* (honorare) and *aurer* (adorare), E.E. *onuren*, *auren*, both, by mistaking the first syllable for Eng. *on-*, *an-*, *a-*, made *anuren*, *an-uri*, *anour-en*, and entirely amalgamated. O.F. *aorner*, *aourner* (Lat. adornare), E.E. *aournen*, in same way became *anournen*. The contracted inf. *anourn*, for *anour-en*, was confused with the flexionless inf. *anourn* for *anourn-en*; and *anour* and *anourn* utterly mixed up as in Wyclif, etc. Curious monstrosities were produced by reminiscences of *honouren*; as *honourning* = adorning. Caxton introduced *adoure* and *adourne*, when *aoure* and *anoure* ceased; but *anourne*, *anorne*, often *enorne*, continued till 1600, and had been derived from a supposed *inornare*. The confusion of forms was largely helped by the overlapping of meanings, *honour* and *adore* overlapping in sense of Eng. *worship*; *adorn*, and *honour* in sense of *decorate*.

2. AVOW has recently been the subject of discussion between Mr. Wedgwood and Prof. Skeat. Diez takes Fr. *avouer* from *advŏcare*, Littré, Burguy, and Brachet from *advŏtare*. Without presuming to

"pose as an O. Fr. scholar," he thought there were certainly two O. Fr. *avouer*; 1. :–Lat. *advŏcāre*, cf. *louer*, *jouer* :–*lŏcare*, *jŏcare*; 2. :–Lat. **ad-vōtare*, cf. *vouer*, *dévouer* :–Lat. **vōtāre*, *devōtāre*; the first two quotations in Littré belonging to *advōtare*, the rest to *advŏcare*. Both verbs were adopted in Eng.; No. 1 before 1200, and still in use; senses *to appeal to, call upon* (as lord), acknowledge (as lord, or in any relation), own, confess; hence *Avowal*, and the obs. Avowry, *Avowè*, *avow*, an acknowledged patron, mod. *Advowee* and *Advowson* (*Advocationem*); No. 2 before 1300, in senses to bind with a vow, dedicate, take a vow, make a vow, now *obs.* From this the obs. n. *avow*, "An avow to God made he." The Fr. *aveu* belongs to *avouer* 1. In later Eng. they may have been looked upon as senses of one word, and were occasionally confused, as when a man *avowed* (advocavit) his sins, and *avowed* (advotavit) a pilgrimage by way of penance.

3 ADJUST. Littré makes two O. F. *ajuster* 1 = *adjŭxtare, 2 = *adjŭstare (both common in Med. Lat.). Mr. H. Nicol in private letter had pointed out that O. Fr. had only *ajuster*, *ajoster* = *adjŭxtare*, and that Med. Lat. *adjustare* was a purely artificial word formed later on Fr. *ajuster*. *Ajuster*, later *Ajouster*, *adjouster*, gave a M.E. *aiust*, *adjoust* common in "adjoust feyth," Fr. *adjouster foy*. This was already obs. to Palsgrave. Fr. adjouster, became *adjouter*, *ajouter*, whence a 16th c. Eng. *adjute* (to add) explained by Dr. Johnson as from Lat. *adjŭtare*. In 16th c. a new Fr. *adjuster*, *ajuster* was formed probably from Med. Lat. *adjustare*, but perhaps from Ital. *aggiustare* (= *adjuxtare*), or even from Fr. à + *juste*. This English has adopted as *adjust*.

4. ADMIRAL, *Amiral*, ultimately from Arabic *Amīr*, Emir, Ameer, commander, imperator, cf. *amara* to order. In opposition to recent suggestions, he maintained that the final *-al* was the Arabic article, present in all the Arabic and Turkish titles containing the word, as *Amir-al-umrin*, Ruler of rulers, *Amir-al-bahr*, commander of the sea. The first instance of such a title is that of *Amir-al-mumūnim*, commander of the faithful, assumed by the Caliph Omar, and first mentioned by Eutychius of Alexandria among Christian writers. Christians ignorant of Arabic, hearing Amir-al- as the constant part of all these titles, naturally took it as one word; it would have been curious if they had done otherwise. But, of course, the countless perversions of the word, *Amiralis*, *Amiralius*, *Amiraldus*, *Amiraud*, *Amirand*, *amirandus*, *amirante*, *almirante*, *admirabilis*, *Admiratus*, etc., etc., were attempts of the "sparrow-grass" kind to make the foreign word more familiar or more intelligible. As well known, it was used in Prov., O. Fr., and Eng. for *Saracen commander* generally, a sense common in all the romances, and still in Caxton. The modern marine sense is due to the *Amir-al-bahr*, or Ameer of the sea, created by the Arabs in Sicily, continued by the Christian kings as *Admiralius maris*, and adopted successively by the Genoese, French, and English under Edw. III. as "Amyrel of the Se" *Capgr.*, or "Admyrall of the navy" *Fabyan*. But after 1500, when it became obsolete in the general sense, we find "the Admiral" used without "of the Sea" as now. The *ad-* is well known to be due to popular confusion with *admirari*; a common title of the Sultans was *Admirabilis mundi*; and *vice versa* in English *admiral* was often used as an adjective = *admirable*.

5. DAFFODIL, DAFFADYLL, an unexplained var. of *Affadyll*, *affodylle*, adaptation of Med. Bot. Latin *Affodillus*, prob. late Lat. **asfodillus* cf. Lat. *Asphodilus*, *Asphodelus*, from Greek. Another med. Lat. corr.

was Aphrodillus, whence Fr. *afrodille*. Half-a-dozen guesses have been made at the origin of the initial D: as playful variation, like Ted for Edward, Dan (in the north) for Andrew; the northern article *t' affodill*, the southern article *th' affodill*, in Kent *de affodil*, or, *d' affodil* (Cotgr. actually has *th'affodill*); the Dutch bulb-growers *de affodil*, the Fr. (presumed) *fleur d'afrodille*, etc., etc. The Fr. was least likely, as there was no reason to suppose that the Fr. *afrodille* and Eng *affadyll* ever came into contact. Some who saw allusion to *Aphrodite* in *Aphrodillus*, also saw *Daphne* in *Daffodil*; already in 16th c. *Daffadowndilly* was given to the shrub *Daphne Mezereon*, as still in the North. Affadyl was properly *Asphodelus*; but owing to the epithet *Laus tibi* being loosely applied both to sp of *Asphodelus* and *Narcissus*, these very different plants were confused in England, and *Asphodelus* being rare, and *Narcissus* common, it tended to cling to the latter. Turner, 1551, "I could neuer se thys ryght affodil in England but ones, for the herbe that the people calleth here *Affodill* or *daffodill* is a kynd of *Narcissus*" Botanists finding they could not overthrow the pop. application of *daffodill*, made a distinction. In *Lyte, Gerarde*, etc, all the *Asphodeli* are *Affodils*, and all the *Narcissi Daffodils*. But the most common Narcissus in Eng was the "Yellow Daffodill" of our commons, to which as our wild species "Daffodil" has tended to be confined since Shakspere, "White Daffodil" or "*Poet's Lily*" is no longer called a daffodil *Daffadilly, daffadowndilly*, etc, are all early variants, they show playful variation, and suggest that this had to do with the first appearance of Daffodil itself. At least all early evidence shows it was of purely English rise

6. ADAMANT and DIAMOND After tracing the history of *Adamant* from Homer to Pliny, with whom it was the Oriental sapphire, the hardest crystalline gem then known, afterwards extended to the *diamond* when this became known in Europe; he held that the mediæval sense of *magnet* was due to popular etymology taking *lapidem adamantem* (from vb. *adămāre*) as the stone that *shows a liking* or *attraction* for others. This was suggested by a passage quoted in Du Cange. In the sense of loadstone, *adamant, ademant, adimant, azeman, aymant, eman*, passed into the Romance languages, English also showed *aymant*. But the earlier application of the word was not forgotten, and it was probably to remedy the confusion of the double meaning that the variant *diamant*, which he supposed (as Diez had done before) influenced by *diafano*, transparent, was struck out (or probably rather reconstructed upon *dimant*, a shortened form of *adimant*), for the crystalline gem, to which it was restricted in Romance and also in Eng. But the Lat. *adamantem* continued to have both senses, and was adopted with a like ambiguity in the modern languages. The Dictionary quotations for *adamant* in Eng. show six varieties: 1. An unidentified substance of surpassing hardness; 2. Identified with the loadstone; 3. Identified with the diamond; 4. A confusion of 1 and 2,—"You draw me, you hard-hearted adamant, and yet you draw not iron"; 5. Identified with the magnet, and stated to be the antagonist of the diamond, so that the one destroys the attraction of the other; 6. Made to be the antagonist of the loadstone, and to destroy its virtue. The identification with the magnet ceased about the foundation of the Royal Society; in 18th c. the word was a common synonym of *diamond*; now only figurative in sense 1, "foundations of adamant."

Friday, February 20, 1880.

Dr. J. A. H. MURRAY, *President*, in the Chair. Mr. E. S. Pearson was elected, and Mr. Eustace S. Smith, M.A., proposed as a Member of the Society.

R. MARTINEAU, Esq., M.A., read a further portion of the paper on the Romonsch or Ladin, the first portion of which was read to the Society in the previous season. In the previous part the phonology had been treated, and the present sounds of the various dialects in the Grisons traced to their originals in Latin, and compared with their representatives in the other languages of Latin origin, especially Italian and French. The second portion commenced the treatment of the grammar, but only embraced the pronouns, substantives, adjectives, article and numerals.

In the personal pronouns a noteworthy point is the double accusative, one form used when the pronoun is emphasized and stands apart from the verb, the other weak or unemphatic, used when it stands before the verb, as in French *je te vois*. These are as follows in the three principal dialects (OL = Oberland, UE = Unter-Engadin, and OE = Ober-Engadin):

	1*st Pers.*		2*nd Pers.*		3*rd masc.*		3*rd fem.*	
	strong	weak	str.	w.	str.	w.	str.	w.
OL	mei	ma, mi	tei	ti, ta	el	igl, l'	ella	la
UE	mai	am	tai	at				
OE	me	am	te	at				
Plur.								
OL	nus	nus	vus	vus	els	ils	ellas	las
UE	no, nus	ans	vo	as				
OE	nus	ans	vus	as				

The dative when emphatic is expressed by the preposition *a* prefixed to the accusative form, which in OL assumes a slightly different form in *a mi, a ma, a ti, a tei;* but the unemphatic dative before the verb is identical with the weak accusative.

The pronouns denoting *self* are remarkable. They exist in the nominative and accusative, and are formed in OL by attaching *-ezz*, fem. *-ezza* to acc. of personal pronoun, thus:

Nom. *iou mezz, ti tezz, ell sezz, ella sezza; nusezz, vusezz, els sezz, ellas sezzas.* Acc. *mamezz, tatezz, sasezz; nusezz, vusezz, sasezz.*

The Engadine form of 3 pers. acc. is *se svesse, se stess.* It is obvious that OL *ezz* must be = Eng. *ess;* and as Eng. *stess* must be the same as It. *stesse*, which is Lat. *iste ipse*, the *zz* and *se* must both be for *ps* of *ipse:* so that *mezz, mezza* represent *me ipse, me ipsa*, and have nothing to do with *met* of *egomet*, which does not appear in this language except in the adjective *medem* = It. *medesimo*, Venetian *medemo*.

The other pronouns present less that is remarkable. The possessive *meu mia, teu tia, seu sia, noss* (*niess*) *nossa, voss* (*viess*) *vossa*, are declined like the Romonsch adjectives; only *lur* 'their' is indeclinable. The demonstrative *quest* and *quell*, interrogative *chi* [*ch* palatal] or *tgi* m.

and f., and relative *che*, are almost identical with the Italian forms. But besides *quell* there is also *tschell*, denoting that. *Quell* is from *ecco'ille*, and *tschell* from *ecce ille*, which has the soft *c*, as is seen in the French *cela*, *cet* (Old F. *cest* from *ecce iste*). The Lat. *qualis* yields both the adjective interrog. *qual* and the relative *igl qual*. The pronouns of neuter sense (like Fr. *quoi*, *cevi*, *celà*, It. *ciò*) are noteworthy as the only neuters in the language: *quei* this or that, *tschei* that, *chiei* (*tgei*) what? or rel. that which, *ei* that (Lat. *id*), *gliezz* the same. Demonstrative adverbs are OL *qua*, *cou*, OE *co* here; OL *la*, *lou*, OE *lo* there, and OL *lunsch*, Eng. *lönsch* thence. Of these, *qua* and *la* are from Lat. *ecco' hac* and *illac*; *cou* and *co* perhaps simply *ecco* in the sense *here*; *lou* and *lo* perhaps from *illo*, formed by analogy to *ecco* in the sense *there*; *lunsch* apparently from *illo inde*, the *d* being softened before an *e* or *i*, as in *gir* for *dir* = *dicere*.

Pronominal words equivalent to those formed in Latin by the prefix *ali* (*aliquis*, *aliquando*, *aliquot*), are here formed by a prefixed OL *anza*, *anzi*, UE *insa*, OE *inza*. This prefix is clearly distinct from that used in Italian *alcuno*, *anchè*; and proves the power of the language to create new forms. The *an*, *in*, *in*, seems to be from *unus*, though *unus* is OL *in*, Eng. *in*, which is the regular vowel-change. But the OE preserves the correct *iin*; the OL *an* is probably due to the false analogy of the frequent prefix *an* = Lat. *in*. The *za*, *zi*, *sa*, is probably from the present subj. of the verb to be (cf. It. *qualsisia*), which here is OL *seigi*, UE *saja*, OE *sea*. It would then mean, 'One, let it be who' = one, whoever it be. The prefix in question is put before interrogative words, as in Latin. Thus we have in OL *anzachi* or *anzichi* any one, pl. *anzachons*, *varsacons*, some, any; *anzichiei*, anything; *anzanu*, *anzanua*, anywhere; *anzucù*, *-cura*, *-curas*, sometime or times; *anzacò*, anyhow. In the two last *an* may be omitted, so that they become *zacò*, *zacù*, etc. *Cura* is for *co* + *ura* (hora), and *cù* abbreviated from it; *cè*, how, is *quomodo*. Every one is OL *scadin*, Eng. *scodin*, probably from *quisque ad unum*. Every (adjective) is *minchia*, apparently for *omne quod sit* (OL *che seigi*).

In the Nouns substantive we have the m. and f. genders and no case distinctions, as in all the languages of Latin origin. From masculines denoting a male agent feminines are generally formed by adding the sole f. affix *a*: OL *luvader luvriera*, labourer; *murons muronza* lover (quasi *amorantius*, *-tia*); the corresponding Eng. words are *luvrèr luvranza*, *marus marusa* (quasi *amorosus*, *-a*). The plural is formed in both m. and f. nouns by the addition of *s*: OL *feug*, fire (focus) *feugs*; *peina*, pain, *peinas*; Eng. of the same, *fö fös*; *paina painas*. The very few irregularities of formation scarcely affect the termination, as *cas* pl. *cas*; *bov* pl. *bos*; *leug* or *lo* (locus) pl. *logens*; *ves* (vitium) pl. *vez*. There are a considerable number of nouns in *a*, really neuter plurals, but treated by a false analogy as fem. sing., though they preserve their plural or collective sense. (The corresponding class of words in Italian are treated as fem. pl.: *le braccia*, *le ciglia*, *le labbra*). Such are OL *isch* (ostium), *la ischa*; Eng. *pom*, *pumma*, fruit; OL *prau* (pratum), *prada*, *lenn* (lignum) *lenna*.

Adjectives generally end in a consonant in the m. sing., as the Latin *us*, *is* are always discarded: e.g. OL *cauld*, *freid*, *lev*, *grev*, Eng. *chaud* or *chod*, *fraid*, *leiv*, *greiv*, from *calidus*, *frigidus*, *lĕvis*, *grăvis*. Occasionally, through the loss of the consonant preceding the termination, they come to end in a vowel, as OL *neu*, *creu*, Eng. *nüd*, *crü*, from *nudus*, *crudus*. The feminine is formed invariably by adding *a* to the

masc.: thus fem. *caulda, freida, leva, greva.* It will be observed that all trace of the original Latin declination (the difference between *calidus, -a,* and *levis, -is*) is entirely obliterated. But, on the other hand, this language preserves, what has been almost absolutely lost elsewhere in the languages of Latin origin, the nominative *s* as sign of the masc. sing. This *s* is affixed to the stem of the adjective when it forms the predicate, but not when it is attached attributively to a substantive—thus taking the very contrary course to that pursued in German. Thus *igl prau ei verds* (the field is green), *quei pomèr ei marchs* (that apple is rotten), but *igl prau verd* (the green field), *in hundrievel hum* (an honourable man). Where the subject is the indefinite neuter "it," the *s*, which represents the Lat. masculine *us* or *is*, is not added: *igl ei cauld* (it is hot)—another indication of consciousness of neuter gender. This masculine *s* is confined (or nearly so) to the Oberland dialect. The m. sing. with *s* is, of course, identical in form with the m. plural. Adjectives agree with their substantives both in gender and in number, whether used attributively or predicatively, and form their plural like substantives, by adding *s* and *as*.

The Numerals are formed very much as in Italian and French: one OL m. *in*, f. *inna*, Eng. *iin, iina;* two OL m. *dus*, f. *duas*, Eng. m. and f. *duos* (*duoi*). The distinction of gender in the cardinal numerals exists only in "one" and "two"; and in "two" only in the Oberland dialect. The others are: OL *treis* (tres), *quatter, tschunc, sis, siat, oig* (*och, otg*), *nov, diesch, indisch*, [1 + 10], *dudisch, tredisch, quattordisch, quindisch, sedisch, gisiat* [10 + 7, for *disch siat*; Eng. *dischsett*], *schoig* (*schoich*), *schenív, veing* (*veinch*), *trenta, quaronta, tschunconta, sisonta, siatonta, ochionta, novonta, tschient.* The change of order in putting the unit before the decad in 17–19 corresponds with the Italian *diciasette.* The Oberland forms *gi-siat, sche-niv* (for *die(sch)-siat, die(sch)-niv*) exhibit the softening of *d* before an *i* or *e*, which we have in *gir* for *dir* (*dicere*), and *lunsch* from *illa(c)- inde. Ochi-onta* appears to preserve in its vowel *i* the final vowel of the original *octo*, which elsewhere is cut off. The Ordinal numbers are: First OL *igl amprim*, UE *il prim;* Second OL *dusavel, secund, secundavel*, UE *segond, segondavel*; Third OL *tierz, terzavel*, UE *terz, terzavel.* All the later numbers are formed in *avel* (= Lat. *abilis*), except 100th *tschientanèr* (*-nèr* = *-narius*). The unique OL form *amprim* must be an adjective formation from Lat. *imprimis;* the unaccented Lat. prefix *in, im*, becoming regularly *an, am*, in OL.

Friday, March 5, 1880.

Dr. J. A. H. MURRAY, *President*, in the Chair. Mr. E. S. Smith, M.A., was elected a Member of the Society.

The paper was: "A Comparison of the Gaurian with the Romance Languages. Part II., Morphology." By E. L. BRANDRETH, Esq.

By Gaurian were meant all the modern languages of India derived from the Sanskrit. The object of the comparison was to show that the two modern groups were alike, not merely because they had preserved traits of the two sister languages, the Skr. and Lat., from which they were descended, but still more because they had undergone, to a great extent, the same changes, that is, they were alike in those points in which each differed most from the parent language. Part I., which was read last year, dealt principally with the phonology of the two

modern groups, in which it was shown that the letter changes from the parent languages were almost identical, and that, not in a general way only, but particular languages were compared, as Sindhi (S.) with Italian (It.), Hindi (H.) with French (Fr.). In Part II. other parts of grammar were compared. Thus, as to gender, with some exceptions, the neut. had generally disappeared from both groups. Otherwise, the original gender was, as the rule, maintained, neut. becoming masc.; but there were considerable exceptions, as a Gaurian ī from Skr. fem. *ikā* had become the ending of many subst., and thus by the attraction of the larger mass most of the remaining subst. in ī, which were of different origin and masc. in Skr, became fem. in Gaurian. Similarly in Romance, such *o* and *u* subst. as were fem in Lat. became masc., *manus* being the only exception. Many subst., again, in both groups were derived from diminutive formations, as H. *ćhurī* 'a knife,' from *kshurikā*, Fr. *couteau* from *cultellus*; H. *bhāī*, 'a brother,' from *bhrātṛikas*, It. *fratello*, from *fraterculus*; such diminutive or pleonastic suffixes were also extended to many subst., and even adj. which had them not in the parent languages. In both groups the final *s* or *m* of the subst. had disappeared, and in some of the languages the preceding vowel also, while in others it was retained, as Skr. *nar-as* 'a man,' S. *nar-u*, H. *nar*; Lat. *mur-us*, It. *mur-o*, Fr. *mur*; Skr. *bhitti-is* 'a wall,' S. *bhitt-i*, H. *bhīt*; Lat. *turr-is*, It. *torr-e*, Fr. *tour*. Nouns with consonant stems were also compared; as Skr. acc. *rudant-am* 'weeping,' S. *ruand-o*, Old H. *roant*; Lat *rident-em*, It. *ridente*, F. *rant*. The plural in both groups was still distinguished by flexion. With the exception of Bangali (B) and Oriya (O.), the other Gaurians had an oblique form, which was compared with that of Old Fr. and Prov. The loss of case-endings in both groups was supplied by particles, and these were postpositions in Gaurian, because they were mostly derived from the locative case of subst, the dependent subst. being entitled to precedence in an Aryan language, whereas in Romance certain Lat. prepositions by a slight change and extension of their meaning were turned into case particles. The adjectives in both groups were generally declined like subst, and in both have ceased to be compared by flexion. An account was given of the pronouns in each group, and it was shown how much those that were of a common origin continued to resemble each other; as S. *mā*, H. *mo*, It. *me*, Fr. *moi*; H. *kyā*, Fr. *quoi*; H. *kitnā*, *kitnī*, It. *quanto*, *quanta*, etc.

The numerals were also compared, and in regard to the ordinals, it was shown that while in all the other languages they were derived directly from the Skr. and Lat. ordinals, in H., in some instances, as in modern Fr., they were formed by the addition of a suffix, as H. *dū-srā*, *tī-srā*, Fr. *deux-ième*, *trois-ième*. As regards the verb, the only two original tenses preserved in both groups were the present and the imperative; as Skr. *likh-ati*, *likh-anti*, S. *likh-e*, *likh-ani*; Lat *scrib-it*, *scrib-unt*, It. *scriv-e*, *scriv-ono*. The present and past participles were preserved in both, as S. *likh-ando*, It. *scriv-ente*; S. *likh-io* (Skr. *likhitas*), It. *scritt-o*. Many new tenses were formed with an auxiliary, which was sometimes incorporated with some form of the principal verb, while in other cases the periphrasis consisted of the full forms of a participle and an auxiliary; as, the fut. O. *likhib-ī*, It. *scriver-ò*, from the infinitives *likhibā* and *scrivere*. Other tenses, again, were formed with a participle and an auxiliary uncontracted, as H. *ćalā hū* m., *ćalī hū* f., Fr. *suis allé*, *suis allée*. Where, however, *habere* was used, as

was most frequently the case in Romance, as the auxil., the part. was only inflected where, as was sometimes the case, it agreed with the object of a transitive verb. The passive voice in both the modern groups, except in S., was also a periphrastic formation of the past part. with an auxil. The paper concluded with a brief comparison of the syntax of the two groups.

Friday, March 19, 1880.

Dr. J. A. H. MURRAY, *President*, in the Chair.

The paper read was, "On Quantity and Sentence-Stress in English. By H. SWEET, Esq., M.A.

1. In accented monosyllabic words (and in final accented syllables of polysyllables) either the vowel or the consonant is long. 'Short' vowels are often made long before voice consonants, as in *dog* (dɔ̆ɔg), *his* (hiiz) contrasted with *stop* (stɔpp), *hiss* (hiss). Liquids, however, are lengthened, especially *l*, as in *I will* (wiil), but in vulgar speech the vowel is made long (wiil). The combination of short vowel + short cons. only occurs before an unaccented vowel, as in *filling* (filiq) from *fill* (fil), not only in single words, but also in groups, as in *fill it* (filit). Not before consonants: *get them* (gettɔ̆m), *get it* (getit). Long vowels under the same circumstances become shorter, as in *going, go it!* contrasted with *go! tidy* with *tide*, as also liquids before voice conss., as in *building, embolden* contrasted with *build, bold*. In *embolden* (imb·ouldn) the final liquid acts like an unaccented liquid. Compare *cattle* (kætl) with *cat* (kætt). The accented syllable of *tidy* has the same medial quantity as in *tight*, where the vowel is shortened by the following voiceless cons. Hence there is still further shortening in *tighter*. When these polysyllables are drawled, they lengthen the unaccented vowels, as in *what a pity!* (pitii), *stop her!* (stɔpəə).

These variations of quantity suggest a new division of the English vowels into *monophthongic* and *diphthongic*. The only constantly long monophthongic vowel in English is that of *turn* (əə). The others, including all the so-called 'short' or 'stopped' vowels, are sometimes short, sometimes long, according to the laws stated above, without the slightest change of quality. The least marked of the diphthongs are those in *father* and *law*, terminating in the voice-glide and voice-round-glide respectively: they may be called 'murmur-diphthongs.'

2. All are familiar with the general principle of sentence-stress (emphasis) by which words representing *prominent* ideas, ideas *introduced for the first time*, and *contrasted* ideas have a strong stress, while words representing *subordinate* or *implied* ideas have a weak stress, whence whole classes of normally unaccented words: personal pronouns, particles, prepositions, etc. There is, however, nothing necessarily subordinate in the *meanings* of these words, although they are generally used to express subordination of their meanings. Even the definite article can take the stress and full meaning of an ordinary adjective in such phrases as '*the* thing to do,' while, on the other hand, substantives and verbs may sink almost to meaninglessness and consequent stresslessness, as in '*man*-of-the-world,' '*get* up.' Subordination of stress does not always imply subordination of meaning, stress being

often used to express unity, and bind a group of words together. The more familiar and traditional a sentence is, the more marked and fixed does this stress become, as in such a one as 'the house that *Jack* built,' where there is no more reason for accenting *Jack* than any other word.

Sentence-stress is partly dependent on the *mechanical* principle of *alternation*, and that of increasing stress before an *enclitic*. Thus, in *I cant get away* the last two words have equal stress, but in *I cant get away from him* that of *away* is considerably increased. It is sometimes *emotional*. In excitement we increase the stress at the end of a group as in 'one, two, three and *away!*' *Quantitative* or intensitive words are strongly accented, as in 'a *very* good chance,' 'at *all* events,' 'not for the next *half* hour.' It is, lastly, *logical*, serving to express differences of meaning, parts of speech, etc, which in other languages are expressed by changes of form. The following are a few examples of how the meanings of words are determined by stress.

some: when this word is used simply as a sort of plural of the indefinite article, it has no stress, as in 'some more coals,' but when it is used in a quantitative sense it takes full stress, as in 'with some difficulty' **have**: here we must distinguish three stages: 1) the stressless auxiliary with obscuration of the vowel, (əv), as in 'to have gone;' 2) half-stress without obscuration, when it is used simply to join an attribute, etc., to a noun or pronoun, as in 'he has a cold;' and 3) full meaning and full stress, as in 'I had to go.' **must**: weak stress in 'you must know that,' = 'let me tell you,' full or rather extra stress in 'you must know what I mean,' implying *logical* necessity, ordinary compulsion requiring only weak stress, as in 'you must try again.' The other auxiliaries are accented in the same way to denote special logical shades of meaning, even the meaningless copula being accented in such phrases as 'what *are* you doing,' to express surprise or impatience. These special stresses must be carefully distinguished from the ordinary emphasis of contrast, etc., as in 'you *must* do it whether you like or not' in answer to a refusal to do something. **when**: stressless in 'I shall see him when I get back,' full stress in 'I don't know when I shall get back,' where *when* is really equivalent to the substantive *time* (of my getting back).

Friday, April 16, 1880.

Dr. J. A. H. MURRAY, *President*, in the Chair. Mr. Arthur C. Cherry, M.A., was proposed as a Member of the Society.

The paper read was: "History of English Sounds and Dialects. Part II." By H. SWEET, Esq., M.A.

Quantity before consonant-groups. In the Durham and Rushworth (Matthew) glosses we find a consistent accentuation of originally short vowels before liquids + voice consonant. Thus, D. has *wórd, córn; ealdˇ, áld; lóng, stróng; lónd, fánd, blind.* R. has *hórd; beháldeþ; lánge; lónd.* Orm has *word, bord; ald, child; lang, þing; ende* against *harrd* (from old Mercian *heard*), *childre* pl. In some words he fluctuates, as in *han(n)d.* Wiclif (in Purvey's Midland version) has

doubling in such words as *chȳld*; *hoond*, *lo(o)nd*, *sende*. The present *o* in *long*, etc., as opposed to the *a* of *lank*, is not due to the retention of O.E. short *o*, but the distinction is based on the 13th cent. *laang*, *lank*, the former becoming *laong* and then *long* by shortening. The open vowel is proved by the spelling *loand* of the Proclamation. So also *bond* comes from *baand* through Wiclif's *boond*, the regular *band*, *hand*, etc., being the result of shortening the *aa* before it was rounded to *ao*. In Du. and Ru., as also in all West-Saxon MSS., *un-* and the prep. *on* are very frequently accented, the lengthening having probably begun in such combinations as *ún̄derne*, *ón dæge*, *ón̄drædan*. The later shortenings simply consist in transferring the long quantity from the vowel to the liquid, the lengthenings having been caused by the reverse process. In modern Scotch the shortening has been carried out very consistently, even in such words as *bind* and *found* (bend, fend), whose length in the Middle Scotch period is attested by such spellings as *found*, *bynd*, etc., and also by such forms as the proper name *Laing* contrasting with *lang*.

ea *and* **eo** *in Middle English.* O.E. *heard*, *dréam*, became in M.E. *hærd*, *draem* by convergence, as shown by the Southern spellings *heard*, *herd*, *hard*, *dream*, *drem*, together with occasional *hærd*, *dræm*. *ae* was preserved, but *æ* followed the fate of *fæst*, etc., and became *a*, giving Orm's *harrd*. Orm preserves *æ* only in a few words, such as *ærn* from *earn*, where the *æ* is lengthened before the *rn*. That the Southern *ea* indicated a monophthong is shown by such spellings as *leaden* = Orm's *lædenn*. Applying the same law of convergence to *eo*, *ēo*, we obtain from *heorte*, *dēop* the oldest M.E. forms *hærte*, *doep*, whence by unrounding *herte*, *deep*. This *æ* is in the oldest texts represented; 1) by *eo*; 2) by *oe*, as in *proest*, *þoede*; 3) by *o*, which never rhymes on original *ó*, but only on itself, as in *bitwon*: *son* = O.E. *betwēonan*: *sēon* inf., or on *é* as in *pr(e)ost*: *þu dest*, the short sound rhyming also on *y*, as in *honne*: *kunne* = *heonan*: *cynne*; 4) in Western MSS. by *u*: *hurte*, *dup*, evidently the French *u* = (y). The present *choose* is a Western form: *cēosan*, *choezən*, *chyyzən*, written *chuse* till very lately, where *u* had the same value as in *use* = *yyz*.

Diphthongs in unaccented words. The stress was often shifted to the second element, the first being then dropped, as in *am* from *eam*, *eom*. Quantity was shifted in the same way, thus *ðéah* became *ðeáh*, then *ðáh*, whence *though*. *séo* became *seó*, *sjó*, *shó*. Orm's *jho* represents *jhoo* from *hjoo*, *heó*, *hēo*. In Kentish this shifting took place in accented syllables as well, *éo*, *eo*, passing through *joe*, *jœ*, into *jee*, *je*, as in *lyerne*, *chiese*.

ae *in ræd, etc., in Middle English.* In the former paper the common Middle E. *ae*, corresponding to original Germanic *ā*, West-Saxon *á*, Mercian *é*, was attributed to the influence of the former dialect. It will be observed, however, that in nearly all the instances the vowel is either followed or preceded by an *r*—followed in *hair*, *there*, *where*, *were*, *fear*, preceded in *breath*, *breathe*, *rede* (subst.), *read*, *thread*, *dread*, so that the broadening probably took place in Mercian itself quite independently of West-Saxon influence, as the contrary narrowing of common O.E. *á* before dentals in some words in Orm (*clene*, *menenn*, *ledenn*) certainly did.

Friday, April 30, 1880.

Alex. J. ELLIS, Esq., *Vice-President*, in the Chair. Mr. Arthur C. Cherry was elected a Member of the Society. The Papers read were.

1 "On the Cree Language and the use of the Syllabic Character in teaching it to the Natives." By the Rev. ARCHDEACON KIRKBY.

The structure of the Cree presents many peculiarities; in this and the cognate languages, the *verb* is the central figure In the Micmac language, the verb is said to be twenty times as copious as in Greek, and that the full conjugation of a Micmac verb would fill a large volume. In Mr. Howse's Cree Grammar 230 of the 300 pages are absorbed by the verb, a fact which shows its relative importance It is the nucleus about which all ideas cluster for expression. What in Aryan languages would be a whole sentence is accumulated by the Indians into one long compound word. In English the agent and the action are expressed separately. In Latin agent and action may be combined. In American languages, agent, action, object, and collateral ideas, are summed up in a single word, *e g* "He wears snow-shoes," *Kickassamayoo*, i.e. Wearsnowshoethhe (Wear-snow-shoe-eth-he), "He is suffocated by snow," *Kipwuttawmooakoonayoo*, i.e. Suffocatedbysnow-ethhe (Suffocated-by-snow-eth-he) This and other characteristics make Cree words very long, and very difficult to read when written alphabetically. It has therefore been important to employ some method which should at once supply an accurate symbolization, and should be simpler than the Roman alphabet. This has been attained by reverting to the pre alphabetic plan of syllabics, as the system best adapted for writing Cree, and for teaching the natives to read To write each syllable by one, instead of two or three or four letters, at once reduces the written words more than one-half, and brings them within the comprehension of a single glance. Such a scheme is accordingly now used by English and French missionaries alike in teaching the natives. It is of great interest that the first move in this direction was made by a Cherokee Indian, named Sequoya, or in English, George Guess, who having seen white men "talking from books," and acquired some notion of the subject, said that he would make red men "talk books" also, and proceeded to invent a syllabarium for the Cherokee language Adopting the shapes of some twenty of the Roman and Greek letters, without any regard to their value, of which he knew nothing (thus he used T for *i*, A for *go*, J for *gu*, h for *yo*, S for *du*, Z for *no*, W for *la*, Λ for *do*, K for *dso*, & for *dlo*, etc), and adding to them others, he produced a set of eighty-five characters, which was found so well adapted to the language as to be used by missionaries for writing it. Sequoya's untaught genius went no farther than to provide a distinct sign for each syllable found by him; there was no attempt at system in the characters themselves, those for instance for *ga*, *ge*, *gi*, *go*, *gu*, *gĕ*, being quite isolated in form, with nothing in common (the four latter were the Rom. y, A, J, E).

The syllabic system now used among the Crees was invented by the late Rev. Jas. Evans, and may be described as an attempt to form syllabic characters upon principles of analogy, so that those for, say, *ga*, *ge*, *gi*, *go*, *gu* shall have definite relations of form to each other. Though capable of very great improvement, Evans's system has worked so well, that it has not been thought desirable to alter it.

The Cree consists mainly of open syllables of which the types are *e*, *pe*, *te*, *ke*, *che*, *me*, *ne*, *ye*. For each of these a character is provided, and then by four varieties of position these are made to stand for the series *a*, *pa*, *ta*, etc., *i*, *pi*, *ti*, etc., *o*, *po*, *to*, etc. Thus ∨ is the syllabic for *pe*, ∧ *pi*, < *pa*, > *po*. Similarly we have ∪ *te*, ∩ *ti*, ⊂ *ta*, ⊃ *to*; ⅂ *me*, ⌐ *mi*, ⌊ *ma*, ⌋ *mo*. This provides characters for four members of each series; each of which can be made into a long syllable, *tē*, *tī*, *tā*, by placing a dot over it. But with the *o* series this over dotting changes it to *u* (a clumsy reminiscence of English *oo*). A point to the left of a character indicates the compound or diphthongal series with *u* or *w* before the vowel: thus the "*u* point" before *o* makes *wo*; before *po*, *pwo*; before *sa*, *swa*; before *te*, *twe* ∴, etc. A small circle to the right of a character makes with its vowel a diphthong of the *w* series, as ∨ *pe*, ∨° *pew*. But Cree has also final non-syllabic consonants, and for these a totally distinct set of symbols is provided, consisting of half-size lines and curves each in four positions as ˌ *p*, _ *ch*, ⊂ *m*, ⊃ *n*, etc., and ᐟ for *l* (which only occurs final). Thus ∨ˌ is *pep*, ∧ˌ *pip*, ⌊_ *mach*, ⌊⊂ *mam*. This total separation in form of the closing consonants, from the syllabics to which they are related, constitutes with the use of long *o* for *u*, the chief theoretic irregularities of the system, which is practically so good that an Indian of ordinary intelligence learns to read by it perfectly in a month, some in much shorter time. He has only to master his syllabarium and he has learned to read.

THE CREE SYLLABARIUM.

INITIALS.	SYLLABLES.					FINALS.
	a	*e*	*i*	*o*	*u*	
	◁	▽	△	▷	▷	X *Christ.*
p	<	∨	∧	>	>	ˌ *p*
t	⊂	∪	∩	⊃	⊃	ˊ *t*
k	ᑲ	ᕫ	ᕭ	ᑯ	ᑯ	ˋ *k*
ch	ᒐ	ᒣ	ᒋ	ᒍ	ᒍ	_ *ch*
m	⌊	⅂	⌐	⌋	⌋	⊂ *m*
n	ᓇ	ᓐ	ᓂ	ᓄ	ᓄ	⊃ *n*
s	ᔑ	ᔓ	ᔨ	ᔩ	ᔩ	∩ *s*
y	ᔦ	ᔮ	ᔭ	ᔪ	ᔪ	∪ *r*
						ᐟ *l*

EXAMPLES SHOWING THE SAVING OF SPACE.

Manito.....	Spirit.....	⌊⊂⊃
Keche Manito.....	Great Spirit	ᑭᒋ⌊⊂⊃
Miyo Manito	Good Spirit	⌐ᔪ⌊⊂⊃
Misinipi	Big Water	⌐ᒋ⊂∧
Kisikachewan.....	Swift river	ᑭᒋᒣᑲ·◁
Ayamiewikiñow.....	Clergyman	◁ᐅ⌐▽·Δᑭᒧᐤ

In the discussion Mr. ELLIS remarked that the length of Indian words in Roman alphabet was partly due to a cumbrous system of notation—the use of *ee*, *oo*, etc. Mr. SWEET said that if the saving of

space was such a primary object, it might easily be effected by taking the Roman consonants (using *c* for *ch*, etc.) and writing the vowels above them in a contracted form, thus *n*=*ni*, *n* with a circle above it =*no*, *n* unmodified=*na*, etc., a *virâma* or 'stop' being added when necessary. The chief interest of the Cree alphabet was considered to be its analogy with Bell's *Visible Speech* in systematically utilizing changes of position.

2. "On the Pronunciation of the Latin Consonant *I*." By Mr. E. S. PEARSON.

The object of this paper was to prove that the sound was that of the Romance (and English *J*). The argument was: All the Latin grammarians from Quinctilian and Tenutianus Maurus within the first century A.D. downwards unanimously assert that *I* as an initial letter before a vowel, and in the middle of a word between two vowels, is a *consonant*. That as an initial letter it gave position to a short final syllable in the preceding word, and prevented elision of a final vowel in the preceding word in Latin poetry of the Classical period. That German *J* or *yot*, which is nothing more than *y* or the Latinized Greek υ, is not a consonant but a *vowel*, having the same sound as German *ü*=vowel *i*, as appears by comparing

ianna, *iecur*, *iocus*, with
yanna, *yecur*, *yocus*,

where the sound of *i* and *y* will be found to be identical. That the *yot* sound of consonant *I* will therefore not hold water. That as the Latin grammarians do not say that it had the sound of *C*, *D*, *G* hard, *K* or *Z*, the only remaining consonantal sound which it could have had is that of Romance *J*. That the Italians have converted initial consonant *I* into *Gi* or *Ge* in all Latin words preserved by them. Why so, unless *I* consonant had been sounded as *G* soft or *J* in Latin? That in most Latin words in Italian the *I* consonant in the middle of a word is represented by *ggi*, e.g. *maggiore*, though there are exceptions due probably to Teutonic influence, as also the *y* sound of *J* in Spanish in the middle of a word. That *J* is *in the main* sounded as *G* soft in all the Romance languages except Spanish, though there are doubtless dialectic variations.

In the discussion which followed, the view put forth by Mr. Pearson was generally rejected, as incompatible with all the discoveries of modern phonology, the generation of *dzha* out of an earlier *ya* being a regular process which phonology perfectly explains. *Ya*, which is Mr. Bell's "front open voice," becomes the "front shut voice," which soon relaxes into "point shut," followed by "front mixed" or "point mixed." The theory that Roman *I* was *dzh* was thus quite out of date. According to Mr. Henry Nicol, our chief authority on the subject, Roman *I* consonant was still *ya* in the second, but *dzha* in the fourth century.

Friday, May 7, 1880.

Dr. J. A. H. MURRAY, *President*, in the Chair. The papers read were: 1. "On a Difficulty in Russian Grammar." By C. B. CAYLEY, Esq., M.A.

The subject of this paper was a class of Russian verbs, derivative and compound, which admit of a double accentuation, and in accordance therewith fall into one or the other of the two "aspects" or varieties called *Incomplete-definite* or *Complete-indefinite*. Mr. Cayley explained these

terms, and examined the analogy between some of the aspects and those sections into which a Greek or Latin verb may be divided by attending to the conjugational cases, and the import which they carry from the indicative to the infinitive mood. He then maintained that the verbs in question, such as *vŏlŭnosĭt* accented on the first or last syllable, might be either compounds of derivative verbs, as *προ-λογίζομαι* is in Greek, or derivatives of compound nouns, like *προλόγιζω* from *πρόλογος*, and that the effect of the preposition in determining the aspect of the verb might, according to analogy, depend on this circumstance.

The President congratulated Mr. Cayley on explaining and illustrating the "Aspects" of the verb with a clearness never before attained in English.

2. "On the Middle Voice in Virgil's *Eneid*, Bk. VI." By BENJAMIN DAWSON, Esq., B.A.

The view held by scholars at the beginning of this century was, that the Middle voice was nothing but the Passive used in a particular sense. This way of looking at the matter has now pretty generally given way to the opposite explanation, that the Passive is a later use and application of the older Middle. The *r* of the Latin Passive voice is generally held to be for *s*, the Reflexive Pronoun *se*; and if this explanation of the forms of the Latin verb is admitted, the priority of the Middle voice, as well as its existence, must be acknowledged. But whether this explanation of the forms of the Latin "Passive" is admitted or not, there is (Mr. Dawson contended) abundant evidence of a Middle or Reflective meaning. So incontestable is it that the "Passive" voice often has a Reflective sense, that all Grammars and Dictionaries acknowledge it in one way or another. This Reflective sense, Mr. Dawson maintained, ought not to be considered anomalous and tabulated amongst the "peculiarities" of an author. It was a distinct gain when a so-called anomalous form or construction was removed from the category of exceptions and placed upon a different footing. As long as the Reflexive meaning, indisputable in some passages, was considered anomalous, the student would rightly avoid such an interpretation when possible; whereas if the Middle meaning was fully admitted, it was open to the translator to find as many examples as he fairly could. By admitting the existence of a Latin Middle voice, therefore, anomalies were lessened, and the meaning and force of many passages greatly improved. There are five passages in Virgil's *Aeneid*, Bk. 6, in which the Middle sense is clearly preferable to the Passive:—(*a*) l. 40, *morantur*, cf. Hor. *Ep.* 6-15-16, and *Aeneid*, 7-253; (*b*) l. 423, *extenditur*, cf. Livy's *longius cupiditas gloriae extenditur*, where 'stretches itself' is at least as forcible as 'is stretched'; (*c*) l. 654, *pascuntur*, cf. *Georg.* 3-162, and 3-528; (*d*) l. 660, *volvitur*, cf. *Aeneid*, 7-349; (*e*) l. 711, *funduntur*. But the Middle sense of verbs is not confined to a poet who delights in archaisms of Accidence and Syntax; other authors commonly read in schools will provide examples in abundance. Thus a Reflective meaning is not inferior to a Passive in Cicero *de Amic.* c. 21, *gignuntur*; c. 22, *plectimur*; c. 24, *anguntur*, and *moreri*; whilst it is decidedly preferable in Cic. *de Senec.* c. 3, *pares cum paribus facillime congregantur*, and in Cæsar, *B. G.* 4-32, *reliquas cohortes armari*.

In the discussion which followed Mr. Sweet said the doubts recently thrown upon the theory that the final *-r* represented an earlier *-s* for *se* arose from the fact that *-r* also formed the passive in Celtic, where such an origin was impossible.

TREASURER'S CASH ACCOUNT, 1879.

Dr. BENJAMIN DAWSON, Esq., *Treasurer, in account with the Philological Society.* *Cr.*

1879	CASH RECEIVED.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.							
	To Balance at Bankers	28	16	8			
	,, ,, in Treasurer's hands	0	17	0			
					29	13	8
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31.							
	To Sums received in 1879—						
	For Arrears	22	1	0			
	,, Entrance Fees	15	15	0			
	,, Subscriptions, 1879	101	17	0			
	,, ,, 1880	4	4	0			
	,, Life Compositions	31	10	0			
					175	7	0
	For Sale of Transactions				60	13	10
	,, Donations towards the expenses of Registration				13	13	0
					£279	7	6

1879.	CASH PAID.	£	s.	d	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31.							
	By Printing—						
	Transactions—Austin & Sons	68	10	6			
	,, Meetings—Expenses of Rooms, and Refreshments				26	3	5
	,, Hon. Secretary's Clerk				3	3	0
	,, Stationery, Postage, etc.				1	18	5
	,, Bankers' Charges on Country Cheques				0	4	2
	,, Society's Seal and Stamp				0	16	4
	,, Repairs in Society's Library				0	9	0
	,, Balance at Bankers	177	13	4			
	,, ,, in Treasurer's hands	0	9	4			
					178	2	8
					£279	7	6

We have examined this Account with the Books and Vouchers, and certify that it is correct.

MAY 11, 1880.

(Signed) DANBY P. FRY, HENRY B. WHEATLEY, } AUDITORS.

Friday, May 21, 1880 (*Anniversary*).

Dr. J. A. H. MURRAY, *President*, in the Chair. Mr. Kingsley Spencer, B.A. Camb., Ph.D. Heidelberg, was proposed as a Member. Prof. March, of Lafayette College, Easton, Pennsylvania, U.S.A., was, on the recommendation of the Council, elected an Honorary Member.

The PRESIDENT read his second Annual Address. He reviewd the work of the Society during the past Session, and exprest his regret at the deaths of Profs. Wagner and Schiefner. He then noted the growing opinion of scientific men in favor of Spelling Reform, and strongly justified it. He read the Report of Dr. J. Hall Gladstone on the late attempts to reform German Spelling, stating the new system now taught in all German schools, and the efforts that were making for further reform. He then gave an account of what has been done to the same end in the United States and in England, and said he believd that partial reforms in spelling could easily be brought about hereafter, as they had been heretofore, by degrees. He recommended the Society to start such a partial reform by getting Mr. Hy. Sweet to draw up a list of words out of which unnecessary and non-root letters should be left, the classes of which he enumerated.

He then past to the progress made in the Society's Dictionary: the Readers numberd 754; 1568 works had been undertaken; 625,035 slips had been sent out, and 60 per cent. of them had been returnd. The United States readers had helpt well too—many of them feeling a true enthusiasm for the English Language—under the guidance of Prof. March, now an Honorary Member of the Society. The deficiencies in words of general literature of the last and present centuries had been largely supplied. The slips had been arranged up to *Si*; but the slips and the Subeditor's work for *Pa* had unfortunately not turnd up; fresh *Pa* slips in all the centuries were therefore urgently required. Some old Subeditors were still carrying on their work, some new ones had taken up fresh portions; but at least a dozen more Subeditors were wanted. Editing had got up to *Al*.

The PRESIDENT then dwelt on the difficulty of finding a limiting line of English speech, in foreign words, technical words, and compounds: it could *not* be found or fixt in a Dictionary. As instances of false etymology influencing spelling, he traced the derivatives of *ad* and *gravis*, and *ad* and *juxta* in French and English.

Mr. HY. SWEET then read extracts from his Report on the investigations lately made into the original vowel-system of the Indo-Germanic languages: Greek preservd the system best, the Teutonic languages next best, and Sanskrit came third. The nasals were also reported on, and the middle and passive voices.

The Rev. Dr. RICHARD MORRIS read his Report on the progress of work at Pali during the last five years. A Report on the language of some of the tribes of Terra del Fuego was taken as read.

The thanks of the Meeting were voted (1) to the President for his Address, and for his services to the Society as its President, and Editor of its Dictionary; (2) to the writers of the three Reports above-named. Dr. Murray returnd thanks, and exprest his gratitude for the friendly help he had receivd from the Society's Officers and Members.

The thanks of the Meeting were voted to the Council of University College for granting the use of the College-rooms, rent free, for the Society's Meetings; to Messrs. D. P. Fry and H. B. Wheatley, the

Auditors of the Treasurer's Cash Account for 1879 (which was taken as read); and to Mr. A. J. Ellis for his "History of Musical Pitch."

The following Members of the Society were elected its Officers for the Session 1880-1:—

President.—A. J. Ellis, Esq., B.A., F.R.S.

Vice Presidents.—The Archbishop of Dublin; E. Guest, Esq., LL.D., M.A., W. Stokes, Esq., LL.D., M.A.; Rev. R. Morris, LL.D., M.A.; Jas. A. H. Murray, LL.D., B.A.; Henry Sweet, M.A.

Ordinary Members of Council.—E. L. Brandreth, Prof. C. Cassal, LL.D., C. B. Cayley, B.A., R. N. Cust; Sir John F. Davis, Bart; F. T. Elworthy; H. H. Gibbs, M.A., E. R. Horton, M.A., H. Jenner; Prof. R. Martineau, M.A., Rev. J. B. Mayor, M.A.; W. R. Morfill, M.A., H. Nicol, J. P. Postgate, M.A., Prof. C. Rieu, Ph.D., Rev. A. H. Sayce, M.A., Very Rev. Dean Scott, D.D., Rev. Prof. W. W. Skeat, M.A., H. Wedgwood, M.A., R. F. Weymouth, D.Lit.

Treasurer.—Benjamin Dawson, B.A.

Hon. Sec.—F. J. Furnivall, M.A.

Dr. Murray then left the Chair, which was taken by Mr. Ellis, who said that he had only taken the office in consequence of Mr. Henry Nicol's illness.

It was resolved "That Mr. Hy. Sweet be requested to draw up a list of such English words as may be alterd in spelling, on account of their containing letters inserted through false etymologies or analogies." Mr. Sweet consented to prepare such a List as speedily as possible, and lay it before a Special Meeting of the Society.

Friday, June 4, 1880.

A. J. ELLIS, B.A., *President*, in the Chair.

The papers read were (1) "On some Differences between the Speech of Edinburgh and London." By T. B. SPRAGUE, M.A.

The author of these notes is a born Londoner, who has lived in Edinburgh for the last six years, and they are not intended for a set treatise, but merely to give the results of chance observation.

The speech of Edinburgh is, generally speaking, more archaic than that of London. Thus, the Biblical *kindle a fire* is still in common use there, and *wrought* is the regular past for *work*. The divergence is very considerable in names of every-day objects, which are sometimes totally different, the Scotch names being often of French origin. *gigot of mutton* (almost=leg of mutton), *grosart* (gooseberry), *asket* (dish), *napery* (table and bed linen), sometimes the same word having different meanings. *cake* (=oatcake), *crystal* (glass articles in general), *press* (cupboard), *blackberry* (black currant), the English *blackberry* being called *brambleberry*. Dr. Murray stated that when a Scotch boy reads of blackberries growing on the hedges in England, he believes that black currants grow there. But other words also differ in their meanings. Thus, the verb *feel* has a more general sense, as in the phrase *to feel a smell*. *Presently* is used in the literal, Shakspearian sense of 'at once', thus, when a clerk was told to do something *presently*, he did it at once, to Mr. Sprague's surprise. '*Whenever* I saw it' means 'as soon as I saw it.' The paper concluded with some remarks on pronunciation.

In the discussion several members remarked that the peculiarities mentioned by Mr. Sprague are common also to the North of England.

DR. MURRAY supplemented and further illustrated several of MR. SPRAGUE'S observations, and questioned the accuracy of some of his remarks on Scotch pronunciation, such as that of *to* being pronounced *tü*, *broad* as a dissyllable.

(2) "Notes on the Makua Language." By the Rev. CHAUNCY MAPLES.

He noticed the various classifications of this interesting member of the Bantu family, discussed the question of the "Bantu mother tongue," and showed that it would be impossible to find in any one of the multitudinous dialects now existing the true origin of this family. The theory of a Bantu "parent" he considered as at best hypothetical. It is remarkable that Makua, although a most widespread tongue, knows but very few dialectical variations throughout the whole range of its distribution. Roughly speaking, it is the language of a geographical area extending over five degrees of latitude and as many of longitude. Reasons were given for the comparatively stationary condition of the language, which mainly rested upon certain peculiarities and characteristics of its phonology. Under the three headings of phonology, morphology, and sematology, the chief features of the language were pointed out. It was shown under *phonology* that the letter *r* in Makua is peculiar in *not* being, as is the case with most other members of the same group, confused with *l*. In this respect it was compared with the strongly-trilled *r* of the French *roi*, *rien*, etc. Indeed, so strongly is the letter emphasized when placed after the nasalized *n*, that the presence of an intervening dental (*d*) might be detected, having crept into the word as did the dental in such words as *thunder*, *tender*, and ἀνδρός. Other peculiarities in the phonology of Makua were touched upon, and a list of words exhibiting the chief permutations of sounds in Makua and Swahili was given. The use of the *pelele* (lip-ring) amongst the Makua women was alluded to as having brought about modifications in the phonetics of the language when spoken by the female part of the community. Under *morphology* a complete list of the pronominal prefixes of Makua, arranged according to Bleek's well-known classification, and supplying the missing links in his table, was given. The method by which in Makua the comparative degree is expressed, was then briefly told, and an account was given of the relative sentence in Makua, which proved perhaps the most interesting part of the whole paper. The Makua verb was explained, and compared for its variety of form and niceties of distinction in tense relations to that of the Turkish language. It was observed that these relations were nearly all expressed by prefixes, and that there was a negative as well as a positive conjugation. Instances of incorporation of pronouns in the verb, reminding one forcibly of Basque and Hungarian, were common in Makua verbs, though there were signs of this habit dying out, as though it were being discovered that the meaning is sufficiently plain without this insertion of pronominal infixes. Derivative verbs were formed from simple ones by the addition of certain suffixes to the root. Some observations on the method of expressing locality concluded the notes on Makua morphology. Lastly, under *sematology* the etymologies of some of the pronominal prefixes were discussed, after which the Makua system of numeration was explained. Words expressive of colour, of which there were only three in the language, were given; and it was shown that other shades, when it was necessary to particularize them, had to be expressed by phrases pointing out their resem-

blance in colour to certain well-known sensible objects, as the sky, the grass, turmeric, etc. The abstract verb 'to be' was said to be only just emerging out of a word which ordinarily denoted 'to dwell.' As in so many other languages, the abstract meaning attaching to the word was reached through a sensible idea. The word in question exactly paralleled our English 'was,' connected as it is with the Gothic *visan* and the Aryan *as*. A curious instance of the word for *witchcraft* in Makua coming into use for *sin* in the abstract, was noticed, and (as was subsequently pointed out in the discussion that followed the paper) is similar to the process by which the English 'wicked' is connected with 'witch.' The use of gesture was said to be not excessive in Makua, though the meaning of words was often eked out by intonation, raised pitch, etc. The use of reduplication was alluded to, and instances given of its force when employed by Makuas.

In the discussion various opinions were expressed on the use of the term 'gender' in Bantu grammar. DR. MURRAY defended Bleek's terminology, considering the association of the word gender with ideas of sex to be entirely arbitrary, while Mr. SWEET argued that the word practically always does imply such associations, and that its application to classes of nouns which ignore sex-distinctions is misleading.

Friday, June 18, 1880.

A. J. ELLIS, B.A., *President*, in the Chair.

The papers read were: (1) "On some Vocabularies of Polabish." By W. R. MORFILL, M.A.

This language was spoken by a Slavonic tribe now extinct, formerly living on the banks of the Elbe (Slav. *Laba*). It died out in the earlier part of the eighteenth century. Remains of it have been preserved in certain vocabularies, among which the most important is that compiled by Christopher Henning. From these fragments a grammar was constructed by Schleicher, and there is a valuable monograph by the Russian scholar Hilferding on the same people. Schleicher proposed to arrange the languages of the Western Slavonic group in the following manner:—

I. Lechish; subdivided into—
- (*a*) East Lechish (Polish).
- (*b*) West Lechish (Polabish). Between which
- (*c*) Kashubish is the connecting link, this language being spoken by about 111,416 people living near Danzig.

II. Čechish; subdivided into—
- (*a*) Čechish proper, in the restricted sense of the term (Bohemian), of which Slovak is a dialect, exhibiting earlier forms.
- (*b*) West Čechish or Sorbish, which is again divided into—
  - (α) Upper Sorbish (or Wendish).
  - (β) Lower Sorbish (or Wendish).

From various phonetic characteristics it may be shown that Polabish is to be connected with Polish, especially by the retention of the nasals, now lost in all the Neo-Slavonic languages, with the exception of Polish and a dialect of Bulgarian. Many striking peculiarities are

to be recognised in the vocabularies published *in extenso* by Dr. Pfuhl in the Journal of the *Maćica Serbska*, the Wendish Literary Society. *W* (or *v*) is constantly placed before words beginning with the vowel *o*, a common feature of the literary language of the Sorbs, but a vulgarism (for the most part) in the Russian and Čech languages. The Polabish frequently used *c* instead of *ǒ*, given by Dobrovsky as a test of the Western as opposed to the Eastern Slavonic languages; this, however, can be shown to be by no means an invariable test. Attention may be called to the words *wackenow*, *woatrik*, *jaapke*, *flasser*, *pradiin*, and *launa*, as exhibiting interesting forms. The syntax of the language was breaking up under the influence of German. Thus, *werden* was borrowed to express the passive. So also for the preterite of the active 'to have' and 'to be' are used as auxiliaries with the past participle passive, contrary to all Slavonic analogy. Pastor Mithof tells us of the Wends of his day, that whenever they spoke German they were in the habit of putting an *h* before words in which it did not exist, as *haller*, *haugen*, for *aller*, *augen*, and of leaving it out in words in which it did. We see signs of this in the modern Wendish, where Andrew becomes *Handrij*, Adam *Hadam*, Annchen *Hanka*. The odd thing is that the same confusion is found in Lithuanian, according to Kurschat.

In the discussion Prince L. L. BONAPARTE criticized minutely several of Mr. Morfill's statements He said it was hardly correct to speak of Polabish as a dead language, for it and Cassubian together really constitute mere varieties of one and the same dialect, and Cassubian is still living. Hence the necessity of controlling the existing Polabish texts by a comparison with the living dialect, which has not yet been done, even Schleicher's grammar being based exclusively on Polabish. The Prince remarked on the richness of Cassubian in nasal vowels, of which it possesses five, while Polish has only two, and the other Slavonic languages none.

(2) "On the Distribution of English Place-Names." By W. R. BROWNE, Esq., M.A.

Now that the value of English place-names as indicating the distribution of the various races that colonized England is generally recognized, it appeared desirable to give a classification of these place-names according to their terminations, showing how each termination is distributed through the different counties. The tabulation is based on the maps in Dugdale's "England and Wales," as giving a limited number of names, yet enough to base a fair average on.

Sixty terminations are distinguished in the table, of which about thirty are believed to be of Saxon, nine of British, and about eleven of Norse origin, the remaining ten being doubtful. Of all these endings the commonest is the Saxon *ton*, constituting one fourth of the whole number investigated Mr. Isaac Taylor regards it as a distinctly Saxon form, but it is equally common in such counties as Yorkshire, so that it may be Norse as well, especially as it is still used in Iceland, Norway, and Sweden. The classification of names in *-ing* does not support Kemble's view that such names as *Reading* denote the original seat of the clan, while those in which *ing* is followed by *ham* or *ton* (Billingham, Teddington, etc.) mark colonies sent out from the parent settlement. Its use seems, on the contrary, to be due to some difference of dialect, being confined mainly to N. Norfolk, Essex, Kent, and Sussex.

The British endings are not to be taken as survivals of the original Celtic names, but rather as words which were adopted into English, and afterwards used by the English in forming their place-names. This is shown by the use of such words as *combe* at the *end* (Nettlecombe, etc.), not, as in the Celtic languages, at the *beginning* of a place-name, as in the many names beginning with the Celtic *tre* in Cornwall; also by their frequent combination with purely English words, as in Nettlecombe, Ashdown, etc. The distribution of the Norse endings confirms the views of Mr. Taylor, both as to the extent of Norse colonization generally, and the distinction between the Norwegian and the Danish settlements, but with certain modifications.

The paper was illustrated by a complete tabulation of the results on which it was based. In conclusion, Mr. Browne said that his observations were not to be taken as more than suggestions to elicit inquiry and draw attention to this interesting subject.

In the discussion, the PRESIDENT dwelt on the desirability of extending the tabulation, so as to include the names of smaller places as well, which, he thought, would in some cases materially modify the relative frequency of the terminations. Mr. SWEET said that it would be desirable to separate several of the endings thrown together by Mr. Browne, such as *bridge* and *brig*, the latter being a purely Norse form; doubted the Norse origin of *ton*, which, although frequent in Iceland as a common noun, is not used much to form place-names, and is extremely rare in Sweden and Norway; doubted whether *boro* ever meant hill, *barrow* being the only direct descendant of Old English *beorg*; and took exception to several of the etymologies accepted by Mr Brown on the authority of Mr Isaac Taylor, such as *field* from *fellan* (!), and the connection of *ham* with *hem*, the word being really the same as the ordinary *ham*, and meaning 'bend.' Dr. MURRAY again urged the necessity of including the smaller place-names, which he said were quite as important as those of the more conspicuous places, and regretted that Mr. Browne had relied so much for his etymologies on the works of Mr. I. Taylor, whom he characterized as an utterly untrustworthy guide. He would prefer to have the terminations arranged more alphabetically, partly for ease of reference, partly because the nationality of several of the endings was doubtful. He said there was no reason for considering *tree* to be Celtic, and separating it from the ordinary English word. Dr. MORRIS said he should like to see several other endings included, such as *ing* = 'meadow,' *hanger*, etc. He considered *shaw*, which he identified with the Norse *skóg*, to be the Northern equivalent of the Southern *hurst*. Mr. BROWNE replied at length to the various criticisms on his paper, insisting especially on the necessity of limitation in preliminary investigations such as these, an exhaustive study of place-names being work for a lifetime, and said that he had been obliged to rely on Mr. I. Taylor's works because they are the only ones on the subject.

"Notes on History of English Words." By Dr. J. A. H. MURRAY.

1. The present spelling of AISLE has often been pointed to as specially irregular, but its history has not been indicated. The Latin *āla* became regularly in O. Fr. *eele*, *ele*; in 15th and 16th c. this began to be 'etymologically' falsified as *aelle*, *ale*, in which apparently the *e* showed the sound, and the *a* was meant as a reminder of the Lat. *ala*. From these

the Mod. Fr. *aile*, which standing as it does for *èl*, is no better than if *quel, sel*, were to be written *quail, sail*, because the Lat. was *qualem, sal*. An *occasional* Fr. spelling in 16th c. was *aisle*, which seems influenced by Med. Lat. *ascella* (Lat. axilla), the common word for the wing of a church. The O Fr *ele* was adopted in Eng, where it is found as *ele* so late as 1463. But this seems to have been rapidly narrowed from (eel) or (eel) through (il) to (ail), for from the 16th c onward it is written *ile, yle*, and so completely identified with *ile, yle*, 'insula.' A curious evidence of this is seen in the fact that it was actually translated by *insula* in Latin, "Imagine S Marie in insulâ predicti eccles de Wyrksworth" (Will of 1504) It consequently shared the fate of *ile* 'insula,' and when an 'etymological' *s* was foisted into the latter, the *ile* of the church appeared likewise as *isle*, of which we have instances from 1630 to 1796 (the simple *ile* coming down to 1782) During last century attempts were made to introduce the Mod. Fr spelling *aile* (or *ayle*), and the result seems to have been the current *aisle*, which ought to please historical cacographers, as the *a* may suggest Lat *ala*, the *ai* Mod. Fr *aile*, and the *s* Eng *isle*, both of the latter artificial spellings, with the last of which moreover it was only associated in ignorance It thus appears, curiously enough, that the *s* of the Eng *aisle* has no connexion with the *s* of Fr *aisle*.

2. ENLUMINE, *alumine, alumn, limn; allumine, alluminate; illumine, illume, illuminate;* all representing Lat *illuminare*, and curiously related The O. Fr was *enluminer* (11th c.), a literary or semi-literary form from **inluminare*, a late resolution of *il luminare* (or at least formed from same elements) In 14th c *illuminer* appears in Fr., being a later literary adoption of the usual Lat form *illuminare* This has taken the place of the earlier *enluminer*, except in the technical sense of *illuminating MSS.*, etc, for which Mod Fr retains *enluminer* In Eng the first form was the Fr *enlumine*, common in 14th c With Caxton appeared the later Fr. *illumine*, which, as in Fr, soon displaced *enlumine*, except in the technical sense as above In 16th c. the Lat pa pple. *illuminatus* was adopted as *illuminate*, at first as a theological term, 'having the inner light,' but speedily gave a vb *to illuminate*, which in its turn partly dispossessed *illumine* It is now more literal in its sense than *illumine* About Shakspere's time appears, on the other hand, a more poetical form—*illume*, the exact genesis of which is doubtful. There is and was no Fr. *illumer;* but the Fr. *rallumer*, formerly *ralumer*, a truly popular equivalent of **re-ad-luminare*, gave an Eng. *relume*, side by side with which was an Eng. *relumine*. By form-association with these, probably, *illume* was formed side by side with *illumine* I find it only in the poets

The original *Enlumine*, by confusion of its toneless *en-* with the toneless *an-* of Eng. words, which became *a-* before consonants, was reduced to *a-lumine, elumine*, which by the common loss of initial *a* or *e* (as in *estate, Eloy, amend, adonon*) became *lumine, lumn*, and *limn* (literally to *illuminate* or *adorn*). But etymological muddlers, thinking they saw *a=ad* in *a-lumine*, now spelt it *al-lumine*, the common word for *to illuminate* MSS from 16th to 18th c, when by further Latinization (as *illumine* had become *illuminate*) it appears full-blown as *alluminate* in Bailey and Ash. *Illuminate* has now been substituted for it, in its own technical sense, and, with the exception of *limn*, the descendants of *enlumine* have disappeared. But *illumine, illuminate*, and *illume*, all survive.

[No abstract of the November discussions on Spelling-reform will be given beyond the 'Notes' already issued.]

Friday, December 3, 1880.

A. J. ELLIS, B.A., *President*, in the Chair. The President drew the attention of the Society to the loss it had sustained by the death of Dr. Edwin Guest, formerly Master of Caius College, Cambridge, for nearly thirty years a Vice-President of the Society, and its first Honorary Secretary, to whose exertions the early success of the Society was attributable, and who had contributed many papers to the earlier numbers of its Transactions. He was well known for his work on *English Rhythms*, long out of print, which, among other interesting matter, contains a classification of English dialects from earlier documents agreeing in many respects with that derived from recent research by the President. A resolution was passed unanimously expressing the regret of the Society, and was ordered to be communicated to Mrs. Guest.

(1) H.I.H. Prince L L. Bonaparte then read his paper "On Neuter Neo-Latin Substantives," furnishing proofs to all members present, to follow his lists. His object was to show that though the grammatical neuter gender of substantives has disappeared from most Neo-Latin dialects, it still keeps a sufficiently firm hold on the true Italian dialects to give three forms of the plural, masculine *-i*, feminine *-e*, and neuter *-a*, and sometimes *-ora*, but the adjectives agreeing with these substantives are put in the feminine gender.

1. The true Italian dialects, consisting of the standard literary Tuscan, some varieties of the Tuscan, the Roman, two Corsican, Northern Sardinian, Sicilian, two Calabrian, Neapolitan and Venetian, have all neuter forms. The literary Tuscan has fully a hundred such forms, almost all of which were adduced, together with either the classical or the low Latin originals. Some very few have also a feminine plural in *e*, thus *pomo*, m. *pomi*, n. *poma*, f. *pome*, the last poetical only, "any edible fruits." Sometimes the neuter plural ends in *-ora*, as the Latin *pectora*, but in this case often without known precedent in either classical or low Latin. Thus *campo*, *campi*, *campora*, field, which has no Latin for the last plural, and *corpo*, *corpi*, *corpora*, body, which has no Latin for the first plural. Sometimes both neuter forms exist in the same word, as *frutto*, *frutti*, *frutta* (formerly used in the sense of "product of a tree or of certain plants"), *fruttora* (still used in that sense). The Prince conjectured that these plurals in *-ora* might be relics of some old Italic influence, or were connected with high German plurals in *-er*. In the Roman dialect there are a few plurals in *-a*, but these are often replaced by feminines in *-e*. This is especially the case in Northern Corsican, which has no neuters in *a*. In Southern Corsican the Prince found only two in *-a*, and no replacement by *-e*, and in Northern Sardinian only one in *-a* and none in *-e*. The Sicilian has many neuters in *-a* and *-ura*, but not so many as the Tuscan. In both Calabrian dialects pl. in *-a* occur. In Neapolitan pl. in *-a* are numerous, after interchanging with fem. pl. in *-a*. The Venetian is poor in neuters in *-a*, but *tempori* a mas. pl. is used for Italian *tempora*, in the sense of "ember days"

2. The Sardinian (non-Italian) has only two or three such plurals.

3. The Genoese (non-Italian) has a very few neuter pl. in *-a*, but several fem. pl. in *-e* replacing them.

4. The Gallo-Italic dialects are poor in neuters, the Piedmontese and

Lombard families having scarcely any. There are a few in Piedmontese proper, Bolognese, and Romagnuolo.

5. There are no real neuter plurals proper in *-a* in Romanese (Rhæto-Romanic), but there are collective feminine singulars in *-a* which simulate them. This was illustrated by comparing passages from Rom. xii. 4 and 1 Cor xii., where the Tuscan *membra*, "members" in the plural, corresponds to the Romanese collective fem. singular *nembra*, "collection of members" in the singular, the former having adjective and verb in the plural, the latter in the singular. A long list of these "collectives" was given

6. Spanish, Portuguese, Friulano, Occitanian, Catalonian, modern Occitanian of France, Franco-Occitanian (Ascoli's "Franco-Provenzale"), French and Wallachian have no neuter plurals in *a*.

II Professor A G Bell (the inventor of the telephone) on "Visible Speech," the physiological alphabet invented by his father Visible Speech is now extensively employed in America in teaching deaf-mutes to speak. The method now adopted is to write down in Visible Speech any sound uttered by the pupil, explain its mechanism to him, and lead him to deduce other sounds from it. Thus, Professor Bell explained to an intelligent adult pupil the formation of the voice, and asked him to try and produce it himself. The result was not I but ɑɔ —the uvular instead of the glottal trill. From this was deduced ɑɔ, and then ɔ, as in German *ach*, and the formation of voice having been acquired, ɛ was formed This sound is the key to all the vowels by widening the configurative aperture ʃ (a) is formed, whence by contracting the lip-opening ʃ (*o*). Again, by shifting the articulation of ɛ forward in the mouth, ⊙=English *y* is obtained, whence the vowel ſ (i), which, by lowering the tongue, give ſ (e) and ɭ (æ) These transitions are taught partly by direct manipulation of the pupil's tongue by means of an ivory spatula specially adapted for the purpose This procedure tests the analysis of speech-sounds very rigorously, and Professor Bell advised all philologists who wish to obtain an insight into the mechanism of speech-sounds to study deaf-mute articulation. He said that Visible Speech had been found to require extension One improvement was to symbolize the upper and lower organs (such as the palate and the tongue) separately, denoting the former by small symbols written above the corresponding symbols of the lower positions, another was to mark accurately the size of the formative aperture. He alluded to the modifications devised by Mr Sweet (which will shortly be published in the Transactions)—some of which he said were identical with his own—but thought Mr. Sweet had hardly gone deep enough.

Deaf-mute attempts at speech afford special opportunities for studying those well-known elements of many savage languages—*clicks*. Deaf-mutes have a great tendency to accompany any articulation in the front of the mouth with a simultaneous stoppage in the back of the mouth (ɑ) or the throat (x), the forward articulation (whether point or hp) being then naturally formed not by expiration, but by *suction*, so that instead of an ordinary ɔ (t) they are apt to produce ɔ‹, the sound written *tut*! The clicks are often combined in a way that makes them difficult of analysis. Mr. Bell gave one which he writes thus x+[ɑ+(ɔ‹)‹]».[1]

[1] These symbols are not all exactly the same as Professor Bell's

Professor Bell's address was listened to with great interest, and at its conclusion was applauded enthusiastically.

Friday, December 17, 1880.

Dr. J. A. H. MURRAY, *Vice-President*, in the Chair. Mr. A. J. Ellis, President, first read an extract from a letter from Miss Lloyd (sister-in-law of the late Dr. Bleek, and his interim successor as Keeper of the Grey Library at the Cape of Good Hope), in which she says that she is studying a new Bushman language from a native beyond Damara Land, whose language is quite unintelligible to the Bushmen of the Cape, and contains four clicks, besides other curious "arrests of breath."—Mr. Ellis then proceeded to give an account of his researches on "the Dialects of the Southern Counties of England." The area of these dialects is bounded by a line drawn just west of Newport in Monmouthshire, on the N. side of the Bristol Channel, proceeding N. through the Ebbw Vale, passing just W. of Crickhowell and Builth, along the W. bank of the Wye to the N. of Radnorshire, then turning E. along the N. of that county and just S. of Craven Arms Station and N. of Ludlow in Shropshire, through N. of Worcestershire (just N. of Bewdley and Kidderminster and S. of Stourbridge), to Knowle in Warwickshire, then going S.E. through the S. of that county to about Fenny Compton, cutting off the extreme S. of Northamptonshire and bending suddenly nearly S., passing just E. of Oxfordshire and W. of Buckingham and Aylesbury to the Thames W of Great Marlow; then following the S. bank of the Thames to the Sea, pursuing the E. and S. coast and up the Bristol Channel to Newport again. There are also four outlying districts, 1) the peninsula of Gowerland in Glamorganshire, and 2) the S.W. point of Pembrokeshire, including Haverfordwest, Pembroke, and Tenby, both of which are supposed to be English colonies of the thirteenth century, and still speak a worn-down Southern dialect; 3) the S.E. point of Ireland, the peninsula of Forth and Bargy, S. of Wexford, a colony of about the same date, the dialect of which before 1825 bears traces of being the oldest nineteenth century form of the Southern dialects, but since that date it has become fused with the surrounding and much more modern English; 4) the Scilly Isles.

Information on the pronunciation of these places was obtained from 32 vivâ voce specimens, 10 written in palaeotype, 10 in glossic, and 4 in other systematic spellings, and about 250 other documents of various degrees of value, with numerous interviews or long correspondence with many informants. These have all been carefully studied, but the vivâ voce and palaeotypic information formed the nucleus of the whole, and tended to explain all the rest. The printed accounts were on the whole either untrustworthy, or not sufficiently local. They were compared by abstracting each on half a sheet of note-paper, containing on the one side the sounds of the words heard, referred to the Anglo-Saxon vowels of the original words, and on the other the French and doubtful words, and peculiar consonantal and idiomatic usages. By this means the districts were determined, and the melting of forms into each other ascertained. The districts were marked S. for Southern, and with prefixes of M. for Mid, E. for East, W. for West, and B. for Border, meaning that such a form "borders" on the true dialect, or forms a transition to another. A large area, containing part of Berks, N. Surrey to the chalk range and N.W. Kent, is included in M.A., or Metropolitan Area, and is so mixed and altered by education that scarcely a remnant of the old dialect is traceable.

The typical dialects are the M.S., and especially 1 M.S, containing Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Gloucester, S.E. Hereford, and S. Worcester. The whole S. dialects are connected by the sound of R, which is here "reverted," palæotypic (ʁ), the *under* part of the tip of the tongue being turned towards the palate, and the tip pointing to the throat. Besides this, the 1 M.S. is marked by the following characteristics, where large capitals represent Anglo-Saxon letters, the ( ) added to them representing the long vowels, and the sounds being given in palæotype between ( ) as usual, the acute accent pointing out the element of a diphthong which has the stress.

Open A- becomes (ɪ') or (e'), the (ɪ') falls into (ɪɪ) in Gloucestershire, thus *lame*=(lɪ'm, le'm, lɪɪm) or nearly *leeăm, layăm, leem*

Long A' becomes regularly (u'), as *load* (lu'd) or nearly *looăd*, but occasionally (aa)

ÆG and EG become regularly (ái) and sometimes (ɛɛ'ɪ) which in a few words, varying in different places, becomes (*ee*, ee).

I' has one of the forms (ɔɔ ɪ, ɜ ɪ, ə'ɪ) or nearly *u* in *cur* (or *cut*) + *ee* It is always quite distinct from the preceding (ái).

O short before a consonant becomes one of the finer forms of (a) as (ah), and before *r*=(ʁ) is fully (aa) as (baaʁn), the (ʁ) being very distinctly heard with the vowel, and reverting the following (n).

Long O' is (u') or (uu), and sometimes (ɜ).

Short U is regularly (ɜ), falling in the Northern parts into (ə), and in a few words only is (u, *u*) or even (ɜ u), as *ground*, which word is generally treated as having

Long U', which is regularly (ɔɔ u, ɜ'u, ə'u) and never (áu).

The initial consonants *f*, *s*, *sh*, *th*, usually become (v, z, zh, dh), and *thr-* becomes (ᴅʁ-), both letters "reverted."

The initial (ʁ) tends to become (ʁh), and sometimes (hɜʁ-), as (hɜʁ˳n) =*run*. Similarly there is a tendency to use initial (lh) for (l).

Independently of pronunciation the following idioms and constructions are characteristic. *I do say, I have a-said, hit-un* (unemphatic, *hit 'he* (emphatic). *I be* (not *I am*), *her is, we um* ; *her be* occasionally, *he be* probably never ; *idd'nt* and *aint* as well as *baint* for *is not*, the objectless infinitives *to mow-y, to milk-y*, etc., and the demonstratives *thick, thicky*.

In 1 M.S. almost all these peculiarities prevail In 2 M S., containing Hampshire, Berkshire, W. Oxfordshire, Surrey, and W. Sussex, they fade off towards the East In B S. they not only fade off, but are affected by other modes of speech. Thus W.B S. (containing M. and E. Monmouth, E. Brecon, Radnor, and W. Hereford) is affected by Welsh or by literary English. M B S. (containing most of Hereford, Mid Worcester, and S. Warwickshire) by the Midland dialect, and E.B.S. (containing S. Northampton and E. Oxford) is affected probably by the adjoining peculiar Eastern form of speech.

The two principal varieties of the S dialect are the E S. and W.S. The E.S. comprises E. Sussex and almost all Kent. It is especially distinguished by the use of *d* for (dh) in the commencement of the pronominal words *the, this, that, there*, etc., called *de, dis, dat, dere*, etc, as in negro speech, a habit once very strongly prevalent, but now dying out. It must have arisen, however, since Dan Michel's time, 1340. The use of *I are* is prevalent, and U' becomes (éu) as (réund ebéut de éus)=*round about the house*. The (ʁ) exists, but is fining off to the London vocal (ɐ) or untrilled imperfect *d*=(r˳).

The W.S. is sharply distinguished by the introduction of a sound closely resembling the French *u* for O'. This begins on a line passing

through the Quantock Hills to Taunton and thence to the English Channel a little W. of Axminster. 1 W S. comprises W Somerset and a small adjacent portion of Devon, and has this (y) sound with (ʉ) for U' The rest of Devon and E. Cornwall have the French *u* sound for O, fading off to (iú) as we go W, the (R) very strong, reverting the adjacent (T, D, L, N) and a very peculiar diphthong for U', which is perhaps (œ y_1'), that is, *u* in *cur* (œ) followed by (y_1), the peculiar Devon form of French *u*, spoken with suddenly pouted lips, shown by the ' This diphthong is very nearly *ou* in the German sense of these letters, but the lips are quite open for the first element, and the sudden closing and pouting for (y_1') has a most singular effect. The effect is not unlike the French *œil*, accueil, but is still more like Dutch huis, luis Persons hearing it for the first time often perceive no peculiarity It extends all over Devon, but the want of viva voce specimens renders its existence far into E Cornwall doubtful

In a fading out form all the Devon peculiarities may be considered to extend to a line drawn from the Black Rock in Falmouth Harbour in Cornwall, through the middle of the water to Truro, and then to the Bristol Channel just E of Perran Zabuloe Beyond this line comes the B W S, containing many S peculiarities, as *un* unaccented for *him* and *it*, and the infinitives in *y*, but losing the French *u*, exchanging *I be* for *I am*, and adopting almost entirely (if printed specimens may be trusted) the grammar of literary English interspersed with a few peculiar words and phrases which seem to vary much from place to place The peculiarity most noticed by writers and strangers is the sing song of the speech in W Cornwall, which seems to be the sign that most ears rely upon for distinguishing W from E Cornwall

The particulars of the pronunciation of these dialects will form the first portion of the fifth part of Mr Ellis's *Early English Pronunciation.*

Friday, January 14, 1881.

A J ELLIS, ESQ., *President*, in the Chair —DICTIONARY EVENING Dr Murray gave an account of the progress of the dictionary during the past year The number of 'readers' had risen to 750, 750,000 printed slips had been issued, and 550,000 quotations received The best reader, Mr Thos. Austin, jun, had supplied 19,200 quotations, ten readers had done among them one fifth of the work, and twenty-five one third of the whole. The most extensive readers required least attention, and wasted least of the editor's time Several of the learned societies—the Linnean, Geological etc.—had asked their members to help in the work. Special scientific and technical words were still wanted especially data for their early use, as well as rare ordinary words, viz derivatives of verbs, adjectives, and nouns in *-ble*, *-ate*, *-ery*, *-ncy*, *-ntly*, *-ately*, *-bility*, *-ness*, *-ality*, etc. This being the last year of the preliminary reading, all intended help should be given speedily. A second list of special words wanted, extending to *al*, was now in the press Subject to additions, the work was finished to *an*, and considerable portions prepared by sub-editors, of whom fifteen were at work on different letters of the alphabet. If fifteen more volunteer sub-editors would offer themselves, it would contribute greatly to the eventual progress of the work. As specimens of the treatment of words of historical interest or special difficulty, he read the articles, 'All,' 'Alms,' 'Almond,' 'Alert,' 'Amid' 'Among,' taking counsel with the meeting on various points of difficulty, as the treatment of the innumerable compounds and combinations of *all*, the passage of

words like *alert, all, amid* from one part of speech into another, and the mode of showing this. He pointed out the true history of the form *almond*, and the various perversions it had undergone from the Latin *amygdala*, and showed that *alms* represented an old Teutonic *alimosin*, adopted from pop. Lat. *alimosina* prior to the English conquest of Britain. He referred to the want of appropriate terms for various facts and phenomena of English philology, and to his proposals for supplying them, as *aphesis, aphetic, aphetize*, etc., for the dropping of an initial brief vowel, as in *limbeck, tend; echoism, echoic*, etc., for words formed like *crack*: for the French *mot de circonstance*, 'word made for the nonce.'

Friday, January 28, 1881.

A. J. ELLIS, ESQ., *President*, in the Chair.—SPELLING-REFORM MEETING. The final draft of the statement drawn up by Mr. Sweet (which will form part of the *Transactions* for 1880-1) was adopted, and it was agreed that two thousand copies of the statement should be printed, and circulated as widely as possible.

Friday, February 4, 1881.

A. J. ELLIS, ESQ., *President*, in the Chair. "On Spoken North Welsh, I." By H. Sweet, M.A. The dialect described was that of Nant Gwynant, in Carnarvon. The following are the sounds

ɜ (a)	bara (bred); mab (filius)	bara; maab
ɪ (ɪ)	sut (how); ty (house)	sɪt; tɪɪ
ɪ (a)	yma (here)	ɨma
ɪ (i)	dim (not); ci (dog)	dim; kii
ɛ (*e*)	pen (hed); hen (old)	pen; heen
ɨ (u)	bwrw (rain); cwn (dogs)	burw; kuun
ɜ (*o*)	pont (bridg); bod (be)	pont; bood
ɜɪ (ai)	dau (two)	dai
ɜɨ (ae)	cae (feeld)	kaae
ɜɪ (ai)	gair (word)	gair
ɜɨ (au)	mawr (great)	maur
ɪɨ (ɪu)	duw (god); lliw (hue)	dɪu, ɬɪu
ɛɪ (ei)	ceuau (feelds)	cëia
ɛɪ (ei)	eira (snow)	ëira
ɛɨ (eu)	ewch (go ye!); tew (thick)	*eux*; *teeu*
ɨɪ (uɪ)	mwy (more)	muuï
ɜɪ (oɪ)	ou (of their)	*oi*
ɜɪ (*oë*)	coeden (tree); coed (wood)	koëdan; *kooëd*
ɜɪ (*oi*)	troi (turn)	*troi*
ɜɨ (ou)	dowch (cum ye!)	doux

Of the consonants the following require special notice:

ɕ (χr)	chwech (six)	xw*eex*
ɕʷ (ɬʃ)	cyllell (knife)	käḷaḷ
ɹ̥ʰ (ṛh)	rhaff (rope)	ṛhaaf

ɻ° (qh)	fy nghefn (my back)	qhevn
ϥ° (n̥h)	fy nhad (my father)	n̥haad
ɾ° (m̥h)	fy mhen (my hed)	m̥hen
ɔ° (ʍh)	ei *watch* hi (her wach)	-i ʍhats-hi

(n, °d, t) ar dental, or interdental. (l) is formd with concave tung, as in E. (k, t, p) hav a stronger escape of breth than in E., and devocalize a following (r) or (l), as in *tri* 'three' (tr̥ii).

The aspirated nazals hav the same efect, the nazal itself being sumtimes dropt, as in *fy nhrwyn* 'my noze' (r̥huuin).

si, as in *siarad* 'speak' apears to be often E. ʃ, but a pronunciation more like (sʲ) may also be herd.

The syllabl-stress begins on the consonant, such a word as the E. (ʃug-*a*) apearing as (ʃu-gur). Dubl consonants ar simplified, as in *welasoch chwi?* 'did you see?' (welsoxi).

The following text (the fable of the ant and the grashopper) wil show the divergence between the writn and the spoken language:

Ar ddiwrnod oer yn gauaf, yr oedd morgrugyn yn tynu allan
ar ðjurnod ooer -an geia rooð morg'rigin -an tani a|an

ychydig o'r yd, yr hyn oedd o wedi roddi heibio yn yr haf i sychu.
xadig oor ïd rhin ooðo wedi roi heibjo -an r̥haa -i saxï

Ond ceiliog rhedyn, hanner marw gan newyn, a geisiodd gan morgrugyn
ond keiljog r̥hedin hanai maru gan new'in -a geiʃoð gan morg'rigin

i roddi iddo damaid bach i gadw ei fywyd. "Pa beth oeddit ti yn ei
-i roi iðo damad baax -i gadu -i fawid bee oɛðati -an -i

wneyd yr haf diweddaf?" gofynai y morgrugyn. "O," meddai y
nèid r̥haa dwei|a gov'anar morg'rigin oo me|ar

ceiliog rhedyn, nid oeddwn i ddim yn ddiog; yr oeddwn i yn canu ar
ceiljog r̥hedin dooni ðim -an ðiog rooni -an kani -ar

hyd yr haf." "*Aie*," *meddai y morgrugyn, gan chwerthin a chau i*
hïd r̥haa aiee' me|ar morg'rigin gan xwer|in -a xai -i

fyny ei ystordy, os gallit ti ganu trwy yr haf, ti elli ddawnsio trwy y
vani -i stordï os galati gani tr̥uur haa -ti eli ˌ ðaunʃo tr̥uur

gauaf."
gèia.

The following ar sum of the cheef divergencies between the writn and spoken languages. Unaccented vowels ar dropt: *afalau* (vala) 'apls,' *dyfotha* (dve|a) 'spoil,' *myned* (mïnd) 'go.' Consonants ar dropt, especialy (v) and (ð): *dwfr* (duur) 'water,' *ydwyf*

(ädu) 'am,' *eerddwch* (kɛrux) 'go ye,' *eisteddd* (istaˑ) 'sit.' Diphthongs ar simplified: *gwybod* (gubod) 'know,' *pethau* (peþa) 'things.' Unaccented (*e*) becums *a*: *amser* (amsar) 'time,' *rhywbeth* (rubaþ) 'sumthing.' Vowels ar inserted between final *r*, *l* and a foregoing consonant, generaly a repetition of the root-vowel: *sicr* (sikir) 'sure,' *pobl* (pobol) 'peple,' *budr* (bidir) 'dirty.' Unaccented *r* and *l* ar often dropt after a consonant: *ffenestr* (fenast) 'window,' *perygl* (perig) 'danger' (v) after a cons. often becums (w). *ysgrifenu* (sgwenı) 'write,' gwddf (guðu) 'throat.'

Theze changes increase the complexity of the flexions: *afal*, *-au* (aval, vala), *hogen*, *-od* (hogan, genod) 'girl,' *pentref*, *-ydd* (pentra, pentːrevið) 'village.'

Words that cauz mutation ar often dropt: *pa beth* (bee) 'what,' *i ba le* (blee), 'whither,' especialy the particls *a* and *ni*.

Friday, February 18, 1881.

A. J. ELLIS, Esq., *President*, in the Chair. The papers red wer 1. "On the English TH." By H Sweet, M.A.

Professor Cosijn has lately argued from the *d* of such preterits as *ræsde*, contrasting with *miste* from *missan*, that O E *s* between vowels must hav had the sound of *z*. Mr Sweet said he thoht it probabl that initial, as well as medial, ð, *þ*, *ƿ*, belongd to Parent Low German.

He then recapitulated his other views that *þ* as wel as ð orignaly denoted the voiced sound, which he stil held to hav onse been general in the West-Germanic languages, but said that the fact of the modern dialects descended from West Saxon stil retaining initial ð, etc, made it impossibl that the Late W.S. distinction between initial *þ* and medial and final ð coud be anything but a grafic one, *þ* being uzed initialy for ornamental reazons, as being more like a capital letter than ð is.

2. "Spoken Welsh, II" By H. Sweet.

Mr. Sweet calld atention to the remarkabl similarity between the fonetic systems of Welsh and English, as shown in the absence of frunt vowels, the development of mixt vowels, and the pronunciation of the *l*, and attributed it to the long contiguity of the two languages, remarking that the sounds of Welsh *ch*, *ll*, *rh*, *nh*, formerly existed in English as wel. He then went on to remark on the analogies of the analytical reconstruction of Welsh with that undergon by English.

Welsh, like English, has an unlimited power of forming new compounds by simpl juxtaposition, the modifying word being, however, made to follow, insted of precede the modified one, as in *y tren naw* 'the nine-o-clock train.' Another difference is that the modifying word follows the number of the modified one, as in *coed ffrwytha* 'fruit-trees,' which is also the case in words taken from English, as in *jam gooseberries* = 'gooseberry jam." Welsh often goes further than English in the use of grammatical 'props,' as in *y rhai rhataf* 'the (some) cheapest,' (i rai *o*) 'his some' = 'his' absolute, and in omitting relative, prepositions and conjunctions. Examplz ar: (ma rhun urþ druus iʃo ʃarad heʇ xi) 'there is sumone at the door who wants to speak to you,' (hun ädi-r läþr šälpox-i) 'is this the letter you came with (broht)?' (driqa i ben goëdan äna, i edrax oës äno nllþ derin) 'climb up that tree, to see if there is a bird's nest there.'

He then proceeded to treat of the English loan-words in Welsh. The great number of theze in the spoken language is one of the features in which it differs most from literary Welsh. As they wer all lernt by ear, their pronunciation in Welsh showing no traces of any influence of the spelling, they ar of great value in illustrating the history of English pronunciation, especialy as they hav been introduced at very different dates. Their evidence servs in all cases to confirm the rezults of Mr. Ellis's investigations.

Excluding originaly cognate words, such as *afal* 'apl,' and words which hav been taken independently from Latin in the two languages, such as *addurn* 'adorn,' English words in Welsh may be clast acording to their period as 1) Old, 2) Midl and Erly Modern, 3) Late Modern. The words taken from Old English ar recognized by their prezervation of the Old English diphthongs, as in *Iorweith*=*Eadweard*, *iarll*=O.E. *eorl* (or Norse *iarl* ?). Examples of later borrowings ar (gatus) 'lodge'=*gate-house*, (traad) 'trade,' (trio) 'try,' (luk) 'luck,' (faʃun) 'fashion,' (daunʃo) 'dance.' Exampls of the latest class ar (sar) 'sir,' (tarn) 'turn,' (frant) 'front,' (het) 'hat,' (wook) 'walk.' Sum show dialectal forms (West-Midland), such as (brumstan) 'brimstone,' whoze (u) is probably an imitation of the *y* of *brim*=O E. *bryne*, and (klavar) 'clever,' whose (a), originaly (ɪ), is another imitation of the same sound.

It has sumtimes happpend that a word has been re-anglicized. Thus the older *ferm*, as it is stil writn, has now followd the modern English form, and becum (farm), tho stil retaining the plural (fermiɔ). *Mary* is now (meri), but the older form (mari) stil lingers, while the genuin Welsh *Mair*, formd directly from *Maria*, survives only in Biblical language.

The genders of English words generaly follow thoze of the Welsh words they displace Thus *room*, as in (ruum ginjo) 'dining-room,' is feminin, becauz *ystafell* is feminin. (strid) 'street,' (wats) 'wach,' (tempar) ar also feminin for similar reazons

Theze words take the same mutations as nativ ones, as in (ɪ vaag) 'his bag' Sum words, which in certain poziions prezent the apearance of a vocal mutation, take a wrong radical form by analogy. Thus from a predicativ (onast) a radical (gonast) 'honest' has been formd. Hense also the forms (melfat) 'velvet,' (bity) 'pity.' This is probably the explanation of the confuzion between *t* and *d*, *p* and *b*, etc., which has been often obzervd in Welsh speakers of English.

Theze words often retain older meanings (person) 'parson,' (kufjo) 'fiht,' (stout) 'brave,' (wigs) 'liberals'

The names of things boht in shops, especialy clothing, ar often English, so also ar words relating to social and political organization. Titles, such as *sir*, are often English, and many polite words and forms of greeting, such as (gud bei), (ɬaqkju). The regular answer to 'how do you do?' is the hybrid (reit ðaa) 'riht wel.' Expletivs and oaths are often English, and there is even one prepozition which is English, (raund) being uzed instd of *amgylch*. The use of English numbers, as in (nambar feiv), said of the number of a house in a street, etc., is probably due to the cumbrousness of many of the Welsh numerals. The mixture of English words in spoken Welsh is not much less than that of French in Chaucer's English, and extends equaly to the language of thoze who speak no English

In conclusion, he advocated strongly the formation of a Welsh dialect society, in order to secure a faithful record of the present condition of the dialects.

Friday, March 4, 1881.

A. J. ELLIS, B.A., *President*, in the Chair. The paper read was on "Gender," by Mr. E. L. Brandreth.

There is much confusion in the minds of many writers of grammars in regard to the meaning of "gender"; its proper meaning and use ought to be carefully defined. Languages may be divided into three classes: (1) where males and females belong usually, but not always, to different genders, gender being expressed by concord of the adjective or verb with the substantive; (2) where animates and inanimates, or rationals and irrationals, belong usually to different genders, gender being expressed in the same way as in the first class; (3) where there is no concord of the other parts of speech in a sentence with the substantive, and consequently no gender. To the 1st of these classes belong the Aryan languages with some exceptions, the Semitic and the Hamitic languages, the Khasi of Assam, some of the Central African languages, and some of the S. American languages. To the 2nd class belong the Danish, the Dravidian and Kolarian languages of India, the Dhimal, also an Indian language, the languages of the Eastern Caucasus, the Bantu languages of S. Africa, some of the languages of Central Africa, and the Algonkin languages of N. America. To the 3rd class belong the remaining languages of the world, including Modern English.

In the 1st and 2nd of the above-mentioned classes gender is expressed in accordance with the same principle of grammar, that is, by change of form of the determining words, by which substantives may be accompanied in a sentence, these words taking a different form either of suffix, prefix, or in the body of the word, according to the gender to which the substantive belongs. The gender of substantives may also be frequently known from their form, but there are very few languages in which a complete classification could be made of substantives for gender without reference to the other parts of speech.

In languages of the 1st class most males and many inanimates belong to one gender, most females and many inanimates to another gender, and these genders are consequently called, and not inappropriately, masculine and feminine. There is also a third gender, called the neuter, in most of the Aryan languages, to which many inanimate objects belong, though some animate beings are also included in it. Gender in this class has not necessarily anything to do with sex. In Greek, for instance, γυνη and γυναιον are of the same sex but of different genders. In languages of the 2nd class the genders are of a different kind, though expressed in the same way as those of the 1st class. The main natural distinction apparent is that between animate and inanimate, or rational and irrational; but the genders in many of the languages are by no means entirely in accord with such a distinction. Thus, in the Algonkin languages, not only human beings and brutes are found in the animate gender, but also the sun and moon, thunder and lightning, trees, etc. In the Bantu languages, though the distinction is principally made between persons and beasts and different kinds of things, yet the genders by no means always agree with our ideas of natural arrangement. In Oraon, again, a Dravidian language, one gender is limited to male human beings, while in the other gender women, brutes of both sexes, and everything else in the language, are included.

With regard to languages of the 3rd class, the names of males are generally said to be of the masculine gender, the names of females of

the feminine gender, and every other name of the neuter gender; but this is a wholly erroneous use of the term "gender." All languages distinguish sex by the use more or less of different words; but gender proper is not necessarily connected with any distinction of sex, and is solely dependent for its complete expression on the concord of the adjective or verb with the substantive. No such concord exists in the languages of the 3rd class, and there is not only no analogy to justify the term "gender" being applied to the mere distinction of sex in these languages, but the facts of the case are the direct opposite of such an analogy; because in those languages to which the term gender properly applies, the names of living beings of the same sex are often of different genders. In English, and other languages of this class, our grammarians sometimes state that sex and gender mean the same thing, though most of them try to make out that gender and sex are not quite the same thing, but that they refer to a distinction between words and ideas, or some other mystery, and they often contradict each other in the explanations they give. The cause of this confusion of ideas is that the rules of the Latin language are applied to all the languages of this class, facts are distorted in order to adapt them to these rules, and when no amount of distortion will suffice for the purpose, the facts are ignored altogether as being no part of the grammar of the language. Thus, in regard to gender, there is really nothing that can properly be called gender in this class of languages, and therefore something quite different has had to be called by that name. A special claim to gender is sometimes set up on behalf of Modern English, on the ground that sex is distinguished in the pronoun of the 3rd person; but *he* and *she* are only like other substantives; if other substantives have gender, then so have *he* and *she*, but not otherwise. In languages which have true gender, particular words for *he* or *she* by no means always stand for all substantives of the same gender; thus, in Italian *egli* and *ella* refer to persons only. In Danish *han* 'he' and *hun* 'she' are both of the same gender. Further, if English is to be made a gender language on this account, so must also the Chinook language of N. America, the Tibetan, and the language of Lake Macquarie in Australia, which distinguish sex in their pronouns, be made gender languages. *Who* and *which*, again, in English, have just as good a claim as *he* and *she*, and in accordance with these claims English ought to be considered as having a rational and irrational gender.

The foregoing remarks refer only to the facts observable in languages as we know them; what was the origin of gender is another matter, and not easily accounted for; but of one thing we may be quite sure, that the explanation of the origin of gender in the Aryan and Semitic languages which we usually meet with, that it was owing to a personification of all inanimate objects as male or female, is very far from the truth. It is quite incredible that our savage ancestors should have had such a feeling for poetry. This account of the matter seems as great a myth as anything hitherto produced in that line through a misunderstanding of language. A far better explanation is that of Dr. Bleek, that all gender suffixes or prefixes were originally derivative suffixes or prefixes of the substantives, by which also the adjectives and other parts of speech in a sentence were connected with the substantive. Substantives thus belonged to different classes without any necessary connexion in their meaning. Only two of these classes survived in Aryan and Semitic languages, one including besides many other substantives most names of male beings, the other including besides other substantives most names of female beings.

Friday, March 18, 1881.

A. J. ELLIS, B.A., *President*, in the Chair. The papers red wer: 1) Sum new Latin and Greek Derivations, by J. P. Postgate, M.A.

Adeps. The two derivations of this word that hav been proposed, namely a) that it is from the same root as Greek *dleiphar*, and b) that it is *dleiphar* itself borrowd, ar untenabl, the first becauz it involvs the unproovd assumption of the prosthetic vowel for Latin, the second becauz the two words do not corespond perfectly in meaning, and very imperfectly in sound, the genders being also different. Of the six instances that hav been aduced of a change of *l* to *d* in Latin, all ar either late, or doutful, or not to the point. This untenabl conection may be replaced by sumthing more satisfactory. *Adeps, ad-ip-is*, may be regarded as a compound, formd, like *conjux* (con-jug-is), from a prepozition and a root. The latter part of the word is to be conected with the words which Fick (Gloss. i. 16) aduces under *apa* with the meanings 'sap, abundance': *opós* 'sap,' O.N. *afa* 'sap, abundance,' to which we may ad the Latin *op-es*, *op-imus* and *epulae* a *rich* banquet.

Asper. Corssen compares the word with *pro-sper-(us)*, and makes it a compound of *a* and *spes* (O L. *sper-es*) with the meaning 'hoffnungslos.' This etymology disregards the fundamental meaning of the word, and needlessly contravenes the law that abstract expressions ar derived from concrete, not vice-versa. It is much better to take *asper* for *a(c)sper*, and to refer the former part of it to √ *ak*, expanded √ *aks* 'to be sharp,' which we get in *oxús*, etc, more especialy as we hav the *c* lost in *a(c)stu* from the same root. The *-per* (for *-perus*) is either fro √ *par* 'give,' 'bring,' or is a coruption of *-ter* (in which case *as-per* = Lith. *asz-trùs*) due to the influence of *prosper*.

baca. Pauli has shown that this word should be spelt with one *c*. He derives it from an imaginary √ *bak* 'be hard,' which he finds in *baculum* and *báltron*, which ar better referd to √ *ga* 'go.' Corssen's derivation from √ *pak* 'be soft' goes against the meaning of the words, and Fick's *bab-ca* from a doutful √ *bab* 'be round' contravenes sound-laws and the analogies of Latin derivation. *baca* is most naturaly divided *bā-ca*. The first part sugests √ *pa* 'eat' in *pasco*, etc., *b* for *p* being in acordance with Latin sound-laws.

basium. This word cums from the same root, a kiss being apropriately named from the mouth or actions conected with it.

caballus. Two derivations of this word hav been sugested. One assumes it to hav been borrowd from the Greek *kabállēs*, which has been referd to an impossibl *katabállēs*; but the Greek word is quite as likely to be taken from Latin. The other conects it with the Slavonic *kobyla*, which does not bring us any nearer the root. *caballus* is best derived from a root *kap* (weakend *kab*) prezervd in the Greek *kāptō* and other words. In Latin there is also a form *cabo*, of which *caballus* is a diminutiv, meaning the 'panting' or 'gasping' horse, which original meaning is prezervd in the proverb *caballus in clivo*.

cernuus. Curtius divides *cern-uu-s*, and compares Greek *krānion*, but it is doutful whether 'hed-y' can be uzed in the same sense as 'hed-foremost,' etc., and the form *cern-* for *cere-* 'hed' is not establisht for Latin. It seems safer to take *cernuus* as a true compound for *cere-nu-us*, and to make it mean 'with the hed *bent*' (nuo, néuō).

cirrus. This word must be divided *cir-rus*, and cums from √ *kar* 'round' or 'round,' which we see in Sanskrit *cakrá*, Latin *curvus*, *circus*,

etc., which latter shows the same weakening of *a* to *i*. For the meaning compare the English *ringlet* from *ring*.

krōbulos. *krōb-ulo-* is from a shorter stem *krō-Fo* with the diminutiv suffix *-ulo*, the *F* being replaced by *b*, as in other words. *krō-Fo* shows the same suffix *va* as *krō-bo-n* and Latin *cur-vu-s*, but the root-vowel is intensified.

2) Studies in English Patronymic Surnames, by Walter Browne, M.A.

Mr. Brown's paper was an enquiry into the formation and development of that class of English surnames which is derived directly from Christian names, the owner of the Christian name being the father of the first owner of the surname. The materials wer mainly gatherd from the Post Office Directory, the chapter on the subject in Bardsley's *English Surnames*, 1875, having also been studied.

Instead of taking the surnames as they ar, and tracing them up to their source, the cheef Christian names hav been taken, and traced downwards. The analogies thus discuverd ar so many and so close as to make it probabl that the laws of formation of such surnames may be to a great extent recuverd. The difficulties of the investigation ar mainly due to the shortening and coruption of Christian names, as in the formation of pet names.

The changes may be exemplified in the four names *Richard*, *Robert*, *Roger* and *Randolph* or *Reynold*.

A) We hav the names themselvs uzed as surnames, either quite unalterd or with one of the two suffixes of descent, *s* and *son*, as in: *Richard*, *Richardson*, *Roberts*, *Rogers*.

B) Surnames derived from nick-names, formd by dropping the last syllabl of the ful name, sumtimes with changes in the initial letter, each form being liabl to take the abuv-mentiond suffixes.

1) first syllabl unchanged: *Rich*, *Robb*, *Robson*, *Rann*, *Rands*.

2) first letter changed to *h*: *Hick*, *Hicks*, *Hobson*, *Hann*, *Hance*.

3) first letter changed to *d*: *Dick*, *Dixon*, *Dobbs*, *Dodson*, *Dann*, *Dance*.

C) Surnames from pet-names, formd by adding a diminutiv termination, of which there ar at least six, namely *kin*, *cock*, *et* or *it*, *en*, *in* or *on*, *y* or *ie*, *ling*.

a) *kin*. The *in* has often been dropt, and *s* and *son* ar liabl to be added.

1) *Ritching*, *Ritchings*, *Rudkin*, *Rankin*.
2) *Hopkin*, *Hopkins*, *Hoskin*, *Huskisson*, *Hanks*.
3) *Dickins*, *Dickinson*, *Donkin*, *Dunk*, *Dunks*.

b) *cock*. Only in a few names.

1) None.
2) *Hickox*, *Hiscock*, *Hitchcock*, *Hancock*, *Hancox*.
3) *Dancocks*.

c) *it* or *et*.

1) *Richett*, *Richetts*, *Roget*.
2) *Hodgetts*, *Huggett*, *Hannett*.
3) *Dicketts*, *Doget*, *Dennett*.

d) *in*, *in* or *on* (sumtimes corupted to *ing*).

1) *Richon*, *Richens*, *Ritchings*, *Robin*, *Robins*, *Robinson*.
2) *Hitchens*, *Hitchinson*, *Hobbins*, *Hutchinson*.

e) *ie*, *ey* or *y*.

1) *Ritchie*, *Robison*, *Rutty*, *Roddis*.
2) *Hickisson*, *Hickey*, *Hobbiss*, *Hannay*.
3) *Dickie*, *Dickason*, *Dobby*.

f) *ling* or *lin*.

1) *Robbin*.

2) *Hiskin*, *Hickling*, *Hollins*, *Hollings*.

3) *Dilling* (= Dickling?), *Dollin* (= Dobling or Dodling?).

There ar besides other variations of initial *r*—to *j*, as in *Jeaks* from *Richard*; to *b*, as in *Budd* from *Roger*; to *n*, as in *Nixon* from *Richard*. *man* apears as a diminutiv, as in *Rickman*, *Hickman*, *Dudman*.

Upwards of 200 surnames hav thus been formd from the four Christian names chozen, altho it is possibl that sum of them may also be derived from other sources. Other Christian names ar not so fruitful in changes as thoze beginning in *r*.

An examination of the use of unmodified Christian names as surnames shows that the commonest Christian names, such as *Edward*, *John*, *William*, wer not uzed as surnames, except with an *s* or *son* added. Jewish and Norman names ar, on the other hand, often uzed as surnames: *Benjamin*, *Joseph*, *Bertram*, *Godfrey*. Also names of three or more syllabls, such as *Alexander*, *Bartholomew*, *Christopher*.

Friday, April 1, 1881.

A. J. ELLIS, B.A., *President*, in the Chair. The papers red wer:

1) On the French hunting-cry *hallali*, by Major van Someren, of the Forests Department in India.

This word, whoze origin has not yet been explaind, may with great probability be referd to the Indian hunting-term *halāl karna* = to make lawful, that is, to cut the throat of a living animal, so that the blood may flow, and the meat be lawful food. The word *halāl* has been imported into Hindustani from Persian, and apears to be ultimately of Arabic origin. *halāl* would naturaly pass into French thru the Spanish Moors, but as it is not found among Spanish hunting-terms, the French may hav got it directly from the Saracens during the crusades.

In the discussion Prince L. L. BONAPARTE said he had found the word in a Spanish and Portuguese dictionary, and Mr. WALHOUSE noted that it ocurd in Don Quixote.

2) On the Parts of Speech, by H. Sweet, M.A.

Different words ar joind together in different ways—by different inflections, different auxiliaries, different pozitions in the sentence, etc. It is theze *formal* differences on which the division into parts of speech is based: the only definit distinctions between them ar the formal ones. Thus, a thing-noun, such as *tree*, has in meaning nothing in common with a quality-noun, such as *virtue*, while both hav the same inflections and the same formal relations to other parts of speech. A quality-noun and an adjectiv, such as *virtue* and *virtuous*, may on the other hand hav exactly the same meaning, but their formal separation is none the less markt.

The distinctions between the parts of speech correspond only partialy to thoze in what they repreznt. Every concrete thing is expreat by a noun, but every noun is not a thing-word. The only part of speech which has a perfectly definit function in the sentence is the verb, which always implies assertion. The vaguest of all is the noun. The following is an outline of the forms, meanings, and functions of the noun, considered as a part of speech.

1) *Form.* Nouns hav two inflections, plural and genitiv. They can stand anywhere in the sentence: they can be preceded by adjectivs and prepozitions (good men, of men), can both precede and follow verbs (men see, I see men), and can precede another noun (silk thred).

2) *Meaning.* Sum nouns are *thing*-words (tree), sum *attribute*-words, such as *greenness, running* (as in *fond of running*), the former being a *quality*-word, the latter a *phenomenon*-word.

3) *Funation.* Any noun may be an *attribute-bearer*, and the attribute may be either asserted of it by means of a verb (the men run, running is helthy), or implied by means of an adjectiv (the green tree) or a noun (silk thred). Any noun may also be used attributivly. In fact, all nouns ar attributiv when they ar not uzed as attribute-bearers, not only when they qualify other nouns, as in *silk thred*, but also when they qualify verbs, as in *he works all day, I see men*, where *men* completes and defines the meaning of *see* just as *silk* does that of *thred*. The genitiv (and all other 'oblique' cases) ar always attributiv, as also ar all combinations of a noun with a prepozition. *Silk* in *silk thred* may be called an *adjectival* noun, *men* in *I see men* an *adverbial* noun, noting that *like* an adjectiv is not synonymous with *converted* into an adjectiv. The formal test of an adjectiv in English is comparison: we can say *more silken*, but we cannot say *that thred is more silk*. The adjectival use of a noun consists simply in thinking more of the attributes that make up a thing than of the thing itself. The difference in meaning between an adjectival noun and the corresponding adjectiv is shown by comparing *led bullet* with *leden sky*: a led bullet is a bullet having *all* the attributes which make up the thing led, while a leden sky has only *one* of them, namely culor.

The *conversion* of one part of speech into another is efected partly by formal changes, as when *silk* is made into the adjectiv *silken*, or *green* into the noun *greenness*, partly without such changes, as when the verb *run* (as in *he runs*) is made into the noun *run* (a run, two runs).

In all these cases the conversion is complete, that is, the new part of speech has all the formal characteristics of the part of speech it now belongs to: the nouns *greenness* and *run* ar formaly indistinguishabl from other nouns.

But in such combinations as *silk thred* there is no conversion whatever. Altho *silk* is here a quality-word identical in meaning with the adjectiv *silken*, it stil remains a noun, and its position before thred does not enable it to assume any of the formal characteristics of an adjectiv.

In the discussion Dr. MURRAY exprest his general agreement with the view of the distinctions of the parts of speech being mainly formal, and also protested against calling *silk* in *silk thred* an adjectiv, but defended the definition of a noun as 'the name of anything we speak about,' which Mr. SWEET said was limiting the definition of the noun to its use as an attribute-bearer, and ignoring its attributiv (adjectival, etc.) use. Dr. MORRIS thoht that in *silk thred* there was a real conversion into an adjectiv, which view was suported by Mr. FURNIVALL.

Friday, May 6, 1881.

A. J. ELLIS, B.A., *President*, in the Chair.

R. MARTINEAU, M.A., continued his paper on the Romonsch or Ladin, the earlier portions of which were read in 1879 and 1880, embracing the phonology and letter-changes and a portion of the

grammar including the pronouns, substantives and adjectives. The portion now read treated of the verb. (For abbreviations, see p. 22.)

The verbal inflexion follows the Latin, from which it springs, and the four Latin conjugations may be recognized here, *e.g.* by the Infinitive endings: O.L. *ar, ĕr, ŏr, ir*; U.E. *ar, air, ĕr, ir*; O.E. *ĕr* or *ar, air, ĕr, ir*. The simple tenses, which chiefly interest us from our comparative point of view, are: INDICATIVE, Present, Imperfect, and Perfect or Historical; SUBJUNCTIVE, the same tenses; IMPERATIVE, 2nd sing.; INFINITIVE, present; PARTICIPLES, active and passive. These are in the first conjugation as follows. The U.E. dialect differs slightly from the O.E.

Present. INDICATIVE.	SUBJUNCTIVE.
O.L. am-a, -as, -a; -ein, -eits, -an	am-i, -ias, -i; -eian, -eias, -ian
O.E. am, -ast, -a; -ains, -ais, -an	am-a, -ast, -a; -ans, -as, -an
Imperfect.	
O.L. amav-a, -as, -a; -an, -as, -an	amav-i, -ias, -i; -ian, -ias, -ian
O.E. amaiv-a, -ast, -a; -ans, -as, -an	*Wanting.*
Perfect.	
O.L. am-à, [2nd wanting], -à; -annen, —, -annen	amass(i), -(i)as, -(i); -en(*or* -ian), -es (*or* -ias), -en(*or* -ian)
O.E. am-et, -ettast, -et; -ettans, -ettas, -ettan	amees, -ast, amess, -ans, -as, -an

IMPERATIVE.	INFIN.	PARTICIPLES.	
O.L. am-a, -i; -ein, -eit, -ian	am-ar	*Act.* am-ond	*Pass.* am-au
O.E. -a, -a; -ain, -è, -an	-ér	-and	-o

The active participle in *d* is indeclinable, and only used as a gerund (from which it is doubtless derived, i.e. *amando*), as "he spoke laughing"; the true participle *amont*, f. *amonta*, is an adjective as in "the laughing boy," but is not common, except as a nom. agentis, like *scrivont*. The passive participle has a fem. form which retains before the term *a* the *d* (Lat. t) lost in the masc.; O.L. *amada*, O.E. *ameda*. The O.L. dialect (but no other) retains in the m. sing. of this part. the *s* of the Latin nominative when it stands in the predicate (iou sun *vegnieus amaus* = I have been loved; but iou hai *amau* = I have loved), precisely like other adjectives (see p. 24).

A Future in one word is possessed by the Engadine dialects, though not by the O.L., formed like the French and Italian by composition with the verb *to have*, thus: O.E. amar-ò, -ost, -ò; -ons, -os, -on. The rest of the verb is formed by composition with auxiliary verbs *to have*, *to be*, and *to come* (esser, aver, gnir). This, as well as the differences of the other conjugations, cannot be given in this short summary.

The mode of formation of these verbal forms is especially interesting in those cases where it proceeds on a course different from that taken by cognate languages. The *s* of 2nd sing. is retained throughout, whereas in It. we have such anomalous forms as *tu ami, amavi*. The final *t* of *amat, amant* is dropped; but no inorganic vowel is then added as in It. *amano*. The 1st and 2nd pl. preserve relics of the Lat. *-mus* and *-tis*: in the 1st pers. the O.E., usually the most archaic, preserves *ns* for *mus*, the other dialects retaining *n* only; in the 2nd pers. the O.L. only preserves doubtfully *ts* for *tis*, while U.E. retains the *t* only, and O.E. the *s* only. The Perfect of 1st conjugation in O.L. is formed accurately from Latin forms in *-avi*: *amà* from amavi, *amavit*; *amannen* from amavimus, amaverunt, cf. It. amammo,

amarono. The explanation appears to be this: It. *amammo* is for amavmo (from amavimus) by assimilation of *v* to *m*; the Rhætian goes a step further in changing *mm* into *nn*. It. *amarono* is from amarunt; in Rhætian the vowel between *r* and *n* is dropped and *r* assimilated. The termination *en* (for *an*, the ordinary inflexion of both 1st and 3rd pl.) must then have been added on Rhætian ground as a secondary inflexion. But the Engadine dialects form their perfect according to a different model, adding the accented syllable *-ett*. A similar formation fortunately exists (in a few verbs only) in Italian, though only in 1st and 3rd sing. and 3rd pl.; but it throws light on the curious Ladin formation. In It. besides the regular forms vend-ei, -è, erono, we have vend-etti, -ette, -ettero. In this particular verb the Lat. vendidi might suggest an explanation, could we consider the change of Lat. *d* into It. *t* as possible. But Diez will not allow this, and prefers to suppose that *steti* from *sto*, which would be pronounced by the Italians *stetti*, was taken as a norm for the formation of the perfect in many verbs. This explanation seems as if made on purpose for the Ladin (Engadine), which greatly confirms it, since by it the curious use of *e* in the first conjugation is justified: as Lat. *steti* (stetti) is to *sto*, so is Ladin *amett* to *am*(a).

Independent developments of grammatical forms are also to be noticed. The O.L. dialect adopts *i* as the sign of the subjunctive in the pres. and perf., and even forms by this means a subjunctive imperfect unknown to the other dialects (*amavi* from *amava*). Causative verbs may be derived from intransitive ones by adding the syllable *ant, ent:* O L. *crescher*, to grow; *carschantar*, to enlarge, *durmir*, to sleep, *durmentar*, to put to sleep; a very freely used formation. It is clearly only an extension to the participle (as a verbal adjective) of the Latin principle of forming causative verbs of the first conjugation from adjectives or substantives, as *gravare, meliorare, gregare, gravidare*.

Lists of curious and obscure words were then given, including several derived from German, which latter are more common in O.L. than in the Engadine. Among the curiosities of the vocabulary are the following: *church* (in the other Neo-Latin languages denoted by forms derived from *ecclesia*) is here expressed by O.L. baselgia, Eng. baselgia, from *basilica; book* (elsewhere from *liber*, except Wall. *cartea*), O.L. cudisch, U.E. cudesch, O.E. cudasch, from *codex; word* O.L. plaid, Eng. pled = Lat. *placitum*, and thence *to speak*, O.L. pledar, Eng. plader.

The paper concluded with some statements (curtailed for want of time) on the kindred dialects in Tirol. Those spoken in southern Tirol, near and south of Trent, are apparently to be regarded as Italian dialects, and therefore distinct from the language with which this paper deals. But those spoken in the valleys of Gardena (Germ. Gröden) and Fassa, to the north-east of Botzen and the Pusterthal, are closely allied to those of the Engadine, and exhibit analogous formations; though their vocabulary shows, what we should expect in valleys separated from Italian and Romonsch speaking people to the south and west by mountains, and connected by the course of the rivers with the Germans of the north, a much larger influx of German elements. The plural of nouns is here formed sometimes by *-es* or *-s*, sometimes by *i*. Some plurals have a nasal *n* inserted before the *s*, as *mutt* (boy), pl. *muttons; mutta* (girl), pl. *muttàns; oma* (mother), pl. *omàns*. Adjectives have special gender and number forms; but it is peculiar that the fem. adj. does not add the pl. termination before a fem. pl. subst.

The verbs have less full inflexions than in Rhætian. The imperfect

from *amabam* has entirely disappeared; the perfect in *stt* is not found, this tense being always formed from Latin forms in *vi*, as *èmòve*, *-òves*, *-òva* (*òa*); but greatly contracted in 1st and 2nd pl. *amàn*, *amàis*; the infinitive has dropped its *r*, and is *amè*; the passive part. is *amà*, pl. *ài*; fem. *amèda*, pl. *-èdes*.

As to the phonology of this dialect: *v*, especially at beginning, is generally vocalized, *ve*, *vi*, and *vo*, becoming *u*: *udèi*=videre, *udu*=vitus, *uni*=venire, *laurè*=laborare (through lavorare). *B*, and even *p*, in middle becomes *v*: *prôve*=presbyter; *èva*=apis. *L* is liquidised, and disappears between a vowel and *i*, as *foja*=folium (fem. from Lat. pl.), *fi*=filius (analogous to which is the disappearance of *r* between vowels in *sia*=serra, Fr. scie, *èa*=area); it is often changed into *r*, as *surèdl*=solillus (sun), *curtèll*=cultellus. *Dl* represents the Lat. -culus, -gulus, -tulus, e.g. *urèdla*=auricula, *vèdla*=vetula, *ondla*=ungula, and the German *gel*, as *spiödl*=spiegel. Apocope of the initial syllable is frequent here, as in the Rhætian: *fànt*=servant (infans), *èis*=habetis.

Anniversary Meeting, Friday, May 20, 1881.

A. J. ELLIS, *President*, in the Chair.

Dr. Stock, of Mill Hill School, N.W., was elected a Member. The Treasurer's Cash Account for 1880, as audited by Messrs. D. P. Fry and H. B. Wheatley, was red and adopted; and the thanks of the Meeting wer voted to the Auditors and Trezurer. Thanks wer also voted to the Council of University College, for their grant of the use of the College Rooms for the Society's Meetings; and to Prof. W. D. Whitney, for his prezent of his *Sanskrit Grammar*. The Prezident red his Annual Adres, and Dr. Murray made his Report on the Progress of the Dictionary. Votes of thanks wer past to the Prezident and to Dr. Murray. The following Members wer then elected the Society's Officers for the ensuing year:—*President*—Alexander John Ellis, Esq., B.A., F.R.S. *Vice-Presidents*—The Archbishop of Dublin; Whitley Stokes, Esq., LL.D., M.A.; The Rev. Richard Morris, LL.D., M.A.; Jas. A. H. Murray, Esq., LL.D., B.A.; Henry Sweet, Esq., M.A.; Prof. Alex. Graham Bell, M.A. *Ordinary Members of Council*—Henry Bradshaw, Esq., M.A.; E. L. Brandreth, Esq.; Prof. C. Cassal, LL.D.; C. B. Cayley, Esq., B.A.; R. N. Cust, Esq., F. T. Elworthy, Esq.; E. R. Horton, Esq., M.A.; H. Jenner, Esq.; E. L. Lushington, Esq., LL.D.; Prof. R. Martineau, M.A.; The Rev. J. B. Mayor, M.A.; W. R. Morfill, Esq., M.A.; J. Peile, Esq., M.A.; Prof. J. P. Postgate, M.A.; Prof. C. Rieu, Ph.D.; The Rev. A. H. Sayce, M.A.; The Rev. Prof. W. W. Skeat, M.A.; E. B. Tylor, Esq., LL.D.; H. Wedgwood, Esq., M.A.; R. F. Weymouth, Esq., D.Lit. *Trezurer*—Benjamin Dawson, Esq., B.A., The Mount, Hampstead, London, N.W. *Hon. Secretary*—F. J. Furnivall, Esq., M.A., 3, St. George's Square, Primrose Hill, N.W.

Friday, June 3, 1881.

A. J. ELLIS, B.A., *President*, in the Chair.

The Papers red wer: 1. "English Etymologies." By H. SWEET, M.A.

1) *chicken*, O.E. *cicen*, cannot possibly be a derivativ of *cocc*, which would giv **ċyccen*, but is probably formd by direct sound-imitation, like *cocc* itself.

2) *chill* is generaly derived from O.E. *cèle*, which coud only giv **kel*.

TREZURER'S CASH ACOUNT, 1880.

Dr. BENJAMIN DAWSON, Esq., *Trezurer, in acount with the Philological Society.* *Cr.*

1880 CASH RECEIVD.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.						
To *Balance at Bankers*	177	13	4			
„ „ in Trezurer's hands	0	9	4			
				178	2	8
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31.						
To Sums receivd in 1880—						
For Arears	8	8	0			
„ Entrance Fees	15	15	0			
„ Subscriptions, 1880	90	6	0			
„ „ in advance	5	5	0			
„ Life Compositions 52 10 0						
Prepaid 1 1 0						
	51	9	0			
				171	3	0
For Sale of Transactions				0	9	0
				£349	14	8

1880 CASH PAID.	£	s.	d	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31.						
By Printing—*Austin & Sons*						
Transactions	86	16	7			
Sundries	21	0	0			
				107	16	7
„ Meetings—Expenses of Rooms, and Refreshments				26	10	1
„ Hon. Secretary's Clerk				2	2	0
„ Stationery, Postage, etc.				0	19	1
„ Balance at Bankers	163	14	0			
Due to Trezurer	1	7	1			
				162	6	11
Deposited at Interest				50	0	0
				£349	14	8

We hav examind this Acount with the Books and Vouchers, and certify that it is corect.

MAY 10, 1881.

(Signed) DANBY P. FRY, HENRY B. WHEATLEY, } AUDITORS.

But *cēle*=*cōle* does not exist. The oldest texts write *ċeli, ċele*, pointing to **tali. chill* cums from the W.S. *ciele, cyle.*

3) *lo* cannot cum from O.E. *lā*, becaus of the rime *lo : do* in the Cursor Mundi. The form *low* in the oldest text of the Ancren Riwle points to O.E. **lōw* or **lōg*, which latter may be a variation of *lōc*, which ocurs in the Chronicle (Laud, 142 Earle)—'hi ferdon loc hu hi wǫldon,' where the other MSS. hav *loca*, the imper. of *lōcian.*

4) *loathsum.* O.E. *lāð* has simply the meaning of hostility, and there does not apear to be any such word as *lāðsum. loathsum* was probably formd from *wlatsum*, by substitution of the familiar *lāð-* for *wlāt-.*

5) *swoon* from the O.E. partic. *geswōgen.*

II. "History of English Sounds," Part III. By H. SWEET, M.A.

The subject of this paper was O.E. quantity, as shown in the accents of the MSS., whose general accuracy was vindicated.

There ar very few editions which giv the MS. accents accurately. Among them ar Kemble and Skeat's Gospels, Goodwin's Gūðlac, and the Pastoral. All Thorpe's texts are utterly misleading.

The oldest texts hav very few accents. The accuracy of the accentuation varies. One of the best MSS. is the Lauderdale Orosius, which has only two or three errors in the hole text.

The accents may be directly checkt 1) by the dubld vowels, and 2) by the distinction between short *e*(=*æ*) and long *æ*, *æe*(=*ē*) in the Vespasian Psalter.

They often confirm recent theories as in the case of *hōdl, cōm, cēg, lǣssa* (further confirmed by *laessa* in Vesp. Ps.), *scīr, stōw.* The length of *ā-* is fully confirmd by them, as also by the Mod. E. *oakum*=*ācumba.*

In many cases their evidence is against the current views.

1) *Consonant-groups.* The lengthenings in *wōrd, āld*, etc., wer treated of in Part II. (see Proceedings, April 16, 1880). They do not apear in the Past., and very rarely in L.Or. They ar general in Ælfric's Hom., Durham and Rushworth (Matthew) glosses. Vesp. Ps. has *aeldu, aeldan, cwaelman, caelf* (from common O.E. *cælf*), *waelle* (cp. Durh. *aulle*, plur.), but *seld, ende*, etc. The anomalous lengthening before liquid+breath stop in Ælfric's *gelāmp* may be due to the analogy of *bānd*, etc.; but Ps. has *gemaeltan.* Lengthening before back conss., especially befor *ht*, seems peculiar to Ps.: *slæh / næht, mæhtun, dægas* (also *degas*), *cwæcian, wæx.* Length prezervd befor *st: Crīst* (Ælfric), *gāst, mǣst.* Doutful before *sc*: Ps. has *flæsc*, but *ascian* does not seem to be accented. (The Midl E. evidence is conflicting: *easki, aksi*, but points rather to shortness.) Aparent shortening in *þohte, sohte, brohte.* Length prezervd in inflections and derivativs, such as *lǣdde, gitnan, fīftig.*

2) *Preterits. cōm* general O.E. *nōm, ēt* Kentish and Northumbrian. W.S. (Or. Ælfric) *brēc, sēt*, etc., by the analogy of the plurals *brēcon*, etc. (Not in *wæs*, becaus of the difference of consonant in *wēron.*) Hence Chaucer's *beer : heer, set : feet*, etc.

3) *nīwe, hīw*, by the analogy of the words in *-īw.*

4) *monosyllables.* The former explanation of *on, ūn-*, etc. in Pt. II. must be withdrawn. Möller's view of an erly lengthening of monosyllabls does not explain the words treated of further on, and is opozed by the variations *mec, mic, ðec, ðæc*, which ar inconsistent with *mēc, ðēc. on* and *mon* (impersonal) probably had their vowels lengthend becaus they wer the only words ending in *-on*, and therefor followd the analogy of *spōn*, etc. Ther ar only a few words in *-un*, all of which ar doutful. The only words in *-of* ar *ōf, hōf, lōf*, all of which wer

lengthend (cp. *loob* in Corpus gl.), *wel* and *wer* ar the only words in *-el* and *-er*; both frequently accented. *Ór-* (the prefix) is common, *boor* and *goor* ocur in the oldest texts, so it is possibl that the two other *or*-words, *spor* and *dor*, may also hav been long. *get*, *gyt*, av., is almost the only word in *-et* besides the substantives (*and*)*get* and *set*; it is often accented (cp Orm's *sét*). The only word in *-ét* is the compar. *bet*, which apears to hav been lengthend partly on the analogy of *bétan*.

Other rezults ar doutful at prezent It wil be necessary to collate nearly the hole of the literature from the MSS. It is the duty of every editor not only to giv the accents of the MS. he prints from, but also to register variations of accentuation in the different MSS. with the same care as other various readings. Normalizing accentuation is quite useless except in reading-books for beginners.

Friday, June 17, 1881.

ALEXANDER J. ELLIS, ESQ., B A, F R.S, in the Chair.

The papers read were (1) "Distribution of Place-Names in the Scottish Lowlands," by WALTER R BROWNE, M.A.

This paper is a continuation of a paper on the distribution of place-names in England, and gives a table of about 3000 place-names in the district between the Forth and the Border, arranged according to their endings. The first point to be noticed is the very large number of miscellaneous names (or names which cannot be classed according to their endings), amounting on the whole to 1300 out of 3000 The reason of this is the great prevalence of Keltic names, which are scattered all over the district, but very much more commonly in the Western part of it. The distribution on the whole brings out very clearly the fact that during the Saxon period the Eastern part of the Lowlands formed part of the Saxon kingdom of Northumbria, whilst the Western belonged to the British kingdom of Strathclyde. Between these two there seems to have been a sort of debateable land, which is now comprised in the counties of Lanark, Selkirk, Peebles and Roxburgh, and which has a character as to place-names peculiar to itself. Omitting the discussion of particular words, the following general points are to be noted:—(1) Many endings common in England appear rarely, if at all, in Scotland, *e.g.* Barrow, Worth, Mere, Over, Thorpe, Age, Hurst, Stow, Stead, Ey. (2) Some endings, rare or absent in England, are comparatively common in Scotland, *e.g.* House, Bank, Shiels, Cleugh, Shaw, Haugh. (3) The whole, or nearly the whole, of the above endings appear to be Norse in their origin, so that many Norse words would seem to have passed into the common speech. On the other hand, the only district which shows a large proportion of distinctly Norse endings is a part of Dumfriesshire, about Eskdale and Arrandale, which contains, for instance, 12 names ending in 'by' out of a total of 19. These points are left for further investigation, as are also certain special cases, such as the origin of the words Hope, Bank, and Haugh. The paper concludes with a brief examination of the Keltic element in Scottish place-names. Without attempting to decide the vexed question of a Kymric element, attention is drawn to a table giving the distribution of the common Keltic prefixes in the Scottish Lowlands. It is shown that all those common in the Highlands, and recognised as Gallic, are found in the Lowlands also. On the other hand, such distinctive Welsh prefixes as Caern, Cefn, Nant,

Tre, Tyeto, are conspicuous by their absence. In fact, since the word "Aber" has been traced to Old Gaelic, the only prefix having a distinctively Kymric appearance is Pen. This is not uncommon on the Borders, but it there appears to have the meaning of a hill rather than a head, which is its meaning in Wales; and it seems possible that it is merely a corruption of the Gaelic Ben, which is also found. Thus the place-names, at least, afford little or no evidence of the supposed Kymric element.

In any case the prevalence of Keltic names, even on the Saxon side of the district, is very remarkable, and raises the question why such words are so exceedingly rare in England. It is suggested that they may not be quite so rare as is generally supposed. Two cases are given; first, that of a group of names, Brintry, Penpole, Pen Park, Hallen and Trim, all occurring in the angle between the Avon and the Severn; secondly, the town of Kinfare, in Staffordshire, which, from its original spelling and local position, is shown to be most probably Kin Fair, "the head of the ridge."

(2) "The Psychological Method in its Application to Language," by Mr. Herbert Morton Baynes, who began by noticing the extreme specialization in many departments of linguistic scholarship. Such were the dangers of the specialist that, unless he ever and again took a general survey of the whole field of research, his vision was apt to be circumscribed to the extent of inability to make, or even grasp, a far-reaching generalisation. This was especially true of Egyptologists, who, until quite recently, had left the important questions of etymology and syntax well-nigh untouched. Now, there was a class of linguistic phenomena which could only be explained by the application of the psychological method. The occurrence in so many languages of words with polar meanings could not be accounted for by fortuitous homonymy, but would come under the primary law of consciousness, namely, the law of duality. Thinking was a synthesis of thesis and antithesis in rapid alternation.

thing : think :: denken : be-dingen.
($\sqrt{tak.}$)

In Egyptian we found, not only inversion of *sense*, but also of *sound* and even of sound and sense. Examples: α) Inversion of sound: *ken* 𓂋𓈖 *nek* 'to strike to pieces.' β) Inversion of sense: *ken* 'strong' V 'weak.' γ) Inversion of sound and sense: *so'o* 'becoming' 𓋴𓄿𓏏 'ses 'unbecoming.'

As regards the equality or predominance of the positive or negative in the synthesis, three stages were discoverable. In the first stage both elements are present in equal force—polarity; in the second the negative predominates; and in the third the positive is predominant. Mr. Baynes then suggested the following classification:—

A. Polarity, resulting from
1. Universal Relativity, expressed by
α) Persistent Form.
β) Gesture.
γ) Position.
δ) Combination.
ε) Dentalisation.
ζ) Internal Symbolic Vocalism.
η) Reduplication.

2. Special Relativity, expressed by
   α) Persistent Form.
   β) Symbolic Vocalism.
   γ) Inverse Repetition.

B. Negative predominant, resulting from
   1. Universal Relativity, expressed by
      α) Persistent Form.
      β) Combination.
   2. Special Relativity, expressed by
      α) Persistent Form.

C. Positive predominant, resulting from
   1. Universal Relativity, expressed by
      α) Persistent Form.
      β) Combination.

Of polarity in persistent form the instances were very numerous. The ancient Chinese character *yû* was made up of *yi* 'one' and *k'o* 'to take,' and meant 'to give', *yü* 'to' V 'from'; '*â* 'away from' V 'towards, into'; and *yû* 'out of' V 'into.' In Egyptian we had *kep'* 'to take' V 'to let lie', *ken* 'strong' V 'weak'; *tâa* '*to honour*' V '*to despise*'; *tem* '*to cut to pieces*' V '*to unite*'; *terp* 'to take' V 'to give'; *k'en* 'to stand' V 'to go'; and *ma* 'amongst' V 'away from.' Then, there were the Koptic *le aliquis* V *nullus* (cf. *persona* V *personne*) from Hieroglyphic *rô* and Demotic *ro*, *re aliquid*; and *ma* 'to give' V 'to take.' As regards Semitic there were Hebrew *bârêk* (piel form of *bâraḳ*) 'to bless' V 'to curse'; Arabic *bânna:* 'a pleasant odour' V 'a stank'; *bâ'a* 'to buy' V 'to sell', *dafana* 'he repelled him' V 'it pleased him'; *bâas* '*might, strength*' V '*fear, harm*'; *batta* '*to sever*' V '*to execute*'; *basaa bi's* '*to cheer, gladden one*' V '*to despise, make light of*'; *bâka* '*to weep*' V '*to sing*'; *tahillala* '*to be ruler*' V '*to become submissive*'; *g'dtdma* '*to cleave to the ground*' V '*to rise a little above the ground*'; '*arada* '*to betake one's self to*' V '*to separate from, abandon*'; *k'dlaba* '*to strip*' V '*to invest, clothe with*'; *ddlap'a* '*to hasten*' V '*to walk leisurely*'; *dintu:'u*, or *dajjintu:'u* 'I asked of him a loan' V 'I received from him a loan'; *şdmaba* '*to be swift*' V '*to walk with short steps*'; *sdba:'a*, with its double contraries: '*to swim*' V '*to burrow in the ground*'; '*to busy one's self*' V '*to be at leisure*'; *sdg'ada* '*to bend one's self*' V '*to stand erect*'; *sâmma* '*to poison*' V '*to rectify*'; *a'sa'd'u* '*it caused him grief*' V '*it made him mirthful*'; *'sdriba* '*to be satisfied with drink*' V '*to become thirsty*'; *'sâba* '*to derange, disorganize*' V '*to repair, mend*'; *ta'sdkaba* '*it became united*' V '*it became scattered*'; *âdala* '*to act equitably*' V '*to turn aside from a right course*'; *âp'a'a* '*to cause to rejoice*' V '*to deprive of joy*'; *y'draba* '*he ascended*' V '*he descended*'; *y dga* '*he succeeded, attained good fortune*' V '*he died*', *kâ:dâ'a:'u* '*he lent him a loan*' V '*he received from him a loan*'; *kd'saba* '*to vitiate*' V '*to polish, remove dust from*'; and *kdsaba* '*to refuse to drink*' V '*to suck up, to drink.*' Aryan instances were—Sañskṛt: *upa* 'above' V 'below.' Latin: *sacer* 'holy' V 'accursed'; *prôpugnâre* '*to attack*' V '*to defend*'; *praevenire* '*to go before, help*' V '*to come behind, hinder*'; *câridsus* '*care-worn, sad*' V '*inquisitive, glad*'; the particle *ce* increases and decreases. French: *prévenir* = '*assister*' V '*empêcher.*' German: *Boden* 'ground' V 'loft'; *gegen* 'erga' V 'cyntra.' English: *fast* 'rest' V 'motion'; *shame* 'Scham' V 'Schande'; *ravel* 'to entangle' V 'to disentangle'; *nervous* '*strong in nerve*' V '*weak in nerve.*' As regards the words 'let' and 'cleave,' where two distinct roots have been confounded by purely external changes, it is a question whether, to the general linguistic consciousness, they are polar words or not.

The classification was further exemplified from the following languages: Mponwe, Mank'u, Finnic, Joruba, Abiponean, Tamil, Telugu, Babylonish-Assyrian, Grebo, Buriatish, Korean, Anglo-Saxon, and others.

For this theory of primitive linguistic polarity and later predominance of the positive or negative in the synthesis, Mr. Baynes found analogies

in Æsthetics and Religion. Three fundamental colours constitute the optical spectrum, namely: red, green, and violet, which are due to three modes of vibration affecting the rods and cones of the retina, or perhaps to three different sets of rods and cones; and each sensation of an individual colour depends on the *proportions* in which these modes—the number of pulses in a second—affect the retina. Each colour also contains all the characteristic vibrations of the others, and consequently each colour owes its individuality, not to vibrations which the others want, but to a *predominance in a certain order of vibration*. Thus there is a special rapidity in the pulses on the retina in the waves producing red; but in every red there are waves of fainter rapidity, such as produce green and violet when they are dominant. In the colour green there are likewise the red and violet waves; in the colour violet there are red and green waves. Similarly, the musical spectrum may be said to consist of three fundamental tones—the tonic, mediant, and dominant; the triad which is at the foundation of the diatonic scale, and, indeed, of the whole theory of chords. Individuality of tone is determined, as that of colour, by a *predominance* in the order of vibration.

A notable instance of polarity in Religion is found in Pârsîism. Proceeding from the belief that, in nature as in the soul of man, Good and Evil are present, and formulating the ancient dualistic conception of the people, Sarat'ustra divided the universe and all created things into two kingdoms, into the pure world of Light whose king was Ahura Mazda, the Great Spirit, to whom belongs all that is good, pure and holy, and into the world of Darkness, guided by Anra-Mainjus, the Evil-Minded, whose delight is in falsehood, impurity and unrighteousness. Hence an eternal conflict between these two great powers.

As an instance of *negative predominance* in Music and Religion, we have the fact that, the character of the music of some countries is in opposition to the distinctive character of the people, and that, a particular religion has little or no honour in its own country, whereas, transplanted to a more congenial soil, it strikes root and brings forth fruit abundantly. Hence the prosperity of all missionary religions and the inevitable failure of the non-missionary.

The PRESIDENT, in opening the discussion, said that the paper was of so wide a range as to make it difficult to follow Mr. Baynes. The state of Egyptology when he was a student precluded his being able either to confirm or refute the arguments drawn from Egyptian words. Of most of the languages adduced he had no knowledge, and where he had, he failed to see that Mr. Baynes had established his point. He considered the supposed analogies in Æsthetics and Religion somewhat fantastic. Mr. SWEET thought that, before applying the psychological method to language, we should thoroughly investigate the *forms* of the words upon which we seek to generalise. The law of duality was certainly the foundation of thought, but its universality of application was apt to lead to mere truisms. What was gained by classing reduplication under 'Polarity resulting from Universal Relativity,' when the psychology of the process is perfectly self-evident? He failed to see the slightest analogy between the Egyptian cases (which he said he was incapable of realising) and those adduced from other languages, and said it was perfectly natural that meanings of a word in different languages, periods, and collocations should sometimes diverge so far as to become contradictory. He knew no language in which the same word meant both black and white. Dr. MURRAY concurred, remarking that, *without* was not a compound of positive and negative—with-out,

but simply an intensive of *out*, in the sense of 'outside of.' Similarly he would question the facts on which the theory of Egyptian polarity of meaning was based rather than accept a view of language which would make any intelligible statements impossible. Mr. MARTINEAU said that such theories were worth very little unless controlled by history, and based on a thorough knowledge of the languages treated of.

In replying, Mr. BAYNES said that, he had anticipated many of the objections that had been raised to the theory, but he was bound to say that, he could not think mere homonymy sufficient to account for the very numerous instances of linguistic polarity, notably as regards Egyptian and Arabic. He quite agreed with Mr. Martineau that such theories were worth very little unless based on a thorough knowledge of the languages treated of, and, had he based the theory on facts got from his own researches only, he should have been very sceptical as to its validity. Such, however, was not the case. His friend Dr. Percy Badger, a most careful scholar, had sent him no less than 28 examples from Arabic alone, whilst for Egyptian he had made use of the researches of Dr. Carl Abel, of Berlin. It had been said that, the psychology of *reduplication* was perfectly self-evident, and needed no such classification as that here proposed. As regards the formation of the plural this may be perfectly true, but it is difficult to see how reduplication should turn a positive into a negative (Egyptian *men* 'to stand,' *nenmen* 'to move') except as polarity resulting from universal relativity, under the law of duality.

Friday, June 24, 1881.

I. Dr. J. A. H. MURRAY gave an account of his interview with the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, Oxford, about the Dictionary, and askt the opinion of the meeting on the points of detail then discust, together with several others. A specimen-page, showing the treatment of the words *alms*, was laid before the meeting.

II. "Points in Greek Fonology," by H. SWEET, M.A.

Mr. Sweet first proceeded to giv an acount of the views of the late Mr. Henry Nicol on the pronunciation of the Greek *ei* resulting from contraction.

Meyer in his *Griechische Grammatik* maintains that this *ei* never was a diphthong at any time, the *ei* being only a grafic reprezentation of the close sound (ee) as distinguisht from the open (ae)-sound of *ē* (η). Mr. Nicol thoht that such a word as *saphees* was first contracted into *saphés* with close (ee), which was then diphthongized into (ei), as in the ordinary English pronunciation of *name*, giving *saphets*, this diphthong being exprest in the same way as the older diphthongs in *leipō*, *alēthe(s)ia*. *ou* quite parallel.

The remaining contributions wer Mr. Sweet's own.

In the oldest Ionic, common Greek *ē*, as in *tithēmi*, probably = narrow (ææ), while *ē* from *ā*, as in *histēmi* = wide (æœ), as in E. *man*. Afterwards they wer both leveld under (ææ), and then raizd to (ee).

The *ā* in *pâsa* (from *pansa*) was preservd in Ionic becaus it was nasal.

The later Boeotian fluctuation between *oi* and *u* (*woikias*, *wukias* = *oikias*) points to a sound which resembld (yy), but was not identical with it, probably the close (ee) of French *peu*.

Initial *rh-* in Greek is not in any way parallel to Welsh *rh-*, for there is no parallel unvoicing of *l-*, and it develope only out of *sr-* and *wr-*, simpl *r-* prefixing a vowel. *sr-* probably became *srh-* by the influence of

the *s*, and *wr-* may hav past thru *whr-*, *whrh-*, *rh-*. Initial *j-* past thru *jh-* into *h*.

There is no reazon to supoze that *khthōn*, etc., wer not pronounced with dubl aspirates. The observation of a scholiast quoted by Meyer (p. 157) shows that the Greek aspirates, like the Danish ones, unvoiced a following vowellike, (KHRÓnos) becuming (krhónos), as in Danish *klokke* is pronounced (klhɔkĕ).

The change of final acutes into graves, as in *prὸs toὺs ἄllous*, means that the acute syllabl lost its high pitch, and became leveld in pitch under the other low-toned syllabls, but retaind its force-accent or stress, so that *toὺs* and the second syllabl of *ἄllous* differd only in stress, not in pitch. There is no change of tone into stress in language, but simply an abandonment of tone-distinctions, while stress is retaind.

In the discussion Dr. MURRAY said it was simpler to assume that all *eis*, including the original one, became simpl (ee) at an erly date, so that *ei* became the natural reprezentation of (ee); and denied the possibility of a change of (ei) into (ii), assumed by Mr. Sweet for the later Greek In reply Mr. SWEET said that the Homeric diæresis, as in *kleïō*, proovs that *ei* must hav kept its diphthongal sound for sum time, for (e-i) coud not go straiht into (ee) without first passing thru (ei), and there waz no reazon why *ei* should hav been monofthongized sooner than *ēi* (*ῃ*), *ai*, etc. The change of *ei* to *ī* is seen in Germanic and Latin *ī*.

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1880. Dr. K. J. R. Hoernng. British Museum, W.C.
1860. E. R. Horton, Esq. 11, Gordon Street, Gordon Square, W.C.
1875. The Rev Canon Hume. All Souls' Vicarage, Liverpool.

185–. Martin H. Irving, Esq. Australia. (Books to Prof. S. R. Gardiner, South View, Widmore Road, Bromley, Kent.)

1875. H. Jefferson, Esq. Huddersfield College.
1880. H. I. Jenkinson, Esq. Keswick, Cumberland.
1871. H. Jenner, Esq. British Museum, W.C.
1878. C. S. Jerram, Esq. Windlesham, Farnborough Station.
1870. George Joachim, Esq. 1, Great Winchester Street, E.C.

1874. Col. Sir Arnold B. Kemball, C.B., K.C.S.I. 79, Queen's Gate, W.
1876. E. Kern, Esq. 13, Rue Gérando, Paris.

1869. *The Hon. and Rev. Stephen Lawley.
1867. H. C. Levander, Esq. 30, North Villas, Camden Square, N.W.
1871. *The Rev. S. S. Lewis. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.
1862. *D. Logan, Esq. Penang. (Books to Richardson and Co. 23, Cornhill, E.C.)

1856. The Rev. A. Löwy. 160, Portsdown Road, W.
1842. *E. L. Lushington, Esq. Park House, Maidstone.

1865. The Rev. Dr. Alex. Maclennan. Carlton House, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
1867. Prof. Russell Martineau. 37, Regent's Park Road, N.W.
1842. C. P. Mason, Esq. Dukesell, Christchurch Road, Streatham Hill, S.W.
1855. Cotton Mather, Esq. Royal Indian Civil Engineering College, Cooper's Hill, near Staines, Middlesex.
1873. The Rev. J. B. Mayor. King's College, London, W.C.
1873. Arthur W. K. Miller, Esq. British Museum, W.C.
1854. *Lord Robert Montagu. Carlton Club, and 6, Clifton Gardens, Folkestone.
1874. *W. R. Morfill, Esq. 4, Clarendon Villas, Park Town, Oxford.
1862. The Rev. Dr. R. Morris. Lordship Lodge, Wood Green, Tottenham, N.
1860. John Muir, Esq. 10, Merchiston Avenue, Edinburgh.
1878. Sir Charles Murray, H.B.M. Ambassador at Lisbon. (Books to care of Foreign Office, London.)
1868. Dr. James A. H. Murray. Sunnyside, Mill Hill, N.W. (*Editor of the Dictionary.*)

1872. Miss Nesbitt. Rosslyn Park Gardens, Bath.
1858. J. M. Norman, Esq. Dencombe, Crawley, Sussex.

1842. The Right Rev. Alfred Oliphant, D.D., Lord Bishop of Llandaff. Llandaff Court.
1860. Dr. E. Oswald. 16, St. Mark's Crescent, Regent's Park, N.W.
1874. Owens College, Manchester.

1858. Cornelius Paine, Esq. 9, Lewes Crescent, Kemp Town, Brighton.
1862. The Rev. G. E. Pattenden. Grammar School, Boston, Lincolnshire.
1873. A. J. Patterson, Esq. Savile Club, Savile Row, London, W.
1880. E. S. Pearson, Esq. Oakfield, Ealing.
1866. J. Peile, Esq. Christ's College, Cambridge.
1865. Sir J. A. Picton. 11, Dale Street, Liverpool.

1881. Jas. PLATT, jun., Esq. Rookwood, Hampstead, N.W.
1880. *J. P. POSTGATE, Esq. Trinity College, Cambridge.

1876. W. R. S. RALSTON, Esq. 8, Alfred Place, Bedford-square, W.C.
1859. *F. S. REILLY, Esq. 21, Delahay Street, Westminster, S.W.
1869. Prof. Charles RIEU. British Museum, W.C.
1862. *D. ROSS, Esq. 7, Regent Place, Edinburgh.

1879. *The Rev. A. H. SAYCE. Queen's College, Oxford.
1879. G. A. SCHRUMPF, Esq. Tettenhall College, near Wolverhampton.
1842. *The Rev. Robert SCOTT, D.D., Dean of Rochester.
1881. Dr. C. SHELDON. 5, Northcote Road, Clifton, Bristol.
1863. *The Rev. Prof. SKEAT. 2, Salisbury Villas, Cambridge.
1880. *Eustace S. SMITH, Esq. Bonner Road, Victoria Park, E.
1879. A. G. SNELGROVE, Esq. 23, Burton Crescent, W.C.
1880 Kingsley SPENCER, Esq. Tavistock.
1871. *T. B. SPRAGUE, Esq. 26, St. Andrew's Square, Edinburgh.
1873. William SPURRELL. Esq. 37, King Street, Carmarthen.
1879. Thomas STENHOUSE, Esq. 14, Lyndhurst Road, Hampstead, N.W.
1881. Dr. Fred. STOCK. Mill Hill Grammar School, N.W.
1858. The Hon. Whitley STOKES. The Myrtles, Simla, India.
1869. *Henry SWEET, Esq. Mansfield Cottage, Heath Street, Hampstead, N.W. (*Editor of Monthly Abstracts*).
1873. The Rev. W. Somerville Lach SZYRMA. Penzance.

1875. *John THIRLWALL, Esq. 59, Pulteney Street, Bath.
1842. *The Rev. W. H. THOMPSON, D.D., Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.
1881. Henry Walter THOMSON, Esq. Newstead, Forest Hill, S.E.
1866. Samuel TIMMINS, Esq. Elvetham Lodge, Birmingham.
1857. The Most Rev. R. C. TRENCH, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. Palace, Dublin.
1859. Nicholas TRÜBNER, Esq. 57, Ludgate Hill, E.C.

1871. E. B. Tylor, Esq. Linden, Wellington, Somerset.
1878. The Rev. William Urwick. 49, Belsize Park Gardens, Hampstead, N.W.

1848. *A. A. Vansittart, Esq. Cambridge. (Books to Trinity College Library, Cambridge.)
1864. *E. Viles, Esq. Merton House, Salisbury Square, E.C.
1879. F. J. Vipan, Esq. 31, Bedford Place, London, W.C.

1873. M. J. Walhouse, Esq. 9, Randolph Crescent, Maida Vale, W.
1875. C. H. Wall, Esq. Halbrake School, New Wandsworth, S.W.
1880. Richard Ware, Esq. Heath Street, Hampstead, N.W.
1856. The Rev. J. D. Watherston. The Lecturer's House, Monmouth.
1842. Hensleigh Wedgwood, Esq. 31, Queen Ann Street, W.
1851. *Dr. R. F. Weymouth. Mill Hill Grammar School, N.W.
1863. H. B. Wheatley, Esq. 6, Minford Gardens, West Kensington Park, W.
1880. Joseph P. Wright, Esq. 27, Sunnybank Terrace, Undercliffe Lane, Bradford.
1870. Nicholas Wilcox Wyer, Esq. 3, Matford Terrace, St. Leonard's, Exeter.

Bankers: Messrs. Ransom, Bouverie, and Co., 1, Pall Mall East, S.W.

Publishers of the Transactions: Messrs. Trübner & Co., 57 and 59, Ludgate Hill, London.

Memorandum

AND

Articles of Association

OF

THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

(*Registered 2nd January*, 1879.)

No. 12722 C.

N.L. 12292.

Certificate of Incorporation

OF THE

PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

I hereby Certify, That the **Philological Society** (The word "limited" being omitted by licence of the Board of Trade) is this day Incorporated under the Companies Act, 1862, and that this Company is **Limited.**

Given under my hand at London, this Second day of January, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Seventy-nine.

W. H. COUSINS,

Registrar of Joint-Stock Companies.

Fee: £20 . 0 . 0.

THE COMPANIES ACTS, 1862 AND 1867.

COMPANY LIMITED BY GUARANTEE.

Memorandum of Association

OF

THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY,

TO BE REGISTERED WITH ARTICLES OF ASSOCIATION.

1.—The name of the Association is "The Philological Society."

2.—The registered office of the Association will be situate in England.

3.—The objects for which the Association is established are:

To investigate and to promote the study and knowledge of the structure, the affinities, and the history of languages, and to apply all the profits (if any) or other income of the Association for the promotion of the above object, without payment of any dividend to the members of the Association. The doing all such other lawful things as are incidental or conducive to the attainment of the above objects.

4.—The income and property of the Association, whencesoever derived, shall be applied solely towards the promotion of the objects of the Association as set forth in this Memorandum of Association; and no portion thereof shall be paid or transferred directly or indirectly, by way of dividend, or bonus, or otherwise howsoever by way of profit, to the persons who at any time are or have been members of the

Association, or to any of them, or to any person claiming through any of them.

Provided that nothing herein shall prevent the payment, in good faith, of remuneration to any officers or servants of the Association, or to any member of the Association, or other person, in return for any services actually rendered to the Association.

5.—The fourth paragraph of this Memorandum is a condition on which a licence is granted by the Board of Trade to the Association in pursuance of section 23 of the Companies Act, 1867. For the purpose of preventing any evasion of the terms of the said fourth paragraph, the Board of Trade may from time to time, on the application of any member of the Association, impose further conditions, which shall be duly observed by the Association.

6.—If the Association act in contravention of the fourth paragraph of this Memorandum, or of any such further conditions, the liability of every Member of Council of the Association shall be unlimited, and the liability of every member who has received any such dividend, bonus, or other profit as aforesaid, shall likewise be unlimited.

7.—Every member of the Association undertakes to contribute to the assets of the Association, in the event of the same being wound up during the time that he is a member, or within one year afterwards, for payment of the debts and liabilities of the Association contracted before the time at which he ceases to be a member, and of the costs, charges, and expenses of winding up the same, and for the adjustment of the rights of the contributories amongst themselves, such amount as may be required not exceeding one pound, or in case of his liability becoming unlimited, such other amount as may be required in pursuance of the last preceding paragraph of this Memorandum.

8.—If upon the winding up or dissolution of the Association there remains, after the satisfaction of all its debts and

liabilities, any property whatsoever, the same shall not be paid to or distributed among the members of the Association, but shall be given or transferred to some other institution or institutions, having objects similar to the objects of the Association, to be determined by the members of the Association at or before the time of dissolution, or in default thereof by such Judge of the High Court of Justice as may have or acquire jurisdiction in the matter.

We, the several persons whose names and addresses are subscribed, are desirous of being formed into an Association in pursuance of this Memorandum of Association.

Names, Addresses, and Descriptions of Subscribers

James Augustus Henry Murray, Mill Hill, N W, B.A, Doctor of Laws.

Henry Sweet, 140, Maida Vale, London, Master of Arts.

Frederick James Furnivall, 3, St. George's Square, London, N.W., Barrister.

Edward Lyall Brandreth, 32, Elvaston Place, London, Barrister

Charles Pierre Henri Rilu, 28, Woburn Square, Bloomsbury, Keeper of Oriental MSS., British Museum.

John Newby Hetherington, 62, Harley Street, London, Teacher of English.

Charles Bagot Cayley, 4, South Crescent, Bedford Square, London, Literary.

Henry Nicol, 52, Thornhill Road, London, Gentleman

Dated the 29th day of December, 1878.

Witness to the above signatures:

Charles Sweet, 140, Maida Vale, London, Solicitor.

Articles of Association

OF

THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

1.—None of the regulations contained in the table marked A in the first Schedule to the Companies Act, 1862, shall be regulations of this Company.

2.—The Society adopts and agrees to carry into effect the provisions of the Agreement of which a copy is contained in the Appendix to these Articles; and upon the proper entry being made in the register of members of the name and address and the occupation (if any) of any person who according to the terms of the said Agreement is to become an Ordinary or an Honorary Member of the Society, he shall become an Ordinary or an Honorary Member (as the case may be) accordingly, and these Articles shall apply to him with such modifications (if any) as may be necessary to carry the intention of the said Agreement into effect.

Constitution.

3.—The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents not exceeding seven in number, Ordinary Members unlimited in number, and Honorary Members not exceeding twenty-five in number, who shall be Foreign Scholars or British Scholars not resident in the United Kingdom.

Government.

4.—The Government of the Society is vested in the Council, and the Council shall consist of the President, the Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, one or two Honorary Secretaries, and twenty Ordinary Members.

The Members of the Council on the twentieth day of December, 1878, are :

President.

JAS. A. H. MURRAY, ESQ., LL.D., B.A.

Vice-Presidents.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.
EDWIN GUEST, ESQ., M.A.
WHITLEY STOKES, ESQ., LL.D., M.A.
ALEXANDER JOHN ELLIS, ESQ., B.A., F.R.S.
THE REV. RICHARD MORRIS, LL.D., M.A.
HENRY SWEET, ESQ., M.A.

Treasurer.

BENJAMIN DAWSON, ESQ., B.A., The Mount, Hampstead, London, N.W.

Hon. Secretary.

FREDERICK JAMES FURNIVALL, ESQ., M.A., 3, St. George's Square, Primrose Hill, N.W.

Ordinary Members of Council.

E. L. BRANDRETH, ESQ.
PROF. CHARLES CASSAL, LL.B.
C. B. CAYLEY, ESQ., B.A.
ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST, ESQ.
SIR JOHN FRANCIS DAVIS, BART.
FREDERIC THOMAS ELWORTHY, ESQ.
HENRY HUCKS GIBBS, ESQ., M.A.
E. R. HORTON, ESQ., M.A.
HENRY JENNER, ESQ., M.A.
RUSSELL MARTINEAU, ESQ., M.A.
THE REV. PROFESSOR J. B. MAYOR, M.A.
W. R. MORFILL, ESQ., M.A.
SIR CHARLES A. MURRAY, K.C.B.
HENRY NICOL, ESQ.
PROFESSOR CHARLES RIEU, PH.D.
THE REV. PROFESSOR W. W. SKEAT, M.A.
THE REV. W. THOMPSON, D.D.
PROFESSOR WILHELM WAGNER, PH.D.
HENSLEIGH WEDGWOOD, ESQ., M.A.
R. F. WEYMOUTH, ESQ., D.LIT., M.A.

The Council may appoint additional Secretaries for special duties, and may for specific objects connected with Philology procure the assistance of persons not members of the Society.

Election of the Council.

5.—At the Annual General Meeting, the President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretary or Secretaries, and Ordinary Members of the Council, shall go out of office, and their successors shall be elected by open vote, unless a ballot be required by one-third of the members present, and all or any of the members of the Council for the past year may be re-elected for the ensuing year, except four of the Ordinary Members to be determined by the Council, regard being had, among other considerations, to the number of times they have attended the Council meetings.

6.—If between two Annual Meetings a vacancy in the Council occurs, the Council may appoint a member of the Society to fill it.

Admission of Ordinary Members.

7.—A candidate for admission as an ordinary member of the Society must be proposed according to the form No. 1 in the Appendix, under the hands of three members, one of whom must certify his personal knowledge of the candidate, unless the Council in special cases dispense with this requirement.

The proposal must be delivered to the Secretary, and read at an Ordinary Meeting of the Society; and at the first Ordinary Meeting after the proposal, if the Chairman declares that the candidate has obtained a majority of votes of the members then present, and the candidate within twenty-eight days thereafter (or within such further time as the Council for special cause may allow) subscribes the form No. 2 in the Appendix, and obtains the Treasurer's certificate that he has paid his entrance fee and his first year's contribution, he shall thereupon become a member of the Society. If one-third of the members present at the meeting so require, the voting shall be by ballot.

Election of Honorary Members.

8.—If a person is recommended to the Council for admission as an Honorary Member by three or more members, his claim shall be referred to a Committee for consideration. On their report, the Council may, if they see fit, recommend him to the Society as a proper person to be so admitted, whereupon he shall be proposed, and may be elected, in the same way as an ordinary member, save that a certificate of personal knowledge shall not be necessary.

An honorary member may not hold any office in the Society.

9.—An honorary member, being a British subject, who becomes resident in the United Kingdom, shall thereupon cease to be an honorary member, but may become an ordinary member without a fresh election by signing the form and obtaining the certificate mentioned in Article 7.

10.—An honorary member may become an ordinary member without being proposed or elected, by signing the form and obtaining the certificate mentioned in Article 7.

Expulsion of Members.

11.—Should the Council see cause for the expulsion from the Society of a member, they may call a Special General Meeting for that purpose; and if upon a vote taken while not less than twenty-four members are present, the Chairman of the meeting shall declare that three-fourths of the votes given, are for the expulsion of the member, he shall thereupon cease to be a member. The voting shall be by ballot, if one-third of the members present desire it to be so.

Contributions of Ordinary Members.

12.—Each ordinary member shall on his election pay one guinea as an entrance fee, and one guinea for his first year's contribution, and shall pay an annual subscription of one

guinea on each following first day of January for the year commencing with that day, until he has ceased to be a member.

13.—No ordinary member shall be entitled to a copy of the Society's publications for any year until he has paid the contribution for that year, and for every preceding year (if any) during which he was an ordinary member, and the fine (if any) in respect thereof.

14.—If an ordinary member's contribution for any year is not paid before the next January, he shall not be entitled to a copy of the Society's publications for that year except by payment of a fine of five shillings in addition to the contribution.

15.—On each 1st of May the Treasurer shall send to each member whose contribution is in arrear, notice that he will not be entitled to a copy of the Society's publications for the current year, without payment of the fine, unless the contribution is paid before the ensuing 1st of January.

16.—On each 1st of January the Treasurer shall send to each ordinary member whose contribution for the preceding year is unpaid, notice thereof, with a copy of the rules relating to the contributions of members, and if the arrear and the fine be not paid by the 1st of May following, the defaulter shall cease to be a member of the Society, and his exclusion shall be announced at the next Annual Meeting, and published in the next issued Address of the President of the Society or the Auditors' Report, but the defaulter may be re-admitted by the Council without re-election on payment of his arrears, with the fine of five shillings for each year in arrear, and thereupon he shall receive such of the Society's publications as he would have received if he had not been in arrear.

17.—An ordinary member may, on his admission or subsequently, compound for his annual contributions for the remainder of his life by payment of ten guineas, all sums

then due, whether for entrance-fee, arrears, or fines, being paid at the same time.

18.—An ordinary member may resign his membership by notice in writing to the Treasurer, and payment of all contributions and fines (if any) then due.

Meetings of the Council.

19.—Before each meeting of the Society, a meeting of the Council shall be held at the appointed place, and at such time as the Council shall by general rule or otherwise direct; but any three members of the Council may by letter to the Secretary require an extra Meeting of the Council to be called; and if the Meeting is not so called, any three members of the Council may call it.

20.—Notice of each meeting of the Council shall be sent by the Secretary to every member of the Council whose residence is known.

21.—Three members shall be sufficient to constitute a meeting of the Council.

22.—Every question before a meeting of the Council shall be decided by open vote, unless a ballot is demanded by one-third of the members present.

23.—The decision of any question in Council meeting shall, at the desire of any two members present, or of one member if only three are present, be deferred to the next meeting, but shall not be again adjourned unless a majority of the members present so decide.

24.—Minutes of the proceedings of every Council meeting shall be taken by the Secretary, and afterwards fairly entered in the Minute Book, and the entry having been read over and allowed or corrected at the next Council meeting, shall be signed by the Chairman of that meeting.

Ordinary Meetings of the Society.

25.—At least fourteen ordinary meetings of the Society

shall be held between each month of October and the next month of July, at such times and places as the Council shall by general rule or otherwise direct.

26.—The business of an Ordinary Meeting shall commence at eight in the evening precisely, or at such other time as the Council may appoint; and shall be (1) to read the minutes of the last Ordinary Meeting; (2) to announce any donations that may have been made to the Society; (3) to propose and vote for members; and (4) to read and discuss such communications relating to Philology, or other subjects concerning the Society (except as mentioned in Article 28), as have been approved by the Council.

27.—Every member may introduce a visitor at an Ordinary Meeting, with the consent of the meeting.

28.—At an Ordinary Meeting, no resolution relating to the rules or management of the Society shall be proposed, except as provided by Article 36.

Annual General Meetings.

29.—The Annual General Meeting of the Members of the Society shall be held on the third Friday in May at eight in the evening, or on such other day, and at such other time as the Council shall appoint, to receive the Auditors' Report, to discuss and determine questions relating to the affairs of the Society, to elect Officers for the ensuing year, and to hear the President's Address, or other Paper authorized by the Council.

Special General Meetings.

30.—The Council shall call a Special General Meeting of the Society when it seems to them expedient, or upon a requisition signed by five members of the Society specifying, in the form of a resolution, the object for which the meeting is required. The meeting shall be called by notice specifying the time, the resolution proposed to be submitted to the meeting, and the names of the requisitionists (if any), which notice shall be sent to all members residing in the

United Kingdom, at least fourteen days before the meeting; and the meeting shall not discuss any subject not specified in the notice.

31.—At a General Meeting each member present shall have one vote.

Chairman of a Meeting.

32.—At a meeting of the Society or of the Council, the Chair shall be taken by the President, or, in his absence, by one of the Vice-Presidents, or, if they also are absent, by one of the Members of the Council, or, if no Member of the Council be present, by a Member of the Society chosen by the Meeting.

33.—The Chairman of a Meeting of the Council or of the Society shall decide all questions of order, and in case of an equality of votes (whether by ballot or otherwise), shall have a casting vote in addition to his original vote.

Treasurer.

34.—The Treasurer shall keep an account of all moneys paid or owing to or by the Society, and shall receive or direct payment to the Society's bankers of all moneys payable to the Society, and shall give to every person who has paid his entrance-fee and first year's contribution, in addition to a receipt for the payment, a certificate of it, and shall pay into the Society's account at their Bankers all moneys received by him for the Society.

35.—No payment on account of the Society to the amount of £5 or upwards shall be made except upon order of the Council entered in the Council Meeting Minute Book, signed by the Chairman and registered by the Secretary.

36.—The Treasurer's accounts shall be audited by two or more Auditors, chosen by the Society at one of the three Ordinary Meetings next before the Annual General Meeting, who shall prepare and lay before the Annual General Meeting a statement, under proper heads, of the receipts and expendi-

ture during the year ending on the 31st of December, and a balance-sheet containing a summary of the property and liabilities of the Society at the end of that year, and also a list of any members in arrear for sums due at the commencement of that year, with the amounts of the arrears.

37.—The Treasurer may, with the approbation of the Council, appoint a proper person to collect the annual contributions of the members; and such Collector shall, if required by the Council, give satisfactory security. The Treasurer shall keep a Register of the Members of the Society as required by the Companies Act, 1862, section 25, and a Register of the Members of the Council as required by the forty-fifth section of that Act.

SECRETARIES.

38.—If there are several Secretaries, they shall arrange which of them shall for the time being perform the duties of Secretary, and the acting Secretary is herein referred to as "the Secretary."

39.—The Secretary shall attend meetings of the Society and of the Council, take minutes of their proceedings, and cause the same to be properly entered in the minute-books.

40.—At an Ordinary Meeting the Secretary shall read the minutes of the preceding meeting of the Society, give notice of any candidate proposed for admission or to be voted for, and read such of the letters and papers sent or presented to the Society as the Council shall direct to be read, but any paper may, with permission of the Council, be read by the author.

41.—Subject to the control of the Council, the Secretary shall have the superintendence of all persons employed by the Society except the Collector, and shall conduct the Society's correspondence.

42.—The Secretary shall have charge, under the direction of the Council, of the printing and publishing of the Papers and Transactions of the Society.

Alteration of the Rules.

43.—The Rules of the Society may be altered by a special resolution as defined in the Companies Act, 1862, section 51.

Property of the Society.

44.—The Council may appoint members of the Society to act as Trustees of such property of the Society as cannot be conveniently vested in the Society itself, and may from time to time remove or discharge any Trustee, and supply any vacancy in the office, and decide on the mode of investing or dealing with the moneys and investments of the Society.

45.—All the profits (if any) and other income of the Society shall be applied in promoting its objects, and no dividend, gift, division, or bonus in money, or other equivalent (except the papers or publications of the Society), shall be paid or made by the Society unto or among any of the members.

Notices.

46.—A notice required to be served on any Member or Officer of the Society for any purpose, may be served either personally, or by being left or sent through the post in a letter addressed to the Member at his registered address, or to the Officer, at the Society's registered office.

Names, Addresses, and Descriptions of Subscribers.

James Augustus Henry Murray, Mill Hill, N.W., Doctor of Laws.

Henry Sweet, 140, Maida Vale, London, Master of Arts.

Frederick James Furnivall, 3, St. George's Square, London, N.W., Barrister.

Edward Lyall Brandreth, 32, Elvaston Place, London, Barrister.

CHARLES PIERRE HENRI RIEU, 28, Woburn Square, Bloomsbury, Keeper of Oriental MSS., British Museum.

JOHN NEWBY HETHERINGTON, 62, Harley Street, London, Teacher of English.

CHARLES BAGOT CAYLEY, 4, South Crescent, Bedford Square, London, Literary.

HENRY NICOL, 52, Thornhill Road, London, Gentleman.

Dated the 20th day of December, 1878.

Witness to the above signatures:

CHARLES SWEET, 140, Maida Vale, London, Solicitor.

APPENDIX TO THE ABOVE ARTICLES OF ASSOCIATION.

Form No. 1.

A.B. [*Here state the Christian name, surname, rank, profession, and usual place of residence of the candidate*] being desirous of admission into the Philological Society, we the undersigned propose and recommend him as a proper person to become a member thereof.

Witness our hands this day of 18

_____ [*from personal knowledge.*]

_____

_____

Form No. 2.

I, the undersigned, having been elected a Member of the Philological Society, do hereby promise that I will be governed by the Rules of the said Society, as they are now formed or as they may hereafter be altered or amended; Provided, however, that whenever I shall signify in writing to the Society that I am desirous of withdrawing therefrom, I shall (after the payment of any annual contributions or fines which may be due by me at that period, and after giving up any books, papers, or other property belonging to the Society, in my possession or entrusted to me), be free from this obligation.

Witness my hand this day of 18

COPY OF THE AGREEMENT REFERRED TO IN THE ARTICLES.

An Agreement made on the Fifth day of December, 1878, between James Augustus Henry Murray, of Mill Hill, in the County of Middlesex, Esq., LL.D. (President of the unincorporated Association called "The Philological Society" meeting at University College, London), (which Society is hereinafter referred to as "the Association"), and Frederick James Furnivall, Esq., Secretary of the Association, of No. 3, St. George's Square, Primrose Hill, in the County of Middlesex, that:—

1. Upon the adoption and confirmation of this Agreement by resolution of a Special General Meeting of the Association, the said Frederick James Furnivall shall forthwith procure the Memorandum and Articles of Association of an intended Company to be called "The Philological Society" and hereinafter referred to as "the Society," the draft of which Memorandum and Articles has been signed in token of approval by the parties hereto, to be registered with limited liability under the Companies Acts, 1862 and 1867, provided the licence of the Board of Trade for the registration of the Society with limited liability without the addition of the word "limited" to its name can be obtained.

2. Every person who is an ordinary member of the Association at the date of the registration of the Society, and who within one year thereafter subscribes the form No. 2 in the Appendix to the said Articles of Association, or any agreement to the same effect, shall thereupon become an ordinary member of the Society as from the said registration; and every person who is an Honorary Member of the Association at the said date shall thereupon become an Honorary Member of the Society as from the said registration; and the President and every other officer of the Association at the time of the said registration shall become an officer of the Society with the like title, powers, and duties in the Society as he previously had in the Association; and all the moneys, investments, manuscripts, books, and other pro-

perty of the Association shall become the absolute property of the Society for the purposes thereof, and shall be transferred accordingly to the Society or to the Trustees thereof, as the Council of the Society shall direct.

3. On and from the registration of the Society, the proceedings of the Association shall be taken up and continued by the Society instead of by the Association, and the annual contributions which would otherwise have been payable to the Association by the ordinary members thereof, shall thenceforth be paid by the said ordinary members to the Society according to the terms of the said Articles of Association, and all contributions and fines then owing by any of the members of the Association shall become due and be paid to the Society as parts of its funds; but no member of the Association who becomes a member of the Society shall be entitled to receive a copy of any of the Transactions and Publications either of the Association or of the Society until he has so paid all contributions and fines (if any) so owing by him to the Association, or for the time being owing by him to the Society.

4. All the debts, engagements, and liabilities of the Association shall be undertaken, paid, and discharged by the Society; and the printing and publication, or distribution of the Transactions of the Association, and of Papers communicated to the Association, shall be carried on and completed by the Society under the direction of the Council thereof.

The expenses of and incident to the preparation, execution, and carrying into effect of this Agreement, shall be paid out of the funds of the Association.

As witness the hands of the said parties

JAMES A. H. MURRAY,

FREDK. J. FURNIVALL.

Memorandum

AND

Articles of Association

OF

THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

(*Registered 2nd January*, 1879.)