VI.—ON S-STEMS IN THE CELTIC LANGUAGES.

By Whitley Stokes, D.C.L.

It is now nearly twenty years since the late Hermann Ebel, while recasting the Grammatica Celtica, called attention, in Kuhn and Schleicher's Beiträge, vi. 222, to a class of Old-Irish neuter nouns which had the following characteristics: (1) in the nom. sg. there was no umlaut; (2) the gen. sg. ended in -e, which caused umlaut; (3) the acc. sg. was identical with the nom. sg.; (4) the nom. and acc. pl. ended in -e; (5) the dat. pl. ended in -ib, the i causing umlaut; (6) many of these nouns were identical with Greek, Latin, Old Slavonic, and Sanskrit stems in s. Thus teg=τέγος, leth=Lat. latus, may=Skr. mahás. He hence inferred that we had here neuter stems in s, the existence of which in the Celtic tongues had previously been denied. Take, for example, teg or tech 'house':

SINGULAR.

	OLD-IRISH	OLD-CELTIC	GREEK	LATIN	OLD-SLAVONIC
Nom. Acc.	teg, tech	*tegos	τέγος	latus	nebo
Gen.	tige	*tegesos	τέγεος	lateris	neboso
Dat. Loc.	tig	*tegi	τέγει	lateri	

DUAL.

Nom. Acc.	dá theg, dá thech
Gen.	dá tige
Dat.	dib tigib

PLURAL.

	tige	*tegesa	τέγεα	latera	nebesa
Nom. Acc.	tige	*tegesa	τέγεα	latera	nebesa
Gen.	tige-n	*tegeson	τεγέων	laterum	nebesŭ
Dat.	tigib	*tegesebis		lateribus	

Here in most of the cases in the singular and the plural the agreement, especially with Greek, is close. Ebel notes in particular the formation of the oblique cases from a stem in -es, the nom. sg. being a stem in -os. The dative sg. of the Irish forms has not yet been explained. Ebel, indeed, would deduce tig from an Old-Celtic *tegesi=τέγει. But *tegesi would have become in Old-Irish tigi, and it seems more

likely that we have in *tig* a formation after the analogy of the *i*-stems. Compare the declension of the Lithuanian *debes-*, of which Schleicher says that it is partly after the analogy of the *i*-stems, partly after that of the *ja*-stems; only the gen. pl. has remained consonantal. The dual of Irish stems in *s* is obscure. One would have expected in the nom. and acc. *tige* from **tegese*. Probably *teg, tech* is due to the analogy of the *o*-stems, in which the nom. dual is in Old-Irish identical with nom. sg. The dat. dual points to an Old-Celtic instrumental in *-bin* (from **-bhin*), just as the dat. plural points to an Old-Celtic instrumental in *-bis* (from **-bhis*). The gen. dual is obscure to me.

The Old-Irish words which Ebel referred to the *s*-declension were eight in number, viz. *teg* (house)=τέγος, *nem* [1] (heaven), *leth* (side)=Lat. *latus*, *mag, mach* (field)=Skr. *mahás* (great [2]), *sliab* (mountain), *lóg* (price), *glún* (knee, from **gul-nos*), and *dún* (fort). To these in the Grammatica Celtica, p. 226, he added *die* (ex **diyas*=Lat. dies), *gné* (ratio), *-gu*, in *di-gu* (reiectio) and *ro-gu, to-gu* (electio) (√*gus*), and, lastly, the comparatives *máa* (more), *ferr* (better), *laigiu* (less), etc.

To these discoveries of Ebel, Thurneysen, in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, xxviii. 153, added two more, viz. *sid* (elf-mound), which seems cognate with ἕδος, *sēdes*, Noven-*sides*, and *tír* (land), from **tersos*, cognate with Lat. *terra* from **tersa*, and Osc. *teerum* from **tersom*.

But there are certainly nine, and probably more, other Old-Irish nouns belonging to the *s*-declension.

Here follow what Germans call *belegstellen* of the nouns just referred to:

1. *ag* N. (a bovine animal) .i. *bó*, O'Cl.

sg. nom., *ag méth*, Sc.M. 7 ; *ag allaid* 'cervus,' Corm.

gen. *turcreic aige loige meich cona fosair* ('the proportionate stock of a calf of the value of a sack with its accompaniment'). Laws II. p. 254, l. 30.

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[1] Ebel equated *nem* with Gr. νέφος and Slav. *nebo*, assuming that here, as elsewhere, *m* stood for infected *b*. But the modern Breton (*n*)*env* shows by its nasalised *e* that the primaeval Celtic form was *nemos*, which in form = Skr. *namas* (reverence). Compare O.Ir. *nemed* (gl. sacellum) = Gaulish *nemeton*.

[2] Cf. Skr. *mahí* (the earth) and *máta* (field), from **mahia*, with compensatory lengthening (Bühler).

dual n. *dá ag dec* (twelve cows), LL. 295^b, 25.

acc. *astaid dá n-ag dibh*, Rev. Celt. v. 200.

pl. n. *aige ocus mucca*, Sc.M. 6 ; *aige alta* LH. 19^b.

gen. *benna na n-aige* (the antlers of the deer), LL. 67^a, 18.

dat. *alma d'aigib alta*, LL. 67^a, 42; *forsna haigib*, LL. 67^b, 19.

acc. *dosennat na secht n-aige* (they hunt the seven deer), TBF. p. 138.

This word seems to belong to the root *ag*, whence ἄγω, Lat. *ago*, Skr. *ajāmi*, and the Old-Ir. *atom-aig* (adigit me).

2. *all* N. 'cliff, rock.'

Sg. nom. *all n-glaine* (rock of purity), Fél. Jan. 6.

gen. *oc cluchi for bru inn aille* (playing on the edge of the cliff), Lism. fo. 20^a, 2.

dat. *no leicthe fon aill a mblegon* (their milking was cast under the cliff), LL. 115^b.

acc. *con-ecmaing a tul immon n-all* (so that her forehead struck on the rock), LU. 109^b.

dual acc. *itir dá n-all* (between two rocks), O'Don. Supp.

pl. dat. *essarcain cind fri hallib* (dashing a head against rocks), LL. 176^b.

acc. *atraacht am-muir impi suás, co ndernai alle dimora impe imacuaird* (the sea rose up around it, and made vast cliffs [of water] all round about it), LU. 26^a.

In *all* initial *p* may have been lost, and *ll* may represent original *ls*. If so, it is cognate, not only with Germ. *fels*, but with Gr. πέλλα [from *πελσα] · λίθος, Hesych. and with Vedic *páshya*, Skr. *páshāna*, which come respectively from *palsia* and *palsāna* (Fortunatov, Bezz. Beitr. vi. 217).

3. *au, ó* N. 'ear,' 'cup-handle.'

sg. nom. *au ab aure*, H. 2, 16, col. 90.

gen. *au-nasc* ('earring') .i. *nasc aue* (ring of an ear), Corm. *meilid smit ind aue itir a da mér* (he grinds the lobe of the ear between his two fingers), Corm. B. s.v. *bri*.

dat. *airœ* ('temple') .i. *ar aui fri hó anair arfhas* (before an ear, in front of an ear it grows), Corm.

acc. *corici a hou*, LU. 59^a, 40. *fri hó* supra : *únasca óir imma ó* (earrings of gold round his ear), LU. 92^b, 19. *secht*

traigid etir a ó 7 a beolu (seven feet between his ear and his lips), LL. 106ᵇ, 28.

dual nom. *it é a dá n-o imma chend* (they are his two ears round his head), LU. 89ᵃ, 23. *imomm-loiscet mo da n-o prull* (my two ears burn me greatly), Corm. B. s.v. prull. *du auo* ibid. s.v. dabach.

pl. nom. *ni bitis hoc for énaib hi tus* (there were not at first handles on cups), Corm. A., s.v. dabach,=*ni bitis oi for na henaib artus*, Corm. B.

dat. *uas auib na n-ech* (over the horses' ears), LU. 114ᵃ, 39. *co cetheoraib auaib* (leg. *auib?*), 'with four ears,' LL. 249ᵃ, (where the numeral shows that in Middle Irish *au* became feminine), *ina ouibh, as t'óaibh*, Book of Lismore, 43ᵇ, 1.

This word is exactly in meaning, declension, and gender the Old Slav. *ucho*, gen. *učese*. It is also the Lat. *aus* in *aus-culto*.

4. *delg* N. 'thorn, brooch,' *dele*, Ml. 51ᵃ, 8.

sg. nom. *mani be a ndelg and* (unless the thorn be there). Sg. incant. *delg n-iarind* (a brooch of iron), LU. 96ᵇ.

gen. *bla deilge dae* (exemption of brooch on shoulder), Laws III. 290. *do fuascalad a deilge* (to loosen his brooch), Rawl. B. 512, fo. 35ᵇ.

dat. *dia luirg ros-torna is dia deilg* (with her staff and with her brooch she marked it out), LL. 161ᵇ, 51.

acc. *atchiu delg n-and olladbol de ór* (I see there a huge brooch of gold), LU. 91ᵃ.

pl. nom. *noi ndelce óir* (nine brooches of gold), LU. 94. *delgi* (leg. *delge*) *iairnd a finna* (his hair [like] pins of iron), LB. 202ᵇ.

dat. *de delgib sciach* (of thorns of whitethorn), LU. 89ᵃ.

acc. *im deich ndeilci* (leg. *ndeilce*) *derca diorda* (round ten red gilded brooches), LU. 83ᵇ. *cen delgæ indib* (without brooches in them), LU. 93.

Of *delg* (= W. *dula, dal*,[1] Corn. *dele*, gl. monile) the only non-Celtic cognates appear to be A.S. *telgan* (gl. virgultum), Nhg. *Zelge*.

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[1] *mal dala gel bendoll* (like the fang of a holehended leech), R. B. Mabinogion, i. 119; *mal dat eleheren* (like a gadfly's sting), ibid. 118. For these quotations I am indebted to Prof. Rhŷs.

5. *dess* 'god.'

sg. nom. *dess* (.i. *deus*) *imrtada duib*, .i. *dia do redigud duib, or si* ('may a god make smooth [the way] for you!' saith she), LU. 122[b], 33. A later form *dee*, taken, apparently, from the oblique cases, occurs in the nom. sg. twice in LB. *in tusa dee na pagan* (art thou the god of the pagans?), 193[a], *rocúibriged o ainglin bar ñdee-si* (your god has been fettered by angels), 176[a]. We also find *dea*; *doruménatar ba dea in draice i mboi in demun* (they thought that the dragon wherein the devil dwelt was a god), LB. 72[b].

gen. *ni coir duib adrad donti-sea dar-gabsabar deilb dee* ('it is not meet for you to worship him to whom ye have given a god's form'), LB. 176[b].

pl. nom. *tri dee Donand* .i. *tri meic Bressa meic Elathan* (Donu's three gods, that is, Bress son of Elathu's three sons), LL. 30[d]. *ni hinand fós bes no belra na delb na dee adartha do chined dib recheli* (not the same, moreover, is usage or language or form or worshipt gods of one tribe of them and another), LB. 149[b], 40; *Batar é andee* [leg. *dee*] *in t-æs cumachta 7 andee in t-æs trebaire* (*dee* were the mighty people and *andee* the cultivators), LL. 75[b], 33.

gen. *amail robu máthair dee indi Ánu* sic *Buanand erat máthair na fian* (as Ánu was mother of gods, so Buanand was the mother of the champions), Corm. s.v. Buanand. *Bendacht dee 7 andee fort, a ingen* (the blessing of gods and non-gods (be) upon thee, O maiden!), LL. 75[b], 31. *adrad na ndee mbalb mborb* (worship of the dumb, stupid gods), LB. 182[a].

dat. *dena idpairt dár ñdeeb-ni* (make offering to our gods), LB. 182[a]. *mina derna buden idbairt dom dheib-se* (unless thou thyself make offering to my gods), LB. 4[a]. *Nocon-fhétaim-se sin, or Longinus, fógnum da bar ñdeeib brece-si*, LB. 182[a] ('I cannot do that,' saith L., 'service unto your false gods').

acc. *robu maith didiu ros-biathad-si na dee* [.i.] deos (it was well, then, she used to nourish the *dee* i.e. deos), Corm. s.v. Ana. *do thungu-su mo dee dia n-adraim* (I swear by my gods whom I adore), LL. 63[a], 6. *Bentar a fhiacla asa chind, ol in t-errig, . . . o na hadrand na dee*, LB. 182[a] ('let his teeth be struck out of his head,' saith the satrap, 'since he doth not adore the gods').

As Celtic *d* represents both *d* and *dh*, Ir. *dess* may be cognate either with Gr. θες in ἀ-θέσ-φατος or with Old-Latin *las* for **das* in *lases* 'lares,' gen. pl. *larum*. For the vowels compare *leth* and *latus*. The Old-Ir. *dess* may be=*dhes-s* or *des-s*, as Gr. μῦς, μεῖς from μυς-ς, μήνς-ς. I am uncertain as to its gender. *Dee* and *andee* remind one of the Vedic *deva*, *adeva*.

6. *glenn* N. ' valley.'

gen. *grian gel Glinne Huissen* (white sun of Glenn Uissen), Fél. July 8. *Colman Glinde Delmaic*, Fél. Nov. 5.

dat. *o Glind da lind lethan* (from the valley of two broad lakes, Glendalough), Fél. June 3. *i nglind* Teribinti, LB. 46[b].

acc. *isin nglend nguibthech* (into the valley perilous), LU. 30[a]. *go glend na samaisce*, LL. 69[a], 29.

pl. nom. Old-Irish doubtless, *glinne*, Mid. Ir. *glenda*.

dat. *doróntá colléce sléibe dona glindib* (*glinnib*, LB.), (mountains have been made of the valleys), Fél. Prol. 240. Mid. Ir. *glennaib*.

acc. *tar maige, tar midglinni, setid maige midglinne*, LU. 106[a], 106[b].

This word, W. *glyn*, seems peculiar to the Celtic languages.

7. *grúad* N. ' cheek.'

sg. nom. *gruad* (gl. mala), Sg. 14[a]. *a ngrúad n-aile*, LU. 90[a], 1.

gen. *do ind a grúade*, LL. 108[a]: *corcair . . . samail grúadi Labrada*, LU. *sian a grúadi gormchorcrai*, LL., cited by Windisch.

acc. *for a gruad sechtair* (on his cheek outside), LU. 79[b], 39.

dual nom. *dá ngrúad*, LU. 126[b], 23, gen. *i cechtar a da grúad*, LU., cited by Windisch.

pl. nom. *inna gruade* (gl. conuexa), Ml. 96[c], 9.

gen. *innan gruade* (gl. genarum), Ml. 39[c], 14.

dat. *dona gruadib* (gl. genis, gl. maxillis), Gild. Lor. 114, 124, *turgbait ferba fora (g)ruaidib iar cilbrethaib* (blisters arise on his cheeks after wrong judgments), LH. 34[b], 1 (Goid. 164).

acc. *frisna gruade*, Ml. 39[c], 15, *eter forbru 7 gruade* (between eyebrows and cheeks), Ml. 39[c], 12.

The primary meaning of *grúad* seems to have been some-

thing convex. It may be cognate with Eng. *great*, OHG. *grôsz*, urdeutsch *grauta, as Skr. *garuḍa* cheek (from *garuḍa, *granḍa), with Lat. *grandis*; as Lat. *mala*, *maxilla* with *mag-nus*.

8. *hond*, *ond*, N. 'stone.'

sg. nom. *is hé in lia . . . iss-ed hond . . . in cloch is sí*, i.e. the *lia* is he (masc.), *hond* is it (neut.), the *cloch* is she (fem.),[1] Corm. s.v. adba othnoe.

gen. *adba uath uinde*, Corm. A,=*adba huath uinne*, Corm. B.

If this word has lost initial *p*, we may equate it with Lat. *pondus*, which may have originally meant 'stone.' Cf. the use in English and German of *stone* and *stein* for a weight. The connexion of *pondus* with *pendo* is not certain.

9. *og* N. 'egg.'

sg. nom. *og*, Sg. 8[b], 10.

gen. *cloch i n-inad ugi*, leg. *uge* (a stone in place of an egg), Cogad Goedel, p. 100. *roiarfacht scéla in uige* (he asked tidings of the egg), Fled Dúin na ngédh, p. 24.

acc. *no sárgind én aith im og* (I used to attack the fierce bird for (its) egg), LL. 154[a].

pl. nom. *in filet uigi no cassi lib?* (have ye eggs or cheese?), LB. 136[a], 17.

dat. *lan di uighib géd* (full of goose-eggs), Fled D.G. 16, 20.

acc. *cechoen no-caithfed na huige* (every one who should consume the eggs), ibid. p. 24.

The connexion of this word with A.S. *æg* N., Old-Norse *egg* (whence Eng. *egg* is borrowed), and the Argive *ὤβεα* (where Curtius regards the *β* as=*Ϝ*) is by no means clear.

10. *sál* N. 'sea.'

gen. *tonna sáile serbruada* (bitter-strong waves of sea).

acc. *tar sal sairde* (over the eastern sea), Fél. March 5. *co sal sruamach* (unto the streamy sea), Fél. Aug. 25. *co riacht tar sal side*, Fél. Sept. 10.

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[1] For the use of the pronouns to denote the gender of nouns compare the A.S. glosses (Wright-Wülcker, col. 320), Ursus *bera*, Ursa *heo*.

This is somewhat doubtful, as the gen. *sáile* may possibly be mis-spelt for *sáili*, gen. sg. of the io-stem *sáile*. If *sal* is really an *s*-stem, it may be compared with Gr. σάλος.

11. *ten* 'fire'; in composition: *ru-then* 'ray'; *ten-chor* 'tongs.'
sg. nom. *ruthen*, LU. 28ᵃ.
dat. *tein*, *ruthin*, Windisch, Wörterb. 817, 751.
acc. *ar thein*, Sanct. p. 14 (leg. *ar then*?). *ruithin*, Rawl. B. 512, fo. 5b. 1 (leg. *ruithen*?).
pl. nom. *ruithni* (leg. *ruithne*), LL. 248ᵃ.
dat. *co ruthnib grene*, LB. 6ᵇ. *ruithnib*, Rawl. B. 512, fo. 5b, 1.
acc. *ruthni* (leg. *ruthne*), Three Hom. 4.

The declension of these words is still doubtful. The plural forms point to the *s*-declension, but the umlauted forms in the acc. sg. belong to the fem. *a*-declension, and *ruthen* in Early Middle Irish is certainly fem. If *ten* be a stem in *s*, it may stand for *tepnos, and be identical with Zend *tafnanh*.

12. *tóib* N. ' side.'
Sg. nom. *congaibther tóib et airchinn and* (side and front are comprised in it), Wb. 21ᵃ, 6.
gen. *isind achsaill tóibe deiss Isu* (in the armpit of Jesu's right side), LB. 251ᵃ, 68.
dat. *assa thóib*, Wb. 20ᵈ, 13, *ina thoeb liss, ón taib*, Windisch Wörterb. 832; *bale bec sin for táeib slebe Oliuet* (a little stead, that, on the side of Mount Olivet), LB. 40ᵇ.
acc. *la toéb, fri táib*, ibid.
dual nom. *rundgabsat ar n da thoib du ditin ar n-inme don-achni*, Ml. 67ᵈ, 14 (our two sides were to protect our internals).

This noun in Middle-Irish went over to the *o*-declension. Thus we have gen. sg. *tóibh*, pl. dat. *toebaib*, LL. 248ᵇ, 3 and Gild. Lor. 79, acc. pl. *toeba* and *toebu*. Its cognate in Welsh is *tu*, pl. *tuoedd*.

Besides these, there are several nouns which were probably *s*-stems, but which, owing to the fewness of ancient examples, cannot be quoted as such with certainty. Such nouns are: *bairenn* 'rock,' pl. *bairne*; *clú* 'fame'=κλέος, Skr. *çravas*;

crú 'blood,' Lat. *cruor* : *ing*, dat. sg. *ing*, Colm. h. 18 = Skr. *aṅhas*, Lat. *angor*, Gr. ἄχος; *lí* 'colour' = Lat. *livor*. Clear examples of *weiterbildungen* of *s*-stems are *áis* (age) from **aives-tu*, Skr. *áyus* ; *tes* (heat), from **testu*, **tepstu*, **tepes-tu*, Skr. *tapas* ; and *follus* (manifest), from **svolnes-tu*, Zend *qarenaṅh*.

So far we have dealt with *s*-stems in Old and Middle-Irish. Traces of the *s*-declension are visible in modern Gaelic. Thus:

gleann M. (valley), gen. *glinne*.

gruaidh F. (cheek), gen. *gruaidhe*.

leath F. (side), gen. *leithe*.

lógh (reward), gen. *lóighe*.   Four MM. III. 1920.

magh (plain), gen. *maighe*.

neamh M. (heaven), gen. *neimhe*.

sál M. (sea), gen. *sáile*.

sliabh M. (mountain), gen. *sléibhe*.

tír M. land, gen. *tire*.

HETEROCLITES.

There is in Modern, and also in Middle, Irish a large number of nouns ending in *-ach* or *-ech*, which in the singular are declined like *o*-stems, but in the plural like *s*-stems. So according to Schleicher the German *grab* is an *a*-stem in the singular, but the pl. *grabir* (now *gräber*) belongs to the *s*-declension.   Examples of the nouns referred to are :

airenach (forefront), sg. gen. *airinig*, dat. *airinuch*, pl. *airinigi*, LU. 99[b].

apuch (entrails), pl. nom. *abaighe*, gen. *abbaige*, dat. *apaigib*, Togail Troi, p. 127.

aslach (temptation), sg. gen. *in mi-aslaig* (malae persuasionis), Ml. 28[b], 7, dat. *aslug*, *asluch*, Ml. 26[c], 9, pl. dat. *asla[i]gib*, Patr. h., *cona aslaigib*, LB. 180[a], 253[a], acc. *aslaigi*, Fél. Ep. 198.

aurddrach (phantom), pl. nom. *aurdraige*, Gl. 500, *urtroige* Corm. B. s.v. meisi, gen. *fo chossaib aurddrag*, LU. 60[a], 6, dat. *aurdraigib*, Gl. 50, *urtroighib*, Corm. B. s.v. meisi.

brollach (bosom), sg. dat. *brolluch*, LL. 144[b], 15, acc. *dar brollach*, LL. 87[a], pl. dat. *brollaigib*, Togail Troi, l. 1538.

buarach (cowspansel), pl. dat. *buairgib*, Battle of Moira, 316.

cathach (trespass), pl. *caithche*, Laws iv. 114.

coblach (fleet), sg. gen. *coblaig*, dat. *coblach*, Trp. 66 ; pl. dat. *mur-choblaigib*, Trp. 206.

cosrach (   ), pl. dat. *cosraigib*, Tog. Troi, 1721.

crislach (girdle, womb), sg. dat. *crislach*, Saltair na Rann, 1645 ; pl. dat. *crislaigib*, Togail Troi, 1659.

cúach (cup), sg. gen. *cúaich*, dat. acc. *cuach*, pl. nom. *cuache*, LU. 113ᵇ.

cumrech, cuibrech (bond), sg. dat. *cumriuch*, pl. acc. *cuibrighe*, O'Cl. s.v. *tratrach*, dat. *cuibrigib*, LB. 176ᵃ. The Old-Ir. nom. pl. is *cuimrecha*, whence we see that in this noun the change in the pl. to the s-declension is not older than the Middle-Irish period.

cumtach (covering), sg. dat. *cumtuch*, pl. dat. *cumtaigib*, Windisch, 460, pl. acc. *cumdaige*, LB. 73ᵃ.

domnach (church), sg. gen. *domnaig*, dat. *domnuch*, pl. n. *domnaige*, Trp. 168.

domnach (Sunday), sg. gen. *domnaig*, dat. *domnuch* ; pl. n. *domnaige*, LB. 47ᵃ.

ecnach (blasphemy), sg. gen. *ecnaig*, LB., pl. acc. *ecnaige*, LB. 1ᵇ.

ertach, irtach (refection), pl. nom. *erdaige*, LU. 73ᵇ, 7, acc. *ina herddaige-si*, LB. 73ᵇ.

étach (garment), sg. gen. *étaig*, acc. *étach*, pl. nom. *étaige*, gen. *étach*, dat. *étaigib*, Wind. Wört. 531.

fálbach (rampart?), pl. acc. *falbaigi*, LU. 80ᵇ, 12.

fasach (precedent), pl. dat. *fasaigib*, Trp. 566.

fásach (wilderness), sg. dat. *fasach*, Fél. clxxxvii., pl. dat. *fasaigib*, LU. 118ᵇ.

fótbach (sods), sg. gen. *fótbaig*, LL. 97ᵃ, 97ᵇ, 120ᵃ, pl. *fótbaige*, LL. 59, 51.

glomrach (bridle? bit?), pl. nom. *glomraige*, LB. 232ᵇ, 21 ; dat. *glomraigib*, LL. 110ᵃ.

goethlach (marsh), sg. dat. *goithluch*, Ml. 33ᶜ, 3, pl. dat. *goethlaigib*, LB. 227ᵇ, 8.

intech (scabbard), sg. dat. *intiuch*, G.C. 230, LU. 68ᵇ, 82ᵇ ; acc. *intech*, LU. 82ᵇ, pl. dat. *intigib*, Togail Troi, 1716.

lúthrach (bolt, bar), pl. acc. *lúthraigi*, LB. 172ᵃ.

mullach (crown of the head, summit), sg. dat. *mulluch*, pl. n. *mullaighe*, O'Don. Gr. 87.

óenach (assembly, fair), sg. gen. *óenaig*, acc. *óenach*, pl. dat. *óenaigib*, LU. 78[b].

ochtrach (excrement), Ml. 129[c], 2 : pl. nom. *octarche* (gl. purgamenta), Wb. 9[a], 7.

ordlach (inch), sg. gen. *or-loigh*, pl. n. *ordlaige*, *orlaighi*, Laws, iii. 334. *tri hordlaige do bhuain do bhod Emainn Moirtle* (three inches were struck off Edmond Mortel's penis), Annals of Ulster, A.D. 1498.[1]

otrach (dung), sg. dat. *otruch*, pl. dat. *otraigib*, LB. 202[a].

sidach (elf), pl. n. *sidaige*, Windisch, Wört. 773.

sonnach (palisade), sg. acc. *sondach*, II. 2, 16, col. 379, pl. acc. *sondaighe*, ibid. col. 377.

tenlach, *tellach* (hearth, household), sg. gen. *tellaig*, dat. *tenlug*, LU. 19[b], acc. *tellach*, pl. nom. *tellaigi*, Bk. of Fenagh, 158.

timthach (array), pl. dat. *timthaigib*, LL. 58[a].

urtlach (lap), pl. nom. *urtlaige*, Fél. xxxii. 26.

The declension of this class of nouns in the plural seems, as Windisch has suggested, due to the analogy of *teg*, *tech*, and *mag*, *mach*. So the change in Middle-Irish of the fem. *ā*-stem *rún* (secret) from the *a*-declension to the *s*-declension is due to the analogy of *dún* and *glún*.

S-STEMS IN THE BRITISH LANGUAGES.

The only unadulterated example in the British languages of a stem in simple *s* is Welsh *ti* (=τέγεος), pl. *te* (for *tei*=*tegésa*,[2] which differs in accentuation from τέγεα), now written *ty*, pl. *tai*. All the other substantives, which were originally *s*-stems, form their plurals by adding, either directly to the singular or to the old plurals in -*i*, terminations, like -*oedd*, -*au*, -*on*, properly those of the *i*-declension, the *u*-declension, the *n*-declension. Thus in Welsh *din* (fortress), pl. *dinion* ; *dydd* M. (day), pl. *dyddiau* ; *glin* M. (knee), pl. *glinyeu*, *gliniau* ; *glyn* M. (glen), pl. *glynoedd* ; *grudd* M. (cheek), pl. *grudyeu*, *gruddiau* ; *ma* F. (place), pl. *maoedd*; *nef* M. (heaven), pl. *nefoedd*; *tan* M. (fire),

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[1] See the facsimile in Gilbert's *National MSS.*, part iii. No. lxxvii.
[2] See Rhŷs, *Revue Celtique*, vi. 49 note.

pl. *tanou*; *tir* M. (land), pl. *tiroedd*; *tu* M. (side), pl. *tuoedd*; *wy* M. (egg), pl. *wyau*. So in Cornish *deth* (day), pl. *deȝyow*; *tyr* (land), pl. *tyryow*, and in Breton *dez* M. (day), pl. *diziou*; *tân* (fire), pl. *tániou*.

In *dini-on*, *glini-au*, *gruddi-au*, *tyry-ow*, *tâni-ou*, compared with the Irish *dúine*, *glúine*, *grúaide*, *tire*, **tine* (in *rui-thne*), we seem to have the old plural -*i* (ex -*esa*), with the addition of -*on* or -*au* (-*ou*). So in *dyddi-au*, *deȝy-ow*, *dizi-ou*, though the corresponding Irish form is not quotable.

Stems in *NS*.

Besides the stems in simple *s*, the Celtic, like other Indo-European languages, has stems in *ns*. Of these the clearest example is the Old-Irish noun *mí* 'month,' which was thus declined :

	Sing.	Dual.	Plur.
Nom.	mí	dá mís	mís
Gen.	mís	dá mís	mís-n
Dat.	mís	(dib misaib)	misaib
Acc.	mís-n	dá mís	misa

This noun agrees well with the Lat. *mens-* in the gen. pl. *mensum*, and the Ionic μείς from **μενς*.

Besides *mí* we have the Ir. comparatives in -*iu* (protoceltic -*iōs*, Lat. -*ior*, -*ius*) and -*a* (protoceltic -*ās*) which Ebel held to be stems in *ns*. But of these stems no oblique case appears in the oldest MSS., except perhaps in *meitis ri*, LL. 208ᵃ= *métither fri* 'as big as,' and the adverb *beius* 'moreover,' LU. 110ᵃ, 36, generally *beus* or *beos*, which seems the petrified comparative of an adjectival stem *beo-* cognate with the Latin verb *beo*, the adverb *be-ne*, and the adjectives *bellus* (for **be-n-lus*), *be-ni-gnus*. In *óser* (the youngest) from **yavias-tero-s*, and *sinser* (the eldest), from **senias-tero-s*, we have traces of an *s*-formation.

The British stems in *ns* are exemplified by *mis* 'month,' which corresponds with one of the oblique cases of the Ir. *mí*, and possibly by the comparatives in -*ach* (Bret. -*och*), which seems to stand either for -*ass*, -*ans*—the *ch* coming from *ss*, *ns*, as in the prep. **trach=trans*, G.C. 680—or for *oh*—the *ch* coming from *h*, and this from vowel-flanked *s*.

VII.—A SECOND LIST OF ENGLISH WORDS FOUND IN ANGLO-FRENCH. By the Rev. Prof. Skeat.

In the Transactions of the Philological Society for 1882 I published a hand-list of some English words borrowed from Anglo-French, together with their forms as actually found in Anglo-French texts ; adding just a few native English words which I had observed as being quoted in such texts. My excuse for doing so was the utter absence of any such list with proper references.

The list was not very complete ; nevertheless, in attempting to add to it from time to time, I have found it much more complete than might have been expected. In hundreds of instances I have turned to this list, only to find that a word which I thought I had not previously noticed has been sufficiently recorded already. This is so encouraging that I venture to believe that it will not be found at all an easy task to form a long *third* list, supplemental, that is, to the former one and that now offered to the reader. At the same time I admit some imperfection. I have not been able to bestow the time upon the subject which it deserves. I only offered the former list by way of a stop-gap ; but as no one else (to my knowledge) has done much to help us in this matter during the past six years, I venture to print some more examples, with references, for the use of students.

As before, I give chiefly Modern English words, with only a small sprinkling of Middle English words of especial interest. I give the Anglo-French forms *as they occur*, with notes of the part of speech where necessary. Thus, s.v. *abash*, the form *esbahis*, marked *pp.*, is the past participle singular, whilst *esbayez*, marked *pp. pl.*, is the plural of the past participle. The abbreviations are the same as before,

pt. s. meaning past tense singular, third person; and *pt. pl.* meaning past tense plural, third person.

Not all of the words in the present tense are now noted for the first time; but such is the case with at least three-fourths of them. In other cases, it seemed desirable to add further references to those given already. The references are new ones in every case. Of the Black Book of the Admiralty, I have only examined the first volume, which gives the more ordinary sea-terms. Of the Roman de Rou, I have only examined a small portion, and I only give a few words; the language, in fact, is *not* Anglo-French, but belongs to the continent. In short, I merely offer the list for what it is worth, and hope that those who could have done the work far better than myself will pardon my presumption.

In the references the following abbreviations occur:

B.—Britton; ed. F. Morgan Nichols, M.A. 2 vols. Oxford, 1865. Cited by the volume and page. Late thirteenth century.

B.B.—Black Book of the Admiralty; edited by Sir Travers Twiss. 6 vols. Record Series. The references are all to volume i. (1871), which is cited by the page.

C.A.—Chasteau d'Amour, by R. Grosseteste; ed. M. Cooke. Caxton Society, 1852. Cited by the line (or by the page and line). Thirteenth century.

F.C.—French Chronicle of London; ed. G. J. Aungier. Camden Society, 1844. Cited by the page. Written about 1350.

F.F.—The Legend of Fulk Fitzwarin; printed at pp. 277–415 of R. de Coggeshall Chronicon Anglicanum; ed. J. Stevenson. Record Series, 1875. Cited by the page. About A.D. 1300.

Lit.—Literæ Cantuarienses, vol. i.; edited by J. B. Sheppard. Record Series. Cited by the page. The date of the letter is given in each instance.

L.R.—Le Livere de Reis de Brittanie, etc.; ed. J. Glover. Record Series, 1865. Cited by the page.

P.N.—Le Prince Noir; ed. F. Michel, 1883. Cited by the line. About A.D. 1386.

R.—Roman de Rou; by Maistre Wace. Ed. Dr. H. Andersen. 2 vols. Heilbronn, 1877–9. Cited by the line from vol. ii.

R.W.—Royal Wills; ed. J. Nichols, 1780. Cited by the page. The date of the will is noted in each instance.

V.H.—Vows of the Heron ; printed in vol. i. of Political Poems, ed. T. Wright. Record Series, 1859. Date, 1338. Cited by the page.

W.W.—William of Wadington's Manuel des Peches ; ed. F. J. Furnivall, 1862. Cited by the line ; or, when necessary, by the page and line.

Y.f.—Year-books of the Reign of Edward I.; years 12 and 13. Ed. Luke Owen Pike. Record Series, 1885. Cited by the page. Date, 1338 and 1339.

Y.g.—The same, continued : years 13 and 14. Record Series, 1886. Cited by the page. Date, 1339 and 1340.

ANGLO-FRENCH WORDS.

Abash ; esbayez, *pp. pt.* F.C. 76 ; esbahis, *pp. s.* V.H. 9.

Abatable, *adj.* abatable, B. i. 204 ; ii. 83.

Abetment, abbettement, *s.* F.C. 48.

Abetting, abet, *s.* L.R. 230.

Able, able, B. ii. 5.

Abstinence, abstinence, *s.* C.A. 736.

Acceleration, acceleraciun, *s.* W.W. 9741.

Accompt, accompte, *s.* (account), P.N. 97.

Accused, acuse, *pp.* W.W. 9892.

Accusers, acusurs, *pl.* W.W. 9889.

Achievement, achievement, V.H. 21.

Acolyte, acolyte, Lit. 398 (1331); accolitz, *pl.* R.W. 123 (1392).

Acquire, acquist, *pt. s.* P.N. 383.

Admiral, admiral, B.B. i. 3.

Adventurous, aventurous, F.F. 292.

Advocate, aduocat, W.W. 4658.

Aery; cf. eyres (=nests of hawks), Lit. 486 (1332).

Affeered, affeure, *pp.* (valued), Y.f. 215.

Affiance, affiance, L.R. 142.

Afraid (alarmed), afrae, *pp.* Lit. 126 (1324); esfraez, R. 3679.

Age, eage, *s.* R. 11.

Ague, la fieure ague, W.W. 10299.

Aim, *s.* esme (supposition), R. 2481.

Aim, *v.* esmer (to estimate), R. 1197.

Air, eir, *s.* R. 49.

Alliance, aliaunce, *s.* L.R. 248.

Almoner, aumoner, W.W. 4781; almoner, W.W. 4876.

Amass, *v.* amasser, W.W. 5177; (come together), P.N. 226.

Amerciable, *adj.* amerciable, B. i. 88.

Amerced, amercie, *pp.* Y.f. 5.

Amorous, *adj.* (loving), amerus, W.W. 6226; amoureuses, *f. pl.* V.H. 5.

Anchor, ancre, B.B. i. 26.

Angel, *s.* angel, W.W. 10041.

Anise, *s.* anise, W.W. 11311.

Anniversary, anniuersaire, W.W. 1766 (p. 201).

Annual, annuele, *adj.* L.R. 76.

Annuity, *s.* annuite, Y.f. 109.

Apostle, lapostle, L.R. 250.

Appeases, apese, *pr. s.* W.W. 10559 ; appeyser, *v.* L.R. 318.

Appellant, appellant, B.B. i. 318.

Appurtenances, apurtenences, *pl.* L.R. 244.

Arbalester (crossbow-man), arblaster, L.R. 270 ; arblasters, *pl.* F.F. 295.

Arbiters, juges arbitres, B. i. 334.

Archdeacon, erchedeakne, F.C. 89.

Archer, archers, *pl.* L.R. 136 ; F.C. 77 ; F.F. 295.

Argent (in heraldry), argent, F.F. 349.

Arms, armes, *s. pl.* P.N. 313.

Arras, sale darras, R.W. 72 (1376); arras, 132 (1392).

Array, *s.* array, Y.g. 103 ; R.W. 181 (1399); arroi, P.N. 109.

Arrived, *pp.* arivez, P.N. 145.

Arson, arsoun, F.C. 5, 6.

Artificial, artificiel, B. ii. 133.

Artillery, artillerie, B.B. i. 148.

Assailed, asailerent, *pt. pl.* F.C. 77 ; assailler, *v.* W.W. 2243.

Assart, *v.* assartir, B. ii. 68.

Assault, assaut, *s.* F.C. 77 ; P.N. 400 ; F.F. 322.

Assembly, assemble, *s.* L.R. 178.

Assent, assent, *s.* L.R. 142, 310 ; B. ii. 244.

Assenting, *pres. pt.* asentaunt, F.C. 58 ; assente, *pr. s.* (assents), B. i. 114.

Assessor, assessur, W.W. 4658.

Assets, assetz, Y.g. 3 ; *cf.* assetz = enough, P.N. 205.

Assoil, assoillent, *pr. pl. subj.* R.W. 49 (1361).

Assotted, assote, *pp.* (= bewitched), L.R. 138.

Assumption, asumpcioun, L.R. 152.

Attire, *s.* atirs, *pl.* F.F. 374.

Attorney, attourne, Y.f. 3, 5.

Audience, audience, B. ii. 94.

Auditors, auditours, *s. pl.* F.C. 87 ; Y.g. 41.

Authorized, auctorize, *pp.* B. i. 54.

Aver, averir, *v.* L.R. 98 ; averer, Y.f. 13.

Averment, averement, *s.* Y.f. 259.

Award, award, *s.* F.F. 328.

Azure, asur, F.F. 282.

Baboon ; *cf.* babewynes, *pl.* (= grotesque figures), R.W. 132 (1392).

Bachelor, bacheler, P.N. 193.

Bacon, bacun, W.W. 2384 ; bacons, *pl.* F.F. 315.

Badges, bages, *pl.* R.W. 68 (1376).

Bag, bagge, *s.* Y.f. 245.

Bales, *s. pl.* balles, B.B. i. 82.

Balingers (ships), balingers, B.B. i. 4 ; balangers, *ib.*

Banner, baniere, P.N. 317.

Banneret, *s.* baneret, P.N. 193.

Bar ; barres, *pl.* B.B. i. 328 ; (bars of gold), R.W. 183 (1399).

Barbican, barbekane, C.A. 599.

Bargain, *s.* bargeyn, Lit. 462 (1332).

Bargained, bargene, *pp.* Lit. 348 (1331).

Barge, barge, B.B. i. 417; barges, *s. pl.* F.C. 74.

Barony ; barunies, *pl.* L.R. 352.

Batelle (small boat), batil, F.F. 376 ; batels, *pl.* B. ii. 345.

Battery, baterie, *s.* (beating), Y.f. 67.

Battle, bataille, P.N. 316.

Bayed, baerent, *pt. pl.* (barked), L.R. 78.

Beadles, bedeaus, *pl.* R. 851.

Beasts, beastes, *s. pl.* L.R. 334.

Beauty, beaute, R. 550.

Benediction, benediction, Lit. 216 (1327).

Bonison, benisoun, F.C. 76; benison, R.W. 100 (1381).

Bernars, berners, pl. F.F. 386.

Besant, besant, V.H. 21; besantz, pl. F.F. 386; besanz, W.W. 5579.

Bever (drink), boivre, s. F.C. 46; boiure, R. 3236.

Bible, bible, R.W. 139 (1392).

Bier, biere, R. 294; bere, W.W. 6266.

Bill (in law), bille, s. F.C. 58.

Binnacle, habitacle (dwelling), C.A. p. 115, l. 39.

Bise (north wind), bise, R. 2774.

Blasphemed, pp. blasfeme, W.W. 11574.

Blasphemy, blasfemie, B. ii. 213.

Blue, blu, s. R.W. 36 (1360); blew, 84 (1361).

Board; overboard, outre bord, F.F. 397.

Bobance, bobaunce, s. (boasting), F.C. 36.

Boil, v. builir, R. 942.

Border, bordure, R.W. 73 (1376); F.F. 331.

Borsholder, borghesaldre (de Birchilton en Thanet), Lit. 428, 436 (1332).

Bowels, boeles, pl. F.C. 45.

Braches (dogs), brachez, pl. R. 524.

Bran, s. bren, B. i. 27.

Branches, s. pl. braunches, R. 600; branches, W.W. 11088.

Brand, brand (sword), R. 323.

Brandish, brandir, R. 3947.

Brattice, bretesche, R. 1296.

Bray, v. braior (to cry as an infant), W.W. 4458; brait, pr. s. (cries as a heron), V.H. 5.

Bream; bremes, pl. Y.g. 177.

Brooch, broche, B. ii. 11.

Brothel, cf. bordel (id.), W.W. 2368.

Bruised, bruse, pp. B. i. 123.

Buckle, boclo, s. R.W. 183 (1399).

Bugle (horn), bugle, F.F. 337.

Buoy, boye, B.B. i. 45.

Bushel, s. bussel, F.C. 45; B. i. 189.

But, v.; bute, pp. R. 628; butez, pp. pl. (pushed), L.R. 138; bota, pt. s. (pushed), F.F. 397.

Buttery, botellerye, R.W. 129 (1392).

Button, botun, W.W. 11668.

Cables, cables, pl. B.B. i. 98.

Caldron, s. caudrun, W.W. 1742 (p. 201).

Cape, chape, s. W.W. 2658; L.R. 208.

Cardinal, cardinales, s. pl. L.R. 292.

Cark, carker, v. (to load), P.N. 368.

Carol, s. karole (dance), L.R. 138.

Carpenter, carpenters, s. pl. F.C. 49.

Carry, v.; carie, pp. L.R. 350.

Cathedral, chathedrales, adj. pl. L.R. 206; = eglise cathedrale, R.W. 31 (1360); B. ii. 206.

Cavern, caverne, F.F. 373.

Ceiling, ceel (tester of a bed), R.W. 51 (1361); celure (id.) 73 (1376).

Celestial, celestiel, R.W. 177 (1399).

Cemetery, cimeteire, R. 328; cymitere, B. i. 28.

Cendal, cendal, W.W. 10004.

Censer, encenser, R.W. 31 (1360); sensures, pl. R.W. 220 (1400); encensors, pl. B. i. 214.

Certes, certes, F.F. 357.

Certification, certificacion, Y.f. 5; Y.g. 314; certificacioun, B. ii. 217.

Certify, v. certifier, Y.f. 5; certifiez, pp. B. ii. 103.

Chafe ; se chaufeient (warmed themselves), W.W. 4788.

Chalice, chaliz, R.W. 24; W.W. 7315 ; B. i. 214.

Challengeable, chalengable, B. ii. 360.

Chamberlain, chamberleyn, L.R. 126; chamburlein, W.W.5691; chamberlene, *pl.* R. 807.

Chancel, chancel, W.W. 6808 ; R. 331.

Chancellor, chanceler, L.R. 312.

Channel, chancle, B. i. 218.

Chantry, *s.* chaunterie, B. i. 317; chanterie, Lit. 100 (1323).

Chapel, chapele, L.R. 256.

Chaplain, *s.* chapeleyn, L.R.148; chapellein, Y.*f.* 139.

Chaplet, chapelet, R.W. 51 (1361) ; chapelet de rose, F.F. 337.

Chapter-house, chapitle, Lit. 42 (1318).

Chargers (dishes), chargours, R.W. 24.

Charter, chartre, *s.* F.C. 40; Lit. 68 (1322).

Chasubles, chesibles, R.W. 48 (1361).

Cheer, sad, morne chere, F.F. 298.

Chekker(chess-board), eschekker (*printed* eschelker), F.F. 324; eschecker, 374.

Chequered, chekere, *pp.* R.W. 25 (1360).

Chess, echeks, W.W. 1531; esches, W.W. 4106; eschekes, F.F. 324.

Chevalier (knight), *s.* chivaler, P.N. 498.

Chieftain, chiefteyn, L.R. 334 ; cheuetaigne, R. 672.

Chine, leschine, F.F. 299.

Chivalrous, cheualerus, R. 968.

Chivalry, chevalerie, R. 274, F.F. 333 ; chivalerie, P.N. 98 ; L.R. 166 ; Y.*f.* 321.

Choice, *s.* chois, R. 890.

Christianity, crestienete, W.W. 4114; crestiente, R. 1980.

Ciclatoun, siclatun, W.W. 5470.

Circumstance, circumstance, W.W. 10359.

Circumvention, circumnenciun, W.W. 5092.

Claim, *s.* ; cleyms, *pl.* B. i. 20.

Clasps, claspes, *pl.* R.W. 181 (1399).

Clergy, clergic (men), R. 615.

Closet, closet, R.W. 182 (1399).

Coasting, costeant, *pres. pt.* F.F. 372.

Coat, cote, *s.* B. i. 64.

Coat of mail, cote de maille, R.W. 221 (1400).

Coffins (baskets), coffins, C.A. 1255.

Cogitation, cogitasiun, W.W. 1139 ; cogitaciun, 1143.

Cognisance, conissaunce, *s.* Y.*f.* 16, 17.

Collar, coler, R.W. 155 (1397).

Collusion, colusion, F.C. 40 ; collusion, Lit. 396 (1331).

Combat, *v.* ; combatirent, *pt. pl.* P.N. 174.

Comet, commete, L.R. 82 ; comete, L.R. 180.

Comfort, cunfort, *s.* R. 234.

Command, comand, *s.* C.A. 860 ; R. 1075.

Commissary ; comissaries, *pl.* F.C. 89.

Commodity, comodite (profit), B. ii. 69.

Commons, communes, P.N. 244.

Communion, communion, W.W. 681 (p. 422).

Compass, *s.* compas, C.A. 709.

Compassed, compassez, *pp. pl.* C.A. 641.

Compiled, compilai, 1 *pt. s.* W.W. 12726.

Complain, compleindre, *v.* R.W. 128 (1392).

Conception, conceptiun, W.W. 6450.

Concubinage, concubinage, B. ii. 263.

Concubine, *s.* concubine, B. i. 120, 232; ii. 242; F.C. 3.

Coney; Conies, coniys, *pl.* B. i. 85.

Confederation, confederacioun, B. ii. 42.

Confirmation, confirmaciun, W.W. 7207.

Confused, confus, *pp.* C.A. 730.

Conjunction, conjunctioun, B. ii. 136.

Conjured, cuniure, *pp.* W.W. 3613; I conjure thee, je te conjur, F.F. 283.

Conquer; conquirent, *pt. pl.* P.N. 173.

Conqueror, conquerour, F.C. 35.

Conquest, cunquest, *s.* R. 111.

Consanguinity, consanguinite, W.W. 5280.

Consent, consent, *s.* B. i. 44.

Consistory, consistorie, F.C. 54.

Conspiracy, conspiracie, *sing.* F.C. 40.

Contagion, contagiun, W.W. 7204.

Contee=contest, L.R. 306.

Continuance, continuance, B. ii. 3.

Contrariety, contrariete, B. ii. 142.

Contrarious, contrarious, F.F. 324.

Contribution, contribucioun, L.R. 346.

Contrite, contriz, *adj. pl.* W.W. 10426.

Contrition, contriciun, W.W. 10460.

Copes, copes, *pl.* R.W. 150 (1397).

Copy, copie, *s.* F.C. 51; Lit. 408 (1331).

Coral, corall, *s.* R.W. 180 (1399).

Cord, corde, *s.* R. 991; F.F. 309; cordes, *pl.* F.C. 87.

Cordwainer, cordewaner, F.C. 11.

Couch, couche, *s.* F.F. 382.

Count (earl), counte, F.F. 323; *pl.* countes, P.N. 120.

Counterpane (counterpart of a deed), cuntrepan, W.W.10645.

Counterpane (quilt), cutepoint, *s.* R.W. 36 (1360); quilt poynt, 100 (1381).

Countour (accountant?), B. i. 347.

Courageous, coragous, F.F. 321.

Coursers (horses), *pl.* coursers, P.N. 263.

Courteous, curtois, P.N. 85.

Courtiers, curteours, L.R. 168.

Covenant, cuuenant, R. 863.

Covered, covere, *pp.* R.W. 156 (1397).

Coverlet, coverlet(*sic*), R.W. 100 (1381); coverlitz, *pl.* 181 (1399).

Coverture, coverture, Y.*f.* 73.

Covine=treachery, L.R. 104.

Coward, coward, F.F. 298; V.H. 5.

Cowardice, cuardie, R. 1497.

Cramped (disabled), crampuz, *pp. pl.* B. i. 90.

Cratch (crib), creche, W.W. 259 (p. 417).

Crests, crestes, *pl.* R.W. 32 (1360).

Crime, crime, B. ii. 344; B.B. i. 324.

Crocket (ornament for head), croket, W.W. 3305.

Crooks, *pl.* croks, W.W. 4565.

Crosier (of a bishop), croce, R. 1055.

Cross, croce, L.R. 148; croyz, L.R. 186.

Crucifix, *s.* crucifix, R.W. 134 (1392); L.R. 82.

Cruel, *adj. fem.* cruelle, P.N.115.

Cruets, cruets, *pl.* R.W. 26 (1360).

Cull (gather); coilli, *pp.* L.R. 218.

Cure=charge, L.R. 150.

Current (price), coraunt, *adj.* B. i. 189.

Curtains, curteyns, *pl.* R.W. 51 (1361).

Cushions, quissyns, *pl.* R.W. 35 (1360).

Custom, custume, *s.* R. 285; costume, L.R. 162.

Cutler; *cf.* cotel (knife), B. i. 37.

Cypress, cypres, R.W. 154 (1397).

Dagger, dague, B.B. i. 316; dages, *pl.* R.W. 157 (1397).

Danegeld, L.R. 180.

Dance, *v.* danser, V.H. 19.

Danger; fors de lur dangier (out of their power to harm), R. 866.

Date, date, *s.* B. i. 271.

Deacon, deakene. W.W. 2179; deknes, *pl.* R.W. 123 (1392).

Dean, *s.* den, L.R. 256.

Debar, debarrer, B. i. 305.

Debate, debat, *s.* Y.f. 65; L.R. 174.

Decease, deces, R.W. 23.

Deceive, deceivre, *v.* W.W. 2896.

Decretals, decretals, *pl.* R.W. 31 (1360).

Dedication, dedication, F.F. 302.

Deface, deface, *pr. s. subj.* Lit. 128 (1324).

Defective, defective, *adj. fem.* B. i. 205; ii. 152.

Definition, difinicioun, B. ii. 263.

Deflowered (as meadows), def-flouris, *pp. pl.* (despoiled of flowers), V.H. 3.

Degraded, *pp.* degrade, L.R. 146; desgradez, *pl.* B. i. 200.

Delay, delai, L.R. 128.

Delight, *s.* delit, L.R. 150.

Deny, denye, *pr. s.* B. ii. 156.

Deodand, deodande, B. i. 16, 39.

Dereia; *cf.* disreyne, *pp.* B. i. 250.

Descants (modes of song), descaunz, F.F. 398.

Descry, *v.* descrire (to describe), W.W. 10320.

Desert, desert, *s.* (wilderness), R.W. 37 (1360).

Desparplia, *pt. s.* = dispersed, L.R. 182, 296.

Despise, despiser, *v.* L.R. 294.

Despiser, despisour, B. ii. 330.

Despoil; despoille, *pp.* L.R. 202.

Detains, *pr. s.* detient, W.W. 2776.

Detractors, *pl.* detracturs, W.W. 3570.

Dialogue, dialoge, *s.* W.W. 1918.

Diapered, diapreez, R.W. 73 (1376).

Dickers (of hides), dikers, B.B. i. 140.

Diete=food, L.R. 116.

Dignity, dignete, *s.* L.R. 146.

Diligence, diligence, *s.* F.C. 77; Lit. 374 (1331).

Diligent, diligentz, *pl.* Lit. 298 (1329).

Diminution, diminucium, *s.* W.W. 11076.

Disarray, *s.* desarroy, P.N. 433.

Discharge, *s.* descharge, B.B. i. 100.

Discoloured, descoloree, *pp.* F.F. 347.

Discomfited, *pp.* disconfitz, P.N. 496.

Discomfiture, *s.* disconfiture, L.R. 132.

Discontinued, discontinue, *pp.* Y.f. 103.

Discord, descord, *s.* L.R. 162; discord, L.R. 164.

Discordant, descordauntz, *pl.* B. i. 2.

Dislodged, *pt. s. refl.* se deslogea, P.N. 372.

Disloyalty, desleaute, L.R. 354.

Disours (story-tellers), disours, F.F. 293.

Displayed, *pp. pl.* desplaez, L.R. 336; *pp. s.* desplae, B. i. 354.

Disseised, disseisi, *pp.* Y.*f.* 201.

Disseisin, *s.* novel disseisine, Y.*f.* 5; B. ii. 156.

Disseisor, disseisour, B. ii. 291.

Dissension, *s.* dissencioun, L.R. 336.

Distinction, destinctiun, W.W. 4598; distinctiun, C.A. 1480.

Distrainable, destreynables, *pl.* B. i. 299.

Distress, *s.* destresse, F.C. 4; distresse (distraint). Lit. 406 (1331); destresce, B. ii. 48.

Disturbance, desturbance, L.R. 292; destourbance, B. ii. 28.

Diversify, diversier, B. ii. 3.

Diversity, *s.* diversite, Y.*f.* 19.

Divine, *s.* deuin, W.W. 2980.

Divorce, divorce, *s.* L.R. 204; B. ii. 264; devorce, B. ii. 237.

Document, document, W.W. 1622.

Dole (grief), duel, F.F. 297.

Dolorous, doleruse, *f.* W.W. 1347; L.R. 168; R. 1120.

Dolour (grief), dolour, *s.* L.R. 194.

Dominical, dominical, L.R. 330.

Donor, donour, *s.* B. i. 220; ii. 136.

Double, *adj.* doble, C.A. 1631; *s.* le double, F.F. 336.

Dowry, dowarie, *s.* R.W. 20; B. ii. 132, 236; douwarrie, B. ii. 76.

Dragon, dragun, *s.* L.R. 224.

Draper, draper, *s.* F.C. 91.

Dredge, *v.*; draggent (*also* dragguent), *pr. pl.* B.B. i. 156.

Dub, *v.* addubber, L.R. 320; adubba, *pt. s.* F.F. 325.

Duchess, duchesse, F.F. 401.

Duchy, *s.* duchee, L.R. 156.

Dungeon, *s.* dongon, C.A. 622.

Eagle, egle, *s.* L.R. 248.

Easement, esement, Lit. 72 (1322).

Eclipse, *s.* eclips, L.R. 190, 324; eclipse, 326.

Edifices, edifices, *s. pl.* (buildings), B. i. 214.

Edify, edefier, *v.* (to build), B. ii. 251.

Effusion, effusioun, B. i. 194.

Eisel, eisel (vinegar), C.A. 1126.

Embezzle; " aussi entierement sang [sans] rien ent [en] *enbessiller* com jeo les avoy de elle;" R.W. 155 (1397).

Embowelled, enbowele, *pp.* L.R. 190.

Emir, amiraud, L.R. 298.

Emperor, emperour, L.R. 180.

Empress, emperice, W.W. 11914; L.R. 170.

Enamelled, enamellez, *pl.* R.W. 69 (1376).

Encline, encliner, *v.* W.W. 11983.

Encumbrance, encumbraunce, W.W. 11544.

Endenture, endenture, F.C. 81.

Endited, enditerunt, *pt. pl.* (indicted), Y.*f.* 19.

Endorsement, endosement, Y.*f.* 241.

Endowed, endowe, *pp.* R.W. 123 (1392).

Endure, endurer, *v.* C.A. 1147.

Engage; engaga, *pt. s.* (put in pledge), L.R. 164.

Engender; engendra, *pt. s.* L.R. 76.

Enlarge, enlarger, *v.* B. i. 254; F.F. 287.

Enquire; enquerant, *pr. pt.* R. 928.

Enrich; enrichist, *pt. s.* L.R. 104.

Enrolment, enroullement, B. i. 166; enronellement, ii. 96.

Enticement, entichement, R. 821.

Entirety, enterite, Y.*g.* 141; enterteez, *pl.* B. ii. 74.

Entrails, entrailles, L.R. 322; entrayles, F.F. 318.

Entreat; cf. *entreter de*, to treat concerning, F.C. 48.

Entry, entree, *s.* R. 574.

Enveloped, envolupez, *pp. pl.* F.C. 38.

Envenom, envenimer, *v.* R. 112.

Environ: environnerent, *pt. pl.* L.R. 196; envyrona, *pt. s.* F.F. 280.

Envy, envie, *s.* (malice), P.N. 93.

Epiphany, *s.* Epiphanie, L.R. 130.

Equipment, eskippement, B.B. i. 12.

Equipped, eskippez, *pp. pl.* B.B. i. 20.

Escheater, *s.* eschetour, F.C. 88; B. ii. 21.

Escrow, escrouwe, B. ii. 71.

Escutcheon, escuchon, R.W. 67 (1376).

Esplee; esples, *pl.* Y.g. 307.

Espouse; espusa, *pt. s.* R. 622; espose, *pp.* L.R. 164.

Espy; espye, *pp.* F.C. 36.

Esquire, esquier, R. 1418; esquiers, *pl.* L.R. 346.

Establish, establisse, 1 *pr. s.* R.W. 184 (1399).

Estres (inward parts of a house), estres, *pl.* F.C. 85.

Estur=fight, L.R. 182; estour, F.F. 303.

Ewer, *s.* ewer, R.W. 27 (1360); ewers, *pl.* R.W. 24 (1360).

Exaltation, exaltation, L.R. 252.

Excusable, escusable, B. ii. 228.

Exile, *v.*; exilia, *pt. s.* L.R. 104.

Expedient, expedient, R.W. 141 (1392).

Expenses, expensez, *pl.* R.W. 160 (1397).

Exploit, esplait, *s.* L.R. 340.

Exsequies (funeral), exequies, R.W. 145 (1397); L.R. 190.

Face to face, face a face, C.A. 1644.

Fail, without, sanz faille, P.N. 305.

Faint; cf. feinte, *f. pp.* (feigned), W.W. 11145.

Famine, famine, W.W. 12268, L.R. 144; famyne, F.C. 79.

Fardel, *s.* fardel, L.A. 549; fardelx, *pl.* B.B. i. 396.

Farmer, fermer, *s.* L.A. 220, 317; B. ii. 138.

Fealty, fealte, R. 964.

Fee simple, fee simple, Y.f. 339.

Fee tail, fee tayle, B. i. 310.

Fermented, fermente, *pp.* W.W. 7388.

Fess (in heraldry), fes, F.F. 295.

Fever, fevres, L.R. 156.

Fierce, *adj.* fiers, R. 656; fiere, *fem.* F.F. 322.

Final, final, *adj.* L.R. 98.

Fine, *adj.* fyn, P.N. 318.

Finials, finols, *pl.* R.W. 47 (1361).

Flail; cf. flaele, *pp.* (beaten), W.W. 5676.

Flame, *s.* flamme, L.R. 144; flambe, F.F. 383.

Flank, flank (side), F.F. 398; flanc, R. 1883.

Fleur-de-lis, fleur de lis, V.II. 7.

Float, *v.* floter, F.F. 369; flotant, *pres. pt.* L.R. 78.

Florins, *s. pl.* florenes, L.R. 332; florins de or, Lit. 210 (1327).

Flotsam, floteson, B.B. i. 82.

[The quotation is—"ceulx qui on trouve sur la mer tonnel ou pippe de vin, flotants balles de marchandises, ou autre chose quelconque comme *floteson.*"]

Foil (leaf of a book); foile, *Cursor Mundi*, pt. v. p. 5; foil, W.W. 4156; foyle (a leaf), F.F. 292; foiles (leaves), B. i. 371.

Foison, fuyson, *s.* P.N. 425.

Folly, folie, *s.* R. 443.

Forage, forage, F.C. 80.

Forcer (box), forcer, W.W. 1746 (p. 201).

Foreclose ; *pt. subj.* forcloreit, L.R. 258.

Forest, forest, *s.* R. 515 ; L.R. 162.

Forjudged, forjuge, *pp.* B. ii. 42.

Fork (of a tree), furc, R. 602.

Fortalice, fortelesce, R. 1295.

Fortresses, fortelets, L.R. 352.

Forts, fortz, *pl.* F F. 342.

Foss, fosse, Lit. 62 (1323) ; F.F. 284 ; fossez, *pl.* B. ii. 67.

Foundation, fundation, R.W. 71 (1376).

Foundered, enfounda, *pt. s.* L.R. 186 ; enfoundry, *pp.* (said of a ship), F.F. 372.

Frail (basket), freelle, L.A. [i.e. Liber Albus], 229.

Frailty, freletee, R.W. 66 (1376).

Freight, *s.* fret, frette, B.B. i. 92.

Freight, *v.* freter, fretter, B.B. i. 112.

Frenzy, frenesi, W.W. 11954.

Fret, *s.* (in heraldry), frett, R.W. 151 (1397).

Fry (of fish), fry, B.B. i. 156, 164.

Gallop, *s.* ; es galopz, *pl.* (into a gallop), R. 1624.

Gauds (trinkets), gaudes, R.W. 182 (1399).

Gay, *adj. pl.* guais, *also* guis, W.W. 3109 ; gay, *pl.* V.H. 1.

Glorify, glorifier, C.A. 101.

Glorious, glorious, Lit. 212 (1327).

Gorge (throat), gorge, W.W. 1466 ; R. 4084.

Gourds, *pl.* gurdes, W.W. 2554.

Grafts, graffes, *pl.* B. i. 217.

Grails (graduals), grayels, R.W. 25 (1360).

Grampus, grampais, B.B. i. 152.

Grandeur, graundur, W.W. 1962.

Grantor, grantour, Y.f. 161.

Grave, *adj.* (heavy), grave, B. i. 48.

Grease, gresse, W.W. 5339 ; grece, F.F. 315.

Grew (Greek), griu, C.A. 18.

Griddle (utensil for cooking), gredil, W.W. 1744.

Grievance, grevaunce, Lit. 68 (1322).

Griffins, griffons, *pl.* R.W. 73 (1376).

Grocer, groser, F.C. 91.

Guildhall, gildhalle, *s.* Y.g. 51.

Gules, goules, F.F. 295.

Gutter, goter, L.A. [i.e. Liber Albus], 584.

Gyves, gives, *pl.* F.C. 89.

Habergeon, haubergon, F.F. 376.

Habitations, habitacions, *pl.* F.C. 79.

Hamlet, hamelle, Y.f. 17 ; hameletz, *pl.* B. i. 253.

Hanapers, hanapers, *pl.* R.W. 102 (1381).

Harbingers, *pl.* herberieurs, R. 3001.

Haste, *s.* haste, F.C. 80 ; R.W. 29 (1360).

Hatches (of a ship), hacches, B.B. i. 30.

Haughty, hauteine, *f.* (high), C.A. 629 ; hauteyn, F.F. 351.

Hearse (frame over a body), herce, R.W. 45 (1361) ; 68 (1376).

Heir, heir, R. 657.

Hermitage, hermitage, W.W. 2249.

Heron, heron, V.H. 4 ; hairon, 5.

Hideous, hisdus, R. 944 ; hidouse, *fem.* F.F. 379 ; hidouses, *pl.* L.R. 336.

Hobelers (horsemen), hobelers, *pl.* F.C. 89.

Hoe, howe, W.W. 1451.

Horrible, horrible, F.C. 3 ; W.W. 1068 ; orrible, P.N. 305.

Hotchpot, hochepot, B. i. 305 ; ii. 74, 79.

Housings, houces, *pl.* R.W. 35 (1360).

Humiliation, humiliaciun, W.W. 8627.

Husbandry, hosebondrye, Lit. 356 (1332).

Hypocrisy, ypocrisie, W.W. 3244.

Hypocrite, ypocrite, WW. 3251.

Hyssop, ysope, W.W. 8219 (p. 431).

Idiot, idiot, Y.*g.* 109.

Ignorant, ignorantz, *pl.* R.W. 164 (1397).

Illumines, illumine, *pr. s.* C.A. 680; enluminee, *pp. fem.* F.F. 282.

Impertinent (irrelevant), impertinent, Y.*g.* 281.

Imploring, emplorant, *pres. pt.* W.W. 12569; emploraunt, F.F. 393.

Impossible, impossible, B. i. 239.

Impoverished, enpoveriz, *pp. pl.* F.C. 39; empoveretz, Lit. 426 (1332).

Imprisoned, emprisonce, L.R. 324; emprisonne, BB. i. 34.

Incomparable, incomparable, R.W. 164 (1397).

Incontinence, incontinence, W.W. 1307.

Inconvenience, inconvenience, B. i. 205.

Increase, *s.* encrez, B. i. 218; encrees, ii. 238.

Incredulities, incredulitez, *pl.* W.W. 7290.

Indented (in heraldry), endentee, F.F. 349.

Induction, enduccioun, B. i. 228; induction, Lit. 186 (1326).

Infinity, infinite, W.W. 10968.

Inform, enformer, *v.* Lit. 66 (1322).

Inhabit, enhabiter, R.W. 93 (1376).

Iniquity, iniquite, C.A. 1119; W.W. 3989.

Ink, ynk, B.B. i. 404.

Innocence, innocence, W.W. 12274.

Insensed (informed), ensensez, *pl.* B. i. 32.

Inserted, inserteez, *pl.* R.W. 162 (1397).

Institution, institucion, Y.*f.* 271; institution, Lit. 186 (1326).

Intent, entente, W.W. 2127.

Inter, enterrer, Lit. 522 (1332).

Intercessors, intercessurs, *pl.* W.W. 9877.

Interlaced, enterlasce, *pp.* W.W. 8055 (p. 429).

Interment, enterrement, R.W. 23; enterement, L.R. 158.

Interpreted, interpreta, *pt. s.* W.W. 1192.

Intrusion, intrusioun, B. ii. 3.

Inveigled, en-vogly, *pt. s.* (blinded), L.R. 114.

Invention, invencioun (a finding), L.R. 344.

Isle, lisle, Lit. 80 (1322).

Jack, seint iake (St. James), W.W. 7867.

Jangle, iangler (to chatter as a magpie), W.W. 1096.

Jasper, jaspre, R.W. 27 (1360).

Jaundice, iauniz, W.W. 3885.

Jelly; cf. gele (cold), W.W. 5616.

Jeopardy, in, en jupardie, Y.*f.* 171; en jeupartie, B. i. 318.

Jet, *s.* get, R.W. 182 (1399); geet, F.F. 359.

Jetsam, gettesone (casting over of goods), B.B. i. 96; geteson, 170; getteson, 126.

Jew, iu, *s.* W.W. 2841.

Jewel, juel, F.F. 385; ioueles, *pl.* W.W. 11845.

Jollity, jolicte (mirth), P.X. 477.

Joust, *v.* iuster, W.W. 4250.

Jousters, insturs, *pl.* W.W. 4214.

Jousts, joustes, *pl.* F.C. 62 ; justes, B. i. 125 ; jostes, F.F. 284.

Juggler, jogelour, F.F. 347 ; iugelurs, *pl* W.W. 3675.

Jugglery, jogelerie, F.F. 347.

Justifiable, justifiable, R.W. 163 (1397).

Justified, justifia, *pt. s.* Y.g. 191.

Kerchief, keverchief, R.W. 100 (1381).

Lace, *v.* lascer, L.R. 170 ; laciez, *pp. pl.* R. 1521.

Lagan, lagan, B.B. i. 84, 150, 170.

Lantern, lanterne, B.B. i. 16.

Larceny, larcine, F.C. 59.

Largesse, largesce, C.A. 740.

Launch, *v.* launcier (to throw a dart). P.N. 270 ; cf. lanche, *s.* (a lance), V.H. 9.

Laund (forest), lande, R. 511 ; launde, F.F. 284.

Lay people, la laye gent, W.W. 7430.

Lecher, lechur, W.W. 2315.

Lectern, leitrun, R. 297.

Legend, legende, R.W. 31 (1360).

Lepers, lepres, *pl.* R.W. 153 (1397).

Lien, lien (bond), B. ii. 41.

Lilies, lilies, *pl.* R.W. 227 (1430).

Limehounds, liemiers, *pl.* R. 525.

Limitation, limitacioun, R.W. 139 (1392).

Limner, lymnour, L.A. [Liber Albus], 715.

Lists (for a tournament), lices, B.B. i. 318.

Litter, littere (bed), L.R. 86 ; litere (carriage), P.N. 369 ; R. 3143.

Lizards, lesartes, *pl.* F.F. 378.

Lodmanage, lodmanage (pilotage), B.B. i. 104 ; lodemanage, 128.

Loveday, jour damour, F.F. 303.

Luces, luces (pikes, fish), *pl.* Y.g. 177.

Lunatics, lunatics, *pl.* B. i. 159.

Mail-bag, male (a bag), F.F. 347.

Mail, black, maille (piece of money), W.W. 10780 ; mayles (halfpence), B. i. 29.

Maimed, mahaigneez, *pp. pl.* B. i. 90 (*see also* 98, 100, 105, 122).

Malicious, malicius, *pl.* R. 2523.

Malignity, malignete, W.W. 5085.

Malison, maleicon, C.A. 1361.

Maltalent (ill-will), maltalent, F.F. 351 ; mal talent, R. 933.

Mangled, demangle, *pp.* W.W. 3602.

Mangonel, mangunel, R. 1467 ; magnels, *pl.* F.C. 79.

Mansuetude, mansuetude, W.W. 11289.

Manual, *s.* manuel, W.W. 63.

Marsh, mareis (Lat. gen. pl. *mariscorum*), Lit. 140 ; merreis, F.F. 287 ; lusage maresche (marsh customs), Lit. 80 (1322).

Master, mestre, W.W. 3471 ; mestre tour (master-tower), F.F. 380.

Mattras, matrass, R.W. 100 (1381) ; materas, 181 (1399).

Mazer, maser, R.W. 25 (1360).

Mean time, in the, en le meen temps, B. i. 351.

Memorial, memorial, *s.* R.W. 31 (1360).

Menials, servants meignalx, R.W. 219 (1400).

Mesne, writs of, brefs de meen, B. i. 255.

Patronage, patronage, Lit. 42 (1318).

Pause, *s.* pose, R. 1814.

Pavise, pavois, B.B. i. 314.

Paw, powe, F.F. 383.

Peaceable, pesible, B. i. 343.

Peak, the (in Derbyshire), le Peeke, F.F. 288.

Peel (baker's), pael (a frying-pan), Liber Albus, 261 ; paiel, 675, 719 ; paele, W.W. 1742 (p. 201).

Penant (penitent), penant, L.R. 226.

Pennon, penon (flag), R.W. 68 (1376) ; penun, R. 2681.

Pension, enpension, Lit. 100 (1323) ; pensioun, B. ii. 38.

Perform, performer (to provide), F.C. 71 ; performir (to perform), R.W. 41 (1360) ; Lit. 214 (1327).

Perjure, se perjurent, *pr. pl.* W.W. 2917.

Persecution, persecution, F.C. 8.

Physicien, phisicien, B. i. 34 ; fisicien, W.W. 10301.

Pie (magpie), pie, W.W. 1096.

Pierced, pierca, *pt. s.* F.F. 366.

Pilgrimage, pelrimage, C.A. p. 116, i. 55 ; pelerimage, L.R. 138 ; pelrinage, Lit. 200 (1326).

Pill (to rob), piller, *v.* B.B. i. 24.

Pitch, *s.* peiz, W.W. 5416.

Pitcher, picher, W.W. 7580.

Piteous, piteous (kind), W.W. 12376.

Plains, *s. pl.* plaines, C.A. 1534.

Plank, planche, R. 366.

Plant, *v.* planter, B. i. 288.

Plumes, plumes, *pl.* R.W. 67 (1376).

Plunged, ploungee, *pp. f.* F.C. 87 ; plunga, *pt. s.* (sank), W.W. 569 (p. 421) ; se plunge, *pr. s.* B. i. 241.

Plurality, pluralite, B. ii. 144.

Poignant, poignant (prickly), W.W. 7378.

Poison, poysoun, B. i. 34.

Polished, poliz, *pp. pl.* C.A. 598.

Pollards (clipped coins), pollards, F.C. 27.

Pomps, pompes, *pl.* W.W. 4284.

Pontage, pontage, B. i. 75.

Popinjays, papejayes (parrots), R.W. 35 (1355).

Porpoise, porpais, B.B. i. 152.

Portcullis, portecolyz, F.C. 79.

Porter, portour, Lit. 40 (1318) ; porter, F.F. 339.

Posnet, pozonet (little pot), L.R. 78.

Possessor, possessour, B. i. 219 ; ii. 275.

Postern, posterne, F.F. 298 ; F.C. 80.

Potence (staff), potence, F.F. 341.

Power, poair, P.N. 145.

Preached, preche, *pp.* L.R. 296.

Premises, premisses (aforesaid things), B.B. i. 6.

Presumptive, presumptive, B. i. 17.

Prey, praye, F.C. 79 ; preie, R. 1108.

Priest ; cf. prestre, W.W. 949.

Princess, princesse, R.W. 73 (1376).

Prioress, prioresse, Y.*f.* 335.

Procuracy, procuracie (power of attorney), Lit. 158 (1325).

Procurator, procuratour (agent), Lit. 158 (1325).

Procurer, procurour (suborner), B. i. 32.

Proffer, *s.* profre, F.F. 304.

Proverbs, proverbes, *pl.* W.W. 10410.

Prowess, proesce, P.N. 68 ; prouesse, F.F. 367.

Prudence, prudence, C.A. 704.

Psalmist, psalmistre, W.W. 10131.

Publican, publican, W.W. 10141.

Punishable, punisables, *pl.* B. ii. 9.

Purify, purifier, *v.* W.W. 12237 (*see* 12166).

Purpresture, purpresture, B. i. 72.

Pursue, pursuer, F.C. 76 ; pursure, B. i. 93 ; pursiwre, F.F. 391.

Purtenance, apurtenances, *pl.* L.R. 244.

Quaintly, queintement (well), F.C. 47.

Quartered, quartere, *pp.* F.C. 45.

Quay ; keye, B.B. i. 126 ; la kaye seint Paul (St. Paul's Wharf), Lit. 432 (1332) ; kayes, *pl.* Lit. 48 (1321).

Quilt, quilte, R.W. 74 (1376).

Quires, quaiers, *pl.* R.W. (1360).

Rally, ralier, *v.* R. 1518.

Ravishment, ravissement, Y.*f.* 343 ; Y.*g.* 147.

Ray (striped cloth), draps de large raye, Lit. 40 (1318).

Record, *v.* recorder, P.N. 41 ; recorde, *pp.* Y.*f.* 23 ; W.W. 7642.

Recreant, recreant, F.F. 345.

Rectify, rectifier, W.W. 65.

Regretted, regretoit, *imperf. s.* P.N. 358 ; regreta, *pt. s.* F.F. 396.

Reins (bridles), rednes, *pl.* R. 1586.

Released, relesse, *pp.* L.R. 280.

Remain, remayne, *pr. s. subj.* B. i. 24.

Remedy, *v.* remedier, R.W. 146 (1397).

Repair, *s.* repaire (resort), R. 1398.

Repentance, repentance, W.W. 1294.

Replication, replicacioun, B. i. 142.

Reply, *v.* replier, Y.*f.* 7 ; replia, *pt. s.* 353.

Rere-suppers, rere-supers, *pl.* W.W. 5785.

Resemblance, resemblance, W.W. 4000.

Reservation, reservacion, Y.*g.* 77.

Residue, *s.* la residue, R.W. 39 (1360).

Resign, resignerai (I will resign), L.R. 148.

Retreat, to sound the, soner la retrete, B.B. i. 427.

Respited, respiterent, *pt. pl.* F.F. 402.

Revels, reveaux, *pl.* P.N. 474.

Reverence, reverence, L.R. 210 ; C.A. p. 124, l. 311.

Reward, *s.* reward, R.W. 86 (1361).

Reviled, reuilie, *pp.* W.W. 11980.

Ribaldry, ribaudrie, W.W. 3464.

Roast, *v.* rostir, R. 941.

Rolls, rolles, *pl.* Y.*g.* 73.

Ruby, rubie, Lit. 456 (1332) ; R.W. 37 (1360).

Sacrilege, sacrilege, W.W. 6628, 6630 ; Y.*f.* 69.

Samite, samyt, R.W. 31 (1360); F.F. 287.

Sandal(?); cf. lit de sandal, R.W. 35 (1360).

Satin, satyn, R.W. 32 (1360).

Saucers, sausers, *pl.* R.W. 24 (1360).

Savour, *s.* sauur, W.W. 1950.

Scorch ; escorchie, *pp.* (flayed), R. 567 ; escorchez, L.R. 272.

Scorned, escharnierent, *pt. pl.* F.F. 348 ; escharnissant, *pres. pt.* W.W. 3233.

Scribe, scribe, B.B. i. 404.

Scruple, scruple, W.W. 11322.

Scrupulous, scrupulus, W.W. 11345.

Scupper; cf. escopirent, *pr. pl.* (they spit), W.W. 8202 (p. 431); escopirent, *pt. pl.* (spat), C.A. 1123.

Season, seson, R.W. 34 (1360); sesone, F.F. 277.

Sequesterers, sequestrers, *pl.* F.C. 89.

Serviceable, servisable, F.F. 361.

Signet, signet, R.W. 80 (1361).

Skirmish, *s.* escarmuche, P.N. 211.

Slaves, esclaves, *pl.* B. i. 214.

Soiled, suillez, *pp.* (defiled), W.W. 5416.

Sorcerer, sorcier, B. i. 42.

Sorceress, sorceresse, F.C. 3; sorceresce, B. i. 42.

Sot, *s.* soot (idiot), B. i. 243.

Sound, *s.* soun, F.F. 291.

Special, especial, Y.*f.* 55.

Specialty, especialte, Y.*f.* 53.

Spencers (dispensers), *s. pl.* despensier, *pl.* R. 806.

Spicery, especerie, B. i. 96; W.W. 1948.

Spices, especes, *pl.* F.F. 333.

Spite, in, en despit, P.N. 482.

Spoils, espoilles, *s. pl.* C.A. 1327.

Spousals, espusailles, *pl.* W.W. 2222.

Squash, esquacher, B. i. 314.

Stall, estal, L.R. 148; estalles, *pl.* Y.*f.* 211.

Stature, estature, F.F. 368.

Staunch, *v.* estancher, W.W. 825 (p. 424).

Stencil; cf. estencele (a spark), B. ii. 331; estenceler (to sparkle), R. 1584.

Stipends, stipendies, *pl.* R.W. 219 (1400).

Stoutly, estoutement, F.C. 91.

Stray, *s.* estray, B. i. 67; ii. 252; *v.* estrayer, i. 216.

Strife, estrif, F.F. 285.

Strive, *v.* estriuer, W.W. 5390; L.R. 76.

Stuff, *s.* estuf, R.W. 181 (1399).

Stuffed (well supplied), estoffez, *pp. pl.* F.C. 81.

Stunned, estonee, *pp.* F.F. 341.

Sturgeon, estorgon, B. i. 18; estourgeoun, 66; sturgeon, B.B. i. 152.

Subtle, sotil, C.A. 1671.

Succession, successioun, B. i. 219.

Succour, *v.* socurer, F.C. 82; socurruz, *pp.* P.N. 466; socure, *pp.* W.W. 1473.

Suffragan, *s.* suffragan, L.R. 72.

Suit (petition), suete, F.C. 87.

Superfluity, superfluite, B. ii. 19.

Surfeit, sorfet, W.W. 1133.

Surgeon, surgion, B. i. 34.

Surround, surunder, *v.* (to flood), L.R. 144; soronde, *pr. s.* (superabounds), C.A. 751; cf. souroundee, *s.* (a flood), L.R. 340; suroundez, *s. pl.* (floods), L.R. 330.

Syllable, sillable, Y.*f.* 367; sillabe, B. i. 102.

Synagogue, synagoge, W.W. 10870.

Tabards, tabertz, *pl.* F.F. 373.

Tabernacle, tabernacle, R.W. 37 (1360).

Tablet, tablet, R.W. 133 (1392).

Tabour, tabour, F.F. 359; tabours, *pl.* F.C. 76; F.F. 291.

Tail; in fee tail, en fee taille, Y.*f.* 123; in tail, en la taille, *ibid.*

Tapestry, tapiserie, R.W. 155 (1397).

Targe, tarche, C.A. 666; targe, B.B. i. 314.

Taste, *s.* tast (feel), B. ii. 15.

Tawny, tanne, R.W. 25 (1360).

Temperance, temperance, W.W. 12247.

Tenour (meaning), tenour, F.F. 364.

Termagant, tervagant, W.W. 4112.

Testers (of a bed), testers, R.W. 181 (1399).

Tierce, houre de tierce, F.C. 77.

Tinkle, v. tincler, W.W. 4084.

Throne, throne, C.A. 638.

Torches, torchez, pl. F.C. 84.

Touch, toukier, v. V.H. 11.

Tournaments, turneimenz, W.W. 4207 ; tournementz, B. i. 125.

Towel, towaill, R.W. 71 (1376).

Trailbaston, traylebaston, F.C. 29. [Note.—It seems to have been applied to the offence (stick-carrying) by certain outlaws ; see Rot. Pat. 33 Edw. I.] Also traillebaston, Lit. 374 (1331).

Trance, traunce, F.C. 4.

Transcript, transcript, Y.g. 255.

Transactions, transaccions, R.W. 162 (1397).

Transfigured himself, se transfigura, W.W. 6769.

Translation (removal), translacion, F.C. 33 ; translacioun, B. i. 259.

Traversable, adj. traversable, Y.g. 31.

Treacherous, tricherus, W.W. 5151.

Treasury, tresorie, Y.g. 255.

Treaty, traitie, P.N. 416.

Trips, s. pl. trippes (dances), W.W. 4305.

Truce, les truwes, pl. F.C. 92 ; le truwe, s. F.C. 46 ; treu, s. V.H. 7.

Trunk (a box), trunk, Liber Albus, iii. 415 ; (of a tree), trunk, W.W. 11090.

Tunicles, tunicles, pl. R.W. 150 (1393).

Turrets, turettes, pl. F.C. 49.

Utility, vtilite, W.W. 1314, 7870.

Vagrant (?), wakerant (wandering), L.R. 126 ; (and see wakerous, B. i. 181).

Vainglory, vainegloric, L.R. 150.

Valley, ualee, R. 513 ; valeys, pl. F.F. 277.

Vanguard, avantgarde, P.N. 253 (cf. vandites=aforesaid, L.R. 308) ; la vant garde, F.F. 317.

Variable, variable, R.W. 177 (1399).

Veil, veyl (a sail), F.F. 371.

Velvet, velvet, R.W. 48 (1361) ; 69 (1376) ; velwet, 130 (1392).

Venge, uengier, v. R. 1709.

Verified, verifie, pp. W.W. 3396.

Verdict, verdit, B. ii. 44.

Vernicle, vernicle, R.W. 152 (1397).

Vessel (ship), B. i. 16 ; B.B. i. 418.

Viand, la viande, Lit. 72 (1322).

Vice-Admiral, vis admirail, B.B. i. 428.

Vicious, vicions, B. ii. 83.

Victualled, vitaillee, pp. fem. F.F. 371.

Vigorous, vigerous, F.C. 52.

Villenage, vilenage, Y.g. 219 ; B. ii. 13.

Vines, vignes, pl. V.H. 1.

Viol, viele, F.F. 359 ; fioles, pl. F.C. 76.

Virginity, virginite, W.W. 3054 ; C.A. 673.

Visors, visers, pl. W.W. 4258 ; cf. vysureez, pp. pl. (masked), F.F. 344.

Vivers (fish-ponds), vivers, B. ii. 67.

Volume, volum, R.W. 25 (1360).

Voyages, voiages, *pl.* B.B. i. 12.

Wages, wages, *pl.* F.C. 83.

Waits (watchmen), gueites, F.C. 60.

Waiver, *s.* weyver, B. ii. 39.

Warrener, garrennier, Lit. 406 (1331).

Warrior, guerreour, F.F. 278.

Wassail-cup, un hanap dargent appellez wassail, R.W. 115 (1382).

Wayment,*v.*waymenter(lament), F.C. 5 ; weymente, *pr. s.* F.F. 393.

Wimples, wimples, *pl.* ; *also* gympeus, *pl.* W.W. 1494.

Wivern, wyvre, Roll of Arms, ed. Sir H. Nicolas, 1828, p. 51.

Wreck, wrek de mer, Lit. 410 (1331) ; wrek, B. ii. 252.

VIII.—ON THE TERM 'BEETLE-BROWED,' AND THE WORD 'BEHAVIOUR.' By Dr. J. A. H. MURRAY.

Beetle-browed. — This curious expression is purely of English formation. There is nothing similar in any Teutonic language. The first known instance is in Piers Plowman 1362, and from c. 1400 onward, it is very common. Much later, in 1532, we find *beetle brows*, with *beetle* treated as a separate word, attributive or adjective. Finally Shaks., apparently having a passage of Sidney in his eye, made out of this a verb for the nonce in the well-known passage in Hamlet. Frequent quotation and allusive use of Shakspere's word has in modern times established his nonce word as a recognized verb, whence a ppl. adj. '*beetling crags*,' etc.

The etymology is difficult. No valid *phonetic* objection can be taken to the view of Prof. Skeat, that in Langland's *bitel-browued* we have the adj. *bitel* applied by Layamon and Ormin to 'cutting, sharp-edged' weapons, which undoubtedly represents an O.E. *bitol* (not *bitol*) biting, *mordax*. To attribute ' biting ' to swords is a common and obvious metaphor. But it is a long way from this to the idea of 'projecting or overhanging' or even to 'sharp-ridged,' where

there is no evidence of any such transition of sense, nothing
whatever but the two extremes in 'bitel swords' and *bitel-
brouwed*.   And there is the historical difficulty that no
instance of *bitel*, in any sense, occurs during the 160 years
that intervene: the word is apparently gone; it has even
disappeared from the later text of Layamon, in the passages
parallel to the two in which it occurs in the earlier.

For these reasons I give up *bitel* 'biting,' and turn to the
two words now spelt *beetle* meaning respectively 'mallet'
and 'coleopterous insect,' both of them also spelt *bitel, bytel*
in 14th c., and both forming later parasynthetic compounds,
like *beetle-browed* in the form of *beetle-headed, beetle-eyed*
(=beetle-blind), etc.   The choice between these depends
much on the original sense of *beetle-browed*.   I do not know
the modern meaning of the word; I never used it; and I
have not been able to meet with any person who does attach
any definite living sense to it.   Most people tell me 'Johnson
says so and so,' or 'Ogilvie explains it so and so.'   Johnson
explains it as 'Having prominent brows,' where one would
like to ask what 'brow' means.   In M.E. *brow* is only 'eye-
brow'; there is no such sense as the modern 'forehead,
frons,' which appears not long before Shakspere's time, and
first in Scotch.   *Beetle-browed* thus expressed some peculiarity
of the *eyebrows:* but with one exception to which I will
revert anon, the instances from 1362 to about 1500 afford no
help as to its sense, except that it was a term of reproach:
'bitel-brouwed and baber-lipped,' 'say, bittle-browed bribour!'
'these betyll browyd bycheys,' 'a crooked hooked nose,
beetyll browde,' illustrate the common run of quotations.
But when we come to PERCIVALL's *Spanish Dict.* 1591, we
find some light: *Cejunto*, beetle-browed, *torvus*, which
MINSHEU 1623 expands into '*Cejunto*, that hath bushy eie-
brows, beetle-browed, or the hairs of the eye-brows meeting.'
The latter point now illuminates a passage in the *Troy-book*
of 1400, which I have just excepted from the common run:
viii. 3824—

> Grete Ene and gray, with a grym loke . . . .
> Bytell-browet was the buerne, *þat aboue met;*

where we now see that the last three words mean 'his eye-brows met above.'

Cotgr. in 1611 has ' Beetle-browed *sourcilleux* ' ; and ' *Sourcilleux,* having very great eye brows; frowning, or looking sowrely ; surlie or proud of countenance.' Thus, we gather that the meaning of *beetle browed* was 'having large shaggy eyebrows.' In these circumstances, one does not see how the reference could be to the mallet 'beetle,' which might have given the idea of a heavy projecting or bumpy forehead ; and I had concluded that it was to some real or fancied peculiarity of the insect ' beetle ' that we must look. Incidentally mentioning these conclusions to Dr. F. Chance, he at once gave them his adhesion, and furnished me with strong corroboration of them, in the fact that in Fr. the *bushy antennae* of some beetles are called their *sourcils* or EYEBROWS, and that *sourcils de hanneton* ' cock-chafers' eye-brows ' is actually the name given in mod. Fr. to a kind of fringe made in imitation of the antennae of these insects. (See Littré.) If this is possible in French, of course it was also in Eng. ; and makes it probable that ' beetle-browed ' meant simply 'having eye-brows which in their roughness, bushiness, or projection of their hairs' were compared to the short tufted antennae or ' sourcils ' of certain beetles.

I have said that from *beetle-browed,* ' beetle ' was taken as a distinct word still qualifying ' brows.' It occurs first in Sir T. More *Confut. Tindale,* 1532, 'Tindall . . . hath so narowly and so long pryed vpon them with betle brows and his bruttle spectacles of pride and malice, that,' etc. ; and a good instance is (1562) Heywood's Prov. and Epigr. 115—

' I rather would a husband wed, With a beetell brow, than with a beetell head.'

By Sir P. Sidney *beetle brows* were attributed to a mountain : *Arcadia* (ed. 1622) p. 35—' A pleasant valley, of either side of which high hills lifted up their beetle brows, as if they would over looke the pleasantnesse of their under prospect.' Jo. WEEVER in the *Mirror of Martyrs* (1601) has ' tree-garnisht Cambriaes loftie mountains, Did over-shade me with

their beetle browes.' In the latter of these the *tree-fringed* or shaggy ridge overhanging the valley, seems to be meant. In Sidney there is a direct reference to *eye-brows* in the 'over-looke' of the context. But it is to be remembered that in Lat. *supercilium* 'eye-brow' is also 'a brow or projecting ridge of a mountain,' and it is possible that there is an idea of *superciliousness* in the high hills lifting up their beetle brows as if they would overlook the scene below. From one or other of these I think Shaks. took his passage (of 1602) in Hamlet I. iv. 71—

> The dreadful summit of the cliffe
> That beetles o'ro his base into the sea,

i.e. (in Sidney's phrase) 'lifts up his beetle brows,' where I think there is more than the mere idea of projecting or overhanging; i.e. possibly either an allusion to the vegetation which fringes the margin of the cliff like a shaggy eyebrow, or a fig. sense, like 'lookes supercilious,' or perhaps, as in Cotgrave, 'looks grim or sullen,' *frowns* or *scowls*. *Scowling* is a frequent sense of *beetle-browed* in 17th c.

In the first appropriation I know of Shakspere's phrase, in Joseph Hucks' *Poems*, 1798,

> Oh! hie thee to the bleak cliffs shaggy steep
> That beetles o'er the hoarse resounding deep,

I think that the *shaggy steep* catches the right idea of 'beetling,' which is not so clear in Scott's appropriation in Lady of the Lake, II. xxxi.

> On the verge which beetled o'er the ocean;

or in Byron's (Corsair I. vi.)—

> Where his watch-tower beetles o'er the bay;

nor with subsequent writers, to whom *beetle* is simply 'to project,' 'tower aloft over a valley,' etc. If *beetle-browed* referred, as now seems evident, to the antennae of a beetle, 'beetling crags' have got far enough away from this.

I need hardly add that *Beetle* is itself ultimately identical with *bitel* 'biting, *mordax*.' It occurs in the Oldest Glosses (in Sweet O. E. T.) as '*bitula* blatta,' or rather in dative

'*bitulum* blattis,' and in later ones as '*bitela*, mordiculus,' where *mordiculus* is given as a specific insect's name in a list of such, and *bitula*, *bitela* is thus at once fixed in sense, and etymology. It is doubtless the def. form *sc bitula*, *bitola*, *bitela* of *bitol* (not *bitol*) biting, *mordax*, which survived as the name of the insect, while the adjective sense 'biting' perished soon after 1200. The lengthening of the vowel in later times may be due to confusion with the two forms of *beetle* 'mallet,' in O.E. *bietl*, *býtl*, with long vowel, which was sometimes shortened in M.E. before the two consonants. Hence, as the mallet was both *beetle* and *bittle* (still dialectal), it was natural to make the insect both *bittle* and *beetle* (where also *bittle* is still dialectal). But the vowel might be lengthened independently : cf. *weevil* :—O.E. *wibil*, *wifel* (Sievers), *ēvil*, O.E. *yfel* ; and the still more pertinent *leetle* for *little*, and Scotch *meikle (meekle)* for *mickle*.

Behaviour.—The suffix is not etymological, but analogical. If we had reason to suppose that the earliest forms *behavour*, *behaver*, represented an earlier *behavure* (as phonetically they might, for -*our* is quite common for -*ure* in 16th c.), it would be easy to believe that the analogy was *press*: *pressure* (or *seize*: *seizure*) : : *behave*: *behavure*. But there is no example of *behavure* ; and a much stronger analogy offers itself. The M.E. word AVER, *aveyr*,=O.N.F. *aver*, *aveir*, for which Caxton substituted *avoir*=Parisian *avoir*, was used in sense of 'having, possession.' It was very naturally associated by Englishmen with their native HAVE, and written *haver*, *havoir*, *havour*, *havor*, *havyoure*. (See Dict. Pt. II. s.v.). Hence, as *have* had its *haver*, *havour*, *havyoure*, *behave* received its *behaver*, *behavour*, *behavyour*. By a curious coincidence this corresponded to, and could only be strengthened by the pair of synonyms, *demean*, *demeanour*. *Demeanour* is how you *demean* yourself, and *behavour* how you *behave* yourself. But *demeanour* itself is curious, and only of the same age (Caxton) as *behavour*. Here we have an early spelling *demenure*, so that the word may represent an O.F. *demeneüre*, but as there is also *demener*, *demesner*, it is possibly one of the infinitive nouns like *dinner*, *supper*,

refresher, trover, of which there are so many examples in legal language : I think *mis-demeanour* (**mesdemener*) is probably one of these, but I have not at present materials to decide the point. In any case the spelling *-our* in *demeanour*, and *mis-demeanour*, is not etymological, but of the same class as that in *behavour*. *Behaviour(e* did not entirely supplant *behaver, behavour* till near 1600 ; the origin of the *-i-* which began in the simple *haviour*, is not clear, for if we have words like *saviour*, on one side which might have influenced it, we have others like *favour, savour*, which one would have thought would have been felt more analogous to *haviour*.

IX.—THE LANGUAGE OF MEXICO; AND WORDS OF WEST-INDIAN ORIGIN. By the Rev. Prof. Skeat.

It is difficult to get accurate information about the ancient language of Mexico, but I find that a book was published at Paris in 1885 which is much more satisfactory than anything I have previously met with.

The title is, Dictionnaire de la Langue Nahuatl ou Mexicaine, par Rémi Siméon; and it is a handsome quarto volume.

The sounds are not very well explained; the usual vagueness comes over the author when he attempts to deal with phonetics. Still, the following seem to be some of the more interesting facts about this curious language.

The word *nahuatl* or *nauatl* is properly an adjective, meaning well-sounding, sensible, suitable, neat. Used substantively, it means the harmonious language, *i.e.* Mexican. It is from the root *nana*, to move in cadence.

The language came to be written in the Roman alphabet borrowed from the Old Spanish. The letters used were the following: *a, c, ç, e, h, i, l, m, n, o, p, qu, t, u, x, y, z.* The number of these letters is only 17, and even of these symbols, some are superfluous. *C* and *qu* both had the sound of *k* before *a, o,* and *u*; whilst *ç* and *z* meant the same thing. *C* before *e* and *i* had the sound of Eng. *s* in *sin*, just as in the French *ce, ci.* There was also no particular difference between *e* and *i*, nor between *o* and *u*. Where some people said *ocelotl*, others said *ucelutl*.[1]

Diphthongs are: *auh, ei,* or *ey, uei, ia* and *ya, yo* or *yu, ue, ui.* The old texts follow the rules of the Spanish alphabet.

The number of consonants is surprisingly small. There are no such letters as *b, d, f, g, j, r,* or *v.* There is but *one* labial, viz. *p*, which had to do duty, in words taken from Spanish, for *b* and *f* as well. Thus the name *Felix* became *Pelix*.

[1] So Olmos, p. 198.

There is but *one* dental, viz. *t* ; hence the Spanish *Diaz* became *Tiaz* in Mexican.

We should notice that Mexican adopted the three voiceless checks, *k*, *t*, and *p*, but rejected all the related voiced sounds, viz. *g*, *d*, and *b*. This peculiarity is very striking.

There is no *r*; hence *l* had to take its place, and the Spanish *Martin* became, in Mexican, *Maltin*. We find, however, the Spanish name *Pedro*.

The most surprising thing is the treatment of *l*, *m*, and *n*. *L*, though one of the commonest sounds in the language, especially in the curious combination *tl*, could not be used *initially*. Hence the Spanish *Lorenzo* became, in Mexican, *Olenzo*. The double *l*, or *ll*, was sounded as two distinct *l*'s, much as in the Ital. *cabal-lo* ; never as in modern Spanish.

Initial *m* became so weak that it practically disappeared in pronunciation ; hence the word *milli*, a field, was often pronounced *il-li*. Hence, to our astonishment, we learn that *Mexico* was often pronounced without the initial *m*, viz. as *Exico*. We shall see presently that this peculiarity was mainly confined to the city of Mexico itself.

Similarly, the final *n* was frequently suppressed ; just as, in modern English, our infinitive mood *sing* is from the M.E. *sing-en*. *N* was always suppressed before a following *c*, *x*, *i* (or *y*), *tz*, or *u*.

I have also found another book which gives much further help. This is the ‘ Grammaire de la Langue Nahuatl, ou Mexicaine,’ composed by a Franciscan named Olmos in 1547, and edited at Paris by the same editor as before, viz. Rémi Siméon, in 1875. This book is written in Spanish, and forms a Mexican Grammar ; the Introduction and Notes are in French, by the editor. There is an account of the orthography in ch. 6, p. 196, but it says very little about the pronunciation. However, Olmos explains that the pronunciation varied in different parts of the empire. Hence it was that the people of the city of Mexico dropped the initial *m* of *Mexico*, which was pronounced in other places. Again, he notes that, though there is properly no *v*-sound in the language, the women often used this sound in place of *u* in

some combinations, but it was considered bad. I strongly suspect that the symbol *u* sometimes stood for E. *w*, and that it was this sound of *w* which the women turned into *v*; reminding us of the Cockney *vine* for *wine*. A larger number of words begin with *ua*, *ue*, or *ui*; the *u* was here probably a *w*. He is quite explicit as to the sound of *x*, viz. that it was precisely the E. *x*; his example is the Lat. *dixi*, and he says that *x* = *c* + *s*. In the Mexican Dict. this is left vague.[1]

The explanations in the Dictionary are sometimes doubtful; but, if we compare them with the excellent account of Spanish pronunciation in Förster's Spanische Sprachlehre (Berlin, 1880), we can make out that the symbols *ç* and *z* both represented the sound of the French and English *z* in *zone*. The choice of which symbol was to be used depended, apparently, upon the position of the sound in the word; the *ç* being mostly initial, and the *z* final.

There were three compound consonantal symbols, viz. *tl*, *ch*, and *tz*. The *tl* seems to have been the common E. *tl* in *battle*. The *ch* is the E. *ch* in *much*, or the equivalent mod. Span. *ch*. The sound of *tz* is unintelligibly described; it is said to have an affinity with *ch*. If it was the voiced *ch*, it was just our English *j*; for which Spanish has no symbol.

The aspirate *h*, only used before or after *u*, had the pronunciation of 'the guttural *g*,' whatever that may mean. It was also used as equivalent to the Span. *j*. This statement, compared with remarks in Förster, indicates that *h* resembled the mod. Span. *j* or the G. *ch*.

Examples of *tl* occur in *atl*, water; *tletl*, fire; *tlalli*, earth; *tepetl*, a mountain; *tetl*, a stone. The E. *ch* occurs in *chantli*, a house, etc. The Mexican spelling of Montezuma is given as *Moteuhçoma*.

Compound words are very common, and may be of considerable length. In forming compounds, part of the termination

[1] The author of the Dictionary says it is like the Portuguese *x* in *Alexandro* (*Alexandre?*). He probably means the E. *sh* in *shall*. This was certainly a common sound of the Span. *x* (cf. *Xeres* with E. *sherris*); but Olmos is so explicit, that I think we are bound to believe that he means what he says. Probably the pronunciation varied, or the Spaniards could not give the sounds accurately.

of the initial word is dropped; especially final *tl*. Thus from *teotl*, a god, and *calli*, a house, was formed *teocalli*, a temple; a word used several times by Prescott. From *atl*, water, and *otli*, a road, was formed *aotl*, a canal. From *quauitl*, a tree, *necutli*, honey, and *çayolli*, a fly, was formed *quauhnecuçayolli*, a bee that lives on trees; much as if we put the words *tree*, *honey*, and *fly* together, and should thence evolve the compound *trunfly*. However, Mexican was not content with merely shortening the component words. The shortened form was sometimes modified as well. Thus the word *totoli*, a hen, joined with *tetl*, a stone, produced the compound *totolh-tetl*, not *totol-tetl*; in accordance with the rule that final *l* (except in *tl*) becomes *lh* unless a vowel follows (Olmos, p. 200). *Ltl* becomes *ll*. Verbal roots end in vowels, and are not truncated. A 'hen-stone,' by the way, means 'an egg.'

Of course, it is interesting to see what light is thrown upon the pronunciation of Spanish by Mexican. I think we may safely conclude that, at the time when Mexican was first written down by Spaniards, especially by the Franciscan Olmos between the years 1528 and 1547, the Spanish *ç* and *z* both had the sound of our *z* in *zone*. *C* and *qu* were both like *k* in *king*. *C* before *e* and *i* had the sound of *s* in *sin*. *Ll* had the mod. Italian, not the mod. Spanish sound. *X* was still like our *x* in *mix*; but probably soon became *sh* in the Spanish pronunciation of Mexican words. *Ch* was our *ch* in *much*, as it is still. *H* and *j* both resembled the mod. Spanish *j*.

It is not necessary to say anything of the grammar; the student has only to consult Olmos. But I note just a few things of interest.

Plurals may be formed in several ways. The Spanish word *angelo*, an angel, was borrowed, with a plural in *-tin* or *-me*; *i.e.* either *angelo-tin* or *angelo-me*. But the most interesting point is the formation of plurals by reduplication. Thus the plural of *tlatolli*, a discourse, was *tla-tlatolli*, discourses (Olmos, pp. 32, 33).

Some descriptive adjectives end in *-atl*. Thus from *Mexico* was formed *Mexicatl*, a Mexican (pl. *Mexica*, by dropping

the *tl*); id. p. 35. The E. agential suffix -*er* answers to
Mexican -*ni*; thus from *tlaqua*, he eats, was formed *tlaqua-ni*,
an eater, p. 43. A favourite diminutive is -*tzin*; as *Pedro*,
Peter, *Pedrotzin*, Peterkin, p. 59.

The verbal conjugations are intricate. The standard form
is the third pers. sing. of the pres. indicative, to which *ni*
(I) is prefixed for the first person, and *ti* (thou) for the
second. Thus we have *tlaqua*, he eats; *ni-tlaqua*, I eat;
ti-tlaqua, thou eatest. All verbal bases end in one of the
vowels *a, i,* or *o*; p. 78.

There are numerous prefixes and suffixes; and compound
words are often of great length.

A FEW MEXICAN WORDS.

It has been already noted that, in forming compound
words, such a sound as *tl* is dropped, medially. Thus
teo-calli, a temple, is for *teotl-calli*, lit. god-house. I see
no way of accounting for our *cacao* except by help of this
principle.

Cacao is merely the Spanish spelling of the Mexican
word; and there is not, exactly, any such word in Mexican.
The right word is *cacahuatl* or *cacauatl*, the name of the
cacao-tree. Now when this word is compounded with *atl*,
water, the compound becomes *cacaua-atl*, i.e. *cacauatl*-water,
a drink made from cacao. Perhaps the Spaniards analysed
this, in their *own* way, as representing *cacaua* followed by
atl, and thus evolved a form *cacaua* (Span. *cacao*), which
had no existence in the original language. Indeed the
peculiar form *cacao* suggests that they probably did even
worse, and got their *cacao* out of the original word *cacauatl*
itself, by assuming that *atl* meant water, and so might be
dropped. Either way, they dropped an essential part of
the word, and adopted only a *part* of it.

It thus appears that the right word for *cacao*, in Mexican,
is *cacauatl*, which is a simple original word, according to
the above-named Dictionary. In Murray's Dictionary it is
resolved into *caca-uatl*, explained by 'caca-tree.' The Mexican

Dictionary recognises no *uatl*, but gives the word for 'tree' as *quauitl*, which in composition becomes *quauh*, whether it precede or succeed the word with which it is compounded. Examples are: *no-quauh*, my stick (lit. my bit of tree); *quauh-ticpac*, upon a tree; so that I have failed to verify this so far.

The word for *chocolate* presents no difficulty. The Mexican word for 'chocolate' is *chocolatl*, explained as 'aliment fait, en portions égales, avec les graines de cacao et celles de l'arbre appelé *pochotl*.' [1]   *Chocolatl* cannot be further analysed; it has *no* connection with *cacao*, as is usually so recklessly asserted.

Of other Mexican words in English, the chief are *chilli*, *copal*, *jalap*, *ocelot*, *tomato*; rarer words are *axolotl*, *chinampa*, and *coyote*.

Chilli, less correctly *chili*, is a name given to the pod or seed of *capsicum*. In Pineda's Span. Dict. ed. 1740, s.v. *Axi*, we are told that '*Axi* [is] the natural pepper of the West Indies, generally so called by the Spaniards, because this was the name of the islands where it was first discovered; for in the language of *Cuzco* in *Peru* they call it *Uchu*, and in *Mexico Chili*.'   *Chilli* is merely the Mexican word for pepper.

The Mexican *copalli* is the name of a tree; and secondarily the name of the resin, or the varnish made from it.   In Spanish it was shortened to *copal*.   A certain northern province of Mexico was called *Copalla*, i.e. abounding in copal-trees; from *copalli*, the tree, and *tla*, abounding in.

Jalap took its name from the town where it was found. The Spanish spelling of this town is *Jalapa* or *Xalapa*.   The Mexican name was *Xalapan*, lit. 'sand beside the water,' from *xalli*, sand; *atl*, water; and *pan*, a postfix meaning 'upon.' These three words, in composition, became *xal-a-pan*, by the method already illustrated.   Cf. Olmos, Grammar, p. 63.

Ocelot is the Mexican *ocelotl*, a tiger; see the note from Clavigero, in my Etym. Dict.   *Ocelot* is the French spelling of Buffon.   He conveniently dropped the *l*, for though the

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[1] *Pochotl*, a fine tree, the *Bombax ceiba*; the drink made from it is called *pochote*; and the juice from the roots is a febrifuge.

final *tl* is common in English (as in *battle*), it must be puzzling to a Frenchman. This is amusingly shown by the author of the Mexican Dictionary, who tries to give an idea of the sound to French readers by comparing it with the English *castle*, but remarks that it has a 'more explosive' sound. He evidently thinks that the *t* in *castle* is sounded in English; it was an unlucky example, because *battle, cattle, metal,* and numerous other words were at hand.

Tomato is the Mexican *tomatl*, a tomato; in Spanish it was called *tomate*, substituting *e* for *l*. In English it became *tomato*, doubtless because we thought that Spanish words have an inherent *right* to a final *o*. Yet Spanish possesses such words as *fuente, gente,* from Lat. *fontem, gentem.* Most languages blunder when they borrow.

Axolotl is the name of a curious reptile found in the lake of Tezcuco. It is duly given in Murray, who says that it is the Aztec name. But we can find out its etymology. It is derived from *atl*, water, and *xolotl*, a page, servant, slave. It means, literally, 'water-servant.' The name is connected with Mexican mythology. A being called *Xolotl*, lit. 'servant,' contrived to become a divinity by escaping death. This he did by taking to flight. He first changed himself into a kind of maguey or aloe, thereby becoming a *mexolotl*, or servant of the maguey (derived from *metl*, maguey, and *xolotl*), and secondly into an *axolotl*, or servant of the water. He thus eluded Death, and became immortal.

Chinampa, 'the native name of the floating gardens once common on the Mexican lakes. They were carefully constructed rafts on which plants were cultivated.'—Ogilvie's Dictionary. This is quite right. The Mexican *chinampa* meant, first of all, a raft; and secondly, a floating garden on a raft. It is derived from *chinamitl*, an enclosure, especially an enclosure among reeds, and the suffix *pa*, signifying 'towards' or 'for'; hence, a thing fitted for an enclosure among reeds, a raft. *Chinamitl*, in composition, drops *tl*, as noted above; hence the form *chinam(i)pa*.

Coyote is a name for the American prairie-wolf, *Lyciscus*

latrans; but is properly the Mexican wolf, *Canis ochropus*. The Mexican name is *coyotl*.

Popocatepetl is the well-known name of a volcano in Mexico, which usually amuses people by its odd look. Yet its etymology is simplicity itself. It merely means 'smoking mountain,' and is compounded of the verb *popoca*, he smokes, hence, to smoke, and *tepetl*, a mountain; the compounded words being unaltered in composition.

Prescott mentions the *maguey*, and the *pulque*, or drink made from it. The Mexican word for the *maguey* is *metl*. Pineda, in his Spanish Dictionary, refers us to Acosta, Nat. Hist. W. Ind. lib. 4, ch. 23. In the index to Oviedo, the name *maguey* is said to be Cuban. Neither *maguey* nor *pulque* appear in the Mexican dictionary. Of course *maguey* cannot be Mexican, since Mexican has neither *g* nor *gu*.

Azteca is a plural substantive, meaning the people called by us *Aztecs*. It is derived from *Aztlan*, the name of the place which they at first occupied.

Anahuac is the name of the province in which Mexico was situated. It means the country of lakes, lit. ' beside the water '; from *atl*, water, and *nauac* near.

The Spanish word *petate* denotes a kind of mat. It is borrowed from the Mexican *petlatl*, a mat on which the Indians used to sit or recline.

ENGLISH WORDS BORROWED FROM THE WEST INDIES.

The following is an attempt to group some of the West-Indian words according to the countries or islands to which they belong. I give the references to R. Eden's Book on America (ed. Arber), and to other sources.

I may here mention that the fullest English account I can find of Columbus's First Voyage is one printed in vol. v. p. 591, of an excellent Collection of Voyages, printed in London in 1732, and known as 'Churchill's Collection.' This is a translation from the original Spanish account by ' Antony de Herrera,' who died in 1625. We thus learn that, on his first voyage, Colombus discovered (1) San Salvador, on Friday,

Oct. 12, 1492 ; (2) Conception Island, on Oct. 15 ; (3) Fernandina Island, on Oct. 17 ; (4) Isabela Island, and eight small islands, which he called *del Arena* ; (5) Juana Island, now Cuba, on Oct. 28 ; (6) Hispaniola, i.e. Hayti or St. Domingo, on Dec. 6 ; all in less than two months. In Hayti he built a small fort, and thence set sail for Spain, Jan. 4, 1493.

The Spaniards first became acquainted with Cuba and Hayti, and thence drew several words.

HAYTI and CUBA.—According to Eden, p. 166, *Haiti* signifies 'roughe, sharpe, or craggie.' Among the first words learnt was *canoa*, a canoe, a Hayti word (id. 66, 94, 119, 140). Garcilasso says, in his Hist. of Florida, that *canoa* was the name in Hayti and the neighbouring islands (Monlau). It was also the name at Cartagena, on the coast of New Granada (Eden, 226). There were in Hayti several languages or dialects (id. 169). The next Hayti word mentioned by Eden is *Yucca*, spelt *Iucca* (p. 67, 168) ; and the next *maize*, which he calls *maizium* (67, 116, 118, 159). *Cacique* belongs here also ; Eden gives a Latinized form *cacicus* (72), pl. *cacici* (89, 128) ; also *cazicus* (76) ; and *cacique* (223, 237). Here also belongs the word *hurricane* ; the plural is spelt by Eden *furacanes* (p. 81) ; and in another place *furacanas* and *haurachanas* (216). The Hayti name for the *iguana* is given as *iuanna* (85, 167) ; elsewhere it is spelt *yuana* (220). The Hayti name for 'potato' is given as *botata* (131) ; also *battata* (159). Another word is *manati*, the name of a fish (171) ; also spelt *manate* (231, 232). The Hayti name of *cassava* is given as *cazabbi* (159, 168, 175, 215) ; see *Cassava* in Murray. Another word which is certainly Haytian is *guaiacum* ; this we are told by Monardes, as translated by Frampton, in his *Joyfull Newes*, fol. 10, back. This agrees with the fact that *gua* is an article, or common prefix in that language (Eden, p. 168). As regards *guava*, Span. *guayaba, guayava*, I suppose it is what is meant by "the fruite cauled *guannaba*, somewhat lyke vnto a quynse," in Eden, p. 100, in speaking of Hayti. Again, at p. 131, we come across a Darien fruit called *guaiana*, clearly an error for *guaiaua*. There was

also in Hayti a tree called *copeia* (Eden, p. 174); this is
the mod. Span. *copey*. Our *barbecue* is from Hayti *barbacoa*,
according to Tylor, as quoted by Murray. It is given
as *barbacoa* in Pineda's Spanish Dictionary; and, in the
glossarial index to Oviedo (not very accurately compiled,
and without references), we are told that *barbacoa* belongs
to the language of Cuba and Hayti. It may be observed
here that, whilst there were both in Hayti and Cuba
several different languages, or perhaps dialects (Eden, pp. 77,
169), we learn, on the other hand, that the language of Cuba
resembled that of Hayti. The Spaniards made Hayti their
head-quarters, and the usual starting-point of their expedi-
tions; hence it may easily have happened that a word which
they picked up there was transplanted by them to other
countries, even at a great distance. For example, the name
of the plant called the *maguey* is often said to be Mexican;
but this is impossible, since Mexican has neither *g* nor *gu*,
and, in fact, the Mexican name of it is *metl*. The index to
Oviedo says that *maguey* is Cuban, which is much more
likely. I suspect it was also the Hayti name, as it is said
to be common over America within the tropics, and the
Spaniards must have known it long before they found Mexico.
To these we must add the word *hammock*. Webster shows
that it became known to Columbus on his first voyage, and
it is therefore probably a Hayti word. The index to Oviedo
says it belongs to Cuba and Hayti. Herrera mentions it in
connection with Columbus' discovery of the island which he
named Fernandina, near Cuba. It seems to have been
known also in Cuba, and perhaps in the island of Cozu-
mella (Eden, p. 192; cf. p. 230).

I conclude that the following words, being all the best
known among the West-Indian words, are from some one of the
languages of Hayti: *barbecue, cacique, canoe, cassava, guaiacum,
guava* (?), *hammock* (?), *hurricane, iguana, maize, manati, potato,
tobacco, yucca*; also the Span. *copey*, and perhaps *maguey*. Of
these, *maguey* is said to be Cuban; and so are *barbecue* and
manati. According to the index to Oviedo, the Span. *papaya*
is also Cuban; in English, this is the *papaw-tree*. This is

uncertain; in Webster's Dict. it is said to be Malay; Ogilvie says the name came from Malabar; whilst Pineda says it is 'a fruit in India,' and refers us to Gemelli, vol. iii. lib. 1, cap. 8. How can we decide? (See *Papayer* in Littré.)

Under *anatta* (also commonly *annotto*, the name of a dye), Murray says it is 'perhaps from the native American name.' This can hardly be doubted. It gave its name to *Annotta* or *Annotto Bay*, which is on the N. coast of Jamaica. I find in Churchill's Collection of Travels, v. 561, the statement concerning the dye called *rocou* at Cayenne, that this is an Indian name, " and it is called *anotto* in the *Spanish American* countries." It may safely be located in Jamaica.

Whether *tobacco* is Haytian or Caribbean, I cannot as yet discover. It seem to be one or the other.

CARIBBEAN.—The next language of which the Spaniards had some experience was Caribbean. From this they obtained the word which we spell *cannibal*; which see in Murray. Another Caribbean word is Span. *piragua*, F. *pirogue* (Littré). *Colibri*, now used in French as the name for a humming-bird, is said to be Caribbean. This seems to be confirmed by the remark in Churchill's Collection of Voyages, v. 650, ed. 1732, where we find, in a description of Martinique, one of the French Caribbean Islands, the following: " Another diverting object is the vast number of those very little birds, by the French called *colibris*, but by the English *humming-birds*, flying about from tree to tree." Perhaps also *macaw*, said to be the native name in the Antilles. Hence, my list of Caribbean words includes *cannibal, colibri, macaw, pirogue*. These words, when added to those of Mexican origin, give all the principal words that I can find, derived from North American languages, excepting words borrowed from the N. American Indians. Perhaps we may add *mahogany*. I can nowhere find any locality for this word, beyond the note in Webster that *mahogany* is the South American name. We should rather expect the name to belong, like the wood, to Honduras and Campeachy.

SOUTH AMERICA.—The principal S. American words are Brazilian and Peruvian, of which I have given a list in

a former paper.[1] The Spaniards also took a few words
from the N. coast of S. America, where the languages, or
some of the languages, were much the same as the Carib-
bean. One such word is the Span. *cayman*, an alligator;
Frampton, in his tr. of Monardes, fol. 73, back, mentions
it in connection with Cartagena. Littré (s.v. *caiman*) gives
acayouman as the true Caribbean form, on good authority.
There are three islands all called *Cayman* to the S. of Cuba.
The locality of the quadruped *agouti* seems to be Guiana;
but it was also very common in the Bahamas and Antilles
islands. In an account of Quito, there is mention of a kind
of rabbit which the natives call *cuyes*; Gent. Mag. 1752, pp.
447–450. In Peruvian, it is called *coy*; see Garcilasso de la
Vega, Hist. Peru, bk. 8, c. 17.

Caoutchouc is said by Littré to be Caribbean; I have been
informed that it is a Quito word, which perhaps agrees. At
any rate it is not Brazilian, though imported thence. It is
certain that *curare* or *wourali* is a Guiana word; see my
Supplement. *Cayenne* is a place in F. Guiana, and *Tolu* is
in New Granada. As to *sapajou*, a monkey, it belongs to F.
Guiana. "Guiana has vast numbers of monkeys, of divers
sorts, among which is that sort called by the Indians, and
after them the French, *sapajous*;" Churchill's Collection of
Voyages, v. 549. I therefore propose, as a list of words
belonging to the north coast of South America, the follow-
ing: *agouti, caoutchouc, cayenne, cayman, cuye* (Peruv. *coy*),
sapajou, tolu, wourali. Some of these words may have
been in wider use; probably *cayman* was a general word in
the W. Indies. It may be particularly noted that, though
many different words are mentioned in Eden as having the
signification of 'boat' and 'king,' the Spaniards kept to the
names *canoa* and *cacique*, which they had learnt in Hayti.

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[1] Add the Brazilian *capivara* (see Murray); and *manioc*; also *cashew-nut*, see
acajou in Littré. Also *petunia*, from the Brazilian *petun*, tobacco; see *petun* in
Littré, and *petunia* in Ogilvie. *Copaiba*, a balsam, is also said to be Brazilian.
And see *buccaneer* in Murray, and *couguar* in Littré; both are Brazilian.

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ENGLISH WORDS DERIVED FROM WEST-INDIAN.—HAYTI : barbecue, cacique, canoe, cassava, guiacum, guava (?), hammock (?), hurricane, iguana, maize, manati, potato, tobacco (?), yucca ; also Span. *copey*, 145–7. CUBA : barbecue, maguey, manati, papaw-tree (?), 146. JAMAICA : anatta, annetto, 147. CARIBBEAN : cannibal, colibri, macaw, pirogue, 147. HONDURAS : mahogany (?), 147. NORTH COAST OF S. AMERICA : agouti, caoutchouc, cayenne, cayman, cuye, sapajou, tolu, wourali, 148. BRAZILIAN : acajou, buccaneer, capivara, cashew-nut, copaiba, conguar, manioc, petunia, 148 (note).

X.—NOTES ON ENGLISH ETYMOLOGY. By the Rev. Prof. SKEAT.

CORRECTION IN "NOTES ON ENGLISH ETYMOLOGY," *Phil. Soc. Trans.* 1888-90, p. 1.

Cozier. Ll. 8-11. *Delete the sentence*—"The nearest form I can find . . . adduces no authority." *And substitute*—"The nearest form I can find in Godefroy is the O.F. *cousere,* given under its oblique (and also *later* nominative) case *couseor,* of which he happens to have no instance."

As the sentence stood, it might suggest that Godefroy had entered the word under a wrong heading; which, however, I did not mean to imply. He has put it in its right place; though he does not always do so.—W.W.S.

Blet, to become sleepy, as a pear. Given by Murray, with the etymology from F. *blet,* sleepy as a pear; without any further account. Littré discusses it, and gives various etymologies. That from Icel. *bleyta,* to become soft, from *blautr,* soft, seems worth notice. Cf. Swed. *blöt,* which Widegren explains by 'soft, yielding, pulpous, pulpy, mollient.' The sense 'pulpous' is to the point. Aasen notes that the Norse *blaut,* soft, is used of fruit that is not dried.

Buggy, a light vehicle. I cannot throw much light on this word, but I wish to note that it appears in French. Littré gives F. *boghei,* a light vehicle, without derivation; but it is probably the E. word borrowed. In Moisy's Dict. of Norman Patois I find: '*Boc,* petit cabriolet découvert, boghei.' I suggest that it may be related to the prov. E. *buck,* the body of a cart or waggon, given in Murray.

Chevron. I have omitted to give the exact Low Lat. form. The theoretical Low Lat. accus. is **caprionem*; the nom. forms actually found are *cabrio* and *cabiro* (see Ducange); also

capro. The Span. forms are helpful. We find Span. *cabrio*, a rafter, a beam, a chevron (in heraldry); closely allied to *cabriol*, a beam, rafter, whilst the adj. *cabrio* means goatlike. The Low Lat. *capriolus* means both 'kid' and 'rafter.' Hence the usual account of *chevron* is made clear.

Cockney. I have shown, in the Supplement to my Dict., that the M.E. *cokenay* should answer to a F. **coquiné*, Low Lat. **coquinatus*. The only difficulty is that these forms do not occur. But we can get over this by supposing that an initial *a* has been dropped, as in so many other cases; and then we get the O.F. equivalent **acoquiné*. This, spelt with two *c*'s, is in Cotgrave, and precisely fits. Cotgrave has: " *accoquiné*, made tame, inward, familiar; also, grown as lazy, sloathfull, idle, as a beggar." Lit. 'adapted to the kitchen.'

Cresset, an open lamp, placed on a beacon or carried on a pole. I regret to say my etymology of this word is wrong. I have followed Roquefort and Mätzner, and have mixed up two different names of lamps. The M.E. *cresset* is from the O.F. *cresset* with the same sense; and the O.F. *cresset* is a less correct form of *crasset* or *craisset*. Godefroy gives *craisset*, with examples, showing that it is precisely the Eng. *cresset*. Other spellings are *craicet, craichet, grasset, graset*; and the fact that it sometimes begins with *g* is of some importance. The right etymology is given by Ducange, under the Low Lat. *crassa*, fat, grease; which is the origin of our word *grease*. The *craisset* was so called because it was supplied with *grease*. It was an out-of-door lamp, without a wick. Grease and oil, and sometimes pitch, were poured into a cup, usually hoisted on the top of a pole; and the grease was then set on fire. The Low Lat. *crassa* is merely the fem. of Lat. *crassus*, whence also the F. *gras*. This etymology of *cresset* is also given by Scheler, who takes occasion to say, s.v. *creuset*, that *cresset* has nothing to do with E. *cruse*. It is also given by H. Moisy, Dict. de Patois Normand, 1887. The word which Roquefort confuses with *cresset* is the O.F. *croissol*, given by Godefroy under the spelling *croiseul*. This is rightly explained by Scheler, s.v. *creuset*, as being (like E.

cruse) derived from the M.H.G. *krûse* (G. *krause*), a kind of pot. In this case the lamp was named from the cup into which the grease was poured.

Daker-hen, a corncrake. According to Halliwell, it occurs in Elyot's Dictionary, s.v. *Crex*, A.D. 1559. I find it in Cooper's Thesaurus, s.v. *Crex*, A.D. 1565. Cf. Lincolnshire *dacker*, to waver, stagger, totter, hesitate. Koolman thinks it is connected with the E. Friesic *dakkern*, to splash about, to move quickly and with noise. He quotes, from Kilian, M.Du. *daeckeren*, to fly or flutter about. *Dack-er* seems to be a frequentative verb, formed with the usual suffix -*er* from a base DAK, expressive of quick motion. Cf. Cumb. *dakerin'*, walking carelessly, North *daker*, a dispute. See further in Koolman.

Day. I have omitted, in my Dictionary, to give the cognate words in Lithuanian and Sanskrit. The Goth. *dags* represents a primitive Teut. **daga-z*; this corresponds to Lith. *dagas*, a hot season, *dagà*, harvest; Old Pruss. *dagis*, summer; Skt. *ni-dâgha*, the hot season, *dâha*, a burning, heat. The form of the Aryan root is √DHEGH, appearing in the Lith. *dèg-ti*, to burn, Skt. *dah*, to burn. Thus the sense was, originally, 'the hot time,' and probably originated in a warm climate. See Brugmann's Comparative Grammar, tr. by Wright, § 77, p. 67; Fick's Dict. i. 115, 631, ii. 578. The corresponding verb in Russian is *jeche*, to burn; whence *jegavitsa*, a burning fever.

Despot. The origin of the syllable *des-* is, according to Curtius, doubtful. Brugmann regards the first syllable in the Gk. δεσπότης as representing an Indo-Germanic **dems*, meaning 'of a house.' This is practically the same solution as in Benfey, who compares *despot* with the Skt. *dampati*, 'master of the house.' Cf. Lat. *domus*, and Gk. δέμειν. If this be right, it reminds us of E. *hus-band*. See Brugmann, Comp. Gram. tr. by Wright, §§ 191, 198, 204.

Drain. Besides the A.S. form *drehnian*, cited in my Dict., there is an A.S. *dreahnian*, in Cockayne's Leechdoms, iii. 72. 23; see Bosworth. Kluge (Eng. Studien, xi. 511) holds that the diphthong was long; and derives *dréah-n-ian* from

a form *dréag-e, an adverb corresponding to the adj. drýge, dry. He notices also the North Friesic druugh, a milk-strainer; for which he refers us to Johansen, 28. 101; and this is also from a Teut. base DRAUG. Another related word is the G. trocken, dry; see Kluge.

Dream. Kluge separates M.E. dreem, dream, in the sense of 'vision,' from the A.S. dréam, music, glee. See his Etym. Dict., s.v. Traum.

Drivel, a drudge, servant. In the last line of sc. 2 of Act IV. of Twelfth Night, the first folio has diuell. It has been proposed to alter the line to—"Adieu! goodman Drivel;" but there is no sufficient reason for this. It is only a guess. It is, however, worth while to say that the sense of drivel, also spelt drevil, was a drudge, a servant, a low fellow; see Halliwell. It is one of the loan-words from Dutch. Hexham has: "'Drevelen, to Trudg up and downe;" and he also has the phrase "Drevel, a Scullion, or a Turne-spit," which occurs under "Dreve, a Boxe on the year, a blow," apparently by a misprint. It is probable that he meant to give the M. Du. form for "scullion" as drevel; at any rate, such is the form in Kilian. Koolman gives the E. Friesic form as dräfel (entered under dréfel, an iron tool, which may be a different word). The Bremen Wörterbuch has dravaljen, to run up and down, formed from draven, to trot. I would not therefore derive this M. Du. drevel, as Koolman does, from the verb "drive," but from M. Du. draven, to trot, cognate with the G. traben, which see in Kluge. The Mod. Du. drevel is explained as 'driver,' but that may be due to popular etymology; for Du. still uses draven in the sense of 'trot.' If this be right, a drevil is a 'trotter up and down.'

Duck. The A.S. form has not been registered. But it occurs as dúca, in the phrase dúcan séað, i.e. duck's pool, duck-pool; see Cartularium Saxon. ed. Birch, ii. 162, l. 3. The u was long; see Stratmann. We infer the existence of an original strong verb *dúcan (M.E. douken), pt. t. *déac, pp. *docen. Perhaps the pp. docen accounts for the occasional M.E. doke, in which the o may have been originally short. Cf. the O.H.G. strong verb túhhan (in Schade); E. Fries.

dūk-ānte, a duck (Koolman). Hexham gives M. Du. *docken*, to dive, as well as *duycken*.

Dusk. In the Academy for Aug. 11, 1888, p. 89, Dr. Logeman tells us that the A.S. *dohx* occurs as a gloss to the Lat. *furva*. There is a related verb *doxian* in the Vercelli Codex, fol. 23, back ; according to Kluge, in Engl. Studien, xi. 511. These seem to point to an A.S. **dosc* as the original of M.E. *dosk*, Mod. E. *dusk*. Kluge assumes the A.S. form to be **dusc*, which he connects with Lat. *fuscus* ; from an Aryan **dhuskus*.

Dye. Kluge (Engl. Studien, xi. 511) acutely remarks that the A.S. *déag*, fem., dye, answers to Teut. **daugō-* and Aryan **dhoukã* ; whilst the Lat. *fucus* answers to Aryan **dhouko-*. So also the A.S. verb *déag-ian*, to dye, is cognate with the Lat. *fucare*.

Engle, Ingle, a favourite. (Du.) The account of this word by Nares sufficiently explains it. He shows that *engle* (also spelt *enghle*, to denote that the *g* was hard, not like *g* in *angel*) is used in the Prol. to Cynthia's Revels by Ben Jonson, with reference to the children who spoke that prologue. It was also used of a favourite boy ; as in Ben Jonson's Silent Woman, i. 1. Nares is obviously right in supposing that *engle* is the same word as *ingle*, but he does not tell us which was the older form. We know, however, that *en* in English often becomes *in* ; that M.E. *enke* is now *ink*, etc. The word seems to be no older than Ben Jonson, and I have no doubt that, like similar cant terms, it was merely borrowed from Dutch, viz. from Du. *engel*, an angel, applied, first to singing boys, and then to favourites. The M.E. *engel*, an angel, seems to have died out long before the sixteenth century, though it was common at the beginning of the thirteenth century ; see *angel* in Mätzner. The forms *angel, aungel*, in the fourteenth century were borrowed from French ; whereas the A.S. and Du. forms were borrowed from Latin. See *Angel* in Murray.

Esquimaux. I quote the following : " The native tribes of New England were struck by this habit [of eating raw meat] among the roving race of the far north, whom they called

accordingly *Eskimantsic* or 'raw-flesh-eaters,' a name which they still bear in its French form *Esquimaux*."—Tylor, Anthropology (1881), p. 265.

Fallow (2). I have followed the usual account, that *fallow*, as applied to land, is the same word as *fallow* (A.S. *fealu*) as applied to deer. But they are rather to be separated. Cf. E. Friesic *falge*, fallow-land, *falgen*, to break up the surface of land. The O.H.G. *felgâ* means a kind of harrow, and is the same word as A.S. *fealh*, a harrow, only found in the acc. pl. in the Epinal gloss, l. 713: "occas, *fealga*"; cf. A.S. Vocab. 463. 20. Hence 'naualia [error for *noualia*], *fælging* ;' Wright's Voc. 34. 22 ; cf. 35. 24. Thus the original sense of fallow-land was land broken up (on the surface) with the harrow. The O.H.G. *felge*, a harrow, is distinct from G. *felge*, a felloe of a wheel ; see Kluge (s.v. *felge*).

Filbert. I have suggested that *filbert* stands for 'Philibert's nut.' In Moisy's Dict. of the Normandy patois I find that the actual name there is *noix de filbert*.

Flip. Defined in Ogilvie's Dict. as 'a mixed liquor consisting of beer and spirit sweetened, and heated with a hot iron.' *Egg-flip* is much the same, with the addition of eggs. In the Dict. of the Norman patois by Moisy occurs the curious assertion that this is a Normandy word. I translate the article. *Flip*, s.m. warm cider, with brandy and spices. In English *flip*. The Eng. *flip* is a word of Norman origin. The way to make this drink is indicated in the following passage from the Jersey Rimes (*Rimes jèrsiaises*), p. 54. (This book, ed. M. A. Mourant, was published in Jersey in 1865.) 'But drink then, master Philippe. Don't you find this cider good ? Would you like our dame to warm it up and put in it a pinch of all-spice ?' Another quotation is given from *Le Lexovien*, March 2, 1870 : 'Some individuals entered the shop and asked for *phlippe*, a drink which is only known in our country, and is made of sweet cider, and brandy, and spices, the whole heated together over the fire.' The spelling *phlippe* here given suggests an etymology from the Norman *Phlippe*, i.e. Philip. See the same work, s.v. *Phlipot*.

Funk. The older sense of *funk* is a spark of fire, or the

first kindling of a fire.   The Prompt. Parv. has: "*Funke*, or lytylle fyyr, *Igniculus, foculus.*"   The word occurs as *fonk* in P. Plowman, C. 7. 335.   In the phrase 'not a *fonk*,' i.e. not a spark, not a bit, it occurs in Rob. of Brunne ; see Mätzner. It is not found in A.S., but it may be a native word.   Or it may be of Scand. origin, as we find Dan. *funke*, a spark; and *funkle*, to sparkle.   The E. Friesic is *funke* or *funk*, a spark; cf. Du. *vonk*, a spark ; *vonk-doek*, tinder, lit. spark-cloth.   The M. Du. *fonck*, later *vonck*, signified a spark ; and Hexham gives "*Vonck, ofte Vyer-doeck*, burnt linnen for a tinder-box."   He probably means the compound word *Vonck-doeck.*   However, in the Suffolk dialect *funk* means 'touch-wood'; and I have no doubt that the phrase 'in a *funk*' meant, originally, in a glow, in a smouldering state, smoking like a bit of linen in the old-fashioned tinder-box, with which our ancestors were only too familiar.   This explains how *funk* also meant, as Phillips says in 1706, "a strong rank smell, particularly that of stinking tobacco ; " the reference being to the glowing tobacco, not to the same when unlighted.   Hence also, in the Gazophylacium Anglicanum (1689), we find "*funk*, an offensive smell ; " and Halliwell has the verb "*to funk* (1) to smoke, (2) to cause a bad smell."   He also gives the sb. with the sense of "great fear," which is now the commonest and almost the only meaning.   The G. *funke*, a spark, is the O.H.G. *funcho* ; and the suggestion in Schade, that it is derived from the stem *fun-* in Icel. *fun-i*, Goth. *fon* (gen. *fun-ins*), fire, is reasonable. Cf. Goth. *fun-isks*, fiery.

Gang.   Brugmann (tr. by Wright), § 197, p. 166, connects Goth. *gaggan*, to go, with the Lith. *żengiu* or *żingiu*, I stride, I go ; and the Skt. *jaṅghā*, the leg.   Cf. Skt. *jaṅghāla*, a rapid walker.

Ghazul.   Amongst Thackeray's Poems, we find three with the general title of 'The *Ghazul*, or oriental love-song.'   This is the Arabic *ghazal*, an ode ; lit. a thing spun, from the root *ghazala*, he span.   See Richardson's Arab. Dict. p. 1050 ; and Devic's Supplement to Littré, s.v. *Ghazel.*

Gooseberry.   The earliest quotations I have yet found are

the following, both from the O.F. grammar by Du Wes, pr. by T. Godfray; and reprinted at Paris, along with Pals-grave's Dict. I quote from the reprint. "*Gose-berrys*, grois-elles," p. 912, col. 2; "*Gowsbery tre*, groiselier," p. 914, col. 3. The date seems to be ab. 1530.

Graze. It is remarkable that no satisfactory etymology of the verb to *graze*, in the sense of 'to glance off with little injury,' has ever been offered. The fact is that the word has suffered a rather violent alteration; the *r* was originally *l*. The M.E. word is *glacen*, or *glasen*, and is given by Mätzner in his Dict. ii. 273. It can hardly be doubted that the change from *glase* to *graze* has been brought about by confusion, or association, with the verb to *rase*, which is sometimes used in the same sense precisely. Cotgrave quotes the F. *raser*, 'to shaue, sheere, *raze*, or lay leuell, to touch or grate on a thing in passing by it.' Johnson gives a quotation from South's Sermons—'might not the bullet that *rased* his cheek, have gone into his head?' To return to the M.E. *glasen*. It occurs in the sense of 'glide' in Allit. Poems, ed. Morris, i. 170—'Her fygure fyn quen I had font, Suche gladande glory con to me *glace*,' i.e. glided towards me. But it also occurs in the sense 'to glance aside.' Thus in Guy of Warwick, ed. Zupitza, part i. 5067 —'Anodur he thoght to smyte ryght: But hys swerde *glasedde* lowe, and stroke upon the sadull-bowe.' Halliwell quotes this passage under the word *glasedd*. Still more clearly, in the Sowdone of Babylon, l. 1208, we have: 'He smote as doth the dinte of thondir: It *glased* down by his sheelde And carfe his stedes neke asonder.' Yet again, I have a note that, in the Lyfe of St. Edmund, Harl. MS. 2278, fol. 113, the following lines occur: 'Aboff the flood o litell wheel gan *glace*, the tother wheel *glod* on the boord aloffte.' We thus have examples of a M.E. *glacen* or *glasen*, to glide, to glance aside, coming close to the meaning of the French *raser*; and I think it clear that our modern *graze*, which has no exact equivalent in any known language, is simply the outcome of a confusion between these two words. Both words are, fortunately, quite easy to trace. The F.

raser is due to the Lat. *radere* (pp. *rasus*), to scrape, whence was formed the Low Lat. *rasare*, to graze.   The M.E. *glacen* is from O.F. *glacier*, Lat. *glaciare*, to slip as on ice ; from the Lat. *glacies*, ice.   Godefroy gives numerous examples of the O.F. *glacier*, to glance, slip.   It is remarkable that it has been superseded in Mod. French by the somewhat like-sounding word *glisser*, which is from quite a different root, namely, from the O.H.G. *glitan*, cognate with E. *glide.*

Griddle, a pan for baking cakes on.   The M.E. form is *gredil* in the Ancren Riwle.   I have given it as of Celtic origin ; but there is always the chance that the W. word may have been borrowed from English.   It would correspond to an O.F. *gredil*, but I cannot find that word in the dictionaries.   Nevertheless, there was such a word ; for Moisy, in his Dict. of Norman patois, not only gives *grédil*, s.m., as the Norman word, explaining it by the F. *gril*, a gridiron, but he gives two quotations in which *gredil* occurs.   Thus, in the Comptes du Château de Gaillon, p. 355, there is an inventory of the sixteenth century, in which there is mention of 'xii pieces de landiers . . . et *gredils*,' i.e. 12 pieces, of andirons and griddles.   It is, of course, the same word as the O.F. *greïl*, given in Godefroy, with the sense of ' grating '; the fem. form *greille* is also in Godefroy, with the sense of ' griddle,' and he gives an older form *gradilie*, in which the *d* is retained.   The origin is the corrupt Lat. *craticulum*, noted in Lewis and Short ; the correct form being the Lat. *craticula*, a grating, also ' a small gridiron ' (Lewis and Short), from *cratis*, a hurdle ; answering to the fem. F. form *greille.*   Thus the word is not of Celtic, but of Lat. origin. *Grill* is a doublet of *griddle*, but from the fem. form instead of the neuter.   Although Godefroy does not give the sb. *gredil*, he gives the vb. *grediller*, to grill.   I have already shown that *gridiron* is from the M.E. *gredire*, a variant of *gredil*, due to attempting to put a new sense into the suffix.

Hastelets, part of the inwards of a wild boar.   See Halliwell.   In Wright's Vocab. 566. 10, we find : " *Assacula*, an *hastelet*."   See also Mätzner ; and the less correct forms *haslet, harslet*.   It is from the O.F. *hastelet*, Mod. F. *hâtelet*

in Littré, and meant, originally, 'a thing roasted on a spit.'
The etymology is from the O.F. *haste*, a spit; from Lat.
hasta, a spear. When we notice that *harslet* came to mean
'a pig's chitterlings,' the connection with the Lat. *hasta* is
not obvious.

Hone. No reference has yet been given for the A.S. *hān*
in the Dictionaries. Yet it occurs, in the sense of 'stone,'
several times in the Charters. See Earle's Index to his
Land Charters and Saxonic Documents. It is feminine in
each instance. It occurs, *e.g.* in a charter of Æthelstan,
A.D. 939, printed by Earle; p. 174, l. 4.

Hurlyburly, a tumult. I wish to make a correction. I
say, in my Dict., that the F. *hurluburlu* is a late word, later
than Shakespeare. This is not so, as Littré gives a quotation
for it from Rabelais. It is curious that Ihre's Dict. of O.
Swedish gives *huller om buller* as a made-up phrase, to
express a state of the greatest confusion. The O. Swed.
bullra means 'to make a great noise.' *Hurly* represents F.
hurler, O.F. *huller*, to howl. The word is more or less imita-
tive, and practically means 'a howling and bellowing.'

Laveer, to tack against the wind. Used by Dryden,
Astræa Redux, l. 65. Also by Davenant and Suckling, ac-
cording to a note upon Dryden's line in Christie's edition.
Borrowed from Dutch. Hexham gives : '*Laveren*, to saile
upon and downe with a crosse-winde.' The G. *lavieren* is
also borrowed from Dutch. The Swed. form is *lofvera*
(Widegren, 1788); Dan. *lavere*. These words appear to be
borrowed from the F. *loveer, aloveer*, forms used in the six-
teenth century; see Littré, s.v. *louvoyer*, which is the present
F. spelling. Again, the F. *loveer* seems to be formed in its
turn from the Du. *loeven*, to luff. Hexham also gives the
spelling *loeveren* for the Dutch word. The chief difficulty is
to make out the mutual relationship of the words; and I
cannot find evidence for deciding whether the latter syllable
is French, or whether the whole word may not be Dutch,
and made out of the phrase *te loef veeren*, to veer to wind-
ward. In Phillips's Dict., s.v. *veer*, I find the phrase '*to go
loft Veering*, i.e. at large, neither by a wind, nor directly

before the wind, but betwixt both, when she sails with the
sheat veered out ; which is also termed quartering.'

Leet. The difficulty of this word is well known. It is
not found earlier than the time of Edw. I.; it is spelt *lete* in
the Anglo-French of that period ; see Year-books, i. 297 ; ii.
399, etc. Prof. Maitland thinks its use arose in East Anglia,
and it was probably a prov. E. word taken up into legal use.
It certainly is not French ; and cannot be the Fr. *lit*, as
strangely suggested in Stratmann. My own belief is that it
is a different use or sense of the word which is still in use as
leet in East Anglia. Halliwell, s.v. *releet* (which is the
wrong place to enter it), gives '*releet*, a crossing of roads.'
There is no such word. The East Anglian phrase is *three-
releet*, or *four-releet*, according to the number of ways. Now
three-releet is a popular misdivision of *threere-leet* (A.S. *þrēora
gelǣtu*), lit. ' exits of three,' i.e. three ways departing from
a common point. Here *leet* answers to A.S. *gelǣte*, pl. *gelǣtu*,
a derivative of *lǣtan*, to let go, dismiss, let depart. We have
closely related words in E. *in-let*, *out-let*, properly *in-leet*,
out-leet ; in the Icel. *i-lát*, an inlet, the vowel is long to the
present day. I think it is quite certain, etymologically, that
leet is a derivative of *lǣtan*, to let, the senses of which are so
very variable ; as it means ' to let go, to let a house, to cause
to be done,' etc. Perhaps the sense of *leet* was ' a thing
appointed.' I feel sure that it is merely the sense of the
word, and not its form, that is difficult to trace. The A.S.
form is clearly *lǣte*, neut. sb. ; pl. *lǣtu*.

Lingo. "I have thoughts to tarry a small matter in town,
to learn somewhat of your *lingo* first, before I cross the seas."
—(1700) W. Congreve, *Way of the World*, Act 3, sc. 3.
Clearly a sailor's word ; and not from the Ital. *lingua*, but
from the Port. *lingoa*, occasional form of *lingua*, a language.
So in Johnson.

Manito, a spirit, or fetish. In Cuoq, Lexique de la langue
Algonquine (Montreal, 1886), I find : "*Manito*, sometimes
pronounced *Manitou*, spirit, 'génie.' *Kije Manito*, Great
Spirit; *Matci Manito*, evil spirit, demon." The original is
in French ; I give a translation.

Marabout, Marabou. The name *Marabout* is given to certain saints or religious persons among the Berbers of North Africa. It answers to the Arab. *marābit*, quiet, still ; see Richardson's Arab. Dict. p. 1382, and Devic's Supplement to Littré. In French the final *t* is not sounded, and the same name is given to the *marabou-stork*, the bird whence we obtain *marabou* feathers. It is said that the bird is so called because some hold it sacred as 'a saint.' See the Supplement to Dozy's Span. Etymologies. The habitat of the bird is tropical Africa.

Marcasite, a kind of iron pyrites. F. *marcassite*, a word of Persian origin. In Richardson's Arab. and Pers. Dict. p. 1395, it is spelt *markashīshā*, explained by 'the marcasite-stone,' and is marked as Persian ; it is also given as Persian by Vüllers. See *marcassite* in Devic's Supp. to Littré.

Merelles, a game originally played with counters. Also spelt *merils* ; and in Shak. *nine-men's morris*, Mids. N.D. ii. 1. 98. Of F. origin. Cotgrave has : '*Le Jeu des Merelles*, the boyish game called *Merils*, or five-penny *Morris*; plaied here most commonly with stones, but in France with pawns, or men made of purpose, and tearmed *Merelles*.' The Mod. F. has *marelle*, which is explained to be the game played with counters called in Mod. French *méreau*, and in O.F. *merel*. There are thus two forms ; O.F. *merelle*, fem., and O.F. *merel*, masc. The latter appears to be the original, and appears also as *marel*, meaning a counter, a medal, orig. a bit of common metal, usually lead, which was used as a counter or ticket for various purposes, especially of calculation or as vouchers. The masc. form *marel* would make the pl. as *mareaux*, and this is the particular form which appears in Eng. as *morris*. For information, see *merel*, s.m., and *merele* or *merelle*, s.f., in Godefroy ; and *merallus, merellus*, in Ducange. The O.F. *merelier* meant the board on which the game was played. The ultimate etymology is doubtful ; but, as the Lat. *merallus* sometimes meant 'a piece of money of small value,' and Ducange gives a verb *merare*, to distribute alms, I think it is highly probable that these words are from Lat. *merere, mereri*, to earn, deserve. It appears that these

counters were actually given to chaplains as vouchers for the
masses they had said. They could, of course, claim payment
accordingly.

Moccassin. Said to be an Algonquin word. This I have
verified. In the Lexique de la langue Algonquine, by an
author named Cuoq, published at Montréal in 1886, at p.
199, I find : '*Makisin*, chaussure (dont les Anglais ont fait
moccassin).' Capt. Smith (ed. Arber), p. 44, gives : '*Mock-
asins*, Shooes,' in his list of Indian words ; see also p. 381.

Moose. The Algonquin name is *mons* (with *n*, not *u*). See
Cuoq, Lexique de la Langue Algonquine, Montreal, 1886.

Mulatto. Our *mulatto* is borrowed from Span. *mulato*.
The usual etymology is from Lat. *mulus*, a mule ; though the
proper derivative of *mulus* is Span. *muleto*, explained in
Minsheu's Span. Dict. (1623) as meaning 'a he-colt of an
horse and an asse.' But it is not at all clear that there
is any connection. Minsheu gives *mulato* separately, and
explains it to mean 'the sonne of a black Moore, and one of
another nation.' I think the etymology given in Devic's
Supplement to Littré is far better ; it is closer both in form
and sense. He follows Engelmann in deriving it from the
Arab. *muwallad*, explained in Richardson's Dict., p. 1528, as
'procreated, begotten ; also a foreigner, not a true Arabian.'
Devic says it is found with the sense of 'one born of an
Arabian father and a strange mother,' or 'one whose father
is a slave and whose mother is free.' This agrees so exactly
with Minsheu's definition that it can hardly fail to be right.
The Arab. word is a participial form, allied to *walad*, a son ;
Rich. Dict., p. 1656.

Nenuphar, Nuphar. The yellow water-lily is botanically
called *nuphar*, and the white one sometimes *nenuphar*. The
account of *nenuphar* in Devic's Supp. to Littré should be
consulted, but is not satisfactory. According to Vüllers, the
Pers. *nūfar*, meaning a water-lily, is simply a contracted
form of the older *nīlūpar*, also spelt *nīlūpal*, *nīlūfar*, *nīlūfal*;
see Richardson's Pers. Dict., p. 1620. The E. *nenuphar* is
clearly an adaptation of the Pers. *nīlūfar*, with the substitu-
tion of *n* for *l*; and Devic notes that the form *nīnūfar* is

found even in Persian. The Pers. word is unoriginal, being borrowed from the Skt. *nīlōtpala*, a blue lotus, this being the common kind of lotus. The Skt. word is compounded of *nīla*, blue, and *utpala*, a lotus; see Benfey, p. 113. *Utpala* is also a compound, the former element being the prep. *ud*, out; whilst the origin of *pala* is doubtful. Benfey suggests the root *pat*, to move. I am indebted to Prof. Cowell for his help as regards this word.

Nest. I have given the old derivation of this word from a root NAS, to go to, to visit, as in Fick and Curtius. But it is now usual to follow that given by Benfey for the Skt. *nīda*, which is explained as being a contraction from *ni-sad-a*, a place to sit down in; according to which view, *ni*, i.e. down, is a prefix, to be compared with E. *ne-ther*, the comparative form from the same base; and the real root is SED, to sit. For the full explanation see Kluge, s.v. *Nest*; and Douse, Introd. to Gothic, p. 45.

Numbles, inward parts of a deer. Cotgrave has: '*Nombles d'en cerf*, the *numbles* of a stag.' The M.E. form is *noumbles*, Gawain and the Grene Knight, 1347; also *nombles*, Wright's Vocab. 569. 20; see also Prompt. Parv. p. 360; and Way's note. From O.F. *nombles*, the same; from Low Lat. *numbulus*, allied to Low Lat. *numbile* or *numbilis*, the loin, esp. a loin of pork. *Numbulus* is a curious corruption of *lumbulus*, a loin of pork; from Lat. *lumbus*, loin. It follows that *numble* is the dimin. form corresponding to *loin*. See Littré and Scheler; also Ducange. *Numbles* also appears as *umbles*; hence our 'humble pie.'

Parasang, a measure of long distance. The Gk. παρασάγγης, so familiar to readers of Xenophon, is well known to be an adaptation of an older form of the Pers. *farsang*, explained by 'a parasang, a league,' in Richardson's Dict., p. 1081. Vüllers suggests that the etymology is from Pers. *far*, put for *farā*, over against, and *sang*, a stone; so that it meant 'up to the stone' which was used to mark the distance, see the same Dict., pp. 1075, 854. The initial *p* is due to the Zend form (*para*) of the prefix, for which later Persian substituted *f*. There is, however, a difficulty about this

derivation. There is nothing to show that Pers. *sang* is an Old Persian word. The Aryan *s* becomes *h* in Persian ; the Pers. *s* is represented by Zend *ç*, Skt. *ç*, Aryan *k*; and this must be the guide to a discovery of the true etymology.

Pile. *Pile*, in the sense of 'stake,' is the A.S. *pil*, borrowed from Lat. *pilum*, a pestle, a javelin, a stake. Lewis and Short tell us it stands for *pis-lum*, from *pisere*, occasional form of *pinsere*, to pound. The fact is rather that it stands for **pins-lom*, as noted in Brugmann, Comp. Gram., § 208.

Pinfold. I have already given this word as being for *pynd-fold*. A variant, without the mutated vowel, is the M.E. *poundfold*. I now find that the A.S. form is *pund-fald*, though not given in the dictionaries. In some boundaries in a charter dated 961 we find: "of þam putte on hacan *pund-fold*; of hacan *pund-falde*," etc.—Cartul. Saxon. ed. Birch, iii. 309.

Plack, a small Scotch coin ; a third of a penny. This is rather an old word. It occurs in A. Montgomery's Cherry and Slae, l. 1153 ; pr. in 1597. Jamieson shows that it was struck in the reign of James III., ab. A.D. 1483. It is sometimes derived from F. *plaque*, but this can hardly be right; for, although this is the same word, we see from Cotgrave that the F. *plaque* never had this sense. The fact is that both E. *plack* and F. *plaque* were borrowed from M. Dutch. Hexham gives M. Du. *placke*, 'a French sous.' The Mod. Du. *plak* only keeps the senses of 'slice' or 'round,' or 'schoolmaster's ferula.' See *placard* in my Dict., which is from the same source.

Quip. I have given this as of Celtic origin ; but this is hardly probable. I now believe it to be simply a shortened form of Lat. *quippe* ; cf. *quillet* (for *quidlibet*) and *quiddity*. This is rendered almost certain by the use of the dissyllabic form *quippy*. " Why ? Lucill lyude, who ever vsde All fayners to detect With satyres sharpe, and *quippies* round ; " Drant, tr. of Horace, Bk. 2, Sat. 1 : sign. F 1 (1566).

Rail. I know of no example older than that which I have given from Gower. I give the etymology from the O. Low G. *regel*, Swed. *regel*, a bar, rail. But it can hardly have been borrowed directly. There must have been an intermediate O.F. form ; and then the order of things would

be clear. The E. word would be borrowed from F., and the
F. word from O. Low G. Now in Moisy's Dict. of Norman
patois, he not only gives *railes*, s.pl., a set of railings, but he
also quotes the O.F. *reille*, a rail, bar, as occurring in a
Compte de 1334, cited by M. Delisle in the Actes Norm. de
la Ch. des Comptes, p. 69. Here is the missing link.

Recheat, a recall, or signal of recall (in hunting). See
recheat in Nares, who derives it from the O.F. *recept* or *recet*.
I believe he is practically right, and that it answers to an
O.F. *rechet*, variant of *recet*. But I suspect that this par-
ticular use is from the verb *to recheat*, to play the notes
signifying recall on a horn, orig. simply 'to recall.' Roque-
fort has *rechaiter, recheter*, to conceal, receive, draw back,
hide; and Ducange, s.v. *rechatare*, has the note that O.F.
rechaiter meant to receive secretly or hide. The receiver,
who was said to be as bad as the thief, was called 'Cil qui
rechaite cose emblé.' This verb *recheter*, variant of *receter*
(for which see Bartsch), is derived from O.F. *recet*, a place of
refuge, which is the original of the somewhat common M.E.
recet, in the same sense. *Receter* answers to Lat. *receptare*;
which is therefore the original of *recheat*. For the change
of *c* to *ch*, cf. Low Lat. *recheptor* for *receptor*; and the F.
acheter from Low Lat. *accaptare*.

Reel. The A.S. is *hreol* or *hréol*. See Kluge, in Eng.
Studien, xi. 512. He suggests an original **hrœhil, hréhil*,
(from *hrōh-il*), from an older **hronh-il, *hranh-il*; and com-
pares the North Fries. *raial*, a reel (Johansen, 13). If this
be right, it may be allied to *ring* (G. *Ring* in Kluge).

Reest, Rest, a part of a plough. Sometimes spelt *wreest*.
'On the side [of the plough] is a piece of timber, which they
call a *wreest*' [in the isle of Thanet]; see Britten's Farming
Words (E.D.S.), p. 113. Halliwell has: '*wreest*, a piece of
timber on the side of a plough, made to take on and off
(Kent)'; also '*rest*, the wood on which the coulter of a
plough is fixed (MS. Lansd. 560, fol. 45).' There is a plough
called 'the Kentish turn-wrest plough'; Engl. Cycl. s.v.
Plough. I once thought this word was connected with the
verb *to wrest*; but the initial *w* is due, I fear, to popular

etymology. The A.S. word is *réost*, occurring in '*Dentalia*, sules réost' in the Corpus Glossary, I. 656; '*Dentale*, sulc-réost,' Wright's Gl., ed. Wülker, 219, 5; '*Dentalia*, sules réost,' ibid. 384, 43. The *éo* is long, as shewn both by Prov. E. *reest* (see *wreest* above), and by the cognate O.H.G. *riostar* (Schade). Schade proposes to derive it from the root seen in O.H.G. *riutan*, to grub up, Icel. *ryðja*, to clear or rid the ground; cf. O.H.G. *riuti*, cleared ground. See *Rid*.

Rid, to clear ground (Scand.). It is worth noting that there are two verbs to *rid* in English. We have *rid*, to deliver from an enemy, A.S. *hreddan*, cognate with G. *retten*; and the Prov. E. *rid*, to clear ground, whence *ridding*, a clearing (Swaledale Gloss., E.D.S.). The latter *rid* is of Scand. origin, from Icel. *ryðja*, to clear, Dan. *rydde*, to grub up land; cf. G. *reuten*, to grub up. Vigfusson thinks this word should also have an initial *h*, and that it is from the strong verb *hrjóða*, to strip, to unload, etc., which seems probable. Cf. also the Yks. *royd*, a clearing, in the Huddersfield Glossary, E.D.S. No. 39; Icel. *rjóðr*, a clearing, O.H.G. *riuti*, a clearing.

Rill, a streamlet. I have given this word as Celtic; but this is too risky. I do not find it in M.E.; my earliest quotation is from Drayton. It may have been borrowed from abroad. The corresponding E. Friesic is *rille* (Kool-man); and Wedgwood compares the Low G. *rille* (Bremen Wörterbuch). According to Koolman, it occurs in M. Dutch as *ril*. It seems to be a contraction for *ridel*, the diminutive of E. Fries. *ride*, *ride*, a stream. For the loss of *d*, cf. E. Fries. *rillen*, contracted form of *riddeln*, to shiver with fever. The A.S. word for 'stream' is *riðe* or *rið*, preserved in *Shotte-ry* (Warwickshire), orig. *Scotta-rið* (see Kemble); Child-rey, orig. *Cilla-rið* (see Earle's A.S. Charters); also, perhaps, in the name of the river *Rye* (North Riding of Yorkshire). Cf. O.Sax. *rith*, a stream (Heine's Gloss. to Kleinere altniederd. Denkmäle). The N. Friesic *ride* is also *rie* (with loss of *d*); see Outzen. The A.S. word is common; see Grein and Toller. As to the vowel, it was probably long, because Leo (A.S. Names, p. 86) points out that "there are numerous streams in North Germany, bearing *Reide* as a *nomen pro-*

prium." Halliwell gives "*rithe,* a small stream, usually one occasioned by heavy rain ; *South.*" The A.S. *riðe* probably stands for **rin-ðe* (Ettmüller), i.e. the running or flowing stream ; from *rinnan,* to run, flow ; cf. *run,* a small stream, as in ' Bull's Run,' and A.S. *ryn-el,* or runnel. I conclude that *rill* and *runnel* may be derived from the same root-verb, and mean the same thing. If this be so, *rill* is short for **rith-el,* if we keep to the E. form. There is an interesting passage in Ælfred's Metres, v. 20, where *ryne* and *riðe* (there spelt *ryðe*) occur in the same line : ' bróc bið onwended of his riht-ryne ryðum tóflówen,' the brook is turned aside, diverted in its rills from the right run or channel.

Rother, an ox. M.E. *ruðeren,* pl., in Layamon ; A.S. *hrýðer, hríðer.* Hence *Rother-ham* (York), *Rother-field* (Sussex) ; and *Ruther-ford.* The M.E. forms *rother, ruther,* answer to A.S. *hrýðer,* with short *y* ; so that the vowel must have been shortened. The base *hrýð-* probably stands for *hrynð-,* with the usual loss of *n* before *ð,* derived by mutation from the stem **hrunth-* of the strong verb **hrinth-an,* A.S. *hrind-an,* to push, thrust ; see Fick, iii. 83 ; and cf. Goth. *fin-than, hinthan,* with A.S. *findan, *hindan.* The word *runt* (q.v.) can be derived from the same stem, and the O.H.G. *hrind* from the stem *hrinth-* of the same verb.

In Toller's Dict. the A.S. word is entered under *hríðer* (with *i*), and such is also the Kentish form in Sweet's O.E. Texts ; but nearly all the examples shew the spelling with *ý,* which occurs, e.g. in the Blickling Homilies. Sievers gives the forms as ' *hrýðer, hríðer,* subsequently also *hrúðer.*' In Layamon we find *ruðeren* (pl.), later text *ropere.* The spelling with *o* may have been due to French scribes, as in the case of M.E. *sone* for A.S. *sunu.* We should expect rather a Mod. E. form *ruther,* and this is, in fact, preserved in the name of *Ruther-ford,* answering to an A.S. *Hrýðera-ford* in Kemble. This name of *Ruther-ford* affords a parallel to *Ox-ford* ; cf. also *Hors-ford* (Norfolk), *Swin-ford* (Leicester), and *Cat-ford* (Kent), besides the shallow river called the *Raven's-bourne.*

Another theory sees in the initial *hr* a relationship to the Gk. κέρ-ας, E. *horn* ; see Schade.

Runt, a bullock; sometimes, a heifer.   (Du.)   We find in Florio's Ital. Dict., ed. 1598, "*Giouenco*, a steere, a *runt*, a bullocke;" and "*Giouenca*, a heyfer, a *runt*." It is borrowed from Dutch. Hexham has: "*een Rund, Runde, ofte Os*, a Runt, a Bullock, or an Oxe." Also "*Rundt-vleesch*, Bullock-flesh, or Beefe." It is closely allied to G. *Rind*, ox, bullock; which see in Kluge. The O.H.G. form had an initial *h*, and took the form *hrind*. The E. Friesic word is *rind* or *rūnd*; see Koolman. And see *Rother* (above).

Rust. Dr. J. Wright informs us that the Yksh. dial. form of *rust* is *rūst*, and in the same dialect a *mouse* is *mās*. Hence in the A.S. *rūst*, the *u* was long. In my Etym. Dict. I have already suggested that *rūst* is a contracted form of *rudst, the suffix -*st* being added to the base *rud*-. The loss of *d* would cause the short *u* to become long *ū*; which is just what happened. Kluge also refers the G. *Rost* to the same base *rud*-; cf. A.S. *rud-u*, ruddiness, and E. *ruddy*. This base agrees with the 3rd or past-plural stem of the strong verb *réod-an*, to become red.

Scabious. An early mention of this plant occurs in Wülker's Vocabularies, p. 609, l. 36: "*Scabiosa*, anglice *scabiose*." The etymology is obvious.

Sequin. I have given the usual derivation, which takes the word back to the Arab. *sikkah*, a die for coins. It is worth just noting that this is the very word which occurs in the phrase *sicca rupee*, i.e. 'coined rupee'; which see in Yule's Hobson-Jobson.

Sere, withered. The account in my Dict. is fairly correct. For further information see Brugmann's Comp. Gramm., tr. by Wright, pp. 95, 161; §§ 100, 185. The A.S. *séar* answers to a common Teut. *sauso-, which is cognate with Lith. *sausas*, O.Bulg. *suchu*, dry (Russ. *sykhoi*); allied to Skt. sere, dry, *çosha*, a drying up, *çush*, to become dry or withered. The form of the root is SAWS. The Lith. form, which I had not mentioned, is important.

Sophy, a title of the Shah of Persia. This word occurs in Shakespeare thrice; see Wright's note to Twelfth Nt. ii. 5. 164 (Globe ed. 197), which is correct. A common explanation, found in Webster, is, that it is the same as the word

also spelt *sufi*, from the Arab. *sūfī* or *sūfiy*, which in Richardson's Dict., p. 946, is explained by 'wise, intelligent, pious, devout, spiritual ; a religious man of the order of the Sufi;' though Mr. Robertson Smith tells me it is best to explain it only as 'the term used to designate adherents to a peculiar mystic philosophy.' Richardson adds : 'hence the surname of the kings of Persia.' But Devic points out that *sophy*, as applied to the Shah, has nothing whatever to do with the order of the Sufi, or the Arab. and Pers. *sūfī*; though the words were easily and early confused. As applied to the Shah, the right word is *sefewī*, an adjective formed from the proper name *Sefī*, or *Safī*, who was the founder of the dynasty to which the kings called *sophy* belonged. This is clearly given also in Richardson's Dict., p. 938, who on that page distinguishes between this word and *sūfī*, quite plainly, and gives the correct account ; showing that his other statement refers to an incorrect usage. His account is : ' *Safī*, the surname of a dynasty of Persian kings (1500–1736), so named from Ismael Safī, the first monarch of this house. The origin of the elevation of this family however must be traced to a private ancestor of that prince, called *Safīyu'd'dīn* (the purity of religion), who was cotemporary with Tamerlane.' He then gives the whole story about this man. Hence the term *sophy* in Shakespeare is clearly from the Arab. *safiy*, pure; and this is quite a distinct word from *sūfī* above. In one word the former vowel is short; and in the other long. Both begin with the same kind of *s*, viz. *sād*. A more exact date for the dynasty of *Sophies* is 1505-1725 ; see Stokvis, Man. d'Histoire, Leyden, 1888, p. 140.

Theorbo, a large lute. Used by Drayton (1612) in Polyolbion, song 4. Better spelt *theorba*, as in Blount (1681) and in Torriano's translation of the Ital. word (1688). Phillips again has *theorbo* (1706). The *th* was originally sounded as *t*, and was due to the F. spelling *théorbe*. Both F. and E. words are from Ital. *tiorba*, 'a kinde of musicall instrument vsed among countrie people' ; Florio. Stappers, in his F. Etym. Dict., says that *Tiorba* was the name of the inventor ; which seems probable.

Thistle. If Fick be right in giving the orig. Teut. form as **thinstila* from the Teut. root THINS, to tear, then the *i* in the A.S. *þistel* must have been originally long. Kluge (Eng. Studien, xi. 512) points out that this fact is proved by the Somersetshire form, which Mr. Elworthy spells *duy·sl* (Dial. of W. Somersetshire, p. 74, l. 4). The author explains that this *uy* answers to the literary Eng. long *i*, as in *mind* (p. 28). See also *dashle* [glossic daash·l, dús·l, duy·shl, duy·sl]], a thistle, in Mr. Elworthy's Somersetsh. Glossary, p. 184.

Tutty. According to Webster's Dictionary, this is a name given to an impure protoxide of zinc, said to be found native in Persia. It is in Johnson, and occurs in No. 266 of the Tatler : "near it a phial of rose-water and powder of *tutty*." It was used by ladies, and was thought to be good for the eyes. It is the F. *tutie*, which, according to Devic, is from the Arab. *tútiyá*, with the same sense. But it is really Persian ; Richardson's Dict. gives Pers. *tútiyá*, tutty, whence are derivatives meaning 'a collyrium or medicine for the eyes,' and 'green vitriol' respectively. The native Arab. lexicons recognise it as a foreign word, and say that the best species came from India. Its Aryan origin is seen by comparing it with Skt. *tuttha*, 'blue vitriol,' in Benfey's Dictionary. Cotgrave has F. *tuthie*, explained by 'tutie,' which he describes, so that the word is old in English. It is spelt both as *tuty* and *tutty* in Phillips (1706).

Wave. The A.S. for 'to wave' is supposed to be *wafian*, but no example is given in which *wafian* has this precise sense. It occurs, however, in Ælfric's Lives of the Saints, ed. Skeat, § xxvii. l. 151 : 'þeah þe man *wafige* wundorlice mid handa, ne bið hit þeah bletsung buta he wyrce tacn þære halgan rode,' i.e. though a man wave about wonderfully with his hand, it is not a (real) blessing (of himself) unless he form the sign of the holy cross.

Wayfaring. Not a derivative from the verb to *fare*, A.S. *faran*; but from the secondary verb *féran*, to travel. This *féran* is derived, by vowel-change of *ó* to *é*, from *fór*, a journey ; and *fór*, sb., is from *fór*, the stem of the pt. tense of *faran*. This is proved by the occurrence of the A.S. pres.

part. *weg-férende*, Matt. xxvii. 39, Mark xv. 21 (Bosworth).
The verb *wegféran* is derived from the sb. *wegfór*.   This sb.
occurs in Wright's Vocab. ed. Wülker, 423. 33: "*In pro-
uectione*, on wegfore."   (I forget where I found this note.)

Wigwam.   Said to be an Algonquin word.   I have copied
the account given in Webster; but I find a simpler explana-
tion in the Lexique de la langue Algonquine, by Cuoq, pub-
lished at Montréal in 1886.   At p. 438 I find: '*Wikiwam*,
maison;' with a note that it is the same word as *mikiwam*.   At
p. 221 I find: '*Mikiwam*, logis, habitation, cabane, maison.'

Yam.   I have had a great deal of trouble in trying to
locate this word.   It occurs in 1689; in Arber's Eng.
Garner, vii. 367, and in Cook's Voyages, ed. 1777, i. p. 146.
I have quoted the account in Littré, that it was an African
word, borrowed by the Portuguese, who spelt it *inhame*.   I
find it spelt *ñames* in Minsheu's Span. Dict. 1623, who
defines it 'a kinde of fruit in the kingdome of China.'   The
fact is that the name originally came from Benin, on the W.
African coast.   This is settled by a passage in Hackluyt's
Voyages (1599), vol. ii. pt. 2, p. 129.   In a description of a
voyage made to Benin in 1588, we there find : "Their bread
is a kind of roots; they call it *inamia*; and when it is well
sodden I would leaue our bread to eat of it; it is pleasant in
eating, and light of digestion; the roote thereof is as bigge
as a mans arme."   It is said that the Portuguese carried the
name to Malacca.   This is why we find mention of "the
fruite called *inani*, like to our turneps, but very sweet and
good to eat," in connection with an account of a voyage to
Malacca in Hackluyt's Voyages (1599), vol. ii. pt. 1, p. 227.
And this is why Minsheu talks of its coming from China,
which he confuses with Malacca, unless the Portuguese also
gave the name to a fruit from thence.

LIST OF WORDS DISCUSSED.—Blet, buggy, chevron, cockney, cresset, daker-hen,
day, despot, drain, dream, drivel, duck, dusk, dye, engle (ingle), Esquimaux,
fallow (2), filbert, flip, funk, gang, ghazul, gooseberry, graze, griddle, hastelets,
hone, hurlyburly, laveer, leet, lingo, manito, marabout (marabou), marcasite,
merelles (morris), moccassin, moose, mulatto, nenuphar (nuphar), nest, numbles,
parasang, pile, pinfold, pluck, quip, rail, recheat, reel, reast (rest), rid, rill, rother,
runt, rust, scabious, sequin, sere, sophy, theorbo, thistle, tutty, wave, wayfaring,
wigwam, yam.

XI.—LOAN-WORDS IN LATIN. By E. R. Wharton, M.A.

(1) The percentage of borrowed words in English is about 75, in Persian 62, in Latin 14, in Greek 2½. English is probably the most composite of all languages : to judge by the lists at the end of Skeat's dictionary, half our vocabulary comes from Latin, and a quarter from other foreign sources. Next in order comes Persian, in which about five-eighths of the words are Arabic. In classical Greek, down to 300 B.C., there are 41,100 words, of which perhaps 1000 are foreign : in classical Latin, down to A.D. 117, there are 26,300 words, of which about 3500 are from Greek and perhaps 300 from other languages.[1] In all these figures Proper Names are excluded. These proportions of course refer only to the words as given in a dictionary, not to their actual use in literature : a page of Demosthenes or Cicero taken at random will probably show no borrowed words at all, a page of a modern English novel will contain only about 20 per cent. of Latin words.

For our present purpose it may suffice to consider only the Latin authors of the first rank (excluding in each case fragments) : viz., in chronological order, Plautus, Terence, Cicero Caesar Catullus Lucretius Sallust, Vergil Horace Livy Tibullus Propertius Ovid, Persius, Tacitus, Juvenal. These sixteen authors use 16,900 words, of which 1080 are from Greek and perhaps 200 from other languages, making a proportion of about 8 per cent. of loan-words.

The Greek loan-words in Latin have been catalogued by

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[1] The figures given in this essay I have arrived at by simple counting, a task which, so far as I know, no one of my predecessors has attempted : as Douse says in his "Grimm's Law," it is much easier to use statistics than to make them.

Tuchhändler ('De vocabulis Graecis in linguam Latinam translatis,' 1876), F. O. Weise ('Die Griechischen Wörter im Latein,' 1882), and Saalfeld ('Tensaurus Italograecus,' 1884). For Plautine words the late Professor Key's admirable dictionary is often useful. Some of the un-Greek loan-words in Latin are treated by Vaniček ('Fremdwörter im Griechischen und Lateinischen,' 1878). Of the Greek loan-words 320 were introduced by Plautus, 200 by Cicero.

(2) I have not attempted to define what a loan-word is; and the following sections will show that we may at will narrow or enlarge our boundaries. A purist might exclude all ἅπαξ λεγόμενα, of which 130 fall within our province. In any case we must leave a considerable 'margin of transition,' as a logician would call it, between genuinely foreign and genuinely native words: a margin embracing three classes of words—those which are really Greek, those which are really Latin, and those which are partly Greek and partly Latin.

As really Greek, and not loan-words at all, we may count words directly quoted by Latin authors from Greek sources: viz.,

Cicero's *apoproēgmenon arctophylax auloedus būleutērium cordāx coryphaeus exaercsimus gymnasiarchus logica melancholicus *monogrammus mystagōgus philītia physiognōmōn proāgorus proēgmenon prytanēum rhō sōtēr* :

Lucretius' *homoeomerīa prēstēr* :

Livy's *agēma *aglaspides argyraspides *cestrosphendonē dromas hēmerodromus heptērēs hexērēs hippagōgus monērēs peltasta phalangīta prytanis sarīsophorus synedrus* :

Ovid's *ai* : Persius' *chaere* : Juvenal's *chīronomūnta*.

(The asterisk here denotes that the original is not found in extant Greek literature.)

(3) Our second class consists of words which are really Latin and not Greek. Such are the following, cognate with, but not borrowed from, the corresponding Greek words :

attāt or *ătăt*, ἀτταταῖ.

bardus 'stupid,' *βραθύς (seen in βράσσων 'slower') a by-form of βραδύς.

cēra, κηρός. The Doric κᾱρός seems a figment: in Aulularia 510 *cārīnārii* is a corrupt reading (like *murobatharii* in the next line, for which *myrobrecharii* is a mere modern conjecture).

cincinnus ‘curl,’ κίκιννος (which stand to each other as *tintinô* to τιτανισμός).

circus, κρίκος.

dolus, δόλος.

domus, δόμος.

feretrum, φέρετρον in Polybius.

libra ‘pound,’ λίτρα (Sicilian, for *λίθρα): for the want of aspiration cf. Sicilian κιτών for χιτών.

līnum, λίνον, cf. λῖν-οπτάομαι.

mutilus, μύτιλος μίτυλος.

nemus, νέμος.

pānnus, πῆνος.

pappus, πάππος.

pīleus ‘felt,’ πῖλος.

propitius, προπετής.

scīpiō ‘staff,’ σκίπων.

scūtum ‘shield,’ σκῦτος ‘hide.’

sīmus ‘snubnosed,’ σῖμός for *σϜῑμός.

squilla ‘prawn,’ σκίλλα.

stūpa ‘tow,’ στύππη.

turba, τύρβη.

The following, some of them of doubtful or foreign origin, are at any rate unconnected with the Greek word appended in each case:

aclys ‘javelin’—ἀγκυλίς ‘hook.’

alūcinor ‘prate’—ἀλυκτάζω ‘am in distress.’

alūta ‘soft leather’—ἀλειπτή ‘smeared’: *alūta*, I would suggest,=*ad-ūta* ‘put on,’ cf. *ind-ūta ex-ūta*, *ad* becoming *al* as in *al-acer* ‘lively’ beside *acer-bus* ‘sharp,’ and *al-apa* ‘blow’ beside *apiscor* ‘reach.’

calx ‘small stone, lime’—χάλιξ ‘pebble, gravel.’

clūra ‘ape’—κόλουρος ‘dock-tailed.’

crāpula ‘intoxication’—κραιπάλη: *ā* could not represent αι.

crĕpida ‘slipper’—κρηπίς ‘military boot.’

crēta ‘chalk’—Κρήτη.

fenestra 'window'—φαίνω.

fidēs 'lyre'—σφίδη 'gut.'

funda 'sling'—σφενδόνη.

inula 'elecampane'—ἐλένιον.

lympha 'water'—Νύμφη: to which however *lympha* owes its spelling, for **lūmpa* from **dūmpa*, cf. Oscan *Diumpais* 'Nymphis.'

nōrma—γνώριμος 'well known': *nōrma* was a carpenter's square, shaped like L and (I would suggest) taking its name from that letter, the *ninth* in the Faliscan and Etruscan alphabets, so that *nōrma*=**nōn-ma *nōni-ma* as *carmen ger-men*=**canimen *genimen* respectively, cf. Havet in Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique VI. p. 31.

pessulus 'bolt'—πάσσαλος 'peg': *pessulus*, I would suggest, from **ped-tus* 'provided with a foot,' as if the bolt were the 'foot' of the door.[1]

rogus 'pyre'—ῥογός 'silo' (to use a term of scientific agriculture), see Foy in Bezzenberger's Beiträge XIV. p. 41 sq.

sōrex 'shrew-mouse'—ὕραξ: in Poenulus 1313 Goetz writes *saurex.*

stilus 'pen'—στῦλος 'pillar.'

tipūla 'water-spider'—τίφη.

So κόρυλος πλυντήρ πίτυΐτης, the pretended originals of *corulus linter pītuīta*, are mere figments.—The following are rather Latin than Greek:

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[1] Other instances of Roman wit, besides *nōrma*, are:

blaesus 'lisping' from βλαισός 'bandylegged';

redi-vīvus 'alive again,' *i.e.* used again;

runcina 'plane' from *runcō* 'deprive of hair' (twigs planed off being compared to hairs cut off);

lancinō 'tear to pieces' (quasi 'weigh out') from *lanx* 'scale of a balance';

sūgillā 'beat black and blue' from *sūgō* 'suck' i.e. draw blood;

and, I would suggest,

cicātrix 'scar' from *cic-ur* 'tame' (quasi 'subduing,' i.e. being the end of, the hurt);

furca 'fork' as an instrument for punishing thieves (*fūrēs*);

porrum 'leek' as a slang term for 'head,' whence *porrīgō* 'scurf': cf. Moretum 74 capiti nomen debentia porra;

sponda 'frame of a bed' quasi the place of 'libation' (σπονδή) preliminary to going to sleep;

lamberō 'tear to pieces' quasi 'lick up' (*lambō*);

obtūrō 'stop up' from *taurus* (a stopper compared to a bull, cf. βοῦς ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ).

See also below on Popular Etymology.

ador ' spelt,' cf. Gothic *atisk* ' cornfield ' : not from
ἄλευρον ' wheaten flour ' (and *d* from λ quasi *ad*, ' addition ').

clássis ' class ' : not from *κλᾶσις Doric for κλῆσις.

crepŭdō ' foundation ' : not from κρηπίς ' basement ' (or
why *crĕ-* ?).

flēmina (Neut. Plur.) ' congestion of blood,' cf. Gothic
blōth ' blood ' : not from φλεγμονή ' inflammation.'

litterae, cf. *littus* ' shore,' from the idea of ' cutting ' : not
from διφθέραι ' skins.'

pōsca ' vinegar and water ' from *pŏ-tŏ* as *ē-sca* from *ĕd-*,
edŏ : not from ἔποξυς ' sharpish,' with ε- dropt through a
popular connexion with *pōtō.*

In the following cases the Greek word is borrowed from
the Latin :

brassica ' cabbage,' βράσκη in Hesychius.

būcina ' trumpet,' βυκάνη in Polybius.

centō ' patchwork,' κέντρων in Eustathius, as though from
κέντρον ' point of a needle.'

dolō ' pike ' (and hence, I would suggest, ' foretopsail,' as
being triangular, like the head of a pike), δόλων ' stiletto '
(the meaning derived from δόλος) in Plutarch.

horreum ' granary,' ὡρεῖον (quasi from ὥρα ' season ') in
Achmes.

perperam ' wrongly ' (*i.e.*, I would suggest, ' unsatisfactorily,'
from *per-*+*parum*), πέρπερος ' vainglorious ' in Polybius.

taxus ' yew,' τάξος in Galen.

Cf. Athenaeus 85e τελλίναν. . . Ῥωμαῖοι μίτλον (*mītulum*)
ὀνομάζουσι. So the Latin *patina* ' dish ' appears in Sophron
as πατάνη, *sūdārium* ' napkin ' in his contemporary Hermippus
(both of the age of Pericles) as σωδάριον : *lepus* was borrowed
into Sicilian as λέπορις after the commencement of rhotacism,
about 350 B.C., and so other Sicilian words, κάλτιος κάρκαρον
κάτῑνον κύβιτον νοῦμμος οὐγκία, were probably borrowed
from the Latin *calceus carcer catinus cubitum nummus ūncia*,
not conversely.

In the following cases the Romans and Greeks borrowed
independently from foreign sources (see also sec. 12) :

bālaena ' whale,' φάλαινα.

chara 'horse-radish,' κεραΐς Theophrastus Hist. Plant. IX. 155 (with a reference to κέρας).

crūmēna 'purse,' γρῡμέα 'bag.'

fungus 'mushroom,' σφόγγος 'sponge.'

hinnuleus 'fawn,' ἔνελος (Hesychius).

plumbum 'lead,' μόλυβδος.

tōphus 'tufa,' τοφιών 'tuffstone quarry' (Heraclean).

rīnum, οἶνος.

(4) Our third class consists of words partly Greek and partly Latin. Plautus is fond of coining 'hybrid' words, made up of Greek+Latin:

manti-cinor 'prophesy,' formed after *rāti-cinor* ;

sambūcina 'harpist,' i.e. **sambūci-cina*, formed after *tibī-cina:* or, more often, of Latin+Greek:

ante-logium 'prologue,' *ē-logium* 'inscription' (which latter passed into general use), and (from a Proper Name) *dē-charmidō* ;

bi-clīnium (after *triclīnium*), **sēmi-zōna* (whence *sēmizō-nārius*) ;

ferri-trib-āx 'iron-rubbing,' from τρίβω ;

hām-iōtae 'anglers,' from *hāmus* 'hook,' with the termination of στρατ-ιῶται ;

plāgipatida 'buffet-bearer,' a quasi patronymic like Lucretius' *Scīpiadās.* So Cicero invents the quasi Verbal *factcon* 'to be done.'

Compounds and Derivatives of Greek loan-words—and we have within our province 30 such Compounds and 140 such Derivatives—cannot properly be called hybrid words: each contains an element which, though originally Greek, had been naturalised in Latin. Some of them are formed from loan-words which must once have existed in Latin but are not found in extant Latin literature:

abol-la 'cloak' from **abola* (sec. 8 fin.) :

aplustrum (i.e. **aplust-trum*) 'stern' from **aplustum*, **ἄφλαστον* (sec. 5) :

arāneus 'spider' from **arānus*, ἄραχνος (sec. 7), as *arānea* from **arāna*, ἀράχνη :

condālium 'ring' (the *a*, I would suggest, must be long,

and the word a trisyllable) from *condus, κόνδος ' knob '
(Hesychius) :

diōbolāris ' worth two obols' from *diōbolum, διώβολον :

lanterna ' lantern ' (with termination of lucerna) from *lantēr,
λαμπτήρ (sec. 7) :

lēnunculus ' skiff ' (cf. avunculus from avus) from *lēnus,
ληνός ' trough.'

mirmillō ' a kind of gladiator ' for *murmurlō from
*murmurulus, *murmurus, μορμύρος ' a fish ' (as his crest) :

planguncula ' doll ' from *plangō, πλαγγών :

sandali-gerula ' sandal-bearer ' from *sandalum, σάνδαλον :

spinturnīx (sec. 6) from *spintēr, σπινθήρ :

spondālium ' hymn ' from *sponda, σπονδή (see p. 4 note).
So

balatrō ' jester ' (' devourer ') from *balatrum for *baratrum
i.e. barathrum, βάραθρον (sec. 7) :

baxea ' shoe' from *bax, *βάξ a byform (sec. 10) of πάξ in
Hesychius (as Sicilian βατάνη of πατάνη) :

canālis ' pipe ' from *cana, *κάνη a byform of κάννη ' reed.'

So the Adverbs dūlicē euschēmē pancraticē prothȳmē pre-
suppose Adjectives *dūlicus *euschēmus *pancraticus *prothȳmus
(δουλικός εὔσχημος παγκρατικός πρόθυμος), and the Adverb
sȳcophantiōsē an Adj. *sȳcophantiōsus from sȳcophantia (σūκο-
φαντία) ; the Verb paedicō presupposes an Adj. *paedicus
(corresponding to amīca) from *paes (παῖς), splendeō an Adj.
*splendus from splēn (σπλήν : no Latin word begins with
spl-), and the Compound in-cīlō ' reproach ' a Verb *cīlō
' point the lip at ' (χειλόω, sec. 11γ).

The following Derivatives have no Greek equivalents, and
may most safely be assumed to be pure Latin words, though
the termination does not decide the point :

Substantives : columba, barbaria, gerrō gōbiō pērō scorpiō :

Adjectives : blíteus carbaseus citreus cupresseus galbaneus
myrrheus myrteus (and probably marmoreus), bombȳcinus,
cērōmaticus cinaedicus collȳricus :

Verbs : cachinnō corōnō fūcō hamaxō hilarō triumphō,
ampullor architector bacchor graecor moechor scurror (and
probably parasītor philosophor stomachor).

(5) We now leave the Land Debateable, and enter our proper territory. In the transliteration of Greek words some peculiarities may be noticed. Vowels are occasionally modified, as in pure Latin, by the influence of dialect, accent, adjoining letters, or analogy. First for the short vowels :

(a) In some Latin words (see 'Latin Vocalism,' sec. 2) *o* becomes *u*; and so in the loan-words *amurca* (ἀμόργη), *bulbus* (βολβός), *cunila* (κονίλη), *cothurnus* (κόθορνος), *lautumiae* (cf. λᾶτομίαι), *murra* 'porcelain' (cf. μορρία), *purpura* (πορφύρα), *tribulus* (τρίβολος). So *fungus* corresponds to σφόγγος : *aplustrum triumphus* are from by-forms (sec. 10) *ἄφλοστον *τρίομφος. This *u* was really *ŭ*, written *i* in *mirmillo*, sec. 4.—Till the time of Cicero *v* was represented not by *y*, as later, but by *u*, *astu columbus cupressus obrussa scutula serpullum sisura spelunca trutina* (and so *tūs* for *tuus, θύος); i.e. *ŭ*, written also *i*, *mirmillo serpillum sinapis*, σίνηπυς, sec. 10.—The 'plebeian' preference of *e* to *i* before a vowel in terminations appears in *cāduceum* (κηρύκιον), *nausea* (ναυτία), *pasceolus* sec. 9.

(β) Unaccented *a* in some few loan-words follows the Latin rule and becomes *ŭ*, written *u* in *scutula* (σκυτάλη) *strangulo* (στραγγαλάω), *i* in *paelicem* (*πήλακα sec. 10) *trutina* (τρυτάνη), which before *r* becomes *e* in *camera* (καμάρα) *phalerae* (φάλαρα) *tessera* (τέσσαρα), as in a close syllable (*i.e.* before two consonants) in *paelex* (*πῆλαξ) *talentum* (ταλάντον). So unaccented *e* becomes *u* in *scopulus* (σκόπελος).—Final *i* becomes *e*, *gausape tapete* (sec. 10 fin.). As *agros, it is not quite clear why, became *ager*, so *κόγγρος (sec. 10) gave *conger;* Varro has *onagrus* (ὄναγρος), Martial *onager.*—Unaccented *i* is dropt before a liquid in *balneum* beside *balineum* (βαλανεῖον), and *troclea* (τροχιλία). In some polysyllables a whole unaccented syllable is dropt (as in *dodrans* for *do-quadrans, fastidium* for *fasti-tidium*) : *caltha* for *calcantha* = χαλκάνθη (sec. 11 γ), *casteria* for *calastateria* = *κατασταστηρία (sec. 9).

(γ) *e* before *ll* becomes *u* ('Latin Vocalism,' sec. 8 β) in Plautus' *catapulla*, καταπέλτης (as opposed to Vergil's *pelta*, πέλτη).

(δ) 'Popular Etymology' sometimes influences vowels. Thus *e* becomes *o* in *olivum* (ἔλαιϝον) through a popular connexion with *olens* 'fragrant,' and *i* in *indusium* (*ἐνδύσιον) and *exinteró* (*ἐξεντερέω sec. 9) as though from *in*: it is omitted (I would suggest) in *puppis* for *pūpis* or *pōpis* from *ἐπωπίς ('look-out place,' ἐπωπή) as though from *pūpus* 'boy' (*i.e.* the steersman). The lengthening of the *y* in *conchȳlia* (κογχύλια) is due (I would suggest) to *edūlia*, of the first *o* in *prólogus prōpīnó prōpōla* (and therefore doubtless in *proscaenium prothȳmē prothȳmia*) to *prō*: the diphthong in *aurichalcum* (*ὀρίχαλκος sec. 9) is due to *aurum*.

(6) Long vowels : The prae-Ciceronian *ū* (i.e *ū̆*) for *ȳ* from *ῡ* appears in *phū* (Plautus : in Terence spelt *phȳ*) *trūgonus tūnnus* and the Compound *dē-pūgis*, spelt *ī* in *cōlāphia* (κωλύφια) *trīgonus :* from *λαγύνη (which will be an Aeolic form of *λαγώνη, *lagōna*, as χελύνη of χελώνη) came, I would suggest, *lagūna*, i.e. *lagoena* or *lagīna* ('Latin Vocalism' sec. 10 fin.)—To show the length of the vowel, *ē* was sometimes (as in *laevis vaenum*) written *ae :* so in *caepe* (sec. 8 β) *paelex* (sec. 10 : spelt also *pellex*, as though from *pellicio*) *scaena scaeptrum*. The vowel *ō* changes to *ū* ('Latin Vocalism' sec. 13) in *glaucūma* (sec. 8 fin.) *pūppis* (sec. 5 fin.) *scūrra* (sec. 9) : *ē* never changes to *ī* in loan-words, in Poenulus 137 *liroe* (λῆροι) is a worthless conjecture (Goetz reads *collyrae*). In *ēōus* (ἠῶος) we have the proper Latin shortening of vowel before vowel.—Popular Etymology changes *ū* to *e* in *placenta* 'cake' (πλακοῦντα) as though from *placens*, *polenta* 'pearl barley' (*παλυντή sec. 9) as though from *pollen*, and *ē* to *u* in *spinturnīx* ('a bird which carries charcoal off altars,' Pliny x. 36, from σπινθήρ 'spark') with termination from *cōturnīx*. So *ū* is shortened to *e* in *remulcum* 'tow-rope' (ῥύμουλκοῦν 'towing') as though from *remulceō* 'droop,' to *o* in *ancora* (ἄγκυρα) on the analogy (as I have suggested) of *remora* 'hindrance': *ī* (from ει) is shortened in *adip-* Nom. *adeps* (ἄλειφα 'fat') as though from *adipiscor* 'acquire.'

Diphthongs :

ει before a consonant=*ī*, *alīptēs pīrāta*, before a vowel=*ē*,

gynaecēum : Ovid's *elegeia* is a purism.   Some words follow
the Latin rule and shorten the *ē* before another vowel to *i*,
cōnōpium graphium, or *e* (the 'plebeian' form, sec. *ō a* fin.),
balneum chorea platea.

οι = oe, poena : φ in early words = *oe*, *cōmoedus tragoedus*,
later *ō*, *ēōus hērōus prōra*.

αι = ae, diaeta ; dialectically ('Latin Vocalism' sec. 11) *ē*,
mēna mūrēna pēnula. This when unaccented becomes *i* (as
in *exquīrō* etc.) in *olīvum* (ἔλαιϝον) and *Achīvī* (᾿Αχαιϝοί).—
ā = ā, clātri (*κλᾱ̆θροι beside κλῇθρα, sec. 10 fin.).

ευ and *αυ = eu* and *au* respectively, *eunūchus aula*.

ου = ū, dūrateus : according to the Latin rule this is
shortened before final *m*, *hēdychrum* = ἡδύχρουν, *ostrum* =
ὄστρουν from ὄστρεον, remulcum see above.

Onomatopoeic words sometimes keep the diphthongs un-
changed : *eia, oiei*, but *attatae babae eugepae papae*.

(7) Consonants in our loan-words are sometimes affected
by dialect, adjoining letters, or analogy.

(*a*) The dialectic *l* for *d* appears in *laurus* from *δαῦρος (the
Latin form would be *darvos*), Old-Irish *daur* 'oak' (Stokes
in Bezzenberger's Beiträge ix. p. 88) ; and, I have suggested,
in Cicero's *lanista* beside Plautus' *danista* from δανειστής
'money-lender,' as a slang term applied by gladiators to their
trainer.—The Sabine assibilation of *di*, as in *Clausus* for
Claudius, appears in *rosa* for *rodia* (*ῥοδία), the rose-growing
district of Paestum being in Lucania, whose inhabitants the
Samnites were an offshoot of the Sabines.—In Oscan *ks* or *x*
became *ss*, *meddix-meddiss*, cf. Latin *acsula-assula* (Ellis on
Catullus xvii. 3), *axiculus-assiculus coaxō-coassō, naxa-nassa*, and
Xerxēs-Xersēs in Cicero : so ἄμυξιν (Acc.) 'tearing' gave
amussim 'carpenter's rule,' named from the scoring of a
straight line.—In Umbrian and Oscan *kt* became *ht* (*rehte* =
Lat. *rectē, saahtúm* = Lat. *sanctum*), which in some Latin dialect
was written *tt, bractea-brattea, nacta-natta* (= *νάκτης), salpicta-
salpitta* (= σαλπικτής), *strictivella-strittivella* (cf. Pliny xxvii.
135 *thalictrum* or *thalitrum* 'meadow-rue'), or, after a long
vowel or diphthong, *t, virēctum-virētum, auctor-autor*, cf. *nīxus*
(i.e. *nīct-tus*) beside *nīsus* (i.e. *nīt-tus*) : so *coeturnix* 'quail'

(Old High German *wahtala*, Havet in Mém. Soc. Ling. vi. p. 234 sq.) became **cotturnix*, written *cŏturnīx*, and from this came Ovid's *cŏturnīx* through a popular connexion with *cothurnus* (κόθορνος) 'buskin,' quails being, I would suggest, artificially booted for fighting.

Shortly before Cicero's time the Greek aspirates came to be represented in Latin by a Tenuis+*h*, and two new letters were added to the end of the alphabet to represent υ and ζ. But some words still retained the older transliteration (on that of *ŭ* see sec. 5 *a* and 6):

χ=*c* in *caltha* sec. 5 β fin., *coclea* (κοχλίας), *corōna* (χορωνός Simonides 174, from χορός 'dance'), *in-cīlŏ* sec. 4 fin., *soccus* (σύκχος).

θ=*t* in *balatrō* sec. 4, *elātrī* sec. 6 fin., *menta* (μίνθα), *tŭnnus*, *tūs*.

φ=*p* in *ampul-la* i.e. **ampor-la* from **ampora* (ἀμφορεύς), *aplustrum* sec. 4, *paenula* (φαινόλης), *pasceolus* (φάσκωλος), *purpura* (πορφύρα), *spintēr* (see below), *spinturnīx* sec. 6.

ζ=*ss* in *māssa* (μᾶζα), *purpurissum* (πορφυρίζον), and the Verbs *atticissō cōmissor cyathissō graecissō malacissō moechissō mussō patrissō pȳtissō sicelissō* (ἀττικίζω etc.). So in Plautus modern editors write *badissō* (βαδίζω) *tarpessīta* (MSS. *trapezīta*, τραπεζίτης), and, for initial ζ, *s*, *sāmia sōna* (ζᾱμία ζώνη).

In earlier Latin initial ῥ was represented by *r*, *raphanus rēsīna riscus rosa rūta*; later by *rh* (as in a Corcyraean inscription PHOFAIΣI = ῥοαῖσι), *rhētōr rhīnocerōs rhombus rhomphaea rhythmicus*.

The slang dialect sometimes distorted words almost beyond recognition:

caliendrum 'wig' for **callintrum* from κάλλυντρον 'ornament':

sandapila 'bier,' I would suggest, for **sancaliba* from **ἀγχαλίβης *ἀχαλίβης*, cf. Laconian ἀκχαλίβαρ 'bed' (on the 'Affrication' see sec. 10.) in Hesychius.

(β) In pure Latin *c* cannot stand before a nasal: so in some borrowed words (1) in early times we have in such cases either ἀνάπτυξις, *drachuma* (better written *dracuma*)= δραχμή, *lucinus*=λύχνος, *techina* (better *tecina*)=τέχνη; or,

in the unaccented third syllable, loss of *c* with vowel-lengthening, *arānea=ἀράχνη*: (2) later, *c* before *n* becomes *g*, *cygnus=κύκνος* as *Prognē=Πρόκνη*.—In Latin *t* before *l* becomes *c*, and so in *exanclō* (ἐξαντλέω) : *d* before *r* becomes *t*, *citrus* is older than *cedrus* (κέδρος). Between a nasal and a dental, *c* and *p* are sometimes dropt, e.g. in *quinctus-quintus*, *temptō-tentō :* so *spinter = σφιγκτήρ*, *lanter-na=λαμπτήρ*.— The Latins sometimes object to *r* in two syllables of the same word, compare *gurguliō* with γαργαρεών : so *balatrō* beside βάραθρον see. 4, *ergastulum*=*ἔργαστρον sec. 9.

(γ) Popular Etymology changes

c to *g* in *plagūsia* ' a fish ' (*πλακουσία sec. 9), as though from *plaga* ' net ':

g to *c* in *amurca* (ἀμόργη), *spēlunca* (σπήλυγγα sec. 8 fin.), because Latin had an ending *-ca* (*fabrica jurenca pedica*), but no ending *-ga :*

t to *c* in *scriblita* ' cheesecake ' (*στρεβλίτης sec. 9), as though from *scrībō*, ' marked, notched ':

p to *b* in *absinthium* (ἀψίνθιον), *obsōnium* (ὀψώνιον), as though from *ab* and *ob :*

l to *d* in *adeps* (ἄλειφα sec. 6): *r* to *d* in *cādūceum* (κηρύκιον) apparently (as I have suggested) as though from *cādūcum*, a stick of ' fallen ' wood :

h to *s* in *serpyllum* (ἕρπυλλον) through the etymological connexion of *serpō* and ἕρπω.

A consonant is omitted, I would suggest, in *laena* for *claena* (χλαῖνα) as though from *lāna* ' wool,' and in *lāterna* beside *lanterna* as though from *lūta* ' carried ': Metathesis in *pistrix* ' sea-monster ' (beside *pristis*, πρίστις) as though from *pisō* ' pound, crush.'

(8) Analogy affects especially the terminations of borrowed words: for the ordinary changes see Roby's Grammar sec. 471–507.

Nouns show three favourite terminations :

(a) *-a :* *caepa* (beside *caepe*) and *cērintha* (κήρινθον) are formed after *herba*, *pausa* (παῦσις) after *causa;* we have *argilla* (ἄργιλλος) sc. *terra*, *corōna* (χορωνός) sc. *taenia*, *crocōta* (κροκωτός) sc. *restis*.

(β) -i- : conchis (κόγχος) and pānis (Messapian πανός) are
formed after Adjectives in -is ; hilaris (beside hilarus, ἱλαρός)
and dapsilis (δαψιλής) after facilis ; caepe for *caepium (*κήπιον
from κῆπος, cf. Hesychius' κάπια ' garlic '), and sirpe for
*sirpium (*σίρφιον sec. 10), after Neuters like turpe vīle.

(γ) -r, Neuter : marmor (μάρμαρος) is formed after aequor,
baccar (*βάκκαρι sec. 10) and piper (πέπερι) have lost a final
vowel and follow the analogy of cicer papāver, and so on the
analogy of mel Gen. mellis Vergil forms from μέλι a mel
Gen. melis and uses 'melis phylla' as=μελίφυλλα ' balm.'
Similarly celōx ' yacht ' (κέλης) takes the termination of rēl-ōr,
eugē (εὖγε) that of pulerē : dracōnem leōnem beside δράκοντα
λέοντα are formed from the Nominatives dracō leō.

All loan Verbs from the Greek [1] are of the first conjuga-
tion, not only when the Greek form corresponds with the
Latin, boō gubernō harpagō (*ἁρπαγάω) strangulō subō (*συβάω)
comans (from κομάω), but also from Verbs in

-έω : exanclō exinterō (*ἐξεντερέω) obsōnō paratragoedō ther-
mopolō (*θερμοποτέω) :

-ζω : atticissō etc., badissō, see sec. 7 :

-νω : prōpīnō (προπίνω).

Sometimes the meaning of the Greek ending was mis-
understood :

(a) the Neuter κῆτος was taken for Masculine (Plaut. cētum
Acc.), the Neuters γλαύκωμα σχῆμα for Feminine (Plaut.
glaucūmam schēmam Acc.), the Neuters Plural ὄστρεα βαλανεῖα
γέρρα φάλαρα for Fem. Sing. (whence ostrea Sing., balineae
gerrae phalerae Plur.) :

(β) the Accusatives γύψον κόκκον κόστον μέδιμνον μῦθον
(see note) ξυστόν *ὀρίχαλκον (sec. 9) πέπλον σάλον σπάρτον
σώρακον were turned into Nominatives Neuter, gypsum etc.; the
Accusatives κρατῆρα πάνθηρα πλακοῦντα (sec. 6) σπήλυγγα
στατῆρα φάλαγγα into Nominatives Feminine, crātēra etc.
Sing., phalangae Plur. ; *ἀβολῆ *ἀμφορᾶ, Acc. of ἀβολεύς
ἀμφορεύς, into the Nominatives *abola (sec. 4) amphora.

[1] Except apage, an Imperative, psallō with its purely Greek beginning, and
purpurissum wrongly formed from the Participle πορφυρίζον : māttiō from māttum
(μῦθον, Havet in Mém. Soc. Ling. vi. p. 240 sq.) and pūniō from poena
(ποινή) are pure Latin, as also depsō.

(9) Our loan-words prove that the following 93 words, though found in no extant Greek author, were once living Greek words:

Substantives :

ἀλαγορά 'salt market' *halagora* (Plaut.).

ἀλοφάντης 'salt informer' *halophanta* (Plaut.).

ἁμαξαγώγης 'carter' *hamaxagōga* (Plaut.).

ἀρετᾱλόγος 'boaster' *aretālogus* (Juv.).

ἁρπαγών 'grappling-hook' *harpagō* (Plaut.).

ἀρτόκρεας 'distribution of meat' *artocreas* (Persius).

αὖστρος 'south wind' *auster*, from αὔω 'kindle.'

βαλλιστής 'catapult' *ballista*, from βαλλίζω (Sicilian) 'jump about.'

βούκερος βουκέριος 'of oxen' *būcerus būcerius*, cf. βούκερως.

βωλητός 'mushroom' *bōlētus*, cf. βωλίτης (Galen).

δαῦρος 'tree' *laurus*, sec. 7.

ἐπι-ρήδιον 'trace' *epirēdium*, from *ῥήδη (below).

ἐπωπίς *puppis*, sec. 5 δ.

ἔργαστρον 'workhouse' *ergastulum*, sec. 7 β.

ἡμίκιλλος 'mule' *hēmicillus* (Cic.), from κίλλος 'ass.'

θερμοπώλιον 'tavern' *thermopōlium* (Plaut.).

καταστατηρία 'cuddy' *castēria* (Plaut.), sec. 5 β.

καταστή 'stage' *catasta*.

καχῖνος 'laugh' *cachinnus*, from καχάζω 'to laugh' as γελασῖνος 'dimple' from γελάω.

κίκκος 'doit' *ciccus* (Plaut.), cf. κίκκαβος.

κίνναμον 'cinnamon' *cinnamum*, cf. κιννάμωμον.

κολύτια 'ripe figs' *cōlūtea* Persa 88, cf. κόλυτρα (Athenaeus).

κορίανδρον 'coriander' *coriandrum*, cf. κορίαννον (in Varro L. L. v. 103 Spengel reads κολίανδρον).

κροταλίστρια 'castanet-dancer' *crotalistria* (Propertius).

κυβαία 'transport' *cybaea* (Cic.), from κύβη as a by-form of κύμβη 'boat.'

κύπρεσσος 'cypress' *cupressus*, from Hebrew *köpher*, cf. κυπάρισσος.

λαγωΐς 'grouse' *lagōis* (Hor.).

λάτρων 'hireling' *latrō*, cf. λάτρις, from Hebrew *noter* 'guardian' (as λίτρον 'natrum' from Hebrew *nether*).

λαυτομίαι 'stone-quarries' *lautumiae*, from *λᾱοτομίαι, cf. λᾱτομίαι.

μεφῖτις ' miasma' *mephītis* (Verg.): derivation unknown.

μονοπόδιον 'table with one leg' *monopodium* (Livy).

μόρρα 'porcelain' *murra*, cf. μορρία (Pausanias).

μῶρος (Fem.) ' mulberry-tree' *mōrus*, cf. μόρον 'mulberry,' foreign.

νηνία ' dirge' *nēnia*, cf. νηνίατον (Hipponax), Phrygian.

ὀρἔχαλκος ' copper ore' *orichalcum*, cf. ὀρείχαλκος.

παταγεῖον 'gold edging' *patagium*, foreign.

πλακουσία 'a fish' *plagūsia* (Plaut.), from πλακόεις 'flat.'

πόππυσμα ' clucking' *poppysma* (Juv.).

πρῳρήτης ' look-out man' *prōrēta* (Plaut.), cf. πρῳράτης : formed after πρυμνήτης ' steersman.'

πὔτισμα ' tasting' *pȳtisma* (Juv.).

ῥήδη 'chariot' *raeda* : Gaulish, sec. 12.

ῥοδία ' rosetree' *rosa*, from ῥόδον.

σακκοπήριον ' pocket' *sacciperium* (Plaut.), from σάκκος + πήρα.

σάννη ' grimace' *sanna*, and σαννίων ' buffoon' *sanniō*, cf. σάννας.

σκωρᾶς ' buffoon' *scurra* i.e. *scūra* sec. 6, from *σκωρ-φάγος (our 'toadeater') as Ἑρμᾶς (a slave's name) from Ἑρμόδωρος.

σταλάγμιον 'ear-drop' *stalagmium* (Plaut.), from σταλαγμός ' dropping.'

στορία ' mat' *storea*, from στόρνυμι ' spread.'

στρεβλἶτης 'cheesecake' *scriblīta* sec. 7 γ, from στρεβλός ' twisted.'

σφικτρίας *spintria*, from σφίγγω ' press.'

τοκυλλίων ' usurer' *tocullīō* (Cic.), from *τοκύλλιον Diminutive of τόκος 'interest' (as ξευνλλιον of ξένος).

τόπια 'ornamental gardening' *topia*, from τόπος ' place.'

τραγοκωμῳδία ' tragicomedy' *tragicōmoedia* (Plaut.).

τρύγονος 'sting-ray' *trūgonus* (Plaut.), cf. τρυγών.

τυμπανοτρίβης 'timbrel-player' *tympanotriba* (Plaut.).

φασκίολος ' purse' *pasceolus* (Plaut.), cf. φάσκωλος : so Dioscorides has φασίολος (Columella's *phaseolus*) for φάσηλος ' bean.'

φρυγίων 'embroiderer' *phyrgiō* (Plaut.), sec. 10, from Φρυγία.

φυλακιστής 'jailer' *phylacista* (Plaut.), from φυλακίζω 'imprison.'

χαρίστια 'family banquet' *charistia*, from χαρίζομαι 'indulge.'

χεράγρα 'gout' *cheragra*, from χερ- + ἄγρα, cf. χειράγρα (late Greek.)[1]

Diminutives :

ἐλεγείδιον *elegīdium* (Persius) from ἔλεγος 'elegy.'

ἐνδύσιον 'smock' *indusium* sec. 5 fin., from ἔνδυσις 'dress' (Septuagint).

μυροθήκιον *myrothēcium* (Cic.) from μυροθήκη 'unguent-case.'

νάβλιον *nablium* (Ovid) from νάβλα 'harp,' Hebrew *nebhel* 'flute.'

Adjectives :

ἀδαμάντειος 'of steel' *adamantēus* (Ovid).

ἀκοινονόητος 'without common sense' *acoenonoētus* Juv. VII. 218.

βούμαστος 'with large breasts' *būmastus* (Verg.).

εὐρῶος 'eastern' *eurōus* (Verg.).

θαλασσικός 'of the sea' *thalassicus* (Plaut.).

κηρόεις 'like wax,' Fem. κηροῦσσα *cērussa* 'white lead.'

κομητός 'leafy' *comātus*, from κόμη 'hair, foliage.'

λαβυρίνθειος 'of the labyrinth' *labyrinthēus* (Catullus).

μουσαῖος 'of the Muses' *mūsaeus* (Lucr.), cf. μούσειος.

ὀκτώφορος 'carried by eight men' *octōphorus* (Cic.).

παθικός *pathicus* from πάθος 'passion.'

παλυντός 'sprinkled,' whence *polenta* sec. 6 ; from παλύνω.

πλαταλέος 'broad,' whence *platalea* 'spoonbill' (Cic.) ; from πλατύς.

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[1] Words are so seldom coined absolutely de novo (Plautus' *titivillitium* is the only indubitable instance in Latin) that the seven spice-names in Pseudolus 831-836 must have had an origin, though we cannot fully trace it. Thus, ἀπάλοψις *hapalopsis* is from ἀπαλῶς ὀπτᾶν 'roast moderately,' καταράκτρια *cataractria* from καταράκτης 'rushing down' as it is sprinkled : *cepolendrum* (the first element=κῆπος) *cicilendrum cicimandrum* draw their termination from *coriandrum : μάκκις maccis* (cf. Dioscorides' μάκερ) and σαύκαπτις *saucaptis* must be of un-Greek origin.

πολτοφάγος 'pulse-eating' pulliphagus (Plaut.).

πτηνοθηρικός 'of birds and beasts' (if Goetz is right in conjecturing 'pugna ptenotherica' in Poenulus 471: MSS. pentethronica).

συμφωνιακός 'singing' symphōniacus (Cic.), from συμφωνία.

τῦροτάρῑχος 'of cheese and salt fish' tyrotarichos (Cic.).

χαλυβήϊος 'of steel' chalybēius (Ovid), from χάλυψ.

Interjections:

εὐάξ euax (Plaut.) from εὐοῖ, as πόπαξ from πόποι.

εὐγεπαῖ eugepae (Plaut.) from εὖγε + (πα)παῖ.

οἰεῖ oiei Miles Gloriosus 1406, cf. οἰοῖ.

Verbs:

ἁρπαγάω 'steal' harpagó (Plaut.) from ἁρπαγή 'plunder.'

ἐξεντερέω 'eviscerate' exinteró (Plaut.), cf. ἐξεντερίζω (Dioscorides).

εὐάω 'shout,' euans Participle (pure Latin ovans).

θερμοποτέω 'drink warm drink' (cf. ψυχροποτέω 'drink cold water') thermopotó 'warm with drink' (Plaut.), from θερμοπότης (Athenaeus).

κωμίζω cōmissor, from κῶμος 'revel,' as κωμάζω from κώμη 'village.'

πατρίζω 'take after the father' patrissó (Plaut.), cf. πατριάζω (Pollux).

συβάω subó, from σύβας 'lewd' (Hesychius).

(10) Dialectic variations proved by our loan-words to have once existed in Greek are the following, 57 in number:[1]

(a) a for o (cf. μαλάχη-μολόχη): *κάλιξ calix for *κόλιξ (whence κύλιξ, cf. μύλη from *μόλη, Lat. mola):

(b) o for οι before a vowel (cf. ποιέω-ποέω): *πόημα poēma, *ποητής poēta:

(c) Ionic η for ᾱ: *πῆλαξ paelex sec. 5 β (seen in προπηλακίζω 'insult')=Doric πάλλαξ 'boy' (cf. Doric καλλά for Ionic κᾱλά or, as it should be written, κηλά):

(d) Doric original ᾱ: *κᾱρύκιον cādūceum sec. 7 fin., *κλᾷθροι clātrī sec. 6, *Σειλᾱνός sīlānus sec. 11 fin., *σίνᾱπυς sindpis sec. 5 a:

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[1] The forms so substantiated are here, to avoid confusion, marked with an asterisk; which in sec. 9 was not necessary.

(e) Doric ω=Ionic ου : *κωράλιον côralium :

(f) κχ for χ ('Affrication,' cf. βρόκχος for βρόχος) :
*βράκχιον bracchium (vowel shortened before vowel), beside
βράχιων :

(g) Ionic ς for τ before ι : *ναυσία nausea, *ῥησίνη rēsīna,
*φρένησις phrenēsis (beside φρενῖτις). So *ἄσινος asinus (cf.
ἄσιλλα 'yoke' Simonides 163) presupposes a Doric *ἄτινος
from Hebrew athon 'she-ass,' while ὄνος must be a different
word :

(h) ν preserved before ς (cf. Cretan πάνσᾶς=πᾶσᾶς) :
*θηνσαυρός thēnsaurus :

(i) Metathesis with ρ (cf. καρδία-κραδίη): *ταρπεξίτης
tarpessīta sec. 7 (in Plautus the metre sometimes requires
tarp-, and never excludes it). So in the un-Greek words
*κορκωτός corcôta (a more original form than κροκωτός, from
Hebrew karkōm 'saffron'), *φυργίων phyrgiô (*φρυγίων sec. 9,
Wagner's Aulularia p. lxii) :

(j) ζμ for σμ : *ζμάραγδος zmaragdus, Ellis' Catullus
p. 345 :

(k) Medial aspiration preserved : *εὐοῖ euhoe (εὐοῖ), *εὔιος
euhius (εὔιος) :

(l) Medial F preserved : *ἔλαιFον olīvum, *βοFάω boró
(Ennius), cf. *ἈργεῖFοι Argīvī, *ἈχαιFοί Achīvī.
So especially in words which in Greek itself were
foreign :

(a) o for a, *ἄφλοστον aplustrum (ἄφλαστον) *τρίομφος
triumphus (θρίαμβος, see below) sec. ōa, or for υ, *σόκχος
soccus (σύκχος) sec. 7 :

(b) ε for ι, *μένθα menta (μίνθα).—ι for ε, *πίπερι piper
(πέπερι : Sanskrit pippalī) :

(c) κ for γ, *κόγγρος conger (γόγγρος) *κωρῦτός côrytus
(γωρῦτός) :

(d) γ for κ, *γράβᾱτος grābatus (κράβᾱτος) *γυβερνάω
gubernô (κυβερνάω) *γωβιός gōbius (κωβιός). So β for π,
*βύξος buxus (πύξος) *κάρβασος carbasus (κάρπασος) :

(e) ρ for λ (cf. κρίβανος-κλίβανος στεργίς-στελγίς) :
*κανθήριος cantherius (κανθήλιος) *σίρφιον sirpe (σίλφιον,
sec. 8) : conversely *λείλιον lilium (λείριον) :

(*f*) Initial aspiration preserved, *ἔβενος *hebenus* (ἔβενος : from Hebrew *hobnīm*).—Aspiration transposed (cf. πάθνη-φάτνη) : *τρίομφος *triumphus* (see above).

Sometimes the suggested and the extant Greek form differ in termination ; we infer from Latin the existence of

(*a*) stems in -*o*- beside consonant stems : *ἄβακος *abacus* *ἀρχίτεκτος *architectus* *βράχιον *bracchium* *δέλφῖνος *delphinus* *ἐλέφαντος *elephantus* beside ἄβαξ ἀρχιτέκτων βραχίων δελφίν ἐλέφᾶς :

(*b*) Masc. beside Neut., *κλῆθροι *clātrī* beside κλῆθρα ; Fem. beside Masc., *λαγόνη *lagōna* *λαγώνη *lagoena* sec. 6 beside λάγῠνος ; Neut. beside Masc., *μαργάρῑτον *margarītum* beside μαργαρίτης, or Fem., *ἀρτήριον *artērium* *αὐλαῖον *aulaeum* *οἴσυπον *oesypum* beside ἀρτηρία αὐλαία οἰσύπη :

(*c*) Neuter stems in -*ι*- beside others : *βάκκαρι *baccar* sec. 8 γ *γαύσαπι *gausape* *τάπητι *tapēte* sec. 5 β beside βάκκαρις γαύσαπος τάπης.

(11) Many of our loan-words prove that the Greek equivalents had once a larger meaning than appears in extant Greek literature :

(*a*) the following, Adjectives in Greek, are used in Latin as Substantives :

Masc. :

κογχίτης shelly, *conchīta* catcher of shellfish.

πάροχος supplying, *parochus* purveyor.

πυρωπός fiery, *pyrōpus* bronze.

σαρκοφάγος carnivorous, *sarcophagus* coffin.

τραπητός newly pressed, *trapētus* oil mill.

Fem. :

δίβαφος double-dyed, *dibaphus* purple robe.

δίωτος two-eared, *diōta* jar.

ἐνδρομίς for the footrace, *endromis* wrap.

κυκλάς lying around, *cyclas* robe.

μυρρίνη of myrrh, *murrina* spiced wine.

ὀβρύζη pure, *obrussa* test.

θερμαί warm, *thermae* baths.

ξηραμπέλιναι scarlet, *xērampelinae* scarlet robes.

Neut. :

ἀναγκαῖον necessary, *anancaeum* cup drained on a wager.

δίκροτον double-oared, *dicrotum* bireme.

μακρόκωλον long-legged, *macrocōlum* a kind of paper.

μήλινον yellow, *mēlinum* yellow robe.

νάρδινον of nard, *nardinum* spiced wine.

πλάγιον crooked, *plagium* kidnapping.

σητάνιον of this year, *sētanium* medlar.

ἀμεθύστινα of amethyst, *amethystina* purple robes.

κήρινα wax-coloured, *cērina* yellow robes.

τέσσαρα four, *tessera* tally, each side being a square.

τρεχέδειπνα running to dinner, *trechedīpna* light robes.

Conversely the following, Substantives in Greek, are used in Latin as Adjectives :

ἐπίκροκον a garment, *epicrocum* transparent.

σπάδιξ palm branch, *spādīx* brown.

(β) the following, abstract in meaning in Greek, are in Latin concrete :

ἄμυξιν, *amussim* sec. 7 a.

γένεσις birth, *genesis* birth-star.

ἔλεγχος refutation, *elenchus* ear-pendant (why ?).

σπονδή, *sponda* sec. 3 note.

Conversely the following, concrete in meaning in Greek, are in Latin abstract :

γέρρα wickerwork, *gerrae* nonsense.

στόμαχος stomach, *stomachus* displeasure.

χορήγιον dancing-school, *chorēgium* preparing a chorus.

(γ) the etymologically possible meaning comes out differently:

ἐμβόλιον ' thrown in '=javelin, *embolium* interlude (Aristotle's ἐμβόλιμον).

ἐξόδιον ' exit '=finale of a tragedy, *exodium* farce.

κόλυμβος ' ducking '=grebe, *columbus* pigeon.

λογεῖον ' place of words '=stage, *logēum* archives.

μαλακία ' softness '=effeminacy, *malacia* dead calm.

ναυτία ' of sailors '=seasickness, *nautea* bilgewater.

ὀφθαλμίας ' quicksighted '=eagle, *ophthalmias* a kind of fish.

πῆγμα ' fixture '=framework, *pēgma* bookcase, stage.

χαλκάνθη ' bronze-flower '=sulphate of copper, *caltha* pot-marigold.

χειλόω ' use a lip '=surround with a rim, *in-cilō* grin (sec. 4 fin.).

(δ) the Latin meaning is extended from the Greek (on βλαισός *blæsus* see sec. 3 note) :

γραφικός picturesque, *graphicus* exquisite.

θρίαμβος hymn to Bacchus, *triumphus* procession.

κιστοφόρος chest-bearer, *cistophorus* a coin.

λάτρις hired servant, *latrō* robber.

ληνός trough, *lēnunculus* skiff.

ὄνυξ onyx, *onyx* casket made of onyx.

παρθενική maiden, *parthenicē* a plant.

πόδιον little foot, *podium* balcony.

στέμμα wreath, *stemma* pedigree, from wreaths hung on images of ancestors.

φάσηλος bean, *phasēlus* boat, from its shape.

Σειληνός Silenus, *silānus* fountain with a head of Silenus.

Φίλιππος Philip, *philippus* a coin.

Conversely *pithēcium* in Latin means 'little ape,' πιθήκιον in (late) Greek ' a machine.'

(12) We may now turn to the un-Greek loan-words within our province. The following 90 words, if no more, seem foreign, though we cannot tell where they came from : *aclys* (sec. 3) *ălea ālēc* ' pickle ' *andabata* ' blindfolded gladiator' *asīlus bēta* ' beet ' *bractea* ' gold-leaf' *brassica būris* ' plough-beam ' *caliga cālō* ' soldier's servant ' *cāseus caupo cibus cīmex cippus colostra* ' biestings' *cortīna crāpula* (sec. 3) *cuspis dōlium ebulum* ' dwarf elder ' *epulae excetra* ' snake' *faex falx fēliālēs fiscus fuscina galbinus* ' green ' *gānea* 'underground room ' *gladius grāvastellus* 'old man' *hēlluō hibrida hirnea* 'jug' *hōria* 'fishing-smack' *ilex juba jubar lappa lārua* ' ghost, mask ' *later* ' brick ' *laus lemurēs lessum* ' wailing' *liber* 'inner bark' *lixa* ' sutler' *lōdix* ' blanket' *lorea* ' after-wine ' *lumbrīcus* 'earth-worm ' *lurcō* ' glutton ' *lūtum* ' woad ' *marra* ' hoe ' *mēlēs* ' badger' *mīles naucum* 'trifle' *ocrea offa orca* 'jar' *palumbēs pantex* 'paunch' *pirum popa* ' priest's assistant' *pōpulus preciae*

'a grape-vine' *proelium rāna rūna* 'dart' *sagitta sepeliō serra silex sīnum* 'bowl' *situla* 'bucket' *spolium sudis sulfur taeda larmes* 'woodworm' *tāxillus* 'die' *taxus tēmētum* 'wine' *tīnus* 'a plant' *tīpūla* (sec. 3) *tīrō titulus trichila* 'bower' *tugurium vāgīna*.

The following may with some confidence be referred to definite sources : about 69 are from Aryan and 32 from non-Aryan languages.

A. Aryan :

(a) Umbro-Sabellian : 21 words :

Umbrian :

arbiter 'witness,' cf. Umbr. *aЅputrati* 'arbitratu' (the second vowel of each word is *ŭ*, 'Latin Vocalism' sec. 2 fin.), from *ad* + a root *gvet* 'speak,' Gothic *qithan*, Eng. *quoth*.

rūfus 'red,' cf. Umbr. *rofa* 'rufas' : the Roman form would be **rūbus*.

sili-*cernium* 'feast at which they sat,' cf. Umbr. *çersnatur* 'cenati' : the first element is Latin *sedeō*.

Oscan (which the Roman grammarians often call Sabine) :

bōs, cf. βοῦς : the Roman form would be **vōs* from **vous*.

crepusculum 'twilight' (Varro), cf. *creper* below.

curis 'spear,' quoted by Ovid.

meddīx 'magistrate' (Festus), also written *metd(īx)* or *meddiss*, sec. 7 a.

mulcta 'fine' (Varro).

ovis 'sheep,' cf. ὄις i.e. ὄϝις : the Roman form **avis* is said to remain in *avēna* 'oats.'

strēna 'health' (Lydus de mensibus iv. 4).

sublica 'stake,' Volscian (Festus).

sŭpparum 'smock, topsail' (Varro), cf. *sīparium* 'curtain' (the first vowel of each word is *ŭ*).

tesqua 'wastes' (Scholiast on Hor. Epp. i. 14. 19) an augural term ; it proves that *qu* after *s* did not, as in other positions in Oscan, become *p*.

trabea 'state robe,' introduced by Numa (Lydus ut supra i. 19).

Adjectives : *cascus* 'old,' *catus* 'sharp,' *creper* 'dark,' *dīrus* 'evil,' *sollus* 'whole,' are said by the Roman grammarians to

be Sabine ; *tūticus* ' public ' (cf. Gothic *theuda* ' people ') is Campanian (Livy).

Verb : *baetō* (also spelt *bētō* or *bītō*) ' go,' cf. Oscan *baiteis* ' comest.'

(β) Celtic : perhaps 43 words, some also quoted in Greek : Gaulish :

(1) names for wheeled vehicles :

carpentum (Florus).

carrus (Irish *carr*).

petor-rītum (Festus : cf. Welsh *pedwar* ' four ' + Old-Irish *rith* ' course ').

raeda **ṛ́dē* sec. 9 (Quintilian : cf. Old-Irish *rīad* ' journeying ').

Probably also *cisium* and *sarrācum* ; with *plŏxenum* ' wagon-box ' (Catullus xcvii. 6) and, I would suggest, the cognate word *plaustrum* ' wagon,' i.e. *plaux-trum from a root *qlaug-s*, Celtic *plōg, whence our *plough*.

(2) military terms :

ambactus ' vassal ' (Festus), cf. Welsh *amaeth* ' husbandman,' cognate with Latin *ambi-* + *agō*, ' sent about.' Hence Gothic *andbahts* ' servant,' the first syllable of it as though from *and* ' towards.'

bārō or *vārō* ' soldier's servant,' Scholiast on Persius v. 138 (Jahn : Bücheler omits the passage).

caterva ' troop,' see Isidore's Origines ix. 3. 46, cf. Old-Irish *cath* ' fight.'

cruppellārii ' harnessed combatants,' quoted by Tacitus.

matara or *madaris* ' pike ' (Hesychius).

pontō ' punt ' (Caesar) : from it comes the Eng. word.

sagum σάγος ' military cloak ' (Isidore) : Eng. *sail* from *sagulum*.

soldūrii σιλόδουροι ' retainers,' quoted by Caesar.

(3) other words :

amellus ' starwort,' loved by bees, for *ampellus (cf. Lat. *apis*) : see Stokes in Bezz. Beitr. ix. p. 194.

brācae ' breeches ' (Diodorus Siculus) : said to be borrowed from Teutonic, cf. German *bruch* ' trowsers.'

cucullus ' hood,' whence Eng. *cowl*: Santonic, Juv. viii. 145.

omāsum 'tripe' (Philoxenus).

rēnō 'fur pelisse' (Varro).

saliunca 'Celtic nard,' Dioscorides' ἁλιουάσκα.

tūcētum 'beef' (Isidore), Umbrian *toco*.

ūrus οὖρος 'wild ox' (Macrobius): said to be borrowed from Teutonic, cf. German *auer-ochs* 'wild ox,' *auer-hahn* 'black-cock.'

volaemus (Adj.) 'fine' (Servius), whence Vergil's *volaema* 'warden-pears.'—I would add

aquipenser ἀκκιπήσιος (*i.e.* *ἀκϝιπήνσιος) 'sturgeon': the first element is cognate with Lat. *aqua*.

caballus καβάλλης 'horse,' whence French *cheval*, Welsh *ceffyl*.

vātēs (the Latin form would be *vōtēs) 'seer, poet,' Celtic οὐάτεις 'priests' (Strabo), Irish *fáith* 'prophet,' Rhys' Hibbert Lectures p. 278: a shepherds' term, Verg. Buc. ix. 34.

Probably also *bāsium gingīra saliva*, all three introduced by Catullus, a native of Transpadane Gaul.

Belgic:

covinnus 'war-chariot' (Lucan), for *co-veg-nos*, cognate with Lat. *co-* + *vehō*, cf. Welsh *cy-wain* 'convey.'

essedum 'war-chariot' (Verg.).

British:

bascauda 'tub' (nothing to do with our *basket*, whence Welsh *basged*).

Spanish (which the Greeks call Iberian):

caetra καιτρέα 'shield' (Hesychius).

canthus κανθός 'tire' of a wheel (Quintilian).

cunīculus κύνικλος 'rabbit' (Aelian): properly, I would suggest, 'little dog,' cf. κύνα.

falārica 'fiery arrow,' used by the Saguntines.

gaesum γαῖσος 'javelin' (Athenaeus), Old Irish *gai*.

lancea 'spear' (Varro), whence Eng. *launch*.

mantum 'cloak' (Isidore), whence *mantēlum* 'mantle' and *mantēle* 'napkin.'

minium 'vermilion' (Propertius), cf. the river-name *Minius*, now *Minho*.

pilentum 'chariot' ? See Diefenbach's Origines Europaeae p. 399.

(γ) Teutonic: 5 words:

bardītus 'war cry' (Tacitus), perhaps from a root *bherdh*, whence πέρθω 'ravage,' Stokes in Mém. Soc. Ling. v. p. 420.

catēja 'spear' (Verg.: according to Servius Gaulish).

framea 'spear' (Tacitus).

glaesum 'amber' (Pliny), Anglosaxon *glaere*.

sparus 'spear,' Anglosaxon *spär*, Eng. *spar*.

Perhaps, originally, also *brācae ūrus*, see above.

B. Non-Aryan:

(α) Etruscan: perhaps 13 words:

ātrium 'hall' (Varro) cf. the Etruscan town-name *Atria* (and the relation of μέγαρον 'hall' to Μέγαρα).

balteus 'belt' (Varro).

cassis 'helmet' (Isidore).

catamītus, Etrusc. *catmite* from *κατάμισθος 'venal.'

fala 'pillar' (Festus), Etrusc. *falandum* 'sky.'

histriō 'actor' (Livy), Etrusc. *hister*.

īdūs 'middle of the month,' Etrusc. *itus* (Varro: their alphabet having no *d*).

lituus 'trumpet,' an Etruscan invention.

obba obua 'cup,' Etrusc. *uflea*, Bugge in Bezz. Beitr. x. p. 110 sq.

satelles 'follower,' Etrusc. *zatlaθ*, Bugge ut supra xi. p. 1 sq.; a bodyguard first introduced by Tarquinius Superbus, an Etruscan by origin.

Perhaps also *tensa* 'car for images of gods,' and (besides *histriō*) the scenic words *lūcar* 'actors' pay,' *pulpitum* 'stage': but hardly *capra* 'she-goat' (Hesychius), *lanista* (Isidore) sec. 7, *nepōs* 'spendthrift' (Festus), *pollūceō* 'offer' (which Bugge ut supra p. 43 connects with Etrusc. *pultace* 'sacrificavit').

(β) Basque: *mannus* 'cob,' dialectic for *mandus (as *grunniō* for *grundiō*, cf. Miles Gloriosus 1407 dispennite . . . et distennite), Basque *mando* 'mule.'

(γ) Phoenician: 13 words:

ambūbāja 'fluteplayer,' cf. Syrian *āʾūʾo* 'pipe' : formed as though from Lat. *ambi-*.

fūcus (Masc.) 'rock-lichen,' Hebrew *pukh* 'paint,' whence also φῦκος (Neut.) 'seaweed.'

intibus (whence ἔντυβον) 'endive,' Arabic *hindibā*.

māgālia 'huts,' Heb. *māgōr* 'habitation,' whence also μέγαρον.

mastrūca manstrūga (Poenulus 1313, Goetz) 'sheepskin,' Sardinian (Quintilian).

palma 'palm-tree,' Heb. *tamar* : for the inserted *l* cf. σαλαμάνδρα beside Persian *semender*, βάλσαμον from Heb. *besem*.

pāvō 'peacock,' Arabic *tāūs*, whence also ταῶς : for the *p* cf. the preceding.

sūfes 'consul,' Heb. *shofet* 'judge.'

tunica 'shirt,' Heb. *k'thōneth*, whence also χιτών.

Punic : *mapālia* 'huts' (Festus), *mappa* 'napkin' (Quintilian), *ulpicum* 'leek' (Columella), and perhaps *crux* 'cross' (a Carthaginian instrument of punishment).

(δ) African : *nepa* 'scorpion' (Festus), and perhaps *attegia* 'hut' (Maurorum, Juv. xiv. 196), *lāserpīcium* 'silphium' (first grown at Cyrene, Pliny xvi. 143).—Egyptian : *ebur* 'ivory' (Egyptian *āb*).

(ε) Indian (but not Aryan) : *barrus* 'elephant' (Isidore).

SYLLABUS OF CONTENTS.

XII.—NOTES ON THE DIALECT OF URBINO, THE
NASAL SOUNDS, ETC., IN A LETTER TO A. J.
ELLIS, ESQ., F.R.S. By PRINCE L.-L. BONAPARTE.

London, 8th November, 1888.

MY DEAR MR. ELLIS,

I hope to be able to go again to Urbino next March
to continue my study on the dialect of that ancient duchy, a
dialect which, in my opinion, can be as correctly considered
to be the end of the Gallo-Italic language as the beginning
of the Italian. I prefer to consider it as Gallo-Italic
particularly because it presents, as generally Gallo-Italic
dialects do, the final sounds ' b, d, dz, dzh, f, g, gj, gw, k,
kj, kw, llj, n, nnj, p, s, ssh, t, ts, tsh, v, z '; or, in usual Italian
orthography, (b, d, z, g gi, f, g gh, ghi gh, gu, c ch, chi ch,
qu, gl gli, n, gn, p, s, sc sci, t, z, c ci, v, s). The Italian final
sounds are only these : ' l, m, n, r,' and perhaps ' *nh,*' (see the
following Table No. 44 and note 5), which occur in Gallo-
Italic too, and are represented in usual Italian orthography
by (l, m, n, r) and perhaps (n) for '*nh.*' Examples taken from
the dialect of Urbino in usual orthography : (piomb, pied,
Magg, grif, zag,[1] sach, degn, dop, pass, rosc, pat, disprezz,
pec, amav), and also (sal, fam, donn, signor, pan, pronounced
'pan*h* ') corresponding, in meaning to Italian (piombo, piede,
Maggio, grifo, sagrestano,[1] sacco, degno, dopo, passo, rosso,
patto, disprezzo, pace, amavi ; sale, fame, donne, signore,
pane), *lead, foot, May, snout* (of a pig), *sacristan,*[1] *sack, worthy,*

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[1] The word (zag), phon. ' dzag,' is very much used at Fano, where a subdialect
of Urbino is spoken. It is a wonderful word indeed, and the research of its origin
is well worthy of the attention of the etymologist; and so are the prepositions
(ma) *to,* and (sa) *with,* corresponding to the Italian (a) and (con). Ex. (ma te,
sa me) *to thee, with me.* They are in great use in the localities belonging to
the dialect of Urbino, and are also heard in localities belonging to the Low
Romagnuolo Gallo-Italic subdialect, as Pesaro, Cattolica, Coriano, Rimini, San
Marino, Sant' Agata Feltria, Savignano, San Vittorio of Cesena, and somewhere

after, pace step, red, pact, contempt, peace, thou lovedst; salt, hunger, women, lord, bread.

The dialect of Urbino does not follow the *Romagnuolo* dialect in making no distinction between the third person of the singular and that of the plural in all the tenses ; and, as this confusion takes place at Pesaro and in the localities of the *mandamento* of the same name situated between the river Foglia and the torrent Arzilla, such as Candelara, Novilara, etc., it seems that it marks the limit between these two Gallo-Italic dialects. So, *e.g.* these two phrases, which in Italian are : (il gatto mangia, i gatti mangiano), *the cat is eating, the cats are eating*, are rendered at Urbino by (el gat magna, i gat magnen) and, at Pesaro, by (el gat magna, i gat magna).

NASAL SOUNDS.

I am also, in this moment, very much occupied with the phonetics of *n* and *m*, Gröber's new work on Neo-Latin languages having greatly modified my ideas about the nature of the so-called guttural *ng*, as in *singing*, in which word I find a difference between the final and the medial *ng*. In fact, only the latter seems to be a real guttural nasal consonant, which I indicate phonetically by 'nh.'[1] This sound occurs also in such Genoese and Piedmontese words as *lùnn-a pinn-a*, and *luna piena*, meaning *full moon*, phon. 'lýnh*n*hnha pính*n*hnha, lýnh*n*hnha piénh*n*hnha';

else in Italy. *Conf.* the Illyrian (sa) on the opposite shore of the Adriatic, the German (sammt), the Greek σύν, all three meaning *with*, the Latin (simul), and the French (ensemble) *together*. With regard to (ma), perhaps the hypothetical Latin (ampud), for (apud), may explain its origin. I find in Du Cange's "Glossarium mediæ et infimæ Latinitatis," under the word Zagus: "Nomen officii palatini apud Venetos. (Appendix ad Translat. SS. Pauli et Barbari tom. 7, Maii pag. 772: *Capitaneus major, Zagus, ceremoniarum magister, etc.* Vide *Adalides*," and, under the word Adalides: "Apud Lusitanos Adalidem, vulgo *Adail* [itineris ductor], antiquitus nominatum fuisse *Zagam* monet Sᵃ Rosa de Viterbo tom. 1, pag. 52. Charta ann. 1162: *De preda de Fossado non detis, nisi at Zagam duas partes et vobis remaneant duæ;* ubi versio vulgaris sec. 13: *E de roubo, e de foçado non dedes senão ao Adajl as duas partes, e a vos fiquem as duas partes.*" I read also in Dozy's "Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe," at p. 359, line 21: *Zaga, azaga* (arrière-garde), [de l'arabe) sâca, "postrema pars exercitus;" but the etymology of *zag*, in spite of these statements, remains still very obscure.

[1] Words or symbols between inverted commas are always phonetically spelled according to the symbols given in my Table, while words or symbols in italics or between brackets are not so.

while the Italian *luna piena* is phonetically 'llúna piéna.'
The final *ng* of *singing*, on the contrary, as well as the
n of *bank* or *finger*, seems, to my ear, to be a nasal vowel
resonance following a non-nasal vowel and preceding, as in
bank or *finger*, a consonant to which only the gutturality
belongs; and, as I express the nasal resonance by an italic
'*nh*,' the words *singing*, *bank*, and *finger* become phon.
'sinh*inh*, banhk,' and 'finhger.' According to Gröber, with
whom I entirely agree, both *m* and *n* before a consonant sound
'*nh*' and not '*m*' or '*n*,' the labiality, the gutturality, the
palatality, the dentality, etc., of the consonant having no
influence on the preceding '*nh*,' whether represented either
by *m* or *n*; so that the words : *gamba, banca, lancia, granchio,
cinque, mondo, ninfa, vanga, frangia, unghia, lingua, in lui, con
gli studj, in me, in noi, con gnaulare, tempo, con rabbia, mensa,
con scintille, ponte, invito, lonza, sustanziale, bronzo,* and mean-
ing : *leg, bank, lance, crab, five, world, nymph, spade, fringe,
nail, tongue, in him, with the studies, in me, in us, with mewing,
time, with rage, table, with sparks, bridge, invitation, panther,
substantial, bronze,* are to be pronounced : ' ggán*h*ba, bbán*h*ko,
llán*h*tsha, ggrán*h*kjo, ttshín*h*kwe, mmón*h*do, nnín*h*fa, vván*h*ga,
ffrán*h*dzha, ún*h*gja, llin*h*gwa, in*h* lúi, kkón*h* llj stúdii, in*h* mé,
in*h* nói, kkon*h* nnjauláre, ttén*h*po, kkon*h* rúbbbia, mun*h*sa,
kkon*h* sshin*h*til*l*le, ppón*h*te, in*h*víto, llón*h*tsha, ssustan*h*tsjále,
bbrón*h*dzo.' [1]

At Urbino the words *pan, vin, bon,* etc., are phon. ' pan*h*,
vin*h*, bon*h*,' and not 'pã, vĩ, bõ,' or 'pɛ̃, vɛ̃, bõ̃' (according to
dialects), with nasal vowels, as they exist in *Romagnuolo,*
Milanese, etc.; but I am still doubtful whether, even in
classical Italian, such words are not pronounced with '*nh*'

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[1] Gröber (Gustav)—Grundriss der romanischen Philologie, I. Band, p. 491,
ll. 13-18. Strassburg, Karl J. Trübner, 1888. "An *Nasalen* [der italienischen
Sprache]: die labiale (mano, pomo), die dentale (naso, cane) und die unbestimmte
Nasalität, die ' anuswâra,' ein Laut, den man vor jedem beliebigen Konsonanten
vernimmt, der aber von den folgenden Konsonanten keine verschiedene färbung
erhält, so dass er in *impero* nicht anders lautet als in *intacco* oder in *incudine.*
Die vierte Nasalis ist das iotacirte *n* (ñ, *nnj* in *degno*)."—"Respecting *Nasals* :
the labial (mano, pomo), the dental (naso, cane), and the indeterminate nasality,
the ' anuswâra,' a sound which can be heard before any consonant whatever, but
which is not differently affected by the following consonants, so that it sounds the
same in *impero* as it does in *intacco* or in *incudine.* The fourth nasal is the
iotacised *n* (ñ, *nnj* in *degno*)."

instead of 'n' when the final vowel is suppressed, which happens particularly in poetry. Salviati calls *mezza n* or *half n* the final *n* of *Natan*, phon. 'Nnatánh,' and not 'Nnatan'; and also 'ppan*h*, vvin*h*, bbu*ωn*h' when used for *pane, vino, buono* (bread, wine, good). I am, with thanks and kind regards,

<div style="text-align:right">Yours very truly,
L.-L. BONAPARTE.</div>

TABLE OF THE ITALIAN SIMPLE SOUNDS WITH A VIEW TO FACILITATE THE UNDERSTANDING OF THE SYMBOLS USED IN THE PRECEDING LETTER.

*1. a=áli, ále (ali, ale[1]) *wings*.
2. b=rrubíno (rubino) *ruby*.
3. bb=il bbél*l*o (il bello) *the handsome*.
*4. *b*=gg*ώbb*a (gobba) *hunch (lat.* gibba).
5. d=*ώ*do (odo) *I hear*.
6. dd=il ddán*n*no (il danno) *the damage*.
7. ddz=rróddzo (rozzo) *rough*.
8. ddzh[2]=ll*ώ*ddzha (loggia) *lodge*.
9. dz=ddi dz*ώl*la (di zolla) *of clod*.
10. dzh=ggrídzho (grigio) *grey*.
*11. *d*=add*d*ío (addio) *adieu*.
*12. e=ppáne (pane) *bread*.
*13. *e*=rréfe (refe) *thread*.
*14. ɛ=f́rbba (erba) *herb*.
15. f=ttúfo (tufo) *tufa*.
16. ff=stáffa (staffa) *stirrup*.
17. g=llágo (lago) *lake*.
18. gg=il ggál*l*o (il gallo) *the cock*.
19. ggj[2]=pper ggján*h*da (per ghianda) *for acorn*.
20. ggw[2]=il ggwán*h*to (il guanto) *the glove*.
21. gj=lla gján*h*da (la ghianda) *the acorn*.
22. gw=sségwo (seguo) *I follow*.
*23. *g*=vv*é*gggo (veggo) *I see*.
*24. *gj*=agj*gj*gjúttsho (agghiaccio) *I turn to ice*.
*25. *gw*=agw*gw*gwáto (agguato) *ambush*.
*26. i=íra (ira) *anger*.
27. k=ɛ́ko (eco) *echo*.
28. kj=lla kjáve (la chiave) *the key*.

29. kk=il kkáro (il caro) *the dear.*
30. kkj=pper kkjáve (per chiave) *for key.*
31. kkw=ák·kkwa (acqua) *water.*
32. kw=ékwo (equo) *equitable.*
33. l=ála, ále (ala, ale) *wing.*
34. ll=pper llúpo (per lupo) *for wolf.*
35. llj[3]=mmílljo (miglio) *mile.*
*36. *l*=bbal*l*lo (ballo) *dance.*
37. m=ámo (amo) *I love.*
38. mm=il mmónhte (il monte) *the mountain.*
*39. *m*=ssómmma (somma) *sum.*
40. n=ppéna (pena) *pain.*
41. nn=pper nnótshe (per noce) *for walnut.*
42. nnj[4]=llénnjo (legno) *wood (lat.* lignum).
*43. *n*=ánnno (anno) *year.*
*44. *nh*[5]=inhkúdine (incudine) *anvil.*
*45. o=ppálo (palo) *pale (lat.* palus).
*46. o=skópa (scopa) *broom.*
*47. ω=ώro (oro) *gold.*
48. p=kkápo (capo) *head.*
49. pp=kkáp·ppa (cappa) *cloak with a hood.*
50. r=vvéro (vero) *true.*
51. rr=kkárro (carro) *cart.*
52. s=kkúsa (casa) *house.*
53. ss=kkássa (cassa) *trunk (lat.* capsa).
54. ssh[6]=ppésshe (pesce) *fish.*
55. t=rruóta (ruota) *wheel.*
56. ts=ddi tsío (di zio) *of uncle.*
57. tsh=ppátshe (pace) *peace.*
58. tsj=vvítsjo (vizio) *vice.*
59. tt=mmát·tto (matto) *mad.*
60. tts=ppátlso (pazzo) *mad.*
61. ttsh=kkáttsha (caccia) *chase, hunt.*
62. ttsj=spettsjámo (spezziamo) *let us break.*
*63. u=llúna (luna) *moon.*
64. v=nnéve (neve) *snow.*
65. vv=avvénhto (avvento) *Advent.*
66. z[7]=rróza (rosa) *rose.*

¹ Words spelled according to the usual Italian orthography are put in parentheses, while those spelled phonetically are not, or only between ' '.

² The letters 'h, j, w' are, phonetically, only used in digrams, trigrams, etc.

³ The symbol 'llj' is the strong modification of weak 'lj,' not to be found in Italian.

⁴ The symbol 'nnj' is the strong modification of weak 'nj,' not to be found in Italian.

⁵ The symbol 'nh' exists in Italian, but 'nh' does not.

⁶ The symbol 'ssh' is the strong modification of weak 'sh,' but the last does not exist in Italian, although it is very common in the vulgar Florentine and Roman pronunciation of the lowest classes. The Italian phrase (pasce in pace), phonetically 'ppasshe inh patshe,' *he feeds in peace*, becomes 'ppasshe inh pashe.'

⁷ The symbol 'z' has no strong modification.

N.B.—(1) The sounds which I consider to be vowels have an asterisk prefixed.

(2) A dot between two consonants of the same kind indicates a stop.

(3) See the note on pp. 179-80 of my paper " Initial Mutations in the living Celtic, Basque, Sardinian, and Italian Dialects," in the " Transactions of the Philological Society, 1882-3-4."

XIII.—ON PROFESSOR ATKINSON'S EDITION OF THE PASSIONS AND HOMILIES IN THE LEBAR BRECC. By WHITLEY STOKES, D.C.L.

THE Lebar Brecc, or 'Speckled Book,' is a fourteenth-century vellum MS., now consisting of 140 leaves of the largest folio, written for the most part in double columns, which contain in some cases more than 80 closely-written lines. It belongs to the library of the Royal Irish Academy, by which learned body a lithographic facsimile was published in 1876. With the exceptions of a fragmentary history of Philip and Alexander the Great, the story called *Mac Conglinne's Vision* (which reminds one sometimes of Rabelais, sometimes of the *Bataille de Karesme et de Charnage*), two lyrical poems (in pp. 108ᵇ and 186ᵃ), and a copy of the old glossary attributed to Cormac, its contents are religious or ecclesiastical. The whole is in the Irish language, except two Latin hymns, a copy of the *Lorica* of Gildas, a sermo synodalis, some texts from a Latin translation (not always the Vulgate) of the Bible, and other portions of the homilies hereinafter mentioned. For the history of the Christian religion in Ireland it is of the utmost value, and it is a great repertory of the Old and the Middle-Irish languages. But for philological purposes it must be used with caution,

for the scribes were ignorant and sometimes careless;[1] and
we find in every column instances of that confusion of *ch*
and *th*, of *gh* and *dh*, of *mh* and *bh*, which has prevailed
from the fourteenth century to the present day, and which
makes most Irish MSS. and printed books either snares or
eyesores to the etymologist.

Two of the divisions of this codex consist of Passions and
Homilies. The Passions are those of Christ, six of His
Apostles, John the Baptist, Stephen, Longinus, the Seven
Sleepers, St. George, and Pope Marcellinus. The Homilies
treat of the Epiphany, Circumcision, Transfiguration, and
other events in Christ's life, of the incredulity of S. Thomas, of
Pentecost, of Michael the Archangel, of the four saints most
popular in Ireland—Martin of Tours, Patrick, Brigit and
Columba, of charity, repentance, the ten commandments, the
Lord's Prayer, fasting, the canonical hours, and other such
matters. "It is nearly certain," says Professor Atkinson,
"that the whole of the texts here printed are versions made
directly from the Latin." This is quite certain in the
case of most of the homilies, where each sentence of the
Irish is preceded by the Latin original, which Prof. Atkin-
son, as a rule, omits from his texts. He thus, as M. Henri
Gaidoz has remarked, "modifie la physionomie de l'original,"
and leads his readers to suppose that he has made his transla-
tion without assistance. The Latin appears to be the work
of continental scholars, and hence we may account for the
almost total absence from these documents of anything to
throw light on the peculiar doctrines and practices of the
Irish church, the manners, customs, laws, superstitions and
folklore of the Irish people. The references in Professor
Atkinson's texts (ll. 7515–7517) to the use of oil in (not
before or after) baptism; to the mixed chalice (l. 6360); to
an eternal purgatory (l. 4308); to future punishment by cold
as well as by heat (l. 6397); to future reward by listening
to the music of the birds in paradise (l. 6486), are about all
that illustrate religious belief and usage. The catalogue of the

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[1] *e.g. itcualamar* 7[b], leg. *itcualamar; rorenachsat* 191[b], leg. *refhremaigset;
Tairisim*, 193[a], leg. *Tairisid; roglom larigdia* 162[b], leg. *roglórmnirig dia; dorm-
detar* 246[a] 30, leg. *dorinde tir; suigiudud*, 192[b], leg. *suidiugud.*

accomplishments of the two daughters of Herodias (ll. 889–892) throws some light on the amusements of the ancient Irish, and the lists of the punishments legally inflicted (ll. 4198–4201 and 7332), illustrate their criminal law.   Phrases like *tulach comdala*, 'hill of meeting,' l. 8255 (which the editor renders by "rendezvous"), are also racy of the soil.   As to Irish superstitions, one may perhaps quote ll. 7315–7318 as to casting lots, poisons (philters ?) of women (*uptha ban*), auguries given by birds (*glór én*, the *gotha én* of the Irish Nennius, p. 124, the Latin *oscines*), visions, the moon's time, forbidden days, and prophecies by living men.   The beliefs that when a king is righteous, 'earth and sea, field and wood, lakes and rivers will be fruitful' (l. 4285); that the first-born of an adulterer or adulteress will die prematurely (l. 7811); that for three days after its birth the lion's whelp is lifeless, and is brought to life by the breath and roar of its father,[1] appear to belong to Irish folk-lore.   So does the notion of the dropping well (ll. 6365–6367), which never increases in rain nor diminishes in drought;[2] and I have been unable to find a foreign source for the following fine legend, which occurs as a commentary on the text *Diligite iustitiam qui iudicatis terram* (ll. 4129–1145) :

  'Love ye justice,' that is, deliver righteous judgments, O kings of the world !   For Solomon greatly feared the Lord when he was judging the people and passing sentences upon them.   For one day he was before the noble king David, his father, when David was judging the people.   And he upbraided David for his tardiness and hesitation in deciding.   Whereupon his father said to him : "Come *thou*, my son, to-day upon the throne, that *thou* mayst search into and clear up the questions and the causes of the folk more quickly than I do.   For thou art shrewder and sharper of wit and understanding, as is said in the proverb : *The younger thorn is always the sharper*."[3]

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[1] Compare the Pseudo-Turpin, ed. Ciampi, p. 47, ed. Castels, p. 33, and Philippe de Thaun in Wright's *Popular Treatises*, p. 76.

[2] Compare Fiace's hymn, l. 29, where it is said of the well Slán : *nís-gaibed tart na tía* (nor drought nor flood used to affect it), and Pliny's account of the well Manduria.

[3] Compare *is luaithi mang ind mdthair* (the fawn is swifter than its dam), Cormac's Glossary, s.v. Mang.   Other proverbs in Prof. Atkinson's book are *is uaisli in clú ina nt-ór* (glory is nobler than gold), 7685, and *boeval inecmais omain* (danger in absence of fear), 3010, a warning against over-confidence.

"Then went Solomon upon the throne, according to his father's order. And over his head there appeared to him the Hand of the Creator with a two-edged sword, threatening him with a sudden and awful death if he swerved, little or much, from the righteous judgment. And when Solomon saw that, he trembled greatly, and his blood turned to bone in him for fear of the one God. And then he entreated his father to beseech the Lord for him, and to grant him forgiveness for the vexation that he had caused him through want of knowledge. So then they both besought the Lord that He would protect justice, and that they might never pass an unrighteous judgment." [1]

In the costly volume under notice Prof. Atkinson has printed, with funds supplied by the British Government to the Royal Irish Academy, the whole of these Passions and all the Homilies except those on the Transfiguration and the four saints, Martin, Patrick, Brigit and Colomb cille. He gives the texts in the Roman character. He has added a translation (sometimes paraphrastic, sometimes condensed, frequently erroneous) of the greater number of his texts; [2] and an elaborate glossary concludes his volume. In the following remarks I shall first notice the texts, secondly, the translation, and thirdly, the glossary.

1. The Texts.

The texts, so far as I have examined them, are reproduced with reasonable accuracy from the codex. [3] But this codex is, as I have hinted, not unfrequently corrupt, and the first criticism I have to make is that, except in three instances, Prof. Atkinson has not collated his texts with the versions contained in other MSS. No editor of an Irish text can dispense with this process. It is true that Prof. Atkinson appears to have collated his Passion xxix. (the Seven Sleepers) with Egerton 91, fo. 32, his Passion xxvii.

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[1] See the *Revue Celtique*, ii. 382, 383, where this legend was first printed and translated.

[2] He has not translated the homilies numbered ix., xiii., and xxxvii. He has omitted to translate much of his homily viii.

[3] Homily xiii. on the Circumcision is incomplete. Homily xvii., on the Transfiguration, is not given at all.

(Longinus) with Egerton 136, p. 85, and the first portion of
his Passion xix. (Christ) with the Irish gospel of Nicodemus
in the Yellow Book of Lecan.   But these collations are far
from complete, and he has wholly neglected Laud 610, ff.
11ᵇ–14ᵃ, which contains a copy of the Passion of Christ's
Image (=Atkinson, pp. 42–48), and the fourteenth century
Irish MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, which contains
versions of no less than nine of Prof. Atkinson's texts—
marked respectively III., IV., VII., XVI., XIX., XXVI.,
XXIX., XXXVI., and XXXVII.

Secondly, although Prof. Atkinson has discarded the
so-called Irish type for Roman, he has not availed himself
of the power which this sensible act has given him, to
mark, by the use of italics, his extensions of the numerous
contractions in his texts.   He prints, for instance (l. 2829),
ro-grandaigsibair.   But this is a vox nihili.   Had he used
italics, as he ought, he would have printed ro-gr*and*aigsibair,
and then even tiros in Irish would have seen that this was an
editorial error for the ro-gr*end*aigsibair ('ye have bearded'
or 'challenged') of the manuscript,[1] 162ᵃ 45.   A similar
mistake is in l. 1630, where for the "it*er*t kal. Íuil" ('on
the third [day before] the calends of July') of the MS.
172ᵇ 67, Prof. Atkinson gives us "itat kalaind Íuil," which
is mere gibberish.   So in l. 3302, where the Jews take
Christ to Golgotha, the MS. 166ᵇ 8, has Dia mbatar tra oc
imdecht iarna s*ét*, 'when they were going along their way';
but for s*ét*, Prof. A. prints 'sróigled,' and translates 'after
scourging Him,' which would be *iarna shróigled*, with
aspirated s.   So, in l. 5396 (MS. 53ᵃ 1), Prof. A.'s 'fer na
leirai-sin' should be fer na leirais*nésen* 'the author of the
clear (or complete?) declaration.'   And in l. 5643 (MS.
56ᵃ 10), his 'leth is aentudach ind aisneisen-se' should be
leth [atóibi, .i.] is aentudach, ind ais*néis*-se, the scribe having
substituted the gloss for the lemma, without much regard

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[1] Examples of the verb *grennaigim* are *grennaigit in macrad cisium imtech,
d'imbadha friu* (the boys challenge him to come and mutually duck them),
Mac-gnimartha Find, Rev. Celt. v. 200. *robdi ic grennugud na Troiandae co tistais
asa cathraigh* (he was challenging the Trojans to come out of their city), H. 2.
17, p 165ᵇ.   Hence the adj. *grennaigthech* 'defiant,' LL. 224ᵃ.

for syntax.   To these five specimens may be added an error which is made "about 400 times" (p. 645).   The MS. on each of these occasions has the abbreviation "dī" (*i.e.* Old-Ir. *didiu*, G.C. 349, 712–13, later *diu*).   For this Prof. Atkinson always gives the vox nihili '*din*.'   So the compendium dū (*i.e. dano*, G.C. 700), he prints at least six times as '*dan*.'

Thirdly, he often bisects compounds, *e.g. cet chesad* l. 34, for *cétchésad*, and *fir dhuine* 5642, for *firdhuine*.   We even have *na truaig* 8315–16, for *n-atruaig*,[1] *da muscach* 3042, for *damuscach*, and *tair sin* 6462, for *tair*[*c*]*sin*.

Fourthly, his use of the hyphen is generally needless and often wrong.   He prints, e.g. *ro-gab, and-sin, di-a n-id, talam-chumscugud*.   He might as well print in a Greek text ἔ-λυσα, ἐν-ταῦθα, ὅσ-τις, in an English *earth-quake*, in a French *le-quel*.   The editorial error *ro-torned* l. 410, for *ro-t-or*[*d*]*ned*, 'thou hast been ordained,' can deceive no one.   But when Prof. A. writes, as he does in countless cases, the articulated prepositions *cos-in, fors-in, fors-na, iars-in, iars-in-ni, is-in, is-na, las-in, res-in, tris-in, tars-in*, instead of *co-sin, for-sin, for-sna*, etc. (or better *cosin, forsin, forsna*, etc.), he misleads the tiro into the belief that the *s* in these compounds belongs to the preposition, whereas it is part of the subsequent article.   To print in an Italian text *all-o, coll-o, dall-o, dell-o, nell-o, sull-o*, in an Old-French text *al-s, del-s*, would be similar blunders.

II.   The Translation.

I now proceed to consider Prof. Atkinson's translation of the Passions and Homilies.   He states (p. 276) that he has not been anxious to give "a slavishly literal translation of the Irish text," but that he has not "passed over any real difficulty of which he was conscious."   This one is bound to believe.   But the limited extent of his consciousness will appear from the following specimens.   I shall first give the

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[1] In p. 958, l. 27, the (?) should be omitted after *n-atruaig*.

text, then Prof. Atkinson's version, and then a rendering which I fear he will denounce as 'slavishly literal.' The numbers refer to the pages and lines of Prof. Atkinson's book.

oirchindig craibdecha na hAssia 7 cristaige urmoir in oirth-oir uli, 'faithful overseers of Asia and very many Christians of all the East' (278, ll. 3, 4). Read: 'the pious principals of Asia and the Christians of the chief part of all the East'—*urmoir* being the gen. sg. of the substantive *urmor,* not, as Prof. A. supposes, an adjective in the nom. pl. masc. agreeing with *cristaige.*

suidigis in delb hi froigid a leptha in conair bui aiged a leptha 'he placed the image on the wall near which was the head of his bed,' 297, l. 22. The Irish is corrupt, but easily corrigible, even without reference to Laud 610. For *bui aiged a leptha* read *bui a aiged,* and then translate: 'he set the image on the wall (footboard) of his bed in the direction in which was his face,' *i.e.* in front of him.

icon Ebraide ut 'with such and such a Jew' (280, l. 36). Read: 'with yonder Jew,' *ut* for *út.*

aninde 'animosity' and 'savagery' (281, ll. 32, 36). Read in both places, 'senselessness,' Old-Ir. *an-inne,* from *inne* 'sense,' with the common negative prefix.

noco tanic digal . . . for Ierusalem 'till the time of the sacking of Jerusalem' (284, l. 11). Read: 'till vengeance (for Christ's blood) came upon Jerusalem.' So *tossach na digla* 'the beginning of the siege' (284, l. 17). Read: 'the beginning of the vengeance.' In the glossary, p. 642, *digal* (=Welsh *dial*) gen. *digla,* is rightly rendered.

basgaire co-serb ecnech etuailngech 'wringing their hands, and being filled with the bitterness of intolerable cursings' (290, ll. 11, 12). Here Prof. A. has mistaken the adverbial prefix *co* for the prep. *co-n*=cum, the adj. *serb* for the subst. *serbe,* and the adjective *ecnech* for the substantive *ecnach.* Translate simply: 'clapping of palms bitterly, violently, intolerably.'

in uaim slebi Sirapti 'on Mount Soracte' (290, l. 37). Read: 'in a cave of mount S.'

boi indorus na cathrach cen adnocul . . . co n-estais biasta 7 ethaite he 'he (Stephen) lay . . . without burial at the gate of the city so that beasts and birds devoured him' (326, line 18).

Here are two mistakes. *Indorus* is here, not 'at the gate,' but a common nominal prep., meaning 'in front of,' 'before.' And *estais* is not, as Prof. A. supposes, in the indicative. The very next words (*acht ní ros-corb nách n-anmanna he*, etc.) show that the protomartyr's body was not devoured, but miraculously preserved. Read : ' he was (left lying) *before* the city (and) without burial, in order that beasts and birds *might* eat him.'

ail 'foundation' (330, l. 25). Read : 'rock.'

conanacar-su 'thou art able' (334, l. 5). Read : 'Thou hast been able,' this verb being the redupl. pret. sg. 2 of *conicim*. The enclitic form, (ní) *coemnacair* (leg. *coemnacar*), 'thou hast not been able,' occurs in the same line.

na lochranna for lasad isin loch 'light flashing on the lake' (337, l. 28). Read : 'the lights blazing *in* the lake,' *i.e.* the lake in which St. Paul's head was lying. That light or fire is emitted by a saint's relics is a commonplace in Irish hagiology. Here it comes from a holy head.

oirchis dinn ria n-amsir ar ndamunta 'save us from damnation before our time' (347, l. 23). Read : 'spare us before the time of our damnation,' *i.e.* 'don't torture us until we are damned.'

imluaidid i foendel he 'harass him with delirium' (347, l. 30.) Read : 'Drive him about into wandering.' *foindel* (gl. peruagatio) Ml. 121ᵇ 8. So *imluadit o demnaib* 'possessed by devils' (360, l. 8). Read : 'who were driven about by devils,' and compare Prof. Atkinson's texts l. 2210 and Ml. 90ᵈ, 15, 135ᵇ, 9.

cech aincess olchena 'men sick of every evil' (356, l. 16). Read : 'every ailment besides.'

brisfemne delb 7 idal Mairt iarsin 'we will break the idol forthwith' (356, l. 26). Read : 'we will break the image and idol of Mars thereafter.'

dolad 'curse' (364, l. 14) 'distress,' p. 667. Read : 'charge'

or 'impost.' The word occurs in the acc. sg. (*gan doladh*) in the Four Masters, A.D. 1581, and in the dat. pl. (*dolaidib, dolodib*) in the Book of Deir.

co ndomblas ae 'of the bitterness of gall' (368, l. 13). Read : 'with gall,' lit. 'with bitterness of liver,' *i.e.* the bile, the bitter fluid secreted in the glandular substance of the liver.

ernail 'account' (371, l. 23 ; 379, l. 16). *Ernail*, properly 'kind,' 'species,' here means 'version' or 'recension.'

atathar do crochad 'who is being crucified' (377, l. 9). Read : 'who is to be crucified.'

frinde anair 'westward' (381, l. 32). Read : 'to the east of us' or 'in front of us.'

riana facsin 'at the sight of them' (383, l. 28). Read : 'at sight of him,' scil. the angel who appeared to the women at the holy sepulchre.

riched 'the kingdom of heaven' (388, l. 4). Read : 'heaven.'

ar mbidba a[r]ndis 'who is guilty before us both' (397, l. 30). Read : 'the enemy of us both,' and see Zimmer in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, xxx. 43.

ro-driúchtatar 'they raged' (399, l. 25, and p. 590, col. 2, l. 17). Read : 'they cried out.'

in ri talmanda, airrig he fri laim in rig nemdai, rendered in p. 405, l. 8, by 'the earthly king is a viceroy *at the hands of* the Heavenly King.' In the glossary the idiomatic expression *fri láim* is rendered by "under the authority of." It means "as vicar (deputy, substitute, proxy) for." See the Tripartite Life, Rolls ed. p. 28, l. 13, and the Four Masters, A.D. 1039.

córaidecht is rendered by 'arrogance' (405, l. 32), by 'violence' (409, l. 10), and by 'harshness' (609). It means 'wickedness.'

immarcraid (=*imm-forcraid*) 'abundance' (406, l. 8, and p. 758). It means 'overabundance,' 'superfluity.'

erlathrigit (they) 'govern' (409, l. 24), (they) 'preside,' p. 685. It means 'they dispose,' 'arrange,' 'set in order :' cf. *lathar* (gl. dispositio) Ml. 42^b.

robris cath fathri for Demun 'he there fought a battle against the Devil' (426, l. 13). This common idiomatic phrase means 'He, Christ, thrice defeated the Devil in battle,' literally, 'broke a battle thrice on the Devil,' *i.e.* successfully resisted the Devil's three temptations.

Cirine 'Quirinus' (458, l. 21; p. 500, l. 10).   Read: 'Hieronymus' or 'Jerome,' and compare Ml. 103ᵈ, 26, 124ᵈ, 5.

ni dentar gait gan rún gaite 'stealing without the intention of stealing is not stealing' (486, l. 16). The bull is due to the translator. The Irish literally rendered is: 'theft is not committed without a secret intention of thieving,' or, in the language of Blackstone, there must be a vicious will as well as an unlawful act.

Many other mistranslations which I had noted I afterwards found silently corrected in the glossary, which no doubt was compiled with the instructive assistance of Windisch's *Wörterbuch*. Prof. Atkinson was naturally unwilling to publish a lengthy list of his peccadilloes.[1] Fortunately for students of his book, the present writer has no such objection. Thus:

robidg 'shook,' 279, l. 5; *na dígla* 'of the siege,' 284, l. 17; *romarbait* 'died,' 289, l. 20; *socraide* 'more suitable,' 290, l. 20; *mullói* 'of a jug,' 294, l. 7; *noairnaigfed* 'would have watched,' 297, l. 30; *scoltis* 'burst' 301, l. 8; *timoircid* 'collects,' 301, l. 29; *oc adnad* 'fanning,' 305, l. 22; *lógmar* 'choice,' 305, l. 28; *anchara* 'confessor,' 306, l. 30; *di trath* 'a few hours,' 312, l. 27, *ni roerchoit dó* 'it availed just as little,' 317, l. 17; *mairg* 'fie,' 317, l. 29; *de* 'fire' 318, l. 25; *no adairtha* 'ye worship,' 320, l. 3; *a malartnaig* 'thou curse,' 322, l. 9; *ro-foidis* 'thou hast hurled,' 322, l. 26; *ro-a-clochsat Iudaide* 'whom the Jews crucified,' 326, l. 17; *fuasnad* 'angry feeling,' 322, l. 21; 'violence,' 353, l. 28; *nis faccu he* 'he disappeared,' 327, l. 10; *dianaig* 'thou art hastening,' 335, last line; *díl* 'doom,' 346, l. 6; *firinde* 'life,' 356, l. 5; *soferrda* 'fervently,' 357, l. 31; *fetait* 'they know how,' 362, l. 6; *dith* 'woe,' 362, l. 12; *ro-cumdaiged* 'founded,' 364, l. 5; *crochaire* 'malefactor,' 368, l. 29; *mac merdrige* 'child of fornication,' 396, l. 32; *oc tocbail na clochi* 'raising the stones,' 371, l. 9; *boegal in*

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[1] In p. 958 he says, "The translation is occasionally [!] corrected by the Glossary, *e.g.*" [he then gives six instances].

ecmais omain 'confidence in the absence of danger,' 372, l. 21; *garrda*
' guard room ' 381, l. 2; *amal ba lór leo* ' as was their wont,' 381,
l. 10; *sochaide* ' others,' 382, l. 13; *alim* ' we implore,' l. 11;
torniteir ' are gathered,' 387, l. 18; *crith* ' gnashing,' 391, l. 11;
gresacht ' inspiration,' 392, l. 23; *oc fresgabail* ' taken up,' 393, l.
31; *cáinchomrac* ' comfort,' 394, l. 31; *c[r]onugud* ' calamity,' 398,
l. 2; *sostaib* ' citadel,' 399, l. 23; ' borders' (399, l. 28); *coro fegur*
' that I may assign,' 401, l. 21; *gillacht* ' childhood,' 402, l. 6;
airitiu ' respect,' 403, l. 6; *toccraides* ' opposes,' 403, l. 11; *mo
thimna* ' my law,' 403, l. 31; *forcetul* ' maxim,' 404, l. 24;
co réthinach ' peaceably,' 405, l. 24; *troscthi* ' self-restraint,' 408,
l. 15; *feill* ' deceit,' 408, l. 22; *airmitiu* ' acceptable,' 411, l. 28;
remiss ' lifetime,' 411, l. 31; *cumsanad* ' relief,' 412, l. 18; *aduath-
mara* ' desperate,' 412, l. 26; *aduathmar* ' hideous,' 412, l. 44;
etarfuarad 'alleviation,' 413, l. 3; *ramór rodireccra* ' loud, anguished,'
413, l. 4; *imrim* ' entrance,' 419, l. 32; *fuacarthaid* ' enforcer,'
442, l. 14; *fochaide* ' inflictions,' 452, l. 32; *cin tothacht ⁊ cin deth-
berius* ' without special validity and reference,' 452, l. 13; *taisselb-
thar* ' were shewn,' 453, l. 15; *cosa saiget* ' with his arrow ' (!!)
453, l. 17; *faith* ' king,' 459, l. 35; *erladaigimm* ' I accept,' 464,
l. 17; *adba bunaid* ' permanent abode,' 478, l. 27; *salchar* ' an-
noyance,' 481, l. 23; *scristair ass* ' is sundered from,' 483, l. 6; *a
dhescad do thecht* ' to communicate contagion,' 483, l. 16; *adbar*
' argument,' 485, l. 6; *spreid* ' means,' 485, l. 25; *buaidred* ' deteriora-
tion,' 486, l. 22; *aithne* ' heading,' 486, l. 30; *on ló* ' and therefore,'
486, l. 32; *erich* 'portion,' 488, l. 28; *guirt* ' vegetables,' 490, l. 5;
leimnech ' onslaught,' 490, l. 9; *is direch tuicther so* ' this is ex-
emplified,' 491, l. 10; *goiste* ' net,' 492, l. 19; *longphort* ' fort,'
494, l. 22; *crech* ' breach,' 494, l. 27; *connagut* ' we seek,' 498, l. 28;
craibdech ' believing,' 502, l. 13; *coforbthe* ' spiritually,' 502, l. 26;
coduthrachtach ' cheerfully,' 502, l. 32; *lecca louna* [leg. *lomma*]
loisctecha 'mighty red-hot battle-stones,' 507, l. 33; *ní tharraid* 'they
had not caught,' 508, l. 5; *oirfitiud* ' mockery of song,' 508, l. 29;
cuile ' corner,' 509, l. 31; ' nest,' 511, 7; *il-brethach* ' full of pre-
judices,' 510, l. 1; *dergud* ' neglect,' 511, l. 11; *fetán* ' hiss,' 511,
l. 35; *sútrall* ' candle,' 511, l. 35; *lesugud* ' support,' 512, l. 3;
aprise ' short-lived,' 513, l. 1; *tiugaib* ' stiff,' 513, l. 12; *éxamail*
' abundant,' 514, l. 1; *bantaiscthid* 'treasure,' 514, l. 12; *cen éliu-
gud* ' unquestioning,' 514, l. 14.

That any one capable of publishing such unlucky guess-

work should have undertaken a work like the present is one
of those events which could happen only in Ireland.

III. The Glossary.

The glossary consists of 435 pages, closely printed in
double columns, and must have cost much time and labour.
The author has, for example, counted the number of times
that the following words occur in his texts, though their
meaning and use are perfectly well known : *and* (there)
'occurring 460 times.' *din* (leg. di*diu*) 'occurring about 400
times.' *indiu* (to-day) ' about 66 times.' *inni* (the thing)
'about 75 times.' *no* (or) 'about 150 times.' *oen* (one)
' about 180 times.' Such statistics may be desirable in the
case of books like the Vedas, the Iliad, the Odyssey, or
even the Divina Commedia. But to compile and print
them for a set of Middle-Irish homilies, arbitrarily
selected and in themselves nearly worthless, seems (to
speak frankly) a foolish waste of time, labour, and
money.

The errors of this, as of other glossaries, are those of
omission, and those of commission. Of the former I have
only found five instances, viz. *ail* 'rock' 1638 (where *in dail*
should be *ind ail*). *an-inde* (senselessness) 129, 133; *atruag*[1]
('very pitiful'=Welsh *athru*) 8315, where Prof. Atkinson
prints *na truaig* for *n-atruaig* : *costa* 'footprinted' 6335,
which he mistakes for a Latin word ;[2] *stelle* ' of a star,' 6983,
6985, which he mistakes for the gen. sg. of the Lat. *stella*,
and *mosach* 'filthy,' 8299. But the latter are numerous.
Those that are likely to mislead[3] may be classified as
follows :—

[1] Better *attruagh*, as in *Annals of Ireland, Three Fragments*, ed. O'Donovan,
p. 46, line 17.
[2] The *Apodamia* in Prof. Atkinson's texts, l. 6335, is= *Apodanea* a pedis
ibi vestigio impresso, Ducange.
[3] Examples of errors which cannot mislead any one with the merest tincture of
philology are in p. 521, s.v. *aeall-*, where Prof. Atkinson says that the enclitic
form is from ' the root *ad-glud*,' and in p. 892, where he says that ' *ata* ' is a
' root-form ' used in the conjugation of ' taim.'

a. Non-existing words.
b. Oblique cases given as nominatives.
c. Wrong insertions of marks of length.
d. Wrong omissions of marks of length.
e. Separations of the same word.
f. Confusions of different words.
g. Wrong meanings.
h. Wrong etymologies.

I will now give specimens of each of these classes, and conclude by proposing etymologies of some of the words in Prof. Atkinson's glossary, which he has not traced to their sources.

a. NON-EXISTING WORDS.

accad 'striving' (?). This occurs in l. 341 : batar *icaccad* 7 ic cosnam fri Siluestar (they were fighting and contending with Silvester), where we should obviously read *ic caccad*. *Caccad* for *cocad* (gl. bellum) Ml. 103ᵈ, 2, dat. hua *chocud* (gl. bello) 103ᵈ, 5.

aichnim 'to commend.' A mere misspelling of *aithnim*, p. 535, the enclitic form of *aithenim* 'I commend.'

airmfhiugrad 'transfiguration.' 'No doubt *tairmfhiugrad*,' says Prof. Atkinson. The context shows that it is an error for *remfiugrad* 'prefiguring:' cf. the pret. pass. sg. 3 *roremfhiugrad* 5106.

athardacht 'alteration' (?). The nature of a man and that of an angel are the same, according to S. Augustine; but, says the Irish homilist, *o dhapeccaid in duine dochóid se ina-thardacht ón aingel*, literally : 'when the human being has sinned he has gone into his (*in-a*) passing over (*tardacht* for *tartecht*) from the angel.' Compare *conscera brichtu druad tardechta arbelaib Demuin*, LU. 120ᵇ. 6.

atoibim (?) 'to drink.' Inferred from *atoibet*, a scribal error for *atibet* 'they quaff.' The s- pret. pl. 3 *atibset* occurs in the Franciscan *Liber Hymnorum*, p. 38.

atuaig 'from the North.' Misspelling of *atúaid* or *atúaith*.

d'aurthige s.v. bend-chapur. Read : *daurthige*, the gen.

sg. of *daurthech, derthech,* or *durthech* ' oratory,' a very common word in Middle-Irish.

biastuige ' beastly.'   Misspelling of *biastaide*, LU. 31ª. 1.

boccót ' spot.'   The word meant is *boccóit*, O'Reilly's *boccóid*, a stem in *i*.   Hence *bocoidech* (gl. maculosus).

budio (s.v. *buide* ' yellow ').   I do not know whether Prof. Atkinson quotes this word as being Irish or Latin.   It is neither.   It glosses *millenis*, in LB. 199ª, and is an error of the scribe or facsimilist for *budib*, pl. dat. of Ir. *buide* = Lat. *badius*.

coimsig ' lord.'   Misspelling of *coimsid* or *comsid*, as in LU. 40ª, 36 ; LL. 224ᵇ.

comaigthech ' neighbour,' *comichib* ' stranger ' (?).   The first of these words is a misspelling of *comaithech*, the second of its dat. pl. *comaithchib*.

coss-galarach ' foot-diseased.'   The word meant is *coss-galrach*.   There is no such word as ' *galarach*.'

cristaige ' Christian,' *cristaigecht* ' Christianity,' should be *cristaide, cristaidecht*.

cuimbrig ' correptionem,' cited under *cúibrech*, is a scribal error for *cuimbri*, the acc. sg. of *cuimbre* ' brevity.'

cumdaigiud *.   The form *cúmdaigthe*, which Prof. A. supposes to be the gen. sg. of this fabrication, is the acc. sg. masc. of the pret. part. pass. of *cumtaigim*.   The *cúmtaigthe*, which he also cites, is the nom. pl. fem. of the same participle.

dibrachad * ' dart.'   This monstrous word is inferred from *dibrachti*, a scribal error for *dibracthi*, acc. pl. of *dibracud* ' a shooting.'

di-luigim * ' to forgive.'   The enclitic form of this verb is *dilgaim*, its non-enclitic (or ' orthotonic ') form is *do-lúigim*.   Prof. A.'s *diluigim* is neither one nor the other.

dlige ' way.'   This is a scribal error for *dliged*, the reading of Laud 610, fo. 13, b. 1.   (" Is e sin *immorro* dliged 7 deimin follus tresa tainic inn imaigin noem-so," etc.).

dluide ' tearing, rending.'   Bad spelling of *dluige*, the verbal noun of *dluigim* ' scindo.'

driúchtaim ' to murmur ' (?).   Fabricated from the *t*-pret. 3rd pl. *ro-driúchtatar*, a syncopated form of *ro-do-r-incartatar*

'clamaverunt.' Compare the Old-Irish noun *diucrae* 'clamor' = *do-od-gaire.*

-*erlangair.* This curious word, the first letter of which is the second element of a diphthong, has been inferred from *foroerlangair*, i.e *for-foe-r-langair*, the redupl. pret. sg. 3 of *fulangim*, with the verbal prefix *for.*

ernaigim * 'to wait,' inferred from *ernaigtis*, a misspelling of *ernaidtis*, secondary pres. pl. 3 of *ernaidim*, or *irnaidim* as Windisch gives it.

-*ernaligthi* inferred from *na patri secht-ernaligthi* 8011, a scribal error for *na patre secht-ernaigthe* 'of the seven-prayered paternoster.'

fodbrachtaige 'consumptive person.' Bad spelling of *fobrachtaide.* Cognate with the *anfobracht*, *anbobracht* of Cormac's Glossary and the *Ancient Laws*, i. 124, 140, the *bracht* of the Lebar Lecain vocabulary.

fuigell 'remainder.' A misspelling of *fuidell*, as in L.U. 114ª, 25.

genntlige, *génntligecht* should be *gentlide* (as in Wb. 5ᵇ), *gentlidecht.*

glon-shnáthe 'model,' should be *glósnáthe* 'linea,' 'norma,' see Sg. 3ᵇ 20, Ml. 35ᵈ, 72ª 8, 145ᵇ 5.

grandaigim * should be *grennaigim*, as above pointed out.

ialla-crann 'sandal,' should (if hyphens must be used) be *iall-acrann*, a compound of *iall* 'thong,' and *acrann* 'shoe' Ml. 56ᵇ = W. *archen.*

iarnaige 'of iron.' Bad spelling of *iarnaide* 'ferreus,' as correctly written five times in Prof. Atkinson's texts. The dat. pl. *iarnaidib* is in LU. 28ᵇ.

imgrindim * 'to persecute.' The word meant is *in-grindim*, better *ingrendim*, a common verb, cogn. with Lat. *ingredior.* The 'imgrindfes' of the LB. is a scribal error for *ingrindfes.*

inbanda (?) 'stream.' This is nothing but *in banna* 'the drop,' 'the stream,' Prof. A. mistaking the article for a prepositional prefix.

indebar 'manure' (?). The passage in which this imaginary word occurs is *dogéna ór do indebar 7 do otraigib na n-ech*, 'he will make gold of dung and of the excrements of the

horses,' where *indebar* seems to stand for *fhindebar*—the aspirated *f* being, as often, omitted. With **find-ebar* cf. *cann-ebor* LU. 74ª, 23,=*cann-abar* .i. cac, O'Dav. 65.

ingreintig 'persecutor.' Bad spelling of *ingreintid*, or *ingraintid* Ml. 130ᶜ 4, the personal noun of *ingrendim* above mentioned.

intlidigthe 'schismatic' (?) is a scribal error for *indluigthe*, LB. 251, b. 9, cognate with *dluigim* and *dluige*, supra.

leirai*. This we have already seen to be a misreading of *léir-aisnésen* gen. sg. of *léir-aisnéis*.

malartnaig 'destroyer.' Bad spelling of *malartnaid*.

medontach 'mediator.' Inferred from the voc. sg. *medontaig*, bad spelling of *medóntaid*. Compare for the suffix *simontaig*.

muscach 'stream.' The word of which Prof. A.'s *muscach* is a fragment is *damuscach* 'outpour,' 'effusion,' which occurs twice in LB.: Dobert Gáteon tra in cnói n-olla forsin cloich co matain . . . conid ámlaid fos-fuair arabarach, 7 in damuscach usci oc tepersain esti (Gideon put the fleece of wool on the stone till morning, and on the morrow he found it thus: with the outpour of water dropping thereout), p. 126, l. 49; and in p. 164ª, rop e mét a shoethair sium narba déni tepersain fhola oltás in damuscach allais tanic triana chorp (such was the greatness of His suffering that the dropping of blood was not swifter than the outpour of sweat that came through His body). Prof. A. bisects this word into *da muscach*. For another bisection see *tarr* infra.

ochad [M] 'sighing,' a scribal error for *ochbad* (pl. acc. *uchbada*, LL. 239ª), or *ochfad* (LU. 51ª), or for *ochsad*, F.

ochlai'den.' The word meant is *fochla*. In Prof. A.'s "a ochlai" the *f* (infected by the interjection *a*) is regularly omitted.

ordnige 'ordained.' Bad spelling of *ordnide*, *ordnithe*, the pret. part. pass. of *ordnim*, or of *ordnigthe*, the pret. part. pass. of *ordnigim*.

othrach 'dung.' The word meant is *otrach*, a very common form, of which *ochtrach* Ml. 129ᶜ, 2 (pl. *octarche* Wb., 9ª, 7), seems a doublet.

recrubar. The scribe's "dorecubar," LB. 163ª, is mere carelessness for *do frecrubar*, the pret. pl. 2 of *frecraim*.

saith 'evil.'   A scribal error for *saich*, Wb. 8ᵃ, 20 : Ml. 86ᵈ, 11 : LU. 17ᵃ, 23 : LL. 64ᵇ 15 ; 115ᵇ 12 ; 280ᵇ 28, 39, 44.

simontaig 'simonist.'   Bad spelling of *simóntaid.*

sorchaidim* 'to enlighten.'   Inferred from *shorcaides*, bad spelling of *sorchaiges*, rel. pres. sg. 3 of *sorchaigim* 'I enlighten.'

tarr F. 'end.'   This is a good instance of Prof. Atkinson's method.   The homilist (fo. 108*a*), describing Judas after he had betrayed Christ, says that he had no hope that God's mercy would be offered to him, *cen sailechtu trocaire Dé dia thairsin*, where *thairsin* is obviously a scribal error for *thairc-sin* (=*torcsin*, l. 521 of Prof. A.'s texts), dat. sg. of *taircsiu* 'to offer,' Ancient Laws, i. p. 208, l. 21.   Prof. A., not understanding this easy passage, bisects *thair*[*c*]*sin*, adds an *r* to *thairr*, then invents a feminine *tarr* with the meaning 'end,' and, lastly, translates his *di-a thair-sin* by 'after that.'

techailim* (?) 'to collect.'   Inferred from the imperative sg. 2, *techail*, a scribal error for *tecmhall*, from *do-ec-mallaim.*

téchtaige 'frozen.'   Read *téchtaide* 'solidified.'

tenntige 'fiery,' should be *tenntide* or, better, *tentide.*

teprenim 'to flow.'   Inferred from the pret. *ro-theprenset*, a bad spelling of *ro-theprennset.*   The non-enclitic (or 'orthotonic') form of this verb is *doéprennim* (with double *n*), —whence *doeprannat* (gl. affluant), Ml. 39ᵈ, 2,—the enclitic is *teprennim.*

terci 'want.'   Bad spelling of *terce.*

testeman 'testimony.'   Read : *testemin*, a loan from Lat. *testimonium.*

tustige 'parent.'   Inferred from a nom. pl. *tustige* (misspelling of *tustidi*) and dat. pl. *tustigib* (for *tustidib*).   The nom. sg. is *tuistid*, which occurs compounded in *tuistid-oirenid* (gl. parricida) Sg. 12ᵇ.

ubtad 'scaring.'   Inferred from *d' ubtad*, mere scribal carelessness for *d' fubthad.*   The homilist says (p. 238, l. 7070) that the Devil, 'who holds the abbacy and kingship of this world,' has been terrified and outraged by Christ's fulfilment, *d'* [*f*]*ubt*[*h*]*ad 7 do sharugud tria chomailliud Crist.*   Here *fubthad* is the verbal noun of *fobothaim* (gl. consternor, aris),

Sg. 146ᵇ. But Prof. Atkinson actually writes 'prob. connected with *auptha, uptha,*' which is a corruption of *aipthi* (gl. veneficiu) Wb. 20ᵇ 20.

b. OBLIQUE CASES GIVEN AS NOMINATIVES.

actaib, 'the Acts of the Apostles.' The acc. pl. is *acta* (Rev. Celt. viii. 367), and so, doubtless, is the nom. pl.

    adbuid 'dwelling.' Dat. sg. of *adba,* LU. 40ᵃ, 38, and Corm.

    airthirche 'eastern.' Gen. sg. fem. of *airtherach.*

    athi (?) 'avenging.' Dat. sg. of *athe* or *aithe,* which, in p. 534, Prof. A. misrenders by 'sharpness, sharp rebuke.'

    buaili 'resort, den.' Dat. or acc. sg. of *búale,* LL. 225ᵇ, or *buaile*=Lat. bovile.

    clug 'bell.' Dat. sg. of *clog, cloc* M.=W. *cloch,* pl. *clych.*

    congaine 'contrition.' Gen. sg. of *congan.* Prof. A. quotes the passage in which his *congaine* occurs as " tria c. cride." It is *tria rath congaine cride* (through grace of contrition of heart). Compare *cen chongain cridi,* Ml. 90ᵈ 10.

    cuimbrechtaige 'captive.' A scribal error for *cuimrechtaidi,* acc. pl. of *cuimrechtaid.*

    cuthi 'pit.' Gen. sg. of *cuthe* borrowed (like W. *pydew*) from Lat. *puteus.*

    deathi 'slothfulness.' Dat. sg. of *deáthe,* a deriv. of *deáith* 'unkeen,' 'sluggish' (=de+áith) LL. 54ᵃ, 12. Compare *áthe* 'swiftness' (*ar úthi 7 imetrummi,* LL. 266ᵃ). The Old-Irish *déid,* which Prof. A. compares, is=Lat. *déses.*

    décsain 'looking.' Dat. or acc. sg. of *décsu,* Old-Ir. *décsiu.*

    dloigi 'disintegration.' Dat. sg. of *dloige*=*dluige,* F. the verbal noun of *dluigim* 'I rend, split.'

    erissi 'heresy.' Gen. sg. of *eres.* Another gen. is *herais, cris, eiris,* Félire, April 23. The nom. sg. is given by O'Clery as *éiris .i. michreideamh,* where the long *é* seems due to a *volksetymologie* (é-iris).

    etarnaide 'snare.' Gen. sg. of *etarnaid* 'ambuscade.' O'Clery's *eadarnaidh .i.* cealg.

    firenchi 'righteousness.' Dat. or acc. sg. of *firénche,* derived from *firénach* (gl. justus).

forbaid (?) left untranslated. This is the dat. sg. of *forba* .i. fearann, O'Cl. Compare *darsin forbaid* (over the ground), LU. 117ᵇ. *asa* [ƒ]*orbbaid*, LL. 222ᵃ, *da* [ƒ]*órbaid*, LL. 229ᵇ.

geim 'gem.' Dat. or acc. sg. of *gemm* borrowed from Lat. *gemma*.

gill, only in *i ngill* 'in pledge.' Here *gill* is for *giull*, the dat. sg. of *gell* (gl. pignus) Ml. 27ᵃ, 6.

lesci 'laziness.' Should be *lesce*.

-losethi 'heated' [rectius 'burnt']. Should be *losethe* or *loisethe*, the pret. part. pass. of *loiscim*.

lúthraigi [rectius *lúthraige*] 'bolt, bar.' Acc. pl. of *lúthrach*.

margrétai 'pearl.' Nom. pl. of *margréit*, from Lat. *margareta*. The dat. sg. *margreit* is found in LL. 237ᵇ, the dat. pl. *máirgretaib* in LB. 209ᵇ. A strange nasalised form *margrent* occurs in LB. 138ᵇ, 6.

*metrapoile** 'metropolis.' Gen. sg. of *metrapoil*.

miscen 'hatred.' Gen. sg. of **misciu*.

monotóre 'money-changer.' Pl. n. of *monotóir*=Lat. *monetárius*.

nit 'nest.' Gen. sg. and nom. pl. of *net*=Welsh *nyth*, Lat. *nídus* from **nizdos*.

pappe 'vine-leaf' (?). Nom. pl. of *papp*=*popp*, LU. 97ᵃ, 3, where it means 'bunch,' 'tuft.' Nom. sg. *bab* 'tuft, tassel' in the West Highlands.

penginde 'penny.' Nom. pl. of *pengind*=AS. *pending*.

-scoit. The compound *lin-scoit* 'linen sheet,' from which this word is inferred, is in the dat. sg. The nom. is *lin-scot*, where *scot* (O'Reilly's *scod*) is borrowed from ON. *skaut* just as *fuindeog* is from ON. *vindauga*.

sollsi 'light.' Should be *sollse*, as in l. 1283 of Prof. A.'s texts.

speilp 'cloak' (rectius 'robe'). Acc. sg. of *spelp* from Lat. *peplum*.

stelli (better *stelle*, as in 6983, 6985) is the gen. sg. of *stell*, borrowed, like W. *ystwyll*, from Lat. *stella*: hence the name *Stellan* or *Stiallan*.

tóit 'a whole,' from Lat. *tota*, is the acc. sg. of *tót*, which occurs compounded in the name *Tot-máel* (gl. totum caluum), Book of Armagh 13ᵇ, 2.

trill. Gen. sg. of *trell* 'a space of time.' So *hi cind trill jodai* 'at the end of a long while,' LB. 221ᵇ, 30. The dat. sg. is common in the phrase *iar trill* (for *triull*), 'after a while.'

The rest of Prof. Atkinson's lexicographical errors to be here noticed are of less importance, and will therefore, to save room, be printed in smaller type.

c. Wrong Insertions of Marks of Length.

cnéd 'wound.' Should be *cned.*

démun 'demon, devil.' Should be *dĕmun*, notwithstanding the diphthong of *daemon* (δαίμων), from which it is borrowed.

dliged 'law.' Should be *dliged*=W. *dyled.*

dóimin 'deep.' In the oblique cases *dóimne, dóimnib* the *o* is long *by position* and for that reason is marked as such. But the *o* in *doimin* (=W. *dwfn*) is short by nature.

fédil 'constant,' should be *fedil.* In *fédligit* etc. the *é* is long by position.

ibim 'to drink,' should be *ibim*=W. *yfaf*, Skr. *pibāmi.*

lógaim 'to forgive, remit,' should be *logaim.* In *lógthai-se* and *lógdar* (which misled Prof. Atkinson) the *o* is long by position.

martír should be *martir*=martyr, gen. martyris.

mire 'fury, madness,' should be *mire*, a deriv. of *mer* 'mad.'

Prof. Atkinson's *clusál* 'enclosure,' and *namá* 'enemy,' are probably mere misprints for *clúsal* (from Lat. *clausula*), and *náma.*

d. Wrong Omissions of Marks of Length.

aigedchach, 'hospitable,' *aigidecht*, 'hospitality,' should be *áig-* (O.-Ir. *óig-*), where the *ái* (*ói*) is a diphthong.

aigthide 'awful,' should be *áigthide*, cognate with *ág.*

ailim 'to implore,' should be *áilim* or *áiliu*, from **ad-lió*, √*lip*, whence also λίπτομαι (Bezzenberger).

airem 'number,' should be *áirim*, or *árim* as in l. 4427. This, like W. *eirif*, is from *ad+rim.* So *airmim* 'to count,' and its participle *airmide*, should be *áirmim, áirmide.*

alaind 'beautiful,' should be *álaind.*

baidim 'to drown,' etc., should be *báidim* 'I drown.' The verbal noun is rightly given as *bádud*, W. *boddi.*

banaim 'to grow white,' should be *bánaim*, a denom. of *bán*= φαϊνός.

basugud 'putting to death' (*bás*), should be *básugud*.

bel 'lip, mouth,' should be *bél*.

belra 'language,' should be *bélre*.

blaith, 'blithe' [!] should be *bláith*.

cainim 'to bewail,' should be *cáinim*, where *ái* is a diphthong. Cognate are *accáine*, *écáine* 'lamentation,' W. *cwyno*, *achwyno*, and perhaps Gr. κινυρός.

castel 'village,' should be *castél*, as we see from O'Clery's *sunn-chaistél* .i. caislen daingen, from the doublet *castial*, the gen. sg. *caisteoil* in the Four Masters, A.D. 1595, and the gen. pl. ic córgud *chastial*, LL. 236ᵃ. The Lat. *castellum*, from which these Irish words are borrowed, must have been pronounced *castéllum*.

ced 'permission,' should be *céd*, O.-Ir. *cét*, Welsh *cann*. So the cognate verb *cedaigim*, *cetaigim* 'to consent,' should be *cédaigim*, *cétaigim*. So the verbal noun *cetugud*, p. 582, should be *cétugud*.

cetamus 'in the first place,' should be *cét-amus*, lit. 'first attack.'

cet-cruthaigim 'to create for the first time,' should be *cét-cruthaigim*.

cetna 'first,' 'same,' should be *cétna*.

complet 'complines,' should be *complét*, from the Low Latin *com-pléta*, officium ecclesiasticum quod caetera diurna officia *complet* et claudit, Ducange.

crich 'limit,' should be *crích*.

cu 'dog,' should be *cú*=Welsh *ci*.

de 'smoke,' should be *dé*, gen. *diad*.

deroil 'small,' *deroile* 'insignificance,' should be *deróil*, *deróile*.

ditiu 'protection,' should be *dítiu*.

ec 'death,' should be *éc*.

enirte 'weakness,' should be *énirte*.

escai 'moon,' should be *éscae*.

fathacda 'prophetic,' should be *fáthacda*, a deriv. of *fáith*=Lat. *vátes*.

genar 'was born,' should be *génar*.

legim 'to read,' should be *légaim*, notwithstanding the short penult of Lat. *lĕgo*, from which it is borrowed.

leim 'leap,' *leimnech* 'leaping,' should be *léim*, *léimnech*.

len 'sorrow,' gen. *leoin*, should be *lén*.

log 'reward,' should be *lóg*.

lor-gnim 'satisfaction,' should be *lórgnim*.

lothor 'ewer,' should be *lóthor*, *lóthur* (Cod. Bod. Carl. 39ᵇ 4), or *loathar*, Sg. 67ᵇ 5 = λοετρόν, λουτρόν, or λῶτρον.

me 'I,' should be *mé*=Welsh *mi*, Lat. *mé*.

medonach, melltoir, should be *medónach, melltóir*.

metugud 'increasing,' should be *métugud*, a deriv. of *mét*=W. *maint*.

mi- negative prefix, should be *mi-*. Prof. A. writes correctly *mi-bés, mi-gnim, mi-imbert, mi-imbrim*, but in the same page *mi-chométaim* and *mi-dénam*.

mirbulta 'marvellous,' should be *mirbulta*, a derivative of *mirbuil* borrowed from Lat. *mirabile*.

morad, moraim, morfesiur, should be *mórad, móraim, mórfésiur*.

noemad, noemaim, noemda, noemdacht, all want a mark of length on the *o*. So does *noidendacht*.

oclach 'youth,' should be *óclach*, a compound of *óc, óac*=W. *ieuanc*=(in form) Lat. *iuveneus*.

og-shlan 'wholly pure,' should be *óg-shlán*.

oige 'guest,' should be *óige* (where the *ói* is a diphthong).

osaic 'washing,' should be *ósaic* 'footwashing,' borrowed from Lat. *obsequium*.

plag-béim 'stripe, blow in punishment.' Read *plágbéim*, the *plág* being from Lat. *plága*, and compare *plágbuille*, pl. dat. ó *phlag-bullib*, LL. 244[b].

purgatoir 'purgatory,' should be *purgatóir*.

ranic perf. sg. 3 of *ricim*, should be *ránic*, as the Skr. *ánañca* should have taught Prof. Atkinson.

sailechtu 'hope,' should be *sáilechtu*, where the *ái* is a diphthong.

scribtha 'written' (pret. part. pass. of *scribaim*=Lat. *scribo*), should be *scríbtha*.

sena 'denial,' should be *séna*.

slanaigim, a denominative from *slán*, should be *slánaigim*.

snathat 'needle.' Read, *snáthat* : *snáthath* (gl. acus) Sg. 107[b] 3.

so-chenel, so-chenelach, spreid. Read, *so-chenél, so-chenélach, spréid.*

tutt should be *tútt*.

ur 'earth, mould.' Read, *úr* or *úir*.

ur 'fresh, green.' Read, *úr*=Welsh *ir*.

e. SEPARATIONS OF THE SAME WORD.

addi 'abode,' p. 524, is the dat. sg. of *aite* 'house,' p. 535.

athi, p. 552, is the dat. sg. of *aithe*, p. 534.

degulta, which Prof. A. (p. 632) gives as the gen. sg. of an imaginary *deglad**, is the gen. sg. (with metathesis of *l*) of *deliugud* 'separation' (p. 633); and *ro deglad*, which he gives (p. 632) as the *pass. sec. pres. 3 sg.* [!] of an imaginary *deglaim**, is the pret. pass. sg. 3 of *deligim* (p. 633) 'I separate.'

nech 'aliquid,' p. 816, is declined in the sing. like an *o*-stem. In the plural (as is the rule in Middle-Irish with neuter nouns ending in -*ach* and -*ech*) it passes over to the *s*-declension, and we have, accordingly, *nechi* (for *neche*) in the nom. and acc., *nechib* in the dat. These plural forms Prof. Atkinson puts under *ní* 'thing,' p. 822. A similar mistake is made by Prof. Zimmer, in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, xxx. 456.

*salaigim** 'to defile,' inferred from the imperative *salaig* and the pret. *do shalaig*, regular forms of, and wrongly separated from, *sal-chaim* 'I defile, befoul.'

To these one may add *écraibdech*, p. 678, and its derivative *éceraibdige*, p. 676: *imarcraid*, p. 758, and its derivative *immarcradach*, p. 760: *ítu*, p. 774, and its derivative *ítadach*, p. 773: *soscéla*, p. 883, and its derivative *suiscelach*, p. 887.

f. Confusions of different Words.

adandad 'lighting up, stimulating,' is confounded with *adnad*. The former is from **ad-adannad*, the latter from **adannad*.

cele 'concealment' (=W. *celydd* 'a sheltered place'), is placed under *céle* 'fellow, companion' (=W. *cilydd*). The context is *acht leomit at ucht fessin hi cele breith bera*, line 609. This Prof. A. renders (pp. 297–8) as follows: "But we will leave it to thine own breast with thyself to decide what sentence thou wilt pass." How he got 'with thyself' out of *hi cele* is not apparent. The sentence obviously means : 'But we leave hidden [lit. in concealment] in thine own breast (the) judgment thou mayst deliver.'

léir 'complete' (=W. *llwyr* 'totus, omnis, universus') is placed under *léir* 'visible, conspicuous,' of which I know no cognate.

min 'small, fine, gentle.' *Min* (= Goth. *mins*, A.S. *min*) is 'small,' but *min* (= Welsh *mwyn*) is ' smooth, fine, tender, delicate, gentle.'

minigim 'I explain,' a denominative from *min*, is confounded with *minigim* 'I mince.' From the former come *minigit* and *minigther*; from the latter *ro-minaig* and *minigther*.

g. Wrong Meanings.

adétig 'abominable, accursed.' The second meaning is wrong, and the first had better be 'execrable.'

ae 'liver, gall.' The second meaning is wrong: 'gall' is *domblas ae*, literally 'bitterness of liver.'

aidetchiugud 'cursing.' It means ' denying,' and is cognate with *eitchim* (ex *aith-dechim* ?) ' I refuse,' *etech* ' refusal.'

aidmilliud ' perturbation.' This word means ' destruction,' as in LU. 87ᵃ, 28, and many other places.

ainoess 'anguish.' It means ' ailment ' (*an-iccess*).

ainmech 'reviling.' This is a derivative of *ainim* 'blemish,' (W. *anaf*), and means ' blemished.'

aird ' end, quarter.' The former meaning is wrong.

airius ' place of meeting.' It merely means ' a meeting,' and is identical with the [*a*]*ires* .i. comdal, of the *Tochmarc Emire*: debui hires (.i. comdal) les do Gallaib. luid dochum airisi de Gallaib timcell n-Alban andes.

aithe ' sharpness, sharp rebuke.' It means, 1. ultio ; 2. compensatio, pretium, foenus. See *aithe* (gl. talio) Wb. 14ᶜ, *aithe* .i. digal, O'Cl., Ascoli, Glossarium Palaeo-hibernicum, xlviii. Examples will be found in LL. 224ᵇ (*d' athi an-ecora for Troidnu*), 244ᵃ (*aithi na gona sein*), and in the Ancient Laws, i. 218ᶜ (*d' aithe a indlighidh*).

anforbthi ' unspiritual' (?). It means 'imperfect, incomplete' (*anforbthe*), ἀτελείωτος.

angbaid ' wicked.' It means ' fierce,' ' cruel.' *Ba hangbaid trá inn imthuargain* LL. 242ᵇ. *Ba hangbaid . . . in fégad*, LL. 244ᵃ. *am foochair 7 am angbaid i cathaib 7 a n-irgalaib*, Tochmarc Emire. *in leoman n-angbaid* (the fierce lion), LL. 223ᵃ, LB. 128ᵇ.

atbela 'to die.' This verb (rectius *atbéla*) can only mean 'peries' or ' periet.'

athnugud ' rebuilding.' It means ' renewing.' W. *adnewyddu*.

atóibim ' to correspond, to be in harmony.' This verb properly means ' I adhere to ' (from the prefix *ad* and *tóib* ' side ': cf. the Low Lat. *accostare, acostare*, from *ad* and *costa*), and then ' I correspond with,' ' I am connected with.'

bass ' hand, palm.' The former meaning is wrong.

blaith 'blithe.' This word (rectius *bláith*) means ' smooth, gentle.'

boc-shlat ' light switch.' It means ' goat-rod ': cf. *con-shlatt* infra.

bratán [leg. *bratan*] ' fish.' It means ' salmon.'

bráth ' judgment-day.' It simply means ' judgment ' or ' doom ': W. *brawd* : 'judgment-day ' is *lá* (or *laithe* or *dia*) *brátha*.

carrac ' stone.' It means ' crag,' ' rock.' *carreib* (gl. cautibus) Ml. 126ᵃ 8.

cecha-n ' everything.' It means ' whatsoever.' The *cechae* cited by Prof. A. from I. 1255 is=*eech ae*.

cepp 'fetter.' It means 'block,' 'stocks,' and, like W. *cyff*, is borrowed from Lat. *cippus*.

cetach [leg. *cétach*] 'hundred.' I think it means 'consisting of a hundred,' *na míle cétacha* 'the thousands consisting of hundreds.'

cists 'treasure.' It means 'chest,' and is an *ia*-stem formed from Lat. *cista*, as *airse*, *ancoire*, *caindelbra*, *camra*, *lunga*, *sita* respectively from ἄρσις, *anchora*, *candelabrum*, *camera* (navis), *longa*, *seta*.

clerech [leg. *clérech*] 'clergy.' It means 'cleric.'

coblige 'cohabitation.' It means 'lying together,' 'copulation.'

coep 'lump, ball' (?). It means 'clod, clot, lump, mass,' but not 'ball.' The dat. pl. is written *caipaib* in LL. 4[b], 18, *Iarsain tan-cutar Tuatha Dé ina caipaib ciach* (thereafter came the Tuatha Dé in their masses of mist),[1] where *caipaib ciach* corresponds with the *nélaib dorchaib* 'dark clouds,' of the prose account, LL. 9[a], 5.

coma 'terms, conditions.' It means 'a bribe,' 'gift,' 'subsidy.'

con-shlatt 'switch.' It means 'a dog-rod,' cf. *boc-shlat* supra.

deblén 'weakling, orphan.' The second meaning is wrong. Deb-lén [leg. *Déblén*] o ni[as]débilis, O'Dav. 75. The word is a dim-inutive either of a loan from Lat. *débilis*, or of a corruption of Ir. *dedbol = de-adbol*. See Glossarial Index to the Calendar of Oengus, p. ccxlv, and add *innan deidblenán* (gl. pupillorum) Ml. 127[b] 3.

didin. Here *i n óin didin* is rendered by Good Friday. It means on any Friday, good or bad, literally 'on last fast,' Wednesday being the first fast in each week.

doit * 'finger.' Read 'hand,' and cf. *cusna doitib* (gl. cum mani-bus) Gildas' Lorica. Cognate seems *doe lame* (gl. lacertus), Sg. 68[a] 1, pl. gen. *innandoat* (gl. lacertorum) Aug. 92.

domattu 'want, greediness,' *domma* 'need.' They mean 'poverty,' and are the opposites of *sommatu* and *somma* 'wealth.'

duma 'cairn, mound.' *Duma* by itself never means 'cairn,' *i.e.* a heap of stones. This is *duma cloch* 'a mound of stones.'

éccraibdige 'unbelief,' *écraibdech* 'unbelieving.' The former word means 'impiety,' the latter means 'impious.'

ecid 'he tells.' This is the enclitic form of the 3rd sg. *perfect* act. of the non-enclitic ('orthotonic') *adcuadim*, and means 'he (she, or it) told, related, declared.'

écomland 'anguish.' This is P. O'Connell's *eacomhlann* 'wrong,

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[1] In Steinmeyer's Zeitschrift. xxxii. 318, note, Prof. Zimmer translates this by "darauf kamen die Tuatha Dé Danand in ihren nebelkappen." But the Ir. *caip*, *coep* has nothing to do (as he supposes) with the Mod.H.G. *kappe*, Mid.H.G. tarn-*koppe*.

foul play, injustice.' Examples will be found in LL. 93[a], 110[b], 115[a], 225[b], and see Windisch's Wörterbuch, s.v. *éomlond*.

epil ' he died.' This is the enclitic form of the 3rd sg. *present* indic. act. of *atbelim*, and means ' perishes.'

erchuitmed ' mitigation.' It means ' excuse.'   See the Tripartite Life, Rolls ed. p. 184, l. 25.

on choimdid (s.v. *etaide*) ' from the Law.' The words mean, of course, ' from the Lord.'

faen ' subject.' It means ' weak, feeble.' Now spelt *faon* or *faoin*.

fiarut, prep. with gen. ' throughout.' This is a noun compounded of *fiar* = W. *giwyr* ' oblique, sloping,' and *fot* ' length,' governed by the prep. *dar* or *for*. It always, I think, means ' athwart, across.' Thus: *itconnarcsa aen . . . dar fiarut na faigthi* ' I saw one (coming) across the green,' LB. 213[b], 59, *for fiarut na hAssia moiri uli* ' athwart the whole of Asia major,' LB. 3[a]. In *a chroicend do iumochar fiarut na cathrach* ' to carry his skin across the city,' LB. 177[a], it has become a nominal preposition. A similar phrase is in LB. 215, l. 50 : *cingis dar fiarlait na faichthi* ' he went athwart the green.'

folmaiged [M] ' laying waste.' The passage in which this word occurs—*iarsin* [ro] *folmaiged leth na cathrach di*—is rendered by Prof. A. ' thereafter took place the devastation of half the city by it.' It means, of course, ' thereafter half the city was devastated by it.' Here the scribe or the facsimilist has omitted the prefix *ro* before the 3rd sg. pret. pass. of *folmaigim*. Prof. A. might, at all events, have known that *leth* was not a genitive sg.

for-etar, *for-fhetar* ' I am able, was able (to do).' The passage which he cites—*ni móti foretatar* (=*for-fhetatar*) *som sin*—means ' not the more did they know that.'

for-órda '(golden), glorious.' This word, in the nom. pl. masc., glosses ' summi,' and is a formation from *ord* = Lat. *ordo*, like Eng. *extraordinary*. Another *forórda* ' gilded ' is a formation from *ór* ' gold.' Compare W. *goreuro* ' to gild.'

for-niatta ' desperate, furious.' The adj. *niatta*, of which this is a compound, is derived from *niath*, the stem of *nia* ' champion.'

fortail, *fortamail* ' strong.' The former word means 'prevailing,' 'predominant,' cf. *ba fortail me for cach rét*, LU. 16[b], *ba fortail furthi*, LL. 230[a], pl. n. *combtar fortaili for cerddib suithe gent-liuchta*, LL. 9[a].

fúr ' watching for, awaiting.' It means 'preparing,' as O'Donovan rightly renders the word in a passage quoted by Prof. Atkinson.

galar ' disease.' This is the usual meaning in Irish, but in

ll. 3360 and 4312 of Prof. A.'s texts *galar* means, as it does in Welsh, 'mourning, grief.' So in Land 460, fo. 54ᵃ : *uch uch á De, is trom in galar beith inémais inna fircharat* ' Alas, alas, O God, heavy is the grief to be away from the true friends ! '

goire 'healing' (?). It means 'pietas,' 'pious tendance.'

iach-lind ' fish-pool.' It means 'salmon-pool,' *iach* being the stem of the c-stem *éo=esox*, W. *eog*. A nom. *iach* (ex **esoco-*) also occurs : *iach* .i. bratan, Leb. Lec. Vocab.

idnaicim* ' to lead.' It properly means 'I give.' The phrase *in sét idnaices co* may be compared with the English 'the road that *gives* on.'

Is he immaircess in t-ere-si co spirtalda. Translated in p. 481 by ' The offence is thus made the weightier,' in p. 760 by ' It is he to whom this burden is referable, is especially applicable.' Read : *is hé immare[ur]ess* etc., ' who carries the burden spiritually,' and compare l. 7355, *ise sin in t-ere trom beress in animm leis a n-ichtar iffirn* ' *that* is the heavy burden which the soul bears with it into the bottom of hell.'

inchlanda 'brood' (?). It stands for *in-chlandta* 'implanted,' and is the pret. part. pass. of *inchlandaim*, spelt *in-clannaim* in Windisch's Wörterbuch, corresponding with Lat. *implanto* us *di-chlandaim* (W. *diblanu*) with *deplanto*.

itudach ' hungry.' This must be a clerical error for ' thirsty,' for the cognate substantive *ittu* is rightly explained by ' thirst.'

lubair ' vow, prescribed duty.' This word merely means *labor*, from which Latin word it is borrowed.

máin ' treasure ; abundance, riches.' The second meaning is wrong : *máin* for *móin*, cognate with Lat. *mūnus* from **moinos*.

neméle 'sorrow, remorse.' It means 'lamentation' or (as O'Curry rendered it) ' bemoaning.' A cognate adverb occurs in the *Cogad Gaedhel re Gallaibh*, p. 62, l. 4 : co dub, domenmnach, truag, *neme-lech*, torsech, 'darkly, dispiritedly, wretchedly, lamentingly, sadly.'

nem-choimsi ' powerless' (?). But this would be *nem-choimsech*, cf. *comsig* LL. 223ᵇ. *Nem-choimse* seems the opposite of *cuimse* ' commodus,' Wb. 14ᵃ, 22ᵃ, whence, perhaps, *coimsetu*, parsimonia.

oentuma ' marriageable.' I think this is an abstract noun, meaning ' celibacy,' ' the state of being unmarried,' from *óentaim* or *óintam* (gl. caelebs), Sg. 9ᵃ, 16ᵃ.

oided ' killing, death.' This word means ' tragical death,' but never ' killing.'

or ' top, side.' It means 'coast, edge' ; *or* from **opro*, cognate with N.H.G. *ufer*.

orgánta 'organ-toned.' Rather 'horn-like,' 'pipe-like,' for *organ* (later *st-organ*, from its constant companion *stoc* 'trumpet'), meant 'horn' or 'pipe': see Ml. 116ᵃ, 8, and ὄργανον fistula, Ducange.

rig* 'arm.' It is only 'forearm.'

seg '(milk), sap' (?). This is a good specimen of *Verballhornung*. For in his translation, p. 371, Prof. A. had rightly rendered *seg* = Skr. *sahas* by 'strength.' It is corruptly spelt *seadh* by O'Clery and his copyist O'Reilly.

siabrad, rendered 'quivering' in the translation (p. 508), is explained by 'magic blight' (?) in the glossary. I think it here means 'distortion.'

smút 'cloud.' It means 'smoke.' The host of demons *in a smút-chéo*, Atk. l. 7237, 'as a mist of smoke.' *smúittcheó diadh ⁊ dethaighe* 'a dark cloud of vapour and smoke,' Four Masters, A.D. 1600.

sossad 'abode, seat, position.' The second meaning is wrong.

sruith 'sage, senior, elder.' The first meaning is wrong.

sruthi 'majesty, dignity.' This word (rectius *sruthe*) means 'seniority,' 'venerableness.'

sum, som 'self, selves.' This pronominal 'nota augens,' rather means 'same,' with which word it is cognate. Compare Goth. *sama* 'derselbe.' 'Self' in Irish is *féin, fésin, fodéin, fodésin*.

tart 'thirst.' This is the usual meaning, but in the only place where *tart* occurs in Prof. A.'s texts it signifies 'drought.' So, in Fiacc's hymn, l. 29, it is said of the well Slán: *nis-gaibed tart na lia* 'neither drought nor flood used to affect it.' So in the Book of Lismore, 146ᵇ 2 : *lodán samhraidh inuair dogheibh se tart mór* 'a muddy pool in summer when great drought has affected it,' and in the same MS. fo. 22ᵃ, 2 : *Bliadan tarta móir tháinic ann iarsin* '(it was) a year of great drought which came there after that.'

tortromad 'exceeding heaviness.' This word means 'pestering,' 'overburdening,' 'cumbering,' as in the homily on S. Martin, *Revue Celtique*, II. 393, and in LU. 79ᵃ, 10.

tothlaigim 'to desire.' This, the enclitic form of *do-thluchim*, means 'I ask,' 'I request.' Root *tluk*=Lith. √*tulk*, whence *tulkas* 'interpreter.'

tutt 'smoke.' It is a living word meaning 'stench,' and should have been given as *tútt*.

dath gesi [leg. *gése*] 'the colour of a goose,' s.v. *uan*. It means 'a swan's hue.' 'Goose' in Irish is *géd*=W. *gwydd*. 'Swan' is *géis*, gen. *gése*, cognate, but not synonymous, with (*h*)*anser*, χήν, *gans*.

urmor 'very many.' It means 'a chief part.' In l. 3, *urmoir* is

the gen. sg. of a substantive, not, as Prof. A. supposes, the nom. pl. of an adjective.

I may add to these instances of mistranslation one or two of non-translation. Such is *dam dilend*, which expression Prof. Atkinson quotes s.vv. *dam* and *díle*, apparently without knowing that it means 'a huge (or mighty) stag.' See *Irische Texte*, Zweite Serie, 2 Heft, p. 182, for other instances of the gen. sg. of *díliu* (=Lat. *diluvium*) being used as augmentative. Such, again, is the expression *co dú* which occurs eleven times in Prof. A.'s texts. He rightly explains *dú* by 'place,' but seems (p. 591, col. 2) to think that the prep. *co* here means 'up to.' But here *co* certainly means 'at;' and the phrase *co dú in*-debert (ll. 2986, 4407, etc.) lit. 'at the place in which he said,' corresponds with the Lat. *ubi dicit*, Trip. Life, Rolls ed. p. 64, l. 13.[1]

h. WRONG ETYMOLOGIES.

acarb [pronounced *agarbh*] 'bitter,' "prob. =*ath-garb* with admixture of Lat. *acerbus*." It is borrowed from the Lat. *acerbus*, pronounced by British mouths *acervus*. So Ir. *carmhogal, balbh*, from Lat. *carbunculus, balbus*, pronounced *carvunculus balvus* by the Britons, from whom the Irish learnt these words.

comus 'power' √ *mid*. The root is *med*, seen most clearly in Gr. μέδοντες. Hence also Ir. *coimmdiu* 'lord'=*com-mediot.

mebaid [rectius *memaid*] is said to be 'really a redup. perf. from √*maid* to break forth.' The root is *mat*=Skr. *math*.

raith in *do-raith* 'quickly, immediately' is conjectured to be from '*ro-aith*.' Prof. Atkinson doubtless means *ro-áith* 'very sharp.' But this would give *ráith*. The *raith* in *do-raith* seems to belong to the root *ret* 'to run,' whence *rethim* 'I run' and its perfect *ro-raith*.

tarfaid 'showed,' "perf. from do-ro-√*bad*." The root is *bhat*, whence also Lat. *fateor*.

tuais-cert 'North quarter.' The *s* belongs to the latter half of this compound, which is=*tuath*+*scert*, cf. *tuath-bil*. The *scert*, from **squerto-*, is=W. *sparth* in *do-sparth* 'division,' Rhŷs, *Rev. Celt.* II. 333.

[1] *co* seems to mean 'at' or 'as to' in the following instances: *iarsin tic Eua asin tsruth: bai for tir co tirmugud* (thereafter Eve comes out of the stream: she was on land a-drying) Saltair na Rann, 1685-86. *co adrad rohue do each ardrig* (as to worship, he, Solomon, surpassed every overking), ibid. 7039-40, and see ibid. 3671, 5555. In *a bith co a lécud do Choinculaind* (that she was being left by Cúchulainn) LU. 49ᵃ, we have another example; and see LL. 106ᵇ 30 (*co a fólcud*).

ETYMOLOGIES.

Having thus given specimens (*pauca de plurimis*) of the eight classes of errors in Prof. Atkinson's glossary, I have now to propose etymologies of some twenty-four of the words in that glossary, which he has not traced to their sources.

aird 'quarter (of the heavens), point (of the compass),' Gr. ἄρδις 'arrow-point.'

airecht 'assembly' = Welsh *areith*, now *araeth* 'speech.' So in Middle-High-German *sprâche* 1. sprache 2. zusammenkunft zum zweck einer besprechung. The root is *req*, whence also Old-Slav. *reką* 'I speak' (Bezzenberger).

airgent (*argeint* ?). From *argenteus*, Vulg. Matt. xxvi. 15.

arg M. 'coffer,' from Lat. *arca*, with change of gender.

blede 'goblet,' from A.S. *bledu*.

cocraid = *coclaid* 'weeds, tares,' Cormac, s.v. *Rot*, from A.S. *coccel* 'darnel, tares,'

condall 'stalk, stubble,' O.-Ir. *connall* (gl. stipulam) Sg. 66ᵇ, 22, from Lat. *cannula*.

for-barach 'excellent,' identical in prefix, root and meaning with the ὑπερφερής of the LXX.

ís 'below,' Welsh *is*, = Gr. εἴσω from ἔνσω. Thurneysen (Kuhn's Zeitschrift, xxx. 491) connects Latin *infrā*, *inferi*, *imus* from *ins-rā*, *ins-rī*, *ins-mo-s*.

lethar 'skin,' Welsh *lledr*, N.H.G. *leder*, Lat. *liber* 'inner bark,' from *lifro*, *liθro*.

luard 'heavy,' from Fr. *lourd*.[1]

merce 'standard,' from *merge* (pl. *mergeda*, Atk. 2627), O. Norse *merki*.

mulloc, 'the cover of a paten.' A derivative, like *mullach*, 'crown of the head,' of *mull* = A.S. *molda*, Skr. *mûrdhan*.

prap in *co-prap* 'suddenly,' *prapud*, from a British *brap* = Goth. *brahv* (*brahvs* ?). The Irish *la brafad súla* = Goth. *in brahva augins*.

sab 'staff,' = Goth. *stabs*, A.S. *stæf*, O.H.G. *stap*, gen. *stabes*, must be borrowed if Kluge is right in referring these Teutonic words to an Indogermanic root *stap*.

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[1] The dat. pl *égnib tuardaib*, Atk. l. 8305, may be compared with *gair tromm* Atk. l. 771.

saich 'bad' (which Prof. A. misspells *saith*), cognate with Ir. *sechbaid, sechfaid* 'error,' and Lat. *sequior* 'worse.'

seg 'strength' (misspelt *seadh* by O'Clery)=Skr. *sahas*, Goth. *sigis*, A.S. *sigor*. In Gaulish it probably is the first element of the name *Sego-mâros*.

spelp 'robe,' *speilp* (gl. coopertorium) occurs compounded with *imm* in *im-spelp*, Corm. Gl. s.v. Ranc. It is a loan from Lat. *peplum*, with the prothetic *s* which is found also in Mid. Ir. *s-préid* 'cattle,' from *praeda*,[1] O.-Ir. *s-cipur* from *piper*.

stiúrad 'guiding, guidance,' a deriv. of *stiúr*, borrowed from some Teutonic word like A.S. *steor*, O.H.G. *stiura*.

stuag ' (arch) rainbow.' This is the Old-Irish *tuag* 'bow' with the prothetic *s* found also in *s-targa* LL. 265ª, from A.S. *targe* or O.N. *targa*. Windisch has connected *tuag* 'bow' with Skr. √*tuj*.

sul 'before,' only used with verbs in the preterite, is for *sur*=(*ré-*)*siu-ro*.

terc 'scanty,' from **tersquo-*, cognate with Lat. *tesqua* 'deserts,' from **tersqua*.

ćir 'land,' like Osc. *teerúm*, has lost initial *s*, and is cognate with στῆρυγξ, στηρίζω.

tomm 'lump,'=τύμβος, Skr. *tuñga*.

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Prof. Atkinson ends his preface by saying : "No one can be more conscious than myself of the imperfection of my work, nor more desirous of having it corrected where it is wrong. For all instructive criticism I shall be grateful, to any other I am quite indifferent." Whether he will consider the present criticism "instructive," I do not know. But it is at all events well-meant, and the fourteen or fifteen scholars now living who are competent to judge will certainly say that it is well-founded.

[1] The Old and Early Middle Irish form was *préid*: cf. *leoman mór laiges far préid no for mart* 'a great lion that lies on a prey or on an ox,' LB. 212ᵇ: cf. also the verb *prœtae* (gl. depredantium), Ml. 134ᵇ, 10.

torical arrangement, as pursued by Mr. Platt, cannot pro-
duce any beneficial results; for not only are many great facts
impossible of explanation by that arrangement, but also we
do not as yet possess sufficient texts, particularly of the later
periods, to work it successfully. No doubt the historical
arrangement would be very interesting in itself, but I think
we shall be forced to wait at least till the publication of Prof.
Napier's edition of the O.E. Homilies, before we can hope to
achieve any practical results in that direction.

With regard to the philological arrangement, we have our
choice of two modes of classifying the words; first according
to their so-called natural genders, and secondly according to
their grammatical genders. The question as to which of
these modes we are to choose touches to some extent another
question, namely, that of the origin of gender itself. Zimmer,
in his work on *a* and *ā* suffix, treats of the origin of gram-
matical gender. He sets out with words like *açva* and
açrā, and he takes the masculine as the primary form. The
feminine form is, in his opinion, of later date, and is due to
the attempt to separate it from the masculine form by a dis-
tinction sufficiently great to mark the difference between the
two forms without breaking their unity; further on he repu-
diates the opinion of those authorities who ascribe a peculiar
signification to the suffix *ā*, and connect it in some way with
the feminine gender in general, giving to *ā* a meaning like
"weakening," "swelling," etc. As to his own opinion, he
has not succeeded in making it quite clear how a language
could have been induced to adopt a meaningless form to mark
a natural distinction. Brugmann goes much more deeply into
the question in the second vol. of his *Comp. Grammar*, p. 100.
He says that the capacity of the suffix *ā* to denote the feminine
gender does not originate in any peculiar meaning of this
suffix. Some words, he says, like *matá* 'mother,' showed
this suffix in the root, and these words were like models
for the groups of other words with natural genders. Then
followed whole classes of words, such as the abstracts and the
concretes, which assumed their genders solely by reason of
their association with the words of natural gender. To

express his opinion briefly, he puts the grammatical gender, to some extent, chronologically before the natural gender. This theory is a useful one, as it shows that it is the form of the word-ending which chiefly accounts for its gender. I say 'chiefly,' because all the nouns for persons were bound to take the masculine or feminine gender according to their sex, as soon as the grammatical distinction of the genders was made. In the majority of nouns, the word-ending is a suffix, and groups of abstracts or concretes with a familiar sense were formed with the same suffix and the same gender. The suffixes became more and more indistinct under the influence of the different phonetic processes; and by a false analogy, nouns from one class frequently passed into another, and caused the changes of gender. The neuter gender offers a peculiar difficulty. It is doubtful if it is either a primary or a secondary formation, and if it is secondary, whether it arose from the masculine or from the feminine.

The order which I adopt in enumerating the groups of nouns according to their suffixes is merely a practical one, and I omit the division into primary and secondary suffixes as unimportant for my present purpose.

I.—*The nouns with the suffix ja* take their origin chiefly from Verbal Adjectives with a possessive, derivative, or comparative signification. These adjectives are frequently used as nouns; and so they induced other nouns, which had no adjectives as a base, to follow this kind of formation. The nouns are partly nouns of agency, partly collectives and abstracts. The nouns of agency assume generally the masc. gender, the collectives the neuter, and the abstracts are either feminine or neuter. Brugmann makes an interesting observation about a double function of abstract nouns in his *Comp. Gr.* vol. ii. p. 444. He says that if the adjective which forms the base of an abstract noun, is a noun of agency, the abstract will be a noun of action with the neuter gender; if the adjective expresses a quality, the noun will have the same signification, and the gender will be feminine. This rule is frequently broken in the different languages, partly from the effect of analogy, partly from the confusion

of different classes. The division of nouns into collectives and abstracts is to some extent a cross division, so that it is at times impossible to tell to which class a noun belongs. The same difficulty arises in the separation of these two classes from the concrete nouns with neuter gender formed with the same suffix *ja*.

The lists of nouns with the suffix *ja* are collected by Schlüter in his work "Die mit dem Suff. *ja* gebildeten deutschen Nomina."

The masc. *forms in ja*. In the Gothic language the masc. gender is, with a few exceptions, used for persons only. These exceptions are *andeis, hwaiteis* and *ibdalja : andeis,* O.E. *ende,* is masc. in all the Teutonic languages; only in O.H.G., do we find the neuter gender as well as the masc.

hwaiteis, O.E. *hwǽte* m., is neuter in O. Icel.

In O.E. are also to be found the following masc. with suffix *ja : hrycg,* O.H.G. *hrukki* m., O. Icel. *hryggr* m. *hyll* m. Mr. Platt gives some references as to the occurrence of the fem. gender, Aelf. Hom. i. p. 38, l. 12, *of ælcere hylle* and *Cod. Dipl.* a 959. Probably this word has taken the fem. gender in analogy to *dûn. dynn* 'noise,' formerly belonging to the *i* Declension, see Sievers *Gramm.* p. 263, n. 3.

secg 'sedge' and 'sword.' I cannot see any reason for separating these two significations into two different words. One not quite conclusive reference is given for *secg* 'sword' showing the fem. gender. Beow. 684, "ac wit on niht sculon secge ofersittan." *secg* 'sedge' is masc. in the Leechd. v. Gloss., neuter in Aelf. Gramm. 69, 16, hæc carex : þis secg. The neuter gender was taken in analogy to *gærs* 'grass.' *þrymm,* O. Icel. *þrymr,* connected with Lat. *turma,* perhaps also with O.H.G. *trumba,* if the later were not rather to be put to G. *drunjus. wecg* 'wedge,' O.H.G. *wekki,* O. Icel. *ruggr.*

We could apply the rule of Prof. Brugmann to *secg* and *wecg,* taking these words as being originally nouns of agency 'the cutter,' 'the mover,' see Skeat Et. Dict. *sedge* and *wedge.* On the other hand, *hwǽte* and *hrycg* are not to be put under this rule; they are connected with adjectives, signifying a quality, and accordingly they ought to be fem.

The variations in the gender of *hyll* and *secg* are due to the psychological process of their connection with words of similar sense.

Also the concretes belonging to this class show their connection with adjectives, although it cannot be proved in every instance.

bed g., *badi* n., O.H.G. *betti* n.   Kluge connects this word with *fodio*, giving to 'bed' the original meaning of 'a place dug out;' the O. Icel *bedr* m. has generally the meaning 'cushion,' but it occurs also with the signification of bed, see Cleasby Vigf.   A compound of *bed* shows variation of gender; *wéofod*, from *wig* bed; it is neuter and shows the masc. gender only in one place, C.P. 217–21, 'gif se weobud ufan hôl næere.'   The preceding passage, l. 19, is as follows: 'þæt the scolde þone godes alter habban uppan aholodne.'   The gender of wéofod is apparently influenced by the preceding 'alter.' *bend*, G. *bandi* f., in the O. E. Texts in Bede fem. and masc.   *Blickl. Hom.* and *Aelf. Hom.* masc.   Sievers (*Misc. Beitr.* ix.) suggests the idea that the fem. gender of *bend* is peculiar to the Anglian dialect.   *fen*, G. *fani* n., O. Icel. fen n., O.H.G. fenna f.; it is neuter in Cura Past. and Orosius, masc. in *Boeth.* 18, and *Chron.* a. 905, see Grein and Bosw. Toll.   The passage in Boeth. 'fennas and moras' seems to show a sort of attraction to *móras* which might have induced the masc. form '*fennas*.'

Constantly neuter, are *hig*, G. *hawi*, O.H.G. *hewi*, O. Icel. *hey*; the signification of this word is 'what is to be hewn;' *hiw*, G. *hiwi*; *lybb*, O.H.G. *luppi*, O. Icel. *luf*, is usually fem.; *net*, G. *nati*, O.H.G. *nezzi*; *wed*, G. *vadi*, O.H.G. *wetti*; *nebb*, O. Icel. *nef*; *wite* O.H.G. *wizi*; *stycce*, O.H.G. *stucchi*; *web*, O.H.G. *wappi*, O. Icel. *refr* m.; *ribb*, O.H.G. *rippi*, O. Icel. *rif*.

Concretes with fem. gender in *ja* like *bryeg*, *cribb*, etc., are not very numerous.   In many cases they are originally abstracts like *ecg*, *benn*, *hell*.   *hǽð* (G. *huipi* f., O. Icel. *heiðr* f.) fem. in Beow. 2212, masc. or neut. in later texts, see Platt, and Earle Land Chart. Gloss. masc. in analogy to *feld* neut. in analogy to 'grass.'   One borrowed word is to be mentioned belonging to this class which shows variation of gender, *cyll* 'leather bottle,' Lat. *culeus*, O. Icel. *kyllir* m.; in

Orosius and Vespasian Psalter the masc. *cylle* occurs; in Gregory Dialogus 3. 37, *cyll* fem. and *cylle*, *-an* fem.

An important class are the *collectives in ja*. Originally only concretes were put together to form the collectives; afterwards abstracts also; in this way, forms confined to the use of collectives came into use for abstracts. Bahder says (Die Verbalabstracte in den german Sprachen, p. 198), "Plurality in time comes in the place of plurality in space." These forms in course of time grew typical and attracted other words, from which the idea of a collective is more or less excluded. Brugmann, *l. c.* § 152, enumerates the means for the formation of collectives. Only this one point is important for our purpose, that denominative adjectives are the chief factors in the formation of collectives. The suffix is Idg. *iquo*, Gr. *ako*, the corresponding one for the Teutonic languages is *-ja*; it has also the same use in Slavic a. e. *kamenije to kamy* 'stone,' *dražije to dragu* 'tram.' The neuter gender is the most natural one for collective nouns. That this rule is frequently infringed is due to the fact that the nouns under discussion follow, as to their gender, either that of the individuals forming the collective, or the gender of another class of words. This also accounts for the frequent variation in gender occurring amongst the O.E. nouns belonging to this group.

The collectives in *ja* are rare in the Teutonic languages. Such are *yrfe* 'property,' G. *arbi*, O.H.G. *erbi*; *fiðere* 'plumage,' but *feðer* f. Besides the n. pl. *fiðru* also the masc. form *fiðeras* occurs, see Toll. Bosw.

The forms with the suffix *-ja* and prefix *ga-* corresponding to the Latin forms with *con-* are numerous. Grimm has distributed these forms into ten classes according to their derivation. For our purpose this classification is of no importance; nor is the question whether, as Grimm says, these nouns are compounds of simple words without *ga-* and the prefix, or whether they are original forms, as Bahder has made it probable, *l.c.* 198. We will only notice that the original formations with the prefix *ga-* had the suffix *-ja*, and that they attracted other nouns with other suffixes. I give the following list of nouns with neuter gender :

gebǽre 'bearing,' which occurs only in the plural *gebǽru*, and could be taken for an indeclinable fem., but the O.H.G. *gabâri* and O.S. *gibâri* prove that the O.E. form is neuter. *gefilde*, O.H.G. *gefildi* to *feld* m. O.S. m. O.H.G. n. *gefrǽge* n. (and *gefrige i* stem) *gefylce* to *folc* n. O.H.G. m. (O.H.G. *folk* is to be compared with O.E. *here* and *þrymm*, perhaps the masc. gender here is due to the idea that the chief constituent part of these collectives are masc.) The compound *ælfylce* and *fylce* likewise show the neuter gender. Both forms with the prefix *ga*, and without it, are also shown by: *gehlýde-hlýde* to O.E. adj. *hlûd*, *gemǽre-mǽre*; *gemêde* O.H.G. *gimuuti* to *môd* n.; *gemierce* n. besides *gemearc* n. to the fem. *mearc*; *gerâde*, O.H.G. *gareiti* to *râd* . m.; *gerýne* O.H.G. *garuni*, and without prefix, O.E. *rýne* to *rûn* f.; *gerépre* to *rôðor*; *gescý* O.H.G. *gaskôhi* to *scôh* m.; *gereorde* beside *gereord* to *reord* f.; G. *razda*, O.H.G. *rarta*, O. Icel. *rǫdd* (Toller mentions a neuter *reord*, but I have been unable to find any reference for this); *gescyldre* to *sculdor*. *Sculdor* is masc. in *Leechd.* vol. ii. § 19, 9, 'oð ðone swiðran sculdor;' we find the neuter plural ibid. 260, 12, 'oð þa sculdru.' The same appears in the *Blickl. Hom.* v. Gloss. Evidently the plural has assumed a collective sense, and consequently the neuter gender, Cockayne, *Leechd.* vol. ii. Gloss. compares brôðor, gebrôðru; *getýme* n. to O.H.G. *zoum* O.S. *tôm* O. Icel. *taumr* m. 'bridle,' O.E. *téam* m. 'family.' On the connection between the two significations 'bridle' and family,' see Rev. Prof. Skeat, *Et. Dict.*; *getýne* n. to *tûn* m.; *getimbre* to *timber*; *gewǽde* n. beside *wǽde* n. to *wǽd* f.; O.H.G. *wât*, O. Icel. *váð*. The relation of *gewǽge* n. and *wǽge* n. 'weight' to *wǽg* and *wǽge* f. 'scale,' differs from the relation of the above-mentioned nouns to the corresponding ones without the prefix *ge*. *gewenge* and *wenge* to *wonge* n.; *gewrixle* and *gewrixl* to *wrixl* f; *gewidere* and *geweder*, O.H.G. *giwitri*, to *weder* n. From nouns with the suffix *-i* I mention the following: *gefég* n. besides *gefóg*, *gehyld* besides *geheald*, *gesêm* to *sôm* f.

II.—From a list of neuters formed with the prefix *ge* and the suffix *-o* I give a few cases only where a corresponding simple word is to be found with a different gender:

geban n. to O.S. *ban*, O.H.G. *ban* m.; *gebed*, O.H.G. *gibed* to G. *bida* m.; O.H.G. *beta* f.; *gedrinc* n. to O.E. *drinc* m.; *gedrep* n. to *drepe* m.; *gerîm* to *rîm* usually n. but Cura Past. 43, 22, m.; O.H.G. m. O. Icel. n. *gerûm* to *rûm* m.; *gesig* to *sige* m.; *getrum* to *trum* m.

Amongst the feminine nouns with the prefix *ge-* many are formed with the suffixes *-ness* and *-ung* as : *gecoreness, gedréfedness, gewæhtung, gecarnung,* etc.   These apparently are of later date, and their prefix *ge-* has lost its originally collective meaning, like the Latin *con-* in *consilium, conturbatio,* etc.

III.—The numerous class of feminine nouns with the prefix *ge-* and the suffix *-ti* deserves our particular attention. This suffix was already in use in the Indogermanic language for the formation of feminine nouns of action ; and the few nouns of agency formed in this way, like *gæst,* can easily be taken as having been originally nouns of action.   The word for the action itself came into use for the bearer of the action, see Brugmann, *l.c.* § 99.   The fem. abstracts in *-ti* are partly primary and partly secondary ; they are also connected with the participles in *-to.*   The concurrence of the final sound of the stem with the consonant of the suffix produces a difference in the ending sound of the words under discussion, so that the connection of the nouns belonging to this group is sometimes broken.   In some cases the fem. suffix *-ti* is confounded with the masculine suffix *-tu.*   These reasons contribute to the variations of gender so frequently found amongst the O.E. words of this group.

Bahder, *l.c.* p. 76, enumerates the cases in which variations occur from the original fem. gender to the masc. or neuter. I mention here only the O.E. words : G. *urrists* f., O.E. *ærist* 'resurrection' f. in Cura Past., the masc. genitive *æristes* occurs only once in Cura Past., f. in *L.o.S.* xxiii. 259, m. in *Aelfric's Gramm.,* 70, 14 acc. *úrne ærist,* in *Aelfric's Homilies* four instances, where it is doubtful if the word is masc. or neuter ; in *Aelf. Hom.* 27, 173 neuter, ib. 30, 90, fem.   The compound *æfst Cura Past.* m., *Blickling Hom.* m. and f. ; G. *ansts,* O.H.G. *anst,* O. Icel. *ást* f. ; O.E. *ést* f. and m. see Grein and Toll. Bosw.; G. *gifts* in *fragifts* O.H.G. *gift* f., O.E. *gift* f., the neuter plural *giftu,* 'nuptiæ,' occurs in *Aelf. Gramm.* 85, 7 and *L.o.S.* iv. 27 (Sievers, Gr. § 267, n. 2, mentions, besides *giftu,* the plurals *gedryhtu, gchyrstu, wistu,* and *lyftu*).   *æt* 'food' (*ti* stem ?) m. and fem., see Grein and Bosw. Toll. *cwild* 'plague' shows the original fem. gender in the com-

pound word 'cwilde flôd' Vesp. Psalter, 28. 10, 31. 6. in Leechdoms, m. and n. (plur.); *græft* 'sculpture' m. in *Shrine* f. in *Lye.*; *list* m. f. see Toll. Bosw. G. *lists*, O. Icel. *list* f. O.H.G. m. I mention here *wróht* 'accusation' although it is probably formed with the suffix *-to-*; *wróht* is usually fem. *Cura Past.*, *Aelf. Hom.* seldom masc., see Grein.

In the following words the origin and suffixes are doubtful: G. *waihts* f. and *waiht* n. in 'niwaiht, niwaihts.' These two forms show perhaps the occurrence of both a *-ti* and *-to* suffix. O.H.G. makes a distinction, using the masc. *wiht* for persons, and the neuter *wiht* for things. O.E. (corresponding to the Gothic) offers the fem. and neuter gender. References are given in Grein and Cosijn. *Wulfst. Hom.* 139, 4 fem. *fulwiht* 'baptism' masc. in Cura Past. in Poetry fem. and masc. or neut. *Aelf. Hom.* n., *Wulfst. Hom.* n. 144. 16, 33. 13, 232. 16, masc. 229. 2. *fierst* 'space of time,' O. Icel. *frest* sing. f., plur. n., O.H.G. f. and m. or n., O.E. m. Chron. a., 1086 n. (see Platt, analogy to *fæc*). The two words *fæc* and *fierst* may have influenced each other : *fæc* is n., in *Wulfstan* 102. 15 m. 'ofer ealne geares fæc.'

The feminine was the original gender in all these cases, but it varied (1) to the masc. from analogy with the great number of masc.-abstracts in the West Germanic languages, see Kluge, Nominale Stammbildungslehre, § 102, where he points out that masc. nouns with the suffix *-i* frequently correspond in the West Germanic languages to neuter nouns with the suffix *o* in Gothic and Scandinavian ; it varied (2) to the neuter from analogy with the collectives.

The nouns with the prefix *ge-* and suffix *-ti* which offer variation in gender are the following : *gebeaht* f. in Poetry (see Grein and Bosw. Toll.), n. in C. P., Aelf. Hom. and Benedictine Rule ; *gebôht* m., in Poetry (see Grein) ; the sing. is neuter in Prose C. P., Leo.S. Nat. 135, the plural is masc. The masc. gender is taken from *gebonc*. The distinct form in *-as* accounts for the fact, that the masc. gender was preserved in the plural. *Gesceaft* G. *gaskafts* f., O.H.G. *gaskaft* f. O.E. Texts C. P. Poetry, Blickl. Hom. fem., Wulfst. Hom. 8. 1, 34. 1, 186. 5, fem., Aelf. Hom. 4. 72, ii. 11, 186, neut.

The three above mentioned words show no Umlaut.   Kluge puts *geþeaht* and *geþôht* to the forms with the suffix -to, but the Umlaut is also wanting in *gesceaft*, which is proved to be formed with the suffix -*ti*, by the G. *gaskafts* and *gaskapjan*. *Geþyld* 'patience,' O.H.G. *gidult* f., cognate, according to Brugmann, with *oblatio*.   It is fem. in O.E. Texts; usually fem., rarely neut. in C. P.; fem. and neut. in the Blickling Hom.; neut. in Aelf. Hom., Shrine and L.o.S. *Genyht* 'sufficiency,' O.H.G. *ginuht* f.   It is usually fem.   Sievers, Misc., gives one instance for the neuter gender from Boeth. *gemynd* 'mind,' G. *gamunds* f., O.H.G. *gimunt* f.   It is fem. in the O.E. Texts, in C. P. neut. and fem.   Shrine 51. 2, 73. 3, fem.   Blickl. Hom. neuter once fem., Aelf. Hom. neut. 20. 240, ii. 30. 408; Wulfstan neut. 137. 20, L.o.S. neut.; Præf. 51, Nat. 118.   The occurrence of G. *gaminþi* n. with *gamunds* offers no comparison; for in *gaminþi* the suffix -*ja* is added to the suffix -*ti*.   *Gecynd* 'kind' in C.P. fem. and neut., Shrine 118. 8 fem., Blickling Hom. f., Leechdoms ii. 330. 2, fem.; Aelfr. Gramm. 243. 16, Aelf. Hom. ii. 12. 206, 20. 169, L.o.S. Nat. 87 n.   Sievers, Misc., mentions the indeclinable fem. *gecyndo* from Leechdoms, and says that *gecyndo* and *gecynde* were formed from the plural *gecyndu*. It is also possible to see in *gecynde* the adj. *gecynde* used as a noun, and to take the fem. *gecyndu* as formed by analogy to the abstracts in G. -*ei* and *iþa*. *gehygd* (to hyge m.) 'thought' in O.E.T. f. in Poetry f. and neut.; *oferhygd* fem. occurs in C.P., in the form of an indeclinable fem. *oferhygdo* in Blickl. Hom. and Poetry; also the gen. *oferhygdes* is found in Poetry.   *ingehygd* is neut. Wulf. 51. 26 *giren*, *grin* 'snare' n. in C.P., n. and f. in O.E. Texts (fem. in V.P. $\frac{148}{9}$, 17. 6, 118. 110).

The same variation is shown by the compound *forwyrd* 'damage,' usually fem.   Toller gives two examples for its neut. gender, from Aelfric's Homilies, *weorþmynd* 'honour' C.P. (Cosijn ii. § 23) sing. m. and fem., plur. neut.; in Poetry, see Grein f. and neut. (shown by plur. *weorþmyndu* Gû. 434) Aelf. Hom. 26. 36, etc., and L.o.S. xi. 291, etc., masc.

Geþonc, O.H.G. *gidank* m., O.S. *giþanko* m. (from the *o*

Declens.) It is usually masc. like *þone*, so in C.P., while the same text forms, from the compound *ingeþone*, a neuter sing. and a masc. plural: *geþone* is further masc. in Blickling Hom., masc. and n. in Leechdoms, neut. in Aelf. Hom. 19. 89 and Wulfstan 20. 9; 202. 26. I mention further two words in -*ja* with the same variation of gender as the above-mentioned nouns with the prefix *ge-* : the abstract *ofermêde* 'pride,' n. in Poetry, see Grein, fem. in the form *ofermêdu* in C.P. The collective G. *arêþi* n., O.E. *êowd* 'flock,' is but rarely n., see Grein, usually fem. O.E.T., Aelf. Gram., Aelf. Hom., probably in analogy to *êow.*

IV.—The abstracts with prefix *ge* ending in ð corresponding to G.- *iþa* are fem. like the abstracts in ð without prefix. The exceptions which the later ones afford are: *æbylgð* 'offence,' it is usually fem., but neuter in Elene 401. *ferhð* m. and n. (see Grein) like *feorh* m. n.

V.—I-STEMS. Most of the nouns belonging to this class, which show variation of gender, have already been mentioned amongst the stems with the suffix -*ti*. Those which remain are:

masc. and neuter : *gielp* 'pride,' originally masc. like O.H.G. *gelf*, O. Icel. *gjalfr*. It is also usually masc. in O.E., rarely neuter (O.S. *gelp* n.) ; we have in C.P. three instances of neuter gender against nine of masc., see Cosijn, ii. § 23. *hilt* 'handle,' O.H.G. *gahilzi* (O. Icel. *hjalt* is *o-* stem) originally neuter, usually neut. in O.E., masc. in Salomon 223 n. pl. *hiltas* (O.E. fem. *hilte* corresponds to O.H.G. *helza*).

masc. and fem. *sæ̂*, G. *saiws* m., O.H.G *séo* m., O. Icel. *sær* m., O.S. *séo* m., O.E. in the older texts and in Poetry m. and f., in Aelf. Hom. and L. o. S. fem.; the feminine gender is due to the analogy of *êa* 'water.'

sæl 'time' usually masc., see Grein; masc. Oros. 164. 13, Aelf. Hom. 4. 90, ii. 13. 236, L.o.S. vi. 15 ; fem. Gen. 186, Gû. 6 (from the analogy of *tîd*). *rîð* (*i*-stem ?) 'small stream' fem. ; *êarîð* Gû. 3 masc. ; *gleng* 'ornament' masc. in Blickl. Hom.; fem. Wulf. 148. 22 ; *wiell* 'well' (also *ja-* stem *wielle* m. C.P.) m., Neot. 77 fem.

VI.—U-STEMS. Nouns with a short base formed with

suffix -*u* are not very numerous. Some words signifying masculine persons follow this formation.

brego 'prince' which is exclusively poetical like the corresponding O. Icel. *bragr ;* also *magu,* G. *magus,* is only found in Poetry; it was replaced by *mǽg* G. *mégs.* One noun, *sunu,* preserved the old inflection, and only in later texts does it form some cases after the *o* and *n* Declensions.

The other nouns of this class either dropped their suffix *u,* and followed the formation of the nouns with the suffix *o,* or they joined the Declension of *searu* and *giefu.* We have in analogy to the stems in -*wa :* the plural *sceadwa* from *sceadu* like O.H.G. *scato, scataures ;* the gender of *sceadwa* is doubtful ; the genit. sing. *medewes* and the plur. *medewa* from *meodu ;* it is neuter in Lb. ii. 53. Toller's reference for the masc. gender Fins. 39 is given after the inaccurate copy by Hickes. The other Teutonic languages, O.H.G. *meto,* O. Icel. *mjöðr,* and the Lettoslav. *medùs* and O. Slav. *medu,* prove the masc. gender to be the original. The analogy of the short syllable *ā* stems has caused the fem. gender in *sceadu,* see Grein ; and *frioðu frið* is masc. in Orosius, Park. Chron., but n. in the Laws. Other neuters are *scead* and *liþ* 'limb,' G. *liþus* m., O. Icel. *liþr* m., ; *liþ* is masc. and neut. in Leechdoms, ii. 36 p. 242 ; the same variation occurs in O.H.G.

The long syllable masc. and neuters with suffix -*u* followed in their declension the *o* stems. The following words show the variation from the masc. to the neuter gender :

liþ, G. *leiþus* m.; O.S., O. Fries., O. Icel. neuter; O.H.G. masc. and neuter, O.E. neut. G. *fairhwus* m., O.H.G. *ferah* n., O. Icel. *fjor* n., O.E. *feorh* usually neut. Toller gives a reference for the masc. gender from Cr. 439. *rust,* O.H.G. *rost* m., C.P. m. and n., Shrine 35. 13 n.; *flód,* G. *flódus,* the gender is said to be fem. but without reference, O.S. *flód* m., O. Icel. *flóð* n., O.H.G. *fluot* m. and fem., in O.E. masc. and n. ; *hearg* 'temple' is doubtful. If Sievers is right in putting it to the *u*-stems, the plural *hearga* would be the organic form ; *hearga* occurs once in Cura Past. as against several *heargas.* Cosijn puts this word amongst the *o*-stems, and takes the form *hearga* to be a mistake ; but

hearga is also found in other texts (Ex. 34. 15, Sievers 26. 1. 30),
see Toll. Bosw., who states that *hearg* is both masc. and fem.

The variation of masc. and fem. gender is shown by *flór*;
it is fem., but occurs as masc. in Beow., the O. Icel. *flúr*
is m., M.H.G. *fluor* masc. and fem. From the *stems in -tu*,
flód has already been mentioned. These words with suffix
-*tu* were originally masc. They partly passed to the *o*-
Declension, preserving the masc. gender, as in *déaþ*, *ford*,
þurst and *lust*, partly they were confused with the fem.
stems in -*ti*; G. *kustus* m., O. Icel. *kostr* m., O.E. *cyst* f.
'choice;' G. *luftus* m., O.H.G. and O.S. m. f., O.E. *lyft*
m. Exod. 74, f. in L.o.S., Leechdoms and Aelf. Hom. Sievers
mentions the neuter plural *lyftu*, but some references for the
neuter singular are given by Toller. O.S. and O.Icel. *hlust* f.
answer to O.E. *hlyst* 'hearing,' which is both f. and masc.
in the Leechdoms. G. *lists* f., O.E. *list*, is fem. and masc.,
see Toller.

Cosijn, concluding from '*færelta*' C.P. 257[a], which he
thinks is the gen. sing., puts also *færeld* under the *u*-stems.
I see in the form *færelta* a gen. plural. Sievers (Beitr. i.
529) has shown that the word is formed with the suffix
-*tro*; *færeld* is usually n., but masc. in Aelf. Hom. 34. 221,
perhaps from analogy to words with similar sense as: *gong*,
paþ, *síþ*, *weg*.

Still another word, *æppel*, which is put in this class is
doubtful as to the suffix. This word is no doubt a borrowed
one, and the Etymon which is generally given is a form
like *abellus*, from *malum Abellanum*. The -*u* suffix is con-
cluded from n. pl. *appla*. The O.H.G. masc. *aphul*, pl. *ephili*,
belongs to the *i*- Declension, the O. Icel. neuter *epli* to the
-*ja* Declension. Probably there were two simultaneous forms
in -*il* and -*ul*, the former being preserved in O. Icel., in
the O.H.G. plural and in the O.E. *æppel*, pl. *applas*, the
form in -*ul* in the O.H.G. singl. and the O.E. plur. *appla*.
Kluge makes a distinction as to the gender in O.E. between
the two significations 'eye-ball' and 'apple,' saying that
æppel 'eye-ball' is neuter in sing. Against this, see one
reference from Boeth. in Toll. Bosw. and C.P. 69. 17. Cosijn

gives from the C.P. one example for *æpplas* 'pupillæ,' and
states that only the form *æppla* is used for ' mala.'

VII.—*The suffixes with l as characteristic consonant.* The
suffix *ila* is used for masc. nouns of agency as *bitel, bydel
crypel, fengel, rynel, strengel, þengel.* It is further used
for *diminutives,* as *gicel, hýpel, tuxl, cicel; cystel* from *cysten*
' castanea,' has become attached to this group. The gender
of these words is masc., so also in *hyrdel* ' hurdle,' though
its primary word is fem., G. *haurðs,* O. Icel. *hurð,* O.H.G.
hurt. The fem. *wundel,* beside *wundele,* shows no Umlaut,
and does not belong to this group. *cyrnel* is masc. and neut.
in Leechdoms, the neuter gender is taken from the primary
word corn. Also many masc. *instrumental nouns* are formed
with -*ila,* as *bridel, cyrtel, fetel, gyrtel, grindel, hwitel, rysel,
sticel, stypel, trendel, wyrpel.*

The O.E. has also some fem. nouns signifying tools formed
with an -*l* suffix: *feol,* O.H.G. *fihala, scofl,* O.H.G. *scúfla,
nædl,* G. *nêpla, sicol* corresponding to the O.H.G. fem.
sihhila is masc., see G. L. 15, Aelf. Gram. 73. 6. The
fem. *swingel* in Aelf. Hom. 38. 54, may have taken its
gender from the fem. *swinge* in Vesp. Psalter and C.P.
In C.P. occurs also the fem. *swingelle,* which is formed
like *þæcele, hacele,* as against G. *hakuls* m., O. Icel. *hǫkull*
m., O.H.G. *hachul.* The borrowed nouns with this forma-
tion are enumerated by Pogatscher, Lautlehre des Lehnworte
im a. e. He mentions also the fem. *condel* f., § 262, and says,
" one ought to expect a masc. *condel* or a fem. *condele* if
it were a popular word." But there is a masc. *condel* pre-
served in *candeles leoma* Wright W. 154. 15.

A fem. noun for tools is also O.E. *geafl,* O.H.G. *gabala* f. ;
the plural *geaflas* signifies ' maxilla.' The masc. gender of
this word shown by the termination is probably due to the
influence of *ceaflas,* a word with the same signification, and
geagl. The latter noun is usually masc., but one example
for its neuter gender is in Leechdoms 11. 28. Toller mentions
a masc. *herecumbol,* but the word does not show the gender in
any of the references I could find, and it is more probably
neuter like the simple word *cumbol* and the other compounds

eofor-heorucumbol. setl seld n., but *ânseld* 'hermitage' m.,
see Grein (like G. *sitls*, O.H.G. *sezzal*). *tungol* is neuter in
the older texts: Orosius, see Cosijn, § 9, m. and n. in Poetry
and in Aelf. Hom. (masc. ed. Sweet 5. 83, n. 6. 172); it occurs
also with the termination of the *n* Declension in Aelf. Gram.
90. 5, and Aelf Hom. 6. 170. The masc. gender and the
passing of this word to the *n* Declension are due to the
influence of *steorra*. *Susl* 'torment' is neuter in the older
texts, see Cosijn, § 9. Platt gives examples for the fem.
gender from Aelf. Hom. and Aelf. Gram. (I add Aelf. Hom.
pref. 62, 8. 220, 16. 135, 28. 170, ii. 5. 78, Wulfstan 138. 25).
The fem. gender is due to the influence of the above-mentioned
group of fem. abstracts, as *hwil*, *hréofl* and *ádl* 'disease'; the
latter is also found as neut. in Aelf. Hom. ii. 10. 150.

The great number of masc. nouns with *l* suffix also induced
the word *éðel* to pass from the neuter to the masc. gender.
éðel is neut. in O.H.G. *uodil* and O.S. *ôþil*. Toller gives
for the neuter gender three examples from Beda. *Segel* and
the two borrowed words *castel* and *déofol* show both masc.
and neuter gender. *Segel* masc. in O.H.G., neut. in O.S.
and O. Icel. In Aelf. Gram. 86. 3 occurs the masc.
sing. þes *segl* and the neut. plural þâs *seglu*. *Castel* has usually
the gender of its Etymon; it is masc. in Chron. a 1069.
Déoful is in the singular, mostly masc., rarely neuter; as
plural, mostly neuter, see Cosijn ii. p. 6; it seems to be
neuter both in singular and plural in Shrine Martyrology,
p. 52 and 141. The masc. singular and the neuter plural
are shown by the O.H.G. *tiuval. déofol* followed the
analogy of *god*, which likewise forms the plural as a masc.
and neuter noun, for the masc. *godas* in Orosius, see Cosjin.
The neuter *godu* occurs in Oros. 34. 21; for references from
other texts, see Grein and Toll. Bosw. It would be very
interesting, could we see in the neuter plural *godu* the
tendency to distinguish the heathen gods from the Chris-
tian god, and to point out the former as idols. The O.H.G.
neut. *abgot* seems to strengthen this theory, but the G. *guþ*
which, although masc., has a neuter form, and the O. Icel.
goð, which is always neuter in the older texts, suggest

another reason; see in Cleasby Vigfusson the interesting historical remarks given under *goð*.

VIII.—The suffix *-slo* chiefly with an intermediate vowel *i*, and taking therefore the forms *ls*, is used first for concretes, and then for abstracts. The transition from the concrete to the abstract signification is conspicuous in some instances, forms in *-els* and in *-el* are frequently found in simultaneous use, thus: *gyrdels-gyrdel, sticels-sticel, bridels-bridel, priccls-pricel, scyltels-scyttel* (L.o.S. xxi. 419). The gender is mostly masc. Proved as masc. are: *byrgels, bigels, bridels, brædels, gyrdels, sciccels, sticels, rædels, wæfels, wægels*; *récels* is neut., *scyttels* is neut. in the older texts, Vesp. Psalter 106. 16, 147. 13, masc. in L.o.S. iii. 348, xxi. 419, Wulfstan, 230. 31. The O. Icel. *skutill* is n.; it signifies an 'implement shot forth,' but also like the O.E. word 'bolt or bar' in *skutla hlið* v. Cl. Vigf.; *fætels* 'vessel,' Kluge and Sievers write *fætels*, which form would answer to O.H.G. *gifâzzi*. I take *fætels* to be enlarged from a word *fætel*, the probable diminutive of *fæt* n., and to be formed in analogy to the words in *-ls*. Its gender is usually masc. neuter in Laen. p. 16, No. 16. The gender in *twegen fætels* Oros. 21. 16, is doubtful. Cockayne says in Leechdoms, ii. pref. 37. Numerals admit of a substantive in the singular, and he cites *þrie eucler* from Leechdoms, *nigantyne winter* and *twegen monaþ* from Bede, and the above-mentioned passage from Orosius. Cosijn gives more examples for the same use, p. 42 and p. 112, but it is remarkable that in all the examples the words following this rule are *géar, monað, winter, niht*. *Géar* is usually neuter as in all the Teutonic languages; it occurs as masc., twice in Orosius and in Liber Scintillarum, *dagas* and *gearas*, perhaps in analogy to the masc. *winter* and *sumor*. The words *monað, winter*, and *niht* may have followed the analogy of *géar*, and *eucler*, though usually masc., may have retained the gender of its Latin base in some cases, as in *þrie eucler*.

IX.—The nouns formed with an *m.* suffix are masculine. Variation of gender is shown by *fæðm* 'the embracing arms,' O.H.G. *fadam*, O.S. *fathmos*, plur., O. Icel. *foðmr*. *fæðm*

is usually masc. in Genesis 6. 16, fem.; *wæstm* (G. *rahstus*)
usually masc. in Gen. masc. and fem., see Grein, masc. in
C. P. Blickling Hom., Aelf. Hom , L.o.S., Benedictine Rule;
fem. in Wulfstan 148. 5 on fulre wæstme; *worsm* worms
'pus' is neut. in C.P. masc. in the form *wyrms* in Aelf. Hom.
ii. Tob. 452.

X.—The suffixes *with n as characteristic consonant* (ex-
cluding those of the *n* Declension) form nouns for masc.
and fem. persons, as *þeoden*, *dryhten*, *þeowen*, *þinen*, etc.;
neuter diminutives as *ticcen*, *cycen*, only *blégen* 'blain' is
feminine in analogy to *blædre*. The abstracts formed with
ni-, *ini-*, *oni-*, *aini-* are partly fem., partly neuter.

The words which show a variation of gender are: *wêsten*,
which is formed with -*nja*, and is both fem. and neuter
in Orosius and C.P., in the later texts only neuter. *æfen*
masc. in O.E. and all the other Teutonic languages occurs
as neuter in Elene 139. It is doubtful if *æfen* belongs to
this group, but it certainly followed the analogy of the
neuters of this group in occurring occasionally with the
neuter gender. The diminutive *fylmen* 'film,' is neut. in
Aelf. Hom., fem. in Leechd. Lb. p. 242.

The two borrowed words *segen* and *cymen* which show the
same word-ending -*en* are masc. and neut. *heofon*, G.
himins, O.S. *heban* is masc. in the older texts; it follows
the analogy of *eorðe*, partly only as to its gender: *seo*,
þeos heofon Leechd. (v. Sievers Misc.) Aelf. Gram. 86. 11,
Aelf. Hom. 35. 17, ii. 3, p. 40, L.o.S. xiii. 165, acc. sg.
þás heofon, Leechd. i. 404. 5, partly as to its gender and
declension: gen. dat. acc. *heofonan* Aelf. Hom. 21. 231.
246. L.o.S. iii. 500, xi. 121. Wulfst. masc. gender *in þæs
heofones* 100. 4 fem. *ðære heofone* 231. 32, *seo heofone* 92. 16.

XI.—*With the suffixes* -*ðro*, *tro-ro*—the words ending in
ðor-tor—nouns are formed, which are, as Bopp says, the in-
animate performers of an action, and also in analogy to these,
nouns for the action itself. The original gender of these
nouns is the neuter. Bahder points out that the masc.
gender is substituted for the neuter in O. Icel., but very
seldom in O.E., and he gives as examples for O.E.: *hleahtor*

hléoðor and hróðor. Toll. Bosw. calls hléoðor neut., but efen-
hléoðor masc. I could not find any reference for these words in
which the gender is shown. The same is the case with hróðor.
Therefore hleahtor is the only one which is certainly masc.

Variation of gender is shown in morþor usually n., but
masc. in Blickling Hom., like morþ which is both masc.
and neut. (see Platt). corðor usually n. like O.H.G. chortar,
is fem. in Chron. a. 973. frófor is usually fem. like O.S.
fruobra, O.H.G. fluobara f., but masc. in later texts, Aelf.
Hom., see Platt and L.o.S. iv. 91.

XII.—i. suffixes. I have already spoken of the nouns with
the suffixes -ti and -tu, and have still to mention the
verbal and denominative abstracts in -at and it. The i of
the suffix -it caused i Umlaut, and the nouns thus formed
followed the ja Declension. The original gender is doubtful.
The Gothic affords only one example of this formation: the
neuter stiwiti 'patience.' These abstracts were confused with
the collectives in Old Frisian and O.H.G., and consequently
were exclusively of the neuter gender in these languages.
O.E. nouns formed with -ot are: the masc. or neuter eolet,
cofot; the masc. sweofot, the masc. þéowet, Aelf. Hom. ii.
22. 326 (I can find no reference for the neut. gender
assumed for this word by Grein). Neuters formed with -it,
i.e.: itja are nierwet, onǽlet, rýmet. tiget is neuter in Blickl.
Hom., masc. in the plur. in Lambeth Psalter and Wulfstan,
122. 11. A fem. tigetu occurs in Vesp. Psalter and Hymns in
Wulf. 207. 26 ðǽre ligette. The fem. gender is probably due
to the influence of the abstracts in G. iþa. We may compare
hyrnetu and elfetu. They likewise had originally a more
abstract meaning, signifying a quality.

XIII.—THE NOUNS FOLLOWING THE O DECLENSION, so
far as they have not been mentioned above, are divided
in the following list according to their original gender in
O.E.: Masc. varying to neuter—bæc; neut. in O. Icel. bak
and O.S.; bac masc. in O. Fris. bek and O.H.G. (-an stem)
bahho; in O.E. n., masc. in O.E. Texts, Vesp. Psalter 128.
3; fréols 'freedom,' G. freihals m., O.E. masc. the neut.
plural is found in 'freolsa and fæstena' in the Laws, see

T.B. *fréols* is influenced in this case by the following word :
ord ' point,' O.H.G. *ort* m. n., O. Icel. *oddr* m., O.E. *ord*
masc. neut in plur., see Grein ; *reced* ' hall,' O.S. *rakud* m.
O.E. m. n. see Grein ; *ád* ' funeral pile,' O.H.G. *eit* m.
O.E. m., in L.o.S. p. 110. 3. *oððæt ðæt ád*. The neuter
article is probably a clerical error due to the preceding *þæt*.

Neuter varying to masc.—*brim* ' surf' n., O. Icel. n., in
later O.E. Texts masc., see Platt. *dolh* ' wound,' O.H.G.
O. Icel. n., G. m. O.E. n., L.o.S. xx. 67 m. *holt* ' wood '
O. Icel. O.H.G. n., O.E. n., in Gen. 21. 33, L.o.S. xix.
219 masc. (analogy to *wudu, weald*). *hord*, G. *huzd* n.,
O.H.G. *hort* m., O. Icel. m. n., O.E. n. in L.o.S. xxiii.
716 masc. *hræw* ' corpse,' O.H.G., O.Icel. n. O.E. n. Shrine
and Lambeth Psalter masc. *horh* ' dirt,' O.H.G. *horu* n.,
n. and masc. in Leechdoms, see Gloss. ; *séaw* ' juice,' O.H.G.
sou n. is neuter ; the single example for the masc. gender :
se séaw Leechd. ii. p. 18, is probably a clerical error, see
Leechd. ii. Gloss. ; *lof* ' praise,' O.H.G. n. m. O.Icel. n. O.E.
in O.E.T. and Cura Past. n., Beowulf m., Aelf. Gram. n. ;
mearh ' marrow,' O.H.G. *marg* n., O. Icel. *mergr* m., Leechd.
m. and n., see Gloss. ; *wamm* ' spot,' G. *wamm* n., O.E. n. and m.

Masc. varying with fem.—*dic* ' ditch, dike,' O. Icel. *dik*
n., O. Fries. m., O.E. m. Orosius 74, 18 *se dic :* fossa ; in
later texts masc. and fem. ; *dic* seems to be more frequently
masc. when it has the same signification as O.E. *weall* ;
léah ' lea,' O.H.G. m. n., O.E. m. f. in C.D., see Sievers
Misc. ; *stræl* ' arrow,' already in O.E.T. m. and f., the
synonymous word *flán* shows the same variation *flán* m.
f. C.P. v. Cosijn ii. § 2 (it occurs also as fem. *flá* n.
Declension) O. Icel. *fleinn* m. The gender of *earh* in
Andreas 1333 is doubtful, it occurs in later Texts as fem.
arwe (n. Decl.) see Sievers Misc. ; *wól* ' plague ' is twice
masc. and twice fem. in Orosius and Cura Past., see Cosijn ii.
§ 15, masc. in L.o.S. xvii. 72, O.H.G. *wuol* masc.

Neuter varying to fem. — *wic* ' dwelling ' n. fem. in
to ánre wic Aelf. Hom. 28. 21. ii. 28. 382, *to ðære wic.*
C.D. p. 218 a. 1002, and in the form *wice* in Aelf. Hom.
17. 68. The form dat. *wic* without the ending -*e*, confirms

the idea of Platt, that the fem. is taken from the neut. plural. I mention here also *swelgend* 'whirlpool,' a part pres. used as subst. m. and fem. in C.P., see Cosijn, ii. p. 51, and C.D., see Sievers Misc. (Beitr. ix.).

Masc. fem. and *neut.* are: *lác* O. Icel. *leikr* m. O.H.G. n. m., O.E. *lác* n., in the older texts: C.P., O.E.T. Blickl. Hom.; fem. in Shrine, Aelf. Hom. 8. 80 *mid ǽnigre láce*, masc. L.o.S. vii. 119; acc. *þíne lác* L.o.S. xiv. 34 is sing. or plur., neut. or fem. The fem. gender of *lác* is either taken from the neuter plural, or is formed by analogy with synonymous words. *slóh* 'slough' occurs as n. masc. and fem. in C.D., see Sievers Misc.

The words which I have mentioned do not exhaust the list of O.E. nouns with more than one gender. I have omitted not only many dubious instances, but also the nouns which change their gender in passing to the *n* Declension.

The explanation of the variation of gender in many of the instances which I have given is to be found in the fact that nouns followed as to their gender 1. *the analogy of other nouns (α) with the same or similar signification*, as: hǽð (feld or gærs), hyll (dún), holt (wudu), sǽl (tíd) sǽ (éa), tungol (steorra), wéofod (alter), fæc and fierst, which affected each other, geár (sumer, winter) (β) *with a contrary signification* as: déofol (god), héofon (corþe), 2. *the analogy of a class of nouns formed in the same way;* thus the nouns with prefix ge- followed the analogy of the collectives, as: geþeaht, gesceaft, gebyld, genyht, etc.; the nouns with suffix -ti, the analogy of those with suffix -tu and vice versa; e.g.: ǽrist, ǽfst, ést and cyst, hlyst; see further: sceadu, frioðu, súsl, éðel, ǽfen, ligetu.

Some nouns took the gender of other nouns with which they were coupled in frequently recurring phrases: see fen, fréols.

The derivative forms took the gender of their primary nouns in ferhð, éowd, cyrnel.

A neuter plural is formed from a masc. or fem. singular, the plural expressing a sort of unity: sculdru, giftu, cwildu, weorð-myndu; a masc. plural from a fem. or neut. singular: fíðeras geþóhtas, ingeðoncas, hiltas, geaflas.

Some nouns are neut. in older texts, but masc. in later ones, as: brim, dolh, hord, worsm.

XV.—AN ATTEMPT TO EXPLAIN SOME PECU-LIARITIES OF MODERN RUSSIAN BY COM-PARISON WITH ITS EARLIER FORMS, AND WITH OTHER SLAVONIC LANGUAGES. By W. R. MORFILL, M.A.

MY object in the following short and somewhat rambling paper, is to comment on a few points in Russian phonetics and word-formation, which can only be explained by a study of the early documents of the language. The points to which I desire to call attention will be recognized as pre-senting difficulties by those who have made a study of the language.

(1) The beginner is apt to be embarrassed by the diffi-culty that the genitive case of the adjective and pronoun, аго (*ago*), его (*ego*), is pronounced *ava*, *evó*, and when a is accented, *ova*, thus добрый (*dobrii*) 'good,' gen. добраго (*dobrago*), pronounced *dobrava*. дурной (*durnoi*) 'bad,' gen. дурнаго (*durnago*), pronounced *durnóva*. In the latter case some authors write ого (*ogo*). Prof. Malinowski, in an article in Kuhn's Beiträge, traces the origin of this to the в in the possessive adjective, thus оцовъ (*otsov*) 'belonging to a father,' gen. оцова (*otsova*). Prof. Sobolevski, in his Лекціи по Исторіи Русскаго Языка (Lectures on the History of the Russian Language), thinks that it arose as follows : the г (*g*) in these genitive cases was pronounced *h*, as it still is in some Russian words, thus хорошаго (*khoroshago*), добраго (*dobrago*), моего (*moego*), were at one time pronounced *kharashaha*,

dobraha, moyehó ; but in the course of time the sound of *h* was lost, and there was a hiatus. This hiatus, according to a law of the Slavonic languages, instances of which we are continually finding, was supplied by the letter в (pronounced *v*). Thus they became pronounced as if written хорошово (*khoroshovo*), доброво (*dobrovo*). Instances of this spelling are found in Old Russian: thus in an inscription on a cross of the date 1434 we read: боголѣпово преображения (*bogoliepovo preobrazheniya*) 'the transfiguration of the one agreeable to God.' So also in the Laurentian Codex of the Old Chronicle ascribed to the monk Nestor we get повосты (*porosti*) for погосты (*pogosti*) 'cemeteries,' and in some of the Russian dialects we find ковда (*kovda*) for когда (*kogda*), товда (*tovda*) for тогда (*togda*), etc.

(2) Some Russian nouns ending in ъ (*ŭ*), ь (*ĭ*) and o form their N., G. and D. plural in ья (*ya*), ьевъ (*yev*), ьямъ (*yam*), as:

братъ (*brat*) братья (*bratya*), братьевь (*bratyev*) 'brother.'

стулъ (*stul*), стулья (*stulya*) 'a chair.'

зятъ (*zyat*), зятья (*zyatya*) 'son-in-law.'

The history of these forms is illustrated by Old Slavonic, where the plural frequently became a collective noun, and was of the feminine gender; thus O.S. братия (*bratiya*), fem. 'brothers' (collectively). The same form is seen in modern Serbian.

(3) After the numerals два (*dva*), три (*tri*), четыре (*chetire*), and also оба (*oba*), f. обѣ (*obé*), both, in the case of masculine nouns, the suffix -a is added if the noun is in the nominative or accusative case. This is often wrongly explained as a genitive case; it is however the remains of a dual form, and we shall find that if an adjective is used, it is put in the nominative or accusative plural, as первые два большіе стола (*pervie dva bolshie stola*) 'the first two large tables'; a practice, however, seems coming in of using sometimes a genitive plural from false analogy, as два другихъ сочиненія (*dva drugikh sochineniya*) 'two other works.' In all other in-

stances, except the nominative or accusative, the numeral is in the same case as the substantive, and is treated as an adjective, as четырёмъ кораблямъ военнымъ (*chetíryom korablyam voennim*) ' to four ships of war.'

(4) One of the most striking features in Russian is the extreme poverty of the tense-system. This, in the modern state of the language is restricted to a single past tense, which is really a participle; according to Leskien it was originally a *nomen agentis*, and has gender; thus we say былъ (*bíl*) 'he was,' была (*bíla*) 'she was,' было (*bílo*) 'it was,' with this the persons of the present tense of the verb быть (*bíl*) ' to be,' were always found in Old Slavonic; thus глаголалъ iесмь (*glagolal yesm*) ' I have spoken.' But it began to disappear quite early; thus, in the Codex Suprasliensis, мати въскрьмила (*mati rĭskrŭmila*) ' the mother nourished,' without iесть (*yest*). It is still, however, preserved in Chekh, and in Polish is only partially lost, which accounts for our being able in that language to remove the suffixes from the past participle, and affix them to other words in the sentence; thus we may say in Polish either *dobrze pisałem* or *dobrzem pisał* ' I have written well,' *ja pilny jestem* or *jam pilny jest* ' I am industrious.' The suffixes may also be added to particles, as *Bom nie przyszedł wzywać sprawiedliwych ale goresznych do pokuty* ' I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.' In Chekh we still get such expressions as the following: *ja učil jsem* ' I studied.'

(5) The imperfect and aorist, which existed in Old Slavonic, and still exist in Bulgarian and Serbish of the Eastern branch, and Sorbish of the Western. The first of these began to disappear from Russian early. In copies from Old Slavonic originals, in lives of Russian saints, chronicles, etc., it is not rare, but it is not met with in the official documents, nor in the *Russkaya Pravda*, the first code of laws, which is of the eleventh century. It is impossible to tell the exact period when it was lost, but it begins to be very rare in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Schleicher, writing in

Kuhn's *Beiträge*, vol. v. p. 209, thought that he detected a relic of it in the modern Russian particle бишь (*bish*), which is used when persons are trying to recall something which they cannot easily remember, as какъ бишь его зовутъ (*kak bish ego zovut*) 'now, how do they call him?' This particle Schleicher connected with the imperfect бѣше (*béshe*), but the connection seems fanciful, and we cannot wonder that Sobolevski does not agree with him.

The case of the aorist in old Russian documents greatly resembles that of the imperfect. It is met with frequently in translations, in the chronicles, etc., but in official documents rarely; traces of it are found occasionally in the *bilini* or legendary poems, and the conditional particle бы (*bi*) is the only remains of it in the modern language. In the same way Polish has preserved the form *bych*.

(6) It is only by studying Old Slavonic that we are able to understand some peculiarities of the first declension, in -ъ (*ŭ*) as рабъ (*rabŭ*) 'a slave'. (-*a* declension). Thus we are constantly told in Russian grammars that the genitive singular of masculine nouns in ъ (*ŭ*), ь (*ĭ*), и (*i*), signifying divisible matter, often takes, especially in familiar language, the suffix -у (*u*) or -ю (*yu*); thus, не хотите ли вы сыру (*ne khotite li vi siru*) 'don't you desire any cheese?' or фунтъ сахару (*funt sakharu*) 'a pound of sugar.' We get -у (*u*) also in the locative case instead of ѣ (*é*), as въ году (*v' godu*), where we should have expected годѣ (*godé*). Again, the usual genitive plural of these substantives is in -овъ (*ov*), as рабовъ (*rabov*), etc., but many substantives are found in which the genitive plural is like the nominative, as сапогъ (*sapog*), gen. plural сапогъ (*sapog*) 'boots,' солдатъ (*soldat*), genitive plural солдатъ (*soldat*) 'soldiers'; this is the proper genitive plural of the first declension, and the fourth, as given by Miklosich, that of the -*u* stems, has been in a great measure lost, and its forms have influenced the first declension in the gen. dat. and loc. sing. and the genitive plural. This genitive singular in -*u*, in which some see Polish influences, is gradually displacing the old genitive in -*a* (see

Archiv für Slavische Philologie, vol. xi. p. 455), especially in
the colloquial language. In the same way, according to Dr.
Wright (Old High German Primer, p. 42), the *-u* declension
rapidly disappeared from Old High German, but has left
traces in the other declensions. It is fairly preserved in
Slovenish; in Serb it has almost disappeared, but has in-
fluenced the first declension as in Russian; thus, compare
the Serb роби (*robi*), роб-ов-и (*robovi*) 'slaves' (Mik. Ver-
gleichende Gram. vol. iii. p. 33).

In Malo-Russian *-u* becomes the ordinary genitive of nouns
expressing inanimate things. The use of the *-u* decl. is more
pronounced in Polish, and explains the anomalies of such
double forms as *chlopowie* and *chlopi,* the nominative plural
of *chlop* 'a peasant,' also the dative in *-owi,* as in Chekh.
In Polish grammars it is laid down as a rule that the
genitive case in *-u* applies to inanimate things; but we
find it frequently violated, as *mąż z narodu* 'a man of the
people.'

(7) The *-m* (*t*) stems in Russian of the fourth consonantal
declension have a peculiarity not found in the other Slavonic
languages. The singular has almost fallen out of use, and is
supplied by a diminutive form; thus, ребенокъ (*rebënok*) 'a
child,' plural ребята (*rebyata*), where we have the anomaly of
a masculine singular and neuter plural. Not many nouns
belong to this declension in Russian, and they mostly signify
the young of animals. In Slovenish they are more regular,
as *tele* 'a calf,' pl. *teleta,* Serbian тане 'the ball' (of a musket),
pl. танета (*taneta*). The declension in Chekh is much fuller;
thus we get *hrabě* 'count,' *hrabata, kniže, knížata.* It is also
rich in Polish.

(8) The article, as is well known to students, is apparently
wanting in the Slavonic languages, but has in reality been
preserved in the termination ій (*ii*) ый (*ti*) in adjectives,
which is always lost when the adjective is used as a predicate,
as великій король (*veliki korol*) 'a great king,' король великъ
(*korol velik*) 'the king is great.' But Sobolevski sees traces

of the use of the demonstrative pronoun as an article in such expressions as какая-то Англичанка дала мнѣ это (*kakaya-to Anglichanka dala mné eto*) 'a certain English woman gave me this;' and the form is still extensively used in the dialects, as мужика-то (*muzhika-to*) 'of that peasant,' дорога-та (*doroga-ta*) 'that way,' etc. Sobolevski thinks this is the same use as we find in the Bulgarian postposition of the article, about which all kinds of opinions have been held, and some have imagined that this position of the article in the Albanian, Roumanian, and Bulgarian languages, which have little else in common, except juxtaposition, is owing to the influence of some language originally spoken in those parts, Dacian or something of the kind.

(9) A puzzling form in modern Russian is the word for 'ninety'—девяносто (*devyanosto*). This is in Old Slavonic девятьдесять (*devyatdesyat*), which is easy enough to understand. Prusik, a Bohemian scholar, has tried to explain it as follows. He connects the -сто with the -*ginta* in the Latin form *nonaginta*, and the Greek -κοντα in ἐνενήκοντα; this is a relic of the old form for 'ten,' according to Vaniček, the first syllable having dropped off, just as *viginti* is *driginti*, 'twice ten.' The Indo-European *n* has been changed into *d*, perhaps from false analogy with десять (*desyat*), for in Old Prussian we get *newints* 'the ninth.'

We find another irregular numeral сорокъ (*sorok*) 'forty,' which must be worn down from the Greek τεσσαράκοντα. The Old Slavonic was четыредесять (*chetiredesyat*).

XVI.—ON TWENTY-FIVE MSS. OF RICHARD ROLLE'S "PRICKE OF CONSCIENCE," EIGHTEEN OF THEM IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, FOUR IN THE LIBRARY OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN, THE CORSER MS., AND TWO IN LICHFIELD CATHEDRAL LIBRARY. By Karl D. Bülbring, M.A., Ph.D.

Warton prophesied that he would be the last transcriber of any part of Richard Rolle's "Pricke of Conscience." In spite of that, Dr. Richard Morris edited the complete poem in 1863 for the Philological Society. And now the final work, a new edition founded on all the materials handed down to us, is taken into consideration, though nearly fifty MSS. of the work are preserved. First of all, these MSS. have to be carefully examined and classified. This preliminary work has already been partly done by Dr. Percy Andreae, who in the beginning of last year published an admirably written dissertation on the eighteen MSS. of the poem in the British Museum. He found out their pedigree, and gave ample proofs of its correctness. With the aid of his valuable paper I have since examined the four MSS. preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, and fitted them into the pedigree. As Dr. Andreae's treatise has only had the limited circulation of a German doctorate dissertation, and as I should anyhow have been obliged to repeat much of it, in order to make my own investigations intelligible, it seemed better with a fuller account of his paper to give his and my results and tests in a systematic order. I thank Dr. Andreae for his obliging consent to this plan, and also express my obligations to the Rev. T. K. Abbot, Principal Librarian of Trin. Coll., for his great kindness to

me in Dublin. I am also indebted to Dr. Furnivall, who has touched up my English.

The MSS. in the British Museum are:

Harleian 1205, 1731, 2281, 2377, 2394, 4196, 6923; Additional 11304, 11305, 22283, 24203, 25013, 32578; Lansdowne 348; Arundel 140; Royal 18 A. v.; Egerton 657; Cotton Galba E. ix.

The four MSS. in the Library of Trin. Coll., Dublin, are:

A 4. 4 (=D 4). Complete. The poem is bound with a translation of the Psalter, which I am editing for the Early English Text Society. The two works are written by different scribes. The binder of the volume has put several leaves in the wrong place.

D. 4. 8 (=D 8). It ends with line 9474, leaving out the Epilogue of 150 lines. The first page is darkened by gall-stain, which makes part of it illegible. The poem is followed by the translation of the Seven Penitential Psalms.

C. 5. 7 (=D 7). The poem bears the heading (in red ink) "Speculum huius vite," and is much shortened; its first eight lines are omitted. The last line preserved is 6965.[1]

D. 4. 11 (=D 11). Begins with l. 446. Considerably abridged. Ends with l. 9394, to which is added "*Fra þe whilk paynes god vs schylde Thurgh þe prayer of his moder mylde. Amen. Folowes vertus & hates* [. . .] *For sua may ȝe to* [. . .]."

For the following inquiry compare the genealogical tree facing p. 262. In order not to alter the meaning of the names chosen for the MSS. sources by Dr. Andreae, I have been compelled to destroy the regularity of his scheme, which will be of less serious consequence. As many MSS. follow different sources in different parts of the poem, Dr. Andreae arrived at three different pedigrees, basing his investigations on lines 1836–1927 for the beginning, 5126–5204 for the middle, and 9335–9402 for the end. In order to save space I have

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[1] This line is preceded by 6923–30, 6947, 6949–56, the text of which is quite corrupt.

GENEALOGICAL TREE OF 23 MSS. OF THE *Pricke of Conscience.*

```
2 (D 8) ...................................................................................
3 (D 11) ..................................................................................
1 (D 8)     }
1 (D 7)     } ............................................A.iv.
2 (D 11) ..................................................
3 (Addit. 25013 B. Mus.) }
3 (Addit. 11304 B. Mus.) } ........................A.iii.
? 3 (Corser MS.) ............ }
Addit. 32578 B. Mus. }
1 (Harl. 2394)       }
2 (Harl. 6923)       } ....................A.i.
3 (D 8) ...............}
1 (Addit. 11304 B. Mus.) }
1 (D 11) .................} ............ .a.ii.
? 2 (D 7) ...............................
1. 2 (Egerton 657)                           }>A.ii.
Harl. 1205              a.i. }        } a.i.
Addit. 22283 B. Mus.         } a         }
1 (Lansd. 348)          a.ii.}        }
2 (Harl. 1731).....................................................
3 (Lansd. 348).....................................................
1. 2 (Harl. 2377)       } b.
1. 2 (Arundel 140)      }
1. 2 (Harl. 2281)       } β.i.   }
1. 3 (Harl. 1731)       }        } φ.
D 4 .....................}        }   }>β.
Royal 18 A.v.           } β.ii.      }
Addit. 11305 B. Mus.    }
Addit. 24203 B. Mus.    } c.i.
2. 3 (Harl. 2394)       }
1. 2 (Addit. 25013 B. Mus.) }
1 (Harl. 6923)          } c.ii.
2 (Addit. 11304)        }
? 1. 2 (Corser MS.)     }
Harl. 4196              }
Galba E. ix.            } ..........................Z.
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A.

X.i.

Y.

Q.

U.

B.

X.ii.

C.

made these three pedigrees into one. The numbers 1, 2, 3 before the mark of a MS. (in parenthesis) indicate that only the 1st, 2nd, or 3rd part of the poem belongs to that class.

The original, U (see the Table facing p. 262), splits into two versions, Z and Q. The two copies of Z, Galba E. ix. and Harl. 4196, contain the best known text of the poem. Apart from some quite irrelevant exceptions, they agree with each other in every respect ; even their spelling is nearly the same. Neither of them, however, is complete ; but when joined together they furnish a text of the entire work which is so unimpeachable that within the 600 lines which Dr. Andreae made the basis of his inquiry there is only one single case of a *certain* alteration made in Z. In line 5167 the correct reading is *þat vale þe nauel* (MSS. 2377, C, A, except 32578 and D 11). Dr. Morris was therefore right in choosing these two MSS. for his edition.

All the other MSS. which have been examined as yet, must have been transcribed from a common source Q, or from copies of this source, as they all contain a number of common alterations, which cannot be independently introduced by the MSS.

This lost, or hitherto unknown, copy Q must have been a good copy as well, for there are only few alterations to be traced up. Line 1855 *þe* b. and *þe* s.—1888 *na, na* omitted.—1901 *þus*] it.—1902 lykenys.—1917 *and ilka* omitted.—1922 *discr.*] þus d.—5157 alswa *added after* and.—9374 þe whilk.

Of Q three different groups of copies were made : C, Y, and X.ii. The following alterations are found in the Additional MS. 24203 of the Brit. Mus., in Add. MS. 25013 and 11304, as well as in Harl. 6923 and 2394. These MSS. form the group C.

1) l. 1836–38 (MS. 6923): first aght a man drede, *als clerkes wate wele, þe dede for payne þat he sall fele off þe hard stour at þe laste ende.*

Lines 1880–1 : He says þe deede of pouert þat deres
                 Has na mercy, ne reuerence beres.

The lines 1920–1 are omitted.

2) Lines 5147–8 omitted.

Lines 5182: *I sall say ʒow* (*ʒow say* Addit. 11304), *ʒif ʒe will witt.*

5178–9: on a whyt cloud and als doms man and sitte euen about þ. v. n. V.L. *and als*] als a, Ad. 25013; als Harl. 2394, Ad. 11304; *and s.*] sett Ad. 25013; syttyng Ad. 11304; *about*] abouen C.ii; *þat*} þe Harl. 2394.

3) As in the last part of the poem C is only represented by two manuscripts, which both belong to the subdivision C.i, it is impossible to say whether the common alterations of these two were made by the scribe of C or of C.i. In both MSS. the lines 9339–56, and 9359–62 are omitted; lines 9357–58 run thus:

> þe whilke þai sall haue als a joy to gyder,
> when þai in saul and body comys þedir.

Lines 9339–56 and 9359–62 are omitted.

The five MSS. of C form two divisions, C.i and C.ii. For the first part of the poem we have only one MS. (Addit. 24203) in C.i; it is impossible, therefore, to tell whether the deviations of the beginning of this MS. are due to the writer of C.i or of Addit. 24203.

For the middle part C.i is characterized by the following peculiarities: the lines 5144–45 are transposed.—l. 5149: his dome in þat place he sall halde (C.ii puts *he sall* before *in*).— l. 5158: als god þurh þe prophete *says* (C.ii schewes) vs.— l. 5171: cryst sall noght Allyngges þan (*þ. A.* in C.ii) come (Harl. 2394 has *com doun* instead of *þ. c.*).—l. 5190: a lytell way fra þe cyte of *jerusalem* (C.ii has *a l. space fro j.*).

The copier of C.ii transcribed the last part not from C, but from X.i. The tests for the rest of the poem are: In l. 1837 C.ii leaves out the article before *payn.*—l. 1849, luffes mare *mene sais* (C.i samen) þan (C.i adds *a*) man and his wyf.—In l. 1857 *if* is omitted.—l. 1864, *thyng* for *twynnyng.*—l. 1867: *of wham*] þar C.ii, whar C.i.—l. 1871: þe is omitted.—l. 1885: the second *till* is omitted.—l. 1891: þat *so* wys.—l. 1910 and (C.i+till) ilke a ta and fynger on (C.i of) hande. —l. 1912: and ilk a lyme on ayther (C.i other) syde.—l. 1915 : at a pulle (C.i pluk) with þe rotes all abowt.—l. 1922: *þus* om.—l. 5155: he says I sall all men togider calle

(C.i *all men* after *says*; Addit. 11304 *togider* after *sais*). Besides cf. lines 5149, 5171, and 5190, under C.i.

In Dr. Furnivall's copy of the *Pricke of Conscience*, which he was kind enough to lend me, there are numerous entries made by him concerning a MS. which belonged to Mr. *Corser*. lines 1836–7 have the remark "are altered"; only class C has considerable alterations in these two lines; they are printed above under C. Of the verses 1880–1, Dr. Furnivall has written out the reading of the Corser MS.

> " He saiþ, þe deþ of pouert þat dereþ
> Haþ no merci, ne no reuerens bereþ ";

which is the alteration cited above as a characteristic of class C. Besides, lines 1920–1 are omitted, as in C. The middle part as well belongs to C; for lines 5147–8 are left out. But two other alterations which Dr. Furnivall has noted are a peculiarity of the Corser MS. alone: Verses 5153–4 (Latin) are omitted, and the verses 5157–66 are placed after 5170. The end of the Corser MS. is not derived from C, as it neither omits the lines 9339–56, nor 9359–62; as in Addit. 11304 and 25013, the end of the poem may possibly have been taken from the source A.iii. The MS. contains very long interpolations, of which Dr. Furnivall has lent me copies.

Y, the largest class of MSS. derived from Q, includes three of the Dublin copies, D 7, D 8, and D 11. I first give all the various readings of these MSS., compared with the printed edition. For shortness sake I have often put the mark Xi., A, etc., instead of D 11, D 8, or D 7 when the alteration had already been made in a previous source. Thus, it will, later on, often suffice to simply repeat the numbers of the verses where the characteristics of a group are to be found. Dialectic and purely graphical deviations, as *hem, to, scheweth,* instead of *þaim, till, schewes,* are omitted.

1) 1836 owyþ a man 8, auȝte mon 7; *dr. þe d.*] dr. þis dethe 8, to drede a.ii, to dr. deeþ 7.—1837 *of þe d.*] *om.* X.i, of deeþ 7; *þat*] *om.* 7, *swa*] ful 7.—1838 *om.* 11; *st.*] houre 7.—1839 *þe. . þe b.*] saule and body sall sonder 11.—1840 *om.* 11; *þat*] þanne 7.—1841 *l.*] loueden 7, wald A; *ay*] euer A.iv; *to*] *om.* X.i (*except* D 7); *dw.*] lende 11.—1842 *of þaim*]

om. A ; fro oþer go 7, 11.—1843 *þam*] of 7 ; Bot makes sorow
to parte in tua 11.—1844–51 *om.* 7, 11.—1849 *samen*] to gadir
8 ; *his*] *om.* 8.—1851 a. þerfor is many a kler s. 8.—1852 now
before ȝe 8 ; And a skill is als men may here se 11 ; And for
certeyne skyllis as ȝe schul see 7.—1853 *whi þ. w.*] þei wold
feyne 7 ; *ay*] euer 8, *om.* 7.—1854 *for . . god*] for þat god 8,
for god A, on is 7 ; *als s.*] says in 8, als witnes A.—1855
fyrst] f. þe Q (f. *om.* A) ; for god first to geder hem kn. 7 ;
k.] is k. 8.—1856 *for*] is 11 ; þat on 8 ; *noght*] not wel 7.—
1857 *if*] *om.* 7 ; þat oþer 8.—1858 *both*] *om.* A.—1860
þe . . *for*] alsua þai sall 11 ; *er*] *om.* 7, a.ii—1861 *ay*]
euermore 7 ; *after*] *om.* A.iv ; In payne or blis ay be
tog. 11.—1862 þerf. þe peynes of hem byn moo 7, Forthi
þaire sorow is wele þe mare 11.—1863 þe tane . . þe
toþer] þat on . . þat oþir 8, ayther . . oþer 7, 11 ;
goo 7.—1864–9 *om.* 7.—1864 *þis*] þe 8.—1865 strayes 11.—
1866 ilka countre 11.—1867 *sp. . . wh.*] in all places 11.—
1868–9 *om.* 11 ; *men*] he 8.—1870–1 *om.* 8 ; *transposed* 11.
(*and in* 2377) ; *Ne*] *om.* a.ii ; *er n.*] sall n. be 11 ; Vn-to na
m. takes he r. 11 ; For deeþ whan comeþ haþ noo pyte of
kyng ne lord what euer he be 7.—1872 *Ne*] *om.* 8, a.ii ;
he . . .] he sp. by no l. 8, he wol non spare 7, heghe nor lawe
A.ii.—1873–4 *om.* 7 ; he þe l. nel fro hym 8 ; *þe*] for þe 8 ;
Nor baulde for boste þat þai can blawe : Deede will waynde
for nakyn wight 11.—1875 *þ. sch.*] vs sch. 8, sais full A.ii ;
As seyeþ s. B. in his lore 7.—1880 pore 7 ; *he . . p.*] of
pouerte deede 11.—1881 *Ne*] *om.* 11 ; þe ryche A.iv ; he
tase A.ii.—1882–3 *transposed* A.iv.—1882 *till*] to þe 7.—1883
till, till] vnto, vnto 11 ; *of man*] *om.* A.—1884–9 *om.* 7 ; *will*]
does A ; *do*] *om.* A.—1885 *till, till*] *om.* 8 ; Nouther to k. nor
e. A.—1886 *Ne till*] to 11 ; *ne to*] *om.* 8, 11 ; *ne no*] ne 8,
nor 11.—1887–8 *om.* 11 ; *heghe*] *om.* 8 ; *tyll na*] to 8 (*twice*).—
1889 *men*] þyng 8 ; In ilke a place deede hase p. 11.—1890
For th. dethe al schal p. 8, And th. his power sall all p. 11,
But deeþ schal make here al to p. 7.—1891 *als*] þat 8 ; seieþ
S. 7 ; *wyse*] ful w. 8, 11.—1894 *þou*] we 8, ȝe ȝow 11 ; *þe*] *om.*
A.iv.—1895 *men*] *om.* 8, A.ii ; *b.*] *om.* 7.—1896–1925 *om.* 7 ;
ilk] euery 8 ; And d. s. maistre euer ilka m. 11.—1897 A.

certes ȝet nane d. him c. 11.—1898 F. non l. 8 ; Of soteltc
may nane be slike 11.—1899 *till*] om. X.i ; *þe d.*] thing he
11.—1900 *all*] men 11.—1901 *þus d.*] descryues hit (hit om.
D 11, a.ii, 657) X.i.—1902 *Fbr*] om. A ; lykenys Q (11 *adds*
a) ; *till*] vnto 11.—1903 *if i. s.*] of hit 8 ; þ. in a man gr.
sulde be 11.—1904 Oute of his h. þe tre s. sp. 11.—1905
þ. h.] erþe 8 ; And lapped aboute with his herte str. 11.—
1906 *And*] om. 11 ; *m. sch.*] sulde rise 11.—1907 *ilk a*] euery
8 ; With rotes fested on þis wise 11.—1908 *A. ilk a*] And
euery 8, Ilka rote and 11 ; *a man*] man is 8, his 11.—1909
Sulde haue 11 ; *f.f.*] faste growande 11, faste 8 ; *þare*] om.
11.—1910–11 *om.* a.ii ; *in*] om. X.i ; *ilk a*] euery 8 ; *þat*] þe
8.—1912 *ilk a*] euery 8, all his 11 ; lymmes 11 ; *ilk a*] euche
8.—1913 þare with sulde all be o. 11.—1914 And þan at þe
tre ware p. o. 11.—1915 tyde 8 ; *all*] om. 11.—1916 rot 8 ;
r.] r. vp 11, ryn 8.—1917 *ilka*] euery 8 ; *and ilk a*] om. Q ;
Bathe syn and vayne and euery l. 11.—1918 *no m.*] non 8 ;
in h.] om. A.—1919 *s.*] mot 8 ; whils it myght 11. To soffre
þis it ware full sare *inserted* 11.—1920 *And*] om. 8 ; *hald I*]
om. A. ; *d.*] deede is A.—1921–3 om. 11 ; *str. a. h.*] bittir 8.
—1922 *rh. h. l.*] throw is castyng 8.—1923 Lykenit dethe
to suche a þyng 8.—1924 And þare fore ilk (ilka 11) m. A ;
ilk] euery 8 ; *bef.*] a for 8, om. A.—1925 *þe b. d.*] þat leþir
8, þe deedes A.—1926 *For . . ill*] F. g. and il all X.i ; Bath
euell and g. all 11 ; Boþe yuel and g. schul wiþ it mete 7.—
1927 euell 11 ; to drede X.i ; B. yuel m. a. it most to drede 7.

2) 5126 For as 7 ; leytnyng 8, 7 ; *out g.*] goþ oute Y
(oute om. 11).—5127 *it*] hym 7, om. 8, 11 ; *syde*] om. 8.—
5128 *Ryght*] om. X.i; *man s.*] god s. Y (Crist 7) ; schal *before*
þe 7 (also in a.i).—5129 *S. a.*] S. 8 ; *dr.*] ferly 11.—5130–48
om. 7 ; *d.*] d. and 8 ; *na . . him*] withouten X.i.—5131 *on.*]
owt to 8, in 11.—5133 *in*] of Y (a in).—5134–5 *transp.* 11 ;
And] om. X.i.—5135 *to*] and 8 ; *ilk*] ilka 11, ewche 8.—5136
Euen als mekill and als alde 11.—5142 *þai*] þis 8 ; *here*] om.
8, 11 ; *es vp*] vp is 11.—5143 *with*] in Y.—5144 worldis 8,
11.—5145 *in*] om. Y.—5145* *of man*] om. X.i.—5147 *er.*] he
11 ; *deme*] þe dome 8.—5148 *als*] om. 11 ; *seme*] come 8.—
5149 *a*] þat 8, þe 11 ; *in a pl.*] And in þe vale of Josephat 7 ;

his] *om.* 11.—5150 Of alle maner men boþe ȝong and bolde
7.¹—5151 Weþir 8.—5155 *H. s.*] *om.* X.i., sall I 11.—5156
in] into 8 ; *l.*] deme 11.—5157 And (*om.* D 11) alsua ȝit suis
he þus Q.—5158 *Als he*] And 11; to vs 11.—5163 *m. sall, þe*]
om. 11.—5164 *in*] to 8, 11.—5165 *I . . n.*] sitte sall I 11.—
5167 *v. of*] nauyl of þe 8 : *men*] me 8, he 11.—5168 *in.*]
amyd 8, euen emyddes 11 ; *wt outen*] with outyn dout 8, *om.*
X.i.—5169 *þ. m.*] noght elles X.i ; *at*] to Y.—5170 *Als*]
Bot þe 11.—5171 þan f. Y ; Fully d. s. n. Cr. e. 11.—5173
rp] *om.* 11 ; *h. s.*] þan sall he 11.—5177 *Lo*] He says, þan]
right 11.—5178 On a cl. bathe fair (D 11 white) and bright
X.i.—5179 Abouen þ. v. euen openly 11.—5180 *all*] ilka 11.
5181 skyl 8 ; *B. þe s.*] Alsua 11.—5182 *þann*] *om.* 8, 11 ;
Men . . þat] Now sall ȝe here wha som 11.—5183 I. þat is
8.—5185 þat oþer 8.—5186 amyd 8 ; *þat st.*] euen 11.—5187
And] *om.* X.i.—5188 *of C.*] *om.* 11.—5189 is X.i.—5190 *ful*]
wel 11.—5191 Forthi X.i (*a* therfor).—5192 *On.*] On 8 ; of þe
e. 8 ; *þus for*] þat is 8 ; To deme for he may þan þus s. 11.—
5193 *now*] *om.* 11, 8.—5195 Whare my moder was b. with
mylde mode 11.—5196 þus schal he sey to þe company 8 ;
In wham for ȝow I t. (= X.i) fl. and bl. 11 (bl. n. fl. A).—
5197 *He . . ȝe*] He m. s. her besid as ȝe 8, Lo here alsua ȝe
may 11.—5198 Is B. 8.—5199—5200 *om.* 11.—5201 *He m.
s.*] *om.* X.i ; *lo h.*] And here als 11.—5203 for ȝ. had 11 ;
many a 8.

3) 9337–62 *om.* 11² ; *bl.*] em. X.i.—9338 War joy is mor
þ. man c. n. X.i.—9339 *For*] *om.* X.i ; *hundr.*] *om.* A.i.—
9340 countre 8.—9341 *þare*] *om.* X.i.—9343 *þai all*] þey
X.i.—9344 Gret ioy vnto heme þay schul be 8.—9345–8 *om.*
A.—9349 *For*] *om.* X.i.—9350 *þai s.*] *om.* X.i.—9352 may
X.i ; oþer 8.—9353 *i. m.*] euche on 8.—9354 euery, euery
8.—9355 *euer*] *om.* X.i., oþer ; oþer 8.—9356 neuer *before*
noumbred X.i.—9357 *ilk m.*] þay schul haue 8.—9358 *sall,
haue*] *om.* A.i ; *all*] boþe A.i.—9359 Euer with outen eny i.

¹ D 7 continues thus : (l. 5153–4) *Congregabo*, etc. ; then : *And þere here
acounte straytele Of alle her lyffyng what euer þei be.* After which it goes on with
l. 5255–60, 5263–4, 5271–2, 5281–2, 5277–8, 5287, etc.
² Also the lines 9327–8 and 9331–4 are om. in D 11.—D 7 ends with l. 6066.

X.i.—9360 *ay b. n.*] be ay 8.—9361 *ioy . . and*} is mor to fele oþer 8.—9362 *S. b. m.*] *om.* Y ; *of þe*] of þis Y.—9363 *þare*] *om.* 8, 11 ; cloþit as w. 8.—1865 þ. s. lyne þ. and do na th. 11.—9366 *ay g.*] god euer 8, god ay þare 11.—9367 *in a v.*] *om.* Y.—9368 In a vers þus openly A, D 11.—9372 *And*] *om.* Y ; *of l.*] and lightnes 11.—9373 werkis A (*except* 22283); *ay*] euer 8, *om.* 11.—9374 *In*] In þe Q.—9375 *Bot*] *om.* 11.—9378 *And*] *om.* Y.—9379 *ay*] euer 8, 11; *wh.*] williþ 8 ; *sall*] to 8.—9382 haue þan A.i.—9384 *ma*] alkyn 11 ; myght A (*except* D 8), D 11.—9385 *he of g. f.*] of god 8.—9386 payn A.i ; *þan*] *om.* Y ; *gr.*] der Y (*except* 11304, 22283).—9387 *here*] ȝow 8 ; *I . . men*] ȝe herde what þai 11.—9388 *p. . . þ.*] þat in heuen 8, Ioyes of h. þ. 11.—9389 *þe*] *om.* 11 ; *m. þ.*] her 8 —9390 *ful*] ay Y (*om.* D. 8, 11304) ; *parf.*] endeles 11.—9391 *with outen e.*] Within and oute 11.—9392 *in*] haue in X.i, *all*] *om.* Y.—9393 *be . . sere*] Gret torment of many 8.—9395-9470 *om.* 11.—9396 *In*] *om.* A.—9397 abowt hem in hel 8.—9398 *euer*] *om.* A.i ; may A.—9399 *se*] *om.* 8.—9402 Schal þay X.i ; *and of*] and X.i.

For the first part of the poem proofs for Y cannot be given ; the tests for the rest are pointed out in the lines 5126, 5128, 5133, 5143, 5145, 5169, 5171 ; —9367, 9372, 9378, 9386, 9390, 9392, which see above. Other alterations in l. 9344, Gret joy vnto hem self shal be (*h. s. sh.*] þaim seluen sh. 32578, hym self sh. 11304, heme þay schul D 8).—9353 and 9357 *man* om.—9358 all *om.*—9361 *þare . . and*] es more to fele or.—9366 god ay (D 8, A.iii, 22283: euer).—9368 In a vers of metir þus sch.—9388 joyes.

From Y were copied the middle of D 8, the end of D 11, and X.i, the source of an important group of MSS. ; in the beginning X.i includes all three Dublin MSS. of the class Y. For alterations of X.i see lines: 1) 1837, 1841, 1899, 1901, 1910, 1926, 1927, and 1854 *þi*] *om.*—2) 5128, 5130, 5134, 5145*, 5155, 5168, 5169, 5178, 5187, 5191, 5196, 5201.— 5163 *þe* om. (except 657).—5170 *Als*] Bot.—5173 sall he.— 5197 and 5201 *He m. s.* om.—3) 9337, 9338, 9339, 9341, 9343, 9349, 9352, 9355, 9356, 9359, 9392, 9402.—9393 *be t.*] grete tourement(es).

X.i is the source for class A, for the beginning of D 7 and D 8, the middle of D 11, and for the end of the Addit. MSS. 25013 and 11304 (and perhaps of the Corser MS.). In the genealogical scheme the beginning of D 8 and D 7 is derived from the supposed copy A.iii and the end of the Addit. MSS. 25013 and 11304 and the Corser MS. from A.iv; but A.iv, the source of the middle of D 11, and A.iii are perhaps only one copy, which would then be called A.iii.

The two copies of A.iv have the following alterations in common: 1836 mon.—1890 *þe, hand*] om., and see lines 1841, 1861, 1881, 1882-3, 1894.

Alterations introduced by the scribe of A.iii are: 9335 *þus*] þis.—9338 þore more joy es þan.—9339 *sall m.*] may.—9340 *cete*] contre.—9349 joyc.—9351 *man*] soule.—9358 saule a. bodi.—9379 *sall* om.—9391 *w. e. f.*] for þair syn and.—9400 *be . . þam*] last wit þaim.

The writer of A altered his original in these lines:

1) 1841, 1842, 1854, 1855, 1858, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1902, 1920, 1924, 1925.—1852 *sall*] may.—1855 þe saule.—1865 flyttes (fihteþ 22283, strayes D 11).—1867 *spares . . wham*] of all men A.i, of all landus A.ii (inne a. l. 657, of eche londe 11304, in all places D 11, of hem alle 1205).—1875 þus om.; full ryghte.—1880 þe *om.*—1890 sall all.—1904 *Thurght*] out of.—1914 *If*] And (*om.* 11304) þen if; *tyte* om.—1918 *as lang . . suld*] whils it myght (while hit a.ii, þe while hit 11304, 1205).—1926 *For*] om.; *sall*] alle (bath 2394, 1205, *om.* a.ii) sall.

2) 5131 Euen om.—5151 þer (1205 where) salle alle m.—5165 he s. *om.*—5166 men *om.*—5177 *schew him right* D 11] sytt in syght.—5196.—5204 scharp *om.*

3) 9345-8, 9368, 9373, 9384, 9396, 9398.—9361 *joy* om.—9389 *men* om.

Two further copies were made of A. The one, A.i, contains the following deviations:

1) *Beginning* (MSS. Addit. 32578 *and* Harl. 2394): 1867 Of all men has he p.—1880-1 *hase*] has he; *tas*] takes he.—1882 *þat . .*] no mercy he schewys.—1888-9 seculers: powers.—1890 sall *om.*—2) *Middle* (MSS. 32578 *and* 6923): 5167

þat] þe.—5173 *ayre*] ayre þan.—5174 *on*] in.—5192 *on* A]
als on.—5197 Lokes ; *se*] may se.—5201 Loke(s).—5203 For
yhow had j þar m. b.—5204 sar was i b.—3) *End* (MSS.
32578 *and* D 8) : 9339, 9358, 9382, 9386, 9398.—9357
þ. ilkone shal haue in h. (i. h. *om.* 32578).

A.ii, the other copy of A, is characterized by the lines ;
1838 *hard*] last; *last*] *om.*—1867 (see under A).—1875, 1881,
1895.—For the rest of the poem certain alterations of A.ii
cannot be given, since the MSS. of group a.ii follow different
sources.   Only very few of the lines 5126–5204 being pre-
served in D 7, it is difficult to find its exact place in the
genealogical tree.   As it is a very bad MS., it did not seem
worth while to make fuller extracts, in order to compare them
with the MSS. of the British Museum.   All that I can say
of the place of the middle part of the MS. is this : In
line 5128 it has *Crist* instead of *man son* as C.ii ; C omits
5147–8, and D 7 omits 5130–48, but as D 7 preserves the
reading *goþ out* in l. 5126, where C alters to *comes,* the
coincidence with C.ii in line 5128 seems to be merely
accidental.   Apart from this, D. 7 has three alterations in
common with class a.i : 5126 goþe oute (=X.i) ; 5128 *ryght*
om. (=X.i), add in the same line *schal* is put before þe as in
class a.i.

The two subdivisions of A.ii are a.ii and a.i.   As to
the former, which is formed by the beginnings of D 11 and
MS. 11304, compare lines 1836, 1860, 1870, 1872, 1910–11.
—1852 men may.—1855 *þe saule* A.] saule.—1866 *landes*]
singular (D 11 countre).—1874 *þe* om.—1899 þe *d.*] it 11304,
he D 11.

The tests for a.i are : 1845 a *om.*—1853 ay *om.*—1881
rych.—1882–3 *om.*—1886 *h.*] grete.—5128 sall *after* swa.—
5132 he *after* m.   Alterations for the end of the poem cannot
be ascertained, as the only two MSS. of this class, *i.e.*
Harl. 1205 and Addit. 22283, both belong to the subdivision *a.*

This group has the following peculiarities in the beginning
and the middle :

1. 1885 *ne r. tyll*] to knyght | 1905 *þe* om. | l. 5126 *l.*] leyt |
5147 *deme*] dome | 5148 *als h. s. s.*] shal be his come | 5149–50

þe dom he schal þenne holde (þc d. þ. he schal h. 1205)
anentes þe vale (dale 1205) of I. tolde. | 5151 *men* om. | 5152
c. s. th.] witnescþ | 5155 *togeder* after *men* | 5158 *he th.* om. |
5165 *I*] he | 5170 *at* om. | 5174 *als* om. | 5183 *of I. es s.*]
þere is swete | 5191 *sall*] wol.

Whilst it is certain that these alterations were introduced
by the writer of *a*,[1] it must, at least for the present, remain
doubtful where the deviations in the end of the poem were
made.

9353 *ilk m.*] | vche | 9363 *þare* om. | 9374 *gr.*] ay (euer) |
9395 *in* om.—9397 about þam *after* sal.

As Harl. 1205 and Addit. 22283 are also the only MSS.
of class a having the end of the poem, as well as the only
ones of A.ii, each of these alterations may have been made
either by the writer of *a*, or of a, or of A.ii. *a.ii*, which
derives from *a*, is the source of Addit. 22283, and the
beginning of Lansd. 348 ; they show the following common
alterations : l. 1839 *sall fra þe b.*] schal forþc | l. 1841 *þai
l. ay*] euer þey wold | 1844 *and*] om. | 1847 *bih.*] schal | 1855
fryst . . s.] hem boþe | 1857 *if*] *om.* | 1860 *for*] *om.* | 1864
partyng | 1880 *he says*] om. | 1894 *kn. þ.*] wyteþe | 1897 *it*]
hym | 1898 *for here* om. | 1900 *þe*] *om.* | 1903 *w.g.*] groweþ |
1904 *and*] om. | *suld*] to | 1905 *l.*] wrapped | 1907 *f.*] faste |
1922–23 *om.* | 1927 *i.m.*] euele.

a.i is only represented by one MS., Harl. 1205, which
may therefore be a direct copy of *a*.

The fourth MS. of Trin. Coll., Dublin, D 4, belongs to
group β, which is such a totally corrupt copy of B that Dr.
Andreae has not considered it worth while to give the read-
ings of its derivations in full, so that I had to recur to the
MSS. themselves in the British Museum, in order to fix the
exact place of D 4.

The existence of X.ii can only be proved for the second
part of the poem, as the beginning and the end of Harl.
1731 follow a copy of β, the middle, too, being often cor-
rected after β. That B and Harl. 1731 follow a common

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[1] It must always be kept in mind that *a*, a, A, etc., may as well represent a
series of copies by as many different scribes.

source, is evident from these facts: In l. 5132–3 the rymes are transposed.—Line 5147 is preceded by the heading "Of þe stede þat crist shal come to deme jnne."—5190 full *om.*

Harl. 1731 must be a copy of the source of B, as it has the original text, instead of the alterations of B in line 5126 *in a sch. t.*—5127 *and schewes it* om.—5130 na . . him] *withouten.*—5131 oven o.] *ajenes.*—5186 *swa*] *om.*

Other alterations found in the MSS. of B are: 1837 of deþ is.—1849 to-gyder.—1856 anoþer skil is for.—1864 departyng, cleped.—1872 He ne sp. r. ne p.—Instead of 1890–91 b repeats 1868–9 and 1874–5, β only the latter two.—Line 1902 is preceded by the heading "How a philosophir discryeþ deþe."

For the end of the poem the class X.ii is represented by MSS. of the subdivision β and only one MS. outside of it; thus the present materials do not suffice to ascertain whether the common alterations of β and that single MS. (Lansdowne 348) are due to the scribe of B or X.ii, as Lansd. 348 may not be derived from B. Of such alterations the lines 9335–9402 afford only one instance, as β is shortened considerably; this is in l. 9366, where *loue* is altered to *preyse.*

b, the better subdivision of class B, is characterized by the following readings: 1890–1 (see under B).—1852 as þou myȝt se.—1862 is þe m.—1906 þe m.—1914 sone.—1915 pul; *all*] om.—1918 *a*] om.—1925 may dr.—5134 *and*] om.—5157 *yhit*] om.—5168 *with outen*] om.—5171 *þan*] om.—5182 *þam*] om.—5188 *fast*] om.—5197 *als*] may.—5204 *with*] om.

But the following alterations, which are found in Lansdowne 348, cannot be ascribed to the writer of b with certainty, as they may just as well have been introduced by B or X.ii: 9347 *ilk, þai*] om.; *se*] be.—9352 can.—9359 *mare, na*] om.; *ir.*] endyng.—9360 *for*] bot; þai sall, *at*] om.—9361 *fele and*] om.—9362 *s. be*] is.—9364 *of*] and.—9375 *in h.*] om.—9387 *l r. h*] ȝe herde.—9401 *als . . b.*] þei schul se.—9402 *þai s. s.*] om.; *of sm.*] sm. to be.

There are no proofs for the position of the end of Lansdowne 348 in the pedigree, but presumably it was copied from X.ii, or perhaps from B, or from b: a comparison with

β leads to no result, as its text is too corrupt, and the verses 9335 seq. are not preserved in the two MSS. of b; but as the alterations of Lansd. 348 neither agree with A, nor C, nor Z, we may with probability suppose that it derives from X.ii (or B, or b).

I now give all the various readings of D 4 compared with Harl. 4196 (Z). This list also shows most of the various readings of β, which are generally easily made out by a comparison of D 4 and Addit. MS. 11305. It will be seen at once that almost all the alterations found in D 4 were introduced already by the scribe of β, only a few being added in the next copy φ, which is the common source of β.ii and D 4.

1836 *aght . . þe*] a man dredeþ.—1837 peynis β; þe, þat, *swa*] *om.*—1838 And deþ is jcluped þe l. e.—1840 for to φ.—1841 coueyteþ to-g. cuer.—1842 And non β.—1843 gret β.—1844 sadder φ; beþ to-g. in loue β.—1845 *oft p.*] þoruȝ godis grace aboue β.—1846 *and*] & þe lengur β.—1847 By-twene hem is (shal be 11305) β.—1848 Ac φ.—1849 to-gedere þan +ani.—1850 For (β) wh. hi goþ; or+in β.—1851 Euir to-gedere hi wolde be stille β.—1852 & þis is o skele as me (as a man 11305) may se β.—1853 Whi+þat φ; *ay to-g.*] in o company β.—1854 For þe bok saiþ þat (For almighty 11305) god *with* (thorugh 11305) his *grace* & wit β.—1855 F. þe b. & þe s. to-g. he (*without* he 11305) kn. β.—1856 Anoþer skele is for *non* of hem may noþing do.—1857 þat oþer wole assenti.—1858 dridde+is β; schulleþ boþe to-gedir.—1859 at . . .] & to his dom þanne (*without* þanne 11305) be ynome β.—1860 þe ferþe is for whanne hi comeþ jn þer ifere β (thider *for* jn þer 11305).—1861 Hi sch. afterward *in* o company be euery-where β.—1862 & þer-fore (+the 11305) more is hare peyne & care β.—1863 þat on φ; þat oþer φ.—1864 departynge; *c. þe*] clepeþ (!).—1865 þe wich (þat 11305) fleeþ ab. as doþ þe wyndes (a man*n*ys 11305) breþ β.—1866 londis+boþe β.—1867 no ma*n* (thing 11305) ouer β.—1868 eny man β.—1869 Wher þat deþ (he 11305) c. he suffreth no man (+to 11305) l. β.—1870 For loue for (ne 11305) hate for nissche ne for (*without* for 11305) hard β.—1871 He

wole of no m. take r. — 1872 For he ne sp. r. ne p. —
1873 Ac þe lif of hem he by-nemiþ in a drowe.—1874 So
þat d. haþ+no φ.—1875 *þus sch. r.*] telleþ to (vnto 11305)
vs arijt β.—1880 *þe*] *om.* β.—1881 *tuse*] he ne haþ β.—1882
to+þe ; *w. m. sch.*] men cunneþ schewe β.—1883 to+þe ;
men β ; to no*n* oþer þewe β.— 1884 For deþ wole haue no
(doþ neither 11305) reuerence ne f. β.—1885 Ne frendschip
of β ; of β.—1886 of β ; *to*] *om.* β ; *no*] oþer β.—1887 of β ;
of h.] lowe ne heye of β.—1888 *tyll na*] of (*twice*) β.—1890
Where-fore (And þerfore 11305) seint Bernard saiþ þus i*n*
his writyng β.—1891 þat (And counsailith 11305) ech ma*n*
schulde (*without* sch. 11305) be jwar of deþis comyng β.—
1894 He saiþ wete þou wel þat deþ wole by þe passe β.
—1895 *c.*] For (+why 11305) hit is c. β ; *b.*] *om.* β.—
1896 deþ schal ; euerich.—1897 jut+what hit is β ; *it*] *om.*
β.—1898 þer is no man.—1899 þe *d.*] þing hit. — *After l.*
1899, *the following two lines are added* :

       Ne ymagyne þoruj no wit what hit is,

       Ne what schap hit haþ in liknis jwis.

1900 Ac ; ech man greniþ sore β.—1901 *wele*] as he (+haþ
11305) lerned i*n* lore β. *After* l. 1901, *the following head-
ing is inserted in red ink (in all MSS. derived from* B) :
' How a philosofre discriueþ þe payne of deþ.' — 1902
Here he lykneþ φ.—1903 þe wich β ; *swa*] *om.* β.—1905 þe
wich (þat it 11305) mijte ate laste a rote (lyf *instead of* a r.
11305) þer of (on 11305) bringe β.—1906 & þe c. ate m. out
come (shede 11305) mijte β.—1907 & to ech a (*without* a
11305) i. a r. schulde dijte β.—1908 & þat ech a v. þat is on
(iche v. of 11305) a ma*n*nis b. β.—1909 *H.*] Also h.—1910
& þat to ech a (& to euery 11305) to fyngur & h. also β.—
1911 pulke t. gr.+þer-to.—1912 & þat on ech a l. þat is on
eny a s.—1913 A rote of þulke (the 11305) t. schulde þer-on
abyde β.—1914 þanne jif þulke (that 11305) t. were p. a-boute
β.—1915 So þat þe rotis aresin & schewed hem wiþ-oute β.
—1916 þanne schulde þe flesch þer-with (must þe rotes wiþ
þe fl. 11305) aryse β.—1917 & ech (euery 11305) v. & s. in
hys wyse β.—1918 *a*] þan a β ; *in h.*] *om.* β.—1920 I holde
β ; more+strong β.—1921 & hardur i*n* þe tyme ac (in his

tyme but 11305) hit nis no3t long β.—1922 whilis he was alyue β.—1923 of d. he wolde discriue (dyde skryue 11305) β.—1924 Wher-f. ech β ; hit is afore jseid β.—1925 *a. t.*] May gretly β ; *bytter*] om. β.—1926 gode+men β.—1927 & ech a mannis body hit (is 11305) wele clene waste β.

2) 5126 He saiþ as þe ly3tninge (+out 11305) goþ in a sch. t. β.—5127 *fra*] Bleue (clene 11305, euene 2281) fro β ; *a. sch. it in*] in to B.—5128 *m. s.*] crist.—5129 (1.) *and*] om. β.—5130 *he*] þus (and 2281) he ; *with*-oute eny lette adoun β.—5131 A3ens þe m. of o. in his propre persoun β.—5132 in his m. he st. to heuen.—5133 *in h.*] wel euene.—5134 such+a β ; þanne vp stey β.—5135 *doune . . .*] & deme þorw good fey β.—5136 Vuele men & goode.—5137 *Als*] For (As 11305) þus β.—5142 is here vp itake anon β.—5143 into β ; in β ; &+in β.—5144 he schal β.—5145 *Als*] Ri3t as (β) now ; *vp*] om. β.—5145b (+And 11305) So he schal c. in þe f. of m. β.—5146 & alle þing deme as he well can β.—*After* l. 5146 *the following heading is added in red ink* : ' Of þe stede þat crist schal deme jnne' X.ii.—5147 adoun for to β. 5148 In+þe β.—5149 *In a p.*] On þe erþe þanne (On erþe 11305) β.—5150 In þe vale of iosaphat as him self wolde β. 5152 As god vs (to vs god 11305) telliþ by I. his p. β.—5156 jn+to β.—5157 *þer*-to β.—5158 As bi þe same p. god telliþ vs β.—5163 to the d. aryse β.—5164 c.+in alle wyse β.—5165 *he s.*] om. β ; *namely*] in my propre persone β.—5166 Men to d. β ; w.+echone β.—5167-8 om. β.—5169 for to β.—5170 As+þe β.—5171 *Cr.*] Wher-on cr. β ; þan *d.*] om. β. 5172 For by-fore (afore 11305) he haþ þe kinde of man (of þe erþe 11305) jnome β.—5173 *B. vp*] Ac ; sitte+us a lord β.—5174 h. wr. s.+þis word β.—5177 Lo+he saiþ β ; him schewe β ; þan] om. β.—5178 In β ; *and . . .*] with alle his angelis arewe β.—5179 *Euen*] om. β ; *n.*] as hit were in houynge β.—5180 *se h. b.*] him ise in dom sittynge β.—5181 Ac þe skele ; sitte þere β.—5182 Bi þis sawe ech man may lere.—*After* 5182 *the following heading is added in red ink*: Whi god wole þe dom 3eue in þe vale : Of iosaphat more þan in eni oþer stede.—5183 F. þat (thilke 11305) v. is iset in awey lete (!) β.—5184 þe+heye β.—5185 þat oþer β.—5186

þe wich is (stondith 11305) amidde β; *swa*] om. β.—5187
& + also β.—5188 *fast* . . .] & of (*without* of 11305) seint
marie β —5189 Also *þer* is þe cite of B. β.—5190 N. fer fro
þe cite of I. β.—5191 Wher-f. cr. on þat d. schal s. þere β.—
5192 þe (+ harde 11305) dom to ȝeue & segge (*without* & s.
11305) on (in 11305) þis manere β.—5193 here + is; *all n.*]
om.—5194 I + þe wich (þat 2281) is φ.—5195 wuried.—5196
I tok fl. & b. w*ith*-out vilenie β.—5197 *lo . . . yhe*] also lo ȝe
mowe β.—5198 þe cite of B. β.—5199 jwrappid & ȝut honowrid
lasse β.—5200 cribbe + I was ileid β; *ane, ane*] *om.* φ.—5201
sigge + also β (also say 11305).—5202 þe cite of I. nei at
ȝoure h. β.—5203 many + an hard φ.—5204 *sare* . . .] ul
aboute bi-sett (y-bett 11305) β.

3) 9329 For þulke (that 11305, þys 1731) coroune is þe
coroune of blis β.—9330 & (*without* & 11305, 1731) þe
stone is ioye þat neuir schal mis β.—*Then* 9363 *follows*
(*in* β): & hi schulliþ be þere (be fedde 11305) & jcloþid in
cloþe β.—9364. W*ith* a ȝoiful siȝt þat schal no þing to hem
be loþe.—9365 . . . *þare*] & hi schulliþ þe (þer 1731) worche
in φ.—9366 euere preise; sesing.—9368 *es*] he β; *þus*]
om.—9371 *With*] He saiþ (That is 1731) w. φ.—9372 w*ith* +
þe; *þai s. be*] be clenli β.—9373 *ay l.*] of god þe preisinge
β.—9374 *whilk*] þe wich φ.—*Then* 9335 *follows*: hi schulliþ.—
9336 *with*] & euere liue i*n*.—9337 *blysful*] *om.*; heuene + þat
haþ non ende.—9338 Whedir god vs graunte þat we mowe
wende.—*Then the following heading comes*: Of þe contrarie of
þat blisse.—*After which the MS. goes on with verse* 9439: þe
sinfulle schulle fele as I haue told: 9443 Owtrarious (!) hete
& afterward to moche cold.

Almost every line has an alteration made by β.

1) 1857 peynes; *þat*] *om.*—1842. 1843. 1844. 1845. 1846.
1847. 1850. 1851. 1852. 1853. 1854. 1855. 1858. 1859. 1860.
1861. 1862.—1864 *þe*] *om.*—1865. 1866. 1867. 1868. 1869.
1870. 1875. 1880. 1881. 1882. 1883. 1884. 1885. 1886. 1887.
1888. 1890. 1891. 1894. 1895. 1897.—1899 *þe*] þing.—1900.
1901.—1902 lykneþ.—1903. 1905. 1906. 1907. 1908. 1910.
—1911. þer-to *added*.—1913. 1914. 1915. 1916. 1917. 1918.
1920. 1921. 1922. 1923. 1924. 1925. 1926. 1927.

2) 5126. 5127. 5130. 5131. 5134. 5135.—5137. þus *added.*—
5142. 5143. 5144. 5145. 5145b. 5146. 5148. 5149. 5150.
5154. 5156. 5157. 5158. 5163. 5164. 5165. 5166. 5167–8.
5169. 5170. 5171. 5172. 5173. 5174. 5177. 5178. 5179.
5180.—5181 skile; sitte þere.—5183. 5184. 5185. 5186.
5187. 5188. 5189. 5190. 5191. 5192. 5196. 5197. 5198. 5199.
5200. 5201. 5202.—5203 an *added.*—5204.

3) 9329. 9330.—*The lines* 9331—62 *are om.*—9363.—9364
which in Harl. 1731 *runs thus*: With þe syȝt of God þat ys
to hem no þyng loþ; *in Add.* 11305: The sight of God is to
hem not lothe.—9368. 9372. 9373.

φ made a small number of alterations: Cf.

1) (MSS. 2281, 1731, and D 4) 1840.—1841 tog. euer.—
1844. 1848. 1853. 1863. 1874. 1902.

2) (MSS. 2281 and D 4) 5126 *out*] *om.*—5194. 5200.
5203.

3) (MSS. 1731 and D 4) 9365, *which in Add.* 11305 *runs
thus*: Thei shul do there noon other thynge.—9371. 9374.

As in division β.i there are two MSS. only for the beginning
of the poem, *i.e.* Harl. 1731 and Harl. 2281, we cannot give
instances for the rest. That D 4 is not a copy of β.i is
evident from the numerous deviations of Harl. 1731 & 2281,
in which D 4 does not share. In β.i the lines 1870–1,
1888–9, 1898–9, the red heading after 1901, 1922–3, 1926–7
are om., but they are preserved in D 4—1883 *elde of*] olde
β.i.—1914 *tytle*] ouer β.i.—1915 *So* B] *om.* β.i; *ar. & sch.*
B] most arise and shewe β.i.

Royal 18 A. v. and Addit. 11305 form a separate group
β.ii, for which Dr. Andreae gives these two tests: 1837 *of
þe d.*] therof.—1884 *twa*] þo.

All the sources are now described.

Dr. Andreae showed that at least 19 sources must have
existed, from which the British Museum MSS. were copied.
My investigation of the four Dublin MSS. has added at least
three more supposed sources to the list: 1) φ as the source
for D 4 and β.i. 2) Y as the source for the middle of D 8,
the end of D 11, and the class X.i. 3) a.ii as the source for
the beginning of MSS. 11304 and D 11. To this, perhaps,

A.iv has to be added as the source of the beginning of D 7 and D 8.

As yet no MS. has been found which is the source of any other existing one. The whole number of sources whose existence is proved is 23 (the original being included); this number has been found by special inquiries into the materials of 22 existing MSS. It is remarkable that not one of all the 23 sources of the 22 remaining MSS. is known, and that only these 22 apparently last copies are preserved. This fact would be surprising if we did not suppose that a considerably larger number of MSS., both sources and actually last copies, have been lost, or have not yet been found.

There are a great number of MSS. in other libraries, especially at Oxford. But it is most likely that the vast majority of those once existing are irretrievably lost, as it is very improbable that the want of sources left by the examination of the first 22 MSS. will be supplied to any great extent by the about 20 other MSS. which still remain to be examined.

All this shows that Richard Rolle's poem was one of the most popular works of the end of the Middle Ages; and that, therefore, a new edition of it, with all the many variations of its different copies, is much to be desired, though it may result in no great improvement of Dr. Morris' text. Whoever has an opportunity of examining one or more of the remaining MSS. should not hesitate to contribute his share to the work.

While the above paper was in the hands of the printer, Dr. Furnivall provided me with extracts from two MSS. of the poem which are preserved in the Lichfield Cathedral Library. I beg to repeat the expression of my gratitude to him for his great kindness, and add that I shall be equally obliged to anybody else who, not wishing himself to take the trouble of classifying, will send me[1] extracts of other MSS.,

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[1] Address *Herrn Dan. Bülbring, Voerde in Westphalia, Germany*, or send them to Dr. Furnivall, who will be glad to forward them.

a great many of which are dispersed in public and private
libraries over all England.

The two MSS. at Lichfield have the numbers 6 and 18.
MS. 6 is written on vellum, in a large and bold hand of about
1410.   MS. 18 is on vellum, in two hands of the late 14th
century, A filling lf. 1–58, and B lf. 59–110.   I first give
all the various readings of the same 300 lines as above.
Where no number is put to the variation, it is common to
both MSS., the spelling being that of MS. 18, whose language
is very curious; only in a few lines where the reading of 18
is added in parenthesis, is the spelling of 6 given.

1) [lf. 71 MS. 6; lf. 26*b* MS. 18] 1836 men (a man MS. 6)
schulde dr. ded in here (on his 6) h.—1837 þat 6; peynys
18; þe, þat] om.; sira] wol.—1838 laste schour and (of þe 6)
ende.—1840 departyng; for to.—1841 to-gyddere euere for
to.—1842 n.] And neyther (non 6); w.+gladly.—1843 is þe
loue be-twyxyn (euere by-twene 6).—1844 saddere; twa...]
þey (two 6) ben to-gyddere in loue.—1845 oft p.] be godis
grace a-boue.—1846 more+is þe 18; and+þe lengere.—
1847 bih.] By-twene (þat be-twyxyn 18) hem schal be.—1848
[lf. 71b, MS. 6] Ac 6.—1849 Louyn+hem 18; to-gyddere;
þan+a 18, +deþ a 6.—1850 Wh.] And qwedir; gon; or+
in.—1851 Euere to-gyddere þey woldyn dwelle stille.—1852
For (Ac 6) þis is o sk. as men (me 6) may se (yse 6).—1853
Qwy+þat; euere in o cumpanye.—1854 For god wele (seyþ
6) thoru is grace and is (om. 6) wyt.—1855 þat fyrst þe soule
(body 6) and þe b. (soule to-gadere 6) kn.—1856 þe t.] þat
oþer 6; no thyng.—1857 toþer (þat oþer 6)+wele.—1858
thr.+skil is; b. tog. s.] schole (+boþe 6) to-gyddere.—1859
þe+dredful 18; at...] and to hys dom þonne y-nome 6.—
1860 f.+skil is; er c. þ.] comyn in fere. — 1861 ay...]
after-ward in o cumpanye ben euere (euery where 6).—1862
þerfore þe more is here peyne and kare.—1863 þat on 6; þat
oþer 6.—1864 departynge; be] þer 6; clepyd; þe] om.—
1865 fleoþ+al 6; fra...] as doth þe breth.—1866 l.+boþe.
—1867 And] He ne 6; no thyng þat he hath ouer p.—1868
ne+for 18; þat m. m.] þan ony man 18, þat eny man may
6.—1869 he] þat ded; he+ne 6; suffryth no man l. (a-lyue

6).—1870–1 *om.*—1872 [lf 72, MS. 6] For he ne sparyth
ryche ne (no 6) poure.—1873 *ne* . . .] be-nemyth þe lyf wyth-
(byn. lyȝff off hym 6) inne a throw.—1874 *þe*] So þat; haþ+
no 6; *of*] o 18.—1875 Austyn 6; *þus sch.*] tellith vs wol 18,
þer-off vs telleþ a 6.—1880 seth+þat 18; naþ 6.—1881 *tase*]
math 18, ne haþ 6.—1882 *wise*] *om.* ; conneþ schewe 6.—
1883 Ne to hold men for here days fele (*fele*] beþ bote fewe
6).—1884 Deþ (Both 18) wole haue no reuerense ne f.—
—1885 Ne frenschepe of k. ne of (*of*] *om.* 6) e.—1886 Ne of
p. byschop ne oþer pr.—1887 *tyll*] of ; *man of h.*] low ne hey.
—1888–9 *om.*—1890 þer-fore (+seynt 6) Bernard seyt þus in
þis (hys 6) wrytynge (=1874).—1891 For eueri (ech 6) man
schulde be war of ded*is* com*m*ynge (þretnynge 6) (=1875).—
1894 seth (seyþ 6) þat ded wole be þe passe.—1895 For it is
comoun ; *men*] *om.*—1896 *ilk*] ouer al iche (*in* 6 ou*er* alle
comes before vysyte).—1897 But (And 6) ȝet qwat it is no man
discrye (dyscr*iue* 6) kan.—1898–9 *om.*—1900 iche þing felyth
sore.—1901 *þus* . . .] tellit as he hath leryd (y-lerned 6) in
lore.—1902 *is preceded by a line in red* : How a phylesophre
discrijt ded.—1902 *For*] Here ; lyknith.—1903 myt so.—
1905 þat it myte at þe laste lyf þer-on brynge.—1906 *out* . . .]
at þe mouth out come myte.—1907 euery a i. (þoute 6) a rote
schulde dyte.—1908 And þat iche v. þat (þe wuch 6) is in
(+a 6) manys b.—1909 *a r. f.*] rotis 18 ; *fast*] harde 6.—
1910 And to iche (+a 6) f. and hond also.—1911 þe tre gr.
+þer-to.—1912 And on iche a l. þat is on ony s.—1913
With] þe ; þe tre schulde þer-on abyde.—1914 Bot (As 6)
if þat iche (þulke 6) tre were ouer al (*o. al*] *om.* 6) pullyd a-
boute.—1915 þat þe rote (rotes 6) muste a-ryse and schewyn
hy*m* with-oute.—1916 þanne schulde þe rotis þer-wyth sone
a-ryse.—1917 And iche a veyn schewe (*sch.*] and synowe 6)
also in his wyse.—1918 *a*] þanne; *in h.*] *om.*—[lf. 28, MS. 18]
1919 *þis*] it 18; *suld*] om. 18.—1920 *And*] *om.*; I holde 18;
more+strong.—1921 And hardure in his tyme but (as 6) it
lastyth (ys 6) not long.—1922–3 *om.*—[lf. 73, MS. 6] 1924
ilk] ich a 18, ech 6 ; it is a-forn i-seyd.—1925 May gretly
dredyn þe lorde d. br.—1926–7 *om.*

2) [lf. 127, bk. MS. 6; lf. 69, MS. 18] 5126 lytynge

(euenynge 6)+he seyt₃; in+a.—5127 Clene fro; *and sch. it
in*] in-to; west*is* 18.—5128 manis.—5129 (1) *and*] *om.*; for
to.—5130 *doune . . .*] wit₃-outyn any let a-doun.—5131 A-₃enis
þe m. of o. *in* his pr*o*pir persoun.—5132 Qwer+þat; in+his;
vp e.] in-to heuene.—5133 *þe . . .*] his f. wol euene.—5134
In sweche forme as he þanne vp stey.—5135 He schal a-₃en
come and deme thorw good fey.—5136 *and ill*] men and badde
18.—5137 aungel 18.—5142 is here take vp (vp y-take 6) a-
non.—5143 *in*-to 18; in flesch and in bon.—5144 werd*is*.—
5145 seyn now (*n.*] *om.* 6) hym *in*-to.—5145* And so he
schal (schal he 6) come a-₃en *in* (a₃en c. into þe 6) forme of
man.—5146 And alle þing deme as he wel can.—5147 *is
preceded by* Of þe stede þat cryst scal deme Inne, *in red.*—
5147 adoun for to.—5148 In+þe; *seme*] come 6.—5149
schal+þanne.—5150 þe qweche is þe uale of iosaphat as he
(*he*] hym sylf 6) wolde.—5151 Qwer+þat.—5152 tellit₃ be
poule his (ioel þe 6).—5155 i schal *before* alle men.—5156
into.—5157 *says þus*] tellit₃ us 18.—5158 As god be þe
prophete seyt₃ þus (schewyþ to vs 6).—5163 to þe dom
a-ryse.—5164 *in*] *om.* 6; com+*in* alle wise.—5165 *he . . .*] i
chal syttyn *in* my propir persone.—5166 *all . . .*] as þey ben
worthy þo men eu*e*richone.—5167–68 *om.*—5169 for to.—
5170 As+þi.—5171 Qwer-on crist schal not fulleche come.
—5172 Be-fore he hat₃ þe kynde of erde be-nome (y-nome
6).—5173 *B. vp*] Ac vp-on 6; sitte+as a lord.—5174 In; as
holi writ seyt₃ þis word.—5175 Lo he seyt₃ oure l. schal hym
schewe.—5176 In a qwit cl. wit₃ his aungel *in* (angeles a 6)
rewe.—5177 aboute 6; þe 18; *n.*] as it were honge (*h*] in
heuynge 6).—5178 *se . . .*] hym se in dom stronge 18; yse
hym in doun syttynge 6.—5181 Ac 6; skil; sitte þere.—
5182 *here . . .*] be þis sawe here.—5183 *sett*] set (*om.* 18) in
a way lete.—5184 þe+hey.—5185 in þat oþer.—5186 þe
qweche stondyn *in* (stont a 6) mydd*is* of (*om.* 6) þe werd
(world 6) wyde.—5187 And+also.—5188 *fast . . .*] and also
(*a.*] *om.* 6) of oure lady marie.—5189 *in þat c.*] also in þat
place.—5190 *full*] *om.*; fro+þe cete of.—5191 god; on þat
day *before* þere 18, *before* schal 6.—5192 þe grete dom to ₃eue
in þis manere.—5193 her+is; *all now*] *om.* 18, now 6.—5194

iosaphat + þat is.—5195 Qwer + þat ; my modir *before* berijd
18.—5196 Of quam i tok fl. a bl. with-outyn uelanie.—
5197 *lo h. als*] also her; *now*] stonde 6.—5198 þe cete of
ierusalem (+ þe 6) qweche is ny to ȝou (ȝowre honde 6).—
5199–5202 *om.*—5203 for ȝow *before* y 6 ; many + a.—5204
sare . . .] al a-boute beset (*bes.*] me yset 6).

3) *This test-passage is neither in MS. 6 nor in MS.* 18; *after
l.* 9199 (And to siluer and to gold þat is of meche valu) *both
MSS. go on with* 4 *lines for Dr. Morris'* 9200–9474, 2 *lines
for Dr. Morris'* 9475–9532 ; as follows :

> But (Ac 6) al the rytchesse þat euere in þe werd was
> Is to þe lest ioye of heuene not wortȝ a nas
> For þer is al þing þat ony man may crave
> Or ell*is* desyre in thout for to haue.
> Now is þe laste p*art* of þis bok mad
> And all þe materis þer-of ben to ȝou (+ be6) rad.

Lines 9535–45, 9569–70 *are omitted.*

That both MSS. belong to the β version is at once evident
from a comparison of the above variations with the readings
of the Dublin MS. 4 in the lines 1842. 1845. 1846. 1847.
1850. 1851. 1852. 1854. 1855. 1858. 1859, etc.—5129. 5130.
5131. 5134. 5142, etc.

The lines 1840. 1841. 1844. 1853. 1863. 1902. show that
the two MSS. belong to φ.

Both MSS. omit the lines 1870–1, 1888–9, 1898–9, 1922–3,
1926–7, as the two MSS. of β.i do. Besides there are many
other common alterations.

Harl. 2281 and 1731 (= β.i) leave out the red heading
after 1901, which is preserved in the two Lichfield MSS.
Common alterations of the latter two (f. i., in lines 1910 and
1913, and most distinctly towards the end of the poem)
moreover show that the Lichfield copies are derived from a
separate source.

Their pedigree therefore is :

$$\left.\begin{array}{l}\text{L \ 6} \\ \text{L 18}\end{array}\right\}\ \beta.\text{iii.}$$
$$\left.\begin{array}{l}\text{1. 2 (Harl. 2281)} \\ \text{1. 3 (Harl. 1731)}\end{array}\right\}\ \beta.\text{i.}$$
$$\left.\begin{array}{c} \\ \\ \end{array}\right\}\ \phi.\text{i} - \phi - \beta - \text{B} - \text{X.ii} - \text{Q} - \text{U.}$$